

COMPETING NARRATIVES BETWEEN NOMADIC PEOPLE AND THEIR
SEDENTARY NEIGHBOURS

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Competing Narratives between Nomadic People and their Sedentary Neighbours

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Preface

The Centre for Turkish Studies and the Institute of Global Studies at Shanghai University and the Departments of Altaic Studies and Medieval History together with the MTA–ELTE–SZTE Silk Road Research Group at the University of Szeged organized the Seventh International Conference on Medieval History of the Eurasian Steppe in Shanghai on November 9–12, 2018. This conference evolved from previous conferences on the history of medieval nomads of the Eurasian steppe held in 1997, 2000 and 2002 at the University of Szeged. These early conferences were a forum mainly for Hungarian historians and orientalists and the proceedings were published in Hungarian. In 2004 it was decided to convene an International Conference on the Medieval History of the Eurasian Steppe. The first conference of this kind was held in Szeged in 2004 and the honorary guest was the father of Eurasian Studies, Denis Sinor, the second was in Jászberény in 2007, the third in Miskolc (Hungary) in 2009, the fourth in Cairo (Egypt) in 2011, the fifth in Moscow in 2013 and the sixth in Szeged in 2016. The proceedings were published in *Acta Orientalia* (58: 2005), *Chronica* (7–8: 2007–8), *Chronica* (11: 2011), *Bjulleten' (Newsletter) Obshchestva vostokovedov*. Vyp. 21. Moscow 2014, and *Chronica* (18: 2018).

The preliminary program of the conference included 39 lectures and the participants came from China, Russia, Hungary, Turkey, USA, Israel, Croatia, Germany, Spain and Italy. On the 9th of November 2019 participants arrived and registered at the Lehu Hotel of the University of Shanghai. On the 10th November the first working day started at 9 o'clock. In his opening speech Zhang Yong-an, the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts of Shanghai University, greeted the participants and opened the conference. István Zimonyi, the head of the Department of Altaic Studies and of the Department of Medieval History at the University of Szeged delivered preliminary remarks on the current state of the study of the nomadic peoples of the Eurasian steppe in Hungary. Then, lectures were read until 5.30 pm. On Sunday, the 11th of November, there was city tour in Shanghai. The participants visited Shanghai Museum and the Yu Garden and finally they had dinner at the Renaissance Hotel. On the 12th of November the conference continued with lectures in parallel sections. The majority of the presentations were followed by lively debate. In the evening there was a reception for the participants.

I would like to express special thanks to my colleagues from Shanghai University, to Dr. Chen Hao for his organizing work before and during the conference, and to Professor Guo Chang-gang, dean of the Institute of Global Studies and director of the Centre of Turkish Studies, for his support and financial

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backing. I asked Dr. Chen Hao to take on the editorial work for publication. The English version of the proceedings was accepted for publication in the series of the Department of Altaic Studies, *Studia Uralo-Altaica* 53. The Chinese version will be published by Shanghai University.

本书是教育部哲学社会科学研究重大课题攻关项目“土耳其内政外交政策与‘一带一路’战略研究”（17JZD036）和教育部人文社科研究青年基金项目“‘一带一路’沿线中亚国家‘乌古斯可汗’祖先传说研究”（17YJC770003）的阶段性成果。

István Zimonyi



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A Prosopographical Approach to Medieval Eurasian Nomads (II)

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In the Sixth International Conference on the Medieval History of the Eurasian Steppe held in Szeged in 2016 I discussed the pros and cons of a prosopographical approach to Medieval Eurasian nomads of the Pre-Mongol Period. Two years later, in a similar way, I again brought this idea to the attention of the Seventh Conference in Shanghai with the intention of presenting it to the Chinese scientific community. In the meantime, the main project improvements have been [1] the creation of a computer database for storing –and allowing cross-searching of– hitherto collected data and [2] the extension of the initially covered period from the late fourth to the early seventh century (Hun empire to the early Avar kingdom). The Szeged paper, which includes a sample basic research on the Hun period (in fact, ca. A.D. 370–527) based in *PLRE* I-II,¹ will hopefully have been published by now.² That is why we have decided to take advantage of this occasion to produce a second paper dealing with the individuals contained in *PLRE* III (for the period A.D. 527–641), in this case mostly post-Attilanic Huns, Avars, Turks, Khazars and their counterparts among sedentary empires and other related peoples.

The following tables have been prepared in accordance with the guidelines already spelled out in the previous paper (name of the individual; reference to the relevant pages in *PLRE* III; extract from the entry giving the main source & the number of other available sources in brackets; chronology). However, even if the former organization in three main sections (Eurasian nomads / Sedentary empires & kingdoms / Other peoples) has been kept, that of the sub-chapters has been modified here according to ethnic origins, although the old basic categories informing the career of every individual have been preserved following an easy

* Funded by the Research Project FFI2014-58878P (Spain). I wish to thank my student Anna Solà for her help in collecting the materials for this paper.

1 *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. I A.D. 260–395, ed. A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale & J. Morris, Cambridge 1971; vols. II. A.D. 395–527 & IIIAB. A.D. 527–641, ed. J.R. Martindale, Cambridge 1980–1992.

2 A. Alemany (2019) “A Prosopographical Approach to Medieval Eurasian Nomads”, *Chronica* 18: 6–24.

classification system based on chess icons already used for the Szeged presentation.³

Needless to say, this is once more a preliminary work with the goal of showing both the benefits and problems of a prosopographical approach to the Eurasian nomads of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, but also with the aim of providing at least a useful tool for easy reference—a digest of 1,456 pages in about a dozen: a first, unavoidable step before extensive source mining and the development of an *ad hoc* methodology.

- ♔ king / emperor / ruler
- ♚ queen / *Augusta*
- ♁ chieftain / leader / army commander
- ♎ diplomat
- ♞ in Roman service (other than *MVM*)
- ♞ in Roman service (*MVM*)
- ♟ other individuals

³ A & B = *PLRE* IIIA & B. No Byzantine emperors are listed, since *PLRE* does not deal with their reigns, which are otherwise well known; as an exception, *Iustinus 5* (Justin II) and *Tiberius Constantinus 1* are included because of events prior to their becoming *Augusti*. Regarding the Huns in Roman service attested by Procopius, [M] stands for Μασσαγέτης “Massagete ~ Hun” and [δ] for δορυφόρος “bodyguard officer” (lit. “spearman”). The names of Eurasian nomads and the relationship of sedentaries and other peoples to them are highlighted in bold. Early Slavs and individuals related to them have been incorporated, even if not explicitly connected with Eurasian nomads (in such a case, they are labeled with #), insofar their presence is often linked to episodes of Avar history. In dates, an asterisk [*] stands for: *circa* ‘approximately’. Greek original text for titles has only been given for Eurasian nomads when available in the source; as for Greek <ou>, transliterated both as <ou> and <u> in *PLRE* III, the latter solution has been generalized. Accordingly, the transliteration of names in Armenian and Persian sources has been modified when necessary. Quoted sources: Agath(ias), *Anth(ologia) Gr(aeca)*, *Chron(icon) Pasch(ale)*, Const(antinus) Porph(yrogenitus), *Ep(istolae) Wisig(oticae)*, Fredegar(ius), Evagr(ius), Greg(orius) Magnus, Greg(orius) Tur(onensis), Joh(annes) Eph(esius), Joh(annes) Mal(alas), *K(art’lis) C(xovreba)*, Marcel(linus) Com(es), Men(ander) Prot(ector), Mich(ael) Syr(us), *Mir(acula Sancti) Dem(etrii)*, Mov(sês) Dasx(uranc’i), Nic(ephorus), Paul(us) Diac(onus), Proc(opius), Sebeos, Theod(orus) Sync(ellus), Theoph(anes), Theoph(ylact) Sim(ocatta); Zacos = G. Zacos–A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, Basel 1972. Roman / Byzantine official titles: *mag. off.* = *magister officiorum*, *MVM* = *magister utriusque militiae*, *PPO* = *praefectus praetorio*, *PVC* = *praefectus urbis Constantinopolitanae*, *QSP* = *quaestor sacri palatii*.

Eurasian Nomads

Unspecified Huns

☞ <i>Glom</i>	A 538	king (ῥῆξ) of a section of the Huns, an ally of Cavades ⁴ , defeated and killed by the Sabirian Boa [Joh. Mal. ⁺³]	528
☞ <i>Grod</i>	A 557-8	king (ῥῆξ) of the Crimean Huns, a Roman ally, killed by his people and replaced by Mugal [Joh. Mal. ⁺⁵]	528
☞ <i>Mugel</i>	B 896	king (ῥῆξ) of the Crimean Huns after his brother Grod, fled before an expedition sent by Justinian [Joh. Mal. ⁺⁵]	528
☞ <i>Tyranx</i>	B 1346	king (ῥῆξ) of a section of the Huns, an ally of Cavades ⁴ , defeated and captured by the Sabirian Boa, sent in fetters to Justinian and executed in Constantinople [Joh. Mal. ⁺³]	528
☞ † <i>Bleda</i>	A 233-4	<i>comes</i> & supporter of Totila, commander of a Gothic army, his name may be of Hunnish origin [Proc. ⁺²]	542
☞ <i>Ragnaris</i>	B 1076	a Hun from the Vittores tribe, commanding (ῥῆξ/ῥῆγεῖτο) the Gothic garrison in Tarentum, he was defeated by Pacurius; later, as leader of 7,000 Gothic troops, besieged and killed by Narses 1 at Compsa [Agath. ⁺¹]	552 554/5
☞ <i>Aeschmanus</i>	A 20	[M] officer [δ] of Belisarius' bodyguard in Italy, sent with Constantinus 3 to Etruria [Proc.]	537
☞ <i>Aigan</i>	A 32-33	[M] cavalry commander (στρατιωτῶν δὲ ἰππέων ἄρχων), officer [δ] of Belisarius' bodyguard, fought the Persians at Dara and the Vandals at Tricamarum, was killed by the Moors ⁵ [Proc.]	530-534
☞ <i>Ascan</i>	A 133	[M] he and Simmas served under Belisarius at the battle of Dara commanding a cavalry force (ἰπτεῖς ῥῆξον) 600 strong; later he was killed at the battle of Callinicum [Proc.]	530-531
☞ <i>Balas</i>	A 169	[M] on the Vandal expedition he and Sinnion led a contingent of Hun mounted archers (ἰπποτοξοτῶν ῥῆγουῦντο) in Belisarius' army [Proc.]	533

⁴ *Cavades I* (488-531), king of Persia (*PLRE* II 273-4).

⁵ A Moorish army in Byzacena led by the chieftains *Cutzinas* (A 366-68), *Esdilasas* (A 451), *Iourphouthes* (A 717) and *Medisinissas* (B 870) [Procopius].

Ξ <i>Bochas</i>	A 235	[M] officer [δ] of Belisarius' bodyguard in Rome, wounded by the Goths in the <i>campus Neronis</i> [Proc.]	537
Ξ <i>Chalazar</i>	A 280	[M] officer [δ] of Ioannes' 46 bodyguard, he and Gudilas 2 were given command (ἐπιστήσας) of a force of 300 Illyrian horsemen at Rusciane; he surrendered to Totila but was tortured and killed by him [Proc.]	547-548
Ξ <i>Chorsamantis</i>	A 302-3	[M] officer [δ] of Belisarius' bodyguard, he fought in Etruria under Constantinus 3 and was killed when taking on overwhelming numbers during the siege of Rome [Proc.]	537
Ξ <i>Elmingirus</i>	A 440	<i>tribunus</i> (λοχαγός) in Lazica, he and Dabragezas were in charge of boats guarding the river Phasis [Agath.]	556
Ξ <i>Elminzur</i>	A 440	? <i>comes rei militaris</i> (ταξίαρχος) under Iustinus 4 in Lazica, sent with 2,000 cavalry to take Rhodopolis [Agath.]	556
Ξ <i>Gubulgudu</i>	A 560	[M] officer [δ] of Valerianus' 1 bodyguard, he fought bravely against the Goths in Ancona [Proc.]	538
Ξ <i>Hodolgan</i>	A 601	commander of the Roman garrison (ἡρχε τῆς ... φρουρᾶς) in Perusia, he co-operated with Martinianus 1 and recaptured Spoletium ⁶ [Proc.]	547
Ξ <i>Simmas</i>	B 1152-3	[M] he and Sunicas successfully defended Dara from the Persians; perhaps <i>tribunus</i> (χιλίαρχος), he and Ascan commanded a cavalry force (ἵππεις ἡρχον) 600 strong at the battle of Dara; later <i>dux</i> (δούξ / ἔξαρχος) at the battle of Callinicum [Proc. ⁺²]	527 530-531
Ξ <i>Sunicas</i>	B 1206-7	[M] he fled to the Romans and was baptized; styled <i>dux</i> (δούξ / ἔπαρχος), he killed the Persian commander Baresmanas at Dara, led a force against the Persians encamped at Gabbula, fought at Callinicum [Proc. ⁺²]	530-531
Ξ <i>Vldach</i>	B 1387	he commanded a Hun force at Pisaurum with Artabanes 2 and Roman troops (ἄμα στρατεύματι Ῥωμαϊκῷ τε καὶ Οὐννικῷ), defeating the advance guard of the Alaman Leutharis [Agath.]	554
Ξ <i>Zarter</i>	B 1415	[M] officer [δ] of Belisarius' bodyguard in Italy, sent by Constantinus 3 to Etruria [Proc.]	537

6 Surprisingly recalled as Ὀδολγὸν δὲ Οὐννοσ (not a Μασσαγέτης, as usual) by Proc. BG III.23.6.

✠ <i>Curs</i>	A 360-1	? <i>MVM</i> , a Hun or a Goth (Σκυθῆς ἀνὴρ), he served in Italy under Narses 1, later under Maurice ⁷ against the Persians in Armenia; he and Theodorus 32 took hostages from Albanians and Sabirs [Men. Prot. ⁺⁶]	574-582
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Kutrigur & Utigur Huns

☞ <i>Anagaeus</i>	A 59	ruler of the Utigurs (ἐκράτει τοῦ φύλου τῶν Οὐτιγοῦρων) somewhere north of the Caucasus, he went on campaign with a Turkish army near the city of Bosphorus [Men. Prot.]	576
☞ ☞ <i>Sandilchus</i>	B 1111-2	king (βασιλεύς / ἡγεμῶν) of the Utigur Huns, a Roman ally, thrice invited by Justinian to make war on the Kutrigur Huns, mostly under Zabergan 2, until both tribes disintegrated because of prolonged warfare [Proc. ⁺²]	551 557-559
☞ ☞ <i>Sinnion</i>	B 1156	[M] he and Balas led a contingent of Hun mounted archers (ἵπποτοξοτῶν ἡγοῦντο) in Belisarius' army; later, as a leader (ἡγοῦντο ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σ.) of the Kutrigur Huns, he was allowed by Justinian to settle in Thrace [Proc.]	533 551
☞ <i>Zabergan 2</i>	B 1410	ruler (ἡγεμῶν) of the Kutrigur Huns, he crossed Moesia and Scythia into Thrace, sent half of his army to attack Greece and half to seize the Thracian Chersonese but was defeated by Belisarius near Constantinople [Agath. ⁺²]	557-559
☞ <i>Chinialon</i>	A 296	one of the leaders (ἄλλοι τε ἡγοῦντο καὶ Χ.) of a 12,000 strong Kutrigur army which ravaged Roman territory at the request of the Gepids [Proc.]	551

Unogunduri / Bulgars

☞ <i>Kubratos</i>	B 763	lord (κύριος) of the Unogunduri, baptised in Constantinople, he rebelled against his overlord the khan of the Avars, expelled them from his homeland, sent an embassy and concluded a peace treaty with Heraclius [Nic. ⁺²]	M VII
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⁷ Later emperor Maurice (582–602), at that time *MVM per Orientem* (B 855–60 *Mauricius* 4).

☞ Alciocus	A 40	Bulgar leader, escaped from the Avars to the Franks and sought asylum with Dagobert 2; when the latter had them massacred by the Bavarians, he fled to the Wends with 700 men and their families [Fredegar.]	M VII
☞ Organas	B 956	uncle of Kubratos, presumably a chieftain of the Unogunduri (Bulgars) [Nic.]	E VII
☞ Anonymus 75	B 1440	a Bulgar, <i>spatharius</i> of Narses 1, staying at the house of Valerianus 2 at Rome [Greg.]	M VI
☞ † Ascum	A 136	<i>MVM per Illyricum</i> (στρατηλάτης), a Hun (Bulgar?), defeated Bulgars invading Scythia and Moesia, later he was captured by them and carried off into captivity [Joh. Mal. ⁺²]	528

Sabirs

☞ Blach	A 233	king (*ρήξ) of a section of the Sabirian Huns, husband of Boa, who succeeded him upon his death [Joh. Mal. ⁺³]	<i>ante</i> 528
☞ Boa	A 234	wife of Blach, on his death she became queen (ρήγισσα) of a section of the Sabirian Huns; she destroyed a Hun army allied to Persia, killing Glom and sending Tyrax to Constantinople [Joh. Mal. ⁺³]	528
☞ Balmach	A 170	one of three leaders (ήγουντο) of some 2,000 Sabirian Huns serving with the Roman army in Lazica [Agath.]	556
☞ Cutilzis	A 365	one of three leaders (ήγουντο) of some 2,000 Sabirian Huns serving with the Roman army in Lazica [Agath.]	556
☞ Iliger	A 618	one of three leaders (ήγουντο) of some 2,000 Sabirian Huns serving with the Roman army in Lazica [Agath.]	556

Avars

☞ Baian	A 167-69	khan (χαγόνος) of the Avars, he defeated the Franks under Sigibertus I; helped the Lombards against the Gepids; sent a Kutrigur army against Dalmatia; occupied Pannonia; attacked the Slavs; took Sirmium [Men. Prot. ⁺²]	?561-582/5
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☪ ☪ <i>Apsich 1</i>	A 101-2	one of the Avar leaders during the siege of Sirmium; later he was the commander (ὕποστράτηγος) of the Avars in Dardania and negotiated with Petrus 55; previously he had been sent as envoy to Tiberius [Men. Prot. ⁺²]	569/570 *581 601
☪ <i>Hermitzis</i>	A 590	Avar commander (ἐπαρχος) during the siege of Constantinople, he protested the capture and execution of Persian envoys on their way back from a mission to the Avars [<i>Chron. Pasch.</i>]	626
☪ <i>Samur</i>	B 1110	Avar commander, dispatched with 8,000 men by the khan, defeated by Salvianus in Moesia [Theoph. Sim.]	592
☪ <i>Candich</i>	A 269	first envoy of the Avars to the Romans, sent to Constantinople by Iustinus 4 from Lazica [Men. Prot.]	557
☪ <i>Coch</i>	A 319	envoy of the Avar khan to Priscus 6 at Durostorum [Theoph. Sim.]	593
☪ <i>Cunimon</i>	A 360	envoy to Justinian, he disclosed the Avars' secret intentions to his friend Iustinus 4 [Men. Prot.]	*561
☪ <i>Solachus</i>	B 1167	envoy sent to Tiberius by the khan Baian to demand the surrender of Sirmium [Men. Prot.]	*580
☪ <i>Targitis</i>	B 1217	envoy of the Avar khan Baian to Constantinople on numerous occasions for almost 30 years [Men. Prot. ⁺²]	565-593
☪ <i>Anonymus 87</i>	B 1442	envoy of the Avar khan Baian to Tiberius, on his return killed by raiding Slavs in Illyricum [Men. Prot.]	*580
☪ <i>Apsich 2</i>	A 102	called a Hun, probably an Avar, when Philippicus 3 fell ill he was appointed commander (ὕποστράτηγος) of the army in the east; in charge of the left wing with Eiliphredas at the battle of Solachon [Theoph. Sim. ⁺²]	585-586
☪ <i>Boocolabras</i>	A 245	a priest, probably an Avar even if called a Scythian (Σκύθης ἀνὴρ), he fled from the Avar khan after sleeping with one of his wives but was captured by the Romans and reclaimed by the khan [Theoph. Sim. ⁺¹]	582

Turks & Khazars

☞ <i>Arsilas</i>	—	‘senior’ (supreme / eldest?) ruler of the Turks (ὁ παλαιότερος μόναρχος Τούρκων) ⁸ [Men. Prot.]	L VI
☞ <i>Ĉepetux</i>	A 286	‘Chinese’ leader who joined the khan of the Khazars and helped Heraclius in the Persian war ⁹ [Sebeos]	*627
☞ <i>Cunaxolan</i>	A 360	one of the three khans (χαγάνοι) who helped the Great Turkish Khan to defeat the usurper Turum [Theoph. Sim.]	L VI
☞ <i>Sizabulus</i>	B 1163-4	khan of the Turks (ὁ τῶν Τούρκων ἡγεμῶν) in Sogdia, he campaigned against the Ephthalite Huns and chased the Avars; he received Zemarchus 3 after two unsuccessful embassies to Chosroes and concluded a treaty with Justin II ¹⁰ [Men. Prot.]	552-576
☞ <i>Sparzeugun</i>	B 1181	one of the three khans (χαγάνοι) who helped the Great Turkish Khan to defeat the usurper Turum [Theoph. Sim.]	L VI
☞ <i>Stembis-chagan</i>	B 1182	an ally of the Turks, whom he helped subdue the Avars ¹¹ [Theoph. Sim.]	M/L VI
☞ <i>Tardu</i>	B 1217	ruler of the Turks in the vicinity of mount Ectal, son of Sizabulus and brother of Turxanthus [Men. Prot.]	576
☞ <i>Tuldich</i>	B 1332	one of the three khans (χαγάνοι) who helped the Great Turkish Khan to defeat the usurper Turum [Theoph. Sim.]	L VI
☞ <i>Turum</i>	B 1332-3	a relative of the Great khan of the Turks (πρὸς γένος καθεστῶς τῷ Χαγάνῳ), after rebelling against the latter he was defeated with the help of other three great khans, Cunaxolan, Sparzeugun and Tuldich [Theoph. Sim.]	L VI

⁸ Lacking in *PLRE* III.

⁹ Arm. *Ĉenastann ĉepetux* (v.l. *ĉembux*) [Sebeos] ~ *jebu xak’an* [Mov. Dasx.] = Old Turkic *yabyu qayan*, identified by Marquart as Tong yabyu qayan (Chin. *Tongyehu Kehan* 統葉護可汗), who reigned over the Western Turks from 619 to 630.

¹⁰ Σιζάβουλος, Σιλζιβουλος [Men. Prot.] or also سنجيبو *Sinġibū* [Ṭabarī], often identified with *Ištāmi qayan*, named after the Old Turkic title **sir yabyu*.

¹¹ Στεμβισχάγαν [Theoph. Sim.] seems in fact to be *Ištāmi qayan*’s true name; we give the reading of the Vatican ms. instead of the vulgate reading Στεμβισχάδας adopted by Wirth and B 1182 (we have kept *PLRE*’s duplicity in the table in order to correct the disambiguation).

☞ <i>Turxanthus</i>	B 1333	a Turkish khan (εἷς τῶν παρὰ Τούρκων ἡγεμόνων), son of Sizabulus and brother of Tardu, one of the eight rulers of the Turks, he was visited by Valentinus 3 and sent him on to see Tardu; later he despatched an army against the Roman city of Bosphorus and captured it [Men. Prot.]	576
☞ <i>Bochanus</i>	A 235	Turkish military leader, sent with a large force by Turxanthus against the Romans in Bosphorus [Men. Prot.]	576
☞ <i>Čorpan Tarxan</i>	A 355	Khazar general, sent against Armenia with 3,000 troops to prepare the way for the khan [Mov. Dasx.]	629
☞ <i>Tagma</i>	B 1214	a Turk, appointed envoy to the Romans by Sizabulus, he held the dignity of Tarchan (ταρχάν); he accompanied Zemarchus 3 back to Constantinople [Men. Prot.]	571
☞ <i>Jebu Xak'an</i>	A 611-2	leader of the Khazar forces sent to help Heraclius against Persia, he put Tiflis to the sword [Mov. Dasx. ^{*5}]	E VII
☞ <i>Šat'</i>	B 1115	a Khazar, Jebu Xak'an's son, Roman ally, he invaded Georgia, took Tiflis and subdued Albania [Mov. Dasx.]	627-628

Other Eurasian peoples (Alans, Choliatae, Hermechiones, Uguri)

☞ <i>Ascel</i>	A 133-4	king (ῥῆξ) of the Hermechiones, he sent envoys to Constantinople [Theoph.]	563
☞ ☞ <i>Saroes</i>	B 1115	king (βασιλεύς / ἡγεμών) of the Alans, he mediated between Iustinus 4 and the Avars when the latter sought contact with the Romans; later he welcomed Zemarchus 3 when he returned from his embassy to the Turks; an ally of the Romans, he joined Ioannes 88 shortly before the battle of Nisibis [Men. Prot. ^{*1}]	557 571/2 573
☞ <i>Anonymus 80</i>	B 1441	ruler of the Uguri (ὁ τῶν Οὐγούρων ἡγούμενος), a subject of the Turkish khan Sizabulus [Men. Prot.]	*570/571
☞ <i>Anonymus 81</i>	B 1441	ruler of the Choliatae (ὁ τῶν Χολιατῶν ἡγεμών), he received permission from the Turkish khan Sizabulus to send some of his people to accompany the returning embassy of Zemarchus 3 [Men. Prot.]	*570/ 571

Sedentary Empires & Kingdoms

Roman / Byzantine Empire

✠ <i>Epiphania 2</i>	A 445-6	<i>Augusta</i> , daughter of the emperor Heraclius, promised in marriage to the khan of the Khazars [Nic. ⁺³]	*629
✠ <i>Alexander 1</i>	A 41-2	<i>comes</i> , envoy to the Ostrogoths, he complained about their welcome of Hunnic deserters from the Roman army in Africa [Proc.]	534
✠ <i>Ananastes</i>	A 59	envoy to the Turks , he came back together with some of them who later left with Valentinus 3 [Men. Prot.]	571/576
✠ <i>Andreas 23</i>	A 80	envoy sent by Heraclius to the Khazars to seek military assistance against Persia [Mov. Dasx.]	626
✠ <i>Aratius</i>	A 103-4	military commander, sent by Justinian as envoy to Chinialon , leader of the Kutrigur Huns [Proc.]	551
✠ <i>Athanasius 10</i>	A 148	<i>patricius</i> , envoy to the khan of the Avars on several occasions during the siege of Constantinople [Nic. ⁺²]	626
✠ <i>Comitas 5</i>	A 327	envoy, sent with the interpreter Vitalianus 2 to the Avar khan Baian , who held them both captive [Men. Prot.]	*568
✠ <i>Cosmas 20</i>	A 358	<i>QSP</i> , envoy of Heraclius to the Avar khan when the emperor was nearly captured by treachery [Nic.]	*620
✠ <i>Elpidius 1</i>	A 440-1	<i>patricius</i> , a member of the senate of Constantinople, twice envoy to the khan of the Avars [Theoph. Sim. ⁺²]	583 584
✠ <i>Euty chius 2</i>	A 476	envoy to the Turks , some of whom accompanied him back home and later left with Valentinus 3 [Men. Prot.]	571/576
✠ <i>Georgius 8</i>	A 515	envoy, he accompanied Zemarchus 3 on his embassy to the Turks [Men. Prot.]	569-571
✠ <i>Georgius 48</i>	A 521	ἄρχων at Constantinople during the Avar siege, went with others to see the khan at his request [Chron. Pasch.]	626
✠ <i>Harmaton</i>	A 579	envoy of Maurice to the khan of the Avars , he negotiated an end to the war [Theoph. Sim. ⁺¹]	598
✠ <i>Herodianus 2</i>	A 595	envoy to the Turks , some of whom accompanied him back home and later left with Valentinus 3 [Men. Prot.]	571/576

☪ Narses 4	B 930-1	<i>spatharius</i> , sent by Tiberius as envoy to the Avars , fell ill and died after landing near the Danube [Joh. Eph.]	*581
☪ Paulus 19	B 979	envoy to the Turks , some of whom accompanied him back home and later left with Valentinus 3 [Men. Prot.]	571/576
☪ Theodorus 43	B 1258-9	a doctor, sent as envoy by Priscus 6 to the Avar khan to negotiate an end to the fighting [Theoph. Sim. ⁺²]	593
☪ Theodorus 159	B 1277	<i>syncellus</i> , one of the ἄρχοντες at Constantinople who went with Athanasius 10, Georgius 48, Theodosius 40 & Theodorus 160 on an embassy to the khan during the Avar siege; he wrote an account (extant) of the siege [<i>Chron. Pasch.</i>]	626
☪ Theodorus 160	B 1277	<i>vir gloriosissimus, commerciarus</i> , one of the ἄρχοντες at Constantinople who went on an embassy to the khan during the Avar siege [<i>Chron. Pasch.</i>]	626
☪ Theodosius 40	B 1298	<i>patricius & logothetes</i> , an envoy to the khan during the Avar siege of Constantinople [<i>Chron. Pasch.</i>]	626
☪ Valentinus 3	B 1353	? <i>scribo</i> , Rome's first envoy to the Avars , he possibly accompanied Zemarchus 3 on his embassy to the Turks and later was sent on a second embassy to Turxanthus and Tardu [Men. Prot.]	*558 569-571 576
☪ Vitalianus 2	B 1379	he accompanied Comitas 5 as interpreter on an embassy to Baian , khan of the Avars [Men. Prot.]	568
☪ Zemarchus 3	B 1416-7	<i>MVM per Orientem</i> , envoy to the khan of the Turks in Sogdia, Sizabulus , with a returning Turkish embassy under Maniach; sent back to Constantinople with another Turkish embassy led by Tagma [Men. Prot.]	569-571
☪ Anonymus 96	B 1444	<i>excubitor</i> , sent by Maurice with a false message to deceive the khan of the Avars [Theoph. Sim. ⁺²]	588
☪ #Alexander 11	A 45-6	? <i>comes rei militaris / dux</i> in Thrace, he encountered and defeated several Slav forces [Theoph. Sim.]	593-594















𐌆 <i>Althias</i>	A 49-50	one of the nine commanders of <i>foederati</i> (Huns among them) in Belisarius' Vandal expedition, ¹² he defeated the Moor laudas with about seventy Huns under his orders [Proc.]	533 535
𐌆 <i>Anianus</i>	A 82	<i>mag. off.</i> , after pressure from the khan he sent gifts to secure the release of hostages in Avar hands [Nic.]	*635
𐌆 <i>Ansimuth</i>	A 85	? <i>comes rei militaris</i> / <i>dux</i> , he retreated towards the Long Walls when the Avars overran Thrace but was captured by them; the rumours of his and Castus' capture agitated Constantinople [Theoph. Sim.]	587
𐌆 # <i>Asbadus 1</i>	A 133	<i>candidatus</i> , officer of Justinian's bodyguard, defeated, captured and killed by marauding Slavs [Proc.]	550
𐌆 <i>Barbatus 1</i>	A 170-1	cavalry commander of the right wing with the Hun Aigan and Pappus at the battle of Tricamarum [Proc.]	533
𐌆 # <i>Bonosus 1</i>	A 239	a <i>scribo</i> , he prepared transports for Guduin's 1 Roman force to cross the Danube against the Slavs [Theoph.]	602
𐌆 <i>Busas</i>	A 248	an expert in siege warfare captured by the Avars , he taught them how to build siege engines [Theoph. Sim. ⁺¹]	587
𐌆 # <i>Callinicus 10</i>	A 264-5	<i>exarchus Italiae</i> , he wrote to pope Gregory to announce victories over the Slavs [Greg.]	599
𐌆 <i>Callistratus</i>	A 266	<i>PPO</i> (? <i>Illyrici</i>), sent by Tiberius to surrender Sirmium to the Avars after the failure of Narses 4 [Joh. Eph. ⁺¹]	581/582
𐌆 <i>Charias</i>	A 283	presumably <i>PPO</i> (<i>Illyrici</i>), he arrived in Thessalonica during the siege by the Avars and Slavs [<i>Mir. Dem.</i>]	*618
𐌆 <i>Cutilas</i>	A 365	officer of Belisarius' bodyguard, he, Artasires and the Hun Bochas attacked the Goths near Rome [Proc.]	537

¹² The other eighth commanders of *foederati* were *Cyprianus* (A 368-70), *Cyrillus 2* (A 371-2), *Dorotheus 2* (A 420-1), *Ioannes 15* (A 636), *Marcellus 2* (B 814), *Martinus 2* (B 839-48), *Solomon 1* (B 1167-77) and *Valerianus 1* (B 1355-61). However, only Althias is explicitly recorded as commanding Huns in Africa.

Ξ <i>Dagaris</i>	A 379	a bodyguard captured by Hun allies of Persia, after being released he won many victories over them [Proc.]	530
Ξ <i>Dalmatius</i>	A 384	<i>tribunus (militum)</i> , commander of the Roman garrison in Bosphorus, killed by the Hun Mugel [Joh. Mal. ⁺²]	528
Ξ <i>Damianus</i> 3	A 385	? <i>comes rei militaris / dux</i> , sent by Tiberius to accompany Avar envoys to the emperor Justin [Men. Prot.]	*571
Ξ <i>Eiliphredas</i>	A 435	<i>dux Phoenices Libanensis</i> , he and Apsich 2 commanded the left wing at the battle of Solachon [Theoph. Sim.]	586
Ξ <i>Germanus</i> 4	A 528	? <i>comes rei militaris</i> (East), defended the wall of Chersonese from the Hun army of Zabergan [Agath.]	559
Ξ <i>Gudilas</i> 2	A 540	an officer of Ioannes' 46 bodyguard, joint cavalry commander with the Hun Chalazar at Rusciane [Proc.]	547-548
Ξ <i>Ioannes</i> 7	A 625-6	<i>comes angustiarum Pontici maris</i> , sent with a Gothic force by sea against Mugel's Huns [Joh. Mal. ⁺³]	528
Ξ <i>Ioannes</i> 35	A 643-4	<i>Stotzas iunior</i> , rebel leader in Africa, commanding Romans, Vandals and some eighty Huns [Proc.]	545-546
Ξ <i>Ioannes</i> 46	A 652-61	<i>magister militum</i> in Italy, allegedly betrayed by the Bulgars under him when attacked by Totila, somewhat later he garrisoned Rusciane with 300 Illyrian cavalry under Gudilas and the Hun Chalazar [Proc. ⁺¹]	547
Ξ # <i>Ioannes</i> 64	A 665-67	"the Glutton" (ὁ Φαγῶς), military commander in Italy, he and Traianus 2 were given command of 1,200 men mostly drawn from Belisarius' bodyguard; later he twice defeated plundering Slavs in the Balkans [Proc.]	541 545/6 551
Ξ <i>Ioannes</i> 91	A 677	<i>PPO Illyrici et quaestor exercitus</i> in Pannonia, he transported Avar cavalry across the Danube [Men. Prot. ⁺¹]	578
Ξ # <i>Iustinianus</i> 3	A 744-47	he and his brother Iustinus 4, among other commanders, led an army against the Sclaveni in Illyricum [Proc.]	552

𐌆 <i>Iustinus 1</i>	A 748	? <i>MVM et dux Moesiae (Secundae)</i> , he was killed when he and Baduarius 1 joined battle with an army of Huns (Bulgars) invading Scythia and Moesia [Joh. Mal. ⁺¹]	528
𐌆 <i>Iustinus 5</i>	A 754-56	<i>cura palatii</i> , sent by Justinian to escort the Hun invaders under Zabergan back safely across the Danube, later <i>Augustus</i> 565-578 [Theoph. ⁺¹]	559
𐌆 <i>Martinianus 1</i>	B 838	a soldier who recaptured Spoletium for Belisarius with the help of the Hun Hodolgan [Proc.]	547
𐌆 <i>Maxentius 2</i>	B 864	? <i>comes rei militaris</i> in Lazica, he and Theodorus 21 led 300 cavalry against Sabirian Hun mercenaries in Persian service and inflicted heavy casualties on them [Agath.]	556
𐌆 <i>Maximinus 2</i>	B 865-6	appointed <i>PPO Italiae</i> , he sailed from Constantinople with a force accompanied by some Huns [Proc.]	542
𐌆 # <i>Nazares 1</i>	B 936-7	military commander in Scholasticus' 1 expedition against Slavs who were plundering the Balkans [Proc.]	551
𐌆 <i>Pappus</i>	B 966-7	cavalry commander of the right wing with the Hun Aigan and Barbatus at the battle of Tricamarum [Proc.]	533
𐌆 <i>Rufinus 1</i>	B 1097-8	cavalry commander in Africa, killed together with the Hun Aigan by the Moors in Byzacena [Proc.]	533-534
𐌆 # <i>Scholasticus 1</i>	B 1117	palatine Eunuch, he was given overall command by Justinian of an expedition against the Slavs [Proc.]	551
𐌆 <i>Solomon 4</i>	B 1177-8	? <i>dux</i> , in command of Sirmium during the Avar siege, allegedly careless and inefficient [Men. Prot.]	*581
𐌆 <i>Stephanus 26</i>	B 1189	? <i>comes rei militaris</i> , he and the Avar Apsich 2 were given command of the army in the east [Theoph. Sim.]	585
𐌆 # <i>Tatimer</i>	B 1220	Roman officer in Thrace, appointed commander of a force of 300 men by Priscus 6, he had difficulties with Slav forces while escorting booty won from them to Constantinople [Theoph. Sim. ⁺¹]	593
𐌆 <i>Theodericus 2</i>	B 1237	? <i>comes foederatorum</i> (East) commanding Scythian units (<i>foederati</i> from the Danube area?) [Evagr. ⁺¹]	581

☩ Theodorus 21	B 1251-2	?comes rei militaris in Lazica, joined Maxentius 2 in an attack on the Persians' Sabirian Hun allies [Agath.]	556
☩ Theodorus 163	B 1277-79	a general, maybe the unnamed brother of emperor Heraclius whose arrival near Constantinople was announced by Bonus 5 to the Avar khan at the end of the siege [Chron. Pasch.]	626
☩ Valerianus 1	B 1355-61	he was sent with an army of 1,600 cavalry to Italy (mainly Huns, Slavs and Antae , including Gubulgudu); later he met and destroyed most of an army of Huns sent by Chosroes into Roman Armenia [Proc.]	536 541
☩ Vlimuth	B 1390	an officer of Belisarius' bodyguard, he and the Hun Gubulgudu helped to avert the capture by Vacimus of Ancona [Proc.]	538
☩ Anonymus 94	B 1444	Roman officer, perhaps a <i>tribunus</i> , he supposedly spoke out in a military assembly against the plans of Comentiolus 1 to stay and fight the Avars [Theoph. Sim.]	587
☩ Babas	A 161-2	?MVM in Lazica, led an attack on the Dolomitae, already in flight from the Sabirs in Roman service [Agath.]	556
☩ Baduarius 1	A 163-4	?MVM <i>et dux Scythiae</i> , he fought against the Crimean Huns under Mugel to recover Bosphorus and together with Iustinus 1 against an army of Huns (Bulgars) invading Scythia and Moesia [Joh. Mal. ⁺³]	528
☩ Belisarius	A 181-224	<i>MVM per Orientem</i> , Justinian's famous general, his armies included Massagete (Hunnic) troops fighting against the Persians in Mesopotamia, the Vandals in Africa and the Ostrogoths in Italy, often led by Hun officers belonging to his bodyguard (Aeschmanus, Aigan, Ascan, Balas, Bochas, Chorsamantis, Simmas, Sinnion, Sunicas, Zarter); later he defeated the Kutrigur Huns under Zabergan near Constantinople [Proc. ⁺⁶]	529-559
☩ Bonus 4	A 241-2	<i>MVM (per Illyricum?)</i> under Iustinus 4, guarding the Danube frontier against the Avars , probably in command in Sirmium during the Avar siege; he sent an Avar embassy on to Constantinople [Men. Prot. ⁺¹]	568/9-570

 Bonus 5	A 242-44	MVM (?), in charge of the defence of Constantinople against the Avars during the siege; his illegitimate son Ioannes 259 was sent as hostage to the Avars [Theod. Sync. ⁺⁴]	622-626
 Castus	A 274-5	?MVM (<i>vacans</i>), he defeated the Avars in Thrace, later he was taken prisoner and ransomed [Theoph. Sim. ⁺¹]	587
 #Chilbudius 1	A 286-7	MVM <i>per Thracias</i> under Justinian, he waged war north of the Danube and was killed by the Slavs [Proc.]	530-533
  Comentiolus 1	A 321-25	MVM <i>Praesentalis</i> / ? <i>per Thracias</i> , he was sent on several campaigns against Avars and Slavs in Thrace and Moesia; he also accompanied as <i>scribo</i> Elpidius 1 on an embassy to the Avars at Anchialus [Theoph. Sim. ⁺³]	583-587 598-599
 #Constantianus 2	A 334-37	MVM (<i>vacans</i>), one of the commanders of an army sent against the Slavs in the Balkans [Proc.]	551
 Constantinus 3	A 341-2	?MVM <i>vacans</i> (in Italy), he led an army which included many of Belisarius' Hun bodyguards [Proc.]	537
 Comentiolus	A 352-3	?MVM <i>et dux Moesiae secundae</i> , he defeated the Bulgars ; later captured and ransomed by them [Joh. Mal. ⁺¹]	528
 Dorotheus 2	A 420-1	MVM <i>per Armeniam</i> , instructed to take action against a raiding party of Sabirian Huns [Joh. Mal. ⁺¹]	531
 Edermas	A 434-5	MVM in Thrace, he and Sergius 4 were overwhelmed and captured by the Huns of Zabergan [Joh. Mal. ⁺²]	559
 #Gentzon	A 512-3	?MVM in Thrace, sent as infantry commander with Priscus 6 against Musocius' Slavs [Theoph. Sim. ⁺¹]	593
 Georgius 45	A 520	?MVM (East), perhaps he served under Philippicus 3 in Thrace against the Avars [Theoph. Sim. ⁺¹]	*601/602
 Godilas 1	A 539-40	?MVM <i>per Thracias</i> (or <i>vacans</i>), he fought against the Huns of the Crimea and a Bulgar army [Joh. Mal. ⁺³]	528
 Guduin 1	A 561-2	?MVM (<i>vacans</i>), sent across the Danube against the Slavs ; previously a ? <i>dux</i> , sent by Priscus to recover Singidunum from the Avars and to spy on the khan's forces in Dalmatia [Theoph. Sim. ⁺²]	595 602

☩ <i>Ioannes 101</i>	A 679-81	<i>MVM</i> in Thrace, <i>qui et Mystacon</i> , he and Drocton defeated the Avars besieging Adrianople [Theoph. Sim.]	587
☩ <i>Iustinus 4</i>	A 750-54	<i>MVM per Armeniam</i> , the Avars first established relations with Justinian through his mediation; ? <i>Quaestor Iustinianus exercitus</i> , famous for preventing the Avars from crossing the Danube to raid Roman territory through diplomacy; earlier commander with Iustinianus 3 of an army sent against the Sclaveni in Illyricum [Proc. ⁺³]	552 *557 *561
☩ <i>Marcellus 5</i>	B 816-7	<i>MVM</i> (? <i>vacans</i> or <i>per Thracias</i>), sent by Justinian with a large army to defend Constantinople from the Huns (Bulgars) who were raiding Thrace [Theoph.]	562
☩ <i>Martinus 2</i>	B 839-48	<i>MVM</i> in Lazica, he withdrew before an army of Persians and Huns led by Mermeroes; later, as <i>MVM per Armeniam</i> , he stationed Hun allies in the plain near Archaeopolis and was the chief commander in the attack on Onoguris ; ¹³ earlier in his career, as <i>magister militum</i> , he and Valerianus 1 had arrived in Rome with 1,600 cavalry, mainly Huns, Slavs and Antae [Proc. ⁺¹]	537 552 555-556
☩ <i>Martinus 3</i>	B 848	? <i>MVM (vacans)</i> , in command of the right division of Comentiolus' 1 army in Thrace, he surprised the Avar khan near Tomi and put him to flight [Theoph. Sim. ⁺¹]	587
☩ <i>Mundus</i>	B 903-5	<i>MVM per Illyricum</i> , maybe of Hun descent, he routed the Getae (Slavs) who were raiding Illyricum and defeated the Huns (Bulgars) who had invaded Thrace [Marcell. com. ⁺³]	529-530

13 Several other persons are recorded in connection with the attack and siege of the fort of Onoguris during the Lazic wars: on the Roman side, *Buzes* (A 254-57), *Iustinus 4* (A 750-54) and *Rusticus 4* (B 1103-4), as well as *Dabragezas*, one of the **Antae** (A 378-9) and the Herul *Vligagus* (B 1389-90); on the Persian side, *Mermeroes* (B 884-5) and *Nachoragan* (B 909-10). However, beyond the name, the episode does not seem to be of any relevance for the history of the Onogurs.

☞ <i>Petrus 55</i>	B 1009-11	<i>MVM</i> (? <i>per Thracias</i>), heavily defeated by Peiragastus when leading a campaign north of the Danube against the Avar khan's Slav and Bulgar allies; later he prevented an attempt by the Avars under Apsich 1 to occupy land in Dardania and was ordered by Maurice to attack across the Danube [Theoph. Sim. ⁺⁸]	594 601-2
☞ <i>Philippicus 3</i>	B 1022-26	? <i>MVM per Thracias</i> , he led a successful campaign against the Bulgars (presumably the Avars) [Mich. Syr.]	*598
☞ <i>Priscus 6</i>	B 1052-57	<i>MVM per Thracias</i> , appointed supreme commander against the Avars , he fought in several campaigns against Avars and Slavs , often achieving victory over them [Theoph. Sim. ⁺⁴]	588 593-599
☞ <i>Romanus 4</i>	B 1091	<i>MVM</i> (East), sent across the Tigris with the Scythian (Hun) Curs on a plundering mission [Theoph. Sim.]	578
☞ <i>Salvianus</i>	B 1108	? <i>MVM</i> , appointed ὑποστράτηγος by Priscus 6 and sent to defend Moesia against the Avars [Theoph. Sim. ⁺²]	588
☞ <i>Sethus</i>	B 1138	<i>MVM</i> at Singidunum, he agreed to send an embassy from the Avar khan Baian to Constantinople [Men. Prot.]	579
☞ <i>Sittas</i>	B 1160-63	<i>MVM praesentalis</i> , he sent envoys to the Persian generals besieging Martyropolis, who withdrew fearing the attack of some Huns ; later he defeated a Bulgar army in Moesia near the river Iatrus [Proc. ⁺¹]	531 535
☞ <i>Theodorus 32</i>	B 1254	? <i>MVM</i> in Armenia, he and the Scythian (Hun) Curs took hostages from the Sabirs in Albania [Men. Prot. ⁺⁶]	574-575
☞ <i>Theognis 1</i>	B 1303	? <i>MVM per Illyricum</i> , the emperor Tiberius ordered him to surrender Sirmium to the Avars and he negotiated the details with khan Baian [Men. Prot.]	581-582
☞ <i>Tiberius Constantinus 1</i>	B 1323-26	? <i>MVM vacans</i> , supreme commander during the Avar war, he was first victorious but was later defeated and forced to reach an agreement ending the war, later <i>Augustus</i> 578-582 [Men. Prot. ⁺⁴]	569-571

✠ Vitalius 1	B 1380-81	<i>MVM per Illyricum</i> , the Illyrian troops under his command in Northern Italy heard of an attack on Illyricum by the Huns and chose to desert and return home [Proc.]	544
✠ Agathias	A 23-25	advocate, poet and historian, he undertook to describe the collapse of the Hun empire [Agath.]	M/L VI
✠ Eustathius 1	A 469-70	?PVC, he erected an equestrian statue of Justinian depicting him as victorious over Persians and Scythians (Persia's Hun allies) at Dara [Anth. Gr.]	530/531
✠ Ioannes 255	A 705-6	bishop of Thessalonica, he died about a month after the siege of Thessalonica by Avars and Slavs [Mir. Dem.]	*620
✠ Ioannes 259	A 706	illegitimate son of the <i>patricius</i> Bonus 5, sent to the Avars as a hostage [Nic.]	622
✠ Ioannes 260	A 706	<i>qui et Atalarichus</i> , illegitimate son of Heraclius, sent to the Avars as a hostage [Nic.]	622
✠ Maria 12	B 829	sister of Heraclius, she had a son, Stephanus 60, whom she ransomed from the Avars [Nic.]	E VII
✠ Menander 1	B 873	the main historian on Zemarchus' embassy to the Turks and the first two decades of Avar raids [Men. Prot.]	L VI
✠ Patricius 6	B 972	Avaricus (?) in a seal with the legend Πατρικίου τοῦ Ἀβαρικῶ [Zacos 2817 = Fogg Art Museum seal 1460]	VI
✠ Sergius 4	B 1124-28	<i>patricius</i> , robbed and taken prisoner in Thrace by the Huns under Zabergan , later ransomed [Agath. ⁴]	559
✠ Stephanus 60	B 1196-7	nephew of the emperor Heraclius, given to the Avars as a hostage and ransomed by his mother Maria 12 [Nic.]	622-*635
✠ Theodorus 28	B 1253	a doctor, he tended the general Bonus 4 during the Avar siege of Sirmium [Men. Prot.]	568
✠ Valerianus 2	B 1361-2	<i>advocatus</i> at Rome, among those staying in his house was Anonymus 75 , a Bulgar <i>spatharius</i> [Greg.]	M VI
✠ Anonymus 3	B 1428	<i>PPO Illyrici</i> , he gave 800 <i>solidi</i> to Vitalianus 2 to pay to the Avar khan Baian to stop him raiding [Men. Prot.]	568
✠ Anonymus 139	B 1451-2	Avaricus (?) in a seal with the legend ... τοῦ Ἀβαρικῶ [Fogg Art Museum seal 1460]	VI/VII

Sasanid Persia

☞ <i>Chosroes I</i>	A 303-6	he married the daughter of the Turkish khan Ištāmi [Joh. Eph. ⁺⁹]	531-579
☞ <i>Hormisdas IV</i>	A 603-4	king of Persia, his mother was a Turkish princess, the daughter of khan Ištāmi [Joh. Eph. ⁺⁹]	579-590
☞ <i>Adergudubades</i>	A 15-16	Persian military governor (χαναράγγης) whose province bordered the lands of the Ephthalite Huns [Proc.]	498-541
☞ <i>Artasires 1</i>	A 131	a Persian, officer [δ] of Belisarius' bodyguard, he, the Hun Bochas and Cutilas attacked the Goths near Rome [Proc.]	537
☞ <i>Baresmanas</i>	A 171	one of the Persian generals under Perozes in the battle of Dara, killed by the Hun Sunicas [Proc.]	530
☞ <i>Bahram 2</i>	A 166-7	<i>Ābīn</i> , Persian general, under Hormisdas, he defeated the Turks to the east of Persia [Theoph. Sim. ⁺⁷]	588-589
☞ <i>Mermeroes</i>	B 884-5	Persian commander, he marched from Mocheresis with reinforcements from the Sabirian Huns [Proc. ⁺¹]	552
☞ <i>Nachoragan</i>	B 909-10	Persian commander in Lazica, in a futile action he lost many of his Dilimnitae against Huns from the Roman army near Archaeopolis [Agath.]	556
☞ <i>Šahrbarāz</i>	B 1141-44	Persian general, present at Chalcedon during the Avar siege of Constantinople [Theod. Sync. ⁺¹⁰]	626

Transcaucasian kingdoms (Armenians, Iberians, Abasgi, Lazi)

☞ <i>Adarnase I</i>	A 13-14	ruler of Iberia, he assisted the Khazar Jebu Khak'an with the siege of Tiflis [K'.C. ⁺²]	627/628
☞ <i>Gubazes</i>	A 559-60	king of the Lazi, he formed an alliance with the Alans and the Sabirian Huns to guard Lazica [Proc.]	ante 548
☞ <i>Opsites 2</i>	B 955-6	king of the Abasgi, after the defeat of his army by the Romans he escaped to the Huns of the Caucasus [Proc.]	550
☞ <i>Stephanus 55</i>	B 1195-6	ruler of Iberia, loyal to Persia, killed when the Khazars allied to Heraclius besieged Tiflis [K'.C.]	627

𐌺 Artabanes 2	A 125-30	an Armenian, senior commander in Italy, he destroyed many of the advance guard of Leutharis' army in Pisaurum with Vldach and an army of Romans and Huns [Agath.]	554
𐌺 Isaaces 1	A 718	<i>dux</i> , a native of Persarmenia, he and Ioannes 46 were sent with an army of Romans and barbarians (with Huns and/or Bulgars among them) to join Belisarius at Epidamnus [Proc.]	546
𐌺 Narses 1	B 912-28	an eunuch, a native of Persarmenia, commander-in-chief of an expedition to Italy, he was blocked by an army of Huns when marching overland to Salona; he placed himself on the left wing at Busta Gallorum with the best Roman troops, including Huns ; he had a Bulgar <i>spatharius</i> in his bodyguard and died at the time of an Avar attack on Pannonia [Proc. ¹¹]	551-552 *573
𐌺 Pacurius	B 959	Iberian prince, commander of the Roman troops in Hydruntum, he defeated the Hun Ragnaris [Proc.]	552
𐌺 Sahak Mamikonian	B 1106	pro-Roman Armenian noble, commander of 1,000 cavalry levied for use in Thrace against the Avars [Sebeos]	<i>ante</i> 589
𐌺 Smbat Bagratuni	B 1209-11	Armenian noble, commander of a troop of cavalry 1,000 strong levied for use against the Avars [Sebeos]	<i>ante</i> 589

Eastern peoples & kingdoms (Chinese, Sogdians)

𐌺 𐌺 Maniach	B 810	ruler of Sogdia (τῶν Σογδαίων προειστήκει) and a subordinate to the khan of the Turks , he advised Sizabulus to seek alliance with the Romans and was sent as envoy to Constantinople [Men. Prot.]	568/569
𐌺 Taisan	B 1214	“son of God” (Ταῖσάν), the name of the governor (κλιματάρχης) of the people of Taugast, in diplomatic contact with the khan of the Turks ¹⁴ [Theoph. Sim.]	L VI
𐌺 Anonymus 79	B 1441	son of Maniach, sent by the Turkish khan Sizabulus to accompany Zemarchus 3 as envoy [Men. Prot.]	570/571

14 The Chinese title *Tianzi* 天子 “Son of Heaven”.

Other peoples

Lombards

☞ <i>Agilulfus</i>	A 27-29	<i>qui et Ago</i> , king of the Lombards, he sought peace with / helped / made a perpetual peace with / was sent Slav allies by the Avars [Paul. Diac.]	593-603
☞ <i>Alboin</i>	A 38-40	king of the Lombards, after destroying the Gepid kingdom he allied himself with the Avars , invaded Italy and abandoned Pannonia to them [Men. Prot.*2]	566-568
☞ # <i>Aio</i>	A 33-34	<i>dux</i> of Beneventum, killed in fighting with the Slavs near Sipontum [Paul. Diac.]	642
☞ <i>Cacco</i>	A 258	<i>dux</i> of Friuli, he was captured by the Avars with his brothers Radoaldus and Taso but escaped [Paul. Diac.]	*610
☞ <i>Gisulfus 2</i>	A 537-8	<i>dux</i> of Friuli, killed in battle against a greatly superior Avar force in Venetia [Paul. Diac.]	*610
☞ <i>Ildigisal</i>	A 616-7	former commander of a <i>schola palatina</i> , he defeated a small force of Huns allied to Rome in Thrace [Proc.]	552
☞ <i>Radoaldus</i>	B 1074-5	<i>dux</i> of Beneventum, he was captured by the Avars with his brothers Cacco and Taso but escaped; later he avenged Aio's death near Sipontum against the Slavs [Paul. Diac.]	*610 642
☞ <i>Taso 1</i>	B 1218	<i>dux</i> of Friuli, he was captured by the Avars with his brothers Cacco and Radoaldus but escaped [Paul. Diac.]	*610
♀ <i>Appa</i>	A 101	daughter of the <i>dux</i> Gisulfus 2, she was carried off into captivity by the Avars and sold as slave [Paul. Diac.]	E/M VII
♀ <i>Romilda</i>	B 1094	wife of Gisulfus 2, after her husband's death she betrayed Forumiulii to the khan of the Avars [Paul. Diac.]	*610

Franks

☞ <i>Chilpericus 1</i>	A 292-96	king of the Franks, he made war on his brother Sigibertus while on campaign against the Avars [Greg. Tur.]	*562
☞ <i>Dagobertus 2</i>	A 383-4	king of the Franks, he allowed the Bulgars of Pannonia, fugitive of the Avars , to settle in Bavaria, but then gave orders for them to be massacred [Fredegar.]	*630/632
☞ <i>Samo</i>	B 1109-10	a Frank by race, the Slavic Wends made him their king after he helped them to defeat their Avar overlords; he ruled them for 35 years, during which they were victorious in many battles against the Avars [Fredegar.]	M VI
☞ <i>Sigibertus I</i>	B 1146-48	king of the Franks, he campaigned successfully against the Huns (Avars) , but later was defeated, captured and ransomed by them, securing by gifts a treaty with the khan Baian which ended warfare [Greg. Tur. ⁴⁴]	562 566
☞ <i>Theodericus 4</i>	B 1237-39	king of the Franks (Theoderic II), he sent an embassy with Bettus and Boso 2 to Constantinople offering to help the empire against the Avars ; his offer was refused by Maurice [Theoph. Sim.]	*598
☞ <i>Bettus</i>	A 231	envoy sent by Theodericus 4 to Maurice to offer military help against the Avars [Theoph. Sim.]	*598
☞ <i>Boso 2</i>	A 247	envoy sent by Theodericus 4 to Maurice to offer military help against the Avars [Theoph. Sim.]	*598
☞ # <i>Sicharius 2</i>	A 1145	envoy of the Frankish king Dagobert to the Slavs under Samo [Fredegar.]	630

Other Germanic peoples (Alamanni, Bavarii, Gepids, Goths, Heruls, Sueves, Vandals)

☞ <i>Cunimundus</i>	A 364	king of the Gepids, attacked by the Avars , defeated and killed by the Lombards [Men. Prot. ⁴⁴]	566/567
☞ <i>Tassilo</i>	B 1218-19	king (or <i>dux</i>) of the Bavarians, involved in attacks on the Slavs , he suffered heavy losses when the Avars intervened [Paul. Diac.]	595/596
☞ # <i>Totila</i>	B 1328-32	king of the Ostrogoths, suspected of bribing the Sclaveni to attack Roman territory, which they did [Proc.]	551/552

☞ <i>Turisindus</i>	B 1345-6	king of the Gepids, he invited the Kutrigur Huns to help them against the Lombards, transported them over the Danube and sent them to raid Roman territory; later he ferried the Sclaveni likewise [Proc.]	551-552
☞ <i>Brunichildis</i>	A 248-51	a Visigothic princess married to the Frankish king Sigibert I, she bought off the Avars when they attacked Turingia [Paul. Diac.]	*596
☞ <i>Bulgar</i>	A 251-2	apparently a Visigoth, ? <i>dux Narbonensis</i> under king Gundemar, deeply concerned at rumours about an Avar attack against Theodebert instigated by Brunichildis and the Frankish king Theodericus 4 [<i>Ep. Wisig.</i>]	610/612
☞ # <i>Crodobertus</i>	A 314	<i>dux</i> of the Alamanni, he won a victory over the Slavs [Fredegar.]	630
☞ # <i>Garibaldus</i> 2	A 504	<i>dux</i> of the Bavarii, defeated at Aguntum (in Noricum) by the Slavs , later he expelled them [Paul. Diac.]	E VII
☞ <i>Gebamundus</i>	A 505	Vandal noble, sent with 2,000 men by Gelimer, all killed by Belisarius' Huns near Ad Decimum [Proc.*2]	533
☞ <i>Leutharis</i>	B 789-90	an Alaman, commander of Franks in Italy, his advance guard was ambushed and routed by Artaban 2 and the Hun Vldach [Agath.]	554
☞ <i>Vacimus</i>	B 1350	Gothic commander, sent by Vitigis to attack Ancona, repelled by the Hun Gubulgudu [Proc.]	538
☞ <i>Vliaris</i> 2	B 1388-9	a Goth, ? <i>comes Neapolitanae civitatis</i> , he welcomed Hun deserters from the Roman army in Africa [Proc.]	533/534
☞ <i>Vsdibadus</i>	B 1396	Gepid leader, he took refuge with the Romans and the Avar khan Baian demanded his surrender [Men. Prot.]	568
☞ <i>Droctulfus</i> 1	A 425-27	<i>qui et Drocton</i> , a Sueve, army commander in Thrace, he and Ioannes 101 Mystacon defeated the Avars besieging Adrianople [Theoph. Sim.*1]	587
☞ # <i>Philemuth</i>	B 1020-21	a Herul, commander of Herul federates, he and Narses 1 defeated a marauding force of Slavs in Thrace [Proc.]	545/546

⚡ #Anonymus 100	B 1445	a Gepid and a Christian with the Slavs in Thrace, he deserted to the Romans and gave information to Priscus 6 which enabled the Romans to defeat the Slavs under Musocius [Theoph. Sim.]	593
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Slavic peoples (Antae, Croats, Sorbs, Wends, unspecified Slavs)

⚡ #Musocius	B 906	king of the Slavs , captured by Alexander 11 in a surprise night attack [Theoph. Sim. ⁺¹]	593
⚡ #Porgas	B 1048	ruler of the Croats when they accepted Christianity during the reign of Heraclius [Const. Porph.]	E/M VII
⚡ Walluc	B 1399	ruler of the Wends , he gave refuge to Alciocus' Bulgars after being massacred by the Bavarians [Fredegar.]	M VII
⚡ #Ardagast	A 106	Slav leader, defeated by Comentiolus 1 near Ansinon & by Priscus 6 north of the Danube [Theoph. Sim. ⁺³]	585 593
⚡ #Chatzon	A 285-6	Slav chief, he led a concerted siege of Thessalonica, but was captured and stoned to death [Mir. Dem.]	614/615
⚡ Daurentius	A 390	one of the Slav leaders who killed envoys sent by the Avar khan Baian [Men. Prot.]	M/L VI
⚡ #Dervanus	A 396	<i>dux</i> of the Sorbs , for a long time subject to the Franks, he submitted to the Wends under Samo [Fredegar.]	630
⚡ Lobelos	B 794	a chief of the Croats , who arrived in Dalmatia and subdued the Avars there [Const. Porph.]	E VII
⚡ Peiragastus	B 988	Slav leader, an ally of the khan of the Avars who ambushed Petrus 55 with a cavalry force [Theoph. Sim. ⁺¹]	594
⚡ Mezamerus	B 887	one of the leading Antae , assassinated on an embassy from the Antae to the Avars [Men. Prot.]	*558/560
⚡ #Chilbudius 2	A 287	one of the Antae , captured by the Slavs , involved in a plot to claim that he was the former Roman <i>MVM</i> Chilbudius 1 [Proc.]	545/546

Geography in the Epic Folklore of the Oghuz Turks

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Geography is an important element of the monuments of epic nomadic folklore of the Oghuz Turks (from the earlier “Oghuz-nama” to the only written epic among the Oghuz, the “Kitab-i dedem Korkut”/ “The Book of Korkut” and even to prose medieval Turkish folklore) which are generally on the border between oral and literary tradition and between folk narrative and historical writing.

The Turkic medieval written epic “The Book of Dede Korkut” (“Kitab-i dedem Korkut”) is undoubtedly the most important source on social and cultural life of the Oghuz Turks of the early Medieval Ages. Customarily the composing of the twelve stories of which “The Book of Dede Korkut” consists is said to have taken place in the 11th century, but the stories were fixed in writing only later, approximately in the 15th century. “The Book of Dede Korkut” (according to the Dresden manuscript) consists of twelve songs-legends, which tell of the exploits of the Oghuz heroes. The main plot the core of which is framed by these stories is the struggle of the Oghuz tribes against the infidels, non-Muslims (*kafir*) in the lands of Asia Minor, as well as constant internecine strife among the Oghuz themselves. This text reflects both the events of early Turkic semi-legendary history (not only historical facts, but also a set of mythological beliefs) and later events connected with the spread of their power in Asia Minor and with their contacts with Byzantium. The stories that comprise “The Book of Dede Korkut” display a clear connection with both common Turkic literary and folk traditions as well as more recent strata.

The geography in the “The Book of Dede Korkut” combines two main strata, which are: the real geographical placenames and toponyms mentioned in this epic and the so-called “mythological” geographical and spatial orientation.

Transcaucasian toponyms in “The Book of Dede Korkut”

Geographical toponyms in “The Book of Dede Korkut” have repeatedly been the object of special studies (see: Ergin 2014: 51–54). The geographical names that can be met with in the chronologically heterogeneous songs of the “Kitab-i dedem Korkut” reflect the gradual movement of the Oghuz tribes to the territory of Asia Minor and Trans-Caucasian area, from the East to the West.

The enemies of the Oghuz tribe in “The Book of Dede Korkut” are connected with some specific geographical toponyms (mostly the names of fortresses) mainly in the South Caucasus and Eastern Anatolia: “The damned accursed infidels from the castle of Avnik” (Lewis 1974: 60) / “*Evnik kalasinun kafirleri*” (Evnük, or “the fortress of Basin”, turk *Pasen* not far from Erzurum), “The black pass of Pasin”, Georgia, where merchants carry their goods from Istanbul (see the 3rd tale of the epic, “Bamsi Beyrek of the Grey Horse”); the fortresses Alinca,¹ Bayburt² on the coast of the Black Sea, Sürmeli,³ Barda and Ganja (turk. *Gence*) which are located beyond “the land of the Oghuz”⁴ and some others (Mardin, Dizmerd, Akhaltsikhe (turk. *Aksaka / Ahıska*) and so on).

Although the geography of “The Book of Dede Korkut” is a topic of separate research, in this case, a clear localization of the epic characters illustrates the fact that the formation and the cyclization of a large part of the tales must have taken place already in the respective territories.

At the same time the second stratum of geography in “The Book of Dede Korkut” has been less investigated. These are the mythological geographical

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- 1 Alinca (*Alincak*) is a fortress located on the territory of modern Azerbaijan, near Nakhichevan. It stood 20 km above the estuary of the river of the same name, flowing into the Arax river, on top of a high mountain. The name of the fortress is found in many historical sources and geographical works since the 13th c. It played an important role in the Timurid (late 14th-15th cc.) period of the history of Transcaucasia (Anikeeva 2018: 100).
 - 2 Bayburd (Bayburt) is a fortress located in the North-East of Anatolia on the Choru river, at an altitude of about 1500 m above sea level (now Bayburt is a city in the North-East of Turkey). Bayburt has always played an important role in Turkish culture and was glorified by ashiks and folk poets. The Seljuk Turks conquered the region in 1054-1055, and after the battle of Manzikert in 1071, when the Byzantines were defeated, the fortress of Bayburt finally passed into the hands of the Seljuks. In the 13th-14th cc., Bayburt, as part of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum (and then under the rule of the Ilkhans) flourished, being on the trade route leading from Trapezunt to Erzurum and further to Tabriz (Barthold 1930).
 - 3 Sürmeli (*Sürmeli, Surmari, Sürmelü*) — a fortress located on the right bank of the river Arax. The name “Surmari” comes from the Armenian name of the Church of Saint Mariam (Surb Mari), which was located there (Anikeeva 2018: 100).
 - 4 Barda (turk. *Berde*, arm. Partav) — once the capital of Arran, ancient Albania, and the largest city in the Caucasus. In the time of the Sasanids (251-651) a high fortress was built in this place, which protected from raids from the North and West. At that time (932), according to al-Istakhri, it was the largest city in the entire space from Khorasan in Iraq to Ray in Iran. The mosque, treasury, and palace were inside the fortress walls, and bazaars were located in the vicinity. Barda was famous for its orchards and silk, which was exported from there to Khuzistan and Iran. However, soon, in 943, the city was burned by the Rus, and after that it never fully recovered. In the period of the Mongol conquest it was partially rebuilt, although references to it in historical sources are extremely rare: it is spoken of only as a city located 9 *farsakhs* from Ganja. Much later, Barda was a small village and the ruins of a fortress could be found 20 km from Teker Suyu, a tributary of the Kura. Ganja is a city at the foot of the Lesser Caucasus mountains, on the Kura tributary, the Ganjachay river, founded in the middle of the 9th c. (859). After the fall of Barda, it was the capital of Arran. In the 12th c. the city was almost completely destroyed by an earthquake, then rebuilt and, according to historians, was considered one of the most beautiful cities in Western Asia (Anikeeva 2018: 101).

images which are traditional for the Turks and, to a lesser degree, in Islam, and which exist along with the real ones and are embedded into the system of existing geographical names (e.g. Mount Kaf). Along with the system of archaic traditional Turkic spatial orientation (which undoubtedly partly remained in the “Kitab-i dedem Korkut”) these reflect the nomadic world-outlook, connected with Turkic mythology and with the influence of Islam and the relevant literary tradition.

Geography and the representation of the enemy in the epics

The dwelling place of the ruler of Trapezund in “The Book of Dede Korkut”, despite being described in geographically precise terms, is presented as a kind of otherworldly space, one of several “evil places” (turk. *yavuz yerler*) antagonistic to “the land of the Oghuz” (turk. *Oğuz elî*). For example, Kanlı-koja tells his son Kanturali, who is going on a journey: “Thereupon Kanli Koja declaimed; let us see, my Khan, what he declaimed

‘Son, in the place where you would go,
Twisted and tortuous will the roads be;
Swamps there will be, where the horseman will sink and never emerge;
Forests there will be, where the red serpent can find no path;
Fortresses there will be, that rub shoulders with the sky;
A beautiful one there will be who puts out eyes and snatches souls;...

To a terrible place have you set your foot; Stay!” (English translation cited from: Lewis 1974: 119)

(“*Kanlı Koca burada soylamış, görelüm Hanum ne soylamış, aydur: Oğul, sen varacak yerün Dolamaç dolamaç yolları olur Atlu batup çıkamaz Anun balçığı olur Ala yılan sökemez Anun ormanı olur Gökile pehlu uran Anun kalası olur Göz kakuban gönül alan Anun görklüsü olur Hay demedin baş getüren Anun celladı olur... Yavuz yerlere yeltendün*” (Gökyay 2000: 85)). Likewise, the image of the king of the infidels Shokli-Melik also includes demonic traits: “The news had reached the Iron Gate Pass.⁵ King Shokli of the dappled horse is ill-tempered; The smoke of his ill temper has fallen on the black mountains...” (Lewis 1974: 156)/ “*Alca atlu Şökli Melik katı pusmuş pusduğundan kara dağlara duman düşmüş*” (Gökyay 2000: 119).

5 Derbent, or – in “The Book of Dede Korkut” “*Kara Dervend ağzı*” (turk. *Kapılar Dervendi, Demir Kapu* – “Iron Gate”; in medieval Arab sources — *Bab al-abvab*, “Main gate”) — a fortress located on the shore of the Caspian Sea. During the composition of the tales of “The Book of Dede Korkut” Derbent was part of the Arab Caliphate (7th-13th cc.). The name of the fortress — “The Iron gate” — arose due to the geographical location of Derbent: the city with the fortress was located on a narrow, three-kilometer coastal strip on the West coast of the Caspian sea at the mouth of the Samur river, thereby closing the territory off from the attacks of the infidels — the Khazars and the Alans.

Thus, an external enemy of the Oghuz in “The Book of Dede Korkut” has geographically specific (“Tagavor of Trabzon”, “evil infidels of the Avnik fortress” and so on) and at the same time mythological features, thereby marking the boundary between the world of nomads and neighbouring sedentary world.

The world of the infidels in “The Book of Dede Korkut” at the same time has some formal, outlined (although, as a result of mutual raids, changeable) boundaries, beyond which begins the land that is hostile to the Oghuz. These boundaries are repeatedly mentioned, for example, in the tale “How Prince Uruz son of Kazan-bek was taken prisoner”: “I shall take him to the infidel frontier, to Jizighlar, to Aghlaaghan, to the Blue Mountain” (Lewis 1974: 90) / “*kafir serhaddine Cızığlara, Ağlaagana, Gökçe Dağa aluban çıkayın...*” (Gökyay 2000: 61). In other words, the border of the world of the infidels in the epic is quite clearly localized at the named mountains, apparently, passing through the territory between the modern Kars and Akhaltsikhe (see also Gökyay 2000: 332–334). Ağlaagan is a mountain in the north-west corner of Armenia, Cızığlar (“Jizighlar” in Lewis’ translation) is located to the south-west of it (“The Blue mountain” – Gökçe Dağ – has been still unidentified).

The system of spatial orientation in “The Book of Dede Korkut”

Traces of the archaic spatial Turkic system of orientation partly remained in the text of “The Book of Dede Korkut”.

In the 8th tale of the epic “How Bisat killed Tepegöz”, Bisat says: “*kalarda koparda yerüm gün ortaç// Karañu dün içre yol azsam umum Allah// Kaba alem götürün –animız Bayındur Han*” (Gökyay 2000: 113) (“The place where I dwell and from where I rise is *gün ortaç*, when I lose my way my hope is Allah, Our Khan who carries the great standard is Bayindir Khan...”). The word *gün ortaç* was identified in several research works (for example by V.V. Barthold and A. N. Kononov) as a geographical name (see their footnote: admittedly, *Günortaç* – is the name of a place in Qarabakh) (Barthold & Kononov 1962: 275). In all probability, Orhan Şaik Gökyay understood this word as a place-name too (also see his Index of geographical names (Gökyay 2000: 332–338). In spite of the fact the V.V. Barthold notes that the word-for-word translation of that place-name is “where the sun is at its zenith”, he nevertheless, supposes that *gün ortaç* is the geographical name of a definite place. O. Gökyay only makes a casual remark about the possible connection of this name with the marking of the cardinal points among Turks (he refers to Fahrettin Kırzioğlu (Gökyay 2000: CCXXIX; Kırzioğlu 1952)). And, as it seems to us, with a high probability we can suppose that here the word-combination *gün ortaç* keeps its main meaning (‘southland’) which wasn’t mentioned by Barthold. According to an Ancient Turkic Dictionary (see also Clauson’s etymological dictionary), one of the meanings of the word-combination

kün ortu – “the South, or midday (South)” (Drevnetyurkski Slovar 1969: 326, Clauson 1972: 725).

In the next story of the “Book of Dede Korkut” – “Emren Son of Bekil” we can find the fragment:

*Kalkubanı yeründen duru-geldün
Arku bili Ala Dağdan dünün aşdun
Akındılı görklü sudan dünün geçdün
Ağ alınlı Bayındur Hanun divanına dünün vardun [...]
Begil soylamış, görelüm Hanum ne soylamış, aydur:
Kalkubanı yerümden duru-geldim
Yelesi kara Kazılık aluma butun bindüm
Arku beli Ala Dağdan dünün aşdum
Akındılı görklü suyu delüp dünün geçdüm
Ağ alınlı Bayındur Hanun divanına çapar vardum*

(Gökyay 2000: 116–117)

That has been translated and interpreted as: “looking round (back), you climbed the many-coloured mountain with a cliff; you forded the deep and beautiful river; you went to the divan of Bayindir-khan...”. The word-combination *arku bili* “[looking] round (back)” can also be interpreted, according to V.V. Barthold, as *at night* (Barthold & Kononov 1962: 276), i.e. its direct lexical meaning.

Besides, the word-set *arku bili* in that fragment interpreted by Barthold as “looking back, looking round” can have other interpretations, which are perhaps more suitable by their meaning. In “Secere-i tarakima” by Abu-l-Ghazi-khan we can read: “In 1040 (=1630–1631) ten thousand *kibitka* came from the North (*arka tarafından*), from the Kalmyk *il*” (Secere-i tarakima 325, in: (Kononov 1958: 44)). The words *arka tarafından* (ارقا طرفندن) are translated and interpreted by Kononov as “from the North side”. As we know from his commentary note, there also exists the translation of A. G. Tumanski which reads: “from the back side”, referring to the fact that Turkic people of Central Asia used this word combination (*арка мепаш*) to refer to their land of origin. For example, the Turkmen referred to the Syr Darya as *arka teraf* (Kononov 1958: 88). There are many examples in Turkic languages (Kara-Kalpak, Nogay, Tuvinian, Turkmenian and Teleut) of different groups (see *ibid.*) which confirm the fact that the word *arka*, besides its first and main meaning “back, to the back, back side” also means “north”.⁶ The historical context (the Syr Darya, especially its estuary, is to the North of the area of settlement of the Turkmen tribes) allows us to interpret the word-combination *arka tarafi* not as “the back side” but as “the North side”.

⁶ See also the root *arha* (in Tofalar) in the Mongolian language which means “the north side (of a mountain)” (*ibid.*: 88).

Thus, the expression found in the above-mentioned fragment of the “Kitab-i dedem Korkut”, *arku beli*, evidently preserves traces of the traditional Turkic system of spatial orientation according to which the North can be marked in the way described above. The word *bel*, which in ancient Turkic that has the meaning of “a waist”, can mean “a hill” (Drevnetyurkski Slovar 1969: 93).

As is well known, the ancient Turks had (and some Turkic people still have till the present day) several linear ways of spatial orientation which are characterized by the position of the sun: the rising sun (the East), the midday sun (i.e. the place where sun is at its zenith, *kün ortu*, i.e. the South), and the midnight side — *mÿn opmy* (Kononov 1978: 73). As is well-known, in some Turkic languages the North side is connected with the concept of darkness, being marked as *mÿn* — “night” (see the examples above (ibid.: 84)). The orientation by the Sun at its zenith, i.e. oriented towards the South, in the opinion of researchers, reflects the ancient cult of the South of the Turkic people which has replaced (but not completely) the worship of the East, or of the rising sun (ibid.).

In addition, there was another way of orientation on a vertical line:⁷ the East and the West are defined as “up” and “down”, the South and the North are “forward” and “back”), the South, as the midday side of the sky, is “forward”. This way of spatial orientation has remained among different Turkic people: the Turkmen, Sari Uyghurs, Salar and the Khakas (ibid.). This case, where the starting position is the South, and the North is accordingly “behind”, is closely related to the worship of the Sun at its zenith (ibid.: 84).

“The Book of Dede Korkut” has preserved some notions both of this vertical orientation centered on the midday sun, and this is confirmed by the many examples from the text and the connection of the examined word-combinations with spatial position.

It is interesting that there are no elements of a system of orientation connected with the influence of Islam in the epic like the orientation towards Mekkah//*Kibla*. Mekkah is mentioned in “The Book of Dede Korkut” several times: for example, in the Introduction, which undoubtedly was written later than the stories of “The Book of Dede Korkut” themselves; but nowhere in the text itself can the connection with Mekkah and this way of orientation be traced. Geographical objects which ascended to Islamic mythology (like mount Kâf⁸) are also absent. As we know, “the orientation to the South as the real manifestation of the cult of the

⁷ Furthermore, there are two possible initial orientations when using a vertical line to mark the cardinal points: to the East - the top, the upper part vs. the west: bottom, down) and to the South (the top, the upper part vs. the north: bottom, down) (Kononov 1978: 84). This system of spatial orientation has been preserved in folklore, particularly in Eastern Turkestan, for example in the relatively contemporary texts of the folklore of the Salars that were collected by Tenishev in the 1950s (Tenishev 1964).

⁸ As it is well-known, the image of Kaf that admittedly goes back to Iranian mythology played an important role not only in the mythology of Islamic and Arabic, Persian and Turkic folklore but also in Arabic geographical literature (Krachkovskiy 2004: 45).

South among Turkic people who had accepted Islam (8th-9th cc.) was strengthened by the traditional Islamic orientation to Kiblah” (Kononov 1978: 79). At the same time in the other Oghuz epics, the Turkmenian oral epic “Göroğlu” and the image of mount Kâf play an important role in terms of the orientation towards the Kibla.

“The Book of Dede Korkut” reflects the Pre-Islamic Turkic world outlook, and the system of spatial orientation is an essential part of that world outlook. This shows how the archaic Turkic orientation system is very stable and traces of it remained for a very long time in spite of the Islamic influence not only in the text of the epic but also in later times, in texts of other genres like the historical “Şecere-i tarakima” by Abu-l-Ghazi-khan.

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Changes of Ethnonyms in the Sino-Mongol Bilingual Glossaries from the Yuan to the Qing Era*

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The Sino-Mongolian bilingual glossaries are important sources for the history of Inner-Asian languages as well as for the Mongolian and the Chinese language themselves. An interesting layer of the lexicon recorded in these compilations is the vocabulary denoting ethnonyms. Belonging to a special division of linguistic data these names give invaluable information on the history of the ever changing political situation of the steppe area from the Yuan to the Qing era.

Some ethnonyms seem to have evolved long before the emergence of a similarly named people known from historical records, some survived long after the time when the peoples in question had disappeared as political entities, while other ethnonyms shifted from one ethnic group to another. In this paper I attempt to give an overview of the ethnonyms appearing in the most important bilingual Sino-Mongol glossaries on both the Chinese and the Mongolian side:

Hua-Yi yiyu (Hy; 華夷譯語 1389; 1407)¹

Zhiyuan yiyu (Zyyy; aka. *Menggu yiyu* 至元譯語/蒙古譯語, 1282)²

Yiyu (BLYY; or *Beilu Yiyu* 譯語/北虜譯語 its versions BLYY-By; PUL; HAS)³
of the *Dengtān bijiu* 登壇必究 1599,⁴

Beilu kao (WBZh/2; aka. *Dada yu* 韃靼語)⁵

* An extended version of this paper will be published in *Göttinger Bibliotheksschriften* by the Universitätsverlag Göttingen in 2020.

1 Cf. Lewicki 1949, 1959, Mostaert 1977 and Kuribayashi 2003.

2 On the Tokyo cabinet library xylograph (Naikaku Bunko 內閣文庫 no. 9866.4(3).366.42) cf. Ligeti-Kara 1990. and Kara 1990.

3 Cf. Apatóczy 2009: 1–4

4 Also copied to the *Wu bei zhi* 武備志 (WBZh) as its first Sino-Mongolian glossary. See Mao Yuanyi 茅元儀 (ed.), *Wu bei zhi* 武備志 [Remarks on Military Preparations], (1621). Reprinted by Huashi chubanshe 華世出版社, 22 vol., 10224 pp., Taipei 1984. Its partially censored Qing edition: National Central Library, Taipei, call no. 302.1.22268.

5 The only extant versions left are in the WBZh (as its second Sino-Mongolian glossary=WBZh/2, marking its source as a no longer extant work called *Jimen fang yu kao* 薊門防禦考 of which not much more is known) and in Pozdneev 1908. Cf. also Rykin 2016 pp. 149–151, 2018: 318–319 and Shimunek 2013-2014: 100–104.

Yibu (LLSL; 譯部上 and 譯部下 chapters of the *Lulong sai lue* 盧龍塞略 1610).⁶ With the analysis of their change over roughly half a millennium we may get a better understanding of how ethnonyms had their own lives that differed from that of the actual peoples denoted by these names.

Čaqān Malaġa[i] ‘white hat (i.e. Muslim)’

This ethnonym is rarely found in the Sino-Mongol bilingual works, the WBZh/2 entry is the only known original occurrence, which was copied to the LLSL, too:

WBZh/2 huí zi chā-hàn mǎ-lǎ-yǎ 回子 叉汗 馬喇啞 Ch. ‘Muslim’, Mong. *Čaqān Malaġa[i]* ‘Muslim (lit. white hat)’

LLSL 1.7b5 yī yuē ài/yì-hàn mǎ-lǎ-yǎ 一曰叉汗馬喇啞⁷ (expansion of the previous entry - 回回 ‘Sartawul’; read *chā* 叉 instead of ài/yì 叉)⁸

Ordos *tšagā malagaŋ* ‘Muslim’ (Mostaert 1968: 451).

The fact that this term is very rare and not present in other Old and Middle Mongolian sources might reflect its specificity to the dialect(s)⁹ of the glossary preserved in the WBZh/2 text.

Ĵaqudai ‘Northern Chinese (personal name)’

This personal name is composed of an ethnonym + a masculine suffix *-Dai*. Its sole source in the Sino-Mongol glossaries is Zyzy.

Zyzy 65 hàn er xiāng-hū-dǎi 漢兒 相忽歹 Ch. *hàn er* ‘Chinese (male person)’ (in the Naikaku/Japanese xylograph, read *zhā* 扎 instead of *xiāng* 相), Mong. *Ĵaqudai* ‘Northern Chinese’

SH *jaqud(un) irgen* (金人) ‘all subject peoples of the Chinese Empire’ cf. de Rachewiltz 2004: 1033; Rybatzki 2006: 285.

Ĵürčet etc. ‘Jürchen’

The name of the famous ethnic group, members of which were the founders of the Jin (金) Dynasty (1115–1234) is widely recorded in the Sino-Mongol glossaries.

⁶ Cf. Apatóczy 2016.

⁷ For the LLSL, headword characters taken into account in the reconstruction are set in bold face (along with their respective transcriptions), whereas explanatory parts are left in regular type face. When no explanatory part is found all characters are in regular type face.

⁸ Cf. Apatóczy 2009: 20.

⁹ On the multiple layers of the WBZh/1 text cf. Apatóczy 2009a and that of WBZh/2 text cf. Shimunek 2013–2014 and Rykin 2016 and 2018.

Jürčət

In the Hy a very precise transcription is found supplemented with a diacritic «揚» character denoting a final *-t*.

Hy 3:20b1 zhǔ-ér-chè-t 主兒徹揚 glossed in Chinese as rǔzhí měi 女直每 ‘Jürchen – all’, indicating clearly that the function of the plural marker was clear for the compiler.

Jürči

The different versions of BLYY list this name in two places, once as an ethnonym and once as the equivalent of a Chinese toponym. The first mention only occurs in the By text, and as it is also copied, although corrupted, to the BLYY, it gives a direct proof of the source of the LLSL.

BLYY/By 183 rǔzhí zhǔ-ér-chì 女直主兒赤 Ch. ‘Jürchen’, Mong. *Jürči* ‘id.’

BLYY 77 hǎixī zhǔ-ér-chì 海西主兒赤 Ch. ‘Haixi (lit. West of the Sea; toponym), Mong. *Jürči* ‘Jürchen’

LLSL 1.7b8 rǔ zhī yuē zhǔ-yī-chì 女直曰主夷赤 (read *ér* 兒 instead of *yí* 夷) Ch. ‘Jürchen’, Mong. *Jürči* ‘id.’

Jūsīdei (also a personal name)

Another variant of Jürchen is preserved in this personal name with the front harmonic variant of the masculine suffix *-DAi*.

Zyyy I, O 64 rǔzhēn zhǔ-shí-dǎi 女真主十歹 Ch. ‘Jürchen’, Mong. *Jūsīdei* (also a personal name)

SH *jürčət*, SH *Jürčedei*, AT *jürčid*, Oir. *Zürči(d)*, WMong. *jürči(d)*; cf. Rybatzki 2006: 317.

Kitat etc. ‘(Northern) Chinese people’

Although the ethnonym goes back to the Khitans of the Liao dynasty, in the sources discussed here the name always refers to the Chinese.

Kitat

In the Hy we find two different renderings of the name:

Hy 451 *Kita[t]* hàn rén qǐ-tǎ 漢人乞塔 Ch. ‘Chinese’, Mong. *Kita[t]*

Hy 2:03a1 *Kitat* qǐ-tǎ-t 乞塔榻 glossed as Hàn rén 漢人 ‘Chinese’.

The BLYY data repeats the first Hy occurrence:

BLYY 185 hàn rén qǐ-tǎ 漢人乞塔 Ch. ‘Chinese people’

The Yibu chapter of the Lulong sai lüe copies the assumed original version of Hy 451 in which the diacritic character is present, although losing its distinctive visual features and written in normal size along with a few explanatory words:

LLSL 1.7b10 **hàn rén dōng yì yuē qǐ-tǎ-tì** 漢人東夷曰乞塔惕 Ch. ‘Han people are called *Kitat* by the Eastern Barbarians’, hence Mong. *Kitat* ‘Han people’.

Kitan

In the LLSL this other form is also listed from an unknown source:

LLSL 1.7b11 **běi lǚ yuē qǐ-tàn** 北虜曰起炭 (expansion of the previous entry) Ch. ‘the Northern caitiffs call them Khitan’, Mong. *Kitan* ‘Chinese’

SH *Kitat/Kitad* ‘Jürchen’; Hy *Kitat/Kitad*, AT *Kitad*, UighM *qitat*, WMong. *Kitad* ‘(Northern) Chinese’

Majartai ‘Hungarian (personal name)’

This personal name follows the above mentioned pattern and consists of an ethnonym + masculine suffix *-Dai*. What gives it yet additional importance is that this name was also born by a key historical figure of the Yuan dynasty, himself the Chief compiler of the *Liaoshi*:¹⁰

Majardai (1285–1347) father of Toqto’a (Toghto, Tuotuo 脫脫) (1314–1356) “Minister in the late Yuan dynasty who attempted ambitious plans of financial and economic renovation” Atwood 2004: 543.

The traditional view is that the ethnonym Magyar is a compound of *magy* (ethnonym < **MancA*; cf. the ethnonym *Mansi*; and eventually < Indo-European **manu-s* ‘human being’) + appellative noun **er* ‘man’ (cf. EWUng: 923–924). Róna-Tas on onomastic grounds argued that the second syllable **Er* is the ethnonym of a (not attested) Finno-Ugric group’ (Róna-Tas 1993: 20–21) rather than meaning ‘man’.

Mongqol etc. ‘Mongol’

This ethnonym has a literature of the size of a library itself, therefore a detailed analysis will not be presented here, and only the attested occurrences will be listed. For a relatively recent and concise overview on this ethnonym cf. Rykin 2014: (especially 252–257).

Mongqol

The Hy contains a “normal” Middle Mongol variant, with the already mentioned accurate transcription containing a diacritic «*ᠲ*» character for the final *-l*.

Hy 452 **dádá máng-huō-l** 達達 忙豁_ᠲ Ch. ‘Tartar’, Mong. *Mongqol* ‘Mongol’

¹⁰ Cf. also Ligeti 1979: 80 and Rybatzki 2006: 584.

Mongǰol

This variant is found in three different places in the BLYY and it was also copied into the LLSL:

BLYY 182 *dádá mǎng-guān-ér* 鞑靼 莽官兒 Ch. ‘Tartar’, Mong. *Mongǰol* ‘Mongol’

BLYY 70 *yí dì mǎng-guān-ér gá-zhā-lá* 夷地 莽官兒噶扎刺 Ch. ‘land of the barbarians’, Mong. *Mongǰol gajar(a)* ‘Mongol territories’ (-*a* maybe locative cf. BLYY 43. *gajar*)

LLSL 1.6a24 *fān yì dì yuē mǎng-guān-er ge-zhā-la* 凡夷地曰莽官兒葛札刺 (read *gá* 噶 instead of *gé* 葛) Ch. ‘whereas the land of the barbarians is called’, Mong. *see above*

BLYY 76 (only in the *By* version) *běilǔ yě-kè mǎng-guān-ér* 北虜 野克莽官兒 Ch. ‘Toponym (lit. ‘[the territory of the] northern slaves’), Mong. *yeke Mongǰol* ‘Great Mongol’

LLSL 1.6a25 *lǔ dì yuē yě-ke mǎng-guān-er* 虜地曰野克莽官兒 Ch. ‘(toponym) lit.: northern slaves’, Mong. *see above*

Mongyu[l]dai (also a personal name)

The usual ethnonym + masculine suffix *-Dai* pattern is found in Zyyy:

Zyyy I, O 62 *dádá méng-gǔ-dǎi* 達達 蒙古歹 Ch. ‘Tatar’, Mong. *Mongyu[l]dai* ‘Mongol’ (also a personal name)

SH *Monqol; Monqoljin* (fem.); cf. Rybatzki 2006: 605.

Nanggias etc. ‘The Southern Chinese’**Nanggias**

The generic term for the Southern Chinese *Nanggias* (<Chin. *nan jia* 南家 ‘Southern family, southern people’; Cf. Rybatzki 2006: 638: “Chin. *nan-chia* ‘Süd-Chinesen (~ Sung-Dynastie; zuerst von den Jurchen gebrauchte Bezeichnung)”) is present in Hy without Chinese glossing:

Hy 3:19b *nǎng-jiā-sī* 囊加思 Mong. *Nanggias* ‘The Southern Chinese’

Nanggiyadai (also a personal name)

The form which became a surname is a regular formation with *-Dai* and although the characters are misplaced and difficult to read their reading¹¹ by Ligeti–Kara (1990: 263) is probable:

Zyyy 66 (*mánzi jiā-nang?-dǎi*) 蛮子家...歹 Ch. ‘The Southern Chinese’, Mong. *Nanggiyadai* ‘id. (also a personal name)’

11 Also supported by the analogy of *Mongyu[l]dai*.

Precl. Mong. (Aryun's letter 1289, cf. Mostaert-Cleaves 1969 and Ligeti 1972 cited by Kara 1990: 311) *Nanggiyas*; Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo, vol. II, no. 288: (781–783), *Mongatai*; UighM *Nangkiya* (Ligeti 1966: 184); WMong. *Nanggiyad*, *Nanggiyas*; cf. Rybatzki 2006: 638.

Ongliu[t] ‘The Ongniyud/Ongni’ud tribe’

The Taining-guard was one of the three “Uriyangkhan” guards during the Ming. “The Ming put two surrendered princes (Mongolian ong from Chinese wang) from the line of Chinggis Khan’s brothers over the Taining Guard; its people were called the Ongni’ud (“the ones with ongs/princes”).” Atwood 2004:535

Their name was included in the BLYY and then copied into the LLSL vocabulary.

BLYY 71 tàining wèi wǎng-liú 泰寧衛 往流 Ch. ‘Taining wei (toponym, one of the Uriyangkhan territories at Šira müren)’ Mong. *Ongliu[t]*

LLSL 1.6a18 **tai ning wei** yuē **wǎng-liu** 泰寧衛曰往流 Ch., Mong. *see above*

AT *Ongliyud*, Khal. *Ognuud*, WMong. *Ongniyud/Ongliyud*

Oyirat etc. ‘Oirats’

The variants of the Oirat ethnonym are relatively underrepresented in the Sino-Mongol glossaries. In the Hy it is glossed in Chinese only as “一種人名” ‘a kind of personal name’, showing that by the time of their mention the political significance of Oirats was not at its climax. It does not mean, of course, that the Mongolian name would have meant a personal name only.

Oyirat

Hy 3:11b wò-yì-rat 斡亦剌惕 Ch. ‘Oirat (personal name)’, Mong. *Oyirat*

Oyr[d]

By the time of the compilation of the LLSL this situation had changed as is shown by one of the very few original headwords (only 9 out of the 1400+ headwords) of the LLSL (cf. Apatóczy 2016b: 30f15 and 33):

LLSL 1.7b3 běi chēng **shǔ yí yuē wǒ-yún-ér** 北稱屬夷曰我勻兒 Ch. ‘in the North barbarians are called *Oyr[d]*’ ‘subordinate barbarians’ Mong. *Oyr[d]* ‘the Oirats’

About the stormy history of the etymology attempts of this famous ethnonym cf. Kempf 2010. He gives a by and large plausible etymology with a reconstructed original form **oygiran* (Kempf 2010: 192).

SH *Oyirat*, AT *Oyirad*

Öjō[d] ‘The Öjyed/Üjyed tribe’

The only Sino-Mongol glossary that mentions this ethnonym is the BLYY and its whole entry was also copied into the LLSL.

BLYY 72 Ch. fúyú-wèi wō-zhe 福餘衛 我着 Ch. ‘toponym, name of a territory in today’s Heilongjiang province (which after the sixteenth century became a part of Khorchin land). The *Fuyu*-guard (one of the three “Uriyangkhan” guards during the Ming). Modern Qiqihar.’ Mong. Öjō[d] ‘The Öjyed tribe’

LLSL 1.6a19 fúyú wèi yuē wō-zhe 福餘衛曰我着 Ch., Mong. *see above*

Sarta’ul etc. ‘Muslim; Uighur; collective ethnonym and toponym for Khwarezm; merchant (city-dweller)’

Sarta’ul

The *Sarta’ul* etc. ethnonym has a long record in Inner-Asian sources, and it made its way into the major Sino-Mongol glossaries, too. A “standard” form is found in the Hy:

Hy 454 huíhuí sâ-er-tâ-wên 回回 撒兒塔溫 Chin. ‘Muslim (land) etc.’, Mong. *Sarta’ul* ‘id.’

Sartawul

Unlike in the Hy the BLYY variant shows the presence of the intervocalic -w-:

BLYY 181 huíhuí sâ-ér-tâo-wù-ér 回回 撒兒討兀兒 Ch. ‘Muslim (land) etc.’, Mong. *Sartawul* ‘id.’

The BLYY entry was copied into the LLSL, but it is difficult to establish if the different rendering in the LLSL is the result of textual corruption, or whether on the contrary it is an emended form, or whether it represents an original form that the extant BLYY versions ceased to have.

LLSL 1.7b4 tōng chēng hui-hui yuē sâ-er-tâ-wu-le 通稱回回曰撒兒塔兀勒 Ch. ‘Muslims are generally called *Sartawul*’, Mong. *Sartawul* ‘Muslim (land) etc.’

Sartaqčîn

Another occurrence in the Hy features the ethnonym with the feminine suffix -*Qčîn* added, glossed in Chinese as 回回每 ‘Muslims’.

Hy 2:24b2 sâ-er-tâ-q-chén 撒兒塔黑臣 Mong. *Sartaqčîn* ‘id.’

Sarda[q]dai (also a personal name)

The form in the Zyyy is a personal name consisting of the ethnonym and the masculine suffix -*Dai*.

Zyyy I, O 63 huíhuí sâ-lǐ-dâ-dâi 回回 撒里荅歹 Ch. ‘Muslim’ Mong. *Sarda[q]dai* ‘id. (also a personal name)’

SH *Sarta'ul*, MA *Sarta'ül*, AT *Sartayul*, RH *Sartaul*, Khal. *Sartuul* ‘Khalkha Mongols living in Buryatia’, WMong. *Sartayul*. Turkic Yugur *Sart* ‘Muslim Hui; (Modern) Uighur’, Mongolic Yugur *Salt^huur* (metathesized from *Sartuul*), cf. Nugteren–Roos 2003: 135.

Sanskrit *sārthaḥ* ‘Caravan’ and *sārthavāha-* ‘Caravan leader, merchant’ (cf. Mayrhofer 1964: 461–462), Old Turkic, Uighur *sart* ‘id.’. (cf. Clauson: “Sanskrit *sārtha* ‘merchant’, prob. via Sogdian; it retained this meaning until XI but in the medieval period came to mean ‘town dweller’ as opposed to ‘nomad’, and more specifically ‘an Iranian’, as opposed to ‘a Turk’”; Clauson 1972: 846); cf. also Rybatzki 2006: 716–717.

Solongga ‘Korea’

The name of Korea in Mongolian, according to Vovin, goes back to the Old Korean name of the Silla Kingdom, and especially a variant written as 斯蘆 *Selo* (Vovin 2013: 203), from which the Mongolian form would have formed by an assimilation of the first syllable vowel to that of the second syllable. The Middle Mongol data of the BLYY (also copied into the LLSL) shows an already assimilated form. What makes it still rarer among Middle Mongol occurrences is that here we read a singular form, just like in the *Altan Tobči* and in the Sino-Jürchen vocabulary:

BLYY 184 *gāoli suō-lóng-gé* 高麗 瑣瓏革 Ch. ‘Korea’ Mong. *Solongga* ‘id.’

LLSL 1.7b9 *gāo li yuē suō-long-ge* 高麗曰瑣瓏革 Ch., Mong. *see above*

SH *Solongqas*, AT *Solongyas*, *Solongyau*, *Solongyud*, *Solongya* RY *sulo'o* (but cf. Kara 1991: 156 “read *soloyo*”), Dag. *solgui*, Bur. *Solongos* (!), WMong. *Solongyos*

Qara Töböt ‘The territory of Tibet bordering China’

The only occurrence of this ethnonym in the Sino-Mongol glossaries is in the Hy, and even that lacks a Chinese glossing,

Hy 3:01a4 *hā-ra tuō-bó-t* 哈刺脫伯惕 Mong. *Qara Töböt* ‘toponym’

Probably the first Western author who wrote about this ethnonym was Klaproth in his *Asia polyglotta* (1823: 345): “Die Chinesen nennen Tübet gewöhnlich Ši-zaṅ, und den zunächst an China gränzenden Theil U-Ši-Zaṅ oder das schwarze Ši-zaṅ, es stimmt diese Benennung mit der Mongolischen Chara-Tübet, Schwarz Tübet, überein.”

Pelliot adds that “*The Mongolian author of Jigs-med nam-mkha (1819) says that Chinggis subdued the nations of five colours (...) the black [were the] Tibetans*” (Pelliot 1963: no 230.; cf. also Bano 2001: 263 Kara-Tibet ‘Ladakh’).

Nugteren and Roos mention that Mannerheim during his visit to the Yugurs in 1907 noticed that the Chinese call Tangutans (i.e. Tibetans) *Hei fanzi* 黑番子 ‘Black barbarians’ in opposition to *Huang fanzi* 黄番子 ‘Yellow barbarians; the Yellow

Yugurs’, and it seems that other travellers’ accounts agree in the sense that the black colour in the exonym refers to Tibetans, and serves as a means of distinguishing two similarly named ethnic groups (Nugteren – Roos 2003: 134).

Uriangqan etc. ‘the Uriyangkhan people’

Uriangqan

The earliest mention of this ethnonym is in the meticulous transcription of the Hy and glossed in Chinese as “一種人名” ‘a kind of personal name’.

Hy 3:05a wù-riang-qan 兀_舌良_中罕_罕 Mong. (also a personal name)

Uriang[γ]an

By the time of the compilation of BLYY the name gained more prominence and was given a specific administrative meaning.

BLYY 73 duōyán wèi wǔ-liǎng-àn 朶顏衛 五兩案 Ch. ‘the territory of the Döyin-guard (the real Uriyangkhan, one of the three “Uriyangkhan” guards during the Ming); toponym’ Mong. *Uriang[γ]an* ‘id.’

The entry was copied to the LLSL in its entirety:

LLSL 1.6a20 duō yan wei yuē wǔ-liǎng-àn 朶顏衛曰五兩案 Ch., Mong. *see above*

SH *Uriangqadai* (masc.)/*Uriangqajin* (fem.), AT *Uriyangqai*, WMong. *Uriyangqai*

Yeke Min[gy]an ‘the Great Mingans; i.e. the Manchurian Öölöts or Mannai Öölöt (Ööld)’

The only Sino-Mongol glossary that contains this ethnonym is the BLYY.

BLYY 74 dà yī qiān yě-kè mǐn-àn (大壹千 野克民案) Ch. ‘toponym (verbatim from Mong.)’. Cf. Janhunen 2006:182; Todaeva 1985:87–91.

Ücüken Min[gy]an ‘the Little Mingans’

Just as in the case of the previous name, this one is also only found in the BLYY.

BLYY 75 xiǎo yī qiān wǔ-chū-zhǐ mǐn-àn 小壹千 五出指民案 Ch. ‘toponym (verbatim from Mong.)’ (read *kèn* 揷 instead of *zhǐ* 指).

Conclusion

In the overwhelming majority of cases, the presence of various ethnonyms in the glossaries is determined by geographical closeness (exceptions due to historical reasons do exist, however).

When there were no corresponding ethnonyms in Chinese the compilers used either the Chinese toponyms or verbatim translations and sometimes transcriptions.

Variants of the latter type are rarely used (e.g. no *Menggu* ‘Mongol’ or the like) and are limited to smaller groups without established Chinese names or are older loans.

This does not mean that the less known but, in the cited works, frequently mentioned ethnonyms would not have made their way into Chinese nomenclature (like *Oyirat*; *Uriangqan* etc.).

Most of the *-Dai* suffixed names in Hy and Zyyy could also be used for both personal names and ethnonyms.

There seem to exist no traces of the old Mongolian caste system of 1. Mongols; 2. *Semus* (i.e., roughly put, non-Mongol and non-Chinese Central Asians); 3. Han people; 4. Southern Chinese. Although forms like *Nanggias* do correspond to this scheme, this system of social and political differentiation and segregation had long been left behind.

Sigla

AT	Altan Tobči (according to Vietze – Lubsang 1992).
BLYY	The Yiyu/Beilu yiyu 譯語/北虜譯語/of the Dengtan bijiu 登壇必究 (BLYY-By; PUL; HAS) 1599 (according to Apatóczy 2009).
Zyyy	Zhiyuan yiyu/Menggu yiyu 至元譯語/蒙古譯語 (Zyyy) 1282 (Naikaku Bunko kanseki bunrui mokuroku 內閣文庫漢籍分類目錄 no. 9866.4(3).366.42 [Tokyo cabinet library catalogue], Tokyo, 1956; according to Ligeti–Kara 1990 and Kara 1990).
Ch.	Chinese headword; Chinese.
Hy	Hua-Yi yiyu 華夷譯語 () 1389; 1407 (According to Kuribayashi 2003).
Khal.	Khalkha (Kara 1998; Lessing 1960 etc.)
LLSL	The Yi bu 譯部 (上 and 下 chapters) of the Lulong sai lue 盧龍塞略 1610 (according to Apatóczy 2016).
EWUng	Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen
MA	MA Muqaddimat al-ādāb (Bao 2002, Poppe 1938).
RH	The Rasūlid Hexaglot (according to Golden 2000).

Mong.	reconstructed Mongolian word; Mongolian.
RY	Ruzhen yiyu (according to Kane 1989).
SH	The Secret History of the Mongols (according to de Rachewiltz 2004).
UighM	Uighur of Ming (according to Ligeti 1966).
WBZh/2	Beilu kao 北虜考 and Beilu yiyu 北虜譯語 (aka. Dada yu 韃靼語) of the Wu Bei Zhi 武備志(WBZh1/ WBZh2) 1621 Mao Yuanyi 茅元儀 (ed.), <i>Wu bei zhi</i> 武備志 [Remarks on Military Preparations], (1621). Reprinted by Huashi chubanshe 華世出版社, 22 vol., 10224 pp., Taipei 1984. Its partially censored Qing edition: National Central Library, Taipei, call no. 302.1.22268.
WMong.	Written Mongolian (according to Lessing 1960 etc.)

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Competing Narratives: A Comparative Study of Chinese Sources with the Old Turkic Inscriptions*

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Historiography and stereotypes

As the Chinese historians had the privilege of writing history, they described their neighboring ethnic groups as Rong, Yi, Man and Di, all of which have animalistic connotations in one way or another. Here we take the example of the Di to explain the problem that can be inherent in such historical records compiled from a single faceted perspective. Di refers to the nomadic and pastoral people to the north of China. Like other nomads, these people were skilled in archery and martial art rather than literature and scholarship. The steppe empires such as the Xiongnu, Rouran and Xianbei did not have their own writing systems, and therefore did not leave us any history about them written in their own language. Their histories were written by the Chinese historians. When the teachings of Confucianism were set as the moral standard, the steppe people were labelled as “lacking a sense of shame, knowing no rituals”, and even their costumes and hairstyles came to be viewed as “weird”, because they plaited their hair and fastened their gowns on the left side.¹ However, what about the image of the Chinese in the eyes of the nomadic peoples? How did they call the Chinese people in their own languages?

The Türks, who began to emerge as a steppe empire from the middle of the 6th century, were the first nomadic people who left us historical sources written in their own language and script.² They took the opportunity of establishing memorials for their lords, and left us many steles in which their “national history” is inscribed. The composers of Türk national history were of course all Türk-

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1 Sima Qian, *Shiji*, Chapter 110, “Biography of the Xiongnu”, Zhonghua Publishing House, 1959: 28-79.

2 The Bugut Inscription, which belongs to the First Türk Empire, was written in the Sogdian script and the Sogdian language. S. G. Kljaštornyj and V. A. Livšic, “The Sogdian Inscription of Bugut revised”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 1972, vol. 26(1): 69-102; Yutaka Yoshida and Takao Moriyasu, “Bugut Inscription”, *Provisional Report of Researches on Historical Sites and Inscriptions in Mongolia from 1996-1998*, ed., Takao Moriyasu and Ayudai Ochir, The Society of Central Eurasian Studies, 1999: 122-125.

centered, and they did not follow the principle of writing history without biases. Nonetheless, such epic narratives of Türk history are very valuable for us to understand the political order of East Asia between the 6th to 8th centuries. Their value lies in the fact that they provide us with a different perspective from that of the Chinese historians.

Our questions are: What kind of image of “China” can be found in the narratives of the Early Türks? How different are the narratives concerning the same military or diplomatic issues in Turkic and Chinese sources? To answer such questions, we need to do a comparative study of the Chinese sources and the Old Turkic inscriptions. Those questions also help us better understand the nuances of the interactions between the sedentary society and the nomadic steppe in East Asia and Inner Asia of the 8th century.

In the Old Turkic inscriptions, China was called neither “China” nor “Sui” nor “Tang”, the self-designations for contemporary dynasties. Rather, it was called “Tabgach” by the Türks.³ According to the interpretation of P. Pelliot and many other scholars, *tabgach* was the name of the Tuoba, a subgroup of the Xianbei, who established the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534 A.D.) in North China.⁴ The fact that the Türks used “Tabgach” to refer to their contemporary Tang dynasty can be explained partly by a continuation of historical appellation. However, it might also be because the Türks did not want to acknowledge the legitimacy of the new regime, and therefore did not bother to adopt the official name of the Tang dynasty.

The image of China and the Chinese people portrayed in the Old Turkic inscriptions is very negative. In the Kül Tegin Inscription, the Türk kağan castigated the dishonesty of Chinese people, complaining that:

tabğaç bodun sabı süçig, ağısı yımşak ermiş. süçig sabın yımşak ağın arıp irak bodunuğ ança yağutır ermiş. yağru kontukda kesre añğ bilig anta öyür ermiş. edgü bilge kişig, edgü alp kişig yoritmaz ermiş. bir kişi yañılsar uğuşı bodunı beşükiñe tegi kıdmaz ermiş.

“The words of Chinese people were sweet and their treasures were fine (lit. soft). With sweet words and fine treasures they brought the distant people near. After [the distant people] had settled nearby, [the Chinese people] would think of bad ideas. They did not let the truly wise men and truly brave men succeed (lit. to walk, march). If one man committed a crime, [the Chinese] would not spare his clan, his relatives and even his children.”⁵

³ Talat Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Indiana University, 1968: 231, 249.

⁴ Paul Pelliot, “L’origine du nom de ‘Chine’”, *T’oung Pao*, second series, 1912, vol. 13(5): 727–742.

⁵ Chen Hao, *A History of the Second Türk Empire (ca. 682-745 AD): Through a Combination of Old Turkic Inscriptions and Chinese Sources*, doctoral dissertation, Free University of Berlin, 2016: 216, 238.

From the above citation we can tell that the Türks were upset and disappointed with the Chinese policy towards the Türk residents. They could not understand the Chinese judicial practice of involving a criminal's family, relatives and clan in a legal case. Of course, these complaints were made from the perspective of the Türks, who judged other people by their own legal and moral standards. We can't say that their judgment is objective. However, these sources show us an unrevealed side of history. Without them, we would never know the image of the Chinese people in the eyes of this neighboring people.

Center and periphery

When discussing the political order in East Asia in the 6th to 8th centuries, scholars are inclined to put the Tang in the center and other Inner Asian regimes such as the Türk, Tibetan, Korean, and Tangut empires on the periphery. As far as factors such as military power, the economy and the population are concerned, it might not be wrong to draw a political map of early medieval East Asia with Chang'an or Luoyang as the center(s). However, such a political map is not sufficient for historians to gain the whole picture. Most of the Chinese sources are compiled from this perspective. If we are not aware of this, we are prone to falling into the trap of believing in the Chinese sources without critical thinking.

However, through the perspective of the Türks, we can draw a political map of East Asia with the Türk regime as the center, while the Tang, Tibet, Korea, the Kitañs, the Tokuz Oğuz, On Ok and Kırkız are distributed in the marginal areas of the map. At the beginning of the Kül Tegin Inscription, it is said that after human beings were created by the blue sky and brown earth, the Türk kağan took power and conquered people in the four directions, reaching Kadirkan Mountain in the east and the Iron Gate in the west.⁶ Accordingly, the two places mentioned here were the eastern and western territorial frontiers.

During the reign of Kapğan Kağan, the Türk army campaigned towards the Yellow River and the Shandong Plateau in the east, towards the Iron Gate in the west, and across the Kögmen Mountains and towards the Kırkız in the north.⁷ Kapğan Kağan largely extended the territory of the Türk Empire and pushed their frontier deeply into the neighboring territories. Although the political borders were always changing depending on their military strength, in essence, the Yellow River can be regarded as the boundary between the Türk and the Tang, whereas the Iron Gate may be the farthest place that the Türk army was able to reach in the west, and the Kögmen Mountains represent the frontier between the Türks and the Kırkız.

6 Chen Hao, *op.cit.*: 205, 231.

7 Chen Hao, *op.cit.*: 232-233.

If we draw a political map according to the Old Turkic inscriptions, its center would be the Türk capital, i.e. Ötüken Mountain, and the other regimes such as the Tang, Tibet, and Kırkız would be located on the periphery. On the occasion of Kül Tegin's funeral, many international envoys came to offer condolences:

udar señün kelti. tabğaç kağanta işiyi likeñ kelti. bir tümen ağı altun kümüş kergeksiz kelürti. tüpüt kağanta bölün kelti. kurya kün batsıkdaki soğd, berçeker, bukarak uluş bodunta enik señün, oğul tarkan kelti. on ok oğlum türgiş kağanta makaraç tamğaçı, oğuz bilge tamğaçı kelti. kırkız kağanta tarduş inançu çor kelti. bark etgüçi, bediz yaratığma, bitig taş etgüçi, tabğaç kağan çıkanı çañ señün kelti.

General Udar, representing the people of Kitañ and Tatabı, came to attend the funeral fest and expressed his lamentation. From the Chinese emperor came the secretary Likeñ. He brought countless (lit. ten thousand) silk, gold, silver, and other luxury items. From the Tibetan emperor came Bölün. From Sogdiana, Berçeker (i.e. Persia) and Bukhara in the sunset west, ...came General Enik and Oğul Tarkan. From On Ok, from my son [-in-law] the Türgiş kağan, came Makaraç and Oğuz Bilge, who were officials holding seals. From the Kırkız kağan came Tarduş Inançu Çor. The shrine-builders, fresco-painters, memorial-builders and the maternal cousin of the Chinese emperor, General Zhang, came.⁸

The Türk narrator consciously depicts the many foreign envoys who came to visit, thus emphasizing the central position of the Türks in the political milieu of East Asia.

We may ask, what exactly was the balance of power between Tang and Türk? Actually, it is difficult to answer this question, because then there was no definite dominant power in East Asia. However, we can use political marriages as a barometer to infer which side was relatively more powerful. Generally speaking, the side which married off a bride was more powerful than the other side. During the reign of Kapğan Kağan, he repeatedly proposed to Empress Wu, asking for a Chinese prince to marry to his daughter. When Empress Wu sent one of her grandnephews to marry the Türk princess, Kapğan Kağan complained that he intended to marry his daughter to a prince of the Li Family rather than the Wu Family, and took it as an excuse to invade Chinese territory.⁹ During this period (Empress Wu's reign period: 690–705), the Türks were in an active and aggressive position, while China was in a passive and defensive position.

When Emperor Zhongzong ascended the throne in 705, and especially after he established three strategic citadels on the northern bank of the Yellow River,

⁸ Chen Hao, *op.cit.*: 236–237.

⁹ Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, chapter 206, Zhonghua Publishing House, 1956: 6530–1; Du You, *Tongdian*, chapter 198, Zhonghua Publishing House, 1988: 5435–6.

China's policy changed from defensive to offensive.¹⁰ And in the reign of Emperor Xuanzong, the wealth and strength of the Tang dynasty reached its peak. Unlike his uncle, the new Bilge Kağan led a peaceful foreign policy towards China. He constantly sent envoys to the Tang court, wishing to marry a Chinese princess. It is noteworthy that, unlike his uncle, he never asked for a Chinese groom, but only wished for a Chinese bride for himself. The desire of Bilge Kağan can be explained by the political competition among the East Asian regimes, which means it would be shameful if one regime did not have a Chinese princess. Bilge Kağan once complained in front of the Chinese diplomats:

“The Tibetans are descendants of dogs. The Kitan and Tatabi used to be my slaves. However, all of them have married a Chinese princess. We Türks have repeatedly requested one, but never received one. Why? I know that the lady you married off to Tibet is not from the imperial house. I did not even ask for an authentic Chinese princess. But your constant refusal makes me feel ashamed in front of other regimes.”¹¹

Obviously, at this period (Bilge Kağan's reign period: 716–734), the Tang were in the center, and the Türks were on the periphery.

Perspective or truth

What can different perspectives bring to us? Through a comparative study, we can reveal the aspects of history that have been neglected or ignored, and try to reveal the diversity and complexity of history. We will take the Beş Balık battle between the Tang and the Türks as an example, to see how an event can be narrated in different ways, according to different perspectives.

Beş Balık was the Turkic name for a strategic city in the region of today's Jimsar county, about 160km from Ürümqi, in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China. The ruins of the ancient Beş Balık lie around 12 km north of the modern city of Jimsar. The earliest record about Beş Balık can be found in the *Hou Hanshu*, which is the official history of the Later Han Dynasty or Eastern Han Dynasty (25–220 A.D.). This place had been inhabited by an Indo-European-speaking tribe called the *Jushi* before the 1st century B.C. Because of its strategic location, it had become a contentious target between the Han and the Xiongnu. In the end it was controlled by the Han government. Hundreds of Chinese soldiers were stationed in the city.¹² At a particular time of in

¹⁰ Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tangshu*, chapter 93, Zhonghua Publishing House, 1975: 2982; Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin Tangshu*, chapter 111, Zhonghua Publishing House, 1975: 4152; Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, chapter 209: 6621.

¹¹ *Jiu Tangshu*: 5175; *Xin Tangshu*: 6053.

¹² Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, chapter 88, Zhonghua Publishing House, 1965: 2914.

its history, most probably when the city was initially constructed, it had consisted of five towns. Therefore, the city was also called “city of five towns” by the local inhabitants.¹³

It seems that the city had been abandoned for a long time before the First Türk Empire occupied it and settled Turkic-speaking subjects in it. Following the Türks’ common practice, place-names in the newly conquered territory of the Türk Empire were Turkicized. It is obvious that *beş balık* was a translation of the local name, as *beş* means “five” and *balık* means “city, town” in Old Turkic. After the First Türk Empire collapsed, the city came under the control of the Tang government and therefore a large population of Chinese immigrants began to take residence near and in the city.¹⁴ As a result, the population composition in Beş Balık was very diverse, including Chinese-speaking people and Turkic-speaking people, as well as Indo-European-speaking inhabitants.

The city of Beş Balık had been prosperous for many centuries. When the Uyghurs were expelled from the steppe by the Kırkız, one group of Uyghur refugees found shelter in Koço, today’s Turfan in Xinjiang. The Uyghur Koço Kingdom lasted for many centuries. During this period, Beş Balık was used by the Uyghur rulers as their summer palace. After the invasion of the Mongols, this region was a part of the Chagatai Ulus. In the year 1418, the Chagatai rulers moved their kingdom to Ili. According to the *Mingshi*, the official annals of the Ming Dynasty, during this time there was neither a citadel nor a palace in the kingdom of Beş Balık, and people lived a nomadic lifestyle.¹⁵

Considering the strategic location of this city, the Tang government used it as a bastion to guard against the invasion of the Türgiș, Kırkız and Türks. The protectorate established by the Tang government in this area was called Beiting.¹⁶ In the eyes of Kapğan Kağan, the strategic importance of Beş Balık was self-evident and forced him to spare no efforts to seize it.

In Chinese sources, the outcome of the Beş Balık Battle was recorded on the 7th day of the 2nd month of Kaiyuan II (25 Feb. 714). Kapğan Kağan sent his sons Yinie (EMC: *ji-net* < OT: *inel*) Kağan and Tong-e (EMC: *dəwŋ-ŋa* < OT: *toŋa*) Tegin and his son-in-law Huoba-xielifa-shi-ashibi to lead troops to besiege Beiting Protectorate (i.e. Beş Balık).¹⁷ The Chinese Protector-General Guo Qianguan led the defense against the Türks. Toŋa Tegin rode a horse and pressed up to the city wall by himself. He was ambushed by the strong Chinese soldiers, who had earlier hidden on the roadside. The Türks were required to ransom Toŋa Tegin for all the provisions in their army. When they heard of the death of Toŋa Tegin, they burst

¹³ *Jiu Tangshu*: 1646.

¹⁴ Li Jifu ed., *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi*, chapter 40, Zhonghua Publishing House, 1983: 1033.

¹⁵ Zhang Tingyu et al., *Mingshi*, Zhonghua Publishing House, 1974: 8609.

¹⁶ *Xin Tangshu*: 1047.

¹⁷ It is a complicated title. Wu Yugui identified *huoba* as a tribal name, *xielifa* (EMC: *yet-li^h-puat* < OT: *elteber*) as the official title and *shi-ashibi* as the personal name. (cf. Wu Yugui 2009: 911).

into tears and left.¹⁸ Having lost Tonja Tegin, Shi-ashibi (short form of Huobaxielifa-shi-ashibi) dared not return home to face the punishment by Kapğan Kağan. On the 25th day of the leap 2nd month (14 April 714), Shi-ashibi, along with his wife, came to surrender to the Tang emperor. He was appointed Grand General of the Right Guard and Prince of Yanshan Commandery.¹⁹ His wife was appointed Princess of Jinshan. They received a house, ten maids, ten horses and thousands of pieces of silk as a reward.²⁰

The Beş Balık Battle was also narrated by Bilge Kağan in a Turkic inscription, but in a different way. According to his narrative, the Türk army besieged the city Beş Balık and launched six assaults in total. Eventually, the inhabitants living inside the city came out to welcome the Türk army and therefore the city avoided being slaughtered.²¹ Bilge Kağan did not mention a single word about the Türks' losing this battle. Neither did he mention that one of his cousins lost his life. His younger brother, Kül Tegin, probably did not take part in this campaign, because the Kül Tegin Inscription is completely silent about this event.

Considering the striking difference in the outcome of the battle and in the number of injured and casualties between the Turkic and the Chinese narratives, we are not going to judge which narrative is more “right” or which narrative is closer to the “truth”. To us and for our research, the perspectives and the contexts of the sources are more important. Chinese history writers and Turkic statesmen highlighted different aspects of the same event, providing us rich but not necessarily reliable information about this event and enriching our vision of history.

18 *Jiu Tangshu*, chapter 103: 3187; *Xin Tangshu*, chapter 133: 4543; *Jiu Tangshu*, chapter 194: 5172; *Zizhi tongjian*, chapter 211: 6696.

19 *Jiu Tangshu*, chapter 194 and *Zizhi tongjian* record his title as “Prince of Yanbei Commandary” (cf. Wu Yugui 2009: 918).

20 *Jiu Tangshu*: 172; *Jiu Tangshu*: 5172; *Zizhi tongjian*: 6697.

21 Chen Hao, *op.cit.*: 245–246, 260.

A Possible Source of ‘Tengrism’

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About the Concept of Tengrism

The term Tengrism, although already used in the 1930s by Uno Harva (1938), became known and widespread through the work of the French researcher Jean-Paul Roux (1956, 1957, 1962, 1984). However, only a few thorough analyses and critiques have been published on this topic. Although it is hard to briefly summarise Roux’s idea, we can start by claiming that he reconstructed a monotheistic religion, which was characteristic of Turkic and Mongolian peoples at the time when they had attained a higher degree of social organisation. In short: Roux assumed that there had been a kind of monotheistic imperial religion, which centred around the worship of *tāñri*, the “sky-god”.

I studied in detail the Turkic runic writings of Orkhon, dating from the 8th century, in relation to the religious content of the texts in themselves, excluding potential later data (Dallos 2004). This approach seemed necessary because, although Roux elaborated his theory of Tengrism on the basis of the same body of texts, but because of their type (they are three epic epitaphs), the picture outlined here said rather little about the beliefs or religion underlying the texts. As a result Roux tried to supplement this picture with data that was far-fetched both in time and space. My study then was primarily aimed at exploring whether the picture reconstructed by Roux indeed remained valid, when considering only the writings he used as a starting point.

Although I have formulated a number of criticisms regarding Roux’s theory, which I still consider justified today, in my present paper I accept Roux’s most important axioms as my starting point. First, I am going to describe the difficulties surrounding the study of this topic, then I will present a source not included in studies on this subject so far and aim to draw some conclusions from it.

About some difficulties in this study

I would like to note that I have not dealt with this topic since 2004, but now I have returned to it in the framework of a Hungarian research project (Silk Road Research Group). Therefore, I have had to outline the questions and issues raised here also because of my own research.

If we presume that there is a monotheistic, imperial religion behind the beliefs reflected in the Orkhon inscriptions, then the researcher is faced with a number of questions to be answered. Here are a few to start with:

- a) Where does it originate from? Is it possible to relate it to the religious concepts of the earlier Hsiung-nu (Xiongnu) people(s)? How long did it exist?
- b) Did it have any connection with the religious beliefs of local (specifically, Eastern Turkic and, possibly later or even earlier, Mongolian) peoples?
- c) Related to this, but posing the question from another angle: did this religious phenomenon belong to the ruling (elite) class only and, bound to the power structure, was it passed on within the ruling classes in the rapidly changing empires of the steppe?
- d) Did it have any rituals? If so, were they specifically related to the empire and an elite status?
- e) Is it possible to find out anything about its religious nature: did it have any doctrines, were there any symbolic expressions related to it (linguistic and non-linguistic symbols)? Were there any religious activities belonging to it on a daily or holy-day basis? Did they pray to *Tāngri* in the first place?

These questions cannot be answered on the basis of the Orkhon inscriptions only. If, similarly to Roux, we extend the circle of our explorations, we must first deal with the textual relics. Although we do not know for sure which texts constitute the material of our study, we can certainly distinguish between two groups of written sources: internal sources, left behind by those practising Tengrism as a religion, and external ones, written by followers of other religions.

As far as the sources of internal origin are concerned, I would only like to highlight three important ones (which are large enough to draw conclusions from). One of them is the already mentioned Orkhon inscriptions (which can be supplemented with smaller, Old-Turkic runic writings), the second is The Secret History of Mongols, and the third is the Uyghur script (or pre-Islamic) Oguz Name.

In all these works, *Tāngri* features in a privileged place, always with the meaning of 'sky-god'. However, the texts also display several differences. Here are just a few examples. In the Orkhon inscriptions, *Tāñri* is described by the epithet *kök* 'blue'; the compound form *kök tāñri* occurs in the pre-Islamic Oguz name; whereas in The Secret History of Mongols, *Tāñri* is called *möngke* 'eternal', which does not occur in the other two sources in relation to *Tāñri*. In the Orkhon inscriptions, it is not mentioned whether they would pray to *Tāngri* or whether

divination would be related to *Tāngri*, but both are mentioned in The Secret History of Mongols and the Uyghur script Oguz Name.

Here, a question of methodology arises. If we presume that the religious background to all three works is Tengrism, how do we explain the differences? Do we only regard the common elements as belonging to Tengrism (and relate the others to some other religion or belief in connection with local beliefs or appearing due to some external religious or cultural influence), or regard all elements as belonging to Tengrism and explain the differences with variations in time and space? In other words, do we accept that there was such a religion, which naturally had its own history and consequently, different versions?

The relationship between internal and external sources comprises another difficulty. As far as the Eastern Turks are concerned, Chinese annals have preserved some extracts belonging to their religious background (such as the two legends of origin of the Turks, the description of the initiation ceremony of the Khagan and burial rites). However, these external sources show no correspondence whatsoever with the Orkhon inscriptions internal to the culture.

About an external source not yet used

Despite the difficulties, we cannot rule out external sources. This is partly because there are very few internal sources and partly because descriptions by external observers may contain a lot of valuable information, even if they are heavily biased.

In the case of the Hsiung-nu and Eastern Turks, we primarily have Chinese sources at our disposal, whereas there are several different European and Middle Eastern sources providing important data about the later Mongolian and other – Turkic-language – peoples.

For the time being, all we can do is study the available external and internal sources from as many points of view and as thoroughly as possible. (Just a few items for the agenda: the thorough philological and religious-ethnological study of the texts presumed to belong to Tengrism, while tracing changes of the meanings of the terms and expressions used in the texts.) External sources also have to be collected as widely as possible (it has not happened yet) and analysed in great detail. Another thing to keep in mind: when analysing external sources, we must be aware of the cultural background of the given text and the traditions characteristic of the given text type. For example, medieval Muslim geographical and historical sources mention in relation to several peoples that they are "fire worshippers". This, however, does not mean that all of them are Zoroastrians; in fact, Muslim authors use this term to describe religious forms and belief systems which do not follow any of the distinct religions (Islam, Christianity, Judaism or Buddhism) known to them. In terms of European concepts, it could best be interpreted as 'pagan'.

In relation to Tengrism, research has so far concentrated mainly on Chinese and Muslim sources, but I found some very interesting data in a hitherto less studied group: in Syrian sources. At first sight, the data itself appears too short and insignificant. What is more, we cannot be certain of the time of its origin. Although its author is known, it is not known where he obtained the information in question.

Michael Syrus (the Syrian) was an Eastern Christian (Syrian Orthodox), Jacobite patriarch living between 1126 and 1199. He became patriarch in 1166 and wrote an extensive Chronicle consisting of 21 volumes.¹ This Chronicle is basically a church history, but it also includes a world chronicle in the middle of the three columns which he divided his work into. He devoted the second chapter of his 14th book to the description of the lifestyle of the Turks (in the source: *Türkāy*). In the last two sentences of this part, he talks about the religion of the Turks as follows:

“They believe there to be one god in the sky, but ignorantly, because they regard the visible firmament as god. They have no knowledge of anything else, nor are they capable of listening to any other idea.” (Kmoskó 2004: 222)²

Even though this source is reticent, it is also very interesting, as it summarises as briefly yet as succinctly as possible what we know or believe to know about Tengrism. Nevertheless, the evaluation of this source is not problem-free. Like other Syrian-Christian chroniclers, Michael Syrus used a lot of earlier sources in his work without providing the origin of his data. Michael Syrus primarily writes about the exodus of the Seljuks from their original abode (that is, about his own age and the period immediately preceding it), but he also includes excerpts from older works in his Chronicle (see e.g. Ginkel 1998, 2006), such as the writings of 6th century Joannes Ephesus or Pseudo Zacharias Rethor. Although he lists a number of authors and works that he used, he does not indicate these in the given text locations.

In fact, it is not clear which period the above-quoted source originates from or which it relates to. Yet we consider it important, as we learn something significant about the once-existing Tengrism of a (once-existing) Turkic people. For the sake of evaluation, here is another short quote from the work:

¹ Full text with comments and French translation was published by Chabot (1899-1910).

² My translations (this and next one) are based on Kmoskó's Hungarian translation from Syriac (Kmoskó 2004). In his MPhil Dissertation Mark Dickens translates this part as: “They proclaim one God of the heavens, without knowing [him], thinking that that which is the visible firmament is God and they are not conscious of another thing (i.e. anything else) and they do not perceive or understand [anything else]” (Dickens 2004: 52). It is worth mentioning that Michael's Chronicle was translated into Armenian in the Middle Ages, and we know dozens of Armenian versions – translations and abridgements. One of them renders this part as: “They worship one god, and call him Ko'k'tanghri which means 'blue god', because they believe that the sky is a god” (Bedrosian n.d.: 171; see also Schmidt 2013).

“... they are not used to making their clothing from linen and cotton, but their clothes and tents are made of the wool of sheep and the hair of goats. It is their special skill to tame livestock and animals in a way that, despite the multitude of horses, oxen and sheep filling their camp, they are able to drive them without any disruptions.” (Kmoskó 2004: 222)

This is a description of a nomadic community, and by no means the description of a nomadic elite. Syrus, wherever and from whichever period he obtained this information, described a nomadic camp, concluding by saying that “They believe there to be one god in the sky, but ignorantly, because they regard the visible firmament as god.”

I have always doubted Roux’s claim in his theory that Tengrism was a kind of imperial religion. However, I have only had indirect evidence for this, namely, that the word *Tāngri* has remained in all the Turkic languages to this day (see Doerfer 1965: 577–585) and it is related to the transcendent in some way. Just to give one example: every Turkic-language people that has converted to a monotheistic religion uses the word *tāñri* (or its present-day variation) as one of the names of God. A narrow elite, always changing in its composition and spanning over a millennium in time and thousands of kilometres in space, cannot have ensured the survival of this tradition. This source is another piece of evidence that the “blue sky”, and the “sky-god”, sometimes totally identified with it and sometimes related to it in a metaphorical sense, was one of the fundamental religious experiences of the nomadic Turks of the steppes.

The sky, which includes some transcendent feature in almost every religion, probably carried the experience of the supernatural even more strongly for nomadic peoples. The nomads of the steppes lived in constant locomotion between their winter and summer abodes, so their homes were not stable or bound to a single place. As opposed to and as a counterpart to this, above the steppes, there was always the unreachable, boundless, ever-changing yet eternal Sky.

Naturally, climate, lifestyle and the social structure are all factors which influence the beliefs or religion of a given human community. The phenomenon we call Tengrism may have obtained some extra meaning from legitimation by the imperial leader during a specific period, but this imperial faith was by no means independent of and certainly was not able to break away from the basic experience relating to the sky all day, every day.

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Scythia as the Image of a Nomadic Land on Medieval Maps

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Medieval *mappe mundi*

It is good to be reminded that the majority of medieval monastery maps represent T-O schemes. They are based on depicting a circular Earth with the ocean surrounding it (O). *Orbis terrarum* is divided into three parts: Asia, Europe and Africa, - according to myth, each land belonged to one of Noah's sons. The borders between the parts of the world are the Tanais (the Don), the Nile and the Mediterranean Sea: all together they form a T. However, there was also another type of map in the Middle Ages, based on depicting the four gulfs of the world ocean: the Mediterranean Sea, the Caspian Sea (which was considered to be connected to the ocean), the Red Sea and the Indian Sea. Besides these two main kinds there existed some other types of maps (Bagrow 2004; Chekin 2006 (a publication of *mappe mundi*); Harley & Woodward 1987–2007; Mel'nikova 1998; Podossinov 1999: 313–315, 584–618).

A *mappa mundi* was actually a graphic encyclopedia that reflected the Christian image of the world and contained knowledge not only in the field of geography but also in the domain of history, including mythological data. Evidently on the medieval maps the past was mixed with the present and even with the future through eschatological expectations that were widespread during the Middle Ages. As it is known, medieval *mappe mundi* reflect information taken from antique sources, from the Bible and Christian authors' works. Moreover, the medieval mapmakers were also representing data from their contemporary reality. As for the Scythians, the information about them originated in the works of antique authors, (and should not be crossed out) was applied to the medieval situation and incorporated into the Christian image of the world.

Scythia of Orosius and Isidore

As it is known, Orosius' *Historiae adversum paganos* was one of the most important sources for medieval maps. The author lived in the time when antiquity was ending and the Middle Ages were just beginning (c. 385 – after 418). So he was a man through whom the antique tradition was transferred to the epoch to come.

Orosius described Scythia as stretching from the far eastern shore of the ocean up to the Caspian Sea (1.2.47): “*Igitur a monte Imauo, hoc est ab imo Caucaso et dextra orientis parte qua oceanus Sericus tenditur, usque ad promunturium Boreum et flumen Boreum, inde tenus Scythico mari quod est a septentrione, usque ad mare Caspium quod est ab occasu, et usque ad extentum Caucasi iugum quod est ad meridiem, Hyrcanorum et Scytharum gentes sunt XLII, propter terrarum infecundam diffusionem late oberrantes*”. So Orosius highlighted the infertility of the region as the reason for its inhabitants' nomadic way of life. Orosius described the unified Scytho-Hyrcanian region that was located east of the Caspian Sea; and Hyrcania is always near Scythia on the monastery maps. The author of *Historiae adversum paganos* wrote about forty-two tribes that roamed around a vast territory. Forty-three northern peoples appear on the Anglo-Saxon map. Despite their number being one more, it is very similar to what Orosius says.

The *Etymologiae* of medieval encyclopedist Isidore of Seville (560–636) was a source for the mapmakers of the Middle Ages too. According to him, Scythia had been larger in previous times: it had stretched from India up to Germania. Afterwards it had decreased and acquired the limits described by Orosius. Isidore knew of his work (Dalché 2013: 12) and wrote one of the passages about Scythia (highlighted below) with almost the same words (14.3.31): “*Cuius terra olim ingens fuit; nam ab oriente India, a septentrione per paludes Maeotides inter Danubium et Oceanum usque ad Germaniae fines porrigebatur. Postea vero minor effecta, a dextra orientis parte, qua Oceanus Sericus tenditur, usque ad mare Caspium, quod est ad occasum; dehinc a meridie usque ad Caucasi iugum deducta est, cui subiacet Hyrcania ab occasu habens pariter gentes multas, propter terrarum infecunditatem late vagantes*”.

Lower Scythia

Besides, as Isidore wrote, the first region of Europe was Lower Scythia which lay between the Maeotian Swamp, the Danube, the northern Ocean and Germania (14.4.3): “*Prima Europae regio Scythia inferior, quae a Maeotidis paludibus incipiens inter Danubium et Oceanum septentrionalem usque ad Germaniam porrigitur; quae terra generaliter propter barbaras gentes, quibus inhabitatur, Barbarica dicitur. Huius pars prima Alania est, quae ad Maeotidis paludes pertingit; post hanc Dacia, ubi et Gothia; deinde Germania, ubi plurimam partem Suevi incoluerunt*”. The reason why Isidore of Seville designated the European part of Scythia as Lower may be explained by the fact that the East is on top on the majority of the monastery T-O maps. So the Scythian land located in Asia is above the European one for a viewer (Podossinov 2016: 184–185).

Besides Isidore, other medieval authors mentioned Lower Scythia following him. For example, Honorius Augustodunensis wrote in the chapter *De Schythia* of his work *De imagine mundi* (1.23): “*A Thanai fluvio est Schythia inferior, quae*

versus meridiem, usque ad Danubium porrigitur. In hac sunt istae provinciae, Alania. Dacia. Gothia.” There is also Bartholomaeus Anglicus who mentioned Lower Scythia, referring to Isidore (15.50): “*Prima ergo regio Europe est Scythia inferior quae a Meotidis paludibus incipiens, inter Danubium et oceanum septentrionalem usque ad Germaniam porrigit, ut dicit Isidorus in libro XV*”. Bartholomaeus mentioned Lower Scythia as a part of Europe and Upper Scythia as a part of Asia in the chapter *De Scythia* of his work *Liber de proprietatibus rerum* (15.147): “*Scythia regio est maxima. Cuius pars superior est in Asia. Inferior vero est prima regio in Europa*”. The further description of Scythia is the same as in 15.50. So Bartholomaeus mentioned Upper Scythia in contrast to Lower, as Gervase of Tilbury had done (Chekin 2006: 247). In general Bartholomaeus’ account of Scythia is based on Isidore, so Anglicus’ text is very similar to the *Etymologiae*. Vincent of Beauvais also mentioned Lower Scythia in his *Speculum majus*, 1: *Tota naturalis historia* 32.9 and in *Speculum majus*, 4: *Speculum historiale* 1.71 (the text is the same as Isidore’s in both cases).

Lower Scythia is designated on some of the monastery maps. On the Oxford map *Scythia inferior* is located in Europe (Oxford, Bodleian library, Canon. Misc. 560, fol. 3r) and there is also *Scythia* in Asia. The same situation is observed on the Pseudo-Isidorean Vatican map (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. Lat. 6018, fols 63v–64r). Only *Scythia inferior* is mentioned on the Copy of the St. Victor map (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 10058, fol. 154v). *Scythia superior* is depicted as being in Asia on one of the Beatus of Liebana maps and *Scythia inferior* is in Europe on other similar *mappa mundi* (Chekin 2006: 176). Despite the fact that it is better to designate Scotland than Scythia with the name *Scythia*, the position of the both legends, *inferior* and *superior*, is closer to the traditional location of Scythia. Upper Scythia appears in contrast to the Lower on one Psalter map (Chekin 2006: 142). Both are located in Asia, contradicting Isidore’s arrangement. The inscription is: “*In Scythia superiore civitas Gangaria. In Scythia inferiore*”. There is also Scythia in Europe, according to this map. *Scythia superior* is noted on the Ripoll map as being in northern Asia. *Scythia suprema*, Uppermost Scythia, is mentioned on one of the St. Jerome maps (Chekin 2006: 135). So the medieval mapmakers designate not only Lower Scythia on their maps but they also put Upper Scythia in contrast to the first.

There are two groups of Scythians on the St. Emmeram map and some maps similar to it: the plain Scythians, the *Scythi*, and the other Scythians, *Alii Scythi* or *Alii Scythae* (Chekin 2006: 50). Both groups are located in Asia and divided by Hyrcania. *Alii Scythi* could be a corruption of the *Thalii Scythi* mentioned by Pliny (6.17) and Solinus (15.18).

Thus, for Isidore, Scythia was a territory located in both parts of the world, Europe and Asia, while for Orosius it seemed to be only an Asiatic land. Isidore derived the words Scythia and Gothia from the name of Japheth’s son, Magog (XIV, 3, 31): “*Scythia sicut et Gothia a Magog filio Iaphet fertur cognominata*”. These two territories became connected because of the etymological explanation made by

Isidore; and Gothia was considered a European land. Moreover, according to Christian mythology, Noah's son Japheth obtained Europe after the Deluge. These were probably the reasons why Isidore, in contrast to Orosius, located one part of Scythia in Europe. Scythia is located in the both parts of the world, in Asia and in Europe, on the medieval monastery maps (Chekin 2006: 244). However, the maker of one of the largest medieval *mappe mundi*, the Hereford map, indicated on the north-eastern edge of *orbis terrarum* that Scythia stretched from there up to the Maeotian Swamps, i. e. up to the border of Europe and Asia: “*Ab hinc usque ad Meotides paludes generaliter Sithia dicitur*”.

According to Isidore (14.4.3), Lower Scythia consisted of Alania, Dacia and Gothia, which was connected with Scythia etymologically. The other authors who described this territory following Isidore mentioned the same lands as components of Lower Scythia. Orosius didn't write that Alania, Dacia and Gothia were Scythian when he described the eastern part of Europe (1.2.52–53): “*Incipit a montibus Riphaeis ac flumine Tanai Maeotidisque paludibus quae sunt ad orientem, per litus septentrionalis oceani usque ad Galliam Belgicam et flumen Rhenum quod est ab occasu descendens, deinde usque ad Danuuium quem et Histrum uocant, qui est a meridie et ad orientem directus Ponto accipitur. Ab oriente Alania est, in medio Dacia ubi et Gothia, deinde Germania est ubi plurimam partem Suebi tenent, quorum omnium sunt gentes LIII*”.

Alania, Dacia and Gothia are indicated on many medieval maps. On some of them (for example, on Anglo-Saxon map) there is a legend “*Dacia ubi et Gothia*”, a word combination used by both Orosius and Isidore. The Pseudo-Isidorean Vatican map shows the position of Scythia according to Isidore. This region is located to the east of the Caspian Sea. Lower Scythia and its three parts: Alania, Dacia and Gothia, - are in Europe. The mapmaker decided to delineate a border between Scythia and Germania and wrote: “*Hucusque Scythia*” (Scythia is up to here). The copy of the St. Victor map shows a similar arrangement.

Furthermore, Isidore (14.4.3) depicted the territories of Lower Scythia as barbarian (*Barbarica*). The barbarians (*barbari*) of the 8th century Albi map (Dan 2017) are located to the west of the Caspian Sea and correspond to such a description very well.

The infertility and riches of the Scythian land

Orosius wrote that the soil was unfertile in the lands of the Scythians and the Hyrcanians (1.2.47). According to Isidore, a lot of the Scythian territories were rich, but many were unpopulated. Some Scythians farmed, the others fed on human flesh (14.3.32): “*Ex quibus quaedam agros incolunt, quaedam portentuosae ac truces carnibus humanis et eorum sanguine vivunt. Scythiae plures terrae sunt locupletes, inhabitabiles tamen plures; nam dum in plerisque locis auro et gemmis affluent, gryphorum inmanitate accessus hominum rarus est. Smaragdis autem optimis haec*

patria est: cyaneus quoque lapis et crystallus purissimus Scythiae est". The description of this place by Solinus (early 3rd century A.D.) is very similar (15.22): "In Asiatica Scythia terrae sunt locupletes, inhabitabiles tamen; nam cum auro et gemmis affluent, grypes tenent uniuersa, alites ferocissimi et ultra omnem rabiem saeuientes. Quorum inmanitate obsistente ad uenas accessus rarus est, quippe uisus discernunt, uelut geniti ad plectendam auaritiae temeritatem". So both Isidore and Solinus admired different gemstones of this region but complained that access to them is difficult because of the griffons that were designated and even drawn on some maps: the Anglo-Saxon, Sawley, Ebstorf and Hereford *mappe mundi*. Solinus even tried to find some moral explanation for existence of such monsters as the griffons.

The griffons were mentioned as a barbaric tribe in the 7th/8th century *Cosmographia* of Aethicus Ister (Aethicus 1993: 118–119). According to this work, they lived near the Ocean, *proximam oceani partem*, beside the Hyperborean mountains and the Tanais: "inter alias gentes ad aquilonem iuxta Iperboriis montibus, ubi Tanais amnes exoritur, nimio frigore undique circumvallata inter oceanum et Tanaim gens inquieta, praedones aliarum gentium". Isidore located the Hyperborean mountains in Scythia (14.8.7): "Hyperborei montes Scythiae, dicti quod supra, id est ultra, eos flat Boreas".

The author of *Cosmographia* also mentioned the infertility of the soil and the gems from this region: "Ea regio nulla fruge utile gignit, bestiarum multitudinem et pecorum, equorum multitudinem eminentiores et utiliores, quam in alias gentes, simios et pantheras. Gignit plurimum cristallum et succinum lucidissimum et obdurantem uelut lapides et pulcherrimum". The mention of outstanding horses only accentuates that it is a nomads' region. And the griffons are perhaps considered as a nomadic folk in *Cosmographia*. The legend on the Anglo-Saxon map *Griphorum gens*, as well as the *Grife gentes* of Ebstorf map and the *Griste homines* of the Hereford map reflect considering the griffons as a people.

However, the maker of the Hereford map seems to distinguish between the people and the creatures. He wrote that the people of the griffons make their clothes and horsecloth out of the skin of their enemies: "Hic habitant Griste homines nequissimi: nam inter cetera facinora etiam de cutibus hostium suorum tegumenta sibi et equis suis faciunt". As to the griffons as a kind of creatures that inhabit Scythia, the maker of the Hereford map described them as having an eagle's head and wings and the body of the lion: "Griphes capitibus et alis aquileas, corpore leones imitantur; volando bovem portabunt". Moreover, it is said about the clashes between them and the *Arimaspi*: "Carimaspi cum griphis pro smaragdis dimicant".

The difference made between the *Griste homines* and the griffons can be explained by the fact that the mapmaker based these two cases on different sources. It is most probable that the idea regarding people was taken from the *Cosmographia* of Aethicus. However, it seems there is nothing about making clothes from the skin of the griffons' enemies in this work. Solinus' and Isidore's

works were the source of the idea of the griffons as creatures. Solinus wrote (15.23): “*Arimaspi cum his dimicant ut intercipient lapides, quorum non aspernabimur persequi qualitatem. Smaragdis hic locus patria est, quibus tertiam inter lapides dignitatem Theophrastus dedit; nam licet sint et Aegyptii et Calchedonii et Medici et Laconici, praecipuus est honos Scythicis. Nihil his iucundius, nihil utilius uident oculi*”. Moreover, the text of the Hereford map has some information about the appearance of the griffons that is not described by Solinus. However, Isidore wrote about them and the text of the *mappa mundi* is similar to one of his passages highlighted below (12.2.17): “*Grypes vocatur, quod sit animal pinnatum et quadrupes. Hoc genus ferarum in Hyperboreis nascitur montibus. Omni parte corporis leones sunt; alis et facie aquilis similes; equis vehementer infesti. Nam et homines visos discernunt*”.

The desert of Scythia, *desertum Scitiae*, is designated on the Heidelberg map (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Salem IX, 39, fols IV, 91). It corresponds with the statements of Orosius and Isidore about the infertility of Scythia, although the author of *Etymologiae* is ambivalent in this case. However, the Scythian wasteland is depicted in Egypt on the Heidelberg map: this area is in Asia to the south of the Nile. This *mappa mundi* represents a mixed type of scheme based on the four gulfs and T-O. The Nile, in contrast to the usual arrangement, is not a southern part of T, but adjoins the border between the two parts of the world on the eastern side. Along with the Scythian desert the Ethiopians and the desert of Upper Egypt are designated.

The localization of Egypt in Asia is not surprising because in general the Nile was considered as the border between Africa and Asia in the Middle Ages, so Eastern Egypt was in Asia from such a point of view. However, the southern localization of the Scythian lands is very unusual, because the Scythians were associated with the northeastern direction. Probably the confusion took place because in this case the designation *desertum* was considered not only as a wasteland but a land that hermits inhabit. So there is highly likely some kind of mixture of the Scythian wasteland and the early Christian monastic centre of Sketis west of the Nile delta just as it is depicted on the Heidelberg map (Chekin 2006: 245).

Scythia is a northern land

Some maps from the manuscripts of Christian Topography by Cosmas Indicopleustes show the Scythians. Only four peoples appear on such maps: the Indians, the Celts, the Ethiopians and the Scythians. Each of them is connected to one side of the world, so the cardinal directions are associated with different peoples although they are usually associated with winds on other maps. The Scythians occupy the north on Cosmas maps.

Besides the Scythians themselves Orosius mentioned the Scythian Sea (1.2.47), which is marked on the Pseudo-Isidorean Vatican Map and on the Ebstorf map as being in the northeast. As to Isidore, he mentions the Scythian Ocean (14.3.29) that is shown on the copy of the St. Victor Map. So, the Northern waters take the name of the Scythians.

The Scythian barbarity

The Scythians were described as wild, cruel and vicious savages on the most detailed monastery maps. The exceptions are rare. Many examples of such descriptions are on the Hereford map. There is a legend about the customs of the Scythian tribe Issedones to sing during their parents' funerals and to eat the flesh of the dead: "*Essedones Sithe hic habitant, quorum mos est parentum funera cantibus prosequi et congregatis amicorum cetibus corpora ipsa dentibus laniare ac pecudum mixtis carnibus dapes facere, pulcrius a se quam a tineis hec absumi credentes*" (cf. Solinus 15.13, the text is almost the same). One more legend is about another Scythian tribe, their passion for battles and their custom of making cups out of their enemies' skulls: "*Scitharum gens interius habitantium; asperior ritus. Specus incolunt, pocula non ut Essedones de amicis, sed de inimicorum capitibus sumentes. Amant prelia, occisorum cruorem ex vulneribus ipsis bibunt. Numero tedium honor crescit, quarum expertum esse apud eos prophanum est*" (cf. Solinus 15.15). Moreover, another inscription is about the hostility of another Scythian tribe towards foreigners: "*Scitotauri Sithe pro hostiis cedunt advenas*" (cf. Solinus 15.14).

However, it is said that one Scythian tribe refused avarice, using neither gold nor silver: "*Catharum Sithe usu auri argentique dampnato, in eternum a puplica se avaricia dampnaverunt*" (cf. Solinus 15.14). This name can be interpreted as a corruption of the *Satarchae* (mentioned by Solinus *ibid.*) that inhabited northern Crimea in antiquity. However, it could also be a mixture of the *Satarchae* and the Cathars, the heretical sect that believed all the material world to be a creation of the devil (Chekin 2006: 217).

All these legends about the Scythians have their origins in classical antiquity. The Scythians became some kind of symbol of ferocity and barbarism. Such a cliché was based on the image of the historic Scythians and then was applied to other nomadic peoples that came after them (Podossinov 2016).

The correlation between the Scythians and various nomadic tribes

The medieval maps show various tribes as Scythian. In particular, one of the maps from a copy of St. Jerome's works demonstrates very well that many nomadic tribes were united in the Middle Ages under the name of Scythians (Chekin 2006: 135). It lists *Huni Scite, Enochi Scite, Thalii Scite, Robasci Scite, Geloni Scite, Euri Scite*

(the Neuri), *Allipodes Scite* (the Callipides), and *Alani Scite*. All these peoples have their traditional location from the Ocean in the East up to Eastern Europe in the West, according to the map.

This map preserves the memory of the tribes that were considered as Scythian in antiquity. Moreover, it is very logical that the Alans were mentioned as Scythian folk because Alania was a part of Lower Scythia, according to Isidore. Josephus Flavius in his work *The Jewish War* described the raids of the Alans whom he considered to be Scythians (7.7.4): “Now there was a nation of the Alans, which we have formerly mentioned some where as being Scythians and inhabiting at the lake Meotis. This nation about this time laid a design of falling upon Media, and the parts beyond it, in order to plunder them; with which intention they treated with the king of Hyrcania; for he was master of that passage which king Alexander [the Great] shut up with iron gates. This king gave them leave to come through them; so they came in great multitudes, and fell upon the Medes unexpectedly, and plundered their country, which they found full of people, and replenished with abundance of cattle, while nobody durst make any resistance against them ... These Alans therefore plundered the country without opposition, and with great ease, and proceeded as far as Armenia, laying all waste before them. ... So the Alans, being still more provoked by this sight, laid waste the country, and drove a great multitude of the men, and a great quantity of the other prey they had gotten out of both kingdoms, along with them, and then retreated back to their own country”.

The idea of the closing of the passage for some tribes by Alexander the Great existed in connection to biblical Gog and Magog. This myth is told in the *Cosmographia* of Aethicus (Aethicus 1993: 137–141) and reflected on many medieval maps, first of all the Hereford, Ebstorf and Vercelli ones, on which the biblical tribes are located near the Caspian Sea. According to this eschatological concept, Gog and Magog would break free in the end times and would bring devastation to all peoples as comrades of the Antichrist. Understandably hordes of nomadic invaders coming from the East were often considered as Gog and Magog.

Many people in the Early Middle Ages thought that the Hungarians were these biblical tribes (Bloch 2003: 62). However, the Hungarians and Gog and Magog are always separated on *mappe mundi*: the Hungarians (*Hungari, Ungari*) or Hungary (*Hungaria, Ungaria*) are located in Europe near the Danube and the designation of Pannonia where they had settled down.

Moreover, it seems that some Turkic peoples, *Turchi*, were considered descendants of Gog and Magog (Aethicus 1993: 120): “*Gens ignominiosa et incognita, monstruosa, idolatria, fornicaria, in cunctis stupris et lupanariis truculenta, a qua et nomen accepit, de stirpe Gog et Magog*”. *Turchi* are designated on the monastery maps; the data about them on the Ebstorf and Hereford *mappe mundi* are based on the *Cosmographia* of Aethicus.

Moreover, the Tartars, who were always confused with the Mongols, were associated with Gog and Magog by Mathew Paris. On his maps, the Tartars were one of the peoples of Gog and Magog and were considered as the lost Jewish

tribes: “*Ceste terre est loing vers Bise. Ci mainent les nefz lignees ke li rois Alisandre enclot. Gog et Magot. De ci vindrent celes gentz k'em apele Tartarins, co dit hon ki tant unt les muntaines, tut soient eles de dure roche, cicelle e tranche a force, ke issue unt cunquis, e mut unt grant terres cunquis e destrut Inde numeement*” (the account of Mathew Paris about the Tartars in Matuzova 1979: 107–171, about the Jews: 120–122; see also Le Goff 2001: 37–39). The Tartars and the Cumans appear on portolan charts, for example on the Dalorto and Dulcert maps, as well as in the Catalan Atlas of Abraham Cresques (Fomenko 2011: 71–104).

As for other nomadic tribes, the map from St. Jerome's works shows the Massageteans, *Massagete*, as do some other maps. They were considered a Scythian tribe (Isidore 9.2.63): “*Massagetae ex Scytharum origine sunt. Et dicti Massagetae quasi graves, id est fortes Getae. Nam sic Livius argentum grave dicit, id est massas. Hi sunt, qui inter Scythas atque Albanos septentrionalibus locis inhabitant*”.

The Sauromate are designated as a Scythian tribe on the Hereford map: *Sauromate Sithe*. The Sauromate tribes are usually located in Asiatic Scythia on the monastery maps in contrast to the Sarmatian tribes who were considered as inhabitants of Europe. The Roman scholar Pliny the Elder, who mentions them among the Scythian tribes, explains that Sauromatae is a Greek form of the name of the Sarmatians (4.80): “*Sarmatae, Graecis Sauromatae*”.

As Pliny the Elder said, there was an attempt to apply the name of Scythians to the Sarmatians and the Germans but, according to his words, it remained only as a designation of the most remote and unknown tribes (4.81): “*Scytharum nomen usquequaque transiit in Sarmatas atque Germanos. Nec aliis prisca illa duravit appellatio quam qui extremi gentium harum, ignoti prope ceteris mortalibus, degunt*”. So in fact this ethnonym started to designate the most distant barbarians from the North East in general. Even the maker of the Hereford map highlighted this general sense: “*generaliter Sithia dicitur*”. Likewise on the Ebstorf map: “*et generaliter omnes Scithe dicuntur*”. The name of the Scythians was applied widely to ethnically and temporally unrelated groups in the Middle Ages. Moreover, the Scythians were regarded as one of the most ancient peoples (Chekin 2006: 243–244).

Conclusion

The concept of Scythia was very widespread among the mapmakers. The denomination Scythia was applied to vast territories of the Great Steppe. This designation overcame the boundaries of one people and became a generic designation for different nomads. On the one hand, the mention of Scythia reflects the memory of the historical nomadic people who inhabited the Eurasian Steppe from the 9th B.C. up until the 4th century A.D. and spoke mostly Eastern Iranian languages. On the other hand, the sense of such a concept as Scythia was enlarged. It became a symbol of a nomadic way of life. The scholars of the Middle Ages tried

to apply the ancient designations to the current situation, to match the knowledge from the texts with a new reality (Dalché 2013: 11). The Scythians, i. e. the nomads, the people of the Northeast, were considered as savages and as a destructive power. It is not surprising because they raided the Roman empire and the Christian peoples of Europe. The depictions of their barbarism and cruelty indicate the fear in the face of invaders, the fear of uncertainty in relation to poorly known lands, which brought forth and supported terrible and disgusting images of nomads' area in people's minds. Furthermore, the monastery *mappe mundi* reflected the Christian image of the world: unbaptized nomadic people are shown having bloody and impious customs, and their unholy lands are deserts, full of beasts and monsters. The church could claim the civilizing role of Christianity through such concepts, motivating the propagation of the religion and augmenting its influence.

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Personal Hygiene and Bath Culture in the World of the Eurasian Nomads

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Written sources on nomadic peoples often draw attention to the appearance of these tribes, including their garb, hairstyles and also personal hygiene. Although, in many instances it is a difficult task to uncover what the authors of such sources thought about the clothing, the headdress or the personal hygiene of any individual nomadic person.¹ In most cases, these accounts reflect general impressions only. Moreover, it is a verifiable fact that the authors who wrote about such nomads had never met a single one. Thus it is not a coincidence that there are lots of stereotypes and hostile statements in these sources.

In the last decades, a great number of scholars have dealt with the “general picture” of the nomadic peoples’ origins since Antiquity. Most of them noted that we have to reckon with a number of *topoi* in this picture (Kradin 2002, Beckwith 2009 etc.). Nevertheless we cannot think that every characterization of these accounts is mostly *topos*. One of the main reasons is that these accounts differ significantly when it comes to the question of the neatness of these peoples.

The remarks on the slovenliness of these groups harmonize well with the depreciative picture (that these peoples were barbarous, cruel, inhuman etc.) that the sedentary civilizations had of the nomads.

The Greek Agathias said: “*the hair of the Turks and Avars is unkempt, dry and dirty and tied up in an unsightly knot*” (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998: 18; cf. Nechaeva 2011: 176).

According to Ibn Faḍlān: “*Then we halted in the lands of a Turkic people, the Bāshghirds. We took every possible precaution against them, for they are the worst of the Turks, the dirtiest and the readiest to kill.*” (Lunde & Stone 2012: 23; Györffy 1986: 96–99; Kmoskó 1997: 48–49).

We could go on with this enumeration with other examples, but it is very surprising that not all of our sources describe them in this way.

For example, according to Gardīzī: “*The [nomadic] Magyars are handsome and pleasant looking, their bodies are bulky*” (Kristó et al. 1995: 38 cf. Zimonyi 2005: 259–260).

We might then ask: why these two very different attitudes exist?

¹ On the importance of haircuts in written sources and on the ethnospecific character of different hairstyles in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages see: Bálint 2006: 332.

This contradiction might be solved by supposing that the hygienic conditions of various nomadic groups differed hugely. Besides chronological and geographical reasons there might be other reasons as well. The problem is that there are some nomadic peoples (for example the Inner-Asian Turks or the early Hungarians) for whom there are really positive and absolutely hostile descriptions at the same time. That is why we cannot schematize this problem by assuming chronological or geographical differences. So, this problem is much more complicated.

Certainly to make a decision about whether a human group in a certain historical era was neat or untidy is impossible, because we cannot use our 21st century ideas of cleanliness in the cases of long-ago historical periods and no longer existing peoples. The well-groomed or clean communities of Antiquity or medieval times might seem to be untidy according to contemporary standards. So neatness is a very relative category. It is a very difficult task to decide whether the neatness of a certain nomadic man (for example an envoy in the Byzantine court) mirrored only his own preferences or was a general feature of his people. In my opinion, we will not be able to ever decide this question. But there is a social question related to the topic as well. A diplomatic envoy was always an aristocratic or a distinguished person in history, so if he was a clean and tidy man could that prove that every man and woman in his society was clean and tidy too? Did every social class live in the same hygienic conditions? I do not think so!

In my opinion nothing but the nomadic peoples' own, intrinsic sources and their archaeological remains may help us to solve these difficult problems. Unfortunately the written sources are really few in number (inscriptions in the Orkhon valley or the *Secret History of the Mongols* (Berta 2004; Ligeti 1962; Rachewiltz 2006),² but there is an interesting passage in the *Secret History* where Naiman, Chinggis' last major rival in the eastern steppe said that the Mongols' scent was strong and their clothing dark, that is, grimy (Rachewiltz 2006: 98). Thomas T. Allsen in connection with this passage drew attention to the long-lasting water taboo of the nomadic peoples. In the Mongolian period, there are lots of references from travellers and chronicles to a ban on the cleaning of one's person or clothing (Allsen 1997: 89). It was probably because that water was deemed to be one of the four basic constituents of the universe and had cosmological significance for Turks and Mongols as well. "*Moreover, from of rain it descended from heavens and therefore partook of Tengri, the sky deity and chief god*

² In these sources there are some indirect pieces of information as well like the mentions of different perfumes and ointments, for example "musk-scented brocade" (Bilgä Qayan N 11, Berta 2005: 192 - cf. King 2017: 27-28).

of the nomads. To use water in washing the body or the clothing was to pollute a cosmological element.” (Allsen 1997: 89).³

Thomas Allsen is right about the most of the nomadic peoples, but the sources discussed below somewhat shade this seemingly uniform picture. Not to mention that this does not explain our initial problem as to why some sources consider the nomads clean and others dirty.

The related minor archaeological finds are also small in number. We know mirrors,⁴ combs, tweezers and scent-jars from the nomadic cemeteries, mostly from the tombs of women (cf. Pálóczi Horváth 1996: 17; Révész 1998: 524–525; Garam 2001: 165; Lőrinczy–Straub 2003: 172 etc.). But because of their number and their limited scope, we cannot use them to reconstruct the hygienic customs of a bigger community or of the whole nomadic society. But the lack of remarkable related archaeological finds does not mean that hygiene procedures were absent. For instance, Herodotus wrote the following in connection with the Scythians: “...the Scythians cleanse themselves in the following way:—they soap their heads and wash them well, and then, for their body, they set up three stakes leaning towards one another and about them they stretch woollen felt coverings, and when they have closed them as much as possible they throw stones heated red-hot into a basin placed in the middle of the stakes and the felt coverings.” IV, 73 (Muraközi 2000; cf. Fritsche 1978: 3–8).

“The Scythians then take the seed of this hemp and creep under the felt coverings, and then they throw the seed upon the stones which have been heated red-hot: and it burns like incense and produces a vapour so thick that no vapour-bath in Hellas would surpass it: and the Scythians being delighted with the vapour-bath howl like wolves. This is to them instead of washing, for in fact they do not wash their bodies at all in water. Their women however pound with a rough stone the wood of the cypress and cedar and frankincense tree, pouring in water with it, and then with this pounded stuff, which is thick, they plaster over all their body and also their face; and not only does a sweet smell attach to them by reason of this, but also when they take off the plaster on the next day, their skin is clean and shining.” (IV, 75) (Muraközi 2000; cf. Fritsche 1978: 3–8).

It is not too difficult to see that the archaeological identification of an ‘object’ like this – a felt tent with hot stones and incense – is almost impossible. But we can see the same situation in the case of the “Turk bath” mentioned by

³ “It seems likely, too that this taboo was further reinforced by the belief that the aroma of the body is somehow associated with an individual’s essence or soul, an essence which should be preserved, not removed. Like shadows, reflection, and breath, body odor is insubstantial yet detectable and is therefore identified with the soul or spirit in some cultures”. (Allsen 1997: 89). I would like to thank Dr. Florence Hodous for drawing my attention to Thomas Allsen’s important book.

⁴ Mirrors of the barbarians of the Carpathian Basin from late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages have been collected by Eszter Istvánovits and Valéria Kulcsár (Istvánovits–Kulcsár 1993: 9–58). This topic has most recently been researched by Alexandra Caroline Moyer in her PhD thesis: Moyer 2012.

Constantinus Porphyrogennetos in the 10th century: “(The minsourator also brings) a Turkish bath, called in Scythian *tzerga* (τζεργά), with a hide cistern of red leather; 12 three-measure pitchers, 12 grates for the bath, bricks for the hearth, folding couches...” (De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae 466₄₋₅; Moravcsik 1988: 34; Kristó et al. 1995: 136).

Presumably *tzerga* was a special felt tent with a “travelling shower” made of red leather (Gyóni 1943: 133; Németh 1965: 231–234; Berta–Róna-Tas 2011). But these materials decompose in the soil that is why we have no exact information on the spread of these utensils among nomadic peoples. But since Constantinus suggested that the Byzantine soldiers use the *tzerga* it is likely that this kind of tool was well-known in the nomadic world as well.⁵

One thing is certain: important evidence could come from a bath built in the territory of nomadic peoples of abiding materials (stone, brick etc.). Maybe it is not an impossibility. The rhetorician Priscus who visited the camp of the Hunnic ruler Attila in the 5th century, wrote about an exciting bath: “After the king’s compound Onegesios’s was magnificent and also itself had an enclosing log wall. His was not equipped with towers like Attila’s rather there was a bath, not far from the enclosing wall, which Onegesios, as the pre-eminent man among the Scythians after Attila, built large by conveying stones from Paionia (Pannonia). The barbarians of the region do not have a stone nor even a tree, but they use imported wood in this way. The bath’s architect brought in from Sirmium as a prisoner of war, was expecting to receive his freedom as a wage for his contrivance, but he unexpectedly fell into worse hardship than slavery among the Scythians. Onegesios made him the bath attendant to serve him and his comrades while they were bathing.” (Blockley 1981–1983).

If we accept the most popular theory on the location of Attila’s headquarters, then we have to put Onegesios’ stone building on the Great Plain of Hungary near the river Tisza (Bóna 1993: 59–62; Thompson 2003: 91–103 etc.).⁶ Unfortunately up to now Hungarian archaeologists have not found the remains either of the capital city of Attila or of the bath of Onegesios.

Moreover we do not know what Onegesios’ nationality was. Most likely he was not of Hunnic origin (Maenchen-Helfen 1973: 389; Martindale 1980; Pritsak 1982: 459–460), so we have no clear evidence that the Huns used a bath. But we have

5 At the same time among the findings of the tombs of the Carpathian Basin from the Avar period we can find a special object type, that is, a bone mouthpiece. We cannot totally exclude the possibility that these objects also served to seal the water tanks made of skin mentioned by Constantinus Porphyrogennetos (cf. Erdélyi–Németh 1969: 180; Tomka 1971: 72, 80; Balogh–P. Fischl 2010: 203–204, 222, 253, 396, 404. etc.)

6 Moreover, we know of many Roman baths built before the arrival of the Huns in Transdanubia, the former Roman province of Pannonia, in the first half of the 5th century. It is a frequently expressed opinion that Roman infrastructure, such as roads and certain buildings could have been used in the Hun period as well. Thus we cannot exclude that during the migration of the Huns into Transdanubia these tribes could have seen (or used?) former Roman baths too.

some pieces of evidence in the case of other nomadic groups, for instance the 6th–7th-century Avars and the 11th-century Qumans. The Byzantine author, Theophylact Simocatta, wrote down the following story about one of the raids of the Avars:

“The Chagan [...] after destroying Augustae and Viminacium [...], he immediately encamped and blockaded Anchialus, and laid waste the surrounding villages; it is said that he did not disturb the hotwater baths: a story has reached us that here the Chagan's harem cleansed themselves, and that as reward for their pleasure they asked him not to demolish the bathhouses. It is said that these waters are beneficial for bathers and conducive to their health.” (Theophylactus Simocatta I, 3–4 cf. Whitby & Whitby 1997: 55; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998: 60; Olajos 2012: 78).

Possibly, when the Kagan of the Avars, whose name was Bayan, asked for some builders from the Emperor of Byzantium in order to build some baths in his land, this request did not take the Byzantine court by surprise. In addition we are aware of the end of the story: Bayan did not build a single bath but with the help of these builders he managed to build a bridge on the river Savus and finally occupied the city of Sirmium.⁷

The following passage is from the early chronicle of the Kievan Rus, that is, *Povest' vremennih let*. Its events took place 500 years after the siege of Sirmium:

“Vladimir then adopted their advice, and on that same night, sent Slavyata out between the ramparts with a small escort and some Torks [Qumans or Polovec groups]. They first stole Svyatoslav away, and then killed Kÿtan and slew his retinue. It was then Saturday night. Itlar' was passing the night in Ratibor's palace with his escort, completely ignorant of the fate of Kÿtan. On Sunday, the following day, about the hour of matins, Ratibor called his followers to arms, and commanded them to heat a room. Vladimir then sent his servant Bandyuk to Itlar's troop with an invitation to join the prince after they had dressed in the heated room and breakfasted with Ratibor. Itlar' accepted the invitation. But when they had entered the heated room, they were locked in. The Russes then climbed atop it, and made a hole in the roof. Then Ol'beg, son of Ratibor, took his bow, and fitting an arrow to it, shot Itlar' through the heart. They also killed his whole escort. Thus Itlar' lost his life in evil fashion on February 24, the first Sunday in Lent, at the first hour of the day.” (Cross & Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953: 180–181; Ferincz et al 2015: 167–168; Kovács 2014).

Given the above mentioned details we can establish that it is not a dicey assumption to suppose that those nomads who moved to the neighbourhood of the sedentary civilizations liked to use the baths of the Greeks, Romans or the Rus' (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998: 228). When the nomads became more distant from these centers of civilization the opportunity to use these achievements of the civilized world was reduced. Maybe it caused a decrease in the cleaning procedures among nomadic peoples as well.

⁷ It appears in the work of Zonaras (XIV, 11, 18–19); Ephraim (1125–1229) and of Iohannes Ephesinus as well (VI, 24) (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998: 228).

Thus it is not a coincidence that Ibn Faḍlān, who visited the Volga Bulgars, who lived far from these sedentary civilizations, in 921, almost enjoyed particularizing the disgusting details of the untidiness of these nomads:

“They shave off their beards and eat lice. A man will pursue one through the seams of his coat and crack it with his teeth. We had with us a man of this people who had converted to Islām and wo served us. One day, I saw him take a flea from his clothes and, after crushed it with his fingernails, he devoured it and on noticing me, said: ‘Delicious.’” (Lunde & Stone 2012: 23)

Or:

“Then, he stripped off the brocade garment he was wearing in order to put on the robe of honour we have just mentioned. I saw the tunic he was wearing under the brocade. It was so filthy that it was in rags, for it is their custom never to take off a piece of clothing they are wearing until it falls to pieces.” (Lunde & Stone 2012: 20)

Last but not least:

“They do not wash after polluting themselves with excrement and urine. They do not wash after major ritual pollution [i.e., having sexual intercourse], or any other pollution. They have no contact with water, especially in winter.” (Lunde & Stone 2012: 12)

The last item is especially important because it proves to be a key to solve the problem which I mentioned right at the start of this paper, namely: besides the dissimilar traditions of dissimilar groups, what other factors, such as geographical/regional differences (i.e. the distance from a sedentary civilization) or social distinctions or maybe a gender gap can explain the phenomenon of some sources writing about an untidy nomadic people while another group of sources considers the same people neat, clean and handsome?

The sentences of Ibn Faḍlān reveal the fact that the origin, the cultural background and the mentality of the author of any source is vital. Ibn Faḍlān came from a world where he could find thousands of baths in the 10th century. To use the Muslim bath i. e. the *hammāms* was a requirement for religious Muslims (Kiby 1995; Kéri 2002; Wirth 2011). They thought that they should look after their body as a gift from Allāh.

It was also an era when personal hygiene was an unimportant and neglected practice of everyday life in Europe. In the Middle Ages in Europe the authors did not stint on hostile remarks in connection with the raids, demolitions, and the mentality of the nomads but they very rarely wrote about their cleanliness or outfit. This was because after hundreds of years of bath culture of the Roman Empire in the Middle Ages the prevailing idea in connection with getting clean was based on the very popular father of the church, Saint Jerome, who wrote that bathing was not allowed for a professing Christian. So there was not a real gap between the personal hygiene of the nomads and the scripturists of the monasteries of Europe.

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An Archaeology of the Nomadic Groups of the Eurasian Steppes between Europe and Asia. Traditional Viewpoint and New Research Perspectives

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Introduction

The Eurasian nomadic peoples, as is well known, include a large group of peoples of various and different ethnic origins (mostly first Iranian and then Palaeo-Turkish) and of different chronological horizons (here we focus on the period from the Bronze Age to the Early Middle Ages). They have often been described in the historical documentation of the greatest sedentary political-states or imperial formations (Rome, Byzantium, Iran, China) as invaders respectively of Europe, the Near East and China. The archaeological evidence and remaining documentation on them, nonetheless, is rather complicated to interpret and clearly attribute, especially as far as the ethno-cultural characterization of the related material culture.

There are many cases, in fact, where the material culture attributable to a group of nomadic Eurasian people presents morphological, typological and functional characteristics similar to those of another. Firstly, as can easily be imagined, this issue refers to the theoretical discussion and debate concerning the very definition of pastoral nomadism in ancient Eurasia and the difficulties in identifying its very nature and complexity. The traditional Soviet school and the neo-evolutionist interpretation regarding the early states and chiefdoms (Service 1962; Fried 1967; Claessen and Skalnik 1980) at first dominated the principal studies on the matter. Then, the role given by other schools of thought to dependency/independency factors in the birth and evolution of pastoral nomadic society (Khazanov 1978a; 1978b; 1984; Barfield 1993; Kradin 2002; 2014; Di Cosmo 2002; 2009; and Honeychurch 2010; 2013; 2014) dramatically expanded the conceptual system of reference used up to that point.

The rather strong criticism of the crucial role played by the political formations of the chiefdoms advanced by other scholars (Yoffee 2005; Pauketat 2007; Sneath 2007) further contributed to the development of the debate. Finally, conceptual alternatives to the key role of chiefdoms, the ideas of hierarchy (settlements, burials, concentration of long distance prestige grave goods in elite burials and their reflection in ideological systems) and heterarchy (standardized mode of life in architecture; absence of rank in mortuary practices, dispersal distribution of long distance prestige grave goods, universalized cosmology and religious cults)

(Crumley 1995; Kradin Bondarenko Barfield 2003 (eds.); Honeychurch, Amartuvshin 2006; Hanks Linduff 2009; Houle 2010; Golden 2011; Legrand 2011; Frachetti 2012), have, during the last decades, represented further steps in this long debated archaeological and socio-anthropological discussion.

Historical Outline

The generic denomination of steppe nomadic or seminomadic peoples encompasses the varied groups who have at times inhabited the steppes of Central Asia, Mongolia, western China and what is now Russia. They most probably contributed to the domestication of the horse, vastly increasing the possibilities of their specific nomadic life, and subsequently emphasized horse-breeding, horse-riding and pastoralism. This, usually, involved trading with settled peoples around and along the steppe edges. They developed new innovations such as the use of chariot, wagon, horse riding and archery, introducing items such as bit, bridle, and the very late stirrups; innovations which crossed the steppe-land at a very rapid rate and were eventually imitated by the settled peoples themselves. The first macroscopic archaeological evidence of this are the archaeological remains in Sintašta, in southern Russia, near the present town of Chelyabinsk, where kurgans, horse and char burials are dated to the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. “Horse people”, then, is a generalized and obsolete term for such nomads, as the term is also sometimes used to describe hunter-gatherer peoples of the North American prairies and South American pampas who started using horses after the Europeans brought them to the Americas.

In the western steppes the most famous group of early nomads were the ones from “Scythia”, a loosely defined region spanning from the Black Sea to eastern Mongolia and a loose political-state formation or federation of groups of peoples covering most of the steppe-land that originated as early as 8th century B.C., and composed, mainly, of Iranian languages speakers. These different groups of Scythians waged war on neighboring civilizations such as the Persians, Greeks, and Mesopotamians.

In the 6th century B.C. the Achaemenid political-imperial state formation, and later Alexander the Great expanded into the edges of the western steppes where the result was a mixing of nomadic and sedentary cultures. The Roman army hired Sarmatians as elite cavalymen and Europe was exposed to several waves of migrations by “horse people”, from the Cimmerians or pre-Scythians in the 9th century B.C. onward, down to the Migration Period in the early Middle Ages, the Mongols and Seljuks in the late Middle Ages, the Kalmuk, the Kyrgyz and later Kazakhs, down into modern times.

The earliest example of the migration of a “horse people” may be that of the Proto-Indo-Europeans themselves, following the domestication of the horse in the 4th millennium B.C.; and Cimmerians might be the first instance of “equestrian”

steppe nomads known from historical sources who probably contributed to transform the horse from a towing to a mounted animal. Their military strength was, consequently, always based on cavalry, usually marked by prowess as mounted archers.

With these types of nomads specific "burial mounds", the Kurgans, are associated; this generic term indicates graves containing sometimes very elaborate burials. The concept of horse-people was of some importance in 19th century scholarship, in connection with the rediscovery of Germanic pagan culture by Romanticism, which idealized the Goths in particular as a heroic horse-people. Nomadism persists in the steppe-lands, though it has generally been disapproved of by modern states, who have often discouraged it with varying degrees of coercion.

Pastoral Nomadism

The pastoral nomadism of the Central Asian steppes represented one of the greatest forms of economic specialization and cultural adaptation that mankind has ever witnessed (Hazanov 1975; Tosi 1989). This exceptional socio-economic phenomenon was possible only when particular ecological conditions prevailed, which in turn depended upon other factors. Considered from the dawn of time as the best land for grazing and cereal farming, the steppes have always witnessed a mixed economy, in which grazing is combined with farming in different ways, at different times and using different techniques. Farming, despite what is commonly believed, was, therefore, a precondition for grazing which, in this context, appears to have been a choice determined by the conditions of the time and the general rules of economic development. It is, thus, conceivable that there existed a dynamic society in which the nomadic alternative represented a choice made by the semi-nomad or semi-farmer regarding an existential renewal that could be adapted to new geographical, historical and other conditions (Weissleder 1978). This is a typical example of adaptation, in that specialization in animal husbandry represents a response by agro-pastoral groups to the economic uncertainty lurking in outlying areas with low agricultural productivity (Tosi unpublished paper: 23). The high degree of specialization of this mixed economy gradually laid the foundations for an ecological transformation of one of the most fertile areas into one more suitable for grazing which, although constantly gaining momentum, never became irreversible (Tosi 1989). This trend has been considered by other scholars to be the effect of a change in the climate in Middle Asia where, from the 2nd millennium, drier weather prevailed over formerly more humid conditions. Considerable importance has been attached to the study and analysis of ancient pastoral nomadism by researching modern comparative types. By comparing later conditions in Central and Middle Asia, where a certain type of more or less highly developed pastoral nomadism was still practised until recently an attempt was

made to identify factors required to demonstrate analogies between ancient nomadism and modern nomadism. In particular, it is the analysis of the social structure of these conditions, using an anthropological and ethnographic approach, that has attracted the attention of numerous scholars. With the help of historiographical sources, the latter have attempted to find confirmation of the various archaeological interpretations of early nomadism. The ethno-historical data gathered by 18th century travellers and geographers, such as that referring to the Kalmyk hordes (Pallas 1771), forms an essential point of reference for successive researchers and enriches the historical-cultural debate on the forms of socio-political organization of pastoral nomadism. On the basis of a cultural-ecological approach, researchers have always tended to hover between an almost absolute determinism, as a result of which pastoralism is considered simply to be produced by the steppe environment, and a blind ethno-archaeological faith, as a result of which the conditions of early pastoral nomadism differ comparatively little from those of contemporary nomadism. The broad and penetrating view of Lattimore (1951; 1962), although based on the concept of frontier and on the significance of the latter in the Chinese empire, opened up new lines of possible interpretation and had an effect on all studies of Central Asian pastoral nomadism. He was the first to point out the close links between the pastoral world of the steppes and the agricultural world of the vast cultivated areas, which had hitherto been considered both as opposites and as social and political phenomena extraneous to each other. Within the concept of frontier, no longer viewed as a dividing line, but as an extensive area of cultural interaction, this scholar attempted to provide a “functional” explanation of the birth of pastoral societies through what he defined as the five stages of the transition from marginal agricultural conditions to actual pastoral nomadism:

- 1) abandonment of irrigation agriculture and transformation of the countryside into a steppe type;
- 2) increased dependence on animal production owing to lack of cereal storage facilities;
- 3) growing need to travel in order to exploit pastures;
- 4) increased skill in handling herds of horses;
- 5) growing horsemanship skills.

The contributions of Krader (1955a; 1955b; 1978) also practically reversed the conventional notions of pastoral nomadism and still represent an irreplaceable methodological point of reference. The American scholar made a lengthy analysis of the social structure of the steppe-nomads, providing a basis for the identification of the evolutionary factors bearing on it (Tosi unpublished paper: 11). Clearly emphasizing the consanguineous and political aspects of social structure, Krader underlines how patrilinearity represents the essential principle of family structure and clan organization. These analyses of the social structure of the nomadic peoples have clearly shown how all the contemporary pastoral societies of Eurasia included, above all, nuclear and

polygynous families in addition to those of the “extended” type. The predominance of these small families is of course accounted for by the specific nature of the nomadic economy which, in view of the spatio-temporal coordinates of animal husbandry, tends strongly towards a fragmentation of labour. Although monogamy was the rule, polygamy was also retained among the “marriage” rules, though as a practice it was barely tolerated. The nomadic family system, rigidly based on “lineality” and “locality”, i.e. on direct descent on a local basis, displayed the lack of flexibility typical of all clan and tribal organizations. In time, however, the system became increasingly flexible, and was also extended outwards with the establishment of relations based on a tributary type of dependence. The broadening of the social base allowed groups of conquered peoples to yield some of their produce and to discharge obligations of various kinds, without this actually becoming a true form of integration into the socioeconomic structure of the pastoral nomads. This most characteristic form of tributary dependence gradually became the factor which activated an elementary system of class relationships, leading to a type of outwardly directed exploitation rather than one within the social structure. The elite is, for the most part, made up of a clan-type aristocracy with a certain internal differentiation based on blood relations, and by a number of worshippers or priests. This was conceivably the case also for early pastoral nomadism, although it is not always easy, in specific cases, to determine the actual mechanism of these social relations.

At the top of the social pyramid lay the “real” clan, the descendants of which were reckoned exclusively through the father/son relationship, while supreme power was held by the dominant clan in its entirety. The latter was probably able to implement power-sharing by delegating each member of the clan to administer a given group and assigning him a grazing area; a combination of socio-economic factors, including limited productivity, a certain instability, the total absence of intensive farming and private ownership of the land and pastures historically precluded the rise of a true dominant socio-economic class in nomadic society. Certain forms of mutual aid and cooperation remained necessary, above all politico-military organization, which was also based exclusively on the clan and tribe structure. Scholars have never reached full agreement on the social organization of the nomadic peoples. Without ever succeeding in establishing a true political leadership, these peoples gradually built up increasingly extended social units based on the original nuclear family. In this way they succeeded in creating a socio-political system that is very hard to define, as at different times it was post-tribal, pre-state or even imperial. In view of the complexities involved in using social evolution as a unit of measure (Service 1962), it may be claimed that, at the lowest level of political-social organization, i.e. that of the band and then of the tribe, the social solidarity systems are composed to an equal extent of lineages, clans, age groups or residential associations. As one progresses towards early societies with traces of social segmentation, the lineages, by joining in various

degrees, strengths and ways, become the most important factor in social organization. The preservation of this social unity is based on the need for association, for the purposes of both attack and common defence, based on a common ethnos or history (Sahlins 1961; 1963; Rappaport 1967).

In these kinds of societies, leadership, which is hereditary, is invested in important figures that usually have a previous history of leadership and, when the need arises, are called upon to display their worth during the numerous feasts and meetings of a competitive nature, in which they are involved from an early age. These feasts and competitions represent the fundamental occasions of social aggregation and meeting characterized by an accumulation of food and goods above and beyond the needs of domestic consumption. The surplus thus produced is then directed towards numerous ritual and/or trading activities. This is the level at which, particularly in the pastoral societies, one attains a form of primitive "planning" where the fact of being dependent on a comparatively stable decision-making apparatus to some extent makes it possible to plan things that could not be planned before. This level of social complexity is probably the broadest system of subsistence adaptation, within which the various degrees of pastoralism and agropastoralism can develop. Indicators of the existence of such "planning" within the pastoral socioeconomic system may be observed precisely during the festive competitions, during which large stocks of food can be gathered and stocked. Other typical features of this level of social development, such as asymmetrical cattle lending mechanisms, or the unequal number of wives among men, or of head of cattle useable for sacrifices, are some of the existential modes capable of ensuring planning efficiency. A higher level of social organization than the tribe, which has recently been re-proposed (Carneiro 1982; Earle 1987), is the chiefdom. This is made up of political systems in which a number of lineages are held together by the awareness of a common kinship history. The predominant lineage is defined in terms of the value of its position of direct descent or that of its (alleged) relationship with an ancestor. This system ensures the exercise of a stable leadership by fixing all the rank levels in their genealogical position. The establishment of more complex chiefdoms, i.e. systems with richer hierarchical stratification of the ruling classes, led to the rise of other collateral social institutions, as the basic family units are of the multigenerational type and the kinship terms generally of a classificatory nature. The extension of the family base, thus, produces more complex systems in which the ancestors of the leading family are virtually deified and subjected to genealogical worship. In turn, the leaders, whose command systems are considered to be practically sacred, form and/or demand constantly increasing powers, also of a supernatural nature, such as those that can occasionally be yielded during ritual feasts and weddings. The chiefdom type of socio-political system can also be considered as a redistribution mechanism, in the sense that the leaders periodically succeed in collecting from the members of their political system and their subordinates tributes in the form of goods and food supplies. At the same time, they liberally distribute goods and craft

products (Service 1962: 144). This redistribution mechanism is used to finance a life of luxury for the chiefs and their associated elite. Absolute supremacy is guaranteed through the organization of meetings, banquets, rituals, which often provide the occasion for the “symbolic” distribution of the surplus. What distinguishes the complex chiefdom systems from the simpler ones is the large number of hierarchical levels among the authorities and the chief’s ability to impose his authority. The principle of kinship, through which the groups still feel that they are bonded in the chiefdom systems, disappears without a trace in the early state formations precisely because it is, in most cases, a pure invention. The early states may still be marked by kinship relationships, but the political significance of the latter has now been largely superseded by that of institutions established and based directly on territoriality and the principle of royalty. Compared with the preceding forms of leadership, royalty has clearer and stronger rules of succession. This is because a rudimentary form of permanent bureaucracy made up of functionaries, orderlies and administrators, who contribute to guaranteeing the existing social order, begins to exist. The stability of the military defence system is ensured by means of compulsory military service so as to provide an army, and food production tends to be regulated directly by specialists. However, in agro-pastoral regimes, the latter will never become an absolute rule.

The early states differ profoundly from the chiefdom political formations in two main respects, which can also be archaeologically identified:

- 1) the bureaucratization of the system of staple finance (i.e. a system of financing in kind) (Polanyi 1968: 186–188 and 324), by means of the establishment of collection centres for the purpose of storage;
- 2) the setting up of intermediate communities for the purpose of consolidating regional hegemony and of regulating craft production and trade.

The creation of actual emporia or specialized trading centres, set up in outlying locations in a territorial subdivision, generally occurs amongst settled societies, though it is a phenomenon also present amongst the pastoral societies. This aspect is not necessarily an indication of the existence of state structures although it certainly reflects the importance reached by long and medium distance trading as a source of goods and wealth for the aristocracy (Hodges 1982). The most immediate effects of the transformation of socio-political systems of the complex chiefdom type to early states is increased territorial size of the settlements, the presence of extra-urban communities, of areas for specialist craftsmen, increased use of labour in the construction of celebrative buildings (temples?), the luxury nature of grave goods and a strongly sustained long distance trade. All these characteristics already existed in embryonic form at the time of the transition from simple to complex chiefdoms (Gibson and Geselowitz 1988). On the basis of this evidence it is no easy task to establish the level of social evolution attained by nomadic shepherds in Eurasia. It can, however, safely be stated that only rarely did they achieve a state type of political organization like the sedentary peoples.

Ecsedy's (1972; 1977) observations on the Turkic political-state formation between the 6th and 8th centuries A.D. appear fundamental in this regard. On the basis of the terminology used in the Chinese sources, the Hungarian scholar has succeeded in establishing a link between political valences and lineage relations. She sees the formation of the Turkic political-state formation as a process of aggregation after clashes and conflicts from which a dominant lineage emerged triumphant. However, even when the nomadic populations attain a state type of political organization it is so short-lived that its subsequent development is substantially curtailed. Furthermore, the latter stage is attained only during the process of the nomads conquering urban type farming societies. On such occasions, the state type entities established basically represent the political effect of the struggle between the conquering pastoral societies and the conquered agrarian societies. They have been divided by researchers (Hazanov 1975) into two main types: the first based on a tributary type relationship, when integration between nomads and the agrarian population essentially takes place at the political level; the second, characterized by full integration of shepherds and nomads in the infrastructures of the sedentary type of socioeconomic structure. The first type of state has been compared with the so-called second Scythian Kingdom, with the Hun Empire, or the Kaganate of the Khazars, and the Golden Horde. It has been further subdivided into two variants: the first, in which the entity's development comes to an end with the actual occupation of the farmlands, which practically takes the nomads backwards in social development as for instance in the case of the European Huns and, much later, in that of the third Scythian Kingdom and that of the Uighurs.

A second type of state, albeit un-codified, which is thought to have subsumed the first, has been related to the establishment of a social relationship between the conquerors and the conquered. This relationship allows the nomadic component to be rapidly transformed into the dominant class of the sedentarized population or else to merge rapidly with it. The remainder of the nomadic population in this case retains a special status as supplier of military contingents, though it gradually disappears completely. This third type of state, although owing its very existence to the presence of nomads, is thought to have its dominant socioeconomic relationships determined by the socio-political level attained in the regions highly characterized by farming (Parthia, the Kushan State, the Seljuk Empires, the Osmands and the Khulagids). The peculiarly "mobile" nature of the main goods possessed by the nomads, cattle, did not prevent them from representing the very essence of the nomads' individual and private family property. It should be pointed out that the private ownership of land seems to not only have preceded the advent of pastoralism as such but also, in some way, to have represented one of the essential prerequisites. The ties of territorial property are not originally related to forms of nomadic life but begin to appear with the first forms of sedentary settlement, where the relationship between man and territory undergoes a profound change. Nomadic social organization is based on the clan and tribal

relationships, which are probably also further subdivided in various ways. Not necessarily based on a rigid military organization as has always been believed, it was instead supported by strong principles of genealogical kinship, although the latter, in more than one case, was mere instrumental pretence (see below). The various forms of pastoral nomadism identified so far in the Central Asian steppes and competently summarized by Khazanov (1978a: 119-125), are characterized by 5 main groups:

1. absolute mobility of the whole population, without fixed itineraries (Scythians in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C., Huns in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., Avars in the 6th century A.D., Hungarians in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D., Turks (Oghuz in South-Russia) in the 10th century A.D.;
2. mobility of the whole population with comparatively unstable itineraries, with unstable winter centres (contemporary nomadism in the driest regions of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Mongolia);
3. mobility of the entire population with fixed itineraries, set winter quarters and an absence of agriculture (Sarmatians, and modern Kalmyks and part of the Kazakhs);
4. mobility of the entire population during the spring, summer and autumn, with winter quarters in permanent settlements (a form of nomadism characterized by the predominance of cattle raising and ancillary agriculture);
5. mobility of the population during specific parts of the year, the rest of the time being spent in sedentary life (semi-nomadism).

The latter two categories, rather than that of pure nomads, seem to be the ones to which the majority of the Eurasian steppe nomads belong; although cattle raising is always found to prevail over farming. The development of the pastoral economy in Central Asia, to the extent to which it can be reconstructed on the basis of archaeological and historical documents, is marked by several fundamental stages between its origins and the late Middle Ages:

1. birth of a specialized economy (cattle-breeding in the context of a mixed economy);
2. use of equids as draught animals;
3. use of wheeled carts (Piggot 1983: 57-63);
4. development of the two-wheeled horse-drawn war chariot;
5. fully mobile pastoralism and military use of horsemen (Equestrian Nomadism);
6. military use of heavy cavalry and first introduction of stirrups starting in the 4th century A.D. (China and Korea).

The gradually generalized use of carts, chariots and the horse created hitherto undreamed of political opportunities for the development and growth of new elites. This further social specialization developed in mixed socioeconomic

conditions (agricultural and/or pastoral) on the more fertile edges of the steppe, i.e. in those areas where farming cultures had previously flourished more vigorously. It is difficult to ascertain where these political phenomena actually did occur, although on the basis of current archaeological knowledge various and differing possible areas have been proposed. Some scholars (Renfrew 1987) have proposed the edges of the southern forest-steppe belt, west of the Eurasian steppe in Ukraine (neolithic cultures of the Cucuteni and Tripolye) or the lands to the north of the Caucasus between the Black Sea and the Caspian, or the farmlands of Turkmenistan (along the Kelteminar culture line in Central Asia) or any other area in the east with a long standing farming tradition, such as the Yangshao culture in China. Other scholars (Silov 1959; Merpert 1977) instead stressed the importance of different areas, more properly collocated in the Steppe area, where the cultures of Srubnaja, Katakomba, Jamnaja, Srednij Stog or Andronovo spread from.

Ethnic and Identity Groups

Given this state of the art, the interpretative processes concerning the traits of material culture in general, and several types and forms of objects used by the Eurasian nomadic peoples in particular, remain numerous. All are characterized by rather insurmountable obstacles in the identification of each single nomadic group. It goes to the same time that such amount of objects has been, prevalently, found in funerary contexts, including the famous tumulus-like “burial mounds”, named with the equally well-known word “kurgan”.¹

Naturally the social complexity of nomadic societies has always been funded on the close relationship between the family (most likely a nuclear or restricted family) and kinship groups, small communities, lineage, clan, tribe and chiefdom. Communities, lineages and clans were based on either distinctly real or fictitious kinship as well as on seasonal labor cooperation (repairing wells and sheep shearing), on the necessity of defending fellow tribesmen and on the performance of common rites. They also bonded around common causes such as well digging, festival organizing (for weddings and initiations), funeral, rites and feuds. All of these kinds of social interactions contributed to the formation of group identity.

Identity was also forged through oft-repeated rituals and ceremonies. Such joint activity was a good means of social integration. As a result, a social landscape was created that reminded descendants of their common ancestors and

¹ These monumental burials (Jakobson 1987) served as landmark for a community in perpetual movement and constituted the receptacle of symbolic and sacred values of the community. They also acted as a social regulation factor emphasizing and guaranteeing linear descent, also allowing the reconstruction of the lineage. In the meantime, these earth or stone buildings contribute to sacralising the territory around them and keeping the community together. These funerary monuments in particular were often used in periodic ritual ceremonies.

strengthened their identity. One way or another, nomadic polities were divided into several segments, the relationship between which was governed by real or fictitious genealogies. There were several segmental levels down to small communities and single households. The polities were fluid and unstable. They were constantly divided, recreated and reconstructed by peaceful and forcible means.

One may assume that ethnicity is a primordial and permanent characteristic of individuals at birth that is fixed in cultural norms (language, traditions, origin and territory) and is reflected in archaeological results. One may assume on the contrary that ethnicity is not conferred at birth, but is rather a construct acquired by the individual in the course of socialization. The image of an ethnic group is in the mind of each person and ethnicity is of a situational nature and can change with differing circumstances. Thus ethnic identity is continually reconstructed, reinvented and contested.

Ethnic groups are created in the course of intellectual influences of the cultural, political and religious leaders and elites on the masses. This influence contributes to the political mobilization and establishment of ethnic and political units. Ethnic identity depended on the commitments of the people to the chief and his clan, under whose name and banner they battled. The notion of ethnic devotion to the nation in that time period seems odd. One may suggest the motivation of loyalty to the chief or family group, but not devotion to the nation or country. The characteristics of ancient nomadic peoples were an overlap of ethnic and political terminology. Thus ethnic symbols were predominantly political.

Archaeological Correlates

Finally I would like to dedicate some conclusive remarks to two of the main expressive ways of technical-stylistic, figurative and/or of visual capabilities that many peoples referable to the typology of nomads and semi-nomads of the steppe have been able to realize; the so-called “animal style”² and “rock-art”.

“Animal style” was widely used and appears, at the level of archaeological documentation, in different periods and regions (from southern Russia up to Siberia and beyond, from the Bronze Age to the Medieval period), despite cultural ways of life and existential approaches that were sometimes distant and even different from each other. They were united, nevertheless, by the aspects reflecting

² It is rooted in a vast spiritual, religious and magical substratum, where depictions of deer, felines, and birds of prey are preferred. Whole figures or anatomical details of the animals are rendered at the same time in a realistic and fantastic way. The image mixes the naturalistic elements of the animal's body and encodes them, selects them, deforms them and repeats them. The meaning of animal representations is related to totemism, shamanism, and protective and apotropaic functions.

pastoral nomadism, which, ultimately, marked a difference with the cultural world of the sedentary peoples.

This style has its roots in a vast spiritual, religious and sometimes magical substrate and prefers depictions of felines as well as deer and other prey, whose anatomical details are rendered in a way that is both realistic and fantastic, as seen in particular in the representations and positions of the animal, like the “flying gallop”, the “contortionism”, the “dancing” and the “zoomorphic conjunction” etc. These images mix natural elements of the animal's body and encode, select, deform and repeat them. The meaning of this kind of animal representation is considered to be related to totems and shamanism, protector and apotropaic functions; realistic and the fantastic combine in a quite unusual way reminiscent of hyperrealism.

Rock-art in its cyclical return and rituality represents a late prehistoric Eurasian cultural phenomenon mostly from Central Asia, Mongolia and China, and representations were often in the open-air, on boulders and stone-walls. They expressed through a sophisticated engraving technique ways and modes of living and occupying the territory since Bronze/Iron Age, and have different chronological assessments, specific typology, and iconography. Rock-art, through iconographic values including the “animal style” already widespread over the immense related territory, most probably expressed a kind of rituality where water sources, pastoral campsites, and engravings represent a unified practical and conceptual vision.

A contextual approach between rock-art, rituality, and landscape helps one to understand in a long-term perspective the ancient related sites as they combine with the present seasonal campsites of the pastoral movement with their cyclical return, reiteration, rituality and palimpsest panels.

The local inhabitants materialise a complex and conscious way of being in the mountain landscape in this palimpsest rock-art where we can see the confirmation of the hypothesis of a reiteration of the engraving action over time, possibly mirroring the recurrent seasonal returns to certain pastoral sites in the mountains over time.

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Military-religious Orders and the Mongols around the Mid-13th Century

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The present study aims to analyze the activity of the major military-religious orders (Hospitallers, Templars, and Teutonic Knights) during the Mongol invasion in the mid-13th century (c.1240–1260). The geographical frame of the study covers both East-Central Europe and the Levant as these regions were at the forefront of Christian–Mongol struggles in the period under query. Although these religious communities are known among scholars of the field, it seems advisable to briefly review the major characteristics of these orders in order to properly understand the role they played during the fight against the Mongols. By the same token it also seems crucial to figure out a clear demarcation line between the brethren of the military-religious orders and the crusaders, since the commonplaces of recent decades have led to several misunderstandings concerning the status of the professed brothers and those who took the cross.

The order of the Hospital (also known as the Knights of St. John or Hospitallers) became independent from the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in 1114 in Jerusalem. The institution grew out of a lay confraternity which was attached to the Santa Maria Latina Benedictine community in the Holy City. The members of the confraternity ran a guest-house (*hospitium*, *xenodochium*), originally (from around the 1070s) for Italian merchants from Amalfi, an institution which housed the growing number of pilgrims following the success of the First Crusade (1099). A decade and a half later the community started establishing guest-houses (*hospitia*) along the major pilgrim-routes leading from Europe to the Holy Land both on sea and land. In order to accelerate the activity of the Hospitallers, the popes (Paschalis II and his successor) not only provided protection for the new autonomous corporation but also secured numerous privileges (*exemptio*) to enable the community to respond to pilgrims' needs. It is to be emphasized that the Hospitallers' primary goal was not the care of the sick but rather to provide shelter for those travelling on Christ's business (*negotium Christi*) towards the Holy Land (Riley-Smith 2010; Riley-Smith 2012).¹ Though the chronology is still debated, most scholars of the field agree that by the 1160s the Order of the Hospital had gone through a several decades-long process of militarization. By the last third of the 12th century the Hospitallers completed almost the same military functions as did the Templars. The shift in the Hospitallers' basic attitude was so fundamental that

¹ Throughout the present study I prefer references to international scholarly literature but at times there are only Hungarian studies available.

in the 1170s the papal curia warned its “beloved sons” that their primary duty was the service of the poor (Riley-Smith 2012: 36). Military activity meant from the 1120s to participate in war councils, to recruit and garrison troops at the Order’s expense, to defend/control strongholds and, ultimately, to fight the infidel in battles.

Hospitality had also been the basic activity for the poor knights of the Temple of Solomon, known as the Templars from the very beginning of the 12th century. After the capture of Jerusalem from the Muslims, several European knights remained in the Holy Land, despite the fact that they had fulfilled their crusader vow. By 1119/20, similarly to the Hospitallers, they established a lay confraternity based in the Holy City. They received a building from the King of Jerusalem for the purpose of a headquarters in the very part of the city where the Temple of Solomon was supposed to have been centuries before. As is clear by now, this was not the place of the temple, close to the al-Aqsa mosque, nonetheless, the knights and the Order used this headquarters for two centuries. A decade later, the Order received papal protection at the Council of Troyes (1129) where the fundamentals of their rule (*regula*) were also laid down. The Templars’ primary duty was to safeguard the pilgrims arriving in the Holy Land and visiting the holy places. Even those territories which fell under Christian control were regarded as unsafe for unarmed travelers. Meeting such expectations, the Knights of the Temple soon assumed the same role as the Hospitallers, fighting the infidel and defending strongholds in Outremer (Barber 1994). One of the major differences in comparison with the Hospitallers is that the brethren of the Temple were mostly French while the balance among the Knights of St. John tended towards the Italian preceptories. The territorial distribution became somewhat striking upon the establishment of the third major military-religious order, the community of the Teutonic Knights.

The foundation of this “German” order coincided with the siege and (re)capture of Acre in 1190/91 from the Muslims. Merchants and pilgrims from Bremen and Lübeck established a shelter for German pilgrims in Acre with the same purpose as the Hospitallers decades earlier in Jerusalem. Although there is a prevailing legend concerning the foundation of the Teutonic Order in the 1120s in Jerusalem, no convincing proof has been found so far. Being backed by the Empire, the newly founded order soon reached the same level of privileges and exemptions that the Hospitallers and Templars had received decades earlier. Moreover, the original hospitality-focused community became a *par excellence* military order by the very end of the 12th century and thus, it resembled the activity of the Knights of St. John. The difference between them was geographical rather than functional in nature. In the light of the later activity of the Teutonic Order of the Holy Virgin most readers may automatically think of Prussia or the Baltic region but historically their “early” sphere of action was the Holy Land and Southern Italy: Apulia and Sicily (Militzer 2005: 35–38).

Simultaneously with the foundation of the Teutonic Order, the headquarters of the Templars and that of the Hospitallers moved to Acre in 1191, to the capital of the Latin Kingdom until 1291. By this period the *status quo* of the Outremer had fundamentally changed. The Muslims had recaptured a remarkable part of Syria and Palestine between 1174 and 1192. What was left in the hands of the Franks were the port cities along the Mediterranean coast from Ascalon (modern Ashkelon) to Jabala (Jableh). Admittedly, it was a narrow but very important corridor for long-distance trade leading from the Far East towards Europe. The first third of the 13th century saw several struggles for the possession and control of these towns as well as for the commercial relations concerned in the Levant (Balard 1998). From our present perspective, the Teutonic Order was the first to get in contact with the Mongol advance, though, at first, indirectly. King Andrew II of Hungary (1205–1235) invited the Teutonic Knights into the south-eastern edge of the Carpathian Basin, to Burzenland, in 1211 in order to defend the region against the raids of the nomadic Cumans who had escaped before the Mongols from the steppe region towards the West (Hunyadi 2008, Zimmermann 2011). After several controversies and being opposed by the pope, the Hungarian king expelled the Order from the kingdom in 1225. The Cuman attacks began to cease in the 1220s, as the Mongols defeated the Cuman contingents in 1222. Due partly to this situation, the Hungarian ruler opted for a new diplomatic approach, and, perhaps under strong pressure, the Cumans seemed ready to convert to Christianity. Dominican missions started working among them in 1221, although it is remarkable that the first missionary wave in 1221–1223 was accomplished under the auspices of the Teutonic knights and, admittedly, with little success (Kovács 2014). Finally, the Cuman chieftain accepted Christianity and recognized Hungarian rule in 1227. Despite a renewed papal struggle and further reprimands of the Hungarian king, the Order had no chance to return to Hungary and the knights shifted their balance towards Prussia where they fought against the pagan Slavs facilitated by the Golden Bull of Rimini (1226) (Militzer 2005: 64).

Around the same time, the military-religious orders present in the Holy Land also encountered their first indirect experience concerning the Mongol menace. The crusader states were not directly endangered in the 1230s, however, tension was from time to time strong due to the news of two nomadic powers that had risen in the East, creating a potential threat. At that time it seemed that the more immediate problem was caused by the Khwarezmian Turks. Templar and Hospitaller military activity in the 1230s was mostly concerned with local issues. In 1233 the Templars and the Hospitallers led troops from Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Antioch against the Sultan of Hamah, clearly in order to get hold of an annual tribute (Barber 1994: 137). However, other scholars maintain that from the 1230s onwards a shift can be observed in the Levantine trade routes, and therefore in the commercial activities of the Latins in the Levant, caused by the advance of the Mongol armies (Irwin 1980: 73; Bronstein 2005: 22). The situation in the Holy Land was manifestly deteriorating. The Franks were to face the growing danger from

the rise of the Mamluks of Egypt and the advance of the Mongols from the north-east. The Mongol menace constituted a severe military peril, but it also led to economic consequences. It caused the decline of the influence of Acre as well as other coastal cities which functioned as nuclei of long-distance trade, and in the long run the shifting of trade routes towards the northern Mediterranean coastal area and to some extent to Central Asia (Bronstein 2005: 27). Similarly to the Cumans just outside the Carpathian Basin, the Khwarezmians appeared in the Levant; some decades earlier they had ruled a remarkable part of Transoxania but they were forced by the Mongol menace towards the south-east. Their sphere of action shifted to Cilicia and to northern Syria and they started to establish a new empire, but this process halted because of the death of the Shah Djalāl al-Dīn in 1231 (Hamilton 1980: 263; France 2005: 192; Berkovich 2011: 34–35.)

Despite the fact that the Mongol advance was initially observed in the Levant, the first direct strike reached Central Europe. In the spring of 1241 the Mongols attacked and invaded parts of Poland (Kuyavia, Lesser Poland, Silesia) and Hungary, their approach marked by two decisive battles at Legnica (Liegnitz) and Muhi on 9 and 11 April respectively. The major elements of the chain of events have long been researched (e.g. from Strakosch-Grassmann 1893 until Laszlovsky et al. 2018), thus the present study only attempts to summarize the role played by the military-religious orders. International scholarship discussed the presence of the Templars and the Teutonic Knights at the Battle of Legnica, while concerning the Battle of Muhi the contribution of the Knights of the Temple has been identified so far. The significance of the Templar force has long been discussed by scholars of the field and former historians attributed a remarkable role to the Templars, but recent criticism (Borchardt 2001) has taken the view that the military role played by the members of the Order was rather insignificant. The sources mention 500 warriors sent by the Templars to Legnica in 1241 to fight the Mongols but these were peasants from the landed estates of the Order, and not skilled knights (Borchardt 2001: 237). According to a letter sent by the Master of France Ponce d'Aubon to King Louis IX of France, only three knights of the Order were killed and two sergeants died at the battle-field of Legnica (Irgang 1977: 133 no. 219; Chambers 1979: 99; Jasiński 1991: 122; Weber 1991: 130; Gładysz 2012: 266). The letter also mentions three knights who managed to escape from the battle. Basically, the Templars did not fight the infidels in East Central Europe and they were not prepared for local military activity. The order had to rely upon the brethren stationed in Silesia (Burzyński 2010; Gładysz 2012) where the proportion of knights was most likely very low. Moreover, as opposed to the Hungarian King Béla IV (1235–1270), Duke Henry II (1238–1241) of Silesia was far less informed about the gravity of the Mongol advance. He had minimal chances to recruit troops and this held true for the Templars in the region too.

More problematic is the supposed presence of the Teutonic Knights in the Battle of Legnica as well as any role played by the Order in the fight against the Mongols. According to some historians, the Teutonic Knights, led by the Prussian

Grand Master Poppo von Osterna, provided military help to Duke Henry II at the Battle of Legnica (Chambers 1979: 98; Morton 2009: 97). Morton ascertained that Poppo was appointed Prussian Master in 1241 and was said to have led members of the Order to fight the Mongols who invaded Hungary and Poland. According to Morton, Poppo was deposed in the aftermath of the devastating defeat but following the Prussian revolt he was reappointed in 1244. Poppo was appointed Grand Master of the Order in 1252 in Acre, but he almost immediately left for the Baltic region and did not return (Morton 2009: 120) until his death in 1256. Decades ago Tomasz Jasiński clearly proved that no contemporary source mentions such a contribution, although both the 15th-century historiography of the Order as well as the Polish and Silesian sources of the period under consideration unanimously report the participation of the Teutonic Order in the Battle of Legnica and this view was not challenged until 1827 (Jasiński 1991: 117). For the sake of facts and figures: Poppo von Osterna was Prussian master in 1244–1246, and years later he became the Grand Master between 1253 and 1256 (Sarnowsky 1994: 254–255; Militzer 2005: 27). During the Battle of Leignitz, most likely there was no acting Grand Master of the Teutonic Order since the Grand Master Konrad von Thüringen died in the summer of 1240 and the Grand Master Gerhard von Malberg (1241–1244) was elected around the end of 1241. In summary, one may conclude that the chronicle tradition concerning the role of Poppo von Osterna was not based on strictly contemporary sources, but rather on the fact that his burial place was next to Duke Henry II and the deep conviction that the Teutonic Order maintained close relations with the Silesian dukes (Jasiński 1991: 127; Sarnowsky 1994: 254–255).

The interpretation of the contemporary and 15th-century sources reveals another serious problem, namely, the interpretation of the terms “*cruciferi*” and “*crucesignati*”: crusaders or members of the military-religious orders. Contextualizing the problem, it seems to be a Central European terminological issue (Laszlovszky 2001). Without going too deeply into the debate, in my view, those scholars who identify the brethren of the military-religious orders as *cruciferi* and who see crusaders behind the term *crucesignati* seem to have the more convincing argument (Jackson 1991: 6–7; Gładysz 2012: 264–268). Some scholars tend to use these terms as synonyms, but this is clearly a failure. Admittedly, either the meaning or the reference of these terms may have changed over time, yet it seems likely that the legal nature of these terms were quite well known among contemporary members of society. The crusaders made a vow to fight for their faith either against Muslims, pagans, heretics, or other enemies of the Church; it was a penitentially and legally binding obligation (Bird 2006: 1233). Popes normally determined a period – from one to three years – for crusades to the Holy Land in their bulls. The crusaders’ vows gradually became limited by the beginning of the 13th century, generally to one year of service, regardless of whether the crusader army had left for the Holy Land or not. On the other hand, the *cruciferi*, the members of the Order of the Hospitallers, the Templars and the

Teutonic Order made the triple vow of professed religious brothers: obedience, chastity and (personal) poverty. This vow automatically forbade the members of the military-religious orders from taking a crusader's vow. However, and this is important from the point of view of the present study: the fight against the Mongols shifted the attitude of the papacy towards offering plenary indulgence (which the crusaders were granted) for the members of the military-religious orders and their people (tenants, warriors, etc.). The process started in the summer of 1241 when the first crusader indulgence was offered for those who fought the Mongols, including the Hungarian King Béla IV (Fejér IV/3: 216–17; Theiner 1863 1: no. 337: 183; Cf. Veszprémy 2003: 388; Gładysz 2012: 258). This indulgence was reconfirmed by Innocent IV in 1243 (Purcell 1975: 68) and the pope submitted this issue to the First Council of Lyon for discussion (Tanner 1990: 297). The peak of the process was reached in 1248 when the pope exhorted the Hospitallers in Hungary to defend the realm against the Mongols. With clear reference to the Council of Lyon, he offered the Hospitallers as well as those who joined them fighting against the Mongols in Hungary, the same indulgence granted to the crusaders for the Holy Land: *Praeceptorem et fratres Hospitalis Hierosolymitani in Hungaria rogat et hortatur ut ad gentem Tartarorum saevissimam conterendam . . . familiae eorum ac omnibus aliis qui assumpta cruce in Hungariam contra Tartaros processerint illam indulgentiam elargitur quae transeuntibus in subsidium Terrae Sanctae in generali concilio concessa est* (Fejér CD 4/1: 465–467; MVH 1: 206; Wenzel 1860 2: 205–206; Delaville le Roulx 1896 no. 2477. Luttrell 2001: 29. Bronstein 2005: 118; Hunyadi 2010: 40). For a better understanding of the primary role of the Hospitallers stationed in the Kingdom of Hungary in the process of the extension of the crusader indulgence, one should turn back to the Mongol invasion of 1241–1242.

The presence of the Templars of the Hungarian province in the Battle of Muhi is a well-known fact in the historiography (Summarized by Stossek 2001, Stossek 2006). Archdeacon Thomas of Spalato provided a short but very informative and vivid description of the participation of the Templars in the Battle: “the master of the Templars with his fellow Latin knights wrought great slaughter among the enemy. All the same, they were unable to sustain the overwhelming numbers, and Coloman and the Archbishop, both now seriously wounded, made it back to their fellows with difficulty. The master of the Templars and all his company (*tota atie Latinorum*) were slain [...]” (Karbić 2006: 266–267). Due to the very scattered nature of primary sources of this period, there is no reliable estimate concerning the number of Templars who took part in the battle but it must have been very similar to the figure in the Battle of Legnica: there were only a few professed knights and sergeants. Their master most likely was Rembaldus de Carono or Carumb who headed the Hungarian Templar province from 1235 and is last mentioned in April 1240 (Stossek 2001: 247; Stossek 2006: 184).

Since King Béla IV gathered his army in advance and very carefully, one may suppose that the Hospitallers also fought against the Mongols in the Battle of

Muhi. What sort of military support the Hospitallers provided to Béla IV during the Mongol invasion is unknown. It is likely that the report of Master Rogerius² in its present known form is not completely reliable as it reads: “Upon the retreat of the Mongols, King Béla came to Hungary from the coastal areas with the help of the knights of the Island of Rhodes.”: *...rex Bela maritimis de partibus per cruciferos de insula Rodi [...] de recessu Tartarorum in Hungariam venit...* (Jackson 1991: 16–17; Bak–Rady 2010: 224–225; Hunyadi 2010: 38). It is a striking anachronism to associate the Hospitallers with Rhodes in the mid-13th century, thus it is an obvious interpolation by a later hand. It cannot be ruled out, however, that in the “original” version *cruciferos* merely referred to the Hospitallers without using the phrase ‘*de insula Rhodi*’ as the Hospitallers were not present in Rhodes before 1309/1310. It would resemble the anachronism of Jan Długosz in the 15th century concerning the confusion of the terms *cruciferi* and *crucesignati* (Długosz 1975: 33–34; Gładysz 2012). Other contemporary sources, however, indicated the Hospitallers’ participation in the chain of events. Béla IV complained in his letter to the pope, most likely in 1247 (Senga 1987: 606–609), that at the appearance of the Mongol menace he received help *a nullo christianorum Europe principe, nisi a domo Hospitalis iherosolimitani, cuius fratres ad requisitionem nostram nuper arma sumpserunt contra paganos* (= none of the European princes, only the House of the Hospital of Jerusalem had been taken arms upon our request). Not even any effort and loss of the Templars is mentioned by the Hungarian king a couple of years after the Mongol invasion. What is likely is that the Hospitallers accompanied the king escaping from the Mongols down to Trau (present-day Trogir, Croatia) on the Dalmatian coast (Sweeney 1994: 46–48). This hypothesis is supported by two indirect pieces of information. The corroborating formula of the first extant charter (1243) of the Székesfehérvár preceptory as a place of authentication reads: “due to the fear of the Mongols (*propter metum tartarorum*), our seal was in the coastal area” (Wenzel 1860 7: 144–145). Another charter shows that Raimbaud of Voczon, the Hungarian-Slavonian prior, still stayed in Trau at least until November 1243 when he participated in a legal procedure (Smičiklas 4: 205–206).

Concerning the ideas of King Béla IV in 1247 it seems likely that he attempted to realize a similar defensive plan to what his father, King Andrew II imagined when he invited the Teutonic Order to Burzenland between 1211 and 1225, as discussed above. Béla IV tried to settle the Hospitallers in the region called Severin as far as the River Olt. According to a letter issued in November 1247, the Hospitallers partially occupied it: *quos [fratres] iam partim collocavimus in loco magis suspecto, videlicet in confinio Cumanorum ultra Danubium et Bulgarorum* (those [brothers] we have already settled at a rather suspicious area, that is in the frontier of the Cumans over the Danube and the Bulgars) (Fejér CD 4/1: 447–454; Jakó 1997 1: 191; Delaville le Roulx 1896 no. 2445). However, it is still obscure why

² *Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tartars*, edition and translation: Bak-Rady 2010.

the Order left the region shortly after 1250³ (Fejér CD 4/2: 75–76; MVH 1: 208–211; Jakó 1997 1: 195), thus wrecking the king's defensive plans. It is worth emphasizing that this was not a genuine grant but rather a concession for occupying and populating the region, and it included the usual exemptions for the prospective settlers. It resembles a contract, as it clearly sets out the military obligations of the Hospitallers, including where and how many armed men they were expected to provide in case of an attack against the kingdom. The Hospitallers were to provide sixty *fratres* for the defence of the frontiers against the Mongols.

Nonetheless, despite the ceaseless fear of the return of the Mongols, Eastern Europe escaped such devastation as happened during 1241–42. Between 1248 and 1254 there were several papal plans for organizing an anti-Mongol crusade led by the Teutonic Order, but eventually none of these ideas came true (Sarnowsky 1994: 256; Bárány 2009: 252; Gładysz 2012: 303). But a real menace, the so called Second Mongol invasion, started brewing in 1259, when Berke Khan threatened East Central Europe including Hungary, and warned of his plans in an ultimatum sent to King Béla IV (Bárány 2009: 253). A promising-looking coalition was organized by Pope Alexander IV but the leading role of the Teutonic Order was not enough to turn the undertaking into an effective campaign (Gładysz 2012: 328). The *status quo* became further complicated by the disintegration of the Golden Horde and the growing number of theatres of war: the Mongols attacked the Levant. But this chain of events is to be sought somewhat earlier.

Right after the Eastern European invasion, the Mongols forced the Khwarezmians from their homeland in the summer of 1243 (Jackson 1987: 55; Berkovich 2011: 20) and it led to a long struggle which ended in 1260 at Ayn Jālūt (Amitai-Preiss 1992, 2006). Though in 1243 the Mongols organized a successful military campaign against the Anatolian Seljuks (Berkovich 2011: 20), in the short run the wandering Khwarezmians proved to be more decisive for the Latins in Syria and Palestine. The Khwarezmians “on the run” soon allied with al-Salih Ayyub and turned against the Franks of the Levant (Bulst 1966: 220; Richard 1999: 329). The consequences were shocking: the Christians lost Jerusalem⁴ in August 1244 (Tyerman 2006: 771) and in October the Latin forces were defeated and annihilated at the Battle of Gaza (La Forbie) (Berkovich 2011; Hunyadi 2016). The majority of the troops of the military-religious orders died on the battlefield and prompt and effective recruitment was hindered by the Mongol devastation and in Europe. The Mongols, however, were already present in Syria as they attacked Aleppo in 1244 (Jackson 1987: 56–57) but the Muslims alone were strong enough: the Emir of Aleppo defeated the Khwarezmians in 1246 without any help from the Franks (Tyerman 2006: 771). In the meantime, however, the Church took the

³ Pope Innocent IV confirmed the contract of King Béla IV in 1250.

⁴ The Holy City was held by the Latins since 1229 when Frederick II regained it through negotiations.

initiative in Europe by convoking the First Council of Lyon in 1245 where crusading and the fight against the Mongols enjoyed primary importance as discussed above. Unfortunately, the military-religious orders could not easily recuperate from the losses of the 1240s (Lotan 2012). The balance of the Teutonic Order's activity shifted towards the Baltic and East Central Europe, and what remained in the Holy Land was a bitter struggle among the Hospitallers, the Templars and the Teutonic Knights, which escalated into a serious conflict known as the war of St. Sabas (Militzer 2005: 27–28; Bronstein 2006: 32; Sarnowsky 2012: 79–80). The conflict was concluded with an agreement in 1258 and the military-religious orders were again able to concert their efforts on the fight against the infidel.

Even this revival was not enough for the Templars to save the coastal city of Sidon when the Mongols, led by Khan Hulagu, destroyed its walls in January 1260⁵ (Bronstein 2006: 32, 59; Gładysz 2012: 346). This caused an immediate threat towards Acre, the capital of the Latin Kingdom, though it eventually never materialized. The reason was perhaps quite obvious: the battles of Ayn Jālūt (3 September 1260) and Homs (10 December 1260) fought by the Mamluks of Egypt against the Mongols finally stopped the invaders. They left Syria and Iraq behind and never returned again. This, however, did not save either the Latin Kingdom or the military-religious orders in the long run. Consequently, at the Second Council of Lyon (1274) a profound restructuring of the orders was part of the agenda.

To sum up, it can firmly be stated that the menace of the Mongols seriously impacted the activity of the military-religious orders. The “new type” of enemy (*infidelis*) of the Catholic faith led to an alteration of their original goals, as can be traced through the extension of crusading indulgences in the 1240s. Moreover, the decisive role the Teutonic Knights played in the struggle against the Mongols in Eastern Europe strengthened the elaboration of the notion of “perennial crusade” which had originally been formulated against the heathen in the Baltic region. This activity remained important for many decades but its analysis clearly would require another study.

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5 Damascus fell two months later.

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The Islamization of the Legend of the Turks: The Case of *Oghuznāma**

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The *Oghuznāma* represents the epic tradition of the Oghuz Turkic people. It is a collection of stories about the ancestor from whom they derived their name, Oghuz, as well as the progenitors of related peoples. The different versions offer a wealth of data for an unusual range of problems in the field of historical linguistics and literary analysis. Also, although naturally being far from useful as a historical source per se, some of its stories reflect historical events to a certain extent. The kernel of the legend must have wandered with the Oghuz tribes and their bards, the so called *ozans*, from their Inner Asian homelands to Anatolia and further on to the territory of the later Ottoman Empire, and adaptations to the new environment are noticeable. These are the first recorded legends about the origin of the different Turkic people written in different places and in different times. Oral and written versions were circulating in the vast territory of the Turkic world (Orkun 1935).

Our earliest information about the Oghuz people comes from the age of the first and second Türk Qaghanates. Their name can be found in the runic Turkic inscriptions of the 8th-9th centuries where the *Oghuz* appear as the northern neighbours of the Turks, and their tribal federation is called *Toquz-Oghuz* 'nine Oghuz'.¹ In the *Köl Tegin Inscription* the name Oghuz also occurs as an element of a personal name: *Oğuz Bilgä Tamğacı* 'Oghuz, the Wise Keeper of the Seal', the name of an envoy who arrived at the funeral of the *tegin*.² In the *Šine-Ušu* (760) inscription the names of tribal federations are the aforementioned *Toquz-Oghuz* and also *Sekiz Oghuz* 'eight Oghuz'.³ There are accounts on their relationships with the *Turks* and the *Uyghurs*: sometimes they were allies, sometimes they were enemies. After the collapse of the Uyghur Empire (840) they moved from their Inner Asian homelands to the west. Between the 8th-11th centuries the territory

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1 *Tonyuquq Inscription* from 726: West side 7, South side 9, 12, 14-16, East side 22; *Köl Tegin Inscription* from 732: South side 2, East side 14, 28, North side 4, 6, 8-9; *Bilgä Khagan Inscription* from 734/735: East side 29, 32-6, 38; cf. Berta 2004.

2 North side 13; cf. Berta 2004.

3 North side 3, 5, East 1, 3, 10, South 8, West 8; Berta 2004.

north of the Syr-Darya was called *Steppe of the Ghuzz* by the Muslim writers because they were the dominant inhabitants of this territory; the term refers to the Arabic form of their names. In the 10th-11th centuries they formed a strong confederation of 24 tribes. At the end of the 10th century a group with the leadership of *Seljuk* converted to Islam, and the Oghuz ruler himself also converted to Islam a little while later. After a short time the name *Turkmen* started to be used primarily for these Muslim Oghuz. In the 11th century the Oghuz tribes invaded Mavarannahr, Khwarezm, Khorasan, Azerbaijan, Iran and Iraq, and became one of the strongest powers in the Islamic world of that time. In the 11th-12th centuries the Seljuks continued their migration and conquests in the west; in 1071 with the defeat of the Byzantine Emperor at Manzikert they finished the conquest of Anatolia and Syria. 130 years later the Ottoman dynasty took over power. In the 11th-12th centuries the Turkmen and Azerbaijani tribes migrated to the territories where they have been living since that time (Sümer 1967; Golden 1972).

The mythical ancestor of the different Oghuz tribes was Oghuz Khan whose life and deeds were told in different versions of the *Oghuznāma*. One of the first reports about the existence of this Turkic epical tradition can be found in the work of the Egyptian Mamluk historian Ibn al-Dawādārī completed in A.D. 1336. In his account of the history of the year 1230–1231 (A.H. 628) he mentions that one of his sources was a book of the Turks about the beginning of their history and about their first ruler who was the greatest ever. According to him this book was very popular among the Turks and it was handed around and the intelligent and clever people of the Turks learned the stories by heart and performed them. This remark shows that written versions were in circulation even at that time. He also reports performances by singers (or bards) with accompaniment from a *qopuz*, a lute-like stringed instrument (Graf 1990: 182–183; Ercilasun 1986: 9). Dawādārī's statement also shows that interaction between written and oral transmission was in evidence already in the 13th-14th centuries.

We can mention two other sources from the 15th century which give information about existing Oghuz narratives. One of them is the 15th-century Ottoman chronicle *Tavārikh-i Āl-i Seljuk* written by Yazījioglu 'Ali who was in the service of Sultan Murad II (ruled 1421–1444 and 1446–1451). In his account of Oghuz and Seljuk history he mentions an Oghuz legend written in Uyghur letters. He also records a fragment written in rhythmical lines possibly performed by singers (Orkun 1935: 70–72; Sümer 1959: 366; Bakır 2008). One of his contemporaries was Šukrullāh who was in Tabriz as an envoy of Murat II in the middle of the 15th century. He also saw an *Oghuznāma* with Uyghur script there (Orkun 1935: 73–74; Sümer 1959: 387). In the second half of the 17th century Abu'l-Ġāzī Bahādūr Khan, the ruler of Khiva and the author of the chronicles *Šajāra-i Tarākima* and *Šajāra-i Türk*, wrote down the genealogy of the Oghuz-Turkmens. In the preface of his first book he refers to the Turkmen tribal elite who asked him to compile a correct genealogy for them: “*The Turkmen mullahs, sheiks and tribal leaders learnt that I am expert in history so one day they all came to me and pointed*

out that there are a lot of *Oghuznāma* versions known to us but none of them is good, all of them are incorrect and contradict each other. It would be good to have an consistent, correct and reliable history. They asked me and I accepted their wish.” (Kononov 1958. Text lines 23–28).⁴ From this quotation we can see that still in the 17th century different oral epical traditions of the Oghuz Turks existed in Khwarezm. As for the written tradition we can easily separate two groups: the pre-Islamic versions represented by the *Legend of Oghuz Khagan* in Uyghur script and the Islamized versions from the 14th century on. The non-Muslim, so-called “pagan” *Oghuznāma*⁵ was put in writing after the Mongol invasion; the date and place are debated. According to P. Pelliot (1930) the original, lost text was written about 1300 in the Turfan region; the unique copy which can be found in Paris in the Bibliothèque Nationale is a fragmentary late copy.⁶ Some scholars consider this copy to have been done in the beginning of the 15th century in Khwarezm. (Clauson 1962: 48, 184; Clauson 1972: xxiii) The nucleus of the story is a very archaic, in some respect totemic text from pre-Islamic times which reflects the old beliefs of the Turks’ shamanism and Tengrism.

The oldest Muslim version of the *Oghuznāma* is preserved in the Chronicle of Rashīd al-Dīn (*Jāmi‘ al-Tawārīkh*, written in 1310–11)⁷ and in the works of the Khivan ruler Abu’l-Ġāzī Bahādūr Khan (1603 – 1663). The *Šajara-i Tarākima* (Genealogy of the Turkmens) was completed in 1659 or 1661, the *Šajara-i Türk* (Genealogy of the Turks) in 1665.⁸ Abu’l-Ġāzī’s adaptation is mostly based on the *Jāmi‘ al-Tawārīkh* in addition to the oral tradition.⁹ We also have two other fragmentary adaptations of the Chronicle of Rashīd al-Dīn. One is a 65-line-extract from an unidentified *Oghuznāma* found in the history written by the above-mentioned Yazījōglu ‘Alī (Yazıcızāde) in the first half of the 15th century, and the other is possibly an 18th century adaptation which is found in Uzunköprü in a private collection of manuscripts.¹⁰

From a cultural historical perspective a comparison between versions is challenging. In the following I compare some motifs of the pre-Islamic and the

4 The citations from the works of Abu’l-Ġāzī are based on the editions of Kononov (1958) and Desmaisons (1970²); the transcription and translations are mine.

5 Similarly to DeWeese (1994: 501) Danka also uses the label ‘pagan’. The latter stresses that it does not carry any pejorative connotations, but only expresses opposition to the Muslim versions, i.e. it is considered pagan from the Muslim point of view. (Danka 2019: fn. 1)

6 For the latest research summary see: Ratcliffe 2013: 2–4; Danka 2019, Chapter 1.

7 Rashīd al-Dīn’s *Jāmi‘ al-Tawārīkh* has several editions. In my work I used the translation of Thackston 1998.

8 Kononov 1958; Kargı Ölmez 1996; Desmaisons 1871, 1874 edited in St.-Petersbourg, reprinted in one volume in 1970. The *Šajara-i Türk* was completed by his son after the death of Abu’l-Ġāzī.

9 Desmaisons 1970: 34–36; Text 35–37.

10 ‘Alī Yazījzāde’s *Tavāriḥ-i Āl-i Selçuḡ* (1423), published by Bakır: 2008. Cf. also Eraslan 1992 (1995). About the fragment of Uzunköprü see Orkun 1935: 96–120, and Eraslan: 1976: 169–175. My citations are based on the edition of Eraslan 1976: 176–190.

Islamic versions. I examine some motifs such as the birth and features of Oghuz, his growing up, marriage, and his helpers.

Birth

“One of the days, Moon Kaghan (*ay qayan*) waited in labour (lit. her eyes shining). She gave birth to a male child. The complexion and face of that child was blue, his mouth was fire red, his eyes were scarlet, his hair and eyebrows were black. He was more beautiful than wonderful fairies. That child drank the colostrum (*âyuz*) from his mother’s breasts, after this he did not drink anymore. He wished (to get) instead meat, food and wine.”¹¹ (Danka 2019: fol. 1–2). In the beliefs of the Turks the sky had a very important role (cf. Tengrism). Khagans got the power to rule from the sky (*kök, kök tengri*). The blue (or heaven-like) complexion of the child is a kind of metaphor to show his nobility and his origin from the sky. The expression “scarlet eyes” (*közläri al*) is often used for describing bravery in Turkic tales and the “fire-red” mouth or lips (*ayizi ataş qizil*) might signify his intelligence, as is suggested by the Siberian tales where the expression “fire breaking out from one’s lips” is often used in the sense of intelligence and cleverness (Ögel 1989. I: 133–7). Then it is recounted that Oghuz stopped breast-feeding after only a few days and had an extraordinary appetite for meat and wine. As the beginning is fragmentary we do not know anything about the father; only the mother’s name (Ay or Moon khagan) is known which also strengthens the idea of a heavenly origin. It is worth noting that most Turkic peoples consider the Sun as female and the Moon as male (Ögel 1989 I: 129–132). Our text says that Moon Khagan was the mother of Oghuz, and her name also suggests that Oghuz is supernatural, born from the divine moonlight. According to Adaeva and Makulbekov (2014) in Kazakh myths the Moon (together with the Sun) can also be described as female.

If we compare this to the Islamic versions, we find a completely different picture. In the *Jāmi‘ al-Tawārikh* we read: “Qara Khan succeeded his father, and he had a son who would not take his mother’s breast to suckle for three days and nights. Therefore his mother wept and pleaded, and every night she saw the child saying to her in a dream, “Mother, if you become a worshipper and lover of God, I will drink your milk.” Because her husband and all of the tribes were infidels, the woman feared if she worshipped God openly they would kill both her and her child. Therefore she believed in God in secret and loved God with all sincerity, and thereafter the infant took his mother’s breast and suckled.” (Thackston 1998: 28) Almost the same story can be found in the *Šajara-i Tarākima* and is repeated in the *Šajara-i Türk*:¹² “A child was born from the first wife of Qara Khan. His beauty was more than the Sun and the Moon. He hadn’t been sucking his mother’s breast for three days and nights.

¹¹ For the pre-Islamic Oghuznāma I use the translation of Danka 2019.

¹² Desmaisons 1970²: 13–14.

Every night the child appeared in a dream to his mother and said: Ay, mother, be Muslim! If you want me to suck [your breast], become Muslim and confess the faith of the only God and declare that he is the greatest. I will not suck your breast even if I die if you will not convert into the true faith. The mother didn't dare to speak about her dream and in secret she converted to the belief in the only God. She raised her hands and prayed: O Lord, please help me and make my milk sweet for my little son. The son started to suck his mother's breast immediately. The mother neither told anybody the dream she saw, nor spoke about her conversion to Islam. It was because the Turks had been Muslims from Yaphet till Alinja Khan... But at that time the people's number and wealth increased so much that they got drunk of well-being and forgot the only God and became infidels. In the time of Qara Khan the infidelity was so strong that if a child learnt from his father that he was Muslim he killed him and if a father learnt from his son that he had become Muslim he killed his son. (Kononov 1958: lines 166-177). In the Muslim versions the genealogy of Oghuz goes back to the first man, Adam, with a long enumeration of the ancestors of Oghuz. It is stated that all the Turks originated from Yaphet, the son of Prophet Noah. In Rashīd al-Dīn's Chronicle Qara Khan was the 6th generation after Noah, but in the work of Abu'l-Ġāzī there is a more detailed and longer enumeration from Adam, the first man God created, where Qara Khan is the son of Mogol Khan. Considering the Mongol-Turkic epical tradition of the time, this is not surprising. In contrast to the pagan Oghuznāma the mother and father are concrete persons: Qara Khan and his first wife. It is important that according to Rashīd al-Dīn and Abu'l-Ġāzī the Turks were Muslims in the beginning of history but wealth spoiled them. The first milk is also an important motif. In the pagan Oghuznāma the new-born child wants to eat meat after sucking the colostrum which points to a supernatural birth, while in the Islamic versions Oghuz is *ab ovo* a Muslim who forces his mother to convert to Islam by not breast-feeding. As the mother undertakes a risk for the sake of Islam and consequently for her Muslim son, we can say that she is the second follower of Islam after a long period of infidelity. The theme of refusing the milk of a non-Muslim mother also can be found in Ötemiš Haji's description of Berke's birth. Berke was also a Muslim from birth who did not suck the milk of his own mother nor that of any infidel women. He was shown to fortune-tellers, and they said that he was the descendent of Muhammad and that the Muslims do not drink the milk of infidel women. So they brought a Muslim woman and he started sucking her breast (Kamalov 2009: 41). It has been pointed out by DeWeese (1994: 85) that in other narratives about the conversion of Berke, a similar story can be found.

Characteristic features of Oghuz

The pre-Islamic tradition attributes supernatural powers to the new-born Oghuz: *He started to speak (lit. his tongue started to come). After many (lit. forty) days, he*

grew up, walked and played. His feet were like the feet of an ox, his waist was like the waist of a wolf, his shoulders were like the shoulders of a sable, his chest was like the chest of a bear. The whole of his body was covered with hair. He always pastured animals, he always mounted horses, he always hunted wild game, then after days, after nights he became a young man. (Danka 2019: fol. 2). Precocious growing up is a motif well known from other epics of the world, as has been stated by Karl Reichl (1992) referring to Stith Thompson's *Motif-index*. The child's hairy (cf. the Muslim saint Baba Tükles's body, Deweese 1994: 330–1), animal-like appearance points to totemism. His extraordinary strength and other attributes lead people to believe in his supernatural origin, and that he is chosen for great deeds.

The Islamic versions, of course, do not compare Oghuz to animals, since it would be against Islamic doctrine, but emphasize the never before seen purity and beauty of the boy which mirrors his religious character: *When a year had passed, the child was extremely pure and beautiful, and traces of religious guidance and favour shone from his brow.* (Thackston 1998: 28). According to Abu'l-Ġāzī the new-born child is beautiful: *“His beauty was more than Sun and Moon.”* (Kononov 1958: line 167). In the 18th century Uzunköprü variant, Oghuz is incomparable with anyone (Eraslan 1976: 179).

In the pre-Islamic legend we can find traces of Tengrism. Oghuz prays to the sky, and as we will see later, he gets his first wife from the sky, descending in the light: *“Oghuz Khaghan was praying to the Sky, (when) it became dark, (and) from the sky, a blue light beam descended. It was more glowing than the sun or the moon. Oghuz Kaghan walked (closer). He saw that in the middle of this light beam, there was a girl.”* (Danka 2019: fol. 6–7). *“I have carried out my obligation to the Blue Sky, (so) I (hereby) give my country to you.”* (Danka 2019: fol. 42). Naturally this is completely missing from the Muslim versions where Oghuz's Islamic character is stressed. Here the child Oghuz repeats the name of Allah in Arabic (a sacral language), and the infidel Turks think that he is just babbling: *“He constantly had the name of God, which is Allah in Arabic, on his lips, but no one knew what the word meant. While he constantly intoned beautifully the word Allah, the tribe thought he was singing for pleasure and that it had become a habit with him.”* (Thackston 1998: 29). In the works of Abu'l-Ġāzī we find a very similar description. But in his text it is emphasised that he was chosen for great deeds by Allah: *“When he was speaking he always said the word Allah, Allah. As the word Allah is in Arabic and none of the ancestors of Moguls had heard any Arabic, everybody who heard this said: «He is a child. As he cannot speak, he does not know what he is saying.» Since Oghuz was made a friend of God from birth by Allah, may He be exalted, He put his own name in his heart and mouth.”* (Kononov 1958: lines 192–197).

The struggles of Oghuz

Both in the pre-Islamic and in the Muslim versions there follow the struggles of Oghuz. But there is a great difference again. In the pagan legend he first fights against a mythical man-eating creature. He declares himself khagan, and his goal is to conquer the whole world, to subdue peoples, to make them to pay tax, and to send presents to him. He kills and annihilates those who don't obey him. Oghuz has all the nomadic virtues needed in order to conquer the world, and his life is a continuous struggle. In the Islamic versions his first conflict is with the first two wives chosen for him by his father. He repudiates them because they do not follow him in believing in the only God: "*I did not love them because they are infidels and I am Muslim.*" (Kononov 1958: 212). According to the Uzunköprü fragment he even beats them (Eraslan 1976: 180/12, 2). Oghuz has his own will and takes his own decisions. He himself chooses a wife whom he converts to Islam. For him religion is the most valuable thing in life, more important than family ties. His opposition against to family (his father, uncles, and kinsmen) leads to an open struggle for faith. After a long fight he wins with the help of God and becomes the khan of the tribal federation (Thackston 1998: 29). "*All the people were called by Oghuz to conversion to Islam. He loved those who became Muslim, and attacked those who did not, and killed them, and captured their children.*" (Kononov 1958: lines 248-9). Then he started to conquer the world, and in this struggle – we might say Jihad – Allah helps him to organize an Empire on the basis of the true faith. He is a good rider and marksman, a good strategist, and never hurts the Muslims, but kills the infidels (Kononov 1958: lines 333-4).

Helpers of Oghuz

Our next question to answer is who helped Oghuz in conquering the world? As we have already seen, Oghuz worshipped Kök Tengri, the God of Sky and prayed for his help. But also as a relic of a totemistic substratum a grey he-wolf appears in the legend. "*At dawnbreak, a sun-like light beam entered Oghuz Kaghan's tent. From that light beam, a grey-furred, grey-maned big male wolf stepped forward. That wolf (had) made a promise (lit. gave word) to Oghuz Kaghan. So it said: «Oh, oh, Oghuz, you are going to ride against Urum! Oh, oh, Oghuz, I am going to walk in your vicinity!» it said. Then, after that, Oghuz Kaghan broke camp and went away. He saw that in the (broader) vicinity of the army, the grey-furred, grey-maned, big male wolf was walking. They were following (more or less) the back of that wolf. After a few days, this grey-furred, grey-maned, big male wolf stopped. Oghuz also stopped with the army.*" (Danka 2019: fol. 16-18). The lead animal indicates to the people when to move and when to halt and what to conquer. From the citations it is clear that he is a supernatural being descended from the Sky, sent by the God of Sky. He

offers his help in the campaigns of Oghuz. “*Oghuz Kaghan [saw] the grey-furred, grey-maned, male wolf. That grey wolf told Oghuz Kaghan, «Now, Kaghan, ride out with the army, and bring the people and begs¹³ (with you). I will lead you and show you the way!» he said. As soon as it became dawn, Oghuz Kaghan saw that the male wolf was marching in the vicinity of the army. He was glad and went ahead.*” (Danka 2019: fol. 24–25). “*Then one day the grey-furred, grey-maned, male wolf did not walk (further), it stopped. Oghuz Kaghan also stopped. Setting up camp, he stopped. It was an uncultivated, flat land. They (always) called it Jurched...*” (Danka 2019: fol. 29).

DeWeese argues that the motif of leader wolf must have belonged to the Oghuz tribes since some fragments of the story can be found in the 12th century Chronicle of Michael the Syrian on the Oghuz peoples (DeWeese 1994: 278, 496. fn.8).¹⁴ Sinor (1982) references three legends of the Turks preserved in Chinese sources. The first one, titled by Sinor “*The abandoned child brought up by a wolf*”, can be found in the Zhoushu, completed around 629, and also shows the motif of a wolf. Slightly different versions of this theme are found in the Beishi completed around 659, and in the annals of the Sui dynasty, compiled between 629–636. The story is about a boy whose tribe was killed, but who was saved and raised by a grey she-wolf. They fled to present-day Chinese Turkestan where he mated with the wolf and impregnated her. The grey wolf delivered ten sons, the later Ashina clan, who are considered to be the ancestors of the ancient Turkic peoples.¹⁵ On the top of the 6th century Bugut stele with Sogdian script on its three sides, a relief can be found with the she-wolf and the child being suckled by it (Kljaštornyj – Livšic 1972: 71). There is hardly any doubt that this also points to the ancient Turkic genealogical myth.¹⁶

In the Islamic adaptation, of course, we don’t find this motif. For a Muslim a totem-animal is unacceptable. It is very clearly said: only Allah, the personal skills of an individual and the wealth and strength of a state, as well as numerous allied tribes and countries can help in conquering the world.

13 The word *beg* means the head of a clan or tribe, a subordinate chief.

14 DeWeese also refers to Juvaini’s account of the Uyghurs where a mythic animal likewise guides the people.

15 “*No doubt the Türks are a detached branch of the Hsiung nu. They belong to the A-shih-na clan. An independent tribe; they were completely exterminated by a neighbouring country. There was a boy aged ten. The soldiers, in view of his youth, could not bring themselves kill him. They cut off his feet and threw him into a marsh. There lived there a she-wolf who fed him with meat. As the boy grew up he had sexual intercourse with the wolf and made her pregnant. The king [who had earlier attacked the tribe], apprised of the boy being alive, dispatched someone to kill him. [...]. But the wolf fled to a mountain [...]. In the mountain there was a cavern [...] Therein the wolf took refuge and later gave birth to ten boys. The ten boys grew up and took wives from the outside. Each of the descendants took a surname and called himself A-shih-na.*” (Sinor 1982: 224–5). The wolf motif also appears in the second variant, titled “*The Lord of Wind and Rain*” (Sinor 1982: 226).

16 Now this myth has a revival; this is why the Turkish nationalists call themselves Grey Wolves.

Wives

The other important motif is the wives and their role. In the Pre-Islamic Oghuznāma Oghuz has two wives: one came from the Sky and one from the Earth: “One day, in a place, Oghuz Kaghan was praying to the Sky, (when) it became dark, (and) from the sky, a blue light beam descended. It was more glowing than the sun or the moon. Oghuz Kaghan walked (closer). He saw that in the middle of this light beam, there was a girl. She was sitting alone. She was a very beautiful girl. On her head, there was a fiery, shining mole. It was like the Pole Star (lit. golden stake). That girl was so beautiful that whenever she laughed, the Blue Sky (kök täñri) also laughed, when she cried, the Blue Sky also cried. As soon as Oghuz Kaghan caught sight of her, he went out of his mind, he fell in love with her, and he took her. He lay with her, and he took what he desired. Embryo(s) were conceived. After days and nights, she was in labour. She gave birth to (certain) three male children. To the first one, they gave the name Sun (kün). To the second one, they gave the name Moon (ay). To the third one, they gave the name Star (yultuz). Then one day, Oghuz Kaghan went to hunt. In the middle of a lake, in front of him, he saw a tree. In the hollow of this tree, there was a girl. She was sitting alone. She was a very beautiful girl. Her eyes were bluer than the sky. Her hair was (as wavy/as much) as a river’s water. Her teeth were like pearls. She was so beautiful that whenever the world’s people saw her, they said: «Oh, oh, we will die!» Then, they were (like) milk turning into koumiss. When Oghuz Kaghan saw her, he went out of his mind, fire fell into his heart, he fell in love with her. He took her, lay down with her, and took what he desired. Embryo(s) were conceived. After days and nights, she was in labour. She gave birth to (certain) three male children. To the first one, they gave the name Sky (kök). To the second one, they gave the name Mountain (tay). To the third one, they gave the name Sea (täñiz).” (Danka 2019: fol. 6–10). The motif of light descending from the Sky can also be found in Juvaini’s report on the Uyghurs (Boyle 1958: 55–7) and in the miraculous birth of Chinggis Khan (Rachewiltz 2004: 2–5; 263–6), and recalls the conception of Jesus as well. But there is a difference; usually the light impregnates the virgin, whereas in our lore it is Oghuz who does it; the light brings the fairy-like beauty. Mating with fairies to produce the first man is a common world origin myth analysed by DeWeese (1994: 272–278, 353). By marrying and having children from them Oghuz seems to repeat the Creation of the Universe (the Macrocosm) and the Earth (the Microcosm). He becomes Creator-like.

In the Islamic versions this part is, of course, completely missing. The Creator of the Earth and humans is Allah, the Lord, and Oghuz is only the descendant of Prophet Noah. Within this framework the fairies are obviously pagans. In the Muslim versions the key of a good marriage is an agreement between two people in the love of Allah. The wife has to serve his husband’s interest even against the wishes of her own family (Thackston 1998: 29; Kononov 1958: 223–9). The children of Oghuz become good leaders and the first born son inherits his empire which he

must rule in unity together with the 24 tribes of the Oghuz. If there is concord, the dynasty of Oghuz will prosper (cf. Thackston 1998: 31-2; Kononov 1958: lines 453-470).

Conclusion

There is a clear connection between parallel passages in the different versions.¹⁷ The epical tradition was constantly evolving, changing, and being updated. In the course of migrations and contacts with other peoples, new motifs appeared and old ones disappeared. As in case of other nomadic oral traditions the stories were invented to strengthen the unity and identity of the conglomerate of tribes and clans of often very diverse origin. The similarities and differences among the narratives show that the commonalities and the differences are related to changes in social conditions. With the conversion to Islam the origin-myth underwent multiple transformations, the attributes of the core figure were amended, and by the interpretation of the Muslim Oghuz historians it became the literary articulation of political legitimacy on basis of Islam.

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¹⁷ E.g. Salor is the name giving ancestor of an Oghuz tribe in the archaic version, and in the Muslim versions he is a hero in the time of Prophet Mohammed. In the Book of Dede Korkut he appears again as Oghuz Khan's army chief. In Yazıjioğlu's *Seljuk History* the Ottomans are linked to the Oghuz Khan tradition.

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Cumania in the System of Trade Routes of Eastern Europe in the 12th Century*

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The role of Cumania (the Polovtsian steppe) in the system of trade routes of Eastern Europe is analyzed in this paper on the basis of the treatise of the Arab geographer al-Idrīsī (1100–1165), whose geographical work is one of the most valuable written sources on the history of the Eurasian steppes in the first half of the 12th century. Repeatedly studied as a source on the history of various countries and peoples, the treatise of al-Idrīsī, however, has never been considered in the context of medieval urbanism and border studies – at least in relation to Eastern Europe. Meanwhile, the Eastern European sections of al-Idrīsī's work contain unique data about Cuman settlements in the context of his information on the trade routes of the region.

Al-Idrīsī's geographical treatise and his descriptive strategies

Al-Idrīsī is the author of the geographical treatise entitled “The Book of Pleasant Journeys into Faraway Lands” (*Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fi'khtirāq al-āfāq*, 1154), which is a description of all areas of the ecumene known to the author, accompanied by detailed maps (al-Idrīsī 1970–1984). Al-Idrīsī was a unique figure in medieval Arab geography and cartography. He was an Arab scientist, deeply rooted in Islamic geographical tradition, but he worked in Palermo at the court of the Christian ruler Roger II (1098–1154), king of Norman Sicily, and therefore had access both to Arabic and European sources. That is why his reports about European countries are very rich and in many ways unprecedented in Islamic geography.

Al-Idrīsī followed the Ptolemaic system of dividing the inhabited quarter of the Earth into seven latitudinal zones called ‘climates’ (*iqlīm*). In its turn he divided each climate into ten longitudinal sections (*juz'*), numbered from west to east – beginning from the Atlantic coast of Africa. Both the text and the cartographic part of his treatise are structured according to climate and sectional divisions. Complete copies of the manuscripts of *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq* contain a one-page

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round world map, placed at the very beginning of the treatise, and 70 sectional rectangular maps on separate sheets, located at the end of the description of each section (Maqbul Ahmad 1992: 156–174). Theoretically, these sectional maps, put together, would make up a map of the whole world.

The method of describing the inhabited world by climates and sections served al-Idrīsī as a general framework which enabled him to imagine the inhabited world as a whole. But when it was necessary to characterize a particular country or region, the basic way he depicted earth and water areas was through route data, which described the roads between various settlements and at the same time gave some information about surrounding geographical objects (seas, rivers, lakes and mountains), as well as flora and fauna, minerals, local production, the conditions of everyday life and trade, and some ethnographic details.

Each section's contents were presented, in al-Idrīsī's own words, "in the form of a complete story, according to the rules of in-depth research" (al-Idrīsī 1970–1984: 58), that is "one city after another, one region after another, without omitting any message about anything that it contains or what is worthy of mention" (al-Idrīsī 1970–1984: 121). For example, in the sections devoted to the description of Eastern Europe, many routes are mentioned: in the fifth section of the sixth climate five detailed routes are listed; the sixth section of the sixth climate consists of three long routes, full of ethnographic interpolations; the sixth section of the seventh climate depicts one route. Only the fifth section of the seventh climate, very small in volume, does not contain route data.

A characteristic feature of al-Idrīsī's map is the absence of political boundaries. This is related to the text, where the boundaries between political units are described vaguely or not at all. This feature of the description has already been noticed in historiography and linked to the fact that for al-Idrīsī cities, not countries, were the main objects of the landscape and therefore the geographer "described entire regions in terms of the urban settlements they contained" (Brauer 1992: 84). The central position of cities in the structure of the description, in its turn, was determined by the specific nature of the key sources of al-Idrīsī. Beginning with the work of W. Tomaschek it has been repeatedly noted that a significant part of al-Idrīsī's reports on East, South-East and Central Europe actually consist of a list of routes based on various types of oral and written sources (Tomaschek 1887: 285–373; Kenderova 1986: 35–41; Konovalova 2006: 60–61; Ducène 2008: 14). However, beyond the scope of this study there remains the question of the geographical specificity of the space that route data reflects as well as the development of adequate methods of its interpretation.

Route data is based primarily on verbal sources, which represent the so called "egocentric" system of spatial orientation, where the location of an object is determined in relation to the perceiving subject. Geographical egocentrism was the basic feature of spatial perception in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. In this system of orientation, the subject of observation assumes himself to be at the center of the world he observes, and perceives all objects around him in relation to himself as to

the central point. The egocentric picture of the world was imprinted in geographical descriptions, where cities, countries, mountains, rivers and other elements of space were characterized in relation to the location of the author or his informers. The same spatial perception persisted even in the case when the perceiving subject was moving in space: the only difference was that all visible objects were now viewed from the mobile center (bibliography see in: Konovalova 2006: 52–71). The egocentric perception of space also resulted in specific orientational terms used in geographical works, such as ‘behind’/‘in front of’, ‘farther’/‘nearer’, ‘higher’/‘lower’, ‘on this/that side’, ‘between’, ‘opposite’, and so on. These terms are meaningful only within the subjective space of the observer and are understandable only when the reference point in this observation system is known.

This method of description, emanating from a multitude of subjective points of view on the organization of a particular space, made it problematic to characterize large objects, such as, for example, the territory occupied by particular people. And very indicative in this respect is the description of Cumania in the work of al-Idrīsī.

Information about Cumania in the structure of *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq*

In al-Idrīsī’s work there is no all-in-one description of Cumania. Information about it is scattered in different parts of his writing – in the fifth and sixth sections of the sixth and seventh climates. By its nature, the data on Cumania is twofold. On the one hand, it includes al-Idrīsī’s ideas about Cumania in general, on the other – it is represented by information about the cities that al-Idrīsī attributed to the Cumans.

‘Cumania’ (*arḍ/bilād al-Qumāniyya/al-Qumāniyūna*) for al-Idrīsī is primarily a political term, the name of the country (al-Idrīsī 1970–1984: 905, 909, 913, 914, 916, 957, 958). Only twice is the word ‘Cumans’ (*Qumāniyūna*) used as an ethnonym (al-Idrīsī 1970–1984: 915, 916), as has already been noted in historiography (Drobný 2012: 208). At the same time, the Cumans are characterized by al-Idrīsī as a people, although for other peoples of Eastern Europe – the Khazars, the Rus, the Volga Bulgars – more or less detailed descriptions are given, most of them taken from Arabic geographical literature of the 9th–10th centuries. Obviously, al-Idrīsī lacked ethnographic information about the Cumans. This is due to the fact that the ethnonym ‘Cumans’ is not found at all in Islamic literature before al-Idrīsī. Therefore, the most likely source of information about Cumania in the work of al-Idrīsī were the reports of Western European informants, since the word ‘Cumans’ (*Cumani, Comani*) was the usual designation of the Polovtsy in Western European literature. It is significant that the very name of this people is derived by al-Idrīsī from the name of the city ‘Black Cumania’ (al-Idrīsī 1970–1984: 915).

From the text and inscriptions on the map it is obvious that by the term 'Cumania' al-Idrīsī meant a large area stretching from the Black Sea into the interior of the continent. According to al-Idrīsī, the southern border of Cumania was the Black Sea: this is stated in the introduction to the fifth and sixth sections of the sixth climate, where al-Idrīsī lists the countries along the Black Sea coast (al-Idrīsī 1970–1984: 905, 914). In one of his descriptions of the Black Sea, one can also find an indication of exactly where Cumania touched the sea: among the countries located along the coast, Cumania is positioned between Khazaria and Rus' (al-Idrīsī 1970–1984: 905). The city of *Jalīta* (Yalta) in the Crimea is described as a Cuman locality (al-Idrīsī 1970–1984: 909). In the west Cumania stretched to the Dnieper River – an inscription on the map shows this (Miller 1927: 56). An indirect confirmation of the fact that the Dnieper was the western border of Cumania in the Black Sea steppes is al-Idrīsī's statement that the territory of Rus' that touched the sea lay between the Dnieper and the Danube (al-Idrīsī 1970–1984: 12, 905; see interpretation of these passages in: Konovalova 2006: 164–165). Judging by the inscription on the map, the eastern border of Cumania ran somewhere between the main course of the *Athil* river and its branch, which flows into the Black Sea, that is, between the Lower Volga and the lower reaches of the Don (Miller 1927: 56).

Al-Idrīsī's data on the western and eastern borders of Cumania were accurate and up-to-date at the time of the author. For example, Cumans (under the name of the 'Polovtsy') are mentioned for the first time in the *Ipat'evskaia Chronicle* in the entry for the year 1152: "The whole Polovtsian land, what is it between the Volga and the Dnieper" (PSRL 1998: 455). As for Cumania's northern border, al-Idrīsī apparently did not have clear information about its location. From the description of the northern part of Cumania, given in the fifth and sixth sections of the seventh climate, it can be concluded that the closest neighbors of Cumania in the north were the Rus and the Volga Bulgars (al-Idrīsī 1970–1984: 957–958).

According to the observations of B.A. Rybakov, al-Idrīsī described Cumania as consisting of three parts – 'Black', 'White' and 'Outer'. Rybakov identified 'Black' and 'White' Cumania, respectively, with the Dnieper and Don Polovtsian unions, and 'Outer Cumania', from his point of view, should be understood as 'Wild Polovtsy' (*polovtsy dikie*), the nearest neighbors of Rus' (Rybakov 1952: 42–44). Subsequently, this assumption became widespread in historiography. The interpretation of information about 'Black' and 'White' Cumania was supported by many authors (Fedorov-Davydov 1966: 149–150; Dobrodomov 1978: 122; Kononov 1978: 167–168; Pletneva 1985: 249, 251–253; Pletneva 1990: 101), who also looked for 'Outer' Cumania in the region of the Crimean and Kuban Polovtsian camps (Pletneva 1985: 253). Along with this was suggested that the terms 'Black Cumania' and 'White Cumania' did not have a political, but rather a purely geographical meaning; while the term 'White Cumania' seems to have designated the central regions of the Polovtsian steppe (which can be hypothetically called 'Inner Cumania'), 'Black Cumania' was identified with the peripheral areas of the Cuman lands, i.e. 'Outer Cumania' (Ciociltan 1992: 1114–1115).

But there is no reason to consider 'Outer' or 'Inner' Cumania as a special part of the Polovtsian steppe. Since the ethnonym 'Cumans' was not used in Islamic sources before al-Idrīsī, it can be assumed that this ethnotoponym ('Outer / Inner Cumania') was most likely created by al-Idrīsī himself and was not obtained from the geographer's informants, because this term is not found among the route data, but only in the introduction to the section, which briefly lists those countries which will be discussed in this part of the work (al-Idrīsī 1970–1984: 958). In addition, adjectives of the 'inner' / 'outer' type make sense only in connection with the location of the informant, in relation to which certain elements of space are arranged. It is not by chance that in the manuscripts of the sixth section of the seventh climate of *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq* both toponyms are interchangeable: in the introduction to this section in the St. Petersburg (The National Library of Russia, Ar. Sc. 176) and Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Arab. 2222 / Suppl. Ar. 893) manuscripts 'Outer Cumania' (*Qumāniyya al-khārīja*) is mentioned, while in the earliest extant manuscript of al-Idrīsī's work (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Arab. 2221 / Suppl. Ar. 892) 'Inner Cumania' (*Qumāniyya al-dākhila*) is used instead.

The idea that al-Idrīsī considered 'Black' and 'White' Cumania as parts of the Polovtsian land is also inaccurate, since his text (al-Idrīsī 1970–1984: 915, 916, 920) and the map (Miller 1927: 56) leave no doubt that al-Idrīsī and his informants meant not regions, but settlements with such names, to which we now turn.

Cities attributed to the Cumans

In different parts of his work, al-Idrīsī names a number of Cuman cities. Almost all of them are listed in the descriptions of trade routes. In this case, the distances between them and the direction of movement are indicated, as well as individual signs and characteristics of a particular point. It can be assumed that information about these settlements was obtained mainly from oral sources. The localization of most of the Cuman cities is uncertain and at present can hardly be accurate at all.

Three Cuman cities are places on the Northern Black Sea coast. First of all, there were 'White Cumania' and 'Black Cumania': "From the city of al-Khazariyya to the city of Kīra — twenty five miles, and from the latter to [the city of] Qumāniyya, after which the Cumans are named and which is called 'Black Cumania' (*Qumāniyya al-sawdā*) — twenty five miles. Between Qumāniyya and Kīra there is a large and high impassable mountain. This city is called 'Black Cumania' because a river flows near it, which [first] comes into its territory, then goes down into the gorge of these mountains, and then flows into the sea. Its water is black like smoke. This is well known and is not denied [by anyone]. From the city of 'Black Cumania' to the city of Maṭlūqa, which is also called 'White Cumania' (*Qumāniyya al-bayḍā*), it is fifty miles. 'White Cumania' is a big prosperous city. From it to the city of Mātrīqā, whose name is transmitted [as well as] Maṭrakhā, it is a hundred miles of voyage" (al-Idrīsī 1970–1984: 915–916). On

the map, both cities are marked on the Black Sea coast in accordance with the text (Miller 1927: 56).

The information about the cities ‘Black Cumania’ and ‘White Cumania’ is twofold. On the one hand, it is possible to identify specific details in it, such as an indication of distances between cities, a brief description of the city of ‘White Cumania’ and high mountains, certain elements of the description of the river coming out from the gorge. On the other hand, all these specific details, based on some real observations of al-Idrīsī’s informers, are not enough to localize these Cuman cities. It is obvious that the geographer’s informants did not know how these two cities were called by the locals and therefore al-Idrīsī associated their names with the ethnonym. In addition, the informers tried to explain the name of the city ‘Black Cumania’ with the ‘black as smoke’ color of the water in a river that flowed near the city. An attempt to correlate the name of the city ‘Black Cumania’ with the peculiarities of a river flowing nearby could have a real basis.

The description of ‘White Cumania’ as a big prosperous city shows that under this name a real trading port was meant. The second name of ‘White Cumania’ — *Maṭlūqa* — has a great similarity with another two of al-Idrīsī’s toponyms, *Mātrīqā* and *Maṭrakhā*, which denote the port city at the east side of the Strait of Kerch that was mentioned in the Old Rus *Primary Chronicle* as *Tmutorokan*. Obviously, al-Idrīsī could have received information about such a strategically important point as it was in the 12th century, from several informants. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that the name *Maṭlūqa*, also known as ‘White Cumania’, is one of the variants of the toponym *Tmutorokan*, and the distance of one hundred miles between them was indicated by an error that arose in the process of coordinating data about this city from a number of sources. The comparison, proposed by S.A. Pletneva, of ‘White Cumania’ with *Belaia Vezha* (Sarkel) (Pletneva 1975: 294) seems to be wrong, since in the times of al-Idrīsī, at the site of the *Belaia Vezha* there was only a Polovtsian wintering place (Beilis 1984: 211).

One more Cuman city on the sea shore is *Jālīṭa*, mentioned in the fifth section of the sixth climate as one of the points of the sea route from Constantinople to *Maṭrakhā*: “From [the city of] *Karsūna* to *Jālīṭa* — thirty miles; this town belongs to the land of the Cumans” (al-Idrīsī 1970–1984: 909). The identification of *Jālīṭa* with Yalta, located at a distance of fifty modern nautical miles east of Chersonese (*Karsūna*), is quite obvious (Konovalova 2006: 177, with bibliography). There is no doubt that al-Idrīsī received information about this city from persons who sailed the route.

Another group of Cuman cities lay at a more or less significant distance from the Black Sea coast: “Among the cities of the Cuman country or the Land of the Cumans there are the cities *Fīra*, *Nārūs*, *Nūshī*, and *Qīniyuw*. As for the city of *Nūshī*, it is located to the north of ‘White Cumania’ — there are fifty miles between them. It is a lively city of medium size, with an abundance of grain. It stands on the river, which irrigates most of its fields. From the city of *Nūshī* to the city of *Qīniyuw* to the north-east — a hundred miles, or four stages. The city of *Qīniyuw*

is a big city at the foot of a high mountain; it has an extensive populated area and is very lively. Similarly, from the city of *Nūshī* to the city of *Nārūs* – a hundred miles to the north-west. This city is small, and has markets where trading is conducted. From the city of *Nārūs* eastward to the city of *Ṣalāw* (Pereiaslavl' Russkii) – one hundred thirty-five miles, and from the city of *Nārūs* to the city of *Fira* – fifty miles to the west, and from *Fira* to the city of *Nābī* twenty five miles to the west” (al-Idrīsī 1970–1984: 916–917). All these cities are marked on the map to the east of the Dnieper, and their position roughly corresponds to the text (Miller 1927: 56).

It is known that Polovtsians wandered in the immediate vicinity of the borders of Pereiaslavl', Chernigov and Kiev principalities; they knew many Old Russian cities along the Sula, Ros', Seim, and Dnieper rivers, which were targets of Polovtsian attacks. Due to the fact that the information on the Cuman cities is placed after the message about *Maṭrakhā*, and their description begins from the city of *Nūshī*, the distance to which can be taken from the 'White Cumania' associated with *Tmutorokan*, it is possible to conclude that the Cuman cities should be sought on the trade route from Azov to the outlying Russian lands of Pereiaslavl', Chernigov and the Kiev principalities.

Since the names of the Cuman cities given by al-Idrīsī cannot be taken for proper Polovtsian toponyms, they are usually compared with the chronicle cities of the Old Russian principalities, which were near the border with the Polovtsian steppe (Rybakov 1952: 36–38; Beilis 1984: 213–214, 223–225). In fact, the Polovtsy had no cities as such, but there were only small 'towns' that emerged in the wintering grounds (Pletneva 1985: 255). From the chronicle under the years 1111 and 1116 it is known that there were three such towns – *Sharukan'*, *Sugrov* and *Balin* (PSRL 1998: 266, 284). The likely area of their location is presumably the Middle Donets (Pletneva 1985: 280; Pletneva 1990: 61–62).

The city of *Fira* (mentioned in manuscripts also as *Kira*) can be compared to the chronicle's *Vyr'* located in the basin of the Seim river, often devastated by the Polovtsy, on the southeastern border of the Chernigov principality, and the city of *Nārūs* – with the city of *Baruch* in the Pereiaslavl' principality (Beilis 1984: 213), which was located on the border with the Polovtsian steppe and was well known for the Polovtsy, so that al-Idrīsī's informant could take it for a proper Cuman city. In addition, the fact that the bands of nomadic Oghuz ('Torks' of the chronicle) settled in the service of the Old Russian princes and lived in tandem with the Russian agricultural population could also affect the assignment of *Baruch* to the Cuman cities. It is known that in 1126 the Polovtsy undertook a campaign against Pereiaslav land in order to capture the Turk's dwellings located at *Baruch*. During the raid, the Torks, together with the Rus, took refuge behind the walls of this city (PSRL 1998: 289–290; Pletneva 1990: 76).

The name *Qīmiyuw* is considered either as one of the variants of the name 'Kiev' (Beilis 1984: 224) or is compared with the city of Kanev, which, like Kiev, was also frequently visited by merchants and travelers (Kuza 1989: 73). Moreover,

Kanev was more likely to be identified by al-Idrīsī's informers as a Cuman city, since in the middle of the 12th century Kanev became the place where the center of missionary episcopacy, which was engaged in the Christianization of nomads, including the Polovtsians, was transferred from Iur'ev (Podskal'ski 1996: 58–59).

The city of *Nābī*, whose name is also found in the spelling of *Nāy*, appears in the fifth section of the sixth climate as part of another route — through the Old Russian cities of the Dnieper region, where it is said that it was six days away from Kiev (al-Idrīsī 1970–1984: 913). T. Lewicki identified this point with the city of the *Koui* nomadic horde, which was part of the 'Black Caps' (*Chernye klobuki*) dependent on the Kiev princes and located in the basin of the Ros' river (Lewicki 1958: 13–18; Beilis 1984: 224). Despite the lack of data on this city, there is no doubt that the mention of it in connection with the story of the Old Russian cities of the Dnieper basin and its assignment by al-Idrīsī's informants to the Cuman cities make it possible to search for this point in the Russian-Polovtsian borderland.

The location of the city of *Nūshī* also seems to be uncertain. V.M. Beilis noted that the third grapheme of the word can be read without diacritical points (*Nūsī*), and compared this toponym with the name of the city *Nosov* in the Pereiaslavl principality (PSRL 1998: 360; Beilis 1990: 92).

In the fifth and sixth sections of the seventh climate, in the context of the story about the northern regions of Cumania, al-Idrīsī also mentions a number of Cuman toponyms. According to him, in the upper reaches of the Dnieper River (*Danābris*) there were "Sinūbulī and Mūnīshqa — prosperous cities from the country of al-Qumāniyya" (al-Idrīsī 1970–1984: 957). Both toponyms are, most likely, two names of the same settlement — Smolensk (for more details see: Konovalova 2006: 203–206). Assigning them to the Cuman cities could have been connected with the location of Smolensk on the trade route that led through the Polovtsian Steppe to the north along the Dnieper. It was along this way that objects from the Baltic cultural circle found in Polovtsian burials were imported by the Polovtsy (Uspenskiy, Gołębiowska-Tobiasz 2017: 454). In the first half of the 12th century, the geography of the Polovtsian military presence on the territory of Rus' was significantly expanded thanks to the use of the Polovtsian troops in the internecine wars of the Russian princes. In particular, under the year 1147, the chronicle reports on the appearance of Polovtsy in the territory of Smolensk (PSRL 1998: 357–359; Temushev 2017: 131).

Finally, al-Idrīsī names two cities in the northern part of Cumania — *Ṭarūyā* and *Aqlība*: "Both of them are prosperous cities, similar to one another and composed of the same stone. Between *Ṭarūyā* and the city of *Ṣalāw*, one hundred miles to the south along sparsely populated steppes. From *Ṭarūyā* to the town of *Aqlība* eight days of travel. This is the most extreme region of Cumania in our time." (al-Idrīsī 1970–1984: 958). The mention of these cities on the same route as the city of *Ṣalāw* (Pereiaslavl' Russkii) suggests that *Ṭarūyā* and *Aqlība*, like the Cuman cities from the sixth section of the sixth climate, could be identified with

the urban centers of the southern Russian principalities, in particular with Chernigov, whose rulers often used Polovtsian troops in their own interests, and the fortress city of *Voin'*, which stood on the border with the Polovtsian steppe (Konovalova 2006: 271–272).

Conclusion

Analysis of al-Idrīsī's information on Cumania shows that he used predominantly modern data received from informers, who visited Cumania personally or heard about trips there from eyewitnesses. The bulk of information about Cumania is made up of reports about Cuman cities, and the typical characteristics of these settlements mentioned by al-Idrīsī relate mainly to their commercial functions.

At the same time, the information that al-Idrīsī had about the Cuman cities, as a rule, is not specific enough and is also very concise, which makes it problematic to localize the settlements named by the geographer with a sufficient degree of certainty. Yet it is quite obvious that most of al-Idrīsī's information about Cumania was somehow connected with the trade route that led from the Azov Sea to the south-eastern outskirts of Rus' and further to the north along the Dnieper. The cities attributed by the geographer to the Cumans, were actually Old Russian settlements that lay in the border strip and had in some cases an ethnically mixed population, in which the Turkic element was also present. Although al-Idrīsī mistakenly takes a number of Russian cities for Cuman ones, the very fact that the geographer attributed them to the Cumans is important. All the cities that al-Idrīsī considers as Cuman appear in his treatise in the same context, namely in the stories about the trade routes in which these cities were connected with each other and with other settlements.

Al-Idrīsī's description of Cumania as a geographical and political unit relied on the idea of the vast size of its territory, but this notion, however, was not backed up by the geographic data, and as a result al-Idrīsī attributed to Cumania significant areas of Eastern Europe that in fact were not well known to him. Thereby al-Idrīsī managed to combine a number of isolated other stories about different parts of Cumania in order to form a holistic view of the Polovtsian lands and fit them into an international context.

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Some Aspects of Xiongnu History in Archaeological Perspective*

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Introduction

Sedentary civilizations enjoyed high culture and script, having a virtual monopoly on historical knowledge. Using the terms of modern discourse one can say that they constructed the past. Ancient chroniclers created descriptions of their prehistoric neighbors, which modern scholars take as veracious and reliable accounts of prehistoric cultures (Schmidt and Mrozowski 2013).

City dwellers usually described these neighbors as barbarians, denying them decency, morality, and cleanliness. Their culture was usually described as imperfect. Many examples can illustrate it: the Celts as described by Julius Cesar and Tacitus, the Scythians in the narratives of Herodotus, the Xiongnu in the writings of Sima Qian, and the Slavs in the essay of Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. It would not be an exaggeration to state that the nomads, for example, caught it especially bad from the contemporary commentators. They were truly warlike. They launched blitz attacks and disappeared equally swiftly. Finally, their lifestyle and culture were utterly different, alien, and they truly scared people from sedentary agricultural civilizations. Not surprisingly, the Greeks concocted an image of a Centaur, half human and half horse.

Meanwhile, the reality was far more complicated than that. The Barbarians were not as terrible as the sedentary historians described them. Sedentary people themselves committed many horrible deeds, but since their atrocities were never documented, nobody knows about them. For a long time, archaeology was merely a supplement to history. Usually, historians played the primary role while archaeologists were mostly engaged in finding beautiful artifacts to illustrate historical volumes. However, in the course of time, the value of archaeology changed. Not only was archaeology the principal and only source of information for prehistory; as methodology and instruments developed, archaeologists started

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raising questions which clarified, complemented, and even prompted reconsideration of the conclusions made by historians, who pored over dusty manuscripts in the archives.

This paper will discuss the history of the large polity of the Xiongnu. This was the first nomadic empire in Inner Asia. The Xiongnu were nomads settled in the lands to the north of the Chinese plain. Its history is one of the most interesting pages in the history of the peoples of the Eurasian steppes in late antiquity. The Xiongnu had no script of their own. Therefore, strictly speaking, we should consider their society prehistoric.

The history of the Xiongnu is well known from the narrative sources. There are many books in different languages (Egami 1948; Bernshtam 1951; Gumilev 1960; Davydova 1985; Suhbaatar 1980; Di Cosmo 2002, etc.). Despite keen interest in Xiongnu archaeology and outstanding discoveries (Brosseder, Miller 2011) there are still many controversial issues. This paper aims to show how archaeological data can alter our knowledge of the Xiongnu society obtained from the written sources. Besides, I will start from an important topic which shows that the narrative sources on the Xiongnu themselves must be criticized. In their writings, the Chinese historians compiled and combined texts from various types of sources. In addition to reports, briefs, and transcripts, these materials include pieces of folklore recorded and incorporated as real events.

Historical context

The Xiongnu Empire came into being in 209 B.C. when *chanyu* (the Xiongnu ruler's title) Modu, or Maodun seized power. He killed his father and usurped the throne. In the north, the boundaries of the Xiongnu Empire reached Lake Baikal, while the southern ones rested against the Great Wall of China. In the west, the Empire was contiguous with East Turkestan including Khakasia, Tuva, and Altai, while in the east the boundaries reached the Khingan and the Liao River.

After that, a dramatic confrontation between the Xiongnu and the Western Han began. Even though at the time the population of China was about 60 million people whereas the total population of nomads did not reach 1.5 million people, the Xiongnu managed to withstand, on equal terms, the Qin and Han dynasties. They also forced the Chinese to arrange for large payments of silk, handicraft articles and products of settled agriculture under the pretense of gifts (Barfield 1981; Di Cosmo 2002; Kradin 2002).

In the first decades of the Xiongnu polity's existence, the Chinese were forced to acknowledge that the nomads were, indeed, powerful, and conclude a peace treaty between equal states. In 129–58 B.C. emperor Wu waged bloody wars against the Xiongnu, weakening both sides. After that, an excessive number of heirs to the founder of the nomadic empire sparked an internecine war among the Xiongnu in 60–36 B.C. (Kradin 2002: 216–224; 2011: 92–93). The winner in this civil

conflict was Huhanye. Since Huhanye relied on Chinese assistance, he was forced to recognize political vassalage to China and establish peaceful relationships with the South. The peace lasted till the fall of the Western Han. Hybrid frontier relationships were again established between the Eastern Han (25–220 A.D.) and the Xiongnu: either the nomads plundered the lands of their southern neighbors, or extorted gifts from them under threat of forays.

The most information about the Xiongnu is available from Chinese narrative sources, such as Chapter 110 of *Shi ji* [Historical Records] by Sima Qian, Chapters 94A and 94B of *Han shu* [History of the Han Dynasty] by Ban Gu, and Chapter 79 of *Hou Han shu* [History of the Later Han Dynasty] by Fan Ye. Scholars have translated them into different languages (Bichurin 1851/1950; Groot 1921; Watson 1961; 1993; Taskin 1968; 1973; Viatkin 2002 etc.). It is especially important to note the studies by Vsevolod Taskin. As a son of a political immigrant, he spent the first half of his life in Harbin and knew Chinese as his native language. Not only did he translate all fragments of the Chinese chronicles mentioning the Xiongnu into Russian, he also provided detailed comments on them (Taskin 1968; 1973).

The Han people viewed China as the “Central Kingdom,” the hub of the universe, surrounded by the barbarians (Kroll 1996: 77). Unlike the noble Chinese, the nomads had no virtues. They were the forces of Darkness. Chinese astrology allocated them the planet of Mercury, associated with the north, winter, and war (Viatkin 1975: 284 note 132). One of the functionaries warned emperor Wu that the Xiongnu had “the heart of wild birds and beasts (Taskin 1968: 73). In the descriptions of Chinese historians, the Xiongnu are greedy barbarians with “a human face and the heart of a beast” (Viatkin 1992: 277).

From the standpoint of Chinese historians, the nomads embodied all the evils of humans. They had neither a settled lifestyle, nor houses, script, and calendar (and that meant having no history!), nor agriculture and crafts. They ate raw meat and did not respect the elderly. They had another hairdo and wrapped their gowns on the wrong side. The nomads married even their mothers (!) and widows of their brothers. How could one respect such savages!

It is interesting that such an attitude to Eurasian nomads was largely characteristic. The call of Confucius to perceive nomads as “wild beasts” is very similar to Aristotle’s advice to Alexander the Great to regard the barbarians as mere animals (Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 1, 6). Ammianus Marcellinus in *The Roman History* (XXXI. 2, 10) describes the Huns as a gang of bandits with no permanent residence, “None of them plow or even touch a plow-handle: for they have no settled abode, but are homeless and lawless, perpetually wandering with their wagons”. However, a careful reading of Marcellinus and other sources shows that the Hun society was, in fact, a three-segment empire. The Huns had a mighty, well-equipped army. They knew how to besiege and storm fortified towns. Their rulers maintained diplomatic relations with neighboring states. The Huns used a cunning policy of intermittent raids and gift extortion similar to what the Xiongnu

used in Asia. The Hun headquarters was a real town (Vernadsky 1943: 138-143; Maenchen-Helfen 1973: 190-199, 270-274).

The birth of the empire myth

In Chapter 110 of *The Records of the Grand Historian* Sima Qian tells an exciting story about Modu's ascent to power (Lidai 1958: 16; Watson 1993: 134-135). Modu was the eldest son and heir to Touman chanyu, who reigned at the end of the 3rd century B.C. Touman decided to place power in the hands of another son, born of a young wife. To that end, he decided to get rid of Modu by a trick. His son had been sent to the Yuezhi as an honorary hostage. However, Touman then insidiously attacked Yuezhi territory. Modu displayed his strong personal qualities. Having deceived the guards, Modu stole a horse and rode home. Touman reluctantly had to appreciate the bravery of his eldest son. He gave Modu a tumen – 10,000 horsemen – to command.

Modu clearly understood the fragility of his status. He started gathering reliable followers. Sima Qian wrote that Modu began military training. He said that he would behead anyone who refused to shoot right after he had released his arrow. After a while, Modu shot at his favorite horse. Some of his warriors were afraid to shoot. Then Modu ordered them beheaded. Soon he shot at his most beloved wife. Some of his followers refused. They were also beheaded. Next time Modu shot at his father's horse. All the warriors did the same, which meant that they would follow him to the end. After a while, during a hunt, Modu shot at his father. All of his warriors did the same. After killing his father, Modu seized the headquarters, murdered his brother and his mother, and put all his opponents to death.

Having heard about a coup d'état the Donghu, Modu's eastern neighbors, considered it an excellent chance to attack the Xiongnu. To create a pretext for the war, they dispatched an envoy who demanded the chanyu's wonder horse, who could cover 1,000 li in a day. All Modu's counselors advised him to refuse. However, Modu wisely decided not to quarrel with the neighbor over a horse. After that, the Donghu ruler demanded the chanyu's wife. Modu again decided not to enter a conflict with the neighboring polity over a woman. Then the Donghu demanded that he surrender the uninhabited frontier territories. This time Modu flamed up in rage. He declared, "Land is the basis of the nation!" Modu executed all those who advised surrendering the lands, then gathered an army and defeated the Donghu. The spoils of war were enormous; enough to share among all participants of the campaign.

These events appear more like fantasy fiction than truth. This story has too many questions and discrepancies. I will begin by reminding that political plots ripen in secret. Here all preparatory activity involved many people. The cruel murder of the wife could not escape attention. How did Modu explain such a

merciless deed to his father and relatives of his murdered wife? It is even less probable that Modu dared to slaughter his father's favorite horse. For the pastoral nomads to hit somebody's horse means to insult the owner. To kill the chanyu's favorite horse was indeed a mortal insult! In Sima Qian's oeuvre, there are too many 'most beloved' wives. Modu shot one of them and gave another to the Donghu ruler. The third wife, as mentioned in *The Records* by Sima Qian, persuaded Modu to let go of the encircled Chinese army of Emperor Gaozu during the Baideng battle (Lidai 1958: 18; Watson 1993: 138). It is highly improbable that Modu could be sowing such unimaginable terror in his lands. If every leader of a nomadic community beheaded his warriors and followers as quickly as did Modu in Sima Qian's story, he would inevitably end up losing all followers very soon. There are other questions too (Kradin 2002: 47-55).

In general, the entire story of Modu's rise to power very closely reminds us of a fairy tale or a heroic epic. The plot displays a rigid compositional structure, being divided into two parts. The first part deals with Modu's ascent to power. The second part narrates the relationship with the Donghu ruler and war against him which, as often happens in fictional stories, has a happy end. All events in both parts unfold on a chain principle. The suspense gradually builds until it reaches a climax in some action. Named a cumulative effect by Vladimir Propp (1984: 25), this plot construction method was widespread in various forms of folklore.

Another significant similarity between the story of Modu and pieces of folklore lies in the *ternary* principle (ibid). All events in a chain are repeated three times (just like in a Russian fairy tale about Sivka-Burka), but each time the suspense cumulatively grows. First Modu shoots at his horse, then his wife, then his father's horse. Only *the third attempt* to win unanimous support of his warriors was a success. In the second part he surrenders his horse, then his wife, but after the third demand he mounts his horse and leads the campaign against the Donghu. The third similarity with folklore is the presence of a horse and a wife in the story. These are the traditional folkloric elements. The enemies threaten to take them from the protagonist. The fourth similarity is the act of patricide. This is also a typical folkloric plot. Besides, the name of Touman, the father chanyu, as a real historical figure also raises doubts. Over a century ago Hirth and Shiratori, independently of each other, noted the consonance of the name Touman with the word *tuman*, meaning 10.000 (Hirth 1900; Shiratori 1902).

Most likely Sima Qian recorded from someone an epic tale about Modu. The Chinese historian was born more than half a century after the events described in the story. He started writing his *Records* only in 104 B.C. when a whole century had passed. The nomads knew no script. For them the primary source of historical memory were epics. When Modu came to power in the steppe, in China the Han dynasty replaced the Qin. It is highly unlikely that at that time the Chinese even followed the events far away in the north, beyond the desert. It is entirely possible that Sima Qian (or perhaps his informer) could have heard a story from some Xiongnu narrator. In *Records*, the elements of real historical events intermingle

with the elements of a poetic, epic tale. It is tough to distinguish between truth and fantasy here. The same situation is found in other nomadic empires, for example, in the Turk khaganates (Golden 2018).

It is improper to make conclusions about concrete historical events from studies of folklore. In fairy tales and epic tales, there may be characters whose prototypes belong to different historical epochs (Propp 1984). This conclusion is partially plausible about the story of Modu where real facts and folkloric layers intertwine. It is entirely correct that he had seized power by dethroning the legitimate ruler (possibly his father). From the second part of the story it is clear that after the coup d'état he defeated and subjugated the Donghu. All other events associated with horses, wives, and archery are folkloric supplements. Therefore, one can be sure that the period before 209 B.C. was Xiongnu prehistory. The real, eventful history started only after this date when the Chinese historians began paying attention to their northern neighbors.

Subsistence

Sima Qian wrote that the Xiongnu ate only butcher's meat (Lidai 1958: 3; Watson 1993: 129). Meanwhile, it is well known that dairy products were the staple food of the nomads. Most nomads ate meat only during holidays, in autumn during the slaughtering of cattle, in cases when cattle died, or when guests visited their camps. Any visit of a faraway stranger, especially a Chinese, was an extraordinary event. Hospitality traditions strictly prescribed to treat a visitor from a foreign land with mutton. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Chinese had the impression that the nomads exclusively fed on the meat from their animals.

The extent of farming development in the Xiongnu polity is one of the most disputable questions. Already in Soviet times, a dispute arose about who was involved in agriculture: the Xiongnu themselves or captives and immigrants from China (Davydova 1978). Modern methods of data acquisition and analysis indicate that the agricultural products are found not only at sites with permanent dwellings but also at encampments (Wright et al. 2009). At the same time, the picture of economic life proved to be more complex.

Contemporary isotope investigations of human bones show that people at some sites mainly used dairy and meat products. In another place, the diet was mixed and included foods of plant origin as well as game animals (Nelson et al. 2009; Machicek 2011). Some sites displayed no signs of agriculture whatsoever despite carefully performed field investigations (Houle, Broderick 2011). It is possible that the prevalence of caries among the Xiongnu indirectly suggests the importance of agricultural products in the nutritional system of individual groups of Xiongnu (Erdene 2011), and the considerable content of phosphorus in human bones appoints to the considerable role of fishing (Brosseder, Marsadolov 2010; Brosseder et al. 2011).

Local archaeological studies also open up new prospects. Mapping of the archaeological sites near the Khanuin-Gol River valley (East Höbsugul area), beginning with the Bronze Age, showed that the majority of sites are grouped within two discrete zones: the “summer” sites are in the immediate vicinity of the river while the “winter” ones are within the elevated zones of the foothills, more distant from the river. The distance between them is about 5 km. The paradox lies in the fact that this scheme coincides entirely with the current routes of migrations (Houle 2009; Houle, Broderick 2011) and correlates with traditional types of nomadism in this territory (Simukov 2007: 272–273, 501, 718, etc.). That said, the environmental conditions of the Xiongnu period correspond approximately with the modern ones. According to calculations of the faunal remains collected at the sites in the Khanuin-Gol River valley, they contain 54 percent small ruminant bones, 25 percent horse bones and 16 percent cattle bones (Houle, Broderick 2011: 145). This data corresponds approximately to the traditional composition of the herds of nomads in the Eurasian steppes (Kradin 2002: 71). The number of wild animal bones is tiny. In a couple of cases, marmot bones (*Marmota sp.*) were found.

Examinations of the seasonal camps can provide some new perspectives in the study of the social structure. As a rule, they display only fragmented ceramics but, if the problem is adequately set, can be a source of significant information. There exists a technique based on the assumption that inequality is reflected in the sizes, shapes, and decoration of the kitchenware. The higher rank households more often than others arrange prestigious ceremonies related to feasts and redistribution. Houle and Broderick found out that the ceramics from two of the fourteen sites differ markedly in size and ornamentation from the total sample. The sites also revealed wastes of metallurgic production, which suggests a home character of metallurgy. In this case, both sites stand opposite one another; one site is closer to the river while the other is in the foothills. There are reasonable grounds to assume that the same households migrated along the same routes. Since there were no other artifacts here which could be related to prestigious objects, the authors assume that there are reasons to speak about insignificant social differences in the society under study (Houle, Broderick 2011: 148–150).

The wings and the center

In chapter 110 of *The Records* Sima Qian provided a detailed description of the administrative system of the Xiongnu empire (Lidai 1958: 17; Watson 1993: 136–137). The polity under Modu comprised three parts: the center, the left, and the right wings. The wings, in turn, were subdivided into underwings. Twenty four highest officials had a military rank of “chief of ten thousand” and were subordinate to the *chanyu*. At the lowest level of the administrative hierarchy were the local tribal chieftains and elders. Officially, they were subordinate to the

twenty-four deputies from the center. The total number of these tribal groups within the Xiongnu imperial confederation is unknown.

A systematic study of the cartographic information for the archaeological sites opens up new prospects. Through an examination of spatial relations, one can better understand the distribution of political power. Based on the concentration of objects from the Xiongnu period, Holotova-Szinek identifies ten areas. However, only three of them display the maximum concentration of archaeological sites. The first area includes the Selenge Aimag and the territory of Buryatia. The second key area is in the Tuv Aimag. The third zone is in the Arkhangai Aimag (Holotova-Szinek 2011a; 2011b). In her opinion, this circumstance characterizes the Xiongnu polity as an “imperial confederacy,” where places of regional political power concentration occur intermittently with empty spaces. Holotova-Szinek tries to understand why the Chinese sources do not reflect such political organization and why the areas identified by her were not mentioned in the Chinese historical texts (2011b: 436). However, a complete picture requires a more detailed sample for the contiguous regions. Most likely, it will broaden our understanding of the spatial distribution of power.

Bryan Miller (2011) attempted to reconstruct the system of relations between the center and peripheral areas in the Xiongnu Empire based on archaeological data. In the east, the Xiongnu bordered on the Donghu, whose descendants were called the Wuhuan and the Xianbei in the times of the Xiongnu Empire. Miller believes that there is some evidence of trade and other relationships as well as some shared features of funeral ceremonies. Nevertheless, the majority of cultural traits of the local nomads differ from those in the center, which suggests an insufficient political integration. The territory to the south of the Mongolian steppes, near the Great Wall, demonstrates an occurrence of significant components of the Xiongnu cultural tradition characteristic of the early Xiongnu. In the times of the Empire, despite the wars, the boundary was porous on both sides. This is confirmed by numerous written sources from different periods about the trade relations between the nomads and settled residents, smuggling, deserters, and so on. In the northwestern peripheral regions of the Xiongnu Empire, Xiongnu burials in the mixed burial grounds and graves having signs of different traditions were found. This fact suggests a fluid, penetrable boundary between the center and the periphery, as well as a developed economic and political integration.

An empire without towns

In the Chinese chronicles, the Xiongnu are generally described as cattle herders randomly moving in search of food within the unbounded spaces of the cold northern desert, “They move about in search of water and pasture and have no walled cities or fixed dwellings, nor do they engage in any kind of agriculture” (Lidai 1958: 3; Watson 1993: 129). In this a characteristic, scornful attitude to the

wild and non-virtuous barbarians is discernible. However, if the texts of the chronicles concerning the Xiongnu are perused one can find some references to the construction of walled settlements with agriculture by people under the Xiongnu power (Lidai 1958: 191, 204, 208; Taskin 1968: 91; 1973: 22 24, 30, 103).

The archaeological data confirm this fact. At present, more than twenty fortresses and settlements from the Xiongnu period are known (Hayashi 1984; Danilov 2011, etc.). The functional status of many Xiongnu fortresses still awaits clarification. In particular, they could not have performed a critical defensive function. Their dimensions were not significant, and they were incapable of restraining vast armies. Also, the Xiongnu themselves were skeptical about the possibility of passive defense under a siege (Lidai 1958: 204). The nomads put primary emphasis on the mobility of tribal troops and households. They saw it as one of the fundamental reasons for their military invincibility.

One can single out several different forms of the Xiongnu sites. Archeologists examined the Dureny and Boroo settlements, where the dwellers engaged in agriculture (Davydova, Minyaev 2003; Ramseyer, Pousaz, Törbat 2009). Another known fortress is Bayan-Under with one large dwelling inside. It is interpreted as the residence of a military commander (Danilov 2011). There is a whole number of fortresses (Guadov, Undurdov, Tereljii, etc.) for which it is as yet impossible to determine a function. The most studied one is the Guadov site where richly decorated gates, roofed wooden walls and a building on a platform with a tiled roof were unearthed (Eregzen 2017). There is also one real town, a fortified, walled center of agriculture and artisanal crafts (the Ivolga fortress).

Ivolga is located south of the city of Ulan-Ude. The settlement represents an irregular rectangle with sides of approximately 200 x 300 m. On three sides, it was protected by fortifications (four walls and ditches between them), while on the fourth side the settlement bordered the old bed of the Selenga River.

On the territory of the site, 54 dwellings equipped with *kang* heating systems were examined. Numerous and diverse artifacts found there showed that the townsfolk were engaged in agriculture, animal husbandry, crafts, and fishing. Cattle, small ruminants, pigs, and dogs prevailed among the domestic animals. Many items among the findings were manufactured using Chinese technologies. Some of them display hieroglyphs. The study of a burial ground from the same period (216 burials) showed that the Ivolga population included a sizeable Chinese component (Davydova 1985; 1995; 1996). The total number of town dwellers ranged from 2.500–3.000 to several thousand persons. It was practically a real town. Unfortunately, so far it is the first town of the Xiongnu Empire known to archaeologists (Kradin 2005).

Chronology

The chronology of the Xiongnu sites is a crucial question for understanding the boundary between the prehistory and history of the Xiongnu. During the early stages of Xiongnu archaeology, researchers did not pay particular attention to this problem. The interpretations of early investigations were generally related to this or that event of political history. A period of data accumulation was necessary. Now this stage is over, and it is time to proceed with the integration of information. The monograph and the subsequent works by Pan Ling (Pan Ling 2007; 2011) provide the most thorough research on the problem of Xiongnu chronology. Pan Ling clearly posits a division into *Sudzha* and *Dyrestui* chronological stages and that the attempt made by S.S. Minyaev (1998: 74–75) to attribute the Ivolga fortress to the time after 123 B.C. is erroneous. Going through the different categories of archaeological materials, Pan Ling writes that the Daodunzi burial ground is the oldest cemetery of Xiongnu culture on Chinese territory. It is synchronous with the Ivolga fortress and the cemetery from Transbaikalia. All of these sites are attributed to approximately 2nd-1st centuries B.C. and the author assigned them to the epoch of the Western (Early) Han. Other sites in Transbaikalia are considered to be simultaneous with the Ivolga site, but they could have existed before the Eastern (Late) Han. The Budonzhou burial ground (China) belongs to the synchronous sites.

It should be noted that all excavated terrace (i.e., elite) burial mounds in Mongolia and Transbaikalia (Noyon Uul, Gol Mod, Durlig Nars, Tsaram, and Ilmovaya Pad) and also many explored burial grounds of ordinary people belong to this time period. During this period, funeral ceremonies became standardized. Simultaneously, social differentiation in the funeral ceremony is recorded. The last stage in Xiongnu culture, coinciding with the years of the Eastern Han dynasty rule in China, is connected by Pan Ling to such sites on Chinese territory as Xigoupan and Lijiataozhi. She associates them with the Southern Xiongnu and notes a tremendous Chinese influence (Pan Ling 2011).

However, as the use of the radiocarbon method has progressed, questions have arisen which, at the present stage, are challenging to answer intelligibly. The study of the datings of the so-called terraced burial grounds shows that all of them belong to a small chronological period – not earlier than the 1st century B.C. and not later than the 1st century A.D. Meanwhile, it has been impossible to establish even a single date attributed to the time when the Xiongnu Empire was in the making. At the same time, some graves which have been interpreted as Xiongnu ones belong to a much later period (Brosseder 2009; Brosseder, Marsadolov 2010; Brosseder et al. 2011; Brosseder, Miller 2011).

Therefore, it turns out that all elite Xiongnu burials belonged to the period when the polity was in crisis or even to the times after its division into the Northern and Southern confederations in 48 A.D. The burial places of the *chanyus*

and other representatives of the elite remain unknown. They must have been very well hidden from human eyes. We can say the same about the graves of Chinggis-khan and other Mongolian khans.

Conclusion: Xiongnu and Huns

Last two decades have yielded a lot of new data about the nomadic Xiongnu empire. One can say for sure that the Chinese historical works significantly distort the real picture. Nowadays we know that the Xiongnu polity was loose and amorphous.

Contemporary Western science actively criticizes *orientalism*, a distorted view of Asian cultures that the Westerners had formed. Edward Said coined this term in his eponymously-named book. It is also true for the compilers of the ancient and medieval Chinese annals. They described nomads as barbarians with no economy of their own, living on the robbery of peaceful farmers. The archaeological data allow seeing the steppe world through different eyes.

Unfortunately, the sources that the archaeological excavations unearth are extremely fragmented, making it impossible to reconstruct all aspects of culture. We know practically nothing about the elite burials of the first *chanyus*. The origin of the Xiongnu is still a highly debatable issue. Only scarce information exists about the Xiongnu sites in Northern China. The function of the Xiongnu fortresses in Mongolia so far remains a mystery. It is even harder to separate the Xiongnu from the imperial times before 48 A.D. and a still later period when they split into the Northern and Southern confederations.

The problem of relationships between the Asian Xiongnu and the European Huns still thrills scholarly minds. Over recent years, this issue has again become a matter of lively discussion (Vovin 2000; de la Vaissiere 2005). Unfortunately, despite many published papers on this topic, there are still no generalizing investigations, which would be devoted to a comparison of the archaeological sites and artifacts of the Xiongnu and Huns. Generally, the argumentation comprises fine diagrams of the iron cauldron types from the East to the West. The works by N.A. Bokovenko and I.P. Zasetskaia consider this issue with maximum consistency. On a map, the cauldrons stretch into several lines directed from the East to the West. In these authors' opinion, it is the evidence of nomadic migration (Bokovenko, Zasetskaia 1993; Zasetskaia, Bokovenko 1994). This idea also found its followers among Hungarian researchers (Erdy 1995; 2009).

However, the question of what moved, whether people or artifacts, has been the everlasting headache of Eurasian archaeology (Frachetti 2011). It is hard to disagree with the opinion that the widespread distribution of similarly-shaped (but not identical!) cauldrons in the steppe cultures can be interpreted differently. A rhetorical question "Why then should the rider-nomad warriors of the Xiongnu need such a particularly long period of time?" (Brosseder 2011: 415) is not

confirmed by historical and ethnographic parallels. All known East-West migrations were fast.

Nonetheless, among archaeologists, there are many supporters of the Xiongnu migration to the West. In recent years, S. Botalov (2009) constructed a broad picture of the migration of the Xiongnu to the Urals, and then Europe. In Kazakhstan, A.N. Podushkin discovered the Arys-skaya culture with a distinct stage of Xiongnu influence (2009). Russian archaeologists are actively studying the Hun sites in the Caucasus (Gmyrya 1993; 1995).

At the same time, there is not a single specific archaeological work that would show a real similarity between the archaeological sites of the Xiongnu and those of the Huns. If it were so simple, it would have been done long ago. Scrutiny of the distribution of ornate belt plates through the territory of Eurasia indicates that they have more or less certain local links and that their widespread occurrence since the Common Era can be explained by the establishment of the Silk Road. The distribution of other artefacts demonstrates similar inferences (Brosseder 2011; 2018).

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New Results in the Research on the Hun Age in the Great Hungarian Plain. Some Notes on the Social Stratification of Barbarian Society

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Before the Hun Age, the Carpathian Basin was in the zone of influence of different geographical regions. The Danube, one of the largest European rivers, was the border between the eastern and western parts of the basin. This was also the case on the eve of the Hunnic expansion: the right bank belonged to the Roman Empire, while the left one was occupied by Barbarians. As a result of this division, the two sides of the Danube came under the rule of the Huns at different times. To formulate this question in a different way: we need a varied approach to the term “Hun Age”, whether we speak about the spread of the Hun power in the territory of the Sarmatians in the Great Hungarian Plain, or about the occupation of the Middle Danubian provinces. The barbarisation of the provinces is a widely known fact, but the time and circumstances of the Hunnic occupation of Pannonia or Valeria are still a subject of sharp discussions. Most probably, Valeria was overtaken by the Huns in 406 or 409, and the Romans left Pannonia in 431 or 433 (Tóth 2009: 113–114, 159–189). A constantly debated question is how these changes appear in the archaeological material.

The Hunnic occupation of the Great Hungarian Plain, that is to say, the middle part of the Carpathian Basin must have happened long before they received the Middle Danubian provinces. In O. Maenchen-Helfen’s opinion, the Huns could have penetrated the Hungarian Plain already in the time of Uldin, because in the late 370s, there were already no serious forces that could have stopped them. Taking into consideration the intense activity of the Huns at the Lower Danube and the fact that the Goths had left Transylvania, and also that the Alans (who were related to the Sarmatians of the Hungarian Plain) had been the main allies of the Huns already for three decades, we should agree with O. Maenchen-Helfen. He thought that by the 380s, the Hungarian Plain was already under the control of the Huns and their Alanic allies (Maenchen-Helfen 1973: 43; Thompson 2002: 33). This date is also referenced in the account of the last Sarmatian attack against Pannonia recorded in written sources (383–384). Despite the decreasing data in the written sources, one can feel that in the second third of the 4th century Sarmatian pressure on the limes suddenly ceased.

We suggest that in the background there could have been the formation of a new power structure in the Hungarian Plain. This is an additional argument for O. Maenchen-Helfen's hypothesis (Istvánovits, Kulcsár 2017: 379–380). Based on Ausonius' report,¹ Yu. A. Kulakovskij dated the occupation of Eastern Hungary to a time after 378 (Кулаковский 2000: 83–84).

Starting from the last quarter of the 4th century, the archaeological picture of the Great Hungarian Plain becomes very heterogenous. The number of graves obviously increased, that is to say, we experience a “demographic boom,” the only explanation for which are the continuing new waves of migrants.

The earlier archaeological horizon continued to exist – the indigenous population got incorporated into the new structure. In the Sarmatian settlements formed before the Hunnic invasion life obviously went on without any crucial changes at least until the beginning of the 5th century. Continuity can be observed also in the cemeteries. This observation started to take shape already on the basis of materials published earlier.² As a result of large-scale preventive excavations in recent decades, we have at our disposal detailed documentation on cemeteries. Some of the burials can be reliably dated – mainly on the basis of buckles with thickened frames and prongs bending on the frame – not earlier than the start of the 5th century. These graves undoubtedly can be considered Sarmatian due to several features (burials surrounded by ditches, costumes decorated with a large number of beads, etc.) As examples, we can list the following sites: Abony site 49 grave 236 (Gulyás 2011: 170, 176. T. 66: 4), Nagykálló-Ipari park,³ Nyíregyháza-Rozsrétszőlő,⁴ and Óföldreák-Ürmös (Gulyás 2014: 52–53), Üllő site 5,⁵ etc. This means that the earlier Sarmatian population had grown due to the influx of new eastern migrants. That is to say, if our goal is to study the social stratification of the Hun Age Barbarians, as a first step, we should make an analysis of changes that went on during this time in Sarmatian society.

This in itself is not a simple matter, which is shown by the poor scholarship on this question. Studies at our disposal are based, on the one hand, on the data provided by ancient literary sources (Vaday 2011; 2003; 2008). The main problem is the outstandingly high degree of Sarmatian graves' looting. In reality, the “poor” character of burials is deceptive. A relatively large number of graves with golden objects recently collected by us (Istvánovits–Kulcsár 2013b) attests to an outstandingly rich population. Originally rich burials must have been systematically and deliberately robbed. As a – unique – example we should

1 “...the wandering bands of Huns had made alliance with the Sarmatian” and “the Getae with their Alan friends used to attack the Danube” (Auson. precat. cos.VI. 28–35).

2 For example: Szentes-Jaksor (Párducz 1950: 249–250).

3 We thank Róbert Scholtz and Gábor Pintye (Jósa András Museum, Nyíregyháza) for their kind permission to use data of their unpublished excavation.

4 We thank Márta L. Nagy, Attila Jakab and their colleagues (Jósa András Museum, Nyíregyháza) for their kind permission to use the data of their unpublished excavation.

5 Excavation by Valéria Kulcsár and her colleagues (Kossuth Museum, Cegléd).

mention here the golden bracelet from Baja weighing 35.3 g, determined by M. Kőhegyi to belong to the period III of the Sarmatian relics from the Middle Danube (i.e. 3rd-4th century) (Kőhegyi 1958: 42, no. 10).⁶

At the same time, we have to admit that the mapping of the golden finds did not reveal Sarmatian centres of different periods in the territory of the Great Hungarian Plain. For example, on the basis of some finds of Roman aurei from the 1st century A.D., the possibility was suggested that at least one such centre could have been located in the Jászság, in the Middle Tisza Region (Fülöp 1976: 255). However, judging from the spread of the finds and from the fact that no other archaeological signs of the elite were found there, this suggestion can be excluded. As will become clear in the following, the only, perhaps, princely grave was discovered in Jászalsószentgyörgy.⁷

In her recent work, Margit Nagy made an analysis of the social stratification of Sarmatian society (Nagy 2014: 119–124). According to her noteworthy suggestion – earlier we came to the same conclusion but in a less concrete form (Istvánovits–Kulcsár 2014: 442, 443)⁸ – in the case of the badly looted Sarmatian graves, the social status of the dead can be determined by the size of the grave pit.⁹ She supported this hypothesis by the analysis of two cemeteries: Budapest-Péceli út and Madaras-Halmok. In both cases burial constructions of absolutely different sizes were revealed. The biggest pit-grave in the Budapest cemetery measured 6.53 sq. m, while the average area of burials without ditches was 1.96 sq. m; in Madaras the largest pit was 11 sq. m and the average area was 2.38 sq. m.¹⁰ As M. Nagy noted, the growing of the graves' sizes is in inverse proportion to their number, that is to say, large grave-pits are met with much more rarely than small ones. As an example, we cite M. Nagy's evaluation of the Madaras cemetery:

- more than 11 sq. m – 1 grave – high-rank leader;
- 9–10 sq. m – 4 graves – high-rank leaders and family members;
- 8–9 sq. m – 10 graves – high-rank leaders and family members;
- 7–8 sq. m – 10 graves – high-rank leaders and family members;
- 6–7 sq. m – 18 graves – leaders of lesser rank and family members;
- 5–6 sq. m – 11 graves – leaders of lesser rank and family members;
- 4–5 sq. m – 15 graves – retinue of the aristocracy, free warriors and family members;

6 Hungarian National Museum, inv.no. 28.1913.

7 This burial was dated to a much later period and its ethnic interpretation is debated.

8 We wrote that the largest grave-pits must have contained wooden burial constructions that can be connected with the burial customs of the upper layer of Sarmatian society.

9 M. Nagy, very correctly, did not consider the depth of the pit – this is a much less reliable piece of information than the floorspace of the grave. The uneven modern surfaces make it difficult to determine the difference between the ancient and modern level of the daily surface.

10 The smallest pits should not be taken into consideration, because child graves obviously differed from the average. In our opinion, these examples show well the differences.

- 3–4 sq. m – 44 graves – retinue of the aristocracy, free warriors and family members;
- 2–3 sq. m – 195 graves – retinue of the aristocracy, free warriors and family members;
- 1–2 sq. m – 227 graves – poor commoners and/or slaves, part of the children;
- 1 sq. m or less – 75 graves – mainly children.

In M. Nagy's opinion this data should be compared with the age and gender of the buried individuals. Sometimes new elements are added to the general picture by some finds overlooked by the looters (e.g. weapons). The analysis of grave-pits' sizes in Nyíregyháza-Felsősim (156 burials, excavation by E. Istvánovits) and at Űllő site 5 (around 100 burials, excavation by V. Kulcsár and colleagues) supports M. Nagy's suggestion. If it proves to be adoptable to other cemeteries as well, we'll be able to answer the question about whether there is difference between certain necropolises, or between different regions and chronological horizons. This aspect is illustrated by comparing the diagrams showing the situation in the cemeteries of Nyíregyháza (fig. 1) and Űllő (fig. 2). The differences in grave-pits' sizes are striking in both cemeteries, but in the first case they are more blurred than in the second one; we do not see such a gap in the parameters of the burial pits. The latest graves in Nyíregyháza are dated not later than the end of the 3rd century, and the Űllő cemetery had just been started in the next period, so we have to consider whether this difference reflects social changes in time.

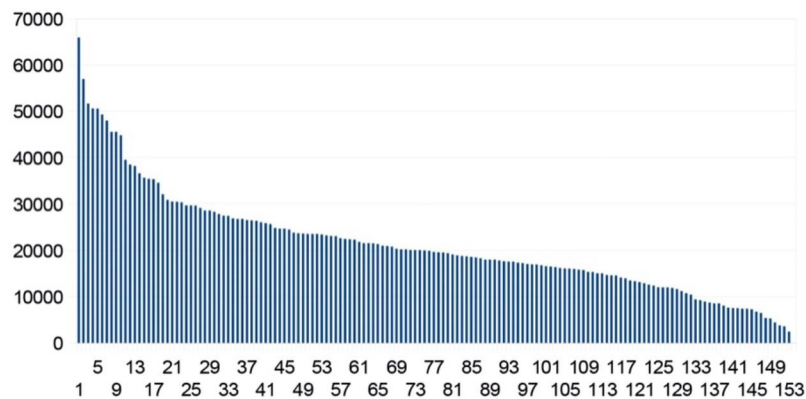


Figure 1. Size of gravepits (sq. cm) in Sarmatian cemetery of Nyíregyháza-Felsősim

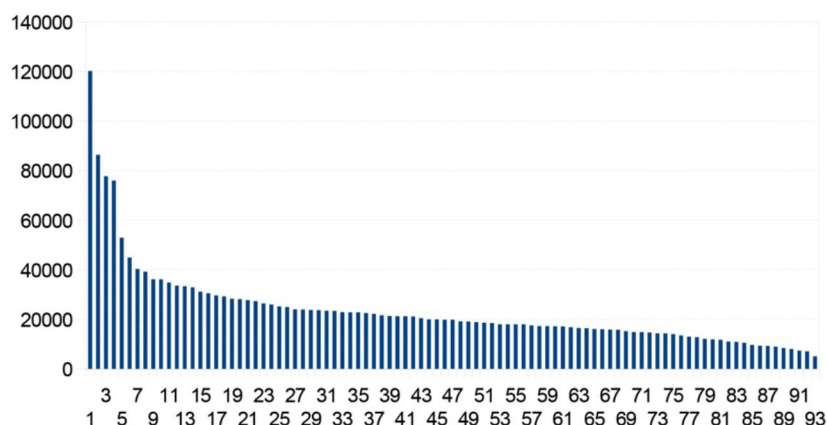


Figure 2. Size of gravepits (sq. cm) in Sarmatian cemetery of Üllő site 5

Undoubtedly, by the end of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century the cemeteries of the Great Hungarian Plain – Csongrád, Tápé-Malajdok, Tiszadob, Ártánd, etc. – began to seriously differ and belonged to different groups. We see both small cemeteries like Sándorfalva, and also big ones, like Madaras. Historical changes following 380 A.D., mentioned in the introductory part of the study, had a strong impact on the archaeological situation in the Hungarian Plain. Though – as we noted above – on the basis of the continuity of the cemeteries and settlements, the mass presence of the Sarmatian population cannot be questioned, we still have to reckon with new groups of migrants.

Considering Sarmatian centres of power, we should note that Hungarian scholarship has totally neglected two Sarmatian elite treasures found in the Serbian Banat. One of them came to light in Starčevo, the other in Vatin. The former, dated to the period following 336–337, included three golden fibulae with onion shaped knobs, a golden torc, two golden rings (among them, two multiplas) and a silver platter; the latter – a massive golden bracelet with the inscription *DN CONSTANTII*. The first treasure was interpreted as a gift to a Sarmatian noble by a Roman citizen, the second one as a gift by the emperor (Ivanišević, Bugarski 2008: 40, 42, Fig. 2), which, of course, should be considered a hypothesis.

In reality, in the period in question we have only one, perhaps, princely burial from the Great Hungarian Plain: the barrow grave from Jászalsószentgyörgy (Hild 1901). Features of the burial rite (outstandingly high – 7 m – mound, accompanied by a group of other barrows; large wooden burial chamber) and preserved objects overlooked by looters (iron shield bosses with golden coating, golden plaques decorating the costume, candelabrum, etc.) show that the dead person buried here belonged to high society. A preserved fragment from a Högom type glass beaker

allows a Late Roman or even a Hun Age dating (Vaday 1989: 181, 182). It is difficult to interpret several elements of the rite because of looting and old – 19th-century – methods of recording. Most of the objects can hardly be seen as either Sarmatian or Hunnic material. The barrow should undoubtedly be connected with some newly arrived steppe Iranian ethnic group, but more detailed conclusions cannot be made at the present stage of our knowledge.

Numismatic research opens further perspectives in the study of the Sarmatian society of the Carpathian Basin. In our opinion, new results can be reached by collecting the 4th-century coins found in the Great Hungarian Plain and grouping them according to *officines*. This possibility was raised by the publication of stray finds from the settlement of Óföldreák. M. Torbágyi identified 69 Roman coins from the 4th century. In this connection, K. Sóskuti, the author of the publication, wrote: “The distribution of late coins by *officines*, in its tendency shows an absolutely different picture than in Pannonia. While in the case of Pannonian coins, the most frequently met coins are the ones minted in Siscia and Aquileia, among the finds of Óföldreák ... 73 percent of identified pieces come from Thessalonica, Constantinople, Nicomedia, and other eastern towns.” (Sóskuti 2013: 504–505). This phenomenon can be explained by a new – East Roman – orientation of the Barbarians. For the time being, it is now clear enough how these relations formed, especially taking into consideration that for most of the 4th century coins coming from the territory of the Chernyakhov (and partly the Wielbark) Culture were also minted in eastern *officines* (Magomedov 2006: 48–49; Myzgin 2013: 229).¹¹ Further research can throw light on a number of important questions, among them, whether the similar composition of Hungarian and Chernyakhov coins can be connected in some way. It may emerge at what moment the Sarmatians’ attention turned to the east of the Empire, and whether the change of political and economic orientation went on in the whole of the Hungarian Plain concurrently or whether there were still regional differences.

Anyway, further systematic research of the data cited above, in all probability, will support the suggestion that, despite the severe looting of the burials, we can make conclusions on the changes in Sarmatian social structure on the basis of the archaeological material. Judging from what has been said above, at present, we can assume that we have relatively little information on the structure of Sarmatian society both in the Hun Age and earlier periods. It is obvious that we have a strongly stratified agricultural population. Judging from the archaeological finds, Sarmatians, in all probability, quickly and without major upheavals got integrated into the society of the Hun Age: in the earlier settlements life continued without

11 Of course, it is purely a coincidence that here, similarly to Óföldreák, the ratio of eastern mints is 73 percent. The authors of the studies on the Chernyakhov coins suggested that this phenomenon can be explained by the Gothic participation in Persian Wars as *foederati*, which, possibly will prove to be a mistaken interpretation, in light of the investigation of the coins from the Great Hungarian Plain.

any particular changes. Usually, no destruction layers are found in the Sarmatian settlements of the Hungarian Plain. It has been proved that cemeteries continued to function at least until the beginning of the 5th century. A lack of data makes it hard to say when exactly they were given up. We cannot exclude that they stayed in use up to the appearance of the Gepids. Looting of the late burials, difference in the size of the burial pit, etc. show that Sarmatian society kept the basic features of earlier times.

In the provinces west of the Danube (Pannonia I-II, Valeria, Savia) we observe a similar situation in its main features. Here, earlier objects and burial rites also continued to exist in the 5th century without any signs of crisis (Ottományi 2001; 2007: 307-314; 2012). However, taking into consideration the toponomical data, we should emphasise the difference between the eastern and western provinces, because in the latter territories there was – at least partly – a continuity (e.g. Arrabo – Rába; Poetovio – Ptuj; Sala – Zala; Siscia – Sisak, etc.), while in the eastern provinces no such continuity can be observed (Mócsy 1974: 196). So, the specialists on provincial archaeology and history believe that the Roman population was evacuated from Valeria. The use of earlier Roman cemeteries in the Late Roman and Hun Age, their chronology and the appearance of “Barbarian” material in them, make the ethnic interpretation as difficult as in the case of the cemeteries in the territory of Eastern Hungary. Here only some of the problems of provincial archaeology are to be mentioned, such as the settlement of Barbarians and the question of the *foederati*. Both in the Great Hungarian Plain and in Transdanubia we see not only the continuity of the earlier cemeteries of the “autochthonous” population, but also the formation of graveyards in the Hun Age, the rite and grave-goods of which were new and unusual in the milieu. New finds, on the one hand, are usually characterised by uniformization (objects and elements of the burial rite similar to those of the contemporaneous burials in the east and west of the region, like the northern and western orientation of the dead, burials in simple pits, earrings with polyhedric knobs, combs, Murga type jugs, buckles with thickening prong, brooches with inverted foot, and Chmi-Brigetio type mirrors; on the other hand, they are very heterogenous: strongly differing cemeteries/single burials/groups of burials (e.g. in some cemeteries many deformed skulls were found, in others not even one; there are cemeteries in which orientation is unified, in others it is varied; necropolises differ by structure, or by the situation of grave-goods, such as the vessels, etc.). This situation did not change until the arrival of the Gepids. Later we observe the same picture on the periphery of the Hungarian Plain, while Gepid and Langobard finds of the 6th century refer to a unified archaeological culture.

Leaving aside cemeteries where continuity is observed, let us examine necropolises of the period between the last third of the 4th and first third of the 6th century. Here three types can be classified:

1. Single burials/offering places
2. Small groups of burials

3. Large cemeteries

These differences, in all probability, in some way reflect social stratification, and thus, deserve a detailed study. In the present work, we focus our attention on the first two groups.

The burials called “single” by scholarship (separate or isolated graves) belong mostly to warrior men and partly to women wearing double-plate brooches. Earlier it has been already pointed out that the latter were sometimes accompanied by one or two child graves. As to the isolated character of these burials, there have been several theories published on this issue. First there was the overview by P. Prohászka (Prohászka 2003: 78), and later that by Zs. Rác (Rác 2014: 204–205). The most widely spread hypotheses considering single graves can be summarised in the following way:

1. These burials belong to the Germanic elite, they mark the centres of power (Bóna 1986: 71; Tejral 1999: 255–274).
2. These are family graveyards that sometimes can be connected with manors; burials reflect the settlement structure (farms) of the period; the reason is hidden in the way of life (Nagy 1993: 60; Prohászka 2003: 78).
3. Burials were conducted in isolated places or possibly in secret in order to hide the graves from looters (Bóna 1986: 71).

Before analysing the opinions above, let's turn to some sites of this type excavated relatively recently. This is important not least because finding circumstances of the assemblages turned up earlier are usually unknown. In addition, in most cases, the surroundings of “rich” graves have not been investigated, so we don't know if there were any other burials around them. During the excavations of the recent decades, in many cases it was revealed that burials dated to the 5th century which probably belonged to the same group of graves, were situated relatively far from each other. For example, two pairs of burials in Ordacsehi–Kis-töltés were “far from each other” (Kulcsár 2007: 192); four burials in Ordacsehi–Csereföld were “at a large distance, 50–100 m from each other” (Gallina 2007: 210); two graves in Nyíregyháza–Rozsrétszőlő were 480 m from each other (Pintye 2014: Fig. 2) (Fig. 3). In Üllő site 5, where we know of four graves and one more the Hun Age dating of which is not certain, the minimal distance between the graves was 50 m, and the furthest was 150–170 m. Two burials in Üllő site 9 were separated by a distance of 30 m (Fig. 4).¹²

¹² It is not clear whether Üllő 5 and 9 belong to the same site or not. Anyway, of the two sites, the graves nearest to each other were situated 1250 m from each other. The Hun Age burials were excavated by Klára Kővári, Andrea Nagy and Tibor Rác. We thank them for the information. The burials of Üllő site 9 were excavated by Valéria Kulcsár, only one burial has been published (Kulcsár 2018).



Figure 3. Map of the cemetery from Nyíregyháza-Rozsrétszőlő (Hun Age graves marked) (Pintye 2014: Fig. 2)



Figure 4. Map of Üllő sites 5 and 9 (Hun Age graves marked with numbers)

That is to say, preventive excavations conducted over large areas, basically changed earlier widely-held ideas. On the one hand, it became clear that these “single” graves can belong not only to women with double-plate brooches (so-called Mád-Tiszalök horizon), but also to men buried with weapons. Quotation marks in the case of “single” are relevant here, though it is doubtful whether burials situated several tens or even hundreds of meters from each other should be considered as belonging to the same group of graves. However, these are not single cases, so we can suggest with a great probability that this is not a random phenomenon even in the case of burials made over a large distance, but more or less at the same period; there is a system. The common characteristic feature of these burials is that they are also frequently found near a contemporaneous or somewhat earlier cemetery or settlement. As mentioned above, these are not single cases, and they are known not only from the Hun Age. As an example, we mention the recently excavated burial from the 5th-6th century in Jobbágyi-Gyúri-földek and a female grave published much earlier, found in Jobbágyi-Petőfi Sándor utca 46, dated by A. Kiss to the first quarter of the 6th century (Kiss 1981). These burials were situated “less than one kilometre” from each other (Masek 2014). In the site of Kótaj-Verba-tanya a cemetery from the end of the 5th – beginning of the 6th century came to light. At a distance of 60 m from it, a contemporaneous single burial came to light. If it had been found during an excavation conducted in a small area, it would have been classified as a “single” one (Fig. 5).¹³

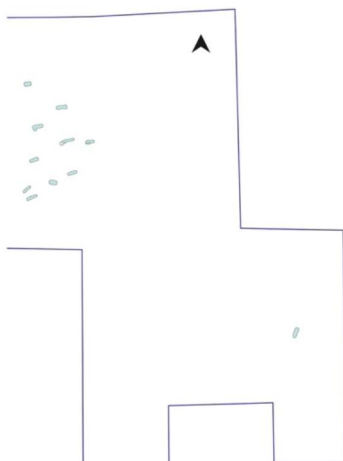


Figure 5. Kótaj-Verba-tanya, map of the Early Migration Period cemetery

¹³ We thank Attila Jakab, the excavator, for the information.

Dealing with “single” burials, we cannot disregard a similar phenomenon observed in the Early Avar Age (second half of the 6th-7th centuries) and the Period of Hungarian Conquest (9th-10th centuries). In both periods, there are authentically excavated single graves and, beside them, so-called burial territories. The latter are characterised by contemporaneous graves situated at a large distance from each other. Among these burials (mainly male, but there are also female ones) there are – especially in the Avar Age – outstandingly rich burials and also “middle class” ones (Lőrinczy 1996: 184-185; Balogh, Wicker 2012: 559; Balogh 2014: 244-245; Lőrinczy, Rácz 2014: 166-171). The interpretation of both phenomena needs explanation in the future.

In the Carpathian Basin, single male graves with weapons and “noble” female burials characterise also the Period of the Hungarian Conquest.¹⁴ As a result of preventive excavations made on large territories, a type of cemetery was revealed, where in the area of warrior graves that seemed to be “single”, some 100–200 m away, a cemetery was found, e.g. Szeged-Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát-halom, Szeged-Öthalom sandpit V, Kiskundorozsma-Subasa, Nyíregyháza-Felsősim, Nyíregyháza-Oros. It was noted that in the grave-goods of these cemeteries, there were more objects of precious metals than in the case of single graves.¹⁵ Despite this, researchers of the Period of Hungarian Conquest still have to reckon with “single” graves, that in the future, for lack of better investigation, – for the same reason as for the Hun Age, i.e. the poor research of the surroundings of graves – can be qualified as single ones only tentatively.¹⁶

Another analogy with the Hun Age sites arises: “single” men, though armed, do not show specifically that they were rich, while “single” women buried with horse harnesses decorated with rosettes are considered to be “noble”, like the ladies of the 5th century who were buried with double-plate brooches. Taking all this into consideration, the ranking of the male and female burials in question to the same social group remains hypothetical. If we regard them as belonging to the same social layer, it remains unclear why they were buried separately and not in the same place.

Summarising the above, we can assume that single graves probably continued to exist – though in a relatively small number – starting from the Hun Age up to the Period of Hungarian Conquest. Sometimes their isolated character is only apparent, because at a few hundred metres from them cemeteries were found.¹⁷

14 Analysis of these sites was recently conducted by G. Lőrinczy and A. Türk (Lőrinczy, Türk 2011: 431).

15 In this case we should remember that Sarmatian graves were looted, in all probability, for precious metals, mainly gold. That is to say, originally, they were richer than women with double-plate brooches and armed men buried separately.

16 For a good summary on the scholarship of the problem, see Jakab 2019.

17 In the case of ancient Hungarian sites, this is an established fact. As to the affiliation of Hun Age burials to the same group or their contemporaneity with neighbouring Roman or Sarmatian necropolises, this question demands further research.

Scholars dealing with the Hun Age should take up the term “burial territory” used by the specialists of the Avar Age. Here burials scattered at a big distance from each other on a several hectares large territory, have likewise been observed. Several hypotheses have been suggested to explain this specific burial custom: the possibility of secret burials; a short stay in one place connected with the nomadic way of life; the construction of barrows according to steppe tradition; the settlement of families with different geographical origins who, thus, did not form a single community; that these were the first burials in a provisional cemetery of a small community; that “small communities, ‘accepting’ the sacral character of any area not used for other aims, buried their dead separately, reflecting the individuality of the community that existed during their lifetimes”. We agree with the assessment of G. Lőrinczy and Zs. Rácz according to which “...it is more than one factor that could be the reason for separate or scattered burials. We need here a wider approach: as an explanation, a nomadic way of life, colonisation of a certain territory and isolated burials of the elite can all be taken into consideration. The probability of these explanations varies depending on the time period and region.” (Lőrinczy, Rácz 2014: 171).

If we agree that the hypotheses listed above can explain the “isolation” of the graves, and burials made in small groups or on a “burial territory”, not forgetting single graves in the vicinity of a cemetery, then the following question arises: can we speak about members of the elite in this case, based purely on this one element of the burial customs? In other words, we need a system of concrete, relatively objective criteria that determine which layer is applicable to this or that burial of a certain period, and who belonged to the elite. We should not forget that the term “elite” means the upper level of the social pyramid and makes sense only if the pyramid also has a lower level. If we do not radically reject the “mixed argumentation”, then, partly on the basis of the written sources, partly on the basis of the archaeological data, it is possible to determine the top and bottom of the pyramid. The former obviously includes the leader of the Huns and his direct environment – Szeged-Nagyszéksós and other finds associated with the “real” Huns. The lowest level includes the layer of “commoners” in Sarmatian cemeteries; west of the Danube this was the population represented by the sites of the Csákvár-Szabadbattyán-Viminacium type described by V. Bierbrauer (Bierbrauer 1989: 76). From an archaeological point of view, we immediately face the question: if most of the Sarmatian burials were systematically looted – obviously because of golden objects – as we have underlined several times in the present study, then we should expect the burials of people standing on the higher steps of the social hierarchy to be richer. If we more thoroughly examine “single” burials and small grave groups in the Great Hungarian Plain, then it becomes clear that, apart from few exceptions, golden objects hardly occur in them. It would seem that in Attila’s time, in the Hun centre situated in the southern part of the Hungarian Plain, it would be possible to outline a massive layer of the elite. However, we do not observe anything like that. It is indicative that golden buckles with insets of

precious stones, said to be so characteristic for the Hun elite (Bóna 1991: 252–254, Abb. 39) are practically absent in the material of the power centre, in the Hungarian Plain.¹⁸ That is to say, we experience a paradoxical situation, in which the area of Attila’s headquarters is marked only by some sporadic archaeological remains: finds from Szeged-Nagyszéksós most probably to be interpreted as a sacrificial site, burials from Bakodpuszta and hoards from Szikáncs and Szilágysomlyó/Șimleul Silvaniei – the latter don’t have to be considered power centres in any case, because hoards could have been hidden in any random place. In the Great Hungarian Plain, no burials of the Untersiebenbrunn horizon were found belonging, according to V. Bierbrauer’s classification, to the category IA (“valuable” decorations, golden torc, golden plaques, drinking set, etc.: Bierbrauer 1989: 81–82).¹⁹ Judging from several features (outstandingly big mound, wooden chamber, golden decorations of the costume, shield bosses covered with gold sheets), the barrows from Jászalsószentgyörgy can be ranked among the most elite burials. Unfortunately, they cannot be properly analysed because of heavy looting and insufficient documentation. An important task is to determine the place of women with double-plate brooches and “single” men buried with arms in the social hierarchy. It would be necessary mainly in order to understand who stood on the higher and lower steps, in other words, who should be identified with highest aristocracy and who with the so-called *populus* in the valley of Tisza. For a full picture of the social stratification of the Great Hungarian Plain in the Hun Age, we need a complete catalogue and re-evaluation of the burial materials of this time.²⁰

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¹⁸ Buckles of this type have recently been collected and mapped by J. Tejral (Tejral 2011: Abb. 307, Fundliste 1).

¹⁹ Finds from Bakodpuszta are exceptions, but they, in I. Bóna’s opinion can be dated to a period following the Hun reign (Bóna 1993).

²⁰ The study was written in the framework of research project of the National Research, Development and Innovation Office no. 124944 “Online publication of Roman Age and Early Migration Period graves of the Barbaricum of the Carpathian Basin”.

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The Mongols' *tuq* 'standard' in Eurasia, 13th-14th Centuries

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A standard or flag (Turkic-Mongolian. *tuq/tuy*) serves as a symbol of power among nomads. The Mongol Empire established nomadic standards which were passed down to the modern Ordos region in Inner Mongolia.¹ As the Mongols' expansion created Khanates throughout Eurasia, their standards spread from Mongolia to China, Central Asia, Persia, and Eastern Europe. Various forms of standards are demonstrated in eastern and western sources. This paper intends to examine the standards of the Mongol Empire and their multicultural backgrounds.

The standards of Chinggis Qan

Turkic and Mongolian *tuy/tuq* "flag, standard" is a word borrowed from Old Chinese at a rather early period.² The nomads' *tuq* (Tibetan *thug*; Persian *tūq*, *tūgh*, *tūq*, *tūgh*) was customarily made of yak tails or horse tails. The number of tails ranged from one to nine.³

In the *Secret History of the Mongols* (hereafter *SHM*), the word *tuq* (禿黑) was translated into Chinese as 'flag with tails' (旄纛). The deity of *tuq* is called *sülde* (苏勒迭儿) or *sülde* in modern Mongolian, and translated in the *SHM* as a good omen or powerful spirit,⁴ which served as the symbol of securing and ruling a clan.⁵ After the death of Temüjin's father Yisügei, his widowed mother Hö'elün held up the *tuq* (Mong. *tuqlaju*) to persuade the subjects not to abandon their

1 Elisabetta Chiodo, "The Black Standard (*qara sülde*) of Činggis Qayan in Baruun Xüree," *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* 15, 1997/1998: 250-254. Elisabetta Chiodo, "The White Standard of Chinggis Khaan (*čayan tug*) of the Čaqar Mongols of Üüsin Banner," *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* 16, 1999/2000: 232-244.

2 Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran*, Chicago 1919: 564-565.

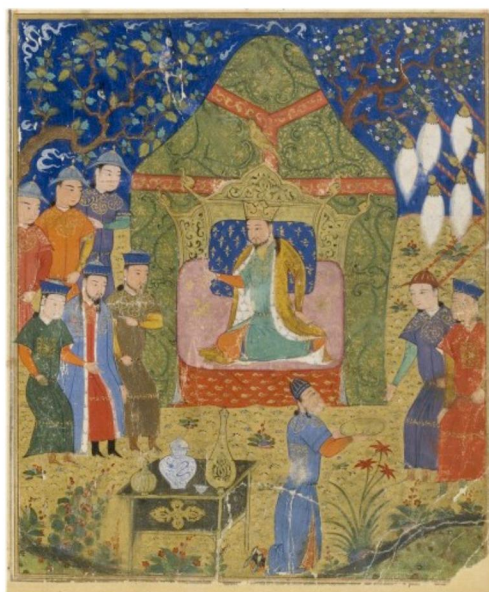
3 Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, Paris, 1959: 860-861. Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, II, Wiesbaden 1965: 618-622. G. Tucci and W. Heissig, *Les religions du Tibet et de la Mongolie*, Paris 1973: 189.

4 Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, Vol.1, Leiden 2002: 329.

5 T. D. Skrynnikova, "Sülde - The Basic Idea of the Chinggis-Khan Cult", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 47, 1992/1993: 51-59.

ruling family.⁶ In 1206 Temüjin was enthroned as Chinggis Qan, and raised the white standard with nine tails (*yesün költü çaqa'an tuq* 九游白旄纛/九游白旗),⁷ which stands for the rule of the *yeke mongqol ulus* “Great Mongol State”. An illustration from an old manuscript of Rashīd al-Dīn’s *Jāmi‘ al-tawārikh* preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BN254, f.44b) dating from the early 14th century demonstrates Chinggis Qan’s enthronement scene showing six flagpoles, each with a white tail. As Sugiyama interpreted,⁸ the painter didn’t need to depict all nine tails because everyone knew the number.

Besides the white standard, Chinggis Qan had other ones. In one battle, Jamuqa told Ong Qan that Temüjin(=Chinggis Qan)’s troops of Uruqud and Mongqud tribes “have black and multicolored standards – they are the people of whom we must be wary.”⁹ Until today in the Ordos region of Inner Mongolia, we can find the White, Black and Mottled Standards as the most important objects in traditional offerings related to Chinggis Qan.



The Enthronement of Chinggis Qan

6 Igor de Rachewiltz, *op. cit.*: 350-351.

7 Igor de Rachewiltz, *op. cit.*: 133.

8 Ono Hiroshi 小野浩, Sugiyama Masaaki 杉山正明, and Miya Noriko 宮紀子, *Yūrashia chūō-iki no rekishi kōzu: 13-15 seiki no tōzai* ユーラシア中央域の歴史構図: 13-15 世紀の東西, Kyoto 2010: xxv.

9 Igor de Rachewiltz, *op. cit.*: 90.

Back in ancient times, both in China and in the steppes, making offerings to the standards was a ritual signifying the beginning of a campaign. As Rashid al-Din recounted, Toqtai, chieftain of the Merkit Tribe, anointed the *tuq* before he mounted for battle.¹⁰ Jamuqa and Chinggis respectively consecrated their own flags (the *saculi* ritual, i.e. sprinkling *kumis* or milk wine) before setting forth on a campaign.¹¹ The anointment and sprinkling ritual served also as a symbol of legitimacy. In the sixth month of 1257, Mōngke Qan visited the encampment of Chinggis Qan, and made a sacrifice to the standard and drum 谒太祖行宫, 祭旗鼓.¹² When Qubilai was a prince, he established his standard and encampment on the bank of the Luan river, and began to build his city and palaces (世祖皇帝在潜藩, 建牙纛、庐帐于滦河之上, 始作城郭宫室),¹³ which were the origin of Shangdu or Xanadu, the first capital city of Qubilai. This indicates that by establishing his standard, Qubilai proclaimed his rule over North China.

The Various Standards of the Mongols

Although tails were considered the most significant feature, other models for a standard existed. Zhao Gong, a Southern Song envoy to the Mongols in 1221 recorded, Chinggis establishes the great pure white flag as his symbol, besides which, there is no other flag or standard (成吉思之仪卫, 建大纯白旗以为识认, 外此并无他旌幢). Zhao Gong continues, for now the King (*Guowang*) only establishes a white flag, with nine tails, and a black moon in the center, and raises it up when setting forth on campaign (今国王止建一白旗, 九尾, 中有黑月, 出师则张之).¹⁴

The title *Guowang* (pronounced *Gui ong* in Middle Chinese) "King" refers to Muqali, who was entrusted by Chinggis Qan to rule over North China from 1217. In the eighth month of that year, Chinggis Qan bestowed on Muqali the great standard with nine tails which the Qan himself had established, and ordered the generals, "Muqali establishes this standard to promulgate decrees, like I do in person."¹⁵ This standard was established in 1206 by Chinggis Qan to declare his supreme power. If Muqali and Chinggis held exactly the same standard, it would be oddly akin to indicating two rulers in East Asia. Thus between the two standards there must have been some significant difference, which as I would like to propose was the image of a black moon on Muqali's standard.

10 Rashid-ad-Din, trans. L.A. Smirnova, *Sbornik letopisei*. Vol. I, part 2, Moscow 1952: 40.

11 Igor de Rachewiltz, *op. cit.*: 115, 416.

12 *Yuan Shi*, chap. 3, Beijing 1976: 50.

13 Yu Ji 虞集, "Shangdu liushou He huimingong miao bei 上都留守贺惠愍公庙碑", In: *Daoyuan xuegu lu* 道园学古录 chap. 13, Sibū congkan edition.

14 Zhao Gong 赵珙, *Mengda Beilu* 蒙鞑备录, In: *Wang Guowei Yishu* 王国维遗书 vol.13, Shanghai 1940: 16.

15 *Yuan Shi*, chap. 119, "Muqali": 2923.

Judging from Eastern and Western sources, each Mongol leader or prince had one standard of a specific model.¹⁶ I would like to present some examples.

As Qubilai's two leaders of the army for conquering the Southern Song, Marshall Aju had the image of double red moons on his standard 旗画双赤月,¹⁷ and Marshall Bayan held a red standard 赤旗.¹⁸

When the Mongol army led by Jebe and Sübe'etei raided Transcaucasia in 1222, Armenians and Georgians at first believed the rumor that the Mongols were Christians who owned a tent-church and a Cross.¹⁹ The Georgian Constable Ivané reported that the Mongols had a standard with the Cross.²⁰ As previous scholars have suggested,²¹ the Mongols probably pretended to be Christians in order to decrease the vigilance of the Armenians and Georgians. However, we should not exclude the possibility that the standard of Jebe and/or Sübe'etei presented a cross-like image.

Marco Polo describes how the rebelling Prince Naian (=Nayan) "was a Christian baptized, and in this battle he had the Cross of Christ on the standard".²² Since previous scholars have confirmed the fact that Nayan was a Christian,²³ we can accept the Cross on the standard as Nayan's specific symbol.

The Persian historian Juvaini wrote that when the Sultan of Khwarazm carried out a sudden attack, "Travelling light [he set out] with a few picked horsemen carrying banners of white cloth like the Mongol army".²⁴ This might indicate the Mongols' white standard. Persian paintings under the Ilkhanate frequently illustrated Mongol battle scenes, where the long standard held by a horseman often reached out of the frame line of the illustration (e.g. Edinburgh University Library, MS. Or. 20 f.124v, 125v).

The various standards we discussed above mainly belong to generals and princes. Sources provide more information about Chinggis Qan's successors' standards. Evidenced by a poem titled "Accompanying the Qa'an's Winter Hunting 扈从冬狩" (1233) by the Mongols' Khitan consultant Yelü Chucai with the verses: "The Emperor's Winter Hunting is like a battle, as soon as the white standard

16 Xu Quansheng 许全胜, *Heida shilue jiaozhu* 黑鞑事略校注, Lanzhou 2014: 132.

17 *Yuan Shi*, chap. 128, "Aju": 3123; chap. 9, "Qubilai 6": 183. I would like to thank Prof. Wang Xiaoxin 王晓欣 of Nankai University to draw my attention to this material.

18 *Yuan Shi*, chap. 127, "Bayan": 3107.

19 Kirakos Ganjakets'i, *History of the Armenians*, Erevan 1961: 202. Robert Bedrosian trans., *Kirakos Ganjakets'i's History of the Armenians*, New York 1986: 166.

20 C. Rodenberg ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum Romanorum selectae*, Berlin 1883-1894, vol. I: 179 (no. 252).

21 Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, Harlow 2005: 49. Bayarsaikhan Dashdongdog, *The Mongols and the Armenians(1220-1335)*, Leiden Boston 2011: 49-50.

22 A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot, *Marco Polo the Description of the World*, London 1938, Vol.1: 199.

23 Yao Dali 姚大力, 'Notes on the Rebellion of Nayan 乃颜之乱杂考', in his *Mengyuan zhidu yu zhengzhi wenhua* 蒙元制度与政治文化, Beijing 2011: 403-419.

24 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, J.A. Boyle trans., Cambridge, Massachusetts 1958: 420.

gives the signal, the encirclement is completed 天皇冬狩如行兵，白旄一麾长围成”，²⁵ Ögetei Qa'an's standard must have been white. However, it is not confirmed whether Ögetei Qa'an's white standard was the same as that of his father Chinggis. After the death of Chinggis, the White Standard with nine tails is never mentioned. Chinggis did not leave all his things to his son and successor Ögetei, but distributed them to his sons, brothers and uncles. Here I'd like to emphasize the relative independence of Chinggis' Four Great Ordos managed by his widows. The Four Great Ordos were encamped on the upper Kerulen where Chinggis grew up, rose up and got enthroned. They existed even after the Yuan collapsed. It is reasonable that the White Standard was kept in Chinggis' Ordos.

Standards of the Yuan

In the parade of the Yuan Emperor, there was a black standard. As the *History of the Yuan (Yuan Shi)* attests, “The Black Standard, read as *tuq* in the Mongolian language, is a pure color lacquered pole with a tassel installed on it. Once the emperor marches, the vanguard raises the standard, along with the Drum on horseback. When the emperor stays [in the palace], the standard is put in the corner room to the west of the Yuehua gate 皂纛，国语读如秃。建纛于素漆竿。凡行幸，则先驱建纛，夹以马鼓。居则置纛于月华门西之隅室。”²⁶ A contemporary Chinese poem recounts similar information by relating that “In the corner room to the west of Yuehua gate, the six standards that are preserved are the deity's residence 月华门里西角屋，六纛幽藏神所居”.²⁷ The usage of the term *six standards* probably comes from Chinese classical rhetoric, as the *six standards* along with *twelve standards* usually refer to the royal parade of an emperor. Since nomadic standards usually had odd numbered tails, the Mongols' Black Standard could hardly have had six tails. In the famous painting *Qubilai Qa'an Hunting Scene* (1280) by Chinese artist Liu Guandao 刘贯道, in the lower right there is a horseman holding a long spear-like standard with a black tassel below the spear point which recalls the Qara Sülde in modern Ordos. Thus it is Liu Guandao's depiction of Qubilai's Black Standard. However, there is no drum on horseback in the painting. It is reasonable to assume it is a simplified depiction.

²⁵ Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材, *Zhanran Junshi Wenji* 湛然居士文集, chap. 10, Beijing 1986: 214.

²⁶ *Yuan Shi*, chap. 79, 1957: 1974.

²⁷ Zhang Yu 张昱, *Poems of Zhang Guangbi* 张光弼诗集, chap.3, Sibu congkan edition, f. 12b.



Qubilai Qa'an Hunting



Horseman with the Black Standard

Another feature of the standards of the Yuan is the image of the Sun and Moon. In G. B. Ramusio's (1485–1557) Italian redaction of Marco Polo's *Description of the World*, a unique account concerning the war between Qubilai Qa'an and Prince Nayan reads:

Cubilai era sopra vn castel grande di legno, pieno di balestrieri, & arcieri, & nella sommita v'era alzata la real badiera con l'immagine del Sole, & della Luna. Et questo castello era portato da quattro elefanti tutti coperti di cuori cotti fortissimi, & di sopra v'erano panni di fera, & d'oro.²⁸

[Qubilai was upon a grand wooden castle, which was full of crossbowmen and archers, and on the top he had his royal standard with the image of the Sun and the Moon raised up. And this castle was carried by four elephants all covered with boiled leather very hard, and above there were cloths of silk and of gold.]²⁹

²⁸ Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Secondo volume delle navigationi et viaggi*, Libro Secondo, Cap. 1, Venetia 1583 : 20.

²⁹ For an alternative English translation, see also A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot, *op. cit.*: Vol.1 : 197. For Japanese translation, see Takada Hideki 高田英樹, *Sekai no ki: Tōhō kenmonroku taikō-yaku* 世界の記 : 「東方見聞録」 対校訳, Nagoya 2013: 180.

This passage cannot be found in other manuscripts, and presumably was copied by Ramusio from a rather early manuscript which was probably of a family close to the Latin Z manuscript. The fact that Qubilai was fond of mounting on a castle carried by elephants is attested in various historical sources, including Odoric of Pordenone who confirms the four elephants.³⁰ The *real badiera* indicates the Qa'an's ensign or standard. It is noteworthy that Marco Polo mentions the Sun and the Moon on the royal standard.

While according to Chinese tradition there are the flag of the sun, the flag of the moon, and the flag of the stars in the imperial parade,³¹ Qubilai's royal standard with the image of the Sun and the Moon is likely to come from nomadic culture.

While *Tengri* as the highest god is not visualized, the sun and the moon as the two biggest celestial bodies could aptly be representative. John of Plano Carpini in the mid-13th century reported in his *History of the Mongols*, "In addition they venerate and adore the sun, the moon, fire, water and the earth... When the moon is new, or at full moon, they embark on anything fresh they wish to do, and so they call the moon the great Emperor and bend the knee and pray to it. They also say that the sun is the mother of the moon because it receives its light from the sun."³²

The sun and the moon have connections with the mandate of Heaven and rulership. In the *SHM* §103, young Chinggis escaped from the pursuit of the Merkid tribe onto the Burqan-qaldun mountain. Saved by the Burqan-qaldun mountain, Chinggis stated that his descendants should never forget to make a sacrifice to it every day. Then Chinggis faced the sun and kneeled down nine times, and sacrificed and prayed. In this way Chinggis swore to Heaven. The direction of the Sun stands for Heaven.

The Sun and the moon were considered a good omen and the symbol of the mandate of Heaven. In the *SHM* §21, Chinggis' great-grandmother Alan Qo'a explained her pregnancy as god's enlightenment. God entered her tent by the light of the sun and moon. In *SHM* §62, Chinggis' father-in-law Dei-sechen said he dreamed of a white falcon holding the sun and the moon landing on his hand, which corresponded with the arrival of Chinggis. As discussed by scholars, the *SHM* owes a certain dramatic license to its author(s).³³ The good omen of the sun and the moon mentioned by Alan Qo'a and Dei-sechen, consciously declares the mandate of Heaven.

30 Cf. Wang Ting 王颀, "Marco Polo's account of Great Khan riding an elephant re-explained 马可波罗所记大汗乘象补释", in *Yuan Shi Lun Cong* 元史论丛, vol. 8, 2001: 24-32.

31 *Yuan Shi*, 1967, 1979.

32 Christopher Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*, New York 1955: 11-12.

33 Christopher P. Atwood, "Six Pre-Chinggisid Genealogies in Mongol Empire," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 19, 2012: 5-57.

In the *SHM* §189, when Tayang Qan wanted to attack Chinggis Qan, he used a metaphor: “While there are the Sun and the Moon in the Sky, how can there be two Qans on the earth?” The Sun and the Moon were connected directly with the supreme ruler. This concept can be traced to earlier nomadic powers. The ruler of the Xiongnu was entitled the Great *Chanyu* who was born of Heaven and Earth and created by the Sun and Moon (天地所生日月所置匈奴大单于). The image of the Sun and Moon appear on the crown of the statue of Niri Qaghan 泥利可汗 (r. 587–604) of the Western Turkic Khaghanate. The Khitan empire built the Sun and Moon Palace in the capital city 辽上京, established the Flag of Sun and Moon 日月旗 to stand for the emperor, and forbade people to wear or use the image of Sun and Moon.³⁴ In Yuan law, the production of the image of the sun and the moon was banned except for the Mongol court.³⁵

The annual imperial sacrificial ritual to *Tengri* declares the mandate of Heaven and the legitimacy of the Mongol Empire. Chinese sources describe how Möngke Qan made sacrifices in 1252 on the Sun Moon Mountain 日月山. In a previous paper I have proposed that the location of this mountain was in the upper Kerulen region.³⁶ However, no such phonetic or semantic name can be identified in this region or even in the whole of Mongolia. From where, then, did the Sun Moon Mountain derive its name? I assume that Möngke Qan already had the image on his royal standard, so that the Chinese literati participating in the sacrifice in 1252 used the image to denote the mountain.

Standards of the other Khanates

After 1260, the Mongol Empire dissolved into four parts. As the basic function of a standard is to command troops and subjects, every leader has his own *tuq*, such as Bayan’s red standard, Aju’s double red moon standard, Muqali’s pure white standard with a black moon, Prince Nayan’s standard with the cross, Jebe and/or Sübe’etei’s cross-like standard, and Qubilai’s black standard with the image of the sun and the moon as described by Marco Polo. Theoretically every khanate had its own specific standard. And every Khanate would have faced the issue of localization or compromise.

Among the earliest world maps, the Catalan Atlas produced by Abraham Cresques’ cartographic school in 1375 remarkably shows portraits of rulers of kingdoms, depicts each city as a castle, and uses a flag above every castle to display its political allegiance. Along the north coast of the Persian Gulf, five cities including “Hormissiom” (Ormis) share the same yellow flag with a red square in

³⁴ *Liao Shi* 辽史, Beijing 2016, 32: 1517, 281.

³⁵ *Yuan Dianzhang* 元典章, chap.58, Beijing and Tianjin 2011: 1962, 1965.

³⁶ Ma Xiaolin 马晓林, “On the location of the Mont Ri-yue 蒙元时代日月山地望考”, *Journal of Chinese Historical Geography* 中国历史地理论丛 2014-4: 49–54.

the middle. The same flag is also depicted on two huge ships off the Persian Gulf in the Indian Ocean. Another nine can be found on the Atlas from western Iran to central Asia. Thus we can safely consider the yellow flag with a red square in the Catalan Atlas as a representation of the Ilkhans' impact on the silk road, which stretched from Inner Eurasia through the Persian Gulf to the Indian Ocean.

In 1375, the Persian Gulf, the Iranian Plateau and Central Asia were in fact ruled by various powers. The only government that used to rule over all these lands and control the maritime trade between the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean was the Ilkhanate (1256–1335). Despite the Ilkhanate having collapsed four decades before the production of the Catalan Atlas, the Spanish cartographers didn't renew the information probably because the chaos after the Ilkhanate hindered the transmission of new politico-geographical knowledge. Nevertheless the Catalan school appears to make use of the yellow flag with a red square in the middle to symbolize the Ilkhanate.

As Yuka Kadoi pointed out, medieval Spanish sources are particularly relevant to the identification of the flags in the Catalan Atlas. The key treatise is the work entitled *El libro del conocimiento de todos los reinos* (*The Book of Knowledge of All Kingdoms*), attributed to an anonymous Franciscan missionary who claimed to have travelled in the Far East, the Middle East and Africa, that is, the entire world as far as medieval Europeans knew. The Book states: "The Emperor of Persia has for his device a yellow flag with a red square in the middle",³⁷ and this is identified with the Catalan Atlas. Kadoi follows the idea of Markham in 1912, thinking the book was compiled sometime between 1350 to 1360, and proposes that "it would make sense to consider it as one of the references for the use of a yellow flag with a red square for the area of the Persian Empire in the Catalan Atlas of 1375".³⁸ However, as Nancy F. Marino already noted in 1999, the Book mentions Avignon as a city where the Pope of Rome resides, and Clement VII moved his court there in 1378, thus the book could not have been composed before 1378. And the Catalan Atlas of 1375 cannot refer to the book. In fact, at least part, if not all, of the travels of the anonymous Franciscan missionary should be considered imaginary. The actual author(s) of the book must have made use of various available sources including an atlas of the Catalan school, although not specifically the famous 1375 version.³⁹

For the book and the Catalan Atlas, Kadoi is right in identifying the white flag with a red square in middle with that of the Chaghatayids in central Asia, and identifying the white flag with a red sign with that of the Golden Horde. The

37 Clement Markham trans. & ed., *Book of the Knowledge of All the Kingdoms, Lands, and Lordships that Art in the World, and the Arms and Devices of Each Land and Lordship, or of the Kings and Lords who Possess Them*, London 1912: 52–53; pl. 17, 80.

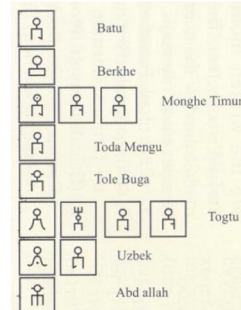
38 Yuka Kadoi, "On the Temurid Flag," In: Markus Ritter and Lorenz Korn ed., *Beiträge zur Islamischen Kunst und Archäologie*, Wiesbaden 2010: 148.

39 Nancy F. Marino, *El libro del conocimiento de todos los reinos* (*The book of knowledge of all kingdoms*), Tempe, Arizona 1999: xxxviii.

Spanish cartographers' drawing must have based on certain source. The sign on the flag of the Golden Horde resembles the tamghas of the Batu family which can be found on coins.⁴⁰



Golden Horde city in the Catalan Atlas



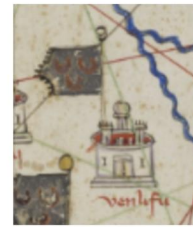
Tamghas of Batu's family



Ilkhanate city



Chaghatai Khanate city



Temurlane city

It is not easy to determine the cultural meaning of the flags of the Ilkhans and the Chaghatayids. As is well attested, the Persian tradition of flag (*drafs/derafš*) dates back to Pre-Islamic period.⁴¹ During the Middle Ages, the word *alam* in both Arabic and Persian was commonly used in almost the same sense, besides which there were Arabic *lewā'* and *rāya*, Turkish *beyraq* (Turkman *beydaq*) and *sanjaq* (Persian *sanjāq*).⁴² While Iranian and Turkish emblems had combined with Islamic designs, the Mongols came to Persia with their *tuq* in the 13th century, which

40 Nyama, *The Coins of Mongol Empire and Clan Tamgha of Khans (VIII-XVI)*, Ulaanbaatar 2005: 83.

41 A. Shapur Shahbazi, "Derafš," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. VII, Fasc. 3: 312-315.

42 J. Calmard and J. W. Allan, "alam va 'alamat," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. I, Fasc. 8, 785-791.

increased the diversity of flags.⁴³ For the Mongols, the colors gold and white stand for the imperial family.

As for the Ilkhanate, the Mongolian White Standard, Black Standard or Mottled Standard cannot be found in historical sources. Hulagu (Hülegü) clearly had a standard different from that of his brothers Möngke and Qubilai. A miniature in the *Jāmi' al-tawārikh* (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplément persan 1113, fol. 177) illustrating Hulagu's march depicts a horseman holding a red standard riding in front of Hulagu. The same red *tuq* appears in the siege of Erbil in 1258/9 (fol. 187). It is the typical Mongol form of standard. The red color might explain the red square in the center of the Ilkhanid flag in the Catalan Atlas. In addition, a canopy (Mong. *sügür*) of Hulagu is held aloft by his attendant as attested by miniatures. The colors in red and gold correspond to the Spanish source.



Hulagu's March

Conclusions

The Mongols' standards came from the steppe, flying over Eurasia during the 13th and 14th centuries, presenting various forms featuring tails, colors and images. There were the White Standard with nine tails, the Black Standard, and the Mottled Standard in the time of Chinggis Qan. The Mongol warlords held their own emblems, for example, Muqali's black moon, Aju's double red moons, Bayan's red flag, Nayan's cross, and so on.

⁴³ Phyllis Ackerman, "Standards, Banners and Badges," In: Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman eds., *Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present VI*, 1939: 2766-2782. A. Shapur Shahbazi, "Flags i. Of Persia," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. X/1: 12-27. Yuka Kadoi, "Flags," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd edition, Leiden 2014: 119-123.

Chinggis Qan's White Standard was not passed on to his successors but was kept in his Ordos on the upper Kerulen. While Qubilai's Great Yuan Empire flew a Black Standard, it is evidenced by Marco Polo and other sources that the Great Qa'an who succeeded to Chinggis' East Asian heritage started to put the image of the sun and the moon on his standard. The tradition to consider the sun and the moon as symbols of the mandate of Heaven can be traced to the Xiongnu, Turk, and Khitan empires.

In the second half of the 13th century, the standards of the Mongol Khanates experienced a process of transformation and localization. According to Rashid al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, Hulagu Qan's *tuq* eventually turned into Ghazan Qan's *rāyat-i humāyūn* "auspicious flag", indicating a kind of localization. It is not only a change of expression but a combination between Islamic Persian culture and Mongol tradition. Such a combination was illustrated in the Catalan Atlas and the Spanish source *El libro del conocimiento de todos los reinos* from the late 14th century. Meanwhile, as can be seen in a miniature depicting the funeral of Ghazan Qan (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplément persan 1113: fol. 245v), a black *tuq* was carried by a horseman, which represented the Mongol culture in the Ilkan court. The forms of the Mongol Khanates' standards might have changed through time while they kept some of the Mongols' favorite colors, tamgha, or images.

Manichaean Sogdian Cosmogonical Texts in Manichaean Script

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Sogdian was one of the most important Central Asian Iranian languages, with a vast body of literature to be put on a par with Middle Persian and Parthian. As it was once the commercial language throughout Central Asia (Transoxania), it soon became the lingua franca of Chinese and Iranian traders along the Silk Road. Therefore the spoken language of the Manichaeans in Central Asia, as far as they were Iranians, was Sogdian; the illiterate Elect, and of course the Hearers, generally understood only Sogdian; the majority of the Manichaeans in the Turfan region consisted of Sogdians. For that reason many important Manichaean works, including those written by Mani himself, were translated into Sogdian, from Parthian or from Middle Persian. The present paper gives a survey of the Sogdian fragments in Manichaean script¹ of the Berlin Turfan Collection² which deal with cosmogony.

Ms 1: M178 = MIK III 4990 (Pl. 1–2)

This Sogdian bifolio, written on fine leather in outstanding calligraphy in Manichaean script is not only the best preserved Manichaean text ever found, but it is also one of the most elaborate accounts of Manichaean cosmogony. Müller published some excerpts in his pioneering work of 1904, when Sogdian was still not recognised, and a proper edition of this important text had to wait some 44 years, until Henning fully published it. “Between the first folio (description of paradise) and the second (firmaments) three or even four double-folios, i.e. twelve or sixteen pages, may be missing (darkness, attack, first man, mixture, second creation, redemption of first man). The headlines do not give the contents of the pages, but are pieces of a continuous text which ran from the first page of the book to the last. Apparently this was the most elaborate account of all.”³

1 A working catalogue of these texts is found in Morano 2007 and a codicological survey of the same texts in Morano 2018.

2 I am very grateful to the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften and to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz for allowing me to study and publish their texts. Thanks are also due to all the staff of the Akademienvorhaben Turfanforschung for their kind help and hospitality at their Institute. Nicholas Sims-Williams [NSW] has kindly accepted to read a first draft of the article and gave me invaluable remarks, saving me from some misreadings or misinterpretations. Needless to say, any shortcoming is mine.

3 Henning 1948: 306–307.

This text was published in Henning 1948, with an English translation and ample commentary [black and white photo in Weber 2000 pl. 149–150].

Ms 2: M548 + M704

M108 + M5928 [T II D 140] (Pl. 3)

Two joined fragments form the upper part of a page, completing the headline in the verso and the first three lines on both sides. The following lines are incomplete, and the rest of the page is lost, either torn off or worm-eaten. Henning (1948: 317) published the fragment M548 inverting the recto and verso sides, not considering that the margin of that fragment was in fact the outer, not the inner margin (present in the joining fragment M 704). The text deals with the construction of the Heavens and Gates by the Living Spirit and the Mother of Light from the demons' skin, bones, flesh, veins, sinews and tendons (recto) and the fashioning of thresholds, bazaars, rows, and 360 stalls in the firmament (verso), roughly corresponding to the lines 94–105 of the Cosmogonical Fragment (M178) mentioned above as published by Henning.

Two other unpublished fragments, evidently from the same manuscript as the joined fragments above, but from a different page, join together and give another portion of the text of this “different recension [...] of the story of the world.”⁴

M108 + M5928 [T II D 140]

Part of a sheet with an outer margin, but no complete lines. Same manuscript as M548+. The small fragment M5928 joins directly to the lower part of M108, adding and completing a few lines. Text similar to M178. In particular it is described how the earthly substance came down from the demons' blood, bones, sinews, skin and flesh, how the demons were bound in the firmaments, imprisoned in Bazaars, Rows, and Stalls, and the creation of the 8 earths, 3 moats and 40 angels who hold the skies (recto), and the purification of the light particles through ascension to the moon, where Jesus receives them (verso).

The fragments measure 6.3 x 5.6 cm (M108) and 4.6 x 4 (M5968), joined together 8.8 x 6.1 cm. Space between the lines 1 cm, outer margin 1.7 cm. Cf. Henning 1948: 316 on (99–100).

All these texts, with photographs of the edited fragments, are fully published in Morano forthcoming.

Ms 3: Fragments from a manuscript on cosmogony and rules for Elect and Hearers (Pl. 4)

M110+M120, M247.

Three fragments, one double folio and two other incomplete pages from the same manuscript bear parts of a miscellaneous book with a section on cosmogony

⁴ Henning 1948: 316.

followed by a section on rules for Elect and Hearers in the monasteries. What follows is a possible order of the pages dealing with cosmogony:

First section: Cosmogony. 1st page: M110/I/R/

Cosmogony: the battle and the work done by God Xurmezd with his 5 sons and the help of Call and Answer

M110/I/V/

Secondly: Call and Answer imprison and bind all the demons who were fed in Hell. Thirdly: Call and Answer ...

2nd page: M247/R/

Fourthly: Living Spirit makes a new creation in the midst of the fight against the demons. Fifthly ...

M247/V/

A lightning flashed, and a terrible thunder(?) broke out(?); as if a big mountainside and a rock (?) fell into the deep water. The demons were scared...

3rd page: M110/II/+M120/R/

Beautiful, pure Paradise versus the darkness of Hell. God Xurmezd and the Elements with Call and Answer descend to the earth.

Second section: first page: M110/II/+M120/V/

End of the cosmogonic section: colophon with name of the patron. Second [section]: explanation of the religion. Rules for the Elect and the Hearers: the Elect may dwell in the house of the hearers, while the Hearers cannot dwell in monasteries with all their worldly possessions and wives, sons and slaves.

This section resumes in another fragment from the same manuscript, **M144**.

All these texts will be published in a forthcoming article by F. Dragoni and E. Morano (Dragoni & Morano forthcoming).

Ms 4: Various fragments from a cosmogonical book

While I was preparing my 'Working Catalogue of the Berlin Sogdian fragments in Manichaean script'⁵ I came across several fragments of different shapes and measures, all unpublished, which are from a single manuscript, apparently a book on cosmogony. The manuscript is written in a clear, particular, cursive bold Manichaean script. Although no entire page has been preserved, by joining some fragments together, the greater part of three sheets can be reconstructed.

Each page had at least 17 lines, but possibly more: the most complete fragment, M5701+, has 17 incomplete lines as well as vertical red lines delimiting both

5 Morano 2007.

margins. The edges appear to have been cut off with a sharp tool, as there are regular, linear tear marks above and below. M264a on the other hand preserves the upper part of the sheet, with the first 8 lines, and both ruled margins, and again the edges are cut off regularly. A third almost complete page of the manuscript, M141+, has 17 incomplete lines, but no margins and the upper cut seems to be linear and regular like in the other two sheets. We know the original width of the inner margin from M 6291, an internal fragment of a double sheet, and from M5991: it was 1.75 cm. The outer margin is known from M485b: it was 2.5 cm. From the same manuscript there are in the Berlin collection several smaller fragments which I was not able to join, or to assign, to any other fragment.

The following lists all the fragments from the same manuscript I found in the Berlin Turfan collection:

M141+M6795, M264a, M485b, M5701+6796+2308, M5991, M6067, M6099, M6099a (not described in Boyce 1960), M6100, M6291, M6790, M6800.

A full edition of all the fragments from this manuscript is in preparation, and it will be published soon, together with a philological and linguistic commentary. Here I propose a preliminary edition of the three most extensive fragments, dealing with the Father of Greatness, the supreme Manichaean deity, the creation of the world by the Living Spirit, and the birth of Adam with a description of his body.

I. The Father of Greatness

M264a (pl. 5–6)

Upper part of the sheet, with 8 lines fairly complete. Part of both margins preserved, delimited regularly by red lines. The lower part of the page is partly torn off, only the initial/final characters of the lines are preserved. At least one line at the end is missing.

12.4 x 12.2 cm.

In this page the Father of Greatness, called *rwšn'yrδmncyk 'xšywnyy βγγγ* “the Lord God of the Paradise of Light”, is exalted above the other gods, and said to be different from the other gods in seven things. Of these, only the first (he is, and has always been, immortal and permanent, while the other gods were created and blessed by him), the fourth (he is the father of all the gods, and they are all his sons) and the fifth (he is brighter than all the gods) are complete, the second (he is more exalted than all gods ...) the third (... he knows past, present and future), the sixth and the seventh being only partly preserved.

/R/

/1/[...⁴](y)nyy (III) (‘..)[.....] (.yk/x..‘..) /2/ s(fry)tyt ○○ ”frytyt ○○ ’ty nyjtyt /3/ xnd(t) (○)○ {blank} ○○ ’rtyy (x)w(n)[yy](h) /4/ rwxšn’yrδmncyk ’xšywnyy βyyy pr /5/ VII zng’n ”c ○○ cn s’t βyyštyh /6/ ny’zngstr wm’t ○○ I pr nwš’ky’ ’tyh /7/ ”s[tn](k)y’ ○ (w)’nw ’tyy r’mndt n(w)[šy](yh) /8/ (wm’)t ’tyy ’stnyy ○○ cn ”δ’h /9/ sfrytyy ’tyh [’](‘)frytyy nyy xcyh (○) /10/ p’rwtyy p’(r)[ykt βyyš](t) cn wny(h) /11/ βyks’r s(f)[rytyt ’tyy ’fry](tyt)[wm’tnd] /12/ ○○ ○○ δβ[tyk 18–20] /13/ cn s’t β(y)[yšty 18–20] /14/ ptrštr x(c)[yh 18–20] /15/ xyδ [20–22] /16/ pt(r)[štr 20–22]

/V/

/1/ cyndr βyk c(w) ’(st)yy ○○ c(w) βw(t)k’[m pr] /2/ bywn yrβt(y) ’tyh (p)tz’(nd) ○○ ○○ /3/ IIImyk (x)[y](δ) ’xšywnyy βyyy wnyy s’t /4/ βyyštyy ptryy xcyy ○○ ’tyy xww wyš’nd /5/ s’t wnyy ”jwnd xndt ○○ s’t xyδ /6/ ’xšywnyy βyyy s’r nm’c βrynyt γwβnyt /7/ (‘)t[y](h) ”frynyt xndt ○○ ○○ (p)ncmyk /8/ xyδ ’xšywnyy βyyy rwxš[ny’]k (cn) s’t /9/ βyyštyy w’f[yy](δ rw)xšndry(y) xcyy ○○ c’nw /10/ [my](š)yy βy(y)[y rwxšndryy](c)[n] s’t ’st’rytyy /11/ [xcy ○○] ○○ [VI]myk β(y)štyy w’fryδ /12/ [22–23](m) rwy(n)[y]xs’ /13/ [22–23](.) ○○ VII]myk /14/ [22–23]p’ryztr ’tyy /15/ [23–25](p)tk’r’h /16/ [26–28](y) cn

Translation

/R/1/ [...]these 3 [...] /2/ are created, blessed and emanated. /3/ {blank} And he, /4/ the Lord God of the Light Paradise, in /5/ 7 sorts of things was /6/ different from all the Gods. Firstly in immortality and /7/ permanence. For he has always been immortal /8/ [and] permanent. By anyone /9/ he is not created and blessed, /10/ but the oth[er gods] out of him /11/ [were] creat[ed and bless]ed. /12/ Se[condly: ...] /13/ than all the God[s ...] /14/ is more exalted [...] /15/ this/these [...] /16/ exa[lted]

/V/1/ inside (and) outside what it is, what it will be, /2/ he foreseeingly knows and understands. /3/ Fourthly. The Lord God is the father /4/ of all the Gods. And they /5/ are all his sons. To that same /6/ Lord God they are all bringing honour, praise /7/ and blessing. Fifthly. /8/ The Lord God is as much brigh[ter] than all /9/ the Gods, as /10/ the [S]un God[is brighter]than all the stars. /11/ [Sixthly ... than all the]gods, so much /12/ [...]oil, musk(?) /13/ [...] Seventhly /14/ [...]more excellent and /15/ [...] appearance /16/ [...] than

II. How the Living Spirit Divided the World

M5701 [T II 116]+M6796 [T II K]+M2308 (pl. 7–8)

Almost an entire page in length, cut regularly with a sharp tool at the top and bottom and through the internal margin, where the red ruling line is preserved. Only half-lines are preserved. 12.5 x 8 cm.

The text in this page describes how the Living Spirit created the walls and ditches and divided the world into four parts with Mount Sumeru in the middle, and four mountains as frontier guards of the world. He then separated, accordingly, the sky upwards and day and night.

/R/

/1/ xndt ○○ ○○ [...] xww tβ[tyy 8–10] /2/ δ't pr pδkwy [XX] XX XX (β)[rywr fs'x βwt] /3/ ○○ ○○ 'tyy xww j'r ''[11–12] /4/ XX XX XX βrywr fs'(x)[12–13] /5/ cywyδyy βystr [15–17] /6/ [f]s'x (p)r pδkwy [15–17] /7/ [pr](kn)yy pδkwy C[βrywr fs'x ...] /8/ ○○ ○○ 'tyy štyk[15–17] /9/ XX XX [XX] βrywr fs'(x)[12–14] /10/ '(p) prkn pr pδk[wyy 14–16] /11/ βrywr fs'x xcyy ○○ [14–16] /12/ mzyx δ'[](t) kyy wyspw(w)[14–16] /13/ δ'rt skwn ○○ ○○ 'tyy (.)[13–14] /14/ XX XX XX XX βrywr fs'x xcyy [○○ ○○] /15/ '[○○ pts'r w'δ jywndy(y) (III)[yxw'k] /16/ mnβxš ○○ cn smwt(r)' cyndr(p)'r ○○ [...] /17/ xwrsncyk 'fcmδδ ('tyh x)wrtxyz[cyk]

/V/

/1/ [cn p'skyr'nc](y)k 'tyy (n)[ymy](δ)cyk fcmδδ /2/ [13–14 ○○] ○○ 't[yy] pr myδ'n smyr /3/ [γryy 9–10](c)y III 'fcmδδyy yxw'k /4/ [15–16](sm)yr γryy pδy'h cn /5/ [16–18](.) ptys'c ○○ ○○ /6/ [18–20]kyr'n ○○ 'wnw cw /7/ [18–20](.) ○○ ○○ 'rty[h] /8/ [18–20]βrzkwy 'tyy pδkwy /9/ [15–16 f](s)'xyt xnd ○○ ○○ 'rty /10/ [15–16]' ○○ cn xwrsnyy kww /11/ [xwrtxyz s'r](cn) smyr yr' xww 'wrδp'r /12/ [14–15] III γryy cn s(m)yr yr' /13/ [8–10](cy 'fcmδδyy wm'ndyy p's'y /14/ [6–7](.)'tyy ○○ c'nw 'skyy sm'nyy /15/ [4–5 'n](βy)nd'nd ○○ 'rtyy c'δr x' yr' /16/ [...](s)y'k δ'r'nd ○○ 'tyy xww ○○ myδ 'tyh /17/ [x' xš](p)' yxwnng β[w](t) ○○ ○○ 'rtyy x' myδ

Translation

/R/1/ are. [...] he se[aled(?) ...] /2/ a wall with the width of 60 [myriad parasang]. /3/ And the poison [...] /4/ 60 myriad parasang [...] /5/ outside that [...] /6/ parasang in width [...] /7/ of the ditch the width 100 [myriad parasang(?)]. /8/ And the third[ditch (?)... is] /9/ 60 myriad parasang [...] /10/ [...]water is a ditch with the wid[th ...of ...] /11/ myriad parasang. [...] /12/ great wall that all [...] /13/ holds. And [...] /14/ is 80 myriad parasang

[...] /15/ and moreover the Living Spirit divided 4[parts.] /16/ Inside the Ocean [...] /17/ the eastern world and the west[ern]

/V/1/ [from the north]ern and the southern world 2/ A[nd] in the middle [...] (Mount) Sumeru /3/ [...] 4 parts of the world /4/ [...] at the foot of Mount Sumeru from /5/ [...]he fixed. /6/ [...] regions. This [is] what /7/ [...]. And [...] /8/ [...]length and width /9/ [...]are [...] para]sang(?). And /10/ [...]. From East to /11/ [West]from Mount Sumeru /12/ the 4 mountains of the farther side [...] from Mount Sumeru /13/ [...] he threw [...] of the frontier guard of the world. /14/ [...] While above in the sky /15/ they⁶ follow (one another) and below the mountains /16/ hold [them in] shadow. Thus the day and /17/ [the] night are separated. And the day. . .

Commentary

/R/1, ff./ cf. the Middle Persian cosmogonical fragments M98 and M99,⁷ in particular M99/I/R/10–17 ʾwd zmyg ʾyw wzrg ʾwd ʾstbr pd dwʾzdḥ dr ○ ʾy hmbdyc ʾsmʾnʾn dr ○ ○ ʾwd ʾbr hm zmyq pyrʾmwn chʾr prysp ʾwd sh pʾrgyn kyrd ○ ʾwd pd hʾn ʾy ʾndrwn pʾrgyn dywʾn ʾndr przyd “And he made one great and strong earth with twelve Gates which correspond to the gates of heaven. And above this same earth he built in circuit four walls and three moats, and in that (which is) the inner moat he imprisoned the demons.”⁸ *Šābuhragān*, 272 (M535+/V/8/):⁹ [hʾ]n sh pʾ(r)gyn ʾy [zh]ryn ʾrʾyn “those three poisonous dark ditches”.

III. Adam

M141+6795 (pl. 9–10)

The fragment contains 17 lines, none of them complete, of text, and, like M5701+, is cut regularly with a sharp tool above, below and through one margin. The margins are not preserved, but there are faint traces of the ruling red vertical line of one margin. The two fragments are joined and glassed together. 11.9 x 9.8 cm.

The text consists of the description of the birth of Adam, born to the two archdemons Šaklun and Pēsus, after they had devoured 80 thousand abortions and copulated,¹⁰ followed by an explanation (*xwyckʾwyy*) of the body of Adam. This text is very difficult and, as far as I know, has no parallels in known Manichaean literature. Therefore, I am giving here a preliminary edition of the text with only a few notes for the understanding of difficult or unknown words.

6 I.e. the sun and the moon?

7 Hutter 1992: 8–26.

8 Cf. Jackson 1932: 34 ff.

9 MacKenzie 1979: 515.

10 On the Manichaean myth of the birth of Adam see Sundermann 1994, 45–46.

/R/

/1/ mzy(x) yrkw(s)[y 16–18] /2/ (.)yw³ncy y c(x)[r? 16–18] /3/ (p)syy t³w³n(d)[yy ...](δ)³n (β)[12–14] /4/ (w)ytwr ³tyšyy x³ tmb^(?)[r 11–13] /5/ [o]o o o ³tyh pr [XX XX] XX XX [z³r pjwkty] /6/ m^(j)yy xww ³δ³m o o (³ty)šyy (xw)[4–5] /7/ tmb³r cn pš³kt δy[w](z)³ktyy o o ³(t)[yšyy] /8/ xww rw³n cn pnc mrδ^(?)spndyy (z)[³wryy] /9/ ³ktwδ³rt o o jw³n o o z³wr o o rwxšny^(?)[k o o] /10/ kršn³wty³ o o ³tyh βwδ [o o 5–6] /11/ ³stkyy o o pδδ(y)³ o o r³k o o y³t[yh o o] /12/ crm o o xwrnyy o o myzyy o o ³[6–7] /13/ ywn³yy cyndr βstwδ³rt (o)[o kyn o o] /14/ yp³k o o ³βrxsyy o o t^(?)(f)^[11...] (pr)[6–8] /15/ mndyrβ³ky³ δwn γ(wr)s [12–14] /16/ cw pr¹² s³r p³šyt w³[st 14–16] /17/ (x)³ ³(z) ³βrxs(y)y ³tyh [12–14]

/V/

/1/ [20]h w(β³t) /2/ [20]n³m o o p(r) /3/ [11–12](³δ³m m³)nwk βwt o o (o)[o]/4/ [8–10 xwyc]k³wyy w³nw βwt o o kt mn³nd(y) /5/ [6–7](k)[..](³)³(ry.) [...]³r myšyy βγyy kršn o o (o)[o] /6/ [³ty]yh (wn)[y] wyδ³syγwny ³δc p(r) /7/ [6–7] ³fcmβ[δ](y) o o cn m³tyy ³tyh /8/ [6–7]ptr³ s(y)γtr o o o o ³tyy ³δ³myy /9/ [tmb³]ryy ptr³z o o z³r II C wβ³z wm³t o(o) /10/ [6–7 ³t]y ryn(c)k ³nkwšt nw³ fns³x /11/ [wm³t o o ³](r)tyšyy cn tmb³r βyks³r III /12/ [8–10]³y rwxšny³k ³rδyf³skwn o o /13/ [12–14 ³](r)tyh tym w³nw /14/ [10–12](t) (c³nw) šklwn ³ty pysws /15/ [7–8 pjwqt]xwrtδ³r³nd o o ³tyh II /16/ [12–14 ynd³]kty(y) pckwyryy prštyt /17/ [10–12 ³yw]štyt (wm³t³nd) o o ³tyh

Translation

/R/1/ the big mountainside[...] /2/ demonish(?) whe[el? ...] /3/ strong sheep/enquiry(?) [...] /4/ until his body [...] /5/ And from the 80 [thousand abortions (?)] /6/ Adam was born. His [...] /7/ body from the offspring of the demons abortions, [and his] /8/ soul from the elements p[ower (?)] /9/ (she=Āz) has made: life strength brightness /10/ beauty and perfume [...] /11/ [as] bones nerves vein flesh[...] /12/ skin blood marrow [and] /13/ hair she bound inside¹³ [... hatred,] /14/ anger, lust, [... vehemence] /15/ ignorance with around(?) [...] /16/ on top guardians she pl[aced(?)]... /17/ the Āz dissoluteness and [...] {lines missing?}

11 Cf. *t³β-n³k* (in Sogdian script) ‘angry’, see DMT III.2: 189a. Here perhaps a substantive formed on the root *t³p-* meaning something like ‘act of being inflamed with anger, vehemence, irascibility’? In SLN 42b there is a lacuna between *ryzh* and *mnyrβ³kyh*. The corresponding list in the Chinese *Traité* (214) is 怒憎 ‘Hatred’, 嗔恚 ‘Irascibility’, 淫慾 ‘Lewdness’, 忿怒 ‘Anger’ and 愚癡 ‘Foolishness’, see Lieu & Mikkelsen 2017: 55.

12 Sic, mistake for *cwpr*.

13 I.e. in the body.

/V/1/ [...] may be /2/ [...]name. In/to /3/ [...]Adam is similar. /4/ [... explain]ation is thus: similar(?) /5/ [...] [...] the beauty of the Sun God. /6/ [An]d he [had] something wonderful in /7/ [...]world. From the mother and /8/ [...]father more beautiful. Adam's /9/ body's dimension was 200 thousand fathoms /10/ and his little finger nine parasang /11/ [...] and from his body outwards 4 /12/ [...] brightness shone. /13/ [...] and thus again /14/ [...]when Šaklūn and Pēsūs /15/ [...] ate [the abortions]. And in fear of the 2 /16/ [... e]vil ones having run away¹⁴ /17/ [... were exci]ted(?). And

Commentary

/R/1/ On *γrkwsy* “mountainside”, see Reck 2009: 388.

/R/2/ The word *(.)yw'ncy*, although clearly legible, is difficult to interpret. If the first letter is *δ*, then *δyw'ncy* could be the feminine adjective or noun derived from *δyw*, “demon”; *c(x)*[emend *cx[r* “wheel” or *cx't* “fighting, contenders”?

/V/5/ *mysyy βγγγ kršn*, cf. M7800/II/R/5ff.¹⁵ *'tyy myδ[ry β](γγγ) qšn /6/ wšy' ktwδ'(r)n(d) (m)'γ'z(nd tkwš't)* “and they remembered the beauty of the Sun God; they began to look out for him”.

/V/14–15/ (*cw*) *šklwn 'ty pysws [...]xwrtδ'r'nd*: cf. M7800/II/V/12–19/¹⁶ *'rtyy IIII βrywr pjwwk ww šklwn xwrtδ'rt 'tyy IIII βrywr x' pysws 'rty I δβty' 'pryw pcywznd 'rty w'nw w'βnd kt m'ncyk šm'r' kw mysyyβγw s'r δ'ryym w'nw kt xwny ky cn m'x 'jy't kw βyyšt* “And Šaklūn devoured forty thousand abortions, and Pēsūs forty thousand. And they copulated with each other, and thus they said: ‘The intentional thought, we have it towards the Sun God, so that what will be born from us [will resemble] the gods”.

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DMT III.2 = Sims-Williams, N. & D. Durkin-Meisterernst 2012.

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14 *pršt-* is the expected past stem of Man. Sogd. **pryj*, Christian Sogd. *pryž* “to flee, escape, run away”. As an intr. verb, the pp. should mean “having run away, running away” [NSW].

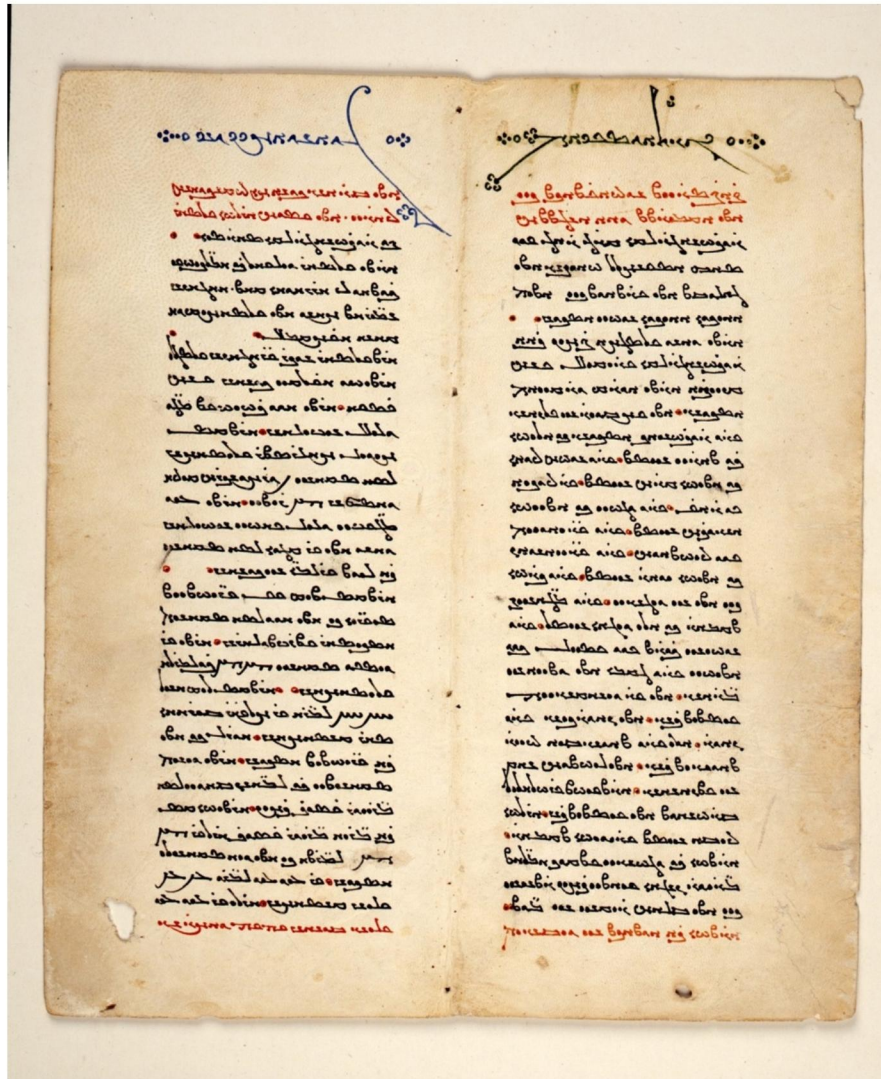
15 Sundermann 1994: 45.

16 Sundermann 1994: 45–46.

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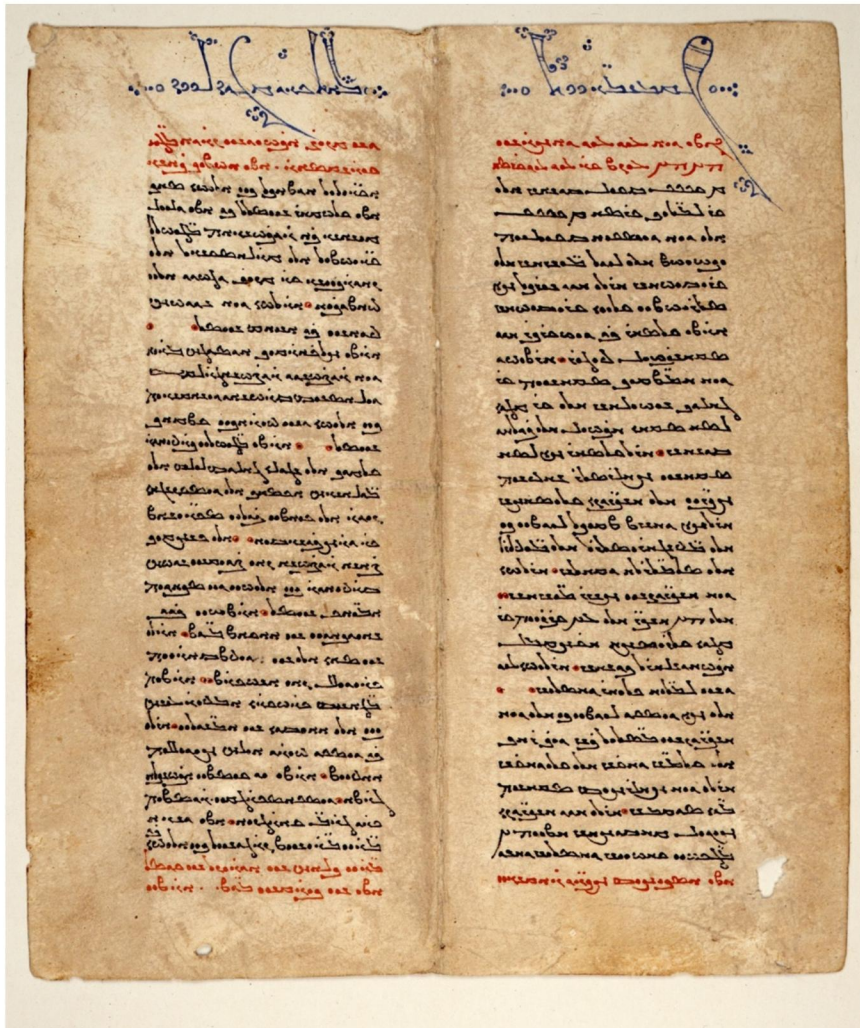
Plate 1



M178=MIK III 4990

Photo: courtesy of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin.

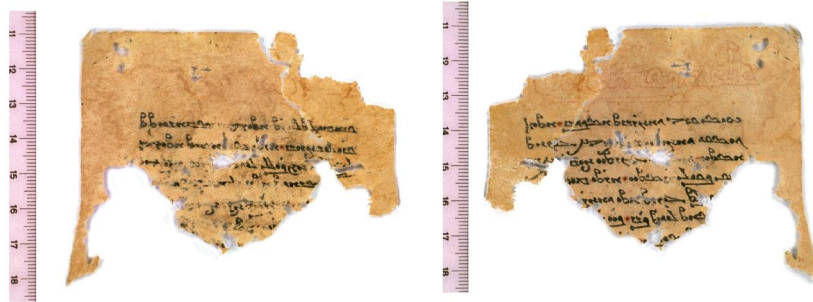
Plate 2



M178=MIK III 4990

Photo: Courtesy of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin.

Plate 3



M548 + M704 (montage)



M108 + M5928 [T II D 140] (montage)

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der
 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. Photos:
 Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

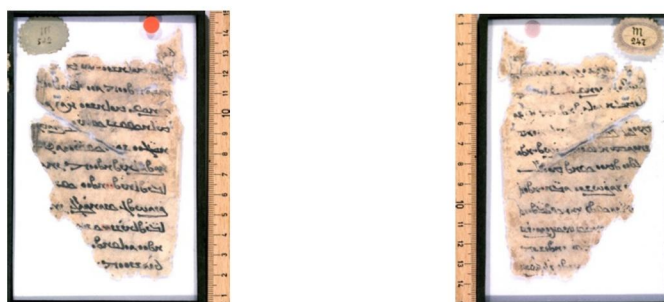
Plate 4



M110



M120



M247

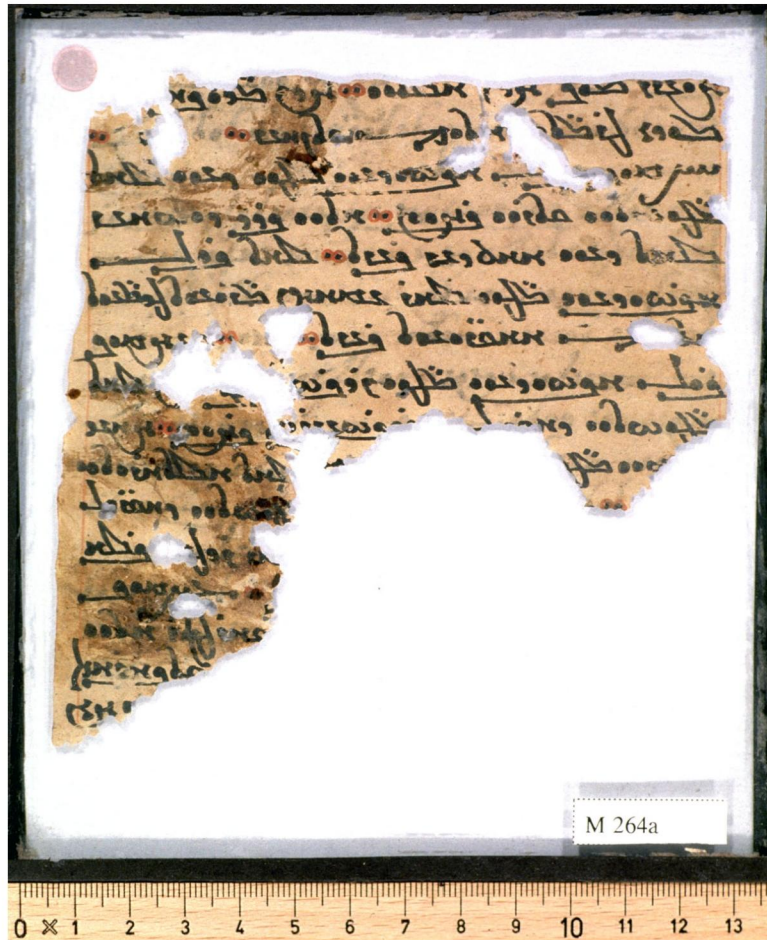
Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. Photos: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

Plate 5

**M264a recto**

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Plate 6



M264a verso

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. Photos: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

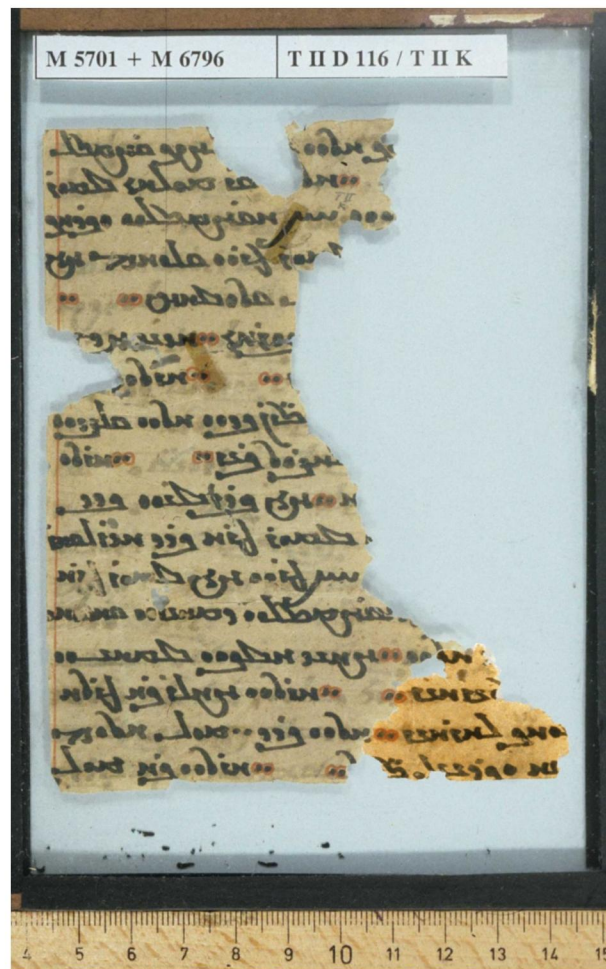
Plate 7



M5701 [T II 116]+M6796 [T II K]+M2308 recto (montage)

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der
 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. Photos:
 Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

Plate 8

**M5701 [T II 116]+M6796 [T II K]+M2308 verso (montage)**

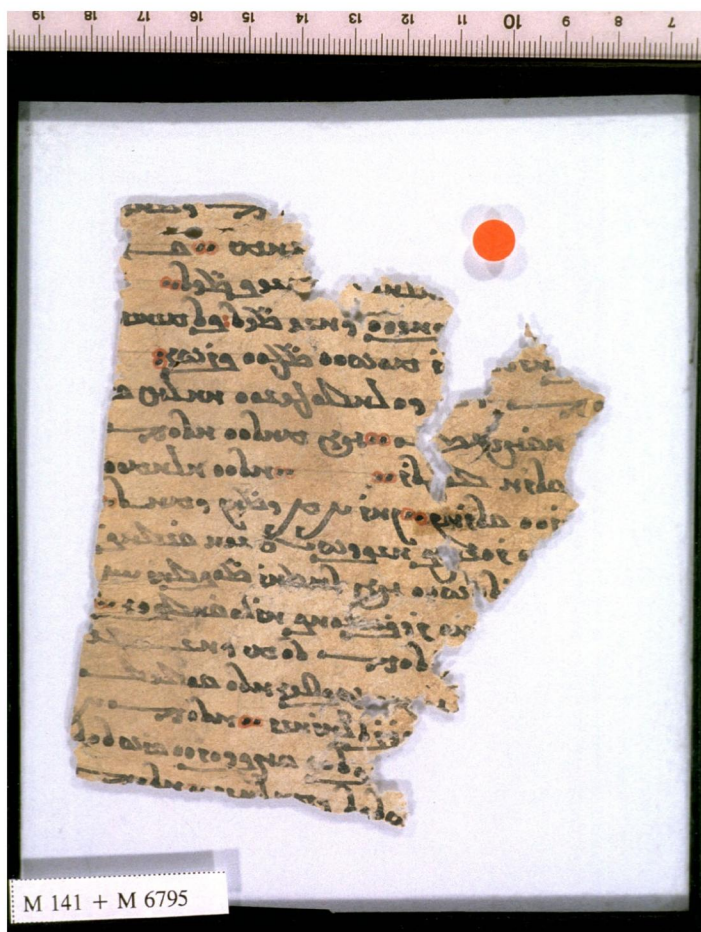
Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. Photos: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

Plate 9

**M141+6795 recto**

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. Photos:
Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

Plate 10



M141+6795 verso

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der
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Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

On the Methodology of the Reconstruction of the Ways of Nomadic Peoples

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In this paper I would like to propose and discuss the method for reconstructing the travel routes of nomadic peoples in the region, which usually fall outside the focus of researchers who study the steppe peoples of Eurasia, particularly in the west of the Eurasian continent. At the turn of Antiquity and the Middle Ages this region became the arena of large-scale migrations, in which the direct participants actually led a nomadic way of life.

The object of reconstruction is the way from Francia (Aachen) in the north-western part of Europe to Rome (Italy) and back. This path was used by the migrating German tribes and their allies who lived in northern Europe during the Migration Period (4th–6th cc.) and the early Middle Ages (6th–9th cc.).

The reconstruction is based on an analysis of *The Translation and Miracles of the Saints Marcellinus and Peter* by Einhard (9th c.) (Einh. 1888: 239–264), which has been insufficiently studied in this aspect, and the relevant itineraries (*Itin.* 1600; *Itin.* 1965: 175).

Actually, Einhard's text consists of four books, the first two of which have a narrative character, while in the last two hagiography prevails. The voyage in question was made in 827 by a group consisting of four persons and finished by them in October of the same year.¹ There were four participants of the enterprise: Deusdona, a trader of holy relics,² Ratleig (a servant of Einhard), a boy named Reginbald (Ratleig's servant), and Hunus the presbyter (a servant of the Abbot Hilduin)³ together with a pack animal [bat-mule].

1 There is a special record of this journey in the *Annales Regni Frankorum* (*Ann.* 1895: ad loc. 827).

2 Deusdona, a deacon of the Roman church, was the most famous trader of holy relics and head of a well-organized group of merchants in the 9th century. He and his companions are described not only in Einhard's text, but also in "The Miracles of the Saints in the Fulda Temples" (*Mirac. Sanct.*: 329–341). Deusdona's involvement in the trading of remains was not a singular or episodic event. In 835, he "delivered" to the Frankish customers the remains of 13 martyrs, in 836 – the remains of 8 martyrs, in 838 – of 13, following from the records left in Usuard's *The Life of the Martyrs* (Dubois 1965) and the *Itineraria* (*Itin.* 1965: 175).

3 Hilduin or Hildoinus – arch-chaplain of the Holy Palace under Louis the Pious (778 – 20 June 840) and the abbot of the monasteries of Saint-Denis, Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Saint-Médard-de-Soissons.

The motives of the voyage and the goal of its participants should be briefly described. The mission was organized by Einhard, who is now known better as the author of *The Life of Charlemagne* (Dutton 1998: 15–39; Petrova 2005: 50–151), and not as a royal courtier, statesman and missionary (Dutton 1998: xiv–xvi; Petrova 2005: 7–45). The prehistory of the journey is as follows. Einhard, having built his own church in the manor of Michelstadt (Einh. 1888: I, 1, 40; Dutton 1998: ad loc. I, 1, 40) given to him by Louis the Pious, was searching for holy relics to promote his parish. He also wanted to secure a steady income from his newly founded monastery in Upper Mulinheim.⁴ Apparently, he wanted to imitate Hilduin (whom he probably envied), who already possessed the relics of St. Sebastian,⁵ which had already brought to his parish – the monastery of Saint Medard in Soissons – not only great wealth, but glory as well. For this reason Einhard engaged Deusdona (Einh. 1888: I, 1, 5; Dutton (tr.) 1998: ad loc. I, 1, 5), the merchant of relics, who had come to the court of Louis the Pious for his own affairs.

Before 827 Einhard sent Deusdona and his own servant Ratleig, who had already decided to travel to Rome as a pilgrim, to obtain relics, in which enterprise they would ultimately succeed (*Ann.* 1895: ad loc. 827; Dutton 1998: xxv–xxviii; Petrova 2004: 289–295).

Here we should point to the fact that in the Middle Ages the authenticity of the relics was usually confirmed by the very fact of their theft. Since, according to the Ordinance of 813 of the Cathedral in Mainz, it was forbidden to transfer relics from place to place without the permission of the king or abbot and the Cathedral itself (*Conc.* 1906–1908: 272), there was no way to obtain relics by fair trade, through buying and selling. Due to this prohibition, acts of theft and robbery of holy relics became a common practice.⁶ For instance, Einhard himself asked Deusdona to help him in acquiring *authentic* relics, which implies the existence of *counterfeit* ones. It is not a coincidence therefore, that Einhard's servant Ratleig, on his own initiative, finally obtained genuine relics, which means that he stole them.

So, Einhard found himself in a difficult situation. On the one hand, he had to prove the authenticity of the relics by confirming the fact of the robbery. On the other hand, by admitting the fact of robbery he put at risk his career of caretaker of relics. In any case, there is no doubt that Einhard described the process of stealing the relics, and the persons mentioned by him are the company of thieves (Dutton (ed.) 1998: xxv–xxviii; Petrova 2004: 289–295).

In Einhard's book the route from Francia (Aachen) to Italy (Rome) is only briefly mentioned. On the contrary, the return way from Rome to Upper

⁴ Later this place was known as Seligenstadt.

⁵ The translation of the remains of St. Sebastian from Rome to the monastery of St. Medard in Soissons occurred in 826. The relics were brought to the church and placed there on Sunday, December 9th, of that year (*Ann.* 1895: ad loc. 826).

⁶ According to P.J. Geary (Geary 1991: 149–156) there were more than 50 such cases from 800 to 1100. But the researcher does not claim that the list, compiled by him from hagiographic sources, is complete.

Mulinheim (Seligenstadt) is described in sufficient detail (as the road by which the envoys sent on an important mission moved).

Here we propose a reconstruction of their itinerary, indicating the approximate distances between places and providing modern naming of cities and locations (Fig. 1).

The Route

A. From Francia (Aachen) to Italy

1) Aachen – Soissons, approximately 283 km. At present, the road goes from Germany to France (via Belgium).

2) Soissons – Villeneuve (Head of the Lake), appr. 495 km. At present the road goes through France to Switzerland.

3) Villeneuve – Monastery of Saint Maurice, appr. 24 km. At present it is in the territory of Switzerland.

4) The Monastery of Saint Maurice – Great St. Bernard Pass, appr. 56 km.⁷

5) Great St. Bernard Pass – Aosta (Italy), approximately 40 km. Currently, the route goes along private roads and is possible by car (50 minutes).

6) Aosta – Pavia, appr. 155 km. The road goes through hilly terrain (491 m up, 892 m down).

7) Pavia – Rome, appr. 617 km. The road runs through hilly terrain (5421 m up, 5475 m down), along the ancient Roman roads (Via Flaminia, Via Cassia, Via Aemilia).⁸

8) Part of the path passes along ancient Roman roads.⁹

B. From Italy (Rome) to Francia (Seligenstadt)

9) Rome – Pavia – Villeneuve (Head of the Lake) – see above, items 3 - 8.

10) Villeneuve (Switzerland) – Aarau (Switzerland), appr. 168 km. The road passes through hilly terrain (1238 m up, 1225 m down).

⁷ This is a pass in the Alps, through which since the times of the Roman Empire the main route connecting the north of Italy with central Europe led. The height of the pass is 2469 m above sea level, which makes it one of the highest in the Alps. Since it is impossible to walk straight through St. Bernard's pass in winter, there are two bypasses within St. Bernard's pass. The northern route ends at the Swiss city of Martigny. The ascent to the pass is 41.5 km in length with an average gradient of 4.8% (maximum up to 10%) and a height difference of 1980 m. This ascent is considered one of the most difficult passes in Europe. The southern bypass ends in the Italian city of Aosta. This path is as difficult as the northern one; snow usually lies on its slopes. The ascent to the pass is approximately 33.1 km in length with a constant gradient of 5.7% and a height difference of 1874 m [Pospelov: 1998: 75-76]. We may assume that Einhard's men walked along the Northern bypass.

⁸ Great St. Bernard Pass – Rome (still functions now), 949 km.

⁹ The distance between the Great St. Bernard Pass and Rome (the existing workaround) is appr. 949 km and can be walked through in the warm season.

11) Aarau (Switzerland) – Strasbourg (France), appr. 165 km. The way passes through hilly terrain (1196 m up, 1437 m down).

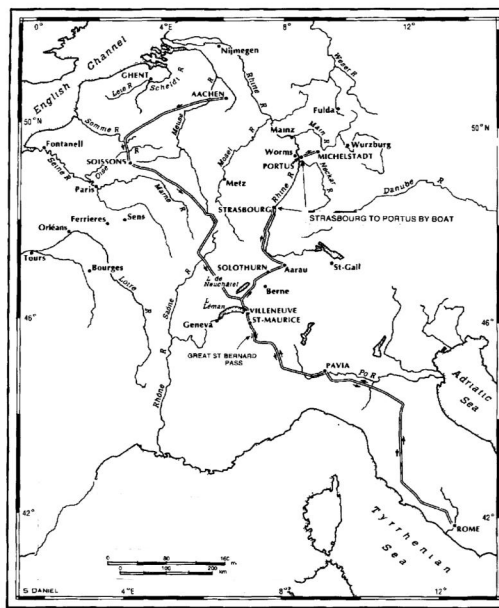
12) Strasbourg – Worms [Port] – by boat, appr. 145 km.¹⁰

13) Worms – Odenwald, approximately 53 km. The way passes through hilly terrain (858 m up, 653 m down). Currently there are private roads.

14) Odenwald – Michelstadt, appr. 7 km. The way passes through hilly terrain (50 m up, 157 m down).

15) Michelstadt – Upper Mulinheim (Seligenstadt), appr. 46.7 km. The way passes through hilly terrain (236 m up, 329 m down).

On the map below see the reconstructed route of Einhard's envoys from Francia (Aachen) to Rome and back to Upper Mulinheim, Francia (Dutton 1998: 74, with additions and changes).



The reconstructed route from Francia (Aachen) to Italy (Rome) and back to Francia (Upper Mulinheim [Seligenstadt]).

It can be concluded that the travellers walked about 1,670 km from Aachen (Francia) to Rome (Italy) and 1387 km on their way back from Rome to Upper Mulinheim (Francia), which makes 3057 km total.

¹⁰ There is an overland walking route from Strasbourg to Worms [Port], appr. 165 km long.

How many days would they have needed to cover this distance? It is hard to give a precise duration. Assuming that during 8 hours of daylight the travellers walked approximately 10–15 km per day on average, the whole journey might have lasted from 200 to 300 days. Taking into account social, economic, geographical, meteorological and temporal factors, as well as the physical and physiological capabilities of the travellers, it seems necessary to increase this value by a factor of 1.2, which makes appr. 240–360 days, i.e. almost a year. Since the return trip (from Rome to Francia) was the most important for Einhard, it was probably made during the warm season. It could have taken about 6 months, and was completed in October 827.

So, this is the reconstructed way, which in the Middle Ages connected Francia (and northern Europe) with Rome.

It seems that this way existed long before Einhard's time. This very route, given the changes in geographical situation and climatic conditions, could have been used by the nomadic, in particular, German tribes who lived in that region.

In order to trace the route in question and to reconstruct some others, it is necessary to use not only historical and hagiographic documents, but also other sources of various nature, including epistolary, poetic and legal writings. This method, in our opinion, can be applied to other cases and studies as well.

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The Tether and the Sling in the Tactics of the Nomadic People

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The written sources primarily highlight the importance of light cavalry in connection with the tactics of nomadic peoples. The strategies (like horseback-archery tactics) first outlined by Herodotus are mentioned also by later authors and applied by them to the actually appearing nomadic peoples during the Middle Ages. The topoi used by contemporary authors have been accepted and emphasized by modern research for a long time in regard to the tactics used by nomadic peoples. While it is true that the utilization of light cavalry was dominant among the tactics of nomadic warfare, in the eyes of contemporary observers of that period it was a novelty. Therefore, it has been better highlighted by the sources. In addition, after analysing written and archaeological sources and taking a closer look at visual representations, it can be stated that alongside light cavalry, heavy cavalry, infantry and siege techniques were also used (for example Sinor 1981; Golden 2002; Zaseckaja 1994: 39; Keller 2004: 50; Nagy 2005: 135–148; Nagy 2010: 71–83; Pintér-Nagy 2017a).

The scholarship has examined and evaluated the armament of the nomadic peoples from the point of view of the archaeological material. In my present work, I analyse two types of weapons, the tether/lasso and the sling, which can be inferred primarily from the data of written sources. It should also be emphasized that researchers have paid relatively little attention to the role they played in the tactics of nomadic peoples.

Lasso/tether

Gyula Moravcsik was the first to deal with tethers in detail. He was the one who collected the significant part of the Greek and Latin language sources recording the use of tethers by the early medieval nomadic peoples. The Byzantinologist concluded that the habit of tether-throwing spread among the tactics of nomadic peoples of Eastern Europe in the 2nd–6th centuries A.D.. According to him, the sources do not mention their use by later nomadic peoples (Moravcsik 1967: 276–280). Following the work of Gyula Moravcsik, Katalin Köhalmi (1972: 92), Denis

Sinor (1981: 141–142)¹ and Peter Golden (2002: 151) mentioned the tool in relation to the battle tactics of nomadic peoples.

The tether can be regarded as a traditional nomadic tool that was primarily used on horseback during the shepherding of bigger animals. In the meantime, its role in the warfare tactics of nomadic people can be observed as well. In this case, the tether was used to catch the enemy either in order to ask for ransom or to sell them as slaves (Róna-Tas 1961: 81; Moravcsik 1967: 276–280; Kóhalmi 1972: 82; Sinor 1981: 141; Golden 2002: 151). Herodotus (VII. 85. cf. Muraközi 2000a: 485) was the first to acknowledge the use of tethers as weapons. He mentions a nomadic people called the Sagartians – who belonged to the Persians, and who used a net-ended lasso. We also know from written sources that this tool played a significant role in the life of the Parthians. Their army also had a separate tether throwing unit (*Suda* 942). Written sources also mention the use of tethers in the battle tactics of the Sarmatian tribes living on the South Russian steppes (Pausanias I. 21, 5; Pomponius Mela I. 114). In connection with the Alans, Josephus Flavius mentions the tool while describing a specific combat event.² Pseudo Hegesippus (V. 50), who used the work of Josephus Flavius, wrote in a general way that the Alans were very skilled in throwing tethers and that it was a characteristic part of their battle tactics. In addition to the Greek and Latin sources, the tethers of the Huns are also mentioned in Syrian sources. Sozomenos recorded a specific case of the use of tethers by the Huns in his church-related work.³ There are other historical works concerning the use of tethers as a weapon by the Huns, such as Ammianus Marcellinus (XXXI. 2, 9–10. cf. Szepesy 1993: 587) and Syrian sources and the works of Pseudo-Kallisthenes (264), Pseudo-Ephraem (189 [6]), and Joshua the Stylite (63) (cf. Kmoskó 2004: 77, 85, 121).

After the fall of the Hun Empire, in the first half of the 6th century, in the case of the nomadic peoples of South Russian steppes, written sources mention the use of tethers as a weapon. For example, Malalas (XVIII. 21. cf. Jeffreys et al. 1986: 254) mentions the use of tethers in relation to the attempt to capture three Eastern Roman generals. Written sources do not mention this tool in relation to nomadic peoples after the 6th century. It only appears again in references in “The Secret

1 Sinor (1981: 142) also mentioned a quotation from the work of Plano Carpini which might have been related to the Mongolians’ use of tethers. He has suggested the possibility that the ropes the Mongolians used for towing war-machines could also have been used as tethers (Plano Carpini VI. 4. cf. Györffy 1965: 79; Sinor 1981: 142).

2 The author describes in relation to the Alanian attack against Armenia that the Alans threw a tether on the king of Armenia, Tiridates, and almost captured him. However, Tiridates cut the loop with his sword and escaped (Josephus Flavius VII. 7. cf. Révay 1999: 518).

3 Sozomenos has recorded a fascinating story in relation to this. Its star is Theotimos, the bishop of the city of Tomis and Scythia Minor, who tamed the “*bestial*” Huns with his gifts and hospitality. In spite of this, one of the Huns cooked up a trick and while talking with the bishop leaning on his shield, he tried to fling a tether on him and capture him. His arm, however, stiffened and did not move, until Theotimos begged God and asked him to remove the “*invisible shackles*” (Sozomenos VII. 26, 8; Moravcsik 1967: 278).

History of the Mongols” and sources from the Mamluk Age.⁴ The use of this device as a weapon could have been adopted by the people who settled adjacent to the nomads, for which we have some information in relation with the Goths in the work of Olympiodoros and Malalas.⁵ We can also observe the tether as part of the equipment of Byzantine soldiers in two Byzantine strategy works, *Strategikon* by Maurikios (I. 2. 7.) and *Taktika* by Leo the Wise (V. 3; VI. 10).

Authors use various terminology to describe the tethers of nomadic people and some of these terms can be used to deduct the tool’s structure and also its type. In the case of the nomadic people called the Sagartians by Herodotus, the author uses the simply built-up term *σειρά* meaning ‘tether and lasso’.⁶ In the *Suda* lexicon (942) the term *σειρά* can be found in the context of the tether of the Parthians. Pausanias (I. 21, 5) also uses the term *σειρά* in relation to the Sarmatians (Györkösy–Kapitánffy–Tegyey 1990: 952), and we can find the term rope with a knot (*laqueus*) used by Pomponius Mela (I. 114; Finály 1884: 1109). The tether of the Alans is called *βρόχος* by Josephus Flavius (VII. 4), a term which has several meanings: ‘rope, rope with a knot, tether and net’ (Györkösy–Kapitánffy–Tegyey 1990: 196; Liddel et al. 1958: 331). Pseudo Hegesippos (V. 50), who used the work of Josephus Flavius, used the term *laqueus* – a ‘rope’ fit with a simple knot – which originated in the works of Pomponius Mela. Among the sources mentioning lasso throwing by the Hun army, the term *lacinia* that can be found in the work of Ammianus Marcellinus (XXXI. 2, 9–10), meaning ‘tape’ (Glare 2000: 994).⁷ In Sozomenos’ work (VII. 26, 8), this weapon is represented by two terms: *βρόχος* and *σχοινίον*. Of these, the term *σχοινίον* means ‘lace, rope’, which was also used to refer to tether (Györkösy–Kapitánffy–Tegyey 1990: 1046; Liddel et al. 1958: 1747). The term *βρόχος* could mean rope, rope fitted with a knot, tether, or net (Györkösy–Kapitánffy–Tegyey 1990: 196; Liddel et al. 1958: 331). In this case, in relation to the same event (the unsuccessful capture of Bishop Theotimos), this author of ecclesiastical history refers to the same weapon using two separate terms (Sozomenos VII. 26, 8). The term *prwyē/prwyē* used by the three Syrian authors to refer to tether most probably means ‘strap’ (Kmoskó 2004: 77, 85, 121).

4 In “The Secret History of the Mongols”, it can be observed in one section, when Temüjin was pursued with a tether on a rod (SHM: 91). Sources from the Mamluk Age mention that the Mongols also used tethers in order to displace heavy armored fighters from their saddles (Waterson 2007: 166).

5 From the works of Olympiodoros (18. fc. Blockley 1983: 183) it turns out that Sarus was captured with the help of a tether by Ataulf, the king of Goths in 412. Olympiodoros used the term *σοκκος* for this device (Olympiodoros 18). According to Malalas (XIV. 23. cf. Jeffreys et al. 1986: 199), around 435, the Goth Areobindos used a tether to pull his opponent off his horse.

6 This term pertains to a simple type of tether ending in a loop (Györkösy–Kapitánffy–Tegyey 1990: 952), but the author also briefly describes the device made of leather and ending in a mesh (Herodotus VII. 85).

7 This term cannot be observed in relation to other nomadic peoples’ tether.

The tethers/lassos that are mentioned in the sources can be classified into three types. We can distinguish a lasso made of leather, with a net fitted on its end, which can be observed with the Sargatian people. This type is mentioned by Herodotus (VII. 85) who describes how they approached the enemy, threw their tether fitted with a net on them and dragged the person or the horse that got caught up in the net away. We can also observe the tethered stick; its main part was a pole, a couple of meters long, that the tether's user equipped with loose loops of rope; which he could use by hurling the loop attached to the V-shaped fork at the end or using it to punch with its pointy end. This type appears in sources related to the Mongols (SHM: 91).⁸ However, most of the data in the sources point to the conclusion that tethers had simple, looped ends. In the case of Eastern European nomadic peoples – the Sarmatians, Alans and Huns – this type can be assumed. The authors most often used the Greek terms βρόχος, σχοινίον, σείρά, and the Latin term *laqueus*. Some of the authors also mentioned how this tool was used. From the description of Pausanias we can find out that the Sarmatians approached the enemy, threw their tethers on them, then turned their horses around and started racing in the opposite direction, thus pulling the enemy to the ground and dragging them away (I. 21, 5. Trans. Muraközy 2000b: 34). A similar description can be found in the *Suda* lexicon (942) of the Parthians, who, upon approaching the enemy, threw their tethers on them before dragging/jerking the captured prisoners away. It is clear from the data of the sources that tethers were used on horseback for military purposes as well as for livestock farming (Fig. 1, 2).⁹

8 There are also ethnographic dimensions of the use of the tether on a rod, which seems to have been used primarily in animal husbandry in order to catch large animals. By affixing a tether to a stick, it was easier to place the rope on the neck of the animals (Szabadfalvi 1981: 386). This tool is approximately the size of a person. There is a loop at the upper end of the stick, which is attached to it, and the other end of the rope is a sliding loop, which slips up and down. The rider held this tool in his right hand or under his arm (Róna-Tas 1961: 81).

9 In connection with Sozomenos' source-segment about the Huns (see footnote 13) Maenchen-Helfen has raised the possibility that the nomads could have used the tether in infantry tactics. Sozomenos describes (VII. 6, 8), that a Hun was standing against his shield while negotiating with Theotimus, the bishop of the city of Tomis and then attempted to capture the clergyman with his tether. Considering that before the action against Theotimus the Hun was leaning against his shield, Maenchen-Helfen argues that the "barbarian" was trying to capture the bishop on foot (Maenchen-Helfen 1997: 184). However, Nikonorov, on the other hand, believes that this argument is unfounded. In his opinion, it cannot be unambiguously decided whether the Hun warrior was standing on the ground or sitting on a horse (Nikonorov 2010: 269). Indeed, Sozomenos' work only reveals that the Hun, before attempting to cast a tether on Theotimus, was leaning on his shield while negotiating with the bishop. It is important to emphasize in connection with the source-segment that this event did not take place during the battle.



It is apparent from the listed data that the tether was mentioned as a weapon of nomadic peoples by authors between the 2nd and 6th centuries A.D. However, after the 6th century until the Mongolian Age, we do not have data from the sources concerning its use among nomads. Still, we cannot state unequivocally that the nomadic peoples did not use tethers from the 6th century A.D. until the Mongols. On the one hand, it should be emphasized that the tether was not only used as a weapon, but it was also an important tool for nomads in shepherding. Consequently, there is little likelihood that, for example, the Avars, or the conquering Hungarians would not have used it for managing livestock. On the other hand, it could have been an important tool for capturing prisoners. In case of the Avars, sources refer to them dragging away slaves from Slavs and also capturing prisoners from the Byzantine territories (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998: 21, 219–220; Pohl 1988: 40; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1994: 207; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1996: 21).

We have data from later periods about the slave trade of the Hungarians, Pechenegs, and Cumanians. It can be assumed that these people used this tool not only for managing livestock but also for capturing prisoners (HKÍF 1995: 34, 38, 45; Polgár 2006: 99–112; Kovács 2014: 60). In relation to this issue, it is important to emphasize the significance of two sources.

During this period (7th–13th centuries) the tether was mentioned in two military works (Maurikios: *Strategikon*, Leo the Wise: *Taktika*) as an element of the Byzantine army's weaponry. Maurikios (I. 2. 7) mentions it in one passage, Leo the Wise in two places (V. 3; VI. 10). In all the three cases, both sources use the same term: λωρόσοκκον.¹⁰ This term can be considered unique, as it cannot be found in other sources in relation to the tether. The term is a compound created from the words λωρος and σοκκον. The Latin equivalent of λωρος is *lorum* meaning 'strap' (Liddel et al. 1958: 106). The term σοκκον has two meanings, it can be observed in sources to mean primarily 'sack' (Blockley 1983: 216), while its other meaning 'lasso' was used infrequently by ancient and medieval authors (Liddel et al. 1958, 1620).¹¹ The translation of λωρόσοκκον is therefore not completely clear in these strategic works, but it is possible to consider it basically a 'tether with a strap'.¹² Thus, in the case of nomadic peoples during the period in question, there is no mention of the tether by the sources, but two authors mention that the tether was used as military equipment in this period (7th–13th century) in the Byzantine Empire. In connection with Maurikios' military work, it is important to notice the origin of the source-segment that mentions the tether. The passage includes the iron stirrup directly next to the tether in the listed equipment and weaponry. While the research does not go into details concerning the problems of the origin of the tether, there are several theories about the origin of the stirrup. Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss believes that even though the author (who is familiar with strategy) of the passage in the *Strategikon* that mentions the stirrup does not

10 Maurikios mentions this tool as an accessory to the saddle, in the enumeration of the armour and instruments of the Byzantine cavalry. According to the Byzantine emperor, who was an expert in generalship, the saddle of the Byzantine army horsemen had two iron stirrups, a tether, a shackle and a saddlebag which could store 3-4 days of food for a Byzantine soldier (Maurikios I. 2. 7. cf. Dennis–Gamillscheg 1981: 81). Leo the Wise took one of his two passages mentioning the tether completely from Maurikios. That passage enumerates the accessories of the Byzantine cavalry's saddle (Leo the Wise VI. 10. cf. Dennis 2010: 87). In another passage by Leo the Wise, he describes the armament and equipment of the Byzantine army in general, and among other things, mentions the tether alongside the large saddlebag (including a flint and tinder), the sling and the shackle (Leo the Wise V. 3. cf. Dennis 2010: 77).

11 Additionally, the use of the term σοκκον can be observed in the works of Olympiodoros, where it describes part of the equipment of the Gothic king Ataulf (Olympiodoros 18).

12 Because of the two meanings of σοκκον, the translation of λωρόσοκκον is not clear in the text editions. In the Romanian and German translations of Mihăescu and Dennis of Maurikios' military work, the translation "leather bag equipped with straps" can be found (Mihăescu 1970: 53, 397; Dennis 1981: 81). In the English editions of the *Strategikon* and *Taktika*, the translation is "tether equipped with a strap" (Dennis 1984: 13; Dennis 2010: 77, 87).

specifically describe the fact that the Byzantines had taken over this instrument from the Avars, this can be inferred from the context. According to him, Maurikios recommends imitating the Avar warrior's equipment for the imperial army's leadership concerning the use of the iron stirrup in the Byzantine army, even if he does not specifically refer to this circumstance. Before and after the paragraph mentioning the stirrup, the Avars are clearly named as the ones who set an example for Byzantine warriors with their horse armor and their cavalry-jackets.¹³ Recently, however, the idea has been considered that the spread of the European use of the stirrups commenced due to Byzantine and not Avar mediation. The main argument in this regard is that Maurikios does not explicitly point out that the Byzantine Army should take over the use of this device on the basis of the Avars' model. While in other cases the Byzantine emperor gives the exact origin of other weapons, he does not do it with the stirrup. According to Freedon, similarly to other tools/weapons,¹⁴ in the case of the stirrup, it can be said that its connections in the Byzantine area are much clearer (Freedon 1995: 622, 624). The possibility has also been raised that Byzantium could have got acquainted with this instrument through the trade connections of the Silk Road. However, this assumption cannot be proved unequivocally (Csiky 2013: 77; Csiky 2015: 391–399). In any case, the philological arguments of Szádeczky-Kardoss seem more convincing regarding Avar mediation. In this case, the possibility, – which cannot be proved unambiguously – of the Byzantines, having taken over the use of the tether from the Avars (as well) is raised. Additionally, this – fairly uncertain – data besides the listed arguments above may refer to the Avars using the tether in their tactics despite the fact that the authors do not explicitly mention this instrument among the Avars' equipment.

Sling

So far little attention has been paid by scholarship to the use of slings by the nomadic armed forces. This is mainly due to the scarcity of sources mentioning them in relation to the nomads.¹⁵ We have two highly controversial and uncertain sources about the Avars (Theodóros Synkellos XIX 305, 37–306, 12; Plótinios

13 Szádeczky-Kardoss emphasizes that Maurikios' report is consistent with the evidence of archaeological materials, that is, in Europe, the iron stirrup appears first in the archeological materials associated with the Avars (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1983: 323–324).

14 For example, the three-edged arrowhead and the reed-leaf shaped spearhead (Freedon 1995: 622, 624).

15 Even though written sources do not mention slings in relation to the Scythians, the archaeological material suggests that these nomadic people also used this weapon. Scythian graves contain stones that have been identified by researchers as projectiles shot from slings (Meljukova 1964: 68; further references: Scholtz 2015: 125–139).

Thessalonikeos 9–12), and one source about the conquering Hungarians (Gerhard 12).

The use of slings became widespread in the Roman army and also later, during the Middle Ages, in the Byzantine army and in Western Europe (Hahn 1963: 87; Coulston 2002: 13). Since it has a simple structure, it was primarily a weapon of the common people.¹⁶ The sling itself could be easily fabricated; while its use, on the contrary, was only superficially easy, since accurate and precise targeting required great expertise and skill.¹⁷ In the sources, it mainly appeared as a weapon of the light infantry. In addition, it could be found among the weaponry of light cavalry as well, and was also used during sieges (Hahn 1963: 87; Kolias 1988: 257–258; Anonymus 13, 32, 32, 35–37. cf. Dennis 1985: 41, 99, 100, 109; Nikephoros Ouranos 4, 65. cf. McGeer 1995: 91, 159, 209).

The use of slings among the early Avar army can be found in a contemporary and a non-contemporary source, which refer to the Avar use of the sling during the time of Maurikios and the siege of Thessaloniki (Plótinus Thessalonikeos 9–12. cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998: 119) and the siege of Constantinople (Theodóros Synkellos XIX. 305, 37–306, 12. cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998: 187).

The term found in written sources, the expression σφενδόνη (and its Latin equivalent *funda*) refers to a simpler type of sling. This weapon consists of two straps that are joined together with a thicker piece of leather that held the projectile. The slinger placed the projectile in the weapon and after that swung it one or more times around his head, released the strap and let the projectile fly away (Kolias 1988: 255–256).¹⁸

The meaning of the term βολαι χεράδων in the work of Teodóros Synkellos (XIX. 305, 37–306, 12) is not clear; it could have been a device capable of launching some kind of stone/slingstone (Kolias 1988).¹⁹

In addition to the Avars, we can conclude from the work of Gerhard (Gerhard 12. cf. HKÍF 235) that the Conquering Hungarians also used slings. A contemporary source mentioned that at the siege of Augsburg arrows and rocks

¹⁶ According to McGeer's phrasing, it was the poor man's weapon (McGeer 1995: 209).

¹⁷ Vegetius also emphasizes the usefulness of this weapon for the earlier period. According to his opinion, the use of slings was easy, it was an easy-to-carry instrument and its use was particularly easy in stone-rich areas (Vegetius I. 17. cf. Várady 1963: 766).

¹⁸ Apart from this simple version, there are two known types, but they do not appear in the context of nomadic weaponry. The staff sling (*fustibalus*) is missing the flinging strap which is replaced by a cubit-long hooked staff (Kolias 1988: 255). The bearded sling (*mattioarbulus*) was a lead bullet fastened to a strap, which was thrown more or less like the hammer of the hammer throwers. This weapon caused very serious wounds. (Vegetius I. 15. cf. Várady 1963: 766).

¹⁹ Kardaras believes that it is not clear from the sources that the Avars could have used this type of weapon (Kardaras 2018: 158–159). As I already mentioned, there is limited, doubtful and uncertain data available for the use of slings among the nomadic people. However, it cannot be completely ruled out that they were used in the nomadic armies (for example, the slingstones identified in the Scythian finds – see, footnote 17).

flew across the city. It used the term *lapideus* (Gerhard 12) meaning stone projectile, in addition to the simple term 'stone' (Glare 2000: 1001). Either a sling or a catapult could have been used to launch these projectiles. Even though the author mentions siege instruments (*instrumentum*) in this passage (Gerhard 12), it can be assumed that they used slings as well as catapults during the siege.

The role of slingers, who were deployed in open battles, was to break the opponents' unified frontline. Sources emphasize that the horses became very distracted and untameable by the sling projectiles and, as a result, the military order of the opponent disintegrated (Anonymus 13, 32, 35–37. cf. Dennis 1985, 41, 99, 100, 109). Therefore, they had a similar role as the light cavalry archers in the nomadic armies; maybe this is the reason why slings did not become widespread in nomadic people's armies.

Summary

I have examined two types of weapons (the tether and the sling) and their significance in the strategy of nomadic peoples, as found in the written sources. Of these two, the tether can be considered a traditional nomadic tool. Tether throwing as a battle tactic was widespread among the Eastern European nomadic people – the Sarmatians, Alans, and Huns – between the 2nd and 6th centuries A.D., according to the written sources. However, later this tool cannot be observed in the sources, and it only reappears again in the sources of the Mongol Age. Of course, it cannot be stated unequivocally that nomadic people did not use tethers from the 6th century until the Mongols. It can be assumed that these people did not only use this tool in animal husbandry, but also when they captured prisoners. It appears that the use of tethers became widespread by this time in the Byzantine army, since its use was commemorated by Maurikios and Leo the Wise in relation to the armament of the Byzantine army. Contrary to the tether, the sling was has been mentioned by authors only in a couple of cases in relation to the nomadic people. Its use cannot be verified apart from a couple of uncertain sources.

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Source of figures

Figs 1, 2: <http://warfare.ga/Turk/Turkmen-Haz2152.htm?i=2>

Nomads of the Eurasian Steppe and Greeks of the Northern Black Sea Region: Encounter of Two Great Civilisations in Antiquity and Early Middle Ages

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The Northern Black Sea region and, in general, Eastern Europe for two millennia played an important role in the ethnogenetic, migrational, political, economic, religious and cultural development of mankind, since they were practically the last station on the way so to say “from China to the Greeks”, like the famous way “from the Varangians to the Greeks” through Eastern Europe from Scandinavia to the Black Sea or that “from the Germans to the Greeks”, the Gothic movement to the Northern Black Sea region. It was in this region that a meeting took place between various cultures of antiquity and the Middle Ages, which came here from the remotest parts of the inhabited land, called in antiquity ‘oikumene’.

Greek colonization of the Northern Black Sea Region

As we know, starting from the 7th century B.C. the Northern Pontic region began to be settled by Greek colonists, who founded many colonies, cities, and settlements here.¹ From the Danube to the Caucasus, the entire Black Sea coast line was densely dotted with Greek cities. The largest of them were Tyras and Nikonion – cities in the lower Dniester, Olbia – a city in the mouth of the Southern Bug and the Dnieper, Chersonesos – in the vicinity of the present-day city Sevastopol in the Crimea, there are there also Theodosia, Nymphaeum and Panticapaeum (now known as Kerch, on the western shore of the Kerch Strait), Phanagoria, Hermonassa and Gorgippia on the east coast of the strait (Fig. 1).

1 In detail: Tsetskhladze 1998; Petropulos 2005; Fornasier 2016.



Figure 1. Greek colonies of the Northern Black Sea coast

Most of the colonies on the northern Black Sea coast were founded in the 6th century B.C., and it was at this time and in this place that they met with the Scythians. It was the first meeting of the great Greek civilization with the nomads moving along the Eurasian steppe belt from east to west and the most important event for Eurasian history.

The arrival of Asian nomads to the Northern Black Sea region

The list of nomads who were coming to the Northern Black Sea region from the depths of Asia for more than half a thousand years is impressive: they were Cimmerians, Scythians, Sauromatians, Sarmatians, Jazyges, Aorsi, Alans, Huns, Avars, Khazars, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Pechenegs, Polovtsy, Tatars, Mongols, etc.²

In the 1st millennium B.C. and in the 1st centuries A.D., the native populations of South-Eastern and Central Europe faced the expansion and movement of the Central Asian peoples pressing westwards. Some indigenous tribes retreated, setting in motion other peoples, while others mingled with the newcomers, giving rise to new hybrid cultures. The contribution of the Iranian peoples to the cultures of ancient Europe is discernible in many aspects, including Germanic religion, Celtic folk-poetry, and early Slavic civilization. The influx of the Iranian steppe peoples into Europe was linked with tribal movements in Central Asia. This was a

² The problem in general: Seaman 1989; Kljashtorny, Savinov 1994; Kradin 2007.

consistent pattern, and we have evidence of several great migrations in the 1st millennium B.C. and the 1st millennium A.D.³

Already Herodotus, living in the 5th century B.C., had observed such processes: “Except for the Hyperboreans, all these nations (and first the Arimaspians) are always at war with their neighbors; the Issedones were pushed from their lands by the Arimaspians, and the Scythians by the Issedones, and the Cimmerians, living by the southern sea, were hard pressed by the Scythians and left their country”.⁴

The fate of the Alans, the Iranian-speaking people who came to the Northern Black Sea coast at the turn of the era, is indicative. According to ancient Greek and Roman and Chinese sources,⁵ the first Alans came out of the Trans-Caspian regions, where they lived, presumably between the Syr Darya and Amu Darya rivers.

The eastern region, inhabited by the Alans, was included in the sphere of influence of China of the Late (Western) Han era. The Later Han Dynasty chronicle, the Hou Hanshu, chapter 88⁶ (completed in the 5th century A.D.), mentions that the steppe land Yancai had become a vassal state of the Kangju and was now known as Alanliao (阿蘭聊).

From the end of the 19th century, commentators began to associate the name of this place, Alan, with the European Alans. The question of the localization of Yancai / A-lan is controversial. Sima Qian in his historical work “Shiji” (24: 36; 32: 36) mentions that Yancai bordered the “Great Lake” with sloping shores, which suggests the Caspian or rather the Aral Sea.

In any case Chinese sources report changes in the steppe world reflecting a new state of affairs with the emergence of a people that was able to win dominance over the other tribes of western Central Asia. It seems likely that the immediate catalyst for their movement was the Kangju, a powerful nomadic people well known to Chinese sources that lived in the Syr Darya basin, from Farghana to the Aral Sea.⁷

It is well known that in the 4th century A.D. some of the Alans participated in the Great Migration of Peoples and ended up in Western Europe (in Gaul) and even in Northern Africa, where, together with the Vandals, they formed a state that existed till the middle of the 6th century.

The settled Greeks of the Northern Black Sea region, with a high level of political, economic and cultural development, faced nomads who were at a lower level of social development. These peoples were most often hostile to the Greeks and were eager for war booty, and the Greeks had to use huge diplomatic, military, political, and economic resources in building relationships with the “barbarians”,

3 Olbrycht 1998: 101–140.

4 Herod. 4.13; trans. by A.D. Godley.

5 For the fullest collection of sources on the history of the Alans: Alemany 2000.

6 About this document: Hill 2009.

7 Olbrycht 1998: 221.

as the Greeks called them. The range of these relationships was very wide – from military confrontation, often resulting in the defeat of the Greeks, through complex tribute relations, which relieved the severity of the confrontation, to the incorporation of the nomads into the Greek state, which resulted in the Hellenization of their elites, sedentarization of the nomads, and the introduction of “barbarians” to ancient civilization.

In this paper, I will try to consider some of these aspects of the meeting of two civilizations in the Northern Black Sea region.

The meeting of two civilizations

A lot has been done in the scholarly literature to clarify the essence of nomadic communities, their political and economic organization, and their need for relationships between nomads and farmers.⁸ The nomads could not live without the products of agricultural and handicraft products of the sedentary population. For this reason, they successfully exploited the agricultural periphery by non-economic and violent means (robbery, war, contribution, extortion of gifts, non-equivalent trade, tribute, etc.).

As for the military superiority of the nomads, there is a famous statement by the ‘father of history’ Herodotus about the Scythians (IV, 46): “But the Scythian race has made the cleverest discovery that we know in what is the most important of all human affairs ... they have contrived that no one who attacks them, can escape, and no one can catch them if they do not want to be found. For when men have no established cities or forts, but are all nomads and mounted archers, not living by tilling the soil but by raising cattle and carrying their dwellings on wagons, how can they not be invincible and unapproachable?”

The Greek city-states of the Northern Black Sea region were very attractive for nomads as objects of robbery, as potential tributaries, as suppliers of many goods – weapons, clothes, luxury goods, food, in particular, wine etc.

The Greeks of the Northern Black Sea region, meeting new hordes of Asian nomads again and again,⁹ used all possible forms of restraining the warlike nomads.

Ancient authors often report a military confrontation between nomads and the Greek cities. The Greek writer Dio Chrysostom, who towards the end of the 1st century A.D. visited the North Pontic city of Olbia (or Borysthenes), wrote (Or. Boryst. XXXVI, 1-6): “The city of Borysthenes, as to its size, does not correspond to its ancient fame, because of its ever-repeated seizure and its wars. For since the city has lain in the midst of barbarians now for so long a time – barbarians who are virtually the most warlike of all – it is always in a state of war and has often

⁸ Sellnow 1968; Khazanov 1994; Khazanov, Wink 2001; Kradin 2007.

⁹ Vinogradov 2008: 13-27.

been captured". Dio tells about a local youth, Callistratos, who "was brave in the war and killed or captured many of the Sauromates" even though the day before "the Scythians made a raid and some sentinels were killed, others may have been taken captive" (15–16). The Scythian raids are known mostly due to fires and the construction of fortifications in the cities of the Bosphoran kingdom in the 5th century B.C., which have been discovered by archaeologists.¹⁰

We also know that nomads could establish a kind of protectorate over the Greek Northern Black Sea cities.¹¹ This, in particular, is indicated by the release of the Olbian coins, silver stater from the 2nd third of the 5th century B.C. with the name of the Scythian ruler Eminakes and the image of a Scythian pulling a bow (Fig. 2).



Figure 2. The silver stater with the name of the Scythian ruler Eminakes

This kind of protectorate can be assumed in the case of the Scythian king Scyles, who, according to Herodotus (IV, 78), often came to Olbia with his army, "visiting" the city for several months while his army "fed" in the suburbs. In addition to feeding the troops, it is very likely that certain taxes could be levied, which could be expressed in the system of gifts to the king and his entourage. No wonder that in the graves of Scythian aristocracy archaeologists find so many luxuries worked by Greek masters¹² (see e.g. Fig. 3 and 4).

¹⁰ Vinogradov 2005: 239–244.

¹¹ Marchenko 2005: 107–113.

¹² Rolle 1991; Jacobson 1995.



Figure 3. Golden pectoral from kurgan Tolstaja mogila (4th c. B.C.)



Figure 4. Vase from kurgan Kul'-Oba near Kerch (4th c. B.C.)

So, Greek writer Strabo at the end of the 1st century B.C. notes: “Now although the Nomads are warriors rather than brigands, yet they go to war only for the sake of the tributes due them; for they turn over their land to any people who wish to till it, and are satisfied if they receive in return for the land the tribute they have assessed, which is a moderate one, assessed with a view, not to an abundance, but only to the daily necessities of life; but if the tenants do not pay, the Nomads go to war with them. ... But men who are confident that they are powerful enough either to ward off attacks easily or to prevent any invasion do not pay regularly; such was the case with [the Bosporan king] Asander, who... walled off the isthmus of the Chersonesus which is near Lake Maeotis and is three hundred and sixty stadia in width, and set up ten towers for every stadium.”¹³ The last Bosporan king, Pairysades, according to Strabo (VII, 4, 4), “was unable to hold out against the barbarians, who kept exacting greater tribute than before, and he therefore gave over the sovereignty to [the Pontic king] Mithridates Eupator”.

Neighborhood with nomads led the residents of Greek cities to work closely with them politically, economically, and culturally.¹⁴ The founding of the city of Tanais at the mouth of the Don can be considered one of the clearest examples of such interaction.

Tanais as a Greco-barbarian city

It was founded by the Bosporan rulers as a trading emporium, apparently in 280–275 B.C. and became the largest city in the Northern Azov region with a mixed Greco-barbarian population, which served as the center for the trade of the Greeks with the nomads.¹⁵ Here is what Strabo writes about it (XI, 2, 3): “It was a common emporium, partly of the Asiatic and the European nomads, and partly of those who navigated the lake from the Bosphorus, the former bringing slaves, hides, and such other things as nomads possess, and the latter giving in exchange clothing, wine, and the other things that belong to civilised life.”

In the city, which can be considered a model of the symbiosis of two civilizations, there were authorities that governed the Greeks (Hellenarchs) and the local people (Archonts of the Tanaites). Nomads were interested in the existence of the Greek cities that organized trade relations for them. So much so that, as Dio Chrysostom wrote, when the Greeks, after one of the attacks of the barbarians, were going to leave their city of Olbia-Borysthenes, its inhabitants again settled the city, “with the consent of the Scythians, because of their need for traffic with the Greeks who might use that port, ...and the Scythians themselves

13 VII, 4, 6; here and further trans. by H.L. Jones.

14 Much material about the interaction of Greeks and barbarians can be found in Marchenko (ed.) 2005.

15 Knipovich 1949; Shelov 1970; Shelov 1972; Bötger et al. 2002: 65–85.

had neither the ambition nor the knowledge to equip a trading-centre of their own after the Greek manner.”¹⁶

Nomads at the service of Greek rulers

Nomadic military detachments were often recruited by the Bosporan kings for actions against their enemies – other nomads or rivals, pretenders to royal power. This is reported by the ancient authors. For example, Diodorus from Sicily, telling about the strife within the royal family of the Bosporan rulers, informs us (XX, 22) that in 310 B.C. “after the death of Pairysades, who was king of the Cimmerian Bosporus, his sons Eumelus, Satyrus, and Prytanis were engaged in a struggle against each other for the primacy. ... Eumelus, after concluding a treaty of friendship with some of the barbarians who lived near by and collecting a strong army, set up a rival claim to the throne. ... Enrolled in the army of Satyros were not more than two thousand Greek mercenaries and an equal number of Thracians, but all the rest were Scythian allies, more than twenty thousand foot-soldiers and not less than ten thousand horses.”

The Sarmatians and the Alans concluded agreements of alliance with the Greek states of the Northern Black Sea Region, although these were not always equal treaties. As a rule, they were initiated by the settled societies, as follows from an analysis of Strabo’s report (XI, 4, 5) and some epigraphic monuments.

It is interesting to note that in order to maintain contact with nomads who did not speak Greek, there were in the Bosporan kingdom some associations of translators.¹⁷ Thus, one of the inscriptions, found in the Northern Pontic region, refers to a certain “Gerakas, Pontic’s son, the main translator of the Alans (*archermeneus Alanon*)”, i.e. the head of a certain guild of translators from the Alans (CIRB, 1053). There is another inscription from Rome, which refers to “Aspurgus, son of Biomassus, translator of the Sarmatians (*hermeneus Sarmaton*)” (CIL VI, 5207).

The nomadic elite, attracted by the achievements of Greek civilization, was accustomed to its achievements. This was reflected in the fact that representatives of the nomadic nobility could become with time a part of the ruling elite of Greek cities. This is evidenced by the burial mounds, a large number of which are located near the capital of the Bosporan kingdom Panticapaeum, in which both Bosporan aristocracy and nomadic barbarians are buried¹⁸ (Fig. 5).

¹⁶ Dio Chrys. XXXVI (Borysth.), 5.

¹⁷ Kazanskij 2014: 188–199; Podossinov 2016: 230–235.

¹⁸ Vinogradov 2005: 245–258.

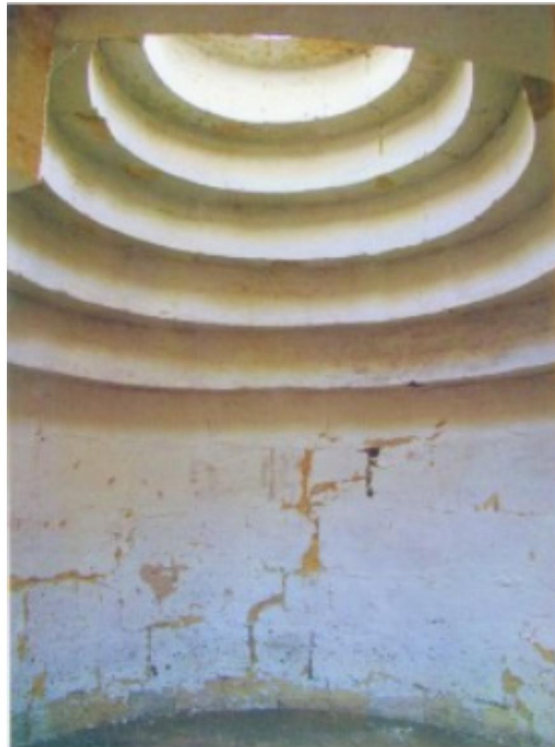


Figure 5. The inner room of a kurgan near Panticapaeum

An impressive example of such a union of the Greek and barbarian elements in the ruling elite of the Bosporan kingdom is the case of the last Bosporan king, Pairisades, who in 109 B.C. was killed by a pupil of Pairisades, the Scythian prince Saumakes during the uprising of the Scythians under his leadership.

The meeting of two civilizations – the settled, highly civilized, and the nomadic, from the point of view of the Greeks and Romans, barbarous – was highly beneficial for both parties. We can see as the outcome of their interaction both the Hellenization of the barbarians, and the barbarization of the Hellenes.¹⁹

The Hellenization of the barbarians and barbarization of the Hellenes

The Hellenization of the barbarians manifested itself in the famous episode of a visit of the Scythian king Scyles to the Greek city of Olbia, which has already been

¹⁹ Podossinov 1996: 415-425.

mentioned above. Herodotus tells it as follows (IV, 78): “So Scyles was king of Scythia; but he was in no way content with the Scythian way of life, and was much more inclined to Greek ways ...So this is what he would do: he would lead the Scythian army to the city of the Borysthenites..., and when he arrived there would leave his army in the suburb of the city, while he himself, entering within the walls and shutting the gates, would take off his Scythian apparel and put on Greek dress... and in every way follow the Greek manner of life, and worship the gods according to Greek usage... He did this often; and he built a house in Borysthenes, and married a wife of the people of the country and brought her there”.

But the reverse process – the barbarization of the Greeks – also took place in the history of this great meeting. The very presence of the society with the royal, despotic institutions of the nomadic empires – be it Scythian, Sarmatian, Alanian or any other – next to the Greek traditionally democratic state (or even inside the state) could not but influence the character of the Greek government institutions.

Already since the end of the 4th century B.C. the Greek rulers of the Bosporan state in their titles found themselves to be archons of Bosphorus and kings (*basileuon*) of various local tribes, which they attached to Bosphorus.²⁰ After a while, already in the 3rd century B.C., they began to call themselves kings of Bosphorus, which turned this Greek state into a typical dynastic monarchy.²¹ In my opinion, in this process, it is possible and necessary to see the influence of the barbarian periphery on the political system of the Greek state, stimulating the transformation of the polis democratic model, which was traditional for the Greeks, into a dynastic monarchy.

The barbarization of the Greek cities manifested itself in many aspects of life. We can talk about the famous Greek-Scythian art, in which Scythian motifs were developed by Greek masters (the famous “Scythian animal style,”)²² and about Scythian kurgans on the territory of the greatest cities of the Bosphorus, in which Scythian kings were buried; about the Scythian mercenaries in the service of the Bosporan rulers, about the influence of the military affairs of the local tribes on the Bosporans, about mixed marriages, about the Iranian names in Greek inscriptions, about the barbarian roots of royal names, and finally about the Sarmatization of the Bosphorus, which happened in the 1st centuries A.D.

The Sarmatization of the Bosporan kingdom as a result of the encounter of nomadic and Greek civilizations

A few words about this Sarmatization. It is assumed that there was a large influx of Sarmatian tribes into the Bosporan territory in the 1st centuries A.D., and as a

²⁰ CIRB 6, 6a, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 25, 971, 972, 1014, 1015, 1037, 1038, 1039, 1040, 1042.

²¹ CIRB 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 974, 1043, 1044, 1046.

²² Rostovtzeff 1929.

result the Sarmatians began to constitute the majority of the kingdom's population, and the Sarmatian culture began to predominate over the Greek. This hypothesis was formulated by the prominent Russian historian Michail Rostovtzeff at the beginning of 20th century.²³ He believed that in the Roman era, the Bosphorans adopted Sarmatian military tactics, weapons, clothing, culture, and art styles and that the Sarmatian language was native to many inhabitants of the kingdom, supplanting the Greek language, which remained only as a language of school and state. And although scholars in recent decades have had many doubts regarding the theory of total Sarmatization of Bosphorus,²⁴ it is impossible to deny the fact of the great influence of the nomadic way of life.

This can be seen, for example, in the frescoes of Bosphoran crypts – they depict the Iranian equestrian combat technique – a duel between two horsemen supported by foot soldiers. (Fig. 6).



Figure 6. Painting in the crypt of Anthesterias in Panticapaeum. End of the 1st c. B.C. – beg. of the 1st c. A.D.

Bosphoran weapons changed – here they are a Scythian-Sarmatian scaly or annulate cuirass, an Iranian conical helmet, a round or oval shield, Scythian bow and arrows, and a large assault spear; all of these are weapons of Scythian and Sarmatian heavily armed archers and spearmen.

Dio Chrysostom, whom I have quoted more than once, wrote as an eyewitness about the clothes of a young Olbiopolites: “He had a great cavalry sabre, suspended from his girdle, and he was wearing trousers and all the rest of the Scythian costume, and from his shoulders there hung a small black cape of thin material, as is usual for the people of Borysthene. In fact, the rest of their apparel in general is regularly black, through the influence of a certain tribe of Scythians, the Blackcloaks, so named by the Greeks doubtless for that very reason”.²⁵ The reliefs of a gravestone in the Northern Black Sea region also show the spread among the

²³ Rostovtzeff 1922: 156–180.

²⁴ Maslennikov 1990: 9–15.

²⁵ Dio Chrys. XXXVI (Borysth.), 7.

Greeks of a nomadic costume, including pants like the Persian trousers.²⁶ Apparently, this costume was used by the cavalry, who adopted, along with their clothing, many methods of warfare and types of weapons from the local, more developed cavalry of nomadic tribes (Fig. 7).



Figure 7. The Dedication from Tanais with the image of Tryphon in Sarmatian vestments (2nd c. A.D.)

The epigraphies of Olbia and other cities of the Northern Black Sea region contain a large number of Iranian names of people who had important government positions. For example, one such inscription is a decree from Olbia from the end of the 1st – beginning of the 2nd century A.D.: “In the good hour! Strategists, led by Anaximenes, son of Anaximenes: Purfakes, son of Somachos, Sabeinos, son of Apollutos, Abroagos, son of Susulon, Farnagos, son of Zethos, and Kaskenos, son of Kasagos, dedicated gold Nike on a silver base to Apollo the Prostates for the health of the city and their own!”²⁷

²⁶ Kreuz 2012: 235–238.

²⁷ Knipovich, Levi 1968: 71–72.

In this inscription more than half of the mentioned strategists, i.e. military leaders, have Iranian names! Moreover, even the names of the Bosporan kings, dating from the 1st century A.D., are of local, “barbarian” origin (Aspurgos, Rhescuporis, Gepaiporis, Sauromates, Rhoimetalkes, Ininthimaios, Pharsanzes, Chedobios, Teiranos, Thothorsos – there is not one Greek name!).

In conclusion, I want to emphasize that the meeting of the two great civilizations in the ancient and early medieval times did not pass without a trace, as both were enriched with the achievements of each other and practically merged with each other at this great Eurasian crossroads.

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The Character of the Trade between the Nomads and their Settled Neighbours in Eurasia in the Middle Ages

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This paper is important for me by reason of the role and place of the Eastern European trade in the 8th-10th centuries (a period which was a heyday of trade in this region). That is to say, I look at this topic from the vantage point of Eastern Europe.¹ The aim of this study is the trade and exchange of goods of the nomads of the Eurasian steppe with their settled neighbours. I focus on the character of the contacts between the steppe empires (that is, the greatest nomadic confederations) and the medieval great powers: China, Sassanian Persia and later, the Caliphate and the Eastern Roman Empire.² I have separated five geographical zones and compared them with each with other. The zones are: 1. China and the northern/north-western peripheral zone, Mongolia, the Altai, and Manchuria 2. Iran and Central-Asia (the Kazakh steppe, in the neighbourhood of Transoxania and Khorasan) 3. Iran (its north western part) and the Caucasus 4. The Eastern Roman Empire and the Eastern European steppe north of the Black Sea and 5. The Eastern Roman Empire and the Carpathian Basin.

What kind of similarities and differences can we notice? Are there any universal regularities in these contacts, or are there different patterns for each territory? The starting-point are the asymmetric relations between the Eurasian nomads and their settled neighbours which have been analysed in detail for example by Anatoly Khazanov in his foundational work (Khazanov 1994), or for example by András Róna-Tas, before the edition of Khazanov's book (Róna-Tas 1983) or Ildikó Ecsedy (1999 and 1999a). In the case of the Eurasian steppes these asymmetric relations became visible especially in the eastern part, that is, in Inner Asia, where nomadism really predominated. In general, it is said that the nomad economy was without complexity and unbalanced, and needed the economy of the settled territories. This was especially true for the nomad tribal elite in contrast to the common people. The nomads had two possibilities: 1. expansion, that is occupation of territories with complex economies, or 2. continuous exchange

1 This study is a short version of a chapter of my book titled "Kelet-Európa kereskedelmi kapcsolatai (kb. 750-kb. 1000) (írott források alapján)" [Eastern Europe and the International Trade (cca. 750-cca. 1000) (on the Basis of Written Sources)] Balassi Kiadó, Budapest 2019.

2 István Zimonyi has compared the societies of the steppe region from China to Central Europe in regards to the nomad "imperial" strategies in the relations with the settled societies (Zimonyi 2016: 125-129).

relations with their settled neighbours. Or we can mention a third possibility, to settle in a rural territory and become a settled population.

The nomadic-Chinese exchange relations are well known first of all from the view of China. On the Chinese-nomad relations it is said in general (on the basis of studies of Jagchid and Symons, Ildikó Ecsedy, Mackerras) that trade and war were connected.³ The north/northwestern borderlands of China were at peace when goods and gifts went in both directions, but mainly to the nomads. During such times China was safe from the nomads. This was true also for the politically divided periods of China's history.

Usually the nomads were initiators. The nomads could at times effectively initiate the formation of great tribal confederations or empires. According to Thomas Barfield the great nomad empires in the neighbourhood of China emerged at times when China was politically united under the rule of one dynasty (Barfield 1996: 5–9). Barfield explains the coexistence of a “strong China” with a “strong nomad empire” by saying that a unified China had greater resources than a divided China, and it could give up goods to the nomads more easily.⁴ Following Barfield's train of thought the nomadic empires built on these unified Chinese periods and could support themselves for a long time. These nomadic empires seen from without were very unified, but from inside we can see a duality: centralization and hierarchy at the level of the empire and autonomy at the level of the tribes. On one hand a tribal clan was over the tribes and put their own members over the submitted tribes, they often preserved their original status and the chieftains could be relatively autonomous from each other. Because in this arrangement the tribal aristocracy could calculate on the goods from the leading clan, it was worth to stay inside the confederation (Zimonyi 2016: 126). The great steppe empires neighbouring China had two different strategies: 1. “outer frontier strategy” (Barfield 1996: 49–51; Dobrovits 2005: 18) 2. occupation of a part of China and starting a new dynasty. The first was typical for empires which emerged in Mongolia (Xiongnu, Rouran, Turks etc.), the second was typical for empires which were founded in Manchuria (Khitan, Jurchen). In the 13th century the Mongols tried both of these strategies. Here I focus on the first strategy, because it is characteristic of the nomad-Chinese relations over a long period of time. The relations developed step by step: first a mutual exchange of goods with the nomads, who occasionally employed threats with the aim of receiving additional gifts, later a dynastic wedding, and finally the opening up of the market places in

³ Jagchid & Symons 1989: 23, 186–187; Ecsedy 1968; Mackerras 1969; Mackerras 2004.

⁴ This theory is not universally accepted, for example, Michael Drompp pointed out that Barfield's theory is one-sided, focusing only on one aspect, and that it does not apply to all mentioned periods (it is true for the Han - Xiongnu period). We need to take into consideration other aspects, for example the role of long distance trade (Drompp 2005). On its role in the emergence of nomadic empires, see Kradin 2005: 152.

the border zone and permanent trade, which was not really permanent due to Chinese administrative regulations. The nomads usually desired more gifts and goods than the Chinese partners sent to them.⁵ For the Chinese emperors the gifts from the nomads did not mean they should also send goods, because for them they were simply a form of tribute or honour.

The nomads living in the vicinity of China took part in another system of exchange: the Silk Road. They sold a part of the goods they had received from China (cooperating with middlemen such as the Soghdians during the Turk and Post-Turk periods). The western connexions of the Turks reached up to Constantinople, and though the Uyghurs didn't have such long connexions, Chinese goods from time to time were exported to West. To sum up, the outer frontier strategy against the Chinese Empire was successful for a long time. Its results were more or less regular trade connectios and intervallic wars. Enforcement could be effective because China had a long overland border with the nomads, and the centres and prosperous regions of the empire were within easy striking distance of the nomad armies. There were especially frequent wars during the Xiongnu period.

The second region is the steppe zone bordering Iran and Central Asia. There are few written sources from ancient times and the early Middle Ages, so our knowledge is incomplete (while there are certainly records on ethnic history, the lack of the sources concerns trade contacts).⁶ In this zone there was no permanent tradition of nomad empires and it was not a constant geographical centre of nomad empires such as Mongolia and Manchuria in vicinity of China were. In this steppe there were periods without an empire, or there were ephemorous, short-lived empires, maybe as part of another empire, for example the Western Turk Empire. In additon, we may mention the Hephthalite Empire. The centres of the Iranian empires were far away from the steppes of Central Asia, separated from them by large highlands. The Sassanian emperors built walls and fortresses in the northern frontier zones of their empire, from the Caucasus to the oasis of Merv (Harmatta 2002: 65–69). The nomads of these regions were in contact first of all with the northern periphery of the Iranian civilization, with Soghdiana and Khwarazm, and developed with them peaceful trade. But there were periods of war also. For example the Hephthalites and the Turks fought against the Sassanid Empire which paid to tribute both of them, first to the Hephtalites and after that to the Turks, who helped the Sassanids to destroy the Hephtalite Empire.⁷ But the nomadic empires of this period were more precarious and volatile than those which were in the neighbourhood of China, and due to the outer frontier strategy, the threat of the nomads to the inner and central zones of the Iranian empires

⁵ Gift exchange is known from the Xiongnu period (e. g. Di Cosmo 2004: 284–285).

⁶ On ancient Iran, the Sassanids and the nomads, see Czeglédy 1983: 41–43, 55–62, 77–84.

⁷ On the Hephthalites, the Avar migration and the Sassanid Empire, see Vásáry 1993: 70–71.

(including in the early Islamic period) was not so dangerous and permanent as in the case of China.

After the Arab conquest a new period began in Central Asia. The Arabs confronted the nomads of the Eurasian steppe. The opposition was long-lasting. The image of the hostile nomads is preserved in the Muslim literature. There is a passage in the work of Yāqut al-Rūmī (13th century) on the nomads ("Turks") of Central Asia. According to the author, the caliph Hisham (724–743) sent an embassy to the northern nomads to convert them to the Islam. The king of the nomads refused the offer of the caliph, because the economy, culture, and urban life were strange for the nomads.⁸ But the situation later changed. In the 9th–10th centuries Muslim merchants frequently visited the nomads. Ibn Faḍlān reported on the Oghuz, living north of Khwarazm, who had a special connexion with the Muslim traders.⁹

In the 13th century the Mongol invasion changed this situation radically: Iran was conquered by a nomad empire.

The third region is the Caucasus, or more specifically Transcaucasia and the steppe north of the Caucasus. Although the Caucasus is a natural barrier, Transcaucasia was not fully safe from the northern nomads. The passes of the mountains were under Persian control, but the nomads (from the Scythians to the Khazars) in spite of the fact that there were built walls and fortresses, could get over the *limes* and invade Transcaucasia (Armenia, Media etc.). They often did this in alliance with local Transcaucasian kingdoms.¹⁰ There is a brilliant record on the nomad-settled relations in the historical work of Ibn Miskawaihī 'The Experiences of Nations'. This passage on the northern nomads is based on the life of the Sassanian shah, Khosrow Anushirvan recorded before the Arab conquest. Around the year 540 the nomads (in the text they are 'Turks') in the vicinity of Lazike¹¹ (in the north western part of the Caucasus) sent a letter to Khosrow, asking for supplies because they were in need of goods and foodstuffs threatening that if he did not comply with the demands, the nomads would attack the empire of the shah. In addition they asked him for to receive nomad troops into the Sassanian empire. Khosrow visited the Caucasus region and settled two thousand nomads in the border zone, sending magi (Zoroastrian priests) among them to introduce the Iranian religion. But the most important for us was that Khosrow opened the market places in the border zone, so the nomads could exchange goods (Grignaschi 1966: 19–20). This story contains in brief all the elements which have already been mentioned regarding

8 Yāqūt, *Lexicon*, ed. Wüstenfeld 1866, I: 839. Hungarian translation: Kmoskó 2007: 29. Yāqūt's passage goes back to reports of al-Hamadānī and Ibn Khurdādhbih (9th c.).

9 Ibn Faḍlān, *Risāla*, transl. Frye 2005: 35. On the trade between Muslims and nomads in Central Asia in the 9th–10th cc.: e. g. Mokrynin 1973.

10 Mako 2010: 50–52.

11 Lazike had usually been under Byzantine rule but in the 6th century came under Sassanian influence.

nomad-Chinese relations. Demands and threats from the nomads and the concessions of the shah in exchange for peace. These nomad-settled contacts changed after the Arab conquest. Similarly to Central Asia, the region of the Caucasus became a theatre of war in the first half of the 8th century. After 737 the war ended and a gradual rapprochement between the Arabs and the Khazars began. Around 758 on caliph al-Mansur's initiative the Arab governor of Armenia, Yazid al-Sulamī married a daughter of the Khazar kaghan. The Muslim author Ibn A'tham al-Kūfi cites a letter which Al-Mansūr sent to al-Yazīd: "Arminiya cannot continue to exist and prosper unless a marriage league is established with the Khazars. It is, therefore, my opinion that a covenant by marriage must be established in order that the country may prosper. Otherwise, I have fears, because of the Khazars, regarding the safety of you and all your officials. They come together, whenever they will, and prevail."¹² The security in the border zone was important for the Arabs. On the basis of these peaceful Arab-Khazar relations trade contacts developed between the Caliphate and Eastern Europe.

The next territory is the Eastern European steppe. Here also emerged only a few nomad empires: the formation of the Hun and the Avar empires started here but finished in the Carpathians. In addition, Magna Bulgaria, Khazaria and the Golden Horde belong to Eastern Europe.¹³ Magna Bulgaria was an originally Eastern European nomad empire but it was short-lived. After it the empire of the Khazars existed for about three hundred and fifty years, and the Golden Horde for two hundred and fifty years. Apart from the above mentioned Caucasian region, the empire which was the neighbour to the steppe region was the Eastern Roman Empire. Not a single one of the above mentioned three Eastern European nomad empires became involved in a serious war with the Eastern Romans. They did not use force or threats for long time. Kuvrat, the head of Magna Bulgaria, was an ally of emperor Herakleios; and the Khazars engaged in marriage diplomacy with the Romans. But in the case of the so-called non-imperial nomad tribes or confederacies the situation was similar. The Scythians peacefully traded with the Greeks and there are a few sources on the trade between nomads and the settled population from later periods. Sometimes the Eastern European nomads attacked the Balkan provinces of Roman Empire, as for example the Protobulgars in the 5th and 6th centuries, but the same Protobulgars were sometimes allies of the Romans (for example against the Goths). This passivity of the Eastern European nomads could be explained on the basis of their geographical position: Constantinople is far from the northern coast of the Black sea, and the sea itself acts as a natural barrier. To reach the city overland was possible only across the Lower Danube and

¹² Al-Kūfi, *Book of Conquests*, Noonan 1984: 202 (on the basis of Károly Czeglédy's translation); Bunyatov 1981: 62.

¹³ On the ethnic and political history of Western Eurasia in the Early Middle Ages, see for example Golden 1992; Vásáry 1993.

the Balkan peninsula (incidentally Rome was in a safer region, so when the centre of the Empire was moved to Constantinople, the risk of a nomad attack increased a little). From the Pontus region (the northern coast of the Black sea) the Kutrigurs reached Constantinople in the year 559, but this campaign was fruitless. The Avars are another example. In 565 emperor Justin II stopped sending gifts to the Avars, but they made no threats or demands. Probably the Avar kagan Bayan did not want to risk a doubtful war against the empire, and instead forced out contributions from the Franks.¹⁴ But in this case we can take into consideration the threat of the Turks, which made the Avars to want to preserve the intactness of their army. The second reason for the passivity of the nomads could be the complexity of the economy. Although the nomads led a nomadic way of life in the steppe, their settled neighbours in the forest steppe zone provided them with food such as grains, vegetables and fruits. The third reason for their passivity could be the Greek population of the northern coast of the Black sea. The Greeks were ready to exchange goods with the nomads. From the 7th-6th centuries B. C. the Greeks contacted the Eastern European peoples and began to exchange goods with them. The main market places were at the estuaries of the great rivers of the northern Black sea region, the Dniester, Southern Bug, Dnieper, and Don and in the Crimean peninsula. The situation did not change during the rule of the Sassanid and Roman Empires. It was typical for the nomads to transport goods to the towns of the Greeks, as can be seen in the reports of Strabon or later John Malalas.¹⁵ Merchants arrived to these markets from the southern region of the Black sea. The nomads played an intermediary role in the fur trade between the forest zone and the Black sea region.¹⁶ The Volga region had trade contacts with the Caucasus region and Central Asia. Into this region there was imported silver from East (Iran, Sogdia etc.) and the ornaments of Central Asian art inspired the formation a local style.¹⁷ Central Asia (the Silk Road) and the Eastern Mediterranean alike were in connection with every region, that is, the regional trade zones of Eastern Europe were not isolated, and Eastern European trade was part of the 'world trade' system. Eastern Roman foreign policy also tried to employ this trade in its own interests, thus, it usually made peace with the nomads through gifts.

The last territory is the Carpathian Basin. The Carpathian Basin was conquered by the Huns in the 5th century, by the Avars in 567/68 and by the Hungarians at the end of the 9th century. The outer frontier strategy was characteristic of all of these

14 Menander protector, *Fragm.* 8, ed. Blockley 1985: 93–97; Corippus, *In laudem Iustini*, Ioannes Ephesinus, *Historia ecclesiastica*: Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986: 65–66; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1990: 207.

15 Strabon, *Geographica*, XI, 2. ed. Lasserre 1975: 44, 48. Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. Thurn 2000: 499.

16 E. g. Jordanes, *Getica*, 37, ed. Skržinskaya 1960: 136.

17 E. g. Frye 1972; Noonan 2000; on the art and ornaments: e. g. Fodor 2008: 127–150.

peoples. The Huns and the Avars forced the Eastern Roman Empire to pay silver and gold tribute. The Hungarians seized goods and took captives in the Eastern Roman Empire, but they turned their attention to West and captured the Frankish and Italian kingdoms. An important reason for the successful campaigns against the Eastern Roman Empire was geography: the northern part of the Empire (including Constantinople) was an easily approachable territory due to the long overland border. The Eastern Roman defensive line, the *limes*, could not stop the nomad invasions. Thus, the nomad empires of the Eastern European steppe north of the Black sea were less dangerous than the nomad empires of the Carpathian Basin. If a strong nomad tribal confederacy formed here, it could easily become dangerous for the Eastern Roman Empire.

During the Roman period (1st-4th cc. A. D.) the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin was under the rule of Sarmatian tribes, who developed trade contacts with the Romans. The situation changed when the Hun tribal confederation conquered the territory (cca. 420–430). The Huns began to use the “outer frontier strategy” against the Roman Empire. Due to their strength the Romans paid tribute to the Huns, from 423 to 435 every year there came 350 pounds of gold from the Roman Empire. In 435 the Roman emperor Theodosius and the Hun king Bleda came to an agreement that the Romans would pay double the earlier tribute (700 pounds). The Romans promised not to form a league with the enemies of the Huns, the ransom for Roman captives was increased to 8 solidi and moreover, the Romans allowed to visit the borderland markets. István Zimonyi has compared the Roman-Hun treaty with the Chinese-Xiongnu treaties. The difference is that the Romans did not intermarry with the Hun royal dynasty (Zimonyi 2016: 127–128). In the 440's the Roman tribute increased up to 2100 pounds and in this decade the Huns got 13.000 pounds of gold in total (Bóna 1991: 47, 55, 58, 60). Over 27 years circa 8 tons of gold flowed from the Roman Empire to the royal court of the Huns. But the Hun Empire was short-lived and the Eastern Roman Empire was secure from the nomads up to the middle of the 6th century. The Avars conquered the Carpathian Basin in 568 and from the 580's began a war of attrition with the Eastern Roman Empire. The Avars successfully forced the Romans to pay tribute. From 573 to 585 they paid 80.000 solidi per year, from 585 to 598 100.000 solidi per year, and from 598 the Avars got 120.000 solidi per year. The culmination of the Eastern Roman tribute was in 623 when they paid 200.000 solidi per year. After the Avar defeat in 626 the Romans paid less and in the 8th century there is no mention of the annual tribute to the Avars. According to István Bóna, the total money which the Romans sent to the Avars was circa 4,5 million solidi, that is circa 27 tons of gold (cca. 400 kilograms per year, in fact less, about 350 kg due to debased coins) (Bóna 1987: 324; Zimonyi 2016: 128; Zimonyi 2014: 188–189). Adding to this money the booty and some more gold from ransom (for captives) the total sum comes up with six million solidi (Pohl 1990: 92). This was more than the gold given to the Huns. The strategy and military organization of the Avars for half a century was based on the tribute from Constantinople. There are no reports about the borderland markets

and exchange of goods with the Eastern Romans. But there may have been some exchange between the Avars and Romans, for example glass beads of the Millefiori type, and metal chairs and vessels indicate the possibility of exchange, perhaps an exchange of gifts between the ruling elites (Vida 2016: 95). We need to take into consideration that the Avar economy was a complex system, the Carpathian Basin had good ecological and climatic conditions, and the Eastern Roman tribute was important for the Avar elite in order to keep their “nomad empire”. The third major nomadic tribal confederation that conquered the Carpathian Basin was the *Hétmagyar* (Proto-Hungarians) (895–900). They followed the strategy of the Avars, forcing their neighbours to pay tribute or invading and plundering them. As for the Hungarians, there are different estimations on the sums which they got from the West: in a span of 40 years it could have been from 7 to 150 tons of silver (e. g. Kovács 2011: 14–18 and 211; Zimonyi 2014: 190).

To sum up:

1) In the various regions of the Eurasian steppe the strategy of the elites of the great nomad tribal confederations was similar: they tried to obtain goods and gifts from the neighbouring settled empires. This was the basis of the maintenance of their confederacies. In the East it was needed due to the unbalanced nomad economy, in the western part of the Eurasian steppe the economic pressure was not important, in Eastern Europe and the Carpathian Basin the economy was complex, here played important role only the political ambitions of the nomad elites.

2) In the analysed regions there are differences. In the territories adjacent to China the characteristic strategy of forced trade was typical and there emerged many great steppe empires over a long period of time.

3) On the opposite side of the Eurasian steppe zone, in the Carpathian Basin there was a similar situation which however lasted only during the Hun, Avar and Hungarian periods (the latter ended at the end of the 10th century).

4) In the Central Asian steppes adjacent to Iran forced trade was a less characteristic strategy and there were only a few great steppe empires. The northern Caucasus region is similar to Central Asia.

5) In the zone north of the Black sea peaceful trade and the exchange of gifts were dominant, and there was no permanent imperial tradition. The dominance of peaceful trade was a basis for the emergence of a network of long-distance trade in Western Eurasia. This emergence started under external influence. Khazaria, the empire of the Eastern European steppe easily and effectively joined this trade system.

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Images of Eurasian Nomads in European Cultural Imaginary in the Middle Ages

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This paper is a contribution to deepening our understanding of the relations between sedentary and nomadic peoples in medieval Europe. It interprets the images of nomads found in the European cultural imagination, particularly in medieval literary sources from areas as far apart as Britain and Constantinople. This imaginary is the product of an accumulated culturally-processed emotional response to newcomers from the Eurasian Steppe who were often perceived as either a severe threat or as powerful military allies. The process of constructing such an image of the Eurasian nomads might seem to be a simple and natural one; however, one must not oversimplify its complexity. The reconstruction of this imagery is a joint effort made by several disciplines. This overview is intended to give the reader a glimpse into the perspectives of imagology, social psychology, cross-cultural history, and the history of emotions.

“Sedentary individuals, groups and whole populations perceived and actually encountered nomads with changing degrees of fear, suspicion, incomprehension, condescension, and romanticism.” (Miggelbrink & al. 2013: 12).

The introduction to this paper is a short reflection of the complex concept of the *cultural imaginary*. The concept is then used to discuss two important issues related to sedentary-nomadic relations in Eurasia. First: how medieval Europe fit Inner Asian nomads into its imaginary, i.e. what were the main images and what was the repository of images based on; and second: what were the emotional associations and connotations of these images?

The framework

In the process of re-creating the events and the atmosphere of past times one is constantly on slippery ground. It is not only that “the past is a foreign country”.

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The analysis in this case is an attempt to interpret the past interpretations one culture made of another, a quite different one. Interpreting the sources resembles a forensic investigation: no matter how diligent and observant of the protocols one is, even a marginal note on a newly-found manuscript can shed completely new light onto events. However, until that happens one must work within the existing evidence, so I will outline my basic methodology first.

There are (at least) two possible approaches to giving a short overview of the type I propose to present. One can start chronologically, analysing the images created of the nomadic peoples as they appeared in the European literary sources ranging from Antiquity into the medieval period. In that version one could start with the Scythians, not only because the earliest European historiography (ie. Herodotus) presented them as a quite memorable Other (Hartog 1988). More importantly, this is the image of the ‘nomad’ that was used again and again on numerous occasions: the Huns and the Avars were later identified with the Scythians (Shuvalov 2017). The reason this old Herodotean image of the ‘nomad as Other’ kept being reused is that it allowed people to reduce that which was dangerously Unknown to something that, even if no less threatening, was at least familiar. Sometimes, though, this can create confusion, as in literary sources one may find various (anachronistic) names: the Huns were called Scythians; the Avars and Bulgars were called Huns; while the Magyars were called Scythians, Huns, Avars, and Turks. It is likely that many were more comfortable with the established imagery. After all, as W. Pohl noticed, Synesius of Cyrene stated in about the year 400, when new peoples were crossing the borders of the Empire almost yearly: “There are no new barbarians; the old Scythians are always thinking up new names to deceive the Romans.” (Pohl 2018: 5). Or, as O. Maenchen-Helfen (1973: 7) puts it, the reason for this terminological confusion is a combination of emotionally conditioned *reductio ad notum* with, even more often, a chance for the learned historian to show his erudition.

Alternatively, one could use a cultural framework to analyse the impression created of some Eurasian nomadic peoples (the Huns, Avars, Magyars, and Mongols)¹ as they appeared in European literary sources during the medieval period. Specifically, I wish to use gestalt notion of identity (self and others) contextualised by the notion of the cultural imaginary.

My goal is to analyse the way in which nomadic people were represented in the European cultural imagination, as expressed in the textual sources with the intention of making a contribution to the history of emotions. Nevertheless, since it is not possible to study emotions in isolation from other historical factors, a holistic approach that takes into account theories and histories of culture,

¹ As general reading, but also with chapters dedicated to images in the European cultural imagery, for the Huns see: Maenchen-Helfen 1973; Kuosmanen 2013; for Avars: Pohl 2018; Kardaras 2018; for Magyars: Zimonyi 2016; Bácsatyai 2017; Csukovics 2018; for the Mongols: Jackson 2005; all of which contain useful bibliographies.

identities, representation, literary symbolism, and emotions seems a necessary way to deal with the topic. The working method would then be to analyse the cultural context within which the images were created. As Clifford Geertz proposed, building upon Max Weber: “man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs.” (Geertz 1973: 5). Alternatively, one could define culture as patterns of historically derived and selected ideas and their embodiment in institutions, practices, and artefacts, that pervasively influence how individuals think, feel, and behave (Ford & Mauss 2015: 1). The importance of institutional context seems even greater in relation to the study of written accounts of emotional states undertaken in an attempt to re-create the atmosphere of medieval Christendom.

The medieval Christian imaginary conception of Eurasian nomads was formed by various constituents that can be analysed using the scheme: text – intertext – context. The text (a historical source) bears the ‘fingerprints’ of the author, and is also determined by the motive and purpose of writing, as well as by the culture out of which it sprang. One also needs to pay special attention to intertextuality because, according to the French imagologist Daniel-Henri Pageaux, the imaginary is the realm used for “storing and the possible re-actualization of bits and pieces, sequences, even whole paragraphs which came or did not come from foreign countries.” (Pageaux 2001).

What does this mean for the case of the imaginary conceptions of Eurasian nomads? It means that medieval authors who described nomads had recourse to a library of ancient texts that had two traditional parts: a classical and a Christian section. These provided a critical pool of references, which then became a base for organising further perceptions. It was possible for a medieval author simply to shake off the dust from a paragraph written by Pliny, Solinus, or Ammianus Marcellinus, and suddenly that paragraph became a relevant part of an account on the Asian region or its inhabitants. In addition, the ancient text’s authority gave an extra value: a stamp of credibility. One of the characteristic features of the use of classical literature is that a later author’s own experience can be credibly augmented with or even fully replaced by unchecked or even incorrect information taken from canonical authors (Merrills 2005: 24). References to Holy Scripture or apocalyptic literature are even more powerful: a single syntagm, a patch can become a ‘hyperlink’ to the Christian imaginary. One of the most powerful instances of these references can be found in the prologue of Roger of Apulia’s *Carmen miserabile*, in which the author, a 13th-century Italian cleric, writes that he had spent “a time and one half of time” as a Mongol prisoner of war (Master Roger 2010: 134–135). Roger’s invocation of the book of Daniel (Dan 7.25), the flower of apocalyptic literature, doesn’t give any specific information about how long that captivity actually was, but does speak eloquently of how difficult the experience was for him using the language of Biblical times.

The cultural imaginary

More than a decade ago, C. Strauss proclaimed in the beginning of her paper that: “Imaginary is becoming common in the place of *culture* and *cultural beliefs, meanings, and models* in anthropology and cultural studies.” (Strauss 2006: 322; cf. Stankiewicz 2016).

The collective imaginary provides a framework for the group’s sense of belonging, brings the members of groups together, provides common structure, boundaries and values. Europe has, for centuries, been an umbrella term for hundreds, and thousands, of spatial collective identities (Saunders 2009; Berger 2009). The extent of ‘our’ identity often depends on who the ‘Other’ is. When ‘zooming out’ to a wide Eurasian continent to discuss the incursions of the Huns, Avars, Magyars, Mongols, Cumans, and the Ottomans on a wider scale, the Danube basin, site of the most intense contact zone (the works of J. Preisler-Kapeller), might be called Europe. Later we might also use the religious identification and call it Christendom.

The imaginary could be described as the framework within which a group acts and thinks about ways of acting; distinguishes ‘good’ from ‘bad’ practices; chooses historical models; and has visions and dreams about the future (Pageaux 2001). The social imaginary, if further simplification is allowed, is that album of mental images² that a society has created of itself and others, and more precisely, about itself in relation to others. This dynamic of relation to others is at the centre of what is called ‘identity’, a term rich in meaning and highly contested over the last several decades.

One can distinguish three distinctive characteristics of the imaginary: it is carried in images, stories, and legends; it is shared by a great number of people (possibly the whole society); this immediate common understanding enables common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy (Taylor 2004: 23).

As it is not possible here to attempt to define identity, it might be more appropriate to use an example which is useful when it comes to historical comparisons of relations between sedentary and nomadic, ‘civilised’ and ‘uncivilised’ societies. Päivi Kuosmanen (2013) makes the sharp observation that the image of the Huns created by Ammianus Marcellinus in the 4th century perfectly accentuates all the differences between the Romans and the newcomers.³ Ammianus’ description of the Huns’ unsightly clothes (*pellibus; coriis haedinis*), barbaric conduct (*totum furori incitatissimo tribuentes; hoc expeditum indomitumque hominum genus*), unintelligible way of talking (*flexiloqui et obscuri*), lack of religion (*nullius religionis vel superstitionis*), government (*aguntur autem*

² These serve as a point of reference: “When people from various countries and cultures meet each other, real experience and mental images compete.” (Beller & Leersen 2007: 7).

³ To Dr Päivi (Collander) Kuosmanen I owe gratitude for the comments and the published and unpublished materials on the topic, in a correspondence in 2012.

nulla severitate regali) and character (*per indutias infidi inconstantes*) differs from everything that is related to the Romans (Ammianus Marcellinus 1986: 380–387; book 31.2). In every single detail the image of a Hun's physical and spiritual character is the exact opposite to the idealised Roman citizen who (in respect to the order above), dressed in a linen suit; constantly pursued self-discipline; was articulate in speech and rhetoric; praised gods; and lived in a properly arranged state system with strong moral values (cf. Collander 2008; Isaac 2004: 305–306; also Wiedemann 1986; and Burgersdijk 2016).

Another Roman historian of a previous age, Tacitus, wrote on Germanic tribes in a more positive way than his predecessors. As a direct contrast with the Roman vices of the time, he created a sort of a noble-savage image of the Germanic people. This is the point at which the need to take context into account becomes apparent. When Tacitus wrote his work (late-1st century A.D.), the Germanic peoples were in relative subjection or remote over the river Danube, while on the other hand Ammianus wrote about the Huns during a period when they were destroying Roman cities. 'Exotic' people remain in the sphere of the 'interesting' as long as they are at a safe distance: proximity is a critical factor in 'choosing' suitable images from a cultural imaginary.

The Other and the Enemy

The Other is one who is not in our circle, who does not share our values, our qualities, and, according to Freud, absorbs projections of our flaws. However, when the Other is in a position to make threats to our circle, either through his ideas or with weapons, he stops being the Other and acquires the face of the Enemy. The most common characterisation of the Enemy, from antiquity up to the 21st century is as treacherous, warlike, cruel, and remorseless. Of course, when it comes to antagonism, mirroring becomes significant: both sides perceive and describe themselves and the Other in the same way, and the characteristics are stereotyped and repeated almost verbatim by each other about the other. Although not all these stereotypes are images of the enemy, the images of the enemy are all stereotypes, negative ones. All their characteristics are reduced to just a few that are then represented as innate and permanent. To be convincing, the image of the enemy needs to be easily recognisable, threatening, (pseudo-)rationally justified, and emotionally charged (Vuorinen 2012: 5).

As the threat becomes bigger (or closer), the image of the Enemy is intensified and it becomes denigrated and dehumanised, as a part of a defensive mechanism. "A threat to the group's integrity, especially when posed by a group with a different worldview, strikes at the very basis of its members' psychological as well as biological survival." (Frank & Melville 1988: 199). The members of the hostile community are perceived as beasts or demons, having little or no social organisation but high combat skills. However it is developed, the process of

dehumanisation compromises the inhibitions humans have towards killing other humans, and the maintenance of these inhibitions is normally a prerequisite towards peaceful social relations. When we are threatened, we feel the need to circumvent the usual prohibition of killing another human, and we do that by turning that other human into the Enemy, a deformed, sub-human animal who can be killed with impunity. Moreover, fighting these threatening monsters becomes respectable and honourable, even a holy activity (Frank & Melville 1988: 201–202; cf. Vuorinen 2012: 4). Within this logic, the annihilation of an enemy who is defined as evil receives a rational and legitimate base.

Christian and apocalyptic framework

Since it was mostly men of the Church who wrote the accounts of the (most often violent) contacts between Europeans and nomads, it was unsurprising that the newcomers were first appraised within a Christian worldview. Holy Scripture and the Greco-Roman classical library offered material for initial accounts, as both these traditions in their cultural imaginaries mention the unusual appearance of people of the nations from the East. The fundamental binary opposition of the (European) classical world, in which Greeks and later Romans were contrasted to barbarians was transformed in late Antiquity and the Middle Ages into an equally powerful, but slightly different one: the Christian versus the pagan world. This transition can be clearly seen in a poem by the most famous Christian poet of the late 4th century, Prudentius: “Yet what is Roman and what is barbarian are as different from each other as the four-footed creature is distinct from the two-footed or the dumb from the speaking; and no less apart are they who loyally obey God's commands from senseless cults and their superstitions.” (Prudentius 1953: 71; verse 816–819). Barbarians and pagans quite swiftly intertwined and became synonyms (Beller & Leersen 2007: 267).

The division between Classical and Christian authors has more of a formal character. As early as the 4th century A.D., Saint Jerome saw Christian humanism as being based on a congruency of pagan (Greco-Roman) and Christian tradition. Therefore, medieval authors had their classical *topoi* intertwined with biblical references (Curtius 2013: 36–37, 72).

Thus, O. Maenchen-Helfen had good reason to explain the lack of interest in the study of the Huns (in the paragraph titled “Demonization”) by stating simply: “The Huns were demonized early.” (Maenchen-Helfen 1973: 2). He supported his argument with several quotations from the contemporary witnesses of the Hun invasion of Europe (Maenchen-Helfen 1973: 2–5). Some of the key written testimonies belong to none less than great Church Fathers Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine.

It is virtually impossible to overemphasise the importance of the apocalyptic scenario in medieval Christian culture. The Second coming of Christ relates to the

Last judgement and the end of the world. It is preceded by an imminent crisis one of the protagonists of which are Biblical peoples of Gog and Magog (cf. Anderson 1932; Cary 1956; also Chekin 1992). St. Ambrose (4th c.) identified Gog with the Goths; St. Jerome (4th/5th cc.) with the Scythians (= Huns); Paulus Orosius (5th c.) with the Huns. Many 13th-century authors made the same identification of the Mongols (Schmieder 2006; Sardelić 2013).

The literature of the apocalyptic traditions is substantial. It is worth remembering however that the apocalypse can be defined as “a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation and spatial, insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.” (Collins 1979: 9). When we consider this extended understanding of the apocalyptic tradition or discourse, that it is “intended for a group in crisis with the purpose of exhortation and/or consolation by means of divine authority.” (Collins 1997: 41), its purpose becomes more clear.

Naturally, any foreign people coming violently from the North or the East, having customs differing from those of the Latin Christians, was a candidate for the role of Gog and Magog. Among others, Scythians, Huns, Khazars, Hungarians, and in the 13th century the Mongols – usually called Tartars – were all identified with the enclosed nations of Alexander the Great that seemed to have just broken through the Gates (Schmieder 2009: 15). In some way, in a well-exploited *topos*, the hero Alexander the Great retroactively became the protector against – in European view – an incarnated ‘evil’ in the shape of nomadic nations (Cary 1956).

Denigration and dehumanisation of the Other

Humans are for various reasons preoccupied with their humanness. It can be related to their fear of death or to the problematic nature of their relations with other humans and animals. Some subtle and unconscious forms of dehumanisation (called also *infrahumanisation*) occur daily. Perceiving others as different certainly borders on dehumanisation. Nonetheless, for perceived differences to develop into dehumanisation, theorists argue that the Other must be considered to be an animal or a mere mechanical cog, that is lacking in such fundamental human traits as individuality, warmth and emotion (Bain & al. 2013: 91). On many occasions Western Christendom needed to dehumanise the peoples of the Eurasian steppe, as they had dehumanised other invaders before them. This reaction was understandable because they feared for their very lives. As the bibliography on dehumanisation has grown considerably in the last two decades (see: Bain & al. 2013), it is appropriate to give an image instead.

In the second part of the chapter titled *De peste Tartarorum* (Archdeacon Thomas 2006: §XXXVI), Thomas of Spalato, a contemporary of the Mongols invasion of Hungary and Croatia in 1241/2, represents the Tartars exactly as one

would imagine the depiction of the fiercest enemy. He starts with an episode in which, allegedly, the Ta(r)tars take all the boys that they had captured and then summon their own children to hit them on the head with poles. The adults themselves sat apart and observed the scene with “cruel eyes” (*crudelibus oculis*), laughing and praising those who struck the surest blow or who could crush the brain with a single stroke. Thomas concludes this image with the following observation: “What need I say more? No respect was paid to the female sex, no pity to those of childish years, no mercy for old age. All were butchered in the same pitiless way. They seemed devils rather than human beings.” (Archdeacon Thomas 2006: 272–273). What immediately follows is worth quoting at length:

“When they came to the dwellings of men of religion, the company of clerics would come out to them, dressed in their sacred garments, singing hymns and chants, as if showing due honor to the victors, presenting gifts and offerings to incite mercy towards them. But they, devoid of all pity and human feeling, and despising the practices of religion and mocking their pious simplicity, would draw their swords and cut off their heads without the least pity. Then, pouring into the cloisters, they would plunder everything, setting alight the houses and profaning the churches. They pulled down the altars and scattered the relics, and from the sacred vestments they fashioned ribbons for their wives and concubines.”

If I wished to choose a paragraph from among the extant accounts of the Mongols, the one that is likely to elicit the most negative emotions and incite the reader to fight them most strongly, I would pick this paragraph. In this short text, Thomas manages to give in a very concentrated form a large number of the most dramatic images: at first there is a scene in which children, with the approval of adults, spill the brains of other children. This is followed by the decapitation of clerics who had come to pay respect to the victorious. Compounding this viciousness is that both actions are accompanied by laughter (*corridebant*) and contempt (*deridentes*). Rhetorically this passage is sophisticated and powerful in its handling of intensifying violence: after the first image one concludes that the Mongols show no mercy towards children, nor respect towards women and the elderly, and the other image reveals that they do not even respect God. It all ends with the desecration of churches, breaking of reliquaries and destruction of various objects that are used exclusively for religious purposes. The Mongols’ sexualisation of holy items makes their utmost disrespect plain enough even to those who do not recognise that the last two sentences are a paraphrase of Pseudo-Methodius’ Apocalypse (Pseudo-Methodius 2012; cf. Dan. 5; cf. Master Roger 2010: 179, 189, esp. 201).

The perception of cruelty (*crudelitas*), especially with respect to the aged and the young, the most vulnerable members of any community, is quite a common stereotype of the Enemy, being the Other who is in position to pose a threat to one’s own community (Sardelić 2017: 501).

Instincts and epithets

All the characteristics of a threatening Other are reduced to just a few (epithets) which are then represented as innate and permanent. Thus, we find strong similarities in the accounts given of all the nomadic peoples considered here. They are all described as if their (evil) characteristics were ‘hard-wired’ into them, as if they were innate and in some way connected to their very instincts. The two most frequently cited purported traits are that they are bloodthirsty and impossible to satisfy. A general observation with regard to those living to the north of Byzantium can be found in the advice that Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus gave to his son: “Know therefore that all the tribes of the north have, as it were implanted in them by nature, a ravening greed of money, never satiated (...)” (Constantine Porphyrogenitus 1967: 13).

The same again with the description of Avars. The *Strategicon* of Maurice draws the usual conclusions: “They are very superstitious, treacherous, foul, faithless, possessed by an insatiate desire for riches. They scorn their oath, do not observe agreements, and are not satisfied by gifts. Even before they accept the gift, they are making plans for treachery and betrayal of their agreements.” (Maurice 1984: 116; book 11.2).

It is hardly surprising that in the 10th century Bishop Liudprand of Cremona recorded his ‘ethnocharacterisation’ of Hungarians in this manner: “Moreover, the Hungarians, having carried out their scheme, unable to satisfy their evil cravings with so great a massacre of Christians, instead ravaged and totally burned the kingdoms (...)” (Liudprand 2007: 77; Retrib. II, 5: *sed rabiem ut perfidiae satiarent*); “Hungarians, thirsting for slaughter, avid for war” (Liudprand 2007: 76; Retrib. II, 4: *necis sitiens*); “Arnulf summoned to his aid the nation of the Hungarians, greedy, rash, ignorant of almighty God but well versed in every crime, avid only for murder and plunder.” (Liudprand 2007: 56).

The invasion of the Mongols in 1241/42 re-actualised some well-known images: “(...) he (Batu) sent out men to burn and kill as their inborn viciousness dictated.” (Master Roger 2010: 169: *innata malitia*). Matthew Paris and Simon of Saint Quentin, among many others, presented the Mongols in a particularly original and excessively negative way, for the reasons not beyond reasonable doubt; especially given the fact that the English chronicler did not experience the Mongol invasion in person, while the Dominican friar was an envoy in a diplomatic mission (Sardelić 2017).

These qualities of ‘nomadic barbarians’ – viciousness, maliciousness, and greediness, were not only ‘implanted by nature’, i.e. innate but were described as permanent and extreme in their intensity and negativity. These are obvious elements of dehumanisation. Even the expression of physical differences, especially with the addition of personal aesthetics (such as: “the Huns are really ugly in their appearance”), immediately signals to the purpose of those lines.

One needs to constantly bear in mind, nonetheless, that those dehumanising images were not exclusively ‘reserved’ for the Eurasian nomads, so different in appearance and their way of living, or invading ‘barbarians’. On the contrary, one may find them virtually anywhere, for the members of the same cultural circle. In that case, however, the ‘addressee’ is someone from a different (most often lower) social class. Alternatively, a rival from a familiar culture, as it can be read from the same Liudprand (2007: 247): the name that includes “every baseness, every cowardice, every kind of greed, every promiscuity, every mendacity, indeed every vice” for Liudprand and his compatriots is none other than the Roman name.

Natural and cultural commonplaces: Food and blood

The reason that ethnographic descriptions always have food somewhere in the very beginning is three-fold. Firstly, we all eat at least once a day, and food has always been an important cultural artefact. Due to its central role in human lives, and the variety both of ingredients and of ways of preparation which is possible, food is a very powerful medium for the display and dissemination of culture and social identity (Feidenreich 2011: 4; cf. Sardelić 2017: 499). Secondly, the information that the Other eats raw meat or similar can potentially be a suitable argument for consigning him to the category of an animal, that is, it can be a way to subject him to dehumanisation. Finally, it is a perfect medium to bring disgust into play. The original forms of disgust are believed to focus on defending the body against infection that might enter through the alimentary canal. Descriptions of food and eating are therefore an excellent instrument to provoke disgust in readers.

Disgust can be divided into physical and sociomoral (Chapman & Anderson 2012). The very act of transforming raw food into a meal, the embodiment of a culture, is an element of cultural identity: orthodox Jews for example would not eat a meal prepared by a member of another culture (Freidenreich 2011). The activation of disgust is therefore related not only to the food the Other consumes, but to the culture this food represents. Sociomoral disgust is related to violations of divinity and/or purity. It is clear that food can cause both kinds of disgust. It can definitely provoke physical disgust, but also holy books have certain rules that must be observed about food, whose violation will cause disgust in believers.

The drinking of blood is a practice that has been independently verified to have existed among the Mongols in extreme situations. In the representations of 13th-century authors, however, this practice becomes a powerful image of savagery, by being stripped of the circumstances in which it was practised. In one of his first descriptions of the Tartars, the English chronicler Matthew Paris asserts three times in just a few paragraphs that they drink blood, but never mentions the context. Even more, he portrays the Mongols as bloodthirsty (*satientes*), who

consider blood a delicacy (*pro deliciis bibentes*) (Matthew Paris 1872–1883: IV, 76–77).⁴ When there is no blood to drink, he suggests, they drink turbulent, muddy waters (*aquas turbidas vel etiam lutulentas*). This is telling, as if they had a preference for the unclean, not just a tolerance of it in necessity. Therefore, Matthew shares this information with the sole purpose of dehumanising the Other.

Drinking blood has had a long history of being a useful stereotype (i.e. a discriminative image). Not only for its power to provoke disgust, but even more from a Christian perspective: Holy Scripture strictly prohibits the practice, starting with Gen. 9:2–4. The reason is later explained thus: “You must not eat the blood of any creature, because the life of every creature is its blood.” (Lev. 17:14).

Speaking of the Hungarians, Bishop Otto of Freising (1868: 233–234) claims that they “eat raw flesh and drink human blood” (*humano quoque sanguine potaretur*). This leads to another very powerful image with huge dehumanising potential: the cannibalism, which has been discussed in scholarship (Guzman 1991; Phillips 2013: 89–99; Sardelić 2017: 503).

Conclusions

It is crucial to establish, analyse, and understand the cultural framework within which the images of the Other (in this case Eurasian nomads) are created. All of these images have been processed and adapted to fit the cultural views and expectations of perceivers. It is important to distinguish wartime from peacetime images. Those formed in the time of conflict are stereotyped, threatening, and emotionally charged – mostly with fear and both forms of disgust: physical and sociomoral. Needless to say, they are most dehumanising.

The repository of images has been continuously filled with new material, while the old one is being reused or reinterpreted. It consists of different, even contradictory images of certain Others or phenomena. ‘Barbarians’ can be cruel and greedy, and simple and honest at the same time: the situation will dictate which image will be ‘chosen’ and promoted.

Medieval Europe encountered powerful nomadic people such as the Huns, the Avars, the Magyars, and the Mongols (to name but a few), and they perceived them to be threatening. Denigrating and dehumanising imagery was an essential tool created from the pure survival instinct, in the first place. It was used subsequently (within the framework of apocalyptic literature) to provide consolation and hope; and then, equally important, as a mobilizing factor against the Enemy. The enemy had now taken the form of a demon or a wild beast, and was therefore, by all contemporary human and Christian standards, deprived of its right to live.

⁴ In general, F. Schmieder (1994: 225–226) sees the accounts of the Mongol dietary practices as a usual *topos*, while P. Jackson argues it is obvious that those descriptions were fully in accord with Pseudo-Methodius’ prophecies (Jackson 2001: 363).

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An Unknown Jewish Community of the Golden Horde

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In 2001 or in 2002, and then in late 2015, I was working on an incomplete Judeo-Turkic translation of the Pentateuch from the First Firkowicz Collection kept in Saint Petersburg, as well as on other Judeo-Turkic translations of the Bible from the same collection. While studying the MS Evr.I.Bibl.143, I was stricken by the fact that this text is unlike anything other of the kind (as I then imagined what 'the kind' should be like). Now I know that this MS is the earliest Judeo-Turkic text known, and it enables us catch a glimpse of a previously unknown community of Jews of the Golden Horde.

I was not prepared to encounter among the Judeo-Turkic materials of the First Firkowicz Collection anything older than the 18th century. Written on paper produced in Venetian Verona in 1470–80,¹ Evr.I.Bibl.143 can be dated to the last two decades of this successor state of the Mongol Empire, the Golden Horde.

I finished a book on this MS and the cultural world of its authors and copyists (for the MS is a copy going back to a prototype written decades earlier, not too long after the *Codex Cumanicus* had been edited). I hope to have my research on Evr.I.Bibl. 143 published soon, and here I would like to announce some of my findings.

Turkic and Judeo-Turkic

There were (and there still is one) several Jewish varieties of Qıpçaq Turkic. These included two (or possibly more, a couple of centuries ago) dialects of the so-called "Karaim" language, the Qıpçaq Turkic spoken and written by Karaite Jews in Lithuania (mostly, in Troki / Troch / Trakai) and in Galicia (Halicz / Halič) and Wohlynia (Lutsk / Łuck and other places). On other Turkic-speaking Rabbanite Jews in Eastern Europe (Shapira 2007).

The Troki dialect still survives, while the Halicz dialect withered about a decade ago, with the passing away of the last speaker. According to the view of 19th century Karaite scholars, the Karaites of Poland and Lithuania (and, by

¹ Dr. Alexander Grishchenko and Dr. Alexandra Soboleva checked the water marks throughout the MS; Professor Malachi Beit-Arié and Mr. Alexander Gordin from the Israeli National Library confirmed the conclusions of Dr. Grishchenko and Dr. Soboleva. My thanks go to them all.

extension, their Turkic dialects) came from the Crimean Peninsula; this view, which had been politically-motivated at the time of its formulation, was uncritically upheld by the majority of the 20th- and 21st century scholars. According to this writer, these dialects go back to two different, though closely related, types of speech of the Golden Horde (Pritsak 1959: 320). We cannot state where exactly in the Golden Horde the forefathers of the Lithuanian and Galician Karaites came from, but we should remember that five hundred years ago, all the territory inside the circle going roughly from the lower Danube to Kiev to Ryazan' to the Curve of the Volga to the middle course of the Ob' to the Altay Mountains to Lake Balkhash to Khwarazm to the Caspian Sea and from Northern Daghestan to the Kuban river to the northern side of the Taurian Mountains in the Crimea, was speaking Qıpçaq Turkic.

The text of the Bible in English is quoted according to the King James' Version that translates the Hebrew original. The Judeo-Turkic text is given in transliteration.

Slavic in the MS

There are reasons to suggest that the text comes from an area of Turkic-Slavic linguistic contact, for it contains a number of words known from Slavic. However, three of these words borrowed from Eastern Slavic are of non-Slavic origin (one is even possibly of Turkic-Khazar origin) and all of them exist by now in different Turkic languages of the former Russian Empire / USSR.

The words are:

1. *ny ... ny ...*, 'neither ... nor':

NUM 22.26

And the angel of the Lord went further, and stood in a narrow place, where was no way to turn <i>either</i> to the right hand <i>or</i> to the left.	d-''rtty ml'xy ywy nyg d-ṭwrđy ṭ'r yrd' ky ywx ṭyr ywl m'yl'yṭm' ny'wng nyswl	ניוסף מלאך ה' עבור נייעמד במקום צר אשר אין דרך לנסות זמין ושמאול.
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2. *kun*, probably from Slavic *gunja* / *gun'ia* / *hun'ia* (гуня), an overcoat popular with Hutsuls and Cossacks.² It translates Hebrew עור, 'or, which generally means 'skin', but is used here to denote a kind of garment, probably. The word *gunja* for Hebrew אדרת, 'aderet, 'gown', is also found in the Ruthenian translation of Gen 25:25 in the Manual of Hebrew from the second half of the 15th century, cf.: '... ibo izo jutroby matere vyšol [Isav] pr"veje čr"měn" ves', jako *gounę* volosataja (Temchin 2014).

Another possibility is Slavic *kun* / *kuna* / *kunica* (кун / куна / куница), 'marten's pelt'. These served as a form of currency in Eastern Europe (the currency of Croatia, HRK, is still named after these pelts).³

Lev 11:32

<p>And upon whatsoever any of them, when they are dead, doth fall, it shall be unclean; whether it be any vessel of wood, or raiment, or <i>skin</i>, or sack, whatsoever vessel it be, wherein any work is done, it must be put into water, and it shall be unclean until the even; so it shall be cleansed.</p>	<p>d-brš' ky tšwšky nym'nyg 'wstyn' 'lrdn 'wlylryndn mwrdr bwlgy brš' 'gš sbwtyndn y' šykmn y' <i>kwn</i> y' qpswq brš' sbwť ky 'yťylgy 'lr bl' 'yš swbd' kltýrylgy d-mwrdr bwlgy 'yngyr g' dy'yn d-'rwb bwlgy</p>	<p>וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר יִפֹּל עָלָיו מֵהֶם בְּמָתָם וְטָמֵא מִכָּל כְּלֵי עֵץ אוֹ בְּגָד אוֹ עוֹר אוֹ שֶׁקַּ כָּל כְּלֵי אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה מְלֶאכֶה בָהֶם בַּמַּיִם יוֹבֵא וְטָמֵא עַד הָעֶרֶב וְטָהַר.</p>
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Another example is Ex 26:14:

<p>And thou shalt make a covering for the tent of rams' skins dyed red, and a covering above of badgers' <i>skins</i>.</p>	<p>da-yasagayəsēn yapuwḅ šaťiyrəga' ťeyriylariy qowšəqarəlar niyg qiyziyl 'ēytəkan da-yapubiy təħašiyim q⁴wnlry yuwğarəťiyn</p>	<p>וְעָשִׂיתָ מִכְסֵה לְאֹהֶל עֹרֹת אֵילִם מֵאֲדָמִים וּמִכְסֵה עֹרֹת תַּחֲשִׁיִּים</p>
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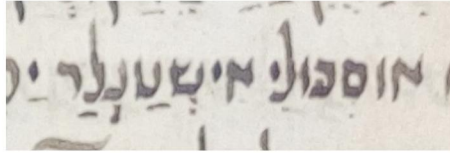
² *Histrychny sloŭnik belaruskai movy*, Iss. 7 (Minsk, 1986): 198; *Slovnnyk ukrains'koi movy XVI–pershoi polovyny XVII st.*, Iss. 7 (Lviv, 2000): 119.

³ *Histrychny sloŭnik belaruskai movy*, Iss. 16 (Minsk, 1997): 219–220.



		מלמעלה.
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3. *'ištan lar*, 'trousers', for מכנסים, *miknāsayim*, (ultimately, of Eastern-Iranian Scythian or Sarmatian origin);



Ex 28:42:

And thou shalt make them <i>linen breeches</i> to cover their nakedness; from the loins even unto the thighs they shall reach.	da-yasagaysan 'alarga' 'uskuli 'ištanlar yapmaga' 'ol tanin 'uyaṭnig bēylindēn ṭizlarga' di'in bolgaylar	וַעֲשֵׂה לָהֶם מְכַנְסֵי כֹד לְכַסּוֹת בָּשָׂר עֲרוֹה מִמְתְּנֵי וְעַד יְרֵכֵי יָהוּי.
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4. *syrḡ*, 'earring' (nowadays known in different modern Qıpçaq languages as a loan from Russian), for בזם זהב, *nezem-zahab*;

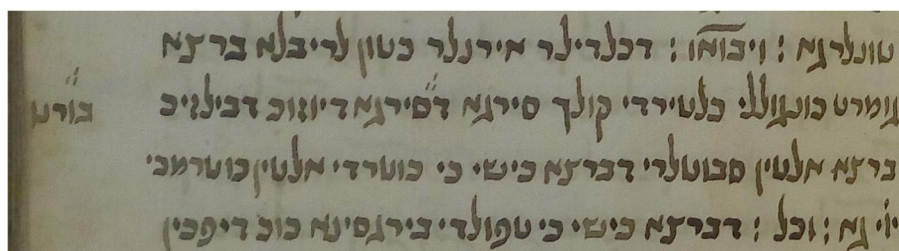
Ex 32:3:

And all the people brake off the <i>golden earrings</i> which were in their ears, and brought them unto Aaron.	d-yyryldylr brs' 'wlws 'wl 'lṭyn syrḡ'lr ky qwlqlrynd' d-klṭyrdylr 'hrn g'	וַיִּתְּפְּקוּ כָּל הָעָם אֶת גְּזָמֵי הַזָּהָב אֲשֶׁר בְּאָזְנֵיהֶם וַיָּבִיאוּ אֶל אַהֲרֹן.
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Ex 35:22:

And they came, both men and women, as many as were willing hearted, and brought bracelets, and <i>earrings</i> , and rings, and tablets, all jewels of gold: and every man that offered offered an offering of gold unto the Lord.	d-kldylr 'yrlr xṭwn lry bl' brs' gwmrṭ kwngwilly klṭyrdy qwlx syrḡ' d- ⁵ syrḡ' d-ywzwwk d-byzlyk brs' 'lṭyn sbwṭlry d-brs' kyšy ky kwṭrdy 'lṭyn kwṭrmky ywy g'	וַיָּבִאוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים עַל הַנְּשִׁים כָּל גְּדִיב לֵב הִבִּיאוּ חָז וְנָזָם וְטַבַּעַת וְכוּמָז כָּל כְּלֵי זָהָב וְכָל אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר הִנִּיף תְּנוּפֶת זָהָב לַיהוָה.
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5 Added on margins: *bwrnw*, nose's.



5. *pwst'*, used for להישום, לשומם, שומם, שממה, מדבר, 'desert, wilderness, to devastate, to be devastated', etc. (plus once for השמד, 'to destroy, annihilate'). Lev 26: 3-35 has a block where *pwst'* is used *alongside* two other verbs, *wyran et-*, of Persian origin, and *ṭngl-*, of Turkic origin.

<p>30 And I will destroy your high places, and cut down your images, and cast your carcasses upon the carcasses of your idols, and my soul shall abhor you.</p>	<p>30. <i>d-pwst'</i> 'yṭxy mn ṣrdqlryny 'bqlryngyznyg d- xstýrgymn 'wl qwyys̄ swrtlryngyzny d-qyydwrgy 'wlylryngyzny gwbdlry 'wstyn' 'bqlryngyznyg d-'yrngy kwnglym syzny</p>	<p>והשמדתי את במותיכם והקרתי את חמניכם ונתתי את פגריכם על פגרי גלויכם וגעלה נפשי אתכם.</p>
<p>31 And I will make your cities waste, and bring your sanctuaries unto desolation, and I will not smell the savour of your sweet odours.</p>	<p>31 <i>d-qwygy</i> mn šhr- lryngyzny wyrn <i>d-pwst'</i> 'yṭxy mn mqdšlryngyzny d-'yyskmg y mn qbwl 'yysyngyzny</p>	<p>ונתתי את עריכם חרבה והשמותי את מקדשיכם ולא אריח בריח גיחחכם.</p>
<p>32 And I will bring the land into desolation: and your enemies which dwell therein shall be astonished at it. 33 And I will scatter you among the heathen, and will draw out a sword after you:</p>	<p>32. <i>d-wyrn</i> 'yṭxy mn 'wl yyrny d-ṭnglgylr 'ngr dwšmnlryngyz ky 'wlṭwrwr 'ydylr 'wstýnd' 33. <i>d-syzny</i> swbwrgy mn 'wlwslrd' d-trṭqy mn 'rṭyngyz-dn qylyṣ d-bwlgy yyryngyz <i>pwst'</i> d- šhrlryngyz bwlg y wyrn</p>	<p>והשמתי אני את הארץ ושממו עליה איביכם הישבים בה. ואתכם אזורה</p>

and your land <i>shall be desolate</i> , and your cities waste.		בגוים וְהִרְקִיתִי אֶחְרֵיכֶם חָרֵב וְהָיְתָה אֶרְצְכֶם שְׁמָמָה וְעָרֵיכֶם יִהְיוּ חָרְבָה.
34 Then shall the land enjoy her sabbaths, as long as <i>it lieth desolate</i> , and ye be in your enemies' land; even then shall the land rest, and enjoy her sabbaths.	34. 'wlkyz swbgy 'wl yyr šbtlryny brš' wyrn bwlgn kwnlrynd' d-syz yyrynd' dwšmnlryngyznyg 'wl kyz tyngy 'ol yyr d-qbwł 'y txy šbtlryny	אִז תִּרְצֶה הָאָרֶץ אֶת שְׁבַתֶיהָ כָּל יְמֵי הַשְּׁמָה וְאַתֶּם בְּאֶרֶץ אֲבֵיכֶם אִז תִּשְׁבַּת הָאָרֶץ וְהִרְצַת אֶת שְׁבַתֶיהָ.
35 As long as <i>it lieth desolate</i> it shall rest; because it did not rest in your sabbaths, when ye dwelt upon it.	35. brš' pwsł' bwlgn kwnlry tyngy 'ny ky tynmdy šbtlryngyzd' 'włtwryngyzd' 'nyg 'wsłyn'	כָּל יְמֵי הַשְּׁמָה תִשְׁבַּת אֶת אֲשֶׁר לֹא שְׁבַתָּה בְּשַׁבְּתֵיכֶם בְּשַׁבְּתֵיכֶם עָלֶיהָ.

This is not an isolated example, for the same word is used in Num 21: 30:

⁶ And his land is perished from Heshbon even unto Dibon and is laid waste even unto Nophah, which reacheth unto Medeba.	dā-ṭarlābi ṭā's boldu hešbon dan dibon gā' də'in dā- pustā' boldi nopaḥ-qā' də'in ki mēdbā' gā' də'in.	וַיָּרֶם אֲבַד חֶשְׁבֹן עַד דִּיבֹן וַנִּשְׁמִים עַד נֹפַח אֲשֶׁר עַד מֵידְבָא.
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An interesting fact is that the root *pust-* is used in the Church Slavonic biblical translation in the same places, e.g., 'i postavlju grady vaša *pusty* (Lev 26: 31), 'i budet zemlę vaša *pusta* i grade vaši budut *pustě*, i blagovolit' zemlę suboty svoę v' vsę dni *opustěnia* eę (Lev 26: 33–34); whereas *pust-* is not used in Num 21:30, where the Hebrew can be interpreted otherwise. (A. Grishchenko (forthcoming); see also Grishchenko 2016a, and Grishchenko 2018a.)⁷

⁶ KJV: "We have shot at them; Heshbon is perished even unto Dibon, and we have laid them waste even unto Nophah, which reacheth unto Medeba".

⁷ In Num 21: 30, the Hebrew form *Khešbon* was used for Hešbon (with the assimilation of voicing *šb > žb*).

It should be stressed that *pusta* is attested in both the Halicz and Troki dialects of the Karaim language, with the derivatives *pustalyk* (Halicz) and *pustalyx* (Troki), ‘emptiness, desert, a void place, and the verb *pustalan-* (Halicz), ‘to make waste, desolate’.⁸ It is also used in Eastern Yiddish for ‘desert’. So this is one of the links connecting the language of our MS with the Karaim language of Halicz and Troki.

6. As to Slavic words, we are even more certain with *qwrp* etc. used to translate Hebrew גרש, Lev 2: 14,16:

And if thou offer a meat offering of thy firstfruits unto the Lord, thou shalt offer for the meat offering of thy firstfruits green ears of corn dried by the fire, even corn beaten out of full ears.	d-’ygr kltyrsng ṭwngwšly tyrky ywy g’ ⁹ yymyšly qwbwrgn ’wtṭ! qwrply dnly kltyrgy sn ṭyrkysyn ṭwngwšlykyngnyg	וְאִם תִּקְרִיב מִנְחַת בְּכוֹרִים לַה' אֲכִיב קְלוּי בָּאֵשׁ גֶּרֶשׁ כֶּרְמֶל תִּקְרִיב אֶת מִנְחַת בְּכוֹרֶיךָ.
And thou shalt put oil upon it, and lay frankincense thereon: it is a meat offering.	d-ṭwtṭky ’wl khn ’ngmkyny qwrpsyndn d-’yb ¹⁰ yndn brš’ tymyyny ’wstyn’ qrbn ywy g’	וְהִקְטִיר הַכֶּהֱן אֶת אֲזִקְרָתָהּ מִגֶּרֶשׁ וּמִשְׁמֶנֶה עַל כֹּל לִבְנֵתָהּ אִשָּׁה לַה'.

The KJV renders the five bold words in Lev 2: 14 as ‘green ears of corn dried by the fire, even corn beaten out of full ears’, but Evr.I.Bibl. 143 clearly refers to ‘barley’. The word *qurpa*, from Slavic *krupa*, is attested in the Turkic “Karaim” language of Troki and in the Crimea. The same word appears here and in the next verse in Tirishqan’s 1840 printed Karaite Judeo-Turkic edition of the Bible translation.¹¹

8 KRPS: 449a. Cf. KRPS: 142b, *bustalıq*, cited as the Crimean form, ‘ruins, desert’. Obviously, this Crimean form, with its shift **p>b*, is a learned borrowing from Northern Karaim manuscripts. The meaning ‘ruin’ obviously stands for Hebrew שִׁמְמָה. The shift *p>b* in the Crimean form can be explained by the loss of understanding of the provenance of the Slavic borrowed word and partial contamination with Turkic *boş*, void. However, the shift *p>b* existed also in the Halicz dialect, cf. e.g., *bosacka*, from Polish *posadzka* (KRPS: 132b), or *bostak* (KRPS: 132b), ‘no-goodnik’ (attested also in Yiddish), from Persian *puštak*, ‘passive pederast’.

Other examples of such Slavicisms in Crimean Karaite texts testifying to their being reworkings of Northern Karaim manuscripts are the words *polov*, ‘chaff’ (KRPS: 125b), and *salam*, ‘straw’ (KRPS: 448b, 462b).

9 On margin: *byš...*

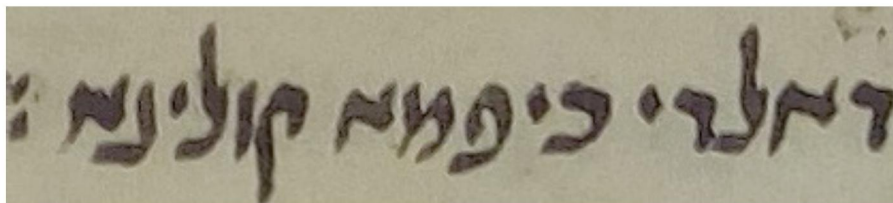
10 A scribe’s error for **y’b*, oil.

11 Cf. Jankowski et alii 2019, Vol I: 167; Vol II: 130–131.

Moreover, it could be a case of not only linguistic borrowing but also textual influence from the Eastern-Slavic / Slavonic-Russian *Edited Pentateuch* (see Grishchenko 2018b) which has the word *krupa* in the same verses and elsewhere, cf., ‘ašče li prineseši trebu verkh” žita Gospodevi novu i spręženu ot *krup”* pšeničen” (Lev 2: 14), ‘i da s”tvorit žrec’ pamet’ eę ot *krup”* s maslom’ drevęnym’ (Lev 2: 16). In other places in the Edited Pentateuch, there are glosses and emendations such as *krupa* for *muka*, ‘flour’ (Lev 2: 1, 7, Deut 28: 12, etc.) that indicate the special attention paid to this term by the Slavic editor of the Edited Pentateuch.

7. The next word is, actually, an emendation; we remember that Evr.I.Bibl. 143 is a copy and we would suggest here a scribal mistake while copying the text. In Num 25: 7 we read:

<p>Now when Phinehas the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, saw it, he rose from among the congregation and took a <i>javelin</i> in his hand</p>	<p>d-kwrđi pynḥs ’l’zr ’wgly ’hrn khn ’wgly d-ṭwrđy ’wrṭsyndn jm’t nyg d-’ldy <i>kypm</i>’ qwlwn’.</p>	<p>וַיִּקַּח פִּינְחָס בֶּן אֱלִעָזָר בֶּן אַהֲרֹן הַכֹּהֵן וַיִּקַּח מִתּוֹךְ הַעֵדוּתָה וַיִּקַּח רֶמֶחַ בְּיָדוֹ.</p>
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There is no Turkic word *kypm*’ for ‘lance, javelin, spear’ (Hebrew רֶמֶח); in fact, all these were not part of nomadic warfare¹², but Eastern Slavs, who called it *kopie* / *kopio* (конюе), used it as their infantry weapon of choice. We may suggest that the two *yods* ” were read by the copyist as a *mem* מ.

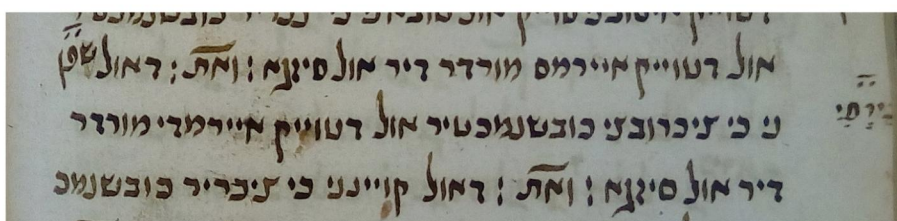
8. There are at least three cases in which the readings of Evr.I.Bibl. 143 are identical to those of the Slavonic-Russian Edited Pentateuch and may derive from its glosses and emendations.

¹² Different Turkic languages as well as Hungarian all used loan words of Arabic, Persian, or Italian provenance to name a spear.

The most striking example is that of שפן, *šāpān*, 'coney', glossed over on the margin as 'hedgehog', *kirpi*. This gloss may go back to the Czech Bible of the First Redaction,¹³ from where it was taken into the Slavonic-Russian Edited Pentateuch.

Lev 11: 5:

And the <i>coney</i> , because he cheweth the cud, but divideth not the hoof; he is unclean unto you.	d-ʼwl špn ¹⁴ ny ky syxrwbsy kwbsnkmktyr ʼwl d-ṭwyyq ʼyyrmdy mwrdr dyr ʼwl syzgʼ	ואת השפן כי מעלה גרה הוא ופרסה לא יפריס טמא הוא לכם.
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The Text is Rabbanite, not Karaite:

Num 6: 18, where the Hebrew text was understood in the light of the Mishnah, Nazir 2: 5-6, says:

And the Nazarite shall shave the head of his separation at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and shall take the hair of the head of his separation, and put it in the fire which is	d-ywlygy ʼwl nzyr ny ¹⁵ ʼyšygyndʼ ʼhl mwʼd nyg nzyrly bšyny d-ʼlgy ʼwl sšyn bšynyg d-qwyygy ʼwṭ ʼwstynʼ ky šlmym nyg dbḥ-synyg tybyndʼ	גגלה הנזיר פתח אהל מועד את ראש נזרו ולקה את שער ראש נזרו ונתן על האש אשר תחת זבח השלמים.
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¹³ E.g., the Olomouc Bible from 1417, fol. 82a (see the digital copy on: <http://www.digitalniknihovna.cz/>), has the reading *giežka* (= *ježka*) 'hedgehog' (accusative form), see Grishchenko 2017: 617.n.13.

¹⁴ On the margin: *kiyrpiy*.

¹⁵ Understood as Accusative;

(ה) הריני נזיר ועלי לגלח נזיר, ושמע חברו ואמר ואני ועלי לגלח נזיר, משנה מסכת נזיר פרק ב' אם היו פקחים, מגלחים זה את זה. ואם לאו, מגלחים נזירים אחרים:

(ו) הרי עלי לגלח חצי נזיר ושמע חברו ואמר ואני עלי לגלח חצי נזיר זה מגלח נזיר שלם וזה מגלח נזיר שלם דברי רבי מאיר נחכמים אומרים זה מגלח חצי נזיר וזה מגלח חצי נזיר

under the sacrifice of the peace offerings.		
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The word שכ״נה, Shechinah, is used as a gloss to the Arabo-Persian word *ndr* translating ‘God’s face/presence in Ex 33: 14-15:

And he said, My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest.	d’yṭṭy <i>ndrym</i> ¹⁶ brgy d-’syyš ’yṭky mn sg’	וַיֹּאמֶר פָּנַי יֵלְכוּ וְהִנְחֵתִי לָךְ.
And he said unto him, If thy face/presence go not with me, carry us not up hence.	d-’yyṭṭy ’ngr ’ygr <i>hḏrtyng brms</i> myndyr mgyn byzny mwndn	וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אִם אֵין פָּנֶיךָ הַלֹּכִים אֶל תַּעֲלֵנוּ מִזֶּה.

Mishnah Nega‘im 1: 1, a Rabbanite text, is quoted on fol. {48.2} / 49a:

שאת הוא הגנע שאינו בלובן כמו הבהרת שהוא בתכלית הלובן והוא כמו
צמר נקי ונקרא שאת לפי שאין מראהו עמוק מן העור אבל נראה יותר גבוה :
ספחת הוא למטה בלובן מהשאת והיא טפלה לשאת כמו לובן קרום ביצה

Lev 18: 9, where ‘born at home’, or ‘born abroad’ is translated ‘born with *qiddushin*’ or ‘born without *qiddushin*’ (*qiddushin* being an integral part of the lawful Rabbanite marriage):

The nakedness of thy sister, the daughter of thy father, or daughter of thy mother, whether she be born at home, or born abroad, even their nakedness thou shalt not uncover.	’yybyn+qyz+ qrdšyngnyg ’ṭng nyg qyzyn y’ ’nng nyg qyzyn <i>qdws̄ bl’ twbgn y’</i> <i>qdws̄ syz</i> ’šmgyn sn ’yybyny	עֲרוֹת אַחֹתְךָ בֵּת אָבִיךָ אוֹ בֵּת אִמְךָ מוֹלֶדֶת בֵּית אוֹ מוֹלֶדֶת חוּץ לֹא תגַּלֶּה עֲרוֹתֶן
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Lev 19: 20, where the Rabbinic punishment of flagellation (מלקות) is added to the translation instead of *biqqoret* (‘he shall be punished by מלקות, *malqutli bolsun*’):

And whosoever lieth carnally with a woman, that is a bondmaid, betrothed to an husband, and not at all redeemed, nor freedom	d-kyšy ’ygr yṭs’ ’wrṭ bl’ yṭmky ’wrlwx nyg d-’wl ?? qrbš klškn ’yrg’ d-ywlwmg’ ywlwnmdy y’ ’zṭlyq brmgd dyr ’ngr <i>mlqwt ly bwlswn</i>	וְאִישׁ כִּי יִשְׁכַּב אֵת אִשְׁתּוֹ שְׂכֵבֶת זָרָע וְהוּא שְׂפָחָה נְחָרְפֶת לְאִישׁ וְהַפְדָּה לֹא נִפְדָּתָהּ אוֹ חֲפְשָׁה לֹא נָתַן לָהּ
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¹⁶ On the margin: *šxynh*, “Shechinah”, divine presence of God in the Rabbanite Judaism.

given her; she shall be scourged; they shall not be put to death, because she was not free.	'wltyrmsyn lr 'lrny ky 'z't bwlmndy	בְּקֶרֶת תְּהִיָּה לֹא יוֹמְתוּ כִּי לֹא חִפְּשָׁהּ.
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Num 7: 3, where עגלות צב is translated according to the Rabbanite commentator Rashi (1040–1105):¹⁷

And they brought their offering before the Lord, six covered wagons, and twelve oxen; a wagon for two of the princes, and for each one an ox: and they brought them before the tabernacle.	d-kltyrdylr 'wšwl qrbn lryny ywy nyg 'lnyn' 'lty ypwlmyš 'rblr d-'wn 'yky sygyr byr 'rb' 'yky wzyr dn d-'wgwz byrysyn' d-ywbwṭtylr 'lrny mškn nyg 'lnyn'	וַיָּבִיאוּ אֶת קֶרְבָּנָם לִפְנֵי ה' שֵׁשׁ עֲגֻלֹת צָב וּשְׁנַיִם עֶשְׂרֵי בָקָר עֲגֻלָּה עַל שְׁנֵי הַנְּשָׂאִים וְשׂוֹר לְאֶחָד נִיקְרִיבוּ אוֹתָם לִפְנֵי הַמִּשְׁכָּן.
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However, all these can be found in a Karaite text produced under heavy Rabbanite impact. The most decisive evidence for the Rabbanite provenance of Evr.I.Bibl. 143 is Lev 23: 40, where I cite the printed Tirishqan Karaite edition of 1841 as evidence:

King James Version	Tirishqan	Evr.I.Bibl. 143	
And ye shall take you on the first day	da-'liygiyz 'ozugiyz'gah 'ol burunji gundan burun (sabahliyyq)	d-'lgysyz knsyngyz g' bwrwngy kwnd' ymyšyn ' trwg (etrog fruit)	וַיִּקְחֶתֶם לָכֶם בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן
the boughs of goodly trees,	yēmiyšiyyn siyliy 'agašniyg (fruit of esteemed tree)	lwlbyn tnr nyg (lulavs of tamar) d' bwṭkyn hds nyg (branch of hadas)	פְּרֵי עֵץ הָדָר
branches of palm trees,	xurmalar yapraqariyniy (leaves of dates)		כַּפַּת תְּמָרִים
and the boughs of thick trees,	da-butagiyn qaliyn yapraqliy ṭerakniyg (branch of tree)	'rbh syn šwgrq nyg ('arabah ¹⁹ of course of water)	וְעֵנַף עֵץ עֵבֶת

¹⁷ On Rashi's impact on the glosses of the Slavonic-Russian Edited Pentateuch see Grishchenko 2016b.

¹⁹ Note FEM.SG against PL.MSC in Hebrew.

and willows of the brook;	with thick leaves) da-ṭallariyn 'ozanniyg (willow-twigs of rivulet) da-sēwiyngiyg 'aldiynah ywy niyg yædiy gunlar ¹⁸	d-štyr bwlgy syz ywy ṭngry- ngyz 'lnyn' ydy kwn	וערבי נחל ושמהתם לפני ה' אלהיכם שבעת ימים.
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The Karaite text *translates* Hebrew; Evr.I.Bibl.143 *explains* it accordingly to the Rabbanite tradition. No Karaite text could have *lulav*, *'etrog*, and *hadas*, for these are based on the Rabbanite Chain of Tradition and as such, are not used by the Karaites.

Another indication of the Rabbanite provenance of Firk I Bibl. 143 is Num 24: 24, where Firk I Bibl. 143 only translates 'fleets / ships of Chittim' as 'boats of the hand of Roma', as in Qumran and in the Aramaic (Rabbanite) Targum:

KJV	Tirishqan	Istanbul 1831-33	Eidlisz	Firk 143	
And ships shall come from the coast of Chittim, and shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish for ever.	da-gemilar gelirlar ornindan kittim nyg da- qiyynarlar 'ashur ḥalqini da- qiyynarlar 'eber ḥalqini da-dagin ol ozi qiyynalir gayyip olunja'	ve-quraq [ve-gemiler] yerdekiler yerinden kitimin ve- izyyeṭ vrirler aşura' ve- izyyeṭ vrirler 'ebere' ve- dahin o gayyib olunjadeq	dgmylr 'wrnindn ktym nyg dqyynrlr 'šwr ny dqyynrlr 'br ny ddhyn 'wl 'wmwrg' dgyn ṭs bwlyr	d-kyrplr rwm' qwlyndn d- qyyngylr 'šwr ny d' qyyngylr 'br ny hm 'wl 'wmwry ṭ's bwlwr	וְצִיִּים מִיַּד כִּיִּתִּים וְעֵנֹב אֲשׁוּר וְעֵנֹב עֵבֶר וְגַם הוּא עָדִי אֲבָד

18 Compare Nehemiah 8: 15, Tirishqan: da-kiy 'ešiytiyrgylr d-kešiyrgaylar 'awaz jumla' šaḥarlariyndah da-yərušāla'im da' dēmah šiygiygiyz 'ol taggah da-kētiyirgiyz yapraqlariyn zaytuwnniḡ da-yapraqlariyn 'agašiyniyg yagniyg da-yapraqlariyn hadās niyg da-yapraqlariyn xormalarniyg da-yapraqlariyn qaliyn yapraqliy ṭerakniyg qiylmah 'alašiyqlar nešiykky yaziygandiyr

וְאֲשֶׁר יִשְׁמְעוּ וְיַעֲבִירוּ קוֹל בְּכָל עָרֵיהֶם וּבִירוּשָׁלַם לֵאמֹר צָאוּ הָהָר וְהִבִּיאוּ עִלַי זֵית וְעִלַי עֵץ שִׁמֹן וְעִלַי הָדָס וְעִלַי תְּמָרִים וְעִלַי עֵץ עֵבֶת לַעֲשׂוֹת סֹכֶת כַּכְתוּב

The word translating ‘fleets’ is *kyrp-br*, with *kyrp* being ultimately of Greek origin; the question is whether it was borrowed directly from Greek in the Black Sea basin, or from Slavic? Other versions use well-attested Turkic words for ‘ship’ or ‘boat’.

Summing Up

The translation was made in the Turkic-Slavic linguistic contact zone. The copyist or the glossator had access to the Slavonic-Russian Edited Pentateuch produced in Ruthenia (probably in Kyiv) in the second half of the 15th century and later copied in Novgorod and Muscovite monasteries. For some reason, this Edited Pentateuch was held by the glossator in high esteem (Grishchenko 2018b). The translation was made within a Rabbanite community, not in a Karaite one. Though the language is highly similar to that of the Karaite Judeo-Turkic known as “Karaim” of Halicz and Troki (then in the Kingdom of Poland and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) of the later dates, it is not identical with it. There was a Rabbanite community in the Golden Horde speaking a language very similar to the later “Karaim”, and this community, possibly, moved to Poland or Lithuania (Kyiv, *e.g.*?), as did the Karaites of the Golden Horde. The MS Evr.I.Bibl. 143 is the only direct evidence for this Rabbanite community.

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The Tomb of Pugu Yitu (635–678) in Mongolia: Tang-Turkic Diplomacy and Ritual

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Studies of Tang Dynasty (618–907) foreign relations with Inner Asia have typically focused on openly hostile or tense interactions with contemporary nomadic powers, particularly the Türks and Uighurs of the Mongolian and Inner Mongolian steppe. In contrast, this paper highlights diplomatic communications and cultural exchanges between China and Mongolia. The paper was inspired by the discovery of a remarkable tomb in Mongolia in 2009 constructed and furnished in the style common during the Tang. As Map 1 demonstrates, the site is located approximately 150 kilometers west of modern Ulaanbaatar and 2.5 kilometers north of the Tuul River (Ochir, Danilov et al. 2013: 16–17; Arden-Wong 2014: 12–13; Yatsenko 2014). Among the burial objects in the tomb was a Chinese-language epitaph carved on limestone. The epitaph revealed the tomb was the final resting place of Pugu Yitu 僕固乙突 (635–678) who was the leader of the Pugu tribe that belonged to the Tiele Confederation, which later would be led by the Uighurs (Ochir, Danilov et al. 2013: 96–126; Feng Sixue 2014; Iwami Kiyohiro 2014; Luo Xin 2011; Yang Fuxue 2014). Another tomb of similar design, but lacking an epitaph, is situated about eleven kilometers further west on the opposite bank of the Tuul River near the ruins of the city of Ulaan Khermiin in Bayannuur District of Bulgan province (Ochir, Erdenebold et al. 2013: 14–15; Arden-Wong 2014: 12–13; Yatsenko 2014). To distinguish the two, I will follow a recent article that refers to the burial without an epitaph as the Bayannuur tomb (Erdenebold, Park et al. 2016).¹

The epitaph is an amazing find because it is the only dated 7th-century textual source that has been discovered in Mongolia, and sheds light on the little-known period of history between the First Türk (552–630) and Second Türk (682–742) Empires. Modern western scholarship has almost nothing to say about the history of Mongolia in the middle of the 7th century (Sinor 1990; Litvinsky 1996; Golden 1992: 157). The traditional histories claim that the Tang Dynasty exerted suzerainty over the Pugu and other vassals in Mongolia under emperors Taizong

¹ There has been confusion about the names. The local people call both tombs “Shoroon Bumbagar.” The Russian co-excavators have adopted a different nomenclature, referring to Pugu Yitu’s tomb as Shoroon Dov and the Bayannuur tomb as Shoroon Bumbagar (Arden-Wong 2014: 11–13; Yatsenko 2014: 13, 19, 23).

(r. 627–649) and his son Gaozong (r. 649–683), but only offer brief accounts. The Pugu, comprising 30,000 tents and 10,000 soldiers (XTS 217b: 6140; TD 199: 5466), were one of seven tribes that consistently belonged to the Tiele Confederation under the authority of the Türks until 630, the Sir-Yantuo to 646, and the Uighur thereafter.

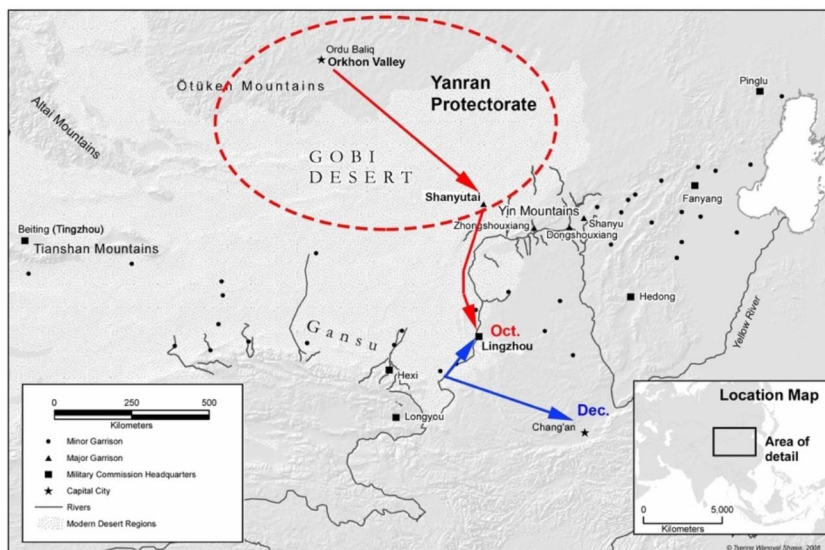


Map 1: Tang-Style Tombs in Central Mongolia

The language of the epitaph is stereotypically condescending in depicting Pugu Yitu, his lineage and people, as loyal natives of the “northern wilderness (*shuoye* 朔野) of the Golden [Altai] Mountains (Jinshan 金山).” Evidently, the family members and tribespeople were not expected to read the epitaph. Nevertheless, placing the epitaph in the context of the wider historical record, and the tomb and its burial goods demonstrates that the alliance was not one sided, and involved cultural compromises. Consequently, this paper tries to make a broader methodological point that it is advisable to read epitaph text and tomb artifacts together to gain a deeper understanding of the identity and beliefs of the deceased and his/her kin.

An Alliance Built on War and Ritual

The Tiele Confederation, including the Pugu, rose to power in Mongolia after participating in a successful revolt against the Türks in 627. The Sir-Yantuo became the leading tribe of the confederation (JTS 195: 5195; XTS 217a: 6111; ZZTJ 192: 6045, 6049). Although the alliance succeeded in ending Türk power, there appear to have been simmering internal disputes between the Sir-Yantuo and its subordinate Tiele tribes even before their defeat of the Türks. With Tang aid, the Uighurs and Pugu overthrew Sir-Yantuo rule in 646 and sent several thousand dignitaries to Lingzhou where Taizong arrived in late October 646 (see Map 2). The alliance between the Tiele Confederation and the Tang Dynasty was negotiated and sealed during a gathering in Tang territory lasting several months. Taizong established indirect Tang jurisdiction over the Tiele in Yanran Protectorate (Yanran *duhufu* 燕然都護府). Among the highest-ranking dignitaries was Pugu Yitu's grandfather who is mentioned in the epitaph and received historical sources as Suo Beg (Suo fu 娑匐) Eltäbär Qaran Bayan (*silifa* Gelanbayan 俟利發哥濫拔延) whom Taizong appointed as the Commander-in-Chief of Jinwei Prefecture 金徽州都督 and General-in-Chief of the Right Militant Guard 右武衛大將軍. The former title recognized his leadership of the Pugu in Yanran Protectorate, while the latter gave him a high official rank in the Tang system as second in command of an honorary guard unit in the capital (JTS 121: 3477; XTS 217b: 6140; TD 199: 5467). The excavated epitaph from Mongolia has a nearly perfect match for these titles (Luo Xin 2011: 58; Iwami Kiyohiro 2014: 16).



Map 2: Travels of Tiele Chiefs to Negotiate with Taizong in 646

The substance of the alliance was a series of wars listed in the Table. Though never explicitly connected to the alliance in received historical sources, these wars provide persuasive evidence that attacks against mutual enemies served as the foundation of the political relationship from 648 to 657, and then intermittently until 670. Pugu Yitu's epitaph provides new and exciting evidence that military and diplomatic relations endured after 661 when the Tang sources run dry.

Year	Named Campaign Participants	No. of Troops	Target of Campaign	Sources
646	Tang, Uighur, Pugu, Tongra	?	Sir-Yantuo	JTS 194a: 5165; XTS 215a: 6041; ZZTJ 198: 6236–6238, 199: 6265–6, 6271–6272
648	13 Tiele tribes, Türks, Tibetans, Tuyuhun	100,000+	Kucha	JTS 109: 3289, 198: 5303; XTS 110: 4114, 221b: 6231; ZZTJ 198: 6250–1
650	Uighur, Pugu	?	Türk Chebi Qaghan	JTS 194a: 5165; XTS 215a: 6041; ZZTJ 199: 6265–6, 6271–6272
651	Uighur, Tang	50,000 Uighur, 30,000 Tang	W. Türks	ZZTJ 199: 6274–5; JTS 194b: 5186, 195: 5197; XTS 110: 4119, 215b: 6061
655	Uighur, Tang	?	Koguryō	JTS 195: 5197
657	Uighur, Tang, Pugu Yitu	10,000+	W. Türks	Pugu Yitu's Epitaph; JTS 83: 2778, 195: 5197; XTS 111: 4137; ZZTJ 200: 6301
667?	Pugu Yitu	?	Malgal (Mohe 靺鞨)	Pugu Yitu's Epitaph
670?	Pugu Yitu	?	Tibet	Pugu Yitu's Epitaph

Table: Tang-Tiele Joint Campaigns

New Insights from Pugu Yitu's Epitaph

The epitaph also provides insights into the conduct of ritualistic diplomacy during his lifetime. Pugu Yitu's father, Si Beg (Si *fu* 思匐), is not mentioned in the received historical sources and only receives a brief mention in the epitaph having a personal audience with a Tang emperor, most likely Gaozong. Later, when Si Beg died in an unknown year, Pugu Yitu must have been in his early twenties. In

addition to fighting in wars, the epitaph provides definitive evidence that Pugu Yitu inherited the title of his grandfather and father, and like them visited the Tang Empire. In Yitu's case, he attended Emperor Gaozong's Feng and Shan sacrifices from late 665 to early 666, perhaps the grandest extended ceremonial event of 7th-century Eastern Eurasia. The rhetoric of the epitaph depicts Pugu Yitu as a vassal bearing tribute:

In the second year of Linde (665), the Imperial Carriage [Gaozong] was about to make a tour of Daiyue 岱岳 [Mount Taishan]. [Pugu Yitu] then requested to travel from north of the border, so as not to be kept away from Zhounan 周南 [Luoyang]. He thereupon rode a sweaty horse to exhaustion, to participate by proffering a sacrificial ox for the rites (Luo Xin 2011: 58, 62; Iwami Kiyohiro 2014: 6, 16).

For the Pugu Yitu and his adherents, the Feng and Shan rites represented the most important display of Tang ritual diplomacy since Taizong's gathering of tribal chiefs in 647.

As Pugu Yitu's military career progressed in the late 660s and early 670s, he was promoted to the highest Tang merit title, Supreme Pillar of the State, 上柱國, rank 2a. His title of nobility was advanced to the fifth highest, Dynasty-Founding Duke of Linzhong County 林中縣開國公, rank 2b (Luo Xin 2011: 58; Iwami Kiyohiro 2014: 16). Once again, the promotions would have renewed ritualized contacts with Tang court that designated him as a privileged member of the imperial elite.

Death, Funeral and Enshrinement

Pugu Yitu died of natural causes on March 27, 678 at the age of forty-four. His death set the stage for yet another ritual contact between the Tang court and his heirs and adherents. The epitaph claims, "The Son of Heaven [Gaozong] grieved for a long time for him, and decreed that...the Dynasty-founding Duke of Tianshan Commandery [Turfan] (rank 2a), Qu Zhao 麴昭, should supervise the condolence rites (*diaoji* 弔祭)" (Luo Xin 2011: 58; Iwami Kiyohiro 2014: 17). Gaozong's edict explains how a Tang-style tomb, funeral goods and epitaph came to be situated in Mongolia. Perhaps not coincidentally, the envoy, Qu Zhao, was the nephew of the final king of the oasis state of Gaochang, modern Turfan. After the Tang conquest in 640, the Gaochang high elites were exiled to the capital of Chang'an. Given his family's long-standing connections to Turkic overlords, it is possible that Qu Zhao was chosen for the mission on that basis, and perhaps even spoke Turkic.

The condolence rites were meant to be a show of Tang imperial generosity. The epitaph explicitly mentions that the Tang government bore all funeral expenses. In addition, the family received a standard imperial condolence gift of 300 lengths (*duan* 段) of textiles. Additional luxury gifts by imperial prerogative consisted of

one silk brocade robe, one gold belt, one bow and arrow set, one quiver (*hulu* 胡祿), and one saddle and saddle blanket (*anjian* 鞍韉) (Luo Xin 2011: 58; Iwami Kiyohiro 2014: 17). These gifts demonstrate knowledge of Turkic funeral rituals because they are typical of burial goods included in Turkic pit tombs (Erdélyi 1966; Erdélyi, Dorjsüren et al. 1967: 347–356; Jisl 1997: 55–56; Kubarev & Kubarev 2003; Bayarkhuu 2015; Törbat & Odbaatar 2012). The epitaph also claims that a stele was erected on the surface, as was typical of high-ranking officials. The archaeologists did not discover a stele or any of the luxury items. However, the nearby unlooted Bayannuur tomb contained remains of silks and many gold objects including three miniature gold belt sets (Stark 2018; Ochir, Erdenebold et al. 2013).

The tomb design was typical of the Tang elite. Rising from ground level above the tomb chamber, there was a mound five-to-six meters tall and thirty meters around. The mound was surrounded by an exterior wall 108 by 87 meters. The tomb is typical of shaft-tunnel construction with a total length is about thirty meters. The sloped tunnel has three airshafts with a pair of facing niches under the second shaft. At the end of the ramp, the epitaph stone and cover were placed on the floor of a corridor approximately two meter long. A brick sealing door separated the corridor from the trapezium-shaped, domed chamber situated six meters below the surface. The chamber was 4.25 meters long and wide. The main deviation from standard Tang tomb design was a lack of a coffin platform. Wooden coffin remains were strewn across the chamber floor (Ochir, Danilov et al. 2013: 18–19, 29, 147–148). The ramp and shafts were backfilled after the burial.

Though the burial was typical for a Tang official of Pugu Yitu's rank, he likely was not the highest-ranked Tiele tribal leader to receive such a burial. Pugu's tomb is smaller than the nearby one at Bayannuur, which is about 47 meters long from ramp entrance to rear of chamber. Unlike Pugu's tomb, the Bayannuur burial has murals painted with typical Tang techniques on a layer of thin plaster covering the walls of the passage and chamber (Erdenebold 2013; Ochir, Erdenebold et al. 2013: 20, 33–48; Arden-Wong 2014: 14, n. 20). Pugu Yitu's epitaph on stone is the only aspect of the tomb that gave his burial a status advantage over the one at Bayannuur.

Pugu Yitu's tomb was looted and in addition to the epitaph, only figurines of clay and wood, wood of a coffin, and a few other burial goods survived. The Bayannuur tomb was unlooted so has more spectacular surviving contents. Given the proximity of the two burial sites and similarities in tomb design and figurines, the tomb at Bayannuur most likely belonged to another Tiele tribal leader who was a Tang vassal in mid-7th century (Arden-Wong 2014: 11–13).

Pugu Yitu's funeral by imperial decree represented an honor reserved for meritorious officials. Administrative regulations stipulated that when the emperor ordered a funeral, the Pottery Office (*zhenguan shu* 甄官署) should manufacture the figurines (*mingqi* 明器) to be deposited in tombs at government expense. Presumably, the Pottery Office was involved in dispatching artisans to Mongolia to oversee construction of the tomb and manufacture of funeral goods because in

addition to objects made from clay, this bureau also manufactured items made from stone and wood, such as engraved steles and wooden figurines for funerals and other ritual occasions (TLD 23: 18b; TD 86: 2328; JTS 44: 1896; XTS 48: 1274).

At least seventy-five terracotta figurines and remains of over forty wooden ones were discovered in the tomb. All are painted. The two niches contained a total of fifty-four standing honor guards and sixteen cavaliers on horses made from clay. The chamber of the tomb contained three standing terracotta Guardian Kings and two sitting tomb-guardian beasts (Ochir, Danilov et al. 2013: 32–75). Due to the arid climate, the chamber also preserved wooden figurines of painted humans, animals, and mythical beasts. The creatures included horses, camels, birds, fish, a dragon and two birdmen (Ochir, Danilov et al. 2013: 79–94). The number of wooden figurines is exceptional, and may be the second-largest extant cache from a Sui-Tang-style tomb.² All male figurines of clay and wood have painted clothing and heads, while the wooden female figurines have clothing made from textiles and painted heads. The textiles, including some with a pearl roundel pattern, are reminiscent of the clothing on female figurines found at Turfan (Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu bowugaun 1975: 82; Yao Shuwen 2009: 22). Some female figurines in the Pugu and Bayannuur tombs have peaked hairstyles common in Chang'an in the mid-7th century. The larger Bayannuur tomb had 130 figurines, once again hinting that the unknown occupant of that burial enjoyed a higher rank or more imperial favor than Pugu Yitu (Ochir, Erdenebold et al. 2013: 52–149, 198–206; Erdenebold 2013).

Despite the putative involvement of the Pottery Office, the figurines in the tomb are not worthy of the palace workshop, and are more typical of Tang provincial tombs. Terracotta honor guards found in the two side niches were relatively crudely molded, low fired and painted. The use of paint rather than glaze is typical of Chang'an. Painted wooden figurines in the chamber have somewhat better quality, showing more detail. For example, the wooden figurine of a civil official shows greater detail than the clay figurines in niches. The finest surviving figurine is a painted terracotta Guardian King standing on a prostrate bull that is about 90 centimeters tall, but it is not on par with the imperial workshops.³ Although the clay and wood in Pugu's tomb has not been analyzed to determine its provenance, terracotta figurines from the nearby tomb at Bayannuur used local clay.⁴ Presumably, the dispatching of Tang provincial artisans and use of local materials must have limited the caliber of burial items.⁵ The epitaph stone and cover likewise do not represent the best quality Tang craftsmanship. The cover is

2 Wooden figurines are fairly rare due to the relatively damp conditions in China. The over seventy intact wooden figurines in tomb 73TAM206 at Turfan may be the largest find (Yao Shuwen 2009).

3 The guardian king's height is not listed in the excavation report. I measured the figurine through the display case at the Zanabazar Museum, Ulaanbaatar, June 21–23, 2016.

4 Aiuudain Ochir, Personal Communication, June 23, 2016.

5 Annette Juliano, Personal Communication, April 7, 2016.

73.7 by 72 centimeters and roughly beveled. Though carved conventionally in archaic seal script, the cover's calligraphy is mediocre. The cover inscription, following the conventional format, reads: "Entombed Epitaph of the Late His Excellency Pugu, Commander-in-Chief of Jinwei Prefecture of the Great Tang" (Iwami Kiyohiro 2014: 2; Luo Xin 2011: 58; Feng Sixue 2014: 83; Yang Fuxue 2014: 77). The craftsmanship of the stone block likewise is not impressive. The stone is not beveled or decorated and the sides are roughly hewn. The calligraphy of the epitaph is good, but not superb.⁶ Nevertheless, the quantity of gold in the nearby un-robbed tomb at Bayannur reminds us that there were spectacular aspects of these burials.

Aside from the dates of the funeral, there are no signs of local input into writing the epitaph. The sole focus is Pugu Yitu's career serving the Tang and his relations with the dynasty, including dispatch of an envoy to deliver condolence gifts and carry out the funeral. To the mourning Pugu tribespeople, the epitaph stone most likely was as an impressive funerary object with an unknown message. The exotic funeral must have served as a status symbol, just like the better-known Tang-Turkic rites of the Türk ruler Bilgä Qaghan in 734 and his younger brother and close comrade, Kül Tegin in 731. Tang Xuanzong sent artisans to Mongolia on both occasions to aid in constructing temples and steles to commemorate their lives. Each temple included a statue of the deceased and battle scenes from their lives painted on the walls (JTS 8: 202, 194a: 5176; XTS 215b: 6056; ZZTJ 214: 6809; Pelliot 1929: 234-248). Their steles with Turkic inscriptions boast that the Tabgach [Tang] emperor honored requests to assist in building an "extraordinary mausoleum...decorated with wonderful paintings and sculptures" (Tekin 1968: 263, 281). The ability to command artisans and resources of the Tang Empire was meant to impress their followers.

There are signs that Pugu Yitu's funeral ceremonies, lasting ten days from August 31 to September 9, combined elements of Chinese and Turkic traditions. Tang and Turkic death rites shared practices that would have been familiar to Pugu Yitu's mourners, including sacrifices, feasting, displays of funerary goods and divination to choose the date of funerary rites. The long wait between Pugu's death in March and funeral was not unusual in Tang or Turkic death rites. Construction of an elaborate Tang tomb inevitably delayed burial, and Turkic elites who died in the spring were buried in the fall.⁷ The funeral took place on a day in the Chinese sexagenary cycle that was considered auspicious in the Tang, so the Tang embassy must have played a role in conducting the ceremony.⁸

6 Feng Sixue 2014: 97, pl. 3; Chen 1997; Ochir, Danilov et al. 2013: 126, 145. Personal observations and measurements, Zanabazar Museum, Ulaanbaatar, June 21-23, 2016. Iwami Kiyohiro (2014: 2) gives measurements slightly different from mine.

7 On Tang imperial rites, see McMullen 1999. On the Türks, see BS 99: 3288; ZS 50: 910; SS 84: 1864; Ecsedy 1984.

8 September 9 was a *renyin* 壬寅 day (39th of cycle), which was one of the five most popular burial dates in Tang Luoyang (Yang 2014).

Nevertheless, Pugu Yitu's tomb includes signs of elite Turkic customs and tastes, and this is even clearer at the undisturbed Bayannuur tomb. Tang sources report that Turkic high elites were cremated along with their favorite horse, and Bayannuur tomb seems to be the first archaeological confirmation of this practice reliably dated to the 6th through 8th centuries.⁹ The tomb chamber at Bayannuur had a coffin containing a coffer wrapped in silk cloth. Inside the coffer were bags with cremated bone fragments and the hoard of gold objects (Erdenebold 2013; Ochir, Erdenebold et al. 2013: 24, 330).

Another hint of differences in ritual is the lack of ceramic vessels in the Pugu Yitu and Bayannuur tomb chambers. The vast majority of Tang high elite burials included vessels that would have held food and drink carried in the funeral procession. The only vessel at the undisturbed Bayannuur tomb was a single gold cup in the coffin hoard (Ochir, Danilov et al. 2013: 150–151, 264, 287; Erdenebold 2013). The cup echoes Turkic memorial statues in which the deceased normally holds one cup in the right hand containing the water of life (Skaff 2012: 112, 156, fig. 5.3; Stark 2008; Wang & Qi 1995).

Although the vast majority of the clay figurines in Pugu Yitu's tomb seem to be typical of the Tang, one guardian beast may have been tailored to local tastes. Typically, guardian beasts occur in pairs with one having a lion's face and the other a human one. The "human" guardian in Pugu Yitu's tomb is demonic with a hairy face and bushy eyebrows, open mouth with protruding lips and tusks, bulging eyes and an upturned snout (Ochir, Danilov et al. 2013: 76, 157, no. 74, fig. 72). The eyes, nose, open mouth and hairy face are reminiscent of demonic clay mask decorations that have been found at Uighur and Turkic memorial sites.¹⁰ The better-preserved pair of guardians in the Bayannuur tomb has a "human" with an unusual blue face and beak-like mouth, but the same sort of upturned nose and bulging eyes (Ochir, Erdenebold et al. 2013: 149, 256).

It is difficult to determine whether the wooden figurines are unusual because so few survive from the Sui and Tang burials. The figures of females and government officials seem to be based on Tang models, but a few others are unusual. One is a pair of wooden birdmen, both missing heads, which mixed a human torso and arms with a bird's wings and speckled lower body and long tail (Ochir, Danilov et al. 2013: 78, 83–84, 86–87, 150, nos. 99, 112, figs. 94, 107). These could be related to the Buddhist deity, Garuda, which originated in India and takes many forms throughout Asia and can include a human torso and arms, bird-like legs and wings, and a bird or human head (Bunce 1994: 168).

⁹ Archaeologists have only excavated about thirty other Turkic tombs in Mongolia, and all were inhumations (Jan Bemmann, Personal Communication, April 26, 2016).

¹⁰ Jisl provides examples from the memorial sites of Kül Tegin (pl. 52) and Tonyukuk (pl. 85) and interprets them as shamanistic demon masks with an apotropaic function (1997: 51).

Canonization

If Tang Gaozong's use of "condolence diplomacy" was meant to renew contacts with the Pugu and create a new generation of Pugu vassals linked to the Tang court, the effort was partially in vain. A series of weather disasters from 679 to 682 sparked a Türk revolt. Türk rebels established a second khanate in 682 and retook control of Mongolia at some time before 690 (JTS 194a: 5166-7; XTS 215a: 6043-5; Sinor & Klyashtorny 1996: 335-6). Nevertheless, Pugu Yitu's memory was preserved at the Tang court for at least several decades. We know this because his statue was included among sixty-four men of foreign origin at Qianling, the tomb complex of Emperor Gaozong and Empress Wu. Sixty-one headless sculptures survive, but only thirty-six still can be identified, mainly from received sources, where his name was rendered as Pugu Qitu 僕固乞突 with titles of Commander-in-Chief of Jinhui Prefecture (Jinhuizhou 金徽州) and General-in-Chief of the Left Awesome Guard (*zuo weiwei da jiangjun* 左威衛大將軍) (Chen 1980: 189-191; Yang Fuxue 2012: 72; Yang Fuxue 2014: 80). He most likely was included in the statues because Gaozong appointed him and his service to the empire was valued. The dignified and respectful poses of the figures project a visual message that the men depicted in stone were not only subjects of Gaozong and Empress Wu, but were also an important constituency of the empire, reverently supporting their imperial masters in this life and the next one.

Conclusion

Pugu Yitu's career and the wider history of Tiele relations with the Tang illustrate how ritualized diplomacy contributed to Tang imperial expansion and cultural exchanges in Eurasia. Political elites travelling between the Tang Empire and Mongolia participated in ceremonial meetings that periodically reknit the elite connections that were important sinews of empire. Pugu Yitu was among those who participated in the Tang emperor Gaozong's Feng and Shang Rites, one of the six times that it was performed in imperial Chinese history. In return, Tang diplomats travelled northward for smaller-scale rituals taking place in Mongolia, such as Pugu Yitu's funeral ceremony. Lasting nine days at Tang expense, the funeral must have been a spectacular affair that impressed Pugu Yitu's heir and adherents.

In addition, this paper points out the value of an interdisciplinary methodology that looks at evidence from tombs holistically. Pugu Yitu's tomb and epitaph provide insights into different aspects of Tang and Tiele relations. The epitaph tells us that political relations endured longer and were more deeply entrenched than previously believed. Though the epitaph's rhetoric provides only a Tang-centered narrative of the Pugu's subservient loyalty to the dynasty, a careful examination of

the Pugu and Bayannuur tombs and their contents provide evidence of reciprocity and cultural compromises in the relationship. On one hand, the forms of the tombs and many burial goods were typical of the Tang. On the other hand, both funerals have signs of local practices and tastes including the cremation and the gold hoard in the Bayannuur tomb, and the unique tomb guardian and bird-man in Pugu Yitu's tomb. Historians who only consider the content of epitaphs will miss important clues about the cultural orientation of the deceased. Likewise, archaeologists and art historians who concentrate only on material culture or funerary ritual will not understand the social and political context.

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 XTS Ouyang Xiu. 1975. *Xin Tang shu*. Beijing.
 ZZTJ Sima Guang. 1956. *Zizhi tongjian*. Beijing.

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Central Asia in the Cosmography of Anonymous of Ravenna

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The objective of this study is to introduce Central Asia and West Turkestan as seen in the *Cosmography of Anonymous of Ravenna*. Anonymous of Ravenna was an Italian cleric, living in Ravenna at the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century. He is known in literature under several names: Geographus Ravennas, Anonymous of Ravenna, Geographer of Ravenna, Cosmographer of Ravenna. Anonymous of Ravenna collected and penned the geographical and cosmographical insights of his own age. Posterity has named his work the *Cosmography of Anonymous of Ravenna* (in Latin: *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*).

There is no extant autograph manuscript of the *Cosmography*, but three copies have survived the centuries. One of the copies of the *Cosmography*, the Paris Manuscript, was made in the 13th century, and survived in the French Royal Library. The second manuscript was written in the 14th century and is kept at the Library of the Vatican in Rome. The third manuscript was created in the 14th-15th centuries, and it was found in the Library of Basel (Schnetz 1940: IV–VII). The first printed issue of the *Cosmography* was published in 1688 in Paris, based on the Paris Manuscript (Porcheron 1688).

The first critical edition of the *Cosmography* was issued by Moritz Pinder and Gustav Parthey in Berlin in 1860 (Pinder & Parthey 1860). The second critical edition of the *Cosmography* was published by Joseph Schnetz in 1940, but his work did not include an index of the toponyms (Schnetz 1940). Marianne Zumschlinge has prepared the index of toponyms for Schnetz's publication and issued the whole work (Zumschlinge 1990). A German translation of the *Cosmography* was published by Joseph Schnetz in 1951 (Schnetz 1951).

The medieval manuscripts of the *Cosmography* do not include a map, but in the 19th century two charts were created based on the script of the *Cosmography*. The first map was constructed by Heinrich Kiepert, a cartographer, in 1859 (Kiepert 1859), the second one was published by Konrad Miller in 1898 (Miller 1898).

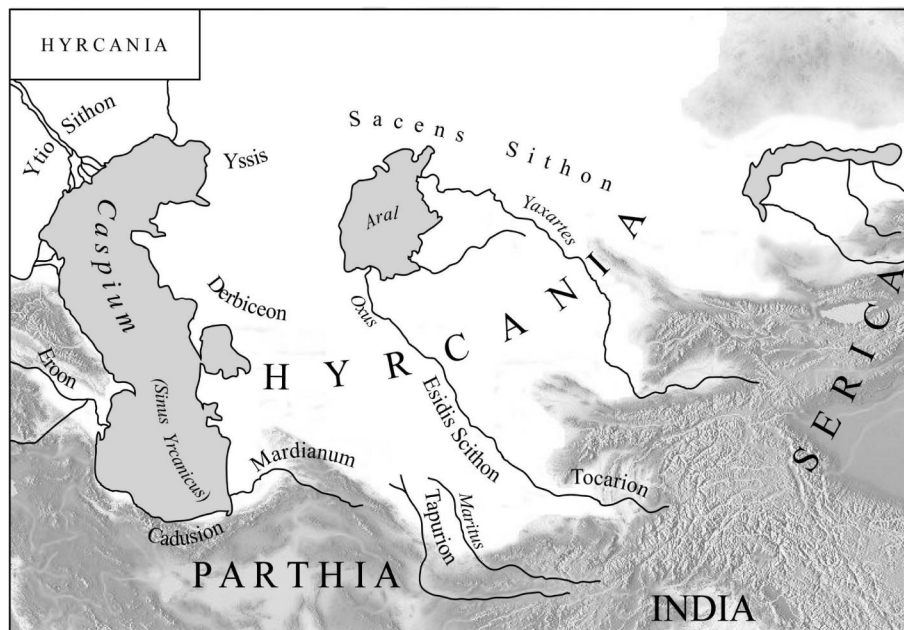
The *Cosmography* consists of five books. The first book contains an introduction to the work and a description of the world's partitions. Anonymous of Ravenna divided the Earth into three continents: Asia, Africa and Europe. The second volume of the *Cosmography* contains the description of Asia, and the third

one is about Africa. The fourth volume of the *Cosmography* presents the description of Europe. In the fifth book, a list of seas, gulfs, and ports follows (*Cosmographia* 1940: I-V). In the texts of the *Cosmography* several geographic mistakes and inaccuracies are present, since Europeans had only limited knowledge about the distant parts of the world, Asia and Africa, at that time.

For the construction of the *Cosmography*, Anonymous of Ravenna used the works of ancient Roman and Greek authors. Beyond these, he could have obtained additional information from merchants, envoys and sailors. In the *Cosmography*, the data from ages past was mixed with the information from Anonymous' own age. Anonymous of Ravenna mentions that he took over data from Isidore of Seville (*Isidorus Hispalensis*) (*Cosmographia* I.5), as well as from Castorius, the *Cosmographer of the Romans* (*Castorius Romanorum cosmographus*) (*Cosmographia* II.12). Upon comparing the geographical names of the *Cosmography* of Anonymous of Ravenna with an old Roman chart, there are several identical toponyms. Thus, we can assume that Anonymous of Ravenna used this old Roman chart in writing his *Cosmography*. A copy of this old Roman map has luckily survived the centuries and become known as *Tabula Peutingeriana* or the *Peutinger Table* in modern ages (TP 1976; TP.DE). With the help of this chart, several geographical names of the *Cosmography* of Anonymous of Ravenna can be identified. Among his sources, Anonymous of Ravenna listed also the names of Jordanes and Aristarchus (*Cosmographia* I.12, IV.8), as well as *Aithanarit*, *Attanaridus*, *Eldevaldus* and *Marcomirus*, whom he called the philosophers of the Goths (*Gothorum phylosophi*) (*Cosmographia* IV.12, IV.13). Anonymous of Ravenna also mentions the names of several ancient authors whose works have not survived.

Joseph Schnetz has written several studies about the sources of the *Cosmography* of Anonymous of Ravenna (Schnetz 1932; Schnetz 1934; Schnetz 1942). Franz Staab has also written a study about the sources of the *Cosmography* (Staab 1976). Toumo Pekkanen has investigated the names of the cities of Pontus in the *Cosmography* of Anonymous of Ravenna (Pekkanen 1979). Alexander Podossinov has translated a significant part of the *Cosmography* into Russian, and his publication includes detailed comments (Podossinov 2002). Keith J. Fitzpatrick-Matthews has examined a chapter of the *Cosmography* concerning Britannia (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 2013).

Hereafter there is the exposition of Central Asia according to the *Cosmography* of Anonymous of Ravenna, with the following sections: 1. Name and area of Central Asia, 2. List of the rivers of Central Asia, 3. Exposition of the provinces of Central Asia, 4. List of the cities of Central Asia.



Name and Area of Central Asia

Central Asia (West Turkestan) is presented under the moniker *Hyrkania* or *Yrcania* in the second book of the *Cosmography*. Anonymous of Ravenna called Hyrcania a *patria*, thus he considered it to be a politically organized area or country. Hyrcania had provinces (*provincia*), rivers and cities (*Cosmographia* II.8–9). The name of *Hyrkania* originates from the ancient Greek authors. In the *Geography* of Strabo, *Hyrkania* was located south-east of the Caspian Sea (Strabo XI.7.1–3; XI.8.1). However, the meaning of *Hyrkania* changed in the early Middle Ages; in the 7th century it did not mark the same area it did in the age of Strabo.

Anonymous of Ravenna described *Hyrkania* as a great country. The Western border of *Hyrkania* was the Caspian Sea and the *Hyrchan Bay* (*Sinus Yrcanus*). According to the *Cosmography*, the entrance of the Caspian Sea (*Caspium*) was in the Northern Ocean, and that two were connected, and a cove of this sea was the Hyrcan Bay (*Sinus Yrcanus*) (*Cosmographia* II.8). Hyrcan Bay had several different names in the *Cosmography*: *colfus Hyrcanicus*, *colfus Hyrcanie Isson* (*Cosmographia* V.16; V.19). Thus, according to Anonymous of Ravenna, Hyrcan Bay was a great bay of the Caspian Sea, and the Western border of Hyrcania was the coastline of the Caspian Sea.

South of Hyrcania, *Parthia* was located, and in close proximity to Hyrcania there was also *Media Maior*. The area of Hyrcania extended far and was also adjacent to *India Syrica* (Cosmographia II.8-9). *Syrica* meant the “country of silk”, which was China. Anonymous of Ravenna had limited information about the Eastern countries, and often mentioned India together with China, thus we can find the names *India Serica* and *India Syrica* in the Cosmography (Cosmographia II.3; II.8). In another case Anonymous of Ravenna mentioned the name of China separately, writing that the country of China (*patria Syrica*) is bordered by the ocean (Cosmographia II.3).

The Rivers of Central Asia

Anonymous of Ravenna remarked that several rivers ran through the area of Hyrcania. Among these, he listed *Iaxartis* (Syr Darya), *Oxus* (Amu Darya), *Austiani/Astias*, *Grinus/Nigrinus*, *Maritus/Maritis*, and *Sicris* by name (Cosmographia II.8). In his Geography, Strabo mentioned *Margus*, a river of *Margiana* (Strabo XI.10.1). This river can be identified with the river *Maritus/Maritis*, which is called *Murghab* in the present era (Podossinov 2002: 231. n. 139). According to Anonymous of Ravenna, the river *Sicris* ran into the Caspian Sea (Cosmographia II.12). In the last segment of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the name of the river *Sicris* is found in the form of *Sygris*, running through the area of *Mardiane*, and flowing into the Caspian Sea (TP Segm. XI.1-2; TP.DE Segm. XII.1-2). The *Sygris* sprung from the *Bariani* (*Bactriani*?) Mountains (Podossinov 2002: 231. n. 140; 372). The *Austiani/Astias* and *Grinus/Nigrinus* were rivers of Hyrcania, and also ran into the Caspian Sea (Cosmographia II.8; II.12); these two rivers cannot be accurately identified. The river *Nigrinum* can also be found in the last segment of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, running north from the river *Oxus* (Amu Darya), springing from the highlands of the *Sagae Scythae* people, and running into the Caspian Sea (Mare Hyrcanium) (TP Segm. XI. 2-4; TP.DE Segm. XII. 2-4). *Nigrinus* means “Black River” and can possibly be identified with the Syr Darya (Podossinov 2002: 23. n. 138; 374).

Exposition of the Provinces of Central Asia (Hyrcania)

According to Anonymous of Ravenna, Hyrcania had eleven provinces: *Mardianum*, *Derbiceon*, *Cadusion*, *Eroon*, *Issis*, *Esidis Scithon*, *Ytio Sithon*, *Sacens Sithon*, *Tapurion*, *Tocarion*, *Erurion* (Cosmographia II.8).

The areas of *Mardianum*, *Derbiceon*, *Eroon*, *Tocarion* and the three Scythian provinces *Esidis Scithon*, *Sacens Sithon*, *Ytio Sithon* can be roughly identified based on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (TP Segm. XI; TP.DE, Segm. XII).

The province *Mardianum* (*Mardiane*) was located at the lower section of the river *Sygris*, South-East of the Caspian Sea (TP Segm. XI.2; TP.DE, Segm. XII.2).

Ytio Sithon (*Otios Cythae*) was situated North-West of the Caspian Sea (TP Segm. XI.1; TP.DE, Segm. XII.1).

According to the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, *Esidis Scithon* (*Essedones Scythe*) was located at the middle section of river *Oxus* (TP Segm. XI.3; TP.DE, Segm. XII.3). The Province of *Issis* may be the equivalent of *Esidis Scithon* (Podossinov 2002: 224. n. 113; 376). Miller localized the area of *Essedones Scythe* in the Tarim basin (Miller 1916: 625 map 201).

The province *Sacens Sithon* (*Sagae Scythae*) was situated in the steppe zone, north of the river *Nigrinum*, at its headwaters according to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (TP Segm. XI.1-4; TP.DE, Segm. XII.1-4; Podossinov 2002: 224. n. 115, 371-372). Miller localized the region of *Sagae Scythae* north of Lake Aral (Miller 1916: 625 map 201).

The area of *Derbiceon* (*Derbicce*) was marked as being East of the Caspian Sea, and north of the mouth of the river *Oxus* on the map of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (TP Segm. XI.2; TP.DE, Segm. XII.2; Podossinov 2002: 374). On his own chart, Miller localized the region of *Derbicce* east of the Caspian Sea. Long ago, one of the branches of the river *Oxus* ran into the Caspian Sea. The region of *Derbicce* lay at the banks of this ancient branch of the river *Oxus* (Miller 1916: 625 map 201).

Tapurion could be equivalent to the territory of the *Tapyri*. According to Strabo, the *Tapyri* lived between the Hyrcanians and the Arians (Strabo XI.8.8). It was also Strabo who wrote about the *Tapyri* that they lived between *the Hyrcanians* and *the Derbices* (Strabo XI. 9.1). According to the geography of Strabo, the region of the *Tapyri* people can be identified with the area of *Tapurion* province.

The province *Eroon* can be identified with the region of the *Hiroae* people on the chart page of *Tabula Peutingeriana* (TP Segm. X.5; TP.DE Segm. XI.5; Miller 1916: 623, 625 map 201).

The Tocharians (*Tocharoi/Tochari*) had conquered the region of ancient Bactria between 133–129 B.C. and settled down there (Strabo XI. 8.2; Enoki 1994: 174; Harmatta 1994: 480). The name of *Bactria* was changed to Tokharistan, and this area was at the upper section of *Oxus* (Enoki 1994: 167–168; Litvinsky 1996: 362–364, 488–9, Map 1). In the Cosmography, the province *Tocarion* can be identified with the region of the *Tochari*. *Tocarion* province can also refer to the areas of the *Tanchire* (Tokhar) people according to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (TP Segm. XI.5; TP.DE Segm. XII.5; Miller 1916: 626; Podossinov 2002: 378).

The region of the province *Cadusion* can be localized south of the Caspian Sea, where, according to Strabo, the Cadusian (*Cadusii*) people lived (Strabo XI. 6.1, 7.1, 8.1, 8.8, 13.6; Podossinov 2002: 224. n. 111).

The name of province *Erurion* was corrected to *Frunon* by Schnetz (Cosmographia II.8; Podossinov 2002: 225. n. 118). The geographical location of this province cannot be exactly determined.

Cities of Central Asia

Anonymous of Ravenna remarks that in the provinces of Hyrcania there were several cities, among which he listed twenty: Cipropolis, Axara, Portum, Castillum, Tarsambaram, Aquileam, Belalus, Garreas, Camia, Sazala, Armastica, Theladalfir, Telada, Ucubri, Lalla, Liponissa, Tilida, Sanora, Tegamina, Gravete (Cosmographia II.8).

Schnetz corrected the name of *Cipropolis* to *Ciropolis*. Based on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Miller localized *Cyropolis* at the mouth of the river Cyrus (Cosmographia 20.49; Miller 1916: 654–655; Podossinov 2002: 227, n. 121; Cohen 2013: 215). Besides this, there was another *Ciropolis* (*Cyropolis*) near the river Jaxartes, which is identified with the present-day settlement of Ura-Tyube, located in Tajikistan (Strabo XI. 11.4; Dandamayev 1994: 44; Negmatov 1994: 442; Cohen 2013: 251–254).

Podossinov identified the names of the cities of Hyrcania, and then localized them. Most of the listed cities were situated along the trade routes of the Caucasus, west of the Caspian Sea (Podossinov 2002: 227–230, map 21). According to the Cosmography, these cities were located in Hyrcania in *Eroon* province and its close proximity.

Summary

The Cosmography of Anonymous of Ravenna summarized the geographical knowledge of the era of the author. The Cosmography incorporates both data coming from the books of ancient authors and information from Anonymous of Ravenna's own era.

Anonymous of Ravenna put down the ancient Roman and Greek geographical names, but by the 7th century, the content and meaning of these had changed. In ancient geographical literature Hyrcania was a lesser country located to the south-east of the Caspian Sea, however in the Cosmography, the region of Hyrcania extended over the whole of Central Asia. Thus, by the 7th century, the meaning of Hyrcania had changed. The area of Hyrcania lay between the Caspian Sea and China, and between Parthia and the steppe zone.

The great rivers of Central Asia (Amu Darya, Syr Darya, Murghab) ran across the region of Hyrcania. According to Anonymous of Ravenna, Hyrcania had eleven provinces, among which he named three *Scythian* provinces, which can be identified with the territories of nomadic people. The provinces of Hyrcania got their names from ancient nations. Anonymous of Ravenna also listed twenty cities of Hyrcania, but most of these were situated in the area of the Caucasus. Anonymous of Ravenna called Hyrcania a country (*patria*) consisting of provinces, thus he considered it as a politically organized region. Therefore, we can assume

that Anonymous of Ravenna described Central Asia as an empire under the name of *Hyrkania*.

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Khitan Landscapes from a New Perspective. Landscape Archaeology Research in Mongolia

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The Khi-Land, Khitan Landscapes in Mongolia 2017–2023 project is aimed at conducting landscape archaeological research at 10th-12th century Khitan period sites in Mongolia, with special focus on the fortified settlements in Bulgan aimag in Central Mongolia, especially on the ruins of Khar Bukh Balgas in Dashinchilen sum. The main goal of the project is understanding the inner structure of the settlements of the Khitan Empire and the relationships between the nomadic lifestyle and the towns of the Liao Empire, which once occupied parts of China and a large part of present-day Mongolia. A short history of the Liao Empire and the first results of the project were presented in the Hungarian Archaeology e-journal, as well as in some other publications (Csiky et al. 2017, Erdenebold et al. 2018, Harmath et al. 2019).

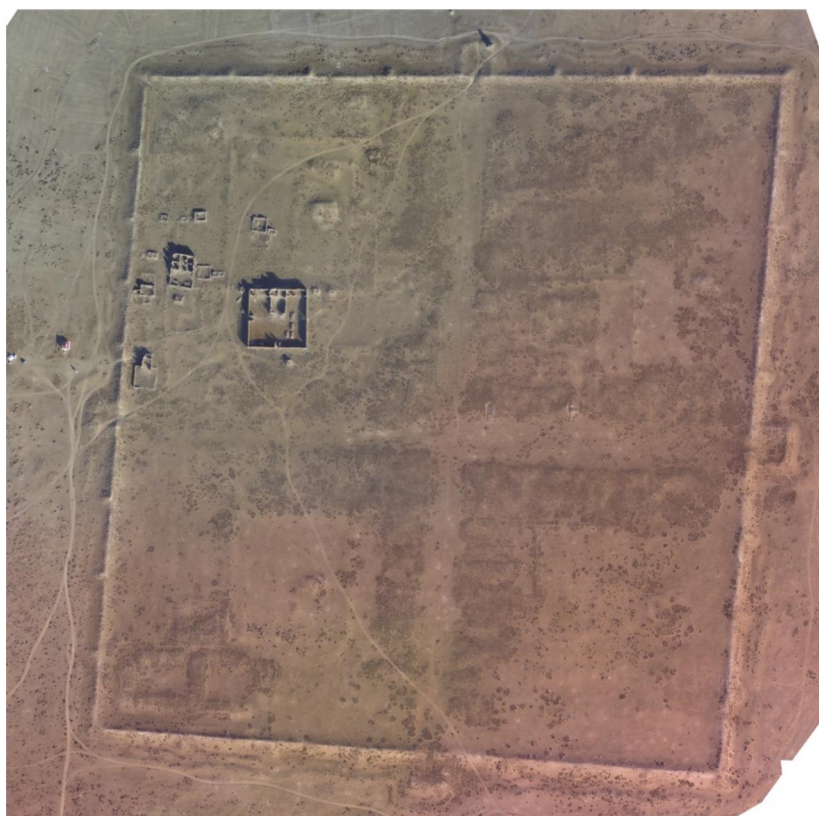
The basis of the Khi-Land project and previous research

Researchers from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences have been involved in Inner Asian and Mongolian research since the 1950's. This work was initiated by Louis Ligeti who, as a linguist, also studied the Khitans. His work was followed by that of Görgy Kara and András Róna-Tas, who is still involved in studying the Khitan script.¹ Among the Hungarian archaeologists it was István Erdélyi who conducted archaeological research in Mongolia between the years 1961–1990. He studied all the main historical periods of Mongolia from the Bronze Age to the Middle Ages, and thoroughly analysed the Xiongnu and Turkic periods. Another aim of our project is to follow in his footsteps and carry out archaeological research in the territory of Mongolia involving Hungarian researchers.

The remains at Khar Bukh Balgas (*Image 1.*) were first studied by Russian researchers. In 1870, the explorer of the Russian Geographical Society, A. Paderin, studied the history and culture of the Orkhon river area in the central part of Mongolia. It was he who along with his fellow researchers discovered the remains

¹ A research team formed voluntarily at the Department of Altaic Studies of the University of Szeged. The results of their work are published on their website:
<http://khitan.bibl.u-szeged.hu/>

of Khar Bukh Balgas and published a description of them. In 1890 the research team led by N.M. Jadrincev prepared a plan of the ruins, while in 1909 the research team of J. G. Granö published images of the site. In 1833–34 a plan of the fortified settlement was also created by D. D. Bukinich from the Mongolian Academy of Sciences. In 1948–49 the famous Russian archaeologist S. V. Kiselev also conducted research on the settlement and on Khitan period kurgans. In the 1970's the Mongolian archaeologist Kh. Perlee conducted research at the ruins of Khar Bukh Balgas and compiled a plan of the site. He further declared that the site can be dated to the Khitan period. Small scale excavations were led at that time by the team of Kh. Perlee and E. V. Savkunov at the buildings located to the NE of the road junction. A. Ochir and Lkh. Erdenebold conducted excavations in 2002–2003 and 2011–2012, studying also the later periods of the site.



Although archaeological research has already been carried out on some Khitan period fortified settlements in the territory of Mongolia, their environment and contacts with the contemporary settlement network have not yet been studied in

detail. The aim of our project is to examine the Khitan sites in the context of the surrounding landscape in order to understand their role in the history and organization of the Liao Empire (947–1125), and to gain more information on their function in the northern frontier zone of the empire.

The Khi-Land project is based on collaboration between the Institute of Ethnology of the Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Institute of History and Archaeology of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, under the cooperative agreement: *Mongolian and Hungarian joint research – Khitan Landscapes in Mongolia Project 2017–2023*.

Methodology

In our research we follow a landscape archaeological approach in which we study the sites in the context of their surroundings and their environment. We focus in particular on the water management systems of these areas as well as on those landscape archaeological features which can be discovered through a thorough study of micro topography (like settlement remains, visible burial mounds or stone carvings from various periods.) Besides field survey work we collect aerial photographs with an UAV (Unmanned aerial vehicle). This field season we used a DJI Mavic Pro Platinum UAV.² (*Image 2.*) We prepared flight plans before our field season using Litchi application. On the field we placed GCPs (ground control points), which we measured with a total station after measuring the initial coordinates with GPS.³ This method helped us to determine all the coordinates and give correct transformations to the aeriels.⁴



2 The UAV was donated to Katalin Tolnai by the László Kádár Research Fund for Mongolian Studies.

3 Many thanks to Hadzijanisz Konsztantinosz for the preparation of flight plans and the processing of data.

4 The tools needed for the survey were provided by the Tahiméter Kft.

In the field we paid special attention on Mongolian traditions, which determine the everyday life of the nomads. It is essential to know the traditions and taboos of everyday life, and follow the rules of i.e. moving within a yurt, following seating rules or the importance of the white foods. There are several taboos concerning everyday activities too, like the prohibition of stepping on a door-step, throwing garbage onto the fire, or stabbing a knife into the ground. These traditions can also limit the work of researchers as these should be also followed during research. Without stabbing a nail into the ground however it was more problematic for us to sign locations i.e. the ground control points (Bartha 2016).

Besides collecting aeriels, we also conducted archaeological field surveys. (*Image 3.*) Here we concentrated both on the inner structures of fortified settlements and on the features outside the protective walls. We analysed the types of inner features based on the building materials, shape, size and locations of sites. Furthermore we identified ceramic concentrations and located them along with the surveyed routes with Garmin GPS. The collected data will be further processed with GIS. (*Image 4–5.*)



The fortified settlement of Khar Bukh Balgas

Khar Bukh Balgas, the site studied by our project, is a larger fortified settlement. The ruins are located at the coordinates 47° 52' 249" N and 103° 53' 051" E, 1015 meters above sea level. It is surrounded by rammed earthen walls oriented to the cardinal directions. The walls are placed to form a square; however, they do not have the same length on the eastern and northern sides. At present, the remaining walls are 3–4 m wide, and 2–2.5 m high. An earthen gate with an L-shaped outer structure has been uncovered in the middle section of each settlement wall. The corners were further strengthened with corner towers. Between the corner towers and the middle gates further 3 or 4 square-shaped towers were erected on each side. Within the walls the four gates were joined together with roads running N-S and E-W. These app. 30 m wide roads divided the inner area of the fortified settlement into 4 parts. Buildings once stood along these avenues. The outer wall is surrounded by a moat with smaller side ditches running out of it. The main ditch is fed by the Khar Bukh stream.

The remains at Khar Bukh Balgas have been studied by Russian and Mongolian researchers since the 19th century. Recently, in 2002–2003 and 2011–2012, A. Ochir and Lkh. Erdenebold conducted excavations, during which they also studied the later periods of the site. A large number of archaeological features can be detected at the site and at its vicinity. Remains of a pottery kiln were detected 35 m from the NW corner of Khar Bukh Balgas on the eastern bank of Khar Bukh stream. Remains of agricultural work in the form of small ditches and millstones can also be observed around the walls of the fortified settlement.

In the 16th-17th centuries a Buddhist monastery was built between the walls. The buildings of the monastery were made of ashlar, and are still 2–3 m high. The monastery included several buildings. Excavation within the central sanctuary resulted in a large number of artefacts in connection with religious activities, like Buddha depictions as well as textile and metal remains. A peculiarity of the excavation is that manuscripts were also found within the remains, preserved in very good condition.

Field research in 2017⁵

In May 2017, we carried out a longer field work on site. During our second visit we captured more detailed aerial photographs than the previous year, carried out a field survey inside and outside the fortress; and geophysical test measurements were also performed by the Mongolian geophysicist L. Ganbaatar. (*Image 6*). During the 2017 field work, we took aerial photographs in the inner area of the fortress, above a walled area north of the walls, and in two areas where circular objects were observed on the satellite imagery of Google Earth. In addition, further aerial photographs were taken in the areas south, north and east of the fort, and at the area of the potential pottery kiln near the Khar Bukh stream.



⁵ Gergely Csiky, Amina D Jambajantsan, András Harmath and Katalin Tolnai were the team members of the project and the fieldwork in 2016-2017.

The flights resulted in more than 4000 aerial photos. During the flights, we ensured that the overlap of images was over 80%, as a result at least 90% of the area had an overlap of 5 images or more. It also means that for the measuring of one point we used 5 different images, which provided us with extremely high accuracy.

The images were processed using the Pix4D and DroneDeploy applications, which are suitable for point cloud and orthophoto creation. The resulting point cloud enables us to map the surface objects in more detail. The digital surface models follow the WGS84 projection system, as GPS coordinates are recorded in the exif files of the images. With the help of the present model we are able to get contour lines or generate cross sections anywhere in the measured area.

The first surface model which we created from the aeriels of 2016 already showed a dense building coverage of the fortified area. In 2017 we prepared detailed photographic and descriptive documentation of the previously mapped building remains, including the Khitan and the 16th – 17th century stone buildings.

We carried out field surveys outside of the fortress in order to determine the extent of the former settlements and to identify the different economic activity zones. It is highly feasible that the Khitan settlement extended outside the area of the fortification; therefore we examined the areas south and east in 20 or 50 meter grids, until approximately 500 meters away from the southern walls. Based on the ceramic and roof tile density on the surface in both areas, it is highly probable that the settlement continued for several hundred meters beyond the walls (2–300 m from the southern walls and 4–500 m from the eastern wall). We also surveyed at the Khar bukh riverbank near the alleged pottery kiln, where a 10 x 20 m oval shaped area has a very dense ceramic coverage. There is, however, an empty area between the assumed kiln and the walls.

We process the collected materials using GIS which enables us to integrate the information obtained at different times through various methods (UAV, metering station, GPS, photo). Our system is based on the orthophoto and 3D model derived from drone (UAV) images. Vectorisation of the objects appearing on the images gives a close to accurate plan of the inner area of the fortress.

The dataset collected during our fieldwork is still being processed. Nevertheless, the Khar Bukh Balgas site and its surroundings raise several further questions. Can we consider these fortified settlements as the result of an urbanization process? Where were the real boundaries of the residents' activities? What role did this settlement have in the local settlement network? Why did life disappear at this site? The answers to these questions will require further years of research.

Archaeological sites visited during the 2018 fieldwork⁶

Ochir et al. 2015 published several Khitan period sites in the vicinity of Khar Bukh Balgas. Based on this study we observed the sites on Google Earth satellite images but we also identified most probably contemporaneous sites on which we planned field surveys and aerial photography (Ochir et al. 2015: 84–95). We visited the following sites during the field survey:

Tsagaan uzuuriin kherem

Two square shaped, enclosed areas are located 30 km south of Khar Bukh Balgas. The two kherems are 1 km from each other, the Northern one is already known from previous research. It is 201 m x 220 meters large; its enclosing walls are less significant. We could not identify any protective towers on its sides or corners (Tsagaan uzuuriin kherem 1).

There is another previously unknown kherem south of the first one. The enclosing walls were not high, but were built in rhomboid form. Its area is 114 x 116 meters. We could not detect any protective towers on the corners and on the sides. No inner features were detected in the inner area of the kherem either. In between the two kherems we were able to detect ceramic concentrations. Based on our observations it would be worthwhile to conduct more detailed research in this area. Besides the kherems we also studied a third area in the vicinity where we recognized a rampart-like feature on the satellite images. During our visit however it turned out that these were rather the remains of ditches. We also found some ceramic pieces here which were also identified as Khitan period pieces by Lkh. Erdenebold (Tsagaan uzuuriin kherem 2).

Settlement site near Chin tolgoi

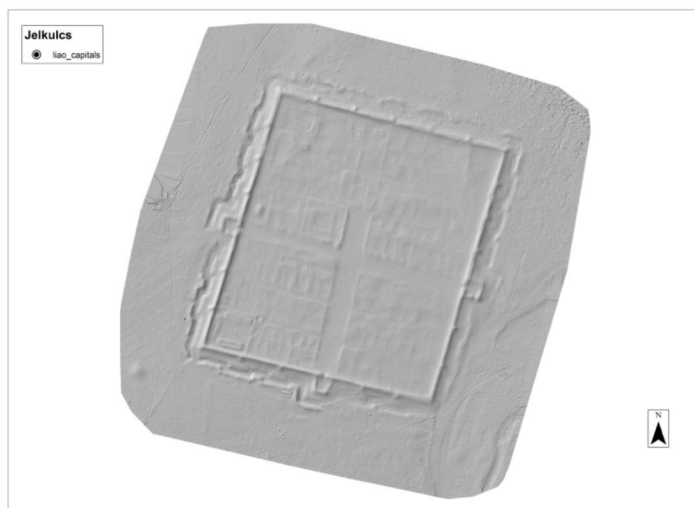
The Khitan period settlement of Chin tolgoi is located 26 km south of Khar Bukh Balgas. Based on the previous research this settlement was the former capital of the area (Kradin 2011). There have been excavations in the inner area of the settlement, however its surroundings have remained untouched. During our field work we made a short field visit west from the settlement where Lkh. Erdenebold previously identified a site with numerous Khitan period ceramics. This site is highly important also for the history of Chin Tolgoi, as no other contemporaneous sites were known before from its immediate surroundings. This site also confirms the conception that there were smaller sites in the vicinity of enclosed settlements.

Ulaan kherem 1–2.

We already collected aerials from Ulaan Kherem (*Image 7*), which is located 50 km east of Khar Bukh Balgas in 2017. This year we made a more systematic field survey of the inner areas and we also collected photos of the surrounding features.

⁶ The members of the 2018 fieldwork were András Harmath, Katalin Tolnai, László Laszlovszky, Csilla Siklódi and Zsolt Szilágyi.

This 470 x 530 meters large fortified settlement has remained in good condition, the ruins of the buildings are app. 1–1,5 m high compared to the level of the streets. There were 3 gates in the protective walls and 2 roads parted the inner area. On the corners there were protective towers, while on the northern side 3 side towers were erected. There was no gate in the northern sidewall of the settlement, but it was protected with 5 side towers. The lack of a northern gate is also mirrored in the inner structure of the settlement, as there were no inner partitions in its northern part.



According to the Google Earth satellite there are more enclosed areas along the river south of this fortified settlement. We collected aerial photographs of one of these which is a 350 x 400 meters large kherem, with only one mound-like feature at its centre. In between Ulaan Kherem and this latter one we also identified a small, mound-like, most probably man-made feature. We found Khitan period roof-tiles here, therefore we think it is contemporaneous with the kherem.

Khermen denj, Tsagaan denj

One of the most complex remains of the period is Khermen denj and Tsagaan denj lying in front of it on the opposite side of the river. In our field survey we realized that this latter site is in many ways different from the other fortified settlements. It is 200 x 165 meters large, oriented NE - SW, with only one entrance on the southern side. There are 3 seemingly high features in its inner area, while there are no protective towers on its rampart. Even though we also planned to take aeriels here, we could not fly because of the strong wind and the approaching sandstorm.

The results of our fieldwork show that there are many different types of Khitan sites which most probably had different functions. The most spectacular among these are the fortified settlements (Khar Bukh Balgas, Chin tolgoi, Khermen denj, Ulaan Kherem) the inner area of which can be studied using aerials. In addition to these sites there are smaller, rectangular shaped sites as well, which probably functioned as burial sites, however there has been no research on their inner areas. In parallel to that there are also enclosed areas which are closely rectangular shaped but there are not any mound-like features in their inner area. These could have functioned as enclosed holding areas for livestock or as some kind of protective enclosure for non-permanent habitation (Tsagaan denj).

In our field survey we also found ceramic concentrations in between the enclosed areas which implies that there were habitation areas in between the presently known sites as well. This is a phenomenon which should be studied in the close future too, as written sources tell us that the high class of Khitans were not living within the settlements but followed a nomadic lifestyle nearby. These non-permanent habitation places however have not yet been identified by archaeological research.

Ethnological studies – cultural heritage protection

Besides the planned archaeological work of our project we also had the possibility to collect data for ethnological research. This work is in close connection with the problems of the protection of cultural heritage and archaeological sites. In the area of one site for example the head of a family also has heritage protection responsibilities. In the last couple of years the Mongolian government has paid more attention to heritage preservation and protection.⁷ Formerly the costs of monument restorations were covered by international financial support. In the last couple of years however local families have become responsible for these too. This is coordinated by the National Heritage Protection Centre of Mongolia (Soyoliin Öviin Töv). As Bulgan county, where our project takes place, is one of the areas richest in heritage remains, the protection of the area is of high importance. For example there is the Chin tolgoi oboo, an offering place, which is still in everyday use by the people (Chuluun 2014: 163–166), but there is also a group of watchmen protecting the area. We also felt this attitude during our field work, as families contacted each other because of our work and also reported our presence to the local police. Nonetheless there is also a contradiction in the attitude of the local families as they also raise their yurts within cultural remains.

⁷ On the archaeological heritage protection status, see: <http://montsame.mn/en/read/14657>; for an international project for the protection of cultural heritage, see: https://www.academia.edu/3006617/The_Oyu_Tolgoi_Cultural_Heritage_Program

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Some Opinions on the Role of the Mohe 靺鞨 People in the Cultural and Ethnical Relationships between Tungusic, Turkic and Mongolian Peoples

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The Mohe 靺鞨 are a Tungusic people. Their ancestors are recorded numerous times in Chinese sources as Sushen 肅慎, Yilou 挹婁, or Wuji 勿吉. The name 'Mohe' first appears in the records of the Bei Qi State (550–577). According to the 7th chapter of the Bei Qi Shu; the Shiwei, Kumoxi, Mohe and Qidan peoples sent envoys and presented taxes to the Chinese court.

It can be understood from various sources that the Mohe tribes stretched from the northern part of the Korean peninsula to the northern part of the Yalu river basin. This is an intercultural area that currently lies between in modern-day Siberia, Mongolia, China and Korea. It can be therefore said that the Mohe people were not a single ethnic group or a monolingual community, and that they were basically Tungus, but at the same time a mixture of Turks and Mongols.

There are two widely held opinions about the roots of the Mohe: i) They were originally named Sushen, and their name changed first to Wuji and then to Mohe; ii) They originally came from Huimo 穢貊, and their name is a different variation on the name Huimo (Sun-Zhang-Jiang-Gan 1987: 37–38). However, some researchers disagree and think that the Wuji, who are mentioned as ancestors of the Mohe in Chinese sources, are not the same as the Mohe. The Wuji, it is suggested, were a community that ruled over ancient Sushen, including a large number of remaining Sushen territories. The ethnographer Shirokogoroff suggests that the Wuji were located in the Northern Tungus areas. According to his evaluation, *weiji* means "forest" in the Manchu language, and when the Mohe became the dominant power at the end of the 4th century, the Wuji settled instead in dense forest (Huang 1990: 252). Shirokogoroff's opinion, in spite of clear expressions in the historical sources, should still be taken seriously. As a matter of fact, the Mohe people existed in a relatively nomadic cultural area since the beginning of the 7th century. While the first information relating to Mohe culture matches that of the traditional Sushen, Yilou and Wuji, some differences can be observed after the 7th century. However, areas where the Mohe tribes spread are clearly explained in Chinese sources, and thus their inclusion in the Northern Tungus areas seems geographically problematic.

I would like to make the following additions based on my recent article (Yıldırım 2017) about the origin of the Mohe people: i) In the inscription of Köl Tigin and Bilge Kagan, the names of those who participated in the funeral ceremony of Bumin Kagan in the year 552 are first mentioned and they include the “Bükli (Bükküli or Bökli) from the places where the sun rises.”¹ In another instance in the inscriptions, there is a reference to the years 630–680 when the administrators of the Turk Khanate were in China's captivity and service: “They (Turkic soldiers) served and worked for fifty years, and battled against Bükli Kagan in the east where the sun rises;”² ii) According to “The History of Theophylact Simocatta”, written at the beginning of the 7th century, “When the Avars had been defeated, some of them made their escape to those who inhabit Taugast (China)... Others of the Avars, who declined to humbler fortune because of their defeat, came to those who are called Mucri; this nation is the closest neighbor to the men of Taugast; it has great might in battle both because of its daily practice of drill and because of endurance of spirit in danger” (The History of Theophylact Simocatta 1986: 11–12); iii) There is a reference to the Mohe in Chapter 199 of Jiu Tang Shu: “the Mohe 靺鞨, live in Sushen 肅慎 land. They were called Wuji 勿吉 at the time of the Hou Wei 後魏. The Mohe are six thousand *li* to the north east of the Chinese capital. To the east of the Mohe there is sea, their western neighbors are the Tujue (Turk), Gaoli 高麗 is to the south and Shiwei 室韋 to the north. There are ten tribes in this country, and each tribe has its own chief. They are said to serve the Turks (Tujue) and to depend on Gaoli. Heishui 黑水 (Black Water) Mohe 靺鞨 live furthest to the north; they are forceful, and continuously make trouble for their neighbors” (Jiu Tang Shu 1997: 5358).

Various views have been taken of the names mentioned in the main sources written in three different languages. In my opinion, the Wuji 勿吉 of the Chinese sources are equivalent to the “Bükli” of the Orkhun Turkic inscriptions. The equivalent in Roman sources are the “Mucri” or “Mukri”. The opinions of scholars such as Chavannes, Marquart, Shiratori and Uchida about the Wuji-Mukri equivalency are accurate. The Mohe 靺鞨 people, who are of the Manchurian region and who had some relations with the Turks, are recorded as Sushen 肅慎, Yilou 挹婁 and Wuji 勿吉 in previous Chinese sources. These can be seen as ancestors of the Tungus people. In this respect, “Bükli Çöl” of the Turkic inscriptions must be Manchuria; the people of “Bükli Çöl” must be the Mohe, and finally, references to the people of “Bükli Çöllü El” in inscriptions must be the Tungus people, not Koreans. Moreover, only one people in the east, the “Bükli” are recorded in inscriptions about the Bumin Kagan funerals. Accordingly, those of Mongol descent, such as the Otuz Tatar and the Kitan of the Turkic inscriptions are considered to be the equivalent of the Shiwei of Chinese sources. These people are located to the north of the “Bükli”. In other words, when the Turks (Tujue)

1 Köl Tigin Inscription, east/4; Bilge Kagan Inscription, east/5.

2 Köl Tigin Inscription, east/8; Bilge Kagan Inscription, east/8.

progressed to the east, they directly encountered the Tungus people in the area of “Bükli Çöllig”, while the Mongolian people were further to the north and northwest.

The Cultural Mixture of the Mohe People

In fact, the culture of this humid and swampy part of Asia, Manchuria, is considered by some scholars to have different periods: the eras of the hunter; the semi-hunter and semi-farmer; and the semi-hunter and semi-shepherd (Egami 1985: 99). However, since the Neolithic Age (8000–5500 B.C.), a semi-hunter and semi-farmer society could be seen in the region of Manchuria. At the beginning of the Christian era, it is said that inhabitants of this area hunted animals such as cows, horses and pigs with short spears and small horses (Egami 1985: 104, 106).

Due to the Mohe land, namely Manchuria's, geographical location lying between China, Mongolia and Siberia, a mixture of many ethnic groups can be found there. According to some researchers, this region was home to prehistoric culture from at least four places: The Yellow River valley, the Mongolian desert and steppe, the Pacific coast, and the taiga region around Lake Baikal (Huang 1990: 240).

At this point, reference must be made to Chinese sources (Wei Shu 1997: 2219–2220; Sui Shu 1997: 1821; Jiu Tang Shu 1997: 5358; Xin Tang Shu 1997: 6178). From the few main sources which refer to Mohe culture, the following points can be made:

As each of the settlements and tribes of the Mohe people had their own chief, they did not congregate under a single ruler. They were very strong physically and the strongest of the peoples in the east of China. Each tribe's speech and language was different, and “they lived in the ground”. They dug ground, built cities, and lived in them. The shape of the houses was like a tomb, with doors open to the sky and stairs down to the house. There were no cattle in this country. They had cart horses and also used them to plough fields. Millet, wheat and sunflowers were sown. The water of that land was dense and salty, meaning that the salt from trunks and the tops of trees was removed. There were salt lakes. Lots of pigs were fed, but there were no sheep. They made alcoholic drinks by processing rice, and drank them until they became drunk. Married women wore cloth skirts, while boys wore pig and dog leather. People also wore leopard and tiger tails. They were very good hunters, and their bows were three *chi* and two *cun*. Their arrow heads were stone. In the 7th and 8th months, they made poisonous arrows. When an animal or a person was hit by such an arrow, the poison killed them. They buried parents in the spring and summer and built a house on the top of the tomb. If someone died in the autumn or winter, they threw the dead body to the martens who ate the flesh, and then finally they are at rest. They used to wash their hands and faces

with urine. Everybody weaved their hair. The people were cruel, ruthless, and valued becoming powerful and disparaging elders.

According to the records of the Jiu Tang Shu and Xin Tang Shu, some changes began to take place in Mohe culture from the 7th century. For example, people began to “go behind the grass and water” and sacrifice horses. It can be seen that their culture became a kind of nomadic culture, but at the same time they didn't have any sheep, only pigs.

According to these records, they were nomadic. They used to excavate the ground between the mountains and the waters, build a tree skeleton on top and then cover it with clay. These houses, in which they all lived together, are similar to the tombs of China. They used to go behind the water and grass in the summer and live in caves in the winter. The son was his father's heir and became the chief after his father. Their chief was called Da Mofu Manduo 大莫弗瞞咄, and such titles were inherited through succession. They had no writings or agreements. They used weapons such as a horn bow and a ‘*hu*’ (thorny tree) arrow. They used to feed a lot of pigs, and the rich had hundreds of them. They used to eat their flesh and wear their skin. The dead were buried in the ground and the bodies were not placed in coffins. They would sacrifice cart horses and place them in graves with the dead. There were marten, white rabbits and eagles in this land.

Another source, the Jiu Tang Shu, states that their “traditions are the same as those of the Qidan and Gaoli people” (Jiu Tang Shu 1997: 5360).

Their writings and agreements are recorded in the Xin Tang Shu (Xin Tang Shu 1997: 6178), and these are probably derived from the records about the Bohai state. There was no system of writing and recording by the Mohe people before the Bohai State.

The Heishui, “Black Water” Mohe, who lived on the banks of the Nen River, which flows from the northern part of the Amur region to the northeast of Inner Mongolia, are described as being the strongest people. Therefore, the elements of nomadic culture observed in the cultures of the “Black Water” Mohe, who spread towards the steppe belt, may have been recorded as if they were the culture of all Mohe people.

There now follow some accounts of Mohe culture from more recent archaeological studies (Istoriya Sibiri 1968: 308-310): Unlike other peoples of Manchuria, horses played a major role in the culture of the Mohe people. The horse was also as important in the afterlife as it was in everyday life, and so people would always be buried with their horses, as evidenced by many archeological studies. The horse also had an important place in the Mohe economy, in which horses were sold to neighbors.

However, perhaps the most important feature of Mohe culture, as is the case with other Manchurian peoples, was pig rearing. From the Neolithic and Bronze Age, pig bones have been uncovered in Mohe settlements. These people lived in deep pits to conserve flesh in the summer. Many pig bones have been found in

these underground dwellings, particularly in Central Amur. Written sources are also testament to the enduring popularity of pigs.

According to materials removed from excavations, the Mohe people wore clothes of pig and dog skin, and wore dresses and embroidered necklaces on special occasions. The wealthiest people wore silk and pearls.

The Mohe people, like other Tungus people, plaited their hair. The “Black Water” Mohe wore necklaces made of the teeth of wild boars and bears. Unlike other groups, the Sumo (Sungari) Mohe had hats with tiger and leopard tails.

These peoples had horse and pig figures as ornaments and clay sculptures, and there are a lot of horses and horseman figures on rock paintings. The rock paintings in Sakaçi-Alyan have figures of goat hunting, reflecting the steppe art of the Turks.

Mohe people respected the tiger and they feared its power. According to archaeological materials and Japanese sources, there was also a “bear cult” that the Mohe shared with the Koreans.

Conclusion

The following geographical and historical assessments can be made: Two ancient cultures existed in the north of China until 1000 years before Christ: that of the horse breeding Hun people, and that of the pig breeding Sushen people. These two cultures also included the Donghu and Shiwei cultures, which were related to both cultures. The Donghu culture dates back to the 7th century B.C., and the Donghu and Shiwei cultures may have been born from contact between the Hun and the Sushen (Eberhard 1942: 144–145). It can therefore be said that the Turks had close contact with the Sushen (the ancestors of the Mohe) and the Donghu (the ancestors of the Mongols) in the first millennium B.C.

Traces of the Turks and Mongols can be seen in Mohe ethnicity and culture, and common cultural elements and historical relations are clearly described in Chinese sources. In addition to Mohe's close cultural exchanges with Turks, Mongols and Chinese, it would have been quite natural for them to intermix with Manchuria's indigenous people and the Paleo-Sibir people. The Mohe can therefore be considered a political unity with many ethnic identities, which is the likelihood that is best suited to the realities of Central Asian history.

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Did Jordanes Read Hippocrates? The Impact of Climatic Factors on Nomads in the *Getica* of Jordanes

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Introduction: The environmental model during Antiquity

The notion that “man’s external environment has some direct influence on his physical constitution and health” (Miller 1962: 129) can be regarded as a universal experience of humankind. It can be observed that weather changes have an effect on our mood or even well-being; if someone travels to a country or region with a different climatic environment, body functions are subject to a change, and one needs some time to get used to the new climate. Ancient Greeks and Romans also noticed how different areas of the world have different weather conditions, and the hot or cold, dry or moist weather had an influence not just on the customs of the people living in those places, but they believed that the climate had an influence on the characteristics and even physiology of the inhabitants as well (Isaac 2004: 55–56). The first author to write extensively on this topic was Herodotus, who on several occasions juxtaposed climate and people. For example, he notes that Egypt’s climate and rivers are different from those of any other region, and the manners and customs of its residents are also poles apart from other people’s common practices (Hdt. 2: 35).¹ Herodotus does not explicitly imply a causation here, i.e. that the habits of Egyptians are different because of the different climate, but it is safe to assume that he noticed a connection between the weather and the habits of the people. The Scythian logos of the Histories (Hdt. 4: 1–82, esp. 16–24) certainly demonstrate that Herodotus had a basic understanding of the climate and the customs of the people living there. But as Lateiner rightly pointed out, climate or weather are not the exclusive factors in forming the habits and manners of its residents (Lateiner 1986: 16. Cf. also Thomas 2000: 102–134). For Herodotus “geography does not determine history; it can only condition human existence and action. Climate may influence devotion to liberty, but national spirit, more relevant, is no predictable product of natural forces.” (Lateiner 1986: 16).

¹ I am using the Liddle-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon and the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae for the abbreviation of classical authors.

The first work that can be regarded as a systematic discourse about the effects of climatic and environmental factors on health or disease is the Hippocratic² treatise “Airs, Waters and Places” dated to the late 5th century B.C., which must have been written as a handbook for the travelling physicians who arrived in a new city or town. When a physician came to a new city, he could find out the main health problems of the city by observing the seasons, winds, waters, elevation, etc. of that city, and establish himself quickly as a competent doctor in a new community (Miller 1962: 129–130; Edelstein 1967: 65–66, 70; Triebel-Schubert 1990: 90). This treatise had a paramount influence on later authors such as Aristotle, Polybius or Galen, as well as on medieval and early modern thought (Backhaus 1976: 170; Isaac 2004: 60). *Airs, Waters and Places* can be divided into two parts, the first concentrating on how the changes of seasons, the winds, the course of the sun, water and soil quality, and the customs of people influenced their health, and the second part, which some scholars have believe to be the work of another author,³ “is an exposition of the influence of climatic and geographical factors on the physical constitutions of various nations of Europe and Asia.” (Miller 1962: 130). This part of the book also includes the nomadic Scythians, whose description takes up quite a large part of the discussion (Miller 1962: 130; Liewert 2015: 7–8, 21–25). Especially this latter, ethnographical part has attracted great scholarly attention, focusing rather on the ethnocentric and not the medical nature of the work (Backhaus 1976; Triebel-Schubert 1990), even if the primary goal of the Hippocratic author was to explain the physical appearance and customs of the different nations through natural causes, and then cite some examples to further his point. For the author of “*Airs, Waters and Places*” the changes of the four seasons, winds and the quality of water and soil had a strong influence on the constitution of the human body, that is the quantity of the four body humours (blood, phlegm, yellow and black bile), also known as the humoral pathology of Hippocrates (Liewert 2015: 2–3, 5). The four body fluids had four qualities: hot, cold, wet, and dry,⁴ and these qualities were also attributed to the climatic factors of a certain region. For example, the Hippocratic author mentions how the cities facing the cold northern winds in summer have cold and hard water. This water had a basic effect on the constitution of the inhabitants – they were also hard (and

2 There is still a great uncertainty among scholars on the authorship of the Hippocratic Corpus, ie. which works were written by Hippocrates himself, and which were written by one of his sons or students or admirers, so in the scholarship we have to talk about the Hippocratic author, and not Hippocrates. This question is also known as the Hippocratic question (Lloyd 1975: 171–192; Liewert 2015: 40).

3 For a great summary on the scholarly debate of the unity or division of *Airs, Waters and Places* (Liewert 2015: 27–34).

4 We have to note here that the humoral pathology as we know it today was elaborated in detail by Galen. Hippocratic authors had conflicting views on how many body fluids exist and which qualities (heat, cold, dryness, wetness) they possessed. For a thorough discussion on the matter Liewert 2015: 45–59.

dry): “The natives must be sinewy and spare, and in most cases their digestive organs are costive and hard in their lower parts (...). Their heads are healthy and hard. (...) For their dryness, combined with the coldness of the water, makes them liable to internal lacerations.” (Hp. Aer. 4. tr. by W. H. S. Jones).

Despite the main goal of the Hippocratic author to explain diverse customs and habits with the change of seasons, or the harshness or gentleness of the weather, there is an underlying ethnocentric worldview. Exactly in the middle of the book the Hippocratic writer stated: “Now I intend to compare Asia and Europe, and to show how they differ in every respect and how the nations of the one differ entirely in physique (*morphe*) from those of the other” (Hp. Aer. 12. tr. by W. H. S. Jones). Asia, or at least one part of it,⁵ is depicted as a place with an ideal climate and fertile lands, so that everything grows abundantly, and people there are tall and handsome and have a placid character. That is also the downside of the moderate weather, as “courage, endurance, industry and high spirit could not arise in such conditions either among the natives or among immigrants, but pleasure must be supreme” (Hp. Aer. 12. tr. by W. H. S. Jones). This is nature’s (*physis*)⁶ impact on Asians, but there is another factor to be reckoned with, which has a great effect on the customs of the people, and that is the political institution (*nomos*), as the 16th chapter of *Airs, Waters and Places* reveals (Backhaus 1976: 172–173, 177–178). The author basically repeats the point that Asian people are weaker and more timid, not just because of the weather but also due to fact that they are ruled by kings. Europeans on the other hand, as described by the author, vary in height, stature and appearance, since the change of seasons is harsh, and this harsh climate makes them brave (*eupsychos*), high-spirited (*thymoeides*), more durable, but violent (*agrioi*) and even antisocial (*ameiktos*). “Europeans are more warlike, and also because of their institutions, not being under kings as are Asiatics” (Hp. Aer. 23. tr. by W. H. S. Jones).

This antithesis of Asia and Europe is striking. For Herodotus the two continents are more about geography and the laws of the nature, which apply to every nation in the world and which one cannot break without severe consequences (Van Paassen 1957: 326; Thomas 2000: 86–98; Isaac 2004: 61–64). But the Hippocratic author has a very deterministic view of the two continents. Asia has mild weather all around, and seasons do not change harshly, so people do not

5 As the Hippocratic writer admits: “Asia, however, is not everywhere uniform; the region, however, situated midway between the heat and the cold is very fruitful, very wooded and very mild.” (Hp. Aer. 16). The depiction of this ideal Asian region resembles Herodotus’ account of Ionia (Hdt. 1. 142), so some scholars tend to argue that the author of *Airs, Waters and Places* also discusses Ionia (Liewert 2015: 13).

6 *Physis* literary means Nature in Greek, but there are many facets to this word, as it implies many connotations, like something constantly growing, evolving and changing – and not a finished product. There is also the observation that every creature has its own nature, but that there is a general nature as well as an individual nature – especially for humans (Nestle 1938: 8–17).

differ from each other, and are well tempered but meek. Europe has more extreme weather, so people are different from each other and are more courageous, but not as social as Asians (Isaac 2004: 62–65). Natural (*physis*) causes explain why people from the two continents are different, but there is also the factor of the political institution (*nomos*). One could argue that these two factors, *physis* and *nomos*, go hand in hand in *Airs, Waters and Places*, so that Asians are weak by nature, and thus ruled by kings. But the relationship between the two factors is more complicated, as the Hippocratic writer never attempts to explain the causation of the two, but states that “all the inhabitants of Asia, whether Greek or Barbaric, who are not ruled by despots, but are independent, toiling for their own advantage, are the most warlike of all men.” (Hp. Aer. 16. tr. by W. H. S. Jones with slight modifications). This locus is also the first – and for a long time, last – literary juxtaposition of Greeks (*Hellenes*) and Barbarians (*Barbaroi*) in an ethnographic discourse of classical Antiquity (Backhaus 1976: 178).⁷ For the Longheads (*Makrokephaloi*) living in Trapezunt – as discussed in chapter 14 of *Airs, Waters and Places* – customs (*nomos*) influenced the nature (of people): since a long head was considered a sign of nobility, people living there took matters in their own hands and artificially lengthened the heads of their children. “As time went on the process became natural, so that custom no longer exercised compulsion.” (Hp. Aer. 14. tr. by W. H. S. Jones) So this chapter basically states that obtained features can become inherited, and *nomos* can influence and even change the nature (*physis*) of people – as long as Longheads are endogamous, for after marrying with people outside their ethnic group (*exogamy*) the longheaded characteristic seems to disappear (Nestle 1938: 12–13; Backhaus 1976: 175–176; Isaac 2004: 74–75).

The idea that there is a middle ground between people living under extreme conditions, Egyptians and Scythians, is not explicitly stated in *Airs, Waters and Places*, but it is safe to assume that it is the underlying idea. And that middle line is – of course – Hellas. Hellas is the place which lies between the two extremes, Egypt and Scythia, where not only the weather, but also the flora and fauna, or reproduction, is extreme, Egypt being very prolific, whereas Scythia is almost infertile (Backhaus 1976: 173–175, 179). Hellas is the measure to which these extremities are compared: otherwise the Amazon-like behaviour of the Sarmatian virgins or the Anaries, who are impotent men dressing in women’s clothes, do women’s work, etc. would not get such a detailed description, nor would the causes of these behaviours be discussed. These behaviours are the complete opposite of the norm in ancient Greece (Triebel-Schubert 1990: 90–91, 93, 96–103). That Hellas has ideal conditions, lying between the extreme climatic zones, and

⁷ Backhaus 1976: 178 also has an interesting point, when asking what free Greek and Barbarian people in Asia is the Hippocratic author talking about. The Persian Empire conquered the Middle East in the 2nd half of the 6th Century B.C., as well as Egypt, so basically every known Asian nation was under Persian rule in the 5th– early 4th Century B.C. when *Airs, waters and Places* was written.

thus having the best qualities of both worlds is explicitly discussed by Aristotle: “The peoples of cold countries generally, and particularly those of Europe, are full of spirit, but deficient in skill and intelligence; and this is why they continue to remain comparatively free, but attain no political development and show no capacity for governing others. The peoples of Asia are endowed with skill and intelligence, but are deficient in spirit; and this is why they continue to be peoples of subjects and slaves. The Greek stock, intermediate in geographical position, unites the qualities of both sets of peoples. It possesses both spirit and intelligence: the one quality makes it continue free; the other enables it to attain the highest political development, and to show a capacity for governing every other people—if only it could once achieve political unity.” (Arist. Pol. 1327b tr. by Ernest Barker). For Aristotle climate is responsible for political organisation through influencing the two main qualities of their inhabitants, intelligence and courage (or the lack of those qualities). Whereas for the Hippocratic author such a direct link between climate and political institutions is never explicitly stated, for Aristotle environment and politics go hand in hand. This Hellenocentric – later, for Roman authors, Romanocentric – model of Aristotle is found throughout Greek and Roman historiography, even though it underwent some changes; for Romans the two extremes were North and South (Isaac 2004: 82–102).⁸ This model can be labelled environmental or climatic determinism. It also found its way into early medieval historical thought, thus it is no surprise that elements of this theory can be found in the *Getica* of Jordanes.

Jordanes, the author

Jordanes lived in the 6th century A.D. and was a secretary (*notarius*) of Gunthigis Baza, an important member of the ostrogothic Amali clan, before he converted to Christianity. He must have lived in Constantinople after his conversion, where he probably wrote the *Getica* in ca. 551–552 A.D. His other work, titled *Romana*, was written on the request of a certain Vigilus, who is identified by many as pope Vigilus (537–555), living in Constantinople at that time, which would explain why Jordanes was in the capital of the Byzantine Empire (O’Donnell 1982: 223–225; Goffart 1988: 28–29; Liebeschuetz 2015: 137). Jordanes in the preface of *Getica* states that he had to lay aside writing his Roman History (*Romana*) because he was asked “to condense in my own style in this small book the twelve volumes of the Senator on the origin and deeds of the Getae from olden time to the present day.” (Iord. Get. 1. 1. tr. by Charles C. Mierow). He had to compile a short excerpt from

⁸ Interestingly, for Vitruvius the environment had an effect on the quantity of the blood: people up North had a copious amount of blood, because they lived under moist conditions, whereas people in the South had small amount of blood due to the dryness of the climate (Vitruv. 6, 1, 3. Cf. also Isaac 2004: 83–85).

the 12 books on Gothic History of Cassiodorus, which is unfortunately lost, but could only obtain the books for 3 days, so he could not recall everything word by word, only the “sense and the deeds related,” (Iord. Get. 1. 2. tr. by Charles C. Mierow) and then completed it with references from classical authors. He indeed incorporated many different sources in his narration, and tends to quote them or at least refer to them, but even if he does not follow this practice, it is not difficult for a reader who is well versed in Latin historiography to see which authors Jordanes has used as a source, e.g. the description of Britain relies heavily on the *Agricola* of Tacitus and Pomponius Mela. This is the main reason why he has been regarded by scholars of late Antiquity and Early Medieval History as merely an epitomator, or worst, as a plagiarist. The *Getica* is regarded as a mere abbreviated and simpler version of the 12 books of Cassiodorus, or even worse, a deteriorated report of the original, since there are numerous errors in the narrative of the *Getica*, e.g. he states that Rome was raided by both Alaric and Athaulf (Iord. Get. 31. 159–160).⁹ As a consequence, Jordanes, the author, is regarded by many scholars as irrelevant, as not having his own voice, being only the mouthpiece of the earlier historical tradition, especially of Cassiodorus. For decades Jordanes was used only to collect data on certain nations described in the *Getica*: German scholarship of the 19th century focused mainly on Germanic prehistory, Hungarian scholars on the Huns, etc. (Swain 2014: 13–19).¹⁰

But more recent studies have been interested more in Jordanes himself, and granted him an authorial voice, maintaining that the opposite is the case: that Jordanes was in command of what he wrote. He does not automatically copy previous works without any consideration and put them into a random order, confusing or leaving out events.¹¹ His work is more sophisticated than previously thought and shows great understanding of Graeco-Roman as well as Gothic culture.¹² Of course, the influence of Cassiodorus cannot be denied: the Romans and Goths being equivalent in the aspect of a sustained and glorious past or the need for long geographical discourses is highly likely the invention of Cassiodorus; but a nuanced analysis of the *Getica* has shown that e.g. the different political situations of the two authors (Cassiodorus was a leading politician in the Ostrogothic Kingdom when he finished his work on Gothic history in 533 A.D.,

9 On the matter Liebeschuetz 2015: 136, 140–142.

10 The first Hungarian translation in 1904 by János Bokor was also motivated by Hungarian antiquarian interests.

11 Liebeschuetz 2011: 204–205; Liebeschuetz 2015: 136–138.

12 This is demonstrated convincingly by B. Swain 2010: when Jordanes quotes Virgil when he explains that the Romans, after accepting the Goths into the Empire, violated the agreement, taxed and tried to enslave the Goths, and finally attempted to assassinate the leaders of the Goth. The quote from the *Aeneid* describes a parallel situation: the Trojan Polydorus tries to settle down in Thrace, but the king betrays him, and kills him and takes his gold. It is also noteworthy here, that in this passage of the *Aeneid* Aeneas tries to settle down in Thrace, where the Getae – usually called Goths by Jordanes – come from.

whereas Jordanes finished his work just after the Ostrogothic Kingdom had been defeated by Iustinian) shaped the narratives of the two authors differently (Goffart 1988: 23–42; Liebeschuetz 2011; Swain 2014: 37–78; Liebeschuetz 2015).

Scholarship has concentrated mainly on the originality of Jordanes and his relation to Cassiodorus, while other questions such as the environment that Jordanes described or what effect it had on the people living there seemingly went under the radar. If (Swain 2010) is to be believed, there might be more than meets the eye. With this background in mind, my aim in this paper is to find out whether the author had a nuanced view of the geographic and climatic explanations on the appearance and temperament of the nomads. It is not impossible that Jordanes (or even Cassiodorus) read the Hippocratic *Airs, Waters and Places*, since we know that the treatise was translated into Latin in the 5th century A.D. (Miller 1962: 132), but the question is to what extent he was familiar with the model of climatic determinism. The focus of my paper will be on the first part of the *Getica*, concerned with the geographic description of Northern and Eastern Europe and the enumeration of nomadic tribes. Jordanes was, of course, a secretary and historian, not a doctor, so the stories he heard or rather read were interesting for him more as sources for the *ethnogenesis* and history of the Goths, than as accounts of what diseases were affecting the various nations. I am here not concerned with whether this interest for the environment stems from Cassiodorus or from Jordanes, since this should be a matter for another paper.

Environmentalism in the *Getica* of Jordanes

Jordanes begins his book with a geographical discourse listing the islands which are found in the Ocean (Oceanus), which encompassed the whole world, followed by Britain and then the island named Scandza (Scandinavia), the birthplace of the Goths (Iord. Get. I: 4–9.). Jordanes rushes through the list of islands, but the description of Britain gets a whole chapter, namely the second:

“(12) In some parts it is moorland, in others there are wooded plains, and sometimes it rises into mountain peaks. The island is surrounded by a sluggish sea, which neither gives readily to the stroke of the oar nor runs high under the blasts of the wind. I suppose this is because other lands are so far removed from it as to cause no disturbance of the sea, which indeed is of greater width here than anywhere else. Moreover Strabo, a famous writer of the Greeks, relates that the island exhales such mists from its soil, soaked by the frequent inroads of Ocean, that the sun is covered throughout the whole (...) day that passes as fair, and so is hidden from sight. (13) Cornelius also, the author of the *Annals*, says that in the farthest part of Britain the night gets brighter and is very short. He also says that the island abounds in metals, is well supplied with grass and is more productive in all those things

which feed beasts rather than men. Moreover many large rivers flow through it (...)" (Iord. Get. 2: 12-13. tr. by Charles C. Mierow).¹³

Jordanes lists some authors who were the sources of this chapter, namely Livius, Tacitus, Strabo and Cassius Dio, but the way in which he structured the information which he gathered from his sources was his own. After recounting how Britain had to be conquered before information about the island trickled east, he describes its position and shape, followed by its terrain, the sea that surrounds the island and which makes it cloudy and foggy, the fact that the nights are shorter in its northern part, that the soil is abundant in metal and produces excellent grass, and finally the rivers. After the description of the land Jordanes focuses on its inhabitants: first their appearance, then their customs. This division resembles that of the Hippocratic *Airs, Waters, and Places*, whose author suggests to first look at the seasons, then at the winds and the rising of the sun, the waters, the soil and finally the *modus vivendi* of the population (Hp. Aer. 1.) One could object that the seasons and winds are missing from the discussion of Jordanes, since he does not describe them explicitly. But in the discussion of the sea surrounding Britain Jordanes mentions the winds, stating that they are unable to move the seawater. This is followed by the quotation from Strabo that due to the island exhaling mist from its soil soaked by the frequent inroads of Ocean, the sun is not visible at any time during the day. In comparison, the Hippocratic author also juxtaposes wind and fog in his Scythian chapter, stating that hot winds cannot reach Scythia, while cold ones, which are cooled down even more by snow and water, are stuck in the mountains, so that fog develops and is constant, which he describes as a "permanent winter," so that we cannot speak of a change of seasons. "The winds blowing from hot regions do not reach them, save rarely, and with little force; but from the north there are constantly blowing winds that are chilled by snow, ice, and many waters, which, never leaving the mountains, render them uninhabitable. A thick fog envelopes by day the plains, upon which they live, so winter is perennial." (Hp. Aer. 19. Tr. by W. H. S. Jones). The same is true for Britain according to Jordanes: the only thing which is prevalent is the mist, because the winds cannot reach the Island, so there is no change of seasons either.

That Jordanes was familiar with climatic effects on people is also clear from the same chapter, when he talks about the inhabitants of Britain. Jordanes here follows

¹³ MGH AA 5,1: 56-57: *Modo vero dumosa, modo silvestrae iacere planitiae, montibus etiam nonnullis increscere; mari tardo circumfluam, quod nec remis facile impellentibus cedat, nec ventorum flatibus intumescat, credo, quia remotae longius terrae causas motibus negant: quippe illic latius quam usquam aequor extenditur. Refert autem Strabo Graecorum nobilis scriptor tantas illam exalare nebulas, madefacta humo Oceani crebris excursibus, ut subtectus sol per illum pene totum fedioem, qui serenus est, diem negetur aspectui. Noctem quoque clariorem in extrema eius parte minimamque Cornelius etiam annalium scriptor enarrat. Metallis plurimis cupiosam, herbis requentem et his feraciorem omnibus, que pecora magis quam homines alant: labi vero per eam multa quam maximae relabique flumina gemmas margaritasque volventia.*

Tacitus in his account of the Silurans and Caledonians: “The ruddy hair and large limbs of the Caledonians point out a German derivation.” (Tac. Agr. 11: 2. tr. by Edward Brooks).¹⁴ With one small exception, which may be crucial: he describes the Caledonians as having reddish hair and large, loose-jointed bodies: “The inhabitants of Caledonia have reddish hair and large, but moist bodies.” (Iord. Get. 2. 13. tr. by Charles C. Mierow w. slight modification).¹⁵ Tacitus talked about *artus*, that is joints or limbs, being big (*magnus*), but the other adjective *fluvida*, cannot be found in Tacitus, nor in any other author, so this must have been Jordanes’ own contribution. It literary means wet or moist, but wet or moist bodies did not made much sense for many translators, so we find adjectives such as ‘soft’ or ‘loose’ instead. As cold weather has a lot to do with the moistness of the body, as the Hippocratic author tells us, living under similar conditions the Scythians “are gross (*pachys*), fleshy (*sarkoeides*), showing no joints (*anarthros*), moist (*hygros*) and flabby (*atonos*)” in regards to their body shape (*eidos*) (Hp. Aer. 19. tr. by W. H. S. Jones). As we saw earlier, the Caledonians lived under similar conditions, in a foggy and cold place, so their body constitution was also similar, at least in that they were moist. The Hippocratic treatise is not concerned with body height, but Vitruvius reveals that coldness and moistness are responsible for great height, while a hot and dry climate causes low height, but he does not discuss the exact causes of this phenomenon (Vitr. 6, 1, 3). One other feature is common to the Caledonians and the Scythians: both nations are savages. The British tribes have huts, but usually live in the forest (Iord. Get. 2. 14), while the Scythians have no houses at all, and are warlike people, eager to fight (Iord. Get. 2. 15).

After the description of the British Island, Jordanes turns to another Island, Scandza, birthplace of the Goths. The description of Scandza begins very similarly to Britain. The author also begins with its position, lying in the Northern part of the Ocean, but this section is longer and more elaborated than that for Britain (Iord. Get. 3. 16–18). We get to know that there are “many small islands scattered round about” Scandza, and “if wolves cross over to these islands when the sea is frozen by reason of the great cold, they are said to lose their sight. Thus the land is not only inhospitable to men but cruel even to wild beasts.” (Iord. Get. 3. 18. tr. by Charles C. Mierow).¹⁶ And then Jordanes directly proceeds with the enumeration of the inhabiting tribes, revealing here and there some information on the climate of the island or the customs and mentality of the listed tribe (Iord. Get. 3. 19–24). That the fauna is an indicator of how good or bad a climate is, is also an

14 *Namque rutilae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus Germanicam originem adseverant.*

15 MGH AA 5,1, 57: *Calydoniam vero incolentibus rutilae cumae, corpora magna, sed fluvida.*

16 MGH AA 5,1, 58: *Ubi etiam parvae quidem, sed plures perhibentur insulae esse dispositae, ad quas si congelato mari ob nimium frigus lupi transierint, luminibus feruntur orbari. Ita non solum inhospitalis hominibus, verum etiam beluis terra crudelis est.*

observation of the Hippocratic author in the Scythian logos (Hp. Aer. 19),¹⁷ so if even the wildest animals get affected by the bad weather conditions, no wonder that men are also exposed to the forces of the environment. Another valuable piece of information is that there are no bees living in Scandza due to the great cold, and since bees are considered a prerequisite for civilised society in ancient thought – Virgil depicted the ideal society with bees in his Georgics –, there is no chance of a functioning, highly developed civilisation in Scandza: “There the honey-making swarms of bees are nowhere to be found on account of the exceeding great cold.” (Iord. Get. 3. 19. tr. by Charles C. Mierow).¹⁸ While in northern Britain there were shorter nights, this far north the sun does not set for 40 days in the summer, but also does not appear during the middle of winter (Iord. Get. 3. 19). In his account of the Scyrefennae we get to know that great swamp-regions are to be found on Scandza, but later he remarks that there is also a plain and fertile land, whose inhabitants are under constant attacks from their neighbours due to their better living conditions (Iord. Get. 3. 21). Those “nations surpassed the Germans in size and spirit, and fought with the cruelty of wild beasts.” (Iord. Get. 3. 24. tr. by Charles C. Mierow).¹⁹ But when the Goths managed to live closer to the Roman Empire, Jordanes announces that they came in touch with Greek and Roman philosophy and science, and they were instructed by their philosopher rulers (Iord. Get. 5. 39; 11. 69–72). This new interest cannot merely be explained by the fact that Greece and Rome were now nearer to the Goths, so that philosophers could go to them, or they could go to Hellas or Rome to study philosophy, but perhaps also with the better climate, which makes people more clever. According to Jordanes, Decimus, who was well versed in philosophy, “saw that their (sc. the Goths) minds were obedient to him in all things and that they had natural ability,” so he begun to teach them philosophy (Iord. Get. 11. 69 tr. by Charles C. Mierow).²⁰ The *ingenium naturale* here is of crucial importance: Jordanes is of the opinion that the Goths are wiser than any other barbarian nation, and were almost at the level of Greeks, and this notion is connected with the remark that the Goths lived in Thrace, Moesia and Dacia (Iord. Get. 5. 39). The later text reveals that the Goths were not receptive for philosophy in Scandza or Scythia, but by living near Hellas for a while, they showed interest in philosophy, which Decimus detected (*cernens*). Therefore, natural (*naturale*) here must mean that produced by natural / environmental / climatic causes, similar to what *physikos* meant for the Hippocratic author. This was also a good news for other tribes, as when they

17 The wild animals too that are found there are not large, but such as can find shelter underground. They are stunted owing to the severe climate and the bareness of the land, where there is neither warmth nor shelter. Tr. by W. H. S. Jones.

18 MGH AA 5,1, 58: *Apium ibi turba mellifica ob nimium frigore nusquam reperitur.*

19 MGH AA 5,1, 60: *Hae itaque gentes, Germanis corpore et animo grandiores, pugnabant beluina saevitia.*

20 MGH AA 5,1, 74: *Qui (sc. Decimus) cernens eorum animos sibi in omnibus oboedire et naturalem eos habere ingenium, omnem pene philosophiam (sic!) eos instruxit.*

settled down in a milder environment, they could become smart enough to practice philosophy, the pinnacle of knowledge.

For the Gothic tribes and later in the text, the Huns, Scythia seemed to be the Promised Land. The description of Scythia follows the same pattern as that of Scandza, recording its position and then the list of tribes, including the tribes up North who did not have houses (*sclaveni*) (Iord. Get. 5. 30–38). Jordanes does not follow here the Hippocratic author, who regarded Scythia as a region with a bad climate, a cold swamp with less than ideal flora and fauna (Hp. Aer. 19). This hostile region was Scandza for Jordanes, and, later in the discussion, the Maeotis swamp (Iord. Get. 24. 123–124), the birthplace of the Huns, who forced the up-till-then invincible Goths out of Scythia. The Huns of Jordanes and the Scythians of Hippocrates have quite a few similarities: they do not look like any other tribe or nation at all. Jordanes expresses his disgust at the appearance of the Huns quite honestly: “a stunted, foul and puny tribe, scarcely human, and having no language save one which bore but slight resemblance to human speech.” (Iord. Get. 24. 122. tr. by Charles C. Mierow).²¹ Hippocrates describes Scythians as gross (*pachys* usually means thick or fat, but can mean gross, the Latin *taeter* means foul, horrible, vile); both are weak (*minutus* 3, *exiguus* 3), since the weather does not allow for them to develop endurance and strength (Hp. Aer 19); both are without any endurance (*exilis* 2), because without changes of seasons no endurance can develop, as Hippocrates informs us. The *exilis* adjective used by Jordanes also can mean that they are infertile, which has also been remarked on by the Hippocratic author with regards to the Scythians (Hp. Aer. 21–22). They were both described as nomads (Hp. Aer. 18; Iord. Get. 24. 123).

Conclusion

To conclude, Jordanes was aware that different regions had different climates, and he describes and mentions the environmental circumstances if he regards them as important for his work. It is also clear that he was aware that climate had an important effect on the animals as well as the customs of people. He uses the climatic model consistently during the examined chapters, so he was familiar with the basics of the theory, even if he does not go into detail as to how the winds or the change of seasons influence the bodily constitution of the people, like Hippocrates did. But this is no surprise; as Jordanes was neither a doctor, nor a philosopher, he must have been simply not interested in the question of how exactly the habitat influenced the habits, e.g. what body fluid was predominant in the Goths or the Huns or what this meant in terms of bodily constitution, intellectual capabilities or reproduction. The readership of the work must have

21 MGH AA 5,1, 89: *Genus hoc (...) minutum, tetrum atque exile quasi hominum genus nec alia voce notum nisi quod humani sermonis imaginem adsignabat.*

been aware of the main points of the climate theory as well, so there might have been no need for the author to explain everything in detail. On the question of whether Jordanes read the Hippocratic *Airs, Waters and Places*, we can conclude that there are no direct references to the Hippocratic work, but from the description of Britain concentrating on the main points of Hippocratic climate lore, or the scattered references the effect of the climate on animals or on the nomadic tribes, we can conclude that Jordanes came in touch with the climate lore of Hippocrates. Whether he read the original work or the Latin translation from the 5th century or learned about this second hand from another author(s), perhaps Cassiodorus, are questions the limited sources do not allow us to answer.

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The Eastern Magyars of the Muslim Sources in the 10th Century

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The Magyar chapter of the lost geographical work of al-Jayhānī (first decades of the 10th century) is one of the main sources on early Magyar/Hungarian history, and a reconstruction of earlier versions of this account has been made from the works of Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī, al-Bakrī and al-Marwazī (Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001; Zimonyi 2016). The first part of the Magyar chapter is about the eastern abode of the Magyars:

Ibn Rusta: Between the country of the Pechenegs and the *ʿsk.l* (Ask.l) who belong to the Bulghārs, lies the first border from among the borders of the Hungarians.

Gardīzī: Between the country of the Bulghārs and the country of the *ʿsk.l* who also belong to the Bulghārs, lies the border of the Hungarians.

Al-Bakrī: They live between the country of the Pechenegs and the *ʿsk.l* who belong to the Bulghārs (Zimonyi 2016: 67).

Later in the work there is another description of an abode of the Magyars. According to this, the Magyars lived on the shore of the Rūm Sea between two rivers called the Danube and the Ātil (Zimonyi 2016: 202–3). As for this territory, the consensus is that it was the land of the Magyars north of the Black Sea. The interpretation of the relationship between these two passages is the theme of this paper. There are basically two views: that two separate abodes of the Magyars are being described or that they constitute one long continuous area. Supposing that they are separate the chronology must be determined: were they two consecutive or simultaneous abodes?

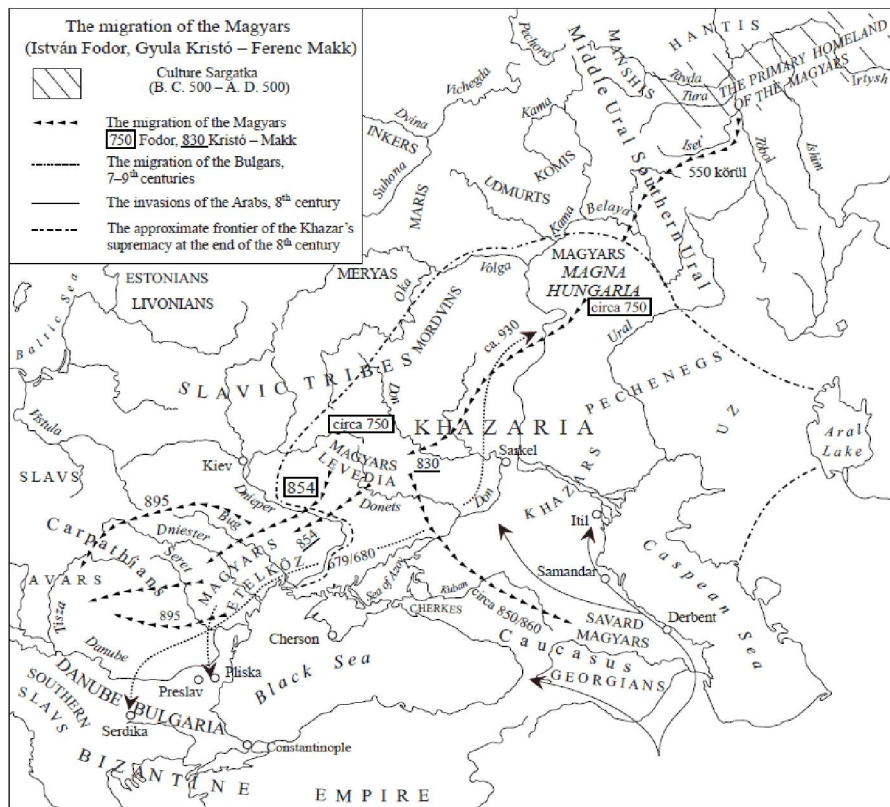
Minorsky, commenting on the *Ḥudūd al-Ālam*, noted how jumbled the geographical concept of the Jayhānī tradition represented by Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī and al-Bakrī is about the abodes of the Magyars. The author “mechanically strings together the information referring to two different territories and most probably derived from different sources (...) as if the Uralian territory stretched without interruption down to the Black Sea” (Minorsky 1937: 319). Kristó emphasized that the Magyars lived north of the Black Sea in the second half of the 9th century, but suggested: “Since we believe that the Pechenegs’ settlement area was east of the Volga around 880, we have come to the conclusion that the Hungarian area of settlement even in the 870s could have reached like a corridor to the Volga and

there the narrowing northeastern border may have been in contact with the lands of the Volga Bulgḥārs (ʿskl) and the Pechenegs. It cannot be ruled out that, through the corridor from the region of Belaia to Etelköz, linguistically Finno-Ugrian (namely Hungarian) and Turkic speaking Volga Bulgḥār and Bashkir groups both continued to arrive in the southern territories, even after 830.” (Kristó 1996: 170).

Czeglédy analysed the expression first boundary (*awwalu ḥaddin*) in Muslim geographical literature and, citing numerous examples, stated that its pair is *āhiru ḥaddin* ‘last border’ and that these two terms denoted the two extreme boundaries of one country in a geographical sense. As there is another reference to a border of the Magyars in the text of al-Jayhānī: “One border of their country reaches the Sea of Rūm” (Zimonyi 2016: 202–203), the pair can be reconstructed. Based on these linguistical and contextual points of view, Czeglédy concluded that the text represents a description of only one land of the Magyars. He noted, however, that the geographical information given by al-Jayhānī contradicts this concept, as he states that the Khazars lived on the lower reaches of the Volga, that north of them were the Burtas and that even further north along the Volga were the Volga Bulgḥārs, so that virtually no direct contact would have been possible : between the eastern and western extremes of the supposed Magyar territory. To resolve the contradiction, Czeglédy suggested that although the first boundary mentioned by al-Jayhānī or in his source clearly meant the eastern land of the Magyars, known as the ancient Bashkir homeland and which bordered the Pechenegs, al-Jayhānī thought that this area was connected with the other country of the Magyars despite the geographic lessons of the sources he epitomized, or from which he excerpted while ambiguously omitting information due to abbreviation (Czeglédy 1943: 293–299).

If we assume that the passages talk about two areas, we can basically categorize the relevant interpretations around three concepts.

According to Pauler, the Magyar territory mentioned in connection with the first border can be identified with Bashkiria, the ancient homeland of the Magyars before their migration to the western regions of the eastern European steppe (Pauler 1900: 243–244). But Czeglédy has refuted the interpretation of first border as meaning the first/earlier land. The term *ḥadd* originally meant the extreme point of something, and its plural form often meant area. As first border is in the singular however, the meaning of first land can be ruled out, so the interpretation of earlier homeland i.e. Bashkiria is not correct (Czeglédy 1943: 296–297, 299). Furthermore, the chapters on Eastern Europe in the Jayhānī tradition were compiled on the basis of the answers to a questionnaire which were gathered from diplomats and merchants some decades before the conquest of the Carpathian Basin (895), so the account is not a historical narrative in contrast to the 38th, Hungarian chapter of Constantine Porphyrogennitus’ *De administrando imperio* entitled ‘Of the genealogy of the nation of the Turks, and whence they are descended’ (DAI: 170).



There is another way of solving the relationship between the two lands. This view emphasizes that the Khazar ruler relocated the Magyars from the territory north of the Black Sea to east of the Volga in the second half of the 9th century. This concept is linked with the interpretation of the first Magyar-Pecheneg war in the Magyar chapter of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The Magyars first lived in the vicinity of Khazaria and were in the service of the Khazar Khagan, but after being attacked by the Kangars (later identified with the Pechenegs), the Magyars split up; one group moved west and settled north of the Black Sea, the other went east.

According to Várady, the Magyars lived until 875 west of the Crimea, on the lower reaches of the Dnieper, and the Khazars resettled them to the eastern confines of the Khazar Khaganate in the second half of the 870s due to the contractual relations with the Khazars to protect them against the Pechenegs. The region they were resettled to may have been Levedia, which can be localized in the region of the Small and Great Uzeny rivers between the Ural and Volga rivers. The Magyars stayed in Levedia for only three years; as a consequence of the Kangar invasion one part moved to Khorasan along the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea

preserving their original name *Savartoi*, while the majority moved back to their former residence where they came to be known as Turks (DAI: 170–173; Várady 1989: 22–58).

Kristó and Makk came to a similar position. Between 840 and 854 the Magyars lived under Khazar rule in their abode west of the Don, from where they were totally or partly relocated to the Volga region on the eastern edge of the Khazar Khaganate. Here they were attacked and defeated by the Kangars/Pechenegs shortly before 854 (Kristó, Makk 2001: 46, 63). Accordingly, the Magyars, or at least a part of them, may have lived east of the Volga between the Volga Bulghārs and the Pechenegs in the 840s or 870s, during which time Muslim merchants and diplomats could have made contact with them, and gathered the information that is later reflected in the records.

Data on a Magyar group living in the vicinity of the Volga Bulghārs from the beginning of the 10th century is certainly available. Presumably, the so-called 'Eastern' Magyars/Hungarians lived there from the end of the 9th century. According to Fodor, archaeological material pertaining to this group can be found at the Bolšije Tigani Cemetery (Fodor 1977: 109–114; 1982: 51–52). The Hungarian Dominican Julian visited these Magyars in 1235 in the Volga-Kama region just before the Mongol conquest and called their territory Magna Hungaria (SRH II: 535–542; Göckenjan, Sweeney 1985: 69–91; Göckenjan 1977: 125–145). However, it is still disputed when the split-up took place and whether the Eastern Magyars had been in this place for a long period of time or whether they came to this region from the south. The monk Julian and the eastern Hungarians understood each other in 1235, and they knew that the Western Hungarians were descended from them, and that they were their brothers.¹ These data suggest that the split-up must have occurred in the 9th century, otherwise the communication between Julian and the Eastern Magyars would not have been possible.

Nevertheless, if the first border of the Magyars east of the Volga refers to a part of Magyar territory, this information is valid after 895, when the majority of the Magyars had conquered the Carpathian Basin, so al-Jayhānī may have added it to

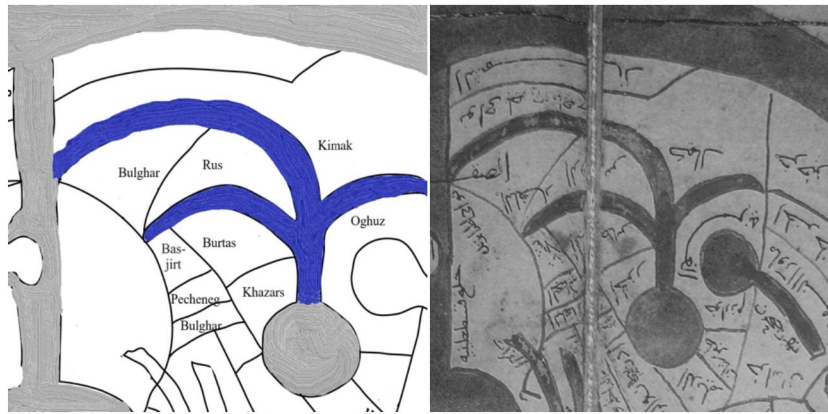
1 *..., et de rege et regno Ungarorum Christianorum fratrum ipsorum fideliter perquirentes, et quecumque volebat, tam de fide, quam de aliis eis proponere, diligentissime audiebant, quia omnino habent Ungaricum idioma, et intelligebant eum, et ipse eos. ... Sciunt enim per relationes antiquorum, quod isti Ungari ab ipsis descenderant; set ubi essent, ignorabant.* (SRH II: 540). "... und fragten ihn voll Vertrauen aus über den König und das Königreich der christlichen Ungarn, ihrer Brüder. Was er ihnen auch über den Glauben und über andere Angelegenheiten vortrug, das hörten sie beflissen, da sie ja die ungarische Sprache benutzen; und sie verstanden ihn und er sie.... Sie wissen freilich aus der Überlieferung der Alten, dass jene Ungarn von ihnen abstammen; aber wo jene wohnten, wussten sie nicht." (Göckenjan, Sweeney 1985: 79) "and asked him with confidence about the king and the kingdom of Christian Hungarians, their brothers. Whatever he told them about faith and other matters, they listened carefully, since they use the Hungarian language; and they understood him, and he understood them. ... They knew with certainty from the tradition of the ancients that those Hungarians descended from them; but where those lived, they did not know."

the Magyar Chapter in the first decades of the 10th century contrary to the other data which indicated an earlier (880s or even earlier) (Zimonyi 2016: 81) presence of the Magyars in this area.

The Balkhī tradition has preserved the first report about two separate abodes of the Hungarians called Basjirt. Al-Balkhī was one of the most prominent figures in cartography in Muslim geography who drew maps and also wrote commentaries on them. He died in 934. His work was supplemented and corrected by al-Iṣṭakhrī whose compendium was later (968–988) revised and reworked by Ibn Ḥawqal (Tibbetts 1992: 108–136; GAS XIV: 189–231).

The collection of maps contains twenty maps including a world-map and one of the Khazar Sea, i.e. Caspian Sea. The Magyars (here called Basjirt) are described in the comments to the Khazar Sea in the works of al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal: “The Basjirt are of two kinds. The one is at the extremity of the Ghuzz country behind the Bulghār. It is said that their total numbers amount to about 2,000 men, in strong position among woods where none can reach them. They obey the Bulghārs. The other Basjirt border on the Pechenegs. They and the Pechenegs are Turks bordering on Rūm (Byzantium).” (BGA I: 225; BGA II²: 396; Dunlop 1954: 98). This account can be interpreted from a historical point of view as referring to the situation of the 10th century, as the Eastern Magyars bordered the Ghuz, i.e. the Oghuz who had conquered the territory of the Pechenegs in the mid-890s. The Pechenegs moved westward and settled in the territory north of the Black Sea forcing the Magyars to occupy the Carpathian Basin. The vicinity of the Pechenegs and Magyars would also point towards the historical context of the 10th century (Czeplédy 1943: 290). Al-Balkhī was the first geographer to mention the eastern and western lands of the Magyars and he was also the first theorist of the concept of Bashkir-Magyar kinship, adapting the name Basjirt/Bashkir for the Magyars/Hungarians.

Al-Balkhī knew al-Jayhānī personally, as is stated in the work of al-Nadīm’s *Fihrist*: “Then Abū ‘Alī al-Jayhānī, the vizier of Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, had slave girls with whom he used to favor me, but when I dictated my book ‘Offerings and Sacrifices,’ he withheld them from me.” (Dodge 1970: 303). It can be concluded that al-Jayhānī may have had the books of al-Balkhī at his disposal, including his collection of maps.



Fragment of Ibn Ḥawqal's map of the Earth. MS: Library of Topkapi Saray Ref. A 3346. Date 1086. A copy of a map from ca. 980.

Among other things, this information gave me the idea to study maps of the Balkhī tradition. The earliest Muslim manuscript which preserves these maps is the geographical work of Ibn Ḥawqal at the Topkapi Saray Library (Istanbul) (A3346), dated to 1086. The original map was from circa 980. A facsimile of the map of the Earth is included in GAS (XII: 32) and a hand-drawn copy in the second and revised critical edition of Ibn Ḥawqal's work (BGA II²: 7; Zimonyi 2016: 208–211). My colleague Richard Szántó drew the European part of this map. The Earth is surrounded by the Ocean. The Sea of Rūm, i.e. the Mediterranean coming from the Ocean, Andalusia, Italy and various parts of Greece are on the northern coast from west to east. There is a channel starting from the north-eastern part of the Mediterranean, which is called the strait of Constantinople, as Constantinople, the capital of the land of Rūm (Byzantine Empire) is on its western bank. Then the channel crosses the land of the Ṣaḡālība (Slavs) and the land of Gog and Magog and finally it flows into the Ocean. East of the Sea of Rūm (Mediterranean) is another sea, called the Khazar Sea (Caspian Sea). The river Ātil flows into it from the north. The river has three upper branches. The eastern one forms the border between the Kimeks and the Oghuz. The central branch takes its origin from the strait of Constantinople and flows eastward, then turning southward until it reaches the main river. Its first section is the border between the regions of Gog and Magog and the lands of Bulghār and Rūs, and the second section divides the land of Rūs from that of the Kimek. The western branch is the border first between the lands of the Bulghār and Basjirt and then between the Rūs and Burtās regions.

It seems remarkable that the regions of the map beyond the Byzantine Empire which had no direct contact with the Islamic world are described either incompletely or inaccurately. For example, the Black Sea is absent from the map, and Central and Western Europe is represented under the name of the land of

Rūm. This means that the geographical position of peoples including the Magyars, i.e. Basjirt, and the Bulghārs on the Danube (*Bulghār*) south to the Pechenegs, is uncertain. Their territories ought to have been drawn west of the strait of Constantinople as they lived in the Carpathian Basin or the Balkans respectively in the 10th century. As they are depicted east of the Byzantine Empire, these Muslim geographers made no distinction between the regions of the south Russian steppe north of the Black Sea and its western neighbouring lands such as the Carpathian Basin and Balkan regions. There is an inaccuracy in the representation of Rūs: heading north along the Ätil the Khazars, Burtās and the Volga Bulghārs lived there and the Rūs land was to the west and northwest of the Volga Bulghārs, nevertheless the Rūs are portrayed east of the Volga Bulghārs on the map.

The Magyars are called Basjirt on the map and their northern neighbours are the Bulghārs, who can be identified with the Volga Bulghārs, while the Pechenegs border them on the south. South of the Pechenegs are the Bulghārs on the Danube. The term *Bulghār* appears twice on the map. This map must have been the source of al-Jayhānī's information, as the Basjirt were between the Volga Bulghārs and the Pechenegs. Al-Jayhānī corrected his previous information stating that the first border of the Magyars was between the Ask.l tribe of the Volga Bulghārs and the Pechenegs. This assumption faces serious difficulties: on the one hand, it should be assumed that al-Jayhānī identified the Magyars whom he called M.j.f.r with the Basjirt, another designation for the Magyars in the Balkhī tradition. On the other hand, the map of al-Balkhī should contain details which are preserved only in the revised work of Ibn Ḥawqal.

As an analogy, the entry *Bāshghird* in the Geographical Dictionary of Yāqūt can be used. Yāqūt (Jacut I: 468–471) recorded two other forms of this name: *Bāshjird* and *Bāshqird*. He described their country as being between Constantinople and *Bulghār*. He then quoted Ibn Faḍlān's description of the *Bāshghird* who were the wickedest of the Turks, living between the Pechenegs, a group remaining east of the Volga, and the Volga *Bulghār*, in 922. Most of the Pechenegs migrated west, to the territory of the Magyars circa 895. Afterwards, Yāqūt reported that he met some of the *Bāshghird* in Aleppo towards the end of the 1210s. He noted that their other name is *Hunkar*, i.e. Hungarians. At the end of the entry, Yāqūt referred to al-Iṣṭakhrī and copied the data about the list of distances, quoting their name as *Bāshjird*. The method applied by Yāqūt can be well reconstructed. Under the heading of *Bāshghird*, he quoted in detail Ibn Faḍlān's description of the *Bāshghird* from 922. They were regarded as Turks living east of the Volga. Yāqūt obtained his information personally from the Muslims of the Hungarian Kingdom in the early 13th century, and he considered them (*Bāshghird*) to be the same as the people of Hungary (*Hunkar*). The connecting link may have been the work of al-Iṣṭakhrī, who knew about two types of Basjirts, one living east of the Volga and the other in the western region in the vicinity of Byzantium, information which is omitted by Yāqūt. Thus, Yāqūt combined the information of Ibn Faḍlān with his own data, collected three hundred

years later, but he still used al-Iṣṭakhri's identification of the two abodes of the Magyars.

In conclusion, the account at the beginning of the Jayhānī tradition concerning the first border of the Magyars between the Ask.l tribe of the Bulghārs and the Pechenegs is one piece of information the origins and chronology of which seemed quite uncertain. The assumption that this information was ultimately compiled by al-Jayhānī on the basis of a map of al-Balkhī at the beginning of the 10th century, i.e. after the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian Basin, may explain why al-Jayhānī inserted the passage on the first border of the Magyars into the beginning of the Magyar chapter.

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