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## Kalmyk Émigré Periodicals in W. Kotwicz’s Collection at the University of Warsaw\*

### Abstract

During the period of Kalmyk immigration into various European countries between the 1920s to the 1940s, Kalmyk intellectuals established organization and societies, such as Kalmyk Commission of Culture Workers in Czechoslovakia, Kalmyk National Organization “Khal’mak Tangachin Tuk”, and the Kalmyk National Committee. They also started periodicals such as *Ulan Zalat* (Улан Залат), *Tsagan övsni dolgan* (Цаган өвсни долган), *Khal’mäg* (Хальмэг) and *Khonkho* (Хонхо), etc. The periodicals were an effective means for Kalmyk intellectuals to express, disseminate, and advocate their ideas, ideologies, and political beliefs. Via these periodicals they were able to articulate their perspectives and contribute to the cultural and political landscape of their community. Today this Kalmyk material is to be found in European libraries and private collections, including Prof. Władysław Kotwicz’s notable collection in the Library of Mongolian and Tibetan Studies Programme at the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw. The research in the field has recently started with brief discussions of the background and characteristics of some of the periodicals, but, unfortunately, inaccuracies are not avoided, the data on collections is not complete, and comprehensive bibliographies are lacking. Thus, to underline the value of the unique sources in question, as well as to provide a comprehensive introduction to Kalmyk émigré periodicals in Europe, the present

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paper focuses on Prof. Kotwicz's collection and emphasizes the need for further research in the field.

**Keywords:** Kalmyk Émigré, Kalmyk periodical, Władysław Kotwicz, the Library of the Mongolian and Tibetan Studies programme at the University of Warsaw, Todo Bichig (Clear-Script)

## Introduction

Throughout their historical trajectory, the Kalmyk people underwent a series of significant large-scale migrations spanning from the seventeenth to the mid-twentieth century.<sup>1</sup> The most recent and noteworthy migration occurred between the late 1910s and the 1950s, in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution in 1917. Following the Revolution, a considerable number of Don Kalmyks, particularly those belonging to the Buzava,<sup>2</sup> maintained their allegiance to the Tsar and became active participants in the White Movement, demonstrating a hostile attitude towards the Soviet government during the Russian Civil War. As the Red Army had advanced to the Crimea by the end of 1920, a large contingent of defeated White Russians, including the Don Kalmyks, escaped through Turkey's Black Sea ports to seek refuge and eventually settle in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and France. Also, during World War II, when Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union, a part of the territory of the Kalmyk Republic was under German occupation. Towards the end of the war, numerous Kalmyks were forced to accompany them as laborers. When the war was over, the Kalmyk émigrés, both from the Don and Astrakhan regions, converged in Western Germany. They endured several challenging years in Displaced Persons' camps near Munich, while their representatives were trying to secure a permanent settlement for the displaced Kalmyks. Plans for resettling them to Thailand, France, and Madagascar were considered and then discarded. The International Refugee Organization extended special support to several social service groups, notably the Tolstoy Foundation and the Church World Service, to assist in finding a suitable home for the Kalmyk émigrés. Thanks to their persistence the United States Attorney General's Office granted admission to the Kalmyk émigrés in 1951. Consequently, from December 1951 to March 1952, they immigrated to Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where

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<sup>1</sup> More details see the Namsarai's *Dörben öyirad-un teüke*, in Hohhot in 1992.

<sup>2</sup> The *Buzava* is a group that parted from larger groupings of the Kalmyks (Derbet, Torghut, Khoshud, etc.) during the Kalmyk Khanate in the late seventeenth century. They separated due to mutual differentiation between groups and differences in positions. In 1670, these groups fled from the Kalmyk steppe on the western bank of the Lower Volga to the Don region, where they joined the Cossack army. Settling among the Don Cossacks, they gradually abandoned their previous identities. Collectively known as "Buzava", the demonym *buzava* is believed to derive from *bu* meaning 'rifle' and *zava* meaning 'showed', reflecting their military origin and occupation. The Buzavas, having taken up a hereditary military occupation within the Cossack regiments, were the first among the Kalmyks to embrace a semi-sedentary lifestyle and become bilingual. More detail see Baasanjav Terbish, 'Kalmyk Identity in Historical Perspective', *Caucasus Survey* 11 (2023), pp. 14–15.

they established their new homes. Presently, those Kalmyk communities continue to reside in those areas.<sup>3</sup>

Kalmyk intellectuals, such as B. N. Ulanov, E. D. Khara-Davan, Sh. N. Balinov, S. B. Balikov, and others, who resided in Czechoslovakia, France, and Germany from the early 1920s to the mid-1940s, played a significant role in maintaining national identity, tradition, history, culture, and language of their own people. They established various committees, such as the *Kalmyk Commission of Cultural Workers in Czechoslovakia*<sup>4</sup> (further in text KCCWC) *Khal'mak Tangachin Tuk*<sup>5</sup> ("Flag of the Kalmyk Nation", further in text KTT), and the Kalmyk National Committee<sup>6</sup> (further in text KNC). These committees' mission was to promote Kalmyk traditional culture and national language by way of facilitating national newspaper industry. They started publishing several periodicals in *Todo Bichig* (Clear-Script),<sup>7</sup> Kalmyk Cyrillic, and Russian.

Today many of these periodicals are housed in European archives and libraries. Notably, the Library of Mongolian and Tibetan Studies Programme at the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw (further in text University of Warsaw) in Poland, and Prof. W. Kotwicz Private Archive at the Archive of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow (further in text Archive of Science of the PAS and PAAS) are probably the most significant among them. The collections of Kalmyk newspapers in the Archive of Science of the PAS and PAAS have been examined and documented by Polish Mongolists Prof. Agata Bareja-Starzyńska and Prof. Jerzy Tulisow;<sup>8</sup> however, the study does not include the Kalmyk periodicals' collection in the Library of University of Warsaw. This, as well as other research undertaken so far briefly discusses the Kalmyk publications' background and cultural-historical context, focusing on the data given in individual émigré periodicals in Europe. Some of the articles, though, have not avoided inaccuracies, sometimes references to sources are lacking, and the descriptions of the periodicals' collections are often inconsistent and incomplete. To duly emphasize the value of the collections under discussion, as well as to provide a comprehensive introduction to the Kalmyk émigré periodicals in Europe, the present paper focuses on the special study of the collection at the University of Warsaw, while the need for further research in the field is also stressed.

<sup>3</sup> More detail see Fred Adelman, 'The American Kalmyks', *Expedition Magazine* 3/4 (1961), pp. 27–28 and Paula G. Rubel, *The Kalmyk Mongols: A Study in Continuity and Change*, Bloomington 1967, pp. 18–20.

<sup>4</sup> 'Kalmyckoj Komissij Kul'turnykh Rabotnikov v ChSR' (Калмыцкой Комиссии Культурных Работников в ЧСР).

<sup>5</sup> Organ Kalmyckoj Nacional'noj Organizacii 'Khal'mak Tangachin Tuk' (Орган Калмыцкой Национальной Организации «Хальмак Тангачин Тук»).

<sup>6</sup> Kalmyckij Nacional'nyj Komitet (Калмыцкий Национальный Комитет).

<sup>7</sup> "Clear script" (*todo bichig*, or just *todo*) was created in 1648 by the Oirat Zaya Pandita Namkhajjamtsu for the Oirat dialect. It was developed on the basis of the polyphonic Mongolian script with the aim of distinguishing all sounds in the Oirat spoken language, as well as to make easier to transcribe precisely Sanskrit and Tibetan Buddhist terms.

<sup>8</sup> Agata Bareja-Starzyńska and Jerzy Tulisow, *Kalmyk Literature, Folklore and History in the Legacy of Prof. W. Kotwicz at the Archive of Science of PAS and PAAS in Cracow, Poland – Preliminary Report*, Elista 2018, pp. 11–16.

## Professor Władysław Kotwicz and Kalmyks

In Poland, a significant collection of Kalmyk periodicals on culture, history, language, and literature, as well as other valuable documents are housed in the Library of Mongolian and Tibetan Studies at the University of Warsaw and in Prof. Kotwicz's Private Archive at the Archive of Science of the PAS and PAAS in Cracow. These materials originate from the private collection of Professor Władysław Kotwicz (1872–1944) the renowned Mongolian, Manchurian, and Altaic scholar. Hence, it is worthwhile to examine his significant contribution to Mongolian studies, which encompassed research on various subjects, including Kalmyks. Furthermore, it is important to focus on his interactions with Kalmyks and shed light on the subsequent transfer of his extensive library and archives to Poland.

Prof. Kotwicz<sup>9</sup> started his academic career at the Faculty of Oriental Languages at Saint Petersburg Imperial University (now Saint Petersburg State University) in 1891, specializing in Mongolian while also studying Manchu and Chinese. Kotwicz's keen interest in the Kalmyk language, folklore, and history led him to the Kalmyk steppe, the first of his visits undertaken in 1894 was aimed at exploring Kalmyk dialects and folk culture. It was during this visit that he was first aware of the heroic epic *Jangar*.<sup>10</sup> After completing a four-year undergraduate study in 1895, Kotwicz obtained his first-degree diploma and remained closely associated with the faculty. His academic prowess and dedication to scientific research caught the attention of his professors, who secured a scholarship for him to pursue further scientific and pedagogical work. While Kotwicz officially joined the teaching staff at Saint Petersburg Imperial University in late 1900, he had already begun working in the Eastern Section of the Russian Ministry of Finance in 1896, a position he held until the end of 1917.<sup>11</sup>

Before commencing his teaching career at the University, Kotwicz focused on research, undertaking his second study trip to the Kalmyks in 1896. At the time he developed a profound interest in the Kalmyk language, culture, and particularly the *Jangar* Epic and oral epic tradition that he greatly appreciated. He formed a close friendship with his Kalmyk disciple and companion, Nomt Ochirov (1886–1960), and had the opportunity to meet Eliyan Ovla (1857–1920), the renowned Kalmyk *Jangarchi*, i.e. a singer, or performer, of the *Jangar* Epic. Their cooperation ultimately resulted in the publication of the epic in Clear script in St. Petersburg in 1910.<sup>12</sup> In July 1910, Kotwicz again traveled to the Kalmyk steppes to further his study. In general, the discovery, publication, and collection

<sup>9</sup> Marian Lewicki, 'Władysław Kotwicz (20.III 1872–3.X 1944)', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 16 (1953), pp. 11–24.

<sup>10</sup> The *Jangar* Epic (*Жангар* [jangɣr] in Kalmyk Cyrillic, *ᠵᠠᠩᠭᠠᠷ* [žangɣar] in the Classical Mongolian script, and *Жангар* [jangar] in Mongolian Cyrillic) is a traditional oral epic poem (in Mongolian: *baatarlag tuuli*) of the Mongols. The epic handed down mainly by oral transmission, was once widely spread among the Western Mongolian people living in Mongolia, China, and the Russian Federation (The Republics of Kalmykia, Tuva, Buryatia, and Altai). The *Jangar* Epic regarded as a part of the world cultural heritage is still preserved in the form of oral transmission.

<sup>11</sup> Lewicki, *Władysław Kotwicz*..., pp. 11–24.

<sup>12</sup> The original publication was entitled "Taki zula qaani üldül taysay bumba qaani ači üjüng aldar qaani köbüün üyeyin öncin Zangyariyin arban bölöy".

of the *Jangar* Epic by Kotwicz and Nomt Ochirov was a monumental milestone in the study of the epic, Prof. Kotwicz great esteem by the Kalmyks.

In addition to his extensive *Jangar* studies, Kotwicz was specifically interested in the Kalmyk language. In 1915, he published his influential *Grammar of Kalmyk Spoken Language*.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, he diligently collected and recorded Kalmyk proverbs and riddles during his fieldwork among the people to compile a volume of *Kalmyk Riddles and Proverbs*.<sup>14</sup> Prof. Kotwicz's research was marked by his dedicated and scrupulous approach in documenting valuable materials related to the Kalmyks. Some of these documents have not been published; they are currently preserved in the Archive of Science of the PAS and PAAS in Cracow. These are sure to be valuable resources for future research, particularly in the areas of Kalmyk culture, literature, and linguistic heritage.<sup>15</sup>

Prof. Kotwicz spent some thirty years in Russia. After the Russian Revolution and subsequent social-political and economic transformations in the country, he left St. Petersburg in 1923 for Poland, which was now an independent country. In 1924, he was appointed Professor of Far East Studies at Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv. He took an active part in the establishment of Oriental Studies in Poland and served as the inaugural chairman of the Polish Society for Oriental Studies.<sup>16</sup> At the time, Prof. Kotwicz maintained close academic contacts with Kalmyk intellectuals who had found refuge in various European countries after their emigration from Soviet Russia. In Czechoslovakia, Kalmyk émigrés formed an organization known as the KCCWC and initiated the publication of the *Khonkho* and the *Ulan Zalät*. The second issue of the *Ulan Zalät* in 1928 featured Prof. Kotwicz's valuable materials, including texts on Kalmyk folklore, history, as well as photographs from his collection featuring Torghut Khan and prime ministers from the Kalmyk steppes.<sup>17</sup> In 1929, the Kalmyk Committee published the second edition of Kotwicz's *Grammar of the Kalmyk Spoken Language*. Also, Prof. Kotwicz delivered several lectures on Mongolian and Kalmyk history, the history of Mongolian-Kalmyk writing, literature, etymology, and the syntax of the Kalmyk language to the Kalmyk community in Czechoslovakia.<sup>18</sup>

When in 1944 Prof. Kotwicz passed away in his home at Czarny Bór, he left there a considerable book collection and private archives. The Polish Society for Oriental Studies at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv had to be relocated to Warsaw in the early 1950s, and Marian Lewicki, a disciple of the late professor assisted Maria Kotwiczówna, the professor's daughter, in transporting the materials to Poland. At the time Lewicki established the Altaic Studies program at the University of Warsaw and assisted in Prof. Kotwicz's

<sup>13</sup> Władysław Kotwicz, *Opyt grammatiki kalmyckogo razgovornogo yazyka*, Prague 1929.

<sup>14</sup> Władysław Kotwicz, *Kalmyckie zagadki i posloviy*, Elista 1972.

<sup>15</sup> In 1912 Kotwicz also organized a scholarly expedition to Khalkha Mongolia and brought unique materials from there, see Jerzy Tulisow et al., *In the Heart of Mongolia. 100th Anniversary of W. Kotwicz's Expedition to Mongolia in 1912*, Cracow 2012.

<sup>16</sup> Jerzy Tulisow, 'Mongolian and Manchu Studies in Poland', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 66 (2012), pp. 226–227.

<sup>17</sup> See details *Ulan Zalät 2* (1927), p. 33.

<sup>18</sup> Referenced information can be found in the preface of the *Khonkho* magazine (p.6) published in 1925.

private library being donated to the Institute of Oriental Studies at the University of Warsaw. At the same time, Kotwicz's private archives, comprising extensive research materials accumulated throughout his lifetime, were donated by his daughter to the Archive of Science of the PAS and PAAS in Cracow.<sup>19</sup> These invaluable collections were a significant contribution to the foundation and development of Mongolian studies in Poland.

Presently, the Library of Mongolian and Tibetan Studies Programme at the University of Warsaw houses a substantial portion of Prof. Kotwicz's collection, which includes his books, article reprints, as well as selected journals and newspaper collections. The collection ("Zbiór prof. W. Kotwicza") comprises approximately 2,416 items with call numbers from 1 to 2416. Most notable for the present discussion are several Kalmyk periodicals, including three issues of the *Khonkho* (Хонхо; call numbers Zbiór prof. W. Kotwicza 237, 249, and 257), two issues of the *Ulan Zalut* (Улан Залат; call numbers 045/1/1927 and 045/2/1928), twelve issues of the *Tsagan övsni dolgan* (Цаган өвснi долган; 042/1/1930-042/15/1937), and eight issues of the *Khal'mäg* (Хальмэг; 041/1/1943-041/8/1943). Also, the Archive of Science of the PAS and PAAS in Cracow comprises a separate collection designated as K III-19 (files from 1 to 276) from Prof. Kotwicz's Private Archive which contains documents primarily associated with his fieldwork in Kalmykia, Mongolia, and other locations. This collection encompasses travel notes, photographs, newspapers, correspondence with other scholars, materials authored by other scholars and his students, and various related materials.<sup>20</sup> To summarize, Prof. Kotwicz's extensive fieldwork in the Kalmyk region resulted in the accumulation of a substantial collection of documentary materials on the Kalmyk language, culture, history, and folklore. Importantly, after he left St. Petersburg for Lviv and then Poland, the scholar maintained close contact with Kalmyk intellectuals who had emigrated to Europe, providing support for their publications. As a result of the communication and cooperation between the parties, the foundation was laid for Kotwicz's collection of Kalmyk periodicals; also, the source materials available for the study of the Kalmyks were significantly enriched.

## The Collection of Kalmyk Periodicals

### 1. *Khonkho*

In the early 1920s, Kalmyk émigrés in Czechoslovakia, including B. N. Ulanov (Б. Н. Уланов), E. Khara-Davan (Э. Хара-Даван), Sh. N. Balinov (Ш. Н. Балинов), and others, made efforts to integrate into the local society, while preserving their national cultural traditions. They advocated for the protection of the Kalmyk language and culture and placed significant emphasis on the development of Kalmyk newspaper publications.

<sup>19</sup> Agata Bareja-Starzyńska, 'Why Mongolian Studies? Reflections on Polish Mongolists and Their Careers', *Quaestiones Mongolorum Disputatae* 11 (2015), p. 5.

<sup>20</sup> Bareja-Starzyńska and Tulisow, *Kalmyk Literature...*, pp. 12–14.



To achieve these objectives, they established the KCCWC in Řevnice near Prague in 1923. With the help of this organization, they published various books and periodicals between 1925 and 1930, focusing on the Kalmyk language, culture, oral tradition, and history. These included among others five volumes of the *Khonkho*, three issues of the *Ulan Zalut*, and the second edition of Kotwicz's *Grammar of the Kalmyk Spoken Language* mentioned above.

The *Khonkho* ("Bell," in Cyrillic «Хонхо», *Калмыцкая Хрестоматия*) was a comprehensive literary periodical or series of books, its five issues (volumes) published from September 1925 to November 1927 by the KCCWC. The chairman of the commission, B. N. Ulanov, served as the editor-in-chief.<sup>21</sup> Sh. N. Balinov, N. B. Ulanova, E. K. Nikolaev, D. O. Balinova, D. N. Bayanova,<sup>22</sup> and others were involved in the editing process of the periodical. The *Khonkho* publications encompassed folk tales, legends, folk songs, and heroic epics *Jangar* and *Geser*, which are outstanding examples of the Kalmyk oral tradition. Besides, the periodical included texts on Kalmyk history and some translated works, for example, A. S. Pushkin's historical novel *The Captain's Daughter*<sup>23</sup> and N. Palmov's *Essay on the History of the Kalmyk People during Their Stay within Russia*.<sup>24</sup> In Prof. Kotwicz's collection at the University of Warsaw, available are three volumes of the *Khonkho* of January 1927 (call number 257), of March 1927 (call number 249), and of November 1927 (call number 237). Besides, in 2020, I had the opportunity to examine scanned versions of the first and second volumes of the *Khonkho* from the National Library of the Czech Republic.<sup>25</sup> These volumes, which were published in September 1925 (call number: C.КАЛМ-38125) and October 1926 (call number: C.КАЛМ-38124), respectively, offered valuable insights into my present research.

The main sections of the *Khonkho*'s volumes were published in the Clear Script, while its *Foreword* was both in Russian (Cyrillic) and in Kalmyk (Clear Script).<sup>26</sup> None of the issues provided information regarding the total circulation of the publication. As to the layout, all five issues are of 19×13 cm; except for the second issue, which had no cover images, the other four shared a similar cover design. The word *Khonkho* was written in Cyrillic (Хонхо) at the top of the cover image, with the first letter *X* decorated with images of a Buddhist bell and a Buddhist Vajra. In the lower left part of the cover, the periodical's name was written in the Clear Script. The cover images showcased

<sup>21</sup> Referenced information can be found in the preface of the *Khonkho* 1925, p. 10.

<sup>22</sup> See details *Khonkho* 1 (1925), pp. 9-10 and *Khonkho* 3 (1927), p. 5.

<sup>23</sup> *Kapitanskaya Dochka* («Капитанская дочка») in Russian. *Khonkho* 3 (1927), pp. 1–193.

<sup>24</sup> *Ocherk istorii kalmyckogo naroda za vremya ego prebyvaniya v predelakh Rossii* («Очерк истории калмыцкого народа за время его пребывания в пределах России») in Russian, *Khonkho* 4 (1927), pp. 1–240.

<sup>25</sup> This opportunity was made possible thanks to the assistance of my friend, Mrs. Habra, who was studying at Charles University as a visiting student from September 2019 to July 2020.

<sup>26</sup> The *Khonkho* series holds a distinctive position among early periodicals or book series: it stands out for publishing primary sources entirely in Clear Script. Thanks to this unique approach, it played a crucial role in preserving an essential part of the Kalmyk linguistic and cultural legacy. By providing a platform for the dissemination of literature in Clear Script, the *Khonkho* contributed significantly to the preservation and promotion of the Kalmyk cultural heritage.

themes related to the homeland, depicting the vast Kalmyk steppe, yurts, and horse herds that would evoke nostalgia among Kalmyk immigrants in Europe. Apart from the cover image, there were no other illustrations.

In terms of the number of pages and published materials included, the examined volumes varied significantly. The first volume had a total of 233 pages and contained 38 texts, while the second volume consisted of 312 pages and contained 47 texts. The third and fourth volumes were publications of translated works of A. S. Pushkin and N. Pavlov, and they had 193 and 240 pages, respectively. The fifth volume had 255 pages and included 71 texts (see Table 1). The first two issues published in 1925 and 1926 were indicated by numbers I and II respectively. The *Foreword* to the volume published in November 1927 contained number III, while the previous two volumes, which were released in January and in March 1927, had no issue numbers. Accordingly, I suggest that these volumes (regarded as the third and fourth volumes despite their lack of explicit numerical designations) should be recognized either as supplementary to the second issue or as special editions.

**Table 1. Basic data about the *Khonkho***

Publication Date	Issue	Publisher/ Editor in Chief	Print Run	Pages	Article	Language
1925.09	Vypusk" I	KCCWC (B. N. Ulanov)	N/A	233	38	In Clear Script
1926.10	Vypusk" II	Same	N/A	312	47	Same
1927.04	N/A	Same	N/A	251	1	Same
1927.11	N/A	Same	N/A	206	1	Same
1927.11	Vypusk" III	Same	N/A	272	71	Same

Earlier research, particularly A. T. Bayanova's article "*Khonkho*" as a *Phenomenon of Book Culture of Émigré Kalmyks*<sup>27</sup>, has provided valuable insights into the subject. While discussing Kalmyk émigrés' publishing activities in Czechoslovakia, the author sheds light on the challenges that they encountered; after a brief overview of the five volumes of *Khonkho* the scholar emphasizes their cultural significance. Also, Ayalagu's paper includes essential information about the name, publication dates, total number of volumes, and the publisher of the *Khonkho* series. Notably, she mentioned that, "5 volumes of the *Khonkho* series were published and printed by lithographic technique in 1927"<sup>28</sup>. However, in view of the available materials, this information needs to be corrected: in fact, the first two issues were published in 1925 and 1926.

<sup>27</sup> Aleksandra T. Bayanova, 'Khonkho kak fenomen knizhnoi kul'tury kalmyckogo zarubezh'ya', *V mire nauki i iskusstva: vopros filologii, iskusstvovedeniya i kul'turologii* 8/39 (2014), pp. 6–10.

<sup>28</sup> Ayalagu, 'Chekho ulus-un mongyol sudulul-un toyimu', *Journal of Inner Mongolia Normal University* 2 (2020), p. 40.



## 2. *Ulan Zalat*

The *Ulan Zalat* (“Red Tassel,” *Улан Залат* in Kalmyk Cyrillic) was a comprehensive literary magazine that encompassed various genres such as Kalmyk history, folk tales, folk songs, the heroic epic *Jangar*, contemporary literary works, poems, biography of historical figures, literary translations, and news, among others. This magazine was founded by the KCCWC, and its three issues published between 1927 and 1930. Fr. Richter (Фр. Рихтер) served as the editor-in-chief<sup>29</sup>, while B. N. Ulanov, E. K. Nikolaev, Sh. N. Balinov, S. N. Bayanov, D. N. Bayanova<sup>30</sup>, and others were among the contributors to the magazine. The first and second issues of *Ulan Zalat*, published on May 1, 1927, and March 15, 1928, respectively, are kept in Prof. W. Kotwicz’s collection at the University of Warsaw; but the third issue is absent in this collection.

As for the magazine’s profile, the publisher explicitly stated (under the title on the front page of the two issues) that the *Ulan Zalat* is a “non-periodical magazine with a focus on history, literature, science, publications, and news”.<sup>31</sup> Besides, on the first page of the second issue, it was indicated that the publisher intended to release “at least four issues per year”.<sup>32</sup> However, because of financial difficulties KCCWC managed to publish only an issue per year.<sup>33</sup> Also, on the “Contents” pages of the two issues, the publisher provided a list of Kalmyk books or magazines previously published by the KCCWC and a list of upcoming publications. The sixth volume or fourth issue of the *Khonkho* was in the latter list, however, plans for the publications were not fulfilled.<sup>34</sup>

The inaugural article titled *Its Time* (‘Pora’ <Итопа...>) clearly expressed the reasons and intentions behind the establishment of the *Ulan Zalat* magazine. It emphasized that the magazine would primarily focus on cultural, historical, literary, scientific, and informative themes to avoid unnecessary political conflicts among the Kalmyk émigrés’ community. The article expressed the hopes that the magazine would serve as a refuge for the restless souls of the Kalmyk people, reflecting their ideas, aspirations, and sentiments. The article also mentioned that given the current lack of ability on the reader’s and the journalist’s part to read and write in the native Kalmyk script, the editors decided to publish their materials in two languages for some period.<sup>35</sup> Accordingly, the two available issues

<sup>29</sup> Referenced information can be found in the first issue of the *Ulan Zalat* 1 (1927), p. 44.

<sup>30</sup> According to the “Contents” page of the *Ulan Zalat* of 1927 and 1928.

<sup>31</sup> Istoriko-literaturnyj, nauchnyj publicisticheskij i informacionnyj neperionnyj zhurnal (Историко-литературный, научный, публицистический и информационный неперидический журнал), see *Ulan Zalat* 1 (1927), p. 1 and vol. 2 (1928), p. 1.

<sup>32</sup> Vykhodit v god ne menee 4-kh raz (Выходит в год не менее 4-х раз), see *Ulan Zalat* 2 (1928), p. 1.

<sup>33</sup> Delgir Yu. Topalova, ‘Obshchestvenno-kulturnaya deyatel’nost’ kalmuckoi èmigracii (1920 e- nachalo 1930 gg.)’, *Oriental Studies* 2 (2019), pp. 195–206.

<sup>34</sup> See *Ulan Zalat* 2 (1928), p. 2.

<sup>35</sup> Rus. Наш журнал во избежание, может быть, не-нужной и вредной в калмыцкой эмиграции политической борьбы будет, главным образом, культурным, историко-литературным, научным, информационным. .... Нам хотелось бы, чтобы наш журнал был способен правдиво отражать мысли, чаяния, на-строения калмыцкой массы и быть прибежищем ее мятущейся души. Трудная задача и с невольной робостью пускаемся мы в плавание

contained unique materials published both in Kalmyk and in Russian, focusing on Kalmyk history and featuring various literary works. Notably, a Russian translation of Eelian Ovla's version of the two cantos from the *Jangar* epic, namely the General Proemium<sup>36</sup> and Canto on Khongor's Marriage were included in the second issue.<sup>37</sup> This translation was probably the earliest known Russian version of the cantos.

Overall, the magazine was thus published both in Kalmyk and in Russian. The first issue consisted of 58 pages with 24 articles, including 15 articles in Russian (44 pages) and 9 in the Clear Script (14 pages). The second issue consisted of 68 pages with 24 articles, including 14 articles in Russian (52 pages) and 10 in Clear Script (16 pages) (see Table 2). However, no information was provided regarding the total circulation of the magazine. In terms of layout, both issues measured 30.4×23 cm. The cover design was similar for both issues, with the magazine's title *УЛАН ЗАЛАТ* written in Kalmyk Cyrillic at the top and in the Clear Script *ulān žalat* on the left side. The cover image featured an officer on a horse, standing on a hill and overlooking the beautiful grassland scenery. Each issue included several photographs, such as those of the Czechoslovak politician T. G. Masaryk,<sup>38</sup> the Minister of Foreign Affairs Václav Girsá,<sup>39</sup> the Buddha Menke Bormanjinov,<sup>40</sup> the Kalmyk general Ulan Erencaín Naran,<sup>41</sup> Erenjen L. Yamanov,<sup>42</sup> and others. There were seven illustrations in Issue No. 1, and six illustrations in Issue No. 2 in total, which including three photographs from Prof. Kotwicz's collection.<sup>43</sup>

**Table 2. Basic data about the *Ulan Zalat***

Publication Date	Issue	Publisher/ Editor in Chief	Print Run	Pages	Article	Language	
						In Russian	In Kalmyk
1927.05.01	№ 1	KCCWC (B. N. Ulanov)	120	44 (in Russian) + 14 (in Kalmyk)	24	15	9
1928.03.15	№ 2	Same	120	52 + 16	24	14	10

калмыцкой журналистики, но пора, пора... Считаясь пока с недостаточной подготовленностью и калмыка-читателя и калмыка-сотрудника читать и писать на родном калмыцком письме, мы будем известное время писать и издавать свой журнал на двух языках. *Ulan Zalat* 1 (1927), p. 2.

<sup>36</sup> The General Proemium (*eklch/ orshil*) of the *Jangar* Epic introduces the main characters of the epic and narrates the story of Jangar Khan's descent. This introductory section sets the stage for the epic narrative, providing essential background information about the legendary figures and their lineage, which forms the basis for the epic's unfolding events.

<sup>37</sup> *Ulan Zalat* 2 (1928), pp. 38–48.

<sup>38</sup> *Ulan Zalat* 1 (1927), p. 1.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 4.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 8.

<sup>42</sup> *Ulan Zalat* 2 (1928), p. 32.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 33.

Earlier studies conducted by Kalmyk scholars, such as A. T. Bayanova,<sup>44</sup> A. N. Bitkeeva,<sup>45</sup> D. Yu. Topalova,<sup>46</sup> K. A. Nadneeva,<sup>47</sup> and the Mongolian scholar Ayalagu,<sup>48</sup> have provided brief information on the publisher, total number of issues, publication period, and other basic data on the *Ulan Zalat* magazine. However, they give different data on the total number of the magazine issues. For example, A. T. Bayanova mentioned that “5 issues of the *Khonkho* magazine and 2 issues of the *Ulan Zalat* magazine were published as a result of the activities of the Kalmyk Commission of Culture Workers in Czechoslovakia” (p. 16). On the other hand, A. N. Bitkeeva (p. 73), D. Yu. Topalova (p. 200), K. A. Nadneeva (p. 89), and Ayalagu (p. 40) unanimously agree that three issues of the *Ulan Zalat* were published in 1927, 1928, and 1930. Also, most of them did not provide precise publication dates, detailed characteristics of the magazine, particularly the information about the source materials they used or the location of the magazine collection. Ayalagu, however, mentions in her article that “the National Library of the Czech Republic had three issues of the *Ulan Zalat* magazine published in 1927, 1928, and 1930” (p. 40). According to the official website of the National Library of the Czech Republic<sup>49</sup>, the third issue of the *Ulan Zalat*, published in March 1930 and comprising 69 pages, is in fact kept in the collection. Unfortunately, the original magazines cannot be downloaded or read directly from the website.

### 3. *Tsagan öbsni dol’gan*

The *Tsagan öbsni dol’gan* (“The Wave of Feather Grass,” *Цаган öвсни долъган* in Kalmyk Cyrillic and *Ковыльные Волны* in Russian) was a comprehensive literary magazine that encompassed a wide range of materials, including global news, Kalmyk folktales, fairy tales, folk songs, poems, works of modern and contemporary literature, and translations. The magazine was published in fifteen issues (nos. 13/14 published as a single volume) from November 1930 to February 1937 by the Kalmyk National Organization KTT. Prof. Kotwicz’s collection at the University of Warsaw comprises a total of twelve issues, except for issues No. 4, No. 5, and No. 10.

In the late 1920s, due to various factors such as the financial crisis in Czechoslovakia, internal conflicts within the KCCWC, and other circumstances the Kalmyk émigrés had to relocate to different places, which resulted in the suspension of all cultural activities

<sup>44</sup> Aleksandra T. Bayanova, ‘Kalmyckie èmigrantskie izdaniya v knizhnoi kulture kalmykov’, in: *Yazyk i kul’tura: sbornik materialov VII Mezhdunarodnoy nauchno-prakticheskoy konferencii*, Novosibirsk 2013, p. 16.

<sup>45</sup> Aysa N. Bitkeeva, ‘Yazykovaya adaptaciya diaspory: strategii i perspektivy razvitiya’, *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana* 3 (2018), p. 73.

<sup>46</sup> Topalova, *Obshchestvenno-kulturnaya...*, p. 200.

<sup>47</sup> Kermen A. Nadneeva, ‘Osobnosti aksiologicheskoi orientacii russkoi èmigracii v Chekhii’, *Filosofiya prava* 4 (2017), p. 89.

<sup>48</sup> Ayalagu, *Chekho ulus...*, p. 40.

<sup>49</sup> Viewed 11 May 2024, <<http://kramerius.nkp.cz/kramerius/Search.do?documentType=page&text=ulan+zalat#>>.

conducted by the committee. It was only in the early 1930 that most émigrés moved to Paris, France, where a group of Kalmyk intellectuals led by Sh. N. Balinov and S. B. Balykov established a cultural association named “Khal'mak Tangachin Tuk”.<sup>50</sup> The objectives of the new association remained the same as those of the KCCWC: to maintain the Kalmyk national identity and cultural heritage, to preserve the Kalmyk language and traditions, and to facilitate Kalmyk press. Thus, they initiated the publication of the *Tsagan öbsni dol'gan* in November 1930.

Compared to the KCCWC, the KTT emphasised their political stance.<sup>51</sup> The Kalmyk émigrés allied with the Cossacks, with whom they shared political interests. In the inaugural article titled “Our Goals”, published in both Clear Script (*Manaa sedbeeri*)<sup>52</sup> and Russian (*Nashi celi*)<sup>53</sup> the editorial board underlined their founding principles and mission, which they saw in promoting the idea of national self-determination of the Kalmyks, as well as of other national minorities.<sup>54</sup> They believed that national self-determination was a way to build the true foundation for national renaissance, and they actively collaborated with the Cossacks to promote their shared political objectives.<sup>55</sup>

Sh. N. Balinov, the chairman of KTT, served as the editor-in-chief of the magazine from issues No. 1 to No. 4. Starting from issue No. 6, S. B. Balikov joined as the editor-in-chief.<sup>56</sup> The address of the magazine, as indicated on the front page of each issue, was ‘M. Balinov, 7, rue du Chemin Creux, Joinville-Le-Pont (Seine), France’. The examination of the material shows that the issues varied in terms of printing technology, number of pages, and layout.<sup>57</sup> Issues from No. 1 to No. 9 were printed with the lithographic technique, while issues No. 11 to No. 15 were offset printed. The maximum page count was 85 (issue No. 9), while the shortest issues comprised 32 pages (issues No. 11 and No. 15). Except for issue No. 6, which measured 29×21 cm, the remaining issues measured 27×21 cm. While most of the article was published in Russian, each issue included a varying number of articles in Kalmyk Cyrillic, Clear Script, and French (see Table 3 below).

<sup>50</sup> Topalova, *Obshchestvenno-kulturnaya...*, p. 202.

<sup>51</sup> Referenced information can be found in the *Tsagan öbsni dol'gan* 1 (1930), pp. 1–3, and p. 10.

<sup>52</sup> *Tsagan öbsni dol'gan* 1 (1930), pp. 1–7.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 8–11.

<sup>54</sup> Posil'noe sluzhenie idee nacional'nogo samoopredeleniya ‘malykh’ narodov (Посильное служение идее национального самоопределения “малых” народов) in Russian. *Ibidem*, pp. 1–2.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 4–5 and pp. 9–10.

<sup>56</sup> Referenced information can be found on the following web; <http://www.emigrantica.ru/item/kovylnye-volny-joinville-le-point-1930-1937>

<sup>57</sup> The Prof. Kotwicz's collection does not contain issues Nos. 4–5 and No. 10, which are therefore excluded from this list.

**Table 3. Basic data about the *Tsagan öbsni dol'gan***

Publication Date	Issue	Publisher/ Editor in Chief	Print Run	Pages	Article	Language			
						In Russian	In Clear Script	In Kalmyk Cyrillic	In France
1930.11	№ 1	KTT Sh. N. Balinov	N/A	59	28	20	8	0	0
1931.02	№ 2	Same	N/A	53	24	19	2	3	0
1931.06	№ 3	Same	N/A	64	30	25	2	3	0
1933.06	№ 6	KTT Sh. N. Balinov & S. B. Balykov	N/A	43	22	18	0	4	0
1933.10	№ 7	Same	N/A	57	26	22	1	3	0
1934.02	№ 8	Same	N/A	41	23	17	1	4	1
1934.08	№ 9	Same	N/A	85	24	22	1	1	0
1935.08	№ 11	Same	N/A	32	19	18	1	0	0
1936.02	№ 12	Same	N/A	24	25	24	1	0	0
1936.12	№ 13/14	Same	N/A	36	24	21	0	0	3
1937.02	№ 15	Same	N/A	32	25	23	2	0	0

The cover design of the magazine changed three times throughout its publication. Issues No. 1 to No. 3 had an orange kraft paper cover, its texture harder as compared to the paper used in the main body of texts. A grassland landscape image featured in the center of the cover, with the magazine's title printed in Russian (*Ковыльные Волны*) and Kalmyk Cyrillic (*Цаган өвсни долъган*) to the top and bottom of the cover image. The title in Clear Script (*čaγan öbüsöni doliγan*), Kalmyk Cyrillic, and Russian appears on its masthead, too. From issues No. 6 to No. 9, lightweight coated paper was used for the cover, like the paper used for the rest of the material; the Clear Script title on the masthead is absent. Issues No. 11 to No. 15 did not have covers at all, the title and contents featuring on the masthead. Most of the titles were written in block letters in Russian, except for issues Nos. 11 and 12 featuring the title in Clear Script and French (*Graminées Mouvantes*). The change in the titles and content of the magazine reflects the gradual assimilation of the Russian script and the acceptance of the Cyrillic writing system by Kalmyks who emigrated to Europe, as well as by other Kalmyks in Russia.

Most of the issues did not contain illustrations. However, on the first page of issue No. 7, there is a portrait of Torghut (Torguud) Princess Nirgidma<sup>58</sup> taken during her visit

<sup>58</sup> Nirgidma, (born December 24, 1907 in Tokyo, died in Louveciennes on September 28, 1983) was a Mongolian princess of the Torghut tribe.

to KTT in September 1933. The same issue includes *Noyon Kuken Nirdzhidma* ('Princess Nirdzhidma'),<sup>59</sup> a poem written by the editor-in-chief, Sh. Balinov, demonstrating his poetic talent; and a noteworthy article *On the Present Situation of the Torghuts in China*<sup>60</sup> by Princess Nirgidma, translated from Kalmyk into Russian. The article was a valuable resource, providing important insights into the historical and contemporary circumstances of the Torghut compatriots, residing thousands of kilometres away from the Kalmyk region.

Also, the information on this magazine can be found on the official website of some libraries or archives. Specifically, on the official website of the Library of Congress, there are issues Nos. 13/14 and No. 15, that appear under the title "Journal of Soviet and Russian Immigration, 1917–48" (scroll 235, Original DLC sf. 93093884, OCoLC 28516411).<sup>61</sup> On the official website of the Library of the Solzhenitsyn House of Russia Abroad, there are also issues No. 9 and Nos. 13/14, labelled as 95-P3.<sup>62</sup> According to the information provided on the official website of the Russian Diaspora's Magazine Directory, there are ten issues of the magazine, including Nos. 1 to 5, No. 11, and Nos. 12 to 15.<sup>63</sup> It is important to note that the website includes issues No. 4 and No. 5, absent in Prof. Kotwicz's collection at the University of Warsaw. Unfortunately, the original magazines cannot be downloaded or read directly from these websites. In general, the collection of the *Tsagan öbsni dol'gan* in Prof. Kotwicz's collection at the University of Warsaw is the most comprehensive when compared to the collections relevant data which available on the aforementioned official websites.

It should be noted that the recent studies on the subject sometimes contain inaccurate information regarding the publisher and the total number of issues of the magazine under discussion. For instance, D. Yu. Topalova stated that the *Tsagan öbsni dol'gan* was published in sixteen issues from 1930 to 1937.<sup>64</sup> However, the details her sources, and the publication dates of each issue are absent in her article. Given the data on the available issues in Prof. Kotwicz's collection at the University of Warsaw, the information from the aforementioned official websites, and the brief introduction to the *Encyclopaedia of Russian Diaspora's Literature*,<sup>65</sup> it may be concluded that there was no issue No. 16; hence, there were fifteen issues of the *Tsagan öbsni dol'gan* in all, published from November 1930 to December 1937.

Then, an article in the *Journal of the Academy of Sciences: Literature and Language Series* contains an incorrect statement that the *Tsagan öbsni dol'gan* was published by the Kalmyk national organization *Khalmak Tengerin* (sic!) *Tuk* (org. Хальмак Тенгерин

<sup>59</sup> *Tsagan öbsni dol'gan* 7 (1933), p. 5.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 3–5.

<sup>61</sup> Viewed 11 May 2024, <<https://lccn.loc.gov/sf97090591>>.

<sup>62</sup> Viewed 10 May 2024, <<https://elibrary.domrz.ru/absopac/app/webroot/index.php?url=/#>>.

<sup>63</sup> Viewed 11 May 2024, <<http://www.emigrantica.ru/item/kovylnye-volny-joinville-le-point-1930-1937>>.

<sup>64</sup> Delgir Yu. Topalova, 'Periodicheskie izdaniya kalmyckoi émigrationi (na primere zhurnala "Mana zängä" 1946–1947 godov)', *Oriental Studies* 3 (2020), p. 806.

<sup>65</sup> The short introduction can be found in the *Encyclopaedia- Literaturnaya ènciklopediya russkogo zarubezh'ya 1918–1940* (ed. Aleksandr Nikolaevich), Moskva, volume 2/2, 1996, p. 29.



Тук) in Prague (org. Прага) in 1930.<sup>66</sup> However, the correct name of the organization was *Khalmak Tangachin Tuk*, and it was founded in Paris, not Prague, in 1930. In fact, there is a considerable difference between the words *tangach* (Kalmyk dialect, written as *тангач, таңһч*) meaning ‘people, tribe, region, and country’<sup>67</sup> and *tenggr* (*tenggr, теңгр*) meaning ‘sky, heaven, god, and weather’.<sup>68</sup>

#### 4. *Khal'mäg*

The *Khal'mäg* (*Хальмэг* in Kalmyk Cyrillic and *Chalmag – Der Kalmück* in German), as indicated on the front page of each issue, was a comprehensive magazine covering current affairs, politics, and cultural life. Its content included news from around the world, speeches by leaders, pieces on Kalmyk national history, as well as Kalmyk folk songs, poems, and Kalmyk-Russian vocabulary translations, etc. Prof. Kotwicz’s collection at the University of Warsaw comprises eight issues or seven volumes of the *Khal'mäg*. These issues were published from May to December 1943. Notably, issues Nos. 3 and 4 were published as a single volume. The available magazines and the documentation currently at our disposal considered, it is still not clear whether the publication of the *Khal'mäg* continued beyond issue No. 8 published in December 1943. There is no doubt, however, that the magazine was initially published in Berlin in May 1943 and continued from May to December 1943, with a new issue appearing every month.

The *Khal'mäg* magazine was published by the KNC. As mentioned above, the committee of the KTT established in Paris in 1930 changed its name for KNC in March 1939 due to various social and historical factors. It began publishing the magazine in Berlin, its address given as ‘Berlin-Charlottenburg 2, Kantstraße 158/IV’.<sup>69</sup> Shamba Balinov was the coordinator of the committee and served as the editor-in-chief.<sup>70</sup> Darja Remilev, Petr Dzevzinov, Nikolai Tundutov, and others have contributed articles to the magazine.<sup>71</sup> In the inaugural articles published in different scripts, the editor-in-chief Balinov made a strong statement regarding the prevailing political sentiments and of the Kalmyk émigrés and the KNC. These articles included a Clear Script piece entitled *The Will Succeeds (Bolkho, bötekh* p. 1)<sup>72</sup>, a Kalmyk Cyrillic article titled *The 22nd of June 1941* (‘1941-che dzhilin 22-che yun’)<sup>73</sup> and Russian articles with titles *We Will Return Home* (‘*My vernemysya*

<sup>66</sup> Ochirova N. Tatiana, ‘Evraziystvo i puti russkogo istoricheskogo samapoznaniya’, *Izvestiya akademii nauk: seriya literatury i yazyka*, 52 (1993) p. 42.

<sup>67</sup> Munin Bembe, ‘Xal'mg-Ors tol’, Moskva 1977, p. 477.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 493.

<sup>69</sup> Indicated on the front page of each issue.

<sup>70</sup> Referenced information can be found in the *Khal'mäg* 1 (1943), p. 16.

<sup>71</sup> See the “Contents” page of each issue.

<sup>72</sup> *Khal'mäg* 1 (1943.05), p. 1.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 1–2.

*domoj*)<sup>74</sup> and *Our Goals* ('*Nashi celi*').<sup>75</sup> The primary objective of the committee was to initiate a platform where Kalmyks from all walks of life could freely express their opinions, ideals, and aspirations through the medium of the magazine.<sup>76</sup> Furthermore, they aimed to establish connections and collaborate with the Germans, a partnership that (they thought) would bring advanced economic, cultural, and industrial opportunities for the development of the Kalmyk nation.<sup>77</sup>

The eight issues published in 1943 had varying page counts, with issues Nos. 5 and 8 having a maximum of 32 pages, while the shortest issue No. 1 had 16 pages. Each issue of the magazine measured 31.6 × 22.6 cm; offset printing used on lightweight coated paper without a cover. The first five issues featured numerous illustrations, mostly portraits of political leaders. Apart from the article titled *The Will Succeeds* written in Clear Script by editor-in-chief Sh. Balinov on the front page of issue No. 1, the remaining articles were published in Kalmyk Cyrillic and Russian. In the article titled *Our Goals*, the editor-in-chief emphasized that in the first issue of the magazine, they provided more articles in Russian for purely technical reasons; however, they intended to gradually turn to the Kalmyk language. They expressed their preference for the old script (Zaya Pandita's Clear Script), which perfectly conveyed the nuances and shades of the Kalmyk language. The Bolsheviks had long abolished the old writing tradition; until 1937, the Kalmyk alphabet was first based on Latin, afterwards it was changed by the Russian alphabet. Consequently, many Soviet Kalmyks, particularly the youth, were unfamiliar with their old traditional writing script. The *Khal'mäg* aimed to actively propagate the Kalmyk ideas and therefore had to be published in an alphabet that most people would understand. Given the difficulties with the old script, the magazines were published either in Latin script, preferred by *the Kalmyk National Committee*, or for various reasons in Russian transcription.<sup>78</sup> The Kalmyk émigrés strived to preserve their spoken and written languages, but they also had to consider the current situation. Thus, as the present study of the collection shows, most articles were in Russian (see Table 4 below).

<sup>74</sup> Ibidem, pp. 2–3.

<sup>75</sup> Ibidem, pp. 3–5.

<sup>76</sup> Ibidem, p. 3.

<sup>77</sup> Ibidem, p. 4.

<sup>78</sup> Rus. По чисто техническим причинам, в первом номере «Хальмаг» мы даем больше матерпала на русском языке. Постепенно журнал перейдет на свой роднои язык. Мы предпочли бы писать на нашем старом, Зая-пандитовском, письме, прекрасно выражающем все оттенки и нюансы ,нашего языка. К сожалению, из-вратители народных душ – большевики – это наше старое письмо упразднили давно. Вплоть до 1937 года они у нас практиковали калмыцкий алфавит в латинской трнскрипции, а после ввели русскую транскрипцию. Следовательно, наши подсо-ветские братья, особенно молодежь, не знают своего старого алфавита. Между тем, журнал «Хальмаг» преследует цели живой пропаганды нашей идеи, следовательно, он должен издаваться на том алфавите, какой понятен наибольшему количеству людей. Поскольку нам трудно вернуться к пашему старому письму, нам остается две возможности: или писать в латинской транскрипции, что предпочитает КНК, или же в русской трапскриции, что мы сейчас делаем по разным причинам, ibidem, pp. 4–5.

**Table 4. Basic data about the *Khal'mäg***

Publication Date	Issue	Publisher/ Editor in Chief	Print Run	Pages	Article	Language		
						In Russian	In Clear Script	In Kalmyk Cyrillic
1943.05	№ 1	KNC Sh. N. Balinov	N/A	16	18	9	1	5
1943.06	№ 2	Same	N/A	24	26	15	0	11
1943.07–08	№ 3/4	Same	N/A	48	28	23	0	5
1943.09	№ 5	Same	N/A	32	22	17	0	5
1943.10	№ 6	Same	N/A	24	24	19	0	5
1943.11	№ 7	Same	N/A	24	22	16	0	6
1943.12	№ 8	Same	N/A	32	20	11	0	9

Earlier studies on this periodicals include only basic data such as the title, publisher, and place of publication, including, for example, the introductory articles related to the Kalmyk Cavalry Regiment and the editor-in-chief, Sh. Balinov,<sup>79</sup> while, in general, special studies on this magazine are absent.

In addition to the aforementioned Kalmyk émigré periodicals' collection at the University of Warsaw, the Prof. Kotwicz's Private Archive at the Archive of Sciences of the PAS and PAAS in Cracow preserves a rare collection of early Kalmyk newspapers,<sup>80</sup> such as:

- 1) five issues of the *Öirad-yn Zang*:<sup>81</sup> No. 1 (15 November), No. 2 (30 November), and No. 3 (13 December) published in 1917, and No. 4 (January 03) and No. 5 (January 11) published in 1918;
- 2) two issues of the *Ulan-Khal'mak*:<sup>82</sup> No. 11 (03 July), and No. 16 (28 August) published in 1920;

<sup>79</sup> Viewed 11 May 2024, <[https://pl.unionpedia.org/i/Szamba\\_Balinow](https://pl.unionpedia.org/i/Szamba_Balinow)> and Viewed 11 May 2024, <<https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hal%CA%B9ma%CC%8Bg>>.

<sup>80</sup> In previous research, Agata Bareja-Starzyńska and Jerzy Tulisow briefly introduced four Kalmyk newspapers, namely, *Oiratskiye izvestiya* (Nos. 2, 3, 5), *Ulaan Khal'mak* (Nos. 11, 16, 5) *Krasnyi kalmyk* (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 1 (5), 2 (6), 3 (7), 5 (9), 6 (10), 8 (12), 6, 7), and *Tanhcin zang*— several numbers (see Bareja-Starzyńska and Tulisow, 2018, 14).

<sup>81</sup> The newspaper entitled in Clear-Script *Öirad-yn Zang* and in Russian *Ojratskie Izvestiya* («Ойратские Известия»), both can be translated as 'Oirat news'.

<sup>82</sup> The newspaper titled *Ulan-Khamak* («Улан-Хальмак») in Kalmyk Cyrillic, *Krasnyj Kalmyk* («Красный Калмык») in Russian, both can be translated as 'The Red Kalmyk'. The newspaper was published by Politotdel Kalmyckikh Voennykh chastej (Политотдел Калмыцких Военных частей).

- 3) thirteen issues of the *Krasnyi Kalmyk*:<sup>83</sup> No. 1 (03 December), No. 2 (15 December), No. 3 (22 December), No. 4 (29 December) i.e. 4 issues published in 1920; No. 1 (5) (05 January), No. 2(6) (12 January), No. 3(7) (19 January), No. 5(9) (02 February), No. 6(10) (16 February), No. 8(12) (08 March) i.e. 6 issues published in 1921; and No. 5 (08 March), No. 6 (14 March), No. 7 (23 March) i.e. 3 issues published in 1923;
- 4) four issues of the *Tanħçin Zəŋg*: No. 128 (04 August), No. 129 (06 August), No. 130 (09 August), and No. 134 (20 August) published in 1934.

The incorporation of rare early Kalmyk newspapers into Prof. W. Kotwicz's legacy proves his close contacts with the Kalmyk émigrés. These newspapers may offer distinct and invaluable insights into historical events, cultural advancements, and the societal landscape that influenced the Kalmyks during significant historical epochs. As the collection of these newspapers warrants its dedicated investigation, a comprehensive study exploring their publication background, period of circulation, and distinctive features remains an essential pursuit for the future.

## Conclusion

The Kalmyk émigré periodicals published from the early 1920s to the mid-1940s in Czechoslovakia, France, and Germany, namely three out of five volumes of the *Khonkho*, two out of three issues of the *Ulan Zalāt*, twelve out of fifteen issues of the *Tsagan öbsni dolgan*, and all eight issues of the *Khal'mäg*, are part of the extensive and valuable collection of Prof. Kotwicz at the University of Warsaw. While it does not include every single issue of each periodical, still, the collection stands out as the most representative of the kind. The collection of Kalmyk émigré periodicals, including records related to the events of World War I and World War II, is of immense significance, shedding light on the complex history and culture, as well as the intellectual pursuits, of the Kalmyk diaspora. By examining these primary sources, scholars in the field may gain a deeper understanding of the challenges, achievements, and resilience of the Kalmyks as they navigated through times of change and uncertainty in their diasporic journey. Furthermore, the articles in the periodicals significantly contributed to recording, as well as enriching the Kalmyk language, folk culture, and other aspects of their heritage. Notably, the *Khonkho* among them stands out as one of the earliest periodicals that published primary sources entirely in Clear Script, thus promoting the linguistic and cultural legacy of the Kalmyks.

To fully appreciate this wealth of knowledge, further comprehensive research, including the analysis of their content, is imperative. Such efforts may allow a deeper understanding of the ideological debates, literary productions, and intellectual discourses that took place

<sup>83</sup> The newspaper entitled *Ulan Khal'mg* («Улан Хальмг») in Kalmyk Cyrillic, *Krasnyi Kalmyk* («Красный Калмык») in Russian, *Ulān Khalimay* in Clear-Script, both can be also translated as 'The Red Kalmyk'. The newspaper was issued by Central'nyj Ispolnitel'm. KOM. R. K. P. Abtonom. Oblasti Trudovogo Naroda (Центральный Исполнитель. КОМ. Р. К. П. Абтоном. Области Трудового Калмыцкого Народа).

within the Kalmyk émigré community. Also, given the importance of the collection, necessary steps should be taken to ensure its long-term preservation and accessibility. Digitization initiatives and collaboration with archival institutions may facilitate wider access for scholars, allowing them to engage with and contribute to the Mongolian, and specifically Kalmyk studies, of the twenty first century and beyond.

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