

European Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences

Nº 4 2020

European Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences

Scientific journal

№ 4 2020

ISSN 2414-2344

Editor-in-chief

Maier Erika, Germany, Doctor of Philology

International editorial board

Abdulkasimov Ali, Uzbekistan, Doctor of Geography
Adieva Aynura Abduzhalalovna, Kyrgyzstan, Doctor of Economics
Arabaev Cholponkul Isaevich, Kyrgyzstan, Doctor of Law
Barlybaeva Saule Hatiyatovna, Kazakhstan, Doctor of History
Busch Petra, Austria, Doctor of Economics
Cherniavska Olena, Ukraine, Doctor of Economics
Garagonich Vasily Vasilyevich, Ukraine, Doctor of History
Jansarayeva Rima, Kazakhstan, Doctor of Law
Karabalaeva Gulmira, Kyrgyzstan, Doctor of Education
Kvinikadze Giorgi, Georgia, Doctor of Geographical Sciences
Kiseleva Anna Alexandrovna, Russia, Ph.D. of Political Sciences
Khoutyz Zaur, Russia, Doctor of Economics
Kocherbaeva Aynura Anatolevna, Kyrgyzstan, Doctor of Economics
Konstantinova Slavka, Bulgaria, Doctor of History

Lewicka Jolanta, Poland, Doctor of Psychology

Massaro Alessandro, Italy, Doctor of Philosophy

Marianna A. Balasarian, Georgia, Doctor of Philology

Meymanov Bakyt Kattoevich, Kyrgyzstan, Doctor of Economics

Serebryakova Yulia Vadimovna, Russia, Ph.D. of Cultural Science

Shugurov Mark, Russia, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences

Suleymanova Rima, Russia, Doctor of History

Fazekas Alajos, Hungary, Doctor of Law

Proofreading

Kristin Theissen

Cover design

Andreas Vogel

Additional design

Stephan Friedman

Editorial office

Premier Publishing s.r.o. Praha 8
– Karlín, Lyčkovo nám. 508/7, PSČ 18600

E-mail:

pub@ppublishing.org

Homepage:

ppublishing.org

European Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences is an international, German/English/Russian language, peer-reviewed journal. It is published bimonthly with circulation of 1000 copies.

The decisive criterion for accepting a manuscript for publication is scientific quality. All research articles published in this journal have undergone a rigorous peer review. Based on initial screening by the editors, each paper is anonymized and reviewed by at least two anonymous referees. Recommending the articles for publishing, the reviewers confirm that in their opinion the submitted article contains important or new scientific results.

Premier Publishing s.r.o. is not responsible for the stylistic content of the article. The responsibility for the stylistic content lies on an author of an article.

Instructions for authors

Full instructions for manuscript preparation and submission can be found through the Premier Publishing s.r.o. home page at: <http://www.ppublishing.org>.

Material disclaimer

The opinions expressed in the conference proceedings do not necessarily reflect those of the Premier Publishing s.r.o., the editor, the editorial board, or the organization to which the authors are affiliated.

Premier Publishing s.r.o. is not responsible for the stylistic content of the article. The responsibility for the stylistic content lies on an author of an article.

Included to the open access repositories:



The journal has Index Copernicus Value (ICV) 72.42 for 2018.



The journal has the GIF impact factor .342 for 2019.

© Premier Publishing s.r.o.

All rights reserved; no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without prior written permission of the Publisher.

Typeset in Berling by Ziegler Buchdruckerei, Linz, Austria.

Printed by Premier Publishing s.r.o., Vienna, Austria on acid-free paper.

Section 1. Archeology

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-3-9>

Savelieva Tamara Vladimirovna,

Doctor of Historical Sciences

Chief Researcher, Institute of Archeology named after A. Kh. Margulan,

Ministry of Education and Science, the Republic of Kazakhstan

E-mail: tsavelieva@mail.ru

Kamaldinov Ilyar Ramilevich,

Master, Researcher, Institute of Archeology named after A. Kh. Margulan,

Ministry of Education and Science, the Republic of Kazakhstan

E-mail: kamaldinov-ilyar@mail.ru

IMPROVEMENTS OF KAZAKHSTAN' MEDIEVAL CITIES ON THE GREAT SILK ROAD ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH (ILI VALLEY)

Abstract. The article is devoted to the study of the improvement of the Ili Valley region' medieval cities located on the Great Silk Road. These cities are fairly well known from written sources. Long-term archaeological research has allowed obtaining materials about the structure of these cities – urban planning, layout, features of manor buildings, dwellings. Ways of heating homes and equipping with amenities – water supply and sewage. To comply with hygiene, according to the cult and domestic regulations of Islam, separate sanitary-hygienic premises with special equipment were allocated.

Public and private baths were built to create a comfortable life for citizens, streets were paved, accompanied by pedestrian walkways. Particular attention was paid to the arrangement of intersections – they were equipped with “hanging stones” like on the streets of ancient Pompeii.

Keywords: Great Silk Road, Ili Valley, the Middle Ages, landscaping, paved pavements, baths, water supply, sewage.

Introduction. Since the late 60s of the last century, the growth of scientific interest in the subject of the city, in the problems of the ancient and medieval urbanization of Central Asia and Kazakhstan has intensified in science [1; 2; 3; 4].

An important problem of the interaction of the city and the steppe was devoted to the international symposium held in 1987 in Alma-Ata, the UNESCO

conference “The Interaction of Nomadic and Settled Cultures on the Great Silk Road” [5].

Long-term large-scale archaeological research of medieval cities on the territory of Kazakhstan, located on the routes of the Great Silk Road, coupled with information from written sources, led to the conclusion that in the Middle Ages, Kazakhstan was not only a country of nomads, but also a country of

cities. The names of many of them are widely known, their role in the history of states and peoples on the territory of Kazakhstan – the West Turkic, Turgesh, Karluk Khanates, the state of Karakhanids, the Kypchak and Kimek khanates, the state of the Oguz yabgu, Akorda and Mogulistan, the Kazakh khanate is revealed. These are Otrar and Turkestan, Sauran and Sygnak, Yangikent and Jend, Taraz and Ispidzhab, Talgar and Kayalyk, and many others. They were major political, commercial, economic and cultural centers of Eurasia, associated with other cities and countries along the Silk Road. They were famous for their architectural ensembles, fortification, and layout. To date, there are more than 40 of them localized in Kazakhstan [6].

In 2014, 33 archaeological sites located on the routes of the Great Silk Road, including 8 monuments of Kazakhstan, were included in the UNESCO World Heritage List as part of a serial transnational nomination together with the People's Republic of China and the Kyrgyz Republic. Among them are such major medieval cities of the Ili Valley as Talhir, Kayalyk, Karamergen and the city of Ilanbalyk recently localized and identified with Ucharal settlement [7, 4; 8, 15].

One of the largest regions of the spread of settled and urban life in the Middle Ages was Northeastern Zhetysu (Northeastern Semirechye, Ili Valley). From ancient times, it was a contact zone where two cultural traditions coexisted and interacted – agricultural, cattle breeding, urban, and steppe.

Urban improvement studies. Moreover, what did the cities look like, what was the development like, what improvements could the townspeople use for a comfortable life for the townspeople? The answers to these questions contain materials obtained in the course of complex archaeological research, including objects of material culture obtained during archaeological excavations.

The Talgar settlement – the city of Talhir – is located at the exit from the gorge of the mountain river of the same name, on its steep bank. The cen-

tral part of the settlement – the citadel, surrounded by a rampart – the remains of the fortress walls, has survived without modern buildings. A deep moat girdled the shaft on three sides, except for the western one, which the city adjoined to the steep bank of the river. The size of the citadel is 298×302 m or an area of 9 ha. The height of the shaft reaches 6–7 m with a base width of 15–17 m. At the corners and perimeter, the fortress wall is fortified with round protruding towers.

The entrances were opposite each other in the middle of the walls. The city was divided by direct streets into quarters, consisting of 12–14 manor houses, interconnected by small intra-quarter streets.

The manors of the city had a characteristic feature: the presence of a residential part, the house itself, and a courtyard, the size of which depended on the prosperity of the owner, since urban land was always expensive. The estate consisted of two parts: the smaller – residential, large – farm and livestock yards. The buildings were built from local material: raw bricks and cobblestones. The lower part of the wall – the foundation – was laid out from boulders and deepened into the ground to maintain heat in the winter season. Masonry was approximately $1/3$ of the height – this significantly increased the strength of the wall, which was necessary during earthquakes. The binder of the masonry was a clay solution. In addition, in the masonry of the walls, logs of the Tien Shan spruce were used as seismic belts (its wood impregnated with resin does not rot).

Raw bricks were made from clay with the addition of organics, from which walls were erected. The roof was gable, because in the foothills there is a lot of rainfall.

The windows were covered with glass, many fragments of glass were found not only in Talgar, but also in Kayalyk. Glass is blown, thin, and transparent, in several shades – from light salad to bluish.

The heating system was improved compared to the earlier period, now the heat of the smoke was used to the maximum: from the furnace and tandoor,

where food was cooked, smoke passed through the chimney through the cranked horizontal channels laid in the soufflé-beds and was discharged into vertical wells in the thickness of the wall, common with adjacent room, and then through the chimney in the roof to the street.

When landscaping city streets, improvised material was used. So, in Talhir, not only two central intersecting streets, but also secondary ones are paved with cobblestones taken from the nearby Talgar River.

The central cobblestone street connecting the western and eastern entrances to the city was cleared. Its total length is 300 m, width – 3–3.5 m, cleared and investigated 154 m. A sidewalk for pedestrians was laid along the pavement from the north side. It was above the pavement level by 15–20 centimeters and was separated by a curb from tightly laid stones.

Along the south side of the central highway stood a clay fence-duval, blocking the residential quarter from the street. It had a passage leading to the courtyard of the housing estate and to the shops of artisans.

Perpendicular to the central pavement, on both sides of the block there were streets, the surface of which was also paved with stone. The intra-quarter streets are cleared – east at 45 meters, west at 21 meters in length, the width of the pavement is about 2 meters.

At the intersection, very large hewn stone blocks of rectangular shape protruding above the surface of the bridge stood out. These stones were laid in antiquity to enable pedestrians to cross the street without soaking their feet during rains and floods. At the same time, the stones were stacked in such a way that they did not interfere with the movement of the carts. The so-called “hanging stones” are known in excavations on the streets in Penjikent and Afrasiab – Samarkand. The most ancient analogies are “hanging stones” at the crossroads of Pompeii.

The study showed that the bridge was repaired at least two times during operation. The repairs carried out in the XI – early XII centuries were more thorough, the joints between the stones were filled not only with ceramic fragments, but also with clay

mortar. Later repairs of the late XII – early XIII century carried out without the use of a clay solution. Instead, sand was used mixed with small shards of ceramics, construction debris, and animal bone fragments [9, 19–24].

Paved streets were discovered during excavations of Taraz – this is a stretch of street about 20 meters long that led to the Taraz mosque (X–XI centuries). The street was paved with large stone slabs. In southern Kazakhstan in Sauran XVI–XVII centuries the main street was also paved with stone slabs.

Squares and open courtyards in palaces and rich houses paved with burnt bricks. So, on the citadel of the fortification of Oksyz, identified with the settlement of Vesij in South Kazakhstan, in the palace of the X – beginning of the XIII century brick floors were discovered. During the excavation of the citadel of the ancient settlement of Aktobe Stepninskoye, an area (240 m²), paved with burnt bricks measuring 30 × 30 × 5 cm, was uncovered at the entrance to the structure.

Water pipes were an integral part of the general improvement of the city, along with irrigation ditches, houses, wells. The water supply was discovered during excavations of the cities of Talhir, Kayalyk, Ilanbalik, Aktobe, Otrar, Baba-Ata and others. The builders knew well the methods of laying water pipes, given the elevation differences: the water flowed through the water by gravity. The water supply in the city supplied fresh water from sources located near the city, and sometimes the water was led for several kilometers.

Water was brought to Talgar from the headwaters of the Talgar River through water conduits; through the city itself, water was supplied to houses through a water pipe made of clay pipes. In an excavation on the territory of the citadel near the southwest corner inside the fortress walls, a water pipe was opened from 32 ceramic pipes laid on the clay bed in such a way that they had a natural slope. Each link of the water supply is a burnt clay pipe, one end is narrower, the corolla is bent slightly outward, the other is expanded with a bell, and the corolla is thickened in the form of a cuff 3 cm wide. The narrow end was

inserted into the wide end, the connection was tight, and no additional coating was found. Water was supplied not only to houses, but also to construct workshops for production complexes [9, 68–69].

Urban density in the central part. The city, usually surrounded by walls, and in Shakhristan (near suburbs), was dense, crowded. This situation dictated great attention to sanitation and hygiene. The houses had sewers, garbage and retirement pits for sewage. Sewer devices – tashnau, sanitary facilities where washed and drained dirty household water were required. Wastewater was discharged through an opening in the central brick of the Tashnau site into a sewer system equipped under the floor: a vessel without a bottom was placed one on top of another, forming an absorption well, from where the wastewater was discharged into the sumps.

In the urban estates of Talgar there were separate sanitary-hygienic premises with one or two bathtubs for washing with sewer devices.

Such premises were excavated in South Kazakhstan in the houses of Otrar and Sauran (Karatobe ancient settlement). There, in the layer of the XI–XII centuries more complex devices of sanitary units of two types were discovered: the first – where it was possible to “meet a small need”, the second type – devices for “sending the need.”

The first type is characterized by the presence of a ceramic bath with low sides – the tazar, connected by a drain to a water-absorbing well: large vessels without a bottom placed on top of each other, or ceramic pipes introduced into the underlying cultural layer of the settlement.

The second type of bathrooms is characterized by the presence of a ceramic “toilet” – a pipe installed right next to the tazar bath, also connected to a water-absorbing well system. The toilets are made using the technology of manufacturing pottery pipes and look similar to them. Like pottery pipes, they have on the tapering end of the “cuff” in the form of a sticky roller. The main difference from pottery pipes is the bell at the top in the form of an oval.

The installation of separate toilets in the house is characteristic exclusively for the Karakhanid period. Perhaps this is due to the increasing role of Islam and the observance of urban hygiene standards established by religion.

In the XIII century, such devices disappear; they are replaced by brick paved tashnau sites with a water-absorbing device.

The sanitary-hygienic attributes include kumgans – narrow-necked jugs with an elongated body, mainly metal ones. They were used for washing, as well as for flushing sewage from the toilet. The found oblong ellipsoid clumps of clay, dried in the sun, served as “toilet paper”.

Water was also supplied from a source to the city of Kayalyk in Prijungarje. Several water-supply lines similar to the Talgar ones were found here. To strengthen the joints of the pipe links, clay cuffs – couplings were used.

Water for supplying the Akyrtaş complex and the palace, in particular, was brought from springs located two to three kilometers in the mountain gorges. The topography of the complex shows the remains of large reservoirs-houses.

In the estates, which were located in slaves – the suburban part, in the areas adjacent to the houses, usually in their center, reservoirs-houses were built, connected to the sources of running water. The walls and bottom of the houses were faced with large pebbles, sometimes covered with transparent watering. Such a pool was discovered during excavations of one of the estates of the 10th–12th centuries in the suburbs of Otrar.

Well-shaped pits of various diameters and depths were used for garbage and household kitchen waste. Of course, the cleanliness of the city was not ideal, much depended on the soil on which they stood.

Therefore, from written sources it is known that the cities of Khorezm, where the subsoil waters were high, were constantly flooded and dirty.

The overpopulated Bukhara was not famous for its cleanliness. Therefore, it was called the “latrine of Maverannahr.”

An important part of urban life became baths, which appeared in the cities of Central Asia no earlier than the VIII century. It is believed that they came here from the Mediterranean region through Iran. However, at the beginning of the IX century baths quickly gained popularity in the urban environment. The first baths are known from the excavations of Afrasiab-Samarkand. They consisted of separate booths; they did not yet have a system of underfloor heating using a hypocaust – underground heat-conducting channels.

In the XI–XIII centuries a hammam with a hypocaust typical of the East is taking shape; cruciform in plan with rooms for washing different temperature conditions (cold and hot); with water drainage into the absorbing wells; with a firebox, where there was a boiler for hot water, which was carried in ceramic basins.

Cold water was supplied through a water supply from clay pipes, or scooped from special reservoirs.

Baths were of two types – public and private. Public baths were built by rulers and wealthy people

and were given to citizens for charitable donations, or for profit.

The bathhouse is a subject of special care for both the city governor, and the guild organizations, and the individual rich man who arranged a bathhouse for himself and for his friends. The bathhouse was used for washing, strengthening strength, raising a fallen mood, for relaxing, for meeting and friendly conversations with friends, for talking about buying and selling, for a bargain, and for showing the skill of playing chess or backgammon. Baths were also peculiar medical institutions. A treatise of the 11th century, which belonged to Ibn Sina, contains information about which medicinal decoctions and infusions should be used in the bath [10, 198].

Bath Kayalyka. The palace bathhouse in the city of Kayalyk, the ancient settlement of Antonovka, has been perfectly preserved. The bath is dated the middle of the XIII century. – A typical hamam bath with a cruciform layout and a hypocaust – a system of underfloor heating (heat-conducting channels).



Figure 1. Bath Kayalyka. XIII c

There was a central hall in it, the washing rooms were hot and cool, in which there were bathtubs with

walls made of burnt bricks. Cold water was supplied from clay pipes by a water supply system; there was

a sewage disposal system. The floors of the bath were paved with burnt bricks [11, 73–75] (Figure 1).

The Ilanbalyk bathhouse is rectangular, measuring 14.5×7.7 m, built in a foundation pit. The bathhouse consists of 7 rooms: three washing rooms, one of which is “hotter” and four (two from the north and south sides) massage. The bathhouse has an un-

derground heating system (Figure 2). Smoke and heat was discharged through the wells in the form of bricks from burnt bricks. The underground heating system has survived: the firebox and sewage from clay pipes that discharge sewage from the bathhouse. (Figure 3). The bathhouse was completely built of burnt bricks, dating from the XIII century.



Figure 2. Bath Ilanbalyk. Underfloor heating system – gipakaust



Figure 3. Bath Ilanbalyk. Sewage and waste water discharge

The popularity of the bathhouse at home among the urban population was huge. Jalal Essad wrote: "Baths are also necessary for a Muslim, like mosques" [12, 267].

The rapid spread of baths in medieval cities is determined by two factors: religious and domestic, Islamic precepts (the construction of the Takhorat-khan at large mosques with heated floors, domed and vaulted ceilings used for ritual baths), as well as the widespread use of burnt bricks.

Baths of Kazakhstani cities are known from excavation materials, and one such bath remained in Turkestan almost to the present day and functioned until the middle of the 20th century.

The bathhouse of Taraz, discovered by archaeologists in 1938, is well understood. In one of the rooms, a brick pavement of the floor has been preserved, in another – a "bathtub" of 1.75 × 0.47 m in size, built of burnt bricks. The walls of the small room with shelves for seating were frescoed. From it entered the

room with bathtubs. Murals were applied to the surface of the plaster resistant to water. In plant scenes from leaves and stems, blue, blue and orange tones of colors predominate.

The bath was heated with heated air circulating in the channels laid under the floor and shelves.

Near one of the baths, a stack of dirhams was found – coins made of low-grade silver, which made it possible to date the time of its construction and functioning of the XI century.

Conclusion. By the degree of improvement, the medieval cities of the study area were at a level close to the cities of Central Asia and South Kazakhstan.

Thus, the materials of archaeological research indicate a high cultural level of improvement of medieval cities in the vast territory of Kazakhstan.

Статья написана по теме проекта № AP05135143 «Палеоэкономика средневековых городов Илийской долины VIII–XIV вв. (по археологическим источникам)».

References:

1. The medieval cities of Central Asia and Kazakhstan // Abstracts for the meeting in the city of Frunze.– L., 1970.– 112 p.
2. Belenitsky A. M., Bentovich I. B., Bolshakov O. G. The medieval city of Central Asia.– M.: Nauka, 1973.– 389 p.
3. Early medieval urban culture of Central Asia and Kazakhstan // Theses of the All-Union Scientific Conference in Penjikent. Dushanbe, 1977.
4. The medieval urban culture of Kazakhstan and Central Asia.– Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1983.– 231 p.
5. The interaction of nomadic cultures and ancient civilizations.– Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1989.– 464 p.
6. Dani A. N., Askarov A. A., Gubin S. P. Steppe Route // Integral study of the Silk Road of dialogue / Journal Central Asia. Islamabad, 1991.– Vol. XIV.–No. 2.
7. Baipakov K. M. Medieval urban culture of South Kazakhstan and Semirechye (VI - beginning of XIII century).– Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1986.– 255 p.
8. Savelyeva T. V. The sedentary culture of the northern slopes of Zailiysky Alatau in the VIII–XIII centuries. (based on materials from Talgar settlement and monuments of its periphery).– Almaty: "Gylym", 1994.– 216 p.
9. Baypakov K. M., Savelyeva T. V., Chang K. Medieval cities and settlements of North-Eastern Zhetysu. Almaty: CREDO Publishing House, 2005.– 208 p.
10. Abu Ali Ibn Sina. Canon of medical science. Prince 1.– Tashkent, 1954.– 793 p.
11. Baypakov K. M., Voyakin D. A. Bath // Medieval city of Kayalyk.– Almaty: Print-S LLP, 2007.– P. 51–87.
12. Essad J. Constantinople: from Byzantium to Istanbul.– Moscow: 1919.– 336 p.

Section 2. Journalism

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-10-18>

*Salieva Mukhabbat Kushanovna,
Candidate of Philology, Uzbek University of Journalism
and Mass Communication Researcher at the Department
of Social and Humanitarian Sciences, Tashkent, Uzbekistan
E-mail: muhabbat2962@mail.ru*

PRINCIPLES OF INFORMATION AND LEGAL COMMUNICATION AND SCHOOLS OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Abstract. Communication in the public administration system is constantly improving and evolving. The following principles can help in the development of communication: the principle of accuracy, information flow management, management actions, feedback system and collection of recommendations systems.

Keywords: Public administration, functions, principles, administrative, legal communication, information flow, concept, society.

*Салиева Мухаббат Кушановна,
кандидат филологических наук, Научный сотрудник кафедры
общественных и гуманитарных наук, Узбекский университет
журналистики и массовых коммуникаций, Ташкент, Узбекистан
E-mail: muhabbat2962@mail.ru*

ПРИНЦИПЫ ИНФОРМАЦИОННО-ПРАВОВОЙ СВЯЗИ И ШКОЛЫ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОГО УПРАВЛЕНИЯ

Аннотация. Связь в системе государственного управления постоянно совершенствуется и развивается. Следующие принципы могут помочь в развитии коммуникации: принцип точности, управление информационным потоком, действия по управлению, система обратной связи и системы сбора обратной связи.

Ключевые слова: Государственное управление, функции, принципы, административно-правовое общение, информационный поток, концепция, общество.

Государственное управление вытекает из особой социальной функции, направленной на адаптацию процессов развития к интересам об-

щества в целом путем координации различных требований, потребностей и форм деятельности. В то же время государственный аппарат является

эффективным механизмом осуществления государственной власти и осуществляет государственную политику через систему административных институтов. В процессе правовой коммуникации в современном глобальном информационном и глобальном телекоммуникационном мире государство выступает субъектом целевых, организационных и регуляторных воздействий. В определенный исторический период характер правительства, государства определяется конституционными принципами.

Информационное общество является неотъемлемым этапом развития современной цивилизации. Он характеризуется растущей важностью информации и знаний в обществе, увеличением доли информации и телекоммуникаций, информационных продуктов и услуг в ВВП, созданием глобального информационного пространства, которое позволяет людям эффективно взаимодействовать, их доступом к глобальным информационным ресурсам, и уровень удовлетворенности информационным продуктом.

Власть любого государства проявляется в солидности его законов и полном исполнении действующих законов. Таким образом, верховенство закона, полное соблюдение закона равносильны стабильности государства и долговечности социальной справедливости. В этих условиях возникает подлинно демократический режим, и может быть достигнута общность целей правовой коммуникации в сфере управления и государственного управления. Основные направления дальнейшего совершенствования и модернизации государственного управления на основе национальных ценностей и современных достижений государственности в мире четко обозначены в Стратегии действий: «Глубокий анализ пути развития нашей страны, резкие изменения в условиях мирового рынка и в результате усиливающаяся конкуренция в процессе глобализации заставляет разрабатывать и внедрять совершенно новые подходы и принципы устойчивого развития страны» [1].

Последовательная реализация основных принципов, определяющих критерии демократического управления в сфере государственного управления, приоритет прав человека и интересов, открытость, эффективное использование принципов прямого общения с людьми, разработка Кодекса административного процесса, Закона «Об административных процедурах».

«Закон О государственной службе» и другие новые проекты, их принятие до сих пор актуальны в наше время.

На посту Президента Республики Узбекистан Ш. Мирзиёев заявил: «Я думаю, что пришло время разработать целевую программу, которая должна включать в себя создание кадрового резерва, важные вопросы подготовки и переподготовки кадров для достижения поставленных перед нами целей и задач. Основная задача – сформировать новый порядок для высокопрофессиональных руководителей и чиновников с современным мышлением, способных принимать продуманные, правильные решения для достижения поставленных целей» [2]. Это требование напрямую связано с полным пересмотром кадровой системы, созданием нового поколения талантливых лидеров с современными знаниями, высокими профессиональными навыками, лидерским талантом и управленческим потенциалом. Это важно в современной государственной администрации.

Растущие потребности общества становятся жизненно важным процессом, который стал ценным ресурсом, сосредоточенным в информационном пространстве. Сильное правовое государство не только контролирует этот процесс, но и ускоряет доступ к легальной компьютеризации, систематизации правовых источников и существенно облегчает их понимание. Кроме того, производительность труда увеличивается за счет компьютеризации. Это поможет ускорить судебные разбирательства.

Основная цель данной работы – изучение школ управления и государственного управления

и их коммуникативных аспектов. Рассматривается развитие школ государственного управления на ранних этапах. Сначала мы обратимся к научным взглядам древних мыслителей. Главной целью идей таких ученых, как Аристотель, Платон, Сократ и Гегель, было обеспечение справедливого управления в управлении. Таким образом, можно увидеть развитие исторических ступеней западных школ и восточных школ на основе государственного управления, начавшихся в те древние времена.

В «Государстве» Платон проводит различие между двумя типами справедливости, которые посвящены духовным вопросам, и теми, которые сочетаются с моральными вопросами: справедливость для личности и справедливость в социальном смысле. Суть справедливости может быть понята только в связи с появлением государства. Фактически возникновение государства называется появлением справедливости [3]. Хотя Сократ не оставил письменных источников, его философия была отражена в трудах его учеников, вдохновленных его философскими мыслями. В некоторых многотомных публикациях по истории философии можно найти источники Ф. Х. Кэсси-ди [4, С. 46–47] и В. С. Нерсисянц посвятил творчеству Сократа.

В частности, В. С. Нерсисянц пишет: «Политическая этика Сократа была своеобразным результатом более раннего развития политической мысли в Древней Греции, и в то же время она послужила отправной точкой для ее восхождения к высотам, таким как политическая философия Платона и Аристотелевская политология» [5, С. 159]. Можно сказать, что идеи как школы мысли возникли как начальные проявления современных политических школ. Заявление Сократа об управлении, возникающем из «неразделимого единства морали и закона», было написано его учеником Ксенофоном, который в своей речи о справедливости заявляет: «Непонимание акта несправедливости было достаточным доказательством справедливости. Если вы не согласны, посмотрите, может быть, вам по-

нравится больше: я говорю, что это законно, это справедливо» [6, С. 32–33].

Современные исследования имеют множество методологических концепций для анализа политической реальности, каждая из которых имеет свою когнитивную логику, строит свой концептуальный аппарат и устанавливает регулирующие отношения между ключевыми концепциями.

Трудно предсказать стратегические позиции в системе государственного управления. Как интерпретация концепций политической власти и государственного управления, широкое развитие функциональных, человеческих концепций конкретных исследовательских задач заключается в интерпретации их содержания.

Другой причиной неопределенности понятий и современных общих знаний является необходимость проведения различных исследований, укрепления методологических подходов в правовых знаниях, тщательного изучения изобретений, законов, разработанных учеными древних и современных времен, и использования зарубежного опыта.

В настоящее время школы современного государственного управления, специалисты и ученые обязаны знать основные философские направления, методы изучения политики и идеи для реализации предложенных законов и концепций, социальных и несостоятельных теорий, чтобы создать концепцию корпоративной и национальной культуры в Государственное управление.

Сегодняшние социальные потребности ставят подобные вопросы перед людьми нашего века, в том числе в предметных экспертах.

Значительные различия во взглядах и подходах к государственному управлению привели к появлению различных школ, объединяющих ученых. Следует отметить, что в средние века народы Центральной Азии играли важную роль в государственном управлении в форме массовой правовой коммуникации. Подобные правовые вопросы упоминаются и комментируются в «Городе очаровательных людей» Абу Насра аль-Фараби.

В своей работе автор обобщает огромный научный и практический опыт, поднимает широкий круг этических и правовых вопросов. Он сосредоточил свое внимание в первую очередь на правоохранных органах. Автор заявляет, что «только если губернатор способен заставить людей следовать и подчиняться законам в системе государственного управления, государственную систему можно считать превосходной» [7, С. 32–33].

Важно не только иметь законы в сфере государственного управления, но также понимать их содержание и значение, чтобы сделать такую информацию доступной для общественности. Средневековые мыслители сосредоточились на расслоении общества. Если два человека имеют одинаковый титул, между ними не будет никакой разницы. Низамулмулк пишет в «Сиясатном» («Книге политики»): «Эквивалентность кади и слуги неприемлема, поэтому командирам и великим людям были даны такие титулы, как Хисам уд-дин (меч религии), Сайф уд-давла (меч государства), Амин уд-давла (доверие государства), Шамс уд-дин (солнце государства) и т. д. [8, С. 138]. Хорошо известно, что имена являются основным способом описания человека и раскрытия его или ее характеристик для публики. Упоминание слова «меч» связано с традициями того времени. Кроме того, слово «меч» – это не только меч, но оно используется на языке людей того времени, имеющих прямые и косвенные значения.

«Индия» Абу Райхана Беруни также содержит ряд разъяснений по поводу правовых норм в стране. Абу Райхан Беруни с научной точки зрения прокомментировал типы ругательств и наказаний в Индии, и такие нормативные акты в некоторой степени повлияли на правовую практику народов Центральной Азии. Например: «Существует много видов ругательства в зависимости от суммы иска. Прежде всего, если ответчик согласен дать клятву, и, если иск подан немного, тогда ответчик сказал: «Передо мной пять ученых-брахманистов, и если мои слова неверны, то позвольте

истцу вознаградить восьмикратный отбор моих добрых дел». Более важно ругаться следующим образом: «Судья приказывает, чтобы виновник опровержения выпил вайшу – яд, известный как брахман. Вайша – худший вид ядов. Если это правда, питье вайша не повредит» [9, С. 406]. Конечно, отравление или подобное суровое наказание не является надлежащим юридическим решением, это норма, принятая под влиянием религиозного неравенства. Но понимание его ошибочность сама по себе является уроком для других стран, в то время как она служит образовательной школой, направленной на сохранение мира в государственном управлении того времени.

Амир Тимур поэтапно следовал принципу верховенства права и, в первую очередь, использовал религиозный порядок в качестве наиболее мощного инструмента укрепления своей правовой системы. В его «Тузуках» говорится: «После того, как я установил порядок в религиозных и шариатских делах, я начал устанавливать порядок в своем королевстве. Я сохранил статус и авторитет моего королевства, основываясь на законах и правилах (туры и тузуки) [10, С. 73]. Ученые прекрасно понимают, что это уникальная школа Амира Тимура.

Среднеазиатские мыслители того времени уделяли большое внимание иностранным правовым нормам и продвигали их в своей стране. Такая правовая норма также разработана в Китае, примером чего является Абдураззак Самарканди в своей книге «Матлай садайн и маджмай бахрейн»: «Китайцы очень осторожны в отношении грешников. Например, у императора двенадцать постов; если кто-то обвиняется в совершении преступления» грех, и вина подтверждается в одиннадцати отделениях, но в двенадцатом не подтверждается решение суда, есть надежда на спасение, даже если в течение шести месяцев или более из-за случая грешника есть необходимость в том, чтобы кто-то прогуливался далеко они не убьют грешника до тех пор, пока не будут полностью расследованы; они держат его под стражей»

[11]. Произведения, созданные среднеазиатскими мыслителями в средние века, являются символом школ научного управления, которые связывают историю человечества с подарком.

Школы государственного управления: отношения между политикой и государственным управлением всегда неразрывно связаны в зависимости от многих факторов, включая уровень организации политической власти, формы правления и тип политического режима [12].

Государственное управление – это сила, которая влияет на функции системы, основанной на жизненном существовании общества. Это ведется справедливо как практическая организационная и нормативная деятельность. Социальная направленность государственного управления обеспечивает его эффективность благодаря его целесообразности, легитимности. Государственное управление включает в себя концепции политического и правового характера. Государственное управление формирует конкретные подходы, основанные на практических школах, большинство из которых доступны, но наиболее популярное и распространенное государственное управление формируется в британских, американских, французских и немецких школах.

Таким образом, разнообразие школ государственного управления отражает теории идей управления разнообразием, которые возникли в двадцатом веке, сложность, универсальность и непоследовательность школьных и практических методов управления. Существующие различия в научных подходах к классификации понятий государственного управления объясняются тем, что их авторы отражают свои субъективные мнения на основе выбранных критериев. Давайте посмотрим на примеры здесь. Как отметил К. И. Голубев, «Выполнение опубликованных требований к теориям управления и полное представление каждой группы теорий» [13].

В классификации школ управления теориями и школ управления мышлением такие ученые, как

М. Х. Мескон, М. Альберт, Ф. Седури, А. Хаджинский, Г. Кунц и С. О. Доннелл, Р. Фалмер, Р. Дафт и другие, а также ведущие местные эксперты, прежде всего Д. М. Гвишиани, О. С. Висканский, Ю. В. Кузнецов А. В. Кезин определил четыре ключевых подхода, которые внесли значительный вклад в развитие теории и практики управления в классификации школ управления [15], предложенной известными учеными на Западе и в России, такими как М. Х. Мескон, М. Альберт и Ф. Седури.

Школа школы научного менеджмента была нацелена на выявление наилучших путей выполнения основных задач развития государственного управления, применение научного анализа и поиск решений таких проблем, как определение принципов управления, функций и разработка принципов общего управления.

В тот период школа управленческих практик базировалась на теориях теоретиков (П. Друкер, Г. Дэвис, Х. Дейл, А. Слоан-младший, Л. Эппли, А. Чандлер, Э. Петерсон, Э. Плуман) А. Коул, А. Свансон, У. Беннис, Т. Ливитт и др.) И содержали идеи классических школ поведения.

Школа социальных систем основана на системном подходе к организации государственного управления. Ключевые представители: С. Barnard, G. Simon, I. Ansoff, J. March et al. Они изучили общее структурное влияние ключевых компонентов системы управления друг на друга. Новая школа науки управления, которая отражает новейшие принципы теории и практики управления в США, основана на использовании математических методов и процессов принятия решений. Направления исследований в школе: Школа исследования операций (Р. Акофф, Д. Экман), Школа общей теоретической системы (У. Хитч, А. Энтховен, Ч. Шульц, Э. Квейд), Школа менеджмента в эконометрике (И. И. Мазур, А. Г. Поршнев, В. Д. Шапиро, Е. М. Коротков, Н. О. Лдерог и А. Ю. Забродин) [14, С. 67, 87].

Анализируя развитие его взглядов на эти школы управления, были определены семь основных

научных школ управления, каждая из которых имела период доминирования.

Что касается школ управления, основанных О. С. Виханским и А. И. Наумова можно выделить два основных типа образования: «одномерный» и «синтетический» [15, С. 46]. Их классификация основана на трех основных элементах системы управления – задачах, людях и управленческой деятельности. В зависимости от того, разработана ли теория управления в первую очередь для одного из этих трех элементов или сосредоточена на всех инструментах управления путем ее интеграции в интегрированную систему, идеи управления XX века также относятся к двум основным группам исследователей:

1) научный менеджмент – изучение основной проблемы (Ф. У. Тейлор); 2) нацеленность на обучение у людей [16, С. 31].

Школа человеческих отношений и исследований поведения, основание ученых (Э. Майо, В. Д. Скотт, М. П. Фоллетт, А. Маслоу, Д. Макгрегор). Организационные теории – ученые, которые учат, что успех компании определяется управлением организацией, изучением содержания деятельности и правильной организацией работы: (А. Файоль, М. Вибер).

Принципы управления обучением, четко различающие школы управления и подходы, очень сложны из-за разнообразия идей, теорий и концепций, представленных в книгах, поэтому их классификация является несколько условной. В России большинство учебников по школам управления (истории менеджмента) обычно считаются научной школой управления, классической (административной) школой, школой человеческих отношений и школой наук управления (количественной школой). Одной из основных методологических трудностей в классификации теорий управления является отсутствие идентификации источника, который следует понимать как школу управления.

В настоящее время среди исследователей школ государственного управления установлено, что

управление является результатом интеллектуального разделения труда при изучении и развитии процесса управления, а не различными концепциями и подходами и независимыми теориями. Методы составляют логически упорядоченную теорию.

Идея школ менеджмента как специальности впервые была интерпретирована в 1866 году американским бизнесменом Генри Робинсоном Тауном [17]. Таун основывал свои взгляды на необходимости подготовки специалистов-менеджеров на собрании Американского общества инженеров-механиков. Фредерик Тейлор (1856–1915), основатель классической школы научного управления. Основные взгляды Тейлора широко раскрыты в его книгах «Бизнес-администрирование» (1903) и «Основы научного менеджмента» (1911). Основной идеей Тейлора было быстрое развитие промышленности, дальнейшее развитие научных взглядов классической школы. Идеи Тейлора были продолжены французским инженером Анри Файолом [18]. (1841–1925), который обосновал формальное описание работы менеджеров и сделал свое предложение. Идеальный тип административной организации, автором которой является немецкий социолог Макс Вебер [19] (1864–1920), высоко оценил эвристическое значение классической организационной модели, называемой «бюрократией».

Идея Гегеля Вильгельма, основанная на знаменитом канадском философе Чарльзе Тейлоре, практически приводит к этому действию. Примером этого является глубокое влияние Гегеля на аналитическую традицию и ее превращение в обширную литературу. Школа человеческих отношений (гуманистическое управление) фокусируется на психологии отношений, поведении и потребностях людей, социальных отношениях и групповых интересах [20].

В школе есть три сферы: человеческие отношения, человеческие ресурсы и поведение. (Мунстерберг Гуго, Элтон Мейо, А. Маслоу). Считается, что этот принцип был основан Элтоном Мейо, осно-

вателем школы человеческих отношений (1880–1945). Тогда это было потрясающее открытие, исследующее зависимость производительности труда от физических аспектов (например, света). Это было предсказано британской леди Мэри Фоллетт (1868–1933) еще до того, как Элтон Мейо достиг практических результатов после многочисленных исследований. Теория управления, как указывает Фоллетт, должна основываться на достижениях научной психологии, а не на интуитивных представлениях о природе человека и мотивах его поведения. Исторический метод широко используется при изучении государственного управления (например, использование исторических данных для выявления тенденций в государственном управлении), он требует применения конкретных социологических методов и приемов (опросов, интервью, опросов общественного мнения), социально-качественных методы исследования (например, определение социальных выплат работникам), правовые (изучение нормативных документов, регулирующих государственное управление), сравнительное правоведение (сравнение зарубежных моделей управления).

Государственное регулирование экономики представляет собой систему законодательных, исполнительных и регулирующих мер, осуществляемых соответствующими компетентными государственными учреждениями и общественными организациями с целью адаптации существующей социально-экономической системы к меняющимся условиям.

Государственное управление экономикой – это комплекс мер со стороны государственных органов, направленных на регулирование и поддержку социально-экономических процессов общества, обеспечение экономического роста и необходимого уровня активности страны. Задача исследования по данной теме – определить необходимость широкого и узкого взгляда на государственное управление. В широком смысле государственное управление означает прямое осуществление го-

сударственной власти: принятие и исполнение публичных решений, контроль за соблюдением правопорядка в обществе. В узком смысле это понимается как исполнительная и административная деятельность органов публичного управления, направленная на регулирование процессов, событий и отношений, касающихся общественной жизни.

Социально детерминированная деятельность государственного управления представляет собой сложную организационную систему, направленную на удовлетворение потребностей граждан. Можно констатировать, что «Стратегию действий по пяти приоритетным направлениям развития Республики Узбекистан», разработанную Президентом Ш. М. Мирзиевым, можно считать новой современной школой, о которой мечтали создатели школ государственного и государственного управления, которые были разработаны на протяжении многих веков.

Подводя итог историческому опыту, полученному в период независимости, с учетом актуальных проблем, новая эра исторического развития открылась на ближайшие пять лет и далее. Не будет преувеличением сказать, что это открыло совершенно новую страницу в современной истории Узбекистана.

В заключение, государственное управление, это влияет на системы государства и общества; это определяется материальными и культурными связями. Это свидетельствует о том, что, с одной стороны, его цели и содержание зависят от состояния и структуры государственного управления социальными процессами, с другой стороны, от места и роли государства в обществе, то есть от взаимоотношений и характера отдельных государственных органов.

Особенность нашего народа в том, что это нация, склонная к справедливости, компромиссу, открытости и искренности. Это творческая нация, которая может продемонстрировать свои новые возможности посредством активного сознательного управления, продемонстрировать

свой высокий моральный, этический, духовный и интеллектуальный потенциал.

Именно это настроение, характер и национальный дух людей тепло приветствуют построение открытого общества и тот факт, что эти отношения между людьми и государством являются здоровыми и взаимно доверительными, основанными на четких целях и национальных интересах.

По мере усиления этого морального и духовного аспекта он укрепит новый современный дух в обществе, способный добиться значительного прогресса, качественного обновления и создания великого будущего для Узбекистана. Таким образом, в Узбекистане начался период разработки стратегии обновления, которая соответствует современным требованиям и основывается на долгосрочных, четких целях.

Список литературы:

1. Karang. 2017–2021 jillarda Uzbekiston Respublikasini rivozhlantirishning beshta ustuvor junalishi bujicha, Harakatlar strategiyasini va “halk bilan mulokot va inson manfaatlari jili”da amalga oshirish Davlat dasturini urganish bujicha ilmiy-uslubiy risola.–T.: “Ma”naviyat”. 2018.– B. 23–24.
2. Mirziyoev Sh. M. Buyuk kelazhagimizni mard va olizhanob halkimiz bilan birga kuramiz.– T.: “Uzbekiston” NMIU, 2017.– 439 b.
3. Mirziyoev Sh. M. Millij tarakkiyot julimizni kat"iyat bilan davom ettirib, yangi boskichga kutaramiz.– T. 1.– T.: “Uzbekiston” NMIU, 2017.– 590 b.
4. Mirziyoev Sh. M. Halkimizning roziligi bizning faoliyatimizga berilgan eng olij bahodir.– T. 2.– T.: “Uzbekiston” NMIU, 2018.– 507 b.
5. Mirziyoev Sh. M. Niyati ulur halkning ishi ham ulur, hayoti yorur va kelazhagi farovon buladi.– T. 3.– T.: “Uzbekiston” NMIU, 2019.– 396 b.
6. Anri Fajol' – francuzskij gornyj inzhener, teoretik i praktik menedzhmenta, osnovatel' administrativnoj shkoly upravleniya.
7. Amir Temur. Temur tuzuklari.– T.: Gafur Gulom nomidagi Adabiyot va san"at naryoti, 1996.– 73 b.
8. Al'gin A. P., Achkasov V. A., Barygin I. N., i dr. Gosudarstvenna politika i upravleniya // Otvetstvennyj redaktor Smorgunov Leonid Vladimirovich doktor filosofskij nauk, professor.– M.: Yurajt. 2018.
9. Berunij Abu Rajhon. Hindiston // Tanlangan asarlar.– T. 2.– T.: “Fan”, 1965.– 406 b.
10. Vseobshchaya istoriya menedzhmenta: ucheb. posobie / pod obshch. red. I. I. Mazura.– Moskva: ELIMA, 2007.– 46 s.
11. Vihanskij O. S., Naumov A. I. Menedzhment: ucheb. 3-e izd.– Moskva: Gardariki, 2003.– S. 44–58. // Vihanskij O. S., Naumov A. I. Menedzhment: chelovek, strategiya, organizaciya, process.– Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1995.– 415 s.
12. Golubev K. I. Menezhment tarihi: insonlashtirish tendenciyasi. – Sankt-Peterburg: Yuridik markazning matbuoti, 2003 jil.
13. Georg Vil'gel'm Fridrih Gegel' – nemeckij filosof, odin iz tvorcov filosofii nemeckogo idealizma.
14. Dzhordzh Elton Mejo (1880–1949) – amerikanskij sociolog, osnovopolozhnik shkoly chelovecheskih otnoshenij osnovatel' industrial'noj sociologii.
15. Kessidi F. H. Sokrat.– M., 1976.
16. Ksenofont. Sokraticheskie sochineniya.– M.; L., 1935.– S. 46–47.
17. Myunsterberg Gugo «otec industrial'noj psixologii», avtor knigi «Psixologiya i effektivnost' promyshlennosti», storonnik nauchnogo menedzhmenta.

18. Mescon M. H., Albert M., Heduri F. Boshkaruv asoslari: trans. ingliz tilidan – Moskva: Ish, 2005.– S. 67–87.
19. Maksimilian Karl Emíl' Veber, izvestnyj kak Maks Veber – nemeckij sociolog, filosof, istorik, politicheskij ekonomist. Idei Vebera okazali znachitel'noe vliyanie na razvitie obshchestvennyh nauk, v osobennosti – sociologii.
20. Nizomulmulk, Abu Ali, Siyosatnoma.– T.: “Yangi asr avlodi”, 2008.– 138 s.
21. Nersesyanc V. S. Sokrat.– M., 1977.
22. Platon. Gosudarstvo. Antichnaya filosofiya / V. F. Asmus.– M.: Vysshaya shkola, 1976.– 543 s. // Platon. Gosudarstvo // Sochineniya: v 3 t.– M., 1971.– T. 3.– Ch. 1. – 159 s.
23. Samarkandij Abdurazzok. Matlai sa'dajn va mazhmai bahrajn.– T.: “Fan”, 1969.– 317 b.
24. Sedlak M. Sushchnost' i sodержanie teorii menedzhmenta // Problemy teorii i praktiki upravleniya. 1997.– № 5.– S. 107–112.
25. Forobij Abu Nasr. Fozil odamlar shahri.– T.: A. Kodirij nomidagi halk merosi nashryoti, 1993.– B. 32–33.
26. Taun G. prezident manufakturnoj kompanii “Jel' end Taun” na ezhegodnom sobranii Amerikanskogo obshchestva inzhenerov-mekhanikov (ASME) predstavil doklad na temu “Inzhener kak ekonomist”.
27. Charl'z Mak Artur Gankaj Tejlor – liberijskij gosudarstvennyj i politicheskij deyatel', Prezident Liberii. Tejlor yavlyalsya odnim iz samyh vliyatel'nyh polevyh komandirov Zapadnoj Afriki; klyuchevaya figura v razvyazyvanii Pervoj grazhdanskoj vojny v Liberii.

Section 3. Study of art

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-19-22>

*Gun Veidi,
post graduate student at the Department of Fine Arts,
Musicology and Cultural Studies
Sumy State A. S. Makarenko Pedagogical University, Ukraine
E-mail: akosorich@gmail.com*

THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF STUDENTS' CONDUCTOR TRAINING TO WORK WITH THE CHOIR

Abstract. The article provides a theoretical analysis of the conductor training of students to work with the choir; the influential scientific approaches (philosophical, pedagogical, cultural, art history) are revealed, on the basis of which the content of the concepts “conductor training”, “artistic training”, “musical training”, professional training “is generalized. In order to disseminate the theoretical and methodological base, the author’s interpretation of the concept of “conductor training of students to work with a choir” is proposed.

Keywords: theoretical analysis, conducting training, students, choir, artistic training, musical training, future conductors.

*Гун Вейди,
аспирантка кафедры изобразительного искусства,
музыковедения и культурологии
Сумского государственного педагогического университета
имени А. С. Макаренко, Украина
E-mail: akosorich@gmail.com*

ТЕОРЕТИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ ДИРИЖЕРСКОЙ ПОДГОТОВКИ СТУДЕНТОВ К РАБОТЕ С ХОРОМ

Аннотация. В статье осуществлен теоретический анализ дирижерской подготовки студентов к работе с хором; раскрыты влиятельные научные подходы (философский, педагогический, культурологический, искусствоведческий), на основе которых обобщенно содержание понятий «дирижерская подготовка», «художественная подготовка», «музыкальная подготовка», профессиональная подготовка». С целью распространения теоретико-методологической базы предложено авторское толкование понятия «дирижерская подготовка студентов к работе с хором».

Ключевые слова: теоретический анализ, дирижерская подготовка, студенты, хор, художественная подготовка, музыкальная подготовка, будущие дирижеры.

Эффективным инструментом развития общества является подготовка высококвалифицированных кадров по различным специальностям, процесс которого исследуют с общенаучных, философских, музыковедческих, музыкально-педагогических и социокультурных позиций. Понятие «дирижерская подготовка» широко используют в научной теории и практике, оно имеет широкий спектр определений, в которых интегрированы особенности различных научных и отдельно профессиональных отраслей. Широкое использование термина «дирижерская подготовка» в научной и отраслевой литературе определило главную *цель статьи* – систематизировать научные подходы к интерпретации его содержания; определить сущность ключевых понятий исследования – «художественная подготовка», «музыкальная подготовка» «профессиональная подготовка», «дирижерская подготовка студентов к работе с хором», что обусловлено различными подходами к анализу определенных явлений и необходимостью их обобщения и систематизации.

Проблемы подготовки дирижеров на разных уровнях музыкального образования раскрыто в трудах украинских ученых: инновационные технологии музыкально-педагогического образования (Е. Абдуллин, О. Еременко, Е. Кучменко, Г. Падалка, А. Ростовский, О. Рудницкая, В. Шульгина и др.). Анализ отечественной и зарубежной специализированной литературы и диссертационных работ, освещающих актуальные вопросы подготовки дирижеров, дает основания констатировать, что основательного искусствоведческого исследования, в котором было бы рассмотрена специфика подготовки студентов к работе с хором мало.

В украинском педагогическом словаре С. Гончаренко понятие «профессиональная подготовка» рассматривается как действие по значению подготовить; запас знаний, навыков, опыт и т.д., при-

обретенный в процессе обучения, практической деятельности [3, С. 241]. Вместе с тем понятие «профессиональная подготовка» автор рассматривает как явление историческое, задачи и направления которого меняются в результате социально-экономических трансформаций [3, С. 364].

В философском аспекте А. Мудрик выделяет четыре аспекта содержательной характеристики профессиональной подготовки, а именно: ценностные характеристики личности; систему уровней и профилей, учебных заведений; процесс движения от целей к результату, субъект-объектное и субъект-субъектное взаимодействия педагога со студентами, которые по мере все более активного, глубокой и всесторонней участия в процессе обучения.

Становится понятным, что профессиональная подготовка охватывает комплекс культурных, социальных, ментальных ценностей и личностных, профессиональных качеств, которые приобретает человек в процессе обучения.

Обобщая различные научные подходы к определению понятия «профессиональная подготовка», содержание этого термина интерпретируем как *полисодержательный, организованный учебно-воспитательный процесс, направленный на всестороннее развитие личности в определенной сфере образования*. Рассматривая художественную подготовку как самостоятельную отрасль общей образовательной системы О. Рудницкая определяет комплекс ее особенностей, которые заключаются в изменении акцентов в соотношении типичных диалоговых пар, в которых приоритетом становятся [5, С. 29]. Становится ясным, что искусство имеет широкий вектор воздействия на личность и может выступать основой развития творческой индивидуальности как будущих, так и работающих педагогов разных художественных специальностей, в том числе и преподавателей других профилей.

Актуальным направлением методологических поисков в сфере художественной подготовки становится дискурс по развитию ее отдельных составляющих. Так, в течение второй половины XX века внимание искусствоведов и педагогов сфокусировано на явлении музыкальной подготовки.

Определение понятия «музыкальная подготовка» представлен в работе А. Ростовского «Теория и методика музыкального образования» [7]. Автор на основе сопоставления музыкально-педагогических категорий (музыкальное развитие, музыкальное обучение, музыкальное воспитание), которые в кругах ученых характеризуются как синонимы предлагает собственную интерпретацию содержания термина «музыкальная подготовка».

Так, музыкальное обучение, по А. Ростовскому, – «это процесс взаимодействия учителя и учащихся с целью передачи одним и усвоения другими опыта музыкальной деятельности, как составляющей содержания социального опыта» [7, С. 11]. Отметим, что система музыкальной подготовки состоит из отдельных структурных компонентов, которые отличаются по видам музыкальной деятельности: теоретического, музыковедческих, инструментального, хорового, вокального, дирижерского. Последний – предмет нашего исследования, ведь дирижерскую практику понимаем как неотъемлемую составляющую музыкального искусства.

Понятие «дирижерская подготовка» в последнее время широко используют в области музыковедения, однако исследователь Ю. Болотов признает, что в отечественном музыковедении существует незначительное количество работ, посвященных музыкально-теоретическим аспектам дирижерской области [1]. Рассматривая дирижерскую подготовку, Н. Жаворонок акцентирует внимание на понятии «музыкальное исполнительство», раскрывая социально-воспитательную функцию художественно-творческого процесса дирижеров. В этом смысле Е. Устименко-Косорич рассматривает музыкальное исполнительство как

самостоятельное явление, имеющее собственные исторические истоки, выдающихся представителей, социокультурный статус и формы художественно-творческого выявления и отождествляет его с такими музыкально-педагогическими понятиями, как музыкально-исполнительская деятельность, музыкально исполнительские процесс [8]. Указанные понятия непосредственно связаны с феноменом музыкального исполнительства, составляют содержательную компоненту понятий, освещающих процесс формирования исполнительского мастерства будущих специалистов музыкально-педагогического профиля, систему, в которой воспитывают дирижеров, а именно дирижерскую подготовку.

Итак, учитывая научные взгляды исследователей, понятие «дирижерская подготовка» интерпретируем так: это учебно-воспитательная система музыкантов дирижеров, которые объединены в творческую общность для достижения высокого уровня профессионального мастерства в сфере исполнительства и хоровой деятельности. Условиями эффективного обеспечения дирижерской подготовки, по нашему мнению, должны стать: совершенство ее организации, сохранение традиций, последовательность внедрения инновационных методов обучения.

На основе анализа концептуальных положений исследователей предлагаем собственную интерпретацию понятия дирижерская подготовка студентов к работе с хором: *это сложный, многоуровневый, многокомпонентный процесс с динамической структурой и системой взаимосвязанных мотивационных, нравственных, волевых, психических и творческих качеств и способностей субъектов учебного процесса. уровень освоения которыми обеспечивает эффективность и способность осознания студентами коллективного творчества, становится механизмом их использования в будущей профессиональной деятельности.*

Анализ педагогических, философских и культурологических научных трудов позволил

раскрыть содержания таких понятий: «профессиональная подготовка», «художественная подготовка», «музыкальная подготовка» «дирижерская подготовка». Результаты теоретического анализа указанных понятий создали основу для определения ключевого понятия нашей работы «дирижерская подготовка студентов к работе с хором», которое мы понимаем как сложный, многоуровневый, многокомпонентный процесс с динамической структурой и системой взаимосвязанных мотивационных,

нравственных, волевых, психических и творческих качеств, способностей субъектов учебного процесса, уровень овладения которыми обеспечивает эффективность и способность осознания студентами коллективного творчества, становится механизмом их использования в будущей профессиональной деятельности. Определение указанных понятий может пополнить теоретическую базу в области музыкальной педагогики и искусствоведения, которая до сих пор остается на стадии разработки.

Список литературы:

1. Bolotov Yu. V. Ispolnitel'skaya i pedagogicheskaya deyatel'nost' A. N. Esipovoj v kontekste otechestvennogo fortepiannogo iskusstva: avtoref. dis. na soisk. uchen. step. kand. iskusstvovedeniya: spec. 17.00.02 «Muzykal'noe iskusstvo» – SPb., 2008. – 22 s.
2. Gural'nik N. P. Ukrains'ka fortepianna shkola HH stolittya u konteksti rozvitku teorii i praktiki muzichnoi osviti: dis. ... d-ra ped. nauk: 13.00.01 – K., 2008. – 503 s.
3. Goncharenko S. U. Ukrains'kij pedagogichnij slovník. – K.: Libid', 1997. – 376 s.
4. Zhajvoronok N. B. Muzichne vikonavstvo yak fenomen muzichnoi kul'turi: dis. ... kand. mistectvoznavstva: 17.0.01. – K., 2006. – 188 s.
5. Rudnic'ka O. P. Pedagogika: zagal'na ta mistec'ka: navch. posib. – T.: Navch. kn. Bogdan, 2005. – 360 s.
6. Mudrik A. V. Social'naya pedagogika: ucheb. dlya studentov ped. vuzov / pod red. V. A. Slastenina. – 3-e izd., ispr. i dop. – M.: Akademiya, 2000. – 200 s.
7. Rostovs'kij O. Ya. Rozvitok shkil'noi muzichnoi osviti v Ukraini (HH – pochatok HH st.) // Mistec'ka osvita v Ukraini: teoriya i praktika / O. P. Rudnic'ka ta in.; zag. red. O. V. Mihajlichenko; red. G. Yu. Nikolai. – Sumi: SumDPU im. A. S. Makarenka, 2010. – S. 209–238.
8. Ustimenko-Kosorich O. A. Serbs'ka bayanno-akordeonna shkola: istoriya ta suchasnist': monografiya. – Vid-vo DZ «LNU imeni Tarasa Shevchenka», 2013. – 352 s.

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-23-26>

*Kysla Svitlana Viktorivna,
Honored Artist of Ukraine, Associate Professor,
Department of Academic Singing and Choral Conducting
R. Glier Kyiv municipal academy of music
E-mail: homo_musikus@ukr.net*

THE IMAGE OF JOSE FROM GEORGES BIZET'S OPERA "CARMEN", INTERPRETED BY PLACIDO DOMINGO

Abstract. The principles of the acting of Placido Domingo and the features of his vocal interpretation of the part of Jose from J. Bizet's opera "Carmen" are considered. The uniqueness of P. Domingo's performance interpretation is argued. It is proved that in the Jose opera part organically synthesized vocal-style techniques of romanticism, verisma, realism in the context of the traditions of the Italian classical bel canto.

Keywords: opera vocals, singing phenomenon, dramatic tenor, lyric tenor, timbre.

*Кислая Светлана Викторовна,
Заслуженная артистка Украины, доцент,
кафедра «Академическое пение и хоровое дирижирование»
Киевская муниципальная академия музыки им. Р. Глиера
E-mail: homo_musikus@ukr.net*

ОБРАЗ ХОСЕ ИЗ ОПЕРЫ ЖОРЖА БИЗЕ «КАРМЕН» В ИНТЕРПРЕТАЦИИ ПЛАСИДО ДОМИНГО

Аннотация. Рассмотрены принципы актерской игры Пласидо Доминго и особенности его вокальной трактовки партии Хосе из оперы Ж. Бизе «Кармен». Аргументирована уникальность исполнительской трактовки П. Доминго. Доказано, что в оперной партии Хосе органично синтезированы вокально-стилевые приемы романтизма, веризма, реализма в контексте традиций итальянского классического bel canto.

Ключевые слова: оперный вокал, певческий феномен, драматический тенор, лирический тенор, тембр.

Импульсом для написания этой статьи послужил недавний приезд великого Маэстро Пласидо Доминго в Киев, впечатления от его выступления в качестве дирижера и мастер-класса в Национальной музыкальной академии Украины имени П. Чайковского, его безоговорочная победа над страшным диагнозом COVID-19 в марте 2020 года. Достойна восхищения активная твор-

ческая форма великого тенора (певец 1941 года рождения) и универсальность его таланта, раскрытого в ипостасях пианиста, дирижёра и оперного певца, реализовавшего на музыкально-театральной сцене значительную меру своего актёрского мастерства. Бесценен вклад, который внёс П. Доминго в сокровищницу вокального исполнительства. Ещё со времен дебюта в шестнадцатилетнем

возрасте в операх Дж. Верди «Риголетто» (партия Борса) и Фр. Пуленка «Диалоги кармелиток» (партия Капеллана) творческий потенциал знаменитого певца продолжает расти, охватывая все сферы академической и популярной культуры. Отметим огромную заслугу в развитии таланта П. Доминго его родителей, которые были певцами испанского Театра сарсуэлы. Певец выступает во всех ведущих театрах мира; снимается в фильмах у знаменитых режиссёров – таких как Франко Дзеффирелли; сотрудничает с выдающимися дирижёрами, среди них – Риккардо Мути, Зубин Мета, Клаудио Аббадо, Джеймс Ливайн.

В репертуаре П. Доминго более 134 оперных партий. Мировой масштаб личности и уникальные черты вокально-драматического творчества Пласидо Доминго, которые позволяют преодолеть сложность задач, возникающих в связи с исполнением драматических партий, а также отсутствие методической литературы по этим вопросам обусловили актуальность нашей статьи.

О великом теноре написано множество статей, критических отзывов, рецензий, интервью. Однако, научная литература о вокальном творчестве Пласидо Доминго на сегодня отсутствует. Единственная работа – тезисы диссертации известного вокалиста Андреа Бочелли, в которых освещаются некоторые интерпретационные особенности вокальных партий П. Доминго [5]. Ценной для раскрытия нашей темы оказывается автобиографическая книга П. Доминго «Мои первые сорок лет» [2]. Полезным источником сведений о личности и психотипе вокалиста является книга Р. Амона – журналиста, верного поклонника певца [1]. Единичная научная статья «Феноменальный Пласидо Доминго» принадлежит Т. Калиновской [4]. Она сосредоточена на позициях исследования феномена вокалиста. В целом, личностные и психологические аспекты П. Доминго освещены в литературе достаточно полно, но при этом моменты интерпретации ведущих теноровых оперных партий совершенно не

исследованы. Цель статьи – выявить характерные особенности исполнительского стиля П. Доминго на примере партии Хосе из оперы Бизе «Кармен». Основные методы исследования в работе: аналитический и компаративный.

Теноровый тембр – это «зона перехода», лежащая между мужскими и женскими голосами, «голос промежуточный, в некотором смысле “двуполюсный”, в чём-то мужской, а в чём-то женский» [3, 37]. Нижняя октава сопрано точно соответствует по частотному диапазону центра и верхнему регистру тенора. Пласидо Доминго выходит за эти рамки, соединяя противоположное: он является одновременно «вердиевским» лирико-драматическим и «вагнеровским» тенором. Он обладает неповторимой индивидуальностью, у певца прекрасная фразировка, сила голоса, чувственность, красота, изысканность, благородство, характер. Укажем особенности драматического и лирического тенора. В его прочтении драматический – отличается мощным центром и «крупным верхом» шкалы диапазона. Приведём примеры драматических партий Доминго: Канио из оперы Р. Леонкавалло «Паяцы», Отелло из одноименной оперы Дж. Верди, Хосе из оперы Ж. Бизе «Кармен», Каварадосси из оперы Дж. Пуччини «Тоска», Радамес из оперы Дж. Верди «Аида», принц Калаф из оперы Дж. Пуччини «Турандот», Дик Джонс из оперы Дж. Пуччини «Девушка с Запада». Лирический тенор – «высокий тенор»: он относительно легко берёт верхние ноты диапазона, красота такого голоса раскрывается в лирических партиях с высокой тесситурой. Множество прекрасных партий, в которых блистал П. Доминго как лирический тенор: Надир из оперы Бизе «Искатели жемчуга», Ленский из оперы Чайковского «Евгений Онегин», Индийский гость из оперы Римского-Корсакова «Садко». П. Доминго относится к тем, кто нашёл особенный тембр в своей неповторимой технике, сочетая идеальные параметры дыхания, артикуляции, подачи звука. Также у певца превос-

ходные физические данные, он очень вынослив. Пласидо Доминго легко перевоплощается в разные роли, его актёрская игра основана на системе Станиславского, которую он изучил в совершенстве [2, 185].

Партия Хосе в опере «Кармен» – одно из ярчайших творений на театральной сцене в карьере певца. Дебют состоялся в 1960-х гг. в США на сцене театра Метрополитен-опера. Актёрские особенности роли певец апробировал в 1984 году на съемках одноименного фильма режиссёра Фр. Рози. П. Доминго воссоздаёт особенный образ Хосе как персонажа, вначале закрытого от внешнего мира, а по ходу драматургии оперы ярко раскрывает и преобразует его образ. По степени актерской убедительности и вокальной проработки Хосе в трактовке П. Доминго соперничает с образом главной героини.

В его собственной оперной трактовке сложилась определённая традиция воплощения партии Хосе, которой вокалист следует неуклонно: экспозиционные вокальные реплики Хосе-Доминго сдержанны, интровертны. Отсутствие эмпатийной реакции на яркую героиню (Кармен) оправданы и подчинены идее верности долгу солдатской службы и моральным ценностям (олицетворяемые образами матери, Микаэлы). В I действии оперы Хосе выстраивает некий защитный психологический барьер ровной линией своей партии и это очень необычная трактовка роли. В сцене сегидильи он все-же проникается очарованием и дикой страстью Кармен. Меняются его интонация, тембр, динамика. Полная метаморфоза происходит в сцене сговора с Кармен: находясь во власти женских чар, Хосе выпускает её из тюрьмы вопреки закону. Доминго показывает самоотверженность своего персонажа, и это отражается не только во внешнем облике героя, в его взгляде, жестах и модели поведения, но и накладывает отпечаток на звукоизвлечение: в голосе вокалиста превалируют стальные и уверенные звуки. Дуэт героев из II действия показывает раз-

ительную метаморфозу вокальной подачи П. Доминго: в его образе (и динамике, звуковедении) нет более холодной учтивости и показного безразличия. Характер звучания голоса Доминго – экспрессивный, подверженный мимолётным всплескам агрессии, жёсткости. Обращает внимание контрастная динамика, которой мастерски владеет вокалист и намеренное использование стилистики веризма. Роль певца драматургически выведена, ибо в любовном восторженном пении певец точно, но явно прибегает к звуковому выражению отчаяния (драматические всплески, нарочитое алогичное дыхание в кантиленных построениях), знаменующем роковую несбыточность его желаний. В сцене «Кармен с кастаньетами» вокальные реплики П. Доминго становятся более отрывистыми, похожими на крики вызывающего о помощи, они чередуются с интонациями мольбы. Центральное значение в данной сцене приобретает «Ария с цветком», решенная певцом в стилистике романтизма. Эту арию Доминго исполняет с максимальной теплотой и нежностью. Его голос словно обволакивает слушателей своим бархатным тембром. Томное и тягучее *legato* становится основным средством выразительности во всех вокальных фразах его арии. При этом певец сочетает нежность с чувством печали, которая ясно читается в звучании арии Хосе. Исполнитель удачно выдерживает эмоциональный баланс между ностальгическими воспоминаниями и тревогой за будущее любовных отношений. Преображается Хосе в тот момент, когда Кармен начинает его дразнить, видя своё превосходство и свою власть над ним. П. Доминго мастерски показывает в партии постепенно закипающую злобу героя, не просто пропевая фразы, а словно «выплёвывая» их» [2, 120]. В III действии безумие, охватившее Хосе, нарастает. За короткий срок герой Доминго потерял всё, что было ему дорого. Среди актерских и исполнительских задач певца – реалистично показать личную трагедию этого человека.

Обладая прекрасными вокальными возможностями, Доминго, тем не менее, сумел изобразить усталого от невзгод судьбы солдата с помощью тусклого голоса, будто потерявшего все свои тембровые краски. В развязке оперы – финале IV действия, П. Доминго превращает Хосе в истинного безумца с маниакальным взглядом. Жалкий вид героя и презрение Кармен, тщетная борьба за счастье вызывают к жизни приемы ярчайшего контраста в звукоизвлечении, динамике, экста-тично-экспрессивного или моляще-ламентозно-

го типов интонирования П. Доминго. Его тембр приобретает контрастное звучание, это либо «стальное», либо – *sprechstimme*, *sprechgesang*, которое постепенно доходит до взрывных кульминационных точек.

Отметим, что уникальность исполнительской трактовки П. Доминго оперной партии Хосе сопряжена с мастерским использованием вокально-стилевых красок романтизма, веризма, реализма при полном и абсолютном господстве лучших традиций итальянского классического *bel canto*.

References:

1. Amon R. *Plasido Domingo genij mirovoj sceny* / per. s isp. A. Mirolyubovoj, A. Gorbovoj. SPb.: Azbuka, Azbuka-Attikus, 2012. – 321 s.
2. Domingo P. *Moi pervye sorok let.* – Moskva: Kompozitor, 2012. – 254 s.
3. Ivanov A. *Iskusstvo peniya.* – Moskva: Golos-press, 2006. – 436 s.
4. Kalinovskaya T. *Fenomenal'nyj Plasido Domingo* [Elektronnyj resurs] // Russianin. URL: <http://rusinn.com/rubriki/lyudi/fenomenal-placido-domingo.html> (Data obrashcheniya: 18.07.2020).
5. Andrea Bocelli Ph.D. thesis *The Value and Meaning of Opera Singing at the Beginning of the Third Millennium. The Conservatory of Music, Giacomo Puccini in La Spezia, Italy.* URL: <https://www.billboard.com/articles/news/5763005/andrea-bocelli-to-receive-masters-degree> (dostup 16.07.2020).

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-27-30>

Lysenko Natalia,
*applicant of the Department of Theoretical and Applied Cultural Studies
 of the Odessa A. V. Nezhdanova National Music Academy*
E-mail: natali_milova@ukr.net

THE SOURCES OF THE MYTHOPOETIC IMAGES OF THE CANTATA-ORATORIO WORKS OF S. PROKOFIEV

Abstract. The article is devoted to the mythopoetic foundations of the choral works of the outstanding composer of the 20th century – Sergey Prokofiev. The author of the article proposes a typology of Prokofiev’s choral music, and reveals the archaic and Christian roots of the verbal-musical language of a number of cantatas and oratorios of the composer.

Keywords: choral music, S. Prokofiev, cantata, oratorio, mythopoetics.

The vocal and choral works of S. Prokofiev represent the personality and work of the outstanding composer of the 20th century from the point of view of his spiritual and religious strivings in the context of the spirit of his contemporary era. Both pre-Christian and Christian constants, including the hagiographic and mythopoetic foundation of the Orthodox Christian tradition, act as the mythopoetic, archetypal and spiritual-semantic foundation of Prokofiev’s choral music. The category “mythopoetic” in relation to musical works was proposed and developed by the researcher G. Denisenko in his dissertation “Mythopoetic as the aesthetic foundation of symbolism in musical works” [1]. Here we find the following definition of the mythopoetics: “the mythopoetic” appears as a general aesthetic category, the content of which expresses the myth as a special form of spiritual reality and integrity, creating on its basis a unique poetics of artistic works, adequately embodied in music» [1, P. 6].

Prokofiev’s cantatas and oratorios, within the framework of the so-called “big style” of Soviet music of the 30s – 50s, act as a universal genre sphere, performing a kind of “new religious mission” based on the spiritual and religious music of the past and are characterized by the “illumination” of eternal themes and archetypes.

Soviet mythology, based on archaic pre-Christian mythological principles, was embodied through **folklorization** in **folklore images** (through verbal and musical components – epic genres, ritualism, lament, lyrics, urban melodiousnesses; as well as through the timbre semantics of a low female voice in the embodiment of the Mother archetype). The mythopoetic imagery of Prokofiev’s choral music has also found its embodiment thanks to the active use of **Christian religious symbolism** (glorification, hagiography), which is refracted through Orthodox verbal and musical signs. Among them: the intonation of the **Znamenny Chant** in the description of the hagiographic image of Prince Alexander Nevsky and the image of the Moscow Tsar Ivan the Terrible; spiritual foundations of cantatas and oratorios, chorality of texture, reliance on the genre of cant and choral concert, bell-ringing, timbre of children’s voices as a sign of the lofty angelic beginning, the hero-sufferer in The Ballad on a child, glorious-hallelujah melodies, Old Testament and New Testament allusions (the idea of revenge as the embodiment of the “eye for an eye” principle, the national unity as the family of the Christ, etc.).

The embodiment of the images of the Leader, Father, Mother, Hero in the mode of hymn glorification in the genres of oratorio and cantata was archetypal

for the East Slavic mentality, counting the Soviet period; it performs the function of popularization of religious symbols and even a new religion ("religion of the masses") with a particular reinterpretation of traditional Christian rituals.

Based on the achievements of predecessors in the cantata-oratorio genre (the official laudatory solo and choral cantata of the 18th century, the dramatized chamber and solemn glorifying cantata of the 19th century, the lyric-philosophical cantata of Taneev and its spiritual-epic "model" in the heritage of Rimsky-Korsakov), Prokofiev in his monumental choral works forms four meaningful and expressive types.

The first type is associated with the spiritual search for Russian symbolism and cosmism, the core of which was the Christian religious model and ancient religious and mythological traditions. These spiritual origins found their expression in the ecstatic cantata *They are seven*, where there is a Dionysian eschatological version of romantic myth-thinking. The Chaldean magical incantatory practice, embodied in the cantata using the principle of ostinato of various kinds – in the poetry (refrain of words) and music (organ point, frequent intonation repetitions, intonation-incantatory exclamations), becomes the source of mythopoetics of the composition. Let us note the use of sharply expressive expressionist means in the music to convey the gloomy trance character of the ancient Chaldean spell (specific "sonorous" choral techniques, complicated harmonic, rhythmic language and orchestral style).

The second type of Prokofiev's choral music is associated with the historical-hagiographic aspect of Prokofiev's legacy, which is presented in the cantata *Alexander Nevsky* and in the music for the film *Ivan the Terrible*, later arranged in the form of an oratorio. In both works, the composer appeals to well-known historical figures, whose ideas and mythological "halo" were in demand in Soviet history in the 30s and 40s. At the same time, each of them left a very noticeable mark in the spiritual history of Russia at the level of the defenders of Orthodoxy. Particularly indicative in

this regard is the figure of Alexander Nevsky, canonized by the Orthodox Church. For all the historicity, "cinematic qualities" of the cantata and the events underlying it, the composer builds the intonational and dramatic plan of this work, relying on one of the basic theses of his activity: "My work is beyond time and space" [2, P. 42], thus appealing to the eternal spiritual values, which are manifested primarily in the confrontation between Good and Evil. At the intonation level, this opposition is realized through the opposition of the vocal-melodic factor with the entire breadth of its folklore and spiritual genesis and fundamental amelodism (characterization of the enemy as the personification of evil). The Orthodox Christian origin is also noted at the level of temporal parameters (an appeal to the era of the Christian Middle Ages) and a complex of expressive means used in the description of mentioned above historical figures. The foundation of the musical language of the mentioned above choral works is the synthesis of folklore sources (epic, lullabies, lyric genres of Slavic folklore) and Old Russian monody (intonation characteristic of Ivan the Terrible, an expert in echoes chant and creator of a number of stichera).

The third type is represented by a group of cantatas, in which the glorifying mythopoetics of Soviet culture was embodied (cantatas for the 20th and 30th anniversary of October, the cantata *Zdravitsa* and the suite *Songs of Our Days*), in which the aesthetics of socialist realism are clearly felt. The specified aspect of Prokofiev's mythopoetics is associated with the qualities of **monumentality**, which embodied the idea of the greatness and significance of a totalitarian regime and the state, **folk character** designed to reflect the organic nature, integrity, simplicity of a new life, **heroic realism** as a representation of the dynamic beginning, closely related to the archetypal images of the Cultural Hero in the refraction of the Soviet mentality with activism characteristic of the Hero and extreme polarization of cultural values. At the same time, the Hero appears as the builder of a new life, who overcomes

all obstacles and conquers all enemies. Here Prokofiev's quasi-folklorism is clearly demonstrated (for example, in his address to seven folklore song texts of different nation that were part of the USSR in the cantata *Zdravitsa*, as well as in obvious connections with various genres of peasant and urban folklore, with Soviet mass songs). The quasi-folklorism of Prokofiev's choral works serve as the idea of internationalism, behind which is the Christian idea to bring together all peoples into a single family based on the faith of Christ ("There is neither Jew, no Greek," according to the Apostle Paul).

The fourth type is associated with the embodiment of the theme of childhood in the choral music of S. Prokofiev (*On Guard for Peace* (oratorio), *Ballad of a Boy Who Remained Unknown*, *Winter Bonfire* (suite)). The mythologeme of "happy childhood" is significant in Soviet culture, since it embodies the conscious orientation of the culture towards childhood as the ideal state of the Soviet person. The discourse of childhood is one of the most important in the Gospel. Moreover, the perception of the small person in the society as a child with his own unique inner world arises precisely in the Christian tradition. The interest in mentioned above mythologeme is largely determined by its semantic significance, connected at the sacred level with images of purity, sincerity, trust, spiritual openness, which are ultimately inherent in the personality of Prokofiev himself and, at the same time, have always been highly valued within the Orthodox tradition. It is most vividly presented in the suite *Winter Bonfire*, which is focused on reproducing the "signs" of a "happy childhood". In the oratorio "On Guard for Peace", this discourse is presented by a choir of boys and nameless soloists, who thanks to the timeless spiritual and symbolic subtext of the timbre of the children's choir and children's solos, runs through the entire oratorio, evoking associations with angelic singing. The illustrative simplicity and melodism of the musical language of the oratorio embodied the composer's

transition to his mature period of creativity to the so-called "new simplicity".

The biblical idea is all the more acutely perceptible in connection with the violation of the mentioned mythologeme in the *Ballad of a Boy Who Remained Unknown*, where the child under the conditions of the most severe military events experiences the death of loved ones, which is incompatible with the fragile and carefree image of the child's attitude. The work embodies the tragic and dramatic side of childhood exposed to the war. On the other hand, the genre and figurative-semantic specific features of the ballad show a genetic relationship with the spiritual archetypal "roots" of the European cultural and historical tradition, like the culture of the era of S. Prokofiev. The main idea of this work is actually focused around the idea of retribution for the childhood ruined by the war, which evokes certain associations with the Old Testament tradition of revenge. At the same time, in the confrontation between Good and Evil, clearly defined in the cantata, one more biblical association can be traced: the strength of the spirit of the main unnamed hero (and not the physical factor) becomes the source of his advantage over the enemy, causing analogies with the confrontation between David and Goliath, as well as with the New Testament messages of Apostle Paul: "For my strength is made perfect in weakness" (2 Cor. 12: 9).

Thus, from careful examination of the cantata-oratorio works of S. Prokofiev, it was obviously derived that through the prism of the external Soviet social realistic cover, Orthodox Christian ideological foundations (as per the influence of the ideas of Christianity and Russian cosmism on the personality of the composer, see researches 3, 4, 5) are clearly visible, which reflect the main evangelistic ideas of love for people, bright and optimistic view of the world around us ("sunshine" as a Christian melody), the idea of purity and openness of children's worldview, spiritual tasks of transforming the inner essence through comprehension, valor, asceticism, inflexibility of the strength of mind.

References:

1. Denisenko G. Mifopoetika kak esteticheskoe osnovanie simvolizma v muzyikalnom tvorchestve: Thesis abstract for Cand. Sc. (Philosophy), – Moscow, 2012. – 25 p.
2. Gyunter Hans. O krasote, kotoraya ne smogla spasti sotsializm. URL: <http://magazines.russ.ru/nlo/2010/101/gu2.html>.
3. Savkina N. S. Prokofev i sekta Hristianskaya nauka. Sergey Prokofev. 1891–1991. Dnevnik, pisma, besedy, vospominaniya. – Moscow: Soviet composer, 1991. – P 155–157.
4. Safonova T. V. Mirooschuschenie S. Prokofeva v kontekste russkoy duhovnoy traditsii. Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra Rossiyskoy akademii nauk. 2009. – No. 4–1. – Vol. 11. – P. 293–297.
5. Kreynina Yu. O filosofskikh interesakh Prokofeva: ot Shopengauera k ideyam “Hristianskoy nauki”. URL: http://www.21israel-music.com/Prkfv_filosofia.htm.

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-31-38>

*Muravskaya Olha Viktorovna,
Doctor habilitated of Art Criticism, associated Professor
Department of Theoretical and Applied Cultural Studies
A. V. Nezhdanova Odessa National Music Academy, Ukraine
E-mail: olga@noc.od.ua*

THE EUROPEAN EAST AND WEST IN THE RIVER OF THE FORMATION OF THEIR KEY SPIRITUAL AND CULTURAL-HISTORICAL INSTALLATIONS

Abstract. The article is devoted to the study of the “East-West” dichotomy in the European cultural, historical and musical traditions of the past and present.

Keywords: European East, West, European culture and music, progress, transformation.

*Муравская Ольга,
Доктор искусствоведения, профессор кафедры
теоретической и прикладной культурологии
Одесской национальной музыкальной академии
имени А. В. Неждановой, Украина
E-mail: olga@noc.od.ua*

ЕВРОПЕЙСКИЙ ВОСТОК И ЗАПАД В РУСЛЕ СТАНОВЛЕНИЯ ИХ КЛЮЧЕВЫХ ДУХОВНЫХ И КУЛЬТУРНО-ИСТОРИЧЕСКИХ УСТАНОВОК

Аннотация. Статья посвящена исследованию дихотомии «Восток – Запад» в европейской культурно-исторической и музыкальной традиции прошлого и современности.

Ключевые слова: европейский Восток, Запад, европейская культура и музыка, прогресс, преобразование.

Размышляя в своих «Философических письмах» о судьбах европейской цивилизации, П. Чаадаев отмечал следующее: «Мир искони делился на две части – Восток и Запад. Это не только географическое деление, но также и порядок вещей, обусловленный самой природой разумного существа <...> Сосредотачиваясь, углубляясь, замыкаясь на самом себе, созидался человеческий ум на Востоке; раскрываясь вовне, излучаясь во все стороны, борясь со всеми препятствиями, развивался он на Западе» [13, 145].

В смысловом поле проблемы «Восток – Запад» и ее духовных основаниях складываются базовые принципы, необходимые для формирования национального самосознания, вырабатываются конкретные мировоззренческие позиции, составляющие в совокупности с национальными архетипами, «образ мира» той или иной цивилизации. Философский и духовно-религиозный дискурс проблемы «Восток – Запад» имеет достаточно древнюю историю, свидетельствующую не только об их принципиальном разграничении, но и о взаимовлиянии.

Отечественная и зарубежная библиография, сопряженная с проблематикой «Восток–Запад», так или иначе, отражает аспекты обозначенной дихотомии культурной и религиозно-художественной преемственности в реалиях европейских контекстов. Она стала предметом научно-исторических, культурологических и искусствоведческих (в том числе и музыковедческих) изысканий Ф. Успенского, Н. Бердяева, К. Хвостовой, В. Бычкова, А. Каждана, С. Аверинцева, В. Лихачевой, В. Уколовой, О. Бородина, Г. Колпаковой, А. Тойнби, О. Шпенглера, В. Шубарта, А. Гийу, Ш. Дилля, О. Демуса, С. Сорочана, В. Холоповой, Е. Герцмана и др.

Обобщая сущность исследований по заявленной проблематике, необходимо отметить, что специфика европейского Запада и Востока и их культурно-исторического наследия принципиально разнится, но при этом очевидно понимание их взаимодействия от первого ко второму в XIX ст. и тенденция обращения данного вектора в XX веке.

Западноевропейская модель цивилизации, складывавшаяся на протяжении многих столетий, ставила во главу угла право и рационалистический тип мышления как высшую социальную ценность. Западная культура ориентирована на динамический образ жизни, на приоритет инициативы и на возрастающую значимую роль личности в жизни общества. По мнению В. Даренского, «для культуры Запада “архетипическим” являлся принцип самореализации человека, т.е. развертывания им своих “сущностных сил” с целью “покорения мира”. Этот принцип, как видим, изначально является “пост-христианским”, порожденным культом смертного его» [6, 290]. В числе фундаментальных основ данного типа культуры обычно указывают на наследие культур Древней Греции и Рима, на догматические устои католической церкви и сложившиеся позднее традиции Реформации и протестантизма, на процессы образования рыночного капитализма, формирующего в конечном итоге соответствующий тип личности и культуры.

Каждый из обозначенных принципов западноевропейской культуры неоднократно становился предметом духовно-философских и научных обобщений. Размышляя о процессах самоидентификации наций в общеевропейском социокоммуникативном пространстве, Е. Вдовыченко отмечает, что «индивидуализм в сознании западноевропейца – это, прежде всего, концентрация сил и энергии, всех естественных возможностей и ресурсов, направленных на достижение собственного, индивидуального успеха». Акцентируя внимание на масштабности достигнутого результата и его социальной значимости для общества, автор вместе с тем констатирует, что «при этом европеец полностью абстрагирован от чужих проблем и препятствий, а только сконцентрирован на своем личном пути к самореализации и достижении смодулированной цели» [5, 180].

Вопросам формирования индивидуального сознания человека Западной Европы посвящена фундаментальная монография Л. Баткина «Европейский человек наедине с собой. Очерки о культурно-исторических основаниях и пределах личного самосознания». Анализируя «Исповедь» Блаженного Августина, труды Абельяра, а также аспекты формирования личного авторского самосознания и поиски индивидуальности в наследии Ф. Петрарки и Н. Макьявелли («Государь»), рассматриваемых в контексте «матрицы культурной среды» ренессансной Европы, Л. Баткин приходит к следующему выводу: «В качестве личности, т.е. собственно причины (*causa sui*) индивид держит метафизический и нравственный ответ только перед собою же. Это, конечно, не означает, будто он не признает высших начал, оснований и образцов. Но не в качестве преднаходимых. Напротив, как личность человек отвечает не только перед ними, но особенно за них. То есть за то, что сам же вообразил, помыслил, утвердил <...> Признавая право других людей жить соответственно столь же личным основаниям, возможно, совсем иным, он присваивает таковое право и для себя. Он исходит из

себя. Иначе говоря, покидает себя ради верности себе же. Чтобы “стать собою”» [2, 8].

Апеллируя к Средневековью и Возрождению, Л. Баткин, таким образом, выделяет в старохристианской культурной совокупности нечто, программирующее последующую (Новое время) дифференциацию «Запад–Восток». Обозначенный исследователем акцент на самоутверждении человеческой личности и мобилизации ее волевых начал в достижении поставленных целей без оглядки на общепринятые авторитеты, – все это так или иначе способствовало развитию обозначенного выше индивидуализма (персонализма), столь активно развивавшегося в рамках западноевропейской культурно-исторической традиции Нового времени и обозначенного К. Леонтьевым как «чрезмерное самоуважение лица» [цит. по: 15, 21].

Подобный подход и понимание индивидуальности в культуре Запада, соответственно, порождал особое доверие к человеческому разуму, абстрагированному от веры, возможности которого расширялись от эпохи к эпохе, составляя в конечном итоге одно из определяющих качеств западной культуры. В свое время еще И. Киреевский, размышлял о несовпадении оснований «антропологических проектов» Запада и России, «... в первом случае вменивших разуму решение задачи по достижению культурно-антропологической цельности, во втором, – вере как собирательнице сил духа для культурного строительства» [11]. Дополняя мысль известного славянофила, И. Можайского отмечает тот факт, что «вероятно, именно в выявлении границ возможностей реализации творческих способностей личности, основанных на разуме человека, состоит основная направленность, смысл «метаисторической идеи» этой цивилизации» [9, 361].

Вместе с тем, исследуя истоки обозначенного качества культуры и цивилизации Запада, большинство разработчиков указанной проблемы обнаруживают ее генезис именно в западной духовно-религиозной практике, причем не только

в собственно протестантской, о чем в свое время писал М. Вебер, но и в католической: «Одна из заслуг католицизма – формирование рационалистического мышления у средневекового человека. Схоластика католицизма – исходный пункт рационализма», который «первоначально рассматривался как чисто рассудочный метод изучения и объяснения Священного Писания, сводящий даже мистическое и иррациональное к логическим построениям <...> Позднее рационализм стал использоваться как универсальный метод познания мира, полагающийся лишь на рассудок и отметающий любой чувственный опыт, противоречащий рассудку» [7, 449].

Столь очевидный интерес к рассудочно-эмпирическому способу познания мира, который постепенно приобретал статус доминирующего, обуславливал возведение материального комфорта, идею покорения Природы в разряд приоритетных для западной культуры. Об этом в свое время писал Ф. Бродель: «Запад довольно рано стал своего рода “роскошной” частью мира <...> Европа стояла особняком, была уже из ряда вон выходящим случаем. Она знала всю гамму денежных систем <...> И игры эти не ограничивались Европой» [цит. по: 10, 14].

Показательно, что культ материально-производительной избыточности, начиная с эпохи Реформации, и в последующее время получал духовно-религиозное «освящение» и со стороны церкви, прежде всего, протестантизма. Под знаком лютеранского «Beruf» любой труд в миру, профессия приобретали смысл священнического служения, материальное благополучие, перспективы финансовой прибыли становились знаком Божьего благоволения, что нашло запечатление в показательных уже для первой половины XX ст. феноменах «теологии богатства», «теологии процветания» или «Евангелия Процветания». Смысл их определяется на уровне «достаточно детально разработанной и настойчиво внедряемой в общественное сознание системы взглядов,

оправдывающей и поощряющей стремление человека к богатству, успеху, удовольствию от траты денег и потребления» [7, 462].

Формирующийся в данных условиях западный тип личности («экономический человек») принципиально отличим от личностных качеств индивида, рожденного на европейском Востоке. В работах авторов, представляющих и славянский и западный мир, выделены некоторые мыслительно-поведенческие предпочтения, идущие от иных религиозно-культурных установок в исторически соотносимых политико-экономических условиях. С. Булгаков неоднократно отмечал, что «экономический человек Запада есть средство, руководимое исключительно экономическим расчетом и своекорыстием <...> он хорошо знает рынок, умеет хорошо покупать и продавать», в то время как идейными истоками восточнохристианского домостроительного подхода в данном вопросе является безусловный приоритет Священного Писания, Библии и сопряженных с ними морально-этических категорий правды, справедливости, нестяжательства [см. об этом более подробно: 18, 159–164]. Очевидно предпочтение восточнохристианского вероисповедания в регулировании «неэкономических» прерогатив представителя славянского православного ареала, понятного и желаемого в исследовательском изложении.

Более глобальное обобщение типа личности западной индустриальной цивилизации, учитывающее не только ее экономико-прагматические интересы, но и духовные, находим в книге-концепции О. Шпенглера «Закат Европы», где сущность индивида и западная культура последних столетий, сопряженная с ним, именуется «фаустовской», ассоциирующейся с «закатом» западной цивилизации.

Н. Бердяев, солидаризируясь с позицией данного автора, закономерно приходит к выводу о том, что, «судьба Фауста – судьба европейской культуры <...> Душа Фауста – душа Западной Европы». Проследивая далее пути исканий героя, исследо-

ватель констатирует, что в финале «фаустовская душа пришла к осушению болот, к инженерному искусству, к материальному устройению земли и материальному господству над миром. Так кончается II ч. Фауста <...> Так кончаются в XIX и XX веке искания человека новой истории» [3, 55]. Наступление цивилизации ассоциируется в сознании философа с неизбежной смертью культуры Запада, антитезой которой автору видится подъем Востока. Социально-психологическая парадигма фаустианского западноевропейского героя может быть определена как творческо-преобразовательная по отношению к внешнему миру, т.е. «демиургическая». Соответственно, «фаустовский дух выражается в индивидуализме и стремлении к достижению поставленных целей, ради чего возможно пренебрежение этическими, религиозными, правовыми нормами» [12, 8]. Характерно, что именно Фауст станет одним из симулянтов «вечных образов» культуры романтизма и XX века, в том числе и в музыке (И. Гёте, Ф. Лист, Г. Берлиоз, Т. Манн, М. Булгаков, А. Шнитке и др.).

К обозначенной теории О. Шпенглера примыкает и позиция В. Шубарта, выделяющего среди прочих историко-духовных типов культур так называемую «прометеевскую культуру» и соответствующий тип героя, ассоциирующиеся у автора с социально-историческими и духовно-философскими реалиями Европы первой половины XX ст. Высшим смыслом данного типа культуры В. Шубарт считает «порядок»: «Европеец <...> ищет порядка в себе – в виде самодисциплины, господства рассудка над влечениями; он ищет его и вокруг себя – в государственном устройстве, в виде господства авторитета над гражданами <...> Прометеевская культура – это культура уставов <...> Для прометеевского человека тотальность нормы важнее, нежели высшее состояние духовной культуры. Постепенно вся культура становится для него лишь регулирующим понятием. Таков плачевный конец юридических культур» [17, 91–92, 94].

В результате воинствующий «монетаризм», субъективизм, стремление к самоутверждению человеческого «Я» в процессе покорения природы и др. – все это становится одним из показательных символов западной культуры и цивилизации по крайней мере двух минувших столетий, свидетельствуя о постепенном ослаблении в них церковно-канонического духовного фактора.

Приведенное рассуждение перекликается с мыслями архимандрита Иллариона (Троицкого), который утверждает, что «идея прогресса есть приспособление к человеческой жизни общего принципа эволюции, а эволюционная теория есть узаконение борьбы за существование». Сопоставляя определяющие духовно-религиозные идеалы католическо-протестантского Запада и православного Востока, он приходит к выводу о том, что «идеал православия есть не прогресс, но преображение» [1, 221–222].

Приведенный вывод православного иерарха чрезвычайно ценен для осознания главной направленности содержания представленной статьи, поскольку материалистически-техницистски трактуемый исторический прогресс, идея которого была сформирована политическими революциями XVII–XX вв., изжила себя в постперестроечную эпоху конца XX – начала XXI столетия. Последняя определяется социологами как посткультурная. Ее художественным эквивалентом выступает постмодерн / поставангард, а их терминологическое обозначение запечатлевает смысл полноты восхождения обновления исторически-прогрессистского пути, обрываемого «вне-культурным» (в традиционном понимании) пространством современности. Сложившаяся «игра имен» в обозначении эпох подталкивает к принятию иной ценности культурного проявления как лишнего отмеченности устремления к прогрессу. Смысловая инверсия термина прогресс в виде заявки регресса бесперспективна, поскольку также представляет рационально-линейно-горизонтально выстроенное культурное качество с эффектом противодвижения.

Оригинальный подход в понимании и интерпретации данной проблематики демонстрирует концепция В. Мартынова, представленная в его исследовании «Конец времени композиторов». Автор в данном случае апеллирует к феноменам «бриколажа» и «композиции», репрезентирующих различные принципы организации музыкального материала, «обязанные своим существованием различным стратегиям человеческого сознания». «Различие этих стратегий, – как утверждает В. Мартынов, – обуславливается тем, что сущее может открываться человеку двояким способом: как космос и как история. Сущее, раскрывающееся как космос, порождает культуры, оперирующие принципом бриколажа; сущее, раскрывающееся как история, порождает культуры, оперирующие принципом композиции» [8, 25].

Заметим, специфически музыкальные измерения указанных социальных и художественно-музыкальных альтернатив (композиция – бриколаж) указывают на содержательную неравнообъемность охватываемых ими ареалов, ибо в связи с композиционностью речь идет о специфически европейском типе культуры, о художественно самодостаточной музыке, тогда как признаки бриколажности имеют более широкий ареал бытования, хотя включают также и возможности европейских художественных наработок.

Православный вероисповедальный выбор В. Мартынова ясен: Восточнохристианская церковь, сохранившая от первохристианских времен принципиальную собирательность по отношению к религиозным исканиям как Запада, так и Востока, но уставно жестко все же определилась в своем европейско-христианском качестве. Для В. Мартынова, теоретика и композитора, идеологически и психологически целесообразным оказывается принятие концепции музыкального творчества, сохраненной и культивированной в русском Православии. Но в этом направлении поиска Веры сложился, например, также духовно-творческий путь эстонца А. Пярта, британца Дж. Тавенера и др., что

не совпадает с национальными религиозными традициями представляемых ими народов.

Это «движение на Восток» в европейски осознанном христианском качестве определяется и в иных родах творческого освоения сущего, а в научном выборе поднимает на щит византизм, в том числе в современной культурологической мысли европейского Запада, где ранее доминировали негативные оценки духовно-исторического и культурного наследия Византии. Подобный подход к культуре нации, создавшей фундамент всем живущим до сегодняшнего дня институтам культурно-художественной деятельности, от университетов и театра до религиозно-нравственных устоев Христианства, настораживает и удивляет культурным беспамятством, обосновывая и подтверждая тем самым шпенглеровскую идею «Заката».

В Византии, позднее в славянском ареале и на Руси, в средневековом западноевропейском пространстве, выстроенном активностью германской и кельтской рас, сложился тип культуры, порожденный и оплодотворенный раннехристианским Вероисповеданием, в котором обнаружилась цивилизационная модель, принципиально отстоящая от западноевропейских культурных устоев Нового времени, сохраненная до сегодняшнего дня на европейском Востоке и рудиментарно обнаруживаемая в традициях Юга и Запада Европы. Это культура, базирующаяся на идеях соборности, добротолубия, синергии, нацеленных в конечном итоге на духовное Преображение человеческого естества, осуществляемого в статике социальной стабильности и в строгом равновесии горизонтально-линейно организованной бытийности и постоянства духовной вертикали иерархии сущего.

Сказанное во многом определяет характерные черты православного типа личности, обуславливающие не только ее персональную специфику, но и особенности ее социумного бытия. Среди таковых выделяется очевидное отсутствие стремления к проявлениям индивидуализма, сродного с его западной ипостасью

персонализма (см. выше). Ему противостоит соборная традиция духовно-нравственного единения индивидуумов, «единения во множестве», в рамках которого каждая личность «свободна, как хорист в хоре» [4, 268] и которая отлична от компаративной общинности протестантов.

Приведенная выше параллель между идеей духовного сплочения человеческого сообщества на началах веры и хоровым коллективом, ассоциирующимся в восточно-христианской среде, прежде всего, с церковным хором, достаточно закономерна и во многом определена не только его особой ролью в культово-обрядовой традиции, но и высоким духовным статусом музыки в ряду искусств, приближающейся, по мнению А. Лосева, «умной молитве» [цит. по: 14]. Отмечаем специально тот факт, что многие из обозначенных выше черт православной личности, непосредственно сформированной церковью, оказываются востребованными художественной компенсативностью искусства эпохи романтизма и последующего времени, в том числе в форме антиромантических лозунгов XX в. «Непрогрессистские» персонажи обозначаются в качестве героев произведений (в том числе и музыкальных), которые выдвигаются в ряду мистериализующегося музыкального театра Европы XIX–XXI ст. Эти образы-идеи соотносимы с личностными типологиями, сложившимися не только в русле ортодоксально-патриархальной культуры Православия, но также и в типологических выборах искусства Реставрации и бидермайера (во всем разнообразии его национальных проявлений, охватывающих не только восточно-славянский культурный регион, но и Западную Европу), в реалистических, неореалистических обнаружениях художественного достояния эпохи Научно-технической революции и века информатики.

Итак, восточнохристианский тип культуры и цивилизации, ориентированный на идеи цельного знания, поиски Абсолюта, соборности, кордоцентризма как способа постижения-усвоения

духовных истин, на тяготение к кенозису, нестяжательству, аскетизму как идеальным личностно-поведенческим стереотипам, «векторно» нацелен на идею духовного Преображения человека. И этот принцип человеческого обожения противостоит западной концепции Прогресса, в которой набирание технологической мощи и волевого-силового запаса детерминирует совершенствование «царя природы».

Обозначенные различия характеризуют специфику музыкального искусства названных культурных линий, ставшего важнейшей составной частью многовекового историко-культурного процесса. Высоко оценивая достижения европейской музыкально-исторической традиции в целом, В. Холопова, акцентируя внимание на дихотомии «Восток – Запад», указывает на принципиальное различие этих культур, проявляющееся, прежде всего, в определении самой сущности музыки: «Контраст позиций в понимании музыки проявился <...> даже в XX веке, когда, казалось, давно были стерты все эстетические границы между Западной и Восточной Европой

<...> Асафьев определил музыку как “искусство интонированного смысла”. Немецкий музыковед Х. Х. Эггебрехт дает принципиально иную формулировку. Признавая за ней [музыкой] “природный и эмоциональный отклик мира и души”, [он] выявляет также “ее способность быть упорядоченной наукой (теорией)”. То есть наличие при музыке теории вводится в саму дефиницию этого вида искусства» [16, 133].

Таким образом, приведенный выше обзор по обозначенной проблематике противопоставления и взаимодействия культурно-исторических достояний европейского Востока и Запада свидетельствует о достаточно четко определенных позициях ее исследователей в изучении различий указанных ареалов. При этом, выделяется производительно-рационалистический мир западного индивида, для которого преобразование материального мира составляет смысл бытия как Прогресса. Антитезой же ему выступает восточнохристианский личностный тип, для которого рационализм обусловлен Верой, и стержнем действий является мыслительная активность Преображения.

Список литературы:

1. Arhimandrit Illarion (Troickij). Progress i preobrazhenie // Bogoslovskij vestnik. 1914. – Т. 3. – № 10–11. – С. 218–232.
2. Batkin L. M. Evropejskij chelovek naedine s soboj. Ocherki o kul'turno-istoricheskikh osnovaniyah i predelah lichnogo samosoznaniya. – М.: RGGU, 2000. – 1005 с.
3. Berdyaev N. A. Predsmertnye mysli Fausta // Osva'd Shpengler i zakat Evropy: sbornik statej. М.: Knigoizdatel'stvo «Bereg», 1922. – С. 55–72.
4. Vvedenie v kul'turologiyu: Uchebnoe posobie dlya vuzov / ruk. avtor. koll. i otv. red. E. V. Popov. – М.: VLADOS, 1995. – 336 с.
5. Vdovychenko E. V. Problema samoidentifikacii nacij: osobennosti ukrainskogo mentaliteta // Obraz cheloveka budushchego: kogo i kak vospityvat' v podrastayushchih pokoleniyah: kollektivnaya monografiya / pod red. O. A. Bazaluka. – К.: Filososfs'ko-kosmologichne ob>ednannya, 2013. – С. 177–184.
6. Darenskiy V. Yu. Russkij «obraz kul'tury»: kul'tura kak preobrazhenie cheloveka // Rozhdenie kul'turologii v Rossii: sbornik nauchnyh trudov / nauch. red. V. P. Okeanskij. – М.: Direkt-Media, 2014. – С. 289–301.
7. Katasonov V. Yu., Trostnikov V. N., Shimakov G. M. Istoriya kak Promysel Bozhij / otv. red. O. A. Platonov. – М.: Institut russkoj civilizacii, 2014. – 640 с.

8. Martynov V. I. Konec vremeni kompozitorov / Poslesl. T. Cherednichenko. – M.: Russkij put', 2002. – 296 s.
9. Mozhajskova I. V. Duhovnyj obraz russkoj civilizacii i sud'ba Rossii (opyt metaistoricheskogo issledovaniya): v 4-h chastyah. – M.: «Veche», 2001. Chast' 1. Religioznye nachala civilizacionnoj struktury i duhovnye istoki russkoj civilizacii. – 560 s.
10. Mozhajskova I. V. Duhovnyj obraz russkoj civilizacii i sud'ba Rossii (opyt metaistoricheskogo issledovaniya): v 4-h chastyah. – M.: «Veche», 2001. Chast' II. Russkij kosmizm v kontekste protivorechij mirovogo razvitiya, obuslovlennyh gospodstvom zapadnoj civilizacii. – 480 s.
11. Muza D. E. Vostochnohristianskaya civilizaciya: sociokul'turnoe ustroenie i identichnost'. – Doneck: Veber, 2009. URL: lib.znate.ru/does/index-161125.html (data obrashcheniya: 18.01. 2017 g.).
12. Nemerov E. N. Faustovskij tip kul'tury v filosofii Georga Zimmelya i Osva'da Shpenglera: avtoref. diss. ... kand. filosofskih nauk: 09.00.13 – Religiovedenie, filosofskaya antropologiya, filosofiya kul'tury / Kurskij gosudarstvennyj universitet. – Kursk, 2006. – 24 s.
13. Rossiya glazami russkogo. Chaadaev, Leont'ev, Solov'ev. Istoki otechestvennoj mysli / otv. red. A. F. Zamaleev. SPb.: Nauka, 1991. – 365 s.
14. Suhanceva V. K. Muzyka kak mir cheloveka (Ot idei Vselennoj – k filosofii muzyki). URL: http://www.countries.ru/library/music_culture/mkm.htm (data obrashcheniya: 01.03. 2020 g.).
15. Utkin A. I. Zapad i Rossiya: istoriya civilizacij: Uchebnoe posobie. – M.: Gardariki, 2000. – 574 s.
16. Holopova V. N. Muzyka Evropy // Sovremennaya Evropa. 2005. – № 1 (21). – S. 131–144.
17. Shubart Val'ter. Evropa i dusha Vostoka. – M.: «Russkaya ideya», 2000. – 446 s.
18. Yudina T. N. Evolyuciya ucheniya o domostroitel'stve v kontekste formirovaniya ekonomicheskoy sistemy Rossii (vtoraya polovina IX – nachala HH veka): diss. ... doktora ekonomicheskikh nauk: 08.00.01 – Ekonomicheskaya teoriya (Oblast' issledovaniya – Istoriya ekonomicheskoy mysli) / MGU im. M. V. Lomonosova. – Moskva, 2009. – 324 s.

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-39-45>

*Negachev Kirill Olegovich,
The Piano teacher of The Odessa Stolyarsky Special Music School,
Applicant at the Department of history of music and musical ethnography
of The Odessa National A. V. Nezhdanova Academy of Music, Ukraine
E-mail: steamplugin@gmail.com*

C.V. ALKAN'S CONCERTOS DA CAMERA AS EXPERIMENT OF STYLE AND FORM

Abstract. The article focuses on revealing features of style and form Alkan's Concertos da Camera No. 1 and No. 2 and their place in the works of composer and pianist.

Keywords: C. V. Alkan, concerto, form, style, virtuosity, romanticism.

*Негачёв Кирилл Олегович,
Преподаватель ОССМШИ им. Столярского,
соискатель кафедры истории музыки и музыкальной этнографии
Одесской Национальной музыкальной академии им. А. В. Неждановой, Украина
E-mail: steamplugin@gmail.com*

КАМЕРНЫЕ КОНЦЕРТЫ ШАРЛЯ АЛЬКАНА КАК ЭКСПЕРИМЕНТ СТИЛЯ И ФОРМЫ

Аннотация. Статья посвящена характеристике особенностей формы и стиля камерных концертов Ш. Алькана и их месту в творчестве композитора и пианиста.

Ключевые слова: Шарль Алькан, концерт, форма, стиль, виртуозность, романтизм.

Актуальность исследования определена пограничем пианистической стилистики Ш. Алькана, который историческими обстоятельствами соединял пианистику «легких» фортепиано и победно утверждавшегося оркестрального стиля Ф. Листа, то есть системы французской и немецкой фортепианных школ.

Творчеству Ш. Алькана посвящены многочисленные публикации разных авторов: Рональда Смита [26], Уильяма Эдди [21], Франсуа Саппи [22], Анни Дрейфюс [24], Джоэл Ан [23], Ульриха Тадея [27], бюллетни общества Алькана [19] и т.д., однако в украинских изданиях этому автору пока не уделено внимание в объеме, соответствующем его исторической значимости. В том числе не выделена специфика переходного периода

творчества Алькана, когда его опора на французский «жемчужный» стиль определялась новыми задачами оркестрализации, не составлявших, тем не менее, самостоятельного качества выражения.

Цель данной работы определить и исследовать особенности формы и стиля камерных концертов Ш. Алькана в специфике новых исторических проявлений и их месту в творчестве композитора.

Методология базируется на стилево-компаративном подходе, на герменевтических выходах в интонационном видении специфики музыки как это сложилось в развитии школ Б. Асафьева [1] и Б. Яворского [16] в Украине Е. Марковой [17].

Научная новизна: впервые в музыкознании Украины предметом исследования выдвинут композиторский стиль Шарля Алькана в его переход-

ный период, в целом, Камерные концерты Алькана в украинской музыкальной науке представлены в качестве исследовательского феномена.

Шарль Алькан (1813–1888) – один из крупнейших виртуозов и композиторов XIX века, интерес к персоне и музыке которого неуклонно возрождается в последние годы, поскольку до недавних пор его творчество было мало известно мировой общественности, несмотря на почитателей в прошлом в лицах Антона Рубинштейна, посвятившего Ш. Алькану свой Пятый концерт, или Ферруччо Бузони, включавшего его сочинения в свои выступления.

Анализ исторических примет стиля Камерного концерта № 1 *a-moll* Ш. Алькана отчасти представлен в работе С. Линдемана [25], в других же исследованиях (У. Эдди, Р. Смита) он упоминается лишь в общем биографическом контексте.

Как пианист Шарль Валантен Алькан получил хорошее образование в Парижской консерватории, занимаясь у Пьера-Жозефа Циммермана, ставшего победителем конкурса пианистов в Париже в 1800 году, опередив Калькбреннера, занявшего лишь второе место. Именно Циммерман явил юное дарование Шарля Алькана высшему свету Парижа, представив его как пианиста-виртуоза в видные салоны того времени. Первыеopus юного композитора закономерно составила салонная музыка – вариации, рондо... Вопрос точной периодизации творчества Алькана до сих пор составляет предмет дискуссии. В работе Уильяма Эдди [21] ранний период ограничиваетсяopusом 10 (сочинением двух камерных концертов), тогда как начало развития собственного стиля составляютopusы 12–16. С этим утверждением можно спорить, и более корректным, на взгляд автора данной статьи, опираясь на «переходную» стилистику этого периода, можно считать окончание раннего периода творчества Ш. Альканаopusом 21 – созданием Дуэта для скрипки и фортепиано, который был отмечен также и новыми жанрами: ноктюрном, жигой, сальтареллой и его

первым программным духовным сочинением – «Haleluiah» для фортепиано.

После революционных потрясений 1830–1831 годов значимость салона была потеснена «демократизированной» филармонической системой, которая окончательно восторжествовала после событий 1848–1849 гг. Ш. Алькан, обладавший немалой физической силой, сознательно стал ориентироваться на возможности «тугой» клавиатуры рояльного типа, предпочитая инструменты Эрара, в которых во Франции был добавлен механизм двойной репетиции [5] и произведший обновление возможностей виртуозов. Примером может служить II-я часть Камерного концерта № 1 *a-moll*, где Ш. Алькан продемонстрировал такую технику (по сути клавесинную технику Рамо, но уже на новых инструментах) в проведении сопровождения темы (такты 33–35). Инструмент французского виртуоза дожил до наших дней и сегодня он демонстрирует практически современный звук, не такой яркий, но с четко различимыми тембровыми регистрами и не очень глубоким нажатием [18].

В Париже на момент создания Камерного концерта № 1 (1832) активно действовали как местные, так и приезжие музыканты. В тот год Лист услышал виртуоза Паганини, Калькбреннер взял молодого Стамати в ученики, Шопен и Клара Вик дали свои первые концерты, а Циммерман, Дж. Мейербер, Й. Пиксис, Г. Герц, Г. Берлиоз и другие продолжали творить.

В это время сложилась особая разновидность жанра романтического-бидермайеровского концерта с доминирующей ролью солиста, которая на новом уровне воспроизводила барочный облигатный концерт (см. скрипичный Концерт А. Вьетана, скрипичные и фортепианные Концерты Ф. Мендельсона, Концерты Ф. Шопена и др.).

Первыйopus Ш. Алькана – Вариации на тему Штейбельта, умершего всего пятью годами ранее, свидетельствуют о стремлении четырнадцатилетнего юноши сочинять в салонном стиле (тема вариаций взята из Третьего концерта Штейбельта

ор.33 *E-dur*) [21]. В лице Алькана салонная ветвь пианизма получила достойное преломление – это невероятная скорость «полетного» выражения соединялась с минимальной педализацией, не с «расставленными» темпами, со строгостью, достойной одухотворенной атмосферы салона. Так Алькан играл с юных лет, однако внедрение оркестральности вносило коррективы в его виртуозные установки.

Камерный концерт № 1 Ш. Алькана был исполнен в 1832 году в «Обществе концертов консерватории» в разгар смещений салонности и поднимающейся оркестральности Ф. Листа. Это наиболее значительное сочинение молодого композитора ознаменовалось триумфом и его часть даже была представлена как конкурсное произведение [21].

Концерт традиционно трехчастен (быстро – медленно – быстро). Оркестровое вступление и заключение, обрамляющие I-ю часть, содержат темы, ритмический облик которых найдет свое отражение в лирических темах фортепианной партии. Начальный октавно-аккордовый пассаж во вступлении рояля встречается у многих композиторов; интересно, что первые пять нот интонационно совпадают с началом Второго скерцо Шопена, сочиненного в 1837 году, но реальный прототип скорее взят от первых же нот *f-moll* Концерта Ф. Шопена (в варианте инверсии). И более патетическое (декламационное) [14] отклонение в *f-moll* из *a-moll* лирической темы Концерта Ш. В. Алькана является как бы подтверждением указанной модели (известно, что французский композитор присутствовал на парижской премьере шопеновского Концерта в 1832 году и эта встреча положила начало их дружбе) [21 С. 6].

Показательно, в имеющихся исследованиях камерного Концерта *a-moll* не отмечена авторская двойная черта, разграничивающая разделы первой части, что указывает на заимствования из структуры сонаты, то есть это апелляция к ба-

рочной «диффундированности» форм сонаты и концерта. Разделы, обозначенные композитором с помощью двойной черты в своем начале демонстрируют лирические темы, оттеняемые контрастными виртуозными пассажами. Такое противопоставление кантилены и инструментализма пассажей характерно для композиторской классики и романтизма. В более поздних сочинениях Ш. Алькана, в его Большой Сонате, также находим сопоставление кантилены и демонстративного инструментализма – только с театрализацией «дьяволиады» в пассажах, контрастирующих с кантиленными молитвенными темами (типичный листовский контраст!). Как было замечено выше, I-я часть Концерта приближена к старинной сонатной форме, то есть без разработки, что соответствует барочным тенденциям мышления романтиков.

Вторая часть *Adagio* содержит всего 42 такта, в которых автор прибегает к вариационности как форме, концентрирующей тождество (по Б. Асафьеву). Пристрастие к этому рода изложению встречается во многих его произведениях, создавая аллюзии к медитативности. Шарль Валантен Алькан, обращаясь к барочной традиции, наделявшей символическим значением как интонацию, так и тональность с формой, позволяет нам понять его замысел. Тональность доминанты (*E-dur*), в которой написана вторая часть концерта и хоральный склад основной темы приносят успокоение, трансформируясь в светлую экстазику. Интонация ведущей темы близка к арии гимнического характера. Вокальная направленность находит подтверждение и в историческом отражении сонатной формы как переложения вокальных пьес [12]. Вторая часть может быть разделена на два раздела, на это указывает как новый тематизм, тональный план, так и наличие свободно играемых мини-каденций в концах обеих частей. У. Эдди [21] говорит о сходстве первого раздела (такты 1–17) с ноктюрнами Фильда (которые построены по определенному соотношению акком-

панемента и шопеноподобной мелодии). Полная аналогия может быть найдена разве что в третьей части Большой сонаты оп.33, а что касается частичных – то это множественные трансформации аккомпанемента второй части – из хоральных аккордов в триольное «классическое» сопровождение ноктюрнов, изложение мелодической линии левой руки в Ноктюрне № 7 Фильда аналогично правой в тактах 9–11, где левая снова демонстрирует поддерживающую аккордовую гармонию. Различные производные хоральной темы обращают нас то к лирике, то к *fieramente*, то к танцевальным порханиям, демонстрируя грани вариационного развертывания. Второй раздел открывается новой темой оркестра в *A-dur*, подхватываемой и развиваемой фортепиано, однако она не контрастна, поглощаясь аналогом первой темы в левой руке (такт 27). Раздел имеет более тесную связь оркестр-солист, поскольку именно оркестр задает темы, варьируемые солистом, включая имитационное варьирование в тт. 31–32 пиццикато струнных. Такая трансформация аккомпанемента приводит к актуализации клавесинной техники Рамо с аналогичным разбиением мелодии на современных автору инструментах с двойной репетицией. Асафьев подчеркивал обновление и изменение интонаций в кризисные эпохи [1], каковой и был переходный период поиска нового звука на новых инструментах.

Финальная III-я часть явно превышает I-ю по размерам, даже учитывая ее быстрый темп (в данном случае 370 тактов финала в три раза длиннее 128-ми тактов первой части [25, С. 120]). Начинаясь шутилой темой-ритурнелью в одноименном мажоре *A-dur*, финал представляет модификацию рондо в сближении с сюитной структурой, поскольку эпизоды состоят из разнохарактерных, в большей или меньшей мере, тем (ABCD ACEDFD A). Не случайно на грани XX и XXI вв. Ш. Алькан обрел признание: его барочные «стертости» граней формы соответствуют предпочтениям современного поставангарда,

щедро черпающего в раннем барокко. Темы Концерта блестяще варьируются – *a-moll* ное вступление оркестра I части перекликается с темой вступления III части в *A-dur*, сольное вступление фортепиано I-й части с лирической темой третьей (такт 64) [12], *Poco più mosso* финала третьей части содержит тот же прием изложения, как во второй [такт 29]; таких видоизменений-соответствий можно отметить немало, однако интересно и то, что первые три темы финала (А, В, С), представляя идею главных тем всего Концерта, являясь репрезентантом всех трех частей. Это перекликается с позицией О. Шелудяковой «Тема – форма стала базисом развития музыки в романтизме, достигая интерпретации форма в форме» [15, С. 4].

Еще одним значимым моментом финальной части является внезапное включение блестящей шуточной темы в *C-dur*, корни которой можно услышать в проникшей во Францию польке. В ее аккомпанементе скрыта такая же фигура баса, как в главной теме Рондо. Быстрый круговорот контрастных тем и их развитие создает иллюзию рондо в рондо, где побочные темы также развиваются, меняя тональный план, чередуясь с рефреном.

Итак, алькановский Концерт № 1 представляет пробарочную романтическую линию концертной облигатности, то есть «согласования» солиста и оркестра при первенстве сольного звуковедения. Он подвел некий итог его мастерству как композитора. Через год после премьеры своего первого Концерта *a-moll*, Шарль Алькан предпринял одну из двух своих поездок в Англию, возможно в издательство, публиковавшее его ранние сочинения. Короткая заметка во французской газете лишь сообщила о том, что Алькан играет концерт в Лондоне с Мошелесом и Крамером [12, С. 122]. Скорее всего идея Второго концерта *cis-moll* родилась если не во время первой поездки, то вскоре после нее – не зря Концерт № 2 посвящен Генри Ибботу Фильду, английскому пианисту.

Образность Камерного концерта № 2 *cis-moll* весьма близка картинам Туманного Альбиона – от

неясных затаенных областей, до проблесков света и пены бушующих волн. Более скромный по размерам, но ничуть не умаляющий свои достоинства «в новизне стиля и техники», [12] Концерт *cis-moll* образно более целостен и по изложению близок к поэмности, отражая все грани и градации морской стихии в ее драматическом, посредством бурной фактуры, ярких арпеджированных пассажей рисующих бушующие, разбивающиеся об утесы волны, и просветленном, баркарольном состоянии.

Дыхательно-волновая динамика классического оркестра, сопоставлена в Концерте с террасообразной, резкими перепадами *forte-subito piano*, таким образом совмещая клавесинный принцип с симфоническим и презентуя надличностные волевые импульсы Экстатического [2].

Антагонистом взволнованной стихии является II-я часть, где спокойное баркарольное покачивание триолей изображает водную гладь, а диссонансы и отклонения знаменуют преобразование трансформацию взволнованности в спокойствие и умиротворение. Символически водная стихия отражает не только пра-материю сущего, но и очищение. Экстатическое настроение финала концерта и вызываемый им катарсис лишь подтверждает это.

Начало оркестрового вступления, мрачное, затаенное, отражает более поздний стиль композитора и отсылает скорее к оперной сцене, где оркестр предвосхищает будущее действие еще с закрытой кулисы. «Расширение выразительных средств музыки привело к взаимопроникновению музыки и живописи, балета и оперы ...» [6, С. 95].

В своем Концерте № 2 *cis-moll* Ш. Алякан использует совершенно другой гармонический язык, смелые интервальные сопоставления которого отразили тенденцию того времени к гармоническим усложнениям и обогащению красочной палитры. Создаваемый оркестром фон не только «рисует», но и является психологическим фактором, заставляющим слушателя переживать момент. И если в фортепианной партии тема излагается традиционно, то в оркестре она буквально вырастает из

фона, демонстрируя тенденцию романтиков к усложнению мелодии, где фактурный фон нередко становится равноценным мелодии [9]. Возросшая роль оркестра и его драматургические фактурные соотношения с солистом указывают на отход от доминантно-сольного [4, С. 58] принципа «согласования», свойственного Первому *a-moll* ному концерту, к зарождения паритетного типа соотношений в Концерте № 2 *cis-moll*.

Фортепианная партия более миниатюрна, чем в Концерте *a-moll* и состоит, примерно, из 45 тактов. В *Adagio* II-ой части фактурное сходство с темой-колыбельной сонаты Моцарта *A-dur* ассоциируется с «баркарольным» покачиванием на волнах. Из-за монотематического строения *Adagio* можно разделить на три раздела лишь условно. Автор демонстрирует разнообразие только вариационным изменением темы. Из-за краткости I-ой части, тема второй может выступать как контрастная «побочная» к первой, являясь всего лишь инвертированной в обратном направлении мотивом первой (си-ля-соль – ля-си-до, ритмически они по сути идентичны), но каков контраст бури и затишья – две части единого целого. Такая образная «монолитность» указывает на попытки автора экспериментировать с формой, приближая ее к поэмности. Композитор повторяет особенность I-го концерта с мгновенным переходом в Финал, но сохраняя тему первой части, что сообщает Концерту № 2 большую целостность. Утверждая одноименный мажор в финале концерта, Ш. Алякан, на мой взгляд, достигает экстастики Единого.

Как было замечено выше, в Концерте № 2 *cis-moll* продемонстрирован отход от чисто клавесинной трактовки к оркестровой, с ее *crescendo* и *diminuendo*, вкуче с драматичным театрально-оперным вступлением, наследуя барочный принцип наделять каждый элемент символом. Приверженность к немецкой музыке Шарль Алякан сохраняет всю жизнь, даже после Франко-прусской войны.

Алькановская концертность, черпавшая в барокко соотносима с сочинениями этого рода К. Вебера, о которых Ф. Батта заметил, что они «... затрагивали то, что Энштейн удачно назвал «роковым блеском XIX века», который Шуман и Шопен преодолели не без труда и на котором Лист продолжал творить» [20, С. 6]. В конечном счете личность самого Ш. В. Алькана – композитора, исполнителя, педагога, библейского переводчика – становится олицетворением романтического универсализма [7, С. 10], корни которого – в сочинениях 1830-х годов.

Камерные концерты № 1 *a-moll* и № 2 *cis-moll* ценимы современным слушателем, так как акцентуация в них а-драматических черт совпадает с игрово-созерцательным тонусом музицирования поставангардной ауры. Концерт № 1 был неоднократно озвучен усилиями Марка Амлена с Шотландским оркестром BBC (1993), Дмитрием Феофановым с Разумовским симфоническим оркестром (1995), Джованни Белуччи с оркестром Падуи (2013). Концерт № 2 *cis-moll* представлен записями Михаэля Понти (1973), Франсуа Бу (1990), Энтони Голдстоуна (1991), Марка-Андре Амлена (1993), Дмитрия Феофанова (1995), Даниэля Шпигельберга (2006), Джованни Белуччи (2013) [17]. Камерные концерты Ш. Алькана не входят в репертуар современных исполнителей по при-

чине отсутствия нот, выдаваемых лишь в аренду на время записи или концерта издательством. Однако Обществом Алькана уже готовятся к печати отредактированные версии обоих концертов, поэтому можно ожидать значительно возросший интерес к исполнению этих жемчужин раннего романтизма.

Как видим, в Первом и Втором камерных концертах находим те театральные направленные выразительные элементы, которые свидетельствуют о «переходных» качествах его стиля и стиля французской музыки кануна переломного периода середины XIX века и проявившиеся в сочинениях 1840-х – 1850-х годов в более сложных выразительных пересечениях.

В качестве обобщающих положений анализа Камерных концертов выдвигаем следующее:

1. Ш. Алькан сосредоточил в своем творчестве 1830-х годов, с одной стороны, гипертрофию романтического пробарокко, а, с другой, склонен был слышать контрастные мотивы, ведущие к театральности пианизма второй половины XIX столетия; Камерность его Первого (и Второго) концертов подчеркивает солидарность с салонным пианизмом, хотя виртуозная избыточность связующих построений в соотношении с лирикой тем образует многозначительные предчувствия пианистической эволюции второй половины романтического столетия.

Список литературы:

1. Asaf'ev B. G. Muzykal'naya forma kak process. – Leningrad: Muzyka, 1971. – 376 s.
2. Ajsiyu Koncertnost' kak stilevaya paradigma fortepiannogo tvorchestva S. Prokof'eva: diss.kand. iskusstvovedeniya: 17.00.03 / ONMA Nezhdanovoj. – Odessa, 2016. – 204 s.
3. Borodin B. B. Fenomen fortepiannoj transkripcii: opyt kompleksnogo issledovaniya: avtoref. disc. dokt. iskusstvovedeniya: 17.00.02 / MGK im.Chajkovskogo. – Moskva, 2006. – 46 s.
4. Burel' A. V. «Instrumental'nye koncerty K. Sen-Sansa v kontekste francuzskoj zhanrovoj tradicii XIX – nachala HH veka»: dis. kand. iskusstvovedeniya: 17.00.03 / HNUI imeni I. Kotlyarevskogo. – Har'kov, 2017. – 225 s.
5. Buchukuri R. «Kreativnyj fundament Francuzskoj fortepiannoj shkoly». Musicology and Cultural Science. 2012. – № 1. – S. 89–93.
6. Grucynova A. Istoriya horeograficheskogo iskusstva: romanticheskij balet 2-e izd. – Moskva: YuRAJT, 2019. – 192 s.

7. Gul'cova D. «Fenomen romanticheskoy virtuoznosti i fortepiannoe tvorchestvo Sh. V. Al'kana». Muzykal'noe iskusstvo i kul'tura. 2016. – № 22. – S. 458–467.
8. Iskhakova S. «Populyarnoe» i «elitarnoe» v muzykal'nom iskusstve Zapadnoj Evropy XIII–XIV vekov: nachalo protivostoyaniya. Hudozhestvennaya Kul'tura: elektronnyj zhurnal. – Moskva: Gos. institut iskusstvoznaniya. 2015. – № 1. URL: <http://artculturestudies.sias.ru/en/vypusk-6-2013/istoriya-iso-vremennost/833.html>
9. Konen V. Dzh. Istoriya zarubezhnoj muzyki vyp. 3 Germaniya, Avstriya, Italiya, Franciya, Pol'sha s 1789 goda do serediny XIX veka. – Moskva: Muzyka, 1976. – 536 s.
10. Markova E. Problemy muzykal'noj kul'turologii. – Odessa, Astroprint, 2012. – 164 s.
11. Markova E. Numerologicheskij aspekt ponyatijnyh svyazok v issledovatel'skom apparate gumanitarnoj sfery znaniya. Naukovi zapiski Ternopil'skogo nac. ped. universitetu im. Gnatyuka. – № 2. 2016. – S. 13–19.
12. Polyanskaya T. Trio-Sonata kak tipologicheskij zhanrovyy fenomen v zapadnoevropejskom muzykal'nom iskusstve XVII–XVIII VV.: dis. kandidata iskusstvovedeniya: 17.00.03 / ONMA im. Nezhdanovoj. – Odessa, 2016. – 195 s.
13. Pylaeva L. O roli semantiki tonal'nostej v muzyke francuzskih scenicheskikh tancev XVII – pervoj poloviny XVIII veka. Starinnaya Muzyka. – № 2. 2016. – S. 11–17.
14. Stahevich G. O. Fortepiannij koncert XVIII–HIH stolit': stil'ovi transformacii zhanru. Molodij vchenij. 2018. – № 6. – S. 87–91.
15. Sheludyakova O. E. Fenomen melodiki v muzyke pozdnego romantizma: avtoref. dis. dokt. iskusstvovedeniya: 17.00.02 / Ural'skaya gos.konservatoriya im. Musorgskogo. – Magnitogorsk, 2006. – 49 s.
16. Yavorskij B. Stroenie muzykal'noj rechi: Materialy i zametki. – Moskva: tip. Aralova, 1908–1910. – 100 s.
17. Alkan discography. URL: <http://www.alkansociety.org/Alkan-s-works/Discography--other-catalogues/discography--other-catalogues.html>
18. Alkan`s original Erard pedalier URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UDl-v_sD2uM
19. Alkan Society. URL: <http://alkansociety.org>
20. Buttall R. P. The Romantic Piano Concerto. URL: <http://www.philiprbuttall.co.uk/TheRomanticPianoConcerto.pdf>
21. Eddie W. A. Charles Valentin Alkan: his life and his music. Edinburgh: Ashgate, 2007. – 265 p.
22. François-Sappey B. François Luguenot Charles Valentin Alkan. – Paris: Bleu Nuit, 2013. – 176 p.
23. Joel A. A Stylistic Evaluation of Charles Valentin Alkan's Piano Music, A Lecture Recital together with Three Recitals of Selected Works of J. S. Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Liszt, Schumann, and Villa-Lobos: Doctoral dissertation / University of North Texas. Denton, 1988. – 128 p.
24. Kessous-Dreyfuss A. Le passant du pont de l'Europe: Charles Valentin Alkan entre tradition et modernité. Paris: Massoreth Editions. 2013. – 365 p.
25. Lindeman S. D. Structural novelty and tradition in the early Romantic piano concerto. NY: Pendragon Press. 1999. – 348 p.
26. Smith R. Alkan, The men, The music – Vol. 1. – London: Kahn & Averill, 2000. – 440 p.
27. Tadday U. Charles Valentin Alkan, Munich: edition text + kritik 2017. – 135 p.

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-46-53>

*Tatarnikova Anzhelika,
candidate of pedagogical sciences, doctoral student,
lecturer of the Department of Theoretical
and Applied Cultural Studies of the Odessa
A. V. Nezhdanova National Music Academy, Ukraine
E-mail: angelikatatarnikova75@gmail.com*

POETICS OF “IVAN SUSANIN” BY M. I. GLINKA IN THE CONTEXT OF THE HALLELUJAH-GLORIOUS PARADIGM OF EUROPEAN CULTURE

Abstract. The article is devoted to the study of the spiritual-semantic and intonational-dramatic specifics of M. I. Glinka's opera “Ivan Susanin”, which is correlated with the hallelujah-glorious paradigm of European culture and music.

Keywords: Russian Musical Theater, opera by M. I. Glinka, the hallelujah-glorious paradigm of European culture, “Ivan Susanin” by M. I. Glinka, the mystery-liturgical foundations of the opera.

*Татарникова Анжелика,
кандидат педагогических наук, докторант, преподаватель кафедры
теоретической и прикладной культурологии Одесской национальной
музыкальной академии имени А. В. Неждановой, Украина
E-mail: angelikatatarnikova75@gmail.com*

ПОЭТИКА «ИВАНА СУСАНИНА» М. И. ГЛИНКИ В КОНТЕКСТЕ АЛЛИЛУЙНО-СЛАВОСЛОВНОЙ ПАРАДИГМЫ ЕВРОПЕЙСКОЙ КУЛЬТУРЫ

Аннотация. Статья посвящена исследованию духовно-смысловой и интонационно-драматургической специфики оперы М. И. Глинки «Иван Сусанин», соотносимой с аллилуйно-славословной парадигмой европейской культуры и музыки.

Ключевые слова: Русский музыкальный театр, оперное творчество М. И. Глинки, аллилуйно-славословная парадигма европейской культуры, «Иван Сусанин» М. И. Глинки, мистериально-литургийные основания оперы.

В истории любой национальной культуры, внедренной в пространство мирового культурно-исторического процесса, существует некая сокровищница, «золотой запас» «раритетов», репрезентирующих не только свое время, эпоху, но и вековые духовные ценности. Творческое наследие

М. И. Глинки и, прежде всего, его оперные шедевры, по-прежнему находятся в центре внимания современного исследователя по причине масштабности и неисчерпаемости композиторского гения их автора, а также ввиду их композиционной сложности и неоднозначности жанрово-стилевого решения.

Размышляя о насущных задачах современного глинковедения, Е. Смагина констатирует, что на сегодняшнем этапе «исследование оперного наследия Глинки требует, с одной стороны, снятия десятилетиями устоявшихся догматов и штампов, с другой – рассмотрения связей с традициями национальной культуры. Это необходимо для восстановления художественной концепции первых русских классических опер в их первозданности и полноте, для осмысления проблемы самобытного развития отечественной композиторской школы XIX века» [14, 3–4], в том числе в обнаружении ее духовно-религиозного, мистериального качества, выявляющего новые герменевтические «круги» творчества ее репрезентантов, среди которых имя М. И. Глинки занимает весьма существенное место.

Отечественная глинкиниана достаточно богата и разнообразна. Она представлена обширными и фундаментальными изысканиями Б. Асафьева [2], монографией О. Е. Левашевой [5; 6], исследованиями С. В. Тышко «Странствия Глинки» [15], выполняющими, согласно авторскому определению, функцию комментария к «Запискам» композитора. Особый интерес вызывают исследования Е. Лобзаковой [9; 8], Н. Серегиной [13], Т. Щербаковой [17], Е. Смагиной [14], Н. Бекетовой [3], Т. Чередниченко [16], фиксирующие внимание именно на духовно-религиозной (православной) составляющей оперного стиля М. И. Глинки и, прежде всего, его оперы «Иван Сусанин», в рамках которой выявляются не просто аналогии с православной литургией, но синтез духовно-мистической составляющей религиозного акта и художественного действия.

О продуктивности и актуальности подобного исследовательского подхода пишет Е. Лобзакова, отмечая следующее: «В науке донныне ощущается диспропорция, при которой эволюция его [Глинки] оперного творчества и инструментальных произведений рассматривается в искусственном отчуждении от православного культового

пения. В результате возникает ощущение существования двух разных композиторов – Глинки как автора гениальной “героико-трагической оперы” “Жизнь за царя” и Глинки как автора “Херувимской”» [9, 49]. В конечном итоге автор выявляет очевидное духовно-смысловое и интонационное сходство названных сочинений. Итогом соотнесения упоминаемых сфер творчества и их духовной взаимообусловленности становится следующий вывод исследователя: «Глинкой был дан импульс процессу адаптации традиций русского богослужебного пения в светской музыке XIX века» [8, 38]. Большинство исследователей фиксирует внимание на «комплексе ектении» как одном из базовых в интонационном языке его оперы «Иван Сусанин», на мученических аспектах судьбы ее исторического прообраза и их темброво-интонационном запечатлении и т.д. Тем не менее, славословный аспект поэтики оперного творчества М. И. Глинки, сосредоточенный в хоровых «массивах» Прологов и Эпилогов его оперных полотен, «вызревающий» в вокальных партиях главных персонажей и выявляющий глубокий духовно-религиозный мистериальный генезис музыкального театра композитора (равно как и оперного жанра в целом), пока не стал предметом исследовательского интереса в отечественном музыкознании и искусствознании.

Цель статьи – выявление смысловой значимости аллилуйно-славословной специфики и ее интонационной составляющей в поэтике «Ивана Сусанина» М. И. Глинки.

Обзор культурологических концепций XX – XXI столетий, ориентированных на доминантную роль культа в процессах становления культуры (в том числе и христианской), систематизация информации относительно роли феноменов славы, хвалы и подобных им в культово-богослужебной, фольклорной практике и духовно-этическом бытии христианского сообщества различных эпох, а также исследование бытования разнообразных форм и жанровых «моделей» богослов-

ско-гимнографического, иконографического, литературно-поэтического и художественно-образительного воплощения славословной тематики, – все это в совокупности дает основания для формулирования базовых установок *аллилуйно-славословной парадигмы европейской культуры и музыки*.

Данный феномен имеет свои *образно-смысловые «доминанты»*, сконцентрированные вокруг понятия о *Славе Господней и близких ему (хвала, благодарение, почитание, радость, красота, экзатика и др.)*, связанных с этимологическими смысловыми параметрами «культы» и производной от него культуры, а также ключевого значения термина «православие» («ортодоксия»), сосредоточенного в том числе на таких понятиях, как «сияние», «слава», «честь» [см. об этом более подробно: 11].

В рамках христианской духовно-этической традиции, сакральная сущность которой формировалась на пересечении «*теологии славы*» и «*теологии креста*» [10, 403–404], обозначенная аллилуйная парадигматика символизирует *духовное преображение* человека, а также единение в славословии земного и небесного миров, духовного и светского начал, репрезентированных не только в богословских святоотеческих толкованиях феномена «Славы Господней», но и через идеи «симфонии властей» (Византийская и Российская империи), «союза трона и алтаря» (Австрийская, Германская империи).

Обозначенные качества аллилуйной парадигмы европейской культуры неотделимы также от идеи высшего духовного *Божественного Порядка (ordo)* и показательной для него *Иерархии*, производных от сакральных первоисточников. Аллилуйно-славословное качество в этом случае знаменует собою его итоговую «стадию», освященную образами триумфа, хвалы, возношения Бога и небесного мира. Проекция этой идеи в земном мире обнаруживаются в сакральном возвышении фигуры монарха как гаранта Порядка, в выявлении ду-

ховных принципов существования национальной государственности и сопутствующих ей атрибутов. При иных ее формах (отсутствие монархическо-имперской формы управления, например, в украинской истории) идея Порядка оказывается сосредоточенной на ключевых принципах духовно-религиозного бытия нации, осмысления этапов ее истории в библейских категориях, на почитании ее святынь и архетипических установок. Соответственно объектами хвалы выступают те слои общества, которые являются носителями национальной идеи, а также выдающиеся исторические личности и творцы, деятельность которых духовно объединяет нацию и определяет существенную роль в этих процессах именно славословной тематики. Ориентация на идеи Порядка, духовного единения и преодоления индивидуализма обуславливает апеллирование в аллилуйной парадигматике культуры к идеям *соборности* во всем разнообразии их толкования в рамках европейского культурно-исторического процесса.

Отмеченные духовно-творческие установки стимулируют обращение к типологии соответствующей *жанровой сферы*, в том числе к *мистери* (составляющей частью которой в определенный период выступал и *Te Deum*), *миракля*, *мессы* с ее аллилуйно-славословными разделами (*Gloria, Sanctus*) и многочисленными разновидностями *доксологии* (Аллилуйя, юбилеи и др.). Существенными являются также типологические признаки *гимна, хвалебного псалма, оды, панегирика, дифирамба* и их аналогов в различных видах художественной деятельности (иконография «Христа во славе» «Пантократора», «*Majestas Domini*» и ее разновидности, символика *мандорлы, радуги, облака* и др.). При всем богатстве художественного запечатления обозначенной тематики, доминирующая роль все же принадлежит музыке, поскольку слава-хваление мыслится прежде всего как «воспевание».

Вокально-музыкальная «доминанта» в претворении аллилуйной парадигматики европей-

ской культуры (которая вместе с тем не отрицает иных художественных и языково-литературных форм ее воплощения) характеризуется выделением определенного *круга выразительных средств*, репрезентирующих обозначенную образную сферу. Ее культовые первоисточники и соборно-надконфессиональная направленность обуславливают апеллирование либо к образцам богослужечно-певческой практики и сопряженной с ней музыкальной риторики, либо к их стилизации в композиторском творчестве.

Среди наиболее показательных признаков музыкального воплощения аллилуйной парадигматики прежде всего обращает на себя внимание юбиляционный тип мелодики, интонационная специфика которого восходит в том числе и к калофоническому пению византийской традиции, а также тяготение к избыточности музыкального выражения (яркая динамика, темброво-исполнительский состав при доминирующей роли медных духовых инструментов, масштабность фактуры, звукового диапазона и т.д.) в буквальном соответствии с библейскими (псалмовыми) первоисточниками, призывающими к вселенской славе-хвале Господу.

История музыкального театра и оперы, с учетом их мистериального генезиса, так или иначе оказывается причастной к обозначенной аллилуйно-славословной парадигматике европейской культуры прошлого и современности. Сказанное соотносимо и с историческими этапами становления русской оперы, классика которой ассоциируется прежде всего с «Иваном Сусаниным» М. И. Глинки.

Творческая личность композитора формировалась на пересечении русской и западноевропейской культурно-исторических традиций первой половины XIX ст., породив особое сочетание типа «русского европейца» с типом личности, ставшим олицетворением русской национальной идеи XIX столетия, обусловившее в конечном итоге его статус как классика в истории русской музыки. Отметим при этом, что его сущность определена не только созданием классических для русской

национальной культуры образцов оперы, программной симфонической музыки и сферы камерно-вокальной лирики, но и их соотнесенностью с национальной духовно-религиозной традицией, к которой М. И. Глинка был приобщен на протяжении всей своей творческой жизни.

Своеобразным итогом духовных и творческих исканий М. И. Глинки можно считать факт его общения с епископом Игнатием (Брянчаниновым). Итогом их содержательных бесед стало написанное епископом Игнатием по просьбе самого М. И. Глинки эссе-диалог «Христианский пастырь и христианин-художник», базовые позиции которого, вероятно, соотносимы и с духовным мировоззрением самого композитора. Наибольший интерес вызывает тезис, обобщающий сущность духовного пути художника, который можно соотнести и с духовно-творческими установками М. И. Глинки: «Первое познание человека в области духовной есть познание своей ограниченности, как твари, своей греховности и своего падения, как твари падшей. Этому познанию гармонирует чувство покаяния и плача <...> Плач родит в свое время радость, хотя и на земле, но не земную <...> состояние высшего благоговения, соединенного со страхом, оно производится живым явлением величия Божия и останавливает все движения ума» [4, 188, 190, 191].

Сказанное обнаруживаем и в скромности натуры М. И. Глинки, его расположенности к самоуглублению, интровертности, и в его глубоком интересе к православной религиозности и обрядовости, и в стремлении к постижению сущности православного богослужечно-певческого искусства и запечатлении его «духа и буквы» в своем творческом наследии, и в непосредственном обращении к богослужечно-певческой жанровой сфере. Одновременно, епископ Игнатий упоминает о духовной «радости», «состоянии высшего благоговения» как кульминационной точке духовного мироощущения человека, в том числе и творческого. В христианстве данное состояние

часто оказывается соотносимым со славословием-хвалением, составляющим одно из наиболее показательных качеств не только богослужения, но и христианского образа мира и человека. Акцентирование идеи духовной радости-славословия как преодоления скорби составляет одно из показательных качеств православного мироощущения. Размышляя о сущности и значимости Божьей Славы в человеческом духовном бытии, протоиерей Ливерий (Воронов) указывает, что «... прославление Бога жизнью, делами составляет главное предназначение человека как причастника любви Божьей» [7].

Подобного рода духовное мировосприятие показательно и для личности М. И. Глинки, в сознании которого «духовный плач» был неотделим от «духовной радости», что нашло запечатление и в поэтике его оперы «Иван Сусанин». В ней композитор обращается к историческому сюжету, который приобрел в рамках русской культуры статус «государственного мифа», соотносимого как с российской имперской идеологией первой половины XIX века, так и с ее национальной идеей. Одновременно, композитор выявляет духовно-патриотическую высоту жертвенного подвига Ивана Сусанина, который в условиях обозначенного «мифа» свидетельствует о литургийном подтексте поэтики анализируемой оперы. Литургия являет собой символическое таинство, разворачивающееся на «священной сцене храма», вовлекающее через переживание Священной истории и Библейского повествования, взаимодействие «верха» и «низа», единение библейского и исторического времени, всех молящихся, являющихся, одновременно, и свидетелями и участниками этой литургической драмы. Их духовное преображение – залог формирования соборного качества общины, составляющей одну из важнейших основ Церкви.

Обозначенные качества Литургии, неисчерпаемые в своих духовных смыслах, на протяжении многих столетий во многом определяли сущность

и русской культуры в целом, в рамках которой «православная традиция выступает в качестве интегрирующего фактора, своего рода аксиологического “зеркала”, становящегося источником духовного импульса для светской культуры, которая может осуществлять и осуществляет художественные замыслы, ассоциированные с религиозной практикой» [8, 7].

Сказанное нашло запечатление и в духовно-смысловой стороне оперы М. И. Глинки «Иван Сусанин», что проявилось и в апеллировании к образу исторического героя, чьи качества (духовный лидер, стремление к самопожертвованию) соответствуют канонам святости; и в сакрализации личности монарха как Богоданного государя; и в доминировании в опере соборного начала, очевидного в существенной роли хоров, выявляющих ораториальный паралитургический генезис произведения; и в сущности репрезентации композитором «временного континуума», соотносимого с «канонам цикла Всеночного Бдения», т.е. последовательного разворачивания действия оперы от событий вечера и трагически сумрачного ночного «действия» к «свету Преображения», олицетворяемому «румяной зарей», осветившей принесение жертвы – гибель Сусанина.

Интонационный язык оперы М. И. Глинки «Иван Сусанин» также демонстрирует сопряженность с литургическим качеством, что проявляется в его доминирующем интонационном комплексе (тоническая квинта с опеванием верхнего тона), объединяющим характеристику русского мира как в хоровых, так и в сольных сценах, и генетически восходящим к так называемому «обиходному ладу». Последний, по мнению А. Рудневой, выполняет роль ладовой основы как церковно-певческой, так и фольклорной традиции. «В песнях с ярко выраженными признаками обиходного лада в открытом или скрытом виде фигурирует секста в разном ее значении. Это и опевание тонической квинты, и ходы при смене устоев, и восходящие скачки после длительного нисходящего движения

мелодии к тоническому устою или временному «микроустою», и крайние звуки каденционной формулы, и прием расширения певческого диапазона как стремление раскрыть вокальные возможности певца...». Именно в этом приеме, как считает А. Руднева, «кроется сущность русской распевности» [12, 145, 141], очевидная и для слухово-интонационного восприятия М. И. Глинки.

Одновременно, как известно, «обиходный лад» и его звукоряд составляет, прежде всего, основу русской церковно-певческой традиции, что приводит цитированного выше автора к следующему закономерному выводу: «Мы не можем отделять древнейшую народную музыку, а также музыку периода средневековья от профессионального искусства этих эпох – древнерусского знаменного пения. Обеим этим культурам присущи общие закономерности ладового и мелодического развития, что в полной мере показывает их сравнительный анализ» [12, 157].

Обозначенная интонационная лейтформула оперы и сопряженная с ней соборная идея всего сочинения обретает свое кульминационное звучание в финальном хоре «Славься». Его ярко выраженная гимническая природа дополняется праздничным «перезвоном» второй и третьей ступеней мажорного лада, имитирующим колокольность, а также интонационно-попевочными аналогиями его тематизма с певческим обходом пятого гласа. На церковно-певческую природу данного хора указывает также О. Левашева, усматривающая многообразные истоки хора «и в плавных интонациях древнего знаменного распева, и в мощном многоголосном звучании хорового партесного пения, и в победных “виватных” кантах Петровской эпохи, и в маршевых ритмах воинских песен 1812 года. Особенно чутко переданы у Глинки особенности русского партесного стиля XVII–XVIII веков <...> Определяющей интонацией всего хора является плавная “раскачивающаяся” секундовая попевка (ми–ре–до–ре), типичная для мелодий знаменного распева»,

в частности, для попевок распева “Колыбелька”» [5, 284].

Подобного рода контактность данной темы с обиходно-певческой традицией дополняется наблюдениями Б. Асафьева, который усматривает в жанровой специфике «Славься» также и черты канта. Согласно позиции исследователя, «на Западе Бетховен в финале пятой и девятой симфоний мощно пересоздал кант в стимул массового победного, праздничного шествия и ликования. Тогда стало возможным и глинкинское свое, своеобразное, народное “Славься” – как величавое обобщение народных сил, но не в пределах только крестьянской песенной стихии» [2, 213].

Славление, славословие, как указывалось ранее, составляет одну из универсалий христианской культуры во всем разнообразии ее конфессиональных проявлений, в том числе и в русской православной традиции. Е. Лобзакова, анализируя духовную музыку М. И. Глинки, усматривает в его «Херувимской песне» (один из центральных моментов Божественной Литургии), созданной в 1837 году, интонационные аналогии с хором «Славься», а также с базовой идеей оперы в целом, апофеозно репрезентированной именно в Эпilogе: «Основная идея Херувимской – ожидание Христа – Небесного Царя – созвучна центральному мотиву оперы: ожиданию народом царя-защитника» [9, 49].

Доминантно-кульминационная роль хора «Славься» в опере определена также и тем фактом, что его базовая тема интонационно «вызревает» на протяжении всей оперы, «прорастая» в ее кульминационных зонах, сопряженных, прежде всего, с партией Сусанина, точнее, с наиболее драматическими эпизодами его жертвенного подвига, представленными в III д. (ариозо «Велик и свят наш край родной»), а также в кульминационной сцене финального поединка между Сусаниным и поляками (IV д.). Подобного рода прием важен не только с точки зрения чисто драматургической, но и духовно-смысловой, выявляющей сущность право-

славного мирозерцания, одной из черт которого выступает, по определению С. Аверинцева, «преодоление эмоционального в переживании Вочеловечения Бога». Для православного сознания, по мнению исследователя, принципиально «неумаленное предощущение “славного” в “скорбном”». На Западе христианское искусство вступает на путь, доводящий до предела эмоциональное разделение между скорбью Страстной Пятницы и Пасхальной радостью <...> Совершенно иначе трактуются эти темы в православном церковном искусстве: изображение Распятия у византийских и русских иконописцев не только лишено какого-либо натурализма (и экспрессионизма) – более того: линии распростертых рук Распятого уже предвосхищают своим окрыленным размахом Пасхальную невесомость <...> Именно страдание Христа и есть его победа» [1, 261–262].

Драматургическая и интонационно-смысловая специфика и роль хора «Славься» оказывается непосредственно соотносимой с подобным мировосприятием, что подтверждается идеей всего Эпилога, вмещающего в себя также трио-реквием в память о мученической смерти Сусанина, обрамленный глинкинским «гимном-маршем». Идея славления, только в эпическом варианте фактически заложена и в хоровой Интродукции анализируемой оперы, являющей собой не только величественный образ Родины, но и (по замыслу М. И. Глинки) идею единения русского мелоса с традициями западноевропейского полифонического искусства, символизировавшего в рамках культуры первой половины XIX ст. высокое духовное начало.

Показательно, что финальная fuga Интродукции в сущности объединяет две темы, генетически

связанные как с русской фольклорной традицией (мужской хор – солдатские, молодецкие песни; женский хор – веснянки), так и с литургической. Если ладово-интонационный язык первой темы, как указывалось ранее, сопряжен с традициями «обиходного лада», то женский хор, по наблюдениям Е. В. Смагиной, имеет интонационные аналогии с песнопениями ирмосов Пасхи С. Дегтярева [см. более подробно об этом: 14, 20].

Итак, поэтика оперы М. И. Глинки «Иван Сусанин» демонстрирует сопряженность с литургическим действием, что проявляется в доминирующем интонационном комплексе (тоническая квинта с опеванием верхнего тона), объединяющем характеристику русского мира как в хоровых, так и в сольных сценах и генетически восходящим к «обиходному ладу». Последний, по мнению А. В. Рудневой, выполняет роль ладовой основы как церковно-певческой, так и фольклорной традиции. Один из ключевых номеров оперы, выражающих ее духовную и религиозно-этическую идею – хор «Славься», интонационно «вызревающий» на протяжении всего произведения, также соотносим с литургической практикой по своим жанровым истокам, в числе которых традиции канта, «гимна-марша», партесного стиля, ритмо-интонаций колокольного перезвона, а также попевок знаменного распева, дополняемых апеллированием к респонсорно-антифонному фактурному принципу. Интонационно-смысловая роль обозначенного хора как кульминации всего спектакля, обобщающей его ключевую идею, обнаруживает также его соотношение и с аллилуйно-славословной парадигмой европейской культуры, нацеленной на выявление ее соборного качества.

Список литературы

1. Averincev S. S. *Drugoj Rim: Izbrannye stat'i*. SPb.: Amfora, 2005. – 366 s.
2. Asaf'ev B. V. *Izbrannye trudy*. – M.: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1952. – T. 1: *Izbrannye raboty o M. I. Glinke*. – 400 s.
3. Beketova N. V. *Prazdnik russkoj muzyki: «Zhizn' za carya» Glinki kak nacional'nyj mif // Yuzhno-Rossijskij muzykal'nyj al'manah*. 2004. – № 1. – S. 20–31.

4. Zhizneopisanie episkopa Ignatiya (Bryanchaninova). – M.: Izdatel'stvo im. svt. Ignatiya Stavropol'skogo; Rossijskaya nacional'naya biblioteka, 2002. – 512 s.
5. Levasheva O. E. Mihail Ivanovich Glinka: Monografiya: V 2-h kn. Kn. 1. – M.: Muzyka, 1987. – 381 s.
6. Levasheva O. E. Mihail Ivanovich Glinka: Monografiya: V 2-h kn. Kn. 2. – M.: Muzyka, 1988. – 352 s.
7. Liverij (Voronov), protoierej. Dogmaticheskoe bogoslovie. URL: <https://azbuka.ru/otechnik/Liverij-Voronov/> (data zvernennya: 12.11. 2018 r.).
8. Lobzakova E. E. Vzaimodejstvie svetskoj i religioznoj tradicij v tvorchestve M. I. Glinki i N. A. Rimskogo-Korsakova: uchebnoe posobie. – Rostov-na-Donu: Izdatel'stvo RGK im. S. V. Rahmaninova, 2012. – 77 s.
9. Lobzakova E. E. Duhovnaya muzyka Glinki: opyt osmysleniya // Yuzhno-Rossijskij muzykal'nyj al'manah. 2004. – № 1. – S. 46–51.
10. Mak-Kim Donal'd K. Vestminsterskij slovar' teologicheskikh terminov: Per. s angl. – M.: Respublika, 2004. – 503 s.
11. Pravoslavie. URL: <http://azbuka.ru/pravoslavie> (data zvernennya: 18.01. 2020 r.).
12. Rudneva A. V. Russkoe narodnoe muzykal'noe tvorchestvo: ocherki po teorii fol'klora. – M.: Sovetskij kompozitor, 1990. – 224 s.
13. Seregina N. Drevnerusskoe hramovoe dejstvo kak predtecha teatra v Rossii // Muzykal'nyj teatr: Sb. nauchnyh trudov / Otv. red. i sost. A. L. Porfir'eva. SPb.: RIII, 1991. – S. 110–125.
14. Smagina E. V. Opernaya poetika Glinki v kontekste nacional'nyh kul'turnyh tradicij: avtoref. diss. ... kand. iskusstvovedeniya: 17.00.02 – muzykal'noe iskusstvo / Rostovskaya gosudarstvennaya konservatoriya im. S. V. Rahmaninova. Rostov-na-Donu, 2002. – 27 s.
15. Tyshko S. V. Stranstviya Glinki. Kommentarii k «Zapiskam»: v 4 ch. – K.: Zadruga, 2000. – Ch. 1: Ukraina. – 221 s.
16. Cherednichenko T. Muzyka v istorii kul'tury. – T. 1, 2. URL: https://www.studmed.ru/cherednichenko-tv-muzyka-v-istorii-kultury-tom-1-2_e9a8517cc5c.html (data zvernennya: 07.08. 2019 r.).
17. Shcherbakova T. A. «Zhizn' za carya»: cherty svyashchennodejstviya // Muzykal'naya akademiya. 2000. – № 4. – S. 154–157.

Section 4. History and archaeology

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-54-67>

*Malakhov Sergei Viktorovich,
candidate of historical sciences, associate professor, Russia
E-mail: svmalakhov@mail.ru*

ON THE NAME OF THE COUNTRY “ELAM”

Abstract. The word “Elam” had more to do with livestock raising than with arable farming. Ultimately, it was connected with the concept of water, and even fresh water, and in this capacity most likely was of Indo-European origin.

Keywords: history of Elam; history of semi-nomadic livestock raising; Elamite calendar; early history of the Kurds; name of Der, Chalonitis, Apolloniatis, Sittacene, Bologna, Lombardy, Limpopo, Olmansk swamps; long-range etymologies.

*Малахов Сергей Викторович,
кандидат исторических наук, доцент, Россия
E-mail: svmalakhov@mail.ru*

О НАЗВАНИИ СТРАНЫ «ЭЛАМ»

Аннотация. Слово «Элам» было в большей степени связано с ведением скотоводческого хозяйства, нежели хозяйства земледельческого. В конечном счёте оно находилось в связи с понятием воды, и даже пресной воды, и в этом качестве, скорее всего, имело индоевропейское происхождение.

Ключевые слова: история Элама; история полукочевого скотоводства; эламский календарь; древнейшая история курдов; название Дера, Каллонитиды, Аполлониады, Ситтакены, Болоньи, Ломбардии, Лимпопо, Ольманских болот; глобальные этимологии

Третьими после шумеров и египтян перешли к тому состоянию, которое справедливо определяется как классовое, по-видимому, эламиты. Последнее слово традиционно, конвенционно, но вместе с тем – и достаточно противоречиво. Настоящая работа посвящена выяснению того, что стоит за словом «Элам» – что само оно значило, – поскольку общего мнения на этот счёт нет.

Исходное написание лексики с технически сложно воспроизводимой графикой в работе не приводится. Выводы предваряются звёздочками.

Названиями Элама вне его, передающими это имя, были аккадск. **Elam(mā)tu** (где **mātu** – «страна, земля, равнина»), иврит **‘Ēlām** אֵלָאִם, др.-греческ. **Ἐλυμαία** / **Ἐλυμαίς** и латинск. **Elymaida** / **Elymaïs**. Наиболее ранним из них, приходящимся, очевидно, на всё II тысячелетие до н.э., было

аккадское обозначение этих земель [1, 2–3, 6, 8; 2, 64]. (Для исхода III тысячелетия до н.э. и территорий, конвенционно относимых к эламским, известны такие, например, области, как Алумидатум и Улум (шумерск. *Ālumiddatum* и *Úlum(ma)* [3, 136]).)

То, что имелось в виду под Эламом, можно, мне кажется, не вызывая возражений определить как территории, лежавшие к востоку от нижнего течения Тигра. Если юго-запад Двуречья был достаточно обжит уже шумерами, то юго-восток его – земли по Тигру – очень долго оставался ещё вне того состояния, которое создаётся классовыми общественными отношениями [4]. Немного селений здесь и сейчас. Единственный город в этих краях – Эль-Амара (арабск. *al-‘Amārah*) – лежит на Тигре, у северо-западной кромки болотно-озёрных низовий Тигра и Евфрата, Каруна и Керхе. Но это если не считать болотно-озёрных площадей сезонного характера на правобережье по преимуществу Тигра к западу и северо-западу от Эль-Амары [5], иногда обозначаемых как Эль-Мусандак (арабск. *al-Muṣandāq*) [6, 14].

О территориях, конвенционно относимых к эламским, можно сказать, что в историсофском отношении той их частью, которую прежде всего следует принимать во внимание при интерпретации этого понятия, должна быть единственная в их пределах протяжённая и низменная равнина Каруна и Керхе, условия которой повторяли характеристики долин Евфрата и Нила. При том, что на юге её протекают ещё две реки – Джарахи и Зохране, – длина которых лишь в два раза уступает протяжённости Каруна и Керхе. Последние являются крупнейшими реками Ирана. Эту равнину, протянувшуюся более чем на 200 км в меридиональном направлении и менее чем на 200 км – в широтном, называли когда-то Сузианой. Естественными границами её на севере и востоке были предгорья Загроса, на западе же и юге – озёрно-болотные пространства Эль-Ахвара, на юге заканчивавшиеся Персидским заливом. Высота этой равнины составляет ок. 4 м над

уровнем моря, и когда реки, протекающие по ней, разливались, она тоже напоминала болота. (В южной её части они были и постоянными.) Но по сходу паводковой воды эти земли недолго превращались в выжженные солнцем полупустынные пространства. Летние температуры почти каждый день поднимаются здесь выше +45 °С. Это одно из самых жарких мест в мире. И тем не менее при надлежащей ирригации земли Сузианы давали не просто хорошие, но очень хорошие урожаи. Зимы тут мягкие, и температура не часто опускается ниже 0 °С [7]. Среднесуточные температуры самого холодного месяца – января – составляют в Ахване +12 °С. В новое время низовья Каруна и Керхе назывались Арабиستانом. Арабский язык, принципиально не отличающийся от кувейтского арабского, остаётся преобладающим языком в этих краях и ныне.

С севера и востока равнину Каруна и Керхе наполовину опоясывают Загросские горы. Высота их порой превышает 3 тыс. м, и даже долины лежат на высотах более 1 тыс. м. Лето здесь умеренное и с 1,5 тыс. м – скорее прохладное. Зимы – суровые и снежные, с температурой, опускающейся ниже –25 °С [7]. Эти места получают в два с лишним раза больше осадков, чем остальная часть Ирана, и считаются лучшими в нём пастбищами. Выпас скота в них искони сльётся делом бахтиаров и луров, близких друг другу очень во многом, чьей территорией и является половина этой горной страны с её чередующимися цепями гор и долин [8]. Шесть месяцев они остаются со стадами на альпийских лугах, четыре месяца живут рядом с ними в предгорьях и низменностях (и не в последнюю очередь – на равнине Каруна и Керхе), ещё полтора-два месяца находятся в пути [9, 113; 10]. К местам своего летнего пребывания бахтиары, как правило, отправляются в середине марта [9, 106]. При том, что топографически их переходы и лагеря почти всегда остаются одними и теми же [10]. В контекст эламского прошлого эта тема была хорошо поставлена ещё Г. Э. Сойером, в конце позапрошлого века писавшего: «Летом равнины [Элама] так же, как

и сейчас, были нестерпимо жаркими, тогда как эта горная страна прохладна, с лесами и покрытыми снегом вершинами. Едва ли поэтому будет неоправданным предположение, что и в те времена, как и теперь, эта лежащая выше страна периодически населялась теми людьми, постоянные места жительства которых были в Нижнем – равнинном – Эламе.» [Цит. по: 3, 19]. Пребывание на равнине в течение всего года считалось, например, у бахтиаров крайне нежелательным и роняющим в глазах других людей тех, кому приходилось так поступать [9, 31, 105, 125, 184]. Отношение это было воспитано, без сомнения, тысячами лет социалистического состояния простого земледельческого населения как состояния несвободного и низкого [11, 16–17; 12, 21, 23–27].

Заканчивая этот раздел, вернёмся к тому, с чего он был начат. Донедавна времени Эль-Ахвар <ср.: арабск. *’āhwār* и латинск. *aquātiōnes* – «болота» > представлял собой бессчётное множество озёр, заиленных пойм и болот, покрытых чащами тростника, папируса и камыша, с узкими водными путями, вьющимися через них, мозаику пресноводных, порой солоноватых и засолённых, акваторий и территорий. Весной, в половодье, их площадь была много больше, чем осенью [13], и в общем оценивалась как близкая 20 тыс. кв. км. Глубины акваторий Эль-Ахвара не превышали обыкновенно 1,5 м. Постоянные и сезонные реки с северо-восточного и северо-западного берегов Персидского залива несут в него много осадочных материалов, и созданные ими аллювиальные веера затрудняют сток Тигра и Евфрата, способствуя складыванию их двойной дельты: континентальной – озёрно-болотной, и морской – плавнево-лиманной. На островках первой из них с шумерского времени было множество поселений, жители которых держали буйволов и коров, выращивали рис и просо, передвижение же осуществляли на лодках (в арабской передаче – *al-mašḥūf*). Землю им заменяла вода [14, 3–4, 8–10]. В средние века

жителей этих мест называли маади (арабск. *al-ma’ādī*), в наше же время называют маданами (арабск. *al-ma’dān*) или арабами Эль-Ахвара. Большая их часть придерживается шиитского направления ислама.

Рассмотрим несколько выборок, которые могут быть ключом к объяснению исходного значения имени «Элам».

1) В Европе и Америке, отчасти – в Азии и Африке, есть несколько больших и средних озёр с названиями, во многом его повторяющими. Это Алмере (др.-нидерландск. water **Aelmere** – озеро, позднее – залив Зейдерзе), Алумине (испанск. lago **Aluminé**), Элементейта (английск. lake **Elementaita**), Ёльмарен (шведск. sjön [**Н**] **Jälmaren**), Илиamna (английск. **Iliamna lake**), Ильмень (др.-русс. озеро **Илмерь**), Лама (русс. озеро **Лама**), Ла-Мартр (французск. lac **La Martre**), Байкал (эвенкийск **Lāmэ**), Лох-Ломонд (к.-шотландск. loch **Laomainn**), Женевское озеро (латинск. **Lemā(n)nus lacus**), Оломега (испанск. laguna de **Olomega**).

2) Ср.: тамильск. **alam** «вода» *அலம்*; ч.-арабск. **almy** «вода» [15]; чамбри **alum** «вода» [15]; мальтийск. **ilma** «вода»; тай-нья **lam.4** «вода» [15]; лавонгай **laman** «вода» [15]; французск. **lamper** «жадно пить» и **limnique** «пресноводный»; кабийе **lim** «вода» [15]; утхеле **lombe** «вода» [15]; авокайя **lumvu** «вода» [15]; аварск. **лѡим** «вода»; латинск. **lympa** «пресная вода»; при др.-греческ. *ἄλμη* «морская вода». В Библии упоминается Элим (иврит *’Ēlīm* *עֵלִים*) – оазис с 12 источниками на Синае и лучшей водой в тех местах [16]. * Значение этого топонима, на мой взгляд, очевидно.

3) Ср.: бине **alame** «поток» [17]; тамашек **α-læmmæya** «ручей» [18]; испанск. **alimentar** «впадать (о реке)»; венгерск. **elmosni** «смыть (о реке); мыть» и **lemenni** «спадать, снижаться (о воде)»; пулаар **ilam** «наводнение, паводок» [19]; юэск. **laam.6** «выходить из берегов» *濫*; хуаве **lam** «река» [20]; в.-чонтальск. **lam** «река»

[21]; эвенкийск. **lām** «большая вода; море»; мота **lama** «море» [22]; саа **lama** «озеро» [23]; гу-ринджи **laman** «река» [21]; тяминтунгск. **laman** «река; ручей» [21]; ровиана **lamana** «море» [22]; бутуанск. **lam-anaw** «озеро» [23]; чеченск. **ламаз** «омовение; намаз»; тайск. **lam.1huay.3** / **lam.1thaa.1** «ручей» ลำห้วย / ลำธาร; тай-нья **lam.4mo.5** «родник» [24]; финск. **lampi** «лесное стоячее озеро»; индонезийск. **lampor** «дух, вызывающий разливы и приливы», **lamun** «затоплять, заиливать» и **lembak** «выходить из берегов»; с.-китайск. **lǎomàn** «наводнение, паводок» 潦漫 и **liúmàn** «разливаться, растекаться» 流漫; вичи **lawumek** «озеро» [25]; фьер **lem** «река; ручей» [21]; курманджи **leme-lém** «шум (текущей воды)» и **limêj** «омовение; намаз»; ительменск. **лэмэс** «мыть»; сорани **lèmišt** «наводнение, паводок»; амхарск. **lemma** «орошаться, обводняться» ለማ; бутийск. **lempe'** «наводнение, паводок» [19]; др.-греческ. **λίμνη** «стоячая вода, озеро, болото; море»; маршалльск. **lometo** «море» [22]; албанск. **lumë** «река»; мусей **lumma** «озеро, река, ручей» [21]; з.-тохарск. **lyam** «озеро; море»; арамейск. **lymny** «озеро»; крусеньо **ulam** «поток» [17]; при праавстронезийск. ***laman** «море, океан» [22]. В русском языке «ильменем» называли зарастающие тростником и камышом озёра, образовавшиеся из разливов рек или давних их русел, низменные, залитые водой места. < * Исходным значением аккадск. **līmitu** «периметр, окружность, граница» и латинск. **līmes** (мн. ч. **līmitis**) «граница, предел», скорее всего, было «граница воды и земли, береговая линия», лишь относительно являющаяся постоянной. * То же и для латышск. **līmenis** «уровень» – «уровень воды». >

4) Ср.: литовск. **almėti** «сочиться, проступать» и **liùpra** «трясина»; др.-английск. **lam** «земля с водой, грязь»; чадунск. **lam.1** «болото» [26]; латинск. **lāma** «болото, топь» и **limus** «грязь, ил»; латышск. **lāmainis** «залитый водой, мочажинный»; меланау **lamar** «болото» [27]; португальск. **lamarão** «болото, топь»; испанск.

lamedal «топь, грязь»; грузинск. **lamiani** «илистый» ლამიანო; хантыйск. **ламк** «грязь, ил»; к.-саамск. **ла́мьп** «болото»; украинск. **лампач** «саман»; чувашск. **ламчӑр** «вязкий, грязный»; д.-в.-немецк. **leim(o)** «грязь, ил»; лезгинск. **лем-кье** «жижа»; сицилийск. **limarra** «грязь, ил»; тайск. **lom.2** «топь» ᨾᩣ᩠ᨦ; английский. **low-moor** «низовое болото»; кэме **lum.31** «болото» [26]; индонезийск. **lumpur** «грязь, слякоть»; албанск. **lym** «земля с водой, грязь»; ненецк. **лымба** «болото, трясина»; селькупск. **лымпя** «топь»; в.-тохарск. **lyom** «болото, топь»; калмыцк. **уам** «болото, топь»; при бореяск. ***LVMV** «болото» (где V – гласные) [28].

5) Ср.: чувашск. **айла́м** «низина, пойма» и **ла́мла** «сырой, топкий»; финск. **alamaa** «низменность, низина»; ср.-в.-немецк. **almei(n)de** «общие пастбища»; др.-исландск. **almenning** «общие пастбища»; немецк. **Alm(er)** «альпийский луг, горное пастбище»; тамазигхт **almu** «выгон»; литовск. **įlomis** «низина» и **loma** «низина, лог»; эрзянск. **лайме** «долина; луг» и **лём** «низина; пойма, луг»; ненецк. **ламдова** «низменность, низина»; португальск. **lameiro** «болото; низина, луг»; эстонск. **lamminiit** «пойменный луг»; лезгинск. **ламу** «влажный, сырой»; сванск. **lāmb** «влажный, сырой»; др.-греческ. **λειμών** «луг, выгон»; индонезийск. **lembab** «влажный, сырой» и **lembah** «низина, долина»; ц.-догонск. **lí:m(á)** «пасти» [29]; баскск. **limuri** «влажный, сырой»; ю.-эфате **lom** «влажный, сырой» [30]; при праностратическ. ***lamd-** «низина» [31, 702–703]. Альмендой в средние века в центральной Европе большей частью называли общинные пастбищные угодья.

6) В этот перечень можно включить и самые протяжённые в Европе болота – Ольманские (белорусск. **Альманскія** балоты), землю Ламата (латинск. terra **Lammato** / **Lamotina**, XIII–XIV вв.) в дельте Немана [32, 55–60], Ломбардию (итальянск. **Lombardia**), как в раннее средневековье называли северную Италию с Паданской равниной, тогда весьма заболоченной (немецк.

Lombardei «Ломбардская низменность»), реку Лимпопо (английск. **Limpopo** river), нижнему течению которой присущ очевидный водно-болотный характер [33, 1–2]. (Ср.: «Кичеру в её нижнем течении, когда она выходит на равнинные пространства общей дельты с Верхней Ангарой и ... через [болота и] озера течет в Байкал, эвенки называют Ламутканом» [34, 8].) * Этимология их названий, на мой взгляд, во многом общая.

* Приведённая в этих выборках апеллятивная и топонимическая лексика позволяет прийти к выводу, что в части языков мира – как индоевропейских, так и иных – слова, основой которых является сочетание сонорных **l** и **m**, чаще уровня, объясняемого случайностями, передают значения, производные от значения «вода», с порядковым преимуществом даже – «пресная вода» [тж.: 35].

Фонетический рисунок, близкий к звучащему в названии Элама – которое считается внешним для него, – можно найти и в эламских наименованиях трёх месяцев: **alalima**, **elamatum** и **hallime**. Последний был четвёртым месяцем эламского календаря. Этимология его неизвестна. «По аналогии с Египтом, – пишет В. В. Емельянов, – где год начинался с разлива Нила, можно предположить, что в Месопотамии, где реки разливаются ... в конце марта, начало года также могло быть приурочено к этому событию» [36, 46]. Распространим это допущение и на Элам. Тем более, что так или иначе в большинстве городов древнего Двуречья «начало года ... находилось вблизи дня весеннего равноденствия» [37, 27]. Так же не позднее середины I тысячелетия до н.э. обстояло с этим и в Иране. Четвёртый месяц будет приходиться тогда на июньскую и июльские декады. **Hal** по-эламски – «земля». **Halat** – «глина, грязь». (Ср.: бахтиарск. **gel** «грязь» [38, 201]; фарси **гел** «земля, грязь, глина» گِل; сорани **gil** «земля, глина»; украинск. **глей**, английск. **clay** – «глина, ил»; арамейск. **glytw** ' «глина» и **hl** «грязь».) * С учётом изложенного и синтаксиса эламского языка название четвёртого месяца

будет переводиться тогда как «(месяц) сырой земли». (Ср.: английск. **holm** «остров(ок) на реке, в озере или дельте; пойма, луг», которые часто сырые.)

В мае расход воды в Каруне средний, в Керхе – ближе к высокому, а в Тигре – и очень высокий. В июне в Каруне и Керхе он достаточно низкий, в Тигре же – средний. В июле расход воды в Каруне и Тигре скорее низкий, на Керхе – межень. В августе межень устанавливается на всех трёх реках [39; 40; 41]. В. В. Емельянов отмечает, что в мае в Двуречье «начинается спад воды после разлива и открывается значительная часть заливных лугов и пахотных земель» [36, 65]. На равнине Каруна и Керхе третий месяц – это время окончания паводка. В пятом же месяце, как писали в аккадскую пору, «спускается [бог Огня] Гирра, высушивает влажную землю» [36, 89], и с его приходом в Сузиане устанавливалась предельная жара [42, 12; 36, 83; 37, 28, 31]. Месяц, стоявший между ними – четвёртый, – был в Двуречье временем начала очередных пахотных работ. Тогда в Шумере отмечалось новогодье сева, почему и шумерское его название значило, по-видимому, «месяц сева» [36, 77–78]. Так же переводится имя этой тридцатидневки и в раннем семитском календаре, имевшем хождение в Месопотамии во второй половине III тысячелетия до н.э. [37, 35]. В шумерских текстах упоминаются «дни влажной земли», когда нужна мотыга, после чего называются и «дни сева» – время, в которое работают плугом [43, 21–22]. В них можно прочесть, что «когда пашешь ... влажной земли быть [уже] не должно» [43, 35]. Четвёртый месяц выглядит при этом компромиссом, при котором приречные аллювиальные почвы ещё остаются сырыми, но уже перестают ими быть. По свидетельствам античного времени, такой же «наполовину высохшей» поднятая земля засеивалась и в Индии [44, 645].

Об эламских месяцах **alalima** и **elamatum** почти ничего неизвестно. В шумерском языке **ala**, однако же, значило «наносы, ил, грязь» (при латинск. **alluvio** «наносная земля»; фракийск. **ilu**,

др.-греческ. **ἰλύς** – «ил, грязь»). * Это позволяет интерпретировать термин **alalima** как «(месяц) невысохшего ила», и соответственно, уравнивать семантики **alalima** и **hallime**, а значит, и считать первый из них тем же по счёту, что и второй. Отметим также, что слово **alalima** на тысячу по меньшей мере лет старше **hallime** [45; 46, 601]. * Название же месяца **elamatum** [46] может, как мне кажется, относиться к первой тридцатидневке годичной сетки и переводиться как «(месяц пол-лой) воды», поскольку это время половодья на Каруне, Керхе, Джарахи и Зохре, и с некоторым отставанием – на Тигре [39; 40; 41].

В дошедшем до нас фрагменте двуреченского мифа, датированном временем ок. XVII в. до н.э., рассказывается о боге Огня Гир(р)е и ведьме Элама(т)ту(м) – аккадск. **Gir(r)a** и **Elama(t)-tu(m)**. Последняя была ответственна за неурожаи и неразведение скота на земле и в этой связи убита Гир(р)ой, что было положительно встречено верховным божеством Энлилем, убравшим Элама(т)ту(м) на небеса. (Ср.: баскск. **gar**, монгорск. **gar** [47], сорани **gir**, хадийя **gi:ra** [47], афарск. **gi:ra**: [47], аккадск. **girru**, бахтиарск. **gor** [38, 202], санскрит **haras** हरस, с.-китайск. **huōr** 火兒, армянск. **hur** հր – «огонь, пламя»; курманджи **germ**, др.-прусс. **gorme**, фарси **hāp(p)** 𐭠𐭥𐭥, арамейск. **hrrt** – «жар, зной»; ст.-славянск. **горѣти** «гореть».) Как мне кажется, это повествование находится в связи с ещё одной очень древней традицией – стоящей за праздником 13 фарвардина в Иране. Согласно ей, в этот день, соответствующий 1–2 апреля (время наиболее высокого подъёма воды в реках равнины Каруна и Керхе), божество Жары было побеждено богиней Воды. Этот день принято проводить не дома, а под открытым небом и у текущей воды. Справедливо сказанное и для луров – с той лишь разницей, что они отмечают его на день позже, и те из них, которые живут так, как прежде, находятся в это время в дороге. Считается, что богиней Воды, поминаемой 13 фарвардина,

была зороастрийская Анахита, покровительница скотоводства и земледелия. О её почитании в крупнейших городах Ахеменидской империи – в том числе и в Сузах, – связанном с поклонением ей двора, известно, например, для царствования Артаксеркса II [48]. * Но для приведённого выше двуреченского повествования – это эламская Элама(т)ту(м), богиня Воды и всего, по-видимому, того, что впоследствии связывалось с Анахитой. Совпадение её имени с названием месяца эламского календаря – и месяца первого – получает в этом случае непротиворечивое объяснение.

Касситский царь Вавилонии Агум II считался среди прочего правителем Падании и Альмании (аккадск. **KUR Padan u Alman**; XVII в. до н.э.) [49, 234, 242; 50, 419]. В античную уже пору эти земли назывались Кордуеной (др.-греческ. **Κορδυηνή**) [51]. * «Падан» – это Восточный Тигр, нынешняя река Ботан (курманджи **çetê Botanê**). «Альман» – восточный приток Тигра в его среднем течении, нынешняя река Большой, или Верхний, Заб (фарси **заб** «поток» زاب. О людях, прежде называемых «кардухами, теперь – кардуэнами, перед которыми протекает Тигр» [52, 186], проходящий «через горы гордиеев» [53, 460], можно прочесть и у Плиния.) Её курманджийское наименование – **Zêy Badînan** («ба-динан» – курды, живущие в среднем течении этой реки) [54]. В VIII в. до н.э. «люди Наири и Кильху» (аккадск. **Kilhu**) называли её Эламунией (аккадск. **Elamunia**) [55, 50–51]. (Отметим также, что в этих краях есть и ещё одна, меньшая, река с похожим названием, Аламлоу (английск. **Alamlou**), впадающая в южную часть озера Урмия.) * «Люди Кильху» здесь, вероятнее всего, кальхоры (курманджи **Kelhûr**), которые не без оснований рассматриваются как одно из древнейших курдских племён. В настоящее время кальхоры проживают в 200–300 с лишним км юго-восточнее этих мест [56; 57]. В первой половине XIII в. до н.э. на левом берегу Тигра, немногим выше устья Альмана был основан ассирийский

город Кальху (аккадск. **Kalḫu**, иврит **Kālah** קָלָח; арамейск. **qlwh** «поток»). Во второй его половине в состав Ассирии немирным путём были включены «Ахламейские (аккадск. **Aḫlamu**) горы» и «территории Курдишше, Улайаш, Улмуя» (аккадск. **KUR Kurdišše**, **KUR Ulaiáš**, **KUR Ulmuia**) [58, 273]. В настоящее время река Верхний Заб от начала и до конца течёт по Курдистану. Как следует из приведённого материала, отчасти, по крайней мере, так было и до античного времени. В «Шараф-наме» Шараф-хана Бидлиси – первом изложении истории курдов, написанном в конце XVI в., – курманджи, луры, кальхоры и гураны рассматриваются как четыре части, составляющие тех, кого называют курдами [59, 82]. В том, что касается луров, вопрос этот во многом остаётся открытым. Но если в местах исконного проживания курдов мы встречаем названия рек и земель, близкие тем, которые известны и на этнических территориях луров и бахтиаров, то это свидетельствует скорее о правоте Шараф-хана Бидлиси в этом вопросе, чем наоборот.

Два рукава Тигра (всего их четыре), теряющиеся в центральной части Эль-Ахвара, называются Эль-Мумина (арабск. **šaṭṭ al-Mu'minah**) и Эль-Маджар-эль-Кабир (арабск. **nahr al-Mağar-al-Kabir**). Ещё один, Эль-Мушаррах (арабск. **nahr al-Mušarraḥ**), впадает в него в его восточной трети – в болотные озера, одно из которых маркируется как **hawr Limr Sawān**. (Название, скорее всего, представляющее собой трилингву, перевод средней и последней составляющих которой определяется: 1) ландшафтной отнесённостью; 2) значением «озеро» у арабск. **hawr**, 3) полуизвестной нам по приведённым материалам семантикой её центрального звена; 4) фонетико-семантическим обликом таких слов, как хинди **saavan** «самый сырой месяц индуистского календаря» सावन; готск. **saiws** «озеро, болото»; армянск. **Sevana** «(озеро) Севан» Սևանի և այլու и т.д.) Восточная часть Эль-Ахвара иногда обозначается как болота Эль-Мурайс (арабск. **hawr al-Murays**)

[60]. Обычно её называют, однако же, болотами Эль-Хавиза (арабск. **hawr al-Ḥawīzah**). * В общей сложности количество аквотопонимов, обозначающих реки, озёра и болота и имеющих форму **al-M...**, в низовьях Тигра в два по меньшей мере раза больше, чем в низовьях Евфрата – не говоря уже о таких аквотопонимах первого уровня, которые приведены выше.

Со второй половины XVI в. в низовьях Тигра стало пасти свой скот арабское племя лам (арабск. **banī Lām**), пришедшее сюда с Аравийского полуострова. Его территория, сложившаяся со временем в этих краях, включала в себя левобережье Тигра, предгорья, подходившие к нему с севера, и северо-западную часть равнины Каруна и Керхе. Наименование этого шиитского объединения, к середине прошлого века наиболее многочисленного в низовьях Тигра, считается, однако, не имеющим отношения к древнему названию этой страны [61].

К тому времени, когда понятие «Элам» утвердилось в Междуречье, в низовьях Евфрата говорили только на неиндоевропейских языках. Относительно нижнего течения Тигра, вернее – его левобережья, сказать этого, однако же, нельзя. Так, до настоящего времени на части этой территории, от Эль-Микдадии (арабск. **al-Miqdādiyya**) до Эль-Амары, жили – и живут? – луры и близкие им фейли [62, 262; 63; 64]. Последние говорят на одноимённом языке, называемом также «илами» (**ilāmi**. На фарси **илами** عیلامی – это «эламский».) Традиционно являясь полукочевниками, холодное время года они, как и бахтиары, проводили в долинах, и не в последнюю, наверное, очередь, – на левобережье Тигра, где среднесуточные температуры самого холодного месяца, января, составляют +10 °С, как в Эль-Микдадии, или +11 °С, как в Эль-Амаре. (Ср. с казахским полукочевым объединением алимов – казахск. **әлімұлы**, – державшихся обыкновенно низовий рек и озёр [65, 161].) В низовьях Евфрата подобная практика, насколько можно судить, была распространена много меньше, что объясняется иными условиями

ведения кочевого и полукочевого хозяйствования к западу от нижнего течения этой реки, имевшего здесь горизонтальную, а не вертикальную, как к востоку от Тигра, форму.

Помимо равнины Каруна и Керхе, в нижнем течении Тигра был ещё один участок, удобный для перехода на его левобережье с Иранского нагорья, – у нынешнего города Бадра. С позднего шумерского времени в этих местах – на полпути из Сузианы в Двуречье – стоял город Дер. Именно здесь в конце осени и начале весны каждого года и должны были проводить свои стада те скотоводческие племена, которые жили в этих краях, надо полагать, и тогда. Его название – шумерск. **Di-e-ir** – известно с последней трети III тысячелетия до н.э. По-аккадски оно писалось как **Dēru**. Шумерское **diri(g)** переводится как «горло; теснина». Арамейское **drš** – как «дверь». В бахтиаридар (при **dare** – «долина») [38, 180, 201], фарси **dāp** در и курманджи **derî** – «двери, ворота». В сорани **der** значит «дверь», **dere** – «распадок, долина». Лезгинское **депе** – это русские «долина, теснина». «Теснина, распадок» – соответствия для **der** в курманджи и **dāpə** درە в фарси. * Всё это позволяет считать, что ойконим «Дер» передавал семантику места, удобного для перехода через начинающиеся там горы, и имел индоевропейское – иранской группы языков – происхождение, связанное, однако, и с его шумерским именем.

В 220 г. до н.э. в этих местах произошло одно из сражений, в них нередких, после которого Антиох III, его выигравший, повелел «повесить на кресте на самом видном месте Мидии» тело командующего противной стороны, в руках которого находилась до этого и Сузиана. Крест, как передано у Полибия, поставили в Каллонитиде (др.-греческ. **Καλλωνίτιδος**), у дороги, ведущей через Загрос [66, 445–446]. Двести лет спустя греческий город этой провинции, «в пяти схойнах» (ок. 28 км) от которого, согласно Исидору Харакскому, «начинаются горы, называемые Загрос[ом, что] ... разделяют Халонитиду и Мидию», был известен как

«Хала», а его область – как «Халонитида» (др.-греческ. **Χάλα** и **Χαλωνίτιδος**) [67, 410]. («Халонитида, лежащая вокруг горы Загра» и граничащая с Элимаидой, – так у Страбона [44, 492, 684, 690].) Как **Κέλωνας** эти места упоминаются для 324 г. до н.э. и Диодором [68, 360–361]. (Ср.: др.-английск. **ceole**, фарси **gālu** گلو – «горло; теснина»; латинск. **collum** «шея; перевал»; санскрит **gala** गल, бахтиарск. **geli** [38: 158], латинск. **gula** – «горло»; английский. **hollow**, др.-греческ. **κοῖλον** – «распадок, долина».) Торный путь, ведущий сюда из Двуречья, здесь разделялся: одна дорога вела на север, другая – на восток. Но обе проходили через территории, в средние века бывшие лурскими, а до них – элимейскими. * Тогда Каллонитида, или Халонитида, – это область, название которой может объясняться как «Ведущая (к дорогам) через (горы)».

Та – меньшая – часть нижней Транстигрии, что лежала к юго-востоку от линии, соединяющей нынешние Бадру и Кут-эль-Амару, едва ли была тогда нужна кому-либо, кроме полукочевых эламитских племён, живших в горах, с этой низменностью сопредельных. Отгороженная рекой, озёрами и болотами от Междуречья, она, если не считать неширокой ленты приречных угодий, представляла собой пустынные пастбищные равнины [69, 8, 16; 70]. Птолемей включал эти территории в состав провинции Сузиана, что, очевидно, отражало сложившуюся вокруг них традицию [71, 89–90]. Севернее расположенную – и большую – часть нижней Транстигрии можно разделить линией, соединяющей нынешние Эль-Микдадию и Кут-эль-Амару. Характер территорий, лежащих к востоку от неё, будет тем же, что и земель, рассмотренных выше (это «красновато-жёлтая пустыня... такие же выжженные солнцем, лишь ранней весной кратковременно зеленевшие степи» [50, 35]). Но земли, лежащие западнее, ближе к Тигру, это пойменные, аллювиальные почвы, для которых бывает обыкновенной близость грунтовых вод, и при необходимых мелиорационных работах они могут быть очень неплохи и для земледельческого

использования [70; 72]. В сельскохозяйственном обращении значительная их часть, согласно свидетельствам античного времени, и находилась.

«Соседняя с Сусидой страна, – говорится о них у Страбона, – это часть Вавилонии, которая прежде называлась Ситакеной, а впоследствии Аполлониатидой. Над обеими странами с севера на восток живут элимеи и паретакены – разбойничьи племена, уповающие на суровый горный характер [их] страны. Паретакены обитают еще ближе к аполлониатам и поэтому обращаются с ними хуже. Элимеи ведут войну с обеими этими народностями и с сусийцами, а уксии воюют с элимеями» [44, 679]. Всё это было в одних границах – парфянских. В другом месте Страбон пишет, что «страну вавилонян с востока окружают сусийцы, элимеи и паретакены» [44, 686]. Оспаривались в этих вооружённых конфликтах не в последнюю, надо полагать, очередь пастбищные угодья, либо сельскохозяйственные площади, которые можно было использовать и как выгонные. Отметим также, что в повествовании Страбона о «бродячих» народностях, живущих – не только? – в горах, полуокружающих Сузиану, несколько более влиятельным кажется именно их элимейское объединение [44, 494, 690].

* «Сит(т)акена» (др.-греческ. Σιτ(τ)ακηνή, латинск. **Sit(t)acene**) значило что-то вроде «Топких мест». Главный город её, Сит(т)ака – тоже греческий, – находился на левом берегу Тигра (близ нынешней Эль-Азизии), но в 3 км от него [73, 767; 74, 55]. В эти места, судя по всему, доходила полая вода [72]. * «Аполлониатида» (др.-греческ. Ἀπολλωνιάτιδος; латинск. **Apolloniatis**) значило «Луга». Ср.: аккадск. **aburru** «пойменный луг, выгон»; татарск. **болын** «луг»; украинск. **оболонь** «пойменные луга, выгоны»; бенгальск. **palala** «речные наносы, ил» পলল; окситанск. **palun** «аллювиальная земля, топкие места»; литовск. **plynė** «равнина; топь»; русск. **поляна** «небольшой луг (в лесу или у леса)». < * То же значение, скорее всего, и у названия итальянской Болоньи (**Bologna**), расположенной между река-

ми, речушками и ручьями, прежде – в трёх десятках километров от припаданских болот, с сетью построенных в средневековые каналы, пересекающих этот город. > И украинск. **затока** «заводь»; японск. **shōtaku** «болото, периодически затопляемая земля» 沼沢; латинск. **stāgno** «выходить из берегов, затоплять(ся)». * К числу жителей побережья Меотиды (Азовского моря – или болота, каким его ещё находили в античную пору) принадлежали, согласно Страбону, и ситтакены (др.-греческ. Σιττακηνοί) [44, 470]), по-русски – «люди, живущие в топких местах».

Рассказывая о равнине Каруна и Керхе, Плиний характеризует её как состоящую из Сузианы, расположенной в её северной части, и Элимаиды – в южной, где она выходила к «Персидскому морю», вернее, из них по преимуществу. Плиний пишет, что Сузиану и Элимаиду разделяет река, какая именно, правда, неясно. Южная граница Элимаиды, по его словам, шла от устья нынешней Зохре на юго-восточном краю этой равнины до начала нынешнего Шатт-эль-Араба, где в окружении болот стоял неэлимейский уже портовый город Харак (С)Пасину (др.-греческ. Σλασίνου Χάραξ). < * Ойконим индоевропейской отнесённости, одним из двух значений которого могло быть «Последний город (на Тигре)». Согласно Плинию, он находился «в самой отдалённой точке Персидского залива» [73, 769]. Ср.: др.-греческ. **χάραξ** – «укреплённая территория» и фарси (**баз**)пәсин – «последний» (باز (پاسين)). Имя царя Харакены, присутствующее в этом социалистического толка переименовании, было Испа(о)син (др.-греческ. Ἰσπα(ο)σίνης) [73, 769–770]. > Об Элимаиде здесь Плиний пишет как о стороне очень топкой и с трудом проходимой, в которую реки, впадающие в этих местах в залив, приносят очень много ила [73, 768–769]. К середине II в.н.э. относятся и слова Птолемея, подтверждающие – хотя и с иным акцентом, – что «элимеи занимают [земли] Сузианы возле моря» [71, 90]. (У Страбона указывается только, что

«побережье Сусиды тянется почти что до устьев Тигра от границ персидского побережья» [44, 676].)

Ещё до этого у Страбона был отмечен своего рода двойственный характер страны элиме-ев, в которой земли, дававшие хорошие урожаи, держались крестьянами, но остальная и бо́льшая часть её территории использовалась как пастбища, которые (преимущественно – добавим лишь) были горными [44, 690]. Восточные соседи элимеев, уксии, жившие там, где сейчас живут бахтиары [44, 690; 73, 768; 75, 261], тоже разделялись на равнинных и горных, хотя считались номадами (др.-греческ. *νομάδος*) [75, 261; 76, 118–119]. Согласно Арриану, в 330 г. до н.э., после вооружённого столкновения «так называемых горных уксиев», в отличие от равнинных не подчинённых до этого персам, с македонскими войсками Александра, они были обязаны к выплате ежегодной дани в «сто лошадей, пятьсот вьючных животных и тридцать тысяч овец; денег у уксиев нет, и земли они не обрабатывают; в большинстве своем это пастухи» [76, 118–119]. Состав и пропорции скота, которым они должны были выплачивать эту дань, вполне (кроме коз, в ней не названных) соответствуют видовой и количественной спецификации того стада, которое держат полукочевники этих мест и в настоящее время. (В гл. 8 библейской «Книги пророка Даниила» рассказывается, например, о дарованном Даниилу видении овна и козла у воды в Сузах, что «в провинции Эламской». Оно относится там к половине VI в. до н.э.) К середине прошлого столетия луры и бахтиары разводили прежде всего овец, потом коз, и наконец, мулов и ослов. Крупный рогатый скот и лошади занимали небольшое место в их хозяйстве [62, 267]. Всё это даёт известные основания для ответа на вопрос, что именно представляло собой тогда то экстенсивное пастбищное скотоводство, которое являлось основным занятием и уксиев, и элимеев. * Если исходить из того, что уже в первой половине II тысячелетия до н.э. вер-

ховные правители Элама проводили зиму в Сузах, а лето – в городах горной части их страны [77], то это можно рассматривать как косвенное указание на то время, не позднее которого полукочевое вертикальное скотоводство уже являлось одной из основных форм хозяйствования на территориях, рассматриваемых как эламские.

Согласно Плинию, Харак был основан Александром, заселившим его «жителями царского города Дурина, который тогда погиб» (по-видимому, Дера), и назвавшим по своему имени, а область этого поселения в честь своей родины, столицы Македонии, – Пеллейской [73, 769]. В расположении обоих городов, конечно, было много общего. И сходство это можно продолжить. Так, к юго-западу от Пеллы лежала горно-долинная область, называвшаяся Элимеей или Элимиотидой (др.-греческ. *Ἐλίμεια* / *Ἐλιμία* / *Ἐλιμιώτις*), а её жители – элимиотами. К северо-западу от Пеллы тянулась горная территория с долиной реки Алмопеос (греческ. *Ἀλμωπαίος*). Она называлась Алмопией (др.-греческ. *Ἀλμωπία*), а её пеонское население – алмопами [78]. Реки этих и других соседних областей несли свои воды на протяжённую и сырую аллювиальную низменность, сейчас называемую Салоникской, в центре которой, защищённый кольцом непроходимых болот и озёр, связанных с заливом Эгейского моря Термаикос, и стоял город и порт Пелла.

В Иране тоже есть реки, в именах которых повторяется фонетический рисунок, близкий к звучащему в названии Элама. Это Алам, Аламрудашт (при фарси *руд* «река» *دور* и *дāшт* «равнина» *دشت*) и Аламут. Первая и последняя из них берут начало в горах Эльбурса и несут свои воды в Каспийское море. Истоки Аламута находятся на склонах вулкана Алам-Кух. Эта река имеет горный характер и течёт в понижающихся, окружённых горами долинах. Время от времени на ней случаются разрушительные паводки. Длина Аламута – менее 50 км. Река Алам расположена к северу от вулкана Демавенд и называется так со

своего среднего течения. Длина этой реки, самой по себе не маленькой, меньше протяжённости Аламута. В значительной своей части она протекает в сырых, болотистых местах. Третья из них, Аламрудашт, большей частью течёт по равнине, и, как и Алам, получает это название по выходу из предгорий в долину Аламарвадшт, на которой подходит к городу Ламерд (фарси درملا). Одноимённая область последнего представляет собой один из трёх шахрестанов провинции Фарс, отмеченных высокой долей лурскоязычного населения в них. В этих расположенных близ Персидского залива местах жаркий пустынный климат и немало сказывается недостаток воды. Длина Аламрудашта – ок. 180 км, но эта река носит сезонный характер.

* Изложенное позволяет утверждать, что слово «Элам» имело большее отношение к скотоводческому хозяйствованию и меньшее – к хозяйствованию земледельческому. * В конечном счёте оно было связано с понятием пресной воды и в этом

качестве, скорее всего, имело индоевропейское происхождение. Горные территории Загроса были лучше обеспечены такой водой, а следовательно, и кормами, чем большая часть остального Ирана. * Именно здесь, в «сардсире», и держали свой стада эламиты, как можно полагать, в тёплое время года. * Здесь они оставались на протяжении большей его части. В низовьях Тигра, Каруна, Керхе, Джарахи и Зохре было больше пресной воды, составлявшей здесь бескрайние пространства болот и озёр («Элам?»), чем где-либо ещё в Двуречье и окружающих его землях. В холодное время года в этих низовьях было более или менее тепло. * Здесь, в равнинном «гармсире», эламиты с незапамятных времён держали свой скот с поздней осени до ранней весны [79]. * Всё это может служить наиболее вероятным объяснением того, почему неиндоевропейскоязычные соседи, жившие западнее их или в Сузиане, называли эламитов этим именем, проще и лучше объясняемом из языка последних, чем первых.

Список литературы:

1. Desset F. Here ends the history of Elam: Toponymy, linguistics and cultural identity in Susa and south-western Iran, ca. 2400–1800 BC // *Studia Mesopotamica. Jahrbuch für altorientalische Geschichte und Kultur*. – 2017. – Bd. 4. – P. 1–32.
2. Krebern timer M. Philologische Aspekte elamisch-mesopotamischer Beziehungen im Überblick // *Babel und Bibel 3: Annual of Ancient Near Eastern, Old Testament and Semitic Studies*. – Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006. – P. 59–99.
3. Potts D. T. *The Archaeology of Elam. Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State*. 2d ed. – Cambridge University Press, 2004. – 519 p.
4. Localisation des principales villes de la Basse Mésopotamie à la période paléo-babylonienne // URL: [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Babylone_\(civilisation\)#/media/Fichier:Basse_Mesopotamie_PB.PNG](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Babylone_(civilisation)#/media/Fichier:Basse_Mesopotamie_PB.PNG) / (accessed: 20.2.2020)
5. Karta Iraka // URL: http://www.100kart.ru/index/irak/irak_128.html / (accessed: 20.2.2020).
6. Iraqi Marshlands Observation System. UNEP Technical Report. – Nairobi, 2006. – 74 p.
7. Iran. Climate zones // URL: <https://rmets.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/cms/attachment/79bca61d-5be1-478a-a431-6e0a83fc3474/joc5131-fig-0003-m.jpg> / (accessed: 20.2.2020).
8. Карта луров [и бахтиаров] в Иране по опросу 2010 г. // URL: https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%9B%D1%83%D1%80%D1%8B#/media/%D0%A4%D0%B0%D0%B9%D0%BB:Map_of_Luri-inhabited_provinces_of_Iran_according_to_a_poll_in_2010.PNG / (accessed: 20.2.2020).
9. Трубецкой В. В. Бахтиары (Оседло-кочевые племена Ирана). – М.: Наука, 1966. – 220 с.

10. Digard J.-P. Bakhtiārī tribe. Ethnography.– 1988 // Encyclopaedia Iranica.– URL: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bakhtiari-tribe#pt2/> (accessed: 20.2.2020).
11. Wittfogel K. A. Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power.– New Haven – L.: Yale University Press. 1957.– 575 p.
12. Малахов С. В. Характеристики классического социалистического строя (речь о раннеклассовых обществах) // European Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences.– 2018. – № 3. – С. 20–30.
13. Al-Ahwar. 1973 // URL: <https://journals.openedition.org/mediterranee/docannexe/image/8000/img-5.png> (accessed: 20.2.2020).
14. Hamdani A. M. Archaeological survey of the Marshlands of southern Iraq.– 2011.– 29 p.
15. Water // PanLex.– URL: <https://apps.panlex.org/panlinx/ex/3752240/> (accessed: 20.2.20).
16. Elim // Bible Hub.– URL: <https://bibleatlas.org/elim.htm/> (accessed: 20.2.20).
17. Stream // PanLex.– URL: <https://apps.panlex.org/panlinx/ex/555336/> (accessed: 20.2.20).
18. Brook // PanLex.– URL: <https://apps.panlex.org/panlinx/ex/362918/> (accessed: 20.2.20).
19. Flood // PanLex.– URL: <https://apps.panlex.org/panlinx/ex/416424/> (accessed: 20.2.20).
20. River // Oto-Manguean Swadesh lists.– URL: [https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/Appendix: Oto-Manguean_Swadesh_lists/](https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/Appendix:_Oto-Manguean_Swadesh_lists/) (accessed: 20.2.20).
21. River // PanLex.– URL: <https://apps.panlex.org/panlinx/ex/529924/> (accessed: 20.2.20).
22. Sea // PanLex.– URL: <https://apps.panlex.org/panlinx/ex/536492/> (accessed: 2.2.20).
23. Lake // PanLex.– URL: <https://apps.panlex.org/panlinx/ex/461096/> (accessed: 20.2.20).
24. Spring, well // The Intercontinental Dictionary Series.– URL: <https://ids.clld.org/parameters/1-370#2/15.5/153.4/> (accessed: 20.2.20).
25. Lake // The World Loanword Database.– URL: <https://wold.clld.org/meaning/1-33#2/24.3/-4.8/> (accessed: 20.2.20).
26. Swamp // The Intercontinental Dictionary Series.– URL: <https://ids.clld.org/parameters/1-380#2/14.4/149.7/> (accessed: 20.2.20).
27. Swamp // PanLex.– URL: <https://apps.panlex.org/panlinx/ex/559159/> (accessed: 20.2.20).
28. Swamp // Long-range etymologies.– URL: <http://starling.rinet.ru/cgi-bin/response.cgi?root=config&morpho=0&basename=\data\eurat\globet&first=621&encoding=utf-rus/> (accessed: 20.2.20).
29. Pasture // PanLex.– URL: <https://apps.panlex.org/panlinx/ex/504854/> (accessed: 20.2.20).
30. Wet // PanLex.– URL: <https://apps.panlex.org/panlinx/ex/617794/> (accessed: 20.2.20).
31. Bomhard A. R., Kerns J. C. The Nostratic Macrofamily: A Study in Distant Linguistic Relationship.– B.– N.Y.: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994.– 944 p.
32. Toporov V. N. Prusskij yazyk. Slovar': L.– M.: Nauka, 1990.– 424 s.
33. 1) Wetlands in the Limpopo River basin. 2) Terrestrial biomes of the Limpopo River basin. // The Limpopo River Awareness Kit.– URL: 1) http://www.limpopo.riverawarenesskit.org/LIMPOPORAK_COM/EN/RIVER/ECOLOGY_AND_BIODIVERSITY/WETLANDS.HTM; 2) http://www.limpopo.riverawarenesskit.org/LIMPOPORAK_COM/EN/RIVER/GEOGRAPHY/VEGETATION_IN_THE_BASIN.HTM (accessed: 20.2.20).
34. Gurulyov S. A. Chto v imeni tvoyom, Bajkal? 2-e izd.– Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1991.– 168 s.
35. Malahov S. V. Skhodstvo v nazvaniyah nekotoryh proливov Starogo Sveta // European Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences.– 2016. – № 2. – С. 29–32.

36. Emel'yanov V. V. Nippurskij kalendar' i rannyya istoriya Zodiaka. – SPb.: Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie, 1999. – 271 s.
37. Kurtik G. E. Izmerenie vremeni i kalendari v drevnej Mesopotamii (shumerskij period) // Voprosy istorii estestvoznaniya i tekhniki. – 2013. – № 4. – S. 22–40.
38. Anonby E., Asadi A. Bakhtiari Studies: Phonology, Text, Lexicon. – Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2014. – 223 p.
39. Karun River at Ahvaz. River Discharge Database, 1965–1984. – University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2010 // URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20100620003132/http://www.sage.wisc.edu/riverdata/scripts/station_table.php?qual=32&filenum=1079/ (accessed: 20.2.20).
40. Karkheh // URL: <https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karkheh/> (accessed: 20.2.20).
41. Tigre // URL: [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tigre_\(fleuve\)](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tigre_(fleuve)) (accessed: 20.2.20).
42. Hinc V. Gosudarstvo Elam; per. L. L. Shohinoy. – M.: Nauka, 1977. – 208 s.
43. Emel'yanov V. V. Shumerskij shkol'nyj dialog «Spor Leta i Zimy» // Asiatica: Trudy po filosofii i kul'turam Vostoka. Vyp. 9. – SPb.: Izd-vo SPbGU, 2016. – S. 16–46.
44. Strabon. Geografiya (v 17 kn.); per. G. A. Stratanovskogo. – L.: Nauka, 1964. – 957 s.
45. Hinz W., Koch H. Elamisches Wörterbuch. T. I. – B.: Dietrich Reimer, 1987. – 736 s.
46. Monthnames of Group Susa. – 2000 // URL: http://www.elamit.net/lankelli1/query_frame.asp?gr=4/ (accessed: 2.2.20).
47. Fire // PanLex. – URL: <https://apps.panlex.org/panlinx/ex/414728/> (accessed: 20.2.20).
48. Boyce M., Chaumont M. L., Bier C. Anāhid. – 2011 // Encyclopaedia Iranica. – URL: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/anahid#pt1/> (accessed: 20.2.20).
49. Oshima T. Another Attempt at Two Kassite Royal Inscriptions: The Agum-Kakrime Inscription and the Inscription of Kurigalzu the Son of Kadashmanharbe // Babel und Bibel 6: Annual of Ancient Near Eastern, Old Testament and Semitic Studies. – Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012. – P. 225–268.
50. Istoriya drevnego Vostoka. Zarozhdenie drevnejshih klassovyh obshchestv i pervye ochagi rabovladel'cheskoj civilizacii. Ch. 1. Mesopotamiya. – M.: Nauka, 1983. – 536 s.
51. Koryakov Yu. B. Korduena. – 2010 // URL: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/7/7f/Corduene-Korchek-rus.png/1024px-Corduene-Korchek-rus.png/> (accessed: 2.2.20).
52. Plinij St. Estestvennaya istoriya. Kn. VI; per. A. A. Vigasina // Vestnik drevnej istorii. – 2018. – № 1. – S. 160–189.
53. Plinij St. Estestvennaya istoriya. Kn. VI; per. A. V. Podosinova, A. P. Voskresenskogo, K. S. Kuz'minoy // Vestnik drevnej istorii. – 2018. – № 2. – S. 438–461.
54. Hassanpour A. Bahdīnān. – 2011 // Encyclopaedia Iranica. – URL: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bahdinan-kurdish-region-river-dialect-group-and-amirate/> (accessed: 20.2.2020).
55. Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon [II] (714 av. J.-C.); tr. par F. Thureau-Dangin. – P.: Librairie P. Geuthner, 1912. – 136 p.
56. Oberling P. Kalhor. – 2012 // Encyclopaedia Iranica. – URL: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kalhor/> (accessed: 20.2.2020).
57. Oberling P. Kurdish tribes. – 2004 // Encyclopaedia Iranica. – URL: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kurdish-tribes/> (accessed: 20.2.2020).
58. Grayson A. K. The Royal inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian periods. V. 1: Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC). 2d ed. – Toronto, Buffalo et L.: University of Toronto Press, 2002. – 377 p.

59. Sharaf-han ibn Shamsaddin Bidlisi. Sharaf-name. T. 1; per. E. I. Vasil'evoj. – M.: Nauka, 1967. – 619 s.
60. Streets of Iran. 2019 // URL: <https://iran-streets.openalfa.com/places/%D9%87%D9%88%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B1%DB%8C%D8%B3-%D8%B3%D8%B9%DB%8C%D8%AF%DB%8C%D9%87> (accessed: 20.2.20).
61. Perry J. Bani Lām. 1988 // Encyclopaedia Iranica. – URL: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bani-lam> (accessed: 20.2.20).
62. Rusejajkina S. P. Luri i bahtiarj // Narody Perednej Azii. – M.: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1957. – S. 261–276.
63. Luri language map // URL: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lurs#/media/File:LurishLanguageMap.png> (accessed: 20.2.20).
64. Southern Kurdish area // URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Feylis#/media/File:SOUTHERN_KURDISH.JPG (accessed: 20.2.20).
65. Markov G. E. Kochevnik Azii. Struktura hozjajstva i obščestvennoj organizacii. – M.: Izd-vo Moskovskogo un-ta, 1976. – 320 s.
66. Polibij. Vseobščhaya istoriya (v 40 kn.). T. I; per. F. G. Mishchenko. 2-e izd. – SPb.: Nauka, 2005. – 496 c.
67. Novikov S. V., Zhuravlyova N. V. Dorozhnik Isidora Harakskogo kak istochnik po istorii i geografii Parfii // Antologiya istochnikov po istorii, kul'ture i religii Drevnej Grecii. – SPb.: Aletejya, 2000. – S. 406–411.
68. Diodor S. Istoricheskaya biblioteka. Kn. 17 // Arrian. Pohod Aleksandra; per. M. E. Sergeenko. – M.-L.: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1962. – S. 294–366.
69. Muhaimed A. S. [Soils of Iraq] // URL: http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/user_upload/GSP/docs/Presentation_NEMA_Inception/Ahmad_Irak.pdf (accessed: 20.2.20).
70. Detailed elevation map of Iraq with roads and cities // URL: <http://www.maps-of-the-world.net/maps/maps-of-asia/maps-of-iraq/detailed-elevation-map-of-iraq-with-roads-and-cities.jpg> (accessed: 20.2.20).
71. Ptolemaei C. Geographia. T. II. – Lipsiae: C. Tauchnitil, 1845. – 269 p.
72. Exploratory Soil Map of Iraq. 1960 // URL: https://esdac.jrc.ec.europa.eu/images/Eudasm/Asia/images/maps/download/IQ2000_ISO.jpg (accessed: 20.2.20).
73. Plinij St. Estestvennaya istoriya. Kn. VI; per. A. V. Podosinova, A. P. Voskresenskogo, K. S. Kuz'minoy // Vestnik drevnej istorii. – 2018. – № 3. – S. 767–795.
74. Ksenofont. Anabasis; per. M. I. Maksimovoj. – M.-L.: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1951. – 299 s.
75. Arrian. Indiya; [per. S. P. Kondrat'eva] // Vestnik drevnej istorii. – № 2. 1940. – S. 230–263.
76. Arrian. Pohod Aleksandra; per. M. E. Sergeenko. – M.-L.: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1962. – 390 s.
77. Elam // Elektronnaya evrejskaya enciklopediya. – URL: <https://eleven.co.il/jewish-history/ancient-period/15051/> (accessed: 20.2.20).
78. Die Landschaften des antiken Makedoniens und der Chalkidiki // URL: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elimiotis#/media/Datei:Macedonian_Kingdom.jpg (accessed: 20.2.20).
79. Planhol de X. Garmsir and sardsir. – 2012 // Encyclopaedia Iranica. – URL: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/garmsir-and-sardsir> (accessed: 20.2.20).

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-68-73>

Emily Wang Si,

Westover School, CT, USA

E-mail: emilywang.si@westoverschool.org

TIGERS IN THE SKY: THE AMERICAN VOLUNTEER GROUP IN HISTORY AND MEMORY

Abstract. During World War 2, the American Volunteer Group (AVG), known as the “Flying Tigers”, played significant roles in Chinese battlefield. As the Flying Tigers rescued local Chinese from Japanese bombing and established the starting of counterattack against Japanese fascists in aerial combat, this team composed of mostly American has been memorized and praised by many local Chinese for their glorious achievement. AVG reveals the first contact between China and the United State in WW2 as well as the tensions between two nations and citizens. However, many scholars in recent years have doubted the authenticity of AVG’s records and their actual impact on Chinese battlefield in WW2. This article argues the memorable accomplishments of AVG historically, militarily and socially and analyzes the authenticity of AVG’s history from contemporary documents and local scholars.

Keywords: American Volunteer Group, World War 2, Flying Tigers, Asian battlefield.

World War 2 drew Asia into its chaos and combat, while Japan invaded and occupied part of China, leading up to brutal fighting. The “Flying Tigers” made a significant contribution to the victory in the war and would become the basis of the Chinese air force [1], which would be incredibly necessary in the following years of battles. The Flying Tigers, originally named as the First American Volunteer Group (AVG) of the Chinese Air Force, were led by General Claire Lee Chennault and were composed of the pilots from America [1]. They were responsible for bombing Japan and defending China from Japanese air raids [2]. Later the 14th Army Air Force was established on the basis of the AVG. Besides their experiences of huge numbers of challenges, the AVG has been doubted about their significance and the authenticity of their fight record; however, this special group of U.S military and civilian volunteers still became a “legend in aviation history” [1] and was highly appreciated and praised by contemporary Chinese.

“In the middle and later period of War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, after the Soviet Union withdrew their air force reinforcements, Chinese air force was facing the problem of lack of arms and pilots. As the war intensified, the amount of Chinese air force has become almost zero” says Yue Peng, the executive director of Yunnan Flying Tigers Museum [3]. Kunming, the capital of Yunnan province, became the transportation hub, especially for military supplies in the Southwestern rear area, after most of the eastern cities had been occupied by Japanese. However, the further extension of the intense battlefield between Chinese and Japanese army almost ran out of the contemporary air force in China, which is deadly for the protection of the back up support for Chinese soldiers [1]. As the strong Japanese army was threatening the back-up provinces of China and the Chinese resistance was weakened, Chiang Kai-shek, who was the president of the Republic of China, invited his air force military advisor Claire L. Chennault to create a training

center for the future Chinese pilots, which later became known as the Chinese Air Force flight school centered in Kunming [2]. In 1941, with the secret operation and help from the Roosevelt administration, Chennault paid heavily to recruit American pilots and mechanics to fight as a civilian for Chinese air force. During the summer and fall in 1941, around 300 volunteers from America arrived in Burma and started their training. The process of recruiting and training was extremely hard under the pressure from Japanese diplomacy and the neutrality of America during the early stage of WW2, which forced Chennault to turn his activities to private. On August 1, 1944, Chiang Kai-shek announced the establishment of American Volunteer Group (AVG), purchasing aircraft with high price (the first group of 100 Hawker-81 aircraft cost \$45,000 each) [4] from America and moving the pilots to Wujiaaba airport located in Kunming for further preparation for the war. "Since commons lived in inland never know what a shark looks like, they did not recognize the aircraft with shark-head painting in the front when they first showed up in Kunming," a pilot recorded, "so they called the aircraft 'tigers with wings', which is how the name of 'flying tigers' comes from."

The appearance of Chennault and his training school could be counted as the turning point of the precarious situation of Chinese air force; however, building and organizing this provisional team is extremely difficult for the commander Chennault. Chennault recalled in his reminiscences that: "teaching is a difficult job at best... there were ample opportunities for all the clashing elements of the two conflicting civilizations (Chinese and American) to rub raw against each other in nerve-racking discord.[5]" The first challenge Chennault faced is how to unite the pilots from two completely different countries, for the soldiers know little about each other. With an entire ocean apart from two countries and the problems of communication, it was nearly impossible to pull together these soldiers. American pilots also disagreed with the strategies they were ordered to

execute. As Chennault recorded, there was a bomber mission that required the faster Martins (a bomber) to rendezvous with the slower Heinkel squadron before bombing. Surprisingly, the leader of faster Martins ignored the order of rendezvous, which resulted in a three out of five cost of P-26 fighter while the two bombers returned were heavily damaged by Japanese fire. The American pilots were extremely unsatisfied by the punishment on Lieutenant Colonel Shih, the commander of the Heinkel, who, according to Chinese pilots policy, also failed to achieve the rendezvous. "These devious ways always seem sheer nonsense to most Americans.[5]" Chennault said. To restrain the anger of American pilots, Chennault finally canceled the demotion of Shih after a long-term fight against the Chinese policy. However, running out of time for pilots to make friends, hostilities between Japanese and Chinese gets more intense on a daily basis, which leaves Chennault no choice other than "often bitter, often painful, but always instructive" [6] to his subordinates, which finally proved to be relatively useful.

Chennault also described the second challenge in his book *Way of A Fighter*: "Combination of old planes and new pilots proved more deadly than the Japanese" [7]. Indeed, the contemporary Flying Tigers were not in a formal military outfit, since most of the pilots have not participated in any army before. Chennault also faced the problems of inexperienced pilots and short supplies: "The army provides no truck or jeeps, no radio, no administrative or maintenance equipment, not even an extra pair of pants or an experienced group commander." [8] People scorned Flying Tigers as they first established because of their efforts to fight against Japanese air force, one of the strongest air forces in World War 2, with such a disordered army and fragile and brittle equipment.

Another problem raised during the early period of establishment of Flying Tigers is Chinese commons' suspicion and unfamiliarity towards foreign people. Living in a country that was being invaded and occu-

pied by Japanese and Westerners several times in the past era, Chinese civilians hold their indignation and distrust towards foreigners and those who are close to foreigners, no matter whether they are friends or enemies. And the foreign advisors were most likely to accuse guilty when mistakes happen. Chennault revealed that, T. V. Song, officer of the Chongqing government, complaint that: “they blame me for introducing foreign advisors, but these irrigation ditches were built seven hundred years ago by Arab engineers from Palmyra [9]”. The antiforeign emotion spread among the traumatized people built an invisible wall that not only obstructing the progress of establishment, but also unconsciously influenced their attitude towards their government. On the other hand, due to the inconvenience in communication, many commons has problems understanding the significance of tactical establishment, as John M. Williams, who was a member of AVG and friend of Chennault recoded: “..that military two-strand communications wire was being cut and stolen almost every night... We caught 21 of these wire cutting thieves.” Communication, the most severe problem between AVG and Yunnan commons results from the lack of education and language barriers, for most of the civilians in Yunnan are peasants with little knowledge about the outer world and foreign language. Either attracted by the profit of selling the new technology that AVG brought or misled by their ignorance, some Chinese commons’ behavior was absolutely harmful to the development of AVG. Fortunately for them, xenophobia and mistrust appeared to lessen as the AVG started to function more efficiently.

Other than problems related to local civilians, the pilots were facing severe problems adapting to the new environment. In the book *A Flying Tiger’s Diary*, an American pilot, Charles R. Bond talks about the challenges he met when he first arrived in China. “I actually thought I would get sick right at that tale (with rice wine) ... When I found chicken feet in one of the dishes we were served, that was the end” [10]. The food served in Kunming was totally strange and

unacceptable for most of the American pilots, while a lot of them also got sick from the bleak and gloomy weather in December of Kunming: “a lot of pilots have bad cold or sinus problems – many are in bed” [10]. Lack of resources such as good medication and suitable living conditions largely reduce the fighting ability of Flying Tigers.

Despite the problems facing by the Flying Tigers during anti-fascist war, Chinese government were also suffering by contributing too much but achieving little. The compensation, economically and physically, that AVG received could be considered as extravagant in contemporary China. Bond describes the surprising living condition they received when first arriving in Kunming: “Immaculate rooms for each pilot with a comfortable bunk, chair, table, chest of drawers, and small desk. In the middle of the room is a small charcoal heater... The service is good... The food is American and much better than in Toungoo, and so is the atmosphere. Another thing: Hot water! Shower! Even our bar is cozy and living. They have prepared for us” [10]. Chiang Kai-shek gave orders to provide a high standard living condition for pilots from AVG, which gradually exerted pressure on the government and people in Kunming. According to Chinese scholar Yang Shi, “the government of Kunming once butchered all the cattle in Kunming in order to feed the demand of American pilot’s meal standard; as the cattle ran out, the main meat supplement became buffalo, and Chiang Kai-shek government even provide yak meat to fulfill the meat requirement” [11]. At the time, China was suffering from the attack from Japan, and the government’s finances were strained. The fancy supplement that Chiang Kai-shek’s government offered the American pilots dissatisfied some people, because they could not understand the effort their government put on treating foreigners so well.

The compensation of members of Flying Tigers also shocked Chinese. Charles wrote in his diary: “The pay...varies from as much as \$750 to some \$250... I was hired as a wingman to start at six hun-

dred dollars a month" [10]. Yang Shi also mentioned in his article that: "For American pilots, shooting down a Japanese aircraft would earn them \$500 dollars. However, the Chinese pilots only have a monthly salary of \$200" [11]. Comparing the gap between the wages of Chinese pilots and American pilots, it is reasonable to infer such an excessive amount of wages of American pilots as a racist behavior back then. Besides that, Chennault also described the huge amount of money Chinese government spent on AVG: "All this cost the Chinese \$8,000,000 – about \$3,000,000 in salaries and personal expenses and \$5,000,000 for planes and equipment. After the final accounting was made, I wrote Dr. Song my regrets that expenses has exceeded my original estimates" [12]. It is hard to imagine how the Chongqing government, which was experiencing severe fiscal problems caused by defending Japanese's invasion, supplied the part of cost that exceeded Chennault's original estimate. Because of the Chongqing government's superabundant expense on AVG, some scholars, such as Yang Shi, consider AVG to be a mercenary force. A great number of scholars in China nowadays, including some of my teachers, still hold the idea that civilians exaggerated the importance of Flying Tigers by ignoring the sacrifice Chinese government paid and exaggerating the record and contribution of Flying Tigers. Such an idea is not unreasonable. According to Chennault, the AVG is credited with "destroying 299 Japanese planes with another 153 probably destroyed. All of this with a loss of 12 P-40's in combat on 61 on the ground" [12]. However, later this number was commented by many voices as being inflated. Some scholars and Japanese records suggest the real damage of Japanese aircraft from the attack of AVG is far less than the data that AVG and Chinese government announced.

However, despite all of the conflicts and arguments above about the Flying Tigers, this team is widely known by Chinese people for their role as the turning point of Chinese aerial combat. People from the province Yunnan of China, where the Fly-

ing Tigers have spent their majority time in, still remembered this brilliant time of Flying Tigers. As a child from Yunnan, I often heard stories and significant records from my grandparents about the Flying Tigers; apparently, it is clear that the Flying Tigers left a lasting image that people in Yunnan know today, especially for those who have experienced the second world war. What makes Yunnanese, who not only suffered much from supporting Flying Tigers and being treated unfairly from the Chongqing government, but also scared of the foreign soldiers, still hold sincere and grateful appreciation towards the Flying Tigers? Given that the Flying Tigers contributed relatively little to the war effort, why do Yunnanese continue to regard them so highly?"

According to Yue Peng, the executive director of Yunnan Flying Tigers Museum: "Before the arrival of flying Tigers, people in Kunming used to be terrified of Japanese air raids, which kills people almost everyday." [3] In order to destroy Kunming, where the Chinese government stored most of their combat reserve and back up forces, the Japanese sent out air raids daily. Guansheng Sun, the president of Yunnan Flying Tiger Research Institute, recorded in his report that: "Japanese aircrafts at least bombed Kunming 34 times in 1941" [14]. The bombing came from Japanese not only threatened Chinese with a wartime supply shortage, but also slaughtered lots of unarmed civilians. American veteran Charles described the circumstance after the bombing in Kunming: "Great holes are left in the street, and bits of human bodies are found all over the place" [10]. Without enough aircraft as well as protection from the government, people in Kunming were completely depressed and disappointed. However, the appearance of Flying Tigers is widely described in Yunnan province as "the turning point of Chinese aircraft history that changed the situation entirely" [10]. Yue said, "on December 20th, 1941, the Flying Tigers won their first battle with the result of 9:0, which is a legendary victory in Chinese aerial combat history. Japanese were shocked with the fighting capacity of Flying Tigers and the fact that bomb-

ing was reduced to 0 in 1942. You can't imagine how people in Kunming appreciate that" [3]. After the Flying Tigers showed up for the first time, local people and the local Chinese army, who have been frustrated by continuous defeat and bombing, got dramatically inspired. Such inspiration is much more important than the record itself. Local people start to view these foreign strangers as heroes and friends, while all the media spread these heart-stirring news as propaganda. Most of the people in Kunming still recognize the attendance of the Flying Tiger as a recovery of stable life and turning point of situation on Chinese battlefield.

Though the Flying Tigers are historically significant for their glorious record, people remembered and eulogize more often about the Hump Flight, which is strategic material transportation that continues for three years and three months from India to Kunming, after the Flying Tigers spent their seven months in Kunming [1]. Trying to cut down Chinese war material that was transported from Burma and India, Japanese air force bombed the Burma road. Purchasing additional aircrafts and hiring pilots personally, Chennault built the Fourteenth Air Force in 1943 for further protection and exploration of a new way of goods transportation – flying over the Himalaya Mountains to reach India. The Hump Route is also known as “one of the most dangerous transportation routes in the world's aviation and military history” [1] and “Death Route”, for pilots have to face the danger of fierce wind, engine freezing, aged air freighter and anoxia caused by high latitude [14]. According to a veteran in Hump Flight: “On a sunny day, we could fly along the reflection of the debris from the crash of our comrade's plane, so we named the valley of ‘the aluminum valley’ [15]”. The record of sacrifice of Hump Flight is unprecedented and astonishing: the total number of air crashes is 825, with the sacrifice of more than 3000 American and Chinese pilots [16]. In return of such huge sacrifice, the contribution of the Hump Flight could be counted as one of the most important factors that directly affected the American and Chinese war effort: “ac-

cording to American research and record, from May 1942 to September 1945, American and Chinese pilots flew over Hump Route more than 80,000 times, transported 33477 people and totally around 75,000 tons of goods between India and China” [16].

On the other hand, as the first group of white soldiers that came to Kunming, the Flying Tigers brought memorable changes to Kunming culturally and physically. A well-known pie in Kunming is named *mó dēng*, which was first called by American pilots when they complimented the ladies selling the pies with the English word “modern”. Interestingly, *mó dēng* pie was made out of the low-gluten flour from the United State and white sugar from Cuba, which are also introduced by Flying Tigers. Besides that, Flying Tigers brought colorful cameras to Kunming and recorded large number of photos of contemporary Kunming, contributing to the significant historical research of Kunming [3].

Flying Tigers and other air army that AVG helped to established later basically prevent the Japanese' further invasion into the deep southwestern China by regaining air supremacy and rescuing the civilians from the 3-year bombing attacks from Japanese over Kunming. Franklin Roosevelt, the US president, once said of AVG that: “The outstanding gallantry and conspicuous daring that the AVG combined with their unbelievable efficiency is a source of tremendous pride throughout America” [1]. AVG, the group of youth fought bravely in the bloody battle and saved the lives of thousands of Chinese, however, received unfair treatment after the war. Guansheng Sun spent his entire life exploring the relics and graves of the AVG pilots that sacrificed in the battle. Unfortunately, the result was shocking: “The tomb site is about a dozen acres... the dense grass makes the tomb difficult to identify, and the coffin planks and white bones were scattered in disorder... it was initially estimated that there were about 500 tombs” [14]. The complete tomb sites of AVG pilots have never been explored so far, because there are only a few records extant about the funerals and tombs of AVG personnel. While the

generation that remembered and admired Flying Tigers is gradually reducing, young people nowadays show little curiosity and concern for the veterans who fought heroically decades ago, let alone the current situation about veterans or the cemetery of martyrs. As the previous US consulate Steven J. Dube expressed his surprise after visiting one of the cemetery sites of AVG: "I do not know why Kunming holds such an attitude towards the cemetery of anti-Japanese martyrs" [13]. Barren mountains and sere grass are not supposed to be where the hero goes after their death. While only some local organizations are putting much effort, trying to explore, rebuild and protect the relics of heroes, the local government shows little reaction towards all the requests from the society of protecting the explored cemetery. With the gradual replacement of generations and nearly no intentional publicity of AVG by the government, the memory of AVG is fading with time. The martyr of AVG should not only be

buried in honourable tombs, but also be memorized by history text books and in everyone's hearts.

It is true that the establishment of AVG consumed much military expenditure of contemporary, short-supplied China and their records may be exaggerated. However, AVG's significant contribution in Chinese anti-fascists war could not be measured by simplex records. As Chennault commented in his reminiscences: "The AVG has staved off China's collapse" [12]. AVG not only changed the tactical situation of SouthWestern China, but also saved thousands of local people from death. AVG definitely needs more attention from the current society and the new generation. If the government still shows no endeavor to investigate the stories and protect the cemetery of AVG, no one in the next generation may know who are this group of people who fought the fascists in a foreign country, what are their names, and who did they die for.

References:

1. Kunming Flying Tiger Museum.
2. Wikipedia, Flying Tigers, last edited on 16 June 2019. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flying_Tigers
3. Conversation with Yue Peng, the executive director of Yunnan Flying Tigers Museum.
4. Baidu, Flying Tigers, last edited on 6 February 2019. URL: <https://baike.baidu.com/item/feihudui/9050>
5. Page 76. Clarie Lee Chennault, *Way of A Fighter*, published in 1949, edited by Robert Hotz.
6. Page 75. Clarie Lee Chennault, *Way of A Fighter*, published in 1949, edited by Robert Hotz.
7. Page 180. Clarie Lee Chennault, *Way of A Fighter*, published in 1949, edited by Robert Hotz.
8. Page 176. Clarie Lee Chennault, *Way of A Fighter*, published in 1949, edited by Robert Hotz.
9. Page 98. Clarie Lee Chennault, *Way of A Fighter*, published in 1949, edited by Robert Hotz.
10. Charles R. Bond Jr. & Terry H. Anderson, *A Flying Tiger's Diary* (Texas A&M University Press, published in 1996).
11. Yang Shi. *The Myth of Flying Tigers*, last edited in 2014.8.12.
12. Page 174. Clarie Lee Chennault, *Way of A Fighter*, published in 1949, edited by Robert Hotz.
13. GuanSheng Sun, president of Yunnan Flying Tiger Institute, American consulate's reaction to the forgotten cemetery.
14. GuanSheng Sun, president of Yunnan Flying Tiger Institute, *Eternal Remembrance*, published on April 6, 2012.
15. Reminiscence written on the Hump Flight Monument in Kunming.
16. GuanSheng Sun. *The Flying Tiger I know*, published on March 23, 2011.

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-74-88>

Yumo Zhu,
High School Student of the Athenian School Danville, CA
E-mail: 21yzhu@athenian.org

THE ASSASSINATION OF QASEM SOLEIMANI: UNITED STATES POLICY AND RELATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST FROM THE COLD WAR TO THE PRESENT DAY

Abstract. Starting from the beginning of the twentieth century, conflicts between the United States and Middle Eastern countries have officially started. The relationship between the two regions got more intense later while the Middle East became a central focus of both superpowers at the time. On September 11th, 2001, members from an Islamic extremist group hijacked four airplanes, crashing into the twin towers of the World Trade Center. The terrorist attack killed almost 3,000 people and more than 6,000 were injured. After the tragic day, America enforced a series of foreign policies and actions in responding. The intension escalated into another level, beginning with the 8-year Iraq War in 2003. The purpose of the current research is to shed light on the impacts of the Cold War on the assassination of the Qasem Soleimani, an Iranian general, through investigating how the relationship between the United States and Middle Eastern Countries, such as Iran and Iraq, were affected. The paper includes articles that explore strategic access of oil during the Cold War, Arab Nationalism and Soviet-American Relations, terrorist groups, September 11th attack, US-Iran Relations and the assassination of the Qasem Soleimani.

Keywords: Cold War, September 11th attack, US-Iran Relation and Qasem Soleimani.

Introduction

“Eurasia is the world’s axial supercontinent. A power that dominated Eurasia would exercise decisive influence over two of the world’s three most economically productive regions: Western Europe and East Asia” [12, P. 302]. The quote points to a large part of the reason for the Cold War in the mid-twentieth century. According to the 10th National Security Advisor of the United States, Zbigniew Brzezinski, the Middle East has long been considered one of the most significant and influential areas in the world. This is because the region contains an abundance of natural resources, particularly oil and it has an advantageous transcontinental location, sitting between Asia and Europe [34, P. 10–12]. Quickly after World War II at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences, because of the lack of trust, main differences in ideologies, and

fear of nuclear power progress, the tension between the United States and the Soviet Union deepened [32, P. 904–926]. Due to all the benefits it contains, the Middle East quickly became the target area that both superpowers desired to control, along with Vietnam, Korea, and Central America. In order to compete against each other through military power, both sides threw millions of dollars into the Cold War in the Middle East, heavily impacting the region and its people in varied ways [40, P. 283–312]. Even though the Cold War ended in 1991 with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the legacy of the war is still very much felt in different parts of the Middle East today.

The sentiment, “Anti-Americanism” [14], has grown rapidly in Middle Eastern countries, particularly in countries like Iran and Iraq. This is undoubtedly partly due to increasing American involvement

in these regions in the past decades. Moreover, the relationship between the United States, Iran, and Iraq intensified greatly in the immediate aftermath of the 9/11 attacks. In the aftermath of the September 11th attacks, America responded quickly with varied foreign policies and the War on Terror, oppressing terrorism and active terrorist groups in the Middle East [8, P. 85–114]. This American response still continues to the present day with troops still stationed in Afghanistan and Iraq in 2020. Due to the continuation of the War on Terror and globalization, Middle East issues began to fade into the memories of the majority of people. However, the world's attention was brought back to the relationship between the United States and the Middle East again at the beginning of 2020. On January 3rd, 2020, Qasem Soleimani, the Iranian general of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, was assassinated by airstrikes ordered by the current American president Donald Trump [20]. As a major Iranian general, Soleimani was also a national hero in Iran and known widely in the Middle East. The news shocked everyone and once again brought focus to the Middle East as a frontier of the post-Cold War era. Iranians grieved over the loss of their hero and the country vowed to take revenge against the U.S. by unfurling of the Red Flag [3]. But why did the U.S. assassinate an Iranian general? Why now, and what will the aftermath of this brazen action be in the region?

In the following paper, I examine the assassination of Qasem Soleimani from both a long-term perspective and a short-term perspective. I will argue that the assassination reflects one of Trump's policies towards Iran, building upon the tension that has emerged since the Cold War. To support this statement, the first part of the paper will give an overview of Iran's role in the Cold War period, Qasem Soleimani and his involvements in the past decades. Thereafter, the paper will discuss the relationship between two countries from the Cold War to the present day in America under the Bush, Obama, and Trump administrations. Finally, the paper will

conclude a hypothesis of possible intentions behind the execution and how the assassination will impact not only the two countries but also the whole world in the future.

The Immediate Origins of the Cold War in the Middle East

Since part of the Middle East borders the Soviet Union, the USSR tried to promote relationships with the Middle Eastern countries. The USSR was willing to take any actions in order to assure the safety of its frontiers, including invasion. It first signed peace treaties with the countries in the Middle East, provided both military and economic support, trying to improve its relationships with the Middle East in general [66, P. 45]. For the U.S., the original intention behind actions was completely different. By the time the USSR had already started to dominate East Asia, sensing the possibility of communism spreading in another region, the U.S. quickly turned its sights onto the Middle East with a belief of saving people from threatening conditions and securing everyone's freedom [66, P. 47]. By offering support to local residents, the United States expected to have great impacts on ideologies, opposing communism, extremism, and nationalism in the Middle East and preaching western philosophy and values [37, P. 266–283].

Looking for affluent oil reservations in local communities was another reason that the Middle East became the target of the Cold War [49, P. 256–265]. As it first exported oil in 1913, the region became known as the oil empire, attracting both the US and USSR due to the high demands of oil in their countries [13]. As one of the world's largest oil providers, Iran and Iraq were dragged into the power competition [66, P. 47]. The USSR sent additional troops to Bulgaria and Romania as well, further threatening Iran for its oil reservations [66, P. 44]. On the other hand, Iran needed help from the USSR for pursuing autonomy. With one of the options being taken, the U.S. turned to Iran in the 1950s, starting by overthrowing its prime minister and turning the nation into a monarchy [10, P. 41].

Both interferences, influencing the economy and politics in the Middle East, was not welcomed by the local residents in either Iran or Iraq.

The unique location and affluent natural resources brought the Middle East into the battle between the US and USSR, posing impacts both positively and negatively. In terms of death and economy, the impact on the Middle East was minimum compared to other main battlefields such as Vietnam and Korea. As mentioned before, the Cold War was not just physical but also ideological, economic, and political. Under the influences of two superpowers, the countries were encouraged to build militarily, which deepened the tension between Palestine and Israel and reinforced the insecurity of foreign interference. Compared to Vietnam and Korea, leaders in the Middle East started taking advantage of manipulating the military from each side of the war, playing against each other and ensuring their own safety.

Cold War Legacy

The U.S.-Iran conflict started as early as the 1950s, after Mohammad Mossadegh became the prime minister of Iran. During this time, British-owned oil companies in Iran became nationalized. The British government did not want to lose the most profitable industry they owned. As a result, it turned to America for help, asking the country to overthrow Mossadegh. The overthrow ended up being successful. The nation was then turned into a monarchy ruled by Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the shah of Iran [48, P. 195]. The Shah was an absolute dictator, but he was supported by the U.S. as an ally playing against the USSR. In 1979, Iranians rebelled against the shah's regime, and hate toward the United States elevated. The chant of "Death to America" came from revolutionary rallies [68].

In November 1979, the U.S. embassy in Tehran was seized by a group of Iranian students [66, P. 665–697]. The incident lasted 444 days and as a result Americans' perceptions of the Islamic Republic have completely changed ever since [35]. In 1980, when Iraq invaded Iran, the U.S. provided Iraq

with several billion-dollar aid and even supported the use of chemical weapons against Iranian troops, causing an estimated 1 million deaths of Iranian soldiers [71]. Later in the 1980s, Iran bombed a US Marine barrack, resulting in 241 deaths of American citizens and 61 French people [16]. In response, the US shot down an Iranian civilian airliner, which was mistakenly identified as an attacking fighter jet, killing 290 passengers on the flight [43]. The tension between Iran and the United States escalated greatly in the following years of the Cold War.

US-Iran

The US-Iran conflict started as early as the 1950s. After Mohammad Mossadegh, who strongly opposed foreign involvement, became the prime minister of Iran since 1951, British-owned oil companies in Iran became nationalized. The British government did not want to lose the most profitable industry they owned. In 1979, Iranians rebelled the shah's regime, and hate towards the United States was raised. The chant of "Death to America" came from revolutionary rallies. In November 1979, the US embassy in Tehran was seized by a group of Iranian students. The incident lasted 444 days. The Americans' perceptions of the Islamic Republic have completely changed after since – A hostile nation.

In 1980, when Iraq invaded Iran, the U.S. provided Iraq with several billion-dollars in aid and even supported the use of chemical weapons against Iranian troops. The attack caused an estimated 1 million deaths of Iranian soldiers. Later in the 1980s, Iran bombed a U. S. Marine barrack, resulting in 241 deaths of American citizens and 61 French people [16]. In response to this attack, the U.S. shot down an Iranian civilian airliner, which was mistakenly identified as an attacking fighter jet, killing 290 passengers on the flight [53].

Al-Qaeda

AL-Qaeda was founded in 1988, led by Osama bin Laden and Abdullah Azam [4]. It is considered as a network of Islamic extremists and Salafist jihadists. The group believes that Christians and Jew are

destroying Islam. As a country in which more than 60% of the adults believe in Christianity, America has become a dangerous place, a target country, to Al-Qaeda and its members. The group executed varied attacks against the United States such as the United States embassy bombings in 1998 and the well-known September 11 attacks. The group has been designated as a terrorist group by North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the European Union, the United States, the United Kingdom, and many other countries. Its leader, Osama bin Laden, has also been designated as an extremely dangerous terrorist as well, being one of the Ten Most Wanted Fugitives and Most Wanted Terrorists. He has masterminded many mass casualty attacks worldwide.

At 8:46 a.m., on September 11th, 2001, an American flight crashed into the north tower of the World Trade Center in Manhattan. The Twin Towers of the World Trade Center was attacked by four coordinated terrorist attacks led by 19 trained members of the Islamic terrorist group al-Qaeda [57, P. 48]. The action had been planned for years. The four passenger airlines used were all hijacked by terrorists from the al-Qaeda group, aiming for as much destruction as possible. Three out of four planes successfully launched the terrorists' plan while one crashed into a field in Pennsylvania [9]. The act was completely unexpected to most of the American citizens. People would never expect an open attack happening on the United States land with the nation's strong military power, well-known reputation and its national authority. No one would ever think that the symbol of Manhattan, the World Trade Center, the Twin Tower, would be attacked one day. The first plane hit the north tower of the World Trade Center in the morning. People in the building were either injured or dead. Some of them tried to escape the fire and smoke through "surfing" down the falling building. In a famous photograph, "The Falling Man" [29], a photograph recorded a man falling from the World Trade Center after the first attack. After seeing the building next to being attacked and collapsed, people

working in the south tower were surrounded by fear and desperation.

Only a few people successfully escaped before the launch of the second attack while the majority of people got stuck in the building. Both towers collapsed within a few minutes from each. Everything was completely gone. The third flight crashed into the Pentagon, and the fourth one crashed in Pennsylvania with 125 at the Pentagon and 265 on the fourth plane [1]. The deliberate destructing act killed more than 3,000 human beings from 57 countries and over 25,000 injuries [17]. Among the deaths were more than 400 first-responders, such as firefighters and police officers. The casualties of American citizens within the country was the largest since World War II [17].

Post-9/11

While the whole world was shocked by the insane act, the US government responded quickly with actions and policies. After two towers have been hit, the Vice president Dick Cheney issued commands to detect and shut down any flights that could be suspicious or hijacked. American Airspace was also closed to all international flights that day. First responders such as firefighters, police officers from each state traveled to New York for rescuing and helping. The whole nation was under a continuity of government status from the day to February 2002.

The U.S. government enacted the Homeland Security Act in November 2002 [52]. The act created the United States Department of Homeland Security, the second largest federal government reorganization in the country. The Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act was also established in 2004 in response to September 11, 2001. The act requires the Department of Homeland Security to access airline passenger information to federal government watch lists for both the international and domestic flight, in order to increase safety and prevent incidents similar to September 11.

Besides establishing new policies, the United States government also strengthened anti-terrorism

legislations by launching an international military campaign, The War on Terror (The Global War on Terrorism). The campaign lasts to the present. The campaign mainly focuses on prominent terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda, the Taliban, and Tehrik E-Taliban Pakistan. The idea of the campaign first emerged on September 16th, 2001, a few days after the attack with George Bush's speech. On May 23rd, 2013, former president Barack Obama announced the end of the campaign, but American agencies will still focus on active members from terrorist groups or groups that aim to bring harm to the nation.

With beliefs that the attack was enacted by terrorists from the Al-Qaeda group based in Afghanistan, America also invaded the region in response to September 11th. The War in Afghanistan, known as Afghanistan War, began on October 7th, 2001. On that day, the US launched Operation Enduring Freedom with the United Kingdom and other counterterrorism operations, mainly targeting Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in local areas. The day can also be referred to The Opening Salvo when a bombing campaign against Taliban forces was officially initiated. The operation lasted for 13 years from 2001 to 2014. On December 18th, 2014, president Barack Obama declared the end of the operation in Afghanistan. However, other operations still exist in Afghanistan enforced by the US military – Operation Freedom's Sentinel – starting from January 1st, 2015 to present [62]. The operation is the continuation of the Global War on Terrorism and part of the NATO-led Resolute Support Mission for counterterrorism.

The Afghanistan War is the longest war in US history [5]. With the collapse of the Taliban government and formation of the Afghan Interim Administration and the International Security Assistance Force, America has gained victory. However, the cost of the act cannot be ignored. In 2011, Congress committed a loss between \$31 and \$60 billion with approximately \$1 million a year [65]. September 11th is significant to the United States as a nation not only because of its detrimental causes but also because

of its meaning, the starting of escalated tensions between America and the Middle-eastern countries since the end of the Cold War.

As a result of the US war on terror since 9/11, the tension between the two countries has grown even deeper in recent decades. President George W. Bush launched a series of foreign policies in the Middle East. Due to the fact that Iran supported terrorist groups and nuclear weapon development, the Islamic Republic was regarded as part of an "axis of evil" since 2002, along with Iraq and North Korea [75, P. 153]. On the other hand, many anti-American organizations led by Qassem Soleimani contributed to hundreds of American troops' deaths.

Barack Obama, the former president of the US, signed the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action in July 2015 [11], which offers Tehran billions of dollars in exchange for the dismantling of Iran's nuclear program. By agreeing to the deal, Iran declared that "under no circumstances will Iran ever seek, develop, or acquire any nuclear weapons" [61]. The deal also gives power to international inspectors for accessing sites that are "suspected of any nuclear weapons-related activities" [11]. Additionally, Iran establishes the same agreements to the other permanent members of the U.N. Security Council: Russia, China, France, and the UK, Germany and the European Union [83]. Under the Obama administration, constraining Iran's nuclear program was the top concern. Thus, even though the deal was not perfect enough, being able to put some restrictions on Iran was a successful attempt by the time.

Even though there was a broad consensus of abiding the agreement in the country, Benjamin Netanyahu, Israeli Prime Minister, points out that Iran has wider aggression and bigger ambition [44]. Netanyahu declares that Iran has been developing its own nuclear weapons with the evidence of Project Amad, including documents and files of designing, building, and testing nuclear weapons that Israelis sneaked out from a storage facility in Tehran. After Netanyahu debunked Iran's claim that it never had

a nuclear weapon program publicly in April 2018, the Prime Minister turned the evidence to the United States soon after. President Donald Trump responded that: “Iran’s behavior was just not an acceptable situation” [79]. As early as the president’s campaign trail, Trump started calling the agreement “the worst deal ever”. So, with more evidence being released out, Trump said: “What’s happening today has really shown that I’ve been 100 percent right.” in response [19].

On May 8, 2018, Donald Trump announced that the U.S. would reimpose sanctions on Iran [50]. However, another voice gained popularity in the society at the same time that there was no evidence that can prove Iran has broken the agreement. Interestingly enough, a statement released by the White House on social media was corrected later in the day, changing “Iran has a robust, clandestine nuclear weapons program that it has tried and failed to hide from the world and from its own people.” into “Iran had...” [28]. Meanwhile, the CIA director, Pompeo, who has a tendency to portray Iran as “The focus of evil in the Middle East and a worldwide threat”, told the media that “President Trump’s been pretty clear. This deal is very flawed. He’s directed the administration to try to fix it, and if we can’t fix it, he’s going to withdraw from the deal” [81]. The tension between America and Iran has been escalated to a new level.

After the 2015 Iran deal, the relationship between the two countries became more fragile. For Tehran, it is clear that winning a direct military confrontation with the United States is nearly impossible [18]. Thus, instead of having direct military retaliation, some provocations have been taken in the past few years: assaulting oil installations in the Persian Gulf, attacking ships in the Strait of Hormuz, and shooting down an American drone. In my opinion, the constant provoking actions are not signs for starting a war with the United States. Instead, I think the Iranian government tried to prove its ability and power through the series of threatening actions. More importantly, it wants to have a negotiation with the U.S.

government or even concessions from it. However, things didn’t turn into what the Iranian government wished. America imposed sanctions on Iran in responding to the attacks. Iran’s GDP shrank approximately 6% while the inflation rate sustains at around 50% [76]. Iran’s exports were reduced to almost zero. In addition to economic sanctions, the U.S. government proposed a new nuclear treaty with Iran with 12 demands, stressing issues such as regional subversion and terrorism [81].

In October 2017, President Trump announced his administration’s new policy on the Islamic Republic: “... Along with several major steps we are taking to confront the Iranian regime’s hostile actions and to ensure that Iran never, and I mean ever, acquires a nuclear weapon” [60]. In the speech, he gave four ways of how the US would confront Iran: “First, we will work with our allies to counter the regime’s destabilizing activity and support for terrorist proxies in the region. Second, we will place additional sanctions on the regime to block their financing of terror. Third, we will address the regime’s proliferation of missiles and weapons that threaten its neighbors, global trade, and freedom of navigation. And finally, we will deny the regime all paths to a nuclear weapon” [50]. This became the “maximum pressure” campaign against Iran.

December 27th, 2019, Kata’ib Hezbollah, an Iranian-supported militia group in Iraq attacked a military-based, resulting in the death of an American contractor and multiple injuries of both American citizens and Iraqis. Early as June 25th, 2019, Trump tweeted, “The U. S. has not forgotten Iran’s use of IED’s & EFP’s (bombs), which killed 2000 Americans, and wounded many more ... Any attack by Iran on anything American will be met with great and overwhelming force. In some areas, overwhelming will mean obliteration” [23]. With the death and injuries taken place in the later of the year, Trump was triggered, and a series of actions were taken after then. On December 28th, five sites of Kata’ib Hezbollah in Iraq and Syria were subsequently attacked [7]. On December 29th, Mark

Esper, the Defense Secretary announced additional actions will be taken for self-defense [39]. However, Kata'ib Hezbollah and its supporters, which includes Soleimani, did not take the words seriously. Two days later, thousands gathered and threw rocks to the US Embassy in Baghdad while chanting "Death to America!" Although the attempt was unsuccessful, Trump tweeted with anger, "...We strongly responded, and always will. Now Iran is orchestrating an attack on the U.S. Embassy in Iraq. They will be held fully responsible..." [21]. No one realized it was a sign until January 2nd, 2020 when the assassination took place [69]. Not only did Soleimani die in the attack, but the airstrike also killed the Quds Force commander and the head of Kata'ib Hezbollah. I think killing Soleimani is indeed a part of Trump's policy towards Iran. The warning tweets since the end of the last year are some of the clearest evidence of this argument. What Trump wants to do is not only shutting down the series of provocations by Iranians or terrorist groups in the Middle East, but he also wants to eliminate any possible bad actions or behaviors in the future. As the head of Kata'ib Hezbollah, the Iranian Quds Force commander, a terrorist that the administration long identified and believed in, Soleimani is the perfect candidate that Trump chooses.

A day after the assassination, Trump reacted to the shocking news with his tweet: "Under my leadership, America's policy is unambiguous: To terrorists who harm or intend to harm any American, we will find you; we will eliminate you. We will always protect our diplomats, service members, all Americans, and our allies. We took action last night to stop a war. We did not take action to start a war [59]. January 4th, 2020, President Trump tweeted again that the U.S. will attack 52 Iranian sites to mirror the 52 American hostages back in 1979 in response to Iranian threats, "...WILL BE HIT VERY FAST AND VERY HARD" [22]. In the following weeks, Iran attacked two US military sites in Iraq in response.

Trump's decision pushes every effort back to the beginning. Even though both George W. Bush and Barack

Obama once had the desire of assassinating General Soleimani, both rejected the option as too risky. Bush focused more on policies and actions responding to September 11th with The Intelligence Reform [15] and Terrorism Prevention Act [78]. On the other hand, Obama took an outflanking tactic – signing the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action [46]. Both former presidents did not take action regarding the consequences of Soleimani's death and another possible war. As a president who ordered such an action that was denied by two other presidents, did Donald Trump even think too much about the coming outcomes? Or he knew the outcomes but did not care too much about them?

Qasem Soleimani

In order to understand the meaning of the events described in the previous section, it is necessary to provide a little background on Soleimani. Qasem Soleimani was an Iranian major general in the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps [63], the commander of Quds force [56]. In Iran, Soleimani had strongly influenced the local organizations and the Iraqi government because of his prominent status and great contributions to the nation. He was regarded as the second most powerful person in Iran. In the country, he was considered as a hero and with great respect. Many viewed him as a "selfless hero fighting Iran's enemies" [42]. Before joining the Revolutionary Guards in 1979, Soleimani became the commander of the 41st Tharallah Division around his 20s [55]. In 1980, he started leading a company of men when the Iran-Iraq War began [55]. He earned great reputations rapidly because of his bravery. In the late 1990s, he became the commander of the Quds Force [2]. After September 11th, 2001, he collaborated with the US to fight the Taliban, a powerful organization in Afghanistan. In 2012, he ran Iran's operation in the Syrian Civil War and Shia militia forces in Iraq in order to help the government of Syria and its president [2].

However, from America's point of view, Soleimani is one of the more dangerous figures in the war against terror. The administration of George W. Bush and Barack Obama both considered assassinating So-

leimani, but both rejected the option as too risky. In 2007, Soleimani was designated by the U. S. Treasury department as a terrorist due to the proposition that the Quds Force, led by Soleimani, offered material support to terrorist organizations such as the Taliban [72]. In the same year, U.S. special operations forces planned to capture Soleimani, but the proposal was rejected by some senior U.S. leaders [31]. Throughout Barack Obama's administration, Soleimani was designated twice: one in May 2011 for supporting the Syrian General Intelligence Directorate, and another in October 2011 due to evidence of the Quds Force officers plotting an attempt to assassinate the Saudi Arabian ambassador to the United States [72].

From President Donald Trump's perspective, he has had extreme negative feelings towards Soleimani and has accused Soleimani of planting thousands of roadside bombs in Iraq and Afghanistan. On January 14th, 2020, Trump stated, "He was the king of the roadside bombs, great percentages of people don't have legs right now and arms because of this son of bitch [Qassem Soleimani]" [36]. This is not the first time Trump called out someone publicly. Calling a female journalist "nasty" or male journalist "a loser", and back then the fireball was going right towards Soleimani [38].

The Assassination of Soleimani

On January 3rd, 2020, Qasem Soleimani was killed in an American remote-controlled drone strike near the Baghdad International Airport alongside with nine others in Iraq [20]. President Trump did not inform Congress about the plan to assassinate Soleimani in advance. The administration gave a reason for the "imminent threat" [30]. Trump claimed that the assassination was necessary to prevent another threat similar to the September 11th attack while the people in Iran considered the incident as a great tragedy and an act of "state terrorism" [64]. In response to the execution, Donald Trump said: "We took last night's action to stop a war. We did not take action to start a war" [54]. In addition, Chris Murphy, the U.S. democratic senator declared that: "This is equivalent

to the Iranian assassinating the U. S. Secretary of Defense" [59]. The president's command was also questioned. According to Nancy Pelosi, Donald Trump's classified letter explaining the execution "... prompts serious and urgent questions about the timing, manner, and justification of the Administration's decision to engage in hostilities against Iran" [45].

Ironically, back in 2011, when Barack Obama was still the president, Trump openly addressed that: "Our president will start a war with Iran because he has absolutely no ability to negotiate. To start a war in order to get reelected. And I believe that is going to happen would be an outrage" [55]. The election of 2020 is going to take place in November, his assortment of Iran 9 years ago makes people reconsider the intentions behind the execution and acts enforced. Indeed, before the assassination, Trump had revealed his ambitious and the tension between two countries: "Americans anywhere are threatened we have all of those targets fully identified and I am ready and prepared to take whatever action in necessary, and that particularly refers to Iran" [47]. On the other hand, Hassan Rouhani, the Iranian president, claimed that: "They (The United States) have made a strategic mistake. They will see that more difficult days await them. This crime committed by the US will go down in history as one of their unforgettable crimes against the Iranian nation" [41]. Iran also raised the blood-red 'flags of revenge' for mounting the loss of their great general and hero in the air strike. Thousands of people went on streets, protesting and fluttering the red flag.

In the assassination, an Iraqi leader Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis was also killed [72]. In the following days, thousands of people in Baghdad marched to mourn both leaders and shout "Death to America" as their slogan [6]. Moreover, the assassination of Qasem Soleimani marked a new milestone in history. Ordering a successful drone assassination in another country breaks the limits and opens possibilities of normal, regular assassinations which are time and locations. This execution indicates a possibility and

the start of more high-technology involved crimes in the future. It also reflects that the United States owns strong military power and advanced technologies, warning Iran for its future attempts of provocations. The message behind the assassination is more like a threat to Iran: be obedient, and to us, you are not powerful enough to be our enemy.

Conclusion

Since the Cold War, the relationship between the United States and Iran has become increasingly tense. In Iran, Anti-Americanism has risen throughout the 44 years of war, and the threat and reality of terrorism has grown larger. On the other hand, for the U.S., Iran became an unreliable and dangerous enemy after the US Embassy hostage crisis. Almost 29 years after the end of the Cold War, the US-Iran relation has not gotten any better, instead, it continues to be tenuous and conflicting. The tension that had already been building during the Cold War deepened significantly in the aftermath of the September 11th attack, led by Al-Qaeda, an Islamic terrorist group. The U. S. government reacted quickly with a number of foreign policies and began the War on Terror, aiming to undermine and eliminate all the terrorism power in the Middle East in the next decades.

The 2015 Nuclear deal that agreed by both sides and the other UN Security Council's permanent members. Even though Iran acknowledged the deal, the action was reluctant. The 2015 Nuclear deal helped Iran throughout the economic sanctions imposed by the U.S., but further undermines both of its military and political power [70]. Iran was resigned, and as a once-powerful country in the Middle East, it was not satisfied with the status quo. In response to the U.S. foreign policies and sanctions and fear of international isolation in the future, Iran began a counter-pressure campaign, trying to get back the dominance it used to have. However, Iran did not know by the time that the series of the "rebellious" actions put more fuel on the fire. Rolling back key commitments under the nuclear deal in July, shooting down a U.S. military drone, attacking oil tankers, and the U.S. embassy breaking in

all add more weights to the fragile relation, leading up to the assassination of Iran's top general Qasem Soleimani on January 3, 2020.

In contrast to Bush and Obama, President Trump's approaches to the Middle East has been characterized as harsher and stricter. Under his administration, the action waivers on Iran were extended. He announced the withdrawal from the Iran nuclear agreement and attempted to force Iran to the table for a new deal [51]. In 2019, Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps led by Soleimani was designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization, which is the first time that the U.S. declared another nation's government as a terrorist group [77]. The policy cut the Guard's material support, limiting its further actions and putting more pressure on Iran, which has a prominent role and diplomatic implications in the Middle East region [80]. At the end of 2019, more than 300 people were killed in a government crackdown during a protest, Trump and its administration criticized the Iranian government for the execution [33]. All the incidents added up, and an attempt to tame the trouble-maker rose in the bottom heart of the president. Which organization has the most influence in Iran? Who is relatively powerful there? Who would be a good candidate to be the chicken to kill for scaring the monkey? Eliminating all the other possible options, Qassem Soleimani stands out as a great target.

This is another political game. An opportunity that Donald Trump made for himself to get re-elected. On November 16th, 2011, Donald Trump released a video shot in Trump Tower, predicting Barack Obama would start launching a war to get reelected. In the video, Trump declared: "Our president will start a war with Iran because he has no ability to negotiate. He's weak and he's ineffective. So, the only way he figures that he's going to get reelected – and as sure as you're sitting there – is to start a war with Iran" [24]. On October 8th and October 22th, 2012, Trump posted "Now that Obama's poll numbers are in tailspin-watch for him to launch a strike in Libya or Iran. He is desperate" [25], and "Don't let

Obama play the Iran card to start a war in order to get elected – be careful Republicans!” respectively [26]. Trump did not let go of his theory even after Obama got reelected successfully without attacking Iran. In 2013, he kept posting on Twitter that “Remember what I previously said – Obama will someday attack Iran in order to show how tough he is”, and “Remember that I predicted a long time ago that President Obama will attack Iran because of his inability to

negotiate properly-not killed [27]. Ironically, as the president of the United States now, Trump launched an airstrike in Iran at the beginning of 2020, which is also the year of the next election. What he has accused and criticized of Obama seem all fall into the categories of what he has done. Ripped up the Iran nuclear deal may not be enough for keeping him at where he is now. However, an assassination can be. A pre-emptive in nature assassination can be.

References:

1. “Accused 9/11 Plotter Khalid Sheikh Mohammed Faces New York Trial.” Cable News Network. Last modified November 13th, 2009. URL: <https://www.cnn.com/2009/CRIME/11/13/khalid.sheikh.mohammed>
2. Alfoneh Ali. “Iran’s Most Dangerous General.” Middle Eastern Outlook.– No. 4. Last modified July. 2011. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20120725085931/http://www.aei.org/files/2011/07/13/MEO-2011-07-No-4-g.pdf>
3. Alfonso Fernado III, Ivana Kottasova, Amir Veras, Jessie Yeung, and Eliza Mackintosh. “Crowds Swarm Tehran to Mourn Slain Iran Military Leader Soleimani.” CNN.org. Last modified January 6. 2020. URL: <https://www.cnn.com/middleeast/live-news/us-iran-soleimani-tensions-live-intl-01-05-20/index.html>
4. “Al-Qaeda”. Islamic Militant Organization. Encyclopaedia Britannica.com. Accessed June 28th. 2020. URL: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/al-Qaeda>
5. “America; s Longest War: A Visual History of 18 Years in Afghanistan.” The Wall Street Journal. Last modified February 29th, 2020. URL: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/americas-longest-war-a-visual-history-of-18-years-in-afghanistan-11583010024>
6. Associated Press. “Iran Won’t Abide by Nuclear Deal Limits After U. S. Killing of Qassem Suleimani.” Los Angeles Times.com. Last modified January 5th. 2020. URL: <https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2020-01-05/iran-abandons-nuclear-deal-qassem-soleimani>
7. Barnes Julina E. “U. S. Launches Airstrikes on Iranian-Backed Forces in Iraq and Syria.” The New York Times.com. Last modified December 29th. 2019. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/29/world/middleeast/us-airstrikes-iran-iraq-syria.html>
8. Barzegar Kayhan. “Roles at Odds: The Roots of Increased Iran-U.S. Tension in the Post-9/11 Middle East.” Iranian Review of Foreign Affairs, 1 (3). 2010.– P. 85–114.
9. “Bin Laden Claims Responsibility for 9/11.” CBC news.com. Last modified October 29th. 2004. URL: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/bin-laden-claims-responsibility-for-9-11-1.513654>
10. Brew Gregory. “The Collapse Narrative: The United States, Mohammed Mossadegh, and The Coup Decision of 1953.” Brew Gregory. 2019.– 41 p.
11. Bruton F. Brinley. “What is the Iran Nuclear Deal?” NBCnews.com. Last modified April 11th. 2018. URL: <https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/smart-facts/what-iran-nuclear-deal-n868346>
12. Brzeziński Zbigniew. “A Geogrategy For Eurasia.” in Preparing America’s Forgein Policy for the 21st Century, ed. David L. Boren and Edward J. Perkins (University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 1997). Chapter 24.– 302 p.
13. Bucjman Greg. “Global Trade: Past Mistake, Future Choices.” (UK: Zed Books Ltd, 2005).

14. Chiozza Giaacomo. "Anti-Americanism and the World Order (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press).
15. Civil Liberties and Privacy Office. "Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004." Office of Director of National Intelligence. Accessed June 16th. 2020. URL: <https://www.dni.gov/index.php/ic-legal-reference-book/intelligence-reform-and-terrorism-prevention-act-of-2004>
16. CNN Editorial Research. "Beirut Marine Barracks Bombing Fast Facts." CNN.org. Last modified November 13. 2019. URL: <https://www.cnn.com/2013/06/13/world/meast/beirut-marine-barracks-bombing-fast-facts/index.html>
17. Congress (Mat 2006). Congressional Record.– Vol. 148.– Pt. 7.– May 23. 2002 to June 2002. Government Printing Office.– 9909 p. Retrieved April 9. 2014.
18. Cooper, Helene Eric Schmitt, Maggie Haberman, and Rukmini Callimachi. "As Tensions with Iran Escalated, Trump Opted for Most Extreme Measure." Last modified January 7th, 2020. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/04/us/politics/trump-suleimani.html>
19. Cortellessa Eric. "After Netanyahu's Speech, Trump Says 'I've been 100 percent right' on Iran." The Times of Israel.com. Last modified April 20th. 2018. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/after-netanyahu-speech-trump-says-ive-been-100-percent-right>
20. Crowley Michael, Falih Hassan, and Eric Schmitt. "U. S. Strike in Iraq Kills Qassem Suleimani, Commander of Iranian Forces." The New York Times.com. Last modified January 2nd, 2020. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/02/world/middleeast/qassem-soleimani-iraq-iran-attack.html>
21. Donald J. Trump. Twitter. Last modified December 31th. 2019.
22. Donald J. Trump, Twitter. Last modified January 4th. 2020.
23. Donald J. Trump. Twitter. Last modified June 27th. 2019.
24. Donald J. Trump. Twitter. November 16th. 2011.
25. Donald J. Trump. Twitter. October 8th. 2020.
26. Donald J. Trump. Twitter. October 22th. 2012.
27. Donald J. Trump. Twitter. 2013.
28. Drezner Daniel W. "It's Been Zero Days Since the Last White House Accident." The Washington Post.com. Last modified May 1st. 2018. URL: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/posteverything/wp/2018/05/01/its-been-zero-days-since-the-last-white-house-accident>
29. Drew Richard. "The Falling Man." 100 photos.times.com. 2001. Accessed June 27th. 2020. URL: <http://100photos.time.com/photos/richard-drew-falling-man>
30. Edmondson Catie. "White House Memo Justifying Soleimani Strike Cites No Imminent Threat." The New York Times.com. Last modified February 14th. 2020. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/02/world/middleeast/qassem-soleimani-iraq-iran-attack.html>
31. Entous Adam and Evan Osnos. "Qassem Suleimani and How Nations Decide to Kill." The New Yorker.com. Last modified February 3rd. 2020. URL: <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2020/02/10/qassem-suleimani-and-how-nations-decide-to-kill>
32. Farquharson J. E. "Anglo-American Policy on German Reparations from Yalta to Potsdam." The English Historical Review, 112 (448). 1997.– P. 904–926.
33. Fassihi Farnaz and Rick Galdstone. "With Brutual Crackdown, Iran Is Convulsed by Worst Unrest in 40 Years." The New York Times.com. Last modified December 1st. 2019. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/01/world/middleeast/iran-protests-deaths.html>

34. Fisher W.B. *The Middle East: A Physical, Social, and Regional Geography* (London: Routledge, 1978). – P. 10–12.
35. Friedman Alan. “Spider’s Web: The Secret History of How the White House Illegally Armed Iraq.” Bantam Books, 1993.
36. Garger Kenneth. “Trump Calls Dead Iranian Gen. Qassem Soleimani A ‘Son of Bitch’ at Rally.” *The New York Post*. Last modified January 16th. 2020. URL: <https://nypost.com/2020/01/14/trump-calls-dead-iranian-gen-qassem-soleimani-a-son-of-a-bitch-at-rally>
37. Gelvin James L. *The Modern Middle East: A History* (3rd ed; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). – P. 266–283.
38. Gleman-Waxner Libby. “If You Ask Me: The Last Quarantine Think Piece.” *The New Yorker*. Last modified May 18th. 2020.
39. Hains Tim. “Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and Secretary of Defense Mark Esper Announce Air Strikes on Iran-Sponsored Shi’ite Militia in Iraq.” *RealClearPolitics.com*. Last modified December 30th. 2019. URL: https://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2019/12/30/secretary_of_state_mike_pompeo_and_secretary_of_defense_mark_esper_announce_air_strikes_on_iran-sponsored_shiite_militia_in_iraq.html
40. Higgs Robert. “The Cold War Economy: Opportunity Costs, Ideology, and the Politics of Crisis.” *Explorations in Economic History* 31/3. 1994. – P. 283–312.
41. Ibbeston Ross. “Iranian Raise Blood Red ‘Flags of Revenge’ as They Vow to Hit Back After US Killed General Qassem Soleimani.” *DailyMail.com*. Last modified January 4th. 2020. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7851515/Iranians-raise-blood-red-flags-revenge-vow-hit-killed-Qassem-Soleimani.html>
42. “In Major Escalation, U. S. Air Strike Kills Top Iranian Commander Gen. Qassem Soleimani.” *Japan Times Online*. Last modified January 7th. 2020. URL: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/>; see also, Ishaan Tharoor. “Analysis| Trump’s Order to Kill Soleimani is Already Starting to Backfire.” *Washington Post*. Last modified January 7th. 2020. URL: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2020/01/06/trumps-order-kill-soleimani-is-already-starting-backfire>
43. Iran Air Fight 655. *Encyclopaedia Britannica.com*.
44. Jamieson Alastair, Andrea Mitchell, and Corky Siemaszko. “Netanyahu Claims, Iran Lied about Ending Nuclear Weapons Program.” *NBCnews.com*. Last modified May 1st. 2018. URL: <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/israel-s-netanyahu-claims-iranians-liked-about-nukes-has-new-n870086>
45. Jazeera A.I. “What’s behind the Qassem Soleimani Assassination? Start Here.” *Aljazeera.com*. Last modified January 8th. 2020. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/start-here/2020/01/soleimani-assassination-200107151743152.html>
46. Joyner Daniel H. *Iran’s Nuclear Program and International Law: From Confrontation to Accord* (First ed.). – New York. NY.
47. Kaonga Gerrard. “Watch Terrifying Moment Iran Unveils Red Flag ‘of revenge’ at Mosque.” *Express.co.uk*. Last modified January 7th. 2020. URL: <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1223958/Iran-US-red-flag-Qassem-Soleimani-world-war-3-ww3-Donald-Trump-Jamkaran-Mosque>
48. Kinzer Stephen. “All the Shah’s Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror.” New York: John Wiley & Sons. – 195 p.
49. Korany B. “The Middle East since the Cold War.” in *International Relations of the Middle East* (3rd. Ed.; Edited by Louis Fawcett; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). – P. 82–83; See also James L. Gelvin. *The Modern Middle East*. – P. 256–265.

50. Heather Krrigan. "Historic Documents of 2017," (United States of America: CQ Press, 2018).
51. Landler Mark. "Trump Abandons Iran Nuclear Deal He Long Scorned". The New York.com. Last modified May 8th. 2018. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/08/world/middleeast/trump-iran-nuclear-deal.html>
52. "Legislative Updates – Homeland Security Act of 2002." Office of Legislative Policy and Analysis. Archived from the original on May 27th. 2010. Retrieved November, 2010. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20100527195312/http://olpa.od.nih.gov/legislation/107/publiclaws/hmlndsecrty.asp>
53. Lendon Brad. "In 1988, a US Navy Warship Shot Down an Iranian Passenger Plane in the Heart of Battle." CNN.com. Last modified January 10th. 2020. URL: <https://www.cnn.com/2020/01/10/middleeast/iran-air-flight-655-us-military-intl-hnk/index.html>
54. Liptak Kevin and Maegan Vazquez. "Trump on Strike That Killed Soleimani: 'We did not take action to start a war.'" CNN.com. Last modified January 3rd. 2020. URL: <https://www.cnn.com/2020/01/03/politics/donald-trump-iran-statement/index.html>
55. Mangan Dan. "Years Before Killing Qasem Soleimani, Trump Warned Obama Would Start A War with Iran to Get Reelected." CNBC.com. Last modified January 3rd. 2020. URL: <https://www.cnbc.com/2020/01/03/before-qasem-soleimani-killing-trump-warned-of-iran-war-by-obama.html>
56. Mamouri Ali. "The Enigma of Qasem Soleimani and His Role in Iraq." Al Monitor. Last modified July 14th. 2016. URL: <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/10/the-enigma-behind-qassem-suleimani.html#ixzz434m8vciD>
57. Mc Chrystal Stanley. "Iran's Deadly Puppet Master." Foreign Policy. Last modified January 7th. 2020. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/gt-essay/irans-deadly-puppet-master-qassem-suleimani>
58. Moghadam Assaf. *The Globalization of Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Diffusion of Suicide Attacks*. Johns Hopkins University. 48.
59. "Murphy: The Administration Must Come to Congress to Authorize Any Future Military Action Against Iran." Murphy. Senate. Gov. Last modified January 3rd. 2020. URL: <https://www.murphy.senate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/murphy-the-administration-must-come-to-congress-to-authorize-any-future-military-action-against-iran>
60. National Security & Defense. "Remarks by President Trump on Iran Strategy." WhiteHouse.com. Last modified October 13th. 2017. URL: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-iran-strategy>
61. "New Study on Iran's Nuclear Capabilities and Intentions." The Iran Primer. Last modified September 17th. 2019. URL: <https://iranprimer.usip.org/index.php/blog/2019/sep/17/new-study-iran%E2%80%99s-nuclear-capabilities-and-intentions>
62. "Operation Freedom's Sentinel Quarterly Report to Congress| Jan.1 to Mar. 31, 2019." Office of Inspector General U.S. Department of State. Accessed June 16th. 2020. URL: <https://www.stateoig.gov/news/10503>
63. "Profile: Iran's Revolutionary Guards." BBCnews.com. Last modified October 18th. 2009. URL: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7064353.stm
64. Pleitgen Fred. "Iranian Foreign Minister Accuses US of 'State Terrorism' as Country's Parliament Votes to Designate US Forces as 'Terrorists.'" CNN.com. Last modified January 7th. 2020. URL: <https://www.cnn.com/2020/01/03/politics/donald-trump-iran-statement/index.html>

65. Rancis David. "How the US Lost Billions Over Nine Years in Iraq." CNBC.com. Last modified June 19th. 2014. URL: <https://www.cnbc.com/2014/06/19/how-the-us-lost-billions-over-nine-years-in-iraq.html>
66. Sluglett Peter. "The Cold War in the Middle East." in *International Relations of the Middle East* (3rd. Ed.; Edited by Louis Fawcett; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).– 45 p.
67. Tabbaar Mohammad Ayatollahi. "Causes of the US Hostage Crisis in Iran: The Untold Account of the Communist Threat." *Security Studies*. 26: 4.– P. 665–697.
68. Taylor Adam. "The History of 'Death to America.'" *The Washington Post*.com. Last modified February 18th. 2015. URL: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/02/18/the-history-of-death-to-america>
69. Thomas Clayton. "U. S. Killing of Qasem Soleimani: Frequently Asked Questions." Congressional Research Service. Last modified January 13th. 2020. URL: <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R46148>
70. "Timeline of Nuclear Diplomacy with Iran." Arms Control Association.org. Last modified May 2020. URL: <https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/Timeline-of-Nuclear-Diplomacy-With-Iran>
71. Timmerman Kenneth R. "The Death Lobby: How the West Armed Iraq." (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1991).
72. "Treasury Sanctions Five Individuals Tied to Iranian Plot to Assassinate the Saudi Arabian Ambassador to the United States." U. S. Department of The Treasury. Last modified October 11th. 2011. URL: <https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/pages/tg1320.aspx>
73. Tuhas Alan. "Airstrike That Killed Suleimani Also Killed Powerful Iranqi Militia Leader." *The New York Times*.com. Last modified January 3rd. 2020. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/03/world/middleeast/iraq-iran-airstrike-al-muhandis.html>
74. "US drone: Trump Says Iran Made A 'Very Bad Mistake.'" BBC.com. Last modified June 21st. 2019. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-48711229>
75. Segell Glen. "Axis of Evil and Rogue States: The Bush Administration, 2000–2004." (London: Glen Segell).– 153 p.
76. "Six Charts that Show How Hard US Sanctions Have Hit Iran." BBCnews.com. Last modified December 9th. 2019. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-48119109>
77. "Statement from the President on The Designation of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps as A Foreign Terrorist." Whitehouse.gov. Last modified April 8th. 2019. URL: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-president-designation-islamic-revolutionary-guard-corps-foreign-terrorist-organization>
78. "S. 2845-Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004." Congress.gov.com. Accessed June 27th. 2020. URL: <https://www.congress.gov/bill/108th-congress/senate-bill/2845>
79. "US drone: Trump Says Iran Made A 'Very Bad Mistake,'" BBC.com, last modified June 21st, 2019. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-48711229>
80. "U.S.-Iran Conflict and Implications for U. S. Policy." Congressional Research Service.org. Last modified May 8th. 2020. URL: <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R45795.pdf>
81. Vakil Sanam and Neil Quilliam. "Getting to a New Iran Deal a Guide for Trump, Washington, Europe, and the Middle East." Middle East and North Africa Programme. Last modified October 2019. URL: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/publication/getting-new-iran-deal-guide-trump-washington-tehran-europe-and-middle-east>

82. Windrem Robert and William M. Arkin. "What Mike Pompeo Means for the Iran Nuclear Deal." NBC-news.com. Last modified March 14th, 2018. URL: <https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/iran-nuclear-talks/what-mike-pompeo-means-iran-nuclear-deal-n856571>
83. "Zairf: We've Never Claimed Nuclear Deal Only Favors Iran." Tehran Times.com. Last modified July 22th. 2015. URL: <https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/248149/Zarif-We-ve-never-claimed-nuclear-deal-only-favors-Iran>

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-89-91>

*Yarmolenko Mariya Ivanovna,
Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor
Danube Institute of the National University
"Odessa Maritime Academy", Ukraine
E-mail: mariayarmolenko62@gmail.com*

THE GAGAUZ AND THEIR PLACE IN THE POST-SOVIET STATES

Abstract. The article reveals the place of the Gagauz people in the post-Soviet states, and also shows the possibilities of national revival of the people, the development of their original culture in the conditions of building an independent democratic state.

Keywords: Gagauz, oghuz national minorities, ethnic group, ethnic core, ethnic identification, ethnic self-awareness, sociocultural transformation.

*Ярмоленко Мария Ивановна,
доктор исторических наук, профессор
Дунайський інститут Національного університету
«Одеська морська академія», Україна
E-mail: mariayarmolenko62@gmail.com*

ГАГАУЗЫ И ИХ МЕСТО В ПОСТСОВЕТСКИХ ГОСУДАРСТВАХ

Аннотация. В статье раскрыто место гагаузского народа в постсоветских государствах, а также показаны возможности национального возрождения народа, развития его самобытной культуры в условиях построения независимого демократического государства.

Ключевые слова: Гагаузы, огузы, национальные меньшинства, этническая группа, этническое ядро, этническая идентификация, этническое самосознание, социокультурная трансформация.

Современный этап национально-политического пробуждения народов, создание новых постсоциалистических государств, в том числе возрождение государственности Украины, поиск демократических путей разрешения межнациональных проблем, заинтересованность народов собственной историей определили особое внимание к этнологическим исследованиям, которые в условиях тоталитарного режима вытеснялись из научной жизни, не были востребованы общественным и обыденным сознанием людей. Сегодня заметно возросла роль этнологии, особенно историко-политической, как неотъемлемой части научной системы народоведения. В современных

условиях этнология призвана изучать этническое развитие народов, их расселение, взаимовлияние, традиции, быт, особенности политической, общественной, хозяйственной и духовной жизни, помогать органам государственной власти определять адекватные ситуации направления и механизмы национальной политики, межэтнических отношений. С этой точки зрения научный и общественный интерес вызывает история и жизнедеятельность одного из национальных меньшинств Украины – гагаузов. Этот тюркоязычный народ, исповедующий православную религию, вот уже два с половиной столетия заселяет земли Бессарабии. Как самостоятельная этническая группа, в современном по-

нимании, гагаузы определились в конце XVIII в. на территории северо-восточной Болгарии. Многочисленные подходы к происхождению этого народа, выдвинутые в течение последних 100 лет, как отечественными, так и зарубежными учеными, можно свести к двум основным концепциям. Согласно первой, гагаузы – это отуреченные болгары, согласно второй – это народность, в этногенезе которой решающую роль сыграли тюркские племена, в начале второго тысячелетия новой эры кочевавшие по территории северо-восточной Болгарии. Концепция о тюркском происхождении гагаузов и их окончательном формировании на Балканах является наиболее распространенной среди отечественных и зарубежных ученых.

Анализ различных источников показывает, что предки гагаузов *огузы* жили в предгорьях Алтая с доисторических времен до середины VI века. В связи с образованием Тюркского каганата они стали передвигаться к западу и остановились в Средней Азии, в степях прилегающих к Сырдарье и Аральскому морю. С VIII в. по начало XI века там существовало Огузское государство. Затем произошел распад его на три части. Население одной из них, назвало себя «хак-огуз» (тюрк.: *истинный огуз*) и откочевало в южнорусские степи, а оттуда осенью 1064 года через Дунай – на Балканы, где в конце XI века «хак-огузы» (предки сегодняшних гагаузов) приняли от Византии христианство. «Хак-огузы» (гагаузы) создали своё Огузское государство на Балканах, которое просуществовало до XIV века – до прихода на Балканы османских турков. Отсюда, в конце XVIII – первой половине XIX веков, большая их часть, вследствие турецкой экспансии, совместно с болгарями эмигрировала в южную Бессарабию и расселилась в степях Буджака [4]. Так начался новый этап в истории гагаузской этнической группы – российский.

На территории бывшего Советского Союза, как свидетельствуют итоги Всесоюзной переписи населения 1989 года, проживало 197757

гагаузов, из них 153458 человек – в Молдавской ССР (77,6%), 31967 в Украинской ССР (16,2%), 12332 – на территориях других республик (6,2%) [1]. В частности, в южных районах Молдавии компактно проживало 139171 человек (90,7% гагаузской этнической группы Молдавии), в Украине, в юго-западных районах Одесской области – 27369 человек (85,6% проживавших в Украине гагаузов). В Болградском районе они составляли 48,7% населения, Ренийском – 12,3%, Тарутинском – 10,5%, Килийском – 9,7%, Измаильском – 3,1%. Вне районов компактного расселения в Молдавии проживали 14287 гагаузов, в Украине – 4598 гагаузов. Исходя из материалов переписи, можно утверждать, что гагаузскому народу удалось сохранить основной элемент этнического самосознания – родную речь. 84,2% гагаузов – жителей Одесской области назвали родным языком гагаузский. По этому показателю они уступали только русским (99%), опередив болгар (81,7%), молдаван (79,3%), украинцев (74,2%), евреев (4,6%), представителей других национальностей (39,9%) [2]. После распада Советского Союза основная масса гагаузов не поменяла место жительства, осталась в Молдавии и в Украине, приняла гражданство молодых европейских государств и не собирается покидать землю, которая стала им новой родиной. Таким образом, в настоящее время гагаузский этнос компактно проживает на территории Республики Молдова и Украины.

Гагаузская этническая общность в Украине переживает двуединый процесс социокультурной трансформации и развития. С одной стороны, – это процесс ренессанса этнической идентификации, а с другой – организационного оформления каналов культурной и гуманитарной коммуникации со своим этническим материком, находящимся в Республике Молдове.

В соответствии с Законом Украины «О национальных меньшинствах в Украине» (1992 г.) гагаузам, как и другим этническим группам, гарантированы равные политические, социально-экономические и культурные права и свободы,

поддержка в развитии национального самосознания, защита со стороны государства [3]. В новых условиях перед гагаузами открылись возможности национального возрождения, развития традиционных форм хозяйствования и самобытной культуры. Как и другие национальные меньшинства Украины, гагаузы получили право на национально-культурную автономию: свободное использование родного языка, обучение на родном языке, его изучение в государственных учебных заведениях или через национально-культурные общества, развитие национально-культурных традиций, возвращение национальной символики, национальных праздников, исповедование своей религии, удовлетворение потребностей в национальной литературе, искусстве, средствах массовой информации, создание национальных культурных и учебных заведений.

На смену политике насильственной интернационализации, а на деле русификации, которая проводилась тоталитарным режимом и привела к катастрофическим последствиям, как для украинцев, так и для других национальных групп, включая гагаузов, наступило время национального возрождения и независимого развития национальных меньшинств. Так, демократическая Украина утверждает курс на приоритет прав человека, защиту национальных традиций, удовлетворение культурно-национальных потребностей всех граждан. Сторонники межнациональных антагонизмов выискивают различные идеологические мифологемы, пытаются обострить взаимоотношения внутри нашего народа, использовать

национальную карту в политическом противостоянии. Между тем, морально-политический климат внутри страны, благоприятные условия для удовлетворения потребностей национальных меньшинств юридически – правовая защита их интересов, которая закладывает основы для цивилизованного взаимоотношения народов, для их политического развития, межгосударственного сотрудничества и взаимного обогащения.

Утверждение независимости Украины, создание гагаузской автономии – *Гагауз Ери* – в составе Молдовы открыли обширное поле для сотрудничества историков, специалистов в сфере этнологии и этнополитики в целях углубленного изучения исторической судьбы гагаузов Бессарабии. Современное украинское и зарубежное народоведение для выделения этносов, чье этническое ядро находится на территории другого государства, использует разные понятийные термины. Традиционно распространенными являются «национальное меньшинство», «этническая группа» и т.д. Они используются и для характеристики гагаузов, проживающих на юге Украины, поскольку большинство гагаузского этноса проживает сегодня в Молдове и развивает собственное национально-территориальное образование. Исходя из этого, можно сделать вывод, что историко-этнологическое исследование жизни и развития гагаузов, как компактно проживающего на юге Бессарабии национального меньшинства, вызывает у современных исследователей особый интерес и имеет не только научную, но и общественно-политическую актуальность.

Список литературы:

1. Nacional'nij sklad naselennya Ukraini (za danimi Vsesoyuznogo perepisu naselennya 1989 roku). – К., 1992.
2. Naulko V. Hto i vidkoli zhive v Ukraini. – К., 1998. – 67 с.
3. O nacional'nyh men'shinstvah v Ukraine. Zakon Ukrainy, prinyatyj Verhovnoj Radoj 25 iyunya 1992 g. // Vedomosti Verhovnoj Rady Ukrainy. 1992. – № 36.
4. Yarmolenko M. I. Gagauzi (istoriya i suchasnist'). // Naukovi zapiski Institutu politichnih i etnonacional'nih doslidzhen' NAN Ukraini. – Kiiv, 1999. – № 8. – С. 154–164.

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-92-98>

Mozgovoy Sergey Grigorievich,
Candidate of Sociological Sciences, Associate Professor
Far Eastern Federal University, branch in Arsenyev, Russia
E-mail: mozgovoi.sergej2012@yandex.ru

BREST COMPROMISE OF LEO TROTSKY

"To delay negotiations, there must be someone to do the delaying"

Vladimir Lenin

[Leon Trotsky, *My Life: An Attempt at an Autobiography*. p. 87]

Abstract. The article focuses on the activities of Leon Trotsky during the struggle for acceptance of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk acceptance. His actions are presented as an attempt to bring together different points of view on the problem of war and peace.

Keywords: Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, position of Trotsky, position of Lenin, withdrawal from the war without immediate peace conclusion.

The political activity of Leon Trotsky is plenty of events that describe Leon Trotsky as a person capable of entering into an irreconcilable conflict with the opponent and finding a compromise in conditions of polarizing opinions. One such episode is the saga with the conclusion of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (see the text of the negotiations: [1]).

The events of November 1917 – February 1918, related to the desire of Soviet Russia to withdraw from the First World War, time and again deserve to be addressed by domestic and foreign historians, politicians, sociologists and other researchers (For Soviet bibliography of the 20s – 60s on the subject, see: [2, 32–46]; for a modern historiographical overview, see: [3]). Peace negotiations and the political struggle they generated in the Soviet leadership are interesting due to some circumstances.

First, the interconnection between the domestic and foreign policy aspects of strategy and tactics of the Soviet leadership is remarkable; in the view of the Bolsheviks, the upcoming "world revolution" has closely linked domestic and foreign policy.

Second, it is necessary to look at the logic of the actions of the political actors of the process; the least

worthwhile is to consider the actions of the then leaders as an expression of political ambition, self-centeredness, or adventurism.

Third, it is impossible to ignore the subjective aspects of personal interaction between the key figures of power – Leon Trotsky and Vladimir Lenin himself. Both leaders of the revolution constantly coordinated their own actions. However, this did not prevent the occasional disagreements in the efforts of both leaders.

The revolutionary way out of the Imperialist war was a complex process of changing the international situation, demonstrating the capabilities of the Soviet state and the ability of the Soviet leadership, the tandem of Lenin and Trotsky, to find creative, non-standard solutions to the matter of war and peace. A matter that made the Provisional Government, a liberal political bloc, to stumble and smash its "political face".

Immediately after the triumph of the October Revolution, a single internal and foreign policy range of problems emerged, including the need to get out of the imperialist geopolitical system, which requires "loyalty to allied obligations" and "continuation of the war until the final victory". The difficulty was that the participation in the War of Soviet Russia should

be stopped to the displeasure, first of all, of the Entente, the former allies;

In addition, it was necessary to find ways to strengthen the Soviet state, which had come out of the Imperialist War, but had faced the fact that the Civil War had begun. It was necessary to prevent the warring parties to the World War against Soviet Russia from merging. As A. V. Lantsov notes: “The main goal for the Bolsheviks at the time was to confront two fundamentally different programs of withdrawal from the war in front of the world: communist and imperialist. This was to increase the influence of the October Revolution on the international labor movement, to revolutionize the masses even more” [4, 61].

The core of the issue of choosing the strategy of combining revolution and peace, was addressed by Isaac Deutscher: “The Bolsheviks had no doubts about the imminent social upheaval in Europe. But they began to wonder whether the road to peace goes through revolution or, conversely, the road to revolution goes through peace. In the first case, the war will end with the [European / World] revolution. In the second Russian revolution will have to negotiate with the capitalist authorities for now” [5, 360].

The political strategy part of the problem range included:

- revolutionary propaganda, by demonstration of peaceful intentions of the Soviet state – withdrawal of military operations, as well as direct anti-war efforts on German and Austro-Hungarian (later – Romanian) troops;
- establishment of the Soviet diplomacy activities, by disclosure of the secret diplomacy of imperialist powers, coupled with the readiness to recognize national self-determination/independence of Poland, Finland, the Baltic countries, Ukraine;
- formation of the Soviet Army, initially as a military force capable of *demonstrating* its readiness to confront the enemy.

Lenin set the political tone for peace negotiations: “Our party has never stated that it can bring

immediate peace. It said it would give an immediate offer of peace and publish secret treaties. And it’s done – the struggle for peace is starting. This fight will be difficult and vicious. International imperialism mobilizes all forces against us, but as great as the forces of international imperialism are, our chances are very good; in this revolutionary struggle for peace and in the struggle for peace, we will unite a revolutionary brotherhood. The bourgeoisie would like to see the conspiracy of imperialist governments against us realized” [6, 86].

Over time, there has inevitably been a shift of priorities. At the end of 1917, the focus was on dragging out peace negotiations. The negotiations in Brest-Litovsk were to become a way of spreading propagandistic influence on the warring parties. Gradually, Soviet diplomacy began to put the task of a rapid withdrawal from the war in the forefront. But German military and diplomatic pressure caused the negotiations to stop. This was the foreign policy canvas. Trotsky described this change in positions in late 1917 and early 1918 in his speech at the 7th Congress of the RSDLP(b): [7, 66–67].

In domestic politics, as we know, during the struggle for peace, the following positions were revealed:

1. The Leninist position on the immediate conclusion of peace. “Separate And Annexationist Peace” [8, 200]. Such a peace is necessary to buy time by giving up space [7, 109]. Its version is the position of Grigory Zinoviev and (probably) Joseph Stalin – the immediate conclusion of peace, without lengthy negotiations;
2. The position of the “Left-Wing” Communists is the “revolutionary war” [8, 200]. “The key point in the reasoning of the Left was the alternative of choosing the social subject – the mass support, under the small number of Russian proletariats. The Russian Revolution had to rely either on the Russian peasantry (which the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries sought to rely on) or on the international proletariat [7, 73];

3. Position of Trotsky, “declaration of war as ceased, to demobilize the army but not to sign peace” [8, 200]. In conditions of political uncertainty and unpredictability of actions of various political subjects, this position was quite justified.

According to Isaac Deutscher: “Each faction was convinced that the course proposed by the opposing side was disastrous and the discussion took place in an electrified, emotional atmosphere. Apparently, one Trotsky argued that from a realistic point of view, both have their pros and cons and both are acceptable, based on principles and revolutionary morality” [5, 392]. Deutscher argues that it was the view of the Left SRs that was most rational. German troops, in the event that the peace treaty was not signed, could barely capture Petrograd alone and had no realistic possibility of taking Moscow. Their armies would have been bound by the war in Ukraine and Southern Russia [5, 393].

Trotsky explained his own position, in view of the opinion imposed in Europe “that the Bolsheviks are in agreement with the German government” as follows: “I thought <...> that before signing the separate peace, if it were absolutely inevitable for us, it would be necessary to give the workers of Europe vivid and undisputed proof of the deadly hostility between us and the ruling Germany at all costs. It was under the influence of these considerations that I came to the idea in Brest-Litovsk of the political demonstration that was expressed by the formula: we stop the war, we demobilize the army, but we do not sign peace. If German imperialism cannot move troops against us, I deduced, it will mean that we have won a giant victory with unspeakable consequences. If a blow against us is still possible for Hohenzollern, we will always be able to surrender early enough» [9, 108–109].

Yuri Felshtinsky explained the exact practical meaning of the Trotsky formula is: “On the one hand, it was based on the fact that Germany is not able to conduct major offensive operations on the Russian front (otherwise the Germans would not

sit down at the negotiating table), and on the other – had the advantage that the Bolsheviks “in the moral sense” remained “clean before the working class of all countries”. According to the historian, Trotsky did not compromise principles, but did not take any risks with the proclamation of revolutionary war [10, 230–232].

Lenin clearly defined the main differences of positions: “Our disagreement was that the German would come [will come], or not; that we had to declare the war ceased; that in conditions of revolutionary war we had to retreat physically, giving up the country to buy time. Strategy and policy prescribe the most heinous peace treaty” [7, 114].

The justification of the choice of positions can be presented in the form of a certain structural ratio of the main positions, their strengths and weaknesses (Table 1).

The logic of the political process, in the course of which the mentioned positions were revealed, was described by Karl Radek: “The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk could have two kinds of consequences: either it could be followed by an attack on us – and then we would have to sign the peace and buy time or not to sign it; or the attack would not take place. If the attack had not taken place, we would have done better without taking responsibility, in which case we would still be at war. In case of an attack, we could choose one of the options: either to sign the peace that you [peace advocates] propose, or to retreat and organize the defense that we [revolutionary war advocates] propose” [7, 59–60].

Trotsky’s position, “international political demonstration”, as defined by Lenin [8, 201], was essentially a compromise. Compromise, in the conditions of a massive desire of the people to end the war, looked like the intention to get out of the war with the least human losses, but with the loss of territory, while demonstrating the historical rightness of the Bolsheviks. The latter, withdrawing from the war, in fact implemented the principle: “peace without annexation and indemnity”. Plan of Trotsky was not op-

posed to the Leninist plan, but was quite close to it. As Trotsky wrote: The main questions of this struggle [for peace] are: can we now wage a revolutionary war? And is it even permissible for the revolutionary

power to enter into agreements with the imperialists? I was completely on Lenin's side, answering the first question in the negative, the second question in the positive.

Table 1. – Position structure in relation to withdrawal from World War I

Position	Rationale of the position	Position strength	Threat to position
Position of Yuri Zinoviev (and Joseph Stalin?), possible the position of Vladimir Lenin	Immediate conclusion of peace to save the Russian Revolution	Peaceful respite with minimal losses	Convergence of the Quadruple Union and the Entente powers against Soviet Russia
Position of Vladimir Lenin	Conclusion of peace in the event of a real threat to revolution	A delay for social reforms implementation. Ensuring support for the poorest peasants.	Betrayal of Poland and material losses (indemnity)
Position of Leon Trotsky	Withdrawal from the war without an immediate conclusion of peace	Spreading the forces of the enemy in the situation of his struggle on two fronts and creating favorable conditions for the international proletariat to act.	Territory losses
Position of Nikolai Bukharin and the "Left-Wing" Communists	Revolutionary war: civil war "on a global scale"; peasant partisan war under foreign occupation.	Building up the moral authority of the revolution and the revolutionary forces inside and outside the country	The end of Soviet Russia and the Revolution

In reality, the only thing in common with plan of the "Left-Wing" Communists was unwillingness to *immediately* make an unequal peace. Some "moral and psychological sympathy" of Trotsky for the Left cannot be considered a factor of effectiveness. The position of Trotsky definitely contradicted the original postulate of the "Left-Wing" Communists, which was clearly expressed by Ivar Smilga: "It would be good, if it were proved that with the death of the Russian revolution, which has already had a lot of experience, the international revolution has developed and would have become a fact – we could have abandoned our revolution for the sake of international revolution". Later Smilga, being a supporter of peace, argues in the style of Lenin's position, which is fundamentally indistinguishable

from the position of Trotsky: "What is better for the international revolution: the existence of the Soviet Republic, even with a bloody wound in the chest, or its destruction? It is clear that the existence of the Soviet Republic is more important for the international revolution. <...> It is necessary to go to the signing of this very [Brest] treaty, it is necessary to retreat now seriously, preparing for war and organizing the country" [7, 55].

Trotsky's position, as a point of intersection of different interests, was clearly defined by Stalin, who acknowledged the lack of certainty in the question of peace and stated: "The way out of the difficult situation was given to us by the medial position – that of Trotsky" [8, 214]. Stalin also accepted the non-signing of peace: "It is possible not to sign [peace],

but to start peace negotiations. <...> The matter is as follows: either our revolution is defeated and revolution in Europe is started, or we get a respite and are strengthened" [8, 248–249]. The position of Trotsky was also understood by the "Left-Wing" Communists. "By refusing to sign the peace, by demobilizing the army and thus making a political demonstration, we, of course, open the way for the Germans, but then, no doubt, the people will wake up with the instinct of self-preservation and then the revolutionary war will start" [8, 203].

An additional point of Trotsky's position was the desire to bring a split into the ranks of imperialist states. "If we are going to wage a revolutionary war, it is essential to have the support of France and England" [8, 244]. Trotsky also defined the limit of foreign policy concessions. Recognizing the acceptability of peace with the countries of the Quadruple Union, he declared that peace with the Ukrainian Rada was unacceptable (he did not receive support in this matter from the party leadership) [7, 72].

Common flaws of the positions of the opponents of the immediate conclusion of peace were an exaggeration of the revolutionary potential of the European proletariat and underestimation of the offensive capabilities of the German army. The conclusion of peace would be inevitable "if there were no [revolutionary] movements in Germany and the advance [of the German troops] were to take place" [8, 231].

Lenin considered the question of war and peace in a very pragmatic way. If the army cannot fight and keep the front, in case of a German attack, the question of revolutionary war cannot be raised. And the conditions of peace on the German side were clearly unacceptable. But ending the war would cause the front to fall immediately. The only way out was to delay negotiations in order to gain time to strengthen positions, in conditions where the expectation of peace is growing. As Ivan Ksenofontov phrased it, it was some vicious circle, the way out of which in the interest of the Soviet Union had not been seen yet [11, 154]. After the beginning of the German in-

vasion, according to Lenin: "The game has reached such a deadlock that the collapse of the revolution is inevitable, if we continue to take the middle ground in politics" [8, 234].

There is no sufficient reason to believe that, adhering to the formula "neither peace nor war", Trotsky violated (non-existent) "directive of the party and government and committed an act of great treachery" [12, 211]. The absence of such a "directive" was in fact acknowledged by Isaak Mints, who claimed that there was no "neither peace nor war" directive (not an immediate peace directive) [13, 60].

Apparently, by "directive" we mean the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars on adoption of German conditions of peace. Here is the text of the Resolution: "According to the decision taken by the Central Executive Committee of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies Councils at 4 ½ a.m. on February 24, the Council of People's Commissars decided on the conditions for peace proposed by the German government to accept and send a delegation to Brest-Litovsk. Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars *Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin)*" [6, 381].

All the more it is inadmissible to assert, that Trotsky adhered to "obviously defeated policy, considering possible "in interests of world revolution "to surrender even Petrograd and Moscow to Germany" [14, 270].

Ksenofontov is certainly right, arguing that there is no need to look for "betrayal of revolution and socialism" in Trotsky's demarche of January 28 (February 10). On the contrary, it was the revolution and socialism, their ideals that prevented them from accepting the German predatory conditions of peace. <...> So Trotsky's move was probably made by him in the belief that this was the only way out in conditions when "the hour of decision has come", but whether it has, Trotsky seems to have acted on the basis of his subjective opinion, doubled by his high authority and the power granted to him" [11, 269].

According to Lantsov: "In order to understand his [Trotsky's] point of view, the following must be con-

sidered: Trotsky's attitude toward the Brest-Litovsk conference as a favorable opportunity for revolutionizing the movement of international workers was no different from Lenin's. Just like Lenin, he considered it necessary, while delaying the negotiations as much as possible, to use them in order to give the European and world proletariat time to perceive the very fact of the October Revolution and, in particular, its policy of general democratic peace" [4, 70]. "For all the drawbacks of Trotsky's conception, it should be noted that there were also significant advantages. In particular, it did not provide grounds for accusing the Bolsheviks of treason to the principles of universal democratic peace; deprived the Entente powers of a formal reason to intervene against "Russia's breach of its allied obligations"; significantly smoothed out very serious disagreements, which became apparent in both the RSDLP(b) and the Left SRs..." [4, 72].

The complexity of struggles for peace is inextricably linked to the personal relationship between Lenin and Trotsky. Isaac Deutscher noted the specifics of the relationship between the revolutionary leaders: "But the personal agreement between the two leaders, as it turned out later, was also open to ambiguous interpretation. Lenin had the impression that Trotsky promised to sign a peace at the first threat of an ultimatum or the resumption of the German offensive. Trotsky, on the other hand, believed that he undertook to accept the terms of peace only if the Germans really started a new offensive, and that even in this case he undertook to accept only those terms, which until now had been assumed by the central powers, and not those even more severe, which they would dictate later" [5, 381].

Still, the personal agreement of the two leaders to adopt the principle of "neither peace nor war" played its part in the conclusion of peace. Not friendship, but mutual respect between the two leaders of the revolution, conditioned the desire of Trotsky, ultimately, to ensure the victory of Lenin in the confrontation with the Left. Otherwise, in the event of the victory of the "Left-Wing" Communists, the gap between the lead-

ers of the revolution became very likely. The "Robespierre vs Danton" (during the Great French Revolution) model of conflict became real. The political schism would require the beginning of mass repressions against the opposition [5, 394–395]. This did not happen in 1918. The year 1937 was still far away...

The main claim of Lenin to Trotsky was that he did not fulfill the conditions (formulated in the personal agreement of the two leaders) to hold until the German ultimatum and immediately conclude peace, upon presentation of the ultimatum [7, 111]. The degree of guilt of Trotsky for the verbal state of affairs was determined by Karl Radek: "The responsibility for the failure to sign peace in Brest cannot lie on Comrade Trotsky. The Party Central Committee, if it considered the policy ruinous, had a direct duty to prohibit Comrade Trotsky to conduct it. Therefore, the question should have been put to the Brest delegation: either to sign or not to go [to sign the treaty]. This was done through a personal conversation of one member of the Central Committee with another and is not taken into account at all" [7, 134].

Compromise of Trotsky, in the form of abstaining from voting in the Central Committee on February 23, 1918 [8, 252], allowed to preserve the unity of the Soviet leadership. And the role of Trotsky, here, can hardly be overestimated. Earlier, on February 18, Trotsky supported Lenin's demand to conclude peace immediately [8, 204]. According to Trotsky, "From the point of view of domestic politics, there is no dilemma as depicted by Lenin [immediate peace, or the death of the revolution], but from the point of view of international politics, much could have been gained. But maximum unanimity would be needed; since it does not exist, I will not take the responsibility to vote for the war" [8, 248]. Besides, Trotsky did not see a fundamental difference between signing and non-signing of peace treaty: "There is no such alternative between signing and non-signing [of peace]" [8, 257].

The "Left Wing" Communists, in the end, abstained from voting, also not wanting a split [8, 253]. While Lenin, with the resignation of Trotsky

as a People's Commissar for foreign affairs [8, 245], took full responsibility for the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk [6, 377]. The peace treaty consolidated the "status quo" (the current state of affairs) and was relatively moderate, in those conditions [15, 261, 264].

Ultimately, Trotsky acknowledged Lenin's historical correctness: "There is no doubt that if we are not involved in a hopeless war that would have ended in the defeat of the Russian Revolution within

2–3 months, then the party and the revolution owe it to the decisive position from which Comrade Lenin raised the question of the need for a temporary surrender..." [16, 148].

As a result, the leadership was able to move the main forces of the still few Red Army to fight against the "whites". The organized and numerous Red Army, later on, was formed under the direct leadership of Leon Trotsky.

References:

1. Mirnye peregovory v Brest-Litovske s 22/9 dekabrya 1917 g. po 3 marta (18 fevralya) 1918 g. – T. 1. Plenarnye zasedaniya. Zasedaniya politicheskoy komissii / polnyj tekst stenogramm pod red. i s primech. A. A. Ioffe (V. Krymskogo), s predisl. L. D. Trockogo. – M.: Tip. III Internacionala, 1920.
2. Ahtamzyan A. A. O Brest-Litovskih peregovorah 1918 goda // Voprosy istorii. – 1966 – № 11.
3. Kaplunovskaya E. I. Vnutripartijnaya diskussiya o Brestskom mire. (Istoriografiya problemy). – Har'kov: In-t obshchestv.-polit. znaniy, 1990.
4. Lancov A. V. Brestskij mir // Voprosy istorii. – № 2. – 1990.
5. Dojcher I. Trockij. Vooruzhennyj prorok. 1879–1921 gg. – M.: ZAO Centrpoligraf, 2006.
6. Lenin V. I. Poln. Sobr. Soch. Tom 35. – M.: IPL, 1974.
7. Sed'moj ekstrennyj s'ezd RKP(b). Mart 1918 goda. Stenograficheskij otchet. – M.: GIPL, 1962.
8. Protokoly Central'nogo Komiteta RSDRP. Avgust 1917 – fevral' 1918. / Pod obshchej red. M. A. Savel'eva. – M., L.: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1929.
9. Trockij L. Moya zhizn'. Opyt avtobiografii. – M., Kniga, 1990.
10. Yuriy Fel'shtinskij Krushenie mirovoj revolyucii. Ocherk pervyj. Brestskij mir. Oktyabr' 1917 – noyabr' 1918. – London: Overseas Publications Interchange Ltd., 1991.
11. Ksenofontov I. N. Mir, kotorogo hoteli i kotoryj nenavideli. – M.: IPL, 1991.
12. Majorov S. M. Bor'ba Sovetskoy Rossii za vyhod iz imperialisticheskoy vojny. – M.: Gospolitizdat, 1959.
13. Minc I. I. God 1918-j. – M.: Nauka, 1982.
14. Ivanov V. M., Shmelev A. N. Leninizm i idejno-politicheskij razgrom trockizma. – L.: Lenizdat, 1970.
15. Chernev B. Twilight of Empire: The Brest-Litovsk Conference and the Remaking of East-Central Europe, 1917–1918. – University of Toronto Press, 2017.
16. Trockij L. Sochineniya. Tom XVII. Sovetskaya respublika i kapitalisticheskij mir. Chast' I. Pervonachal'nyj period organizacii sil. – M., L.: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1926.

Section 5. Cultural studies

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-99-101>

Ying Xiao Wang,

E-mail: jennywyx2003@gmail.com

ECOLOGICAL IMPACTS THAT PROMOTED IMPROVEMENTS IN QUALITY OF LIFE AND MODERNIZATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT: AN ESSAY ON THE LEGACY OF EUROPEAN COLONIALISM

Abstract. This paper explores the ecological impact of European colonialism that marked an essential transformation on many of the colonized countries, such as Africa and Asia. European colonizers, during the late 15th and 20th century, had both positively and negatively contributed to the rapid growth of many aspects of life. Despite their brutality towards the colonized countries, medicines, new discoveries of food and animal species, and modernization of society laid the foundation for our world today.

Keywords: European colonialism, modernization, medicine, improvement, globalization.

Legacy of European Colonialism

From the 15th to the 20th century, Europeans have been expanding overseas to conquer and colonize areas all around the world, especially the Americas, Africa, and Asia. The European nations were some of the weakest nations at that time, “each [nation was] racked by internal religious, political, and regional conflicts,” [2, P. 3] who “dreamed of a land of abundance, riches, and ease beyond the western horizon” [2, P. 2] They were, however, still able to conquer native populations around the world, such as the Native Americans and Africans. In the late 15th century, Europeans discovered a sea route around the African and American coasts [1]. As they encountered native populations they conquered them through violence and created racial inequality, [The devastation and depopulation of the natives] all began with the Europeans taking native women and children both as servants and to satisfy their own base appetites; then, not content with what the local people offered them of their own free will,

they started taking for themselves the food the natives contrived to produce by the sweat of their brows, which was in all honesty little enough [1, P. 14].

According to Eric Foner, “early European descriptions of North American Indians as barbaric [...] and concluded that Indians lacked genuine religion, or in fact worshiped the devil” [2, P. 11]. Not only did Europeans treat the natives brutally, but they also brought new diseases which led to rapid decreases of the native populations. Europeans also forced their way of life in their colonies causing cultural dislocation among the natives who gradually lost their own culture. Despite their violence and inequality, European colonialism ultimately led to an ecological transformation that radically changed the interactions between human beings and the environment and increased the quality of life for many people.

Diseases led to the invention of new types of medicine, collected and synthesized from plants found in the new environment. When the Europeans

arrived in the colonies they brought with them diseases such as smallpox, influenza, measles, typhus, scarlet fever, yellow fever, diphtheria, chickenpox, and whooping cough [3]. Because the native populations had no previous contact with any of the Old World diseases, they were not immune to them and diseases spread rapidly leading to massive declines in their population. Europeans however, took this opportunity to study and discover new plants and use them in medicine. At first, people thought the widespread diseases were a divine punishment from God, as people in the Middle Ages believed in witchcraft and magic [4]. However, they soon changed their minds when they saw constant suffering and destruction from the epidemics and began to search for a solution. People began to dissect corpses to explore human physiology, using it as a basis for further research and experiments. Through trial and error, they discovered various plants were either poisonous, could be used as food, or had some medical value, leading to the use of herbal remedies. The discoveries of new plants, flowers, seeds, and roots brought on new innovations in medicine for many diseases that previously had no cure. The continuous discoveries of new plant species also laid the foundation for the development of medical treatments and vaccines, such as the smallpox vaccine invented in 1796 [5].

In addition to the invention of medicine and discoveries of medical plants, the Europeans also brought many new crops and animal species back and forth between the New World and Old World, especially through the Columbian Exchange in the 15th and 16th centuries. After Christopher Columbus's voyage to the Americas in 1492, he and his followers brought back many flourishing crops such as wheat, barley, rye, and corn. The Europeans utilized the wide expanses of open land in the New World and enslaved the natives to start plantations, leading to the production of many new crops. They could then ship plantation crops such as sugar, fruits, coffee, rice, and cotton back to the Old World. Products such as tobacco, cocoa, and sugar became extremely popular both for recre-

ational purposes and medicinal use [6]. For example, Europeans believed that tobacco could be used to cure headaches and skin irritations [7]. Potatoes, similarly, spread rapidly because they provided three-quarters of the calories of a commoner's diet while maintaining the nutrition level at the same time [3].

New animal species such as dogs, horses, donkeys, pigs, cattle, goats, and barnyard fowl, were also exploited and brought to the New World, all of which are now common animals in our modern life [8]. The emergence of domesticated animals helped the natives as some of their labor could be replaced by the animals. Horses in particular, greatly assisted the Native Americans in expanding their food supply by allowing hunting at greater distances; horses gradually became valuable trading goods. Eventually, crops and animal species from the New World all flourished in the Old World, which significantly improved the quality of people's lives there [9].

To achieve these results, however, the Europeans evoked countless negative changes demographically and environmentally, strongly affecting the native populations and animals around them. As more and more goods from the New World were introduced to the Old World, demands for luxury items increased sharply. For example, the popularity of beaver-trimmed hats triggered the overhunting of beavers, which ultimately led to their extinction in New England and New York [10]. Europeans' use of animals changed the landscape as well. Pigs were domesticated by the Europeans in large numbers and were allowed to forage in forests, they consumed large amounts of foods that had been the main diet of other animals. Environmentally speaking, the large-scale plantations replaced many forests and plains and were the major cause of deforestation later in the period of colonialism.

European colonialism has been impacting the world consistently. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, the Industrial Revolution in the British Empire was the peak of environmental damage as more and more people immigrated to Britain. In recent decades, carbon dioxide, greenhouse gases, and sulfur dioxide all

contributed to the urgent issue of climate change. Natural resource extraction, desiccation of seas, and mining to fulfill humans' demands all aggravate the severity of environmental damage and climate change in our modern daily lives.

Indeed, Europeans' impact on the ecosystem and quality of life has continued well after the colonial pe-

riod. Medical conditions were significantly better than before the colonialism period due to the discovery of new drugs, various kinds of foods and goods were invented and imported which led to a more entertaining and delightful. The colonial period opened the pathway from the Old World to the New World, and founded what we know as the modern world of today.

References:

1. De Las Casas, Bartolomé. A short account of the Destruction of the Indians, – 9 p.
2. Foner Eric. Give Me Liberty!: An American History. Fifth edition. – New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2017.
3. Harvey Ian. Contact with European colonists brought diseases that devastated Native American populations and altered the landscape of their settlements. The Vintage News. 2017. Refer to: URL: <https://www.thevintagenews.com/2017/02/18/the-island-of-poveglia-in-the-venetian-lagoon-was-used-as-a-plague-quarantine-military-fortification-mental-asylum-and-tv-location-for-ghost-hunters>
4. University of Aberdeen. What kind of medicines did people use in the Middle Ages? Refer to: URL: <https://www.abdn.ac.uk/sll/disciplines/english/lion/medicine.shtml>
5. Medical Advances timeline. Infoplease. Refer to: URL: <https://www.infoplease.com/math-science/health/medical-advances-timeline>
6. Encyclopedia. The Exchange of Plant and Animal Species Between the New World and the Old World. Refer to: URL: <https://www.encyclopedia.com/science/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/exchange-plant-and-animal-species-between-new-world-and-old-world>
7. Khan Academy. The Columbian Exchange: from the New World to the Old World. Refer to: URL: <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/us-history/precontact-and-early-colonial-era/old-and-new-worlds-collide/a/the-columbian-exchange-ka>
8. Alfred W. Crosby, Professor Emeritus, University of Texas at Austin. National Humanities Center. The Columbian Exchange: Plants, Animals, and Disease between the Old and New Worlds. Refer to: URL: <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/nattrans/ntecoindian/essays/columbianb.htm>
9. Mc Coy, Roger M. New World Exploration. The Columbian Exchange of Plants, Animals, and Diseases. Aug 1, 2015. Refer to: URL: <https://www.newworldexploration.com/explorers-tesla-blog/the-columbian-exchange-of-plants-animals-and-diseases>
10. Khan Academy. Environmental and health effects of European contact with the New World. Refer to: URL: <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/us-history/precontact-and-early-colonial-era/old-and-new-worlds-collide/a/environmental-and-health-effects-of-contact>

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-102-106>

Yicheng Mao,

Grade 11, Hangzhou Foreign Language School China

E-mail: Chris.myc@foxmail.com

BREAKING BARRIERS: 1960s HIPPY CULTURE AND ITS LEGACY

Abstract. The hippie's movement has brought a profound influence on American society through a counterculture based on drugs, rock music and sexual liberation. By taking a deep look into the formation and development of the hippies, it can be concluded that hippies have broken the barriers in some major fields at their times. Switching people's attitudes toward the military actions abroad, sex relationships and the use of drugs, the hippies have challenged the social norms at the time and served as pioneers in elevating humanity. Despite of the hippies' failure in making the movement into a long-lasting one, the 1960s counterculture still contributed to the formation of nowadays American values in various aspects.

Keywords: Hippies, 1960 s, counterculture, legacy, values.

Introduction

The 1960s was a turbulent decade. One of the most significant movements that emerged during that confounding and varied time was hippy culture, whose resonances, according to Timothy Milter, "made a lasting impact on the ethos of America" [9] (This book provided cases of alignment and misalignment between hippies and American values). Hippies were barrier breakers, pioneers of their age, and are now widely known for the counterculture they helped to create, one built on drugs, rock music, sexual liberation, and communal living. This counterculture movement is worth investigating because of the long-lasting influence it has had on our society; to this day, for example, we still hear the phrase "peace and love," one of hippy culture's main slogans. The hippies were like a tropical flower: spectacularly beautiful when in bloom – but blooming only once, and for a brief period of time. Discussion and study of the hippy counterculture will continue long after its final member is gone, because many questions about hippy culture, and the turbulent decade that gave birth to it, remain to be answered. At a minimum, we must respect and celebrate the place in history that belongs to the counterculture and its members,

because they attempted to break the boundaries surrounding them, and succeeded.

How Did the Counterculture Develop?

The counterculture in the United States didn't come out of nowhere in the 1960s. The continuing post-World War II economic boom wrought wondrous changes in American society in the 1950s, including a huge expansion of the middle class and the blossoming of a consumer culture. Laments such as "Americans had televisions in their homes but garbage in their streets. They ate rich food but breathed foul air," fell on deaf ears [1] (This book provided information about the society of the post-World War II United States). The anxieties engendered by the time's affluence was the spark of the 1960 counterculture.

It contained numerous disparate groups, all driven by their own, but often overlapping, concerns and demands. The hippies, for their part, felt hemmed in by social strictures and were extremely concerned at the state of the global environment; they also wanted to pursue inner, spiritual goals.

Another, more direct source of the counterculture was America's escalating involvement in the Vietnam War. The U.S. military's presence in Southeast Asia led to growing popular discontent; unsurprisingly, it

was during this period that hippie culture reached its height. These dynamics opened up a rift between a large segment of the U.S. population and their government. Before that, U.S. citizens were much less likely to question or doubt the authority and honesty of their president or government. But as the Vietnam War dragged on, and hundreds of thousands of American soldiers were sent off to the jungles of Southeast Asia, and details about the brutality of the war finally made it back home – in the form of such horrors as the photo of a little girl crying in the street, stark naked, as she fled the village of My Lai – people began to lose faith both in their leaders and in the justness of the war.

This sense of distrust and disappointment, along with a growing distaste for America's prevailing lifestyle and culture, was a central driver of the counterculture among American youth. In addition, most hippies came from affluent, well-educated families, and were experiencing a kind of mental or spiritual exhaustion with the world around them and what it had to offer. Among other factors, consumerism was king, and corporations were on the rise, pushing the younger generation to accuse the Cold War "megaversity" of promoting corporate interests rather than humane values. This explains why hippies tended to prefer a simpler, self-sufficient life, with more meaning than could be found at the mall.

In addition, When JFK was elected president in 1960, a relatively more tolerant political environment emerged. His arrival effectively spelled the end of the notorious blacklist that had excluded hundreds of left-wing writers, actors, and directors from working in Hollywood films and network television, which in turn loosened the grip of the dominant political and social culture. A diversity of ideas were now free to be expressed and shared. A breeding ground on which a more rebellious and diverse culture could be fostered was created.

The Cultural Ethic of the Hippies

The vision of the hippies was grand and mixed, as much a work of art as a political project. It distrusted bureaucratic and hierarchical structures, embraced

creativity, decentralization, freedom, pleasure, anti-authoritarianism, direct and honest contact among persons, and generally rejected restrictions and inhibitions of all kinds.

Hippies, however, did not define themselves as members of a subculture that was part of and supplementary to the established culture; instead, they saw themselves as the disloyal opposition to the majority. They wanted to break with the old and establish something new and positive. The array of goals they sought to achieve inevitably brought them into conflict with mainstream culture, as they challenged and rebelled against its values, boundaries, and dictates.

Though the hippies' vision may sound naïve and idealistic today, many contemporary observers failed to grasp the general atmosphere that prevailed at the time. Encouraged – or perhaps blinded – by the ongoing peacetime boom, the vast majority of the United States foresaw the country breaking the boundaries of human productivity and entering, via industrial development, automation, agricultural productivity, and economic growth, a post-scarcity stage in which the need to work for a living might soon be radically diminished, or even eliminated (echoing the predictions of Karl Marx). The anticipation of such a moment wasn't, then, some unfounded invention of science fiction, but rather a view widely held at the time.

Also, like any other counterculture group, the hippies initially defined themselves by what they were not and by which boundaries they intended to break; they were rebellious, they were "counter." It was only after they had cleared that essential ground of identity and broke the boundaries of the established culture that they began to conceive of what they were as a cultural movement. The boundaries they were about to challenge included the machine of war that made peace impossible, insincere communication among people, and automation. They believed that selfishness was the root of all evil: selfishness led people to be indifferent or antagonistic toward others; it blinded people to the plight of the environment; it allowed social problems to fester.

What Did the Hippies Do?

The hippy culture was widely known for its embrace of drugs, rock music, sexual liberation, and communal living. Its members did everything in the name of embracing individuality. Love, in particular, was both a distinctive feature and crucial ethic of hippie-ism. Hippies believed that through the power of love, all human division could be transcended. As *The New York Times* observed, “The key ethical element in the hippie movement is love – indiscriminate and all-embracing, fluid and changeable, directed at friend and foe alike” [4] (This article provided first-hand information about hippy culture in the 1960s). Hippies’ feelings toward their opponents in the establishment were, unsurprisingly, closer to pity than love, because those people only had material things, and nothing spiritual, to make their lives bearable. But love for the hippies was more than an emotion, a feeling, or a state of mind. Its moral power could be translated into action. It was a mental and physical force that could change the world and create something new. By applying love, hippies believed they could undermine the established order and help create new morals, new ethics, and new political and economic realities.

Communal Living

The utopian orientation of hippie-ism, manifested in part by the culture’s interest in communal living, is another one of its iconic features. Numerous and varied communal-living groups appeared throughout New York, California, and Los Angeles during the period. Urban and rural, drug-using and drug-free, egalitarian and chauvinistic, structured and anarchical, religious and secular, these communes represented an old ideal presented in a new way. For one thing, most earlier communes had been based on either religious or radical political and social convictions, and had thus had clear ideological cores and strong senses of purpose. Many hippy communes, by contrast, tended toward free expression, hedonism, and anarchy, and represented an attempt to live the hippie ethical ideals of love, sharing, liberated sex, and drug use.

Sexual Liberation

The 1960s also witnessed a “sexual revolution.” Undoubtedly, the introduction of the birth-control pill in 1960 made unwanted pregnancies much easier to avoid and sexual appetites easier to satisfy. Among other reasons, the hippies embraced sex because they saw it as a means of human communication, a way to enjoy and share pleasure, and, simply, as a normal human activity. They thus encouraged one another to take off their clothes and have sex, including with strangers; some even believed that wearing clothes at all hindered interpersonal communication.

Sexual liberation was not a completely new idea at the time and its novelty and scale are often exaggerated. The relationships shared by the hippies resembled those of the aboriginal people of New Guinea, who did not maintain exclusive marriage relationships; instead, many men could share one woman, while many women could share one man. Adopting such relatively “primitive” sexual relationships might offer the sense of being closer to the nature of ourselves. One of the more positive things to come out of the sexual liberation movement and the public awareness it created was the beginning of modern-day feminism.

Rock Music

We can’t talk about hippies without mentioning rock music. For members of the counterculture, music was more a demonstration and assertion of a way of life than it was a form of entertainment. The gigantic music festival that took place in Woodstock, N.Y., in 1969 was the event that took the hippie phenomenon to a whole new level.

The Death of Hippy Culture

The heyday of the hippies has long since passed. In the 1970s, the counterculture faced a less agreeable political and economic climate, as well as pressures from within. The Vietnam War ended, and Martin Luther King, Jr, who championed the struggle for civil rights, was assassinated in 1968. Also in the 1970s, a new twist was added in the form of the emergence of the New Right (later referred

to by scholars as the “Republican ascendancy”). Under the influence of the New Right, American politics was profoundly deflected in a conservative direction. Consequently, many things that had been highly valued by the hippies became anathema, including free sex, illegal drugs, rock music, and communal sharing.

The 1973–75 recession was another major reason that hippy culture began to fade away at the beginning of the 1970s. The United States economy started to suffer from a series of serious issues, including an elevation in oil prices and inflation. These economic pressures limited the options of those who had formerly spent their time protesting; now they had to use that time to secure a more stable living situation.

Despite the effect of outside pressures, the hippies’ ultimate failure can be attributed to their tendency toward conformism. “I’m concerned with the great deal of group conformity that exists in the hip movement. It’s supposed to be the antithesis of conformity” [3] (This article provided information about the Manson Family in California in the 1960s). This internal weakness rendered the hippie’s incapable of fundamentally challenging or changing the status quo. Perhaps this is why members of the hippy counterculture are disappointed: “Tuning into the flowers and to love and turning on to acid is very nice, but it’s schizophrenia just like the suburban kind” [2] (This article provided information about the 1967 Summer of Love in San Francisco). Drowning in a world suffused with hatred and materialism, as they attempted to improve society by focusing on such things as the war in Vietnam and wealth inequality (without any financial security of their own), it was easy for the hippies to find them-

selves sliding into a sense of hopelessness, despair, and, finally, surrender.

Conclusion

As the leader of the Western world, America has always sought foreign opponents and enemies across the sea. It must have been strange for the older generation to watch their children protesting in the street, criticizing their values and lifestyles and embracing their antithesis. Thanks to the movement, the decade came to be seen as a watershed dividing two distinct eras in terms of values, morals, and behavior. However spiritually strong the counterculture may have been, though, it was physically weak and didn’t leave us with much of a material legacy. American culture suffers from many of the same problems, and the environment has never been in more desperate straits. In perhaps the greatest irony of the era, many members of the hippy counterculture quietly returned to live with their parents afterward, like a sad child crying for attention.

The hippy counterculture was aimed directly at the flaws of the dominant culture, but it lacked the power to change that culture in any significant way. It envisioned a harmonious society but lacked the ability to guide us there. It possessed the imagination, enthusiasm, and guts required to break societies boundaries, but failed due to a lack of practicality and overabundance of optimism.

The imprint of revolution is still visible in the lives of many today; for instance, in the widespread popularity of longer hair among men, in the deepening concern for the environment, and in people’s generally more liberated views around sex. These are only part of the legacy of the 1960s hippy counterculture. If you wish, you can still go to California, with some flowers in your hair.

References:

1. Galbraith, John Kenneth. *The Affluent Society*. 1958.
2. “Is Love Obscene?” *Berkeley Barb*, May 26–June 1, 1967.
3. Smith David E. “Life with Manson,” *Berkeley Barb*, Jan. 1970. – P. 16–22.
4. “Youth: The Hippies,” *Time*, July 7, 1967. – 20 p.

5. Avery R. Thomas A. Bailey *The American Pageant* (Second Edition: Boston, D. C. Heath & Co. 1961; London, Harrap & Co. 65 s.; pp. 1037). [J]. *Bulletin of the British Association for American Studies*, 1962, 5: 100–100.
6. Bach Damon. *The Rise and Fall of the American Counterculture: A History of the Hippies and Other Cultural Dissidents* [J]. 2013.
7. Braunstein Peter and Michael William Doyle. *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s*[J]. 2001. 89(4):1617–1618.
8. Horton L. D. “In search of their own utopia: Motives behind the counterculture of the 1960s: An honors thesis (HONRS499)[J]. 2007.
9. Miller Timothy. *The Hippies and American Values* [M]. 1991.
10. Wei Chen. *The Children of the Middle Class: The Sixties and Cultural Hegemony*[J]. Reading, 2006.
11. Enming Wang. *AmericaCountercultureMovement: A study into the hippies culture*[M]. 2008.

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-107-112>

MA. Ngo Thi Phuong Thao,
Border Guard Academy, Vietnam
E-mail: thaongophuonghn@gmail.com

CONTRIBUTION TO UNDERSTANDING CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ETHNIC MINORITY PEOPLE IN THE VIETNAM–CHINA BORDER AREA

Abstract. The outstanding cultural characteristics of ethnic minorities in the Vietnam-China border region are a reflection of natural and socio-economic conditions associated with long-term formation and development. These characteristics have both similarities and differences creating the unique characteristics of each ethnic group in the common cultural flow of ethnic communities. Understanding the outstanding cultural characteristics of ethnic minorities in the Vietnam-China border area is particularly important in building close relationships, solidarity, social order and national border security.

Keywords: cultural characteristics; ethnic minorities, borders.

1. Introduction

In the Vietnam-China border area, there is a very diverse population structure, including 26 ethnic groups residing and living along the border. In particular, the ethnic groups of Khang, Mang, La Ha, Xinh mun, Tay ... have been living for a long time in Vietnam, and other ethnic groups are from China or Laos. Ethnic groups who have migrated to our country in the Vietnam-China border area take place in a long process, including mass migration and small groups of people to explore the mountains, shifting cultivation, constructing irrigation works, expanding roads, serving the life of families and ethnic groups. Therefore, the ethnic minorities residing and living on both sides of the Vietnam-China borderline have a strong relationship with the ethnic groups living in the regions of South China. The Thai people in Vietnam have a relationship with the Thais in Yunnan province of China. The Tay and Nung ethnic groups in Vietnam have a relationship with the Chinese Zhuang community. The Mong people in Vietnam have a relationship with the Miao community in China. The Tu Di people have a relationship with

the Di ethnic group in China. Therefore, the ethnic groups living on the Vietnam borderline have cultural characteristics almost similar to the cultures of the ethnic groups living in southern China.

The cultural characteristics of ethnic minorities in the Vietnam-China border area are often reflected clearly in production tools and techniques as well as the position of economic sectors in the lives of each resident. It is characterized, on the one hand, by the intrinsic social development level of each ethnic group, on the other hand, due to the geographical landscape of the region. The same basic farming technique is also a hole-stick or plow, the usage is different in each locality, each ethnic group. The loom, the turntable made of pottery, the knitting results of each ethnic group have their own nuances, not only depending on the skill level but also the imprint of each resident.

2. Content of the research

2.1. The structure of the house, the village

The village is built on hillsides, next to rivers and streams. The big one gathers up to 100 roofs, the average has only 30–40 roofs, the small version often

has 3–4 roofs, even there is a nomadic village with only 3 to 4 roofs on the high ridge. The village is considered a social unit, consisting of families of one or two or three ethnic groups living together. Each of the villages has a clear boundary defined in writing or by word of mouth. Each member of a village is responsible for carrying out common tasks, sharing the tributes, labor and taxes imposed by the feudal government and responsible for solidarity and mutual assistance. All responsibilities and rights are prescribed by customs. Such rules or customs depend on the regulations of each village, sometimes it is the same, sometimes it is different between each ethnic group, although living in the same village.

Houses of residents only have two main types: stilt houses and ground houses. Each ethnic group has its own structure in the house appropriate to its own usage and psychology. In the Ha Nhi's house the arrangement is not vertical with the main space and two side compartments like the other houses, which cannot be mixed with the ground houses of Giay people, Co Lao people, Tu Di people, and Mong people, although in the nave the altar is set.

2.2. *The clothes, cuisine*

Ethnic costumes have two types of shirts: a breast split top and its early form is a pullovers, the other is the armpit. These types of shirts have a common feature that is without shoulders. Depending on the ethnicity, there are different types of dresses, but the most prominent is the costume of women. The Tày and Nung wear indigo clothes and long body dresses with buttons on the right armpits. Unlike the Tày people, Nung sleeves are covered with lighter or darker cloths. Thai women wear short sleeves with sleeves and split their breasts with indigo or white cloth. The brace is decorated with two beautiful butterfly shaped silver buttons. Red Dao women wear indigo-colored rips at their chest. Collar with chest braces, very nice embroidery, collar behind the back attached 7 or 9 coins. Chinese women wear a 5-panel shirt, long buttocks, no pockets, buttoned in the right armpit. Women's skirts have many types:

tubular skirts, truncated cones, folds, with instant skirts, wrap skirts, leaf skirts (multi-piece skirts with no stitching). Thai women wear black skirts and elegant woven floral dresses. White Mong women wear a truncated skirt, many folds made of white linen. Mong women wear indigo skirts with embroidery or pattern prints on the hem of the skirt. The Mong women have an indigo blue skirt, close to the bear with a cross-shaped embroidery pattern in the squares. From the types of dresses, pants and skirts, each ethnic group has a different way of expressing the nuance of their own group. The difference is reflected in the size, color, texture and style of wear. The characteristics of each ethnic group are also manifested in the chignon, means of wearing hats such as scarves, shapes and ways of using jewelry.

In terms of culinary culture, sticky rice and now rice, corn, vegetables, and fish are common ingredients in daily meals for all ethnic minorities on the Vietnam-China border areas. People eat meat but their favorite taste is grilled, boiled or stir-fried, sour and spicy. The popular dish is raw dish. Distilled wine and non-distilled wine (alcohol, glutinous wine) are popular drinks during meals when serving guests, during holidays, festivals and after hard working days. Waterpipe tobacco and tobacco are common in daily activities.

2.3. *Organizing the lineage, family*

In the lives of ethnic minorities, the role of lineages also greatly affects each member of the community. The lineage is not only related by blood, but also class and level. Each family line includes many clans, each clan includes many families. The Tày people have the lineages: Nong, Closing, Chu, Dam ..., Thai people have the lineages: Mute, Silver. Ginseng, Han, Vi, Quang, Lo, Loc, ... Mong people have the families: Giang, Thao, Lu, Vu, Ma ..., the Dao have their lineages: Ban, Duong, Bao, Bach, Trieu and other ethnic minorities living on the Vietnam-China border areas have similar lineages.

Each lineages has a head that maintains the gathering of members of the lineage (mainly boys); Each

member has a duty to help each other in the tasks: funerals, weddings, house building and settlement of lawsuits. In ethnic groups such as the Tay, Thai, and Dao, the patriarch is usually the chief minister (like the Kinh people); As for the Mong people, the ethnic group thinks that they have the prestige, morality, and ability to be raised by all members of the ethnic group (the level in the lineage is not mentioned).

The family organizations of ethnic minorities on the northern borderline are mainly patriarchal family organizations, while matriarchal family organizations have been permanently annihilated in family and social life. There are still remnants of the matriarchy. The head of the household is a man, who often has to carry on such responsibilities as plowing, praying to ancestors, raising children, welcoming priests, taking part in the family's work, on behalf of any family member which no woman has right to do. In the family, the wife's power is the lowest, obeying the husband's opinion, sometimes is just a housewife and has the task of giving birth to the husband's family.

2.4. Marriage culture

In the past, the marriage was set up when the children were 14 or 15 years old, or even earlier, but it was only at the age of 17 or 18 years old that the wedding was held. Marriage is not based on the love and consensus between men and women, but through trade in money, silver, wine, meat and gifts. In the wedding ceremony of the Mong people, usually the bride's family requires from 60 to 120 silver coins, from 60kg to 120kg of pork, from 60kg to 120kg of alcohol and some opium. In the wedding ceremony of the Dao people, the bride's family usually requires about 200kg of pork, 15kg of salt, 20 liters of wine, 1 white silver bar, 40 square meters of cloth and 12 roles of red thread. In the wedding ceremony of the Bo Y, the bride's family usually requires 1 pair of chicken, 7 pairs of sticky rice cakes, 40kg of glutinous rice, 40 liters of white wine, 40kg of pork; 1 set of women's clothing including pants, shirt, scarf, dress, shoes and a silver jewelry set including 1 pair of rings, 1 pair of necklaces, 1 pair of bracelets. The amount of the of-

fering depends on the customs of each ethnic group, the more value materials the bride's family requires from the groom's family, the more accomplished the girl is, which is also the pride of her family and her village. The Tay, Nung, Thai, Dao, Hoa, and Ha Nhi ethnic groups prohibit marriage between people of the same ethnic group in the same lineage within five generations. There is no marriage relationship for a person with his aunt's child, his uncle's child, his younger aunt's child (his mother's younger sister), his older aunt's child (his mother's older sister) or between two brothers and two sisters.

Some ethnic groups like the Nung and the Co Lao, etc. still maintain customs of the bride not living entirely at her husband's house after the wedding. In the first years without children, the daughter-in-law has the right to stay at her husband's house for half a month and stay in her mother's house for half a month, and when she is about to give birth for the first time, the bride comes to her husband's house, from then the newlyweds can stay with each other for life. The custom of matrilocality is still maintained in some ethnic groups: there are two forms of matrilocality: temporary matrilocality residence for 4 or 5 years; or permanent matrilocality residence, whereas the couple's offspring will bear the surname of the mother.

2.5. Religious life

In the minds of the ethnic minorities in the Vietnam-China border area, they often perceive the world to have three levels: the heavens, the living people and the underground. The heavens are described as beautiful, happy, and holy. The underground is small, full of darkness and suffering. Ancestors are usually in heavens, every dead person who has received enough formal ceremonies will go to heavens to live with their ancestors. Those who die without proper ceremonies will be exiled to "hell", their souls wandering around the living, disturbing the living or transforming into animals.

In order to fulfill the filial piety to parents (when parents died), the descendants have to hold a careful

ritual to see off the souls of the deceased to reunite with their ancestors. Thus, the ceremony takes place in 5 to 7 days, through very complicated steps: the shrouding ceremony, the encoffining ceremony, the great moving-on ceremony, the ceremony to send the souls to heaven, the funeral ceremony, the ceremony of offering meals in the morning and afternoon, the ceremony for breaking the prison, the ceremony of giving food for charity, the ceremony of preparing the car, the ceremony of burying, the ceremony of opening the tomb, the ceremony of redeeming the soul. The preparation for the deceased's "living" in the afterlife is varied, but all follow a common principle, with three forms of burial: ground burial, cremation and sky burial.

Ethnic minorities all share the same mind of ancestor worship. Ancestor worship is a morality, hidden deep in the spiritual mindset of every human being towards their origin and race. Ancestor worship is the worship of deceased grandparents, parents, and people of the same ethnic minority. It is believed that the dead ancestors "live a life beyond this world", and have the invisible and sacred power to protect, bless or descend upon descendants living on earth, etc. Thus, it is necessary to worship the ancestors. On the other hand, ancestor worship is aimed at strengthening the order of each family and clan, creating endurance of race and maintaining the patriarchal system (patriarchy). Therefore, the altar of ancestors is always placed in the most solemn, cleanest position in each household or for the whole clan.

The ethnic minorities worship the sky and the earth: they worship the village community god (the earth god). The earth god is worshiped in a temple, or under a big banyan tree, or at a large stone in a forbidden forest. The people believe that the earth god dominates human life, helps in health, protects crops and the cattle's breeding; the population can increase thanks to the god's blessing. But each ethnic group has rituals conducted at different times of the year. The Tay and Nung people worship the god of craftsmanship on the occasion of the Chinese New

Year and the Ghost Festival. In those days, all families had to contribute rice, wine, money to buy gifts (pigs, chickens, ducks ...) to sacrifice to the village community spirit. On that occasion, they organized feasts and meetings to discuss village-related affairs. The Pu Peo organizes the worship of the earth god from the third to the tenth day of March (lunar calendar). The Ha Nhi organizes the worship on the day of the tiger, sheep or goat in February (lunar calendar). The Mong organizes worship on the days of the dragon in February (or on February 2). The La Hu organizes their worship on the day of the tiger of the April lunar month. On behalf of the village, the head of the village solemnly prayed to the god asking for protection. The content of the worshiping ceremony shows reverence as well as intimacy and equality with the god. The relationship between humans and the god in the village community are equal, cordial, and supportive. Here, the god is equal to every member of the village community. Gods do not have the absolute divine power and is not superior to the community. Therefore, all ethnic groups: Tay, Nung, Thai, Mong, Dao, Ha Nhi, Pu Peo, etc. must offer sacrifices to the god to ask for protection for their families and the village community.

All ethnic minorities believe that people have soul and spirit. Whenever a person is sick, it is because there are not enough souls in the body. This deficiency is caused by ghosts catching the souls or the souls wandering with the beautiful scenery and forgetting their way back. The concept of spirits in each ethnic group is different. Mong people think that humans have 3 souls: 1 soul at the top of the head and 2 souls in the palm of the hand, so it is a taboo for strangers to rub children's heads and give flowers to them to play. The Dao believe that people have 12 souls, but each Dao group has different concepts. Red Dao thinks that the main soul is at the head, right where the hair is swirled, at the highest position in the body of people, so it is a taboo for strangers to rub children's heads. The Dao Tien thinks that the main soul is in the chest so when the

heart stops, people will die. The Quan Trang Dao claims that the main soul in the eyes, when people die they cannot see anymore. The Ha Nhi believes that people have 36 souls. The Pu Peo believes that people have 8 souls, 9 spirits. The La Chi believes that people have 12 souls. The Co Lao believes that people have 3 souls: 1 soul in the ear, 1 soul wandering and 1 soul accompanying cattle, etc. Therefore, all ethnic groups believe that people have souls, thus, there should be abstinence, especially for young children (wearing charms, making marks ...) as a wish to pray for people to not fall sick.

2.6. Cultures and arts

In the diverse, rich and colorful garden of arts and cultures of ethnic groups, the arts and cultures of each ethnicity is a blooming flower, fragrant in the garden of arts and cultures. In the flow of literature and arts, folk literature still accounts for the most number. These diverse genres, though have similarities among the ethnic groups, still have their own ethnic identity. Luon, sli, khap, xuong, etc have common features with each other and with other ethnics' folk songs, but still they belong to the Tay, Nung, Thai, etc. Legends and fairy tales have much in common regarding content but still retain the style of individual expression of each ethnic. The peculiarities of each ethnic group and each locality can be identified in legends related to semi-fictional characters and historical figures of each ethnic group,

and the movements of each resident group. The lullaby and folk songs of some ethnic groups are rarely seen in other residents. Some ethnic groups famous for their dances and folk songs, but are poor in sculpture and painting. Music of the ethnic groups with various instruments (stamens, flute, harp, flute, etc.) and lyrical folk songs shows the rich cultural identity of each ethnic.

3. Conclusion

Up to now, the ethnic minorities in the Vietnam-China border area have still followed the habit of living in villages with a few places of residence interspersed with many ethnic groups in an area. Although each ethnic group has a relatively separate way of life due to their customs and beliefs, basically, the ethnic groups residing and living in each locality in the border areas still promote the spirit of solidarity, support and help each other in production and social and cultural activities. Due to the increasingly effective impacts of the socio-economic development policies of the Party and the State, especially the implementation of the policy of ethnic equality, ethnic groups in the border areas of Vietnam – China have increasingly more opportunities to exchange, learn and help each other, promoting the progressive trend in cultural life, contributing to building an advanced Vietnamese culture imbued with national identity in the common cultural flow of the whole mankind.

References:

1. Hoang Chi Bao. "Building culture in politics and economy" *Journal of Political Theory*, – No. 6. 2017. – P. 9–16; 37–38.
2. Nguyen Duy Bac. "The change of cultural values in the socialist-oriented market economy and international integration", *Journal of Political Theory*, – (10), 2007. – P. 31–35.
3. The Communist Party of Vietnam (2015), Directive No. 42-CT/TW of March 24, 2015 of the Secretariat on strengthening the leadership of the Party to the revolutionary and ethical ideal education, cultural lifestyle for the young generation period 2015–2030.
4. Communist Party of Vietnam. Document of the 12th National Assembly, Publishing House. 2016.
5. Nguyen Khoa Diem. Building and developing an advanced Vietnamese culture imbued with national identity, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2001.
6. Pham Duy Duc. Cultural exchange for the development of art and culture in Vietnam today, National Library Publishing House, Hanoi. 1996.

7. Nguyen Hong Ha. Traditional culture and education for the younger generation, Publishing House of Culture and Information, Hanoi. 2001.
8. Ho Chi Minh. Building a new life, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi. 1999.
9. Luong Hong Quang. Intellectuals and the formation of personal culture, Hanoi Culture and Information Publishing House. 1999.
10. Le Van Quang. “Some ideas about building and developing an advanced culture imbued with national identity in the army”, Information on military political theory and education,– (54), 1998.– P. 9–12.

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-113-118>

Song Zejian,
Grade 11, Hangzhou No.14 High school,
Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province, China
E-mail: xxjnicole@hotmail.com

ANALYSIS ABOUT WHY ONLINE DRAMA ATTRACTED AUDIENCES IN CHINA

Abstract. Online drama has become a more and more attractive entertainment in China now. This article explored why viewers were attracted to online drama and their overall acceptance of it. The results indicate that online drama has great market potential due to its easy access and flexible time control. Among all the genres of online dramas, suspense and detective dramas are the audiences' favorite. Nevertheless, comedy may develop into a hot genre in the future because those people who didn't like to watch online drama considered the contents as boring. All in all, there seems to be a huge potential for the development of online drama in China.

Keywords: online drama, online media, online entertainment, smart phone entertainment, consumer acceptance, consumer attitude.

I. Introduction

Online drama, a type of internet series, has become increasingly popular in China. Although it didn't attract much attention in the first four years after it first became widely available, 2005, but suddenly became very popular in 2014, when various distinctive high-quality online dramas have been released successively. In 2016, there were more than 624 Chinese online dramas on the Internet. The total sales of online drama reached ¥150 billion (Chinese Yuan). Compared to movies or TV dramas, online dramas are more flexible in delivery methods and have fewer constraints on their contents. Also, they have much lower cost of production. All these factors suggest a bright future for online dramas. However, the future of online drama is determined by its acceptance of the viewers ultimately. Therefore, it is important to understand what factors attracted viewers to online dramas and their overall acceptance of it. Results from this research can provide insight to the online drama producers.

II. Literature review

Online dramas became popular for its contents and formats. First of all, compared with movies or

TV shows, the online drama have looser constraints on its content: it can make people laugh, make people cry, and make people hate in a stronger way than regular TV shows. So one way to advance the online drama's popularity is by striking audiences with powerful scenes or extremely funny scenes (Sun [2]). Take a famous online drama in China in 2013 named "Surprise" as an example. It had tons of funny and hilarious scenes and people were very excited to see scenes illustrated in such a funny way that cannot be expresses on TV dramas. As a result, the viewers became more interested in watching online dramas.

Secondly, online dramas have shorter episodes which fits the development of new media and the fragmentation of time (Ferguson, Douglas A., et al, [1]). For example, the online drama "Surprise" got an average of about five minutes per episode, such "fast food" videos match the fast-paced life of today's China. The length of the online drama episodes fits the law of attention, which says there is a time limit for everyone's concentration. Beyond a certain period of time, people's concentration is bound to decline. Online dramas concentrate dense contents

in a short period and attract people efficiently, so it suits the law of attention. Shorter episodes were also more feasible when watched on the cell phones. As smart phones became widely available, many people started to watch the dramas on their phones whenever they have a few minutes. The cost of cellular data of a few minutes of video can be tolerated, and it seems that people will hesitate to spend more than 20 minutes (Sun [2]). So online dramas with shorter episodes are loved the most. Lastly, online dramas can resonate with the viewers very well. Online dramas draw materials from reality and can turn around very quick due to its small scale of production. No matter whether it is a comedy or in the science fiction genre, it reflects something that we can experience in our real lives. It reduces the distance between online dramas and audiences. People can recollect certain things from online dramas, and this make them feel at home and safe (Sun [2]). Due to the similarity between online dramas and real life, the audience loved to imagine themselves in the drama world and “participate” in the experience and feel fulfilled.

III. Metodology

This research used a survey to collect data, and the survey contained eight questions in three aspects besides demographic information. First, there are three questions asking about the acceptance of online drama in people’s mind. Second, there are questions about why people like or don’t like online dramas. Lastly, there is one question about how to improve online drama and raise its popularity. This survey mainly focused on how people in different ages feel about online drama. Also, it can shows what percentage of importance each factors mentioned in literature review have in people’s mind: which factor have a higher status in people’s mind.

The survey was carried out using the online surveying tool WenJuanXing.com, and was promoted using the biggest online community application We-Chat to reach people. Different interest groups were reached in order to get a more balanced sample of respondents.

IV. Results

A total of 528 people participated in this survey, most of whom are between eighteen and 56 years of age. About 41.33% percent are from 18–41 and 49.81% from 41–56 years of age, as shown in Figure 1 below. people from 0–18 (2.84%) and people over 56 (3.22%) play a less important role in this research. I believe that teenagers under eighteen mainly focus on their study and school work, so they do not have much time to watch online dramas. As for the elders, they usually do not know online drama, and may also prefer TV over the smaller computer screens or phone screens for eye sight reason.

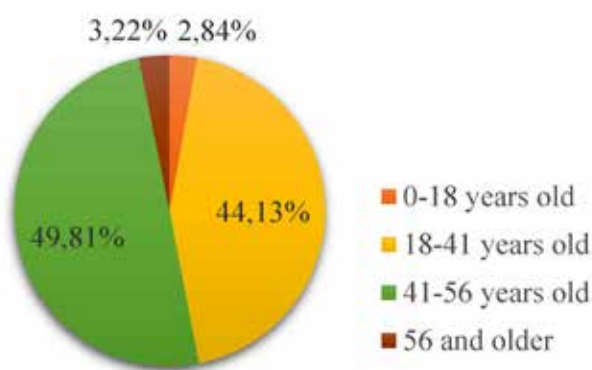


Figure 1. Survey Respondents by Age Groups

Online Drama is Well Accepted in China

From the survey results, the acceptance of on-line drama in China is very high. Over half of the people in the survey (51.33%) knew about online dramas in 2014 or earlier, when online drama first appeared; others soon knew about online drama too in the following year, as shown in Figure 2. Since only people knowing about online dramas answered the survey, there was no data to see what percent of all consumers know about online dramas. More than half of the respondents (53.03%) love to watch on-line dramas (Table 1) and about 60% of them watch at least weekly (Figure 3).

There may be some bias in the sample of respondents toward urban residents who have more access to computers, however, this urban-rural difference become less important to online dramas. One way people access online dramas is by watching over the

smart phones, which is widely available to rural residents as well. Overall, the acceptance rate of online

dramas is very high, and it translates into huge business potentials.

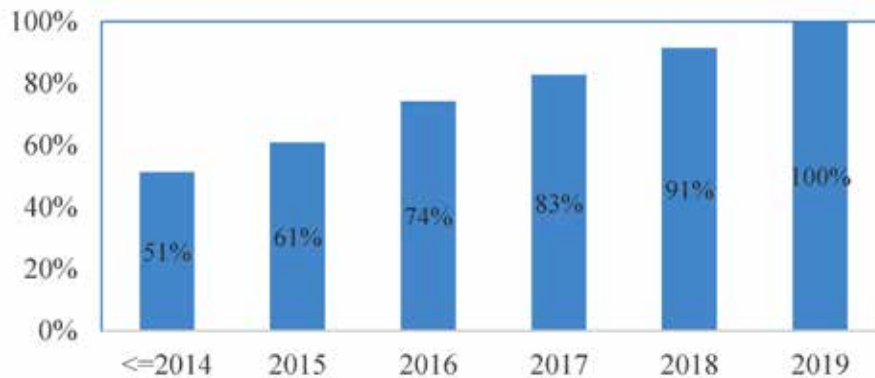


Figure 2. Percent of Respondents Knowing Online Dramas Over Time

Table 1. – Whether Survey Respondents Like to Watch Online Dramas

	Count	Percent
Love	280	53.03%
Don't Love	248	46.97%
Total	528	100.00%

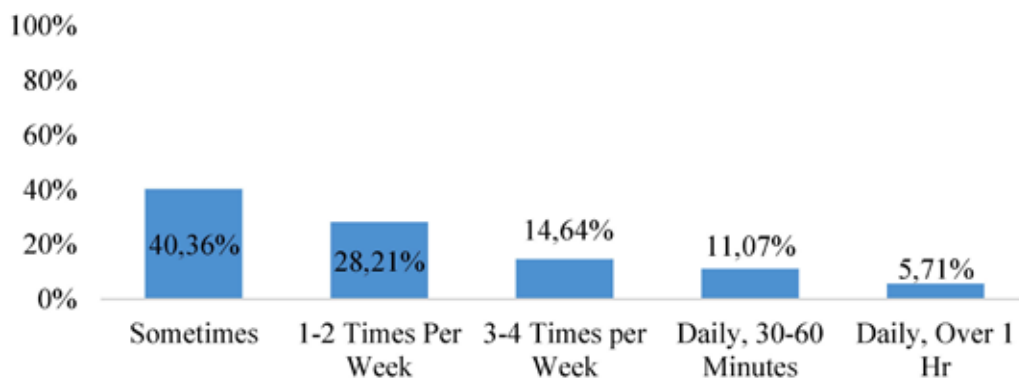


Figure 3. Frequency of Watching Online Dramas

Viewers Love Online Drama for Easy Access and Flexibility

The most popular reason for watching online drama is it is easy to access, as shown in (Figure 4). Online drama can be seen on various video platform, so people can watch online drama just on their mobile phones or computers instead of watching it only on TV like normal TV series. This is one of the most obvious difference between online drama and normal TV drama. The second reason is that time can be easily controlled. Because online drama is displayed on video platforms, audiences could just press the

pause button and began watching from where they left next time. TV drama, however, cannot stop and will be keep playing.

The third reason is that it will revoke resonance – people will often find some similar elements from the shows or their real lives. When people have this kind of experience, they will tend to release a lot of pressure due to seeing another character in the screen living a fascinating life in a similar world. Lastly, online drama does not have limits that normal TV dramas have, which means it can contain violent or sexual scene. However, this is not a popular reason

after all. Only 17.86% of online drama lovers accept this reason is the motivation that make them want to watch online drama. Other reasons only play a small part in attracting people to watch online dramas. I believe why most people consider time and easy to watch as main reasons is because most people do not have enough time to watch TV on their sofa. In China, most people spend on average 2 hours per day commuting to their jobs via public transportation and they would use this time for entertainment,

such as online dramas, on their cellphones. All in all, convenience is the most important factor for online drama watchers.

The reasons why people do not like to watch online drama, in contrast, do not vary much. About 47.98% of people think that online drama has no connotation, while 52.02% think online dramas are boring and do not have interesting or intriguing things. About 18.95% of the respondents barely have time to watch online dramas.

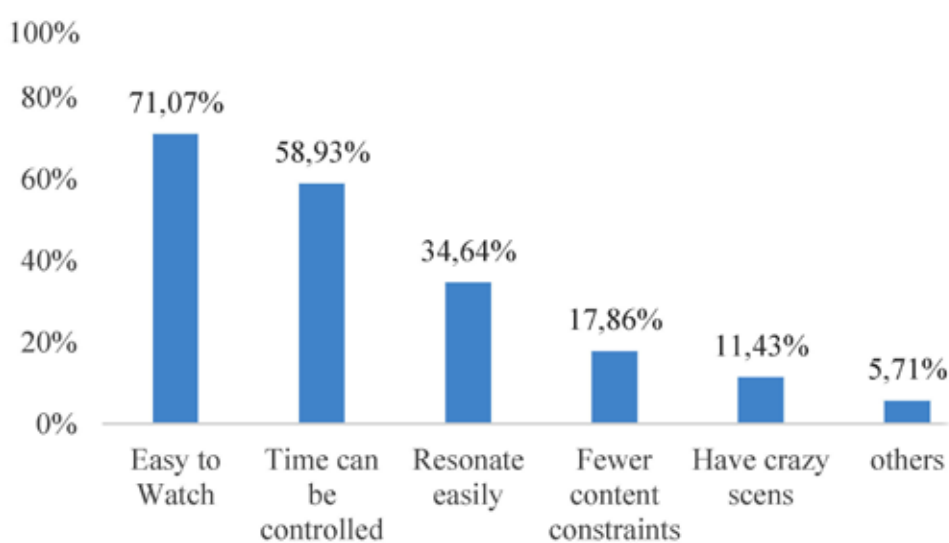


Figure 4. Reasons Why People Like Online Drama

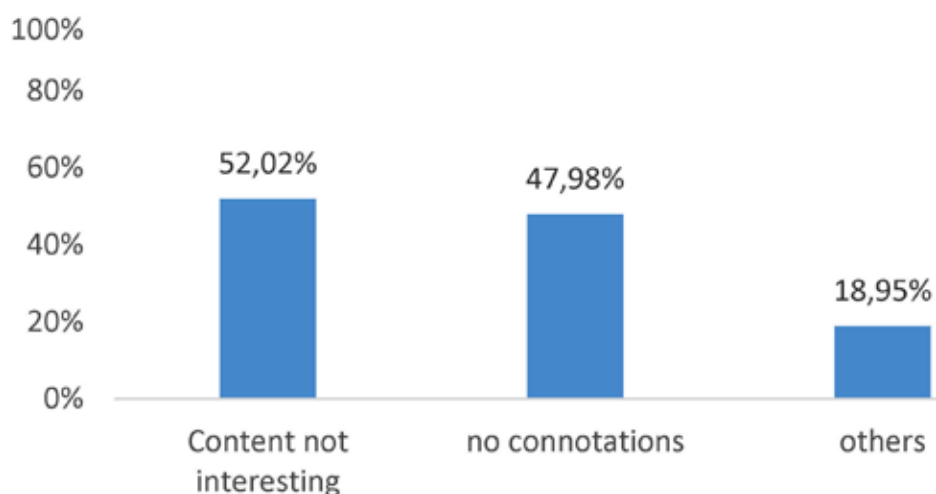


Figure 5. Reasons Why People Do Not Like Online Drama

The Most Popular Online Drama Genre is Suspense

When asked to select the top 3 genres they loved, the respondents indicated that the most popular is

suspense (almost 64%, Figure 6). About 45% of people chose comedy, 29% chose urban love story, 27.14% enjoyed watching martial arts fantasy, and 18.21% want to watch costume drama.

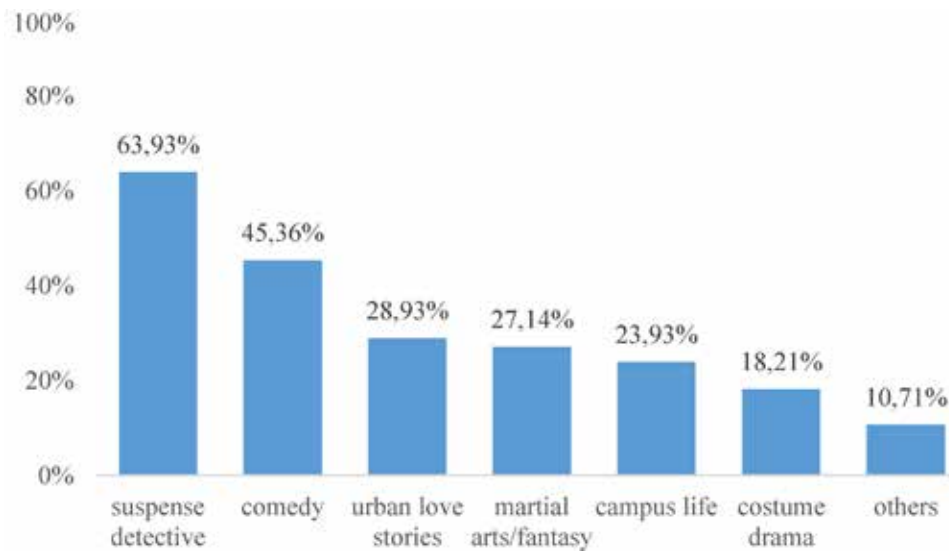


Figure 6. Online Drama Popularity by Genre

Episodes Should be 40 Minutes or Less

The average time of an episode of online drama also affects their audiences acceptance. The best accepted episode length ranges from 20–30 minutes

(32.77% selected as acceptable) and 30–40 minutes (30.3% selected). Longer or shorter were both not as accepted, with 21.02% of respondents selecting 0–20 minutes, and 10.8% selecting 40–60 minutes.

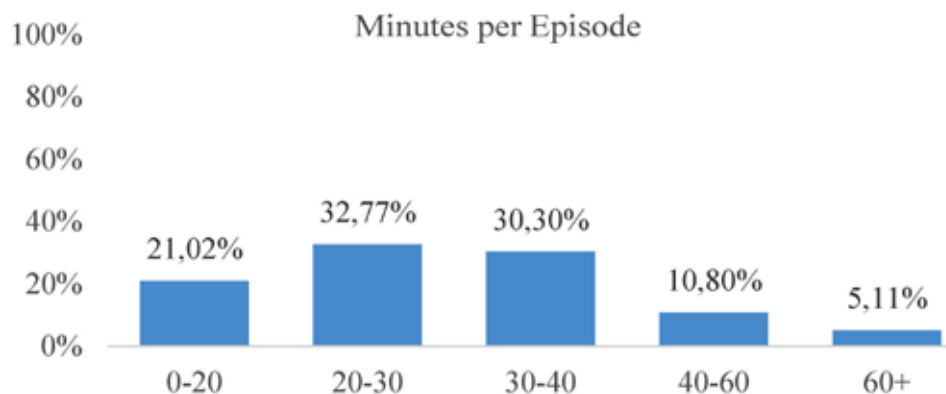


Figure 7. Acceptable Length of an Episode of Online Drama

V. Conclusion

Online drama has become really popular in China and its acceptance rate is over 50% in the surveyed sample. This indicates huge business potentials for the makers. People love it for the easy access to online dramas and the flexibility of when to watch. Suspense and detective dramas are the most popular, and may continue to be in the near future. Comedy also tends to earn an important place as well, because

the main reason why people not to choose watching online drama is the insipidity of the content. With a tremendous potential in contents, suspense reasoning and comedy may stands out as two “oligopoly” genres in the market of online drama. Already about half the people watch online dramas toady, with the advancement of technology, people will have more time to relax and entertainment themselves. Consequently, online drama may become more popular.

References:

1. Douglas A. Ferguson and Elizabeth M. Perse. "The World Wide Web as a Functional Alternative to Television." *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*,– Vol. 44.– No. 2. 2000.
2. Qi Sun. "Analysis of Why Internet Dramas Became Popular", *Journal of Broadcasting and TV in West China*,– No. 18, 2017. URL: <https://www.ixueshu.com/document/48c5f7bad10970c1ec8b4f308072b7f5.html>, last accessed on 2019.12.30.
3. Louisa Ha and Sylvia M. Chan-Olmsted. "Cross-Media Use in Electronic Media: The Role of Cable Television Web Sites in Cable Television Network Branding and Viewership." *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*,– Vol. 48.– No. 4. 2004.– 620 p.
4. Vincent Kiernan and Mark R. Levy. "Competition among Broadcast-Related Web Sites." *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*,– Vol. 43.– No. 2. 1999.
5. Norman Coombs and Richard Banks. "Enhancing Web Instruction: Using Streaming Audio and Video." *Information Technology and Disabilities*,– Vol. 6.– No. 1–2. 1999.

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-119-123>

*Florea Elena,
Politehnica University of Bucharest,
Master's degree in Economic Engineering in Industrial Activities,
Faculty of Entrepreneurship, Business Engineering and Management
E-mail: elena.florea0603@stud.faima.upb.ro*

EUROPEAN UNION CULTURAL DOMAIN EMPLOYMENT RATE – INSIGHTS FROM ROMANIA

Abstract. Analysis on how the rate of employment in the cultural domain of the European Union varies by age, gender and education, and how it compares to the Romanian rates of employment in the cultural domain.

Keywords: cultural employment rate, humanities, Romanian culture.

1. Introduction

The European Union has always supported and promoted the arts and creative industries, ensuring the preservation of Europe's common cultural heritage. Thus, 2018 was called the "European Year of Cultural Heritage", because throughout the year there were events and organized initiatives to celebrate the diversity of European cultural heritage, urging citizens to discover the history and common values of Europe. Moreover, each year, two European cities are called European Capitals of Culture, giving a boost to local economies by highlighting the unique cultural richness of each city and focusing on local artists.

To create jobs and growth at European level, the European Union supports cinematography, film festivals, cultural exhibitions, concerts, conferences, art competitions and the creative industries, thus helping artists to access new international opportunities, markets and audience segments.

The outline of this study is as follows. First we give a short description of what culture is. This is followed by an analysis of the percentage of citizens employed in the cultural field and the evolution of this number from year to year, depending on the efforts of the European Union to increase the number of jobs in this field so important for strengthening the feeling of belonging to the cultural diversity of the European space.

2. Definition of culture

There is no universally accepted definition of culture, which is an obstacle for statisticians who have compiled statistics on the number of citizens employed in the cultural field in the European Union.

However, for accurate statistics, an attempt was made to find a definition of culture. Cultural activities [1] often cross several economic sectors (eg. industry, services, communications and trade). They represent the values of individuals, their own aesthetic, philosophical representations and, to a greater extent, at the collective level, the ways to understand the identity of a civilisation.

Culture [2] has taken various forms over time, this diversity being incorporated into the uniqueness and plurality of the groups and societies that make up humanity. As a source of innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humanity as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is a common heritage of mankind, and its boundless value must be recognized, all for the benefit of current and future generations.

Culture is one of the strengths of Europe, being a source of values and identity that unites the continent, contributes to people's well-being, cohesion and social inclusion. The cultural and creative fields are also a contributing factor to economic growth, job creation and foreign trade.

Thus, the statistics we will refer to during this paper will cover the following areas [3]: heritage, archives, library, visual arts, books and press, performing arts, audio-visual and multimedia, architecture, advertising, artistic crafts. The statistics also refer to acts of creation, production/advertising, dissemination/marketing, conservation, education and management.

In compiling the statistics, only the cultural occupations that played a primary role in the individual's life were taken into account, as many people employed in the cultural field also have a second job. Thus, the main job is considered the one for which the individual works the most hours.

3. Cultural field employment rates among youth

In the year 2019, the number of Romanian people employed in the cultural field represented only 1.6% of the total number of employees, while the number of employees in the cultural field in the European Union represented 3.7% out of the total number of employees.

Below, we can see the evolution of the percentage of employees in the cultural field in Romania compared to the European Union, in the period 2011–2019.

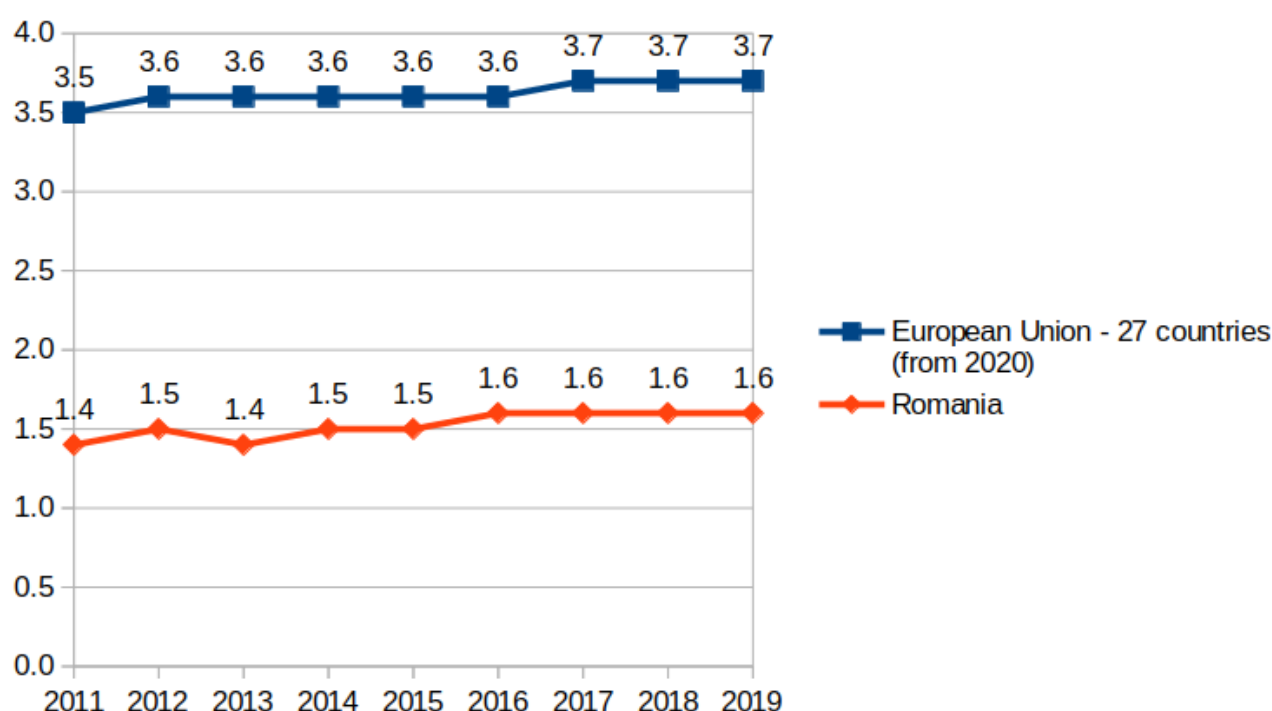


Figure 1. Cultural employment (% of total employment) [4]

We can observe that Romania has been below the European average in this regard, every year, but the percentage of employees in the cultural field in Romania has gradually increased from 1.4% in 2011 and 2013 to 1.6% starting 2016. This may reflect the European Union's efforts to support the creative industries.

Because youth has the important role of being a link between generations by learning the trade of the cultural field and thus, when their turn comes, sharing it with the future generations, we will analyze the

percentage of youth with ages between 15–29 that are employed in the cultural field in the European Union and also in Romania:

As we can see, Romania is below the EU average here as well. In 2017 and 2018, the percentage of young people employed in a cultural field decreased to 1.7% and 1.5%, even if in total, the percentage of individuals employed in a cultural field increased to 1.6% as shown in (Fig. 1). Thus, the increase was not due to young people aged between 15–29 years.

The percentages of youth employed in the cultural field might have fallen in 2018 due to a decrease [6] of 115 units of the library network, compared to 2017. The number of Romanian journals published

in 2018 was 1501 printed titles, 145 less titles than in 2017, and the number of online publication journals decreased from 410 titles in 2017 to 404 titles in 2018.

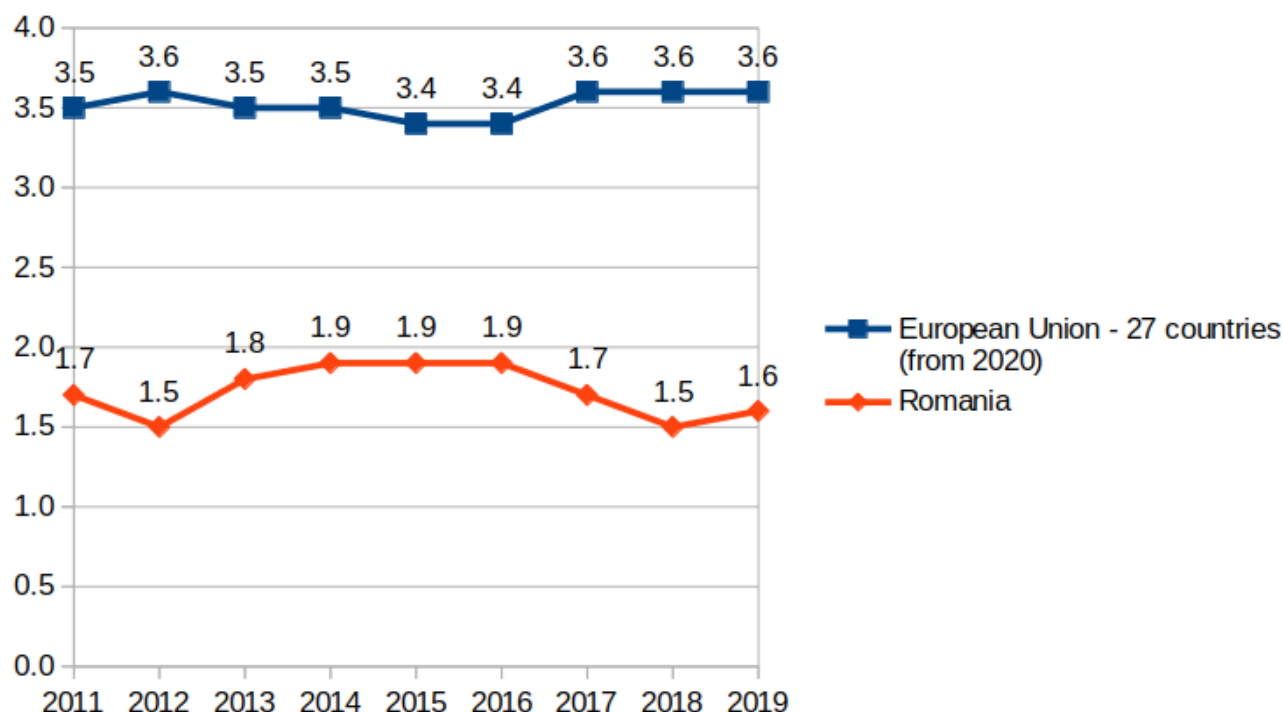


Figure 2. Cultural employment of youth [5], ages between 15–29 (% of total employment)

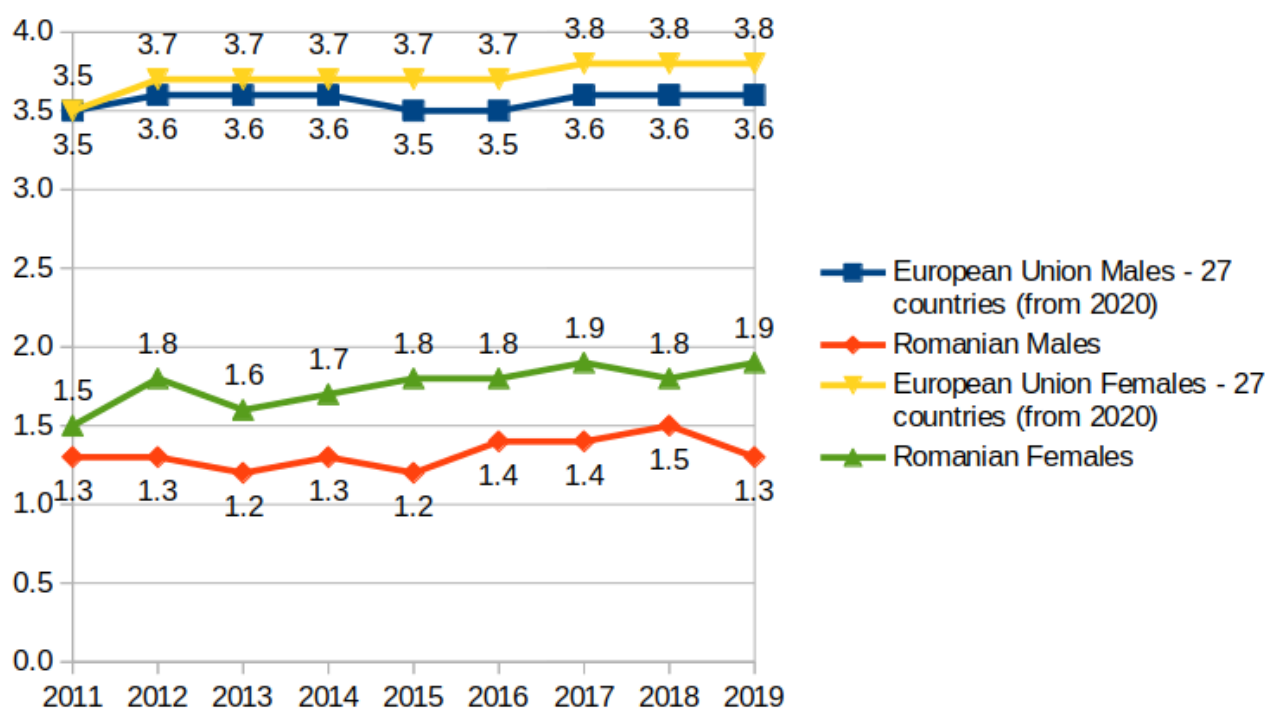


Figure 3. Cultural field employment rates by gender (% of total employment) [4]

There were also other decreases, such as less cinematography spectators that return for a film, less radio listeners than there were in 2017, all of these negatively impacting the cultural field and the rate of employment of the youths, but not only.

4. Cultural field employment rates by gender

Analyzing Fig. 3 below, we conclude that more women than men are employed in the cultural field at European Union level, but the difference is small and might reflect the European Commission efforts to include women in employment and to ensure equal opportunities for women and men. However, the difference is bigger at the Romanian level, with women clearly occupying more cultural jobs than men. This could reflect the traditional Romanian view of the society in which arts are seen as feminine endeavors,

while sciences are seen as predominantly male pre-occupations. Men are more often oriented towards programming, electronics, through which they can get well-paid jobs and good social status, and women are oriented towards occupations perceived as feminine, in the cultural field. Employers may also have the perception that females are more attentive to details.

5. Cultural field employment rates by education

The level of education is a decisive factor [7] for employability in the cultural sector, which is not at all surprising, as a large part of cultural occupations require many years of study (eg. architects, journalists, linguists, musicians). Most people who work in the cultural field benefited from higher education, having bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees.

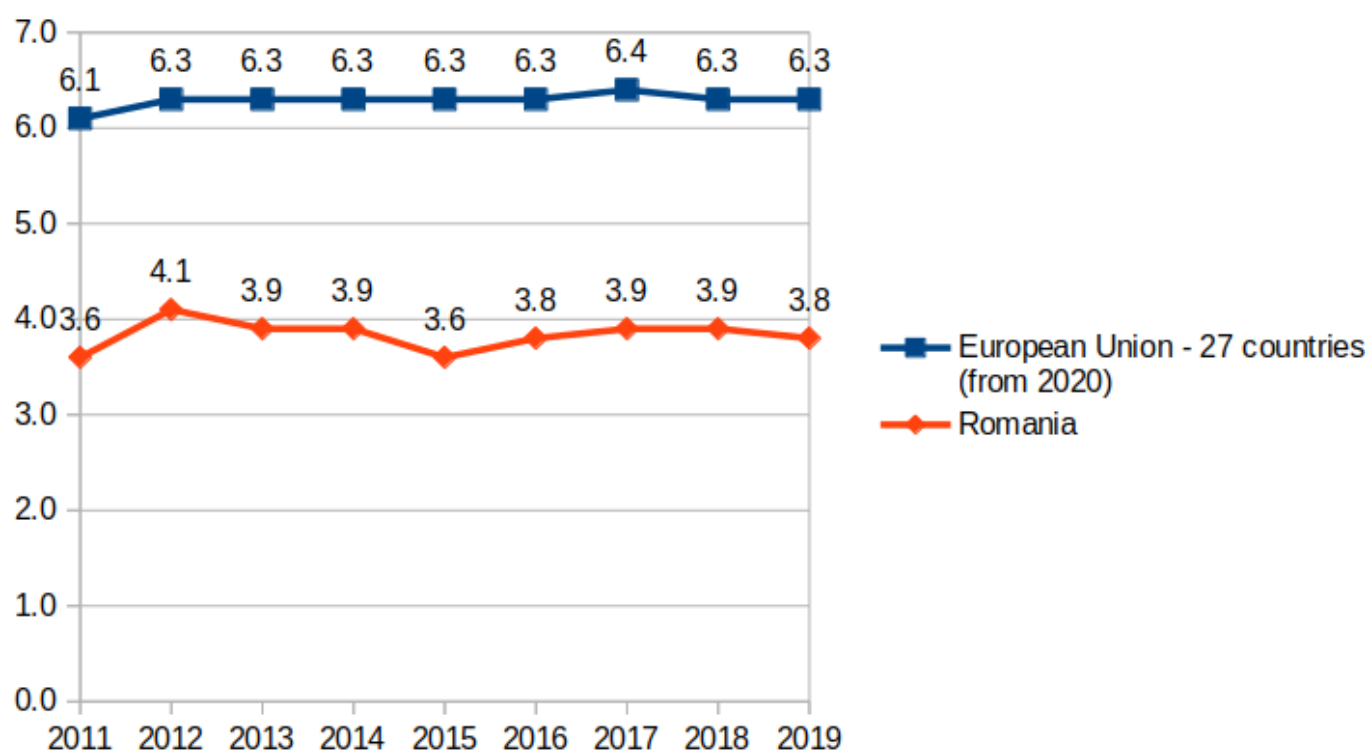


Figure 4. Cultural field employment rates by tertiary education (% of total employment) [8]

Given that the total number of employees in the cultural field in Romania is below the European Union average, and the number of people with tertiary education employed in the cultural field in Romania is also below the European Union average.

6. Concluding remarks

Although in Romania the number of employees in the cultural field currently represents a small part of the total number of employees, the European Union, through its efforts to enhance the cultural industry of

each member country, will lead to an increase in the number of employees in the cultural field.

The European Union contributes to the development of the member states' cultures, at the same time taking into account their national and regional diversity, but also emphasizing the common heritage.

From the statistics analyzed during the paper, we conclude that most people employed in the cultural field have higher education and there is a greater possibility of them being female than male, especially in Romania.

References:

1. ESSnet-CULTURE, European Statistical System Network on Culture, Luxembourg, 2012.
2. Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, UNESCO, Paris, 2002.
3. Guide to Eurostat culture statistics, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg, 2018.
4. Eurostat – Statistical office of the European Union (cult_emp_sex): URL: https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=cult_emp_sex&lang=en 2020.
5. Eurostat – Statistical office of the European Union (cult_emp_age): URL: https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=cult_emp_age&lang=en 2020.
6. Romanian National Institute of Statistics, The activity of cultural – artistic units, Romania, 2018.
7. Culture Statistics 2016 Edition, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg, 2016.
8. Eurostat – Statistical office of the European Union (cult_emp_edu): URL: https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=cult_emp_edu&lang=en 2020.

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-124-127>

*Shmaiun Olha,
postgraduate student, Kiev National University
culture and arts, Kiev
E-mail: olinka.fedorenko@gmail.com*

SOCIOCULTURAL VALUE OF LEISURE IN THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION OF YOUTH

Abstract. Research presents main components modern society's of the sociocultural life are presented. The essence of leisure and leisure activities is defined and the leisure's idea as a factor and youth's sphere of socialization is revealed. The sociocultural context of modern Ukrainian youth life is analyzed and the patterns of youth's cultural and leisure activity are considered. The sociocultural leisure's significance in the socialization's process of a young person is substantiated.

Keywords: leisure, youth, society, socialization, social institutions, leisure activities.

*Шмаюн Ольга Юрьевна,
аспирант, Киевский национальный университет
культуры и искусств, г. Киев
E-mail: olinka.fedorenko@gmail.com*

СОЦІОКУЛЬТУРНЕ ЗНАЧЕННЯ ДОСУГА В ПРОЦЕСІ СОЦІАЛІЗАЦІЇ МОЛОДЕЖІ

Аннотация. В статье представлены основные составляющие социокультурной жизни молодежи. Определяется сущность досуга и досуговой деятельности, раскрывается представление о досуге молодого человека. Проанализирован социально-культурный контекст жизни современной украинской молодежи и рассмотрены закономерности развития его культурно-досуговой деятельности. Обосновывается социокультурное значение досуговой деятельности в процессе становления молодежи.

Ключевые слова: досуг, молодежь, общество, социализация, социальные институты, досуговая деятельность.

Современное социокультурное общество характеризуется рядом неблагоприятных процессов: отсутствием конкретной государственной политики по организации культурно-досуговой деятельности, уменьшением финансовой обеспеченности учреждений культуры и современных культурно-досуговых центров, отдаленность молодежи от культуры и искусства, и как следствие, снижением, а часто и потерей духовных ценно-

стей. В то же время, можно наблюдать увеличение уровня коммерциализации досуга: появление коммерческих досуговых учреждений и клубов, как для всестороннего развития, так и по интересам. Все эти факторы ухудшают положение важной части жизни молодежи как досуг, лишая их полноценного развития.

Теоретические основы исследования данной проблемы составляют научные работы ученых

различных отраслей науки. Так, социокультурное значение досуга раскрыли в своих исследованиях – В. Бочелюк, А. Жарков, Т. Ковальчук, А. Понукалина, А. Сасихов, И. Сидор и другие; проблемы функционирования молодежной субкультуры и культурной социализации молодежи – И. Андреева, Н. Голубкова, Н. Литовская, Л. Быстрая и другие; вопрос духовных потребностей молодежи в сфере досуга – И. Бех, И. Зязюн, Г. Сагач, И. Степаненко, П. Щербань, Ж. Юзвак и другие; культурно-досуговая деятельность – С. Гончарук, А. Петровский, В. Розин, В. Цвирко, Л. Яременко и другие; значение досуга в социализации молодежи – М. Ариарский, Б. Титов, Ю. Клейберг, М. Поплавский и другие.

Однако, несмотря на исследования, которые посвящены вопросам социокультурного влияния досуга на социализацию личности, некоторые аспекты поднятой проблематики не исследованы учеными. Актуальным остается вопрос определения перспективных направлений развития социокультурного компонента досуга и его влияния на процесс социализации молодого человека.

Одним из самых актуальных вопросов в процессе формирования молодого поколения остается вопрос социализации молодёжи. При помощи социализации, в человеке происходят изменения личности, формируются ценностные ориентации, правила, образцы поведения для успеха при общении с другими людьми.

Благодаря социологии, мы имеем много подходов о проявлении социализации, в которой учаются нормы и понятия определенной группы.

Для понимания данного опыта, существуют институты социализации, это определенные группы, в которых личность может изучать системы ценностей и их нормы.

В существующих социально-экономических условиях необходимо существенно расширять традиционные направления, формы и технологии работы с молодежью. Возникает потребность возродить роль досуга и показать актуальность

содержательного его проведения, поскольку это поможет активизировать потенциал развития личности молодого человека.

Сегодня наше общество требует решения ряда проблем по привлечению человека к изучению определенной системы ценностей.

Подавляющее большинство исследователей акцентируют свое внимание на существовании в пространстве молодежи противоположных тенденций: одна имеет положительное направление, то есть, стремиться к интересу новых знаний, ценности дружбы, другая (в настоящее время встречается чаще) – связана с потреблением и развлечениями [3].

На мой взгляд, второе направление обусловлено теми ценностями и шаблонами поведения, сложившиеся в условиях возрастания роли отрицательных признаков досуговой деятельности. Итак, можем сказать, что досуг влияет на молодежь, особенно ее составляющие, которые распространяются через форму поведения, ценности, моральные качества.

Институт семьи имеет основную роль в развитии любого человека. Большинство исследователей говорят, что совместное проживание предусматривает необходимость в поддержании порядка в доме, распределении обязанностей, использовании определенных предметов потребления, свободного времени и внимания родителей. Определенные моменты семейной жизни существенно влияют на процесс социализации. Значительное влияние на нее имеет стиль воспитания детей родителями, уровень их образования, духовного развития, моральные принципы. Итак, семья вводит ребенка в общество, помогая ему найти свою идентичность в социальном мире.

Также, не менее важным направлением социализации личности выступает институт образования, который изучает и передает информацию друг другу в виде знаний, умений и навыков. Основной целью данного института является обучение и воспитание человека. В настоящее время,

существует кризис института образования, поскольку существует сложность в выполнении основных задач.

В последние годы, церковь занимает особое место во время воспитательной деятельности человека. Религиозные объединения активировались, и занимают определенное место в воспитании молодого поколения. Сейчас, в условиях демократизации происходит распространение религиозной идеологии в различных формах и проявлениях [6].

Существует ряд причин, которые обусловили религиозную активность, вместе с изменениями в общей мировоззренческой ситуации, состоялось устранения господствующей атеистической идеологии, определилась свобода мысли и вероисповедания.

Молодежные организации становятся более активными. Они для населения предлагают свободу слова, предлагают проведение досуговой деятельности. Но, в наше время, данные организации не имеют большого влияния на молодежное воспитание.

Методы и средства, которыми они делают попытку заинтересовать и привлечь к своей деятельности молодежь слишком ограничены. Очень часто, потенциал использования досуговой деятельности применяется не в полной мере, а это в свою очередь не дает возможности качественно реализовать функцию социализации молодого человека.

Однако, не нужно забывать, что они могут быть влиятельным институтом воспитания и осуществить внедрение в жизнь политики молодежи, но при условии, если их будут финансировать. Данная работа должна происходить только с учетом всех пожелания, интересов и предпочтений общества [5].

Институт социализации молодежи является традиционным, а именно семья, школа, общественные организации, потеряли свои позиции. По нашему мнению, картина, которая существует,

можно связать ее с масштабным распространением информации через электронные носители. СМИ представляют наиболее действенные для пропаганды информации, которая влияет на воспитание молодого общества.

Образ, который показывают на телевидении имеет четкую выраженность в эмоционально-психологическом воздействии на любое направление сознания человека, а также и на ее моральные ценности. К сожалению, сегодня очевидно, что средства массовой информации существенно влияют на развитие человека, чем семья или система образования. Интернет является самым влиятельным фактором социализации молодежи в современных условиях. Интернет технологии и средства массовой информации, это великое достояние человечества, которым люди еще не всегда рационально умеют пользоваться, поэтому в этой сфере еще много открытых вопросов и определенных проблем.

Функционирование социализации молодого человека тесно связано со средствами массовой информации. А также, в пределах досуга данную функцию можно осуществить с помощью домов культуры, театров, концертных залов, клубов, дискотек. Еще одной формой организации досуга является любительские объединения в клубы по интересам. Современные объединения в клубы могут быть политического, спортивного, туристического, научно-технического, художественного и иного характера.

Для качественной организации досуга для молодежи, прежде всего, нужно учесть, что оно должно быть разнообразным. Эта деятельность должна предоставлять покой, заинтересованность, непринужденность, а также, не менее важно, иметь развлекательный характер. Занятия и развлечения, должны соответствовать вкусам и интересам молодежи. Если разумно организовать структуру досуга, то это позволит всесторонне развиваться организации, и иметь постоянных посетителей. Проблемы, которые возникают при

организации досуга, мной уже определялись ранее. Эти проблемы нужно связывать с тем, что сам процесс социализации, который существует в пространстве досуга, сочетая с положительным влиянием на развитие личности молодежи, может влиять и с негативной точки зрения.

Можно сказать, что социализация молодежи, если возникает в досуговом пространстве, фактически под негативными факторами, которые не имеют управления. В этом случае нужно координировать деятельность институтов, что обеспечивает эффективную работу и положительно повлияет на процесс воспитания молодого поколения. То есть, для обеспечения лучшей ситуации, необходимо контролировать процесс социализации молодежи.

К сферам жизнедеятельности прежде всего относятся семья, образование, сверстники, спорт. Однако, важная роль отводится именно досугу, который помогает развить творческий потенциал личности, организовать правильно свое свободное время, расширить рамки для самореализации, освоить ценности для человека, и нормы поведения. Досуг характеризуется разнообразием функциональных характеристик, совокупность

которых образует определенные типы досуговой деятельности. В текущей ситуации популярные виды досуговой деятельности существуют спортивного, развивающего, интеллектуального, развлекательного характера. Можно уверенно утверждать, что основные виды досуга стали другими. Устоявшиеся формы наполнились новым содержанием. Причиной этого является появление не только новых информационных технологий, а и изменение всей мотивационной сферы молодежи.

В молодежной среде возник своеобразный духовный вакуум, связан с кризисом прежней системы социальных ценностей и возникновением новой социально-духовной парадигмы и возрождения национальной ментальности.

Следовательно, важным и необходимым считаем определение специфических особенностей проведения досуга и учета его потенциальных возможностей в развитии современной молодежи. Также, нужно смотреть динамику изменений и прогнозировать возможные формы их развития в направлении досуговой деятельности, что и определяет перспективы дальнейших исследований.

Список литературы:

1. Belec'ka I. V., Yurkiv Ya. I. Dozvil'ya yak faktor vihovannya ta rozvitku uchniv's'koi molodi / Psihologopedagogichni problemi sil's'koi shkoli. Vipusk 38, 2011. – S. 115–122.
2. Bochelyuk V. J., Bochelyuk V. V. Dozvilleznavstvo: navch. posib. Kiiv: Centr navchal'noi literaturi, 2006. – 208 s.
3. Viktorov A. Dozvil'ya – sprava serjozna / Vihovannya shkolyariv. № 5. 2010. – 110 s.
4. Gusova S. A., Guslyakova L. G., Grigor'ev S. I. Social'naya robota s molodyozh'yu: uchebnyk dlya studentov vuzov. – Moskva: Gardariki, 2006. – 204 s.
5. Osnovy social'noj raboty: ucheb. posobie dlya studentov vyssh. ucheb. zavedenij / N. F. Basov, V. M. Basova, O. N. Bessonova i dr.; pod red. N. F. Basova. 3-e izd., ispr. – Moskva: Izd. Centr «Akademiya», 2007. 288 s.
6. Cimbalyuk N. M. Sociologiya dozvil'ya: navch. posib. Kiiv.: DAKKKiM, 2001. – 180 s.
7. Sheptenko P. A., Voronina G. A. Metodika i tekhnologiya raboty social'nogo pedagoga: ucheb. posobie dlya studentov vyssh. ped. ucheb. zavedenij / Pod red. V. A. Slastenina. Moskva: Izd. Centr «Akademiya», 2001. – 208 s.

Section 6. Linguistics

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-128-133>

*Korbozerova Nina,
DSc (Philology), Professor of Romance Philology Department
Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv
(Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine) Kyiv, Ukraine
E-mail: ninakor@ukr.net*

GENETIC STABILITY AND HISTORICAL VARIABILITY OF THE SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE OF THE SPANISH SENTENCE

Abstract. The article deals with the syntactic structure of a complex sentence in Spanish in evolution with the socio-cultural factor. The main evolutionary processes in the field of conjunction, correlative, relational, modal, temporal, monopredicative and positional connections are analyzed. The main trends in the evolution of structural models of Spanish sentences are outlined.

Keywords: syntactic structure, sentence, evolution, Spanish.

*Корбозерова Нина Николаевна,
Доктор филологических наук,
профессор кафедры романской филологии
Института филологии Киевского национального
университета имени Тараса Шевченко
(Министерство образования и науки Украины) Киев, Украина
E-mail: ninakor@ukr.net*

ГЕНЕТИЧЕСКАЯ СТАБИЛЬНОСТЬ И ИСТОРИЧЕСКАЯ ИЗМЕНЧИВОСТЬ СИНТАКСИЧЕСКОГО СТРОЯ ИСПАНСКОГО ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЯ

Аннотация. В статье подвергнут анализу синтаксический строй сложноподчиненного предложения в испанском языке в эволюции с учетом социо-культурного фактора. Проанализированы основные эволюционные процессы в области союзной, коррелятивной, релятивной, модальной, временной, монопредикативной и позиционной связи. Намечены основные тенденции в эволюции структурных моделей испанских предложений.

Ключевые слова: синтаксический строй, предложение, эволюция, испанский язык.

Постановка вопроса

На протяжении XII–XX вв. сложное предложение в испанском языке обладает значительной генетической стабильностью и целостностью. Этому способствует ряд системообразующих и системосохраняющих интегративных факторов, в частности строго определенное комбинирование предикативных компонентов, внутренняя специфическая организация и сама структура сложноподчиненного предложения на уровне разнообразных моделей, относительное тождество синтаксического оформления придаточного предложения, стремление к морфологическому выравниванию средств союзной связи, их одновременной унификации и функциональной дифференциации, укрепление модально-временного соотношения между главным и зависимым предикативными компонентами, моделирование объема сложноподчиненного предложения, а также учет экстралингвистического фактора.

Основным условием одновременного диалектически неразрывного процесса сохранения и изменения структуры сложноподчиненного предложения является генетическая неоднородность и противоречивость его предикативных компонентов.

Изучение проблемы

Исторический синтаксис остается в центре научных интересов ученых практически большинства европейских лингвистических школ и направлений, поскольку строй предложения представляется генетически первичным в любой языковой системе. Становление исторического синтаксиса как особой области языкознания, подготовленное всем ходом предшествующего развития науки о языке, произошло в середине XIX ст., его утверждение явилось серьезным достижением языкознания как зарубежного, так и отечественного.

Исторический синтаксис испанского языка, в частности моделирование простого и сложного предложения, в работах таких известных зарубежных и отечественных лингвистов, как Р. Менедес

Пидаль, Р. Секо, М. Секо, Р. Лапеса, Е. В. Литвиненко, представляет собой довольно разработанную область современной лингвистики, которая прошла от чисто накопительных фактов до важных результативных теоретических исследований.

Материалом исследования. Я является сложноподчиненное предложение испанского языка XII–XX ст.

Актуальным и новым в методологическом плане изучения синтаксического строя сложного предложения на материале испанского языка представляется сочетание комплексного синхронно-диахронного и этнолингвистического принципов как индикатора диалектически единого подхода.

Методология исследования

Эволюция языка трактуется сегодня как одна из наиболее значимых междисциплинарных дисциплин. В статье, наряду с традиционным, синхроническим, диахроническим и структурно-семантическим методом привлекаются элементы этнолингвистического и лингвокультурологического подходов и приемов исследования эволюции испанского сложноподчиненного предложения.

Основополагающими для проведения данного исследования являются положения теории немецкого лингвиста В. Гумбольдта и американских языковедов Э. Сэпира и Б. Уорфа, высказывавших глубокую мысль о связи языка и культуры. В соответствии с первой точкой зрения язык как самодостаточная величина обладает определенным мировоззрением и навязывает себя всем носителям данного языка. В соответствии со второй точкой зрения языку приписывается ведущая роль по отношению к культуре, поскольку язык способствует систематизации культурных стереотипов. В данной статье для изучения роли германского и арабского суперстрата в испанском языке представляется нам наиболее адекватной точка зрения американских лингвистов, что дает возможность углубить наши знания о природе соотношения языков и культур в целом и экстраполировать

их на трихотомию *народ-язык-культура*, с одной стороны, относительно испанского, или завоеванного, народа, его языка и культуры и, с другой, германского и арабского, народов-завоевателей, их языков и культур в период германского и арабского присутствия на Пиренейском полуострове с V по VII в.в. и с VIII по XV вв. соответственно. Таким образом, возможным представляется определить степень генетической близости или удаленности испанского и германского, испанского и арабского народов, их культур и языков, степени их взаимодействия и взаимовлияния, а также их расхождения во времени. Использование историко-этнолингвистического подхода к изучению синтаксического строя испанского языка позволяет обнаружить отраженные и заимствованные в одном языке, испанском, факты культуры другого языка, германского и арабского [1], а также установить их целесообразность.

Существует достаточно большое количество определений этнолингвистики как раздела языкознания, которые сводятся в принципе к одному и тому же: этнолингвистика – это наука, занимающаяся исследованием связей между языковыми и культурными явлениями и шире – она изучает язык в его отношении к культуре, а именно. взаимодействию языковых, этнокультурных и этнопсихологических факторов не только в функционировании, но и в эволюции языка. Важным представляется также учет того факта, что составляющими частями этнолингвистики являются этнопсихоллингвистика и лингвокультурология, хотя и являющиеся сами по себе векторами самостоятельных языковедческих дисциплин в ракурсе рассмотрения эволюции этноса, его языка и культуры как единого неделимого комплекса проблем. На вопрос, почему настолько важным является привлечение указанных выше отраслей знаний, можно ответить таким образом. Этнолингвистика, предметом которой является выявление признаков в языке психического состава, характера и ментальности конкретного этноса,

позволяет отобразить в эволюции языка факты этнической и культурной памяти, направленные на самосохранение и самоидентификацию. В свою очередь, в рамках лингвокультурологии в эволюции языка и в процессе преобразования дискурсивной практики раскрывается культурно значимая информация, сохраненная в коллективной памяти того или иного народа в виде идей, схем мышления, а также, что немаловажно, системы этических и эстетических ценностей [2]. Для более точного результата в решении вопроса об эволюционных процессах языка привлекаются выводы, сделанные в других отраслях знания, а именно, важными могут оказаться психоллингвистика, когнитивная лингвистика, лингвосомиотика, лингвистическая семантика, лингвистика текста, теория языковой коммуникации, диалектология, ареальная лингвистика, а также антропология, этнология, этнография, фольклористика, религиоведение, искусствоведение, этническая психология, социология.

Эволюцию языка принято квалифицировать в лингвистике как изменения без заметного количественного роста и качественного усложнения. Эволюция языковых фактов наиболее тяготеет к анализу языковых фактов при применении типологического метода исследования, поскольку оба метода наиболее тесным образом сопряжены между собой. Эта идея на лексических примерах испанского языка была высказана Г.Г. Вербой и К.В. Орличенко [3]. При этом, языки, имеющие этимологическую зависимость и сходное происхождение, как, например, латинский и романские, следует рассматривать в качестве однородных по числу элементов и степени сложности отношений между ними. Важным компонентом строя языка является предложение и на его основе сформированный текст [4]. Отличительной же и характерной чертой языкового строя является непрерывная его эволюция, что объясняется тем фактом, что ни одно явление в природе и в сознании не существует неизменным [5, 15].

Результаты исследования

Наряду с исторически обусловленной изоморфностью сложноподчиненного предложения внутреннее развитие и качественное преобразование его четырехуровневой структуры (на уровне инварианта, валентностной, речевой и функциональной моделей) приводит к генетической алломорфности. Одной из тенденций развития структуры сложноподчиненного предложения является постоянное взаимодействие его как эксплицитных, так и латентных предикативных компонентов, что в конечном итоге обусловлено единством языковой системы и речевой деятельности. Другой мощной тенденцией в эволюции сложноподчиненного предложения является динамика его структуры вследствие языковой экономики и избыточности синтаксической единицы, соотношения формы и содержания и исторически изменяемого логического представления человека об объективном мире и отношений между его фрагментами на уровне логико-семантической ступени познания. В этой связи в данной статье рассмотрены основные тенденции, которые постепенно, но неуклонно привели сложноподчиненное предложение в испанском языке к той его модели, которая бытует в настоящее время.

Одним из внутренних факторов, оказывающих воздействие на структуру сложноподчиненного предложения, является размежевание в процессе эволюции испанского языка XII–XV вв. вариантных и синонимичных форм средств союзной связи, напр., *demientre (que)*, *ca*, *cveto*, *depuisca* и др., а уже в испанском языке XVI–XX вв. наблюдается процесс преобразования старых синонимичных рядов союзов и формирования новых.

Первичные латинские союзы *quando*, *si* и др., будучи наиболее употребительными в староиспанский период, оказались исторически устойчивыми и, за некоторыми исключениями (напр., *car*), сохранялись на протяжении всей истории испанского языка. В староиспанский период значения многих союзов не были строго разграничены, ре-

гистрируется их частое не дифференцированное употребление. В XIV–XV вв. на уровне валентностной модели в структуре сложноподчиненного предложения наблюдаются кардинальные, а в XVI–XVII вв. незначительные сдвиги. Сущность развития союзов на данном этапе сводится не столько к количественному расширению, сколько к специализации их значений. В частности, выходят из употребления некоторые прежние союзы (напр., *adiesso que*, *enantes que*, *fuera a tanto* и др.) или, напротив развиваются новые, специализированные союзы, а также широко развиваются новые, или переосмысленные, значения у старых союзов (напр., *visto que*, *supuesto que* и др.).

В процессе эволюции синтаксического строя испанского предложения корреляция, претерпев существенные изменения, касающиеся ее формы и семантики, сохранилась как продуктивная система связи. В ходе развития корреляции наблюдаются медленные количественные изменения (напр., выходят из употребления корреляты типа *atal*), которые в среднеиспанский период вызвали качественное преобразование всей системы корреляции. Так, корреляция начала использоваться либо как средство выражения эмпазы, либо, наряду с простыми союзами – как прием для достижения дифференциации при установившихся уже формах выражения того или иного основного типа связи. Дальнейшему совершенствованию подверглись атрибутивные и обстоятельственные типы сложноподчиненного предложения. Так, с конца XIV – начала XV в. сложноподчиненные предложения обстоятельственной семантики претерпели значительное численное сокращение. Изъяснительные и обстоятельственные приконъюнкционные коррелятивные типы сложноподчиненных предложений полностью исчезли из синтаксического строя испанского языка к началу ранненовоиспанского периода. В изъяснительных и некоторых типах обстоятельственных предложений (напр., в каузальных и консекутивных) в средневековый период наблюдалась замена

дистантного вида корреляции на контактный, что свидетельствует о четко проявившейся тенденции к конъюнкционализации союзов в структуре сложноподчиненного предложения (напр., *por lo... que* = *por lo que*).

Общей тенденцией в развитии релятов в структуре сложноподчиненного предложения в испанском языке является постепенная утрата ими лексической полноточности и превращение их в подчинительные союзы, вследствие чего эти слова в современном испанском языке могут либо сохранять наречные значения, либо проявлять его в слабой степени, либо окончательно становиться служебными. Изучение конструкций с релятами и коррелятами наглядно раскрывает две основные тенденции в развитии сложноподчиненного предложения: 1) в результате возрастания степени абстрактности значения релятов усиливается полифункциональность подчинительных союзов, 2) в то же время утрата коррелятов способствует развитию дополнительных средств связи между предикативными компонентами, что ведет к утрате полифункциональности ряда простых союзов, и, напротив, к развитию сложных союзов и фразеологизированных сочетаний, напр., *a fin de que*, *con el objeto de que* и др.

Совершенствование структуры сложноподчиненного предложения на уровне речевой модели, то есть, эволюция модально-временных соотношений предикативных компонентов, наблюдается на протяжении XII–XX вв., однако наиболее интенсивно оно происходит в XV–XVII вв. Существенные изменения в позиционном распределении предикативных компонентов (уровень функциональной модели) осуществляется в XVIII–XIX вв. Изменения в структуре в XX в. носят накопительный характер.

В отдельные периоды развития испанского языка изменения в структуре сложноподчиненного предложения происходили в результате сильных синтаксических воздействий со стороны других языков. В некоторых случаях изменения

сознательно узаконивались в результате проведения языковых реформ. Значительные экстралингвистические влияния, отразившиеся на структуре сложноподчиненного предложения, наблюдаются в XIII в. (напр., преобладание паратаксического строя полинома под воздействием арабского языка) и в XVI в. (латинизация сложноподчиненного предложения под воздействием итальянского языка). Действие принципа избыточности в структуре элементарного и усложненного сложноподчиненного предложения связывается с воздействием французского языка в XVIII в. и, напротив, принципа экономии – с воздействием английского языка в XIX–XX вв.

Исследование семантического вектора испанского сложноподчиненного предложения показало, что представление о времени, причине, цели и др. меняются с углублением человеческого познания окружающей действительности. Общее абстрактное, иными словами, инвариантное, содержание темпоральных, каузальных и др. параметров таких, как предшествование, одновременность, последовательность, собственно причина, мотив, обоснование и т.п. оставалось неизменным, менялся лишь характер лексико-семантического наполнения придаточного предложения.

Выводы

На протяжении эволюции испанского языка в синтаксическом строе сложноподчиненного предложения постепенно устанавливались принципы относительной и абсолютной автосемантии и синсемантии его предикативных компонентов, происходило его формирование как самостоятельной синтаксической единицы в составе текста, дифференцировался модально-временной план сложноподчиненного предложения, уточнялся состав коррелятивных и союзных средств связи, определялось позиционное распределение предикативных компонентов.

Диахроническая константа в структуре сложноподчиненного предложения представлена в виде семантического инварианта, специфику

которого составляет особый комбинированный тип связи между предикативными компонентами. Диахроническая переменная регистрируется на уровне валентностной, речевой и функциональной моделей.

И, наконец, изменения в структуре сложноподчиненного предложения тесно связаны с конкретной исторической системой испанского языка на том или ином этапе его развития. Причины и результаты изменений, способствующие совершенствованию структуры предложения находятся в прямой зависимости от формирования и развития всего синтаксического, морфологического и лексического строя испанского языка. При этом развитая и гибкая система сложноподчиненного предложения оказалась характерной прежде всего для литературной формы национального испанского языка.

Эволюция синтаксического строя испанского предложения регулируется общим законом сохранения смысловых различительных средств языкового строя, при котором дифференциация одних

смысловых различительных и смысловых различительных средств языкового строя вызывает дифференциацию других. Можно подытожить: закономерность стабильности многообразия структурных типов сложноподчиненного предложения в испанском языке приводит к формированию и в дальнейшем к сохранению средств для развития культуры человечества.

Перспективы дальнейших исследований

Перспективным представляется продолжить дальнейшее изучение синтаксического строя испанского предложения в плане национальной языковой идентичности и речевой деятельности испанского народа, а также рассмотрение эволюционных процессов в коммуникативном членении сложноподчиненного предложения. Одним из наиболее важных моментов для дальнейшего анализа является изучение переходных конструкций между сочинением и подчинением, а также установление границ между простым и сложным предложениями на различных этапах развития испанского языка.

Список литературы:

1. Korbozerova N. M. Del latín pirenaico al romance hispánico: los aspectos históricos, culturales y lingüísticos // Problemi skmantiki, pragmatiki ta kognitivnoi lingvistiki.– K.: Kiiv. nac. univ. imeni Tarasa Shevchenka. 2018.– № 34.– S. 52–71.
2. Mironova N. V. Movnij i kul'turnij kod: ih vzaemodiya v lingvokul'turnomu prostori // Problemi semantiki, pragmatiki ta kognitivnoi lingvistiki.– K.: Kiiv. nac. un-t imeni Tarasa Shevchenka. 2019.– № 36.– S. 180–194.
3. Verba G., Orlycheno O. Tendencias convergentes y divergentes en el desarrollo del léxico español y ucraniano contemporáneos // VIII Congreso de hispanistas de Ucrania. Actas.– Odesa, 15–16 de septiembre de, 2017.– 2017.– P. 184–197.
4. Polishchuk N. P. Lingvistichna struktura tekstu v aspekti diskursologii // Problemi semantiki slova, rechennya ta tekstu.– K.: Kiiv. nac. lingv. univ. 2017.– № 39.– S. 94–100.
5. Popova N. M. Nacional'no markovani koncepti v movnij kartini svitu Ispanii: dinamika rozvitku. Monografiya.– K.: Logos. 2018.– 267 s.

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-134-137>

*Lazarenko Anastasia,
English teacher,
Municipal State Funded Educational Institution Gymnasium № 33,
Krasnodar, the Russian Federation
E-mail: wwwanlazar@mail.ru*

DIALECTAL DIVERGENCE AND THE FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE IN THE MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIOD

Abstract. This article is devoted to the historical formation and the development of the Standard English language in Middle English. It gives an overview of the existing dialects during that period as well as historical events and their influence on the development of Standard English.

Keywords: the Middle English period, the establishment of National Language, the formation of the Standard English language, East Midland dialect.

The establishment of the national language was a very important process which took place during the gradual victory of the English language in its struggle with French in the Middle English period. Dialectal divergences of speech had been deepened and multiplied by feudalism. The enormous variety of Middle English in the different parts of the country was the most essential characteristic of the language during that period. "We get the impression of dialects which, as it were, dovetail one into the other, and each of which is, so to speak, shot and diversified by characteristics from other spoken in adjacent areas. The 'pure' dialect is hardly found, and even those texts which are regarded as exhibiting such 'purity' frequently present apparently incongruous features, while the great majority show a more or less variegated character, and represent in fact border dialects, types of speech belonging, evidently, to intermediate areas, lying between others of slightly different linguistic complexion and partaking the characteristics of the surrounding dialects" [1, 86], said the outstanding historian and the author of "A Short History of English" H. C. Wyld. The greatest poet of Medieval England Geoffrey Chaucer called "the father of English poetry" was worried by the great variety of English and feared his work would be spoiled by

dialectal forms used by copyists. He wrote: "And as there is such great variation in English and in writing our language, I pray God that no one will copy you wrongly, my book, or spoil your metre through fault of language. And wherever you are read or else sung, I beseech God that you may be understood" [3, 90].

Local dialects which were developed during Old English period continued evolving in Middle English. Native people proceeded speaking English both in the countryside and in towns. The main Old English dialects functioned in the Middle English period and their territories were maintained. In consequence of the disappearance of the kingdoms they were named by, the Middle English dialects are named according to the characteristic of their geographical location. In Middle English four main dialects are generally distinguished: Northern (from the Old English Northumbrian dialect), East Midland (from the Old English Mercian dialect), West Midland (from the Old English Mercian dialect) and Southern (from the West Saxon and Kentish dialects). Emerging within the borders of smaller feudal tenures, Scottish, Northern and some other dialects were developed on the basis of the Northumbrian dialect. Thus, former Northumbrian is called the Northern dialect now. It was formed on the base of the middle and the

southern Northumbrian subdialects and spread to the north from the mouth of the Humber River to the borders of the Scottish dialect. Mercian is called the Midland dialect due to its location stretching to the north from Thames to the Humber river mouth. It consisted of several dialects. Both coming from the Old English Mercian, East Midland and the West Midland dialects were mostly used. The Southern originated from the West Saxon and the Kentish dialects. Only Kentish dialect preserved its name as Kent county continued its existence on the place of the former Kingdom of the Kentish which today referred to as the Kingdom of Kent. As for the Scottish dialect, it was formed on the basis of the northern part of the Northumbrian dialect and was spread to the north from the Tweed river in the lowland Scotland. Owing to the establishment of an independent state of Scotland in XIV–XV centuries, the Scottish dialect, which gradually developed into the Scottish language, became the literary language of Scotland.

During the Middle English period the Midland dialect was divided into two ones, that is West Midland and East Midland. In the course of time East Midland became the leading dialect and this fact is rather essential because there was no such tendency in Old English. Probably the reason is that only scarce written artifacts of Mercian exist. In the Medieval feudal society the dialects were equal in their usage. However, the English language was not the only language written and spoken after the Norman Conquest. It took place in 1066 and must be regarded as one of a revolutionary factor in the English language evolution. However, it has mainly influenced the vocabulary. The levelling of inflexions and the sound changes occurred during the Middle English period had begun much earlier and would certainly have taken place even if the Norman Conquest had not happen. It only accelerated the process which had started in the Late Old English. The greatest part of the English nobility was had been wiped out and for several generations after the conquest the important positions and the great estates were mostly in Nor-

man hands. Class interests made the remnants of the English ruling class learn French, and for about two hundred years after the conquest, French remained the language of the Court and the feudal aristocracy in England. Almost all judges were Normans and did not know English, so the French language was used as the language of the law courts. The spheres of literature, education and science were shared with French and Latin. Nevertheless, more than 90 per cent of the population, who were peasants, continued to speak English and only the tradesmen and some of the craftsmen, who were the minority, were bilingual. Economical, political and social conditions, existing in England in XII–XIII centuries, played their role to help London to become the largest economical and cultural centre of the state. Being fast developing region due to the traffic ways which connected northern English districts with the central ones and trading and craft locus, London started attracting people from different parts of the country. The rapid economic development and relations between various parts of the state claimed the necessity and possibility to establish a national language which should be understood by everyone all over the country, besides, this national language should be above all the dialects. Different dialects were regrouped round the most prestigious dialect owing to extensive commercial intercourse, cultural and political reasons. The London dialect absorbed different dialects' traits. However, the East Midland dialect became the basis of the national language, particularly the London dialect.

The manuscripts of Middle English period have been presented in a much greater number than the manuscripts of Old English. Particularly it refers to the XIV and XV centuries. That time parchment was replaced by paper, which was rather cheaper in usage. Moreover, quickly growing quantity of educational institutions assumed an ever increasing relevancy of manuscripts. However, the French and Latin languages were used for the majority of texts. The spelling of the texts was greatly influenced by dialectal

peculiarities and these two languages. The representation of the approximate pronunciation was a tendency of the old methods of spelling and Old English texts were rather conservative when they were copied in the XII and the first part of XIII centuries. However, some characteristic forms of the dialects or certain modernized forms were introduced in the course of XIII century. Due to the inconsistency of these innovations, the results were sometimes often rather misleading and confusing.

The evolution of London English all along the Middle English period was analysed by a notable English philologist and lexicographer Henry Cecil Kennedy Wyld and he reaches the following conclusion: "We found that London English was, in its earlier phases, of a definitely Southern type, and more particularly of a central, rather than an East Southern type. We witnessed the gradual appearance of more and more East Midland elements, and of some South Eastern, or Kentish, peculiarities. The East Midland elements gain ground more and more, sometimes being used alongside of the corresponding Southern elements, sometimes exclusively, instead of the latter. By the end of the 14th century we found that London speech had become predominantly East Midland in character, and that the purely Central Southern elements were very greatly reduced, though still in excess of what they are in Standard or Written English at the present time... There we leave London English then, at the end of the fourteenth century, rapidly approaching to our own speech so far as the general character of the dialect elements is concerned, which make it up..." [1, 56].

Owing to the multiplicity of speech in London certain dialect ways of pronunciations were preserved in Standard English. The certain words were borrowed from the North *raid* (a variant of *road* in *inroad*), *laird* ("lord"), *uncouth*, *bairn*, *hale* ("whole") and *cairn*. Such words like *merry*, *hemlock*, *bury*, *fledge*, *knell* and *left* which is the antonym of the word *right* changed the short East Midland [i] for Kentish [e]. In the Southern dialect may be found such words

like *wuts* for *oats* and *wuk* for *oak*, so that the unexpected initial sound of *ones* and *one* is not a surprise. Nowadays in standard speech we also can find other survived Southern forms, they are *vixen*, *vane*, *vent*, *vat*. However, the regular East Midland forms would be *fixen*, *fane*, *fent*, *fat*. Moreover, from the west Midland dialect came the sound of the stressed vowel in the words *mongrel*, *among*, *monger*.

The development of trade, the extension of education and the growing number of schools maintained the amplification of Standard English. Chaucer was the most prominent poet of pre-Shakespearean time, besides, he was a native London dweller. Such works of his as "Canterbury Tales", "A Legend of Good Women" and some more were rewritten and distributed all over the country. Probably, it promoted, to a certain extent, a written form of the London dialect. However, there is a tendency to exaggerate the part played by Chaucer in the formation of Standard English, especially by some language historians. The point is that English had already won the struggle with the French (Norman) language when Chaucer started writing his works. Not smaller, but probably a bigger role was played by John Wycliffe (1320–1384), the author of the medieval manuscript literature, especially the Bible's translation from Latin into English. His aim was to let Christians to understand the Gospel in their mother tongue. He made it possible to encounter the Bible not only in oral versions in Latin, but to study it in the vernacular. His translation of the Bible was spread all over the state among various social levels, that is craftsmen, merchants and minor clergy. Subsequently Wycliffe's translation of the Bible was banned, but before the prohibition it had already been known in all parts of England. It is considered as the most common text in the period of Middle English.

The introduction of printing by William Caxton in 1476 was the most essential contribution to the spread of Standard English. Being a learned man, he worked as a copyist in the service of the duchess Margaret of Burgundy, the Fourth sister of Edward in Flanders. He

had lived for thirty years in Flanders and a printing press was brought by him to England when he came back. So, he was the first English printer. The first work printed by him was "The Tales of Troy" and in its preface he emphasized that this very book had been started printing in one day and also finished in the same day. Caxton, in his numerous translations and in all printed texts, started to use London English and this tendency was proceeded by his successors. The fact that the most provincial documents referring to the second half of XV century contain much less dialectal elements than the documents of previous period proves the fast passed Standard English spread. In XVI century the great number of dialectal differences of vocabulary matters existed and some of them were even presented in cultivated speech despite the fact that

London English had already been well established. Moreover, the certain writers used a large number of unassimilated Latin and French words, so it became a problem for the authors to please the great majority of readers by the language, because of the difficulty in choosing their words.

However, Caxton's printing production helped to overwhelm the difficulties at that time. The printed works showed attained flexibility and simplicity as well as standardization of that time language. The products of his printing press were easily distributed in all parts of England and it became possible for people living all over the state to get acquainted with the grammatical forms and the vocabulary of East Midland English which had eventually become the Standard English language.

References:

1. Wyld H. C. "A Short History of English". – London, 1951.
2. Baugh A. C. – A History of the English Language (London, 1965).
3. Iarovici E. – A History of the English Language (Bucharest, 1973).
4. Robertson S. – The development of Modern English (New Jersey, 1958).
5. Middle English-an overview // Oxford English Dictionary. – [Electronic resource] Access Mode: URL: <https://public.oed.com/blog/middle-english-an-overview>
6. The Norman Conquest 1066 // The Big Russian Encyclopedia. – [Electronic resource] URL: https://bigenc.ru/military_science/text/2671781

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-138-143>

*Fazylzhanova Anar,
Candidate of Philology, A.Baitursynov Institute
of Linguistic, Almaty, Kazakhstan
E-mail: nar20@bk.ru*

*Serikbayeva Aizhan,
PhD student of Al-Farabi Kazakh National University
Almaty, Kazakhstan
E-mail: serikbayevada@gmail.com*

ABOUT THE NEW NEOGRAPHIC DICTIONARY OF THE KAZAKH LANGUAGE

Abstract. The article reveals the relevance and significance of the new neographic dictionary of the Kazakh language being developed. The language changes of the XXI century caused by promptly changing social-political, sociocultural conditions of Kazakhstan life have resulted in a neological explosion in the Kazakh language.

Key words: neologism, neology, neologization, neological dictionary of the Kazakh language, linguistic innovations.

*Фазылжанова Анар,
кандидат филологических наук, Институт языкознания
им. А. Байтурсынова, Алматы, Казахстан
E-mail: nar20@bk.ru*

*Серикбаева Айжан,
PhD студент, Казахского национального университета
им. Аль-Фараби Алматы, Казахстан
E-mail: serikbayevada@gmail.com*

О НОВОМ НЕОГРАФИЧЕСКОМ СЛОВАРЕ КАЗАХСКОГО ЯЗЫКА

Аннотация. В статье раскрывается актуальность и значимость, разрабатываемого нового неографического словаря казахского языка. Языковые изменения XXI века, обусловленные стремительно меняющимися общественно-политическими, социо-культурными условиями жизни Казахстана, вызвали неологический взрыв в казахском языке.

Ключевые слова: неологизм, неология, неологизация, неологический словарь казахского языка, языковые инновации

Современное казахстанское общество переходит на новый этап развития – духовное обнов-

ление общественного сознания: Государственной программой «Модернизация общественного со-

знания» поставлен ряд важных задач [1], решение которых невозможно вне когнитивно-культурного пространства казахского языка и его модернизации.

Однако лингвистическое осмысление, научно-теоретическое исследование, а также стандартизация и кодификация языковых изменений – инновации в языке не преуспевают за самим процессом неологизации, к тому же необходимо улучшить обеспечение общедоступности нормативных, справочных лексикографических трудов в различных форматах. В связи с этим является актуальной теоретические исследования в области неологии и разработка неологических словарей.

Под неологизацией понимается сложный процесс обновления лексико-семантической системы национального языка посредством заимствований, новообразований и новых значений слов.

А также на сегодня в казахском языкознании актуальным остается вопрос о воздействии социолингвистических факторов на появление лексических инноваций. Под воздействием социолингвистических факторов исследователи вслед за Ю. Д. Дешериевым [2, С. 181] понимают преднамеренное влияние предпринятое человеком, обществом на функционирование и развитие языка, сознательное воздействие общества на язык, проявляемое на разных уровнях и в различных формах. Неологизацию в современном казахском языке нужно рассматривать на материале лексических инноваций и семантических новообразований. Исторические, геополитические события конца XX – начала XXI вв. стали причиной языкового обновления. Новообразования во всех стилистических и жанровых проявлениях языкового функционирования являются «последствиями» перемен в обществе. Их изучение позволяет воссоздать «номинативный облик» эпохи [3]. Так, например, слово «жаңғыру» (модернизация) в современном казахском языке под влиянием словотворчества Н. А. Назарбаева, как элитарной языковой личности, обрело новую се-

мантику в языковом поле общественно-политического дискурса: 1) экономическое, политическое и духовное возрождение, обновление и реформирование общества, общественного сознания; 2) совокупность целенаправленных системных специальных мер государственной политики и идеологии по реализации данных реформ.

До обретения такого нового значения данное слово в словаре было зафиксировано под следующей дефиницией общего характера как ‘изменение, обмен, обновление’ [4, С. 469]. В результате развития видов виртуальной коммуникации (Facebook), дискуссионных площадок политического, культурного содержания (телерадиопередач, гражданские инициативы, как волонтерские курсы изучения казахского языка «Basqosu», «Қобыланды жатқа!»), бизнес-коммуникации (проект НПП РК «Атамекен» Бастау-бизнес для развития малого и среднего бизнеса в регионах), интернет-ресурсов на государственном языке (Kitap.kz, Bilim-Lang, Qascontent, Әдебиет порталы т.б.) сформировалась огромная языковая база, не прошедшая лингвистическое осмысление, не подвергшаяся языковому изучению. Использование этих и уже имеющихся материалов – оцифрованной текстовой базы Национального корпуса казахского языка Института языкознания имени А. Байтұрсынова позволят собрать обширный эмпирический материал для неологического словаря. Такие лексические неологизмы как *эле́мжелі, коучер, айқұлақ, хатсандық, әуетасымал, жалпыұлттық, латындандырылу, қазақтілді, конфессияаралық, медиамәдениет, селфилету, тегтеу, бандау, тауарөндіруші, консалтингтік жеңілрельсті (көлік) цифрландыру, уағдаластық (саяси) кепіл-мемлекет* и др. получают свое место в неографическом труде, посредством которого ускорится их утверждение в составе нормативной лексики современного казахского языка.

В реестр словаря будут включены лексические инновации в казахском языке конца XX – начала XXI вв. Материалы такого неологического слова-

ря позволят изучению неологизации как отражения, вербального «овнешнения» [5] модернизированного общественного сознания, а также как непосредственный инструмент самой модернизации сознания, ввиду того, что сознание общества непрерывно подвергается словесным воздействиям. В связи с этим предполагается сбор, систематизация и лингвистическое описание лексических и семантических инноваций, а также разработка и создание неографической базы.

Для разработки современного неолгического словаря необходимо:

- выявление и описание типов и видов неологизмов современного казахского языка;
- классификация неологизмов по условиям создания и назначению в речи;
- изучение процессов перехода неологизмов из пассивного в активный состав лексики;
- анализ проблем лексикографирования неологизмов: использование компьютерных технологий для обработки современных казахских текстов;
- разработка структуры и содержания нового неографического словаря;
- определение неографии как одного из источников лексико-семантической разметки Национального корпуса казахского языка;
- определение неологической лексикографии как части постоянной, открытой и обновляемой базы государственного языка.

В свою очередь разработанный словарь может быть использован для исследований по:

- выявлению связи языка и видов общественного сознания в контексте современных, глобализационных процессов;
- определению языкового сознания как одного из сложных видов общественного сознания;
- определению языка как основного, универсального фактора формирования и модернизации общественного сознания.
- изучению процессов неологизации конца XX и начала XXI вв., обусловленными социокуль-

турными и политическими изменениями, связанных с обретением независимости Казахстана;

- определению социолингвистических факторов возникновения лексических и семантических инноваций в системе современного казахского языка;
- анализу экстралингвистической и лингвистической обусловленности лексических инноваций;
- выявлению динамики семантической структуры слова как механизма неологизации;
- анализу новых словообразовательных тенденций в неологизации;
- выявлению научно-теоретических основ лингвофилософских категорий и положений как «языковое сознание», «взаимодействие языка и сознания», «виды (типы) сознания», «роль языка в формировании и развитии всех видов (типов, форм) сознания», «язык – модернизатор сознания»;
- по классификации современных языковых инноваций в лексике и семантике казахского языка.
- по усовершенствованию принципов, методов и технологий лексикографирования неологизмов, их инвентаризации и кодификации.

На сегодня языковая политика в Казахстане относительно государственного языка, опиравшаяся на либеральные принципы, дала свои плоды: за годы независимости казахский язык стал употребляться во всех сферах общественной жизни, вместе с широтой его функционирования наблюдается тенденция роста культуры речи. В связи с этим в лексической системе современного казахского языка неологизация набирает динамический оборот. Причем неологизмы, относящиеся к пассивной лексике за короткий срок успевают перейти в активную ее часть. Все это свидетельствует о трансформациях происходящих в общественном сознании. Что интересно, эти же языковые инновации, воздействуя на общество вызывают обратный процесс, то есть, становятся средством модернизации общественного сознания. Однако процесс научно-лингвистиче-

ского осмысления, описания, инвентаризации, лексикографирования, кодификации и стандартизации неологизмов в казахском языкознании в силу определенных причин в последние годы сильно замедлен. О чем свидетельствуют даты издания последних нормативных словарей новых слов в казахском языке [6].

Несмотря на развитие языкового сознания, как одного из видов общественного сознания, наблюдаются следующие отрицательные тенденции, тормозящие его дальнейшее развитие:

- гедонизация массовой информации, наблюдающаяся, к сожалению, даже в образовательном контенте, в следствие чего вместо новых знаний, репрезентантом которых являются в основном неологизмы в языке, отдается предпочтение информации развлекательного сиюминутного характера;
- возрожденная старописьменная лексика как один из источников семантических неологизмов отражающая духовные интеллектуально-ценностные концепты, используется только в специализированной литературе и мало популяризируется в общедоступных лексикографических трудах. В следствие этого большая часть таких неологизмов, относящихся в основном к духовно-нравственной культуре, религиозному сознанию, остаются малодоступными для носителей языка;
- недостаточность механизмов стимулирования государственного языка в естествознании и инженерно-технических науках, привело к угрозе снижения научного сознания казахоязычного сообщества. Поэтому важно популяризировать уже имеющиеся системы знаний на государственном языке в этих отраслях науки посредством исследования теории и разработок неологических словарей научного дискурса.

На сегодня актуальны исследования процессов неологизации в современном казахском языке (конца XX – начала XXI вв.) в тесной связи с социокультурными, политическими факторами модернизации общественного сознания этноязыкового сообщества независимого Казахстана, разработ-

ки неографической базы государственного языка с использованием в этом методов компьютерной технологии. По данному направлению в мировой и отечественной лингвистике проводилось множество исследований различного характера [7; 8; 9; 10; 11; 12]. Стихийно проводятся исследования лексико-семантических инновации как репрезентации «нового» в языковом и общественном сознании казахоязычного этнокультурного сообщества. Однако следует признать, есть достаточный опыт по неографии у предшествующих научно-теоретических изысканий отечественных лингвистов [6; 7; 13]. Исследования неологизации в структурном, лингвокогнитивном, психолингвистическом, лингвокультурологическом и во многих других аспектах обусловлено не только важной ролью словесных и семантических новообразований в обновлении языка, но и интенсивностью влияния научно-технического прогресса, информационных технологий на языковое сознание общества.

Еще в конце XX века учеными была замечена усиливающаяся неологизация многих языков [14], своеобразный «неологический бум». Высокая неогенность [15, С. 5] усиливается в геометрической прогрессии и в начале XXI века. Ученые-неологи пришли к общему мнению, что неологизмы являются социально значимым проявлением новых слов и значений в развитых, витальных языках. Как отмечается многими исследователями в конце XX века произошло оформление особой отрасли языкознания – неологии [10; 16]. В связи с вышеуказанными следует отметить, что и казахский язык ныне охвачен «неологическим бумом». Это влияние, с одной стороны, примечательно для его исследования как витального языка, с другой, для объяснения социальной потребности в именовании всего нового или семантическом обновлении уже существующего, а также для лексикографирования языковых инноваций. При разработке проблем лексикографирования казахских неологизмов будет использован опыт таких капитальных отечественных лексикографических

трудов академического характера, как Пятнадцатитомный [17], Большой одготомный [4] толковые словари и Большой общеобразовательный частотный словарь казахского языка [18].

Разрабатываемый неологический словарь является значимым не только в национальном, но и международном масштабах, особенно в тюркоязычном языковом пространстве. Научно-теоретические результаты по составлению словаря внесут вклад в развитие отечественной лингвистической мысли. Научно-практические разработки полученные в результате разработки словаря обогатят казахскую и общетюркскую неологическую лексикографическую базу. В теоретическом плане результаты работ по созданию словаря могут послужит заделом для освещения таких сложных вопросов в лингвистике как связь сознания и языка, механизмы появления лексических инноваций как репрезентантов когнитивных процессов, происходящих в сознании казахоязычного этнокультурного сообщества.

Идентифицирующая и консолидирующая функций языка связаны с его модернизирующей функцией. Последняя реализуется посредством активации единиц всех слоев языковых ярусов. Однако именно языковые инновации, в том числе неологизмы, являясь репрезентантами «нового» в системе знаний, несут большую нагрузку в формировании модернизированного сознания. Поэтому не только теоретические результаты, но и практические разработки по созданию неографической базы государственного языка будут иметь широкий социальный спрос.

Неология как современное направление в лингвистике сформировалось недавно и на сегодня уже развивается в различных аспектах, поэтому

неологических и неографических исследований в национальных языках становится все больше, однако из истории лингвистических изысканий Казахстана известно, что последние неографические труды по казахскому языку были изданы в конце 90-х годов XX века. С тех пор накопился огромный языковой материал, в котором большую часть занимают языковые инновации. В процессе подготовки словаря предполагается их лингвистическая обработка на предмет неологизмов, осмысление таких инноваций через призму взаимодействия языка и сознания. Результаты такого осмысления будут актуальными не только для развития научно-лингвистической теоретической мысли, но и для глубокого понимания современных трансформационных процессов в общественном сознании этнокультурного сообщества независимого Казахстана, потому как язык и именно его инновации репрезентируют изменения в обществе, и в то же время являются средством воздействия на него и его модернизации. Методологической основой разработки словаря являются научно-теоретические идеи зарубежных и казахстанских ученых в данной сфере. Например, лингвистические и социолингвистические исследования таких ученых, как Ю. Д. Дешериев, Л. И. Плотникова, Е. Ф. Тарасов, А. Н. Фефилов, Е. В. Сенько, Г. М. Васильева, С. Н. Алаторцева, Р. Сыздык, Н. Уали, Э. Сулейменова, З. Ахметжанова, К. Алдашева и др. В процессе исследования будут привлекаться опыт и методы работы предыдущих научных разработок лингвистических исследований по лексикологии, неологии, ономастиологии, нормативной лексикографии, неографии, изыскания по использованию компьютерных технологий в лингвистике.

Список литературы:

1. Nazarbaev N. A. Vzglyad v budushchee: modernizatsiya obshchestvennogo soznaniya. URL: http://www.akorda.kz/ru/events/akorda_news/press_conferences/statya-glavy-gosudarstva-vzglyad-v-budushchee-modernizatsiya-obshchestvennogo-soznaniya
2. Desheriev Yu. D. Social'naya lingvistika. – М.: Nauka, 1977.

3. Plotnikova L. I. Novoe slovo: Porozhdenie, funkcionirovanie, uzualizaciya: Monografiya. – Belgorod, 2000. – 207 s.
4. Kazahskij slovar' (Odnatomnyj bol'shoj slovar' kazahskogo yazyka) / Sostav.: N. Uali, Sh. Kurmanbajuly, M. Malbakov, R. Shojbekov i dr. – Almaty: Dəuir, 2013. – 1488 s.
5. Tarasov E. F. Yazyk kak sredstvo translyacii kul'tury // Yazyk kak sredstvo translyacii kul'tury. – M. – Voronezh: Izd-vo VGU, 2002.
6. Novye slova v kazahskoj leksike / red. R. Syzdykova. 2-izdanie. – Almaty: Gylym, 1985; Novye slova v kazahskoj leksike / sostav. A. Aldasheva, Sh. Sarybaev, N. Ualiev, G. Anesov / red. R. Syzdykova. 3-izdanie. – Almaty: Gylym, 1990. – 136 s.; Novye naimenovaniya (Novye slova v kazahskoj leksike) / sostav. A. Aldasheva, Sh. Sarybaev, N. Ualiev. – Almaty: Ana tili, 1992. – 128 str.; Novye slova kazahskoj leksiki / sostav. Sh. Sarybaev, N. Ualiev. – Almaty: Gylym, 1996.
7. Sulejmenova E. D. Ponyatie smysla v sovremennoj lingvistike. – Alma-Ata: «Mektep», 1989. – 160 s.
8. Ahmetzhanova Z. K. Novye napravleniya social'noj lingvistiki. – Almaty, 2011.
9. Fefilov A. N. Yazyk – Soznanie – Dejstvitel'nost' (lingvo-filosofskaya intepretaciya). – Ul'yanovsk, 2002. – 100 s.
10. Sen'ko E. V. Teoreticheskie osnovy neologii. – Vladikavkaz, 2001. – 107 c.
11. Vasil'eva G. M. Lingvokul'turologicheskie aspekty russkoj neologii: Diss. dfn. – SPb, 2001. – 350 s.
12. Alatorceva S. N. Problemy neologii i neografii. – Sankt-Peterburg, 1999. – S. 16–40.
13. Aldasheva K. S. Novye slova v sovremennom kazahskom yazyke: processy kodifikacii i ih lingvodidakticheskie osnovy: doktorskaya (PHD) dissertaciya. – Almaty, 2016. – 202 s.
14. Gak V. G. Novye slova i slovari novyh slov. – L., 1978.
15. Elizarova L. L. Terminologicheskie i hudozhestvennye novoobrazovaniya v funkcional'nom aspekte (na materiale proizvedenij sovremennoj nauchnoj fantastiki). – Orel, 1992.
16. Il'yasova C. B. Neologiya kak samostoyatel'nyj razdel yazykoznaniya: sovremennoe sostoyanie, perspektivy razvitiya // Filologiya na rubezhe XX–XXI vv. Perm', 1996. – S. 45–54.
17. Slovar' kazahskogo literaturnogo yazyka. Pyatnadcatitomnyj / Sostavit. G. Kaliev, S. Bizakov, O. Nakysbekov i dr. – Almaty: izdat-vo «Arys», 2011.
18. Obshcheobrazovatel'nyj chastotnyj slovar' kazahskogo yazyka. – Almaty: izdat-vo «Dəuir», 2016. – 1472 s.

Section 7. Pedagogy

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-144-148>

*Meirbekov Akylbek Kairatbekovich,
PhD, Philology Faculty, English Philology Department
Khoja Akhmet Yassawi International Kazakh-Turkish University,
E-mail: phd.doctor7@gmail.com*

*Kazykhankyzy Lazura,
PhD, Philology Faculty, English Philology Department
Khoja Akhmet Yassawi International Kazakh-Turkish University,
E-mail: lazura.kazykhankyzy@gmail.com*

THE ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL CONTENT IN READING PASSAGES OF THE ENGLISH TEXTBOOK FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL GRADE IX

Abstract. The aim of this study was to examine the cultural content in reading passages of the English textbook for Kazakhstani secondary school grade IX. The results revealed that source (Kazakh) cultural contents were dominantly used in the reading passages.

Keywords: Language, culture, teaching English, foreign language classroom.

Introduction

Culture and foreign language teaching

The importance of culture teaching has long been a topic for discussion in the field of foreign or second language education. It is well known that language and culture are inseparable parts of the same whole since they affect and shape each other. As Jiang states, language would be dead without culture, as well as a culture would have no shape without language [1, 329]. So language is functionless without its proper cultural context [2, 22]. Bearing in mind their indivisibility, it is impossible to consider teaching a foreign language without dealing with its culture.

As it is claimed by Paige, “Culture learning is the process of acquiring the culture specific and culture-general knowledge, skills, and attitudes required for

effective communication and interaction with individuals from other cultures. It is a dynamic, developmental, and ongoing process which engages the learner cognitively, behaviourally and affectively” [3, 50].

Paige proposed two specific aspects of culture learning: culture-general learning which refers to the acquisition of knowledge, skills and attitudes that are more generalizable in nature and transferable across cultures; and culture-specific learning that involves acquiring knowledge, behavioural skills, and attitude related to a given target society [4, 173].

According to Rivers, implementation of culture instruction should include several goals, which are: raising students’ awareness of the way people of target culture act; the way people in the target culture usually act in various situations; the most commonly used words

and phrases; the impact of demographic variables such as age, sex, and social class on the way people of target culture communicate; developing students critical thinking and intellectual curiosity related to the target culture as well as the empathy towards its people; and developing skills for collecting and organizing materials about the target culture [5, 30–31].

However, although these goals have been recognized by many researchers, whether culture can be taught in the language classroom, or how and to what extent it should be taught is still a controversial issue.

Cultural content in the English textbooks

Textbooks play the role of the main content providers in language teaching. McKay asserts that cultural elements should be included to language teaching materials like textbooks in order to increase learners' interest in language learning and to foster their motivation [6, 9]. According to Byram, culture should be presented in the teaching materials in accurate and realistic form, provide up-to-date information, including historical and contemporary materials and avoid stereotypical content [7, 201–202].

In term of reading skills, cultural content should be integrated into reading skills implicitly. It is of crucial importance to integrating cultural content in reading materials in order to improve students reading comprehension skill [8, 271–272]. The cultural elements in reading can be presented in form of cultural words and phrases which may be related to different themes such as geography, occupations, historical events, personalities etc. [9, 20].

Since textbooks as the main content provider provide students with representations of other cultures both implicitly and explicitly, evaluating textbooks from a pedagogical perspective is of crucial importance.

Cortazzi and Jin proposed investigating culture in English textbooks according to three categories: the source culture, the target culture and the international culture. The first category is based on identifying the source culture, which refers to the native culture of learner. The second one is the target culture which refers to the culture of the language to be learnt (e.g.

British or American culture). The third category is the international culture which refers to the cultures other than the target culture. They may be both English or non-English speaking countries such as Canada, Brazil, Spain, China etc. [9, 199–200].

This research was conducted to investigate the extent to which the reading passages in the textbook used in Kazakhstan secondary schools grade nine contain the source culture (Turkish), the target culture (British or American) and the international target cultural components. The findings of this study might be useful for teachers and students in terms of determining whether the textbook used is suitable or not.

Methodology

Research design

The research method used in the present study is descriptive and based on a quantitative analysis of the reading passages for cultural content in textbooks recommended by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan in state secondary education grade 9.

Research material

The textbook analyzed in this study “Excel for Kazakhstan” composed of 165 pages, written by Dooley J., and Obee B., and published by Express Publishing Press in 2018.

The textbook “Excel for Kazakhstan is a task-based English course of five levels based on the Common European Framework of Reference and designed for learners studying English at CEFR levels A1 to low-mid B1. It is intended to develop all four skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) through a variety of communicative tasks, and systematically recycles key language items. Above all, it is designed to promote active (activating all new vocabulary and structures in meaningful, every day and cross-cultural contexts), holistic (encouraging the creative collective use of students' brains as well as the linguistic analytical use of their brains) and humanistic (acquiring and practising language through pleasant tasks and topics, paying attention to their needs, feelings and desires) ways of learning”.

Data analysis

In order to carry out the cultural analysis all the reading passages manifested in 9 units were examined for cultural references and grouped into three categories, according to the framework proposed by Cortazzi and Jin:

- the source (Kazakh) culture;
- the target (British/American) culture and;
- the international target culture (Uzbek, German, French, etc.).

Those reading passages that had no direct reference to any culture were considered as culture-free reading passages.

Table 1. – Distribution of the cultural references in reading passages according to the sections

Sections	Source (Kazakh) culture	Target (British/American) culture	International target culture	culture-free
Unit 1	3	1	2	–
Unit 2	2	2	–	2
Unit 3	2	2	2	2
Unit 4	1	2	2	–
Unit 5	3	2	1	–
Unit 6	2	–	3	–
Unit 7	3	1	–	1
Unit 8	4	1	1	1
Unit 9	1	1	–	4
total	21	12	11	10

Source: (Kazakh) culture

While analyzing reading passages people's names, names of places and other peculiarities referred to particular culture were taken into consideration as the representation of the cultural elements. Table 1 represents the findings regarding the cultural content of reading passages in the textbook.

As can be seen from the table 1, overall 54 reading passages were found in the textbook and the majority of them (39%) related to the source (Kazakh) culture, whereas almost 22% referred to target culture and only 20% dealt with the international culture and 18.5% of the texts did not provide any kind of cultural elements. The highest frequency of 'source culture' occurred in chapters 1 and 8 in which almost

Findings

The content of the textbook include overall 9 units (modules): Hobbies and Qualities; Exercise and Sport; Earth and Our Place on it; Charities and Conflicts; Reading for Pleasure; Traditions and Language; Music and Films; Travel and Tourism; and Science and Technology.

Each module consists of seven sections (a - g) in 11 pages: a) reading/vocabulary; b) Use of English; c) Skills; d) Everyday English; e) Across cultures; f) Across the curriculum; and g) Writing.

all reading passages referred to the source culture and on the other hand, chapters 4 and 9 included only one reading passages related to the Kazakh culture.

Exposure to the source culture was found in such texts as: Baiga (traditional Kazakh sport game) in unit 1; Silk through Sauran (one of the major trading city on the Silk Road in the 13th century) and the Esil River in unit 3; Asan Kaygi (one of the most famous figures in Kazakh history) in unit 5; Nauryz (Traditional New Year in Kazakh culture) in unit 6; Dalatunes (about Kazakh national instrument Dombra) and Kara Zhorga (traditional Kazakh dance) in unit 7; Visiting Astana; Bayanaul National Park, the museum of Khoja Akhmet Ya-

sawi belonged to the 13th century and Tian-Shan mountains in unit 8;

In the reading passages source culture was mostly presented by names of people, like Nurlan, Laura, Berik, Bakhargul Tolegenkysy, Assel, Aisholpan, etc. Names of cities are also occurred in the texts, like Almaty, Nursultan, Sauran, Turkistan, Aktobe, Talgar, etc.

Target (British/American) culture

In the textbook the impact of target culture was portrayed in the reading passages such as: Famous American surfer (unit 1); funny racing championships held in England Wernbley stadium in London (unit 2); the River Thames and New York city (unit 3), Oscar Wild and his Canterville Ghost (unit 5); Winter Carnival in New-York (unit 6); Morris dancing (traditional English dance) in unit 7; Blenheim palace in UK (unit 8); Glasgow science centre in Scotland (unit 9).

It is clear from the findings that each unit (exception is unit 6) includes one or two reading passages related to the target culture which may represent famous people from target culture, places, traditions, etc. Target culture was also represented through the characters names as Jenny, Lucy, Katie, Karen, etc. in the short dialogues and written tasks in the textbook.

International target culture

From table 1 it can be seen that not all units include reading passages referred to the international culture.

The international culture in the textbook is reflected through references to famous people from different countries, introduction of touristic places, etc. The examples of reading passages with references to international culture are the followings: West Edmonton mall in Canada and Victorian era (unit 1); Lyubov Andreyeva Kazakhstani racer in formula 1 (unit 2); the tree house of the Korowai people in Indonesia and the fairy chimneys of Goreme in Turkey (unit 3); about UNESCO (unit 4); Jules Verne and his story Journey to the centre of the earth (unit 5), Sand sculpting festival in Australia and Roswell UFO festival in Mexico (unit 6); Remember day in Australia and Quebec winter carnival in Canada (unit 6);

Ethical animal tourism in Finnish landscape, Mongolian steppe and elephant park in Thailand (unit 8).

Finally, the reading passages which did not provide any reference to any particular culture were manifested in texts such as: The age of cybernetics; about the teenagers' addiction to technology; content of the computer; mobile phones at school, etc.

It should be noted that the authors tried to promote the target culture by making a comparison between the local culture and the target culture: the River Themes in UK and the River Esil in Kazakhstan; Traditional English dance (Morris dance) and traditional Kazakh dance (Kara Zhorga); Blenheim palace in UK and The mausoleum of Khoja Akhmet Yasawi in Kazakhstan.

Discussion and conclusion

The findings of the present study revealed that the reading passages in the English textbook "Excel for Kazakhstan" used for secondary school grade 9 primarily reflect the source culture rather than the target or the international target cultures. Similar findings were also found out in the studies conducted by Scott where he revealed that Chinese EFL textbooks are designed with a focus on Chinese culture rather than target culture [11, 113–143]. Cortazzi and Jin also indicated that the English textbook used in Venezuela context mainly includes local cultural elements [10, 196–219]. Some researchers support it by claiming that promoting the context familiar to the learners will help them to use English in a meaningful way. According to her, comparison between the local culture and foreign cultures is an important way of raising awareness of both culture [12, 161; 13, 274].

However, in other contexts the researchers criticized the textbooks because of a lack of local cultural content in it. In the Indonesian context Faris found out that the target culture is predominant in the textbook, in which 77.05% cultural contents refer to the target culture, 13.11% to the source culture, and 09.84% to the international culture [14, 14–15]. Abdullah and Chandran, in their research conducted in Malaysian context revealed that there are not

enough local cultural elements in English textbooks [15]. They asserted that those local cultural elements need to be integrated because “introducing Western culture would result in a tendency for cultural comparison which would cause displeasure among learners with their own culture” [16, 57].

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that the present study was limited to investigate only the reading

passages, so further researches may be conducted in order to make a deeper analysis of cultural representation both visual (pictures, photographs, illustrations, etc.) and written materials (themes, dialogues, tasks, etc.).

“The work was carried out with the financial support of the Ministry of education and science of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the framework of the scientific project AP08052329”.

References:

1. Jiang Wenying. The relationship between culture and language. *ELT journal*, – Vol. 4 (54), 2000: 328–334.
2. Byram Katra, Claire Kramsch. “Why is it so difficult to teach language as culture?” *The German Quarterly*, volume 81 (1), 2008: 20–34.
3. Paige R. Michael, ed. *Culture as the core: Integrating culture into the language curriculum: selected conference proceedings*. Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition, University of Minnesota, 1999.
4. Paige R. Michael et al. *Culture learning in language education. Culture as the core: Perspectives on culture in second language learning*, 2003: 173–236.
5. Gonen S., and Sercan Saglam. “Teaching Culture in the EFL Classroom: Teachers’ Perspectives.” *International Journal of Global Education* 1.3. 2012. – P. 26–46.
6. McKay S. Lee. “Teaching English as an International Language: Implications for Cultural Materials in the Classroom.” *TESOL journal*, – Vol. 9(4), 2000: 7–11.
7. Hinkel Eli, Michael H. Long, eds. *Culture in second language teaching and learning*. Cambridge University Press, 1999.
8. Anderson Richard C., James W. Pichert and Larry L. Shirey. “Effects of the reader’s schema at different points in time.” *Journal of Educational Psychology*, – Vol. 75(2), 1983: 271.
9. Neff Peter, John Rucynski Jr. “Tasks for Integrating Language and Culture Teaching.” *English Teaching Forum*. – Vol. 51. – No. 2. US Department of State. Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Office of English Language Programs, SA-5, 2200 C Street NW 4th Floor, Washington, DC20037, 2013: 12–23.
10. Cortazzi Martin, and Lixian Jin. *Cultural mirrors: Materials and methods in the EFL classroom*. na, 1999: 196–219.
11. Scott C. S. “Some first impressions of EFL teaching in china.” *TESOL Newsletter*, – Vol. 14(6), 1980: 113–143.
12. Suemasa M. “Middle School ELT as a vehicle for Intercultural Education in Japan: An evaluation of textbooks.” *Global English and Primary Schools: challenges for elementary education*. CAE Press, 2004: 151–168.
13. Dat Bao. “ELT materials used in Southeast Asia.” *English language learning materials*, 2008: 263–280.
14. Faris I. N. I. “Cultural Content Analysis of an English Textbook for Senior High School Grade Three in Cianjur, West Java.” *Journal of English and Education*, – Vol. 2(2), 2014: 14–25.
15. Abdullah N., Chandran S. K. *Cultural elements in a Malaysian English language textbook*. Retrieved September 10, 2010. 2009.
16. Hermawan Budi, Noerkhasanah Lia. “Traces of cultures in English textbooks for primary education.” *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, – Vol. 1(2), 2012: 49–61.

Section 8. Political science

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-149-164>

*Sokoh Gbosien Chris,
Ph. D, Department of Political Science
Delta State University, Abraka, Nigeria
E-mail: sokohgc@gmail.com*

EMPIRICAL STUDY OF STATE FAILURE AND PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS IN NIGERIA

Abstract. The study examined the effect of state failure on proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Nigeria. A cross sectional research design was adopted and data was collected via a survey of three hundred (300) respondents in South-South geopolitical zone of Nigeria using non-probabilistic sampling techniques. A total of 233 copies of the questionnaire were retrieved and analyzed using correlation and linear regression analysis with the aid of Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 23. The findings revealed that state failure is significantly related to proliferation of small arms and light weapons. As predicted, the study also showed that state failure exerts a positive and statistically significant effect on proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Nigeria. Based on these findings, we concluded that state failure have significant influence on proliferation of small arms and light weapons. The study therefore recommends among others that government should strive to eliminate corruption, enhance genuine development, progress and growth, and improve the well-being and quality of life of every citizen. This will go a long way to address the problem of insecurity of lives and property across the country.

Keywords: State Failure, Small Arms, Light Weapons, Security.

Introduction

The inability to tackle corruption as a development challenge has continuously enmeshed Nigerians in poverty, insecurity and attendant social vices. The spate of violent crimes and proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the country reflects not only the catharsis the leadership inertial and ineptitude provided the people, but also an expression of a failed state. Anyanwu [6, 109–117] in his work titled *Failed States in Africa: The Nigerian case since 1960* subscribes to the idea that Nigeria, alongside many

other African countries, is a failed state. He hinges his argument on the failure of African elites to deliver the glamorous promises of economic development made at the dawn of political independence. Bayart [7, 9] cited in Yagboyaju and Akinola [3, 1] “examines the African socio-political and economic realities and attributes state’s failures to Africa’s historical heritage: history of weak political leadership, corruption, conflicts and wars”. The ‘petroleum-rich’ Nigerian state, confronted by socio-political instability, high degree of corruption, mass hostility to

the public and poor macroeconomic management, continues to display the attributes of a state in crisis (Akinola [3]).

According to Mimiko, 2010 cited in Yagboyaju [36] and Akinola [3, 2], argued that “the Nigerian state has degenerated to the point where it is unable to provide minimal social security for its vulnerable population”. With the weakness of the Nigerian State and its ineffectiveness, it has become challenging to eradicate impoverishment, engage in infrastructural development and stem the tides of insurgency, terrorism and the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, which have the potency to derail the country’s moderate political development. A failed state therefore, is a state that is “unable to meet their own part of the social contract they entered into with the governed” (Anyanwu [6, 117]). He posit further that a failed state as opposed to a strong or capable state is a state which has failed to provide for its citizenry, food, water, electricity, health care and good roads. The proliferation of small arms and light weapons is adjudged as the most immediate security challenge to individuals, societies and states worldwide, fueling civil wars, organized criminal violence, insurgency and terrorist activities posing great obstacles to sustainable security and development. Many a times small insurgencies tend to developed into larger civil wars and possibly destabilize an entire region. This trend especially in Africa and particularly Nigeria is attributed to the weakness and fragile nature of the states and their attendance failure to deliver in governance” (Malam [18]).

A great deal has been written about state failure and its effect on proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the past decade (Rotberg [31]; Malam [18]; Okeke & Oji [25]; Amaechi [5]; Oko, Utomba [26] Oko & Benjamin [26]; Jacob Ishaya & Ado [14]; Yagboyaju & Akinola [3]. Despite these numbers of studies, no empirical study exist on state failure and proliferation of small arms and light weapons in developing countries especially in Nigeria. To bridge this gap, this study examined the effect of

state failure on proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Nigeria.

Review of Related Literature

State Failure

State failure or failed state is a nation polity that is no longer willing or able to perform the functional duties of a nation-state in the modern world. State failure is known by different nomenclature such as weak state, fragile state, poorly performing state and collapsed state. A failed state according to Okeke and Oji [25, 420], is “one that has shattered social and political structures. It is characterized by social, political and economic failure. Common characteristics of a failing state are when a central government is so weak or ineffective that it has little practical control over much of its territory, non-provision of public utilities or services, widespread corruption and criminality, refugees and involuntary movement of populations and sharp economic decline”. In the view of Rotberg [32, 4], failing states include “a broad continuum of states that are: inherently weak because of geographical, physical or fundamental economic constraints; basically strong, but temporarily weak because of internal antagonisms, management flaws, greed, despotism, or external attacks; and a mixture of the two. In weak or failed states, the ability to provide adequate measures of other political goods is diminished or diminishing, physical infrastructural networks have deteriorated. Schools and hospitals show signs of neglect, particularly outside the main cities. GDP per capital and other critical economic indicators have fallen or are falling, sometimes dramatically; levels of venal corruption are embarrassingly high and escalating. Failed states usually honour rule of law precepts in the breach and are often ruled by depots, elected or not”. This is the case with Nigeria, where economic, political and social dissatisfaction is rife.

Akpotor and Oromareghake (2013:75) describes a failed state as “a state which is unable to perform its legitimate functions, such as the maintenance of its territorial integrity, the security of its population and property, including the provision of basic pub-

lic services to its citizens, among others". According to Thurer, 1999 cited in Okeke and Oji [25, 420], failed states are "States in which institutions and law and order have totally or partially collapsed under the pressure and amidst the confusion of erupting violence, yet which subsist as a ghostly presence in the world map. The term 'failed state' should be understood to mean disintegrated or collapsed state". A collapsed state exhibits a vacuum of authority. It is a mere geographical expression, a black hole into which a failed polity has fallen. There is dark energy, but the forces of entropy have overwhelmed the radiance that hitherto provided some semblance of order and other vital political goods to the inhabitants (no longer the citizens) embraced by language or ethnic affinities or borders (Rotberg [32]).

A thorough examination of the extant literature shows that there is no consensus on the definition and characteristics of state failure. Scholars look at the phenomenon of state failure from different perspectives. In fact, most of these scholars have been subjected to criticism over their excessive obfuscation of the phenomenon (Conjanu & Popescu, 2007 cited Amaechi [5]). In the context of this study, state failure is invariably the product of a collapse of the power structures providing political supports for law and order, a process generally triggered and accompanied by anarchic forms of internal violence. It is the collapse of state institutions, especially the judiciary and police with resulting paralysis of governance, a breakdown of law and order and general banditry and chaos. Not only are the functions of government

suspended, but its assets are destroyed or looted and experienced officials are killed or flee the country. Therefore, a state can be said to have failed when the non-performance of the basic functions of the state leads to the emergence of armed opposition challenging the existing order and leading to the collapse of the structures of the state or a mass revolt resulting in the sacking of the government (Amaechi [5]).

It is believed in many quarters that there are a number of economic, political, social and military challenges associated with failed state. These set of challenges are seen as having a wide-range of negative implications for the citizens in particular and the neighbours, regions and international communities in general. This is no doubt one of the major reasons why the Economist, 2005 cited in Amaechi [5, 19] warned that "the chief reason why the world should worry about state failure is that it is contagious, hence the need to measure and check the level and effect of state failure. The attempt to measure the level of state failure is jeopardized by the lack of consensus on what really constitutes state failure. Thus, state failure must be understood to be an obstacle to the overall development of the state involved". Nation-state also fails once the state's capacity to secure itself or to perform in an expected manner recedes, and once what little capacity remains is devoted almost exclusively to the fortunes of a few or to a favoured ethnicity or community, there is every reason to expect less loyalty to the state on the part of the excluded and disenfranchised. Below is a tabular representation of the various perspectives from which state failure has been conceptualized.

Table 1.— Representing some Major Scholarly Characterization of State Failure

S/N	Scholar	Basis	Features of State Failure
1	2	3	4
1.	Helman & Ratner [11])	Humanitarian	Inability to maintain public order Chaos leading to the exodus of citizens to other countries
2.	Zartman [37]	Institutional	Non performance of the basic functions of the state. The structures, authority, law and political other have fallen apart and needs to be reconstructed in some form, old or new.

1	2	3	4
3.	Gross [9]	Institutional	Public authorities are either unable or unwilling to carry out their end of the social contract.
4.	Ignatieff [13]	Despotic	Loss of monopoly of the means of violence by the federal government Rise of several armed groups threatening to overthrow the state.
5.	Miliken & Krause [20]	Institutional	Inability to provide public goods. Extreme disintegration of state authority
6.	Rotbers [32]	Not specified	Persistent internal conflicts. Inability of the government to deliver political goods to its citizens. Loss of legitimacy. Growth of criminal violence. The state is bitterly contested by warring parties. Inability to control borders. The exercise of official power is limited to the capital city and some other major cities. Provision of only limited quantities of essential political goods. Privatization of effective educational and health systems. Corruption flourishes in an unusually destructive scale and there is kickbacks on anything that can be put to tender e.g. medical supplies, bridge roads, etc. Inability to provide adequate good especially during disaster periods. High rate of deteriorating or destroyed infrastructures. High rate of unparalleled economic opportunity. Exhibition of flawed institutions. That is only the institution of the executive functions of legislatures exist at all, they are rubber-stamping machines. There is no failed state without disharmonies between communities. Civil wars and other violent crimes usually stem from or have roots in ethnic, religious, linguistic, or other inter-communal enmity.
7.	Ottaway & Meier [29]	Not specified	Splitting of a country into different entities as one or more secessionist movements succeed in taking over part of a territory and from functioning news states. Annexation of part or all of the territory by a neighboring state. Disappearance of any central authority.
8.	The Fund for Peace (2010)	Not specified	Loss of physical control of its territory, or the monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force. Erosion of authority to make collective decision. Inability to provide reasonable public services Inability to interact with other states as full member of the international community.

1	2	3	4
9.	Failed State Index (2010)	Economic, Political, Social	Economic Indicators: Uneven economic development along group lines. Sharp and/ or severe economic decline Political Indicators Criminalization and/ or de-legitimization of the state. Progressive deterioration of public services Suspension or arbitrary application of the rule of law and wide-spread violation of human rights. Security apparatus operates as a state within a state. Rise of factionalized elites. Intervention of other states or external political actors. Social Indicators: Mounting demographic pressures. Massive movement of refugees or internally displaced persons creating complex humanitarian emergencies. Legacy of vengeance — seeking group grievance or group paranoia. Chronic and sustained human flight
10.	Okeke & Oji [25]	Not specified	Inability to provide adequate security, food water, electricity, health care and good roads.
11.	Okoro, Ufuomba Benjamin [26]	Not specified	Inability to ensure national prosperity. Sectarian conflict.
12.	Peterside [30]	Not specified	Feeble and flawed institutions like the police and judiciary. Poor performance by the executive as well as the legislature. Armed forces lost their capacity and professional independence. Crumbling infrastructures, faltering utility supplies in all sectors, deteriorating basic human — development indications such as high infant mortality, and illiteracy rates. Corruption flourishes Negative growth rates thrive. Inability to minimize internal conflict.
13.	Yagboyaju [36] & Akinola [3]	Not specified	Weak political leadership, corruption, conflicts and wars. Inability to eradicate impoverishment, engage in infrastructural development and stem the tides of insurgency and terrorism.

Source: Compiled by the researcher, 2020

Small Arms and Light Weapons

There is generally no universally accepted definition of small arms and light weapons (SALWs). Hence, scholars have conceptualized SALWs in different ways depending on the context in which it is

used. According to Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), 2017 cited in Peterside [30, 853], small arms are “those arms used by one person, and which include firearms and other destructive arms or devices such as exploding bombs,

incendiary bombs or gas bombs; grenades, rocket launchers, missiles, missile systems or landmines, revolvers and pistols with automatic loading, rifles and carbines, machine guns, assault rifles, and light machine guns. While light weapons are portable arms designed to be used by several persons working together in a team, and which include heavy machine guns, portable grenade launchers, mobile or mounted portable anti-aircraft missile launchers and mortars with a caliber of less than 100 millimeters". Similarly, the United Nations Panel on Small Arms (2015:1) refers to small arms as "revolvers and self-loading pistols, rifles and carbines, sub machine guns, assault rifles and light machine guns. While light weapons on the other hand include heavy machine guns, hand-held under barrel and mounted grenade launchers, portable anti-aircraft guns, portable anti-tank guns, recoilless rifles (sometimes mounted), portable launchers of anti-aircraft missile systems (sometimes mounted) and mortars of caliber less than 100mm".

From the foregoing, small arms and light weapons cover a wide range of weapons which are basically utilized for warfare and defense either acquired for legal or illegal purposes by state and non-state actors for security, local and private reasons. These reasons could be for safety, hunting, self-defense, crime and national security. Generally, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) around the world and particularly in Africa has over time developed at an alarming rate which has put development, security and stability of the entire Africa continent in jeopardy. This supports the assertions of Malam [18] who posits that the fundamental implication of SALWs accumulation and circulation is in its tendency to pave ground for higher risk of armed violence. The supply of arms stimulates violence instead of dialogue and has many undesirable effects. For instance, high level of armed violence hinder development, causes diversion of local resources, misuse of public funds and imposition of 'might is right'.

Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Nigeria

Nigeria is one of the frontline victims of prolonged internal strife occasioned by illicit arms proliferation. Perhaps, "gun possession by civilians in Nigeria is not new as it predates the colonial epoch. Guns are introduced by the Europeans prior to colonialism during legitimate and illegitimate (slave) trade between them and Africans. Subsequently, guns and other arms, ammunition and weapons were used by the Europeans to realize their imperial ambitions when they used force to suppress Africa's resistance to European incursion, conquest and colonialism. The gunboat diplomacy was popularly employed by the British to compel African chiefs to enter into various treaties with them. There was establishment of West African Frontier Force (WAFF) used by the British to execute the British — Aro War of 1901–1902 and other forms of resistance in Africa, West African and Nigeria in particular. The role of Royal Niger Company (RNC) later United African Company (UAC) backed by British government in using force to suppress dissenting communities is imperative" (Chuma-Okoro, 2011 cited in Okeke & Oji, [25, 421]. These arms and weapons possibly found their ways to the hands of Africans during the colonial epoch and were subsequently utilized for hunting and traditional festivities in the rural communities. Guns and gun power consequently became symbols of strength and power, and were exhibited at funeral, burials, ceremonies and customary festival among the natives.

In contemporary times, guns are longer just ornaments of prestige, or just for hunting, safari and expedition. Guns and other SALWs have undergone some transformation in terms of functionality, lethality, sophistication, ubiquity and motive behind ownership. They are now weapons used to perpetuate all forms of crime as opposed to their previous perceptions just ornaments of prestige, or utilized solely for hunting, safari and expedition. The 1959 Firearms Act was apparently passed to check or control the

alarming rate of arms proliferation Nigeria towards independence (Okeke & Oji [25]). The Nigerian police records after the civil war revealed a disturbing upsurge in occurrence of violent misconducts linked with small arms and light weapons (SALWs) as opposed the era before the war (Ogwuda [23]). Today, the proliferation of small and heavy arms littering everywhere in Nigeria especially in the Northern part of the country is an indication that the government of the day and the security agencies especially the Nigeria police and civil defense are in comatose.

In the view of Malam [18, 261], “the proliferation of arms in West Africa and Nigeria in particular could be attributed to a number of factors, prominent among them were the supply that were provided during the Cold War by the two opposing super powers, these arms were pumped to serve proxy inter-state conflicts. Massive flow of weapons from Central and Eastern Europe and the loosening control of arms industry as a result of the collapse of Soviet Union, following the end of the Cold War. These arms in circulation lost their way into the hands of illegal arms dealers, security entrepreneurs, ethnic militia groups, private military companies, and local smugglers thereby fueling on-going wars and facilitating the commencement of new ones in Africa. Also, the accelerated pace of globalization in the same era facilitated both legal and illegal cross-border transfers of these weapons, while a sudden upsurge in intra-state conflicts created an overwhelming demand for the small arms and light weapons (SALWs), thereby making them weapons of choice in majority of recent conflicts and in non-war settings such as sectarian violence (ethnic, religious and chieftaincy conflicts), suicides, murders, homicides and accidents”. More fundamentally, the Nigerian state is yet to deal with the demand factors of SALWs proliferation, preferring to dwell on the symptoms rather than the root causes. The demand factors are the root causes of SALWs proliferation, because if there is no demand, there will be no supply.

Nigeria is the source, transit and destination of SALWs and therefore the demand factors include mass

unemployment, poverty, corruption, excessive militarization and failure of political leadership, bad leadership, poor governance and state violence (Soetan [33]). Nigerian state has in the past decades witness increased violence and small arms circulation, its proliferation was attributed to the existence and stagnation of electoral injustice, ethnic bigotry and religious intolerance coupled with high level of poverty and acute youth unemployment. These key elements were viewed as basis upon which conflicts are fuel. Whereas, fractionalized political system, elite system, youth bulge, external support for local militia and easy access of aggrieved groups to surplus small arms and light weapons serve as triggers for violent conflicts in West Africa that killed hundreds of thousands of people, cost the international community billions of dollars and caused massive underdevelopment (Malam [18]; Abiodun, Ayo-Adeyekun, Onafowora & Nwannenaya [1]). The availability of small arms and light weapons plays “a role in perpetuating violence and making it more lethal at every level, from criminal activity to full-fledged war in both developed and developing nations and the mere presence of guns undermines alternative conflict resolution strategies” (Weis [15, 4]). In recent times, SALWs proliferation has led to an increase in violence crimes that undermine human security in Nigeria such as rape, cultism, armed robbery, kidnapping, armed banditry, oil bunkering, militancy, religious fundamentalism, vandalization, Boko Haram insurgency, cattle rustling amongst numerous others that thrive more with little or no counter check by the government. It is pertinent at this point to note that violent behaviour does not necessarily begin with arms, but it swells dramatically when arsenals are available, particularly in an already volatile environment endemic with poverty, mistrust, injustice and absence of governmental structures.

Is Nigeria a Failed State?

Over the years, there has been a recurrent and sustained argument that the Nigeria State like its counterparts in Africa and other developing countries of the world, under-performs due to lack of

state capacity to deal with the contemporary complexities of governance (Yagboyaju [36] & Akinola [3]). Thus, the issue of state capacity is central to understanding the Nigerian socio-economic malaise. Bayart [7] examined the African socio-political and economic realities, and attributes state's failures to Africa's historical heritage such as history of weak political leadership, corruption, conflicts and wars. Therefore, there is no controversy about the series of symptoms of state failure and state collapse in Africa, the point of debate remains the extent of state's incapacity displayed by the Nigeria State. Scholars such as Joseph Taylor and Agbaje [16] and Fagbadebo [8] have described Nigeria as an 'unfinished state' and as a 'truculent African tragedy' in the midst of abundant human and material resources which are propelled in the vicious cycle of poverty and autocracy. Efforts at building a democratic polity further entrapped it at the 'political cross-roads' (Kew [17]; Onaja 2014; Oko et al [26]). Thus, the foundations of institutional framework in Nigeria are very shaky and have provoked a deterioration of state governance and democratic accountability, therefore, paralyzing the existing formal and legitimate rules nested in the hierarchy of social order (Achumba, Ighomereho & Akpor Robaro [2]). This view is corroborated by Igbozor [12] who sees the state of insecurity in Nigeria as a function of government failure. This supports the assertion of Ogundiya (2010:204) who posits that "good governance is about the performance capacity of a government or as it relates to leadership capability. Failure of governance therefore, could expressly mean failure of leadership". This manifests in the inability or incapacity of the government to deliver public goods to its citizenry. The lack of basic necessities by the Nigerian people has created a growing army of frustrated people who resort to violence at the slightest provocation or opportunity.

Onifade, Imhonopi and Urim [27] affirm that Nigeria has the resources to provide for the needs of its people, the entrenched culture of corruption in public service has resulted in the dearth of basic

necessities, leading to what Hazen and Horner [10] called the 'paradox of plenty'. Similarly, Nigeria, according to Lubeck et al, 2007) cited in Amaechi [5, 20], is "a classic example of the 'paradox of plenty'. It has, by all accounts, amassed a large amount of money over the past four decades, largely through oil sales, but has failed to use this oil windfall to develop the infrastructure and economic of the country". The juxtaposition of government wealth and personal poverty has fuelled popular discontent, especially in oil producing areas, where there is little evidence of oil revenues being spent on development. Nigeria presents a veritable case for understanding the connection between corruption and political malaise. Today, the culture of corruption through what Nigeria has come to know as settlement syndrome became part of the country's political culture. All the positive values for development were jettisoned and governmental agencies that were the pilots of socio-economic and political development were decimated. Today, Nigeria's economic and political leadership is pervaded by corruption and abuse of office. Unconventional and fraudulent trade, misappropriation or diversion of funds, kickbacks, under and over invoicing, false declarations and collection of illegal tolls, among other malfeasant practices, are the forms that corruption takes in Nigeria. In the international system, Nigeria is rated as one of the most corrupt nations of the world, a ranking that has denied the country its pride of place in the international economic system (Transparency International, 2006 cited in Fagbadebo [8]). System corruption and low levels of accountability and transparency have been the major sources of development failure, bad governance and political instability in Nigeria.

In Nigeria, decades of efforts by both the military and civilian governments have yielded largely stagnation, regression or worse. The tragic consequences of this are increasingly clear: decaying public utilities and infrastructures, social tensions and political turmoil, weak and poorly funded military establishment, loss of socio-cultural and communal value sys-

tem, disconnection between the people and government, interagency rivalry, premonition of inevitable drive into conflict and violence, social unrest, acute unemployment, porous borders, rural-urban drift and rising tide of poverty among other challenges. Hazen and Horner [10] argue that these challenges are reinforced through greed-based behavior, poor institutional capacity and the complexities of addressing widespread organized crime and the general insecurity situation in the country. Nigeria is by all indications or indices a failed state — a state where nothing works. Even those ones that work in other countries once adopted that work in other countries once adopted in Nigeria refused to work (Okeke & Oji [25]). The Nigerian State has failed in three major areas: security of lives and properties, promotion of the rule of law and provision of visionary leadership (Yagboyaju [36] & Akinola [3]). In contrast, Nigeria may not yet be ascribed the label of a failed state, but it is right to describe it as a failing state having the features such as widespread violence and insecurity, poverty, unemployment, ethnicity, electoral malpractices and kidnapping (Akpotor & Oromareghake [4]). However, the rising spate of organized crime, acute youth unemployment and poverty, militancy, herdsmen banditry, ethno-religious violence, terrorism, communal clashes, human trafficking and drugs, cross-border banditry, ethnic competition for resources, pervasive corruption and profligacy, widespread malnourishment, executive lawlessness and leadership ineptitude, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and small arms and malfeasance practices among others in recent times qualify Nigeria as a failed state.

State Failure and Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Nigeria

When making case for reason why states fail, Mcloughlin [19] affirms that fragile or failed states are commonly described as incapable of assuring basic security, maintaining rule of law and justice, or providing basic services and economic opportunities for their citizens. They have been linked with a

range of transnational security threats and humanitarian concerns including mass migration, organized crime, violent conflict, communicable diseases, environmental degradation and terrorism. The failure of Nigeria government to implement a comprehensive disarmament and arms destruction programme after the civil war (1967–1970) intensified the proliferation of guns and illegal arms trafficking. It is axiomatic to posit that the increase inflow and usage of both small and lethal weapons by civilians is fallout of state failure. This is because response of state instrument of force is often times weak when hostilities occur in rural areas where governmental structures are scarcely available. Also, the porosity of the Nigerian borders which of course counts as the main source of inflow of illicit arms is a stern cause for concern. This shows the vulnerability of the Immigration and Custom services expected to man border lines.

According to Nte (2011) and Okafor, Okeke and Aniche [24] cited in Okeke and Oji [25], affirmed that there is excess politicization, state-sponsored violence and state proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) leading to political violence, electoral violence and other forms of violence. For instance, virtually all the law enforcement or security agencies are allowed to carry arms with exemption of few that are even lobbying to be allowed to carry arms, thus militarizing the society more. In fact, the Nigerian state was not been able to deal with demand factors because dealing with it means dealing with itself or stating by reforming itself. The political elite in the struggle or contest for political power has sacrificed everything in the name of politics including suppressing class consciousness and promoting ethno-religious class consciousness at the expense of class consciousness has resulted to the increasing demand for small arms and light weapons for executing ethno-religious violence, election and political violence, communal conflicts, sectarian violence, etc. The unemployed Nigeria youths both the educated and uneducated are made easy prey of fundamentalist idea by a small chunk of political and religious

elites. Thus, no doubt, colonialism and many years of military rule contributed to the excessive militarization of the Nigerian society and intensive political contest for the soul of the Nigerian state resulting to the rising demand for small arms and light weapons. Therefore, it is actually a product and a combination of many years of political leadership failure tilting the Nigerian State towards the status of a failed state.

A failed state lack the ability to minimize internal conflict as it cannot formulate and implement public policies to provide and deliver effective services to its citizens. It is characterized by economic, political and social failures. Hence, such state is no longer able to provide physical security, productive economic environment and stable political system for its citizenry (Peterside [30]). A state that is not able to deal with issues of political corruption, poverty, mass unemployment and economic hardship leading to increasing demand for small arms and light weapons (SALWs) is a failed state. These and many more have been the standard and still is the norm as witnessed in Nigeria — the proliferation and the use of SALWs in ethno — religious clashes and armed robbery have killed more than 100,000 Nigerians, an average of 10,000 people per year since 1999. In recent times, injuries due to SALWs have increased as much as tenfold in urban Nigeria because most homicides are committed using SALWs. The problems of armed violence and proliferation of SALWs are worsened by the inability of the police and other security agents to act proactively to reduce violent crimes, ensure law and order and provide adequate security for the populace. Today, none of the security agent currently possessed the training, resources or personnel to perform their duties effectively due to lengthy and porous nature of Nigerian borders. The inability of the security agents to bring suspects or those found guilty to book has always been a source of worry. All these indicate that Nigeria is a failed state. This support the assertion of Okeke and Oji [25]; Onoja (2014); Ogbu, Ereke, James and Yusufu [22]; Peterside [30]) and Yagboyaju [36] and Akinola [3] that the inability of the Nigerian State to

deal with the demand factors of SALWs heightens proliferation of SALWs worsened security situations in Nigeria, particularly the northern part of the country.

In addition, Rotberg [32] concluded that a failed state experiences persistent internal conflicts, has a growth of criminal violence and unusual prevalence rate of destructive corruption. In a book captioned, *failed states: The Abuse of Power and the Assault on Democracy*, Chomsky, 2001 cited in Amaechi [5, 20] listed three essential attributes leading to a failed state: “their inability or unwillingness to protect their citizens from violence and perhaps even destruction; their tendency to regard themselves as beyond the reach of domestic or international law, and hence free to carry out aggression and violence; and if they have democratic forms, they suffer from a serious democratic deficit’ that deprives their formal democratic institutions of real substance”.

The crude nature of Nigerian politics is one key factor driving the process of SALWs proliferation. Politics in Nigeria, especially electoral politics is defined and approaches by politicians as a do-or-die affair, or warfare. The stake in Nigerian politics is credibly high, making politician desperate in the struggle to win elective positions. As a result, many of them recruit ‘specialists of violence’ — thugs, gangs and cultists to attain and retain political power (Onuoha [24]). Failure to provide basic needs of life, effective and justly sharing of resources and ensuring human security were also responsible for the explosion of SALWs and escalation of violence in Nigeria. The mismanagement of public resources as well as abuse of public trust resulted in far reaching and devastating impact ensuring rising poverty level, high rate of unemployment, poor/failed delivery of basic services and high rate of insecurity. Due to frustration and deprivation, many of the youths taken to criminal activities such as piracy, armed robbery, kidnapping, human trafficking, militancy, banditry and terrorism which contribute to the demand side SALWs penetration and circulation in Nigeria (Malam [18]). Today, the Federal Government of Nigeria can-

not estimate the amount of SALMs in the country. Some of the factors that contribute to proliferation of SALWs include poverty, economic disparity, police presence, ethno-religious diversity, the quest for easy profits, self-defense reflex, rise in crime, cultural practices, greed, porous borders, inadequate border protection, etc. The motivation for SALWs possession and proliferation in Nigeria include military activities, multiplicity of conflicts and personal security arrange, insecurity, privatization of security and the quest for political power (John, Mohammed, Pinto & Nkanta [15]; Soetan 2017).

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of analysis adopted in this study is the state failure theory. Underscoring situations that warrant recourse to arms, often times, is understand from the perspective of state failure. This becomes valid when claim to state as having the sole monopoly of violence is nullified by the increase in the possession of not just SALWs, but sophisticated weapons by individuals. Arms proliferation is orchestrated by the conviction that state can no longer guarantee the fundamental duty of ensuring the security, interests and welfare of its citizens when violent attacks become imminent and / or when the need needs of the people becomes inevitable. Arising from the above, the state failure theory is apt in justifying the rising trend in SALWs proliferation and armed banditry in Nigeria. Applying the above conceptions of failed state to this discourse, it is assumed that the Nigerian state has not been able to cater for the fundamental duty upon which it was founded just like every other modern state. It thus presents itself as a breeding ground for proliferation of SALWs and armed banditry. Other reasons that seemingly account for pervasive SALWs proliferation in Nigeria are not unconnected to conspiracy and collusion between arms dealers and the state that perfect occasions of unbridled carnage for their personal gains. For example, it is assumed that Dasuki, a former National Security Adviser to President Goodluck Ebere Jonathan diverted resources to the tune of 2.1 billion dollars meant for fighting the

Boko Haram Insurgency for political campaigns before the 2015 general elections (Ogbu et al [22]). Also if not for the obvious failure of the state security institutions, how can one explain the persistent instances of the Fulani herdsmen who are armed to the tooth when farmers/herders hostility surfaces other than collusion with the state apparatus? In the analysis, the relevance of the state failure theory is based on its ability to justify how state failure plays a great and significant role in proliferation of SALWs in Nigeria.

In line with the literature review, the following objectives and null hypotheses were formulated for the study.

Objectives of the Study

- i. To examine the relationship between state failure and proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) in Nigeria.
- ii. To investigate the effect of state failure on proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) in Nigeria.

Hypotheses of the Study

H_1 : There is no significant relationship between state failure and proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) in Nigeria

H_2 : State failure does not have a significant effect on proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) in Nigeria.

Methodology

This adopted a cross-sectional design and data was collected via a survey of 300 respondents in South — South geopolitical zone of Nigeria using non-probabilistic sampling techniques comprising of purposeful and convenience sampling techniques. The research instrument used for the study was the structured questionnaire. Out of the 300 copies of questionnaire administered, 233 were retrieved and analyzed given a response rate of 77.7%. Out of the 233 respondents, 89 were female and 144 were male. The items of measurement were rated on 5-points liker type scale which ranks responses on a scale of (1) strongly disagreed to (5) strongly agreed. Data collected were analyzed using correlation and linear

regression analysis with the aid Statistical Package of Social Science (SPSS) version 23.

Table 2. – Distribution of Questionnaire and Response Rate

S/N	South – South States	Questionnaire Distributed	Questionnaire Retrieved	Percentage Retrieved
1.	Delta	50	47	15.7
2.	Rivers	50	33	11
3.	Bayelsa	50	42	14
4.	Edo	50	36	12
5.	Akwa Ibom	50	43	14.3
6.	Cross Rivers	50	32	10.7
	Total	300	233	77.7

Reliability and Validity of Instrument

The reliability was established through a trial test conducted on 50 respondents in Delta State who

also took part in the study. Cronbach Alpha method was used to establish the internal consistency of the instrument as shown in the table below.

Table 3. – Reliability Statistics of Variable

Scale	Number of Item	Cronbach's Alpha
State Failure	11	0.693
Proliferation of SALWs	8	0.746

Source: From the Questionnaire Administered, 2020

The result yielded a coefficient of 0.693 and 0.746, which satisfied the general recommended level of 0.70 for the research indicators (Cronbach, 1951). Experts in social sciences also judged the face and content validity of the questionnaire as adequate. Hence, researcher satisfied both the reliability and validity of the scale.

Results

Table 3 shows the correlation between state failure and proliferation of small arms and light weapons

(SALWs) in Nigeria. There exists a significant positive high correlation between state failure and proliferation of SALWs ($r = 0.647$, $n = 233$, & $p < 0.05$). This implies that state failure has a strong and positive relationship with proliferation of SALWs in Nigeria. This is widely supported by the views of Okeke and Oji [25]; Onoja (2014); Ogbu et al (2017), Peterside [30] and Yagboyaju [36] and Akinola [3]. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected.

Table 4. – Correlation Matric

Variables		State Failure	Proliferation of SALWs
State Failure	Pearson Correlation	1	647**
	Sig. (2 – tailed)		0.002
	N	233	233
Proliferation of SALWs	Pearson Correlation	647**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.002	
	N	233	233

**Correlation is significant at 0.05 levels (2-tailed)

Source: Author's Computation, 2020

Linear Regression Analysis

Table 5. – Model Summary^b

Model	R	R-Square	Adjusted R-Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	0.571	0.539	0.4783	0.225

Predictors: (constant), State failure

b. Dependent Variable: Proliferation of SALWs

Table 5. – ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Square	Df	Mean	F	D.W	Sign.	Remark
1	Regression	13.593	2	5.007	17.210	1.923	0.000 ^b	Sign.
	Residual	7.811	229	0.245				
Total		21.404	231					

Dependent Variable: Proliferation of SALWs

b. Predictors (Constant), State Failure

Source: Field Survey, 2020

The linear regression shows (R^2) value of 0.539 which revealed that state failure independently account for 53.9% of the variation in proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) in Nigeria. This implies that state failure exerts a positive and statistically significant effect on proliferation of SALWs in Nigeria. The F. Statistics of 17.210 reveals that the model is statistically significant at 0.05 significant levels. The Durbin – Wastson statistics which is 1.923 implies absence of serial autocorrelation in the regression analysis and the model can be relied upon in making policies related to the subject matter. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected.

Discussion

The results among others showed that there is a positive and strong relationship between state failure and proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALMs) in Nigeria. As predicted, the study also revealed that state failure exerts a positive and statistically significant effect on proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) in Nigeria. The finding is in agreement with Okeke and Oji [25]; Onoja (2014); Amaechi [5]; Ogbu et al. (2017); Peterside [30]) and Yagboyaju [36] and Akinola [3] views that the inability of the Nigerian State to deal with demand

factors of SALWs heightens the proliferation of small arms and light weapons and the inability of the law enforcement agencies to check the supply factors of SALWs worsened security situations in Nigeria, particularly the northern part of the country. In Nigeria today, the rate of accumulation of SALWs is increasing and becoming endemic as various forms of violence and casualties are in the recent times recorded in the Northern part of Nigeria. The proliferation of SALWs has a destabilizing effect. There is lack of capacity and strong legal or effective institutional frameworks to regulate SALWs and combat the phenomenon of SALWs proliferation in Nigeria, particularly in the Northern part of the country.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The study has revealed through its perceived findings that state failure has a strong and positive effect on proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Nigeria. Also, the relationship between state failure and proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) was confirmed. In conclusion, the conditions which state failure scholars outlined as being the indicators of state failure are fully present in Nigeria's today. Leadership is, no doubt, a key factor in the whole gamut of public administration and the management of societal

affairs. In the light of this, Nigeria's lack of capacity in terms of the attainment of effective governance that addresses the issues of corruption, human rights and mobilization of human and material resources for sustainable development is generally traced to leadership failure. Thus, leadership failure is one of the strongest foundations of state incapacity in Nigeria. Based on the empirical and theoretical findings of this study, the following policy recommendations are made:

1. Nigeria government should strive to eliminate corruption, enhance genuine development, progress and growth, and improve the well-being and quality of life of every citizen.

2. There is need for a strong political leadership development measures. Such a strong political lead-

ership that will address the issue of corruption which is the root of underdevelopment in Nigeria. In the absence of corruption among public office holders, infrastructural development and other social welfare services will be improved.

3. The government of the day and the law enforcement agencies should be proactive in dealing with the demand factors of SALWs that heightens the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Nigeria.

4. The civil society groups should be more challenging the obnoxious policies of the government. This could help enthrone genuine democracy based on the people's cultural values which contain what has been described as the universal of democracy.

References:

1. Abiodun T. F., Ayo-Adeyekun I. Onafowora O. & Nwannenaya C. Small arms and light weapons proliferation and its threats to Nigeria's internal security. *International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research*, 6(3), 2018. – P. 34–45.
2. Achumba I. C., Ighomereho O. S. & Akpor-Oboro M. O. M. Security challenges in Nigeria and the implications for business activities and sustainable development. *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, 4(2), 2013. – P. 79–99.
3. Akinola A. O. Socio-economic reforms and the future of Nigerian State. *International Review of Politics and Development*, 6, 2008. – P. 1 254–1268.
4. Akpotor A. S. & Oromarehake P. O. Terrorism and insecurity in the Nigerian State: The challenges. In O. Mbachu and U. M. Bature (eds.). *Internal security management in Nigeria: A study in terrorism and counter-terrorism*. Kaduna: Medusa Academic Publishers. 2013.
5. Amaechi L. N. Failed State and the challenges of economic development in Nigeria. *University of Nigerian Journal of Political Science*, 10 (1), 2017. – P. 18–32.
6. Anyanwu U. Failed States in Africa. The Nigerian case since 1960. *American Journal of International Politics and Development Studies*, 1(1), 2005. – P. 18–31.
7. Bayart J. F. *The state in Africa: The politics of the belly*. Oxford: Polity Press. 2009
8. Fagbadebo O. Corruption, governance and political instability in Nigeria. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 1 (2), 2007. – P. 28–37.
9. Gross A. *Arms proliferation and human security: The role of state*. Carleton: Carleton University Press. 1996.
10. Hazen J. M. & Horner J. Small arms, armed violence and insecurity in Nigeria. *The Niger Delta in perspective*. Switzerland: Small Arms Survey. 2007.
11. Helman G. & Ratner R. Saving failed states. *Foreign Policy*, 89, 1993. – P. 16–29.
12. Igbuzor O. Peace and security education: A critical factor for sustainable peace and national development. *International Journal of Peace and Development Studies*, 2(1), 2011. – P. 1–7.

13. Ignatieff M. Intervention and state failure. *Dissent*: Winter. 2002.
14. Jacob D. G., Ishaya J., & Ado D. M. Small arms and light weapons proliferation and insecurity in Nigeria: Nexus and implications for national security. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 24 (2), 2019. – P. 34–39.
15. John I. A., Muhammed A. Z., Pinto A. D., & Nkanta C. A. Gun violence in Nigeria: A focus on ethno-religious conflict in Kano. *Journal of Public Health Policy*, 28, 2007. – P. 420–431.
16. Joseph R. S., Taylor A., & Agbaje A. Nigeria. In K. Mark, K. Joel and W. Joseph (eds.) *Comparative politics at the crossroads*. Lexington, DC: Heath and Company. 1996.
17. Kew D. Nigeria. In T. Sanja (ed.). *Countries at the crossroads*. – New York: Freedom House. 2006.
18. Malam B. Small arms and light weapons proliferation and its implication for West African regional security. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 4(8), 2014. – P. 260–269.
19. McLoughlin C. *Topic guide on fragile state*. United States: University of Birmingham Press. 2012.
20. Miliken M. & Krause E. *Addressing the challenges of failed states*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2003.
21. Nte N. D. The changing patterns of small and light weapons (SALWs) proliferation and the challenges of national security in Nigeria. *Global Journal of Africa Studies*, 1(1). 2011. – P. 5–23.
22. Ogbu C. Ereke E., James J. & Yusufu A. Z. Arms proliferation and armed banditry in Nigeria: Challenges and prospects for sustainable development. *Studies in Politics and Society*, 5 (1), 2017. – P. 18–31.
23. Ogwuda E. G. Towards prevention of unlawful proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Nigeria. *International Journal of Law*, 4(4), 2018. – P. 70–80.
24. Okafor J. C., Okeke V. O. S., & Aniche E. T. Power struggles, political contest and ethno-religious violence in Nigeria. *Nnamdi Azikiwe Journal of Political Science*, 22 (2), 2012. – P. 61–83.
25. Okeke V. O. S., & Oji R. O. The Nigerian state and the proliferation of small arm and light weapons in the Northern part of Nigeria. *Journal of Educational and Social Research*, 4(1), 2014. – P. 415–428.
26. Oko E. Ufomba H. & Benjamin W. Is Nigeria a failed state? A commentary on the Boko Haram insurgency. *Global Journal of Human Social Science*, 18 (5), 2018. – P. 35–38.
27. Onifade C. Imhonopi D., & Urim U. M. Addressing the insecurity challenge in Nigeria: The imperative of moral values and virtue ethnics. *Global Journal of Human Social Science*, 13(2), 2013. – P. 53–63.
28. Onoja A. F. In search of the causes of insecurity in Nigeria. A note on administrations and their agendas. *Journal of Conflictology*, 5(1), 2014. – P. 33–42.
29. Ottaway M. & Meier S. *States at risk and failed states: putting security first*. London: GIISAPO publishers. 2004.
30. Peterside Z. B. The impacts of proliferation of small arms and light weapons on the quest for national security in Nigeria. *Saudi Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 3(7), 2018. – P. 852–860.
31. Rotberg R. I. The new nature of nation – state failure. *Washington Quarterly*, 25 (3), 2002. – P. 85–96.
32. Rotberg R. I. *State failure and state weakness in a time of terror*. Washington, D. C. Brooking Institute Press. 2003.
33. Soetan S. O. Proliferation of arms and security challenges in Nigeria. *International Journal of History and Cultural Studies*, 3(3), 2017. – P. 33–38.
34. United Nations Panel (2015). *Transforming our World: The 2030 agenda for sustainable development resolution 70/1 of 25 September*, A/RES/70/1.

35. Weis T. A demand – side approach to fighting small arms proliferation. *Africa Security Review*, 12 (2), 2003. – P. 18–25.
36. Yagboyaju D. A., & Akinola A. O. *Nigerian State and the crisis of governance: A critical exposition*, SAGE Open, July – September, 1–10. 2019.
37. Zartman Z. *Security studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1995.

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-165-170>

*Tsyrfya Iuliia Anatolievna,
Ph.D. in Political Science, Assistant Professor
of the Chair of International Regional Studies
of the Institute of International Relations
of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Ukraine
E-mail: Julia_Tsyrfya@ukr.net*

CONSTRUCTION OF THE FOREIGN POLICY IDENTITY OF THE STATE: THE INFLUENCE OF NATIONALISTIC APPROACHES

Abstract. The article considers the issues of constructing the foreign policy identity of the state as a key actor in the modern international relations under the influence of nationalistic trends. Despite the significant role of the nationalism and nations in the development of states in the modern world, the nationalism is determined to be predominantly an instrument for mobilizing societies by the authorities or the latter's discourse.

Keywords: foreign policy identity, state, nation, nationalism, society, culture.

*Цырфа Юлия Анатольевна,
кандидат политических наук, ассистент кафедры
международного регионоведения Института международных отношений
Киевского национального университета имени Тараса Шевченко, Украина
E-mail: Julia_Tsyrfya@ukr.net*

КОНСТРУИРОВАНИЕ ВНЕШНЕПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ ГОСУДАРСТВА: ВЛИЯНИЕ НАЦИОНАЛИСТИЧЕСКИХ ПОДХОДОВ

Аннотация. Рассмотрены вопросы конструирования внешнеполитической идентичности государства как ключевого актора современных международных отношений под влиянием националистических течений. Несмотря на значительную роль национализма и наций в развитии государств, определено, что национализм в современном мире является в большей мере инструментом для мобилизации социумов со стороны власти или ее дискурсом.

Ключевые слова: внешнеполитическая идентичность, государство, нация, национализм, социум, культура.

В условиях постмодерного развития международных отношений и государств как их ключевых акторов, вопросы формирования внешнеполитических идентичностей последних часто остаются открытыми, ведь изначально требуют

определения базовых идентитетов, на основе которых становится возможным конструирование этих политико-социальных феноменов. Поэтому во внимание должны приниматься все имеющиеся научные подходы и, прежде всего, дискурсы,

которые выделяют степень вовлечения социумов государств в процессы выстраивания их внешне-политических идентичностей.

По мнению В. Коннора, существование внешне-политической идентичности государственного актора прежде всего опирается не на имеющиеся факты ее наличия, а на ее восприятие со стороны населения; не на хронологическую, фактическую историю ее развития, а на прожитую историю, которую может прочувствовать общество [3, 45]. Соответственно, психологические элементы внешне-политической идентичности кажутся особенно важными в контексте формирования государственности и нации. Более того, В. Коннор делает упор на множественность измерений категории «нация» и наличие множественных процессов идентификации в рамках национальных групп, являющихся результатом действия упомянутых психологических элементов. Как следствие, в рамках отдельных сообществ возникают ощущения существования категорий «Мы» и «Они», а самосознание индивидов (которое воспринимается как *sine qua non* формирования нации) начинает охватывать знания в отношении лиц, которые не являются членами определенной уникальной группы [3, 48]. Поэтому можем констатировать, что в рамках данного подхода лояльное отношение человека к собственной нации предшествует формированию его благосклонного отношения к государству. Однако, лояльность к собственному государству базируется на идее нации, которая нацелена на самоопределение индивида или группы благодаря политизации идентичности и установлении его/ее принадлежности к политическому образованию. Таким образом, категории нации и национализма все еще должны появляться в современных интерпретациях построения внешне-политической идентичности государства.

Согласно позиции Э. Геллнера, процесс формирования нации напрямую зависит от возможности политических и интеллектуальных элит распространять единые культурные каноны на все

население государства благодаря национальной системе образования [5, 8]. В таком случае все индивиды, принадлежащие к определенной нации, практически теряют возможность социального маневра для выполнения ряда социальных ролей. Поэтому важнейшим элементом данного процесса может считаться воля к формированию отдельной политической единицы. Культурная дифференциация, которая предусматривает наличие социальной стратификации высшего класса или руководителей страны и остального населения, по мнению Э. Геллнера, скорее всего может стать основой для дальнейшей мобилизации общества в ходе его самоопределения и, следовательно, образования собственного государства [5, 9–10]. Итак, для Э. Геллнера национализм предстает в виде специфического политического принципа, который предусматривает, что политические и национальные образования должны развиваться гармонично [4, 47]. Поэтому можем согласиться с распространенным восприятием национализма как политического движения, стремящегося к государственной власти или уже осуществляющего ее, адвокатируя подобные действия с помощью националистической аргументации [2, 6].

Однако, по нашему мнению, в современном мире идентичность отдельных индивидов и обществ конструируется не только благодаря имеющейся в государстве системе образования и культурным нормам, но и на фоне появления медийно-коммуникативного пространства, в рамках которого наиболее полным образом раскрывается идея единства сообщества, его общие ценности и коллективное сознание, что, в конце концов, приводит к гомогенизации населения. В таком случае феномен нации можно трактовать как сконструированный миф, который применяется для классификации отдельных групп населения и объединения людей в пределах определенного политического образования – государства, – которое, в свою очередь, может прибегнуть к националистической идеологии для снижения уровня

этнической напряженности или, наоборот, обострения социальных антагонизмов.

В данном контексте следует обратиться к работам Б. Андерсона, который рассматривает нации как «воображаемые сообщества», поскольку «члены даже самой маленькой нации никогда не будут знать большинства своих визави, никогда не встретятся с ними или даже не услышат о них, хотя в сознании каждого индивида всегда будет жить образ их единого сообщества» [1, 5–6]. Однако Б. Андерсон также подчеркивает, что каждое государство, разрабатывая свою национальную политику, часто прибегает к использованию как национального энтузиазма народа, так и систематических спекуляций на тему националистических настроений в СМИ, системе образования, администрировании и т.д. [1, 113–114]. Поэтому можно утверждать, что каждая конкретная нация имеет собственные представления о национализме и его понимание, базирующиеся на доступных обществу фактах, материалах и его истории. Соответственно, для выработки национального сознания, определения целей и формирования собственных «Я» люди должны идентифицировать имеющихся «Других» – индивидов или сообщества, которым присущи видимые различия и, следовательно, они могут считаться отдельными и обособленными от их собственных «Я». В данном процессе построения «инаковости» и *de facto* конструирования коллективной идентичности социума медийные структуры, интеллигенция и система образования (которые способны распространять националистические настроения) играют передовую роль, усиливая среди представителей населения ощущение принадлежности и лояльности к внутренней и внешней политике государства.

В свою очередь, важное для конструирования идентичности населения государства национальное сознание, которое формируется благодаря применению социальной инженерии и выработке общих традиций, является обязательным элементом

появления наций и национализма с точки зрения Э. Хобсбаума. Он, в частности, подчеркивает, что национализм в своей основе является фиктивной идеологией, которая помогает создать искусственное сознание, легитимизирующее определенный общественный строй. Поэтому исследователь категоризирует концепт так называемого «народного протонационализма», с помощью которого стремится определить общие признаки общественных групп, благодаря которым отдельные индивиды создают эти сообщества или вырабатывают чувство принадлежности к ним [7, 77]. Среди общих признаков и символов, которые влияют на процесс конструирования национальной идентичности, он выделяет наличие нации, общих мифов, исторической памяти и этнической культуры. Тем не менее, в отличие от Э. Смита, применяющего данные концепты и символы в процессе трактования уникальности культуры и судьбы этнической общности и ее идентичности, Э. Хобсбаум использует их для выявления вымышленной, сконструированной природы нации и национализма. Ученый отмечает, что феномен протонационализма не обязательно связан с определенной единицей территориальной политической организации, являющейся необходимым критерием для формирования типичного представления о нации, ведь на современном этапе развития человечества именно государство представляет собой тот механизм, который мобилизует протонационалистические символы и чувства [7, 47]: сейчас не нации образуют государства и выстраивают националистические дискурсы – все происходит наоборот [7, 10]. Иными словами, протонационалистические сообщества не нацелены на создание суверенных государств, поскольку эта миссия лежит в основе существования постмодерного политического национализма [11, 27].

Эти процессы требуют наличия структурированного набора политических и социальных интеракций, которые происходят благодаря существованию общих ценностей и идентичности населения [8, 6]. В этом ключе стоит отметить,

что национализм и национальная идентичность являются наиболее эффективными инструментами, которые могут применяться внутри обществ и для налаживания связей между ними как в конструктивном, так и в деструктивном контекстах. Любая идентичность обеспечивает наличие чувств фрагментации и солидарности. Поскольку она позволяет создать и поддерживать ощущение принадлежности и одновременно предоставляет людям возможность выработки собственной аутентичности, поддержания исторической непрерывности и обеспечения укорененности на определенной территории, национализм можно воспринимать как конструктивный фактор развития общества. Тем не менее, он может иметь и деструктивное влияние на его развитие, поскольку способен обострять видимые различия между отдельными группами населения и, следовательно, становиться причиной развития конфликтов.

Сущность феномена национализма и категории идентичности часто трансформируется под действием политических, экономических и социальных сдвигов, вызванных внутри- и внешнеполитическим развитием государств. Национализм стал использоваться как мощный политический инструмент после Великой французской революции (1789–1799 годы), поскольку позволил странам урегулировать отношения в рамках вечного треугольника «государство – нация – народ» и, соответственно, стандартизировать и гомогенизировать развитие их обществ. Как следствие, национализм как таковой все чаще стал связываться с патриотизмом, а значение его первичной этнической природы значительно уменьшилось. Более того, сейчас существуют нации и государства, которые не имеют этнического прошлого, ведь сформированы на фоне взаимодействия разнородных этнических групп – Великобритания, США, Франция и др. В этом смысле следует говорить о наличии двух основных типов национализма – так называемых этнического и территориального/гражданского национализмов

[12, 82–83]. Учитывая различия этих двух путей понимания нации и национализма, следует заметить, что категоризация национализма и национальной идентичности имела разные измерения, интерпретации и контексты в течение различных исторических периодов. Хотя, национализм все еще остается важным предметом политической дискуссии как среди наций и государств, так и в пределах отдельных обществ.

Основной причиной данной тенденции можно считать перманентную натурализацию, интернализацию и политизацию национализма в рамках социумов. Соответственно, он выступает в роли практик, опыта и интеллектуальных технологических форм, которые способны конструировать идентичность индивида с помощью его субъективизации и выработки отношения к собственному «Я» и значимых для него «Других» [10, 129–131]. Поэтому поиск идентичности требует постоянной дискуссии и оценки отношений между индивидом и обществом [6, 127]. В данном контексте треугольник отношений «государство – нация – народ» выходит на передний план, поскольку именно его развитие первично определяло роль национализма как аппарата рассредоточения государственной власти в процессе налаживания отношений между государством и обществом. Действительно, государство обладает способностью удерживать гегемонию в отношениях с гражданским обществом и гомогенизировать социум в соответствии с ведущей в стране идеологией: как следствие, обращение к категориям культуры, идеологии, классового расслоения или постмодерного развития сейчас часто превращается в препятствие становлению этих гегемонических отношений между политической единицей и социумом [2, 1–24] (то есть, между группой, которая выработала доминантную идентичность, и остальными социальными коллективами), предусматривающих установление господствующего общественного порядка и распространение государственной идеологии среди всего населения страны.

В свете упомянутых властных отношений, можно надеяться на успешность националистической идеологии только в случае ее восприятия и внедрения как политической категории, учитывающей значимость построения и поддержания идентичности населения. Политизация данного концепта предполагает первоочередное включение в его содержание категорий суверенитета и территориальной целостности государства, а также его признание на международной арене со стороны других акторов международных отношений. Следовательно, обращение к общим политическим и экономическим интересам играет чрезвычайно важную роль для эффективного внедрения националистических идей в общественную среду государства. Хотя, в данном смысле стоит отметить, что природа такой националистической мобилизации социума всегда остается под вопросом.

Так, по мнению Э. Геллнера, достаточно трудно представить, что несколько крупных, политически жизнеспособных, независимо существующих культур способны сосуществовать под эгидой единого политического центра, в равной степени доверяя ему поддержание и эксплуатацию их достижений на основе идеального или хотя бы до определенной степени адекватного непредвзятого отношения к ним [5, 114]. В связи с этим, можно утверждать, что одна из культур всегда играет ключевую роль при выработке

идентичности определенного общества. Именно эта культура распространяется в пределах всего социума, определяет его развитие и нуждается в поддержке и гомогенизации со стороны государства. Она может быть выражением как националистических идей, так и национальных интересов государства, увеличивая важность процесса политизации национального сознания. Наличие политического сознания современных обществ – одно из важных условий обеспечения деятельности нации на международной арене.

Соответственно, социальные идентичности, произведенные на основе националистических идеалов, в современном мире уступают коллективным идентичностям, сконструированным на фоне политических принципов и интересов: последние нивелируют значение персональных, групповых и даже национальных идентичностей, напрямую причисляя индивидов к населению государства и его общей идентичности. Поскольку эта идентичность имеет политико-социальную природу, именно она может служить основой для конструирования внешнеполитической идентичности государственного актора и ее дальнейшего утверждения на международной арене. В то же время, национализм должен трактоваться вне его объективного или субъективного, политического или культурного восприятия [9, 160–161]: в современном мире этот феномен должен рассматриваться как отдельный дискурс.

References:

1. Anderson B. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. – London: Verso, 1991. – 240 p.
2. Breuilly J. *Nationalism and the State*. – Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. – 482 p.
3. Connor W. The Timelessness of Nations // *Nations and Nationalism*. 2004. – № 10(1/2). – P. 35–48.
4. Gellner E. *Nationalism and Modernity* // In Spencer P., Wollman H. (eds.) *Nations and Nationalism: A Reader*. – Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005. – P. 40–47.
5. Gellner E. *Nations and Nationalism*. – Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006. – 208 p.
6. Guibernau M. *Nationalisms: The Nation-State and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*. – Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996. – 184 p.
7. Hobsbawm E.J. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. – 206 p.

8. Keating M. Nations against the State: The New Politics of Nationalism in Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland.– 2nd ed.– Hampshire: Palgrave Publishers, 2001.– 273 p.
9. Özkırımlı U. Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction.– 2nd ed.– Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.– 272 p.
10. Rose N. Identity, Genealogy, History // In Hall S., Du Gay P. (eds) Questions of Cultural Identity.– London: Sage, 1996.– P. 128–150.
11. Smith A. D. Interpretations of National Identity // In Dieckhoff A., Gutierrez N. (eds.) Modern Roots: Studies of National Identity.– Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.– P. 21–42.
12. Smith A. D. National Identity.– London: Penguin Books, 1991.– 236 p.

Section 9. Religious studies

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-171-178>

Shoki Nemoto,
Mercersburg Academy (PA, U.S.A.)
E-mail: shokinemoto@gmail.com

JERUSALEM: HOW IT BECAME THE CROWN OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY

Abstract. This paper examines the historical foundations that contributed to Islam's association with the City of Jerusalem through a multi-faceted approach, which incorporates other Abrahamic faiths' traditions surrounding the Holy City. In particular, this paper focuses on an analysis of events, primary sources, and traditions of the Dome of the Rock of early Islam from a secular standpoint, for the purpose of demonstrating the effects the competitive political environment of early Islam had on the formation of Islam's core identity, values, and ties to the City of Jerusalem. The paper further demonstrates the general significance of a symbolic location in many religions as can be seen from the history as well as the modern-day conflicts regarding Jerusalem.

Keywords: Jerusalem, Dome of the Rock, early Islam, *Mi'rāj*, *al-Isla*, Abrahamic faith.

Introduction

In the year 638, Islam captured the city of Jerusalem (Armstrong [1, 228]). The city was a symbol of power and dominance for the Muslims and its holiness was more or less established through political maneuvers upon the foundations laid by early Islam leaders. Most notably, Caliph al-Malik showcased the prowess of his theocratic society through the commission of the Dome of the Rock in order to compete against the established religions of Christianity and Judaism (237). This could explain why when Umar paid the visit to the city of Jerusalem in 638, he did not build his mosque on the rock, (230–231) but 50 years later in 688, Caliph al-Malik commissioned the Dome of the Rock on the Rock. Malik was said to have commissioned the Dome of the Rock to challenge the Dome of the Anastasis on the Western Hill and the extraordinary Church

of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives. But the rock had not yet been definitely linked with *Mi'rāj* or *al-Isla* in 688, and had 'Abd al-Malik intended to commemorate the *mi'rāj*, he would have inscribed appropriate verses from the Qur'an somewhere in the shrine (237). It may be inferred, then, that the *Mi'rāj* was in later times associated with the Night Journey to justify the location and strengthen the holiness of the Dome of the Rock, and by which to legitimize Islamic presence in the city (217–244). In the following paper, I will explore several of the different traditions that came to be associated with Islam's view of the holiness of the city generally and the Dome of the Rock specifically.

History of early Islam in Jerusalem

In the year 610, Muhammad started to receive revelations from Allah. These revelations would eventually be written down and collected into what is known as

the Qur'an (Armstrong [1, 217]). In 620, the Prophet was said to have traveled to Jerusalem with angel Gabriel on a winged horse named Burāq. He ascended to the divine Throne in the *al-mi'rāj* by climbing up a ladder extended from the Temple Mount (224). In 622, Muhammad and his followers were forced to leave Mecca to flee from persecution by Meccan aristocracy and they traveled to the settlement of Yathrib in an event called *hijrah*, which marks the beginning of the Muslim era (219). Muhammad instructed his *ummah* to respect the *ahl al-kitāb* and pray toward Jerusalem. He quickly altered the *qiblah* back towards Mecca in 624, however, upon accepting the fact that the Jewish tribes of Yathrib would never accept his belief (220–223). In 630, Mecca voluntarily surrendered to Muhammad and Islam took control of the city and Muhammad passed away almost two years later on 6 June 632 (226).

On the 20 August of 636, the Muslims defeated the Byzantine armies at the battle of Yarmuk. With the help from the Jews, the Muslims subjugated Palestine and by July 637 the Muslim army was outside of Jerusalem. The Christian patriarch Sophronius attempted to defend Jerusalem from Muslims in vain and the city was forced to surrender by February in 638 (Armstrong [1, 228]). While a Muslim source tells a different story, most scholars believe that 'Umar came to Jerusalem to receive its surrender. The Christians were not forced to convert to Islam and Caliph 'Umar did not kill, nor expel, nor destroy any Christian property (228). Sophronius took 'Umar to see the holy places at the caliph's request and the patriarch took him straight to the Church of the Anastasis. The Caliph refused to pray in the Church when the time for Muslim prayer came around, citing that the church would be lost to the Christians if he did. 'Umar ensured that no mosque would be built there and his policy extended to Nea Church, which had been dedicated to the Virgin Mary about a century earlier (228–229).

The Muslims yearned to see the famous Temple of Solomon and they also needed a place to build a mosque without annexing Christian property. The

entourage eventually reached the Temple Mount. The Christians had used the Temple Mount, a place of worship for the Jews, as the city's rubbish dump (Armstrong [1, 229]). 'Umar did not pay much attention the rock, but he did hurl the dirt from the Temple Mount over the city wall into the Valley of Hinnom. This act of purification marked a yet another time when a newly triumphant religion was trying to establish itself in Jerusalem by delving beneath the impiety of the previous occupants to make physical contact with the foundations of the faith (230). Upon the clearing of the platform, 'Umar summoned a Jewish convert to Islam, Ka'b in Ahbar, an expert in Jewish studies to point out the best place for prayer. He pointed at the rock, but the Caliph decided to build his mosque at a different place, the southern end of the platform, where the present Mosque of al-Aqsā stood (230–231). At this time, the Jews and Christians became the "protected minorities" (*dhimmis*) in Palestine, but they could not bear arms and paid a poll tax, the *jizyah* (231).

Mecca represented the lost paradise to the Muslims and a symbol that they would not bow to any established religions but to God himself. The center of Mecca had a historical, cube-shaped granite shrine known as the Ka'bah. Even before Islam, it had already been the holiest place in Arabia, and tribes all over the Arabian peninsula took part in the rites of the hajj pilgrimage each year. The holiness of the Ka'bah was protected by a sacred, violence-free area with a twenty-mile radius, and this sanctuary had contributed to the commercial success of Mecca (Armstrong [1, 221–222]). Muhammad himself was deeply attracted to Ka'bah for its legend that Adam built the earliest shrine on the exact spot, where had also been the site of the Garden of Eden (222–223). But Muhammad was not pleased with the state of Ka'bah, and he sought to purify it by smashing idols and removing the effigy of Hubal upon his triumphant return to Mecca in 630. It was a gesture that signified the return of the Muslims to the primordial faith, with no warring sect like Judaism and Christi-

anity, of Abraham, who they viewed as a true Muslim. Since Mecca was viewed as the holiest site in the world, all the subsequent holy places in Islam would derive its holiness from the city (222–223).

Jerusalem became the third-holiest site for Muslims after Muhammad called it the Remote House of Worship. It was the home of some of the greatest of the prophets, the *madinat bayt al-maqdis*, and their first *qiblah* (Armstrong [1, 224–225]). It was a physical symbol that rooted Islam to the ancient tradition that symbolized the continuity and wholeness of the Qur'anic vision (220–225). And it was a place that had helped the Muslims form a distinct Islamic identity, turn their backs to the pagan traditions, and guide them through the painful process of severance (224).

While the Muslims still valued Jerusalem for its symbolic importance, the 'Abassid moved the capital of its caliphate to Baghdad in 762 partially due to Jerusalem's lingering associations with the Umayyad rule (Armstrong [1, 246]). The economic prowess of the Muslims in the city dwindled by the time of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashid, who befriended Charlemagne and allowed him to build a hospice with a church and library opposite the Anastasis. It was at this time that the Muslims began to resent the growing wealth and power of the Christians (252–253). The city's governing power was in the hand of Ahmad ibn Tulun in 868, and he appointed a Christian governor in Jerusalem, and allowed a Jewish sect, the Karaites, to establish itself in the city in about 880 (254–255). The 'Abbassids regained control of Palestine in 904, but the reign over the city slipped from them once again by 935, when Muhammad ibn Tugh established a *de facto* autonomy in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine in 935. Tugh's Ikhsids sought to peacefully coexist with the Christians, but such plan was eviscerated in 938 when the Muslims and the Jews attacked the Anastasis and Basilica of Holy Sion (256). The *Ikhsids* were ejected from Palestine first by Shii sect of the Qarmatis and then by the Shii Fatimids in 970. The Christians were seen to be much richer and more

literate than Muslims by now, and their relation was already deteriorated since the attack on Christians in 938 (256–257).

Fatimid caliph al-'Aziz was succeeded by his son al-Hākīm in 996 and the new Caliph worked well with the Christians until 1003, when he ordered the destruction of St. Mark's Church in Fustat. He further ordered the Anastasis and the Martyrdom to be razed to the ground in September 1009, which resulted in unease even to his fellow Muslims. The Jews and Christians were severely persecuted in the following years (Armstrong [1, 258–259]). The Muslims were incensed when Hākīm substituted his own name for that of God in the Friday prayers, and so then he turned on his own Muslims in 1017. He disappeared from sight in 1021 (259–260). The Bedouin rebelled soon in 1024, and the Jews, who despite their sufferings under Hākīm but nevertheless stood loyal to the Fatimids, were subject to merciless taxation during the rebellion (260).

Fatimid caliph al-Zahīr regained control of Palestine in 1020, and restored the peaceful coexistence with the Christians and the Jews. Jerusalem experiences materialistic prosperity under the Fatimids, although the intellectual prosperity dwindled with loss of Sunni scholars (Armstrong [1, 260–268]). The renaissance of intellectual life was achieved after 1073, when Seljuk Turks conquered Jerusalem in 1073. He issued amnesty for all the people of Jerusalem, but the decision was reversed after an attempted coup by the pro-Fatimid groups in 1077. While the Christians remained safe inside their Patriarch's Quarter, the Jews, loyal supporter of the Fatimids, were massacred (268–269).

Building of the Dome of the Rock on the Temple Mount

A meaningful observation can be made from the fact that The Dome of the Rock is in not at the exact center of the Haram al-Sharif, but instead the Dome of the Chain is. (Goldhill [2, 108]) While the history and function of this third largest building on the Haram remain obscure, the story from which the shrine

next to the Dome of the Rock derives its name is thought-provoking: King David hanged a chain from the roof of this shrine, and anyone who held it and lied under oath would be killed by lightning. King David used the shrine as a place of judgement. In the story, a man (in some versions, a Jew) had borrowed some gold from a friend, and when the friends asked for it back, the falsely claimed that he had returned it. The friend asked the man to go to the Dome of the Chain to verify the man's claim, but the man was not struck by lightning – he had the gold melted down and fitted into a walking stick, and asked his friend to hold it while he held the chain (108–109).

This story does not clarify the shrine's function nor history, but it highlights the purpose of building these splendid, opulent shrines on the Haram that do not resemble anything else on the Haram nor mosques elsewhere: to express Muslim ascendancy over the Jews by building on this site, and supremacy over the Christians by architectural dominance over the Church of Holy Sepulchre (Goldhill [2, 107–114]). The inscriptions from the Qur'an on the inside of the shrine suggest the same: they contained critique of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, which is a not so veiled attack on Christianity (114, 116).

Traditions about the Dome of the Rock

Having given an overview of the early history of Islam in Jerusalem, we can now turn to an examination of the different traditions associated with Islam's view of the city. One of the earliest traditions about Jerusalem in Islamic texts is found in Surah 17 of the Quran. According to this passage, Muhammad traveled by night from the sacred place of worship (*al-masjid al-harām*) to the furthest place of worship (*al-masjid al-aqsā*) (Haleem [3, Q 17:1–8]). *Al-Isra* is the mystical flight from Mecca to Jerusalem that preceded Muhammad's *mi'rāj* (Armstrong [1, 247]). However, the Qur'an only writes that an angel came to the prophet and revealed something from God, Muhammad saw some of the greatest signs of his Lord, and then the Prophet saw the angel again by the *lote* tree near the Garden of Restfulness (Haleem [3, Q 5 3:1–18]).

From just this text of the Qur'an, there is no indication of ascension to heaven there, nor any details of what the God revealed to Muhammad at all.

The first account of Muhammad's visionary experience in Jerusalem appears in the biography by Ishaq in 767 (76 year after the completion of the Dome of the Rock). The story describes how Muhammad was miraculously transported from Mecca to the Temple Mount by Gabriel, and then ascended through seven heavens to the divine throne (Armstrong [1, 246]). Ibn-Ishāq's narrative weaved together a number of traditions stemming from various people who knew Muhammad personally, such as his wife 'A'isha. The weaving together of these traditions resulted in the combination of two distinct events alluded to in the Qur'an: *Miraj* and *al-Isra* (Porter [7, 64]). Ibn-Ishāq's narrative appears to suggest that Muhammad's ascension took place at a comparatively late stage of Muhammad's life, but this is because he linked it with the story of the Night Journey to Jerusalem. This may indicate that it occurred when Muhammad had already had time to collect a considerable group of disciples around him (71).

In addition, scholars are now generally agreed that the ascension tradition originally referred to the very beginnings of Muhammad's mission (Porter [7, 71]). However, Ishāq's narrative was to some extent fragmentary and cursory, therefore later Muslim authorities provided details such as the lotus-tree at the boundary and the *al-bait al ma'mūr*, the "inhabited house." Due to this, Islamic scholars have pointed out inconsistencies in the traditions about Muhammad's ascension. For example, one scholar, Fazlur Rahman, wrote, "The doctrine of a locomotive 'Ascension' developed by the orthodox (chiefly on the pattern of the Ascension of Jesus) and backed by Hadith is no more than a historical fiction whose materials come from various sources" (66–68).

It is important to mention that when Muhammad died, 'Umar claimed that he was not really dead but had gone to Allah and would return after forty days, only to be silenced by Abū Bakr (Porter [7, 68]).

This contradiction between two important figures in early Islam seems to indicate their different motives after the death of Muhammad: Abū Bakr who wanted to ensure Muhammad's wish to not deify him, and 'Umar, who conquered Jerusalem and paved the way for Umayyad dynasty. 'Umar was an ambitious general that wanted to spread Islamic influence through competition, especially with Christianity.

The story of the *Miraj* posed a major threat to Christian power beginning in 8th century, because it gave credibility to Muhammad and Islam (McMichael [5, 293]). The *mi' rāj* testifies to Muhammad's superiority over all other prophets because he spoke to God in an I-Thou relationship (294). In other words, he went beyond Abraham (the friend of God) and Moses (who spoke with God) to the very Throne of God in a direct religious encounter (295). McMichael in his paper quoted Coffey.

"To accept the image of the celestial spheres recorded in the Qur'an, Hadiths, and other Islamic writings would not only verify his [...] status in the eyes of God – confirming his prophethood – it would also invalidate the [...] value of Christian belief, based upon its perceived monopoly on veridical knowledge of the divine" (293).

Even though Christian writers themselves were combining theology, history, mystical insight and biography just like the Muslims, it is certain that they did not appreciate Muhammad's story because they needed to protect their own theological truths about God, Christ, and eternal life (305). But the struggle against the other religion was evident to the very early Muslims as Jesus is mentioned more often than Muhammad in the Qur'an (302). This cannot certainly be explained simply by the fact that Islam recognizes Jesus as a prophet, as Muhammad met Jesus in the second heaven with the seventh being the highest, with Abraham sitting on a throne at the entrance to paradise (Porter [7, 65–66]). In this way, the story of the *Miraj* portrayed the Prophet being welcomed by other prophets and the fact that Ishāq tied the Night Journey to Jerusalem, in which the

animal on which Muhammad rode was the one on which the prophets prior to him had ridden (73). As a result, this evidence suggests that Muslims certainly did not consider the Christians as an ally, but instead a competitor.

During the early Islamic period we also have several primary sources that offer a description of the Dome of the Rock from travel accounts. One of the more important and lengthy of such pilgrimage accounts is Nasir-i-Khusrāw's *Book of Travels*. Nasir-i-Khusrāw described the Dome of the Rock in his *Book of Travels* in the most subtle details: it was situated in the middle of the platform, which occupied the middle of the Haram Area. Its roof and exterior parts were covered in lead. There was an obvious hyperbole in his descriptions, as he described the Rock as, "like a boulder from the mountains" (Nasir-i, *trans.* [6]). This does not necessarily discredit the accuracy of his observations, but underscores the grandiose impression the Dome left on its visitors' minds. According to Khusrāw, "The great Dome [...] can be seen from the distance of a league away, rising like the summit of a mountain" (Nasir-i, *trans.* [6]). This is not the most interesting part of his description, however. First, he wrote that the platform, in the middle of which the rock sat, was constructed because it could not be brought within the compass of the main building (of the Aksa Mosque). Second, he wrote that the rock, before the revelation of Islam, was the Kiblah (Nasir-i, *trans.* [6]). Third, he vividly described the Rock, "The Rock inclines not on the side that is towards the Kiblah, and there is an appearance as though a person had walked heavily on the stone when it was soft like clay, whereby the imprint of his toes had remained thereon. There are [...] seven such footmarks [...]" (Nasir-i, *trans.* [6]).

Building upon the importance of the rock in the Dome of the Rock, Nasir-i-Khusrāw described the stone in the following manner: "This stone of the Sakrah is that which God commanded Moses to institute as the *qibla*. ... Then came the days of Solomon [...] who built a mosque around it [the First

Temple] ... So it remained until [...] Mohammed [...] who likewise recognized this to be the *qibla*, turning towards it at his prayers; but God [...] afterwards commanded him to institute as the *qibla* the House of Ka'aba [Mecca]" (Goldhill [2, 116–117]). Nasir did not mention the story of *al-Isra* nor *Mi'raj* – it did not appear in the written record at least until the fourteenth century during the medieval period when similar stories were written for Christianity and Judaism (117). The Dome's political status is indisputable, as the inscription on the building cordoning its founding has the name of a Abased caliph al-Ma'mun (who ruled 813–833) with the date of the foundation: 691–692 – it was used to promote and legitimize the regime (120).

In order to understand the full weight of traditions about the Dome of the Rock and the description that we find in Nasir's pilgrimage account, it is important to remind ourselves of the biblical significance of the eastern hill. The fascination with Jerusalem actually started with the story described in the biblical book of Genesis, chapter 22. The story here is famed for its depiction of the sacrifice of Isaac. The story demonstrates the power of God through Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his only son for God. This story's political significance is monumental in that the angel of the Lord said to Abraham, "Your descendants will take possession of the cities of their enemies, and through your offspring all nations on earth will be blessed, because you have obeyed me" (Genesis 22, New International Version). According to this text, the angel's promise to Abraham occurs at a location called "Moriah" (22:2, NIV). In the later biblical interpretation of Genesis 22, Moriah comes to be associated with the Temple Mount and the First Temple built by King Solomon (2 Chronicles 3:1–2, NIV).

The Ark of God, the vehicle that held the Presence of the Israelite god, was brought up to the eastern hill in Jerusalem in 2 Samuel 6 by David's order, and the Lord Almighty promised to David in 2 Samuel 7: "And I will provide a *place* for my people Israel and will *plant* them so that they can have a home of their own

and no longer be disturbed" (2 Samuel 7:10, NIV; italics mine). According to the book of 2 Chronicles, David's son, Solomon, started building the temple of the Lord in Jerusalem on Mount Moriah where David saw the Lord in the fourth year of his reign (3:1–2, NIV). The description of the temple in 1 Kings 6–7 states, "For the Most Holy Place he made a pair of sculptured cherubim and overlaid them with gold" (6: 27, NIV). Upon the completion of the temple, the Lord appeared to Solomon a second time and cautioned:

"I will establish your royal throne over Israel forever [...] But if you or your descendants turn away from me and do not observe the commands and decrees I have given you and go off to serve other gods and worship them, then I will cut off Israel [...] and will reject this temple [...] This temple will become a heap of rubble" (1 Kings 8:41, NIV).

The importance of all of these biblical texts is found in the way that they connect the building of the temple to the site of Mount Moriah on the eastern hill in Jerusalem. In this way, they form an important backdrop for the traditions about the Dome of the Rock in early Islam. For this reason, they help to establish why we would also have biblical references in the Islamic traditions about the Dome of the Rock in texts like Nasir's pilgrimage account.

Another important biblical text for understanding the background of the tension between Islamic and Christian traditions in the city is the Gospel of Luke. In chapter 24 of the Gospel, we find a description of the rebirth and ascension of Jesus of Nazareth. The women who first noticed the rebirth of Jesus and also were questioned of their observations were on their way to Emmaus when Jesus appeared to them incognito, and one lamented, "we had hoped that he was the one who was going to redeem Israel" (v. 24, NIV). Their hypothesis was proven to be correct when they eventually noticed Jesus's presence. Jesus further commented, "This is what I told you while I was still with you: Everything must be fulfilled that is written about me in the Law of Moses [...] This is what is written: The Messiah will suffer and rise from the dead on the

third day, and repentance for the forgiveness of sins will be preached [...] beginning at Jerusalem” (v. 44, NIV). Jesus then ascended to heaven near Bethany (Luke 24, NIV). There is a valid connection to be made here in relation to the foundations of Islam: the sacredness of the founding texts and the ascension to heaven. Islam also stresses the importance of the Quran because it is the compilation of revelations Muhammad received from Allah, and the story of *Miraj* narrates itself in a manner close to an Islamic rendition of the rebirth and ascension of Jesus. Luke 24 also demonstrates a pattern in which the newcomer of religion borrows the influence and potency of its pre-existing competition to legitimize and solidify itself.

In summary, the description of the Islamic sources here shows that a large part of the reason why early Islam was drawn to the area of the Dome of the Rock has to do with biblical tradition. The impression that the Dome of the Rock made on Nasir is a testament to the power of symbolism in a religion, and the reason why religion after religion was attracted to Jerusalem, specifically Mount Moriah. Twice, the newcomer of religion justified himself by connecting to his revelations to the city in some way or another.

Conclusion

The present study has demonstrated is that there were a variety of reasons why the Dome of the Rock was considered important in early Islam. It may actually be correct to say that it was not Jerusalem that attracted Islam, but rather the acknowledgement of the power of an indelible, indestructible political symbol that seemed to overpower a religion: a location. Although a casual study of Islam’s connection to Jerusalem might lead a person to think that the only reason that the religion became attached to the city, a deeper investigation reveals that Islam’s interest in Jerusalem extended beyond the traditions about Muhammad. Ever since Mt. Moriah from the story of Abraham’s intended sacrifice of Isaac became tied to the place where Solomon dedicated a temple for God in Jerusalem, Christianity built churches there, and Islam had built its al-Aqsa Mosque and Dome of the Rock.

Muhammad must have recognized the existence of two powerful religious competitors when he first instructed his followers to pray toward Jerusalem to demonstrate that the purpose of Islam was to return to a true, pure Abrahamic faith. And Muhammad’s acknowledgment of the strength of a symbolic location became apparent when he then instructed the early community to change the direction of the *qiblah* from Jerusalem to Mecca when he finally won over his hometown that was the economic and political hub of the Arabian peninsula. The necessity to tie Islam to the symbolic city of Jerusalem might have diminished when Muhammad became successful in Mecca. But this changed upon Umar’s conquest of Jerusalem. At this point, Islam was no longer simply fighting for its existence, but for its influence in Western Asia and the Mediterranean. This might be the reason why successors of Muhammad sought to connect Islam to Jerusalem through the traditions of the Night Journey (*al-Isra*) and Ascent (*Mir’aj*).

The tension over the city of Jerusalem and role that Islam has played historically in it continues to the twenty-first century. The importance of the city for Muslims around the world underscores why President Trump’s announcement that the U.S. would recognize Jerusalem as the State of Israel’s capital and move the U.S. embassy there sparked a worldwide outrage. Trump’s decision on Dec. 7, 2017 broke a 70-year diplomatic precedent where “most countries do not recognize Jerusalem as Israel’s capital, but operate as if it were the capital” (Tarnopolsky [8]). But Trump’s decision was apparently not entirely out-of-place, just less diplomatic. Under the 1995 Jerusalem Embassy Act, The United States recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and advocated for the city to remain undivided, but the same law allowed any President to keep the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv for national security reasons. The hope for sharing the city is still consistent with the EU foreign policy chief, Federica Mogherini, reiterating, after Trump’s announcement, the EU’s position that “Jerusalem will be the capital of Israel and Palestine in the frame-

work of a future two-state solution” (Tarnopolsky [8]). In reality though, the city of Jerusalem is under the control of Israel after its takeover of East Jerusalem from Jordan in 1967 upon defeating a coalition of Arab armies (Tarnopolsky [8]). Sharing of the city will bring about peace in the region as Umar demonstrated, but if the past century of efforts tell us anything, such plan is almost impossible to maintain.

So when we ask why Jerusalem is important to all three major religions in the world, it is not just because it was where Abraham was about to sacrifice his only son. It is not just because it was where Jesus was crucified and raised from the dead. And, it certainly is not just because it was where *Miraj* took place. It has always been a competition to claim the superiority of one interpretation of religion over another.

References:

1. Armstrong Karen. Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths.– New York: Ballantine Books, 2005.
2. Goldhill Simon. Jerusalem: City of Longing. Cambridge, MA and London, England: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008.
3. Haleem M. A. S. Abdel, trans. “Surah 17: 1–8; Surah 53: 1–18.” Chapter. In *The Qur‘an: a New Translation* by M.A.S. Abdel Haleem. Oxford University Press, 2004.
4. Holy Bible. New International Version. Biblica, Inc., 1973, 1978, 1984, 2011. URL: <https://www.bible-gateway.com>
5. Mc Michael Steven J. “The Night Journey (Al-Isrā‘) and Ascent (Al-Mi‘rāj) of Muhammad in Medieval Muslim and Christian Perspectives.” *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 22,– No. 3 (2011): 293–309. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2011.586510>.
6. Nasir-i Khusrau. *Book of Travels – Safarnama*. Diary of a Journey Through Syria and Palestine. Translated by Guy Le Strange. London: Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society, 1893. URL: <http://chass.colostate-pueblo.edu/history/seminar/khusraw/khusraw2.html>
7. Porter J. R. “Muhammad’s Journey To Heaven.” *Numen* 21,– No. 1 (April 1974): 64–80. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1163/156852774x00186>.
8. Tarnopolsky Noga. “U.S. Declaration of Jerusalem as Israel’s Capital Has Sparked Worldwide Anger. But There’s Been Plenty of Precedent.” *Los Angeles Times*. Los Angeles Times, January 3, 2018. URL: <http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-israel-jerusalem-status-20180102-htmstory.html>.

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-179-189>

Jeffrey Chen,
Newport High School, Bellevue, WA
E-mail: jeffrey@sunnydo.com

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE AND CHRISTIAN JERUSALEM: A RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL HISTORY INTO THE LATIN KINGDOM

Abstract. This article examines changes to the role of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (CHS) from its construction to the Latin Kingdom and argues that these changes reflect shifts in Christian perception of sacred space. When it was first built, the CHS was only a monument to the profound event of Christ's resurrection. During the Heraclian dynasty of the Byzantine Empire, the very structure of the CHS became sacred and Jerusalem became revered as the city of the Holy Sepulchre. As Muslims conquered Jerusalem in the late 7th century AD, the CHS became increasingly emblematic of Christianity itself. Eventually, the CHS was used as a rallying cry to incite European Christians into a crusade. During the Crusader Period, the CHS was transformed into a symbol of Frankish power over the region. As pilgrims became more intimate with the CHS, the sacred geography of Jerusalem was expanded from only the CHS to include sites encompassing all aspects of Jesus's life, and Jerusalem became the city of the Humanity of Christ. With these changes to the roles of the CHS, Christians went from originally distrusting sacred space, to embracing the church as their sole *axis mundus* (sacred space), to accepting the presence of multiple *axis mundi* on earth; the CHS was among them.

Keywords: Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, Christianity, Sacred Space.

Introduction

When it was built in 326 AD, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (CHS) was merely a monument to the most important event in Christianity – the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Over time, the CHS slowly became emblematic of Christianity itself to both Christians and non-Christians alike. Moreover, after the Sassanid destruction of the CHS in the early 7th century AD, this church assumed an importance among Christians equal to that of the Jewish temple among Jews. Its very structure became sacred, not just the events that it commemorated. And, as Christian conflicts with Muslims intensified, the CHS was often used as a proxy for this political and territorial struggle. The CHS increasingly became used to unite the squabbling Christian kingdoms in Europe

against a perceived common “opponent”. After Jerusalem was captured by the Christian Crusaders, yet another shift took place: the CHS became a proxy in internal power struggles between Christian groups in Jerusalem. Moreover, the importance of this church shifted in Western Christendom, becoming increasingly associated with Christ's resurrection rather than his burial. Additionally, the CHS, although still prominent, was no longer the sole focus of Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The Christian sacred geography of Jerusalem (and Christian pilgrims) was expanded to encompass the sites of various important events in the life of Christ, later known as Stations of the Cross. Ultimately, the changes to this church's role from its construction to the Latin Kingdom reflect shifts in Christian perception of sacred space.

An Early Christian Monument and Symbol of Romanized Christianity

The CHS is the most important Christian holy site in Jerusalem, as it is a monumental church that commemorates the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. The church was built by Helena, the mother of Constantine I, and Makarios, the Bishop of Jerusalem, over a stone quarry, which, according to tradition, contained the tomb of Jesus Christ [16, 70]. In the scriptures, Jesus's tomb was "hewn in the rock," which is usually interpreted to be a hillside tomb in the outskirts of Jerusalem [35, Matt. 27:60]. This fits the description of most 1st century Jewish tombs, which were similarly located on hillsides, outside the walls of cities [16, 66].

Having gained favor during the Council of Nicaea in 325 AD, Bishop Makarios secured permission from Constantine to build a religious monument over an area that according to local tradition, contained the site of Jesus's resurrection. According to Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, the builders destroyed a temple of the goddess Venus already built over the site; the demolition team uncovered a rock tomb, which was identified as the sepulcher of Christ [12, 1.16]. Constantine then commissioned a grand monument to the resurrection of Christ, which became the CHS [4, 179, 181].

The church in its original form was split into 3 buildings: a martyrium, a triportico, and an anastasis which highlighted key aspects of Jesus' divinity. The martyrium, otherwise known as the Basilica of St. Constantine, was built in the style of a basilica, a domed Roman public building. The triportico was a courtyard of colonnades built over the traditional site of Calvary, otherwise known as Golgotha in Aramaic [26, 206]. In the New Testament, Golgotha, which means "place of the skull," is the hill where it is thought that Jesus was crucified [35, Matt. 27:33].

Across the courtyard from the martyrium was the focal point of the church. A rotunda called the "Anastasis" was built over the place Makarios purportedly found the tomb of Jesus [17]. In Greek,

Anastasis means resurrection, since according to the New Testament, Jesus was raised from the dead at this site [35, Mk. 16:4–6]. The tomb where Christ was supposedly buried is enclosed in a small shrine called the Edicule, which is located in the Anastasis Rotunda [16, 76].

The very construction and meaning of the CHS during its early history signified a crucial change in Christian attitudes towards monumental religious structures. Early Christianity had not placed great importance on the earthly Jerusalem or manmade sacred space in general. The early church chose to focus on the spiritual aspects of their faith and reject earthly locations [4, 171, 182–183]. Those believers, hitherto victims of persecution, felt like they had "no abiding city [or location] here" on earth [4, 180]. Their only sacred space was the New Jerusalem described in the book of Revelation, which was located in heaven [35, Rev. 21:2]. Since Christianity was underground at the time, many early Christians had little sympathy for grand earthly monuments, even ones commemorating the most important miracle of Christianity, Christ's resurrection.

What little Christian pilgrimage existed before the construction of the CHS focused upon sites connected to Jesus's life. One area that Christians frequented was the summit of the Mount of Olives, where Jesus "[had] been taken up...into heaven" according to the New Testament [4, 171; 35, Acts 1:11]. They also liked going to the Garden of Gethsemane in the Kidron Valley, where Jesus was betrayed by Judas Iscariot, and the River Jordan, where Jesus was baptized by John the Baptist [4, 171; 35, Mk. 1:9, 14]. This trend reappeared during the Latin Kingdom, when sites connected to Jesus's life became similarly prominent in Christian sacred geography.

After Constantine I legalized Christianity with the Edict of Milan in 313 AD, the CHS became an *axis mundi* in Christian theology. Now that Christians were free from persecution, they had a stake in this world [4, 180]. Christians began aggressively Christianizing the religious landscape of Jerusalem; they

were determined to bring down the heavenly “New Jerusalem” into the worldly Jerusalem by building sacred monuments to honor Christ [4, 180–185]. Even Eusebius attributed special importance to the site of Jesus’s death and resurrection.

The CHS played a key role in the Roman desire to remake Jerusalem in a Christian image. In his writings, Eusebius condemned the earthly Jerusalem of the Temple (otherwise known as Aelia), as a ‘guilty city’ that rejected and crucified Jesus. He contrasted Aelia with the New Jerusalem, a heavenly city that honored Jesus. Eusebius supported Constantine I building Christian buildings like the CHS, since those buildings symbolized both a “violent uprooting of pagan religion” and the triumph of the New Jerusalem on earth [4, 185]. The structures that represented the New Jerusalem were monuments erected to commemorate various events in the life of Christ. Many of those sites later became part of Christianity’s sacred geography and important pilgrimage destinations.

Moreover, the adoption of the structure of the Roman basilica to build the CHS represented a major watershed in Christianity’s history: from a marginalized and persecuted faith into one recognized and supported by the Roman emperor. Up to this point, the only Christian religious buildings that existed were private homes used for worship known as *domus ecclesiae* [10, 4]. State sponsorship of Christian monumental structures only began after the Edict of Milan [10, 4–5]. Thus, the builders of the CHS had to rely on the architectural style of non-Christian buildings. They rejected the style of a Roman temple, since it had pagan associations [31]. Nor did they build the church in the style of the Jewish temple, since Christians like Eusebius viewed the Temple as a manifestation of a wicked, earthly Jerusalem [29]. The CHS was built in the plan of a basilica because basilicas were grand buildings that represented the might and prestige of Rome [32]. Before its adoption by Christians, the Roman basilica was primarily used as a “marketplace and judgement hall” [32].

Other uses of the basilica included “banking and stock brokering stations, offices for public magistrates, contracting and leasing, municipal and legal archives, public business, even a library,” which made basilicas important in even the tiniest cities [32]. The ubiquity of the basilica also meant that many early Christians would have been familiar with it [32]. Also, basilicas were not as definitively associated with pagan cults as Roman temples, which made them good alternatives to the latter [31]. Furthermore, the basilica’s expansive halls could accommodate vast congregations in worship services, and as a public building, it represented the authority of the Roman empire, and thus commanded respect from Romans. It is most likely that the basilica design was adopted for the CHS because of its convenient size, and the fact that the design gave the CHS the authority of a Roman public building [31].

The Sacred Structure and *Axis Mundi* in the City of the Holy Sepulchre

Initially, to outsiders, the CHS was a symbol of Roman Byzantine power, not an icon of Christianity. The first time the CHS was destroyed was in 614 AD during the Byzantine-Sassanid wars, when King Khosrow of the Sassanid Empire broke through his siege of Jerusalem. His army burned many churches, including the CHS [4, 213–214]. At this stage, the CHS was not yet an icon of Christianity, and the Sassanians did not harbor any visible antipathy towards Christians. Rather, the destruction of the CHS in 614 AD was a casualty of their larger conquest of Jerusalem [4, 214].

The virulent Christian reaction to the destruction of the CHS signified its centrality to Christian sacred geography in the 7th century AD. Many Christians compared their predicament to that of the Jews after the destruction of the First Temple and began to contemplate the “gestures and psalms of their predecessors in the Holy City” [4, 214]. This suggests that the CHS assumed an importance in Christianity comparable to that of the Temple in Judaism. Additionally, Christians around this time began conflating

Jerusalem and Zion, a sharp contrast from the days of Eusebius, when there was a clear distinction between the earthly Jerusalem and heavenly Jerusalem [4, 215–216]. As the CHS's importance in Christianity increased, Christians embraced Jerusalem as the city of the Holy Sepulcher [4, 214]. Such perceptions of the Holy City would later inspire Western European Christians to launch a crusade seeking to reclaim the CHS and the city of Jerusalem.

In the years following its epic destruction by the Sassanians, the CHS slowly transformed from the site of a divine event to a structure sacred in and of itself. When the CHS was rebuilt, Christian thinkers elevated the church to the status of *axis mundi*. For example, the Orthodox monk Sophronius, who became the Patriarch of Jerusalem in 633 AD, characterized the CHS as “the ocean stream of eternal light” and the “true river of Lethe;” he described the earthly Jerusalem as “Zion, splendid sun of the world” [4, 215–216]. Christians revered the very structure of the CHS as akin to the heavenly city of Zion. This was a result of the iconization of the CHS in Christianity, a trend that would eventually transform the church into a Christian rallying cry during the 11th century AD.

The Icon of Christianity in Islamic Jerusalem

The conquest of Jerusalem in 638 AD by Muslim military leaders drastically transformed the political and religious dynamics of Jerusalem. This strongly impacted the CHS, since it was no longer under absolute Christian control. In 610 AD, Muhammad ibn Abdullah, a merchant of the Quaraysh tribe in Mecca, began preaching a new religion called Islam [4, 217–218]. It was an Abrahamic religion that revered many Jewish and Christian figures, but declared Muhammad as the last true prophet of God (Allah) [33]. For this reason, Jerusalem held special importance in this new religion. According to Islamic tradition, the prophet Muhammad initially urged his followers to pray towards Jerusalem [30, 82–83]. Additionally, he was transported miraculously to Jerusalem in a single night [34, 17:1]. When Jerusalem was conquered by the Muslim caliph Umar in 638 AD, it evolved into

the third most sacred city in Islam. Consequently, the CHS, Christianity's most sacred church, was in Muslim territory.

From 638 AD on, the CHS became embroiled in Christian tensions with other faiths, eventually culminating in the Crusades. When the Muslim armies conquered Jerusalem, though, they treated the CHS with tolerance. Caliph Umar deemed Christians as *Dhimmis* (people of the book) [15]. In an apocryphal assurance called Umar's Assurance, he also promised the Christian-majority Jerusalemites freedom to worship and the safety of their religious sites, in particular, that of the CHS [15]. According to tradition, Umar was invited to pray within the CHS; however, out of respect, he politely refused and instead prayed outside the church [3]. He was concerned that future generations would misinterpret his prayer inside the church [3]. He also entrusted its keys to the Muslim Nusseibeh family [1]. The keys were a guarantee of the Holy Sepulcher's safety as long as Islamic rulers controlled the Holy City [1]. Moreover, Umar did not seriously assert Islamic influence on Jerusalem's religious geography, merely marking the spot where he prayed with a small mosque, later known as the first Mosque of Umar [4, 230–231]. According to one scholar, he also built a small mosque on the Temple Mount, which Muslims revere as the *Haram al-Sharif* [11, 31–32].

Over time, however, the rivalry intensified. The Muslim Dome of the Rock (DOR) and the CHS served as respective proxies for both faith/political groups in their disputes. The DOR, built during the Umayyad Caliphate, was intended to be a successor to Solomon's temple. It was built in a Byzantine style, and included a golden dome similar to the CHS's domed roof [13, 104–108]. To affirm the values of Islam, the DOR was decorated with calligraphy asserting that Muhammad was the true prophet of Allah and rejecting the divinity of Jesus [7, 76]. Ultimately, the DOR became a sacred space in Islam and iconic of the Muslim faith. Within Jerusalem proper, intense rivalry developed between the DOR and the CHS.

By the 11th century AD, however, Christian/Muslim relations had deteriorated to the point that Caliph Al-Hakim destroyed the CHS. The destruction of the church was the culmination of the intensified rivalry between Muslims and Christians for religious authority and legitimacy in Jerusalem. Al-Hakim ordered that “both the Anastasis [rotunda] and the Martyrium of Constantine be razed to the ground” [4, 258–259]. A demolition team stormed the church complex with pickaxes and hacked it to pieces; the fragments were later salvaged and used to repair the church [4, 258–259.] One complaint was that Muslims struggled to fund mosques, whereas the Christians had “magnificent churches,” including the Holy Sepulcher [4, 253]. Additionally, the CHS’s dome was “nearly as big as [that of] the DOR;” this was seen as an infraction of Islamic law [4, 253]. Such complaints were exacerbated by Shi’i propaganda, which expressed displeasure at the “immense riches of the [CHS]” [4, 259]. This all suggests that in the eyes of Muslims, the CHS evolved into a symbol of Christianity.

The rebuilt CHS, which was finished in 1048 AD, reflected not only Byzantine and Medieval Christian thought but also the influence of Islamic Jerusalem. The contemporary Byzantine Emperor, Constantine IX, was an Eastern Christian; the CHS’s design therefore reflected Byzantine architectural norms. The Martyrium of Constantine was never rebuilt; the Church’s reconstruction focused on the Rotunda, which experienced significantly less damage than the other buildings of the complex [4, 262–263]. Since the Anastasis Rotunda was now the focal point of worship, Constantine IX added an apse to reflect the structure’s new purpose as a church [16, 114]. The renovated CHS was modest compared to its original structure; this reflected not just the simplicity of Byzantine churches but also Islamic rules [2, 22; c. 70–72]. The new Church also had an omphalos—a stone marking the site of Jesus’ crucifixion—in the Triportico; according to medieval Christian theology, this was the *axis mundi* or “center of the world” [22, 71].

Many of the new church’s features also reflected the Muslim presence in Jerusalem. For example, the “niches above the cornice” in the baptistery, and the arches in one of the octagonal chapels above Calvary, were directly inspired by Islamic designs [22, 75]. That chapel was built by local masons, who had no experience with religious buildings other than mosques [2]. Some parts of Christendom resented the destruction of the CHS and the fact that it now lay in Muslim territory. Its diminished status was eventually used as a rallying cry to summon Christians into a crusade to reclaim Jerusalem.

The *Casus Bello*, Symbol of Frankish Rule, and Power Broker

In the time leading up to the Crusades, the CHS became increasingly used as a proxy in Christian conflicts with Muslims. This was especially apparent in the 11th century AD when the Church became a bargaining chip during Muslim negotiations with Christian powers. For example, when Bedouin rebels seized Jerusalem in 1024 AD, Fatimid Caliph al-Zahir “made a new treaty with Byzantium, promising that the Christians would be allowed to rebuild” their most sacred church [4, 260–261]. Byzantine Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus readily agreed to the terms; this indicates that Christian countries would do anything to either keep the CHS safe or rebuild it, a trend that would eventually precipitate the Crusades. And, when the Seljuk empire captured Byzantium’s Asian provinces, Emperor Alexius I used the CHS to encourage Latin Christians to join him in war [4, 271]. The CHS became a *casus bello* summoning Christians to war against anyone that posed a ‘threat’ to the revered Church. This reflects a key development in Christianity: the CHS was perceived to be the center of Christian thought and the *axis mundus* that everyday Christians revolved around. Essentially, Emperor Alexius I asked Pope Urban II for military aid, warning that the “Holy Sepulcher [would] vanish” if no action was taken to defeat the Seljuks [4, 271; 9]. Pope Urban responded by declaring a Crusade to reclaim the CHS and the “Holy Land.” In a speech at Clermont, Pope Urban exhorted

his audience to “cleanse the Holy City and the glory of the Sepulcher” [19]. His speech was wildly successful, and in the First Crusade (1096–1099 AD), 42,000 to 60,000 Christians, rich and poor alike, marched thousands of miles to recapture the most sacred site in Christendom [5, 42; 28, 103–106].

The songs, oaths, and royal titles prevalent in the era during and immediately after the First Crusade also show the centrality of the CHS in Christian discourse during this period. For example, the oath that every Crusader took included a vow “to journey and visit the Sepulcher of the Lord in Jerusalem” [25, 65–66]. A German song sung in the First Crusade boasted that the soldiers and pilgrims were “[journeying] in [God’s] grace” and that the “power of God” would help them in their armed pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulcher [25, 65]. Additionally, references to the CHS were used by Crusader rulers of Jerusalem to justify their authority. Godfrey of Bouillon chose to be called the “Advocate of the Holy Sepulcher” rather than adopt the conventional titles (e.g., King or Emperor) [25, 65]. Although his successor Baldwin I did take the title of king, he also styled himself the “Defender of the Holy Sepulcher” [25, 65]. This demonstrates the special place that the CHS held in the hearts of the Frankish crusaders, as the so-called defenders of Christianity’s most sacred site.

After the Crusaders seized Jerusalem, they gradually transformed the CHS into a symbol of their power over the Holy City. On July 15, 1099 AD, after a long and protracted siege, the Crusader armies stormed Jerusalem, resulting in a three-day slaughter of 20,000 of the city’s local inhabitants [8, 12–13; 21, 8.20]. After the mass wave of killings were over, the city was left a hollow shell. But it was now in the hands of the Crusaders, who could remake the devastated city to a symbol of their triumph. They began by extravagantly restoring the CHS.

The Crusader CHS was a bold statement of Latin Christian dominance over Jerusalem. Unlike Constantine IX, the Crusaders extensively beautified the CHS [16, 116]. They transformed the CHS into

a magnificent Romanesque church, a testament to their Western European heritage [8, 103–105]. The entrance façade of the church was given a complete makeover, adorned with “ornate lintels, stonework, and windows” [8, 103–105]. After the façade, the Crusaders built a magnificent 5-story campanile (e.g., bell tower) [2; 16, 116].

The design aesthetics of the CHS, balanced the Crusaders’ Frankish culture with the pragmatic need to accommodate many pilgrims. However, the Crusaders initially did not make any changes to the core structure of the CHS. The reconstruction of the Church did not begin until later into the 12th century AD [8, 103]. Even 8 years after the First Crusade, Abbot Daniel noted that the rock of Golgotha and Calvary were still located in separate structures; this would change when the church was finally completely renovated in 1149 AD [16, 118; 20, 10.11–15]. The Crusaders built a structure called the Chorus Minorum (now the Katholikon) and removed Constantine IX’s apse, an action that combined the Chorus and the adjacent Rotunda into a single structure [16, 116]. This was a clear emulation of the widely popular pilgrimage churches of Spain, specifically the cathedrals of Tours, Limoges, Toulouse, Santiago, and Conques [8, 103–105]. This design was ideal for accommodating many pilgrims, as it featured broad aisle naves, equally broad aisled transepts, an ambulatory with many surrounding chapels, and extra chapels on the walls on the east side of the transept [8, 103–105]. Another advantage was that clerics could simultaneously hold multiple church services, as there were many chapels; the ambulatory enabled pilgrims to move freely inside the church without disturbing services [8, 103–105]. The Chorus Minorum was covered by a dome supported by a two-story structure; this joined a once-open courtyard and the Rotunda into a single building [16, 116]. By placing the various areas of the CHS under a single roof, the Crusaders transformed it into an impressive structure that rivalled the original church of Constantine I.

Much like with the reconstruction of the CHS under Constantine IX, medieval Christian thought significantly influenced key aspects of the renovated CHS. The omphalos (Golgotha) was incorporated into the CHS with a two-story chapel: the Calvary Chapel above, and the Chapel of Adam on the ground [16, 118]. This was done in accordance with the then-popular Christian idea that Jesus was crucified on the spot where Adam had been buried [6, 93–95]. The tomb of Jesus was also adorned with mosaics [16, 118].

Although the Temple Mount had once been an area of scorn for many Christians, its reputation in Christianity recovered during the Crusades. Unlike the Greek Christians, who agreed with Eusebius that the Temple Mount represented the old wicked Jerusalem (Aelia), the Crusaders did not similarly stigmatize the area. Rather, to further Christianize Jerusalem and provide pilgrimage alternatives to the CHS, the Crusaders converted the DOR and al-Aqsa mosque into Christian structures. This was in part because it was more cost-effective to modify existing buildings than to build new ones [8, 90–91]. Additionally, they misidentified the DOR as Solomon's temple and converted it into the *Templum Domini* [8, 109]. They decorated the walls with Christian images, which included Christ's Presentation in the Temple [8, 110]. The Crusaders also replaced the DOR's golden dome with lead [8, 110].

The Crusaders also radically changed al-Aqsa mosque into a symbol of the new Christian city. They converted this mosque into a residence for the King of Jerusalem known as the *Templum Salomonis*, as they mistakenly believed that it was Solomon's palace [8, 91]. The Frankish rulers further added an apse, a dividing wall, and expanded its northern porch to transform it into a "new church" [8, 91]. Later, when the Knights Templar used the *Templum Salomonis* as their headquarters, they built a new addition which contained "cellars, refectories, and storehouses" [8, 91]. The *Templum Salomonis* essentially became their headquarters in the city of Jerusalem.

Although the CHS had once served as a rallying cry that united diverse Christian groups who had joined the Crusader cause, its recapture eventually caused Christian infighting. The fight to control the CHS provoked tensions between the Franks and the local Eastern Christian groups, who had been the guardians of the CHS before the First Crusade. The Crusaders initially expelled the native Christians from Jerusalem [4, 276]. The first Frankish patriarch of the city, Daimbert, dismissed the local Orthodox clergymen and replaced them with Frankish Catholics [24, 81–82]. Later, however, Baldwin I realized how underpopulated the city was and decided to ally with the local Christians [4, 277]. Seeing Daimbert's anti-Orthodox mentality as a threat to the Kingdom's stability, Baldwin decided to decisively discredit Daimbert. According to tradition, the annual Holy Fire miracle did not happen when the CHS was staffed by Catholic priests [24, 81–82]. But when Daimbert left the CHS to pray at the *Templum Domini*, the local clergymen went back to the CHS, prayed, and the Holy Fire allegedly reappeared [24, 81–82]. Baldwin used this miraculous occurrence as a pretext to argue that the local Christians deserved a more prominent role in Jerusalem and the CHS [4, 278]. Subsequently, when Daimbert fled the city, Baldwin created incentives for the local Christians to return and for other Christians to repopulate the city [4, 278]. He invited the Greek clergymen back to their original places in the Holy Sepulcher and offered refuge to Syrian Christians from modern-day Jordan [4, 279].

Another example of the CHS being used as a pawn in Crusader Kingdom power struggles can be found in how the Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller competed for the highly prestigious responsibility of caring for Jerusalem's pilgrims. The Knights Templar was founded in 1118 / 1120 AD to protect pilgrims from bandits [14, 60]. Supported by a vast number of influential individuals, such as King Baldwin II of Jerusalem and the Pope, the Templars quickly became key players in the power politics of the Holy Sepulcher [14, 60]. They were headquar-

tered in the *Templum Salomonis*, formerly the royal palace of Baldwin II [14, 60]. By the 13th century AD, the military order had at least 7,000 members and 870 properties throughout the Christian world [14, 60–61]. They became one of the richest and most powerful groups in Jerusalem if not Christendom.

The Knights Templar's greatest rival was the Order of the Hospital of St. John, or the Knights Hospitaller. The Hospitallers were established in 1070/1080 AD to care for poor pilgrims [14, 61]. Unlike the Knights Templar, which was founded for a violent purpose, the Hospitallers only adopted militancy as an extension of their duty to care for pilgrims [14, 61]. However, some scholars assert that the reason behind the change was actually to compete with the Knights Templar for the privileged responsibility of advocating for (defending) the pilgrims that visited the Holy Sepulcher [14, 61]. Although the two organizations shared the same stated purpose, they sought to outdo each other in order to attain the reputation of being *the* military religious order, thus consolidating their influence in the city. In this way, almost every aspect of the CHS was involved in the power brokerage of the Crusader Kingdom, even the responsibility of caring for the church's pilgrims. Having a prominent involvement in the CHS conferred great honor, so even likeminded organizations competed for the sole right to the protect the Church.

The Primary Holy Site in Crusader Jerusalem and Hub of Christianity

The centrality of the CHS in Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land reflects how it had become the most sacred *axis mundi* in Christendom by the time of the Crusades. Much like Mecca and Islam, Christians of the Latin Kingdom were determined to visit the church at all costs. In fact, guards had to be posted around the Calvary area in the CHS to prevent pilgrims from being crushed to death [27, 143–197, 155]. And even if pilgrims could not visit the church in their lifetime, they requested that their cloaks be taken instead to the CHS on their behalf. With the

CHS falling under Christian control, pilgrimage to the Holy City increased dramatically. Travel to the Holy Land was made easier with the advent of a significant naval fleet and religious orders to protect pilgrims during their journey [18].

As the CHS became increasingly accessible, it began to play a more visible role in Christendom internationally. The capture of Jerusalem by the Crusader armies only increased the Christian world's fascination with the CHS. As more and more pilgrims visited the Holy Sepulcher, they became determined to bring some of the CHS's sacrosanctity back to Europe, through replicas and relics.

Many pilgrims and aspiring pilgrims even built replicas of either the famous church's architectural elements or its iconic elements. For example, CHS-themed monasteries were built on the pilgrim roads of Italy, such as monastery of the Holy Sepulcher at Bobbio or that of Borgo San Sepolcro near Florence [25, 63].

Many churches in the West around this time were also inspired by the Rotunda design of the Holy Sepulcher [25, 63]. The Church of St. Michael in Fulda, built from 820–822 AD, had a replica of the CHS's aedicule [25, 63–64]. Additionally, the CHS also served as a model for a church consecrated in 1036 AD at Busdorf outside Paderborn [25, 64]. At the time, even religious structures that were not replicas of the CHS itself had imitations of artifacts found in the CHS, like the tomb of Christ. The abbey of St. Hubert at Ardennes had a marble monument representing the Sepulcher of Christ “consecrated in 1076 [AD] by Bishop Herman of Metz” [25, 64]. As a testament to the CHS's reputation in Christendom as a sacred space, such replicas were considered to possess the miraculous qualities attributed to the CHS, such as its healing power [25, 64].

Additionally, the True Cross (the cross Jesus was allegedly crucified on) became similarly iconic of Christianity. Much like the CHS, the True Cross was also used by European monarchs as a bargaining chip [25, 83]. For example, King Baldwin I of Jerusalem

gave King Sigur of Norway a fragment of the True Cross in 1107 AD [25, 84]. Essentially, possessing fragments of the True Cross legitimized the authority of a monarch, much like how claiming protection of the CHS legitimized the rule of the Crusader kings of Jerusalem.

A New Kind of Pilgrimage to the City of the Humanity of Christ

As Crusaders began to familiarize themselves with Jerusalem, they expanded their interest in the city's sacred geography from merely the site of Jesus' death and resurrection (e.g., the CHS) to diverse sites dedicated to all aspects of Jesus's life. They began to perceive Jerusalem as the place where "[Jesus's] feet had trodden" [35, Ps. 132:7]. The new Crusader oaths and prayers of the 12th century AD emphasized their motivation to travel to "the place where [their] Lord Christ... was born from a Virgin, died, was resurrected and ascended to Heaven" [23, 431]. Additionally, the purpose of pilgrimage to Jerusalem shifted from visiting the CHS to *imitatio Christi*, a phenomenon where pilgrims would "[re-enact] in their own lives the sufferings of Christ" [25, 67].

Moreover, the Christ that the pilgrims imitated was very different from the Christ that Europe had known before the Crusades. Whereas Christ was once depicted as a triumphant, resurrected Savior, people now emphasized his suffering, humanity, and humility more [25, 67]. Some pilgrims attempted to experience the humanity of Christ through self-flagellation [25, 67]. Others, deciding that they had to "deny [themselves], and take up [their] cross daily" in order to truly follow Christ, performed selfless acts during their pilgrimage [25, 69; 35, Lk. 9:23]. A nobleman named Alberic "kissed each of the lepers every day after Mass and carried the feeble among them on his shoulders" [25, 68].

As interest in Jerusalem extended to Jesus' life story more generally, the *locus sanctus* of Jerusalem gradually shifted from the CHS to the humanity of Christ. The Crusaders began marking certain areas of the city as locations of important events in the Bible.

They renamed the gate on the west side of the *Haram* as the 'Sorrowful Gate', where Jesus was led to Calvary Hill for crucifixion [25, 86–87]. To encompass sites all over Jerusalem, the Crusaders created the *Via Dolorosa* (Way of the Cross), allegedly the path that Jesus walked to Golgotha [25, 86]. The sites on the *Via Dolorosa* eventually became the Stations of the Cross.

Even as the focus of pilgrimage to Jerusalem began to place greater emphasis on imitating Christ's humanity, a countervailing trend occurred in the CHS, which began to move away from being a representation of Christ's death. Starting from the 12th century AD, the CHS slowly began to be perceived more as a monument to Christ's resurrection than a tomb to the death of Jesus [25, 70]. This change was even reflected in the name of the CHS. In the 12th century AD, the Latin patriarchs of Jerusalem changed their title to *patriarcha sancti Resurrectionis Christi ecclesie*, which translates as "Patriarch of the Church of the Resurrection of Christ," an obvious reference to the CHS [25, 71]. This signified that the new name of Christianity's most sacred site (*sancti Resurrectionis Christi ecclesie*) placed greater emphasis on Christ's resurrection than that of its old name (*Ecclesia Sancti Sepulchri*; Latin for CHS) [25, 71].

Conclusion

The role of the CHS had constantly changed from its construction to the Latin Kingdom. These changes reflect shifts in Christian perception of sacred space. When the CHS was initially constructed in the Constantinian period, it was merely a religious monument commemorating Christianity's most important miracle. At that time, Christianity discouraged 'worldly' sacred spaces. The construction of the church was originally intended to add a Christian monumental presence to Jerusalem. Eventually, during the Heraclian dynasty of the Byzantine Empire, the very structure and ground of the church became sacred and Jerusalem became subsequently revered as the city of the CHS. As Christianity began to embrace sacred space and the concept of *axis mundus*, the first destruction of the CHS gave the church a status in

the faith comparable to that of the Jewish Temple in Judaism. When the CHS fell under Muslim rule, it became perceived as a symbol of Christianity itself. Muslims built the DOR in emulation of the CHS. The church's sacrosanctity in Christianity increased significantly once it was isolated from the rest of the Christian world. As religious tensions intensified, the CHS was used as a diplomatic pawn and eventually destroyed. This action, coupled with the church's status as Christianity's sole *axis mundus*, transformed the church into a rallying cry for all Christians. By the time of the First Crusade, the CHS was so central to the Christian faith that it unified and compelled European Christians from all walks of life to travel thousands of miles and wage holy war. After Christians captured Jerusalem, the Crusaders ambitiously

expanded the church and beautified it in the Romanesque style to emphasize their control of the city and accommodate the influx of pilgrims. During the Latin Kingdom period, the CHS's role in Christianity subtly changed, becoming more of a proxy in disputes between the Christian groups within Jerusalem. Additionally, as pilgrims became more familiar with the Church, Jerusalem's importance in Christianity shifted from being the city of the Holy Sepulcher to the city of the humanity of Christ. While Christian theology began to argue for the presence of multiple *axis mundi* on earth, rather than one, the sacred geography of Jerusalem in Christianity was expanded from just the CHS to include *axis mundi* encompassing all aspects of Jesus's life, thereby transforming Jerusalem itself into a Christian *axis mundus*.

References:

1. Abu Munshar, Maher Y. A Historical Study of Muslim Treatment of Christians in Islamic Jerusalem at the Time of 'Umar Ibn Al-Khattab and Salah Al-Din with Special Reference to Islamic Value of Justice // PhD diss., University of Abertay Dundee, 2003.
2. Al-Khattab, Umar ibn. Pact of Umar. Accessed December 31, 2019. URL: <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/pact-umar.asp>.
3. Al-Tel, Othman I. The First Islamic Conquest of Aelia (Islamic Jerusalem) A Critical Analytical Study of the Early Islamic Historical Narratives and Sources // PhD diss., University of Abertay Dundee, 2002.
4. Armstrong Karen. Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths. – New York: Ballantine Books, 1997.
5. Asbridge Thomas. The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land. – New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012.
6. Biddle Martin. The Tomb of Christ. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1999.
7. Bloom Johnathan and Sheila S. Blair. Architecture // Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art & Architecture, edited by J. Bloom, 1st ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
8. Boas Adrian J. Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades: Society, Landscape and Art in the Holy City under Frankish Rule. – New York: Routledge, 2001.
9. Comnenus Alexius I, and Robert Payne. Letter to Pope Urban II // The Dream and the Tomb: A History of the Crusades. Lanham: Cooper Square Press, 2000. – P. 28–29.
10. Dauer Tysen. The Place of Power: The Christian Acquisition of the Roman Basilica // Journal of Undergraduate Research at Minnesota State University, Mankato. 2006. – No. 3 (6). – P. 1–17.
11. Elad Amikam. Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage. – Leiden: Brill, 1995.
12. Eusebius. Life of Constantine. Edited by Averil Cameron. – New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
13. Gotein Shelomo D. The Historical Background of the Erection of the Dome of the Rock // Journal of the American Oriental Society. 1950. – No. 2(70). – P. 104–108.

14. Hayes Sarah E. *Strange Bedfellows: The Rise of the Military Religious Orders in the Twelfth Century* // *The Gettysburg Historical Journal*. 2014.– No.7 (13).– P. 59–72.
15. ibn Al-Khattab Umar and Maher Y. Abu-Munshar. *Umar's Assurance* // *Islamic Jerusalem and Its Christians: A History of Tolerance and Tensions*, Reprint, – London: I. B. Tauris, 2012.– 110 p.
16. Kelley Justin L. *The CHS in Text and Archaeology*. Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, 2020.
17. Mc Mahon, Arthur. *Holy Sepulchre* // *Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910.
18. Mylod Elizabeth J. *Latin Christian Pilgrimage in the Holy Land, 1187–1291* // PhD diss. University of Leeds, 2013.
19. Nogent Guibert de. *Deeds of God through the Franks*. Edited by Robert Levine. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997.
20. Daniel. *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel to the Holy Land*,– Kiev,– P. 1106–1107 A. D. Edited by C. W. Wilson.– London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1895.
21. Tyre William. *Chronicles of Archbishop William of Tyre*. Edited by R. B. C. Huygens. Turnhout: Brepols, 1986.
22. Ousterhout Robert. *Rebuilding the Temple: Constantine Monomachus and the Holy Sepulchre* // *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. 1989.– No.1 (48).– P. 66–78.
23. Pennington Kenneth. *The Rite for Taking the Cross in the Twelfth Century* // *Traditio*. 1974.– No.12 (30).– P. 429–435.
24. Ridyard Susan J. *The Medieval Crusade*. Rochester: Boydell Press, 1999.
25. Schein Sylvia. *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187) (Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West)*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.
26. Stephenson Paul. *Constantine: Roman Emperor, Christian Victor*. – New York: Abrams, 2015.
27. Theoderic. *Little Book of the Holy Places* // *Travels Trilogy: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodoricus*, edited by R. B. C. Huygens. Turnhout: Brepols, 1994.
28. Tyerman Christopher. *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2006.
29. Veldt S. Mark. *Christian Attitudes toward the Jews in the Earliest Centuries A. D.* // PhD diss, Western Michigan University, 2007.
30. Wensinck Arent J. *Ḳibla: Ritual and Legal Aspects* // *The Encyclopedia of Islam, New Edition, Volume V: Khe–Mahi*, edited by C. E. Bosworth, 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill, 1986.
31. *The Romanization of Christianity and the Christianization of Rome: The Early Christian Basilica*. State University of New York at Oneonta, Art History Department. Accessed December 31, 2019. URL: http://employees.oneonta.edu/farberas/arth/arth212/early_christian_basilica.html.
32. *The Christian Basilica*. University of Washington Honors Program in Rome. Accessed December 31, 2019. URL: https://depts.washington.edu/hrome/Authors/leahs2/LeahsPresentationtobeEdited/pub_zbarticle_view_printable.html.
33. *Islam: An Overview*. Oxford Islamic Studies Online. Accessed December 31, 2019. URL: <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e1087>.
34. *The Qur'an*. translated by M. A. S. Abdel Haleem, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
35. *The NRSV Standard Bible*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009.

Section 10. Sociology

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-190-196>

Zeqi Lu,
Hun School of Princeton
176 Edgerstoune Rd, Princeton, NJ 08540
E-mail: xxjnicole@hotmail.com

WORLD HAPPINESS AND SOCIAL ECONOMIC FACTORS

Abstract

Aim: This study aimed to build a predictive model for a world happiness score in 2017 using an artificial neural network and compare its performance with a linear regression.

Method: Public data was used in this study. All the records were randomly assigned into two groups: training sample (50%) and testing sample (50%). Two models were built using training samples: an artificial neural network and a linear regression. Mean squared errors (MSE) were calculated and compared between both models. A cross validation was conducted using a loop for the neural network and the `cv.glm()` function in the `boot` package for the linear model. A package called “neuralnet” in R was used to conduct the neural network analysis.

Results: Norway ranked first among 155 countries in the world for the happiness score in 2017. The United States ranked 14th. Canada ranked 7th.

According to the linear regression, economy development, family, health life expectancy, and freedom were significant predictors for the happiness score. Generosity and trust in the government were positively associated with happiness but not statistically significant.

According to the neural network analysis, the most important predictor of happiness was people's generosity and economic development, followed by trust in the government, freedom, family and health life expectancy. Not sure if it's significant to your analysis, but it's not at all clear how each of these categories got numerated in the first place, to then be figured into the models.

For the testing samples, the MSE was 0.30 for the linear regression and 0.29 for the artificial neural network. The artificial neural network performed better slightly.

Conclusions: In this study, we identified important predictors of world happiness in 2017, for example, economic development and being generous.

Keywords: World Happiness; Economic Development; Linear Regression; Neural Network.

1. Introduction

Norway is now the world's happiest country, according to the 2017 World Happiness Report [1].

The Central African Republic was the least happy of 155 countries. The USA is a story of reduced happiness. In 2007 the USA ranked 3rd among the OECD

countries; in 2017 it came 14th. The reasons are declining social support and increased corruption.

There are many factors that affect a country's happiness. One of them is how rich or poor a country is. Researchers found that happiness tends to be the highest among people living in the richest countries and even within those countries, people of higher incomes tended to be happier than those with lower incomes [2]. Happiness goes with healthier habits [3]. For example, people who are happy tend to eat better, exercise more often and get better sleep than those who are not. Freedom to make life choices can affect a country's happiness. According to the General Social Survey, people who said that they felt completely or very free were twice as likely to say that they were happy than those who felt a moderate amount of freedom, little freedom or even none at all [4].

This study aimed to build a predictive model for happiness score using artificial neural network and compare its performance with traditional regression method, linear regression.

2. Data and Methods:

Data

The World Happiness 2017, which ranks 155 countries by their happiness levels, was released at the United Nations at an event celebrating International Day of Happiness on March 20th. The report continues to gain global recognition as governments, organizations and civil society increasingly use happiness indicators to inform their policy-making decisions. Leading experts across fields – economics, psychology, survey analysis, national statistics, health, public policy and more – describe how measurements of well-being can be used effectively to assess the progress of nations. The reports review the state of happiness in the world today and show how the new science of happiness explains personal and national variations in happiness. This dataset is public available for research. It is available here: <https://www.kaggle.com/unsdsn/world-happiness>. The primary outcome variable was happiness score.

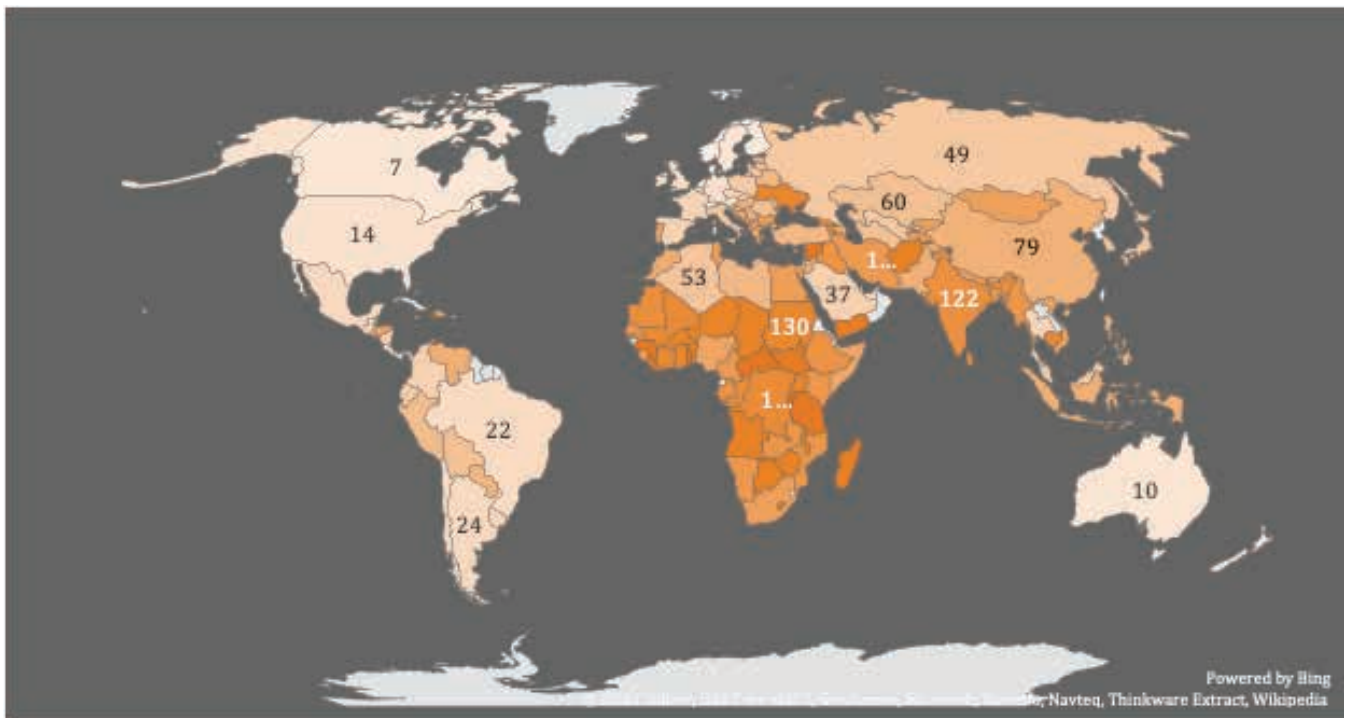


Figure 1 a. Happiness Score Rank in 2017

The following columns: GDP per Capita, Family, Life Expectancy, Freedom, Generosity, Trust Gov-

ernment Corruption describe the extent to which these factors contribute in evaluating the happiness

in each country. The Dystopia Residual metric actually is the Dystopia Happiness Score(1.85) + the

Residual value or the unexplained value for each country as stated in the previous answer.

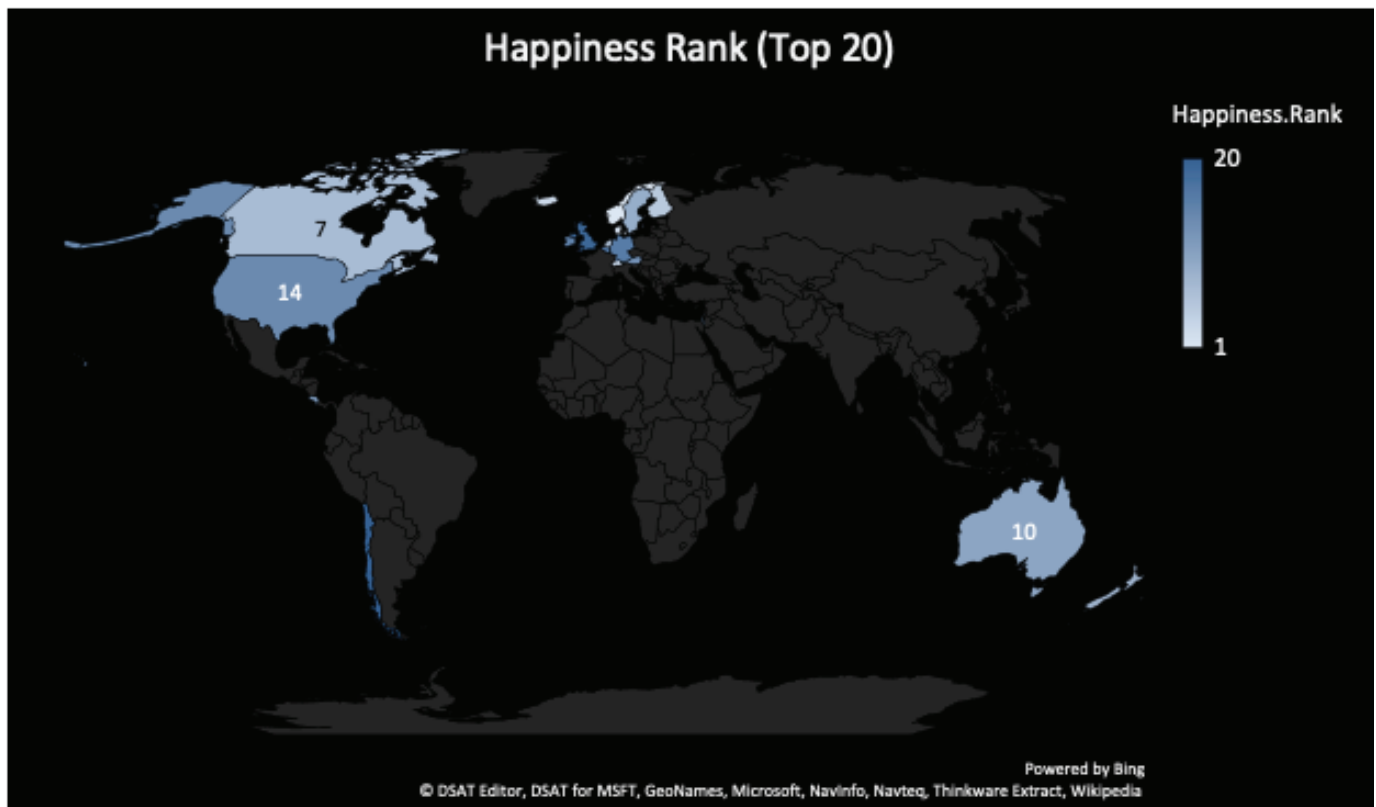


Figure 1 b. Happiness Score Rank in 2017 (Top 20)

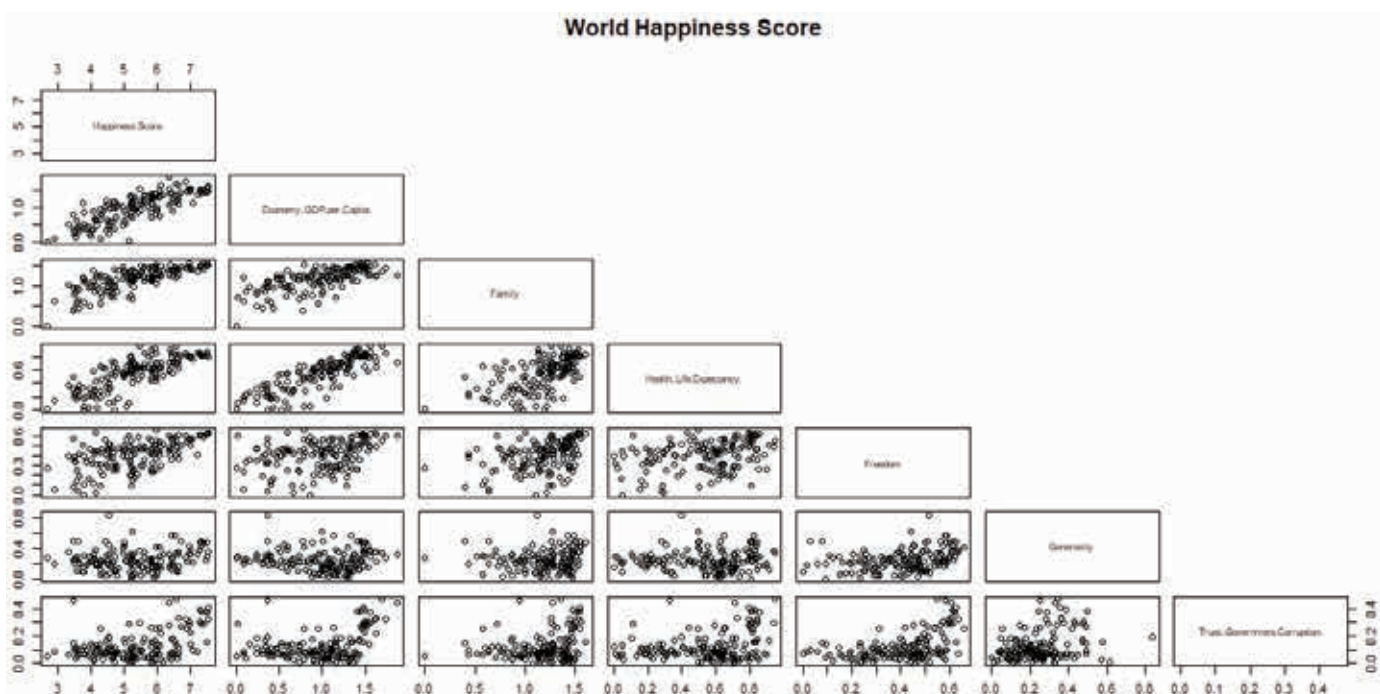


Figure 2. Scatterplot Matrix of Happiness Score and Other Features

All the records were randomly assigned into 2 groups: training sample (50%) and testing sample (50%). Two models were built using training sample: artificial neural network and linear regression. Mean squared errors (MSE) were calculated and compared between both models. A cross validation was conducted using a loop for the neural network

and the `cv.glm` function in the `boot` package for the linear model. A package called “neuralnet” in R was used to conduct neural network analysis.

3. Results:

Norway ranked the first place in the world for the happiness score in 2017. The United States ranked the 14th. Canada ranked the 7th.

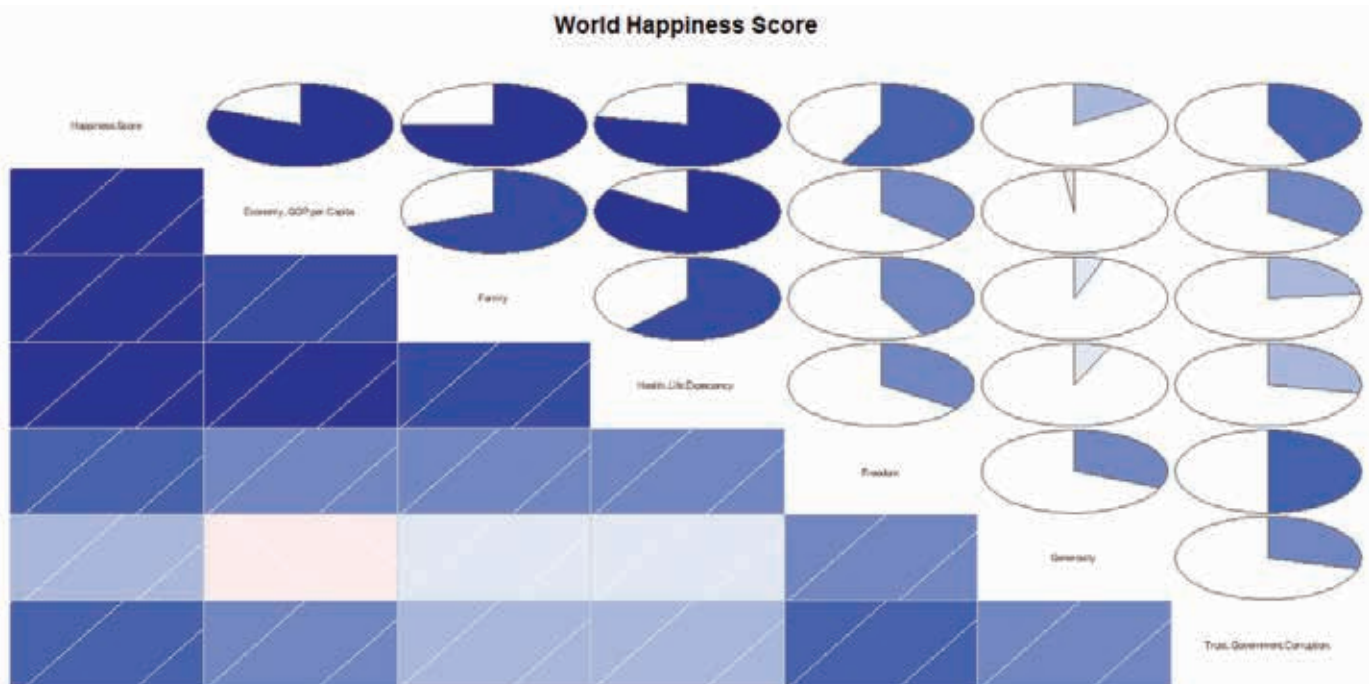


Figure 3. Matrix Of Correlations Between Variables

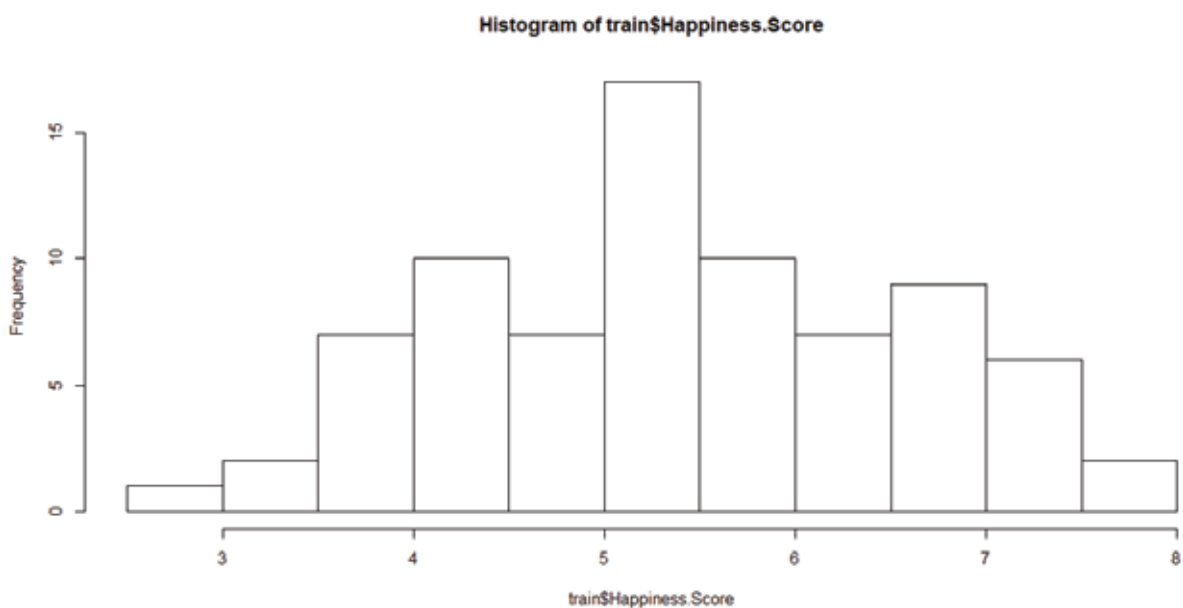


Figure 4. Distribution of Happiness Score in Training Sample

Basically, a corrgram is a graphical representation of the cells of a matrix of correlations. The idea is to display the pattern of correlations in terms of their signs and magnitudes using visual thinning and correlation-based variable ordering. Moreover, the

cells of the matrix can be shaded or colored to show the correlation value. The positive correlations are shown in blue, while the negative correlations are shown in red; the darker the hue, the greater the magnitude of the correlation.

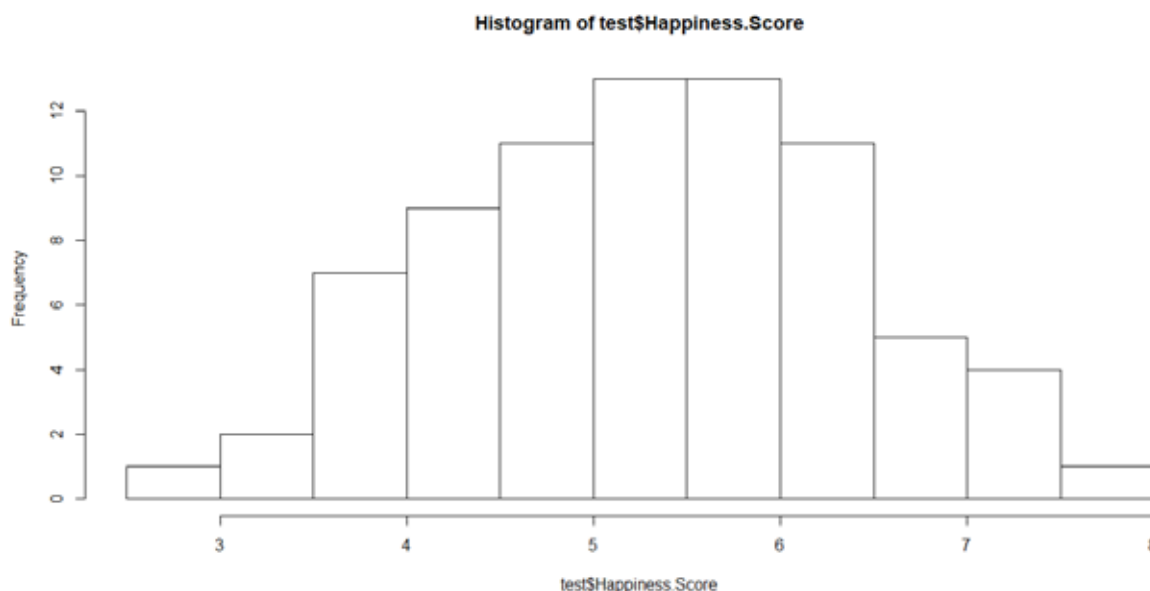


Figure 5. Distribution of Happiness Score in Test Sample

According to the linear regression, economy development, family, health life expectancy, freedom were significant predictors for happiness score. Gen-

erosity and trust to the government were positively associated with the happiness but not statistically significant.

Table 1. – Linear Regression To Predict Happiness score

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t)	
(Intercept)	1.743	0.187	9.303	0.00000	***
Economy. GDP. per. Capita.	0.784	0.205	3.836	0.00018	***
Family	1.118	0.202	5.532	0.00000	***
Health. Life. Expectancy.	1.289	0.322	4.009	0.00010	***
Freedom	1.476	0.343	4.309	0.00003	***
Generosity	0.381	0.329	1.156	0.24952	
Trust. Government. Corruption.	0.827	0.484	1.707	0.08998	.

In above plot, line thickness represents weight magnitude and line color weight sign (black = positive, grey = negative). The net is essentially a black box so we cannot say that much about the fitting, the weights and the model. Suffice to say that the training algorithm has converged and therefore the model is ready to be used.

According to the neural network analysis, the most important predictor of happiness score was people's generosity, the economy development, followed by the trust to the government, freedom, family and health life expectancy.

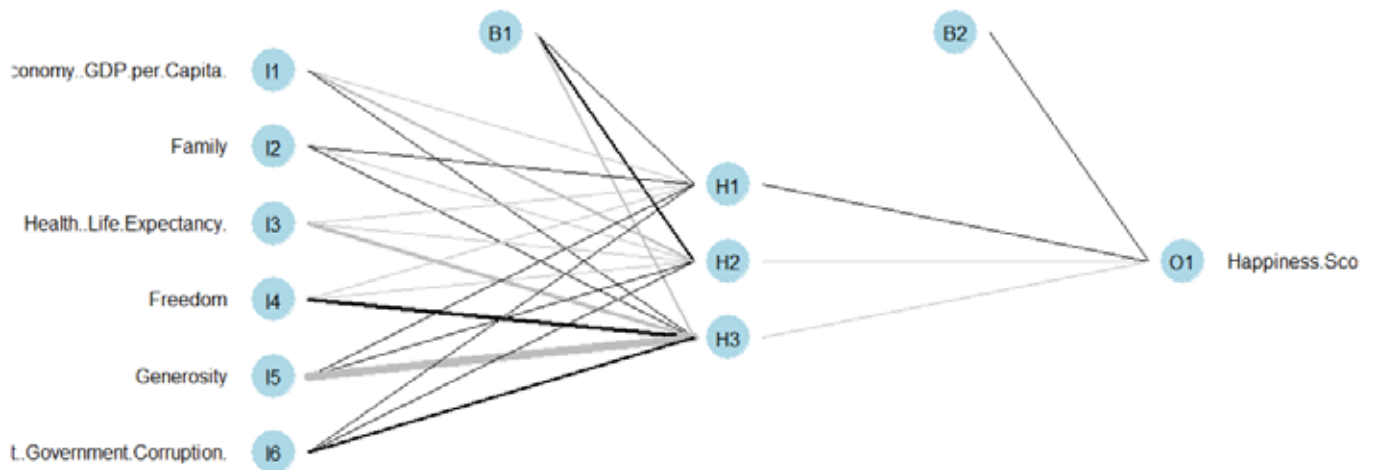


Figure 6. Neural Network of Happiness score in Training Sample

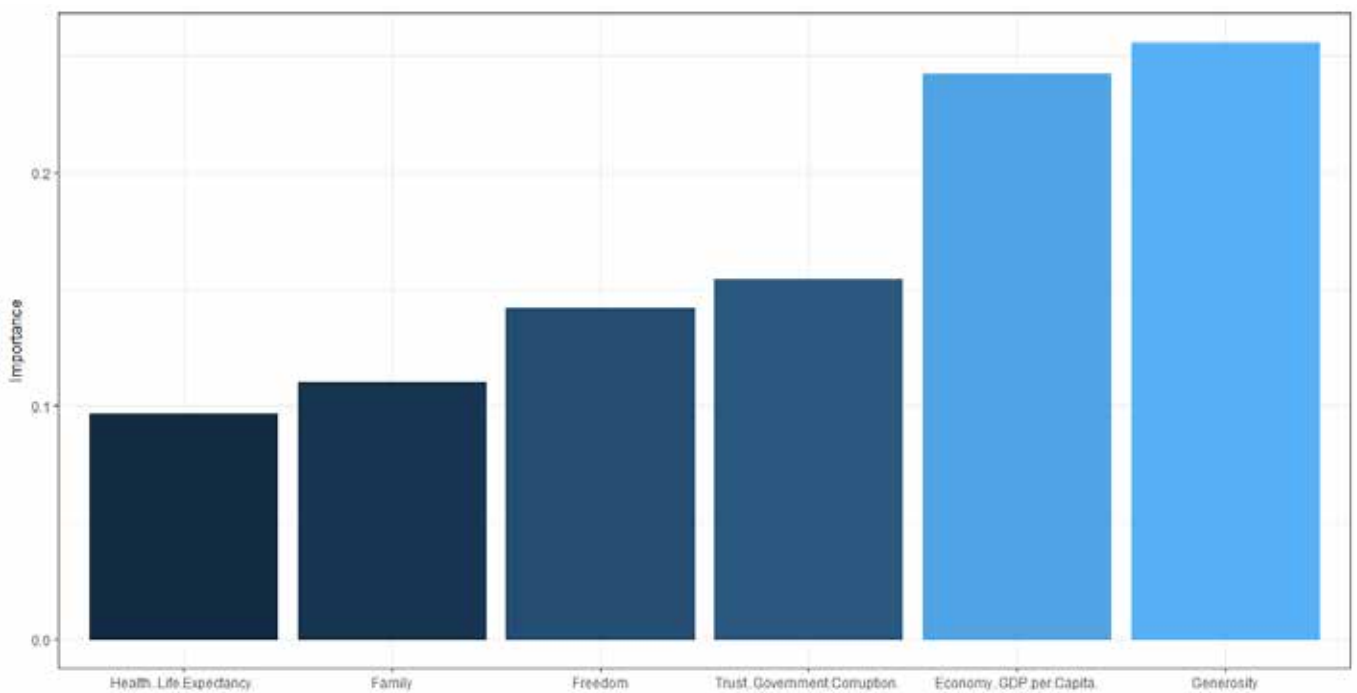


Figure 7. Variable Importance in Artificial Neural Network

For testing sample, the MSE was 0.30 for the linear regression and 0.29 for the artificial neural network. Artificial neural network performed better slightly.

4. Discussion

We built a predictive model for happiness score using artificial neural network and compare its performance with traditional regression method, linear regression.

According to the linear regression, economy development, family, health life expectancy, freedom were significant predictors for happiness score. Generosity and trust to the government were positively associated with the happiness but not statistically significant.

According to the neural network analysis, the most important predictor of happiness score was people's generosity, the economy development, fol-

lowed by the trust to the government, freedom, family and health life expectancy.

There are limitations of this study. Other predictors of happiness score were not available in this database, for example access to professional for mental

health. This study was done on country level. The findings may or may not apply to individuals.

In this study, we identified important of predictors of world happiness score in 2017, for example, economic development.

References:

1. Data refer to: URL: <http://worldhappiness.report>
2. Richard A. Easter. Happiness and Economic Growth: The Evidence. 2013.
3. Fabio Sabatini. The Relationship Between Happiness and Health: Evidence from Italy. 2011.
4. Norc. Eeneral Social Survey Final Report Trends in Psychological Well-Being, 1972–2014. 2015.
5. Tabachnick B. and Fidell L. Using Multivariate Statistics (4th Ed.). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon, 2001.
6. Stat Soft, Electronic Statistics Textbook. URL: <http://www.statsoft.com/textbook/stathome.html>. URL: <http://www.statsoft.com/textbook/stathome.html>
7. Stokes M., Davis C. S. Categorical Data Analysis Using the SAS System, SAS Institute Inc., 1995.

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-197-203>

Hu Po,
Hangzhou Foreign Language School, China
E-mail: 13605829778@163.com

TRENDS IN HUMAN FREEDOM INDEX ACROSS GLOBAL REGIONS DURING 2008–2016

Abstract

Introduction: The Human Freedom Index presents the state of human freedom in the world based on a broad measure that encompasses personal, civil, and economic freedom. In this study, we examined the trends in the human freedom index across the regions during 2008–2016. We aimed to understand if there was improvement in the index over the years and regional difference was widening.

Methods: The data was a public database. We used linear regression to examine the regional difference in the human freedom index which included both personal freedom index and economic freedom index date. In the same model, we also assessed if there was significant improvement in human freedom index over the time.

Results: The personal freedom decreased remarkably from 7.4 in 2008 to 6.98 in 2016. The economic freedom remained little changed during the same period, ranging from 6.74 in 2008 to 6.82 in 2014. Both trends resulted in a decrease in the overall human freedom index over the years, declining from 7.07 in year 2008 to 6.89 in year 2016.

Western Europe had the highest personal freedom index in year 2016, followed by North America, Oceania, East Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America. Middle east & North Africa had the lowest score.

A continuous decline in the personal freedom was observed in Middle East & North Africa, South Asia, and Central Asia in recently years. Oceania had a continuous increase since 2012.

North America had the highest human freedom index in year 2016, followed by Western Europe, Oceania, East Asia, Eastern Europe. Middle east & North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa had the lowest score.

A continuous increase in the human freedom was observed in West Europe and East Asia in recently years. Latin America and Middle East & North Africa saw a drop in human freedom over the years.

In 2016, 18 countries in Sub-Saharan in the bottom quarter of human freedom index, 11 countries in Middle East & North Africa, and 5 countries in South Asia. Over the years, less countries from Sub-Saharan and more countries from Middle East & North Africa were in the bottom quarter.

According to the linear regression, compared to West Europe, all other regions except for North America had a significant lower scoring for human freedom index date. Overall, there was not significant difference over the time period.

Conclusions: In this study, we found that significant regional differences in personal freedom index and economic freedom index therefore in human freedom index. Despite the fact that personal freedom index or economic freedom index might have increased over the time in some regions, the human freedom index remained little changed globally.

Keywords: Human freedom index, economic freedom, North America, West Europe, linear regression model.

Introduction:

The Human Freedom Index presents the state of human freedom in the world based on a broad measure that encompasses personal, civil, and economic freedom. Human freedom is a social concept that recognizes the dignity of individuals and is defined here as negative liberty or the absence of coercive constraint. Because freedom is inherently valuable and plays a role in human progress, it is worth measuring carefully. The Human Freedom Index is a resource that can help to more objectively observe relationships between freedom and other social and economic phenomena, as well as the ways in which the various dimensions of freedom interact with one another [1].

This Human Freedom Index uses distinct indicators of personal and economic freedom in over 100 countries worldwide.

1. Rule of Law;
2. Security and Safety;
3. Movement;
4. Religion;
5. Association, Assembly, and Civil Society;
6. Expression and Information;
7. Identity and Relationships;
8. Size of Government;
9. Legal System and Property Rights;
10. Access to Sound Money;
11. Freedom to Trade Internationally;
12. Regulation of Credit, Labor, and Business.

In this study, we examined the trends in the human freedom index across the regions during 2008–2016. We aimed to understand if there was improvement in the index over the years and regional difference was widening.

Data and Methods:

A central purpose of The Human Freedom Index is to paint a broad but reasonably accurate picture of the extent of overall freedom in the world. A larger purpose is to more carefully explore what we mean by freedom

and to better understand its relationship to any number of other social and economic phenomena [2].

The Human Freedom Index measures economic freedoms such as the freedom to trade or to use sound money, and it captures the degree to which people are free to enjoy the major freedoms often referred to as civil liberties – freedom of speech, religion, association, and assembly– in the countries in the survey. In addition, it includes indicators on rule of law, crime and violence, freedom of movement, and legal discrimination against same-sex relationships. We also include nine variables pertaining to women-specific freedoms that are found in various categories of the index.

In linear regression, the relationships are modeled using linear predictor functions whose unknown model parameters are estimated from the data.

R² or r² and pronounced “R squared”, is the proportion of the variance in the dependent variable that is predictable from the independent variable(s)

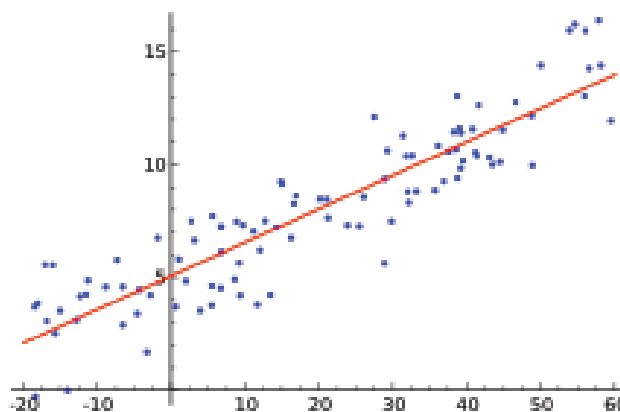


Figure 1.

Results:

The personal freedom decreased remarkably from 7.4 in 2008 to 6.98 in 2016. The economic freedom remained little changed during the same period, ranging from 6.74 in 2008 to 6.82 in 2014. Both trends resulted in a decrease in the overall human freedom index over the years, declining from 7.07 in year 2008 to 6.89 in year 2016.

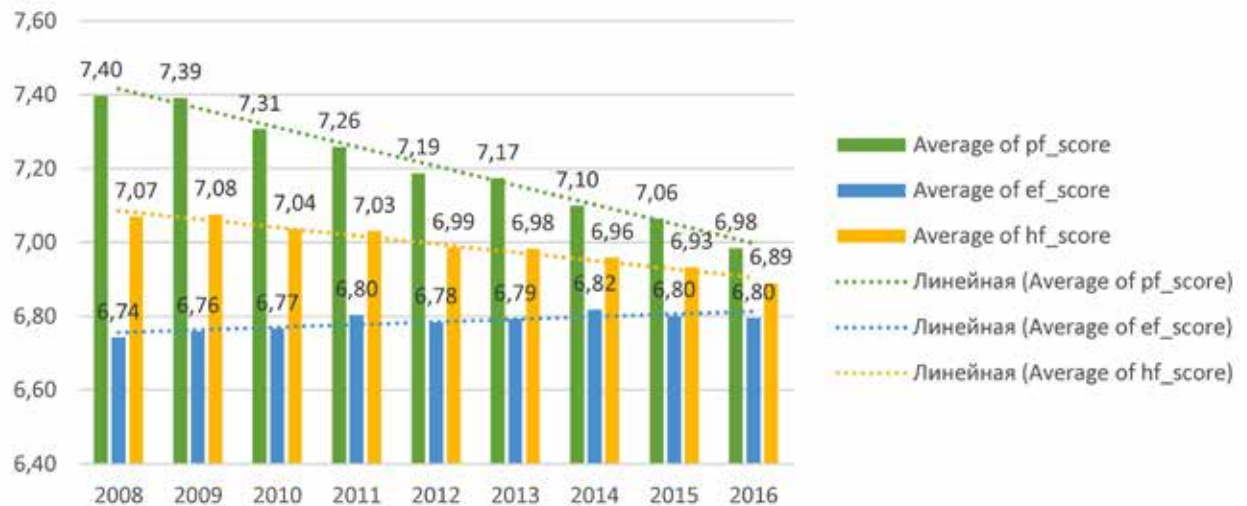


Figure 2. Personal freedom, economic freedom and human freedom index

Personal freedom in each region over the time

Western Europe had the highest personal freedom index in year 2016, followed by North America, Oceania, East Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America. Middle east & North Africa had the lowest score.

A continuous decline in the personal freedom was observed in Middle East & North Africa, South Asia, and Central Asia in recently years. Oceania had a continuous increase since 2012.

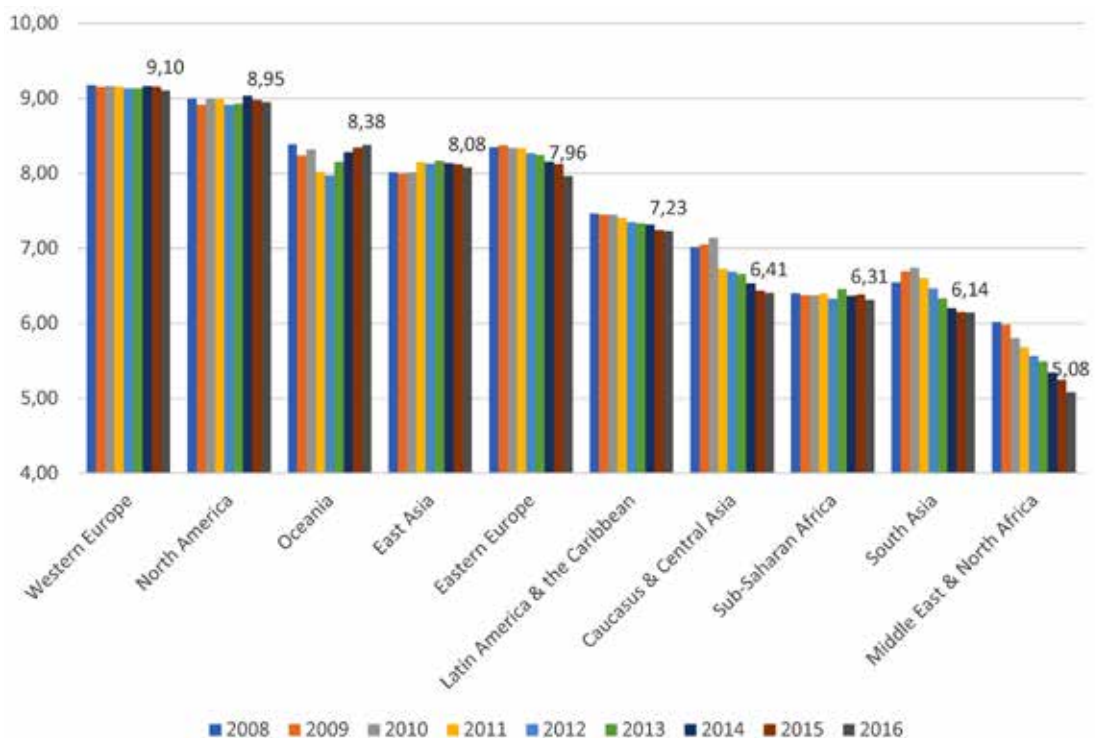


Figure 3. Economic freedom index in each region over the time

North America had the highest economic freedom index in year 2016, followed by Western Europe, East Asia, Oceania, Central Asia, Eastern Eu-

rope. Sub-Saharan Africa and Middle east & North Africa had the lowest score.

A continuous increase in the economic freedom was observed in East Asia and South Asia, and Central Asia in recently years. Oceania and Middle East

& North Africa saw a drop in economic freedom over the years.

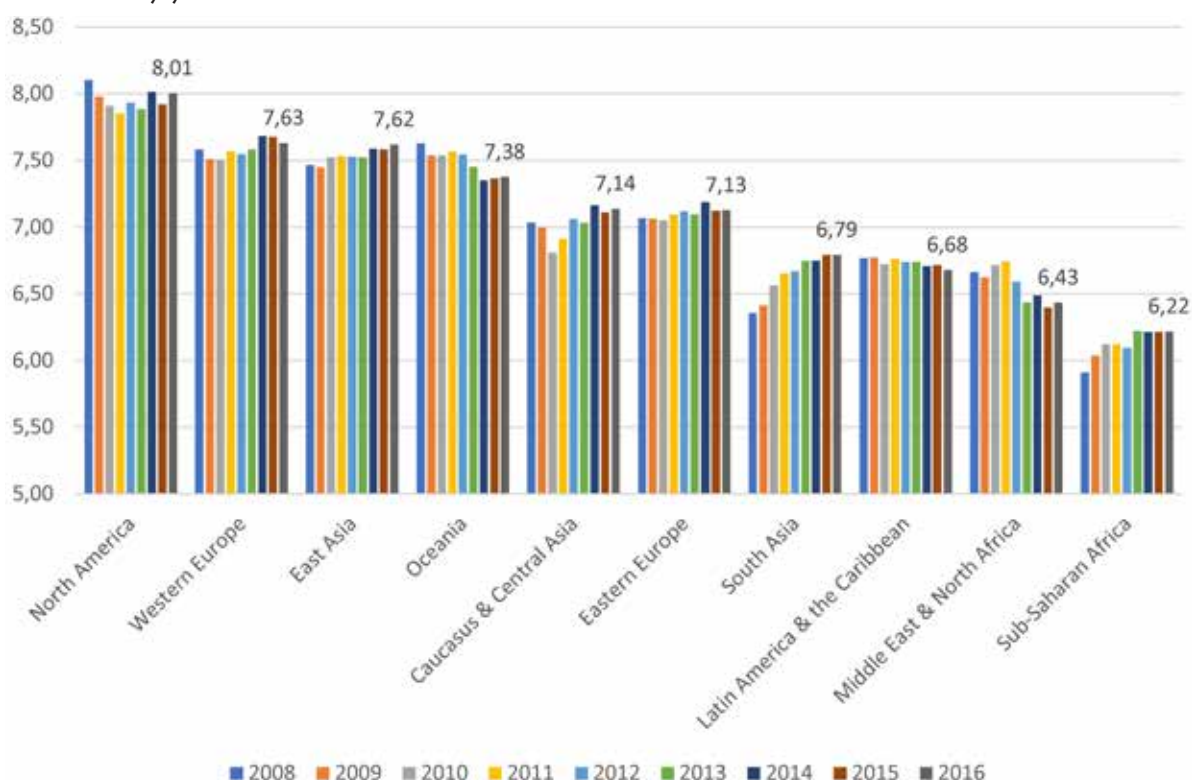


Figure 4. Economic Freedom Index

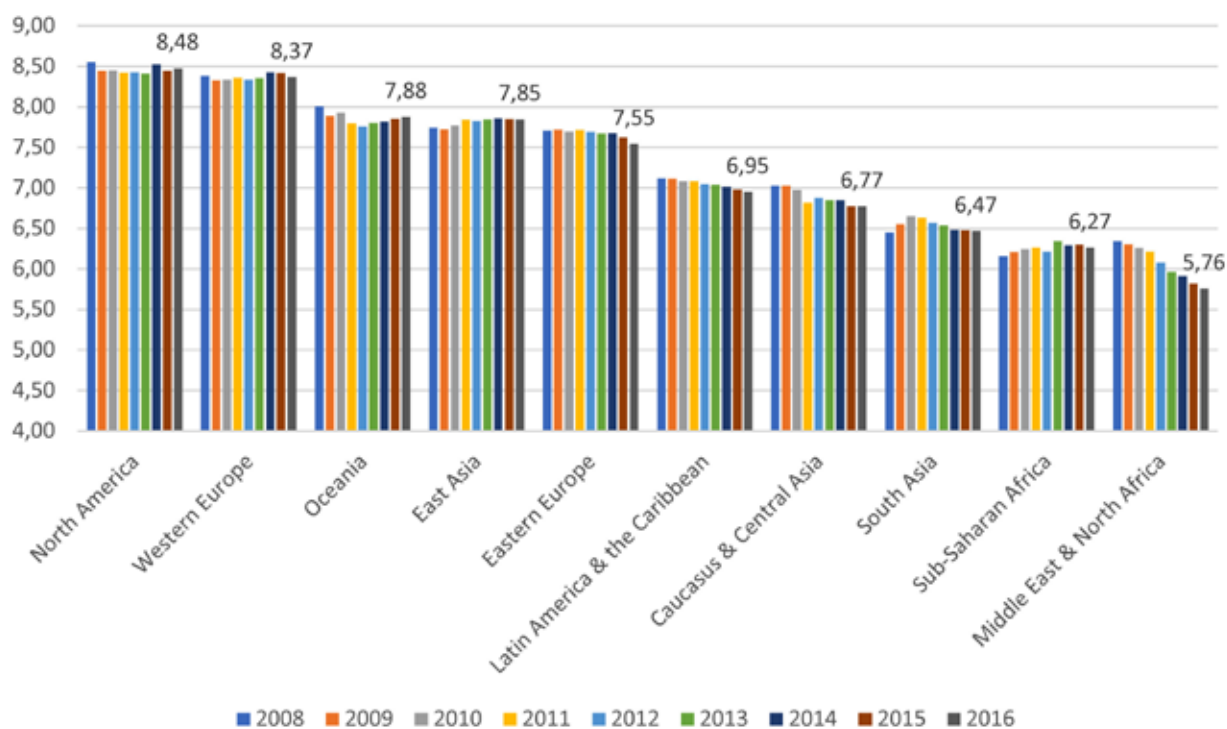


Figure 5. Human freedom index in each region over the time

North America had the highest human freedom index in year 2016, followed by Western Europe, Oceania, East Asia, Eastern Europe. Middle east & North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa had the lowest score.

A continuous increase in the human freedom was observed in West Europe and East Asia in recently years. Latin America and Middle East & North Africa saw a drop in human freedom over the years.

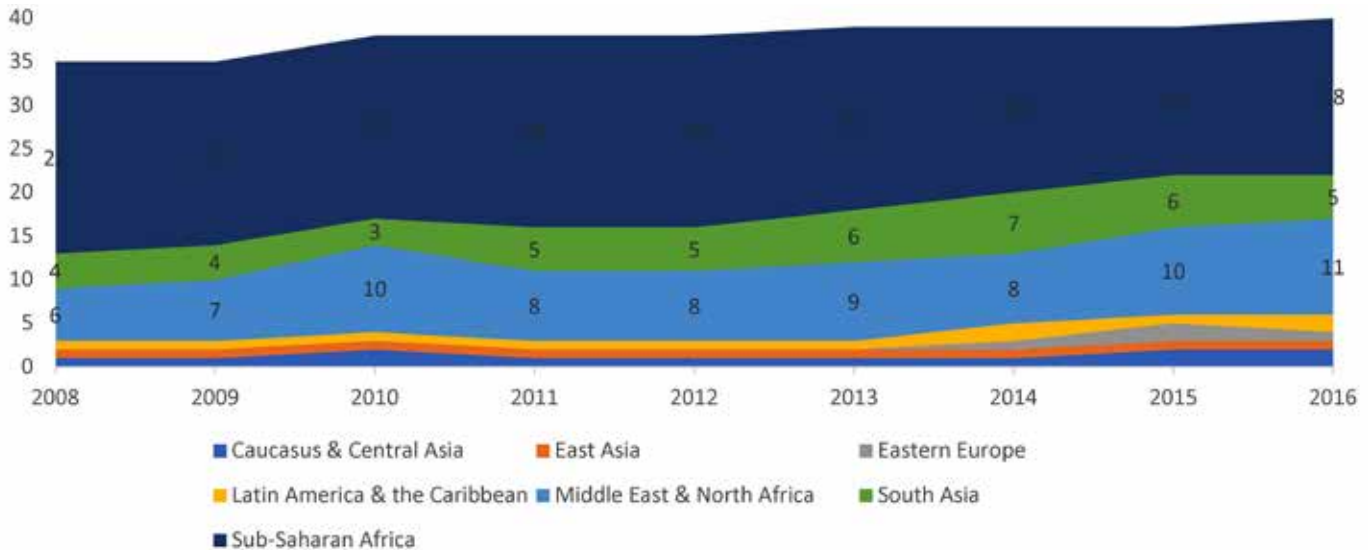


Figure 6. Of countries in the bottom quarter of human freedom index

In 2016, 18 countries in Sub-Saharan in the bottom quarter of human freedom index, 11 countries in Middle East & North Africa, and 5 countries in South Asia. Over the years, less countries from Sub-Saharan and more countries from Middle East & North Africa were in the bottom quarter.

According to the linear regression, compared to West Europe, all other regions except for North America had a significant lower scoring for human freedom index date. Overall, there was not significant difference over the time period.

Table 1. – Linear regression of Human Freedom Index on the Regions and Time Periods

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t)	
1	2	3	4	5	6
(Intercept)	8.294	0.072	115.470	< 2e-16	***
Cent_asia	−1.488	0.106	−14.058	< 2e-16	***
East_asia	−0.555	0.104	−5.322	0.000	***
East_euro	−0.696	0.071	−9.806	< 2e-16	***
Latin_ame	−1.320	0.068	−19.418	< 2e-16	***
Midd_east	−2.314	0.075	−30.746	< 2e-16	***
Nor_ame	0.094	0.165	0.568	0.570	
Oceaia	−0.510	0.122	−4.165	0.000	***
South_asia	−1.832	0.077	−23.711	< 2e-16	***
Africa	−2.110	0.063	−33.403	< 2e-16	***
West_euro	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Y2008	0.096	0.077	1.255	0.210	
Y2009	0.102	0.077	1.332	0.183	
Y2010	0.115	0.075	1.539	0.124	

1	2	3	4	5	6
Y2011	0.110	0.075	1.470	0.142	
Y2012	0.065	0.075	0.865	0.387	
Y2013	0.080	0.074	1.079	0.281	
Y2014	0.063	0.074	0.852	0.394	
Y2015	0.037	0.074	0.502	0.616	
Y2016	NA	NA	NA	NA	

R-squared is 0.586, meaning that the model explains 58.6% of the variance in the human freedom index.

Discussion

In this study, we examined the trends in the human freedom index across the regions during 2008–2016. We aimed to understand if there was improvement in the index over the years and regional difference was widening.

The personal freedom decreased remarkably from 7.4 in 2008 to 6.98 in 2016. The economic freedom remained little changed during the same period, ranging from 6.74 in 2008 to 6.82 in 2014. Both trends resulted in a decrease in the overall human freedom index over the years, declining from 7.07 in year 2008 to 6.89 in year 2016.

Western Europe had the highest personal freedom index in year 2016, followed by North America, Oceania, East Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America. Middle east & North Africa had the lowest score. A continuous decline in the personal freedom was observed in Middle East & North Africa, South Asia, and Central Asia in recently years. Oceania had a continuous increase since 2012.

North America had the highest human freedom index in year 2016, followed by Western Europe, Oceania, East Asia, Eastern Europe. Middle east &

North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa had the lowest score. A continuous increase in the human freedom was observed in West Europe and East Asia in recently years. Latin America and Middle East & North Africa saw a drop in human freedom over the years.

In 2016, 18 countries in Sub-Saharan in the bottom quarter of human freedom index, 11 countries in Middle East & North Africa, and 5 countries in South Asia. Over the years, less countries from Sub-Saharan and more countries from Middle East & North Africa were in the bottom quarter.

According to the linear regression, compared to West Europe, all other regions except for North America had a significant lower scoring for human freedom index date. Overall, there was not significant difference over the time period.

In this study, we found that significant regional differences in personal freedom index and economic freedom index therefore in human freedom index. Despite the fact that personal freedom index or economic freedom index might have increased over the time in some regions, the human freedom index remained little changed globally.

References:

1. Data refer to: URL: <https://www.cato.org/human-freedom-index-new>
2. Ian Vásquez and Tanja Porčnik. The Human Freedom Index 2018: A Global Measurement of Personal, Civil, and Economic Freedom. Washington: Cato Institute, Fraser Institute, and the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, 2018.
3. Peng C. J., Lee K. L., Ingersoll G. M. An Introduction to Logistic Regression Analysis and Reporting. The Journal of Educational Research, 96(1),– P. 3–14.
4. Tabachnick B. and Fidell L. Using Multivariate Statistics (4th Ed.). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon, 2001.

5. Stat Soft, Electronic Statistics Textbook. URL: <http://www.statsoft.com/textbook/stathome.html>.
<http://www.statsoft.com/textbook/stathome.html>
6. Stokes M., Davis C. S. Categorical Data Analysis Using the SAS System, SAS Institute Inc., 1995.

Section 11. Philology

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-204-209>

*Meirbekov Akylbek Kairatbekovich,
Ph D., acting associate professor
International Kazakh-Turkish University named Khoja Akhmet Yassawi,
E-mail: phd.doctor7@gmail.com
Aimbetova Indira Orazgalievna,
Associate professor,
International Kazakh-Turkish University named Khoja Akhmet Yassawi,
E-mail: science@ayu.edu.kz*

COLORS' NAMES IN KAZAKH TOPONYMY

Abstract. The purpose of this article is to present and use fundamental information such as semantic meanings and geographical features of colors (a type of toponym including color names) in Kazakhstan. The research material is Kazakh place names, and the purpose is to identify idioethnic features of space perception. Toponymic data for this study were obtained from the database of toponyms of Kazakhstan. The results showed that the most common names of colors recognized in toponymy are that have a close connection with everyday life and positive morals in Kazakh culture and literature.

Keywords: Kazakh, color, place names, toponymy, culture.

Introduction: The main factor in the nomination of toponymy of the Kazakh people has always been – the colors' names. The colors' world in the culture of any nation has its own distinctive character, its own symbolic significance. Thus, through the “color in culture”, people expressed their own aesthetic viewpoint, emotional state, and human moral understanding. The environment, the world and the sky, and even any items related to material culture, clothing, equipment, or the tradition which is related to spiritual culture can't be accept without color. Without it, world is not complete. Therefore, color is the only way to show the culture of the nation. It deeply spreads its roots and is combined with

the mythical concept of our ancestors. The world of color – includes many sources of language and ways of understanding the surrounding nature, the self, the things and phenomena in society. Personal experience of individuals suggests that the image of the world, having in the mind of human being, is not monochrome. Color has become and remains one of the most important parameters of the perception of truth, which is reflected in Kazakh languages and geographical names. Color has an objective character as a physical characteristic of the world, but the perception of colors in individuals may be different. Distinction of colors in acts of sensory perception and operations with the data obtained in speech acts

of individuals are connected with connection of sensory experience.

The relevance of research: The study of toponyms, which represent the world of national knowledge of Kazakh people, following the new scientific paradigm, allows us to set goals, objectives, important concepts and techniques, to form the theoretical basis of unprecedented metotoxicity of toponymy.

The place and importance of toponyms in the knowledge of the world through language, the definition of mental cognitive characteristics of toponymic language units is one of the urgent problems of the Kazakh language.

Thus, the most promising and relevant are the cognitive-pragmatic aspects of the toponymic system of language considering the laws of speech nomination and human thinking in the use of toponymic vocabulary. The article deals with semantic, motivational features of toponymic nominations, their linguo-cultural, socio-linguistic, pragmatic, cognitive and conceptual features, as well as a wide range of linguistic problems that allow to control the relationship between a person and the object of toponymic engraving. Combining system-structural and semantic methods of research of toponymic material allows to reveal the essence of the processes of primary and secondary toponymic nomination. This allows us to define cultural connotations, associations, symbols and other concepts of place names, paying attention to the "color names", as well as to establish the linguistic and linguistic factors of their variability.

As we have already noted, in a broad cognitive direction, it is important to study the linguistic image of the world, characterized by the knowledge and concept of individual onomastic units based on ethnic interests. The onomastic system in the Kazakh language, as a language structure, corresponds to their characteristic conceptual system. In this regard, onomastic concepts that mentally characterize the surrounding being, most concretize the experience of knowledge accumulated on the scale of "language-concept-nation". Comprehensive consideration of

the nature, nature, activity of Kazakh place names in the three-point integrity "language-concept-nation" today is an urgent problem of onomastics, as cognitive, cognitive life of the Kazakh ethnic group has not yet been deeply studied based on onomastics materials based on color names.

Research methods: During the research were used: descriptive, systematized, computational, classification, cognitive, conceptual analysis, methods of component analysis. The description used in the research, systematization, comparison, summarization, classification, analysis, helped to give cognitive-linguistic, linguistic-conceptual, linguocultural, semiotic characteristics of the material being analyzed.

The results of the study: In the cognitive aspect of the study of color names in the Kazakh language, N. N. Aitova contains the following issues: nature of color names and semiotics of lingual culture, historical character of Kazakh colors and its names, archetypal image of color formation, symbolic nature of color, color image of the space, cognitive paradigms, etc. The process of color separation in the space is carried out in the central nervous system through perceptual perception of the human [1, 5].

There are several significant works in the Kazakh linguistics on the study of the environment, shape, volume, color of the object, its lexical structural, ethno-linguistic, cognitive nature. Scientific articles A. N. Kononov, V. N. Konkashbaev, O. T. Molchanova and monographic work "Tur-tusterdin tildegi korinisi" of A. Kaidarova, Z. T. Akhmametyeva, B. Omirbekov, Sh. K. Zharkynbekova conducted a comparative study of Kazakh and Russian languages. We considered it necessary to dwell carefully on the semantic features of the common attributes of color in the toponymy.

The most commonly used color names in geographical names are not used equally in all cases, but are used to describe conformities with different natural conditions, geographical features, orientation, location. The color names in toponymy are often used to describe the four corners of the world,

the west and the east, the south and the north, and the geographical location of the objects. However, it should not be considered as a specific characteristic of the Kazakh language or only for the Kazakh people. This is a cosmogonic, geo-symbolic tradition common to the entire Turkic world, originating from ancient times. For many centuries, the Kazakh people, living in nature, paid attention to various secrets of their environment. During adaptation to the natural environment show signs of terrain, climatic characteristics, water sources, vegetation cover, nature of pasture etc. also, relief features, resulting from adverse environmental conditions, manifest themselves in the names related to geographical color. Thus, we see the vigilance of the Kazakh people as a result of complex nominations that reflect the color nature of the Land. Because the names of the land in any region are created based on the language of the population, experiencing long-term historical and linguistic changes. The discovery of monuments of the ancient Turkic language, the preservation of the dictionary of M. Kashgari, abundantly illuminating the language system of the country to the present, it is necessary to analyze the ancient Turkic toponymy. In any case, the complex concept that arises concerning color has been observed in the study of the fact that the toponymy arises for any reason. First of all, resettlement and survival of the Kazakh people in the transition from nomadic to resettlement became widely practiced by toponyms. We observe physical, relief, critical-characteristic features from the geographical names marked by the population. Even in the geographical names you can see the features of the economy of the country, everyday life, activities in nature. In Kazakh place names “Ak (in kazakh. “ақ” transliterated as “ak”) (white)” are very common in all types of place names (land, water, mountain, city, town, steppe, etc.). For example, in the geographical names that have arisen concerning the names of white and black, red, yellow, gray, brown, blonde, blue, color concepts are used in direct and variable values. We considered and tried to find a solution

based on nominations, motivation theory. A word having a status of concept naming is lingual symbolfully and exactly defining the content of a concept [2, 177]. Kazakhstan has a large number of words denoting a particular color in the composition of the geographical names. Adjectives denoting color, black, white, red, blue, yellow, brown, etc., usually mean the color or kind of objects, and serve to identify geographical objects such as mountain, stone, hill, spring, ditch, high, water, steppe, road, ridge, saline, sand, rocky, fillet etc.

Names denoting color are largely directly related to the color of the rock mass forming the mountain. Given that this raises a controversial situation, it is necessary to focus on the names of objects with some specific geographical characteristics.

“Akshoky” is a mountain>s name in the East Kazakhstan region, the absolute height of the mountain reaches 1055 m. P. Semenov is explained the origin of the name as follows: “the reason for obtaining the mountain of this name depends on the fact that for a long time it is in a snow captivity.”

Sometimes there is an explanation of the etymology of this name as quot “Grassy ridge”. In the vicinity of the Akshoky mountains a large crowd of names (Aktas, Akshuly, Jakubek, Akshi, Sarycheku, Karazhal). Therefore, it can be concluded that in the classification of orographic elements for this region there is a main sign-the color of objects (rocks, snow, etc.).

Kokshetau is a granite massif, sharply raised from the adjacent physical plain planes, with vertical slopes. The difference in height (amplitude) with the adjacent plains up to 500 m. a Special impression about the nature of the mountains is evidenced by the words of F. Nazarov, taking place in this region in 1813”... on the right side of the 3-day on a blue background seen Kokshetau mountain on a harsh hill, mountain peaks clouds” [3, 22]. This indicates that the mountain’s name is associated with color.

At the same time, when analyzing the semantics of Kazakh place names, which represent color, we can say that the adjectives “color” in the geographi-

cal names have not only a color expression or color value but in some place names we can see that they represent different meanings.

Researcher of hydronyms of the Northern region of Kazakhstan G. Sh. Bekenova states that Kazakh hydronyms often contain names of rivers, lakes depending on the color, and in this region, depending on the color, the linguistic analysis of names with white, black, red, yellow, brown, pale, chubar, blue words is studied. Example: Akbulak, Akkuduk, Aksu, Alakol, Karaagach, Karabulak, Karhausen, Kokterek, Koktobe, Kyzylagash, Kizlar, Saryozek, Sarybulak, Saryadyr [4, 15].

“In the toponymy of Kazygurt district, for example, geographical names associated with color. In their composition there are adjectives of black, white, red, yellow, blue, pale. Adjectives denoting this color usually shows the color or appearance of a given object and serve to identify geographical features such as a mountain, rock, hill, spring, water, sand, river, etc.

In “linguocognitive and ethno-cultural bases of the Kazakh toponymy” Rysbergen proves that the color attributes in the composition of names combined with the names of the appeals of different nature (landscape, somatic, object-artifact, etc.), and not casually, elegantly, in the “favorites” in nature. He emphasizes that unlike other colors, our language is dominated by place names that came with the word “black” [5, 7].

In any language, there are place names, compiled in conjunction with adjectives, including white, black and etc. Scientists like A. N. Kononov, E. Koishybayev, G. F. Sattarov, say about their values in their writings.

White (in kazakh. “ақ” transliterated as “ak”) – 1. color, clean. 2. flow. 3. west.

Akbulak is a spring, meaning: “the color of spring water”. Aktau-mountain, meaning: “depending on the location of the mountain in the West”; Aksherek- is a village, meaning: “depends on the name ru (tribe)”.

Black (in kazakh “қаpa” transliterated as “kara”)- 1. color. 2. thick. 3. transparent. 4. land.

Karakamys – kystau, meaning: “thick reeds”. Karasu-lake, meaning: “land, water”.

In this regard, in accordance with the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “on religious activities and religious associations” (hereinafter-the law), the government of the Republic of Kazakhstan decides: “Karasz is the name of clay. Black is the word “land” actually. The peculiar nature of this name – underground water is too close to the surface of the Earth. Therefore, this name fully proves the phrase in the Ancient concept of “land-water” or “saz-su” [6, 157].

It is known that Karasz is not a clay land now. For example, in the Land of Karasz, which was founded by the famous poet Mukagali Makatayev, now there is a village of the same name. Over clay it is known that the village is built. In ancient times, when there was a clay earth, the locals, the old people know well. And in the outer eye, he will not immediately notice.

Thus, place names related to color sometimes come not only to a critical value, but also to different variable values.

Kara word composed of names means not only color, but also means “ulken (big)”. According to the scientist’s analysis: “... In the epic the name of the Black Irtysh was used once. The main direction of the river Irtysh among local inhabitants is also called Kara Irtysh. Such place names as Karatau, Karadarya, Karakum, Karaarcha, Caralan, meet in different places. First of all, these are the words “big”, “big”, “very big”. Also like the meaning of phrases such as black ghost, strong”.

In toponymy the color characteristics of the fixed space are considered. Different views of geographical names on the nature of color components are analyzed, the possibility of symbolic and oriented interpretation of color is shown. Scientists conclude the objective reflection of spatial lines in place names and the presence of idioethnic features of perception of spatial colors. All colors in nature are not limited to determining not only the color, but also the external nature of one object, phenomenon. At the same time, it is known that color names can Express concepts that do not refer to color at all or

are too far away from it. Like other Nations, for the Kazakh people the world is divided into two colors: white and black. These concepts are deeply confused in the consciousness of the people and in their system of thinking. Therefore, white is still one of the best beginnings. Because it forms a holistic body of the world of beauty, moral qualities. In the Ancient worldview of the Kazakh people it is known that the world is rectangular, each of them has its own color. Black color stands for North. According to studies, in "Avesta" it is said that the sacred mountain on the North side is called "Jucaria". When you consider that the original pronunciation of the name "Jucaria" "Iranian language was" *huh Hara*, we can say that "Hara" came from "black" in Kazakh language. That is the word "huh Hara" translated into modern Turkish language as "Karatau". The word "black" on this place does not mean color, but significance "the indigenous, the original" [7, 53].

One of the main tasks of cognitive linguistics, which has been dynamically developing in the last decade, is to create in the minds of individual representatives of ethnic groups a picture of the world, characterized as a unity of ethnic groups. The solution of this problem is impossible or, at least, incomplete without the restructuring of the spatial model that existed in the minds of the representatives of the ethnic group. A great help in the transformation of the spatial model can be provided by the study of toponymic vocabulary, which captures the features of the perception of the environment by the human team and its personal representatives. The meaning and role of color names in toponymy is under special attention of the linguists, but is still not fully understood, especially in ideational perspective. In the scientific literature there is fragmentary information on this issue. The reasons for the instinctive feeling of many representatives of different ethnic groups of colors are not identified.

Socio-cultural values (objects of social culture of the color and other socio-cultural objects, phenomena, abstract concepts, the emergence of which is as-

sociated with specific historical and cultural factors of the same population).

Red in Kazakh culture: the color of danger and prohibitions; bullfighting, beauty; death; war; color of communism of the USSR holiday;

In the Kazakh hydronyms displayed features of the water colors. In the conditions of the Central Kazakhstan small hills, depending on the dissolution of rocks on the water, the colors of lake waters are distinguished. In the geographical features of the lake Serial in this world provides data: "the lake water is greenish-yellow", and the water of the lake Kurenala – "brown".

Conclusion: It is generally recognized that "the concept of color harmony is greatly influenced by the coloristics of the nature of the country". Colors of native nature are decisive in naming on their basis the realities of the surrounding reality, in particular geographical objects. In the composition of toponyms, Turkic names of color in some cases call the real color of the topoobject, in others-serve to reveal its internal, significant for the perception of the people of qualities and features that receive symbolic meaning.

The structural and semantic analysis of Turkic geographical names with components-color designations allows to allocate semantic loading of color-designating components. So, it was revealed that as part of the toponyms color designation: a) directly determine the color, color intensity or illumination of topoobjects in the perception of the nominator; b) have an additional semantic load, include monetary values, including the semantics of the cardinal directions, which reflects the ethno-cultural property of perception.; c) contain encoded information about the mythological views of the people.

Human consciousness is conditioned by cultural and historical conditions of its existence. One of the objects, phenomena and concepts has different meanings for representatives of different cultures. The significance of the study of meaning and meaning is increasing in the era of modern globalization, close connection and integration of cultures. Many

cultures are not currently in a closed space. Culture actively influences each other, and sometimes conflicts occur at the level of influence: information, economic, linguistic, etc. There is a growing interest in cross-cultural psychology, cross-culture of international management, cross-cultural competence of psychologists, translators, language specialists.

For Kazakh toponymy names based on a geographical object, their nomination, data and names

associated with the existence of people have similar characteristics. But the groups in these categories are different. The differences in the names of geographical objects are due to the fact that people have passed different historical stages.

“The work was carried out with the financial support of the Ministry of education and science of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the framework of the scientific project AP08053105.”

References:

1. Aitova N. N. Kazak tilindegi tur-tus ataularinin kognitivtik semantikasy [Text]: autobiography. – Almaty: TOO “ARYS”, 2005. – 27 p.
2. Meirbekov A. K., Tleuberdiyev B. M., Meirbekov A. K., Beketov B. M., Elibayeva K. Zh., Yergubekova Zh. S., Isaeva Zh. I., Karsybekova Sh. P. Lingual culture of heroism concept in Kazakh and English anthroponyms. Life Science Journal. – Vol. 11. – Special Issue 1 (Supplement 1101s). 2014. – 177 p. ISSN1097–8135 (print); ISSN2372–613X (online). URL: <http://www.lifesciencesite.com/ljs/life1101s/>.
3. Abdirahmanov S. A. Toponimika Kazakhstana: Transliterasiya i etimologiya nazvanii // – Almaty: TOO Arko, 2012. – 22 p. ISBN678-601-7150-64-8.
4. Bekenova G. Sh. Kazakhstannyn soltustik oniri gidronimderi (semantikalyk tipologiya) Filol.gyl.kand. diss. ... avtoreferaty. – Almaty, 2002. – 15 p.
5. Rysbergen K. Kazak toponimiyasynyn lingvokognitivtik zhane etnomadeni negizderi. ph.g.d. ... diss. avtoreferaty. – Almaty: 2010. – 69 p.
6. Dictionaries of geographical names of Kazakhstan (DGNK). – Almaty: 1985. – 157 p.
7. Mankeeva Zh. Kazak *tilindegi* etnomadeni ataularдын tanyndyk negizderi. – Almaty: Zhybek Zholy, 2008. – 53 p. ISBN9965-759-95-2

Section 12. Science of law

<https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-210-213>

Lindita Liçaj,

PhD in Law, College University Pavaresia Vlore

E-mail: lindita.licaj@unipavaresia.edu.al

Atird Hoxha,

lawyer,

E-mail: atird.hoxha@yahoo.it

THE CLASSIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS AND THEIR UNIVERSAL CHARACTER

Abstract. The classification of the international agreements was performed, followed by several criteria, depending on which international agreements were categorized. Although the classification it has a universal character. The universality of international agreements implies the same agreements in the manner of conclusion, in the manner of implementation, and in the field of purposes that they provide in their provisions.

Keywords: classification, international agreement, universal.

The classification of the international agreements

The doctrine of international law for the study has carried out the classification of international agreements. The classification was performed, followed by several criteria, depending on which international agreements were categorized. The criterion which categorizes agreements into contract agreements and agreement laws differently (contract treaties and treaty laws) is the content defined within the agreement. Namely, if the provisions of the agreement regulate in detail a certain issue or relationship by creating mutual obligations between each other, then these are classified as contractual agreements. The designation is chosen to refer to a contractual relationship where each right of one party requires an obligation to be fulfilled by the other party. Agreement laws are renamed and treaty laws, which stipulate internally that their provi-

sions are general [1]. They produce norms of a general nature, setting the same obligations for all parties. Each party must act in the same way as the other parties and each party have the same rights and obligations as the other parties. The content of the rights and obligations must be applied equally in the territory where that state exercises its sovereignty. This categorization of agreements is based on an early concept of treaties referred to as treaty laws because they are not based on reciprocal contractual bases [2]. In most cases, there is a mix or a variety of norm categories. However, a strict and unstable division is very difficult to support, as there is no clear line between these two categories. Another criterion for classifying international agreements is the number of parties concluding it. Based on this criterion, agreements are divided into bilateral or bilateral agreements and multilateral or multilateral agreements. The parties are like states or international

organizations. At the beginning of the first agreements, they were presented in the form of a bilateral agreement, over time the states had wider cooperation involving more parties in an agreement. But this does not mean that only multilateral agreements exist today. Even today they are related to issues that are regulated by the cooperation of the two parties alone. Examples of bilateral agreements are Agreement between the Republic of Albania and the Government of Montenegro on scientific and technological cooperation“, signed on 16.12.2008; Agreement between the Republic of Albania and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on the transfer of convicted persons, 29 March 2013; Agreement between the Republic of Portugal and the United States of America on Increasing Cooperation in the Prevention and Combating of Crime, Lisbon, 30 June 2009; Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on the reciprocal protection of classified information, Gdansk, 30 April 1999, Framework Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on defense cooperation, Warsaw, 21 June 2011 [3]. Examples of multilateral agreements include the International Criminal Court Privileges and Immunities Agreement, New York, 9 September 2002; United Nations Convention on the Safety of Associate Personnel, New York, 9 December 1994; International Convention for the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, New York, 18 December 1990; Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict, New York, 25 May 2000 [4]. Lawyers have generally accepted that a bilateral agreement is a contract treaty, while a multilateral agreement is a law treaty, but there is no set rule regarding this separation. Another classification accepted by the doctrine is performed by determining the extent and territorial space where the agreements apply. The author Gruda has classified in international agreements of universal character and regional character. The per-

fect illustration of universal agreements is provided by the UN Charter, while for those of a regional nature is provided by the EC. But, as we have mentioned that the classification is performed for study, the meaning of the international agreement of regional character may change to a universal character due to the approach of other non-European Continent countries in EC meetings, such as Canada, or The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, where countries from North America and Central Asia, such as Canada, etc. also participate in the meetings. If we compare some provisions within the context of an international agreement we can separate time provisions and depend on this the agreements can be fixed or indefinite. If we refer to the provisions of the possibility to include in the agreement new parties through accession at a time later than the time of agreeing then the agreements can be classified into open and closed agreements. In the Middle Ages we could have a classification depending on the field of cooperation of the states, we group them in political, economic, cultural agreements, etc. The group of political treaties includes alliance treaties, mutual aid treaties, regional treaties, non-aggression pacts, neutrality treaties and peace treaties. All these treaties have as their sole object the political cooperation between the parties to the treaties in order to protect certain interests, to support the armed forces, to guarantee and commit to non-aggression, to maintain a neutral stance in conflicts between other states and to establish peace. But nowadays we can not accept the same classification because international agreements combine cooperation in various fields of development of states. Regardless of the classifications we make, in each grouping that separates international agreements, they have the same legal force for the signatory parties. Regardless of the number of participating parties, the obligation to implement the agreement arises from the moment the state expresses its consent to be bound by the international agreement. But even though the classification is made for a study by international law, it is evidenced that the agreements have a universal character. The universal character is a feature that has

accompanied the agreements since the first creations. Although the classification criteria are several, universality appears in every criterion. So international agreements have a universal character in the way they are created and in bringing about legal effects.

The universality of international agreements

The international agreement in each historical period has had its development. It is characterized by universality. Universality is evidenced in the way agreements are entered into force and implemented at different times. The object on which the relations of cooperation, dependence, or alliances were established was universal for the time. The universality of the object of the agreement is seen in the field of relations where for each period they have been universal and the same for each party that agreed. If we refer to the agreements of the twentieth century we see that universality is more evident. The universality of international agreements means the same agreements in the manner of conclusion, in the manner of implementation, but also in the field of goals that they provide in their provisions. States, in conducting negotiations, endeavor to make provisions where rules are universally acceptable and enforceable by all States Parties. More and more the Commission of International Law highlights universality as an important and inherent feature of contemporary international law. This universal approach of international law consequently brings about the universality of international agreements as producers of binding international norms to be applied [5, 240]. The twentieth century, because of the favorable position it gave to the human, managed to label human rights as universal rights. Any agreement signed to respect, guarantee, or promoting human rights defined the universal character of these fundamental rights and freedoms. By acknowledging the universal human rights approach to the conclusion of agreements, states cannot be justified by the full sovereignty they enjoy to violate and deny universal human rights. The universalist approach sees fundamental human rights as applicable to all persons, regardless of nationality, religion, morality, or culture, and states are obliged

to implement them all and not choose to implement only some of them, derive the justification of incompatibility with their culture [6, 316]. This position is held today by all democracies in the world at the time of concluding international agreements. But, there are also cases of opposition from other states, cases that have been passed without being taken into account in the concluded agreements. An example is the US position at the 1993 Vienna Conference, stating that human rights law should set a single universal standard of universally accepted conduct, arguing that it could not allow for cultural relativism to become the ultimate refuge of repression [7]. So the state can not be justified for not respecting human rights because its culture or religion forbids the exercise of that right or that group of rights. Similarly, at the United Nations Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, the United States promoted universal protection of reproductive rights. In recent developments more and more importance is being given to the universalist perspectives of human rights in the domestic courts of many states.

Conclusions

- In each grouping of international agreements, they have the same legal force for the signatory parties.
- Regardless of the number of participating parties, the obligation to implement the agreement arises from the moment the state expresses its consent to be bound by the international agreement.
- The classification carried out for study by international law, clearly shows that the agreements have a universal character.
- Universal character is a trait that has accompanied agreements since the first creations.
- An international agreement is characterized by the universality of the object and the legal effects it entails.
- The universality of the object of the agreement is seen in the field of relations where for each period they have been universal and the same for each party that agreed.

- The universality of international agreements implies the same agreements in the manner of conclusion, in the manner of implementation, and in the field of purposes that they provide in their provisions.

References:

1. An example of a law treaty is the UN Charter.
2. The Special Rapporteur of the Commission on International Law, Alain Pellet, in his report in 1998.
3. URL: <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%202877/v2877.pdf>
4. URL: <https://treaties.un.org/doc/source/events/2005/list.pdf>
5. Gaubatz K. T. and Mac Arthur M. "The international system is international law", 22 Mich J Ind L 2001.
6. Curran P. D. "Universalism, Relativism, and Private Enforcement of Customary International Law," Chicago Journal of International Law, – Vol. 5.– Number 1, article 21, 2004. – P. 6–1.
7. Elaine Sciolino. USA rejects the notion that human rights differ with culture, NY Times A1, June 15, 1993. (citing Secretary of State Warren Christopher).

Contents

Section 1. Archeology.....	3
<i>Savelieva Tamara Vladimirovna, Kamaldinov Ilyar Ramilevich</i> IMPROVEMENTS OF KAZAKHSTAN' MEDIEVAL CITIES ON THE GREAT SILK ROAD ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH (ILI VALLEY)	3
Section 2. Journalism	10
<i>Salieva Mukhabbat Kushanovna</i> PRINCIPLES OF INFORMATION AND LEGAL COMMUNICATION AND SCHOOLS OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	10
Section 3. Study of art.....	19
<i>Gun Veidi</i> THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF STUDENTS' CONDUCTOR TRAINING TO WORK WITH THE CHOIR	19
<i>Kysla Svitlana Viktorivna</i> THE IMAGE OF JOSE FROM GEORGES BIZET'S OPERA "CARMEN", INTERPRETED BY PLACIDO DOMINGO	23
<i>Lysenko Natalia</i> THE SOURCES OF THE MYTHOPOETIC IMAGES OF THE CANTATA- ORATORIO WORKS OF S. PROKOFIEV	27
<i>Muravskaya Olha Viktorovna</i> THE EUROPEAN EAST AND WEST IN THE RIVER OF THE FORMATION OF THEIR KEY SPIRITUAL AND CULTURAL-HISTORICAL INSTALLATIONS	31
<i>Negachev Kirill Olegovich</i> C.V. ALKAN'S CONCERTOS DA CAMERA AS EXPERIMENT OF STYLE AND FORM.	39
<i>Tatarnikova Anzhelika</i> POETICS OF "IVAN SUSANIN" BY M. I. CLINKA IN THE CONTEXT OF THE HALLELUJAH-GLORIOUS PARADIGM OF EUROPEAN CULTURE.....	46
Section 4. History and archaeology	54
<i>Malakhov Sergei Viktorovich</i> ON THE NAME OF THE COUNTRY "ELAM"	54
<i>Emily Wang Si</i> TIGERS IN THE SKY: THE AMERICAN VOLUNTEER GROUP IN HISTORY AND MEMORY	68
<i>Yumo Zhu</i> THE ASSASSINATION OF QASEM SOLEIMANI: UNITED STATES POLICY AND RELATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST FROM THE COLD WAR TO THE PRESENT DAY	74
<i>Yarmolenko Mariya Ivanovna</i> THE GAGAUZ AND THEIR PLACE IN THE POST-SOVIET STATES.....	89

<i>Mozgovoy Sergey Grigorievich</i> BREST COMPROMISE OF LEO TROTSKY	92
Section 5. Cultural studies.....	99
<i>Ying Xiao Wang</i> ECOLOGICAL IMPACTS THAT PROMOTED IMPROVEMENTS IN QUALITY OF LIFE AND MODERNIZATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT: AN ESSAY ON THE LEGACY OF EUROPEAN COLONIALISM	99
<i>Yicheng Mao</i> BREAKING BARRIERS: 1960s HIPPIE CULTURE AND ITS LEGACY	102
<i>Ngo Thi Phuong Thao</i> CONTRIBUTION TO UNDERSTANDING CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ETHNIC MINORITY PEOPLE IN THE VIETNAM–CHINA BORDER AREA	107
<i>Song Zejian</i> ANALYSIS ABOUT WHY ONLINE DRAMA ATTRACTED AUDIENCES IN CHINA	113
<i>Florea Elena</i> EUROPEAN UNION CULTURAL DOMAIN EMPLOYMENT RATE – INSIGHTS FROM ROMANIA	119
<i>Shmaiun Olha</i> SOCIOCULTURAL VALUE OF LEISURE IN THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION OF YOUTH	124
Section 6. Linguistics	128
<i>Korbozerova Nina</i> GENETIC STABILITY AND HISTORICAL VARIABILITY OF THE SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE OF THE SPANISH SENTENCE	128
<i>Lazarenko Anastasia</i> DIALECTAL DIVERGENCE AND THE FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE IN THE MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIOD	134
<i>Fazylzhanova Anar, Serikbayeva Aizhan</i> ABOUT THE NEW NEOGRAPHIC DICTIONARY OF THE KAZAKH LANGUAGE	138
Section 7. Pedagogy	144
<i>Meirbekov Akylbek Kairatbekovich, Kazykhankyzy Lazura</i> THE ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL CONTENT IN READING PASSAGES OF THE ENGLISH TEXTBOOK FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL GRADE IX	144
Section 8. Political science	149
<i>Sokoh Gbosien Chris</i> EMPIRICAL STUDY OF STATE FAILURE AND PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS IN NIGERIA	149
<i>Tsyrfya Iuliia Anatolievna</i> CONSTRUCTION OF THE FOREIGN POLICY IDENTITY OF THE STATE: THE INFLUENCE OF NATIONALISTIC APPROACHES	165

Section 9. Religious studies	171
<i>Shoki Nemoto</i>	
JERUSALEM: HOW IT BECAME THE CROWN OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY.....	171
<i>Jeffrey Chen</i>	
THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE AND CHRISTIAN JERUSALEM: A RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL HISTORY INTO THE LATIN KINGDOM	179
Section 10. Sociology	190
<i>Zeqi Lu</i>	
WORLD HAPPINESS AND SOCIAL ECONOMIC FACTORS.....	190
<i>Hu Po</i>	
TRENDS IN HUMAN FREEDOM INDEX ACROSS GLOBAL REGIONS DURING 2008–2016.....	197
Section 11. Philology	204
<i>Meirbekov Akylbek Kairatbekovich, Aimbetova Indira Orazgalievna</i>	
COLORS' NAMES IN KAZAKH TOPONYMY.....	204
Section 12. Science of law	210
<i>Lindita Liçaj, Atird Hoxha</i>	
THE CLASSIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS AND THEIR UNIVERSAL CHARACTER	210