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# Contents

EDIT BATHÓ	
Jászberény ist die Hauptstadt von Jászen .....	3
A. A. ARSLANOVA	
Vassaf al-Hazrat and Hamdallah Kazvini (Protégés of Rashid ad-Din and court historiographers of the Ilkhans) .....	6
LÁSZLÓ BALOGH	
A New Source on the Hungarian Raids against Byzantium in the Middle of the Tenth Century .....	16
MICHAL BIRAN	
Culture and Cross-Cultural Contacts in the Chaghadaid Realm (1220-1370) (Some Preliminary Notes) .....	26
ÁGNES BIRTALAN	
Rituals of Sworn Brotherhood (Mong. anda bol-, Oir. and, ax düü bol-) in Mongol Historic and Epic Tradition .....	44
THOMAS BRÜGGE MANN	
Cumans in Southern Dobrudja (Some remarks on the Second Bulgarian Empire during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) .....	57
MIHÁLY DOBROVITS	
(H)oplayu tägdi (On the military tactics of the Ancient Turks) .....	72
ISTVÁN FODOR	
Ecology and nomadic migrations .....	77
JOHANNES GIEßAUF	
A Programme of Terror and Cruelty (Aspects of Mongol strategy in the light of Western Sources) .....	85
EMIL HERŠAK AND BORIS NIKŠIĆ	
Croatian Ethnogenesis and the Nomadic Element .....	97
V. I. IVANOV AND M. I. IVANOVA	
Horsemen Interments of the Golden Horde (The informational potential of the archaeological material for social reconstructions) .....	111
Y. S. KHUDYAKOV	
The role of the ancient Turks in the translation of cultural achievements to Siberia in the early Middle Ages .....	118

<b>OLEKSII KOMAR</b>	
The factor of climate in the life of the nomads of the North Black Sea region (From the end of the fifth to the seventh century) .....	125
<b>SZILVIA KOVÁCS</b>	
Alan women in the neighbouring foreign courts in the eleventh-twelfth centuries .....	134
<b>NIKOLAY N. KRADIN</b>	
Qamuq Mongqol Ulus and Chiefdom Theory .....	144
<b>KATALIN NAGY</b>	
The arms terminology of the Sarmatian army in the written sources .....	151
<b>TAKASHI OSAWA</b>	
New research on historical aspects and interpretation of the Ongi site and inscriptions .....	161
<b>SZABOLCS POLGÁR</b>	
Notes on the role of Alania in international trade in the early Middle Ages (eighth-tenth centuries) on the basis of written sources .....	178
<b>TIBOR SCHÄFER</b>	
Die Teilnehmer an der Barbareninvasion am Silvestertag des Jahres 406 ...	184
<b>OLIVER SCHMITT</b>	
Priscus als ethnographische Quelle für die Hunnen .....	192
<b>LÁSZLÓ SELMECZI</b>	
Ясы в Венгрии в XIII-XIV веках .....	204
<b>TATIANA D. SKRYNNIKOVA</b>	
Chinggis Khan's distribution of posts to his comrades-in-arms: Officials or courtiers? .....	208
<b>JOHANNES STEINER</b>	
Empfange und Du wirst einen Sohn gebären, welcher der Herrscher über die Erde werden wird... (Vorstellungen über Geburt und Tod Tschinggis Khans) .....	220
<b>ZSOLT SZILÁGYI</b>	
Öndör Gegen Zanabazar and his Role in the Mongolian Culture .....	233
<b>AHMET TAŞAĞIL</b>	
The Tribal System of the Turk Khaganate .....	242
<b>ДМИТРИЙ Д. ВАСИЛЬЕВ</b>	
Кочевая аристократия енисейской периферии каганата (Генеалогические реконструкции) .....	249
<b>ISTVÁN ZIMONYI</b>	
Vom Ural ins Karpaten-Becken (Die Grundzüge der ungarischen Frühgeschichte) .....	261

# *Jászberény ist die Hauptstadt von Jászen*

EDIT BATHÓ



Es ist eine grosse Beehrung für uns, diese Bedeutungsvolle Konferenz in Jászberény, in der Haupstadt von Jászság zu veranstaltet.

Jászság ist die westlich von der Theß liegende, durch die Flüsse Zagyva und Tarna und durch den Bach Ágó umgeschossene mit Auen bedeckte Landschaft auf der Tiefebene. Im XIII. Jahrhundert siedelten sich auf diesem Gebiet die mit den Kumanen nach Ungarn kommenden Jassen von Steppeniranern Abstammung an, die sich sowohl sprachlich, religiös, trachtlich, als auch in ihrer Lebensweiß von der ungarischen Bevölkerung des Landes bedeutend unterscheiden. Das Wirtschaftliche, geistige und religiöse Zentrum des Gebietes ist von Anfang an die Stadt Jászberény, die in den Quellen zuerst im Jahre 1357 in der Namensform „Beren“ erwähnt wurde. Im Jahre 1550 ist es schon eine Siedlung mit städtischem Rang, obwohl sie schon früher so betrachtet wurden und es ist Verwaltungssitz sowohl in der Zeit der Türkennherrschaft als auch in der Zeit des Dreierbezirkes.

Gleich von der Ansiedlung an genossen die Jassen verschiedene Vorrechte (Steuer- und Zollfreiheit, ein von den anderen Komitaten unabhängiges Leben, selbständige Vervaltung, Blutbann), für die sie dem König für ewig Wehrdienst schuldeten.

Nach der Türkennherrschaft, im Jahre 1702 waren seine Privilegien in Gefahr, als das Gebiet und das Volk von Jassen und zusammen mit den zwei Kumanien dem Deutschen Ritterorden von dem Kaiser Leopold I. für 500,000 Goldgulden verkauft wurde. Die Jassen und die Kumanen ergaben sich aber in dem Verlust ihrer uralten Privilegien nicht, im Jahre 1745 wurden sie nämlich für eigenes Geld zurückgezahlt. Diese berühmte jasskumanische Redemption (Selbsterlösung) gab dem Jassen die alte Freiheit und Privilegien zurück und eröffnete allmählich den Weg des wirtschaftlichen Aufschwungs.

Mit dem eigenartigen Verwaltungssystem des jasskumanischen Dreierbezirkes und damit zusammen mit dem größten Teil der Vorrechte wurden im Jahre 1876 aufgeräumt. Der Wirkungsbereich von Jászberény wurde von diesem Zeitpunkt an in bedeutendem Maß vermindert, und die neue Lage beschränkte stark die weiteren Möglichkeiten der Entwicklung.

Die Jászság ist heute von 18 Siedlungen (4 Städte, 14 Dörfer) gebildet. Die Hauptstadt von Jászság ist Jászberény, die eine gemütliche Stimmung, 28,000 Einwohner, entwickelte Industrie hat und ist reich an Kunstdenkmälern.

Die Jassen sind heute auch sehr stolz auf ihre ehemalige Privilegien, historische und volkstümliche Traditionen und natürlich auf ihre Identität.

In Jászberény, der ehemaligen Residenzstadt der Bezirke Jász-Kun trat 1873 - unter den ersten in Ungarn - der Gedanke der Gründung eines Museums auf. Größter Betreiber dieses Anliegens war der Wizebürgermeister Orbán Sipos, der als Herzensache ansah, dass die geschichtlichen Denkmäler des Gebietes Jász an einen würdigen Platz gelangen und so Nachwelt erhalten bleiben. Das Jász-Museum, welches bei der Gründung in einem der Hofgebäude des Rathauses Platz fand, wurde am 24. Dezember 1874 der Öffentlichkeit übergegeben. Die ständig wachsende Sammlung wurde später mehrmals umgesiedelt, bis im Jahre 1931 der ständige Platz für das Museum im leer stehenden Pferdestall des Rathauses endlich gefunden wurde. Seitdem funktioniert das Museum in dem, im Jahre 1842 im klassizistischen Stil mit dorischen Säulen gebauten, Kunstdenkmal-Gebäude und sammelt und bewahrt mit Ausdauer die schriftlichen und sachlichen Dokumente der Geschichte der Jász Region.

Die teuerster Schatz des Jász Museums ist das so genanntes Lehel Horn oder Jász-Horn, an das sich eine unserer schönsten Heldensagen, die Lehel-Sage anknüpft.

Über den Zeitpunkt und über die Umstände, wann und wie das Horn nach Jászberény kam, stehen uns keine bestimmten Angaben zur Verfügung. Nach den jetzigen Angaben der wissenschaftlichen Forschungen ist 43 cm lange, aus Elfenbein wunderbar geschnitzte Horn, im 11. oder 12. Jahrhundert in Kijev gefertigt. Annämlich ist es in einer Werkstatt gemacht, wo die Meister die Merkmale der Zierkunst aus Byzanz gut gekannt haben, sie haben aber den örtlichen Anforderungen und Bedingungen angepasst. Das verzierte Horn gelang wahrscheinlich im Laufe der jász (alanisch)- russischen Beziehungen zu einem der Jász-Kapitänen und so haben die nach Ungarn ziehenden Jászen mitgenommen.

Das Horn symbolisierte in jeder Zeit Epoche die Zusammenhörigkeit des Jassens. Die ehemaligen Jasz-Kapitäne haben es oft an ihrer Seite oder an ihrer Schulter, als das Zeichen ihrer Macht getragen, und haben ihren geerthen Gästen bei feierlichen Gelegenheiten im Jász-Horn Getränke angeboten. Den Jászkapitänen gebührte die letzte Ehre, dass das Jászhorn auf ihren Sarg gelegt wird. Auch heutzutage ist das Horn der teuerste Schatz der Jassen, das bloß bei wichtigen Gelegenheiten aus dem „Heiligtum“ genommen wird und man es zu großer Freude des Publikums ertönen lässt.

Die Tätigkeit des Jász Museums wurde in den vergangenen 13 das Wirken von zahlreichenden hervorragenden Direktoren garantiert: z.B. Viktor Hild und János Banner Archäologen, Kálmán Réz Historiker, József Csalog Archeologe, Sándor Erdész und János Tóth Ethnograph. Ab 1950 gab es eine bedeutende Veränderung im Leben des Museums, welches zu diesem Zeitpunkt in staatliche Verwaltung gelangte und als ein Teilmuseum der Bezirks-Museumsorganisation weiter funktionierte. Das Museum arbeitet heute auf diese Weise, aber wir be-

kommen in jedem Jahr eine bedeutungsvolle Summe zu unserer wissenschaftliche und kulturelle Arbeit von der Selbstverwaltung von Jászberény.

Der Direktorenwechsel 1994 hat zu einer erneuten bedeutenden Wende im Leben des Museums geführt. Größere Gebäuderenovierungen und fachliche Ergebnisse charakterisieren den vergangenen Zeitraum. Unter Mithilfe der im Dezember 1994 gegründeten Stiftung für das Jász-Museum hat die Herausgabe von Büchern einen Aufschwung genommen und es ergab sich die Möglichkeit der Verwirklichung einer neuen ständigen Ausstellung. Das Museum begann 1994 mit der Herausgabe des beliebten heimatkundlichen Blattes *Redemptio*, welches auch bis in die entferntesten Gebiete Ungarns gelangt.

Wir organisieren in jedem Jahr viele verschiedene interessante Programme (z. B. historische Spielen, Exponaten, Vorträge, Konzerten und Buchpremiere). Die Arbeit des Museums wird auch heute von einer bedeutenden lokalgeschichtlichen Forschungsgruppe und vielen Museumsfreunden unterstützt. Im Jahre 1999 bekam unser Museum für seine vorzügliche wissenschaftliche und kulturelle Arbeit den Titel *Das Museum des Jahres – 1998*. Unser Museum spielt von Anfang an eine wichtige Rolle im wissenschaftlichen und kulturellen Leben von Jászság.

# *Vassaf al-Hazrat and Hamdallah Kazvini*

Protégés of Rashid ad-Din and court historiographers of the Ilkhans

A. A. ARSLANOVA



Rashid ad-Din, a medieval Persian historian, was the founder of the so-called "Mongolian school" in historiography and an "ideologist" of the Mongolian state machinery. Everything necessary to translate such a grandiose literary project as the *Djami at-tavarikh* into reality was at his hand, namely; power, access to archives, help of the best experts on the history of different countries of the world, and enormous financial means. Thus, this extensive historical encyclopedia became the highest achievement of Muslim historiography of the Middle Ages, appearing around 1300, long before the creation of the so-called "worldwide histories" in Western Europe. It also raised the problem of the history of the five world nations, that is to say, it covered the whole world of that period – from Western Europe up to India and China.

The *Djami at-tavarikh* of Rashid ad-Din is known as the main source for all the compilers who appeared later. Some historians (Banakati, Khafiz-i Abru, "Anonymous of Iskender" and some other later historians) copied it completely or partly. This was not considered to be dishonourable at that time since the concept of plagiarism itself was regarded differently, and was equally alien to all medieval compilers, no matter whether they were Muslim, European or Chinese. Borrowing was practised as a usual creative method and even possessed some literary canons. Sometimes even Rashid ad-Din himself made use of this method.

Being in the vanguard of science, the great *vezir* showed himself to be a farsighted and wise person, as an administrator and as a scholar. The district of Rab'i Rashidi in Tabriz, which he had built, became the centre of all scholarship and knowledge of that time, a sort of academy of sciences. Many scientists from different countries, such as China, India, Byzantium and Egypt, were invited to live and work there. Many people arrived of their own accord, having heard about the glory and importance of that centre, and remained there to live and work. In spite of the fact that the existence of this international community of

scholars was rather short, Shirin Bayani, a researcher from Iran, believes that it has left its trace in the "dissemination of knowledge and culture of Iran, as well as in education of scientists".<sup>1</sup>

The school of historiography created by Rashid ad-Din in a way reflected a standpoint of the Ilkhans, authorized and approved by them. Those of his subordinates who displayed considerable talent as historians were given his personal support and the right to participate in "presentation" of their historical works to the ruling elite. In this connection, it is necessary to note among his contemporaries prominent historians like Vassaf and Kazvini, each of whom, nevertheless, treated their work and the service of their patron quite differently.

The first of these was Shihab ad-Din (or Sharaf ad-Din?) 'Abdallah 'Sharaf' Shirazi, son of 'Izz ad-Din Fadlallah, known as Vassaf, or Vassaf al-Hadrat ("His Majesty's panegyrist", or "court panegyrist") (663-735/1264-1334) came from Fars, and was an intellectual, a man of letters and a poet. He served as a tax collector for the Mongolian government and was under the protection of the mighty *vezir* Rashid ad-Din, and later of his son and successor, Giyas ad-Din. Hence he had a clear view of the financial system in Iran and it was only natural that he placed special emphasis on it in his work. We do not have any other biographical information about him.

Vassaf began writing his composition, *Tadzziyat al-amsar va tazdjiyat al-a'asar* ("Division of the areas and passing of the times"), usually called *Tarikh-i Vassaf*, in *Sha'ban* 699 (22 April-20 May 1300) as a continuation of the chronicle of Ala ad-Din Djuveyni titled *Tarikh-i djahangusha*. The first part of *Tarikh-i Vassaf* covers the period of the rule of Khubilay-khan and Timur-khan and history of the Hulaguid state till 1284; the second part gives the history of Fars starting from its conquest by the Seljuks up to the Lurs rebellion in 1291; the third part is a continuation of history of the Hulaguids until the death of Gazan-khan; the fourth part is a history of the rule of Uljaytu-khan. Sixteen years after the presentation of his work to the sultan, Vassaf added one more part, the fifth part (finished in 1328), which contains a review of the history of Chingiz-khan, of the Djuchids and the Chagataids and also the continuation of the history of the Hulaguids until 723 (AD 1323), mainly a history of the rule of Abu-Sa'id to 728 (AD 1328).

Vassaf's main sources appear to have been works by Djuveyni and Rashid ad-Din, official documents (particularly from the financial department) and, probably, spoken tradition and stories of eyewitnesses. V. V. Bartold pointed out that Vassaf had made use of the works by Rashid ad-Din, but sometimes his account of the events which had been described earlier, was given in a different way.<sup>2</sup> Specifically, when describing the damage caused to the economy of China by the Mongol conquest, he supplemented his narration with considerable new information.

<sup>1</sup> 498، دین و دولت در ایران عهد مغول، تألیف دکتر شیرین بیانی (اسلامی ندوشن)،

مرکز نشر دانشگاهی، تهران، در سه جلد، جلد دوم، ۱۳۷۱

<sup>2</sup> В. В. Бартольд, *Туркестан*, Tashkent 1922, 96-97.

The great book written by Vassaf is well known to scholars and is considered to be the most valuable narrative source for the study of the social-political history of the period, since it gives a broad picture of life in Iran during the period of the rule of the Ilkhans in the second half of the thirteenth and the first quarter of fourteenth centuries. Although it is well known, E. A. Polyakova has good reason to state that, because of its "curious", artificially elevated style, *Tarikh-i Vassaf* is one of the most poorly studied literary monuments of medieval historiography.

Much attention was given to *Tarikh-i Vassaf* by d'Ohsson in the review of sources for the first volume of his *Histoire des Mongols*. D'Ohsson worked with the manuscript from the Royal Library in Paris and noticed that Vassaf followed the same plan as Ala ad-Din Djuveyni, whom he praised so much, and Vassaf himself declared that his history should begin where the history of his predecessor stopped. Actually, Chapter VI depicts Hulagu's expedition to Baghdad, which immediately followed the conquest of the country of the Isma'ilits. D'Ohsson was quite right to recognize the trustworthiness of the Persian author. He wrote: "Vassaf [...] lets us know beforehand that he is speaking about events, the information of which he has got by word of mouth from extremely trustworthy people". As noted above, the date of AH 699 (AD 1300) is given in the preface, and the work also contains praise to sultan Ghazan (1295-1304), a great-grandson of Hulagu. Vassaf added a chapter describing how, on *Mukharram* 24, 712 (2 June 1312), he had the honour of presenting his historical research to sultan Uldjaytu, the successor of Gazan. He wrote that it had been written within a year, and at that time consisted of four parts. It was written under the protection of *vezir* Rashid, the author of *Djami at-tavarikh*. Vassaf described how, after having waited for this favour for a long time, he presented his work to the sovereign in the city of Sultaniya. Sultan Uldjaytu expressed his wish to listen to it and repeatedly interrupted the reading by asking questions about the meaning of this or that term or metaphor. The explanations were given to him either by the *vezir*, the chief *kadi*, or the author himself. Finally, Vassaf read the ode in which he praised the city of Sultaniya. The sultan, who had expressed his approval during the reading so many times, was so enchanted by his talent that he placed one of his own garments on Vassaf, and gave him the title of *Vassaf-ul-khazret*, or "His Majesty's pageyrist". Vassaf devoted a whole chapter to this royal reception, where his pride was fully satisfied.

V. V. Bartold noticed that Vassaf set out to flatter not only the sultan, but also his great patron, by comparing the latter with the greatest theological authorities or "revivalists of faith" of different epochs, such as Omar bin Abd al-'Aziz, Shafi'i, Ash'ari, Gazali, and Fahr ad-Din Razi. He also called him "a guide of truth, world peace and faith" (*Rashid al-Khakk va-d-Dunya va-d-Din*), or "a guide of state and faith" (*Rashid ad-Daulya va-d-Din*).<sup>3</sup> It is obvious, by the way, that in his narration Vassaf preferred to keep silent about Rashid ad-Din's participation in palace intrigues, especially if it seemed to him improper.

<sup>3</sup> В. В. Бартольд, Рец. на книгу: E. Blochet, *Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols de Fadl Allah Rashid ed-Din* (1910), Соч. Vol. 8. Moscow 1973, 290.

The book is written in an extremely poetic, pompous and catastrophically florid style which was very popular at that time (see, for instance, the works of Ne-savi and Ata Malik Djuveyni). The language is so pretentious, even bizarre, with many metaphors, poetical images, allegories, chronograms, quibbles, poetical riddles and quotations, that some parts of the text defy understanding. There are so many Arabic and Persian verses as well as dicta in the text that it makes the process of reading very complicated and the reader constantly has to overcome these difficulties. This literary work is nevertheless considered to be the best example of Persian eloquence, and it became a model for subsequent historiography. In this regard, Djuveyni's *Tarikh-i djahangusha* served Vassaf not only as a direct source of historical data, but also as a sort of stylistic example. This is remarkable, since within easy reach of his hand he had the work of his patron, written in "a good, simple, but figurative and expressive Persian, alien to florid and bizarre style".<sup>4</sup> Rashid ad-Din's work seems to have been too innovative for the period. To be objective, Djuveyni's work completely satisfied the requirements of literary etiquette of that time, "depending on which reality was depicted not as it really was, but as it had to be according to the ideas of the epoch". E. A. Polyakova is right in saying that it was this etiquette that determined the selection of facts, and the author's interpretation of events as well as characteristics of historic figures. The task of the author was not to bring his narration nearer to reality, but to select linguistic standards in order to express his ideas about different events and personalities. Djuveyni's chronicle combines conditional, epic, generalized images and pictures with realistic details and sketches which gives brightness to his etiquette-bound narration. As for Vassaf, he had shown even greater adherence to specific details than Rashid ad-Din, who, reiterating Djuveyni, complemented him with the facts. Nevertheless, Vassaf's fascination with concrete details does not make him simplify the language. It is needless to say that between different parts of the chronicle there is a significant difference in verbal design, and the philosophical reflections of Vassaf are far more difficult than his narration about actual observations.<sup>5</sup> One cannot, however, forget an apt remark made by D'Ohsson, who considered the florid style of Djuveyni "to be not his merit, but only an unpleasant bombast (*trop ampoule*), and as for the attitude to these events, we can only wish the author had been more veracious in colouring the events and had more order in his narration".

Edward G. Brown, in his *Literary History of Persia*, agrees with the opinion expressed by Rieu that Vassaf's chronicle contains an authentic contemporary record of an important period, "but its undoubted value is in some degree diminished by the want of method in its arrangement, and still more by the highly artificial character and tedious redundancy of its style"<sup>6</sup>: "Uljaytu, we are told was

<sup>4</sup> И. П. Петрушевский, *Введение – Рашид-ад-дин. Сборник летописей*. Пер. с перс. Л. А. Хетагурова, отв. ред. В. В. Семенова, Vol 1. Moscow-Leningrad 1952, 23.

<sup>5</sup> Е. А. Полякова, „Некоторые сведения о «Тарих-и Вассаф»” *Общественные науки в Узбекистане* 8 (1978): 45–46.

<sup>6</sup> A. J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature*. London 1994, 160.

unable to understand the passages read aloud to him by the author on the occasion of his audience [...] We could forgive the author more readily if his work were less valuable as an original authority on the period (1257–1328) of which it treats, but in fact it is as important as it is unreadable....".<sup>7</sup> English-speaking scholars have paid special attention to the fact that though *Tarikh-i Vassaf* was written later than Rashid ad-Din's work, first and foremost, it appears to be the continuation of the *Tarikh-i jahangusha* written by Djuveyni.

Later V. V. Bartold also noted that Vassaf's composition was a direct continuation of Djuveyni's work and that it began with a story about the death of Munke, but the story about the rule of Khubilay differed substantially from the narration by Rashid ad-Din, and that is why "in some cases it is difficult to decide where the truth is".<sup>8</sup> At the same time, in the fifth book written by Vassaf, which gives the ending of the Mongol history and also contains the chapter about the Djuchids and Chagatayids, "the author adheres to Rashid ad-Din's narration even though he himself had presented the same events differently in the first book".<sup>9</sup>

A lithographic publication of Vassaf's work, with a glossary of archaic and specific terms and expressions which overfill the book, was published in Bombay in 1853. In 1856 Hammer-Purgshtal published his first book of the text with a German translation, a beautiful edition published in Vienna. Further publication could not be continued, however, because of the death of this orientalist.<sup>10</sup>

In 1941 some extracts from the *Tarikh-i Vassaf* were published in a two-volume work, *The collection of materials on the history of the Golden Horde* [original in Russian].<sup>11</sup> The edition used was made from the lithographic publication (1853), with reference to the edition published by Hammer-Purgshtal (1856), as well as the manuscript from the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (ms C 384).

We will now turn to the other prominent historian who owed his career both as an official and historian to Rashid ad-Din, Hamdallah bin Abi Bakr bin Ahmad bin Nasr Mustaifi Kazvini (born in Kazvin about 680/1281, died 750/1349–1350). Little is known about the life of this dignitary, historian, geographer and poet, but for some short pieces of information which he gives in his work. He was descended from the old and noble Arabic family of Mustaifi, members of which had been holding posts in controlling the finances of Kazvin *vilayat* since the eleventh century. Blochet wrote that Kazvini's great-grandfather, Amin ad-Din Nasr, considered his family to descend from Hurr ibn Yezid Riyahi, who had performed the functions of *mustaifi* (the tax collector) of Iraq, but later he led an ascetic way of life and was killed by Mongols during their invasion in Iran. His brother, Zayn

<sup>7</sup> E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*. Vol. III, London 1902, 67–68.

<sup>8</sup> Бартольд, *Туркестан*, 97.

<sup>9</sup> Бартольд, *Туркестан*, 97.

<sup>10</sup> Н. М. Elliot. Указ. соч., 25–26.

<sup>11</sup> Сборник материалов, относящихся к истории Золотой Орды. Т. II. Извлечения из персидских сочинений, собранные В. Г. Тизенгаузеном и обработанные А. А. Ромаскевичем и С. Л. Волиным. Moscow–Leningrad 1941.

ad-Din Muhammad ibn Tadj ad-Din, filled the post of *na'ib-i divan-i vizarat* and was an associate of Rashid ad-Din. Probably it was this brother who introduced Hamdallah into the literary circle under the direct guidance of the mighty *vezir*. Browne adds the words of Hamdallah Kazvini that "from his youth upwards [he] eagerly cultivated the society of men of learning", especially that of Rashid ad-Din, had frequent scientific debates, especially on history, and though he had not been trained as a historian, he decided to write a short general history in his free time.<sup>12</sup>

It is known that Hamdallah Kazvini was a close friend of Rashid ad-Din, he considered the latter to be his tutor, and was under his patronage. After the murder of Sa'ad ad-Din Saudji, when Rashid ad-Din became independent in management, he employed Kazvini (about 711/1311) to be in charge of financial affairs of the Kazvin, Abhar and Zendjan regions and also of both Tarums (Tari-mayn). It seems that Hamdallah Kazvini is also obliged to him for his work on compiling historical and historical-geographical descriptions of the Moslem world. Three of his works have survived, namely; *Tarikh-i guzide* ("Selected history"), *Zafar-name* ("A book of victory"), and *Nuzhat'ul-kulub* ("Enjoyment of heart"). The first two books are on history, and the third on geography.

His compilation of general history, *Tarikh-i guzide*, was finished in 730/1329-1330 and was dedicated to Khodja Giyas ad-Din Muhammad Rashidi, Rashid ad-Din's son and successor. The composition is a beautiful piece written in an unsophisticated, clear style, just like *Tabakat-i nasiri* written by Djuzdjani, or Rashid's own *Djami at-tavarikh*. So, as we see, both styles - sophisticated and simple - existed at one and the same time. *Tarikh-i guzide* is based, mainly, on the plan and information of the second volume of *Djami at-tavarikh*, as well as on some original documents. According to V. V. Bartold, Kazvini came from a bureaucratic family, "and probably they had been keeping some of the documents of preceding centuries".<sup>13</sup> Besides, he supplemented his work with information from other historians. In the preface to his book, Hamdallah Kazvini enumerated about two dozen sources.

This work consists of the preface, introduction (*fatikha*) and six large chapters (*babs*). Chapter 4 narrates the dynasties of the Moslem period, beginning from the Samanids to the Mongols (the Saffarids, Samanids, Gaznevids, Gurids, Deyle-mits, Seldjukids, Khorezmshakhs, Atabeks, Isma'ilits, Kara-kitays of Kerman, the rulers of Lur, the Mongols). The twelfth section of Chapter 4 gives a brief history of the Mongolian khans in Iran; Chapter 6 gives a detailed description of Kazvin, the native town of the author. The narration goes to the year 1329. Of no small importance also are some sections of Chapter 5 containing biographies of prominent people, in particular, biographies of many Persian poets.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 87.

<sup>13</sup> В. В. Бартольд, *Хранение документов в государствах мусульманского Востока*. Соч. Vol. 8., 355.

<sup>14</sup> Н. Д. Миклухо-Маклай, Указ.соч., 59.

Afterwards the author continued his narration up to the year 742/1341–1342, and his son, Zein ad-Din, whose biography is absolutely unknown, in an addendum, described as an eyewitness the events in Iran during the years 742–794 (1341/2–1391/2), which culminated in Timur's conquest. Many of the subsequent compilers made use of this continuation, primarily Abd-ar-Razzak Samarkandi, a successor of Rashid ad-Din, and Mirkhond (probably with the help of Hafiz-i Abru).<sup>15</sup>

Blochet, in his well-known work, *Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols de Fadl Allah Rashid ed-Din*, draws attention to the fact that Kazvini's attitude to the patronage of his patron was not simple, and argues that he did everything not to make this fact widely known:

"Though the author says nothing in his preface and confines himself to mentioning his friends' support in this project, we can believe that Rashid ad-Din had given his consent, if not inspired him, since the basis of the chronicle written in verse by Hamd Allah is a description of Mongol history. Rashid could not officially involve anyone in writing such a work as was given to Kashani by Gazan, but it seems that Hamd Allah was near Rashid long before the History had been completed; his relations with the vazir and his son Giyas ad-Din, to whom later he dedicated his *Tarikh-i guzide*, show well enough that Rashid was aware of the project of his client; and obviously it was precisely these circumstances that forced Kazvini to be more restrained and not to acknowledge the fact that he was much obliged to his famous predecessor, since in his poetical history Hamd Allah gives uncertain information when writing that his sources were the stories about Persian and Mongolian chapters [...] It is certain that Hamd Allah knew about the viability of his undertaking; he realized that in several centuries his poetry would not cause any enthusiasm at all, and it is generally known that he stopped his composition when he had done two-thirds of it and simply wrote a short history of the world to 730 in prose. [...] The manuscripts are not rare in European libraries."<sup>16</sup>

In 1873 Hamdallah Kazvini's *Tarikh-i guzide* was edited by Melgunov, but it has not been published. *Tarikh-i guzide* was published in facsimile in London in two volumes, with an introduction by E. G. Browne, in memory of Gibb.<sup>17</sup> In the first volume, published in 1910, there is a facsimile copy of a rather accurate manuscript of the year 857/1453,<sup>18</sup> which also contains an *addendum* of the history of the Muzaffarid dynasty compiled by Mahmud Kutubi in approximately 1420. The second volume appeared in 1913 and contained a brief English translation and indices.<sup>19</sup> In the preface to this edition, Browne stated that a lesser value

<sup>15</sup> Сборник материалов, относящихся к истории Золотой Орды, 91.

<sup>16</sup> Blochet, *Introduction*, 107.

<sup>17</sup> *The Ta'rikh-i-guzida or "Select History" of Hamdu'llah Mustawfi-i-Qazvini*, ed. E. G. Browne, Vol. 1. Leiden 1910.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>19</sup> *The Ta'rikh-h-guzida or "Select History" of Hamdullah Mustauifi-i-Qazvini*, ed. E. G. Browne, Text by R. A. Nicholson, Vol. 2. London 1913.

should be given to the *Tarikh-i Vassaf* as a composition, compared with the works of Djuveyni, Rashid ad-Din and Vassaf, even though it was written only two years later than *Tarikh-i Vassaf*. As well as Banakati's work, it is written following the pattern of Rashid ad-Din's work, to whom both Hamdullah and Fahri owe their inspiration and whom the former calls his 'blessed master-martyr'.

A. A. Romaskevitch and S. L. Volin, the compilers of *The collection of materials on the history of the Golden Horde* (1941), considered that, in spite of being rather early, the manuscript which formed the basis for E. G. Brown's facsimile publication in 1910–1913 abounded in lacunas and errors. Because of this, the text of the translated fragments was given according to a manuscript (recopied in 813/1410–11<sup>20</sup>) from the Leningrad State University (ms. N. 153), and a manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences (ms. S 501, previously 578a).<sup>21</sup> In the introductory article to the translation, the compilers wrote:

In the manuscript N 153 (from the Leningrad State University), mentioned above, *Tarikh-i-guzide* is followed by the description of the events that happened in 725–744 (=1334–1344), compiled by Hamdullah Kazvini himself and written by him after finishing his chronicle in verse *Zafar-name*, which had survived in one manuscript of the British Museum no. 2833 and is inaccessible for us. This narration comes abruptly to an end and it is obvious that it is not finished. It seems that the author was going to add it to *Zafar-name* but not to *Tarikh-i-guzide*. However in the copy of Hamdullah Kazvini's son this continuation, obviously, had already been added to *Tarikh-i-guzide*, since he referred to the continuation written by his father.

Zeyn ad-Din, son of Hamdullah Kazvini, wrote the following continuation which embraced the events in Iran over the period of 742–794 (1341–1392). The author describes the events in the North-East Iran as an eyewitness. When describing the events of this period, many subsequent compilers made use of the information given in these two continuations, among them Abd-ar-razzak Samarkandi, the successor of Rashid ad-Din, and Mirkhond (probably due to Khafiz-I Abru).

In 1960, Abd al-Khuseyn Nava'i published the text of *Tarikh-i-guzide* in Tehran based on six manuscripts, including the one used by Brown.

In relation to this work by Kazvini, I would like to note that in the library of Khazan State University there is an incomplete manuscript copy of *Tarikh-i-guzide* in poor condition with a press-mark F-338 (2356), which was probably copied in the eighteenth century. *Fatikha* and the beginning of *bab I* are missing and it stops

<sup>20</sup> Тагирджанов Описание таджикских и персидских рукописей Восточного отдела библиотеки ЛГУ. Vol. 1. История, биографии, география, Leningrad 1962, 32; Хамдаллах Мустауфи Казвини, *Зайл-и тарих-и гузида* (дополнение к «Избранной истории», Вступ. ст., пер. с перс., приме. И указатели М. Д. Кязимова и В. З. Пириева, Baku 1986, 81.

<sup>21</sup> Н. Д. Миклухо-Маклай, *Некоторые персидские и таджикские исторические, биографические и географические рукописи Института востоковедения АН СССР*. Ученые записки института востоковедения, Vol. 16. Moscow–Leningrad 1958, 237–238.

in the middle of *fasl* 6 of *bab VI*. The copyist is unknown. This copy is mentioned in the reference books of Story<sup>22</sup> and Bregel.<sup>23</sup>

The second historical work of Hamdallah Kazvini is his chronicle in verse *Zafar-name* ("Book of the victories"), embracing a period of eight and a half centuries, and consisting of 75,000 *beyts*, written as a completion of Firdausi's legendary and historic epic, *Shah-name*. It was finished in 735/1334–1335, that is five years after *Tarikh-i guzide*. The only surviving manuscript had been preserved in the British Museum (ms. 2833). It was recopied in Shiraz in 807/1405, and was bought in Persia in 1885 by S. Cherchill for the British Museum. *Zafar-name* is valuable especially for its factual accuracy and in the third part it gives the interpretation of Mongol history to the time of Abu Sa'id.<sup>24</sup> According to Brown, *Zafar-name* begins with a description of life of the Prophet Muhammad and goes to the time of the life of the author, that is, to the years of 732/1331–1332, when Abu Sa'id was still in power. Almost half (30,000) of the *beyts* are dedicated to the Mongols. The author tells us that he was 40 years of age when he started writing his book, and he had been working on it for 15 years, so he was probably born around 680/1281–1282. In the opinion of Rieu, it is impossible to ignore the historical value of this work since the author is very accurate about the facts and dates. To illustrate, he gives a vivid description of a mass slaughter committed by the Mongols in Kazvin, from information apparently partly supplied by his great-great-grandfather, Amin Nasr Mustaufi, who was 93 at that time.<sup>25</sup>

Carl Yahn had a very high opinion of the work of Hamdallah Kazvini, and considered that it deserved much greater attention from scholars, since it gives valuable information concerning not only the early Turkic and Mongolian period and the history of Chingiz-khan, but also concerning the late period of the Ilkhan.<sup>26</sup> Abd al-Huseyn Nava'i thought the fixation of pronunciation and writing of Mongol words and names to be of great importance in the given work of Kazvini.<sup>27</sup>

Apart from the historical works mentioned above, Hamdallah Kazvini wrote a well-known book on cosmography and geography called *Nuzhat al-kulub* ("Enjoyment of the hearts"). Kazvini tells us this was written in 740/1339–1340, that is, five years after finishing *Zafar-name*, on request of some of his friends, who had strong desire for the book on geography to appear in Persian language.

Of special value is the third part of this work, which contains a detailed geographical description of Iran and the state of the Hulaguids. Having used assessment lists (*daftars*) from the financial department, the author gives important

<sup>22</sup> Ч. А. Стори, Указ. соч. Ч. I. [245], 331.

<sup>23</sup> Ю. Э. Брегель, Указ. соч. [2], 370.

<sup>24</sup> Стори, Указ. соч. 327–328.

<sup>25</sup> E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*. Vol. III. The Tartar Dominion (1265–1502), Cambridge 1951, 90.

<sup>26</sup> K. Yahn, *Study on supplementary Persian sources for the Mongol History of Iran. Aspects of Altaic civilization. Proceedings of the fifth meeting of the Permanent Conference held at Indiana University, June 4–9*, ed. D. Sinor, Vol. 23, Bloomington 1962, 200.

<sup>27</sup> Абд ал-Хусейн Нава'i. Указ. соч. С. Иб.

information about the administrative division of Iran at that time, and about the tax assessment in its districts.<sup>28</sup>

In the collection of articles dedicated to the jubilee of Baron Rosen (1897), V. V. Bartold praised *Nuzhat al-kulub*, but Rieu was the first to draw attention to the importance of this work as a historical source. John Andrew Boyle believed Kazvini to be very accurate about facts and dates, and his book useful for the study of history of the Mongol period.<sup>29</sup>

According to I. P. Petrushevskiy, *Nuzhat al-kulub* significantly differs from similar treatises written by Arabian geographers of the thirteenth century, who generally compiled the information from earlier authors. In contrast, Hamdallah Kazvini gave out-dated, second-hand information very seldom. The main part of this work gives material that is authentic and contemporary to the author.<sup>30</sup>

The four historians, whom we have just mentioned - Djuveyni, Rashid ad-Din, Vassaf and Kazvini - are usually combined in one group because of their shared ideological and political views. Certainly, they expressed the pro-Mongolian ideas of the high-ranking nobility, who supported the centralistic traditions of the old-Iranian state system. Actually, each of them, in his own way, followed the orders of their Mongolian rulers. And undoubtedly, it is due to them that historiography of this period can be called one of the most unique and significant phenomena in world history. Its advantage, first and foremost, is in the fact that, during a short period of time, they gave to the world great, voluminous and authentic historical works which are the only ones of their kind.

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<sup>28</sup> В. В. Бартольд, Указ. соч., 99.

<sup>29</sup> J. A. Boyle, "Some thoughts on the sources for the Il-Khanid period of Persian history," *Iran* 12 (1974), 186.

<sup>30</sup> И. П. Петрушевский, *Земледелие и аграрные отношения в Иране в XIII-XIV вв.* Lenin-grad 1960, 16.

# *A New Source on the Hungarian Raids against Byzantium in the Middle of the Tenth Century\**

LÁSZLÓ BALOGH



The famous Byzantine philologist Gyula Moravcsik collected references to the medieval nomadic peoples of Eastern Europe from the Byzantine sources.<sup>1</sup> His work, *Byzantinoturcica*, is an important reference book up to the present. However, some Byzantine sources were neglected in this masterwork<sup>2</sup> and others

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<sup>1</sup> Gy. Moravcsik, *A magyar történet bizánci forrásai*. [The Byzantine sources of the Hungarian history] Budapest 1934; Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*. 1-2 vols. 2nd ed. Berlin 1958; Gy. Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet bizánci forrásai*. [The Byzantine sources of Hungarian history in the Arpad age] 2nd ed. Budapest 1988.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. T. Olajos, *Felhasználatlan bizánci forrás a magyarság korai történetéhez*. [Unappropriated Byzantine source on the early history of the Hungarians] *Antik Tanulmányok* 33 (1987-88), 24-27; I. Baán "Turkia metropolitája," [The metropolitan of Turkia] *Századok* 129 (1995), 1167-1170; T. Olajos, "Egy felhasználatlan forráscsoport a 11. századi magyar-bizánci kapcsolatok történetéhez," [An unappropriated Byzantine source on Hungarian-Byzantine relations in the eleventh century] *Századok* 132 (1998), 215-222; F. Makk, "Külföldi források és a korai magyar történelem (X-XII. század). [Foreign sources on early Hungarian history (10-12th centuries)] *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae. Acta Historica* 102 (1995), 28-30. Same with minor additions: F. Makk, Külföldi források és a korai magyar történelem (X-XII. század). [Foreign sources on early Hungarian history (10-12th centuries) in F. Makk, *A turulmadártól a kettőskeresztig. Tanulmányok a magyarság régebbi történelméről*, Szeged 1998, 99-102; I. Baán, "The Metropolitanate of Tourkia. The Organization of the Byzantine Church in Hungary in the Middle Ages," in *Byzanz und Ostmitteleuropa 950-1453*. Hrsg. G. Prinzip-M. Salamon, Wiesbaden 1999, 45-53; F. Makk, "Új forrásadatok a X. század vég magyar-bizánci kapcsolatok értékeléséhez," [New data on Hungarian-Byzantine relations in the end of tenth century] *A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve* 43 (2001),

were uncertain, as Moravcsik could not unequivocally determine the nomadic people denoted.<sup>3</sup> In this paper I will focus on the ethnonyms from a poem and study the possibility of identifying the archaic term *Scythian-Huns*.

The unknown author wrote a poem to the memory of Katakalon, the *strategos* of Thessalia.<sup>4</sup> The poet mentioned three important facts which can be interpreted from historical points of view:

1) Katakalon is loyal to the *despotes* (Emperor) Constantine, his wife, Helena and his son, Romanos.<sup>5</sup>

2) Katakalon waged war against the *Scythians* and *Huns* or *Scythian-Huns* and broke their arrows.

3) Katakalon would have slaughtered the *Scythians*, if Kharon (death) had not carried him off.

Emperor Constantine can be identified with Constantine Porphyrogenitus VII, whose wife was Helena, the daughter of Romanos Lekapenos. His son was Romanos, the later Emperor Romanos II, who ruled from 959 till 963.<sup>6</sup> According to Moravcsik, Katakalon was identical with Leo Katakalon, *domesticos ton scale*, who fought against the Bulgars in 896.<sup>7</sup> Bănescu and Kazhdan proposed that the

271–274; T. Olajos, "Contingent hongrois au service de Byzance en Italie," in *Les hongrois et l'Europe: conquête et intégration*. Textes réunis par S. Csernus et K. Korompay, Paris–Szeged 1999, 223–229; F. Makk, "A l'ombre de la menace byzantine. Le choix politico-religieux de prince Géza," *Chronica* 1 (2001), 19–29.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 1: 224, 515, 555–556; S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, "Görög és bizánci források," [Greek and Byzantine Sources] in *Bevezetés a magyar őstörténet kutatásának forrásaiiba*. Vol. 1/2., 3rd ed., ed. P. Hajdú, Gy. Kristó and A. Róna-Tas, Budapest 1988, 147–148.

<sup>4</sup> Sp. Lampros, Εις οπρατηγον Κατακαλών. Νέος Έλληνομήμον 16 (1922), 53–54; G. Cankova-Petkova, "Стихотворение от анонимен автор," in *Гръцки Извори за Българската История–Fontes Graeci Historiae Bulgaricae*. V. ed. G. Cankova-Petkova et al. Извори за Българската История–Fontes Historiae Bulgaricae 9, Serdicae (София) 1964, 306–307. I am indebted for the professional assistance provided by Profs. Teréz Olajos and Ferenc Makk. I also owe thanks to Zsolt Hunyadi and Sándor Papp for the assistance they provided while collecting the literature.

<sup>5</sup> Cankova-Petkova, Стихотворение от анонимен автор, 306.

<sup>6</sup> G. Rouillard, "Note prosopographique et chronologique," *Byzantion* 8 (1933), 108; Cankova-Petkova, *Извори за Българската История*, 306. Notes 1–2; N. Oikonomidès, "Var-dariotes–W.l.nd.r–V.n.nd.r: Hongrois installés dans la vallée du Vardar en 934," *Südost-Forschungen* 32 (1973), 3, Note 11.

<sup>7</sup> J. Moravcsik, "Zur Benennung Οὐννοί der Ungarn," *Kőrösi Csoma-Archivum* 2 (1926–1932), 329. cf. G. Kolias, *Léon Choerosphactès magistre, proconsul et patrice*, Athens 1939, 33; Constantine Porphyrogenitus *De Administrando Imperio*. Greek text edited by Gy. Moravcsik. English translation R. J. H. Jenkins, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 1, Washington 1967, 206–209 (henceforth DAI) (Chapter 45); Constantine Porphyrogenitus *De Administrando Imperio*. II. ed. R. J. H. Jenkins, London 1962, 173–174. Rouillard suggested that Leo Katakalon was Katakalon's father. A letter of Nikolaos Mystikos, the Patriarch of Constantinople (†925) mentions Michael, *strategos* of Thessalia (*Nicholas I. Patriarch of Constantinople. Letters*. Greek text and English translation by R. J. H. Jen-

*strategos* was the famous general Kakatakon Kekaumenos, who lived in the eleventh century.<sup>8</sup> However, since the poem mentions Romanos II who was born in 939 and Constantine Porphyrogenitus VII died in 959, then Katakalon must have lived in neither the ninth nor the eleventh century.

The Bulgars completely defeated the Byzantine army in 917, so that the commander of the fleet, Romanos Lekapenos, marched to Constantinople and took the power. He was elected sub-emperor of Constantine Porphyrogenitus VII and then later became a co-emperor in 920.<sup>9</sup> He then degraded the legitimate ruler of the Macedonian dynasty, Constantine Porphyrogenitus VII, to sub-emperor in 921–922.<sup>10</sup> Romanos Lekapenos lost power in December 944, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus VII taking the rule back in hand in January 945. His son Romanos was enthroned as co-emperor on 6 April 945.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the anonymous author must have written the poem between January 945 and April 945, when Constantine Porphyrogenitus VII was called the sole *despotes*, but Romanos was not yet co-emperor.<sup>12</sup> Oikonomidès attracted attention to a seal and a charter which were issued in 942 and 943, respectively.<sup>13</sup> Both sources mention Katakalon as the

kins and L. G. Westerink, Washington 1973, 450–453). Rouillard assumed that he was Katakalon's official ancestor (Rouillard, "Note prosopographique," 109, Note 1).

<sup>8</sup> N. Bănescu, *Les duchés byzantins de Paristrion (Paradounavon) et de Bulgarie*, Bucarest 1946, 76–77; N. Bănescu, Un duc byzantine de XI-e siècle Katakalon Kékauménos. *Académie Roumaine Bulletin de la Section historique* 11. (1924) 6–7; Ch. M. Brand, A. Kazhdan, "Katakalon Kekaumenos," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. ed.-in-chief A. P. Kazhdan, New York–Oxford 1991, 1113. On Katakalon Kekaumenos's life, see G. Buckler, "Authorship of the Strategikon of Cecaumenus," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 36 (1936), 9; M. Gyóni, "L'œuvre de Kekaumenos source de l'histoire roumaine," *Revue d'Histoire Comparée* 23 (1945), 109–128; A. П. Каждан *Армяне в составе господствующего класса Бизантийской Империи в XI–XII вв.* Ереван 1975, 31–32.

<sup>9</sup> R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Date of the Slav Revolt in Peloponnese Under Romanos I." in R. J. H. Jenkins, *Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries*, London 1970, XX. 204; G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*. 3. Auflage. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. 122. Abteilung. *Byzantinisches Handbuch*. Bd. I/2. München 1963, 225. cf. 225, Note 1.

<sup>10</sup> L. Bréhier, *Vie et mort de Byzance*. Paris 1969, 138; Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, 225. cf. 225, Note 1.; Jenkins, *Studies on Byzantine History*, XX. 204–205. This situation appears in Theodore Daphnopates's oration (R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Peace with Bulgaria (927) Celebrated by Theodore Daphnopates," in Jenkins, *Studies on Byzantine History* XXI. 289, 294. cf. J. Becker "Opera Liudprandi," in MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, Hannover–Leipzig 1915, 82–88, 90–92.

<sup>11</sup> Bréhier, *Vie et mort de Byzance*. 245; Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, 232.

<sup>12</sup> Oikonomidès, "Vardariotes," 3, Note 11.

<sup>13</sup> Oikonomidès "Vardariotes," 3, Note 11. Some specialists suggested the document to date to 882 (K. Lake, *The Early Days of Monasticism on Mount Athos*. Oxford 1909, 82–84; F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*. I. München–Berlin 1924, 61, nr. 504.). However Rouillard identified the very date as 943 (Rouillard, "Note prosopographique," 107–111. cf. G. Rouillard – P. Collomp *Actes de Lavra*. I. Paris 1937, 11–13, nr. 5; V. Laurent, *La Collection C. Orghidan: Documents de sigillographie byzantine*. Par-

*strategos* of Thessalia. Rouillard called attention to the inscription of a seal, which contains the name Katakalon and the title *strategos* of Macedonia.<sup>14</sup> Both historians suggested that the person called Katakalon in the poem, the seals and the charter was the same man, who lived in the first half of 10th century and died in 944 or 945.

Katakalon waged war against the 'Scythian-Huns' which is a typically archaic name for the contemporary nomadic people. The identification of the Scythian-Huns' (or Scythians and Huns) is uncertain. The Byzantine authors used the name 'Scythians' for the Pechenegs, Bulgarians and Hungarians, whereas the term Huns was applied to Bulgarians and Hungarians in the tenth century.<sup>15</sup> The double name 'Scythian-Huns' can be interpreted as two ethnonyms Scythians and Huns,<sup>16</sup> but Cankova-Petkova proved that the term 'Scythian-Huns' referred to one people, as there is no comma nor "and" between the two names and later the poet refers to the same people as Scythians. It was a practice in Byzantine literature to apply several archaic ethnonyms to the contemporary neighbouring peoples.<sup>17</sup>

The poet mentions the arrows of the Scythian-Huns. Arrows, together with the bow, were amongst the most important characteristic features of nomadic warfare, typical amongst the peoples of the Eurasian steppe.<sup>18</sup> Arrows represented nomadic heroes or clans/tribes and played an important part in ritual ceremonies, as a part of the oath taken by the peoples of the Eurasian steppe. The broken arrow symbolized the tragic fate of the partner who had broken his

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is 1952, nr. 211; F. Dölger, F. *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges*. Munich 1948, nr. 120, 1<sup>a</sup> and 120, 2; Oikonomidès, "Vardariotes," 3, Note 11; *Treasures of Mount Athos*. Thessaloniki 1997, 437).

<sup>14</sup> Rouillard, "Note prosopographique," 107–109; Laurent, *La Collection C. Orghidan*, nr. 211. Schlumberger had not mentioned these amongst the seals of the *strategos* of the Macedonian *thema* (Schlumberger, G. *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin*. Paris 1884, 110–115).

<sup>15</sup> Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2: 234–235, 280.

<sup>16</sup> Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 1: 231, 2: 235, 280; Szádeczky-Kardoss, "Görög és bizánci források," 148; Brand-Kazhdan, "Katakalon Kekaumenos," 1113.

<sup>17</sup> Cankova-Petkova, *Извори за Българската История*, 306, Note 5. Cf. Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet*, 16–18, 25, 34, 38, 55–56, 58, 72, 93, 99–101, 103. etc. cf. M. Gyóni, *Magyarország és a magyarság a bizánci források tükrében*. [Hungary and Hungarians in the mirror of the Byzantine sources] *Magyar–görög Tanulmányok* 7. Budapest 1938, 36, 105; Laurent, *La Collection C. Orghidan*, nr. 211; Oikonomidès, "Vardariotes," 3.

<sup>18</sup> K. U. Köhalmi, "Über die Pfeifenden Pfeile der innerasiatischen Reiternomaden," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 3 (1953), 45–71; K. U. Köhalmi, "Der Pfeil bei den innerasiatischen Reiternomaden und ihren Nachbarn," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 6 (1956), 108–161; K. U. Köhalmi, *A steppek nomádja lóháton, fegyverben*. [The nomads of the steppes on horseback, in arms] Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár 12. Budapest 1972, 42–58, 98–109, 127–139, 151–166. On the opinion of nomadic archery in Byzantine culture, cf. W. E. Keagi, Jr., "The Contribution of Archery to the Turkish Conquest of Anatolia," *Speculum* 39 (1964), 96–108.

oath.<sup>19</sup> The arrow was also among the symbols of royal power.<sup>20</sup> It is worth mentioning that Marcianus, the East-Roman emperor, saw the broken bow of Attila, the Hun ruler, in his dream, according to Priscus Rhetor. Thus he learnt that the Hun ruler was dead and his power broken.<sup>21</sup> The broken arrow was a symbol of annihilating the enemy in the works of medieval authors.<sup>22</sup>

As for the identification of the Scythian-Huns or Scythians mentioned in the poem, the Pechenegs, the Bulgars and the Hungarians are all possibilities.

The Pechenegs lived north of the Black Sea in the tenth century. They made an alliance with the Russian Prince Igor to attack the Byzantine Empire in 944. However, the Byzantine envoys asked for peace. Igor reached the Danube, convoked an assembly to decide the matter and then signed a peace-treaty with the Byzantine Empire. The Russian army returned home, but Igor ordered the Pechenegs to march against the Bulgarian Empire.<sup>23</sup> It could be that this was part of the treaty

<sup>19</sup> J. Harmatta, "A hun aranyij," [The Hun golden-bow] *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia II. Társadalmi-történeti Tudományok Osztályának Közleményei* 1 (1951), 123–187, XX–XXIV.; H. Serruys, "A Note on Arrows and Oaths among the Mongols," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 78 (1958), 279–294; H. Göckenjan, "Bogen, Pfeil und Köcher in der Herrschafts- und Rechtssymbolik der Eurasischen Steppenvölker," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 58 (2005), 59–76.

<sup>20</sup> Harmatta "A hun aranyij," 143; J. Gießauf, "A lovasnomád fegyverzet és harcmodor az ellenfelek beszámolóinak tükrében," [The arms and tactics of horse-nomads in the mirror of reports of the enemy] in: *Fegyveres nomádok, nomád fegyverek*, ed. L. Balogh, L. Keller, Magyar Östörténeti Könyvtár 21, Budapest 2004, 26–27, 29–31.

<sup>21</sup> *The fragmentary classicising historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus II.* Text, Translation and historiographical notes by R. C. Blockley, Liverpool 1983, 316–317. cf. Gy. László, "A hún aranyij jelentősége," [The interest of the Hun golden-bow] *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia II. Társadalmi-történeti Tudományok Osztályának Közleményei* 1 (1951), 107–118, 121; Harmatta, "A hun aranyij," 165–167, 177–180, 186–187; I. Bóna, "Hun aranyij," [The Hun golden-bow] in I. Bóna et al. *Hunok–Gepidák–Langobardok*, Magyar Östörténeti Könyvtár 6, Szeged 1993, 24.

<sup>22</sup> Moravcsik-Jenkins, DAI, 180–181. (Chapter 41); P. von Poucha, "Zum Stammbaum des Tschingis Chan," in *Asiatica. Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, Leipzig 1954, 448–449; Jenkins, Constantine Porphyrogenitus *De Administrando Imperio*, 153; I. de Rachewiltz, "The Secret History of the Mongols" *Papers on Far Eastern History* 26 (1982) 120 (19–22. poem); *The History of the World-Conqueror* by 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini. I. tr. J. A. Boyle, Manchester 1958, 41, 593–594. cf. Göckenjan, "Bogen, Pfeil und Köcher," 61–63, 66. The broken arrow symbolizes the fate of the defaulting party (Serruys, "A Note on Arrows," 279, 284–285).

<sup>23</sup> Повесть временных лет, I. Текст и перевод. Подготовка текста Д. С. Лихачева перевод Д. С. Лихачева и Б. А. Романова. Москва–Ленинград 1950, 33–34. On the Byzantine-Pecheneg relationship in the 10th century: F. E. Wozniak, "Byzantium, the Pechenegs and the Rus': the Limitations of a Great Power's Influence on its Clients in the 10th Century Eurasian Steppe." *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 4 (1984), 299–316; E. Malamut, "L'image byzantine des petchénègues." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 88 (1995), 105–117; Князький, И. О. *Византия и кочевники южнорусских степей*. Санкт-Петербург 2003, 11–36.

initiated by the Byzantine diplomats.<sup>24</sup> The Pechenegs campaigned against the Bulgarian Empire, but not against Byzantine territories, and there is no record of a Pecheneg attack against Byzantium in the Byzantine sources, so Katakalon could not have fought against the Pechenegs in 944.

It has been suggested that the attacking people in the poem might have been the Bulgarians.<sup>25</sup> The Byzantine sources called the Bulgarians both *Huns* and *Scythians* several times.<sup>26</sup> The Bulgarian Emperor Symeon died in 927, after which his son and successor, Peter, signed peace with the Byzantine Empire. Subsequently, Peter married Romanos Lekapenos' grandchild, Maria and received the titles of Byzantine emperor's "spiritual son" and "Bulgarian emperor". The patriarch of Constantinople recognized the separate Bulgarian church and the Byzantine court paid tribute to him annually.<sup>27</sup> The historians emphasize that there was thus a long peace between the Bulgarian and Byzantine Empires in the middle of the 10th century, until 965.<sup>28</sup> Accordingly, Katakalon could not have fought against the Bulgarians under the name 'Scythian-Huns' in the poem. Moreover the poem refers to Katakalon as a martyr. Since the Bulgarians converted to Christianity in the second half of the ninth century, it is hardly acceptable that Katakalon suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Christian Bulgarians.<sup>29</sup>

Although there was peace between the Bulgarian and Byzantine Empires, Hungarian raids may have occurred during this time.<sup>30</sup> Since Peter, the Bulgarian monarch, did not block the pillages of Hungarian armies against the Byzantine Empire, the Byzantine Emperor Nikephoros Phokas II. abrogated the peace-treaty with the Bulgarians and made an alliance with the Russian prince, Svyatoslav against the Bulgarians in 965.<sup>31</sup>

As for the Hungarians, they made several campaigns against Byzantium and Western Europe in the first half of the 10th century, which is referred to in Hun-

<sup>24</sup> Wozniak suggest that this attack happened in favour of the Byzantine Court (Wozniak, "Byzantium, the Pechenegs and the Rus", 311).

<sup>25</sup> Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2: 280; Cankova-Petkova, *Извори за Българската История*, 306; Laurent, *La Collection C. Orghidan*, nr. 211.

<sup>26</sup> Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2: 234, 280. cf. Jenkins, "The Date of the Slav Revolt," XXI. 289, 293. cf. 297; I. Dujčev, "On the Treaty of 927 with the Bulgarians" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 32 (1978), 264–265. cf. 291.

<sup>27</sup> Fine, J. V. A. *The Early Medieval Balkans*. Ann Arbor 1989, 161; D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth. Eastern Europe, 500–1453*. London 1971, 115–117; Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, 222–223.

<sup>28</sup> „От контекста не е ясно кое сражение има пред вид авторът. Към средата на X в., когато се датира това стихотворение, между Византия и България има мир." Cankova-Petkova 307, note 1.

<sup>29</sup> Oikonomidès, "Vardariotes," 3.

<sup>30</sup> Gy. Kristó, *Az Árpád-kor háborúi*. [The wars of the Arpad's age] Budapest 1986, 34–36, 38–39, 44–45; Gy. Györffy, "A kalandozások kora." [The age of the raids] in *Magyarország története. Előzmények és magyar történet 1241-ig*. Vol. 1. ed.-in-chief Gy. Székely, Budapest 1987, 670–672, 675, 709–712, 715; F. Makk, *Ungarische Außenpolitik (896–1196)*. Studien zur Geschichte der Ungarns 3. Herne 1999, 13.

<sup>31</sup> Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet*, 86, 100

garian historiography as "the age of raids" (*Hung. kalandozások kora*). Thus Gyóni, Moravcsik, Szádeczky-Kardoss, Brand and Kazhdan all suggested that the 'Scythian-Huns' or 'Scythians' in the poem referred to the Hungarians.<sup>32</sup> Oikonomidès suggested the same in his short footnote.<sup>33</sup> Brand and Kazhdan, however, dated Katakalon's war against the *Huns* in the eleventh century. In turn, Moravcsik changed his opinion, since he omitted this poem from his classical monograph, which contains every Byzantine source on early Hungarian history.<sup>34</sup> Later historians regarded the source collection of Moravcsik as a standard work and it meant that the poem in memoriam of Katakalon has been neglected in the studies of Hungarian history.<sup>35</sup>

To prove that Katakalon waged war against the Hungarians, the Hungarian campaigns against the Byzantine Empire in the middle of the 10th century must be taken into consideration. The Hungarian raids can be divided into two different kinds: an army of remarkable size attacking the Empire and minor military units pillaging the western periphery of the Empire. The *Vita Basillii*, a Byzantine source, records that the Hungarians "destroy daily" the western territory of the Byzantine Empire.<sup>36</sup> The data of the *Vita Basillii* refers to minor incursions between 933 and 941.<sup>37</sup> A Byzantine charter dated to 941 describes how the inhabitants of Hiérisson looked for shelter for their animals from the attacking "hostile people" in Mount Athos.<sup>38</sup> Since only Hungarian units could reach the West Balkans at that time, the "hostile people" may have been minor Hungarian troops.

<sup>32</sup> Gyóni, *Magyarország és a magyarság*, 36; Moravcsik, *A magyar történet*, 128. cf. Moravcsik 1926–1932, 329; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 1: 231, 2: 235; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1988, 148; Brand-Kazhdan 1991, 1113.

<sup>33</sup> Oikonomidès, "Vardariotes," 3.

<sup>34</sup> Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet* 10, Note 4.

<sup>35</sup> Kristó, *Az Árpád-kor háborúi*, 39; Györffy, "A kalandozások kora" 675–679; P. T. Antonopoulos, "Byzantium, the Magyar Raids and Their Consequences," *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993), 256.

<sup>36</sup> Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet*, 28.

<sup>37</sup> Gy. Moravcsik, "Két X. századi hagiográfiai munka a magyarokról," [Two hagiographical sources on the Hungarians in the tenth century] *Magyar Nyelv* 31 (1935), 19–20; Moravcsik, *A magyar történet*, 140; Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet*, 28. cf. Kristó, *Az Árpád-kor háborúi*, 38; *A honfoglalás korának írott forrásai*. [The written sources of the age of conquest] ed. Gy. Kristó. Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár 7, Szeged 1995, 139, Note 414. On the earlier mistaken dating: H. Grégoire – P. Orgels, «L'invasion hongroise dans la Vie de Saint Basile le Jeune.» *Byzantion* 24 (1954), 150–151. cf. G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saint de Grèce aux VIII<sup>e</sup>, IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles." *Byzantion* 24 (1954), 511; Oikonomidès, "Vardariotes," 1.

<sup>38</sup> „πλὴν τοῦτο μόνον καὶ παρὰ τῶν οἰκητόφων τοῦ κάστρου καὶ ἔτι ἐλογομάχητο περὶ τοῦ μὴ κωλύεσθαι τυχὸν τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν εἰς καιρὸν ἐθνικῆς ἐφόδου τῇ προφάσει τοῦ διαχωρισμοῦ τοῦ μὴ εἰσέρχεσθαι καὶ περισώζεσθαι εἰς τὸ τοιοῦτονδρός" Rouillard, "Note prosopographique," 111, Note 1. On the εθνικοί term, see D. Obolensky, "The Principles and Methods of Byzantine Diplomacy," in *Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Études byzantines*, Vol 1. Belgrade 1964, 54–56.

Besides frontier incidents, the Hungarian army also attacked the Byzantine Empire *en masse* in 943. *Georgius Monachus Continuatus* notes: "In April of the first year of the induction, the Turks again invaded [the Empire] with a great army. Theophanes patrikios and parakoimomenos went out and signed peace with the Turks [viz. Hungarians], and took illustrious hostages. They succeeded to preserve the peace for five years."<sup>39</sup> Scholars also suggest that the *Vita Lucae* describes the same Hungarian campaign. Saint Lucas lived in the province of Hellas and flew to an island when the Hungarians plundered the province.<sup>40</sup> Oikonomidès suggests that Saint Lucas remained on the island because of the continual Hungarian incursions over three years.<sup>41</sup>

Johannes Skylitzes gives the following description of the Hungarian raids: "The Turks kept on making raids, and continuously devastated the territory of Byzantines, until their chief, Bulchu came to Constantinople, pretending inclination toward the Christian faith."<sup>42</sup> Bulchu took third place in the hierarchy of the Hungarian court, visiting Constantinople in 948.<sup>43</sup> If we accept the testimony of *Georgius Monachus Continuatus* concerning the five years peace, how can we explain the 'continual Hungarian raids' in the book of Johannes Skylitzes? Presumably the major Hungarian campaigns ended in 943, but minor Hungarian troops pillaged the Balkans between 943 and 948. Johannes Skylitzes mentioned that Bulchu broke the peace "several times" and attacked the Byzantine Empire.<sup>44</sup> Otto I, the German king, defeated and executed Bulchu in 955. After 948 Gyula, the second Hungarian dignitary, went to Constantinople and signed peace with the Byzantine emperor. But contrary to Bulchu, he kept the peace.<sup>45</sup> Thus, the Hungarian chiefs changed their tactics between war and peace. Hungarian troops "continuously" sacked the Byzantine Empire in spite of the peace after 943. Similarly Bulchu's army attacked the Byzantine Empire "several times" in spite of the peace after 948.

<sup>39</sup> Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet*, 61–62. cf. 68–70.

<sup>40</sup> Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet*, 29; Costa-Louillet, "Saint de Grèce" 339, Note 3; Gy. Kristó, *Levedi törzsszövetségtől Szent István államáig*. [From Levedi's tribe-union to Saint Stephen's state] Budapest 1980, 280; X. Димитров, *Българо-унгарски отношения през средновековието*. София 1988, 74–75, 86. Note 22.

<sup>41</sup> Oikonomidès, "Vardariotes," 3.

<sup>42</sup> Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet*, 85.

<sup>43</sup> Gy. Moravcsik, "Görögnyelvű monostorok Szent István korában" [The Greek monasteries in Saint Stephen's age] In *Emlékkönyv Szent István király halálának kilencszázadik évfordulóján*. II. ed. J. Serédi, Budapest 1938, 391–399; J. P. Ripon, "Constantine VII Porphyrogenète et sa politique hongroise au milieu du Xe siècle" *Südost-Forschungen* 36 (1977), 5; Jenkins, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 153; Makk, *Ungarische Außenpolitik (896–1196)*, 13; Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet*, 49, Note 45; Györffy, "A kalandozások kora, 682.

<sup>44</sup> Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet*, 85.

<sup>45</sup> Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet*, 85.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus VII emphasized in his book entitled *De Administrando Imperio* that the Hungarians could be controlled under the pressure of a Pecheneg invasion:

"So long as the emperor of the Romans is at peace with the Pechenegs, neither Russians nor Turks [viz. Hungarians] can come upon the Roman dominions by force of arms, nor can they exact from the Romans large and inflated sums in money and goods as the price of peace, for they fear the strength of this nation which the emperor can turn against them while they are campaigning against the Romans. For the Pechenegs, if they are leagued in friendship with the emperor and won over by him through letters and gifts, can easily come upon the country of the Russians and of the Turks, and enslave their woman and children and ravage their country."<sup>46</sup>

The Emperor wrote this work for his son as political guidance. Consequently, the threat of the Hungarians was serious, when the emperor wrote this book in the 950s.

The reference in the poem to the arrows of the *Scythian-Huns* can be compared with references to Hungarian weapons in other sources.<sup>47</sup> Regino noted that the Hungarians "killed some men with swords, and several thousand with arrows, which they shoot from their horn-bows with such a skill, that it can be hardly averted."<sup>48</sup> The contemporary sources warned the people against Hungarian bows and arrows. Conrad, the son-in-law of Otto I, the German king, and the

<sup>46</sup> Moravcsik-Jenkins, DAI 50–53. (Chapter 4).

<sup>47</sup> On the arrows of the Hungarians, see K. Cs. Sebestyén, "'A sagittis Hungarorum...' A magyarok íjja és nyila," [The bow and arrow of the Hungarians] *Dolgozatok a Magyar Királyi Ferenc József Tudományegyetem Archeologai Intézetéből* 8 (1932) 167–255; O. Trogmayer, "X–XII. századi magyar temető Békésen" [Hungarian cemetery in Békés in 10–12th Century] *Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve* (1960–1962), 15–20, 23, 36; I. Dienes, "Nemzetsegjegy (tamgha) a békési honfoglaláskori íjcsonton," [Genus-sign (tamgha) on the bow-bone of Békés] *Folia Archaeologica* 14 (1962), 95–109; Gy. László, "A kenézlei honfoglaláskori íjtegez," [The quiver of Kenézlei in the age of conquest] *Folia Archaeologica* 7 (1955), 111–122; Gy. Fábián, "Újabb adatok a honfoglaláskori íjászat kérdésköréhez," [New dates on the question of archery in the age of conquest] *Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve* 1 (1980/1981), 63–76; L. Kovács, "Viselet, fegyverek," [Wear, arms] in Kristó Gyula *Az Árpád-kor háborúi*. [The wars of the Arpad's age] Budapest 1986, 224–230; K. B. Nagy–L. Révész, "Egyedi típusú honfoglalás kori íj csontmaradványai Hódmezővásárhely-Nagyszigetről," [Unique style bow in the age of conquest from Hódmezővásárhely-Nagysziget] *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (1986), 123–134; K. Mesterházy, "Tegez és taktika a honfoglaló magyaroknál," [Quiver and tactics of the early Hungarians] *Századok* 128 (1994), 320–334; G. Szöllősy, "Mennyivel voltak jobb íjaik a honfoglaló magyaroknak, mint a korabeli Európa más népeinek?" *Keletkutatás* (1995/ősz), 37–51; L. Kovács, "Fegyver és vitéz," [Arm and vailant] in *Honfoglaló őseink*, ed. L. Veszprémy, Budapest 1996, 94–98; L. Révész, *A karosi honfoglalás kori temetők*. [The cemeteries in the age of the conquest in Karos] Miskolc 1996, 153–175.

<sup>48</sup> *Regionis Abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione treverensi*. Recognovit F. Kurze, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* 50, Hannoverae 1890, 133.

prince of Lotharingia, was killed by a Hungarian arrow, which penetrated into his neck.<sup>49</sup>

The Byzantine sources called the Hungarians 'Huns' and 'Scythians' several times. The Hungarians are mentioned as 'Huns' in the works of *Georgius Monachus Continuatus* and Leo Diaconus and as 'Scythians' in *Georgius Monachus Continuatus*, the works of Leo Sapiens and Constantine Porphyrogenitus VII, the letters of Nikolaos Mystikos' and the *Vita Athanasi*, all works written in the tenth century.

It is most probable that the author of the poem used the double name 'Scythian-Huns' for the Hungarians, since they were able to "daily" (*Vita Basilii*) or "continuously" (Johannes Skylitzes) raid the Roman Empire "with a great army" (*Georgius Monachus Continuatus*, Constantine Porphyrogenitus VII) in the middle of the tenth century. In spite of the fact that the Hungarian chiefs signed peace-treaties with the Byzantine Empire in 934, 943, 948 and the 950s, the Balkan provinces of the Byzantine Emperors were subject to the campaigns of the Hungarians "several times" (Johannes Skylitzes). The Avars and Bulgarians were threats to the Byzantine Empire in the sixth-seventh and then the seventh-ninth centuries. The Russians attacked the Empire by sea in the tenth century. The Hungarians pillaged the western-provinces of the Byzantine Empire in the second third of the tenth century. The author of the poem analyzed here was acquainted with the affairs of the deceased *strategos*, who was able to defeat the 'Scythian-Huns,' who were the Hungarians.

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<sup>49</sup> Cf. *Opera Liudprandi*, 38; *Regionis Abbatis Prumiensis Chronicum*, 602; Widukind in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* 50. Hannoverae 1891, 128.

# *Culture and Cross-Cultural Contacts in the Chaghadaid Realm (1220–1370)*

## Some Preliminary Notes

MICHAL BIRAN



Despite its central location at the heart of the Mongol empire, the Chaghadaid Khanate is often left out of the discussion of cross-cultural contacts inside and outside the Mongol empire. However, both the vigorous contacts between the neighbours of the Chaghadaids, Yuan China and Ilkhanid Iran, recently discussed in Allsen's superb *Culture and Conquest in the Mongol Empire*,<sup>1</sup> and the grandeur and cosmopolitanism of Tamerlane's empire, which succeeded the Chaghadaids' western realm in 1370, suggest that significant cross-cultural contacts existed under the Chaghadaids as well.

What were those contacts like? What kind of culture existed in the Chaghadaid realm? These questions are not easily answered due to the dearth of sources for the history of the Chaghadaid Khanate, which is in sharp contrast to the ample historical literature that exists for both Ilkhanid Iran and Yuan China. Based on Muslim and Chinese literary sources, archaeological and numismatic findings, and Mongolian documents from Turfan and Dunhuang, this article aims to highlight a few aspects of the cross-cultural contacts in the Chaghadaid realm, mainly through three, often interrelated, agents of such contacts; the court, trade networks and religious networks – Buddhist, Christian and Muslim. First, however, some background information on the Chaghadaid realm is called for.

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<sup>1</sup> T. T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in the Mongol Empire*. Cambridge 2001.

*The background: The Chaghadaid realm before and after the Mongol Invasion<sup>2</sup>*

Chaghadaid's appanage, stretching from Uighuria to the Oxus,<sup>3</sup> had been under Qara Khitai rule for most of the century which preceded the Mongol invasion. The region enjoyed a relative stability and prosperity for most of the second half of the twelfth century. It benefited from a highly developed artisan class, flourishing agriculture, growing urbanization, thriving commerce and very active intellectual life. Moreover, it was a highly cosmopolitan and multilingual area, combining Chinese and Muslim administrative traditions, which in a way served as a precedent for the Mongol mode of ruling.<sup>4</sup>

This relatively peaceful condition was severely disturbed in the early thirteenth century by the struggle between the Khwārazm Shāh and the Qara Khitai and the repercussions of the rise of Chinggis Khan in Mongolia. Yet the Mongol invasion, while rather disastrous to Transoxania (which, however, recovered quite quickly), hardly harmed the eastern parts of the Chaghadaid realm; Uighuristan, Semirechye and the Tarim basin.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, the Mongol conquest had an enormous impact on Central Asia. As one of the first regions that became part of the Mongol empire, Central Asia's resources – human and material – were channelled for the benefit of the ever-expanding empire, often at the expense of local interests. Thus a substantial part of the region's nomadic warriors were recruited into the Mongol army and sent across Eurasia to fight. More important for our purposes was the transfer of myriad artisans and their relocation eastward, mainly into Mongolia and north China.<sup>6</sup> The huge numbers involved – supposedly 30,000 artisans from Samarkand alone!<sup>7</sup> – suggest that this policy seriously damaged local industries. In

<sup>2</sup> This section is based on M. Biran, "The Mongols in Central Asia from Chinggis Khan's invasion to the rise of Temür: The Ögödeid and Chaghadaid realms," in P. B. Golden and N. Di Cosmo, eds., *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia*, Vol. 2. Cambridge (forthcoming).

<sup>3</sup> For the contested status of Uighuria in the Chaghadaid realm, see Th. T. Allsen, "The Yuan dynasty and the Uighurs in Turfan in the 13<sup>th</sup> century," in M. Rossabi, ed., *China Among Equals*. Berkeley – Los Angeles, California 1983, 248–250, 260; M. Biran, *Qaidu and the rise of the independent Mongol state in Central Asia*. Richmond, Surrey 1997, 42–44, 115; Liu Yingsheng, 劉迎勝, *Xibei minzu shi yu Chāhātai Hanguo shi yanjiu* 西北民族史與察合台汗國史研究 [History of the northwestern minorities and studies in Chaghadaid history]. Nanjing 1994, 30–44.

<sup>4</sup> M. Biran, *The Qara Khitai Empire in Eurasian History: Between China and the Islamic World*. Cambridge 2005, chs. 3, 5.

<sup>5</sup> See Biran, *Qara Khitai* (see n. 4), ch. 3; M. Biran, *Chinggis Khan*. Oxford 2007, 43–70.

<sup>6</sup> The Beshbaliq colony, originally in the Chaghadaid realm (but see n.3), was probably transferred to north China in 1283. T. T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles*. Cambridge 1997, 41.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Atā'-malik Juwaynī, *Ta'rīkh-i Jahān-Gushā*, ed. M. M. Qazwīnī. London 1912–1937, Vol. 1, 95, 11, 101; tr. J. A. Boyle, *History of World Conqueror*, reprint: Manchester 1997, 13, 122, 128 (hereafter: Juwaynī/Boyle); Song Lian 宋濂, *Yuan shi* 元史 [The

some cases the Mongols agreed to send back some of the transferred artisans, but this was in no proportion to the original brain-drain and hand-drain.<sup>8</sup>

Moreover, apart from the forced transfers – and occasional flights – there was a considerable amount of voluntary migration due to the new opportunities opened up by Mongol rule. The Mongols needed experts to help them administer their growing empire and the educated, multi-lingual elite of Central Asia, already experienced in serving nomadic rulers, was highly qualified for this task. Many, therefore, chose to join the Mongol imperial venture and were dispersed across the empire. For example, most of the famous Muslims who reached high positions in Yuan China, such as Sayid Ajall, Aḥmad or 'Abd al-Rahmān, originated in Transoxania. This constant immigration continued to characterize the region throughout the rule of the Chaghadaids as well.

In return for the major transfers the Mongols brought new populations into Central Asia. They imported Chinese farmers, scholars and artisans; Tangut farmers, Khitan administrators, and European craftsmen.<sup>9</sup> Certainly, the first requirement of cross-cultural contacts – extensive mobilization of skilled population – was apparent in the Chaghadaid realm under the united empire.

When the Mongol empire disintegrated in the early 1260s, the Chaghadaids did not have a good starting point. They were politically weak, after supporting the losing side in the succession struggle of 1251; and were also challenged by the Ögödeid Qaidu who from 1271 until his death in 1301 became the Chaghadaids' overlord. Qaidu's policies, the Khanate's central location and the Chaghadaids' territorial ambitions led to an almost constant tension – and frequent wars – between the Chaghadaids, Yuan China and the Ilkhanate. After Qaidu's death, the Chaghadaids regained ascendancy in Central Asia and made peace with the Yuan, but their attempts to overcome the Ögödeids undermined the khanate's stability. The heydays of the Chaghadaids were under Kebek Khan (r. 1320–1327), who established peaceful relations with Yuan China, moved into Transoxania and reorganized the Khanate's internal administration. After the reign of Kebek's Muslim brother, Tarmashirin (1331–1334), who also resided in Transoxania, the tension between the western and eastern parts of the Khanate became more apparent. In 1347 the western realm was taken by the emirs, eventually leading to Tamerlane's accession in 1370, while in the east (modern Kirgizstan, south Kazakhstan and Xinjiang, known from the fourteenth century as Moghulistan), Chaghadaid Khans, known as Eastern Chaghadaids or Moghuls, continued to hold power until the late seventeenth century.

Squeezed between stronger and richer Mongol khanates, and accommodating two competing *uluses*, Mongol Central Asia was often plagued by internal strife or engaged in raiding its neighbouring states. This certainly harmed the economic

official history of the Yuan]. Beijing 1976, ch. 153: 3609 (hereafter *Yuan shi*); Allsen, *Commodity* (n. 6), 35–36.

<sup>8</sup> Allsen, *Commodity* (n. 6), 36–37; Allsen, "Uighurs" (n. 3), 248.

<sup>9</sup> P. Jackson, and D. Morgan, trs. and eds., *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*. London 1990, 144–146; A. Waley, tr., *Travels of an Alchemist*. London 1931, 73, 92–93.

and religious networks active in its domains and encouraged outward migration. Yet raiding was not a phenomenon new to the region, and during the turbulent years there were decades of relative peace and prosperity in Central Asia (1280s-1290s; 1320s-mid 1330s). This allowed the evolution, albeit on a modest scale, of cross cultural contacts.

### *The Khan's Court*

The mobile courts of the Chaghadaids and Qaidu were the principal arenas of cross-cultural contacts, mainly due to the usual Mongol amalgamation of experts which manned the court, its multi-linguality and the diplomatic contacts it held. Already Chaghadaï's court enjoyed special prestige under Ögödei's reign, as the court of the older living son of Chinggis Khan, and even more so after Ögödei's death (in 1241; Chaghadaï died in 1244) and was often frequented by travellers, traders and scholars who came to pay homage. In terms of experts, Chaghadaï's court included Chinese engineers, astronomers, physicians and administrators; Muslim physicians, poets, merchants and religious scholars, who were sometimes respected more for their miracles than for their religious learning.<sup>10</sup> Qaidu's court also included Chinese and Muslim physicians, a Muslim astronomer, Muslim scholars and Chinese military experts.<sup>11</sup> Buddhist priests and European physicians manned the court of the Chaghadaid Khan Changshi (r. 12/1335-1337).<sup>12</sup> The court's interests therefore encouraged inter-religious dialogue and scientific interest.

At least regarding the latter, and in contrast to Barthold's statement that the Chaghadaid realm had no tradition of secular sciences,<sup>13</sup> other evidence indicates the continuation of scholarly activities in the fields of astronomy, mathematics, medicine, poetry and philology in Mongol Central Asia.<sup>14</sup> The region's sound scientific infrastructure is attested by the fact that several leading scientists who

<sup>10</sup> Waley, *Alchemist* (n. 9), 97, 110, 116, 120; *Yuan Shi* (n. 7), ch. 151: 3581; Rashid al-Din, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, ed. and tr. J. A. Boyle, New York - London 1971, 154 (hereafter Rashid/Boyle); Juwayni/Boyle (n. 7), 272-276; Khwāndamīr, *Habibu' siyar* [sic], ed. and tr. Wheeler M. Thackston, Cambridge, Mass. 1994, Vol. 3, 44-46; Kamāl al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīs majma' al-ādāb fi mu'jam al-alqāb*, ed. M. Jawwād, Damascus 1962-1965, Vol. 4/2, 903, 1106; Vol. 4/4, 626.

<sup>11</sup> Jamāl Qarshī, *Mulkhaqāt al-ṣurāḥ*, in V. V. Bartold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestvia*, Vol. 1. (texts). St. Petersburg 1900, 138, 143-144; Mirkhwānd, Muḥammad b. Khandshāh, *Ta'rikh-i rawdat al-ṣafā*. Vol. 5, Tehran 1339/1961, 218; Biran, *Qaidu* (n. 3), 97.

<sup>12</sup> H. Yule (comp.), *Cathay and the Way Thither*. Reprint: Nendeln and Liechtenstein 1967, Book 3, 232; Mu'in al-Din Naṣanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawāñkh-i Mu'inī* (*Anonyme d'Iskandar*), ed. J. Aubin. Tehran 1957, 114.

<sup>13</sup> V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*. Vol. 2, reprint: Berlin 1935, 5.

<sup>14</sup> C. Brockelman, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur. Zweiter Supplementband*. Leiden 1938, 257, 297; Khāfi Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Faṣīḥī, *Mujmal-i faṣīḥī*. Tus-Mashed 1339/1960, Vol. 2, 321, 324; Muḥammad b., 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'*. Beirut 1966, Vol. 2, 194-195; Allsen, *Culture and Conquest* (n. 1), 173.

were active either in Yuan China or in Ilkhanid Iran were of Tansoxanian or Turkestani origin. Nonetheless, as will be apparent also in the discussion of religious scholars below, many scholars chose to migrate to safer and richer places than to stay in the turbulent Chaghadaid realm.<sup>15</sup>

The Chaghadaid court was multi-lingual. The Chaghadaid chancellery in Turfan wrote in Mongolian at least until 1369, and the use of 'Phags-Pa seals there suggests Yuan influence.<sup>16</sup> Already in Chaghadai's time, however, his court was called *ulugh ej* (Turkic: Great House), the khans Kebek and Tarmashirin spoke Turkic, and Turkic appeared on Chaghadaid seals.<sup>17</sup> Most Chaghadaid coins bore Arabic legends, and monumental inscriptions were written in Arabic and Persian.<sup>18</sup> Multi-lingual knowledge therefore remained an asset for Central Asians working inside and outside the Chaghadaid realm even in the fourteenth century, and facilitated further contacts.<sup>19</sup>

The court conducted diplomatic relations with its neighbours. Chaghadaid tribute missions to China in the early decades of the fourteenth century are well documented and also involved trade and gift exchange. There was also frequent exchange of messengers with the other khanates, either on strategic matters (attempts to ally against a certain threat – often of a third khanate) or formal ones (e.g. announcing the accession of a new khan or the death of another), and such contacts also existed with the Delhi Sultanate.<sup>20</sup> The Pope also sent letters to

<sup>15</sup> Among the scholars originating in Central Asia, one can mention the builder of the famous Maragha observatory, later the head of the Yuan astronomical institute, Jamāl al-Dīn; several Khotani and Kashgari astronomers working in the Maragha observatory, and Haybat Allāh al-Turkestānī "who knew something of every branch of learning" and was active in Ghazan's court. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, ed. B. Karimi. Tehran 1338/1959, Vol. 2, 706, 718; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' u't-tawārikh* [sic] *Compendium of Chronicles*, tr. W. M. Thackston, Cambridge, Mass. 1998–1999, Vol. 3, 666; *Yuan shi* (n. 7), ch. 90: 2297; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma'* (n. 10), Vol. 4/4, 704–705; Allsen, *Culture and Conquest* (n. 1), 166–167, 171.

<sup>16</sup> L. Ligeti, *Monuments préclassiques XIII et XIV siècles*. Budapest 1972, 208–237; H. Franke, "Zur Datierung der mongolischen Schreiben aus Turfan," *Oriens* 15 (1962), 407.

<sup>17</sup> Juwayni/Boyle (n. 7), 504, 507, 536, 538, 563, 586, 612; Ibn Battūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Battūṭa*, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, Cambridge 1958–1994, Vol. 3, 557 (hereafter Ibn Battūṭa/Gibb); Franke, "Datierung" (n. 16), 407.

<sup>18</sup> B. Okane, "Chaghatai architecture and the tomb of Tughluq Temür at Almalik," *Muqarnas*, 21 (2004), 277–278; B. Babajanov, "Monuments épigraphiques de l'ensemble de Fatḥābād à Boukhara," *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* 7 (1999), 195–210; M. Fedorov, "A hoard of fourteenth-century Chaghataid silver coins from north Kirghizstan," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 162 (2002), 404–419.

<sup>19</sup> Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma'* (n. 10), Vol. 4/4, 692; Vol. 4/2, 1201–1202; Qarshī (n. 11), 150.

<sup>20</sup> E.g. *Yuan Shi* (n. 7), ch. 24, 550, 551, 555; ch. 30, 680; ch. 31, 699; ch. 33, 740; ch. 34, 754; ch. 139, 3352; *Jing shi dadian, zhan chi* 經世大典·站赤, in *Yongle da dian* 永樂大典 [Yongle's encyclopedic dictionary] facsimile edition. Beijing 1960, ch. 19420, 2 (hereafter *Yongle Dadian*); Ibn Battūṭa/Gibb (n. 17), vol. 3, 556; Abū al-Qāsim Qāshānī, *Ta'rīkh-i Ūjaytū*, ed. M. Hambly. Tehran 1969 (hereafter Qāshānī), 31, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 53, 145–6, 149. Note Chaghadaid diplomatic relations with the Mamluks, which seem to have been con-

Qaidu and to the Chaghadaids, but it is unclear whether they received them.<sup>21</sup> Due to the Khanate's location, diplomatic missions, especially from Yuan China to Ilkhanid Iran and vice versa, often passed through the Chaghadaid realm. The court often investigated the emissaries and, depending on the political situation, either detained them and confiscated their property, or hosted them, providing them with a letter to ensure their peaceful journey through its lands.<sup>22</sup> Other international travellers, such as missionaries or traders, also often asked for the court's protection.<sup>23</sup>

The itinerant courts also retained Mongol nomadic traditions. Chaghadai was famous as an expert in Mongol rituals and law (the *Jasaq* or *Yasa*),<sup>24</sup> and his descendants were keen on keeping their nomadic culture. Thus Qaidu and the Chaghadaids entertained their guests in lavish golden tents;<sup>25</sup> hunting remained a popular activity of the khans, and they often held the traditional *toy* (banquet, assembly) in which the khan entertained his *keens* and commanders, and where the latter could depose him.<sup>26</sup> In their inauguration ceremonies, the Chaghadaid retained the custom of removing their hats and slinging their belts across their backs, to demonstrate their giving up of their former privileges and their subor-

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ducted through a third party (the Golden Horde?) as we have the exact formula of how to write to the Chaghadaids but not one report on their embassies, as opposed to those of the Ilkhanate and the Golden Horde. (e.g., Ahmad b. Yahya b. Fadlallah al-'Umari, *al-Ta'rif bi'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*. Beirut 1988, 70).

<sup>21</sup> K. E. Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Brieweschels*. Vatican City 1981, 258–260; J. D. Ryan, "Preaching Christianity along the Silk Route: Missionary outposts in the Tatar 'Middle Kingdom' in the fourteenth century," *Journal of Early Modern History* 2:4 (1998), 368.

<sup>22</sup> Qāshānī (n. 20), 201–8; Yuan Jue, *Baizhu yuanshuai chushi shishi* [The narrative of the missions of Marshal Baiju], in *idem. Qingrong jushi ji* [Yuan Jue's literary collection]. Yuan facsimile edition, Shanghai: n.d., ch. 34; Liu Yingsheng, "War and peace between the Yuan Dynasty and the Chaghdaid khanate (1312–23)," in R. Amitai and M. Biran, eds., *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World*, Leiden 2005, 339–353; Dai Matsui, "A Mongolian Decree from the Chaghadaid Khanate discovered at Dunhuang," in P. Zieme, ed., *Aspects of Research into Central Asian Buddhism: In Memoriam Kogi Kudara*. Turnhout (forthcoming), 157–176.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. W. E. A. Budge, tr., *The Monks of Khubilai Khan: The History of Rabban Sawma*. London 1928, 59.

<sup>24</sup> E.g., Rashīd/Boyle (n. 10), 145; Chaghadai's erudition in ritual, especially the fire cult, made him the patron of shamans in later Mongolian folklore. A. Birtalan, "The Mongolian Great Khans in Mongolian mythology and folklore," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 58:3 (2005), 308.

<sup>25</sup> Qāshānī (n. 20), 37, 41; Biran, *Qaidu* (n. 3), 97; Ibn Battūta/Gibb (n. 17), 3, 558.

<sup>26</sup> E.g. Qāshānī (n. 20), 34–35, 37, 41, 217; Naṭanz Anonyme d'Iskandar (n. 12), 104, 108; Ibn Battūta/Gibb (n. 17), Vol. 3, 561 (one of the main reasons for Tarmashirin's deposition, according to Ibn Battūta, was his refusal to conduct the traditional *toy*, perhaps because he preferred not to deal with his eastern commanders).

dition to the new ruler.<sup>27</sup> Women held an especially high position in the Chaghadaid court. They acted as regents or actual rulers, for instance, in the cases of Naishi, wife of Yesü Möngke Khan (r. 1246–1251), who performed the duties of her constantly-drunk husband, or of Orghina Khatun, who reigned for nine years (r. 1251–1260) as regent for her son; or as patrons of monumental building as in the case of Tughluq Temür's wife, Tini Khatun. There is also at least one example of a fighting princess, Qaidu's daughter, Qutulun (Marco Polo's Aijaruc), who excelled over most of her father's generals, but when she had tried to succeed him, her brothers sent her to "the scissors and needles".<sup>28</sup>

Although the courts were mobile, the location of Chaghadaid summer pasture in the vicinity of Almaliq (a town near modern Kulja in Xinjiang) greatly affected the city's importance. Almaliq became a major post on the Silk Roads, thereby marginalizing Balasaghun, the former Qara Khitai capital. Later on, in the 1320s, the khan Kebek moved to Transoxania and built a city of tents named Qarshi (Turkish: castle) in the Kashka Daria valley to serve as his capital, though it was never a match for the region's traditional centres in Samarkand and Bukhara, nor is it clear if future khans ever resided there.<sup>29</sup>

The court's mobility also meant that there are few remaining Chaghadaid monuments. These monuments – mainly the mausoleum of Tughluq Temür in Almaligh and that of Bayan Quli Khan (the puppet khan of amir Qazaghan, 1348–1358) in Bukhara – date from the Khanate's Muslim period and are obviously influenced by Ilkhanid style. A notable exception is the "baroque" monument in Talas which Kervran proposed to identify as the mausoleum of Orghina Khatun (Chaghada'i's regent, r. 1251–1260). This identification is highly conjectural, however, and the monument could easily be a product of the Qara Khitai period, i.e., of the twelfth century, as indeed local tradition maintains.<sup>30</sup>

The court also had enormous impact on the trade and religious networks in Central Asia as will be discussed below.

### *Trade and Trading Networks*

Central Asian traders were among the first supporters of Chinggis Khan and many of them became useful participants in the Mongol imperial venture, manning high posts in Mongol (and Chaghadaid) administration. The Yalawach fam-

<sup>27</sup> Qāshānū (n. 20), 150; see R. Sela, *Ritual and Authority in Central Asia: The Khan's Inauguration Ceremony*, Papers on Inner Asia, no. 37. Bloomington 2003, 26.

<sup>28</sup> Rashid/Boyle (n. 10), 143, 149–151; Okane, "Architecture" (n. 18), 278–288; Biran, *Qaidu* (n. 3), 2, 70, 76, and see Marco Polo's description of Qutulun's adventures in H. Yule, tr., *The Book of Sir Marco Polo*, London 1903, Vol. 2, 393–396.

<sup>29</sup> E.g. Ahmad b. Yahya b. Faḍlallāh al-'Umārī, *Das Mongolische Weltreich: al-'Umārī's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masālik al-abṣār fi mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. and trs. K. Lech, *Asiatische Forschungen*, Vol. 14. Wiesbaden 1968, 49 (hereafter 'Umārī/Lech).

<sup>30</sup> Okane, "Architecture" (n. 18), 277–288; Babajanov, "Monuments" (n. 18), 197–207; M. Kervran, "Un monument baroque dans les steppes du Kazakhstan: le tombeau d'Orghina Khatun, princesse Chaghataï?" *Ars Asiatica* 57 (2002), 5–32.

ily, which served the Mongols from Chinggis Khan's time and administered the Chaghadaid realm throughout the thirteenth century, was a family of polyglot merchants from Khwárazm. Chaghadaid's trusted minister, Ḥabash 'Amīd, also made fortune in trade.<sup>31</sup> Most of the *ortogh* merchants active under the Mongols were either Central Asian Muslims or Uighurs.<sup>32</sup> They must have kept contacts in their original home towns, thereby creating commercial networks which spread throughout the empire.<sup>33</sup> Although we have no indication that the Chaghadaid rulers, like their cousins in China and Iran, were directly involved in the *ortogh* trade, and even though the political unrest in Central Asia shifted part of the exchange to maritime channels, the rulers of the landlocked Chaghadaid realm actively endeavoured to promote trade, and commercial interests influenced their political stance, especially with regard to their relations with the Yuan. Thus Qaidu and Du'a built the city of Andiján to serve as Farghána's mercantile centre, and one of the main reasons for Chaghadaid peace overtures in 1304 was their desire to revive the caravan trade throughout the empire.<sup>34</sup> In the 1310s, Yuan officials complained about traders from the Chaghadaid realm who exploited the post-station system and the tribute conditions for enriching themselves and threatened to limit their number. This attempt was one of the reasons for the subsequent tension between the Chaghadaids and the Yuan,<sup>35</sup> which continued up to Kebek's submission in the early 1320s. The 1320s–1330s were the heydays of the overland Silk Roads, and Pagellotti's famous – and often criticized – statement in the 1340s, that "the road you travel from Tana to Cathay [i.e. via the Chaghadaid Khanate] is perfectly safe whether by day or night", probably relates to this period.<sup>36</sup> Apart from native traders, who remained active and accompanied the resumed Chaghadaid tribute missions to China from the 1320s,<sup>37</sup> in the 1320s–1330s we many European (mostly Italian) and Muslim (Iraqi, Syrian, Indian) traders were active in Chaghadaid Central Asia, often on their way to China or

<sup>31</sup> Th. T. Allsen, "Mahmūd Yalavač, Maś'ūd Beg', Ali Beg, Safalıq, Bujir," in I. de Rachewiltz et al., eds. *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yuan period*. Wiesbaden 1993, 122–135; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma'* (n. 10), Vol. 4/3, 297; Juwayni/Boyle (n. 7), 273–275.

<sup>32</sup> The *ortogh* was a trader (or trading company) who acted on behalf or was financed by the capital of a Mongol (or other) notable and in return shared his profits with his patron. Th. T. Allsen, "Mongolian Princes and their Merchant Partners 1200–1260," *Asia Major*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 2:2 (1989), 83–126; E. Endicott-West, "Merchant associations in Yuan China: The *Ortoy*," *Asia Major*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 2:2 (1989), 127–156; see e.g. *Yuan shi* (n. 7), ch. 51, 3568; ch. 53, 3592; ch. 59, 3752; ch. 62, 3987; ch. 65, 4204; ch. 73, 4635.

<sup>33</sup> As an example, see the solidarity of the Kashgari merchants in the Ilkhanate: Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma'*, Vol. 4/2, 861, 1201–1202; also the Iraqi merchants in Ibn Battūṭa/Gibb (n. 17), Vol. 3, 546, 548.

<sup>34</sup> Biran, *Qaidu* (n. 3), 103–104.

<sup>35</sup> Liu, "War and Peace" (n. 22), 342–343.

<sup>36</sup> Yule, *Cathay* (n. 12), book 3, 152; P. Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*. London 2005, 296–301. Ibn Battūṭa/Gibb (n. 17), Vol. 3, 546–548; 'Umari/Lech (n. 29), 41.

<sup>37</sup> Yongle *Dadian* (n. 20), ch. 19420, 2.

the Golden Horde.<sup>38</sup> Their presence was prompted not only by the Chaghadaids' improved relations with China since Kebek's reign (1320–1327), but also with the Muslim rule of Tarmashirin Khan (r. 1331–1334), who abolished the commercial duties not sanctioned by the *shari'a* (Muslim law) and improved economic relations with Mamluk Egypt and the Delhi Sultanate.<sup>39</sup>

As for the trade routes, the main east-west routes passed through Utrar to Almaliq, Qarakhojo to Dadu (modern Beijing and the Yuan capital); or from Tabriz, via Khurasan to Bukhara, Samarcand, Kashgar and Qarakhojo to China. There was also a north-south route leading from the Golden Horde (via Urgench) to Ghazna and Delhi.<sup>40</sup>

What was exported from the Chaghadaid realm? The items mentioned in the sources include agricultural products (fruits, wheat and barley),<sup>41</sup> animals (from horses and camels to tigers and wild and domesticated leopards),<sup>42</sup> jade, jewels, furs, herbal medicines, textiles and wine. Most of these were renowned products of the region in the pre-Mongol period as well.<sup>43</sup> Another traditional merchandise of the region was slaves. Captives, later sold as slaves, were often the main booty from the Chaghadaids' frequent raids to India (from 1287 onwards) and lively slave markets existed in Central Asia. A 1333 *waqf* document from Bukhara described the purchasing of Mongol, Chinese and Indian slaves for working in the fields. Even earlier, the renowned Bukharan Sheikh, Sayf al-Dīn al-Bākharzī, is credited for buying Fātīma, the daughter of the last 'Abbasid Caliph, who was sold in the slave markets after the conquest of Baghdad. Central Asians, either children of nomadic tribesmen or exported captives, were also sold as Mamluks in Egypt in the 1280s.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Ibn Battūta/Gibb (n. 17), vol. 3, 546–8; 'Umari/Lech (n. 29), 41; Yule, *Cathay*, 3:147, 212; Ahmad b. Yahya b. Faḍlallāh al-'Umari, *A Fourteenth-century Arab Account of India under Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq*. English translation of the chapters on India from Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umari's *Masālik al-abṣār fi-mamālik al-āmṣār*, ed. I. H. Siddiqi and Q. M. Ahmad, Aligarh 1972, 48–49 (hereafter 'Umari/India); Jackson, *The Mongols and the West* (n. 36), 296–301.

<sup>39</sup> M. Biran, "The Chaghadaids and Islam: the conversion of Tarmashirin Khan," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122:4 (2002), 747–748.

<sup>40</sup> Jackson, *The Mongols and the West* (n. 36), 296–301.

<sup>41</sup> 'Umari/India (n. 38), 49; Ibn Battūta/Gibb (n. 17), Vol. 3, 542, 550.

<sup>42</sup> *Yuan shi* (n. 7), ch. 24, 550, 551, 555; ch. 27, 620, 629; ch. 28, 631–632; *Yongle Dadian* (n. 20), ch. 19420, 2, 14; 'Umari/Lech (n. 29), 47–48. Exchanging wild animals, especially those used for hunting like leopards or gerfalcons, was also common among the Yuan and the Ilkhanate, see, e.g. Qāshānī (n. 20), 204–205, 208.

<sup>43</sup> *Yuan shi* (n. 7), ch. 24, 550–551, 555; ch. 27, 620, 629; ch. 28, 631–632; *Yongle Dadian* (n. 20), ch. 19420, 2, 14; J. C. Y. Watt and A. E. Wardell, eds. *When silk was gold: Central Asian and Chinese textiles*. New York 1997, 127–130; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Dhahabi, *Siyar a'lām al-nubāt*. Beirut 1982–1996, Vol. 23, 368. For the pre-Mongol period see Biran, *Qara Khitai* (n. 4), 137–138.

<sup>44</sup> Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, ed. F. 'Ashūr. Cairo 1984, Vol. 27, 354–355; Biran, *Qaidu* (n. 3), 104.

While Chinese paper money was in use in Uighuria, most deals there were made by barter and taxes were paid in kind (wine, leather, cotton, wheat).<sup>45</sup> In the rest of the Chaghadaid realm, however, taxes and commercial deals were paid mainly in cash. Already in the 1220s the Mongols strove to revive the Central Asian monetary economy, and under Möngke (1251–1259) the wide-scale minting of gold, silver and copper coins resumed in Almaligh. In 1271, simultaneously with Qaidu's enthronement, Mas'ud Beg (Yalawach's son and the administrator of Central Asia) led a currency reform in Central Asia, minting coins with a high percentage of silver. The coins appeared first in Utrār, Talas and Khujand, but with the stabilization of Qaidu's rule in 1281–82 they proliferated in various mints in Transoxania and Farghāna as well as in Almaliq and Kashgar. Although these coins were anonymous and were not uniform in iconography, their identical weight, purity and basic design suggest a central supervision of minting.<sup>46</sup> A further reform was introduced by Kebek, the first Chaghadaid khan to mint coins in his own name. Following the reform of Ghazan in early fourteenth-century Iran, Kebek minted a silver coin (*dīnār*) equivalent to six smaller silver coins (*dirhams*) with a new weight.<sup>47</sup> Numismatic finds, as well as Ibn Battūta's and al-'Umari's descriptions, attest to a developed monetary economy in the Chaghadaid realm.<sup>48</sup> Local prices were regarded as very low in comparison to the level of prices in the Mamluk and the Delhi Sultanates.<sup>49</sup>

Ibn Battūta and Turfan documents also illustrate the existence of commercial infrastructure in Chaghadaid Central Asia, consisting of loans, hospices, road maintenance, load animals for hire and post-stations.<sup>50</sup> While the post-stations, at least in Uighuria, were a major part of this infrastructure, they could also be a

<sup>45</sup> Matsui Dai, "Taxation systems as seen in Uighur and Mongol Documents from Turfan: An overview," *Transactions of the International Conference of Eastern Studies* 50 (2005), 72–79; Liu Yingsheng 刘迎胜, "Meng-Yuan shidai Zhongya shehui jingji yanjiu 蒙元时代中亚社会经济研究 [A Study of the economy and society of Central Asia in the Mongol Period]," *Zhongya xuekan* 中亞學刊 4 (1995), 209.

<sup>46</sup> E. L. Davidovitch, "Denezhnoe khoziaistvo i chastichnoe vosstanovlenie torgovli v Srednei Azii posle mongol'skogo nashestvia," *Narody Azii i Afriki* 6 (1970), 64–65; Biran, *Qaidu* (n. 3), 101.

<sup>47</sup> E. A. Davidovich, and A. H. Dani, "Coinage and the Monetary System," in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth, eds., *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. 4/1, Paris 1998, 406–408.

<sup>48</sup> 'Umari/Lech (n. 29), 47; 'Umari/India (n. 38), 48–49; Ibn Battūta/Gibb (n. 17), Vol. 3, 542–569; Liu Yingsheng, "Shehui Jingqi" (n. 39), 200–209.

<sup>49</sup> 'Umari /Lech (n. 29), 47; 'Umari/India (n. 38), 48–49; Ibn Battūta/Gibb (n. 17), Vol. 3, 542–569.

<sup>50</sup> Ibn Battūta/Gibb (n. 17), 542–569, esp. 549; 'Umari/Lech (n. 29), 47; Liu, "Shehui jingqi" (n. 41), 202, 209; Dang Baotai 黛寶海, "Menggu Chahatai hanguo de yizhan jiaotong 蒙古察合台汗國的驛站交通 [Posts traffic in Chagatai khanate] [sic!]", *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 (2004/4), 15–22; M. Weiers, "Mongolische Reisebegleitschreiben aus Čaghatai," *Zentral-Asiatische Studien* 1 (1967), 1–53.

source of trouble for travellers, since the post-stations' personnel occasionally confiscated animals and merchandise for their own use.<sup>51</sup>

A certain amount of commercial infrastructure and expertise was evidently retained in the Chaghadaid realm, and it certainly benefited the later flourishing trade under Tamerlane.

### *Religious Networks*

The Chaghadaids' subject population was mostly Muslim, although there were also considerable Buddhist and Christian communities. Despite Chaghadaï's insistence on enforcing Mongol norms (sometimes colliding with Muslim ones), which earned him an anti-Islamic reputation and several cases of Muslim or Buddhist zealousness,<sup>52</sup> Qaidu and most Chaghadaid khans were tolerant towards the main religions in their realm. Each of these three religions contributed to the cross-cultural contacts in the realm.

Buddhism prevailed in Uighuria and smaller Buddhist communities existed under the Chaghadaids at least in Khotan, Kashgar and Qayaliq. Once a major religion along the Silk Roads, towards the twelfth century, Buddhism was gradually driven out of Central Asia due to both Islamic expansion and the decline of the Buddhist tradition in its homeland of India. Even the rule of the Buddhist Qara Khitai (1124–1218) over most of the territory which later became the Chaghadaid realm did not create a major revival.<sup>53</sup> In the Mongol period, however, Tibetan Buddhism, which had been adopted as the state religion in Yuan China, was also introduced to eastern Turkestan, and found many adherents among Uighurs and Mongols alike, as proved by the quantities of Uighur and Mongol Tantric texts unearthed in Turfan.<sup>54</sup> The Turfan Buddhists held close connections with Buddhist communities in northern China, both in Dadu, the Yuan capital, and in the closer Gansu, where a Chaghadaid branch subject to the Yuan heavily patronized Buddhist translations and monasteries. The translation efforts, both in Gansu and Dadu, involved the work of Tibetan, Kashmiri and

<sup>51</sup> Dai Matsui, "Mongolian Decree" (n. 22), 158.

<sup>52</sup> See the case of 'Ali Sultan mentioned below (Yule, *Cathay* (n. 12), Book 3, 31, 212); Naṭanzi's assertion mentioned below that Khan Changshi (1335–1337) put idols in every mosque is highly questionable due to the contemporary accounts of the continuation of Muslim scholarship in Samarcand at the time. (Naṭanzi, *Anonymous d'Iskandar* (n. 12), 114 and see below). Two questionable stories from the united empire period may suggest the existence of inter-religious tension in Central Asia: see Minhāj al-Dīn Jūzjānī, *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣīrī*, ed. 'A. Ḥabībī. Kabul 1342–44/1963–64, Vol. 2, 171–173 (Buddhist suggesting to Güyüg to kill all the Muslims in his realm or at least emasculate them), 215–217 (Christian-Muslim tension in Samarcand leads to a murder of a Christian convert to Islam who refused to renounce his new religion; Berke, the Golden Horde Muslim Khan, orders the execution of the murderers, including the Mongol who participated in the slaying).

<sup>53</sup> Biran, *Qara Khitai* (n. 4 above), 177–178; Liu, Yingsheng, *Chahatai hanguo shi yanjiu*. [Research on the History of the Chaghadaid Khanate]. Shanghai 2006, 555–564.

<sup>54</sup> Ligeti, *Monuments* (n. 16), 115–83; Dai Matsui, "Mongolian Decree" (n. 22), 167–169.

Uighur translators, and were also a channel for cross-cultural contacts, the repercussions of which probably reached Turfan. Although many Buddhist Uighurs – both laymen and monks – emigrated to Yuan China, pilgrimage from Tibet to China and vice versa, which passed through the Chaghadaid realm, helped to establish the presence of Tibetan Buddhism there.<sup>55</sup>

Several Chaghadaid khans personally favoured Buddhism, mainly Du'a (r. 1282–1307) who gave his son the Buddhist name Tarmashirin and who granted very generous exemptions to Buddhist monasteries; and Changshi (r. 12/1335–1338) who, according to one exaggerated description, “put up Buddhist sculptures in every mosque”.<sup>56</sup> Other khans, such as Eljigidei (r. 1327–1330) and Yesün Temür (r. 1338–1339) also patronized Buddhism, and a decree ascribed to Muhammad Polad (r. ca. 1340s) assures the safe transit of a high Tibetan priest from Yuan China in the Chaghadaid domains. Even after his conversion to Islam, the Eastern Chaghadaid Khan Tughluq Temür (r. 1347–1363) is said to have asked for a Buddhist teacher from Tibet.<sup>57</sup> It has also been suggested that the Chaghadaid *tamgha* (seal), a mark shaped as double-leaves which is rendered in the seal stamped on Chaghadaid Mongolian decrees and on Chaghadaid coins from the early fourteenth century onward, is an upside-down form of the Tibetan script for Cha (the beginning of Chaghadaï's name).<sup>58</sup> If this is correct, it attests a sound connection between the Chaghadaid royal house and Tibet, perhaps initiated by Du'a. Nonetheless, after the fall of the Yuan and the subsequent decline of Tibetan Buddhism among the Mongols, Islam had less competition both among the Chaghadaid royal house and among the East Turkestan population.

As for Christianity, Nestorian communities were scattered in Central Asia centuries before the Mongols arrived, but the Latin missionaries were an innovation of the Mongol period. In pre-Mongol Central Asia, the Nestorians had a metropolitanate in Samarcand and in Kashgar and Nawākit (near the Issyk Kul). They instructed in Syriac, Arabic, Persian and Turkic, and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries managed to convert several Mongol tribes (Kerayids, Ongüts, and part of the Naimans and Merkits). Strong Nestorian communities existed in Semirechye (the Issyk Kul region and Balāsāghūn) and even among the Turfan Uighurs. Under the Chaghadaids, a strong Nestorian community, attested up to the late 1360s, flourished in Almaliq, and the Nestorian presence in Samarcand continued into Tamerlane's time. The Nestorian community of the Issyk Kul, on the other hand, was eliminated around 1338–9 due to a combination of epidemics,

<sup>55</sup> Liu, *Chahatai hanguo* (n. 51), 555–64; Dai Matsui, “Mongolian Decree” (n. 22), 157–163.

<sup>56</sup> Nātanzi, *Anonyme d'Iskander* (n. 12), 114; Dai Matsui, “Taxation” (n. 41), 72.

<sup>57</sup> F. W. Cleaves, “The Bodistw-a Čari-a Avatar-un Tayilbur of 1312 by Čosgi Odsir,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17 (1954), 1–129; G. N. Roerich, trans. and ed. *The Blue Annals*. Calcutta 1949–1953, Vol. 2, 504; P. Jackson, “Chaghataid dynasty”, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Vol. 5 (1992), 345; Matsui, “Mongolian Decree” (n. 22), 158–172; Liu, *Chaghadaid Hanguo* (n. 51), 555–564.

<sup>58</sup> Matsui, “Mongolian Decree” (n. 22), 165.

the persecutions of 'Ali Sultan (r. 1339–1340), a fanatic Ögödeid who for a short while usurped the Chaghadaid throne, and a gradual process of islamization.<sup>59</sup>

The Catholic mission in Central Asia began as a by-product of the mission in China, and its bishoprics were established in Almaligh (mid-1320s) and Samarcand (1329), later than in the other Mongol khanates. The missionaries included friars from Europe (Italy, Spain, France) and Alexandria as well as European merchants. They learned Turkish, bought and baptized pagan slaves, and tried to stay in touch with their co-religionists in India and China (the latter often passed through the Chaghadaid realm on their way to China). We have no information about the missionaries' relations with the Nestorians, but the Latin priests seem to have been closer to the Chaghadaid khans. Chaghadai himself was said to have been baptized (though this was probably wishful thinking), and obviously the khans' support was a major factor which enabled the mission to flourish or led to its fall. Both Eljigidei (r. 1327–1330) and Changshi (r. 1335–1338), also famous as admirers of Buddhism, showed favour to Latin missionaries. Eljigidei, under whom the Samarcand bishopric was established, sent two Dominican friars from there to Europe with greetings to the pope. One of these emissaries, Thomas of Mancasola, reported that the Khan had been baptized (perhaps wishful thinking again) and that he had given the friars licence to preach and built a church in Samarcand. Before the papal envoys returned, however, Eljigidei was replaced and the islamization of his brother Tarmashirin (r. 1331–1334) hampered future relations with Rome. Among Tarmashirin's non-Muslim successors, however, Changshi is said to have baptized his son after a Christian physician healed him. He also welcomed Nicholas, the newly appointed Archbishop of Dadu, who had left Europe in 1334 and stopped at Almaliq on his way to China, allowing him to preach freely and restore churches and granting him land for building a friary.<sup>60</sup> Apparently the local Muslim population at that time was less sympathetic towards the missionaries. In a letter of 1338 Pascal of Vitorria recounts the many trials he suffered on his way from Urgench to Almaliq, throughout which he insisted on preaching Christianity. His adventures included polemic with the Muslims (in which he won, according to his testimony), many vain attempts to convince him to adopt Islam, and lots of humiliations and injuries, although he managed to make it to Almaliq.<sup>61</sup> When the fanatic 'Ali Sultan took the throne in 1339, however, he massacred the bishop of Almaliq and his companions (including Pascal), and the Latin attempts at revival evaporated with the islamization of the eastern khanate in the 1350s.

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<sup>59</sup> Niu Ruji "Xinjiang Alimali gucheng faxian de Xuliya wen jingjiao beiming yanjiu," *Xiyu yanjiu* (2007), 74–80; Liu, *Chahatai hanguo* (n. 51), 543–554; Yule, *Cathay* (n. 12), Book 3, 31, 212.

<sup>60</sup> Yule, *Cathay* (n. 12), 31–32, 34–35, 81–88, 213–214; Ryan, "Preaching Christianity" (n. 21), 359–368.

<sup>61</sup> Yule, *Cathay* (n. 12), Book 3, 81–88.

The mission therefore came to an end, leaving very limited intellectual or other legacy.<sup>62</sup>

Most of the Chaghadaid subject population was Muslim, and the region had a sound scholarly base from the pre-Mongol period, when Bukhara was a major centre especially for the study of law, and Muslim studies flourished also in Farḡāna, Samarqand and even in Kashgar, Khotan and Balasāghūn.<sup>63</sup> Indeed we have more information on Muslim networks, as one of their main - and lasting - outcomes was the islamization of the khanate in the fourteenth century.

Chaghadaid islamization was a complex and gradual process, which began in the west and moved eastward. As in the other Mongol khanates, contact with Muslim elements, mainly in the army and among the local population, as well as Sufi missionary activity, were the main stimulants of conversion, though it took longer to root Islam among the Yasa-adherent Chaghadaids than among other Mongols in West Asia. Tarmashirin (r. 1331–1334) is credited with bringing Islam to Transoxania, and his pro-Muslim policies certainly contributed to the khanate's Muslim character. Yet, similarly to the situation in Ilkhanid Iran, conversion seems to have begun in the lower levels before it reached the top, since many army commanders and rank-and-file Mongols, as well as several princes and ephemeral khans, embraced Islam before Tarmashirin.<sup>64</sup>

While by Tarmashirin's time Islam was well established in the western Chaghadaid khanate, this was not the situation in the eastern Chaghadaid realm, and this contrast was one of the reasons for Tarmashirin's deposition and for the disintegration of the khanate into its eastern and western parts. As was already mentioned, Tarmashirin's successors included patrons of Buddhism and Christianity as well as the fanatic 'Ali Sultan, and some less fanatical Muslims. A few decades after Tarmashirin's reign, in the early 1350s, the eastern Chaghadaid Khan, Tughluq Temür (r. 1347–1363), adopted Islam under the influence of wandering Sufis combined with political considerations. Building on the Muslim infrastructure of the Tarim basin (originating in the tenth-century Qarakhanids), Tughluq Temür used Islam to unite his subjects – both the different nomadic tribes over which he ruled and the nomads and sedentary populations subject to him – and for trying to regain legitimacy in the western part of the khanate.<sup>65</sup>

Even before the Khanate's islamization, Muslim scholars and administrators held a place of honour in the Chaghadaid court (despite Chaghadaid's anti-Muslim reputation), and Mongolian versions of the Alexander romance (closer to

<sup>62</sup> Ryan, "Preaching Christianity" (n. 21), 371–373.

<sup>63</sup> Biran, *Qara Khitai* (n. 4), 177–178; 181–182.

<sup>64</sup> Biran, "Tarmashirin" (n. 39), 750–751.

<sup>65</sup> Biran, "Tarmashirin" (n. 39), 742–752; K. Hodong, "Muslim Saints in the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries of Eastern Turkestan," *International Journal of Central Asian Studies* 1 (1996), 285–322; K. Hodong, "The Early History of the Moghul Nomads: The Legacy of the Chaghatai Khanate," in R. Amitai-Preiss and D. O. Morgan, eds., *The Mongol Empire and its legacy*, Leiden 1999, 299–304; Li Yixin 李一新, "Chahatai hanguo de Iselanhua 察合台汗國的伊斯蘭花 (On Islamization of Caqadai Khanate [sic])," *Xibei minzu yanjiu* 西北民族研究, 23 (1998/2), 56–84.

its Persian version) and of an Arabic divination book unearthed in Turfan suggest that western cultural influence reached even the most eastern Chaghadaid domains.<sup>66</sup> The non-Muslim Mongols sometimes patronized Muslim religious institutions, and already in the 1250s Möngke's wife built a college (known as *Madrasa-i Khāni*) in Bukhara and established the *waqf* of the Bākharzī family there, which was still active in the 1340s.<sup>67</sup> The Khans' Muslim administrators also patronized Muslim scholarship. The house of Bahā' al-Dīn al-Marghinānī, the minister of Chaghadai and his son Yesū Möngke, himself an offspring of a distinguished scholarly family, was a meeting place for scholars, and Mas'ūd Beg, the main administrator of the Chaghadaid realm in the thirteenth century, not only befriended 'ulmā' and Sufis, but also built (in the 1240s-1250s) the *Madrasa-i-Mas'ūdiyya* in Bukhara (burned in 1273 but rebuilt later).<sup>68</sup> Local Muslim dynasties which existed in the Chaghadaid domains (e.g. in Almaliq, Khujand and Tirmidh) also employed and subsidized Muslim scholars, thereby contributing to the growth of the cities' scholarly prestige. Jamāl Qarshī, who was employed by the ruler of Almaliq, describes the flourishing Muslim community in the city (which was also Chaghadaid summer pasture). Many of the Almaliq scholars arrived from more established centres like Bukhara or Khujand, or from Balāsāghūn, which the rise of Almaliq had marginalized. The Jaxartes region also became more prominent with an important centre in Sighnāq.<sup>69</sup> In Samarcand the Marghinānī family continued to hold the office of *sheikh al-islām* (the town's most prestigious scholar) throughout the fourteenth century.<sup>70</sup> Bukhara retained some of its pre-Mongol prestige through scholars such as Shams al-a'imā' Kardārī (d. 1246); Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn al-Kabīr (d. 1296) and the Maḥbūbī *sadr* (attested until 1346).<sup>71</sup> They retained the local traditions (based on Marghinānī's *Hidāya*, and the Maḥbūbis' and Ibn Māzas' works), which continued to be studied under the Timurids as well.<sup>72</sup> Apart from the two big colleges mentioned above, each comprising around 1000 students, at least two other Bukharan colleges are attested in the sources; *Madrasat Abū Ḥafs* and the *Vabkent madrasa*, which held only 80 stu-

<sup>66</sup> Ligeti, *Monuments* (n. 16), 184-207.

<sup>67</sup> Juwaynī/Boyle (n. 7), 108; Sakhāwī, (n. 14), vol. 2, 194-195.

<sup>68</sup> Juwaynī/Boyle (n. 7), 108, 275; Qarshī (n. 11), 139.

<sup>69</sup> Qarshī (n. 11), 140-143.

<sup>70</sup> A. K. Muminov, *Rol' I mesto khanafitskikh 'ulamā' v zhizni gorodov tsentral'novo mavaran-nakhra (II-VII / VIII-XIII vv.)*. Tashkent 2003, 32.

<sup>71</sup> E.g., Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, ed. 'U. 'A. Tadmūrī. Beirut 1997-2004, Vol. 57, 138-139, 266; Vol. 58, 78; vol. 59, 97; vol. 60, 178-179; 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir al-muḍīyya fi tabaqāt al-hanafiyā*, ed. 'A. M. al-Hilw. Cairo 1993, vol. 1, 260, 330; Mu'īn al-Fuqara', *Kitāb-i Mullāzādah*. Tehran 1960, 21, 31, 33, 36-7, 40, 53-56, 64, 71, 75.

<sup>72</sup> For Timurid continuation of Chaghadaid scholarship, see M. E. Subterny, "The Making of Bukhara al-Sharif: Scholars, Books and Libraries in Medieval Bukhara: The Library of Khwaja Muhammad Parsa," in D. Deweese, ed., *Studies on Central Asian History in honor of Yuri Bregel*. Bloomington 2001, 79-111.

dents in the 1340s.<sup>73</sup> After Tarmshirin's conversion his emir established many colleges in Ghazna.<sup>74</sup>

Law remained the main field of study but *hadith*, the Qur'an and its exegesis, Arabic grammar, *belles-lettres* (*adab*), poetry and medicine were also taught.<sup>75</sup> People from the Chaghadaid realm moved freely between the different centres (*fitatalab al-'ilm*) inside the khanate and in Khwárazm,<sup>76</sup> but I have found only a few cases of people from outside, mainly from Khurasan, who came to learn in Bukhara or the Chaghdaid realm in general, in contrast to the situation in the pre-Mongol period.<sup>77</sup> Certainly one of the most apparent phenomena of the thirteenth century was the massive migration of scholars – mainly *Hanafite* lawyers – away from the Chaghadaid realm, into the Ilkhanate (to Tabriz, Baghdad, Anatolia and especially Kirmān, probably due to the Qara Khitai origin of the Muslim dynasty ruling there under the Ilkhanate's overlordship), the Delhi Sultanate, the Mamluk sultanate, the Golden Horde, and even Yuan China.<sup>78</sup> A major wave of emigration followed the 1270s events of Bukhara, when Abaqa reduced the city to ashes in 1273 in retaliation for the Chaghadaid attack on Khurasan in 1270, and Alghu's sons pillaged the city in 1276 during their struggle with Qaidu.<sup>79</sup> Yet the emigrants took their traditions with them, and leading twelfth-century Central Asian paragons, like Qādī Khān or (especially) al-Marghinānī as well as their continuator Shams al-a'īmā' Kardārī (d. 1246), continued to be studied all over the Muslim world.<sup>80</sup> Transoxania, however, retained some scholarly prestige, at least in comparison with India. Around the 1330s the Delhi Sultan Muḥammad b. Tugh-

<sup>73</sup> Sakhawī, (n. 14), Vol. 2, 194–195; al-Qurashi, *Jawāhir* (n. 71), Vol. 1, 330; Juwaynī/Boyle (n. 7), 108.

<sup>74</sup> Ibn Battūta/Gibb, vol. 3, 561–562.

<sup>75</sup> e.g. Dhahabi, *Ta'rikh* (n. 71), Vol. 57, 266; Vol. 58, 116, 122; Vol. 59, 57; Vol. 60, 178–9; Sakhawī, (n. 14), Vol. 2, 194–195.

<sup>76</sup> E.g. Sakhawī, (n. 14), Vol. 2, 194–5; Qarshi (n. 11), 129, 144–145, 149.

<sup>77</sup> Dhahabi, *Ta'rikh* (n. 71), Vol. 57, 86; Vol. 58, 116.

<sup>78</sup> See, e.g., Dhahabi, *Ta'rikh* (n. 71), Vol. 53, 81; Vol. 57, 153; Vol. 58, 94; Vol. 59, 321; Vol. 60, 369, 491; Vol. 61, 40, 213; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Safadī, *Al-Wāfi bi'l-wafayāt*. Beirut 1981–2004, Vol. 23, 268; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Safadī, *a'yān al-'asr wa'uwān al-nasr*, ed. 'Ali b. Abū Zayd. Beirut and Damascus 1998, Vol. 4, 369–370; Nāṣir al-Dīn Munshī Kirmānī, *Simt al-'ulā ilī'l-hadra al-'ulyā*, ed. I. 'Abbās. Tehran 1328/1949–50, 42; Mujmal-i Fāsihī (n. 14), Vol. 2, 342, 343, 344, 380; vol. 3, 17, 42; Ibn Battūta/Gibb (n. 17), Vol. 3, 542, 563, 606–607, 675, 692, 735.

<sup>79</sup> For the Chaghadaid attack and its aftermath, see M. Biran, "The Battle of Herat (1270): A Case of Inter-Mongol Warfare," in N. Di Cosmo, ed., *Warfare in Inner Asia*. Leiden 2002, 175–220.

<sup>80</sup> E.g., Ibn Hajar al-Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-kāmina*. Cairo 1966, Vol. 2, 360; Muminov, *Rol'i mesto* (n. 70), 30–34. See T. W. Joynboll and Y. Linant de Bellefonds, "Kādī Khān," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 4 (1978), 377; W. Heffening, "al-Marghinānī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 6 (1991), 557–558. Al-Marghinānī (d. 1197) authored the celebrated legal commentary *al-Hidāya*. Chaghadaid's minister Bahā' al-Dīn al-Marghinānī, mentioned above, was a relative of his, and (as mentioned above) his family held the office of *Sheikh al-Islam* in Samarcand.

luq tried to enlist Transoxanian scholars into his realm, and was willing to invest large sums of money for this goal.<sup>81</sup>

Sufism also flourished in Mongol Central Asia. While individual Sufis were active among the Chaghadaids, and are credited with Tughluq Temür's conversion,<sup>82</sup> Chaghadaid Bukhara was a centre of thriving Sufi activity, mainly of the *Kubravi* order. Among the disciples of Najm al-Din Kubrā (d. 1220), the lines of Sayf al-Din Bākharzī and Bābā Kamāl Jandī were active in the Chaghadaid realm, and both enjoyed the patronage of the Mongols or their administrators. Bākharzī (d. 1261), famous for converting the Golden Horde khan Berke (r. 1257-67), held an important *waqf* in Bukhara, which originated in a grant from Möngke's wife. It remained under the administration of his family until the mid-fourteenth century, accumulated considerable economic power, and some of its riches were used for the purchase, conversion and manumission of slaves.<sup>83</sup> Bābā Kamāl Jandī (d. 1273), whose pupil was the sheikh of Mas'ūd Beg, was active in the Jaxartes region and beyond it among nomads and sedentaries alike.<sup>84</sup> Bukharan *Kubravi* Sufis reached India, Kashmir, China and the Volga region and were a major agent of cross-cultural contacts in the khanate.<sup>85</sup>

### Conclusion

Despite the limitations of sources, even the scanty evidence assembled in this article suggests that the Chaghadaid Khanate took a significant part in the cross-cultural contacts characteristic of Mongol rule. While some of the cross-cultural network active in the khanate (e.g. the Latin mission) resulted only in contact, not in communication, others left a more enduring legacy, the most lasting result being the islamization of the Chaghadaids and their territories.

Like the other khanates, Chaghadaid state culture was composed of Mongol nomadic traditions, augmented by local components and elements from the cultures of other parts of the empire (notably China),<sup>86</sup> and the Khans promoted trade, scholarship and religions. Evidently, and with the court's blessing, an infrastructure of both commerce and scholarship – religious and scientific – continued to exist in the Chaghadaid realm despite its frequent political upheavals.

Another apparent phenomenon was the high degree of mobility of scholars inside and outside the Chaghadaid realm. This mobility was partly motivated by the competition for human talent that characterized the Mongol khanates and into which other states (such as the Delhi Sultanate) were quick to join, and partly by the scholars' attempts to improve their position and security. Due to the dis-

<sup>81</sup> 'Umari/India (n. 38), 48–49.

<sup>82</sup> Hodong, "Muslim Saints," (n. 64), 285–322.

<sup>83</sup> D. DeWeese, "The eclipse of the Kubraviyah in Central Asia," *Iranian Studies* 21 (1988), 45–83.

<sup>84</sup> D. DeWeese, "Bābā Kamāl Jandī and the Kubravi tradition among the Turks of Central Asia," *Der Islam* 71 (1994), 58–94.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*; DeWeese, "Kubraviyah" (n. 78), 45–83.

<sup>86</sup> For the Mongol imperial culture, see Allsen, *Culture and Conquest* (n. 1), 189–211.

turbed Chaghadaid politics and the high demand for the highly-qualified Central Asian elite, the Chaghadaids were more often the losers in this competition. With the collapse of the Ilkhanate (1335) and of Yuan China (1368) and the stabilization of the political scene in Central Asia under Tamerlane from 1370, the direction of the migration could easily be changed in favour of Central Asia. Both the existing infrastructure and the high incidence of mobility were helpful for Tamerlane when he came to build his state on the remnants of Chaghadaid Transoxania. The cosmopolitanism of Tamerlane's empire was therefore built not only on Ilkhanid models but also on the more modest developments that had already taken place in the Chaghadaid realm.

# *Rituals of Sworn Brotherhood* (Mong. *anda bol-*, Oir. *and*, ax *düü bol-*) in Mongol Historic and Epic Tradition<sup>1</sup>

ÁGNES BIRTALAN



The Turko-Mongolic term *anda* designates one of the key phenomena of the formation of tribal confederations among the early thirteenth-century Mongols. In the contemporary indigenous and foreign historical sources, entering into an *anda*-relationship signifies a two-sided coalition of two males, usually clan or tribal chieftains, who after a ritual sealing of the alliance align to each other in military and political affairs.

The historical relevance of the *anda*-relationship has been studied by a few scholars, first by B. Ja. Vladimircov, who interpreted the term as "nazvannye brat'ja" and analysed the case of Temüjin (Mong. Temüjin)<sup>2</sup> and Jamukha (SH Jamuqa) and the relationship between Temüjin and Togril, the Ong khan (SH To'r'il, Ong qan).<sup>3</sup> In his elaborate notes to the passages of *The Secret History of the Mongols*, I. de Rachewiltz enumerates some of the main interpretations of the term and the institution – he quotes F. Isono and O. Lattimore – interpreted merely as a kind of an alliance (*anda* – "sworn friends") and not as a pseudo-kinship. Rachewiltz also refers to the data of the Sino-Mongol glossaries written in various epochs since the period of the Yuan Dynasty. The term *and* is usually identified with the term *nökör* "ally, friend, companion, fellow", the given Chinese equivalents of which are the following: "friend, sworn friend, intimate

<sup>1</sup> Here I would like to express my gratitude to Tatjana Skrinnikova, Michal Biran and Mehmet Tezcan for their valuable comments on my paper.

<sup>2</sup> In the following, the Mongol terminology will be given in Written Mongolic forms (Mong.). Any other data will be indicated separately as: Oir. (Spoken Oirad), Khalkha (the official language of the Republic of Mongolia).

<sup>3</sup> B. Ja. Vladimircov, *Obščestvennyj stroj mongolov. Mongol'skij kočevoj feodalizm*. Leningrad 1934, 60–62.

friend".<sup>4</sup> The person around whom the *anda*-relationship is centred is Temüjin/Jinggis khan. He inherited the *anda*-relationship of his father, Yisügei ba'atur, with Togril, the Kereit (Mong. SH Kere'it, Kereyid) chieftain. In *The Secret History of the Mongols*,<sup>5</sup> the relationship of Yisügei and Togril is mentioned as *andas*,<sup>6</sup> while Togril and Temüjin call each other "son" and "father" (SH *kö'ü* and *ecige*). The *andaship* inherited by Temüjin from his father is not an equal alliance, but merely a subordinated connection and is closer to a kind of pseudo-kinship relation.<sup>7</sup> The relation between Temüjin and Jamukha, the Jajirad (SH *Jažirat*) chieftain is a real *andaship*, the two chieftains call each other *anda* even after their breaking off.<sup>8</sup> Two more *andas* of Temüjin/Jinggis khan are mentioned in *The Secret History of the Mongols*; Khuyildar (Mong. *Quyildar/Quyuldar*) from the Manggud (SH *Mangqut*) tribe<sup>9</sup> and Senggüm, Ong khan's son.<sup>10</sup> However, there is no mention of the circumstances of how they entered into *andaship* with Jinggis khan nor of any rituals. Without going into the detail of the historical evidence, in my paper I intend to introduce the use of the term, the survival of this institution in Mongol folklore and in folk remembrance, and I touch on its contemporary rebirth.

### *The lexeme anda in the Mongolic languages*

The Mongolic lexeme *anda* is of Turkic origin: Turkic *and/ant*, Mongolic *anda*, Manchu-Tungusic *anda*.<sup>11</sup> The earliest occurrences are analysed by G. Doerfer on

<sup>4</sup> For a summary of the possible interpretations and the references, see Igor de Rachewiltz (ed. and trans.), *The Secret History of the Mongols. A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century* 2 vols. Inner Asian Library Vol. 7. Leiden-Boston, Mass. 2004, 395-396. K. Uray-Kóhalmi, Übereinstimmungen in der Tradition der Kitan und der Mongolen. in *Altaica Budapestinensis MMII. Proceedings of the 45th Permanent International Conference Budapest, Hungary, June 23-28, 2002*. Ed. A. Sárközi - A. Rákos. Budapest 2003, 368-374.

<sup>5</sup> Below, the translation referred to is that of I. de Rachewiltz (cf. above) and the transcription by Ligeti (L. Ligeti, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*. *Monumenta Linguæ Mongolicae Collecta I*. Budapest 1971).

<sup>6</sup> *The Secret History of the Mongols*: § 96 and passim, *Yisügei qan ecige-lü'e Kere'it irgen-ü Ong qan anda ke'eldügen ajü'u* "With [my] father Yisügei declared Ong khan *andaship*".

<sup>7</sup> *The Secret History of the Mongols*: § 104, passim. Togril calls Jamukha younger brother (SH *de'u*).

<sup>8</sup> *The Secret History of the Mongols*: § 125, passim.

<sup>9</sup> *The Secret History of the Mongols*: §§ 171, 208.

<sup>10</sup> *The Secret History of the Mongols*: §§ 181, 204. While Temüjin inherited his father's *andaship*, probably sworn an oath with his son, Senggüm, as equal to him in age and status, cf. Rachewiltz, *The Secret History*, 650-651. Rashid ad-Din reveals the *andaship* of Temüjin with Jakha Gambu (SH *Jaqa-gambu*), Togril's younger brother, as well: *Džakagambu byl s Čingis-hanom pobratimami [ande]*. Rašid ad Din, *Sbornik letopisej*. Tom I. Perevod s persidskogo: O. I. Smirnova, primečanija B. I. Pankratov, and O. I. Smirnova, Moscow-Leningrad 1952, 109. cf. also Rachewiltz, *The Secret History*, 650-651.

<sup>11</sup> Some selected references for the linguistic evidences are: G. J. Ramstedt, *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft*. I. Helsinki 1952, 153; A. M. Ščerbak, *Rannie tjurko-mon-*

the basis of rich source material.<sup>12</sup> In the ancient and Middle Turkic sources, the expression *ant ič-* appears in the meaning “to swear (lit. to drink [on the swearing])”.<sup>13</sup> The Mongolic *anda* is the stem of a group of derivative words within the semantic field connected to the meanings “ally, sworn brother, friend, relation, and oath”. The *anda* in the meaning “to become *andas*” appears in the expressions; *anda bolulča-* “to become *andas*” and *anda ke'eldii-*, *anda tungquldu-* “to declare *andaship*”<sup>14</sup> in *The Secret History of the Mongols*. The word *anda* is used widely in contemporary languages separately or in various hendiadys-expressions:<sup>15</sup>

Khalkha	Written Mongolic	Meaning
<i>and</i>	<i>anda</i>	sworn brother
<i>and ax</i>	<i>anda aq-a</i>	elder sworn brother
<i>and düü</i>	<i>anda degü</i>	younger sworn brother
<i>and nökör</i>	<i>anda nökör</i>	sworn brother(s), friend(s)
<i>and bari-</i>	<i>anda bari-</i>	to become sworn brothers
<i>and bololco-</i>	<i>anda bolulča-</i>	to become sworn brothers
<i>andgai, andgar</i>	<i>andayai, andayar</i>	oath
<i>andgaila-</i>	<i>andayayila-</i>	to swear an oath
<i>andlai</i>	<i>andalai</i>	related by exchanged marriage
<i>andalda-</i>	<i>anduldu -</i>	to exchange [goods]

In the Mongol historical sources, it frequently appears in the phrase *anda bolulča-*, “to become *anda*(s)”, and in the folkloric use of the same phenomenon, the lexeme *anda* is often changed by the hendiadys-expression *ax düü*, “elder and younger blood brother”, the word pair together meaning “brother(s)”, and the phrase with this latter lexeme is *ax düü bol-* “become brothers”.

In the comprehensive *Encyclopaedia of the Mongolian Culture*, published in Inner Mongolia,<sup>16</sup> there are some articles devoted to the problem of the *anda*-relationship. Although they do not contain many examples, they offer a rich ter-

gol'skie jazykovye svjazy VIII-XIV. vv. Saint Petersburg 1997, 98; B. Ja. Vladimircov, *Sravnitel'naja grammatika mongol'skogo pis'mennago jazyka i halhaskogo narečija. Voedenie i fonetika*. Moscow 1929/1989, 318. For further references cf. also <http://starling.rinet.ru>.

<sup>12</sup> G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. Vol. I. Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. Wiesbaden 1963, 152.

<sup>13</sup> Here I would like express the gratitude to Professor Vásáry István for his comments on the Turkic data.

<sup>14</sup> The infixes *-lča-/lče-* and *-ldu-/ldü* mean to act mutually.

<sup>15</sup> Sources for the table are: Ya. Cewel, *Mongol xelnii towč tailbar toli*. [Brief Encyclopaedic Dictionary of the Mongolian Language]. Ulaanbaatar 1966; C. R. Bawden, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*. London 1997; J. E. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*. Vol. I. Kazan 1844-1849. (reprinted Taipei 1993).

<sup>16</sup> Bürintegiis ed., *Mongol jäŋ üyile-yin nebterkei toli. Oyun-u boti*. [Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Mongol Customs. Spiritual Culture]. Kökeqota, Öbör Mongyol-un Şinjilekü uqayan teknig mergejil-ün keblel-ün qoriy-a 1999, 77-80.

minology of the institution: *amaraldu*- "to love each other",<sup>17</sup> *andayarla*- "to become *andas*", *aq-a degü tangariy barildu* - "to swear an oath of brothers", *amin tangariy barildu*- "to swear a life oath", *andayayilaju tangariyla*- "to swear an oath by becoming *andas*", *jirum-un aq-a degü balrildu*- "to become brothers according to the rule/custom", *anda aq-a degüü bol*- "to become *anda*-brothers", *tngri-dü mörgöjü aq-a degüü bol*-, "to become brothers by praying to the sky".<sup>18</sup> The problem of the nature of particular terms, whether they are real terms or only explanations of the phenomenon, must be clarified during further fieldwork and by involving new sources in the research.

*The phenomenon of "sworn brotherhood" in The Secret History of the Mongols*

In the following the ritual action and the ritual objects of entering into a sworn brother-relationship will be examined as they occur in *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Some chronicles of the later (17–19<sup>th</sup> century) historiographic tradition refers almost word for word to the text of *The Secret History* concerning the cases of Ong khan and Temüjin or Temüjin and Jamukha, and the term *anda* occurs only very sporadically among the events in the history after the collapse of the Great Mongolian Empire.<sup>19</sup>

Some examples of folklore texts of the *tuuli* genre, i.e. "heroic epics", will be demonstrated below. In order to show the structure of the sworn brother-rituals in the epics, the case of Temüjin and Jamukha as narrated in *The Secret History of the Mongols*<sup>20</sup> will be referred to, to compare the epic tradition with the historical evidence. The description of the same ritual is found in the later Mongol historiographical tradition.

The ritual that seals the alliance of Temüjin and Jamukha is the most famous and frequently quoted story of sworn brotherhood in the historical sources; some elements of it might be the prefigurations of folkloric phenomena. While still children, both chieftains decided to enter into friendship, into brotherhood, and they sealed their amity – the first stage of their future alliance – by exchanging gifts according to their age; astragals and later arrow heads. They strengthened their primary oath two more times.<sup>21</sup>

*Fragment 1*

"Temüjin and Jamuqa got together and set up camp in the Qorqonaq Valley. Remembering how earlier on they became sworn friends, they said, "Let us renew our mutual *pledge* of friendship, let us now love each other *again*!"

<sup>17</sup> This expression occurs in the *Secret History* as well.

<sup>18</sup> Bürintegüs, *Mongol jäng üyile-yin nebterkei tol.*, 77.

<sup>19</sup> Such a case is the *andaship* between Sigüsitei bayatur and the Oyirad Gulyilinči bayatur: *Tere qoyar urida anda aysan ažyu*. "They were *andas* before." H.-P. Vietze, and G. Lub-sang, *Altan Tobči. Eine mongolische Chronik des XVII. Jahrhunderts von Blo bzañ bstan 'jin*. Tokyo 1992.

<sup>20</sup> *The Secret History of the Mongols* §§ 116–117.

<sup>21</sup> *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 44–45 (The terms in italics are marked by Rachewiltz).

Earlier, when they had first become sworn friends, Temüjin was eleven years old. Jamuqa had given Temüjin a roebuck knucklebone, Temüjin *in return had given him a copper knucklebone, and so they had become sworn friends. Having declared themselves sworn friends, they had played knucklebones together on the ice of the Onan River. There they had declared each other friends by oath for the first time.*"

### *Fragment 2*

"After that, in the spring, as they *practised* shooting with their firewood bows, Jamuqa *split* and stuck together the two horns of a two-year-old calf, bored holes in them, and gave this whistling arrowhead of his to Temüjin. In exchange Temüjin gave him a knob-headed arrow with a tip of juniper wood, and they became sworn friends *once more*."

This is how they declared themselves friends by oath for the second time.

### *Fragment 3*

They said to each other, listen to the pronouncement of the old men of former ages which says:

Sworn friends - *the two of them*

Share but a single life;

They do not abandon one another:

They are each a life's safeguard *for the other*.

We learn that such is the rule by which sworn friends love each other. Now, renewing once more our oath of friendship, we shall love each other.

Temüjin girdled his sworn friend Jamuqa with the golden belt taken as loot from Toqto'a of the Merkit. He also gave his sworn friend Jamuqa for a mount Toqto'a's yellowish-white mare with a black tail and mane, a mare that had not foaled for several years. Jamuqa girdled his sworn friend Temüjin with the golden belt taken as loot from Dayir Usun of the U'as Merkit, and he gave Temüjin for a mount the kid-white horse with a horn also of Dayir Usun. At the Leafy Tree on the southern side of the Quldaqar Cliff in the Qorqonaq Valley they declared themselves sworn friends and loved each other; they enjoyed themselves revelling and feasting, and at night they slept together, the two of them alone under their blanket.

The ritual of the sealing of sworn brotherhood and the gift exchange has been analysed by Roux and Sárközi, among others.<sup>22</sup> Below some of the major phenomena that are relevant to the folk tradition will be pointed out.

<sup>22</sup> J.-P. Roux, "A propos des osselets de Gengis Khan," *Tractata Altaica. Denis Sinor Sexagenario optime de rebus altaicis merito dedicata.* ed. W. Heissig et al., Wiesbaden 1976, 558-568; A. Sárközi, "Love and Friendship in the Secret History of the Mongols," in

An astragal (in *The Secret History*, *ši'a*, in written Mongolian *siyai*) is not only a children's and also adults' toy but also a principal sacral object used for various sacral purposes, for instance, for divination, and it is a sacrificial item as well. In the above three passages of *The Secret History* a certain hierarchy of ritual presents can be observed; astragals, arrow heads and finally the belts and mounts of the defeated enemies. As the sworn brothers grew up, so grew the value of the exchanged objects, all of which serve military purposes. The astragal is a popular toy, but the game Temüjin and Jamuqa played on the ice of the Onan River is a good practice for archers.<sup>23</sup> The arrowheads (Mong. *yor, qodoli*) and the later exchanged military booty – the belt (Mong. *büse*) and mount – are also clear evidence of nomadic warfare and the military nature of their alliance. Another case is the renewal of the previous *anda*-relationship between Temüjin's father, Yisügei, and Togril, the chief of the Kereyid tribe after his father's death. Temüjin, wishing to seal this relationship, offered to Togril the gift of his fiancée's father, a sable fur coat (see also above). Rachewiltz explained this gesture in the frame of the father-son relationship. In the case of Temüjin and Jamukha the two allies have equal positions, in the case of Temüjin and Togril the wedding present is due to the father of the bridegroom, that is why it is given to Togril, who substitutes as Temüjin's father. Concerning the alliance, the younger (Temüjin) and that time less prominent ally depends on the mightier tribal chief (Togril). The *anda*-relation is clearly reflected in the objects that are offered to seal the *andaship*. In the case of Temüjin and Jamukha, the exchange of ritual presents is two-sided, while in the case of Temüjin and Togril it is one-sided. The main element is the mutual and equal exchange of gifts and shared activity of a ritual nature that predicts the future joint actions (first of all practice for warfare). Concerning the morphology of ritual actions and presents they could be demonstrated as follows:

example	actions:	objects:	sayings:
1. Temüjin – Jamukha	exchange of presents; play with knuckle-bones on the ice of the Onan River	roe buck knucklebone, copper knucklebone	no special saying or oath
2. Temüjin – Jamukha	practised in shooting with their firewood bows	knob-headed arrow with a tip of juniper wood; a whistling arrowhead made of two horns of a two-year-old calf;	no special saying or oath

*Aspects of Altaic Civilisation II. Proceedings of the XVIIIth PIAC, Bloomington, June 29 – July 5, 1975.* ed. L. C. Clark and P. A. Draghi, Bloomington 1978, 145-154.

<sup>23</sup> M. Tatár, "Le mösön šagaj charvach, jeu d'osselets mongol," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 25 (1972), 221-226; Á. Birtalan, "A csigacsont szakrális szerepe és a csigacsontjátékok [The sacral role and games with astragal]" in *Mongol játékok és versenyek*. Körösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár 27. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 2006, 24-73.

3. Temüjin – Jamukha place: At the Leafy Tree on the southern side of the Quldaqar Cliff in the Qorqonaq Valley	revelling and feasting; spending a night together alone under their blanket	golden belt taken as loot from Toqto'a of the Merkit, Toqto'a's yellowish white mare with a black tail and mane, a mare that had not foaled for several years; with the golden belt taken as loot from Dayir Usun of the U'as Merkit; mount the kid-white horse with a horn, of Dayir Usun	no special saying or oath
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*The phenomenon of sworn brotherhood in Mongol epic tradition*

In the epic tradition, the term *anda* occurs rarely, and predominantly in hendiadys-expression with *ax düü* "brothers", (lit. younger and elder brothers, cf. above): *and* *ax düü*. I have analysed the role of the phenomenon on the basis of *Üülen/Üüln tiw* ("Cloud-continent"), a Western-Mongolian epic recorded in 1991 from a Dsakhtchin (Khalkha Jaxčin, Oirad Zaxčin, Jaxčin) story-teller.<sup>24</sup> An article I have published elsewhere contains the transcription and the translation of the Dsakhtchin text and an analysis of the historical relevance of the motifs, among others, of the sworn brotherhood.<sup>25</sup>

The motif of sworn brothers occurs in the motif-index of Mongolian Epics prepared by Walther Heissig, who surveyed several hundred epics of various Mongolian ethnic groups. Heissig proved that the thorough description of this motif is more characteristic of the West- Mongolian Oirad epics or, as he called it, the North-Western epic tradition. The motif is called in his system No. 7.5.6. "Bruderbund (anda)".<sup>26</sup> This motif is placed in motif-group 7., *Helfer und Freunde*, and within that, in 7.5., *Wettkampf*. Competition indeed precedes entering into brotherhood. In numerous instances of the epic tradition, the circumstance of entering into sworn brotherhood is a combat between the future allies. The protagonist of the epics, the main hero, obtains allies after defeating them in the three traditional contests of men – the *naadam*-competition also well known to-

<sup>24</sup> The Dsakhtchins live in five districts of the West-Mongolian Khowd province. They are descendants of frontier guards settled there in the eighteenth century at the command of the Manchu emperors. Their ethnonym means "frontier guard", Mong. *jaq-a* "neck, frontier". The sound recording of the epic belongs to the archive of the Hungarian-Mongolian Joint Expedition Researching Mongolian Dialects and Folk Culture (the research has been supported by the Hungarian Research Fund OTKA, currently by K 62501).

<sup>25</sup> Á. Birtalan, "A Western-Mongolian heroic epic: Üng Tiw. A story about the sworn brotherhood," *Central Asian Journal* 48 (2004) 1, 8-37.

<sup>26</sup> W. Heissig, *Erzählstoffe rezenter mongolischer Heldendichtung*. II. *Asiatische Forschungen* 100. Wiesbaden 1988, 850.

day: wrestling, archery and horse races.<sup>27</sup> In some epics all three competitions appear, while in most cases there is only archery and first of all wrestling. In the epic tradition, to become the sworn brother of the protagonist is an honour which must be deserved by prowess in fighting. The rarer occurrence of the horse race is explained by the fact that horse racers are usually not the heroes themselves but, similarly to the contemporary practice, they are small children (e.g., the hero's groom). The wrestling and the archery competitions are described with hyperbolic expression, as in the epic *Üülen Tiw* "Cloud continent":

<p><i>Dal darās-n'i awan dalan guruw ergüülen guyudarās-n'i awan gučin guruw ergüülen dēsi xarūlj keptülen abdar cayān cējsdārn'i sökirči sūčikād, [...] cajin cayān üldän guruw niläd okijē.</i></p>	<p>[Üüln Tiw] grasped [Xatn Xawx] by his shoulder blade, whirled him seventy three times, grasped him by his thigh and whirled him thirty three times. He laid him over and kneeled on his trunk-white breast. [Üüln Tiw] whetted his white sword of the law<sup>28</sup> three times.</p>
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In the epics the role of a third party who tries to appease the fighting heroes, namely their horse(s), also occurs. The horse is the wise advisor for the protagonist, the horse prompts the hero to act properly, saves the hero's life.<sup>29</sup> The following fragment demonstrates the role of the horse in the epic *Üülen Tiw*:

<p><i>Xoyor mor' n' xur möndör xoyirör uilj exeljē: - Ta xoyor yū bolow? - gexed - - Ta xoyor ax dū xoyor bolōd amar saixan járgacgā! - gewē. ... Xalūn törlin ax dū bolj aix ayulgüi adal malār bayin albat xošūgār örgön Altai nutagtā amar saixan járgaē.</i></p>	<p>The two horses started to sob shedding rain and hail: - What are you doing you two? - they said. - You two become brothers and live in peace and joy! - they said. ... They became brothers of warm kinship, they lived in peace and joyfully on their territory in Altai, richly with livestock, wealthily with vassals. and without fear.</p>
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<sup>27</sup> A current review of the history and the various competitions of the *naadam* games, based on historical sources and contemporary fieldwork materials: *Mongol játékok és versenyek* [Mongol Games and Competitions]. ed. Á. Birtalan. Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár 27. Budapest 2006.

<sup>28</sup> A sword for execution.

<sup>29</sup> On the role of the horse, see motif-index 4. 9. *Pferd* and 7.1.10. *Tierische Helfer*. Heissig, *Erzählstoffe*, 848, 850.

In a version of *Xaan Cenggel* ("Khan Merriment") the horses set an example of how two allies, two sworn brothers, should act instead of fighting. The horses of the heroes share their food and drink, as the sworn brothers should do it ritually and also as they will practise it during their life.<sup>30</sup>

<p><i>Ködöögiin öbösün idešitei</i>  <i>Kiitün bulaq-eče umduytai</i>  <i>Aduussu mal bide</i>  <i>Axa düü barilduqsan baitala</i>    <i>Axa boljı nige-ben örged</i>  <i>Düü bolyoljı nige-ben dayuul! -</i>  <i>gebei.</i></p>	<p>The grass of the steppe is our food,    From cold fountain we have drink,    We the two animals,    We became brothers, so [you two act similarly]      The one who becomes elder brother should    lift the other,    The one who becomes younger brother    should follow the other - said [the horses].</p>
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The combat between the future allies could be avoided or stopped not only by the horses, but also by the main hero, who can also decide not to continue. In the text of the epic *Xaan Xaranggui* ("Khan Darkness") the protagonist only indicates what could happen in a fight, what he will not do. There are some allusions in the following fragment to an oath-phrase as well: the future allies unite their souls.<sup>31</sup>

<p><i>Qan qarangyui</i>  <i>gedeg-čini bii bayin-a.</i>  <i>Qar-a maq-a-čini idejī</i>  <i>qara čisu-bar-čini umda kikü biši.</i>  <i>Amināsān aq-a degüü boljı</i>  <i>ami sūnesüben nilegedkejü</i>  <i>aq-a degüü yurbayul[ā]ra boluy-a</i>  <i>ginem bi.</i></p>	<p>I am [the man]    called Khan Kharanggui.    I do not intend to eat your black flesh,    I do not intend to make a drink from your    black blood.    Let me suggest becoming all three of us    brothers,    brothers for life. Let us three<sup>32</sup> unite our    souls!<sup>33</sup></p>
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Concerning the ritual and the ritual texts, there are several ways of sealing an entry into sworn brotherhood. The most important action that accompanies the swearing is related to blood. In several texts are instances of allies cutting their thumb to suck each other's blood, or the main hero tastes his enemy's (future

<sup>30</sup> Heissig, *Erzählstoffe*, 561–562. Here I followed Heissig's transcription.

<sup>31</sup> On the concept of souls, see Á. Birtalan, "Die Mythologie der mongolischen Volksreligion," *Wörterbuch der Mythologie. I. Abteilung Die alten Kulturvölker* 34. Lieferung, ed. E. Schmalzriedt and H. W. Haussig, Stuttgart 2001, 879–1097, passim.

<sup>32</sup> The protagonist of *Xaan Xaranggui*, his younger brother Ulaadai, and the pacified enemy who is supposed to be the third sworn brother.

<sup>33</sup> P. Lágler, *Qan Qarangyui. Transcription des Textes des Rintschen-Ms. Debter 9*. Budapest 1993, lines 1091–1097.

ally's) blood. Another mode for sworn brothers to seal their relationship is passing under the string of their bows.<sup>34</sup>

<p><i>Bum Erdene kelwai Buiman bor čintikain durand Xajir xariig bi alšgüi Er kümen xelsen ügandain boldag geed Xajir xaran bulgilsan cusnaas Guraw dolaagaad, Tatan bosgaad awaxdaan Xaluun juuraa tüsingtei Ariin ataa daind nöörtei Xarin baxta Sain axtai bolaw bišüü geed. Orai deeren Očirwaani sololcood, Olan törluin ax düü xuyar bolaad, Zulain deerain Zonxawaa Burxanaan tawilcaad, Magnai deerain Maxagala tawilcaad, Magad olan törluin ax düü bolaad, Amrag ügäin čiken deerain xiüüneldeed, Amtat jümisee amaaran awalcaj idaid, Küder xar numnaan köwč dooguur šurgalaad, Cust dain tost xurimaas Tun bitgai tulalc geed. Aminaa ax diüü xuyar bololcsan.</i></p>	<p>Bum Erdene said as follows: - For the sake of the [horse] Buiman grey I do not kill Black Khajir. The man follows his own saying! - and he licked three times the spilt blood of Black Khajir, helped him to his feet and said: - Now I have a support in dangerous times and I have an ally behind in hostile war. But I also have a cheerful good elder brother, haven't I? They exchanged the Vajrapani image on top of their heads and became brothers of multiple relations. They put the Cong-kha-pa Buddha image on their fontanel They put the Mahakhala image on their foreheads and became brothers of countless relations. Affectionate words they said into one an- other's ears They ate tasty fruits from one another's mouth They got through under the string of the black-brown bow. - Let us not miss the bloody war and greasy feast! [they said] and became brothers for life.</p>
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The above example emphasises that the aim of the ritual and the sayings is to form an alliance that is close to a real blood relationship. The allies share their food, their sayings, their beliefs and their instrument of warfare, the bow. The text above refers to shamanic and particularly buddhised shamanic rites. The swearing parts summon various gods that according to tradition appear on body-parts. This phenomenon is borrowed from shamanic invocation, where the in-

<sup>34</sup> In the variants of *Bum Erdene*, the famous Oirad epics also recorded by Vladimirov at the beginning of the twentieth century, the protagonist entered into sworn brotherhood with his former enemy Black Khajir after defeating him. The transcription used by Katuu, the editor of the book, is used above. Balčiguiin Katuu, *Aldart tuul'č M. Parčinii tuul's.* [Epics of the famous Story-teller, Parčin. Collection of Mongol Folklore]. Mongol aman joxioliin čuulgaan XXX. Ulaanbaatar 2006, 120-121.

voked spirits occupy the shaman's body.<sup>35</sup> The swearing ritual of sworn brothers is a very strong bond controlled by obedience to gods. A further example of this phenomenon is the following:<sup>36</sup>

<p><i>Kirges Sayin Buyidar geči belē bi</i>      ...  <i>Amin-nāsā aq-a degüü yurbayula</i>  <i>boluy-a</i>  <i>geji bayibul-a buyu gen-e.</i>  <i>Qan Qarangyui-ni:</i>  <i>Tenggül-e bui je-e geji</i>  <i>oroi degerini</i>  <i>Wačirbani</i>  <i>magnai dgereni</i>  <i>Mahaya[ll]a-yin burqan-yan talbijū</i>  <i>adaya tangyaray-yan abulčan</i>  <i>amin-nāsā aq-a degüü yurbayulan</i>  <i>bolun.</i>      ...</p>	<p>I am the Good Buyidar of Kigis [clan].      Let us three become brothers for our life! –      While he said that, the others said: – Yes!      Khan Kharanggui [replied]:      – It will be surely so!      They three became brothers for their life      Swore an oath to each other,      [Khan Kharanggui] put a Vajrapani [image]      on the top of his head      and a Mahakala Buddha [on his forehead].</p>
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In the epics, the motif of the exchange of gifts or just simple objects usually appears in a later phase of the heroes' life, when they have to part with each other. They exchange rings and, according to the well-known motif, the sworn brothers keep these rings and when the colour of the ring changes, the destiny of its owner turns bad.<sup>37</sup> In point of fact the motif of exchanging gifts is emphasised more in the historical sources (cf. above the examples of *The Secret History of the Mongols*) and is of secondary importance in the epic tradition.

#### *Contemporary revival of the institution*

During our fieldwork in Mongolia we have collected some data on the contemporary revival of the *anda*-relationship. Ordinary people, seemingly townsmen, follow Temüjin and Jamukha and seal their friendship in a similar way: exchanging presents and more importantly, testing each other's loyalty and perseverance by spending a night in the steppe, similar to a survival camp. Obviously this test makes no sense in the case of countrymen. The most interesting data is the sworn "brotherhood" of females and particularly that of female shamans. The Darkhad shamaness Dsoldsayaa (Khalkha Joljaya) of the black creed (i. e. whose rituals are traditionally devoid of the Buddhist influence) took an oath with Shamaness

<sup>35</sup> I discuss this phenomenon in detail in a monograph devoted to the Darkhad shamanic text; Á. Birtalan, *Darkhad Shamanic Texts. Performer, Communication, Genre* (a manuscript prepared for publishing).

<sup>36</sup> Lágler, *Qan Qarangyui*, 1917, 1925–1934.

<sup>37</sup> In detail, see Heissig, *Erzählstoffe*, 557, 560.

Tsogtbayar (Khalkha Cogtbayar) of the yellow creed (i. e. whose rituals are budhicised) as follows:<sup>38</sup>

*“How did you get to know each other?*

– In the First circle [of Ulaanbaatar in] her yurt, there is Tsogtbayar, a yellow shamaness sister. I am a black shamaness. My husband went to a *dātgal* ritual<sup>39</sup> of shamaness Tsogtbayar. I am a sworn-sister with sister Tsogtbayar. I got to know my husband at [the place of] sister Tsogtbayar.

– *How do shamanesses take an oath to become sisters?*

– [The shamanesses] cut their thumbs, unite [their] blood and become sisters.<sup>40</sup>

– *Do you say a special word during this?*

– We say an oath with the meaning “Death, pain, whatever should happen, we do not separate, we will help and support each other in the future”.

– *Is there any special verse?*

– No, there is not such a verse.<sup>41</sup>

To designate sworn brotherhood, or rather sistership, the shamaness did not use the word *anda*, but the terminology of a female kinship structure; *egč, düü* “elder and younger sisters”. Both shamanesses took an oath (with no special verse) and by cutting their fingers united their blood.<sup>42</sup> In this ritual the motifs of the epic tradition are decisive, unlike in the contemporary sealing of alliance by males. The shamanesses seal their pseudo-kinship relation with the mingling of blood. According to our knowledge and the materials at our disposal, entering into a sworn sistership is a new phenomenon, based on the known tradition.

### *Conclusion*

On the basis of the few examples mentioned above concerning ritual actions, oaths, and objects, it could be concluded that the historical basis of the institution of sworn brotherhood as a means of entering into alliance has been preserved in the folkloric epic tradition of the Mongols. Folk memory, however, changed the circumstances of the ritual of entering into sworn brotherhood as compared to the historical examples. In the epic tradition it is more emphasised that the sworn

<sup>38</sup> Recorded in January 2000 in Ulaanbaatar by J. Coló (materials of the Hungarian-Mongolian Expedition). The whole text is included my monograph about Darkhad shamanism (Birtalan, *Darkhad Shamanic Texts*).

<sup>39</sup> *Dātgal*, “devoted prayer”. On the genre typology of Mongol shamanic texts, cf. Á. Birtalan, “Mongolian Shamanic Texts. Text collections and monographs on Mongolian Shamanic Texts.” *Shamanism. An Encyclopedia of World Beliefs, Practices, and Culture*, ed. M. Namba Walter and E. J. Neumann Fridman, Santa Barbara, California 2004, 586-593.

<sup>40</sup> This ritual seems to be a fairly new one, invented probably recently, but we do not have sufficient data on its traditional existence.

<sup>41</sup> The full Mongol text will be published in the above mentioned monograph: Birtalan, *Darkhad Shamanic Texts*.

<sup>42</sup> The shamaness did not want to explain any more details of her sworn sistership, so we have no further data at our disposal currently.

brothers seal their alliance with a ritual connected to contesting each other and using blood to seal the league, and sworn brothership is comprehended as a pseudo-blood relationship. The contemporary revival of the institution and the apparently new phenomena in it need further research, but its connections to the historical and epic traditions are beyond doubt.

# *Cumans in Southern Dobrudja*

Some remarks on the Second Bulgarian Empire  
during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

THOMAS BRÜGGERMANN



## *The end of the First Empire – Byzantines, Bulgarians, Vlachs, and Cumans*

The downfall of the First Bulgarian Empire and the re-integration of its territory between the Balkan Mountains and the Danube at the beginning of the eleventh century achieved just a short respite for the Byzantine Empire in the Balkans.<sup>1</sup> Soon the Byzantines were confronted with permanent uprisings of the resident population, because they had confined their re-conquest mainly to the elimination of the Bulgarian elite and taking over its military infrastructure, which, if they were unable to control, they destroyed.<sup>2</sup> Constantinople had to face insurgents on two fronts. On the one hand there were dispersed parts of the remaining Bulgarian population, which due to its loss of political leadership was beset by

<sup>1</sup> The Byzantine Emperor Basileios II Bulgaroktonos had brought about the decline of the First Bulgarian Empire by his victory at the Kimbalongos pass in the gorge of Kleidon, where he defeated Tsar Samuel and his troops in July 1014; Th. Brüggemann, "Die Staatswerdung Bulgariens zwischen Rom und Byzanz. Migration, Christianisierung und Ethnogenese auf der Balkanhalbinsel (6.–11. Jahrhundert n. Chr.)", in S. Conrad et al., eds., *Pontos Euxinos. Beiträge zur Archäologie und Geschichte des antiken Schwarzen- und Balkanraumes*, Manfred Oppermann zum 65. Geburtstag, Langenweißbach 2006, 468 with notes 66–70; R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz. Das zweite Rom*. Berlin 2003, 250, also H. Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen zwischen der Balkanhalbinsel und Kleinasiens vom Ende des 6. bis zur zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin 1993, 91ff.

<sup>2</sup> For the "Byzantine Intermediate", between 1014 and 1185, see the description of Georgios Akropolites, *Chronike syngraphe*, in *Georgii Acropolitae opera*. ed. A. Heisenberg, Leipzig, 1903, 18 6–10; in general, see I. Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365*. Cambridge 2005, 13–17; G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des Byzantinischen Staates*. Munich 1963; and F. Grabler, ed., *Abenteurer auf dem Kaiserthron. Die Regierungszeit der Kaiser Alexios II. Andronikos und Isaak Angelos (1180–1195) aus dem Geschichtswerk des Niketas Choniates*. Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber 8. Graz 1958, 171ff.

social crisis and economic suffering. On the other hand, there was the endemic old-Balkanic Vlakh populace,<sup>3</sup> who, being transhumant animal-breeders, mainly inhabited the mountainous regions. The latter had been a source of continuous trouble for the Bulgarian tsars and especially for their sedentary rural subjects already, but now the Byzantines,<sup>4</sup> who obviously lacked a consistent political concept for the region, received the Bulgarians in addition, who were thrown from their fairly stable life into chaos. Due to the fact that the hegemony of Constantinople had been restored only superficially, one uprising was followed by the next immediately.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, in spite of their own weakness, the Byzantines owed their fragile 'control' and the at best formal existence of the Byzantine 'Danube-border' entirely to the poor organization and the total lack of powerful political-military leadership of the rebels.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The old-Balkanic population, which mostly consisted of transhumant pastoralists, is mentioned under this name for the first time in sources of the tenth century; see *Annae Comnenae porphyrogenitae Alexias*, 2 vols. ed. A. Reifferscheidt, Leipzig 1884. 2: 8, 11–13. The sources clearly distinguish the Vlakhs from the sedentary rural population of the Balkans. They settled and wandered mainly in the area between Thessaly and the Balkan Mountains, the Thessalian region is even known as "Megale Vlachia"; see M. Blagojević, "Vlachen" in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 8 (1997), 1789; G. Schramm, *Eroberer und Eingesessene. Geographische Lehnnamen Südosteuropas im 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr.* Stuttgart 1981, *passim*; and T. J. Winnifrith, *The Vlachs. The History of a Balkan People*. London 1995, 3–7.

<sup>4</sup> The Byzantine conquerors were either unwilling or unable to integrate the former Bulgarian territory. At first they did not seem to have a concept for the Bulgarian lands at their disposal which went beyond the "pure" military re-conquest: this caused the re-futation of the new "old rules" by the resident population, because the Byzantines failed to offer their new subjects any rewarding political, social or economic incentives. For the subjected people, just the political-military leaders changed, and the Byzantines remained an "alien element", a "head" without connection to its "body". The breakdown of Byzantine supremacy up to the Danube therefore was bound to happen before long.

<sup>5</sup> For the connections between Byzantines and Cumans in the southern Dobrudja during the "Byzantine Intermediate" throughout the eleventh and twelfth century, which were not only of a military nature, see H. Göckenjan, "Kumanen" in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 5 (1991), 1568, 1068; V. Spinei, *The Great Migration in the East and Southeast of Europe from the ninth to the thirteenth Century*. Cluj-Napoca 2003, *passim*, also P. Diaconu, *Les Coumans au Bas-Danube aux IX<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Bucharest 1978, 14–21.

<sup>6</sup> Soon after the re-integration of the former Bulgarian territory, the Byzantines, due to their neglect of governance, were confronted with uprisings of the residual Bulgarian population, whose living conditions especially in political and economic matters worsened rapidly under Byzantine rule. The first, which took place in 1040/41, was led by Peter Odeljan, who called himself a grandson of the last Bulgarian Tsar Samuel. When the Bulgarians rose again in 1072 they had to look for a leader firstly, because no direct descendants of the old Bulgarian dynasty were left. Bodin, son of the Serbian prince Zeta, was appointed as "Bulgarian" Tsar at the Prizren court, see I. Dujčev, "Bulgarien" in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 2 (1983), 914–927 at 920. These uprisings of the Bulgarians

In this state of affairs it was just a question of time before immigrants from the north came to disregard the tenuous *status quo*. Pechenegs,<sup>7</sup> Uzes, and especially Cumans crossed the Danube and settled on Byzantine territory, and occupied the land almost unhindered by the Byzantines. In particular, the Cumanian upheavals in 1087, 1094, 1109, and finally 1160, put serious pressure on the Empire and could be checked only with great difficulty.<sup>8</sup> The attempts of individual Cuman tribes for separatism and the growth of the tribal chieftains' power at the expense of the existing federate khans can explain why, during the first half of the twelfth century, the Cuman federation split into western and eastern branches. The military activities of the western Cumans during this period were of great importance, their marauding expeditions into the territories of Byzantium, Hungary, Russia and Poland caused considerable disturbance. The eastern Cuman federation had a much larger territory for itself, and the archaeological evidence also suggests that it was more densely populated by Cumans. The power of the Cumanian tribal and clan aristocracies was backed by retinues of the warrior-class.<sup>9</sup> Its members are also documented as mercenaries in foreign lands, including the courts of Georgia and Serbia, and later of Hungary and Bulgaria.

Both as allies and enemies, the Cumans had a great influence on the internal development of their neighbouring states. They stood in close contact to the Kievan Rus at an early stage, being relatives of Russian princes and even exercising border patrols for them, but they also attacked their own allies regularly.<sup>10</sup> King David II of Georgia is reported to have settled around 40,000 Cumans in 1118, after they had supported him militarily against the Seljuks and the reluctant Georgian aristocracy.<sup>11</sup> Other Cuman tribes either formed the substrate during

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show that the Byzantine Empire was not able to control the re-conquered territories enduringly.

<sup>7</sup> For the Pechenegs, who had crossed the Danube since the eleventh century, when they also came into closer contact with the Byzantine Empire, see O. Schmitt, "Die Pet-schenegen auf dem Balkan von 1046 bis 1072," in: S. Conrad et al., eds., *Pontos Euxenios. Beiträge zur Archäologie und Geschichte des antiken Schwarzmeer- und Balkanraumes*, Manfred Oppermann zum 65. Geburtstag, Langenweißbach 2006, 473–490 with further sources and literature.

<sup>8</sup> Anna Komn. *Alex.* II 8, 28–31; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 21 with note 28.

<sup>9</sup> According to the *codex Cumanicus* (*Codex cumanicus bibliothecae ad templum Divi Marci Venetiarum*, ed. G. Kuun, Budapest 1880.), they were called *nögers* or *nökörs* by the Cumans, see P. B. Golden, "The *Codex Cumanicus*," in H. Paksoy, ed., *Monuments of Central Asia*. Istanbul 1992, 33–63 *passim*, as well as D. Drüll, *Der Codex Cumanicus. Entstehung und Bedeutung*. Stuttgart 1980, *passim*.

<sup>10</sup> The Kievan Rus called the Cumans "wild Polov'cer". One of the Russian attacks, which Igor Svyatoslavic undertook in 1185, passed into the so-called "Song of Igor". See O. Pritsak, "The Polovcians and the Rus," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 2 (1982), 321–380; and P. B. Golden, "The Question of the Rus' Qağanate," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 2 (1982), 77–97.

<sup>11</sup> He reigned from 1089 to 1125, see, in general, P. B. Golden, "Cumanica I: The Qıpçaqs in Georgia," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 4 (1984), 45–87; and A. Pálóczi-Horváth, *Pe-*

the ethnogenesis of Turkic populations in the Northern Caucasus or invaded Hungary, first in 1091, when King Ladislaus I was still able to defeat them.<sup>12</sup>

The Cumans, who practised agriculture as a subsistence economy, should be called semi-nomads, because of their regular raids against the sedentary rural population to capture luxuries and slaves.<sup>13</sup> The assumption that the Cumans persisted in semi-nomadic habits is also proved by the existence of settlement-centres such as Sudaq, Asaq (Asov), and Saçın (Itl), although one should not call them "cities".<sup>14</sup> Starting from these centres they maintained trade connections to Central Asia,<sup>15</sup> Egypt,<sup>16</sup> and via the Byzantine Crimea even to the European Mediterranean already before their westward migration.<sup>17</sup> Written sources men-

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chenegs, Cumans, Iasians. *Steppe Peoples in Medieval Hungary*. Budapest 1989, 313–333, with further sources and literature.

<sup>12</sup> He ruled Hungary from 1077 to 1095. For the legend concerning his battles against the Cumans, see E. Szentpétery, ed., *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, tempore ducum et regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, 2 vols. Budapest 1937–1938. 1: 366–427; 2: 507–527, also Gy. Györffy, "Die Nordwestgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches und die Ausbildung des 'ducatus Sclavoniae'", in P. Brière and X. de Ghellinck-Vaernewyck, eds., *Mélanges offerts à Szabolcs de Vajay à l'Occasion de son Cinquantième Anniversaire*. Braga 1971, 295–313.

<sup>13</sup> Györffy, "Die Nordwestgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches"; Golden, *Cumanica I*, 45–87; and A. Pálóczi-Horváth, "L'immigration et l'établissement des Comans en Hongrie," *Acta orientalia Hungarica* 29 (1975), 313–333.

<sup>14</sup> P. B. Golden, "Cumanica II: The Öberli (Öperli). The fortunes and misfortunes of an Inner Asian Nomadic Clan," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 6 (1986), 5–29.

<sup>15</sup> The *codex Cumanicus* proves in this respect not only intense trade relations to Central Asia and Egypt, but allows us to reconstruct the Cumanian language via the documented terms and expressions. Besides that, the codex shows via its terminology and foreign words where the Cumans came from and the hierarchy of their trading partners. The economic terminology reveals Chinese and Persian terms mostly, but no Greek; this did not change even by way of the permanent Cuman contacts with the Byzantines from the tenth century. Their origin, ethnogenesis, and priorities become clear in this context. See Golden, *The Codex Cumanicus, passim*, Th. Brüggemann, "From Money-Trade to Barter? Some remarks on nomads and the changing economy on the Byzantine Chersonesos (10<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century)," *Academia. The Magazine of the Polish Academy of Sciences* 17 (2008), *passim*; Th. Brüggemann, "Vom Geld- zum Tauschhandel. Die byzantinische Krim zwischen Urbanität und Nomadismus," in I. Breuer, ed., *Nomaden in unserer Welt. Nomaden und Seßhafte* 3, Wiesbaden 2007, *passim*; and A. Bodrogliglieti, *The Persian Vocabulary in the Codex Cumanicus*. Budapest 1971, *passim*.

<sup>16</sup> For a general overview of the Cuman-Mamluk connections in the thirteenth century, see P. B. Golden, "Cumanica IV: The Cumano-Qipčaqs Clans and Tribes," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 9 (1995/97), 99–122; and U. Haarmann, "Der arabische Orient im späten Mittelalter," in U. Haarmann, ed., *Geschichte der arabischen Welt*. Munich 2004, 215–263.

<sup>17</sup> Their presence in the Crimea and Cherson is proved from the second half of the eleventh century. For their trade relations with the Kievan Rus and the Byzantine Empire, see Brüggemann, "From Money-Trade to Barter?" *passim*; Brüggemann, "Vom Geld- zum Tauschhandel," *passim*; A. I. Romančuk, *Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie des*

tion the names of a number of Cumanian chieftains, amongst whom Boniak (Bönek) Khan was the most significant personality. It was he who led the army which gave the Byzantines assistance against the Pechenegs in 1091, and of which a part, after the victory at Mount Levunion, turned towards Hungary.<sup>18</sup>

*Between the Empires – Cumans, the Balkans, and the Byzantine Intermediate*

As holders of imperial tenures, some Cuman tribes were put in charge of defensive duties for the Empire and in this capacity were even transferred to Thrace, Macedonia, and Asia Minor.<sup>19</sup> However, by taking its inconvenient Cuman contemporaries into imperial service Byzantium just bought a short period of peace. Soon Cuman horsemen, whose loose confederation stretched from the northern steppe regions to the territories south of the Danube anyhow, unified with the Bulgarian and Vlakh populaces of the southern Dobrudja with ease.<sup>20</sup> The final collapse of Byzantine rule in the southern Dobrudja, rudimentary at least since the middle of the twelfth century, just needed organized military leadership to bundle the merged but disparate Bulgaro-Vlakh population and the marauding Cumans into a unit with mutual interests and aims.<sup>21</sup> When in 1185 the Byzantines were bound up with the invasion of the Normans,<sup>22</sup> who took Thessaloniki

byzantinischen Cherson. Leiden 2005, 11–19; M. Strässle, *Der internationale Schwarzmeerhandel und Konstantinopel im Spiegel 1261–1484 im Spiegel der sowjetischen Forschung*. Frankfurt 1990, 23–38; and finally G. Brătianu, *La Mer Noire: Des origines à la conquête ottomane*. Munich 1969, 46ff.

<sup>18</sup> A historical overview can be found in Lilie, *Byzanz*, 328ff.

<sup>19</sup> Schmitt, *Die Petschenegen auf dem Balkan*, 473–490. The Byzantine “approach” to integrating the uninvited immigrants followed the conventional course. On the one hand, Byzantium was forced to “embrace” the Cumans by the assignation of land and the transfer of duties and titles, quite similar to the Byzantine treatment of the Pechenegs before. On the other hand, some Cuman tribes were moved to regions which the Byzantines thought would hinder and restrict the Cumanian nomadic way of life. This would force the Cumans to concentrate on their own economic survival and therefore they would be kept from raids against the Byzantine central power and its rural inhabitants. That such resettlements were mostly unsuccessful is shown by H. Ahrweiler, “Byzantine Concepts of the Foreigner: The Case of Nomads.” in H. Ahrweiler and A. E. Laiou, eds., *Studies on the internal diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*. Dumbarton Oaks 1998, 1–16; and P. Charanis, “The Transfer of Population as Policy in the Byzantine Empire,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3 (1961), 140–154.

<sup>20</sup> Golden, “Cumanica I,” 45–87; Golden, *The Question*, 5–29; and Diaconu, *Les Coumans au Bas-Danube*, 14–21.

<sup>21</sup> The process is comparable with the ethnogenesis of the First Bulgarian Empire between the sixth and seventh centuries, when one could observe the merging together of a military and politically well organized Turkic elite with a Slavic majority that was in this respect undeveloped. See Brüggemann, *Die Staatswerdung Bulgariens*, 462ff.

<sup>22</sup> Nicetae Choniatae *Historia*, 1: 368, 38ff; Georg. Akr. *Chron.* 1: 18, 6–10 for the Norman invasions and the reign of Isaak II Angelos; also R.-J. Lilie, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzantinischen Reich und den italienischen Kommunen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der*

and rushed for Constantinople, and the pressure of the Seljuks in Asia Minor outside the Balkans, finally, two charismatic leaders, the brothers Petăr and Asen, took the chance to start the ultimate uprising against the Byzantine Empire, in the Tărnovo area. As the Byzantine Emperor Isaak II Angelos was not able to check the rebellion, he had to agree to a peace-treaty with the insurgents. This rebellion not only unified Bulgarians, Vlachs and Cumans, but also led to the establishment of the Second Bulgarian Empire.<sup>23</sup>

Although it is not the task here to trace the process of migration and settlement of the Cumans north of the Danube,<sup>24</sup> the so-called Cumania, some remarks should nevertheless be made. At the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century, political leadership was in the hands of the tribes living to the west of the Dnjeper,<sup>25</sup> but the land of Cumania beyond the Dnjester was less well known to the Byzantines and Westerners. Therefore literary information about the names and dispositions of the several Cuman tribes that settled on the grassy steppe to the north of the Black Sea is rather sparse. However, at least some of the tribal centres can be ascertained by information provided by the Russian chronicles. By comparing these with the distribution of archaeological finds, a rough picture emerges of the areas of settlement.<sup>26</sup> The southern frontier was the Da-

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*Epoche der Komnenen und der Angeloi (1081–1204).* Amsterdam 1984, I 9–120, esp. 99ff; and Grabler, *Abenteurer auf dem Kaiserthron*, 171f.

<sup>23</sup> The sources show clearly that the motives for this insurgency, both from the brothers (appreciation by the Byzantine Emperor and assignation of land) and from the population (taking back the increase of taxes and fees by the Emperor), had a short-sighted, individual nature only. See Georgii Acropolitae *Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg, Leipzig 1903, Vol. I: 18, 12–13. See also Nicetae Choniatae *Historia*, 2 vols. ed. H. van Dieten, Berlin – New York 1975, I: 368, who says that “because of his pettiness he (Isaak II) did not notice that he caused trouble [...], and incited to war the barbarians living in the Balkan Mountains against himself and the Rhómaioi. [These barbarians] were formerly called Mysians, and now they are named Vlachs”. See below note 66 also. On this background it remains unintelligible why Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars, passim*, calls this rebellion a “liberation movement”, especially since he indicates that the upheaval had no “nationalistic” notions, as for example at page 21 with note 28. Because of the several “trivial” reasons for the uprising, one cannot truly speak of a planned military, political or social “national movement” against the rule of the Byzantines. The result of this revolt was the “liberation” of the southern Dobrudja and the “foundation” of the Second Bulgarian Empire, but it has to be emphasized that this happened rather accidentally; therefore the “liberation movement” of Vásáry has to be rejected.

<sup>24</sup> For a general overview, see Golden, “Cumanica II,” 5–29; Diaconu, *Les Coumans au Bas-Danube, passim*.

<sup>25</sup> See Golden, “Cumanica II,” 5–29; Golden, “Cumanica I,” 45–87.

<sup>26</sup> See, therefore, P. B. Golden, “Aspects of the nomadic factor in the economic development of Kievan Rus,” in I. S. Koropeckyj, ed., *Ukrainian Economic History: Interpretive Essays*, Cambridge 1991, 36–73; Golden, “The Question of the Rus’,” 77–97; and Pritsak, “The Polovcians and the Rus’,” 321–380, with further sources.

nube, and it comprised what was later to become Wallachia and Moldavia.<sup>27</sup> To the north the Russian principalities formed the frontier, and to the east it stretched as far as the Volga. Groups of settlements have been identified by the lower reaches of the Dnjeper, on the northern shore of the Sea of Azov, in the Donets Basin, by the lower Don, and in the region of the river Kuban. In the south, the steppes of the Crimean peninsula and the Italian trading ports of the Black Sea which had formerly been under Byzantine suzerainty fell to Cuman domination.<sup>28</sup> From the end of the eleventh century the Cumans sought to increase their wealth not just by plundering raids but also by systematic collection of tributes from the cities and sedentary peoples that had come under their sway. They also supervised the trade that passed along the steppe routes, with guarantees of freedom of movement for merchants even in times of war, and a large number of craftsmen employed at their headquarters.<sup>29</sup>

The climatic and ecological conditions in the southern Dobrudja were less suitable to the Cuman nomadic way of life than those north of the Danube, as becomes evident not only from the limitation of the winter-pastures in Bulgaria, but also from the distribution and density of Cuman burials in the region. Namely, although the Cumans obviously used the lands which had been abandoned by the "former" Bulgarians after the downfall of the First Bulgarian Empire, and which were under the, at best, nominal rule of the Byzantine Empire, for seasonal pastures during the eleventh century, there are few archaeological traces to show their presence in that area. While the precise ethnic classification of burials of non-sedentary groups becomes more problematic for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in contrast to the tenth and eleventh, there are still some invariable characteristics, especially in the case of the Cumans.<sup>30</sup> For example, burials of horses next to human remains are common in Cuman cavalry graves, and embel-

<sup>27</sup> The approximate extent of the lands of Cuman "settlement" between the Kievan Rus and the Black Sea is revealed not only by archaeological traces, but by information derived from Western chronicles from the fourteenth century, like the English annalist Iohannes (A. F. Gombos, *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae aeo ducum et regum ex stirpe Arpad descendientium ab anno Christi DCCC usque ad annum MCCCI*, 4 vols. Budapest 1937–1943, 1: 1330), who describes *utraque Cumania*, or Cornelius Zantflet (Gombos, *Catalogus fontium*, 1: 796), who also mentions the expansion of *utramque Cumaniam*.

<sup>28</sup> For the military, political, and economic processes and disturbances in the Byzantine Crimea throughout the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, see Brüggemann, "From Money-Trade to Barter?" *passim*; and Romančuk, *Studien zur Geschichte*, *passim*.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid. passim*; Golden, "Aspects of the nomadic factor," 23–31; Golden, "The Question of the Rus'," 77–97; Strässle, *Der internationale Schwarzmeerhandel*, 23–38; and Brătianu, *La Mer Noire*, 46ff.

<sup>30</sup> For recent work on the material Cuman traces in the southern Dobrudja, i.e., modern Bulgaria, see especially R. Rašev, "Kumanite na jug ot dunav no archeologizeski Dani," in *Sb. 800 g. ot pobedata na zar Kalojan pri Odrin 1205 g.* Šumen 2006, 21–28.

lishments of grave-statues for deceased warriors were habitual also.<sup>31</sup> A putting together of all the occasional finds from the southern Dobrudja which could be attributed to the Cumans with certainty or at least high probability makes it possible to modify the "classical" view of an isolated and occasional Cuman presence in the Balkans. Although this approach cannot confirm whether the Cumans regularly settled south of the Danube, switching from a nomadic to a sedentary form of life, their presence since the eleventh century can no longer be called "in-discriminate" or "accidental". The nomadic Cumans, known for their large herds, seem to have found favourable conditions for their way of life in the southern Dobrudja only during the winter months. If information concerning their presence in the Balkans gives particular dates, however, it could be shown that these are limited to this period of the year.<sup>32</sup> That becomes evident both in the distribution of their material assets and in the text of a recently discovered Bulgarian inscription from Preslav.<sup>33</sup> The Cuman cavalry, which was crucial for all rulers of the Second Bulgarian Empire as it was previously for the Byzantines against the Pechenegs, could apparently be employed only at times when larger Cuman tribal groups stayed in the region for their winter pasture.<sup>34</sup>

### *The Second Empire – Cumans, Bulgarians and Vlakhs*

The debate concerning the ethnic origins of the brothers Petăr and Asen, and their immediate successor, Kaloyan, who were the founders and first representatives of the new ruling dynasty in the Second Bulgarian Empire, is still a controversial one.<sup>35</sup> The interpretation of the name Asen as Cuman seems to be commonly accepted, but the historical conclusions that could be drawn from this have been very different. Some have made the Asenids Bulgars, or at best Cumano-Bulgars,<sup>36</sup> others have made them Russians or Russo-Cumans, who were

<sup>31</sup> These are similar to the Russian "Kamennaja baba". See, in this respect, R. Rašev, "Prab'lgarski li sa 'Kamennite Babi' ot endusche," *Musei i Pametnizi na Kulturata* 1 (1972), 17–20.

<sup>32</sup> The investigations of D. Raskovskij, "Rol' polovcev v vojnah Asenej s Vizantijskoj i Latinskoj imperijami v 1186–1207 godah," *Spisanie na B'lgarskata Akademija na Naukite* 58/29 (1939), 203–211 have proved their presence for winter pastures during the months November to April.

<sup>33</sup> Although this inscription is not datable precisely, it derives most probable from the twelfth or thirteenth century. It proves not only that the Cumans retained their nomadic skills at least in the southern Dobrudja, but also that they did so even in the time of the Second Bulgarian Empire, see Rašev, "Kumanite na jug," 21.

<sup>34</sup> For the inscription and its text, see Totev (2006), cited in Rašev, "Kumanite na jug," 21.

<sup>35</sup> A comprehensive overview of the scientific debate is given in Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 33–42, esp. 34–38 with notes 80 to 99.

<sup>36</sup> Bulgarian scholars especially have tried to prevent the ruling dynasty of the Second Bulgarian Empire from being of Cuman origin. See, for example, V. N. Zlatarski, *Istoriya na b'lgarskata d'ržava prez srednite vekove*, 3 vols. Sofia 1918–1940, 2: 424; and idem, "Potekloto na Petra i Asenja, vodačite na v'zstanieto v 1185 god'," *Spisanie na B'garskata Akademija na Naukite* 45 (1933), 7–48, whose "kumano-b'lgarski znaten rod" is hard to

practically Bulgars.<sup>37</sup> Finally the fact that Asen was a Turkic name was sufficient to make him and his descendants Cumans.<sup>38</sup>

The name Esen was widespread among the Turkic peoples.<sup>39</sup> All the Greek forms of the name (Asan, Asanäs) and the Russian ones (Osen, Asin) can be satisfactorily explained by reference to Turkic "Esen".<sup>40</sup> Thus, while the Turkic origin of the name Asen can be taken for granted, this fact cannot prove that its bearer was undoubtedly Cuman. Asen's Turkic name must be reconciled with the fact that the sources unanimously testify to his being a Vlakh. Since the Vlakhs lived in the Balkans before 1185 and settled on the left bank of the Danube only from time to time, only Turkic groupings of the Balkans can be considered as having lent Turkic personal names to the Vlakhs.<sup>41</sup> Given that the Cumans were the most frequent visitors to the Balkans, and that Cuman nobles of the eleventh and twelfth century had the same name as Asen, the most probable explanation for Asen's Turkic name is that it came from the Cumans. Some Cuman tribes must have remained in the Balkans even during the summer months and merged with the Vlakhs. The fact that the nomadic way of life of both groups displayed numerous common features may have facilitated their fusion.<sup>42</sup>

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believe. Similarly, P. Mutafčief, "Proizod't na Asenevci," *Makedonski Pregled* 4/4 (1928), 1–42 (French summary 149–152). This nationalistic interpretation of the sources has nowadays become less dominant even among Bulgarian scholars, see, for example, V. Stojanov, *Kumanen und Kumanologie. Über die kumanische ethnische Komponente auf dem Balkan.* in [http://www.ihist.bas.bg/sekcii/CV/\\_private/Valery\\_Stojanow, passim](http://www.ihist.bas.bg/sekcii/CV/_private/Valery_Stojanow, passim).

<sup>37</sup> P. Mutafčief, *Istorija na b'lgarskija narod*, 2 vols. Sofia 1943–1944, 33, attempted this, wrongly creating closer ethnic ties between the Asenids and the Kievan Rus, in this respect unconvincingly as Zlatarski.

<sup>38</sup> This assumption, which can be regarded as generally accepted nowadays, has become more and more influential since F. I. Uspenskij, *Obrazovanie vtorogo bolgarskogo carstva*. Odessa 1879, 108; and C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*. 2 vols. Gotha 1911–1918, 1: 269. See, for more detail, Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 38ff.

<sup>39</sup> See L. Rásónyi, "Les anthroponymes Comans de Hongrie," *Acta orientalia Hungarica* 20 (1967), 135–149; and L. Rásónyi, "Kuman özel adları," *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları* 3–6 (1966/69), 71–144.

<sup>40</sup> Rásónyi, "Kuman özel adları"; G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford 1972, 248.

<sup>41</sup> The relevant sources cannot be dealt with here for reasons of space; due to the fact that they are not supposed to be in the foreground, see L. Rásónyi-Nagy, "Valacho-Turcica." In: *Aus den Forschungsarbeiten der Mitglieder des Ungarischen Instituts und des Collegium Hungaricum in Berlin, dem Andenken Robert Graggers gewidmet*. Berlin and Leipzig 1927, 68–96; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 40 with note 116; and Mutafčiev, "Proizod't na Asenevci," 1–42.

<sup>42</sup> "The *prostagma* of Emperor Andronikos Komnenos from 1184," in *Actes de Lavra* 341–345, No. 66, ed. P. Lemerle, Paris 1970, in which mention is made of the Cumans, Vlakhs and Bulgars in the province of Moglena in western Macedonia, makes this assumption plausible.

reason for the political and social instability of the Second Empire: many of its "new" nobles, the Bojars, were of nomadic Cuman origin and hence subordinated under a "central" ruler with reluctance. The Cumans, with their nomadic background, were obviously not willing or able to accommodate to the conventions of feudal Bulgaria from one day to the next. Inevitably conflicts between sedentary inhabitants and rural dwellers of the Second Bulgarian Empire and Cumans were commonplace.<sup>43</sup> After the assassination of Tsar Petăr in Tărnovo in 1195, and of his brother Asen in the following year, their younger brother Kaloyan succeeded as tsar.<sup>44</sup> His marriage to a Cuman noblewoman shows strikingly that the Bulgarian house of tsars obviously needed a dynastic connection with the Cumans. There are two further possibilities still under discussion besides the 'Cuman theory' when looking for the ethnic origins of the ruling Asenid dynasty of the Second Bulgarian Empire. These soon turn out to be at best hypothetical, however, because trying to establish a Bulgarian or Vlakh descent of Asen, Petăr, and Kalojan does not succeed convincingly. That is because one usually cannot avoid basing both assumptions mainly on the testimonies of Pope Innocent III, which are conflicting in this respect. There are two groups of statements in the pope's correspondence, each seemingly contradicting and excluding the other. One group seems to support the Bulgarian descent of Asen's family, the other the Vlakh descent.<sup>45</sup> Innocent III wrote to the Hungarian King Imre, in 1204, saying that "Peter and Joannica, who descended from the family of the former kings, began rather to regain than to occupy the land of their fathers".<sup>46</sup> By contrast, the pope wrote to Kajolan in 1199, saying that he had heard of Kalojan's Roman descent. In his reply, Kajolan expressed his satisfaction that God "made us remember our blood and fatherland from which we descended".<sup>47</sup> In another place, Innocent remarks on "the people of your land who assert that they descended from Roman blood".<sup>48</sup> As far as the first statement is concerned, it is a medieval convention: the ruling house is always seen as the legitimate successor of the previous one. If the pope said that Asen, Petăr and Kalojan were descendants of the earlier Bulgarian kings, he simply wanted to express that they were the legitimate rulers of Bulgaria. That is why they do not occupy the land, but reoccupy it as

<sup>43</sup> In this respect, cf. Rogerius' description in the *Carmen Miserabile*, §§ 2–12; Szenpétery, *Scriptores*, 2: 553–559, for Hungary in 1244: "But when the king of the Cumans, with his nobles and commoners, began to roam about Hungary, since they had innumerable herds of cattle, caused serious damage to the pastures, sown lands, gardens, orchards, vineyards, and other property of the Hungarians".

<sup>44</sup> He was also called Joanitza and reigned from 1197 to 1207, see, for example, Dujčev, "Bulgarien," 921.

<sup>45</sup> See Uspenskij, *Obrazovanie vtorogo bolgarskogo carstva*, 153; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 34; and N. Bănescu, *Un problème d'histoire médiévale: Crédit et caractère du second empire bulgare (1185)*. Bucharest 1943, 13–21.

<sup>46</sup> A. Theiner, ed., *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, 2 vols. Rome and Zagreb 1863, 1875 (henceforth *Mon. Slav. merid.*) 1: 36.

<sup>47</sup> *Mon. Slav. merid.* 1: 15.

<sup>48</sup> *Mon. Slav. merid.* 1: 16.

their heritage, which in the meantime had been usurped by the Byzantines. As for the pope's second statement, according to which the Asenid dynasty was of Roman descent,<sup>49</sup> similar caution is necessary. The pope must have known about the Latin origin of the Vlakh language, and consequently identified its speakers as descendants of Rome. Although Kalojan and his Vlakh subjects must have spoken a neo-Latin language, the precursor of modern Romanian, it can almost be taken for granted that the Vlakhs of the Balkans had no historical awareness of their Roman descent. Therefore the pope's assertion that the Asenids were of Roman descent was a mere expression of the fact that the Asenids were Vlakhs, and has nothing to do with the Vlakhs' alleged Roman consciousness. If they were Romans, this was true only in the sense that they were subjects of Byzantium and thus called "Romaioi", because Byzantium regarded itself as the true heir of Rome.<sup>50</sup>

#### *The archaeological perspective – Cumans in the Southern Dobrudja*

Since at least some of the Cumans did not give up their nomadic habits when they settled in the Balkan Peninsula in winter, the material remains of their presence are normally found outside built up settlements and *necropoleis*. Although a more intense approach to the habits of the sedentary population, at least on the part of the Cuman aristocracy in the vicinity of the Bulgarian court at Tărnovo, seems predictable, archaeological traces in this respect are as yet missing.<sup>51</sup>

The presence of the Cumans south of the Danube and their role within the Second Bulgarian Empire has been designated mainly via literary references. Though the Cumans settled sporadically on the right bank of the Danube before the twelfth century, the fact remains that there are only a few archaeological traces to show their presence in the southern Dobrudja which can be securely dated later than the eleventh century, i.e., in the period of the Second Bulgarian Empire. The fact that until recent times no archaeological traces of the Cumans in the southern Dobrudja could be dated after the "foundation" of the Second Empire neither denies their continuous presence in the region nor their connection to the "princes" of the rising state. The absence of Cuman finds outside the two centres which could be identified for the eleventh century moreover underlines that, after the end of Byzantine supremacy and its substitution by the Second Bulgarian Empire, whenever they occurred here in larger formations, they continued crossing the Danube to the south for seasonal purposes only. The Cumans went on with their nomadic way of life even in the probably Cuman-led 'Bulgarian' Em-

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<sup>49</sup> In this respect, the term 'Roman descent' was not just used by the pope synonymously with 'Vlakh descent', as Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 36, points out convincingly.

<sup>50</sup> For example, see Lilie, *Byzanz, passim*.

<sup>51</sup> Therefore no remarks can be made about the number of Cuman courtiers, their possible residence in particular quarters and their relationship to the city's inhabitants or even to Christendom; see Rašev, "Kumanite na jug," 22.

pire.<sup>52</sup> Accordingly, most probably just their elites seem to have been assimilated and integrated in the court society of the Second Empire, which then became absorbed in the sedentary urban population and therefore left no specifically Cuman archaeological trace, as for example in the capital Tărnovo.

The presence of such nomadic parts of the Cuman tribes, especially the horsemen-warriors with their families and clans, whose services hence were available for the princes of the Bulgarian Empire on a temporary basis only, can be restricted to two zones in the southern Dobrudja. The archaeological material at and close to the centre of the First Bulgarian Empire implies a Cuman incidence even in the twelfth century, whereas the burials situated more to the south, in the Thracian basin between the rivers Tundsha and Mariza,<sup>53</sup> seem to prove a Cuman presence as allies of Constantinople against the Pechenegs and similar groups, which endangered its rule during the "Byzantine Intermediate" throughout the eleventh and twelfth century.<sup>54</sup> Therefore the region of Pliska has to be dealt with first of all.<sup>55</sup> In 1927, on the plain of Pliska<sup>56</sup> in the vicinity of Zarev Brod, two larger-than-life stone statues were found, put in the ground on top of a Bronze Age tumulus.<sup>57</sup> These sculptures are regarded as being an aristocratic couple who were worshipped here as ancestors of an important Cuman noble clan.<sup>58</sup> Considering many analogies in the northern Black Sea area, i.e., Cumania, one could postulate in this case a Cuman sanctuary, in which seasonal rituals of a cult for the ancestors were performed.<sup>59</sup> The existence of this material in the Pliska basin allows us to assume the presence of a large and important Cuman group. Moreover, the sanctuary may be evidence that the area was visited abun-

<sup>52</sup> At best, the seasonal presence of larger Cuman groups in the southern Dobrudja proves this assumption; see Raskovskij, "Rol' polovcev v vojnah," 203–211, and above note 34.

<sup>53</sup> In this respect, see, convincingly Rašev, "Kumanite na jug," 24, nos. 6 and 7.!

<sup>54</sup> For the Cumans as allies of the Byzantines, especially against the Pechenegs, see Lilie, *Byzanz*, 328ff; and Schmitt, *Die Petschenegen auf dem Balkan*, 473–490.

<sup>55</sup> For the geopolitical significance and for the development of Pliska from a nomadic *campus* to the residence and capital of the First Bulgarian Empire, see Th. Brüggemann, "Campus – Sedes Principalis – Civitas Regni. Pliska und das frühe Bulgarien im Spiegel literarischer und archäologischer Zeugnisse (7.–9. Jahrhundert nach Christus)," in K. Boshnakov, ed. *Jubilaeus VI. Das antike Erbe des westlichen Pontosraumes*, Sofia 2008, *passim*.

<sup>56</sup> See Rašev, "Kumanite na jug," 22, nos. 1–3.

<sup>57</sup> The site is located close to modern Šumen, see Rašev, "Kumanite na jug," 22, no. 1 with figure 1 no. 1.

<sup>58</sup> Rašev, "Kumanite na jug," 23 with figure 2; and "Prab'lgarski," 17–20.

<sup>59</sup> In kind and size these two statues were for a long time singular on the Balkan Peninsula. However, recent excavations at the citadel of Pliska have brought to light a head of 50 cm, which undoubtedly must have belonged to a larger-than-life statue; besides that, the new piece shows generally significant similarities to Cuman "round-plastic" (Valeri Grigorov/Stanislav Stanilov). Despite the significance of this example for the Cuman presence in the Pliska region, it has to be emphasized that its attribution cannot be called certain pending detailed publication by the excavators.

dantly and that eventually even a permanent Cuman base may have existed here. This then would have been situated between the Bulgarian court in Tărnovo and the areas where the Cuman khans resided, north of the Danube. From these archaeological data, the plain of Pliska furthermore is of outstanding importance concerning Cuman presence in the southern Dobrudja. In this respect a yet unpublished secondary burial from tumulus 25 in Pliska seems of significance also, as it is situated approximately 250 m outside the western earthen wall of the outer city.<sup>60</sup> Because of the total lack of embellishments, a group of four nomad-burials from Dewtaschlari near Pliska, which obviously belong together, remain uncertain in this respect. But on the ground of bearing and funeral habits they are readily interpreted as being Cuman also.<sup>61</sup> The same can be said for the late nomadic burials from the eleventh-twelfth century from Madara.<sup>62</sup> If the Pliska basin was predestined to become the gathering place of the Cumans in the Second Bulgarian Empire, both because of its proximity to the court in Tărnovo and also its symbolic importance as the "cradle" of the first Bulgarians, the findings from southern Bulgaria show undoubtedly that Cuman horsemen covered the whole of the imperial territories at least during Byzantine rule.<sup>63</sup>

In addition to the tombs, many small and scattered finds from the southern Dobrudja dating from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, which have been summed up in older research as belonging to "late nomads", have more recently been assigned to the Cumans, as for example stirrups, arrowheads and other

<sup>60</sup> Although the author has to thank A. Evglevskij (Donetsk) for the hint that this Cuman burial may be dated earlier than late twelfth century due to its embellishments, and therefore does not belong to the Second Bulgarian Empire but to the period of Byzantine supremacy, the date assigned by Rašev, "Kumanite na jug," 22 no. 1 with fig. 1 (no. 2) and fig. 5 (excavated 1998 by Rašev/Stanilov, but still unpublished) has to remain for the moment, because further archaeological data, which would allow more precise statements in this respect are not yet accessible. This tomb, which is surely Cuman, consists of a hollowed trunk as sarcophagus, which was covered with thin, smooth boards. To the left of the coffin, the skull, flayed skin, bones of the back-legs, and bridles of a horse were found in situ, which were put there correlating to the anatomy and posture of the deceased man. In the narrow interstice between the grave-trough and sarcophagus to the right of the dead man, his sabre and lance, which are clearly typologically of Cuman origin, were found.

<sup>61</sup> Rašev, "Kumanite na jug," 23 no. 5 with fig. 1 (also no. 2) and no. 6.

<sup>62</sup> Rašev, "Kumanite na jug," 23 no. 2 (with fig. 1 no. 3; 3) and no. 4 with (fig. 1 nos. 3; 4). The burials were discovered in 1934 in the Bronze Age tumuli 1 and 3 from Madara. Although no embellishments were found here either, Cuman identification at least of tumulus 1 seems to be correct, because of a horse's upper jaw-bone, which was found 6 m west of the tomb. It apparently belongs to this funeral since the custom of burying horses next to men is known in that region and period only from the Cumans.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* 24 no. 6 (with fig. 1 no. 4). The secondary burial in a Roman-era tumulus from Mednikarovo with its Cuman sabre and stirrup gives satisfactory information about the deceased being a horse-soldier; next to the handle of the sabre a horse-skull was found as well; 24 no. 7 (with fig. 1 no. 5). The secondary burial from Kovazevo offered an iron sabre, which probably has to be defined as being Cuman also.

military equipment, which are unfortunately mostly without context.<sup>64</sup> The altogether promising archaeological data concerning the Cumans in the southern Danube region reveal a much more regular and more dense presence of this confederation of nomadic horsemen-soldiers within the Second Bulgarian Empire than was hitherto assumed. That Cuman warriors were recruited under Kalojan and Boril during the struggles against the Latin Empire of Constantinople also seems probable, but this remains to be confirmed by archaeological data.<sup>65</sup>

### Closing Remarks

Taking into consideration everything that has been said so far, the most plausible supposition seems to be that Asen and his dynasty were of Cuman origin. They stood at the head of the ultimate uprising in 1185, which caused the foundation of the Second Bulgarian Empire, and their main support derives from their Vlakh environment.<sup>66</sup> They must have spoken the language of their "fellow-insurgents", but preserved the knowledge of their Cuman predecessors' nomadic skills. Moreover, they must have been in close contact with their near "relatives" in Cumania. That is why they turned to their kinsfolk to help them in their fight against the Byzantine Empire.<sup>67</sup> During the first years of the Second Bulgarian Empire, an

<sup>64</sup> See in general Pálóczi-Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians, passim*.

<sup>65</sup> Especially in the battles at Adrianople in 1205 and Thessaloniki in 1207; see Dujčev, "Bulgarien," 921; I. Dujčev, "Tzar Kalojan, bitkata pri Odrin pzez april 1205 g. i nejnite setnini," *Voenno-istoritzeski sbronik* 48/4 (1979), 107-123; and R. L. Wolff, "The Second Bulgarian Empire: Origin and History to 1204," *Speculum* 24 (1949), 167-206.

<sup>66</sup> See above note 23. Nicetae Choniatae *Historia*, 1: 369, 60-64 suggests that the motives which led the brothers Asen and Petăr to initiate the Bulgaro-Vlakh uprising against the Byzantines were in their individual nature comparable to those of the participating population. This again prohibits us to make to the incident a "liberation movement" as does Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars, passim*: "Once, they [Asen and Petăr] went to the emperor [Isaak II Angelos], who had set up his tent in Kypsella. They asked him to register them in the Roman army and to that effect to grant them, by his imperial edict, a small piece of land in the Haimos which would yield them a modest income. But their request was rejected." (transl. Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 16). Only as a result of the refusal by the Byzantine Emperor did Asen and Petăr begin to agitate the Bulgaro-Vlakh population: this was vengeance, nothing more. To justify calling this a "liberation movement", supplementary political thoughts and a concept would have to be reasonable for the incident: these are missing here.

<sup>67</sup> Nicetae Choniatae *Historia*, 1: 371, 15-372, 49, emphasizes that especially the allegedly unwilling Vlakhs had to be tricked into participating in the rebellion and to subordinate themselves under its both leaders: "The brothers had a church built in honour of St Demetrios, and a crowd of men and women 'possessed by the devil' were assembled inside. They were instructed to speak in a state of ecstasy about God's intention to remove the yoke from the shoulders of the Bulgarians and the Vlakhs [...] Convinced by the impressive scene, the whole people took up arms against Byzantium, and one of the brothers, Petăr, was crowned with a golden crown. The rebellion began [...]", Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 16. In the same way as the fact that the rising is wrongly called a movement of (self-chosen) national liberation, this "Demetrios-legend" has of-

ethnogenesis obviously similar to that seen already in the First Empire can be observed, when the Turks after their immigration merged with the Slavic majority during the seventh to ninth centuries.<sup>68</sup> In the southern Dobrudja, the Cumans remained even in the Second Bulgarian Empire in large part clearly nomads, who crossed the Danube to the south only for seasonal pastures. Unlike their companions in Hungary, whose economic and social habits adjusted to those of their sedentary environment, for the southern Dobrudja archaeological traces neither for permanent Cuman settlements nor for a sedentarization of lager tribes have yet been found. That is why the Cumans, with their nomadic way of life, were not able to accommodate to the conventions of feudal Bulgaria from one day to the next: inevitably, conflicts between sedentary rural dwellers of the Second Bulgarian Empire and Cumans were probably common. Thus the Second Bulgarian Empire politically and socially remained unbalanced, the more so as many affiliates of the new Bulgarian nobles, the boyars, were of Cuman descent and therefore habitually were not willing to be subordinate to a centralized rule.

At the end of 1217, the son of Asen I, Ivan Asen II,<sup>69</sup> who had fled after his uncle Kalojan's death to southern Russia, returned to Bulgaria and became tsar in 1218. He made Bulgaria the most important political and military power in southeast Europe: it stretched south to the Aegean and southwest to the Adriatic Sea. This status was not enduring, however. The death of Ivan Asen II in 1241 and the loss of the Bulgarian territory in Thrace and Macedonia caused the decline of Bulgaria as the dominant power in southeast Europe – the princedom was lacking ethnic and social coherence. Finally, in the middle of the thirteenth century, the Mongols overwhelmed Cumania between the Volga and the Carpathians and became not only the immediate northern neighbours of Bulgaria, but also its hegemonic power.<sup>70</sup>

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ten been over-interpreted in its importance for the achievement of the insurrection. It should be seen more as a piece of temporary Christian propaganda than as sufficient for the mobilization of lager parts of the Bulgarian or Vlakh population; the erection of the church for St Demetrios may be historical reality, its influence on the beginning of the insurrection is not.

<sup>68</sup> See Brüggemann, *Die Staatswerdung Bulgariens*, 462ff.

<sup>69</sup> He reigned from 1218 to 1241, see G. Prinzing, "Ivan II. Asen" in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 5 (1991), 833; and J. S. Langdon, "The forgotten Byzantine-Bulgarian assault and siege of Constantinople 1235–36," in Sp. Vryonis, ed., *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos*. *Byzantina kai Metabyzantina* 4. Malibu 1985, 16–135.

<sup>70</sup> See, in general, Dujčev, "Bulgarien," 922.

# (H)*oplayu tägdi*

On the military tactics of the Ancient Turks

MIHÁLY DOBROVITS



The present paper discusses the military tactics of early medieval pastoral nomads. In my discussion I rely on three sources; the Eastern Roman Emperor Maurice's references to the Western Turks preserved in his *Strategikon*, which is, in turn, also preserved in the text of the *Tactics* written by Maurice's successor, Leon the Wise, and the imperial address of the Chinese Emperor Sui Wen-ti to his troops fighting the Western Turks, which is preserved in the *Sui-shu*.

Nomadic warfare is usually depicted as comprising of tactical retreats forcing the enemy troops to launch an attack as well as of a masterly use of archery to stop and annihilate them. However, it is evident from these three texts that, during the period of the sixth to the eighth century CE, body-to-body fighting with lances, bows and swords was also an important part of the Turks' tactics not only against other nomadic peoples, but also against the armies of their sedentary neighbours.

Describing the life and fights of its main hero, the Kül Tegin inscription very frequently uses the expression *oplayu tägdi*. Clauson defines it as 'to attack panting with fury', and derives it from the Kirghiz *op* 'a sigh' and Turkish *ufla-* 'to ejaculate *uf*'.<sup>1</sup> Talât Tekin gives no standard translation. Sometimes he translates this expression merely as 'attacked' (I E 36) or 'rushed and attacked' (I E 32), or 'attacked suddenly' (I E 3; I E 5).<sup>2</sup>

The situations described in the Kül Tegin inscription where this expression occurs are as follows:

<sup>1</sup> G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 11.

<sup>2</sup> If not shown otherwise, with some slight changes in transcription, I follow the standard edition given in T. Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series 69, The Hague 1968, 231-292.

*tägdi**oplayu tägdi*

E 32-33 [against Čača sänjün] *binip tägdi* 'mounted and attacked'

E 32 [against the Tabyač oñ tutuq] *yadayän oplayu tägdi oñ tutuq yurçin yaraqlıy äligin tutdi* 'rushed and attacked on foot' (in Tekin's translation), he took the Governor's brother-in-law prisoner

E 37-38\* *binip tägdi* 'mounted and attacked', captured firstly two Türgeš warriors, then the *eltäbär* of the Az, who was a *buyruq* of the Türgeš *qayan*

E 40 [against the Türgeš] *binip tägmis* 'mounted and attacked', he killed and subjugated the common Türgeš people

E 36 [against the Kirghiz] *binip oplayu tägdi* 'attacked' (in Tekin's translation), he hit one man with an arrow and stabbed two men through the thighs

N 2 [against the Qarluq] *oplayu tägdi eki ärig ud ašru sančdi* 'attacked suddenly' (in Tekin's translation), he stabbed two men through the thighs

N 6 [against the Oyuz] *binip tägdi, sančdi* mounted, attacked and stabbed (the enemy) with a lance

N 3 [against the Az] *oplayu tägdi az eltäbärig äligin tutdi* 'attacked suddenly', he took the governor of the Az (people) prisoner

N 4\* [against the Izgil] 'attacked suddenly'

N 5-6 [against the Ädiz] 'attacked suddenly', he stabbed one man with a lance and struck nine men, turning them around and around

N 8\* [against the Oyuz] *binip tägdi eki ärig sančdi b[aliq(q)]a b[as]iqdii* 'mounted and attacked', he stabbed two men and thrust them into mud (?)

The text deliberately differentiates between the situations that have *tägdi* 'he attacked' and those that have *oplayu tägdi*. The latter nearly always refers to body-to-body fighting when the hero wounded, killed or captured his personal enemy. This is not to take into consideration such personifications as: 'he killed and subjugated the common Türgeš people', E 40; or 'stabbed [the enemy] with a lance'.

The only exception is in I N 4 ('attacked suddenly'), which, however might refer to the hero's fall from his horse during the battle. Otherwise, when the text says that Kül Tegin attacked (*tägdi*), he could merely be leading his retinue into battle. It is also worth mentioning that *tägdi* ('he attacked') usually features in a phrase with the verbal stem *bin-* ('to mount'), as, for example, in the construction *binip tägdi* ('he mounted and attacked'). In these cases the horse of the hero is also described in detail. There are two cases (I E 37-38 and I N 8) when a body-to-body battle is referred to as *tägdi* and not *oplayu tägdi*. In one case, narrating the last

fight of Kül Tegin, the text is *binip toquz ärän sančd* 'mounted (...), stabbed nine men' (I N 9). We can surmise that the phrase *oplayu täg-* or even *(h)oplayu täg-* is an onomatopoeical expression meaning 'to jump into the battle, to enter body-to-body fight'. These battle-scenes clearly show that attacking face-to-face and fighting body-to-body were the most widespread methods of combat.

According to our sources, as well as archaeological evidence, the majority if not all of the Turkic cavalry were armoured.<sup>3</sup> There are indeed a lot of expressions concerning armour. In the Orkhon inscriptions, we find *yariq/yaraq*,<sup>4</sup> *yalma*, and as our colleague László Keller has shown, *kädim*, which is frequent in the Uighur inscriptions. There, however, it refers to horses, while in Orkhon Turkic it can also mean 'armour'.<sup>5</sup>

We are not fully convinced that Sinor was right to suppose that the famous passage in the Tonyuquq inscription, *eki ülügi atlı y ärti bir ülügi yada y ärti* (T I W 4), gives us a permanent proportion of the Turkic army.<sup>6</sup> The whole narrative of the events that lead to the restoration of the Eastern Turkic Qaghanate is completely fabulous; it exaggerates the pains of the Turks who remained independent after the collapse of the earlier revolts between 679 and 681. There were 700 of them, which is evidently a mythological number; they were hiding in the steppes. This narrative provides us with no evidence in support of Sinor's idea. Of course, as becomes clear from a particular passage of the Kül Tegin inscription (I E 32), the Turks could equally fight as infantry, but they were mostly a cavalry force.

The equestrian tactics of the Turks aroused the attention of their contemporaries. The first work to give a detailed description of their military virtues is the famous *Strategikon* (II, 1) attributed to the Eastern Roman Emperor Maurice (582–602). Criticizing the Roman and Persian military commanders of his own age, he writes as follows:

With this in mind the older military writers organized their armies into *droungoi*, divisions and *moiras* of varying strength as conditions dictated, just as the

<sup>3</sup> J. G. Mahler, *The Westerners among the figurines of the T'ang-Dynasty*. Serie Orientalie Roma XX, Rome 1959, 22, Table IX; K. U. Kőhalmi, *A steppék nomádja lóháton fegyverben* [The pastoral nomads of the steppes, mounted and armoured] Kőrösi Csoma Kis-könyvtár 12, Budapest 1972, 116–118, 123–124; E. Nowgorodova, *Alte Kunst der Mongolei*. Leipzig 1980, 213; I. Kozhamberdiyev and Yu. Khudyakov, *Reconstruction of Ancient Turkic Armour from Sary-Djon Monument*, UNESCO, International Association for the Study of the Cultures of Central Asia, Information Bulletin, Issue 17, Moscow 1990, 57–62; С. Г. Кляшторный-Д. Г. Савинов, *Степные империи древней Евразии*, Санктпетербург 2005, 100–101 (Pictures 10, 11); L. Keller, "Türk harcos és fegyverei az írott források tükrében," [Turkic warrior and his arms in the mirror of written sources], in L. Balogh and L. Keller, eds. *Fegyveres nomádok, nomád fegyverek*, Magyar Östörténeti Könyvtár 21, Budapest 2004, 45–52.

<sup>4</sup> According to Kāšarī/Rif'at III. 12, Kāšarī/Atalay III 15; later this expression could also mean 'weapon'.

<sup>5</sup> Keller, "Türk harcos", 47.

<sup>6</sup> D. Sinor, "Horse and pasture in Inner Asian history," *Oriens Extremus* 19 (1972), 173. Later, independent of Sinor, this idea was also proposed by Keller, "Türk harcos," 46–47.

Avars and Turks line up today keeping themselves in that formation, so they can be quickly called to support any unit that may give way in battle. For they do not draw themselves up in one battle line only, as do the Romans and Persians, staking the fate of tens of thousands of horsemen on a single throw. But they form two, sometimes even three lines, distributing the units in depth, especially when their troops are numerous, and they can easily undertake any sort of action.<sup>7</sup>

This was the strategic background of the tactics of the Türks in late sixteenth-century Eastern Roman eyes. The outlook of their tactics can be found in a well-known later passage of this work (XI, 2):

They prefer to prevail over their enemies not so much by force as by deceit, surprise attacks, and cutting off supplies.<sup>8</sup>

Their weaponry is depicted thus:

They are armed with mail, sword, bow and lances. In combat most of them attack doubly armed; lances slung over their shoulders and holding bows in their hands, they make use of both as need requires. Not only do they armor themselves, but in addition the horses of their illustrious men are covered in front with iron or felt. They give special attention to training archery on horseback.<sup>9</sup>

Another passage discusses how they engage in battle:

In combat they do not, as do the Romans and Persians, form their battle line in three parts, but in several units of irregular size, all joined closely together to give the appearance of one long battle line. Separate from their main formation, they have an additional force which they can send out to ambush a careless adversary or hold in reserve to aid a hard-pressed section. (...) They prefer battles fought at long range, ambushes, encircling their adversaries, simulated retreats and sudden returns, and wedge-shaped formations, that is, in scattered groups.<sup>10</sup>

The Turks sometimes suffer from shortages:

They are hurt by a shortage of fodder which can result from the huge number of horses they bring with them. Also in the event of battle, when opposed by an infantry force in close formation, they stay on horses and do not dismount, for they do not last long fighting on foot. They have been brought up on horseback, and owing to their lack of exercise they simply cannot walk about on their feet.<sup>11</sup>

The learned emperor also gives advice on how to fight against them:

Level, unobstructed ground should be chosen, and a cavalry force should advance against them in a dense, unbroken mass to engage them in hand-to-hand

<sup>7</sup> Maurice's *Strategikon. Handbook of Byzantine Military Strategy*, tr. G. T. Dennis, Philadelphia 1984, henceforth *Strategikon/Dennis*, 23. For the original Greek text with a German translation, see: *Das Strategikon des Maurikios*, ed. G. T. Dennis, tr. E. Gamillscheg, Vienna 1981 (henceforth *Strategikon/Dennis-Gamillscheg*), 110, 112 (original), 111, 113 (German translation).

<sup>8</sup> *Strategikon/Dennis*, 116; *Strategikon/Dennis-Gamillscheg*, 362 (original), 363 (German translation).

<sup>9</sup> *Strategikon/Dennis*, 116-117; *Strategikon/Dennis-Gamillscheg*, 362 (original), 363 (German translation).

<sup>10</sup> *Strategikon/Dennis*, 117; *Strategikon/Dennis-Gamillscheg*, 362, 364 (original), 363, 365 (German translation).

<sup>11</sup> *Strategikon/Dennis*, 117-118; *Strategikon/Dennis-Gamillscheg*, 364 (original), 365 (German translation).

fighting. Night attacks are also effective, with part of our force maintaining its formation while the other lies in ambush.<sup>12</sup>

It is also worth mentioning that according to our Eastern Roman author the tactics of the Türks and of the Avars were definitely better than those of other pastoral nomads.<sup>13</sup>

A comparison of these instructions with the Orkhon inscriptions clearly shows that, when fighting against their nomadic and sedentary neighbours, the Türks made use of the same methods that the Byzantine author supposed to be successful against them. Breaking into the lines of the enemy, forcing hand-to-hand fighting, and night attacks were the most common methods the Türks used in combat.

Maurice, however, was not the only imperial majesty who recorded his experiences about fighting the Türks. His near contemporary, the Chinese emperor Sui Yang-ti (581–605), in 583 issued an imperial address to his troops concerning the Türks.<sup>14</sup> According to this address, the classical *limes* strategy (dislocating the troops by posting them to far remote garrisons along a long and almost uncontrollable border) is unsuccessful. Therefore, he continues, the Chinese should take the initiative and carry the war into the steppes, directly attacking the enemy. During the years to come, the emperor and his commanders were successful in doing so. Taking advantage also of the internal calamities of the A-shih-na tribe of the Türks, they were able to subjugate the Türks, previously the dreaded enemies of the Middle Kingdom.

In conclusion, we can state that, aside from ambushes and simulated retreats, hand-to-hand warfare was the most effective tactic against not only the nomads, but this was also a tactic the nomads themselves deployed against their enemies, both nomadic and sedentary. The term *oplayu tägdi* describes moments when the Turkic warriors attacked hand-to-hand (mostly with bows and lances, as becomes clear from the Byzantine and Old Turkic sources), when fighting a real decisive battle.

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<sup>12</sup> *Strategikon*/Dennis, 118; *Strategikon*/Dennis-Gamillscheg, 364, 366 (original), 365, 367 (German translation).

<sup>13</sup> *Strategikon*/Dennis, 116; *Strategikon*/Dennis-Gamillscheg, 360 (original), 361.

<sup>14</sup> Liu Mau-tsai: Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-ktüe). Wiesbaden, 1958. I-II., 45–49.

# *Ecology and nomadic migrations*

ISTVÁN FODOR



Grassland plains of the enormous Eurasian steppe belt stretch from the Danube Delta to North-western China. This region has been the habitation area of equestrian nomadic peoples from the eighth century BC onwards. The emergence of nomadism is known to have been one of the most successful forms of economic adaptation to the natural environment. With the development of a migratory grazing system pastoral peoples guaranteed graze for large stocks and managed to adapt to steppe environments in dry (arid) as well as continental climates. In fact, nomadic economy means the ultimate appropriation of the steppe.<sup>1</sup>

The condition of steppe pastures fundamentally depends on the quantity and distribution of precipitation. In the zone under discussion here, the average annual precipitation ranges between 100 and 500 mm that falls in a rather uneven geographical distribution.<sup>2</sup> Precipitation reaches the Eurasian steppe belt from two directions. Atlantic air currents bring humidity to areas west of the Altai Mountains. Precipitation reaches the steppes in China and Mongolia during the summer monsoon and an anticyclone (Fig. 1-2).<sup>3</sup> The most arid sections of the steppe belt are located in Inner Asia, that is Mongolia and China, where animal stocks subsist on pastures that receive only 100–200 mm annual precipitation. The best biogeographical conditions in the steppe belt, on the other hand, are to be found north of the Black Sea, where annual precipitation reaches 300–500 mm.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The origins of nomadism is a complex question, far beyond the focus of this paper. Herewith I only refer to the ideas outlined by G. E. Markov (Г. Е. Марков, *Кочевники Азии*. Москва 1976.) that fall in line with my views.

<sup>2</sup> The 10–20 mm quoted in the book by István Vásáry (I. Vásáry, *A régi Belső-Ázsia története*. [A history of ancient Inner Asia] Magyar Östörténeti Könyvtár 7. Szeged 1993, 14.) is evidently a typographical error.

<sup>3</sup> E. Brentjes, "Climatic Changes and Nomadization in Central Asia. Ecology of the Steppes and Economy." in *The Archaeology of the Steppes. Method and Strategies*, ed. B. Genito, Naples 1994, 490, 494–496.

<sup>4</sup> Brentjes, "Climatic Changes," 491; Gy. Györffy, B. Zólyomi, "A Kárpát-medence és Etelköz képe egy évezred előtt," [The outlook of the Carpathian Basin and Etelköz one

Known historical data should be seen within this environmental context. It cannot be a sheer coincidence that great nomadic migrations have almost always started in Inner Asia while it was mostly transit routes towards Europe that ran west of the Altai Mountains and in Southern Siberia. Nomadic peoples understandably moved from less favourable habitats into more attractive ecological settings which largely corresponds to an east to west direction.<sup>5</sup>

Ecological factors that have been triggering these migrations should not be simply seen as decisions by Inner Asian nomads to abandon their respective homelands in search of a better livelihood. Ecological conditions in the steppe are unstable and the quantity of precipitation may vary quite capriciously. Such unpredictable changes have a drastic impact on pastoral economies. Modern observations have unambiguously shown that the decrease in precipitation may lead to a deterioration of pastures thereby decimating the livestock upon which pastoral communities subsist. For example a 30% decrease in average precipitation may result in 80% loss of sheep.<sup>6</sup>

Even historical data of the 1862-1863 drought in the Great Hungarian Plain may be of interest from this point of view. A 40-43 % decrease in precipitation depleted the stocks of cattle and sheep by 80% and caused a loss of 44% among horses. Within this area the Túrkeve region was especially badly hit. The 50% loss of precipitation annihilated 88% of the cattle and 94% of the sheep stocks! It is noteworthy that the mean annual precipitation is 590 mm in this area, that is, far more than anywhere in the Eurasian Steppes.<sup>7</sup>

These data easily tempt researchers to seek natural catastrophes behind the great migrations.<sup>8</sup> Undoubtedly, this may have been the case in several occasions. Known historical data, however, also suggest that natural catastrophes triggered the migration of peoples or major groups of peoples relatively rarely. The explanation is that (in spite of popular belief) even nomadic communities stick to their traditional ranges and leave but reluctantly their known habitation areas and pastures. The bond is further strengthened by ancient burial grounds, usually located near the winter habitation.

The most reliable witness in this case, again, is Herodotus, "the father of history writing". In relation to the Persian military campaign against "Scythian lands" he quotes the exchange between Dareios and the "Scythian King". The Persian ruler accused the Scythians of cowardice, since they avoided open confrontation and usually ambushed unexpectedly at night. The response of the Scythian ruler is noteworthy: "As far as I am concerned, King of Persians, I have never fled cowardly from anyone, including yourself. I only do what I would be

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thousand years ago] in *Honfoglalás és régészeti*, ed. Gy. Györffy, L. Kovács, Budapest 1994, 19.

<sup>5</sup> T. Hoffmann, "Über die Nomaden," *Acta Ethnographica ASH* 43 (1998), 428-429.

<sup>6</sup> Brentjes, "Climatic Changes," 489.

<sup>7</sup> Györffy-Zólyomi, "A Kárpát-medence és Etelköz," 26.

<sup>8</sup> I. Erdélyi, "Steppe-Klima-Völkerwanderung," *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve* (1969/2), 139-145; I. Erdélyi, "Klima-sztyep-népvándorlás," *Földrajzi Értesítő* 19 (1970), 87-93.

doing in peace, and will explain why I am avoiding confrontation with you. We Scythians own neither cities nor cultivated land. Therefore you have nothing to conquer or occupy, and we are not worried. We have no reason to fight. However, should you force a rapid resolution, you should find the burial grounds of our Scythian ancestors. Seek them up and try to damage them: then you will see whether for the sake of these ancestral graves we will confront you or not!"<sup>9</sup>

A telling evidence for the impetus of nomadic migrations is the well known fact significant historical events (such as Hunnic migrations or the establishment of the Turkic Empire) triggered series of population movements almost in the entire steppe belt. Using archaeological evidence, these latter may be best detected in the forested zone, where displaced peoples arriving from the southern steppe belt sought refuge. (See, for instance, the archaeological evidence for waves of settlers on the western side of the Ural Mountains.)<sup>10</sup> Indubitably, these groups of peoples did not move into northern zones as a result of changes in biogeographical conditions that would not have suited their previous ways of life.

A noteworthy theoretical paper on migrations was published by László Vajda (1974), that later became also available in Hungarian.<sup>11</sup> The author chiefly criticised petrified *topoi* rampant in the relevant literature and emphasises the importance of caution in the historical interpretation of migrations. He points out correctly, that many of the *topoi* in the subject had already formed in the classical literature that have been taken over without critical judgement by subsequent authors, sometimes even including coeval scholars. László Vajda undoubtedly makes an important point by spelling this out. On the other hand, the reader should be aware of the fact that this opinion cannot be generalised and that in reality fewer migrations would have taken place than mentioned in written sources. Namely, these large population movements to date have been docu-

<sup>9</sup> Herodotus IV, 127.

<sup>10</sup> A. V. Schmidt, "Kačka. Beiträge zur Erforschung der Kulturen Ostrusslands in der Zeit der Völkerwanderung (III-V. Jh.)," *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* 1 (1927), 18–50; B. Ф. Генинг, „Могильник Каčка,” in *Отчеты Камской (Воткинской) археологической экспедиции*, вып. 1. ed. В. С. Киселев, Москва 1959, 132–151; B. Ф. Генинг, „Южное Приуралье III–VII вв. н.э. (проблема этноса и его происхождения),” in *Проблемы археологии и древней истории угроб.* ed. А. П. Смирнов, et al. Москва 1972, 294–295; B. Ф. Генинг, „Тураевский могильник V в. н.э. (захоронения военоначальников),” in *Из истории Волго-Камья*, ed. А. Х. Халиков, et al. Казань 1976, 55–108; B. Ф. Генинг, „Памятники у с. Кушнаренково на р. Белой (VI–VII вв. н.э.),” in *Исследования по археологии Южного Урала*. ed. Р. Г. Кузеев et al. Уфа 1977, 136; Р. Д. Голдина. *Древняя и средневековая история удмуртского народа*. Ижевск 1999, 259–277.; К. С. Королев, А. М. Мурыгин, Э. А. Савельева, „Ванvizдинская культура (VI–X вв. н.э.),” in *Археология Республики Коми*, ed. Э. А. Савельева, Сыктывкар 1997, 406–410; А. М. Белавин, Н. Б. Крыласова, „Поздний железный век. Период средневековья в Приуралье IV–XV вв.” in *Очерки археологии Пермского Предуралья*, ed. А. М. Белавин, Пермь 2002, 129–141.

<sup>11</sup> L. Vajda, "A népvándorlások kérdéséhez," [To the question of the migration] *Századok* 129 (1995), 107–144.

mented not only by written sources but in the archaeological record as well. In fact, these latter suggest that historical reality may have been the reverse at the time: there may have been many more undocumented migrations than one would suspect from coeval written accounts. Enumerating a major body of relevant data is beyond the focus of this paper: it should be sufficient to refer to the aforementioned migrations in the Ural region which had not been mentioned whatsoever in the written sources.

The frequency and significance of migrations were questioned by László Vajda from yet another point of view. As he writes: "should anyone read objectively the way respected scholarly treatises mention, for example, the continent-wide migrations of ancient steppe peoples, his/her evident impression will be that these questions had been clarified a long time ago and that these are facts beyond any doubt. This is simply not true, however. It is possible, for example, that in many cases it was not the peoples who migrated, only certain dynasties, whose clan traditions then may have become 'popular' tradition".<sup>12</sup> I think, however, that aside from a few individual exceptions, this view cannot be defended. One should consider the examples of battles along the Kalka or near Muhi in Hungary during the mid-thirteenth century Mongol Tartar invasion. Should it have only been Genghis Khan's clan rather than the - ethnically indeed heterogeneous - Mongol army, the threat posed to Europe would not have existed.

Vajda is especially harsh on the theory of the "steppe chain reaction" which "could not have been fostered by sober experience or the tedious synthesis of minute detail... analogies of the idea that migration had spread from people to people do not stem in historical theory... they originate in physics, more exactly metaphysics".<sup>13</sup> To some extent, the author is undeniably right in this statement. His point, however, is correct only in general terms and on a theoretical level. Studying historical evidence, it is not difficult to conclude that the exceptions may even outnumber the cases that would support this rule. One of the exceptions to this rule may be especially relevant here. In 893 the Torks (also known as Uz) had been defeated by the army of the Samanid ruler and were thus forced to abandon their former habitation area. In search of a new homeland, they attacked the Pechenegs who lived along the Ural (Yaik) river, forcing them out of their territory. Consequently, the Pechenegs fled west, crossed the Volga, Don and Dniepr rivers, arriving to the Eastern border of Hungarian areas in the Etelköz region. Subsequently, they forged an alliance with the Bulgars. In 895 they launched an attack on the Hungarians, took their territory, thereby forcing them to leave for the Carpathian Basin.<sup>14</sup> I think that a better example of the "chain reaction" would be difficult to find. This type of serial events is also inherent to the nomadic way of life. Lost livestock and grazing land must be somehow replaced. This may involve violent means, since otherwise the population would

<sup>12</sup> Vajda, "A népvándorlások kérdéséhez," 111.

<sup>13</sup> Vajda, "A népvándorlások kérdéséhez," 118.

<sup>14</sup> Gy. Györffy, "Landnahme, Ansiedlung und Streifzüge der Ungarn," *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 21 (1985), 234-235.

be threatened by starvation. Naturally, there were situations (possibly quite frequently), when a people conquered submitted to the winner as was the case with the majority of Cumans who were overcome by conquering Mongols. This, however, was usually the last resort. During the thirteenth century, the western group of Cumans, along with the Iasians (Alans) rather moved into the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom, submitting themselves to royal rule, thereby retaining some of their independence.

It is therefore important to avoid new extremes during the criticism of dated, deeply rooted theories, even if they have proven erroneous. Concrete, reliable data must always be kept in mind. In addition, the characteristics of nomadic economy, lifeways and mentality must be taken into consideration as well. Otherwise the resulting abstract theories drafted only on paper may be just as misleading as those that one tries to refute.

On the other hand, László Vajda is absolutely right in emphasising that "migrations may seem as single events shortened in historical perspective were, in fact, slow processes of infiltration that may sometimes have lasted for centuries. It is also likely that many such migrations were not perceived by their very participants as uniform, large scale movements with clearly targeted directions".<sup>15</sup> Indeed, the great migrations were not single, major shift of populations between regions, but slow processes that often took centuries. This is well exemplified by Sarmatian movements beginning in the fourth century BC from the Southern Ural region to the lower reaches of the Volga River, then into the Don River Valley. During the third century BC, they reached the Dnieper River and finally arrived to the Danube Delta by the beginning of the AD first century. Meanwhile, some groups of Yazigs even reached the Great Hungarian Plain.<sup>16</sup> A special trait of this popular migration route is that Hungarians largely followed the same direction from *Magna Hungaria*, located between the Volga River and the Ural Mountains, toward *Levedia*, located in the Don River region, the to *Etelköz*, that spread between the Dnieper River and the Carpathian Mountains.<sup>17</sup> (Fig. 4.) It is only the last section of these two routes that is different, leading from the Danube Delta toward the Carpathian Basin. The Sarmatians intruded into the Great Hungarian Plain moving towards the North along the Lower Danube. Centuries later, the Hungarians, led by Grand Duke Árpád, descended to the Great Hungarian Plain through the North-Eastern Carpathians, crossing the Verecke Strait, fearing

<sup>15</sup> Vajda, "A népvándorlások kérdéséhez," 112.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. M. G. Мошкова, *Происхождение раннесарматской (прохоровской) культуры*. Москва 1974, 47; M. G. Мошкова, "Предисловие," in К. Ф. Смирнов, *Сарматы и утверждение их политического господства в Скифии*, Москва 1984, 7; M. G. Moshkova, "Middle Sarmatian Culture. Late Sarmatian Culture," in *Nomads of the Eurasian Steppes in the Early Iron Age*, ed. J. Davis-Kimball, Berkeley 1995, 135.

<sup>17</sup> I. Fodor, *Verecke híres útján... A magyar nép östörténete és a honfoglalás*. [On Verecke' immortal pass... The pre-history of the Hungarian people and the Conquest] Budapest 1975, 162-163; I. Fodor, *In Search of a New Homeland. The Prehistory of the Hungarian People and the Conquest*. Budapest 1982, 216-217; И. А. Иванов, *Древние угоры-мадьяры в Восточной Европе*. Уфа 1999, 96.

an attack by hostile Bulgarians. Both migrations lasted for centuries, which fact, however, does not preclude rapid, intensive movements in shorter sections. This type of movement was evident in the final phase of the Hungarian Conquest.

Owing to the slow pace of migrations, it is unlikely that (as some suggest) nomadic groups were unable to cover long distances in the absence of sufficiently large food supplies.<sup>18</sup> This hypothesis is unambiguously refuted by the fact that nomadic communities herd their livestock when travelling, thereby securing at least animal products during their journeys.

Nomadic movements often resulted in splitting the populations concerned. This may be explained by the fact that only a smaller group moved to the newly occupied areas, since the success of conquests could not be guaranteed. Those left behind had to secure the original habitation area, since the group that had left was sometimes forced to return. However, circumstances often resulted in a separation between the two groups of the same people. This must have been the case when the majority of Hungarians left for the Don region from *Magna Hungaria* around 750. Those who had stayed behind remained stuck in their old homeland. Their memory, however, survived in the tradition of conquering Hungarians who found their new homeland in the Carpathian Basin around 895. Oral tradition found its way into the first Hungarian Chronicle written in the end of the eleventh century. It was this written source on the basis of which Julianus travelled to the land of Volga Bulghars in 1236, and found Eastern Hungarians there.<sup>19</sup> A similar situation may have arisen in the case of Khazars. A part of this people moved toward the west. Others, however, remained in Inner Asia and their name is mentioned in eighth century Uighurian runic scripts in Mongolia.<sup>20</sup>

It is well known in history that the migrations of many eastern nomadic peoples ended in the Carpathian Basin. Actually, a group of prehistoric pastoralists of the Copper Age Pit Grave Kurgan culture also ended up here.<sup>21</sup> This is not surprising at all, since the Carpathian Basin, covering some 100,000 km<sup>2</sup> that includes the Great Hungarian Plain and the ten times smaller Small Hungarian Plain, represents the westernmost refuge of the parkland-steppe belt that suits geographical requirements of a nomadic way of life. This geographical analogy, however, is somewhat sketchy since precipitation in this area is higher (annual average 500–600 mm) and more evenly distributed than in the eastern steppe

<sup>18</sup> I. Erdélyi, L. N. Gumiľov, "A nomád világ egysége és sokrétűsége," *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 96 (1969), 56.

<sup>19</sup> Fodor, *Verecke híres útján*, 195–201.

<sup>20</sup> Although in the opinion of András Róna-Tas András part of the European Khazars moved back to Inner Asia under the pressure of Arabic attacks during the 730's (A. Róna-Tas, *A honfoglaló magyar nép. Bevezetés a a korai magyar történelem ismeretébe*. [The Magyars of the Conquest. An introduction into the ancient history of the Magyars] Budapest 1996, 190), no data seem to support this hypothesis. A. Róna-Tas, "A kazár népnévről," [On the Ethnonym Khazar] *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 84 (1982), 365–370; A. Róna-Tas, *Hungarians and Europe in the Early Middle Ages*. Budapest 1999, 228–229.

<sup>21</sup> I. Ecsedy, *The People of the Pit-Grave Kurgans in Eastern Hungary*. Budapest 1979, 50.

belt. It is an even more significant fact that preceding large scale river regulation works in the nineteenth century, the majority of lowland areas in the Carpathian Basin (some 1/8 of the area of Medieval/Early Modern Age Hungary) have been permanently or temporarily covered by marshland and floodwaters.<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 5.)

In this region, therefore, it would have made no sense to practice mobile pastoralism along the courses of rivers as was described in 1247 by Plano Carpini who observed Mongols living in Eastern Europe at the time.<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 6.) Such movements were not necessary, since ecological conditions, for example, near the spring of the Tisza River and its confluence with the Danube are largely identical. Moreover, when summer pastures turn dry on elevations and levies, floodplains become available for grazing and soon develop lush vegetation. In addition, wetlands offer good grazing throughout most of the winter.<sup>24</sup> In this situation, there is no need for winter and summer habitation and mobility between such areas becomes irrelevant. Pastoralists do not leave their settlements beyond a radius of 10–15 km and soon develop into proper sedentary villages. An excellent reconstruction of this process was provided for tenth–eleventh century Hungarians by István Szabó.<sup>25</sup>

Conclusions by István Szabó have also been reconfirmed by archaeological investigations. In addition, such studies have shown that this process was not exclusively characteristic of ancient Hungarians, but could already be observed in the case of preceding eastern peoples such as the Sarmatians and Avars, whose sedentary villages are located largely in the same regions as those of conquering Hungarians. Although some biogeographic features of the Great Hungarian Plain are reminiscent to that of the eastern parkland-steppe region, with the exception a few, small localities, it is impossible (and altogether makes little sense) to pursue a nomadic way of life in this limited area. This explains why all nomadic peoples who reached this area have turned to sedentism.

In the Hungarian archaeological literature it was István Bóna, who devoted a remarkable study to “culture change” among the nomadic peoples who had

<sup>22</sup> L. Glaser, “Az Alföld régi vízrajza és a települések,” [The ancient hidrography of the Great Plain and the settlements] *Földrajzi Közlemények* 47 (1939), 297–308; D. Ihrig, ed. *A magyar vízszabályozás története*. [A history of water-regulation in Hungary] Budapest 1973. Cf. I. Fodor, “A magyar gazdálkodás változásai a 10. században,” [The changes in Hungarian economy in the tenth century] in *A fénylező középkor. Tanulmányok Kovalovszki Júlia tiszteletére*. ed. I. Fodor, I. Szatmári, Budapest–Békéscsaba 2006, 19, 21.

<sup>23</sup> Gy. Györffy, “A honfoglaló magyarok települési rendjéről,” [On the settlement-system of the Magyars of the Conquest] *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 97 (1970), 193, 197.

<sup>24</sup> Glaser, “Az Alföld régi vízrajza,” 297–308.

<sup>25</sup> I. Szabó, *A falurendszer kialakulása Magyarországon (X–XV. század)*. [The making of the village-system in Hungary (10th–15th centuries)] Budapest 1966. Cf. Gy. Györffy, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft der Ungarn um die Jahrtausendwende*. Budapest 1983, 20–38; I. Fodor, “Changes in the Hungarian Economy during the Tenth Century,” in *The First Millennium of Hungary in Europe*, ed. K. Papp, J. Barta, Debrecen 2002, 18–37. This question has been discussed in detail, with the aid of maps and other illustrations, in Fodor, “A magyar gazdálkodás változásai”.

moved into the Carpathian Basin. He noted that the material culture of these peoples had changed in a relatively short time.<sup>26</sup> Csand Balint, who followed his line of reasoning, actually reached a point where he denied the cultural continuity of ninth–tenth century Hungarians.<sup>27</sup> However, as has been shown here, the culture of peoples of eastern origins did not change under the dominant influence of “civilisations” by neighbouring communities in Europe. A major factor in culture change must have been that nomadic new arrivals were forced to adopt a sedentary way of life in a relatively short time. In spite of the rapidity of this process, however, the time in question was not so short that the eastern roots of such cultures (both material and spiritual) could not have been clearly recognised.<sup>28</sup>

Hopefully, the arguments summarised above help illustrating the importance of studying data and observations concerning the economies and mobility of nomadic peoples in understanding the history of ancient Hungarians.

<sup>26</sup> I. Bona “Regeszettink es Kelet-Europa,” [Our Archeaeology and Central Europe] MTA II. Osztaly Kozlemenyei 28 (1979), 39–48.

<sup>27</sup> Cs. Balint, “A 9. szazadi magyarsag regeszeti hagyatka,” [The archaeological reamins of the ninth-century Hungarians] in *Honfoglalas es regeszet*. ed. Gy. Gyorffy, L. Kovacs Budapest 1979, 39–46.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. I. Fodor “Leletek Magna Hungariatol Etelkozig,” [Findings from Magna Hungaria to Etelkoz] in *Honfoglalas es regeszet*, ed. Gy. Gyorffy, L. Kovacs, Budapest 1994, 47–65.

# *A Programme of Terror and Cruelty*

Aspects of Mongol strategy in the light of Western Sources

JOHANNES GIEßAUF



At the beginning of the thirteenth century the Mongol emperor Chingiz-Khan mobilized a war-machine that succeeded, within the space of a few decades, in overwhelming the majority of the known world. In 1235 his third son and successor, Ögödei, launched a new attempt to realize his father's idea of Mongol world-conquest. He unleashed Mongol forces under the command of his nephew Batu, the son of Chingiz-Khan's eldest son Jochi, towards the west.<sup>1</sup> The strategic commander of the Mongol armies, however, was undoubtedly the experienced general Sübötei.<sup>2</sup> Between 1236 and 1240 the Russian principalities collapsed under the weight of successive Mongol attacks<sup>3</sup> and in the winter of 1240–1241 Batu

<sup>1</sup> The plan to conquer the West was one of the main decisions of the *quriltai* of 1235. See *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*. M. Taube, ed., Munich 1989, § 270, 200–202; *The History of the World-Conqueror by 'Ala ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini*. Translated from the text of Mirza Muhammad Qazvini by J. A. Boyle with an Introduction by D. O. Morgan, Manchester 1997, 196–200 (henceforth: Juvaini, *History*); *The Successors of Genghis Khan*. Translated from the Persian of Rashid al-Din by J. A. Boyle, New York – London 1971, 54–56 (henceforth: Rashid, *Successors*); W. Abramowski, "Die chinesischen Annalen von Ögödei bis Güyük. Übersetzung des 2. Kapitels des Yuan-shih," *Zentralasiatische Studien* 10 (1976), 130. For the Mongol idea of world-conquest, cf. J. Masson Smith, "The Mongols and World-Conquest," *Mongolica* 5 (1994), 206–214.

<sup>2</sup> Probably no Mongol general played a greater role than Sübötei in establishing and maintaining the early Mongol empire. He was destined to be the mastermind of this campaign because he had been – together with general Jebe – commander of those Mongol troops, which had undertaken a raid through Armenia, Georgia and Russia in the years 1220–24. Due to his successes he held the honorary title *ba'atur* ("valiant"). Cf. P. D. Buell, "Sübötei Ba'atur (1176–1248)," in *In the Service of the Khan*, Wiesbaden 1993, 13–26; R. A. Gabriel, *Genghis Khan's Greatest General. Subotai the Valiant*. Westport 2004.

<sup>3</sup> For the conquest of the Russian Principalities, see B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland 1223–1502*. Leipzig 1943, 16–20; G. Vernadsky and M. Karpovich, *The Mongols and Russia*. New Haven 1953, 48–52; J. Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia 1200–1304*. London – New York 1983, 76–96; J. Martin, *Medieval Russia (980–1584)*.

and Sübötei were ready to enter Latin Christian territory for the first time.<sup>4</sup> The right wing of their army passed through Galicia into Poland, where they defeated the combined forces of Poles and Germans near Liegnitz (Legnica) in Silesia on 9 April 1241.<sup>5</sup> At the same time Batu and Sübötei had been advancing into Moravia and Hungary, where they achieved a victory on the banks of the river Sajó near Mohi on 11 April. A large part of Hungary was occupied for more than a year and utterly devastated. The defeated Hungarian king Bela IV fled before the Mongol advance and Qadan, a son of the Great-Khan Ögödei,<sup>6</sup> was given the task of capturing him. First Bela tried to take refuge with Duke Friedrich II of Austria, who was contemptuous of the Hungarians' plight and extracted a large ransom from the king before sending him on his way to Croatia.<sup>7</sup> There Bela hoped to find refuge in Zagreb but the Mongols followed in pursuit since the extirpation of the enemy's rulers and nobles was one of the main goals of Mongol strategy.<sup>8</sup>

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Cambridge 1995, 135–140; L. de Hartog, *Russia and the Mongol Yoke. The History of the Russian Principalities and the Golden Horde 1221–1502*. London – New York 1996, 29–34.

<sup>4</sup> For the Mongol invasion of Europe, see G. Strakosch-Grassmann, *Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa in den Jahren 1241 und 1242*. Innsbruck 1893; J. J. Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquest*. London 1971; H. Göckenjan and J. R. Sweeney, *Der Mongolensturm. Berichte von Augenzeugen und Zeitgenossen 1235–1250*. Graz 1985, 36–63; H. Göckenjan, "Der Westfeldzug (1236–42) aus mongolischer Sicht," in *Wahlstatt 1241. Beiträge zur Mongolenschlacht bei Liegnitz und zu ihren Nachwirkungen*. Würzburg 1991, 35–75; J. Gießauf, "Der Traum von der Weltherrschaft. Eine Skizze der politischen Geschichte des mongolischen Großreichs vom Tode Chinggis Khans bis zum Zerfall in Einzelkhanate," in *Die Mongolei. Aspekte ihrer Geschichte und Kultur*. Graz 2001, 53–60; P. Jackson, *The Mongols and the West 1221–1410*. Harlow 2005, 58–86.

<sup>5</sup> See U. Schmielewski, *Wahlstatt 1241. Beiträge zur Mongolenschlacht bei Liegnitz und zu ihren Nachwirkungen*. Würzburg 1991.

<sup>6</sup> According to Rashid ad-Din (Rashid, *Successors*, 27ff) and Yüan shih (L. Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII du Yuan Che. Avec des notes supplémentaires par Paul Pelliot*. Leiden 1945, 71ff.), Qadan was the sixth son of Ögödei and a concubine named Erkene. Cf. Göckenjan-Sweeney, *Der Mongolensturm*, 263, n. 14; J. Gießauf, *Die Mongolengeschichte des Johannes von Piano Carpine. Einführung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Graz 1995, 169, n. 473.

<sup>7</sup> For the "Austrian hospitality", see J. Gießauf, "Herzog Friedrich II. von Österreich und die Mongolengefahr 1241/42," in *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Alpen-Adria-Raumes. Festgabe für em. O. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Othmar Pickl zum 70. Geburtstag*, Graz 1997, 173–199.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the report by Juvaini of Chingiz-Khan's order for the pursuit of the Chorezm-Shah: "He claimed: It is necessary to make an end of him before men gather around him and nobles join him from every side" (Juvaini, *History*, 143). See also *Die Mongolengeschichte des Johannes von Piano Carpine. Einführung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar* von J. Gießauf. Graz 1995 (henceforth: Carpine, *Historia*), cap. VI, 16, p. 104: "Et si aliquibus aliis parcunt, ut dictum est, nobilibus et honestis hominibus nunquam parcunt ..." and cap. VIII, 3, p. 108: "Intendunt etiam delere omnes principes, omnes nobiles, omnes milites et honestos viros de terra, ut superius dictum est, et hoc faciunt sub dolo et artificiose in subditos suos" .. Already in 1237–1238 the Hungarian Dominican Friar Julian, following his mission on behalf of Bela IV to "Greater Hungary", related similar details: "Omnium regnum que obtinent, reges et duces et magnates, de quibus est spes quod aliquando possint facere

Therefore Bela moved to Trogir (Trau) and then to an adjacent island in the Dalmatian littoral which the Mongols could not reach for lack of ships. After ravaging Croatia and an unsuccessful attack upon Trogir, Qadan withdrew his troops to reunite with the main body of the army because Batu had ordered the sudden and unexpected withdrawal of Mongol forces from eastern Central Europe.<sup>9</sup> They returned east via Zeta, Serbia and Bulgaria, all of which they looted as they passed through.<sup>10</sup>

Stupefied and shattered, the Europeans could hardly comprehend what had happened to them. Reading contemporary chronicles we meet bloody pictures of the Mongols and their ruthless atrocity. In western sources the name *Tartars* was applied to the Mongols and their subject peoples. This form, a corruption of the tribal name *Tatar*, apparently derived from *Tartarus*, the Latin term for the hell of classical mythology, was used quite specifically because it carried all the terrible connotations of the danger to the west: the *Tartars* were agents sent from hell, breaking forth from the mysterious East, the land of Gog and Magog, to unleash their fury upon the Christian world as instruments of divine chastisement.<sup>11</sup> The trail of death and horror across Eastern Europe was seen in apocalyptic terms. Consulting ancient writings – according to Thomas of Spalato especially the sayings of the sibylline prophecies of Pseudo Methodius – many thought the Mongols were the people prophesised to precede the coming of Antichrist.<sup>12</sup> We are confronted with such images for example in the *Chronica Maiora* of Matthew Paris. Despite his geographical distance from the events described, the monk of St

*resistentiam, interficiunt sine mora*" (= H. Dörrie, "Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen. Die Missionsreisen des fr. Julian OP. ins Uralgebiet (1234/5) und nach Rußland (1237) und der Bericht des Erzbischofs Peter über die Tartaren," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Phil. hist. Kl.* 6 (1956), 125–202, cap. 3.5, p. 176).

<sup>9</sup> For various theories historians have offered for this withdrawal, see G. S. Rogers, "An examination of historians' explanations for the Mongol withdrawal from East Central Europe," *East European Quarterly* 30 (1996), 3–26.

<sup>10</sup> See J. V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*. Ann Arbor 1996, 145.

<sup>11</sup> For Latin sources alluding to the assumed provenance of the Mongols from the *Tartarus*, see C. W. Connell, "Western views of the origin of the 'Tartars': An example of the influence of myth in the second half of the thirteenth century," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 3 (1973), 117–119; A. Klopprogge, *Ursprung und Ausprägung des abendländischen Mongolenbildes im 13. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden 1993, 155–159; Gießauf, *Die Mongolengeschichte*, 28, n. 104.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Archidiaconus, *Historia Saloniitana* ed. Fr. Rački, in *Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium* XXVI, *Scriptores*, Vol. 3. Zagreb 1894, 171 (henceforth: Thomas, *Historia*): "Tunc plerique litterati viri veteres scrutantes scripturas, coniciciebant maxime ex dictis Methodii martiris, has fore illas gentes, que precedere debent antichristi adventum." For the interpretation of the Mongols as Gog and Magog, see M. Steinicke, *Apokalyptische Heerscharen und Gottesknechte. Wundvölker des Ostens in abendländischer Tradition vom Untergang der Antike bis zur Entdeckung Amerikas*. Phil. Diss. Berlin 2002, 84–124.

Albans is one of the best-known European chroniclers of the Mongol invasion.<sup>13</sup> However, like the majority of chroniclers of these events, he had never seen a *Tartar* with his own eyes. He shared the dominant view of the Mongols that we can find in the majority of European reports of the 1240s: Tartars are the devil's horsemen from a mysterious quarter of the Earth, pagans who lack a recognized law and indulge in unusual, even bizarre, customs.

Nevertheless, not everybody accepted such millenarian speculations. We also possess first-hand narratives that provide descriptions of Mongol customs and practices free of apocalyptic interpretations. However, the number of surviving eyewitnesses who had had direct contact with the Mongols was rather small, and again only a few of these eyewitnesses and principal reporters were able to look beyond the curtain of apparently unfounded and senseless slaughter.

In the last few decades studies by Bigalli, Connell, Bezzola, Fried, Reichert, Klopprogge, Schmieder, Münkler and Ruotsala have analysed the whole course of European-Mongol relations and enlarged our knowledge of the western image of the Mongols in the Middle Ages.<sup>14</sup> In accordance with their results, the purpose of this paper is to focus on those early narratives that are free of apocalyptic speculations, which consider the causes of the success of the Mongol armies. In this context I want to take a closer look at first-hand accounts that show perception of two of the key factors of Mongol strategy, accounts that contain hints of the considerable attention the Mongols paid to propaganda and psychological warfare by means of cruelty and intimidation.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Matthew Paris collected news, especially letters, about the Mongols from every part of Europe and inserted them into his work. See Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series. Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores 57, 7 vols. London 1872-1883, 3: 488ff, 4: 76-78, 109-119, 270-277; 6: 75-84, 113-116. For Matthew Paris and his Mongol narratives, see J. J. Saunders, "Matthew Paris and the Mongols," in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, Toronto 1969, 116-132; G. A. Bezzola, *Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht (1220-1270). Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Völkerbegegnungen*. Bern 1974, 63. K. Rudolf, "Die Tartaren 1241/42. Nachrichten und Wiedergabe: Korrespondenz und Historiographie," *Römisch historische Mitteilungen* 19 (1977), 91-99; H. E. Hilpert, *Kaiser- und Papstbriefe in den Chronica Majora des Matthaeus Paris*. Stuttgart 1981, 27-43, 153-164.

<sup>14</sup> D. Bigalli, *I Tartari e l'Apocalisse. Ricerche sull'eschatologia in Adamo Marsh e Ruggiero Bacone*. Florence 1971; Connell, "Western Views," 115-137; Bezzola, *Die Mongolen*; J. Fried, "Auf der Suche nach der Wirklichkeit. Die Mongolen und die europäische Erfahrungswissenschaft im 13. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift* 243 (1986), 287-332; F. E. Reichert, *Begegnungen mit China. Die Entdeckung Ostasiens im Mittelalter*. Sigmaringen 1992; A. Klopprogge, *Ursprung und Ausprägung*; F. Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden. Die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes vom 13. bis in das 15. Jahrhundert*. Sigmaringen 1994; M. Münkler, *Erfahrung des Fremden. Die Beschreibung Ostasiens in den Augenzeugenberichten des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin 2000; A. Ruotsala, *Europeans and Mongols in the middle of the thirteenth century. Encountering the Other*. Helsinki 2001.

<sup>15</sup> More than thirty years ago, Denis Sinor wrote an article on Mongol strategy taking a particular interest in the importance of the long-range planning and the rigid timetable of Mongol military operations (D. Sinor, "On Mongol Strategy," in *Proceedings of the 4th*

The first reporter to emphasize the important part which terror played in Mongol strategy was Roger of Torre Maggiore who writes:

Soon rumours spread that the Tartars had occupied the German village of Thomasbrücke where they slaughtered everyone not fit for slavery. Hearing such news my hair stood on end with fright, my whole body started trembling and my tongue refused its duty because of the unavoidable and terrible death which awaited me. In my mind's eye I saw the slaughterers and the cold sweat of death made the blood freeze in my veins. I saw people in fear of death, unable to control their hands and weapons, unable to raise their arms or legs only staring into space. And what more? I laid my eyes on people half-dead from panic.<sup>16</sup>

This vivid description of the dreadful fear of the Mongols is found in Roger's report commonly known as the *Carmen Miserabile*. A canon of the Hungarian city of Várad (now Oradea in Romania), Roger had been taken prisoner by the invaders in 1241 and had lived several months under their dominion before he could escape. His account, probably written immediately after the unexpected withdrawal of the Mongols in 1242, represents one of the major western narratives of the Mongol invasion of Europe and there is nothing to discredit the details of which he was an eyewitness.<sup>17</sup> Analogous to Persian, Chinese or Russian sources, Roger

*East Asian Altaistic Conference*. Taiwan 1975, 238–245). However, the role of cruelty and intimidation in Mongol warfare was not part of his considerations. The same applies to his article on Inner Asian warriors (D. Sinor, "The Inner Asian Warriors," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101 (1981), 133–144). Jean Richard in his paper about causes of the Mongol victories at least deals with the employment of captives as arrow-fodder (J. Richard, "Les causes des victoires Mongoles d'après les historiens occidentaux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Central Asiatic Journal* 22 (1979), 112.). The best outline of this topic so far is that by Hansgerd Göckenjan, who took a particular interest in spies and reconnoitres (H. Göckenjan, "Kundschafter und Späher. Ein Beitrag zur Strategie und Taktik reiternomadischer Kriegsführung," *Acta Orientalia Accademiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 53 (2000), 187–202). Cf. also the analysis of the role of massacres and cruelty in Mongol warfare by C. Commeaux, *La vie quotidienne chez les Mongols de la conquête*. Paris 1972, 141–147.

<sup>16</sup> *Epistola magistri Rogerii in Miserabile Carmen super destructione regni Hungarie per Tartaros facta* ed. L. Juhász, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, Vol. 2. Budapest 1938, cap. 34, 579 (henceforth: Rogerius, *Carmen*): "Post hec statim invaluere rumores, quod dictum Pontem Thome Theutonicorum villam in aurora Tartari occupaverunt et, quos tenere noluerant, horrenda crudelitas acerbitas gladio dire iugulavit. Quo auditio incorruerunt pili carnis mee, cepit corpus tremere ac pavere, lingua miserabiliter balbutire perspiciens, quod dire mortis articulus, qui iam vitari non poterat, imminebat. Trucidatores cordis oculis intuebar, caro sudore mortis frigidissimum emittebat. Videbam et mortales mortem expectantes assidue non posse manus et arma extendere, erigere brachia, pedes ad defensionis loca movere, oculis terram prospicere. Et quod plura? Homines conspiciebam ex timore nimio semivivos."

<sup>17</sup> For his life and work, see F. Babinger, "Maestro Ruggiero delle Puglie, relatore prepoliano su i Tartari," in *Nel VII. centenario della nascita di Marco Polo*. Venice 1955, 51–62; Bezzola, *Die Mongolen*, 86–89; Göckenjan-Sweeney, *Der Mongolensturm*, 129–138. For some considerations about the transmission of the text, see T. Almási, "The *Carmen Miserabile*: Some issues concerning the transmission of the text," *Chronica* 3 (2003), 84–93.

relates the unheard-of Mongol severity in punishing the citizens of towns which had tried to resist the Mongol assaults. The Mongols used to call a town showing no intention of surrendering to the besiegers *mo balyq*, which means 'bad city'. All the citizens of so-called bad cities were driven together outside the city's walls and slain.<sup>18</sup> These proceedings were intended to be a warning of terrible retaliation for other cities and were aimed at intimidation. The message of the Mongols was clear: a peaceful surrender or an anticipatory declaration of allegiance could enable a ruler to keep his throne and a population to escape a massacre, but resistance almost invariably meant decimation or extermination.<sup>19</sup>

Very similar information about the Mongol tactic of demoralizing the foe by means of cruelty can be obtained from the Mongol chapters in the *Historia Pontificum Salomonianorum atque Spalatensis* of Thomas of Spalato, which is among the most outstanding sources of the 1240s about the Mongols.<sup>20</sup> Thomas pursued a career as canon of the cathedral chapter of Spalato (Split) and in 1230 he was elected archdeacon, a post he held until his death in 1268. It is likely that he began to write his *Historia* between 1245 and 1251. Thomas's Mongol narrative comprises four chapters of the *Historia* which treat the sequence of events in Hungary and Dalmatia from the first rumours of the approach of the Mongols late in the decade of the 1230s to their departure in the spring of 1242.<sup>21</sup> The flamboyant manner in which he describes the *Tartars* shows that to him they are a plague, people lacking compassion and humanity. Although Thomas condemns them with the severest criticism he is curious about their origins and customs and includes such information in his *Historia*. Despite his conception of the *Tartars* as a "pestilential nation,"<sup>22</sup> his Mongol chapters exhibit a high degree of factual accuracy. Apart from his own observation, Thomas's sources must have been refugees who streamed into Split in 1242, fleeing in terror from the troops of the Mongol prince Qadan. He says that his description of the Mongols is related "according to what I have been able to hear from more inquiring persons who have looked into the matter."<sup>23</sup>

Thomas writes:

At this time this monstrous slaughterer [=Qadan] ordered his men to drive all the captives [...] together on a plain - men and women as well as boys and girls. Gathering them together like a flock of sheep he made his executioners behead

<sup>18</sup> For such massacres in the realm of the Choresm-Shah, see Juvaini, *History*, 121, 131, 145. Cf. Göckenjan-Sweeney, *Der Mongolensturm*, 52.

<sup>19</sup> For possible demographic considerations behind these massacres, see J. Masson Smith, "Demographic considerations in Mongol siege warfare," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 13 (1993/94), 329–334.

<sup>20</sup> For his life and work, see J. R. Sweeney, "Thomas of Spalato and the Mongols: A thirteenth-century Dalmatian view of Mongol customs," *Florilegium* 4 (1982), 156–183; Göckenjan-Sweeney, *Der Mongolensturm*, 227–235.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas, *Historia*, cap. XXXVI–XXXIX, 132–178.

<sup>22</sup> Thomas, *Historia*, cap. XXXVI, 132: "gens pestifera Tartarorum".

<sup>23</sup> Thomas, *Historia*, cap. XXXVII, 168: "Nunc vero de natura et habitu gentis illius [= Tartarorum], prout ab his audire potui, qui rem curiosius indagarunt, pauca narrabo".

them all. Everyone broke into loud lamentations and at the wail of people being slain the whole world seemed to quake. All captives were cut down and like sheaves in a cornfield, their corpses were strewn on the plain. But the Tartars did not plunder the dead, to make clear that they had not slaughtered them because of lust for booty. The whole host of murderous people, taking their ease in camp camaraderie in the midst of those dead, began to dance and feast with great delight, and to shake with great mocking laughter, as though these fine men had performed some great deed.<sup>24</sup>

According to Thomas, after the battle of Mohi the Mongols did not show any interest in booty. They concentrated their efforts on pursuing and killing their exhausted and terrified enemies because this was the best way to avoid further Hungarian resistance.<sup>25</sup> Very similar observations were made by Roger of Torre Maggiore who writes about Mongolian slaughterers who were not interested in loot.<sup>26</sup> On another occasion, Thomas of Spalato reports that during the winter of 1241/42, to instill fear into the Hungarians, the Mongols rode up and down the left bank of the Danube – where they had piled their slain enemies – with the corpses of children impaled on lances, in Thomas's words, "like fish on a spear".<sup>27</sup>

John of Piano Carpine gives a matter of fact description of Mongol tactics devoid of such dramatic sketches. He simply states:

When the Tartars are going to make war, they send ahead an advance guard and these carry nothing with them but their tents, horses and arms. They seize no plunder, burn no houses and slaughter no animals; they only wound and kill men

<sup>24</sup> Thomas, *Historia* cap. XXXIX, 174: "Tunc truculentus carnifex iussit omnem captivitatem, quam ex Hungaria duxerat, congregari in unum, multitudinem magnam virorum et mulierum, puerorum et puellarum, fecitque omnes in quandam planiciem duci. Et cum omnes quasi quidam gressus ovium coadunati fuissent, missis spiculatoribus, omnium fecit capita amputari. Tum ingens audiebatur ululatus et planctus, totaque terra moveri a voce pereuncium videbatur. Iacuerunt autem omnes in illa prostrati planicie, quemadmodum spicarum manipuli sparsim solent in agro iacere. Et ne cui videretur, quod cedis huius immanitas spoliorum sit aviditate parata, nullas ab eis vestes detrahere voluerunt; sed tota multitudine funeste gentis in circuitu occisorum illorum per contubernia discumbentes, ceperunt in magna leticia comedere, choreas ducere magnosque cachinnos ludendo movere, quasi multum aliquid perpetrassent boni."

<sup>25</sup> Thomas, *Historia* cap. XXXVI: 163: "Iacebant autem per vias infelicius opes, vasa aurea et argentea, purpurea indumenta, et arma copiosa. Sed Tartarorum inaudita crudelitas nil curans de spoliis, omnem pretiosarum rerum parvi pendens predam, in sola hominum cede crassarunt. Cum enim viderent iam itineris labore defessos, nec posse ad arma manus estendere, nec pedes ulterius ad fugam laxare, tunc ceperunt hinc et inde iaculis infringere, gladiis obtruncare, nuli parcere, sed omnes feraliter trucidare."

<sup>26</sup> Rogerius, *Carmen*, cap. 30: 573: "Argentea quoque vasa et aurea, serice vestes et alia hominibus oportuna per campos et silvas a fugientibus proiecta, ut ipsi velociori cursu manus insequentium evaderent, non habebant aliquos collectores. Tartaris tantum interfectionibus hominum insistentibus de spoliis minime curare videbantur." Cf. Göckenjan-Sweeney, *Der Mongolensturm*, 213, n. 163.

<sup>27</sup> Thomas, *Historia* cap. XXXVI: 167s. "Et ut metum incuterent his, qui erant ex altera parte Danubii, collectam multitudinem occisorum in acervos plurimos super ripam fluminis locaverunt. Alii vero puerulos lanceis affigentes, quasi pisces in veru, per horas alvei baiulabant."

or, if they can do nothing else, put them to flight. They much prefer, however, to kill than to put to flight.<sup>28</sup>

John of Piano Carpine, a Franciscan friar who had taken a leading part in the establishment of the Franciscan Order in Europe, had been dispatched in 1245 by Innocent IV as papal envoy to the Mongol court. He and his Polish companion, Brother Benedict, were the first European travellers of the thirteenth century who penetrated to the core of the Mongol Empire. John, however, was not only charged with the delivery of two papal bulls addressed to the "King of the Tartars"<sup>29</sup>; he also had the task of furnishing the pope with first-hand intelligence about the "devil's envoys and servants of hell".<sup>30</sup> As a result of his two-year mission to Central Asia he compiled, in two redactions, a detailed dossier on the hitherto relatively unknown enemy. His *Historia Mongalorum*, which was by far the most widely known of all the early accounts of Mongols, provides information that can be shown to be largely trustworthy.<sup>31</sup> He was the first European who properly understood the significance of the Mongol army establishment and presented an outline of it. Two chapters of his book are dedicated to Mongol warfare

<sup>28</sup> Carpine, *Historia*, cap. VI, 11: 103; English translation: *The Mongol Mission. Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries*. Translated by a Nun of Stanbrook Abbey, ed. C. Dawson, London and New York 1955, 35. For the advance guard (*precursores*), see G. Dörfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neopersischen*, Vol. 4, Wiesbaden 1975, 148; Göckenjan, *Kundschafter und Späher*, 194. In similar words the Franciscan friar C. de Bridia gives an outline of the duties of the Mongol advance guards: "Cumque Tartari propinquare ceperint, premittunt uelocissimos cursors, qui terreant ex inspirato homines et occident, ne possit contra eos exercitus subito congregari" (*Hystoria Tartarorum C. de Bridia Monachi*. A. Önnerfors, ed., Berlin 1967, cap. 56: 34). C. de Bridia, however, cannot be regarded as an authentic and independent source because his *Hystoria Tartarorum* is only a summary of the reports of Carpine and his companion Benedict the Pole. For his work, see Gießauf, *Die Mongolengeschichte*, 55.

<sup>29</sup> The two letters of Pope Innocent IV (5 March 1245, *Dei patris immensa*, and 13 March 1245, *Cum non solum*) are addressed "... regi et populo Tartarorum". See *MGH Epistulae saeculi XIII selectae*: II, 72, n. 102, and 74, n. 105; K.-E. Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels*. Vatican City 1981, 141–145, n. 20 and 146–149, n. 21. For further details see Gießauf, *Die Mongolengeschichte*, 35, 77.

<sup>30</sup> "... Sathane nuntios tartarique ministros", as Innocent IV called them in a letter of 21 July 1243 (*MGH Epistulae saeculi XIII selectae*: II, 3s, n. 2).

<sup>31</sup> For his life, his mission and his work, see Giovanni di Pian di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, P. Daffinà, C. Leonardi, M. C. Lungarotti, E. Menestò, and L. Petech, eds, Spoleto 1989, 49–92; Gießauf, *Die Mongolengeschichte*, 73–84; F. Schmieder, *Johannes von Plano Carpini. Kunde von den Mongolen 1245–1247*, Sigmaringen 1997, 14–31; J. Gießauf, "Johannes von Piano del Carpine. Provinzialminister 1232–1239," in *Management und Minoritas. Lebensbilder Sächsischer Franziskanerprovinziale vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Kvelaer 2003, 2–18.

and to suggestions for practicable European counter-measures.<sup>32</sup> Alongside strategy his interest is focused on other military questions like discipline, horsemanship, the equipment of the warrior's mount and his personal weapons.

The common denominator of the quoted sources is their realization that one important factor of Mongol success was the weakening and demoralization of the foe by means of cruelty. Beyond that we see from these quotations that some western reporters were able to comprehend that the Christian world was not confronted with the crude blood-thirst of barbarians but with a complex plan of total warfare and deliberate terror.<sup>33</sup>

A second significant aspect of Mongol strategy combined this program of psychological warfare with the practical advantage of providing a buffer in the initial stages of an attack: the ruthless employment of captives as arrow-fodder.

We find very detailed descriptions of this tactical device in Mongol tradition, such as the *Secret History of the Mongols* of the thirteenth century<sup>34</sup>, in the reports of Persian historians like Juvaini<sup>35</sup> and in contemporary Chinese sources like *Meng-Ta pei-lu*, which offers the most precise outline<sup>36</sup>: The Mongols began with

<sup>32</sup> Carpini, *Historia*, cap. VI (101–104) and VIII (107–111): “*De bello, et ordinatione acierum, et armis, et astutiis in congreessione, et crudelitate captivorum, et oppugnatione munitionum, et perfidia eorum in iis qui se reddunt eisdem*”; and: “*Quomodo bello Tartaris occuratur, et quid attendunt, et de armis et ordinatione acierum, et quomodo occuratur eorum astutiis in pugna, et munitione castrorum et civitatum, et quid faciendum est de captiuis*”.

<sup>33</sup> Similar conclusions were drawn by Vernadsky-Karpovich, *The Mongols*, 116; Bezzola, *Die Mongolen*, 88; Göckenjan-Sweeney, *Der Mongolensturm*, 52–54; and D. O. Morgan, *The Mongols*. Oxford 1987, 92, who states: “Chingiz's principle seems to have been much the same as President Truman's over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The apparent rationale was that if the population of one city was subjected to a frightful massacre, the next city would be more likely to surrender without resistance, thus avoiding unnecessary Mongol casualties. The morality of this approach to warfare is no doubt open to discussion, but there can be no disputing that it worked.” For the *topos* of the wild and animal-like barbarian, see K. Lechner, *Hellenen und Barbaren im Weltbild der Byzantiner. Die alten Bezeichnungen als Ausdruck eines neuen Kulturbewusstseins*, Phil. Diss. Munich 1954, especially 107–114; B. D. Shaw, “Eaters of Flesh, Drinkers of Milk: The Ancient Mediterranean ideology of the pastoral nomad,” *Ancient Society* 13/14 (1982/83), 5–31; J. Gießauf, *Barbaren – Monster – Gottesgeißeln. Steppennomaden im europäischen Spiegel der Spätantike und des Mittelalters*. Graz 2006.

<sup>34</sup> *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen* § 265: 198.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Juvaini, *History*, 107: “When the town [= Buchara] and citadel had been purged of rebels and the walls and outworks levelled with the dust, all the inhabitants of the town, men and women, ugly and beautiful, were driven out on the field of the *musalla*. Chingiz-Khan spared their lives; but the youths and full-grown men that were fit for such service were pressed into a levy for the attack on Sarmaqand and Dabusiya.” For very similar accounts, see *ibid.* 53, 92 and 100.

<sup>36</sup> The following passage summarizes the German translations of the *Meng-ta pei-lu* and the *Hei-Ta shih-lüeh*. See *Meng-Ta pei-lu und Hei-Ta shih-lüeh. Chinesische Gesandtenberichte über die frühen Mongolen 1221 und 1237*. Nach Vorarbeiten von Erich Haenisch und Yao Ts'ung-wu übersetzt und kommentiert von P. Olbricht und E. Pinks, Wiesbaden 1980, 53 and 191.

the capture of the small settlements in a region in order to provide themselves with sufficient manpower to help in the capture of larger towns and cities nearby. In heavy assaults captives were given the task of advancing ahead of the Mongol army to weaken the enemy whose exhausted troops were finally overrun by the Mongols.

Several other eastern sources confirm this account<sup>37</sup> and similar information can be found in nearly all the major trustworthy western reports in which we hear about the custom of driving prisoners in front of the main army as arrow-fodder.<sup>38</sup> They had to fill up the moats of besieged towns, to erect siege engines under fire from the defenders and finally to head the storming parties. Only a few supervising Mongols took part in these suicide missions to prevent the captives from fleeing.<sup>39</sup> However, these captives did not only serve as human targets to minimize casualties among the Mongols; they also fulfilled a psychological role. The justified Mongol expectation was that the defenders under siege would be reluctant to kill their own relatives and compatriots as they were driven forward in front of the attackers. The intention behind these atrocities – to strike terror into the hearts of opponents – was indeed successful, as is shown by the evidence of several cities that surrendered promptly to the Mongols.<sup>40</sup>

Concerning the treatment of captives and subdued peoples we owe the best Latin summary report to John of Piano Carpine who writes:

They send a detachment of captives and men of other nationalities who are fighting with them to meet the enemy head-on, and some Tartars may perhaps accompany them [...] Moreover, when it pleases the masters they take all the young men with their wives and children and compel them to follow them with all their household; from henceforth they are counted as Tartars, or rather as captives, for although they are numbered among the Tartars, they are never shown the respect

<sup>37</sup> Cf. B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran. Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220–1350*. Leipzig 1939, 415, 418; D. H. Martin, "The Mongol Army," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1943), 67. Liu K'i, "Aufzeichnungen von den Vorgängen in Ta-Liang," in *Zum Untergang zweier Reiche. Berichte von Augenzeugen aus den Jahren 1232–33 und 1368–70*. Wiesbaden 1969, 14.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the Hungarian Dominican friar Julian cap. 3, 6–10 (= Dörrie, *Drei Texte*, 176s.); Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Chronica Majora* IV, 76; Rogerius, *Carmen*, cap. 37, 582; Thomas, *Historia*, cap. XXXVII: 170; Carpine, *Historia*, cap. VIII, 6: 108s.

<sup>39</sup> From Juvaini, *History*, 53, we learn that some of these Mongols were criminals sentenced to death whose lives had been spared on condition that they took part in such dangerous operations. Cf. also *Meng-Ta pei-lu und Hei-Ta shih-lüeh*, 163, n. 7; Göckenjan, *Kundschafter und Späher*, 194.

<sup>40</sup> In my opinion, Stephen Turnbull's conclusion about the efficiency of Mongol terror in the Middle East is probably accurate: "... it is interesting to note the ease with which Genghis Khan captured cities in the central Asian Muslim world compared to similar operations in China. The Chinese had learned to live with nomad hordes over the centuries and were used to their ways, but to the subjects of the Khwarazm Shah the Mongols were strange, alien savages, and it was this barbarian factor that Genghis Khan exploited so well" (S. Turnbull, "Man or Monster? The Real Genghis Khan," *Military Illustrated* 184 (2003), 31).

that these enjoy but are treated as slaves and are sent into every kind of danger like other prisoners; they are first in battle and if a swamp or a dangerous river has to be crossed, they have to try the passage first.<sup>41</sup>

The Franciscan writes elsewhere that the Mongolian captains of a hundred divide those captives who are to be killed among other captives whom they want to keep as slaves and they force the latter to kill ten or more of their compatriots.<sup>42</sup>

The facts of Mongol cruelty and massacres speak for themselves. They could produce a terror so stupefying that, as Ibn al-Atir records, a single Mongol horseman could enter a Persian village and begin killing people while no one dared to raise a hand to stop him. Furthermore the chronicler had heard that one Mongol took a man captive, but had no weapon with which to kill him. He told his prisoner to lie with his head on the ground without moving. The terror-stricken man did so, and remained there until the Mongol returned from fetching his sword and cut his head off.<sup>43</sup> It is quite obvious that Ibn al-Atir exaggerated the details. Important, however, seems to me the clearly visible effect of Mongol strategy behind this story. Because of the brutal success of the Mongols, their enemies were often in a state of terror and, in effect, were already defeated psychologically before they were even engaged in battle. Therefore the Mongols fostered their terrible image to fool their victims into thinking that they were super-human, mounted demons appearing out of nowhere to destroy utterly the known world.<sup>44</sup> One can find confirmation for this psychological advantage of the *Tartars* in the simple statement of the Franciscan Friar Jordan of Giano in his letter to Duke Henry of Brabant: "... *sola nominis sui [= Tartari] formidine multos in fugam convertunt*".<sup>45</sup> At the beginning of the fourteenth century the Byzantine historian Georgios Pachymeres confirms in similar words that the Mongols used their hor-

<sup>41</sup> Carpini, *Historia*, cap. VI, 14: 103s. and cap. VII, 11: 107.

<sup>42</sup> Carpini, *Historia*, cap. VI, 17: 104: "In bellis autem quoscumque capiunt occident, nisi forte velint aliquos reservare, ut habeant eos pro servis. Occidendos autem dividunt per centenarios, ut cum bipenni interficiantur ab eis; ipsi vero post hec dividunt per captivos, et unicuique servo ad interficiendum dant decem aut plures aut pauciores secundum quod maioribus placet". For the correct interpretation of this text, see Schmieder, *Johannes von Plano Carpini*, 144s., n. 143.

<sup>43</sup> I follow the French translation of the Persian text from M. C. d' Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz-Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan*, Vol. 3, The Hague and Amsterdam 1834-1835, 69s.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. the thoughts of the Arabian doctor Ibn al-Labbad: "Sie [= Tartaren] töten ausnahmslos und unbarmherzig. Es ist, als ob ihr Zweck die Austilgung der Menschengattung wäre ... Es erhellt hieraus, dass sie nicht so sehr nach Besitz und Vermögen streben, sondern nach Zerstörung der Welt, damit sie zur Wüste werde", quoted in J. v. Somogyi, "Ein arabischer Bericht über die Tataren im 'Ta'rih al-Islām' von ad-Dahabi' von ad-Dahabi," *Der Islam* 24 (1937), 115.

<sup>45</sup> Jordan's letter of May 1241 in Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Chronica Majora* VI: 84.

rible reputation as a psychological weapon that made the emperor shiver with dreadful fear.<sup>46</sup>

To summarize this examination of the western sources of the 1240s, with additional reference to the eastern chronicles of the thirteenth century, it may be concluded that some of the early writers left the beaten tracks of interpretation to a remarkable extent. Reporters like Roger of Torre Maggiore, Thomas of Spalato and particularly John of Piano Carpini did not use the standard apocalyptic or barbarian models to explain Mongol atrocities but were able to recognize the concept of violence and fear as an intrinsic part of Mongol strategy. In this way they were undoubtedly pioneers in transforming the *Tartars* into human beings (cruel, greedy and irritating, of course, but still human beings) and cutting them down to size. In their reports dealing with the crushing defeats by the hitherto unknown enemies the authority of *topos* was undermined by the power of individual experience. As a result, several years later, the anonymous author of the annals of the cathedral chapter of Krakow had no problems in revealing the secrets of success of this strange people: neither outstanding strength nor courage but the deliberate employment of immeasurable atrocity and cunningness.<sup>47</sup> The Europeans had become acquainted with Mongol strategy. This did not help much in battle against the well trained steppe nomads, but the knowledge, and consequent demystification of the enemy, increased the potential for seeking counter-measures in place of the preoccupation with lamentations about the scourge of God.

<sup>46</sup> G. Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*. A. Failler, ed., French trans. V. Laurent. Paris 1984, II : 24 : 187: εννοειν ώστε καὶ ἡώς εκείνου καὶ τουνομα μόνον εισ φόβον ηγειοθαι καὶ δεδιέκαι.

<sup>47</sup> *Annales Capituli Cracoviensis in MGH SS XIX*, 598, ad annum 1241: "[Thartari]... illesi ad propria per Hungariam, totum mundum ex sua crudelitate gravi horroris percellentes formidine, redierunt. Quos tamen non robur virium efficit formidandos, nec robusti brachii fortitudo, verum sola cruenta crudelitas ac infidelitas versicia fraudulenta."

# *Croatian Ethnogenesis and the Nomadic Element*

EMIL HERŠAK AND BORIS NIKŠIĆ



In this presentation we will attempt to indicate some connections between the historical territory of Croatia and the nomadic peoples of the Eurasian steppe, briefly mentioning also certain developments before the arrival of the Croats. At the start, however, we must emphasize that this theme has rarely been addressed by Croatian scholars, which means that primary sources have not been fully analyzed and secondary interpretations are few. Nevertheless, as the title of our paper suggests, it seems that that the steppe connection did in fact play some more or less significant role in Croatian ethnogenesis. Our presentation will review the problem of ethnogenesis and of ethnogenetic theories, with specific reference to Croatia. And in this general context we will review what is known, or what can be inferred about the "Eurasian connection" in Croatia.

Defining Croatian ethnogenesis is not an easy task. The first problem is to define ethnicity, or else determine what is an *ethnie*, as Anthony Smith labelled its manifestations. Various historical and sociological schools have offered different interpretations, and the implications of ethnicity have also changed through history, especially from the ninth century to the present day. Former images of the *ethnie* as a biological, cultural, linguistic and psychological unit (*Volksseele*), virtually unchanged and unchangeable in time, have been replaced by more dynamic and often relativistic theories, some of which practically deny the existence of *ethnies*, considering them to be pure societal constructs. Such relativism has at times resulted in denying the obvious, i.e., that *ethnies*, whatever their *differentiae specifca*, show great persistence in time, or to be more precise, communities continue to be identified or united under the same ethnonyms over long periods of time.

Taking the Croatian case as an example, there can be no doubt that in the early mediaeval period there existed a group of people that identified themselves, and were identified by others, as Croats. In the tenth century the Byzantine emperor-historian Konstantin VII Porphyrogenitus dated the arrival of the Croats to the early seventh century, in the reign of the Emperor Heraclius. This is probable; however the first direct mention of the Croat name *in domestic sources* dates from

the year 852, when prince Trpimir styled himself "by the grace of God, prince of the Croats" (*dux chroatorum munere divino*). This Latin form of the Croat ethnonym was later confirmed in a stone inscription, dating from the time of Grand Prince and King Držislav: I (...) CLV DVX HROATOR(UM) IN TE(M)PVS DIRZISCLV DVCE(M) MAGNV(M), and the form in the Croatian language is attested at the end of the eleventh century in the inscription from Baška on the island of Krk, which mentions the time of "Zvonimir, the Croatian king" (ZBVNIMIRЬ KRALЬ HRВVATЬSKЬI). Undoubtedly, this name refers to an ethnic entity that had acquired a political framework. Furthermore, as we know, this entity continued to develop, under the same name, to the present day. In the later mediaeval period, it was explicitly identified with a "nation", i.e. the *natio Croatica*, although we know that the concept of nation at that time differed from the modern concept. Nevertheless, the continuity of interlinked forms of community, of the type of language and of certain cultural traits cannot be disputed. Yet the ingredients of this communalism and its cultural traits have changed, and it is certain that the modern Croat *ethnie* incorporates populations whose ancestors in the medieval period would not have regarded themselves as Croats, just as it certain that mediaeval Croatia included populations that were at the time distinct from the Croat *ethnie*, although they were later assimilated into it.

Thus, a working hypothesis of ethnogenesis, in the Croatian case, would include two levels: (1) the process through which previous populations or *ethnies* came together and formed the community that emerged and defined itself as Croat at the beginning of Croatian history; and (2) the processes, shifts of identity, etc. that subsequently expanded and developed the Croat *ethnie* to its present-day form. In general terms, a working definition of ethnogenesis would imply; first, the initial emergence of the *ethnie* (a community or community network usually identifying itself under a specific name, i.e., an *ethnonym*), and second, the further development of the *ethnie*, as long as this development lasts. As a corollary to this, we might say that ethnicity can be viewed as the continuation of a community or sense of community through time, regardless of changes in the community's membership, language, and cultural markers.

Now, if we consider the specific ingredients in the Croatian example, the following elements, *component groups* or historical *component stages* – not counting the possible Eurasian nomadic element, which we will treat later – could be said to have contributed to the making of the Croat *ethnie*, or its basis, throughout time:

(1) The indigenous prehistorical component stems from the first modern human populations in the area, from the Stone Age onwards. Croatia was first populated by modern humans about 40,000 years ago, and certain analyses indicate that biological continuity has been preserved to this day with some Upper Paleolithic populations, especially on the Adriatic islands. Of course, these very ancient populations cannot be considered predecessors of the Croats, since they contributed likewise to the substrata of many other European peoples, yet biological continuity also implies some continuation of traditions, cultural patterns, perhaps mentalities and other elements that were later passed on, ultimately (also) to the

Croat *ethnie*. Nothing will ever be known about the ethnic names and divisions of these earliest populations (assuming that they had some sense of ethnicity), just as nothing will probably ever be known in this regard about relatively newer groups that arrived in the Neolithic period, probably from the Near East, for example the people of the Neolithic Danilo culture (6th millennium BCE). The same applies to one of the most important archaeological cultures in Croatia, the Eneolithic Vučedol culture from Eastern Slavonia (circa 3000-2200 BCE), although this culture somewhat loses its prehistorical anonymity, in the light of presuppositions that its linguistic affiliation was already Indo-European, or at least pre-Indo-European.

(2) *The proto-historical component.* This next pre-Croatian component stage is constituted by the first peoples identified by name in historical sources, although for the most part it remains on the verge of history. In regard to coastal regions of Croatia, Greek and Roman authors referred to Illyrians (= Ιλλυριοι, *Illyrii*), both in a strict sense (*Illyrii proprie dicti*, according to Pliny), and in a broad sense, which included peoples such as the *Delmatae*, *Liburni*, *Iapodes* and even, in some cases, the *Pannonii* in the north. It is very doubtful whether all these *gentes* were ethnically identical, or even related. Whatever the case, archaeologists often date the "arrival" of the Illyrians with the spread of the Central European Urnfield culture and/or with migrations on the eve of the Early Iron Age. According to one theory, the Illyrian ethnonym may be linked linguistically to the name of the Vistula River in Poland, although this remains a conjecture. In the late Illyrian period (from the fourth century BCE), Greek colonies were established on some Adriatic islands (Vis, Hvar, Korčula, etc.), although there is also a possibility that Greeks were present along the Croatian coast already in Mycenaean times (although their influence at that time was probably minimal). Next, at least from the time of Alexander of Macedonia, Celtic groups were dominant in certain areas of Croatia, especially in the Pannonian plain. Strabo mentions that the *Iapodes* had become "half-Illyrian and half-Celtic". In the North the two main Celtic groups were the *Taurisci* in north-west Croatia and the *Scordisci* in most of Slavonia and in Sirmium (as well in surrounding parts of Serbia and Bosnia).

(3) The early (=Roman) historical component. The Roman conquest, completed under the Emperor Augustus, brought new ethnic groups to the area of present-day Croatia. The most notable contribution was made by Italic colonists, who often left their names on gravestones and other inscriptions. Besides this, given the extent and the relatively high (internal) migration rate of the Roman Empire (especially among legionaries), people from various countries and regions contributed to the ethnic composition of the Roman provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia. Yet as evidenced from the analysis of thousands of personal inscriptions, most Italic colonists were business people, craftsmen, oriental slaves, etc. – whereas practically no peasants migrated to the other side of the Adriatic. This would imply that villages and agricultural areas, on the whole, would have preserved a relatively stronger "pre-Roman" character. Yet in fact, the coastal area became thoroughly Romanised. This resulted in the formation of a specific Romanic language, "Old Dalmatian", which preserved certain archaic phonetic features. Al-

most nothing remained of the previous Illyrian language. All we know today of Illyrian is based on personal names, ethnonyms, toponyms, and one certain word, *sabia* "beer".

(4) The central (medieval) historical component. In the Migration Period, which marked the end of the Roman Empire, the area of Croatia was subsequently invaded by many ethnic groupings, most of them identified as Germanic. In the classical interpretation of the *Völkerwanderung*, the dynamic force that set this series of migrations into motion was the Huns, whom we will mention later. On the basis of historical information, confirmed also by archaeological evidence, the most important groups that arrived in Croatia were the Visigoths and the Svevi, who moved further west relatively quickly, the Ostrogoths, Gepids and the Langobards, who left the greatest amount of material evident relating to their settlement. All the present Croatian lands became an integral part of Theodoric's Ostrogothic kingdom, and this fact was to have a further effect on theories of Croatian ethnogenesis. In the second wave that occurred in the Migration Period, starting from the sixth century, numerous Slavic-speaking tribes broke through the Danube *limes* and occupied most of south-east Europe, including Croatian areas. This process is often linked to another driving force, the Avars. At the end of these events Croats were already present at least in areas of Dalmatia (according to Porphyrogenitus).

(5) The final (medieval-to-modern) historical component. As to the possible elements that contributed to Croatian ethnogenesis after the arrival of the Croats in Dalmatia, the following elements could be noted. Franks appeared in the eighth-ninth centuries, Magyars from the late ninth century in East Slavonia. From the beginning of the High Middle Ages, various Western European groups settled in Croatian and Slavonian towns (French, Italian, German/Saxon, Hungarian, etc.) where they formed separate communities. After the Black Death in the fourteenth century and even slightly earlier, Croatian historical documents begin to mention nomadic "Vlach" herdsmen. Finally, from the late Middle Ages onwards, the major process in Croatian ethnogenesis was the gradual full incorporation of Slavonia into the Croatian ethnic framework, which was intensified by Ottoman conquests of the southern historically Croatian lands (effectively the Croatian ethnonym "migrated" during this time to the western part of Slavonia, and Zagreb developed from a Slavonian town to the capital of Croatia). In the same period, the kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia provided refuge for thousands of Rascians or Serbs, and this was to have a particularly strong effect on the ethnic and religious composition of the country. After the Ottoman Period, and more intensely from the mid eighteenth century, eastern parts of the kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia were recolonized by large numbers of ethnic Germans, which was followed towards the end of the nineteenth century by immigration from all parts of the Habsburg monarchy. Although we should note that Croatian ethnic development continued even afterwards, in effect by the mid nineteenth century the modern Croatian *ethnie* was already formed.

All these five component groups or stages in Croatian ethnogenesis intertwined through the centuries and finally contributed to the formation of the Croat *ethnie* as we know it today.

And as one might have already guessed, the Eurasian nomadic element, which we have abstracted so far, also fits into some of the mentioned component stages, at least from the time of the first Indo-European migrations (if not earlier). However, in this respect, a few words should be said about the general physical topography of the Croatian lands.

The great Eurasian steppe, as is well-known, extends from Manchuria to Pannonia, with certain discontinuities or reductions in and around mountain regions; e.g. the Hinggan Range, the Altai-Sayan area and the Carpathians in the west. Beyond the Carpathians, the Great Hungarian plain (*Alföld*) has traditionally been a receptor of Eurasian nomad groups, and a part of Pannonian Croatia may be considered as being an extension of this area. We refer here to the area of East Slavonia and especially to Sirmium, which until 1918 was an integral part of the kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia. On the other hand, the rest of Croatia is overall a mountainous region, with a progressively more elevated topography from the north-west to the Dinaric region in the South. This topography also meant a compartmentalization of the area, which strongly influenced Croatian history (the spatial integration of the Croatian state, etc.). Eurasian nomadic groups that would arrive in the immediate vicinity of Croatia would usually penetrate into Sirmium and East Slavonia, yet only some splinter groups would make their way into the rest of the country, where they would be quickly assimilated, without leaving any obvious traces of their existence. Simply said, most of Croatia does not offer suitable conditions to sustain a Eurasian type of nomadic lifestyle. The only type of nomadism that did develop - to a great extent at that - was transhumance (sheep herding), which was practiced from the earliest times until the twentieth century. It was especially spread, from late medieval times, by Vlach herdsmen.

Subsequent waves of Eurasian nomads repeatedly reached the borders of Croatia at different times in history, but almost always broke apart against the pre-Alps and the Dinaric Range. Metaphorically, waves from the steppe splashed onto mountain shore, and particles dissipated far from the shoreline, leaving usually only slight traces of their origins.

One major exception was the Eneolithic Vučedol culture, whose centre was located in eastern Croatia. Marija Gimbutas and other archaeologists explicitly linked the Vučedol culture with the process of Indo-Europeanization of Central Europe, and this culture could also be incorporated into the Transpontic Metallurgical Province suggested by Evgenij Černyh. Specific to the Vučedol culture was a later extension both to the north, to the Hungarian Plain, and also to mountain regions in the west and south. However, although the Vučedol culture has been linked to the Kurgan complex in the steppe area, at this time the lifestyle of horse-nomadism that would later characterise many Eurasian nomads had not yet been developed. Wild horses were hunted in Vučedol, but cattle was the main livestock, followed (to a lesser extent) by pigs and sheep. Deer hunting was also widespread, especially at some locations of this culture.

The next Eurasian nomadic wave that *possibly* reached Croatia would be represented by Iron Age populations, such as the Scythians and Sarmatians, pre-

sumed to be of Iranian linguistic affiliation. Although direct archeological evidence for these groups practically does not exist on the territory of Croatia, some finds of Scythian arrowheads in the immediate vicinity, in neighbouring Slovenian Styria, indicate that such links could have occurred at the time when Scythian influences penetrated into the area of the Hallstatt culture. It is also more than likely that Iazyges or other Sarmatians were active in parts of northern Croatia during the devastation of Pannonia in the Marcomannic Wars of the second century CE. It is questionable whether or not there might have been any distant Iranian connection in the case of the Iasi people, who are mentioned from the third century BCE as inhabiting the area between Ptuj in Slovenia, Daruvar in Croatia and Lake Balaton in Hungary (*municipum Iasorum*, cf. *Aquae Iasae*, the Roman name for Varaždinske Toplice). The phonetic similarity is close in the ethnonyms of the Iazyges and latter Alans (= As, Jas, etc.). However, the historical context is problematic and most scholars consider the Iasi to have been an indigenous Pannonian people.

During the Migration Period (fourth-seventh centuries CE) the Eurasian nomadic element in parts of Croatia was much more evident, as is confirmed both in written sources and by the archaeological record. First of all, it is certain that the Huns infiltrated Croatia, both as raiders and as conquerors, especially in the East, starting from the fourth century. In 388 Hunnic and Alan federates participated in the battle of Siscia (= Sisak) in the context of internal power struggles in the Western Roman Empire. Later the region was traversed by the Visigoths, and in the following decades the Huns established themselves firmly in Pannonia. Sirmium fell to the Huns in 441, and at that time they destroyed Mursa (Osijek). Occasional Hunnic artifacts can be found in various places in Slavonia. The Ostrogoths, who entered Croatia in the fifth century, under Hunnic influence had also acquired a strong nomadic component, and were associated with groups of Alans and others (as were the Huns). When the Ostrogoth kingdom collapsed in the sixth century, much of Croatia was taken over by the Langobards, who left a very impressive archaeological record in almost all of Pannonian Croatia. Yet very soon, the most important nomadic element in (proto-)Croatian history entered onto the scene – namely the Avars.

The role of the Avars is emphasized by many scholars, and Avar artefacts and necropolises can be found throughout Croatia, both in the north and in the south. Since all of Sirmium was previously a part of Croatia, an inscribed brick from Srijemska Mitrovica is probably the most interesting archaeological item in the Archaeological Museum of Zagreb relating to the Avars. The brick, dating from the seizure of Sirmium by the Avar *khagan* Bayan, contains the following text in Greek: *ΧΡΙΣΤΕ ΚΥΡΙ Ε. ΒΟΗΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΟΣ ΚΕΡΠΕΥΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΒΑΠΙΝ ΚΕ ΠΥΛΑΞΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΡΩΜΑΝΙΑΝ ΚΕ ΤΟΝ ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΑ. ΑΜΗΝ* (= Christ Lord, help the city and repel the Avar and preserve Romania and the one who wrote this. Amen). Although Avar finds are, obviously, not so frequent in Croatia as in the Hungarian Plain and in Voivodina, important necropolises and cultural traces have been found in parts of Slavonia, in north-west Croatia (in Medimurje and near Zagreb) and in the Dalmatian *Hinterland* (as well as in adjacent parts of Herzegovina). Individual traces have even been found on the

Adriatic islands. There has also been much debate whether toponyms of the "Obrovac" type refer to Avar settlements. The alternative view is that they derive from the Slavic word *obrovati*, "to dig a circular trench", and that they are not necessarily linked to the Slavic name of the Avars (= Obri). Yet the Frankish term *hring*, used to denote the central Avar stronghold in Pannonia taken by Charlemagne's armies at the end of the eighth century, would suggest the same notion. The Frankish subjugation of the Avars occurred after the fall of the first Avar Khaganat, and the second Avar Khaganat had already been greatly influenced by the Bulgars - another Eurasian element in the general scheme. Thus, just a few decades after the Frankish destruction of the Second Kaganat, the Bulgars under Khan Omurtag occupied most of Pannonian Croatia. In the late ninth century the last-mentioned prince of Pannonian Croatia, Braslav, was still a Bulgarian vassal, prior to the arrival of the Magyars. What happened to the Avars in the meantime is a subject of debate. It is possible that some of them took refuge in Croatia, based on the information given by Porphyrogenitus that there are still some Avars in Croatia, and it can be seen that they are Avars (ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣΙΝ ΑΚΜΗΝ ΕΝ ΧΡΩΒΑΤΙΑ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΑΒΑΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΙΝΩΣΚΟΝΤΑΙ ΑΒΑΡΕΙΣ ΟΝΤΕΣ). Alternatively, Porphyrogenitus' statement may apply to the remnants of the Avars that had survived in Dalmatia, after the Croats had defeated them in the sixth century and taken over their land as federates of the Emperor Heraclius.

The last Eurasian nomadic group that could be identified in relation to ethnic developments in and around Croatia were the Magyars, who were present in Sirmium and eastern Slavonia after their arrival in Pannonia at the end of the ninth century. It is known that the Magyars carried out raids and destruction in this area in the tenth century and the *Chronicle of the Priest of Diclea* mentions their raids on Dalmatia. The latter source, written at the end of the twelfth century, is problematic in its historical content, but probably reflects earlier traditions. The same source notes battles between the Croatian king, Tomislav, and the invading Magyars. The great Mongol-Tatar invasion of the mid-thirteenth century can also be considered a Eurasian nomad invasion, yet its effects were short-lived, despite wide-scale destruction (e.g. the burning of Zagreb), population movements, and *de facto* conquest. There is practically no mention of Eurasian nomads in the sources after that date, although in the fifteenth century the Croat priest Martinac uses imagery previously applied to Tatars to refer to the invasions of the Ottoman Turks.

Thus, after having summarized the historical sequence as it can be reconstructed from historical sources and the archaeological record, we can now turn to the next topic - the way in which the "Eurasian connection" was treated by various Croatian and other authors in their interpretations of Croat ethnogenesis. This applies primarily to the problem of ethnogenesis *on the first level* - in other words, identifying the population groups that formed the basis out of which the Croat *ethnie* emerged. The "Eurasian connection" has been less treated in regard to ethnogenetic processes *on the second level*, namely within the context of the continuous process of ethnic development from the initial emergence of the *ethnie* to its final state. In the Croatian case, this second level would include identifying and explaining linguistic and cultural features of Eurasian origin that became asso-

ciated with the *ethnic* (e.g. some archaic West Turkic loanwords, probably derived from the Avar or Old Bulgar language).

Proceeding chronologically, the oldest Croat ethnogenetic tradition is recorded in Chapter 30 of Porphyrogenitus' *De administrando imperio*:

[...] the Croats (χρωβατοι) at that time were dwelling beyond Bavaria (βαπτιβα-  
πεια), where the Belocroats (βελοχρωβατοι) are now. From them split off a family of  
five brothers, Kloukas (κλουκας) and Lobelos (λοβελος) and Kosentzis (κοσεν-  
τζης) and Mouchlo (μουχλω) and Chrobatus (χρωβατος), and two sisters, Touga  
(τουγα) and Bouga (βουγα), who came with their folk to Dalmatia and found the  
Avars in possession of that land. After they had fought one another for some years,  
the Croats prevailed and killed some of the Avars and the remainder they compelled  
to be subject to them.

It is usually assumed that Porphyrogenitus, or whoever registered this account, received it from some Croat source, probably from a member of the Croat nobility.

The second Croat ethnogenetic version can be traced back to Thomas the Archdeacon of Split and also to the *Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea*. This version equates the origins of the Croats with the Goths, or in other words, Croats are simply descendants of Goths. This account also incorporates some elements, which possibly could have been derived from the previous migration account. For example, Thomas says that seven or eight noble tribes called "Lingons" arrived in Dalmatia from Poland led by the Gothic leader Totilla ("Venerant de partibus Poloniae,  
qui Lingones appellantur, cum Totilla, septem uel octo tribus nobilium").

The third vision was the "indigenous Slavic" theory of Croat origins, which became very popular in the Renaissance. Representatives of this ethnogenetic approach were Vinko Pribojević and Juraj Šižgorić. There is no doubt that the Croatian language is Slavic, so in this respect the theory was true, yet it assumed that the Slavs were indigenous to Illyricum and that the ancestors of the Slavs were the ancient Illyrians. Vinko Pribojević, in his famous speech, traced the origin of all Slavs back to Noah's son Japheth, and also equated many ancient peoples, including Thracians and Macedonians, with Slavs.

With the development of modern Croatian historiography from the seventeenth century, this Slavic theory was developed in realistic terms, and it was assumed that the Croats were just another Slavic people that settled in their homeland during the Migration Period. Ivan Lučić (Lucius), the father of Croatian historiography, examined Porphyrogenitus' work and came to the conclusion that the Croats arrived from "White Croatia beyond the Carpathians", namely from "Sarmatia" (= Poland), and this was in accordance with references to Croats in the *Russian Primary Chronicle* in the context of the ninth-tenth centuries. The general opinion prevailed that these "Russian Croats" were also White Croats.

Yet one major difficulty with this "Slavic migration" theory was that the Croat ethnonym could not be derived from any Slavic root, despite some rather naïve attempts to do so. As another possibility, attempts were made to explain the ethnonym on a Germanic linguistic basic, especially from the Germanic name of the Carpathians, Old Nordic *Harfaðafjöll*. Likewise some scholars, such as the English

Byzantologist John Bagnell Bury, proposed a Turkic etymology. The idea of five brothers reminded Bury of the Bulgar story of the migration of Khan Kubrat's five sons, whereas the name of the eponymic Croat leader, i.e. Chrobatus, seemed to indicate Kubrat himself. Kubrat's name appears in various spellings (Κουβράτος, Κοβράτος, Κροβάτος, Κουβέρ, Crobatus, Dhudbadr, Chubraat, Quetrades, Koyp'ть), some of which truly are quite close in sound and form to the name of the Croat leader. For this reason, Bury wrote: "This Croatian legend has a strong family resemblance to the Bulgarian legend of Krobat (or Kubrat) and his five sons, and I therefore think that we should hardly hesitate to take Krobat and Hrobat as the same prehistoric hero of the Hunnic people...". This Turkic-Bulgar theory was soon assimilated to an Avar theory of Croat origins, which was suggested based on the close association of Avars and Croats in historical records and on the assumption that the specific Croat title *ban* ("viceroy", "warden") was derived from the name of the Avar khagan Bayan (which Bury also accepted).

However in 1890, in the ruins of the Greek colony of Tanais at the mouth of the Don, the Russian scholar Vasily Vasilyevič Latyšev discovered two inscriptions dating from the second and third centuries CE which contained the personal name ΧΟΡΟΑΘΟΣ or ΧΟΡΟΥΑΘΟΣ. In 1902 the philologist Aleksandr Lvovič Pogodin identified this name with the Croat ethnonym, and from this point onward the Iranian theory of Croat origins gained increasing popularity. Yet a distinction should be made in the sense that some scholars used this theory only to explain the ethnonym itself, and not necessarily the original ethnic affiliation of the Croats, while others took this theory to the extreme, on which we will soon comment.

Theories on ethnogenesis may be more or less correct in the scientific objective (historiographical) sense, yet they often also have ideological implications. In this sense, they may become constructs, which in certain situations may have a supportive role in affirming the identity or legitimacy of a community. Thus, if we examine the chronological development of Croatian ethnogenetic interpretations, we might identify certain ideological motives.

The original tribal account of five brothers and two sisters is perhaps the least ideologically motivated. The names of these leaders are so strange that is difficult to imagine that they could have been invented at the Byzantine court. Yet in general the image conveyed is not only that of an extended family, but also of the heterogeneous nature of ethnogenesis. In other words, it implies that various elements entered into the Croat *ethnie*. Heterogenesis would be also a typical model in the Eurasian steppe, and it is probably not a coincidence that Bulgar and Magyar ethnogenetic traditions also mention founding groups composed of several leaders. The specificity in the Croatian case is the presence not only of brothers, but also of two sisters. In fact, due to its rawness, this oldest ethnogenetic account probably best preserves elements that may be closest to the historiographical truth, or at least reflect the "possibilities of the period".

This cannot be said of the Gothic theory. Not excluding the *eventuality* that some Gothic remnants might have survived until the sixth century, and then entered into the Croat *ethnie*, all in all there is very little basis to identify the original

Croats with the Goths, or with any other Germanic people. Nevertheless, some medieval chronicles do make this explicit identification. Why? According to the late Croatian historian Nada Klaić, Thomas the Archdeacon hated Slavs/Croats and wanted to belittle them as barbarians by calling them Goths. However, we must stress that a negative image of the Goths was developed much later, only in the Renaissance. True, the Goths were always considered barbarians – but they were considered the “best of the barbarians”, as opposed to the Langobards, Avars, etc. In this sense, we should probably assume that the Gothic theory was an intentional construct of the Croat ruling dynasty of princes and kings in the ninth to eleventh centuries (named after prince Trpimir). These rulers were certainly aware of the difference between themselves and the Latin inhabitants of the Dalmatian cities, and that they were the descendants of newcomers, i.e. barbarians. And so, in constructing an identity it would have been best to identify with the “best of the barbarians”. In other words, the Gothic theory was probably developed as a legitimizing myth of the Trpimirović dynastic sometime before the end of the eleventh century, since afterwards the Croatian crown passed to the Arpad dynasty, which had a different dynastic myth, stemming from Attila the Hun.

Likewise the “indigenous Slavic” theory had a particular ideological and perhaps cultural role. By the time it developed, during the Renaissance, the word “Gothic” already had negative connotations, and on the other hand the descendants of the Croat/Slavic migrants and indigenous Latinized groups in Croatia had already mixed. Thus the “indigenous Slavic” theory was an expression of this new ethnic amalgamate.

The “Slavic migration”, Turkic-Bulgar/or Avar and the Iranian theories have also been used and elaborated in non-scientific terms. The first was obviously emphasized in various Pan-Slavic and South Slavic political contexts. In former Yugoslavia the “Slavic migration” theory was virtually official. The Turkic-Bulgar, or more precisely the Avar, theory, was revived several decades ago by authors such as Otto Kronsteiner and Walter Pohl, and was accepted in Croatia by Nada Klaić and for a time by Neven Budak (who later rejected it). One could say that Nada Klaić adopted it for iconoclastic purposes, since her most constructive role in Croatian historiography had always been to expose all “accepted truths” to a merciless critique. By equating Croats with Avars, the traditional “good/bad” imagery of Croatian history was totally shattered. Yet as Budak later emphasized, it is true that Croats and Avars are often mentioned in the same texts, but regularly as enemies. Moreover, the Turkic etymology of the Croat ethnonym offered by Kronsteiner, for example, was very problematic.

The Iranian theory, which similarly to the Turko-Bulgar/or Avaric theory, proposed a Eurasian nomadic origin for the first Croats, also received far-fetched interpretations. Either intentionally or not, it likewise undermined the official “Slavic migration” theory, even before World War II. In its most extreme versions it denied that Croats had anything to do with Slavs, and sought Croat origins throughout the Iranian-speaking world, especially in the Old Persian satrapy of Arachosia in Central Asia, whose Iranian name Harahwaiti, more or less sounded like the Croat ethnonym. Especially in recent years, this type of extremism led to

the rallying call "Croats are not Slavs", which was inspired by aversion to the overall political and cultural *milieu* of former Yugoslavia. The incorporation of Iranism into Croat ideology after the break-up of Yugoslavia resulted in a strange mixture of contradictions. For example, it was claimed that Croats are not Slavs, yet the Croatian language is Slavic; Croats supposedly originated several millennia ago on the East Iranian plateau, yet they were assumed to be culturally much more "European" or else western than their Eastern Slavic neighbours; sophisticated methods of scientific research were invoked, yet they were interpreted in a totally amateur fashion.

All in all, it is hard to imagine what useful role could be played today by extreme Iranist interpretations of Croat ethnogenesis, in view of the fact that the ideological need to provide support for a distinct Croatian national identity is no longer an issue. On the other hand, such interpretations have done harm to genuine scientific theories dealing with the probability of an Iranian contribution to Croat ethnogenesis. At times valid scientific theories in this respect have been ridiculed simply due to the "bad advertising" produced by amateur attempts to trace the migration of Croat from the depths of the Achaemenid Empire to their present homeland. Yet having said this, we should also describe what remains plausible in the Iranian theory of Croat ethnogenesis.

The Tanais inscriptions represent the keystone of the Iranian theory and also the furthest eastern limit to which the theory can be extended. They date from a time when the Greek colony of Tanais was definitely surrounded by Sarmatian tribes. Xorothos was the personal name of one of the city's archonts, not an ethnonym in the strict sense. Yet it is well-known that people migrating from their original ethnic environments to foreign places are often named according to their ethnic origins. Thus, given the historical setting around Tanais in the second–third centuries, as well as the *uniqueness* of the name in question, the person referred to in the inscriptions could have arrived in the Greek town from some Sarmatian tribe, whose ethnonym may have been the prototype of the future Croat ethnonym. In itself this assumption is too slight to sustain a valid theory, if other indications did not add weight to it. Oddly enough, the very fact that the Croats arrived in their homeland speaking a Slavic language actually provides support for the Iranian theory, instead of contradicting it. Namely, intense Slavic–Iranian contacts, especially in the Slavic group denoted in historical sources as Antes, have generally been accepted. Prior to the arrival of the Croats in their homeland, the Antes lived east of the Carpathians and along the lower Danube. This is far from Tanais, but movements from the area of Tanais or the Azov Sea in the direction of the Carpathians and the Danube were quite common in history: Sarmatian tribes, Huns, Bulgars, Magyars and other nomadic peoples or ethnic segments typically migrated along this route. In accordance with the "possibilities of the period", it is quite conceivable that an Iranian, probably Sarmatian, segment, identifying itself (or identified by others) by an earlier form of the Croat ethnonym, arrived among the Antes east of the Carpathians and ultimately passed on its name to the future Croat ethnic core. Now if we accept, purely on a linguistic basis, that an Iranian explanation of the Croat ethnonym seems possible *vis-à-vis* other options, then

technically two scenarios exist: a Slavic population could have been labelled by this name by neighbouring Iranians, or more plausibly an Iranian group or clan that had settled among the Slavs, could have been linguistically assimilated by them, while retaining its origin ethnonym, which the associated Slavic-speaking group would have eventually adopted.

All this remains conjecture, yet three further pieces of information transform such speculation into a scientific theory, despite many "missing links".

First, in 602 the Avars destroyed the Ante tribal group, and the appearance of the Croats in history just one generation after this event is best explained by assuming that they had developed earlier within the Ante group, and consequently the Croat-Avar war that resulted in the Croatian conquest of Dalmatia would have been a continuation of the previous Avar-Ante conflict. Such an interpretation, in regard to the Iranian theory, would place the predecessors of the Croats among the Antes, or in other words in a Slavic-speaking context that had been in contact with Iranian groups.

Second, historical sources confirm that the Croats indicated the cardinal directions by colours, in accordance with the Eurasian colour scheme, used by Iranian and other steppe peoples (as well as in ancient China). It is very unlikely that such a model would have been accepted without some "assistance" from steppe nomads. Moreover, even after the Croatian settlement of Dalmatia, according to the *Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea*, the western (or north-western) part of the country was called "White Croatia" and the southern part "Red Croatia". And as we said, Porphyrogenitus wrote that the Croats (= Xrobatoi) arrived in Dalmatia from the lands of the White Croats (= Beloxrobatoi), which later historians traditionally located beyond the Carpathians. Denoting these Transcarpathian Croat lands as "white" or western would be absurd in regard to Dalmatia, and logical only if some reference point existed in the east, which points us towards the general direction of Tanais.

Finally, we have emphasized the importance of the oldest Croat ethnogenetic tradition, recorded in the *De administrando imperio*. This tradition indicates a heterogeneous composition of the first Croats, and as noted includes not only men, but also two women among the leaders of the Croats. The latter detail may be indicative in view of the special status that women apparently enjoyed among Sarmatian peoples. Archaeological research has confirmed that women warriors did in fact exist among the Sarmatians, which has given some new weight to ancient Greek legends about the Amazons, and to Herodotus' account that the Sauromates descended from a mixture of Scythians and Amazons. To this we may add that the Russian linguist Oleg Nikolayevič Trubačov explained the original Iranian prototype of the name "Croat" from the adjective *\*xar-va(n)t*, which would refer to women, or to a people ruled by women. This does not mean that we should immediately equate Croat origins with various perceptions of Amazons, yet we might mention that Paul the Deacon, in his *Historia Langobardorum*, wrote that on their way from the Baltic to Pannonia, while crossing some river, the Langobards came into conflict with "Amazons", and then with Bulgars (I: 15-17). The historical context in this case is the mid sixth century, before the arrival

of the Avars in Pannonia, and the location of a group identified as "Amazons" in east-central Europe at this time is at least curious in the light of Trubačov's explanation of the Croat ethronym.

Today in Croatia advanced techniques of DNA analysis are being applied to investigate the history and prehistory of Croatia's population. So far analysis of Y-chromosome lineages has shown that the relatively most common lineage in the country is also typically the most frequent lineage in other Slavic-speaking countries. This tendency would seem to confirm the major role of the Slavs in the formation of the Croatia *ethnie*. However, several other lineages are also present, and on the whole the picture indicates a very complex ethnic history, with various degrees of continuity from all the component stages mentioned in the first part of this presentation, or, in other words, from all periods both before and after the historical "arrival of the Croats" in Croatia. Since the classification of these various lineages and their presumed antiquity remains a subject of discussion, we must (for now) avoid precise comments.

Nevertheless, in view of the theme of this paper, we might mention one intriguing result that was published in a paper a few years ago. Namely, besides confirming the Slavic "genetic tendency", so to speak (i.e. a statistical congruence of some genetic markers between Croatia's population and the populations of other Slavic-speaking countries), on the Adriatic island of Hvar the authors discovered the presence of a lineage that is virtually absent in Europe, but very common in central and east Asia. The explanation given was that this may be a remnant of the Avar influence in Croatian history, or alternatively a phenomenon linked in some way either to the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, or to a genetic transfer along the ancient Silk Road). Obviously, DNA analysis of living populations shifts the focus of ethnogenesis from the first level to the second level. The processes leading to the emergence of the first titular *ethnie* become more difficult to determine, whereas the total population heritage leading up to the present state of the *ethnie* is shown in great complexity. On the other hand, until DNA analysis is conducted on sufficiently representative samples of skeletal material, i.e. previous populations, this type of reconstruction of the past will more often raise questions than provide answers to questions. DNA analysis is definitely an exciting and very promising form of investigating population histories, but so far in the Croatian case it seems only to confirm what seems obvious, that present-day Croatia is genetically a part of eastern or, more precisely, south-eastern Europe and that there is a relatively great similarity to other Slavic areas. However Croats would be a Slavic people regardless of the results of DNA analysis – since the essential criterion in this case is language, and the Croat language is by all accounts a Slavic language.

In conclusion, what can we say in reference to the title of this paper: "Croatian Ethnogenesis and the Nomadic Element"? Perhaps it would be best to generalize and say: Yes, more or less, indications do exist that such an element was present in the formation of the first Croats, and to a lesser extent in Croatian ethnic history as a whole. Apart from this, we might note that the theme of ethnogenesis is a valid scientific subject *per se*, since the search for origins has always been an es-

sential human passion. On the other hand, the theme of ethnogenesis has also served other functions and, at times, has been not a passion to know one's origins, but a fantasy about one's origins. The latter has often led to preposterous visions of megalomania. Yet occasionally, such as in art, even fantasies recognized as fantasies can have some value. For instance, if we look at several interpretations of the "Arrival of the Croats" by Croatian painters, we can appreciate their mythical quality, even despite our own aesthetic preferences or criteria. And in closing, we might add that the nomadic element has also been expressed in these representations, particularly in one late romantic painting by Celestin Medović, which depicts the Croats with the traditional imagery of Eurasian nomads.

# *Horsemen Interments of the Golden Horde*

The informational potential of the archaeological material  
for social reconstructions

V. I. IVANOV AND M. I. IVANOVA



“Horsemen interments”, which are usually understood as burials containing the partial remains of a horse (skin, skull and leg bones), a whole horse carcass or articles of harness, are viewed in the majority of cases as an ethnomarking feature of medieval nomads of the Eurasian steppes. With reference to the period from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, they are seen as an ethnocultural feature of sari-kypchaks.<sup>1</sup> Among 850 interments of the Golden Horde period excavated in the steppes from the Urals to the Carpathian Mountains, 37.4% are horsemen interments, being present in all the conventionally divided local groups; pre-Urals, Nizhne- and Srednevolzhskoi, Don and others. This fact makes us take another look at the semantic meaning of the horsemen interments and view them in relation to the social stratification of the Golden Horde nomads. As an example, we took sepulchral monuments of the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries from the southern pre-Urals and the Volga region, including the southern territory of the present-day Czelyabinsk region, the south-east of Bashkortostan, the Orenburg region and western Kazakhstan, and the Astrakhan, Volgograd, Saratov and Samara regions of Russia. The samples under analysis comprise 510 interments, which allows us to make statistical calculations with a low signification barrier (=0.8%, with probability degree of 0.95).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> U. S. Hudyakov, “Kypchak tribes of Western Siberia in the XI-first half of the XIII centuries,” *The history of Tatars since ancient times*. Vol. II. Kazan 2006, 482–491; V. A. Ivanov, “Kypchaks in Eastern Europe,” *The history of Tatars since ancient times*. Vol. II. Kazan 2006, 496–503.

<sup>2</sup> V. F. Gening, E. P. Bunyatin, S. G. Pustovalov and N. A. Rychkov, *Formalized-statistical methods in archaeology (The analysis of sepulchral monuments)*. Kiev 1990, 64.

In the 510 interments under study, the horsemen interments comprise around one-third (34.1%), of which about half (17.1% of the total) contained horse burials and the other half (17%) articles of harness but without horse remains.

Among the burials with a whole horse carcass, the majority (5.5% of the total) are burials where the horse carcass lies to the left of the human remains: Tlyavuglovsky, Barrow (Bar.) 1; by the Ural village, Bar. 5 and 9; Khabarny I, Bar. 4; by Bolshevik II village, Bar. 1; by Bolshevik III village, Bar. 1; Belyi Kluch, Bar. 5; Noviy Kumak, Bar. 9, 28 and 35; by the Glory Obelisk (Orsk), Atkarsky, interment 1; Mordovo, Danilovka, Sloboda Rudnya, Bar. 1; Malyaevka, Bar. 2. In more than half of the cases (2.9% of the total) a burial contains a horse carcass lying on the step: by Bolshevik II and III villages; Noviy Kumak, Bar. 9 and 35; Belyi Kluch; by the Glory Obelisk. In other cases, a horse carcass lies next to the human remains at the bottom of the grave. In almost half of the burials (2.4% of the total), the horses were bridled and saddled (bits were found in horse skull teeth, stirrups among the bones). The horse's orientation agrees with the man's, so that if the horse and the man were set on their feet, they would be in the position of a rider ready to mount (Fig. 2, 1-4, 6).

With the same frequency as among the interments with whole-horse burials, in the interments containing parts of a horse (hide, skull and leg bones), these are also placed to the left of the human remains (2.9% of the total): Ivanovsky IV, Bar. 1; Lake Raim, Bar. 4 & 24; Novoorsky I, Bar. 2; Lebedevka VI, Bar. 10; Bashkir stoilo (stall), Bar. 4; Atkarsky, interments 5, 6, 10, 15; Bakhtiyarovka II, Bar. 9, 23, 47, 49, 52, 59, 66, 67, 68, 96 and others. In all these cases, horse skin lay next to the human remains at the bottom of a grave. The horse's orientation also agrees with the man's. In half of the cases, the horse was bridled and saddled (Fig. 2, 3).

The other instances of burial of horse remains together with human remains are isolated interments, but they are representative for the analyzed sample of interments of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries from the Southern Urals and the Volga region, and so they should be also enumerated for completeness sake. The horse skin is to the right of the man at: Lebedevka VIII, Bar. 6; Kara-Oba, Bar. 6; Novopavlovsky, Bar. 7; Kirovsky III, Bar. 5; Bakhtiyarovka II, Bar. 76; Dmitrievka, Bar. 9; Kolobovka, Bar. 4 (altogether 1.5% of the total). The horse skin in the filling of the grave pit: Mokrinsky I, Bar. 13 and 14; Visenmiller III, Bar. 2; Svinukha (Lesnoye), Bar. 14; Zaumorye; Bakhtiyarovka II, Bar. 46, 72; Bakhtiyarovka III, Bar. 84, 95; Abganerovo II, Bar. 2 (1.9% of the total). The horse skin laid on a wooden platform over the human remains: Pokrovsk, Bar. 1; Svinukha (Lesnoye), Bar. 1, 5; Mirniy (Freedenberg), Bar. 3; Zolotushinskaya (northern group), Bar. 1, Zharsuat I, Bar. 1 (1.1% of the total). The horse carcass buried in a separate pit: Mechey-Kirov, Bar. 4; Pchelnik, Bar. 8; Berezhnovsky I, Bar. 43, 47; Berezhnovsky II, Bar. 5; Tzarevsky, Bar. 1, 4, 5; Leninskoye, Bar. 2 (1.7% of the total).

However, most of the "horsemen interments" in the studied group of Golden Horde burials are represented by burials without a horse, but contain articles of harness, bits and stirrup (17%). Among these, the complete set of harness (conditionally) – bits and stirrup – is found rather seldom, in just 31% of 87 burials with

the articles of harness (5.3% of the total number of the analyzed Golden Horde interments in the southern pre-Urals and the Volga region).

In half of these interments, the articles of harness were disposed by the feet of a human (8.7% of the total) (Fig. 2). In other cases, bits and stirrup were placed beside the bed on which the remains of the body were laid in the grave (Alabait-al, Bar. 1; Pchelnik, Bar. 22; KhudaiBergen III, Bar. 12; Komsomolsky VI, Bar. 3) or their original location could not be fixed.

Burial grounds of the Golden Horde period in the southern pre-Urals and the Volga region do not consist of large numbers of interments. For example, in the largest burial ground, Bakhtiyarovka II, 35 interments of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries have been found. After this, the larger ones are: Pchelnik burial ground with 18 interments; Bakhtiyarovka III, Zaumorye, Tzarevskom with 15 interments in each; Svinukha had 14 interments, Pokrovsk 13, Rovnoe 12, Mokrinsky 11, Raim Lake 10, etc. The majority of the presently known burial grounds contain from 1 to 5 interments of the Golden Horde period.

“Horsemen interments” were found in 93 burial grounds of the period studied and are distributed among them as follows. The absolute majority of these burial grounds (50.5%) contain interments with horse harness only. The second place, according to the frequency of occurrence, belongs to the burial grounds where interments with horse skin were found (23.6%). The third place goes to the burial grounds containing only interments with a whole skeleton of a horse (14%).

Burial grounds containing “horsemen interments” of different types are quite rare: 6.4% of the burial grounds had interments of a whole horse skeleton and interments with horse harness (Bolshevik II, Noviy Kumak, Pchelnik, Tlyagulovsky, Aktarsk, Berezhnovka I); 4.3% of burial grounds contained interments with horse skin and horse harness only (Lake Raim, Svinukha, Bakhtiyarovka II, Abganerovo II); and finally, in only two burial grounds – Aktarsky and Berezhnovsky II – all three types of “horsemen interments” were found.

The disposition of the “horsemen interments” shows that they do not have any strict localization and are spread through the Ural-Volga steppes (Fig.1). For instance, the burial grounds with a whole horse skeleton (carcass) are distributed between the Volga region and the pre-Urals in nearly equal proportion (46.2% and 53.8% correspondingly). The majority of interments with parts of a horse (skin, skull and leg bones) (78.4%) were found in the burial grounds of the Volga region, the rest in the southern pre-Urals. Similarly, the interments with horse harness are distributed in such a way that 40.2% are found in the pre-Urals and 59.8% in the Volga region.

One cannot say that the “horsemen interments” of the Ural-Volga region from the Golden Horde period stand out from other synchronous interments in other characteristics of the sepulchral rite. For example, 5 out of 11 Ural interments containing a whole horse skeleton are made under simple earth tumuli (by the Urals village, Noviy Kumak, Bar. 28, Belyi Kluch and by the Glory Obelisk), three interments were made under mixed stone-earth mounds (Tlyagulovsky, Bar. 1, Bolshevik II and Noviy Kumak, Bar. 35), two were under stone mounds (Khabarniy

I, Bar. 4, Bolshevik III) and one under an earth tumulus bridged by a stone "shell" (Noviy Kumak, Fig. 9). All the interments in the Volga region were made under simple earth mounds.

Similarly, the interments containing horse skin were all made under earth mounds. But one of the pre-Ural interments with an earth mound was bridged by a stone "shell" (Novoorsky I, Bar. 2), in two cases the interments were surrounded by a stone ring (Levedevka VI, Bar. 10; Levedevka VIII, Bar. 6) and in two cases the interments were in small fence made of adobe bricks bridged by earth mounds (Mokrinsky I, Bar. 13 & 14).

The same situation is observed in interments containing only the articles of horse harness: all Volga region interments were made under simple earth mounds, while in the pre-Urals such interments only prevail in 23 cases (65.7%). Among the rest, two interments were made under stone mounds (Zhaksi-Kargala, Bar. 4, Lebedevka IV), and four under stone-earth mounds (Tlyavgu-lovsky, Bar. 1, Pchelnik, Bar. 20, Novocherkassk VII, Bar. 1, Bolshevik II, Bar. 3).

As for the orientation of the remains, which can also be viewed as one of the ethnocultural characteristics, in the absolute majority of cases (89%) it is westerly (with deviations to the north or to the south), as is traditional for the medieval nomads of western Europe. About 10% of the "horsemen interments" (all found in the southern pre-Urals steppes) are orientated in a northerly direction.

The range of finds in the "horsemen interments" of the southern pre-Urals and the Volga region do not change the above-described situation. The absolute majority of the "horsemen interments" are the burials of male warriors, whose accompanying equipment consists of iron arrowheads, placed in an elm quiver, a knife, a fire steel, and, very rarely a sabre. At the same time about half of the interments with a whole horse skeleton may also be interpreted as female, because their inventory is represented by necklaces made from glass beads, bronze mirrors and parts of an elm head-dress, a 'boka' (Ural, Bar. 5, Khabarhiy I, Bar. 4, Bolshevik II, Bar. 1, Noviy Kumak, Bar. 28, Belyi Kluch, by the Glory Obelisk, Aktarsky, Bar. 1, Sloboda Rudnya, Bar. 1, Malyaevka, Bar. 2, Krutez I, Bar. 1, Sologdovka II, Bar. 2, Leninskoye, Bar. 12).

The same grave contents are found among the burials with horse skin (Bashkir Stoilo, Bar. 4, Lake Raim, Bar. 4, Aktarsky, Bar. 10, Bakhtiyarovka II, Bar. 49, 52, Vizenmiller III, Bar. 5, and others), and in the burials containing only horse harness (Pchelnik, Bar. 5 & 22, the second verst from Iletsk defence, Bar. 5, Alebastrovo II, Bar. 5 & 11, Rossypinskiye, Bar. 2, Maryevka, Abganerovo II, Bar. 10).

All the above data give us grounds to think that the "horsemen interments" of the Golden Horde nomads from the Ural-Volga region most likely perform not an ethnic but a social reference point and that they show the property status of the deceased man or woman buried in the grave. They are distinguished from the whole corpus of interments of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries only because they contain the remains of a horse carcass (skeleton), parts of a horse (skin, skull and leg bones) or articles of harness. If we take into consideration that it is the horse that serves in nomadism as an indicator of wealth and an individual's place in the social hierarchy, then only a family with a secure financial position could

afford to kill a horse and bury it with its dead owner. To bury only the horse's skin, having used its meat for the funeral feast, is a second, more modest, level of wealth and social importance, and to put only a horse bridle into the grave is the third level.

We should also take into account that another group (21.9%) stands out among the interments of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries from the Ural-Volga region. In this group, the interments have not a single feature of the "horsemen", but still contain articles of weaponry; iron arrow-heads, quivers, bone bow-plates, military equipment. And here we could see, perhaps, the lowest property status and level of social importance.

Thus, the "horsemen interments" from the Ural-Volga region of the Golden Horde epoch offer us the opportunity to designate several levels in the property and social hierarchy of a nomadic society of the Golden Horde, reflected in the archaeological material. Establishing the social nomenclature and the content of these levels requires information from other sources, but the fact of their existence can hardly be contested.

1-Alabaital; 2-Andreevsky; 3-Alebastrovj II; 4-Bashkir stoilo; 5-Bolshevik II; 6-Bolshevik III; 7-Djangala; 8-Djangala (Novaia Kazanka); 9-Djangala (Saraidin); 10-Jarsuat; 11-Ivanovsky IV; 12- Kamenno-Ozerny; 13-Komsomolsky VI; 14-Lebedevka II; 15-Lebedevka IV; 16-Lebedevka VI; 17-Lebedevka VIII; 18-Liman; 19-Linevsky individual; 20-Linevsky; 21-Mechei-Kirov; 22-Mokrinsky I; 23-Novooersky; 24-Novocherkassky VII; 25-Novy Kumak; 26-by the Glory Obelisk; 27-Ozero Raim; 28-Pchelnik; 29-Rossypinsky; 30-Tamar-Utkul; 31-Tlyavuglovsky; 32-Ural; 33-Khabarny I; 34-KhudaiBergen III; 35-KhudaiBergen IV; 36-Chelkar IV; 37-Chelkar V; 38-2-ja versta ot Ilecko Zashity; 39-Atkarsk; 40-Pokrovsk; 41-Vizenmiller II; 42-Tzarevsky; 43-Leninsk; 44-Avgustovka; 45-Zaumorie; 46-Svinuha; 47-Petrovsk; 48-Kazitckoe; 49-Skatovka; 50-Bakhtiyarovka II; 51-Bakhtiyarovka III; 52-Saratov; 53-Berezhnovsky I; 54-Berezhnovsky II; 55-Rovnoe; 56-Boaro; 57-Kirovsky III; 58-Mariental; 59-Dmitrievka; 60-UstKurdjum; 61-Friedenberg; 62-Zolotuchinskoe; 63-Danilovka; 64-Sloboda Rudnja; 65-Davydovka; 66-Marievka; 67-Pasture of Petrovsk; 68-Alexandrovsky; 69-Blumenfeld; 70-Baranovsky.

ILLUSTRATIONS

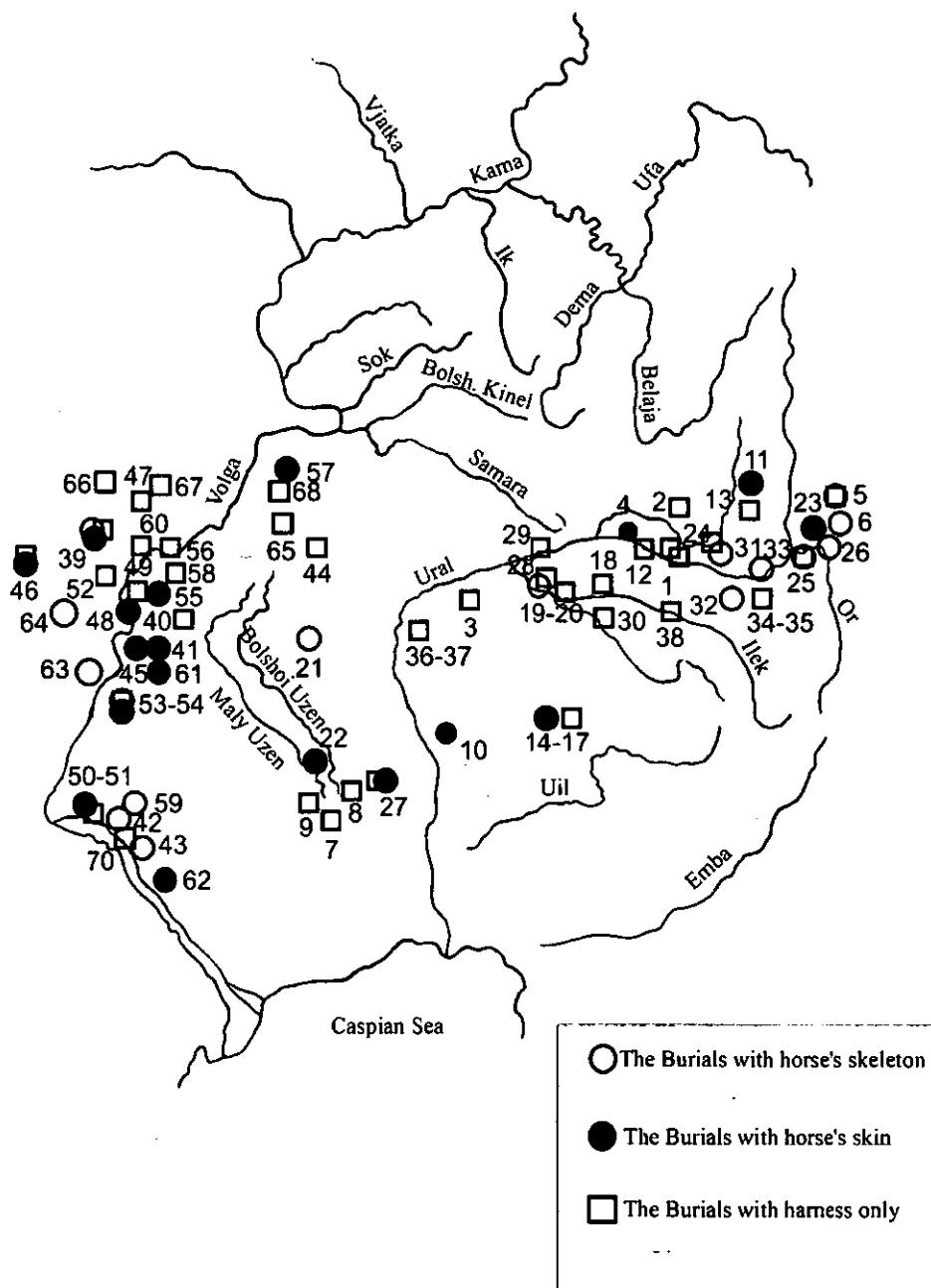


Figure 1. Map of the "Horsemen interments" in the Ural and Volga region

HORSEMEN INTERMENTS OF THE GOLDEN HORDE

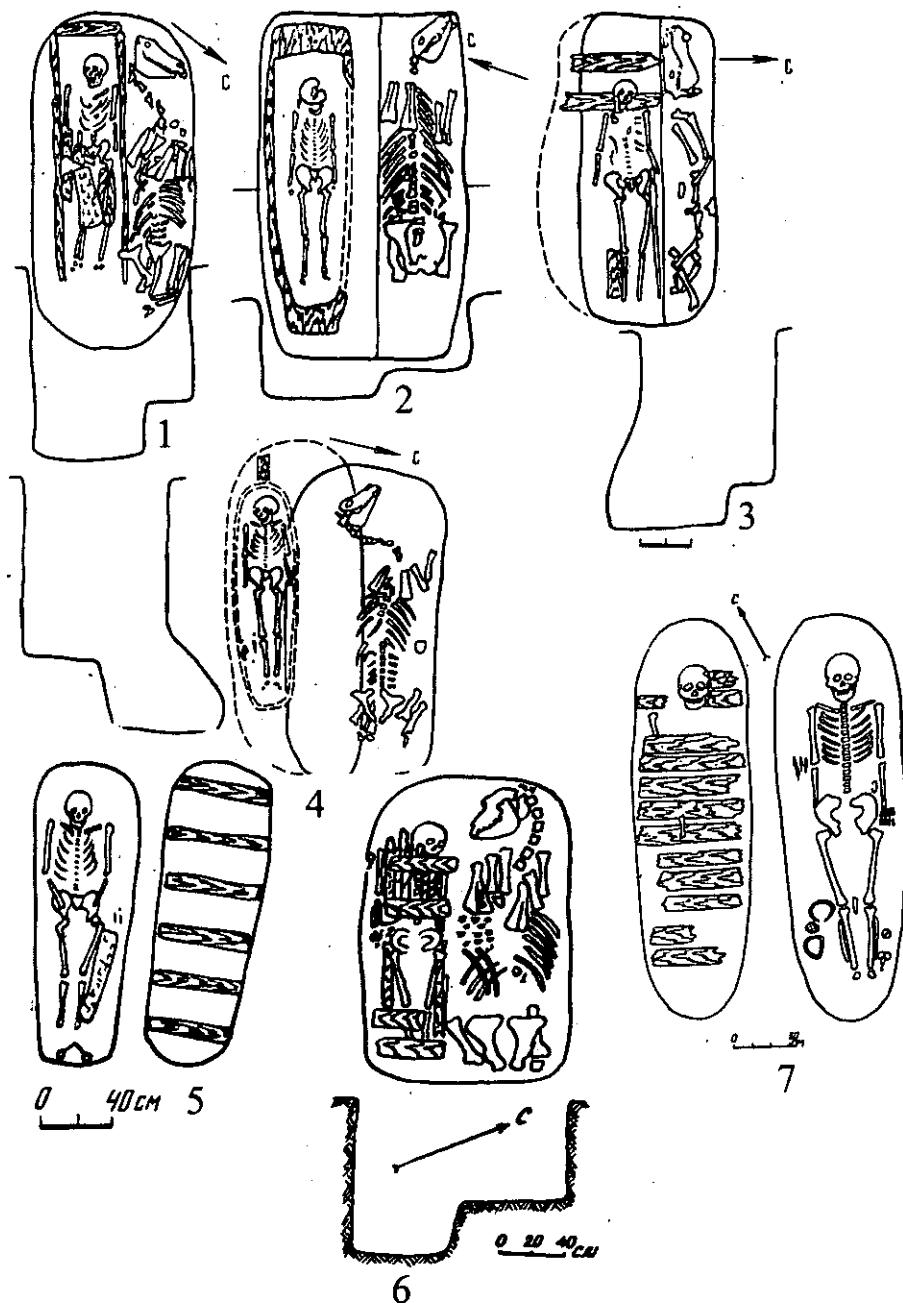


Figure 2. The types of "Horsemen interments" in the Ural and Volga region

1-Noviy Kumak, Bar. 8; 2-Noviy Kumak, Bar. 14; 3-Noviy Kumak, Bar. 2; 4-Noviy Kumak, Bar. 28; 5-Noviy Kumak II, Bar. 2; 6-Tlyavuglovsky, Bar. 2; 7-Novocherkassky VII, Bar. 1.

# *The role of the ancient Turks in the translation of cultural achievements to Siberia in the early Middle Ages*

Y. S. KHUDYAKOV



The spread of cultural achievements, technical innovations and high technologies from one civilization and people to another was an important and necessary condition for the development of material culture in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. The nomadic people of the Eurasian steppes for many centuries played an important role in the translation of new inventions and technologies. Due to their mobile, nomadic way of life, based on access to resources for their livestock, resettlements over large distances during migrations, military activity and the necessity of exchange with people who had other kinds of developed economic activities, nomads had contact with other tribes much more often than did settled farmers or *taiga* hunters. In the course of these contacts, they adopted and broadcast cultural innovations. The role of nomads was especially great in the transfer and spread of the innovations they borrowed in the civilizations of the cities and settled farmers among the populations of the forest-steppe and wooded zones of northern Asia, which did not have direct contact with the countries of Europe and East Asia for many centuries. As a result of military conflicts, trade and political dependence in the military unions of the nomads, the Siberian hunting and fishing tribes could apprehend the technologies for metal processing and manufacturing products from bronze and iron. They borrowed the kinds of the weapons and methods of manufacure that were the most effective for the time, began to use military and horse equipment typical of nomads, their mobile utensils, and jewellery. The nomad influence was significantly reflected in the development of social relations, the political and military organization, the religion and art of the forest people.

In the early Middle Ages, in the life of ethnic groups living on the northern periphery of Central Asia, the role and value of nomadic people and their states strongly increased. In this period some ethnic groups of *taiga* hunters were in po-

itical dependence on the nomadic states, paid them a tribute, formed military contingents for participation in wars on their side, and borrowed elements of their state system, military organization, system of titles, language and other features of their culture. As a result of contact with the nomads of Central Asia, the forest-steppe and *taiga* tribes came to use things made in the craft centers of the Middle East and the Far East. During periods of stability in the nomadic states, trading caravan routes connected Siberia with China, Central Asia, Iran and Europe.

During the early Middle Ages, the most essential role in the distribution of cultural innovations among the population of the forest-steppe and *taiga* areas of Siberia was played by the ancient Turks. The Turks' influence on the Ugrian and Samodian ethnic groups, who were living on the periphery of the nomadic world in western, southern and eastern Siberia, occurred as a result of direct contacts with them and other Turkic-speaking nomad tribes included in the Turks' states.

In the middle of the eleventh century, at the end of the early Middle Ages, all the nomadic people and tribes living in the steppes of Eurasia were incorporated under the authority of Turkish khagans into a uniform powerful state, the First Turk Khaganat. The aristocracy of nomadic ethnic groups of various origin, racial characteristics, culture and language, appeared in the sphere of the political and military influence of the ancient Turks. They began to be guided by and aspire to imitate the Turkish aristocracy and to borrow characteristic elements of ancient Turkish military cultures, among which were the most effective kinds of arms, military equipment, horse harnesses, marching utensils and jewelry. Similar instances of the aspiration to borrow models of the weapons, military and horse equipment can also be found among the vassal tribes living on the northern periphery of the borders of the khaganat, in the forest-steppe and forest areas of Siberia that were dependent on the ancient Turks and other Turkic-speaking nomadic people. They adopted new components of military life-style directly from the ancient Turks, as well as from other Turkic-speaking nomads, having experienced the influence of the prevailing Turk ethnos.

The main object of culture which the nomads aspired to borrow first of all was the weaponry which helped the ancient Turks to achieve many outstanding victories over their opponents in the nomadic world. Among the armaments of ancient Turk soldiers there were highly effective, long-range, complex bows with a wooden base and bone overlays. These differed from the previous bows used in the era of the Huns by their smaller size, compactness, convenience of application and more rapid shooting, which had great value for a victory over the enemy in fighting at a distance. During the early Middle Ages, the design of the bows of the ancient Turks underwent significant changes. Originally they had bows with ending, median lateral and frontal overlays. Later the length of the kibity (lever) and the quantity of overlays were reduced. During the period of existence of the Second Eastern Khaganat and the next centuries, ancient Turkish infantrymen began to use bows of the simplified design with one pair of median lateral over-

lays.<sup>1</sup> Application of such bows made it possible to increase considerably the speed and frequency of shooting.

Under the influence of the ancient Turks, similar bows were borrowed and began to be used everywhere by nomad tribes and the population of the *taiga* areas of western Siberia. Median lateral bone overlays from these bows have been found during excavation of the archeological monuments of the Verhneobsky culture in the valleys of the rivers Tom and Ob (Fig. I, 1). Verhneobsky infantrymen were also armed with other types of bows. Among these there were bows with ending and median lateral overlays. For stronger fastening, the overlays are not only pasted, but also attached to the wooden base of the bow (Fig. I, 8).<sup>2</sup> Ancient Turkish soldiers used different types of arrows with iron tips for shooting at their enemies. Among finds of ancient Turkish arrowheads, the most distributed were tips with three blades in feather, extended (pentagonal and lengthened) and hexagonal forms. These tips had wide blades with round apertures.<sup>3</sup> Under the tips, on the staff, carved bones were attached to make a whistle so that a whistling sound issued during the flight of the arrow. Ancient Turkish infantrymen also used other types of arrows for shooting. However, the northern vassal tribes borrowed specifically three-bladed arrows with extended – pentagonal and lengthened – hexagonal feather (Fig. I, 3). At the same time the population of the Ob river used arrows recognizable from the nomads' previous Hun-Sanbi era, for which three-bladed symmetrical-rhombic and circle tips were typical. Similar arrows were used by the inhabitants of the valley of the river Tom.<sup>4</sup>

Probably the Samodian and Ugric tribes in western Siberia, which represented the Verhneobsky and Relkinsky cultures, also borrowed from the ancient Turks means of protection and some other kinds of weapons for near and hand-to-hand fighting.

During their stay on Mount Altai after resettlement from east Turkestan, the Turks headed by the tribe Ashina, had already used *palashi* and breast armour. Later they began to use shock spears, swords and *palashi*, fighting axes, daggers, and both chain-mail armour and scale armour for protection, helmets and boards, covering their fighting horses with protective body clothes. In the Turkish khan army there were military divisions of armed cavalry.<sup>5</sup>

Some of the weapons from this rich arsenal were borrowed by the peoples of the Verhneobsky and Relkinsky cultures who lived in the forest-steppe and forest areas of western Siberia. In the structure of the weapon complexes of these cultures, there were swords and *palashi*, tips of copies of shock spears and cranked

<sup>1</sup> Y. S. Khudyakov, *Arms of medieval nomads of southern Siberia and Central Asia*. Novosibirsk 1986, 141.

<sup>2</sup> T. N. Troizkaya and A.V. Novikov. *Verhneobskaya culture in Novosibirsk near Ob' river*. Novosibirsk 1998, 35.

<sup>3</sup> Khudyakov, *Arms of medieval nomads*, 145.

<sup>4</sup> Troizkaya-Novikov, *Verhneobskaya culture*, 36–37; A. M. Ilyushin, *Ethnocultural history of the Kuznetsk hollow in epoch of the middle ages*. Kemerovo 2005, 83.

<sup>5</sup> Khudyakov, *Arms of medieval nomads*, 153–159.

daggers, plates from breast armour and sphere-conic helmets. These finds, from the monuments of Blijniye Elbany, Tatarskiye mogilki, Chingsisy, Sapogovo, Saratovka, Relka and others in the pool of Ob and Nîm', speak of the high level of development of military science and close contacts with ancient Turks and Kyrgyz in the military sphere.<sup>6</sup>

Apparently, the bearers of the Verhneobsky and Relkinsky cultures could borrow belts and harness complexes executed in heraldic style. Among these items of armament there were belt attachments, metal plates, overlays and strap ends (Fig. I, 11-13, 15-21). Similar things were found in tombs in Relka, Umna, Yurt-Akbalyk, Kamenny Mys, Saratovka and others on Ob and Nîm.<sup>7</sup>

Such items of armament were widely spread in the sixth-eight centuries over the whole territory of the steppes of Eurasia in the western area from Altai to the Danube.<sup>8</sup> However, in the territory of the headwaters of the Ob and Nîm rivers, such things could be obtained from Mount Altai where they were found in the complex of things from the monuments of Kudyrge and Chatyr.<sup>9</sup>

At the end of the early middle ages in the Eurasian steppes, ancient Turks played the most important role in the spreading of a new type of saddle with a rigid skeleton and aimings.<sup>10</sup> Probably, the early forms of aimings were borrowed by representatives of the Verhneobsky culture. Similar aimings were found during the excavation of the Verhneobsky monument at Krohalyovka 23 in the area of Novosibirsk (Fig. I, 22). They could get to western Siberia from Mount Altai where similar aimings were also found.<sup>11</sup> Other elements, for example horse furniture, including a bit of simplified design with endings of links, were also borrowed. These were found in the monuments of Krohalyovka, Umna, Yurt-Akbalyk and others in the area of Novosibirsk, Vaganovo and Saratovka in the

<sup>6</sup> M. P. Gryaznov, *History of ancient tribes of the Ob' river on excavation near village Bolshaya rechka*. Materials and researches of USSR archeology, Moscow-Leningrad 1956, 100; A. P. Umansky, *Verhneobskaya culture's burial grounds on Verhnii Chumish. Bronze and the Iron age of Siberia*. Novosibirsk 1974, 139; L. A. Chindina, *Burial ground Relka on the average Ob'*. Tomsk 1977, 27-29, 32-33; Troizkaya-Novikov, *Verhneobskaya culture*, 43; Ilyushin, *Ethnocultural history of the Kuznetsk*, 83.

<sup>7</sup> Chindina, *Burial ground Relka*, 36-39; Troizkaya-Novikov, *Verhneobskaya culture*, 55; Ilyushin, *Ethnocultural history of the Kuznetsk*, 83.

<sup>8</sup> A. K. Ambroz, *East European and the Central Asian steppes from the fifth to the first half of the eighth century*. Eurasia steppes in the early middle ages, USSR Archeology, Moscow 1981, 16-17.

<sup>9</sup> A. A. Gavrilova, *Burial ground Kudirghe as a source for the history of the Altai tribes*. Moscow-Leningrad 1965, 38-39; Y. S. Khudyakov and V. A. Kocheev, *Ancient Turks mummy burial place in district Chatyr at village Jana-Aul in Mountain Altay*. The Humanities in Siberia: Archeology and Ethnography, Novosibirsk 1997, 16.

<sup>10</sup> S. I. Vainshtein, *Some questions about the ancient Turkic culture (relating to the archeological researches in Tuva)*. Soviet Ethnography, Moscow 1966, 62-74.

<sup>11</sup> Troizkaya-Novikov, *Verhneobskaya culture*, 45; Y. V. Grichan and Y. A. Plotnikov, *Archaic aiming from Mountain Altai*. Eurasia: Cultural heritage of ancient civilizations, Novosibirsk 1999, 76-77.

area of Kemerovo and in Mount Altai (Fig. I, 14).<sup>12</sup> Similar bits were spread in the early Middle Ages over a large territory. They have appeared in the valley of the rivers Tom' and Ob' from Mount Altai where they were applied by the ancient Turks.

The problems of ethnic-cultural contacts of ancient Turks with the Samodian and Ugric tribes of Western Siberia have been discussed in the scholarly literature. In L. A. Chindinoy's opinion, in the seventh century the territory of the Verhneobsky culture was included in the Turkish state, part of the population was assimilated by the Turks and began to bury their dead in a typical Turkish ceremony accompanied by a riding horse. At the same time, the Samodian tribes of the Relkinsky culture kept their independence and enjoyed peaceful relations with the Turks.<sup>13</sup> T. N. Troitskaya and A. V. Novikov consider that the spreading of Turkish authority over the population of the Verhneobsky culture passed through several stages. During the existence of the first and the second East Khaganats, this population established stable connections with the ancient Turks of Altai. Exactly in this period the influx of the complex of material things of the ancient Turks into Western Siberia was at its highpoint. They consider that it was not attempted expansion, but cultural influence. In their opinion, the ancient Turks moving to western Siberia territory took place later, during the existence of the Uigur Khaganat.<sup>14</sup>

On the contrary, D. G. Savinov supposes that the representatives of the Verhneobsky culture were ancestors of a Turkic-speaking *ethnos*, the Kypchaks.<sup>15</sup> Other scholars think that the process of Turkish influence on the population of western Siberia started later. Ugrian and Samodian tribes of the forest-steppe areas of this region might experience the Turkish influence during the existence of Kymaks and Kirghiz Khaganats and the Mongol empire.

The influence of Turkish nomads on the population of the forest-steppe and wooded areas of western Siberia continued during the long historical period which began after the Huns' conquest of the Sayano-Altai. Ancient Turks played the most appreciable role in this process during the existence of the first Turkic Khaganat in the sixth–eighth centuries, when the population living on the border of the northern part of the state had apprehended the greatest inflow of innovations in the sphere of the ancient Turks' material and spiritual culture, and also borrowed some elements of their funerary rights. In the following period of the existence of the second East Turkic Khaganat, similar borrowing was not so appreciable. Probably this speaks about the unstable position inside the khaganat and the orientation of its external expansion in a southerly direction. In Siberia the claims of the east Turks were limited to Sayano-Altai.

The new stage of Turkic influence on the Samodian, Ugric and Ketts population of Siberia was connected with the rise of the Kyrgyz and Kymaks states.

<sup>12</sup> Troizkaya-Novikov, *Verhneobskaya culture*, 44–45; Il'yushin 2005, 83; Gavrilova, 1965, 80.

<sup>13</sup> Chindina, *Burial ground Relka*, 132.

<sup>14</sup> Troizkaya-Novikov, *Verhneobskaya culture*, 85.

<sup>15</sup> D. G. Savinov, *South Siberian tribes in the epoch of the ancient Turks*. Leningrad 1984, 27.

These states had large areas, which were not populated by Turk ethnoses included in the military-management system of these khaganats. The result of this was the unification of some components of the culture connected with military activity, administrative managerial control and the functioning of state power. Later these processes led to the increasing role of Turkic languages in the life of the population of the khaganats and the dissemination of Turkish culture. It became common to find Turkic-speaking nomadic people in the steppes of Eurasia. Among the Ugric, Samodian and Ketts population of Siberia, Turkic-speaking Kyrgyz and Kypchaks began to play the leading role. This role continued in the following period of the inclusion of these areas into the Mongol empire and the Golden Horde.

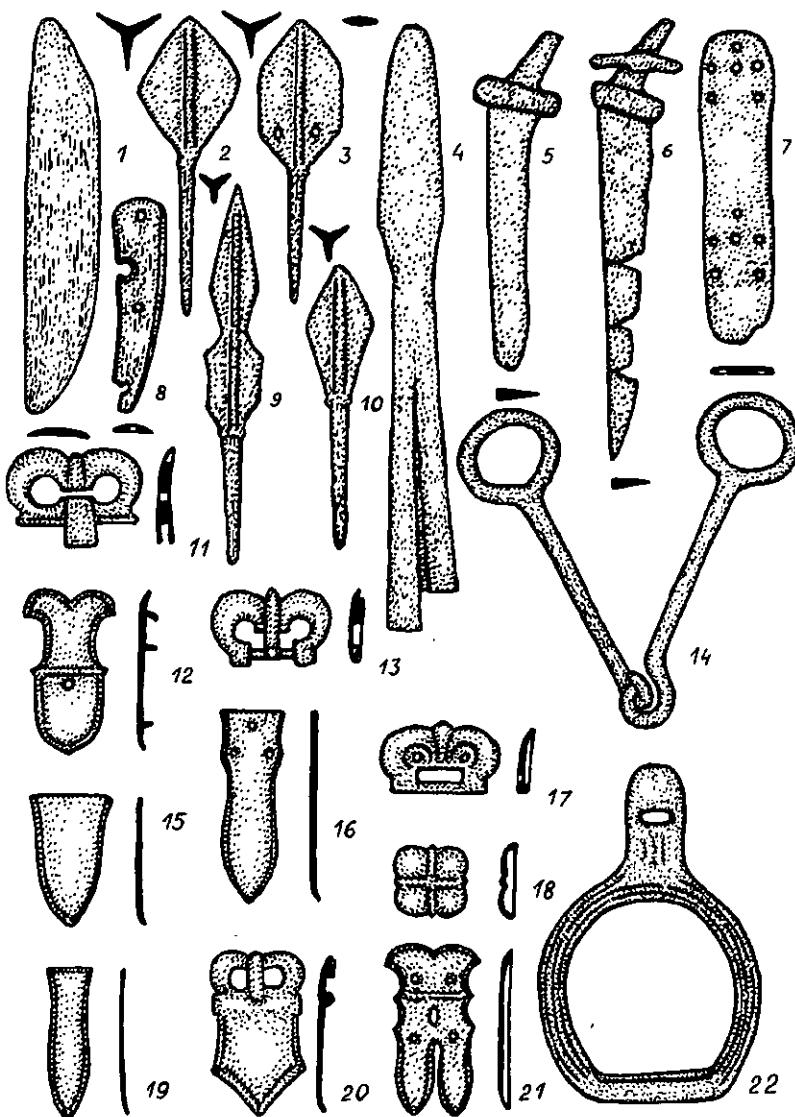


Figure 1. Examples of arms, belt sets and horse harnesses distributed in the population of Western Siberia as a result of ancient Turk influence.

Legend to Figure 1:

Examples of arms, belt sets and horse harnesses distributed in the population of Western Siberia as a result of ancient Turk influence: 1, 8 - bow overlays; 2, 3, 9, 10 - arrow tips; 4 - spear; 5, 6 - daggers; 7 - armour plate, 11-13, 15-21 - metal plates and metal jewellery, 14 - bits; 22 - aiming.

Locations of finds: 1, 21 - Umna; 2, 3, 6, 11 - Saratovka; 4, 5 - Chingisy; 7 - Bligniye Elbany; 9, 22 - Krohalevka; 10 - Krasniy yar; 12, 15, 19 - Yurty; 13, 16, 17, 20 - Relka; 14, 18 - Yurt-Akbalyk.

# *The factor of climate in the life of the nomads of the North Black Sea region*

From the end of the fifth to the seventh century

OLEKSII KOMAR



Recent studies of the history of the north Black Sea region from the fifth to the seventh century CE<sup>1</sup> do not contain any significant mention of the climatic setting. It seems that the factor of climate was not important at that time and natural conditions have not changed since the first millennium. A good example of such a statement could be theoretical ecological researches of O. Tortika, who has counted the possible nomad population of "Great Bulgaria" using data about the modern climate.<sup>2</sup>

Tortika's calculations populate the North Black Sea and Azov Sea regions in the sixth-seventh centuries with 140,000–200,000 nomads. However, archaeological search for such a large mass of population still cannot give any satisfactory result. In comparison with the Scythian period (c. 700–450 BCE, about 240 burials; c. 450–300 BCE, about 3500 burials) and the Sarmathian period (c. 200–1 BCE, about 60 burials; c. 1–250 CE, 1200 burials; c. 250–400 CE, about 50 burials) and the central medieval period (c. 1000–1300, about 1300 burials) the size of the nomad population in the North Black Sea region circa 480–650 appears to have been extremely small.

<sup>1</sup> А. И. Айбабин, *Этническая история ранневизантийского Крыма*. Симферополь 1999. С. А. Плетнева, *Очерки хазарской археологии*. Москва 1999. С. А. Плетнева, *Кочевники южнорусских степей в эпоху средневековья – IV–XIII. века*. Воронеж 2003. О. М. Приходнюк, *Степове населення України та східні слов'яні (друга половина I тис. н. е.)*. Київ–Чернівці 2001. Р. Ращев, *Правыгарите през V–VII век*. София 2004 П. П. Толочко, *Кочевые народы степей и Киевская Русь*. Киев 1999. О. О. Тортіка, *Історична географія та населення Великої Болгарії (630–660 рр. н.е.): методика дослідження кочових суспільств середньовіччя*. Автореф. дис. канд. ист. наук. Харків 1999.

<sup>2</sup> Тортіка, *Історична географія*.

M. Artamonov proposed one of the earliest explanations, the theory of the "pastyrska culture".<sup>3</sup> The answer was simple: if the Kutrigurs did not leave their graves in the steppe, the reason is that they were not nomads but a semi-sedentary population of the forest and forest-steppe zones. D. Dimitrov proposed the next explanation. He accepted the theory of "pastyrska culture" but only as part of his own "chameleon culture" theory.<sup>4</sup> Dimitrov thought that borrowing elements of the cultures of separate neighbouring Bulgarian tribes created separate cultures similar to their neighbours. Many scholars have tried to apply these explanations,<sup>5</sup> but no one has given a satisfactory explanation for why nomadic Bulgarians came to be leading a semi-sedentary or even sedentary life.

In 1985 R. Orlov published reports on four nomad burials of the second half of the sixth century and number of burials of the seventh century.<sup>6</sup> In 1988 E. Gorokhovsky distinguished the chronological group of nomad burials of the end of the fifth to the first half of the sixth centuries.<sup>7</sup> Later these groups were attributed to two separate cultural types; the Likhachevka type (circa 480–551) and the Sukhano type (circa 551–625) left by the Bulgarian tribes of Kutrigurs and Utigurs ("tribes of Akkaga").<sup>8</sup> The mystery has gone. Nomad burials of Bulgarians do really exist, but their very small number needs further explanation.

<sup>3</sup> М. И. Артамонов, *История хазар*. Москва–Ленинград 1962, 291–295; М. И. Артамонов, „Етническата принадлежност и историческото значение на пастирската култура,” *Археология* 3 (1969), 1–10. М. И. Артамонов, „Болгарские культуры Северного и Западного Причерноморья,” *Доклады Географического общества СССР* 15 (1970), 3–37.

<sup>4</sup> Д. Димитров, *Прабългарите по Северното и Западното Черноморие*. Варна 1987.

<sup>5</sup> Л. М. Рутківська, „До питання про найдавніші болгарські племена на території України,” *Вісник АН УРСР* 10 (1972), 44–52; Л. М. Рутковская, *О стратиграфии и хронологии поселения около с. Степовки на р. Тясмине. Раннесредневековые восточнославянские древности*. Ленинград 1974, 22–39; Л. М. Рутковская, *История племён степного Поднепровья в середине I тысячелетия нашей эры*. Автореф. дис. док. ист. наук. Москва 1986; Ст. Ваклинов, *Формиране на старобългарската култура VI–XI век*. София 1977; И. А. Баранов–В. В. Майко, *Среднеднепровские элементы в культуре населения раннесредневековой Таврики. Старожитности Руси–Украини*. Київ 1994, 96–103. И. А. Баранов–В. В. Майко, „Пастирско-пенковската култура и проблемът за разселването на прабългарските племена от Средното Поднепровие и Таврика,” *Българите в Северното Причерноморие*. В. Тырнов 4 (1995), 71–88; В. В. Майко, *Этнокультурные связи Крыма с Поднепровьем и Северным Кавказом в VII–X вв.* Дис. канд. ист. наук. Киев 1997, НА ІА НАНУ ф.12, № 785; Р. Рашев, „К вопросу о происхождении праболгар,” *МАИЭТ* 3 (1993), 250–254; Рашев, *Прабългарите през V–VII век*.

<sup>6</sup> Р. С. Орлов, *Культура кочевников IV–VIII вв. Этнокультурная карта территории Украинской ССР в 1 тыс. н. э.* Киев 1985.

<sup>7</sup> Гороховский, *Хронология ювелирных*, 93, 176–177, 316–318; E. Gorokhovsky, *The nomads of South-East Europe at the beginning of the Middle Ages. Medieval Europe. Death and Burial* 4. York 1992, 147.

<sup>8</sup> О.В. Комар, *Населення степів Північного Причорномор'я VI – початку VIII ст.* Автореф. дис. канд. ист. наук. Киев 2002; А. В. Комар, *Кутригуры и утигуры в Северном*

In searching for the origin of the Saltovo-Majaki culture, I. Baranov has examined different hypotheses of nomad sedentarization including climatic factors. He collected data about climatic changes in the Crimea and found that the sixteenth-seventh centuries CE was a very arid period, unfavourable for nomad cattle-breeding.<sup>9</sup> Later, in 1992, S. Polin proved that the very dry conditions in the third century BCE had caused the fall of the Scythian nomad civilization.<sup>10</sup>

In 551 Utigur ambassadors told the Byzantine emperor that they lived "in country desert and unfertile".<sup>11</sup> Was the situation in the sixth and seventh centuries really so serious as it was in the third century BCE? Can we reconstruct a full picture of the South Ukraine climate at the time of the Great Migration period on the basis of studies using modern data?

The modern moderate sub-Atlantic climate of the Ukraine has succeeded the ancient sub-Boreal climate in the middle of the eighth century CE. The difference between average summer temperature and average winter temperature was much greater than now. Summer was warmer and winter was colder. It is also important that the warmer were the summers, the winters become only colder. In J. Rauner's classification period, 100–650 CE is marked as "xerothermal phase II-5".<sup>12</sup> But we also know from Greek sources that some winters of this period were abnormally cold, for example, the winters of 402, 609 and 670, when the sea near Constantinople was frozen.<sup>13</sup>

A lower level of humidity was the second difference. Thanks to the research of G. Shvets we have detailed information about humidity fluctuations in the Dnieper basin during the whole historical period.<sup>14</sup> Shvets's system is based on year-stripe stratigraphy of the lake bottom. Connected by the spring floods with the Lower Dnieper, this lake gives a unique possibility to measure the water level every year of its existence and to date the beginning of every dry period with an accuracy of one or two years. Figure 1 shows fluctuations of humidity during the third–ninth centuries CE in comparison with the modern average (1.0 = average for mid twentieth century).

The data of Shvets's system (Fig. 1.) shows that the arid period started not with the beginning of Rauner's xerothermal phase II-5, but two centuries later – circa 297 CE. A short moderately humid phase from 339 to 347 did not change sit-

Причерноморье. Судейский сборник II. Киев–Судак 2002; А. В. Комар – А. И. Кубышев – Р. С. Орлов, *Погребения кочевников VI–VII вв. из Северо-Западного Приазовья. Степи Европы в эпоху средневековья* 5. Донецк 2006.

<sup>9</sup> И. А. Баранов, *Таврика в эпоху раннего средневековья (салтово-маяцкая культура)*. Киев 1990, 17–18.

<sup>10</sup> С. В. Полин, *От Скифии к Сарматии*. Киев 1992, 101–107.

<sup>11</sup> Прокопий Кесарийский, *Война с готами. О постройках*. Москва 1996, 78.

<sup>12</sup> Ю. Л. Раунер, „Динамика экстремумов увлажнения за исторический период,” *Известия АН СССР: серия географическая* 6 (1981), Tabl. 1, Ris. 5.

<sup>13</sup> Д. Е. Афиногенов, „Новые сведения о климате Понта Эвксинского в историческую эпоху,” *Вестник древней истории* 1 (1999), 144–145; И. Е. Бучинский, *Климат Украины в прошлом, настоящем и будущем*. Киев 1963, 81.

<sup>14</sup> Г. И. Швец, *Многовековая изменчивость стока Днепра*. Ленинград 1978, Tabl. 6.

uation because of a new arid phase from 347 to 396. The average coefficient of the period 297–396 was equal to 0.9. Next we see a period of great fluctuations from 396 to 475 which, however, had an average coefficient of 0.98, close to the modern. During the period 475–598, fluctuations of humidity were more moderate, with the exception of an arid phase from 502 to 525, but the average coefficient was equal to 0.99, again very close to the modern. Only after that we see a long dry period from 598 to 677, with average coefficient 0.9 and new periods of fluctuations in 677–735 and 735–787, with growing average coefficients of 0.94 and 1.0. Changes in humidity with the beginning of the sub-Atlantic climate around the year 735 developed during the next extra humid period, from 787 to 881, when the average coefficient reached 1.15.

The critical point of drying for the Ukrainian steppes is the coefficient 0.9 which we can observe in the periods 297–396 and 598–677 CE. Such a reduction of moisture with the addition of higher summer temperatures is sufficient for changing the arid southern steppe zone to semi-desert that exists now only at the northern Crimea and to the north of Perekop (Fig. 2, I). Theoretically these changes of temperature and humidity could also affect the southern part of the northern steppe zone but only as reduction of soil fertility.

The modern Ukrainian semi-desert zone almost perfectly matches the salted brown chernozem soil. The southern steppe zone matches the southern brown loamy chernozem soil which was also salted in the middle and second half of the first millennium CE. Recent studies of ancient soils in the territory of European Russia using new technologies and cooperation with archaeologists have given more exact dates for these processes. The steppe chernozem soil was salted from the fifth to the eleventh century, and only the very humid twelfth–fourteenth centuries repaired this.<sup>15</sup> Archaeological samples of southern brown chernozem soil from the northern Azov Sea region of the eighth century CE confirm that at the eighth century the soil of this region was already salted and evaporation was equal to 0.8 of the modern level.<sup>16</sup> The process of soil salting needs not only an average coefficient of evaporation lower than 1.0, it also needs great fluctuations of humidity when very arid years succeed very humid years. This situation we can observe in the period 396–475 CE (Fig. 1) and soil salting in this region had really started in the fifth century CE.

Our picture of climate changes starts from situation of the first–second centuries CE, when a very humid period had created in southern Ukraine the ordinary brown chernozem soil that was rich in humus. It was the time of the demographic maximum of Sarmathian culture. In the third century, humidity reduced and the number of Sarmathian burials also decreased. The long arid period from 297 to 396 CE slowly changed the ordinary brown chernozem soil to southern brown chernozem soil. It was very arid in the steppe zone, less fertile than earlier but

<sup>15</sup> Среда обитания человека в голоцене по данным изотопно-геохимических и почвенно-археологических исследований (Европейская часть России). Москва 2002, 76–81.

<sup>16</sup> Л. С. Песочина, Закономерности изменчивости почв и природных условий Приазовья за историческое время. Проблемы эволюции почв. Пущино 2003, 145–151.

still not salted. Salting of the soil, caused by great humidity fluctuations, had started in the fifth century. Up to the end of the century, the situation had become stable. During the period 475-598 the average coefficient of humidity was close to the modern but higher summer temperatures caused higher evaporation. The dry and salted southern brown chernozem soil was not favourable for vegetation by feather-grass. Instead it was favourable for wormwood and variable halophytes that caused the development of semi-desert. A new long arid phase from 598 to 677 and a dry period from 677 to 735 only fixed these changes in the borders of the modern salted chernozem soils. Real steppe vegetation had moved far to the north and covered the modern forest-steppe zone. However, the black soil of the Left Dnieper bank region still keeps the remains of salt,<sup>17</sup> so the fertility of all steppe soils in the fifth-eighth centuries was probably much reduced. Another consequence of aridization was drying and salting of the small steppe rivers and lakes. Some of them just disappeared, others became salted and useless for cattle-rearing.

Similar climate changes in the northern Black Sea region are known only from the twentieth-seventeenth centuries BCE and the third-first centuries BCE. The early medieval climate crisis was much longer and therefore more serious than these. The Ukrainian steppes concentrated large populations of nomads in Scythian and Sarmathian times, here were found the richest graves. Later, no Huns, nor Avars, nor Turks occupied these steppes for themselves. Only in the Polovetz period, when excessive humidity was able to wash out the salt, did the number of graves reach the level of Sarmathian times.

Unfavourable climate conditions can explain the great demographical changes in the size of the nomad population in the middle of the first millennium CE. This also explains the situation of Likhachevka type burials (c. 480-551 CE). At the present moment, not one Kutrigur burial or burial of Likhachevka type has been found in the south steppe zone, which probably was semi-desert at that time. Moreover, burials from Staraja Sarata, Likhachevka, Krasnograd and Zhivotino are located in the present forest-steppe zone (Fig. 2, 1, 10-12). A Crimean burial from Saharnaja Golovka, probably left by the Utigurs, is also situated in the forest-steppe zone (Fig. 2, 5). Only an Ogur burial of that type from Abganerovo is located to the east of the Don river in palaeosemidesert (Fig. 2, 13).

We can find an impressive regularity by correlation of historical events and fluctuations of humidity:

Humid phase 475-485 CE: circa 475 – Bulgarians crossed Don River and appeared in Ukrainian steppes; 479 – Bulgarians had spread to Danube and were used as freelances by Emperor Zenon.

Next humid phase 493-502 CE: 491, 499, 502 – invasions of Bulgarians in Thrace. 491 seems to be exceptional but it is the end of the shortest and most moderate arid phase in the Bulgarian period (coefficient 0.95).

<sup>17</sup> Атлас природных условий и естественных ресурсов Украинской ССР. Москва 1978, 116-117. Географія Української РСР. Київ 1982, 40.

Humid phase 525–534 CE: 527 – embassy of Grod to Constantinople; 528 – capture of European Bosphorus by Bulgars; 530, 535 – invasions of Bulgarians in Thrace. The accuracy of Shvetz's system is two years, so 535 could be the last year of the humid phase or just the first year of a new arid phase.

Humid phase 547–564 CE: 551, 559 – invasions of Kutrigurs in Byzantium and its rout by Utigurs, Kutrigur migration to Lower Danube; 559–561 – wars of Avars with Utigurs, Kutrigurs and Antes; 561 – appearance of Turks; Avars crossed Danube.

These correlations show that during the period 475–561 CE almost all the events of Bulgarian history that needed long-distance travel through the arid Ukrainian steppe or semi-desert zones happened only in humid years. Partly we can explain this by the needs for grass and water.<sup>18</sup> But many of the Bulgarian attacks on Byzantium were made in winter time. Probably, there was also important social factor. In humid years, nomad tribes were richer and stronger, they did not need to make long-distance seasonal migrations, they had enough horses and could buy new equipment.

The situation changed after the appearance of the Turks. This nomad people definitely did not depend on the climatic situation in the east European steppes. During the arid phase 564–581, the Turks conquered the Ogurs, Utigurs, Savirs, Alans and other Caucasian peoples, they captured the Bosphorus and tried to capture Chersones in 580.

We can observe similar changes in the location of burials of the period 551–626. Burials of the Sukhanovo type are located in a palaeosemidesert zone but only in the close vicinity of rivers (Fig. 2, 2–4, 6–8). The funeral rite is close to Kutrigurian, but some new elements and buckles of Byzantine *phoederati* (Sicidava type) say that these nomads were Utigurs. Procopius (VIII. 4) says that Utigurs were the southern neighbors of the Ants.<sup>19</sup> This land the Utigurs obtained after 551 when they had defeated the Kutrigurs. Later, in 576, the Byzantine embassy of Valentine "passed through the region called Akkas, which is the name of the woman who rules the Scythians there, having been appointed at that time by Anagai, chief of the tribe of the Utigurs".<sup>20</sup>

Kutrigurs in the first half of the sixth century and Utigurs in the second half of this century probably had different kinds of nomadic cattle-breeding. While Kutrigurs had to use the northern part of the steppe, spending a lot of time in seasonal migrations, Utigurs used humid river valleys. The "Armenian Geography" says that north Caucasian Bulgarian tribes of the seventh century were called by the names of rivers.<sup>21</sup> O. Tortika supposed that this could be caused by the determining of tribal territory borders by the river basins.<sup>22</sup> I think that it also depends on the system of seasonal migrations. This system seems to be the best way

<sup>18</sup> O. Pritsak, *The origin of Rus' I*. Cambridge MA 1981, 11.

<sup>19</sup> Прокопий Кесарийский, *Война с готами*, 20, 21.

<sup>20</sup> R. C. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*. Liverpool 1985, 173.

<sup>21</sup> R. H. Hewsen, *The Geography of Ananias of Sirak*. Wiesbaden 1992, 55.

<sup>22</sup> Тортіка, *Історична географія*, 10.

of adaptation to arid steppe and semi-desert conditions, but it hardly could feed very large herds of cattle. Bulgarians depended on river basins and humid steppe.

The new group of nomads that inhabited the North Black Sea region in the second half of the seventh century, at the time of the Chazarian invasion, had no such limits. Burials of the Sivashovka type are in modern semi-desert, in arid and humid steppe and present forest-steppe. Summer cloth from Sivashovka and Sivashskoe graves means that these nomads could stay and feed their livestock anytime in the most salted semi-desert. They definitely had species of sheep and horses accustomed to halophytes. Such kinds of species came later with the Kalmyks who migrated into Europe from Kazakhstan and possessed part of the ancient Chazarian lands.

Chazars, the same as Turks, did not depend on humid years for war and travel. They started war against Bulgarians circa 665 during a long arid phase. Asparukh crossed all of the north Black Sea region and did not stay in the steppe. He chose the place "Oglos" and "settled between the former and the latter ... on the near side it is marshy, while on the far side it is encircled by the rivers".<sup>23</sup> Greek authors explain this only by matters of security, but we also have to remember the Bulgarian system of migration along the river valleys.

Asparukh waited until 678–679 for his invasion of the Byzantine lands. An explanation again can be found in the traditional Bulgarian tactic of waiting for humid years. During the new humid phase from 677 to 687 they made several successful invasions of Byzantium and captured the present territory of Bulgaria which is situated in present forest-steppe zone. The "Great Bulgaria" of Kurt (Kuvrat) was situated to the north of Cuban river, which is forest-steppe zone now. The same southern borders of Volga Bulgaria match the borders of the present forest-steppe zone. In early medieval times these territories were partly moderate steppes, partly forest-steppes.

Climatic factors were definitely very important in the life of all nomad peoples of the north Black Sea region in the middle of the first millennium CE. It was especially important for Bulgarian tribes. We can suppose that the Bulgarians came to Europe with a complex of nomad cattle-breeding adapted to humid steppe conditions. That is why salted arid steppes and semi-deserts were not favourable for them. In the Ukrainian territory, Bulgarians at the beginning probably used long-distance seasonal migrations to northern steppe zones and present forest-steppe. Later, when the Kutrigurs had migrated with the Avars to Pannonia and the size of the Bulgarian population much decreased, Utigurs and other Bulgarian tribes could use the system of the river valleys for seasonal migration. However, all military activity of the Bulgarians over almost two centuries (475–685 CE) depended on cycles of humidity.

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<sup>23</sup> C. Mango and R. Scott, eds., *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*. Oxford 1997, 498.

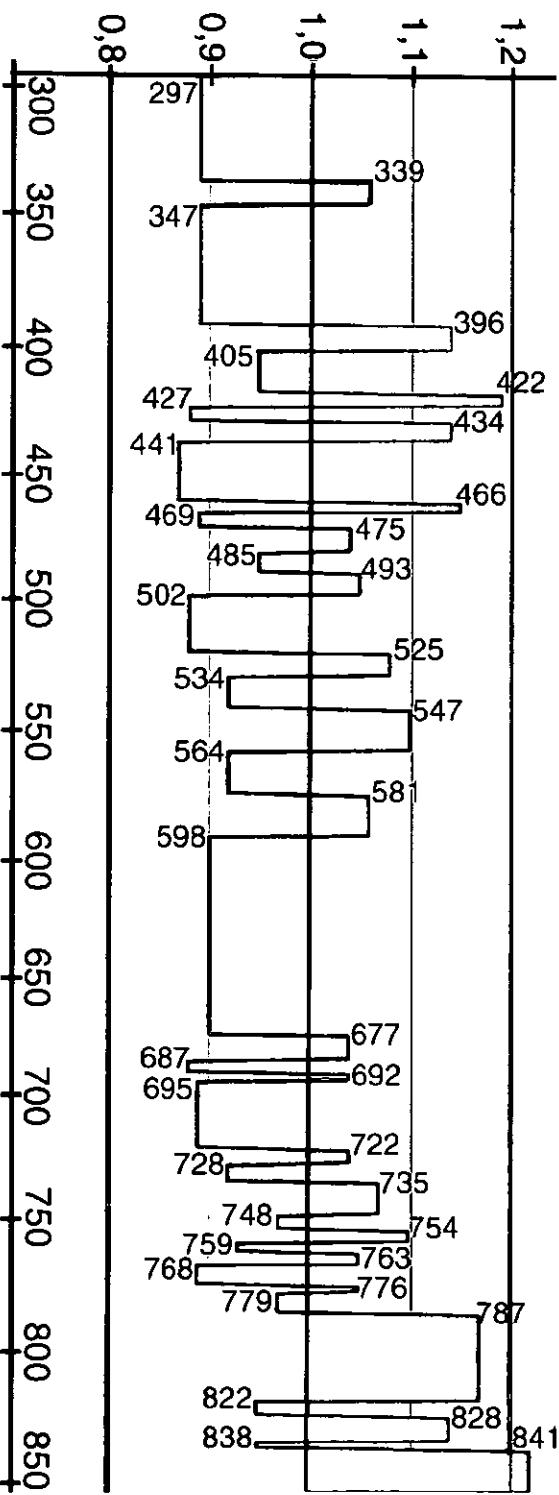


Fig. 1. Fluctuations of humidity in the Dnieper basin (297-859 CE)

1.0 - modern (average for the mid-twentieth century)

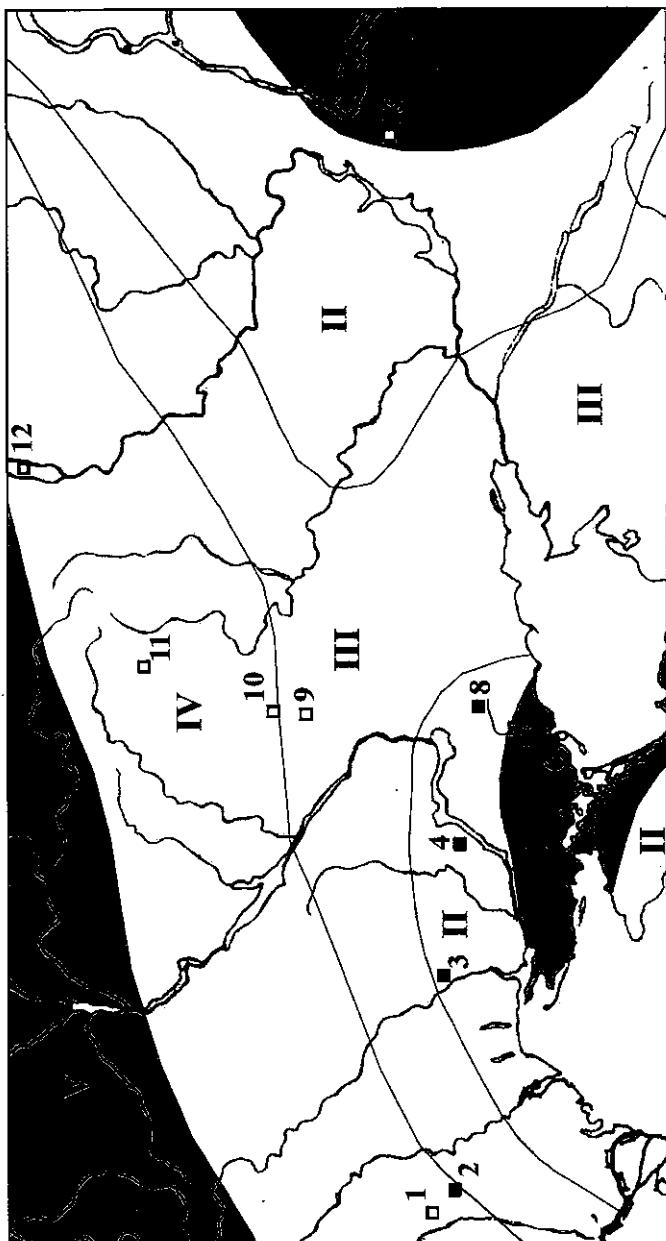


Fig. 2. Modern humidity zones and Bulgarian burials (c. 480-625 ce)

I. arid (coefficient  $\leq 0.8$ ); II. dry (0.8-1); III. moderate dry (1-1.2); IV. humid (1.2-1.9); V. humid (1.9-2.8)

a) Likhachevka type burials (c. 480-551 CE): 1. Staraja Sarata; 5. Sakharnaja Golovka; 9. Novo-Podkriazh; 10. Konstantinograd; 11. Likhachevka; 12. Zhitovino; 13. Abganerovo

b) Suhanova type burials (551-c. 625 CE): 2. Selishte; 3. Novaja Odessa; 4. Suhanova; 6. Sheljugi; 7. Malaja Ternovka; 8. Bolshoj Tokmak.

# *Alan women in the neighbouring foreign courts in the eleventh–twelfth centuries\**

SZILVIA KOVÁCS



The territory of the Alans in the northern Caucasus was very important strategically in the Middle Ages. Historically, their kingdom lay at the crossroads of different empires. Therefore, they played an important role in the wars for the Caucasus between the seventh and tenth centuries. After the breakdown of the Khazar Empire in the tenth century, Alania was the most powerful authority in the northern Caucasus. Their most important stronghold \*Mağas has been identified with Nižnij-Arkhyz, a ruined fortress on the Bolšoi Zelenčuk in the Qaračai-Čerkhes territory.<sup>1</sup> Presumably, they had control over some of the neighbouring Caucasian tribes.

Although the importance of the Alans decreased somewhat from the viewpoint of the Byzantine Empire,<sup>2</sup> they still played a considerable role in the Cau-

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<sup>1</sup> Th. T. Allsen, "Mongols and North Caucasia," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 7 (1987–1991), 19. Minorsky earlier suggested that \*Ma ḡaš should be sought in the Čečen-Inguš territory. V. Minorsky, "The Alān capital \*Magas and the Mongol Campaigns," *Bulletin of School of Oriental African Studies* 14/2 (1952), 235.

<sup>2</sup> According to Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, beside the Uz (O ḡuz), the Alans could also attack the great power in the area, the Khazars, in the tenth Century. Moreover, the Alans were already interfering at the turn of the ninth and the tenth centuries in the Khazar raids against the Crimea as necessary (Constantine Porphyrogenitus: *De administrando imperio*. (henceforth: DAI) 62–65, Greek text ed. by Gy. Moravcsik, English tr. R. J. H. Jenkins, Dumbarton Oaks 1967, 62, 64). The Cambridge document mentions the alliance between the Alans and the Byzantines against the Khazars (N. Golb, "The Schechter Text – An Anonymous Khazar's Epistle to Ḥasdai ibn Ṣaprūṭ," in N. Golb, O. Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century*. Ithaca–London 1982, 114–115; cf. P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies. An historico-philological inquiry into the origins of the Khazars*. Budapest 1980, 94–96). The title of the Alan King was ἔξουσιοκράτωρ Ἀλανίας (DAI 62, 64), and he was the wearer of the estate, "spiritual son" of the emperor. Two other sovereigns who received the same title were the Bulgarian Tsar and the Armenian

sus in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>3</sup> This period in the history of the Alans can be characterised by stable foreign affairs without serious military conflicts. In their relations with the neighbouring powers, dynastic marriages became more frequent during this time.

The Alans had contacts with the previous great powers of this area, particularly with the Byzantine Empire. Despite the fact that the Byzantine sources in the eleventh-thirteenth centuries tell us that the House of Comnenus (1081-1185) recognized the importance of marriage with foreign dynasties, the emperors never married into the Christian Alan royal houses.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, dynastic and military relations with the Alans proved of great value for the Georgian Kingdom, beginning in the late eleventh and the early twelfth century. The Rus' Principalities also proved to be interested in Alan

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King (D. Obolensky, *A Bizánci Nemzetközösség. Kelet-Európa 500-1453. [The Byzantine Commonwealth. Eastern Europe, 500-1453.]* Budapest 1999, 221).

<sup>3</sup> At the same time, namely in the eleventh-twelfth centuries, the Alan mercenaries played a significant role in the Byzantine Empire (Sz. Kovács, "Alán harcosok a bizánci hadseregeben (1071-1185)," [Alan warriors in the Byzantine Army (1071-1185)] in *Abhivádána. Tanulmányok a hatvanéves Wojtilla Gyula tiszteletére*, ed. Sz. Felföldi, Szeged 2005, 219-225).

<sup>4</sup> The names of the girls who were married off to the neighbouring rulers denote their families' faith, but they were renamed after being married in the Byzantine Empire, according to the Orthodox canon law, which stipulates that they had to be converted to the Greek Orthodox faith (Jr. S. Vryonis, "Byzantine and Turkish Societies and their Sources of Manpower," in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*. V. J. Parry, M. E. Yapp, London 1975, 131). For instance, the daughter of (Saint) Ladislas I (1077-1095) Piroska of Hungary (Saint Irene), as wife of Ioannes II Comnenus (1118-1143) was renamed Irene ('peace') (Gy. Moravcsik, *Bizánc és a magyarság. [Byzantium and the Hungarians]* 2nd ed. Budapest 2003, 72). Another example is the case of Margaret, daughter of another Hungarian King Béla III (1172-1196), who was the wife of Isaac Angelus (1185-1195), known by the name Maria (Moravcsik, *Bizánc és a magyarság*, 91). For the Christianity of the Alans in the early period, see B. Fejős, "Az alánok és a keresztenység," [The Alans and Christianity] in *Nomád népvándorlások, magyar honfoglalás*, ed. Sz. Felföldi, B. Sinkovics, Magyar Östörténeti Könyvtár 15, Budapest 2001, 36-44. It must be mentioned that the Alans were only partially Christianized in the thirteenth century. In the first half of thirteenth century an epistolary sermon, written by Bishop Theodore of Alania, described that the Alans worshipped some demons in high places. The Alans are only Christians in name. The Alans are only Christians in name" (A. Alemany, *Sources on the Alans. A Critical Compilation. Handbook of Oriental Studies*, Sect. 8, Central Asia, ed. D. Sinor, N. di Cosmo, Vol. 5, Leiden-Boston-Köln 2000, 239). This was also confirmed by a traveller Giorgio Interiano in the sixteenth century (H. Göckenjan, *Kelet-Európa népei a 13. századi magyar domonkosok útleírásaiban. [East European peoples in the travelogues of 13th-century Hungarian Dominicans]* Aetas Történettudományi folyóirat 1997 [2-3]. 96-97). Amongst the Ossetians, descendants of the medieval Alans, "pagan rituals, deities [...] have survived [...] mixing with traditional Christian and Islamic beliefs and practices. This syncretic blend has resulted in a curiously unique and distinct Ossetian culture" (N. E. Leeper, "Ossetians," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, CD-ROM ed. v.1.0. Leiden 1991, VIII: 179-180).

brides, as can be seen in the Russian sources. In this article, I am going to study the dynastic relations between the Alans and their neighbours (the Byzantine Empire, the Rūs' and the Georgian Kingdom) in the eleventh-twelfth centuries.

Our sources are tight-lipped about these women, but if we examine the records it seems that they played important roles in their new country, similar to their contemporaries in Western Europe. It is a well-known fact that Byzantine emperors rarely married into foreign royal houses before the eleventh century. Thus, Maria of Alania was only the third foreigner to reach the Byzantine throne in over 300 years in 1071.<sup>5</sup> Maria of Alania was the wife of Michael VII Ducas (1071–1078); after Michael's abdication, she went on to marry the Emperor Nicephorus III Botaniates (1078–1081). I speak of her here because she was the daughter of the Georgian King Bagrat IV,<sup>6</sup> but it is no accident that the Byzantine writers called her "the Alan". In Byzantine sources, Maria is invariably known as a beautiful woman<sup>7</sup> and we know that the Alan women were famous for their beauty. Therefore I am sure that the Byzantine writers knew about her mother, Boréna, who was of Alan descent. Consequently, Maria's nickname was presumably because of her extreme beautiful and her mother Boréna's origins.

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<sup>5</sup> The second wife of Justinian II (685–695; 705–711) was Theodora, a daughter of the Khazar Khagan. Constantine V (741–775) was married to Irene, daughter of the previous Khazar khagan in 732.

<sup>6</sup> Maria was born the princess Mart'a, daughter of the Georgian King Bagrat IV (1027–1072) and his second wife, the Alan Borena. Borena was the sister of Dorgoleli, the ruler of Alania (C. Toumanoff, *Les dynasties de la Caucاسie chrétienne de l'Antiquité jusqu'au XIXe siècle*. Rome 1990, 134–135). The princess Mart'a became Maria perhaps at the marriage. According to Georgian sources, Bagrat and Borena had a daughter Mart'a, who was given in marriage to the King of Greeks (Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 319–320).

<sup>7</sup> The portrayal of the empress is due to Anna Comnena, who was betrothed to the son of Maria of Alania, Constantine, who died in 1095/96, before the marriage took place. According to the educated Anna Comnena, "She was in fact very tall, like a cypress tree; her skin was snow-white; her face was oval, her complexion wholly reminiscent of spring flower or rose. As for the flash of her eyes, what mortal could describe it? Eyebrows, flame-coloured, arched above eyes of light blue. A painter's hand has many times reproduced the colours of all the flowers brought to birth each in its own season, but the beauty of the empress, the grace that shone about her, the charming attractiveness of her ways, these seemed to baffle description, to be beyond of the artist's skill. Neither Apples, nor Pheidias, nor any of the sculptors ever created such a work. The Gorgon's head, so they say, turned men who saw her to stone, but a man who saw the empress walking, or who suddenly met her, was stupefied, and rooted to the spot where he happened to be speechless, apparently deprived in that one moment of all feeling and reason. Such was the proportion and perfect symmetry of her body, each part in harmony with the rest, that no one till then had ever seen its like among human-kind – a living work of art, an object of desire to lovers of beauty. She was indeed Love incarnate, visiting as it were this earthly world" (*The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, tr. E. R. A. Sewter, Harmondsworth 1982, 107; Alex. III, 2, 4).

I have already mentioned in my work that the Byzantine Empire recognized the importance of marriage with foreign ruling houses during the reign of the Comnenus dynasty.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, the first Alan woman in the Byzantine court was the mistress of Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–1055). Our main source about their love affair is Michael Psellus (1018–1096), one of the greatest courtiers and men of letters of the age.<sup>9</sup>

After his wife Empress Zoe died, Constantine adorned his Alan mistress with the title *sebasté*, the Greek translation of "Augusta".<sup>10</sup> According to Psellus, they lived as a married couple. An imperial bodyguard was provided for her and the Emperor wanted to crown her. Two things restrained him from doing this: the law limiting the number of marriages (Empress Zoe was the third wife of Constantine) and Empress Theodora, who was Zoe's sister and Constantine's co-emperor and would never have tolerated this marriage. Michael Psellus in his *Chronographia* tells us that "two or three times every year envoys used to come from her father in Alania to this girl Augusta, and Constantine would show her off to them [...] proclaiming that she was his consort and empress".<sup>11</sup> At the same time, he paid a fortune in order to please her: "For the first time in its history the land of the Alanians was surfeited with good things that came to it from our Rome" says our source.<sup>12</sup>

The situation was complicated because a minion of the wasteful and unheeding Constantine, Romanus Boilas the clown, fell in love with the young hostage and hatched a plot to kill the emperor.<sup>13</sup> The young princess was held as a hostage by the Byzantines from Alania ("a country of no great importance.") Psellus mentioned with a measure of malice that the Emperor lavished gifts on the en-

<sup>8</sup> A. Kazhdan, "The notion of Byzantine diplomacy." in *Byzantine diplomacy. Papers from Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. J. Shepard, S. Franklin, Aldershot 1992, 17–18; R. Macrides, "Dynastic marriages and political kinship." In *Byzantine diplomacy. Papers from Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. J. Shepard, S. Franklin, Aldershot 1992, 271.

<sup>9</sup> Psellus was very interested in love-stories, so that he dwelt extensively on Constantine's romances (Я. Н. Любарский, *Михаил Псевл. Личность и творчество. К истории拜占庭ского предгуманизма*. Москва 1978, 216–220.)

<sup>10</sup> The title *σεβαστός* ('venerable') used by Greek authors in the first and second centuries corresponded to the Latin title *Augustus*. This reappeared as a title in the eleventh Century. Constantine IX Monomachus created the title *sebasté* for his former mistress Sclerena. Later, Alexius I Comnenus acquired it and in the reign of the Comnenus dynasty more than 90 percent of *sebastoi* belonged to the ruling family. The honorific epithet was debased by the end of the twelfth century. In the books of ceremony, it was only a low rank in the fourteenth century (A. Kazhdan, "Eirené," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, (henceforth: *ODB*) 3 vols. ed.-in-chief A. P. Kazhdan, New York–Oxford 1991, 1862–1863).

<sup>11</sup> Psellus 6, 155, cf. *Chronographia*. in Michael Psellus, *Fourteen Byzantine rulers*, tr. E. R. A. Sewter, Harmondsworth 1966, 237.

<sup>12</sup> Psellus 6, 153, cf. *Chronographia*, 236.

<sup>13</sup> Psellus 6, 145–150, *Chronographia*, 231–232.

voys of the inconsequential country.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately, the sources do not record the Alan girl's name. Moreover, they do not mention who her father was. Thus, we have no information about her family.

There are two theories about the origin of this Alan girl. Before dealing with these problems, mention must be made of a hypothesis. There are those who think that the girl can be identified with Irene, who married Isaac Comnenus in 1071 or 1072. Nicephorus Bryennius says in his work that at the beginning of his rule Emperor Michael VII Ducas (1071-1078) brought back the Comnenus brothers from exile "and made them his kinsmen by means of a marriage; for, as he himself had previously taken as wife Maria, the all powerful daughter of the king of Georgia, he gave in marriage her niece, Irene,<sup>15</sup> daughter of the ruler of Alania, to Isaac". This sentence of Bryennius is inconsistent with a relatively common opinion, namely that the Byzantines could not distinguish between the noble women coming to the Byzantine court from the Caucasus. The question arises: Why did Isaac married Irene? According to Barbara Hill, this marriage was to make amends to the Comnenus brothers for their exile.<sup>16</sup> Bryennius's story is in conflict with a comment of his wife, Anna Comnena, because she tells us the marriage was owing to Maria of Alania. It is a matter of course that the Emperor decided on the marriage under his wife's influence. Anna Comnena claimed that Isaac had got in with the Empress on account of the marriage. On the other hand, the brothers owed their lives to Maria of Alania. Ultimately, Alexius Comnenus got power by her help.

The age of the mistress of Constantine IX Monomachus is not known. According to Byzantine law, the minimum age for marriage was twelve for girls, but the most common age at marriage may have been close to fifteen or twenty.<sup>17</sup> This leads us to believe that the girlfriend of the Emperor was in her teens. Incidentally, according to Psellus, the beautiful hostage had several suitors.<sup>18</sup> Between the death of Constantine and her marriage to Isaac, 16 years passed. Consecutively, if Irene is identical with the mistress of Constantine, she was in her early

<sup>14</sup> Psellus states that the younger girl's father was king of Alania (βασιλεος) and Zonaras, whose source is Michael Psellus for these passages, writes "the daughter of one of their leaders" (ἀρχηγετούτες) (Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 225). According to Alemany "this term can be compared with the ruling class of Nicolaos Mysticos" (Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 189-190). Psellus 6, 145, *Chronographia*, 153-154, 231, 236.

<sup>15</sup> Irene is Zeus's daughter in the Greek mythology. She was the goddess of peace in Antiquity. Her name as a personal name was rare in the ancient times. After the Khazar wife of Constantine V. was given the name Irene, many foreign-born empresses were later to take this name, which means 'peace,' indicated the peaceful relationship between the two powers (ODB 1008). It is true that Irene was not an empress, but her husband was a very important person in the Byzantine Empire. Consequently, if the Byzantines held her as a hostage, her new name agrees with this theory.

<sup>16</sup> B. Hiel: *Imperial Women in Byzantium 1025-1204. Power, Patronage and Ideology*. New York 1999, 144.

<sup>17</sup> A-M. Talbot, "Women." in *The Byzantines*, ed. G. Cavallo, Chicago-London 1997, 121.

<sup>18</sup> Psellus 6, 151-152, *Chronographia*, 235.

thirties. Anyway, Isaac Comnenus' wife produced eight children, who became important persons later in the Byzantine Empire. If Irene is identical with the mistress of the Emperor, the question of whose daughter she was still remains.

As already mentioned, there are two theories about the origin of this Alan girl. According to the first hypothesis, she was the daughter of Demetrios,<sup>19</sup> the son of the Alanian Aldé<sup>20</sup> and the Georgian King Giorgi I.<sup>21</sup> Demetrios tried to acquire power from his step-brother Bagrat IV on several occasions. It is a well known fact that the Byzantine court supported the pretender.<sup>22</sup> In that case some new questions arise. Why did the Byzantine sources call him as Alan King? This was presumably because of his mother Aldé's origin, or because Demetrios took the Alan throne after he had left the Georgian Kingdom. Mention must be made of the fact that we know of only six Alan kings by name at this time, but Demetrios was not among them. According to the second theory, she was the daughter of Dorgoleli,<sup>23</sup> the brother-in-law of the Georgian King Bagrat IV. In either case, she was the niece of Maria of Alania.

As stated above, Alan women appeared in the neighbouring Georgian Kingdom too. From the eleventh century, our first data about Alan-Georgian contacts is a marriage. The second wife of the Georgian ruler Giorgi I (1014-1027) was the daughter of an Alan King, Aldé.<sup>24</sup> Their son was the above mentioned Demetrios, who tried to take power in the Georgian Kingdom. Both of them were adhered to their mothers, although Aldé helped Demetrios<sup>25</sup> and Mariam from Vaspurakan aided Bagrat.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>19</sup> L. Garland, L., Jr. Stephen Rapp, "Mart'a-Maria 'of Alania,'" In *De Imperatoribus Romanis. An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors*, [http://www.roman-emperors.org/mariyal.htm#N\\_6](http://www.roman-emperors.org/mariyal.htm#N_6). 24 July 2007.

<sup>20</sup> According to Aabaev, the Nart epic records a feminine Ossetic name *Eldæ, Aldæ* (V. I. Aabaev, *Осетинский язык и фольклор*, Москва-Ленинград 1949, 42).

<sup>21</sup> Toumanoff, *Les dynasties de la Caucاسie chrétienne*, 134.

<sup>22</sup> Ioannis Skylitzae: Synopsis Historiarum. Rec. Ioannes Thurn. Berolini - Novi Eboraci 1973, 389; Jean Skylitzés: *Empereurs de Constantinople*, tr. B. Flusin et annoté par J.-Cl. Cheynet, *Réalités Byzantines*, Paris 2003, 322.

<sup>23</sup> K. G. Doguzov, *Бизантийско-Аланские отношения (XI-XII вв.)*. Афтореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук. Тбилиси 1987, 18; Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 320.

<sup>24</sup> Skylitzés 389, *Empereurs de Constantinople*, 322; Toumanoff, *Les dynasties de la Caucاسie chrétienne*, 134.

<sup>25</sup> "Alda, wife of George of Abasgia but of Alan descent, rushed up to the Emperor and handed over the most strong fortress of the Anakop'i. The Emperor honoured her son Demetrios with the rank of *magistros*." (Skylitzes 389; Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 222; *Empereurs de Constantinople*, 2003, 322).

<sup>26</sup> *Rewriting Caucasian History: The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles, the Original Georgian texts and the Armenian Adaptation*. tr. R. W. Thomson, Oxford 1996, 287-288. According to the author of the *Chronicle of K'art'li*, Queen Mariam, mother of Bagrat, went to Constantinople and made an alliance with the Byzantines. The Emperor Romanus III Argyrus (1028-1034) gave the title of *curopalates* and his niece Helena

no more is known about her than the fact that she, as dowager of Giorgi I, did everything possible for her son. According to Ioannes Skylitzes, Aldé handed over the strongest fortress in north-east Georgia, Anakop'i to the Emperor Romanus III Argyrus (1028–1034). The Emperor honoured her son, Demetrios with the rank of *magistros*<sup>27</sup> and the Byzantine army aided him several times, but he died after a few crude attempts in the Byzantine Empire.<sup>28</sup> It is to be noted that Alemany suggests the Ossetian prince Davit' Soslan, the husband of Queen T'amar, was a descendent of Demetrios.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, the Byzantines had no interest in a powerful Georgian Kingdom, so they also supported the legitimate heir, Bagrat IV (1027–1072), who was married to Helena Argyropoulaina, the niece of Romanus III Argyrus in 1032/33 as his first wife.<sup>30</sup>

The next Alan woman to be considered is Boréna, the mother of the Byzantine Empress Maria of Alania.<sup>31</sup> Boréna was the sister of the well-known Alan King, Dorgoleli.<sup>32</sup> After his first wife's death, King Bagrat IV married Boréna in the 1030s. They had three children: Maria of Alania, the future King Giorgi II and Mariam. The Georgian Queen Boréna is primarily known as a patron of the Georgian Orthodox culture and monastic life. She sponsored with her daughter Maria the construction of the Georgian Kapata Monastery on Mount Zion at Jerusalem.<sup>33</sup> She is frequently identified with Borena who was the author of a passionate and moving hymn to the Virgin Mary.<sup>34</sup> At the same time, she presumably promoted the ecclesiastical authors and copyists. We know that, after Bagrat IV was unable to stop the emir of Ganga, he called for the assistance of his brother-in-law, the Ossetian King Dorgoleli, who arrived with 40,000 warriors.

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Argyropoulaina as a wife for her son Bagrat (*Rewriting Caucasian History*, 287–288; Skylitzes 378; *Empereurs de Constantinople*, 313).

<sup>27</sup> Skylitzés 389; *Empereurs de Constantinople*, 322; Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 222.

<sup>28</sup> M. Lordkiphanidze, *Georgia in the XI–XIIth centuries*. Tbilisi 1967, <http://www.georgianweb.com/history/mariam/index.html>, 27 July 2007.

<sup>29</sup> Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 321.

<sup>30</sup> See Note 26.

<sup>31</sup> The first element in her name corresponds to the Digor dialect of Ossetian *bor*, Iron *bûr* 'yellow' (Abaev, *Осетинский язык и фольклор*, 161).

<sup>32</sup> They were perhaps children of King Urdure, who was murdered by the King of Kakheti' Kvirike III (1010–1029) in a battle (Бахушти Багратиони, *История Царств Грузинского*. Перевод, снабдил предисловием, словарями и указателем Н. Т. Хакашидзе. Тбилиси 1976, 128–129).

<sup>33</sup> Garland-Rapp "Mart'a-Maria 'of Alania'."

<sup>34</sup> M. Tarchnišvili, J. Assfalg, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur, auf Grund des ersten Bandes der georgischen Literaturgeschichte von K. Kekelidze bearbeitet*. Città del Vaticano 1955, 451. "Thou who didst wipe out the guilt of Eve / When thou didst say to Gabriel, 'I am the / Lord's handmaid'; / Then the power, formerly drunk with blood / collapsed in ruin. / Me, thy vigilant one, walking upon the earth, / O Virgin, save me, Borena the much- / afflicted" (D. M. Lang, "Tarchnišvili, M.-Assfalg, J. *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur, auf Grund des ersten Bandes der georgischen Literaturgeschichte von K. Kekelidze bearbeitet*. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1955. (Review)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 19:1 (1957), 181).

The combined Alan-Georgian army ravaged the territory of Arrān and the Georgian ruler recaptured a number of towns and strongholds. It is interesting that the Georgian source hints that the Alan King was not treated as an equal partner in the war. He was subordinated to the Georgian heir, the future Giorgi II (1072-1089). In addition to that, after the struggle, the great King of the Alans requested an audience from his brother-in-law, a fact which suggests his dependence.<sup>35</sup>

Finally, I mention an Alan-Rus' marriage.<sup>36</sup> Vsevolod III Yur'evič, the first grand prince of Vladimir on the Klaizma (1177-1212), was married to an Alan princess, who is called Maria in the Russian sources.<sup>37</sup> We have no information about the circumstances of the marriage, but it probably happened in the 1170s.<sup>38</sup> There is a theory that Vsevolod spent his youth in Constantinople,<sup>39</sup> after being expelled from Rus' by his brother, Andrei Bogolyubskiy.<sup>40</sup> On his return from Byzantium to Rus in the 1170s, he supposedly visited Tbilisi and there the Georgian king, Giorgi III (1156-1184) entertained his nephew from Constantinople and married him to his relative, an Alan princess. We know that Vsevolod's step-brother Andrei Bogolyubskiy had an Alan wife too.<sup>41</sup> And according to the sources there were some Alans among Andrei's assassins in the year 1174.<sup>42</sup>

If we return to Vsevolod, Maria and Vsevolod had numerous children,<sup>43</sup> thus earning for himself the sobriquet Big Nest. One of them was Yuriy Vsevolodovič, who was killed in the battle of Sit' by the Mongols in 1238. Some of Maria and Vsevolod's descendants were canonized by the Russian church, including their grandson, Alexander Nevsky. The Saint Demetrius church in Vladimir was built with the support of the pious Maria and her husband. The Assumption (Princess) Convent was also founded by this princess. The cathedral became the burial place of the females of the princely families: the wives and daughters of Vsevolod and Alexander Nevsky were buried here. Maria, like her Western and Byzantine contemporaries, sponsored the ecclesiastical arts too.<sup>44</sup> After her death in 1206, she

<sup>35</sup> *Rewriting Caucasian History*, 304-305. The Arab sources record this incursion in 1065 (V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*. London 1953, 22; text. 15\*-16\*).

<sup>36</sup> In the twelfth century, several Russian princes married Alan princesses.

<sup>37</sup> D. Dzanty, G. Vernadsky, "The Ossetian Tale of Iry Dada and Mstislav," *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 69, No. 273, Slavic Folklore: A Symposium (July-Sept 1956), 219; B. A. Кузнецов: *Огеркии истории Алан*. 1984, 134. It must be mentioned that, according to Nikiforovskaja Letopis, Maria was the daughter of Bohemian prince (*Полное Собрание Русских Летописей*. Т. 35. Б. А. Рыбаков, Москва 1980, 35, 19, 36)

<sup>38</sup> Dzanty-Vernadsky, "The Ossetian Tale," 219.

<sup>39</sup> According to Karamzin, Vsevolod's mother Helene was a Greek princess.

<sup>40</sup> A. A. Vasiliev, "Was Old Russia a Vassal State of Byzantium?" *Speculum* 7.3 (1932), 357.

<sup>41</sup> Dzanty-Vernadsky, "The Ossetian Tale," 219.

<sup>42</sup> *Полное Собрание Русских Летописей*. Т. 9-10. Ред. М. Н. Тихомиров, Москва 1965, 9: 249.

<sup>43</sup> They had eight sons and four daughters.

<sup>44</sup> S. Franklin, J. Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus 750-1200*. London-New York 1996, 316.

was canonized by the Russian Orthodox Church,<sup>45</sup> which celebrates the date when she died on 1 April.<sup>46</sup>

In conclusion, I have enumerated several illustrative examples of marriages the Alans established with neighbouring states. Taking these data into consideration, the following results are worth mentioning. These records highlight the different important roles that Alanian women played in the foreign courts. For the Byzantine Empire, the Alans were not so important as in the tenth century. This can be demonstrated by the fact that the daughter of the Alan King was a hostage in Constantinople. And later on, when the Comneni recognized the importance of marriage with the Eastern ruling houses, they selected wives from among the Bagratids, because the Georgian Kingdom had become a great power in the Caucasus.

At the same time, the Alan Kingdom was an important ally of the kings of Georgia in their struggle against the emirs of Ganğa and the Seljuks.<sup>47</sup> The marriage between the Georgian King Giorgi III (1156–1184) and the beautiful Burduxan,<sup>48</sup> the daughter of the Alan King Xuddan (d. 1172), is another argument for the importance of the Alans.<sup>49</sup> From this marriage T'amar, the great Queen of the Georgians, was born. Incidentally her second husband was the Alan David Soslan. He was very important in establishing the power of the Georgian Kingdom.<sup>50</sup>

Relations between the Alans and the Rus' are characterized by peaceful dynastical ties in the eleventh–twelfth centuries.<sup>51</sup> In this period our first data is a marriage in 1116.<sup>52</sup> At this time Yaropolk, a son of Vladimir Monomakh, came back from a campaign against the Cumans and Alans with a "very beautiful"

<sup>45</sup> Полное Собрание Русских Летописей 10, 49–50.

<sup>46</sup> И. М. Карамзин, *История государства Российского*, 1816–1829, [http://www.magister.msk.ru/library/history/karamzin/kar03\\_03.htm](http://www.magister.msk.ru/library/history/karamzin/kar03_03.htm). 5 August 2007; V. T. Dadianova, „О Марие-Ясыне – великой просветительнице земли русской.” *Ярославская культура* 1–2 (2004), 21–22.

<sup>47</sup> Lordkipanidze, *Georgia in the XI–XIIth centuries*. The Alans attacked the Ganğa capital of Arrân in 1062 (Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 15§; text. 14\*). Arrân at that time was a vassal of the Seljuks. This assault was perhaps a response to the aggression of Alp Arslan (1063–1072), who ravaged Georgian territory (C. E. Bosworth, “al-Ķabk,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, CD-ROM ed. v.1.0. Leiden, 1991, IV: 347). A second Alan raid took place in 1067/8 (Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 22; text. 15\*–16\*; *Re-writing Caucasian History*, 304–305).

<sup>48</sup> *The Gregorian Chronicle. The period of Giorgi Lasha*. Text by S. Qankhchishvili, trans. K. Vivian, Amsterdam 1991. 54, 57, 107, 110. The Georgian Chronicle states, “... she excelled all other women in virtue” (Georg. Chron. 57). “...Burduxan, in whom all the graces of womanhood were found” (Georg. Chron 107).

<sup>49</sup> “And however many thousand men of Ovseti and Qipchaqs he summoned, they came ...” (Georg. Chron. 53).

<sup>50</sup> Georg. Chron. 67–68, 73, 78, 82–83, 88, 118, 121, 124, 127–128, 129–131.

<sup>51</sup> de N. Baumgarten, “Généalogies et Mariages Occidentaux des Rurikides Russes du Xe au XIIIe siècle.” *Orientalia Christiana* IX, 35 (1927), 70.

<sup>52</sup> Полное Собрание Русских Летописей. Т. 2. Ред. Д. С. Лихачев, Москва 1950, 284.

princess who became his wife in Kiev.<sup>53</sup> Unfortunately, it is not clear if these Alans were the Cumans' allies or subjects or if they were Alans of the Don region.

The Alans served as intermediaries between the Rus' Principalities and the Georgian Kingdom. At the same time, it is obvious why Vsevolod III was married to an Alan princess, because of the strategic and diplomatic importance of the Alan Kingdom as a potential ally against the Cumans.<sup>54</sup>

Unfortunately, in most cases we do not know exactly what political circumstances led to these marriages. An even more interesting thing is that these matrimonial ties were one-sided, since the daughters of Alan Kings married neighbouring rulers, but we have no information on the Byzantines, Georgians or Russians giving any brides from their ruling houses to the Alans.

It is well known that during this period women were primarily identified by their affiliation to men. Therefore we have scanty information about these women. Actually, as my illustrative examples show, these women who descended from a semi-nomad yet Christian dynasty played a significant role in the patronage of the church and ecclesiastical arts, as did their Western contemporaries. In addition they were exceptionally literate.

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<sup>53</sup> Полное Собрание Русских Летописей, 2: 284.

<sup>54</sup> G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*. London 1951, 358.

# Qamuq Mongqol Ulus and Chiefdom Theory

NIKOLAY N. KRADIN



Among many researchers studying the structure of the early polity of *Qamuq Mongqol Ulus*, two opposite points of view are advanced. Some authors believe that, in this case, we should be dealing with a state, even in embryo.<sup>1</sup> The other group of researchers thinks that the case in point should be the pre-state societies – confederations of tribes, chiefdoms etc.<sup>2</sup> The basic contradiction concerns the different interpretations of two different sources. In §§ 52, 57 of *The Secret History*

<sup>1</sup> *Bugd Nairamdarkh Mongol Ard Ulsyn Tyyk* [History of Mongolian Peoples' Republic]. Vol. 1. Ulaanbaatar 1966, 172; N. Ishzamts, *Obrazovanie edinogo mongolskogo gosudarstva i ustanovlenie feodalizma* [Formation of the united Mongolian state and the establishment of feudalism]. Unpublished Dr.Sc. Thesis. Moscow 1972, 11–12; Sh. Sandag, "Obrazovanie edinogo mongolskogo gosudarstva i Chingiskhan," [Formation of the united Mongolian state and Chinggis Khan], in *Tataro-mongoly v Azii I Evrope*, Moscow 1977, 25–26; E. I. Kychanov, "K voprosu ob urovne sotsialno-ekonomicheskogo razvitiia tataro-mongolskikh plemen," [To question on a level of socio-economical development of Uluses of Tatars and Mongols], in *Rol' kochevykh narodov v tsivilizatsii Centralnoy Azii*, Ulaanbaatar 1974, 169; *idem*, "O tataro-mongolskom uluse XII veka," [On the Uluses of Tatars and Mongols in the 12th century], in *Vostochnaia Azia i sosednie territorii v srednie veka*, Novosibirsk 1986; *idem*. *Kochevye gosudarstva ot gunnov do manchzuров* [Nomadic states from the Xoungnu to the Manchurians], Moscow 1997, 179–192; L. Krader, "The Origin of the State among the Nomads of Asia," in *The Early State*, ed. H. J. M. Claessen and P. Skalnik, The Hague 1978, 99; Zh. Gerelbadarkh, "Bylo li 'khamag mongol ulus' nazvaniem gosudarstva," [Whether 'Qamuq Mongqol Ulus' was the name of the state] *Altaica X*, Moscow 2005; etc.

<sup>2</sup> N. Ts. Munkuev, "Zametki o drevnikh mongolakh" [Notes about the ancient Mongols], in *Tataro-mongoly v Azii I Evrope*, Moscow 1977, 379–382; A. M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*. Cambridge 1984, 234; V. S. Taskin, *Materialy po istorii drevnikh kochevykh narodov gruppy dunkhu* [Materials on a history of the ancient nomadic peoples Dunghu], Moscow 1984, 30–31; I. de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols. A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, Translated with a historical and philological commentary by I. de Rachewiltz. Vol. 1–2, Leiden–Boston 2004, 296 etc.

of the Mongols, it is reported that, a long time ago, all Mongols were ruled over by Khabul-khan and, in more recent times, by Ambaqai-qahan. In 1161, Ambaqai was taken prisoner by the Tatars and they passed him to the Jin empire, where he was killed. The alternative versions concern translations of two fragments where the combination "Qamuq Mongqol" is found. The first of them declares: "Qamuq Mongqol-i Qabul qahan meden aba. Qabul-qahan-u iige-ber dolo'an kö'üd-iyen b kö'etele Senggüm-bilge-yin kö'ün Ambaqai-qahan qamuq mongqol-i meden aba" ("Qabul Qa'an ruled over all the Mongols. After Qabul Qa'an, although he had seven sons, Ambaqai Qa'an, the son of Senggum Bilge, became the ruler of all the Mongols by Qabul Qa'an's will").<sup>3</sup> In the second fragment, relating to a legacy of the captured Ambaqai and the enthronement of Qutula, we read the following: "Ambaqai-qahan-u Qada'an Qutula qoyar-i nereyitčü ilekse'er qamuq mongqol tayiči'ut Onan-u Qorqonaq jubur quraju-Qutula-yi qahan bolqaba" ("According to the message of Ambaqai Qa'an, which had nominated both Qada'an and Qutula, all the Mongols and Tayiči'ut gathered in the Qorqonaq Valley by the Onan and made Qumla qa'an").<sup>4</sup>

The most competent translators of this source translate Qamuq Mongqol as "all the Mongols"<sup>5</sup> ("die ganzen Mongolen",<sup>6</sup> "tous les Mongols",<sup>7</sup> "all the Mongols").<sup>8</sup> There is no reason to doubt the authority of the opinion expressed. Munkuev who has analysed this problem in detail adheres to the same opinion: "There was no state 'Qamuq Mongqol' or ethnonym 'qamuq mongqol'. In § 52 and § 57, we are only dealing with the same name 'Mongqol' used in the first event as a determinative ahead ('all') while, in the second one, as a determinative to the ethnonym 'Tayiči'ut' ('Mongqol-Tayiči'ut')".<sup>9</sup>

The second source, the treatise *Men-ta pei-lu* of Zhao hong, reports the opposite information:

In the old days, the state of Mongqus existed. For the illegal (rule period) of Jin (1123-1134), (they, i.e. the Mongqus) also harassed the Jurchen barbarian robbers... Later on, they (Jurchen robbers) gave (them) a good deal of gold and silks and have become reconciled with them. As *Zheng-meng ji* reports of Li Liang, the Mongols have replaced the rule of Tian-xing and (their ruler) has called himself the "forefather of the dynasty and first enlightened august emperor".<sup>10</sup>

In this case, we are dealing with events of 1147 when, according to *Tongjian gan-mu*, the Jurchen empire had to make peace with the Mongols, under which 27 for-

<sup>3</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History*, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History*, 12-13.

<sup>5</sup> S. A. Kozin, *Sokrovennoe skazanie. Mongolskaia khronika 1240 g.* [Secret History. The Mongolian Chronicle of 1240]. Moscow-Leningrad 1941, 84.

<sup>6</sup> E. Haenisch, *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*. Wiesbaden 1941, 7.

<sup>7</sup> P. Pelliot, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*. Paris 1949, 128.

<sup>8</sup> U. Onon *The Secret History of the Mongols. The Life and Times of Chinggis Khan*. tr. U. Onon, Curzon 2001, 52; Rachewiltz, *The Secret History*, 10, 12.

<sup>9</sup> N. Ts. Munkuev, "Zametki o drevnikh mongolakh," 381-382.

<sup>10</sup> *Men-ta pei-lu*. Russian tr. N. Ts. Munkuev, Moscow 1975, 50.

tified settlements along the northern side of Xi-p'hin-he river were ceded to the Mongols and the Jurchen have committed to deliver every year to them (the Mongols) a great deal of horned cattle, rice and bulls. Moreover, the title of *Meng-fu-wang* was offered to the Mongol elder Kholobo Jinye (Jurchen *ao-lo bochile* – author's note); but he has not taken this title and has called his kingdom Da-meng-gu guo, kingdom of the Great Mongol. Nowadays, they have made peace and delivered yearly a great deal of things and, after that, the Mongolian chief has taken the title: *Zu-yuan-huan-di*, forefather-emperor.<sup>11</sup>

Most researchers identify absolutely rightly the Mongolian chief Kholobo with Qabul qahan. His conflicts with the Jurchen had begun ten years ago after an abortive attempt was made to capture him by order of the Jurchen emperor Xizong. True, there are great doubts that in this case one can also tell about the state because the above source reports below: "When the first polity of today's Tatars appeared (they) had no written documents. In all cases, when the orders were distributed, the ambassadors were sent everywhere and (at that) only signs were cut out".<sup>12</sup> The acceptance of the notorious title and declaration of a splendid name are graphic evidence of the pretensions of the Mongolian chief to recognition in international affairs, but is not proof that the state has appeared as the institution. This is confirmed by the fact that, after the death of Qabul qahan and murder of Ambaqai-qahan and the successful foray to Jin, Qutula was not aware of the existence of the powerful imperial confederation in the Mongolian steppe.

Nevertheless, Eugeny Kychanov points out that Munkuyev, translating *Men-ta pei-lu* in Russian, "in spite of the abundant comments to the text, does not comment on this passage".<sup>13</sup> The problem remains to be solved: why the Mongolian-speaking sources report nothing of the state of the early Mongols and the great confederation of nomads, whereas the Chinese sources suggest for certain a presence of the political union of its nomadic northern neighbours.

Most likely, the answer to this question should consist in the following. All of those researchers who interpreted the Chinese texts as the evidence of the Mongols' state in the twelfth century proceeded, by default, from the fact that in the text, the Chinese term *guo* – polity or state – was used. However, the Chinese diplomats, functionaries and chroniclers had a quite vague idea of the real processes taking place far to the north. In this specific case, it should be borne in mind that

<sup>11</sup> N. Ya. Bichurin, *Sobranie svedenii o narodakh, obitavshikh v Srednei Asii v drevnie vremena*. [Collected information about the peoples of Inner Asia in ancient times], Vol. 1–2. Moscow and Leningrad 1950, 379; V. P. Vasil'ev, *Istoriia I drevnosti vostochnoi chasti Srednei Asii ot X do XIII veka s prilozheniem kitaiskikh izvestii o kidaniakh, dzurdzeniakh I mongolotatarakh* [History and antiquities of the east part of Central Asia from the 10th to the 13th century with an appendix of the Chinese Chronicles about Kitan, Jurchen, and Mongols and Tatars]. Saint-Petersburg 1857, 79–80.

<sup>12</sup> *Men-ta pei-lu*, 52.

<sup>13</sup> E. I. Kychanov, "Mongoly v VI – pervoy polovine XII veka," [Mongols from the sixth to the first half of the twelfth centuries], in *Dalny Vostok I sosednie territorii v srednie veka*. Novosibirsk 1980, 146.

the views on the same processes from the outside and within the society under consideration are, as a rule, different. In cultural anthropology, it has long been known that the researcher's conclusions of one or other cultural phenomena (*ethic*) differ, as a rule, from views of the bearers of this culture on the same thing (*emic*).<sup>14</sup> For this reason alone, the empires established by nomads seemed like powerful states from outside, but were no more than tribal confederations based on consensual relations if they were examined from within.

The problem of interpreting the political system of the Mongol Uluses of the eleventh-twelfth centuries was considered with the greatest care by the Russian scholar of Asia, Eugeny Kychanov. Beginning from the mid 1970s, he developed the concept of the specific form of the early state among the people settling the territory to the north of the Chinese civilization.<sup>15</sup>

Kychanov's reasoning reduces to the following points: (1) In Uluses, social stratification, division into nobility and the poor and the slavery institution occurred; (2) Uluses could have multi-ethnic composition; (3) They were governed by a khan who had bodyguards, and held the headquarters and administration of the Ulus. His power has passed by right of succession; (4) In Uluses, the conventional rules were in force. "It was the power over people and reflecting the interests of the ruling class, the public power personified in the state mechanism of a certain construction", the researcher summarizes.<sup>16</sup> This is a typical Marxist view of the state as the tool of the rich for the oppression of the poor. Moreover, Kychanov believes that "... the Tatar-Mongolian Ulus in the twelfth century differed little in this from the Chinggis-Khan Ulus of 1206. We join the followers of that point of view according to which the Tatar-Mongolian Uluses of the twelfth century are formations of the nature of a state with unified military-administrative power".<sup>17</sup>

Kychanov characterizes absolutely rightly the typical properties of the social order of Mongolian Uluses of the eleventh-thirteenth centuries. Indeed, they were characterized by social inequality, multi-ethnic composition, hereditary power etc. However, all of characteristics listed by him correspond closely to the signs of chiefdom. It is common practice to consider the chiefdom as that type of social-political organization which can be simplistically described as follows: it is a social organism consisting of the group of communal groups which are hierarchically subordinate to the central and, as a rule, most great of them where the ruler (chief) lives. The latter, resting upon rudimentary authority, organizes the economic, redistributive, judicial and religious activities of the society.

The theory of chiefdom is among the most fundamental achievements of political anthropology. The modern concepts of the basic characteristics of chiefdoms are based on the giant volume of the ethnographic data acquired by the scientists

<sup>14</sup> K. Pik, *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior*. 2nd ed. The Hague 1967.

<sup>15</sup> See Note 2.

<sup>16</sup> Kychanov, *Kochevye gosudarstva*, 192.

<sup>17</sup> Kychanov, *Kochevye gosudarstva*, 97.

in practically all continents of the globe (except for, maybe, Europe). If the different viewpoints of the essence of chiefdom advanced at different periods are summarized, one can reveal the following major signs of this form of socio-political organization:

- (1) political hierarchy, presence of the centre and groups (communities, tribes etc.) dependent on it;
- (2) social stratification, restricted access to the key resources, there are tendencies to the separation of the endogamic elite from commoners into the closed group;
- (3) population of several thousands of people (simple chiefdom) and several tens of thousands of people (complex chiefdom);
- (4) redistribution of foodstuffs and resources;
- (5) absence of legitimate power having a monopoly for acts of force;
- (6) common ideology and/or common cults and rituals;
- (7) sacral character of power, sometimes, presence of theocracy.<sup>18</sup>

From this point of view, not only Qamuq Mongqol Ulus but also other Uluses of Mongols in the eleventh-early thirteenth centuries fall fully under the signs of chiefdom. Here, the inequality (already Bodoncar said vividly: "It is right for a body to have a head, and for a coat to have a collar.")<sup>19</sup> and social stratification were noted. Among the Mongols, there was genealogical inequality, the transfer of power of chiefs was by right of succession, described in detail in the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* of Rashid ad-Din. In society, the norms of traditional law were in force. I even agree with Kychanov's opinion that the power of khans did not reflect the interests of people, but what power does reflect their interests? Machiavelli in *The Prince* has shown well that any power is of extra-moral character. It exists only for its own sake. However, the ruling elite, at that, should not destroy the society but should contribute to the keeping of its unity if it wants to maintain its positions. In this case, if necessary, the interests of power can coincide with those of some or other social groups including the masses. All of this is, to a full degree, applicable to the societies of pastoral nomads.

The difference of my point of view from Eugeny Kychanov's opinion consists only in that he considers this political system as the state. The state assumes the presence of specific management personnel. As the rulers of chiefdoms did not have subordinate specialized compulsory institutions (bureaucracy, army, police) their power was based on the benefit for the society, redistribution mechanisms and preformed ideological functions. It is the universal rule true with respect to the both settled agricultural and nomadic societies. In Rashid ad-Din's interpretation, Chinggis-Khan looks as like typical steppe khan, lavish to his fellow tribes-

<sup>18</sup> *Chiefdoms: Power, Economy, and Ideology*, ed. T. Earle. Cambridge 1991; *Chiefdoms and Early States in the Near East: The organizational dynamics of complexity*, ed. G. Stein, M. S. Rothman. Madison 1994; T. Earle, *How chiefs come to power: The political economy in pre-history*. Stanford CA 1997; *Chiefdoms and chieftaincy in the Americas*, ed. E. Redmond. Gainesville, Florida 1998; *Beyond chiefdoms: Pathways to complexity in Africa*, ed. S. K. McIntosh, Cambridge 1999, etc.

<sup>19</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History*, 7.

men and terrible to hid enemies. He describes the event when one group (Je'ureyits) were blandly taken on by Temüjin and, later on, they spread the opinion of his noble qualities among the steppe tribes.<sup>20</sup>

As a result, within the Je'ureyits, an internal split occurred and some of them and some representatives of other groups have come over to Temüjin's side. In *Jāmi' al tavārīkh*, the words of the oath taken by both sides are given: "We are left as wives without husbands, as a herd without master and a flock without a cowherd! The sons descending from the great wives (*khatun*), we are extirpated and ruined! All of us will take up swords for (the sake) of your friendship and kill your enemies!", *Uluq ba'atur* has declared to Temüjin. "I was like a sleeper and you pulled my wisp and woke me. I sat (motionless), you evoked (me) from my severities (and) put (on) (my feet). I will make all that will be possible for the sake of the promises made by me with respect to you!" Temüjin answers him.<sup>21</sup> The similar promises of both sides are presented in § 123 of *The Secret History* when describing the investiture of Temüjin as khan.

Here, one important clarification which is of especial importance with respect to the nomadic societies should be made. It would be wrong to identify the strong personal power of the chief and existence of the state. Many events are known when the rulers of chiefdoms could punish his subjects and some of them are looked on even as the autocrats. However, the opposite situation is well known. If the chief did not listen to the advice of elders, attempted to change traditions, violated a taboo, oppressed his subjects harshly and perpetrated murders, then he could be substituted. As a rule, the commoners, by virtue of traditional norms, have recognized the rights of their chiefs to some part of the income they produce, however, they have insisted on the observance of justice in these relations. If the chiefs and their courtiers have abused their position then this could result in the burst of popular anger.<sup>22</sup> As the rulers of chiefdoms had no the specialized compulsion machinery, their position under such conditions was unenviable. For this reason, it is common practice to consider that the rulers of chiefdoms have only consensual power, i.e. authority. In the case of a state proper, the government can apply sanctions by using legitimate violence and can rest upon specific compulsion machinery.<sup>23</sup>

I do not agree completely with this definition, because many states have insufficient means to enforce the state's monopoly on violence.<sup>24</sup> The chiefdoms were still more unstable political systems. In simple chiefdoms, power could be inheritable and its stability depended on the successfulness of the political and military practices and charisma of the leader. In the complex, stratified chiefdoms,

<sup>20</sup> Rashid ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei* [A Collection of Chronicles]. Vol. 1, Part 1–2. Moscow–Leningrad 1952, 90.

<sup>21</sup> Rashid ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, 89.

<sup>22</sup> M. D. Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*. Chicago 1972.

<sup>23</sup> E. Service, *Origins of the State and Civilization*. New York 1975.

<sup>24</sup> R. L. Carneiro, "The chiefdom: precursor of the state," in *The Transition to Statehood in the New World*, Cambridge 1981; E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, NY 1983.

the supreme power was distributed among the members of the ruling clan and the mechanisms of its transfer were developed, though all this did not exclude the possibility of internal conflicts. However, in both early and late chiefdoms, the ruler's authority was maintained by means of the gift economy, repeated distributions of material and morally significant resources. In this connection, one can recall the circumstances accompanying the death of Yesügei. As soon as he passed to his eternal rest, his former companions-in-arms left his family: "The deep lake has already dried up; sound stones have been already broken".<sup>25</sup>

Paragraph 124 of *The Secret History* allows us to understand what the Mongolian Uluses of the eleventh-twelfth centuries were. There, the different duties imposed on the bodyguards of young Temüjin are described in detail. The circle of his fellow-fighters included only 26 people, 12 of whom fulfilled the military duties. Four persons were appointed to be archers and four were sword-bearers who fulfilled, in addition, the police and punitive functions; the third four took the posts of scouts and couriers. The other group of men-at-arms (11 people) was entrusted with domestic arrangements for the khan's household. Three members of the armed band were appointed to manage the khan's fare. Three persons were appointed to watch the pasturage of horses and one the pasturage of sheep. Two men-at-arms fulfilled the duties of equeeries, one man managed servants and slaves and, finally, one was responsible for the movements of the khan's headquarters. These bodies were headed by the three nearest fellow-fighters of Chingis-khan; Bo'orču, Jelme and Sübe'etei.

Based on this distribution of duties, and taking into account the study of the heroic epos of nomads,<sup>26</sup> one can assume that the fellow-fighters of the steppe polity's ruler could be appointed: (1) to guard the chief/khan and his relatives in the headquarters; (2) pasturage of the ruler's herds; (3) domestic matters in the headquarters (nourishment of the chief, his family life and amusements, preparation and holding of periodic meetings, reception and accommodation of guests, arrangement of seasonal migrations of camp and hunting). One more function is rendering of assistance to the khan in organizing the government of the polity (couriers, ambassadors etc.). On this evidence, it is wrong to interpret these relations as the legitimate institution of political power. The bodyguards (*nökörs*) do not have a clear specialization in fulfillment of some or other function and execute it from one case to another as may be necessary. The nomads have no need for bureaucratic machinery and have solved the problems as they arise quickly and without red tape. That is why it was said in the initial lines of Chapter 85 of *Yuan Shi*, devoted to the description of the officialdom of the Yuan dynasty, that even under the First Emperor (i. e., Chingis-khan), there were no confused affairs and services while the customs (i. e., administrative means) were simple and intimate.

<sup>25</sup> *Yuan Shi*, Ch.1; N.Ya. Bichurin, *Istoriia pervykh chetyrekh khanov iz doma Chingisova* [History of first four khans from the House of Chinggis]. Saint-Petersburg 1829, 9.

<sup>26</sup> V.V. Trepavlov, "Altaiskiy geroicheskiy epos kak istochnik po istorii ranney gosudarstvennosti," [Altai heroic epos as a sources of the early statehood history], in *Fol'vorne nasledie Gornogo Altaia*, Gorno-Altaisk 1989, 158-162.

# *The arms terminology of the Sarmatian army in the written sources\**

KATALIN NAGY



The Sarmatians lived on the Eastern European steppe from the fourth century B.C. till the fourth century A.D. To be able to uphold their rule for several hundred years in opposition to other peoples and empires, it was crucial that they have not only a properly-organized army and good military tactics, but also armaments which met the standards of the day. This period was exceptional from the point of view of the weaponry of the nomadic people, since heavy cavalry became prevalent on the steppe during their rule, as never before. Several studies and essays have been published on the tactics and weaponry of the Sarmatians, amongst which the work of Khazanov is one of the most significant.<sup>1</sup> He collected the archaeological materials and the most important written documents and described their tactics on the basis of these data. However, the collection and the evaluation of terminology used for Sarmatian weapons in the written materials have not been studied in detail.<sup>2</sup> This paper focuses on these technical terms, comparing the aforementioned data with the archaeological<sup>3</sup> and pictorial sources.

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<sup>1</sup> А. М. Хазанов, "Катафрактарии и их роль в истории военного искусства," *Вестник древней истории* 103 (1968), 180–191; А. М. Хазанов, *Очерки военного дела сарматов*, Москва 1971; M. Mielczarek, *Cataphracti and clibanarii studies on the heavy armoured cavalry of the ancient world*. Łódź 1993; Т. М. Кармов, "Погребения военной знати Западного Предкавказья и проблема происхождения конницы катафрактов у сарматов," in *Центральная Азия от Ахеменидов до тимуридов. Археология, история, этнология, культура*, ред. В. П. Никоноров, Санкт-Петербург 2005, 104–108.

<sup>2</sup> Mielczarek mentioned some of the military terms in his work, however, he had not collected and evaluated all of the sources (Mielczarek, *Cataphracti and clibanarii*, 95–102).

<sup>3</sup> Since the Carpathian Basin and the South-Russian steppe is quite much different from the point of view of military material of finds I will indicate which one of the archaeological sites is under discussion in each case whenever I refer to an archeological material. Concerning the differences between the military material finds of the Carpathian

As for the study of the various types of weapons, the contemporary written sources provide the most useful data, especially the strategic books and the sources that mention the weapons in use during battles and wars. The Greek and Latin authors used terms to name the weapons of the Sarmatians which were also widespread in their own armies. Thus, it is presumable that the Greek and Latin designations concerning the nomadic armament were used to describe weapons which served the same purposes and had similar forms as those used by the Roman army. The Romans often used several terms in general, even if these had specific meanings, a fact that must be taken into consideration in the case of the Sarmatians.

There are seventeen major contemporary sources which contain expressions related to weapons in connection with the Sarmatian army. The most reliable data are provided by historians and geographers such as Strabo, Tacitus, Arrianus, Ammianus Marcellinus and Pausanias. Poems are also valuable sources, but they only mention weapons in general, without specification concerning their types. In particular, the poets Ovid, Silicus Italicus, Valerius Flaccus, Statius, Claudius Claudianus, Valerius Martialis and Blossius Aemilius Dracus mention Sarmatian weapons in their works.

Data concerning Sarmatian stabbing weaponry can be found in the works of Greek and Latin authors under six names: *contus*,<sup>4</sup> *hasta*,<sup>5</sup> *abies*,<sup>6</sup> κόντος,<sup>7</sup> δόρυ,<sup>8</sup> λόγχη.<sup>9</sup> It turns out, when examining the lance terminology of the Sarmatian army, that the then-contemporary authors mostly use the terms *contus* and

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Basin and those of the South-Russian steppe, as well as their chronological order, see: Хазанов, *Очерки военного дела сарматов*; G. Vörös, „Fegyveres sírok az Alföldön a 4. század második fele és az 5. század közepe között,” [Warriors’ graves on the Great Plain between the second half of the fourth and the mid-fifth century] *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve* 1988:1 (1989), 41–58; A. Vaday, Die sarmatischen Denkmäler des Komitats, *Anteus* 17–18 (1988–1989), 109–117, 109; I. A. Vaday-L. Domboróczky, „Mezőszemere-Kismarifenék. Spätkaiser-frühvölkerwanderungszeitliches Gräberfeldsdetail,” *Agria* 37 (2001), 1–82.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Annalen des Tacitus*, ed. A. Draeger, Leipzig 1873, VI. 35; Cornelii Taciti, *Historiarum libri qui supersunt*, ed. C. Heraeus, Leipzig–Berlin 1904, I. 79; Silicus Italicus, *Punica* II, ed. J. D. Duff, D. Litt, The Loeb Classical Library, London 1950, XV. 683; Papiani Stati, *Achilleis*, rec. A. Mastoni, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*, Leipzig 1974, II. 132; Claudius Claudianus XXI, 109–111, in A. Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, A Critical Compilation. Handbook of Oriental Studies. Sect. 8. Central Asia, ed. D. Sinor–N. Cosmo, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2000, 46.

<sup>5</sup> Ammiani Marcellini, *Rerum Gestarum libri* I. ed. W. Seyfarth, Leipzig 1978, XVII. 12, 2.

<sup>6</sup> C. Valeri Flacci, *Argonauticum*, rec. E. Courtney, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*, Leipzig 1970, VI. 235.

<sup>7</sup> Flavii Arriani, *Qua Exstant Omnia* II. ed. A. G. Ross, *Scripta Minora et Fragmenta*, Lipsiae 1968, 31; Flavii Arriani, *Qua Exstant Omnia* II. ed. A. G. Ross, *Scripta Minora et Fragmenta*, Lipsiae 1968, 4, 3; 4, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Arrianus, *Tact.* 3, 13; 4, 9; Pausaniae, *Graeciae descriptio* I. ed. M. H. Rocha-Pereira, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*, Leipzig 1973, I. 21, 5.

<sup>9</sup> Strabonis, *Geographica* I. ed. A. Meineke Lipsiae 1866.

κόντος. These expressions in the sources usually refer to the armour-piercing lance of the heavy cavalry.<sup>10</sup> This, however, is not only revealed from the technical terms but also from the way in which the writers discuss the use of these weapons. Tacitus mentions in both of his works that their main tactic was close combat, in which they attacked in closed ranks using lance (*contus*) or sword.<sup>11</sup> Silicus Italicus writes about a Roman soldier in the Punic wars who attacked the enemy with his heavy Sarmatian lance (*contus*) rested on his knee.<sup>12</sup> We find similar description given by Valerius Flaccus, who tells us that the Sarmatians carried out their attacks by placing their enormous lances on their knees.<sup>13</sup> In the same passage, the author does not employ the term *contus* but rather the expression *abies*, which refers to the throwing spear.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, it is obvious from the previous description that what is under discussion is the armour-piercing lance. This is what seems to be verified by the work of Arrianus, which twice compares the lance-using tactics of the Alans and the Sarmatians (using the terms κόντος and δόρυ) with the spear-throwing tactics of the Parthians.<sup>15</sup> The term *hasta*,<sup>16</sup> mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, appears as a cavalry armour-piercing lance in the source. In spite of this, it is highly unlikely that it would be the heavy cavalry in question, since he writes about the Sarmatian army which, on the basis of its tactics, avoided pitched battle and attacked by utilizing shock action.<sup>17</sup> The expression δόρυ, used by Pausanias, does not refer to a concrete type of stabbing weapon.<sup>18</sup> The author also describes the material of the lance-heads, presuming that these were made of bone.<sup>19</sup> As the author primarily gained information only about Hellas, his data concerning Sarmatian stabbing weaponry cannot be taken for granted. Based on use of the term λόγχη<sup>20</sup> in Strabo, it is not evident which

<sup>10</sup> T. Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, Wien 1988, 191.

<sup>11</sup> Tacitus, *Historia* I. 79, cf. I. Borzsák, tr. Tacitus összes művei. [Collected works of Tacit] Budapest 2001<sup>3</sup>, 86. Tacitus, *Annales* VI. 35, cf. Borzsák, Tacitus összes művei, 298.

<sup>12</sup> Silicus Italicus XV. 683–685 cf. Duff-Litt, *Silicus Italicus*, 375.

<sup>13</sup> Valerius Flaccus VI. 235.

<sup>14</sup> H. Finály, *A latin nyelv szótára a kútfőkből. A legjobb és legújabb szakirodalomra támaszkodva*. [A dictionary of the Latin language] Budapest 1884, 6; P. G. W. Glare, ed. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 2000, 7.

<sup>15</sup> Arrianus, *Tact.* 4, 3; 4, 7, cf. Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 81.

<sup>16</sup> The expression *hasta* was originally applied by the contemporary authors to the stabbing lance of the Roman infantry (Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 191), but it was also used as a spear (Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 787). Moreover, it had a general meaning with reference to singular weapons. (Finály, *A latin nyelv szótára*, 887).

<sup>17</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus XVII. 12, cf. Gy. Szepesy, tr. Ammianus Marcellinus. *Róma története*. [Ammianus Marcellinus. A history of Rome] Budapest 1993, 142.

<sup>18</sup> This expression does not signify a concrete type of weapon; it can refer to a throwing spear as well as to an armor-piercing lance (Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 192).

<sup>19</sup> Pausanias I. 21, 5 cf. Gy. Muraközi, tr. Pauszaniász. *Görögország leírása*. [Pausanias, A description of Greece] Budapest 2000, 34.

<sup>20</sup> Similarly to the term δόρυ, this expression does not signify a concrete type of weapon either; it can refer to a throwing spear or to an armor-piercing lance (Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 192).

type of stabbing weapon is referred to here.<sup>21</sup> The use of the armour-piercing lance as the typical weapon of the heavy cavalry can be found in the written sources. However, it is hard to differentiate it from the stabbing weapons in the archaeological material. According to Khazanov, the solid-bladed, long wide lances with ring and socket at the top might correspond to this type in the middle Sarmatian period on the Eastern European steppe.<sup>22</sup> Amongst the pictorial representations, the Tryphon gravestone in Tanais, the tombstones of Panticapaeum and Kerch all depict the armour-piercing lance of the Sarmatians and all provide important data on this weapon.<sup>23</sup>

Considering the side-arms of the Sarmatians, three different expressions are used in four sources: *gladius*,<sup>24</sup> *culter*,<sup>25</sup> ξίφος<sup>26</sup> The term ξίφος mentioned by Strabo, usually denotes a single or double-edged sword which was generally 85–115 cm long.<sup>27</sup> These weapons appear in the early Sarmatian period in the archaeological materials,<sup>28</sup> but they become widespread only in the late Sarmatian period.<sup>29</sup> The expression *gladius*, recorded by Tacitus, signifies short (40–70 cm) side-arms without a cross-bar, used for cutting and stabbing.<sup>30</sup> In his work entitled *Annales*, Tacitus mentions in connection with Sarmatian tactics that, besides

<sup>21</sup> Strabon VII. 3, 7 cf. J. Földi, tr. *Strabón. Geographika*, Budapest 1977, 323.

<sup>22</sup> Хазанов, *Очерки военного дела сарматов*, 47, 49.

<sup>23</sup> It is very difficult, if not impossible, to discern the shape of the heads of the stabbing weapons on the basis of the representations. It is typical of all the representations that the weapon is not shown as a throwing spear but in the function of an armor-piercing lance. That is, the warrior holds the shaft of the lance in both hands by placing it on his knee. In some cases, the lances were depicted very long in the pictures. In the frescoes in Kerch, the length of the lances can be estimated somewhere between 4.5 and 6 metres; the lance of Tryphon is approximately 3 metres, while the stabbing weapon in the representation of Panticapaeum could be several metres long also. (Хазанов, *Очерки военного дела сарматов* 49; O. J. Maenchen-Helfen, *Die Welt der Hunnen*, Wiesbaden 1997, 175; E. Istvánovits-V. Kulcsár, "Sarmatians through the eyes of strangers. The Sarmatian warrior," in *International connections of the Barbarians of the Carpathian Basin in the 1st–5th centuries*, ed. V. Kulcsár, E. Istvánovits, Nyíregyháza–Aszód 2001, 139–158, 155; Mielczarek, *Cataphracti and clibanarii* fig. 21–24; В. А. Горончаровский, *Междуд империей и варварии: военное дело Боспора Римского времени*, Санкт-Петербург 2003, fig. 6–7, 28.). It is interesting to note that the Sarmatian lances are not to be found in the Roman depictions (e.g. a Trajan's Column).

<sup>24</sup> Tacitus, *Annales* VI. 35; Tacitus, *Historia* I. 79.

<sup>25</sup> Publili Ovidii Nasonis *Opera* II. Vindobonae 1803, *Tristia* V. 7, 19.

<sup>26</sup> Strabon VII. 3, 17.

<sup>27</sup> Koliás, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 136.

<sup>28</sup> According to Khazanov, the use of these kinds of swords was widespread at this time (Хазанов, *Очерки военного дела сарматов* 20). Zaceszkaja agrees that during this period the double-edged swords were present, but he assumes that their use was not prevalent (И. П. Засецкая, *Культура кочевников южнорусских степей в гуннского эпохи (конец IV–V. вв.)* Санкт-Петербург 1994, 26).

<sup>29</sup> Хазанов, *Очерки военного дела сарматов*, 15–17.

<sup>30</sup> Koliás, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 136.

the lance, it was the sword which was the decisive weapon in battle.<sup>31</sup> Tacitus' description contradicts the general meaning of the technical term, which depicts it as a long, double-handed sword; that is, his description leads us to the conclusion that it was a long, heavy, double-edged sword.<sup>32</sup> Andrea Vaday drew attention to the archaeological equivalent of this double-handed sword mentioned by Tacitus in relation to a weapon excavated in Törökszentmiklós (Carpathian-Basin), the hilt of which was 21 cm long.<sup>33</sup> In addition, Ovid also relates that the *culter* was a general and common weapon among the Sarmatians,<sup>34</sup> primarily designating a knife or a short dagger,<sup>35</sup> although it can also refer to a short-bladed, short cross-barred and ring-hilted sword, which appeared at the end of the early Sarmatian period, corresponding to the era when Ovid lived.

There is only one source which mention the use of the lasso by the Sarmatian army: Pausanias calls it *σειρά*.<sup>36</sup> The meaning of these terms generally refers to the word "rope."<sup>37</sup> Among the pictorial representations, lasso can be found only once, on the base of Trajan's Column; the weapon is made of woven rope.<sup>38</sup> In spite of the fact that this type of weapon cannot be found in any other written or pictorial material and cannot be traced in the archaeological material finds of the given period either (since it is made from organic matter), it still would have been significant when capturing the enemy,<sup>39</sup> as Pausanias emphasizes in the case of the Sarmatians.<sup>40</sup>

We can encounter the Sarmatian use of the bow in six sources, which call these weapons by various terms: *arcus*,<sup>41</sup> *τόξον*.<sup>42</sup> The authors of the given period generally use both expressions to refer to the bow,<sup>43</sup> so we cannot draw conclu-

<sup>31</sup> Tacitus, *Annales* VI. 35, cf. Borzsák, *Tacitus összes művei*, 298.

<sup>32</sup> Tacitus, *Historia* I. 79, cf. Borzsák, *Tacitus összes művei*, 86.

<sup>33</sup> A. Vaday, "Sarmatisches Gräberfeld in Törökszentmiklós-Surján-Újtelep," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 37 (1985), 345-390.

<sup>34</sup> Ovidius, *Tristia* V. 7, 19 cf. Gy. Csorba, tr. *Publius Ovidius Naso. Tristia*, ed. P. Teravagimov, Budapest 2002, 117.

<sup>35</sup> Finaly, *A latin nyelv szótára*, 524.

<sup>36</sup> Pausanias I. 21, 8.

<sup>37</sup> A. Györkösy - I. Kapitánffy - I. Tegyey, *Ógörög-magyar szótár*. [Ancient Greek-Hungarian dictionary] Budapest 1990, 952.

<sup>38</sup> O. Gamber, *Dakische und sarmatische Waffen auf den Reliefs der Traianssäule, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 60 (1964), 11.

<sup>39</sup> It was Peter Golden who emphasized the significance of the use of lasso as part of the weaponry of the nomadic people. It was especially important when capturing the enemy warriors, who were either ransomed or sold on the slave market. (P. B. Golden, "War and warfare in the Pre-Činggisid western steppes of Eurasia," in *Warfare in inner Asian history*, ed. N. D. Cosmo, Boston-Leiden 2002, 105-171).

<sup>40</sup> Pausanias I. 21, 5, cf. Muraközi, *Pauszianasz*, 34.

<sup>41</sup> *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Opera I. Vindobonae* 1803, *Ex Ponto* I. 2, 21; I. 5, 49; Ovidius, *Tristia* V. 7, 5; IV. 1, 77; *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Opera III. Vindobonae* 1803, *Ibis* 135; Tacitus, *Annales* VI. 35.

<sup>42</sup> Pausanias I. 21, 5; Strabon VII. 3, 17.

<sup>43</sup> Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 214-215; Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 164.

sions concerning concrete types on the basis of the written materials. In the Sarmatian period, both the Scythian and the Hun types of bows were used. The Hun type of bow, strengthened by bone brackets in the middle and at the two ends, appears in the archaeological finds in the first and second centuries A.D. on the Eastern European steppe.<sup>44</sup> The scarce data from pictorial representations also reinforce the existence of these two types of bow: the small, Scythian-type reflex bow of the Roxolans can be seen on Trajan's Column; the ends of the bow arms are curved or curled. The Hun-type of bow can be found on the fresco of Panticaeum.<sup>45</sup> Ovid mentions the drawing of the bow, presuming that the bowstring is made from horse intestine.<sup>46</sup> Pausanias stresses, in connection with the making of bows, that their material is dogwood,<sup>47</sup> data which must be approached with extreme caution.<sup>48</sup> The then-contemporary authors judge the role of the bow among the weapons of distant combat differently. While Ovid emphasizes the role of the bow and considers it an everyday and common weapon of the Sarmatian army,<sup>49</sup> Tacitus claims exactly the opposite and presumes that the Sarmatians rarely used this weapon in battle.<sup>50</sup> The contradiction between the various sources points to differences in tactics and to chronological shifts; Ovid wrote his works at the beginning of the first century A. D., while Tacitus lived in the second half of that century.

Besides the use of the bow, the sources also mention the Sarmatian arrow under two expressions: *sagitta*<sup>51</sup>, *calamis*<sup>52</sup> and 'οιστος.<sup>53</sup> These expressions, however,

<sup>44</sup> А. В. Симоненко – Б. И. Лобай, *Сарматы северо-западного причерноморья* в I. в. н. э., Киев 1991, 43–44.

<sup>45</sup> Istvánovits-Kulcsár, *Sarmatians through the eyes of strangers* 153; Gamber, *Dakische und sarmatische Waffen*, fig. 32; Горончаровский, *Между империей и варварии*, fig. 24.

<sup>46</sup> Ovidius, *Ex ponto* I. 2, 15 cf. Zs. Kartal, tr. *Publius Ovidius Naso. Levelek Pontusból*. [Publius Ovidius Naso. Letters from Pontus] Budapest 1991, 10. Although not in the case of the Sarmatians, we have data from the later period that the bowstrings could have been made from intestine. (K. U. Kóhalmi, *A steppek nomádjai, lóháton, fegyverben*. [The nomads of the steppes on horse and armed] Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár 12. Budapest 1972, 155).

<sup>47</sup> Pausanias I. 21, 5 cf. Muraközy, *Pauszanisz*, 34.

<sup>48</sup> The wooden material of the complex reflex bows was durable, flexible and not very hard; the most suitable wood for this was maple or grey willow (Gy. Fábián, "Újabb adatok a honfoglalás kori íjászat kérdésköréhez," [New data concerning the archery in the period of the Conquest] A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve 81:1 (1980), 63–76), birch or yew (Kóhalmi, *A steppek nomádjai, lóháton, fegyverben*, 34). The technical literature does not mention that bows were made of dogwood. This type of tree (and also the wood), contrary to the ones mentioned above, is extremely tough and solid. It is evident from the works of Homer that, due to its solidity, dogwood was used for making the shaft of lances and spears. (Sz. Priszter, *A húsos som*. [The European Cornel (*cornus mas*)] Magyarország kultúrflórája 4. Budapest 1990, 82–83.)

<sup>49</sup> Ovidius, *Tristia* V. 7, 15–20 cf. Csorba, *Tristia*, 117.

<sup>50</sup> Tacitus, *Annales* VI. 35 cf. Borzsák, *Tacitus összes művei*, 298.

<sup>51</sup> "Ovidius, *Tristia* III. 10, 53; Ovidius, *Ex Ponto* I. 2, 45; I. 2, 27; I. 2, 23; I. 2, 47; Ovidius, *ibid.* 637; Valerii Martialis, *Epigrammata* VII. 2," in *Az ókori Pannónia történetének forrásai*

do not signify particular types of arrows; in general, they just mean "arrow." However, our archaeological materials provide abundant data of different types of arrow-heads: tanged, two-, three- or four-edged, leaf-shaped, etc.<sup>54</sup> The arrow-heads of these weapons are made of iron, their blades made of various shapes.<sup>55</sup> According to Pausanias, the arrow-heads of the Sarmatians were made of bone.<sup>56</sup> As a rule, this is rather doubtful, although there are a few samples made of bone from the late Sarmatian period.<sup>57</sup>

There are several sources which refer to the armour of the Sarmatian army, called by various expressions: θωραξ,<sup>58</sup> *lorica catena*,<sup>59</sup> *lorica*,<sup>60</sup> *cataphractes* and *tegimen*,<sup>61</sup> γυμνοί and καταφράκτω θωρακί.<sup>62</sup> Tacitus, in his work entitled *Historia*, mentions a term *cataphractes*, a reference to the scale armour of the Sarmatians.<sup>63</sup> Later, the author describes it precisely; this armour was made of iron sheets (*ferreis lamminis*) or solid pieces of leather.<sup>64</sup> The term θωραξ, used by Pausanias, refers to all types of armour (wire, plate, combined), but it is evident from the description that he compares the Sarmatian scale armour to the structure of the pine cone. In his opinion, due to the lack of iron, the Sarmatians made their armour from the hoofs of horses.<sup>65</sup> Although his utterance cannot be regarded as totally authentic, he must have heard something about the scale armour of the Sarmatians and amplified it in his imagination. Scale armour is a typical find from the early Sarmatian period in the archaeological material on the Eastern European steppe.<sup>66</sup> The pictorial representations also back up this type of

II. Pannónia története Kr. u. 54-től a markomann háború kitöréséig (166), ed. P. Kovács-B. Fehér, Budapest 2003, 64.

<sup>52</sup> Historie Naturelle de Pline, ed. Ajasson de Grandsagne, Paris 1831, Tome 10. XVI. 65.

<sup>53</sup> Pausanias I. 21, 5.

<sup>54</sup> Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 214–215; Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 164.

<sup>55</sup> Concerning the South-Russian types of arrow-heads, see Хазанов, *Очерки военного дела сарматов*, 35–41; Симоненко-Лобай, *Сарматы северо-западного причерноморья* в I. 8. н. э. 45–46; Concerning the material finds in the Carpathian Basin, see E. Istvánovits-V. Kulcsár, "Szálfegyverek és íjak a Dunától keletre eső Kárpát-medencei Barbarikumban," [Polearms and arches in the barbaricum of the Carpathian Basin east of the Danube] in *A népvándorlás kor fiatal kutatóinak IV. összejövetele. Altum Castrum IV*, Visegrád 1995, 9–12.

<sup>56</sup> Pausanias I. 21, 5.

<sup>57</sup> Хазанов, *Очерки военного дела сарматов*, 40–41.

<sup>58</sup> Pausanias I. 21, 5; Straboṇ VII. 3, 17.

<sup>59</sup> Valerius Flaccus VI. 231.

<sup>60</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus XVII. 12, 2–3.

<sup>61</sup> Tacitus, *Historia* I. 79.

<sup>62</sup> Arrianus, *Ect.* 31, 17.

<sup>63</sup> Finaly, *A latin nyelv szótára*, 319.

<sup>64</sup> Tacitus, *Historia* I. 79, cf. Borzsák, *Tacitus összes művei*, 86.

<sup>65</sup> Pausanias I. 21, 5, cf. Muraközy, *Pauszanisz*, 34.

<sup>66</sup> Scale armour found since the early Sarmatian period was usually made from iron; the upper part was four-sided, the lower part round-cornered, and the size somewhere between 2.2×1.5 and 6×5cm. The pieces of the armour were fastened to leather or felt in-

armour. The Sarmatian warriors are clad in "scale-overalls" in a rather exaggerated manner on Trajan's Column. On the contrary, the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki, the Tryphon gravestone and the fresco of Kerch all provide more authentic representations of the Sarmatians. Accordingly, the Sarmatian scale armour was knee-length and sleeveless or covering only the upper part of the arm.<sup>67</sup> The existence of chain mail armour is supported only by Valerius Flaccus' work, which mentions it as *lorica catena*;<sup>68</sup> however, this source is an epic poem with little documentary value. Nevertheless, chain mail armour can be found in the archaeological finds from the middle Sarmatian period.<sup>69</sup> The joining of the metal rings in the chain mail armour is clearly visible on the pedestal of Trajan's Column.<sup>70</sup> In Arrianus' work, the expression γυμνοί, meaning "unprotected, unarmed, armour-less,"<sup>71</sup> might refer to light cavalry. However, the author writes about the Alans' armour (καταφράκτω θωρακή)<sup>72</sup> in another passage. According to Bosworth, Arrianus talks about the heavy cavalry in this passage, but the Alans' legs and abdomen were not protected, so these parts were armour-less.<sup>73</sup> The terms θωραξ used by Strabo and *tegimen* employed by Tacitus do not refer to concrete types of armour, since they signify all types of armour. Thus, they could refer to scale, chain mail or plate armour.<sup>74</sup> These sources do not give specific information about the different types of armour. Nevertheless, apart from scale and chain mail armour, plate armour can also be found from the early Sarmatian period in the archaeological material on the Eastern European steppe.<sup>75</sup> A type of lamellar (lamellate) armour can also be seen on the pedestal of Trajan's Column.<sup>76</sup>

lets and arranged in horizontal lines, so that the upper line partly covered the lower one (Хазанов, *Очерки военного дела сарматов*, 51–52). As opposed to the South-Russian steppe, in the Carpathian Basin it is very rare to find remains of armour. See for example Farmos-Kásadűlő (P. Havassy, Katalógus, [Catalogue] in *Jazigok, roxolánok, alánok. Szarmaták az Alföldön*, ed. P. Havassy, Gyulai Katalógusok 6, Gyula 1998, 157).

<sup>67</sup> Хазанов, *Очерки военного дела сарматов*, 59; Istvánovits-Kulcsár, *Sarmatians through the eyes of strangers* 157; Gamber, *Dakische und sarmatische Waffen*, 24; Mielczarek, *Cataphracti and clibanarii*, fig. 21, 25.

<sup>68</sup> Finaly, *A latin nyelv szótára*, 1156, 320.

<sup>69</sup> Хазанов, *Очерки военного дела сарматов*, 59–60.

<sup>70</sup> Gamber, *Dakische und sarmatische Waffen*, 21–22.

<sup>71</sup> Györkösy-Kapitánffy-Tegyey, *Ógörög-magyar szótár*, 214; *A Greek-English lexicon*, ed. H. G. Liddel, R. Scott, S. H. Jones, R. McKenzie, Cambridge 1958, 362.

<sup>72</sup> The term καταφράκτω θωρακή is a complex expression, both parts of which separately also mean armour. The term θωραξ generally means armour, but it is not possible to separate a particular type from it (Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 37), the καταφράκτω also generally refers to a type of armour, but it is primarily used to describe totally armed soldiers (*A Greek-English Lexicon*, 920).

<sup>73</sup> A. B. Bosworth, "Arrian and the Alani," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 81 (1977), 235–236.

<sup>74</sup> Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 37; Finály, *A latin nyelv szótára* 1959; Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1910.

<sup>75</sup> Хазанов, *Очерки военного дела сарматов* 51–52, 59–60.

<sup>76</sup> Gamber, *Dakische und sarmatische Waffen*, 21–22.

It is solely Strabo who discusses the Sarmatian use of the helmet, employing the term *κράνος*, and emphasizing that the helmets were made from the leather of cattle (ἀρμόθοινος).<sup>77</sup> The term *κράνος* does not allow us to draw conclusions concerning concrete types, since it refers to the helmet in general<sup>78</sup> and there is little archaeological data about this protective equipment. However, the visual representations in Trajan's Column, the frescoes of Kerch, the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki and the Tryphon gravestone provide reliable data on the helmets, showing that they are conical, built up from straps lengthwise and strengthened by cross straps horizontally.<sup>79</sup>

Two sources refer to the use of shields, using two different terms: *θυρεός*<sup>80</sup> and *γέππον*.<sup>81</sup> We cannot draw conclusions concerning a concrete type of shield on the basis of the term *θυρεός*, mentioned by Arrianus, which was generally used by authors at this time to refer to a shield.<sup>82</sup> However, the term *γέππον* in Strabo's work is an obvious reference to light cavalry. It alludes to a wicker-woven shield or one covered with oblong cattle leather.<sup>83</sup> Tacitus, on the contrary, emphasizes that the shield was not typical in the Sarmatian army.<sup>84</sup> Sarmatian shields can be found in the archaeological material of both the Carpathian Basin and the South-Russian steppe.<sup>85</sup>

It is Valerius Flaccus who refers to the horse armour of the Sarmatians by using the terms *lorica catena* and *tegimen* and Arrianus uses the expression *γυμνός*.<sup>86</sup> The term *lorica catena* mentioned by Valerius Flaccus, similarly to the Sarmatian soldiers' aforementioned armour, cannot really help us in drawing the conclusion that it was chain mail armour, since the source is a poem. Thus, on the basis of this source, we can only say that it is quite plausible that the Sarmatian horses had armour, but there are no archaeological materials available in relation to horse armour. Among the visual sources, it is only Trajan's Column which provides data, though it gives a strongly exaggerated picture. The horses are clad in "overalls" made of scale armour which covers their whole body.<sup>87</sup> However, Ar-

<sup>77</sup> Strabon VII. 3, 17.

<sup>78</sup> Koliás, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 75.

<sup>79</sup> Istvánovits-Kulcsár, *Sarmatians through the eyes of strangers*, 157; Gamber, *Dakische und sarmatische Waffen*, 24; Mielczarek, *Cataphracti and clibanarii*, fig. 21–22, 24, 25.

<sup>80</sup> Arrianos, *Ect.* 17.

<sup>81</sup> Strabon VII. 3, 17.

<sup>82</sup> Koliás, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 89.

<sup>83</sup> Györkösy-Kapitánffy-Tegyey, *Ótörök–magyar szótár*, 204; *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 346.

<sup>84</sup> The shield is called *scutum* (Tacitus, *Historia* I. 79).

<sup>85</sup> E. Istvánovits – V. Kulcsár, "Pajzsos temetkezések a Dunától keletre eső Kárpát-medencei barbarikumban," [Burial with shield in the barbaricum of the Carpathian Basin east of the Danube] *A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve* 30–32 (1987–1989 [1992]), 48–81; Vaday-Domboróczky, *Mezőszemere-Kismarfenék*, 100–104.

<sup>86</sup> Arrianos, *Ect.* 31.

<sup>87</sup> Gamber, *Dakische und sarmatische Waffen*, 24.

rianus mentions the term *γυμνός*, thus depicting the Sarmatian horses without armour.<sup>88</sup>

Concerning Sarmatian weaponry, three expressions emerge, none of which help in determining a concrete type of weapon. In Ovid's work the term *ferrum* appears in connection with the Sarmatians,<sup>89</sup> a term which in fact did not have a concrete meaning, referring to the word *weapon* in general. Thus, it could mean a sword, a spear or a dagger.<sup>90</sup> The expression *telum*<sup>91</sup> was primarily used to signify weapons of distant combat, whether arrows or throwing spears.<sup>92</sup> The other term found in Ovid's writing, *spiculum*,<sup>93</sup> similarly to *pilum*, initially meant a throwing spear in the living sources, but apart from this, it was also used as a reference to the arrow.<sup>94</sup> It is clear from Ovid's work that these weapons were dipped in poison.<sup>95</sup>

In conclusion, the data obtained from the written sources are mostly in accordance with those of the archaeological finds and the visual representations. The existence of the armour-piercing lance, the typical weapon of the heavy cavalry, can be proved from the terms and the descriptions of these weapons in the written sources. It is supported by the archaeological data and the visual representations as well. By comparing the relevant sources, it can be stated that the two side-arms used in the Sarmatian army were the long, single and/or double-edged sword and the double-handed sword depicted by Tacitus, also backed up by archaeological material. The use of the lasso is mentioned in a written source, which is corroborated by two pictorial representations. The sources allude to the bow and arrow, but their concrete types are not discussed. As for the arrow, the archaeological finds are abundant. There are several sources available for description of the armour of the Sarmatian army. Based on the written sources and archaeological data, it can be concluded that two types were widespread: scale armour and chain mail armour. The sources also mention the helmet, the shield and the horse armour of the Sarmatians.

<sup>88</sup> Györkösy-Kapitánffy-Tegyey, *Ógörög-magyar szótár*, 214; *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 362.

<sup>89</sup> Ovidius, *Ex Ponto* IV. 7, 11.

<sup>90</sup> Finály, *A latin nyelv szótára*, 788; Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 691.

<sup>91</sup> Ovidius, *Tristia* IV. 1, 77; IV. 1, 87; Ovidius, *Ex Ponto* IV. 70, 12; Blossimus Aemeilius Dracontius 5, 33–37 in A. Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 51.

<sup>92</sup> Finály, *A latin nyelv szótára* 521; Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* 691.

<sup>93</sup> Ovidius, *Ex Ponto* I. 3, 59; I. 2, 18.

<sup>94</sup> Koliás, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 186; Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1804–1805.

<sup>95</sup> *veneno* (Ovidius, *Ex Ponto* IV. 1, 77), *virus* (Ovidius, *Ex Ponto* IV. 1, 87); *toxica* (Ovidius, *Ex Ponto* IV. 7, 11); *vipereo* (Ovidius, *Ex Ponto* I. 2, 18).

# *New research on historical aspects and interpretation of the Ongi site and inscriptions\**

TAKASHI OSAWA



The Ongi site with its stele and inscriptions is well known as one of the most important of Old Turkic monuments. It has come to be appreciated internationally among scholars of Turkic philology, history and archaeology since its discovery in 1891 by N. M. Yadrinsev, a Russian geographer, ethnographer, archaeologist and historian. Many researchers have tried to clarify the date, the identity of the person buried, the author of the epigraphy, the cultural background of the construction of this site and the inscription, from the philological, historical and archaeological points of view. Initially, V. V. Radloff published Yadrinsev's original rubbing, and also a second, revised version with his interpretation. Secondly, we can also refer to the revised version of Yadrinsev's rubbing and interpretation by the philologist, G. Clauson. Until now, these two versions have been regarded as the basic sources, however, even now it seems that there are many arguments on the points of the date of construction, the establisher of site and the stele, and the historical background.

The site and the stele have also been surveyed on several occasions. For example, G. Ramstedt and S. Pälsi surveyed it in 1908 for the Finno-Ugric Society. A Polish philologist, E. Tryjarski, and a Mongolian archaeologist, Namhaidakwa, tried to locate several fragments of the stele in 1962, and then a Russian archaeologist, E. Voitov, and a Mongolian archaeologist, D. Bayar, partly excavated the site and tried to research fragments of the site and stele in 1987. In 1996, with Japanese and Mongolian colleagues, I measured the site and stele, and took rubbings of fragments of the stele, the preliminary report of this fieldwork was published in 1999.<sup>1</sup> In the report, I emphasized the importance of the fieldwork of

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\* Based on the collections of G. Ramstedt and S. Pälsi and my new researches.

<sup>1</sup> T. Osawa, "Ongi Hibun." [Inscription of Ongi] in T. Moriyasu and A. Ochir, eds, *Mongorū Koku Genzon Iseki Hibun Chōsa Kenkyū Hōkoku*, Osaka University, Osaka Daigaku;

G. Ramstedt and S. Pälsi, whose diary and collections are preserved in the National Archive of Finland at Helsinki.<sup>2</sup> In particular, it is important to note that, according to Ramstedt and Pälsi, on 10 September 1909, they took rubbings of this stele in three fragments.

In this paper, I would like to clarify the Ongi site and inscriptions on the basis of the research of Ramstedt and Pälsi and our new field survey, conducted in 1996, from the archaeological and historical points of view.

### *I. Original place name and research history of the site*

First, I would like to mention the formal name of this site. Until now, the site and inscription have generally been called "the Ongin site and inscription" in the literature, while Ramstedt and Pälsi called it "the Tarimalin site and stele", after the Tarimalin River, which is a tributary of the Ongi River. From the viewpoint of historical geography, however, it seems undoubted that "Ongi" is the original local name, not "Ongin", which is derived from "Ongi" and the Mongolian genitive suffix "n". This is supported by the fact that the local Mongolian people pronounce the place name "Ongi". In Old Turkic runic inscriptions, such as the Tonyukuk inscription and the Bilge Kaghan inscription, the name of this river is carved in the shape of "kök Öng" (The blue Öngi River). This can be attested as a Middle Chinese place name, "Ghwən-ning/ngi",<sup>3</sup> found in the geographical book of Gudan, a Chinese officer of the Tang Dynasty. From this form, we can reconstruct the original form as an Old Turkic place name, "Öngi".<sup>4</sup> I am convinced, therefore, that the original name of this site and its stele should be the "Ongi site and stele".

I researched the site in the summer of 1996 as a member of the international Japanese and Mongolian joint epigraphic and archaeological expedition.<sup>5</sup> The site

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Chuō Yūrashia Gaku Kenkyūkai (in Japanese), *Provisional Report of Researches on Historical Sites and Inscriptions in Mongolia from 1996 to 1998*, Osaka University, The Society of Central Eurasian Studies, Osaka 1999, 126–136.

<sup>2</sup> H. Halén, ed. *Memoria Saecularis Sakari Pälsi. Aufzeichnungen von einer Forschungsreise nach der nördlichen Mongolei im Jahre 1909*. Helsinki 1982 (henceforth MSSP), 63; P. Aalto, *Oriental Studies in Finland 1828–1918*, Helsinki 1971, 107; H. Halén, ed. *Handbook of Oriental Collections in Finland*. Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series 31, London–Malmö 1978, 99.

<sup>3</sup> On the Tonyukuk inscription, see the 15th line; on the Bilge Kaghan inscription, see on the south-east side. E. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of reconstructed pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin*, Vancouver 1991, 135, 366.

<sup>4</sup> S. Iwasa, *IWASA Seiichiro ikooshuu*. [Collected papers as a memorial to Iwasa Seiichiro] (in Japanese), Tokyo 1936, 128–130; Tekin 1994; 9, 64; T. Tekin, *Orhon Yazitları*. Ankara 1988, 52–53.

<sup>5</sup> The survey and research on this site was conducted in 20th and 21st days of summer in 1996. The members of the expedition were: Takao Moriyasu, Akio Katayama, Koichi Matsuda, Takashi Matsukawa, Dai Matsui; the Mongolian archaeologists, A. Ochir, L. Bold, Ts. Battulga; and the author of this paper (Cf. Moriyasu–Ochir, *Mongoru Koku Genzon*, 21–22).

is located at 46° 20' N, 102° 11' E, at an altitude of 2005 m, according to the GPS. It is located at the point where the Tarimal River joins the Ongi River on the right, at a distance of about 17 km from Oyanga-Sum in Ubur-Hangai Aymak. This site is 300 m from the right-hand side of the Manit River and is located at the centre of the basin of the Ongi Steppes, which is not very large. The site is surrounded by the low Maanit-Ola mountain to the north and the Xosh-Ula mountain to the east. A long, continuous line of balbal stones extends to the east, to an altitude of 2030~2040 m.<sup>6</sup>

The history of the discovery and research of this site and its inscriptions begins with the Orkhon expedition, which was organized and executed under the supervision of V. V. Radloff in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Ongi monument was discovered and first surveyed by H. M. Yadrintsev<sup>7</sup> in 1891, who reported it and sent sketches, photographs of the site and rubbings of the inscriptions to Radloff. Radloff published sketches of the general view and of some of the remains in 1893 (Plate 1(a) of this paper).<sup>8</sup> Radloff named each side of the stele as follows: the wider side, having 8 lines, is (O), the narrow side, having 4 lines, is (Oa), the part having small letters in 7 lines on (Oa) is (Ob), and a balbal stone with lettering is (Oc) (Atlas: XVI, LXXXIII-1). Also, in the same year, the Orkhon expedition, under the supervision of D. A. Klements, visited the site and took many photographs, which have never been published.<sup>9</sup>

In 1909, G. Ramstedt and S. Pälsi visited the Ongi monument and surveyed the site and the remains and published their findings (MSSP: 63, 64, 130, pls. 80-81, p. 132, pls. 82-83; Cf. Plate 1, 6 and 7 of this paper). They excavated the mound and found the tortoise stone and the bricks under the central ground, and found some sheep bones in the western part of the mound. In 1926, Kozlov visited the site and recorded that there were three stone statues and two stone sheep of granite that had been broken and set in the tomb, a frame of stone boards of granite in the hole that had been dug in the ground, and there were balbal stones extending in a line eastwards from the mound etc.<sup>10</sup> However, he did not publish his photographs either.

In 1962, Tryjarski visited and surveyed the monument. He published a plan of the monument and photographs of the three stone statues and two stone sheep.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. T. Ōsawa, *Mongolistandaki Eski Türk Anıt ve Yazıtları üzerine Yeni Araştırmalar* (1), 1996-1998 Japon-Mongol ortak Çalışmalarının Ön Raporu. *Türk Dilleri Aratırmalar* 10, İstanbul 2000, 191-204, 235-247; Ōsawa 2001: 281-282.

<sup>7</sup> N. M. Yadrintsev, "Otchet i dnevnik o puteshestvii po Orkhonu i v Yuzhnyi Xangai v 1891g." *Sbornik trudov Orkhonskoi Ekspeditsii* 5 (1901), 43.

<sup>8</sup> W. Radloff, *Atlas der Altertümer der Mongolei*. St. Petersburg 1892, XIV.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*. St Petersburg 1894-1899. (Reprint in 2 vols: Osnabrück 1987) (henceforth: ATIM), 244.

<sup>10</sup> P. K. Kozlov, *Puteshestvie v Mongoliyu 1923-1926 gg.* Moscow 1949, 117; V. E. Voitov, "Onginskii pamyatnik, Problemy kul'turovedcheskoi interpretatsii," *Sovetskaya Tyurkologiya* 3 (1989), 36-38.

<sup>11</sup> E. Tryjarski, "Die heutige Mongolei und ihre alten Denkmäler and The Present State of Preservation of Old Turkic Relics in Mongolia and the Need for their Conservation,"

According to the director of the local museum at Arbaileer, Namhaidakwa, Tryjarski informed him that the monument had been already dug secretly and destroyed by lamas at some time since 1909. It seemed that silver plates, the skull of a horse, harness and earthen vessels etc. were excavated from there. Namhaidagwa in turn told Tryjarski that underneath the ornamental stone boards he had discovered 37 pieces of broken earthen vessels and had added them to the collections of the Arbaileer museum prior to 1962.<sup>12</sup> When we visited, there were about eight holes, which could be identified as the traces of excavation by the gravediggers at that time. In 1969, Namhaidagwa and Rinchen sent pictures of two pieces of the broken inscription. However after that, it seems that no further academic research was conducted on this site until the investigation of Voitov and Bayar in 1987.

## *II. Significance of a balbal stone with tamghas and the orientation of the tortoise stone*

### *The balbal stone with two tamghas*

One of the balbal stones at Ongi has particular significance due to its inscription. On this stone, there is a *tamgha* carved in the style of both a ram (tr. Koç) and a reverse "S", and a runic inscription interpreted as "ishbara tarqan balbal". In the previous publications on this site,<sup>13</sup> this stone is described as the first balbal erected on the east side of the mound. Comparing the actual landscape of the site with the photographs taken by Pälzi in 1909, however, in our opinion it should be identified as the eleventh of the balbal stones extending from the eastern side of the mound (Cf. Plate 1(e) & 9, *infra*). In my view, it is certain that this balbal has never been moved from another place, because it stands on undisturbed ground, so we can make a judgement that it was erected in this place from the beginning of the construction of the site. After all, the information that it was "a little epigraph that had been inscribed on the first balbal stone of all" can be dated back to the description of V. V. Radloff.<sup>14</sup> However, as mentioned above, Radloff's information on Ongi was not first-hand, but was based on the information sent by M. N. Yadrintsev.

Therefore, as to the original place of the small inscription of Ongi, it is probable that Yadrintsev made a mistake in his report, or that for some unknown reason Radloff misunderstood Yadrintsev's report. Afterwards, it seems that subsequent researchers followed Radloff's account without hesitation. For example, Voitov reported that he could not find the balbal stone that had been inscribed

UAJ 38 (1966), 166–168, fig. 11–14, 23–25; E. Tryjarski, "Some Remarks on the Monument of the Orkhon Turks," in *Türk Kültürü El Kitabı*, Istanbul 1972, 37–39, pl. 1a, 1b, 1b, 4–5.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Tryjarski, "Die heutige Mongolei," 167.

<sup>13</sup> ATIM 244; MSSP 63; E. Tryjarski and P. Aalto, "Two Old Turkic Monuments of Mongolia," *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 150 (1973), 417–418, fig. 3; Voitov, "Onginskii pamyatnik," 36.

<sup>14</sup> ATIM 244.

with an epigraph and a *tamgha*. Unfortunately, it appears that, guided by Radloff, he was looking for the wrong stone.

### *Stone statues and sarcophagus*

As to the stone statues of the Ongi site, they are reported as being broken; four human statues without heads (63~84 cm high, 33~60 cm wide) and one small human statue (63 cm+18 cm high, 20 cm wide). Voitov and Bayar described them in detail and I published them in our preliminary report,<sup>15</sup> so I will not describe them further here. When we surveyed the site, stone statues were placed in the fragment of stone bricks at the centre of the mound. Five stone statues and two stone sheep (one of 43 cm high, 64 cm length; the second of 50 cm high, 65 cm length) remained in the centre. In my view, the two sheep would originally have been facing each other near the gate of the eastern mound, such as is found in the Orkhon sites. Between them, one stone statue of the buried person, or two statues, of the buried person and his wife, should be placed in the front of the sarcophagi of the western mound, as in the Orkhon sites.

As to the sarcophagus, it became clear that the sarcophagus had already been destroyed and the reinforced stone had been situated at the foot of the sarcophagus when Ramstedt and Pälsi researched it in 1909.

### *Original orientation of the tortoise stone and the stele*

When Yadrintsev found this site in 1891, he reported that the tortoise stone was oriented in a southerly direction: "We can see a stone board installed at the base of the stone stele, the stele itself is made of granite stone and erected on the stone board which can be regarded as one with the style of the tortoise".<sup>16</sup> In my view, since the tortoise stone was facing in a southerly direction, this inscription must have faced the southern side too at the time it was investigated by Yadrintsev. But eighteen years later, when Ramstedt and Pälsi researched this site, the tortoise stone was buried under the ground, facing westwards. It appears thus that the orientation of the tortoise stone had been changed from south to west. This must have occurred corresponding with the fact that the inscription lay on the ground in the condition of three broken fragments at the same time. In which direction then did the tortoise stone of Ongi face originally?

To resolve this problem, a Russian archaeologist, E. A. Novgorodova, considered the orientation of the tortoise stone on the basis of the traditional view that the eastern side was regarded as the front among the Old Turkic nomadic peoples.<sup>17</sup> Her view is on the basis of the interpretation of the ancient Turkish term "öngrä" and "ilgärü" which means "in the east, eastwards" and also has the

<sup>15</sup> Voitov 1992; T. Osawa, *Mogolistan'daki Eski Türk Anit ve Yazitlarının 1996-1998. Yılları* 1999, Plate 2c.

<sup>16</sup> Yadrintsev, "Otchet i dnevnik o puteshestvii," 43; Voitov, "Onginskii pamyatnik," 34-35.

<sup>17</sup> E. A. Novgorodova, "Pamyatniki izobrazitel'nogo iskusstva drevneyturkskogo vremeni na territorii MNR," *Tyrkologicheskij Sbornik* (1977), 210, pl. 3.

meaning of “in front, forwards”.<sup>18</sup> Her reconstruction has been supported by many researchers. Is it correct, however?

According to the archaeological evidence of L. Jisl and S. Odzhav’s excavation at the Köl Tigin site in 1958, and of the Turkish and Mongol joint archaeological expedition, the tortoise stones of the Köl Rigin site and the Bilge Kaghan site when excavated were facing west.<sup>19</sup> At the Bilge Kaghan site, it is my opinion that the Chinese part of the inscription, the western side of the stele, was carved first and was the most important part of the inscription. First, the western side of the stele is regarded generally as the most important side from the viewpoint of the tradition in which the shrine or sarcophagus and stone statue is turned to the west as the place of the spirit of the dead. In this particular case, it can be also recognized as the most important part from the political and cultural relationship with the Tang dynasty being expressed in the relationship of “father” and “son” between the Tang Emperor Xuanzong and the Turkic Bilge Kaghan. This reflects the Sinocentric political relationship of the Tang dynasty towards foreign countries which can be called symbolically the regime of “ce-feng”. The runic text was then carved secondly, after finishing the Chinese text on the western side.<sup>20</sup> This position suggests that the tortoise stone and the inscription had been originally established so that the western side was turned to the soul of the dead, which can come back to the stone statue and the sarcophagus or the shrine that were constructed in the western part of the mound.

Therefore, I consider that in the case of the Ongi site, the tortoise stone and inscription would first have been set up so that the head and the part with the first line of the runic letters faced in the same direction. In the Orkhon inscription, we can see that the Chinese part was the most important side of all from the viewpoint of the political relationship between both countries, and the western side of the stele is traditionally regarded as the most important side, so in that case, the Chinese text was carved on the western side of the stele. The fact that the first line was carved in the western side can be confirmed by the fact that in the Tonyukuk inscription and Ikhu Xoshutuu inscription, the first line had been carved primarily the sides.<sup>21</sup> According to the general position of Old Turkic inscriptions of the Second Eastern Old Turkic Kaghanate, in the case of the tortoise stone and the inscription of Ongi, we can consider that the first line was carved on the western side here also, and that the tortoise stone was positioned so that it turned its head

<sup>18</sup> G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford 1972, 189 a, 144a; Tekin *Orhon Yazitlari*, 138, 165.

<sup>19</sup> L. Jisl, “Kül-Tegin Anitinda 1958’de yapılan Arkeoloji Arasturmalarının Sonuçları,” *Bulleten* 27 (1963), 392, plate 7; Mogolistan’daki Türk Anitları Projesi 2993 yılı çalışmaları, Ankara 2003, 391; Mogolistan’daki Türk Anitları Projesi 2005 yılı çalışmaları, Ankara 2005, 205; Bayar 2004: 77. pl. 7).

<sup>20</sup> T. Osawa, “Kinnen-ni Okeru Biruge Kagan iseki no Hakkutsucyoosa to Kameishi, Hibun no Hooi kara mita Taitou kankei,” [The archaeological excavation of the Bilge Kaghan site in recent years and the political relations between the Old Turkic Qaghanate and the Tang Dynasty] (in Japanese), *Shihou* 39 (2007), 23–29.

<sup>21</sup> Osawa, “Kinnen-ni Okeru Biruge Kagan,” 22–30.

towards the west. Therefore we can say that the wider side of the Ongi inscription faced westwards, and the narrower side faced southwards (Cf. Plate 1 (b), *infra*).

### *III. The Problem of the Fragments of the Ongi stele*

First, it seems probable that the stele was broken into some fragments before Ramstedt and Pälsi visited in 1909. On our visit, we could identify (1) a fragment of the head stone of the stele which lay near a heap of bricks in the mound, (2) one small fragment, (3) one medium-sized fragment and (4) one large fragment. Three more fragments of stele with runic letters are conserved in the museum of Arbaileer in Ubur-Hangai Aymak, however, the other fragments of the Ongi stele have not been discovered. It seems obvious that we cannot restore this stele to its original shape any more.

The fragments measured in our survey are as follows:

(1) *A fragment of the head stone*: There are small runic letters on one side. The front is 40 cm in height, while the middle part of the reverse side is 33 cm in height. The bottom part is 40 cm wide and 17~18.5 cm thick (Cf. Plate 2, *infra*).

(2) *A small fragment*: There are three lines of runic letters on one side, which is 11.5 cm long, 16 cm wide and 8.5~10 cm thick (Cf. Plate 3, *infra*).

(3) *A medium-sized fragment*: There are four lines of runic letters on one side, which is 24~30 cm long, 15.5~16.5 cm wide and 19.5~22 cm thick (Cf. Plate 4, *infra*).

(4) *A large fragment*: There are four lines of runic letters on two sides. The sides are 77~80 cm long, 19 cm wide, and 20.5~22 cm thick (Cf. Plate 5, *infra*).

As to the history of research on this stele, after a member of the Orkhon expedition, N. M. Yadrintsev, had found it in 1891, V. V. Radloff published the rubbings and the explanation of the plates that were sent by Yadrintsev in his *Atlas*, pl. XXVI-1, 2, in 1893. Klements researched the stele further and made rubbings,<sup>22</sup> and also took many photographs, however, these have never been published. In 1895, Radloff published the printed text and the first interpretation.<sup>23</sup> The next year he also published the rubbings that Yadrintsev had taken and the retouched versions of the inscription, the inscription of a balbal stone and a part of the *Tamgha* in *Atlas*, Plate LXXXIII. In 1909 Ramstedt and Pälsi visited and investigated the site and took many photographs.<sup>24</sup> But as to the quality of their rubbings, it seems that they are worse than those of Yadrintsev.<sup>25</sup> In 1926 Kozlov visited and investigated and took a lot of photographs, however, these have never been published. In 1962, Tryjarski researched a small fragment of the stele and

<sup>22</sup> D. A. Klements, *Kratkii otchet o puteshestvii po Mongolii za 1894g.* Izv. Imper. Akademii nauk, 3-3, Saint Petersburg 1895, 246~258; cf. Voitov, "Onginskii pamyatnik," 35.

<sup>23</sup> ATIM 246~252.

<sup>24</sup> MSSP 63; Hálen 1987, 99.

<sup>25</sup> Aalto, *Oriental Studies in Finland*, 107.

took photographs and investigated the condition of the rest of it.<sup>26</sup> Tryjarski discovered a (medium-sized) fragment of the stele at the site and informed the director of the local museum of Arbaileer, Namhaidagwa.<sup>27</sup> The director assured him that he himself would conserve it in the museum.<sup>28</sup> Then Tryjarski took sketches of the *tamgha* in the ram style on a semi-circular fragment of stone. He regarded this as the head fragment of the main stele and pointed out the possibility that there are inscriptions read by Radloff on the side of the fragment.

Afterwards Namhaidagwa inspected the monument and succeeded in discovering a new (large) fragment. Rinchen then sent photographs of the two sides of the fragment to Tryjarski on 10 March 1969.<sup>29</sup> He tried to compare and attest the places of these fragments of the stele. In 1987, Voitov and Bayar inspected the site archaeologically and tried to consider it in detail.

*Identification of the fragments of the stele*

Based on the rubbings of the Ongi stele that Yadrintsev had sent him, Radloff explained that the part shown in his plate 2 can be identified as the horizontal line that was divided into five lines on the lower part of the stele (Atlas, pl. XXVI-1, 2; Cf. Plate 1 (b), *infra*). In my view, he made a mistake in this. In fact, as to the true position of this part, as shown in Atlas, pl. LXXXIII (Oa), it can be identified as the lower fragment which had been cut off from the right-hand side of the stele, and there are only three lines here. The large fragment of the stele included this fragment, and we can confirm this as the original position according to our inspection. Besides, according to the report of Yadrintsev, Radloff told him that in the lower part there was the fragment that was causing the problem, and he placed it in the lower part of the right side (Oa) apart at an interval of several cm, although Radloff explained that the letters were not going on to the bottom part of the stele. According to the position of the lower part in the large fragment, however, it seems that the length of the interval could have been ca. 40 cm from the final part of the narrow side (i.e., the north side) of the stele. Moreover, in the final part, this sentence is incomplete, so we can assume that the letters were carved on the following part, i.e. the bottom of this stele. As Radloff had mentioned there, as to the lower part of this stele, it must have been badly damaged already when Yadrintsev visited. As a result, from Radloff's Atlas we can only confirm one of the last parts that might have been recognized by Yadrintsev or Radloff at that time.

As to the fragment that had been divided into two parts found by Tryjarski in 1962 (which is 71 cm long, 34 cm wide and 15 cm thick),<sup>30</sup> Voitov identified it as

<sup>26</sup> Tryjarski, "Die heutige Mongolei," fig. 27.

<sup>27</sup> Tryjarski, "Die heutige Mongolei," fig. 27.

<sup>28</sup> Tryjarski, "Die heutige Mongolei," 160.

<sup>29</sup> E. Tryjarski, "Zur neueren Geschichte des Ongin-Denkmales," in *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der Altaischen Völker, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* 5, Berlin 1974.

<sup>30</sup> Tryjarski, "Die heutige Mongolei," 16.

the lower part of a second stele that had been erected at the site. However, as no second stele existed at the Ongi site, as is discussed below, his identification cannot be supported. In our researches, however, we could not find this fragment at the site or the museum.

As to another small fragment (which is 19 cm long, 16 cm wide and 9 cm thick), Namhaidagwa found it at a distance of 300 m from the Ongi site and deposited it in the Arbaileer museum in 1968. Voitov considered it to be a fragment from another site, as a result of his comparative consideration of it from the viewpoints of the dimensions of the stone fragment, the measurement of the letters, and the distance between the letters.<sup>31</sup> From comparison between our photographs and impressions and Radloff's Atlas, however, it seems not to be doubted that this can be identified as a fragment of which some letters are illegible in the fifth line of the east side and the opening sentence of the part from the 6th to the 8th lines of the north side.<sup>32</sup>

As to another fragment of medium size that is held in the Arbaileer local museum (which is 29~30 cm long, 21 cm wide and 16 cm thick), Tryjarski considered it to be the part of the Ongi fragment that has a wide side. He read about 20 letters on it and identified them as the same as the 5th-7th lines of the front side of the Ongi stele.<sup>33</sup> I can also vouch for his identification. Additionally I can say that, as a result of comparison between our photographs and impressions and Radloff's Atlas, we can find the letters from the beginning of the 8th line of the small fragment, even though it is badly damaged and illegible. So we can say that there must also have been letters in the 8th line of this fragment that now has four lines. When Yadrintsev discovered it in 1891, the runic letters of the 8th line seem already to have been worn away badly or disappeared.

On the contrary, Voitov thought that the medium-sized fragment and the large fragment were broken only at the upper and bottom parts while their sides were intact, and he considered that originally these two fragments were from a single fragment, whose original location is unknown. He considered that the medium-sized fragment was from another stele that is still unknown.<sup>34</sup> In fact, however, as I mentioned above, it seems certain that it can be identified as a fragment of the Ongi stele. And as to the large fragment, as a result of inspection in the Arbaileer museum and comparison between the fragment and our impressions, it has traces of having been cut off not only at the upper and bottom sides, but also at the left side. Thus we can conclude that this can be identified as the larger part of the stele, so we cannot say that this is from the same portion of the stele as the

<sup>31</sup> Voitov, "Onginskii pamyatnik," 43.

<sup>32</sup> T. Ōsawa, "Kodai Tyurku No Ongi Iseki Hibun O Meguru Shomondai, Mongolu Koku Nai Deno Genchi Chōsa O Tōshite Mita," [Problems on the Ongi inscription of the Ancient Turkish period] *Chūto Isulamu Bunka No Shosō To Genjō Kenkyū* IKEDA Osamu Sensei Gotaikan Kinen Ronbunshū [Aspects of the Islamic culture and language studies of the Middle East region], Osaka 1999, 287-288; Ōsawa, *Ongi Hibun*, 131.

<sup>33</sup> Tryjarski, "Zur neueren Geschichte des Ongin-Denkmales," 167-168, figs. 15, 26, 27.

<sup>34</sup> Voitov, "Onginskii pamyatnik," 43-44.

medium-sized fragment. Therefore we can acknowledged the correctness of Tryjarski's view.

As to the large fragment conserved in the Arbaiheer museum (which is 79 cm in height, 18-22 cm on the side that had letters, 18 cm in the other side, and 16-18 cm and 20-22 cm on the smooth sides), Rintchen sent a photograph of this to Tryjarski. Voitov considered that this can be identified as another unknown stele.<sup>35</sup> However, according to our inspection and comparison between photographs and rubbings and Radloff's Atlas, it can be clarified that the letters of one side in this fragment can be identified as those between lines 1-4 of the wide side (i.e., the east side) of the Ongi stele, and the letters of the other side can be identified as those from between lines 1-4 of the narrow side (i.e., the north side) of the Ongi stele. Therefore we cannot support the view of Voitov.<sup>36</sup>

#### *IV. Aspects of problems of the Ongi stele*

As to the linguistic and philological studies on the stele, since the studies of Radloff, N. Orkun, S. E. Malov and H. Onogawa have read and interpreted the text on the basis of Radloff's reproductions of the rubbings.<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, G. Clauson questioned the rubbing as retouched by Radloff, so he reconsidered the letters on the basis of Radloff's original edition and published a new version in his own hand including transliteration, transcription, translation and historical consideration. Since then, many scholars have attempted to read and interpret this stele from the philological point of view based on the transliteration and transcription by Clauson.

As a result of our researches, it became evident that there are many points that should be reconsidered. One of these is the number of stele at the Ongi site. In 1909 Ramstedt and Pälsi reported as follows:

There was a lower part of the stele that had originally been erected there and is 56 cm in height, and the others had been divided into two parts (the medium part is 154 cm, the upper part is 104 cm). The stele of which of the Russian Kozlov took a rubbing is buried deeply under the ground. When we tried to excavate it, in fact the base stone of the stele, which has a square hole and was a board made of granite stone, appeared. Under this there was a stone pillar that was installed in layers of stone paving. Bone of sheep was excavated from the western side of

<sup>35</sup> Voitov, "Onginskii pamyatnik," 44.

<sup>36</sup> Ōsawa, "Kodai Tyurku No Ongi Iseki Hibun," 284-288; T. Ōsawa, and A. Katayama, "Ongi Iseki," [Site of Ongi] in T. Moriyasu, and A. Ochir, ed., *Mongoru Koku Genzon Iseki Hibun Chōsa Kenkyū Hōkoku*, Osaka University, Osaka Daigaku; Chuō Yūrashia Gaku Kenkyūkai (in Japanese), Provisional Report of Researches on Historical Sites and Inscriptions in Mongolia from 1996 to 1998, Osaka University, The Society of Central Eurasian Studies, Osaka 1999, 127-128.

<sup>37</sup> ETY I: 127-132; PDPMK: 7-11; Onogawa, "Ongin hibun yakuchū." *Haneda hakase shōjūkinen tōyōshirons*, [Ongin inscription, translation and notes. *Festschrift in the Dr. Toru Haneda, Oriental collection of essays*], Kyoto 1950, 431-451.

the wall under the ground. In the base stone, we could see a figure carved in the tortoise style, the face of which faced westwards.<sup>38</sup>

On the other hand, as to Pälsi's investigation, Ramstedt wrote in his diary as follows:

During our trip we saw a stone standing upright, on which there had once been an inscription. The winds and changes of temperature had eaten into it so thoroughly that scarcely anything was left of the letters once carved into the stone. Pälsi and I were sorry that we ran into the stone about a thousand years too late. We discovered the base of another stone, but the inscription pillar belonging to it was not to be found. The basic stone was broad and well made. Pälsi desired to know how the layer of the stone slab was constructed. He dug at one side and discovered a layer of tiles on which the base slab rested. We got hold of some poles and tried to lift the slab up from the other side. Pälsi was convinced that something valuable had to be underneath the slab, but at that very moment some persons arrived who clearly had far from friendly intentions. We quickly let the slab fall back into its place, in doing which Pälsi hurt one foot somewhat. We got better results from this reckless attempt at lifting.<sup>39</sup>

According to the two accounts quoted above, it might be mistakenly interpreted that a stele was erected near the east side of this mound and the rest of this lay near the former stone, while the main stele was buried under the ground near the centre of the mound. However, nobody investigated the state of this site from 1909 until 1963, and the site and stele were destroyed and badly damaged, therefore it is impossible to verify the statement of Ramstedt and Pälsi. It seems that subsequent researchers, such as Clauson, Tryjarski, Aalto and Voitov etc. considered that there were originally two stele at the Ongi site, i.e., a large stele and a small one. From our research, and according to Yadrintsev's rubbings, we can see only one stele and one stone balbal that had a short epigraph. In the following, I would like to reconsider this point.

(i) First, in this respect, in order to prove his opinion that there were two stele at the Ongi site, as one piece of evidence Voitov gave the fact that two *tamghas*, of a mountain goat and a hook, were carved on the wider side of the head stone, and this is different from the plate of the head stone in Radloff's Atlas. Additionally, in 1962 Tryjarski claimed to have discovered another tortoise stone, except this time a square one, in the mound. As to the first piece of evidence, as a result of our investigation, it became evident that two *tamghas*, of a mountain goat and a hook, were carved in both the front and the rear of the head stone that lay in the ground. The *tamgha* on one side (i.e., the front side that had the inscription in eight lines) could be identified with one in Radloff's Atlas, and moreover we should reconsider the traces of the long hook that seemed to have been drawn

<sup>38</sup> MSSP 63.

<sup>39</sup> G. J. Ramstedt, *Seven Journeys Eastward 1898-1912*. Tr. from Swedish and ed. by J. R. Krueger, Bloomington, Indiana 1978, 210.

vertically across the horizontal line of the goat, and the small trace of a *tamgha* of a hook, as in fact the trace of damage to the stone before its discovery by Yadrintsev. As to his second evidence, according to information from Radloff's Atlas based on the records of Yadrintsev, there was no second stone tortoise in the mound (Cf. Plate 1(a), *infra*). From the information both of the records and diary of Ramstedt and Pälsi, and also of Kozlov, we cannot find anywhere the second stone tortoise that Tryjarski recorded in 1962. From the viewpoint of art and archaeology, the first stone tortoise is not apparently similar to the second one. In my view, it should be considered that the second stone tortoise must have been carried to this site by someone in the period from 1909 to 1962. Therefore we can assume that in the Ongi monument there was only one stone tortoise at the time of the construction of this monument.

(ii) Secondly, Pälsi considered a fragment of the stone pillar that was erected near the east side of the mound as the lower part of the second stele and two fragments that lay near the stone pillar as the upper parts. In my view, however, as a result of comparing the stele of Radloff's Atlas with our three fragments (large, medium and small) of this stele, and the measurement of the length of the original stele that can be reconstructed based on the ratio of the fragments to Radloff's rubbings of the stele, it can be concluded that the runic epigraph at least was carved in a section 271 cm in length and 40 cm in width, the part of the head stone being 18.5 cm thick and the bottom part has 22 cm thick. On the other hand, if another stele had been erected in the east side of the mound, as Pälsi mentioned before, the result would be that the total length of this stele can be calculated as 314 cm in length (the upper part being 104 cm in length, the middle part 154 cm, and the lower part 56 cm). According to Pälsi, it is likely that another stele was buried under the ground. In my view, however, this is impossible because Yadrintsev would have reported the existence of two stele when he discovered and investigated this site. As long as he did not report this, we can assume that then there was only one stele at this site. Moreover this can be supported by the fact that there were only two sides with runic letters, i.e. in my view, the east side which had 8 lines of runic letters, and north side which had 4 lines, so this stele still had room to carve the inscription, and there was no need to erect another stele in order to carve further inscriptions. It is interesting to compare the Tunyu-quq inscriptions, where runic inscriptions had been inscribed on all sides of two steles to the full. Besides, when Pälsi discovered the tortoise stone, he wrote as if there were parts of the other stele under the ground, however, as Ramstedt registered in his diary, it could not be verified by excavation then. It seems probable that it was based on Pälsi's hypothesis. Of course, it cannot be denied that it was a part of the original stele. At present, I would say that two parts of stele lying in the east of the mound were from the original stele.

(iii) What, then, was the fragment of the stone pillar that Pälsi regarded as the lower part of the second stele? It seems that Ramstedt also considered that this was the lower part of a second stele in his diary, however, he forgot to explain that the letters had been scarcely left in the stone as quoted before. And Voitov also supports the same hypothesis. Of course, their identification can be sup-

ported only in the case that it had been moved by someone from its original position (i.e. near the centre of the mound) to the eastern area of the mound in the period between 1891 and 1909, however, it seems very unlikely at present. And we can also confirm that a fragment of a granite stone pillar 22 cm in height had been stuck firmly in the ground in the east side of the mound, however, it is no longer possible to test the hypothesis, because of the severe damage to this pillar. There is certainly no lettering on it now. To this problem, I would like to propose that this fragment of the stone pillar can be regarded as a balbal stone placed inside the mound. This can be supported by the fact that balbal stones were erected not only outside the mound, but also inside the mound in some of the ancient Turkish sites, such as the Bugut and Ider sites, which belong to the second half of the 6th century and the Tonyuquq and Ikh-khoshtu sites, which belong to the first half of the 8th century. In particular, a balbal stone in the east area inside the mound of the Ikh-Khoshtu site had been stuck firmly on the ground, and it can be confirmed that this balbal had been erected here at the beginning of the establishment of the site. Therefore we can say that in the Ongi site too, a balbal stone had been erected on the east side inside mound, like those of Tunyuquq and Ikh-Khoshtu sites, which belonged to the same periods.

As mentioned above in (i)–(iii), in my view, the hypothesis of Pälsi and then Voitov cannot be supported, in other words, the fragment of the stone pillar found inside the mound should not be regarded as the lower part of a second stele, but as a balbal stone inside the mound of the Ongi site.

#### *V. Reconstruction of the stele*

As to the designation of the four sides of the Ongi stele, in his explanation of Yadrinsev's rubbings, Radloff noted correctly that on the front side there was a sign (i.e. *tamgha*) for Qan, and on the right-hand side, there were vertical lines that began at the same height as the lines of the front side. Moreover in the upper part of these lines, at the same height as the Qan's sign (i.e. *tamgha*), there were seven horizontal lines. In the preface to his decipherment,<sup>40</sup> Radloff further noted, correctly, that this stele had 8 lines on the front side and 4 lines in the right-hand side. Radloff named the wide side, the side of 8 lines, as (O), the narrow side, the side of 4 lines, as (Oa), the same side of 7 horizontal lines in the upper part (Oc). However, he did not mention where these should be positioned on the Ongi stele. For example, Clauson also named the front side (O) and the (right) side (Oa), according to Radloff.<sup>41</sup> On the contrary, after Oonogawa renamed (O) the east side, and (Oa) the south side, subsequent scholars continued to support him.<sup>42</sup> However, in our view, this naming should now be corrected.

<sup>40</sup> ATIM 244.

<sup>41</sup> G. Clauson, "The Ongin Inscription," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1957:3/4), 177; GOT: 291–292.

<sup>42</sup> Onogawa, "Ongin hibun yakuchū," 442–444; I. Sawada, "Ongin Hibun Ni Kannsru Ichikōsatsu-Sonosetsuritsumokuteki to Setsuritunenndai Wo Chuushinn To Shite," [A consideration of the Ongin inscription, especially on the purpose and the period of

That the letters were carved only on the wide side and the narrow right-hand side of the original stele can be supported by the state of the large fragment as mentioned above. Moreover, according to the explanation of the plate of the stone tortoise,<sup>43</sup> we can understand that the navel hole of the stone tortoise is 43 cm in length and 28 cm width, so it seems beyond doubt that the wide side of the stele was facing the head or the tail. In his diary of the 1891 survey, Yadrintsev recorded that the stele faced southwards.<sup>44</sup> Therefore at the beginning period of this discovery, it seems probable that the wide side of this stele faced southwards, and the narrow side with writing faced eastwards. As a result, then, this stele was erected with the wide side as the south side, and the narrow side as the east side. However, it seems doubtful whether the stele has remained in this position since the period of the first construction, because a gate was cut in the east side of the mound, and there was a shrine, and a sarcophagus positioned in the western part of the mound. As noted above, we observed the position of the Orkhon inscriptions and Tonyukuk inscriptions, and Iku-Khoshtuu (Küli Chor inscription), and found that in all cases the first line of the inscription faced towards the western side. This position can be considered meaning that the inscription was raised to show respect to the sarcophagus and shrine, or the stone statue of the buried person in front of the shrine, since the dead spirit dwelt in the mound. So we cannot deny that the first part of the inscription on this stele, of 8 lines, is turned to the western side as the front side, like the Orkhon inscriptions and Tonyukuk and Iku-Khoshtuu inscriptions of the second eastern Turkic Kaganate periods. From this viewpoint, I researched the diary and the rubbings taken by G. Ramstedt and S. Pälsi on 10 September 1909. From these materials, I can confirm that Ramstedt and Pälsi considered that the initial part, of 8 lines, could be the western side, although this was only founded on the fact that the stele was lying on the ground in three parts in the eastern part of this mound, and the beginning part of the stele was turned to the west. If his argument on the position of the fragments of the stele was only hypothesis at that time, I can say that Ramstedt's view on this direction of the stele is completely supported. So at present, I would like to propose that the initial part of the 8 lines was the western side and the tortoise stone was also turned to the front side of the head-stone, that is, towards the west, so that it was facing the sarcophagus, the shrine and the stone statue of the person buried in this site. The narrow side of the lower part, with 4 lines of writing, therefore should be the southern side.

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the erection] *Tōyoshikenkyō* 41:4 (1983), 54; I. Sawada, "Ongin hibun Tōmen dai yonnyō no kaishyaku ni tsuite," *Nairiku ajia nishi ajia no syakai to bunka*, [Ongin inscription, on the interpretation of the 4th line of the east side of the Ongin inscription] ed. M. Mori, *The society and culture of Inner Asia and Western Asia*, Yamakawa shuppansya, Tokyo 1983, 79; I. Sawada, "Ongin hibunn yakkai," [Ongin inscription, Transcription and interpretation] *Shundai Shigaku* 41 (1984), 94.

<sup>43</sup> MSSP 130.

<sup>44</sup> Yadrintsev 1901: 43; cf. Voitov 1989: 43.

*Confirmation of nine impressions made by Ramstedt*

After receiving permission from the Finno-Ugric Society, I visited the National Archive of Helsinki and the National Board of Antiquities of Finland in March and April of 2005 and February and March of 2006.<sup>45</sup> There I examined the rubbings of the Ongi stele and Sine-Us stele taken by G. Ramstedt and S. Pälsi during their Mongolian journey, with the financial help of the Finno-Ugric Society, under the direction of Prof. O. Donner in 1909.<sup>46</sup> Especially in the rubbings of Ongi, there are annotations of "TAMIR 10 / IX 1908" in black ink on the surface. The rubbing papers consisted of 1-3 light brown paraffin, and were annotated as "W(est)-1", "W-2", "W-3", "S(outh)-1", "S-2", "S-3", "E(ast)-1", "O-2" and "E-3". These rubbings are made by the Western "squeeze moulding" method, of attaching the paper to the stone with adhesive and tearing off the paper after drying. This is not same method as the traditional Chinese rubbing used by Yadrintsev, and it is more difficult to read and understand the real shape of the runes than from Yadrintsev's version. In addition, I would like to emphasize that Ramstedt and Pälsi took rubbings of three sides (which they designated the western, southern and eastern sides). They made rubbings of all three parts of the three sides as follows:

*Western side*

First rubbing (Runic letters of 8 lines, 101 cm length, 38-39 width),  
 Second rubbing (Runic letters of 8 lines, 153 cm length, 36-37 cm width)  
 Third rubbing (Runic letters of 8 lines, 62 cm length, 35-36 cm width)  
 General measurement of Western side: 316 cm length, 35-39 cm width.

*Southern side*

First rubbing (Runic letters of 4 lines, 100 cm length, 18-21 cm width),  
 Second rubbing (Runic letters of 4 lines, 156 cm length, 22 cm width)  
 Third rubbing (Runic letters of 4 lines, 63cm length, 23-24,5cm width)  
 General measurement of Western side: 319 cm length, 18-24,5 cm width.

*Eastern side*

First rubbing (Runic letters of 8 lines, 111 cm length, 38-39 cm width),  
 Second rubbing (Runic letters of 4 lines, 150 cm length, 38 cm width)  
 Third rubbing (Runic letters of 8 lines, 65 cm length, 39-42 cm width)  
 General measurement of Western side: 326 cm length, 38-42 cm width.

The measurement of the stele derived from the rubbings is almost same as the description given by Ramstedt in his diary, in which he reported that the runic epigraph had been carved in the parts of 271 cm in length and 40cm in width. Above all, in his diary, there is no mention that he could recognize any runic letters on the eastern side. However, in the first and second rubbings of the eastern

<sup>45</sup> For facilitating my research in Helsinki, I would like to express my thanks to H. Halén and V. Rybatzky who helped me gain permission to investigate the materials of Ramstedt and Pälsi from the Finno-Ugric Society and National Board Antiquities of Finland.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Ramstedt, *Seven Journeys Eastward*; Aalto, *Oriental Studies in Finland*; Halén 1986.

side, I could recognize the slight tracks of 8 lines and a few runic letters that had not been quite worn away for some reason.

At present, I am engaged myself in the transliteration, transcription, and interpretation of all texts from the philological, historical and archaeological points of view, so I will present this research in the not-too-distant future. At this stage, I can present some new historical contexts from my readings as follows:

As is well known, according to the rubbings of Yadrinsev, we can read the first line of the western side as "Kaghanladuk kaghan içghinü:idmüs" (Kaghan who was made the ruler perished and went away). From this, however, we cannot know who made him a Kaghan. But according to my research of the rubbings of Ramstedt, this problematical phrase could be the next part of the last phrase of the first line of the bottom fragment, to be read as "Il Begler Tabgach". So we can now read this part as follows: "Ol Begler Tabgach Kaghan kaghanladuk kaghan içghinü:idmüs", (The Turkish Kaghan, whom Begs of tribes and Tabgach Kaghan (i.e. the Tang Emperor) had made become a king, perished and went away). From here, we can consider that this description may be connected with a historical event in the rebellion of the Old Turkic tribes who were under the control of the Tang emperor against the Tang Dynasty in the years 670-688.

As an another example, we can read the sentence: "yabız bat biz:azigh üküshüg:körtüg:..." (We are wrong and bad. We made the small people many one...) in the beginning sentences of the rubbing "W-7", however, we can read this as part of the next parts of the sentences: "biz bädük:biz:biz bat biz:biz:" (We are strong, we have disadvantage. We) of the bottom line of the fragment of "W-6". From there we can reconstruct this part as follows: "Biz bädük biz: biz bat biz: biz:yabız bat biz: azigh üküshüg:körüg:..." (We are strong, we have disadvantage. We are wrong and bad. We made the small people many one...). In the near future, I would like to present the results of my new reading and historical analysis on this stele.

That the *tamgha* of a mountain goat and a hook were carved in both sides of the head stone could mean that the person in whose honour this stele was erected belonged to the genealogy of the royal Ashinas family of the ancient Turkish Qaghanate. However, it can be interpreted such that he belonged to the collateral line of the royal family, which was different from the direct line of Ilterish, Bilgä Qaghan and Köl Tigin of the Second Turkish Qaghanate.<sup>47</sup>

It seems that in the head stone the *tamghas* are worthy of note. However according to our impression, we can confirm that there was a line of semi-cylindrical style along the upper line of the head stone. There is no discussion of this feature in the literature. However, from the understanding that Tunyuquq and Küli Çor were high-ranking officials of the Second Turkish Qaghanate, but the head stones of their stele had no sculpted decoration like this, we should pay attention to this feature. In my view, the meaning of the semi-cylindrical line on this head stone can be considered as a kind of omitted expression of the dragon

<sup>47</sup> Clauson, "The Ongin Inscription," 177; Onogawa, "Ongin hibun yakuchū," 432; Sawa-da, "Ongin hibunn yakkai," 94, 96.

in order to indicate respectfully that the person in whose honour this stele was raised belonged to the ancient royal family of the Second Turkish Qaghanate. This view can be supported by the fact that the tortoise stone was carved in the primitive form.<sup>48</sup>

### *Conclusions*

As I stated above, it seems that there are many complicated problems associated with reconstruction of the Ongi monument and inscriptions, archaeologically and historically. These problems are made more difficult because the burial mound of the site was dug illegally and destroyed at some point after its discovery in 1891. Therefore we should try to solve the cultural and historical meaning of this monument and stele, including trying to inquire into other fragments of the stele as yet undiscovered. As most philologists and historians insist, it seems probable that the Ongi stele was constructed in the first half of the Second Turkish Qaghanate period and was involved in the historical events of that time. It is therefore valuable evidence in order to investigate the history of the revival and process of the Second Turkish Qaghanate. Therefore my aim is to analyze the historical meaning of this site and the stele not only philologically but also archaeologically, in order to utilize this site and stele for clarification of for whom, by whom and when the monument was constructed.

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<sup>48</sup> Ôsawa, "Kodai Tyurku No Ongi Iseki Hibun," 288-289; Ôsawa, *Ongi Hibun*, 121-132.

# *Notes on the role of Alania in international trade in the early Middle Ages (eighth-tenth centuries) on the basis of written sources\**

SZabolcs Polgár



The aim of this paper is to analyse the role of Alania and the Western Caucasus region in international trade and commercial contacts in the early Middle Ages. Alania was the most important country in the North-Western Caucasus and reports on the commercial contacts of Alania were recorded above all by Muslim authors. An important report was recorded by al-Mas'ūdi (943) in his book entitled *Meadows of Gold and Mines of Precious Stones*. He wrote that among the Hungarians and Pechenegs lived tradesmen who came from the Khazars, Ardabil, Derbend and Alania.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Hawqal (around 970) wrote that Al-Bāb (that is Derbend) was the main port of trade for the Caspian Sea, al-Sarīr, Alania, Ṭabaristān, Ğurğān and Daylam. Clothes made from flax similar to shirts were exported from Derbend, a product not found in Arrān, Armenia or Ādarbayğān. There was also saffron in large quantity in Derbend. Moreover this city had plenty of slaves.<sup>2</sup> Another source, the *Hudūd al-ālam* (982) mentioned that the city Kāsak was a pleasant place and there were merchants in it. Kāsak was situated on the coast of the Black Sea and it

\* The study was supported by OTKA Grant no. 68762.

<sup>1</sup> Maçoudi: *Les prairies d'or*. II. Texte et traduction par C. B. de Meynard et P. de Courteille. Paris 1914, 59, 61 (New, revised edition by Ch. Pellat, Beyrouth 1966, Vol. 2. 236-237.); Mas'ūdi: *Les prairies d'or*. Traduction française de B. de Meynard et P. de Courteille revue et corrigée par Ch. Pellat. I. Paris 1962, 178. (French transl.)

<sup>2</sup> *Opus geographicum auctore Ibn Haukal*, ed. J. H. Kramers, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum II/2. Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden) 1939, 339; Ibn Haukal: *Configuration de la terre*. Intr., tr., indices J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet. II. Beyrouth-Paris 1964, 332-333. (French transl.)

was in the land of the Tcherkes, which belonged to Alania at the end of the tenth century.<sup>3</sup>

Yāqūt, the famous Muslim geographer of the thirteenth century, mentioned in his geographical dictionary in the article on the Alans that slaves were exported from Alania.<sup>4</sup> Slaves as export wares are mentioned two times in the cited sources, one of which refers evidently to Alania. The slave trade was wide spread in Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages and slaves were exported into the Caliphate or the Byzantine Empire. The greatest number of slaves came from the forest zone of Eastern Europe. Yāqūt does not mention the origin of the Alanian slaves, but it does not seem probable that they were transit wares from Khazaria or Volga Bulgharia. Probably they were prisoners of war. In the tenth century the territory of the Alans was extensive and the possibility of Alan raids against the Khazars is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus,<sup>5</sup> who also wrote of Alanian attacks against the Zikhs, neighbours of the Alans.<sup>6</sup>

People could also become slaves because of debt or misery. There is an interesting parallel. In the thirteenth century, the Hungarian monk Julianus and his companions travelled from Hungary to search for Eastern Hungarians who lived far away from the Carpathian Basin. They came to Alania and, suffering from poverty, decided to sell two of the monks into slavery, expecting to be able to continue the journey due to the price they received for their companions. However, the Alans would not buy them, because they were not experts in agriculture, in the plowing and milling of corn.<sup>7</sup> This information proves that people could be sold as slaves in Alania in the Middle Ages.

Evidently, there were other goods exported from Alania. As for the import goods, al-Mas'ūdī indirectly mentions the Alans in his report on textile manufacturing and export amongst the Tcherkes. He writes that Tcherkes clothes were exported to the neighbouring countries,<sup>8</sup> possibly including Alania. Valuable clothes and carpets were also exported from Armenia,<sup>9</sup> possibly into Alania.

The contacts of the Muslim countries with Alania are indirectly confirmed by the geographical work of the Samanid *wazīr* al-Ġayhānī, which includes an inde-

<sup>3</sup> *Hudūd al-Ālam. The Regions of the World. A Persian Geography* 372 A. H. – 982 A. D. tr., expl. V. Minorsky, Gibb Memorial Series ns. 11. London 1937, 160–161.

<sup>4</sup> *Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch*, IV. Hrsg. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1862, 343.

<sup>5</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus: *De administrando imperio*. Greek text edited by Gy. Moravcsik, English tr. R. J. H. Jenkins. CFHB, Vol. 1, Dumbarton Oaks 1967, c. 10–11., 62, 64 (text), 63, 65 (transl.).

<sup>6</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus: *De administrando imperio*, c. 42., 188 (text), 189 (transl.).

<sup>7</sup> *Scriptores rerum hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*. Vol. 2. ed. E. Szentpétery, Budapest 1938 (reprint: Budapest 1999, epilogue by K. Szovák-L. Veszprémy), 538.

<sup>8</sup> Maqoudi: *Les prairies d'or*, II, 46 (text) (New, revised edition by Ch. Pellut, Beyrouth 1966, 230.); Ma'sūdī: *Les prairies d'or*, I, 174. (transl.)

<sup>9</sup> *Opus geographicum auctore Ibn Haukal*, II, 342, 344–345; *Ibn Hauqal: Configuration de la terre*, II, 335, 338.

pendent chapter on the Alans.<sup>10</sup> No doubt, Muslim merchants visited Alania in the ninth-tenth centuries. The information of al-Mas'ūdi on the Muslim merchants coming from Alania to the Hungarians living in the Carpathian Basin in the tenth century deserves some remark. Constantine Porphyrogenitus writes that a part of the Hungarians was separated due to the attack of the Pechenegs at the end of the ninth century. According to Constantine the eastern group of the Hungarians settled in the east, somewhere "in the regions of Persia."<sup>11</sup> The question of their location has not been solved yet, but many scholars think that they lived in the Northern Caucasus.<sup>12</sup> Al-Mas'ūdi's passage can indirectly support this theory of the Caucasian Hungarians. Thus, the Muslim merchants took part in contacts between the two groups of Hungarians.

As for the trade routes between the Islamic countries and Alania, the Muslim merchants could reach Eastern Europe from three main directions. One route came from Transoxania, Khorasan and Khwarizm to the Volga region. The second led from Persia and Azerbaijan to the delta of the Volga River. Here the city (or cities) of the Khazars were located in the ninth-tenth centuries. The third route led from Tbilisi via the Alan Gate (Darial Pass) to Khazaria. There is information which confirms that the Muslims used this route in the ninth century; the travel report of Sallām the Interpreter mentions the route from Tbilisi to Khazaria. According to the story, caliph al-Wātiq (842–847) had a dream about the collapse of the wall which, according to legend, had been erected by order of Alexander the Great. This wall separated the northern barbarians from the rest of the world. The caliph sent a mission to investigate the wall. Although in many ways the story is obscure and hard to explain, there is no doubt that the description of the route to Khazaria via the Darial Pass is true and realistic. The envoys travelled from Tbilisi to the country of the Sarir, from Sarir to Alaria, from Alania to Filān and from Filān to Khazaria.<sup>13</sup> It seems that they turned south-east and visited the walls of Derbend also. Maybe they entered Khazaria via Derbend. It was a special mission and the unusual route reflected the aim of the journey, to investigate both of the great wall-systems of the Caucasus: Darial and Derbend. Apart from this, the story could prove that Muslims travelled via Alania.

Alania had contacts not only with Muslim countries, but also with the Byzantine Empire. Clothes and textile wares came from the Byzantine Empire. Ibn

<sup>10</sup> H. Göckenjan-I. Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte über die Völker Osteuropas und Zentralasiens im Mittelalter. Die Čayhāni-Tradition*. Wiesbaden 2001, 92–94 (Ibn Rusta), 183–184 (Gardizi), 215–216 (Ḥudūd al-‘ālam), 229 (al-Bakri).

<sup>11</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus: *De administrando imperio*, c. 38., 170, 172 (text), 171, 173 (transl.).

<sup>12</sup> E. g. I. Fodor, *In Search of a New Homeland. The Prehistory of the Hungarian People and the Conquest*. tr. H. Tarnoy. Budapest 1975, 271–273; A. Bartha, *Hungarian Society in the 9th and 10th Centuries*. tr. K. Balázs. Budapest 1975, 60–61; I. Zimonyi, *The Origins of the Volga Bulgars*, *Studia Uralo-Altaica* 32. Szeged 1990, 158–160; Gy. Kristó, *Hungarian History in the Ninth Century*. tr. Gy. Novák, Szeged 1996, 145–147.

<sup>13</sup> T. Lewicki, *Zródła arabskie do dziejów słowiańszczyzny*. I. Wrocław–Kraków 1956, 78–80 (Ibn Ḥurdādbih).

Hawqal and al-Mas'ūdī mention that Trapezunt was an important port and trade center on the southern coast of the Black sea,<sup>14</sup> a city which had contacts with the Caucasus region. From Trapezunt trade wares were imported into the land of the Tcherkes and vice versa. The towns of the Crimea and the ports of the eastern coast of the Black Sea thus played an important role in trade between the Byzantine Empire and the Western Caucasus. When the land of the Tcherkes came under Alan authority in the second half of the tenth century, the trade also came under the control of the Alans.

There was also an important land route, which crossed the north-western part of the Caucasus. This was a part of the Silk Road, which connected China and Central Asia with the Mediterranean. The aforementioned section of the Silk Road went north of the Caspian Sea, crossed the Volga River near the delta and led to the steppe. There is a detailed record of a journey from the sixth century. A Byzantine envoy, Zemarchus, and his companions came from the Turk Kaghanate, crossed the Volga and reached a river, which is mentioned in the report under the name *Kofin*. There was a lake into which the Kofin river emptied. Here the Byzantines were afraid of the Persians, but they did not meet them. At this time, Byzantium and the Sassanid Empire were at war. The envoys reached Alania, crossed the lands of other peoples and came to the Black Sea. From Rogatorium they continued the journey by ship.<sup>15</sup>

There are some difficulties in reconstructing this part of the journey between the Volga and the Black Sea. Most scholars think that Zemarchus did not pass through the Darial Pass (Alan Gate), because it was under Persian control. According to the Muslim historians, the walls and fortifications in the frontier zone of Alania were built by order of the Sassanid Shahs.<sup>16</sup> Zemarchus thus crossed another Caucasian pass, probably in the Western Caucasus, maybe the Marukh Pass, the Klukhor Pass, the Cagerker Pass or the Sanchari Pass. There were routes in the valleys of the Vzib and the Kodori rivers which connected these passes with the Black Sea coast. The identification of the aforementioned Kofin River is debated. Some identify it with the Kuma River,<sup>17</sup> which has marshlands or moorlands in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea. But then it is hard to explain why the envoys turned south from the delta of the Volga River. This route led to Persia and the Byzantines needed to go round the territories which were under the influence

<sup>14</sup> *Opus geographicum auctore Ibn Haukal*, II, 344; *Ibn Hauqal: Configuration de la terre*, II, 337; Maçoudi: *Les prairies...*, II, 46–47 (text) (New, revised edition by Ch. Pellut, Beyrouth 1966, Vol. 2. 230–231.); *Mas'ūdī: Les prairies...*, I, 174.

<sup>15</sup> *The History of Menander the Guardsman*. Intr., text, tr. notes by R. C. Blockley, Liverpool 1985, 125–127.

<sup>16</sup> J. Harmatta, The Wall of Alexander the Great and the *Limes Sasanicus*. i J. Harmatta, *Selected Writings. West and East in the Unity of the Ancient World*. ed. L. Havas–I. Tegyey, Agatha XII, Debrecen 2002, 69. The study first was published in the *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 10 (1996), 79–84.

<sup>17</sup> E. g. *The History of Menander...*, 266, note 145; Gy. Györffy, ed. *A magyarok elődeiről és a honfoglalásról. Kortársak és krónikások híradásai*. [On the Ancestors of the Hungarians and the Conquest. Reports of contemporary chroniclers] Budapest 1986<sup>3</sup>, 279, note 134.

or control of Sassanid Iran. It is possible that the Kofin is the Kuban River.<sup>18</sup> There are Byzantine and other authors who mention the name *Kouphis* (*Couphis*), referring to the Kuban river.<sup>19</sup> The Hungarian scholar János Harmatta analysed the inscriptions on the walls of the fortress Khumara, situated in the valley of the Kuban, on its upper course. He pointed out that the inscriptions were made by Persians, and the fortress belonged to the Sassanid Empire as an advance post. This fact could explain why the Byzantine envoys were afraid of the Persians on the Kuban River.<sup>20</sup> Apart from this detail, the report proves that the Alans had close connections with the Byzantines. The envoys of the Avars were sent to Constantinople via Alania in 557–558.<sup>21</sup> Probably the upper valley of the Kuban river, Pjatigor'je (present-day Balkaria), was under Alan authority during the reign of Sarosius, the king of the Alans in the middle of the sixth century.<sup>22</sup> Later, during the tenth century, the land of the Tcherkes lost its independence and fell under the authority of Alania. Al-Mas'ūdi wrote that the Tcherkes were independent, had more principalities and needed to defend themselves against the Alans.<sup>23</sup> Ac-

<sup>18</sup> E.g., V. A. Kuznecov, *Očerki istorii alan*. Ordžonikidze 1984, 59.

<sup>19</sup> River *Cuphis* was mentioned in various works: e.g., Anonymus Ravennatis, *Cosmographia* IV, 1. ed. J. Schnetz, *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica. Itineraria Romana* II. Leipzig 1940, 44; *Kouphi*, *Kouphi*. Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, ed. I. S. Čičurov: *Vizantijskie istoričeskie sočinenija*, „*Hronografija*” Feofana, „*Breviarij*” Nikifora. *Tekst, perevody, kommentarij*. Moskva 1980, 36, 38, 9 and note 17; *Kóphiá* (Nicephorus, *Breviarium*, ed. Čičurov, *Vizantijskie istoričeskie sočinenija*, 153; *Kouphi*: *De Administrando Imperio* c. 42., Moravcsik-Jenkins, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, 184, 59 (text), 185 (transl.). This *Cuphis* could mostly be identified with the Kuban river (Anonymus Ravennatis, *Cosmographia*, e. g. A. V. Podosinov: *Vostočnaja Europa v rimskoj kartografičeskoj tradicii*. *Teksty, perevody, kommentarij*. Moskva 2002, 248; Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, Nicephorus, *Breviarium*, e. g. I. S. Čičurov, *Vizantijskie istoričeskie sočinenija*, 110, note 262; G. Schramm, *Nordpontische Ströme. Namenphilologische Zugänge zur Frühzeit des europäischen Ostens*. Göttingen 1973, 96; A. Róna-Tas, „Where was Khuvrat's Bulgharia?” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 53:1–2 (2000), 11. In Theophanes' *Chronographia* and Nicephorus' *Breviarium* the *Cuphis* now is identified with the Kuban, and then with the Southern Bug river. The *Cuphis* mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (DAI c. 42.) is the Southern Bug river also: G. G. Litavrin–A. P. Novoselcov, *Konstantin Bagrjanorodnyj: Ob upravlenii imperiej*. *Tekst, perevod, kommentarij*. Moskva 1991<sup>2</sup>, 403, note 37. The ethnonym *kupi-bulkar* of the Armenian Geography (seventh century) refers also to the Kuban river: *The Geography of Ananias of Širak (Ašxarhac'oyc')*. *The Long and Short Recensions*. Intr., tr. and comment. by R. H. Hewesen, Wiesbaden 1992, 55, 110, note 19. Á. Paulik, “A világ bemutatása.” Egy 7. századi örmény földrajz a steppe népeiről,” [The Description of the World.] An Armenian Geography from the seventh century on the peoples of the steppe] in *Források a korai magyar történelem ismeretéhez* [Written sources to becoming acquainted with the early Hungarian history] ed. A. Róna-Tas, Budapest 2001, 56, note 42.

<sup>20</sup> Harmatta, *The Wall of Alexander the Great*, 70–73.

<sup>21</sup> *The History of Menander*, 48 (text), 49 (transl.).

<sup>22</sup> V. B. Kovalevskaja: *Kavkaz i alany. Veka i narody*. Moskva 1984, 134.

<sup>23</sup> Maçoudi: *Les prairies d'or* . . . , II, 45–46 (text) (New, revised edition by Ch. Pellut, Beyrouth 1966, Vol. 2. 230.); Mas'ūdi: *Les prairies d'or*, I, 174. (transl.); A. V. Gadlo, *Predistori-*

cording to the *Hudūd al-‘ālam* (982), the land of the Tcherkes (Kasak) belonged to Alania.<sup>24</sup> Thus, the western border of Alania reached the coast of the Black Sea, which was important for contact with the Byzantine Empire. Possibly the Alan-Tcherkes alliance was reflected in the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, in the report on the war of the Kievan prince Sviatoslav Igorevich against the Khazars, Alans and Tcherkes.<sup>25</sup> There is archaeological evidence that the routes from the Volga region to the eastern coast of the Black Sea were in use in the eighth–ninth centuries. The finds from Chasaut and Mošchewaja Balka confirm that trade contacts existed not only between the Western Caucasus and Byzantium, but also between Central Asia and Byzantium in the eighth–ninth centuries.<sup>26</sup>

To sum up it can be concluded that:

1) There are only a few reports about the commercial activity of Alania in the eighth–tenth century, in comparison with reports on Khazaria, Volga Bulgharia, the Rus and other peoples of the eastern European forest zone. The great trade centers were in these countries.

2) There were important trade routes which crossed Alania, which had an important political role in the Caucasus region in the ninth–tenth centuries, between the Byzantine Empire and the Caliphate. Thus, the great powers endeavoured to be at peace with the Alans. In the tenth century, Alan power was strong in the north-western region of the Caucasus, when the Tcherkes (Kasak), their western neighbours, came under Alan authority. The Tcherkes had trade contacts with the Byzantine Empire and this trade came also Alan control.

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ja Priazovskoj Rusi. Očerki istorii russkogo knjaženija na Severnom Kavkaze. Sankt Peterburg 2004, 217–218.

<sup>24</sup> *Hudūd al-‘ālam*, 160–161.

<sup>25</sup> *Povest' Vremennyh Let. Čast' I.* tekst i perevod: D. S. Lihačev–B. A. Romanov, red. V. P. Adrianova-Peretc. Moskva-Leningrad 1950, 47.

<sup>26</sup> A. A. Ierusalimskaja, "Alanskij mir na „sélkovom puti" (Moščewaja Balka, istoriko-kul'turnyj kompleks 8–9 vekov), in *Kul'tura Vostoka. Drevnost' i rannee srednevekov'e*. Red. V. G. Lukonin, Leningrad 1978, 151–162; B. Borkopp–A. A. Ierusalimskaja, *Von China nach Byzanz. Frühmittelalterliche Seiden aus der staatlichen Ermitage Sankt Peterburg*. München 1996. Kuznecov, *Očerki istorii alan*, 115.

# Die Teilnehmer an der Barbareninvasion am Silvestertag des Jahres 406

TIBOR SCHÄFER



Der Rheinübergang verschiedener *gentes* am Silvestertag des Jahres 406<sup>1</sup> gehört zu den Ereignissen, die zum Zerfall und Untergang des Römischen Reiches im Westen wesentlich beitrugen. Mehrere spätantike Autoren erwähnen das Ereignis, wobei die Angaben über die beteiligten Invasoren schwanken. Orosius führt Alanen, Sueben, Wandalen und Franken sowie näher nicht benannte „viele andere“ Völker auf.<sup>2</sup> Bei Prosper Tiro findet man nur Wandalen und Alanen.<sup>3</sup> Nach Zosimos verbündeten sich Wandalen, Sueben und Alanen vor dem Rheinübergang.<sup>4</sup> Ein späterer Autor, Prokopios, gibt verkürzt die Ereignisse wider und verbindet den Rheinübergang mit lange zurückliegenden bzw. noch späteren Ereignissen.<sup>5</sup> Gregor von Tours erwähnt nur die Wandalen und als Nachzügler die

<sup>1</sup> Zur Datierung vgl. R. Scharf, *Der Dux Mogontiacensis und die Notitia Dignitatum. Eine Studie zur spätantiken Grenzverteidigung*. Berlin–New York 2005, 121–123.

<sup>2</sup> *Paulus Orosius, Historiae adversum paganos*, ed. K. Zangemeister, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Bd. 5, *Vindobonae* 1882, 7,40,3. Die zeitgenössischen Quellen und ihre deutschen Übersetzungen findet man in *Die Germanen in der Völkerwanderungszeit. Auszüge aus den antiken Quellen über die Germanen von der Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts bis zum Jahre 453 n. Chr.* Hrsg. H.-W. Goetz, St. Patzold und K.-W. Welwei, Darmstadt 2007, Bd. 2, 270–276.

<sup>3</sup> Prosper Tiro, „Epitoma Chronicon,“ in Th. Mommsen, ed. *Chronica Minora*, Bd. 1, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctorum Antiquissimorum*, Bd. 9, Berlin 1892, 1230. Ihn schrieben Cassiodorus *Chronica* 1177 und die „Chronica Gallica,“ in Th. Mommsen, ed. *Chronica Minora*, Bd. 1, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctorum Antiquissimum*, Bd. 9, Berlin 1892, 55, 63 ab.

<sup>4</sup> Zosimos, *Historia nova*, ed. L. Mendelsohn, Leipzig 1887, 6,3,1.

<sup>5</sup> Prokopios, *Bellum Vandalicum* 1,3,1–2: „Als die um das Asowsche Meer siedelnden Vandalen unter Hunger litten, zogen sie gemeinsam mit den Alanen, einem gotischen Stamm, zu den jetzt Franken genannten Germanen und kamen zum Rhein. Und von dort aus siedelten sie unter ihrem Anführer Godigisklos nach Spanien über...“ (*Die Germanen*, 277).

Sueben.<sup>6</sup> Eine spätere fränkische Quelle, der so genannte Fredegar, zählt Vandale, Sueben und Alanen auf.<sup>7</sup>

Von den zeitgenössischen Autoren ist der Kirchenvater Hieronymus am ausführlichsten. Er zählt in einem Brief viel mehr Völker als die anderen Autoren auf: „Was zwischen den Alpen und den Pyrenäen liegt, was vom Ozean und vom Rhein eingeschlossen wird, das verwüsteten der Quade, der Vandale, der Sarmaten, der Alanen, Gepiden, Heruler, Sachsen, Burgunder und Alemannen sowie – was für ein Trauerspiel für den römischen Staat – die pannonischen Feinde. Denn Assur kam mit ihnen.“<sup>8</sup>

Es ist auffällig, dass Hieronymus neben den zeitgenössischen *gentes* anachronistisch auch die Assyrer aufzählt. Es handelt sich zunächst um eine Bibelstelle und zwar um Psalm 83,1-9. Sie lautet wie folgt: „Sieh doch, deine Feinde toben; die dich hassen, erheben sich das Haupt. Gegen dein Volk ersinnen sie listige Pläne und halten Rat gegen die, die sich bei dir bergen. Sie sagen: ‚Wir wollen sie ausrotten als Volk; an den Namen Israel soll niemand mehr denken.‘ Ja, sie hielten einmütig Rat und schließen ein Bündnis gegen dich: Edoms Zelte und die Ismaeliter, Moab und die Hagariter, Gebal, Ammon und Amalek, das Philisterland und die Bewohner von Tyrus. Zu ihnen gesellt sich auch Assur und lehnt seinen Arm den Söhnen Lots.“<sup>9</sup> Die Gleichsetzung Israels mit dem Römischen Reich liegt auf der Hand. Die Feinde Israels sind bei Hieronymus die Barbarenvölker. Selbst ihre Zahl stimmt überein: Quaden, Vandale, Sarmaten, Alanen, Gepiden, Heruler, Sachsen, Burgunder, Alemannen, pannonische Feinde und Assyrer sind zusammen elf Völker; genauso viele sind die Edomiter, Ismaeliter, Moab, Hagariter, Gebal, Ammon, Amalek, Philisterland, die Bewohner von Tyrus und Assur sowie die Söhne Lots. Ist diese zahlenmäßige Übereinstimmung nur ein Zufall?

Vandale und Alanen sind auch in den anderen Quellen belegt; bei Orosius kommen noch die Franken und „viele andere“ dazu. Orosius, Hydatius Zosimos und Sozomenos erwähnen unter den Invasoren noch die Sueben. Bei Hieronymus fehlen die Sueben und das ist deshalb auffällig, weil diese *gens* im Laufe des 5. Jahrhunderts auf der Iberischen Halbinsel noch eine wichtige Rolle spielte und ein eigenes Königreich schuf. Es läge auf der Hand, sie mit den Quaden gleichzusetzen. Querverbindungen, Deckungsgleichheit zwischen Markomannen, Sueben und Quaden wurden aber erst von der historiographischen Forschung ermittelt.<sup>10</sup> Solch tief greifende ethnographische Kenntnisse darf man aber Hieronymus nicht

<sup>6</sup> II, 2.

<sup>7</sup> „Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii libri quattuor,“ in *Quellen zur Geschichte des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts*, Darmstadt 1982, 44–325, II, 60.

<sup>8</sup> Ep. 123,15,2. L. Schade, *Des Heiligen Kirchenvaters Eusebius Hieronymus ausgewählte Briefe*, 2 Bde., München 1936–1937, Bd. 1, 210. *Die Germanen*, Bd. 2, 272: *etenim Assur uenit cum illis.*

<sup>9</sup> *Die Bibel. = Vulgata*, Psalm 82, 3–9: *etenim Assur venit cum illis facti sunt in adiutorium filii Loth.*

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. L. Schmidt, *Die Westgermanen*. München 1938–1940, 159–163.

zutrauen. Eine strikte ethnische Abgrenzung war nicht im Sinne der spätantiken Autoren, und deshalb gehörten die Quaden zu den undifferenzierten „skythischen“ und „keltischen“ Völkern.<sup>11</sup>

Von den Sachsen wissen wir, dass sie 406 Britannien verwüsteten. Die Alemannen als Grenznachbarn waren in dieser chaotischen Zeit ebenfalls nicht untätig geblieben. Es ist bekannt, dass auch die Burgunder an den Ereignissen teilhatten. Sie nahmen zwar nicht unmittelbar am Rheinübergang teil, sondern wurden erst durch diese Invasion in Bewegung gesetzt und nahmen den nah am Rhein gelegenen Teil Galliens ein und plünderten dabei auch linksrheinische Gebiete.<sup>12</sup> Heruler<sup>13</sup> und Sarmaten<sup>14</sup> sind zwar im spätantiken Gallien nachweisbar, man kann aber nicht bestimmen, wann und wie sie dorthin gelangt waren. Es gibt in den schriftlichen Quellen Hinweise auch auf gepidische Spuren in Gallien.<sup>15</sup>

Die pannonischen Feinde werden öfter mit aufständischen römischen Provinzialen aus Pannonien gleichgesetzt.<sup>16</sup> Várady denkt an pannonische Greuthungen,<sup>17</sup> aber auch eine Gleichsetzung mit den pannonischen Hunnen wurde erwogen.<sup>18</sup> Auf jeden Fall wird ein realer historischer Hintergrund vermutet.

Es muss dabei auch beachtet werden, dass im zitierten Psalm die vorletzte Stelle die Bewohner von Tyrus einnehmen. Im Gegensatz zu den anderen Völkern, die barbarische Stämme, nach antiker Auffassung *gentes*, darstellten, waren die Bewohner von Tyrus Stadtbewohner, also *cives*. Die römische Bevölkerung Pannoniens waren Reichsangehörige, also ebenfalls *cives*. Nichtsdestotrotz halte ich es für wahrscheinlicher, dass die pannonischen Feinde, doch Goten waren. Als nämlich Hieronymus seine alttestamentarische Vorlage mit zeitgenössischen Volksnamen füllte, wollte er ein Äquivalent für die Stadtbewohner von Tyrus finden und deshalb wählte er den Ausdruck *hostes Pannonii*, (schließlich zog dieses Volk aus Pannonien zum Rhein) statt den Feind beim Namen zu nennen.

<sup>11</sup> Die Germanen, Bd. 1, X.

<sup>12</sup> E. Stein, *Geschichte des Spätromischen Reiches von 284 bis 476 n. Chr.* Bd. 1. *Vom Römischen zum byzantinischen Staat*, Wien 1928, 381–382; R. C. Blockley, "The dynasty of Theodosius," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. 13. *The Late Empire, A.D. 337–425*, eds. A. Cameron, P. Garnsey, Cambridge 1997, 122.

<sup>13</sup> L. Schmidt, *Die Ostgerman*. München 1933, 558–560.

<sup>14</sup> B. S. Bachrach, *A History of the Alans in the West. From Their First Appearance in the Sources of Classical Antiquity through the Early Middle Ages*. Minneapolis 1973, 59; B. S. Bachrach, "The Alans in Gaul," *Traditio* 23 (1967), 476; O. J. Maenchen-Helfen, *Die Welt der Hunnen. Herkunft, Geschichte, Religion, Gesellschaft, Kriegsführung, Kunst, Sprache*. Wiesbaden 1997, 365, Anm. 288.

<sup>15</sup> Maenchen-Helfen, *Die Welt der Hunnen*, 365, Anm. 288.

<sup>16</sup> *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*. 6 Bde., Stuttgart 1920–1921, Bd. 5, 377; Stein, *Geschichte des Spätromischen Reiches*, 381–382 („pannonische Bauer“); Fr. Lotter, unter Mitarbeit von R. Bratož und H. Castritius, *Völkerverschiebungen im Ostalpen-Mitteldonau-Raum zwischen Antike und Mittelalter (375–600)*. Berlin–New York 2003, 90; A. Demandt, *Die Spätantike. Römische Geschichte von Diocletian bis Justinian 284–565 n. Chr.* München 1989, 143; P. Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire*. London 2005, 195.

<sup>17</sup> L. Várady, *Das letzte Jahrhundert Pannoniens (376–476)*. Amsterdam 1969, 218–223.

<sup>18</sup> Schade, *Des Heiligen Kirchenvaters*, Bd. 1, 210, Anm. 1.

Es bleiben noch die Assyrer. Hieronymus hätte eigentlich seine Auflistung mit den pannonischen Feinden beenden können, dort wo auch im Psalm der Satz zu Ende ist. Stattdessen übernimmt er den Satz wörtlich aus dem Alten Testament. Sollte mit der Bezeichnung Assur ebenfalls ein zeitgenössisches Volk gemeint sein? Wir denken, ja, und erblicken dahinter die Hunnen.

In seinen Briefen kommen die Hunnen namentlich selten vor und er erwähnt sie nur dreimal bei ihrem Namen. Einmal in einer Beschreibung des allgemeinen Zustandes des Römischen Reiches: „Es sind jetzt zwanzig und mehr Jahre, dass zwischen Konstantinopel und den Julischen Alpen täglich Römerblut fließt; Goten und Sarmaten, Quaden und Alanen, Hunnen, Vandale und Markomannen durchziehen Skythien, Thrakien, Makedonien, Thessalien, Dardanien, Dakien, Epirus, Dalmatien und ganz Pannonien und verwüsten und verheeren diese Gebiete.“<sup>19</sup> An einer anderen Stelle preist er, dass unter anderen Völker auch die Hunnen die Psalmen singen,<sup>20</sup> also sich zum Christentum bekehren ließen. In seinem Brief an Oceanus schildert er den Einbruch der Hunnen durch den Kaukasus im Jahr 395. Die Hunnen, die vom Alexander dem Großen eingesperrt worden waren, brechen durch und verheeren ganz Vorderasien.<sup>21</sup> An das gleiche Ereignis spielt der erwähnte 60. Brief des Kirchenvaters an, aber man kann nur aus dem Zusammenhang erkennen, dass Hieronymus mit seiner Andeutung die Hunnen meint: „Da wurden plötzlich im vorigen Jahr aus den entlegenen Felsgrüften des Kaukasus nicht Arabiens, wohl aber des Nordens Wölfe gegen uns losgelassen, die in kurzer Frist gewaltige Gebiete verheerend durchzogen.“<sup>22</sup> Nach Hieronymus bedrohten die „Wölfe des Nordens“ Antiochia, Arabien, Phönizien, Palästina und Ägypten. Der Ausdruck „Wölfe des Nordens“ ist ebenfalls eine Anlehnung an das Alte Testament. Der Prophet Habakuk bzw. an der fraglichen Stelle Gott schildert das Volk der Chaldäer: „Denn seht, ich stachle die Chaldäer auf, das grausame, ungestüme Volk, das die Weiten der Erde durchzieht, um Wohnplätze zu erobern, die ihm nicht gehören, ein furchtbares und schreckliches Volk, das selbst sein Recht und seinen Rang bestimmt. Seine Pferde sind schneller als Panther, wilder als die Wölfe des Westens.“<sup>23</sup> Die Wölfe des Westens sind also die Wölfe des Nordens, also die Hunnen. Hieronymus brauchte also nur die Himmelsrichtung in die richtige Richtung zu „drehen“, um mit seiner symbolischen Beschreibung die Hunnen zu treffen.

<sup>19</sup> Etwas skeptischer ist CASTRITIUS 2007, 49: „Der im fernen Bethlehem sitzende Hieronymus nennt in einem nahezu zeitgenössischen Brief als weitere Teilnehmer der Völkerlawine im Zusammenhang ihres Rheinübergangs noch eine Reihe weitere Verbände, die – soweit es sich nicht vielleicht um Stammessplitter handelte – lediglich der Belesenheit und der Phantasie des Autors verdankt werden.“ *Ep. 60, 16.* Schade, *Des Heiligen Kirchenvaters*, Bd. 2, 52.

<sup>20</sup> *Ep. 107, 2.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ep. 77, 8.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ep. 60, 16.* Schade, *Des Heiligen Kirchenvaters*, Bd. 2, 52.

<sup>23</sup> In der Einheitsübersetzung 1,6-8 wird der letzte Ausdruck als „Wölfe der Steppe“ übersetzt. In der *Vulgata* steht dagegen *lupis vespertinis*.

Um erneut auf die Assyrer zu kommen und die bei Hieronymus in Anspruch genommene Stelle im Alten Testament in Augenschein zu nehmen, kann festgestellt werden, dass außer den Assyrern die erwähnten Völker mittelbare oder unmittelbare Nachbarn der Israeliten waren. Die Assyrer und natürlich auch die Chaldäer – das Neuchaldäische Reich verstand sich als eine Restitution des Assyrischen Reiches – saßen weiter entfernt im Norden und bedrohten von dort Israel, so wie die Hunnen zu Lebzeiten von Hieronymus Palästina. Genauso waren in der Völkerliste, die Hieronymus im Zusammenhang mit den Ereignissen um 406 aufstellte, die aufgezählten *gentes* entweder unmittelbare Nachbarn der Römer oder sie kannten sie seit längerem. Mit ihnen kamen aber noch die „Wölfe des Nordens“, die Hunnen.

Es kann also festgehalten werden, dass die beiden zeitgenössischen Autoren, Orosius und Hieronymus, eine größere Anzahl der *gentes* erwähnen, die an der Invasion teilnahmen. Orosius fasste sie unter der Bezeichnung „viele andere“ zusammen, während Hieronymus sie differenziert auflistet. Dabei erwähnt Hieronymus die Sueben nicht, die später eine wichtige Rolle auf der Iberischen Halbinsel spielten. Dies könnte darauf zurückgeführt werden, dass Hieronymus in seinem 408/9 verfassten Brief<sup>24</sup> die eigenständige Rolle der Sueben noch nicht erkennen konnte, sie gelangte erst später zur Geltung. Die späteren Autoren stellen die Ereignisse geraffter dar und erwähnen dabei nur die Völker, die auch im späteren Verlauf der Geschichte eine tragende Rolle spielten. Den Angaben der zeitgenössischen Autoren muss aber mehr Glaubwürdigkeit zuteil werden.

Es muss noch hinterfragt werden, woher die Hunnen kamen, die an dieser „Völkerlawine“<sup>25</sup> beteiligt waren. Die Ereignisse von 406 wurden aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach durch die Hunnen ausgelöst, die damals bis zur mittleren Donau vorrückten.<sup>26</sup> Bei den Hunnen am Rhein kann es sich also nicht um diese Hunnen handeln, da die Invasoren am Rhein vor dem hunnischen Druck auswichen. Man kennt aber auch andere hunnische Gruppen, die bereits vor dem letzten Viertel des 4. Jahrhunderts in Osteuropa ansässig waren.

Der Volksname der Hunnen taucht im zweiten Drittel des 2. Jahrhunderts nach Christi in Europa auf.<sup>27</sup> Beim Vorstoß der aus dem Osten kommenden „neuen“ Hunnen schlossen sich ein Teil der Ostgoten, der Alanen und die „alten“ Hunnen zusammen und bildeten einen „Dreivölkerband“. Die vor den „neuen“ Hunnen nach Westen flüchtenden Greutungen, Alanen und Hunnen siedelten in Pannonien an und nahmen an den politischen Ereignissen im Römischen Reich teil.<sup>28</sup> Eine ihrer ersten Streifzüge führte sie um 383 bis nach Gallien. Dieser

<sup>24</sup> *Die Germanen*, Bd. 2, 272, Anm. 265.

<sup>25</sup> Lotter, *Völkerverschiebungen im Ostalpen-Mitteldonau-Raum*, 90.

<sup>26</sup> Ebd. 90.

<sup>27</sup> Maenchen-Helfen, *Die Welt der Hunnen*, 308–311; T. Schäfer, „Der Hunnenname als politisches Programm,“ *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 58 (2005), 90–93.

<sup>28</sup> P. Heather, *Goths and Romans* 332–489. Oxford 1991, 334–344 bezweifelt eine dauerhafte Ansiedlung der Hunnen und Alanen in Pannonien. Sein Argument, dass die im Panegyrikus des Pacatus in Pannonien erwähnten Hunnen und Alanen (s. *Die Germanen*,

erste Zug in den Westen erfolgte auf Ersuchen des Kaisers Valentinian, der sie gegen die Juthungen in Rätien zur Hilfe rief.<sup>29</sup> In den folgenden Jahren kämpften sie an der Seite des Kaisers Theodosius.<sup>30</sup> Mit dem Vorstoß der „neuen“ Hunnen nach Westen in den letzten Jahren des 4. Jahrhunderts unter Uldin änderte sich die Lage grundlegend.<sup>31</sup> Um 401 als Alarich Italien bedrohte, „hatten Völker ihre Bündnisverträge gebrochen; und als die Wilden das Unglück Latiums vernommen hatten, nahmen sie die Waldgebirge Vindeliziens und die norischen Länder in Besitz.“<sup>32</sup> An einer späteren Stelle präzisiert die zitierte Quelle, Claudian, wer die Angreifer waren. Er spricht von „neulich vor vandalischer Plünderung verteidigte[n] Rätien“.<sup>33</sup> Obwohl hier nur Wandalen erwähnt werden, wird in der Forschung angenommen, dass zusammen mit ihnen auch Alanen Rätien in Besitz nahmen.<sup>34</sup> Die Ereignisse des Jahres 406 geben Anlass dazu.

Auf jeden Fall brauste sich etwas an der mittleren Donau zusammen. Die *gentes* an diesem Abschnitt an der Grenze des Römischen Reiches gerieten in Bewegung. Zunächst brachen die Greutungen im Jahr 405 unter Führung Radagais nach Italien ein, wo sie eine vernichtende Niederlage erlitten. Nur ein Jahr später, am Silvestertag des Jahres 406, überrollten dann die erwähnten barbarischen Verbände den schwach verteidigten Limes am mittleren Rhein und brachen nach Gallien ein.

Man trifft nach 406 in Gallien sowohl Alanen als auch Hunnen an. Nur von den Ostgoten gibt es keine Spur mehr. Man muss davon ausgehen, dass sich der größte Teil der pannonischen Ostgoten Radagais anschloss und mit ihm den Untergang fand. Der als „pannonische Feinde“ bezeichnete Teil war augenscheinlich unbedeutend und ging in Gallien in den anderen *gentes* auf. Aber auch Alanen und Hunnen agierten in Gallien unabhängig voneinander. Damit zerbrach der „Dreivölkerband“.

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Bd. 2, 175) nur vorübergehend als Besetzungen in den Garnisonen untergebracht wurden, ist nicht überzeugend. Marcellinus Comes Bemerkung zum Jahr 427: *Pannoniae, quae per quinquaginta annos ab Hunnis retinebantur, a Romanis receptae sunt* (Chronicon, ad. a 427), kann dabei nicht übergegangen werden. Vgl. Várady, *Das letzte Jahrhundert Pannoniens*, 167–168, 278–282, H. Wolfram, *Die Goten. Von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts. Entwurf einer historischen Ethnographie*. München 1990, 139, 420; Maenchen-Helfen, *Die Welt der Hunnen*, 59; Lotter, *Völkerverschiebungen im Ostalpen-Mitteldonau-Raum*, 15–16, 81–82.

<sup>29</sup> Várady, *Das letzte Jahrhundert Pannoniens*, 36; Maenchen-Helfen, *Die Welt der Hunnen*, 30–32; Lotter, *Völkerverschiebungen im Ostalpen-Mitteldonau-Raum*, 82–83.

<sup>30</sup> Lotter, *Völkerverschiebungen im Ostalpen-Mitteldonau-Raum*, 83–85, Várady, *Das letzte Jahrhundert Pannoniens*, 56–69.

<sup>31</sup> T. Schäfer, „Hunnen, Alanen und Bretonen. Zur Ethnogenese Westfrankreichs im frühen Mittelalter,“ in *Blicke auf das Mittelalter. Aspekte von Lebenswelt, Herrschaft, Religion und Rezeption*. Festschrift Hanna Vollrath zum 65ten Geburtstag. Hrsg. B. Gundelach und R. Molkenthin, Herne 2004, 63.

<sup>32</sup> Die Germanen, Bd. 2, 249.

<sup>33</sup> Ebd. 251.

<sup>34</sup> Várady, *Das letzte Jahrhundert Pannoniens*, 180–182. Lotter, *Völkerverschiebungen im Ostalpen-Mitteldonau-Raum*, 88.

Die Alanen zogen mit den Wandalen zunächst auf die Iberische Halbinsel und später nach Nordafrika. Ein anderer Teil blieb in Gallien und nahm an der Schlacht auf den Katalaunischen Feldern teil. Nach Bachrach lassen sich ihre Spuren in Gallien bis ins 9. Jahrhundert verfolgen.<sup>35</sup>

Auch die Hunnen nehmen an den Ereignissen in Gallien aktiv teil. In der Forschung wird allgemein vermutet, dass die Hunnen, die bis zum ersten Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts öfter in Gallien erwähnt werden, aus Pannonien kamen und von den Hunnenkönigen geschickt wurden.<sup>36</sup> Eine Analyse der Quellen zeigt aber, dass man hier mit in Gallien ansässigen Verbänden zu tun hat. Um 409 warb der weströmische Kaiser Honorius 10,000 hunnische Söldner an. Eine Analyse der damaligen geopolitischen und militärischen Lage zeigt, dass diese Hunnen nicht aus Pannonien kommen konnten. Der Kirchenhistoriker Sokrates erwähnt in der Zeit vor 431 regelmäßige burgundisch-hunische Zusammenstöße am Rhein bzw. in Gallien. Dass hunnische Verbände regelmäßig von der mittleren Donau zum Rhein zogen, um die Burgunder zu bekämpfen ist nicht sehr wahrscheinlich. Zwischen 435 und 437 führte der römische Feldherr Litorius größere hunnische Verbände gegen die Armorianer und gegen die Westgoten in Gallien. 435 starb der Hunnenkönig Rua und sein Neffe Attila übernahm zusammen mit seinem Bruder Bleda die Macht. In dieser labilen Lage konnten weder Attila noch Bleda auf größere militärische Kräfte verzichten. In einem Panegyrikus des Sidonius Appolinaris erwähnten Hilfsvölker der Römer – unter ihnen Hunnen – können in Belgica lokalisiert werden.<sup>37</sup>

Man muss neben den schriftlichen Quellen auch die neueren Ergebnisse der archäologischen Forschung berücksichtigen. Die moderne archäologische Forschung kann unter Verwendung neuester naturwissenschaftlicher Methoden zu erstaunlichen Ergebnissen kommen. Eine davon ist die Strontiumisotopenanalyse. Strontiumisotopenanalysen liegen von Zähnen und Knochen von sechs Individuen mit künstlich deformiertem Schädel vor, die ins 5. Jh. n. Chr. datiert werden und aus Straubing, Altenerding und Peigen in Bayern stammen. Für ein Individuum ist eine Wanderung zu Lebzeiten wahrscheinlich. Eine genaue Herkunft konnte aber nicht lokalisiert werden, da es an lokalen Referenzdaten für das biologisch verfügbare Strontium in den entsprechenden Gegenden in Osteuropa mangelt. Die deformierten Schädel weisen auf jeden Fall auf Osteuropa hin.<sup>38</sup> Die neueste archäologische Forschung verbindet diese Sitte erneut mit den Hunnen. Nach Tanya Uldin breite sich die künstliche Schädeldeformation seit dem 1. nach-

<sup>35</sup> Bachrach, *A History of the Alans in the West*, 88–89.

<sup>36</sup> Maenchen-Helfen, *Die Welt der Hunnen*, 66; G. Wirth, *Attila. Das Hunnenreich und Europa*. Stuttgart–Berlin–Köln 1999, 46.

<sup>37</sup> Vgl. Schäfer, „Hunnen, Alanen und Bretonen,“ 65–71.

<sup>38</sup> C. Knipper, „Spurenelemente: Knochen und Zähne als Archiv für Migration,“ in *Die Völkerwanderung. Europa zwischen Antike und Mittelalter*, hrsg. M. Knaut und D. Quast, Stuttgart 2005, 12–13.

christlichen Jahrhundert von Kasachstan nach Westen aus.<sup>39</sup> Sie fiel also zeitlich mit dem Vordringen der hunnischen Stämme zusammen.

In diesem Zusammenhang muss noch eine Neubewertung altbekannter Funde aufgeworfen werden. Der einstige Träger des Schwertes im Fund von Altlußheim im Rhein-Neckar-Gebiet wird von den Archäologen verschiedentlich interpretiert. Vergleichbare „Parierstangen“ aus Schmucksteinen sind außerhalb des chinesischen Gebietes nur aus wenigen sarmatischen bzw. alanischen Bestattungen sowie aus einem römerzeitlichen Grab aus Chersones auf der Krim belegt. Einige Archäologen halten deshalb den Toten für ein Mitglied der Führungs- schicht des Hunnenreiches, andere sehen in ihm einen Barbaren im römischen Diensten, wieder andere einen Burgunder. Dabei braucht – wie Dieter Quast bemerkt – eine Möglichkeit keinesfalls die andere auszuschließen.<sup>40</sup> Eine Münze des Perserkönigs Ardaxsir, die ebenfalls im mittleren Rheingebiet in einem Grab mit ostgermanischen Bezügen gefunden wurde,<sup>41</sup> könnte ebenfalls von einem Mitglied von unserem Dreivölkerband stammen. Hierzu kommen noch andere Funde aus dem Rheingebiet, die zwar ostgermanische Trachtbestandteile aufweisen, aber ansonsten reiternomadische Bezüge zu Donauraum haben.<sup>42</sup> Gerade diese kulturelle Assimilation könnte für die drei *gentes* des Dreivölkerbandes bezeichnend sein, da sie etwa dreißig Jahre lang eine politische Gemeinschaft bildeten und in dieser Zeit beschränkte sich der kulturelle Austausch womöglich nicht nur auf die Führungsschicht.

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<sup>39</sup> T. Uldin, „Künstliche Schädeldeformation,“ in *Die Völkerwanderung. Europa zwischen Antike und Mittelalter*, hrsg. M. Knaut und D. Quast, Stuttgart 2005, 33. Vgl. K. Eckerle, „Burgunden und Hunnen,“ in *Das Nibelungenlied und seine Welt*, hrsg. von Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, Wiesbaden 2003, 52.

<sup>40</sup> D. Quast, „Das Kriegergrab aus Altlußheim,“ in *Die Völkerwanderung. Europa zwischen Antike und Mittelalter*, hrsg. M. Knaut und D. Quast, Stuttgart 2005, 93.

<sup>41</sup> Ebd. 92.

<sup>42</sup> D. Quast-M. Knaut, „Archäologie und Migration,“ in *Die Völkerwanderung. Europa zwischen Antike und Mittelalter*, hrsg. M. Knaut und D. Quast, Stuttgart 2005, 15.

# *Priscus als ethnographische Quelle für die Hunnen*

OLIVER SCHMITT



Priscus aus Panion, der als Mitglied römischer Gesandtschaften zweimal den Hof Attilas besuchte, ist ohne jeden Zweifel die wichtigste Quelle für die Geschichte der Hunnen im 5. Jahrhundert.<sup>1</sup> Die Tatsache, dass sein Oeuvre uns nur bruchstückhaft überliefert ist, tut dem keinen Abbruch. In der Forschung sind aus gelegentlich weitreichende Schlüsse nicht nur auf die Struktur des Attila-Reiches, sondern auch auf die Kultur der Hunnen im 5. Jahrhundert schlechthin gezogen worden. So hat man beispielsweise in Abrede gestellt, dass die Hunnen zur fraglichen Zeit noch als Nomaden anzusehen sind. Andere wollten gar die Strukturen eines festgefügten Verwaltungsapparates zu erkennen, durch dessen Etablierung Attila die ursprüngliche tribale Gliederung seiner Untertanenvölker habe überspielen und außer Betrieb setzen können. Dagegen erhoben sich warnende Stimmen, die vor übertriebenen Schlussfolgerungen warnten und in diesem Zusammenhang speziell auf die diffuse Terminologie des Priscus hinwiesen, die exakte Rückschlüsse problematisch mache.<sup>2</sup> Es lohnt sich also, die Aussagen dieses Autors über die Lebensweise und Sozialstruktur, Sitten und Gebräuche des Hunnenvolkes noch einmal unter die Lupe zu nehmen und auf ihren Aussagewert zu überprüfen. Das soll auf den folgenden Seiten geschehen.

Obwohl Attila und die Hunnen ein zentrales Thema seines Geschichtswerkes darstellen, befindet sich unter den enthaltenen Fragmenten kein ethnographischer Exkurs, in dem der Autor seine Leser grundsätzlich über Sitten und Ge-

<sup>1</sup> Zu Priscus s. R. C. Blockley, *The Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, Liverpool 1981, 48–70; H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner. Erster Band: Philosophie–Rhetorik–Epistolographie–Geschichtsschreibung–Geographie*, München 1978, 282–284.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. die Diskussion bei O. Maenchen-Helfen, *Die Welt der Hunnen. Herkunft–Geschichte–Religion–Gesellschaft–Kriegsführung–Kunst–Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1997 (= Wien 1978) 133–136, 145–153.

bräuche des Hunnenvolkes unterrichtete.<sup>3</sup> Dennoch hat es einen solchen Abriss offenkundig gegeben, Spuren davon sind uns freilich nur mehr in einem denkbar knappen Excerpt bei Iordanes greifbar, der Priscus allem Anschein nach ausgeschrieben hat.<sup>4</sup> Das bedeutet, dass Informationen über die hunnische Lebensweise quasi in Parenthese in seine Darstellung eingefügt sind. Seine diesbezüglichen Mitteilungen sind darum ihrer Natur nach notwendig erratisch und ein nach den Maßgaben der antiken Geschichtsschreibung vollständiges Bild über Sitten und Gebräuche der Hunnen ist von vornherein nicht zu erwarten. Diesen Umstand haben wir bei der Beurteilung seiner Aussagen stets zu berücksichtigen.

### *Skythen und Hunnen*

Bevor wir damit beginnen, die ethnographischen Informationen im einzelnen zu untersuchen, bleibt eine grundsätzliche Frage zu klären, nämlich in welchem Sinne Priscus die Begriffe „Hunne“ und „Skythe“ eigentlich verwendet hat. Priscus unterscheidet grundsätzlich zwischen Skythen und Hunnen, wobei der Begriff „Skythe“ wesentlich häufiger verwendet wird, und die meisten ethnographischen Aussagen betreffen expressis verbis die Skythen. Seit Herodot war der Skythenname zu einer Art diffusen Sammelbegriff für alle nördlich der Donau und in den südrussischen Steppen mehr oder weniger nomadisch lebenden Völker geworden<sup>5</sup> und längst nicht alle unsere antiken und späteren byzantinischen Gewährsleute machten sich die Mühe, zwischen den einzelnen, nach Herkunft, Sprache und Kultur oft völlig unterschiedlichen Ethnien säuberlich zu differenzieren. So werden beispielsweise die Goten immer wieder einmal als Skythen tituliert<sup>6</sup> und im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert wird der Name für die Kiewer Rus verwendet.<sup>7</sup> Laut Priscus handelte es sich bei den Skythen um eine sprachlich gemischte Gesellschaft, bei denen das Hunnische – neben dem Gotischen – lediglich die Rolle einer Lingua franca spielt.<sup>8</sup> Die Hunnen waren Priscus zufolge keine Skythen, sondern lebten ursprünglich weltabgeschieden am Maiotissee (d. h. dem Asowschen Meer) und kamen erst zu Beginn ihrer Expansion überhaupt mit den Skythen in Berührung, die ihnen bis dahin völlig unbekannt gewesen seien.<sup>9</sup> Von den Skythen kennt unser Autor eine Reihe von Stammesnamen,<sup>10</sup> von den Hunnen expressis verbis keinen einzigen. Andererseits wird Edeko, der dem Leser ausdrücklich als Hunne vorgestellt wurde,<sup>11</sup> wenig später als skythischer

<sup>3</sup> Derartige Exkurse sind seit Herodot fester Bestandteil der antiken Geschichtsschreibung, s. dazu K. E. Müller, *Geschichte der antiken Ethnologie*. Hamburg 1997, 98–99. Ein ethnographischer Abriss speziell über die Hunnen findet sich bei Ammianus Marcellinus im 31. Buch.

<sup>4</sup> Iord. Get. 123–126 (= Priscus fr. 1,1–21 Blockley).

<sup>5</sup> S. I. v. Bredow, „Skythen II: Geschichte,“ in *Der Neue Pauly*, 2001, 654.

<sup>6</sup> So z. B. von Eunapios (vgl. fr. 37,1–29 Blockley und Zosimos (vgl. 4,20,3–5).

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. z. B. Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, 430,38–433,37 Thurn.

<sup>8</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,410–412 Blockley.

<sup>9</sup> Priscus fr. 1,8–18 Blockley (= Iord. Get. 123–125).

<sup>10</sup> Priscus fr. 2,19–20 Blockley (= Iord. Get. 126); 11,2,242 Blockley.

<sup>11</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,45–46 Blockley.

Logas bezeichnet.<sup>12</sup> Hier wird deutlich, dass Priscus keineswegs deutlich zwischen Hunnen und Skythen unterschied, sondern die Hunnen als Teil der Skythen ansah und folglich die hunnischen Sitten mit den skythischen gleichsetzte. Er gebrauchte den Skythennamen wohl deshalb vorzugsweise, weil er seinem griechischen Lesepublikum vertraut war und es darf bezweifelt werden, ob seine Vertrautheit mit Hunnen und „Skythen“ derart groß war, dass er spezifisch hunnische Gebräuche von skythischen zu unterscheiden gewusst hätte.

Der Gebrauch des Skythenamens selbst muss als Archaismus gewertet werden, denn hinter dem was Priscus als „Skythen“ von den Hunnen gelegentlich ausdrücklich differenziert, verbargen sich in einigen Fällen alanische Stämme und Gruppen, wie wir aus anderen Quellen wissen.<sup>13</sup> Ob auch andere namentlich genannte Stämme wie die Rubi und Akatziri<sup>14</sup> zu den Alanen gerechnet werden müssen, ist dagegen eine offene Frage und ähnlich verhält es sich mit den bereits aus Herodot bekannten Königsskythen.<sup>15</sup> Laut Zosimos handelte es sich bei ihnen um Hunnen.<sup>16</sup>

Wie dem auch sei, für unsere Untersuchung ist jedenfalls wichtig, dass unser Autor nicht zwischen skythischer und hunnischer Lebensweise unterschied<sup>17</sup> und wir deshalb guten Gewissens die von Priscus als „skythisch“ bezeichneten Sitten und Gebräuche auf die Hunnen beziehen können, sofern nicht schwerwiegende Gründe dagegen sprechen.

### Volks- und Sozialstruktur

Priscus entwirft von Attilas hunnisch-skythischem Anhang das Bild eines Konglomerats von Völkern und Stämmen, die jeweils unter eigenen Oberhäuptern, das heißt Stammesfürsten, Clanchefs und Gefolgschaftsführern standen.<sup>18</sup> An der Spitze konnte eine Einzelpersönlichkeit stehen, wie Kouridachos im Falle der Akatziri, aber auch die Möglichkeit einer Doppelherrschaft ist bezeugt, wie im Falle Attilas und seines Bruders Bleda,<sup>19</sup> den er bekanntlich später beseitigte.<sup>20</sup> Die Position des jeweiligen Oberhauptes war normalerweise eine schwache, er

<sup>12</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,92–93 Blockley.

<sup>13</sup> S. die Priscus fr. 1, 19–21 Blockley genannten Stämme, die als erste Opfer der hunnischen Expansion bezeichnet werden. Dass es sich nur um Alanen gehandelt haben kann, bezeugt Ammianus Marcellinus 31,2,12. Zu den Alanen als „Skythen“ s. B. S. Bachrach, *A History of the Alans in the West. From their First Appearance in the Sources of Classical Antiquity through the Early Middle Ages*, Minneapolis 1973, 5–7.

<sup>14</sup> Rubi: Priscus fr. 5,1 Blockley; Akatziri: Priscus fr. 11,2,241–242 Blockley.

<sup>15</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,602–3.

<sup>16</sup> Zos. 4,20,3.

<sup>17</sup> Schon Ammianus Marcellinus (31,2,21) hob hervor, dass die Alanen hinsichtlich Lebensweise und Kultur den Hunnen sehr ähnlich seien, wenn auch weniger wild.

<sup>18</sup> S. bes. Priscus, fr. 11,2,241–243.

<sup>19</sup> Priscus fr. 2,15–16 Blockley.

<sup>20</sup> Und zwar im Jahre 445 s. G. Wirth, *Attila. Das Hunnereich und Europa*, Stuttgart 1999, 65–66; J. R. Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*. II. A.D. 395–527, Cambridge 1980, 230, s. v. Bleda mit Quellen.

fungierte mehr als *primus inter pares* denn als eigentlicher Herrscher; ihm wurde gleichwohl ein gewisser Ehrenvorrang zugestanden, dessen Beachtung auch von auswärtigen Mächten gefordert wurde.<sup>21</sup> Versuchte allerdings ein Fürst oder Häuptling seine Stellung in eine unverhohlene Herrschaft umzuwandeln, so lief er sehr schnell Gefahr, dass sein Anhang ganz oder teilweise revoltierte oder aber sich dem Zugriff der allzu aufdringlich gewordenen Zentralgewalt durch Flucht zu entziehen suchte, selbst wenn diese nach außen erfolgreich agierte. Diese Erfahrung musste Attila selbst immer wieder machen, der das Problem der Überläufer zu den Römern offenbar während seiner gesamten Herrschaft nie wirklich in den Griff bekam, wie seine ständigen Forderungen an den Kaiser in Konstantinopel beweisen, ihm solche Flüchtlinge auszuliefern.<sup>22</sup> Unter denjenigen, die die Seiten wechselten, befanden sich gerade auch hochrangige Stammeshäupter mit ihrem gesamten Anhang, wie die „Königsskythen“ Basich und Kursich.<sup>23</sup> Ebenso gefährlich war es für ein Oberhaupt jedoch auch, als schwach und verächtlich zu erscheinen, wie der Fall des Fürsten der Akatziri, Kouridachos beweist. Als er von einer römischen Gesandtschaft in seinem Führungsanspruch übergangen wurde, nahmen dies große Teile seines Volkes zum Anlass, von ihm abzufallen, sodass er sich genötigt sah, Attila gegen seine eigenen Leute zur Hilfe zu rufen. Dieser nutzte die Gelegenheit, um sich große Teile der Akatziri zu unterwerfen, die er der Herrschaft seines ältesten Sohne unterstellte. Angesichts einer derartigen Alternative zogen es wiederum etliche Akatziri vor, sich mit Kouridachos zu vergleichen und seine Oberherrschaft wieder anzuerkennen. Das Verhalten des Kouridachos in der Folgezeit gegenüber seinem übermächtigen Bundesgenossen an den Tag legte, darf als durchaus charakteristisch angesehen werden: er ging ihm tunlichst aus dem Weg und widerstand auch allen Versuchen Attilas, ihn an den dessen Königshof zu ziehen, nur darauf bedacht, dass zu erhalten, was von seiner Herrschaft noch übrig war.<sup>24</sup> Das einzig dauerhaft wirksame Mittel sich gegen separatistischen Tendenzen zu schützen bestand für ein Oberhaupt darin, die materiellen Ansprüche seiner Gefolgschaft zu befriedigen.<sup>25</sup> Dies konnte über Beute und vor allem über Tributleistungen erfolgen, die Attila den Römern abforderte.<sup>26</sup> Der Hunnenkönig fand aber auch noch einen anderen Weg, über den sich Priscus bitter beklagt. Unter dem Vorwand von Gesandtschaften habe Attila immer wieder Leute zum Kaiser geschickt, die er habe bereichern wollen, weil er

<sup>21</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,244–250 Blockley; vgl. Ammianus Marcellinus 31,2,7.

<sup>22</sup> Priscus fr. 2,1–7; 9,1,1–3; 9,3,2–3; 35–38; 10,1–2; 11,2,180–204 Blockley.

<sup>23</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,601–604 Blockley; s. auch fr. 2,40–43 Blockley.

<sup>24</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,241–258 Blockley.

<sup>25</sup> Zu diesem Problem s. O. Schmitt, „Kriegsführung und tribale Gesellschaft,“ in B. Meißner–O. Schmitt–M. Sommer, *Krieg–Gesellschaft–Institutionen*. Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Kriegsgeschichte, Berlin 2005, 434–436.

<sup>26</sup> Priscus fr. 2,35–37; 9,3,3–6 Blockley. Zu den langfristig negativen Folgen dieser Politik s. V. P. Nikonorov–J. Žudjakov, „Svistjašcie strely“. Maodunja i „Marsov Meč“ Attily, Moskau 2004, 152–192.

wusste, dass die Römer solche Gesandten nicht bloß freizuhalten, sondern darüber hinaus auch mit reichen Geschenken zu ehren pflegten.<sup>27</sup>

Das alles entsprach den Gepflogenheiten einer segmentären, reiternomadischen nomadischen Stammesgesellschaft, deren einzelne Segmente – Clans, Sippen, Gefolgschaftsverbände – sich als einander grundsätzlich gleichrangig betrachteten und eine übergeordnete Autorität bestenfalls in einer lockeren Form zu akzeptieren bereit waren,<sup>28</sup> solange diese ihr Ansehen wahren und zumindest Sicherheit garantieren konnte. Erfüllte ein Oberhaupt die in ihm gesetzten Erwartungen nicht, so pflegten die einzelnen Segmente entweder zu revoltieren, wie man es treffend formuliert hat, „mit den Füßen abzustimmen“ indem man sich entweder um neue Anführer scharte oder sich den Ansprüchen der Zentralgewalt durch Migration entzog.<sup>29</sup> Der in Viehherden bestehende bewegliche Besitz, der die wirtschaftliche Existenzgrundlage bildete, machte eine solche Handlungsweise möglich.<sup>30</sup>

Was die hunnischen bzw. alanischen Stammesnamen angeht, die uns Priscus mitteilt, angeht, so brauchen wir uns nicht darüber zu wundern, wenn sie für uns bloße Namen bleiben und wir weder über die Vorgeschichte noch über das ferne Schicksal dieser Stämme etwas wissen.<sup>31</sup> Hier schlägt schlicht und einfach die nomadische Gewohnheit zu Buche, sich immer wieder aufs neue um erfolgreiche Anführer zu scharen und auf diese Weise neue Stämme zu bilden.<sup>32</sup> Wie wir eben am Beispiel der Akatziri gesehen haben, waren diese Stämme vielfach instabile Phänomene, die den Tod ihres charismatischen bzw. erfolgreichen Anführers oft nicht lange überdauerten; wie wir wissen bildete das Attila-Reich in dieser Beziehung keine Ausnahme.

In diesem Zusammenhang ist auf den von Priscus benutzten Terminus „*logádes*“ (sing. *lógas*) einzugehen, den er für bestimmte hunnische Führungspersönlichkeiten aus der engeren Umgebung Attilas gebraucht. Man hat in der Forschung die Ansicht vertreten, dass es sich bei den *logádes* um die Angehörigen einer neuen, von Attila geschaffenen Verwaltungselite gehandelt habe, mit deren Hilfe der Hunnenkönig die überkommenen Stammesstrukturen überspielt und

<sup>27</sup> Priscus fr. 10,2–10 Blockley.

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. die diesbezüglichen Bemerkungen bei Maurikios, *Strategikon* 11,2,74–78 Dennis über die gleichfalls reiternomadischen Awaren; vgl. Schmitt, „Kriegsführung und tribale Gesellschaft, 434.

<sup>29</sup> S. R. P. Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*, Bloomington 1983, 23: „The Tribesmen vote in the most basic manner, with their feet.“

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. Maurikios, *Strategikon* 11,2,15–16.31–32 Dennis.

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. dazu Wirth, *Attila*, 138, der aus der Fortexistenz der Stammesnamen mit Recht auf eine „gewisse Selbständigkeit“ der Stämme schließt.

<sup>32</sup> Zu diesem Phänomen vgl. O. Schmitt, „Die Petschenegen auf dem Balkan von 1046–1072,“ in S. Conrad et al., *Pontos Euxinos, Beiträge zur Archäologie und Geschichte des antiken Schwarzen- und Balkanraumes*, Manfred Oppermann zum 65. Geburtstag, Langenweißbach 2006, 476–477, 487–488.

ausgeschaltet habe.<sup>33</sup> Das ist auf Widerspruch gestoßen, mit dem Argument das der Begriff *logas* bei Priscus nichts anderes als das griechische Äquivalent zum lateinischen Terminus *optimatus* darstelle.<sup>34</sup> Ein Vergleich mit anderen Quellen, mit Ammianus Marcellinus, Olympiodor und dem Strategikon des Maurikios macht deutlich, dass der Begriff *optimatus* lediglich den gehobenen Krieger und kleinen Gefolgsherrn bezeichnet, der von einigen wenigen Mitkämpfern begleitet in die Schlacht zog.<sup>35</sup> Dazu passt schlecht, was wir über die uns namentlich bekannten hunnischen *logádes* wissen. Vier von ihnen waren militärische Anführer in gehobenem Rang, das gilt besonders für Onegesios, den laut Priscus nach Attila mächtigsten unter den Skythen,<sup>36</sup> und dessen Bruder Skottas,<sup>37</sup> aber auch für Edekon und Berichos. Bei ersterem handelte es sich um einen herausragenden Krieger, der unter andrem in der Leibwache Attilas diente,<sup>38</sup> von letzterem weiß Priscus zu berichten, dass er Herr über zahlreiche Dörfer gewesen sei.<sup>39</sup> Dagegen fällt der fünfte im Bunde auf den ersten Blick aus der Reihe, nämlich Orestes, der Römer aus Pannonien, der Attila als persönlicher Sekretär diente und offenbar keinerlei kriegerische Aufgaben wahrzunehmen hatte.<sup>40</sup> Der springende Punkt, auf den es Priscus bei den *logádes* ankam, scheint in der Tat die besondere Königsnähe gewesen zu sein, die für vier von ihnen, nämlich für Onegesios, Skottas, Edekon und Orestes ausdrücklich bezeugt ist. Laut Priscus brüstete sich Skottas sogar, dass er und sein Bruder Onegesios mit Attila von gleich zu gleich verkehrten.<sup>41</sup> Daher können wir für den fünften *lógas*, Berichos, eine solche Herrschernähe ohne weiteres vermuten. Die Aufgaben und Funktionen der *logádes* waren zum Teil unterschiedlicher Art und wurden ihnen wohl je nach Eignung und Loyalität von Attila persönlich zugewiesen, sie umfassten militärische und administrative Aufgaben ebenso wie solche beratender, diplomatischer und protokollarischer Natur. So begleitete Onegesios den ältesten Attilason, als dieser als Fürst über den Attila botmäßigen Teil der Akatziri eingesetzt wurde;<sup>42</sup> man kann annehmen, dass

<sup>33</sup> S. etwa J. Harmatta, „The Golden Bow of the Huns,” *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 1 (1951), 107–151; J. Harmatta, „The Dissolution of the Hun Empire 1,” *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 2 (1952), 277–304; F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Huns*. 4, Berlin 1962, 281–286. Zu den *logádes* s. jetzt K. Tausend, „Die logades der Hunnen,” in H. Heftner-K. Thomaschik, Hgg., *Ad fontes! Festschrift für Gerhard Dobesch zum 65. Geburtstag am 15. September 2004*, dargebracht von Kollegen, Schülern und Freunden unter der Ägide der Wiener Humanistischen Gesellschaft, Wien 2004, 819–827.

<sup>34</sup> Maenchen-Helfen, *Die Welt der Hunnen* 148–149.

<sup>35</sup> S. Ammianus Marcellinus 16,12,26; Olympiodor fr. 9,1–2 Blockley; Maurikios, *Strategikon*, 1,3,24–25.

<sup>36</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,364–365 Blockley.

<sup>37</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,148–160 Blockley.

<sup>38</sup> Priscus fr. 11,1,1–2, 32–35 Blockley.

<sup>39</sup> Priscus fr. 14,54–56 Blockley.

<sup>40</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,43–45, 93 Blockley.

<sup>41</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,159–160 Blockley.

<sup>42</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,241–243 Blockley.

seine Aufgabe ebenso sehr in dessen Anleitung wie Überwachung bestand. Während seiner Abwesenheit nahmen Edekon, Orestes, Skottas und andere, namentlich nicht genannte *logádes* die oströmische Gesandtschaft, der auch Priscus angehörte in Empfang und geleiteten sie zum Hofe Attilas.<sup>43</sup> Edekon und Orestes wurden von Attila auch als Gesandte zum Kaiserhof nach Konstantinopel geschickt.<sup>44</sup> Unter den *logádes* selbst scheint es eine Rangordnung gegeben zu haben: So standen militärische Anführer und hervorragende Krieger per se in einem höheren Ansehen als Orestes, der lediglich Attilas Sekretär war, obwohl er jenen an Herrschnähe vermutlich kaum nachstand.<sup>45</sup> Onegesios stand im Range am höchsten und wurde während seiner Abwesenheit von seinem Bruder Skottas vertreten.<sup>46</sup>

Priscus deutet an, dass *logádes* besondere Vorrechte besaßen; so pflegten sie sich unter der menschlichen Beute die wohlhabensten und prominentesten Gefangenen auszuwählen.<sup>47</sup> Ob es sich hier um ein besonderes, von Attila für seine persönliche Umgebung bestimmtes Privileg handelte, wird nicht überliefert; eine solche Vermutung ist nach der Darstellung des Priscus auch keineswegs zwingend. Vielmehr dürfte es sich von jeher um ein althergebrachtes Vorrecht militärischer Anführer gehandelt haben.<sup>48</sup>

Damit ist allerdings die Frage noch nicht beantwortet, ob die *logádes* den etablierten tribalen Eliten entstammten oder eine soziale Novität darstellten, die eine Eigenschöpfung Attilas aus von ihm abhängigen sozialen Aufsteigern gewesen sind. Das Beispiel des Orestes etwa lässt letzteres vermuten: bei ihm handelte es sich nicht einmal um einen Hunnen, sondern um einen gebürtigen Römer aus Pannonien.<sup>49</sup> Andererseits scheinen Leute wie Onegesios und Skottas, Berichos und womöglich auch Edekon aus der hunnischen Führungsschicht gekommen zu sein,<sup>50</sup> und wir haben am Beispiel des Akatzirenfürsten Kouridachos gesehen, dass Attila herausragende Führungspersönlichkeiten an seinen Hof zu ziehen versuchte. Es ist durchaus wahrscheinlich, dass der Hunnenherrscher sich mit den *logádes* eine neue, auf ihn eingeschworene und von ihm abhängige Elite heranzuziehen versuchte mit der er die traditionellen Stammesführer zu übersteuern versuchte, entscheidend ist jedoch der Umstand, dass ihm dies zeit seines Lebens nicht gelang. Die althergebrachten Strukturen blieben lebendig und Attila war nie imstande, auf sie zu verzichten.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,92–94 Blockley.

<sup>44</sup> Priscus fr. 11,1,1–2 Blockley.

<sup>45</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,42–47 Blockley.

<sup>46</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,148–149 Blockley.

<sup>47</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,428–430 Blockley.

<sup>48</sup> Zumindestens *de facto*, vgl. Gregor von Tours, *Historiarum libri decem* 2,27.

<sup>49</sup> Priscus fr. 11,1,2–3 Blockley.

<sup>50</sup> Vgl. Priscus fr. 11,2,364–365, 378–387 Blockley zu Onegesios und Skottas, zu Berichos s. fr. 13,1,35–36 Blockley.

<sup>51</sup> Vgl. Iord. Get. 199, 266. Dass Attila diese Strukturen auf längere Sicht zugunsten einer strafferen Zentralisierung zu überwinden trachtete, lässt sich nicht schwerlich bestreit-

Logádes wie tribale Anführer verfügten nach Maßgabe ihres Ansehens, ihrer Erfolge und ihres Reichtums über eine mehr oder weniger große Gefolgschaft, die sich aus Verwandten, Anhängern und auch Unfreien zusammensetzte. Für die letztere Kategorie überliefert Priscus ein interessantes Beispiel. Am Hofe Attilas machte er die Bekanntschaft eines Gefolgsmannes des Onegesios, der sich als gebürtiger Römer aus dem griechischsprachigen Teil Thrakiens entpuppte und in hunnische Kriegsgefangenschaft geraten war. Da er ein Mann von einigem Vermögen war, fiel er bei der Aufteilung der Beute dem Onegesios zu und wurde gezwungen, mit dessen Gefolge in den Krieg zu ziehen. Weil er sich dabei als tüchtiger Kämpfer erwies, konnte er sich vermittels seiner Beute freikaufen und sogar zum Tischgenossen seines früheren Eigentümers aufsteigen.<sup>52</sup> Solche „Karrieren“ waren freilich nicht die Regel, wie Priscus selbst unumwunden einräumt,<sup>53</sup> noch war die Verwendung von Kriegsgefangenen als Mitkämpfer für den Gefolgsherrn ohne Risiko. Priscus selbst wurde Augenzeuge der Hinrichtung zweier zwangsverpflichteter Gefolgsleute, die eine günstige Gelegenheit benutzt hatten, ihren Herrn zu erschlagen.<sup>54</sup> Aber nicht nur kriegerische Tüchtigkeit, sondern auch bestimmte, den Hunnen wertvolle Fähigkeiten konnten einem Gefangenen eine gehobene Position innerhalb eines Gefolges sichern. Attila selbst besaß einen Sekretär namens Rusticius, einen Kriegsgefangenen aus der Provinz *Moesia superior*, der sich laut Priscus durch ein besonderes literarisches Talent auszeichnete und deshalb für die Abfassung offizieller Schreiben verwendet wurde.<sup>55</sup> Onegesios wiederum hielt sich einen Baumeister, der ihm ein prächtiges Bad nach römischem Vorbild errichten musste und dann – freilich zu seinem Schrecken – als Bademeister Verwendung fand.<sup>56</sup> Solche Beispiele belegen, dass es sich bei der hunnischen Stammesgesellschaft prinzipiell eine offene handelte, bei der sozialer Aufstieg nicht an die ethnische Zugehörigkeit gebunden war.

### Wirtschafts- und Lebensweise

Wenden wir uns nun den hunnischen Lebensgewohnheiten zu, wie sie uns Priscus schildert. Bei oberflächlicher Betrachtung könnte man zu der Ansicht gelangen, dass Attilas Hunnen ihre nomadischen Angewohnheiten bereits weitgehend abgelegt hatten und zu einer sesshaften Lebensweise übergegangen waren. Immer wieder erfahren wir davon, dass die Hunnen in Dörfern siedelten.<sup>57</sup> Der

ten, s. Wirth, *Attila*, 137–140, in der Praxis stieß eine solche Politik auf unüberwindliche Hindernisse.

<sup>52</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,407–435 Blockley. Unser Autor benutzt die Person dieses Mannes, der mit seiner neuen Position offensichtlich sehr zufrieden war (fr. 11,2,434–435 Blockley) zu einer umfangreichen Diskussion und Kritik dessen, was er als Misstände im römischen Reich ansieht, s. fr. 11,2,436–510 Blockley.

<sup>53</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,415–417, wo er schreibt, dass man die Lage vieler römischer Kriegsgefangener schon an ihrem schmutzigen und armseligen Äußeren erkennen könne.

<sup>54</sup> Priscus fr. 14,62–65 Blockley.

<sup>55</sup> Priscus fr. 14,6–8 Blockley.

<sup>56</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,364–372 Blockley.

<sup>57</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,268–269, 282–283 Blockley.

*lógas Berichos* wird von Priscus als „Herr über viele Dörfer in Skythien“ bezeichnet,<sup>58</sup> eine von Bledas Witwen besaß ebenfalls ein Dorf,<sup>59</sup> Onegesios besaß nicht nur wie Attila selbst einen prunkvollen Holzpalast, sondern auch ein steinernes Bad<sup>60</sup> und auch Attilas Lieblingsfrau Hereka wohnte in einem prächtigen Gebäude, dessen Einrichtung Priscus näher beschreibt.<sup>61</sup> Bei näherem Hinsehen allerdings kommen am Bild der „sesshaften Hunnen“ sehr rasch wohl begründete Zweifel auf. Bei den „Dörfern“ in denen die Hunnen lebten, handelte es sich offensichtlich vielfach um improvisierte Hüttenlager.<sup>62</sup> Attila selbst – wie auch seine *logádes* – residierte keineswegs ständig in seinem Palast, sondern verbrachte auch in Friedenszeiten einen Teil des Jahres mobil im Zeltlager.<sup>63</sup> Wir haben bei all dem zu berücksichtigen, dass Nomadismus durchaus mit gewissen Formen der Sesshaftigkeit einhergehen konnte und in den allermeisten Fällen auch ging, wie die ethnographische Forschung längst herausgearbeitet hat. Auch in antiken Quellen lassen sich genug Belege für dieses Phänomen finden. Aus den Hinweise, die sich bei Priscus auf eine dörfliche Lebensweise der Hunnen finden, dürfen folglich keine übertriebenen Schlüsse auf eine Abkehr der Hunnen vom Nomadismus gezogen werden. An versteckter Stelle liefert uns der Autor ein Indiz dafür, dass zumindest Teile der Hunnen nach wie vor in Wohnwagen lebten, da nämlich wo er schreibt, dass die Hunnen auf ihren Wagen primitive Einbäume mitführten, um Flüsse überqueren und sich in sumpfigen Gelände besser bewegen zu können.<sup>64</sup>

Als Charakteristika der nomadischen Wirtschaftsweise galten den antiken Autoren die Viehzucht und die Ernährung von Milch und Fleisch bei gleichzeitiger Unkenntnis oder gar bewusster Ablehnung des Acker- Frucht- und Weinbaus.<sup>65</sup> Bei Priscus finden sich eigenartigerweise keine direkten Hinweise auf die hunnische Viehhaltung. Namentlich die Zucht von Pferden wird mit keinem Wort erwähnt, während sich bei Ammianus Marcellinus noch genügend Hinweise darauf finden.<sup>66</sup> Statt dessen überliefert Priscus den Anbau von Hirse und das Brauen von Bier.<sup>67</sup> Die römische Gesandtschaft erhielt auf ihrem Weg zu Attilas

<sup>58</sup> Priscus fr. 14,55–56 Blockley.

<sup>59</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,297–298 Blockley.

<sup>60</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,356–368 Blockley.

<sup>61</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,547–559 Blockley.

<sup>62</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,289–296 Blockley.

<sup>63</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,87–91 Blockley.

<sup>64</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,273–276 Blockley.

<sup>65</sup> S. etwa Ammianus Marcellinus 31,2,3,10, 18. Vgl. dazu grundsätzlich B. D. Shaw, „Eaters of Flesh, Drinkers of Milk: The Ancient Mediterranean Ideology of the Pastoral Nomad,“ *Ancient Society* 13–14 (1982/83), 5–31; s. auch Müller, *Geschichte der antiken Ethnologie*, 58–59, der darauf hinweist, dass derartige Stereotypen Parallelen speziell in babylonischen Vorstellungen vom unzivilisierten Wilden haben; ferner P. Briant, *Etat et pasteurs au Moyen-Orient ancien*. Paris 1982, 17–19.

<sup>66</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus 31,2,6, 18.

<sup>67</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,277–280 Blockley.

Palast als Verpflegung einen Ochsen zugewiesen, aber auch Fische.<sup>68</sup> In Attilas Hofburg kamen Priscus und die anderen Gesandten in den Genuss einer verfeinerten Kochkunst, die sich offensichtlich am römischen Vorbild orientierte, Brot wurde mit größter Selbstverständlichkeit angeboten und der Wein freigiebig ausgeschenkt. Nur Attila hielt sich eigenartigerweise hier zurück. Nach dem Zeugnis des Priscus bestand seine Mahlzeit einzig aus Fleisch, welches ihm nicht auf silbernem Geschirr sondern auf einem hölzernen Brett serviert wurde.<sup>69</sup>

Wenn wir aus all dem Rückschlüsse auf die hunnische Nahrungsmittelproduktion ziehen wollen, so müssen wir zunächst beachten, dass sich die Notizen des Priscus zum Teil auf das Hoflager Attilas beziehen und deshalb für den gewöhnlichen hunnischen Lebensstil nicht repräsentativ sind. In diesem Zusammenhang ist beachtenswert, dass Attila hier – zumindest in der Gegenwart der römischen Gesandten – demonstrativ an der traditionellen hunnischen Ernährung festhielt, bei der Fleisch eine wichtige Rolle spielte.<sup>70</sup> Allerdings schloss eine reiternomadische Lebensweise den Anbau von Getreide nicht grundsätzlich aus. Bereits für die Skythen ist im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. der Ackerbau bezeugt<sup>71</sup> und das Gleiche gilt im 11. Jahrhundert für die Petschenegen, für die bezeichnenderweise ebenfalls der Anbau von Hirse überliefert wird.<sup>72</sup> Wir brauchen uns also nicht zu wundern, wenn Teile der in derselben geographischen Region lebenden Hunnen gleichfalls Ackerbau betrieben (und in Gewässernähe auch den Fischfang nicht verschmähten), zumal durch archäologische Quellen zweifelsfrei nachgewiesen werden konnte, dass die Hunnen über primitives Ackerbaugerät verfügten.<sup>73</sup> Abgesehen davon müssen wir mit der Möglichkeit rechnen, dass die Feldbestellung hauptsächlich von der im Karpatenbecken verbliebenen sesshaften Bevölkerung geleistet wurde, doch sind hier mangels Quellen keine detaillierten Aussagen möglich.

Priscus erwähnt die hunnischen Leinengewänder und teilt uns darüber hin-aus mit, dass die hunnischen Frauen prächtig verzierte Leinenborten herzustellen verstanden, die als Gewand-schmuck verwendet wurden.<sup>74</sup> Damit bestätigt unser Autor grundsätzlich die Angabe des Ammianus Marcellinus, dass die Hunnen Leinenweberei ausübten und korrigiert zugleich dessen Behauptung, dass die hunnischen Gewänder ausnahmslos schmutzfarben und minderwertig gewesen

<sup>68</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,136–137 Blockley.

<sup>69</sup> Priscus fr. 13,1,41–73 Blockley.

<sup>70</sup> S. Ammianus Marcellinus 31,2,3; vgl. Maurikios, *Strategikon*, 11,2,31–32 Dennis.

<sup>71</sup> S. Hdt. 4,18–19; Strabo 11,2,1.

<sup>72</sup> Anna Komnena 6,14,1 (*Anna Komnene: Alexias*. Übersetzt, eingeleitet und mit Anmerkungen versehen von D. R. Reinsch, Köln 1996, 229–230,21–31); s. grundsätzlich Schmitt, Petschenegen 474.

<sup>73</sup> S. Maenchen-Helfen, *Die Welt der Hunnen*, 133–136. Vgl. R. P. Lindner, Nomadism, Horses and Huns, Past and Present 92, 1981, dessen Schlussfolgerung hinsichtlich einer weitgehenden Aufgabe des Reiternomadismus im Karpatenbecken jedoch zu weit gehen, s. Nikonorov-Žudjakov, „*Svistjašcie strely*,“ 312.

<sup>74</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,560–562 Blockley.

seien.<sup>75</sup> Das bedeutet, dass der zur Leinenherstellung nötige Flachs selbst angebaut wurde, ein weiterer unübersehbarer Hinweis darauf, dass die Hunnen auch bei nomadischer Lebensweise der Bodenbestellung nicht vollkommen unkundig waren.

Über die hunnische Bekleidung und Bewaffnung lässt sich Priscus noch an anderer Stelle aus, wo er sich über die Gewandung Attilas auslässt. Dort heißt es:

“Schlicht war seine Kleidung und in nichts von der der anderen unterschieden als durch ihre Sauberkeit. Weder sein Schwert, das er an der Seite trug noch die Schnüren seiner nach Barbarenart verfertigten Stiefel noch das Zaumzeug seines Pferdes war mit Gold, Edelsteinen oder etwas anderem verziert, wie es bei den übrigen Barbaren der Fall war.”<sup>76</sup>

Es sei hier in Parenthese angemerkt, dass Attila im Gegensatz zu den Männern seiner Umgebung offensichtlich bewusst darauf verzichtete, seine Stellung durch eine prunkvolle Kleidung zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Das wirkt nur auf den ersten Blick befremdlich. Worauf es ihm damit einzig ankam, war den Unterschied und den Abstand zwischen ihm und seiner Gefolgschaft herauszustellen.<sup>77</sup> Den Wettstreit um die prunkvollste Gewandung konnte Attila getrost seinen Untergebenen überlassen und es blieb ihm auch erspart, mit Kleidervorschriften einzutreten, damit niemand ihn an Pracht übertraf.

Auch über das hunnisch Ehe- und Familienleben finden sich bei Priscus gelegentlich Bemerkungen eingestreut. So kannten die Hunnen die Polygamie und charakteristische Hochzeitsbräuche,<sup>78</sup> über deren Einzelheiten der Autor allerdings kein Wort verliert. Attila selbst hatte nach hunnischer Sitte eine Reihe von Frauen genommen, unter denen allerdings eine gewisse Rangfolge bestanden zu haben scheint. So nahm Hereka (Kreka), mit der Attila drei Söhne hatte, eine bevorzugte Stellung ein, ihr wurde auch von der römischen Gesandtschaft in Privataudienz gehuldigt.<sup>79</sup> Den Frauen scheinen bestimmte häusliche Tätigkeiten vorbehalten gewesen zu sein, namentlich die Textilverarbeitung,<sup>80</sup> was wiederum eine entsprechende Bemerkung des Ammianus Marcellinus bestätigt.<sup>81</sup>

Bei Priscus werden noch weitere Sitten der Hunnen erwähnt, und zwar solche, die den Römern als befremdlich erschienen. Dies gilt namentlich für den

<sup>75</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus 31,5,10.

<sup>76</sup> Priscus fr. 13,1,61–65 Blockley. Zum Gebrauch prächtig verzieter Waffen wie beispielsweise goldblechbeschlagener Reflexbögen und perlenverzierten Schwertern s. ausführlich B. Anke, *Studien zur reiternomadischen Kultur des 4. bis 5. Jahrhunderts*, Weissbach 1998, 55–123.

<sup>77</sup> Darauf achtete Attila nämlich sehr wohl, s. Priscus fr. 11,2,87–91 Blockley. Was die Kleidung angeht, soll in diesem Zusammenhang auf die Beispiele Hitlers und ganz besonders Stalins zu verwiesen werden, die inmitten ihrer ordenbehängten Marschälle durch ein schmuckloses Äußeres auffielen und gerade dadurch besonders hervorstachen.

<sup>78</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,268–270 Blockley.

<sup>79</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,269–270, 547–562 Blockley; Wirth, *Attila*, 140.

<sup>80</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,560–562 Blockley.

<sup>81</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus 31,2,10.

Brauch, hochgestellten Gästen nicht nur Speise und Trank, sondern auch Frauen als Beischläferinnen anzubieten. Der Autor hebt ausdrücklich hervor, dass dies als eine besondere Ehre bei den „Skythen“ gelte, betont aber zugleich, dass die römischen Gesandten es abgelehnt hätten, von diesem groß-zügigen Angebot Gebrauch zu machen.<sup>82</sup> Des weiteren hebt Priscus die überragende Bedeutung des Pferdes für die Hunnen hervor, die sich nicht nur darin äußerte, dass Verhandlungen vom Pferderücken aus geführt wurden,<sup>83</sup> sondern auch darin, dass Attila und sein persönliches Gefolge vom Pferderücken aus aßen und tranken, was ihnen die Frau des Onegesios dargereicht hatte. Wieder wird der Charakter der außergewöhnlichen Ehrung, die dieser Zeremonie laut Priscus bei den Hunnen innewohnte, vom Autor ausdrücklich betont.<sup>84</sup>

### Fazit

Das Geschichtswerk des Priscus bietet eine ganze Reihe exakter und detaillierter Beobachtungen aus erster Hand, die zwar vielfach den hunnischen Königshof und die Person Attilas betreffen, darüber hinaus jedoch gute Aufschlüsse über die Wirtschafts- und Lebensweise der Hunnen selbst vermitteln. Obwohl ihrem Charakter nach notwendig disparat, deuten die Informationen des Autors doch auf ein Volk hin, dass nach wie vor nomadisch lebte und einer starken, zentralisierten Führung nichts abgewinnen konnte. Darüber hinaus überliefert Priscus Hinweise darauf, auf welche Weise der Hunnenherrscher Attila die traditionellen Stammesstrukturen zu überwinden trachtete, und welche Widerstände er dabei zu überwinden hatte. Wie das Schicksal seines Reiches nach seinem Tode beweist, blieben die Bemühungen des Königs letztendlich ohne Erfolg.

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<sup>82</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,297–301 Blockley.

<sup>83</sup> S. Priscus fr. 2,24–29; diese hunnische Angewohnheit nötigte aus Prestigegründen auch die römischen Verhandlungsteilnehmer, das Gespräch vom Sattel aus zu führen.

<sup>84</sup> Priscus fr. 11,2,380–385 Blockley.

# Ясы в Венгрии в XIII–XIV веках

LÁSZLÓ SELMECZI



Как известно, венгерский король Бела IV после татарского нашествия (1241–1242) разрешил восточноевропейским половцам (команам) переселиться на территорию Венгрии и он поселил их в опустошенных областях Венгерской низменности. (Эти области Надькуншаг = Большая Кумания, к востоку от р. Тиса и Кишкуншаг = Малая Кумания, между реками Тиса и Дунай.) Хотя в письменных источниках речь идет только о переселении половцев, венгерские историки вплоть до середины XX в. предполагали, что в это же время переселились в Венгрию и ясы, которые сейчас живут в области Яшаг, к западу от р. Тиса. Однако до конца XIII в. этноним ясов не встречается в венгерских источниках. Впервые о значительной группе ясского населения упоминается в документе 1323 г., когда венгерский король Карл Роберт дал группе ясов из 18 человек, перечисленных по именам, такие же привилегии, которые имели ясы, исполнявшие военные обязанности в армии короля.<sup>1</sup>

Известный венгерский историк, Дь. Дьерфи не раз указал на возможность, что ясы могли переселиться в Венгрию не вместе с команами, а независимо от них.<sup>2</sup> Однако после того, как стали известны археологические памятники ясов, он допустил, что часть ясов переселилась в Венгрию вместе с команами в середине XIII в.<sup>3</sup> Дь. Кришто ка тегорически утверждал, что ясы на территории Яшага поселились только в середине XIV в.<sup>4</sup>

В последнее время археологические материалы дают возможность с уверенностью утверждать, что ясы переселились в Венгрию вместе с команами и тогда же поселились на территории Яшага. Могильник Недьсаллаш I был

<sup>1</sup> I. Gyárfás, *A jász-kúnok története*. 3 vols. Szolnok 1883, 463–465.

<sup>2</sup> Gy. Györffy, "A kunok feudálisodása," in *Tanulmányok a parasztság történetéhez a 14. században*, ed. Gy. Székely, Budapest 1953, 249–250; Gy. Györffy, "A jászok megtelepedése," in *Emlékkönyv a türkevei múzeum fennállásának 30. évfordulójára*, Túrkeve 1981, 71.

<sup>3</sup> Györffy, "A jászok megtelepedése," 71.

<sup>4</sup> Gy. Kristó, *Nem magyar népek a középkori Magyarországon*. Budapest 2003, 235–241.

начат как языческое кладбище в середине XIII в.<sup>5</sup> Кроме этого первые погребения могильников Недъсаллаш II и Ясаго были совершены несомненно еще в XIII веке.<sup>6</sup>

Этноним *яс*, ясы были усвоен венгерским населением и венгры называли их также этим этнонимом (венг. *jász*). В Венгерском Государственном Архиве 50 лет тому назад историк А. Фекете Надь обратил внимание на список слов на неизвестном языке с латинским и венгерским переводами, написанный на обратной стороне документа XV в. Опубликовавший список венгерский тюрколог Дь. Немет прочел эти слова и выражения на основе дигорского диалекта осетинского языка.<sup>7</sup> Этим было доказано, что венгерские ясы говорили на осетинском языке. (Хотя в последствии выяснилось, что данный список был переписан из более древнего источника и переписчик не знал эти слова, т. е. ясы своим ира́жким языком пользовались в более раннее время).<sup>8</sup>

На вопрос, откуда ясы переселились в Венгрию, можно дать лишь весьма неуверенный ответ. В них мы вряд ли можем видеть потомков алан, живших в донских и донецких степях, т. к. до середины XIII в. они по своей материальной и духовной культуре слились с половцами. Как писал Г. А. Федоров-Давыдов: «нам представляется, что если позднесарматские и болгаро-аланские племена I тысячелетия нашей эры и оказали какое-то влияние на антропологический тип, культуры и обычаи тюркских кочевников первой половины II тысячелетия нашей эры, то это воздействие было очень незначительно и в археологических материалах не оставило следа.»<sup>9</sup> Культура венгерских ясов ярко отличается от культуры половцев. Вероятно, аланы, жившие на территории, которую епископ Федор называл Малой Аланней около 1240 г., присоединились к половцам и в 1239ом году вместе с половцами хана Кутхена (венг. *Kötöny*) бежали от татар в Венгрию.<sup>10</sup>

Ясы и половцы (команы) получили земли и различные привилегии от венгерского короля за их военную службу. Заселяемые ими территории были определены королем Бела IV (1235–1270). Ясы получили земли совместно, как община, и отдельные имения они распределили уже между собой по своим правилам.<sup>11</sup> Однако область Ясшаг, выделенная для них, не

<sup>5</sup> T. Selmeczi, *A négyzíllási I. számú jász temető*. Budapest 1992, 15; V. Spinei, *The Great Migrations in the East and South East of Europe from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Century*. Cluj-Napoca, 2003, 324.

<sup>6</sup> L. Selmeczi, "A jászok betelepedése Magyarországra. Korai jász sírok a négyzíllási temetőben," *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (2005), 565–586.

<sup>7</sup> J. Németh, *Eine Wörterliste der Jassen, der ungarländischen Alanan*. Berlin 1959; Ю. Немет, Список слов на языке ясов, венгерских алан. Перевод с немецкого и примечания: В. И. Абаев, Орджоникидзе, 1960.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Gy. Györfi, *A magyarság keleti elemei*. Budapest 1990, 316–318.

<sup>9</sup> Г. А. Федоров-Давыдов, *Кочевники Восточной Европы под властью золотоордынских ханов*, Москва 1966, 165.

<sup>10</sup> L. Selmeczi, *A jászok eredete és középkori műveltsége*. Jászberény 2005, 45–47.

<sup>11</sup> Kun László emlékezete. ed. Gy. Kristó, Szeged 1994, 135–136.

была «чистой» территорией, там располагались поместья венгерских феодалов с венгерскими селами и также церковные имения. Ясы не раз пытались овладеть и этими землями, иногда не без успеха.<sup>12</sup>

Судя по источникам, в XIII веке ясы были в подчинении команских родоначальников. Это положение однако меняется в следующем столетии. В ходе преобразования ясского общества и утверждения у них феодальных отношений были созданы и у ясов и у команов территориальные административные и юридические единицы, названные сэк (лат. *sedes*).<sup>13</sup> Центром сэка ясов стал г. Ясберень. Именно эта территориальная организация, самоуправление и привилегии дали возможность для сохранения внутренней автономии и этнического самосознания.

Ясы разделили землю между собой по отделным родам. Во главе ясов стоял капитан (лат. *capitanus seu index*).<sup>14</sup> Во главе отдельных ясских поселений также стояли капитаны, т. н. капитаны сел.<sup>15</sup> Капитаны составляли верхушку ясского общества. В XIV-ом веке их было около 50 чел.<sup>16</sup> Во многих местах капитан исполнял и обязанности судьи. В случае войны он должен был собрать определенный отряд воинов, сам участвовать в военных походах. Были случаи, когда он имел право собирать налоги. Начиная с XV в. капитаны старались получить дворянство от королей, большинство их и получило, но без пожалования имений. Простое ясское население было свободное от крепостничества, они не были крепостными капитанов. Когда в XIV-ом веке короли уже менее нуждались в их военной службе, сразу же начали их облагать налогами.<sup>17</sup>

Ясское общество еще в XVI–XVII вв. делилось на два сословия: на капитанов и на свободное от крепостничества население.<sup>18</sup> Однако у них сохранились остатки былого родового общества в виде больших семей и заселения родственных семей рядом друг с другом внутри поселения. Такие родственные группы назывались хад (венг. *had*). Подобные родовые формирования мы находим также у осетин.<sup>19</sup>

Хозяйство ясов весь период характеризуется равновесием земледелия и скотоводства. В средние века эти отрасли были связаны друг с другом и не могли быть разделены. В окрестности поселений располагались пашни и пастбища. Для скота на зиму заготовляли сено.<sup>20</sup> Свободные ясские кресть-

<sup>12</sup> Selmeczi, *A jászok eredete*, 88.

<sup>13</sup> Kring M., Kun és jász társadalomelemek a középkorban,” *Századok* (1932), 174–175; Hatházi 2006, 138.

<sup>14</sup> Selmeczi, *A jászok eredete*, 74.

<sup>15</sup> Selmeczi, *A jászok eredete*, 79–80.

<sup>16</sup> J. Botka, *Kunok–jászok katonáskodása és ünnepi bandériumai*. Lakitelek 2000, 41–47, 56.

<sup>17</sup> Györfi, „A kunok feudalizálódása,” 266.

<sup>18</sup> Gy. Kocsis, „A jázsági társadalom rétegei a 14–16. században,” *Népi Kultúra–Népi Társadalom* 19 (1998), 27–41.

<sup>19</sup> Selmeczi, *A jászok eredete*, 89–91. L. Szabó, *Jászság*. Budapest 1982, 45–53.

<sup>20</sup> I. Szabó, *A magyar mezőgazdaság története a XIV. századtól az 1530-as évekig*. Budapest 1975, 14.

яне имели примерно такие участки земли, как крепостные.<sup>21</sup> Ясские крестьяне включились в международную торговлю скотом. Скот продавался на рынках Западной Европы, главным образом в Германии. Этим объясняется большая доля крупного рогатого скота в стаде. Удельный вес скота и овец в стаде составлял по 50%. В целом же для Венгрии эта пропорция бала 25 и 75%.<sup>22</sup>

Географической особенностью Яшага явилось его обилие водой. Ежегодные весенние разливы покрывали обширные территории и после них остались небольшие озера и болота. Этой особенностью – свойственной для всей Венгерской низменности – объясняется относительно небольшой удельный весь пашен в окрестностях поселений.<sup>23</sup>

Когда ясы поселились на территории Яшага, там нашли следы множества жилых поселений, опустошенные отчасти или полностью татарами. Они часто поселились на этих местах, где еще стояли стены церкви, вокруг которых располагалось старое кладбище. В других же местах они основали новые поселения, открыли новые кладбища, которые венграми считались языческими или еретическими, пока в середине XV в. ясы не построили там христианскую церковь.<sup>24</sup>

Археологические исследования – особенно раскопки могильников – позволили нам отчасти реконструировать древние верования венгерских ясов. Они верили в потустороннюю жизнь человека после смерти, на суеверные традиции указывают многочисленные амулеты, положенные в могилу погребенного. Можно также утверждать, что на их верования еще на востоке оказало заметное влияние восточное христианство. Рядом с украшениями костюма в погребальном инвентаре немало оружий, орудий труда, детских игрушек и пр. Они свидетельствуют об этнической принадлежности погребенных. Например, своеобразный способ ношения меча на плече, наблюдавшееся у осетин еще в конце XIX в., можно установить и по погребальному инвентарю венгерских ясов.<sup>25</sup> Естественно, ясы постепенно были обращены в католическую веру, в чем играли большую роль венгерское духовенство и францисканцы. Этот процесс, видимо, был закончен к 1472 году, когда ясы в г. Ясберень построили миноританскую церковь и монастырь.

<sup>21</sup> Gy. Kocsis, „Gazdálkodás a Jászságban a XVI–XVII. században. Szántóművelés,” in *Merítés. Néprajzi tanulmányok Szilágyi Miklós tiszteletére*, ed. J. Bali-K. Jávor, 162; Selmeczi, *A jászok eredete*, 110.

<sup>22</sup> Selmeczi, *A jászok eredete*, 112–113.

<sup>23</sup> Selmeczi, *A jászok eredete*, 109–110.

<sup>24</sup> Selmeczi, *A jászok eredete*, 154–164.

<sup>25</sup> Zichy Jenő gróf kaukázusi és közép-ázsiai utazásai. A magyar faj vándorlása. Vol. 1, Budapest 1897, 126; Selmeczi, *A négysszállási I. számú jász temető*, 87–88, 93.

# *Chinggis Khan's distribution of posts to his comrades-in-arms: Officials or courtiers?\**

TATIANA D. SKRYNNIKOVA



Traditionally scholars connect the radical transformations in Mongol *ulus* with the second enthronement of Chinggis Khan in 1206, when he distributed military divisions (thousands) between his *nukers* (comrades-in-arms) and gave the latter titles; this is interpreted as the creation of an administrative apparatus and birth of the Mongol state.<sup>1</sup>

However, the analysis of sources allows us to say that Chinggis Khan began to structure the entity as early as at his first enthronement in 1189<sup>2</sup> (after the incident with Jamukha and conflict with the Tayijiuts), when those who had elected him as khan vowed fidelity and took obligations to serve him.<sup>3</sup> Simultaneously

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<sup>1</sup> "A state, such as the one Chinggis Khan created in 1206 on the banks of the Onon River, is an objectively definable political entity led by government." H. C. Schwarz, "Mongolia at 800: The State and Nation since Chinggis Khan," *Inner Asia* 8.2 (2006), 151.

<sup>2</sup> "The dating of the first election remains doubtful and no exact year can be assigned to it ... The statement in On, 46, n.136, that the first election "ceremony took place in 1189 AD, when Chinggis Qahan was 28 years old is in line with the date adopted by official Mongol historians in China. ... The date (1189) as well as Temüjin's age at the time (28) are those given by Sayang Seen and the later Mongol chronicles." I. de Rachewiltz, ed., tr. *The Secret History of the Mongols. A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the thirteenth century*. Leiden-Boston 2004, 458, in detail, see 457-460.

<sup>3</sup> " ... for you / Fine-looking maidens and ladies of rank, / Palatial tents, and from foreign people / Ladies and maidens with beautiful cheeks, / And geldings with fine croups / / At the trot we shall bring ... / When in a battie we hunt ... / For you we shall drive the beasts of the steppe ... / In the days of war, / If we disobey your commands, / Deprive us of all our goods and belongings, and our noble wives, and cast / Our black heads on the ground ... " [Rachewiltz 2004, 49].

some of them received posts from him. The problem that the paper deals with is the following: whether it is possible to interpret Chinggis Khan's appointments as the creation of the administrative machinery, and is the latter a state institution?

The titles, which are interpreted by some scholars as forming the administrative body in 1206 and thus creating of the state, were marked as early as 1189:

§ 124. Having become *qa'an*, Činggis ordered the younger brother of Bo'orču, Ögölei Čerbi, to carry a quiver, Qači'un Toqura'un to carry a quiver, and the two brothers Jetei and Doqolqu Čerbi *each* to carry a quiver.

Önggür, Söyiketü Čerbi and Qada'an Daldurqan *then* spoke, saying,  
 "We shall not let you go without  
 Your morning drinks;  
 We shall not neglect your drinks  
 In the evening!"

And so they became stewards... Degei tended the sheep. His younger brother, Gütügür spoke: "...I shall manage the tent-carts!", he said. And Dödei Čerbi said, "I shall be in charge of the domestics and servants in the tent!".

Qubilai, Čilgütei and Qarqai Toqura'un together with Qasar *were ordered to carry sword...*

And he said, "Let Belgütei and Qaraldai Toqura'un  
 Be in charge of the geldings  
 Be *my* equeeries!"

And he said, "Tayiči'uda, Qutu Moriči and Mulqalqu shall tend the herds of horses!".

And he said, "Let Arqai Qasar, Taqai, Sükegei and Ča'urqan  
 Be *my* far-flying shafts,  
 Be *my* near-flying arrows! (A simile for trusted envoys. - I. R.)"...

Sübe'tei Ba'atur spoke:  
 "...I shall hoard up *goods for you*;  
 ...I shall gather *for you*  
 All that is *found* outside;  
 ...I shall try to make a cover *for you...!*"

Thereupon, when Činggis Qa'an became *qa'an*, he said to Bo'orču ars Jelme, "... You two, who stood by me from the beginning, will you not be at the head of all these *here*?"<sup>4</sup>

I. de Rachewiltz supposes that "in view of the considerable lag of time between the original appointment (1189 - T. S.) and the later confirmation (2004 - T. S.), it is possible (and, perhaps, more likely) that those four personages are called *čerbi* retrospectively in §§ 120 and 124, the appointment of 1204 being the original one".<sup>5</sup> More true, I think, is his assertion that: "Since we know that Dödei, Doqolqu, Ögöle (~ Ögölen ~ Ögölei) and Söyiketü were made chamberlains at the time of Činggis Qan's election as tribal chief..., it seems that the 'appointment' of 1204

<sup>4</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 50-52.

<sup>5</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 691.

was merely a confirmation of these four personages in their position, with addition of two more *čerbin* as part of the reorganization".<sup>6</sup> In fact it is known that the events of 1189 brought an appreciable increase of the entity led by Chinggis Khan and, accordingly, his persons of attendance. In this historical context, the polity of the Mongols ("Ours") was modelled by the circle of persons, the heads of tribes, who were present at the election of Temüjin and who received from him the title of *khan*:

§ 120. They travelled all that night. At daybreak they saw Qači'un Toqura'un, Qaraqai Toqura'un and Qaraldai Toqura'un, the three Toqura'un brothers of the *Jalayir*<sup>7</sup> tribe, drawing near to join them after having travelled throughout the night together. Then Qada'an Daldurqan of the Tarqud and his brothers – *five Tarqud in all* – also drew near. Then the son of Mönggetü Kiyan, Önggür and the others, with their Čangši'ud and Baya'ud followers drew near too. From the Barulas came the brothers Qubilai and Qudus. From the *Mangqud* came the two brothers Jetei and Doqolqu Čerbi. The younger brother of Bo'orču, Ögölen Čerbi, left the *Arulad* and also came to join his elder brother Bo'orču. The younger brothers of Jelme, Ča'urqan and Sübe'etei Ba'atur, left the *Uriangqan* and came to join Jelme. From the *Besüd* also came two brothers Degei and Kücügür. From the *Suldus* also came the brothers Čilgüyei, Taki and Tayiči'udai. Seče Domoy of the *Jalayir* also came with his two sons, Arqai Qasar and Bala. From the *Qongqotan* also came Söyiketü Čerbi. Sükeken Je'ün, the son of Jegei Qongdaqor of the *Sükeken*, also came. Čaqa'an U'a of the Ne'üs came too. There also came Kinggiyadai of the *Ol-qumu'ud*, Seči'ür from the *Qorolas*, and Moči Bedü'ün from the *Dörben*. Since Butu of the *Ikires* had made his way here as a son-in-law, he also came. From the *Noyakin* also came Jungso, and from the *Oronar* also came Jirqo'an. From the *Ba-rulas* a bo ca me Suqu Sečen with his son Qaračar. Then Qorči, Old Üsün and Kökö Čos of the *Ba'arin* together with their Menen Ba'arin followers also came as one camp... § 122. The *Geniges*, with Qunan at their head, also came as one camp. Then came *Daridai Odčigin* – also one camp. From the *Jadaran* came also Mulqal-qu. And the *Ünjin* and the *Saqayid* came – also one camp. When Temüjin had parted company in this way from Jamuqa and had moved further on, setting up camp at Ayil Qaraqana by the Kimurqa Stream, there came, also separating from Jamuqa, the sons of Sorqatu Jürki of the *Jürkin*, Sača Beki and Taiču – one camp; then the son of Nekün Taisi, Qučar Beki – one camp; and the son of Qutula Qan, Altan Odčigin – one camp.<sup>8</sup>

As we can see from this list of the tribes and their chiefs, not only those who were included in his genealogy, but also unrelated tribes went over to Chinggis Khan. Certainly, this called for necessary actions that would be directed at the structural organization of both a new entity and headquarters, i.e. his court.

<sup>6</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 691.

<sup>7</sup> The *Jalayir* and other tribes marked by italic belonged to "alien" tribes. The *Arulad* and other tribes marked by bold type belonged to kinship's tribes.

<sup>8</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 46–48.

Inauguration marks and fixes the borders of the multipolarity, and this is presented in the text of *The Secret History of the Mongols* by listing the tribal chiefs who went over to Chinggis Khan as a successful military leader. Reorganization consisted in replacing the tribal structure (for example, *kuren/güre'en* was more than merely camp<sup>9</sup>) by new techniques of organizing and managing: the thousand, courtiers who were assigned duties to serve Chinggis Khan' court and simultaneously to exercise military functions.

One cannot but notice the military character of this coalition: Chinggis Khan was elected as a leader in war. This is shown in the description of mutual obligations between Chinggis Khan and those who elected him. At the time of Chinggis' break with Jamuqa, Chinggis began to reorganize his military forces according to the system of decimal classification known among the nomadic tribes of Inner Asia. *The Secret History* records that Ong Qan of the Kereyit divided his army into the units of ten thousand (*tümet*, pl. of *tümen*) before the joint campaign against the Merkit to rescue Börte began (§ 104).<sup>10</sup> Chinggis Khan gave the commanders of thousands the title *noyon*.<sup>11</sup>

It was at this time that importance of the *Nökör-ship* was emphasized, the term *nököt*<sup>12</sup> is used as a generalized word for those people, who served Chinggis Khan. This inauguration marked the formation of a new wider polity and accordingly an expanding court. It was necessary to maintain and protect the headquarters and the main palace *yurta*. This required the duties to be distributed, i.e. the nomenclature of court ranks had to be created. To mark the court ranks, terms that were well-known and widely spread in the region were used: *čerbin* (chamberlain)<sup>13</sup>, *qorčin* (quiver-bearer)<sup>14</sup>, *ba'určin* (steward),<sup>15</sup> *aktačin* (equerry), *adu'učin*

<sup>9</sup> Rachewiltz translates lit. "They arrived at a circular camp people (*güre'en irgen*)" [ibid., 387]. In *The Secret History*, the word *irgen* often denotes a tribe. This permits to I. de Rachewiltz to write: "These large camps eventually came to designate tribal units which, in the Mongol military system, were assimilated to sections or wings of the army. The term *güre'en* (*küriyen*) has therefore different connotations to the social economic and military organization of the semi-nomadic tribes of Mongolia as these evolved in the time of Činggis Qan in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries" [Ibid.].

<sup>10</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 35.

<sup>11</sup> Chinggis said to Qorči: "I will make you a commander of ten thousand (*tümen-ü noyan*)" (§ 121). Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 48.

<sup>12</sup> Rachewiltz "used 'friend' and 'companion' interchangeably (whereas the Mongolian text has *nökör* throughout) not only for stylistic purposes, but also because both concepts are implied in the Mongol term and cannot be rendered by a single word in English." Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 387. I. de Rachewiltz, *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols*. Bloomington 1972, 53.

<sup>13</sup> "These chamberlain, who are already mentioned in § 120, were important officials whose main function was, apparently, the management of the qan's household and property, including the serving of food and control of the domestic staff, and the safety of the qan, i.e. with security in general." Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 690. Scholars interpret this Mongolian word in different way: "chamberlains (Cl. 119: 'stewards'; On, 95: 'commanders')." Ibid.

(horse-herder). Military functions of all these persons were combined with prestigious functions of service to the khan inside and outside his court.

We have already mentioned that between his first and second enthronements Chinggis khan undertook the next reorganization of the Mongol *ulus*, caused by the confrontation with the Naimans in 1204.

§ 191. Činggis Qa'an...counted his troops and on the spot formed units of a thousand *men*, appointing the commanders of a thousand, the commanders of a hundred and the commanders of ten. Thereupon he appointed as chamberlains Dödei Čerbi, Doqolqu Čerbi, Ögölei Čerbi, Tolun Čerbi, Bučaran Čerbi and Söyiketü Čerbi. Then, having appointed these six chamberlains, he formed units of a thousand, a hundred, and ten *men*, and he chose and recruited eighty *men* to serve on roster as nightguards and seventy men to serve as dayguards. He recruited them from the sons and younger brothers of commanders of a thousand and of a hundred, as well as from the sons and younger brothers of mere ordinary people, choosing and recruiting those who were able and of good appearance.

Showing favour to Arqai Qasar, he then ordered: "Let him choose himself his brave warriors and form a unit of a thousand to fight before me in time of battle; in the many other days of peace they shall serve as my dayguards." He also said, "Ögöle Čerbi shall be the commander of the seventy dayguards, acting in consultation with Qudus Qalčan." (i.e., sharing command with him).

§ 192. Činggis Qa'an further ordered: "The quiverbearers, the day guards, the stewards, the doorkeepers and the grooms are to go on roster duty in day-time. Before the sun sets they shall retire to make way for the night guards; they shall go out to their geldings and spend the night there. At night, the night guards shall see that those of their men whose duty it is to lie all around Our tent do so, and they shall put on roster those of their men whose duty it is to stand at the door to guard it. The following morning, when We eat soup, the quiver bearers and the day guards shall report to the night guards; the quiver bearers, the day guards, the stewards and the doorkeepers shall all carry out their respective tasks and take their appointed place. When they have completed their days of service, consisting of a three-day and a three-night turn of duty, and have passed the three nights exactly in the same manner, they shall be relieved, but the night after their relief, they shall still be on duty as nightguards, and shall spend the night lying down all around." So he ordered.

In this way Činggis Qa'an, having formed the units of a thousand, appointed the chamberlains, recruited eighty men to serve on roster as night guards and se-

<sup>14</sup> The function of a quiver-bearer was indefinite. The evidence suggests that a duty to bear a quiver was placed on persons who already had the title *čerbi*.

<sup>15</sup> "After proclaiming their diligence, the three are appointed 'cooks' or rather stewards (*ba'určin*, mo. *bayurčin*). ...As pointed out by Ratchnevsky, the office of *ba'urči* was more than that of a simple cook: the holder was in charge of the administration of victuals and was also the chief cup-bearer." Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 463.

venty men to serve as day guards; he let Arqai Qasar choose the brave men, and set out against the Naiman.<sup>16</sup>

We can see that the transformations concerned two structures that were considerably increased; the military forces and the court yard (his protection and service). The growing size of the polity dictated the next reorganization of the army by counting the forces and dividing them into units of one thousand, one hundred and ten men, appointing a commander (*noyon*) in charge of each unit. It was indicative that the appointment of Dödei Čerbi, Doqolqu Čerbi, Ögölei Čerbi, Tolun Čerbi, Bučaran Čerbi and Söyiketü Čerbi as chamberlains was accompanied by the formation of military units. This allows us to assume that *čerbi* held the supreme military rank at the headquarters. This proves to be true from other evidence. Čerbi were vested with special powers, and this is shown in the following context that relates to a later time (1206):

Further, Činggis Qa'an said, "If We Ourselves do not go on a military campaign the night guards must not take the field without Us." So he said, and gave the following order: "After being thus instructed by Us, the chamberlains in charge of troops who transgress the order and, out of jealousy for the night guards, send them out on campaign, shall be guilty and liable to punishment."<sup>17</sup>

This gives us evidence to conclude that *čerbi* were given a free hand in sending the military groups, except the night guards. Rashid-ad-din mentions that Baláčerbi (*noyon* – commander of thousand) who fought in India, was in Chinggis Khan's retinue.<sup>18</sup> All *čerbi* were the commanders of a thousand.

The higher status of *čerbi* in relation to other courtiers was emphasized when Tulun-čerbi took the central position in ritual distribution of food and wine, and the two stewards (*ba'určin*) Önggür and Boro'ul, were disposed to the right and left sides of the khans' seat.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, *čerbi* simultaneously could be given other court titles. For example, Ögölei-čerbi and Doqolqu-čerbi, as early as in 1189, were appointed as quiverbearers (*qorčin*), and Söyiketü-čerbi received the rank of *ba'určin* (cook, or rather steward). Dödai-čerbi was directly responsible for the household budget of the court. Simultaneously, as we saw, Ögölei-čerbi appointed in 1189 as quiver bearer (*qorčin*) became in 1204 the head of the day-guard (*70 turqa'ut*).

Formed as early as 1204, Chinggis Khan's bodyguard (*keshig/keshigten*), which became the most important military institution, was connected to the reorganization of the polity's structure. The guard was divided into night guard (*kebte'ül*) and day guard (*turqa'ut + qorčin*). In addition to *70 turqa'ut*, a unit of one thou-

<sup>16</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols* 113–114.

<sup>17</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 161.

<sup>18</sup> Rashid-ad-din, *Sbornik letopisei*. [The Collected Cronicles] Moscow–Leningrad 1952, 97.

<sup>19</sup> "During feasts sit on the right and left sides of the Great Vessel with Kumis (or milk wine) and supervise the distribution. May Tolun sit with you in the centre" (my translation. – T. S.). In fact, it is not related to the actual distribution of food to satisfy every-day biological needs. This text is evidence of their ritual functions.

sand was formed to fight standing before Chinggis Khan on the battlefield. Still the main changes concerned the military structure and organization: strengthening of the institution of *Nökör-ship* when the nearest comrades-in-arms are appointed as *noyon*-commander of thousand/hundred (*minqad-un ja'ud-un noyad*). The increase of Chinggis Khan's court required re-structuring of the court staff. As special military units were present at the court, the headquarters possessed the features of a military camp. That is why a notable place in the hierarchy of court ranks belonged to *čerbin* (chamberlain), and *qorčin* (quiver-bearer). Service of the court yard required confirmation of the former court ranks - *ba'určin* (steward), *aktačin* (equerry/groom), *adu'učin* (horse-herder) - and the creation of new ones like *e'ütenči*/*e'üdenči* (doorkeeper).

Though an attempt was undertaken at organization, still it is impossible to speak about the creation of a hierarchically-built structure. On the one hand, Chinggis Khan demanded that the courtiers should perform their duties directly: "to carry out their respective tasks and take their appointed place". On the other hand, all of them, as well as the guard, had to carry out functions of protection.<sup>20</sup>

The closing stage in reorganization of the Mongol *ulus* occurred in 1206. If the first inauguration represented the election of a Khan (a leader in war), then the second one (1206) was related to the need to extend the structure of authority over a considerably broader community. It is both remarkable and important to note that the repeated enthronement was connected not only with the victory over the Naimans and Merkits but also with the defeat of the coalition ruled by the Tayichi'uds and led by Jamukha. Since that time the term *Mongol* has been understood not only as ethnophor (ethnofania) but also designated larger potestarian-political units and testified to a process of mongolization (in the political sense) of the groups that joined the Mongol *ulus*.

The description of the events of 1206 begins with the assertion that the Mongol *ulus* became a large polity and from the next stage of its structural reorganization:

...the people of the felt-walled tents had been brought to allegiance, [...] Having thus completed the task of setting the Mongol people in order, Činggis Qa'an said, "To those who sided with me when I was establishing our nation, I shall express my appreciation and, having formed units of a thousand, I shall appoint them commanders of a thousand."<sup>21</sup>

To strengthen his power over the widened Mongol *ulus*, Chinggis Khan used a range of traditions and practices that had been elaborated in the previous stages. The reorganization kept the militaristic character of the entity's structure. Ching-

<sup>20</sup> Rachewiltz did not translate the word *qorčin*. I think that the phrase "...*qorčin turqa'ut kesikten bawurci e'ütenči aqtaci üdür kesik oroju*." Rachewiltz, *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols*, 100, can be translated more exactly: "kesikten (the quiver bearers and the day guards) and also the stewards, the doorkeepers and the equerries/grooms are to be on duty as the day guards".

<sup>21</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 133.

gis Khan began with the appointments of the commanders of a thousand, and this is understood as decimal military-civil administration.<sup>22</sup> Of ninety-five *nukers*, who in 1206 received from Chinggis Khan the title *noyon* – the commanders of a thousand (Mong. *minqad-un noyat*)<sup>23</sup> – twenty-eight had participated in the first enthronization.

A detailed analysis of the practices that were used in 1206 allows us to define the character of the decimal military-civil administration in Chinggis' time. When appointing ninety-five commanders of a thousand, Chinggis Khan ordered: "Now, Bo'orču will be in charge of the ten thousand of the right wing; and I put Muqali in charge of the ten thousand of the left wing, giving him the title of *gui ong*. Now, Naya'a will be in charge of the ten thousand of the centre".<sup>25</sup> Changes in the structure of the guard (*keshigten*)<sup>26</sup> became the main result of the reorganization. The *keshigten* grew in number up to ten thousand<sup>27</sup> and was marked as the institution of four three-day shifts.<sup>28</sup> In contradistinction to 1189 and 1204, when granting the comrades-in-arms with titles and the description of their functions was especially marked, in 1206 such granting was occasional and was connected to military appointments.

Činggis Qa'an, bringing the number of day guards who had formerly enrolled with Ögele Čerbi up to a full thousand, said, "Ögele Čerbi from the family Bo'orču shall be in charge of them ... Dödei Čerbi shall be in charge of one thousand day guards and Doqolqu Čerbi shall be in charge of one thousand day guards... Arqai Qasar shall be in charge of one thousand day guards - one thousand chosen brave warriors - who, in the many days of peace shall serve as day-guards, and in the days of battle shall stand before me and be brave warriors."

Thus, there were eight thousand day guards chosen from the various thousands; there were also two thousand night guards with quiver bearers. Altogether there were ten thousand guards. Činggis Qa'an ordered, "The ten thousand guards attached to Us shall be strengthened and become the main body<sup>29</sup> of the army".<sup>30</sup>

<sup>22</sup> D. Sneath, "Imperial Statecraft: Arts of Power on the Steppe," in *Imperial Statecraft: Political Forms and Techniques of Governance in Inner Asia, Sixth-Twentieth Centuries*, ed. D. Sneath, Cambridge 2006, 9.

<sup>23</sup> Rachewiltz, *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols*, 114.

<sup>25</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 151.

<sup>26</sup> "Mongolian *keshig* stems from Old Turkish *kezik*, from the verb *kez-* 'to tour' with the primary meaning of 'tour of duty'" C. P. Atwood, "Ulus Emirs, Keshig Elders, Signature, and Marriage Partners: The Evolution of a Classic Mongol Institution," in *Imperial Statecraft: Political Forms and Techniques of Governance in Inner Asia, Sixth-Twentieth Centuries*, ed. D. Sneath, Cambridge 2006, 143.

<sup>27</sup> 1000 *kebte'il*, 1000 *qorčin*, 8000 *turqa'ut*.

<sup>28</sup> Atwood, "Ulus Emirs, Keshig Elders," 143.

<sup>29</sup> Mong. *yeke qol* – lit. the great centre. Rachewiltz, *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols*, 130.

<sup>30</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 155.

As we can see, three *čerbi* became the heads of guard divisions and this proves that this was mainly a military title. Ten thousand *keshigten* did not enter the ninety-five army thousands; Chinggis Khan emphasized their exclusiveness:

§ 228. Further, Činggis Qa'an ordered, "My guards are of higher *standing* than the outside commanders of a thousand; the attendants of my guards are of higher *standing* than the outside commanders of a hundred and of ten. If outside leaders of a thousand, regarding themselves as equal to and a match for my guards, quarrel with them, *We shall* punish the persons who are leaders of a thousand." So he ordered.<sup>31</sup>

They were in a special position and arranged themselves around the headquarters:

When the quiver bearers and day guards have reported on the establishment of the encampment, the quiver bearers such as Yisün Te'e and Bükidei, and the day guards such as Alčidač, Ögöle and Aqutaič, shall take up duty on the right side of the Palace. ...The day guards such as Buqa, Dödei Čerbi, Doqolqu Čerbi and Čanai shall take up duty on the left side of the Palace. ...Arqa'i's brave warriors shall take up duty in front of the Palace. ...The night guards, having taken care of the tent-carts of the Palace, shall take up duty in the proximity of the Palace, on the left side.<sup>32</sup>

This definitely speaks about the security functions of the guard. The position of Dödei Čerbi is interesting. On the one hand, as the head of thousand of the day guard (*turqauč*) he settles down on the left side. On the other hand,

Dödei Čerbi shall constantly supervise the Palace: all the guards who are day guards, and, round about the Palace, the "sons of the household" of the Palace, the horse-herders, shepherds, camel-keepers and cowherds. ...Dödei Čerbi shall take up duty and be constantly present, at the rear (i.e., at the northern side) of the Palace.<sup>33</sup>

In the given context the horse-herders, shepherds, camel-keepers and cowherds were not simple nomads who were grazing livestock. This is testified by the mention below of the "shepherd" Degei, which was appointed as the head of a thousand. These terms act as the titles that designate the heads of corresponding services.

It is impossible to answer the question whether *čerbi* who entered different structures – both the guards and the structure of commanders of thousands – had different rights and duties. This concerns also the persons who received other titles or posts from Chinggis Khan. In connection with this military reorganization of Mongol *ulus*, *The Secret History* mentions also the names of other "officials".

<sup>31</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 157.

<sup>32</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 162.

<sup>33</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 157.

§ 222. Further, Činggis Qa'an made the shepherd Degei bring together the unregistered households and put him in charge of a thousand. § 223. Further, Činggis Qa'an said, "As the carpenter Güčügür lacks subjects to form a unit of a thousand, let these be collected from here and there and given to him. Since, from among the Jadaran, Mulqalqu has been a perfect companion to me, you two – Güčügür and Mulqalqu – be jointly in command of a thousand and consult with one another."<sup>34</sup>

Both Degei and Güčügür are mentioned among the ninety-five *noyons* – commanders of a thousand. In addition to them, there are Söyiketü-čerbi and Bala-čerbi, *ba'wrchi* Önggür and Boro'ul in this list of the commanders of thousand. Though they had titles, they did not belong to the guard. But it is possible to assume that the titles marked their special position, as follows from Rashid-ad-din's mention that Bala-čerbi was in Chinggis Khan's retinue. A Söyiketü-čerbi, as early as in 1189 was appointed *ba'wurči*, i.e. was responsible for drink for the person of Chinggis Khan.

*Nukers*, who were appropriated to these ranks, alongside with their main military function, fulfilled various official duties at Chinggis Khan's court (*ordo ger*).<sup>35</sup> Most likely, necessity to regulate the course of collective meals determined the posts, which were marked with these court ranks. Certainly, every collective meal turned into a feast, which had both social and sacral functions when a new social space was being modelled. The collective meal acted as one of the forms of prestigious material reward for service to Chinggis Khan. The court character of their service is, first, proved by the fact that even *qorčin* (a rank that was given to one of elite groups of guards), as well as *ba'určin* (steward) were engaged in the distribution of drinks and foods.<sup>36</sup> Second, this fact testifies to the absence of a precise hierarchy. Incompleteness of the social reorganization of the Mongol *ulus* is confirmed by uncertainty in distribution of powers between courtiers and nightguards (the *kebte'ül*).

Sacral functions that were performed by the *kebte'ül* were the reason for their exclusive position: "It is the nightguards that watch over my (Chinggis Khan – T. S.) golden life. When I go falconing or hunting, they toil with me."<sup>37</sup> The *kebte'ül* were responsible for safety of the sacral insignias of power: "The nightguards shall take care of the standards and drums, and the spears arranged beneath them. The nightguards shall also take care of the bowls and vessels. ... Two from the nightguards shall enter into the tent and oversee the large *kumis* pitchers."<sup>38</sup> All *kebte'ül* had the highest status: "No one is to sit in a place above the

<sup>34</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 152.

<sup>35</sup> Rachewiltz, *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols*, 133.

<sup>36</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 160.

<sup>37</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 157.

<sup>38</sup> It was discussed above that this was a prerogative of Tolun-čerbi and two *ba'urči*; Önggür and Boro'ul. Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 160.

nightguards.<sup>39</sup> No one, is to enter the precinct without permission from the nightguards".<sup>40</sup> These were the *kebte'ül* from whom serving around drinks and meals began in collective meals:<sup>41</sup> "When the quiverbearers distribute drink and food, they must not distribute them without permission from the supervising nightguards. When they distribute food, they shall first distribute it beginning with the nightguards".<sup>42</sup>

We cannot but notice that the *kebte'ül* duplicated the functions of the especially close retinue-nukers who received their court ranks from Chinggis Khan. For example, some of the nightguards had to take care of the tent-carts of the court;<sup>43</sup> doorkeepers from the night guards were mentioned too. "The camp masters from the night guards shall go before Us and set up the Palace tent. ...Some of the night guards shall decide on juridical matters together with Šigi Qutuqu".<sup>44</sup>

This detailed schedule of duties of the most elite military division of Chinggis Khan is, perhaps, the most indicative. It shows the character of all services that are obligatorily executed: service to Chinggis Khan and his economy, as well as the collective economy of the Khan's headquarters to which both the members of his household and retinue-nukers from military leaders and *keshigten* belonged. And in this context it is possible to take into account the information from the source about priority of the *kebte'ül* in management of the headquarters or in other words, Chinggis Khan's court yard, though proceeding from available materials it is practically impossible to differentiate the court functions of the *kebte'ül* and *nukers* who received court ranks. It is also practically impossible to reveal distinctions in the statuses of the courtiers that are considered in the article: on the one hand, the persons who have the same rank exercise different duties, and on the other hand, identical duties are attributed to different ranks.

In my opinion, the evidence of the source shows that the transformations in the extending Mongol *ulus* were not a single action of 1206. It was a long process in which two sides are marked. First of all was the creation of an efficient army that was caused by the challenge of conquering the neighbouring polities. While in the beginning (1189) the army had been organized according to *kurens*, thus reflecting the clan and tribal social structure, in 1204 the army was already organized according to a decimal system; thousands, hundreds, and tens. In turn, the forming of elites and increasing of their number promoted the widening of the circle of persons around the ruler, i. e. forming of the court yard. This conse-

<sup>39</sup> The same privilege – to sit higher than the rest – was granted by Cinggis Khan to his nukers – *noyons* – commanders-of-thousands Münlik-eçige (he was the husband of Chinggis-khan's mother) and Bo'orču.

<sup>40</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 158.

<sup>41</sup> S. A. Kozin, *Sokrovennoe skazanie: Mongol'skaya khronika 1240 g.* [The Secret History: the Mongolian chronicle of 1240] Moscow and Leningrad 1941, 173.

<sup>42</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 160.

<sup>43</sup> To care for the tent-carts was a duty of Güçügür too: "Küçügür – Güçügür ...appears with the epithet moči 'carpenter' because of his appointment as manager of the tent-carts." Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 445.

<sup>44</sup> Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 160-161.

quently required the organization of the headquarters and the appointment of courtiers. The duties of those who received the posts founded by Chinggis Khan included both military functions (they were commanders of thousands and hundreds), and service of his court yard/headquarters.

The three stages of the transformation were rather long and took seventeen years, however we still cannot say that they led to the creation of an administrative structure as a state institution. It is impossible to present as an organized structure even the distribution of court functions. Also there are no evidences that those leaders who received the titles performed administrative functions over the whole Mongol *ulus*; therefore there is no evidence about the creation/presence of the administrative apparatus or government. The available materials allow us to conclude that the titles or posts mentioned in the sources can be considered as marking court ranks but not as officials who are responsible for certain functions of management which could be termed a state's government.

# *Empfange und Du wirst einen Sohn gebären, welcher der Herrscher über die Erde werden wird...<sup>1</sup>*

Vorstellungen über Geburt und Tod Tschinggis Khans

JOHANNES STEINER



Weder von Tschinggis Khans Tod, noch von seiner Geburt haben wir genaue Informationen und wenn wir Nachrichten darüber besitzen, dann sind diese kaum befriedigend bzw. widersprüchlich. Umstände, Ort und Zeit liegen für uns heute im spekulativen Dunklen. Dies hatte, was Geburt und Tod Tschinggis Khans betrifft, verschiedene Ursachen. Letztlich führt es aber zum gleichen Ergebnis, nämlich zur Entstehung von Legenden, die die Bedeutung Tschinggis Khans – nicht nur für die Mongolen<sup>2</sup> – hervorheben. Bevor wir uns mit ausgewählten Darstellungen von Geburt und Tod Tschinggis Khans auseinandersetzen, ein paar kleine Vorbemerkungen:

1) Legenden um Geburt und Tod und deren Inszenierung werden für politische, wirtschaftliche oder religiöse Zwecke benutzt. Geburts- und Abstammungslegenden, sei es, dass man seine Herkunft von einem Gott, einem Totemtier oder einer sich schon etablierten Dynastie herleitet, dienten und dienen ebenso wie die Berufung auf den rechtmäßigen Besitz eines „magischen“ Gegenstandes der politischen Legitimation eines Machtanspruches.<sup>3</sup>

1 J. A. Boyle, „Kirakos of Ganjak on the Mongols,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 8 (1963), S. 203.

2 z.B. J. Miyawaki-Okada, „The Japanese Origin of the Chinggis Khan Legends,” *Inner Asia – New Journal* 8 (2006), S. 123–134.

3 Mongolische Berichte beschrieben Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts die Erscheinung eines Regenbogens bei der Geburt Tschinggis Khans. Quellenbelege in: F. A. Bischoff-K. Sagaster, „Das Zaubersiegel des Činggis Khan,” in W. Heissig, Hg., *Gedanke und Wirkung. Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag von Nikolaus Poppe* (= Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. 108). Wiesbaden 1989, S. 58, Anm. 52. Die Geburt des 1994 verstorbenen nordkoreanischen Präsidenten Kim-Il-Sung sollen ein doppelter Regenbogen und ein Stern angezeigt haben. Vgl. S. Jäger, „Nordkorea – Scheinwelt bitterer Armut,” *Kleine Zeitung*, 2.

2) Es ist eine religiöse Vorstellung, dass sich bei außergewöhnlichen Menschen sowohl beim Eintritt in das Leben – festgemacht an der Geburt – als auch beim Übergang vom Leben zum Tod überirdische Zeichen offenbaren.

3) In der Überlieferung finden sich im Schema einer kausalen Rückprojektion daher auch zahlreiche Berichte über von der Geschichte als „groß“ beurteilte Personen, welchen eine Außergewöhnlichkeit zugesprochen wurde, die sich eben auch in Geburt und Tod der betreffenden Menschen widergespiegelt haben soll.<sup>4</sup>

4.) Die ideelle Zusammenführung (aus politischen oder religiösen Gründen) verschiedener Überlieferungsstränge führt zur Entstehung neuer Traditionen.

5.) Ein optimaler Nährboden zur Bildung von Legenden besteht dort, wo die näheren Umstände eines als wichtig empfundenen Ereignisses unklar bzw. umstritten sind. Die langanhaltende Wirkmächtigkeit von „Klatsch und Tratsch“ darf auf keinen Fall unterschätzt werden.

Sehen wir uns nun in weiterer Folge an, was die Quellen über Geburt und Tod Tschinggis Khans zu berichten wissen:

Wir können mit Sicherheit davon ausgehen, dass man zur Geburtsstunde Temüschins, dem späteren Tschinggis Khan, keineswegs wusste, wie wichtig der Säugling einst werden sollte. Das illustriert schon allein die Tatsache, dass nicht einmal das Geburtsjahr Temüschins – der wohl um 1165 geboren sein dürfte – gesichert ist. Das Geburtsdatum wird in den Quellen unterschiedlich angegeben und bietet noch heute Stoff für Debatten, wahrscheinlich wusste er es selbst nicht.<sup>5</sup>

In einem Punkt sind sich die mittelalterlichen Berichte jedenfalls einig, nämlich dass die Geburt des großen Mongolenkhan – sei er nun von ihnen in weiterer Folge negativ oder positiv beurteilt – etwas Besonderes gewesen sein muss, was ihn erkennbar von allen anderen Erdenmenschen hervorhob. Noch heute wird übrigens bei den Mongolen die erste Waschung eines Neugeborenen in Erinnerung an den neugeborenen Tschinggis durchgeführt.<sup>6</sup>

Wenn wir uns der mongolischen Überlieferung zuwenden, dann ist dabei die sogenannte *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen* (GG) (mongol. *Manghol un niuca*

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April 2007, S. 9. Der Regenbogen ist als glücksverheißendes Motiv des irdischen Heilbringers zu verstehen. Im *Altan tobči* erscheint ein Regenbogen bei der Geburt von Hung-wu. Vgl. Ch. Bawden, Hg., *The Mongol Chronicle Altan Tobči. Text, Translation and critical Notes* (= Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen 5). Wiesbaden 1955, § 53, S. 149–150 und ebda., Anm. 2.

<sup>4</sup> „Geburt und Jugend der Großen der Geschichte sind meist in Dunkel gehüllt [...]. Dann erst, wenn er im grellen Scheinwerferlicht der Geschichte steht, setzt die Apotheose in Form von Legenden ein, die schon in dem neugeborenen Säugling die künftige Größe ahnen ließen.“ W. L. Hertslett, *Der Treppenwitz der Weltgeschichte. Geschichtliche Irrtümer, Entstellungen und Erfindungen*. Berlin 1967, S. 15f.

<sup>5</sup> P. Ratchnevsky, *Činggis-Khan. Sein Leben und sein Wirken* (= Münchener Ostasiatische Studien 32). Wiesbaden 1983, S. 18. Zu Fragen des Geburtsdatums vgl. u.a. die umfassenden Ausführungen bei P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo I*. Paris 1959, S. 282–288, 290f.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. Á. Birtalan, „The Mongolian Great Khans in Mongolian mythology and folklore,“ *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 58: 3 (2005), S. 304f.

*tobca'an*), welche wohl kurz nach dem Tod Tschinggis Khans entstanden ist, vorzustellen.

Schon der erste Absatz der GG, der vom *Ursprung Činggis Qans* berichtet, leitet die Herkunft des Bordschigin Stammes, dem Tschinggis Khan angehörte, von mythischen Totemtieren ab: „Einst lebte ein blaugrauer Wolf, geboren mit Vorherbestimmung vom Himmel oben. Seine Gattin war eine falbe Hirschkuh...“<sup>7</sup> Nach einer längeren Genealogie ebendort wird über die Geburt Temüdschins, eines Knaben mit „feurigen Augen und glänzendem Gesicht“, berichtet: „Er kam mit einem Blutklumpen in seiner rechten Hand zur Welt, so groß wie ein Spielknöchel.“<sup>8</sup> Der Blutklumpen hätte eine schwarze Farbe gehabt.<sup>9</sup>

Im *Yüan-shih*, den chinesischen Reichsannalen (nach dem Sturz der von Khubilai-Khan begründeten Yüan-Dynastie 1369/70 kompiliert), findet dieses Geburtsomen ebenfalls Eingang. Dort heißt es, dass die Hand des Neugeborenen einen Klumpen Blut gehalten hätte, *fest wie einen roten Stein*.<sup>10</sup> Eine Geschichte, die auch im *Sammler der Geschichten* (*Dschamī ad-tawarikh*; fertiggestellt um 1312) des persischen Chronisten *Raschid ad-Din* nicht fehlen darf. Bei ihm sieht der Klumpen geronnenen Blutes in der zur Faust geballten rechten Hand des Neugeborenen *wie ein Stück getrocknete Leber* aus.<sup>11</sup>

Erzähltechnisch hebt der Blutklumpen in der Hand des Neugeborenen dessen Besonderheit hervor und verweist auf ein zukünftiges – wohl mit Blut verbundenes – Schicksal; auch Temüdschins Vater Yesügei wäre darob „verwundert“ gewesen.<sup>12</sup> Ob Temüdschin bei der Geburt wirklich geronnenes Blut in der Hand gehalten hat, oder ob wir es hier mit einer nachträglichen Erfahrung zu tun haben, wage ich nicht zu beurteilen. Medizinisch wäre ein solches Phänomen durchaus vorstellbar.<sup>13</sup> Der Blutklumpen in der Hand des Neugeborenen ist ein

<sup>7</sup> *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*. Aus dem Mongolischen übertragen und kommentiert von M. Taube. München 1989, § 1, S. 5. Vgl. P. Poucha, „Zum Stammbaum des Tschingis Chan,“ in J. Schubert und U. Schneider, Hgg., *Asiatica. Festschrift Friedrich Weller. Zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*. Leipzig 1954, S. 442–452; M. Dobrovits, „The turco-mongolian tradition of common origin and the historiography on fifteenth century Central Asia,“ *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 47:3 (1994), S. 269–277.

<sup>8</sup> GG (wie Anm. 7), § 59, S. 18.

<sup>9</sup> Ebda., § 78, S. 26.

<sup>10</sup> F. E. A. Krause, *Cingis Han. Die Geschichte seines Lebens nach den chinesischen Reichsannalen* (= Heidelberger Akten der von-Portheim-Stiftung 2). Heidelberg 1922, fol. 3b, S. 11.

<sup>11</sup> O. I. Smirnova, Übers., *Rašid-ad-din. Sbornik ljetopisej* Band I, Buch 2. Moskau-Leningrad 1960, S. 76.

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. Krause (wie Anm. 10), fol. 3b, S. 11. Als Geburtsomen ist ferner die Episode der Namensgebung zu sehen. Vgl. GG (wie Anm. 7), § 59.

<sup>13</sup> Es könnte sich durchaus um einen Teil des Mutterkuchens bzw. einfach um geronnenes Blut gehandelt haben. Für diese Auskunft bin ich Frau DGKKS Maria Mindler (Oberschützen) zu Dank verpflichtet. Pelliot vermutet, dass es sich bei der Vorstellung des Neugeborenen mit dem Blutklumpen um ein Element buddhistischer Provenienz handeln könnte, welches Eingang ins schamanistische Gedankengut asiatischer Stämme gefunden hätte. Des Weiteren fände sich eine weitere Parallele in der iranischen Tradi-

einprägsames Bild – so verwundert es kaum, wenn der bekannte, Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts von C. C. Bergius verfasste Roman *Dschingis Khan* mit den Worten beginnt: *Aus der Faust des Knaben rann Blut – rot wie Rubin.*<sup>14</sup>

In den lamaistischen Schriften des 17. Jahrhunderts finden wir eine intentionale Ausschmückung des Motivs.<sup>15</sup> Darin wird von Temüdschin berichtet, dass er bei seiner Geburt anstelle des Blutklumpens in seiner rechten Hand das Staats-siegel gehalten habe,<sup>16</sup> als Zeichen des zur Herrschaft erkorenen königlichen Helden.<sup>17</sup> Beispielsweise behauptet Tschinggis Khan von sich im *Altan Tobči* (um 1655 datiert)<sup>18</sup> gegenüber seinen Brüdern: „Formerly when I was born, in my right hand there happened to be, from the throne of the dragons and by the order of the mighty Buddha, the Qasbuu seal.“<sup>19</sup> In der Symbolik macht es ihn damit zum zukünftigen Weltherrscher, der schon bei seiner Geburt ein wohl mit magischen

tion. So: Pelliot, (wie Anm. 5), S. 288f. Auch Temüdschins Bruder Qasar soll mit einem derartigen Blutklumpen zur Welt gekommen sein. Belegbar scheint diese Vorstellung aber erst Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts im Altan tobči des Mergen blam-a-yin zu sein. Vgl. Bischoff-Sagaster (wie Anm. 3), S. 62; Quellenverweis: ebda., Anm. 76.

<sup>14</sup> C. C. Bergius, *Dschingis Khan* (erstmals veröffentlicht 1951 unter dem Titel: „Blut und Blüten für Dschingis-Chan“). München 1993, S. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. dazu die ab Mitte 17. Jh.'s bis Mitte 18. Jh.'s dieser Tradition folgenden mongolischen Chroniken: Bischoff-Sagaster (wie Anm. 3), S. 52; Á. Birtalan, „Die Mythologie der mongolischen Volksreligion,“ in E. Schmalzriedt und H. W. Haussig, Hgg., *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, Bd. 7, 2: Götter und Mythen in Zentralasien und Nordeurasien. Stuttgart 2004, s. v. Abstammungsmythos der Bordschigid, S. 933–935.

<sup>16</sup> Im Tsinggis Khan Kult findet sich die Vorstellung, dass er mit einem göttlichen Siegel geboren wurde. Weiters berichten mongolische Chroniken, dass Yestügei ihm das Siegel bei seiner Geburt gegeben hätte bzw. dass das Siegel ihm von einem König aus der chthonischen Geisterwelt in die rechte Hand gelegt wurde. Bischoff-Sagaster (wie Anm. 3), S. 60–62. Vgl. auch: H. Franke, *From Tribal Chieftain to Universal Emperor and God: The Legitimation of the Yüan Dynasty* (= Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-histor. Kl. Sitzungsberichte, Heft 2). München 1978, S. 42–46; H. Okada, „The Imperial seal in the Mongol and Chinese tradition,“ in G. Stary, Hg., *Proceedings of the 38th PIAC Kawasaki, Japan: August 7–12, 1995*, Wiesbaden 1996, S. 273–280; A. Sárközi, „Mandate of heaven. Heavenly support of the Mongol ruler,“ in B. Kellner-Heinkele, Hg., *Altaica Berolinensis. The concept of sovereignty in the Altaiac world. PIAC, 34th Meeting, Berlin 21–26 July, 1991* (= AF 126). Wiesbaden 1993, S. 215–221.

<sup>17</sup> Bischoff-Sagaster (wie Anm. 3), S. 62. Die Siegelgeschichte in all ihren Ausformungen steht in keiner autark mongolischen Tradition – abgesehen davon war ein Siegel vor der Inthronisierung und der darauf folgenden Verwaltungsreform Tsinggis Khans für die Mongolen zweifellos nutzlos. Die Verleihung eines „himmlischen Siegels“ zur Legitimierung der mongolischen Macht war nicht vonnöten; wir finden in dieser Geschichte äußere Einflüsse, die die Mongolen in ihrer Tradition sehen wollen. Vgl. Franke (wie Anm. 16), S. 10f.

<sup>18</sup> Seine eigentliche Geburt wird dort nur marginal erwähnt: Altan Tobči (wie Anm. 3), § 12, S. 118.

<sup>19</sup> Altan Tobči (wie Anm. 3), § 36, S. 136f. Weiters taucht eine himmlische Jadeschale auf, aus der nur Tsinggis zu trinken vermag. Er deutet diese Zeichen auch gleich: *I think I am the Lord with a supreme destiny*. Wiederholung der Erzählung in ebda., § 37, S. 137.

Kräften ausgestattetes Himmelssiegel innehat.<sup>20</sup> Mit solchen Vorstellungen eng verbunden ist die Heroisierung, die Tschinggis zu einer (Schutz-)Gottheit mit eigenem Kult machte.<sup>21</sup>

Ebenfalls buddhistisch geprägt ist das aus der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts stammende *Erdeni-yin tobtschi* des *Sagang Setschen* (SaSe). Obwohl sich SaSe, der sich als Nachfahre Tschinggis Khans sah, ansonsten gerne über Wunder und Vorzeichen ausbreitet, behandelt er das Ereignis der Geburt kurz,<sup>22</sup> bei ihm lesen wir nur, dass Temüdschin *unter merkwürdigen Zeichen geboren*<sup>23</sup> wurde.

Einen Hinweis darauf, dass bei den Mongolen nicht nur die von merkwürdigen Zeichen begleitete Geburt, sondern auch die übernatürliche Zeugung Tschinggis Khans ein Thema war, finden wir bei der in der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts verfassten *Geschichte des Armenischen Volkes*. Der Autor, der Armenier *Kirakos von Gandzak*, einst als Gefangener im Dienste der Mongolen, berichtet ebenfalls von der mirakulösen Geburt Tschinggis Khans, die ihm ein hoher Mili-

<sup>20</sup> Der Zeitpunkt der Überreichung des Siegels an Tschinggis Khan wird nicht einheitlich dargestellt. Wichtig scheint den Autoren allein die Symbolik, die den Besitzer des Himmelssiegels, Tschinggis Khan, als Weltherrscher sieht. Vgl. Bischoff-Sagaster (wie Anm. 3), S. 52 und ebda., Anm. 1–3 (Quellenbelege).

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. z.B. E. Chiodo, „Yamāntaka and the Sülde of Činggis,” in K. Kollmar-Paulenz-C. Peter, Hgg., *Tractata Tibetica et Mongolica*. Festschrift für Klaus Sagaster zum 65. Geburtstag. Wiesbaden 2002, S. 55 bzw. ebda., Anm. 73. Tschinggis Khan, seine Frau oder Mutter wurden u.a. im Kult als Schöpfer des Feuers angesehen: N. Pallisen, „Die alte Religion der Mongolen und der Kultus Tschinggis-Chans,” *Numen* 3 (1956), S. 219. Im tibetisch-mongolischen Buddhismus wird er als Sohn des „Glänzenden Weißen Himmels“ verehrt und verkörpert als irdischer Idealkönig den indischen Götterkönig Brahmā: K. Sagaster, „Der Buddhismus bei den Mongolen,” in W. Heissig und C. Müller, Hgg., *Die Mongolen*. Innsbruck 1989, S. 234f. Er gilt auch als Demiurg: Yu. I. Drobyshev, „Funeral and Memorial Rituals of the medieval Mongols and their underlying worldview,” *Anthropology & Archeology of Eurasia* 45:1 (2006), S. 65–92, hier S. 91, Anm. 128; auf den Kulturheros Tschinggis sollen neben gewissen Gebräuchen auch Tabak und Kumys zurückgehen. Im Lamaismus gilt er als Weltherrscher; seine Abstammung wird darin auf den indischen König Mahāsamādhi zurückgeführt. Vgl. Birtalan (wie Anm. 15), S. 973.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. Bischoff-Sagaster (wie Anm. 3), S. 41, Anm. 3.

<sup>23</sup> Nach: *Sagang Sečen*, *Geschichte der Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses*. Aus dem Mongolischen übersetzt von I. J. Schmidt. Neu herausgegeben und mit einem Nachwort versehen von W. Heissig. Zürich 1985, S. 91. Laut Bischoff-Sagaster würde die Übersetzung Schmidts aber irren und so richtig lauten: „ein mit wundervollen Kennzeichen begabter Knabe geboren ward“, mit Malen [...] also, wie sie den Buddha zieren. Nach: Bischoff-Sagaster (wie Anm. 3), S. 41 bzw. Anm. 3. Vielleicht hat SaSe die Geburt „ganz bewusst unter der buddhistischen Formel verborgen,“ ebda. In der buddhistischen im Jahre 1333 fertiggestellten Chronik *Fo-tsu- li-tai t'ung-tsai* wird die Geburt Tschinggis Khans als ein besonderes heilsgeschichtliches Ereignis herausgegriffen und in buddhistische Vorstellungen eingebunden. Vgl. Franke (wie Anm. 16), S. 55, und Anm. 111.

tär erzählt habe:<sup>24</sup> Tschinggis Khan wäre nicht durch einen Menschen gezeugt worden, „but a light came from the unseen and entered through the skylight of the house and said to his mother: ‚Conceive and thou shalt give birth to a son (who shall be) emperor of the earth.‘ And by this (light), they say, she bore him.“<sup>25</sup> Das von Kirakos überlieferte Lichtempfängnismotiv, welches Tschinggis Khan eine göttliche Abstammung zuspricht, ist die Übertragung einer weit verbreiteten Wundergeschichte, die sich u.a. ursprünglich in der GG wieder findet. Dort ist es aber nicht Temüdschins Mutter, Ho`elun, die durch einen Lichtstrahl geschwängert wird, sondern die mythische Ahnfrau der Bordschigin namens Alan Q`oa<sup>26</sup>, welche nach dem Tod ihres Mannes (Dobun Mergen) auf unerklärliche Weise drei Mal schwanger wurde und die Geburt der Söhne wie folgt erklärt: „Jede Nacht kam ein glänzender gelber Mann auf dem Lichtstrahl, der durch die Rauchöffnung oder auch über der Jurtentür hereinfiel, streichelte meinen Bauch, und sein Strahl senkte sich in meinen Leib. Wenn er mich verließ, kroch er wie ein gelber Hund auf dem Sonnen- oder Mondstrahl heraus. ... Es sind Söhne des Himmels.“<sup>27</sup>

Dieselbe Erzählung ist auch dem arabischen Geschichtsschreiber *al-Umari* (1301–1349; im mamlukischen Staatsdienst) Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts geläufig.<sup>28</sup> Im Anschluss an die Erzählung vermerkt er aber: *Die Geschichte über die Abstammung Ğinkiz Hān's ist (als solche) gemeine Lüge und unwahres Gerede, wenn sie auch von der Frau aus gesehen richtig sein mag. Vielleicht hat sie eine List angewandt, um der Hinrichtung zu entgehen, vielleicht hat sie auch die Erzählung von der unbefleckten Jungfrau Maria gehört, sich den ähnlichen Fall zunutze gemacht und so die Leute entsprechend jener wahren und tatsächlichen Begebenheit betrogen und belogen.*<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> i.e. *Qutuytu Noyan*. Vgl. Kirakos (wie Anm. 1), S. 200. Zu *Qutuytu Noyan*: ebda., Anm. 29, S. 203.

<sup>25</sup> Kirakos (wie Anm. 1), S. 203. Laut Ratchnevsky (wie Anm. 5), S. 16 und Anm. 70 war das Lichtempfängnismotiv unter den Nomaden verbreitet. So bei den Kitan; Vgl. auch Poucha (wie Anm. 7), S. 448.

<sup>26</sup> Vielleicht deutet die Legende auf die fremde Abstammung des Vaters hin. Vgl. Ratchnevsky (wie Anm. 5), S. 13. Ad Alan Qo'a: Poucha (wie Anm. 7), S. 444–449.

<sup>27</sup> GG (wie Anm. 7), § 21, S. 8. Ähnlich: *Altan Tobči* (wie Anm. 3), S. 115 und Krause (wie Anm. 10), fol. 1a, S. 8.

<sup>28</sup> Auch anderen muslimischen Autoren ist die Geschichte geläufig, vgl. Dobrovits (wie Anm. 7), S. 273–275.

<sup>29</sup> Al-'Umari, *Das Mongolische Weltreich*. Al-'Umari's Darstellung der mongolischen Reihe in seinem Werk *Masālik al-absār fi mamālik al-amṣār* mit Paraphrase und Kommentar herausgegeben von K. Lech (= AF 22). Wiesbaden 1968, S. 92. Zur Geburt vgl. ebda., Anm. 19, S. 178–181. Die Genealogie der Tschinggisiden wird ebenso von alten indischen Dynastien abgeleitet. Vgl. K. Jahn, „An Indian legend on the descent of the Mongols,” *Charisteria Orientalia* (1956), S. 120–123. Zur Empfängnis Jesu siehe: *Neues Testament*, Mt. 1,18–25 und Lk. 1,26–38. Es verwundert kaum, wenn Tschinggis im Zuge synkretistischer Strömungen von muslimischen Geschichtsschreibern die Gabe des Prophetismus zugestanden bzw. ihm der Status eines Erlöser zugebilligt wird. In einer Fatwa wird er sogar Mohammed gleichgestellt. Vgl. R. Amitai, „Did Chinggis Khan Have a Jewish Teacher? An Examination of an Early Fourteenth-Century Arabic Text,”

Der mamlukische Chronist Ibn ad-Dawādārī (geb. um 1286) weiß in einer türkisch-mongolischen Stammesgeschichte zu berichten, dass Tschinggis Khan der Nachfahre eines Neugeborenen war, das von einem Adler in die unzugängliche Wildnis entführt und von einer schwarzen Löwin gesäugt und aufgezogen worden war. Der „Löwenknabe“ besäße ebenso wie seine Nachfahren, unter denen sich auch Kulturheroen finden, übermenschliche Kräfte.<sup>30</sup> In den zeitgenössischen abendländischen Quellen wird über Temüdschins Geburt nichts Außergewöhnliches berichtet. Eine Quelle bescheinigt dem „grausamen Mann“ immerhin eine noble Abstammung.<sup>31</sup> Dass Tschinggis Khan von edler Geburt gewesen sein soll, wird in der GG an einer unerwarteten Stelle betont. Als nämlich Tschinggis über Dschamuqa, seinen Jugendfreund und späteren Konkurrenten, der ihm über längere Zeit die Stirn geboten hatte, triumphierte und dieser als Gefangener vor ihn gebracht wurde, wird Dschamuqa in den Mund gelegt: *Ich bin von edler, besonderer Geburt. Durch die Majestät des Freundes von noch edlerer Geburt bin ich besiegt worden.*<sup>32</sup>

Wichtig ist hier festzuhalten, dass sich Tschinggis, der eine neue Ordnung, basierend auf Loyalität und Leistung, einführte, die großteils mit den alten gentilen Ordnungen brach, gegenüber den Verfechtern der alten Geburtsrechten anhängenden Tradition, wie sie Dschamuqa vertrat, durchgesetzt hatte und dies aus dem Munde seines Gegners mit seiner edleren Geburt gerechtfertigt wird. Dschamuqa vertritt (allegorisch) das Althergebrachte, er ist der Träger der Steppe-tradition, wohingegen Temüdschin für das neu Entstehende steht, als Verkörperung der Tradition des „Entwachsens“.<sup>33</sup>

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*Journal of the American Oriental Society* 124:4 (2004), S. 691–705. Auch in buddhistischen Schriften finden sich solche Bestrebungen, Tschinggis Khans Herkunft von tibetischen und mythologischen indischen Königen abzuleiten und den darauf basierenden mongolischen „universellen Herrschaftsanspruch“ religiös zu begründen. Franke (wie Anm. 16), S. 46f., 54–58; W. Heissig, *Die Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der Mongolen*, Bd. I, 16.–18. Jahrhundert (= AF, Bd. 5). Wiesbaden 1959, S. 13ff.

<sup>30</sup> U. Haarmann, „Altun Hān und Čingiz Hān bei den ägyptischen Mamluken bei den ägyptischen Mamluken,“ *Der Islam. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients* 51 (1974), S. 1–36, hier: S. 21–31.

<sup>31</sup> C. de Bridia, „The Tartar Relation“. Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar von G. D. Painter, in Skelton-Marston-Painter, Hgg., *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*. New Haven-London 1965, § 3, S. 57.

<sup>32</sup> Nach: E. Haenisch, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen* aus einer mongolischen Niederschrift des Jahres 1240 von der Insel Kode'e im Keluren Fluss erstmalig übersetzt und erläutert von E. Haenisch. Leipzig 1941, S. 94. Vgl. dazu: GG (wie Anm. 7) § 38 bzw. § 40; § 201, S. 135; § 201, S. 134f. Dschamuqa wird in Folge ein königlicher Tod (ohne Blutvergießen) gewährt und ehrenvoll beigesetzt. GG (wie Anm. 7) § 201, S. 136. Vgl. O. Lattimore, „Honour and loyalty: the case of Temüjin and Jamukha,“ in L. V. Clark-P. A. Draghi, Hgg., *Aspects of Altaic civilization II* (= Proceedings of the XVIII PAC, Bloomington, June 29–July 5, 1975). Bloomington 1978, S. 136.

<sup>33</sup> Vgl. M. Weiers, „Temüdschin der Schwurbrüchige,“ *Zentralasiatische Studien* 28 (1998), S. 33.

Die Idee von der himmlischen Abstammung Tschinggis Khans wurde in der Folge noch weiter ausgebaut, es ist eine der Grundideen des mongolischen Reiches, dass Tschinggis Khan und seine Nachkommen vom Himmel dazu auserkoren sind, über alle Völker der Erde zu herrschen. Selbst der rätselhafte Tod<sup>34</sup> Tschinggis Khans konnte den Aufstieg der Mongolen nicht bremsen. Das Verschweigen des Todeszeitpunktes und des Bestattungsortes<sup>35</sup> kann ursprünglich durchaus politische Gründe gehabt haben, aber warum wurde die Todesart danach verschwiegen? Vielleicht war sie einfach nur unspektakulär oder eines Khans nicht würdig; dass sie allgemein nicht bekannt war, bezeugen die widersprüchlichen Angaben in den Quellen.

Gestorben ist Tschinggis Khan irgendwann zwischen Mitte und Ende August 1227, wobei der genaue Todestag kaum mehr eruiert werden kann.<sup>36</sup> Der Todesort wird auf dem ehemaligen Gebiet von Hsia-Hsia zu suchen sein, wo Tschinggis im Zuge seines zweiten Feldzuges gegen die Tanguten verstarb. Das Grab wurde trotz einiger Expeditionen noch nicht gefunden und selbst wenn, ist es fraglich, ob es zu einer Ergrabung kommen würde.<sup>37</sup> Die Todesursache Činggis-khans ist offenbar nur wenigen Personen seiner nächsten Umgebung bekannt gewesen.<sup>38</sup> Durch das Verschweigen seines Todes und der näheren Umstände könnte auf den laufenden Kin-Feldzug, der Reputation des Herrschers oder die gesicherte Thronfolge Rücksicht genommen worden sein. Tschinggis Khan soll laut Raschid ad-Din (1247-1318) selbst auf seinem Sterbelager gesagt haben: *Macht meinen Tod nicht bekannt, weint und klagt in keiner Weise, damit der Feind nichts davon erfahre.*<sup>39</sup>

Was die Todesart Tschinggis Khans angeht, möchte ich mich hier eines Ausschlussverfahrens bedienen, um zumindest die weniger wahrscheinlichen Überlieferungen zu enttarnen: Zunächst wäre da die Version der Franiskanerpater Jo-

<sup>34</sup> E. Haenisch, „Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's und sein Tod. Nach der ostasiatischen Überlieferung,” *Asia Maior* 9 (1933), S. 503-551; D. C. Wright, „The Death of Chinggis Khan in Mongolian, Chinese, Persian, and European Sources,” in Á. Berta, Hg., *Historical and linguistic interaction between Inner-Asia and Europe* (= Proceedings of the 39<sup>th</sup> PIAC, Szeged, Hungary, June 16-21, 1996). Szeged 1997, S. 425-433; Drobyshev (wie Anm. 21), S. 65-92; B.-O. Bold, „Death and burial of Chinggis Khan,” *Central Asian Survey* 19, 1 (2000), S. 95-115. Bold vertritt die These der Einäscherung Tschinggis Khans. Als Bsp. für einen Roman: Anšlavs Eglitis, *Dschingis Khans Ende*. Aus dem Lettischen übertragen von Charlotte Torp. Hamburg 1968.

<sup>35</sup> Zum Bestattungsort u.a. J. A. Boyle, „The burial place of the Great Khan Ögödei,” *Acta Orientalia* 32 (1970), S. 45f.; ders., „The thirteenth-century mongols' conception of the after life. The evidence of their funerary practices,” *Mongolian Studies* 1 (1974), S. 8-10.

<sup>36</sup> Vgl. Pelliot (wie Anm. 5), S. 305-309.

<sup>37</sup> Schon aus der Ming-Dynastie (1368-1644) gibt es Berichte über diesbezügliche Nachforschungen, die unter den nachfolgenden Herrschern fortgeführt wurden. Unter dem lamaistischen Einfluss wurde die Suche nach dem Grab schließlich Tabu. Vgl. Bold (wie Anm. 34), S. 95, 111; M. Zick, „Der erste Global Player,” *Bild der Wissenschaft* 12 (2000), S. 69; Drobyshev (wie Anm. 21), S. 84f.

<sup>38</sup> Ratchnevsky (wie Anm. 5), S. 126.

<sup>39</sup> Übersetzung: B. Spuler, *Geschichte der Mongolen. Nach östlichen und europäischen Zeugnissen des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*. Stuttgart 1968, S. 54.

hannes de *Plano Carpini* und C. de *Bridia* anzuzweifeln. Beide, im Auftrage des Papstes zu den Mongolen gereist, berichten Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts nämlich, dass ein Blitzschlag dem Leben des Mongolenherrschers ein jähes Ende bereitet hätte.<sup>40</sup> Bridia und Carpini sind die Einzigen, welche von diesem tödlichen Blitzschlag (ein Tod, den übrigens auch der hunnische König Ruga erlitten haben soll) berichten. Woher sie diese Erzählung haben, ist fraglich.<sup>41</sup> Der Blitztod wurde bei den Mongolen als Strafe empfunden, der Leichnam eines derart Getöteten galt als unrein.<sup>42</sup> Man hatte große Angst vor Blitz und Donner. Wer von Blitzschlag heimgesucht wurde, verließ seinen Besitz und kehrte erst ein Jahr später zurück.<sup>43</sup>

Ebenso unglaublich erscheint auch die Version *Marco Polos*,<sup>44</sup> der als Erklärung eine im Kampf erlittene Verletzung anführt: *Am Ende des sechsten Jahres* [gerechnet nach seinem Sieg über den Priesterkönig Johannes] *kämpfte er vor einer Festungsanlage namens Caagiu; ein Pfeil verletzte ihn am Knie; an der Wunde ist er gestorben.*<sup>45</sup> Obwohl sowohl Todeszeitpunkt als auch die angegebene Ursache des Todes – eine Verletzung durch einen Pfeil am Knie – irrig sind, enthält Marco Polos Bericht dennoch ein Körnchen Wahrheit. Tschinggis Khan wurde nämlich tatsächlich im Jahre 1212 bei der Belagerung der Kin-Westhauptstadt „Hsi-ching“

<sup>40</sup> [...] *ab ictu tonitruo est occisus*: J. Gießauf, *Die Mongolengeschichte des Johannes von Piano Carpini*. Einführung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar (= Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Geschichte 6) Graz 1995, cap. V, 19, S. 98; [...] *a tonitruo divino iudicio est percussus*. Bridia (wie Anm. 31), § 16, S. 67.

<sup>41</sup> Wright (wie Anm. 34), S. 427f.

<sup>42</sup> Carpini erwähnt im Zusammenhang mit mongolischem Aberglauben gehäuftes Auftreten von Gewittern und oftmaligem Blitztod. Die Habe der Blitzopfer galt als unrein und es erfolgten entsprechende Reinigungsriten. Man hatte auch Angst davor, durch Wäschewaschen den Blitze schleudernden Himmelsgott zu erzürnen. Vgl. Carpini (wie Anm. 40), S. 128, 143, 147 und Anm. 413. Diese Angst vor Blitzen wird auch von anderen Autoren belegt: ebda. S. 143, Anm. 392. Painter vermutet, dass der Tod durch einen Blitz außer im negativen Sinne auch als Apotheose verstanden werden könne, da der Blitztod durch Tengri, den höchsten Gott, hervorgerufen wurde. Der vom Blitz Erschlagene wäre also in diesem Falle nicht von Gott bestraft, sondern als ein Heiliger anzusehen. Vgl. Bridia (wie Anm. 31), § 16, Anm. 2, S. 68.

<sup>43</sup> Vgl. *Meng-Ta pei-lu* und *Hei-Ta shih-lieh*. Chinesische Gesandtschaftsberichte über die frühen Mongolen 1221 und 1237. Nach Vorarbeiten von E. Haenisch und Yao Ts’ung-wu übersetzt und kommentiert von P. Olbricht und E. Pinks (= Asiatische Forschungen 56). Wiesbaden 1980, cap. 33, S. 159. Wenn sie den Donner hören, fürchten sie sich sehr und wagen keinen Kriegszug. Sie sagen: „Der Himmel ruft.“ Ebda., cap. 15, S. 77.

<sup>44</sup> Vgl. Pelliot (wie Anm. 5), S. 328.

<sup>45</sup> Marco Polo, *Die Wunder der Welt, Il Milione. Die Reise nach China an den Hof des Kublai Khan*. Übersetzung aus den altfranzösischen und lateinischen Quellen und Nachwort von E. Guignard. Frankfurt am Main 2003, cap. 68, S. 90f. Marco Polo vermerkt: Das [Tschinggis Khans Tod] war ein großes Unglück; denn er ist ein kluger und tapferer Herrscher gewesen.

(Si-King oder Xijing) durch einen Pfeil verletzt. Allein, dass Tschinggis nach fünfzehn (!) Jahren an dieser Wunde verstorben sein soll, ist nicht zu glauben.<sup>46</sup>

In das Reich der Legenden ist ebenso die Version *Dschusdschanis* zu verweisen, die sich u.a. bei SaSe findet. Dschusdschan, der selbst an Kampfhandlungen gegen Mongolen beteiligt war, berichtet Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts, dass beim zweiten Feldzug gegen die Tanguten deren Herrscher<sup>47</sup> vor seiner Hinrichtung prophezeit habe, dass, wenn aus der ihm bei der Hinrichtung zugefügten Wunde Blut fließen solle, das wie weiße Milch aussehen würde, Tschinggis Khan innerhalb von drei Tagen den Tod finden würde. Als aus der Wunde tatsächlich weißes Blut floss, wäre Tschinggis Khan so ergriffen gewesen, dass ihn sein Herz - drei Tage nach Hinrichtung des Tanguten - in Stich ließ und er „zur Hölle fuhr“.<sup>48</sup>

Bis dato ist ungeklärt, ob Tschinggis Khan vor oder nach der erfolgten Hinrichtung des Tanguten-Herrschers verstarb. Wenn er aber tatsächlich vor der Kapitulation der Tanguten gestorben ist, dann sind alle damit verbundenen Geschichten, wie die *Dschusdschanis*, des Altan tobči oder SaSe in das Reich der Legenden zu verweisen.

Dieselbe, etwas ausgeschmücktere Prophezeiung vom weißen Blut, gibt über 400 Jahre nach Tschinggis' Tod auch SaSe's wieder. Bei ihm wird Tschinggis Khan letztlich nicht Opfer seines schwachen Herzens, sondern der zuvor von ihm heiß begehrten Tangutenkönigin Kürbeldschin. Tschinggis Khans Seele fährt desweiteren nicht in die Hölle, sondern es ist ihm vergönnt, in die entgegengesetzte Richtung zu entschweben. SaSe schreibt: *In der folgenden Nacht, da der Herrscher im Schlaf lag, tat Kürbeldschin Goa seinem Körper ein Übel an, wovon er schwach und ohnmächtig wurde.*<sup>49</sup> Welches Übel sie seinem Körper angetan haben soll, ist hier nicht spezifiziert. Als Hinweis könnte man die Stelle auffassen, bei der der Tangutenherrscher vor seinem Tod Tschinggis Khan riet, Kürbeldschin - bevor er

<sup>46</sup> Vgl. Pelliot (wie Anm. 5), S. 328. Immerhin schien die damalige Verwundung aber schwer genug gewesen zu sein, um die Belagerung abzubrechen; doch schon bald darauf war er wieder auf dem Schlachtfeld anzutreffen. Vgl. die Belegstelle in: Krause (wie Anm. 10), fol. 16a, S. 31.

<sup>47</sup> Zur widersprüchlichen Überlieferung der Ereignisse des letzten Feldzuges Tschinggis Khans und zur Rolle des Tangutenherrschers inklusive der auf Aberglauben zurückzuführenden Umbenennung desselben vor der Hinrichtung vgl. insbes. Haenisch (wie Anm. 34), S. 545-547.

<sup>48</sup> H. G. Raverty, *Abu Umar Usman ibn Muhammad al-Minhaj-e-Siraj al Juzjani: Tabakat-i-Nasiri: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia, Including Hindustan; from A.H. 194 (810 A.D.) to A.H. 658 (1260 A.D.) and the Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islam*. New-Delhi 1970 (Reprint der Erst-Ausgabe von 1881), S. 1096. Auch im Fākihat des Ibn 'Arabshāh fährt Tschinggis Khan nach seinem Tod *into the lowest of hells*. Vgl. R. G. Irwin, „What the partridge told the eagle: A neglected arabic source on Chinggis Khan and the early history of the Mongols,“ in R. Amitai-Preiss, D. O. Morgan, Hgg., *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*. Leiden-Boston-Köln 1999, S. 7.

<sup>49</sup> SaSe (wie Anm. 23), S. 128.

mit ihr die Nacht verbringe – am ganzen Körper sorgfältig zu untersuchen.<sup>50</sup> Ratchnevsky interpretiert dies als Verwundung am Zeugungsorgan mit Todesfolge.<sup>51</sup> Haenisch spricht von einer Vergiftung.<sup>52</sup>

Wie ihm Kürbeldschin in der Erzählung SaSe's das Leben nahm, ist also ungewiss, es scheint aber, dass wir es hier mit einem Märchenerzählmotiv zu tun haben, bei dem der unsterbliche Khan nur von einer Frau besiegt werden kann.<sup>53</sup> Heissig favorisiert hingegen einen politischen posthumen Rufmord.<sup>54</sup> Mongolische Historiker des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts weisen die Erzählung auf das Schärfste zurück und sehen darin eine böse Verleumdung.<sup>55</sup> Es wäre verständlich, wenn diese Art des Todes geheim gehalten worden wäre.<sup>56</sup> Die Theorie, dass Kürbeldschin Schuld am Tod Tschinggis Khans hätte, wird wieder in der neueren Forschung vertreten.<sup>57</sup>

In *Raschid ad-Dins* Schilderung nehmen die letzten Ereignisse im Leben Tschinggis Khans einen vielfach realistischeren Verlauf. Er stirbt infolge einer Krankheit, *by reason of that condition which no mortal can escape*.<sup>58</sup> Genaueres, zumindest, was die Ursache betrifft, scheint sein Landsmann *Dschuwaini* zu wissen, denn er gibt als Grund für die Erkrankung ebenso wie der zur selben Zeit schreibende syrische Gelehrte *Bar Hebraeus* (1225–1286)<sup>59</sup> das ungesunde Klima an (Ty-

<sup>50</sup> Vgl. SaSe (wie Anm. 23), S. 126f. Im Altan tobči wird Tschinggis Khan geraten, er solle die Königin ebenfalls durchsuchen – angefangen bei ihren „schwarzen Fingernägeln“. Altan Tobči (wie Anm. 3), § 42f, S. 140f.

<sup>51</sup> Vgl. Ratchnevsky (wie Anm. 5), S. 127. Mongolische Chroniken spezifizieren den gewaltsamen Tod Tschinggis Khans mit dem Erzählmotiv der *vulva dentala*. Vgl. SaSe (wie Anm. 23), Anm. 58, S. 472f.; Wright (wie Anm. 34), S. 28; in W. Heissig, *Die Mongolen. Ein Volk sucht seine Geschichte*. Düsseldorf–Wien 1979 heißt es auf S. 144, dass eine Chronik des frühen 17. Jh.'s schildere, dass sich Kürbeldschin ein Zängelchen in ihr Geschlechtsteil eingeführt hätte.

<sup>52</sup> So: Haenisch (wie Anm. 34), S. 548.

<sup>53</sup> Anregung von Á. Birtalan.

<sup>54</sup> Heissig (wie Anm. 51), S. 145.

<sup>55</sup> Vgl. Wright (wie Anm. 34), S. 429. Der mongolische Historiker Sumba-Khambo (18. Jh.) sieht in dieser Tschinggis Khan degradierenden Form des Todes ein Gerücht, das von Qasar's Sohn ausgestreut wurde. Vgl. Drobyshev (wie Anm. 21), S. 88, Anm. 66.

<sup>56</sup> Bold (wie Anm. 34), S. 97.

<sup>57</sup> Während Wright noch von der „possibility that she could have assassinated Chinggis Khan in some way“ spricht, ist sich der mongolische Forscher Bold dessen sicher. Vgl. Wright (wie Anm. 34), S. 432; Bold (wie Anm. 34), S. 111.

<sup>58</sup> Rashid al-Din: *The Successors of Genghis Khan*. Aus dem Persischen übersetzt von J. A. Boyle. New York–London 1971, S. 29. Vgl. auch die Übersetzung der Textstelle den Tod Tschinggis Khans betreffend bei Raschid ad-Din in Spuler (wie Anm. 39), S. 53f.

<sup>59</sup> [...] a severe sickness attacked him, and it was due to the excessive (moisture) of the atmosphere. And having despaired of obtaining help from the physicians, [...] his illness grew more severe, and he departed from the world... Nach: Bar Hebraeus, *The chronography of Gregory Abu'l Fraaj, the son of Aaron, the Hebrew physiciaan, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus: being the first part of his political history of the world*. Aus dem Syrischen übersetzt von E. A. Wallis Budge. Piscataway 2003, S. 390.

phus, Malaria?"),<sup>60</sup> welches seinen Tod verursachte.<sup>61</sup> Tschinggis Khan selbst hätte gemäß Dschuwaini seinen nahen Tod erkannt und zu seinen Söhnen gesagt: „*The severity of my illness is greater than can be cured by treatment.*“<sup>62</sup> Obwohl es in der GG zum Tode Tschinggis Khans schlussendlich nur lapidar heißt: *Er kam und vernichtete das Tang`ut-Volk, und im Schweine-Jahr (1227) stieg Činggis Qahan zum Himmel auf,*<sup>63</sup> wird zuvor ein Ereignis geschildert, welches sehr wohl mit seinem Tod in engem Zusammenhang stehen dürfte. Es ist dies die Schilderung eines schweren Reitunfalles im Zuge des zweiten Tangutfeldzuges.<sup>64</sup> Bei der Jagd auf Wildpferde scheute nämlich sein Rotschimmel, sodass er vom Pferd stürzte und „sein Körper sehr schmerzte“. Im daraufhin eilig aufgeschlagenen Lager bringt der Khan „die Nacht mit heißem Körper“<sup>65</sup>, er zieht aber trotzdem, obwohl nicht genesen, ins Feld, worauf sich sein Gesundheitszustand verschlechtert und er verstirbt.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Laut Haenisch (wie Anm. 34), S. 548 ist überliefert, dass Tschinggis Khan sich ebenso wie viele seiner Soldaten dieses Fiebers (eventuell Typhus) bei der Einnahme der Stadt Dörmegei geholt hätte. Des Weiteren ist auch von Malaria die Rede. Vgl. Ratchnevsky (wie Anm. 5), S. 127; Bold (wie Anm. 34), S. 96 bezugnehmend auf Pelliot (wie Anm. 5), S. 328.

<sup>61</sup> [...] *he was overcome by an incurable disease arising from the insalubrity of the climate.* Nach: Ala ad-Din `Ata Malik Juvaini, *The History of the World Conqueror*. Übersetzung des Textes von Mizra Muhammad Qazvini von J. A. Boyle mit einer neuen Einführung und Bibliographie von D. O. Morgan. Manchester 1997, S. 180f. Dschuwaini zufolge wollte man ihn zu seiner Erleichterung und der Verbesserung seines Gesundheitszustandes in eine klimatisch angenehmere Gegend bringen, was auch anderweitig bestätigt wird (GG § 266).

<sup>62</sup> Boyle (wie Anm. 61), cap. 29, S. 180f.

<sup>63</sup> GG (wie Anm. 7), § 268, S. 200.

<sup>64</sup> Pelliot kommt zu dem Schluss, dass der Sturz von seinem Pferd *Dschosotu-boro* wohl der wahrscheinlichste Grund für Tschinggis Khans Versterben ist. Pelliot (wie Anm. 5), S. 329. Taube (wie Anm. 7), S. 266, Anm. zu Seite 200 stellt fest, dass Tschinggis sicher an den Folgen des Sturzes vom Pferd starb. Ebenso Haenisch: [Die GG] meldet den Tod lakonisch. Da es jedoch von einem schweren Sturz vom Pferde im Herbst des Vorjahres berichtet, mit folgendem Fieber, wäre man geneigt, hiernach eine innere Verletzung als Todesursache anzunehmen. Haenisch (wie Anm. 34), S. 547. Das der GG nahe stehende *Yüan-shih* spricht sich zwar nicht näher über die Todesursache aus, verneint aber ebenso einen plötzlichen Tod: Vgl. Krause (wie Anm 10), fol. 22a-b, S. 40f.

<sup>65</sup> GG (wie Anm. 7), § 265, S. 196.

<sup>66</sup> Als Omen seines baldigen Todes erscheint Tschinggis Khan im *Yüan-shih* (Krause (wie Anm. 10), fol. 21a, S. 39 und im *Erdeni-yn tobtschi*, SaSe (wie Anm. 23), S. 116f. auf einem Feldzug gegen Indien ein Einhorn, woraufhin er umkehrt. Laut Haenisch (wie Anm. 34), S. 543 hat aber Tschinggis Khan an keinem solchen militärischen Unternehmen teilgenommen. Ad Tod verkündende Vorzeichen: N. Th. Katanoff, „Über die Bestattungsgebräuche bei den Türkstämmen Central- und Ostasiens,“ *Keleti Szemle* 1 (1900). Wieder abgedruckt in: *Indiana University Publications of Uralic and Altaic Studies*, 66:1 (1966), S. 285f. Der baldige Tod Hulagus wird bei Grigor von Akanc' durch einen Kometen angezeigt: *History of the Nation of the Archers (the Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc'*.

Konkret ist die Todesursache also nicht auszumachen. Es scheint, als wäre sie - ebenso wie der Ort seiner letzten Ruhestätte - zu einem Tabu erhoben worden.<sup>67</sup> Warum sollte aber nicht dem Eroberungsdrang des immerhin über 60 Jahre alten Khans durch einen Reitunfall und Fieber, ein Ende bereitet worden sein? Es wäre dann aber Ironie des Schicksals, wenn er gerade durch das Bocken eines jener Pferde, auf deren Rücken er und sein Volk sich aufmachten, ein Weltreich von nie da gewesener Größe zu erobern, zu Fall gekommen wäre.

Die Phantasie der Menschen und die Feder einfallsreicher Gelehrter haben den Mongolenkhan zwar der für uns nachvollziehbaren Wahrheit entrissen, ihm aber durch die ihn umrankenden Legenden das beschert, was er am Ende seiner Tage verzweifelt gesucht hatte – Unsterblichkeit.

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*Hithertho ascribed to Mayak'ia the Monk.* Armenischer Text, englische Übersetzung und Kommentar von R. P. Blake und R. N. Frye, Hgg., Cambridge 1954, S. 351.

<sup>67</sup> Vgl. Bridia (wie Anm. 31), § 16, Anm. 2, S. 68.

# Öndör Gegen Zanabazar and his Role in the Mongolian Culture

ZSOLT SZILÁGYI



In the seventeenth century, Inner Asia witnessed a struggle of armies and ideologies. There was competition between the Manchu Empire and tsarist Russia for greater influence in Inner Asia. It was also a question of whether Tibet and the newly formed Oirat Khaganate would be able to counterbalance them. The territorial dividedness of Halha-Mongolia and the ongoing civil war made it unambiguous that the descendants of the world-conquering Mongols of the thirteenth century could play only a subordinate role in this game. After the collapse of the Great Mongol Empire, the eastern Mongolian territories were divided for three centuries, with only the short intermission of the relatively stable rule of Batu Möngke. The foundation of the Mongolian Buddhist Church in the seventeenth century coincides with this not so prosperous era of Mongolian history.

Öndör Gegen, who is known as the founder of the Mongol Buddhist Church, was an active participant in these events. Besides spreading Buddhism, he made indisputable steps to conserve the Mongol traditions and with their help to protect the cultural and social integrity of Mongol society. From the second half of the seventeenth century, the foundation of the Buddhist church gave an opportunity for the Mongols to preserve their cultural identity even during the Manchu occupation despite the unifying efforts of the Empire, and later it was an indispensable condition of their political independence, too. Let me now show the innovations which played an important role in the everyday life of the Mongols and which nowadays can be considered as traditional in the resurrection of Mongolian Buddhism.

Öndör Gegen's role in the history of Mongolian art and of Mongolian Buddhism has already been presented in detail, in the biographies which are also the main sources of this paper. Three important texts should be mentioned here:

(1) A biography written in the Tibetan language by Zaja Pandita Blo-bzang-'phrin-las in 1702, when Öndör Gegen was still alive.

(2) A biography written in 1839 by Ngag-gi-dbang-po, also in the Tibetan language.

(3) A Mongol version written in 1859 that was partly based on translations of the previously mentioned works, published by Ch. Bawden in 1961.<sup>1</sup>

*Brief biography of the first Jebtsundampa*

Öndör Gegen was born the second son of Tüsiyetü khan Gombodorji of the Khalkha Left Wing on the 25th day of the ninth month of the year of the wooden boar (1635) at a place called Yisün Jüil. His father was a descendant of Jinggis khan. His grandfather was Abatai Sain Khan, whose grandfather was Geresenje, the founder of all the Khalkha princely houses. Abadai is well-known as the founder of the Erdeni Juu monastery in the summer of 1585. He was the first to introduce Tibetan Buddhism into the Khalkha territories.

At the age of four (in 1638), Öndör Gegen became a pious layman *gelong*<sup>2</sup> under Jambal<sup>3</sup> lam. His name thereafter was Zanabazar (Sanskrit *Āñavajra*).<sup>4</sup> The word *dzana* derived from Sanskrit *ज्ञान* or knowledge and wisdom. *Bazar* means *Vajra* or thunderbolt. Thus, according to its Sanskrit version, in English the name means, "A thunderbolt of wisdom".

In the year of the yellow hare (1639) Dzanabdzar was promoted to the head of the Mongolian Buddhist religion. This appointment of a new head of a united religious leadership was of great importance for the further development of Buddhism.

Being anxious to study, Zanabazar left Khalkha-Mongolia for Tibet. On his way to Tibet, he visited many monasteries where Tsong-kha-pa, the founder of the Geluk school lived. He made a pilgrimage to such famous monasteries as Kumbum (Tibetan *Sku-'bum*), Sera (Tibetan *Se-ra*), Galdan (Tibetan *Dga'-ldan*), and received consecration as a novice *gecul*<sup>5</sup> from the Pnachen lama himself at the monastery of Tasilhumpo (Tibetan *Bkra-shis-lhum-po*). Upon reaching Lhasa, Öndör Gegen was granted an audience with the fifth Dalai lama (1617-1682). Thereafter he was recognized as a reincarnation of Rje-btsun Tāranātha Kun-dga'-snyim-po (Mong. *Gunganyambo*, who lived 1575-1634).<sup>6</sup> After this he became the first Jebtsundamba<sup>7</sup> of Khalkha-Mongolia, the head of the Mongolian Buddhist Church.

Tāranātha, always called *rje-btsun* ("revered sir"), was born in 1575 and grew up to be a monk of high virtue in the Jo-nang Sect.<sup>8</sup> He is famous in the history of

<sup>1</sup> Ch. Bawden, *The Jebtsundampa khutughtus of Urga*. Wiesbaden 1961.

<sup>2</sup> Tib. *dge-slong*, or *genyen* (Tib. *dge-bsnyen*).

<sup>3</sup> Mong. *Blam-a Ĵambalig, khal. Ĵambal lam.* Tib. *Byams-pa-gling No-mon khan*.

<sup>4</sup> Tib. *Ye-shes rdo-rje, halha Išdorj*.

<sup>5</sup> Tib. *dge-tshul*.

<sup>6</sup> He was not the first incarnation in this line. Zs. Szilágyi, *Manchu-Mongol Diplomatic Correspondence 1635-1896. Treasures of Mongolian Culture and Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism*, Vol. 1. ed. G. Bethlenfalvy. State Central Library of Mongolia, Research Group for Altaic Studies, and Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest 2004.

<sup>7</sup> Tib. *Rje-btsun-gdam-pa*, mong. *Jibcundamba* or *Jebcundamba*, khalkha *Āwvjandamb*.

<sup>8</sup> The jo-nang-pa was a subsect of the Sa-skya Sect.

Tibetan Buddhism for the many works written by him. He founded the Rtag-brtan-ohun-tsogs-gling monastery in 1615.

In 1651 Öndör Gegen returned from Tibet, continued his study and began to work on his creations. In the same year he laid foundations of the future *Ix xüree Gandan šadubling* with the establishment of a Buddhist Centre by the advice of the Dalai lama and the Panchen lama.

In 1662 an internal war broke out in the Khalkha Right Wing. A powerful lord of the Khalkhas, Erenchin tayiji, attacked and killed Vangchugh Jasaghtu Khan, his kinsman and overlord. Thereupon other lords of the Right Wing, with reinforcements from Chaghundirji Tüsiyetü Khan, attacked Erinchin, who escaped from his base. A civil war was thus unleashed in the Khalkha-Mongol territory. In this struggle, the Oirat Khaganate sided with the Jasaghtu, and the Manchus sided with the Tüsiyetü, so that the conflict turned into an international problem. In 1690 Galdan's attacks endangered the whole Khalkha territory, and also there was an impending danger of losing their independence. The Tüsiyetü khan was not able to resist them alone, so he was obliged to ask for help from outside the borders of Khalkha territory.

Öndör Gegen himself supported the Manchu orientation instead of the Russian, as can be proved by the following quotations:

Tsarist Russia, the land of white people, is a great and stable empire, but the people are different from the Mongols, our religion is not recognized there. The empire to the south is even greater and quieter, they have the same religion as us. The Manchurian country and people are rich. So, if we apply to the south, our country will be rescued, the people will be blissful.<sup>9</sup>

We have enjoyed the benevolence of the Imperial Court in the greatest manner. Suppose we go over to the Russians seeking refuge from the war. But the Russians, in the first place, do not believe in Buddha, and their customs are not like ours: they have different speech and different dress. It will certainly not be a strategy for an everlasting peace. Rather, we should move inside bringing the whole tribe along and surrender ourselves to the Great Emperor from the bottom of our hearts. Then we may get a blessing for ten thousand years.

Well I think that the Manchu Emperor of the East is a specially intelligent and cultivated person. We, the Khalkha-Mongols send envoys to you, the "Ruler of the State of Ten-Thousand Tranquilities", with respect and with the clear intention to offer the Nine White Presents of our country to you, and promise to be your servants. The Khalkha-Mongols will be rich and will develop and reach complete happiness. It is written in the Prophesies.<sup>10</sup>

From 1921 in Mongolia it was almost obligatory to reject the Chinese orientation that is why this point of view was negatively interpreted by the Mongol historians who worked before the change of regime. Öndör Gegen's lifework, being

<sup>9</sup> J. Coinxor, *Öndör Gegen Janabajar*. Ulaanbaatar 1995, 133.

<sup>10</sup> Zs. Szilágyi, *The beginning of the modern Mongolian State*. (PhD dissertation) ELTE University, Budapest 2005.

mainly in Mongolian Buddhist art, was not important from the political point of view, so it was acceptable by the official ideology and was tolerated at a certain level, as much as was possible during the Soviet era in the middle of the twentieth century. This meant, however, that his art-work and its effect on the Mongols' identity-consciousness or on the survival of Mongol cultural independence were not discussed.

### *Öndör Gegen's main scope of activities*

Öndör Gegen made great efforts to preserve Mongolian traditions even during the Manchu regime. He worked to spread the thesis of Buddhism, writing commentaries and teaching his disciples, but also made many regulations concerning the general sacred rituals, the place of the worship, ceremonial customs, etiquette of the lamas' behavior, the life of the priests and believers, and also concerning the clothing of lamas and collective eating. He devoted great attention to keeping the traditional Mongol life-style and traditional clothing and promoted their survival. The style of the lamas' clothing planned by him is a good example, as both the everyday clothing of the lamas and the costumes used at ceremonies were made on the basis of characteristics of nomad clothing before the Manchu period. Ceremonies, sacral rites, prayer books, the rhythm of the ritual dance (*cam*) all play a very important role in Mongol tradition. A Buddhist symbolic system was also created, which is characteristic of the Mongol branch of Buddhism even in our days. At the same time, many of the Mongolian national symbols can be connected with him, for example, the hairstyle of married women, the welcoming rite and the cattle-brands (*tamgha*).

Öndör Gegen introduced the moral rules of the Vinaya and integrated them into the traditions of nomadic Mongols living close to nature. He revised the basic teachings so as to make them easier to obey for the Mongols and to contribute to the survival of this nation. According to his direction, all Mongol parents were obliged to give one of their sons to a monastery so that he should become a lama and study the teachings of Buddha. It became an everyday practice in the Manchu period among both subjugated families and among *noyons*. In addition to these rules, Öndör Gegen also gave directions for believers which basically contradicted the rules of the dge-lugs-pa sect organized by Cong-kha-pa. For example, Öndör Gegen suggested sending the young adult lamas back to their families so that they could start their own families, so as to increase the Mongol population, and then later, when these lamas became forty years old, they were allowed to return to the monastery and live there as lamas until their death.

It is worth mentioning that, after the change of regime at the beginning of the 1990s when Buddhism started to bloom again, the number of the lamas who had families started to grow. This is partly an effect of the Bolshevik pogroms of the late 1930s, when many lamas were forced to leave the monasteries, break their pledge and get married. That is why some lamas have a family nowadays. Society usually accepts the marriage of lamas who have attained the *gelong* degree,

however, marriage by others is condemned. The fourteenth Dalai lama, who visited Mongolia in August 2006, had the same point of view on this question.

Öndör Gegen also constructed musical instruments to be used during the Mongol Buddhist rites. He compiled the general canon of the ceremonies that has become the basis of the Mongolian Buddhist ceremonial rules and he also composed many pieces of music.

Many of the rites that are practised nowadays in the monasteries were designed by him. Let me now show some prayers and ceremonial rituals that were composed by Zanabazar:

*Um lai taaya:* This prayer is offered in the break of the ceremonies when food and drink are consumed. The best part of the foods and drinks are sacrificed to the Three Treasures.

*Žinluu cogjol:* This is an appeasing prayer written by Zanabazar at the time when inner discord and fighting made Mongolia weaker.

*Puncog gusum:* This is a prayer to all the Halha saints. It contains the enumeration of Öndör Gegen's earlier incarnations. Prayers important in terms of history are recited during every Buddhist ceremony.

*Geleg dod gi:* This is a merit-accumulating ritual written by Zanabazar himself. The prayer emphasizes the practice of virtue for others. The main virtue is mercifulness. If somebody accumulated merit then it should be used for the sake of others and that is the way people can get closer to the enlightenment. During the funeral ceremony this prayer is often asked for by the family members of the dead person.

*Norow badam:* This prayer is recited on the fourteenth day of every month, on the day when Zanabazar departed. This is a glorifying prayer of a very important ceremony. This sutra is recited in the monasteries according to the form of the Mongol long song. This kind of interpretation was first used by Öndör Gegen himself in his monastery.

*Dasčirwa:* This is a sacrificial ceremony offered to the majority, it was created by Zanabazar according to the advice of the Panchen lama. It is written in the rhythm of the limping walk of an old man carrying a leather bottle filled with *tarag* in his hand. The text of the ceremony is recited even nowadays in the monasteries according to this kind of rhythm.

There is a difference between Tibetan and Mongolian ceremonial texts, as the revised Mongol texts remind us of the traditional rhythms that can be observed in Mongolian traditional nomadic life. The author usually did not change the text of the prayer; he varied only the rhythm, and the form of the recitation. There is a prayer that reminds us of the gurgle of quick mountain rivers in its Tibetan version, but Öndör Gegen changed this prayer and made its rhythm similar to the walk of a camel.

Öndör Gegen tried to tighten the links between Buddhism and Mongolian traditions using the means of Buddhist iconography. In one of his most important portrayals, Öndör Gegen appears as the head of a nomadic family, who is dividing an *uuj* with his knife (Fig. 1.). The Buddhist representation of this important tradition on the occasion of a significant Mongolian family celebration not only

shows Öndör Gegen's high rank, but it emphasizes his being a Mongol rather than being a Buddhist lama. Preserving Mongolian traditions was more important than preserving Buddhist rules.



Figure 1. *Portrait of Öndör Gegen (Zanabazar)*<sup>11</sup>

Zanabazar played an important role in the setting up of monasteries and temples and in particular in the establishment of the future monastery of Ix Xüree or Urga. In accordance with the Tibetan tradition, Ix Xüree was set up with seven *aimags* (tribes): Amdo *aimag*, Jasiin *aimag*, Sangga *aimag*, Zoogoo *aimag*, Xüüßen *noyon aimag*, Darxan emčiin *aimag*, and Urluud *aimag*.

In 1651 Öndör Gegen returned from Tibet and later, in 1654, Ix xüree moved to the forefront of the Xentii mountain in the East Khalkha territory and from 1654 to 1686, Ix Xüree was constructed and developed into a monastery with over 2,000 monks. The Khalkha khans invited Öndör Gegen to Erdeni Juu, and there he made the monastery a centre of permanent religious ceremonies, and also took part in the establishment of other temples and monasteries of Mongolia. In 1686-1697, during the years of the Oyirad-Khalkha battles, Erdeni Juu and Ix Xüree suffered serious damage, but Zanabazar repaired the buildings with offerings and catering places for lamas.

As a consequence of this kind of activity, rules and proposals of the Mongolian Buddhist Church became an indispensable and integrated part of the nomadic Mongolian society. The Church obtained an extensive acceptance so great that

<sup>11</sup> Portrait of Zanabazar (nineteenth century), Fine Arts Museum, Ulaanbaatar, reproduced in Čoinxor, Öndör Gegen Janabajar, 2.

it cannot have been caused only by the fact that Abatai khan and his followers made Buddhism the state religion.

While Öndör Gegen was working and living in Töwxön monastery in 1686, he created a new script, the *Soyombo*. He invented this new alphabet so that the holy languages of Buddhism, the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongolian could be recorded equally. However, the first mark or letter of the *Soyombo* alphabet has had a trajectory of its own, having become a component of the Mongolian State seal, which today is also the state emblem. When the independent Republic of Mongolia was declared, the *Soyombo* became the symbol of the Mongol State and its independence.

#### *Components of the Soyombo symbol*

The first three elements of the *Soyombo* symbol are the symbols for fire, the Sun and the Moon. The triangles turned upside down are symbolic of the protector of the Buddhist religion, called *choyjing*.<sup>12</sup> The yin-yang symbol is incorporated in the center. The meaning of the horizontal parallel lines is *sum*<sup>13</sup> (arrow), and of the vertical parallel lines mean *hos shad*<sup>14</sup> (conjugate line).

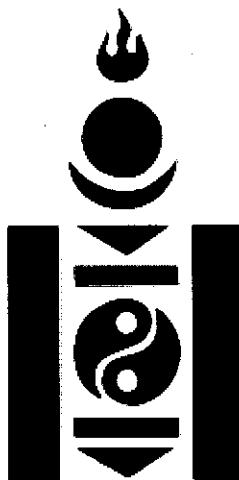


Figure 2. *The Soyombo symbol*

The *Soyombo* is the symbol of peace and freedom in the macro- as well as the micro cosmic space of the Mongols, and the Mongolian State in it. It was used as an emblem of the Theocratic Mongolian State in 1911, the Mongolian People's State in 1921, the Mongolian People's Republic State in 1924, and was recognized as the State Emblem by Constitutions of 1940, 1960 and 1992.

<sup>12</sup> Mong. čoyižny, khalkha čoižing.

<sup>13</sup> Mong. sumun, khalkha sum.

<sup>14</sup> Mong. qoos šad, khalkha xos šad (Tibetan shad).

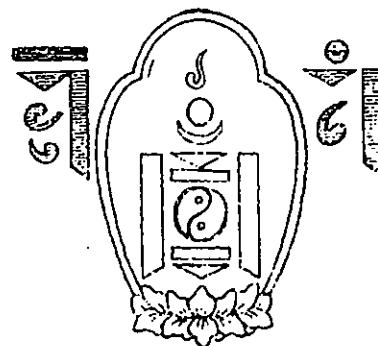


Figure 3. Mongolian State Emblem in 1911<sup>15</sup>

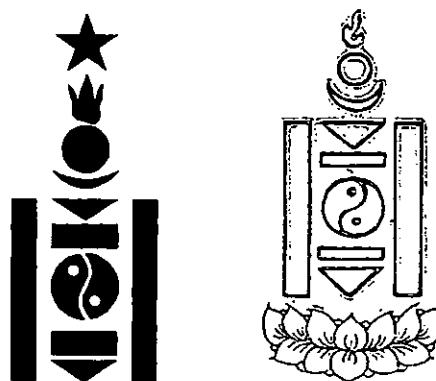


Figure 4. Communist star-capped Soyombo symbol and Mongolian State Emblem in 1924



Figure 5. Mongolian State Emblem adopted in 1992

<sup>15</sup> Figures 3–5. U. E. Bulag, *Nationalism and Hybridity in Mongolia*. Oxford 1998, 220, 223, 225, 248.

### Conclusion

We have to emphasize that Öndör Gegen's present reputation cannot be due only to the atmosphere of the Buddhist renaissance. His activity as a religious organizer as well as an artist and his role in Mongolian history give us several examples of how, besides spreading Buddhism, he made clear steps to preserve Mongolian tradition and by this Mongolian identity, cultural and social integrity.

Öndör Gegen recognized that Mongolian independence can only survive if Mongolian people preserve their cultural identity in spite of the prevailing Chinese influence. The fact that the Mongolian language has been raised to the level of a literary language, the creation of the self-existent Mongolian Buddhist terminology, and the formation of distinctive ceremonial prayers and rituals played an important role in it. The building up of the Mongolian monastery system brought about a *de facto* administrative machinery existing side by side with the Manchurian, which united the Khalkha territories and provided the base for the proclamation of the independent Khalkha-Mongol State.

Today Jinggis khan is regarded as the symbol of the Mongolian State, while at the same time the personality of Öndör Gegen has a similar importance among Mongolian Buddhists.

# *The Tribal System of the Turk Khaganate*

AHMET TAŞAĞIL



The Turk Khaganate was the first state established by Turk tribes and it is regarded as the starting point of Turkic history. The Turk Khaganate existed for two hundred years and during its history the state was built on the nomadic tribal system. The various Turkic tribal confederations, under different names and organizations, played a dominant role in the history of the Turk Khaganate. Most of these tribal confederations survived the fall of the Turk Khaganate and formed new empires and states which played the main role in the migrations of the Eurasian steppe. Some of them have remained until the present day, forming national states in modern times.

According to the ethnogenetic legends, the Turks originated from the A-shih-na tribe.<sup>1</sup> The state was ruled by the Begs (prince) of the tribe after independence was achieved and the state was established, until it vanished from the historical scene in 741.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, there was another famous tribe called A-shih-te, to which the famous chief minister Tonyukuk was related. This tribe appeared in the history of the Turk Khaganate in the 620s, and contributed to the establishment of the Second Turk Khaganate. After the death of Tonyukuk (725) there is no further information about them. The A-shih-na tribe was thus the sole ruling dynasty in the history of the Turk Khaganate. They are recorded as a charismatic clan in their origins and as having properly obtained leadership.<sup>3</sup> The Turks definitely appeared in 542, and were officially recognized by the Western Wei State in China in 545. They were a vassal tribe of the Juan-juans and they were specialists in mining iron in the southern foothills of the Altai Mountains. The impor-

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese sources regarding the subject are Chou Shu 50, 907 ac.; Suei Shu 84, 1864; Pei Shih 99, 3285; T'ung Tien 197, 1067c; Ts'e-fu Yüan-kuei 958, 23a; T'ung Chih 636, 1c; Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao 343, 2687a; Hsin T'ang Shu 215A, 6028. Also, see A. Tasagil, *Turkler*, Ankara 1995, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Hsin Wu-tai-shih, 74, 913. See also Tasagil, *Turkler III*, Ankara 2004, 62.

<sup>3</sup> Chou Shu 50, 909, 910.

tance of the Turks increased after they prevented the Töles attacking the Juanjuans, and thence affiliated with fifty thousand families from these tribes (the sources differ over whether it was fifty thousand people or fifty thousand families). They could attain the necessary power in order to achieve independence only after they aligned with the Töles tribes. Who are these Töles, or T'ie-le, tribes?

The first reference to the Töles in the sources is a list prefaced, "the general name of all the tribes"<sup>4</sup>. If we examine the earlier periods, the Ting-ling in the period of the Hsiung-nu Empire, and after them, the followers of Kao-ch'e (third century CE), were the precursors of, or the same as, the Töles. The general name of the tribes inhabiting the Central Asian steppes was Ting-ling, which transformed into Kao-ch'e (Kangli) in the Juan-juan to Tabgach (T'o-pa/Wei) periods, and then became Töles around the same time as the Turks first appeared. In fact, the sections in the *Sui Shu* and *Pei Shih* contain the most information about this point. The position of Töles and their historical role is described in detail in these sources.<sup>5</sup>

The Töles tribes are mentioned as living in six different regions. Their geographical distribution seems to have been as follows:

The north of the Tola River was considered as the first region, and the P'u-ku (Bugu/Bugut), Tongra (T'ung-lo), Wei-ho, Bayirku (Pa-ye-ku), Fu-lo tribes lived there. These five tribes were organized into a single power, and they were great in number. There were some small tribes, such as the Meng-ch'en, T'u-jo-ho, Ssucchie (Izgil), Hun, and Hu-hsie, in the same region. They had twenty thousand well-trained soldiers in total.

The second region is to the west of Hami (I-wu), the north of Karashar (Yen-ch'i), and the Akdag (Pai-shan) foothills. Here, the Ch'i-pi, P'u-lo-chih, I-shih, Su-p'o, Na-ho, Wu-kuan, Ye-shih, Yü-ni-huan and other small tribes lived. They also had twenty thousand well-trained soldiers. Some of these tribes engaged in the cultivation of fruit and vegetables and similar production. This information opens up a new horizon, with knowledge about the start of agriculture among the Turks.<sup>6</sup>

The third region was more to the north, in the south-west of the Altai Mountains. There, the Syr Tardush (Hsie-yen-t'u), Shih-p'an, Ta-ch'i and others had more than ten thousand soldiers.

The fourth group is around the Syr Darya and Aris (A-te) River in the north of Samarkand, more precisely Transoxiana. Tribes such as the Ho-shih, Ho-chie, Po-hu, Pi-kan, Chü-hai, Ho-pi-hsi, Ho-ts'o-su, and Pa-ye-wei ve Ho-ta were living there. They also had a huge military power of thirty thousand soldiers.

<sup>4</sup> This is the heading of the separate section on the Töles in *Suei Shu* 84; *Pei Shih* 99.

<sup>5</sup> A. Tasagil, *Çin Kaynaklarına göre Eski Türk Boyları*. Ankara 2004, 41-48.

<sup>6</sup> A. Tasagil, "552-627 yılları arasında Töles Boylarının Coğrafi Dağılımına Bir Bakış," *Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Fen-Ed.Fak.Dergisi*, Vol. 1, İstanbul 1992, 33 ac.

The fifth group of Töles tribes was living to the east of the Caspian Sea (Te-i Hai). Though tribes such as the San-suo-yen, Mie-ts'u, Lung-hu were there, it is not correct to consider them as Töles because some Ogur tribes also lived there.<sup>7</sup>

The sixth group of Töles tribes, the En-chü, A-lan, Pei-ju-Chiou-li, Fu-wen-hun and others, were in the east of Byzantium (Fu-lin), probably in the Caucasus. Their number was about twenty thousand. Though it cannot be said that all of them were Turks (for instance, the Alans originated in Iran), most of them were Turkic tribes who constituted the basis of the Sabar and Khazars.

As shown above, the distribution of tribes was realized from the east to the west. Kerulen, east of the Tola River, is referred to as the farthest region in the east and the farthest region in west is the north of the Caucasus. An area north of the Black Sea can also be mentioned. It seems that the knowledge of the Chinese historians on this issue was insufficient. It is interesting that some, mainly Kyrgyz, people who lived in the south of Siberia, and the tribes of the Kurikan, Tupo, To-lan-ko etc. are not mentioned. Besides the lack of sources, it should be taken to account that Siberia was always considered to be a different region.

The Töles tribes were dependent on the Turks before 551. After that time, no further data is available about them, but there is a record showing that the Töles tribes disintegrated after the khagan of the Western Turk State, Tardu, was defeated and abdicated in 603.<sup>8</sup> It is known that, after that time, the khagan of the Western Turks, Ch'u-lo, imposed heavy taxes on his people's property and, especially since he feared the Syr Tardush tribe would rebel, he allowed more than one hundred of their chiefs to be killed. The Ch'i-pi, who could not endure the taxes and pressures he imposed, rebelled and routed Ch'u-lo. The Syr Tardush people also joined them. Thus the Ch'i-pi and Syr Tardush achieved their independence as a result of events that occurred suddenly, but they could not maintain this situation for long. They were dependent on the Western Turk State, which recovered under the leadership of She-kuei. The six tribes in the east, including the Uyghurs, depended on the khagan of the Eastern Turks, Shih-pi. All those in the west absolutely obeyed T'ung Yabgu after 621.<sup>9</sup>

The year 627 is climacteric for the Eastern Turk State. In that year the administration of the State failed, and some tribes, mainly the Syr Tardush, Bayırku, and Uyghur, rebelled. After that, the concept of the Töles tribes was not used again in known history. The tribes named in the list above started to be independently mentioned with the same names, or by various other names. The Töles name remained only as the name of a small tribe which lived to the west of Lake Baikal into the Mongol period (Tooles),<sup>10</sup> and survives even in the name of the Doolos tribe among the Kyrgyz people and in Siberia to the present day.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> K. Czeglédy, *Turan Kavimlerinin Göçü*. tr. G. Karaağaç, İstanbul 1999, 57 ac.

<sup>8</sup> Suei Shu 84, 1876; Pei Shih 99, 3300

<sup>9</sup> Hsin T'ang Shu 217B, 6134.

<sup>10</sup> A. Temir, *Mogolların Gizli Tarihi*. Ankara 1986, 139, 160.

<sup>11</sup> O. Karataev, *Kırgız Etnonimler Sözdüğü*. Bişkek 2003, 63.

The Syr Tardush was in fact the most powerful of the Töles tribes in the first half of the seventh century and played a very significant historical role.<sup>12</sup> The Syr Tardush living in the south of the Altai Mountains, which had a force of ten thousand soldiers according to the account of the geographical distribution of the Töles tribes above, had increased their number later, and had become a people of seventy thousand tents. When the Eastern Turk State lost power, we see them suddenly as the leader of the east wing of this state (Dokuz-Oghuz).

The Syr Tardush who tried to act independently after 628 were the same tribe that had routed Ch'u-lo, who had permitted several hundred of their leading chiefs to be executed and collected heavy taxes unjustly, just a short time before, in 603. When the Western Turk State, under the control of T'ung Yabgu Kaghan, fell into confusion, namely in 628, the leader of the Syr Tardush, I-nan (grandson of I-shih-po, their chief who triumphed in 603) declared his loyalty, with his people of seventy thousand tents, to the Eastern Turk ruler, Il Kaghan (Chie-li/Hsie-li). After a short time, however, this state fell into confusion too. The Syr Tardush filled the political vacuum by becoming the leading tribe. Actually, all the Dokuz-Oghuz tribes had previously insisted on I-nan being their ruler. When the T'ang dynasty in China, wanting to take political advantage against the Western Turk State, also joined them, the Syr Tardush announced their khaganate. Their independence continued until 641. During the return of the Turks, who went China after destroying of the Eastern Turk State in 630, the Syr Tardush fought with both the Turks and the Chinese. The Syr Tardush, whose power faltered upon the death of their ruler, had been quite successful in the battlefield. Since the two sons of the ruler could not agree among themselves, they were defeated by the Chinese armies. They disappeared from the historical scene after being absolutely destroyed in 646.

A large number of tribes - Bugu, Tongra, Tu-po, Bayrku, To-lan-ko, Hu-hsie, A-tie (Ediz), Ch'i-pi, Basmul, Kurikan, Kyrgyz, Huns, Karluk, Uyghur - made contact with the empire of the T'ang dynasty in China in the years 646 to 648. Their leaders were ranked with Chinese appellations and each was offered the title of military governor. After that time, Chinese sovereignty was hardly felt in Central Asia.

The Turgish was a tribe which had been appeared in the historical scene during new tribal organizations as a result of the different political situation in the Western Turk State after 635. It is understood from later developments that they were from the Western Turk Dynasty. Ishbara, who became khagan in 634, divided his country into ten tribes, and each tribe was given an arrow. Subsequently they came to be mentioned as "On Shad" and "On Ok" (Ten Tribes, Ten Arrows). Following that, the name "the five Tuo-lu" was given to five tribes and the name "Nu-shih-pi" was given to the other five tribes. The "Five Tuo-lus" were organized in the form of chorships and started to inhabit the area east of

<sup>12</sup> For further information, see B. Ögel, "Uygur Devletinin Teşekkülü ve Yükselişi," *Belle-ten*, 75 (1955), 337; M. Mori, "On the Chi-li-fa (Elteber) and Chi-chin of T'ie-le Tribes," *Acta Asiatica*, 9 (1966), 32-40; A. Tasgil, *Gök-Türkler II*. Ankara 1999, 32-39.

Tokmak (Suei-ye). The Nu-shih-pi, the tribes forming a group inhabited the area west of Tokmak after they were organized in the form of free potentates. The tribes which occurred after that organization were mentioned with the name "On Og" (Ten Tribes). The name of the Turgish was mentioned among the five Tuolu tribes, so that later this name was generalized as the name of all the "On Og" tribes.<sup>13</sup>

When the Karluk first appeared in the historical scene, they were living near the Pu-ku-chen stream in the west of the Altai Mountains. This may not have been their first homeland, but this record gives us an idea about the region that the Karluk inhabited before 630.<sup>14</sup>

As is well known, following the year 627, a large tribal movement occurred in the East Turk country. The Syr Tardush people, who were dependent on T'ung Yabgu, the ruler of the Western Turk country in that time, were the most powerful tribe. Rebell ing against T'ung Yabgu, they instead became dependent on Il Kagan by migrating to the Eastern Turk country. The northern part of the Tien-Shan Mountains was depopulated as a result. Probably, the Karluk, who lived to the north of there, in the southern foothills of the Altai Mountains, became powerful by taking advantage of this opportunity.<sup>15</sup> The Karluk are not shown in the list of the Töles tribes. It was expressed that the tribe was close to the dynasty of Turk. In 627, the Karluk also rebelled against T'ung Yabgu. It can even be said that they caused the Western Turk State to break down and be destroyed, although that time was a glorious period for them.

The term Dokuz-Oghuz ("Nine Oghuz") was the written form used in the sources for the group of Töles tribes who lived around the Tola River and Kerulen, namely in the east part of the Eastern Turk State, after 626. In general, the Dokuz-Oghuz tribes were known by the following names; P'u-ku, Hun, Bayirku, Tonra (T'ung-lo), Ssu-chie (Izgil), Ch'i-pi, A-pu-sse, Ku-lun-wu-ku, Ediz (A-tie).<sup>16</sup>

It is clear that the Turk independence movement against the Chinese started in 679, and also continued against the Dokuz-Oghuz tribes. Battles between the Dokuz-Oghuz and the Turks, which occurred very frequently, were often mentioned on the Orkhon inscriptions.

Generally, during the Turk sovereignty, the leading tribes, under names such as Töles, Syr Tardush, Turgish, Karluk, Kyrgyz, Dokuz-Oghuz and Oghuz, appeared on the historical scene. All of them, also, played important roles in Turkic history. After the concept of the Töles tribes was terminated in 603, the occur-

<sup>13</sup> Chiou T'ang Shu 194B, 5182vd; Hsin T'ang Shu 215B, 6058 ac.

<sup>14</sup> Hsin T'ang Shu 217B, s.6143; see also H. Salman, VII. Ve X. Asırlar arasında Önemli Türk Boyalarından Karluklar ve Karluk Devleti, *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları*, 15, aralık 1981, 170.

<sup>15</sup> Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao, 2725b; E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-chieou Occidentaux*. Paris 1941, 33, 62.

<sup>16</sup> J. Hamilton, "Toquz Oguz et On Ouighur," *Journal Asiatique* 250:1 (1962), 23-63; Masao Mori, same article, 32-40; Ö. İzgi, *Uygurların Siyasi ve Kültürel Tarihi*, Ankara 1987, 13; Taşağıl, *Gök-Türkler II*, 41-47.

rence of numerous small tribes is a point at issue. It is clearly seen that the tribes became the most significant base of the state in the developing conditions such as war, political relations, and social events etc. The founder, Bumin, took important steps on the way of independence by relying on his power, when he aligned a part of the fifty thousand families of the Töles tribes to himself, already, before the establishment of the State. The tribes formed the most important base point of the state at times when the central control of the state was very strong, they were affected instantly by the political disintegrations, and caused the instabilities to be increased. Succession disputes, increasing taxes, and hostilities which were started unjustly, especially caused the rebellion of the tribes. On the other side, we see that the tribes caused trouble by being affected by the Chinese intrigues. They also caused the state to be destroyed in some periods, for instance, the Turk State was destroyed as a result of the common action of the Uyghur, Basmil and Karluk tribes.

The name "Töles" was not just the name of a tribe. This subject has been the source of much confusion in the historical research. It was the general name of a group of tribes, as is expressed clearly in the sources. The "the general name of all the tribes" record takes us back to former times. Some tribal names such as Ting-ling, Ke-k'un (Kyrgyz) and Ho-chie, which were dependent on the state during the Great Hun Empire are mentioned. The Ting-ling, who were living in the wide steppes covering the region from the Altai Mountains to the Ural Mountains were a boy tribe separated into many sub-groups. The Kao-ch'es (Kanglis) took their place after the second century CE. The Kao-ch'e, namely "Ones with High Carts", was the name of a group of various tribes, like Ting-ling. After the Kao-ch'e name disappeared from the historical scene, Töles took its place. The name Töles performed the same function until the year 603.

Both the Western and the Eastern Turk States were faltering as a result of the political and social crises of those days. This affected the tribes too. After that time, it was no longer the tribe groups, but one by one the individual tribes started to become important. The first, and one of the most important of them, was the Syr Tardush. The On Ok ("Ten Arrow") organization occurred in the Western Turk Country, namely in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, after 634. That organization then took the Turgis name and formed the substructure of the Oghuz Turks. They were called the western Oghuz Turks after 766. Those who were founders of the Seljuk Empire and the Ottoman Empire were thus the Oghuz Turks.

After the Karluk found themselves between the Turk State and the Uyghur State, they started to act independently. Finally, they played their most significant historical role in the Kara-Khanid State.<sup>17</sup> At the present day, they are living mainly in the Fergana Valley (between Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan) and in northern Afghanistan. Since the Dokuz-Oghuz group inhabited the easternmost

<sup>17</sup> For more detailed information on the geographical distribution and historical development of the Turkic Tribes of the pre-Islamic period, see A. Tasgil, *Çin Kaynaklarına Göre Eski Türk Boyları*. Ankara 2004.

part of the region, they constituted the main part of the Uyghur State. When the large Uyghur Khaganate was destroyed in 840, some of them went to China. Equally, some of them went around Turfan and joined the Kara-Khanid State. The Kyrgyz people were already living in the Yenisei region. This situation continued until the eighteenth century, when they reached the boundaries which they have today. The Uyghurs were from the eastern Töles group. They established their state upon the Dokuz-Oghuz group. After their state was destroyed, some of them went to China, the others, also, went to Turfan.

# *Кочевая аристократия енисейской периферии каганата*

Генеалогические реконструкции

ДМИТРИЙ Д. ВАСИЛЬЕВ



Историко-филологические интерпретации групп древнетюркских памятников, которые могут быть объединены территориально, предлагались сравнительно редко, хотя обобщения и корреляции текстов весьма кратких надписей позволили бы более полно использовать их как источник. Большинство известных памятников с древнетюркскими эпитафиями составляют сейчас музейные коллекции. Сведения в музейных паспортах и в публикациях указывали обстоятельства и место находки каждого отдельного памятника, а при сопоставлении этих данных с местностью определились группы памятников, находившихся на территории одного родового могильника, одной долины или иной зоны, имеющей четкие природные границы. Картографирование памятников с эпитафиями осложнялось тем, что они поступали в музейные коллекции в течение столетия, часто доставлялись краеведами-любителями, и поэтому точные сведения о пунктах находок в ряде случаев отсутствовали.

Основную часть надписей составляют эпитафии: они невелики по объему, а состав их лексики в ряде случаев ограничен текстовой формулой. Будучи одновременно письменными и археологическими памятниками, они дают возможность применения различных исследовательских методик. Текстологическое исследование эпиграфического памятника в целом совпадає с изучением любого другого письменного источника. Вместе с тем монументальный характер сооружений с эпитафиями позволяет их локализовать, картографировать, датировать по археологическому комплексу и сопоставить эти данные со сведениями текстов одной или целой группы надписей.

Древнетюркские эпитафии на каменных сооружениях в большинстве своем отличаются трафаретной текстовой основой и определенным лексическим репертуаром. Тем не менее каждая надпись имеет текстовые, фор-

мально-композиционные, графические, семантические, художественно-изобразительные и другие особенности, что делает каждый памятник уникальным историко-культурным и письменным источником. Связь каждой эпитафии с конкретной персоной, имя, титул, символы и жизнеописание которой в различной степени представлены в тексте, подчеркивает эту уникальность. Однако трафаретная основа древнетюркских эпитафий позволяет применить для исследования методику источниковедческой формализации письменных памятников массового типа.

Тексты древнетюркских эпитафий редко анализировались путем взаимного сопоставления как группа хронологически и территориально объединенных исторических источников. Чаще всего из одного-двух памятников извлекалась информация об определенном событии, а эта информация сопоставлялась с сообщениями иноязычных авторов. Тем самым большая часть информации, содержащейся в надписях, оставалась за пределами источниковедческой интерпретации. Краткость древнетюркских эпитафий и отсутствие у многих из них надежных переводов и датировок также способствовали этому.

Полевые археографические исследования позволили в отношении енисейских эпитафий установить, какие из них находились в непосредственной близости друг от друга и могут быть объединены в группы по территориальному принципу. Текстологическое исследование этих эпитафий дало дополнительный материал для подобной интеграции. В составе такой группы оказываются как пространные эпитафии, повествующие об определенных событиях жизни героя и его народа, так и краткие, состоящие только из имени и тамги.

Трафаретная основа большинства древнетюркских эпитафий позволила систематизировать данные этих текстов, относящиеся к личности героя той или иной надписи. Содержание различных по объему эпитафий рассмотрено нами по следующей схеме:

- имя героя надписи (личное, „геройское“, официально-должностное);
- сведения о возрасте героя в момент определенных событий (смены имени, смерти родственников, совершения подвига, собственной смерти и т.п.);
- социальная характеристика, зафиксированная в тексте, унаследованный или приобретенный титул;
- родовая принадлежность героя, другие этнонимы, упоминающиеся в тексте (враги, союзники, породнившиеся этнические группы);
- топонимы и географические указания, упоминающиеся в тексте;
- заслуги героя надписи;
- родовая тамга.

Информация по данной схеме была систематизирована на основе текстов более ста надписей. Ниже приводятся некоторые примеры.

Памятник Е 108

Бёгю, сын Алтая.

Бег, правитель низины Ойук и низины Эгюк-Ойук.

Долина р.Ойук (Уюк).

Добыл богатство в военных походах, лично убил 15 вражеских воинов, сам был, по-видимому, также убит.

Тамга.

Памятник Е 3

[Ючин] Кюлюг Тириг.

Умер шестидесятичетырехлетним.

Подчинен хану, обладатель пояса с 50 золотыми пряжками (знак воинского отличия и ранга), владелец шеститысячного табуна, имел пожалования от хана, имел в подчинении знатных и рядовых воинов (алп и эр) и простолюдинов (кара будун).

Называет своим народ тюльберов.

Владетель местности и реки Этюк-Катун (р. Уюк).

Служил правителям каганата (тентри эль).

Тамга.

Памятник Е 11

Тёрю-Апа („Отец закона”).

В 15 лет был отправлен к императорскому двору в Китай для воспитания и образования в качестве почетного заложника, умер в 67 лет на чужбине.

Имел чин ич эрки, представитель знатного рода, имел золото, серебро, дорогие ткани, скот. Был женат на знатной китаянке. Прожил, по-видимому, большую часть жизни вдали от родных мест, но поддерживал связи с многочисленными друзьями и сородичами, много путешествовал, тосковал по родине. Текст надписи отличается изысканным стилем и поэтичностью.

Памятник Е 59

Кюлюг-Йигин, сын бега, имевшего титул ынал ёгя.

Погиб в 27 лет, сражаясь с врагами.

Знатный воин, наследник правителя.

Вне связи с родом героя упоминается народ токуз-татар. Наиболее вероятным будет предположение, что именно в бою с токуз-татарами был убит герой надписи.

Заслужил „геройское имя”, погиб, сражаясь с врагами, имел добрые отношения с сородичами.

Тамга.

Памятник Е 10

Бег, глава рода, обладатель знамени и золотого пояса, владелец многочисленного табуна и стада. Благодаря доблестной службе хану получил титул эрки (по-видимому, ич эрки – „внутренняя служба”). Оборонял родные земли и сородичей во время нападения вражеского отряда и погиб в неравном бою („восемь против ста”). „Повязал себе золотой пояс под знаменем хана Кёртле. Достиг чина эрки благодаря своей бегской доблести и по милости имеющего знамя хана Кюлюг-Ток-Бёгюта”.

Ревнитель родовых законов (тёрю), соблюдать которые завещает потомкам. Сообщается о благоденствии рода в период правления героя надписи и о его заслугах перед каганатом.

*Памятник Е 1*

Эль-Тоган-тутук.

Умер в 60 лет.

Тутук, затем стал эльчи (посланником), затем – бегом шести родов (багов).

Возглавил союз шести багов, был от них посланником, по-видимому, к правителям каганата („к моему небесному государству” – тенгри элимке).

Тамга.

*Памятник Е14*

Эльчи Чор-Кюч-Барс.

Достиг совершенолетия, имел сына.

Знатный воин, возможно, бег, имя указывает на личное участие в посольствах или родственные связи с посланниками. Находился на службе у улуг шада („великого шада”).

Тамга.

*Памятник Е 44*

Кюлюг-Тоган, сын Арслан-Кюлюг-Тирига.

Погиб в бою в 40 лет.

Глава рода, военачальник, подчинен хану.

Глава рода ёз кюмюль.

Проявил воинскую доблесть, сражаясь с врагами, убил девять воинов, участвовал в боевых действиях объединенных войск каганата.

Тамга.

*Памятник Е12*

Чочук-Бёри-сангун.

Владелец обрабатываемого поля, находился, по-видимому, в зависимости от госпожи (катун), которая являлась его теткой.

Тамга.

*Памятник Е100*

Памятник, по-видимому, сооружен в честь воина, отличавшегося преданным служением своему бегу, личной скромностью. Герой надписи принадлежал к объединению шести родов а ёв (а лты а з будун), подчеркивается верная служба своему народу.

Тамга.

*Памятник Е 42*

Ёз-Тогды. Умер в 67 лет.

Бег, подчинен хану, имел бегов-союзников, тысячные стада, богатую казну, парчовые ткани, отряд воинов, челядь. Герой надписи называет себя сангуном (сангун битидим), т.е. военачальником. Имел сто знатных родственников, был владельцем священных территорий (Ёз йерим ыдук йерим).

Проявил воинскую доблесть, убив многих врагов.

Тамга.

Рассмотрение по данной схеме текстов енисейских эпитафий, в особенности тех, которые найдены на памятниках, расположенных в относи-

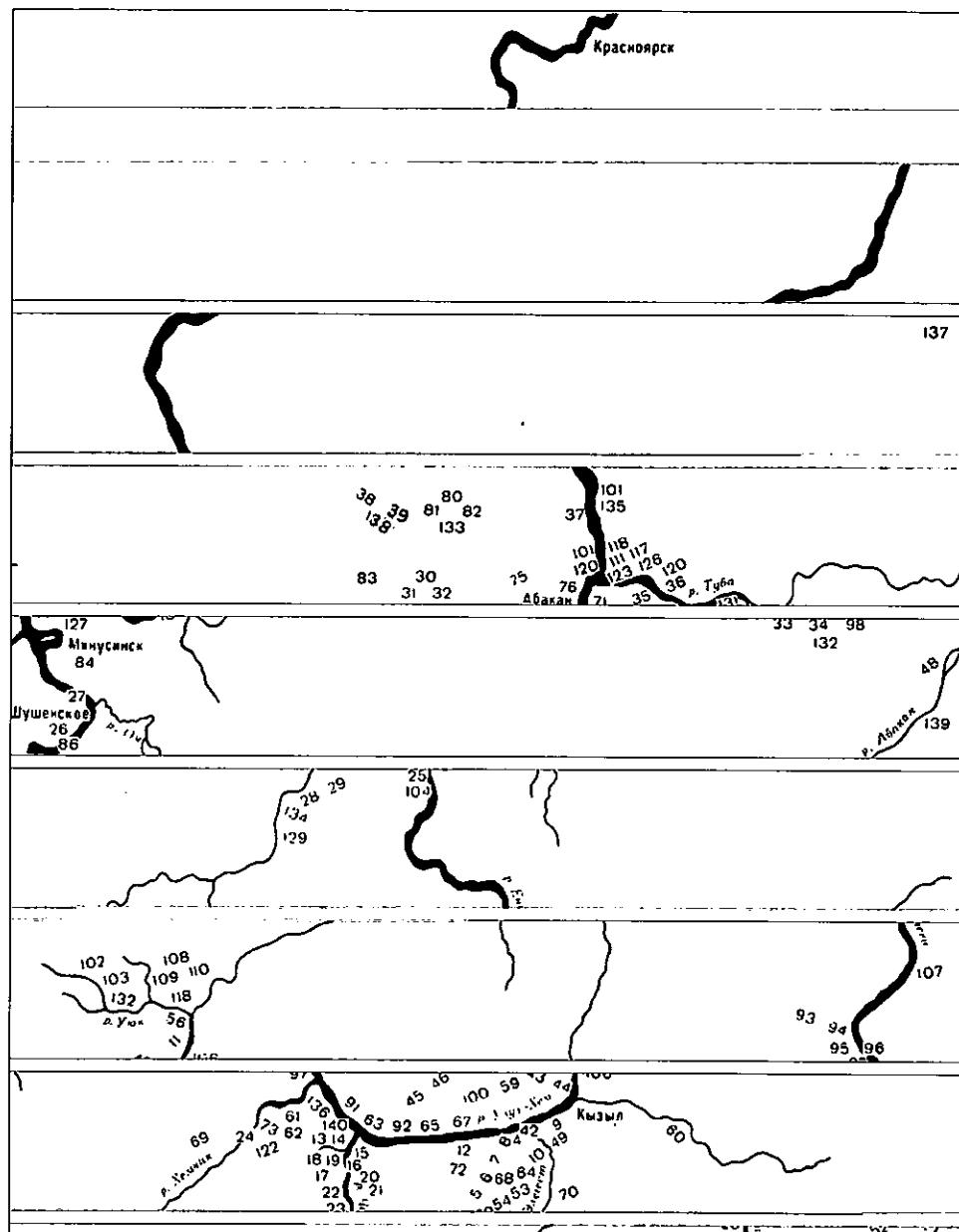
тельной близости друг от друга, позволило сопоставить информационные блоки персоналий нескольких десятков эпиграфий. На первом этапе анализа были выделены группы памятников, общность которых обусловлена указаниями в тексте на родство героев эпиграфий, на одни и те же территориальные владения, на унаследованные титул, тамгу, имущество и пр. Учитывалось также и место сооружения памятника в непосредственной близости от других, составляющих данную группу, а в тех случаях, когда это оказывалось возможным, – относительная хронология и очередность их сооружения.

Взаимные сопоставления сведений различных эпиграфий одной группы позволили в ряде случаев уточнить относительную хронологию исторических событий в регионе, определить родовые территории и изменение их границ и линии наследования. Родовые и социальные связи героев надписей оказались более четко представленными и образовали определенную историческую цепь. Что касается традиции сооружения памятников с древнетюркскими эпиграфиями, то она просуществовала в регионе примерно в течение полутора столетий, отразив военную и родо-племенную иерархию. Сопоставления текстов локализованных групп верхнеенисейских эпиграфий достаточно отчетливо демонстрируют родовые и социальные связи героев надписей, что дает возможность с определенными допущениями реконструировать родовые генеалогии знати на периферии тюркской империи.

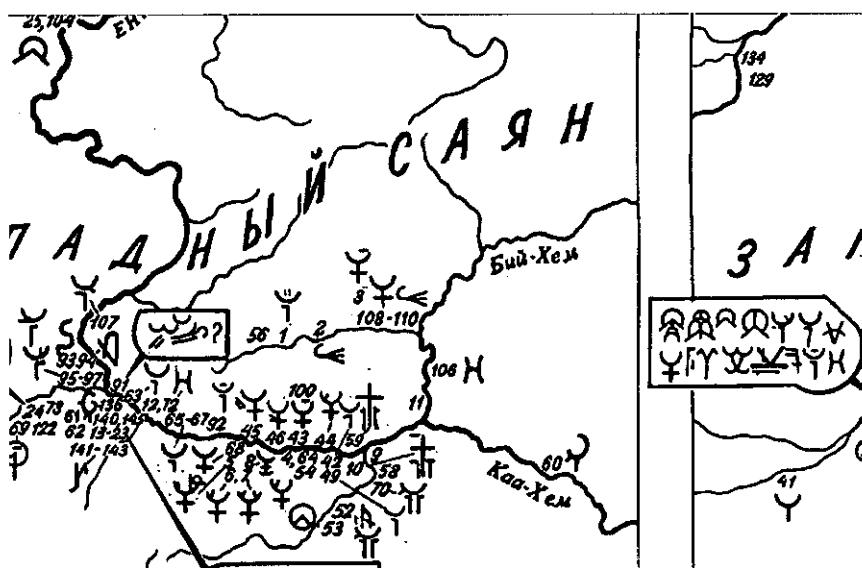
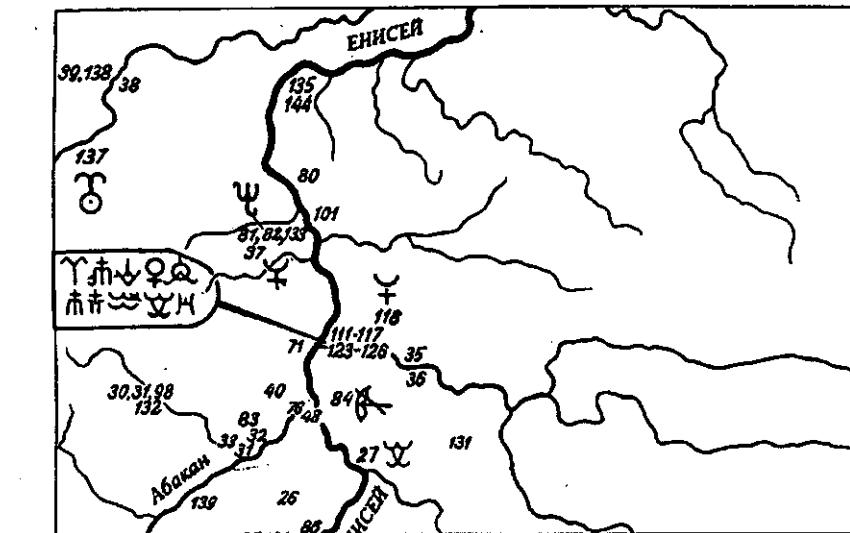
История раннесредневековых государственных образований кочевников известна главным образом по иноязычным источникам. Поэтому история этих народов остается как бы безличностной и содержит сведения только о деятелях высшего государственного уровня. Упоминания же о знати, чьи родовые владения находились на окраинах империй, в иноязычных источниках почти полностью отсутствуют.

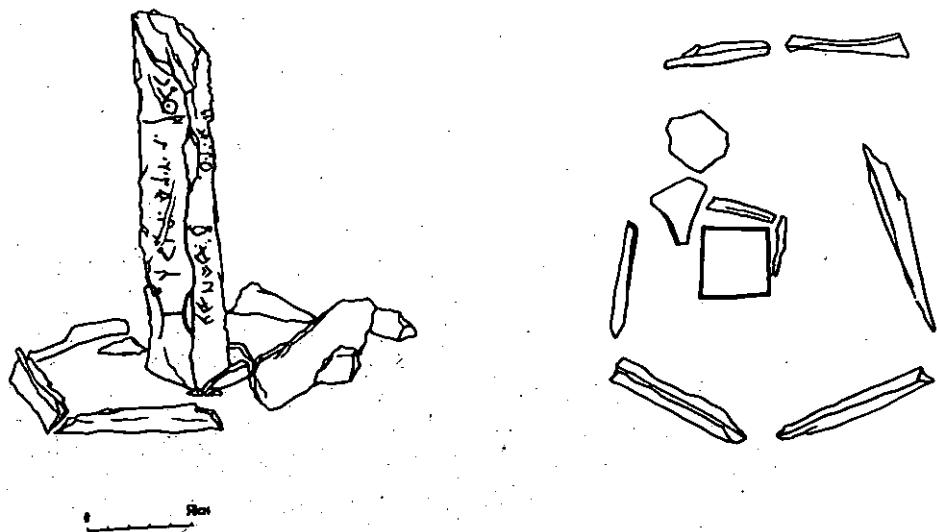
Сравнительный анализ древнетюркских эпиграфий (включая даже самые краткие, состоящие из имени и тамги) как взаимодополняющих единое историческое повествование текстов позволяет заполнить историю тюркоязычных кочевников именами реальных лиц и представить их место в политической структуре каганата.

ДМИТРИЙ Д. ВАСИЛЬЕВ

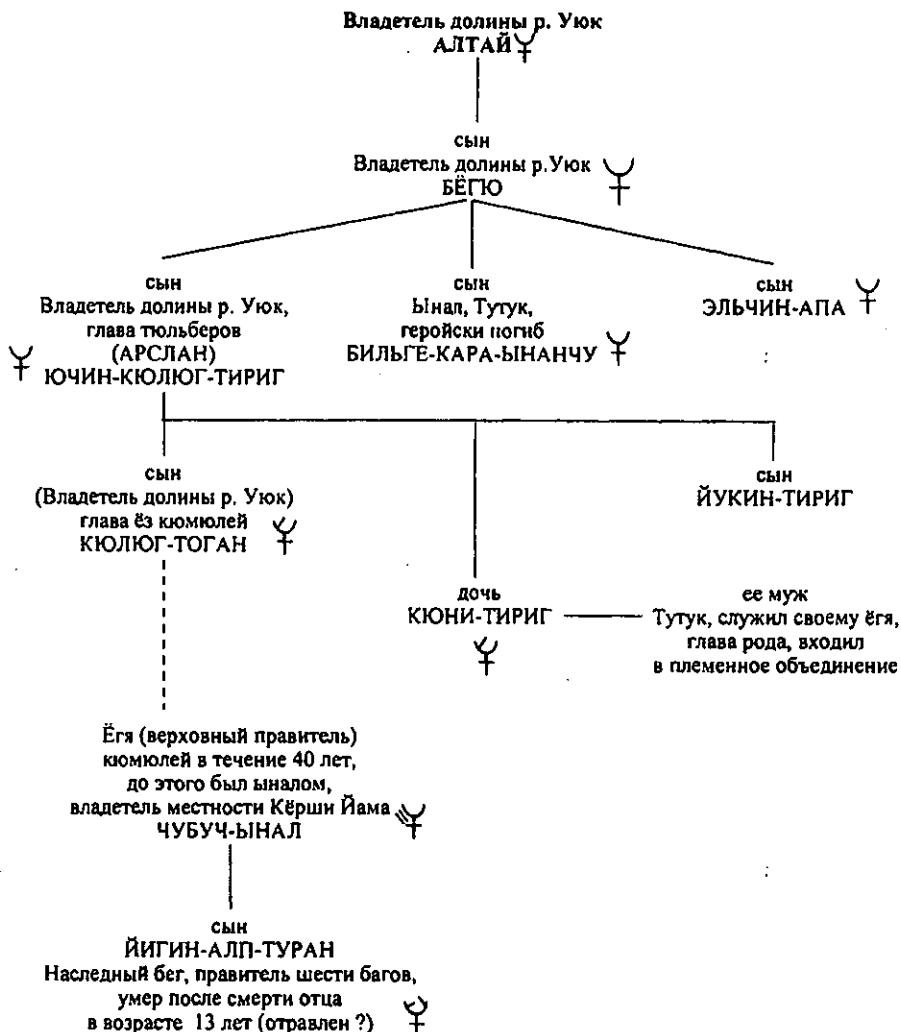


Кочевая аристократия Енисейской периферии Каганата

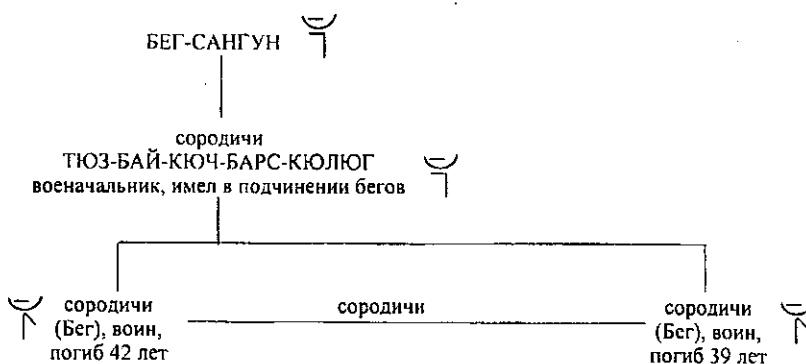
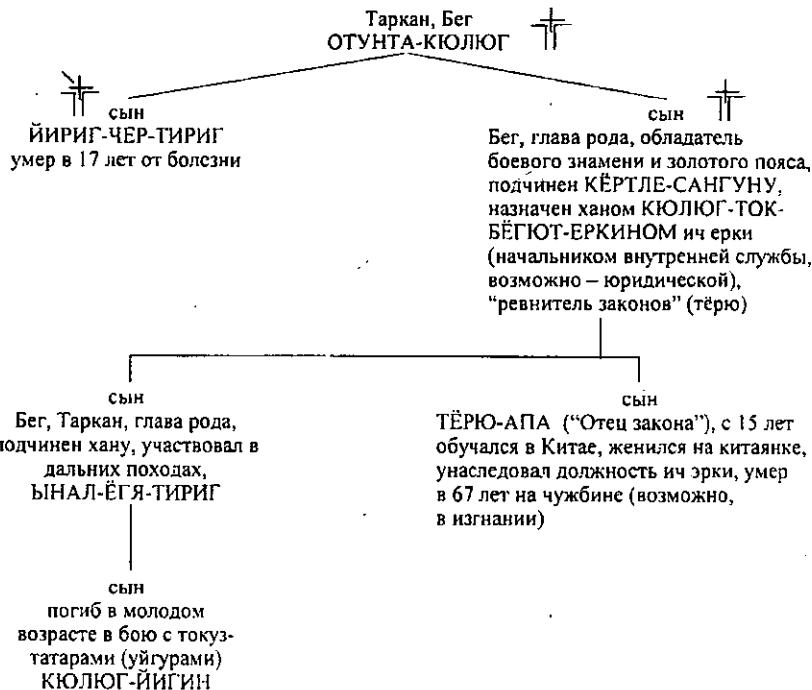




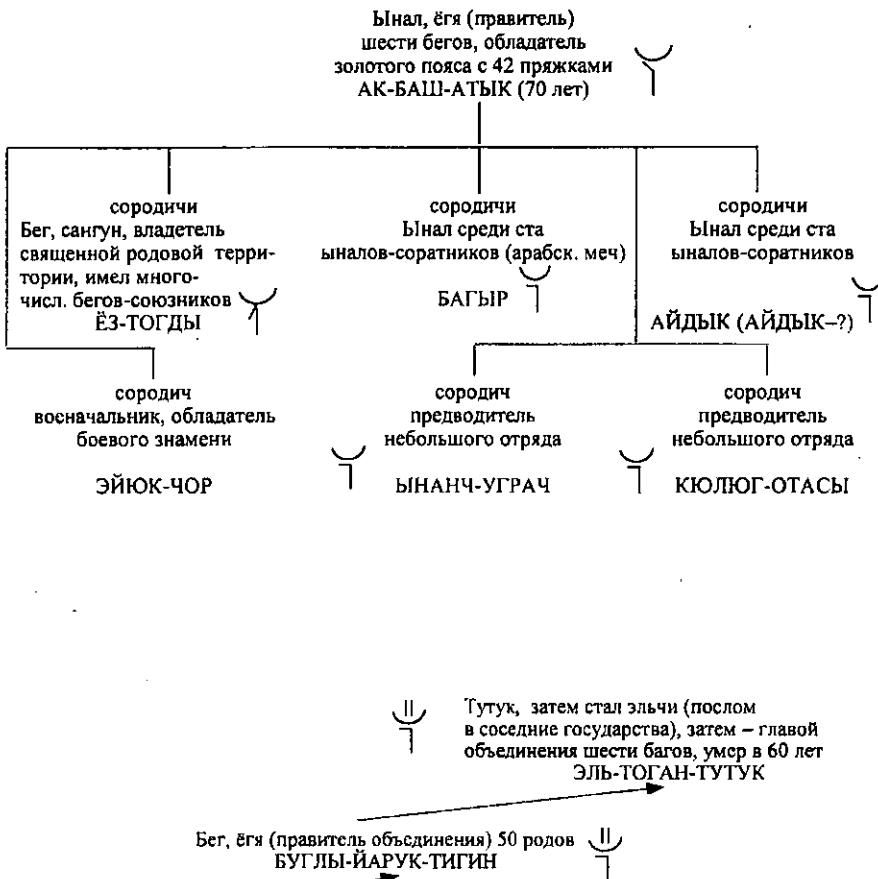
Кочевая аристократия Енисейской периферии Каганата



ДМИТРИЙ Д. ВАСИЛЬЕВ



КОЧЕВАЯ АРИСТОКРАТИЯ ЕНИСЕЙСКОЙ ПЕРИФЕРИИ КАГАНАТА



Тутук, обладатель боевого  
 знамени, владетель бага

Данная группа надписей демонстрирует очевидный рост политического авторитета и  
влияния главы рода внутри племенного объединения.



Глава рода, обладатель тамги,  
перешедшей к сородичам

Знатный воин, был на службе  
у шада, знаком с манихейской  
терминологией

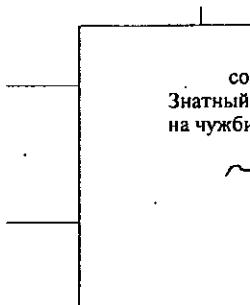
ЙАШ-АК (?)

Знатный воин, обладатель знамени,  
разбил войско сангун

Знатный воин

КУТАШ

сородич  
Знатный воин, погиб  
на чужбине в 24 года



# *Vom Ural ins Karpaten-Becken*

Die Grundzüge der ungarischen Frühgeschichte

ISTVÁN ZIMONYI



Das Ungarnbild der Deutschen setzt sich aus verschiedenen Stereotypen zusammen. Abgesehen von den letzten Ereignissen des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts, d.h. der ungarischen Revolution von 1956, der lustigen Baracke des kommunistischen Lagers, wo sich die Deutschen aus der DDR und der Bundesrepublik am Plattensee treffen konnten, und der Grenzöffnung für die DDR-Bürger, ist das Ungarnbild auf ältere Traditionen gebaut.

Eine von ihnen ist gelegentlich noch in deutschen Schulbüchern und in Lexika zu lesen, nämlich die ungarischen Einfälle in der ersten Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts gegen Deutschland, Frankreich, Italien und die Balkanhalbinsel. Das Bild von den Ungarneinfällen wird mit Wörtern wie Beutezüge, Raub, Vergewaltigung oder Brandstiftung charakterisiert. Aber in zeitgenössischen Quellen waren die Einfälle der Ungarn mit denen der Normannen und der Muslime/Sarazenen gleichzusetzen. Von späteren Autoren wurden die Ungarn als Hauptübel des 10. Jahrhunderts betrachtet. Nach der Christianisierung des ungarischen Königstums um die Jahrtausendwende wurde die heidnische Vergangenheit in der ungarischen und auch in der westlichen Hagiographie mit den negativsten Zügen dargestellt.<sup>1</sup> Das Bild des ungarischen, heidnischen Steppenvolks hat sich nicht durch das Mittealter hindurch bewahrt, sondern ist bis heute lebendig. Im mittelalterlichen Ungarn wandelte sich dieses Negativimage im 13. Jahrhundert, als der ungarische Chronist Simon von Keza die Ungarn mit den Hunnen gleichsetzte.<sup>2</sup> Der ungarische Adelsstand hat auf dieser Abstammungstheorie bis ins 19. Jahrhundert beharrt. In der ungarischen Historiographie ist der Terminus Streifzüge für die Einfälle der Ungarn weitverbreitet, in dem sich eine typische positive Ein-

<sup>1</sup> M. G. Kellner, *Die Ungarneinfälle in Bild der Quellen bis 1150*. Studia Hungarica. Schriften des Ungarischen Instituts München 46, München 1997, 9–61.

<sup>2</sup> J. Szűcs, „Theoretische Elemente in Meister Simon von Kézas ‘Gesta Hungarorum’ (1282–1285),“ in *Nation und Geschichte. Studien*, Budapest 1981, 263–328; Gy. Kristó, *Hungarian History in the Ninth Century*. Szeged 1996, 71–84; A. Róna Tas, *Hungarians and Europe in the early Middle Ages*. Budapest 1999, 423–427.

stellung wiederspiegelt. In Deutschland dagegen hat sich die Tradition der nomadischen Ungarn in den ungarischen Lehnwörtern im Deutschen bewahrt, nämlich das Gulasch und die Pussta, die auf die nomadische Lebensweise der Ungarn hinweisen.

Im Vergleich zu den übrigen Völkern, die eine finnougrische Sprache sprechen, sind die Ungarn die einzigen, die in der Geschichte Europas eine wichtige Rolle gespielt haben. Die ungarische Geschichte begann im Ural-Gebiet mit der Abwanderung aus der Waldzone. Die ungarischen Dialekte sprechenden Gruppen übernahmen die nomadische Lebensweise und wanderten in der Steppe bis zur Landnahme und wechselten dann noch einmal die Lebensweise, während die ungarische Sprache die Wandlungen überlebte und sich unter den slawischen und germanischen Sprachen Mitteleuropas behaupten konnte. Nach der Christianisierung wurde die ungarische Monarchie als eine Mittelmacht bis ins 16. Jahrhundert in die europäische Geschichte eingliedert.

Wie erklärt man das Phänomen, dass die ungarische Sprache zwei Umformungen der Lebensweise und damit zwei Kulturwandlungen überlebte? Welche Besonderheiten lassen sich für die ungarische Frühgeschichte aufzeigen?

Die Sprachwissenschaft hat festgelegt, dass die ungarische Sprache zu den finno-ugrischen Sprachen gehört. Das Ungarische gehört zu den ugrischen Sprachen, einem Unterzweig des Finnougrischen, dem auch noch das heute in Westsibirien gesprochene Ostjakische (*Hanti*) und Wogulische (*Mansi*) gehört. Die ugrischen Sprachen waren die östlichen Dialekte der finnougrischen Grundsprache, die irgendwo in Ural-Gebiet lokalisiert wurde. Der chronologische Rahmen der Entstehung der ungarischen Sprache liegt im Zeitraum zwischen 1000 und 500 v. Chr.<sup>3</sup> Dieser Zeitraum fällt mit dem Beginn der Eisenzeit in Ural-Gebiet und dem Aufkommen der Reiternomaden zuerst in Kasachstan, dann in den Steppenregionen Eurasiens zusammen.<sup>4</sup> Historischerseits wird vermutet, dass die Geschichte des ungarischen Volks zu dieser Zeit angefangen hat. Aber man muss die Frage stellen, ob die ungarische Sprache automatisch mit dem ungarischen Volk gleichzusetzen ist. Denn auch die Sprachwissenschaftler betonen, dass die Ursprachen nur wissenschaftliche Modelle sind, die mit den wirklichen Sprachen nicht zu verwechseln sind. Nach dem Völkerkundler Wilhelm Mühlmann handelt es sich um Pseudovölker der Sprachwissenschaft.<sup>5</sup> Die Sprache ist ein wichtiger Bestandteil der ethnischen Zusammengehörigkeit, aber entscheidend ist das subjektive Erkenntnis, die sich auf dem Glauben an eine gemeinsame Abstammung des Volks gründet. Die ersten schriftlichen Quellen über die ungarische Stammeskonföderation datieren vom Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts, so dass man fast zweitausend

<sup>3</sup> P. Hajdú-P. Domokos, *Uráli nyelvirokonaink*. [Unsere uralischen Sprachverwandten] Budapest 1978, 41–87.

<sup>4</sup> I. Fodor, *In Search of a New Homeland. The Prehistory of the Hungarian People and the Conquest*. Budapest 1982, 151–166.

<sup>5</sup> W. E. Mühlmann, „Ethnogenie und Ethnogenese. Theoretisch-ethnologische und ideologiekritische Studie,” *Studien zur Ethnogenese* 1 (1985), 15–16.

Jahre überbrücken muss. Die sprachwissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse können also nicht direkt auf die Erforschung der Ethnogenese übertragen werden.

Einen anderen Standpunkt vertrat József Deér. Er benutzte die Analogie zur Geschichte des ersten türkischen Reichs, des größten Nomadenreiches des Frühmittelalters. Die Türken verfügten über Runeninschriften, in den sich die ethnischen und politischen Verhältnisse wiederspiegeln. Die nomadischen Stammeskonföderationen oder Völker haben nach ihren politischen Stellungen zwei-erlei Verbände unterschieden: eine Stammesliga mit einer unabhängigen Machtorganisation und einem Herrscher und ein untergeordneter Verband, dem der Herrscher des Reichsvolks einen Amtsträger bestellte. In der nomadischen Welt war die Betrachtung des Gentilverbands mit Souveränität bevorzugt. Entsprechend betonte Deér, dass die ungarische Stammeskonföderation erst ab der zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts als ein Reichsvolk betrachtet werden kann. Die Wende wird mit dem Anfang der Arpadien-Dynastie in Zusammenhang gebracht.<sup>6</sup>

Der Mittelalterforscher Jenő Szűcs hat die These von Deér widerlegt. Er hat das Modell von Reinhard Wenskus für die Germanen der Völkerwanderungszeit zugrunde gelegt und auch für die Geschichte des nomadischen Ungarntums angewandt. Demnach ist der Gentilverband eine große Gruppe von Menschen, die sich als Abstammungs-, Kultur- und Sprachgemeinschaft betrachten, die als Rechts- und Traditionsgemeinschaft auch die Unterschicht umfasst. Die Entstehung des ethnischen Wir-Bewusstseins des Volks kann sich in dauerhaften, politisch stabilen Gebilden in einem Zeitraum von mindestens 200–300 Jahren vollziehen. Szűcs belegt, dass sich der ungarische Gentilverband in 6–9. Jahrhundert entwickelte.<sup>7</sup>

Die Periodisierung der ungarischen Ethnogenese und Frühgeschichte lässt sich also dem folgenden Muster entsprechend vornehmen:

- 1) Ungarischsprachige Verbände wohnten in der Waldzone im Ural-Gebeit in der Zeit von 500 v. Chr. bis um 500 n. Chr.
- 2) Die Formierung des ungarischen Gentilverbandes vollzog sich in der osteuropäischen Steppe in der Zeit von 500 bis ins 9. Jahrhundert, d.h. bis zur Landnahme.
- 3) Die heidnische Zeit nach der Landnahme im Karpatenbecken bis zur Christianisierung um 1000
- 4) Eintritt in die europäische Geschichte.

In der ersten Phase waren die ungarischsprachigen Verbände Waldbewohner im Gebiet zwischen dem mittleren Ob und der mittleren Wolga. In der Waldzone brauchte man keinen großen Verband, um zu überleben. Politische Gebilde oder Großstämme entwickeln sich nur in Berührung mit der Außenwelt. Die Reiternomaden der Steppe, die Fernhändler oder das Römerreich konnten Anlass dafür

<sup>6</sup> J. Deér, *Pogány magyarság, kereszteny magyarság*. [Heidnisches Ungarntum, christliches Ungarntum] Budapest 1938, 5–77.

<sup>7</sup> J. Szűcs, *A magyar nemzeti tudat kialakulása*. [Herausbildung des ungarischen Nationsbewusstseins] Budapest 1997.

sein, dass sich die Gruppen der Waldzone in einen größeren politischen Rahmen einordneten. Als Beispiele kann man die Mongolen erwähnen, die vor dem 13. Jahrhundert Waldbewohner waren, oder die ostslawisch-sprechenden Verbände, die den Impuls von Reiternomaden und normannischen Fernhändlern bekamen; auch die germanischen Großstämme kamen durch Berührung mit dem Römerreich zustande. Die Zusammengehörigkeit der ungarischsprachigen Verbände ist historisch nicht belegt, so kann man auch nicht über das Ungartum sprechen. Die Lebensweise dieser Verbände kann durch den Wortschatz und die archäologischen Kulturen rekonstruiert werden. Die ungarischsprachigen Verbände haben bestimmt den Kontakt mit den Reiternomaden von Nordkasachstan aufgenommen. Die ersten Nomaden erschienen dort um das 8. oder 7. vorchristliche Jahrhundert und zogen die ansässigen Waldbewohner in den Bannkreis der Steppenviehzucht. So war den Waldvölkern die Möglichkeit gegeben, ihre Lebensweise zu wechseln, denn der Nachschub der Reiternomaden kam in der Regel aus der Waldzone.

Der entscheidende Zeitraum der ungarischen Frühgeschichte war die Entwicklung der nomadischen Stammeskonföderation. Dieser Prozess wurde durch die Geschichte Osteuropas im Zeitraum vom 4. bis zum 9. Jahrhundert bestimmt. Zwischen dem 4. und 6. Jahrhundert fand die Völkerwanderung der Reiternomaden statt. Die Hunnen erreichten Osteuropa in den 50-er Jahren des 4. Jahrhunderts, deren Blütezeit war die erste Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts. In der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts wanderten die Ogvurvölker, d.h. Oguren, Saraguren, Onoguren in osteuropäische Steppe. Ihnen folgten die Sabiren am Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts. Die Entstehung der türkischen Khaganats im Jahre 552 hat die Westwanderung der Awaren aufgelöst. Die Awaren ihrerseits haben das Karpatenbecken 568 erobert und die Türken haben um 580 ihre Macht bis zur Halbinsel Krim ausgedehnt. Damit hat die stürmische Zeit der nomadischen Völkerwanderungen ein Ende. Vom 7. bis zum Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts hat das Chazarenreich Stabilität nach Osteuropa gebracht.<sup>8</sup>

In der Darstellung der ungarischen Frühgeschichte wurden die ungarischen Beziehungen zum Chazarenreich verschieden interpretiert. Es gibt zwei Grundtendenzen in der ungarischen Geschichtsschreibung. Die eine betont, dass die ungarische Stammeskonföderation seit dem 7. Jahrhundert zum Chazarenreich gehörte und sie sich von ihm im 9. Jahrhundert trennte. Die andere vertritt die Ansicht, dass das Ungartum mit den Chazaren erst im 9. Jahrhundert in Berührung kam. In den 830-er Jahren waren die chazarisch-ungarischen Verhältnisse feindselig, dann gewannen die Chazaren die Oberhand. Es gelang den Ungarn erst in den 870-er Jahren wieder, ihre Unabhängigkeit zurückzugewinnen. Beide Konzepte akzentuieren die Selbstständigkeit der Macht der ungarischen Stammesliga vor der Landnahme, aber sie interpretieren die Dauer und Intensität der Berührung zwischen den Ungarn und den Chazaren verschieden. Ich versuche nun, ein neues Bild von den chazarisch-ungarischen Verhältnissen zu präsentieren.

<sup>8</sup> P. B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*. Wiesbaden 1992, 85–114, 233–262.

Zuerst werden die Aspekte in Betracht gezogen, die die Bedeutung der chazarisch-ungarischen Beziehungen und ihre Erforschung negativ beeinflusst haben.

1) Die Bekehrung des Chazarenkönigs zum Judentum wurde in der ersten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts von politischen Überlegungen und Handelsinteressen motiviert.<sup>9</sup> Die traurige Geschichte der Judenfrage des 20. Jahrhunderts hat ihre tiefen Spuren in der ungarischen Geschichtsschreibung hinterlassen und die Historiker wollten diese Fragen lieber vermeiden.

2) Die Sprachgeschichte spielt eine herausragende Rolle in der Beurteilung der chazarisch-ungarischen Beziehungen. Es handelt sich um etwa 400–500 türkische Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache aus der Zeit vor der Landnahme. Diese Wörter stammten aus bulgar-türkischen Dialekten der Wolga-Bulgaren oder der Bulgaren nördlich vom Schwarzen Meer. In der älteren Forschung wurde die Sprache der Chazaren als gemeintürkisch definiert und deshalb kam eine dauerhafte Berührung zwischen Chazaren und Ungarn nicht in Frage. Die ungarische Turkologie dagegen hat darauf hingewiesen, dass auch die Sprache der Chazaren zur bulgar-türkischen Sprachgemeinschaft gehörte.<sup>10</sup> Dies hat zur Folge, dass die Sprachkontakte zwischen den Ungarn und Türken nicht außerhalb des Chazarenreichs gesucht werden sollten.

3) Der Bericht von Ibn Rusta über die Verteidigungsmassnahmen der Chazaren gegenüber den Ungarn ist der wichtigste Beleg für die feindlichen Beziehungen im 9. Jahrhundert.<sup>11</sup> Eine gründliche philologische Untersuchung der Textstelle führt zu folgendem Ergebnis. Wenn man die Paralleltexte der Čaihānī-Tradition,<sup>12</sup> d.h. Marwāzī, Ibn Rusta und Gardīzī zusammenfasst, können mindestens vier chronologische Schichten eindeutig unterschieden werden. Es handelt sich bei dieser Textstelle grundsätzlich um die ungarisch-slawischen Beziehungen. Den Grundtext bietet Marwāzī: „Sie siegen über die im näheren Umkreis wohnenden Slaven und Rus‘. Sie nehmen Gefangene von ihnen, bringen die Gefangenen nach Byzanz und verkaufen sie dort.“ Der erste Satz stimmt bei Ibn Rusta und Gardīzī überein, dann kommt die zweite Schicht bei Ibn Rusta und Gardīzī. Aber Gardīzī wiederholte den Grundtext am Ende wie folgt: „Sie unternehmen Streifzüge gegen die Slaven und Rus‘, holen Gefangene von dort, verbringen sie nach Byzanz und verkaufen sie dort.“ Auch bei Ibn Rusta sind Spuren des Grundtextes zu erkennen. Die zweite Schicht verkörpert folgender Paralleltext von Ibn Rusta und Gardīzī „(Sie) verpflichten diese zu drückenden Abgaben und behandeln sie wie Sklaven. Die Ungarn sind Feueranbeter.“ Die dritte

<sup>9</sup> P. B. Golden, „Khazaria and Judaism,” *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 3 (1983), 127–156.

<sup>10</sup> L. Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban*. [Die türkischen Beziehungen der ungarischen Sprache vor der Landnahme und in der Arpáden-Zeit] Budapest 1986, 475–489. Vgl. Á. Berta-A. Róna-Tas, „Old Turkic Loan Words in Hungarian – Overview and Samples,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 55 (2002), 43–67.

<sup>11</sup> J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*. Berlin 1903, 27–28.

<sup>12</sup> I. Zimonyi, *Muslimische Quellen über die Ungarn vor der Landnahme. Das ungarische Kapitel der Čaihānī-Tradition*, Herne 2006.

Schicht bewahrt Ibn Rusta: „Sie überfallen die Slaven und ziehen mit den Gefangenen die Küste entlang, bis sie diese zu einem Hafen des Landes der Byzantiner bringen, der Karh heißt. .... Kommen die Ungarn mit den Gefangenen nach Karh, so treffen sich die Byzantiner dort mit ihnen und halten Markt. Jene überlassen die Sklaven und erhalten dafür rhomäischen Brokat, Teppiche und andere Waren der Byzantiner.“<sup>13</sup> Der Grundtext wurde mit wichtigen Angaben ergänzt. Nach dem ersten Satz von Ibn Rusta in der dritten Schicht wurde eine Interpolation eingefügt: „Man sagt: früher haben sich die Chazaren bereits mit einem Graben umgeben, um sich gegen die Ungarn und sonstige Nachbarvölker zu verteidigen.“<sup>14</sup> Dieser Satz repräsentiert die vierte Schicht und befindet sich nur bei Ibn Rusta. Die chronologische Einordnung der Schichten ist rekonstruierbar: der Grundtext entstand zwischen 870 und 895. Al-Ğayhāni hat den Grundtext zweimal zwischen 910 und 940 ergänzt. Die vierte Schicht, d.h. die Interpolation über die chazarisch-ungarischen Beziehungen kann nur nach 940 datiert werden und deshalb ist ihre Aussagekraft für das 9. Jahrhundert zweifelhaft.<sup>15</sup>

Ein ganz anderes Bild übermittelt das Ungarnkapitel des byzantinischen Kaisers, Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos. „Das Volk der Ungarn hatte früher seinen Wohnsitz in der Nähe von Chazaria... Sie wohnten drei Jahre lang mit den Chazaren zusammen und kämpften als Verbündete der Chazaren in allen ihren Kriegen. Der Chagan von Chazaria aber gab aufgrund ihrer Tapferkeit und ihrer Kampfgenossenschaft dem ersten Woiwoden der Ungarn, dem Lebedias, wegen des Ruhmes seiner Tapferkeit und des Ansehens seines Geschlechtes eine edle Chazarin zur Frau, damit sie von ihm Kinder habe; jener Lebedias aber zeugte aufgrund eines Geschickes mit dieser Chazarin keine Kinder.“<sup>16</sup> Dann kommt die Geschichte des ersten Kriegs mit den Pectschenen.

„Nach kurzer Zeit aber tat der damalige Chagan von Chazaria den Ungarn kund, sie sollten Lebedias zu ihm schicken. Als nun Lebedias beim Chagan von Chazaria angekommen war, fragte er, aus welchem Grund er ihn zu sich habe kommen lassen. Der Chagan sagte zu ihm: „Wir haben dich herbeigerufen, um dich, da du edel, vernünftig und tapfer und der erste unter den Ungarn bist, zum Archon deines Volkes zu machen, damit du unserem Wort und Befehl gehorchst“. In seiner Antwort entgegnete er dem Chagan: „Da ich aber für ein solches Amt zu schwach bin, kann ich nicht gehorchen, vielmehr gibt es außer mir einen anderen Woiwoden, der Almutzes heißt und einen Sohn namens Arpades hat, eher soll einer von diesen, entweder jener Almutzes oder sein Sohn Arpades Archon werden und eurem Wort gehorchen.“ Mit dieser Rede war der Chagan sehr zufrieden, er gab ihm Männer von sich und entsandte sie zu den Ungarn,

<sup>13</sup> Zimonyi, *Muslimische Quellen*, 224.

<sup>14</sup> Zimonyi, *Muslimische Quellen*, 244.

<sup>15</sup> Zimonyi, *Muslimische Quellen*, 225, 244–246.

<sup>16</sup> Die Byzantiner und ihre Nachbarn. Die De administrando imperio genannte *Lehrschrift des Kaisers Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos für seinen Sohn Romanos*. Übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von K. Belke, P. Soustal, *Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber* 19, Wien 1995, 187–189.

nachdem diese mit den Ungarn über die Angelegenheit gesprochen hatten, hielten die Ungarn es für besser, dass Arpades Archon werde... Sie machten ihn nach Sitte und Brauch der Chazaren zum Archon, indem sie ihn auf einen Schild hoben.“<sup>17</sup>

Diese Nachricht ist ein Beweis dafür, dass die Ungarn zum Chazarenreich gehörten und die Arpades-Dynastie noch in der Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts ihre Legitimation mit der chazarischen Ernennung in Verbindung brachte. Die Geschichte widerspiegelt den Wandel der Position in der politischen Rangordnung, als der ungarische Anführer den dritten Rang im Chazarenhof erreichte. Die Ernennung des ungarischen Fürsten kann nicht als unabhängiger Machthaber, d.h. Khagan interpretiert werden.

In der frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte Osteuropas hatte das Chazarenreich eine große Bedeutung. Die Chazaren gehörten ursprünglich zum Türkenereich in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts. Um 630 traten wichtige Veränderungen ein. Kuvrat gründete ein Reich am Schwarzen Meer. Das Osttürkenereich zerbrach und das Westtürkenereich wurde infolge innerer Kämpfe schwach. Dann konnten die Chazaren ein unabhängiges Reich gründen. Nach einem Abwehrerfolg gegen die Expansion der Araber durch den Kaukasus im Jahre 652 und der Eroberung des Reiches von Kuvrat in den 670-er Jahren, gelang es den Chazaren, eine Großmachtstellung in Ost-Europa zu erreichen. In erster Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts führten die Chazaren erfolgreiche Kriege gegen die Araber und verteidigten ihre Grenzen an der Kaukasus-Linie. Im 9. Jahrhundert entwickelte sich ein blühender Transithandel zwischen dem Chazarenreich und dem Kalifat und die Chazaren haben ihren Herrschaftsbereich auf die Waldvölker Osteuropas, d.h. die Burtasen und die Ostslaven (Poljanen, Severjanen, Vjatičen und Radimičen) ausgedehnt, um die Handelswaren (Pelz, Sklaven, Honig, Wachs) zu sichern. Die Chazaren verloren ihre Großmachtstellung in Osteuropa am Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts, als die Pečenegen ins Chazarenreich einfielen und die Ungarn verdrängten, als Oleg sein Machtzentrum nach Kiew verlegte und als die Wolgabulgaren ihre Selbständigkeit mit der Bekehrung zum Islam gewannen.<sup>18</sup>

Die Bedeutung des Chazarenreichs in der ungarischen Ethnogenese ist eindeutig. Die Entstehung mittelalterliche Ethnien, d.h. die Übertragung des Abstammungsglaubens auf die ganze Gruppe und die Entwicklung der verhältnismäßigen einheitlichen Sprache und Kultur in der Stammeskonföderation, konnte sich nur in dauerhaften politischen Gebilden vollziehen. Das Chazarenreich garantierte 2-3 Jahrhunderte Stabilität für die Bildung der Stammesliga von sieben ungarischen Stämmen.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Die Byzantiner*, 190-191.

<sup>18</sup> D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*. Princeton 1954; M. I. Artamanov, *Istorija hazar*. Sankt Petersburg 1962, 2002; D. Ludwig, *Struktur und Gesellschaft des Chasaren-Reiches im Licht der schriftlichen Quellen*. Münster 1982; K. A. Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria*. New Jersey-Jerusalem 1999.

<sup>19</sup> Szűcs, *A magyar nemzeti tudat*, 148-170.

Zusammenfassend kann man feststellen, dass das Chazarenreich in der Entstehung und Konsolidierung der ungarischen Stammeskonföderation eine herausragende Rolle spielte. Das Chazarenreich sicherte den Rahmen, in dem sich die ethnische Homogenisierung vollzog, die politischen Formen sich stabilisierten.<sup>20</sup> Im 9. Jahrhundert wurde die politische Position des ungarischen Anführers so stark, dass der Chazarenkagan ihn Kunde nannte. Diese Stellung war die dritte in der Hierarchie des Chazarenhofs und garantierte dem ungarischen Anführer großen Einfluss auf die Reichspolitik. Jedenfalls verblieb die ungarische Stammeskonföderation innerhalb des Chazarenreichs bis zur Landnahme. Erst danach wurden die Beziehungen abgebrochen.

Nach der Landnahme versuchten die nomadischen Ungarn ihre Lebensweise durch Streifzüge in der erste Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts aufrecht zu erhalten, aber Otto der Große, besiegte die Ungarn 955 (auf dem heutigen Lechfeld).<sup>21</sup> Das war ein Wendepunkt, denn damit endete die Phase der Einfälle. König Stephan I. von Ungarn wurde um 1000 zum Christentum bekehrt und damit begann der Prozess der Eingliederung in das europäische Mittelalter.

Die Formierung des mittelalterlichen Europas fing mit dem Untergang des weströmischen Reichs an. Die westlichen Historiker hatten früher die Idee von Ranke übernommen: Europa sei die "Einheit der romanischen und germanischen Völker". Aber das mittelalterliche Europa bedeutete nicht nur das Land des Weströmischen Reichs und die Geschichte der romanischen und germanischen Völker. Die Bildung Europas dauerte fast ein halbes Jahrtausend. Die erste Phase begann mit der Völkerwanderung der Germanen, ausgelöst von den Eroberungen der Hunnen. Diese Ereignisse verursachten den Niedergang des weströmischen Reichs im 4-5. Jahrhundert. Die römische Tradition wurde in die neuen germanischen Gesellschaften eingeschmolzen und ein ganz neues Modell entstand. Der Prozess kulminierte im Frankenreich und das war der Kern des mittelalterlichen Europas.<sup>22</sup>

Die Zweite Phase der Bildung Europas ist mit einer anderen Welle der Völkerwanderung zwischen dem 7. und 10. Jahrhundert in Zusammenhang gebracht worden. Europa wurde wiederum von heidnischen Völkern bedrängt. Erst sind die slawischen Verbände auf die Balkanhalbinsel vorgedrungen und haben den Balkan slawisiert. Die Entstehung des Islams und des Kalifats hat die Einheit des mediterranen Raumes zerfallen lassen. Die nomadischen Landnahmen der Donau-Bulgaren und Ungarn und die Einfälle der Wikinger und Waräger in Ost-

<sup>20</sup> I. Zimonyi, "The Concept of Nomadic Polity in the Hungarian Chapter of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De administrando imperio*," in *Historical and linguistic interaction between Inner-Asia and Europe*. Proceedings of the 39th Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC) Szeged, Hungary: June 16–21, 1996. ed. Á. Berta, Szeged 1997, 459–471.

<sup>21</sup> Gy. Györfi, "Landnahme, Ansiedlung und Streifzüge der Ungarn," *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 31 (1985), 254–261.

<sup>22</sup> H. Wolfram, *The Roman Empire and Its Germanic Peoples*. tr. Th. Dunlap, Berkeley-London 1997.

und Westeuropa gehörten zur zweiten Phase. Aber Europa reagierte erfolgreich auf diesen Herausforderungen. Das lateinische Europa konnte die Völker Skandinaviens und die Ungarn im Karpatenbecken und ihre nördlichen Nachbarn, die polnischen und tschechischen Völker, im 10-11. Jahrhundert konsolidieren und zum Christentum bekehren. Auf der anderen Seite hat Byzanz die Donau-Bulgaren und die Rus' christianisiert und das Christentum hat sich auf dem Balkan und in der Waldzone Osteuropas ausgebreitet.<sup>23</sup>

Der deutsche Historiker Walter Schlesinger hat schon eine neue Typologie vorgeschlagen: 1) Das römische Germanien war mit den Territorien des Römerreichs identisch und die germanisch sprechenden Völker haben dieses Reich erobert, aber sie blieben dort in der Minorität und wurden von den römischen Bewohnern Italiens, Spaniens und des fränkischen Galliens assimiliert; 2) Das germanische Germanien umfasste das Gebiet der Germanenstämme, die zwischen Rhein und Elbe wohnten. Die fränkische Eroberung hat die Christianisierung und die Institutionen des Frankenreichs, also auch römische Traditionen, übermittelt; 3. Das slawische Germanien beinhaltete die Staaten östlich von der Elbe, d.h. Polen, Tschechien und Ungarn.<sup>24</sup> Diese Völker haben die römischen Traditionen vom deutschen Reich im 10-11. Jahrhundert bekommen.

Die Jahrtausendwende war die Geburt Europas. In Nord- und Mittelosteuropa waren die mittelalterlichen Grundstrukturen erst im 13. Jahrhundert eindeutig sichtbar. Besucher aus dem alten Europa haben ihrem Gefühl Ausdruck gegeben, dass sie sich im selben Kulturkreis befanden.<sup>25</sup>

Zwar gibt es einen wesentlichen Unterschied zwischen den alten und neuen Regionen Europas. In der älteren Zone, d. h. dem ehemaligen Gebiet des weströmischen Reiches, zerfielen die politischen und ethnischen Rahmen und neue christliche, mittelalterliche Gesellschaften entstanden während des 500 Jahre lang dauernden Wandlungsprozesses. Es war das mittelalterliche Königtum, in dem neue mittelalterliche Nationen entstanden, aber es gab keine Kontinuität zu früheren Stämmen z.B. der Goten, Franken, Lombarden u.s.w.

Im Gebiet zwischen Rhein und Elbe dagegen wandelten sich die germanischen Großstämme zu Territorialstaaten und bewahrten einige ethnische Züge, aber die deutsche Nation sollte diese Subnationen zusammenfassen.

In der neuen Zone wiederum dauerte der Wandlungsprozess zum mittelalterlichen Königtum nur zwei oder drei Jahrhunderte, die früheren politischen und ethnischen Rahmen blieben und nur die Gesellschaft nahm die neuen christlichen

<sup>23</sup> Szűcs, *A magyar nemzeti tudat*, 21.

<sup>24</sup> W. Schlesinger, „West und Ost in der deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte,” in W. Schlesinger, *Beiträge zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters. II*. Göttingen 1963, 233–253.

Neue Literatur dazu: K. Modzelewski, „Europa romana, Europa feudale, Europa barbara,” *Bulletino dell’ Istituto Storico Italiano per il Médio Evo Muratoriano* 100 (1995–1996), 377–409; W. Pohl, „The Role of the Steppe Peoples in Eastern and Central Europe in the First Millennium A.D.” in *Origins of Central Europe*, ed. P. Urbańczyk, Warsaw 1997, 65–78

<sup>25</sup> Szűcs, *A magyar nemzeti tudat*, 28.

und mittelalterliche Strukturen an. Das ist der historische Hintergrund der langen ethnischen Kontinuität des tschechischen, polnischen und ungarischen Volkes.<sup>26</sup>

Zusammenfassend versuche ich nun das Grundwesen der ungarischen Frühgeschichte zu schildern: Die ungarischsprechenden Verbände lebten als Waldbewohner im Uralgebiet im vorchristlichem Jahrtausend bis zur Mitte des nachchristlichen Jahrtausends. Die Bildung des nomadischen Gentilverbands begann zwischen dem 4. und 6. Jahrhundert, als diese Gruppen in die Steppe zogen. Die Grundbedingung für die ethnische Homogenisierung war die politische Stabilität, die das Chasarenreich für den ungarischen Gentilverband vom 7. bis zum 9. Jahrhundert gewährleistete.

Die Landnahme im Karpatenbecken 895 und die Christianisierung um 1.000 gab der ungarischen Geschichte eine neue Richtung. Die nomadischen Traditionen gingen verloren und das Karpatenbecken, wo früher nomadische Reiche wie z.B. das Hunnen- und das Awarenreich gegründet worden waren, wurde Teil Europas.<sup>27</sup> Der Prozess fiel mit der zweiten Phase der Bildung Europas zusammen. Gegenüber den älteren Regionen Europas konnten die neuen lateinisch-christlichen Völker ihre ethnische Identität bewahren. So verlor der ungarische Gentilverband zwar seine nomadischen und heidnischen Traditionen, überlebte aber den Wandel mit seinem ethnischen Bewusstsein und seinem politischen Gebilde.

<sup>26</sup> Szűcs, *A magyar nemzeti tudat*, 12–19.

<sup>27</sup> I. Zimonyi, „The Nomadic factor in medieval European history,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 58 (2005), 33–40.





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