



**Collected Papers of  
K. Czeglédy**

**COLLECTED AND EDITED BY**

**K. DÉVÉNYI**



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EÖTVÖS LORÁND UNIVERSITY CHAIR FOR ARABIC STUDIES  
&  
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## FOREWORD

### THE LIFE AND WORKS OF K. CZEGLÉDY (1914–1996)

Károly Czeglédy, or as he wrote in his articles, K. Czeglédy, was born in 1914 in the town of Győr, North West Hungary, in a well-known family which gave many theologians to the Reformed Church. His father, Sándor Czeglédy, was a translator of the Bible, scholar and clergyman.

Károly Czeglédy entered the University of Debrecen in 1932 to study theology and linguistics. His interest focused on Semitic philology, especially on the ancient Semitic languages, Biblical Hebrew and Akkadian. In 1934 he received various scholarships abroad with the help of which he studied theology first in Belfast, then between 1936 and 1939 in Utrecht where he graduated from Arabic studies as well. In the same year he gained admission to the Faculty of Arts at the University of Budapest. There he defended his doctoral dissertation in linguistics under the title “The voiced velar spirants in the Semitic inscriptions of Ugarit”. In 1941–42 he spent a year in Vienna studying various Oriental languages and Russian, and deepening his knowledge of Arabic geographical literature under the guidance of Hans von Mžik, the best expert in this field at the time. It was also around this period that Czeglédy started to deal with Hungarian prehistory, a topic which developed into the main direction of his research for the rest of his life.

After returning to Hungary he first started to teach at the University of Budapest, in the Department of Turcology headed by Professor Julius [Gyula] Németh. In 1942 Czeglédy was asked to reopen the studies in Semitic philology and Arabic at the University where he became a professor in 1960 and held the post of head of department from 1964 until his retirement in 1984.

It was also Julius Németh who urged him to study the Turkic language of the Volga Bulgars which is of key interest for Hungarian prehistory. It was in 1942 that Czeglédy outlined his long term scientific project the fulfilment of which he endeavoured throughout his life with arduous work. The project encompassed research into the history of the peoples living in the steppe belt before the age of the Mongolian conquest, as well as their historical geography, tribal structure and political regimes. The source material for this research consists of, besides the writings and inscriptions of the indigenous inhabitants of the steppe region, the historical and geographical records of the settled peoples of the neighbouring cultures, among others Byzantine, Persian, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian sources. The study and critical evaluation of these diverse written sources – based on comprehensive philological methods – formed the core of Károly Czeglédy’s scholarly activities.

The relationship between Arabic studies and Hungarian prehistory may seem astonishing at first for an outsider. Czeglédy explained this connection in the following way: "During our thousand year history Islam had always made its presence felt. Just to mention two examples: The coins of our first kings bear the sign of the ancient Bukharan mints, while the tax collectors of the kings of the House of Árpád, in the 11th–13th centuries, were mainly Muslims." The Arab historians, geographers, travellers, and emissaries wrote abundantly about the Magyars in their different abodes in Asia and also in Europe and these form highly important sources of Hungarian history. Károly Czeglédy, however, has not only thoroughly studied the Arabic and Persian sources but compared their data with those of Western historical writings, first of all the Byzantine ones. Having analysed the minutiae of the groups of sources he succeeded in discovering that the radical differences of the data take their origin in the fact that Constantine the Great and the Arabs wrote about Hungarians in different periods and locations.

Later on Czeglédy widened the scope of his research spreading it to deal with the peoples living in the steppe zone between the 2th century BC to the 6th century AD. For this reason he learnt further Oriental languages such as Middle Persian, Georgian, Armenian, and Chinese to be able to include in his studies the historical and geographical sources written in these languages. His *magnum opus* is a book published in 1969 in Hungarian (*Nomád népek vándorlása Napkelettől Napnyugatig*). It was translated by Peter Golden into English under the title *From East to West: The Age of Nomadic Migrations in Eurasia (Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi 13/ 1983)*. In 1985 Czeglédy published his collected articles written in Hungarian under the title *Magyar őstörténeti tanulmányok* ("Studies in the Prehistory of the Hungarian people").

The late Professor Denis Sinor of Bloomington, one of the most outstanding scholars in the field of Inner Asian studies, closed his obituary on Károly Czeglédy with the following appropriate words: "Astonishing as it may seem to anyone unfamiliar with the Hungarians' obsession with their prehistory, it was in this field that Czeglédy's main achievements lay .... The products of his vast knowledge will continue to be used by those interested in the medieval history of the steppes. His gentle humor, his engaging smile, his readiness to help others will be missed by all who knew him. What a really nice man has left us!"

#### IBN FAḌLĀN ÜBER DIE BESTATTUNG BEI DEN WOLGA BULGAREN.

Der neue Ibn Faḏlan-Text, den A. Zeki Validi Togan im J. 1923 in Mešhed aufgefunden und im J. 1939 mit einem ausführlichen Kommentar veröffentlicht hat,<sup>1</sup> ist wesentlich erweitert und enthält sehr wichtige Informationen über die Nordvolker des islamischen Kulturkreises.

Bekanntlich war Ibn Faḏlan Mitglied der Gesandtschaft, die im J. 921–922, während des Khalifates des Muqtadir-billāh (908–932 n. Chr.), nach dem Lande der Wolga-Bulgaren fuhr, um die dortige islamische Gemetwale zu organisieren und den König gegen die „Juden“ (d. h. die Khazaren) zu unterstützen. Ibn Faḏlan's Reisebericht war bis jetzt nur aus dem grossen geographischen Lexikon Yaḡūt's bekannt, der das Material einiger seiner Artikel diesem Berichte entnommen hat. Er teilt aber nicht den ganzen Reisebericht mit und auch der Zusammenhang geht bei ihm verloren.

Der neue Ibn Faḏlan-Text bildet das Schlussstück der von Z. Validi gefundenen Sammelhandschrift, die eine vollständige Fassung der letzten 120 Seiten der de-Goeje-Ausgabe des Werkes von Ibn al-Faḡih, zwei Riṣāla Abū Dulaf's und die Riṣāla Ibn Faḏlan's enthält. Im neuen Text findet sich eine Reihe wichtiger neuer Teile, so die Beschreibung der Reise der Gesandtschaft durch die östlichen Gebiete des Khalifats nach Gurgang, dann die wichtigen Mitteilungen über die ogusische Steppe und viele Einzelheiten in der Beschreibung des Landes der Wolga-Bulgaren. Der Text ist aber auch in der Mešheder Version unvollständig. Der Bericht über die Rückreise, der sich nach Yaḡūt im Original befand, wird auch hier nicht erzählt.

Bis zum Auffinden des neuen Textes hat man die Glaubwürdigkeit Ibn Faḏlan's oft angezweifelt. Zwar wurde allgemein zugegeben, dass seine Schrift äusserst wichtige Mitteilungen über das Land der Baschkiren, Bulgaren und Khazaren enthält, doch hat ihn seine Vorliebe für moralische und wunderbare Geschichten in den Augen vieler zu einem fabelnden Theologen gemacht, dem man nicht immer glauben kann. Es wurde sogar behauptet, dass sein ganzer Bericht erfunden ist. Allein der neue Text beweist das Gegenteil, indem sich darin Angaben befinden, die seine Glaubwürdigkeit völlig bestätigen. Er erwähnt z. B. in der Beschreibung des Landes der Baschkiren die Namen kleiner Flüsse und Bäche zwischen dem Ural-Flusse und der Wolga, die in der ganzen islamischen geographischen Literatur unbekannt sind. Diese Namen hat er offensichtlich in dem betreffenden Lande gehört. Jedenfalls kann die von ihm gegebene Beschreibung der Nordländer mit Recht neben die der älteren arabischen Geographen gestellt wird.

Der Artikel über das Land der Wolga-Bulgaren im Lexikon Yaḡūt's entstammt grösstenteils diesem Reiseberichte. Es finden sich in der Mešheder Handschrift auch diesbezüglich neue Einzelheiten, darunter die Beschreibung der bulgarischen Bestattungsgebräuche, die in der vorliegenden Arbeit behandelt wird.

Der Text der Mešheder Version wurde im J. 1939 zweimal herausgegeben. Die erste Ausgabe stammt vom russischen Gelehrten Kovalevskij her,<sup>2</sup> die zweite — unabhängig vom ersten — von Z. Validi. Kovalevskij's Bestrebung bezog sich hauptsächlich auf die Herstellung eines philologisch richtigen Textes mit einem ausführlichen textkritischen Apparate, weiterhin auf die genaue Übersetzung. Er hat seinem Werke das Faksimile beigelegt. Z. Validi verfertigte einen ausführlichen Kommentar zum Texte, den er mit einer deutschen Übersetzung versah. Die russische Ausgabe ist leider augenblicklich unzugänglich, wurde aber von Prof. Ritter bei einer neuen Untersuchung des Textes

<sup>1</sup> Ahmed Zeki Validi Togan, Ibn Faḏlan's Reisebericht. Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes XXIV, 3. Leipzig, 1939.

<sup>2</sup> Путешествие Ибн-Фадлана на Волгу. Перевод и комментарий под редакцией академика Н. Ю. Крачковского. Москва, Ленинград, 1939. Über den Verfasser dieses Werkes s. Ritter (vgl. folgende Anm.), S. 98 f.

benutzt. Prof. Ritter's Studie wurde im J. 1942 veröffentlicht.<sup>3</sup> Er korrigiert seine beiden Vorgänger an vielen Stellen und erklärt viele ungelöste Probleme. Durch diese ausserst lehrreiche, mustergültige Arbeit wurde das Verständnis des Reiseberichtes wesentlich gefördert.

Der hier gegebene Text und die Übersetzung weicht an einigen Stellen von der Ausgabe Validi's ab. Bei der Herstellung dieses Textes wurde eine Photokopie der Mešheder Handschrift verwendet, die Prof. L. Ligeti in Iran im J. 1937 mit iranischer behördlicher Zustimmung verfertigt liess und die von ihm den Verfassern gütigst zur Verfügung gestellt wurde.

Der Text lautet:

(Z. Validi's Ausgabe, arab. Text S. 34 : 11 — S. 35 : 4 = Mešheder Hs. fol. 209a : 11—209b : 4.)

Wa-idā māta l-muslimu 'indahum wa-l-mar'atu <sup>1</sup>l-huwārizmiyatu, gasalōhū <sup>2</sup>gasla-muslimina. Tumma hamalōhū 'alā 'agalatin tagurruhū (?) wa-baina yadaihi <sup>3</sup>miṭradun, hattā yaṣīrūna bi-hī ilā l-makāni lladī yadfinūnahū fi-hi. Fa-idā ʿāra ilaihi aḥadūhū 'ani l-'agalati, wa-ʿa'alūhū'alā l-'ardi. Tumma hattū hāulahū hattān wa-nahhauhū. Tumma hafarū dāhila dālika l-hattī qabrahū. Wa-ʿa'alū lahū lahdan, wa-dafanūhū. Wa-ka-dālika yaf'alūna bi-mautāhum.

Wa-lā tabki n-nisā'u. 'alā l-maiyiti, bali, <sup>4</sup>r-rigālu minhum yabkūna 'alāihī. Yaḡī'ūna <sup>5</sup>fil-yaumi lladī māta fi-hī fu-yaqūna 'alā bābi qubbatihī fa-yaḡiḡūna bi-aqbaḡi bukā'in yakūnu <sup>6</sup>wa-aḡḡāsihī. Hā'ulā'i l-aḡrāru. Fa-idā nqadā bukā'uhum, wafā l-abidu wa-ma'ahum ḡulūdun madfūrātun. Fa-lā yazālūna yabkūna wa-yadribūna ḡunūbahum wa-mā zahara min abdānihim bi-tilka s-suyūri' hattā yaṣīru fi-aḡsādihim miṭlu darbi s-sauti.

Wa-lā budda min an yaṣībū 'alā 'bābi qubbatihī miṭradan. Yuhdirūna silāḡahū fa-ya-ḡ'alūnahū ḡaula qabrihī. Wa-lā yaḡta'ūna l-bukā'a sanatayni. Fa-idā nqadati s-sanatāni, hattū l-miṭrada wa-aḡadū min šu'ūrihim, wa-dā's aḡrihā'u l-maiyiti da'watan yu'rafu bi-hā ḡurūḡuhum min l-huzni. Wa-in kānat lahū zaugātun, tazauwaḡat.

Hādā, idā kāna mina r-ru'asā'i. Fa-ammā l-'ammātu, fa-yaf'alūna ba'da hādā bi-mautāhum.

<sup>1</sup>In der Hs. ohne al-. — <sup>2</sup>So richtig Kovalevskij; in der Hs.: wa-. — <sup>3</sup>Die Hs. ist korrupt an dieser Stelle. — <sup>4</sup>So richtig Kovalevskij; in der Hs.: bly. — <sup>5</sup>So richtig Validi; in der Hs.: ykun. — <sup>6</sup>So richtig Validi; in der Hs.: ḡuz. — <sup>7</sup>So richtig Validi; in der Hs.: ybwn. — <sup>8</sup>So richtig Ritter; in der Hs.: al-mur. — <sup>9</sup>In der Hs.: überklebt.

Übersetzung:

„Und wenn der Muslim oder die huwārizmische Frau bei ihnen stirbt, so wäscht man ihn<sup>1</sup> nach der Art der Muslime. Danach wird er auf einen Wagen gesetzt, der ihn fährt, während vor ihm (dem Toten) eine kurze Lanze (Fahne) ist (getragen wird),<sup>2</sup> bis man mit ihm zu der Stelle gelangt, wo er

<sup>3</sup> Hellmut Ritter, Zum Text von Ibn Fodlān's Reisebericht, ZDMG XCVI (1942), S. 98—126.

<sup>4</sup> In der Hs. steht *fa-idā mar'atun al-huwārizmiyātun*. Validi streicht den Artikel vor dem Worte *huwārizmiyātun* und übersetzt: „und eine chwarezmische Frau dabei ist“. Er bemerkt dazu (S. 78, Anm. 2): „An dieser Stelle ist es nicht klar, ob es hier so gemeint ist: Wenn er eine Chwarezmicerin als Frau hatte, so wusch sie ihn (es wäre dann im Texte *wa-lahā imra'atun huwārizmiyātun* zu erwarten), wenn er aber eine Bulgarin hatte, dann wuschen sie ihn nicht. Vielleicht galt die Wäschung der Leiche bei den Wolga-Bulgaren als Unheil verkündend und sie war nur dann möglich, wenn seine Frau nicht eine Bulgarin war.“

In diesem Falle ist aber die Konstruktion auch nach der Emendation schwerfällig und der Sinn unklar. Da aus dem Ausdruck „nach muslimischer Art“ mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit hervorgeht, dass die Wäschung der Leiche auch bei den Bulgaren, wie bei den meisten Türkenstämmen üblich war, wird man wohl am besten das fehlende *al-* vor dem Worte *mar'atun* ergänzen und wie oben übersetzen müssen (vgl. Ritter zu dieser Stelle). Der Sinn ist also scheinbar: Die muslimischen Toten werden bei den Bulgaren nach muslimischer Art gewaschen, die nicht-muslimischen nach bulgarischer Art, während die übrigen Zeremonien übereinstimmen. Der Fehler in der Hs. (*idā mar'atun* anstatt *al-mar'atu*) ist offenbar dem Einfluss des vorangehenden *idā māta* zuzuschreiben.

Das *wa-* vor *gasalūhū* ist mit Kovalevskij in *fa-* zu ändern (vgl. Ritter zu dieser Stelle).

<sup>5</sup> Die Hs. ist hier korrupt: *ʿil wbyn* (?) *byn mīrd*. Dem ersten *byn* (?) fehlt das I'ḡām, kann aber am ehesten als *bayna* gelesen werden, da sein Schriftbild sonst genau dem in der Hs. oft belegten *bayna* (z. B.: f. 210b: 9, 13) entspricht. Danach steht aber das zweite *byn* (mit I'ḡām in der Hs.) und das *mīrd* sinnlos da. Dies letztere als Dittographie zu streichen, ist keine Abhilfe, da in diesem Falle *mīrd* zusammenhanglos bleibt. Die Emendation erscheint also unvermeidlich.

Validi übersetzt: „Dann legen sie ihn auf einen Wagen, welcher ihn fährt — (während in der Mitte sich) eine Fahne befindet...“, bemerkt aber dazu (S. 78, Anm. 4), dass *w byn byn* unverständlich ist. Im Apparat (S. 34, Anm. g) gibt er jedoch (allerdings mit Fragezeichen) die mögliche Lesart *yḡrumhā* an. Dies könnte *yagurūnahā* gelesen und „sie ziehen ihn (den Wagen)“ übersetzt werden. Gegen diese Lesung spricht aber die Tatsache, dass in der Hs. deutlich *tyrh* zu sehen ist, und dass die folgende Buchstabengruppe schwerlich *-nhā* gelesen werden kann, geschweige denn der Zusammenhang. Wer zieht den Wagen, und wohin gehören die zwei isolierten Worte *byn* und *mīrd*?

Eine geistreiche Lösung schlägt Prof. Ritter vor. Er liest „*taḡurruhā*“ (oder besser *tagurruhā*) und bemerkt dazu, *f-r* kann leicht zu *w* entstellt worden, und der Rest macht keine grossen Schwierigkeiten. Die Akkusativform ist in diesem Texte nichts Auffälliges; vgl. z. B. S. 35, Z. 2 *as-sanatayn*.“ Anstatt *mīrd*

begraben wird. Wenn er dort angekommen ist, wird er vom Wagen heruntergenommen und auf die Erde gelegt. Dann macht man einen Kreis um ihn herum und legt ihn zur Seite,<sup>4</sup> bis man sein Grab innerhalb dieses Kreises gegraben hat. Es wird ihm eine Grabnische<sup>5</sup> gemacht, und er wird begraben. So tun sie mit ihren Toten.<sup>6</sup>

Der Tote wird hier von keinen Frauen beweint, es sind hier vielmehr die Männer, die ihn beweinen. Am Tage, an welchem er gestorben ist, begeben sie sich zur Türe seines Zeltes und weinen so ekelhaft und fürchterlich, wie es nur möglich ist. Dieses (eben Gesagte) bezieht sich auf die Freien. Wenn sie dann mit dem Weinen aufgehört haben, kommen die Sklaven mit geflochtenen Lederpeitschen. Sie weinen und schlagen sich mit diesen Riemen<sup>7</sup> die Seiten und was von ihren Körpern bloss ist, bis auf ihrem Leibe Wunden entstehen, die den Peitschenschlägen ähnlich sind.

Über die Türe des Zeltes des Verstorbenen stellen sie immer eine kurze Lanze (Fahne). Sie nehmen seine Waffen und stellen sie um sein Grab herum. Zwei Jahre hören sie mit dem Jammern nicht auf. Wenn die zwei Jahre verflossen sind, holen sie die kurze Lanze (Fahne) herunter, schneiden von ihren Haaren ab, und die Verwandten des Verstorbenen laden die Leute zu einem Gastmahl ein, um ihnen dadurch bekannt zu geben, dass ihre Trauerzeit abgelaufen ist. Falls er (der Verstorbene) eine Frau hatte, darf sie nach dieser Zeit wieder heiraten.

So ist (das Begräbnis), wenn er (der Verstorbene) ein Häuptling gewesen ist. Bei dem Tode von einfachen Leuten wird nur ein Teil dieser (Zeremonien) ausgeführt.“

K. Czeglédy

Togan, A. Zeki Validi, *Ibn Fadlan's Reisebericht*. Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus in Komm. 1939. (XXXXIV + 337 pp. and 45 pp. of Arabian text) 8. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XXIV, 3.

Till the year 1923 we knew of the accounts of Ibn Fadlan's travels only through the extracts left over to us in Yaqut's geographical lexicon, in the cosmography of Ahmad Tusi and in the book of Amin Ahmad Razi entitled „The Seven Climes“. Of these the most valuable source is Yaqut, who adopted a considerable part of the travels word for word, dividing them into several items. The recent text discovered by Togan in 1923 at Meshed contains a coherent account of Ibn Fadlan's travels. In every part it is much more copious than the Yaqut version, and many of its data are quite new. The historical research of Eastern Europe has thus been enriched by a very valuable new source through the publication of T.'s text. T., however, was not satisfied with merely imparting the new text; he also affixed an extensive commentary to it. The commentary itself contains many new data, as the learned publisher makes us acquainted with a great number of hitherto unknown particulars taken from the unpublished manuscripts of the Constantinople library and of other libraries as well.



As already ascertained from the hitherto known text, the embassy left Bagdad in the summer of 921. The new text gives us full particulars of how the embassy arrived after a journey full of vicissitudes first at Bukhara and then at Khwarizm. The text reflects the fermenting and tumultuous events of the beginning of the tenth century. The part containing the journey of the embassy from Khwarizm to the capital of the Volga Bulgarians is of particularly great value. In this part we find a detailed description of the Oguz people, and of the Pecheneg tribes that had remained in the Yaik region after 859. In the description of the Baskirs we come across an entirely new and hitherto unknown enumeration of the rivers. The part describing the Volga Bulgarians is much more copious in the new version, too. The description of the Khazars at the end of the report tallies with the version of the Yaqut text. Here, however, the new text breaks off abruptly, so that we are again left in ignorance as to the subsequent fate of the embassy. At any rate these recent particulars have settled the problem of the authenticity of the travels. They provide us with numerous valuable and very often circumstantial data that are practically unrivalled not only in the Arab-Persian geographic works, but also in the literature of travels. The problem remains, however, whether the unfinished Khazar part is founded on autopsy, too. T. does not raise this question. In expounding the work (OLZ. 1942. Nr. 3. Sp. 121 sq.), H. von Mžik arrives at the conclusion that the origin of the Khazar part is still an open problem.

The publication of the newly discovered texts was difficult enough from a linguistic point of view, because the manuscript contains numerous errors as a result of incorrect copying. Many of these were recognised and corrected by T. Further corrections in the text were made by Kračkovskij, who also published the new text in the series edited by the Russian Scientific Academy, and aimed at attaining as exact a restoration of the text as possible (Putešestvie Ibn Fadlana na Volgu: Perevod i kommentarij pod redakcii I. Ju. Kračkovskogo, Leningrad, 1939). According to H. Ritter, the author of this work is not Kračkovskij who is represented as being the editor, but Kovalevskij (ZDMG. XCII [1942], p. 120). Even after all the painstaking work done by both, there have remained enough errors in the new text to cause confusion. These are being dealt with by the author of these lines in an essay under print at the present moment. During his journey to Meshed, Louis Ligeti had a photo-copy made of the new text, too. On the basis of this copy the Togan-Kovalevskij-Ritter text can be corrected in many places. Though the uncertainty of the publication can frequently be felt, T.'s merits on this point are indisputable. As T. promises another edition in the preface of the first one (XXXIV), the necessary alterations in an eventual second edition could easily be effected. This second edition should be supplemented by a table of contents and an index of names, because the lack of these deducts much from the usefulness of the book at present.

From the exceedingly rich material of the book we can only refer to a few of the more important parts. Under the title „Anhang über die Šakaliba“ T. deals with the word „Slav“ *saqlāb* as used in the Arab-Persian literature of geography (pp. 295—301). From the circumstance that Ibn Fadlān names the Slavs *saqlāb*, many have come to think (Barthold being the last, 12 Vorlesungen p. 152) that the Bulgarians of the Volga region came into existence through the mixing of the Turks and the Slavs, as did the Bulgarians of the Danube. Since H. von Mžik published his al-Huwārizmī text, the correctness of this view has become very doubtful, for Hwārizmī identifies the Germany of Ptolemaios with the „Land of the Slavs“ (No. 1593). As we see, the oldest Arabian geographer knows of the land of the Slavs, but his ideas of this far-away northern region are so vague that he considers this country and the Germany of Ptolemaios to be one and the same. T., very properly, emphasizes the importance of this circumstance, and, examining the Arabian literature on geography, points to the fact that the word *saqlāb*, as used by the Arabians, denotes not only the name of the Slavs, but also other northern peoples. In details, and especially as regards the question of the connection between certain sources, there are many errors to be found in his evidence, but as regards his final conclusion, he is undoubtedly right.

In compiling and arranging the book, T. followed the example of the excellent Plano Carpini-edition of Risch. He affixes a translation to the text with marginal notes. To important questions he adds detailed dissertations, in which

he utilises many hitherto unknown data taken from the numerous manuscripts of Oriental libraries.

Especially valuable are the data which he communicates in connection with the Khazar people. Up till now we had no idea who were the enigmatic „pure“ Khazar people (al-hazar al-hullaš) mentioned by Ištahri, nor did we know who were the *h.w.a.l.e.s* folk-element mentioned by Bakrī in connection with the Pecheneg people. T. very correctly points out that it is the hwārazmī folk-element called the *k(w)alis* that had played such an important part in the history of Eastern Europe. This folk-element escaped the attention of Marquart, so that the historical research of Eastern Europe has much to gain by this discovery of T. Magyar research has very assiduously dealt with the religion of this folk-element, all the more because this element had mixed with the Magyars too. According to some (MNY. XLII [1941], pp. 180—200) the *k(w)alis* were Jews. It is now evident that these *k(w)alis*, who were a sort of military auxiliary-people to the Khazars, Magyars and Pechenegs, were really Mohammedans. T.'s dissertation on this subject makes us acquainted with a series of important new proofs of the East-European radiation of the hwārizmī Mohammedans (pp. 217—20). There are traces of the Mongols in Europe far in advance of the Mongolian age. In all probability T. is right in stating that the names of the two Khazar cities: Balanjar, and the city of *Cunğars* mentioned in an Armenian source, are in close connection with the Mongolian words *baranjar*, as denoting the right flank of the army and *zuangar*, denoting the left flank (pp. 217—20). On the other hand, we cannot accept T.'s statement about the survival of the ruling Türk Asena family among the Khazars, in view of the fact that the word *ansā*, the basis of the far-fetched theory, is merely the corrupt form of the Khazar rank-denomination as presented by Ibn Rusta in the form *abšād* (Minorsky, Hudūd al-'Ajam, Gibb Memorial New Series XI, p. 541).

The theory of coincidence between the *'s.k.l* tribal-name of the Volga Bulgarians and the Szeklers (Sicilians) is likewise unacceptable from a linguistic point of view (pp. 220—6). The rank-denoting denomination of the ruler of the Volga Bulgarians is correctly connected by Togan with *eltābār*, the rank-denomination gained from the Türk inscriptions (see the detailed account by Czeglédy: MNY. XLII [1941], pp. 120—30).

It has recently been confirmed (Minorsky op. cit. pp. 465—71) that Gardizī's hitherto problematic *w.n.n.d.r* name denotes the Onogundur Bulgarians. T. makes us acquainted with valuable new data bearing on the Caucasus Onogundur Bulgarians (pp. 296—8).

The book, however, is characterised by a rather great uncertainty of language. The German text, as well as the citations in various languages, contain a great number of confusing mistakes which must by all means be corrected in a subsequent edition.

Of T.'s etymologies, the *čuvas* ~ *suvas* ~ *suvar* explanation (pp. 74—5, 200—3) seems to be of importance. This explanation, however, is hardly possible.

The afore-mentioned objections, however, do not alter the fact that T.'s publication is an event of pre-eminent importance in the field of Eastern-European historical research, and that his book will be an indispensable source to all who desire to deal with these problems. As for the errors of the work, most of them can easily be corrected in an eventual second edition.

Charles Czeglédy

Pour les travaux publiés dans les ESR les auteurs répondent eux-mêmes.

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## YİLTAVAR UNVANI

### Volga Bulgarları ile İslâvların X. asırdaki münasebeti meselesine dâir\*

Károly Czeplédy

Son zamanlarda meydana çıkan İbn Fadlan yazmasının<sup>1</sup> alâka verici mes'elelerinden biri, seyahat raporunda bahsi geçen Bulgar kiralının unvanıdır. Raporun bir yerinde<sup>2</sup> kiralın adı ve unvanı şöyle zaptedilmiştir: *L. m. Ş ibn Ş. l. k. y Y. l. t. wâr melik aş-şaqaliba*. Burada *L. m. ş*'in şahıs adı olduğu açıktır; *Ş. l. k. y* de baba adıdır. Melik arabca kiral manasınadır. *Şaqlab* kelimesinin arabca cemi şekli olan *Şaqaliba* «İslâv» lar demek ise de, İbn Fadlan'da «Bulgar-Türk» manasında kullanılmıştır. O halde yukarıdaki ibâre «Bulgar Türklerinin kralı *Ş. l. k. y* oğlu <sup>2</sup>*L. m. ş*» demektir. Yazmanın diğer bir yerinde<sup>3</sup> kiralın, ismi zikredilmeksizin, yalnız unvanı görülüyor: *El-melik Y. l. t. wâr melik* Bulgar yâni, Bulgar kiralı *y. l. t. wâr*. Bunlardan da anlaşılıyor ki, Bulgar kiralının adı, *Ş. l. y. k* oğlu. *L. m. ş*, ve resmî sıfatı ise «Bulgar kralı» idi.

Her iki şekilde de şimdiye kadar izah edilmemiş bir kelime bulunmaktadır: *ylt wâr*; eski metne göre, *b.l.t. wâr*. R. V a s m e r'in fikrinde (*Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Wien, LVIII, 83 vd.) bu kelimenin bulgar-türkçesinde bir has isim olması mümkündür, unvan olduğu takdirde, *el-melik b. l. t. wâr melik Bulgar* ibâresinde bir unvanlar terâkümü garabeti ile karşılaşılmış olur. Bu görüş mukni değildir. Çünkü unvan dahi olsa *b. l. t. wârın melik* kelimesi ile yan-yana kullanılmış olması unvanlar terâkümü demek değildir. Buradaki *melik*, tıpkı meselâ *İbn*

\* Aslı *Magyar Nyelv*, XL, nr. 3 (Budapest, 1944) de intişar etmiş olan bu makale İbrahim Kafesoğlu tarafından türkçeye çevrilmiştir.

<sup>1</sup> Bk. ösr. A Zeki Velidi Toğan *İbn Fadlan's Reisebericht (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXIV, 3 Leipzig, 1939).

<sup>2</sup> Velidi, arabca metin 37.

<sup>3</sup> Velidi, arabca metin 224.

*Hurradabih*'deki *farhān malik Al-hazar*<sup>4</sup> «Hazar kralı tarhan» ibâresinde olduğu gibi *b. l. t. wār*'ın tercümesi veya izahı olabilir. Vasmer'in mutalaası aleyhine bir delil de yeni yazmada, bir defaya mahsus olmak üzere, kralın isminin '*L. m. ş. ibn Ş. l. k. y*' şeklinde<sup>5</sup> yalnız görünmesidir. Eğer *b. l. t. wār* da kralın öz adı olsa idi, bu arada zikredilmemesi garip düşerdi. Bundan başka rapordaki mühim bir kayda göre<sup>6</sup>, Bulgar kiralı Cuma namazında hutbede söylenebilmesi için, kendinin ve babasının adları yerine, Ibn Fadlan'dan müslüman isimleri istemiştir. Ehemmiyeti aşikâr olan hutbede, müslüman devletlerde, yalnız has isimlerin değiştiği resmî bir metnin okunması âdetti. *Ibn Fadlan*'ın huzurunda, krala *melik* denilmekte olan eski metin okununca *Ibn Fadlan* minberde *melik* lafzının ancak Allaha mahsus olabileceği noktasına dikkati çeker. Eski metinde kralın adı ve unvanı şöyle idi: '*L. m. ş. ibn Ş. l. k. y. Y. l. t. wār melik Bulgar*'. Kralın ve babasının müslüman isimleriyle anıldıkları yeni metin bunun tam karşılığıdır: '*Ca'far ibn 'Abd Allah emir Bulgar*'. Burada *y. l. t. wār* yerine arabca bir karşılık kullanılmamış ve *y. l. t. wār* ile «kâfir» *melik* tâbirleri bir tek *emir* sözünde birleştirilmiştir. Emir kelimesinin X. asırda halifelikteki bazı vâkilere verilen unvan olması da *y. l. t. wār*'ın bir Türk-Bulgar unvanı olduğunu gösterir. Nihayet XIII. asırda '*Avfi y. l. t. wār*'ın (o, bu kelimenin bozulmuş *b. t. l. t. ū* veya *b. t. l. t.* un şeklini biliyor) Bulgar-Türk kralının unvanı olduğunu sarahatle söylüyor (Barthold: Z VO, II, 264) ki, bu Vasmer'in iddiası ile tam bir tezat teşkil eder. Vasmer tarafından '*Avfi*'nin itimada şayan olmadığı hakkında ileri sürülen deliller (göst. yer) ise ikna edici mahiyette değildir<sup>7</sup>. Bütün bunlara nazaren *y. l. t. wār*'ın bir bulgar-türk unvanı olması pek muhtemel görünüyor. Kelimenin muahhar ananede şahıs adı olarak kullanılması (velidi, 217) onun aslında unvan olmak keyfiyetini değiştirmez.

'Avfi *y. l. t. wār*'ı o zaman *hāqān* ile ve Rus kralının hükümdarlık unvanı olan Buladmir ile karşılaştırmıştı. Fraehn de (*Ibn Foslans und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit* LVI.) aynı yolda izah tecrübesinde bulunarak kelimeyi *b. l. t. mār* okumuş ve Rusca *Volodamir* yahut *Vladimir* ile bir saymıştı. Bilâhire Fraehn (*Drei*

<sup>4</sup> Negr. De Goeje, 16311.

<sup>5</sup> Velidi, arabca metin 1816.

<sup>6</sup> Velidi, arabca metin 293.

<sup>7</sup> Vasmer, hadd-i zatında Bulgar tarihi bakımından pek kıymetli ve istifadeli makalesinde *b. l. t. wār* kelimesini Bulgar-Türk paralarında görülen «barbar» arap yazısı ile yazılmış Barmān kralı adı ile birleştirmektedir (Barthold). Fakat *b. l. t. wār* sözü yukarıdaki mânasına hânen, has isim olamaz.

*Münzen der Wolga-Bulgaren* 182) *Y. l. t. wār*'ı Dalmaç dilinden bir *oladavac* kelimesi ile aynı ad eden Şenkovskij'ye iltihak etti. Fakat vasmer'e göre (göst. yer. 82). Dalmaçça da *oladavac* diye bir kelime bulunmadığı gibi, fonetik sebeplerden dolayı evvelce de mevcut olmasına imkân yoktur.

Kelimeyi İslâvca ile izah etmek istediğimiz takdirde, *Ibn Fadlan* zamanında Bulgarların ya İslâv olduklarını yahut İslâvlarla kuvvetli surette karıştıklarını veyahut kiralık unvanını hâkim İslâvlardan almış olduklarını farz etmemiz lâzım gelir. Volga Bulgarlarının *Ibn Fadlan* zamanında, yani m. 922 de, İslâv olmaları tabiatıyla bahis mevzuu olmaz. Kuvvetli Bulgar—Türk—İslâv ihtilâfı da düşünülemez, zira kaynaklar bundan hiç bahsetmezler. Bütün emareler erken tarihlerinin her safhasında Bulgarların Hazar nüfuzu altında bulduklarını göstermesi dolayısıyla, bu devirde İslâv hâkimiyeti altında yaşamış olmaları da ihtimal içinde değildir.

Bunlara rağmen Barthold (12 *Vorlesungen* 68) *Ibn Fadlan* yeni metninin erken İslâv-Bulgar karışmasını tesbit ettiğini katıyetle derpiş etmekte ve: '*Ibn Fadlan* Volga Bulgarları kralını İslâv hükümdarı diye adlandırıyor. Evvelce bunu *Yâqūt*'un hatâsına atfetmek mümkün olabiliirdi<sup>8</sup>. Fakat şimdi *Ibn Fadlan*'ın orijinal metninde de aynı şeyi buluyoruz. Volga Bulgarları aşikâr olarak, tıpkı Tuna Bulgarları gibi, Türk-Çuvaş kavminin İslâvlarla ihtilâfından doğmuştur; şu farkla ki, Tuna Bulgarlarında İslâvca, Volga Bulgarlarında ise Türk-Çuvaş dili hâkim duruma yükselmiştir' demektedir. Barthold bu mutalaasını *Ibn Fadlan*'ın Bulgarlara münavebe ile *Bulgar* ve *İslâv* demesi üzerine istinad ettiriyor. Fakat *Ibn Fadlan*'ın bu tarz ifadesi mes'elenin kat'i şekilde hallinde bir delil sayılamaz. Esasen eski Arab coğrafyacıları *şaqlâb* kelimesini yalnız «İslâv» mânasında kullanmamışlar; bizans imparatorluğunun kuzeyinde kâin memleketlerdeki kavimlere ekseriya, ırkî durumlarını dikkate almaksızın, toptan İslâv adını vermişlerdir. *Ptolemaios*'un eserini baştan işleyen *Al-Huvarizmi* (IX. asır ortası), *Ptolemaios*'un henüz İslâv adı altında zikretmediği İslâv kavimlerini Cermenlerle aynileştirmişti<sup>9</sup>. *Ibn Hurradabih*'e (IX. asrın 2. yarısı) göre, İslâv arazisi İspanyadan da Tanais (Don) nehrine kadar yayılmaktadır<sup>10</sup>. *Belki*'de bu topraklar şimalde Volga Bulgarları arazisine kadar uzanır. Ve keza, İslâvların doğu Avrupadaki yurdu hakkında oldukça sarih bir

<sup>8</sup> *Ibn Fadlan*'ın seyahatnamesi eskiden yalnız *Yâqūt*'un büyük coğrafya lugatındaki bölümlerinden malûmdur.

<sup>9</sup> Negr. *Von Mzik* nr. 1502.

<sup>10</sup> Negr. *De Goeje*, 1196, 981, 10515, 15416, 1554, 1558.

fikre sahip bulunan bu müellife<sup>11</sup> göre bile Bulgarların şimalinde «islâvlar» otururlar. Her halde şu muhakkaktır ki, *şaq̄lâb* adına bakarak Bulgarların kavmî durumlarına dâir istihraçlarda bulunmak yersiz olur. *Ibn Fadlan*'ın raporundan Bulgarların kendilerine ne gibi isim verdikleri hususunda da bir neticeye varılamıyor. Fakat bu raporda yukarıda hutbe mes'elesinde geçen resmî sıfat münasebetiyle, bir defa olmakla beraber, Bulgarların kendileri tarafından kullanılan adlarıyla karşılaşılıyor. Burada kıral *emîr Bulğâr*-ki bunun *Barthold*'un gözünden kaçtığı anlaşılıyor. Bulgar (şehrinin) kıralı diye anılıyor. Binaenaleyh *Ibn Fadlan*'ın Bulgar-Türk mânasında, sırf devrin âdetine uygun olarak *şaq̄lâb* kelimesini kullandığı kuvvetle muhtemeldir. Netice itibariyle bu mes'eledede hareket noktası olarak Türkçeyi almak ve halli istenen kelimenin menşei bu dilde aramak daha doğru olacaktır.

Bu yolda ilk izah *Aşmarin* tarafında yapılmıştır (*Bolgary i çuvaşi* 62). O, kelimeyi farazî bir *bixtuan* sözü ile<sup>12</sup> münasebete getirmiştir ki, bunun ilk yarısında *beg*, diğer kısmında Çuvaşca *tuan*—*tavan* (doğan) gizli bulunmakta imiş. Fakat *Aşmarin* başka yerden bu nevi bir türkçe isim göstermemiştir.

Buna mukabil *b. l. t. wâr* kelimesinin Türkçe *Alp-Âlâtbâr* unvanına uygunluğunu belirten *Marquart*'ın izahı (*Osteuropaische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge* 114-5) kısmen doğrudur. *Alp-Âl-âtbâr*, *Moses Kalankaytvacî*'nin rusca tercümesinde Kafkaslarda bir Hun prensinin adı olarak geçer. Bu adın rusca tercümede görülen şekilleri şunlardır: *alfilitver*, *alfilutver*; Şahnarazean neşrine göre, *Albiuli-T<sup>c</sup>vel*, *Albilu-T<sup>c</sup>vel*. Her iki neşirde *alp* (veya *alb*) sız basit şekiller de vardır: *İlitver*, *İlu-T<sup>c</sup>vel*. Kavim adı olan *chat'irlit'ber*'de de mürekkep kelime halinde mevcuttur<sup>13</sup>. Buradaki *lit'ber* *Marquart*'a göre *âlâtbâr*'dir. *Marquart*, *Ibn Fadlan*'daki *b. l. t. wâr*'ı da bu seriye idhal eder ve onun düşündüğüne göre, asıl şekli *albilatwâr* olan kelimenin ilk hecesini, *al*'ı, müstensih iyi anlamamış, bunu arabca harfi tarif sanarak terk etmiştir. *Marquart*, haşiyede, *il-utver* ve *lit'ber* şekillerinin Göktürk kitabelerinde görülen ve ona göre *âl-âtbâr* okunması gereken kelime ile rabitasımın Türk dili bilginlerince halli icap ettiğini ilâve ediyor. Fakat göktürkçe *âltâbâr*'i evvelce yaptığı bir izahta (*chronologie* 41) *âl-tâbâr* okuduğunu burada zikretmiyor.

<sup>11</sup> İstahri, neşri. *De Goeje*, 811, 69, 701, 915.

<sup>12</sup> Bulgar hükümdarları listesinde *Vixtyn* ismi görünüyor (Krs. *Moraocsik, Byzantinoturcica* II, 96<sup>v</sup>d).

<sup>13</sup> *Marquart* bunu «*Geschichte des Levond*, Şahnarazean neşri, 163» den almıştır. *Köprülüzade*'de Enz İsl'in Türkçesinde *alp* maddesinde zikreder.

Göktürkçe *âltâbâr* ile Hazarca *ilutver* kelimelerinin bilhassa göze çarpan benzeyişleri *Marquart*'a hak verdimindedir. Keza Hazar unvanlarının umumiyetle Göktürk menşeli oluşu da onun lehindedir. Fakat *Ibn Fadlan*'daki *b. l. t. wâr* sözünün başındaki *b* nin *Marquart* tarafından yapılan izahı kabul edilemez. Kelimenin yalnız *b* li şekli bilinmiş olsa bile onun izahı yine bir zorlama neticesidir. Kaldı ki, yeni metnin bir yerinde<sup>14</sup> kelime *b* ile değil *y* ile başlamakta ayrıca, Budapeştedeki, *Lajos Ligeti*'nin şahsına ait, faksimilesinde de *y* açıkça görünmektedir.

*Velidî* de (göst. y. 105-7) *y. l. t. wâr* şeklini esas almış ve bunu -her halde *Marquart*'ın yukarıda zikredilen haşiyesinden faydalanarak-Göktürk kitabelerindeki *âltâbâr* ile münasebete getirmiştir. *Ibn Fadlan*'daki şekli Çuvaş dilinin fonetik hususiyetleriyle izah eden ve Göktürkçe *âltâbâr*'i *âl* ve *tâbâr* kısımlarına ayıran *Velidî*'ye göre *yal-tavar* (o, *y. l. t. wâr*'i böyle okuyor) tamamiyle *âltâbâr*'e uygundur. *Filhakika* göktürkçe *âl* (kavim) ile Çuvaşca *yal* aynı şey (mamafî şimdiki manâsı: köy) olduğu gibi, Ana Türkçe kelimeleri ortasındaki *b* ye Çuvaşcada -v- tekâbüle ettiği için (*Poppe: KCsA. II. 75*) Göktürkçe *tâbâr*'e karşılık -t. vâr'da v bulunuyor.

Kitabeleri deşifre eden *Thomsen* de *âltâbâr*'i mürekkep kelime kabul etmiş ve kitabenin bir yerine *âltâbâr*'in ilk vokali yerinde bir *i* izi göründüğünü kaydetmişti (*Inscr.* 182). *Thomsen*'e göre (krs. *Gyula Németh: KCsA. Le ilâve cilt 75*) yazıda görülen *yâr* ~ *yir* tebedülü telâffuza râci kapalı bir *e* yi işaret ettiği için, \**lt<sup>a</sup>b<sup>a</sup>r*'in ilk vokalinin kapalı *e* olduğu da farzedilebilir. *Thomsen* yeni makalesinde (*ZDMG, NF, 172*) kelimeyi bu tarzda okumuş, şeklini ve manasını şöyle vermiştir: «*eltâbir* (il-) türkischer Gouverneur o. dergl.». İkinci ve üçüncü vokallerin okunuşunu bugünkü muta'lara dayanarak katıyetle tayin mümkün değildir. *Thomsen* dahi yukarıdaki okuyuşunun mucip sebeplerini göstermemiştir. Kitabelerde *âltâbâr*'in -*lig* eki de görülüyorsa da (II E. 28) vokaller bakımından bu muta'dan yakın bir şey elde edemiyoruz. Aynı kelime Hüseyin Namık Orkun'a göre (*Eski Türk yazıtları* II. İstanbul, 1939, 114- Bunu bana Dr. Hasan Eren haber verdi). *Hoitu Tamir* kitabelerinde de zuhur etmektedir, fakat burada vokaller yoktur. *Mani* yazılı bir metinde (*Le COQ: Thomsen-Festschrift* 147) *ilt(â)bâr* şekli bulunuyor ki, böyle arkaik bir metinde görünmesi bu son muta'ın kıymetini artırıyor. Netice itibariyle göktürkçe \**lt<sup>a</sup>b<sup>a</sup>r*'i, *Thomsen*'in *iltâbir* ve *Marquart*'ın *âl-âtbâr* tarzındaki okuyuşlarına mukabil *ilt(â)bâr* okumak daha doğrudur.

<sup>14</sup> *Velidî* arabca metin 87.

Hazarcada kelime, yukarıda zikredilen Ermeni muta'larının şahadetine göre, -her ne kadar ermeni *i* si belki daha kuvvetle kapalı *e* yi temsil edebilirdi - *i* ile başlamaktadır. Ermeni transkripsiyonlarında üçüncü vokal daima *e* yahut *ë* dir ve ikinci hecede *u* yahut *i* bulunuyor. (*ilutver*, *ilitver*). Göktürkçe *ältäbär* şeklinin ikinci vokali ermeni transkripsiyonlarında yoktur.

*Ältäbär*'in Çince transkripsiyonunu henüz bilmiyoruz. Vakıa Hirth (*Nachworte* 111-2) ve arkasından F. W. K. Müller (*Uigurica* II, 94 ve *Hirth-Festschrift* 318) kelimenin Çin varyantını göstermişler ise de Pelliot'ya göre, (*T'oung Pao* XXVII, 225-9- bu makaleye Lajos Ligeti dikkatimi çekti) onların okuyuşları yanlıştır; ve bahis mevzuu olan ve *k'i-lifa* yazılan sözün doğru okunuşu *il-di-bar* değil *el-fa* olduğundan *ältäbär*'in transkripsiyonunu sayılamaz.

*Ältäbär* ile alakalı olarak yukardan beri verdiğimiz muta'lara ihtimal pek enteresan ve mühim bir şark kaynağındaki muta'ı da ilâve edebiliriz. *Ältäbär* kitabelerde Uygurların ve Az kavminin prenslerine verilen unvan olarak kullanılmıştı (Thomsen: *ZDMG.* 1<sup>4</sup>, 157). Çok muabhar devirde yazılmakla beraber Uygur tarihi için pek kıymetli bir kaynak olan: *Raşid ad-din*'in *Tarih-i Gazan* adlı eser (XIV. asır) içinde eski Uygur tarihine ait parçayı *Salemann*, Radloff tarafından ihtimamlı bir metin tenkidi ile neşredilen «Kudatku Bilik» in giriş kısmında, yayınlamıştır. *Raşid ad-din* burada Oğuzhan menkıbesini hikâye ettikten sonra eski Uygur tarihine geçerek: Uygur «kavimleri» bidayette reis-siz yaşarlardı, sonra bütün Uygurlara hükmetmek üzere, *Äl-ältirir* ve *Kül-ärkin* adlarında iki reis seçtiler, der. Esas itibarıyla bunun aynı olan *Abu-l-Gâzi*'nin *Şecere-i Türk* (XVII. asır) içindeki rivayette Uygurların *Toguz uygur* ve *On uygur* isimlerini taşıyan iki grup vardır, reislerinden birinin ismi de *Äl-ältir*'dir.

Bu muta'ların ne dereceye kadar tarihi aksettirdiği keyfiyeti mühim bir mes'eledir. Bizzat *On-uygur* ve *Toguz-uygur* şeklindeki isimlenmeler dahi eski Türk tarihinin en müşkül problemlerinden biri olan Uygur mes'elesine bağlıdır. Ancak şu kadarı muhakkaktır ki, eski Şarkın *Raşid ad-din* gibi itimada şayan müellifi pek önder bulunduğu cihetle, rivayeti ve içinde geçen isimleri bu müellifin uydurduğunu tasavvur etmek doğru olmasa gerektir. Tarihi hakikat olmasa dahi bu rivayet, göçebe reislerinin seçilmeleri hakkında başka kaynaklardan edindiğimiz malûmatın (*Németh: KCS A. II, 441*) mükemmel bir örneğini vermektedir. Böyle iken *Raşid ad-din*'in muta'ını Oğuz menkıbesi meyanında saymak âdet hükmüne girmiş, binnetice ona ayrı bir tarihi ehemmiyet atfedilmez olmuştur.

Maamafih son zamanlarda *Raşid ad-din* rivayetinin kıymetlen-dirilmesi işi bir dereceye kadar değişmiş bulunuyor. F. W. K. Müller, Barthold'un çıkırını takiben, *Raşid ad-din*'deki *ärkin* kelimesinin Göktürk kitabelerinde hatta Çin kaynaklarında mevcut olduğuna işaret etmiştir (*Hirth-Festschrift*, 318. Krş. Pelliot, göst. yer). Bu da o rivayetin tarihi bir esası ihtiva ettiğine delildir.

Oteki Uygur kralının adı *Raşid ad-din*'e göre *Äl-ältirir*, *Abu-l-Gazi*'ye göre de *El-eltir*'dir. Yazmanın birinde *äl-älb. t. r* varyantı var (Berezin, *Raşid ad-din* neşrinde 162, zikrediyor). Arab yazısının icabı böyle bir *äl-älb t. r* şekli ile *ält. b. r* şekli hemen hemen aynıdır. Binaenaleyh, bir *ält. b. r* adının Göktürkçe *ältäbär* ile olan rabitası da meydanda olduğuna göre, *Raşid-ad-din* bu Uygur kral adını herhangi bir tarihî kaynaktan nakletmiş olabilir. Yazının aslı şekli zorla değiştirilmeksizin böylece izah imkân dahilinde ise de - bunun da tatminatkar olmadığını kabul edelim - mes'elenin hallinde katî ehemmiyeti haiz bir husus vardır ki, o da az evvel geçen Göktürk kitabelerindeki muta'a nazaran Tokuzoguzlar hâkimiyeti zamanında Uygurların hakikaten *ältäbär*'ler idaresinde bulunmuş olmalarıdır. Yukarıda zikrettiğimiz tarihi Mani metin parçası da keza Uygur *iltäbär*'inden bahsediyordu.

*Ältäbär*'in *Raşid ad-din*'de *äl-ältäbär* halinde mürekkep olarak bulunduğunu gördük. Bu şekil doğru ise kelimenin birinci unsuru şüphesiz «kavim» mânasına gelen *äl*'dir. O halde, müteakip *äl* hecesinin *äl* «kavim» kelimesi ile aynı olmasına, mânasız bir terkip olacağı için, imkân yoktur. Fakat eğer *ältäbär*'in ilk hecesinin ayrılması mümkün değilse, *Thomsen*'in *eltäbir* (il-) tarzındaki okuyuşu da doğru olamaz.

*Elteriş qağan* = Reichssammlungen-kagan (Thomsen); *El-etmiş Qutluğ bilge* = kavmi teşkilâtlandırıcı, tâlîli, hakim; *il-tirgüg* = halkı toplayan... v.s. gibi taşıyanlarının kendi milletleri tarihinde oynamış oldukları rollerini ifade eden Türk unvanları ile meşgul olan *Gyula Németh* (*KCS A. II, 440* vd.) e göre, *Raşid ad-din*'deki *äl-ältirir*'de bu tip unvanlardan biridir (göst. yr. not. 3).

*Äl ~ il* «kavim» kelimesi ile yapılmış mürekkep unvanlar Türklerde pek çoktur. Bunun izlerinin Macarcada mevcudiyeti şaşılacak bir şey değildir. Bir Macar yer adı münasebeti ile bu gibi isimler üzerinde duran *Dezsö Pais* (*KCS A. II, 324-6*) e göre, Macarca *ölbö* yer adı Türkçe asıldan bir çok isimlerin kullanıldığı bir arazi ile alakalı bulunmaktadır. *Ölbö* şahıs adı olarak da görülür: 1328 de *Tudbeg* oğlu *İlbeğ* adında birinden bahsedilmiştir. *İlbeğ* Türkçe *Il-beği* terkinin tamamen aynıdır. Bu ve, *il-han* veya *il-hanı* gibi, mülkî zamir eki olsun olmasın

sın, benzer terkiplere sık-sık rastlanır. Biz *âl-âltâbâr*'in de böyle bir terkip olması ihtimalini, yani kelimenin 2. yarısının meselâ *il-han* tâbirindeki *han* gibi, belki yabancı menşeden bir unvan; yahut hükümdarın milleti ile alâkalı her hangi bir faaliyetini gösteren Türkçe bir kelime olabileceğini düşünüyoruz. *Âltâbâr*'in şimdiye kadar Türkçe kelime olarak izahına muvaffak olunamaması ikinci faraziyeyi gayr-i vârid kılıyor. Lajos Ligetin, Üniversite takrirlerinde ileri sürdüğü, fikrine göre Göktürk kitabelerindeki müteaddid yabancı menşeli unvanlar, unutulmuş eski bir Asya dilinin son hatıralarıdır. *Raşid ad-din*'deki *âltâbâr*'in de bunlardan olması imkân dışında değildir.

Ancak *Raşid ad-din*'in *âl-âltâbâr*'indeki birinci *âl*'in sırf bir ditto-grafi olması ihtimaline ve bu sebeple kelimenin doğru şeklinin yalnız *âltâbâr* olabileceğine işaret edelim. Bu takdirde kelimeyi, *Thomsen*'in yaptığı gibi, *âl* ve *tâbâr* kısımlarına ayırabiliriz. Buradaki *tâbâr*, *Marquart* tarafından, VIII. Ökumenik Konsil'e iştirak etmiş Bulgar elçilerinden birinin ismi olan *Tabare* ile münasebete getirilmek mümkün görülmüş ise de (*chronologie* 41), mezkûr Konsilden bahseden *Anastasius*'un kayıtlarının en iyi yazmasına istinad eden *Gyula Moravcsik* elçilerin birbirini takip eden adlarını başka türlü, yâni *Vestranna Tabare* yerine *ilues cannataban* okumaktadır (*Byz. Turc.* II. 299) ki, buna nazaran *Tabare* diye bir şey mevcut değildir. *Dezsö Pais* *âl-tâ'âr* kelimesinin *âl* ile *tâbâr*'den meydana gelmiş bir terkip olarak izah edebileceği üzerine dikkatimi çekmek lütfunda bulundu. Hakikaten *tâbâr*'in türkçe *tmir* (demir) kelimesinin bir varyantı olması muhtemeldir ve Türk dilinde «kavim» ile «demir» kelimelerinden müteşekkil terkinin isim gibi kullanılması bir garabet arzetmez. Bu hususta başka misaller de vardır. *Tâmir* kelimesinin muhtelif şekilleri ve şahıs adı olarak kullanılması mes'alesi ile meşgul olan Zoltan Gombocz (*MNy*, X, 339 vd.) müteaddid misâller arasında Macar yer adı *Tömür*'ü bu kelimeye bağladığı gibi, *Töbörçsök* isminin de buraya dahil olacağını muhtemel görmektedir. *Mladenoff* da Bulgar çarı *Terteriy*'nin kardeşinin ismi, *Ελτιμυρης*'i, bunun ikinci yarısının *demir* ile bir olduğuna işaretle, aynı şekilde izah etmiştir (*MNy*, XXI, 38-9). *Demir* kelimesinin çeşitli varyantlarına dair Gombocz'un verdikleri arasında *tâbir* (Şor, Lebed lehçelerinde), *tebir* (Sagay lehçesi) şekilleri bulunuyor (Krş. Gy. Györffy: *KCs A. I. e ilâve cilt*, 459).

Muta'ını herhangi bir ortaasya kaynağından olmuş olması lâzım gelen *Raşid ad-din*'deki *âl-âltâbâr*'i *il-iltâbâr* de okumak kabildir (krş. Németh: *KCs A. I. e ilâve cilt*, 518). Arab yazısında *t* (t ya mukabil) kendinden evvel ve sonra ince vokallerin bulunduğu delâlet eder.

Bulgarca *Y. l. t. wâr* şeklinin vokallerini bilmiyoruz. Her ne kadar muhtemel fonetik değişmelerini Çuvaşcadan istidlâl mümkün olabilir ise de, bunun için kelimenin eski aksanı ile Çuvaşcada söz içindeki fonetik tahavvülleri iyice bilmemiz icap etmektedir. Kelimenin Bulgarcada dahi *i* ile başlamış olması muhtemeldir. Çuvaşcada, söz başındaki *i* den evvel prothetik *y* teşekkül edeceğine göre (*Poppe*, göst. yer. 71), ilk heceyi *gil* okuyabiliriz. İkinci hecenin *t* si herhangi bir kalın vokalin mevcudiyetini gösteriyor ki, burada ihtimal *a* dır. Üçüncü hecenin vokali, Arap yazısı ile imlâ şekline nazaran, uzun ve ihtimal açık *a* yahut *e* sesidir. O halde kelimenin muhtemel okunuşu: *Yiltavâr*'dir.

Tarih bakımından dikkate değer nokta, *âltâbâr* unvanının hem Tokuz oguzlarda hem Hazarlarda, hâkim kavmin yüksek bir rütbesini değil, fakat tâbi kavim tarafından kullanılan bir yüksek rütbeyi göstermesidir; zira Uygurların Tokuzoguzlara nazaran vaziyeti ne ise, Bulgar Türklerinin Hazarlara nazaran vaziyetleri de esas itibariyle öyle olmuştur.

## DIE KARTE DER DONAULANDSCHAFTGRUPPE NACH AL-HUWĀRIZMĪ

Von

K. CZEGLÉDY

Die vorliegende Arbeit behandelt diejenigen Teile des geographischen Werkes *Kitāb ṣūrat al ard* „Buch der Erdkarte“ des Muḥammad Ibn Musā al-Huwārizmī (gest. nach dem J. 842; vgl. И. Ю. Крачковский, *Математическая география у арабов [от ал-Хорезми до Улугбека]*. — Научное наследие т. I. Академии Наук СССР, Институт истории естествознания, 1948, 625—652; BRÖCKELMANN, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, Suppl. I., S. 404), die sich auf das Gebiet beziehen, das nach seinen Angaben zwischen den geogr. Breiten 43°30' und 52°15' N, bzw. den Längen 29° und 52° O liegt — gerechnet von den Hālidāt, den „Glücklichen Inseln“ an. Es umfasst den ganzen Donaulauf von der Quelle bis zur Mündung und die Gebiete nördlich und südlich davon, soweit sie für das geschlossene Kartenbild in Betracht kommen.

Die Anregung und wertvolle Ratschläge verdankt der Verfasser dem Herausgeber und Bearbeiter des Huwārizmī, Prof. H. МЗК, an dessen zwei Abhandlungen über Albanien resp. Osteuropa nach al-Huwārizmī<sup>1</sup> sich die vorliegende Arbeit räumlich anschliesst.

Ihr näherer Zweck war die Rekonstruktion der Karte des Huwārizmī auf Grund des Textes. Echte Karten von al-Huwārizmī sind bekanntlich nicht mehr vorhanden<sup>2</sup>. Die Karten, die zur Strassburger Handschrift gehören, der einzigen, in der uns sein Buch erhalten ist, entstammen schon einer übermäßig schematisierenden Periode der arabischen Kartographie; wo man nicht mehr das — allerdings schon bei al-Huwārizmī stark abgeschwächte — Verständnis der Griechen für die theoretischen Grundlagen der Kartographie hatte.

<sup>1</sup> Beiträge zur Kartographie Albaniens nach orientalischen Quellen (FRANZ NOPSA, *Geographie und Geologie Nordalbaniens: Geologica Hungarica, Series Geologica, Budapest, 1929, III, S. 625—649*), Tab. XXIX—XXXV. — Osteuropa nach der arabischen Bearbeitung der Γεωγραφική σφήγγις des Klaudios Ptolemaios von Muhammad ibn Musā al-Huwārizmī: mit einer Karte: Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XLIII, S. 161—193.

<sup>2</sup> H. МЗК, *Ptolemaeus und die Karten der arabischen Geographen: Mitteilungen der k. k. geogr. Ges. in Wien LVIII, Sep. - Abdruck, S. 11f.*

Die Rekonstruktion erscheint umso wichtiger, als der auf diese Weise gewonnene Entwurf die erste uns erreichbare mittelalterliche Karte der Donauländer darstellt. Besondere Bedeutung kommt denjenigen Angaben zu, die von al-Huwārizmī neu in die Karte eingetragen worden sind, also auf eine von Ptolemaios unabhängige geographische Kenntnis hinweisen.

Vom Leben und Wirken des Huwārizmī sind wir sehr lückenhaft unterrichtet. Grundlegend über ihn sind die Ausführungen von C. A. NALLINO in einer sehr belehrenden Abhandlung<sup>3</sup> und die zahlreichen Veröffentlichungen<sup>4</sup> von H. MZIK, der NALLINO in vielem richtiggestellt und al-Huwārizmī's Werk eigentlich erst für die wissenschaftliche Forschung der arabischen Geographen erschlossen hat. Al-Huwārizmī's Bedeutung für die späteren arabischen Geographen würdigen neuerdings auch KRAMERS<sup>5</sup> und BARTHOLD<sup>6</sup>.

An-Nadīm's kurze Information<sup>7</sup> lässt al-Huwārizmī als einen der Gelehrten, die unter dem Halifen al-Ma'mūn (813—833) in Beziehung mit der berühmten Bibliothek in Baḡdād standen, erscheinen. Nach ihm wurde er in Huwārizm geboren. At-Tabarī, gibt ihm in einer Anekdote<sup>8</sup> die Beinamen *al-Ma'ūsī* und *al-Qutrubbulī*, worin NALLINO einerseits einen Hinweis auf den parsistischen Glauben seiner Eltern sieht, andererseits einen Beweis dafür, dass seine Eltern aus ihrer Heimat nach Mesopotamien (*Qutrubbul*) übersiedelt waren. Sein Geburts- und Todesjahr sind nicht überliefert. Da aber feststeht, dass er unter al-Ma'mūn schon als angesehener Gelehrter namhafte Werke veröffentlicht hat, weiterhin aber auch, dass er im J. 847 noch gelebt hat, erscheint es berechtigt, sein Geburtsjahr um 780, sein Todesjahr nach 847 anzunehmen.

Für seine Beziehungen zur ma'mūnischen „Akademie“ (*dār al-ḥikmat*) kommt — ausser der oben erwähnten Information des Nadīm — noch eine Mitteilung<sup>9</sup> unseres Autors selbst in Betracht, die sich in der Einleitung seiner Algebra befindet. In dieser spricht er sehr anerkennend über das wissenschaftliche Interesse des Halifen al-Ma'mūn und behauptet, dass ihn der Halif angeeifert habe.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Huwārizmī e il suo rifacimento della Geografia di Tolomeo. Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Serie V, Memorie della classe di scienze morali, vol. II, 1a.

<sup>4</sup> Hier kommen vor allem in Betracht: Afrika nach der arabischen Bearbeitung der Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις des Claudius Ptolemaeus von Muhammad ibn Mūsā al-Hwārizmī: K. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften, Bd. LIX und Parageographische Elemente in den Berichten der arabischen Geographen über Südostasien: Beiträge zur historischen Geographie usw., Festschrift für E. OBERHUMMER, hrsg. von H. MZIK, 1920, S. 172—202.

<sup>5</sup> Im Suppl.-Bd. zur Enz. des Islam, s. v. *Diughrāfiyā*.

<sup>6</sup> V. BARTHOLD's *Ḥudūd al-'Ālem* (Руководство Туманского, с введением и указателем Издательство Академии Наук СССР, 1930), 7—9.

<sup>7</sup> Fihrist, ed. FLÜGEL, S. 274.

<sup>8</sup> Annales, ed. DE GOEJE, Ser. III, Bd. 2, S. 1303.

<sup>9</sup> Robert of Chesters Latin translation of the Algebra of al-Khowarizmi, ed. KARINSKY, New-York, 1915, S. 46.

Von seiner Beziehung zum Nachfolger des Ma'mūn, dem Halifen al-Mu'tasim (833—843) wissen wir nichts. Wieder erscheint sein Name erst unter al-Wāṭiq (842—847) in der oben erwähnten Anekdote bei at-Tabarī unter den Astronomen, die — zum Todesbett des Halifen gerufen — aus seinem Horoskop lasen, dass er noch viele Jahre leben werde; er starb jedoch nach zehn Tagen. Nicht sicher ist endlich, ob sich einiges auf ihn oder auf den gleichfalls berühmten Astronomen Muhammad ibn Mūsā Šākir al-Huwārizmī bezieht<sup>10</sup>.

Für die arabische Wissenschaft war al-Huwārizmī vor allem ein berühmter Mathematiker und Astronom. Seine diesbezüglichen Schriften zeugen von starkem indischen und persischen Einfluss. Die Araber haben sie oft kommentiert. Übersetzungen und Abhandlungen über seine Werke sind seit dem Mittelalter auch im Abendlande sehr zahlreich und sein Ruhm in diesen Fächern ist bis auf unsere Tage erhalten<sup>11</sup>.

Er war als Chronist dem Tabarī und auch sonst bekannt,<sup>12</sup> sein Werk scheint jedoch schon früh verloren gegangen zu sein.

Als Geograph war er den Arabern weniger bekannt. Wir lesen nirgendwo in der späteren Literatur, dass er eine Bearbeitung der Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις des Ptolemaios verfasst habe. Und doch enthält der Titel seines Werkes den Namen des Ptolemaios, wie es auch seinem ganzen Inhalt nach zweifellos eine Bearbeitung des ptolemäischen Werkes ist.

Noch bevor die Strassburger Hs. bekannt wurde, vermutete man bereits, dass al-Huwārizmī eine Übersetzung einer griechischen Geographie verfasst habe.<sup>13</sup> In der Geographie des Abū'l-Fidā kommen öfters Berufungen auf ein (oder mehrere) Werk(e) mit dem Titel *Kitāb rasm ar-rub' al-ma'mūr* oder *Rasm ar-rub' al-ma'mūr* („Beschreibung des bewohnten Erdviertels [Oikumene]“) und *Rasm al-ard* oder *Rasm* vor. An einer Stelle in der lateinischen Übersetzung des Abū'l-Fidā von REISKE<sup>14</sup> wird ein al-Huwārizmī als Verfasser eines *Rasm al-ard* genannt. Hieraus hat man darauf geschlossen, dass al-Huwārizmī der Verfasser der Übersetzung einer nicht näher bekannten griechischen Geographie war.

Nach dem Bekanntwerden der Strassburger Hs. hat NALLINO darauf hingewiesen, dass die bei Abū'l-Fidā erwähnten Titel sich scheinbar auf das

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. SUTER, Nachträge und Berichtigungen zu „Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber“, S. 185f.

<sup>11</sup> A. MIELI, *La science arabe* (Leiden, 1938), S. 79ff, §§ 14—15. — Sein Name lebt, wie allgemein bekannt, in dem mathematischen Terminus *Algorithmus* (auch *Algarithmus* und *Algorismus*) fort.

<sup>12</sup> BARTHOLD, loc. cit., 10.

<sup>13</sup> NALLINO, op. cit., 12f.

<sup>14</sup> Die Stelle fehlt in dem arabischen Text der Ausgabe von REINAUD und DE SLANE. — Al-Huwārizmī's Werk war in der arabischen geographischen Literatur nicht unter dem Titel, den die Strassburger Hs. hat, bekannt, sondern unter *Kitāb rasm ar-rub' al-ma'mūr*, vgl. MZIK: Afrika, IV, Anm.



Kitāb ṣurat al-ard des Ḥuwārizmī beziehen. Dabei betrachtet er den Ausdruck *rasm al-ard* als ein späteres Äquivalent von *ṣurat al-ard*.<sup>15</sup>

Es wird oft angenommen,<sup>16</sup> dass Ḥuwārizmī's Werk der Begleittext zu der von Mas'ūdī erwähnten<sup>17</sup> Weltkarte sein soll. Dies wird durch die Tatsache bestätigt, dass das Kitāb ṣurat al-ard zweifellos als Begleittext zu einer Karte aufzufassen ist;<sup>18</sup> andererseits wissen wir, wie obenschon erwähnt wurde, dass al-Ḥuwārizmī am Hofe Ma'mūn's an der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit beteiligt war. Etwas sicheres kann man aber kaum ermitteln, da es möglich ist, dass auch andere Gelehrte Werke ähnlichen Inhaltes verfasst haben.

Al-Ḥuwārizmī's Bearbeitung der Γεωγραφική ὑπόληψις ist mehr als „frei“. Die Einteilung in acht Bücher hat er nicht übernommen. Das erste Buch über die theoretischen Grundlagen der Geographie (oder besser: der Weltkarte), das Kapitel des siebenten Buches, in dem die Anleitung für die Zeichnung der Weltkarte innerhalb der Armillarsphäre gegeben wird und auch das achte Buch, wo die Dauer der längsten Tage für die wichtigeren Städte angegeben wird, fehlen bei ihm gänzlich. Er beschreibt die einzelnen Gebiete nicht wie Ptolemaios, der bei jeder einzelnen Provinz zuerst die Grenzen gibt und dann ihre Städte, Berge, Flüsse und Inseln nennt, sondern zählt zuerst die Städte der sieben Klimata auf, dann die Berge, die Meere die Inseln, die Punkte, wo man auf der Karte die Ländernamen eintragen soll und endlich die Flüsse. Von den Meeren abgesehen beginnt er immer im Süden, „jenseits des Äquators“ und im Westen beim Meridian der „Glücklichen Inseln“. Seine sieben Klimata umfassen die 94 ἐπαρχίαι des Ptolemaios, d. h. die Oikumene. Ein grosser Teil des ptolemäischen Materials fehlt bei al-Ḥuwārizmī, manches ist dagegen neu hinzugefügt. Die Grad-Angaben hat al-Ḥuwārizmī fast alle abgeändert. Um den Grund dieser Abweichungen feststellen zu können, ist in jedem einzelnen Fall eine genaue Untersuchung nötig. Einige Änderungen im Kartenbild des Ḥuwārizmī sind nur von lokaler Geltung, manche dagegen mehr prinzipieller Art (wie z. B. die Reduktion der Länge des Mittelmeeres<sup>19</sup> bei al-Ḥuwārizmī) führten schon weitgehende Änderungen des Kartenbildes gegenüber Ptolemaios herbei.

Die Bedeutung der Bearbeitung der Γεωγραφική ὑπόληψις für die arabische Geographie ist zwar schon in NALLINO's Abhandlung angedeutet worden, doch hat man sie bis zur Herausgabe ihres Textes kaum richtig

<sup>15</sup> Op. cit., 19, not.

<sup>16</sup> z. B.: BARTHOLD, loc. cit.

<sup>17</sup> Tanbih, ed. DE GOEJE, S. 33.

<sup>18</sup> Dies verraten deutlich einige Ausdrücke des Textes. So werden z. B. (auch in dem hier behandelten Kartenteile) die „Farben“ der Berge genannt, was sich offensichtlich auf die Zeichnung bezieht. Ebenso stellen die „Punkte, wo man die Ländernamen eintragen soll“ eine Anleitung zur Kartenzeichnung dar.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. MẒIK, Afrika, S. 32.

werten können. Da der Text jetzt in einer vortrefflichen Ausgabe<sup>20</sup> vorliegt, kann der Einzelforscher sowohl die allgemeinen geographischen Vorstellungen des Ḥuwārizmī als auch das Problem seiner Abhängigkeit von Ptolemaios genau untersuchen. Dies letztere haben die späteren arabischen Geographen nicht getan, konnten es wohl auch kaum tun, was zur Folge hatte, dass schon in der geographischen Literatur der Araber die Angaben aus dieser Pionierarbeit ohne genaue Hinweise auf ihre Herkunft (ob sie nämlich von Ptolemaios stammen oder Ergänzungen des Ḥuwārizmī sind) zirkulierten. Dies ist zweifellos eine Schattenseite der arabischen Geographie, die durch die Gewissenhaftigkeit eines Birūnī kaum gutgemacht wird, der nach eigener Behauptung die ptolemäischen Angaben auf ihre Zuverlässigkeit untersucht und kritisiert haben soll<sup>21</sup>. Denn auch in diesem Fall, wie immer in den geschichtlichen und literarischen Wissenschaften, ist der Wert eines Zeugnisses in hohem Masse davon abhängig, ob man die Quelle, der der betreffende Bericht entstammt, feststellen kann.

So bleibt für die neuzeitliche Forschung einerseits die Aufgabe, den Text des Ḥuwārizmī auf seine Abhängigkeit von Ptolemaios zu untersuchen andererseits die Spuren des Ḥuwārizmī, die sich in der ganzen arabischen geographischen Literatur finden, im einzelnen nachzuweisen. Diese letztere Arbeit ist noch im Anfang begriffen. Wertvolle Untersuchungen wurden schon in Angriff genommen, um Idrīsī's Beziehung zu al-Ḥuwārizmī festzustellen<sup>22</sup>, doch sind diese auf bestimmte Gebiete beschränkt geblieben, was umso mehr begreiflich ist, da zu al-Ḥuwārizmī zum Grossteil noch Übersetzung und Kommentar, zu al-Idrīsī sogar die Vorarbeiten zur Textausgabe fehlen.

Ptolemaios hat sich bekanntlich stark auf Itinerare gestützt. Al-Ḥuwārizmī hat diese Methode nur dort angewendet, wo er von Ptolemaios unabhängig ist. Ganz allgemein gesprochen verfügt er ja nur im *Dār al-Islām* über eigene Kenntnisse, während er im *Dār al-ḥarb* fast nur ptolemäisches Material bringt. Doch hat er — und dies ist für die Geschichte der arabischen Geographie sehr interessant und wichtig — für seine Karte auch Itinerarangaben verwendet.

<sup>20</sup> Das Kitāb ṣurat al-ard des Abū Ga'far Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Ḥuwārizmī, herausgegeben nach dem handschriftlichen Unikum der Bibliothèque de l'Université et Régionale in Strassburg (Cod. 4247) von H. MẒIK, Leipzig, 1926, erschienen als Bd. III. der Bibliothek Arabischer Historiker und Geographen (= BAHUG).

<sup>21</sup> Nach einem unveröffentlichten Texte Birūnī's, AHMET-ZİNCİ VALİDİ: Geographische Zeitschrift XL, S. 370.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. MẒIK: WZKM XLIII, 161ff, ausserdem WILHELM HOENNERBACH, Deutschland und seine Nachbarländer nach der grossen Geographie des Idrīsī (†1162): Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Heft 21, 1938, vor allem aber die ausgezeichnete Arbeit TADEUSZ LEWICKI's, La Pologne et les pays voisins dans le „Livre de Roger“ de al-Idrīsī, géographe arabe du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle (I<sup>ère</sup> partie): Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej, Nr. 34, Kraków, 1945. In dieser sorgfältigen Arbeit wird auch al-Ḥuwārizmī's Material berücksichtigt.

So folgt er in Zentral-Asien offensichtlich Itinerarangaben bei der Aufzählung der Städte Samarqand<sup>23</sup> (Nr. 397), Ušrūsana<sup>24</sup> (Nr. 398), Huĵanda<sup>25</sup> (Nr. 399), Banākat<sup>26</sup> (Nr. 400), Ahsikat<sup>27</sup> (Nr. 401), Tāraband<sup>28</sup> (Nr. 402), Isbijāb<sup>29</sup> (Nr. 403), at-Tarāz<sup>30</sup> (Nr. 404). Deutlich lässt sich, wenn man die Koordinaten der genannten Städte auf eine quadratische Platte aufträgt, einerseits eine südliche Route unterscheiden: Samarqand—Ušrūsana—Huĵanda—Ahsikat und eine nördliche: Samarqand—Ušrūsana—Banākat—Tāraband—Isbijāb—at-Tarāz. Letztere Route wird dann zum ersten Male in der arabischen geographischen Literatur über das Land der Türken (Nr. 1001) im allgemeinen (gemeint sind die Türken von Südwestsibirien und des T'ien šan-Gebietes) bis zum Lande der Tokuzoguzen (die Nr. 1602) fortgesetzt. Die Erwähnung der Tokuzoguzen ist mit Rücksicht auf die Tokuzoguz-Uigur-Problem besonders wichtig.

Dieses erste Beispiel der Verwendung von Itineraren in der arabischen geographischen Literatur, noch vor der in der zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts einsetzenden „k i t ā b a l - m a s ā l i k w a l - m a m ā l i k“ Literatur, ist ein Beweis dafür, dass die Brauchbarkeit der Itinerarangaben schon dem ersten, uns bekannten Werke arabischer Universal-Geographie nicht unbekannt war. Umgekehrt hat der Verfasser des ersten, uns erhalten gebliebenen Buches der „Routen und Königreiche“ Ibn Hurdābih, wie er es am Anfang seines Werkes selbst behauptet, eine Übersetzung zur Γεωγραφική ὁψησις angefertigt. Diese Übersetzung hat jedoch in der späteren Literatur keine Spur hinterlassen. In ähnlicher Weise hat aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach

<sup>23</sup> Samarqand war die wichtigste Stadt Transoxaniens, die alte Hauptstadt von *Soydiana*.

<sup>24</sup> Ušrūsana, in früheren Quellen auch *Sutrūsana* geschrieben (B. Бартольд, Туркестан в эпоху монгольского нашествия, II, 165, Anm.) war der Name der Provinz zwischen Samarqand und Huĵanda. Al-Huwārizmī versteht unter diesem Namen entweder die Hauptstadt dieser Provinz oder die Stadt, wo die nördliche Route aus Samarqand über die Provinz *Cāē* zu den Türken und die südliche nach Ferġana von einander abzweigten. In diesem letztgenannten Fall kommt *Zāmīn* in Betracht, wo nach Ibn Hurdābih die Abzweigung der beiden Wege war BGA (VI, 27 oben und auch Ibn al-Faqih; vgl. Yāqūt, ed. WÜSTENFELD, II, S. 910, Z. 7).

<sup>25</sup> Huĵanda lag an der Stelle des heutigen *Khoĵend* an der Westgrenze der ehemaligen Provinz *Ferġana*.

<sup>26</sup> Banākat lag in der Nähe der Mündung des heutigen Flusses *Angran* in der Provinz *Ilāq*, BARTHOLD, op. cit., S. 169.

<sup>27</sup> Ahsikat war für eine lange Zeit die wichtigste Stadt von *Ferġana*.

<sup>28</sup> Tāraband wird bei at-Tabarī (ed. DE GOEJE, II, S. 1517, 1521) und Balādūrī (ed. DE GOEJE, S. 421) als Residenz des Königs der Provinz *Cāē* erwähnt (BARTHOLD, op. cit., S. 171, not.). Nach BARTHOLD kommt der Name *Tāraband* bei den Geographen nicht vor. Dabei wird aber al-Huwārizmī scheinbar nicht berücksichtigt.

<sup>29</sup> Isbijāb lag nördlich der Provinz *Cāē*, an der Stelle des heutigen Dorfes *Sayrām* BARTHOLD, op. cit., S. 176).

<sup>30</sup> Tarāz ist schon in den chinesischen Quellen als Handelsstadt berühmt (BARTHOLD: *Enz. d. Islam*, s. v. *Tarāz*). Den Islam hat dort erst der Sāmānide Isma'īl ibn Aḥmad im J. 893, also nach der Verfassungszeit des Werkes des Huwārizmī eingeführt. Vielleicht macht er deswegen die erklärende Bemerkung (zu Nr. 404) „eine Handelsstadt“. Heute: Awliyā-Atā (BARTHOLD, loc. cit.).

auch al-Sarāhī<sup>31</sup> die ptolemäische Tradition mit Itinerarangaben verbunden. Für seinen Lehrmeister, al-Kindī<sup>32</sup> wurde eine Übersetzung des Ptolemaios angefertigt, sein eigenes Werk aber, das verloren gegangen ist, trug schon den Titel *K i t ā b a l - m a s ā l i k w a l - m a m ā l i k*. Ob ähnliche Itinerarangaben auch schon in dem gleichfalls verlorenen Werke des Kindī<sup>33</sup> zu finden waren, wissen wir nicht.

Wichtig sind diese zwei Routen des Huwārizmī auch für die Datierung der Entstehungszeit seines Buches. Zwar standen diese Gebiete seit Qutaiba's Feldzug (705—715) immer im Bereiche des Islām, doch erfolgte ihre endgültige Eingliederung in die Provinzen des Islām erst nach einem Jahrhundert oder sogar später. In den Jahrzehnten nach Qutaiba folgten wechselvolle Ereignisse in Transoxanien, woran neben den Arabern Türken, Chinesen und die einheimische Bevölkerung beteiligt waren. Der Kampf um Zentral-Asien wurde nach der Ausschaltung der Chinesen durch Ziyād Ibn Šāliḥ (im J. 751) immer mehr ein Kampf zwischen den Türken und den Arabern. Sämtliche Städte bis auf at-Tarāz, die in den zwei Routen des Huwārizmī enthalten sind, wurden während des Halifats al-Ma'mūn's wieder durch die Sāmāniden besetzt. Diese verteilten im J. 819 die Statthalterschaft der transoxanischen Städte unter sich. Zwanzig Jahre später, im J. 840 besetzte erst der älteste der Brüder, Nūḥ ibn Asad die nördlichen Teile Transoxaniens, einschliesslich Isbijāb<sup>34</sup>.

Es scheint daher berechtigt anzunehmen, dass al-Huwārizmī sein Werk nach dem Jahre 840 verfasst hat. NALLINO nahm als terminus post quem das Jahr 816/17 an<sup>35</sup>, da aber unter den Städten auch Samarra aufgezählt wird (Nr. 301), dessen Bau erst im J. 836 anfang, setzt BARTHOLD den terminus post quem dementsprechend später an<sup>36</sup>.

Diese Beobachtungen bestätigen die Annahme von H. MẒIK<sup>37</sup> der sich in seiner Studie über die parageographischen Elemente, die bei al-Huwārizmī und nach ihm auch bei anderen arabischen Geographen auftauchen, dazu äussert, dass die Abfassung des Werkes von al-Huwārizmī wahrscheinlich nicht — wie es gewöhnlich geschah — um das J. 820 anzusetzen ist, sondern unter die Regierungszeit des Halifen al-Wāṭiq (842—847), rund um das J. 845 fällt. Unter al-Wāṭiq's Regierung war nämlich die Beschäftigung mit den römischen Sagen, Märchen und Legenden hohe Mode.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Fihrist, S. 261. Ḥ. Halifa, I, S. 509.

<sup>32</sup> BROCKELMANN, op. cit. I, S. 225.

<sup>33</sup> *R a s m a l - m a ' m ū r m i n a l - a r ḍ*, erwähnt bei Mas'ūdī: BGA VIII, 25.

<sup>34</sup> BARTHOLD, op. cit., S. 209.

<sup>35</sup> Op. cit., S. 22.

<sup>36</sup> Bei MINORSKY, op. cit., S. 12.

<sup>37</sup> Parageographische Elemente, S. 201f.

<sup>38</sup> Dazu kommt noch die bekannte Reise des Dolmetschers Sallām im J. 842, den der Kalif mit der Untersuchung des Zustandes der Mauer von Gog und Magog, die wir aus dem Alexander-Roman kennen, beauftragt hat.

Dies würde die Anwesenheit der parageographischen Elemente bei al-Huwārizmī am besten erklären.

Ist das Jahr 845 das richtige, so fällt die Entstehungszeit der Bearbeitung al-Huwārizmī's und das *Kitāb al-masālik wal-mamālik* des Ibn Hurdādbih, dessen erste Fassung nach DE GOEJE aus dem Jahre 846/7 stammt, zeitlich beinahe zusammen. Ob al-Marwazi's Werk, das einen ähnlichen Titel trug, zu einer früheren Zeit verfasst wurde, ist unsicher.<sup>39</sup>

Einen vollständigeren Text oder bessere Lesarten bietet manchmal Suhrāb, der eine Neubearbeitung von al-Huwārizmī's Werk verfasst hat.<sup>40</sup> Im allgemeinen bedeutet aber seine Bearbeitung einen Rückschritt gegenüber al-Huwārizmī.

Da wir Karten des Huwārizmī nicht mehr besitzen, bleibt für uns die Frage offen, nach welchen Grundsätzen wir die Angaben der Strassburger Hs. zu einer Rekonstruktion seiner Karte verwenden dürfen. Die Projektionsart der griechischen (oder syrischen) Karte, nach der al-Huwārizmī gezeichnet hat, lässt sich nicht mehr ermitteln. Er dürfte wohl die ptolemäische Projektion gekannt haben, kann aber auch andere griechische (oder syrische) Muster verwendet haben. Da aber sein Text im allgemeinen eine Verschlechterung in der Darstellung gegenüber Ptolemaios bedeutet, scheint die Annahme berechtigt, dass er sich auch bei der Projektion einer einfacheren Methode bedient hat. Nun finden wir aber eine Anleitung zur Kartenzzeichnung bei Suhrāb (in seinem Vorwort, S. 5-11). Die Strassburger Hs. des Huwārizmī enthält diesen Abschnitt nicht, er wird aber doch wohl auf al-Huwārizmī zurückzuführen sein. Mit Rücksicht auf die bei Suhrāb dargestellte primitive Projektion wurde die beiliegende Karte als quadratische Plattkarte gezeichnet.

Die Angaben des Huwārizmī ermöglichen eine gewisse Freiheit bei der Zeichnung. Man könnte sich deshalb sehr leicht dazu verleiten lassen, innerhalb dieser Möglichkeiten dem Kartenbild des Ptolemaios nachzustreben. Da aber so ein Verfahren — konsequent durchgeführt — zu einer falschen Vorstellung des Werkes des Huwārizmī führen könnte, wurde hier davon abgesehen.

Die Darstellung der Gebirge erfolgte versuchsweise nach dem Muster einiger alter islamischer Karten.<sup>41</sup> Die Städte dagegen, die bei al-Huwārizmī mit den dazu gehörigen Abbildungen einen grösseren Raum eingenommen haben, wurden — da wir diese Abbildungen nicht mehr besitzen — nur mit einfachen Ringen bezeichnet (vgl. aber den Kommentar zu Nr. 479 und 482).

<sup>39</sup> Бартольд, Худūd ал-Алем, II.

<sup>40</sup> Das *Kitāb 'aǧā'ib al-aqālīm as-sab'a* des Suhrāb, herausgegeben nach dem handschriftlichen Unikum des Britischen Museums in London (Cod. 23379 Add.) von H. MẒIK, Leipzig, 1930.

<sup>41</sup> Vgl. MẒIK, Afrika, XI.

Der vorliegenden Arbeit wurde die C. MÜLLER'sche Ausgabe des Ptolemaios zugrunde gelegt. Bei den Teilen aber, die CUNTZ herausgegeben hat,<sup>42</sup> wurde dessen Text bevorzugt. Da CUNTZ's Text und Apparat oft herangezogen wurde, ist von der Umnennung der ptolemäischen Hss. nach den Siglen P. SCHNABEL's<sup>43</sup> abgesehen worden.

Die in der Arbeit verwendeten Nummern und Klammern entsprechen den in der BAHUG erschienenen Ausgaben des Huwārizmī und Suhrāb. Übersetzung und Erklärung erfolgte nach der genauen Reihenfolge des arabischen Textes, da diese Methode sich schon als eine für diesen Stoff am meisten passende bewährt hat.

Der Herausgeber hat die Namen des Dar al-Islām, die aus anderen islamischen Quellen bekannt sind und in der Hs. nur unwesentliche Unterschiede der Punktation in der Schrift aufzeigen, in richtiger Form gebracht. Die nicht-islamischen Namen der arabischen Hs. dagegen, die offensichtlich auf Ptolemaios oder zumindest auf nichtarabische Quellen zurückgehen, wurden unverändert in seine Ausgabe aufgenommen. Da die altüberlieferten griechischen Namen für die Araber nicht mehr als ererbtes literarisches Gut bedeuteten, wanderten sie von Generation zu Generation als totes Material oft mit Schreibfehlern und Missverständnissen behaftet (so sagt z. B. Yāqūt, dass die griechischen Namen im Laufe der langen Zeit vielen Entstellungen ausgesetzt waren; vgl. Бартольд, Худūd, S. 11, Fussnote.). Es ist also schon deshalb ratsam, die Namen, die ptolemäischer Herkunft sind, unverändert zu lassen, weil sie oft nur in dieser entstellten Form in anderen geographischen Werken aufsehnen. Dies hat der Herausgeber in seiner früheren Teilausgabe über Afrika weniger konsequent durchgeführt, indem er diejenigen Namen der Hs., die eine Identifikation zulassen, mit Rücksicht auf die wahrscheinliche Art der Überlieferung ins Arabische translitteriert und mit den entsprechenden Vokalen versehen in lateinischer Umschrift in die Übersetzung aufgenommen hat. Bei seiner Besprechung der Gesamtausgabe (WZKM. XXXVIII, 152 ff.) schlägt GROHMANN diese „Idealschreibweise“ auch für die Gesamtausgabe vor und weist darauf hin, dass auf diese Weise die Benützung des Buches bedeutend erleichtert gewesen wäre. Wegen der mannigfaltigen Schwierigkeiten jedoch, die solche vorausgeschickte (bei einem so schwierigen Text wie al-Huwārizmī sehr oft unsichere oder sogar irreführende) Interpretationen dem Benutzer der Ausgabe bereiten, scheint das Verfahren des Herausgebers, der sich streng an die Hs. gehalten und keine „Idealschreibweisen“ vorgeschlagen hat, konsequenter und auch den wissenschaftlichen Anforderungen mehr entsprechend.

<sup>42</sup> OTTO CUNTZ, Die Geographie des Ptolemaeus, Berlin, 1923.

<sup>43</sup> Text und Karten des Ptolemaeus. Hrsg. v. ALBERT HERRMANN: Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde, Bd. 2, Leipzig, 1938.

Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den Nr. 427, 431, 433, 437, 438, 439, 441, 445, 447, 448, 449, 451, 453, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 521, 525, 526; 839—840, 843—844, 879—880, 881—882, 893—894, 897—898, 901—902, 903—904, 907—908; 1054—1055, 1081—1085, 1106—1108; 1576, 1577, 1578, 1579, 1589, 1590, 1593, 1596; 2090—2098, 2101—2105, 2114—2115, 2146—2180, 2311—2314, 2323—2326.

#### Städte.\*

(Nr. 427) *ميطيا* (zweiter Buchstabe ohne Punkt), L 30° 55' B 43° 55'.

Erwähnt auch bei (Nr. 2091); entspricht den Buchstabenelementen und der Lage nach pt. *Μαυρούα* L 32° 45' B 43° 40'. Die B bei al-Hw. könnte auch 43° 15' gelesen werden, da die Punktation fehlt. Die angegebene Lesung wird dadurch gerechtfertigt, dass die Stadt nördlich des Flusses *Po* (Nr. 2090—2092) liegt. Suhrāb's Angabe, B 43° 45', kommt aus demselben Grunde nicht in Betracht. Die B bei al-Hw. kommt sehr der des Pt. nahe.

(Nr. 481) *يايدون* (erster, dritter u. vierter Buchstabe ohne Punkt), L 33° 25' B 43° 45'.

Erwähnt auch bei (Nr. 2101) und Suhrāb (Nr. 412), (Nr. 2033). Noch einmal wird diese Stadt bei dem Flusse *Arno* (Nr. 2101—2102) genannt, wonach dieser Fluss zwischen der genannten Stadt und *Ancona* (Nr. 433) entspringt.

Alle Varianten deuten darauf hin, dass der Name auf eine griechische Namensform mit der Endung -ov zurückzuführen ist. Dies und die ähnliche B-Angabe bei (Nr. 427) machen die Identifikation mit pt. *Τάνηρον*, L 33° 20' B 43° 40' sicher, umso mehr als keine Stadt bei Pt., die allenfalls in Betracht kommen würde, in diesem Teile des Kartenbildes einen ähnlichen Namen trägt. Die erste Hälfte der arabischen Namensform bestätigt ebenfalls die obige Annahme.

(Nr. 433) *انقس*, L 34° 30' B 43° 30'.

Erwähnt auch bei (Nr. 2101); Suhrāb (Nr. 2033). Bei (Nr. 413) hat Suhrāb einen ganz anderen Namen: *سلحسار*. Die Stadt ist den Buchstabenelementen nach zweifellos mit pt. *Ἄγκων*, L 36° 30' B 43° 40' identisch. Gegen diese Identifikation spricht scheinbar die oben (bei Nr. 431) erwähnte Angabe von (Nr. 2101—2102), dass nämlich der Fluss *Arno* zwischen dieser Stadt und der Stadt (Nr. 431) entspringt. Es ist aber offensichtlich, dass die Arnoquelle nur durch eine weitgehende Entstellung der norditalischen Karte in die Nähe der Ostküste geraten konnte. Suhrāb's Variant (Nr. 413) kann keine

\* Aus drucktechnischen Gründen wird das Fehlen der diakritischen Punkte im Original in jedem einzelnen Fall besonders vermerkt.

Entstellung des obigen Names sein, sondern bezieht sich scheinbar auf eine andere Örtlichkeit in diesem Teile des Kartenbildes. Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach entspricht der arabische Name pt. *Σηναγαλλικα*, L 36° 00' B 43° 40', wofür in erster Linie die Buchstabenelemente sprechen; aber auch die Lage bestätigt diese Annahme. Die Stadt *Ancona* liegt bei Pt. an der Küste. Dies wird von al-Hw. nicht gesagt. Der nähere Lauf der Küstenlinie zwischen der Pomündung und (Nr. 1109) ist bei ihm nicht angegeben.

Der Name von *Ancona* findet sich auch bei Suhrāb (Nr. 379). Dieses letztere hat bei ihm die Koordinaten der Stadt (Nr. 432) des *Hw*: *تيرا* (der zweite Buchstabe ohne Punkte), L 33° 40' B 41° 45'. Suhrāb's Variant, der *Ancona* verdrängt hat, findet sich nicht bei al-Hw. Der Name *تيرا* (Nr. 432, zweiter Buchstabe ohne Punkte) kommt andererseits bei Suhrāb nicht vor. Da aber scheinbar auch Suhrāb's Variant von Pt. stammt, kann man wohl annehmen, dass Suhrāb hier ein anderes Exemplar des Werkes von al-Hw. benützt hat als dasjenige, das uns in der Strassburger Hs. bewahrt wurde.

(Nr. 437.) *يانر* (erster B. ohne P.), am Meere, L 33° 30' B 44° 30'.

Erwähnt auch bei (Nr. 1107); = pt. *Ἰάδερα κολ.*, L 42° 00' B 43° 45'; es heisst auch *Ἰάδερ* (II, 16, 2, Hss); die wichtige Hafenstadt am liburnischen Ufer, einst Vermittler der römischen Kultur für das Binnenland (heute *Zara*, vgl. Mzik: Albanien, 631).

(Nr. 438) *برحان* (der erste und dritte B. ohne P.), L 40° 00' B 45° 00'.

Die Lesung des dritten Konsonanten ist unsicher. Suhrāb hat (Nr. 384) *برحان* (erster B. ohne P.). Von den in der Nähe aufgezeichneten pt. Städten kommt ausser *Βουρνβον*, L 42° 45' B 44° 20' kaum eine für die Identifikation in Betracht. Die Namensform schliesst diese Annahme nicht aus, die Lage der Stadt bei al-Hw. entspricht aber nicht sehr gut der von *Βουρνβον*. *NALLINO* hat diese Nr. mit *Bur'ān*, d. h. mit dem Namen der Donaubulgaren identifiziert (op. cit. 49). Diese historisch sehr wichtige Identifikation wird aber dadurch erschwert, dass die *Bur'ān* an einer anderen Stelle unter den Ländernamen (Nr. 1596, vgl. unten S. 66) als Bewohner des Europäischen Sarmatien genannt werden.

Die Möglichkeit, dass eine spätere Hand den Namen der Bulgaren (*Bur'ān*) noch einmal auf die Karte eingetragen hat, zu der das *Kitāb š ū r a t a l - a r d* der Begleittext war, ist nicht ausgeschlossen. Dann wäre aber recht auffallend, dass der Interpolator, der somit den Namen als erster in der islamischen Geographie gebracht hätte, bei der korrigierten Angabe wiederum geirrt haben soll. Bei ihm liegt nämlich diese Nr. nicht weit von *Iader col.*, d. h. von der Westküste der Balkanhalbinsel entfernt.

Die islamische Geographie hat schon sehr früh die richtige Lage des Landes der Donaubulgaren gekannt. Schon die Quelle des *Ibn Hordādbeh* (*Muslim al-Jarmī*; DE GOEJE's Ausgabe, 92, 105, 109) scheint sehr gut über

die Donaubulgaren unterrichtet zu sein. Danach lag das Land der Donaubulgaren nördlich von Mazedonien, westlich von Konstantinopel.

Eine andere Schwierigkeit der Annahme, dass diese Nr. später interpoliert wurde, steht darin, dass der Name bei al-Hw. unter den Städten aufgezählt wird. Zwar kommt dies bei ihm in zwei anderen Fällen vor (Nr. 468 und Nr. 461), doch bleibt es sehr fraglich, ob wir die Schwierigkeit auch in diesem Falle auf solche Weise beheben dürfen.

Nicht ausgeschlossen ist endlich die Möglichkeit, dass hier mit den *Burġān* nicht die Donaubulgaren, sondern die Burgunden gemeint sind, wie bei Ibn Rusta (ed. DE GOEJE, 130, nach Hārūn Ibn Yaḥyā). Diese Vermutung lässt sich aber viel schwieriger beweisen als die vorige.

(Nr. 439) افوان (zweiter B. ohne P.), L 40° 50' B 44° 10'.

Suhrāb (Nr. 385) افوان. Diese Nr. entspricht pt. Αἰκουον κολ. L 44° 40' B 43° 20', der dalmatischen Stadt an der Strasse von *Salona* nach *Servitium*, in der Umgebung vom heutigen *Cetina* im *Sinjsko-polje* (vgl. MŽIK, Albanien, 631).

(Nr. 441) افيدروس (zweiter und dritter B. ohne P.), L 43° 00' B 43° 50'.

Die Nr. zweifellos identisch mit pt. Ἐπίδουρος. L 44° 40' B 42° 20'. Eine wichtige Abweichung des Hw. gegenüber Pt. ist, dass die Stadt bei al-Hw. als Binnenstadt erscheint (vgl. MŽIK, Albanien, 631). Die Stadt, die auch sonst sehr wohl bekannt ist (zwar gewöhnlich *Epidaurum* genannt), lag am süddalmatischen Ufer. An seiner Stelle liegt heute *Zara Vecchia*. Sie hat schon in der Kaiserzeit eine beträchtliche Rolle gespielt durch ihre Verbindung mit dem Binnenland über *Trebinje*. Ihre kommerzielle Bedeutung ist im Mittelalter noch gewachsen.

(Nr. 445) داطيه. L 45° 20' B 44° 45'.

Erwähnt auch bei (Nr. 2162) und Suhrāb (Nr. 391); entspricht höchstwahrscheinlich pt. Παιτάρια Μουσῶν κολ. L 49° 00' B 43° 20'. Die Stadt bei Pt. liegt am rechten Donauufer, und zwar an dem südlichen Vorsprung der grossen Wende in *Moesia Superior*. Zwischen *Ratiaria* und *Viminacium* wurde die erste römische Strasse an der Donau gebaut (in den Jahren 33–34). Sie war unter Trajan eine Kolonie, blieb auch danach thrakisches Zentrum und wurde später Hauptstadt von *Dacia Ripensia* (vgl. PÁRVAN, *Dacia*. Cambridge, 1928, S. 150, 161). Unter Attila wurde sie verwüstet; heute *Arĉer* in Bulgarien. Die Stadt des Hw. liegt an der angeblichen Donauabzweigung (Nr. 2161–2162). Der Lage nach käme noch pt. Ἐγῆτα, L 47° 15' B 43° 40' in Betracht, aber die Buchstabenelemente bestätigen eher die obige Identifikation.

(Nr. 447) دوايسى (virerter B. ohne P.), L 46° 50' B 44° 20'.

Erwähnt auch bei Suhrāb (Nr. 393). Den Buchstabenelementen nach entspricht diese Nr. pt. Δεουελτός κολ. L 54° 20' B 44° 15'. Die Stadt wird von Pt. ausdrücklich unter den Binnenstädten aufgezählt. Sie lag aber in Wirklichkeit an dem Meerbusen von *Burgas*. Da dieser bei Pt. ganz verschwunden ist, geriet *Deueltos* ins Binnenland. Bei al-Hw. wurde dieser Irrtum noch grösser dadurch, dass bei ihm die Stadt noch weiter ins Binnenland, an die angebliche Donauabzweigung geraten ist. Die Namensform lässt jedenfalls keinen Zweifel über die Identifikation zu. *Deueltos* ist auch sonst bekannt: nach Itin. Ant. 229 lag es südlich von *Anchialos*. Es ist inschriftlich bezeugt. In christlicher Zeit wurde es Bischofsitz. Nach MARQUART (Streifzüge, 499f) entspricht D. dem umstrittenen وولندر, (*Wolander*) von Mas'ūdī.

(Nr. 448) ايتخلى L 47° 45' B 45° 00'.

Erwähnt auch bei (Nr. 2162) und Suhrāb (Nr. 394), (Nr. 2082). Sowohl den Buchstabenelementen als auch der Lage nach entspricht diese Nr. pt. Αγχιάλος L 54° 45' B 44° 30', an der Nordspitze des Einganges in den Busen von *Burgas*. Diese kleine thrakische Stadt (heute *Anchialo*), die von Pt. der Wirklichkeit gemäss unter den Hafenstädten ausgezählt wird, erscheint bei al-Hw. weit im Binnenlande in der Nähe der angeblichen Donauabzweigung, wo diese nach Norden abbiegt. Trotz dieses grossen Unterschiedes in der Lage bei Pt. und al-Hw. ist die Identifikation durch die Namensform und die Lage zu (Nr. 447) durchaus gesichert.

(Nr. 449) افور am Meere (zweiter B. ohne P.), L 48° 10' B 43° 45'.

Erwähnt auch bei (Nr. 1085) und Suhrāb (Nr. 395), (Nr. 669). Da die Stadt bei al-Hw. eine Küstenstadt ist, liegt die Identifikation mit pt. Ἀπολλωνία L 54° 50' B 44° 20' auf der Hand. Dies wird vor allem durch die Buchstabenelemente bestätigt, aber auch die Lage spricht dafür. In Wirklichkeit nimmt *Apollonia* die günstige Lage an der Südspitze des Einganges in den Busen von *Burgas* (heute *Sizeboli*) ein und bildet zusammen mit Ἀγχιάλος und Δεουελτός ein Dreieck. Bei al-Hw. ist *Apollonia* die einzige von diesen drei Hafenstädten, die als solche geblieben ist, die anderen sind merkwürdigerweise an die angebliche Donauabzweigung geraten. Den Buchstabenelementen nach könnte man event. an pt. Ἄπροι κολ. L 54° 00' B 42° 00' denken, wo die Strassen sich nach *Ainos* und der thrakischen *Chersonesos* teilten, das in den ersten Jahrhunderten u. Zeitr. zu grosser Bedeutung gelangt war. Die Stadt liegt immerhin bei al-Hw. am Meere, daher wird man die vorige Identifikation vorziehen müssen.

(Nr. 451) قسطينية an der Meeresenge, L 49° 50' B 45° 00'.

= pt. Βυζάντιον L 56° 00' B 43° 05'. Auch dieser letztere Name war den Arabern in mehreren Varianten geläufig, die — wie die zwei griechischen Namen — gleichzeitig verwendet wurden.

(Nr. 453) نية وموديا. L 51° 00' B 44° 55'.

Die B-Angabe könnte ev. auch 44° 15' gelesen werden, da die Punctuation fehlt (auch bei Suhráb). Der arabische Name ist eine ziemlich genaue Wiedergabe von pt. Νικομεδία, L 57° 30' B 42° 30'. Von den Minutenangaben passt 55' besser ins Kartenbild, da die Bucht, die durch die Küstenlinie bei (Nr. 1054) gebildet wird, wahrscheinlich ein Überrest des flachen Meereshusens ist, an dem bei Pt. *Nikomedia* liegt. Diese bithynische Stadt lag einst an der kommerziell äusserst wichtigen Strasse, die aus dem Osten nach dem Westen führte (heute *Ismid* an der bithynischen Halbinsel).

(Nr. 476) (ثالثا) (dritter, vierter, letzter B. ohne P.), am Fusse des Berges, L 32° 20' B 47° 30'.

Erwähnt auch bei (Nr. 2147) نياقيلون und Suhráb (Nr. 441), (Nr. 2067); der Lage nach wohl pt. Ουέβιον, v. l. Ούσβιον, L 35° 00' B 47° 00' (das man gewöhnlich mit dem heutigen *Ispern*, am gleichnamigen Fluss identifiziert hat; die Identifikation ist aber unsicher). Die Buchstabenelemente der zweiten Hälfte der arabischen Namensform bestätigen diese Annahme. Auffallend ist die Verkürzung des Abstandes bei al-Hw. zwischen der Donauquelle und dieser Stadt. Von ihr wird bei (Nr. 879—880) gesagt, dass sie am Fusse des Gebirges liegt. Da zwischen diesen zwei Objekten auf der Karte ein ziemlich grosser Abstand ist, wird diese Angabe erst deutlich, wenn man bedenkt, dass die Stadt vignetten auf den alten Karten einen grösseren Raum eingenommen haben.

(Nr. 477) ارطى. L 32° 30' B 47° 00'.

Erwähnt auch bei Suhráb (Nr. 438) und (Nr. 2067). Die Identifikation bietet keine Schwierigkeiten: die Nr. ist identisch mit pt. 'Αρελάτη (die RW-Klasse hat ρεδάτη, ἀρεδάτη), L 35° 00' B 47° 00'. Die zwei Städte (Nr. 476) und (Nr. 477) liegen einander am Donauufer gegenüber wie Ουέβιον und 'Αρελάτη bei Pt. Man hat früher angenommen, dass bei Pt. ein Schreibfehler vorliegt anstatt 'Αρελάτη und hat den Namen der pt. Stadt mit dem Fluss *Erlaf* verbunden. Diese Identifikation hat aber gewisse Schwierigkeiten (vgl. STECHER, op. cit., 176f).

(Nr. 478.) ماناपालوس. L 34° 15' B 45° 10'.

= pt. Ἡμωνα, L 30° 30' B 45° 20'. Bei Suhráb findet sich kein Name für diese Nr. Die Identifikation ist sicher. Die scheinbar starke Entstellung der zweiten Hälfte des Namens ist auf ein griechisches -πόλις zurückzuführen.

Es handelt sich um *Emona* (heute *Ljubljana*), das nach Pt. zwischen Italien und Pannonien liegt (II, 14, 5). Seitdem das römische Reich seinen Blick auf den Norden und Pannonien geworfen hatte, wurde diese Stadt ein äusserst wichtiger Knotenpunkt der nach Norden führenden Strassen. Sie konnte bei Pt. nicht fehlen und auch al-Hw. hat sie übernommen.

(Nr. 479) قباطا (vierter B. ohne P.), L 35° 00' B 48° 15'.

Die Identifikation dieser Nr. bietet manche Schwierigkeiten. Weder die Lage noch die Namensform ermöglichen eine überzeugende Lösung. In Betracht käme pt. Προδερία v. l. Βροδερία L 33° 45' B 48° 00' im Süden Germaniens (nach einer Vermutung von C. MÜLLER das heutige *Brenz* in Württemberg, Jagatkreis). Dazu ist aber zu bemerken, dass die Lage nicht für diese Identifikation spricht. Besser würde pt. Φουρησιας, v. l. Φουρησιας, L 36° 00' B 48° 00' ins Kartenbild des Hw. passen, aber die Buchstabenelemente bestätigen nicht diese Annahme. Ausserdem käme ev. noch pt. Κορυδρις, v. l. Κορυδορις, L 37° 15' B 48° 30' in Betracht, wobei der erste Konsonant als *q* zu lesen wäre. Die Minutenziffer der B-Angabe ist ev. 55' zu lesen.

(Nr. 480) ابيروديين. L 40° 45' B 48° 20'.

Erwähnt auch bei (Nr. 2148), Suhráb (Nr. 443), (Nr. 2068). Die Nr. entspricht zweifellos pt. 'Εβουροδουνον, v. l. (X) 'Ρεβουροδουνον, L 39° 00' B 48° 00'. Die Identifikation beruht auf der übereinstimmenden Lage. Der pt. Name hängt wahrscheinlich mit pt. 'Εβουρον, L 41° 00' B 49° 30' zusammen (vgl. E. SCHWARTZ in Forschungen zum Deutschtum der Ostmarken, 1931, 17).

(Nr. 481) فركيس (erster B. ohne P.), L 42° 00' B 47° 55'.

Erwähnt auch bei (Nr. 2148) = pt. Κάρις. Die Minutenziffer könnte auch 15' gelesen werden; auf diese Weise würde aber die Stadt viel zu südlich von der Donaubucht geraten. Die von Pt. überlieferte Namensform ist sonst nicht gewöhnlich. Es handelt sich hier um *Cirpi*, die wichtige Station der Donaustrasse und gleichzeitig wichtiges Kastell in Pannonia Inferior. Es ist fraglich, ob der pt. Name mit der Stelle in Herodotos in Zusammenhang gebracht werden kann, wonach *Alpis* und *Karpis* zwei Flüsse sind, die sich in die Donau ergiessen. In beiden Fällen dürfte der Name der Karpathen die Verwechslung verursacht haben. Die Lage von *Cirpi* wurde neuerdings genauer lokalisiert: „Der das Castell bedeckende Hügel liegt etwa 30 m von der Donau entfernt, in der unteren, südöstlichen Ausbuchtung des Flusses, die bei Dunabogdány beginnt“. (A. SZALAY: Archacologia Hungarica X. 1933, 9ff).

(Nr. 482) Stadt, L 43° 20' B 46° 30'.

Die Nr. trägt auch bei Suhráb keinen Namen. Dennoch kann kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, dass hier pt. Σίρμιον, v. l. Σύρμιον, L 44° 50' B 45° 00' vorliegt. Ihre Lage zwischen den Flüssen (Nr. 2163—2164 und 2165—2166, der Drau bzw. der Save) entspricht genau der Lage der pt. Stadt. *Sirmium* war vielleicht die bedeutendste Stadt von Pannonien (A. GRAF, Übersicht der antiken Geographie von Pannonien: Diss. Pannon., Ser. I, Fasc. 5, S. 55f), in so manchen Quellen des Altertums wohl bekannt. Sie hatte

eine direkte Verkehrsverbindung mit den Gegenden jenseits der Drau und über Salona mit Rom. Auch der transkontinentale Weg über *Sirmium* war von hervorragender Bedeutung. An ihrer Stelle liegt heute *Mitrovica*.

(Nr. 483) ارزمی, L 44° 50' B 46° 20'.

Der Name ist stark entstellt, entspricht jedoch mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit pt. Ζαμζερέθουσα βασιλειον, L 47° 50' B 45° 15', der wohl-bekanntesten Hauptstadt Daziens. Bei al-Hw. fehlt die zweite Hälfte des Namens, eine Erscheinung, die uns bei ihm häufig entgegnetritt.

(Nr. 484) اسليثا, L 45° 00' B 48° 10'.

Da die Punktation fehlt, könnte man die B ev. 43° lesen. Die obige Lesung erfolgte mit Rücksicht auf die Klima-Einteilung bei al-Hw. Die entstellte arabische Namensform lässt keine sichere Identifikation zu. Am ehesten würde man an pt. Σαλίνα, L 49° 15' B 47° 10' (eine dakische Ortschaft, heute Unirea, nicht weit von den Salzwerken von Ocna Mureşului) denken wegen ihrer Lage zum Karpathen-Gebirge und der Stadt (Nr. 525).

(Nr. 485) حليّة ييدون (dritter, vierter, fünfter B. ohne P.), an der Meeresenge L 50° 30' B 46° 00'.

Erwähnt auch bei (Nr. 1055) = pt. Χαλκηδών L 56° 05' B 43° 05' (vgl. MZIK, Osteuropa, 166). Die Stadt liegt bei Pt. und in Wirklichkeit in Bithynien, am Südausgang des Bosphoros, gegenüber Byzanz. Bei al-Hw., dessen Wiedergabe des Bosphoros einen Rückgang gegenüber Pt. bedeutet, erscheint *Chalcedon* viel nördlicher als Byzanz. Der Name war den Arabern wohl bekannt (als *Khalqidōnia*, vgl. TOMASCHER: S.-Ber. d. Akad. Wien, phil.-hist. Kl. 1891, VIII, 4). Al-Hw. folgt der pt. Namensform.

(Nr. 521) ماسيا (vorletzter B. ohne P.), beim Fusse eines Gebirges. L 32° 15' B 52° 15'.

Erwähnt auch bei Suhrāb (Nr. 477). Die Nr. entspricht pt. Ἀμισία, L 31° 30' B 51° 30', wie es sich aus ihrer Lage zu den *Abnobaeci* Montes und auch aus den Buchstabenelementen feststellen lässt. Die heutige Lage ist unbekannt. Die arabische Namensform entspricht der Lesung der RW-Klasse: Ἀμισία. Anstatt 15' könnte man beide Male 55' lesen; 15' entspricht jedoch besser dem pt. Kartenbilde.

(Nr. 525) فطردرا (erster und vierter B. ohne P.), L 47° 15' B 50° 15'.

Erwähnt auch der Suhrāb (Nr. 481) = pt. Πατριδάνα, L 53° 00' B 48° 10', wofür die Buchstabenelemente, vor allem aber auch die Lage sprechen. Die Lage dieser dakischen Stadt ist nicht näher bekannt. Sie ist ev. eine Dublette zu Πετρόδανα, L 53° 45' B 47° 40' (PÁRVAN, *Getica*, 1926, 252ff).

(Nr. 526) اسطورا, am Meere, L 49° 00' B 49° 15'.

Ἰστρος πόλις in *Nieder-Moesien*, L 55° 40' B 46° 00'. Anstatt 15' in der B-Angabe des Hw. wäre hier auch die Lesung 55' möglich, doch könnte man dies mit dem Lauf des südlichsten Donauarmes bei al-Hw. schwer in Einklang bringen. Die genaue Lage von *Istros* ist nicht bekannt.

### Gebirge.

(Nr. 839–840) Gebirge درطاردون (sechster und letzter B. ohne P.), L 38° 40' B 44° 45' — L 38° 50' B 47° 00'. Farbe: gelb; Richtung der Gipfel: W.

Nach der Lage zu den zwei Qellen (Nr. 2163) und (Nr. 2165) kann dieser Berg nur das Κέτιον ὄρος (L 37° 30' B 46° 50' — L 37° 30' B 45° 30') des Pt. sein, der heutige *Wienerwald*. Die L-Angaben sind auch bei Suhrāb ohne Punktation. Die Lesung L 38° 00' würde eher dem Kartenbild des Pt. entsprechen, ist aber mit den Angaben für diese zwei Quellen und auch mit (Nr. 478) Ἡμωνα nicht in Einklang zu bringen.

Die arabische Namensform lässt sich aus der griechischen nicht erklären. Offensichtlich hat al-Hw. den Namen des Karawankengebirges, das bei Pt. die unmittelbare Fortsetzung des Κέτιον ὄρος nach Süden bildet, auf das Κέτιον ὄρος übertragen. Dieses letztere hat zwei Namen bei Pt.: Καρούαρκας (II, 13, 1 und II, 14, 1) und Καρουσάδιον (III, 1, 1), das aber nur eine verdorbene Form des vorigen darstellt (vgl. CUNTZ op. cit., 165). Die arabische Namensform geht auf eine v. I. des letzteren zurück: dagegen Καρουάδει, Καρουσάδιω (RW), Καρουσάδιον (Σ), (X). Die Mitte dieses Gebirges hat bei Pt. die Lage L 35° 00' B 45° 20'.

(Nr. 843–44) Gebirge, L 43° 35' B 42° 40' — L 44° 25' B 43° 50'; gelb; N.

Das namenlose Gebirge entspricht pt. Ὀρβήλον ὄρος L 49° 00' B 42° 20', (III, 9, 1). Die Identifikation erfolgte auf Grund seiner Lage zu dem Fluss (Nr. 2114–2115). Al-Hw. hat die L, entsprechend seiner Darstellung der Balkanhalbinsel, wesentlich abgeändert.

(Nr. 879–880) Gebirge الغمس (zweiter B. ohne P.), an dessen Fuss die Stadt مافيلوب (dritter, vierter, letzter B. ohne P.), (Nr. 476) liegt, L 29° 50' B 46° 45' — L 35° 30' B 49° 15'; rosenfarbig; N.

= zweifellos pt. Ἄλπεια ὄρη (L 29° 00' B 47° 00' — L 33° 00' B 48° 30'). Der „Anfang“ hat ungefähr die gleiche Position, dagegen beträgt bei al-Hw. die L des Gebirges um zwei Grade mehr als bei Pt., was eine wesentliche Entstellung des Kartenbildes bedeutet. Die Ἄλπεια ὄρη des Pt. sind ein Ausläufer der *Aipengebirge* und stellen, wie allgemein angenommen wird, die rauhe *Alb*, einen Teil des Fränkischen Jura und wahrscheinlich auch einen Teil des Schwarzwaldes dar.

(Nr. 881—882) Gebirge **سيفنا** (zweiter, vierter, fünfter B. ohne P.), L 34° 30' B 45° 30' — L 36° 00' B 45° 40'; lazurfarbig; S.

Der Lage nach kann dieses Gebirge nur mit 'Αλβανόν ὄρος oder Βίβλια ὄρη identisch sein (die beiden Bergzüge bilden nach Pt. II, 14, 1 die Südgrenze von Pannonia Superior), was jedoch mit der arabischen Namensform kaum in Einklang zu bringen ist. Es ist daher wahrscheinlich, dass der arabische Name von einem anderen, in der Nähe liegenden Objekt übernommen wurde. Diese Annahme wird dadurch bestätigt, dass die Buchstabelemente des Namens der pt. Stadt Σισκία (L 39° 00' B 45° 00') gut zur arabischen Namensform passen. Da die Stadt bei Pt. unmittelbar nördlich des Gebirges liegt, kann man annehmen, dass ihr Name fälschlich von al-Hw. als Name des Gebirges angegeben wird.

(Nr. 893—894) Gebirge **جوردونا** (erster, dritter B. ohne P.), L 31° 50' B 49° 40' — L 31° 50' B 52° 45'; rosenfarbig (v. 1. gelb); W.

Die Lage und die Namensform bestätigen die Identifikation mit pt. 'Αβνοβα ὄρη (L 31° 00' B 49° 00' — L 31° 00' B 52° 00'). Das *Abnoba*gebirge bei Pt. entspricht dem *Odenwald* und den Bergen nördlich davon, einschliesslich des *Egge*gebirges.

(Nr. 897—898) Gebirge **سورطايدا** (vorletzter B. ohne P.), L 35° 30' B 49° 40' — L 40° 20' B 49° 30'; lazurfarbig; N.

Wie schon die Buchstabelemente bezeugen, handelt es sich hier um die pt. Σουδητα ὄρη (L 34° 00' v. 1. 31° 00' B 50° 00' — 40° 00' B 50° 00'). Die L-Angabe des „Anfanges“ der pt. Hs. „X“ ist abweichend; al-Hw. schliesst sich an die Lesart der übrigen Hss. an. Die Identifikation des pt. Σουδητα ὄρη ist umstritten. Es ist das längste aller germanischen Gebirge bei Pt., so dass man den ganzen Gebirgszug vom Fichtelberg bis zum Mährischen Gesenke in Betracht ziehen muss (MEHLIS: Archiv f. Anthrop., N. F. XIX, 1923, 148). Nach der neuesten Ansicht (STECHE, op. cit., 49f) liegt hier eine Verwechslung in den Namen vor. Pt. soll nämlich die beiden, einen germanischen Namen tragenden *Melibokon-* und *Askiburgion*gebirge noch einmal unter einem keltischen Namen (*Sudeta*) ins Kartenbild eingetragen haben.

(Nr. 901—902) Gebirge **سرطاميجا** (sechter, vorletzter B. ohne P., erwähnt auch bei Nr. 2323), L 41° 45' B 40° 30' — L 44° 00' B 51° 45'; sattgelb; N.

= pt. Σαρματικά ὄρη (L 42° 30' B 48° 30' — L 43° 30' B 50° 30'). Die Angaben des Pt. hat al-Hw. nur unwesentlich abgeändert. Dieses Gebirge, das bei Pt. zwischen dem Sudeten- und dem Karpathengebirge liegt, stellt die westlichen Karpathen dar.

(Nr. 903—904) Gebirge **قرطيس** (erster, vorletzter B. ohne P.), L 44° 15' B 48° 30' — L 44° 15' B 50° 00'; gelb; W.

Die Buchstabelemente lassen eindeutig die Identifikation mit dem Καρπάτης ὄρος des Pt. zu (L 46° 00' B entlang von 48° 30' bis zur *Axiaces-*

quelle). Die Lage ist bei al-Hw. um 90° gedreht. Das Gebirge hat bei ihm eine NS Achse. Bei Beibehaltung der pt. B des „Anfanges“ hat er das „Ende“ des Gebirges nach N verlegt (wahrscheinlich um für die Quelle — Nr. 2179 = pt. Τύρας — Platz zu machen). Das Gebirge soll bei Pt. die östlichen Karpathen darstellen.

(Nr. 907—908) Gebirge **قافى** (vorletzter B. ohne P.), L 46° 40' B 51° 15' — L 46° 40' B 53° 00'; blassrot; W.

= den Buchstabelementen nach pt. Πεύκη ὄρος (L 51° 00' B 51° 00'); zur Identifikation vgl. POLASCHEK: RE XIX, Sp. 1390). Der Unterschied in der L ist der Auswirkung der L-Reduktion des Hw. zuzuschreiben. Die B-Angaben sind auch bei Suhráb ohne Punkte. Dem Kartenbild des Pt. entspricht 51° 15' am besten (es wäre noch 55' oder mit Suhráb 45' möglich zu lesen). Die zweite B ist zweifellos 53° 00' und nicht 58° 00' zu lesen (vgl. die Angaben zu Nr. 905—906).

### Das Meer (Die Meeresenge).

(Die Küstenlinie) . . . verläuft weiter in *Tailacau*-Form<sup>1</sup> die Stadt **نيقومونيا** (Nr. 453) berührend, nach L 51° 05' B 44° 40' (Nr. 1054); verläuft unterhalb der Stadt **حلقميدون** (Nr. 485) und gelangt nach L 50° 40' B 47° 00' (Nr. 1055); setzt sich in *Kreisbogenform* fort . . .

### Das Schwarze Meer und die Meeresenge.

(Die Küstenlinie) . . . verläuft weiterhin in *Kreisbogenform* an der Mündung von neun Flüssen vorbei nach L 51° 00' (v. 1. 51° 05') B 49° 00' (v. 1. 49° 05') (Nr. 1081); verläuft unterhalb der Stadt **اسطورا** (Nr. 526) bei L 48° 50' B 48° 30' (Nr. 1082); hierauf in *Kreisbogenform* nach L 50° 00' B 47° 15' (Nr. 1083); verläuft unterhalb der Stadt Konstantinopel (Nr. 451) und gelangt zu L 50° 00' (v. 1. 50° 40') B 44° 30' (Nr. 1084) flusst unterhalb der Stadt **افود** (zweiter B. ohne P.) (Nr. 470) auf dieselbe zu bei L 48° 00' B 48° 20' (Nr. 1085) . . .

Die Darstellung der Meeresenge bei al-Hw. wird dadurch bestimmt, dass die Breiten der westlichen Schwarzmeerküste wegen der Vorlegung der Donaumündung um ca. 3½° nach Norden dementsprechend grösser sind als bei Pt. Dadurch entsteht eine vergrößerte, ungegliederte Zeichnung, die gegenüber Pt. keinen Fortschritt aufweist.

Der *Bosporos* (zwischen Nr. 1054—1055, bzw. 1083—1084) ist bei al-Hw. ½° breit und 2½° lang; beide Angaben sind stark übertrieben. Das westliche Ufer der *Propontis* (zwischen Nr. 1084 und 1085) hat bei ca. 5°

<sup>1</sup> „Kreisbogenform“ vgl. MZIK, Ostouropa, 176; MINORSKY: Gibb Memorial New Series, XI, 1037, S. 286.



L-Reduktion einen ähnlichen Verlauf wie bei Pt., dagegen verläuft die östliche Küstenlinie, ganz im Widerspruch mit Pt. stehend, fast in nord-südlicher Richtung, was wahrscheinlich eine Folge der Vergrößerung der kleinasiatischen B-Angaben ist (vgl. Μζικ, Osteuropa, 178). Die zwei Städte *Konstantinopel* und *Chalkedon*, die bei Pt. einander gegenüber an beiden Ufern des Bosporos liegen, sind 1° in der B von einander entfernt. Die Meeresbucht von *Nikomedia* ist bei al-Hw. verschwunden.

Die grosse, übertriebene Einbuchtung der Küste unterhalb der Donaumündung, welche wir bei Pt. finden, hat auch al-Hw. (Nr. 1081—1083). Nördlich des Donaumündungsgebietes verläuft die Küste (Nr. 2326, Nr. 2337) NW bei al-Hw. gegenüber NO bei Pt. Der Punkt (Nr. 2337) erscheint nicht mehr auf unserer Karte.

### Das Adriatische Meer.

(Die Küstenlinie) . . . . verläuft weiter nach L 40° 45' B 43° 30' (Nr. 1106); verläuft weiter in Kreisbogenform unterhalb der Stadt *بيادر* (erster und zweiter B. ohne P.) (Nr. 437) auf dieselbe zu bei L 38° 00' (v. 1. 38° 05') B 44° 40' (Nr. 1107); verläuft weiter nach L 31° 15' B 44° 20', in der Hs. irrtümlich 40° 20' (v. 1. 49° 00', vom Herausg. verbessert nach 2008) (Nr. 1108); wendet sich nach der Mündung eines Flusses zurück nach L 38° 00' (v. 1. 38° 05') B 42° 40' . . . .

Der Verlauf der adriatischen Meeresküste bei al-Hw. weist keine wesentlichen Änderungen gegenüber Pt. auf. Die Ostküste (Nr. 1106—1108) verläuft von der Stadt (Nr. 437) an auf seiner Karte in ost-westlicher Richtung. Da die Punktation fehlt, könnte man die L bei (Nr. 1107) auch 33° 00' lesen. Der westlichste Punkt (Nr. 1108) des adriatischen Meerbusens hat bei einem Unterschied von 1° 15' in der L eine der pt. (44° 50') sehr nahe kommende B. Die italische Küste von diesem Punkte bis zur Pomündung (Nr. 2098) verläuft bei al-Hw. wieder fast in west-östlicher Richtung, so dass der Meerbusen hier viel zu eng gegenüber Pt. und dies natürlich noch mehr gegenüber der Wirklichkeit ist. Erst nach der *Tiberis*-quelle (Nr. 2103) schlägt die Küstenlinie südöstliche Richtung ein. Pt. hat die Achse der appenninischen Halbinsel fast ganz nach W—O gedreht, was al-Hw. nicht richtig gestellt hat.

### Ländernamen.

(Nr. 1576) Land *افريقيه* Mitte (dies ist ein Verweis bei al-Hw. auf die Beschriftung der Karte) bei L 36° 00' (v. 1. 36° 05') B 44° 50'.

Die Identifikation dieser Nr. ist unsicher. Der Namensform nach könnte *Oubinelkia* von Pt. in Betracht kommen (vgl. Μζικ, Afrika, 60, Anm. 1.), ev. durch syrische Vermittlung. Es fällt dabei auf, dass der Name so weit nach Osten geraten ist.

(Nr. 1577) Land *ماقيدونيا* (vierter B. ohne P.), Mitte bei L 42° 00' (v. 1. 42° 05') B 48° 30'.

= pt. *Μακεδονία*, was sowohl die Namensform als auch die Lage bestätigen.

(Nr. 1578) Land *موسيا الفوقاوية* (vierter B. ohne P.), Mitte bei L 44° 30' B 44° 00' (v. 1. 44° 30').

= pt. *Μυσία ἡ ἄνω*, mit gleicher Lage im Kartenbild bei al-Hw.

(Nr. 1579) Land *موسيا السفلية* (vierter B. ohne P.), Mitte bei L 46° 00' B 44° 30'.

= pt. *Μυσία ἡ κάτω*. Bei al-Hw. ist der Name der Provinz nach Westen verschoben. Dies ist durch seine L-Reduktion zu erklären, von der eben *Moesia Inferior* am meisten betroffen wurde (vgl. oben S.).

(Nr. 1589) Land *اطيا* (vorletzter B. ohne P.), Mitte bei L 31° 10' B 45° 10'.

= pt. *Paria*, wie das durch die Lage und die Buchstabenelemente bestätigt wird. Die Namen der zwei, bei Pt. nebeneinander liegenden Provinzen (*Raetia* und *Vindelicia*) sind bei al-Hw. weit von einander entfernt (vgl. oben Nr. 1576).

(Nr. 1590) Land *يلورقيون واماطيه*. Mitte bei L 42° 00' (v. 1. 42° 05') B 45° 30'.

= pt. *Μαυρίς* und *Δαματία*. Die beiden Namen werden bei Pt. ebenfalls zusammen genannt. Der Name erscheint bei al-Hw. ein wenig nach NW vom Küstengebiet verschoben.

(Nr. 1593.) Land *عمرانيا*, das ist das Land der *صقاليه*. Mitte bei L 36° 40' B 52° 00' (Hs. irrtümlich 60° 00', verbessert vom Herausg. nach al-Battānī).

= pt. *Γερμανία*. Hier werden zum erstenmale in der islamischen Literatur die *Ṣaqāliba* genannt. Ihre Gleichsetzung mit den Germanen ist wahrscheinlich dem Umstand zuzuschreiben, dass die *Ṣaqāliba* an der nördlichen Grenze des islamischen Nordens in der Zeit des Hw. schon bekannt waren und so ihre Gleichsetzung mit ihren westlichen Nachbarn auf der Hand lag. Nun enthält diese Gleichsetzung insofern Richtiges, als Ostgermanien damals, um 840 n. unserer Zeitrechnung von Slaven besiedelt war. Immerhin dürfte al-Hw. kaum mehr gewusst haben als den Namen der Germanen und die ungefähre Lage ihres Landes. Die Bezeichnung *Ṣaqāliba* war auch noch später in der islamischen geographischen Literatur ein Wandelbegriff (vgl. A. ZEKI VALIDI TOĞAN, Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht: Abh. für d. Kunde des Morgenlandes XXIV, 3, 295ff, wo aber der Umfangsbereich des Wortes *ṣaqālib* wohl stark übertrieben ist.).

(Nr. 1596.) Land *سرماطيه*, das ist das Land der *برجان*. Mitte bei L 45° 00' (v. 1. 45° 05') B 52° 00' (v. 1. 52° 05').

= pt. *Σαρματία ἡ ἐν Εὐρώπῃ*. Die Gleichsetzung mit den *Burjan* bestätigt das oben (bei Nr. 1593) Gesagte: al-Hw. identifiziert die Völker

des fernen Nordwestens, von denen schon — wahrscheinlich sehr sparsame — islamische Berichte vorlagen, mit den Völkern Osteuropas, die Pt. nennt (vgl. noch oben zu Nr. 438).

#### Flüsse.

Fluss, dessen Quelle bei L 28° 40' B 44° 20' (Nr. 2090) ist; fliesst in der Nähe der Stadt **مَنْطِيَا** (Nr. 427) bei L 31° 00' B 43° 40' (Nr. 2091); seine Mündung ins Meer ist bei L 33° 30' (v. 1. 23° 30') B 44° 10' (Nr. 2092).

Die Lesung der L der Mündung ist durch die adriatische Küstenlinie bei al-Hw. gesichert. Es handelt sich hier zweifellos um den *Po*. Pt. lässt den *Po* fälschlich dem *Larius*-See entspringen L 29° 20' B 44° 45'. Der Punkt (Nr. 2091), wo der Fluss eine Biegung macht, entspricht pt. Πλακενρία, L 31° 20' B 43° 30'. Die Lage der Mündung (bei Pt. L 34° 45' B 44° 00') hat al-Hw. ebenfalls nicht wesentlich abgeändert. Von den pt. Handschriften hat nur die RW-Klasse die richtige Lesung, die X-Klasse hat Τράδος.

Diesem Strome fliesst ein Fluss zu, dessen Quelle bei L 29° 15' B 42° 45' (Nr. 2093) ist; seine Mündung in diesen Strom ist bei L 30° 00' (v. 1. 40', ev. 30° 40') B 44° 00' (Nr. 2094).

Dieser namenlose Fluss ist der Δωπίας des Pt. (Quelle L 28° 45' B 43° 45', Mündung L 30° 40' B 43° 45'; heute *Dora Baltea*). Die vom Herausg. angegebene Lesung der L der Mündung (30° 00') passt am besten ins Kartenbild.

Die Darstellung des *Po* und seiner Nebenflüsse ist bei al-Hw. eine ziemlich genaue Wiedergabe von Pt., mit keinen wesentlichen Veränderungen in der L und B.

Dem ersten Fluss fliesst auch ein anderer Fluss zu, dessen Quelle bei L 29° 30' B 45° 10' (Nr. 2095) ist; seine Mündung in den Strom liegt bei L 30° 30' B 44° 00' (Nr. 2096).

Der Fluss entspricht dem auch bei Pt. namenlosen Fluss, der dem Βαλνακος-See entspringt (dem *Mincio*). Die L dieses Sees ist bei Pt. 30° 30', also identisch mit der L der Quelle. Die B ist bei Pt. um 1° grösser.

Fluss, dessen Quelle bei 30° 30' B 44° 45' (Nr. 2097) ist; seine Mündung ins Meer ist bei L 31° 20' B 44° 20' (Nr. 2098).

= pt. Τιλαιούεμπτος (der *Tagliamento*), dessen B bei Pt. diesem namenlosen Fluss des al-Hw. sehr nahekommt (L 33° 00' B 44° 50').

Fluss zwischen den Städten **ΔΙΑΜΕΔΩΝ** (erster, dritter vierter, und letzter B. ohne P. Erwähnt auch bei Nr. 431) und **ΑΙΓΥΣ** (Nr. 433); sein Beginn ist bei L 33° 45' B 43° 30' (Nr. 2101); seine Mündung ins Meer ist bei L 31° 45' B 41° 30' (Nr. 2102).

Auf unserer Karte erscheint nur die Quelle des Flusses. (Das gleiche gilt von den zwei folgenden Flüssen.) Es handelt sich höchstwahrscheinlich, wie schon gesagt (Nr. 431), um den Ἄρπος. Seine Mündung hat bei Pt. L 33° 20' B 42° 40'. Der genaue Lauf des Flusses ist bei Pt. nicht angegeben.

Fluss, dessen Beginn bei L 35° 20' B 43° 45' (Nr. 2103) ist; gelangt zu einem Ort, dessen L 35° 00' B 43° 00' (Nr. 2104) ist; fliesst dann weiter durch die Stadt **ΡΩΜΗ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΒΙΡΕ** (Nr. 434) und mündet ins Meer bei L 35° 20' B 41° 40' (Nr. 2105).

= pt. Τιβέριος. Die Stadt (Nr. 434) ist *Rom*. Die Quelle verlegt al-Hw. fälschlich in die Nähe der adriatischen Küste Italiens.

Fluss, der einem Berge entspringt; sein Beginn ist bei L 44° 30' B 43° 50' (Nr. 2114); seine Mündung ins Meer ist bei L 45° 00' B 42° 20' (Nr. 2115).

Der untere Lauf des Flusses erscheint nicht auf unserer Karte. Da die Quelle näher bestimmt ist, kann der Fluss, obwohl der Name fehlt, mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit mit pt. Στρομων (Quelle L 48° 40' B 42° 00', Mündung L 50° 15' B 41° 25', heute *Struma*) identifiziert werden. Er entspringt nach Pt. den an der makedonisch-trakischen Grenze gelegenen Bergen. Auf ähnliche Weise lässt al-Hw. diesen Fluss dem Berge (Nr. 843—44) entspringen. Die Nr. fehlt bei Suhrab.

Fluss **ΝΟΥΙΣΙ**, dessen Ursprung eine Quelle bei L 29° 20' (Hs. undeutlich, ev. 29° 30' u lesen) B 46° 20' (v. 1. 46° 30') (Nr. 2146) ist; fliesst zwischen (Suhrab: der Stadt) **ΝΙΑΚΙΛΩΝ** (Nr. 470) und der Stadt **ΑΡΑΤΥ** (Nr. 477) hindurch; gelangt zu einem Ort, dessen L 40° 40' B 47° 15' (Nr. 2147) ist; fliesst zwischen der Stadt **ΦΡΥΣΙΣ** (erster und vierter B. ohne P.) (Nr. 481) und der Stadt **ΑΙΠΙΣ** (zweiter B. ohne P.) (Nr. 481) zu einem Ort, dessen L 42° 00' B 48° 00' (Nr. 2148) ist; gelangt zu einem Ort, dessen L 44° 00' B 46° 00' (Nr. 2149) ist; gelangt zu einem Ort, dessen L 47° 30' B 45° 00' (Nr. 2150) ist; gelangt zu einem Ort, dessen L 48° 00' B 46° 00' (Nr. 2151) ist; gelangt zu einem Ort dessen L 47° 30' B 48° 30' (Nr. 2153) ist; fliesst dann weiter und mündet ins Meer bei L 51° 00' B 51° 40' (Nr. 2153). Von diesem grossen Flusse zweigen sechs Arme ab und ergiessen sich ins Meer. Der Ort, wo der erste Arm abzweigt, ist bei L 48° 45' B 49° 50' (Nr. 2154), seine Mündung ins Meer bei L 51° 00' B 49° 00' (Nr. 2155). Die Mündungen der fünf anderen Flüsse sind zwischen der Mündung dieses Flusses und der Mündung des grossen Stromes in fünf von einander gleich entfernten Abständen (Nr. 2156—2160).

Die *Donau* trägt bei al-Hw. den Namen **ΝΟΥΙΣΙ**. Für den unteren Lauf des Flusses, der bei Pt. Ἰστρος heisst, kennt al-Hw. keine andere Benennung. Dieser letzte, ein thrakischer Name, der uns als Flussname seit Hesiodos' Theogonia (V. 339) bekannt ist, findet sich bei al-Hw. nur als Name der Stadt (Nr. 526). Die keltische Benennung (*Donau*) hat bei den römischen Schriftstellern (seit Caesar, Bell. gall. VI, 25) als die des Oberlaufes des Flusses gegolten. Was den Grenzpunkt zwischen beiden Namen anbelangt, waren die Angaben der antiken Schriftsteller verschieden. Pt. sucht ihn bei der untermösischen Stadt *Axiupolis* (III, 10, 1). Die alte Benennung des Unterlaufes der *Donau* verschwindet auch bei den späteren byzantinischen Schriftstellern. Im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert wird sie nur noch als Archaismus verwen-

det. Die Weglassung der alten Benennung bei al-Hw. ist jedoch kaum auf den Gebrauch seiner Zeit zurückzuführen. Viel eher liegt hier der gewöhnliche Fall vor, dass nämlich al-Hw. Pt. verkürzt wiedergibt. Ob der Name *نوبسی* auf gr. *Δαυούβιος* oder auf die der lateinischen Urform besser entsprechende Variante der Pt.-Hs. (*ψ*) *Δαυαουβίου* zurückgeht, lässt sich nicht entscheiden. Idrisi schreibt entsprechend dem Gebrauch seiner Zeit *danā* (*dinnā*) (HOENERBACH, op. cit., 45).

Die Position der Donauquelle ist ziemlich genau von Pt. übernommen. Die L stimmt bis auf 40' (29° 20' ev. 30' gegenüber 30° bei Pt.). Die B ist bei al-Hw. 46° 20' (v. 1. 46° 30'), bei Pt. 46° 50' (Hs. X; MÜLLER nimmt die Lesung der RW-Klasse, 46° 20' in den Text auf, vgl. dagegen CUNTZ, op. cit. 170, s. *Danubii fons*). Es ist dabei auffallend, dass die Reduktion der Mittelmeerlänge durch al-Hw. sich hier noch nicht stärker auswirkt. Dagegen sind die L-Angaben auf der Balkanhalbinsel stark reduziert, was in jenem Kartenteil zu weitgehenden Entstellungen geführt hat. Die Donauquelle liegt bei Pt. gegenüber der Wirklichkeit einerseits viel zu südlich, andererseits ist sie sehr weit nach Osten verlegt. Die falsche B-Angabe kann hier die Ursache des Irrtumes in der L sein: Pt. hat den ganzen Donauoberlauf verkürzt wiedergegeben, damit die Quelle nicht auf eine Stelle geraten soll, die bei richtiger L (28° 30') südöstlich vom heutigen Basel wäre (STECHÉ, op. cit., 40). Al-Hw. bessert diesen Fehler nicht aus, weil ihm keine neuen Angaben zur Verfügung gestanden haben. Er lebt sogar bei Idrisi fort, der die Donauquelle dem Hw. entnommen hat (HOENERBACH, l. c.).

Von den Donauquellen hat man im Altertum lango keine klare Vorstellung gehabt. Während die griechischen Kolonisten schon im 5. Jahrhundert vor uns. Zeitr. den ganzen Unterlauf der Donau gekannt haben, blieb die Quellengegend bis zur Kaiserzeit unbekannt. Auch Strabon lokalisiert sie nicht genau. Sie wurden erst durch den Kaiser Claudius I. im Jahre 51 uns. Zeitr. entdeckt (KORNEMANN, Die Alb zur Zeit des Kaisers Claudius: Blätter d. Schwab. Albvereins, XXI, 352). Diese Tatsache ist dadurch zu erklären, dass für die Quellengebiete kein Interesse vorhanden war, weil sie für den Verkehr ohne Bedeutung waren (ŠRMEK, Velká Germania Klaudia Ptolemaia II: Schriften der phil. Fak. der Brünnner Masaryk Univ., Nr. 40, 58f).

Der nächste Punkt des Donaulaufes, den Pt. angibt, liegt L 32° 00' B 47° 15', bei der Mündung des ersten, aus Germanien kommenden Flusses (mit der *Wörnitz* identifiziert) und ist bei al-Hw. nicht angegeben. Der nächste Punkt, wo nach Pt. die *Ainos* (*Inn*)-Mündung liegt (L 34° 00' B 47° 20'), fehlt ebenfalls. Der Donaulauf zwischen der Quelle und Nr. (2147) bei al-Hw. wird einerseits bestimmt durch die Lage der *Alb* (Nr. 879—880), andererseits durch die zwei Städte (Nr. 476, 477), die die L 32° 20', bzw. 30' haben. Diese beiden liegen bei Pt. nach der grossen Biegung, die der wirklichen Biegung

bei Regensburg entspricht, wo der Fluss schon die südöstliche Richtung eingeschlagen hat (sie werden im allgemeinen mit *Ispern* und *Grosspöchlarn*, bei der Mündung des Flusses *Erlaf*, identifiziert). Bei al-Hw. nehmen sie die Stelle an dem Nordpunkt der Biegung ein, was eine Entstellung gegenüber Pt. ist. Der linke Nebenfluss, der bei Pt. L 36° 00' bei seiner Mündung hat (höchstwahrscheinlich die *Aist*), fehlt bei al-Hw. Der Donaulauf zwischen den letztgenannten zwei Städ'en und dem Punkt (Nr. 2147) ist wahrscheinlich auch auf der Karte von al-Hw. nicht gerade verlaufen. Zwar findet sich nichts im Text darüber, man kann jedoch voraussetzen, dass der Fluss auch bei ihm nach den zwei Städten eine südliche und vor (Nr. 2147) eine nördliche Krümmung gehabt hat. Der Punkt (Nr. 2147) entspricht nämlich der Biegung bei *Curta* auf der Karte des Pt., L 42° 00' B 47° 00'. Es besteht die Möglichkeit, dass die Biegung, die nach Pt. bei L 40° 40' B 47° 30' (50'!) ihren nördlichsten Punkt erreicht, auch auf der Karte des Hw. verzeichnet war. Der Fluss (*Ναπαβύβ*, heute *Raab*, ung. *Győr*), den Pt. bei L 41° 00' B 47° 40' in die Donau münden lässt, fehlt bei al-Hw. Der Punkt (Nr. 2148) entspricht der nördlichsten Biegung des Donaulaufes nördlich der Stadt *Carpis* (Nr. 481), bei Pt. L 42° 30' B 48° 00'. Die B stimmt mit al-Hw. genau überein, die L ist bei Pt. um 1/2° grösser. Die Reduktion der Mittelmeerlänge bei al-Hw. ist also noch immer nicht wesentlich fühlbar.

Die grosse Biegung nach Süden entspricht in Wirklichkeit dem Donauknie bei *Waitzen* (*Vác*) in Ungarn. Die Biegungen bei *Curta* und *Carpis* hat Pt. übermässig gross dargestellt. Al-Hw. folgt ihm auch bei dieser Übertreibung. Die Donau verläuft nach dem grossen Knie sowohl bei al-Hw., als auch bei Pt. anstatt in nord-südlicher ziemlich genau in nordwest-südöstlicher Richtung. Nach Pt. macht sie bei L 44° 20' B 45° 15' über *Acumincum* (L 45° 00' B 45° 20') und *Rittium* (L 45° 30' B 45° 00') eine grosse Krümmung zur *Savemündung* (L 45° 10' B 44° 30'). Diese entspricht der wirklichen Biegung des Flusses nach der *Draumündung* über die *Theisemündung* zur *Savemündung* und wird bei al-Hw. nicht verzeichnet. Die grosse Wende nach Osten erfolgt gemäss Pt. bei der *Savemündung*, nach al-Hw. — bei dem die *Savemündung* (Nr. 2166) die Angaben L 43° 40' B 46° 15' hat — erst bei dem nächsten Punkt (Nr. 2149) L 44° 00' B 46° 00'.

Ein wichtiger Unterschied zwischen den beiden Darstellungen des Donaulaufes von *Carpis* bis zum letztgenannten Wendepunkt — also innerhalb einer verhältnismässig kurzen Strecke — ist der, dass bei Pt. zwischen diesen beiden Punkten 3 1/2° Entfernung ist und bei al-Hw. die gleiche Distanz nur 2° beträgt. Die Ursache dieser recht auffallenden Erscheinung ist aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach darin zu suchen, dass al-Hw., der die L-Angaben von diesem Punkt an in sehr starkem Masse reduziert, den Donaulauf zwischen *Carpis* und der *Savemündung* viel kürzer zeichnet als Pt., um die Positionen auf der Balkanhalbinsel nicht heillos zu verwirren.

Die Reduktion der L-Angaben offenbart sich darin, dass die ganze L des mörischen Laufes des Flusses, die von der Wende nach Osten bis zur Mündung nach Pt.  $11^{\circ} 10'$  beträgt, bei al-Hw. auf  $7^{\circ}$  reduziert ist. Das hatte grosse Entstellungen in seinem Kartenbilde zur Folge. Der pt. „Flexus“, der nach der Mündung des *Tibiscus* bis zur L  $47^{\circ} 20'$  B  $44^{\circ} 45'$  (entsprechend der wirklichen Krümmung beim Eisernen Tor) reicht, ist bei al-Hw. verschwunden. Bis zur südlichsten Wende des ganzen Donaulaufes (Pt. B  $43^{\circ} 30'$ , al-Hw. B  $45^{\circ} 00'$ ) ist der Unterschied in der L zwischen Pt. und al-Hw.  $\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  vom Wendepunkt nach Osten gerechnet Pt.  $4^{\circ}$  und al-Hw.  $3\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ). Dagegen beträgt die nun folgende Strecke zwischen dem südlichsten Punkt des Flusslaufes und dem grossen Knie, wo der Fluss sich vor der Mündung (also zwischen Nr. 2150 und Nr. 2152) nach Osten wendet.  $4^{\circ}$  bei Pt. gegenüber  $0^{\circ}$  bei al-Hw. der diesen Punkt (Nr. 2152) und den südlichsten Punkt des Donaulaufes unter demselben L bringt. Andererseits beträgt der B-Unterschied zwischen dem südlichsten Punkt des Flusslaufes und der Mündung des nördlichen Donaumes bei al-Hw. um  $3^{\circ} 10'$  mehr als bei Pt. Daraus erkennt man ganz klar, wie al-Hw. die ihm zur Verfügung stehenden neuen Angaben über die Mittelmeerlänge in der Praxis angewendet hat: er liess die L-Angaben von der Donauquelle bis zum südlichsten Punkt des Flusslaufes in *Moesia Superior* fast ganz unberührt ( $30^{\circ} 00'$  und  $49^{\circ} 00'$  bei Pt. —  $29^{\circ} 20'$  und  $47^{\circ} 30'$  al-Hw.), dagegen hat er den ganzen Flusslauf von diesem Punkt an bis zum grossen Knie nach Osten gegen N gedreht, so dass er der Donaumündung eine viel grössere B als Pt. ( $51^{\circ} 40'$  gegenüber  $47^{\circ} 00'$ ) zugeschrieben hat.

Es handelt sich hier also um keine neuen Angaben, die al-Hw. auf Grund neuer Messungen oder Erfahrungen ins Kartenbild eingefügt hat, sondern um Veränderungen, mit denen sich al-Hw. bei den nach der Reduktion der Mittelmeerlänge entstandenen Probleme geholfen hat. Das Kartenbild wurde dadurch nur teilweise verbessert. Gegenüber der besseren Längenentwicklung steht die Tatsache, dass die Donaumündung ohne theoretische Grundlage abgeändert wurde, was mit jeder wissenschaftlichen Methode im Widerspruch steht. Die sieben Arme der Donaumündung sind auch bei al-Hw. vorhanden. Der Punkt, wo sie abzweigen (Nr. 2154), hat L  $48^{\circ} 45'$  B  $49^{\circ} 50'$ , bei Pt.  $54^{\circ} 50'$  B  $46^{\circ} 30'$ . Der genaue Lauf der sieben Arme ist nicht angegeben, es wird nur auf eine schematische Zeichnung hingewiesen. Der nördliche Arm entspricht dem *Θιαγόλα ἢ Ψιλὸν στόμα* von Pt., L  $56^{\circ} 15'$  B  $47^{\circ} 00'$  (bei al-Hw. ist dieser Arm die Fortsetzung der Donau, die also den eigentlichen Donaulauf beendet, Nr. 2153). Der südliche Arm entspricht dem *Ἰερὸν ἢ Πευκὴ στόμα*, L  $56^{\circ} 00'$  B  $46^{\circ} 15'$  (Nr. 2155). Diese Arme sind bei al-Hw. namenlos. Seine Darstellung der Donaumündung bedeutet einen Rückschritt gegenüber Pt.

Von diesem erstgenannten Strome zweigt ein Fluss bei L  $44^{\circ} 00'$  B  $46^{\circ} 00'$  (v. L.  $47^{\circ} 00'$ ) ab (Nr. 2161); er fliesset in der Nähe der nördlichen Umgebung der Stadt *داطحة* (vierter B. ohne P.) (Nr. 445); fliesset an der Ecke der Stadt *دوايسس* (vierter B. ohne P.) (Nr. 447) vorbei; fliesset an der Ecke der Stadt *اكدس* (Nr. 448) vorbei und mündet in den Strom, von dem er abzweigte, bei L  $47^{\circ} 30'$  B  $45^{\circ} 00'$  (Nr. 2162).

Wie sich ohne weiteres feststellen lässt, handelt es sich bei dieser Abzweigung um ein nichtptolemäisches Element. Ebenso lässt sich feststellen, dass von irgendeiner Verbesserung der Karte des Pt. keine Rede sein kann, da diese Abzweigung auch in Wirklichkeit nicht existiert. Nach ihrem Lauf zu schliessen, erinnert sie an den eigentlichen Donaulauf bei Pt., so dass man an eine Dublette desselben denken könnte. Gegen diese Annahme spricht aber die Tatsache, dass die nördlichen Nebenflüsse der Donau bei al-Hw. (Nr. 2169—78) sich in den Hauptstrom ergiessen.

Eine bessere Lösung bietet dagegen die Annahme, dass es sich hier eigentlich um zwei Flüsse handelt, deren Quelle al-Hw. fälschlich vereinigt hat, wodurch eine Abzweigung des Hauptstromes entstanden ist. Die zwei Flüsse sind dann am wahrscheinlichsten der pt. *Κιαβρος* (Mündung bei L  $49^{\circ} 30'$  B  $43^{\circ} 45'$ ) und der pt. *Πανυσος* (Mündung bei L  $54^{\circ} 45'$  B  $44^{\circ} 50'$ ).

Der letztere ergiesset sich allerdings bei Pt. ins Schwarze Meer. Nun sind aber die zwei Städte (Nr. 447—448) bei al-Hw. — wie wir oben (S. 58) schon gesehen haben — von der Küste, bzw. der Nähe der Küste des Schwarzen Meeres, wo sie auf der pt. Karte gelegen sind, ins Binnenland verlegt. Dann hat aber al-Hw. scheinbar auch den Panysos-Lauf mitsamt diesen zwei Städten ins Binnenland versetzt und lässt den Fluss sich in die Donau ergiessen.

Was diese Annahme unsicher macht, ist die Tatsache, dass wir den genauen Lauf der genannten zwei Flüsse bei Pt. nicht kennen. Etwas sicheres kann man hier also nicht ermitteln.

In diesen Strom ergiesset sich auch ein Fluss, dessen Quelle bei L  $34^{\circ} 00'$  B  $43^{\circ} 15'$  (Nr. 2163) ist. Seine Mündung in den Strom, eine namenlose Stadt berührend, ist bei L  $43^{\circ} 00'$  B  $46^{\circ} 50'$  (Nr. 2164).

Der Fluss entspricht zweifellos dem *Δάρος* die *Drau* des Pt. (die Quelle beschreibt Pt. in II, 15, 1; Mündung bei L  $44^{\circ} 20'$  B  $45^{\circ} 40'$ ). Die B der Quelle ist nicht punktiert. Die mögliche Lesart  $46^{\circ} 45'$  passt aber nicht ins Kartenbild. Die übermassige L hat al-Hw. von Pt. übernommen. Die Reduktion in der L wirkt sich hier — wie oben gesagt — gar nicht aus, was zur Folge hat, dass der Flusslauf viel zu lang dargestellt ist. Al-Hw. lässt die Drau im Gebirge (Nr. 839—840) entspringen. Dies entspricht der Drauquelle im *Κέριον ὄρος* bei Pt. Die B der Mündung bei al-Hw. ist wesentlich grösser als bei Pt., was eine Folge der Verkürzung des Donaulaufes zwischen *Carpis* und der Save-mündung ist. Folglich wird Pannonien im Kartenbilde ganz fälschlich auf eine schmale Strecke zwischen der Donau und der Drau verengt.

Die „namenlose“ Stadt ist (Nr. 482.). Diese Stadt hat die L 43°20' B 46°30', liegt also nicht unmittelbar am Flusslaufe. Wahrscheinlich hat die Stadt auf der arabischen Originalkarte infolge einer dazugehörigen Abbildung einen grösseren Raum eingenommen (vgl. Nr. 482).

Diesem Strom fliesst auch ein Fluss zu, aus einer, gleich der vorigen, namenlosen Stadt bei L 34° 20' B 45° 45' (Nr. 2165). Seine Mündung, ebenfalls eine Stadt berührend, ist bei L 48° 40' (v. 1. 43° 00') B 46° 15' (v. 1. 47° 15') (Nr. 2166).

Die Deutung dieser Angaben enthält manche Schwierigkeiten. Die hier erwähnte namenlose Stadt kann kaum eine andere als (Nr. 478) sein. Sie wird in der Liste der Städte mit dem Namen *مانا بالوس* (*Emona*) angeführt. Was diesen Widerspruch verursacht hat, ist nicht zu ersehen, da der Text der Hs. vor der überzeugenden Konjektur des Herausg. nicht in Ordnung war. Zu B und L dieses Flusses, der den *Σαυος* des Pt. darstellt, gilt das bei der vorigen Nr. Gesagte: die B ist zu gross und Flusslänge ist stark übertrieben. Von den v. 11. kommt wegen des Donaulaufes keine in Betracht. Die „namenlose“ Stadt, die dieser Fluss bei der Mündung berührt, ist schon bei der vorigen Nr. angeführt worden.

Dem grossen Strom fliesst auch ein Fluss aus dem *سورطايا*-Gebirge (vorletzter B ohne P.) (Nr. 897—898) zu, dessen Quelle bei L 40° 15' B 49° 30' (Nr. 2167) ist. Seine Mündung in den Strom ist bei L 42° 00' B 48° 00' (Nr. 2168).

Dieser Fluss entspricht dem namenlosen Fluss des Pt., der sich bei L 39°20' B 47°20' in die Donau ergiesst. Seine Lage hat al-Hw. abgeändert, indem er die Mündung des Flusses fälschlich nach *Carpis* verlegt hat. Pt. lässt ihn „längs des *Luna*-Waldes“ fließen. Bei al-Hw. fliesst er vom östlichen Ende des Sudetengebirges nach *Carpis*. In Wirklichkeit handelt es sich hier um den Fluss *March* (GNTS: Prager Studien, III, 20).

In diesen grossen Strom ergiesst sich auch ein Fluss, dessen Quelle bei L 44° 30' B 48° 10' (Nr. 2169) ist. Seine Mündung ist bei L 44° 30' B 46° 00' (Nr. 2170).

= pt. *Τιβίσκος*, dessen Quelle und Mündung bei Pt. unter gleicher L ist (46° 00'). Bei al-Hw. hat Quelle und Mündung ebenfalls dieselbe L (44°30'). Den Flusslauf macht er, durch die Verschiebung des südlichen Donaulaufes nach Norden bedingt, viel kürzer. Die B der Quelle bleibt bei ihm fast dieselbe (Pt. 48°30', v. 1. 48° 00', al-Hw. 48°10'). Der Fluss trägt heute den Namen *Timiș* (*Temes*). Die folgende Nr. ist eine Variante zu dieser.

Dem grossen Fluss fliesst auch ein Fluss zu, dessen Quelle bei L 45° 30' (v. 1. 44° 30') B 48° 40' (v. 1. 48° 10') (Nr. 2171) ist. Seine Mündung in den Strom ist bei L 45° 30' (v. 1. 44° 30') B 46° 00' (Nr. 2172).

Der Fluss fehlt bei Suhráb. Es handelt sich hier offensichtlich um eine Dublette der vorigen Nr. Dies bestätigen auch die v. 11.: anstatt der L 45° 30' ist bei Mündung und Quelle besser in Übereinstimmung mit der v. 1. 44° 30' zu

lesen und auch für die B der Quelle ist die v. 1. 48° 10' vorzuziehen. Auf diese Weise liegen genau dieselben Angaben vor, wie bei der vorigen Nr.

Dem grossen Fluss fliesst auch ein Fluss zu, dessen Quelle bei L 46° 10' (v. 1. 45° 30') B 48° 40' (v. 1. 48° 00') (Nr. 2173) ist. Seine Mündung in den Strom ist bei L 45° 30' (v. 1. 46° 40') B 45° 30' (v. 1. 46° 05'; Nr. 2174).

Dieser Fluss entspricht pt. *Ψαβών* (heute *Drincea* in Rumänien; andere identifizieren ihn mit dem *Jiul*), dessen Mündung bei L 49° 00' B 43° 30', wo die Donau den südlichsten Punkt ihres Laufes erreicht, ist. Die nächste Nr. ist eine Dublette zu dieser.

Dem grossen Strom fliesst auch ein Fluss zu, dessen Quelle bei L 46° 10' B 48° 50' (v. 1. 49° 05') (Nr. 2175) ist. Seine Mündung in den Strom ist bei L 46° 40' (v. 1. 47° 30') B 45° 30' (v. 1. 45° 20') (Nr. 2176).

Es liegt hier, wie soeben gesagt wurde, eine Dublette zur vorigen Nr. vor. Die L der beiden Quellen stimmt überein. Die B der Quellen ist ev. anstatt der bei al-Hw. (Nr. 2173) und Suhráb aufscheinenden Varianten (40', 05', 04') als 48° 00' zu lesen. Die Verwechslung dieser Ziffer ist im arabischen Text sehr gewöhnlich. Die L der Mündung könnte man ev. nach dieser Nr. (2176) und mit der v. 1. der vorigen als 46° 40' lesen. Die B der Mündungen stimmt überein.

Der Kopist hat hier scheinbar die Lesarten der vorigen Nr. als selbständige Angaben in den Text aufgenommen. Suhráb folgt auch hier dem Text des Hw.

Dem grossen Strom fliesst auch ein Fluss zu, dessen Quelle bei L 46° 40' (v. 1. 46° 30') B 40° 05' (Nr. 2177) ist. Seine Mündung in den Strom ist bei L 47° 30' B 45° 20' (v. 1. 44° 20') (Nr. 2178).

Die Angaben bei Suhráb stimmen mit den Hauptlesarten des Hw. überein. Der Fluss ist zweifellos die *'Αλούτα* des Pt. (heute *Olt*), die er bei L 50° 15' B 44° 00' in die Donau münden lässt. Der Unterschied in der Lage ist ziemlich gross. Bei al-Hw. verläuft der Fluss viel östlicher, in der Nähe des grossen Donauknies vor der Mündung. Hier wirkt sich wieder die oben (bei Nr. 2151—52) erörterte Tatsache aus, dass nämlich die Längerreduktion bei al-Hw. eben erst bei diesem Kartenteile stark fühlbar ist.

Dem grossen Fluss fliesst auch ein Fluss zu, dessen Quelle bei L 44° 30' (v. 1. 47° 30') B 48° 40' (Nr. 2179) ist. Seine Mündung in den Strom ist bei L 50° 30' B 51° 25' (Nr. 2180).

Die Lesung 44° 30' der L wird durch Suhráb bestätigt. Der obere Lauf dieses Flusses entspricht pt. *Ίβρας*, der den Karpathengebirgen entspringend (L 40° 30' B 48° 30'), entlang der südlichen Grenze des europäischen Sarmatiens seinen Weg nimmt (heute *Dnjestr*).

Da aber die Donaumündung bei al-Hw. erheblich nördlicher liegt (vgl. Nr. 2155—60), verliert der Fluss bei ihm seine selbständige Mündung ins

Schwarze Meer, die Pt. bei L 56° 20' B 47° 40' ansetzt. Hier liegt wieder ein Fall vor, wo man deutlich sehen kann, dass die Längereduktion des Hw. nicht streng wissenschaftlich durchgeführt wurde. Er hat nicht einmal immer einen graphischen Ausgleich angestrebt.

Fluss *ماسيوس* (vierter B. ohne P.) sein Beginn ist bei L 33° 00' B 51° 40' (Nr. 2311). Seine Mündung ins Meer ist bei L 30° 30' B 58° 00' (Nr. 2312).

Der Lage und den Buchstabenelementen nach entspricht diese Nr. zweifellos pt. *'Αμασίας* (L der Mündung 29° 00' B 55° 00', L der Quelle 32° 00' B 52° 00'; heute *Ems*). Suhrāb hat *اماسيوس*. Von den pt. Hss. hat X *'Αμάσου*; die arabische Lesart geht offensichtlich auf eine andere Hs. zurück. Die B der Mündung ist nicht punktiert. Die obige Lesung wird durch den Küstenverlauf des „Germanischen“ Ozeans (Nr. 1018ff) gesichert. Die B der Quelle gibt Suhrāb falsch an (54° 40'). Der Flusslauf erscheint nicht auf unserer Karte.

Fluss *عبيوس* (dritter und vierter B. ohne P.); sein Beginn ist bei L 41° 30' B 52° 00' (Nr. 2313), fließt dann weiter, das Gebirge *ميليادر* (zweiter, vierter und sechster B. ohne P.) (Nr. 895—896) berührend; seine Mündung ins Meer ist bei L 32° 00' B 59° 06' (Nr. 2314).

= pt. *'Αλβις* (Quelle L 39° 00', B 50° 00', Mündung L 31° 00' B 56° 15', heute *Elbe*). Suhrāb schreibt den Namen *اءاسوس*. Die arabische Namensform geht scheinbar auf einen griechischen Genetiv (*'Αλβιος*) zurück. Das Gebirge (Nr. 895—896) entspricht pt. *Μηλίβοκον όρος*. Der Flusslauf erscheint nicht auf unserer Karte.

Fluss *اسطولس* der dem Gebirge *سرطاميفما* (vorletzter B. ohne P.) (Nr. 901—902) entspringt; sein Beginn ist bei L 43° 05' B 52° 05' (Nr. 2323); seine Mündung ins Meer ist bei L 47° 00' B 58° 30' (Nr. 2324).

= pt. *Ουιστούλας* (Quelle L 44° 00' B 52° 30', Mündung L 45° 00' B 56° 00'; heute *Wista*). Die Darstellung des Hw. weicht hier merkwürdig von ihrer Vorlage ab. Al-Hw. versetzt die Quelle in das *سرطاميفما*-Gebirge, das den pt. *Σαρματικά όρη* entspricht. Bei Pt. ist statt dessen das *Askiburgion*gebirge als Quellengebiet angegeben (dieses Gebirge hat al-Hw. unter Nr. 899—900). Bekanntlich hat die Tatsache, dass man dieses Letztgenannte mit dem *Eschengebirge* identifiziert hat, sehr grosse Schwierigkeiten in der Pt.-Forschung verursacht. Da *Askiburgion* als Quellengebiet der *Wista* viel zu nördlich angegeben wäre, hat man angenommen, dass es eine Dublette der *Σούδητα*-Gebirge ist. Bei al-Hw. gibt es dieses Problem nicht: er lässt die *Wista* dem *سرطاميفما*-Gebirge entspringen. Da dieses bei Pt. die westlichen Karpathen und die Sudeten, ev. auch das *Eschengebirge* umfasst, hat die Darstellung des Hw. den Vorteil gegenüber der von Pt. Es bleibt jedoch mehr als fraglich, ob hier eine bewusste Veränderung oder nicht vielmehr eine der gewöhnlichen Entstellungen des Hw. vorliegt.

Fluss *الغسلسى* (dritter B. ohne P.); sein Beginn ist bei L 43° 45' B 50° 10' (Nr. 2325); seine Mündung ins Meer ist bei L 51° 30' B 51° 50' (Nr. 2326).

Die mögliche Lesart der L der Quelle 48° 45' passt nicht ins Kartenbild. Sowohl die Buchstabenelemente als auch die Lage spricht für eine Identifikation mit pt. *'Αειάκης*, dem heutigen *Tiligul*, von dem gesagt wird (III, 5, 6) dass er in den Karpathengebirgen (bei al-Hw. Nr. 903—904) entspringt und bei L 57° 00' B 48° 00' ins Meer mündet.

Die Überprüfung der obigen Nr. des Werkes von al-Huwārizmī ermöglicht einige Beobachtungen zu den Problemen, die mit dem *K i t ā b š ū r a t a l a r d* zusammenhängen. Zwar erstreckt sich diese Arbeit nur auf einen Teil des gesamten Materials, es lassen sich jedoch einige Schlüssen daraus ziehen.

Im behandelten Kartenteile sind die Angaben, die am wenigsten abgeändert wurden, im westlichen Teil, in der Gegend der Donauquelle. Al-Huwārizmī hat erst von der Donauquelle an die Längen nach Osten entsprechend seiner Reduktion der Länge des Mittelmeeres reduziert (vgl. oben S. 71). Die Reduktion ist besonders im Kartenteile östlich des Donauknies bei Waitzen (Vác) sehr stark: die Entstellung des Kartenbildes des Ptolemaios ist daher hier am auffallendsten. Der Reduktion der Länge des Donaulaufes entspricht die Reduktion der Länge der Basis der Balkanhalbinsel. Da ihm aber auf der Balkanhalbinsel ziemlich viel Angaben zur Verfügung standen, lief er Gefahr, dass durch die verkürzten Längen sein Kartenbild sehr zusammengedrängt worden wäre. Das würde aber ein Durcheinander in seinen Angaben auf der nördlichen Balkanhalbinsel herbeigeführt haben. Kennzeichnend ist, wie al-Huwārizmī sich bei diesem Problem geholfen hat: er verkürzte den Donaulauf zwischen Waitzen (Vác) und der Savemündung und hat dadurch den unteren Donaulauf zwischen der Savemündung und der Mündung der Donau nach Norden verschoben. So wurde im nördlichen Teil der Balkanhalbinsel Raum für seine anderen Angaben gemacht. Interessant ist zu beobachten, dass er einige Angaben mit dieser Verschiebung nicht in Einklang gebracht hat: der Fluss (Nr. 2179—2180) hat bei Pt. nördlich des Donaudeltas eine selbständige Mündung ins Meer; bei ihm hat jedoch diesen Platz das nach Norden verschobene Donaudelta erhalten. Anstatt aber auch die Mündung dieses Flusses dementsprechend weiter nach Norden zu verschieben, liess er nun den Fluss in den nördlichsten Donauarm münden. Dass dies ein recht primitives Verfahren gegenüber der pt. Methode darstellt, braucht nicht erst betont zu werden. Hier liegt deutlich ein Beispiel der einsetzenden graphischen Spielerei der späteren arabischen Kartographie vor. Auf ähnliche Gründe lässt sich wohl auch die bei Ptolemaios fehlende angebliche Donauabzweigung zurückführen (Nr. 2161—2162).

Die Breiteangaben sind im allgemeinen besser erhalten. Der oben geschilderten Verkürzung des Donaulaufes zwischen Waitzen (Vác) und der Save- und Draumündung ist zuzuschreiben, dass die Save und die Drau bei ihm weit nach Norden verschoben verlaufen. Dadurch wird Noricum und Pannonien auf eine enge Strecke zusammengedrängt.

Es erhebt sich die Frage, ob sich auf Grund des Ziffern- und Namenmaterials bei al-Ḥuwārizmī sein Verhältnis zu den Hss. des Ptolemaios feststellen lässt. Von den Zahlenangaben stimmen zwei mit Ptolemaios genau überein: die Breite der Donauquelle ist sowohl bei al-Ḥuwārizmī als auch bei Ptolemaios  $46^{\circ} 20'$  (nach der Lesung der RW-Klasse; X hat  $46^{\circ} 50'$ ); weiterhin stimmt die Breite des Donauknies mit allen Hss. des Ptolemaios ( $48^{\circ}$ ) überein. Einige Breiteangaben in Norditalien bei al-Ḥuwārizmī kommen denen des Ptolemaios sehr nahe.

Ergebnisreicher ist der Vergleich des Namenmaterials bei al-Ḥuwārizmī mit dem des Ptolemaios. Bei (Nr. 480) *ابيرديين* weicht die arabische Namensform wieder von der v. 1. der Hs. X ab (Ρεβουρδουβον). Bei (Nr. 521) ist der Fall ähnlich: X hat Ἀμῶσια, al-Ḥw. dagegen mit der RW-Klasse Ἀμῶσια (vorletzter B. ohne P.). Ein weiteres Beispiel liefert der Name des Gebirges (Nr. 839—840): *Καρουσάδιον* RW-Klasse; *Καρουάδει* X und *رطارزون* (sechster und letzter B. ohne P.) al-Ḥuwārizmī. Ähnlich bei (Nr. 2311—2312) *Αμῶσου* (X), Ἀμῶσιας RW-Klasse, dazu al-Ḥuwārizmī *ماسيوس* (vierter B. ohne P.). Ohne die Bedeutung dieser Übereinstimmungen verallgemeinern zu wollen, wird man also berechtigt sein anzunehmen, dass die Vorlage (Text oder Karte) des Ḥuwārizmī letzten Endes auf einen Text (oder eine Karte), die jeweils mit der RW-Klasse verwandt sind, zurückgeht.

Von syrischer Vermittlung, die sich manchmal (vgl. Mžik, Afrika, S. VIff) nach der Form des arabischen Namens beweisen lässt, finden sich im behandelten Kartenteile keine nachweisbaren Spuren.

Was das Verhältnis Suhrāb's zum Ḥuwārizmī anbetrifft, so kann hier auf (Nr. 433) verwiesen werden, wo Suhrāb scheinbar aus einem uns unbekanntem Text des Ḥuwārizmī schöpft. Bestätigt wird diese Annahme durch ein anderes Beispiel: bei der Aufzählung der Städte wird der Name der Stadt (Nr. 478) bei al-Ḥuwārizmī als *مايدالومس* (dritter und fünfter B. ohne P.) angegeben; bei den Flüssen (Nr. 2165—2166) wird sie dagegen als „namenlos“ erwähnt. Bei Suhrāb findet sich auch in der Städteliste kein Name für die Stadt. Wie es scheint, entstammt der Name auch hier einer uns nicht bekannten Hs. des Ḥuwārizmī.

Wichtig und interessant als nichtptolemäisches Element ist die erstmalige Erwähnung der *Šaqāliba* und *Burjān* und ihre Identifikation mit ptolemäischen Namen (vgl. zu Nr. 438, 1593, 1596).

Als Nachwirkung des Ḥuwārizmī ist endlich die Übernahme der Lage der Donauquelle bei Idrīsī zu vermerken (vgl. oben S. 69).

## K. Цегледи

## КАРТА ПРИДУНАЙСКИХ СТРАН В СОЧИНЕНИИ АЛ-ХВАРИЗМИ

В этой статье подвергаются анализу те части труда ал-Хваризми: „Книга сурат ал-ард“, которые относятся к придунайским странам. Ближайшей целью ее являлась реконструкция той части карты, которая показывает придунайские страны. Реконструкция произведена на основе издания текста Мажиком, так как карта, приложенная к оригиналу — провала. Эта реконструкция, приведенная в конце статьи, является самой старой средневековой картой придунайских стран. Страсбургская рукопись, на основе которой Мажик издал текст „Книга сурат ал-ард“, содержит очень много графических ошибок, вследствие чего номенклатура очень ошибочна. Реконструкция была возможна лишь после устранения этих ошибок. Поправка ошибок удалась, большей частью, путем сравнения с греческим оригиналом. Исследование той части карты, показывающей придунайские страны, вообще доказывает, что ал-Хваризми фактически перевел Птолема. Но более подробное исследование и этой части карты обнаруживает материал, исходящий не от Птолема: так, между прочим, перечисленные под номерами 438, 1593 и 1596 имена *Burjān* и *Šaqāliba*, которые по-прежнему здесь в первый раз в арабской научной географической литературе. Ал-Хваризми идентифицирует *Burjān* с Сарматией, а *Šaqāliba* с Германией Птолема. В этих идентифицированных полагается стремление согласовать материал Птолема с географическими знаниями своей эпохи.

Карта ал-Хваризми о придунайских странах показывает коренные отклонения от карты Птолема, по отношению к географическим широтам и долготам. Объяснение к этому мы должны искать в том, что ал-Хваризми весьма уменьшил длину Средиземного моря и таким образом был принужден уменьшить и очерк Балканского полуострова, как и длину течения Дуная. Но ввиду того, что это привело бы к высокомерному склонению имен на Балканском полуострове, ал-Хваризми отнесил течение Дуная более на север, а именно таким образом, что он укоротил в значительной мере участок между городом Вац и устьем Саны, расположенное с севера на юг. Из этого следовало, что устье Дуная лежит у ал-Хваризми выше, чем у Птолема. Примитивный метод, употребленный ал-Хваризмом при этих измерениях, показывает, что уже „Книга сурат ал-ард“, это первое произведение неолитической арабской математической географии, с теоретической точкой зрения является неолитической, в сравнении с *Γεωγραφικὴ βιβλίη*. Географические широты и долготы отклоняются от соответственных данных греческого оригинала, не только в результате многочисленных графических ошибок, но они связаны с такими изменениями, которые повлекли за собой изменение всех данных одного или другого участка карты.

В противовес к нумерации географических долгот и широт, номенклатура была уже ошибочна в той рукописи Птолема, которой пользовался ал-Хваризми. Как свидетельствуют тут исследованные имена, ал-Хваризми пользовался такой рукописью Птолема, которая принадлежит к группе RW. О сирийском посредничестве, с которым мы уже не раз встречались в работах ал-Хваризми, здесь никакого следа нет.

Данные ал-Хваризми также можно проверить по трудам Сухраба, который позже переработал его сочинение. Сухраб копирует ал-Хваризми вообще очень правильно. Но также и из здесь исследованной части можно установить, что он использовал нам незнакомую рукопись „Книга сурат ал-ард“, ибо, наряду с меньшими отклонениями, его сочинение содержит также такие имена и данные, которые не находились в единственной оставшейся рукописи ал-Хваризми.

Характеризуя деятельность и метод ал-Хваризми, статья устанавливает, что использованные источники, ставшие общими в позднейшей арабской географической литературе, начались уже с его работ, ибо он, описывая Среднюю Азию, использует даже два малоизвестных источника (Самарканд — Тараз, Самарканд — Фергана). С этими ал-Хваризми едва предшествовал Ибн Хурдадбих, который является первым изданным представителем „Книга

ал-масалик ва-л-мамалик"ской литературы. Весьма вероятно, что совместное использование птолемейского материала и итинерарий существовало с самого начала — ибо интерес к птолемейскому материалу был у Ибн Хурдабиха такой сильный, что он сам делал перевод *Geographikêi êrêgêzê* в течение IX века, — этот интерес быстро ослабел и уступил место более примитивной картографии. А следы Птолемея все же повсюду можно найти в арабской географической литературе. Из материала исследованных статей, изображения ключа Дуная по Птолемею находится даже в сочинении Идриси.

Употребленные ал-Хваризми два внутро-азиатские итинерарии, могут быть использованы также в определении редакции *Китаб сураб ал-ард*"-а. Северные области Трансоксании — также Пенджаб — были до 840 г. лишь в слабой связи со странами Целема. Итак весьма вероятно, что ал-Хваризми взял эти итинерарии в свои сочинения лишь после 840 г. В противоречие этому Навишо (826—7) — Варгольд обозначил сочинением „post quem“ 836 г. И Мажид пришел к подобным результатам: по его мнению сочинение создано в 845 г. Употребление этих двух итинерарий тоже указывает, что ал-Хваризми написал свое сочинение после 840 г.

Реконструкция карты, приведенная в конце статьи, была сделана на основании тех приципов, которые описал Сухраб в своем предисловии. Проекция этой карты конечно гораздо более примитивна, чем проекция птолемейской карты, составленной на математической основе. При рисовании карты можно было и использовать птолемейскую карту, но она дала бы неправильное представление о работе ал-Хваризми, в виду чего реконструкция карты осуществлялась исключительно на основе данных найденных, у ал-Хваризми.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Среди советских ученых с нашим автором занимался в последний раз И. Ю. Крачковский в своей работе „Математическая география у арабов“ (Научное наследство, т. I. Академии Наук СССР. Институт истории естествознания, 1948, 625—652).

## ZUR MESCHHEDER HANDSCHRIFT VON IBN FADLANS REISEBERICHT

Von

K. CZEGLÉDY

Der neue Ibn Fadlân-Text enthält eine Reihe von sprachlichen und sachlichen Problemen, die die Kommentatoren noch lange beschäftigen werden. Grundlegend für das Studium des neuen Textes ist die **Faksimile-Ausgabe mit Kommentar**,<sup>1</sup> die in der Redaktion des Akademikers I. J. KRACKOVSKIJ i. J. 1939 erschienen ist. Neben dieser wichtigen Publikation haben auch die Ausgabe A. ZEKI VALIDI TOGANS<sup>2</sup> (Text in Transkription, Übersetzung und Kommentar) und die textkritischen Erörterungen H. RITTERS<sup>3</sup> zum Verständnis der neuen Version beigetragen. Auf Grund dieser drei Arbeiten wurde eine von R. P. BLAKE und R. N. FRYE verfasste, mit Noten versehene englische Version des Reiseberichtes in der Zeitschrift „Byzantina Metabyzantina“ veröffentlicht.<sup>4</sup>

KRACKOVSKIJS Ausgabe der neuen Version hat sich als ein solides Fundament für weitere historische Folgerungen erwiesen. A. P. KOVALEVSKIJ der sich in der Ibn Fadlân-Forschung besonders verdient gemacht hat, zählt eine Reihe von wichtigen diesbezüglichen Arbeiten auf, die neuerdings in der Sowjetunion und in Polen veröffentlicht wurden.<sup>5</sup> Unter anderem erwähnt er auch sein eigenes handschriftliches Werk (von tausend handschriftlichen Seiten), das er als Vorarbeit zur Neuangabe Ibn Fadlâns betrachtet.

Das Studium der neuen Version wird aber noch immer dadurch erschwert, dass sowohl KRACKOVSKIJS grundlegende Ausgabe, als auch diejenige ZEKI VALIDIS im ersten Kriegsjahre (RITTERS Aufsatz sogar i. J. 1942) publiziert wurden, daher schwer zu erreichen sind.

<sup>1</sup> Путешествие Ибн-Фадлана на Волгу. Перевод и комментарий под редакцией академика И. Ю. Крачковского, Москва — Ленинград 1939.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Fadlân's Reisebericht: Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes Bd. XXIV. 3, Leipzig 1939. — Zur Stellungnahme KRACKOVSKIJS und A. P. KOVALEVSKIJS zu diesem Werke vgl. И. Ю. Крачковский, Очерки по истории русской арабистики. Издат. Акад. Наук СССР, Москва — Ленинград 1950, S. 260. KOVALEVSKIJ: О степени достоверности Ибн Фадлана: Исторические Записки XXXV (1950), S. 267.

<sup>3</sup> Zum Text von Ibn Fadlân's Reisebericht: ZDMG LXVI (1942), S. 98—120.

<sup>4</sup> Notes on the Risala of Ibn Fadlan: Byzantina Metabyzantina I (1949), S. 7—37.

<sup>5</sup> Loc. cit. 208; vgl. auch KOVALEVSKIJ: Посольство Халифа к царю волжских Булгар в 921—922 гг.: Исторические Записки XXXVII (1951), S. 189—214.



Die Möglichkeit der Überprüfung des neuen Textes verdankt der Verfasser Prof. L. LIGETI, der die Meschheder Handschrift während seiner Forschungsreise in Afghanistan i. J. 1936 ebenfalls photographieren liess<sup>6</sup> und diese Photokopie ihm gütigst zur Verfügung gestellt hat. Das Faksimile dieser Photokopie wird am Ende des Aufsatzes beigelegt.<sup>7</sup>

Der neue Text wird vom sprachlichen Gesichtspunkte aus durch grosse Unsicherheit gekennzeichnet. Neben Sätzen, die in gutem Arabisch verfasst sind, finden sich in ihm eine Menge Fehler grammatischer und stilistischer Art. Es würde jedoch kaum richtig sein, hieraus auf die schriftstellerischen Qualitäten Ibn Faḍlāns schliessen zu wollen, denn aus einer näheren Untersuchung ergibt sich, dass die meisten Fehler dem Kopisten zuzuschreiben sind.

Die Frage, wie sich die neue Version zur Yāqūtschen Fassung verhält, beantwortet KRACKOVSKIJ, indem er auf die Tatsache hinweist, dass Yāqūt die oft individuelle und bisweilen komplizierte Ausdrucksweise Ibn Faḍlāns durch die Verwendung von geläufigeren Wendungen vereinfacht.<sup>8</sup> RITTER spricht von stilistischen Glättungen der dem literarischen Stil nicht recht entsprechenden Wendungen Ibn Faḍlāns.<sup>9</sup> Diese Beobachtungen treffen im allgemeinen zu. Dagegen sind Fälle, wie z. B. f. 197a, Z. 5, wo die Lesart des neuen Textes vorzuziehen ist, selten. In vielen anderen Fällen stehen einfache Schreibfehler bei Yāqūt bzw. in der neuen Version einander gegenüber.

Die Codd. Yāqūts stellen bis auf einige unwesentliche Abweichungen eine einheitliche Version des Reiseberichtes dar. Es ist sehr zweifelhaft, ob eine nähere Verwandtschaft zwischen der Meschheder Handschrift und einem von Yāqūts Codd. nachzuweisen ist. Eine grosse Anzahl von abweichenden Lesarten der Codd. wurde der sowjetischen Ausgabe beigelegt und im Kommentar besprochen, manche der wichtigsten Codd. Yāqūts sind aber noch immer dem Studium verschlossen.<sup>10</sup> Das Problem des Verhältnisses der späteren Kompilatoren, Aḥmad Ṭūsī usw. zum Urtexte, bzw. zur Meschheder Version wurde von KOVALEVSKIJ gründlich untersucht.<sup>11</sup>

Die andere wichtige Frage, wie nahe die neue Version dem Originalberichte steht, kann einstweilen noch nicht beantwortet werden. Soviel steht

<sup>6</sup> Eine andere Photokopie wurde i. J. 1935 für die Orientalische Abteilung der Sowjetischen Akademie angefertigt. Die erste stammt von E. HERZFELD aus dem J. 1923.

<sup>7</sup> Vorliegender Aufsatz wurde in seiner ersten Form auf Grund dieser Photokopie i. J. 1943 geschrieben. Den Abschnitt über die Flüsse des baschkirischen Territoriums und denjenigen über die bulgarischen Bestattungsbräuche hat der Verfasser an anderen Stellen behandelt: Századok LXXVII (1943), S. 277–300, bzw. Archeológiai Ertesítő LVI (1945), S. 362–364.

<sup>8</sup> In der Einleitung der sowjetischen Ausgabe, S. 41.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. seine Bemerkungen, loc. cit. S. 112, 115, 120, 123.

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. die sowjetische Ausgabe, S. 174–179.

<sup>11</sup> Loc. cit. 269–277.

allerdings fest, dass der Kopist der Meschheder Handschrift sklavisch gearbeitet hat. Seine Vorlage hat er oft nicht verstanden, weil er die Buchstaben, besonders die Ligaturen nicht entziffern konnte. In diesen Fällen hat er sich mit dem einfachen Kopieren seiner Vorlage begnügt. Es ist interessant zu beobachten, mit welcher Unsicherheit er dies ausgeführt hat. So hat er z. B. in f. 209a, Z. 10 die einfache Ligatur seiner Vorlage nicht entziffern können. Er schreibt *aktarukum ma'lūlun wbhā yamūtu aktarukum bi-l-qaulanji*. Anstatt *wbhā* hat im Original *rubbamā* gestanden, das er nicht verstanden und daher geflissentlich sehr undeutlich kopiert hat. Dies hat auch die modernen Interpreten irreführt.<sup>12</sup>

In vielen Fällen hat er das unpunktierte verbale Präfix seiner Vorlage als *ya-*, *ta-*, etc. punktiert, ohne auf das Genus achtzugeben. Öfters gibt er das unpunktierte *yaḥīma* seiner Vorlage fälschlich als *yaḥīzu* wieder.<sup>13</sup> Seine Schrift ist sonst leserlich. Der Text ist nur an einigen Stellen verwischt oder überklebt, die Rekonstruktion ist aber meistens ohne grössere Schwierigkeiten möglich. Die letzten Zeilen im Codex sind überklebt.<sup>14</sup> Von Z. 18 auf f. 212 ist nur die obere Hälfte der Buchstaben lesbar, von Z. 19 nur die untere Hälfte einiger Buchstaben. Aus der Reihenfolge dieser Buchstabenreste geht jedoch deutlich hervor, dass diese Zeilen wörtlich mit Yāqūt (ed. WÜSTENFELD) III, S. 438, Z. 13–14 übereinstimmen. Von Z. 18 ist (*dālik*) *a l-kataba fa-idū (fara)ḡa*... deutlich zu lesen. Von den verwischten Wörtern, die noch nicht entziffert wurden, sind nur zwei wichtig: die oghuzischen Würdenamen auf f. 202a: ult.

Hie und da finden sich in der Handschrift Spuren von Wasserbeschädigung. An einigen Stellen hat wahrscheinlich Wasser die Tinte aufgelöst, demzufolge erscheint auf der anderen Seite der Abdruck der betreffenden Buchstaben. Dies hat manchmal zu Missverständnissen geführt. So findet sich auf f. 200b, Z. 2 in der Mitte eines Wortes ein unlesbares Zeichen. RITTER bemerkt zu dieser Stelle:<sup>15</sup> „*li-annahū*: Es steht in M., stark verwischt, etwas mehr. Kv.<sup>16</sup> (98. 184) liest, wohl richtig: *a-lā tarannahū qad tafarassa fī'l-mā'i?* Seht ihr nicht, wie er Hydromantik getrieben hat“ und fügt noch hinzu: „ZV. [= ZEKI VALIDI] hält das für unmöglich“. Auch nach der Ansicht BLAKES und FRYES<sup>17</sup> ist diese Stelle unklar. Es unterliegt aber keinem Zweifel, dass die verwischten Buchstaben im *li-annahū* nicht mitzulesen sind, da aus einem Vergleich mit 201a, Z. 2 ohne weiteres zu ersehen ist, dass die verwischten Buchstaben im *li-annahū* ein Spiegelbild des *fī* darstellen, das sich

<sup>12</sup> Zu den Konjekturen der sowj. Ausgabe, VALIDIS und RITTERS, die aber unüberlieferter *wbhā* festhalten, vgl. unten, S. 242 die Bemerkung zu dieser Stelle.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. hierüber H. MĀZIK: OLZ XXXIX (1942), Sp. 123.

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. RITTER S. 112.

<sup>15</sup> S. 107.

<sup>16</sup> RITTERS Siglo für die sowjetische Ausgabe.

<sup>17</sup> S. 24, Anm. 41.

auf der anderen Seite in der entsprechenden Zeile befindet. Damit fällt die oben vorgeschlagene Lesart *larawahn* weg. Die richtige Lesart ist *li-annahn*. Die zweite Hälfte des Wortes ist wegen des Zeilenendes etwas über den Rand geschrieben (so auch z. B. f. 198b, Z. 5 oder f. 210a, Z. 9). An einer anderen Stelle (f. 206b, Z. 14) liest ZEKI VALIDI *dbth*. Der Fall ist hier ähnlich. Das *d* gehört nicht zum Text, sondern ist ein Abdruck eines nachgewordenen Schriftzeichens von der andern Seite. Dementsprechend ist ZEKI VALIDIS Anmerkung zu streichen (vgl. noch unten, S. 240, die Bemerkung zu f. 203b, Z. 1).

Die Handschrift weist sonst die üblichen Schreibfehler der Kopisten auf (falsche Kongruenz, falsches *Frāb* usw.). Die meisten dieser Fehler sind auch in den Codd. *Yāqūt*s zu belegen. Sie wurden von F. WÜSTENFELD in seinem „Apparatus“ zusammengestellt.<sup>18</sup> Die grosse Zahl der falschen Zahlkonstruktionen in den arabischen Handschriften ist eine allgemeine Erscheinung. Über die *Yāqūt*-Codd. sagt WÜSTENFELD: „Von den Zahlwörtern sind nach der classischen Sprache etwa ebenso viele unrichtig, als richtig gebraucht“. Die verbalen Endungen *-u* und *-ūna* werden in den *Yāqūt*-Codd., wie auch in der *Vulgärsprache* oft verwechselt.<sup>19</sup> Ähnlicherweise kann auch in der *Meschheder Handschrift* (f. 202, Z. 14) nach *hattā* Indikativ stehen. Das Genus (beim Verbum, Nomen und Pronomen), wird, wie in den Codd.,<sup>20</sup> so auch in der *Meschheder Handschrift* oft nicht beachtet. Ob in der Aussprache des Kopisten auch der *Duulis* (wie in der *Vulgärsprache*) verschwunden ist,<sup>21</sup> lässt sich auf Grund seiner Schrift nicht feststellen. Das *Habaru-kāna* und das *Ismu-anna* stehen aber auch bei ihm, wie in den Codd.,<sup>22</sup> oft im Nominativ. Die meisten dieser Fehler wurden schon korrigiert, einige folgen hier unten. Die Orthographie der Handschrift weist keine auffallenden Besonderheiten auf.

Die Frage der Komposition des Reiseberichtes wird durch einige Stellen der *Meschheder Handschrift* neu beleuchtet. Die Ereignisse der Reise werden in *Ibn Fadlāns Bericht* bis auf zwei Fälle in zeitlicher Reihenfolge erzählt. In diesen zwei Fällen handelt es sich darum, dass die Flüsse eines Landes im voraus aufgezählt werden, d. h. vor den Ereignissen, die der Karawane in dem betreffenden Lande zugestossen sind, wodurch der Leser den falschen Eindruck bekommt, dass die betreffenden Länder erst nach Überquerung dieser Flüsse erreicht wurden.

Dies geht aus der Identifikation der Flüsse deutlich hervor. So wird am Anfang der Berichte über Bulgarien (f. 203b, Z. 3—5) eine Liste von Flüssen

<sup>18</sup> Zu seiner *Yāqūt*-Ausgabe, Bd. V, S. 58ff.

<sup>19</sup> WÜSTENFELD Bd. V, S. 61.

<sup>20</sup> S. 61.

<sup>21</sup> S. 63.

<sup>22</sup> S. 63f.

aufgezählt, vom Süden angefangen nach Norden, offenbar in der Reihenfolge, wie sie von der Gesandtschaft überquert wurden. Die Liste umfasst sämtliche wichtige Flüsse des bulgarischen Territoriums. Ähnliche Listen von Flüssen befinden sich am Anfang der Berichte über die Petschenegen und Baschkiren.

*Ibn Fadlān* hat also den Namen jedes einzelnen Flusses, den die Gesandtschaft überschritten hat, in chronologischer (zugleich geographischer) Reihenfolge notiert. Seine Erlebnisse in den verschiedenen Ländern hat er aber anscheinend in ein anderes Buch eingetragen. Bei der Zusammenstellung des Reiseberichtes, die wohl in Bagdad stattgefunden hat, hat er dann das Itinerar in einzelne Abschnitte geteilt und diese an diejenigen Stellen des Reiseberichtes eingeschoben, wo sie sich jetzt befinden. Dabei kümmerte es ihn nicht, dass durch dieses Verfahren die chronologische Reihenfolge des ganzen Berichtes gestört wird.

Nach dem jetzigen Kontext wurden also alle Flüsse des bulgarischen Territoriums überquert, bevor die Karawane das Lager des bulgarischen Königs erreichte. Dagegen befindet sich bereits der vorletzte der aufgezählten Flüsse, der *Ni/yā/snah* (offenbar identisch mit dem heutigen *Niyasla*<sup>23</sup>) im Norden des ehemaligen Lagers des bulgarischen Königs (am heutigen *Tri Ozero*). ZEKI VALIDI, der sich mit der Identifikation der beiden letzten Flüsse ausführlich befasst, stellt fest, dass bei der Bestimmung der Lagerstätte des bulgarischen Königs „eine gewisse Schwierigkeit“ auftaucht, und sieht sich zur Annahme gezwungen, dass *Ibn Fadlān* „in seinem Verzeichnis der Flüsse nicht immer deren geographische Reihenfolge im Auge gehabt hat“. Bei der Identifizierung der Flüsse und der Bestimmung der Lagerstätte des Königs muss aber zuerst auf die oben erwähnte Eigenschaft der Komposition des Reiseberichtes hingewiesen werden: sämtliche Flüsse des Bulgaren-Landes werden im voraus aufgezählt. Die Identifizierung der einzelnen Flüsse und die Bestimmung der Lagerstätte des Königs muss also unabhängig voneinander geschehen. Dann steht aber nichts der Identifikation des Flusses *Ni/yā/snah* mit dem heutigen *Niyasla* im Wege, und es muss zugegeben werden, dass auch die Identifikation der Ruinenstätte bei *Bulgarskoe* mit der alten Hauptstadt der Bulgaren durch *Ibn Fadlāns Bericht* glänzend bestätigt wird. Bei der Lagerstätte des Königs am *Tri Ozero* befand sich nämlich auch eine andere Ortschaft, die von *Ibn Fadlān* als ein sehr wichtiger Markt (*sāq*) geschildert wird. Wir haben offenbar in ihm die spätere Hauptstadt der Bulgaren zu erblicken, deren Ruinen sich nördlich des *Tri Ozero*, unweit der *Volga* befinden (Näheres über diese Ruinenstätte bei W. BARTHOLD: *Enz. Isl.* II, S. 822). ZEKI VALIDIS Erklärung dieser Stelle ist vom geographischen Standpunkt aus richtig, seinen sprachlichen

<sup>23</sup> Vgl. ZEKI VALIDI S. 28, Anm. 1. Auf die richtige Erklärung dieser Stelle hat mich J. HARMATTA hingewiesen.

Ausführungen kann man aber nicht bestimmen. Im Text heisst es (f. 208a Z. 2—4): *wa-baina hādā l-mauḏī'i wa-baina nahrin lahum 'aẓmin, yašibbi ilā bilādi l-ḥazari, yuqālu lahu nahu Atil nahwa farsahin, wa-alā hādā l-mauḏī'i sūqūn taqūmu fī kulli mudaidatin wa-yubā'u bihā l-matā'u l-kalīrūn-naḥsu*. ZEKI VALIDI übersetzt: „(Die Entfernung) zwischen dem Orte und ihrem (der Bulgaren) grossen Fluss, der im Lande (d. h. Meer) der Chazaren mündet und Atil-Fluss genannt wird, beträgt ungefähr einen Farsach. An dieser Stelle gibt es einen Markt, welcher immer in kurzen Zeitaltschnitten abgehalten wird, in dem viel kostbare Waren verkauft werden“ (S. 68—69). *Qāma s-sūqu* ist aber ein fester Ausdruck, wo *qāma* nach den Nationalwörterbüchern den Sinn von *naḥaqa* hat. *'Alā hādā l-mauḏī'i*, andererseits, heisst nicht „an dieser Stelle“, sondern „bei dieser Stelle“ und kann weder grammatisch noch logisch auf etwas anderes als auf das erste *hādā l-mauḏī'u* bezogen werden. Die richtige Übersetzung lautet also: „Zwischen diesem Orte und ihrem grossen Strom, der in die Richtung des Chazaren-Landes fliesst und Atil-Strom genannt wird, befindet sich ein Markt, wo in kleinen Zeitabständen grosser Verkehr abgewickelt wird . . .“

Ob sich der *Jawšīn*, der letztgenannte Fluss, in der Liste nördlich des Niyasla (also des vorletzten Flusses) befand, ist auf Grund der Liste nicht festzustellen. Die andern Flüsse der Liste werden zwar in süd-nördlicher Reihenfolge aufgezählt, nach der Überquerung des vorletzten Flusses jedoch hat sich die Karawane für eine längere Zeit im Lager des bulgarischen Königs aufgehalten. Erst später, im Sommer, hat Ibn Faḏlān, wie wir anderswo erfahren (f. 208b, Z. 9—10), zusammen mit dem bulgarischen König an diesem Fluss gewelt. Er hat den Namen *Jawšīn* anscheinend bei dieser Gelegenheit gehört und hat ihn einfach, ohne auf die geographische Reihenfolge achtzugehen, den übrigen Namen in seiner Liste hinzugefügt. ZEKI VALIDI berichtet (S. 38, Anm. 1) auf Grund der Aussage eines Kazan-Tataren von einem kleinem Flusse namens *Jawšīn*, der ein rechter Nebenfluss des Kleinen Čirimšān sein soll. Falls diese Angabe richtig ist, wird man auf Grund der Übereinstimmung der beiden Namen den *Jawšīn* des Reiseberichtes mit diesem Flusse identifizieren können.

Die Flüsse des baschkirischen Territoriums werden ebenfalls proleptisch aufgezählt (f. 203a, Z. 4—8). Als südliche Grenze der Baschkiren wird der Fluss Ural angegeben. Ihre nördliche Grenze befand sich am Flusse Čirimšān, der als erster in der Liste der bulgarischen Flüsse erwähnt wird.

Unweit des Flusses Ural, südlich davon, war „an einem meeresähnlichen See“, d. h. am Čalqar-köl, die Winterlagerstätte<sup>24</sup> der Petschenegen (f. 202b),

<sup>24</sup> Die Karawane ist wohl im April zu den Petschenegen gelangt (Aufbruch aus Jur jāniya am 3. März, Ankunft bei den Bulgaren am 11. Mai). Die Winterlager der Nomaden befinden sich meistens an den Ufern von Gewässern (hier an einem See, bei den Bulgaren am Tri Ozero). Ibn Faḏlān sagt, dass die Schafe hier das Gras essen, das sich im Schnee findet.

ult). Die südliche Grenze der Petschenegen gegen die Oghuzen der Ust Urt-Ebene zwischen dem Aral-See und dem Kaspischen Meere wird nicht angegeben. Dem Petschenegen-Abschnitt geht aber ebenfalls eine proleptische Liste von Flüssen voran (202b, Z. 16—19). Die südliche petschenegische Grenze lag also am ersten Fluss dieser Liste, am *Yagindī* (heute Žayındı).<sup>25</sup> Letzterer ist ein kleiner Nebenfluss des oberen Eml a, unweit von den Mugojar-Gebirgen.<sup>26</sup>

Demnach lag das Bu'garen-Gebiet zur Zeit von Ibn Faḏlāns Reise nördlich des Čirimšān, das Baschkiren-Land südlich davon, zwischen dem Čirimšān und dem Ural-Flusse, das petschenegische Territorium südlich des Ural-Flusses und nördlich des Emba (bzw. Yagindi) und diejenigen Teile des Oghuzen-Gebietes, die von der Karawane überquert wurden, südlich und östlich des Emba und des Mugojar-Gebirges. Diese letztgenannte Landstrecke bildete die südwestliche Ecke des riesigen Oghuzen-Gebietes, das nach anderen muhamedanischen Quellen das ganze Steppengebiet in Südwestsibirien zwischen den Flüssen Syr-Darja und Irtysch umfasste.

Ibn Faḏlāns Bild von der allgemeinen Situation der Völker dieser Gegend wird auch durch andere Quellen bestätigt. Nach cap. 37 des Werkes von Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos *De administrando imperio* wohnten die Petschenegen ursprünglich an den Flüssen Wolga und Ural (τὸ ἀπ' ὀρθῆς εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀτὴλ τὴν αὐτῶν εἶχον κατοίκησιν, ὁμοίως δὲ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Γεήχ), östlich der Chazaren und westlich der Oghuzen.<sup>27</sup> Diese brachten den Petschenegen im J. 880 eine vernichtende Niederlage bei. Die Petschenegen flüchteten sich teilweise nach dem Westen, ein Teil ihres Volkes verblieb jedoch in der alten Heimat. Dieselben Vorgänge beschreibt auch Balḥī (sein Bericht ist übermittelt durch Iṣṭahri in der allgemeinen Darstellung der Länder am Anfange seines Werkes), ein Zeitgenosse Ibn Faḏlāns:<sup>28</sup> *wa-qad-i nqaṭ'a (ā'i) fatun min-a l-atrāki 'an bilādihim [a-šārū fī-mā baina l-ḥazari wa-r-rūmi, yuqālu lahumu l-bajanākiyatu, . . . und eines der Türkvölker verliess ihr Land und setzte sich zwischen den Chazaren und den Byzantinern fest. Sie heissen: Petscheneg“*. Vom Überrest der Petschenegen berichtet er anscheinend deshalb nicht, weil sie ihre Selbstständigkeit eingelüsst hatten. Darum sagt er auch, dass sich das baschkirische Territorium nördlich des oghuzischen

<sup>25</sup> Vgl. ZEKI VALIDI, S. 32, Anm. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Nach dem Yagindi hat die Karawane den oberen Lauf des Emba, den Sayız und den Uil in beinahe nördlicher Richtung überschritten. Der Čalqar-köl wurde nach der Überquerung einiger angeschwollenen Bächen fast genau vom Osten her erreicht, nachdem der Fluss Utwa überquert war. Nach der Meinung ZEKI VALIDIS erreichte die Karawane den Čalqar-köl vom Süden her. Dann ist aber die Erwähnung des Utwa unverständlich. Überdies hätte die Karawane eine solche wasserreiche Gegend in der Zeit der Frühjahrüberschwemmung fast unmöglich überqueren können.

<sup>27</sup> Die Grenze zwischen den Oghuzen und den östlichen Petschenegen wird nirgendwo genau angegeben. Möglicherweise befand sie sich an der Wolga.

<sup>28</sup> Ed. de GOEBE: Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum (= BGA) I, S. 10, Z. 8f

(nicht wie bei Ibn Fadlān, nördlich des petschenegischen) befindet.<sup>29</sup> Wir haben daher wohl anzunehmen, dass auch Ibn Fadlāns Petschenegen den Oghuzen untertan waren.

Nur eine Stelle der Meschheder Handschrift steht im Widerspruch mit diesen Angaben, bedarf also näherer Beleuchtung. Es handelt sich um f. 202b, Z. 4 von unten. Hier ist die Rede von der Überschreitung des Flusses Yağindī. Der Text lautet: *li-yakānū talī'atan li-n-nāsi hlyfah* (das *y* ohne Punkte) *li-l-Bāšgrd* (letzteres Wort ohne Vok.). Zwischen dem verderbten *hlyfah* und *li-l-Bāšgrd* steht ein *min* oberhalb der Zeile. ZEKI VALIDI liest *halīfatam* ('Nachhut') als Assonanz zu *talī'atan* ('Vorhut') und übersetzt: „damit sie eine Vorhut bilden für die Leute und Nachhut gegen die Baschkiren“. Er erklärt diese Stelle, indem er entsprechend seiner Übersetzung bemerkt (S. 37, Anm. 1): „Der Ausdehnungsbereich der Baschkiren zur Zeit IF's erstreckte sich vom Fluss Zayīndī am Fusse des Ust-Urt bis zum Fluss Čerimsān im Westen“.<sup>30</sup>

Dies steht im Widerspruch mit unserer obigen Feststellung bezüglich der allgemeinen geographischen Situation der Baschkiren und der Petschenegen, laut welcher der Yağindī die Grenze zwischen den Oghuzen und den Petschenegen bildete. Hält man an ZEKI VALIDIS Textverbesserung („Nachhut“) fest, so müsste man sich sogar vorstellen, dass die Baschkiren ihr Lager auch südlich des Yağindī aufgeschlagen hatten. Dann würde sich das baschkirische Territorium von der mittleren Wolga im Norden über den Ural-Fluss, das Steppen- und Wüstengebiet nördlich des Kaspischen Meeres und die Flüsse Emba und Yağindī hinaus bis zu den Gebieten südlich des Yağindī erstreckt haben. Das ist ein gewaltiges Gebiet, das auch die Wohnsitze der Petschenegen (nach Ibn Fadlān südlich des Ural-Flusses) umfasst.

Eine solche Behauptung müsste Bedenken erregen, selbst wenn der Text über jeden Zweifel erhaben wäre. Die kritischen Buchstabengruppen sind aber korrupt, und es ist leicht einzusehen, das RITTERS Lesart *hlyfatan* („aus Furcht vor den Baschkiren“) anstatt *hlyfah* die ursprüngliche Lesart trifft. Die Richtigkeit von RITTERS Lesart geht auch daraus hervor, dass die Beschreibung der Baschkiren (f. 203a, Z. 8—9) mit der Schilderung ihrer Gefährlichkeit anfängt. Damit ist das sprachliche Problem gelöst. Es bleibt nur noch die sachliche Schwierigkeit zu überbrücken, die in der zu frühen Erwähnung der Baschkiren besteht.

Aber auch in diesem Falle hilft uns die obenstehende Beobachtung hinsichtlich der Komposition des Reiseberichtes weiter. Ibn Fadlān erzählt nämlich im Zusammenhang mit der Überquerung des Yağindī, wie die Karawane die Flussüberschreitungen während der ganzen Reise mit Hilfe von

<sup>29</sup> BGA I, S. 9, Z. 13f; S. 217; ult: S. 218, Z. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Nach ZEKI VALIDI so auch V. MINORSKY: Gibb Memorial New Series XI (1937) S. 312.

Lederschläuchen bewerkstelligt hat. Diese Lederschläuche hat die Karawane noch in Chwarizm beschafft und hier zum ersten Male verwendet. Dies erklärt zugleich, warum er so ausführlich von der Überschreitung des unbedeutenden Yağindī berichtet. Es ist aber gleicherweise leicht zu ersehen, dass der Verfasser, der hier die Flussüberschreitungen ein für allemal schildert, auch von der Vorhut erzählen will, die wenigstens in einem Falle, nämlich bei der Überquerung des Ural-Flusses, vorausgeschickt wurde. Dabei kümmert er sich wieder nicht um die richtige Chronologie der Ereignisse. Die Schwierigkeit also, die aus der zu frühen Erwähnung der Baschkiren entsteht, ist nur eine scheinbare, und ZEKI VALIDIS geographische Folgerungen, die auf diese Stelle des Textes gegründet sind, müssen als gegenstandslos betrachtet werden.

Die Beschreibung der Baschkiren fängt (nach der Überquerung des Ural-Flusses) mit den Worten: *fa-waqafnā fī baladī qaumin min-a l-atrāki. yuqālu lahumu l-bāšgrd* an (f. 203a, Z. 7—8) „und wir machten Halt im Lande eines Volkes das *bašgrd* heisst“. Yāqūt hat (I, S. 468, Z. 22) die von ZEKI VALIDI nicht angeführte Lesart *fa-waqafnā* „und wir befanden uns“ (zu *waqā'a fī* vgl. LANE 3057 'he found himself to be in'). Da nach den obenstehenden Ausführungen das baschkirische Territorium im Süden vom Ural-Flusse begrenzt wurde, fügt sich Yāqūts Lesart vielleicht besser in den Zusammenhang.

Die richtige Interpretation von Ibn Fadlāns Bericht über die Flüsse der Türkländer ist aber nicht nur vom Gesichtspunkte der historischen Geographie wichtig. Ibn Fadlān hat die Namen der einzelnen Flüsse und Bäche offenbar an Ort und Stelle notiert, seine Listen stellen daher wichtige petschenegische, bzw. baschkirische und bulgarische Sprachreste dar. So fällt in seinen Listen petsch. *Yağindī* (heute kirg. *Zayīndī*) mit seinem *y*- und erhaltenem *γ*- auf; vergleiche noch: petsch. *Udīl* mit dem heutigem kirg. *Uyūl*: der bei Kāšyari notierte ghuzzische Lautwandel *d > y* hat also im Petschenegischen nicht stattgefunden; petsch. *Wutba* mit dem heutigem kirg. *Utwa*; bulg. *Bainaj* mit *b*- und erhaltenem *β*; mit dem heutigem baschk. *Maina*; bulg. *Wutij* mit dem baschk. *Udya*.

Die Benennungen der bei Ibn Fadlān erwähnten grossen Flüsse Ural und Emba: *Jaiū* und *Jām* scheinen weder petschenegischen noch baschkirischen Charakter zu tragen, sie rühren anscheinend von den früheren Bewohnern dieser Gebiete her.<sup>31</sup>

Es kommt im Reiseberichte auch sonst vor, dass Ibn Fadlān seine Erlebnisse nicht in zeitlicher Reihenfolge erzählt. So berichtet er f. 205b, Z. 1—11 von einer nordlichtartigen Erscheinung, die von ihm in der ersten Nacht nach der Ankunft der Gesandtschaft, also am 11. Mai 922 beobachtet wurde.

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. hierüber J. NÉMETHI, Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szent-Miklós: Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica II, S. 57.

Etwas später (f. 205b, Z. 3 von unten — f. 206a, Z. 3) erzählt er von seiner Erlebnissen in der zweiten Nacht. Zwischen diesen Berichten findet sich die Schilderung der Kürze der Sommernächte in Bulgār (f. 205b, Z. 11—17). Der dortige Muezzin sagt „(die Sommernächte) fangen jetzt schon an länger zu werden“. Das hat nur einen Sinn, wenn das Gespräch schon nach der Sonnenwende des Jahres 922 stattgefunden hat, also nach dem 17ten Juni. C. M. FRÄHN bemerkt hierzu:<sup>32</sup> „Da I. Foszlau den 11ten Mai in Bulgharier anlangte, so muss, was er hier erzählt, wohl in einer späteren Jahreszeit stattgefunden haben“. Das ist eine richtige Beobachtung und J. MARQUART behauptet<sup>33</sup> unrichtigerweise, dass auch dieser Abschnitt auf die erste Nacht zu beziehen ist.

Der Grund dieser Antizipation ist zweifellos darin zu suchen, dass Ibn Faḍlān seine gesamten Erfahrungen bezüglich der Kürze der Wintertage und Sommernächte an einer einzigen Stelle zusammenfassen will. Dies ist ein — zwar primitiver — Kompositionsgedanke, der aber auch einem so wenig geübten Schriftsteller wie Ibn Faḍlān nicht abzusprechen ist. MARQUART bemerkt weiterhin: „Aber auch wenn man mit Frähn annehmen wollte, dass der hier erzählte Vorgang in einem späteren Zeitpunkte stattgefunden habe, wäre die Geschichte nicht weniger ungereimt. Die Unterhaltung müsste etwa 14—15 Tage nach der Sonnenwende stattgefunden haben, also am 1. Juli jul., d. h. etwa 50 Tage nach der Ankunft der Gesandtschaft. Ibn Faḍlān hätte in diesem Falle die ganze Periode der kurzen Nächte miterlebt, was er ja gewissermassen auch nachher behauptet, brauchte also nicht erst vom Mu'addin darüber belehrt zu werden“. Er glaubt daher nicht, dass Ibn Faḍlāns Bericht auf Autopsie beruht und vermutet „dass Ibn Faḍlān einen oder mehrere schriftliche Berichte über die Sonnenwendnächte in Bulgār abgeschrieben hat“.

Was die letztere Annahme betrifft, hat sich Ibn Faḍlāns Bericht seit diesen Ausführungen MARQUARTS durch die neue Version als authentisch erwiesen. Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel mehr, dass er in Bulgarien war, und als Faqih dürfte er sich vor allem für solche Fragen, wie die der Gebetszeiten interessiert haben. Auch die übrige Beweisführung MARQUARTS ist wenig stichhaltig. Dass Ibn Faḍlān diese Geschichte antizipiert, ist kein Beweis gegen ihre Glaubwürdigkeit, wenn man in Betracht zieht, was hier über die Komposition des Reiseberichtes gesagt wurde, und die „Belehrung“ vom Muezzin macht die Geschichte auch nicht „ungereimt“, denn es handelt sich ja offenbar um eine Antwort des Muezzin auf die sehr natürliche Frage Ibn Faḍlāns, der bald nach seiner Ankunft in Bulgarien auf die Kürze der Sommernächte aufmerksam wurde.

<sup>32</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences de St. Pétr. (Sér. sc. pol. hist. philol.), Sér. VI t. I (1832), S. 572, Anm. 30.

<sup>33</sup> Ungarische Jahrbücher IV (1924), S. 279ff.

Der gleiche Kompositionsgedanke offenbart sich auch in den folgenden Teilen des Textes, denn nach der Erzählung der Erlebnisse der zweiten Nacht ist von der Kürze der Sommernächte im Lande der *Wisā* (= Vepsen) die Rede (f. 206a, Z. 3—4), worüber Ibn Faḍlān vom bulgarischen König unterrichtet wird. Dieses Gespräch zwischen Ibn Faḍlān und dem bulgarischen König hat wohl ebenfalls nicht gerade in der ersten oder zweiten Nacht stattgefunden. Auch die darauf folgende Beschreibung der Röte beim Aufgang der Sonne in Bulgarien und die Äusserungen der Bewohner über die Sommernächte und Wintertage (f. 206a, Z. 4—9) teilt Ibn Faḍlān kaum deswegen an dieser Stelle mit, weil sie alle zu den Erfahrungen der ersten Nächte gehören, sondern wegen des sachlichen Zusammenhanges.

Der bulgarische König und die Bulgaren werden im Reisebericht (sowohl bei Yāqūt als auch in der neuen Version) neben *bulgār* auch *ṣaqlāb* genannt. Gewöhnlich betrachtet man diese zwei Wörter bei Ibn Faḍlān als Synonyme, und neuerdings hat W. BARTHOLD die Meinung vertreten, Ibn Faḍlān habe die Bulgaren *ṣaqlāb* genannt, weil sie türkisch-slavische Mischlinge waren:<sup>34</sup> „Ibn Faḍlān nennt den Herrscher der Wolga-Bulgaren den Herrscher der Slaven. Früher hätte man diesen Ausdruck als einen Irrtum des Jāqūt erklären können, doch jetzt ergibt sich, dass er sich auch im Originalwerke des Ibn Faḍlān findet. Offensichtlich sind die Wolga-Bulgaren wie auch die Donau-Bulgaren aus der Vermischung des türkisch-kuvasischen Volkes mit den Slaven entstanden: mit dem einem Unterschied, dass bei den Donau-Bulgaren die slavische Sprache, bei den Wolga-Bulgaren die türkisch-kuvasische Sprache die Oberhand gewann“.

Es muss jedoch betont werden, dass Ibn Faḍlāns *ṣaqlāb* im von BARTHOLD angeführten Ausdruck *maliku ṣ-ṣaqlāb* anstatt *Bulgār* steht. In der Huthbi hiess nämlich der König *maliku Bulgār* (f. 204a, Z. 4 von unten), und hier handelt es sich um eine feste Formel, in der das Wort *Bulgār* zweifellos ursprünglich ist. Wenn aber die Selbstbezeichnung des bulgarischen Königs *maliku Bulgār* war, so erhebt sich die Frage, warum die Bulgaren von Ibn Faḍlān *ṣaqlāb* genannt werden.

ZEKI VALIDI widmet dieser Frage einen ausführlichen Exkurs (S. 295—331), indem er seine früheren Ausführungen<sup>35</sup> über den Gebrauch des Wortes *ṣaqlāb* durch neue Quellenangaben erweitert. Er kommt zu dem Resultat, dass *ṣaqlāb* sich in einigen Quellen auf „hellhäutige Türken“ und Finnen des mittleren und unteren Wolga-Gebietes bezieht: so in der hier von ZEKI VALIDI zum ersten Male veröffentlichten, wichtigen Erzählung über Marwāns Feldzug gegen die Chazaren (i. J. 737) Ibn A'tam al-Kūfis (S. 295—309). Das

<sup>34</sup> 12 Vorlesungen, S. 68.

<sup>35</sup> ZDMG XC (1930), S. 22, 38f; vgl. auch TADEUSZ LEWICKI: *Slavia Antiqua* II (1930), S. 326ff.

Gleiche gilt nach seiner Meinung (S. 309) von *Iṣṭahrī* „Skaven von *ṣaqāliba*“ (BGA I, S. 305, Z. 4) und vom *ṣaqālib* bei Ibn *Hurrādābīh*, das auch die Germanen des Nordens bezeichnet. *ZEKI VALIDI* behandelt in diesem Zusammenhang auch den wichtigen Bericht Ibn *Rustas* (BGA VII, S. 139–149) bzw. *Gardīzī* (ed. *BARTHOLD*, S. 95) und *Bakrī* (ed. *KUNIK-ROSEN*, S. 43) über die Völker Osteuropas, der bekanntlich dem verlorenen Werke *Jāihānī* entstammt. Nach *ZEKI VALIDI*'s Meinung schöpfen aber *Bakrī* und *Gardīzī* den Abschnitt über die Petschenegen, der bei Ibn *Rusta* fehlt, nicht aus *Jāihānī*'s Werk, sondern aus Ibn *Hurrādābīh* (S. 310), denn als westliche Nachbarn der Petschenegen am Flusse Ural seien bei ihnen *ṣaqāliba* und nicht Bulgaren angegeben, während Ibn *Rusta* (BGA VII, S. 141, Z. 9) unter *ṣaqāliba* die den Bulgaren benachbarten finnischen Völker verstehe. Auf die Finnen beziehe sich *ṣaqālib* auch in einer alten, seines Erachtens von Ibn *Hurrādābīh* stammenden Überlieferung über die Urgeschichte der Türker von *Mīrhond* und im anonymen *Muḡmal at-tawārīḥ* (S. 311–317). Den Text dieser Überlieferung teilt *ZEKI VALIDI* nach dem *Muḡmal* in deutscher Übersetzung mit. *Iṣṭahrī* und Ibn *Hauqal* verwenden das Wort *ṣaqālib* nach seiner Meinung in dreifachem Sinne (S. 317). Am Anfang ihrer Werke, in der Beschreibung der Oikumene (BGA I, S. 7, Z. 7–15; BGA II, S. 12, Z. 9–17) bedeutet *ṣaqālib* 'Slaven'. In derselben Beschreibung (BGA I, S. 9, Z. 15–17; BGA II, S. 14, Z. 13) und anderswo werde aber das Wort von ihnen auch im Sinne von 'Finnenvölker' (hauptsächlich; gemeint sind die Finnen und andere Völker des Nordens) verwendet. Auf die Germanen beziehe sich endlich *ṣaqāliba* in einem Berichte bei Ibn *Hauqal* (BGA II, S. 281, Z. 5–14; vgl. BGA I, S. 221, Z. 13–16), wie auch in der Identifikation *Germania* = das Land der *ṣaqāliba* bei *Huwārizmī* (Nr. 1593 in *H. MZIKS* Ausgabe).

Die Angaben über *ṣaqālib* behandelt also *ZEKI VALIDI* nicht in chronologischer Reihenfolge, sondern nach den ethnisch-geographischen Identifikationen, die das Wort seiner Auffassung nach in den verschiedenen Quellen zulässt: d. h. zuerst die Angaben, in welchen *ṣaqālib* nach seiner Meinung sich auf finnisch-türkische Mischlinge, Finnen und „hellhäutige Türken“ bezieht (S. 295ff), dann die Beispiele, wo das Wort für „Germanen“ steht (S. 321ff). Gegen dieses Verfahren lässt sich aber im voraus einwenden, dass viele von unseren diesbezüglichen Angaben genetisch zusammenhängen also nicht betrachtet werden können, bevor ihre chronologische Reihenfolge und ihre eventuelle gegenseitige Abhängigkeit klargelegt sind. Andererseits muss aber auch darauf hingewiesen werden, dass es unberechtigt ist auf Grund des Wortes *ṣaqālib* von „hellhäutigen Türken“ usw. zu sprechen solange nicht anderswoher der Beweis erbracht ist, dass die genannten Schriftsteller Kenntnis von diesen weit entfernten Völkern hatten. Auf Grund dieser zwei Beobachtungen lässt sich manches gegen die Ausführungen *ZEKI VALIDI*'s einwenden.

In der arabischen geographischen Literatur werden die Slaven zuerst etwa um die Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts erwähnt, und zwar im ersten erhaltenen Werke der arabischen Geographie, im *Kitāb sūrat al-ard* von al-*Huwārizmī*.<sup>26</sup> Auf der Karte von Ptolemaios werden Osteuropa und Westasien die Germanen, Sarmaten und die beiden Länder der Skythen eingenommen. *Huwārizmī*, der die ptolemäischen Angaben mit den geographischen Kenntnissen seiner Zeit in Einklang bringen wollte, identifizierte das Land der *ṣaqāliba* mit dem ptolemäischen Germanien und die Gebiete der beiden türkischen Gruppen in Westturkestan (die Reste der Westtürken und die Karluken) und in Ostturkestan (Uiguren) mit den beiden ptolemäischen Skythien. Aus dieser Identifikation geht aber nur soviel hervor, dass seiner Meinung nach die *ṣaqāliba* irgendwo in Nordeuropa, nördlich von Byzanz leben, wo sich das Germanien von Ptolemaios befindet.

Bei Ibn *Hurrādābīh* kann man einerseits die gleiche Auffassung des Wortes beobachten wie bei *Huwārizmī*. Auch bei ihm<sup>27</sup> sind die *ṣaqāliba* Bewohner der nördlichen Teile der Welt (BGA VI, S. 119, Z. 6). Daher auch der Name des Meeres, an dessen Küste Thule (gemeint ist das ptolemäische Thule) liegt: Meer der *ṣaqāliba* (BGA VI, S. 93, Z. 1). Andererseits sind aber bei ihm die *ṣaqāliba* die westlichen Nachbarn von Makedonien (BGA VI, S. 105, Z. 15) und bewohnen mitsamt den Avarn ganz Mittel- und Osteuropa (BGA VI, S. 155, Z. 8). Im Osten trägt der Fluss *Tanais* nach ihnen auch den Namen *Fluss der ṣaqāliba* (BGA VI, S. 154, Z. 12), und wenn man von Byzanz zu Lande zu den Chazaren fährt, passiert man das Land der *ṣaqāliba* (BGA VI, S. 155, Z. 4f). Der *ṣaqāliba*-König heisst *qnāz* (wie bekanntlich mit dem Herausgeber zu lesen ist; BGA VI, S. 17, Z. 2). Die *rās* sind ein *jins* der *ṣaqāliba* (BGA VI, S. 154, Z. 10). Bei Ibn *Hurrādābīh* umfasst also das Land der *ṣaqāliba* ganz Nord-, Mittel- und Osteuropa. Der Beweis aber, dass Ibn *Hurrādābīh* die Germanen, Finnen und Wolga-Bulgaren gekannt und sie bewusst mit den *ṣaqāliba* identifiziert hat, fehlt gänzlich.

Ibn *Hurrādābīh* folgt zeitlich *Jāihānī* (um das J. 900), dessen Bericht über Osteuropa bei Ibn *Rusta*, *Gardīzī* und *Bakrī* erhalten geblieben ist.<sup>28</sup> Das Verhältnis dieses Berichtes zu der vollständigen Fassung des Werkes von Ibn *Hurrādābīh*, das nach *Maqdisī* dem verlorenen Werke *Jāihānī* sehr ähnlich war,<sup>29</sup> ist noch ungeklärt. Es wird (nach *MARQUART*, *Streifzüge*, S. 27, 203) oft angenommen, dass Ibn *Hurrādābīh*'s Quelle, die von ihm nur an

<sup>26</sup> Vgl. oben S. 46ff.

<sup>27</sup> Vgl. de *GOEJE*, in seinem Vorwort zu seiner Textausgabe: BGA VI, S. XX.

<sup>28</sup> Dies wird jetzt allgemein angenommen, vgl. *MISORSKY* o. c. S. XVIIff und *BARTHOLD*, ebenda S. 23ff.

<sup>29</sup> BGA III, S. 4, Anm. 1.

einigen Stellen zitiert wird,<sup>40</sup> ursprünglich auch diesen, später auch von Jaihānī übernommenen Bericht über die Völker Osteuropas enthalten hat, allein diese Annahme stösst auf unlösbare Schwierigkeiten. So werden unter anderem bei Jaihānī mit *saqlāb* nicht die Nordländer im allgemeinen, wie bei Ibn Hurradādbih, sondern die echten Slaven bezeichnet. Er nennt den König der *saqāliba* anders als Ibn Hurradādbih (BGA VII, S. 114, Z. 14) und auch die Russen sind bei ihm kein *jins* der *saqāliba*, wie beim letzteren.

Die „chazarisch-petschenegische“ Überlieferung über die Urgeschichte der Türken bei Mīrhond und im *Muǧmal* knüpft ebenfalls nicht, wie ZEKI VALIDI meint, an die verlorenen Teile des Werkes von Ibn Hurradādbih, sondern an Jaihānīs Bericht über die Slaven an, und zwar sowohl darin, dass sie bei der Beschreibung der Kalte des Slavenlandes aus Jaihānīs Werk schöpft, indem sie die Heizung der Hütten bei den Slaven genau so wie letzterer beschreibt (vgl. das *Muǧmal* bei ZEKI VALIDI S. 315, unten mit BGA VII S. 144 paenult. ff), als auch darin, dass sie den slavischen König wie Ibn Rusta und nicht wie Ibn Hurradādbih nennt (vgl. S. 330, Anm. 2 mit BGA VII S. 114, Z. 13).

Den bei Ibn Rusta fehlenden Bericht Gardīzīs und Bakrīs (< Jaihānī über die Petschenegen schreibt ZEKI VALIDI ebenfalls unrichtigerweise Ibn Hurradādbih zu, denn einerseits geht aus dem jetzigen Texte Ibn Rusta hervor, dass er den Bericht über die Petschenegen im Original mitgeteilt hat, er nimmt in wörtlicher Übereinstimmung mit Gardīzī dreimal Bezug darauf (BGA VII, S. 139, Z. 5; Z. 20; S. 143, Z. 7). Andererseits befindet sich in dem Satze Jaihānīs „zwischen den Petschenegen und *saqāliba* ist eine Entfernung von zehn Tagen“, worauf sich ZEKI VALIDI beruft, ein altbekannter Schreibfehler,<sup>41</sup> da anstatt *saqāliba* zweifellos *maǧǧariya* zu lesen ist, wie das aus dem Zusammenhange deutlich hervorgeht. Bei Jaihānī hat also nichts über Nachbarschaft von Petschenegen und Slaven gestanden, und es wäre gewiss verfehlt Jaihānīs Bericht über die Petschenegen auf Grund dieses Textfehlers Ibn Hurradādbih zuschreiben zu wollen.

Die Angaben Balhī (gest. i. J. 934), die Iṣṭahrī und Ibn Hauqal erhalten haben, entstammen einer unbekanntenen Quelle. Das Land der *saqāliba* ist bei ihm ein grosses Gebiet, das, ähnlich wie bei Ibn Hurradādbih, ganz Osteuropa umfasst. Es ist im Süden dem byzantinischen Reiche benachbart (BGA I, S. 11 Z. 11 = BGA II, S. 13, Z. 11). Es liegt an beiden Seiten des Halij (die imaginäre Verbindung zwischen dem Pontus und dem Baltischen Meer), der nach

<sup>40</sup> Ibn Hurradādbih schöpft seinen Bericht aus den Schriften Muslim al-Jarmī eines sonst unbekanntenen Schriftstellers, der i. J. 845/6 aus byzantinischer Kriegsgefangenschaft losgekauft wurde. Letzten Endes scheint aber die Behauptung der arabischen Geographen, dass die Bewohner der nördlichen Teile Europas die *saqlāb* sind, auf byzantinische Quellen zurückzuführen zu sein.

<sup>41</sup> Vgl. MARQUART, Komanen S. 98.

Balhī das Land der *saqāliba* in zwei Teile schneidet (BGA II, S. 135, Z. 8–10; cf. BGA I, S. 69 ult. – 70, Z. 1), und reicht bis zum Lande der Kimäken, desjenigen der Türkstämme, der am weitesten im Norden lebt (BGA I, S. 9 Z. 15–18 = BGA II, S. 14, Z. 11–13). ZEKI VALIDI nimmt seine Identifikationen auf Grund dieser grossen Ausbreitung des *saqāliba*-Territoriums vor. Wenn er dann behauptet, die *saqāliba* Balhīs seien die echten Slaven, ist daran nicht zu zweifeln. Wenn aber die *saqāliba* nach Balhī mit den westsibirischen Kimäken benachbart sind, so ist man kaum berechtigt, daraus mit ZEKI VALIDI zu folgern, dass Balhī auch die finnischen Völker Nordosteuropas gekannt und sie bewusst mit den *saqāliba* identifiziert hat. Es handelt sich vielmehr darum, dass die *saqāliba* Balhīs Bewohner des Nordens sind, wie auch die Kimäken. Die falsche Vorstellung, dass ihre Länder benachbart sind, ist auf kartographische Gründe zurückzuführen.<sup>42</sup> Der Fluss Irtysch, in dessen Nähe die Kimäken leben, ergiesst sich nämlich nach der Vorstellung der arabischen Geographen in die Wolga. Westlich der letzteren befand sich aber das Land der *saqāliba*. ZEKI VALIDIS Behauptung, Ibn Hauqals Bericht gehe auf eine Zeit zurück, in „die Russen noch in Skandinavien oder an der Ostsee wohnten“ (S. 322), steht in klarem Widerspruch zu Balhīs Angaben über die Russen in Kiew (BGA I, S. 225 ult. = BGA II, S. 285, Z. 17). Ibn Hauqals Bericht Muslim al-Jarmī zuzuschreiben (S. 323 unten) ist ebenfalls unrichtig, denn Ibn Hurradādbih beschreibt die Russen, wie oben gesagt, nach Muslim al-Jarmī als ein *jins* der *saqāliba* während nach Ibn Hauqal es die *rūs* sind, die eine der drei Gruppen der *ṣ(a)lāwīya* bilden (BGA I, S. 226, Z. 1).<sup>43</sup>

Ob sich endlich Ibn A'tams *saqāliba* auf wirkliche Slaven oder auf die Nordvölker im allgemeinen bezieht, ist auf Grund seiner Erzählung, welche die legendenhaften Züge der frühen islamischen historischen Tradition trägt, kaum zu entscheiden.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich feststellen, dass es nur Huwārizmī und Ibn Hurradādbih, also die zwei ältesten Vertreter der muhammedanischen Geographie waren, die das Wort *saqlāb* für die nordeuropäischen Völker im allgemeinen verwendet haben. Ibn Fadlān folgt anscheinend diesem literarischen Beispiel. Seinem Wortgebrauch darf man jedenfalls keinen besonderen Wert beimessen, und auch BARTHOLDS an sich wahrscheinliche Annahme, dass Ibn Fadlāns Bulgaren slavisch türkische Mischlinge waren, bedarf neuer Argumente.

<sup>42</sup> Vgl. die Karte, veröffentlicht in der neuen Ibn Hauqal-Ausgabe von J. H. KRÄMER, zu S. 8. Ich hoffe auf dieses Problem anderswo zurückzukommen.

<sup>43</sup> Von Balhīs Angaben ist nur BGA I, S. 7, Z. 6–13 = BGA II, S. 12, Z. 7–14 noch problematisch. Vgl. auch MINORSKY, o. c. S. 430.

Der Zweck von Ibn Fadlāns Reise wird am Anfang des Reiseberichtes (f. 197a, Z. 3–4) angegeben. Dies ist eine schwierige Stelle, die sowohl von den älteren Auslegern, als auch von ZEKI VALIDI missverstanden wurde. Im Text steht, nachdem vorher von der Erbauung einer Moschee und der Errichtung einer Kanzel die Rede war: *li-yuqīma 'alaihi d-da'wata lahū fi baladīhi wa-jami'i mantakatīhi* (*lahū* fehlt bei Yāqūt I, S. 723, Z. 13). FRÄHNS Übersetzung ist sehr frei: „(ihm ein Medsched zu erbauen und ein Mimeter zu errichten) auf dem er das Volk in seinem ganzen Lande und in allen Gegenden seines Reiches zur Verehrung Gottes berufen könne“ (die letzten Worte nach Yāqūt).<sup>44</sup> Das Subjekt von *yuqīma* ist, dieser Übersetzung nach, der König. Der Sinn wäre gut, aber die ganze Übersetzung ist mit dem *lahū* des neuen Textes nicht in Einklang zu bringen. ZEKI VALIDI (gefolgt von BLAKE und FRYE S. 9) macht einen neuen Vorschlag, indem er die Stelle folgendermassen ins Deutsche überträgt: „... (ihm jemanden zu schicken, der... für ihn eine Moschee erbaue und eine Kanzel errichte) um in seinem ganzen Lande und in allen Gegenden seines Reiches die Bekehrungsmision für ihn (d. h. in seinem Namen) durchzuführen“, und bemerkt dazu, dass der Ausdruck *yuqīma d-da'wata lahū* hier „im Sinne Bekehrungsmision namens des Königs“ steht. Er verweist auch auf f. 198a, Z. 12, wo dieser Ausdruck noch einmal vorkommt und von ihm ähnlich übersetzt wird. Gegen diese Übersetzung lässt sich aber im voraus einwenden, dass sie das Wort *'alaihi* nicht berücksichtigt. Liest man es mit, so würde es nach dieser Übersetzung heissen „... der für ihn... eine Kanzel errichte, um auf ihr in seiner Stadt und in allen Gegenden seines Reiches die Bekehrungsmision für ihn durchzuführen“, was offenbar keinen annehmbaren Sinn ergibt.

Aus diesen Übersetzungsversuchen geht deutlich hervor, dass die Auffassung von *da'wa* als „Bekehrungsmision“ hier kaum zutrifft. *Da'ā* hat diese Bedeutung nur in einem anderen Idiom: *da'āhū ilā l-islāmi* (vgl. BGA III, S. 361, Z. 1; Yāqūt I, S. 839, Z. 4) und zwar nicht im Sinne von individueller Bekehrungsmision, die dem Islam eigentlich fremd ist und erst mit dem Sufismus auftaucht, sondern „(ein ganzes Land) auffordern, sich zum Islam zu bekehren“. Bei KRAČKOVSKI heisst es (S. 55): „(минбар) чтобы совершалась на нем молитва за него (царя) в его городе и во всем его государстве“. Hier ist also *da'wa* mit молитва wiedergehen und das *lahū* ebenfalls auf den bulgarischen König bezogen.

Nun gibt es aber einen spezifischen Gebrauch dieses Wortes: *da'ā lahū*, ein seltener belegtes Synonym für den technischen Ausdruck *ḥaṭaba lahū*, das nach DOZY und de GOEJE (BGA IV, S. 236) die Bedeutung „agnovit imperium eius“ hat: vgl. das von de GOEJE angeführte Beispiel *wa-kāna yuḍ'ā li-l-Manṣūri, tumma qatā'a da'watahū*. Zu *da'ā* in diesem Sinne ist

<sup>44</sup> Loc. cit. S. 527.

*da'wa*, mit der gleichen Praepos., der Infinitiv, also wie *ḥaṭaba* zum Verbum *ḥaṭaba*. Damit geht aber der Sinn des erörterten Satzes deutlich hervor: der bulgarische König ersucht den Khalifen, jemanden zu ihm zu schicken „um für ihn eine Kanzel aufzustellen, auf der er (der König) die *da'wa* (die Anerkennung der Herrschaft des Khalifen in der *Ḥuṭba*) für ihn (den Khalifen) in seiner Stadt und in seinem ganzen Lande einführen kann“. (Gemeint ist offenbar, dass durch die Erwähnung des Namens von Muqtadir in der *Ḥuṭba* auf der Kanzel der bulgarischen Hauptstadt sich das ganze bulgarische Land dem Imam des Islams, dem Khalifen, unterstellt. Dass dies nicht auf mehreren Kanzeln des bulgarischen Landes geschieht, entspricht anscheinend den Bestimmungen Abū Ḥanīfas, nach denen ein Gottesdienst, an welchem die Wirksamkeit eines *Ḥaṭībs* geknüpft ist, nur in einer grossen Stadt (*miṣr*) gehalten werden darf, wo der Herrscher oder sein Vertreter zugegen ist.<sup>45</sup> Denselben Sinn hat der Ausdruck *da'ā lahū* in der neuen Handschrift f. 198a, Z. 12, wo es heisst: *wa-l-amīru l-aḡallu ya'nū amīra Ḥurāsāna kāna aḡagga bi-igāmati d-da'wati li-Amīri l-māminīna fi dālīka l-baladi* „und der grosse Fürst, nämlich der Fürst von Ḥurāsān, wäre doch eher befugt die *da'wa* für den Khalifen in jenem Lande einzuführen“. Die Situation ist recht interessant: der Ḥwārezmšāh will Ibn Fadlān und seine Gefährten nicht durch sein Gebiet ins türkische Territorium durchfahren lassen, da er seine Selbstständigkeit gegenüber der Zentralregierung auch in den Fragen der äusseren Politik aufrechtzuerhalten sucht. Was von der Gesandtschaft vor dem Ḥwārezmšāh als Reisezweck angegeben wurde, wird nicht erzählt, aber aus seiner Antwort ist ersichtlich, dass es sich um die Einführung der *da'wa* für den Khalifen in Bulgarien handelte.

Ausschlaggebend für diese Übersetzung des Ausdruckes *da'ā lahū* ist eine weitere Erzählung Ibn Fadlāns (f. 204a, Z. 4 von unten ff), in der wir erfahren, wie die *Ḥuṭba* vor der Ankunft der Gesandtschaft in Bulgarien lautete und wie sie von Ibn Fadlān umgeändert wurde. Hier heisst es: *wa-qad kāna yuḥṭabu 'alā minbarihī qabla quḍāmī: Allāhumma aṣliḥ-i l-malīka Yltwār, malīka l-bulḡār* „Vor meiner Ankunft wurde sein Name in der *Ḥuṭba* auf seiner Kanzel folgendermassen erwähnt: O Gott! Schenke Gedeihen dem König Yltwār, dem König der Bulgaren“. Hier wird also das oben erwähnte Synonym von *da'ā lahū*, nämlich *ḥaṭaba* verwendet. Weiter wird erzählt, wie Ibn Fadlān den Text der bulgarischen *Ḥuṭba* ablehnt, und wie er sie zusammen mit dem König aufs neue feststellt. In der neuen Formel finden wir die Bestätigung der oben vorgetragene Auffassung von *da'ā lahū*, denn hier heisst es: *Allāhumma aṣliḥ Ja'fara bna 'Abdi l-llāhī, amīra l-bulḡār, maḡlā amīri l-mu'minīna*. Mit dieser Erklärung bezeichnet also der *Ḥaṭīb* den Khalifen als Schutzherrn des bulgarischen Königs. Letzterer unterstellt sich also

<sup>45</sup> Vgl. WENSINCK—KRAMERS, Handwörterbuch des Islam, Leiden (1941), S. 310.



dem ersteren. Damit hat Ibn Fadlāns Gesandtschaft ihre wichtigste Aufgabe erfüllt. Des bulgarische König legt seine alte, von den Chazaren erhaltene Würde (*iltbār*), wenigstens im Kult, ab und wird *amīr* genannt, erhält also den Titel eines Statthalters im islamischem Reiche. *Yuqīmu* steht hier ebenfalls nicht im Sinne von „durchführen“ (ZEKI VALIDI), sondern ist ein technischer Ausdruck im Sinne vom synonymen *'aqāma hutbatan* (Dozy II, S. 424) also wohl „die *da'wa* einführen“.

Nun fragt es sich, wie weit der ganze Akt als eine nicht-religiöse Handlung aufgefasst werden darf. Bekanntlich wurde der Erwähnung des Namens des Herrschers in der *Hutba* in den islamischen Ländern, obzwar sie von der *Šarī'a* nicht vorgeschrieben wurde, immer eine weitgehende Bedeutung beigemessen. Die Geschichte der islamischen Dynastien weist hierfür sehr viele berühmte Beispiele auf. Im Bereiche der islamischen Macht hat die *Hutba* also selbstverständlich einen politischen Nebensinn. Der *Ḥatīb* ist nicht nur Vertreter des Herrschers als Imam, sondern bejaht ihn auch im politischen Sinne, solange er ihn in der *Hutba* erwähnt. Zwar war Bulgarien von Bagdad zu weit entfernt um unter direkten islamischen politischen Einfluss zu geraten (wie der *Hwārezmšāh* sagt: Überdies sind zwischen euch und jenem Lande . . . tausend türkische Stämme“), eine gewisse politische Absicht konnte jedoch auch in diesem Falle nicht fehlen. Gleich am Anfang des Reiseberichtes (f. 197a, Z. 2—4) ersucht der bulgarische König den Khalifen, einerseits als Imam, ihm *Faḳīhs* zu schicken, die ihn in der Religion und der heiligen *Šarī'a* unterrichten und für die richtige Ausführung des Kultes sorgen sollen, andererseits aber als Herrscher einer Grossmacht, für ihn Verteidigungswerke zu bauen und ihn gegen feindliche Könige zu schützen. Allerdings gelang die Reise in religiöser Hinsicht viel besser als in politischer. Dies hatte zur Folge, dass die *Ta'riḥ*-Literatur nichts von dieser Gesandtschaft zu erzählen weiss. Der Reiserbericht ist denn auch nicht als politisches Dokument, sondern als ein Stück der erbaulichen Literatur und als beliebtes *kitāb al-uḡā'ib* erhalten geblieben. Vom Islam im weit gelegenen Lande der Bulgaren weiss man noch Jahrhunderte später zu erzählen, sogar Reisen werden dorthin unternommen. Die islamische Macht kann jedoch einige Jahrzehnte nach Ibn Fadlāns Reise weder den russischen Streifzug gegen Bulgarien abwehren noch irgendeinen Einfluss auf das bulgarische Schicksal ausüben.

Hier folgen einige Bemerkungen zum neuen Text.<sup>16</sup>

F. 196b, Z. 18. *Yāqūt* nennt Ibn Fadlāns Bericht neben *risāla* dem Inhalte nach auch *qiṣṣa* (I, S. 113, Z. 14), oder einfach *kitāb* (I, S. 112, Z. 16). — Zum Namen Ibn Fadlāns: ZVT 3, Anm. b) ist auf Grund von *Yāqūt* I, S. 112,

<sup>16</sup> Im folgenden ist K = die sowjetische Ausgabe; ZV = ZEKI VALIDI; ZVT 3, 4, usw. = die Seitenzahlen in ZVs Ausgabe (arabischer Text); ZVK = ZVs Kommentar; R = RITTER; BF = BLAKE und FRYE.

Z. 16; II, S. 484, Z. 10; II, S. 839, Z. 18 und WÜSTENFELDS Appar. S. 85, zu streichen. In einer anderen Erzählung (f. 205a: ult.) erhält Ibn Fadlān vom bulgarischen König die Kunya *Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣadlūq*. Aus dem Laqab geht deutlich hervor, dass diese Kunya nicht Ibn Fadlāns echte Kunya, sondern lediglich ein epitheton ornans war (vgl. GOLDZIEHERS Exkurs: Der Gebrauch der Kunya als Ehrenbezeichnung: *Muhamm. Stud.* I, S. 267f).

F. 197a, Z. 5. Zum Ausdrucke *wa kāna s-safira fiḥi* (bei *Yāqūt* I, S. 723, Z. 15 anstatt *fiḥi: lahū*) bemerkt RITTER, dass wenn man mit K das Pronomen auf Bagdad bezieht, dann im Texte *fhā* stehen müsste. Er zitiert ZVs Übersetzung: „in dieser Angelegenheit“ und sagt, ihm scheint die Lesart *Yāqūts* auch möglich zu sein. Die Frage wird dadurch entschieden, dass das Verbum *safara* mit den beiden Praepositionen *li* und *fi* auch sonst belegt werden kann, vgl. Dozy I, S. 657: *safara li-l-wazīru fi dāri l-kātibi l-mu'ahhari* „le vizier fut mon intermédiaire auprès du sultan, pour le prier de m'accorder le palais du cātib qui avait été destitué“. *Yāqūts* Lesart ist also ebenfalls möglich, stellt aber gegenüber der neuen Version keine Verbesserung dar. Z. 5—6. Über die Aufgabe Ibn Fadlāns sagt *Yāqūt* an einer anderen Stelle: *li-yuḥiḍa 'alāihimu l-ḥilū'a wa-yu'allimahumu ṣ-ṣarā'ia l-islāmīyata* (I, S. 468, Z. 20). Z. 6. Der Text ist grammatisch in Ordnung: *wa-sabbaba lahū bi-l-māli l-mahmūli ilāihī li-binā'i mā dakarnāhū . . . 'alā dai'ati . . .* ZV (= BF; K: ungenau) übersetzt: „An die Ausgaben für das Erbauen dessen, was wir erwähnt haben . . . wurden ihm die Einkünfte eines der Güter . . . bestimmt“ und bemerkt dazu: „Der Ausdruck *sabbaba* der Hs. in diesen Sinne ist ungewöhnlich“. Vgl. aber die Beispiele für diesen Ausdruck, angeführt in de GOEJES „Glossarium“ zur *Ṭabarī*-Ausgabe (S. C'CLXXXIV), wo der Ausdruck *sabbaba bi-l-māli 'alāihī* „den Gehalt auf ihn (seine Kosten) überweisen“ bedeutet, oder die Wendung *arṣāqihū musabbabatun 'alā anwāli Miṣra* „sein Gehalt wurde zu Lasten der Einkünfte Ägyptens überwiesen“. Der Ausdruck hat auch im vorliegenden Text dieselbe Bedeutung. Die genaue Übersetzung lautet also: „und er (der Khalif) überwies den Betrag, der ihm (dem bulgarischen König) zu überliefern war für die Ausführung der erwähnten Bauten, auf die Kosten eines der Güter . . .“ Z. 14. In der Handschrift ist *raḥalnā in raḡā'na* verbessert. Die „Verbesserung“ ist aber sachlich falsch.

F. 197b, Z. 4—5. Text und Übersetzung lautet nach ZV (= BF; auch K: *уеноронма*): *wa-aqāma lanā raḡulan an yaqḍiya ḥawā'ijānā wa-yurīḥa 'ilalanā* „und einen Mann zu unseren Diensten bestimmte, der unsere Bedürfnisse erfüllen und allen unseren Wünschen nachkommen sollte“. Anstatt *zurīḥa* muss aber mit Rücksicht auf den bekannten Ausdruck: *azāḥa 'ilalahū*, *zurīḥa* gelesen werden. *Azāḥa 'ilalahū* „s'emploie surtout quand on pourvoit aux besoins des soldats qui refusent de se mettre en marche en prétextant que les choses nécessaires leur font défaut . . . La phrase en question signifie donc souvent pourvoir aux besoins de quelq'un“. nach Dozy II, 158. Vgl.

weiter die Beispiele der arabischen Nationalwörterbücher: *azāḥa -llāhu l-'ilala* und *azaḥtu fī-mā ḥtāju ilaiḥi = qadaitu ḥājataḥū*. Aus dem letzteren geht hervor, dass die beiden Ausdrücke *yaqḍi ḥawā'ijatanā* und *yuzīḥu 'ilalanā* auch im vorliegenden Text Synonyme sind.

F. 198a. Z. 18. Nach *ra'aituhū* stehen die Komplemente (*mazīfa* usw.) gemäss der Aussprache unflektiert, also scheinbar im Nom., anstatt des Akk. (zwei Akk. nach den Af'ālu l-qalḥj). Z. 18.—19. Die Handschrift und ZV: *arba'ū dawānīqa*: eine falsche Zahlkonstruktion. Yāqūt liest richtig: *arba'ātu*.

F. 198b. Z. 10—11. Eine sachlich und sprachlich sehr schwierige Stelle, die bereits von Yāqūt missverstanden wurde. In der Handschrift steht *ḥamlu 'ajalatin min ḥaḥabi l-tāj bi-dīrḥamaini min darāḥima takānu zuhā'a talātati ālāfi riḥl*. Das ist aber sachlich unmöglich (K). Yāqūt liest *yakānu waznuḥū* (anstatt *zuhā'a*) *talātata ālāfi riḥlin*, bezieht also die *ṣifa* auf das *ḥamlu 'ajalatin*. Das ist ebenfalls sachlich unmöglich (eine Wagenlast von 3000 Riḥl!), was er ja auch selbst feststellt und als eine arge Übertreibung Ibn Faḍlāns betrachtet. ZV folgt Yāqūts Beispiel, indem er die *ṣifa* auf das *ḥamlu 'ajalatin* bezieht. K glaubt, dies sei wegen der Konstruktion unmöglich, da die *ṣifa ḥamlu 'ajalatin* zu weit entfernt ist. Er schlägt deshalb vor, die *ṣifa* trotz Yāqūt auf das *dīrḥamaini* zu beziehen. Seine Lesart: *min darāḥima takānu waznuḥū talātata ālāfin minḥā bi-riḥlin* ist aber schwerfällig und grammatisch bedenklich (was ist Subj. und Obj. von *takānu* und warum ist es fem?). R schliesst sich Ks Meinung an, schlägt aber eine andere Lösung vor: *min darāḥimu yakānu zuhā'u talātati ālāfin <minḥā> riḥl <an>*. Seine Ergänzungen *minḥā* und das *-an* nach *riḥl-* sind aber entbehrlich, mit anderen Worten: die neue Version stellt einfach Yāqūts Vorlage dar. Yāqūt wurde dadurch irregeführt, dass das Wort *riḥl-* am Ende des Satzes, wie in der Aussprache, unflektiert dasteht. Überdies hatte das *y-* von *yakānu* in seiner Vorlage offenbar keine Punkte (*takānu* zu lesen und es auf das als Kollektivum aufgefasste *darāḥima* zu beziehen ist hier wohl unangebracht). Der Text braucht also auf keinerlei Weise umgeändert zu werden. Z. 14. Hier fehlt etwas im Text der Handschrift. K ergänzt „zwei Männer“, ZV ganz ähnlich: (*anna*) *raḥulaini sāqū*, was mit Rücksicht auf den Inhalt des Satzes und die zwei Zeitwörter im Dual (*li-yahmilā und nasiyā*) wohl richtig ist. Es ist aber zu bemerken, dass in der Handschrift anstatt ZVs *itnā(y)*: cas. obl. wahrscheinlich unrichtigerweise *itnā* (nach der gewöhnlichen Orthographie Nom.) steht. Der Fehler ist offenbar dadurch entstanden, dass der Kopist das Abschreiben nach dem ersten *itnā(y)*, das sich auf die zwei Männer bezieht, aus Versehen mit dem auf das zweite *itnā* folgenden Wort (*aṣara ḡamalan*) fortgesetzt hat. Z. 16. In der Handschrift steht: *wa-la-qaḍ ra'aitu li-hawā'i bardihā wa-anna s-sūqa biḥā wa-š-šawāri'a la-yahlū*. Die erste Hälfte des Satzes ist offensichtlich falsch konstruiert, aber weder K noch ZV noch R finden die richtige Lösung: anstatt *li-hawā'i* muss *ihrā'ahū* gelesen werden, da *ahra'ahū* nach

den Nationalwörterbüchern den Sinn von *ištadda 'alaiḥi ḥattā kāda yaqtuluhū au qatalahū* hat. Die Vorschläge Ks, ZVs und Rs sind daher abzulehnen. *Anna s-sūqa biḥā wa-š-šawāri'a la-yahlū* (das letzte Wort am Ende mit Alif geschrieben, also Plur.) ist auch eine richtige Konstruktion, möglich wäre: *taḥlū*. Z. 19. Der Text der Handschrift ist scheinbar grammatisch nicht in Ordnung: *wa-la-qaḍ kuntu ayām . . . fī baitin . . . wa-anā muddatirun bi-l-aksiyati wa-l-fry fa-rubbamā ltaṣaqa ḥaddī 'alā l-mihaddati*. K übersetzt *ayām-* mit *je me dan*. ZV schliesst sich dieser Übersetzung an: „Ich hielt mich tagelang in einem Hause auf . . . und ich war selbst darin noch in Kleider und Pelz eingehüllt, trotzdem haftete manchmal meine Wange an den Polster“. Er liest also *ayyāman*, was aber im Text nicht steht. Mit Rücksicht hierauf bemerkt R: „Korrekt wäre *ayyāman* statt des überlieferten *ayyām*“. Ausgehend vom Sinne des Satzes würde man aber eher ein Wort für das überlieferte *ayām-* suchen, das mit dem Schlafen zu tun hat. Dann liegt die überzeugende Lösung auf der Hand: man muss *anāmu* lesen: „ich pflegte in einem Hause zu schlafen . . .“ usw. Ein Beispiel dafür, dass der Kopist den unpunktieren Text seiner Vorlage nicht verstanden und durch falsche Punktation verdorben hat. Fry ändern K, ZV und BF in das untelegte *furā'* (angenommene Plur. von *furwa* 'Pelz') um. Die richtige Lesart ist, wie das aus dem Schriftbild hervorgeht: *furuš* (Plur. von *firāš* 'Matratze, Kissen'), das vom Kopisten nicht verstanden und mit unsicherer Hand kopiert wurde.

F. 199a. Z. 7. Der Text ist korrekt, aber die Übersetzung Ks und ZVs (= BF) ist unrichtig. In der Handschrift heisst es: *wa-hauwalū 'alainā l-amra wa-aḡzamū l-qissala fa-lammā šahadnā dālika kāna ad'āfa mā wuṣifa lanā*. ZV übersetzt: „Sie stellten uns die Sache als furchtbar dar und übertrieben das Märchen. Als wir diese (übertriebene Schilderung) hörten, wurde (unsere Vorstellung von der Kälte) viel grösser als das, was uns erzählt wurde“, und bemerkt dazu, dass im Text etwas fehlt. K übersetzt: „превзвучили сказку о нем“. Die richtige Übersetzung dieses Satzes hängt davon ab, wie man das Wort *aḡzamū* übersetzt. Zwar kann es manchmal mit „übertrieben“ übersetzt werden, doch ist hier seine bei Dozy (II, S. 142) angeführte Bedeutung „c. a. r. et 'alā p. faire voir à quelqu'un le danger d'une entreprise“ vorzuziehen. Das Wort kommt in dieser Bedeutung nach Lane (2087) oft, wie hier, mit *hāla* verbunden vor: *a'zamanī mā qulta = ḥālani wa-aḡzama 'alaiya*, wo *a'zamanī = a'zamanī*. Das Wort *qissatun* braucht ebenfalls nicht mit „Märchen“ übersetzt zu werden, da es hier, wie auch sonst oft, ein Synonym von *amrun* ist (Lane 2528: 'case, affair'). So wird aber der Sinn ohne weiteres klar: „und sie haben uns die Sache als furchtbar geschildert und auf die Gefährlichkeit der Sache hingewiesen. Als wir aber die Wirklichkeit selbst erfuhren, war sie das Doppelte dessen, was uns geschildert wurde“. Ausschlaggebend ist, was später Ibn Faḍlān selbst von der Kälte des Türkenlandes sagt: (ZVs Übers.): „So ritten wir zehn Tage und erduldeten viele

Widerwärtigkeiten und Schwierigkeiten, heftige Kälte und ununterbrochene Schneestürme, im Vergleich mit denen uns die (oben erwähnte) Kälte von Chwarezm wie Sommertage vorkam, so dass wir alle früheren (Unbilden) vergassen, und schon ganz nahe daran waren, unseren Geist aufzugeben“.

F. 199b, Z. 7—8. Handschrift: *la-rafa'nāhū ilaihi*. R möchte *dafa'nāhū ilaihi* lesen. Die Lesart der Handschrift ist aber besser, vgl. die für *rafa'a ilā* angeführten Beispiele in Gloss. Tab. S. CCLXVI. Z. 12—13. Der Text ist korrupt. Die Emendationen und Übersetzungen Ks, ZVs, Rs und BFs sind weder grammatisch noch sachlich einwandfrei. Die korrekte Lösung lautet: anstatt *wašalnā ilā jabalin 'aẓimin katīrin-i l-hijāratī wa-fihī 'uyūnun y. y. (?) n. h. r. q. j. y. r wa-bi-l-huḡratī l-mā'u* müssen die korrupten Worte als *yataḡazzaqu ḡādirun* gelesen werden. Dies bedeutet, dass man das Schriftbild gar nicht berühren muss. *Taḡazzaqa* hat nach den Nationalwörterbüchern den Sinn: *taḡabbada*, *iḡtama'a*, und *ḡādirun* heisst: *qiḡatun min-a l-mā'i yatrūkuhā s-sailu*, d. h. „Wassertümpel, der nach einem Regenguss von einem Wildbach zurückgeblieben ist“. Der Sinn, der sich auf diese Weise ergibt, „Die Wildbäche ziehen sich in Tümpeln zusammen, und das Wasser bleibt in den Vertiefungen stehen“, wird glänzend von ZV bestätigt, der diese Landschaft als Augenzeuge beschreibt: „Er [Ibn Faḡlān] schildert hier, wie von dem Abstieg „Ciñ“ Bäche herabfliessen. Da sie in der Ebene keinen Abfluss haben, bilden sie in der Frühjahrszeit oder während der Regengüsse eine Wasserfläche, die nachher schnell austrocknet. Ich glaube, dass mein Anstieg auf den Ust-Urt im Herbst 1920 dem Abstieg IF's bei Žavīndi entsprach; auch wir haben hier zwischen den Felsen herabfliessende Bäche gesehen“.

F. 200a, Z. 14—16. In der Handschrift steht: *in yaḡtub-i l-wāhidu min-hum ilā l-āhari ba'da ḡaramihī 'nā (?) bnatahū au ba'da man yamliku amrahā 'alā ka-dā wa-ka-dā taubin huwārizmiyin, ḡa-idā wāḡāhū ḡamalāhā ilaihi*. Das sinnlose 'nā wird von ZV in *immā* ('sei es') verbessert, R glaubt dagegen, dass wir es mit K als Dittographie des Anfangs vom folgenden *ibnatahū* zu streichen haben. Aus dem Zusammenhange geht aber deutlich hervor, dass man *immā... au... au* zu lesen hat, was eine sehr geläufige Konstruktion ist. Dies wird durch die Tatsache erhärtet, dass der Kopist an einer anderen Stelle (f. 201b, Z. 1) umgekehrt auch *amā* für *anā* schreibt. Weiter übersetzt ZV: „Wenn er (der Brautwerber) ihn (das Familienhaupt) zur Einwilligung brachte, so bringt er ihn (den Brautpreis) zu ihm (dem Vater)“ und bemerkt dazu: „Die Übersetzung beruht auf meiner Konjektur *wāḡaḡahū* statt *wāḡāhū* des M. Das Pron. *-hū* bezieht sich auf das pluralisch angenommene *taub*; wenn es sich auf 'Braut' beziehen würde, dann müsste *ilaihi*, zu ihm (dem Bräutigam) übersetzt werden“. Die Lesart *wāḡaḡahū* anstatt *wāḡāhū* ist aber unmotiviert (R). Was den Rest anbetrifft, so ist die Beziehung des Pron. *-hū* auf die Braut die einzige Möglichkeit vom grammatischen

Standpunkt aus. Aber das ist auch das Einzige, was gut in den Zusammenhang passt. Vom *ḡamala* ist der Vater das Subj.: „und wenn er (der Werber) ihn (den Brautpreis) bezahlt hat, so bringt er (der Vater) die Braut zu ihm“. Weiter wird erzählt, dass der Bräutigam vor der Bezahlung des Brautpreises auf die Braut kein Recht hat, danach verfügt er aber über sie und kann sie zu jeder beliebigen Zeit von den Eltern abholen (falls ihm die Braut noch nicht übergeben wurde). Z. 16. Der Satz: *wa-rubbamā kāna l-mahru ḡimāl(un) au dawābb(u) au ḡairu dālika* ist syntaktisch scheinbar falsch. Der Kopist meint aber natürlich, gemäss der Aussprache *ḡimāl*, *dawābb* und *ḡaira dālika*.

F. 200b, Z. 2. In der Handschrift steht: *wa-yaḡūltāna ḡādā yurīdu an yaḡharanā li-annahū ḡad taḡarassa ḡi-l-mā'i* (zur Lesart *li-annahū* vgl. oben S. 219). Der Sinn ist klar „und sie sagen, er will uns behexen, da er Hydromantik getrieben hat“ (K und R). ZVs Lesart *taḡarassa* anstatt *taḡarassa* und seine Übersetzung ist unmotiviert, *taḡarassa* passt ausgezeichnet in den Zusammenhang. Z. 15. Im Text heisst: *wa-in lam yurwāḡiq-i l-muslimu ḡaifāhū ḡi-l-ḡāddati, sa'ala 'an ilth, aina huwa*. ZV übersetzt: Wenn er den Muslim, seinen Gastfreund, nicht auf dem (Karawanen-) Wege antrifft, dann fragt er (einen anderen Muslim), Wo ist er? und bemerkt dazu: „Die Stelle ist nicht klar, vielleicht ist hier anstatt *ilth* etwas anders wie *tālit*, von einem Dritten' oder *sā'isihī* 'von seinem Knecht' zu lesen (?)“. Da aber *sa'ala 'an* nicht „jemanden fragen“, sondern „sich über jemanden erkundigen“ bedeutet, ist diese Erklärung gewiss abzulehnen. K (= BF) übersetzt „он спросит о третьем“. R erklärt *ilth* für unverständlich und liest *nā'ibihī*. — Hier hat der Kopist seine Vorlage wieder missverstanden. Es hat dort nämlich *sa'ala 'an ḡalatihī, aina huwa ḡa-idā urḡida* gestanden: „(Wenn er seinen Gastfreund nicht auf dem Karawanen-Weg antrifft), so erkundigt er sich hinsichtlich seines Entkommens: 'Wo ist er?' Und wenn man ihm sagt, wie er zu ihm kommen kann“ usw. Die Situation ist klar. Es handelt sich darum, dass der moslemische Gast seinen türkischen Gastherren meiden will, da er ihm zu Gegengaben verpflichtet ist, indem er bei der Rückreise durch das türkische Territorium anstatt des grossen Karawanen-Weges auf Nebenwegen durchzukommen sucht. Dann fragt der Türke bei den Leuten der Gruppe, mit denen er auf der Hinreise gefahren ist, nach ihm und macht sie für ihre Gefährten verantwortlich. Das Wort *ḡādda*, das in der geographischen Literatur oft in diesem Sinne verwendet wird, darf also nicht mit R in *inḡāzun* umändert werden. Wenn er ihn dann findet, nimmt er (der Türke) ihm (dem Muslim) ab, was er ihm vorher geschenkt hat. Wie früher gesagt wurde, handelt es sich hier vor allem um Geld, Schlacht- und Reittiere, die der Muslim von seinem türkischen Gastherren geborgt hatte.

F. 201b, Z. 14. In der Handschrift und bei ZV steht *ḡḡqt riḡlāya*, was aber keinen klaren Sinn ergibt. K (= BF) liest *ḡuḡḡiqat* und übersetzt „они потрескались“. *ḡuḡḡiqat riḡlāya* wäre aber ein ungewöhnlicher Aus-

druck. Die richtige Lesart ist: *ša'ifat riḡlāya*, da der Ausdruck *ša'ifat-i r-riḡlu* nach den Nationalwörterbüchern *ḥarajat biḥā ṣ-ša'fatu* bedeutet, während *ša'fatu* den Sinn *qarḥatu fi asfali l-qadami* hat. Die Übersetzung lautet also: „an meinem Fuss bildete sich ein Geschwür“.

F. 202a, Z. 4. Lies *dawābba*, in der Handschrift und bei ZV unrichtigerweise *dawābban*. Z. 10. In der Handschrift steht ein *fiḥī* mehr als bei ZV: *ya'murukū fiḥī bi-l-islāmi*. Es passt gut in den Zusammenhang und erscheint auch in ZVs Übersetzung („in dem er ihm die Bekehrung zum Islam vorschlug“). Z. 11. *Taubaini marwiyatan*: diese Art der Konstruktion des Dualis ist im späteren Arabisch allgemein üblich. Z. 15. Anstatt *fa-ra'aitu l-qurtaqa-l-ladi taḥtā wa-taqatta'a wasaḥan* liest ZV: *tataqatta'u wasaḥan*. Die Lesart der Handschrift ist vorzuziehen. Das *wāw* vor *taqatta'a* ist ein *wāwu l-ḥāli*, dass, wie in der klassischen Prosa, auch vor einem Satz mit Perf. (in diesem Falle *Jumlatun ḥāliyatun*) stehen kann.

F. 202b, Z. 8—9. Zwischen den Fremdwörtern steht auch das arabische *marwi-*, gemäss der Aussprache, unflektiert: *wa-ḥalā'nā 'alā Tarḥān ḥaṣṭān marwī wa-ṣiqqataini bai-tāf wa-'alā uṣḥābihī qurtaq qurtaq*. ZV liest ebenfalls *ṣiqqataini* anstatt des richtigen *ṣiqqatai bai tāf* (gen. materiae).

F. 203a, Z. 10. In der Handschrift steht: *yaqrīdu l-qamla bi-asnānihī*. ZV liest, mit Yāqūt, *yaqrūdu*, was dem Sinne nach gut ist, braucht aber der Lesart der Handschrift nicht vorgezogen zu werden („er zermalmt sie mit den Zähnen“). Z. 15. *Wa-minhum man yaz umu anna laḥū itnā 'ašara rabban*, auch bei ZV ist *itnā* am Ende fälschlich mit *Alif* geschrieben. Yāqūt schreibt richtig *itnā(y)*.

F. 203b, Z. 1. R bemerkt zum Wort *qauman*: „vorher ein undeutlicher Strich, der ein *Alif* sein könnte. K erwägt die Lesung *aqwāman*“. Hier handelt es sich aber wieder um einen Abdruck von der anderen Seite. Die richtige Lesart ist also: *qauman*. Z. 18. In der Handschrift steht richtig: *kabbarā takbīratan*. Anstatt *takbīratan* findet sich *takbīran* bei ZV. Mit Rücksicht auf *lahā*, das sonst asyndetisch dasteht, muss die Lesart der Handschrift (Nomen vicis von *takbīran*) vorgezogen werden. Dies passt auch besser in den Zusammenhang, da es sich hier offensichtlich um einen einzigen, gewaltigen „*Allāh akbar*“-Ruf handelt.

F. 204a, 16. In der Handschrift steht *quḍūmī*. ZV liest, mit Yāqūt, *quḍūminā*. Da es aber eben die Aufgabe Ibn Faḍlāns war, das Einhalten der islamischen Gesetze (so auch der *Ḥuṭba*) bei den Bulgaren zu überwachen, wird die in der Handschrift enthaltene Lesart wohl die ursprüngliche sein.

F. 205b, Z. 2. *Bi-sā'atin qiyāsīyatīn*. ZVs Übersetzung: „ungefähr eine Stunde“ ist nicht genau. Gemeint ist „in der gewöhnlichen Zeit“, was sich auf den Sonnenuntergang bezieht (so auch K). Z. 6. *Dawābban*, lies richtig *dawābba* (Yāqūt ebenfalls unrichtig: *dawābban*). Z. 8. *Yaḥtalatāni*: das

*y-* hat keine Punkte unter dem Praefix. ZV liest *yaḥtalitāni*. Dies ist nach dem voranstehenden fem. Subjekt kaum richtig, lies: *taḥtalitāni*, so auch Yāqūt. Auch anstatt des folgenden *yaḥtariqāni* (so die Handschrift und ZV) ist mit Yāqūt *taḥtariqāni* zu lesen. In der Handschrift steht: *fa-yaḥtalitāni jamān dālika sātān*. Das Wort *dālika* fehlt in ZVs Text, wo aus Versehen Yāqūt wiedergegeben wurde. Yāqūts Lesart ist aber offensichtlich besser. Der Fehler in der Handschrift ist dadurch entstanden, dass in der nächsten Zeile ein ähnlicher Ausdruck vorkommt: *ka-dālika sātān*.

F. 206a, Z. 14. *Fa-iḍā 'alaihī ḥaiyatun qaribun minḥā*. ZV ändert das *qaribun* der Handschrift in *qaribatun* um. Da aber zu den Adjektiva der Form *fa'il*, die als gen. comm. behandelt werden, auch *qaribun* gehört, ist die Lesart der Handschrift vorzuziehen.

F. 207a: ult. *Mahāzatin* in der Handschrift ist mit R in *tijāratin* zu ändern. ZVs Lesart: *majālatin* („Wandergebiete der Nomaden“) beruht auf seine Theorie über die Kultur der Bulgaren, die nach ihm einerseits ein Nomadenvolk waren, andererseits aber die Kulturstufe eines sesshaften Volkes erreicht hatten.

F. 207b, Z. 12. *Rubbamā*: das *rā* und das *mīm* sind mit einem Strich verbunden. R entziffert diese Buchstaben als *ḥmā* (liest aber natürlich *rubbamā*). Gemeint ist aber auch in der Schrift *rubbamā*, wenigstens das ist was dem Kopisten vorgelegen hat, vgl. unten die Bem. zu f. 209a, Z. 10—11.

F. 208a, Z. 1. Die Handschrift und ZV: *talātatu buḥairātin*, eine falsche Zählkonstruktion. Lies: *talātu buḥairātin*. Z. 7—8. Der Text der Handschrift lautet: *ḥāḍā n-nahru qad madda wa-luṣā mā'uhā, fa-lam aš'ur yauman* (ohne Punkte unter dem *ya-*) *illā qad wāḥāni jamā'atur min-a t-tuǰǰāri wa-qāḥ* usw. Yāqūt hat die gleiche Lesart, *y(?)auman* fehlt aber bei ihm. ZV übersetzt: „Ich merkte mir den Tag erst dann, als mich eine Gruppe von Kaufleuten erreicht hatte. Sie sagten...“. Nach ihm geht aus dem Kontext hervor, „dass der König lediglich vom Eintreten (der Zeit) der Überschwemmung spricht, dass er von ihr erst durch Kaufleute erfahren habe, ohne sie mit der Erscheinung des Riesen über dem Wasser zu verknüpfen“. K übersetzt: *И не успел опомниться в этот же день*. Gegen diese Übersetzungsversuche lässt sich aber einwenden, dass sie auf ein Wort gegründet sind, das bei Yāqūt fehlt (*yauman*). Alle Schwierigkeiten lösen sich, wenn wir in Betracht ziehen, dass *ša'ara* auch ohne Komplement konstruiert wird, vgl. den mit dem obigen identisch konstruierten Mustersatz bei CASPARI—WRIGHT (unter den Beispielen für die Konstruktion nach der Ausnahmeartikel *illā*): *fa-mā aš'uru illā wa-qad ja'at min 'indihī* „And before I was aware (of it), she had come from his house“. Die richtige Übersetzung lautet also: „und eines Tages, ich erfuhr es nur dann, als eine Gruppe von Kaufleuten...“. Jetzt wird erst klar, warum Yāqūt das Wort *yauman* wegge-

lassen hat: er hat es einfach überflüssig gefunden. R vermutet also mit Recht, dass das Hochwasser der Grund für das Erscheinen des fremden Riesen war.

F. 209a, Z. 8. In der Handschrift und bei ZV steht *talātatu taiḡūriyātīn*: eine falsche Zahlkonstruktion. Lies *talātu*. Z. 10—11. In der Handschrift heisst es: *aktaruhum ma'lūlun warubbamā yamātu aktaruhum bi-l-qaulan*. Das Wort *rubbamā* wird von K, ZV und R als *bihā* gelesen. Das führt aber zu unlösbaren Schwierigkeiten. ZV lässt das von ihm gelesene *bihā* unübersetzt („vielmehr sind die meisten krank, und viele von ihnen werden von der Kolik getötet . . .“). R bemerkt dazu: „*wa-bihā*: Kv. bezieht das Suffix auf ein aus dem Zusammenhang zu entnehmendes 'illa 'Krankheit', ich glaube, dass es sich vielmehr auf ein zu supponierendes *balad* bezieht: 'und in diesem Lande'“. — Diese Vorschläge sind aber nicht annehmbar, da sie grammatisch nicht zu rechtfertigen sind. Lies einfach *rubbamā*, dann ist der Sinn des Satzes sofort klar, und der Text braucht nicht berührt zu werden. Überdies findet sich eine ganz ähnliche Wendung etwas später (f. 208a, Z. 18): *wa-rubbamā māta wa-mātū bi-asrihim*. Vgl. noch die Bem. unten zu f. 207b, Z. 12. Die ständige Verwendung von *rubbamā* (auch mit Perf.) gehört zu den Stileigentümlichkeiten Ibn Fadlāns.

## К. Цегледы

### МЕНГЕДСКАЯ РУКОПИСЬ ПУТЕШЕСТВИЯ ИБН ФАДЛАНА

Для изучения нового сочинения Ибн Фадлана фундаментальное значение имело факсимильное издание, вышедшее из печати в 1939 году под редакцией академика И. Ю. Крачковского.\* Необходимо также отметить труды Зеки Валиди Тогана (издание текста с немецким комментарием которое тоже появилось в 1939 г., но после советского издания и Г. Риттера (критические замечания к текстам, 1942 г.). К сожалению, все эти работы были опубликованы во время войны, и в связи с большинством исследователей стали весьма затруднительной.

Фотокопии с рукописи впервые были сделаны в 1923 году для Э. Герцифельда. Вторая копия была изготовлена в 1935 году для Академии Наук СССР. Третья копия находится в Будапеште. Она была снята профессором А. Лигети в 1936 году, во время его путешествия по Афганистану, и была предоставлена им в распоряжение автора.

На основании фотокопии можно установить, что копировщик рукописи совершенно механически справлялся со своей задачей, часто не понимая даже текста. В таких случаях он старался подражать буквам оригинальной рукописи, выводя их умственно неясным почерком. Особенно заметно это в разрывке лигатур.

По фотокопии видно, что рукопись пострадала от сырости. В нескольких местах чернила расплылись, вследствие чего некоторые буквы отпечатались на соседней странице. Это иногда приводит к полной неразборчивости, так как отпечатавшиеся буквы производят впечатление, как будто бы они принадлежали словам, на которых они отпечатались. Несколько

\* Путешествие Ибн Фадлана на Волгу, перевод и комментарий под редакцией академика И. Ю. Крачковского, изд. Акад. Наук, М.-Л., 1939.

строчек рукописи покрыты наклеенной бумажной лентой, но реконструировал этих строчек — при помощи параллельных мест из текста Jāqūt — не представляет больших трудностей.

Весьма важно познакомиться с некоторыми историческими приемами Ибн Фадлана для правильного понимания его текстов. В двух местах, например, он называет реки еще до упоминания страны где они протекают. Таким образом, получается впечатление, как будто страны были достигнуты им только после того, как караван уже переправился через названные реки, однако, это не соответствует фактам. Тут мы имеем дело с особым композиционным приемом писателя. Он составил себе список рек, через которые караван переправился, а кроме того, он записал события и приключения, происшедшие в отдельных странах, в другую книгу. Когда он приступил к описанию путешествия, тогда он отделил из списка соответствующие места с названными рек и с текстом дневника поместил их в начале описания данной страны. Тем не менее его географический материал является очень ценным. На него мы узнаем, как назывались реки, протекавшие в то время через печенежскую, башкирскую и турко-болгарскую территории, а вместе с тем и точные пределы областей, населенных названными племенами.

Обращает на себя внимание часть рукописи, содержащая описание зимней стоянки нововолжских болгар и грозидного базара, расположенного возле последней. „Три озера“, в окрестностях которых была стоянка, несомненно идентичны с генеральными „Тремя Озерами“, базар выходил на месте, где позднее была построена стоянка болгар, и где и теперь видны развалины г. Болгари.

Болгары и в этом сочинении Ибн Фадлана называются славянами (*saqlāb*). Таким образом это название берет свое начало не от Jāqūt. По мнению Бартольди, нововолжские турко-болгары назывались этим именем потому, что они в то время уже сильно смешивались с славянами, причем он ссылается и на то, что король нововолжских болгар носил титул „король славян“. Но так как этот титул в хутбе, т. е. в самой достоверной и постоянной формулировке имеет форму *maliku Bulgāru* „король болгар“, это лингвистическое доказательство раннего смешения турецких племен с славянами автоматически отпадает.

Зеки Валиди Тоган, подробно изучая употребление слова *saqlāb* в географической литературе арабов, пришел к выводу, что приведенное слово у арабских географов обозначает не только человека славянского происхождения, но оно может относиться и к „светлокожим“ туркам, финнам и германцам. Однако, это объяснение совершенно не приемлемо. Слово *saqlāb* относится иногда и к народам Северной Европы, но предположение, что арабские географы знали о „светлокожих“ турках, финнах и германцах этим еще не подтверждается.

Главнейшая часть статьи содержит ряд замечаний в отношении языка, конъектуры и пометки в реконструкции искаженных мест новой рукописи.









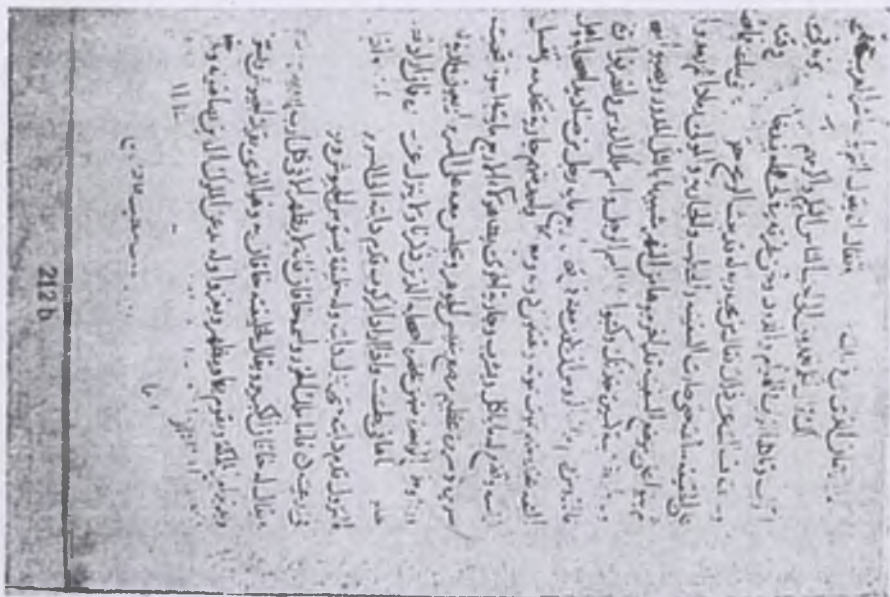
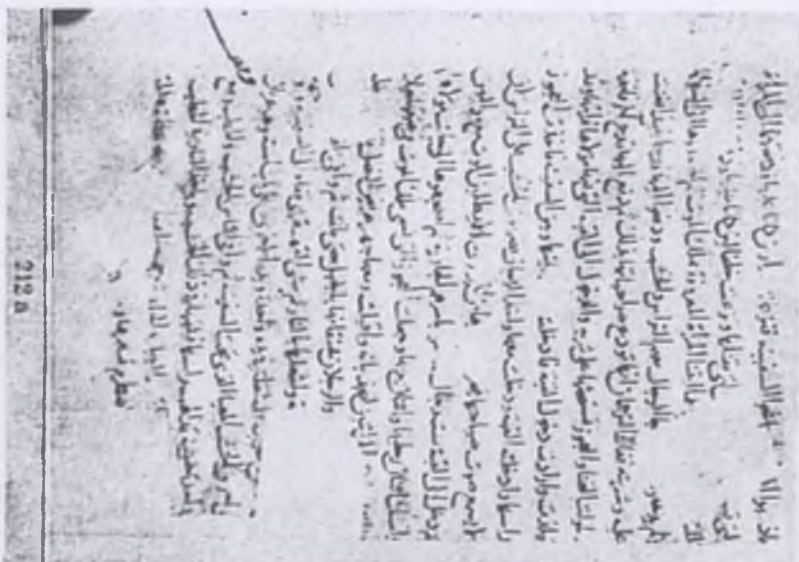












# MONOGRAPHS ON SYRIAC AND MUHAMMADAN SOURCES IN THE LITERARY REMAINS OF M. KMSKÓ

By  
K. CZEGLÉDY

A packet of MSS in the custody of the Manuscript Library of the Hungarian National Museum<sup>1</sup> and another in the Manuscript Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences<sup>2</sup> constitute together the literary remains of Mihály Kmoskó (1876–1931). As the successor of I. Goldziher in the Philosophical Faculty of the Budapest University, Mihály Kmoskó, Professor of Semitic philology, was known by contemporary scholars chiefly as an expert on Syriac philology. His MS remains have, however, been left unnoticed by philological literature – an unfortunate omission as these writings represent a valuable contribution to philology and are by no means outdated.

The MS remains of Kmoskó consist of three extensive works. One is quite completed while the other two are nearly finished for publication. The themes of all three are closely related to Syriac philology, the main field of Kmoskó's investigations. Yet, taken as a whole, they represent a new phase of Kmoskó's learned labours that is little known in specialist circles. Although it is not our task to present here a comprehensive picture of Kmoskó's many-sided literary activity which also encompassed the various branches of Hebrew philology, Aramaic philology, Assyriology, Sumerology, Islamitics, General History of Religion, Patristics, Hungarian History, we must nevertheless trace the way that led to the writing of the three treatises the MSS of which are now to be found among his literary remains.

As a young scholar, Kmoskó turned his attention to the problems of Semitic – particularly Syriac – philology, and his interest in these questions was definitely engaged when, in the course of his travels to Beyrout and in Palestine in 1899–1900, he established personal contacts with Syrian scholars. In 1900–1902 Kmoskó studied the Syriac MS material of the British Museum and of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The rich findings of his researches were published, from the next year onward, in the *Oriens Christianus* under the title *Analecta Syriaca e codicibus Musei Britannici excerpta*. Kmoskó took

<sup>1</sup> Catal. of MSS.: N<sup>o</sup> 1746/Fol. Hung. I–II = M in the following notes.  
<sup>2</sup> Catal. of MSS.: Történelem N<sup>o</sup> 4r 242/I–IV = A in the following notes.

his excerpts from various Syriac MSS, yet all of them were significant from the viewpoint of *Diatessaron* research and, in general, of the textual history of the *Peshitta*.<sup>3</sup> With these publications Kmoskó entered a very important field of Syriac philology. A little later we find his name among the editors of the *Patrologia Syriaca* (ed. R. Graffin). In this series Kmoskó edited several documents of Syriac literature dating from before the great Christological struggles, thus the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Baruch*<sup>4</sup> and two martyrologies of Šem'ôn bar Sabbā'e, with some liturgical texts attributed to Šem'ôn.<sup>5</sup> In the same collection he made some very instructive observations on the policy of Šāpūr II towards the Persian Christians.<sup>6</sup> From the translation literature of Syria he published here the *Testamentum Patris Nostri Adam*.<sup>7</sup> In 1909 he published an important treatise in Hungarian on the flourishing of the famous Syrian school of Nisibis at the time of H'nānā of Adiabene.<sup>8</sup>

It was still in 1901, in the course of studying the MSS of the British Museum that Kmoskó found the MS of the *Liber Graduum*. Kmoskó believed that this peculiar ascetic writing, which reflects Gnostic influences and is also important from the viewpoint of *Diatessaron* research, was one of the oldest remaining monuments of Syriac literature.<sup>9</sup> As a note of his in the *Oriens Christianus* indicates, he had the intention of editing this work as early as 1903.<sup>10</sup> In the next few years he completed the study of further twelve manuscripts of this same work and, although his MS was soon ready for printing and even the types were set, the extensive work was not actually

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Or. Christ.* II, pp. 33–51; III, pp. 93–105; IV, pp. 194–203. As to the value of these works, cf. A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922), p. 21, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. S. Szókely (Kmoskó's colleague in Budapest University), *Bibliotheca apocrypha I* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1913), pp. 261–84; Baumstark, *op. cit.* pp. 25–6.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur IV* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1924), pp. 341–2, 383.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 333–4, 380–2.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–6.

<sup>8</sup> *Hittudományi Folyóirat* [Theological Review] XX (1909), pp. 577–617. Kmoskó makes here very instructive comments on a subject much discussed before and after him by J. Guidi, E. Nestle, J. Labourt, A. Scher, H. R. Nelz and R. Duval. Cf. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 113–4; Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

<sup>9</sup> The Syrian scholar I. E. Rahmani also agrees with Kmoskó's early dating of the *Liber Graduum*. The argument in favour of the early date is based, in the first place, on the fact that the *Liber Graduum* shows no influence whatever of the great Christological debates. Yet, in most religious systems, the Gnostic-ascetic trend of literature may exist more or less independently of the «official» trends. This too substantiates the opinion of Baumstark (*op. cit.*, p. 165) that the *Liber Graduum* is a product of the VIth century Syriac translation literature, composed after the pattern of a Greek original.

<sup>10</sup> *Or. Christ.* II, p. 35, n. 1: «Opus hoc anno proximo in vol. III. *Patrol. Syriacae* publicaturus sum.»

published until 1926,<sup>11</sup> that is, twenty-five years later than originally planned, and at a time when Kmoskó's attention had already shifted from Syriac texts.

In the meantime Kmoskó took part in the editing another great series of patristic writings, the *Patrologia Orientalis* (ed. R. Graffin and F. Nau). In this series he edited, in 1914, the *Letters of Ammonas*,<sup>12</sup> an ascetic writing of ancient Syria which is translated from a Greek original.

World War I brought a turning point in the learned career of Kmoskó. Although he succeeded in making a tour in Asia Minor and Palestine in 1916, when he had occasion to renew his contacts with certain Syrian circles of these regions, his ties with the great Syriac MS and publishing centres in Paris, London and Rome were severed. At the same time new demands were made upon his scholarly work by those investigating the history of the Magyars prior to the conquest of Hungary. These circles suggested that Kmoskó study the Eastern, chiefly Arabic sources dealing with the history of the Turkish peoples of the Steppe — with them the Magyars — in the IV–IXth centuries. The study of pre-Conquest Magyar History had made essential progress in some of its aspects between 1900 and 1918. Although most of the results achieved had no bearing upon the main problem of pre-Conquest Magyar History, that is, the question of the evolution of Magyar society, they nevertheless shed light upon some problems concerning the relations of language and of tribal organisation that existed between the Magyars of the Steppe and the Turkish peoples. It was felt, however, that the progress of historical research working chiefly on linguistic material had greatly outdistanced the study of written sources. In 1900, indeed, Géza Kuun edited the Eastern sources of pre-Conquest Magyar History,<sup>13</sup> but his work failed to meet modern requirements even at the time of its publication, and so the need for a new edition became increasingly acute, with the passing of the years. I. Goldziher (1850–1921), Kmoskó's senior colleague and illustrious contemporary, whose interest had been engrossed for decades by his Islamic reserarches, was not in a position to meet this need. So Kmoskó had to shoulder the task. In his inaugural lecture in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences he said this about the new work: «In such circumstances I believed that, . . . by undertaking the revision of the *Eastern Sources* among the *Sources of Hungary's Conquest*, what I shall hope to perform will not only be a useful piece of work, but will actually supply a keenly felt want. When, however, I got into stride I had to realise with growing clarity that, considering the ends in view, . . . the limits of the task were rather narrowly defined by Kuun. From the

<sup>11</sup> *Patrol. Syr.* I/3. Paris 1926.

<sup>12</sup> *Patrol. Orient.* X/6. 1914. Cf. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–5.

<sup>13</sup> In the jubilee volume published on the occasion of Hungary's millennial celebrations *A Magyar Honfoglalás Kútjói* [*Sources of Hungary's Conquest*] (Budapest 1901).

*Eastern Sources* some essential texts are missing, others are published deficiently, in excerpts only.» Kmoskó thought it to be a particularly important omission that Kuun's edition left out the Muhammadan reports on the Slav and Turkish neighbours of the pre-Conquest Magyars in their homeland in what is now the Southern part of the Soviet Union.

The first findings of Kmoskó's new researches were published in 1918.<sup>14</sup> From this time on until his death in 1931, that is, for thirteen years, Kmoskó devoted all his energies to his new task. In the course of this time, after the death of I. Goldziher, he was elected a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1922), then he also succeeded Goldziher as Professor of Semitic Philology in the Philosophical Faculty of Budapest University (1923).

Judging by his printed publications, Kmoskó's scientific activity seems to have fallen off considerably in volume during these thirteen years. This is, however, a misleading impression, for the three extensive monographs in Kmoskó's MS remains clearly show that, in order to discharge the assumed obligation, he kept working systematically during all this period on those Eastern geographical and historical sources which have reference to the IV—IXth century history of the Magyars and those Turkish peoples that were in contact with them. Thus the articles published in these years — hardly comparable in volume with his MS monographs — represent but a fraction of Kmoskó's actual output.

The MS remains of Kmoskó consist of 2180 large handwritten pages, the text of each corresponding to about a printed page. 1610 pages appear to be a finished text, while 570 pages are in the draft stage. Two monographs are written in Hungarian, the third in German. The first half of the MSS was deposited in the Manuscript Library of the National Museum in 1931, in the year of Kmoskó's death, and the second half was acquired in 1941 by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The pages of the MSS were never numbered by Kmoskó, and so they got badly mixed up — almost inaccessible for readers. Independent attempts were made by both libraries to rearrange the pages, but quite unsuccessfully, for, taken apart, both packets are obviously incomplete, and it is often very difficult to separate the first draft or drafts from the final copy.

Now our task is to report, mainly by quotations, on the contents of Kmoskó's MSS. In doing this, we must, of course, take into consideration that twenty-five years have passed since the writing of these monographs. During this time many new sources have been discovered and the opinions concerning the old ones have also changed. Copious literature has since also been published on particular problems. A mere enumeration of new findings

<sup>14</sup> *Die Regierung des Sultans Selim I laut Bericht einer arabischen Chronik: Tārān III* (1918), pp. 363—7.

and publications would itself make a whole book. Since our present aim is reporting rather than an evaluation of Kmoskó's works, we must exercise restraint in commenting upon the themes and arguments of the MSS.

## A)

Judged by the great number of references in his MSS, it must have been the review of the Syriac sources that Kmoskó carried out as the first phase of his plan. This work was within the range of his former interests and so paved the way to his new task.

Although the data concerning the Steppe in the Syriac Sources had been occasionally made use of by several scholars, among them chiefly by Th. Nöldke and J. Marquart, no systematic collection of these sources had ever been made, nor their critical evaluation completed. Thus Kmoskó had to render, in many respects, pioneering work both in the collecting of the material and in its explanation. He, however, died before publishing the results of his great labours, a work which remains unparalleled ever since. Sporadic efforts have undoubtedly been made in this field, without being, however, of a systematic character, the only exception being the valuable works of N. Pigulevskaya.<sup>15</sup>

The title of Kmoskó's work is «Syriac Sources on the Peoples of Gog and Magog». The MS, which is written in Hungarian, would make *circa* 240 printed pages. The first draft is also extant among the pages. In this the word *Appendix* is added to the said title of the final copy, indicating that Kmoskó's intention was to attach this treatise — an independent piece of work — to the part dealing with the Muhammadan sources. The two copies agree in the essentials, the final copy being, of course, more elaborate in some of its parts than the first draft.

The MS is complete in every respect and quite ready for printing. Yet a formal preface is missing from both packets and no special reference is made to this work either in the MS fragment of Kmoskó's academic inaugural lecture or in his printed articles. The outline of the work is clear and well arranged:

*Part I. Introduction.*

1. Transcription, pp. 4—5.
2. Introductory remarks, pp. 6—15.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. her works quoted in: Б. Д. Грекову. Сборник статей (Москва 1952), pp. 42—8.



3. Introduction to the Extracts from Syriac Sources, pp. 16—61.  
 A) The Syrian Legend of Alexander, pp. 16—34.  
 B) Zacharias Rhetor, pp. 35—6.  
 C) Syriac Chronicles, pp. 37—57.  
 D) Hagiologies, pp. 58—61.

*Part II. Extracts from Syriac Sources.*

- A) Extracts from the Syrian Legend of Alexander, pp. 62—89.  
 D) Extracts from the Work of Zacharias Rhetor, pp. 90—5.  
 C) Extracts from Syriac Chronicles, pp. 96—220.  
 B) Extracts from Hagiologies, pp. 221—41.

PART I. INTRODUCTION (PP. 1—61)

*1. Transcription (pp. 4—5).*

This chapter is very important as in the subsequent parts of the work Kmoskó generally uses the transcribed forms of the Syriac words denoting the names of Syriac authors, historical sources, persons, geographical entities and peoples, giving Syriac lettering in very few cases only. In transcribing the consonants, Kmoskó follows the standard system of Semitic philology, and his method of transcription also registers the modifications in the pronunciation of the plosives (*abgdkpt*) which become spirants after vowels (e. g.,  $b > \beta$  etc.). As to the vowels, *ā, ō, ū, ī* in Kmoskó's system represent long or short vowels written with *matres lectionis*, *ā* etc. mark long vowels written with vowel-signs. — This system is, on the one hand, too meticulous, while, on the other hand, it has its deficiencies. In view of the philological ends pursued, transliteration would undoubtedly have been of greater service. In this case, however, one could have dispensed with marking the modifications which the pronunciation of the *abgdkpt* sounds undergoes. On the other hand, it would have been necessary to distinguish between the transcription system of the *w* and *y* used as *matres lectionis* and that of the *ālaf*,<sup>16</sup> since the use of the *ālaf* in Eastern Syriac differs somewhat from that in Western Syriae.

This chapter closes with the discussion of the most frequent errors in lettering and of the groups of letters that are easily interchangeable. — Here we miss an explanatory note to the effect that a part of the following texts is translation from Greek or Middle Persian, and the customary method of Syriac transcription of the Greek and Pehlevi letters is also left unexplained.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Cf. the system of transliteration elaborated by Baumstark in cooperation with other scholars: Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. VI—VII.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. below, pp. 60, 66.

*2. Introductory Remarks (pp. 6—16).*

Even experts of Syriac would appreciate the instructive discourses in this chapter on Syriac literature and the aids to the study of it.

*a) Bibliographies (p. 6.).*

The bibliographical references of this paragraph and quotations in later chapters indicate that Kmoskó wrote his work between 1918 and 1922. This may be seen from the fact that Kmoskó does not quote the standard work of A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, which was published in 1922. The list of bibliographies begins with the enumeration of the printed catalogues of the collections containing Eastern and Western Syriac MSS. Kmoskó's remarks in this paragraph are generally in agreement with what Baumstark writes on the subject. Noteworthy is his remark about the Syriac Jacobite MSS: «It is here, in the same St. Mark Monastery of the Jacobites in Jerusalem that a part of the library belonging to the patriarchal monastery called Dér az-Za'farân, near Mardin, is kept. The catalogue of these books — hitherto unpublished as far as I know — was prepared by the Jacobite monk, P. Ephrem Baršūm, as I learned this on the occasion of my visit to Jerusalem in 1916.» The list of the MS catalogues is followed by a brief enumeration of the works on the History of Syriac Literature.<sup>18</sup>

*b) General Remarks on Syriac Literature (pp. 7—8).*

We find very valuable information in the works of Syriac Literature about the peoples of the North. These reports, however, while extending over a longer period (VI—XIIIth centuries) than that covered by the Muhammadan sources (IX—XVth centuries), are far less numerous than the latter. The data in the Syriac sources furnish an important complement to the Muhammadan sources. «These products of Syriac literature begin to ebb away about the time when the first Arabic sources of geography and history appear. Since no one has undertaken so far, either in Hungary or abroad, the work of collecting and reviewing systematically these data of Syriac literature, we believe that we render a useful service to the students of pre-Conquest Magyar History, when we collect and publish the historical data in Syriac literature on the peoples of the North.»

The relative paucity of Syriac writings can be explained mainly by the fact that Syriac literature was cultivated by monks, and thus intended for a comparatively small group of readers, in sharp contrast to Arabic literature which owed its phenomenal flourishing, besides the patronage of califs, emirs and other rich benefactors, to financial gain and moral prestige which its cultivation yielded. Arabic literature, according to the nature of Islam, is an essentially lay literature, while Syriac literature is strictly ecclesiastical.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 1—8.

Political conditions favourable to the emergence and development of a national literature were also absent among the Syrians who, living scattered on the territories of the Byzantine and Persian empires, never attained real political independence. Higher positions were barred to the Syrians even in the Eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire. Emperor Justinian I (527—565) did not hesitate to remove even the Monophysite bishops and was still less patient with the lay adherents of this Christological doctrine. In the Western provinces of the Persian Empire all denominations of Christianity were merely tolerated, and the fire-worshipping clergy of the state religion did everything to suppress the Christians. It was, owing, in the first place, to these circumstances that Syriac literature had to seek shelter within the walls of monasteries. After the Arab invasion (636 A. D.) punitive taxation drove most of the Christians into the fold of the Islam, while the rest were prevented from occupying administrative positions of influence. There was but one field in which Christians proved indispensable; in medicine they retained their leading position for centuries.

Kmoskó then reports on the most important places where Syriac MSS are preserved, the libraries of existing ancient Syrian monasteries: *a*) that of Scete, or the Valley of the Ascetics in Nitria, southeast of Alexandria, established by the Syrians on Egyptian soil, in order to be able to witness the austerities of the famous Egyptian ascetics; *β*) the Greek monastery founded by Emperor Justinian in the vicinity of Mount Sinai, now noted for the discovery, by Agnes Smith Lewis, of the *Syrus Sinaiticus*, this ancient Syriac translation of the Gospels,<sup>19</sup> *γ*) that of the Jacobite Patriarch in Mardin, Northern Mesopotamia, south of Diyarbekir whence a part of the MSS was transferred to the Jacobite monastery of Jerusalem. The books of these libraries, which still exist or were only emptied in the last century, constitute but a fraction of the treasures once accumulated in Syrian monasteries. The monastic libraries in Syria proper must have been particularly rich in MSS — thus those in Qennešrē, in the vicinity of Aleppo, in the Monastery Mār Mattai near Mosul, in the cloisters of Rabbān Hormuzd and Margā, which, pillaged times without number, are now either in ruins or disappeared completely.

Kmoskó then mentions some amusing details as to the fate of MSS stolen from the Syrian monasteries. When a valuable MS was found in what was once Syrian land, it, as a rule, soon disappeared, and it took years until it turned up again in some European library or in the collection of some rich Englishman, or, in recent times, in the possession of some American book-lover. I saw with my own eyes several valuable Syrian parchments, in the

<sup>19</sup> Cf. now: *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery Microfilmed*. Library of Congress, Washington 1952.

possession of my unforgettable teacher in Vienna, Professor Wilhelm Neumann, which, according to the marking on their backs, once belonged to St. Catherine's Monastery on the Mount Sinai. I do not know where Neumann got them, but it is more than probable that they were offered for sale by professional thieves of MSS. While on my tour in the Near East, in 1916, I heard more than once that certain heads of Eastern churches purloined the MSS of their own episcopal libraries and sold them abroad! It has been through these underground passages that the remains of the great monastic MS collections reached the larger libraries of Europe, the Ambrosiana of Milan, the Bodleyan Library of Oxford, that of Cambridge, or the state libraries of Paris and Berlin etc.»<sup>20</sup>

Since the primary purpose of the monastic libraries was to meet the spiritual needs of the cenobites, monastic literature consisted, above all, of theological works (Bibles, commentaries, patristic writings, polemic treatises, collections of synodal canons etc.) and liturgical books (breviaries, missals). Other branches of literature were but modestly represented in these libraries, perhaps only Church History having a relative predominance. The Syrians studied with diligence the Syriac translations of the works on Church History by Eusebius and Sokrates, and followed their example in composing the history of their own church. They wrote books dealing with the lives of their famous church leaders and martyrs. They had little interest in the events of worldly politics; only their chief priests were really interested in these matters who acted as the main political representatives of the Syrians in their dealings with the Byzantine and Persian authorities.<sup>21</sup>

Kmoskó thought that the value of Syrian works on history was particularly enhanced by the denominational diversity of the Syrian Christians, as each group looked at the events from a peculiar viewpoint, thus insuring a many-sided presentation of the same events. In this way independent and mutually complementary traditions developed. At the same time, the Syrian denominations were not isolated from each other. Works by scholars belonging to different denominations, being passed from hand to hand, often broke through the walls of denominational exclusivity. It often happened that historians made use, without scruples, of works by authors who were absolutely opposed to their own denomination. «Thus, for instance, the Jacobite Barhebraeus, Primate of the Eastern Syrians, had absolutely no pangs of conscience when he copied the chronicle of the Melkite Agapios, failing, of course, to indicate his source.»

<sup>20</sup> As to the adverse fate of Syriac MSS, cf. the Introduction to vol. III of Wright's *Catalogue*.

<sup>21</sup> On this rôle of Syrian Church dignitaries cf. Pigulevskaya: *Советское Востоковедение* V (1948), p. 77.

In the course of describing, in general, the literature produced by the four Syrian denominations, Kmoskó discusses first the literature of the *Melkites*, those Syrians who remained loyal to the emperor (*malkā*) and to Byzantine orthodoxy. He notes that the Melkites exchanged their Syriac for the Arabic language after the Arab conquest.<sup>22</sup> So the literary activity of Agapios and Eutychios (Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq) must be discussed with the relevant Arabic literature. The *Maronites* who, with the support of Emperor Herakleios, planted the doctrines of monotheletism in the regions of the Libanon, were scarcely able to produce literary works of independent importance.<sup>23</sup> Much more significance must be attached to the historical writings of the Monophysite *Jacobites*, this most important denomination of the Syrians. The Jacobites were, at first, unable to get a foothold on Persian territory, but when the Arabs invaded Mesopotamia, Mārūtā (d. 649), the archbishop of Tagrit, organised the church of the Persian Monophysites and made it so independent of the Antiochian patriarchate of this denomination that his successors, under the name *mapr'yān*, acting as primates of the Eastern Monophysites, displayed an almost complete independence in managing the affairs of their church. It was from Tagrit that missionary activity started in the course of which the Monophysites invaded the Caucasus and even India, although their missionary endeavour, with the exception of India, has left no lasting results. Many of their historians are known today by their names only as their works have not been found. From among the extant works of Jacobite historians Kmoskó mentions here only those that are relevant to his theme, thus the writings of Joshua the Stylite, John of Ephesus, ps.-Dionysios Tellmahrensian, the *Liber Calipharum*, the great work of Michael Syrus and the work of Barhebraeus. In addition to the works of history the Jacobites also had a significant literature of hagiography. From the viewpoint of Kmoskó's theme the most important of these is the *Biography of Peter of Iberia* (d. 485), royal prince, then monk and finally the bishop of Maiyuma in Palestine. Kmoskó notes that the author of this work mentions the White Huns.

The most important data on the Northern peoples are found in the literature of the fourth Syrian denomination, that of the *Nestorians*. Kmoskó gives a brief account of the appearance of Nestorios, the spreading of his teaching, the banning of the Nestorians from Roman territories and the growth of Nestorianism on Persian territory, chiefly in Nisibis. He points out that the Persian Christians saw a great opportunity in adopting the teachings of Nestorios, for they believed that, by severing the ties binding them to the Byzantine church, they would allay the distrust of the Persians

<sup>22</sup> Cf. G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur II: Studii e testi* vol. 133 (1947), pp. 3–7.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Graf. *op. cit.*, pp. 94.

and that even the open persecution, directed against them almost continually since Šapūr II, might cease. It was this consideration that moved Bar Šaumā, the Metropolitan of Nisibis, who had been appointed by the Persian king Pērōz as *marzbān* of the Roman frontier territories, to adopt under oath, at a synod held in agreement with the Persian king in 484 in the town of Bêt Lapāt, the teachings of Nestorios. His example was followed by the Katholikos of Seleukia, Aqāq, the ecclesiastical head of the Persian Christians who, at a synod convened in February 486 in Seleukia, adopted and enacted the Nestorian Christological teaching of Bar Šaumā.

Then Kmoskó gives the synopsis of the Northern references that can be found in the Nestorian sources. This is worth quoting *verbatim*: «The history of the Nestorian church is closely related to our theme inasmuch as this was the only Christian church that carried out an extensive missionary activity among the Turks and Chinese of the Far East. It was as early as the time of Khosrav Anūšarwān that the messengers of the Hephthalites conveyed the request to the Katholikos Mār Abā<sup>24</sup> — then a prisoner — that he ordain a bishop for them (about 550). Between 643–646 Elijā, the metropolitan of Marw, converted the king of a Turkish tribe and baptised him with his people;<sup>25</sup> about the same time Nestorian missionaries, under the reign of T'ai Tsung (627–650 A. D.) arrived in the town of Ch'ang-an and obtained permission from the emperor to erect a church building in Hsi-an-fu, „the town of peace and righteousness” — as this is attested by the Syriac-Chinese inscription of 781 in Hsi-an-fu.<sup>26</sup> This famous inscription names H'nānīšō as the head of Eastern Christianity, who, in fact, died a year earlier, in 780. But it was during the time of the patriarchate of Timothy I (780–823), his successor, that the missionary expansion of the Nestorians reached its zenith. The seminary of the Eastern missions of the Nestorians was the monastery of Bêt 'Abē;<sup>27</sup> it was from here that the Nestorian monks started on their dangerous journeys to the peoples of Tibet, China and to the Turkish peoples. According to a letter of Timothy he ordained a metropolitan for *Bêt turk-jē* (Turkestan), and the patriarch promises, in the same letter, that he will ordain, in the near future, a metropolitan for *Bêt Tuptājē* (Tibet) also.<sup>28</sup> That the missionary efforts of the Nestorians, even in later times, were not unsuccessful is shown by the case of the king of the Kerait Turks who lost his way in the snow. This king, after his deliverance, adopted with

<sup>24</sup> Cf. below, p. 65–6. (Note of Kmoskó = K).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. the relevant passage in the Chronicle edited by Guidi, below, p. 58. (K).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Labourt, *De Timotheo I, Nestorianorum Patriarcha* (Parisii 1904), p. 47 (K).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Thomas of Marga, *Historia monastica* V, 1–12; Labourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–4 (K).

<sup>28</sup> Museo Borgiano, K VI, 3, fol. 47, p. 647 of the MS; cf. *Oriens Christianus* 1908, p. 308; Labourt, *op. cit.*, p. 43 (K).

his people the Christian faith.<sup>20</sup> The same is attested by the Syriac inscriptions on tombs that were discovered in 1885 between the localities of Pishpek and Tokmak. These inscriptions, executed between 1249 and 1345, testify that Nestorian Christianity was firmly established at that time in the region of the Chu river.<sup>30</sup> According to Barhebraeus, Qublaj, the Great Khan of the Mongols sent two Uighur monks to the katholikos Denhā in 1281; one of these became later the patriarch of the Nestorians under the name of Jaba-lāhā.<sup>31</sup> It is also worth notice that Mār Jōhannān, who was ordained bishop by Mār Šem'ōn, the Nestorian Katholikos, in 1490, calls himself, in a letter written with his fellow-bishops in 1504 to the Katholikos Mār Elijā, the Metropolitan of Atel, that is, Itil.<sup>32</sup> It might be assumed that this was only a *see in partibus infidelium* but even if a merely titular designation, it must have had its history and historical origin, and the very title indicates that the missionary activity of the Nestorians had been extended to the Northern shores of the Caspian Sea.<sup>33</sup>

All this shows that the Nestorian sources are richer than the Jacobite ones in references to the Steppe. But alas, most products of Nestorian historical literature were lost. The literary remains of the Jacobites were preserved in those few monastery libraries which escaped destruction because of location in far-away corners or in the middle of the deserts. The Nestorian sees, however, were exposed places, and the cloisters of the Nestorians were surrounded by Kurds and other wild semi-nomadic peoples. In these unfortunate circumstances the MSS of these cloisters have never been preserved *in situ*; they have been either destroyed or acquired by private collectors, owing their survival to mere chance. From among the extant documents of Nestorian historical literature Kmoskó mentions the work of M<sup>o</sup>šihā Z<sup>o</sup>hā, the Chronicle edited by Guidi, the *Chronicle of Seert*, the church histories of Mārī ibn Sulaimān, 'Amr and Šaliba. From among the Nestorian works in Arabic language he mentions the chronography of Elijā bar Šinājā with which he then deals in the Muhammadan part of his monograph. As when dealing with Jacobite histories, here too he enumerates those historical writings which are mentioned by other sources but are not extant in original. The Nestorians also possessed a significant hagiographical literature which has a certain significance

<sup>20</sup> Cf. the relevant report in the work of Barhebraeus, below, p. 50. (K).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. F. Nau, *Les pierres tombales Nestoriennees du Musée Guimet*. Paris 1913. (Extrait de la *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*. T. XVIII, No 1. 1913) (K).

<sup>31</sup> Barhebraeus, *Hist. Eccles.* ed. Abbeleos et Lamy, Lovanii 1877, III, col. 451 (K).

<sup>32</sup> Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* III, 593; the same work discusses the conversion of the Eastern Turks (Vol. IV, pp. 481–3) and of the Kerait Turks (pp. 483–6) (K).

<sup>33</sup> Arab sources also mention that a part of the population of Itil, the Khazar capital, was Christian (Istahri: *BGA* I, p. 220; Ibn Hauqal; *BGA* II, p. 279; Mas'ūdi: *Murūj* II, p. 10; Ibn Faḥlān *apud* Yāqūt II, p. 437) (K).

from the viewpoint of the history of the nomads. — Kmoskó attached great significance, from the viewpoint of the history of Syriac literature, to the fact that, in the last decades, some native Syrian scholars had mastered modern philological methods and begun the important work of publishing the documents of Syriac literature (I. E. Rahmani, Addai Seher, A. Mingana, P. Asbath, P. Bedjan). This made him hope that their activity will unearth many a lost treasure of Syriac literature. We now know that only a partial fulfilment of his hopes has been granted. Destructive events in the Middle East, during World War I and ever since, have not spared the lives of Syrian scholars and the premature death of many of them has shattered the prospects of a revival of learning in those regions.

### 3. *Introduction to the Extracts from Syriac Sources* (pp. 16–61).

#### A) *The Syrian Legend concerning Alexander* (pp. 16–34).

In this chapter Kmoskó introduces four different works which all recount the story of the fortified gate built by Alexander the Great against Gog and Magog. All four stories have legendary and apocalyptic features. They are important from the viewpoint of our theme inasmuch as they identify the formidable people of Gog and Magog with the Huns, describing the appearance and customs of the latter and expressing the fear which the Persians and Byzantines felt when they thought of the nomadic peoples of the Steppe beyond the Caucasus.

#### a) *The Prose Legend* (pp. 16–21).

The Syriac translation of the Alexander legend of pseudo-Callisthenes has an appendix in which the campaign of Alexander the Great against the peoples of the North, the erection of a bulwark against the peoples of Gog and Magog and the victory of Alexander over the Persian king Tubarlaq are recounted. The Syriac text itself of this legend — as published by Budge — is a translation from Middle Persian, as was demonstrated by Th. Nöldeke, but it is quite closely related to the Greek original of pseudo-Callisthenes.<sup>34</sup> The appendix portrays Alexander the Great as a devout Israelite who believes in the immediate coming of the Messiah. In the course of his Northern campaign he pushes as far as the Land of Darkness from where he returns and erects a protective wall against the peoples of Gog and Magog. At the end of the legend we read that Alexander, after his victory over the Persian king Tubarlaq, goes to Jerusalem, via Alexandria, and then returns to Alexandria. He gives orders, before his death, that his silver throne be preserved in Jerusalem.

<sup>34</sup> *Denkschriften d. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien*. XXXVIII/5, pp. 14–15 (K); cf. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

Kmoskó points out that the basic motif of the legend is undoubtedly taken from the vision, in Ezechiel's prophecy, of the apocalyptic march of Gog and Magog, but it is refashioned in a complicated manner, with the addition of folk-lore elements. He proves, with quotations, that certain portions of the legend show an affinity with the epic of Gilgamesh. This is why a poetic variant of the legend speaks of the search for the Fountain of Life as the goal of Alexander's journey. It was as early as the *Jewish Wars* of Josephus (*Bell. Iud.* 7, 7, 4) that the connexion between the Alexander Legend and the story about the containment of the Northern peoples was established.

The legendary bulwark of Alexander was identified by folk tradition with the Gate of Derbend which was actually erected by the Persian kings in the Vth century. The Koran also mentions, in the 93rd verse of Sura XVIII the brazen embankment of Dū-l-Qarnain (*«two-horned»*). Later Muslim tradition took the existence of this dam (*sadd*) raised by Dū-l-Qarnain for an ascertained fact. When, in 841, the Qirghiz nomads north of the Lake Baikal conquered and expelled the Uighurs living in the regions of the Orkhon and Selenga rivers, the resulting mass movements inspired the vision in the dream of Calif al-Wāṭiq (842—847) that the dam of Alexander the Great had burst. He was so terrified by this dream that he sent his interpreter Sallām to inspect the place. We have no right to doubt Sallām's mission, but the story of the dam is mere fiction, as this was already noted by al-Birūni.<sup>35</sup>

Since the IXth century the figure of Dū-l-Qarnain, this shadow of Alexander the Great, is a frequently discussed topic in Muhammadan tradition. As the Christian Arab writer, Agapios, testifies, an Alexander romance of several volumes was widely read in this age.<sup>36</sup> It was to this romance that Abū Ḥanifa ad-Dainawari,<sup>37</sup> Ṭabarī,<sup>38</sup> Qudāma ibn Ja'far,<sup>39</sup> Ibn al-Faḥīh al-Hamadāni,<sup>40</sup> Eutychios,<sup>41</sup> Maqdisī<sup>42</sup> and Ta'ālibī<sup>43</sup> and other authors

<sup>35</sup> Cf. below, p. 81 (K).

<sup>36</sup> Ed. Cheikho, p. 119 (K).

<sup>37</sup> Ed. Guirgass, pp. 31—2 (K).

<sup>38</sup> I, p. 693 (K).

<sup>39</sup> BGA VI, pp. 204—7 (K).

<sup>40</sup> BGA V, pp. 298—9 (K).

<sup>41</sup> Ed. Cheikho I, pp. 77—85 (K).

<sup>42</sup> Ed. Huart III, pp. 78, 154 (K).

<sup>43</sup> Ed. Zotenberg, pp. 411—42. As to the Christian Arabic fragments of the Alexander Legend cf. de Slane, *Cat. de Ms. arabes de la Bibl. Nat. Paris*, N° 212, fol. 283<sup>v</sup>—322; N° 309, fol. 13<sup>r</sup>—32; N° 312, fol. 54<sup>v</sup>—59 (K). — The Muhammadan sources dealing with the Gate of Alexander the Great are also discussed by C. E. Wilson in a work of his which, on more accounts than one, calls for serious criticism: *Hirth Anniversary Volume (Asia Major)*, pp. 575—612; cf. A. Abel: *Annuaire* (Université Libre de Bruxelles) XI (1951), pp. 5—18; E. Э. Бертельс, Роман об Александре, М.—Л. 1948.

freely helped themselves. As to the age of the Syriac variant published by Budge, in fixing the *terminus ante quem* one must take as a significant fact that the Chronicle of pseudo-Dionysios — written about 775 — already knows this legend and contains copious extracts from it. Consequently the legend must have come into being before the second half of the VIIIth century. It is much more difficult to fix the *terminus a quo*. Although there are two obviously *ex eventu* prophecies at the end of the legend, it is very difficult to identify the events to which the vaticinations refer. The first prophecy is the alleged inscription of Alexander's Gate, foretelling that the Huns will depart after the passing of 826 years. Since the Syrians had used the calendar of the Seleucids or, of Alexander, as they called it, which began with the 311th year B. C., we are safe in assuming that the 826th year was identical with 515 A. D. when, according to numerous sources, the «Huns» (Sabirs) burst forth from the valleys of the Caucasus and devastated the provinces of Cappadocia, Galatia and Pontus. Accepting this date, Nöldeke thought that the legend was put into writing about the year 515.<sup>44</sup> His argument is only apparently weakened by the analysis of the second prophecy. This says that, «after the passing of 940 years», the empires of the Huns, Persians and Arabs, the 24 empires «enumerated in this book» will rise and devastate each other. What will be left of them will be destroyed by the Roman Empire. This vaticination is obviously a later interpolation as the legend itself knows of only 15 empires «shut up behind the gates». Thus the interpolator is unquestionably referring to a date in another book in which the number of the barbarian nations is 24. The concluding lines of the legend betray this source when it is prophesied that the Roman empire will last unto the end of the world when it will yield its power to Christ. This is namely the theme of a Syriac writing of apocalyptic character, the so-called Prophecy of pseudo-Methodios (see below) which was written about 670 with the purpose of comforting the Melkite Christians upon whom Arab rule had been imposed. This writing maintained its significance in subsequent centuries, and, after numerous revisions, made its influence felt even in the Middle Ages. Considering that it was also under the influence of pseudo-Methodios that an appendix was added to the Legend concerning Alexander, we cannot use the chronology of the Seleucids in computing the above-mentioned year 940, for this would yield 629 A. D. — a date without any significance from the viewpoint of the interpolator, as the victory of Emperor Herakleios over the Persians came in 628, while the next events of importance, the loss of Syria and Egypt, took place in 636 and 640, resp. Therefore the interpolator could not be identical with the person who, in the VIIIth century,

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Marquart, *Brahmsahr*, p. 64 (K).

under the influence of pseudo-Methodios, added the appendix to the Alexander Legend. So the only remaining possibility is, while adhering to the text of the legend, that we add 940 to the previously given date and to take the resulting sum, 1455, as a cue. As it is generally known, Constantinople fell in the spring of 1453, and this event was followed, at the end of July, 1456, by the victory of John Hunyadi and John Capistrano at Belgrade. The date prophesied in the legend is between the two, and gives at once the meaning of the vaticination: As much as the Christian world was grieved by the fall of Constantinople, a town believed to be impregnable, not less intense was the joy when Hunyadi's victory at Belgrade was announced. The news of this victory spread to the Middle East and inspired one of the readers of the Alexander Legend to add, to the prophecy concerning the Huns, another vaticination in which the year preceding the Victory at Belgrade, 1455, was given as the beginning of the momentous change of world history, as indicated by Pseudo-Methodios, the end of which will be, according to him, the fall of Islam and the victory of Christianity.

In conclusion (p. 21) Kmoskó reports on the five MSS upon which the edition of Budge is based.

b) *The Metric Homily «De fine extremo» by Ephraem (p. 22).*

The wall of Alexander the Great is mentioned by two further Syriac writings of poetic character. One of these — probably the older one — is a *mēmṛā* (metric homily) with seven-syllable lines, generally ascribed to the famous ecclesiastical poet of Syria, Ephraem Syrus who died in 373 A. D. The writing *De fine extremo* was published by Lamy in the third volume of the collection *S. Ephraemi Syri hymni et sermones*. The homily reminds one strongly of another sermon by Ephraem entitled *Λόγος εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Κυρίου* the Greek text of which is found in two different places of the Roman edition. It also resembles the prose variant of the legend so that we cannot but regard it — particularly the middle part of it — as an awkward metric variant of the prose legend. Lamy is nevertheless willing to accept this poor versification as an original work of Ephraem, but his argument is vitiated by the fact that the text contains a clear reference to Muhammad and the «sons of Hagar». Thus, in trying to fix the date of its composition, we must take, as a *terminus a quo*, the year of 636, the bloody battle on the banks of the Yarmuk, as a result of which the Romans lost Syria for ever. The poem clearly reflects the general panic and despair which followed the catastrophic defeat of the mighty army of emperor Herakleios. Lamy tries to support his case by mentioning that the Huns actually invaded and devastated, at the time of Ephraem, the regions of Edessa, as this is attested also by the Armenian version of Ephraem's biography. But Lamy's argument

collapses if we take into consideration that the metric homily is based on a late prose variant — a fact of which Lamy could have been aware. At one time a considerable literature of apocalyptic character was fathered on Ephraem, so it is no wonder that this *mēmṛā*, with its seven-syllable lines; that is, written in the metre of Ephraem, was also ascribed to him. — We may note, in connection with these expositions of Kmoskó, that Nöldeke's review<sup>45</sup> of Lamy's Ephraem edition had obviously escaped his notice. Nöldeke's findings are essentially in agreement with those of Kmoskó, inasmuch as he too rejects Lamy's arguments in favour of the authenticity of the writing. We may state, however, that Kmoskó's expositions, had they been published in print, would have undoubtedly helped to dispel the uncertainty concerning the *mēmṛā* of Ephraem, and would have probably prevented A. R. Anderson from contradicting Nöldeke and reasserting the authenticity of the homily.<sup>46</sup> Anderson's chief argument is still the Armenian variant of Ephraem's biography and another Armenian source.<sup>47</sup> This, however, is not cogent enough to make us reject the opinion held by Nöldeke and Kmoskó.

c) *The Metric History of Alexander attributed to Ja'qōb of S<sup>c</sup>rūg (pp. 23—4).*

The prose text of the legend was later recast by another ecclesiastical poet. The authorship of this second metric version of the legend is attributed to Jacob, the bishop of Serugh (d. 521). It was edited, on the basis of three more or less independent recensions by Hunnius.<sup>48</sup> Kmoskó thought that Hunnius, in reconstructing the text, was guided by misconceptions. On the one hand, he took the three variants as an identical type of the text, then, on the other hand, he failed to identify the metric pattern of the poem, that is, each stanza consisting of two twelve-syllable lines. In his arrangement of the text the lines in the larger units add up either to even or odd numbers. The twelve-syllable metre (4+4+4) of the poem was the favourite pattern of Bishop Jacob of Serugh. Just as the seven-syllable poetic version of the Alexander Legend was attributed to Ephraem on the basis of its metre, in the same manner, it was the twelve-syllable metre that made people regard Jacob as the author of this poem. Yet his authorship is entirely out of question. This is clearly seen in the passage about the Persian king Tubarlaq. The text relates that, after his triumph over Tubarlaq, an angel appeared to Alexander the Great, admonishing him to make peace with the Persians

<sup>45</sup> *WZKM* IV (1890), pp. 245—6.

<sup>46</sup> A. R. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog and the Inclosed Nations* Cambridge, Mass. 1932), pp. 15—9.

<sup>47</sup> *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie* II, ed. V. Langlois Paris 1869), p. 34. As to the value of this proof, cf. below p. 50, 64.

<sup>48</sup> *ZDMG* LX (1906), pp. 169—209, 802—21 (K).

in terms of which he should take away from them the whole of Asia Minor up to the river Tigris. So the poem presupposes a situation, in which the whole of Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt belonged to the Persians, and it was Alexander's task to redeem these territories by his successful negotiation of the peace treaty. This situation in the poem is, of course, obviously analogous to that actual historical situation which arose in 628, after the victory of Emperor Herakleios over the Persians. So it had been the rôle of Herakleios that was ascribed to Alexander the Great, while Tubarlag came to personify Khosrav II. These identifications give the *terminus a quo* as 628. The text of the poem gives no date by which to fix the *terminus ad quem*. It is probable, however, that the poem was composed long after the appearance of Muhammad when the Arabs too thought to have discovered a sign of the world's end in the debouchement of the Turks through the Gate of Gog and Magog. It was after the civil war of the califs Amīn and Ma'mūn that the Turks began to infiltrate the territories of the Califate, and, as mentioned above (p. 32), Calif Wāṭiq was seized by panic at the very thought that with the destruction of the Gate mentioned in the Koran nothing would hinder the Turks in their passage through it. This makes it probable that the poem was written in the IXth century when the peoples of the Near East lived in a frenzied fear of Turkish invasion and generally believed that the appearance of the Turks would portend the end of the world. As to the poem's references to the Barbarians, the passages describing the anthropological traits of the Barbarians are particularly interesting.

d) *«The Book of the Bee»* by Solomon, Bishop of Basra (pp. 25–6).

Detailed references are made to the peoples of Gog and Magog by Solomon, the Nestorian bishop of Basra in the first half of the XIIIth century, in his work entitled *K'tibā d'-d-bbōritā* [Book of the Bee]. This title was meant to express the author's method of collecting, with the industry of the bee, the material of his book from various ancient writings. The book comprises the entire history of the world from the creation to the end of the world. As he himself says in the LIIIrd chapter, he took the LIII–LVth chapters — which are of special interest for us — from the book of «Methodios, Bishop of Rome», that is, from the above-mentioned Apocalypse of pseudo-Methodios.

e) *The Apocalypse of pseudo-Methodios* (pp. 26–34).

On the ensuing pages (pp. 25–34) Kmoskó deals in detail with the work of pseudo-Methodios and with the writings that betray indebtedness to this author. The rather detailed and circumstantial treatment may be explained by Kmoskó's predilection for a field in which he made some important discoveries and also by his preoccupation, in his last years, with the problems

concerning pseudo-Methodios. He does not speak of these studies in his MSS, but a paper of his, which he presented in Vienna, on the 13th of June, 1930, to the *VI. Deutsche Orientalistentage* and published in the next year in the VIth volume of *Byzantion* under the title «Das Rätsel des Pseudomethodios» (pp. 273–96), clearly indicates that Kmoskó was engaged, in his last year, in very intensive researches concerning pseudo-Methodios. In a note to the title of his Vienna paper<sup>40</sup> he remarks that his long article is but an abstract of an extended treatise which will be soon published. This writing was not found among his MSS, but a reference is made, on page 31 of the Syriac MS volume now under discussion, to a monograph of his, in preparatory stages, on pseudo-Methodios. This monograph was to contain a substantial introduction to the work of pseudo-Methodios, the circumstances and time of its composition and its influence, both in the East and in the West, upon apocalyptic literature and consequently upon the interpretation of history throughout the course of the Middle Ages. As the main part of his monograph, Kmoskó intended to feature the Syriac text of pseudo-Methodios which he discovered in the Vatican Library, in a codex (Cod. Vat. Syr. 58. A. D. 1564) which, although described already by Simeon Assemani in the *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, had entirely escaped the notice of those who investigated the problem of pseudo-Methodios before Kmoskó. Kmoskó actually began the writing of the monograph as we find two fragments<sup>41</sup> among his MSS, one of which is from his introduction and the other from the critical apparatus prepared by him for this text. The text of his paper published in *Byzantion* and his expositions on pp. 23–34 of his MS have several points of contact. The main difference between the two is that, while the main themes of his Vienna lecture are the discovery of the Syriac original of pseudo-Methodios, the mutual relations of the Latin, Greek, Slav and Syriac texts to each other and the time and circumstances of its composition, his handwritten expositions, beside a brief treatment of these themes, deal mainly with the literary influence of pseudo-Methodios.

In his manuscript expositions Kmoskó reviews the Latin variants of the text, as known through Sackur's edition, and the Greek and Slav variants as published by Istrin. He states that priority must be given to the old Latin translation. He rejects the view shared also by Sackur, that the original was composed in Greek, because a comparison of the Syriac text discovered by Kmoskó with the Greek text clearly bears out the originality of the Syriac. This is corroborated by the fact that the Syrians were familiar with the Apocalypse of pseudo-Methodios. This work is mentioned three times in the Syriac-Arab dictionary of Bar Bahlūl, is explicitly quoted twice by Michael

<sup>40</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 373, n. 1.

<sup>41</sup> A IV, pp. 256–7.

Syrus and is referred to by the Metropolitan 'Abdisō' of Nisibis in his metric history of literature with the following words: «Bishop Methodios who wrote about the succession of generations . . .» The title of the work, in the Syriac text, is as follows: *Speech which was composed by the blessed Mar Methodios, Bishop of Olympos and a martyr, about the succession of Royal Empires and the End of the World*, and the title of the Latin translation is: *Incipit Sancti Methodii episcopi Paterensis Sermo de regnum cantium et in novissimis temporibus certa demonstratio*. As the title suggests, the writing consists of two parts: one dealing with the past and another with the last things. Kmoskó points out that apocalyptic writings, as a rule, contain three parts. In the first part history is reviewed by some ancient authority who purports to be the author of the whole work. Events are traced in this first part up to the time of the purported author. The second part covers the sequence of events between the age of the purported author and the time of the real author. The narration of events is, in fact, *vaticinatio ex eventu*, which, however, by its calculated vagueness, tries to make the impression of a genuine prophecy. The third part is the apocalyptic section, in the strict sense of the word, in which the author leaves the firm ground of the present and speaks of the future, unvoluntarily giving himself away by the vagueness of his forecasts. The second part is strangely missing in the Apocalypse of pseudo-Methodios, and the author, when dealing with the past, presents a simple historical review. Then he so cleverly passes to his forecasts that the line between the two parts can hardly be established. On the following pages Kmoskó describes in detail the contents of the Syriac codex. Since this description was published with the text of his Vienna lecture as well, there is no need to discuss it here in detail. From the viewpoint of our subject particular importance must be attached to pseudo-Methodios' enumeration of the peoples inclosed by Alexander the Great. The list of these peoples was discussed by Marquart also, in his *Streifzüge*. Kmoskó relies on eight different works to publish a comparative table of this list (1. Cod. Vat. Syr. 58; 2. Book of the Bee; 3. Pseudo-Methodios ed. Istrin; 4. Cod. Ottob. gr. 192; 5. Pseudo-Callisthenes ed. Müller; 6. Hist. of Alexander ed. Budge; 7. Pseudo-Dionysios ed. Tullberg; 8. Pseudo-Ephraem ed. Lamy). He states that some of the names can be traced back to the *Peshitta*. The second group of names derives from the popular history of Alexander the Great. Certain variants may spring from some unknown recensions of the Alexander romance. Kmoskó thinks that the list in the Alexander romance of pseudo-Callisthenes, inserted by a Christian interpolator, is taken directly from the work of pseudo-Methodios.

The text of pseudo-Methodios played a very important part, both in the East and in the West, even centuries after its composition. Its influence was especially remarkable in France where, in the beginning of the VIIIth

century, the Southern territories were in danger of Arab invasions, while the aristocrats, defending their privileges, were involved in a desperate struggle with the royal court. The Apocalypse of pseudo-Methodios was instrumental in popularising the idea of sovereignty by God's grace, thus smoothing the path for the empire of Charlemagne, and inspiring the hope that the Western Roman emperor, as the sword of Christianity, will lead his people to victory over the Islam. Another effect of the Apocalypse of pseudo-Methodios is particularly interesting from the viewpoint of Hungarian history. According to Kmoskó this apocalypse had a very important part in insuring the success of the roving bands of Magyars who, in the period of their marauding excursions, got as far as the Atlantic Ocean. Under the influence of pseudo-Methodios the peoples of Western Europe regarded the appearance of marauding Magyars as a portent of the world's end, and this very idea paralysed their will to resist, so that they sat idle while the Magyars devastated their countryside. A witness to this depressed mood is found in a letter addressed to bishop Bado of Verdun which was published in the *Sources of Hungary's Conquest*.<sup>51</sup> Kmoskó concludes his expositions by enumerating those who later recast the text of pseudo-Methodios.

The only comment we wish to make here is that the chapter dealing with pseudo-Methodios is one of the most valuable parts of Kmoskó's MSS remains. By his discovery of the original Syriac text he made a very significant contribution to the study of the work of pseudo-Methodios. His expositions on the significance of this apocalypse are also very important. The study of recent literature shows that these statements of appraisal are no exaggerations. A. R. Anderson, who only had Kmoskó's Vienna lecture at his disposal, agrees, in the essentials,<sup>52</sup> with Kmoskó's findings to which he adds his own results, thus establishing some new facts that are foreshadowed in Kmoskó's handwritten work. Anderson, too, thinks that the influence of pseudo-Methodios was «immense» in Medieval literature and, as he states, Kmoskó had no small part in establishing this conclusion.

#### B) The Geographical Appendix to the Church History of Zacharias Rhetor (pp. 35—6).

The Syriac redaction of the Church History of Zacharias Rhetor, which was originally composed in Greek, more precisely, the geographical appendix of this Syriac text, is of outstanding importance for the history of the Northern peoples. It contains, on the one hand, a detailed list of the peoples living north of the Caucasus and, on the other hand, outlines the dissemination of Christianity among these peoples. The Syriac redaction of Zacharias Rhetor

<sup>51</sup> It was first published by Martène and Durand: *Collectio amplissima veterum scriptorum* I (Paris 1724), pp. 230—5: cf. *Sources of Hungary's Conquest*, pp. 329—35 (K).

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 44—57.



consists of 12 books. Of these only books III—VI may be regarded as translations; books X and XI are lost, while the other books are compilations from various sources. From the viewpoint of our subject the most important part of the work is the geographical appendix to the fragmentary XIIth chapter in which the Syrian redactor presents a geographical description of the inhabited earth (*oikoumene*) which, as he asserts, was originally prepared on the order of the Egyptian king Ptolemaios Philometor who sent envoys to the kings of various countries, asking them to send descriptions of their own and the neighbouring countries. With the exception of the data from the North-Eastern, North-Western and Northern regions the king obtained these descriptions. The Syriac redactor thought it necessary to produce the missing data. Thus he included in his redaction a list of the Northern peoples. Kmoskó quotes the text of Zacharias Rhetor from Land's edition; he did not know yet of Brooks' edition which was published in 1921.

We may note here that Kmoskó, although he clearly indicates the great significance of Zacharias Rhetor, fails to give such a thoroughgoing treatment to this work as he accorded to the apocalypse of pseudo-Methodios. This is all the more regrettable as those who made a study, since Land's edition,<sup>53</sup> of the list of Zacharias, thus Nöldeke,<sup>54</sup> H. Gelzer,<sup>55</sup> Marquart,<sup>56</sup> Chavannes,<sup>57</sup> Zlatarski;<sup>58</sup> among the Hungarians, Gy. Moravcsik,<sup>59</sup> J. Németh;<sup>60</sup> and most recently P. Pelliot,<sup>61</sup> A. Maricq<sup>62</sup> and W. B. Henning,<sup>63</sup> have concentrated their researches upon the individual names of peoples in the list, and only E. Honigmann<sup>64</sup> and N. Pigulevskaya<sup>65</sup> have returned to the problems of literary history affecting the appendix as a whole. Particularly insufficient

<sup>53</sup> Cf. his edition in *Ancedota Syriaca* III (Leyden 1875), pp. 2—340.

<sup>54</sup> *Tabari*, p. 115, n. 2; cf. Barthold: *Зап. Вост. Отд. Имп. Русск. Арх. Общ.* XI (1897), p. 345.

<sup>55</sup> H. Gelzer in the work *Die sogenannte Kirchengeschichte des Zacharias Rhetor*, transl. by K. Ahrens und G. Krüger (Leipzig 1899), p. 383.

<sup>56</sup> *Streifzüge*, p. 355—7; cf. F. W. K. Müller: *Festschrift für Friedrich Hirth* (Berlin 1920), pp. 312—3; H. H. Schaeder, *Iranica* (Berlin 1934), p. 40.

<sup>57</sup> *Documents*, p. 250.

<sup>58</sup> *История на българската държава I* (Sofia 1918), p. 35.

<sup>59</sup> *Ungarische Jahrbücher* X (1930), p. 63.

<sup>60</sup> *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* [Ethnic Evolution of the Pre-Conquest Magyars]. Budapest 1930, p. 179.

<sup>61</sup> *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or* (Oeuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot II (Paris 1950), p. 207.

<sup>62</sup> In E. Honigmann—A. Maricq, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis*: Acad. Royale de Belgique. Mémoires in 8°. XLVII/4 (Bruxelles 1953), p. 82.

<sup>63</sup> *BSOAS* XIV/3 (1952), p. 505.

<sup>64</sup> *Die sieben Klimata und die ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΕΠΙΣΗΜΟΙ* (Heidelberg 1929), p. 116

<sup>65</sup> *Сирийские источники по истории народов СССР* (М.—Л. 1941), pp. 9—14.

has been the attention paid to the question concerning the immediate origin of the names in the list, that is, the question of intermediate sources, the solution of which might, at the same time, furnish the key to the date of composition of the work.

### C) Introduction to the Extracts from Syriac Chronicles (pp. 37—57).

#### 1) *Joshua the Stylite* (pp. 37—8).

One of the most ancient and most valuable of the Syriac chronicles is the historical work that is known under the name of Joshua the Stylite. It was written in the first decade of the VIth century and contains, among other things, valuable data about the nomadic peoples. It was preserved in an anonymous historical work (Cod. Vat. Syr. 162) which scholars, following the opinion of Assemani, once used to attribute to Dionysios Tellmahrensensis. In this book the chronicle of Joshua the Stylite constitutes an independent part, copied *in toto* and incorporated in his own work by the unknown VIIIth century author.

Kmoskó outlines the debates about the authorship of the Stylite's chronicle. He quotes the note of a copyist by the name of Elisha on folio 65 of the Vatican MS in which Elisha asks God's blessing «upon the stylite for Ísô' of the Zûqnin monastery who wrote this book of reminiscences of bad times past.» S. Assemani took this sentence as a reference to the author of the VIth century chronicle incorporated in the VIIIth century work. Haase challenged this view and preferred to interpret the above sentence as a reference to the author of the VIIIth century work. This, however, did not settle the question. Haase reasserted Assemani's view, identifying Joshua the author of the VIth century product of Monophysitism. Kmoskó leaves open the question. He merely stresses that the author of the VIth century work must undoubtedly have been a contemporary of the narrated events. His narration is extraordinarily vivid, picturesque and pragmatic; every page of his betrays the contemporary whose soul gave sympathetic response to the sufferings and troubles caused by war. «We may say without exaggeration that this brief chronicle, which contains many valuable data concerning the Huns, is one of the best historical works ever penned by Syrians.» In conclusion Kmoskó lists the editions and translations of Joshua the Stylite.

Recent research concurs with Kmoskó's estimate of this chronicle. In reconstructing the events of the Graeco-Persian wars, this chronicle is an indispensable source which is on a par with the best Byzantine sources. It is equally important from the viewpoints of Byzantine as well as Persian history. Christensen often avails himself of its reports in reconstructing Persian history,<sup>66</sup>

<sup>66</sup> A. Christensen. *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen 1944), p. 80.

while Stein makes the same use of it when writing the history of the Byzantine empire.<sup>67</sup> In her monograph, connected with certain Byzantine and Persian subjects, Pigulevskaya publishes its Russian translation with copious explanations.<sup>68</sup> Yet the problem of its authorship is still unsettled. The most important conjecture was made by Baumstark who admits that the sentence in question by the copyist may refer, in a formal sense, to both works.<sup>69</sup> He nevertheless emphasises that the work was obviously written not in Zūqnīn but in Edessa (although, of course, it can also be conjectured that the author had moved from Edessa to Zūqnīn). With his opinion Baumstark, in essence, joins those (Nöldeke, Duval, Brockelmann) who adopted Nau's view. Kmoskó and, in part, recent literature too have failed yet to scrutinize Joshua's sources. Joshua the Stylite wrote in Edessa, that is, in a city lying between Byzantium and Iran. So in theory, his reports on the nomads must be traced to Middle Persian and Byzantine sources — either written or oral. This is, of course, very important from the viewpoint of interpreting the names of nomadic peoples as listed in Joshua's chronicle. His reports on the Nomads were made use of before Kmoskó by Nöldeke and Marquart in their studies on the history of Iran's Northern boundaries.<sup>70</sup> Of late R. Ghirshman too made use of his data on the Hephthalites.<sup>71</sup> But as far as a really systematic exploitation is concerned, only Pigulevskaya availed herself of Joshua's reports<sup>72</sup> in her monograph on the peoples of the Steppe.

b) *The Edessa Chronicle* (p. 39).

Some data about the Huns are also to be found in the *Edessa Chronicle*, which are all the more valuable as they were recorded by a well-informed author who, in composing his narrative, had drawn upon the archives of the city Edessa. The chronicle begins its records with 131 B. C. and ends with 540 A. D. The latter date also suggests the time of the chronicle's composition.<sup>73</sup>

In the following lines Kmoskó limits himself to a mere enumeration of the chronicle's editions and translations. We feel that it would have been helpful to tell the readers that Edessa was one of the important centres of Syria's literary and cultural life where valuable documents had accumulated which are significant for the history of both the city and of Syria. So later

<sup>67</sup> E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II (Paris 1949), *passim*.

<sup>68</sup> Месопотамия на рубеже V—VI вв. н. с. (М.—Л. 1940).

<sup>69</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

<sup>70</sup> Nöldeke mainly in his *Tabari*, Marquart in his *Streifzüge* and *Iranšahr*.

<sup>71</sup> R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites* (Le Caire 1948), p. 146 *s. v.*

<sup>72</sup> *Op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>73</sup> Baumstark had a similar view: *op. cit.*, p. 99.

writings, as *The Lives of Edessa Saints* and *The Legend of Euphemia*, may have garnered their information from these literary sources of Edessa. This conjecture is of great significance in assessing the value of several data (cf. below, p. 64).

c) *The Chronicle of Arbela* (p. 39).

Another historical writing, composed at a time that makes it almost a contemporary of the Edessa Chronicle, is the chronicle of the Nestorian churchman M<sup>c</sup>siḥā Z<sup>c</sup>ḥā of Adiabene who records the church history of Adiabene.<sup>74</sup> The chronicle was published by Mingana and translated into German by Sachau. Its references to the nomads are particularly important from the viewpoint of Hephthalite history. Kmoskó, as previously so now too, fails to discuss the question concerning the immediate source of the people's names in the text.

d) *The Chronicle of Joannes Ephesinus* (pp. 40—2).

It is, in the first place, from the viewpoint of the history of Avars and Slavs that we must attach significance to this chronicle which was written towards the end of the VIth century. Kmoskó reviews in detail the biography of Joannes which is well attested by several sources. His life reflects the vicissitudes of the Church of the Monophysites, and so his biography presents, at the same time, a very instructive panorama of his age.<sup>75</sup> His chronicle consisted originally of three parts; the first of these was lost. The original of the second part is also missing, but the above-mentioned (41) historical work, which is preserved in the Cod. Vat. 162, has a hitherto unpublished third part that «contains, almost *verbatim*», the second part of Joannes' *Church History*. Among later writers Michael Syrus also perused the work of Joannes, and, through the writing of the latter Barhebraeus as well. Some fragments were published also in Land's *Anecdota*. The third part, although in a defective condition, is still extant. This part covers the events between 572 and 585 and is one of the most valuable sources of early Slav history.

Kmoskó's rather instructive appraisal is as follows: «From the viewpoint of the movements of Monophysitism the work of Joannes is one of the most important sources. His style is careless, his manner of narration is sometimes quite confused and his work exhibits all the marks of a hasty and unsystematic composition. The author himself is conscious of these defects which he excuses by the circumstances of composition (III, 2, 50); the major

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 134—5.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Pigulevskaya, Сиритские источники, pp. 15—28.

part of his work was written in times of persecution; he had to hide his writings, books and notes in various places, sometimes for years, and so it happened that he occasionally had to continue the writing of his work when its finished parts were inaccessible and, because of lapses of his memory, he wrote about events which had already been discussed in previous chapters of his work, and, then later he had no time to smooth the uneven parts of his narration. This weakness of the work was also recognised by Michael Syrus and he made laborious efforts to arrange its parts in a chronological sequence and thus use it for the purpose of his own chronicle (ed. Chabot. 327 = II, 356—7).»

With regard to these expositions of Kmoskó we may note here that the relation between the *Zúqn̄n Chronicle* and the second part of Joannes' work seems to be to us more complicated than it appeared to Kmoskó. For instance, it is not only from the work of Joannes that the author of the *Zúqn̄n Chronicle* quotes Malalas, but he takes his Joannes quotations from a compilation which, beside the work of Joannes, draws upon other sources as well.<sup>76</sup> So preference should be given to the opinion of those who maintain certain qualifications in identifying the second part of Joannes' work with the third part of the *Zúqn̄n Chronicle*.

Similarly, the relation of Michael Syrus to Joannes also remains an unsolved problem for us. Michael too goes beyond the work of Joannes in making use of other sources, even in cases when the work of Joannes appears to be the only known source.<sup>77</sup>

Finally we must state a serious deficiency in Kmoskó's expositions inasmuch as there is a reference to the invasion of the Huns in the year of 395 in a fragment of the *Zúqn̄n Chronicle* edited by Nau, and Kmoskó omits to mention this both in his introduction to the work of Joannes and in that to the *Zúqn̄n Chronicle* and also fails to publish this reference in his extracts taken from these two histories (cf. below, pp. 57, 59).<sup>78</sup>

e) *The Chronicle published by Guidi (p. 43).*

Important data about the history of Bahram Čobēn, the rebellious chieftain of Hormuzd IV and also concerning the spreading of Christianity among the Turks are contained in this historical fragment the MS of which is preserved with the text of the *Synodicon Orientale*.

The chronicle, even in its present shape, presents a well-rounded narration of events. It recounts the ascension of Hormuzd IV to the throne,

<sup>76</sup> Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 829—31.

<sup>77</sup> Marquart, *Streifzüge* p. 479—89.

<sup>78</sup> The fragment in question has been discussed by Marquart; of latest in: *Caucasica* VII (1931), p. 125.

his tyrannic reign, the rebellion of Bahram Čobēn, the flight of Khosrav II to Emperor Maurikios, his war against Bahram Čobēn, the death of Maurikios, the subsequent Byzantine-Persian war, the victorious counter-offensive of Herakleios, the final collapse of the Persian empire and, at last, the emergence of the Arabs whose victories are attributed by the author to divine will. Beside the history of the world, the author also deals with the history of the church, with the events in the life of the Nestorian church. So he recounts the missionary work of Elias, the Metropolitan of Marw, among the Turks. He also gives one of the oldest descriptions of the Turks' rain-making magic.

The author of the work is not known; Noldeke thought that he was a native of Iraq or Xuzistan. Kmoskó, accepting Guidi's view, holds it probable that the various parts of the chronicle were written at different times. Its references to the Persians exhibit certain archaic features, and so it may be assumed, with great probability, that the chronicle was composed about 670—680. Though not long, this chronicle is a very valuable source: its description of the beginning of the reign of Khosrav II differs from that of the Arab sources, thus proving very useful in checking the data of the latter.<sup>79</sup>

f) *The Liber Calipharum (p. 44).*

This writing which is preserved on fol. 1—57 of a work bearing the catalogue mark Brit. Mus. Add. N° 14,643, saec. VIII, relates, among other things, the invasion of the Huns in 395, in the year of the death of Theodosios the Great, into Asia Minor. Its introductory chapter is a laconic account of the world's nations and most notable islands, followed by a review of the main events of the Old Testament. The latter is based on the 23rd chapter of the book *Tahwijātā* [The Demonstrations] which is the work of the IVth century author Aphraates. The second part is a pell-mell jumble of names and historical data. The passages dealing with the Huns and Slavs are to be found in this part. The third part presents a list of the most important synods, while the fourth gives the succession of califs. It was on account of the subject of this fourth part that Land, the first publisher of the work, gave to it the somewhat inaccurate<sup>80</sup> name *Liber Calipharum*. The author is not known. Considering the names in his list of the califs, he was probably a contemporary of Calif Hišām (724—743).

g) *The Zúqn̄n Chronicle (pp. 45—6).*

Mention has been made above (41, 44) of the *Zúqn̄n Chronicle* which is preserved in the work bearing the catalogue mark Cod. Vat. Syr. 162.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 207; P. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam* I (Paris 1951), pp. 121—7.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 182, 274.

In his introduction to this work Kmoskó discusses Nau's discovery who was the first to challenge the view held since S. Assemani that his chronicle is the work of Dionysios Tellmahrensensis.<sup>81</sup> He notes that Nau had not yet had the Syriac text of the great chronicle of Michael Syrus at his disposal. Since the second part of the chronicle of Joannes Ephesinus was incorporated both into the *Zūqnīn Chronicle* and into the work of Michael Syrus, it would not be difficult to corroborate, by new arguments, the opinion of Nau who traced the third part of the *Zūqnīn Chronicle* to Joannes Ephesinus (cf., however, 44).

The fourth, concluding, part of the chronicle recounts the events under the reign of Justinos II and his successors, the last kings of the Sāsān dynasty, the Omayyads of Damascus and the first califs of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty up to 776. Only this part of the *Zūqnīn Chronicle* can be regarded as an independent work. In this part of his work, in which he does not make use of sources, the author proves to be a rather second-rate writer. His work is poorly documented and overburdened with platitudinous reflections. His style is bizarre, his elocution awkward and he is ignorant of chronology. We have no hints as to his identity.

h) *The Anonymous Chronicle of Events to 846* (p. 46).

«Several valuable data about the campaign of Calif Sulaimān against Constantinople in 716—717 and about the war waged by the Omayyad Prince 'Abd al-Malik against the Khazars are to be found in the Syriac chronicle of events up to the year of 846. The MS of the anonymous chronicle bears the catalogue number Br. Mus. Add. 14.642. saec. X. It was first published by Brooks (*ZDMG* LI [1897], pp. 569—588; cf. *CSCO* Ser. III, 4. *Chron. Minor.* pp. 157—238).»<sup>81b</sup>

i) *The Chronicle of Seert* (p. 47).

This chronicle which was first published by Addai Scher is written in Arabic, yet it is obviously a translation of a Syriac original. So Kmoskó finds it proper to discuss this work among the Syriac sources. It has particularly important bearings on the history of the Hephthalites whom the chronicle repeatedly mentions in connection with the history of the Persian kings. Its Mosul fragment presents the history of the Christian church up to the reign of Theodosios II, more precisely, to 422. The Seert fragment is an ecclesiastical and political chronicle which is presented within the framework of the history

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Baumstark, *ibid.* (274); cf. R. Abramowski, *Dionysius von Tellmahre.* Leipzig 1940.

<sup>81b</sup> Cf. Baumstark, *op. cit.* 273.

of the Nestorian patriarchs. It covers the events up to the middle of the VIIth century.

We can make no accurate inferences as to its author and the time and date of its composition. The *terminus a quo* is the time of the patriarch Īsō' bar Nūn (820—824) who is mentioned by the author in the first part of his chronicle. As to the *terminus ad quem*, it is significant that the work of the XIIth or XIIIth century Nestorian writer, Mārī ibn Sulaimān, in the part of his work dealing with the history of the Nestorian patriarchs, has numerous passages which exhibit a word-to-word agreement with the corresponding passages of the Seert Chronicle. Kmoskó's explanation is that Mārī had known and used the Chronicle of Seert.

We may note here that Kmoskó had missed C. F. Seybold's review<sup>82</sup> of the chronicle's printed editions. In this Seybold comes essentially to the same conclusion as Kmoskó, inasmuch as he stresses that it was not in the time of the insignificant 'Abbāsīd Zāhir (d. 1226), but in the time of the Fatimid Zāhir (1021—1036) that the chronicle was written, that is to say, not long after 1036 and still in time for Mārī to use the chronicle as the main source of his own work. Kmoskó, however, could not know of Marquart's pertinent expositions, as these were only published posthumously. In 1936, in the supplement of Marquart's book *Wehrot und Arang*.<sup>83</sup>

j) *The Kitāb al-Miǧdal by Mārī ibn Sulaimān* (pp. 48—9).

The author is one of the main representatives of the historical traditions of Nestorianism. The first part of his book deals with systematic theology, while the second part presents historical theology. The first half of the second part has the history of the Nestorian patriarchs as its theme, but some extremely valuable data of secular history are also contained in it. The time covered by this part reaches to the middle of the XIIth century.

Kmoskó points out that some data furnished by Mārī can only be taken *um grano salis*. In some cases he falls into serious errors. Thus he mixes up the Persian kings Šāpūr I and II, and regards emperor Markianos, who died before the ascension of the Persian king Perōz, as the latter's contemporary. On the other hand, he reports on events of which other sources say very little or nothing. Thus he mentions that the Byzantines also supported Perōz against the «Turks» (Hephthalites). The only writer who mentions this fact among the other Eastern authors is Joshua the Stylite. As to his data on the

<sup>82</sup> *ZDMG* LXVI (1912), pp. 742—6; Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 5—6, Graf, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

<sup>83</sup> J. Marquart, *Wehrot und Arang*, ed. H. H. Schaeder (Leiden 1938), pp. 176—7.

Northern nations, his report on the conversion of the Kerait Turks calls for special attention. Then Knoskó reviews the edition of Māri's work by H. Gismondi and the redactions of the writing by 'Amr ibn Mattā and Salba ibn Juhannā.<sup>84</sup>

k) *The Chronicle of Michael Syrus* (pp. 50—5).

One of the most voluminous and most valuable products of Syriac historical literature is the Chronicle of the Jacobite patriarch Michael «the Great» which presents the events to 1194—1195. In view of its importance Kmoskó gives it a very thoroughgoing treatment. Following Barhebraeus, he presents the main facts of Michael's life and tells the story how his MS was found. He states that the chronicle became known in the last century through an Armenian translation.<sup>85</sup> He mentions the Karšūni (Arab written with Syriac letters) exemplar of the work which was acquired by the British Museum in 1891. He refers to the opinion of Wright, already expressed in his history of the Syriac literature, that the original of the chronicle was extant in the library of a Syrian monastery — no one knowing which monastery. Then Kmoskó recounts the European journey, in 1897, of I. E. Rahmani who later became patriarch of the Syrians. In Vienna Kmoskó had met with Rahmani who had brought along a copy of Michael's chronicle. Rahmani had negotiations with several academies of learning about the publication of the chronicle, but the discussion, «owing to the exorbitant demands laid down by Rahmani», remained unsuccessful. But further effort was made to secure the MS when J. B. Chabot, in the next year, undertook his journey to the Near East with the purpose of finding the MS. He succeeded in this, «after various and allegedly romantic episodes», and he published, between 1899 and 1910, with the support of the French Academy, a facsimile edition and translation of the MS.

The MS owned by the Jacobite monastery of Edessa is a copy made in 1598 from another copy which, however, was prepared directly from the autograph. In spite of this, it abounds in disturbing omissions and other errors. The same may be said of the Arabic translation, although, on the whole, it is a faithful interpretation of the Syriac original. The errors of the copyists and of the Arab translator must be attributed, in the first place, to the complicated structure of the chronicle. (It has a «three-column» pattern, the outer one registering the data of church history, the middle column those of secular history, while the inner column the earthquakes, meteorological phenomena

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Graf, *op. cit.*, pp. 200—2; 216—8.

<sup>85</sup> Published in French translation by Dulaurier, in *JA* Sér 4, vols. XII—XIII (1848—9) (K).

etc.) Such an error was made, e. g., by the Arab translator, in chapter XIV which is on the «Turks», where the author himself deviates from his plan and, while adhering to this theme, places his first chapter into the first and the second chapter into the second column. As the chapters are unequal in length, the fourth chapter is arranged as to appear as the continuation of the first. It adds to the confusion that the author sometimes omits the numbering of his chapters. No wonder that the Arab translator, unmindful of the inner structure of the work, presented a faulty sequence of events. After these explanations Kmoskó reviews the contents of the chronicle's twenty-one chapters.

It is especially the part dealing with church history that establishes the value of Michael's chronicle. There can be no doubt that in this part, by the publication or accurate epitomising of original documents as well as by his independent investigations into the sources, Michael performs a first-class job. On the other hand, the part of his chronicle that deals with secular history is much less valuable. In recording secular events Michael is not more than a dryasdust and often careless compiler. As to the problems of secular history, he hardly makes any independent researches worth of notice, and the alien sources used are also small in number.

Then Kmoskó reviews the sources of the VIII—XIth chapters which are of special interest to us. These are Zacharias Rhetor, John of Ephesos, Dionysios Tellmahrensian, the work of Jacob of Edessa the major part of which was lost, the lost work by John of Litarba, Ignatios of Melitene and other authors of less note. Michael also makes allusions that, in some instances, he had to use non-Christian, that is, in all probability, Arabic sources. But his text admits no conclusions as to the identity of these non-Christian sources. The value of Michael's work is, at any rate, enhanced by the fact, that he publishes reports from numerous Syriac sources which are no longer extant.

l) *The Historical Works of Barhebraeus* (pp. 56—7).

One of the best known representatives of Syriac writers of history is Barhebraeus, the *maprēyan* of the Eastern Jacobites. It was the time of his youth that witnessed the campaigns of the Mongolians in Asia Minor. His studies comprised theology as well as practically all branches of the learning of his age, from philology to philosophy, from medicine to astronomy. But his encyclopaedic scope of his interests rather hampers the independent working of his mind. His works which were made for practical purposes are orderly and clear-cut summaries based on alien sources.

His Syriac chronicle continues the great *opus* of Michael. He himself tells, in his introduction, that, since the death of Michael, no one among the

Syrians had cultivated the study of history. So to meet the need, he prepared, during his stay in Maragha, on the basis of Syriac, Persian and Arabic MSS found there, a sequel to Michael's work. As to earlier times, the work of Barhebraeus has hardly anything that would represent an independent advance over the work of Michael. But, in his record of the events following 845, that is, the death of Dionysios Tellmahrensian, he sometimes draws upon Arabic sources too. As to the times after the death of Michael, his chronicle is a source of first-class significance.<sup>86</sup>

Immediately before his death that occurred in 1286 Barhebraeus also published the Arabic version of his chronicle. This is, however, not a mere translation but rather a thoroughgoing recast of his original work. His main sources in this later version, beside the work of Michael, are the chronicle of Agapios and — in the biographical sections — the writing of al-Qifti.<sup>87</sup>

His third work is also based on Michael's chronicle, specifically on the outer column of the latter which records church history. Two thirds of the work are devoted to the history of the Jacobite patriarchate of Antiochia and one third to the history of the Jacobite and Nestorian churches in Eastern Mesopotamia. In the second part of his work he profusely quotes Nestorian chronicles, chiefly the work of Māri. It is from the latter source that he culls his reports on the conversion of the Kerait Turks.<sup>88</sup>

#### D) Introduction to the Hagiologies (pp. 58—61).

##### a) *The Life of Ephraem* (p. 58).

Ephraem began his work in Nisibis, when emperor Jovinian, after the disastrous campaign of Julian the Apostate, surrendered Nisibis to the Persians. He then moved to Edessa where he remained until his death in 373. This Syriac variant of his biography is extant in two recensions. The Paris recension mentions the offensive of the Huns against Edessa which yet took place in Ephraem's lifetime, that is, before 373. Kmoskó thinks that it is rather difficult to assess this fact properly. In his opinion the incursion of the Huns in itself would pose no difficulty, but the silence of the *Edessa Chronicle* about this event is rather strange. So we must be cautious in making use of this date in the Paris recension (cf. below, p. 64).

##### b) *The Biography of Peter of Iberia* (p. 59).

This work is a translation from Greek, but the Greek original is not extant. Peter of Iberia, a prince royal, was twelve years old when he was

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Graf, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Graf, *op. cit.*, pp. 274—5.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. W. Barthold, *Zuölj Vorlesungen* (Berlin 1935), p. 128.

taken as a hostage to the court of Theodosius II. Later, in order to take the vows, he escaped first to Jerusalem, then to Maiyuma near Gaza where he became bishop after the Synod of Chalcedon. He had a notable part in spreading the doctrines of Monophysitism. As a result of his work, the position of the Monophysites was consolidated in Oxyrynchos, Egypt and also in Arabia and Phoenicia. He died at the age of eighty around 489.

According to Kmoskó, his biography was written about 500. The author of the work is not known; it can only be inferred, on the basis of intrinsic arguments, that he belonged to the intimate circle of Peter. The bearing which the work has on our theme is the mention of the White Huns as the neighbours of the Iberians.

Commenting briefly on Kmoskó's expositions, we may note here that he does not quote Nöldeke's review that deals with Raabe's edition of Peter's biography.<sup>89</sup> It seems that Nöldeke's pertinent observations and critical comments had escaped his attention. So his expositions cannot even adumbrate the lively debate that broke out after his death around this biography.<sup>90</sup> We have no space here to deal with the points of this debate, and only wish to state that the facts known to us at present admit no other conclusion but that the biography was written after 528 — an inference quite important in assessing the above-mentioned reference to the White Huns.

##### c) *The History of the Karkā d'-Bēt S'lók Martyrs* (60).

As this writing contains the history of martyrs of one town only, under the reign of the Persian king Yazdgerd II, it cannot be properly called a martyrology but rather a town chronicle. Its data are, on the whole, trustworthy.

Mention is made in the work of the Persian king's campaign against a people called *šōl*. Kmoskó thinks that the name is the Turkish word for 'sand'.<sup>91</sup> According to the Armenian Chronicle of Elisha, Yazdgerd waged four wars against the «Kushans». But, apart from this writing, our Syriac and Arabic sources do not speak of Yazdgerd's wars.

##### d) *The Life of the Nestorian Martyr Mār Grīgōr* (p. 60).

«From the viewpoint of our theme we must take special interest in the biography of Mār Grīgōr, the Nestorian martyr, who, by the order of Khosraw, was beheaded on Good Friday in 542. The writing mentions a people called

<sup>89</sup> *Literarisches Centralblatt* 1894: pp. 484—6.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. E. Honigmann: *Mémoires* in 8°. Acad. Royal de Belgique. XLVII/3 (Bruxelles 1952), pp. 52—7.

<sup>91</sup> This explanation has been first put forward by Marquart, in *Ērānsāhr*, p. 51

*hangārājē* that, according to the situation presupposed by the narrative, lived on the Southeastern slopes of the Caucasus. As to the identity of the author and the time of the work's composition we have no data. In view of its frequent use of Persian terms of technical nature we may assume that it was written prior to the Arab conquest and soon after the death of Mār Grīgōr.»

c) *The Biography of the Nestorian Patriarch Mār Abā* (p. 61).

«From the viewpoint of our theme particularly valuable data are to be found in the biography of the Nestorian patriarch Mār Abā. This writing mentions the former biography's *hangārājē* as *kangārājē*, and also mentions the *haptarājē* people whose identity with the Ephthalites is suggested by Labourt.

Mār Abā headed the Nestorians from 540 to 552. His biography seems to be reliable, though we have no positive knowledge as to its author and to the time of its composition.»

PART II. EXTRACTS FROM SYRIAC SOURCES (PP. 62—241)

A) *Extracts from the Syrian Legend of Alexander* (pp. 62—241).

a) *The Prose Legend* (pp. 62—70).

Kmoskó gives an annotated Hungarian translation of *The History of Alexander the Great* (ed. Budge) on pp. 255—71. The notes make about one fourth of the translation. They explain textual difficulties, proper names, names of peoples and refer to the parallel passages of other sources.

b) *The Metric Homily «De fine extremo» by Ephraem* (pp. 71—4).

An annotated translation from Lamy's edition (*S. Ephraemi Syri Hymni et sermones* III, pp. 189—99). The notes chiefly refer to the metric reconstruction of the text and to certain passages of the sermon in which allusions are made to the Islam.

c) *Extract from the Metric Homily attributed to Jacob of Serugh on Alexander the Great* (pp. 75—81).

The translation of lines 236—565 from the above-mentioned edition of Hunnius. The notes deal with the passages concerning the Fountain of Life in Babylonian and Muhammadan sources.

d) *Chapter VIII of the Apocalypse of pseudo-Methodios* (pp. 82—7).

Kmoskó publishes three variants of this chapter: a Hungarian translation based on the Syriac text of the Cod. Vat. Syr. 58, the Greek version

taken from Istrin's edition (pp. 17—20) and the Latin text based on a VIIIth century Latin translation edited by Sackur (pp. 72—5).

The notes deal with questions of textual criticism.

e) *Abstract from the Book of the Bee* (pp. 88—9).

A Hungarian translation based on the Syriac text of Budge's edition (pp. 145—7). The notes discuss the forms in which the names of Northern peoples appear in the text.

B) *Extract from the Church History of Zacharias Rhetor* (pp. 90—5).

Kmoskó gives a Hungarian translation of the passage dealing with the peoples of the North in the geographical appendix (ed. Land, *Anecd. Syr.* II, 336—9).

The notes refer to certain difficulties in the text, to the Caucasian mission of Christians — particularly Armenian Christians (with an appraisal of the researches made by Brosset, Tournebize, Laurent, Manandjan, Marquart and others), and to the forms in which the names of Northern peoples appear in the text. Kmoskó's notes also deal with the mission of Probos and, at the end of the text, with the report on the Nestorians of Persia.

It is rather strange that Kmoskó, although the facsimile of the text stood at his disposal, does not give the names of the Northern peoples in the unvocalised forms as written in the MS (like Brooks' edition, p. 214<sup>18-26</sup>). A similar objection may be made to the practice of the translators (the Latin translation of Brooks, the English by Hamilton—Brooks, the German translation of Ahrens—Krüger, Duval *apud* Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 250). Marquart<sup>92</sup> is more precise in rendering these names: *Ūn(u)gūr*, *Ūg(u)r*, *hurgar*, *Kas(i)r*; but we must emphasise that in Syriac the *scriptio plena* is also used to denote short vowels, and that the *a* is not the only pronunciation of the syllables which are without vowel signs. Thus, for instance, the pronunciation of the written word *ūngūr* may be *onogur* or something else as well. Marquart's complements are not always convincing. So, e. g., the complemented *i* in the word *kas(i)r* is highly questionable.

But the most important defect of Kmoskó's expositions is that he fails to investigate the question of the immediate sources of the names. We know, for instance, of the names *abdel* and *eptalit* (ϣ: *eptalit*) that both denote the Ephthalites, and that the name *eptalit*, in view of the lack of aspiration at its beginning and of the Graecising *-itai itai* at its end, must, with a high probability, spring from Byzantine source. It is also remarkable that the names *abdel* and *eptalit(ai)* are found together in the work of Theophylaktos

<sup>92</sup> *Streifzüge*, p. 356.

Simokattes (7, 7, 8), while the names *onoqur*, *ogur*, *sabir*, *avar* are to be found in the usage of Priskos. If we, however, assume that it was through Byzantine mediation that these names got into the Syriac text, Marquart's position of regarding this list of names as an enumeration prepared in 555<sup>93</sup> is rendered untenable. It was as late as in 558 that the Avars began to enter the ken of the Byzantines. Yet the year 555 is given by the author himself (ed. Brooks 213<sub>20-24</sub>). Thus the question emerges whether this list of names is not a later interpolation in the chapter on the Huns. The assumption that the Syriac author had already before 555 learned of the Avars, from some non-Byzantine source, is, in itself, not impossible, but we must take into consideration that he speaks of the Northern peoples that live on the nearer and farther side of the Caucasus, and this is a statement which, before 555, could by no means refer to the Avars.

Kmoskó does not deal with the name *hrōs* which, in spite of chronological and other difficulties, seems to be the transcription of the Byzantine 'Ρῶς.<sup>94</sup> Neither does he discuss the name *kwalis* which, as it was recently discovered, is the name of the *k(w)aliz* who played some part in Hungary also.<sup>95</sup> The Muhammadan K(w)aliz came to the West in the company of the Pechenegs. It is remarkable that this name is absent from the older Byzantine sources.<sup>96</sup> Also absent from extant Byzantine sources is the name *k.s.r.* Kmoskó refers briefly to the opinion held by Marquart and Gelzer who try to identify this word with *Αζάρζιροι*, resp. with the name of the Khazars.<sup>97</sup> Pelliot too takes *k.s.r.* as the name of the Khazars and he agrees with Marquart that the list was prepared in 555. On the other hand, Henning, while reading *k.s.r.* as the name of the Khazars (*χazar* ~ *χazir*; *Ἀζάρζιροι* ~ *\*aq-χasir*, *\*aq-χazar*), firmly rejects the hypothesis about the Greek origin of the list. He thinks that the forms in which the names of the list appear do not indicate a Greek original. But he does not elaborate his arguments.

All these problems call for a new investigation. Even so we may perhaps state here that the data in the Syriac redaction of Zacharias Rhetor can only be used with caution and careful criticism. The author of the Syriac appendix wants to give a picture of the inhabited earth to his readers. But he himself stresses that the world has changed considerably since the days of Ptolemaios and that the picture he presents must be thoroughly revised, particularly with regard to the description of the Northern territories, Armenia and the Caucasus. The new description of the Northern territories gives, at the same time, an opportunity to the author to recount the history of missionary efforts

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Pigulevskaya: Б. Д. Грекову. Сборник статей, pp. 42-8.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Czeglédy: *Études Slaves et Roumaines* I (1948), pp. 62-4.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Moravesik, *Byzantinoturcica* II (Budapest 1943), p. 290.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 40.

by Byzantine and Armenian Christians on territories inhabited by the Huns. His informations on this subject, judged by the forms of names used by him in his account, were taken from Byzantine and Armenian sources. On the whole, we have no reason to challenge the authenticity of his reports, neither should we doubt that the geographical appendix was written in 555. But we must consider that all later copyists could have added contemporary intelligence to the enumeration of Northern peoples. We must all the more take this into account as the author of the appendix himself had the explicit purpose of bringing up to date the geographical knowledge of the age of Ptolemaios by adding recent data. So it is hardly possible to take the year 555 on, with regard to the whole of the Syriac redaction of Zacharias Rhetor. The date 569, as being the original date of the list of Hunnic peoples.

### C) Extracts from Syriac chronicles (pp. 96-220).

#### a) *Joshua the Stylite* (pp. 96-115).

As indicated in his introduction, Kmoskó regarded this work as the most important product of Syriac historiography. Accordingly, he publishes a considerable part of the text (pp. 8-20; pp. 44-63 in Wright's edition of the text, 92 being the total number of pages) in Hungarian translation. In this part comparatively small space is given to the notes. Kmoskó had a noteworthy comment on p. 9<sub>16</sub>: *ܩܘܢܝܐ ܕܩܘܢܝܐ ܕܩܘܢܝܐ*: «Marquart (Ērānsāhr, p. 58) reads here the word *kiūnāje* to mean the *Chionites* who are also mentioned in the time of Sapur II by Ammianus Marcellinus (XVI, 9, 4; XVII, 5, 1; XVIII, 6, 22). Ammianus reports that, when Sabor was preparing for war, the kings of the Chionites and Albanians marched on the side of the Persian king. He further says: *Chionitae et Gelani omnium acerrimi bellatores Saporis*. To my mind this hypothesis of Marquart lacks convincing force. If, for nothing else, for the fact that the same Ammianus Marcellinus has *Hunni* (XXXI, 1, 2) as well as *Chuni* (XXXI, 8, 4) to denote the Huns. Nöldeke (*Geschichte der Perser aus Tabari* p. 115) tries to read *kūšanāje* instead of *kijūndāje*, but this emendation is utterly unfounded.»

We may note here, with regard to Kmoskó's expositions, that today, in the entire literature on the subject, the name-form *χyōn(ayē)* is regarded as corresponding to the *χyōn* of the Middle Persian. The same name is also given, on their coins, by the Hephthalites, as their own name.<sup>98</sup> From this we may make the important inference that the Western part of the Hephthalite empire, adjoining Persia, was inhabited by the Chionites.

Thus the name *Chionitae* points to Persian mediation. The reference of Ammianus Marcellinus to the Chionitae as the *Hunni* proves nothing else

<sup>98</sup> Ghirshman, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-21.



but that he took a part of his informations on the Chionites from Byzantine source.

The leading clan of the Chionites was called *qadiš*. This name is often used in the reports on the conquests of the Arabs in Afghanistan. The same name is used in the work of Joshua (ed. Wright, p. 17<sub>22</sub>) to denote a nation which lived near the Western boundary of Persia, on the Byzantine-Persian frontier territory. Kmoskó does not deal with the question discussed by Nöldeke and Marquart whether the *qadiš* that are mentioned as living both on the Western and on the Eastern frontiers of Iran are the same people. Nöldeke rejected the idea of identity, while Marquart, working on the same data, arrived at the conclusion that the two ethnic fragments were of the same origin.<sup>99</sup> As we shall see below, it is the analysis of the Syriac sources that may shed new light upon this problem (cf. below p. 62—3).

b) *Extracts from the Edessa Chronicle* (pp. 116—7).

Kmoskó presents two short passages in Hungarian on the basis of Guidi's edition (*CSCO Chron. min.* I, pp. 5—6; 12—3). The first fragment reports on the invasion of the Huns into the Byzantine empire in 395.<sup>100</sup> In his notes to this fragment Kmoskó discusses the parallel passages of the relevant Byzantine and Eastern sources.

The second fragment speaks of the presbyter 'Absamyā, the son of Ephraem's sister, who, in 404, composed metric homilies on the invasion of the Huns into Byzantine territory.<sup>101</sup>

The third fragment reports on the great invasion of the Huns (Sabirs) in 531 into Asia Minor. This invasion, which constituted a chapter of the Persian-Byzantine War, is mentioned by numerous Byzantine sources<sup>102</sup> and also by Michael Syrus (ed. Chabot, p. 278c = II, 192).

The first of these three passages is often referred to by the literature on the subject — the second and third passages are less known.

c) *The Church History of Joannes Ephesinus* (pp. 118—30).

Kmoskó took his extracts from the third part of the work which has not been incorporated by later writers in their compilations

<sup>99</sup> Nöldeke: *ZDMG* XXXIII (1879), 157—63; Marquart, *Erānšahr*, pp. 77—8.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. O. Gebhardt: *Die Akten der edessener Bekenner Gurjas, Samonas und Abibos: Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 3. Reihe, VII/2 (Leipzig 1911), p. LIV.

<sup>101</sup> Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 67—8.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

The extracts deal with the battles which the Avars and Slavs fought in the Balkans at the end of the VIth century, about 572—582.

Kmoskó's Hungarian translations of the extracts are based on the edition of Cureton (117, the Avars; 187, Avars and Slavs; 360—3, Turks; 375—8, 395—403, Avars and Slavs; 412—4, Avars, Gepidae, the siege of Sirmium).

The reports of Joannes Ephesinus spring from Byzantine sources and furnish valuable parallels to the narratives of the same events by Menandros and Theophylaktos Simokattes. Its data concerning the Slavs were scrutinised by Dyakonov<sup>103</sup> and recently by Pigulevskaya.<sup>104</sup> Less attention has been paid to its data on the Avars and Turks and its account of the journey made by the embassy of Zemarchos (ed. Cureton, p. 395—8). In the latter we find the record of episodes unmentioned by the account of Menandros which reflect the experiences of Zemarchos and the Persian embassy in the court of the Turkish prince. Kmoskó's notes mainly refer to parallel reports in Byzantine and other sources.

In the introduction (cf. above, p. 43) the *Arbela Chronicle* is discussed before the work of Joannes Ephesinus.

d) *The Arbela Chronicle* (pp. 131—3).

Kmoskó publishes the part of the chronicle which covers the time from the death of Pērōz to the reign of Kavād (ed. Mingana, pp. 67—70) in Hungarian translation with notes.

We quote Kmoskó's comment on the passage reporting the battles of Pērōz against the «Huns» and his death: «Our author does not mention the year of Pīrūz's death, but this omission is not important inasmuch as we know from other sources that the king died in 484 (Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 425). But we have not known the month of the king's death in battle. The only conclusion which Nöldeke reached, by comparing the chronological data of relevant sources, was that the last year of Pīrūz came to its end on the 23rd of July, 484. This roughly corresponds to the date given in the *Arbela Chronicle* (August). Our Arab sources, as it is known (cf. Tabari I, p. 875), give the names *hajātilah* and *turk* (ibid., p. 878), resp., to the enemies of the king. Joshua the Stylite calls them *kišnājē* (§ 10) and *hūnnājē*, resp.; the Armenian chronicle of Lazar P'arpec'i has the name *hephthalite* (cf. Langlois, II, p. 349) and the name in the work of Sebēos is *khušan* (Macler's translation, p. 4).»

The end of the fragment reports on the great invasion of the Huns in 505, in the course of the Byzantine war of Kavād. «According to Procopius

<sup>103</sup> А. П. Дьяконов, *Иоанн Ефесский* (Ст. Петерб. 1908).

<sup>104</sup> Сирийские источники, pp. 15—28.

(*Pers.* I. 8) and Evagrius (*Hist. Eccl.* III, 43) armies of the Huns broke through the Caucasian Gates into Azerbaidshan, in 505, so that Kavād was forced to call back his troops operating against the Byzantines and make peace.<sup>105</sup>

e) *Extracts from the Chronicle published by Guidi (pp. 134–8).*

Kmoskó brings two fragments in translation. The first deals with the rebellion of Bahrām Čöbēn (ed. Guidi, pp. 15–7) and the other with the Nestorian mission of Elias, Metropolitan of Marw, among the Turks (*ibid.*, p. 34–5) and with the rain-making shamans of the Turks.

The passages reporting on Bahrām Čöbēn also mention the «Gate of the Turks». In this connection Kmoskó explains that, according to a Byzantine variant of the reports on Bahrām Čöbēn, he went to the North, into Armenia, and it was here that he conquered the Turks, while the other versions (Arabic and Armenian sources) say that he fought the Turks in the regions of the Oxus. According to Kmoskó the chronicle under discussion seems to indicate that the campaign of Bahrām was directed against some Caucasian mountain pass in the North.

In one of his notes Kmoskó deals in detail with the literary activity of Elias the account of which can also be found in the metric history of literature by 'Abdišō. The chronicler tells about the city of Marw that it was established by Alexander the Great and its first name was *Alexandria*. Kmoskó points out that the Greek sources corroborate certain statements of the Syriac chronicler and he sums up the history of Marw from ancient times to Timur's reign and our days. Elias worked in the middle of the VIIth century. «We cannot state positively whether the missionary activity of Elias of Marw preceded or followed the Arab conquest. According to Labourt (*De Timotheo I Nestorianorum patriarcha*, Parisiis 1904, p. 42): 'Chronicon a Guidi editum sub Maremmeh catholico (ann. 643/6) memorat Eliam metropolitanam permultas e Turcis aliisque gentibus ad fidem convertisse'. But the text of the chronicle does not indicate when Elias became patriarch and how long he lived. Thus the exact date of the event cannot be fixed. It is also difficult to tell who are meant by the word 'Turks' in the text. Arabs speak of the Ephthalites also as Turks, thus perhaps misnaming them. But we know positively that a part of Khorasan was inhabited by Ephthalites sometimes under Turkish rule.»

f) *Extracts from the Liber Calipharum (pp. 139–41).*

Kmoskó gives translation of the very detailed report on the invasion of the Huns, in 395, in the second part of the chronicle (ed. Brooks, p. 146).

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 98–9.

His numerous notes are mainly of chronological nature. The second fragment (*ibid.*, pp. 146–7) deals with the age of emperor Herakleios, reporting also on the invasion of the Slavs in 623.

g) *Extracts from the Zūqnīn Chronicle (pp. 142–5).*

Kmoskó gives three fragments of the chronicle in translation. With the publication of the first (ed. Chabot, pp. 4–7) Kmoskó has the purpose of demonstrating the serious chronological errors of the chronicler. E. Stein has lately dealt with this theme.<sup>106</sup> The second fragment (*ibid.*, pp. 24–6) recounts the war waged in 731 and 732 by Maslama and Jarrāh against the Khazars in the course of which the gate «built by Alexander the Great» in the Caucasus was destroyed. The third fragment (*ibid.*, pp. 43–4) relates the march of Marwān through the Turkish Gate and his battles with the Khazars.

Kmoskó thinks that the second and third fragments contain some data of historical value.

h) *Extracts from the Anonymous Chronicle of Events to 846 (pp. 146–7).*

The important fragment which Kmoskó brings in translation deals with the wars between the Arabs and Khazars from 715 to 728 (ed. Brooks, pp. 234–5). In his notes Kmoskó offers the data of the parallel sources (Byzantine, Arabic).

i) *Extracts from the Nestorian Chronicle of Seert (pp. 148–52).*

The extracts recount the story of the Byzantine girls sent to the Hephthalites (ed. Scher, IV, 224), the marriage of the Persian king Yazdgerd (*ibid.*, V, p. 316), events from the history of the Hephthalites (*ibid.*, VII, p. 107) and the history of Kavād and Jāmasp (*ibid.*, pp. 124–8).

The abstracts exhibit remarkable variations in the writing of the name of the Hephthalites. According to Kmoskó, «if the *هفتالیین کفترانیین* forms express the genuine phonetic value of the name it would be possible to assume that the original form of the name was *kaftarān* which would have the same relation to *haftarān* as the word *hunnājē* to the variant *kišnājē*. Unfortunately, we can say nothing certain about this matter.» The question was also discussed by Marquart.<sup>107</sup> Although he did not explain the causes of the strange variations, he indicated that the pronunciation of *z* instead of the generally pronounced *h* is a peculiarity of the Armenian

<sup>106</sup> Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 827–9.

<sup>107</sup> *Wehrot und Arang*, pp. 176–7.

dialect of the Van region. In connection with this question we may briefly note that the key to this problem must be sought in the history of writing rather than in linguistics. The Arabic form is the simple transliteration of a written Syriac form  $\text{ܚܝܬܐܢ}$ . The Syriac form  $\text{ܚܝܬܐܢ}$  reflects the plural \**hastalān* in Middle Persian, as the phonetic value of the Syriac letter  $\text{ܚ}$  is  $\chi$  and the letter  $\text{ܢ}$  in Middle Persian writing is both capable of denoting  $\chi$  and  $h$ . The form *hayāṭila* indicates an Arabic source, as well as the name *turk* which is used as the fourth name of the Hephthalites. From all this it may be inferred that the author of the *Seert Chronicle* used, directly or indirectly, not only Syriac and Arabic<sup>108</sup> but also Middle Persian sources.

j) *Extracts from the Work of Mārī ibn Sulaimān (pp. 153—5).*

Kmoskó's translated extracts contain the following passages of Mārī's work: the chapter on the relations between Pērōz and the Turks (Hephthalites; ed. Gismondi, p. 40), the reports on the death of Pērōz (*ibid.*, p. 42), on the reign of Kavād and Khosrav (p. 45), the reigns of the Persian king Hormuzd and the Byzantine emperor Tiberios (p. 55), the reign of Khosrav II (pp. 56—7), the story of how Timotheos converted the Turkish kaghan (p. 73) and the record of the conversion of a Turkish prince with his 200,000 subjects to Christianity (pp. 112—3).

In his notes Kmoskó deals mainly with the relation of Mārī's text to the *Seert Chronicle*,<sup>109</sup> and he also refers to the parallel passages in Byzantine and Syriac records. As to the conversion of the Turkish prince, Kmoskó remarks that this event probably reflects the Legend of Prester John on the basis of which Western Christians in the Middle Ages looked for Christians in the mountains of Asia, hoping that these will make an alliance with them against the Muhammadans.

k) *Extracts from the Chronicle of Michael Syrus (pp. 156—219).*

Of all Syriac sources Kmoskó's longest extract is taken from Michael's chronicle. The reasons for this are the great length of the work and the great number of its references to the Barbarians.

The narration of events in the extracts begin with the periods of emperors Arkadios and Honorios and continue with the reigns of emperors Theodosios II, Markianos, Leo, Zeno and Anastasios. Numerous references are made to the invasion of the Huns into the Balkans and to their participation in the Byzantine-Persian wars. Mention is made of the battle fought by Pērōz against the

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Graf, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

Hephthalites. Kmoskó gives numerous passages that deal with the history of Justinianos' reign. Among these we find the history of the conversion of *Gordijos*, a ruler of the Huns, and of his battles fought against his brother (cf. Malalas, ed. Bonn, p. 431). Detailed data are found in these fragments about the invasions of the Huns and Slavs into the Balkans and about the battles in which the Huns participated on Mesopotamian and Armenian territories. The extracts also contain some records of events that took place during the reigns of emperors Justinos, Tiberios and Maurikios. Among these, special attention should be given to the account of the embassy of Zemarchos and to reports on the siege of Sirmium, on other events in which the Avars participated and on the deeds of the Slavs, Ants and Langobards in the Balkans. Very important is the report on the «exodus» of the Bulgars the parallels of which are known from other sources. Michael often refers to the history of the Khazars, beginning with the age of emperor Herakleios. Detailed treatment is given to the relations that were established in the first half of the VIIIth century between the Byzantine emperor and the Khazars and also to the strifes of Arabs and Khazars. Recounting the events of the IXth century, Michael often recalls the rôle which the Bulgars played in the Balkans. The last extract of Kmoskó is the full text of book XIV that deals with the Turks. In this Michael discusses the origin of the Turks, their habits, the history of their exodus and their conversion to Muhammadanism. Copious notes are attached which make about one fourth of the extracts. Kmoskó also makes use of the Armenian and Arabic variants of the chronicle and endeavours to cite all relevant data of the parallel Byzantine and Arabic sources. (His work, as regards, for instance, the age of Justinianos, compares in some aspects with E. Stein's *Histoire du Bas-Empire*.) From the viewpoint of literary history noteworthy are the expositions of Kmoskó in which he discusses the relation of the Syriac sources to the text of Michael's work. The work of Barhebraeus is not the only source which he constantly cites for comparison; he also keeps in view other works, thus, for instance, the *Chronicon civile et ecclesiasticum* which was first published by Rahmani. With regards to the latter Baumstark states<sup>110</sup> that its text «imperatively» calls for a comparison with the text of Michael. In the passages discussed Kmoskó performs this comparison in a really thoroughgoing manner. He also keeps in mind the possibilities which the comparison of Michael's text with the *Zāqnān Chronicle* might offer for reconstructing the text of Joannes Ephesinus. He makes detailed comments on the report concerning the «exodus of the Bulgars», but he does not yet refer to Gy. Moravcsik's study which discussed the parallel reports in Byzantine sources.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>110</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 302.

<sup>111</sup> *UJb X* (1930), pp. 53—90.

There is, however, a later note, written by Kmoskó's own hand — the last note in the whole MS — in which he quotes a paper of Gy. Moravcsik published in 1927 on the conversion to Christianity of Gordas (*Gordijos* in Michael's text), king of the Huns.<sup>112</sup>

l) *Extracts from the Syriac Chronicle of Barhebraeus (pp. 220—30).*

The reports of the extracts cover the time from Theodosios the Great to Romanos. The last of them deals with the Transcaucasian invasion of the «Slavs» (Russians) in 943. A separate fragment discusses the origins of the Saljuk dynasty.<sup>113</sup> Most of the fragments discussed are taken from the Chronicle of Michael Syrus. Kmoskó never fails to refer to these parallel passages. The close relation existing between the texts of Michael and Barhebraeus is exhibited with particular clarity in Kmoskó's first draft (A II, pp. 137—54) where Kmoskó presents the two texts in parallel columns. What makes the text of Barhebraeus valuable is not so much its few factual divergencies, but rather its way of frequently spelling certain names in forms different from those in Michael's text. Further variants of these names are also to be found in the Arabic version<sup>114</sup> of Berhabraeus' chronicle. These are given by Kmoskó in his notes. There is, for instance, a very instructive difference in the spelling of the name of a son of Saljuk. The Syriac text of Barhebraeus has *Jagbu*, while the Arabic writes *Baiyu*. While, however, the Arabic spelling may be a graphic variant for *Jabyu*, the same cannot be said of the Syriac variant.

m) *Extracts from the Church History of Barhebraeus (p. 230).*

Kmoskó translates the story about the conversion to Christianity of the Turkish ruler with his 200,000 subjects, as recorded in the *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* (ed. Lamy III, col. 279—81). The people referred to is called *turk* by Barhebraeus, but he also mentions the tribal name *kerait*.

Further extracts are not published, and this is, in our opinion, an omission as it will be seen from what we are about to say of this matter. As we mentioned above (p. 56), parts of Iran's frontier territories, adjoining Afghanistan, and her Western territories bordering on Northern Mesopotamia

<sup>112</sup> *Magyar Nyelv* [Hungarian Language] XXIII (1927), p. 263 (K).

<sup>113</sup> The Turkish translation of E. A. Wallis Budge's English version (*Abū'l Farac Tarihi* I (Ankara [1945]: *Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından* II Seri. N° 11.) shows the importance attached to Barhebraeus' work by the investigators of Saljuk history.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Graf, *op. cit.*, pp. 274—5.

were inhabited by a people called *qadiš*. Nöldeke<sup>115</sup> and, of late, Honigmann,<sup>116</sup> on the basis of Joshua the Stylite and Byzantine sources, succeeded in locating precisely the dwelling-place of the Western *qadiš* near Mosul, in the vicinity of Singara and Tebet. Marquart suggested their common origin,<sup>117</sup> in spite of the great geographical distance between the Eastern and Western *qadiš*. Since, however, he added no new facts to Nöldeke's data, his argument is not convincing. We, on the other hand, believe that there is a passage in the *Chronicon ecclesiasticum* which may decide this problem. In this passage (*Chron. eccl.* ed. Lamy, III, col. 159<sup>9,17</sup>; 175<sup>12-15, 18</sup>) dealing with the history of the Eastern *mapr'yāns* it is stated that, in electing the *mapr'yān* in Singara, in the sixties of the VIIIth century, the choice fell on the ecclesiastic *Joannes Chionita* ⲓⲟⲁⲛⲛⲉ ⲈⲒⲐⲟⲛⲓⲧⲁ who then succeeded another Joannes. We hold that the connection between the *xyōn* (*āyā*) and the Middle Persian *xyon* names is obvious, while the mentioning of Singara indicates that, in this case too, the geographical appurtenance of the name *qadiš* to the *xyōn* is the same as in the case of the *qadiš* of Afghanistan. We discuss this question in detail elsewhere, and we only wish to say here that the *xyon* name on the Hephthalite coins as well as this new Syriac date have, in our opinion, extraordinary significance not only for establishing the identity of the *Chionitae* mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus among the Mesopotamian allies of Šapūr, but also for locating the Hephthalite *xyōn*, that is, the White Huns, and thus, for solving the question of the Huns.<sup>118</sup>

D) *Extracts from Syriac Hagiographies (pp. 231—41).*

) *Extracts from the Life of Ephraem (pp. 231—2).*

The fragment given here by Kmoskó was edited by Lamy in the second volume of Ephraem's works (II, p. 74—5). In a long note Kmoskó subjects the fragment's report on the invasion of the Huns into Edessa to a very careful scrutiny. He writes, among other things: «The first appearance of the Huns on the frontiers of the Roman empire was observed in 375 when they, under the leadership of Balamber, pushed their way through the land of the Alans and attacked the Goths (cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXI, 2—4; XXXI, 8; Eunapius frg. 42; Jordanes, *Getica*; Cassiodorus, *Hist. trip.* III, 13). Taken in itself, the assumption is not impossible that the invasion

<sup>115</sup> Nöldeke: *ZDMG* XXXIII, pp. 157—60.

<sup>116</sup> E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches* (Bruxelles 1935), p. 17.

<sup>117</sup> *Érānsāhr*, p. 77.

<sup>118</sup> We have dealt with this problem in detail in *Magyar Nyelv* L (1954), pp. 42—51.

of the Huns took place towards the end of St. Ephraem's life or in the time of Eulogius' episcopate, and we would not like to endorse the judgment of Rubens Duval who rejects as erroneous the opinion expressed to this effect in the Paris recension of Ephraem's Life (*Littér. Syr.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 335). Nevertheless it must be admitted that, at present, we have no historical arguments with which to buttress this report of the biography.» Kmoskó discusses the relevant passage in the homily ascribed to Ephraem as well as the Armenian biography of Ephraem, and he also indicates that the Legend of Euphemia too reports on an early invasion of the Huns into Edessa (cf. Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* CXVI. 145). But Kmoskó does not attach decisive importance to the testimony of these reports. Of late, Marquart too referred, in this connection, to the date in the Legend of Euphemia. We must, however, note that a Greek variant of the Legend gives 395 as the date of the event.<sup>119</sup> This means that this report in the Legend of Euphemia cannot be used to authenticate either the invasion of the Huns, allegedly prior to 373, or the alleged invasion of the «White Huns» mentioned in the above-discussed Life of Peter of Iberia.

b) *Extracts from the Life of Peter of Iberia (p. 233).*

Kmoskó's passage which is taken from Raabe's edition (pp. 4—5) speaks of the allegedly Caucasian homeland of the White Huns and of their alleged invasion into Byzantion. Kmoskó's notes to the translated text consist of a few words only, but the empty spaces reserved indicate his original intention to enlarge on his comments. We only wish to note here that the White Huns, according to the report of Prokopios (*Bell. Pers.* I, 10), were not nomads and they lived not in the Caucasus, but on the Northeastern borders of Iran. The reason of the biographer for calling them «White Huns» instead of Huns is that, in his age, the empire proper of the Huns had long been disintegrated, but all the more important was the rôle which the Eastern neighbours of Iran, the Hephthalite White Huns, played. It was by the same working of the chronicler's mind that the name of the Hephthalites got into a variant of the Legend of Euphemia.<sup>120</sup> There can be no doubt that the references of this variant point erroneously on the one hand to the Hephthalites living east of Iran and on the other to the invasion of the Huns into Edessa, in 395 — an event well attested by other sources.

c) *Extract from the History of the Karkā d'-Bēt S'lók Martyrs (pp. 235—6).*

Kmoskó translates from Bedjan's edition (II, p. 518; also published by Brockelmann, a fact unmentioned by Kmoskó) and on the basis of Hoff-

<sup>119</sup> Ed. Gebhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 150<sub>1</sub>; cf. Marquart: *Caucasica* VIII (1931), p. 120.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151<sub>1</sub>.

mann's review<sup>121</sup> the passage which reports on the campaign of the Persian king Yazdgerd against the people called *šōl*. After the campaign Yazdgerd had a town built with the name of *Sahristān-i Yazdgerd* on the territory of the *šōl* people. Kmoskó notes that Yaqūt mentions three towns by this name and «it is very likely that the chronicler refers to the first of these, for Elisha too mentions that Yezdegerd, waging continuous wars, from the fourth to the eighth year of his reign, against the Kušan Turks, kept on replacing his troops, and he also built a town where he set up his court during these wars (Langlois II, p. 186).»

Barthold and Marquart also investigated the question of the *šōl* people — a clan of the White Huns living near Gurgān and also known to Muhammadan sources. Barthold erroneously held them to be Turks,<sup>122</sup> while Marquart's opinion was that the *šōl* also appeared in the Caucasus, in later times, west of the Caspian Sea.<sup>123</sup> He regards the name *šōl* borne by the fortress of Derbend as a proof of his assumption. We must, however, point out that the name in question is known as *šor* to all Armenian authors (so to Prokopios also, *Bell. Goth.* IV, 3: *Τζούρη*).<sup>124</sup> The form *šōl* is used only by the Albanian Moses Kalankatvac'i who wrote in Armenian.<sup>125</sup>

d) *Extracts from the Martyrology of Mār Grîgôr (pp. 237—9).*

Kmoskó quotes from Bedjan's edition those passages of the martyrology which report on the *hangarâyē* people. Hoffmann also reviewed these fragments in his work mentioned above. With regard to the name *hangarâyē* Kmoskó's comment is as follows: «As to the interpretation of this word two opinions have been advanced. Hoffmann (*Auszüge* 81<sub>737</sub>, 294) reads this word as *hajgrājē* and takes it to mean the *eger* [heger] people that lived in the region of Kolchis. He makes this conjecture on the assumption that the passage speaks of the war which, according to Prokopios (*Bell. Pers.* II, 15—17) broke out in 541. But this is an untenable supposition. . . There seems to be more probability in Braun's conjecture (*Das Buch der Synhados*, Stuttgart und Wien, 1900, pp. 32, 35) who surmises the Khazars under this name.»

e) *Extracts from the Biography of Mār Abā (pp. 240—1).*

From this writing again Kmoskó brings those parts in translation (following the edition of Bedjan) in which the name of the Caucasian people

<sup>121</sup> *Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenl.* VII/3 (Leipzig 1880), pp. 43—60; cf. Brockelmann, *Syr. Gramm.*<sup>5</sup>, pp. 50—68; Pigulevskaya: Ученые зап. (Сер. Востоков.), 1954, № 180, pp. 215—29.

<sup>122</sup> *Enz. Isl.* IV, p. 972, s. v. *Türken*.

<sup>123</sup> *Ung. Jahrb.* IX (1929), pp. 97, 102—3.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. H. Hübschmann, *Armen. Gramm.* I, 218—9.

<sup>125</sup> Ed. Sahnazarean I, 274<sub>10</sub>.

*kangarāyē* occurs. He indicates in his notes that the same people is mentioned, in connection with the same historical events, in two Nestorian works, but the writing of its name is slightly at variance in the two. The martyrology of Mār Grigōr writes *hangarāyē*, while the Life of Mār Abā uses the variant *kangarāyē*. «What people is here referred to? — asks Kmoskó — I dare not decide.» He says further «that the name *kangarājē* reminds one strongly of the old name *κάρραγ* applied by Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos to the Pechenegs, while the name *hangarāyē* is similar to *hungari*. I do not know whether this similarity would admit far-reaching conclusions.»

We think, however, that Kmoskó should not have left this question open. A closer investigation bears out that both the martyrology of Mār Grigōr and the Life of Mār Abā are translations from Middle Persian originals. This is clearly indicated both by the great number of Middle Persian loan-words and by the translation character of the Syriac text. The very detailed comments of both authors on the internal condition of the Persian empire can also be best fitted into the time preceding the Muhammadan conquest. Thus the difference in the first letter of the name must be explained by stating that both ways of writing go back to the letter *𐭎* of the Middle Persian original which latter, in that script, had double phonetic value: *h* and *z*. When the authors undertook to copy the unfamiliar name from the Pehlevi original, they faced two choices. The author of the Life decided on *z* and so used the character *ܙ* of the Syriac script for the first letter of the name. The author of the martyrology read *h* in the original and so began the name with a Syriac *h* letter. From all this the conclusion follows that the *zangarāyē* people of the Syriac writings is identical with the *kangar* people mentioned by the Emperor Konstantinos.<sup>126</sup> We hold that this fact is of very great importance from the viewpoint of Pecheneg, pre-Conquest Hungarian and even of Eastern European history.<sup>127</sup>

## B)

Kmoskó's second MS, like the first, is without a title page and a preface. Taking a title script in the Syriac volume as a cue, the title of the second MS must have been approximately this: «Arab Writers on the Peoples of Gog and Magog». The MS is in Hungarian and would amount, in print, to about 740 pages. It contains extracts from 20 Arabic writings on geography and 15 Arabic works on history and other subjects. Extensive introductions, dealing

<sup>126</sup> We studied the biographies of Mār Grigōr and Mār Abā in an essay written in Hungarian: *IV–IX. századi népmozgalmak a steppén* [Migrations of the peoples on the Steppe in the IV–IXth centuries] (Budapest 1954) the results of which we hope to publish in English as well.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38–45.

with the history of literature, and numerous and copious notes of explanatory nature are added. They contain *verbatim* translations of those passages of the above-mentioned sources which refer to the nomadic peoples of the Steppe.

Judging by the references of the Syriac volume, the first draft of the MS — at least in part — must have been completed by 1923. In a lecture<sup>128</sup> delivered in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, on the 19th of March, 1928, Kmoskó referred to this writing of his as a work which, «alas, has remained so far unpublished». It can be stated, by the quotations in the MS, that the final version of the work was completed by about 1927.

In this work, unlike in his Syriac volume, Kmoskó deals with sources well-known from monographs and articles. Nevertheless, what he undertakes is more than a mere summarising of findings. His introductions to and notes on the sources are based on independent research and contain many findings which, even today, strike one with their novelty and are, in more than one respect, very significant. Although Kmoskó did not have the purpose, at that time, to give a comprehensive picture of the geography and history of the Steppe, his scattered notes to the individual sources present, in fact, a coherent whole of geographical and historical informations.

As regards its dimensions, this work of Kmoskó is one of the largest collections of Muhammadan sources. The two parts of the work, one dealing with the geographical and the other with the historical sources, would each make about 370 printed pages. The pages in certain parts of the MS are badly mixed up, but have been assembled, without practically any loss, from the two packets of MSS. Only the Idrisi extracts, which are indicated in the introduction, are missing. As to these extracts, it may be assumed that Kmoskó had awaited the Xuwārizmī edition of H. Mzik which was actually published in 1926 but had not yet reached Kmoskó in 1927.

This work, like the first, begins with a general orientation dealing with questions of transcription, the structure of Arabic proper names and with Arabic bibliographies. The rest of the work, the geographical and historical parts have an identical plan. Both parts begin with introductions to the individual sources which are then followed by the annotated extracts. The historical part ends with an extensive chronological synopsis which comprises both the Syriac and Muhammadan sources and refers to the parallel data taken from Byzantine and other sources. There is also a one-page list in the MS packet containing the names of the most frequently quoted works.

Kmoskó's interest is concentrated upon those Muhammadan sources which refer to the Turkish peoples and the Magyars, living on the Steppe in Southeastern Europe. So, in reviewing the work, we shall pay particular

<sup>128</sup> A I, p. 11.

attention to these. Yet in the case of these sources we must reiterate, with added emphasis, what we said of the Syriac sources: relevant articles and monographs, that have been published since Kmoskó's death, would fill a smaller library. Hence we had to give up the idea of an even approximately complete enumeration, all the more, since the bibliography of recent works on Arab authors is accessible in the *Supplementbände* of C. Brockelmann, in the work of G. Graf, which has been often quoted above, and also in the recent excellent works of the Russian scholar V. Minorsky.<sup>120</sup>

The table of contents of the «Arab Writers on the Peoples of Gog and Magog» is as follows:

### 1. Writers of Geographies.

- A) Table of Contents A I, pp. 13-4 + A III, pp. 206-11 (cf. M I 391-5).  
 B) General Informations M II, pp. 1-9.  
 C) Introduction to the Works of Arab Geographers I M II, pp. 10-78.  
 D) Extracts from the Works of Arab Geographers M II, A I.

Introduction		Extracts
a) Xuwārizmī	M II, pp. 13-6	
b) Ĵarmī	p. 17	
c) Hārūn ibn Yahyā	p. 18	A I, pp. 123-32
d) Ibn Xurradābih	pp. 21-3	A I, pp. 17-31 + 49-74
e) Ya'qūbī	p. 24	A III, p. 206: <i>Šaš</i>
f) Ibn al-Faḡih	pp. 25-7	M II, pp. 134-53
g) Qudāma	pp. 28-9	M II, pp. 154-69
h) Ibn Fadlān	p. 31	M II, pp. 319-38
i) Ĵaihānī	pp. 33-49	
j) Ibn Rusta	pp. 51-4	M II, pp. 170-205
k) Abū Dulaf	pp. 55-9	A I, pp. 196-210
l) Balxi	pp. 59-60	
m) Ištaxri	p. 61	M II, pp. 210-55
n) Ibn Hauqal	p. 62	M II, pp. 256-88
o) Muqaddasi	pp. 63-4	M II, pp. 289-310
p) Bakri	p. 65	A I, pp. 133-51 + M II, pp. 311-8
q) Abū Hāmid	pp. 66-7	A I, pp. 153-65
r) Idrīsī	pp. 68-9	
s) Sam'ānī	p. 70	
t) Yāqūt	pp. 70-2	A I, pp. 166-93

<sup>120</sup> In his editions of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (*Gibb Mem. Ser. NS. XI*) and of *Marvazī Forlong Fund*, vol. XXII).

u) Qazwīnī	p. 73	A I, pp. 212-32
v) Ibn Sa'īd	p. 74	
w) Dimišqī	p. 75	A II, pp. 1-17
y) Abū-l-Fidā'	pp. 77-8	M II, pp. 339-62

To the extracts from the works of Ibn Rusta and Bakri Kmoskó also added the parallel passages of the Persian Gardizī (M II, pp. 206-9, 318). Gardizī's reports on the Northern peoples are also published consecutively A I, pp. 75-104, 119-22).

### 2. Arab Historians.

- 1) Table of Contents A I, pp. 14-5 + A II, pp. 19-27.  
 2) Introduction to the Works of Arab Historians M II, pp. 79-132  
 3) Extracts from the Works of Arab Historians M II, A II, III.  
 4) Extracts from other Works A III, pp. 118-36  
 5) Table of Chronology A III, pp. 159-205 + M I, pp. 591-2  
 6) List of the most frequently quoted Works A III, p. 155

#### B) Introduction (pp. 79-132).

- a) General Characterisation of Arabic Historiography (pp. 79-83).  
 b) Early Representatives of Arabic Historiography (pp. 84-90).

Introduction		Extracts
c) Balāduri	p. 91	A II, pp. 28-69
d) Ya'qūbī	p. 92	A II, pp. 70-104
e) Dainawari	p. 93	A II, pp. 106-28
f) Tabari	pp. 94-6	A II, pp. 130-90
g) Eutychios	p. 97	A II, pp. 192-208
h) Agapios	p. 98	A II, pp. 209-32
i) Mas'ūdi	pp. 99-111	M II, pp. 363-437
j) Maqdisi	pp. 112-9	A III, pp. 1-23
k) Ibn Miskawaih	pp. 120-1	A III, pp. 70-82
l) Ta'alibi	p. 122	A III, pp. 34-69
m) Bīrūnī	p. 123	A III, pp. 25-33
n) Elias Nisibenus	pp. 124-5	A III, pp. 84-94
o) Ibn al-Atir	p. 126	A III, pp. 95-116
p) Ibn Xaldūn	pp. 127-32	

#### D) Extracts from other Sources (cf. A II, 25-27).

- a) Nadīm A III, pp. 118-9  
 b) Kašyari A III, pp. 121-36

- E) Chronological Synopsis from 375 to 696 A. D.  
 A III, pp. 195—205 +  
 M I, pp. 591—2
- F) List of Works most frequently quoted  
 A III, p. 155

## I. WRITERS OF GEOGRAPHIES

### B) General Information (M II, pp. 1—9).

This chapter presents first the customary method of transcribing Arab letters. Then the structure of the Arabic proper names is explained. This is followed by a very important passage that deals with ancient Arabic bibliographies. The significance of this part of Kmoskó's work consists in the fact that, at the time of its composition, no adequate historical survey of Arabic geographical and historical literature had existed. The IIIrd, IVth and supplementary volumes of the *Enzyklopaedie des Islam* had not yet been published, and so Kmoskó could not have used the important articles *Djuġhrāfiyā* (J. H. Kramers) and *Ta'riġh* (H. A. R. Gibb) of the supplementary volume. It was only after the completion of Kmoskó's work that the important surveys by Barthold of Muhammadan historical and geographical writings were published<sup>130</sup> which later also furnished, in many respects, a foundation for the important new surveys of Minorsky. Thus Kmoskó based his introductions on independent researches. The most important sources, in this his work, were the ancient Arabic bibliographies. Of these he perused the works of Ibn Qutaiba, Nadīm, Andalusi, Yāqūt, Qifti, Nawawī, Ibn Xallikān, Barhebraeus and Hajji Xalifa. It was from these works that he took his data about the life and literary activity of the authors discussed, unearthing some facts hardly known in previous literature on the subject.

Kmoskó begins by quoting the well-known words of Andalusi (p. 47) about the beginnings of Arabic learning. According to him Maṣūf was the first of the califs to patronise sciences. Then Ma'mūn appealed directly to the Byzantines in order to acquire the most famous works of Greek scholars, among them the works of Ptolemaios.

### C) Introduction to the Arabic Geographical Writings (M II, pp. 10—78).

#### a) *Xuwārizmī* (M II, pp. 13—6).

As we mentioned above, Kmoskó, at the time of writing his work, had not at his disposal the *Kitāb šurat al-arġ* (ed. Mzik) of *Xuwārizmī*, this most noted Arab redactor of Ptolemaios. Hence he had to limit his expositions,

<sup>130</sup> In the Introduction to his facsimile-edition of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*.

which are very noteworthy, to the biography and literary activity of *Xuwārizmī*.<sup>131</sup>

#### b) *Jarmī* (p. 17).

Muslim ibn Abi Muslim al-Jarmī wrote his work, which later got lost, in the middle of the IXth century, after his return from Byzantine captivity. He wrote on Byzantine history, geography and on the conditions of peoples living in the neighbourhood of Byzantium (Danubian Bulgars, Avars, Volga Bulgars and Khazars: Mas'ūdi, *Tanbih*, pp. 189—90). Jarmī's work is quoted by Ibn Xurradābih (*BGA* VI, p. 105), Qudama (*BGA* VI, p. 257), Mas'ūdi (*BGA* VIII, p. 179) and Idrīs (transl. Jaubert II, p. 290). Jarmī has the peculiarity of calling the Black Sea *Bahr al-ġazar*, and we find the same designation in the quotations from his work. Following this observation, Kmoskó rejects the assumption proposed by Harkavy and accepted by Marquart<sup>132</sup> also that the description of the Northern peoples in the work of Ibn Rusta was taken from Jarmī's work, although it is Caspian Sea that Ibn Rusta called *Bahr al-ġazar* (*BGA* VII, p. 141).<sup>133</sup>

#### c) *Hārūn ibn Yahyā* (p. 18).

It was the now lost work of another prisoner of war returning from Byzantium, Hārūn ibn Yahyā, whence Ibn Rusta (*BGA* VII, pp. 119 sq.) took certain passages and inserted them into his work. Kmoskó takes special interest, from the viewpoint of his theme, in the description of the foreign mercenaries who watched the gates of Byzantium. He thinks, however, that Hārūn's description of Rome is much less trustworthy. Kmoskó discusses the assumption of Marquart that Yahyā, who mentions Boso, the king of Burgundy elected in 879, wrote his work about this date.<sup>134</sup> Kmoskó rejects this view, arguing that the Arab *Burġān* is not the name of Burgundy but of the Danubian Bulgaria.

The extracts (A I, pp. 123—32) contain Hārūn's descriptions — quoted by Ibn Rusta — of Constantinople and of the road leading from Askalon to Rome.

#### d) *Ibn Xurradābih* (p. 21—3).

In his introduction Kmoskó first discusses the three genres of geographical literature that were developed in the IXth century and bear the

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Czeglédy: *Acta Orient. Hung.* I (1950), pp. 46—54.

<sup>132</sup> *Streifzüge*, p. 20, 28, 144 (K)

<sup>133</sup> Cf. Minorsky. *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, pp. 419, 422—3, 430.

<sup>134</sup> *Streifzüge*, pp. 269—70.



traditional titles: *kitāb al-buldān*, *kitāb-al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* and *kitāb al-ḡarāj*. Then he discusses in detail the activity of Ibn Xurradābih, the contents of his *Kitāb-al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* and also the hypotheses of de Goeje about the two editions of the work.

The extracts from the work (A I, pp. 17—31 + 49—74) contain the titles of the world's rulers and the descriptions of the province Šās and of the roads leading to Šās and toward the Turks and the description of Ferghana. Kmoskó's notes to these portions of the text are quite copious; they amount to about four fifths of the texts. Kmoskó also gives a thoroughgoing treatment to those portions of the text which deal with the Byzantine empire, the countries of the North and with the roads leading to these lands. In what is one of the most carefully elaborated parts of his work Kmoskó translates and comments on the travel reports of Sallām as reproduced by Ibn Xurradābih. He publishes, on p. 71 of A I, an illustration portraying, on the basis of the text, the Gate of Alexander the Great.

c) *Ya'qūbī* (p. 24).

In his introduction Kmoskó reviews the contents of Ya'qūbī's geographical writing and notes that «the available MS of the work is defective. It is quite a loss that we do not possess Ya'qūbī's reports on Armenia, since he, judged by the parallel passages of his historical work, was more familiar with the history of this country than the other Arab authors.»

Kmoskó publishes no extracts from Ya'qūbī's work, and, judged by what we find on p. 206 of A III, it was only the description of Šās that he intended to publish in his work.

f) *Ibn al-Faqīh* (pp. 25—7).

In his detailed introduction Kmoskó deals with the assertion of an-Nadīm that Ibn al-Faqīh «skinned» the work of Jaihānī. «The probability is that our author did not know of Jaihānī's work, and so he could not use it. The *loci* of sources (see below) which we collected from the works of authors who used Jaihānī's writing are absent from the compendium of Ibn al-Faqīh. The problem is definitely settled by the statement of Muqadassi (*BGA* III, p. 16): Jaihānī believed that the world had five seas; Ibn al-Faqīh knows of four only! (*BGA* V, p. 7).» Kmoskó does not yet mention the MS of Ibn al-Faqīh which was discovered in 1923.<sup>135</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Cf. A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht: Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.* XXIV/3 (Leipzig 1939), p. VII.

The extracts (M II, 134—53) contain portions from the introductory part of the work and passages dealing with the oceans, the Byzantines, Northern Persia, commercial relations of the Slavs with that country, Azerbaidshan, Armenia and Khorasan.

g) *Qudāma* (pp. 28—9).

In summing up the life and work of Qudāma, Kmoskó relies mainly on Yaqūt's work. «The list of the roads leading toward the land of the Turks tallies, almost *verbatim*, with that of Ibn Xurradābih, only the first is somewhat more detailed. It seems that the two authors drew upon the same source, but Ibn Xurradābih inserted a shortened version of the source's text into his own work.»

The extracts (M II, pp. 154—69) contain the description of the roads leading into Turkestan, giving their length as well as a report upon the peoples living on the borders of Islam.

h) *Ibn Fadlān* (p. 31).

In his introduction Kmoskó does not yet mention the new Meshed text of Ibn Fadlān.<sup>136</sup>

The extracts (M II, pp. 319—38) contain Yaqūt's variant of the travel report.

i) *Jaihānī* (pp. 33—49).

Among the Arabic geographical writings the oldest and most valuable report on the Northern peoples was prepared by Jaihānī. Kmoskó, in his work written in German, gives a very thoroughgoing treatment to the Jaihānī problem. A comparison of text shows that Kmoskó regarded his German expositions as his final copy (cf. below, p. 85—8).

j) *Ibn Rusta* (pp. 51—4).

The most important extractors of Jaihānī's work were Gardīzī and Ibn Rusta. The editor of the latter's work, de Goeje, puts the date of composition before 902. This date, of course, is connected with Jaihānī's time of composition and, indirectly, has a very great significance in assessing the

<sup>136</sup> Published in the work quoted in the previous note. It was edited for the first time by the Soviet Academy of Sciences: *Путешествие Ибн Фадлана на Волгу*, под. ред. И. Ю. Крачковского (М.—Л. 1939); cf. Czeglédy: *Acta Orient. Hung.* I, pp. 217—60.

the date of the description of the Northern peoples. It is one of the most important findings of Kmoskó that he clearly demonstrates de Goje's error as to the date of Ibn Rusta's work.

The final copy of both the introduction and the extracts (M II, pp. 170—205) are to be found in the German work of Kmoskó (cf. below, p. 87—8).

k) *Abū Dulaf* (pp. 55—9).

Kmoskó discusses in detail the alleged travel report of Abū Dulaf. He does not attach too great a value to the work.<sup>137</sup> «Marquart, on pages 74 sqq of his *Streifzüge* made strictures upon the passages of the *risāla* which report on the Turks, demonstrating that the order of the Turkish tribes was unquestionably erroneous, but his critique was still too mild. He thought that the travel itself was perhaps a fact . . . His restrained criticism can only be explained by his failure to study intensively the second part of the *risāla* that recounts the return of the author. If he had scrutinised this part of the work, he would have certainly learned that Abū Dulaf never visited India and that he took his data about India from the tales of travelling merchants.» Kmoskó had not yet known of the new, Meshed MSS of the *risāla-s* of Abū Dulaf.<sup>138</sup>

The extracts (A I, pp. 196—210) contain the full text of the «travel report» as preserved in the work of Yāqūt.

l) *Balḫī* (pp. 59—60).

Kmoskó, on the basis of Yāqūt's *Iršād*, reviews the facts of Balḫī's life and, following the *Fihrist*, discusses his literary activity. Although Kmoskó was interested in the problem of the «Atlas of Islam» as well,<sup>139</sup> he is content here with a mere reference to the basically important article of de Goje.<sup>140</sup>

m) *Istāẓrī* (p. 61).

Kmoskó reviews in detail the MSS of the work and indicates that, in his translation, he will pay particular attention to the important variations that occur in the Gotha MS.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. H. Mzik : *OLZ* 1942 Sp. 240—2.

<sup>138</sup> The first *risāla* was published by A. Rohr-Sauer in *Bonner Orientalistische Studien*, Heft 26 (Stuttgart 1939), the second is being prepared for edition by Prof. Mi-norsky; cf. *BSOAS* XIV/3, p. 681.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. his review of K. Miller's *Mappae Arabicae* in *Kőrösi Csoma Arch.* II (1927) pp. 322—4.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. now : J. H. Kramers : *Acta Orientalia* X (1932), pp. 9—30.

The extracts (M II, pp. 210—55) contain a considerable part of the work in Hungarian translation, with notes : the introductory parts which have important bearings on the problem of *iqlim*, the descriptions of Armenia, Arrān, Azerbaidshan, the Khazar See (Caspian Sea) and of Transoxania. The notes make about one fifth of the extracts.

n) *Ibn Hauqal* (p. 62).

In his introduction Kmoskó tells how *Istāẓrī* and Ibn Hauqal met and how the work of the latter was written (cf. *BGA*, II, p. 236). He does not speak of the MSS of Ibn Hauqal's work.<sup>141</sup>

The extracts (M II, pp. 256—288) contain the same parts as in *Istāẓrī's* case excepting the description of the Sea of Rūm. Among the explanatory notes to the portion dealing with the Armenians there is an extensive and important note (p. 265) on the accession of the Armenian Bagratid dynasty to the throne.

o) *Muqaddasī* (pp. 63—4).

The work of Muqaddasī (Maqdisī), who was the best representative of the Balḫī school, is the last one among the Muhammadan geographies that have direct information about the peoples of the North. After Muqaddasī Arab writers of geography, almost without exception, are content with copying previous reports, oblivious of the great changes that were taking place both in the North and in the East : Kievan Russia comes into being and this breaks the dominance of the Khazars, the Magyars, under the pressure of the Pechenegs, leave Southern Russia for Central Europe, Turkish dynasties replace the rule of the Sāmānid Dynasty and, in the first half of the XIth century, the Oghuz Turks begin their march towards Khorasan.

The extracts (M II, pp. 289—310) contain the description of Transoxania.

p) *Bakrī* (p. 65).

In his introduction Kmoskó reviews the nine fragments of Bakrī's work. He points out that the work, with its very important bearings on the history of Slav peoples,<sup>142</sup> is very significant, in virtue of its quotations from the work of Jāihānī, for the history of the Turkic peoples of the Steppe and also from the viewpoint of Magyar history. Unfortunately Bakrī's work is in

<sup>141</sup> Cf. Kramers' Preface to the first fasc. of Ibn Hauqal's new edition.

<sup>142</sup> On the Muhammadan sources concerning the early history of the Slavs see : Tadeusz Lewicki : *Slavia Antiqua* II (1940—50), pp. 321—85.

a fragmentary condition, and therefore «the literary remains of Bakrī ought to be reappraised. It is probable that his works would yield many data which might be utilized in the investigations into the history of the Magyars.»

In the extracts (A I, pp. 133—51 + M II, pp. 311—8) Kmoskó offers all the nine fragments in Hungarian translation. On p. 18 he gives as a supplement, the description of the Pechenegs by Gardizī.

q) *Abū Hāmid* (pp. 66—7).

Abū Hāmid was one of those XIIIth century Muslim merchants who, on their far-reaching journeys, visited Hungary also. Because of its obviously worthless reports on «miraculous things», experts, from Silvestre de Sacy's time to the present, have attached little value to this work. Kmoskó, however, does not share unreservedly this opinion and points out that «the author, when he tells of his own experiences, adds valuable historical and geographical data to the store of our knowledge.»

The extracts (A I, pp. 153—65) contain the travel reports of Abū Hāmid on the Northern countries, among them the descriptions of the Caucasus, the country of the Volga Bulgars, of Hungary and of «Rome».<sup>143</sup>

r) *Idrīsī* (pp. 68—9).

In his introduction Kmoskó reviews the biographical data of Idrīsī and the division of his work according to the climates. Kmoskó does not yet mention the problem concerning the connection between the works of Xuwārizmī and Idrīsī. But it seems that he had realised, at the time of making his extracts, the need to have the text of Xuwārizmī in order to assess properly the text of Idrīsī's work.<sup>144</sup> This is indicated by a note to his lecture held on the 19th of March, 1928.

s) *Sam'ānī* (p. 70).

Kmoskó's introduction to this work consists of a few lines only. It is but for the sake of completeness that he mentions this work. Shortly after the writing of Kmoskó's MS Barthold published certain parts of Sam'ānī's work in English translation.<sup>145</sup>

<sup>143</sup> Cf. C. E. Dubler, *Abū Hāmid el-Granadino* (Madrid 1953).

<sup>144</sup> Cf. first of all: Tadeusz Lewicki's Introduction to his *La Pologne et les Pays voisins dans le «Livre de Roger»* I (Kraków 1945).

<sup>145</sup> In his *Geographical Survey of Transoxania: Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (Gibb. Mem. Ser. NS. V), pp. 64—179.

l) *Yāqūt* (pp. 70—2).

Kmoskó held Yāqūt to be one of the most important authors from the viewpoint of his theme. His biography is well-known from the work of Ibn Ḥallikān. Kmoskó reviews in detail the literary activity of Yāqūt and enumerates those older geographers from whose works Yāqūt took the data of his geographical encyclopaedia.

In the extracts (A I, pp. 166—93) Kmoskó gives a translation and explanation of 65 entries containing Northern references.

u) *Qazwīnī* (p. 73).

After giving a few facts of Qazwīnī's life, Kmoskó reviews the works of this author. The main source of his *Cosmography* was Yāqūt's work. Kmoskó does not set a high value on Qazwīnī's writing; it is a poor patchwork and the major part of its reports is not trustworthy.

Since, however, Qazwīnī's reports often offer comparisons with the accounts of the Northern peoples in the other sources, Kmoskó — very properly — gives in his extracts (A I, pp. 212—32) extensive portions of Qazwīnī's work that contain descriptions of the Northern climates.<sup>146</sup>

v) *Ibn Sa'īd* (p. 74).

Kmoskó's introduction contains some biographical data, the list of the works of Ibn Sa'īd, with the remark that the Ptolemaios redaction of Ibn Sa'īd was also used by Abū-l-Fidā' in the geographical work of the latter.

In the absence of a reliable edition of the Arabic text it is only in connection with certain extracts taken from the work of Abū-l-Fidā', that he quotes several reports of Ibn Sa'īd.

w) *Dimišqī* (p. 75).

After some remarks of biographical nature Kmoskó reviews the contents and sources of Dimišqī's *Cosmography*.

Kmoskó's extracts (A II, pp. 1—17) deal with the descriptions of rivers, lakes, seas, Eastern empires, of the Turks, Slavs and of the Qipchaq tribes.<sup>147</sup>

y) *Abū-l-Fidā'* (pp. 76—8).

Kmoskó reviews in a very thoroughgoing fashion the geographical work of Abū-l-Fidā' the text of which Reinaud once prefaced with his basically important introduction to the geographical literature of the Arabs.

<sup>146</sup> On Abū Hāmid and Qazwīnī see Marquart: *Ung. Jahrb.* IV (1924): *Ein arabischer Bericht über die arktischen (uralischen) Länder aus dem 10. Jahrhundert.*

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Marquart, *Komanen*, pp. 157—8.

The extracts (M II, pp. 339—62) deal with the descriptions of the world's rivers and of the Northern parts of the earth. In connection with the lands of the North the Magyars, also under the names of *bašyird* and *hunkar*, are repeatedly mentioned. Kmoskó also presents, on the basis of this work a table indicating the positions of the Northern territories as marked by their latitudes and longitudes.

## II. ARAB HISTORIANS

### B) Introduction to the Works of Arab Historians (M II, pp. 79—132).

#### C) Extracts from the Works of Arab Historians (M II, A II, III).

In giving a general characterisation of Arab historiography (pp. 79—83) Kmoskó discusses the development of the historical *hadīth*, then proceeds to characterise the two great groups of Arabic histories: those following the time reckoning of the hijra and the historical monographs. Then Kmoskó reviews the genealogical (*nasab*) literature and gives a list, under numbers 1—32, of the lost or little known products of early Arabic historiography.<sup>148</sup>

#### a) *Balādurī* (p. 91).

Kmoskó reviews the facts of Balādurī's life, his works which are lost according to him, with the exception of the *Kitāb futūh al-buldān*.<sup>149</sup>

The extracts (A II, pp. 28—69) deal with the history of the conquest of Armenia, Azerbaidshan and Khorasan. In the passages published here frequent mention is made of the Khazars and of the Transoxanian and Afghanistan Turks. In the notes Kmoskó deals mainly with the parallel passages of Tabari's chronicle. In his explanations he often relies upon the classic work of Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*.

#### d) *Ya'qūbī* (p. 92).

Kmoskó's introduction deals mainly with the sources of Ya'qūbī's chronicle.

The extracts deal with the history of the Sāsānid dynasty, the description of the Northern countries, a review of China's kings. The passages quoted from the second part of the chronicle deal with Azerbaidshan's conquest and the history of the Arab governors of Armenia. All these passages include numerous references to the Khazars and the Turks.

<sup>148</sup> Cf. now: Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden 1952).

<sup>149</sup> Cf. however P. Kahle: *ZDMG* XC (1936), pp. 716—8.

#### e) *Dainawarī* (p. 93).

Kmoskó has but a few lines of introduction to the historical work of Dainawarī, a Muslim polymath.

The extracts (A II, pp. 106—128) contain the history of the Sāsānid dynasty, including the long passage which deals with Bahrām Čöben.

#### l) *Tabarī* (pp. 94—6).

Kmoskó calls Tabarī, this great Arab historian, one of the most fertile writers of the world. He stresses that Tabarī was, above all, a Muhammadan scholar who had little interest for the matters of the «unbelievers». Hence he devotes, in his gigantic work, but a few words to such events as, for instance, the siege of Constantinople under the califate of Sulaimān. Kmoskó discusses in detail Tabarī's annalistic manner of recording events and also his most important sources.

The extracts (A II, pp. 130—90) deal with the history of the Sāsānid rulers from the time of Bahrām Gōr until the Muhammadan conquest and the course of Arab conquests in Armenia and the Caucasus under the reigns of the first califs and the 'Abbāsīd rulers. In his notes Kmoskó always refers to parallel Arabic data and to the corresponding passages of the Syriac chronicles.

#### g) *Eutyehios* (p. 97).

In his introduction Kmoskó surveys the facts of Eutyehios' life, the contents and editions of his historical work and refers to the chronicle of Yahyā al-Antaqī which is a sequel to the work of Eutyehios.<sup>150</sup>

The extracts (A II, pp. 192—208) contain the history of the Persian kings. The last fragment also deals with the Persian campaign of Herakleios.

#### h) *Agapios* (p. 98).

In his introduction Kmoskó reviews the three parts of the work of the Melkite bishop who was a very fertile writer. He states that the third part of the work, which was also used by Mas'ūdī, contains some very valuable data.<sup>151</sup>

The extracts (A II, pp. 209—32) contain portions from Agapios' reports on universal history, church history and chronicle. The passages taken from the *Chronicle* abound in references to the Khazars.

<sup>150</sup> Graf, *op. cit.*, pp. 32—8, 49—51.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 39—41.

i) *Mas'ūdī* (pp. 99–111).

Kmoskó prepared his longest introduction to the works of Mas'ūdī. In it he discusses in detail the extant and lost writings of this author. Particularly interesting are his expositions about the sources used by Mas'ūdī. Kmoskó gives a list of all the 80 sources of this writer.

The extracts (M II, pp. 363–437) present very long passages from the *Murūj ad-dahab* (chapters VIII, XIII, XVI, XVII, XXIV, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI, LXVI, CXXIII), from the *Tanbīh* (the description of the seas, the history of Byzantium, exchanges of prisoners of war between the Byzantines and Muhammadans) and from the *L'abrégé des merveilles* which is attributed to Mas'ūdī.

j) *Maqdisī* (pp. 112–9).

In his introduction Kmoskó surveys the problems of literary history concerning the great work of Maqdisī and reviews the contents of the work. Speaking of the sources of the work, he deals with Maqdisī's quotations from the work of Jaihānī.

Among the extracts (A III, pp. 1–23) Kmoskó brings passages from those chapters of volume II which have references to the Turks, from the part containing Persian history in the third volume, and from volume IV, the thirteenth chapter of which deals with geography.

k) *Ibn Miskawaih* (pp. 120–1).

After some remarks of biographical nature Kmoskó reviews the contents of Ibn Miskawaih's world history, the editions of de Goeje and L. Caetani and the translation of Amedroz and Margoliouth.

The extracts (A III, pp. 70–82) deal with the reign of Khosrav Anōšarvān and contain the fragments of the alleged diary of Khosrav.<sup>152</sup>

l) *Ta'ālibī* (p. 122).

In his introduction Kmoskó reviews the edition of Zotenberg. Then he appraises the work of Ta'ālibī which is, in his opinion, of inferior value, as Ta'ālibī's primary purpose was to produce a work of belles-lettres.

The extensive extracts (A III, pp. 34–69) contain the history of the Sāsānid kings — a chronicle with legendary features.

<sup>152</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Tabarī*, p. 168. n. 1.

m) *Birūnī* (p. 123).

In his introduction Kmoskó discusses one of the then known works of Birūnī, the *Kitāb al-āṭār al-bāqiya*.

The extracts (A III, pp. 25–33) deal with the criticism of Sallām's «travel report», a list of the titles borne by kings and princes and a passage from the history of the false prophets in which the Turks are also referred to.<sup>153</sup>

n) *Elias Nisibenus* (pp. 124–5).

In his introduction Kmoskó discusses in detail the bilingual — Syriac and Arabic — History of Elias a part of which is a chronicle, while the other is a chronological summary.<sup>154</sup> He reviews the MS of the work and deals with the question of the sources used by Elias. He argues convincingly that the chronicle of al-Xuwārizmī was not used by Elias in the Arabic original, but — as this is indicated by the Syricisms of his text — in Syriac translation.

The extracts (A III, p. 84–94) are taken from the part of the chronicle covering the events between 440 and 780. The passages selected from this part are mainly those which have references to the Turks and Khazars.

o) *Ibn al-Atīr* (p. 126).

Kmoskó's introduction deals with some biographical facts and discusses the relation between the works of Tabarī and Ibn al-Atīr.

The extracts (A III, pp. 95–116) contain some accounts of battles fought by the Arabs in Armenia, the Caucasus and Khazaria between 642 and 935. A long passage recounts the invasion of the Russians into Barda'a.

p) *Ibn Xaldūn* (pp. 127–32).

In his note Kmoskó often refers to Ibn Xaldūn, this brilliant ingenious representative of later Arabic historiography. He discusses in detail the facts of this writer's life and reviews the leading ideas of the *Muqaddima*.

Kmoskó gives no consecutive extracts from this work.

## D) Abstracts from Other Sources (cf. A II, pp. 25–7).

a) *Nadīm* (A III, pp. 118–9).

Kmoskó brings without an introduction the passage of Nadīm's work dealing with the Turks and Russians.

A third fragment contains the short history of Calif Ma'mūn's reign.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>153</sup> Cf. Z. V. Togan: *Die Nordvölker bei Birūnī* in *ZDMG* XC (1930), pp. 38–51.

<sup>154</sup> Graf, *op. cit.*, pp. 177–89.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Marquart: *WZKM* XII (1898), pp. 168 *sqq.*

b) *Kāšyari* (pp. 121—36).

Kmoskó translates without an introduction and on the basis of the Constantinople Arabic text, the description of Turkish peoples and languages<sup>156</sup> and from the glossary those items, with explanations, which have references to Turkish peoples, tribes, localities, and to geographical names, titles of rulers and the religion of the Turks.

## E) Chronological Synopsis (A III, pp. 195—205 + M I, pp. 591—2).

Kmoskó's chronological synopsis is the first attempt<sup>1</sup> of this nature with regard to the period under discussion. As Kmoskó takes into account, beyond the data of Arabic and Byzantine sources, those of the Syriac sources as well, his synopsis is also important from the viewpoint of Turkish, Khazar, Byzantine, Persian, Armenian, and Arabic history.

The only purpose which Kmoskó had with his synopsis was to present a chronological framework of the events. It was the same method of treating synoptically the Syriac, Arabic and Byzantine sources that he employed in his article<sup>157</sup> *Araber und Chasaren* published in 1924 and 1925 in the *Körösi Csoma Archivum*, when he attempted to reconstruct certain chapters in the history of Khazar and Arab wars.

## C)

The third MS of Kmoskó is in German. Its title page is among the MSS and gives the subject of the work as follows: *Gardizis Abhandlung über die Stämme der Türken*. — Nach den Handschriften von Cambridge und Oxford herausgegeben und übersetzt von Michael Kmoskó, Professor an der Universität Budapest. — The work would make about 240 printed pages.

The second page of the Introduction is extant, with the last lines of the Preface and with a list of the most frequently quoted works. Certain passages in Kmoskó's introductions to Gardizi and the parallel texts clearly show his original plan. After reviewing the contents of Gardizi's historical work, Kmoskó states: «Dieser kurze inhaltliche Übersicht zeigt, dass Gardizis Geschichtswerk jenem Typus der orientalischen Geschichtschreibung am nächsten steht, welcher in den Werken des Mas'ūdī, Mutahhar b. Tahir al-Maqdisi, Mahbūb al-Mambigī und besonders des Ibn Xaldūn vertreten ist. Alle diese Werke sind dadurch gekennzeichnet, dass sie der geschichtlichen Darstellung der Ereignisse eine Art Prolegomena vorausschicken, welche

<sup>156</sup> Cf. Brockelmann: *Körösi Csoma Arch.* I (1921), pp. 26—40; Pelliot: *T'oung Pao* XXII (1923), p. 347.

<sup>157</sup> *Körösi Csoma Arch.* I, pp. 280—92; 356—98.

freilich der Tendenz der einzelnen Schriftstellern gemäss sehr verschieden sein können. Solche Prolegomena enthalten meistens Geographie und Völkerkunde; vertritt jedoch der betreffende Historiker einen besonderen wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt, so lässt er ihn in der Einleitung gelten. So ist z. B. Mutahhar b. Tahir al Maqdist eigentlich ein Apologet des Islam; kein Wunder daher, wenn seine Prolegomena (Band I—III der Ausgabe von Huart) beinahe ausschliesslich Theologie enthalten. Ibn Xaldūn ist ein Evolutionist und Geschichtsphilosoph: seine *Muqaddima* enthält eine Art Soziologie.

Auch die Perser haben diese Methode übernommen, jedoch mit dem Unterschiede, dass sie jene Abschnitte, welche keine eigentliche geschichtliche Darstellungen enthalten, als Anhang ihren Werken nachfolgen lassen. Wir müssen jedoch noch eine andere Besonderheit solcher Anhänge erwähnen, nämlich die, dass sie sehr oft kürzere oder längere Abhandlungen über die Türken und ihre Stämme enthalten, so z. B. in dem anonymen Geschichtswerk *Muǧmil at-tawāriǧ*, Rašid ad-din, Mirǧwān u. s. w. Warum, ist leicht zu erklären. Nach dem Sturze der Samaniden, wurde das iranische Element in ganz Vorderasien zurückgedrängt und die Türken sind jetzt öffentlich und anerkannterweise auf seine Stelle getreten. Est ist ganz natürlich, dass diese Wendung die einstigen Herren dieser Länder stark überrascht hat. Das öffentliche Interesse wendete sich selbstredend den neuen Gebieten zu; man wollte wissen wer sie sind, woher sie stammen, was ihre Vergangenheit sei. Das dürfte der wahre Grund sein, dass solche Abhandlungen über die Türken massenhaft verfasst und gelesen wurden. Nach dem Einfall der Mongolen wurde das den Türken entgegengebrachte Interesse noch grösser, kein Wunder daher, wenn in den späteren Geschichtswerken, angefangen von Rašid ad-Dīn, solche erweiterte Abhandlungen über die Türken so zu sagen integrierende Bestandteile aller Geschichtswerke geworden sind.» (A IV, pp. 29—30.)

It was with these considerations that Kmoskó developed the structure of his work. By taking the preface to the parallel texts into account, the table of contents of the work may be reconstructed as follows:

## A) Gardizis Abhandlung über die Stämme der Türken.

- a) Vorwort (A IV, p. 26).
- b) Gardizi und sein Geschichtswerk (A IV, pp. 27—30).
- c) Gardizis Bericht über die Türkenstämme (A IV, pp. 31—3).
- d) Die Quellen der Abhandlung über die Türkenstämme (A IV, pp. 34—60 + 80—103 + 167—8).
- e) Persischer Text von Gardizis Abhandlung über die Türkenstämme (A IV, pp. 106—51).
- f) Übersetzung und Kommentar (A IV, pp. 176—237).

## B) Paralleltexte zur Abhandlung Gardizis über die Türken.

- a) Einleitung (A IV, pp. 169—74).
- b) *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*.
- c) Ibn Rusta, Übersetzung (IV pp. 238—50).
- d) Maqdisi, Übersetzung (A IV, pp. 251 + 17—9).
- e) Bakri, Übersetzung (A IV, pp. 20—5 + 161—4).
- f) *Abū-l-Fidā'*.
- g) *Hudūd al-'alam*, Persischer Text (A IV, pp. 61—6), Übersetzung (A IV, pp. 1—10).
- h) *Mujmil at-tawāriḡ*, Persischer Text (A IV, pp. 67—76), Übersetzung (A IV, pp. 152—60).
- i) *Muḥammad-i-'Aufi*, Persischer Text (M I, pp. 598—622).
- j) *Rašid ad-Din*.
- k) *Šukrullāh*.
- l) *Mirḡwānd*.
- m) *Kitāb muḡtaṣar al-'ajā'ib*, Arabischer Text (A IV, pp. 77—9), Übersetzung (A IV, pp. 165—6).

## A) Gardizis Abhandlung über die Stämme der Türken.

b) *Gardizī und sein Geschichtswerk* (A IV, pp. 27—30).

In this chapter Kmoskó deals with the *nisba Gardizī* and the facts of Gardizī's life. Then he publishes a detailed table of contents of the *Zēn al-aḡbār*. The name Gardizī, which is connected with Gard'z of Afghanistan, and certain — linguistically suspect — parts of the *Zēn al-aḡbār* might give rise to the hypothesis that Gardizī was of non-Persian origin and Persian was not his mother tongue. The language of the chapter on the Turks is particularly faulty: «Diese ist in der Tat hie und da recht unpersisch, die Wortfolge sonderbar, die ganze Ausdrucksweise unbeholfen und plump, jedoch nicht deshalb, weil der Verfasser kein geborener Perser war, sondern darum, weil diese Abhandlung aus einer arabischen Vorlage floss, deren Originalsprache Gardizī zu stark beeinflusste.» (A IV, p. 27.)

After carefully reviewing the report on the Turks, Kmoskó deals with the MSS of Gardizī and with the editions of the report on the Turks by Barthold<sup>158</sup> and G. Kuun.<sup>159</sup> Concerning Barthold's work Kmoskó makes the following remark: «Seine Textausgabe ist eine gute, gediegene Arbeit,

<sup>158</sup> *Mém. de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie*. Sér. VIII, cl. phil.-hist. vol. I. No 4 (1897), pp. 80—126.

<sup>159</sup> In the *Sources of Hungary's Conquest* (K).

soweit eine auf einer einzigen Handschrift fussende Ausgabe eines persischen Textes gelingen kann. Im Besitze bedeutender Sprach- und Fachkenntnisse ist es ihm tatsächlich gelungen, viele ohne diakritische Punkte geschriebene Eigennamen des Textes von Oxford zu enträtseln. Auf der anderen Seite weist seine Text-Ausgabe auch manche Schwächen auf: er hat den ihm vorliegenden Text zu radikal behandelt, emendierte dort, wo es nicht notwendig war, und griff öfters zu Konjekturen, welche sich jetzt als unrichtig herausstellen. Diese Fehler sind jedoch leicht zu entschuldigen: der ihm vorliegende Text war so unsicher, dass er ihn kaum anders behandeln konnte.» (A IV, p. 32.) Kmoskó, too, gives a devastating criticism of G. Kuun's edition: «Die Grundlage seiner Textausgabe war ebenfalls die Handschrift von Oxford, nur hat er sie selbst nie gesehen, sondern benützte eine Abschrift derselben, welche ihm E. Sachau zur Verfügung gestellt hat; diese Abschrift war leider mit dem Original nicht verglichen, weil, wie Kuun behauptet, er daran durch Krankheit und Schwäche gehindert war. Kein Wunder daher, dass seine Textausgabe recht erbärmlich ausgefallen ist. Er hat seine, übrigens vorzüglich kopierte Vorlage öfters missverstanden, falsch gelesen, fehlerhaft abdrucken lassen und den unverständlich gewordenen Text hie und da aufs Geratewohl übersetzt. Es muss jedoch bemerkt werden, dass sein Konsonantentext trotz der vielen Fehler treuer ist, als Bartholds philologisch vorteilhafter ausgestaltete Text.» (A IV, p. 33.) Kmoskó says this about his own edition: «Meine Textausgabe fusst auf der Handschrift von Cambridge, Kings College 213, deren Photokopie ich der Zuvorkommenheit der Bibliotheksverwaltung von King's College verdanke... Auf die Photographie der anderen Handschrift habe ich verzichtet, weil die Textausgaben von Barthold und Kuun sich derart ergänzen, dass man die wahre Textgestalt der Handschrift ohne Schwierigkeit ermitteln kann.» (*Ibid.*)<sup>160</sup>

d) *Die Quellen der Abhandlung über die Türkenstämme* (A IV, pp. 34—60 + 80—103 + 167—8).

Kmoskó's discussion of Jaihani's lost work is one of the most valuable parts of his entire MS remains. In the course of his disquisitions he also deals with the lost work of Ibn Xurradābih. His comments were included in his lecture to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on the 19th of March, 1928, then he published them with important additions, in volume XIV (1929) of the *Történeti Szemle* [Historical Review], when he made some remarks on the Raverty's alleged MS of Ibn Xurradābih. His remarks, still of a surprising topicality, were made in connection with the quotations

<sup>160</sup> In Barthold's opinion the Oxford text of Gardizī is a copy made from the Cambridge MS. Kmoskó thought that both derive from a common archetype.

which Raverty subjoined to the English translation of chapter XXIII of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*. They are as follows: «The attention of Barthold was also aroused by these quotations. As we learn from the English edition of his *Turkestan*, published in 1928, he turned to Professor Browne, in 1922, inquiring about the Ibn Xordādbēh MS which was mentioned by Raverty. The reply was that, after the death of Raverty in 1907, only few of the MSS in his former possession were sold and these did not include the said MS. Last year I asked Dr. István Janicsek to search Raverty's literary remains most of which he then actually found in the MS collection of the India Office. But he did not find the Ibn Xordādbēh MS. When I asked Sir Denison Ross about this matter, after his last lecture in Budapest, his laconic reply was this: 'Raverty was a fool' . . . When I was preparing the final copy of the present writing, I tried again *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* (p. 969 sq.) whether I could get something out of it. The result was nothing less than astonishing. I had already known that the — generally miswritten — form of the proper names in the alleged Ibn Xordādbēh quotation strikingly resemble those in the Cambridge MS of Gardīzī which, moreover completely fits Raverty's description: 'The copy of this work which I have referred to, unfortunately has been damaged by damp in the middle of each page for some thirty or forty pages in the very portion I wanted most to be perfect' — the upper part of the Cambridge MS, from page 187, turned yellow, owing to damp, and is consequently difficult to read — but I had still hesitated to identify Raverty's Ibn Xordādbēh MS with the Cambridge text of Gardīzī. But now I found it strange why Raverty gave the name Khurdādbih of Abdullah to the author of his alleged source, that is, a Persian name, and a wrong one at that, since the real name of Ibn Xordādbēh was 'Ubaidallāh. At last I found the solution of the puzzle on folio 197 of the Cambridge MS where it is written that the reports on the Turks are compiled from Ğaiḥānī's work *masālik wa-mamālik*, from a writing entitled *tawdī' ad-dunjā* and from the book of Xordādbēh of 'Abd allāh. Abiding as we do by the law of sober induction, we cannot attribute this remarkable convergence of errors to mere chance.»

Kmoskó's discussion of the name of Ğaiḥānī, his family and life are also very instructive. In these he presents various poetic and prose passages from Yāqūt's *Irsād* with detailed critical comments. He discusses in detail the question of Ğaiḥānī's dualistic (*tanawī*) views and characterises his writings. He has this interesting observation: «Wenn wir nur bedenken, dass laut Gardīzī und al-Muqaddasī al-Ğaiḥānī's Buch auch eine Beschreibung von Indien enthielt, so können wir nicht umhin anzunehmen, dass auch dieses Stück (*BGA VII*, pp. 132—9) seinem Werke entlehnt ist. Es ist ferner merkwürdig, dass in diesem Stücke nach jenem geheimnisvollen  $\text{ج}$  der Verfasser in erster Person laut wird (*BGA VII*, p. 133<sub>3-10</sub>, 134<sub>0</sub>). Ein anderes 'Ich-Stück' kommt aber auch in der Beschreibung von Sarir vor (*BGA VII*,

p. 148<sub>15</sub>), welches doch anerkannterweise von al-Ğaiḥānī herrührt. Es drängt daraus förmlich der Schluss auf, dass der hochangesehene Reichsverweser der Sāmāniden, trotz dass er Ibn Xordādbēh's Reisebuch eigentlich nur erweiterte, kein gewöhnlicher Kompilator, sondern ein Forschungsreisender war.»

Kmoskó treats very thoroughly those quotations which were preserved, from Ğaiḥānī's work, in the writings of later authors (Mas'ūdī, Ibn Ḥauqal, Muṭahhar i. Tāhir al-Maqdisī, Muqaddasī [Maqdisī], Birūnī, Bakrī, Ibn Rusta), and discusses the short references of later writers to Ğaiḥānī (*A IV*, pp. 44—60 + 80—2).

We should attach extraordinary significance to Kmoskó's statements with regard to the time in which the work of Ğaiḥānī was composed. It is well known that it is from the work of Ğaiḥānī that Ibn Rusta quotes the report on the Volga Bulgars which refers to a time after 920. But, as de Goeje asserts, the *ante quem* of the time in which the work of Ibn Rusta was composed is 902! In connection with this painfully puzzling problem, which is still unsolved, Kmoskó offers the following convincing statements: «In der Beschreibung von Medina kommt nun folgende Zeitangabe vor (*BGA VII*, p. 73<sub>10-13</sub>): 'Kopie der Inschrift, welche sich im Innern der Moschee, oberhalb der Bögen und unterhalb der Zinnen befindet, so wie wir sie bei dem Pilgerzuge des Jahres 290 (902) gelesen haben'. Aus dieser Angabe hat der gute, ehrliche und naive de Goeje den Schluss gezogen, dass Ibn Rusta im J. 902 Mekkah und Medinah besuchte. Aber, um Gotteswillen, kommt es denn bei orientalischen Schriftstellern unzählbar nicht vor, dass sie den Wortlaut ihrer Quellen samt Haut und Haar herausschreiben, selbst auf die Gefahr hin, dass sie sich mit solchen arg herausstechenden fremden Federn lächerlich machen? Nicht Ibn Rustah pilgerte im Jahre 902 nach Mekka, sondern der Verfasser seiner Quelle, nämlich al-Ğaiḥānī. Alle Beweise, welche de Goeje anführt, um wahrscheinlich zu machen, dass Ibn Rustah's Werk vor d. J. 301 abgefasst wurde, passen auf al-Ğaiḥānī's Buch vollkommen, nur muss ich dabei ein Versehen des gelehrten Holländers berichtigen. Er beruft sich auf die Stelle *BGA VII*, p. 74<sub>3-5</sub> aus welcher er den Schluss zieht: 'De Motadhido loquitur tanquam de coetaneo'. Das ist jedoch nicht richtig. Es handelt sich dort um das Ende der bereits erwähnten Moschee-Inschrift, welche besagt: 'Der Imām Abū-l-'Abbās, der Fürst der Gläubigen — möge Allāh sein Leben verlängern — hat im Jahre 282 (895) die Restaurierung der Moschee angeordnet.' Aus diesen Worten folgt jedoch bei weitem nicht, dass der Verfasser vom Chalifen Mu'tadid als von seinem Zeitgenossen rede. Dieser Chalife war nämlich im Rabi' II 289 (April, 901) schon tot und der Verfasser hat jene Inschrift erst im nächsten Jahre gelesen, folglich konnte den frommen Wunsch nicht aussprechen: möge Allāh sein Leben verlängern', sondern der ganze Satz bildet das Ende der Inschrift und ist davon nicht zu trennen. Aus dem Gesagten ergibt sich nur soviel, dass das Jahr 902 für die Abfassungs-



zeit al-Gaihāni's *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* die Bedeutung eines terminus a quo habe.»

Together with the results achieved by Prof. Minorsky<sup>101</sup> the findings of Kmoskó, concerning Jaihāni's work, represent the most important facts of progress, since the relevant publications of Marquart and Barthold, toward the solution of the Jaihāni problem. Kmoskó took a negative attitude to the question of Herzfeld's alleged Jaihāni MS of Meshed origin: «Diesbezüglich hat unlängst St. Janicsek berechtigten Zweifel erhoben; Janicsek beruft sich darauf, dass der Buchtitel *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* ein ziemlich verbreiteter war (Ibn Xordābeh, *Iṣṭaxrī*, Ibn Hauqal, al-Bakri), so dass schon deshalb eine Verwechslung der Verfasser sehr leicht möglich war, er beruft sich ferner auf die Handschriften des British Museum, Add. 23,542 und Or. 1587, welche ebenfalls dem Gaihāni zugeschrieben werden, obwohl sie eigentlich eine persische Übersetzung des Šuwar al-aqālim von Abū Zaid al-Balẓi, des Vorläufers des *Iṣṭaxrī* bieten. Auch Leningrad besitzt eine Kopie desselben Werkes, welches bereits Dorn (Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, XIX, 1874, S. 202) beachrieben hat.» Recent researches of Prof. Minorsky have fully justified Kmoskó's doubts.<sup>102</sup>

e) *Persischer Text von Gardizis Abhandlung über die Türkenstämme* (A IV, pp. 106–51).

Kmoskó's text is based on the Cambridge MS and differs on many points from that of Barthold. The apparatus subjoined to the text contains the enumeration of all variants. It must be strongly regretted that Kmoskó's new Gardizī edition was never published.

f) *Übersetzung und Kommentar* (A IV, pp. 176–237).

Kmoskó's translation also differs on many points from those prepared before him, and his commentary also has many new and interesting features.

## B) Paralleltexte zur Abhandlung Gardizis über die Türken.

a) *Einleitung* (A IV, pp. 169–74).

In his introduction Kmoskó gives a brief review of the works which contain the parallel texts to those reports of Gardizī which have references to the Turks. In a few cases (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, *Abū-l-Fidā'*, *Rasīd ad-Dīn*,

<sup>101</sup> Cf. his edition of Marvazī's text, Index, s. v. *Jayhānī*.

<sup>102</sup> *BSOAS* XIII (1940), pp. 80–96.

Šukrullāh, Mirzawānd) Kmoskó gives introductions only, without texts and translations.

g), h), i), m).

In the cases of four sources (*Hudūd al-'ālam*, *Mujmil at-tawāriḫ*, *Muhammad-i-'Aufī*, *Kitāb muḥ'asār al-'ajā'ib*) Kmoskó also presents, beside the translations and explanations, the critical editions of the texts. Of these editions, had they been printed in 1928, it would have been, in the first place, Kmoskó's 'Aufī text that would have called forth considerable interest. Today, however, when we have learned to know, through Prof. Minorsky's edition, the original text of 'Aufī's source, that is, of Marwazī, Kmoskó's 'Aufī edition has become less interesting. But the discussions, with which Kmoskó comments on the text of 'Aufī, may prove very instructive even in our days.

It is known that Marquart raised certain problems, in his work on the Komans, concerning the fact that 'Aufī's text, as he asserts, has the other name *murqa* for the people of the *qun*. Although Marquart's work was known to the two illustrious scholars P. Pelliot and Barthold,<sup>103</sup> the origin of the *murqa* people was not discovered until 1937 when Prof. Minorsky, on the basis of the newly discovered Marwazī MS, stated that, with the word *murqa*, Marquart fell victim to a fatal error inasmuch as the original has *firqa* in the place of *murqa*.<sup>104</sup> Following the publication of Prof. Minorsky's finding, the question was also discussed by H. H. Schaefer.<sup>105</sup>

In this connection we must point out that already Kmoskó, on the basis of 'Aufī's text, discovered Marquart's error. Kmoskó, when he was reconstructing the Persian text of 'Aufī for his work, used six MSS (Wien, Mxt 375; Oxford, Bodl., Elliot, 169, 171/2, 173, Brit. Mus. Or. 236, Add. 16,862) and he also took into account the text of Barthold's edition. In connection with the text of Marquart he makes the following observation: «The report on the Turks, with translation and exhaustive explanations, was published by Marquart . . . Komanen, p. 40 sqq. Unfortunately his text, which is based on later MSS and mainly on the extracts of Barthold, is beset, in some places, by errors.»<sup>106</sup> The place referring to the *qun* people is also subject to this criticism. The text of this place, in Kmoskó's edition, is as follows: «وايشان فرقه اند كه قون ايشانرا مي خوانند (M I, p. 606<sub>17</sub>), in Kmoskó's translation: «A fraction of them is known by the name *qun*.»

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Pelliot: *JA* 1920: pp. 80–220, Barthold in *Wchrot und Arang*, pp. 16\*–\*51.

<sup>104</sup> *Marvazī*, p. 98.

<sup>105</sup> *ZDMG* XCVI (1942), pp. 131–2.

<sup>106</sup> *Történelmi Szemle* 1920: p. 41.

The other noted error of Marquart was that he, on the basis of Bakri's superficial *Jaihanī* abstract, developed his theory concerning the Caucasian homeland of the Magyars.<sup>167</sup> In this case too Kmoskó relies on 'Aufi's text to reject Marquart's explanation: «What makes the description of the Khazars important is the fact that it refers to the great mountains bordering on their land and the indigenous peoples of this region, the *T'ālās* and *Alwynah* (Ibn Rusta: *Lūyar*, al-Bakrī: *Uyūnah*) . . . As we know, Gardīzī does not mention these two peoples, while it is in connection with the Magyars that al-Bakrī speaks of them. In my work entitled *Gog and Magog* — which is still in MS — I stated several years ago that the sentence containing the reference to the *As* and *Uyūnah* peoples in the abstract of al-Bakrī belonged originally to the description of the Khazars in which an incoherent and defective sentence still marks the place from which the sentence was excerpted.» Prof. Minorsky too came later to a similar conclusion.<sup>168</sup>

From the *Mujmil at-tawāriḫ* Kmoskó presents the chapter on the Turks. In a discourse written in Hungarian<sup>169</sup> Kmoskó investigated in detail the list containing the titles of the Oriental kings.

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Our aim has been to present as fully as possible, even at the cost of restraining criticism, the manuscript remains of Mihály Kmoskó. Our above review, as we believe, has also shown that Kmoskó succeeded in assembling a large and valuable collection of well or less known sources which contain information about the peoples of the Steppe, and that much of the historical material accumulated in this collection may yet prove useful not only for historians but also for orientalists. The structure of his work (as regards introductions and excerpts with explanatory notes) resembles in certain respects the excellent *Материалы по истории туркмен и Туркмении I* (M.—Л. 1939) as published by the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

As to a publication of the Hungarian MSS, this could hardly be considered. But certain parts of his German work as well as his reconstructions of the texts of Gardīzī and 'Aufi might call, with more right, for an eventual publication. Kmoskó's commentaries too have many valuable parts to which we hope to accord some day a more exhaustive treatment.

<sup>167</sup> *Streifzüge*, p. 160—76.

<sup>168</sup> *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 459.

<sup>169</sup> *Magyar Nyelv* XXIII (1927), pp. 283—93.

К. Цегледи

#### МОНОГРАФИИ О СИРИЙСКИХ И МАГОМЕТАНСКИХ ИСТОЧНИКАХ СРЕДИ РУКОПИСЕЙ В НАСЛЕДСТВЕ М. КМОШКО

В архивах Венгерского Национального Музея и Академии Наук Венгрии хранятся по одной связке рукописей, которые вместе представляют собой рукописное наследство венгерского ориенталиста М. Кмошко (1876—1931).

М. Кмошко, ставший в 1922 году после И. Гольдцихера заведующим кафедрой семитической филологии в университете г. Будапешт, был известен научному миру в первую очередь как специалист по сирийской филологии. Именно эта отрасль науки привлекала уже молодого ученого, и его важнейшие труды а также и издания текстов, опубликованные в 1901—1914 гг., относятся к этой отрасли науки.

Во время первой мировой войны связи Кмошко с великими сирийскими рукописными коллекциями и издательскими центрами прервались. В это время он взялся за собиране и обработку восточных источников к венгерской истории. Зная, что венгры до завоевания страны жили в южно-росийских степях в соседстве тюркских народов и входили в тюркский племенной строй, Кмошко распространил свои исследования и на тюркские степные народы. Эта работа занимала его начиная с 1918 года вплоть до его смерти, т. е. в течение 13 лет. За это время по сравнению с предыдущим периодом, Кмошко опубликовал очень мало работ. Однако, обследование его рукописного наследства показывает, что за эти 13 лет Кмошко написал между прочим три объемистых монографии, публикация которых уже не успела состояться.

Первая его монография была написана между 1918 и 1922 годами. Она содержит сирийские источники, относящиеся к степным народам. Ее объем соответствует примерно 240 печатным страницам, язык — венгерский. В ней даны отрывки из сирийской исторической и географической литературы а также из ряда глав сирийской легенды о Александре Великом на венгерском языке с весьма ценными вводными примечаниями и детальными объяснениями. Сирийскими источниками пользовались в своих изложениях историки еще Т. Нельдеке, Й. Маркварт и другие. Систематическая обработка этих источников, однако, встречается только в рукописях Кмошко. Следовательно, издание этой монографии представляло бы важный научный интерес. Часть обсуждаемых Кмошко вопросов изложена в вышедшей в 1941 году работе Н. Пигулевской.

Другой рукописный очерк Кмошко, охватывающий примерно 740 печатных страниц, содержит отрывки на венгерском языке из работ арабских историков и географов в одинаковом размере, и к ним даны введения и обильные объяснения.

Третья рукопись написана на немецком языке. По своему объему она равна примерно 240 печатным страницам. Заглавие: «Gardizis Abhandlung über die Türkenstämme.» На основе двух рукописей Гардизи здесь даны текст с критическими замечаниями и перевод сообщений Гардизи о степных народах а также и оригинал и перевод параллельных сообщений других магометанских авторов. Примечания Кмошко к тексту имеют значение не только с точки зрения истории тюркских народов, но и весьма поучительны при изучении истории всей Восточной Европы.

1. И. Н. Винников, *Новые финикийские надписи из Киликии*: Вестник древней истории № 3. 1950, стр. 86—97.

2. И. Н. Винников, *Эпитафия Ахирама Библийского в новом освещении*: Вестник древней истории № 4. 1952, стр. 141—152.

3. И. Н. Винников, *О языке письменных памятников из Нисы (Южный Туркменистан)*: Вестник древней истории № 2, 1954, стр. 115—128.

1. In his first study Vinnikov deals with the Phoenician inscriptions of Karatepe which were discovered in 1946—1947. Already the first publications of H. Th. Bossert clearly indicated the extraordinary linguistic and historical significance of these inscriptions. Research in the next ten years has fully borne out that their importance had not been overestimated. Vinnikov also concurs in this estimate and points out that the 65 lines of the Phoenician inscriptions of Karatepe — the best preserved and largest Phoenician inscriptions extant to date — have not only extraordinarily enriched, historical information and our knowledge of the Phoenician language, but may also prove to be of decisive importance in solving the parallel inscriptions of Hittite hieroglyphs.

Vinnikov presents in his treatise the transliteration of the Phoenician inscription according to the version of the orthostates of the Northeastern gate-room which is much better preserved than that of the statue. To the transliterated text Vinnikov adjoins a full translation which is documented by a number of very valuable explanatory notes. Besides, he reviews the earlier works on the inscriptions up to 1950. (Since this date the most important works on the subject have been those published by H. Th. Bossert and A. Dupont-Sommer in the *Symbolae Hrozný IV* [1950] and in the *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung* 18qq [1951 sqq]; for recent bibliographic details see M. Л. Гельцер: Вестник Древней Истории № 4. 1955, pp. 95, 101). It must be specially noted, that at the time of writing his treatise, Vinnikov had only the work of Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (New Haven 1936), at his disposal. The important *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik* (published as No. 32 of the *Analecta Orientalia*, Roma 1951) was published a year later. There is nevertheless a great number of morphologic observations in Vinnikov's work which still retain their topical significance.

His most important observation of morphological nature concerns the use of some verbal forms in the inscription. According to him the verbal forms *yhw* (I, 3), *yrhb* (I, 4), *ytn'* (I, 9), *yrdm* (I, 20), *yšbm* (I, 20) and *yšb* (II, 18) represent the 1. P. Sing. Imperf. *Yif'il*. Friedrich (*op. cit.* p. 133, n. 1), however, regards these forms as 1. P. Sing. Perf. *Yif'il*. As the subject of the sentence is undoubtedly the *pron. pers.* 1. P. Sing. (*'nk*), Friedrich believes that this lack of congruency is the most remarkable linguistic feature of the inscriptions. He thinks that the same phenomenon can be observed in the case of the construction 3. P. Sing. Perf. + *'nk*, e. g. *bn 'nk sich baute*; if the sentence begins with this construction; otherwise the congruency is regular. Friedrich is no doubt right in rejecting the conjecture of taking the form *bn* for an *inf. abs.* But we may have doubts when he also rejects what seems to be the most obvious interpretation if we regard *bn* as the regular participle of *bn'*. — Vinnikov argues for taking the forms *yhw* etc. as 1. P. Sing. Imperf. *Yif'il* in view of certain indications that, in the Canaanite dialects, the preformative of the 1 P. Sing. Imperf. was *i-*. Thus in Hebrew: *iqtdl*, according to the Babylonian system of vocalisation, and in Punic in which (for instance in the form *yshyal* preserved by Plautus) the preformative of the 1. P. Imperf., *y-* can also be taken as *i-*. In Phoenician, states Vinnikov, *i-* became *yi-* by pre-yotation. — This interpretation is in a measure corroborated by the notable fact that simultaneously with Vinnikov yet independently of him, Johs. Pedersen (*Acta Orientalia* XX/1 [1950],

pp. 46—48) also came to a similar conclusion. Pedersen however, thinks that there exist but a few analogies in the Semitic languages which could eventually substantiate the hypothesis of a development  $i > yi$ , and it is safer to suppose, that the  $y$  of the forms  $yhw$  etc. represents an  $i$ , like in certain instances of Syriac. The development  $ya > yi > i$  is well attested in Accadian, Eastern and Western Aramaic and Mandean as well. — We can yet hardly expect to settle this question, as it being exactly the tradition of a Phoenician Preformative of the 1. P. Sing. Imperf. Yif'il that we are missing. But Vinnikov is most probably right in one detail: the forms  $yrdm$  and  $yšb$  are much easier to relate, both morphologically and semantically, to the Hebrew roots  $רד$  (Ar. ردى), resp.  $שב$  (Ar. سب) than to  $*yrdm$  and  $*yšb$  (Pedersen). It is very instructive, in this connection, that Vinnikov refers to Isaiah XIV, 2 where, in a similar context, the two verbs stand side by side, just as in the Phoenician inscription. — The clarification of these problems will also help to solve the question concerning the general linguistic characterisation of the Phoenician texts of Karatepe. According to Brockelmann (*op. cit.* p. 51) the language of the Karatepe inscriptions is «sehr gewandt und z. T. von rhythmischem Schwung». Friedrich, however, speaks of barbarisms in the same connection (*op. cit.* pp. 1—2). — Vinnikov makes a number of further comments on the text of the inscriptions. These explanations (to which no reference is made in Brockelmann's bibliographical notes, *loc. cit.*) make his work a valuable contribution to the research into the Karatepe inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

2. In his second work Vinnikov attempts the interpretation of the much discussed Ahiram inscriptions (cf. A. Mentz: *Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XXXIX/2 [1944], pp. 5—13; W. F. Albright: *JAOS* LXVII [1947] pp. 153—160). He criticises the hitherto published findings and proposes new solutions of many dubious parts of the inscriptions. His list of previous works on the subject (quoted very fully on p. 142, n. 1) needs but one essential addition: judging by his quotations, he had as yet no access to the Phoenician grammar of J. Friedrich quoted above.

In connection with the last words of the inscription on the southern side of the sarcophagus  $kšthb'lm$ , which had not yet been fully cleared up, Vinnikov now convincingly refers to the expression  $כְּשֵׁתְבִלְמַ$  in Gen. IV, 25 and to the theophoric name  $B'lt$  (CIS. 2182, 3777). The interpretation of the words  $k šth b'lm$  seems to be obvious on the basis of this parallel expression in Old Hebrew: «who (masc.) brought him into the world» (here too, just as in Arabic, 'lm has the meaning of «world»). — The first word of the inscription on the lid of the sarcophagus 'l, and also the word 'l in a later portion of the same text are doubtful. Vinnikov, following, in part, S. Ronzevalle, proves, by numerous Old Hebrew and Phoenician examples, that in both languages an occasional alternation  $l \sim n$  can be observed. On this basis the 'l is the Arabic particle 'in, and we can identify 'l with the corresponding Arabic proposition 'an. The alternation  $l \sim n$  is also known in Cypriot Phoenician and Punic. (Cf. Friedrich, *op. cit.* p. 22, § 56 where Friedrich also cites, beside the Phoenician examples, Hittite  $laman \sim$  Lat.  $nomen$  and Accadian  $lamsatu \sim$   $namsatu$ , and points out that this linguistic phenomenon can be found in all Asia Minor. It is probable, however, that in all these cases we actually deal with the dissimilation of the homorganic  $n$  and  $l$  which took place, in each case of the examples cited, in a wholly independent manner.) — Neither were we certain as to the meaning of the expressions  $w'l mlk bmlkm uskn bsknm$  in the inscription on the lid of

<sup>1</sup> There is also another treatise by Vinnikov devoted to the Karatepe inscriptions *Вновь найденные финикийские надписи: Эпиграфика Востока V* [1951], стр. 121—133, in which he gives a transliteration and translation of Col. III of the statue-inscription and registers the words and the meanings of certain words encountered for the first time in the Karatepe inscriptions.

the sarcophagus. Vinnikov refers to a place in the inscription of Azitavadda where we find the words  $w'l mlk bmlkm wrzn brznm$ . On the basis of the latter quotation he very plausibly argues that the word  $skn$  is a synonym of  $rzn$  which is also known in Old Hebrew and probably denotes a rank which would correspond to that of a vezir. — Vinnikov tries to identify the enigmatic  $tm'$  of the next expression  $tma mnt$ , on the basis of the Accadian verb  $tamū$  (a secondary verb derived from  $amū$ ) with a participle that would have the meaning 'commandant'. This would certainly fit well into the context. — The right translation of the words  $unbt brh 'l Gbl$  depends, first of all, on the interpretation of the 'l. As it can be inferred from the above argument the meaning of 'l is «from», and thus the sense of the entire sentence is quite clear: «Peace will leave Byblos». — For the last word fragment of the lid Vinnikov suggests the following reconstruction:  $lpn (?) tbl (?)$  «in the face of the whole world» (cf. Isaiah XIV 21:  $לפני כל ארץ$ ). — As regards morphological problems Vinnikov emphasises two features of the Old Phoenician verb both of which have an affinity with Arabic rather than with Old Hebrew: in the first, the third radical of the verb 'ly consistently appears in writing, that is, it does not have the rôle of the *mater lectionis* (cf. Friedrich, *op. cit.* p. 78, § 176); and, secondly, the appearance of the forms  $ifta'al$  in the inscription, which correspond to the VIIIth stem of the Arabic (cf. Friedrich, *op. cit.* p. 64, § 150). It is also noteworthy that the words  $ka'$  («throne») and  $htr$  («sceptre») are of feminine gender in Old Phoenician (cf. Friedrich, *op. cit.* p. 140, § 303) unlike to Hebrew and similarly to Accadian. It is especially important from the morphological viewpoint that the suffixed form of the *pron. pers.* 3. P. masc. in the Ahiram inscription is  $-h$  in contrast to the  $-u$ , resp.  $-u$  of all later Byblos inscriptions (cf. Friedrich, *op. cit.* p. 46, § 112). — The knowledge of Old Phoenician vocabulary is also furthered by the valuable data which are furnished by the Ahiram inscription. Vinnikov registers the words which first occur here or have some specific meanings only here. — His last conclusion is that there are characteristic differences which definitely separate Old Phoenician from Old Hebrew (For another assessment of these differences see Brockelmann's observations in *Handbuch der Orientalistik* III/1, pp. 56—57; Friedrich, *op. cit.* pp. VI—VII). In his opinion the linguistic and epigraphic characteristics of the inscription justify the inference that the inscriptions of Ahiram's sarcophagus are separated by centuries from all other Byblos inscriptions. Thus Vinnikov proposes the XIIIth century before our era as the date of the Ahiram inscription and also emphasises its significance from the viewpoint of the history of writing.

3. Between 1948 and 1952 the Complex Expedition Sent to Southern Turkmenistan under the leadership of M. E. Maason found a great number of pottery fragments with inscriptions in the surroundings of Old and New Nisa, on the territory of the ancient Parthian empire. These inscriptions are the first written relics found on territory belonging to the one-time Parthia proper, and their significance is enhanced by the fact that some of them are very well preserved and their inscriptions can be accurately dated. Only a number of them have been so far published (cf. И. М. Дьяконов, М. М. Дьяконов, В. А. Лившиц, М. Е. Массон, *Налоговые парфянские документы II века до н. э. из Нисы: Материалы ЮТАКЭ*, вып. 2 [1951]; И. М. Дьяконов, М. М. Дьяконов, В. А. Лившиц: *Вестник древней истории* № 4. 1953). and they have created great sensation in the international circle of experts.

The third treatise of Vinnikov deals with the interpretation of one of the published and seven of the as yet unpublished fragments. His opinion concerning the published inscriptions considerably differs from that of former students. It would be as yet too early to take side in the debate as only a fraction of the inscriptions has so far been published. Yet we believe that Vinnikov's article has some very noteworthy findings as regards some important details of the problems under discussion.

The first lines of many inscriptions on the fragments begin with the so far untranslatable words *bḥbl'*. Vinnikov convincingly argues that we have here the word *בַּחֲבֵל* «amphora», «wine-cask» — well known in several Aramaic languages (*b-ḥbl'*: «In this wine-cask»). The second *b* of the word, he states, changed, owing to its post-vocalic position, to a spirant, thus it can also be read as *w* (cf. S. Telegdi: *Journ. Asiat.* 1935, p. 213). The establishment of the meaning of the first word clears up almost the whole first line of fragment No. VII (1949): *bḥbl' znh mn krm' 'bzry* «In this cask of wine, from the vineyard 'bzry». There is an obvious lack of congruency in the construction *bḥbl' znh*, but Vinnikov points out that similar phenomena can also be observed in some other Aramaic texts. The word 'bzry is apparently not of Semitic origin. Vinnikov suggests Parthian origin (*avāz* > *abāz* «back» + *bar* «wall» + *-y*: «which is beyond the wall of the town»).

The second line (*mn ḥm X IIII IIII*) is in a very fragmentary condition. Vinnikov proposes a very ingenious and convincing explanation which is based on examples taken from other Aramaic inscriptions: the word *ḥm* is an abbreviation of *ḥmr* «wine». His further remarks on the numerals at the end of the second and third lines (units, decimals, centesimals) and, in general, on the numbers in Aramaic inscriptions seem also to carry conviction. His observations also enable him to correct a numeral of the Awroman parchments. (III, 3, 8: 54 according to H. S. Nyberg; 64 *recue*). He cogently explains that the last line in the numerals is not a dividing line. — The full reconstruction of the missing part in the second line is not possible. The meaning of the legible words is: «From . . . wine 19 (measure)».

The text of the third line is complete (*hn'lt l' lnt C XX XX XX X IIII*) and its interpretation by Vinnikov is apparently right: «From the vintage of the year 174». Yet the construction of the word *hn'lt* (regular *Haf'el* from the root 'alal) is somewhat unusual, either connected with *lnt* or taken for an *inf. abs.* with the archaic *-at* ending of the feminine gender.

Also unusual is the construction *hyty* (*Haf'el* from the verb 'ata), which is without any complement, at the beginning of the fourth line (*hyty mhrdik mdwbr*; Vinnikov does not note this somewhat deficient construction). Despite this the meaning of the line is quite clear: «Handed in . . . Mhrdatak cup-bearer».

Inscriptions with similar texts can also be found on the rest of the new fragments, except that they have other Iranian proper names and denote various contents in the casks. So, for instance, the inscription of fragment NI, 27 speaks of wine-vinegar. However, the Aramaic form of the word for vinegar, as Vinnikov also points out, is faultily *ḥlh* instead of what one would expect, *hl'*.

We believe Vinnikov is right when he maintains that the inscriptions served as markings on the wine casks kept in the royal wine-vault. Neither can there be any doubts that the dates in the inscriptions refer to the first century before our era. It is more difficult to decide whether these Aramaic inscriptions constitute coherent Aramaic texts or Aramaic ideograms. The first interpreters held the latter view, while Vinnikov regards the inscriptions as coherent Aramaic texts written by Aramaic scribes who had become residents in Nisa. We venture, with reservations, the opinion that the texts are undoubtedly Aramaic texts, but the minor linguistic uncertainties they exhibit may also prove that the inscriptions were made by Iranian scribes who used these largely stereotyped Aramaic phrases as an artificial language.

K. CZEGLÉDY

#### CARL BROCKELMANN (1868—1956)

Nach einem langen, arbeitsamen und harmonischen Gelehrtenleben, so reich an Bemühungen und Erfolgen, verschied am 6. Mai 1956 in seinem 88sten Lebensjahre Carl Brockelmann. Mit ihm ist einer der hervorragendsten Vertreter der deutschen und damit der internationalen Sprachwissenschaft und Islamologie dahingegangen. Die Kunde seines Todes hat nicht nur in seiner engeren Heimat, in Deutschland, sondern auch in allen anderen Ländern der Welt, in denen die verschiedenen Zweige der Semitistik, die Islamologie und die Turkologie gepflegt werden, aufrichtige und tiefe Anteilnahme erweckt.

C. Brockelmann wurde am 17. September 1868 in Rostock geboren. Schon als Gymnasiast legte er in der Erlernung fremder Sprachen ein außergewöhnliches Talent an den Tag. Das blieb auch später einer der Züge, die für Brockelmann am meisten charakteristisch waren: seine sprachlichen Kenntnisse erfaßten ein ungeheuer großes Gebiet. Brockelmann war einer der hervorragendsten Kenner nicht nur von sämtlichen semitischen Sprachen, sondern auch der alten türkischen Schriftsprachen, doch befaßte er sich bis zu seinem Tode auch mit Armenisch. Hierzu kam noch während seiner Studienzeit — bezeichnend für gar manche große Orientalisten — das gründliche Studium der klassischen Sprachen.

Im Laufe seiner Studien — denen er in Rostock, Breslau und Straßburg oblag — wirkten auf ihn so hervorragende Philologen wie TH. NÖLDEKE, der «Meister der Meister», der beinahe in allen Zweigen der Semitistik für eine ganze Generation Bahnbrechendes geleistet hat, und H. HÜBSCHMANN, der auf dem Gebiete der sich immer mehr entfaltenden Armenistik zu jener Zeit die Ausarbeitung einer dem Stand der indoeuropäischen Forschungen entsprechenden Synthese vorbereitete. Nach der Habilitation bei Nöldeke (1893), machte sich auch Brockelmann an die Verwirklichung großangelegter Pläne: sein erstes Vorhaben — die Zusammenstellung eines modernen syrischen Wörterbuchs — bedeutete auch nach dem Thesaurus und anderen lexikographischen Arbeiten für einen jungen Forscher eine immense Aufgabe. Seine anderen zwei Pläne waren aber geradezu ein monumentales Unterfangen: er setzte sich die Verfassung eines ersten vergleichenden Grundrisses der semitischen Sprachen zum Ziel, ferner die erste große Bestandaufnahme der gesamten Literatur in arabischer Sprache.

Die erste Aufgabe löste Brockelmann in überraschend kurzer Zeit. Schon im Jahre 1895 ist sein «Lexicon Syriacum» erschienen (Berlin-Edinburgh), dessen zweite Ausgabe (Halle 1928) noch formvollendeter ausfiel und auch seither ein unentbehrliches Hilfsmittel aller syrischen Studien bildet.

Die Lösung der zweiten Aufgabe erschien aber damals noch beinahe unmöglich. Die auf sprachgeschichtlicher Grundlage durchgeführten Forschungen NÖLDEKES und anderer erbrachten zwar damals schon reichliche Früchte auf zahlreichen Gebieten der

Semitistik. Der große Streit um die grundsätzlichen Fragen der Sprachwissenschaft wurde jedoch schon lange nicht mehr auf dem Gebiete der semitischen Philologie ausgeübt. Die wissenschaftliche Begründung der vergleichenden Methode wurde von finnisch-ugrischen Sprachforschern (SAJNOVIC und GYARMATI) sowie von Germanisten (BOPP, RASK und GRAMM) besorgt. Auch der Kampf der Junggrammatiker um die Vervollkommenung der sprachhistorischen Methode spielte sich nicht auf dem Gebiete der Semitistik ab. Die Verfassung des «Grundrisses» bedeutete also damals noch die Übertragung der neuen, vervollkommenen sprachwissenschaftlichen Prinzipien auf das riesige Material der semitischen Sprachen und hatte nur zum Teil den Charakter eines zusammenfassenden Werkes. Vielleicht noch größere Schwierigkeiten bereitete die Übersicht der gedruckten oder handschriftlich erhaltenen Literatur in arabischer Sprache, handelte es sich doch um Tausende und aber Tausende von Autoren, über die man oft kaum etwas ermitteln konnte, und ihre Werke, deren es ja noch mehr gab. Nichts ist aufschlußreicher über den wissenschaftlichen und menschlichen Charakter Brockelmanns als die Erkenntnis, daß die Zeit zur Verwirklichung dieser beiden Aufgaben herangereift war und der Entschluß, mit dem sich Brockelmann gleich bei Beginn seiner Laufbahn der Vollbringung dieser Aufgaben gewidmet hatte. Heute, wo wir mit Rührung der großen wissenschaftlichen Verdienste Brockelmanns gedenken, liegt uns schon klar vor Augen, daß ihn zur Vollführung dieser Aufgaben nicht nur seine bewundernswerten Fähigkeiten als Systematiker, sein Überblick und sein unermüdlicher Fleiß befähigte, sondern sein ethisch-edler Charakter, der dem einmal vorgesteckten Ziel mit unbeirrbarer Folgerichtigkeit zustrebte.

Das erwies sich vor allem zur Zeit der Veröffentlichung des ersten Teiles seiner «Geschichte der arabischen Literatur» (Weimar 1898), als nicht nur die oberflächlichen Kritiker, sondern zum Teil auch die hervorragendsten Fachleute der Zeit Forderungen an Brockelmanns Werk stellten, die zu Befriedigen der Verfasser überhaupt nicht vorhatte. Ein Teil seiner Kritiker fand nicht einmal das Wort des Properz »in magnis et voluisse sat est«, destoweniger glaubte sie daran, daß Brockelmann das einmal begonnene große Werk ein langes Menschenalter hindurch unverzagt weiterführen und schließlich so beenden werde, daß dieses mächtige Werk in seiner zweiten Ausgabe (Leiden 1943—1949) samt den Supplementen (Leiden 1937—1942) noch viele Jahrzehnte hindurch ein unentbehrliches Hilfsmittel aller, die arabische Literaturgeschichte betreffenden Forschungen bilden wird. Brockelmann fühlte es selbst, daß die große Bestandaufnahme der arabischen Literatur nicht alle gehörig werden einschätzen können und auch daß sein Werk notwendigerweise viele Mängel aufweisen wird. Anlässlich der Übermittlung des Rezensionsexemplars des ersten Teiles an Ignaz Goldziher schrieb er dem großen ungarischen Kenner der arabischen Literatur folgendes: <sup>1</sup> »Vollständigkeit habe ich weder für die Hdss., noch für den Druck erstrebt, mein Buch soll weder eine Bibliographie, noch ein Catalogus catalogorum ersetzen, doch habe ich schon jetzt eine stattliche Liste von Nachträgen für die 1. Hälfte beisammen.« Die Konsequenz, mit der Brockelmann an seinem Werk weitergearbeitet hat und es dadurch, daß er ihm eine immer vollständigere Form verlieh, zum ersten, monumentalen und systematischen Überblick des gesamten arabischen Schrifttums entwickelte, verdient in der Tat alle Achtung.

Als der 2. Band der «Geschichte der arabischen Literatur» herauskam (Weimar 1902), war Brockelmann schon außerordentlicher Professor an der Universität Breslau. Von dort kam er als Ordinarius nach Königsberg (1902), dann nach Halle (1910). Während seines Wirkens in Halle erschien der zweite Band seines zweiten Hauptwerkes «Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen» (Berlin 1913; Bd 1 ebd. 1908).

<sup>1</sup> Briefkarte Brockelmanns an Goldziher vom 28. 11. 1897, im Goldziher-Nachlaß (Ungarische Akad. d. Wiss.).

Heute ist es schon zweifellos, daß Brockelmann auch diese Aufgabe restlos gelöst hat: der «Grundriß» ist die klassische vergleichende Grammatik jener Epoche der semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, die den phonologischen und funktionalistischen Forschungen vorausging. Dieser Grammatik ein Werk von ähnlicher Bedeutung zur Seite zu stellen, wird — unter Berücksichtigung des inzwischen außerordentlich ungewachsenen sprachlichen Materials und der Ergebnisse der phonologischen, funktionalistischen und auf gesellschaftlicher Grundlage stehenden linguistischen Forschungen — eine genau so gewaltige Aufgabe sein, wie die Brockelmanns.

Während seiner Tätigkeit in Halle hat sich Brockelmann auch mit turkologischen Fragen beschäftigt. Auf dieses Gebiet wurde seine Aufmerksamkeit besonders durch das berühmte türkisch—arabische Wörterbuch Kāşgaris gelenkt, das in den Jahren 1917—1919 in Konstantinopel aus der Presse kam. Das Studium dieses Werkes endete für Brockelmann damit, daß er sich nun zwei große Aufgaben zum Ziel setzte: einerseits die Zerschließung des türksprachlichen Materials Kāşgaris für die Turkologie mittels alphabetischer Aufarbeitung des Stoffes, andererseits die eingehende Charakterisierung der von Kāşgarī aufgezeichneten Sprachstufe im Rahmen eines schon «seit langem geplanten» Werkes, der «Geschichte der türkischen Schriftsprachen». Seinen Plan kündigte er in einem der führenden Organe der Turkologie von damals, in der Keleti Szemle [Revue Orientale, Budapest] an. Ähnlich wie seine bisherigen großen Pläne, führte Brockelmann auch diese mit der ihm eigenen Großzügigkeit durch. Nach einigen wertvollen kleineren Studien, die er in der Keleti Szemle, später in der Fortsetzung dieser Zeitschrift, im Körösi Csoma Archivum und in der Asia Major veröffentlichte, gab er 1928 als Band I der Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica die deutsche Bearbeitung des Divān von Kāşgarī heraus. Brockelmanns Urteilskraft hat sich auch diesmal bewährt: der außergewöhnliche Wert des alphabetisch angeordneten und mit deutscher Übersetzung versehenen lexikalischen Materials wurde vom ganzen Lager der Turkologen, denen sich die Konstantinopler Ausgabe Kāşgaris aus sprachlichen Gründen beinahe ganz unzugänglich erwies, anerkannt. Im Text des Aufnahmeantrags, auf Grund dessen Brockelmann zum Mitglied der Ungarischen Akademie gewählt wurde, heißt es von seinem «Mitteltürkischen Wortschatz»: «... die wichtigste Publikation auf dem Gebiete der türkischen Lexikographie seit der Veröffentlichung von Radloffs Wörterbuch».

Inzwischen trug Brockelmann 1922 eine kurze Zeit an der Berliner Universität vor, sodann wurde er 1923 Professor an der Universität Breslau, wo er bis zu seiner Emeritierung im J. 1935 tätig war. Daraufhin übersiedelte er nach Halle; dort arbeitete er mit unverminderter Energie an der Verwirklichung seiner großen Projekte. Außer der Ergänzungsbände und der zweiten Ausgabe der Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur verfaßte Brockelmann auch ein wichtiges historisches Werk, die «Geschichte der islamischen Völker und Staaten» (München u. Berlin 1939), eine Arbeit, die schon seit Jahrzehnten von keinem Fachmann unternommen wurde. Bezeichnend für die Verwendbarkeit des Buches ist, daß man es bisher schon auf fünf Sprachen übersetzt hat.

Eine bewunderungswürdige Goistesfrische bezeugte Brockelmann, als er sich in Halle, in seinen letzten Lebensjahren der Untersuchung ugaritischer<sup>2</sup> und abessinischer<sup>3</sup> Fragen widmete, und nach den Grundsätzen der modernen Sprachwissenschaft eine Syntax des Hebräischen zusammenstellte, deren Veröffentlichung der Verfasser nicht mehr erleben konnte.

<sup>2</sup> Handbuch der Orientalistik, ed. B. SPULER, III/1: Semitistik (Leiden—Köln 1953), SS. 40—58.

<sup>3</sup> Abessinische Studien: Berichte über die Verhandl. d. Sächs. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Kl. 97 Bd. 4 (Berlin 1950).

1947 nahm der unermüdete Brockelmann seine akademische Lehrtätigkeit wieder auf. In seinen Vorträgen befasste er sich nunmehr vor allen Dingen mit Fragen der Turkologie. Zur Verwirklichung seines zweiten großen turkologischen Planes ist es ebenfalls jetzt gekommen: in den Jahren 1951—1954 publizierte er unter dem Titel «Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Literatursprachen Mittelasien» (Leiden), die erste methodisch-linguistische Bearbeitung der mohammedanischen Literatursprachen Innerasiens. Brockelmann verstand auch diese, durch Abgrenzungsschwierigkeiten des Themas und den Mangel an Vorarbeiten verwickelte Aufgabe meisterhaft zu lösen, was auch aus den Rezensionen befugter Fachleute klar hervorgeht («eine höchst bedeutungsvolle wissenschaftliche Leistung, die wir bei der Behandlung von Problemen der türkischen Lautgeschichte ständig zu Rate ziehen werden»: J. NÉMETH, OLZ. 1953, N° Sp. 269: über die 1. Lieferung von Brockelmans Werk; vgl. ders., OLZ. 1956, N° 9/10, Sp. 444—446). Die wenigen Jahre, die seit dem Erscheinen der »Osttürkischen Grammatik« verfließen sind, zeigen, daß auch dieses Werk — wie seinerzeit auch der »Mitteltürkische Wortschatz« — auf die gesamte turkologische Forschung befruchtend wirkt.

Unter Brockelmans Werken kommt auch jenen eine nicht geringe Bedeutung zu, die für Zwecke des akademischen Unterrichtes bestimmt wurden. Die in jeder Hinsicht vielfach umgearbeitete Neuausgabe der arabischen Grammatik Socins (*Porta Linguarum Orientalium*, jetzt 13. Aufl.) und die in derselben Reihe herausgegebene syrische Grammatik Brockelmans (7. Aufl. 1955) werden in aller Welt als Lehrbuch benützt.<sup>4</sup>

Brockelmann erhielt als Anerkennung für seine wissenschaftlichen Verdienste mehrmals in- und ausländische Auszeichnungen. Im Jahre 1951 wurde ihm der Nationalpreis I. Klasse der DDR zugesprochen. Zum korrespondierenden Mitglied der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften wurde Brockelmann, wie oben schon erwähnt, am 15. 5. 1935 gewählt.

Das Andenken Carl Brockelmans bewahren auch die ungarischen Orientalisten wie das eines Gelehrten, der im Interesse seiner großen Pläne — um die Worte von Johann Fück zu gebrauchen — «all sein Tun unter das Gesetz strengster Pflichterfüllung stellte».

K. Czeglédy

<sup>4</sup> Das Verzeichnis von zahllosen anderen Werken, Aufsätzen, Besprechungen, Beiträgen und Textausgaben Brockelmans sind bis zum Jahre 1938 in der Liste von O. SPREISS enthalten (Verzeichnis der Schriften von Carl Brockelmann [Leipzig 1938]). Über die jüngeren wird die Arbeit Bescheid geben, die Prof. J. FÜCK nach Brockelmans Tode in Halle zusammenstellte.

## THE SYRIAC LEGEND CONCERNING ALEXANDER THE GREAT

By

K. CZEGLÉDY

In the course of the last years important new sources<sup>1</sup> have been uncovered and a series of valuable studies in philology and in the history of literature<sup>2</sup> have been published to further our knowledge of the Alexander-Romance. The new data have confirmed, on nearly all important points, the previous findings. Just as previously, even today we reconstruct the origin of the Romance as follows: some author of the late Hellenistic age, in the 3rd century A. D.,<sup>3</sup> took the narratives which belonged to the line of the Cleitarchus tradition and had, even in their original form, strongly legendary traits, and fused

<sup>1</sup> Hamburg Papyrus 129 (*Cf. Griechische Papyri der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek II* (1954), pp. 51—74 and the No. 1285 Papyrus of the *Società Italiana (Papiri della Soc. It. XII/2*, Firenze 1951, published by D. Pieraccioni).

<sup>2</sup> Of these particularly important are the work of R. Merkelbach: *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans: Zelemata*, Heft 9 (München 1954) and the very substantial monograph of G. Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* (Cambridge 1950). This work is a monument to the extraordinary ability of the author who had been engaged in the study of the Eastern, especially Persian variants of the Alexander-Romance when death, at the early age of 25, interrupted his work. Parts of his project had been carried out previously by E. Bertel's in his work *Роман об Александре* (Moscow 1948).

<sup>3</sup> It has been long noted that Pseudo-Callisthenes, at one place of his text (I, 13, 4) quotes Favorinus (2nd century, A. D.). So this is the *post quem* of the work's origin. For the *ante quem* it is, first of all, the translation of the Romance by Iulius Valerius (270—330) that must be considered (*Cf. Merkelbach, op. cit.*, p. 59). An observation by J. Markwart might probably help us to a more accurate conjecture (*Hippolytus Werke IV. Die Chronik*, ed. A. Bauer [R. Helm]—J. Markwart: *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, p. 411). Markwart notes that, among the chronological extracts in the *Anonymous Armenian Chronicle of 686—687*, we find a fragment containing a report on the flight of Nektanebo. But the same motif of the Alexander-Romance can also be found in the *Barbarus Scaligeri* (ed. Frick, 266—268): *caput suum radens et mutans vestimenta sua alio specie fugit*. In the Armenian text reference is made, as to a source, to the *Chronicle of Iulius Africanus* (after 160—240). Markwart takes this as an indication that Iulius Africanus was already familiar with this motif of the Alexander-Romance. He promises in one of his notes that he will give later a detailed treatment to this question. His death, however, in 1931, prevented him from making good his promise, and this is all the more lamentable since the quotation in the Armenian chronicle actually betrays considerable affinity to the wording of the Romance. Thus, in this case, the

these stories with the letters (the so-called "Epistolary Romance") attributed to Alexander the Great and his contemporaries in a compilation which hardly deserves the name of a romance. In merging<sup>4</sup> the two sources, the author proved remarkably clumsy, and what little he added from his own to the borrowed material is of a very inferior literary quality.

Recent research<sup>5</sup> and former investigations agree in the answer given to the question how this rather feeble composition of so little historiographical and artistic value could become one of the best read books of the Middle Ages. Even in the eyes of his contemporaries, Alexander the Great was a superhuman being whose figure was surrounded, already in the Hellenistic age, by pseudo-historical vaticinations; he invaded the Old Testament canon, the apocalyptic chapters of the Book of Daniel, and, on the basis of the Judaeo-Christian canon and legends, even the Koran (the 18th *sura*). Thus, for the Christian and Mohammedan world of the Middle Ages, Alexander the Great was not only a great conqueror and a figure of great romantic interest, but he was also a Biblical personality, and it was this last aspect of his fame that made the historical, moralistic or theological and, above all, apocalyptic<sup>6</sup> writings about him so interesting both to the Christian and the Mohammedan world.

1. The very nature of the Greek Alexander-Romance was to invite Jewish and Christian adapters. In the Romance Alexander is portrayed as reaching the uttermost ends of the world.<sup>7</sup> It is in the Northern ends of the world (Ezechiel XXXIX : 2 : מִרְכַּתִּי צִפְיָן ; LXX : ἐπ' ἑσχάτου τοῦ βορρᾶ ;

reference to the Nektanebo incident as to a wandering motif (O. Weinreich, *Der Trug des Nektanebos*. Berlin—Leipzig 1911) would be hardly warranted, neither is it justified in this connection to emphasize that the story about Nektanebo was an ancient Egyptian lore with which the Egyptian subjugated by the Greeks comforted themselves by making Alexander the Great the son of Ammon. — As to the Egyptian origin of some motifs cf. also the remarks of F. Pfister who, in his study entitled *Studien zum Alexanderroman* (*Würzburger Jahrbücher*, 1946/1, pp. 29—86) made the attempt to outline a popular Egyptian romance of Hellenistic character which, in his opinion, might have been the predecessor of the narrative of Pseudo-Callisthenes.

<sup>4</sup> Merkelbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 188.

<sup>5</sup> F. Pfister: *Alexander der Grosse in den Offenbarungen der Griechen, Juden, Mohammedaner und Christen*. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft 3 (Berlin 1956).

<sup>6</sup> Recently Cary (*op. cit.*, pp. 133, 273—274) tried to prove, as against Pfister's opinion, that the Alexander conception of the Middle Ages was not at all influenced by the apocalyptic Alexander narratives of certain popular books (the Apocalypse of Gog and Magog; the story about the inclusion of the ten nations). This contention, however, goes perhaps too far in stressing the Alexander conception of the historiographers, theologians, moralists and writers of the *exempla* at the expense of the immensely popular Alexander portrayals of the apocalyptic writings.

<sup>7</sup> The Books of Maccabees (I, 1, 3 : Καὶ διήλθεν ἕως ἄκρων τῆς γῆς) also know of this.

Vulg.: *de lateribus Aquilonis*) that, according to the Old Testament prophecy (Ezechiel XXXVIII and XXXIX) the horse-riding people of Gog and Magog dwell. Since the figure of the people of Gog and Magog had also been taken over into the Apocalypse of the New Testament (XX : 7—10), Christian adapters were in the position to add further important motifs to the romance. Chapter XX of the Apocalypse prophesies that, after the first resurrection, Satan will deceive the nations of the earth that live in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle: "the number of whom is as the sand of the sea". They go up on the breadth of the earth, and compass the camp of the saints about and the beloved city, but fire from God out of heaven will devour them. The Old and New Testament references to Gog and Magog gave a new apocalyptic hue to the romance, thereby radically changing its literary character.

It is the Syriac Legend Concerning Alexander the Great which first presents to us, in an elaborated form, this fusion of the Alexander narrative with the apocalyptic motifs of the Bible. But we are wholly in the dark as to whether this fusion had not possibly taken place much earlier, probably centuries before the composition of the Syriac legend. It is this problem as well as the other unsolved questions concerning the origin of the Syriac legend that we wish to discuss here.

2. Some of the scholars think that Josephus, the Jewish writer of the 1st century A. D. was the author who first united the two elements in the Alexander-Romance. They note that Josephus mentions already the pass which Alexander the Great closed with iron gates (*ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος πύλαις σιδηραῖς κλειστὴν ἐποίησε* Bell. Iud. VII, 7, 4). He also refers to the Scythians (*Ant. I, 6, 1*) whom he regards as the descendants of Magog: *Μαγῶγος δὲ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Μαγῶγος ὀνομασθέντας ᾤκισε, Σκύθας δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῶν προσαγορευομένους*. The short references of Josephus contain two elements which probably take us back to the age of Palestinian or Alexandrian Hellenistic Judaism and thus to times preceding the age of Josephus. The first is the idea that the builder of the gates, that were so important from the viewpoint of the civilised world, was Alexander the Great. In connection with this assumption we may point out that also in the other Hellenistic legends, thus in those concerning Alexander's visit to Jerusalem,<sup>8</sup> the enfranchisement of the Jews, the acceptance of the Jewish religion<sup>9</sup> and the transfer of the bones of Jeremiah the prophet,<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Pfister, *op. cit.*, p. 25—26.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Pfister, *Eine jüdische Gründungsgeschichte Alexanders, mit einem Anhang über Alexanders Besuch in Jerusalem: Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Ak. 1914/11*. The author of the *Roman Attila-Legend* also made use later of certain motifs of the alleged visit of Alexander to Jerusalem, as described by Josephus.

<sup>10</sup> Cary, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 132.



Alexander is portrayed very favourably. F. Kampers, in a work<sup>11</sup> which cannot be regarded as altogether obsolete, collected a series of data to prove that the figure of Alexander the Great was surrounded, in the world of Hellenistic Judaism, by an aura of Messianic expectations. Even if Kampers' proofs are inconclusive,<sup>12</sup> there can be no doubt that Judaism, in a sense, claimed the great founder of the Hellenistic *οίκουμένη* as its own, and, at least in certain periods, it was inclined to regard Alexander as a super-historic figure, not unlike Kyros, who also had his rôle in the history of salvation.<sup>13</sup>

The other element of union between the Alexander narrative and the apocalypse of Gog and Magog might be found in the motif of the "iron gate". At the time of Josephus, both the prophecy of Ezechiel concerning Gog and Magog and — as the above-quoted passage from the New Testament Apocalypse indicates — the prediction of the release of Gog and Magog were well known in the East. Release or loosening, however, presupposes a previous binding or confinement. Thus Josephus may have taken this motif from the no longer extant source of an apocalyptic *haggada* of the ancient East.<sup>14</sup> In this case, although the above-quoted two references to the iron gates and to the Scythian descendants of Magog are apparently unrelated, we could advance to the further assumption, that already in the mind of Josephus, the apocalyptic people confined by Alexander the Great were identical with the Scythians. The geographical and historical circumstances of the events also seem to confirm this hypothesis. When Josephus composed his works, a new and great „Scythian" empire, that of the Alans, north to the Caucasus, had come

<sup>11</sup> *Alexander der Grosse und die Idee des Weltimperiums in Prophetie und Sage: Studien und Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte I/3*, Freiburg i. B. 1901.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. note 20, below.

<sup>13</sup> This is not invalidated by the assertion in the above mentioned introductory lines of the Books of Maccabees that Alexander the Great was also the predecessor of the Syrian *diadochi* of whom later Antiochus Epiphanes appeared to the Jews as the incarnation of the early ideas of the Anti-Christ. Similar thoughts were voiced by some of the medieval authors whose conceptions were shaped, first of all, by Orosius' words of condemnation. These authors (including Rhabanus Maurus who followed Sulpicius Severus), even if amazed, in many respects, by the deeds of Alexander, were not willing to see more in him than an unconscious instrument in God's hand, and even that only on the authority of Daniel's prophecy (cf. Cary, *op. cit.*, pp. 17; 141—142).

All the three medieval portrayals of Alexander, as the adventurous champion of the *kalokagathia* in the *gesta*, as the generally repellent portrayal by the theologians which was hardly mitigated by their reluctant appreciation, and as the quasi-Messianic figure of the apocalyptic books, equally lacked the spirit of objective historiography. The first radical change in this only came when the attention of the humanists shifted to the Alexander biography of Arrhianus — a book which, also from the viewpoint of scientific historiography, was of great value.

<sup>14</sup> This was the opinion of B. Heller (*Jewish Studies in Memory of George A. Kohut*. New York 1935, p. 351).

into being.<sup>15</sup> It is exactly in connection with the great invasion of the Alans, in 72 A. D., that Josephus, in the above-quoted passage, refers to the gates of Alexander the Great. Although the wording of the other relevant sources may leave us in doubt as to which of the Caucasian passes served as the entrance of the invasion,<sup>16</sup> the mention of the "Scythian" Alans makes it certain that the said gates of Alexander the Great were thought of as being somewhere in the Caucasus.

Yet, although the Jewish background could also satisfactorily explain these elements in Josephus' reports, we have every reason to seek their origin in the Roman environment of Josephus, rather than somewhere in the East. We must, first of all, take into account that, after the exploratory campaign of Corbulo, many Roman contemporaries of Josephus believed that the Caspian Gates, through which once Alexander the Great passed, in the region of Rhagae (near Teheran of our time), were identical with the narrow Dariel Pass in the middle of the Caucasus mountains. Plinius (*Hist. nat.* VI, 40) criticised for this assumption the cartographers of the exploratory campaign and the other representatives of this erroneous opinion, but his protest could not alter the fact that the Iron Gates of the ancient Alexander narratives had been transferred, already in the imagination of the Roman contemporaries of Josephus, into the Caucasus mountains. Yet not only the identification of the builder of the gates with Alexander but also the gate motif itself is very probably of Roman origin. The explorers, as we can infer from the words of Plinius (*Hist. nat.* VI, 30), found fortifications near the Caucasian pass.<sup>17</sup> These were built to close the pass: *ad arcendas transitu generes innumeras*. In the description of the fortifications certain elements (*ubi fores obditaе ferratis trabibus*) show a verbatim agreement with the wording of Josephus (*πόλαις σιδηραῖς κλειστήν ἐποίησε*). Thus we have evidence that shows the existence in Rome, at the time of Josephus, of the idea of Alexander's Caucasian gates. Here too, of course, Alexander appears as the genius of the Hellenistic *οίκουμένη*: his new rôle as the defender against the dangers coming from the Caucasus could have developed, after the exploratory campaign of Corbulo and the great invasions of the Alans, in a natural manner.

As to the archaic usage of the word "Scythian", we cannot tell with certainty what Greek or Latin source influenced Josephus when he gave this

<sup>15</sup> As to the empire of the Alans and their invasion in 72 A. D., see *Studia Antiqua* II (1955) pp. 128—131, where I discuss in detail the question concerning the Caucasian passes. The Latin translation of Josephus' work made by Hegesippus and later some of the versions of Yosippôn, also report on the invasion of the Alans and the gates of Alexander the Great (cf. also L. Wallach: *Jewish Quarterly Review* XXXVII [1947]; pp. 407—422).

<sup>16</sup> *Studia Antiqua* II, p. 130, note.

<sup>17</sup> The existence of the fortifications is attested already by Strabon (XI, 500).

name to the Alans. At any rate, we must take into account the possibility that it was the report of Herodotus on the Scythians that Josephus had in mind — the only report of Herodotus with Palestinian bearings (I, 103—106) — in which reference is made to a great invasion of the Scythians which progressed beyond Palestine, to the south, also involving Ethiopia and Egypt, and lasted twenty years.<sup>18</sup> Yet even if this is only a hypothesis, we may state definitely what is fundamentally important in appraising the above passage of Josephus, namely, that his words, as they are extant for us, contain no apocalyptic elements. This is, however, not at all surprising if we consider that it is not only in the Book of Ezechiel but also in the genealogy of the Genesis (X, 2) that the peoples of Gog and Magog are mentioned, and it is in the latter context and not in connection with the apocalyptic passage in Ezechiel that Josephus speaks of the Scythians as the descendants of Magog.<sup>19</sup>

In summing up we may state that certain elements of the *Legend Concerning Alexander the Great*, (the idea of the Caucasian Gates, the Scythians as the descendants of Magog) which later acquired an apocalyptic colouring, appear, in the reports of Josephus, as having been prompted by his Roman environment. The identification of the Scythians with the offspring of Magog is but the first example, in his writing, of the tendency — so well documented in the Jewish and Christian literature of the late Hellenistic age — to include, in the Biblical genealogy, those nations of the classic world which are not mentioned in the Genesis. In the references of Josephus to Alexander the Great there is no trace of the Gog and Magog apocalypse of Ezechiel. This is easily explained by the historical and geographical background of the events: even their great invasion of 72 could not bring the Alans near Palestine, and they withdrew before anything could have happened that might have prompted

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Aarre Lauha: *Der Norden und die Nordvölker im Alten Testament: Annalen Acad. Sc. Fennicae*. Ser. B. Tom XLIX (Helsinki, 1944), p. 8. — Also in other passages Josephus quotes Herodotus. Cf. G. Hölscher, *Pauly-Wiss. RE*. IX, Sp. 1954. — As to the recent interpretation of the Book of Ezechiel, see C. Kuhl, *Zum Stand der Ezechiel-Forschung: Theol. Rundschau NF*. XXIV (1957), pp. 1—53; especially pp. 18, 19; 28—31. — Unsuccessful is the attempt of A. R. Anderson (*Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog and the Inclosed Nations: Monographs of the Mediaeval Academy of America*. 5. Cambridge, Mass., 1932, pp. 5—6) who means to find the name *Gog* in the names of the two Transcaucasian provinces *Gogarene* and "*Gogh*". He quotes the latter name from the edition of Pseudo-Moses by P. A. Soukry. But, as the Armenian name *Gugark'* also shows, the ending *-ar*, is a component part of the name *Gogarene*. As regards "*Gogh*" if Anderson had noted that Soukry followed, in transcribing his ancient Armenian text, the modern Western Armenian pronunciation, and if he had considered that the ancient phonetic form was *Kot* (Ps. Moses, ed. Soukry, 35, 3: *Կոտ*), and not *Gogh*, he would certainly have refrained from making the above conjecture.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. J. G. Aalders, *Gog en Magog in Ezechiel*. Kampen 1951, p. 15.

Josephus to connect these events with the Gog and Magog apocalypse of Ezechiel.<sup>20</sup>

3. We must also exclude the possibility that the adaptation was made at the time of the terrible invasion of the Huns in 395—396 A. D. The southern waves of this invasion rolled as far as Northern Mesopotamia and Syria, and there were even rumours that the Huns intended to rob the treasures of Jerusalem (Hieronymus, *Ep.* LX, 16; LXXVII, 8). It was at this of time that Hieronymus, with the virgins of Paula's monastery, fled to the seashore to be ready to sail away if the Barbarians arrive. His words, however, about these experiences, either in the above-quoted passage or in other writings, do not betray more than his familiarity with the reports of Josephus. In a passage of his *Quaestiones in Genesis* (*ad X*, 2), in connection with the genealogy of chapter X, he also mentions the identity of the Scythians with the descendants of Magog, and, in his commentary on the Book of Ezechiel, he makes a short reference (*ad XXXVIII*, 2) to Josephus. Much more importance should be attached to a passage of his commentary on the Book of Isaiah (XX, 27—33) which clearly indicates that he treats the above identification as the opinion of Josephus: "*Judaei de Gog et Magog gentibus, quas putant ab Aquilone venturas id est de Scythiae partibus haec intelligunt super quibus Ezechiel plenius loquitur*". It is quite obvious that no traces of the Alexander-Romance can be found here.

<sup>20</sup> One of the main theses of Kampers (particularly pp. 51—54) is that the apocalyptic Legend concerning Alexander the Great already existed at the time of Josephus. His argument, however, even with regard to the text of Josephus, contains no elements which could render his assumption probable. F. Pfister gave expression of a similar opinion in his above-mentioned work. Anderson's view represents an essential advance over these theories. He (*op. cit.*, pp. 19—20) admits the possibility that the identification *Scythia: Magog* was linked, already in Josephus' time, with the notion of Alexander's Caucasian Gates, but he definitely rejects the possibility that this new form of the Alexander-Legend was generally known at that time. He thinks that the variant of the Legend, according to which the people of Gog and Magog was shut in by Alexander the Great, had not yet emerged. In his opinion this developed later, only after the great invasion of the Huns in 395 A. D. He finds the first indication of its existence (*op. cit.*, p. 17, note) in the metric homily of Ephraem the Syrian *De fine extremo* which, according to Anderson, was written shortly after 395. The latter view is surely erroneous (see below, pp. 239—240) although the expositions of Anderson no doubt contain many elements of truth. In this connection — however — it must be noted that the reports of Josephus can hardly be appraised properly without constant reference to his Roman environment, moreover, that the existence of an apocalyptic Alexander Legend, which was independent of the direct exegesis of the above-mentioned Biblical passages, could be rendered more probable if it had been the prophecy of Ezechiel and not Genesis X: 2 — as it actually was — that led Josephus to his identifying Magog with the Scythians. Therefore we cannot accept the latest opinion of Pfister (*op. cit.*, p. 30) either, who, while disregarding the not fully convincing criticism (see above) of Anderson, reiterates his conviction that Josephus was already familiar with the apocalyptic variant of the Alexander Legend.

<sup>9</sup> *Acta Orientalia* VII/2—3.

and this fact is not invalidated by his reference, in connection with the same incursion of the Huns, to the Caucasian gates (*Ep.* LXXVII, 8): "*Ecce subito discurrentibus nuntiis oriens totus intremuit, ab ultima Maeotide, inter glaciale Tanain et Massagetarum immanes populos, ubi Caucasi rupibus feras gentes Alexandri claustra cohibent, erupisse Hunorum examina, quae pernicibus equis huc, illucque uolitantia caedis pariter ac terroris cuncta complerent*". As to the origin of the Legend, this passage does not say more than the sentences quoted from Josephus according to which the Caucasian gates served as entrance for the Alans, just as here for the Huns. We see quite clearly in the above-quoted reference that Hieronymus brought the Huns in connection with an ancient people, the Scythians of Herodotos (I, 103—106). In this, just as in his reference to the gates of Alexander the Great, he is, like Josephus, under classical influences.<sup>21</sup>

4. Nevertheless, certain geographical facts of the Huns' great invasion of 395—396 A. D., are still very important for finding the origin of the Syriac Legend Concerning Alexander. As our sources reveal,<sup>22</sup> it was already in 395

<sup>21</sup> Theodoretus of Cyrrihus, a younger contemporary of Hieronymus, a man of Syrian descent, even asserts, in his commentary on the Book of Ezechiel (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 81, col. 481), that the invasion of the people of Gog and Magog already took place at the time following shortly the Babylonian Captivity. The reference to the Scythian invasion was also taken over from Hieronymus by Isidorus, Rhabanus Maurus and Rubruk. However, in the works of the latter two, partly on the basis of the identification *Hunni*: *Hungari*, and partly on the basis of the variant *Hugni* in certain MSS of France and Spain, instead of the *Hunni* — the *Hungari* appear.

<sup>22</sup> The events of the invasion of the Huns in 395 are not yet fully cleared up. The inadequacy in the expositions of classical philology, including some very recent works (E. Demougeot, *De l'unité à la division de l'Empire romain*. Paris 1951. pp. 112—117; 147—149; 162—165; H. Homeyer, *Attila*. Berlin 1951 pp. 27, 114; F. Altheim, *Attila und die Hunnen*. Baden-Baden 1951, pp. 79, 98; cf. further E. A. Thompson, *A History of Attila and the Huns*. Oxford 1948, p. 31) must be traced to the authors' unfamiliarity with the report of the invasion of the Huns in 395—396 in the Syrian chronicle known as the *Liber Calipharam*. This again can probably be explained by the fact that Markwart, by his error of accepting the authenticity of a relevant reference in the Syriac *Vita* of Peter of Iberia, has led the whole research in a wrong direction. His mistake was, to a certain extent, corrected by O. Wesendonk (*Klio* XXVI [1933], p. 341) who, while generally reproducing the views of Markwart, nevertheless mentioned the narrative of the invasion of the Huns in 395—396 in the *Liber Calipharam*. Wesendonk does not give a detailed treatment to this reference, although this Syriac record has a very great significance, particularly from the geographical and chronological viewpoint. We are now in the position to have a clearer conception, also in its details, of the great invasion.

Philostorgius (XI, 8) reports that the starting point of the invading Huns was somewhere west to the Don. We know from the *Liber Calipharam*, the *Syriac Chronicle* of Pseudo-Dionysius, from the reports of Priscus and many other Greek authors that the invasion, already in 395, progressed as far as Northern Mesopotamia, Syria and also

that the incursion affected Northern Mesopotamia, and, in 396, it was again through this region that the Huns, now on their march towards the Persian capital, proceeded. Neither must we neglect the fact that the population of this region was composed of Syrian, Armenian and Persian elements.<sup>23</sup> It was also in this region that the Persian-Roman boundary line was drawn, in 363, in the North-South direction, north to Nisibis. This frontier, as we know, remained almost to the end of the age of the Sassanids.<sup>24</sup> By that time, however, it had become a separating line not only between the Byzantines and the Persians, but also between the Jacobite Syrians of the Byzantine territory and the Syrian Nestorians as well as the Armenian Monophysites of the Northern Persian territory.

5. It would greatly help to clear up the origin of the Syriac Legend Concerning Alexander the Great, if we could prove that the metric discourse

touched the borders of Cappadocia and Galatia. On their return from Asia Minor in 396, the Huns marched south through the province Sophene of Northern Mesopotamia. According to the *Liber Calipharam* they marched through the region about the riverhead and along the upper reaches of the Tigris, progressing in the southward direction as far as the neighbourhood of the Persian capital, Ctesiphon. Thence, after their defeat, as Priscus reports, they withdrew through Azerbaijan. Pseudo-Dionysius mentions by name *Amida* (the modern Diyarbakir), *Ingilene* — the birthplace of John of Ephesus, — the province of *Arzon*, the region of Martyropolis, *Hanzit*, *Ziyata* and *Aras-mosata*. All these places are in Northern Mesopotamia, in the riverhead region of the Tigris, respectively to the south of this region.


Great value should be attached, from the chronological viewpoint, also to a metric homily of the Syrian author Cyrillonus. This was composed for the observance of All-Saints' Day in 396. In it reference is made to the march of the Huns in 396 through Northern Mesopotamia. — A new approach opened to the Cyrillonus-Absamya problem when J. B. Segal published the oldest extant Syriac inscriptions (*BSOAS* XVI [1956], p. 20). In these the word *Absamya* appears as a theophoric name of heathen origin. Thus it is almost certain that Absamya also had another — Christian — name. But the most important lesson of the Syriac sources is in the fact that they help us to fix the year of 396 as the date of the counter-attack of Eutropius which had formerly been only roughly conjectured on the basis of Claudianus.

Similar inadequacy is found in the expositions of the Hunnic invasion of 434 by the students of classical philology. In this case it is the matter of not giving due attention to the metric homily entitled *Royal City* by the Syriac writer Isaac of "Antiochia" which was published by C. A. Moss. It is on the basis of the prophecy of Ezechiel that this homily, just as the lost sermon of Patriarch Proclus of Byzantium, deals with the event of the invasion. However, even the editor himself, C. A. Moss, failed to note the Biblical text on which the "homily" was based and also the allusions which it made to contemporary events.

<sup>23</sup> From the viewpoint of cultural development Northern Mesopotamia was, throughout the course of her history, a melting pot of cultural trends.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the map of E. Honigmann appended to his work *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, Bruxelles 1935.

*De fine extremo*, which is generally attributed to Ephraem the Syrian, was actually composed by this author. This homily is intermingled with the elements of the Alexander-Legend, although its text is, without a doubt, the prophecy of Ezechiel. This is particularly obvious in its description of the Huns forcing their way through the gates of Alexander the Great.<sup>25</sup> The agreement, of course, could be explained by supposing a common source, or even assuming that the homily is dependent on the Legend. The latter assumption is decisively supported by the fact that, in the homily, allusions are made not only to the Persian wars of emperor Herakleios, that is, to the events of the year 620, but also to the Mohammedan conquests<sup>26</sup>. The place of the homily's composition is unknown. It is remarkable, however, that the homily speaks of the Huns as sorcerers, and this belief, as the researches of W. Bousset prove,<sup>27</sup> was held by the Persians. From this too we may infer that the author belonged to the Syro-Persian inhabitants of Northern Mesopotamia.

6. The next great campaign of Nomads which, in the south, involved Northern Mesopotamia, followed in 515 when the Sabirs forced their way through the middle pass of the Caucasus. The Greek and Latin narratives of this incursion also mention Armenia, Pontus, Galatia, Lycaonia and Cappadocia as the regions affected by the marauding excursion of the Huns,<sup>28</sup> but John of Ephesus, a Syrian author with excellent local informations, tells us, in his work on the life of the Northern Mesopotamian monasteries,<sup>29</sup> that the Huns, who, coming apparently from the direction of Armenia and Cappadocia,<sup>30</sup> proceeded southward, caused terror also in the monasteries near Amida.<sup>31</sup> Since, at the time of the Sabir invasion, John of Ephesus himself was an inhabitant of this region, special value must be attached to his report. In one of the passages of his *Monastic History* (ed. Brooks, 78) he also speaks of an "apocalypse":  which, according to his wording, prophesies

<sup>25</sup> Cf. A. Eckhardt's view in *Attila és hunjai* [Attila and His Huns] ed. J. Németh, pp. 144—145, 147.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. the expositions of M. Kmoskó with my comments: *Acta Orientalia* IV, pp. 34—35, 52; *Stud. Antiqua* II, p. 135.

<sup>27</sup> W. Bousset: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* XX, pp. 121—122. We may note in connection with Bousset's expositions that this repulsive description betrays a close similarity to the report of Theophanes (a. 6208) on an episode of the siege of Pergamum.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, Paris 1949, p. 106.

<sup>29</sup> *De beatiss Orientalibus* (ed. Brooks: *Patr. Or.* XVII, pp. 19—20, 80—83, 115, 245)

<sup>30</sup> Another contemporary, Andrens, Bishop of Cappadocia also regarded the Huns as the people of Gog and Magog (Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantino-turcica* I, 107).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. also Markwart, *Südarmenien* (Wien, 1930), pp. 103—104. Isaac of Antiochia (better: of Amida; 1st half of the 5th century A. D.) knows already of Alexander having reached and conquered the Huns among the remotest peoples (*Homilies*, ed. Bedjan, p. 504).

the irruption of the Huns. We can hardly interpret this very important date in any other way than by supposing that, in the lifetime of John of Ephesus, that, is, in the middle of the 6th century, the Syriac apocalyptic Legend concerning Alexander was already in existence. Yet it must have taken not a few decades more until the extant texts of the Syriac Alexander literature also came into being. The earliest date to assume for the Syriac translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes should be the end of the 6th century. As we shall see later, the Syriac Legend concerning Alexander the Great is of a still later origin.

7. The Syriac Alexander-Romance, in the strict sense, that is, the Syriac translation by Pseudo-Callisthenes, shows an affinity, in the first place, to the Latin translation of archipresbyter Leo, who lived in the 10th century, and together with the latter text, belongs to the type of the *A Codex* (*a-recension*).<sup>32</sup> Nöldeke demonstrated<sup>33</sup> clearly that the Syriac translation was made from a Middle Persian original. This is indicated by the mistakes in the spelling of proper names, as these can only be accounted for by supposing Pehlevi antecedents. It is chiefly from the viewpoints of textual criticism that we must appreciate the significance of this Syriac variant, and, according to the recent references to this matter by Merkelbach,<sup>34</sup> not so much from the viewpoint of the *A recension* as rather from that of the fact that this Syriac text furnishes, in many cases, decisive help to confirm the otherwise uncertain readings of the different recensions of the text. We can only approximate the date of the mediating Pehlevi version. We may suppose, however, the *ante quem* to be the middle of the 7th century,<sup>35</sup> that is, the age of the Arab conquest. Nöldeke convincingly argues that the text was composed in some of the Eastern Syrian, Nestorian regions.<sup>36</sup>

For the study of the apocalyptic literature of the Middle Ages and of the history of the Steppe peoples the Syriac Alexander-Legend is much more important than the Syriac variant of the Alexander-Romance. The Syriac Alexander-Legend, as far as its contents are concerned, is but the substantially reshaped form of the Romance, augmented with the motifs of Gog and Magog. Also in the MSS, the Legend, as a constant appendix,<sup>37</sup> always follows

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Merkelbach, *op. cit.* pp. 62, 66. Ausfeld, Pfister and Cary (*op. cit.* p. 11) give the sigil  $\delta$  to the translation of Leo and to the Syriac version listing them as a separate recension. It is an interpolated variant of a younger recension of the same, the *Historia de preliis*, marked with *J*<sup>2</sup> (Cf. Merkelbach, *op. cit.* pp. 163—171; Cary, *op. cit.*, p. 58) that gives the core of the Hungarian Alexander histories (Cf. Magoun, *The Gesta of King Alexander of Macedonia*. Cambridge, Mass. 1929, p. 54).

<sup>33</sup> *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans* pp. 11—17.

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Budge's above-quoted edition, pp. XV—XXXIV.

the text of the Romance. Its title is like a table of contents (ed. Budge, 255): "Moreover, the Triumphal March of Alexandros, Son of Philip of Macedonia, How He Reached the End of the World, and How He Made an Iron Gate, How He Closed It towards the North, to Prevent the Huns from Coming Out and Subjugating Countries: from the Manuscripts in the Archives of the Kings of Alexandria".

The narration begins with the council held by Alexander the Great. Alexander, in the "second or seventh" year of his reign convenes the high-ranking persons of his realm and asks them: how large is the world, what supports the firmament and what surrounds the world? His councillors warn him against attempting to reach the ends of the world for — they say — they have seen with their own eyes that the world is surrounded by twelve navigable, bright seas, beyond which, separated by a narrow strip of land, the seas of the Stinking Ocean expand, the vapour of which kills all living creatures. Alexander, however, does not heed their warning and decides to go to the ends of the world. At the same time, he makes his will. He expresses his hope that he will see the return of Christ. However, even if he should die before this event, he offers his silver throne to Christ. He prays to God, saying, among others, the following: "I know that thou hadst horns grow on my head<sup>38</sup> so that I scatter the empires of the world". Then he marches with 320,000 men from Alexandria to Mount Sinai, then, crossing the sea, to Egypt. There the king gives him 7000 iron- and coppersmiths. Then he sails for four months and twelve days on the bright seas. He reaches with his army the strip of land beyond which the Stinking Ocean expands. There he makes the experiment of sending thirty-seven criminals, who are condemned to death, to the coast of the Stinking Ocean. But on reaching the coast, they die. So Alexander must return. He marches between the bright seas and the Stinking Ocean until he reaches the place where the sun enters the window of heaven. He inspects the place where the sun sets, then he proceeds to the Great Musas<sup>39</sup> and to the Mount of Claudia. His further march takes him to Haloras, where the Tigris, leaving its river-head, is like a brook driving mill-wheels. Next he marches to the river Kallath. Then, through Armenia and Azerbaijan, he proceeds north, and, climbing over the Musas Mountain, he establishes his camp at the gates of a big mountain range — as it appears later — the Caucasus. There he assures the inhabitants that he is no enemy and that all he is after is knowledge. A delegation of three-hundred old men is sent to him who inform him that the country belongs to the Persian

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Anderson on the legendary horns of Alexander the Great: *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXIII (1927), pp. 100—112.

<sup>39</sup> The mention of the Mount Musas (in the *Gilgamesh Epic of Babilon XI, 2: 30 sa-di-i ke-mu-su Ma-su*) is one of the convincing proofs that the author also drew on that epic poem (Cf. A. Ungnad—H. Gressmann: *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, pp. 39—52; 135—137, 152 sqq. 183).

king Tubarlak<sup>40</sup> of the nation of Ahasverus. The big mountain range reaches to Persia and, through that land, to India.<sup>41</sup> There is but one narrow path through it, between the sea and the mountains; along this path one can travel only on horse-back and one must use a bell to scare away the wild animals. Beyond the mountain the wild people of the Huns live. The text enumerates the names of the kings of the Huns, including Gog and Magog and the Biblical Amraphel. The Huns live on raw flesh, but they also devour carcasses and drink human blood. They are clad in skins and are very quick in their movements. Their women, who have one breast only, are even more ferocious than their husbands.<sup>42</sup> They render their weapons invincible by smearing on their swords the blood of human embryos which they acquire under abominable circumstances.<sup>43</sup> The Huns are God's punishment. They have already destroyed many fortifications on Roman and Persian territories. Behind them dwell the thumb men, dog men and worm men (?). Beyond their place stretches the desert of the snakes where no human beings live.<sup>44</sup> Still farther is Paradise hanging betwixt heaven and earth and surrounded by clouds. Then the narrative describes the paradisiac rivers which God placed in a way as to prevent men from reaching Paradise by them. Then it is told how Alexander builds a big gate against the barbarians. The structure is made by the Egyptian workmen who use a vast amount of iron and other metals. On completing the construction of the gate Alexander has an inscription hewn in it with the following text:

ܐܢܝܢ ܐܠܘܗܝܡ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ  
ܐܢܝܢ ܐܠܘܗܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ  
ܐܢܝܢ ܐܠܘܗܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ  
ܐܢܝܢ ܐܠܘܗܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ  
ܐܢܝܢ ܐܠܘܗܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ  
ܐܢܝܢ ܐܠܘܗܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ  
ܐܢܝܢ ܐܠܘܗܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ  
ܐܢܝܢ ܐܠܘܗܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ  
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ܐܢܝܢ ܐܠܘܗܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ  
ܐܢܝܢ ܐܠܘܗܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܗܘܢ

(Budge's edition, pp. 268, 12—269, 2): "The Huns will march out and will

<sup>40</sup> The name *Tubarlak* is yet unexplained.  
<sup>41</sup> The description of the Caucasus is here mixed with a description of the mountain range of the Taurus which was lifted out of some classic source.  
<sup>42</sup> Already the oldest Alexander stories feature the Amazons who live near the Caucasus.  
<sup>43</sup> Cf. note 27, above.  
<sup>44</sup> It is this passage that gives the ultimate explanation of the report in the *Armenian Chronicle* of Matthew of Edessa (ed. Jerusalem, p. 128) according to which the Cumanian and Petcheneg wandering was caused by the "people of the snakes".

subjugate the lands of the Romans and Persians. They will shoot arrows in Armagesta (?),<sup>45</sup> then they will turn around and march back to their land. Then I wrote that, on the passing of 826 years, the Huns will march out on the narrow path which is opposite to Haloras where the Tigris springs as a brook driving mill-wheels. They will enslave peoples; they will obstruct the roads and the earth will shake by the noise of their march. Further I wrote, gave to know and prophesied that, on the passing of 940 years . . . (here is a small blank in the text) another king . . . when the end of the world comes by the command of God the Creator". Then the inscription tells that, in the last days, iniquity will abound, and God will gather the peoples beyond the gate which He will open before them. Then the Huns, Persians and Arabs and the twenty-four nations<sup>46</sup> "whose names are written in this book" will come from the ends of the world and will fall on each other so that blood will cover the earth and only a few of them will survive to return. Then Alexander the Great will reign over the whole earth. If one does not believe these prophecies — ends the inscription — let him remember the words of Jeremiah the prophet (I : 13—16) who also foretold the invasion of the peoples from the North. With this the inscription ends.

When the Persian king Tubarлак is informed of the coming of Alexander, he marches against him, leading 82 kings and 1,130,000 men. Alexander the Great is reminded in dream of his task to scatter the realms with his horns. He prays to God and then attacks the Persians. He kills 60 of the 82 kings and captures Tubarлак. When the latter promises all the treasures of his realm and also Persia as a security which he will redeem with Assyria and Babylonia, Alexander spares his life. Then they agree that the Gate will be guarded by 6000 Romans and 6000 Persians. Tubarлак produces his idols, soothsayers and sorcerers who foretell that, at the end of times, the Romans will conquer all countries of the earth. Their reign will last until they yield their power to Christ when He returns. After this Alexander the Great proceeds through the desert to the mountain of the Romans and thence, for settling down the Egyptian smiths, to Jerusalem where he prays to God. Leaving Jerusalem, he sails back to Alexandria. When he dies, his silver throne, on his order, is sent to Jerusalem.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>45</sup> According to the Supplement of the *Thesaurus Syriacus*, this is the corrupt form of the word *arcubalista* (*arbaleste* in Old French, *arbalista* in Portuguese).

<sup>46</sup> As to the list of the inclosed nations cf. Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 54—57; Pfister, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 44; Kmoskó: *Acta Orient.* IV, pp. 33, 36—39; as to their number cf. Kampers: *op. cit.*, pp. 106—110. — On the late Mohammedan variants of the legend concerning the inclosed nations and also on the literature of the question *vide* my comments on Kmoskó's expositions in the *Acta Orient.* IV, pp. 32, n. 43.

<sup>47</sup> On the motif of yielding the throne to Christ, cf. Kampers: *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 144—145, in connection with the vaticination of Pseudo-Methodios.

The geographical data of the Legend's first part are just as confused as those of the Romance. Alexander the Great starts out from Alexandria to march to Mount Sinai and thence he sails to Egypt: the author hardly realised that Alexandria was in Egypt. But as soon as we come to the mention of the Mount Musas — which is taken from the Epic of Gilgamesh — this geographical confusion of the text disappears, and we arrive, from a legendary world into an environment of real geography. Claudia in the Taurus Mountains, then Haloras and the river Kallath<sup>48</sup> are well-known concepts of geography.<sup>49</sup> The latter two are especially important in appraising the geographical horizon of the author: there can be no doubt that we are again in the world of the monasteries lying north to Amida, the very region to which the early traces of the Legend pointed.

It is the same region that is also referred to in the inscription at the end of the Legend, when it is foretold that, on the passing of 826 years, the Huns will break forth and will subjugate peoples. Since Nöldeke's investigation (*op. cit.*, p. 31) this passage of the Legend is considered, by all students, to be of fundamental chronological importance. If we compute according to the Era of the Seleucids, the successors of Alexander the Great (i. e. from 311), then the subtraction yields 515: and this was the date of the great Sabir invasion! We may add that the above-quoted dates of John of Ephesus also point to the first part of the 6th century. On the other hand, we must emphasise — as against the findings hitherto advanced by research — that, even for the author, this invasion was not the first one of this kind, since, in the Legend, the elders report that, already in the past, the Huns destroyed many fortifications on Roman and Persian territories. Taking the geographical conceptions of the author into consideration, we can hardly take this report for anything else than a reference to the great invasion of the Huns in 395/6 when the marauding troops destroyed Roman as well as Persian towns in Northern Mesopotamia. This, however, is distant past for the author. His attention is engaged by the great invasion of the Sabirs in 515 which, as a *vaticinatio ex eventu* is prophesied in the inscription by Alexander the Great. Judging by this vaticination, Nöldeke holds that the Legend was composed after 515. Therein, taking the above-quoted date of John of Ephesus, we may agree with him.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Hübschmann: *Indogermanische Forschungen* XVI, p. 310. In the Arab geographical lexicon of Yāqūt: *ملاورى*. The Greek form of the name: *Ἰλλύριος* (cf. Markwart: *Südarmanien*, pp. 58, 278). The name of the river Kallath ('bride' in Syriac) also had its Greek parallels: *Parthenos* and *Nymphios*. The Armenian name is *Կալաթի*: *K'alirt'* (Markwart: *op. cit.*, p. 279). The survival of the traditions about Alexander in this region is also proved by the existence of the place name *Hişn Di-l-Qarnain* (cf. Markwart, *op. cit.*, pp. 58—60).

<sup>49</sup> Thus the explanation of B. Heller (*Kohut Mem.* p. 354) who links the expression *ܩܠܬܐ ܕܩܪܢܝܢ* with II Kings 17 : 6 : *ܩܠܬܐ ܕܩܪܢܝܢ* is wholly unfounded.

But the date in the second vaticination of the inscription, the 940th year,<sup>50</sup> poses another problem. This year of the Greek Era corresponds to 629 A. D., and, as Nöldeke holds, this is a genuine vaticination. He admits that the Khazars, as the allies of Emperor Herakleios, invaded Persarmenia, through the Caucasus, in 627. This, however, argues Nöldeke, did not mean the beginning of a campaign, as the Legend would make us suppose, but rather the conclusion of the protracted Byzantine-Persian war. Therefore, in Nöldeke's opinion, the date 940 is purely arbitrary, as it should naturally be in the case of a genuine vaticination.

This opinion seems to be confirmed by the fact that we also have a metrical version of the Syriac Legend which, according to the colophone of the MS, was composed in the favourite metre of the noted Syrian writer, Jacobus Sarugensis, who died in 521. Though the time between 515 and 521 seems too short for effecting this borrowing,<sup>51</sup> Nöldeke nevertheless insists on regarding Jacobus as the author of the metrical adaptation of the Legend. Since the authority of Nöldeke was almost unassailable in matters pertaining to Syriac philology, the expositions of W. Bousset and C. Hunnius<sup>52</sup> — the latter being the editor of the metrical version — did not find acceptance, although they had substantial arguments to the effect that certain parts of the Legend nonetheless seem to point to the Khazar invasion of 627.<sup>53</sup> Of late Pfister too expressed his definite agreement with Nöldeke's view.<sup>54</sup>

This being the case, it is all the more regrettable that Kmoskó's expositions, which settle the dispute, were not published earlier than a few years ago, and even then only in extracts. Kmoskó has a whole series of arguments to prove that both the metrical Legend and the prose text of the same contain unmistakable references to the war of Khosrav II and Herakleios.<sup>55</sup> Hence both variants, in their present forms, contain a variant of the Legend that came into being as an adaptation definitely after 628<sup>56</sup>. Kmoskó's arguments are surely

<sup>50</sup> The number of the prophesied years appear in corrupt forms in the later Moham-medan and Ethiopian variants (Cf. Anderson: *op. cit.*, p. 32, note 1). Pfister (*op. cit.*, p. 38) undertakes the not fully convincing attempt to link these numbers with speculations of the world-year (Cf. further Anderson: *op. cit.*, p. 23, note 2; p. 41, note 1). This connection could only be justified by the metric adaptation which speaks of seven millennia. There is nothing of this in the prose variant.

<sup>51</sup> Anderson: *op. cit.*, p. 27, n. 1.

<sup>52</sup> C. Hunnius: *Das syrische Alexanderlied* (Göttingen 1904), pp. 21—23.

<sup>53</sup> The explanations of Anderson (*op. cit.*, p. 27, n. 1) concerning the gates in the above-mentioned narrative are not convincing.

<sup>54</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 38. In fixing the dates of both the prose and the metric variant Magoun (*op. cit.*, p. 39) and Cary (*op. cit.*, p. 11) agree with Nöldeke.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *Acta Orient.* IV, pp. 35—36.

<sup>56</sup> From this viewpoint, already Bousset (*loc. cit.*, p. 115) and Kampers (*op. cit.*, pp. 70—85) made some pertinent observations. Bousset held that both the metric and the prose variant must be traced back to a common source. Though there is a characteristic

conclusive. An adaptation of this kind is a natural phenomenon in apocalyptic literature: after the passing of the date foretold in the latest vaticination, the subsequent adapters insert new prophecies into the text.

However, the expositions of Kmoskó regarding the invasion in the 940th year also have some deficiencies. We must note first that the Khazar invasion, in alliance with Herakleios, was indeed among the events of the year 627<sup>57</sup>. But there was also another great Khazar invasion in 629 which is attested in a very detailed report, on the basis of first-class eye-witness accounts, by the Armenian author Moses Kalankatvac'i (ed. Tiflis, 172—194). His words clearly indicate that the Khazar invasion of 629 came no longer on the instigation of the Byzantines, but was an independent campaign of great dimensions which lasted several years and brought terrible destruction, famine and pestilence on the major part of Armenia.<sup>58</sup> So those Armenians who lived south to the Khazar devastations, in Northern Mesopotamia, in the vicinity of Haloras, along the Nymphios river and the headwaters of the Tigris, were again, after the sufferings caused by the war of 627,<sup>59</sup> on the verge of utter destruction. It was, therefore, to these great events that the author of the vaticinations concerning the 940th, resp. 629th year referred. There can be no doubt that this was again a case of a *vaticinatio ex eventu*. One of the remarkably interesting parallels of the Syriac Legend and the narrative of the Armenian writer<sup>60</sup> is that both refer to the same words of the prophecy of Jeremiah (I: 13—16). The author of the Syriac Legend even gives the words of the prophet into the mouth of Alexander the Great.<sup>61</sup>

Plus in the motifs of the search for the spring of life, and of the speculation concerning the world-year, in the text of the metric variant, similarly, the prophecy concerning the Huns, in the prose variant, we must agree with this opinion which is also confirmed by the fact that the short summing up of the Legend's contents (Cf. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Anderson: *op. cit.*, pp. 27—28) by Pseudo-Dionysius Tellmahrensensis (9th century) has, in some instances, close parallels in the prose variant, in other instances, with the metric variant, while, in a few cases, with none of the two. We may, therefore, suppose that the Syriac Legend concerning Alexander the Great also had an old variant which is no longer extant but was at the disposal of Pseudo-Dionysius.

<sup>57</sup> Theophanes, ed. de Boor, p. 312; Moses Kalankatvac'i ed. Tiflis, pp., 159—160.

<sup>58</sup> It was only on the basis of a short summary of an article by K. Patkanian that Nöldeke could make use of the Armenian sources. He does not at all mention this invasion. On the Khazar invasion of 629 cf. my remarks in *Magyar Nyelv* XLIX (1953), pp. 322—323. The next great Khazar irruption took place only a century later (730/1) when the marauding Khazars reached the environs of Mosul.

<sup>59</sup> J. A. Manandjan: *Vizant. Vremennik* 1950, p. 145.

<sup>60</sup> Ed. Tiflis, p. 194.

<sup>61</sup> In view of the foregoing arguments, the unusually audacious assumption of Kmoskó (*Acta Orient.* IV, pp. 33—34), who linked the prophecy concerning the 940th year with the fall of Constantinople in 1453, seems hardly acceptable. — The breaking forth of the nomads (Seljuks, Qipchaqs, Mongols through the Caucasian gates continued

On the other hand, we find a genuine attempt to foretell the future in that passage of the inscription where Tubarlak, after his defeat, promises that, after fifteen years, he will also yield Assyria and Babylonia to Alexander the Great. This prophecy, as we know, was never fulfilled. 15 years after the defeat of Khosrav II-Tubarlak, in 643, the Mohammedans destroyed for ever the rule of the Sassanids in Persia. This unfulfilled prophecy, therefore, justifies the conclusion that the Legend, in its present form, originated after 629, yet at a time preceding the victory of the Arabs in Mesopotamia, that is, the year 636.

By referring the second vaticination to the Khazar invasion of 629 light is shed on the author's attitude to the Khazar alliance. The identification of Herakleios with Alexander the Great was, in fact, an acute embarrassment for him, since, in the course of the Persian campaign, as all our sources unanimously report, it was Herakleios himself who opened the Caucasian gates before the Khazars. The author walks warily when he makes his guarded references to this event.<sup>62</sup> His Alexander-Herakleios is the shining example of a pious Christian ruler who, therefore, could play no rôle in the Khazar devastation, and so it was by the help of God that Alexander-Herakleios achieved victory over Tubarlak-Khosrav II. When, however, the author comes to speak of the joint Roman-Persian guard at the Caucasian gate, he gives clear expression of his own idea: the custom of the Roman and Persian rulers to join in the maintenance of the Caucasian fortifications<sup>63</sup> was a right one, worth of preserving, and so this custom, even after the invasion of 629, ought to be renewed! And this was more than a personal wish of the author. The Armenians kept up this idea even after the Persian rule had been replaced by that of the Moslems. This way of thinking is attested, very interestingly by the report of the 8th century Armenian writer Levond (ed. Šahnazarean, p. 64) who says that the Arabs, on destroying the fortifications of Derbend, found a big inscribed stone which read that the Byzantine emperor Markianos (450—457) gave his own treasures to build the fortifications which, in time to come, will be destroyed by the children of Ishmael, but they too will rebuild it out of their own treasures. This prophecy, at Levond's time, was a *vaticinatio ex eventu*. But, as we know, later it was fulfilled again, as the Arabs continued to fight many fierce battles with the Khazars around Derbend and often had to rebuild the destroyed old fortifications. The motif of this inscription, in all probability, was taken from some of the Greek Alexander stories.

to occupy the fancy of the Syriac historiographers throughout the subsequent centuries (Michael Syrus, ed. Chabot, II, p. 130; Barhebraeus, ed. Bedjan, p. 210).

<sup>62</sup> Less lenient are the Western sources which learned of Herakleios' call for the help of the Khazars from a delegation of Dagobert to Byzantium. This legation report, which was also used by Fredegar, Athicus, Ekkehard and Otto of Freising, is not at all flattering for Herakleios.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. E. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

This is indicated by the hitherto unnoticed parallelism which exists between the respective passages of the Syriac Legend, the report of Levond and the Alexander biography of Plutarchos (*cap.* 17) where the author speaks of the Persian campaign of Alexander the Great. In this passage Plutarchos says that, at the time when Alexander marched against Darius, a flood gushed suddenly from a spring near the town of Xanthos in Lycia, uncovering an old stone with inscriptions that contained the prophecy that the Persian power will end and it will be destroyed, in time to come, by the Greeks.

As the foregoing exposition bears out clearly, the Syriac Legend concerning Alexander the Great is a product of the syncretistic culture of Northern Mesopotamia. Its core is the Hellenistic Greek Alexander-Romance which, however, while being linked up with the prophecy of Ezechiel, underwent a thorough revision. The local elements in the Legend are represented by certain motifs of the ancient *Epic of Gilgamesh*. The authors, resp., adapters of the Legend lived in Northern Mesopotamia, in the vicinity of the ancient Amida. Their interest was focussed on the events of the great invasions of the Huns, in 395—396, the Sabirs, in 515, and the Khazars, in 629.<sup>64</sup> Most instructive are the motifs of the Legend which return in the Alexander-*gesta* of the Middle Ages: thus the victory of the weaker forces of Alexander the Great over the multitude of barbarians,<sup>65</sup> and the idea that the Caucasian gates of Alexander the Great were the bastions of the civilised world against the nomadic peoples of the Steppe.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>64</sup> A Syriac quotation from the Alexander-Romance (*cf.* Markwart, *Streifenzüge*, pp. 367 *seqq.*) which is taken from a Pahlavi version of the Romance dates also from about the middle of the 6th century A. D. It mentions the Amazons and the Hrs.

<sup>65</sup> *Cf.* the speech given into the mouth of Prince Álmos by the Hungarian Anonymus (*cap.* 8) the origin of which in the Alexander Romance has long been known.

<sup>66</sup> *Cf.* the famous letter of the Hungarian king Béla IV to Pope Innocent IV in which, like in the Syriac Legend, reference is made to the Persian campaigns of Herakleios. Though the author locates the "limes" of Europe along the *agua contradictionis*, that is, the Danube, he applies the bastion motif in the same way as the author of the Syriac Legend.



# BAHRAM COBIN AND THE PERSIAN APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

BY

K. CZEGLÉDY

The no longer extant Middle Persian source of the history of the Sasanians, the *Khvatây nāmak*, and its revised versions — as we know from the Arabic and Persian translations — gave a prominent place to the rôle of Bahrām Čobin who appeared in the year 588 A. D., as the saviour of Persia and, in popular imagination, soon joined the ranks of the legendary heroes of the Iranian epical romances. Thus it was not at all unnatural that the *Khvatây nāmak*, which itself was not anyway without some legendary features, should have transferred numerous motifs of the Iranian epical romances to the historic personality of Bahrām. But the reverse tendency was also at play: under the influence of Bahrām's history the later recorders effected numerous changes on some of the episodes of the epical romances. Now, in the following exposition, we should like to show that the religious literature of the Persians was also considerably influenced by the history of Bahrām who, in the eyes of some Persian circles, assumed the proportions of the Messiah promised in the sacred books of the Persians.

1. The historical conception of the age of Bahrām, particularly with regard to Bahrām's Eastern wars, is in need of revision. According to the *Khvatây nāmak*, Iran was exposed, at the time of Bahrām's appearance, to simultaneous attacks by the Byzantines, Arabs and Turks.<sup>1</sup> Even Markwart did not fully realize<sup>2</sup> that Bahrām, as the governor of the North-eastern provinces of Iran,<sup>3</sup> fought in the East against the Hephthalites as well as against

<sup>1</sup> Noldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 268–270; M. J. Higgins, *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice* (Washington 1930), pp. 35–36, 72–73. Of late, P. Goubert has dealt with the rebellion of Bahrām (*Byzance avant l'Islam I* [Paris 1951], pp. 119–164). In his expositions Goubert relies strongly on Higgins' findings.

<sup>2</sup> In his last expositions that have relevance to our theme (*Wchrot und Arang* [Leiden 1938], pp. 137–165; cf. his later notes in *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānšahr: Analecta Orientalia 3*, Roma 1931, pp. 34–35) Markwart maintained that our data referred to the Turks and Hephthalites.

<sup>3</sup> We have several more or less divergent data concerning the original rank of Bahrām. The *Khvatây nāmak*, resp. the version of the romance preserved in the work of

the Western and Eastern Turks. It is rather difficult to reconstruct the events of these campaigns as Bahrām's wars were waged in the Oxus region, that is, in a territory mostly beyond the horizon of Byzantine, Armenian and Chinese sources. On the other hand, the reports of the *Khvatāy nāmak* on these events — although rather lengthy — have certain limitations when we treat them as historical sources. At any rate, the *Khvatāy nāmak*, that version at least which we know from the Arabic and Persian sources, merges the history of Bahrām with narratives about Bistām, the rebellious uncle of Khosrav<sup>4</sup>. Bistām, as the notes of the Armenian historian Sebēos inform us, marched eastwards, about the year 597 A. D. to the land of the Hephthalites where he succeeded in subjugating the Hephthalite princes Šaug and Pariovk.<sup>5</sup> Already Markwart pointed out<sup>6</sup> that the names of Šaug and Pariovk had invaded the history of Bahrām in which Bahrām's opponent, the Turkish Khagan and his son, are called Šāwa (Arab—Persian Šāwa < \*Šawag > Armenian Šaug) and *Parmūda* respectively. Although it is not easy to separate the individual motifs in the histories of Bahrām and Bistām, this important realization gives some very material help to the work of reconstructing the two histories. Whatever opinions we may have about the details of the narratives in the *Khvatāy nāmak*, it is quite certain that Šaug who was yet living in 597, at the time of Bistām's rebellion, cannot be identical with the Turkish Khagan who had been killed by Bahrām in 588. Further light is shed on the problem by the sporadic Byzantine, Armenian and Chinese data which, though rather laconic in themselves, yield nevertheless useful additional data to the *Khvatāy nāmak*, thus enabling us to undertake the accurate reconstruction of the most important events.

Apart from the Arabic and Persian sources, particular importance must be attached to the reports of the Armenian Sebēos. He was writing after 661, only a few decades after the period when a group of the Armenian feudal lords joined the Persians and began to play an important part in the stirring events

Dinawarī (ed. Guirgass, p. 82) state that Bahrām was the king's governor in the Azerbaijanian and Armenian frontier province (*'amalāhū 'alā tağr Ađarbāijān wa-Arminiya*). Also according to Agapios (ed. Vasiliev, p. 441) and Mas'ūdī (*Murūj II*, p. 213) he was a Marzbān. Part of the sources say that Bahrām was governor of the Eastern provinces: this must have referred to the time when Hormuzd appointed Bahrām as commander of the forces fighting against the incursions of the enemy from the East. — As to the name of Bahrām Čöbin, see Markwart: *Revue des Études Arméniennes VIII* (1928), p. 212; V. Minorsky: *JRAS* 1939: p. 108; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*<sup>3</sup> (Copenhagen 1944), p. 443; Goubert, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> This realization of Markwart (Erünsähr, pp. 82–84) has been a very important contribution to the interpretation of our relevant data.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Tiflis, 1913, pp. 96–97; as to the date, *vide* Higgins: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica XIII* (1947; = *Miscellanea Guillaume de Jerphanion I*), p. 230.

<sup>6</sup> *Wehrst* pp. 142–143.

of Persian history. One of them was Smbat Bagratuni who had taken part in the suppression of the rebellions of Bistām's allies, the Gels and the people of Tabaristān,<sup>7</sup> and later, as governor of Hyrcania, figured so prominently in the fights on the Eastern frontiers of Iran that Khosrav II raised him to be third in rank among the vassals at his court.<sup>8</sup> Smbat had on several occasions, spent longer periods of time at the Persian court, he was also very familiar with the Eastern territories of Iran and, as a matter of course, was conversant with the conditions of Armenia, his own country. It must have been from similarly well-informed circles that Sebēos learned those data of Bistām's history which cannot be found in any of the translations of the *Khvatāy nāmak*. These close Armenian—Persian relations make it quite clear that Sebēos also could have had access to the reports on Bahrām Čöbin. In proof of this assumption we refer to a hitherto not sufficiently appraised fact: in one of his passages, while speaking about the reign of Hormuzd, Sebēos quotes the *Khvatāy nāmak*.<sup>9</sup>

According to Sebēos, the sequence of events was as follows: Bahrām clashed first with the Western Turks.<sup>10</sup> After a victorious battle he occupied "the entire land of the Kušans" and took the city of Balkh.<sup>11</sup> Since the unanimous evidence of all our relevant sources attest that Balkh was the capital of the Hephthalite inhabitants of the one-time Kušan land which had been, since 558, under Turkish rule, we may safely assume that the campaigns of Bahrām were also directed against the Hephthalites living in "Kušan" land.

According to the record of Sebēos, Bahrām, after conquering the Western Turks, crossed the Oxus, then conquered and slew the Eastern Turkish Khagan.<sup>12</sup> The Eastern Turks are called *mazk'ut'k'* by Sebēos. This archaizing name, which has so much puzzled the commentators of Sebēos, comes from the Armenian adaptation of Ptolemaios, more precisely, from the description of the Massagetae of the Oxus region.<sup>13</sup> This the report in the *Khvatāy nāmak*,

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Tiflis, p. 98.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56; in the quoted passage there is a parallelism even to the wording of the text with the *Khvatāy nāmak* where the author explains the haughty and ferocious nature of Hormuzd by referring to his birth by a Turkish mother (cf. Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 267, 477, n. 3).

<sup>10</sup> Ed. Tiflis, p. 46. In the work of Sebēos, the Western Turks are called *t'etalk'* (*թետալք*). This name ultimately goes back to the genealogy of Genesis 10. In the adaptation of this genealogy by Hippolytos, resp., in the Armenian version of this adaptation (ed. Venice, 1904, p. 5) the word *t'etalk'* (*թետալք*, plur.) is used as the name of the Thessalians. Because of its similarity to the name *hephthal*, the word *t'etal* was also transferred to denote the Hephthalites, then the conquerors of the Hephthalites, the Western Turks, and even the Khazars who, in part, were identical with the Western Turks. Sebēos applies the name *t'etal* to the Western Turks.

<sup>11</sup> Ed. Tiflis, pp. 46–47.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* p. 47.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the *Geography* of Ps. Moses, ed. Soukry, p. 43.

according to which Bahrām's opponent, slain by Bahrām's arrow, was the Great King of the Mazk'ut'k', actually refers to Bahrām, and is not a borrowing from the history of Bistām. There is also further parallelism of obvious nature which is between the *Khvatāy nāmak* and Sebēos on the one hand, and, the Chinese sources on the other, as the latter also record that the Eastern Turkish Khagan Ch'u-lo-hou, on his raid in the far West, in 588, was killed by an arrowshot. These agreements convincingly prove that the data in the three sources about the Eastern campaign of Bahrām are, in their essence, authentic.<sup>14</sup> The same may be said of the relevant notices of the *Georgian Chronicle*, since the latter names a "Persian History" as its source,<sup>15</sup> that is some version of the *Khvatāy nāmak* or of the Romance. At last, we must also ascribe authenticity to the remarks of Theophylaktos Simokattes by which Bahrām made his fame in his wars against the Turks (III, 6: περιδοξος τῶν ὁ Βαράμ κατὰ τὸν Τουρκικὸν γενόμενος πόλεμον). Incidentally, Theophylaktos, like the *Khvatāy nāmak*, fails to distinguish between Eastern and Western Turks, and only notes that the Turks are Huns dwelling in the North-East whom the Persians habitually call "Turks" (III, 6: τῶν Ὀθωνων τοιγαροῦν τῶν πρὸς τῷ βορρᾷ τῆς ἔω, οὗς Τούρκους ἔθος Πέρσαις ἀποκαλεῖν).

There is another very important motif about which we find an agreement, in the sources of Bahrām's story. They record that, after his victorious battles Bahrām got hold of the great treasures of the Turks.<sup>16</sup> The *Khvatāy nāmak* obviously exaggerates when it puts the booty at 250,000 camel-loads,<sup>17</sup> but we

<sup>14</sup> E. Chavannes (*Documents sur les Tou-kiue [Turcs] occidentaux*, pp. 242–245) notes that Bahrām, according to a version of the Romance preserved in the work of Ta'ālibī (ed. Zotenberg, p. 653), captured the son of the Turkish Khagan at Paykand, and assumes, on the basis of this observation, that this story refers to a local dynasty of Sogdiana that acknowledged the suzerainty of the Turks. But, if we consider that all versions of the *Khvatāy nāmak* speak of the "Great King of the Turks"; moreover, that the three sources, the *Khvatāy nāmak*, Sebēos and our Chinese source, fully agree among themselves concerning the place, time and manner in which the Turkish Khagan met his death: then it is impossible to refer these events to a local dynasty of Sogdiana. It is interesting that Markwart who, at first, made several just observations concerning the agreement of the sources (*WZKM XII* [1898], pp. 188–189), later, under the influence of the theories of Chavannes, offered a new interpretation (*Wchrot*, pp. 145–162) according to which the king of the Mazk'ut'k' mentioned by Sebēos was a member of a local dynasty of Paykand. There are, however, several weak points in this later hypothesis. The main difficulty is of chronological nature. The local ruler whom Markwart identifies with the nomadic king mentioned in the text of Sebēos actually lived a generation after the events described by that author.

<sup>15</sup> M.-F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie I/1*, pp. 220–221.

<sup>16</sup> Mas'ūdi, *Murāj*, p. 213; Ta'ālibī, p. 655; Firdausī, ed. Mohl, VI, p. 650, 652.

<sup>17</sup> Some of the numbers in the Romance of Bahrām Ābīn also come from the Iranian Epic. So, above all, the number of Bahrām's troops, 12,000, quoted by Dinawari himself (p. 82) from the histories of Kay Kaus, Isfandiyār and Kay Khosrav.

must consider that Sebēos too<sup>18</sup> stresses the vastness of the booty, while Theophylaktos reports that tremendous spoils were acquired by Bahrām in the Turkish war. Neither of our sources denotes exactly the the origin of the loot, yet our various data admit the conclusion that it must have come from the vanquished camp of Western Turks, from the land of the Hephthalites, particularly from the city of Balkh and possibly from the Eastern Turks.

2. One of the most characteristic traits of the Bahrām Ābīn Romance, in all its extant versions, is its unmistakable legitimacy.<sup>19</sup> For the author, the only legitimate ruler, whatever defects of character he may have, is the Sasanian king. Hence the rebellion of Bahrām, in spite of the initial admiration of the whole of Iran for his person, must come to a tragic ending. Yet the author also links the legitimacy of the Sasanian rulers with their Kayanian descent, inasmuch as the genealogy of the Sasanians<sup>20</sup> is traced back to the Kayanian kings of the heroic past<sup>21</sup>—figures surrounded with the halo of half religious, half national glory. The illegitimate nature of Bahrām's ambition is pointed out by stressing his non-Kayanian origin: The author finds the ancestors of Bahrām among the Arsacidans<sup>22</sup>—obviously not in the Kayanian line. And,

The author of the Romance, as we see it in the version preserved by the work of Ṭabari (Nöldeke, p. 482), transferred the number 12,000 also to the history of Bistām. The same number appears again in the history of the other hero, Bahrām Gōr (*Nihāyat al-irab*, ap. Browne, p. 223). According to Dinawari, Rustam's army of 12,000 clashed with an enemy 300,000 strong, and the troops of Kay Khosrav fought 300,000. It is a returning motif of later romances, also in the tales of chivalry in the Christian Middle Ages, that the Champion of the good cause leads a smaller but morally superior army to victory over an enemy of vastly superior forces. As regards similar motifs in the Bahrām Ābīn Romance, cf. F. Altheim and Ruth Stiehl: *Ein asiatischer Staat I* (Wiesbaden 1954), pp. 206–226). — Already Nöldeke noted another common motif in the histories of Bahrām Gōr and Bahrām Ābīn (*Tabari*, pp. 101, 270).

<sup>18</sup> Ed. Tiflis, p. 47.

<sup>19</sup> Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 477; cf. also T. Kowalski, *Studia nad Šāh-nāme* (Kra-ków 1952), pp. 51–76.

<sup>20</sup> This genealogy is but one of those fictitious family trees which the nobles of the Sasanian Age used to pretend to (cf. A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides: Det Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selskab. Hist.-filol. Meddelelser XIX/2*, p. 128).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>22</sup> In the version of the Romance preserved by Firdausī in the Šāhnāma. As regards the genealogy of Bahrām, there are divergencies between the various versions of the Romance. According to one of the genealogies, Bahrām's ancestor was Gurgin ibn Mīlād, a descendant of Arīs: Mas'ūdi, *Murāj* II, p. 213: *Gurgin ibn Mīlād min naql Ir. š al-ma'rā'bi-r-Rāmī* (Altheim and Stiehl *op. cit.*, p. 208 still use the corrupt text which was corrected long ago by Markwart: *ZDMG XLIX*, p. 633). According to the Iranian Epic, Gurgin was one of the heroes of Kay Khosrav's age. However, the question remains whether these fictitious genealogies had already existed in Bahrām's time. In view of the agreement between Firdausī and Theophylaktos Simokattes (see below, p. 27) it seems quite certain that, for Bahrām's contemporaries, the Arsacidan origin of his family was a generally accepted fact.

when in a later passage,<sup>23</sup> the author establishes a genealogical relationship between Bahrām and another figure of the epic past, Ariš, "the best Aryan archer", he takes pains to explain that Ariš, in his time, was more loyal in serving the legitimate king of Ērān, Manōščihr, than Bahrām in serving Hormuzd and Khosrav. Also the transformation of Bahrām's character — caused, beside his undue ambitions, by the tragic circumstances as well — reaches its completion when Bahrām unequivocally announces his purpose which is nothing less than the final obliteration of the Sasanian dynasty.<sup>24</sup> In the author's mind this is the *eo ipso* impossible task which must cause the ruin of Bahrām. The Kayanian ruler is also the Prince of Religion whom to oppose means to join the camp of Ahriman. The author makes no attempt to prove these things; he simply takes them for granted.

For the same reason he makes Khosrav and his other heroes say things which point to the lowly and menial descent of Bahrām.<sup>25</sup> This is the recurring motif in the address of Khosrav to Bahrām, when they meet in Nahrawān and this is the argument which — at least according to the author — Bahrām can never refute. The author is not embarrassed by the mention of the treachery of the Sasanians,<sup>26</sup> neither by the nickname *Turkzād* referring to Hormuzd because of his Turkish mother,<sup>27</sup> but he can find absolutely no justification for the rebellion against the Kayanian ruler.<sup>28</sup> The decisive significance of legitimacy as also seen in the letter<sup>29</sup> of Khosrav to the Emperor Maurikios in which Khosrav says that he would prefer death by the hand of a hostile king to falling into the hands of slaves. It even verges on the absurd when the author sets Bahrām in contrast to the arch-enemy, the Turanian prince who was, after all, a legitimate ruler like Khosrav (Firdausi, ed. Mohl, VI, p. 660: 1395).

All this, of course, does not necessarily reflect real history. Although every page of the Romance witnesses to the author's historical knowledge, it is obvious that his purpose is not that of the scientific historian. Some of the events and dialogues narrated are clearly fictitious. We must also keep in mind that — in all probability — the author was not a contemporary but was writing his work at the end of the Sasanian era, about a generation after the events. Yet we can hardly doubt that the arguments with which Khosrav fought Bahrām, were, in fact, very much like those of the Romance. Although

<sup>23</sup> Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 279; the same in Firdausi's work.

<sup>24</sup> Firdausi, ed. Mohl, VI, p. 685: 1690–1695.

<sup>25</sup> *E. g.* Firdausi, ed. Mohl, VI, p. 660:1394: *sabuk māya-i bi-guhar*.

<sup>26</sup> *Tabari*, in the history of Bistām (Nöldeke, p. 479).

<sup>27</sup> *E. g.* Firdausi, ed. Mohl, VI, p. 562: 223; Ta'ālibī, p. 642.

<sup>28</sup> The one of the persons of the *Šāhnāma* who voices this most clearly (ed. Mohl, VI, p. 680: 1639) is Gurdiya.

<sup>29</sup> Beside Firdausi, Theophylaktos Simokattes (IV, 11) also publishes the alleged text of the letter. Agapios too (ed. Vasiliev, pp. 442–446) quotes this exchange of letters.

we may reasonably doubt the authenticity of the epically narrated altercation at Nahrawān, we may safely suppose that Khosrav actually regarded the rebellion of Bahrām as a devilish action of low-born men against Kayanian legitimacy, i. e. against all religion and commonsense. Neither can we ignore the fact that, in his letter to emperor Maurikios, Khosrav actually wrote of a rebellion of slaves. The recognition of Khosrav, on the part of Emperor Maurikios — himself a low-born man —, as the legitimate Persian king is best attested by the fact that he gave his own daughter in marriage to Khosrav. The latter must have employed the same argument in his letters addressed to the Turkish Khagan, although it is very probable that Khosrav, himself a son of the Turkish Khagan's daughter, in the moments of his predicament, while emphasising the legitimacy of his throne, also referred to the fact of this kinship. On the other hand, it is understandable that the author of the Romance says as little as possible about these — not exactly illustrious — ties.

The author is also well informed about the Arsacidan origin of Bahrām's family. On this point the Romance fundamentally agrees with the report of Theophylaktos Simokattes. The latter too asserts the Arsacidan origin of Bahrām (III, 18: τὸν δὲ Βαρᾶμ τῆς τοῦ Μιρράμου οἰκαρχίας γενόμενον δῆμον δ' Ἀρσακίδου). Yet it is exactly this agreement that raises suspicion about the author's further arguments. If Bahrām was really of Arsacidan origin, he was not likely to allow himself being called a slave. Neither would he have acquiesced in Khosrav's expropriation of the claim to Kayanian origin for the Sasanians. It is hardly a mere coincidence that, according to the testimony of the Moslem translators of Middle Persian literature, certain authorities ascribed Kayanian origin to the Arsacidans,<sup>30</sup> that is, to the ancestors of Bahrām. The genealogical linking of Bahrām's family with Ariš seems also to be of late origin. We can hardly doubt that this fictitious relationship, which, incidentally, conflicts with Bahrām's Arsacidan descent, was only conceived after Bahrām's famous arrowshot when it was but natural to suppose his kinship<sup>31</sup> with Ariš, the famous archer of the Iranian epical romances. The latter too was regarded by certain authorities as a Kayanian, but there are no indications that this was due to the supposed relationship between Bahrām and Ariš.<sup>32</sup>

In summing up, we may note that, for Bahrām's contemporaries, no one but a Kayanian had the indispensable religious pre-requisites of ascending the royal throne. Therefore we have reason to suppose that Bahrām, just as later Bistām, the rebellious maternal uncle of Khosrav, made claim to Kayanian

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, col. 28a. The Sasanians also traced back to Span-diyāt their genealogy (Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, p. 148).

<sup>31</sup> Already Nöldeke (*Tabari*, p. 279, n. 5) held this opinion.

<sup>32</sup> The cause was the mistaken identification of the names *Kay Arš(an)* and *Ariš* (cf. Justi, *op. cit.*, col. 88b–89a; Markwart: *ZDMG* XLIX, pp. 633–635).

descent.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless it is, of course, hardly possible to reconstruct his actual arguments with which he supported this claim, since all our relevant sources reflect the official Sasanian view on this matter. We must regard the author of the Romance as one of the main representatives of the official standpoint who even employs the transparent subterfuge of making Bahrām say things which prove the "Kayanian" legitimacy of his enemies, the Sasanians.

3. In the Iranian epical romances many of the ancient heroes of religion are vested with the traits of historic personalities who lived in the ages of the Achaemenids, Arsacidans and Sasanians.<sup>34</sup> This inseparable unity of historical, poetic and religious elements is just as characteristic of the oldest parts of the Epic as of those composed in the age of the Sasanians. The great events of the wars waged against the Arabs and the Graeco-Roman world, on the Western frontiers, and against the nomads, on the Eastern frontiers, inspired, again and again, the poets of the Epic who commemorated the incidents of the great struggles in which the heroes of religion were engaged: first against the Scythians, Massagetae, Alans and the Sakas, then against the peoples of the Hsiung-nu, the Hephthalites and Chionitae and, at last, against the Turks.<sup>35</sup> This influence of historic events often produces typical cases of anachronism when the editors of the Sasanian age transpose certain motifs of later events to the most ancient history of Ērān. In view of the frequent repetition of certain typical incidents in the wars between Ērān and Tūrān this poetic licence is easily understandable.

The story of the greatest Iranian hero, Spandiyāt, also underwent this process of anachronistic adaptation. Spandiyāt was the hero of Zoroaster's Millennium who, at the time of Vistāsp, thrice vanquished and finally killed Arjāsp, the prince of Tūrān. In the light of certain traditions, the first transformation of the story seems to reflect the fact that, after the Caucasian wanderings of the Alans and Massagetae, the figure of Spandiyāt too was linked with the Caucasus.<sup>36</sup> The second adaptation was effected under the impact of Bahrām Čöbīn's story. According to the testimony of extant data, the old Epic does not extend Spandiyāt's wars beyond the Oxus. This is attested not only by the *Ayākār ī Zarerān*<sup>37</sup> and the *Šahrīhā ī Ērān*<sup>38</sup> but also by a passage of Sebēos<sup>39</sup> in which the easternmost point of Spandiyāt's campaign is identified

<sup>33</sup> Bistām also traced the line of his ancestors to Spandiyāt (Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 480).

<sup>34</sup> W. Barthold: *ZDMG* XCIII (1944), pp. 121–157.

<sup>35</sup> Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, pp. 126–129.

<sup>36</sup> Markwart: *ZDMG* XLIX, pp. 639–640; *Prov. Cap.*, p. 37. — By the light of recent research, the history of Spandiyāt is regarded as a doublet of the Rōstakhm story (K. H. Hansen, *Das iranische Königsbuch* [Wiesbaden 1954], pp. 134–137).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Benveniste: *Journal Asiat.* 1932/I: p. 257.

<sup>38</sup> Markwart, *Prov. Cap.*, p. 10.

<sup>39</sup> Ed. Tiflis, p. 46.

with Balkh. On the other hand, Bal'amī<sup>40</sup> and Dīnawarī<sup>41</sup> report that Spandiyāt too progressed beyond the city of Balkh and also crossed the Oxus. They tell us that Spandiyāt, on passing the "seven stations" (*haft avān*) progressed as far as the Copper Fortress, the Turanian capital, where he killed Arjāsp. We also have a tradition in Tabarī's work<sup>42</sup> according to which Spandiyāt, after these events, made a tour in the country of the Turks which took him as far as Tibet and the Caucasus. The motifs of crossing the Oxus, of mentioning the Copper City and the killing of the Turanian prince clearly indicate that the elaboration of the original narrative was patterned after the story of Bahrām Čöbīn.

As to the name of *Copper City*, a recent edition of a Tibetan text of Tun-Huang origin<sup>43</sup> indicates that, around 750, this was the name of the capital of the Central Asian Uyghurs. The Arabic *Madīnatu s-sufrīya*, ('Copper City')<sup>44</sup> and, in part, also the Persian *Diž-i rōyīn*, respectively *Rōyīn diž* ('Copper Fortress') are translations of the Turkish *Baqır baliğ*<sup>45</sup> mentioned in the Tibetan text. Central Asia furnishes many analogies to this nomenclative parallelism. However, the Persian name *Copper Fortress*, with this substitution of *fortress* for *city* in the original Turkish name, also suggests the ancient elements of the Iranian Epic. Already in the Avestan times, Fraṇrasyān (Frāsyāp) was thought of as possessing a cave-like underground fortress, made of iron (metal), (*hankana*)<sup>46</sup> which, however, the saga fancied to be in Azerbaijan.

The identification of the names *Diž-i rōyīn* and *Baqır baliğ* very probably enables us to give the right interpretation of a moot passage in the *Bundahišn*. The passage in question<sup>47</sup> calls the mountain on the top of which the fortress of Frāsyāp was built *Bak(g)īr* (*Gr. Bundahišn*, ed. Anklesaria, p. 79<sub>4-6</sub>: "*Ba-qlr kōf ī hān ī Frāsyāp ī tūr pa drupūštīh dāšt u-š hān mān ī andarūn kart*: It is on the Mount of Bagīr that Frāsyāp had his fortification and built his inner abode'). The identification of *Diž-i rōyīn* ~ *Baqır baliğ* as well as the

<sup>40</sup> Transl. of Zotenberg II, p. 257.

<sup>41</sup> P. 82.

<sup>42</sup> I, p. 680; cf. Markwart, *Wehrol*, pp. 156–160.

<sup>43</sup> Published by J. Bacot: *Journal Asiat.* 1956: pp. 137–153.

<sup>44</sup> *Chronicle of Bukhara*, ed. Schefer, p. 20.

<sup>45</sup> 'Copper City'; I am indebted to Prof. L. Ligeti for having checked for me the reading *Ba-ker pa-liğ* of the Tun-huang MS.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *Altiran*, *Wb.*, col. 1769. sq. — It will therefore be necessary to modify, at least in part, the opinion voiced by Markwart (*Prov. Cap.*, p. 36) and Herzfeld (*Arch. Mitt.* III, p. 65), according to which the place-name *Copper City* should be of purely mythological nature. I have dealt with the problems concerning Bahrām Čöbīn and *Baqır baliğ* in *Studia Antiqua* IV (1957), pp. 301 sq.

<sup>47</sup> *Bundahišn*, ed. Anklesaria, p. 79: 4–6; ed. Justi *cap.* XII, 20, p. 23, from b. Already R. Stackelberg (*ZDMG* LVIII [1904], p. 858) noticed that the reading of the Pahlavi *B.k.y.l(r)* as *Bakīr* would yield the Turkish original of the name *Copper City* in the Arab and Persian sources (cf. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, pp. 87–89).

agreement in substance prompt us strongly to give our preference, here too, to the reading *Bakir*.

This linking of historical episodes to cities in the Iranian Epic, as indicated by numerous analogies in the *Šahrihā i Ērān* and Moslem geographers was a general custom in Persia, not only in the Sasanian era but also in subsequent times. Already the Hellenistic age furnishes similar phenomena: a number of cities regarded Alexander the Great and various personalities of Alexander's campaigns as their *ἡγῶς καὶ κτίστης*. Some of the stories about the founding personalities refer to genuine historical facts, while others narrate fictitious events. Yet the influence of the Iranian Epic and that of the story of Alexander the Great was not limited to Cisoxania, but it was also strongly felt in Turkish regions which the Epic regards as belonging to Tūrān. The Turkish settlers of Transoxania, under the influence of Iranian culture, were even proud to call themselves the people of Frāsyāp ~ Afrāsiyāb. They regarded Tonga-Afrāsiyāb as the ancestor of the Balasagun branch of the dynasty of Qarakhanids (*Āl-i Afrāsiyāb*) and, according to tradition, the other centre of the Qarakhanids, Kasghar, had been the capital of Afrāsiyāb.<sup>48</sup> The genealogies of Turkān (Tarkān)-khatun, the mother of Muḥammad Khwārazm-šāh,<sup>49</sup> and that of the Seldjuk dynasty were also traced back to Afrāsiyāb.<sup>50</sup> According to a Qarakhanid tradition — as recorded by Kāshgharī — the city of Barēuq in Turkestan was built by Afrāsiyāb who kept there in prison Biḡan, son of Bukhtnašsar.<sup>51</sup> Tradition, following the explanation of folk etymology, links the city of Barmān in Eastern Turkestan<sup>52</sup> with the name of Barmān, son of Afrāsiyāb.<sup>53</sup> There is another tradition recorded by Kāshgharī according to which

<sup>48</sup> Kāshgharī, ed. Constantinople I, pp. 44, 94, 288, 403; II, 184, III, 31; Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen* p. 87; Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Faḡlān's Reisebericht*, pp. 279–281; O. Pritsak: *ZDMG* (1951), p. 285; Juwaynī mentions that the ruler of Balasagun, the other Qarakhanid centre, claimed to be a descendant of Afrāsiyāb (Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 913-4).

<sup>49</sup> Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.* ed. Bedjan, p. 261-2. Afrāsiyāb figures here as "King of the Huns".

<sup>50</sup> Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Faḡlān's Reisebericht*, p. 275; Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, p. 106; the *Oghuz Epic*, as preserved in the Seray MS of the *Seldjuknāma* mentions also the name of Alp Ariz, son of Afrāsiyāb (Z. V. Togan: *BSOS* VI [1932], pp. 852–855; id., *Ibn Faḡlān* p. XXXI).

<sup>51</sup> Kāshgharī I, p. 318, 388; Cf. Brūnī's *Chronology* (ed. Sachau), p. 111.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, III, p. 372. *Barmān* as name a city occurs also in the forms *Parmān* (Persian), *Pa-li-mang* (Chinese), and *Par-ban* (Tibetan); Z. V. Togan: *ZDMG* XC (1936), p. 35. The name *Barmān* may perhaps be sought also behind the Chinese transcription of *Mo-man*, v. Pelliot: *Journ. Asiat.* 1920, p. 135, n. Popular etymology has also connected further personal and place-names with the Iranian Epic, so e. g. the name of the Khotanese ruler, *Čungši* with that of Jamsēd, and the name *Qazvin* with *Qaz*, the daughter of Afrāsiyāb.

<sup>53</sup> Regarding the part played by Barmān in the Epic see K. H. Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

the name of the city *Barsghān* was derived from the name of another son of Afrāsiyāb.<sup>54</sup> Yet another tradition — also recorded by Kāshgharī — which is very probably related to the legend concerning Oghuz-khan, asserts that the name Barsghān was originally borne by a stableman of Uyghur Khan. A third tradition preserved by Gardīzī links the name with the Eastern campaign of Alexander the Great.<sup>55</sup>

As these data indicate, the Iranian Epic exerted a strong influence on the Turks. In the case of the Magyar settlers in what is now Hungary we meet similar phenomena. The Latin chronicle-writers of medieval Europe identified the invading Magyars with the the Huns, people of Attila. The Hungarian historiographers of the XIIIth and XIVth centuries,<sup>56</sup> in their Latin writings, fully adopted this erroneous identification and portrayed Hungarian history as the sequence to the history of the Huns. Even after the XIVth century this view was perpetuated, and the identification of Magyars and Huns played a considerable part in the historical literature of the XIXth century, and, even after the recognition of the Finno-Ugrian origin of the Hungarian language, it has but gradually yielded its place to a better conception.

As to the capital of Afrāsiyāb, the Copper City, we also note the emergence of different local traditions in the Transoxanian regions. According to one of these local traditions — as recorded in the *Bundahišn* — the mountain *Bakir* and the city of Frāsiyāp were to be found where the city of Rām Pērōz lies. As to the location of the latter, we have several conflicting traditions. The only certainty seems to be that the city, judged by its Persian name, was somewhere in Iran or in its close neighbourhood.<sup>57</sup>

According to another tradition, the name *Copper City* was but the second name of the city of Paykand which was about thirty kilometres from Bukhara.<sup>58</sup> This tradition too shows the influence of Bahrām Čobīn's story. Firdausī names Āwāza, the fortification of the Turkish Khagan, as the extreme point reached by Bahrām's campaign. Now, the name *Āwāza* also appears in connection with Paykand, in the compound name *Āwāza-i Paykand*.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Ed. Constantinople I, pp. 61, 329, 366; II, 41, 227; III, 168, 182, 308.

<sup>55</sup> Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, p. 94.

<sup>56</sup> Represented mainly by the *Gesta Hungarorum* of the chroniclers Simon de Kéza and "P. Magister" (Anonymus).

<sup>57</sup> As to the site of *Šahr Rām Pērōz* see E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* I (Berlin 1929), p. 129; III (Berlin 1931), p. 65.

<sup>58</sup> Markwart, *Wehrd.*, pp. 139, 164; Barthold: *ZDMG* XCVIII, pp. 142–143. Rāmētan near Paykand was also reputed of having contained the underground metal fortress of Fraḡrasyan ~ Afrāsiyāb.

<sup>59</sup> According to Minorsky (*Hudūd al-'ālam*, pp. 56, 73, 185–180, 211) the word *āwāza* was a common noun meaning 'swamp'. This is rendered probable by the word existing also in Armenian, explained in Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik* I/1, p. 111, as 'Wasser-Behälter, Teich, Taufbecken'. On the other hand it is not very likely that there should

Under the impact of Bahrām Čobin's Romance the epic narratives concerning Ariš also underwent a change. The successful arrowshot by Bahrām not only gave rise to a later genealogical connection between him and Ariš, but it also produced the idea that the latter had been the man who killed the Turanian prince. According to the old legend, Frāsyāp was killed by one of the great heroes of the Second Millennium, Kay Khosrav. The late tradition concerning Ariš has been preserved by the Moslem sources.<sup>60</sup>

4. Among the Persian apocalyptic writings which, in the form of a *vaticinatio ex eventu*, relate Sasanian history, the collapse of the Sasanian empire, the Arab rule and then, in the form of a genuine prophecy, describe the events of the last days, most important are the *Zand ī Vahuman Yasn* (*Bahman Yašt*) and the *Žāmāsp nāmak*. The relations of these two sources to the Avestan *Vahman Yasn*, to one another and to other products of apocalyptic literature composed in the Hellenistic age were in the 1930s successfully elucidated. R. Reitzenstein<sup>61</sup> and F. Cumont<sup>62</sup> have dealt with the relationship of the *Zand ī Vahuman Yasn* to the apocalyptic literature of the Hellenistic age. E. Benveniste investigating the age of the *Žāmāsp nāmak* concluded that it is not merely a late abridgement based on material included also in the *Zand ī Vahuman Yasn*, but contains ancient elements to be found in the *Divinae Institutiones* of Lactantius — which came from the *Vahman Yasn* but were not preserved in the *Zand ī Vahuman Yasn*.<sup>63</sup> According to Benveniste, the *Žāmāsp nāmak* also contains traits of the Old Epic concerning Manōščihr and Frāsyāp on the basis of a tradition different from while in substance concordant with that of the Old Epic. In his notes to the *Ayātākār ī Žāmāspik* this late and enlarged version of the *Žāmāsp nāmak*, G. Messina

be a connection between *Āwāza* in the geographical name *Āwāza-i Paykand* and the proper name *h. β. z.*' figuring in the Parthian history of the Manichean mission, as has been conditionally suggested by W. B. Henning (*Journal of the Greater India Society*, XI/2, pp. 89–90). Markwart (*Prov. Cap.*, pp. 10, 34–35) supposed *Āwāza* to be a corrupted form of (*Diz-i*) *Navāzak*, mentioned in *Šakrihā-i Erān* and the *Geography* of Ps. Moses. The latter placename, however, designates a Cisoxanian locality near Balkh, whereas in the Bahrām Čobin Romance *Āwāza* is supposed to have been beyond the Oxus, so that this identification can hardly be correct. A. W. W. Jackson (*Zoroastrian Studies* [New York 1928], p. 272) refers the name of *Navāzak* to *Nawīdah*, situated north of Balkh.

<sup>60</sup> Dinawari p. 92, where Khosrav is quoting *exempla* from the epical romances. Here besides Ariš, he also mentions Gōdarz, who had, with exemplary faithfulness, served Šahpūr II. during his minority. Of this Gōdarz no other sources have told us so far (cf. Barthold: *ZDMG* XCVIII, p. 130).

<sup>61</sup> *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, pp. 44 sqq.

<sup>62</sup> F. Cumont: *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1931/I: pp. 64–96.

<sup>63</sup> E. Benveniste: *ibid.*, 1932: pp. 337–380; *id.*: *Le Monde oriental* 1932–1933: pp. 192–204.

pointed out<sup>64</sup> some difficulties in this assumption of Benveniste. The most important of these is that the *Žāmāsp nāmak* speaks of the eschatological events of Zoroaster's Millennium, while Manōščihr is a figure of the Third Millennium. The *Žāmāsp nāmak* refrains from naming the victorious Prince of the Last Days; the *Zand ī Vahuman Yasn* calls him *Vahrām*. Since the latter name is also found in the apocalyptic section of the *Bundahišn*,<sup>65</sup> there can be no doubt that the text of the *Bundahišn* is also closely related to that of the *Žāmāsp nāmak*.

We may add to the expositions of Benveniste and Messina that it is not only to the lost *Vahman Yasn* and the ancient legends that the apocalyptic and eschatological portions of the *Zand ī Vahuman Yasn*, the *Žāmāsp nāmak* and the *Bundahišn* are closely related, but, in all probability, they also have relations — closer than we hitherto supposed — with later Sasanian history.

The *Žāmāsp nāmak*, in dealing with the events of the Fourth Millennium, vividly portrays the emergence of a false pretender.<sup>66</sup> This "insignificant and dark" (*xvartak ut apaitāk*) person arrives, with a great army, from Khorasan and, after seizing power, he disappears (*apaitāk bavet*), in the middle of his reign (*miyān ī pātaxšāhīh*), whereupon the realm is taken over by foreigners. After these events "the" victorious king (*aparvēz xvatāy*) takes away large territories and many cities from the Romans. But, under the reign of his sons, who rule violently and lawlessly, *Ērān*'s fortunes again decline. Dire misery follows in which it will be better not to be born and thus not to witness the great conflict that will take place at the end of Zoroaster's Millennium. Then the text describes the eschatological battle of Mihr and *Ēšm*.

But this description is unexpectedly interrupted by an interpolated passage which again speaks of a false pretender who comes from *Nemrōč*, that is, from the South, and, after great bloodshed, seizes power, then flees from his enemies to *Zāvul* whence he returns with a vast army and brings great ruin upon *Ērān* so that everyone flees from him. This portion is obviously closely related to the previous narrative. Again it is a false pretender that brings misery upon *Ērān*. But now his end is not related. The whole passage seems to be an incomplete doublet of the former narrative. The only definite divergence is in the fact that, in the former version, the false pretender comes from Khorasan, that is, from the East, while, according to the second version, from the South.

Although the *Žāmāsp nāmak* envelops all these events in the cloud of purposeful vagueness which is so characteristic of apocalyptic style, we cannot help noticing, in this passage, a series of obvious allusions to the story of

<sup>64</sup> G. Messina, *Libro Apocalittico persiano Ayātākār ī Žāmāspik* (Roma 1939), pp. 110, n. 2.

<sup>65</sup> Ed. in transliteration by G. Messina: *Orientalia* IV (1935), p. 268.

<sup>66</sup> Ed. in transliteration by H. W. Bailey: *BSOS* VI (1931), p. 581.

Bahrām Čöbîn. It was Bahrām who, on his return from Khorasan, emerged as a false pretender. It was Bahrām who, in the extant Arabic and Persian reflexes of the *Khvatây nāmak*, keeps on figuring, according to the feudalistic and legitimistic points of view as an insignificant person — or as Fridausi puts it — “a low-born man”. It was again Bahrām who, on his return from the East, seized power by violence and, above all, it was Bahrām who, disappeared “in the midst of his reign”.<sup>67</sup> The subsequent rule by foreigners is an obvious reference to the fact that the reign of Khosrav II was reestablished by the Byzantine army. At this point, however, the text seems to be defective and appears as though it were an abbreviated version of a longer original. The expression *aparvêz avatây* is an unmistakable allusion to Khosrav Parvêz who, in the first part of his reign, took away Palestine and a great part of Asia Minor, that is, indeed, a large territory from the Romans. Jerusalem too was among the occupied cities. The collapse of Persia and the Arab conquest also took place, in fact, a few years after his death, under the reign of his successors. So we cannot doubt that the subsequent description — in the style and, in part, with the vocabulary of the old *Vahman Yasn* — of the battle of Mihr and Êsm actually portrays the war of the Mohammedan conquerors against Zoroastrianism.

The next passage, in all its features, again reminds us of the history of Bahrām Čöbîn. One must not be put off by the substitution of Nēmrōč for Khorasan, as we have certain traditions according to which Bahrām actually came from the South, from the province of Fārs.<sup>68</sup> The next features tally with the Bahrām story. A large part of Bahrām’s army actually rallied from Hephthalite territory which also included Zāvulastān.<sup>69</sup> We can also explain the reference to the troubles and miseries attending the emergence of the usurper, for the campaign of Bahrām and the ensuing civil war actually brought great misery upon Persia.

In view of the apocalyptic cast of our sources we are not at all surprised that the prophecy concerning Bahrām repeatedly appears in the text. The author of the *Žāmāsp nāmak*, who compiled ancient apocalyptic texts and pre-dated vaticinations that were actually composed at the end of the Sasanian era, was ignorant of the real historical background of his texts and thus failed to notice that both prophecies referred to the same events of history. It lies in the very nature of apocalyptic literature that the meaning of the more or less hidden allusions is soon lost. This characteristic trait of apocalyptic literature may give the clue to a passage of the *Zand ī Vahuman Yasn* (I, 7—8) in which

<sup>67</sup> The same expression (*apaitāk bavēt*) occurs in the *Zand ī Vahuman Yasn* (II, 19) in connection with Alexander the Great, see Benveniste: *Rev. de l’hist. des rel.* 1932 : p. 370.

<sup>68</sup> Ištakhri, ed. de Goeje, p. 143 ; cf. Bailey : *loc. cit.*, p. 690.

<sup>69</sup> Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 274, n. 2. The *Bundah- n* (p. 217<sub>12</sub>; Messina, *loc. cit.*, p. 268) speaks of Kāvulastān in the same connection.

Khosrav Anōšarvān is reported to have instructed to the clergy to reveal only to their relatives the commentary of the prophecies concerning Mazdak.<sup>70</sup>

A close connection can be found between the prophecy of the *Bundahišn* on the one hand, and the *Žāmāsp-nāmak* on the other, with regard to the contents and in part also of the text. In both works the history of the Sasanians is followed by the description of the destructions wrought under the Arab rule (*Bundahišn*, ed. Anklesaria 216<sub>2</sub>—217<sub>1</sub> = *Žāmāsp-nāmak* § 1—57), and subsequently by the interpolated part.

The parallel text of the *Bundahišn* also proves clearly that the second prophecy of the *Žāmāsp nāmak* is actually a doublet of the first prophecy concerning Bahrām. In the text of the *Bundahišn* we find but one instead of two prophecies of similar contents, and notably at the place (pp. 216—217, ed. Messina, pp. 267—268) that corresponds, in sequence, to the place of the second prophecy in the *Žāmāsp nāmak*, that is, in the passage which follows the description of the Arab conquest and the ruin of Persia. However, the text of the *Bundahišn*’s prophecy agrees not with the second of the *Žāmāsp nāmak*’s prophecies, but with that of the first. This latter, consequently, keeps to the right chronological sequence by preceding the reign of Khosrav II. The vaticination of the *Bundahišn* also speaks of a bad man (*vat mart*) who comes from Khorasan, then expells the inhabitants of Patašxvārgar, reigns infamously for several years, so that people flee from him to the shores of Kāzarūn and into the mountains, until he disappears (*tāv bē nē manēt*). Then the invasions of the Turks and the Chionitae take place, followed by a year of Byzantine rule (*ut kad Rōmīk rasēnd ut evak sar pātaxšāhīh rādēnend . . .*) The last sentence, which we miss in the *Žāmāsp nāmak*, is a particularly clear reference to the history of Khosrav Parvêz. Of the whole Sasanian and even of the entire Persian history it is only the year 590 A. D., that fits this description. It was in this year that Khosrav fled from Bahrām Čöbîn to the Byzantine emperor Maurikios, whereupon the dominion over Persia was actually exercised by Khosrav’s patron, Maurikios.

It is noteworthy that the *Bundahišn*, in connection with the usurper’s attack against Ērān, does not speak of Ērān but of Patašxvārgar. The latter name<sup>71</sup> obviously alludes to Frāsyāp’s attack against the king of Patašxvārgar, Manōšōihr. We also find the same name in a third parallel text, the *Zand ī Vahuman Yasn* (III, 10). In this work too the prophecies concerning the Sasanian period extend farther than the reign of Khosrav Anōšarvān, respectively the movement of Mazdak (II, 22), while the portrayal

<sup>70</sup> West, *Pahl. Texts* I, p. 194 ; cf. Tavadian, *Die mittelpersische Sprache und Literatur der Zarathustrier* (Leipzig 1956), pp. 122—123.

<sup>71</sup> E. Honigsmann — A. Maricq, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (Bruxelles 1953), pp. 92—94, 175.



of the last days is much more circumstantial than either in the *Žāmāsp nāmak* or in the *Bundahišn*. Though the latter descriptions contain many ancient elements, we find, among the eschatological enemies of Ērān, besides the Byzantines, Arabs and the Chionitae, also the Turks. This plainly points to a time after the historical appearance of the Turks, that is, after 550 A. D.

Also in the account of the great onslaught against Ērān, we may notice a characteristic parallelism between the eschatological writings and the history of Bahrām Čōbīn. The *Zand ī Vahuman Yasn* (III, 8—10), as well as the *Žāmāsp nāmak* (§ 73) and the *Ayātkār ī Žāmāspik* (ed. Messina, 78) portray the final onslaught of the eschatological enemies as a joint and simultaneous action: the Turks, Byzantines and Arabs launch their attack against Ērān at the same time. But also in the history of Bahrām Čōbīn we are informed of a simultaneous attack of the Turks, Byzantines and Arabs. The only difference is that the *Khvatāy nāmak* separately mentions, beside the Turks, also the Turkish Khazars. As to the historical accuracy of the accounts in the *Khvatāy nāmak*, Nöldeke was somewhat sceptical about them. He pointed out that no large-scale Byzantine action was launched against Persia at that time, that the Arab attack too figures only in the *Khvatāy nāmak*, and that the names of the purported Arab leaders are puzzling.<sup>72</sup> According to Nöldeke, no other source mentions the Khazars in this connection. Although Nöldeke's doubts with regard to the mention of the Khazars were not justified,<sup>73</sup> we must admit that the other sources do not corroborate the report according to which all these attacks took place at the same time. On the other hand, the formidable incursion of the Turks, the attacks of the Byzantines and the marauding expedition of Northern peoples ("Khazars"), on the initiative of the Georgians, all took place within a single year (588—589). The terrible threats of war from all directions induced the feeling in the Iranian population that the last days foretold in the sacred books had arrived. This eschatological mood is reflected not only in the above-mentioned apocalyptic writings but also in the accounts of the *Khvatāy nāmak* which do not aim at a chronologically accurate description of what appears to be an almost chaotic swirl of events, but rather try to reflect the emotions which the formidable sequence of threats evoked.

After the passage on Bahrām Čōbīn, which is in a legitimistic vein, the apocalyptic writings continue the description of the eschatological battles the conclusion of which is the triumph of the king of Patašxvārgar over the enemies of Ērān. This description, especially in the *Žāmāsp nāmak*, is clear and circumstantial. We are told that Mihr sends an envoy to the king of Patašxvārgar with the question why he supports the "deaf and blind" king (*ēn avatāy karr*

<sup>72</sup> Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 269, n. 4.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. C. Toumanoff: *Le Muséon* LXX (1952), p. 43, n. 5.

*ut kōr*).<sup>74</sup> He exhorts the king of Patašxvārgar to follow the example of his royal ancestors (§ 90). To this the king of Patašxvārgar makes the objection that he, unlike his fathers, does not possess treasures (§ 91). Then the envoy shows him the treasures of Frāsyāp (§ 93), whereupon the king of Patašxvārgar takes possession of the treasures and, with the army of Zāvul, attacks his enemies (§ 94). On learning this, the Turks, Arabs and Romans (Byzantines) join their forces in order to take back the treasures of the king of Patašxvārgar (§ 95). The latter, however, withdraws to the centre of Ērān, then, in the White Forest, on the plain where once Vištāsp fought the White Xyōns,<sup>75</sup> engages in a big battle with the enemies and achieves a great victory over them (§ 99—98). Thereupon, obeying Ōhrmazd's command, comes forth Pišyōtn from Kang, the fortress of the Kayanians, to re-establish religion (§ 99—103). The Xyōns and evil Dēvs are vanquished, the Age of the Wolf passes away and the Age of the Lamb begins (§ 104—105). That is the beginning of Ušetar's Millennium.

These prophecies, even to a greater extent than the foregoing passages, betray that they were composed under the impression of Bahrām Čōbīn's historical part. We must notice, first of all, the expression "the King of Patašxvārgar", which not only reminds us of the Legend concerning Manōščīhr, but also alludes to the fact that the centre of the Mihrāns, the family of Bahrām Čōbīn, had been the city of Rayy, a place in the immediate neighbourhood of Patašxvārgar, i. e. Tabaristān, and perhaps to the fact that a considerable part of the supporters of Bahrām, and later of Bistām, came from the provinces bordering on Tabaristān. Quite remarkable is the argument which the envoy uses in order to persuade the King of Patašxvārgar to usurp the throne, when he reminds the king that his ancestors too had been kings. Thus the King of Patašxvārgar belongs to a dynasty different from that of the "deaf and blind king" against whom he is instigated to rebel. There can be no doubt that this is an allusion to the Arsacidan origin of Bahrām's family, the Mihrāns. Since the rebels, also according to the *Khvatāy nāmak*, had blinded Hormuzd before the return of Bahrām, the expression "deaf and blind" also seems to be an unmistakable reference to the history of Bahrām. In the *Khvatāy nāmak*, the rôle of the envoy sent by Mihr to the King of Patašxvārgar is played by Bahrām's fellow-

<sup>74</sup> The expression *karr ut kōr* 'deaf and blind' is according to Bailey (*loc. cit.*, p. 591) the traditional Pahl. translation of Avestan *kaoyam karafnqma* ('of Kavis and Karapans'). It is, in view of a letter ascribed by Eliše to Mihrnerseh (quoted by Meillet: *Rev. des Ét. Arméniennes* VI [1931], pp. 1—3; ed. Ter Minasean [Erevan 1957], p. 26, where the expression "zoul . . . eu koir: deaf . . . and blind" occurs) more than a learned comment. Yet Herzfeld's explanation (*Zoroaster and His World* [Princeton 1947], pp. 108—109) also deserves notice. According to the latter the two Pahlavi words have nothing in common with the old words and are therefore to be regarded as more acrostics of Pahlavi "kay ut karp".

<sup>75</sup> As to the great battle between Vištāsp and Arjāsp in the White Forest, see *Ayātkār ī Zārērān* § 12, cf. Markwart, *Wchrot*, p. 155; Benveniste *JAs.* 1032/I, p. 257.

commanders who, like the envoy of Mihr, call on Bahrām to rebel against the king.<sup>76</sup> Another unmistakable reference is in the argument with which Bahrām tries to refuse when he says that he has neither treasures nor an army, and it is only after the acquisition of Frāsyāp's treasures and with troops brought from Zāvul that he finally undertakes his campaign against the enemies of Ērān. In his above-quoted article, Benveniste makes some instructive remarks on the meaning of Frāsyāp's treasures in the old legend. But it is clear that the mention of Frāsyāp's treasures in this connection is not a mere archaizing feature, and that the actual historical reference is here to the vast booty which Bahrām acquired after the defeat of the Hephthalites and Turks and the killing of the Turkish Khagan.

Now, as compared with the former vaticinations which we have referred to the history of Bahrām, we may notice here but one significant difference. It appears, at the first sight, that the author of this vaticination does not regard Bahrām as a false pretender. He even looks down upon the reigning king as a "deaf and blind" person. The same attitude marks the further details of the prophecy which describe the battles of the last days. But, at this point, all allusions to the history of Bahrām Čöbīn come to an end. According to the *Žāmāsp nāmak* as well as the other apocalyptic writings, all the enemies of the king of Patašxvārgar gather together in the White Forest. Again, the mention of the name "White Forest" is an archaism, and it is in a more pedantic than apocalyptic style that the compilers of the *Zand ī Vahuman Yasn* (III, 8—9), enumerate all the great battles which, according to the Iranian epic romances, were fought in the White Forest. According to the prophecy, the final battle ends with the great victory of the king of Patašxvārgar. An event of this kind did not take place in the actual history of Bahrām Čöbīn. In the decisive battle of Bahrām with the returning Khosrav and the Byzantines, the Turks did not fight on Khosrav's side, and the battle was not won by Bahrām but by Khosrav. So, at this point, we deal with a genuine forecast of the future. The date of this prophecy can be best estimated by the important part ascribed to the Arabs, the eschatological enemies of Ērān.

In the accounts of the final conflict and the re-establishment of religion we may note two important elements. The first is the description of the victory and the other the name of the King of Patašxvārgar. The victory of Ērān is achieved by the might of Yazdān and the Splendour of the Aryans and the Kayān (*Žāmāsp nāmak* § 97: *ut pat nērōk ī Yazdān ut Ērān ut Kayān xvarr*). Thus, according to the composer of this prophecy, the victorious Prince of the Last Days, the King of Patašxvārgar, *alias* Bahrām Čöbīn, is the heir to the legitimate reign of the Kayanians. As we have seen above, this was the very claim which the partisans of the Sasanian dynasty refused to recognise, while

<sup>76</sup> Dinawarī, p. 85; Ta'ālibī, p. 658.

certain traditions preserved by Moslem authors also attest the Kayanian origin of the Mihrāns.

The *Žāmāsp nāmak* does not name the king of Patašxvārgar, but the *Zand ī Vahuman Yasn* (III, 14, 39) and the *Bundahišn* (p. 217<sub>13</sub>; Messina: *loc. cit.*, p. 268) tell his name. In view of the foregoing exposition one is not surprised at the name given in these writings to the king of Patašxvārgar: Kay Vahrām! It is in this name that the motifs of Bahrām's history and the ancient apocalyptic elements are most perfectly fused. Of course, no plainer allusion to Bahrām's history is conceivable, while, at the same time, the name *Vahrām* (*Vərəθragna*), in the ancient apocalyptic nomenclature, is the customary and well-known expression of the hope that the eschatological victory will be achieved for Ērān by the Genius of Victory himself, that is, Vahrām. Therefore, although the original text which formed the basis of the Pahlavi apocalypses discussed here is no longer extant, we may hardly doubt that, in that text too, the name *Vahrām* figured as the name of the eschatological hero, and that it was this name<sup>77</sup> that prompted the ingenuity of later adapters to refer the eschatological prophecies of the *Vahman Yasn* to the historical personality of Bahrām Čöbīn — the hero of the miraculous victories over the Turks.

But the rapture of joy after the great victory of eschatological proportions did not last long. The triumph was soon marred by two facts. One of them was, as Theophylaktos Simokattes (IV, 12) informs us, that Bahrām, when the rebellion broke out and Khosrav fled from him to Byzantine territory, "got angry with the clergy (the Mobads) who thought differently: *ἐχάλεπαινέ τε τοῖς μάγοις τὰναντία φρονεῖν*."<sup>78</sup> The second was a military defeat. Within a year the returning Khosrav, aided by Byzantine troops defeated Bahrām and forced him to flee.

However, the fanatical followers of Bahrām, who regarded him as the supernatural Hero of Religion, continued to expect his return after his final disappearance in the faraway court of the Turkish Khagan, and even after the news of his death had arrived. It was at this time that Bahrām, in their minds, became a messianic figure, not unlike of Ušētar, Ušētar-māh and Sōšyant.

<sup>77</sup> References to the Vahrām-Fire (*Ātaxš ī Vahrām*) too are frequent in the Persian apocalyptic literature. The two epithets of Kay Vahrām's can also be traced back to ancient times. *Varjāvand* (Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterb. col. 1387*: 'tatkraftig, energisch' occurs on Sasanian coins written in Greek letters: OARZOOANΔ IAZAΔO (Bailey: *Asiatica. Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, p. 14, n. 21; *Amāvand* (Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterb.*, col. 141—2: 'kräftig, stark, mächtig, gewaltig') is an old epitheton of *Vərəθragna* (Benveniste — Renou, *Vřtra et Vřθragna*, pp. 41—42, 67).

<sup>78</sup> Hormuzd, at the beginning of his rule, outraged the rich and the clergy. Thus the mobads at first supported Bahrām. They seem; however, to have been opposed to Bahrām's wish, to be crowned according to law instead of Khosrav, Hormuzd's son.

The prophecy concerning Kay Vahrām, as it does not betray a knowledge of Bahrām's defeat, must have been composed under the impression of Bahrām's overwhelming victory, in 590, very probably in the circle of Bahrām's Mobad partisans. The author of the latter apocalypse, which served as the common source of the *Žāmāsp nāmak* and the other Pahlavi apocalypses, effected no other change in the original vaticination but that he, in the description of the eschatological battles, attributed a decisive part to the diabolic power of his age, the Arabs.<sup>79</sup> There are no indications that this adapter had known the original meaning of the prophecy concerning Kay Vahrām. But we have one fact which shows that there lived some people even around 750, the beginning of the Abbasid era, who were yet aware of the connection existing between the history of Bahrām Čobīn and the prophecy concerning Kay Vahrām. This fact has been preserved in the history of the "Mazdakite" Sinbād, the avenger of Abū Muslim, who was executed by the Abbasids.<sup>80</sup> According to Nizām al-mulk, Sinbād had proclaimed that Abū Muslim, to whom, already in his life-time, his followers ascribed divine properties, did not die but will soon return from a copper fortress (*hišār-i... az mis kardak*) where he was staying with the Mahdi.<sup>81</sup> In this teaching of Sinbād, as generally in the teachings of the Shi'ites, concerning the Mahdi, Mohammedan elements are mixed with Iranian motifs: Sinbād's Mahdi, like an Iranian Messiah<sup>82</sup> is vested with supernatural, divine traits. In his teaching, Abū Muslim actually plays the rôle of a second Mahdi beside the messianic Mahdi of Iranian conception. There is but one striking and, at the same time, puzzling element in Sinbād's teaching, as compared with the customary Shi'ite teachings concerning the Mahdi, namely that, according to Sinbād, the Mahdi, until his return, tarries in a copper fortress. According to the Bahrām Čobīn Romance, as we have seen above, Bahrām too, after his defeat, withdraws to the court of the Turkish Khagan, that is, judged by the context, to the Copper Fortress. So we do not indulge in an unduly far-fetched combination if we suppose that Bahrām Čobīn too, this messianic figure in the eyes of his partisans, was expected to return from

<sup>79</sup> The common source of the *Žāmāsp nāmak*, *Bundahišn* and the *Zand ī Vahman Yasn* may then have been a revised version of the original prophecy concerning Kay Vahrām. As to some eschatological events of the end of Zoroaster's Millennium and the coming of Ušētar, the main source of the latter was — as seen from *Dēnkart VIII*, 14, 12, VII, 8—11 the *Spend Nask* (Messina, *op. cit.*, 15).

<sup>80</sup> See S. Moscati: *Reidicenti dell' Acad. Naz. dei Lincei*, Cl. die scienze morali, storiche e filologiche 1950: pp. 89—105.

<sup>81</sup> *Nizām al-mulk*, ed. Schefer, p. 182; Спасет-намэ, перев. Б. Н. Заходера (Москва — Ленингр. 1949), pp. 205, 338—9; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1952), p. 206 translates "Bergwerke".

<sup>82</sup> Christensen, *Lcs Kayanides*, pp. 28, 52, 103, 153—6.

the Copper Fortress, and that the historical person of Bahrām Čobīn, *alias* Kay Vahrām, was originally the Mahdi of whom Sinbād's teaching speaks.

Sinbād himself indicated the — at least partially — Sasanian origin of his ideology by referring to an apocalypse of the Sasanid period (*az kutub-i Banī Sāsān*), which had prophesied the destruction of the Arabs.<sup>83</sup> This apocalypse may have been identical with some version of the Kay Vahrām prophecy. Regarding his references to the Copper Fortress, however, it cannot be as yet known for sure, whether he had it by oral tradition or else there may have existed — as it is by no means impossible — some written version of the Kay Vahrām prophecy which predicted the return of Kay Vahrām as coming from the Copper Fortress.

But even if we refrain from making far-fetched inferences from the sparse reports concerning Sinbād, we may safely assume that Bahrām Čobīn, *alias* Kay Vahrām — this mortal turned into an Iranian Messiah — was the actual predecessor of the Shi'ite Messiahs. It is not necessary to emphasise the significance which this fact had for the development of the Shi'ite conception of the Mahdi. If, however, our interpretation of Sinbād's words is right, we may further add that Bahrām Čobīn — *alias* Kay Vahrām — was also the predecessor of the later hidden Mahdis, as his *gaiba* in the Copper Fortress and *raja*, accurately correspond to the later Shi'ite teachings concerning the Mahdi's *gaiba* and reappearance.

But there are yet further analogies between the history of Bahrām Čobīn and that of Abū Muslim. Of these the most important is that both of them marched from the East against old dynasties, heading revolutionary movements; both had great successes and both had followings of fanatical partisans. Both met their defeat at the climax of their career and both disappeared suddenly from among their followers. The general mood of the last days of the Omayyads also reminds one, in many respects, of Bahrām Čobīn's age: these were days and years when "the clandestinely distributed apocalyptic writings (*malāḥim*) sprouted like mushrooms, foretelling, in a veiled manner, imminently forthcoming revolutionary changes" (I. Goldziher) and thus prepared the public for the outbreak of a revolution. These apocalyptic writings, heralding the arrival of the Mahdi, the true Imām of Islam, are paralleled in function and genre by those versions of the ancient *Vahman Yasn* which were brought up to date by the allusions to Bahrām Čobīn. Sinbād's teaching seems also to prove that what we have here before us is more than a mere analogy: the Mahdist hopes of the early Abbasid period were — in Eastern Iran at least — an organic sequel to the Zoroastrian beliefs concerning the figure of Kay Vahrām.

<sup>83</sup> *Nizām al-mulk*, ed. Schefer, p. 183.

Neither can we doubt that, already at the beginning of the Moslem period, most of the Zoroastrians had lost their access to the real historical background of the vaticination concerning Kay Vahrām. This explains the emergence, in the mind of the uninformed masses, of the Parsee Messiah of whom the Parsees expected that he would conquer the Arabs, just as Frētōn, in his day, had triumphed over Až-i Dahāka. However, the figure of Kay Vahrām also had several features which, from the beginning, had puzzled the Parsees. The *Zand ī Vahuman Yasn* itself refers to numerous layers of tradition, concerning the coming of Kay Vahrām, which, in part, contradict one another.<sup>84</sup> Some say that Vahrām will come from China; others speak of his coming from India;<sup>85</sup> some give him the name Vahrām ī Varjāvand, while others call him Šāhpūr (III, 14). The same diversity marks the references by the compiler of the *Zand ī Vahuman Yasn*, to traditions from different authorities concerning the last battles and the reestablishment of religion. But, as seen above, divergencies of this kind are also found among the other Pahlavi apocalypses.

The Parsee literature of later ages preserved these diverging traditions. This we notice in the Persian *Zaratušt Nāma*<sup>86</sup> which often agrees to details with the *Zand ī Vahuman Yasn*, and also in the relevant passages of the *Ulamā'ī islām*<sup>87</sup> and the *Rivāyats*.<sup>88</sup> Neither do we find any essentially new

<sup>84</sup> *Zand ī Vahuman Yasn* III, 13–20; cf. A. Abegg, *Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran* (Berlin–Leipzig 1928), p. 235, n. 4. — As to the Messianic rôle played by Kay Vahrām in these apocalyptic writings, see Abegg, *op. cit.*, pp. 231–240; W. Sterk, *Die Erlösererwartung in den östlichen Religionen* (Stuttgart–Berlin 1938), p. 203. It had been already observed by West (*Pahl. Texts* I, p. 221, n. 1) that some traits of the Kay Vahrām prophecy resemble Bahrām Čōbīn's history, while others seem to have referred originally to the Angel Vahrām, yet — in his opinion — the fact that the Angel Vahrām goes in his spiritual form to the assistance of Pišyōtn rather militates against the idea that he also goes in the form of Vahrām the Varjāvand (*ibid.*, p. 228, n. 1).

<sup>85</sup> The compilers of the apocalypses seem also to have been puzzled by the question why Kay Vahrām was supposed to come from India or China, according to the prophecy. The author of the *Zand ī Vahuman Yasn* seems to have found somewhere a story, according to which Kay Vahrām's father had gone there previously to aid Ušštar. Here, as well as in Firdausi, the term Čīn is meant to cover the territory of the Western Turks, while "India" means the one-time Kušan Empire, which (at that time) extended also to Northern India. Formerly it seemed that Firdausi's use of these terms was utterly unfounded; but as we know now from Armenian (Sebēos) and Arab sources (Ištakhri and Kāšghari), the Transoxanian Turkish possessions were called by the name of Čīn, owing to the Chinese occupation under the T'ang dynasty, and the close relations between the Turks and China (cf. also Kowalski, *op. cit.*, pp. 217–258). Again, the Armenian sources speak of "Indian Arsacids" when referring to the dynasty reigning in Afghanistan over the former Kušan territory.

<sup>86</sup> Ed. Fréd. Rosenberg, II, 1434–1522; pp. 73–79.

<sup>87</sup> E. Blochet: *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.* XXXVII (1898), pp. 20, 46.

<sup>88</sup> *Dārāb Hormazdyār's Rivāyat* II (Bombay 1922), 2, n. 95; cf. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, p. 158; W. Staerk, *loc. cit.*

features in the Pahlavi prophecy concerning Vahrām known in a shorter and a longer version.<sup>89</sup> On the other hand, a Pahlavi writing entitled *Māh ī Farvartīn, rōč ī Hvardāt*<sup>90</sup> enumerates the coming of Vahrām ī Varjāvand as one of the events connected with the Persian New Year. This possibly preserves the petrified memory of the fact that Bahrām Čōbīn, like the Sassanian kings in general, was crowned on the Persian New Year Day.<sup>91</sup>

Lastly there is a very close connection between these apocalyptic writings and the prophecies to be frequently found in the various texts of the Epic Romance. These latter are vaticinations *ex eventu* of greater or less length, referring to the fate of Hormuzd and Bahrām.<sup>92</sup> The difference between these and the apocalypses is that of genre, the prophecies of the Romance being literary realizations of the same pseudo-prophecies. A similar parallelism between the Romance and the apocalyptic writings is the frequent quoting of such motives as astrological and other omnia.<sup>93</sup> Astrology had an outstanding influence on Zoroastrian thought during the late Sassanian and early Arab periods.<sup>94</sup> The employing of astrological motives was facilitated by the fact that certain names (as e. g. that of Hormuzd) did belong to rulers as well as to planets (*Zand ī Vahm. Y.* III, 4, 18; *Zaratušt n. ll.* 1455, 1488). In some instances, so in connection with the miraculous "black sign"<sup>95</sup> it is hard to say with certainty whether we have to do with a vaticination *ex eventu* (which in this case could refer to Abū Muslim's movement), on the ground of ancient apocalyptic motives. There is a very interesting story<sup>96</sup> in the *Nihāyat* about a Christian monk who prophesied from the Apocalypsis of Daniel (apparently on the base of Chap. 11, v. 6), to the fugitive Khosrav that Maurikios would give him his daughter in marriage.

<sup>89</sup> E. Blochet: *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.* XXXI (1895), pp. 240–252; Jamasp Asana, *Pahl. Texts* I, pp. 160–161; Dast. Minocher Jamaspji Jamasp Asa: *Jamshetjee Jeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Vol.* (Bombay 1914), pp. 75–76; Bailey, *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth century books*, (Oxford 1943), pp. 79, 195–196.

<sup>90</sup> J. C. Tavadia, *op. cit.*, p. 130; Markwart, *Modi Mem. Vol.*, p. 750; Herzfeld, *Zoroaster* I, p. 13; Modi, *Asiatic Papers* IV, p. 10.

<sup>91</sup> According to a very plausible hypothesis of Higgins (*op. cit.*, p. 36) the day of Bahrām's arrival at Rayy, after his victory over the Turks became an annual holiday. We have, on the other hand, direct evidence as to a Sasanian festival of joy which was fixed at the day of Bahrām's death (*Nihāyat, loc. cit.*, p. 242).

<sup>92</sup> E. g. Firdausi, ed. Mohl, VI, p. 562; *Nihāyat, loc. cit.*, pp. 234–235.

<sup>93</sup> E. g. the story of the naked man in *Nihāyat, loc. cit.*, p. 236.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Tavadia, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>95</sup> *Zand ī Vahuman Yasn* III, 13; *Pahl. Texts* I, p. 220. *Zaratušt n. ll.* 1446, 1474. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 332.

<sup>96</sup> Browne, p. 239.

COMPTES RENDUS  
BESPRECHUNGEN — REVIEWS  
БИБЛИОГРАФИЯ И КРИТИКА

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V. MINORSKY, *A History of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th—11th Centuries*. Cambridge 1958, 187 + 32 pp.

Professor Minorsky, long renowned as an expert on Islamic geographical and historical literature, has again published an important work likely to promote further our knowledge of Transcaucasian history. This work is partly based on Professor Minorsky's own earlier works (cf.: his articles written in 1925ff for the *Enc. of Islam*, enumerated in *BSOAS* XIV/3, 1952, pp. 669—681; his studies in the *Journ. Asiat.: Transcaucasica*: 1930/2, pp. 41—111 and, together with Cl. Cahen: *Le recueil Transcaucasien de Mas'ūd de Nāmdār*: 1949/1, pp. 93—142; his study: *La domination des Daylamites*, Paris 1932; his articles entitled *Transcaucasica I—IV* in the *BSOAS* 1948 ff; his *Studies in Caucasian History*, London 1953: *Cambridge Oriental Series* No. 6, here = *SCH*), — partly, however, it may be considered as continuing the oeuvre of V. V. Barthold and J. Markwart, to whose memory the present work is dedicated. The eminent Persian historian S. A. Kasravi Tabrizi's *Šahriyārān-i gum nām* I—III (Teheran 1928—1930) also proved to be of material importance for all recent Transcaucasian studies, as throwing light for the first time on several complicated problems concerning the Iranian dynasties which had been founded in Northwestern Persia during the 10th and 11th centuries between the disintegration of the power of the Caliphate and the founding of Turkish rule.

Originally, Professor Minorsky had intended that the present translation should see the light as part II of the above-mentioned *SCH*, but the change in the regulations of the *Cambridge Oriental Series* prevented the realisation of this hope. The present publication, similarly to the *SCH*, has as its main source the Arabic work *Jāmi' ad-duwal* by the Turkish historian Münejjim-bāshī who died in 1113/1702. This latter work has been known to both Turkish and Occidental scholars through its Turkish translation made by Ahmed Nedim about 1720 A. D., and published in the year 1864, in three volumes, in Constantinople. This Turkish version had also been used by Kasravi in his work. But it was only from some recent remarks by Turkish scholars (Zeki Validi Togan, M. H. Yinanç) and particularly from the works of Professor Minorsky himself that the world learnt about the existence of several MS copies of the Arabic original, existing in various Turkish libraries, and of the fact that the Arabic original in some places is several times more extensive than the greatly abridged Turkish version.

One of the most valuable sources of the *Jāmi' ad-duwal* was an anonymous Arabic chronicle, written about 500/1106, and called *Ta'rīḫ al-Bāb*. This work, the original of which seems not to have been preserved, sheds light on the historical events of East Transcaucasia during the tenth and eleventh centuries (the "Iranian Intermezzo" to use Professor Minorsky's term), and so it enables us to reconstruct the history of this

period far better than has hitherto been possible. In his Introduction Professor Minorsky enumerates the existing MSS of the *Jāmi' ad-duwal*. His own work is based on the MSS Top-kapı Sarayı, Ahmad III Library, No. 2954 and Bayezid Ümümi Kütübhanesi, Nos. 5019—5020; his enumeration contains three additional MSS. One of these (Nūr-i 'Osmāniye, Nos. 3171—3172) was found to have been Münejjim-bashi's autograph copy, and in all probability the last draft of the work (A. Dietrich: *Orientalia* [Roma] XXVII/3, 1958, pp. 262—268, cf. Professor Minorsky's Additional Note attached to p. 174). Although the text of the *Jāmi' ad-duwal* may be reconstructed to satisfaction on the basis of the MSS used by Professor Minorsky, it would be nevertheless desirable that all existing MS material should be rendered accessible, mainly on account of the great number of proper names which seem to have been corrupted in the texts used for the present translation and which cannot be satisfactorily explained (see for example the name of the Khazar Kagan: كسا بن بلجان mentioned under the year 288/991).

The subsequent introductory chapters of the work give a short account of other extant Muslim sources relating to Caucasian matters (pp. 4—5), as well as of the *Darband-nāma* and other later local sources of the Caucasian region (pp. 6—10). Here, as indeed in the whole of his book, Professor Minorsky gives proof of his thorough acquaintance with the relevant Russian and Soviet literature, as well as with Azarbayjani and Daghestani local literature written in Turkish and Persian. His analysis of these themes goes considerably beyond Barthold's article about the origin of the *Darband-nāma* (*Iran* I, 1926, pp. 42—58). Another chapter in the Introduction (pp. 10—20) contains the relation of historical antecedents necessary for the understanding of the Arabic text. We find here brief references to the principal events of Albanian history, the penetration into Transcaucasia by the Iranians, the spreading of Christianity in Transcaucasia, the invasions of the northern nomads, and the history of the Arab conquest previous to the 10th century.

The power of the Caliphate over Transcaucasia had been weakened in the course of the ninth century A. D. During the tenth century the Sājids made attempts towards a more vigorous policy in the interest of the central power of the Caliphate, but could not prevent the Kurdish and Daylamite rulers of Iranian origin in Northwestern Iran and Transcaucasia from attaining increasingly greater independence. In this manner five Transcaucasian dynasties were founded, of which that of the Daylamite Musāfirids 941—1029 remained in power in the western parts of Daylam as well as in various areas of Azarbayjan and Arrān, until the Turkish conquest. Their western neighbours, the iranized Kurdish Ravādids ruled in Western Azarbayjan from 956 to 1070/71. The most important dynasty, from the Transcaucasian point of view, was, however, that of the Shaddādids, of likewise Kurdish origin, who ruled (960—1075) large territories between the Kur and the Araxes. In the *Ta'riḥ al-Bāb* we read of another two dynasties of the Caucasian region: the Yazidids of Sharvān, of Arab origin, but strongly iranized (859—1075), and another iranized, though originally Arabian dynasty, the Hāshimids of Darband (869—1075).

The main theme of the *SOH* is the rule of the Shaddādids (including the late Shaddādids of Ani, between 1064 and 1198), but in an Appendix Professor Minorsky also discusses the last Musāfirids, the Ravādids and the part played by the Kurds under the Aiyubids and Sultan Saladin. In his present work Professor Minorsky gives the Arabic original of the texts by Münejjim-bashi and the *Ta'riḥ al-Bāb* respectively concerning the Yazidids and Hāshimids, which together make up two printed sheets. The text is broken up into 48 paragraphs, which makes for easier reference. The text is not particularly difficult and the few corrupted passages are convincingly reconstructed by Professor Minorsky's conjectures and emendations. On some points the critical observations of A. Dietrich, based on the Istanbul autograph, are also useful. As always, Professor Mi-

norsky has in this instance, too, produced a very careful translation (pp. 22—41: the history of Sharvān, pp. 41—55: Bāb, pp. 129—134: the Sharvānshāhs).

The translations are followed by a brief historical commentary (pp. 56—74, pp. 134—138) containing remarks on the inner connections of the events and references to parallel relations on the same matters taken from other sources. Still more important for the understanding of the whole work and for first orientation as well, are the valuable observations on points of historical geography, which are to be found on pp. 75—128, under the heading of General Remarks. These remarks clear up several problems concerning the intricate ethnic and political relations of the Caucasian region, and in many instances go beyond what is said in Professor Minorsky's commentary on the *Hudūd al-'ālam*. In this chapter, more than in any other, Professor Minorsky had the opportunity to display his ample knowledge acquired during long decades of studies in Islamic geographical and historical literature. Special value must be attached to the expositions concerning the social and military organization of Sharvān and Darband, which are based on data scattered throughout the *Ta'riḥ al-Bāb*. The book ends with several Annexes. In a postscript on Darband (pp. 139—141) we find some additional data concerning the history of the local dynasty after 468/1075. A subsequent Annex contains the well-known relations on the Caucasian countries contained in Mas'ūdī's *Murāj al-dahab*, in a translation more precise than those hitherto available, with a number of explanatory notes. These notes make extensive use of J. Markwart's explanations to these same texts. The following Annex (pp. 166—170) contains the annotated translation of Ibn Rusta's relation about Daghestan (*al-Sarir, al-Lān*); while the last pages of the work (pp. 171—2) contain a translation, based on the London MS, of Ibn al-Azraq's visit to Darband (cf. also Prof. G. V. Ts'eret'eli's remarks in his *Арабская хрестоматия*, Tbilisi 1949, p. 13). A valuable completion to these comments is furnished by the sketchy maps of Daghestan and Transcaucasia on pp. 173—174 and the detailed indexes at the end of the volume.

In what follows I submit some minor observations concerning the texts and the commentaries respectively: in connection with the historical geography of Daghestan mention is made (pp. 93, 166) of the Caucasian Huns (7th cent.), in whom Prof. Minorsky sees some Khazar vassals of Northern Daghestan. The present reviewer has collated the Armenian and Arab historical sources on the Arab—Khazar clashes which took place in the Caucasian region during the 7th and 8th centuries, and has come to the conclusion (to be published shortly) that the Caucasian Huns who lived north from Darband up to Tarku must be clearly distinguished from the Khazars living northwards from Tarku up to the Volga, as well as from the Western Turkish overlords of the Khazars themselves. The *Geography*, attributed to Moses Khorenc'i, identifies, however, this Khazarian area between Tarku and the Volga with the country inhabited by the Savirs. This seems to indicate that the Khazars, at least at the time of our first data attesting their appearance (6th—7th cent.), must have been identical with the Savirs, of whom, in the early sixth century, the Byzantine sources still speak as of a mighty and numerous people. Thus we may understand how the sixth century Savir raids against areas of surprisingly great extent (reaching south as far as Mesopotamia), mentioned in the Byzantine sources, — can be described as Khazar invasions in the Sassanian histories translated into Arabic from Pehlevi originals. Similarly, it becomes clear how, — according to Mas'ūdī (*Tanbih*, p. 83) — the Khazars should be called in Persian *hazarān*, in Turkish however *savir*. This early — partial or entire — identity of Khazars and Savirs also illustrates the fact that the Hungarians who at a time lived together and were associated with the Khazars (cf. Constant. Porphyrogen., *De Adm. Imp.*, cap. 38) were also mentioned by the name *Σάρβατοι ἄσφαλοι*, of which the first element, *Σάρβατοι* is also connected with the name *savir*. (In Professor Minorsky's notes [p. 164, n. 6] the second element, *ἄσφαλοι*, is rendered

by inadvertency as "white".) Neither can it be attributed to chance that, according to Constantinus, a part of the Savarti (Hungarians), after their defeat by the Kangars, retreated to the steppes of the Transcaucasian Kur — at a very great distance from the Don region — in which former area Savars had been settled by the Byzantines as far back as 576 A. D.

The Caucasian Huns living south of the Khazars who are often mentioned in the 7th and 8th century Armenian sources must be thus regarded as at least partially identical with the Qaytaqs inhabiting the same region according to the Muslim sources. Professor Minorsky points out convincingly (p. 92) that the new source strengthens the earlier explanation by D'Ohsson, according to whom the form *جیدان* frequently found in Muslim sources, should be always emended to *قیماق*. Less certain seems the identity of the equally frequent *خیزان* with *قیماق* (as proposed on p. 97). It can, however, hardly be denied that the Qaytaq chief's name, *Salifan* is wrongly identified with *hie-li-fa*, written also *selifa* in the Chinese sources which represents originally \**ilteber* (name of a Turkish dignitary, cf. P. Pelliot: T'oung Pao XXVI, pp. 225—229; the equation with *Salifan* already occurred in the commentaries to the *Hudud*, p. 449).

According to Mas'ūdi (*Tanbih* 16) the ancient Khazar capital had been in Balangar in the northern neighbourhood of the Hun territories. This may be inferred also from the relations of the Arab—Khazar wars. Professor Minorsky, however, only quotes an earlier date by Mas'ūdi (*Murāj* II, p. 7), which Mas'ūdi later gave up himself, according to which the ancient capital of the Khazars had been Samandar. Regarding the geographical situation of Samandar, basic importance should be attributed to a relation by Ibn A'tam al-Kūfī, published by Akdes Nimet Kurat (*Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* VII/2, 1949, p. 269), which tells how the Arabs, during their campaign against Jarrāh, had defeated Barsbig, the Khazar Kagan's son, and after proceeding to Balangar, pursued the retreating Khazars to *W.l.n.d.r* and only after this did they reach the neighbourhood of Samandar. It is not quite clear why Professor Minorsky, to whom Ibn A'tam's above-quoted information (cf. Z. V. Toğan, *Ibn Fadlān*, p. 298, n. 1) must have been known, should have chosen to repeat his earlier view (*Hudud*, p. 452) that Samandar was identical with Tarku. (It might be mentioned here that the reconstruction of the name of the Khazar dignitary: *Barsbig*, is based on the parallel Armenian report of these events. Professor Minorsky's reading of *Barčing* (*Oriens* XI/1—2, 1958, p. 126), is less convincing, while D. M. Dunlop (*History of the Jewish Khazars*, p. 64) has, as in various other instances, entirely omitted to pay attention to the Armenian sources.)

Another new date, concerning the Khazars, in the *Ta'rih al-Bab*, was the report of the Khazar raid of the year 901 (§ 33), in which occurs the name of the already mentioned Khazar ruler *بلدجان کسا بن* (بلدجان). As the *Georgian Annals* quote a form *Blučan* in their recording of considerably earlier (8th century) events, this name may be regarded as a reliably established item of the list of Khazar personal names. On the basis of the Georgian form, the Arabic version might be read as \**Bulučan* (cf. 106, n. 1; while it can hardly be doubted that the Hebraic *בולכאן*: *b. l. š. ē. ʾ* does not belong here.)

Another interesting new item of information is found in the *Ta'rih al-Bab* (p. 106), which tells us that the Qaytaq chief had twice applied for Khazar assistance during the fights around Darband between the years 916 and 930. Of equal interest is the report according to which the remainder of the Khazars, 3000 families (text, p. 24: *ثلاثة الای* p. 106 erroneously "three hundred", cf. however, p. 51: 3000), who apparently settled on Qaytaq territory in 456/1063/4. This is the latest dated information known about the Khazars we have at present.

Regarding the history, the archeological and epigraphical monuments of the city of Darband, the commentaries have lately received a valuable complement in K. V.

Trever's *Очерки по истории и культуры Кавказской Албании* (Moscow—Leningrad 1959; cf. e. g. Professor Minorsky's remarks on the Albanian language and writing [p. 12, n. 1], and Trever's disquisitions [pp. 306—315]; cf. also H. Kurdian: *JRAS* 1956/1—2, pp. 81—3). The tangled problems of chronology connected with the construction of the Darband fortifications, and with the reign of Khosrav Anōšarvān in general, have not been dealt with by Professor Minorsky, who felt these to be somewhat remote from the original theme (cf. his note on Pakhomov's hypothesis, p. 87, n. 2; cf. also E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster*, pp. 15—17).

A convincing reconstruction of Professor Minorsky's is that of the name *سرخ* (in lieu of the corrupted form *سمرج* as found in the text), denoting the capital of Serir, west of Darband. This name, incidentally, also occurs in Ibn al-Atir's work under the year 121/758 (*hiṣn yuḡālu laha* *سرخ* 1. *سرخ* [iḥi s-sarir ad-dahab]), as referring to the capital of Serir.

Regarding the title of *Vahrič* (p. 98, 2, 5) some quite different probabilities are pointed out by Markwart, in *Entstehung der armenischen Bistümer*, pp. 202ff).

Great importance is to be attached to the new dates in the *Ta'rih al-Bab* which relate to the raids of the Rūs against Transcaucasia. Professor Minorsky has already alluded to these in the *SCH*, and also given a brief account of this matter in *Acta Orient. Hung.* (III, 1953, pp. 207—210). Up till now, we had not known anything about the activities of the Rūs in Transcaucasia between 943 A. D. and 1173 A. D. From the *Ta'rih al-Bab* we now learn of four, hitherto unknown raids, which took place in the years 987, 989, 1030 and 1031. This interesting passage (pp. 108—116) is certain to give a new impetus to historical research on this question. Professor Minorsky joins those who believe that *نوگرد* mentioned in Mas'ūdi (II, 59) might refer to the people of Novgorod, cf. however, also C. A. Macartney: *Byz. neugr. Jahrb.* VIII, 1931, pp. 169—170.

Regarding the historical geography of the Lakz country near Darband, valuable observations have been likewise made by J. Markwart (*Die Entstehung und Wiederherstellung der armenischen Nation*. Berlin 1919, pp. 70—74).

The commentary also contains a few rather daring etymologies — although put forward tentatively — such as the identification of the Daghestan place-name *Askuja* with the ancient name of the Scythians (in Akkadian *Ashguzai*), with reference to the Biblical *אשכנז* (p. 104, n. 2) and the linking of the word *کنده* (denoting the chief of the Hungarians, and mentioned in Hungarian sources as *kende* and *kiündü*) with the name of *Ishaq ibn Kundāj*, elsewhere *I. b. Kundājīq*.

The above critical remarks detract however nothing from the great merit of Professor Minorsky's present work. It has rendered a great service to the cause of research into the history of Daghestan and Transcaucasia, and doubtlessly will long be regarded as an indispensable help for the research of Muslim dynastic history in general.

K. Czeglédy

V. MINORSKY: *The Chester Beatty Library. A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures*. With an Introduction by the late J. V. S. WILKINSON. Dublin, Hodges Figgis, XXXV, 145 S. und 42 Tafeln.

Mit farbigen Illustrationen, Miniaturen geschmückte türkische Handschriften sind in den europäischen Bibliotheken nicht zahlreich vertreten; aber auch diese sind unbekannt, da ihre Kopien nicht publiziert worden sind. Die Chester Beatty Bibliothek verfügt über eine ungewöhnlich schöne türkische Handschriftensammlung, deren Katalog mit Kopien vieler farbiger Miniaturen in einer unvergleichlichen Ausgabe unlängst veröffentlicht wurde.

## JOSEPH AISTLEITNER (1883—1960)

Am 9. September 1960, nach einer jahrelangen Krankheit und nach unsäglichen Leiden, im Alter von 77 Jahren ist der Altmeister unserer Disziplin, Joseph Aistleitner, emeritierter Professor der römisch-katholischen Theologie dahingeshieden. Von der zermalmenden Krankheit geschwächt und unter ununterbrochenen Leiden hat er bis zum letzten Atemzug mit einem Fleiß ohnegleichen gearbeitet, ja er hat sogar gerade in diesen für ihn so schweren Jahren die schönsten und wichtigsten Schöpfungen seines langen Gelehrtenlebens zustande gebracht. Mit ihm ist einer der hervorragenden Vertreter der ungarischen Orientalistik ins Grab gestiegen, ein Fachmann, dessen Forschungen auf den verschiedensten Gebieten der semitischen Philologie auch von der internationalen Fachliteratur mit Aufmerksamkeit verfolgt und geschätzt wurde.

Unsere Zeitschrift verliert mit Joseph Aistleitner einen seit ihrer Gründung getreuen Gefährten und ständigen Mitarbeiter. Hier hat er seine zahlreichen Aufsätze und Abhandlungen über die sprachlichen und kulturgeschichtlichen Probleme der semitischen Texte aus Ugarit veröffentlicht.<sup>1</sup> Die Ugaritologie stand seit dreißig Jahren, d. h. seit der Veröffentlichung der ersten ugaritischen Texte im Mittelpunkt der Untersuchungen von Joseph Aistleitner.<sup>2</sup> In allen seinen einschlägigen Abhandlungen und Rezensionen<sup>3</sup> war er doch auch der übrigen semitischen Sprachen eingedenk. Er befaßte sich dabei vor allen Dingen mit den in Keilschrift überlieferten Texten aus Mari, bzw. mit den hier und in sonstigen akkadischen Texten belegten Personennamen von westsemitischem Gepräge. Die Bestimmung dieses reichen Namenstoffes sowie die sprachliche und dialektologische Untersuchung der Sprachdenkmäler aus Gubla hat ihm die Feststellung mancher wichtigen gemeinsamen Züge dieser Denkmäler ermöglicht. Während seiner Untersuchungen der Texte in Keilschrift hat er sich auch mit den verschiedensten linguistischen und religionshistorischen Fragen des Sumerischen wiederholt und erfolgreich beschäftigt.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> »Götterzeugung in Ugarit und Dilmun: Acta Orient. Hung. III (1953), 185—312; »Ein Opfertext aus Ugarit (1929, No 2): Acta Orient. Hung. IV (1954), 259—270; »Ein Opfertext aus Ugarit (No 53): Acta Orient. Hung. V (1955), 1—23; »Studien zur Sprachverwandtschaft des Ugaritischen I, II: Acta Orient. Hung. VII (1957), 251—307; VIII (1958), 51—98; »Lexikalisches zu den ugaritischen Texten: Acta Orient. Hung. XI (1960), im Druck.

<sup>2</sup> »Zum Verständnis des Ras-Schamra-Textes I De: Dissertationes in hon. Dr. Ed. Mahler (Budapest 1937), 37—52; »Die Nikkal Hymne aus Ras-Schamra: ZDMG 1939: 52—59; Die Anat-Texte aus Ras-Schamra: Zeitschr. f. d. alttest. Wiss. 1939: 193—211; »Untersuchungen zum Mitlaut-Bestand des Ugaritisch-Semitischen: Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume, I (Budapest 1948), 209—225.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. seine Besprechung von J. Nougayrol: Textes Accadiens (Le palais royal d'Ugarit III): Acta Orient. Hung. VII (1957) und G. R. Driver: Canaanite Myths and Legends: Journal of Theol. Studies VIII (1957).

<sup>4</sup> »Des préformatives verbaux sumériens et principalement des Préfixes Subjectifs: Revue d'Assyriologie XX (1923), 53—71.



Nachdem er sich ungefähr zwei Jahrzehnte hindurch mit ugaritischen Forschungen befaßt hatte, beschloß Aistleitner ungefähr vor zehn Jahren, auch ein vollständiges Wörterbuch zu den ugaritischen Texten zusammenzustellen. Er nahm vor, diese Arbeit mit Professor O. Eißfeldt aus Halle zu bewerkstelligen. Die Aufgabe war eine äußerst schwierige, da die Zusammenstellung eines ugaritischen Wörterbuchs die Klärung von so komplizierten Teilfragen erforderte wie z. B. die des Paradigmas des ugaritischen Verbums auf Grund sämtlicher Belegstellen und so weiter, und so fort. Als eine Vorbereitung zu dieser mühevollen Arbeit ist die erste größere Veröffentlichung von Joseph Aistleitner über die Texte aus Ugarit im Verlag der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, unter dem Titel »Untersuchungen zur Grammatik des Ugaritischen« (Berlin 1954) erschienen.<sup>5</sup> Als nächste Vorarbeit zum kommenden Wörterbuch wurde im Jahre 1959 die Sammlung der Übersetzungen ugaritischer Texte von der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften herausgegeben (Die mythologischen und kultischen Texte aus Ras Schamra. Budapest 1959). Außerdem hat Joseph Aistleitner in dieser Zeit, obwohl vom heimtückischen Siechtum fast ständig ans Krankenbett gefesselt, auch die Handschrift des angekündigten Wörterbuchs abgeschlossen und im Sommer 1960 Professor Eißfeldt/Halle übersendet. Dieses Werk soll mit der Einleitung Professor Eißfeldts im Verlag der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften veröffentlicht werden. Es wurde bereits in diesem Sommer für die Drucklegung fertiggestellt, aber es war seinem Schöpfer leider nicht beschieden, die Erscheinung des wichtigsten Werkes seines Lebens mitzuerleben.

Außer seinen ugaritischen Studien hat sich Joseph Aistleitner auch mit der philologisch wertvollen Übersetzung der hebräischen Bibeltexte beschäftigt.<sup>6</sup> Aistleitners lithographierte Grammatik des Hebräischen, die auf der vergleichend-historischen Methode beruht, gehört zu den besten diesen Schlages. Auch seine lithographierte Grammatik des Syrischen gilt für eines der gelungensten Hilfsmittel für Universitäts Hörer.

Solange es seine Gesundheit erlaubte, nahm Joseph Aistleitner an der Arbeit der Orientalistischen Kommission der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften als Mitglied derselben teil. Seit 1959 war er korrespondierendes Mitglied der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Joseph Aistleitner, dem von allen geschätzten Menschen und hervorragenden Wissenschaftler werden alle ungarischen Orientalisten ein treues Andenken bewahren.

K. Czeglédy

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. Acta Orient. Hung. V (1955), 328—329.

<sup>6</sup> Er übersetzte ins Ung. mehrere Bücher aus dem AT (Job, Prov., Kohelet, Cant. Cant., Sap., Eccles.).

## KHAZAR RAIDS IN TRANSCAUCASIA IN 762—764 A. D.

BY

K. CZEGLÉDY

The victories which the two governors of the Caliphate in Armenia, Maslama ibn 'Abd-al-Malik<sup>1</sup> and Marwān ibn Muḥammad,<sup>2</sup> achieved over the Khazars in 731 resp. 737, consolidated for a long time the Transcaucasian rule of the Arabs. Yet their reign continued to depend on their ability to hold firmly in their hands the fortifications which controlled the two great passes through the Caucasian mountains.

The fortification Bāb-al-abwāb (Derbend) which, in the course of the Arab—Khazar wars, had repeatedly changed hands, was rebuilt<sup>3</sup> by the Arabs

<sup>1</sup> We may reconstruct the sequence of events in 731 as follows. — Maslama, in the course of his invasion of Khazaria occupied first Bāb-al-abwāb and the neighbouring minor principalities (Balāḡurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 207; Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, II, p. 381), then successfully proceeded on Hun territory in northern direction to the Hun capital (Ya'qūbī), and even beyond that, to the capital of Khazaria, Balangar (Ṭabarī II, p. 1560) and Samandar (cf. Z. V. Togun, *Ibn Faḡlān*, p. 305). There he clashed with the Turks and killed the son of the Khaqan of the Khazars (Ṭabarī, Ya'qūbī). Then, on learning about the big troop concentrations of the Turks, he turned back and, fleeing from the pursuing Khaqan, it was only at the cost of great hardships that he could reach Bāb-al-abwāb (Ibn al-Aṭīr, 113, A. II.). After these events came the second battle in which Maslama succeeded in putting the Khaqan to flight (Ṭabarī II, p. 1562). Most of our sources gave a strongly abbreviated account of these events. D. M. Dunlop (*The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, pp. 76—80) is hardly convincing when he makes the flight-like withdrawal of Maslama coincide in time with the occupation of Bāb-al-abwāb; better documented is F. Gabrieli's reconstruction of the events, *Il califfato di Hisham*, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> We usually fix the date of Marwān's campaign on the ground of Ibn al-Aṭīr's second pertinent report (119 A. H. = 737 A. D.). New details of the campaign contains Ibn A'ṭam al-Kūfī's work, cf. Togun, *op. cit.*, pp. 80—85.

<sup>3</sup> The stronghold of Derbend was rebuilt by Maslama after his victory in 731 (Elias Nisibenus, Ibn Qutaiba: 113 A. H.; Ps. Dionysius: 1043 A. G. = 731—732 A. D.). The Armenian historian Moses Kaḡankatvac'i also makes mention of this and remarks that this was the second reconstruction of the fortress in the name of the Arabs (*Երանահ Տարեկոյն* ed. Tiflis, p. 368). By this Moses refers to a report (cf. Marquart, *Erānšahr*, p. 105) in the work of Levond, which is one of the main sources of his own work. The report says that Derbend was first rebuilt by Maslama in the second year of the Caliphate of Sulaimān.

after the victory of Maslama in 731. From this time onward Bāb-al-abwāb remained for centuries the most important northern border stronghold of the Islam. By virtue of its favourable location it was particularly effective in stopping the nomads trying to force their way through the narrow pass between the seashore and the Caucasus. We must note, however, that its garrison alone, especially when poorly staffed, could not prevent the nomads from negotiating the pass. This is indicated by an instructive report of Moses Kalankatvac'i about a case of Khazar assistance to the Emperor Herakleios, when a Khazar troop of 1000 men hastened to the Byzantine emperor through the Derbend pass and Transcaucasia without paying even the slightest attention to the Persian garrison of Bāb-al-abwāb.<sup>4</sup>

We must also note that the fortress did not lie directly on the Khazar frontier but on the southern border of the territory inhabited by the Caucasian Huns. A comparison of the Armenian sources with the Arab—Persian data clearly bears out that, at the time of the Western Turkish Empire (before 760 A. D.), the region north of Bāb-al-abwāb, as far as Tarku (on the seashore, near the present Makhach-kala), was the dwelling place of the Caucasian Huns. Khazaria proper, with Balangar as its capital, was south of the Kuma river. The capital of the Khaqan representing Western Turkish power was Ātil in the delta region of the Volga river.<sup>5</sup> Both the Khazars and the Caucasian Huns lived under Western Turkish supremacy. As Armenian sources inform us, the Hun ruler, like the Volga—Bulghar king, possessed the title *elt.bār*, which, also in other instances, was the customary designation of the highest dignity among the peoples living under Turkish rule.<sup>6</sup> Thus not only the Khazars, in the proper sense of the word, but also the Western Turks and the Caucasian Huns were involved in the battles around Bāb-al-abwāb. It is very important to note, for a proper assessment of the sources of Khazar history, that some of our sources reflect, in fact, later conditions when, after the disintegration of the Western Turkish empire, their whole one-time domain from the Volga to Bāb-al-abwāb acquired the new name *Khazaria*.<sup>7</sup> In this way, some of these sources use the word *Khazar* also in cases when, in terms of our other sources, not the proper Khazars but Western Turks or Caucasian Huns are meant.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Tiflis, p. 163.

<sup>5</sup> I have discussed the geographic conditions, the respective dwelling places of the Huns, Khazars and Turks in an earlier paper (*Studia Antiqua* II, 1955, pp. 124—126).

<sup>6</sup> Moses Kalankatvac'i, p. 263, 281; cf. Togan, *op. cit.*, pp. 105—107; V. Thomsson: *ZDMG* LXXVIII (1924), p. 130.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 46—47.

<sup>8</sup> Beside the inadequate treatment of certain source-groups (Armenian, Syriac) the most serious weakness of Dunlop's above-quoted work is its failure to distinguish between the Turks, Huns and Khazars.

Bāb-al-abwāb is generally mentioned in our sources in connection with the Transcaucasian incursions of nomadic peoples and the fights of the Arabs and Persians with them. The fortress rarely engaged the direct interest of the Byzantines. On the other hand, the Pass of Darial, this great gate of the middle region of the Caucasus, being much nearer to the Caucasian dependencies of the Byzantines, figured quite often in the strategic plans of Byzantium. Darial was held by the Alans who were, in part, Christians, and most often sympathized with the Byzantines. Here is the origin of the customary Arabic name of the pass: *Bāb-Al-lān* ('Alan Gate'). Since about 508 A. D., when the Alan king Ambazuk offered to the Byzantines the fortress defending the southern exit of the Darial Pass,<sup>9</sup> war had been raging two centuries for the possession of Darial, first between the Byzantines and Persians, then between the former and the Arabs. Later, according to recurrent reports, the pass came under the control of the Khazars. Since the Khazars were the natural allies of Byzantium against the Caliphate, the common enemy, the loss of Darial always spelt to the Arabs a serious strategic threat that the Byzantines and the Khazars establish a direct contact through the Darial Pass. This threat was one of the chief causes of the war that was waged for thirty years — from 707/8 to 737 — between the Khazars and the Arabs. At this time the Arab forces operating in Anatolia, which had forced their way as far as to Chalcedon, were defended against a potential Khazar flank attack of major dimensions, by fighting units of the Arabs placed at the Darial and Bāb-al-abwāb Passes. However, a decisive blow against Khazaria could not be contemplated by the Arabs — not even after the great victory of Marwān. Their inability had two causes. For one thing, they had repeatedly had the experience that campaigns against the nomads on their own terrain involved too many risks. On the other hand, the ascent of Marwān to the throne, then the Abbasid movement and the fall of the Umayyads had caused inner commotions of such serious nature that the Caliphate was rendered utterly impotent to launch large-scale military actions on the northern borders of the empire.

It must have been also due to these inner upheavals that the control of the Caliphate over the Darial Pass soon became quite weak. Marwān, to be sure, was yet fully aware of the strategic significance of the Darial Pass. Thus, in the course of his last Caucasian campaign, in 736 A. D., his first business was to occupy Darial and three Alanian fortifications.<sup>10</sup> The conclusion of his campaign was also an Iberian action: he marched with his victorious army as far as to the town of Nicopsis in Abkhazia, near the Pontus, then returned through Lazica and the province of Sper (in the valley of the Chorokh river)

<sup>9</sup> Procopius, ed. Haury I, pp. 46—47.

<sup>10</sup> Tabari II, p. 1573.

to the territory of the Caliphate.<sup>11</sup> Also as far as the possession of the Darial Pass was concerned, this campaign was naturally very important. The pass was in the vicinity of that East-Iberian principality to which our extant sources apply the names *Kakhet'i* and *Canark'*.<sup>12</sup>

Whereas the vicinity of Bāb-al-abwāb continued to be, even after the great victory of 737, a site of certain military operations,<sup>13</sup> Darial, in the forties of the same century, at the time of inner disturbances on the territory of the Caliphate, came again under the control of the Tsanarian-Kakhetian principality. The renewal of Alanian — Byzantine ties is indicated by the fact that, following the Arab counter-thrust to rebuff the Western Armenian incursion of the Byzantine emperor Constantine (V Copronymus), in 751, the prisoners taken by the Arabs were not only Byzantines and Armenians but there were also some Alanian auxiliary troops among them.<sup>14</sup>

A year before the Armenian campaign of Emperor Constantine V Copronymus, the Whitsuntide of 750 was the time<sup>15</sup> of the coronation of the heir apparent, Leo the "Khazar". It was in 733 that Constantine had married the daughter of the Khaqan of the Khazars who at her baptism received the name Irene.<sup>16</sup> This dynastic marriage was a new confirmation of the good relations which had existed for more than twenty years between the Byzantines and the Khazars. It is to be remembered that it had been in an alliance with the Chersonesian rebels that the Khazars, in 711, had become involved in the events the outcome of which was that the former overthrew the reign of Justinian II and helped Vardan Philippicus to the Byzantine throne.<sup>17</sup>

It was by no means an easy task for the Caliphate — then troubled by inner strifes — to counterbalance the military and diplomatic achievements of Byzantium in the Caucasus region. There were, however, counter-actions by the Arabs, as recounted in the reports by the Arab historian Balāḍuri<sup>18</sup> in connection with the events following the ascent of Manṣūr to the throne in 754: "When Manṣūr succeeded to the rule, he appointed Yazīd ibn Usaīd al-Sulamī governor of Armenia. He (Yazīd) occupied the Alanian Gate (Darial) and staffed it with a garrison of mercenaries. He then subjugated the Ṣanārs, so that they undertook to pay the *kharāj*. At this time Manṣūr wrote a letter

<sup>11</sup> On the relevant Georgian sources *vide* Gabrieli, *op. cit.*, p. 83; C. Toumanoff: *Le Muséon* LXV (1952), p. 210, n. 42.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Toumanoff: *loc. cit.*, p. 220.

<sup>13</sup> Ibn al-Aṭīr, 121, A. H.

<sup>14</sup> Agapios, ed. Vasiliev, p. 538.

<sup>15</sup> A. Lombard, *Constantin V, Empereur des Romains*. Paris 1902, p. 35, n. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Michael Syrus, *Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 119; Theophanes, 6224, A. M.; Agapios, p. 507. The death of the empress of Khazarian origin is mentioned by Michael Syrus under the year of 1063 A. G. = 752 A. D.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 81—87.

<sup>18</sup> Ed. de Goeje, pp. 209—210.

to him in which he gave the command that he may establish a covenant by marriage with the family of the Khazar king. (Yazīd) did this. Then the daughter of the Khaqan bore a boy for him who, however, died, and she herself also died".

It is quite conspicuous that Balāḍuri does not speak of the Khaqan of the Turks but of the king of the Khazars. Yet in view of his failure to make a distinction anywhere in his work between the Khazars and the Turkish and Hun population groups of Khazaria, it would be a mistake to attach, on this point, a decisive importance to his words. The most important source about this matter, that is, Tabarī's report with which we shall deal below, (p. 81) makes it quite apparent that it was at a time of a separate existence of the Khazars and the Turks, that is, in the period of the Turkish rule, that these events took place. Thus there can be no doubt that, also in the present case, the expression "King of the Khazars" refers to the Turkish Khaqan of Ātil, the supreme ruler of Khazaria. Neither is it mentioned by Balāḍuri that the subjugation of the Tsanars took place in connection with the occupation of the Darial Pass. However, in view of the geographical position of Khaket'ia-Tsanaria, we must make this inference.

The report about the Khazarian marriage of Yazīd is also confirmed by other sources. So, in the first place, Ibn A'tam al-Kūfī gives a verbatim quotation of a letter which allegedly was written by Manṣūr to Yazīd about this matter.<sup>19</sup> In this letter Manṣūr plainly gives his reasons for the necessity of the proposed marriage covenant: "Armenia 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." These quoted words of Mansure indicate, in a very significant way, the weakness of the Caliphate: the Caliph is fully aware of the Khazarian danger, yet he is unable to take any military measures against them. Incidentally, the work of Ibn A'tam, like some other sources, fails to distinguish between the Turks and the Khazars. Thus we cannot make out from his report either whether it was the daughter of the Turkish Khaqan or of the Khazar ruler that Yazīd married. The same may be said also of a pertinent report by Łavond,<sup>20</sup> the Armenian historian of the Caliphate: "At the time of his government Yazīd sent a delegation to the king of the North who is called the Xak'an with the aim of preserving, by the establishment of family relationship, the peace with him and the Khazar troops. The Xak'an was willing to give to him his daughter, the Xat'un."

<sup>19</sup> The text in question was published by Akdes N. Kurat: *Ankara Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* VII (1949), p. 272.

<sup>20</sup> Ed. Ezeanc', pp. 131—132.

The details of the wedding are but briefly mentioned by Levond: "(the Xak'an) sent with her a great number of servants, serving maids and slave girls". There are much more details in the pertinent report by Ibn A'tam:<sup>21</sup> „When the letter of Manšūr arrived, Yazid sent a word to the Khaqan of the Khazars who was called Bagatur and sued him for the hand of his daughter called Khatun. The Khaqan replied favourably, whereupon Yazid married her for a dowry of 100000 dirhem. Then Khatun was taken from Khazaria to the land of the Islam. She was escorted by 10000 Khazars of good families. They took with them 4000 mares with their colts, 1000 mules, stallions and mares, 1000 men, 10000 Khazarian camels of the small breed, 1000 Turkish camels of the Bactrian type (with two humps), 10000 sheep and 10 covered wagons the doors of which were covered with silver and golden plates, with sable furs spread out inside, covered with brocade. They also took with them another 20 wagons in which the various utensils, golden and silver vessels and other things were carried. When the daughter of the Khazarian king with all these goods arrived in the land of the Islam, she pitched camp at a place called Qubab ("Tents"), at the gate of Barda'a. Having settled down here, (she) sent a message to Yazid: 'Send me some of the Muhammadan women that they teach me the Islam and teach me the Koran. When I shall have learned that, you do with me as you please'. Thereupon Yazid sent thither some Muhammadan women of Barda'a who taught her the Islam and the reading of the Koran. And all the chieftains of Yazid, one after another, gave her gifts according to their means. After having learned the Koran and having acquired the knowledge of the Islam, Khatun threw away from herself the sword and the dagger. By this Yazid learned that he is henceforth permitted to approach her. He, in fact, with her permission, went in to her. She had previously put on paint and made up herself. Then Yazid ibn Usaid went home with her. Khatun lived for two years and four months with him and bore two children to him, but then she and also her two children with her died in Barda'a. Yazid was greatly grieved because of this."

This story, apart from its edifying embellishments, contains no improbabilities. Its authenticity is enhanced by some further remarks by Levond: "However, the Xat'un soon died. By this event the ties of concord between them (Yazid and the Khazars) were broken. They (the Khazars) attributed the death of the Xat'un to some dark machination." These words of Levond are very important, especially in view of the silence of both Balādūrī and Ibn A'tam about the connection which may have existed between the death of the Turkish princess and the subsequent Turkish incursions.<sup>22</sup> However, the longer

<sup>21</sup> Ed. Akdes N. Kurat, *loc. cit.*, pp. 272—273.

<sup>22</sup> The Moslem sources connect the Khazarian raid made at the time of the Armenian governorship of Faql ibn Yahyā al-Barmakī, in 183 A. H. = 799—800 A. D., with the alleged Khazarian wedlock of Faql and the death of the Khazarian wife. How-

report of Balādūrī and the shorter account of Ibn A'tam have so much in common in their contents that the two, with all probability, must be traced back to a common source.

There is a further agreement between the Moslem sources and Levond inasmuch as they, by referring to the Caliphate of Manšūr and the governorship of Yazid, give only a general cue as to the date of the wedding which, as we may infer from the two accounts, must have taken place at some time after 754 A. D. But Ibn A'tam is quite precise about the duration of the marriage: two years and four months.

The large-scale Khazar incursions following the death of Khatun are recorded in numerous sources. Yet no satisfactory interpretation of the chronology and geography of these sources has so far been given. The most important of them are the reports of Tabarī which were then taken over with various abbreviations by Ibn al-Atīr. The first pertinent report of Tabarī is among his accounts of the events in the 145th year of the Hejira (I. IV. 762—20. III. 763 A. D.):<sup>23</sup> "In this year the Turks and the Khazars moved into Bāb-al-abwāb and killed many Moslems in Armenia." In view of the fact that the Khazar campaigns, as a rule, were not conducted in winter time, the above raid must very probably have taken place at some time between the spring and autumn of 762. Then two years and four months, as the duration of the marriage in Ibn A'tam's account, yield 759 as the year of the wedding. Also from the geographical point of view, the account is quite clear: the Khazars marched through the Derbend Pass and moved towards Armenia, thus their march must have proceeded through Albania and across the Kur river. Since, however, the account does not speak about the occupation of Bāb-al-abwāb, we must assume that the Khazars simply passed the fortress without attempting to beleaguer it. It is very noteworthy that Tabarī's record makes a clear distinction between the Turks and the Khazars. The importance of this distinction, in our case, lies in the evidence that the full intermixing of Turks and Khazars — a process in the decades following 760 A. D. — had not at the time of the narration been completed. Thus we cannot doubt that the "Khazar" Khaqan here mentioned was identical with the Turkish Khaqan of Atīl.

ever, already Marquart (*Streifzüge*, pp. 416—417) pointed out that this motivation of the raid is hardly authentic; it is in all probability the case of inserting the motifs of Yazid's marriage in the biography of Faql. On these grounds Dunlop (*op. cit.*, pp. 179—181), disregarding the fact that Marquart speaks of the motivation of the two raids only, presents, in connection with the history of Yazid, in the form of a more or less chaotic unit, the events of the Khazarian raid in 762—764 and 799—800. The cause of the Khazarian raid under the governorship of Faql, as we may safely suppose, was that Faql, at the beginning of his governorship, had launched an attack against the territories north of Bāb-al-abwāb (Ya'qūbī II, p. 516). We have, therefore, no compelling reason to link the two Khazarian raids.

<sup>23</sup> Tabarī's account is taken over by Ibn al-Atīr, 145 A. H.

Of our other sources it is the *Chronicle* of Theophanes that corroborates the evidence of Tabari's account. The *Chronicle* treats these events in its record of 6255 *Anno Mundi* (762—763 A. D.):<sup>24</sup> *Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει ἐξῆλθον Τούρκοι ἐκ τῶν Κασπίων πυλῶν καὶ ἀνείλον πολλοὺς εἰς Ἀρμενίαν καὶ ἔλαβον αἰχμαλωσίαν πολλήν καὶ ὑπέστρεψαν.* In connection with the history of the Khazars, this datum of Theophanes has, of course, often been referred to, yet the philological problems attending it have not so far been solved. The most important of these concern the sources of Theophanes. As it is known, Theophanes took his data concerning the Caliphate from an eastern source, in all probability from a lost chronicle which was compiled in Palestine about 780 A. D. by a Melchite monk who wrote in Syriac.<sup>25</sup> Fragments of the lost original can also be found in other eastern sources. Certain portions of the Syrian *Chronicle* by Dionysius Tellmahrensensis, — as preserved in the work of Michael Syrus — as well as certain accounts in the work of the Christian Arab author Agapius often display a *verbatim* agreement with the corresponding portions of Theophanes' work. Hence it has been suggested that these portions must be traced back to a common original source, the Syrian *Chronicle* of Jōhannān bar Šēmūēl. On the other hand, a less probable solution has also been offered: it is not the *Chronicle* of Jōhannān, but the historical work of Theophilus of Edessa, who died in 785, that must be identified as the common source.<sup>26</sup> Later a more definite form of the second assumption has also been offered, yet without detailed evidence.<sup>27</sup> The only comment we wish to make now on this question is that, as far as the periods prior to 746 are concerned, we have indeed textual agreements to prove the common origin of the accounts of Dionysius Tellmahrensensis and Theophanes, resp. the Melchite ecclesiastic. But, as regards the periods after 746, notwithstanding the statement of C. A. Becker, we have not been able to find such *verbatim* agreements. Hence we do not have the conclusive evidence that the source used by the Melchite monk was the work of Theophilus of Edessa. Different sources are indicated also by the accounts which, in our case, deal with the Turkish raid in 762—764. We note a divergence indicated by the fact that, while Theophanes, resp. the Melchite monk publish two accounts in connection with these events, Agapius and Dionysius Tellmahrensensis — both following Theophilus of Edessa — each give a single account the contents of which in neither case agree with the record of Theophanes.

At any rate, it can be reasonably assumed that the relevant text of Theophanes quoted above was made on the basis of a Syriac original. This is indicated at the very beginning of the account by the expression *ἐξῆλθον*

<sup>24</sup> Ed. de Boor, p. 433.

<sup>25</sup> A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syr. Lit.*, p. 273.

<sup>26</sup> E. W. Brooks: *Byzant. Zeitschr.* XV (1906), p. 587.

<sup>27</sup> C. H. Becker: *Der Islam* III (1912), pp. 295—296.

which obviously reflects a Syriac *ܥܘܨܐ*. The use of a foreign source is further indicated by the way quite unparalleled in earlier Graeco—Latin literature<sup>28</sup> in which Theophanes makes the name *Κάσπια πύλαι* refer to the Derbend Pass. Also in another instance we note the same usage of the name *Κάσπια πύλαι*: according to Theophanes, also the Khazars, hastening to the Emperor Heraclius, passed through the Caspian Gate.<sup>29</sup> The explanation of this transference of the name is that the Byzantines used the name *Caspian* also to denote the Caspian Sea. When, therefore, the Khazars, on their arrival at the Emperor's court, told that their way had led them through a pass beside the sea, it was but natural for some Byzantine hearers to suppose that the pass mentioned was the same as the one known under the name *Caspian Gates* in Byzantine literature. We have a parallel case in a passage<sup>30</sup> of the Syrian Church History of Pseudo Zacharias the Rhetor where the strange phrase *ἕως τῆς θάλασσης καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης*: unto the Caspian Gates and the Sea" also indicates the transference of the name Caspian Gates to the Derbend Pass.

As to the date in the account of Theophanes, 6255 A. M.—I. IX. 762—31. VIII. 763) is more likely to correspond to 763 than to 762 A. D. Since, however, the date is that of an event in Arab history, we must by all means prefer the evidence of Tabari. Theophanes must have arrived at his figure after a double computation: it was first a datum in an Arabic source that the Melchite monk must have converted to fit it into his chronological system. Then Theophanes repeated the process. These operations could have easily caused a difference of one year or even two years as against the original date. One should hardly be advised, at any rate, to apply, in a rigid manner, G. Ostrogorsky's rule<sup>31</sup> and thus to add one year to the date of Theophanes which then would mean the year 764 A. D. — At last, it is curious in Theophanes' account that it speaks of Turks only and not of the Khazars.

According to Tabari, two years after the incursion of 762, in 147 A. H. (10. III. 764—29. II. 765), another Turkish attack of major dimensions was made against Transcaucasia:<sup>32</sup> "It belongs to the events of this year that the Khwarezmian *'starhān* with Turkish troops attacked the Moslems in Armenia and took a great number of prisoners of the Moslem and the men under their tutelage (*ahl al-dimma*). Taffis (Tiflis) was also invaded by them. It was Harb ibn 'Abd-Allāh al-Rāwandī that clashed with them whose name is borne

<sup>28</sup> A. R. Anderson: *Transactions of the American Philological Association* LIX (1928), pp. 131—163.

<sup>29</sup> 6117 A. M.; ed. de Boor, pp. 315—316; cf. Sobēos, ed. Tiflis, p. 109: *ἕως τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης*: through the Çor Gate".

<sup>30</sup> Ed. Brooks II, p. 214<sub>18</sub>. The word *κασπίων* (plur. gen.) betrays that it is a borrowing from the Greek original.

<sup>31</sup> *Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.* V (1930), pp. 45, 51.

<sup>32</sup> Ibn al-Aḫḫār has the same report under 147 A. H.

by the regiment called Ḥarbiya in Bagdad. This Ḥarb, as it is told, had been in Mosul with 2 000 troops because of the rebels (*ḥawārij*) of Jazīra, when Abū Ja'far (Manṣūr) learned that the Turks uniting in bands were making attacks in those parts. Then (Manṣūr) sent Jibrīl ibn Yahyā against them and, at the same time, he sent a message to Ḥarb also to march with him thither. Ḥarb indeed went with him, but Jibrīl was put to flight and the calamity befell the Moslems which I mentioned above."

It is already among the events of the following year (148 A. H. = 27. II. 765—18. II. 766 A. D.) that the last event of the Turkish raid is mentioned by Ṭabarī: "It also happened in this year that Manṣūr dispatched Ḥumaid ibn Qaḥṭaba to take up the fight against the Turks in Armenia who had killed Ḥarb ibn 'Abd-Allāh and were then plundering in Tiflis. Ḥumaid went to Armenia, but did not find them as they had already departed. Thereupon Ḥumaid too withdrew and did not meet even one of them."

We may note, first of all, in this account of Ṭabarī, that, as compared with the record of 762 A. D., only Turks are mentioned and not the Khazars. In this account Ṭabarī does not indicate the direction of the Turkish attack, neither can we make out through which pass did the Turks make their attack upon Armenian and Georgian territories. But, on this point, we again have a valuable complementary datum in Theophanes' account:<sup>33</sup> *Τουτῷ τῷ ἔτει ἐξῆλθον πάλιν οἱ Τούρκοι εἰς τὰς Κασσίας πόλεις καὶ εἰς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ πολεμήσαντες μετὰ τῶν Ἀράβων, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἀπώλοντο πολλοί.* Thus, also in this case, the raid was made through the Derbend Pass. But we note the characteristic difference between the two accounts. According to Theophanes, not only of the Arab troops, but also of the Turks, many fell in the battle. As to the date of the event, this account of Theophanes is ascribed to 6256 A. M. (1. IX. 763.—31. VIII. 764 A. D.). This date is precisely the same as the one given by Ṭabarī. But we cannot bar here the possibility of a mere coincidence, for, according to Ostrogorsky's rule, we should add one year to the date of Theophanes in order to have the figure of the right date.

Ḥevond, who does not mention the Turkish-Khazar raid of 762, gives a detailed account of the Turkish incursion in 764. He relates the events following the death of the Xat'un as follows:<sup>34</sup> "After this (the Xak'an) assembled a great army and appointed Raž-t'aryan, of the army of Xat'irlitber to lead it and sent it against our country which was under the rule of Ezit (Yazīd). Dispersing on the northern banks of the great Kur river, the Khazars occupied<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Ed. de Boor, p. 435.

<sup>34</sup> Ed. Ezoanc', p. 132.

<sup>35</sup> The enumerated Albanian names, with the exception of the first, occur in the *Geography* of Ps. Moses Xorenac'i, in the longer variant: ed. Soulezy, pp. 28—29, in the shorter: Saint-Martin, *Mémoires* II, p. 358; the works of Anania Širakac'i, ed. Erevan, 1940, p. 350.

Hejar, K'ala, Ostan-i Marzpaneān,<sup>36</sup> Haband,<sup>37</sup> Gelavu, Šake, Beḡ, Xenī, Kambečan and Xolmał; all these territories belong to Albania. They also occupied the lovely Plain of Balasakan,<sup>38</sup> driving away innumerable flocks and herds of horses. They also subjugated seven provinces of the Georgian principality:<sup>39</sup> Šučk, K'ueskap'or, C'elt'd, Cuket',<sup>40</sup> Welisc'xe,<sup>41</sup> T'ianet',<sup>42</sup> and Erk,<sup>43</sup> then with a vast booty and many prisoners of war returned home". After this Ḥevond also tells us that Yazīd, during the whole Khazar incursion, was passively watching the destruction of Armenia.

The account of Ḥevond, as we must necessarily infer from the name of the commander-in-chief and the geographic circumstances of the Khazarian raid, deals with the second great incursion of the Turks in 764 as mentioned in Ṭabarī's record. What we must note first is that Ḥevond, as it appears curiously, speaks of Khazars, and not of Turks. Ḥevond, who habitually distinguishes the Khazars from the Caucasian Huns, does not distinguish the Turks from the Khazars. Also in this account Ḥevond makes an indirect reference to the Caucasian Huns, when he says that the Xak'an ordered the commander of the "Khazar" troops, the Khwarezmian Raž-t'aryan, from the army of Xat'irlitber to head the attacking forces. The name *Xat'irlitber* (\**Qadirilt.bār*) plainly indicates that this passage of the account refers to the Chief dignitary of the Caucasian Huns (cf. above, p. 76). So it was the commander of the Hun prince that the Khaqan charged with the Armenian raid in which, according to Ṭabarī, Turks and Khazars took part. This commission, in view of the nearness of the Hun region to Derbend, is easily understandable. It is also an instructive note of the account, that, according to it, Khwarezmian mercenaries<sup>44</sup> in the service of the Turkish Khaqan were being stationed on Hun territory.

A comparison of the accounts of Ṭabarī and Ḥevond also clears up the geographic circumstances of the raid: it was first in the provinces of Albania

<sup>36</sup> Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, p. 461.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 348—349.

<sup>38</sup> Hübschmann, *op. cit.*, p. 412; the combinations of A. Maricq (*Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, pp. 80—85), about a *Balasakan* north of the Kur and the connection of this name with the Huns are not, in every respect, convincing; cf. already A. Adonc: Армения в эпоху Юстиниана, p. 220, n. 1.

<sup>39</sup> The Eastern Georgian place names here mentioned are also enumerated by Ps. Moses, *loc. cit.* The lists of Ḥevond and Ps. Moses display an agreement so far-reaching that we might even be led to the assumption that Ps. Moses, at this place, actually used the work of Ḥevond.

<sup>40</sup> Brosset, *Wakhoucht*, pp. 305, 307.

<sup>41</sup> Brosset, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

<sup>42</sup> Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie* I/1, pp. 127, n. 153.

<sup>43</sup> Toumanoff: *loc. cit.*, p. 218, n. 2.: Xerk.

<sup>44</sup> Mention is made, also later, of the Khwarezmian mercenaries of the Khazars: Mus'adī, *Murūj* II, p. 12, where their name can also be read \**erastyu*.

north of the Kur river that the Turks, having passed through the Derbend Pass, dispersed. The mention of Haband shows that, in its later phase, the devastation also spread to the Albanian provinces which lay south of the Kur river. After these events the Turks moved onward against Khakertia-Tsanaria. Here they first pillaged the provinces along the Iori, later those at the Kur and Aragvi rivers. Then came the occupation of Tiflis. It is curious, however, that Levond who gives a detailed enumeration of the devastated provinces, fails to mention the city of Tiflis. Ṭabarī's account also makes clear the role of the commanders sent against the Turks, the war-lords Ḥarb and Jibrīl, while the words of Levond plainly indicate that Yazīd himself undertook no action of any consequence against the Turks.

There are yet several Arab sources to complement our two main sources, the accounts of Ṭabarī and Levond. The most important of the former is the record of Ya'qūbī:<sup>45</sup> "The Khazars gathered in the region of Armenia to undertake an offensive, then they attacked Yazīd ibn Usaid al-Sulamī. (Yazīd) then wrote a letter to Abū Ja'far (Manṣūr) and informed him that Rās-tarḡān, King of the Khazars, at the head of a big army was marching against him and that his deputy had already taken to flight from them. Thereupon Abū Ja'far dispatched Jibrīl ibn Yahyā al-Bagalī with 20 000 men from Syria, Mosul and Jazīra thither. The Khazar offensive began and (the Khazars) killed a great number of Moslems. Jibrīl and Yazīd ibn Usaid kept on running until they arrived at Khīrṣ." In a sequel to this account Ya'qūbī tells us that Manṣūr, on learning of the calamity caused by the Khazars, let out 7 000 men from the prisons and fortified the towns of Kamakh, Muḥammadiya and Bāb.<sup>46</sup> In all probability, it is to the release of prisoners and the measures to fortify the towns in question that the account of the *Derbend-nāme*, under 146 A. H. (763—764 A. D.), refers. According to this report Yazīd gave advice to Yazīd how to stop the Khazar incursions.<sup>47</sup>

Particular importance attaches in this note to the name *Rās-tarḡān*.<sup>48</sup> It shows that the Armenian recording of the name in Levond's account: *Rāz-*

<sup>45</sup> Ed. Houtsma II, pp. 446—447.

<sup>46</sup> E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches*, p. 57. n. 2, gives a geographical treatment to this passage of Ya'qūbī.

<sup>47</sup> J. Klaproth, *Journal. Asiat.* II. Sér. III, p. 464.

<sup>48</sup> Dunlop, *op. cit.* p. 180, n. 43, is right in pointing out that it is a mistake to replace the reading *Rās-tarḡān* with the reading *Ḥālīs-Tarḡān*, the latter being based on a misunderstanding. In all probability, we are justified in connecting the name of the Khwarezmian *Rās-Tarḡān* with the name \**crasiya* mentioned by Mas'ūdī. But it remains a problem why Ṭabarī writes the same name in the form *s-tarḡān*. Minorsky (*Oriens* XI, 1958, p. 127) links the name (which he reads *Ās-tarḡān*) with the name of the city *Astrachan* — a conjecture not at all improbable (cf. Marquart: *Ungarische Jahrb.* IV, p. 271) — but, at the same time, also with the name of the *Ās* and even with the ethnic name *aors*. The latter assumptions, however, are still in need of confirmation.

*tarḡān*, is very probably correct. We have, however, already seen above that *Rās-tarḡān* was not the king of the Khazars, as Ya'qūbī tells us, but one of the commanders of the army of the Caucasian Huns. According to J. Marquart,<sup>49</sup> *Rās-tarḡān* figures again in the work of Yaqūb'ī (162 A. H. 788—789 A. D.), yet, on this second occasion, under the name "Ṭarḡān, the King of the Turks". However, even without considering the very frequent use of the title *tarḡān* among the Khazars, we must recognize that the above-quoted report of Levond speaks against Marquart's assumption. It is to be noted here that Levond, at the end of the account of the Khazar invasion, says: „իսկ ստլա յետ սակաւ ինչ ժամանակի Հատուածեալ նոյն վիրապն, սր քսած սառեւրածս ի վերայ երկիրն Աղուանից դայր միարանել ընդ իշխանին իմացելի. և յլեալ յաշխարհն Ասորուց սրտանդ զորդի իւր՝ ինքն վաղվազակի վախճանէր որով մերձ ի դրուես Աղուանից: After a short time, however, this malefactor (*Rāz-t'arḡān*),<sup>50</sup> who had brought ruin upon the Albanian earth, allied himself with the ruler of the Ismaelites and also sent his son as a hostage to Syria. But he himself suddenly *tell by sword*, not far from the Albanian Gates". These notes reveal that *Rāz-t'arḡān*, soon after the raid in Armenia, ran over to the Arabs. This he could easily do, since his post, the territory of the Huns, was near Bāb-al-abwāb. It was here, near the Derbend pass, that death overtook him, very probably in the course of a Turkish—Khazar punitive expedition. — As to the role of Jibrīl, the account of Ya'qūbī agrees with that of Ṭabarī. On the other hand, of all our extant sources, it is only the work of Ya'qūbī that refers to the flight of Yazīd.

We have also sources which draw on the work of Theophilus of Edessa with their reports about the Turkish incursion in 764.

Michael Syrus, quoting Dionysius Tellmahrensensis, under 1074, A. G. (762—763 A. D.) writes: "In the same year the Khazars marched out and took 50000 men of the Gūrzāyē (Grusians) into captivity." This report has no details going beyond the other known sources, yet it is still important inasmuch as it renders possible a more precise interpretation of the account of Agapius, — the other author who also draws on the work of Theophilus. Agapius fixes the date of the same event in the 9th year of Manṣūr (762—763), thus in agreement with Dionysius:<sup>51</sup> "After this the Khazars made marauding expeditions in *H-rūn* and *Lādīqa* and in all the Alanian Gates. Of the Arabs they took into captivity about 50000 men with cattle and much money. Musā ibn Ka'b challenged them, but he was put to flight and many of his companions were killed." The name *H. rūn* — wholly unknown from other sources — is obviously corrupt, although the editor of the report, Vasiliev, prints it without comment in his text. It was this corrupt word that misled also M. Kmoskó who ventured

<sup>49</sup> *Ungarische Jahrbücher* IV (1924), p. 271.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. E. Filler, *Quaestiones de Leontii Armenii Historia: Commentationes Philologicae Ienenses* VII/1, p. 55. n. 6.

<sup>51</sup> Ed. Vasiliev, p. 543.

here the opinion that *H.rūn* denotes certain parts of the Derbend fortifications.<sup>52</sup> However, in view of what has been said above, we may be reasonably sure that Agapius, just as Dionysius, took this report from the work of Theophilus, only he quotes it more fully. Taking this into consideration, we shall also find it obvious that instead of حرون we must read on the basis of the text of Dionysius جورد, furthermore, that the names *Jurz and Lādiqa* actually denote Iberia and Lazica resp. Of our sources Agapius is alone in mentioning the name Musā ibn Ka'b. However, as we have seen above, Ya'qūbī too tells us that the viceregent of Yazīd ran away from the Turkish attack.

Thus from all these data, both geographical and chronological, the events of one of the greatest raids of the Turks in Transcaucasia emerge before us. The Caliphate, because of the inner disturbances in the years following 740, had been pushed into a defensive position. After an unsuccessful diplomatic manoeuvre of the Arabs the Turks made an onslaught upon Transcaucasia. The first attack was launched in 762 and it struck mainly Armenia. Then the second, still greater raid in 764 caused immense destruction in Albania, Armenia and Eastern Grusia. The invading nomads were led by one of the Khwarezmian commanders of the Caucasian Hun prince, himself a vassal of the Turkish Chief Khaqan. But Turks and Khazars also took part in the raid.

<sup>52</sup> *Körösi Csoma Archivum* I, p. 147.

<sup>53</sup> As to the phrase "all the Alanian Gates", we may hardly doubt that it is a matter of a misunderstanding. At any rate, parallel phrases have not so far been found either in Arabic, or in Syriac or in Armenian sources. According to Theophanes, the invasion was made through the Caspian Gates, that is, the Derbend Pass. So it may be assumed that it was the name *Bāb-al-abwāb* or a similar Arabic name that was erroneously translated, probably by Theophilus himself into Syriac. The confusion could also have been caused by the graphic similarity which exists in the Arabic writing between the names *Bāb-Allān* and *Bāb-al-abwāb*.

## BEMERKUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER CHAZAREN

VON

K. CZEGLÉDY

Die Erforschung der Geschichte der Steppenvölker ist mit besonderen Schwierigkeiten verbunden, die dem Umstand zuzuschreiben sind, daß sich die Wanderungen und Streifzüge der beweglichen Völker der Steppe auf große Gebiete ausbreiteten, und daß die Episoden ihrer Geschichte in den historischen Aufzeichnungen vieler, voneinander weit entfernten Völker auf uns gekommen sind. Und gerade das bildet auch im Falle der Chazaren die Hauptschwierigkeit der historischen Darstellung. Die Bearbeitung des vielsprachigen Quellenmaterials: der byzantinischen, arabisch-persischen, armenischen, grusinischen und hebräischen Berichte über die Chazaren stößt auf eine ganze Reihe von Einzelproblemen, die einerseits eine außerordentlich vielseitige philologische Vorbereitung des Forschers voraussetzen, andererseits aber einen Überblick über die Gesamtüberlieferung in hohem Maße erschweren. Es ist also kein Wunder, daß Bearbeitungen von größeren Perioden der Chazarengeschichte — abgesehen von Werken wie M. I. ARTAMONOW'S »Očerki drevneišej istorii chazar«<sup>1</sup> — bis jetzt kaum vorhanden sind. Deshalb hat die Kritik vor einigen Jahren D. M. DUNLOP'S Buch »A History of the Jewish Khazars«<sup>2</sup> besonders warm begrüßt und wiederholt auf die Verdienste dieses langentbehrten Werkes hingewiesen (ich denke an die Rezensionen von MINORSKY, STARKOVA und ASSFALG.)<sup>3</sup> Dieser positiven Wertung kann ich zwar ohne Vorbehalt zustimmen, allerdings, möchte ich zu gleicher Zeit auch darauf hinweisen, daß sich die Schwäche der heutigen Chazarenforschung auch in dieser wichtigen Veröffentlichung treu widerspiegelt. Diese Schwäche besteht vor allen Dingen darin, daß die vielsprachigen Quellen zur Chazarengeschichte philologisch ungleichmäßig bearbeitet sind, was seinerseits dann notgedrungen den Gesamtüberblick weitgehend lückenhaft und unsicher macht. Ich bin jedoch der Meinung, daß die Lücken und die Irrtümer dieser ersten, wichtigen Gesamtdarstellung die Forscher der Chazarengeschichte dazu anregen werden, daß sie sich wieder den einzelnen Quellengruppen der

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<sup>1</sup> *Acta Orientalia* XIII/8.



Chazarengeschichte zuwenden, um sie erneut aufs Korn zu nehmen. Die Neubearbeitung der einzelnen Quellen wird erst eine Gesamtdarstellung der Chazarengeschichte ermöglichen, die auf einer gesunderen philologischen Grundlage beruht. Bei dieser Gelegenheit möchte ich einige Bemerkungen allgemeiner Art zu den einzelnen Quellengruppen in chronologischer Reihenfolge hinzufügen, die für die Wiederaufnahme der einschlägigen Arbeit von Nutzen sein dürften.

Dieser Berichte über die Chazaren, die sich auf die ältesten Zeitabschnitte beziehen, befinden sich in den byzantinischen, syrischen, arabisch-persischen, armenischen und grusinischen genealogischen Tafeln. Diese Tafeln stimmen miteinander darin überein, daß sie alle die genealogische Tafel der biblischen Genesis erweitern, indem sie die biblische Tafel mit geläufigen Völkernamen ihrer Zeit ergänzen. Die eponymen Vorfäter dieser Völker, unter denen sich auch die Steppenvölker befinden, werden hier unter den Söhnen Sems, Chams und Japhets aufgezählt, wobei die Steppen- und Nordvölker den Söhnen Japhets zugeordnet werden. Diese erweiterten Tafeln stellen dann selbständige genealogische Werke dar, bzw. sie bilden sehr oft den ersten Teil von National- und Weltchroniken. Auf die Tatsache, daß die Chazaren in der einen oder der anderen dieser Tafeln ebenfalls vorkommen, wurde schon wiederholt hingewiesen, so auch bei DUNLOR.<sup>4</sup> Wir müssen aber betonen, daß es sich hier nicht um einen unmittelbaren biblischen Einfluß handelt, sondern, daß diese späten Tafeln zur Gattung des christlichen Liber Generationis, bzw. des *Διαμερισμός τῆς γῆς* gehören und als späte Ausläufer desselben zu werten sind. Von diesen gehören auch die ältesten erst dem sechsten Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung an, während diejenigen, die auch die Chazaren unter den Söhnen Japhets mit aufzählen, einem noch späteren Zeitalter entstammen.<sup>5</sup>

Die Erwähnung der Chazaren in einigen späten Versionen des Alexanderromans, die nicht älter sind, als das siebte Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung, ist verknüpft mit den Listen der von Alexander besiegt, bzw. eingeschlossenen Völker. Am wichtigsten ist die Erwähnung der Chazaren in der syrischen Version des Alexanderromans, wo sich auch eine Prophezeiung, und zwar eine Vaticinatio ex eventu befindet, in der auch auf den großen chazarischen Streifzug nach Armenien 629 u. Z. angespielt wird. Wir besitzen auch einen anderen Bericht über diesen Einfall und zwar in dem armenischen Geschichtswerke des albanischen Historikers, Moses Kalankatvac'i. Dieser armenische Bericht, der umfangreichste Einzelbericht überhaupt, der uns bezüglich der Chazaren zur Verfügung steht, enthält eine willkommene Bestätigung durch die Angabe des Syrischen Alexanderromans.<sup>6</sup>

Mit der Prophezeiung in dem Syrischen Alexanderroman sind meines Erachtens auch die Prophezeiungen in der Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodios<sup>7</sup> und eine weitere Prophezeiung über die Einfälle der Türkenvölker bei Michael

Syrus<sup>8</sup> verbunden, in denen die Chazaren und die Türken ebenfalls erwähnt werden. Die Verbindung dieser Angaben ist nicht nur gattungsgeschichtlich wichtig, sondern erleichtert auch ihre Datierung, wobei uns nahegelegt wird, ihre Entstehung nicht vor das siebte Jahrhundert u. Z. zurückzuverlegen.

Einige Forscher sind noch immer geneigt, den historischen Berichten über die nachbiblische, griechische und römische Zeit der armenischen und grusinischen Geschichtswerke eine große Bedeutung beizumessen.<sup>9</sup> Gemäß diesen Berichten sollen die Chazaren bekanntlich bereits im dritten Jahrhundert u. Z. und sogar vor der Zeit aufgetreten sein. Wären diese Angaben wirklich authentisch, so würden sie nicht nur für die chazarische Geschichte, sondern auch für die Geschichte der Steppe schlechthin von großem Belang sein. Sie wurden jedoch mit Recht schon in den ersten Studien beanstandet, die vor mehr als zwei Jahrhunderten veröffentlicht worden sind, und die wir eigentlich als die ersten Ansätze zur armenischen Philologie in Europa bezeichnen dürfen.<sup>10</sup> Des weiteren konnte bereits längst festgestellt werden, daß es sich hier um eine Übertragung des Chazarennamens auf die alten Alanen handelt.<sup>11</sup>

Die Chazaren werden gelegentlich auch in Zusammenhang mit den Ereignissen des vierten und fünften Jahrhunderts u. Z. erwähnt und zwar in den arabisch-neupersischen Bearbeitungen des mittelpersischen Khvatây-nāmaks. Bei der Wertung dieser Angaben müssen wir aber im Auge behalten, einerseits, daß der Namensgebrauch der arabisch-persischen Bearbeiter nicht unbedingt mit dem des Originals übereinstimmt, andererseits aber, daß die letzte Redaktion des mittelpersischen Khvatây-nāmaks erst auf die letzten Jahrzehnte der Sassanidenzeit zurückgeht, also gleichzeitig ist mit der Entstehung des Chazarischen Reiches. Es ist also leicht begreiflich, wenn die späten Redaktoren des Khvatây-nāmaks den Chazarennamen auf die Steppenvölker im allgemeinen übertragen.

Von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung ist dagegen meines Erachtens, daß das Khvatây-nāmak die großen Einbrüche, die sich zwischen 515 und 580 u. Z. abspielten, den Chazaren zuschreibt. Dieselben Einbrüche wurden nämlich, gemäß den byzantinischen Quellen durch die Saviren ausgeführt. Das steht völlig in Einklang damit, daß der Name der Chazaren laut Mas'ūdī noch im zehnten Jahrhundert u. Z. nur auf Persisch *chazar* war, die Türken sollen dafür *savir* gesagt haben.<sup>12</sup> Einerseits aus dieser Tatsache, andererseits hingegen aus einigen Angaben der Geographie des Pseudo-Moses Khorenao'i, die ebenfalls die Identität der Chazaren und der Saviren bestätigen, geht deutlich hervor, daß die Chazaren und die Saviren nach 515 oder bereits vor diesem Zeitpunkt wenigstens teilweise identisch waren. In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich auch die Bedeutung einer Angabe des Moses Kalankatvac'i unterstreichen, gemäß der das monophysitische Chorepiskopat 552 wegen der

chazarischen Einfälle aus Derbend nach Partav, südlich des Flusses Kur zurückgezogen werden mußte.<sup>13</sup>

Auf das Jahr 559 bezieht sich eine äußerst wichtige Quelle der Geschichte der Steppenvölker, nämlich der Anhang der Kirchengeschichte Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetors, die durch einen amidenischen Mönch gefertigt wurde. Man zitiert ihn gewöhnlich unter dem Namen des Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor. In diesem Anhang werden auch die Namen *KSR* (σ: χ.σ.τ) und *HRWS* erwähnt.<sup>14</sup> Der erste Name kommt in einem Kontext vor, der letzten Endes offenbar dem byzantinischen Geschichtswerke des Priskos Rhetor entstammt. Der zweite erscheint hingegen in einer kurzen Notiz aus dem Alexander-Roman, die sich auf die Amazonen, bzw. auf die Männer der Amazonen bezieht, die hier den Namen *HRWS* tragen. Es ist überaus wichtig, daß die Männer der Amazonen hier als Leute mit langen Extremitäten beschrieben werden. Diesen beiden Angaben wurde neuerdings eine außerordentlich große Bedeutung zugeschrieben. In der Buchstabengruppe *KSR* glaubte man die erste Erwähnung des Chazarennamens gefunden zu haben (ich denke an die Etymologien von PAUL PELLIOU und W. B. HENNING),<sup>15</sup> während der andere Name: *HRWS* wiederholt mit dem Namen der russischen *Rōs* in Zusammenhang gebracht wurde. Dabei ging man immer von den Erörterungen JOSEPH MARKWARTS aus, die er bezüglich dieser Berichte in den »Streifzügen« veröffentlicht hatte. MARKWART war nun zuerst der Meinung,<sup>16</sup> daß der Name *HRWS* im syrischen Text eine Kurzform des Namens der herulischen *Rosomoni* sei. Den anderen Namen, *KSR* verband MARKWART mit dem der Akatziren. Später hat aber MARKWART seine Meinung geändert, indem er nun die Buchstabengruppe *HRWS* mit dem der *Rōs* verband, dessen erste authentische Erwähnung er nunmehr eben in dieser Angabe des Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor erblicken wollte. Diese neue Erklärung veröffentlichte er allendings an einem ziemlich entlegenen Orte,<sup>17</sup> was zur Folge hatte, daß man seine neue Erklärung fast durchgängig bis auf den heutigen Tag unberücksichtigt läßt, obwohl man neuerdings auch von anderen Seiten her zum Schluß gelangt ist, daß sich die Buchstabengruppe *HRWS* auf die *Rōs* und zwar auf die russischen *Rōs* beziehe.

MARKWARTS Erörterungen in den »Streifzügen« haben die gesamte spätere Forschung auf eine entscheidende Weise beeinflusst. Man befaßte sich auch seit der Veröffentlichung der »Streifzüge« oft mit den Angaben des Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor, man geriet aber immer aufs Neue unter den Einfluß von Markwarts Anschauungen. Ob man sich nun mit der markwartischen Interpretation der beiden Buchstabengruppen *KSR* und *HRWS* einverstanden erklärte oder anderer Meinung war, übernahm man die Grundeinstellung MARKWARTS. Man nahm und nimmt auch jetzt allgemein an, daß es sich im Falle des Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor um originelle Aufzeichnungen handelt, die der amidenische Mönch, der Verfasser des Anhanges von wohl-

unterrichteten Gewährsleuten vernahm. Ebenfalls nimmt man — wie MARKWART — allgemein an, daß das Volk der *HRWS*, d. h. die Männer der Amazonen nicht mit dem Alexanderroman zu verbinden ist, sondern man nimmt auf Grund von MARKWARTS Ausführungen stillschweigend an, es gebe gar kein Volk mit diesem Namen im Alexanderroman, wir müssen also diese Buchstabengruppe als Namen eines wirklichen Volkes ansehen. Meines Erachtens können wir in Zusammenhang mit dieser Grundbetrachtung nur einen wichtigen Fortschritt verzeichnen. Es handelt sich um eine sehr wichtige Beobachtung der sowjetischen Syrologin N. W. FIGULEVSKAJA, die darauf hingewiesen hat, daß der Volksname *HRWS*, der einer byzantinischen Quelle entstammt, merkwürdigerweise mit *h. r-* anstatt dem zu erwartenden *r. h-* anfängt, das regelmäßig das aspirierte griechische *ǰ-* im Syrischen wiedergibt.<sup>18</sup> Ihrer Meinung nach ist dieser Umstand ein Beweis dafür, daß der Name nicht unmittelbar, sondern durch armenische Vermittlung in den syrischen Text des Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor gekommen ist. Das byzantinische *ǰ-* wird nämlich im Altarmenischen, im Gegensatz zum syrischen Gebrauch, durch *h. r-* ersetzt. Ich möchte dazu nur bemerken, daß das *ǰ-* nicht nur im Armenischen, sondern auch im Mittelpersischen durch die Lautverbindung *h. r-* wiedergegeben wird, und meines Erachtens sind eine ganze Reihe von Argumenten dafür anzuführen, daß die Vermittlung auch im Falle des amidenischen Mönches tatsächlich durch das Mittelpersische gegangen ist. Die zwei wichtigsten einschlägigen Beweise sind: 1) daß sämtliche geographischen Namen des Anhanges die Formen aufweisen, die im Mittelpersischen geläufig sind, 2) daß die Schreibfehler, die sich in den einzelnen Formen bei Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor befinden, offenbar hervorgegangen sind aus dem doppelten oder mehrfachen Lautwert der Pehlevi-Buchstaben des Originals, während sie sich weder auf Grund des Griechischen, noch des Armenischen erklären lassen.<sup>19</sup> Aus diesen Umständen ergibt sich also notgedrungen, daß der amidenische Mönch aus einem Pehlevi-Original geschöpft hat, das seinerseits eine byzantinische Vorlage haben mußte. Das ist aber auch leicht begreiflich, wenn wir bedenken, daß Amida sich an der Grenze zwischen Syrien und Persien befand, wo monophysitische Syrier mit nestorianischen Syrern und Persern in ständiger Berührung lebten.

Was nun den Ursprung des Namens *HRWS* betrifft, so müssen wir darauf hinweisen, daß die Amazonen auch in einigen Varianten des arabisch-persischen Alexanderromans Frauen eines Volkes mit langen Extremitäten sind, und dass das unbewaffnete Volk mit den langen Extremitäten bereits in der alten Version *β* des griechischen Alexanderromans erwähnt wird. Es gibt aber scheinbar einen Unterschied zwischen dem, was Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor und was die alte griechische Version des Alexanderromans über die Männer mit den langen Extremitäten berichten. In der griechischen Erzählung und bei Dinawari heißt von diesen Leuten, daß sie rötliche Haare haben,

während Pseudo-Zacharias nichts davon zu wissen scheint. Dafür gibt er aber den Namen dieses Volkes an (*HRWS*), der andererseits in der griechischen Vorlage fehlt. Das ist aber nur ein scheinbarer Unterschied, und die zwingende Lösung liegt auf der Hand: im Mittelh Griechischen heißt nämlich »rötlich, mit rötlichen Haaren« eben *ῥοδσιος* (< lat. *russeus*). Die Übereinstimmung ist also unbestreitbar und es ist klar, daß es sich hier um ein geradezu fatales Versehen von MARKWART handelt, dem diese alten Angaben völlig unbekannt geblieben sind. Der Name *HRWS* bezeichnet also gar kein wirkliches Volk, sondern es handelt sich einfach um die »Rötlichen«, wobei nur noch gefragt werden kann, ob dieser Name von einigen Lesern auch mit dem Namen des in Byzanz immer allbekannten biblischen Nordvolkes *Ῥως* ~ *רוש* kontaminiert wurde.<sup>20</sup> Was nun die hier vorgetragene Lösung und vor allen Dingen die Annahme einer Vermittlung aus dem Griechischen durch das Mittelpersische betrifft, so möchte ich nochmals an THEODOR NÖLDEKES Beweisführung erinnern, nach der die syrische Übersetzung des griechischen Alexanderromans ebenfalls auf Grund einer mittelpersischen Vorlage fertig wurde.<sup>21</sup>

Die Buchstaben­gruppe *KSR* (ϰ: χ. s. r) hat meines Erachtens ebenfalls nichts mit den Chazaren zu tun, sondern geht offenbar auf ein *\*axasir* < *Ἀκάρζιρ*-, oder aber auf ein *\*xosir* < *Χότζιρ*- zurück.<sup>22</sup> Ich möchte nur ganz kurz erwähnen, daß die syrische Ursprungssage der Bulgaren, in der das eponyme Bruderpaar *Bulgarios* und *Xazarig* erscheint, ebenfalls durch mittelpersische Vermittlung auf das griechische Original zurückgeht, denn *Bulgarios* ist eine byzantinische Namensform, während *Xazarig* eine rein mittelpersische Namensform darstellt.<sup>23</sup> Diese Sage kann übrigens nicht vor der bekannten Westwanderung der Bulgaren entstanden sein, wie das neuerdings von W. HAUSSIG und F. ALTHEIM angenommen wurde,<sup>24</sup> da auf letztere in der Sage bekanntlich unmißverständlich hingewiesen wird.

Dagegen befinden sich wiederholt authentische Angaben über die Chazaren in der Geschichte des armenischen Feldherrn Smbat Bagratuni, die deshalb von besonderer Bedeutung sind, weil sie zusammen mit den byzantinischen Quellen der frühen westtürkischen Geschichte, sowie mit den umfangreichen und besonders wertvollen Erzählungen des Moses Kalankatvac'i, die auf Augenzeugenberichte zurückgehen, deutlich beweisen, daß die Chazaren nach 570 und auch später, nach den byzantinisch-persischen Kämpfen unter Herakleios und Khosrav dem II., dem westtürkischen Chagan botmäßig waren. Diese armenischen Angaben sind bis auf einige allbekannte Zitate aus MARKWARTS verschiedenen Arbeiten sowohl DUNLOP, als auch fast allen neueren Bearbeitern der Chazarengeschichte unbekannt geblieben. So erklärt sich z. B., daß DUNLOP in der Geschichte des Salmān und des 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Rabi'a al-Bāhili die verdächtige Tradition des Saif bevorzugt,<sup>25</sup> obwohl

sie bereits von WELLHAUSEN als nicht authentisch erwiesen worden ist und WELLHAUSENS Schlußfolgerungen auch durch die armenischen Quellen vollauf bestätigt werden.<sup>26</sup> Die Ereignisse der chazarischen Einfälle nach Albanien zwischen 650 und 715, die wir ebenfalls durch die armenischen Quellen kennen, sind DUNLOP und der neueren Forschung ebenfalls unbekannt geblieben. Was die großen, dreißig Jahre lang anhaltenden arabisch-chazarischen Kämpfe betrifft, so werden die armenischen Quellen von DUNLOP ebenfalls nur gelegentlich angeführt. Er behandelt aber auch die einschlägigen syrischen und byzantinischen Quellen auf eine wenig befriedigende Weise, da ihm unbekannt geblieben ist, daß Theophanes und Dionysios Tellmahrensensis, bzw. Michael Syrus und Barhebraeus, sowie der christlich-arabische Schriftsteller Agapios diese Kämpfe auf Grund einer gemeinsamen Quelle beschreiben.<sup>27</sup> Dadurch entstehen wichtige Lücken in DUNLOPS Darstellung, die nur teilweise dadurch gutgemacht werden, daß er die sekundären, aus byzantinischen und arabischen Quellen herrührenden hebräischen Angaben der Chazarengeschichte eingehend bespricht.

Für den Zeitabschnitt, den wir von der ganzen chazarischen Geschichte am besten kennen, von 715 bis 740 u. Z., wurden vor allem die uns zur Verfügung stehenden armenischen und auch die syrischen Quellen weder durch Dunlop noch durch andere über MARKWART hinausgehend auf eine befriedigende Weise verwertet. Das hat zur Folge, daß man auf die Möglichkeit der Unterscheidung zwischen den verschiedenen Volkselementen des Chazarischen Reiches verzichten mußte, während aus einer systematischen Konfrontierung der armenischen, syrischen und arabisch-persischen Quellen deutlich hervorgeht, daß das Chazarische Reich neben vielen, unter anderen auch finnisch-ugrischen Volkselementen aus drei wichtigen Komponenten bestand: 1) aus den eigentlichen Chazaren savirischen Ursprungs, deren Hauptstadt Balangar, südlich des Flusses Kuma war, 2) aus kaukasischen Hunnen, südlich der Chazaren und nördlich von Derbend an der Küste des Kaspischen Meeres, deren Herrscher in den arabischen Berichten den Namen Šāhib Balangar trägt, 3) aus den westtürkischen Oberherren der eigentlichen Chazaren, deren Hauptstadt Ätil, die Residenz des Chagans, also des Vertreters der Westtürken war.

Eine zweite Folge der lückenhaften Bearbeitung der Quellen ist, daß man den Wortgebrauch der arabischen Quellen über die chazarische Geschichte bis auf den heutigen Tag unbeachtet ließ, indem man sich vorstellt, daß die Araber zwischen dem Namen *türk* und *chazar* überhaupt keinen Unterschied machen. Nun ist das aber ein Irrtum. Aus einer systematischen Vergleichung der verschiedenen arabischen und armenischen Parallelberichte geht deutlich hervor, daß die große Mehrheit und zwar vor allen Dingen die älteren Quellen fast ausnahmslos Türken und Chazaren immer genau unterscheiden.<sup>28</sup>

Ich hoffe, daß diese flüchtigen Konturen meines Gedankengangs ausreichen, die Aufgaben und die Schwierigkeiten unserer Chazarenforschung gewissermaßen anzudeuten. Ich glaube, es geht schon aus diesem knappen Überblick ziemlich klar hervor, daß wie sonst in der Philologie, auch bei der Chazarenforschung die dringendste Aufgabe gerade die solide Bearbeitung der einzelnen Quellengruppen ist, als unerläßliche Grundlage für die spätere synthetische Zusammenfassung der gesamten Geschichte der Chazaren. Die Chazarenforschung steht noch immer im Bannkreis des großen Philologen J. MARKWART, der als letzter imstande war, die vielsprachigen Quellen der chazarischen Geschichte zu überblicken und philologisch zu bearbeiten. Besonders nach dieser Vorgeschichte ist unsere Forschung meines Erachtens verpflichtet, bei der weiteren Arbeit denselben strengen philologischen Maßstab anzulegen.

#### Anmerkungen

<sup>1</sup> Leningrad 1936. — Die zweite Auflage dieses Werkes befindet sich — wie ich vernehme — augenblicklich im Druck.

<sup>2</sup> Princeton 1954.

<sup>3</sup> V. MINORSKY: Oriens XI (1958), SS. 122—145; K. Старкова: Палестинский Сборник IV (1959), SS. 241—246. A. ASSFALG: Byzantinische Zeitschrift XLIX (1956), SS. 123—125.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., SS. 12—14. DUNLOP unterschätzt die Bedeutung dieser »Japhet stories«. So wurde z. B. der Name *t'etalk'* der armenischen Bearbeitung des Diamerismos zuerst auf die Hephthaliten und später auch auf die Westtürken übertragen, deren Reich im 7. Jahrhundert auch Chazarien umfasste. Auch Sebēos gebraucht wiederholt den Namen *t'etalk'*, der gewöhnlich für rätselhaft gehalten wird (vgl. K. CZEGLÉDY, Zur Kritik der Quellen über die chazarische Frühgeschichte: A Magyar Tudományok Akadémia I. Osztályának Közleményei [Veröffentlichungen der I. Klasse der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften] XV/1—2, (1959), SS. 107—128.

<sup>5</sup> Über die Nachwirkung vom Diamerismos vgl. ARNO BORST, Der Turmbau von Babel I/1 (Stuttgart 1957), SS. 279—284. BORST verweist nicht auf die armenische Bearbeitung des Diamerismos, die B. SARGISIAN in 1904 herausgegeben und J. MARKWART kommentiert hat (in Hippolytus Werke: IV. Die Chronik, ed. A. BAUER [R. HELM], SS. 394ff). MARKWART hielt mit Unrecht eine Verbindung zwischen den Chazaren und den Hephthaliten für wahrscheinlich. Die Hephthaliten werden in einer hagiographischen Notiz bei Moses Kalankatvaci (ed. Tiflis 1913, S. 104) als Bewohner der Kaukasusgegend erwähnt. Er verwendet die Namensform *kamičik hep'talk'*. Da er aber behauptet, die *kamičik hep'talk'* seien von Alexander dem Großen gefangengenommen und abgeführt worden, ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, daß der Name Kaukasus sich in diesem Falle auf das »indische« Kaukasus-Gebirge der Alexanderhistoriker, d. h. auf den Paropamisos bezieht, wo eines der Zentren der historischen Hephthaliten befand. Unter letzteren befanden sich auch *karmir hyōn* 'Rote Hyōn', die *Κερμυχλωτες* von Theophanes (H. W. BAILEY: Asiatica. Festschrift Friedrich Weller. Leipzig 1954. SS. 13—21). Wir können also eine Verbindung zwischen *kamičik* und *karmir* ~ *Κερμυ* vermuten. Die *Hyōn* werden auch in der Alexanderlegende genannt, denn *Υ. ω. η* in der syrischen Version (ed.

BUDOR, S. 272<sub>3</sub>) geht auf ein *hyōn* der Pehlevi-Vorlage zurück (vgl. auch WILHELM: ZDMG XLII, 1888, SS. 96—101, wo aber *hayūn* 'Dromedar' unrichtig mit dem Namen der Hunnen verbunden wird. Menschen mit »Tiergesicht« kommen auch im Roman vor).

<sup>6</sup> K. CZEGLÉDY, A Szir Nagy Sándor-legendája: M. T. A. I. Oszt. Közl. [Veröff. d. I. Kl. d. Ung. Akad. d. W.] XIII/1—4, SS. 17—19 (= Acta Orient. Hung. VII, (1957), SS. 246—249; eine ausgezeichnete Arbeit über die Alexanderlegende veröffentlichte N. ПИГУЛЕВСКАЯ: Палестинский Сборник III (1958), SS. 75—97.

<sup>7</sup> Über Pseudo-Methodios vgl. A. A. VASILIEV: Byzantina-Metabyzantina I (1946), SS. 237—248; A. BORST, op. cit., I, S. 269.; vgl. E. SACKUR, Sibilinische Texte und Forschungen (Halle 1898), S. 47, 72—73, 92.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. ШАВОТ, II, S. 566—568 col. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. Z. V. ТОГАН: Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XXIV/3. Leipzig 1939. S. XXVIII; G. WIDENGREN: Orientalia Suecana I (1952), S. 93, N. 2.

<sup>10</sup> G. CHALATIANY, Армянский Эпос I (Москва 1896), SS. 3—36.

<sup>11</sup> K. CZEGLÉDY: Antik Tanulmányok [Studia Antiqua] II (1955), SS. 124—134.

<sup>12</sup> Kitab al-tanbih, S. 83. — Die Ungarn, die vor 896 u. Z. eng mit den Chazaren verbunden waren, wurden nach Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos (ed. МОРЯВОСКИ, S. 170) ebenfalls *Σάβαροι* genannt.

<sup>13</sup> Ed. Tiflis, 1912, S. 133.

<sup>14</sup> Ed. BROOKS, II S. 209; K. AHRENS—G. KRÜGER, Die sogenannte Kirchengeschichte des Zacharias Rhetor (Leipzig 1899), S. 253.

<sup>15</sup> P. PELLIOU, Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or (Paris 1950), SS. 207—224; W. B. HENNING: BSOAS XIV (1952), SS. 504—507.

<sup>16</sup> Streifzüge, SS. 382—383.

<sup>17</sup> Baltische Monatsschrift LXXVI (1913), SS. 264—277.

<sup>18</sup> Акад Б. Д. Грекову. Сборник статей. (Москва 1952), SS. 42—48, vgl. Палестинский Сборник III, S. 87.

<sup>19</sup> Ausführlicher: K. CZEGLÉDY: Ant. Tan. [Stud. Ant.] V (1958), SS. 261—253.

<sup>20</sup> Diese Angabe des Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor steht aber, obwohl sie in dieser Form in keiner der uns bekannten Versionen des Romans nachzuweisen ist, nicht einzeln da, wie es vielfach angenommen wird. Sie entstammt dem Roman und kann in ihrer ursprünglichen Form in mehreren Versionen desselben, sowie in einigen Bearbeitungen der Alexanderlegende belegt werden.

So finden wir diese Beschreibung der Amazonen in der Klimenbeschreibung des Agapios (ed. VASILIEV, S. 182). Auch hier werden die Männer der Amazonen als ein besonderes Volk des sechsten Klima beschrieben. Nach Agapios sind es aber die *burfān*, also die Bulgaren, die als Männer der Amazonen auftreten.

Dagegen bilden die Amazonen und ihre Männer, die Hunnen ein einziges Volk in der Syrischen Alexanderlegende (ed. BUDOR, S. 263). Sie werden hier als blauäugige Hunnen beschrieben.

Die Amazonen und ihre Männer beschreibt auch Dinawari (ed. GUINQASS, S. 39) als ein einziges Volk. Bei ihm werden aber Rötlichkeit und rotes Haar (*umma min al-nās humr al-awān wa-ṣuḥb*) als wichtigste Kennzeichen der Männer der Amazonen angegeben. Ein besonderer Name für dieses Volk wird nicht angeführt. Dinawaris Angabe erweist sich dadurch als besonders wichtig, weil sie die Vermutung nahelegt, daß sich im griechischen Original für »rot, rötlich« das Wort *ῥόυαος* 'rot' befand, das von Dinawari richtig übersetzt, in der Pehlevi-Quelle des Pseudo-Zacharias dagegen als Eigenname empfunden und daher unter Weglassung der Endung *-oi* einfach als *HRWS*

( $\alpha$ : *hrūs*) transliteriert wurde. Daß der Verfasser der Syrischen Legende und Agapios anstatt der ihnen wohl unbekanntenen *HRWS* die Hunnen und die *burfān* setzten, ist leicht begreiflich, es fällt aber dabei auf, daß der Verfasser der Syrischen Legende die Beschreibung der Männer der Amazonen als blauäugige Leute ganz unpassend auf die Hunnen übertragen hat. Wie wir unten sehen werden, gibt es eine ganze Reihe von Angaben, die diesen Schluß als zwingend erscheinen lassen.

Vor allen Dingen müssen wir aber die Frage beantworten, ob wir in diesem Volke nicht ein wirkliches Volk zu erkennen haben. Die Angabe des Pseudo-Zacharias, nach der die Männer der Amazonen dermaßen lange Extremitäten haben, daß sie von Pferden nicht getragen werden können, zusammen mit den anderen Angaben über ihre blauen Augen, bzw. rötlichen Zügen, könnte nämlich gegebenenfalls auch auf ein wirkliches Volk bezogen werden. Wir besitzen viele muslimischen und nichtmuslimischen Angaben, nach denen die nördlichen Völker des fünften und sechsten Klimas als rötlich bezeichnet werden, und es fehlt auch keineswegs an Angaben über Völker mit langen Extremitäten, ja über solche, die von Pferden nicht getragen werden können (vgl. MARKWART: Balt. Monatschr., loc. cit.). Diese Vorstellung von den rötlichen Zügen der Nordvölker, die bereits zu den *Topoi* der griechischen ethnographischen Literatur gehört, beruht letzten Endes auf unmittelbarer Beobachtung und kommt oft auch in den muslimischen Klima-Tafeln und genealogischen Verzeichnissen vor.

Die Möglichkeit besteht also scheinbar, daß die Geschichte des rötlichen Volkes in den zitierten Versionen des Alexanderromans, bzw. in der Alexanderlegende, ebenfalls hierher gehört, und daß das *HRWS* des Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor, obwohl es zusammen mit anderen Wundervölkern des Alexanderromans genannt wird, die wirklichen rötlichen Völker des Nordens, also keine Wunderwesen bezeichnet. Sei es aber, daß man diese Lösung versucht, oder aber auch daß man *HRWS* als einen besonderen Volksnamen betrachtet, der mit *rote* nicht zu verbinden ist, oder wenn man *HRWS* als Äquivalent vom biblischen *רֹעַ* betrachtet, darf man nicht vergessen, daß alle diese Lösungen erst dann in Betracht kommen, wenn sich der Name *HRWS*, bzw. *die Rötlichen* in den alten Versionen des Alexanderromans nirgends belegen läßt. Die natürlichste Erklärung des Namens *HRWS* ist nämlich — und das ist prinzipiell wichtig —, daß es zusammen mit den anderen bei Pseudo-Zacharias genannten Namen von Wundervölkern irgendeiner Version des Alexanderromans entstammt.

Nun kommt aber der Name und die Beschreibung dieses rötlich gefarbenen, blauäugigen Volkes, zusammen mit demjenigen der Amazonen und der auch bei Pseudo-Zacharias genannten Schwarzen Völker tatsächlich in einer der ältesten Versionen des Alexanderromans vor. Wir können selbst die Weise beobachten, wie das rötliche, blauäugige Wundervolk des Romans infolge einer Interpolation zu Nachbarn der Amazonen geworden ist.

Diejenige Form des Romans, in der die *«Rötlichen»* und die Amazonen Nachbarn geworden sind, gehört zu Rezension  $\alpha$  des Romans die dadurch gekennzeichnet wird, daß der große Wunderbrief des II. Buches (II, 23–44) in ihr gänzlich fehlt, während III, 17 in stark interpolierte Form erscheint (R. MERKELBACH, Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans: *Zetemata*, Heft 9. München 1954, SS. 98–101). Die interpolierten Teile entstammen einerseits Kapp. 32, 33, 36–44, des zweiten, andererseits Kap. 28 des dritten Buches. Diese Rezension unterliegt neben der lateinischen Übersetzung des Leo und dem Syrischen Alexanderroman auch der Alexandergeschichte des Firdausi (ed. MOHL, V, 199ff), dessen Quellen arabische Bearbeitungen einer Pehlevi-Übersetzung des griechischen Originals waren (so schon NÖLDEKE, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans: Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse. Wien. XXXVII, 1890, SS. 49–52). Firdausis Version zeigt allerdings einige kleinere Ab-

weichungen gegenüber Leo und dem Syr. Roman, die aber für uns von großem Belang sind.

Bei Firdausi finden wir zuerst, übereinstimmend mit Leo III, 17 die Abschnitte I, II, III, V (nach PRISTERS Einteilung in seiner Leo-Ausgabe), dann folgt aber in Leo und Syr. schon die Interpolation aus II, 32 und 33, ferner die Beschreibung der Himantopoden (vgl. III, 28) und 36, sowie 38. Nach der Beschreibung der Wildesel, des Phoenix und der sprechenden Vögel (II, 40) folgt erst die Nysa-Episode aus III, 28 und weitere Abenteuer in Prasiake, schließlich die Geschichte des rinderverschlingenden Drachen. Nach diesen Abschnitten folgt im Syr. eine lange Interpolation, die ebenfalls eine griechische Vorlage hat (NÖLDEKE, op. cit., SS. 21–22): Alexanders Reise nach China und seine Rückreise. Erst danach geht Syr. zu der Kandake-Episode (III, 18–24) und zur Geschichte der Amazonen (III, 25–27) über. Etwas anders verfährt Firdausi, der nach III, 17, V sofort zu der Beschreibung der Himantopoden übergeht. Dann folgt bei ihm die Geschichte des rinderverschlingenden Drachen und die Nysa-Episode. Darauf geht aber Firdausi — und das ist für uns von großer Bedeutung — sofort zur Geschichte der Amazonen über. Erst nach den Amazonen werden bei ihm ihre westlichen, rötlichen Nachbarn beschrieben. Der Weg zu der Amazonenstadt führt auch nach ihm durch das Land der Schwarzen (cf. die Schwarzen Völker bei Ps.-Zacharias, ferner III, 27).

Die Ursache der Umstellungen bei Firdausi ist leicht ersichtlich: seine Quelle versetzte die Kandake-Geschichte (III, 18–24) nach West-Afrika, diese Episode wird also bei ihm im Zusammenhang mit Alexanders Reise nach dem Westen schon früher (etwa III, 6) erzählt. Es entstand daher eine unmittelbare Verbindung zwischen dem interpolierten Kap. III, 17 und der Geschichte der Amazonen (III, 25–27). Firdausis Quelle hat also einerseits die Kandake-Episode vorweggenommen, andererseits aber auch die Nysa-Episode und die Geschichte der Amazonen vor die Interpolationen aus Kapp. II, 33 und II, 39 (der Zug zum Lebensquell) gestellt. Diese Umstellungen verursachten dann, daß die Amazonen und die rötlichen Riesen im Text nebeneinander geraten sind. Ein nächster Schritt war, daß man die rötlichen Riesen mit den Amazonen als Männer derselben verband. Die Lebensquell-Episode wird von Firdausi, zusammen mit der Geschichte der Errichtung des Erzwalles gegen Gog und Magog gemäß seiner muslimischen Quelle vorgetragen, die diese Episoden natürlich auf Grund von Sura 18 behandelt hatte.

Die muslimischen Bearbeiter der Alexandergeschichte konnten übrigens die alte Vorstellung vom Amazonenland am Thermodonfluß (III, 27) in der Nähe des Kaukasus und von Alexanders Wall im Kaukasus nicht beibehalten. Nachdem nämlich die Araber den Kaukasus erreicht hatten und sich überzeugen konnten, daß die Festungen von Derbend der Beschreibung des Walles im Koran nicht entsprechen, verschob sich diese Vorstellung teilweise nach Mittelasien (vgl. Tabari, I, 2669 und Sallāms Reisebericht: L. MASSIGNON: *Analecta Bollandiana* LXVII, 1950, SS. 253–254), teilweise nach dem Norden ins Ural-Gebirge. Infolgedessen erscheinen aber auch die Rötlichen und die *«ἄροτοχοίται»*, zusammen mit den sonstigen Wunderwesen des Romans (vgl. Maqdisi, ed. HUART, II, SS. 207–9) weit im Osten in der Nähe des Walles von Gog und Magog. Spuren dieser neuen Vorstellung sind sowohl bei Firdausi als auch bei vielen muslimischen Autoren zu beobachten.

Eine interessante Einzelheit in Firdausis Darstellung der Amazonengeschichte ist, daß er gegenüber allen anderen Bearbeitungen des Romans auch den Namen der Amazonenstadt mitteilt, und zwar in der Form *HRWM*, die er mit den Makedonennamen *RWM* reimt. Der Name *HRWM* ist bis jetzt völlig ungeklärt. Aus dem Gesagten geht aber mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit hervor, daß er in seiner Quelle die

Form *مروم*, verschrieben für *مروى* für die Männer der Amazonen gefunden und auf diese Weise verwertet hat.

Firdausis Darstellung wurde in seinen Hauptzügen von Nizāmi übernommen, er verwendete aber — wie er selbst angibt — auch andere Versionen des Alexanderromans, unter denen sich auch Pehlevi-Versionen befanden (vgl. E. Э. Бертельс, Роман об Александре. Moskva—Leningrad 1948. S. 53). Er lokalisierte die Amazonengeschichte in Transkaukasien, also in der Nähe seines Heimatlandes. Nach ihm war *HRWM* der Name der aserbeidschanischen Stadt Barda'a, und Nuschabe die Königin dieser Stadt und der Amazonen. Nizāmi verbindet aber auch die Kandake- (bei ihm Qaidāfa, nach Firdausi) und die Amazonengeschichte. Es ist nun recht interessant, daß er im 6. Teil seiner Erzählung von einem Einfall der Russen nach Barda'a erzählt. Alexander eilt aus China über die Kiptschakische Steppe zur Hilfe seiner Freundin Nuschabe herbei. Im sechsten Zusammenprall tritt von russischer Seite ein rötlicher Riese hervor, mit einem Haken bewaffnet und mit einem Horn auf seinem Stirn. Die verkleidete Sklavin, die vom chinesischen Chakan Alexander geschenkt wurde, ficht mit dem roten Unwesen, fällt aber in Gefangenschaft und wird nur mit Mühe gerettet.

Man erklärt diese Episode bei Nizāmi allgemein, indem man auf die vielerörterte russische Zerstörung von Barda'a in 943/4 u. Z. (V. MINORSKY, A History of Sharvān and Darband. Cambridge 1958. S. 62), von der Nizāmi gewiss gut unterrichtet war. Wie aber aus dem oben Gesagten ersichtlich ist, handelt es sich um mehr: das rötliche Unwesen des Nizāmi ist kaum von den roten Riesen des Romans II, 33, sowie von den *HRWS* des Pseudo-Zacharias zu trennen, die ebenfalls überaus lange Extremitäten haben. Alle diese Beschreibungen gehen letzten Endes zweifellos auf II, 33 zurück, in dem es sich um riesenähnliche, rötliche Wesen handelt, die zusammen mit vier Ellen hohen, haarlosen, mit Löwenhäuten umgürteten Leuten waffenlos, nur mit Stöcken über das makedonische Heer herfielen.

Besonders interessant ist, wie Nizāmi den Namen *HRWS* seiner Quelle auf die Russen überträgt. Er wurde sowohl vom Roman, als auch von den Ereignissen des historischen Einfalles der Russen inspiriert, und die Identifizierung der *HRWS* mit den Russen lag für ihn in der Tat auf der Hand. Auch das Motiv der Errettung des Mädchens aus den Händen des Unwesens ist nicht frei erfunden: nach II, 33 führen die Makedonen dem Unwesen ein nacktes Mädchen zu, das nur mit großer Mühe seinen Händen entrissen werden kann.

Was das Alter der Vorstellung von den rötlichen Unwesen im Alexanderroman betrifft, so muß vor allem darauf hingewiesen werden, daß Kap. 33 des großen Wunderbriefes ursprünglich zur Rezension  $\beta$  ( $\gamma$ ) des Romans gehört hatte (MERKELBACH, op. cit., S. 98), und daß die rötlichen Unwesen bereits in der alten armenischen Übersetzung des Romans (ed. Venedig, S. 41) genannt werden, der im fünften Jahrhundert u. Z. verfertigt wurde (MERKELBACH, op. cit., SS. 64—65). Letzten Endes gehen die fabelhaften Abenteuer dieser Abschnitte auf die Erzählung der Alexanderhistoriker über den Rückzug des makedonischen Heeres aus Indien durch die gedrosische Wüste zurück (vgl. A. AUSFELD, Der griechische Alexanderroman. Leipzig 1907, SS. 168—172).

Diese Lösung des *HRWS*-Problems habe ich in kurzer Form bereits in Antik Tanulmányok [Studia Antiqua] V (1958) SS. 251—253: Középperzsa eredetű szír tudósítások [Sur quelques rapports syriens d'origine pehlevi sassanide] vorgeschlagen, wo ich auch auf die Pehlevi Vermittlung hingewiesen habe. Im Hinblick auf die große Wichtigkeit dieser Angabe hoffe ich auf dieses Problem bald ausführlich zurückkommen zu können.

<sup>21</sup> NÖLDEKE, op. cit., SS. 11—17.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. K. CZEGLÉDY: Antik Tanulm. V, S. 253.

<sup>23</sup> Loo. cit.

<sup>24</sup> F. ALTHEIM, Geschichte der Hunnen II (Berlin 1960), S. 86—87.

<sup>25</sup> Op. cit., SS. 50—51, 55—57.

<sup>26</sup> M. T. A. I. Oszt. Közl. [Veröff. d. I. Kl. der Ung. Ak. d. W.] XV/1—2, SS. 122—123.

<sup>27</sup> Vgl. K. CZEGLÉDY: Acta Orient. Hung. XI (1960), SS. 75—88.

<sup>28</sup> K. CZEGLÉDY in Névtudományi vizsgálatok [Namenkundliche Untersuchungen], herausgegeben von S. MIKESY (Budapest 1960), SS. 119—125.

## Sektion V: Islam

Montag, 12. September, morgens

Chairman: I. M. Husaini

### K. Czeglédy:

#### Die spätsassanidischen und schiitischen Mahdi-Erwartungen

Die verschiedenen persischen apokalyptischen Schriften der spätsassanidischen und früh-islamischen Zeit verfolgen die persische Geschichte bis zum Ende des sechsten Jahrhunderts in der Form einer *vaticinatio ex eventu*. Die historischen Anspielungen dieser Schriften sind meistens ganz deutlich, da die einzelnen vorhergesagten Ereignisse ohne größere Schwierigkeiten zu erkennen sind. Daran ändert auch die Tatsache nichts, daß die Anspielungen, wie üblich, im verhüllten Stil der Apokalypsen vorgelesen werden. Die Aufgabe, die die Identifizierung der einzelnen Wahrsagungen mit den entsprechenden geschichtlichen Ereignissen bereitet, ist jedenfalls nicht schwieriger als im Falle von Daniel Kap. 11, da es sich auch hier um eine Erzählung bekannter Tatsachen handelt.

Die letzten pseudo-prophetischen Ereignisse, die diese Apokalypsen darstellen, sind diejenigen der großen Revolution des Bahrām Čobīn um 590 n. Chr. Es ist nun eine höchst merkwürdige Tatsache, daß dem Bahrām Čobīn, dessen Gestalt auch in den historischen und epischen Überlieferungen der spätsassanidischen Epoche ein legendenhaftes Kolorit trägt, nicht nur seine historisch beglaubigte Rolle zukommt, sondern auch die eines versprochenen Messias. Unter dem Namen *Vahrām ī Varjāvand* wird er nämlich gemäß dieser Apokalypsen die Feinde der Endzeit besiegen. Da nun die Schilderung der eschatologischen Feinde Irans auch einige unverhüllte Hinweise auf die Araber enthält und der eschatologische Sieg Vahrām ī Varjāvands, d. h. Bahrām Čobīns als ein Sieg über die Araber dargestellt wird, kann es keinem Zweifel unterliegen, 1. daß die spätzoroastrischen Apokalypsen in ihrer jetzigen Form erst nach der arabischen Eroberung Irans aufgezeichnet wurden, 2. daß die zoroastrischen Kreise Bahrām Čobīn, bzw. Vahrām ī Varjāvand auch nach der arabischen Eroberung Persiens als den erwarteten Messias ansahen. Das ist umso interessanter, als wir aus der vielfachen historischen Überlieferung wissen, daß Bahrām Čobīn im J. 591, nach dem militärischen Zusammenbruch seines Aufstandes, nach der turanischen Hauptstadt Diz-i royīn geflohen war, wo er dann später unter nicht ganz geklärten Umständen starb. Wir haben erst vor einigen Jahren erfahren, daß diese Stadt, die in den verschiedenen Quellen die Namen Diz-i rōyīn, Rōyīn diz, Madīnat al-šufr, und Madīnat al-nuḥās trägt — die alle soviel wie ‚Messingstadt‘ bedeuten —, mit der späteren türkisch-ugurischen Haupt-

stadt Baqır-balı, deren Name auf türkisch ebenfalls ‚Messingstadt‘ bedeutet, identisch ist. Andererseits steht es aber außer Zweifel, daß der Messias, den später, um die Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts Sunbād, der Nachfolger des abbasidischen Propagandisten Abu Muslim, aus einer „messingnen Burg“ erwartete, ursprünglich mit Vahrām ī Varjāvand, d. h. letzten Endes mit Bahrām Ćobīn identisch ist. Es handelt sich also hier um einen verborgenen Imam oder Messias, dessen Rückkehr und eschatologischer Sieg auf dieselbe Weise gelehrt und prophezeit wird, wie das Verborgensein und die Rückkehr des Imams in der späteren Šī‘a. Sunbāds Lehren sind vor allem dadurch mit den spätoroastrischen Vorstellungen verbunden, daß sowohl Sunbād, als auch die Zoroastrier der frühislamischen Zeit die Rückkehr des Mahdi aus der Messingstadt erwarteten.

Nun fragt es sich natürlich, inwiefern wir berechtigt sind, die Lehren des zum Mazdakiten gestempelten Extremisten Sunbād mit der schiitischen Lehre vom verborgenen Imam zu verbinden. Man könnte sich dagegen auch auf die Tatsache berufen, daß diese Lehre schon früher, um die achtziger Jahre des 7. Jahrhunderts aufgetaucht sei, als einige Anhänger des von Muhtār propagierten Aliden Muḥammad ibn al-Hanafiya nach dessen Tod behaupteten, er sei nicht tot, er habe sich nur verborgen und werde zurückkehren, um die Welt mit Gerechtigkeit und Gleichheit zu erfüllen. Wir müssen jedoch nicht vergessen einerseits, daß die Mahdi-Erwartungen, die an die Gestalt Bahrām Ćobīns geknüpft wurden, fast um ein Jahrhundert früher anzusetzen sind als der Auftritt des Muḥammad ibn al-Hanafiya, andererseits aber, daß das Vorhandensein der erwähnten Erwartungen durch die spätoroastrischen Apokalypsen und Sunbāds Lehren eben für Iran, d. h. für den Schauplatz von Muhtār's Revolution unwiderleglich erwiesen sind. Es ist also kaum anzunehmen, daß die Vergötterung von Muḥammad ibn al-Hanafiya und die nach seinem Tode aufgekommene Lehre von seiner Verborgenheit, bzw. von seiner Rückkehr und von seinem eschatologischen Siege ganz unabhängig von den derzeitigen, genau entsprechenden spätoroastrischen Lehren entstanden sein können.

Manche schiitisch inspirierten Lehren der Mystiker werden ebenfalls durch die Lehren über Vahrām ī Varjāvand beleuchtet. So vor allem die Behauptung, der Mahdi müßte aus dem fernen Osten ankommen. Auch die Lehre vom „Schatz“ des Mahdi, den er in Talaqān habe, ist kaum vom „Schatz“ des Vahrām ī Varjāvand zu trennen.

Prof. L. Fekete hatte als angehender Archivar und Historiker während seiner Kriegsgefangenschaft nach dem ersten Weltkrieg das Studium der türkischen Sprache in Angriff genommen und wandte sich demnächst der Untersuchung türkischer Urkunden zu. Die Erforschung der Schriftdenkmäler der türkischen Herrschaft in Ungarn konnte bereits in den zwanziger Jahren auf eine nicht unbedeutende Tradition (Á. SZILÁDI, A. VELICS, I. KARÁCSON) zurückblicken, aber die noch zu leistende Arbeit war angesichts der Fülle des Materials gewaltig. Nach den Jahren der Gefangenschaft hat sich Prof. Fekete mit außergewöhnlicher Arbeitslust und Energie in das Studium der türkischen Materialien der ungarischen und der übrigen europäischen Archive vertieft.

Sein Interessenkreis hat beinahe alles erfaßt, was mit diesen Schriftstücken irgendwie zusammenhängt. Von Anfang an hat er sämtliche Angaben beobachtet und systematisch bearbeitet, welche sich auf Duktus und Schreibtechnik der Schriften bzw. auf das ehemalige Archivwesen beziehen. Er hat sich mit den Abkürzungen und den Verzierungen, den Siegellegenden und der äußeren Einteilung der Schriften eingehendst beschäftigt. Im Laufe seiner Urkundenstudien hat er jedoch auch der gebaltlichen Anordnung der einzelnen Schriften von Anfang an ein großes Gewicht beigemessen. Auf diese Weise gelang es ihm ein richtiges Archiv zusammenzutragen von solchen »weltlichen« Schriften die entweder vom Sultan erlassen worden waren (*nāme*, *hüküm*, *berāt*), oder aber den Archiven ehemaliger zentraler Würdenträger entstammen (*tehlis* u. dgl.). Er hat eine Unmasse von Schriften der mit besonderen Befugnissen ausgestatteten Amtsträger (*beylerbey*, *serdār* u. a.), sowie die von den durch die unterstellten Beamten der Provinzen erlassenen Schriften (*tezkere*, *temessük* u. a.) durchforscht. Die Möglichkeiten der Erforschung türkischer Schriften »weltlicher« Art hat er gewaltig erweitert, indem er auch den Briefwechsel der tatarischen Khane in den Kreis seiner Untersuchungen einbezog. Diesen Schriften gegenüber bildeten eine weitere Gruppe diejenigen, die man noch am ehesten — obwohl ein besonderes bürgerliches Recht dem Islam unbekannt war — »kirchlich« nennen dürfte, sowie die durch die Kadis erlassenen Schriften (*vagf-nāme* und *fetvā*).



Auch den sprachlichen und stilistischen Fragen der Schriften hat Prof. Fekete große Beachtung geschenkt. Wiederkehrende Formeln, bestimmte Regeln im Gebrauch der Ausdrücke der Höflichkeit sowie verschiedene vorgeschriebene amtliche Wendungen erweisen sich des öfteren als überaus wichtig bei der Deutung der Urkunden. Prof. Feketes systematische Sammlerarbeit hat auch diese erfaßt und seine Sammlung der einschlägigen Angaben hat sich ebenfalls von Jahr zu Jahr erweitert. Die Regesten der bearbeiteten Archive hat er in der Zeit zwischen 1924 und 1935 in den *Levélári Közlemények* [= Archivalische Mitteilungen] veröffentlicht. Diese Regesten beschreiben die Schriftstücke der Archive der Familie Zichy, der Städte Debrecen und Gyöngyös sowie jene der »Documenti Turchi« des Archivs zu Venedig und der Sammlungen in Dresden und in Berlin, ja auch die Materialien des Rákóczi-Aspremontschen Archivs, und sie legen von der unerhörten Verzweigung der Untersuchungen Prof. Feketes ein beredtes Zeugnis ab. Die vielschichtigen Urkundenstudien haben ihm bald die Verwirklichung seiner ersten größeren wissenschaftlichen Zielsetzung ermöglicht: im Jahre 1926 konnte er bereits sein auf den erwähnten Grundsätzen fußendes und in der internationalen Fachliteratur auch seitdem vielzitiertes, ja unentbehrliches zusammenfassendes Werk, die *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatie der türkischen Botmäßigkeit in Ungarn* in ungarischer und in deutscher Sprache herausgeben.

Inzwischen hat aber Prof. Fekete auch die Bearbeitung der türkischen Schriften des ehemaligen Archivs der Familie Esterházy abgeschlossen. Dieses Archiv ist fürwahr die unüberschätzbare Fundgrube für die Erforschung der Geschichte der türkisch-ungarischen Beziehungen im 17. Jahrhundert. In der ziemlich rasch beendeten und bereits 1932 veröffentlichten *Quellenausgabe Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterházy, 1606-1645* hat Prof. Fekete seine klar umrissenen Grundsätze zur Veröffentlichung türkischer Schriften mit Erfolg verwendet. Gemäß diesen Grundsätzen müssen die im Gebiete des ehemaligen osmanischen Reiches erhalten gebliebenen Schriften nicht nur in die Sprachen der einzelnen Länder übersetzt, sondern immer auch im Original, also in der ursprünglichen Sprache und Schrift nebst Facsimile veröffentlicht werden. In den einleitenden Abschnitten dieser Arbeit bietet der Verfasser tiefsehende Gedanken über die innere Lage des osmanischen Reiches im 17. Jahrhundert sowie über die Beziehungen von Ungarn und Türken. Dieses Werk ist heute noch eines der wichtigsten Quellenwerke und Hilfsmittel aller, die sich mit der türkischen und der ungarischen Geschichte befassen.

Die unter türkische Herrschaft geratenen Landstriche Ungarns wurden während der Türkenzeit den Provinzen des türkischen Reiches, den sog. Eyalets organisch angegliedert. Im Hinblick auf die osmanische Verwaltung kam also den ungarischen Städten dieselbe Stellung zu, wie den Städten des Mutterlandes. Somit sind die Urkunden zur Verwaltung der ungarländischen Städte

für die Rekonstruktion der damaligen türkischen Verwaltung genauso wichtig, wie für die ungarische Geschichte. In vielen Fällen stellen diese Schriften die einzige Quellengruppe dar, die uns über die Geschichte vieler ungarischer Städte während der Türkenherrschaft überhaupt zur Verfügung steht. Unter seinen Arbeiten zur Orts- und Siedlungsgeschichte hat Prof. Fekete zuerst ein Defter ausgewertet, das die Beschreibung der Häuser von Waitzen (ung. Vác) enthält. Die Häuserkonstruktionen bezweckten in der türkischen Verwaltung die Registrierung der Grundstücke und des Hausbesitzes. Aus der Feketeschen Bearbeitung *A török kori Vác egy XVI. századi összeírás alapján* [= Waitzen in der Türkenzeit auf Grund einer Konstruktion aus dem 16. Jahrhundert. 1942] ging die Siedlungsgeschichte von Waitzen im 16. Jahrhundert eindeutig klar hervor.

Ebenfalls für die Siedlungsgeschichte wichtig ist das nächste größere Werk von Prof. Fekete, *Az esztergomi szandzsák 1570. évi adóösszeírása* [= Die Steuerrolle des Graner Sandshaks für 1570. 1943]. In diesem Buch hat Prof. Fekete eine bahnbrechende Arbeit unternommen, da vordem noch keine ähnliche Sandshak-Ausgabe erschienen war. Diese Konstruktion, die die männliche Bevölkerung sämtlicher Dörfer des Sandshaks nach Vor- und Familiennamen aufzählt, enthält außer den Namen auch manche Eintragungen über die soziale Stellung der gezählten Personen. Diese Eintragungen betreffen zumeist die finanzielle Lage und den Viehstand der Einwohner, oder aber sie erwähnen, in wessen Dienst die gezählten Personen stehen. Die Aufzählung enthält sogar die Zahl der Häuser der einzelnen Siedlungen, selbst dann, wenn die betreffende Siedlung der ständig sich wiederholenden Kämpfe zufolge völlig verödet wurde und keinen einzigen Einwohner besaß. Diese Veröffentlichung hat sowohl der türkischen, als auch der ungarischen Historiographie viel Nutzen gebracht. Einzelne Gebiete haben nämlich unter den damaligen bewegten Umständen des öfteren zweimal, ja sogar mehrere Male ihren Herrn gewechselt. Da in den Jahren der ungarischen Herrschaft auch von ungarischer Seite Steueraufnahmen vorgenommen wurden (bes. Zehentregister), konnten I. SINKOVICS und neuerdings J. KÁLDY-NAGY, ein Schüler von Prof. Fekete gerade an Hand des Feketeschen Werkes darauf verweisen, daß die türkischen Konstruktionen gar häufig mit ungarischen Zehentregistern in lateinischer Schrift konfrontiert werden können, die ein und dieselben Personen des 16. Jahrhunderts mit Namen anführen. Die Vergleichung der beiden Namenlisten ermöglicht einerseits die Verwendung quellenkritischer Grundsätze, andererseits aber die Wiederherstellung der damaligen Lautwerte auf Grund der ungarischen Liste, da infolge der arabischen Schrift der türkischen Liste die Lesung lautlich oft unsicher sein muß. Es unterliegt also keinem Zweifel, daß dank der Initiative von Prof. Fekete der Weg vor einem neuen Forschungsbereich freigelegt wurde, was sowohl in der osmanischen, als auch in der ungarischen Geschichtsschreibung noch reichen Ertrag bringen wird.

Prof. Feketes stadtgeschichtliche Arbeit betrifft vor allen Dingen Ofen (ung. Buda, die westliche Hälfte der Hauptstadt), d. h. die Residenzstadt des Ofner Eyalets der Türkenzeit. Auf Grund seiner älteren Arbeiten und nach der Bearbeitung vieler neuen Quellen konnte er seine einschlägige Monographie im Jahre 1944 in ungarischer Sprache unter dem Titel *Budapest a törökökban* [= Budapest während der Türkenherrschaft] veröffentlichen. Das Werk umfaßt die Ergebnisse der Quellenstudien von Prof. Fekete. In den Abschnitten über die Verwaltung, das Wirtschaftsleben, das mohammedanische religiöse und geistige Leben Ofens sowie über die Lage der Familien und der Gesellschaft in der Türkenzeit ist es dem Verfasser dank seiner Jahrzehnte langen Forschungen gelungen, zumeist auf Grund früher unbekannter Quellen ein klares Bild von Ofen in der Türkenzeit zu geben. In der ungarischen historischen Literatur kommt seiner Arbeit eine grundlegende Bedeutung zu und sie bleibt noch für eine lange Zeit ein unentbehrliches Hilfsmittel in den Forschungen zur ungarischen Geschichte der Türkenherrschaft.

Während seiner Quellenstudien mußte Prof. Fekete mehrfach eine türkische Schriftart bearbeiten, die vorzüglich in der Finanzverwaltung verwendet wurde. Wenn die sogdisch-ugurische Kursivschrift unlängst von W. B. HENNING die Schöpfung Ahrirans genannt wurde, so dürfen wir dasselbe mutatis mutandis auch von dieser schwer zu entziffernden Sonderart der türkischen Schrift behaupten. Obwohl in Ungarn bereits A. VELICS, im Ausland auch mehrere Forscher Urkunden in Siyāqat-Schrift veröffentlicht hatten, fehlte uns bis vor kurzem eine Zusammenfassung, die über diese wichtige und sehr wenig bekannte Schriftart hätte Aufschluß geben können. Die Lösung dieser Aufgabe wurde von Prof. Fekete in einer Jahrzehnte langen zähen Arbeit vorbereitet. Diese große Arbeit konnte er im Jahre 1955 mit einem seiner schönsten Werke abschließen, als er seine zweibändige Untersuchung *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung* als 7. Band der *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* herausgab. Eingehends bespricht hier Prof. Fekete die Differenzierung der arabischen Schrift und die Entstehung der Siyāqat-Schrift. Des weiteren wird hier erleuchtet, wie die Zahlen der Siyāqat-Schrift aus den mit Zahlenwerten gebrauchten Buchstabenzeichen hervorgegangen waren. Verschiedene Schwierigkeiten der Siyāqat-Schrift werden durch die Polyphonie verursacht. Einzelne Zeichen und Ligaturen können öfters mehrere mögliche Bedeutungen haben: so besitzt z. B. das *Mim* als Buchstabenzeichen 14 mögliche Bedeutungen, wenn es als Abkürzung verwendet wird. Die systematische Beschreibung dieser Möglichkeiten ist eine große Hilfe für alle, die türkische Schriften in Siyāqat zu entziffern haben. Ausführlich behandelt der Verfasser außerdem die Frage, was für Schriftstücke von den türkischen Schreibern in Siyāqat-Schrift hergestellt wurden. Aus seinen Erörterungen geht es hervor, daß die Siyāqat-Schrift eine überaus breite Verwendung fand und sowohl die Dester der zentralen Finanzverwaltung, als auch die Register

der Wilayets und der Finanzbezirke, Goldregister, Timarlisten und Lebensbriefe umfaßte. Er hat auch bewiesen, daß die Einkünfte der *muqāṭa'a*-Finanzeinheiten nicht von Pächtern behoben wurden, wie es seit J. HAMMER-PURGSTALL angenommen wurde, sondern von staatlichen Funktionären. Die verschiedenen Urkundentypen stellt Prof. Fekete auf 104 Tafeln zusammen und teilt zugleich ihre richtige Lesung mit. Die zahlreichen mitgeteilten Schriftstücke besitzen nicht einen lediglich paläographischen Wert, sondern es kommt ihnen als Urkundensammlungen auch ein großer Quellenwert zu. Unter den Mustern kommt z. B. auch eine Schrift vor, die Aufzeichnungen der Kanzlei des gegen Wien ziehenden Großwesirs Kara Mustafa enthält. Feketes Werk ermöglicht nun die Ausarbeitung einer ganzen Reihe wichtigster Teilfragen. Die historische Geographie der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft, die Handelsbeziehungen des türkischen Reiches, die Zusammenstellung der Warenlisten auf Grund der Zollbücher, ferner die Klärung des gesamten Wirtschaftslebens mit Hilfe der *Kassabücher*, die Feststellung des Standes der in den einzelnen Gebieten gelegenen türkischen Truppen auf Grund der Timar- und Soldlisten u. dgl. sind alles Aufgaben, deren Lösung durch die »Siyāqat-Schrift« stark gefördert werden kann.

Neben diesen großangelegten Werken hat Prof. Fekete auch als Verfasser von Aufsätzen und Abhandlungen eine vielseitige Tätigkeit entfaltet. In besonderen Studien behandelte er manche Fragen der türkischen Verwaltung (*Il sistema dei possedimenti nell' Ungheria sottomessa ai Turchi*. Rom 1940; *Párhuzam az isztambuli és a budai ügyvitel között* [= Parallele in der Geschäftsführung in Istanbul und in Ofen]; *Levéltári Közlemények* 1941; *Türk vergi tahrirleri*: Belleten, Ankara 1948; *Über Archivalien und Archivwesen in der Türkei*: *Acta Orient. Hung.*, 1953; »Berât« und »Budîn«: *Enc. of Islam.*).

Anhand seiner Quellenforschungen hat Prof. Fekete auch türkische Schriften mit wertvollen Einleitungen veröffentlicht, die mit der türkischen Herrschaft außerhalb Ungarns zusammenhängen. Hierher gehören *Iran şahların iki türkçe mektubu* (Türkiyat mecmuasi 1936); *Zur Geschichte der Grusiner im 16. Jahrhundert* (*Acta Orient. Hung.*, 1950). Ein Kapitel der Beziehungen des russischen und des osmanischen Reiches wird erhellte in seiner Abhandlung *Подарки султана Абдулхамид I императрице Екатерине II* (*Acta Orient. Hung.*, 1951). Unsere Kenntnisse über die Schlacht bei Varna werden ergänzt in seinem Aufsatz *Das Felhname über die Schlacht bei Varna* (*Byzantinoslavica*, 1953). Auch die Fragen der historischen Beziehungen zwischen Osmanen und Ungarn sowie den Balkanvölkern haben Prof. Fekete vielfach beschäftigt: *Magyarság, törökség: két világnézet bajvívói* [= Ungarn und Türken: Kämpfen zweier Weltanschauungen] 1947; *Osmanlı Türkleri ve Macarlar* (Belleten, 1948); *Balkánkutatás és török történelmekutatás* [= Balkanforschung und türkische Geschichtsforschung]; *Magyar Szemle* 1943. Zwei Untersuchungen von Prof. Fekete führen uns zur Religions- und Kulturge-

schichte hinüber: *Gül-Baba et le Bektaşî derg'âh de Bude*: Acta Orient. Hung., 1954; *Das Heim eines türkischen Herrn von der Provinz im 16. Jahrhundert*: Studia Historica, 1960.

Beinahe sämtliche Arbeiten von Prof. Fekete sind Schatzkammern von Kenntnissen zur historischen Geographie, aber er hat solche Fragen auch einer besonderen Untersuchung unterzogen, vgl. seine Studien *A hódoltságkori törökség Magyarországra vonatkozó földrajzi ismeretei* [= Die Kenntnis der ungarischen Geographie bei den Türken während der türkischen Besatzung Ungarns]: *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 1930; *L'édition des chartes turques et ses problèmes*: *Kőrösi Csoma Arch.* 1939; *Où sont les frontières de l'Europe sud orientale?* (*Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie* 1940). Die historischen und geographischen Angaben sowie die Warenlisten sind aber in vielen Fällen auch für die türkische und die ungarische Sprachgeschichte von großer Bedeutung. Prof. Fekete hat die auch in sprachgeschichtlicher Hinsicht interessanten Appellativa und Orts- bzw. Personennamen in verschiedenen Aufsätzen behandelt: *Hódoltságkori oszmán-török helyneveink* [= Osmanische Ortsnamen in Ungarn aus der Türkenzeit]: *Századok* 1924; *Osmanisch parqan*: *Kőrösi Csoma Arch.* 1925; *Ígék oszmánli-török tulajdonnevekben* [= Verba in osmanischen Eigennamen]: *Magyar Nyelv* 1927; *Moanat, a budai Sashegy török neve* [= *Moanat*, der türkische Name des Adlerbergs (ung. Sashegy) in Ofen]: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 1930; *Számnevekkel alakult oszmánli-török helynevek* [= Osmanische Ortsnamen aus Numeralien]: *Magyar Nyelv* 1930; *Az oszmánli-török nyelv hódoltságkori magyar jövevényszavai* [= Ungarische Lehnwörter im Osmanischen aus der Türkenzeit]: *Magyar Nyelv* 1930; *Székesfehérvár* [= *Stuhlweißenburg*]: *Magyar Nyelv* 1940; *Doquz a perzsiban és a törökben* [= *Doquz* im Persischen und im Türkischen]: *Pais Dezső-Emlékkönyv* [= *Festschrift für D. Pais*], 1956. Für die von Prof. J. NÉMETH vor kurzem einzifferten jassischen Sprachreste ist Feketes Arbeit *Eine Konskription von den Jassen in Ungarn aus dem Jahre 1550* (*Acta Orient. Hung.* 1960) wichtig.

Als ordentliches Mitglied nimmt Prof. Fekete aktiv teil an der Arbeit der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Als Professor entfaltet er seit langem eine erfolgreiche pädagogische Tätigkeit an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Budapest. Alle, die mit ihm als Gelehrten, Kollegen oder Lehrer bekannt wurden, haben ihn für seine menschliche, allzeit hilfsbereite und verehrungswürdige Haltung liebgewonnen.

Jetzt, wenn so viele Freunde, Kollegen und Schüler in Ungarn und im Ausland seiner mit Liebe, Achtung und Dankbarkeit gedenken, möchten wir unseren gemeinsamen Wunsch ausdrücken, daß Prof. Fekete noch viele Jahre hindurch mit ungebrochener Kraft an der Ausführung seiner in Angriff genommenen Werke und an der Verwirklichung neuer, kühner wissenschaftlicher Pläne.

K. Czeglédy

## BEMERKUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER CHAZAREN

VON

K. CZEGLÉDY

Die Erforschung der Geschichte der Steppenvölker ist mit besonderen Schwierigkeiten verbunden, die dem Umstand zuzuschreiben sind, daß sich die Wanderungen und Streifzüge der beweglichen Völker der Steppe auf große Gebiete ausbreiteten, und daß die Episoden ihrer Geschichte in den historischen Aufzeichnungen vieler, voneinander weit entfernten Völker auf uns gekommen sind. Und gerade das bildet auch im Falle der Chazaren die Hauptschwierigkeit der historischen Darstellung. Die Bearbeitung des vielsprachigen Quellenmaterials: der byzantinischen, arabisch-persischen, armenischen, grusinischen und hebräischen Berichte über die Chazaren stößt auf eine ganze Reihe von Einzelproblemen, die einerseits eine außerordentlich vielseitige philologische Vorbereitung des Forschers voraussetzen, andererseits aber einen Überblick über die Gesamtüberlieferung in hohem Maße erschweren. Es ist also kein Wunder, daß Bearbeitungen von größeren Perioden der Chazarengeschichte — abgesehen von Werken wie M. I. ARTAMONOW'S »Očerki drevneisei istorii chazar«<sup>1</sup> — bis jetzt kaum vorhanden sind. Deshalb hat die Kritik vor einigen Jahren D. M. DUNLOR'S Buch »A History of the Jewish Khazars«<sup>2</sup> besonders warm begrüßt und wiederholt auf die Verdienste dieses langentbehrten Werkes hingewiesen (ich denke an die Rezensionen von MINORSKY, STARKOVA und ASSFALG.)<sup>3</sup> Dieser positiven Wertung kann ich zwar ohne Vorbehalt zustimmen, allerdings, möchte ich zu gleicher Zeit auch darauf hinweisen, daß sich die Schwäche der heutigen Chazarenforschung auch in dieser wichtigen Veröffentlichung treu widerspiegelt. Diese Schwäche besteht vor allen Dingen darin, daß die vielsprachigen Quellen zur Chazarengeschichte philologisch ungleichmäßig bearbeitet sind, was seinerseits dann notgedrungen den Gesamtüberblick weitgehend lückenhaft und unsicher macht. Ich bin jedoch der Meinung, daß die Lücken und die Irrtümer dieser ersten, wichtigen Gesamtdarstellung die Forscher der Chazarengeschichte dazu anregen werden, daß sie sich wieder den einzelnen Quellengruppen der

\* Vortrag, gehalten am XXV. Internationalen Orientalistenkongress zu Moskau, 12. Aug. 1960.

<sup>1</sup> Acta Orientalia XIII/2.

Chazarengeschichte zuwenden, um sie erneut aufs Korn zu nehmen. Die Neubearbeitung der einzelnen Quellen wird erst eine Gesamtdarstellung der Chazarengeschichte ermöglichen, die auf einer gesunderen philologischen Grundlage beruht. Bei dieser Gelegenheit möchte ich einige Bemerkungen allgemeiner Art zu den einzelnen Quellengruppen in chronologischer Reihenfolge hinzufügen, die für die Wiederaufnahme der einschlägigen Arbeit von Nutzen sein dürften.

Diejenigen Berichte über die Chazaren, die sich auf die ältesten Zeitabschnitte beziehen, befinden sich in den byzantinischen, syrischen, arabisch-persischen, armenischen und grusinischen genealogischen Tafeln. Diese Tafeln stimmen miteinander darin überein, daß sie alle die genealogische Tafel der biblischen Genesis erweitern, indem sie die biblische Tafel mit geläufigen Völkernamen ihrer Zeit ergänzen. Die eponymen Vorfäter dieser Völker, unter denen sich auch die Steppenvölker befinden, werden hier unter den Söhnen Sems, Chams und Japhets aufgezählt, wobei die Steppen- und Nordvölker den Söhnen Japhets zugeordnet werden. Diese erweiterten Tafeln stellen dann selbständige genealogische Werke dar, bzw. sie bilden sehr oft den ersten Teil von National- und Weltchroniken. Auf die Tatsache, daß die Chazaren in der einen oder der anderen dieser Tafeln ebenfalls vorkommen, wurde schon wiederholt hingewiesen, so auch bei DUNLOP.<sup>4</sup> Wir müssen aber betonen, daß es sich hier nicht um einen unmittelbaren biblischen Einfluß handelt, sondern, daß diese späten Tafeln zur Gattung des christlichen Liber Generationis, bzw. des *Διαμερισμός τῆς γῆς* gehören und als späte Ausläufer desselben zu werten sind. Von diesen gehören auch die ältesten erst dem sechsten Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung an, während diejenigen, die auch die Chazaren unter den Söhnen Japhets mit aufzählen, einem noch späteren Zeitalter entstammen.<sup>5</sup>

Die Erwähnung der Chazaren in einigen späten Versionen des Alexanderromans, die nicht älter sind, als das siebte Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung, ist verknüpft mit den Listen der von Alexander besiegt, bzw. eingeschlossenen Völker. Am wichtigsten ist die Erwähnung der Chazaren in der syrischen Version des Alexanderromans, wo sich auch eine Prophezeiung, und zwar eine Vaticinatio ex eventu befindet, in der auch auf den großen chazarischen Streifzug nach Armenien 629 u. Z. angespielt wird. Wir besitzen auch einen anderen Bericht über diesen Einfall und zwar in dem armenischen Geschichtswerke des albanischen Historikers, Moses Kalankatvac'i. Dieser armenische Bericht, der umfangreichste Einzelbericht überhaupt, der uns bezüglich der Chazaren zur Verfügung steht, enthält eine willkommene Bestätigung durch die Angabe des Syrischen Alexanderromans.<sup>6</sup>

Mit der Prophezeiung in dem Syrischen Alexanderroman sind meines Erachtens auch die Prophezeiungen in der Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodios<sup>7</sup> und eine weitere Prophezeiung über die Einfälle der Türkenvölker bei Michael

Syrus<sup>8</sup> verbunden, in denen die Chazaren und die Türken ebenfalls erwähnt werden. Die Verbindung dieser Angaben ist nicht nur gattungsgeschichtlich wichtig, sondern erleichtert auch ihre Datierung, wobei uns nahegelegt wird, ihre Entstehung nicht vor das siebte Jahrhundert u. Z. zurückzuverlegen.

Einige Forscher sind noch immer geneigt, den historischen Berichten über die nachbiblische, griechische und römische Zeit der armenischen und grusinischen Geschichtswerke eine große Bedeutung beizumessen.<sup>9</sup> Gemäß diesen Berichten sollen die Chazaren bekanntlich bereits im dritten Jahrhundert u. Z. und sogar vor der Zeit aufgetreten sein. Wären diese Angaben wirklich authentisch, so würden sie nicht nur für die chazarische Geschichte, sondern auch für die Geschichte der Steppe schlechthin von großem Belang sein. Sie wurden jedoch mit Recht schon in den ersten Studien beanstandet, die vor mehr als zwei Jahrhunderten veröffentlicht worden sind, und die wir eigentlich als die ersten Ansätze zur armenischen Philologie in Europa bezeichnen dürfen.<sup>10</sup> Des weiteren konnte bereits längst festgestellt werden, daß es sich hier um eine Übertragung des Chazarennamens auf die alten Alanen handelt.<sup>11</sup>

Die Chazaren werden gelegentlich auch in Zusammenhang mit den Ereignissen des vierten und fünften Jahrhunderts u. Z. erwähnt und zwar in den arabisch-neupersischen Bearbeitungen des mittelpersischen Khvatây-nāmaks. Bei der Wertung dieser Angaben müssen wir aber im Auge behalten, einerseits, daß der Namensgebrauch der arabisch-persischen Bearbeiter nicht unbedingt mit dem des Originals übereinstimmt, andererseits aber, daß die letzte Redaktion des mittelpersischen Khvatây-nāmaks erst auf die letzten Jahrzehnte der Sassanidenzeit zurückgeht, also gleichzeitig ist mit der Entstehung des Chazarischen Reiches. Es ist also leicht begreiflich, wenn die späten Redaktoren des Khvatây-nāmaks den Chazarennamen auf die Steppenvölker im allgemeinen übertragen.

Von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung ist dagegen meines Erachtens, daß das Khvatây-nāmak die großen Einbrüche, die sich zwischen 515 und 580 u. Z. abspielten, den Chazaren zuschreibt. Dieselben Einbrüche wurden nämlich, gemäß den byzantinischen Quellen durch die Saviren ausgeführt. Das steht völlig in Einklang damit, daß der Name der Chazaren laut Mas'ūdī noch im zehnten Jahrhundert u. Z. nur auf Persisch *çazar* war, die Türken sollen dafür *savir* gesagt haben.<sup>12</sup> Einerseits aus dieser Tatsache, andererseits hingegen aus einigen Angaben der Geographie des Pseudo-Moses Khorenac'i, die ebenfalls die Identität der Chazaren und der Saviren bestätigen, geht deutlich hervor, daß die Chazaren und die Saviren nach 515 oder bereits vor diesem Zeitpunkt wenigstens teilweise identisch waren. In diesem Zusammenhange möchte ich auch die Bedeutung einer Angabe des Moses Kalankatvac'i unterstreichen, gemäß der das monophysitische Chorepiskopat 552 wegen der

chazarischen Einfälle aus Derbend nach Partav, südlich des Flusses Kur zurückgezogen werden mußte.<sup>13</sup>

Auf das Jahr 559 bezieht sich eine äußerst wichtige Quelle der Geschichte der Steppenvölker, nämlich der Anhang der Kirchengeschichte Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetors, die durch einen amidenischen Mönch verfertigt wurde. Man zitiert ihn gewöhnlich unter dem Namen des Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor. In diesem Anhang werden auch die Namen *KSR* (ϰ: χ.σ.ρ) und *HRWS* erwähnt.<sup>14</sup> Der erste Name kommt in einem Kontext vor, der letzten Endes offenbar dem byzantinischen Geschichtswerke des Priskos Rhetor entstammt. Der zweite erscheint hingegen in einer kurzen Notiz aus dem Alexander-Roman, die sich auf die Amazonen, bzw. auf die Männer der Amazonen bezieht, die hier den Namen *HRWS* tragen. Es ist überaus wichtig, daß die Männer der Amazonen hier als Leute mit langen Extremitäten beschrieben werden. Diesen beiden Angaben wurde neuerdings eine außerordentlich große Bedeutung zugeschrieben. In der Buchstabengruppe *KSR* glaubte man die erste Erwähnung des Chazarennamens gefunden zu haben (ich denke an die Etymologien von PAUL PELLIOU und W. B. HENNING),<sup>15</sup> während der andere Name: *HRWS* wiederholt mit dem Namen der russischen *Rös* in Zusammenhang gebracht wurde. Dabei ging man immer von den Erörterungen JOSEPH MARKWARTS aus, die er bezüglich dieser Berichte in den »Streifzügen« veröffentlicht hatte. MARKWART war nun zuerst der Meinung,<sup>16</sup> daß der Name *HRWS* im syrischen Text eine Kurzform des Namens der herulischen *Rosomoni* sei. Den anderen Namen, *KSR* verband MARKWART mit dem der Akatziren. Später hat aber MARKWART seine Meinung geändert, indem er nun die Buchstabengruppe *HRWS* mit dem der *Rös* verband, dessen erste authentische Erwähnung er nunmehr eben in dieser Angabe des Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor erblicken wollte. Diese neue Erklärung veröffentlichte er allendings an einem ziemlich entlegenen Orte,<sup>17</sup> was zur Folge hatte, daß man seine neue Erklärung fast durchgängig bis auf den heutigen Tag unberücksichtigt läßt, obwohl man neuerdings auch von anderen Seiten her zum Schluß gelangt ist, daß sich die Buchstabengruppe *HRWS* auf die *Rös* und zwar auf die russischen *Rös* beziehe.

MARKWARTS Erörterungen in den »Streifzügen« haben die gesamte spätere Forschung auf eine entscheidende Weise beeinflusst. Man befaßte sich auch seit der Veröffentlichung der »Streifzüge« oft mit den Angaben des Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor, man geriet aber immer aufs Neue unter den Einfluß von Markwarts Anschauungen. Ob man sich nun mit der markwartschen Interpretation der beiden Buchstabengruppen *KSR* und *HRWS* einverstanden erklärte oder anderer Meinung war, übernahm man die Grundeinstellung MARKWARTS. Man nahm und nimmt auch jetzt allgemein an, daß es sich im Falle des Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor um originelle Aufzeichnungen handelt, die der amidenische Mönch, der Verfasser des Anhangs von wohl-

unterrichteten Gewährsleuten vernahm. Ebenfalls nimmt man — wie MARKWART — allgemein an, daß das Volk der *HRWS*, d. h. die Männer der Amazonen nicht mit dem Alexanderroman zu verbinden ist, sondern man nimmt auf Grund von MARKWARTS Ausführungen stillschweigend an, es gebe gar kein Volk mit diesem Namen im Alexanderroman, wir müssen also diese Buchstabengruppe als Namen eines wirklichen Volkes ansehen. Meines Erachtens können wir in Zusammenhang mit dieser Grundbetrachtung nur einen wichtigen Fortschritt verzeichnen. Es handelt sich um eine sehr wichtige Beobachtung der sowjetischen Syrologin N. W. PIGULEVSKAJA, die darauf hingewiesen hat, daß der Volksname *HRWS*, der einer byzantinischen Quelle entstammt, merkwürdigerweise mit *h. r.* anstatt dem zu erwartenden *r. h.* anfängt, das regelmäßig das aspirierte griechische ϰ- im Syrischen wiedergibt.<sup>18</sup> Ihrer Meinung nach ist dieser Umstand ein Beweis dafür, daß der Name nicht unmittelbar, sondern durch armenische Vermittlung in den syrischen Text des Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor gekommen ist. Das byzantinische ϰ- wird nämlich im Altarmenischen, im Gegensatz zum syrischen Gebrauch, durch *h. r.* ersetzt. Ich möchte dazu nur bemerken, daß das ϰ- nicht nur im Armenischen, sondern auch im Mittelpersischen durch die Lautverbindung *h. r.* wiedergegeben wird, und meines Erachtens sind eine ganze Reihe von Argumenten dafür anzuführen, daß die Vermittlung auch im Falle des amidenischen Mönches tatsächlich durch das Mittelpersische gegangen ist. Die zwei wichtigsten einschlägigen Beweise sind: 1) daß sämtliche geographischen Namen des Anhangs die Formen aufweisen, die im Mittelpersischen geläufig sind, 2) daß die Schreibfehler, die sich in den einzelnen Formen bei Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor befinden, offenbar hervorgegangen sind aus dem doppelten oder mehrfachen Lautwert der Pehlevi-Buchstaben des Originals, während sie sich weder auf Grund des Griechischen, noch des Armenischen erklären lassen.<sup>19</sup> Aus diesen Umständen ergibt sich also notgedrungen, daß der amidenische Mönch aus einem Pehlevi-Original geschöpft hat, das seinerseits eine byzantinische Vorlage haben mußte. Das ist aber auch leicht begreiflich, wenn wir bedenken, daß Amida sich an der Grenze zwischen Syrien und Persien befand, wo monophysitische Syrier mit nestorianischen Syrern und Persern in ständiger Berührung lebten.

Was nun den Ursprung des Namens *HRWS* betrifft, so müssen wir darauf hinweisen, daß die Amazonen auch in einigen Varianten des arabisch-persischen Alexanderromans Frauen eines Volkes mit langen Extremitäten sind, und dass das unbewaffnete Volk mit den langen Extremitäten bereits in der alten Version β des griechischen Alexanderromans erwähnt wird. Es gibt aber scheinbar einen Unterschied zwischen dem, was Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor und was die alte griechische Version des Alexanderromans über die Männer mit den langen Extremitäten berichten. In der griechischen Erzählung und bei Dinawarī heißt von diesen Leuten, daß sie rötliche Haare haben,

während Pseudo-Zacharias nichts davon zu wissen scheint. Dafür gibt er aber den Namen dieses Volkes an (*HRWS*), der andererseits in der griechischen Vorlage fehlt. Das ist aber nur ein scheinbarer Unterschied, und die zwingende Lösung liegt auf der Hand: im Mittelgriechischen heißt nämlich »rötlich, mit rötlichen Haaren« eben *ροσσιος* (< lat. *russeus*). Die Übereinstimmung ist also unbestreitbar und es ist klar, daß es sich hier um ein geradezu fatales Versehen von MARKWART handelt, dem diese alten Angaben völlig unbekannt geblieben sind. Der Name *HRWS* bezeichnet also gar kein wirkliches Volk, sondern es handelt sich einfach um die »Rötlichen«, wobei nur noch gefragt werden kann, ob dieser Name von einigen Lesern auch mit dem Namen des in Byzanz immer allbekanntesten biblischen Nordvolkes *'Ρως* ~ *ρωγ* kontaminiert wurde.<sup>20</sup> Was nun die hier vorgetragene Lösung und vor allen Dingen die Annahme einer Vermittlung aus dem Griechischen durch das Mittelpersische betrifft, so möchte ich nochmals an THEODOR NÖLDEKES Beweisführung erinnern, nach der die syrische Übersetzung des griechischen Alexanderromans ebenfalls auf Grund einer mittelpersischen Vorlage gefertigt wurde.<sup>21</sup>

Die Buchstabengruppe *KSR* (α: *χ.σ.ρ*) hat meines Erachtens ebenfalls nichts mit den Chazaren zu tun, sondern geht offenbar auf ein *\*axasir* < *'Ακασίρι-*, oder aber auf ein *\*xosir* < *Χόσιρι-* zurück.<sup>22</sup> Ich möchte nur ganz kurz erwähnen, daß die syrische Ursprungssage der Bulgaren, in der das eponyme Bruderpaar *Bulgarios* und *Xazarig* erscheint, ebenfalls durch mittelpersische Vermittlung auf das griechische Original zurückgeht, denn *Bulgarios* ist eine byzantinische Namensform, während *Xazarig* eine rein mittelpersische Namensform darstellt.<sup>23</sup> Diese Sage kann übrigens nicht vor der bekannten Westwanderung der Bulgaren entstanden sein, wie das neuerdings von W. HAUSSIG und F. ALTHEIM angenommen wurde,<sup>24</sup> da auf letztere in der Sage bekanntlich unmißverständlich hingewiesen wird.

Dagegen befinden sich wiederholt authentische Angaben über die Chazaren in der Geschichte des armenischen Feldherrn Smbat Bagratuni, die deshalb von besonderer Bedeutung sind, weil sie zusammen mit den byzantinischen Quellen der frühen westtürkischen Geschichte, sowie mit den umfangreichen und besonders wertvollen Erzählungen des Moses Kalankatvac'i, die auf Augenzeugenberichte zurückgehen, deutlich beweisen, daß die Chazaren nach 570 und auch später, nach den byzantinisch-persischen Kämpfen unter Herakleios und Khosrav dem II., dem westtürkischen Chagan botmäßig waren. Diese armenischen Angaben sind bis auf einige allbekannte Zitate aus MARKWARTS verschiedenen Arbeiten sowohl DUNLOP, als auch fast allen neueren Bearbeitern der Chazarengeschichte unbekannt geblieben. So erklärt sich z. B., daß DUNLOP in der Geschichte des Salmān und des 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Rabi'a al-Bāhili die verdächtige Tradition des Saif bevorzugt,<sup>25</sup> obwohl

sie bereits von WELLHAUSEN als nicht authentisch erwiesen worden ist und WELLHAUSENS Schlußfolgerungen auch durch die armenischen Quellen vollauf bestätigt werden.<sup>26</sup> Die Ereignisse der chazarischen Einfälle nach Albanien zwischen 650 und 715, die wir ebenfalls durch die armenischen Quellen kennen, sind DUNLOP und der neueren Forschung ebenfalls unbekannt geblieben. Was die großen, dreißig Jahre lang anhaltenden arabisch-chazarischen Kämpfe betrifft, so werden die armenischen Quellen von DUNLOP ebenfalls nur gelegentlich angeführt. Er behandelt aber auch die einschlägigen syrischen und byzantinischen Quellen auf eine wenig befriedigende Weise, da ihm unbekannt geblieben ist, daß Theophanes und Dionysios Tellmahrens, bzw. Michael Syrus und Barhebraeus, sowie der christlich-arabische Schriftsteller Agapios diese Kämpfe auf Grund einer gemeinsamen Quelle beschreiben.<sup>27</sup> Dadurch entstehen wichtige Lücken in DUNLOPS Darstellung, die nur teilweise dadurch gutgemacht werden, daß er die sekundären, aus byzantinischen und arabischen Quellen herrührenden hebräischen Angaben der Chazarengeschichte eingehend bespricht.

Für den Zeitabschnitt, den wir von der ganzen chazarischen Geschichte am besten kennen, von 715 bis 740 u. Z., wurden vor allem die uns zur Verfügung stehenden armenischen und auch die syrischen Quellen weder durch Dunlop noch durch andere über MARKWART hinausgehend auf eine befriedigende Weise verwertet. Das hat zur Folge, daß man auf die Möglichkeit der Unterscheidung zwischen den verschiedenen Volkselementen des Chazarischen Reiches verzichten mußte, während aus einer systematischen Konfrontierung der armenischen, syrischen und arabisch-persischen Quellen deutlich hervorgeht, daß das Chazarische Reich neben vielen, unter anderen auch finnisch-ugrischen Volkselementen aus drei wichtigen Komponenten bestand: 1) aus den eigentlichen Chazaren savirischen Ursprungs, deren Hauptstadt Balangar, südlich des Flusses Kuma war, 2) aus kaukasischen Hunnen, südlich der Chazaren und nördlich von Derbend an der Küste des Kaspischen Meeres, deren Herrscher in den arabischen Berichten den Namen *Ṣāhib Balangar* trägt, 3) aus den westtürkischen Oberherren der eigentlichen Chazaren, deren Hauptstadt Ätil, die Residenz des Chagans, also des Vertreters der Westtürken war.

Eine zweite Folge der lückenhaften Bearbeitung der Quellen ist, daß man den Wortgebrauch der arabischen Quellen über die chazarische Geschichte bis auf den heutigen Tag unbeachtet ließ, indem man sich vorstellt, daß die Araber zwischen dem Namen *türk* und *chazar* überhaupt keinen Unterschied machen. Nun ist das aber ein Irrtum. Aus einer systematischen Vergleichung der verschiedenen arabischen und armenischen Parallelberichte geht deutlich hervor, daß die große Mehrheit und zwar vor allen Dingen die älteren Quellen fast ausnahmslos Türken und Chazaren immer genau unterscheiden.<sup>28</sup>

Ich hoffe, daß diese flüchtigen Konturen meines Gedankengangs ausreichen, die Aufgaben und die Schwierigkeiten unserer Chazarenforschung gewissermaßen anzudeuten. Ich glaube, es geht schon aus diesem knappen Überblick ziemlich klar hervor, daß wie sonst in der Philologie, auch bei der Chazarenforschung die dringendste Aufgabe gerade die solide Bearbeitung der einzelnen Quellengruppen ist, als unerläßliche Grundlage für die spätere synthetische Zusammenfassung der gesamten Geschichte der Chazaren. Die Chazarenforschung steht noch immer im Bannkreis des großen Philologen J. MARKWART, der als letzter imstande war, die vielsprachigen Quellen der chazarischen Geschichte zu überblicken und philologisch zu bearbeiten. Besonders nach dieser Vorgeschichte ist unsere Forschung meines Erachtens verpflichtet, bei der weiteren Arbeit denselben strengen philologischen Maßstab anzulegen.

#### Anmerkungen

<sup>1</sup> Leningrad 1936. — Die zweite Auflage dieses Werkes befindet sich — wie ich vernehme — augenblicklich im Druck.

<sup>2</sup> Princeton 1954.

<sup>3</sup> V. MINORSKY: Oriens XI (1958), SS. 122–145; K. Старкова: Палестинский Сборник IV (1959), SS. 241–246. A. ASSFALG: Byzantinische Zeitschrift XLIX (1956), SS. 123–125.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., SS. 12–14. DUNLOP unterschätzt die Bedeutung dieser »Japhet stories«. So wurde z. B. der Name 'etalk' der armenischen Bearbeitung des Diamerismos zuerst auf die Hephthaliten und später auch auf die Westtürken übertragen, deren Reich im 7. Jahrhundert auch Chazarien umfasste. Auch Sebēos gebraucht wiederholt den Namen 'etalk', der gewöhnlich für rätselhaft gehalten wird (vgl. K. CZEGLÉDY, Zur Kritik der Quellen über die chazarische Frühgeschichte: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia I. Osztályának Közleményei [Veröffentlichungen der I. Klasse der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften] XV/1–2, (1959), SS. 107–128.

<sup>5</sup> Über die Nachwirkung vom Diamerismos vgl. ARNO BORST, Der Turmbau von Babel I/1 (Stuttgart 1957), SS. 279–284. BORST verweist nicht auf die armenische Bearbeitung des Diamerismos, die B. SARGISIAN in 1904 herausgegeben und J. MARKWART kommentiert hat (in Hippolytus Werke: IV. Die Chronik, ed. A. BAUER [R. HELM], SS. 394ff). MARKWART hielt mit Unrecht eine Verbindung zwischen den Chazaren und den Hephthaliten für wahrscheinlich. Die Hephthaliten worden in einer hagiographischen Notiz bei Moses Kaṭankatvac'i (ed. Tiflis 1913, S. 104) als Bewohner der Kaukasusgegend erwähnt. Er verwendet die Namensform *kamičik hep'talk'*. Da er aber behauptet, die *kamičik hep'talk'* seien von Alexander dem Großen gefangen genommen und abgeführt worden, ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, daß der Name Kaukasus sich in diesem Falle auf das »indische« Kaukasus-Gebirge der Alexanderhistoriker, d. h. auf den Paropamisos bezieht, wo eines der Zentren der historischen Hephthaliten befand. Unter letzteren befanden sich auch *karmir hyōn* 'Rote Hyōn', die *Κερχιωνες* von Theophanes (H. W. BAILEY: Asiatica. Festschrift Friedrich Weller. Leipzig 1954. SS. 13–21). Wir können also eine Verbindung zwischen *kamičik* und *karmir* ~ *Κερμ*- vermuten. Die *Hyōn* werden auch in der Alexanderlegende genannt, denn *Y. w. n* in der syrischen Version (ed.

BUDGE, S. 272.) geht auf ein *hyōn* der Pehlevi-Vorlage zurück (vgl. auch WILHELM: ZDMG XLII, 1888, SS. 96–101, wo aber *hayūn* 'Dromedar' unrichtig mit dem Namen der Hunnen verbunden wird. Monschen mit »Tiergesicht« kommen auch im Roman vor).

<sup>6</sup> K. CZEGLÉDY, A Szir Nagy Sándor-legendája: M. T. A. I. Oszt. Közl. [Veröff. d. I. Kl. d. Ung. Akad. d. W.] XIII/1–4, SS. 17–19 (= Acta Orient. Hung. VII, (1957), SS. 246–249; eine ausgezeichnete Arbeit über die Alexanderlegende veröffentlichte N. РИГОЛЕВСКАЈА: Палестинский Сборник III (1958), SS. 75–97.

<sup>7</sup> Über Pseudo-Methodios vgl. A. A. ВАСИЛЕВ: Byzantina-Metabyzantina I (1946), SS. 237–248; A. BORST, op. cit., I, S. 269.; vgl. E. SACKUR, Sibilinische Texte und Forschungen (Halle 1898), S. 47, 72–73, 92.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. ШАВОТ, II, S. 566–568 col. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. Z. V. ТОГАН: Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XXIV/3. Leipzig 1939. S. XXVII; G. WIDENGRÉN: Orientalia Suecana I (1952), S. 93, N. 2.

<sup>10</sup> G. ЧАЛАТЯНЦ, Армянский Эпос I (Moskva 1896), SS. 3–36.

<sup>11</sup> K. CZEGLÉDY: Antik Tanulmányok [Studia Antiqua] II (1955), SS. 124–134.

<sup>12</sup> Kitāb al-tanbih, S. 83. — Die Ungarn, die vor 896 u. Z. eng mit den Chazaren verbunden waren, wurden nach Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos (ed. ΜΟΡΑΒΟСΙΚ, S. 170) ebenfalls *Σάβαροι* genannt.

<sup>13</sup> Ed. Tiflis, 1912, S. 133.

<sup>14</sup> Ed. BROOKS, II S. 209; K. АНРЕНС—G. KRÜGER, Die sogenannte Kirchengeschichte des Zacharias Rhetor (Leipzig 1899), S. 253.

<sup>15</sup> P. PELLIOU, Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or (Paris 1950), SS. 207–224; W. B. HENNING: BSOAS XIV (1952), SS. 504–507.

<sup>16</sup> Streifzüge, SS. 382–383.

<sup>17</sup> Baltische Monatschrift LXXVI (1913), SS. 264–277.

<sup>18</sup> Акад. Б. Д. Грекову. Сборник статей. (Moskva 1952), SS. 42–48, vgl. Палестинский Сборник III, S. 87.

<sup>19</sup> Ausführlicher: K. CZEGLÉDY: Ant. Tan. [Stud. Ant.] V (1958), SS. 251–253.

<sup>20</sup> Diese Angabe des Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor steht aber, obwohl sie in dieser Form in keiner der uns bekannten Versionen des Romans nachzuweisen ist, nicht vereinzelt da, wie es vielfach angenommen wird. Sie entstammt dem Roman und kann in ihrer ursprünglichen Form in mehreren Versionen desselben, sowie in einigen Bearbeitungen der Alexanderlegende belegt werden.

So finden wir diese Beschreibung der Amazonen in der Klimenbeschreibung des Agapios (ed. ВАСИЛЕВ, S. 182). Auch hier werden die Männer der Amazonen als ein besonderes Volk des sechsten Klima beschrieben. Nach Agapios sind es aber die *burfān*, also die Bulgaren, die als Männer der Amazonen auftreten.

Dagegen bilden die Amazonen und ihre Männer, die Hunnen ein einziges Volk in der Syrischen Alexanderlegende (ed. БУДЖЕ, S. 263). Sie werden hier als blauäugige Hunnen beschrieben.

Die Amazonen und ihre Männer beschreibt auch Dinawari (ed. GUIRGASS, S. 39) als ein einziges Volk. Bei ihm werden aber Rötlichkeit und rotes Haar (*umma min al-nās humr al-alwān wa-ḡubb*) als wichtigste Kennzeichen der Männer der Amazonen angegeben. Ein besonderer Name für dieses Volk wird nicht angeführt. Dinawaris Angabe erweist sich dadurch als besonders wichtig, weil sie die Vermutung nahelegt, daß sich im griechischen Original für »rot, rötliche« das Wort *ῥόυαος* 'rot' befand, das von Dinawari richtig übersetzt, in der Pehlevi-Quelle des Pseudo-Zacharias dagegen als Eigenname empfunden und daher unter Weglassung der Endung *-ioi* einfach als *HRWS*

(*o: hrās*) transliteriert wurde. Daß der Verfasser der Syrischen Legende und Agapios anstatt der ihnen wohl unbekanntenen *HRWS* die Hunnen und die *burfan* setzten, ist leicht begreiflich, es fällt aber dabei auf, daß der Verfasser der Syrischen Legende die Beschreibung der Männer der Amazonen als blauäugige Leute ganz unpassend auf die Hunnen übertragen hat. Wie wir unten sehen werden, gibt es eine ganze Reihe von Angaben, die diesen Schluß als zwingend erscheinen lassen.

Vor allen Dingen müssen wir aber die Frage beantworten, ob wir in diesem Volke nicht ein wirkliches Volk zu erkennen haben. Die Angabe des Pseudo-Zacharias, nach der die Männer der Amazonen dermaßen lange Extremitäten haben, daß sie von Pferden nicht getragen werden können, zusammen mit den anderen Angaben über ihre blauen Augen, bzw. rötlichen Zügen, könnte nämlich gegebenenfalls auch auf ein wirkliches Volk bezogen werden. Wir besitzen viele muslimischen und nichtmuslimischen Angaben, nach denen die nördlichen Völker des fünften und sechsten Klimas als rötlich bezeichnet werden, und es fehlt auch keineswegs an Angaben über Völker mit langen Extremitäten, ja über solche, die von Pferden nicht getragen werden können (vgl. MARKWART: Balt. Monatschr., loc. cit.). Diese Vorstellung von den rötlichen Zügen der Nordvölker, die bereits zu den Topoi der griechischen ethnographischen Literatur gehört, beruht letzten Endes auf unmittelbarer Beobachtung und kommt oft auch in den muslimischen Klima-Tafeln und genealogischen Verzeichnissen vor.

Die Möglichkeit besteht also scheinbar, daß die Geschichte des rötlichen Volkes in den zitierten Versionen des Alexanderromans, bzw. in der Alexanderlegende, ebenfalls hierher gehört, und daß das *HRWS* des Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor, obwohl es zusammen mit anderen Wundervölkern des Alexanderromans genannt wird, die wirklichen rötlichen Völker des Nordens, also keine Wunderwesen bezeichnet. Sei es aber, daß man diese Lösung versucht, oder aber auch daß man *HRWS* als einen besonderen Volksnamen betrachtet, der mit *rot* nicht zu verbinden ist, oder wenn man *HRWS* als Äquivalent vom biblischen *Ῥῶς* betrachtet, darf man nicht vergessen, daß alle diese Lösungen erst dann in Betracht kommen, wenn sich der Name *HRWS*, bzw. *die Rötlichen* in den alten Versionen des Alexanderromans nirgends belegen läßt. Die natürlichste Erklärung des Namens *HRWS* ist nämlich — und das ist prinzipiell wichtig —, daß es zusammen mit den anderen bei Pseudo-Zacharias genannten Namen von Wundervölkern irgendeiner Version des Alexanderromans entstammt.

Nun kommt aber der Name und die Beschreibung dieses rötlich gefärbten, blauäugigen Volkes, zusammen mit demjenigen der Amazonen und der auch bei Pseudo-Zacharias genannten Schwarzen Völker tatsächlich in einer der ältesten Versionen des Alexanderromans vor. Wir können selbst die Weise beobachten, wie das rötliche, blauäugige Wundervolk des Romans infolge einer Interpolation zu Nachbarn der Amazonen geworden ist.

Diejenige Form des Romans, in der die *»Rötlichen«* und die Amazonen Nachbarn geworden sind, gehört zu Rezension *a* des Romans die dadurch gekennzeichnet wird, daß der große Wunderbrief des II. Buches (II, 23–44) in ihr gänzlich fehlt, während III, 17 in stark interpolierte Form erscheint (R. MERKELBACH, Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans: *Zetemata*, Heft 9. München 1964, SS. 98–101). Die interpolierten Teile entstammen einerseits Kapp. 32, 33, 36–44, des zweiten, andererseits Kapp. 28 des dritten Buches. Diese Rezension unterliegt neben der lateinischen Übersetzung des Leo und dem Syrischen Alexanderroman auch der Alexandergeschichte des Firdausi (ed. MOHL, V, 199ff), dessen Quellen arabische Bearbeitungen einer Pehlevi-Übersetzung des griechischen Originals waren (so schon NÖLDEKE, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans: Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse. Wien. XXXVIII, 1890, SS. 49–52). Firdausis Version zeigt allerdings einige kleinere Ab-

weichungen gegenüber Leo und dem Syr. Roman, die aber für uns von großem Belang sind.

Bei Firdausi finden wir zuerst, übereinstimmend mit Leo III, 17 die Abschnitte I, II, III, V (nach PRISTERS Einteilung in seiner Leo-Ausgabe), dann folgt aber in Leo und Syr. schon die Interpolation aus II, 32 und 33, ferner die Beschreibung der Himantopoden (vgl. III, 28) und 36, sowie 38. Nach der Beschreibung der Wildesel, des Phoenix und der sprechenden Vögel (II, 40) folgt erst die Nysa-Episode aus III, 28 und weitere Abenteuer in Prasiake, schließlich die Geschichte des rinderverschlingenden Drachen. Nach diesen Abschnitten folgt im Syr. eine lange Interpolation, die ebenfalls eine griechische Vorlage hat (NÖLDEKE, op. cit., SS. 21–22): Alexanders Reise nach China und seine Rückreise. Erst danach geht Syr. zu der Kandake-Episode (III, 18–24) und zur Geschichte der Amazonen (III, 25–27) über. Etwas anders verfährt Firdausi, der nach III, 17, V sofort zu der Beschreibung der Himantopoden übergeht. Dann folgt bei ihm die Geschichte des rinderverschlingenden Drachen und die Nysa-Episode. Darauf geht aber Firdausi — und das ist für uns von großer Bedeutung — sofort zur Geschichte der Amazonen über. Erst nach den Amazonen werden bei ihm ihre westlichen, rötlichen Nachbarn beschrieben. Der Weg zu der Amazonenstadt führt auch nach ihm durch das Land der Schwarzen (cf. die Schwarzen Völker bei Ps.-Zacharias, ferner III, 27).

Die Ursache der Umstellungen bei Firdausi ist leicht ersichtlich: seine Quelle versetzte die Kandake-Geschichte (III, 18–24) nach West-Afrika, diese Episode wird also bei ihm im Zusammenhang mit Alexanders Reise nach dem Westen schon früher (etwa III, 6) erzählt. Es entstand daher eine unmittelbare Verbindung zwischen dem interpolierten Kap. III, 17 und der Geschichte der Amazonen (III, 25–27). Firdausis Quelle hat also einerseits die Kandake-Episode vorweggenommen, andererseits aber auch die Nysa-Episode und die Geschichte der Amazonen vor die Interpolationen aus Kapp. II, 33 und II, 39 (der Zug zum Lebensquell) gestellt. Diese Umstellungen verursachten dann, daß die Amazonen und die rötlichen Riesen im Text nebeneinander geraten sind. Ein nächster Schritt war, daß man die rötlichen Riesen mit den Amazonen als Männer derselben verband. Die Lebensquell-Episode wird von Firdausi, zusammen mit der Geschichte der Errichtung des Erzwalles gegen Gog und Magog gemäß seiner muslimischen Quelle vorgetragen, die diese Episoden natürlich auf Grund von Sum 18 behandelt hatte.

Die muslimischen Bearbeiter der Alexandergeschichte konnten übrigens die alte Vorstellung vom Amazonenland am Thermodonfluß (III, 27) in der Nähe des Kaukasus und von Alexanders Wall im Kaukasus nicht beibehalten. Nachdem nämlich die Araber den Kaukasus erreicht hatten und sich überzeugen konnten, daß die Festungen von Derbend der Beschreibung des Walles im Koran nicht entsprechen, verschob sich diese Vorstellung teilweise nach Mittelasien (vgl. Tabari, I, 2669 und Sallāms Reisebericht: L. MASSIGNON: *Analecta Bollandiana* LXVIII, 1950, SS. 253–254), teilweise nach dem Norden ins Ural-Gebirge. Infolgedessen erscheinen aber auch die Rötlichen und die *ἑνωροκοίται*, zusammen mit den sonstigen Wunderwesen des Romans (vgl. Maqdisi, ed. HUART, II, SS. 207–9) weit im Osten in der Nähe des Walles von Gog und Magog. Spuren dieser neuen Vorstellung sind sowohl bei Firdausi als auch bei vielen muslimischen Autoren zu beobachten.

Eine interessante Einzelheit in Firdausis Darstellung der Amazonengeschichte ist, daß er gegenüber allen anderen Bearbeitungen des Romans auch den Namen der Amazonenstadt mitteilt, und zwar in der Form *HRWM*, die er mit den Makedonennumen *RWM* reimen läßt. Der Name *HRWM* ist bis jetzt völlig ungeklärt. Aus dem Gesagten geht aber mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit hervor, daß er in seiner Quelle die



Form  $\mu\mu\mu$ , verschrieben für  $\mu\mu\mu$  für die Männer der Amazonen gefunden und auf diese Weise verwertet hat.

Firdausis Darstellung wurde in seinen Hauptzügen von Nizāmi übernommen, er verwendete aber — wie er selbst angibt — auch andere Versionen des Alexanderromans, unter denen sich auch Pehlevi-Versionen befanden (vgl. E. Э. Бертельс, Роман об Александре. Moskva—Leningrad 1948. S. 53). Er lokalisierte die Amazonengeschichte in Transkaukasien, also in der Nähe seines Heimatlandes. Nach ihm war HRWM der Name der aserbeidschanischen Stadt Barda'a, und Nuschabe die Königin dieser Stadt und der Amazonen. Nizāmi verbindet aber auch die Kandake- (bei ihm Qaidāfa, nach Firdausi) und die Amazonengeschichte. Es ist nun recht interessant, daß er im 6. Teil seiner Erzählung von einem Einfall der Russen nach Barda'a erzählt. Alexander eilt aus China über die Kiptschakische Steppe zur Hilfe seiner Freundin Nuschabe herbei. Im sechsten Zusammenprall tritt von russischer Seite ein rötlicher Riese hervor, mit einem Haken bewaffnet und mit einem Horn auf seinem Stirn. Die verkleidete Sklavin, die vom chinesischen Chakan Alexander geschenkt wurde, ficht mit dem roten Unwesen, fällt aber in Gefangenschaft und wird nur mit Mühe gerettet.

Man erklärt diese Episode bei Nizāmi allgemein, indem man auf die vielerörterte russische Zerstörung von Barda'a in 943/4 u. Z. (V. MINORSKY, A History of Sharvān and Darband. Cambridge 1958. S. 62), von der Nizāmi gewiss gut unterrichtet war. Wie aber aus dem oben Gesagten ersichtlich ist, handelt es sich um mehr: das rötliche Unwesen des Nizāmi ist kaum von den roten Riesen des Romans II, 33, sowie von den HRWS des Pseudo-Zacharias zu trennen, die ebenfalls überaus lange Extremitäten haben. Alle diese Beschreibungen gehen letzten Endes zweifellos auf II, 33 zurück, in dem es sich um riesenähnliche, rötliche Wesen handelt, die zusammen mit vier Ellen hohen, haarlosen, mit Löwenhäuten umgürteten Leuten waffenlos, nur mit Stöcken über das makedonische Heer herfielen.

Besonders interessant ist, wie Nizāmi den Namen HRWS seiner Quelle auf die Russen überträgt. Er wurde sowohl vom Roman, als auch von den Ereignissen des historischen Einfalles der Russen inspiriert, und die Identifizierung der HRWS mit den Russen lag für ihn in der Tat auf der Hand. Auch das Motiv der Errettung des Mädchens aus den Händen des Unwesens ist nicht frei erfunden: nach II, 33 führen die Makedonen dem Unwesen ein nacktes Mädchen zu, das nur mit großer Mühe seinen Händen entrissen werden kann.

Was das Alter der Vorstellung von den rötlichen Unwesen im Alexanderroman betrifft, so muß vor allem darauf hingewiesen werden, daß Kap. 33 des großen Wunderbriefes ursprünglich zur Rezension  $\beta$  ( $\gamma$ ) des Romans gehört hatte (MERKELBACH, op. cit., S. 98), und daß die rötlichen Unwesen bereits in der alten armenischen Übersetzung des Romans (ed. Venedig, S. 41) genannt werden, der im fünften Jahrhundert u. Z. verfertigt wurde (MERKELBACH, op. cit., SS. 64—65). Letzten Endes gehen die fabelhaften Abenteuer dieser Abschnitte auf die Erzählung der Alexanderhistoriker über den Rückzug des makedonischen Heeres aus Indien durch die gedrosische Wüste zurück (vgl. A. AUSFELD, Der griechische Alexanderroman. Leipzig 1907, SS. 168—172).

Diese Lösung des HRWS-Problems habe ich in kurzer Form bereits in Antik Tanulmányok [Studia Antiqua] V (1958) SS. 251—253; Középpertzsa eredetű szír tudósítások [Sur quelques rapports syriens d'origine pehlevi sassanide] vorgeschlagen, wo ich auch auf die Pehlevi Vermittlung hingewiesen habe. Im Hinblick auf die große Wichtigkeit dieser Angabe hoffe ich auf dieses Problem bald ausführlich zurückkommen zu können.

<sup>21</sup> NOLDEKE, op. cit., SS. 11—17.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. K. CZEGLÉDY: Antik Tanulm. V, S. 253.

<sup>23</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>24</sup> F. ALTHEIM, Geschichte der Hunnen II (Berlin 1960), S. 86—87.

<sup>25</sup> Op. cit., SS. 50—51, 56—57.

<sup>26</sup> M. T. A. I. Oszt. Közl. [Veröff. d. I. Kl. der Ung. Ak. d. W.] XV/1—2, SS. 122—123.

<sup>27</sup> Vgl. K. CZEGLÉDY: Acta Orient. Hung. XI (1960), SS. 75—88.

<sup>28</sup> K. CZEGLÉDY in Névtudományi vizsgálatok [Namenkundliche Untersuchungen], herausgegeben von S. MIKESY (Budapest 1960), SS. 119—125.

# ÇOĞAY-QUZI, QARA-QUM, KÖK-ÖNG

BY

K. CZEGLÉDY

1. In the introductory part of the inscription of Ton Yuquq, in a passage which speaks of the rebellion of the T'u-chüeh interned on the Chinese frontier, and of the setting up of the second Eastern T'u-chüeh empire (*T* 7), mention is made of two geographical names, *Çoğay-quzi* and *Qara-qum*. According to the inscription the terms *Çoğay-quzi* and *Qara-qum* denote the place in which the rebellious tribes of the T'u-chüeh, after leaving Chinese territory in 682 A. D., rallied together, and Qutluğ, the leader of the rebellion, reorganised the tribal confederation of the T'u-chüeh, assuming, as a designation of his newly acquired position, the name *Elteriş qayan*.

It was only after the occupation of *Çoğay-quzi* and *Qara-qum* that the T'u-chüeh could entertain the plan of occupying the wooded mountains Ötükän as well, this ancient Turkish homeland hallowed by the spirits of the air and water, in the region of the Khangay mountains, where the cave of the spirit of the Turkish ancestors and the place of the cult of Mother Earth lay.<sup>1</sup> The date for the reoccupation of Ötükän was fixed by Ton Yuquq, the wise councillor of the new kaghan. He led the T'u-chüeh to the north through the region of the river Kök Öng (*T* 15: «*Kök Öngüg yoyuru Ötükän yişyaru udizlüm* : Indem wir den Kök Öng[üg?] hinaufwateten, führte ich sie zum Ötükän-Bergwalde»; Thomsen: *ZDMG* LXXVIII, p. 164).

All this shows clearly that *Çoğay-quzi* and *Qara-qum* were somewhere between the Chinese *limes*, that is, the great bend of the river Huang-ho, and the Khangay mountains, but it has so far been impossible to ascertain their exact geographical location. The only inference we can draw from the way in which the inscription is phrased is that the two names denote places in the same region (*T* 7: «*Çoğay-quzinin Qara-qumiy olurur ärtimiz* : Wir besassen [Im Sinne von residieren und beherrschen] den Platz Schwarzsand [der Nordseite des] Çoğay-Gebirges»; *Çoğay-quzinin* : *instrum.*!).<sup>2</sup> Neither have we been able to decide which of the two readings of the river's name is the right one: *Kök Öng*, or *Kök Öngüg* ~ *Kök Öngüg*,<sup>3</sup> and which of the several rivers (Tüi-yin çoul, Qara qujir, Tağaç-a-yin çoul, Onggi-yin çoul) having their sources in the southern part of the Khangay mountains this

name denotes. In spite of this uncertainty it is even today a commonly accepted opinion, that *Çoyay-quzi* and *Qara-qum* were north of the Gobi desert, on the southern slopes of the Khangay mountains, and that *Kök Öng* was the ancient name of one of the rivers known today as the *Tüi-yin youl*, *Qara-quşir* or the *Onggi-yin youl*.<sup>3</sup> These assumptions seem to square with the fact that the T'u-chüeh marched from the south for the occupation of Ötükän, and also with the fact that the name *Ötükän*, as some of our sources attest, denoted those parts of the Khangay mountains which lay west of the Orkhon river, or, as other evidence seems to indicate, the whole of the Khangay range.<sup>5</sup> We must not, however, forget that without ascertaining the exact geographic positions of *Çoyay-quzi* and *Qara-qum*, it is impossible to tell to which of the rivers in the region between the bend of the Huang-ho river and the Khangay mountains the name *Kök Öng* was originally applied.

In the inscription of Kül Tegin we find, instead of the name *Çoyay-quzi*, yet in the same connection, that is, denoting a place in the south, the name *Çoyay-yiş*. Already Thomsen rendered the meaning of the word *yiş*, on the basis of modern Northern Turkish usage, as 'montagne boisée'.<sup>6</sup> Recently A. von Gabain took *yiş* as the antonym of *yazı*, 'plain', and suggested 'Gebirgsweide' as its meaning (*IS* 6—7: «*biriya Çoyay-yiş tügültin yazı qonayın* : Ich will mich im Süden ansiedeln, jedoch nicht im Çoyay-Bergwalde, sondern in der Ebene» [Thomsen]).<sup>7</sup>

The name *Qara-qum* also occurs in the Uyghur inscription of Šine-usu (*N* 8) — unfortunately, in a fragmentary context — when it is stated that it was after «crossing *Qara-qum*» («*Qara-qum aşmış* . . .») that the hostile army escaped the kaghan.<sup>8</sup>

We also have another occurrence of the name of the *Kök Öng* river in the inscriptions, yet with a similar uncertainty as to its connexion with the context. The only certainty we may have is that the march here referred to was not from the south to the north but had the reverse direction, and that mention is also made of a waterless desert of seven days' journey (*II SE*: «[— *Kök-*] *Önggq yoyuru sü yorip tünli künli yeti ödüşkä subsiz kädım* : J'avancéi avec l'armée en nous frayant le chemin par [littéralment: en piétinant] le [*Kök-*] *Üngüg et traversai, en sept jours et nuits, le [désert] aride»<sup>9</sup>*

It is remarkable that, in both passages of the inscriptions, the expression *yoyuru* is used in connection with the river *Kök Öng*. In the various Turkish languages the word *yoyur-* has the meaning 'to knead', 'to tread'. In his first translation Thomsen rendered it as «frayer le chemin (piétiner)» and in his second as «hinaufwaten».<sup>10</sup> His first translation is based on the notion that the T'u-chüeh, in the course of their march, had to cross the *Kök Öng*, and that there were some natural obstacles to their crossing.<sup>11</sup> This would account for the use of the verb *yoyur-* in relation to the crossing. This explanation, however, is obviated by the fact that the headwaters of the rivers flow-

ing down the southern slopes of the Khangay mountains are more like mountain brooks than rivers and even their lower reaches are too shallow to make crossing them really difficult. It would be equally hazardous to argue for the rendering «hinaufwaten», that is, the assumption that the T'u-chüeh made their northward passage by wading in one of these smaller rivers.

2. The uncertainties attaching to these details in the T'u-chüeh inscriptions cannot be dispelled by the parallel Chinese records either, although the latter also report in detail about the rebellion of Qutluğ and tell us that the T'u-chüeh, after the rebellion of Qutluğ Elteriş, first went to the region of *Hei-sha*, that is, 'Black Sand', more precisely: to *Hei-sha ch'eng*, the 'City of the Black Sand'. F. Hirth, who first referred to these Chinese sources,<sup>12</sup> convincingly argued that *Qara-qum* ~ *Black Sand*, in the T'u-chüeh inscriptions, is identical with the *Hei-sha* ~ *Black Sand*, mentioned by the Chinese in the same connection. Hirth also made the very significant statement that, taking a passage from the local chronicle of the city Ta-t'ung-fu, it is possible to determine more exactly the location of *Black Sand*: it lay northwest of the city Ta-t'ung-fu of our time, in the northern vicinity of the great bend of the Huang-ho, near the northern slopes of the Yin-shan mountains.<sup>13</sup>

However, the further assumptions which Hirth builds up on these recognitions are less convincing. Thus, in his opinion, the name *Black Sand* denotes not only the sandy steppe at the northern slopes of the Yin-shan mountains but, in fact, the whole of the Gobi desert.<sup>14</sup> Although Hirth failed to produce arguments for his assumption that the name *Black Sand*, also in other available sources, referred to the whole of the Gobi desert (*Sha-mo*), his opinion has continued to influence practically all the subsequent investigations, and his theses are mainly responsible for the still prevailing assumption that the T'u-chüeh, after the rebellion of Qutluğ and Ton Yuquq, marched directly through the Gobi desert to a place in the southern vicinity of the Khangay mountains.

3. It is, therefore, a task of great importance, from the viewpoint of both the aforesaid geographical problems and the whole history of the T'u-chüeh, to ascertain the exact location of *Çoyay-quzi*. In view of the fact that, according to the witness of T'u-chüeh inscriptions, *Çoyay-quzi* and *Qara-qum* were situated in the same territory, the most natural solution would be, if we succeeded in identifying the name *Çoyay-quzi* as belonging to the geographical nomenclature of the Yin-shan region. This, in fact, seems to be possible. We have an apparently decisive argument to prove that the name *Çoyay-quzi* had reference not only to the vicinity of the Yin-shan mountains but actually denoted the Yin-shan itself. The argument is simply this: the meaning of the name *Çoyay* is the same as that of the name *Yin*. The meaning of the noun *yin* is namely 'north slope, shady, shade', and 'shade' is also the meaning of the word *çoyay*.

Already Thomsen laid down the foundations for this interpretation of the name *Čoyay* when, in the *Inscriptions*, in connection with this name, he referred to the word (Chag.) *čoya*, 'shade'.<sup>15</sup> However, since the agreement between the word *čoya* and the name *Čoyay* is not complete, Thomsen's explanation in this form has not proved fully convincing.<sup>16</sup> Later, however, when J. Dony, in his study of the words with the suffixes *-ay*, *-ey*, took up again, among others, the problem of the word *čoya*, he found that this word also occurs in its subsidiary form as *čoyay* (Osm.: Meninski II<sup>1</sup>, p. 1677: *جوعای* 'umbra').<sup>17</sup> — This makes it possible that we attribute the meaning 'shade' to the name *Čoyay* also, that is, a meaning which is the precise equivalent of the Chinese *yin*.

As to the explanation of the word *quz* in the name *Čoyay-quzī*, this was also a difficult problem at the time when the *Inscriptions* was written. However, since the publication of Kāšgari's dictionary,<sup>18</sup> we know that the meaning of this word is «*maquwatu l-žibāl*: that part of the mountains which is never reached by the sunshine». Both members of the name *Čoyay-quzī* were originally appellatives, hence their meaning: 'the northern side of the Shade Mountain'. The obvious reason for the giving of the name *Yin-shan*: 'Shady Mountain', in Chinese, lies in the fact that these mountains were in the northernmost part of the Chinese Empire. The fact that the Turkish name is a translation of the Chinese name does not pose difficulties if we consider that nomadic peoples, thus the major part of the T'u-chüeh also, lived for centuries in the vicinity of the Chinese *limes* and so they became Chinese, to a great extent, in their language too.

It follows from the foregoing that there is complete agreement, both in linguistic and in geographical matters, between the Turkish and Chinese data. *Black Sand*, as we have already seen, lay at the northern side of the Yin-shan. The Turkish inscriptions assert precisely this when they relate that the T'u-chüeh, after the rebellion of the kaghan Qutluq Elteriš and Ton Yuquq, settled down «in Black Sand at the northern side of the Shade Mountain (*Čoyay-quzīnīn Qara-qumīy*)».<sup>19</sup>

Thus the T'u-chüeh, contrary to the general view, had more than two homelands: one was in the region of the great bend of the Huang-ho river, at the time of the Chinese supremacy, the other in the neighbourhood of Ötükän, in the period of their independence of Chinese rule, and also a third, on the southern borders of the Gobi Desert, in the northern vicinity of Yin-shan. The Chinese sources<sup>20</sup> use two names to denote the capital of the third homeland. The first is: the *City of the Black Sand*, and the other: the *Southern Court of the Barbarians*.<sup>21</sup> As the latter name by itself shows, the T'u-chüeh, also in the period following the occupation of their Ötükän homeland, continued to uphold their rule over the *City of the Black Sand*. This accounts for the fact that the T'u-chüeh were able to launch almost continuous attacks,

in 682, 683, 684, 685, 686 and 687, against the Chinese frontier<sup>22</sup> and that they, even if defeated, could renew at once their attacks against the towns of the Chinese *limes*.<sup>23</sup> This course of events is not borne out clearly in the Turkish inscriptions as the latter are couched in a style of epic grandiloquence, and thus, in recounting the establishment of the second T'u-chüeh empire, they devote but a few words to what was in fact a long succession of systematic incursions.<sup>24</sup>

4. The facts discussed above shed new light upon certain parts of the T'u-chüeh inscriptions. These speak of the period prior to the defeat in 630 as the years of discord when the scheming Chinese succeeded in setting the kaghan brothers and kaghan sons against each other and also in sowing the seeds of hostility between the *biq* and the common people (*I E 4—6*). The «throne speech» of kaghan Bilgü (*I S 6—7*) gives a graphic characterisation of the Chinese policy which aimed at luring the nomads living «far» from the Chinese *limes*. The distant nomads were drawn by the silver, gold and silk of the Chinese to the Chinese *limes* where they became victims of Chinese craftiness. Yet there were always some among the T'u-chüeh who could not resist the blandishments of the Chinese: «*Türk budun ülesiking "Biriyyü Čoyay yış tügültin yazı qonayın"*, *tisär türk budun ülesiking anda añıy kisi inčä boşyurur armiş. "Yraq ärsär, yablaq ayı birür. Yayuq ärsär, ädgü ayı birür"* tip, inčä boşyurur armiş. *Bilig bilmáz kiši ol sabıy alıp, yayuru barıp, öküş kiši öltüg*: If a part of your men, o T'u-chüeh people, said this: "Let us settle down in the south, yet not in the wooded region of the Čoyay but on the steppe", then the evil men spurred them on thus: "To the man living far from them they (the Chinese) give a bad gift, to the one living near a good one." The stupid men accepted these words and settled down near them where they then perished in great numbers».

Thus the expression «to go south» had a double meaning at the time of the inscriptions: it could mean a passage through the Gobi Desert to Čoyay-quzī and Qara-qum, but it could also have the meaning of going to the border of China. The kaghan could have no objection to the march to the Southern Court of the T'u-chüeh since this territory had been the main base of the T'u-chüeh over many decades for their operations against China. He castigates the stupidity of those who, becoming amenable to Chinese persuasions, crossed the Čoyay mountains and made their dwelling on the steppe. All this makes it perfectly clear that the word *yazı* 'steppe', refers here to the Ordos steppe,<sup>25</sup> and it is also obvious that the persons referred to are the kaghan Ch'i-min and T'u-chüeh commanders like him who, lured by Chinese promises, made their settlement on the steppe of Ordos and submitted themselves to Chinese sovereignty. The word «perish» in the inscription may have meant, from the viewpoint of the T'u-chüeh, the disintegration of tribal formations and, in the end, assimilation which was the fate of most of the nomad peoples that

successively settled on the Ordos steppe. It was in this melting pot that the masses of the Hsiung-nu, Juan-juan and T'o-pa, in centuries past, lost their identities by being completely absorbed by the population of Northern China.

Excepting the disturbances during the short rule of kaghan Li Ssu-mo, the T'u-chüeh, once settled on the Ordos steppe, enjoyed a period of tranquillity which lasted exactly fifty years. The T'u-chüeh inscriptions refer to this fifty-year period (*I E 8*) as the fifty years of servitude<sup>25</sup> when the T'u-chüeh, in Chinese service, were engaged in fights from Korea (*Bakli čöl*)<sup>27</sup> to as far as the southern frontier of Sogdiana beyond the Pearl River. It was only as late as in 679 that they revolted and chose a kaghan for themselves in the person of A-shih-na Ni-shu, from the A-shih-na family, this old ruling family of the T'u-chüeh. They moved to a place north of the River Bend, that is, to the region of Čoğay-quzī and Qara-qum, and tried to reorganise their tribes. In this, however, they were not successful. The vigorous counter-attack of the Chinese caused disorder in their ranks. Internal feuds broke out and finally a group of the T'u-chüeh killed Ni-shu and took his head to the emperor's court.<sup>28</sup> The rebels kept up their fight for another year, and they even created another kaghan in the person of A-shih-na Fu-nien. However, the Chinese continued their energetic military drive and were again successful in causing internal strifes among the rebels who were finally defeated and their leaders fell into the hands of the Chinese.<sup>29</sup>

When shortly after this, in 682, the revolt of Qutluğ Elteriš and Ton Yuquğ broke out, the T'u-chüeh, as we have already seen the record of the Turkish inscriptions and the parallel Chinese sources, moved again to the region of Čoğay-quzī and Qara-qum. At this time, however, the Chinese failed to quell the revolt which had spread to all the prefectures under their occupation and found able leaders in the persons of Qutluğ Elteriš and Ton Yuquğ. And China was not alone in her fight against the T'u-chüeh. North of the Gobi Desert, just as fifty years before the Hsüeh Yen-to, now the Toquz Oğuz were eyeing with misgivings the reorganisation of the tribal federation of the T'u-chüeh. The Toquz-Oğuz wanted to make alliance with the Chinese in the south and with the Qitay in the east. The situation of the T'u-chüeh, as the inscription of Ton Yuquğ (*T 15*) tells us, became critical. Following the advice of Ton Yuquğ, the T'u-chüeh decided to take on their enemies one by one. It was their first victory accomplished over the Toquz Oğuz that proved decisive.<sup>30</sup> Yet before clashing with the Toquz-Oğuz, the T'u-chüeh had had to move from Čoğay-quzī and Qara-qum, through the Gobi Desert, to the north.

Their march, as we have already seen above (p. 55), was made through the region of the river Kök Öng to the Ötükän homeland. The charting of their route, now with the knowledge of their starting point (the region of the Shade Mountain) and destination (the Eastern foothills of the Khangay

mountains) is essentially easier. Moreover, we have, in a contemporary source, the geographical description of the desert route which linked the aforesaid places.<sup>31</sup> This road first led from Tendük, in the vicinity of the western foothills of the Yin-shan, to the town Si-shou-hsiang ch'eng ('Western City of the Surrendered')<sup>32</sup> in the region of Lang-shan, north of the River Bend. Then it continued in northwestern direction to the eastern foothills of the Saykhan Mountains. Past that it led on to the river Hun-yi, thence to the river Orkhon (Wu-hun, ACh. *ust-kuən*) and to the Ötükän Mountains, east of the river.

As it can be seen, the T'u-chüeh marched almost as straight as the crow flies, taking the shortest possible route for their passage through the Gobi Desert. Even so, as the inscriptions inform us (*II SE*), they had to negotiate a seven days' stretch through the waterless waste.

The river *Hun-yi* mentioned in the middle stretch of the desert route cannot be anything else, in view of the geographical circumstances, than the modern *Onggi-yin yöl*, and it seems also certain, that the name *Hun-yi* (ACh. *yuən-ngjie*)<sup>33</sup> is the Chinese transcription of an original \**Ongi*, furthermore, that *Öng*, in the name *Kök Öng* is the Turkish form of the same name.

The Onggi-yin yöl flows far into the desert before its water is dissipated in the sand, or, when its water is especially abundant, it reaches the desert lake *Ulän-nür*.<sup>34</sup> Thus the T'u-chüeh marched for days in a more or less waterless, wide, muddy river bed<sup>35</sup> in the desert until they reached the upper regions of the river, then, marching along that to the north, they got to the riverhead region and thence proceeded to the Ötükän Mountains.<sup>36</sup>

This manner of passing through the desert explains the use of the verb *yoyur-* 'to knead' in the quoted (above, pp. 55—56) passage of the Turkish inscriptions. According to the evidence of the Turkish inscriptions and the Uyghur and other Turkish languages, this verb also means 'to tread snow', 'to knead clay'.<sup>37</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> B. Ya. Vladimirtsov: Доклады Академии Наук 1929, pp. 133—136; cf.: P. Pelliot: *T'oung Pao* XXVIII (1931), pp. 229—230; idem: *T'oung Pao* XXVI (1929) pp. 212—219; according to Pelliot the reading *Ülökän* is also possible. — As to the shamanistic character of the Ötükän cult, cf.: A. v. Gabain: *Steppe und Stadt im Leben der ältesten Türken*, in *Der Islam* XXIX (1949), pp. 35—37, 48, 61—62; E. Lot-Fulek: *Revue de l'histoire des religions* (XLIX (1956)), pp. 168, 169, 172—175; J.-P. Rous: *ibid.*, pp. 73—74; A. Mostaert in *Oriente Poliano* (Roma 1957), pp. 95—101.

<sup>2</sup> A. v. Gabain's translation: *Steppe und Stadt*, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> V. Thomsen: *Turcica* (MSFOu XXXVII, Helsingfors 1916), p. 81: *Kök Önggög*; idem: *ZDMG* LXVIII (1924), p. 126: *Kök Öng(üg?)*, p. 172: *Kök Öng*; A. v. Gabain: *Altürkische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1950), p. 315: *Kök öng*; S. E. Mulov: Памятнику древнетюркской письменности (Москва—Ленинград 1951), p. 395: *Kök Öng*; the form *önggög* is generally regarded as the acc. of a word \**öng*, in view of the fact that the verb *yoyur-* is always construed with the accusative case (W. Bang: *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* XXII [1917], p. 285).

<sup>1</sup> W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften aus der Mongolei. Zweite Folge* (St. Petersburg 1899), pp. 36—37, 44. According to Radloff *Kök Öng* was the name of the river known as Qarn-Qujir in our time; F. Hirth, *Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk*: *ibid.*, pp. 32—33. Hirth believes that *Kök Öng* was the ancient Turkish name of our Tüi-yin ʎoul. The explanations of Radloff and Hirth were later accepted by Thomsen (*ZDMG* LXVIII, p. 126), A. v. Gabain (*Alltürk. Gramm.*, p. 315) and Mulov (*o. c.*, p. 395).

R. Grousset (*L'empire des steppes* [Paris 1939], p. 156) and, in accord with his view, R. Giraud (*L'empire des turcs célestes* [Paris 1960], pp. 169—174, cf. the inset map) hold that *Qara-qum* was the name of the sandy desert north of the middle course of the Onggi-yin ʎoul. According to Giraud the name *Čoyay-quzi* means 'l'endroit ombragé des Saponaires' and denotes a territory in the neighbourhood of the headwaters of the Onggi-yin ʎoul. Also Giraud believes that the name *Kök Öng* is the ancient Turkish name of the Onggi-yin ʎoul, yet the right reading — in the accusative case — is not *Öngüg* but *Öngig* (*L'inscription de Baïn Tsokto* [Paris 1961], pp. 84, 145).

<sup>5</sup> Our various sources bear out the fact that the name *Ötükän* denotes, in the first place, the eastern foothills of the Khangay mountains, near the Orkhon river. However, in view of the fact that the eastern frontier of the Western T'u-chüeh and the Hsüeh Yen-t'o was also in *Ötükän* (E. Chavannes: *Documents*, pp. 14, 94, 95, 98, n. 2; cf. *idem*: *T'oung Pao*, 1913, p. 760) we must suppose that the name *Ötükän* was also used to denote the whole of the Khangay mountains (J. Marquart: *Über das Volkstum der Komannen* [Berlin 1914], pp. 63—64). Of the Muslim authors, Marwazi has a datum which, however, is hard to fit into a geographic concept (ed. Minorsky, p. 7, line 7; cf.: p. 74); the same can be said of a statement in Kāšgari's work (ed. Constantinople I, p. 123, 12: «*Ötükän*: *ismu maudī'in bi-fiyāfi tatār qurba uigūr*: *Ötükän* is the name of a place on the steppes of the Tartars, in the neighbourhood of the Uyghurs», cf.: W. Barthold, 12 *Vorlesungen* [Berlin 1935], p. 97). It is in the genealogical saga of the Uyghur that Rašiduddīn mentions the name *Ötükän*. E. Bretschneider was the first to point out — already before the discovery of the Turkish inscriptions — that this name in Rašiduddīn's work resembles of the name *Wu-te-kien* in the Chinese sources (*Mediaeval Researches* I [London 1888], p. 240).

<sup>6</sup> Thomsen: *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon* (Helsingfors 1896), p. 136, n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Thomsen's translation (*ZDMG* LXXVIII, p. 141); with regard to the interpretation of this sentence and also to the word *yiš* cf. below p. 68, n. 25).

<sup>8</sup> G. J. Ramstedt, *Zwei uigurische Runeninschriften (JSFOu XXX)/3*. Helsingfors 1913), p. 14.

<sup>9</sup> Thomsen's translation: *Turcica*, p. 81.

<sup>10</sup> *ZDMG* LXXVIII, p. 164.

<sup>11</sup> *Turcica*, pp. 81—82.

<sup>12</sup> *Nachworte*, p. 22.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31. With regard to the geographic description of the Yin-shan Mountains cf.: V. A. Obruchev: *Восточная Монголия* (Moskva—Leningrad), pp. 286, 290—291.

<sup>14</sup> *Nachworte*, pp. 31—33; cf.: O. Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches* III (Berlin—Leipzig 1937), p. 383. — Chinese sources tell us about a mountain called *Tsung-ts'ai* in the neighbourhood of the *City of the Black Sand*. Hirth, although realising the phonetic difficulty of equating *Tsung-ts'ai* with *Čoyay*, nonetheless supposes that Chinese *Tsung-ts'ai* was the equivalent of the T'u-chüeh *Čoyay*. He takes a similarly peculiar view as regards the location of *Qara-qum* when, after his reference to that place in the local chronicle of Tu-t'ung-fu which enables us to determine the exact geographical situation of Black Sand, he nevertheless expresses the opinion that the *City of the Black*

*Sand* and the nearby *Tsung-ts'ai* ~ *Čoyay-quzi* were not on the southern fringes of the Gobi Desert, at the northern slopes of the Yin-shan Mountains, but north of the Gobi Desert, at the foothills of the Khangay Mountains.

<sup>15</sup> *Inscriptions*, p. 169, n. 73.

<sup>16</sup> Pelliot (*T'oung Pao* VIII [1914], p. 230, n. 3) considered the etymology of the name *Čoyay* to be problematic, and Thomsen himself refrained later from referring to the interpretation he had given in his *Inscriptions* (cf.: *ZDMG* LXXVIII, pp. 126, 172, — here however, he gave up the reading *Čoyay* too and read *Čuyay* instead).

<sup>17</sup> *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves (Mélanges Émile Boisacq*. Bruxelles 1937), pp. 301—302, 312.

<sup>18</sup> Ed. Constantinople I, p. 273, ult.; A. v. Gabain, *Steppe und Stadt*, p. 34.

<sup>19</sup> I first proposed the identification of *Čoyay-yiš* and *Qara-qum* with *Yin-shan* and *Hei-sha* in *Magyar Nyelv* XLVII (1951), p. 67.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. now the eminently instructive and comprehensive work of Liu Mau-tsai, *Die chinesischen Quellen zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken* I, II (= *Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*, B. 10. Wiesbaden 1958). By publishing this work Liu Mau-tsai provided the historical research with a collection of sources that is comparable with the *Documents* of Chavannes.

<sup>21</sup> Hirth, *Nachworte*, p. 34; Liu Mau-tsai, *o. c.* I, pp. 211—212, 250 and 162. Cf. also: A. v. Gabain, *Steppe und Stadt*, p. 34.

<sup>22</sup> Liu Mau-tsai, *o. c.* I, pp. 158—162, 212—214, 249—251, 437—438.

<sup>23</sup> Recently A. v. Gabain (*Steppe und Stadt*, pp. 36—37) suggested that *Ötükän* had the character of a summer camp while *Čoyay-quzi* and *Qara-qum* were settlements used as winter quarters. Giraud (*L'empire des Turcs célestes*, p. 169), on the other hand, holds that *Čoyay-quzi* was the summer camp and *Qara-qum* the winter camp of the T'u-chüeh. However, those stated above concerning *Čoyay-quzi* and *Qara-qum* do not support these assumptions.

<sup>24</sup> Not only Qutluq Elteriš but also his successor, the kaghan Qapγan, spent a considerable time in the Southern Court of the T'u-chüeh. Qapγan was also in residence when, in 698, Empress Wu Tse-t'ien dispatched a prince of the Wu dynasty to his court with the mission to bring back the daughter of the kaghan Qapγan as his concubine. This mission was attended by the peculiar incident that the Chinese general Yen Chi-wei, in the prince's entourage, became amenable to the persuasions of the T'u-chüeh and, joining their ranks, he subsequently took part in their attack against the Chinese times (Liu Mau-tsai, *o. c.* I, pp. 252—254). To show his gratitude for this, the kaghan Qapγan decided to confer upon Yen Chi-wei the imperial rank of the T'u-chüeh by appointing him *Kaghan (Emperor) of the South* (*ibid.*, pp. 162, 216; 299, 602, n. 875). As this title by itself indicates, Yen Chi-wei thereby became ruler of the region of *Čoyay-quzi* and *Qara-qum*. As a matter of course, in the *Ötükän* centre of the T'u-chüeh empire Qapγan retained the prerogatives of his full sovereignty for himself.

The appointment of Yen Chi-wei had undoubtedly a bearing on a former demand of the kaghan Qapγan which he had first made in 696 to the effect that the empress agree to an alliance with him of those, chiefly Sogdian tribes (cf.: E. G. Pulleyblank: *T'oung Pao* XLI [1952], pp. 330, n. 1, 354—355) that had previously been settled by the Chinese in the region of the Huang-ho bend, mainly on the Steppe of Ordos. On the occasion of the 698 mission Qapγan repeated his request for the dismissal of the tribes of the River Bend, and at the same time, he also put forward a territorial claim upon the land on which those tribes lived (*ibid.*, pp. 161, 215—216, 599, n. 858). This would have meant the extension of the rule of the Southern Court of the T'u-chüeh to the territories north of the Great Wall, to the Desert of Ordos and its vicinity.

and the idea was that the kaghan of Chinese origin, Yen Chi-wei, exercise sovereignty over the mixed — Chinese, T'u-chüeh and Sogdian — population of the aforesaid territories. However, the territorial claim of the kaghan Qapγan came to nought. The empress had the family of the traitor Yen Chi-wei executed, and when the latter, who soon afterwards fell out with the T'u-chüeh, returned to China, the wrath of the empress overlook him and he too was put to death (*ibid.*, pp. 264; II, 715, n. 1742).

Very instructive are the remarks which emperor T'ai-tsung made in 639 about the three nomadic homelands of the T'u-chüeh. The eastern T'u-chüeh empire collapsed in 630 after the crushing defeat which the T'u-chüeh suffered on the Yin-shan. After this calamity the T'u-chüeh tribes lived under Chinese sovereignty on the Chinese *limes*. Then the emperor, mindful of a former promise of his, decided to restore the independence to the T'u-chüeh and appointed a kaghan for them. For this purpose he gave orders that the T'u-chüeh move from the Chinese *limes* to a region north of the Huang-ho, that is, to the region of the Yin-shan and the Black Sand. The Ötükän homeland had been at this time in the hands of the Hsüeh Yen-t'ò tribe (*ibid.*, p. 153, 203-204, 242), who, after 630, had gradually absorbed the remaining T'u-chüeh tribes (Hirth, *Nachworte*, p. 132) and were now looking askance at the movements of the southern T'u-chüeh. The latter, being aware of the suspicion of the Hsüeh Yen-t'ò and their possible attack, were afraid to obey the emperor's call and did not want to leave Chinese territory. Then the emperor sent to the Hsüeh Yen-t'ò a message the text of which is still extant (Liu Mau-tsai, *o. c. I*, pp. 152—153, 204—205). In his message the emperor looks back upon the history of the past decade and recalls that the tribe of the Hsüeh Yen-t'ò preceded the T'u-chüeh in submitting themselves to Chinese sovereignty and, for this reason, they were permitted to settle down in Ötükän, their old homeland. Since those days, however, the T'u-chüeh also paid the penalty in expiation for their transgressions against the Chinese Empire, and so it is now their turn to receive their independent homeland beyond the Chinese frontiers and the right to be governed again by their own kaghan. However, in observance of the principle of «a lower place to those who come later», they can no longer regain their Ötükän homeland but must be satisfied with the territory north of the Huang-ho, at the border of the desert, that is, the area which comprised the Čoγay mountains as well as Qara-qum.

There can be no doubt that the value judgement implicit in the emperor's message agreeing with the assessment of the territories in question in the inscriptions, is based primarily on economic considerations: Qara-qum and the region of the Shade Mountain promised much less economically to the T'u-chüeh than their former Ötükän homeland. According to the inscription of Ton Yuquq (T 8), the T'u-chüeh made their living in Qara-qum by hunting as the place was rich in hares and other game. Also as late as in the XVIIIth century the Yin-shan was a densely wooded mountain range with beautiful clearings and many good pastures (Franke: *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches* III, p. 211; we have similar descriptions of the Yin-shan by Pevtsov and the other modern travellers: Obruchev, *o. c.*, pp. 290—291; cf.: Hirth, *Nachworte*, p. 31, n. 2). Sources dating back as far as the Han Period also give this characterisation of the Yin-shan ~ Čoγay Mountain. This mountain, covered with vegetation of luxurious growth and rich in game, was looked upon at that time as the centre of the Hsiung-nu. Its loss was a severe blow for the Barbarians (J. J. M. de Groot, *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit* [Berlin—Leipzig 1921], p. 240).

But, on the other hand, we also have the report that even famine was not unknown in Qara-qum (Liu Mau-tsai, *o. c. I*, p. 211), and although the nearness of the Chinese *limes* made it easy for the T'u-chüeh to organise marauding incursions, their

own territory was rather exposed to Chinese counter-attacks. It is therefore, understandable that the T'u-chüeh inscriptions (I S 4) attach so great a significance to the Ötükän centre: Ötükän is the centre of the T'u-chüeh empire; and it is the only place which can secure the integration of the empire. One must not go near the Chinese; it is by the use of caravans that the contact with them must be maintained (I S 4,8).

Finally, the T'u-chüeh, under the leadership of Li Ssu-mo, a descendant of the A-shih-na family, the emperor T'ai-tsung's friend, moved in 639 to the north, and Li Ssu-mo actually assumed the title *kaghan* granted to him by the emperor (Liu Mau-tsai, *o. c. I*, pp. 153, 204—206, 242; Hirth, *Nachworte*, p. 136). However, owing to interior disturbances and the attacks of the Hsüeh Yen-t'ò, the reorganisation of the T'u-chüeh tribal federation ended in a failure (E. G. Pulleyblank: *T'oung Pao* XLI, p. 325; Liu Mau-tsai, *o. c.*, pp. 280, 355—357; Hirth, *Nachworte*, p. 136). Li Ssu-mo who, because of his appearance, was suspected by the T'u-chüeh of Sogdian origin, was not popular among his subjects who, in 643, revolted against him and asked for permission to resettle within the territory of the empire. Then Li Ssu-mo himself returned to the imperial court and — now for the second time in his life — resigned from his post as kaghan (Liu Mau-tsai, *o. c. I*, pp. 154, 206, 243).

The introductory lines of Ton Yuquq's inscription also make reference to Li Ssu-mo's office as kaghan in the following words: «*Bilgä Toŋuquq bän özüm Tabyač älingä qälinüm. Türk budun Tabyačqa körür ärti. Türk budun qanin bolmayin. Tabyačda ädirilti, qanlantı. Qanin qodup, Tabyačqa yanin äikidi. Tängri anä ämiş ärinč qan bärüm, (qaninğin) qodup, äikiding. İëikdük üün tängri älitmiş ärinč. Türk budun älti, aqintı, yoq boltı. Türk-Sir budun järinä bod qalmadı*: I myself, kaghan Bilgä, was made a man in the country of China. The T'u-chüeh people were subjected to China. The T'u-chüeh people then lived without a kaghan, but severed themselves from China and became again a people which has a kaghan. But they left their kaghan and surrendered again. Heaven, therefore, said thus: „I gave unto thee a qan, but thou forsookest thy qan and gavest thyself again into submission". For the surrender they were destroyed by Heaven. The T'u-chüeh people died, they were dissipated and obliterated. On the soil of the Türk-Sir people no country remained». (For the reading *bolmayin* and not *bulmayin* [A. v. Gabain, *Alltürk. Gramm.*, p. 124], cf. Malov's translation [*o. c.*, p. 64]. — The peculiar way of lettering the name in the inscriptions as *Ton Yuquq* and *Toŋuquq* suggested to Giraud (*L'Inscription de Baïn Tsokto*, pp. 65—66) the reading *Tonl Yuquq* as the original which would have the meaning 'dont le vêtement est oint de graisse'. However, *Ton* is a well known element in honorifics that is also known in other examples (\**Ton Yabqu, Ton Tegin*; cf. K. Czeglédy: *Magyar Nyelv* XLIX [1954], p. 320). The use of the name *Yuquq* is also attested by other examples (e. g., *Yü-ku šhad*: \**üok-kuk*; Liu Mau-tsai, *o. c. II*, p. 577).

For a fuller understanding of the quoted passage it is important to know that, in a later passage, the inscription of Ton Yuquq (T 11) actually defines, with a considerable exactitude, the location of the country of the Türk-Sir people. As the inscription says, when the Toquz-Oγuz learn that Elteriš kaghan and Ton Yuquq are reorganising the T'u-chüeh tribal alliance in the region of the Shade Mountain and the Black Sand, the kaghan of the Toquz Oγuz is taken by fear lest the new T'u-chüeh ruler and his councillor should go into the country of the Türk-Sir. After this, according to the inscription, kaghan Elteriš moves to the north, into the Ötükän homeland, and henceforth he is spoken of in the inscription as the ruler of the country of the Türk-Sir (T 59—62). These data clearly bear out that the country of the Türk-Sir was identical with the Ötükän homeland in which, according to our sources, the peoples of the *türk* and the *sir* had lived together since 628. In that year the Hsüeh Yen-t'ò became united with the tribes

of kaghan Hsieh-li. The tribal confederation of the Hsüeh Yen-t'o itself had come into being by the merger of two ethnic groups, the Hsüeh (ACh. *siet* : \**sir*) and the Yen-t'o (Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 95). After 628 the leading role in the Türk-Sir tribal alliance was first played by the Türk, then by the Sir tribes. After the dissolution of the T'u-chüeh empire (in 630) many T'u-chüeh families joined the Sir and remained in the north with the Sir (Hirth, *Nachworte*, pp. 137—138). In 646 the Türk-Sir confederation surrendered to the Chinese (Pulleyblank: *Uralalt. Jahrb.* XXVIII, p. 37; Liu Mau-tsui, *o. c. I.*, p. 585, n. 801; Radloff, *Alttürk. Inschr. NF.*, pp. XII—XIII). Some of the Hsüeh Yen-t'o tribes seem to have then or later have settled in the region south of the Gobi Desert (Hirth, *Nachworte*, p. 132, *cf.*: Liu Mau-tsui, *o. c. I.*, p. 141). It is noteworthy that our various sources (Šaka, Chinese, Uyghur) continue to make, after 744, when the Uyghur empire came into being, frequent mention of the other T'ieh-le (Oğuz, Uyghur) tribes, but none of these later sources have so far yielded a single mention of the Hsüeh Yen-t'o which, at one time, was the leading tribe of the T'ieh-le confederation. It seems that the merger of the Sir and the T'u-chüeh ended in a complete amalgamation of the two nations. In the course of the VIIIth century there are yet two short references to the Hsüeh Yen-t'o (Pulleyblank: *Uralalt. Jahrb.* XXVIII, p. 37) who then completely disappear from the historian's scope. Hirth has the merit of identifying the name *hsüeh* ~ \**sir* with the name *sir* in the inscriptions (*Nachworte*, pp. 129—140). But he makes a mistake by identifying the name *Yen-t'o* with the name *Tarduš*, the latter denoting a tribal group of the T'u-chüeh (Czeplédy: *Magyar Nyelv* XLV 1949, pp. 295—296). Today it is known that the name *Tarduš* was also used by the Uyghur likewise to denote a tribal group.

It was a generation earlier that Li Ssu-mo had been made kaghan for the first time by the T'u-chüeh tribes. When, however, he learned that, at the same time, the emperor conferred the title *kaghan* upon another T'u-chüeh leader, Ch'i-min, as well, he chose to express his loyalty to the emperor by laying down the *kaghan* title. It was in 599 that Ch'i-min moved into the Chinese Empire when, because of Chinese intrigues, hostility had developed between him and the great kaghan Tu-lan (Yung-yü-lü; Liu Mau-tsui, *o. c. I.*, pp. 59, 68, *cf.* pp. 144—145, 147, 197). This step of Ch'i-min marked the beginning of a long period of T'u-chüeh history, in the course of which the region of the Southern Court and Ordos became the scene of most of the events in the life of the T'u-chüeh.

A letter of thanks written by kaghan Ch'i-min to the emperor clearly shows how the nomads stelled down in the neighbourhood of Chinese territory (*ibid.*, p. 60). A part of the nomads crossed the Great Wall and settled down in North China. It was in this way that the Chinese effected the settlement of kaghan Ch'i-min himself. Another nomad formations established their camps on the Ordos steppe, within the River Bend, yet north of the Great Wall. It was to this place that, at a later date, kaghan Ch'i-min also moved. A third group of the nomads made their dwelling in the region of Po-tao, north of the Ordos stoppe and the Huang-ho. This area is in the southern neighbourhood of the Shade Mountains, north of the River Bend. We have evidence that it was this territory which the nomads, for economic reasons, regarded as the most valuable of all the areas near the Chinese *limes* (Hirth, *Nachworte*, p. 136; Liu Mau-tsui, *o. c. I.*, p. 206). The mountains north of the River Bend, Shade Mountain and the southern slopes of the Lang-shan were mostly under Chinese administration. But the northern slopes were in nomad possession. Turkish supremacy over the region Čoğay-quzı goes back, however, as far as the sixth decade of the 6th century when the Turks, after the collapse of the Juan-juan empire took possession of the whole territory bordering on Northern China (*cf.* the statement in our sources: Liu Mau-tsui, *o. c. I.* p. 19). Between

542 (*op. cit.* I, p. 28) and Ch'i-min's time the Turks raided frequently Northern China from the region which included also Čoğay-quzı and Qara-qum (though not named in our sources).

It seems, on the evidence of a number of data, that the centre of the T'u-chüeh rulers, also under the successors of kaghan Ch'i-min, was for a long time not in Ötükan but in the Southern Court, in the region of Čoğay-quzı and Qara-qum. It was the reign of kaghan Shih-pi (609—619) that marked the golden age of the T'u-chüeh empire. At that time the T'u-chüeh surpassed in power all the other nomadic peoples of the former centuries. «They looked down with pride from the Yin-shan, and could think but with contempt of the Chinese Empire» — writes one of our sources (Liu Mau-tsui, *o. c. I.*, p. 132). Shih-pi had an army of more than a million fighters. The Chinese employed then the same method, as they had done previously in the cases of Ch'i-min and Tu-lan, to weaken Shih-pi's power: they attempted to incite hostility between Shih-pi and his younger brother, Ch'ih-chi shad. They made their plan to give in marriage a daughter of the emperor to Ch'ih-chi and confer the title *Kaghan of the South* upon him (*ibid.*, p. 87; *cf.*: p. 397; very interesting is a note in this source saying that there are many Sogdians [*Hu*] among the T'u-chüeh who teach and direct the latter).

Yet the only result of these manoeuvres was that Shih-pi, on learning about the machinations of the Chinese, became an open enemy of the emperor Yang-ti, and, by his help to the rebels, he inflicted a decisive blow on the tottering Sui dynasty. The assumption of rule by Ch'ih-chi in the Southern Court was out of question. In fact, Shih-pi turned against the Chinese their own weapon, and it was now he that granted the title *kaghan* to some of the rebellious Chinese commanders (*ibid.*, pp. 80, 83, 85; p. 542, n. 374). In some cases our sources use the title *t'ien-tse* 'son of Heaven, emperor', in other instances the Turkish word *kaghan*, as the protocol equivalent of the former, like Middle Iranian *baypuhr* etc.). This action of his contributed in no small measure to the great difficulties in pacifying the northern Chinese territories, and the effort directed to that end could only succeed years after the fall of the Sui dynasty.

When kaghan Shih-pi died, his son, Shih-po-pi (kaghan T'u-li) was yet too young to succeed him, and so the title *kaghan* was given to Shih-pi's younger brother, Ch'u-lo. Shih-po-pi had to be satisfied with a commission as a *shad*. His residence was in the east, on the northern border of the Ho-pei province, in the vicinity of the modern Peking. Our sources call this residence of his the *Eastern Camp of Tents (Ordu)* as distinguished — apparently — from the *Southern Ordu* in the region of the Black Sand and the *Northern Ordu* in the Ötükan homeland (*ibid.*, pp. 145, 201). The establishment of the new *ordu* proved a fatal mistake. Ten years later the Chinese succeeded in stirring up hostility between the great kaghan and kaghan Tu-li, and this enmity between the two greatly contributed to the subsequent Chinese success of causing the fall the T'u-chüeh empire which had been so powerful under the reign of Shih-pi (*ibid.*, p. 193).

It was also in the vicinity of Čoğay-quzı that kaghan Ch'u-lo spent the merely one year of his reign. During this short time he made an attempt to regain power for a member the Sui dynasty. Emperor Yang-ti's grandson, whom kaghan Ch'u-lo acclaimed Chinese emperor, set up his court in Ting-hsiang, in the neighbourhood of the southern slopes of the Shade Mountain (*ibid.*, pp. 134, 182—183).

The first six years of the reign of Ch'u-lo's successor, kaghan Hsieh-li, (620—630), were taken up with large-scale incursions against the Chinese *limes* (*ibid.*, pp. 184—191). The *ordu* of Hsieh-li, however, lay farther west than those of his predecessors; it was set up in the region of Lang-shan, west of the Shade Mountain (*ibid.*, p. 134, 183). However, in the course of later developments, the Chinese became more and more successful in pushing back Hsieh-li, so that they even occupied Ting-hsiang in the southern



vicinity of the Shade Mountain (*ibid.*, pp. 143, 195). Hsieh-li continued his fight against the Chinese, with diminishing success, in the region of the Shade Mountain and the Black Sand. Finally, after a defeat of his, he had to flee to Chi-k'ou, north of the Lang-shan, on the southern border of the Gobi Desert (*ibid.*, pp. 143, 145; cf. also: E. G. Pulleyblank: *Uralaltische Jahrbücher* XXXVIII [1956], p. 39). But there too he suffered a defeat from the Chinese (Liu Mau-tsai, *o. c.* I, p. 310). The next month he was again beaten by the Chinese on the Shade Mountain (*ibid.*, p. 240), and, after another defeat on the Iron Mountain (*ibid.*, pp. 143, 195), he was forced to flee to the T'u-yü-hun. Yet this was in vain for the Chinese soon captured and led him as a prisoner into the presence of the Chinese emperor (*ibid.*, pp. 144, 196, 286). At this time the Chinese occupied not only the Shade Mountain and the Lang-shan but also the territories north of the mountains, including Čoγay-quzi. Henceforth the Chinese frontier closely followed the southern border of the Gobi Desert (*ibid.*, pp. 286).

The matter of resettling kaghan Hsieh-li and the major part of the T'u-chüeh caused no small concern to the Chinese. Very interesting is the debate among the councilors of the emperor about the ways and means of the resettlement. We have extant records in the form of regular minutes taken of this debate (*ibid.*, pp. 148—151, 198—201). Some of the high officials of the Chinese wanted to send the T'u-chüeh to certain uninhabited regions of the province of Shantung so that they make a living there by farming and by the trade of weaving and spinning. Another plan was to settle them on the Ordos Steppe as frontier guards. A third group held the opinion that the most suitable place for the T'u-chüeh would be north of the River Bend where they could continue their traditional nomadic way of life. At last the emperor took the decision to settle them in the region of the Great Wall, in the River Bend and in an area east of the Bend (*ibid.*, pp. 151, 201). The emperor's decision was undoubtedly prompted by the idea to utilize in this way the mounted troops of the T'u-chüeh as a powerful auxiliary army in his defensive and offensive campaigns. The territories of the settled T'u-chüeh tribes were then divided by the Chinese into governor-generalships and prefectures to which they also added, with the centres Ting-hsiang and Yün-chung, the former territories of Hsieh-li, between the Gobi Desert and the River Bend (Pulleyblank: *T'oung Pao* XLI, pp. 317—331). The latter also included the region of Čoγay-quzi and Qara-qum. This administrative arrangement was subsequently, in 650, modified by the Chinese (Liu Mau-tsai, *o. c.* I, pp. 156, 209), after the T'u-chüeh tribes remaining in the Ötükan homeland had also surrendered. Further modifications were effected in 664, then between 670 and 673, and finally in 679. In the River Bend the Chinese set up administrative districts also for the Sogdians. The one-time existence and history of these districts is known through the researches of G. E. Pulleyblank (*A Sogdian Colony in Inner Mongolia in T'oung Pao* XLI [1952], 317—356 pp.). S. G. Klačtornij (*Uralalt. Jahrb.* XXXIII [1961], pp. 95—97) supplemented Pulleyblank's results by convincingly connecting the well known name *Altı ğub Soydaq* in the Turkish inscriptions with these six Sogdian districts in Ordos.

<sup>21</sup> Hence the contrast is not between the words *yazi* and *yiš*, but between Čoγay-yiš (*Yin-shan*) in the south and the *Desert of Ordos* still farther south.

The meaning 'wooded mountains' of the word *yiš*, as inferred from modern data, does not exclude the possibility that the T'u-chüeh made their dwelling not in the woods but on the plateaus and inclines among the wooded ridges (cf. above, p. 56).

<sup>22</sup> S. V. Kiselev, Древняя история Южной Сибири: Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР, № 9, (Moskva—Leningrad 1949), p. 281.

<sup>23</sup> The identity of *Bükli* ~ Skt. *Mukuri* ~ Greek *Μουκλί* ~ Tib. *Mug-liq* was stated by W. B. Henning: *BSOAS* XIV (1952), p. 501, n. 5.

<sup>24</sup> Liu Mau-tsai, *o. c.* I, pp. 157, 210—212, 247—249, 298.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 157, 212, 248—249, 298, 301, 398. Hirth (*Nachworte*, p. 30) takes the introductory lines of Ton Yuquq's inscription as referring to the rebellion of Ni-shu and Fu-nien. However, the inscription says that the T'u-chüeh left their kaghan and voluntarily returned to be under Chinese rule.

<sup>26</sup> According to Pulleyblank (*Uralalt. Jahrb.* XXVIII, p. 37) the date of the subjugation of the Oγuz is not known. However, in view of a report also in the Chinese source that it was at the beginning of his career, i. e. in 682, that kaghan Elteriš «stole» the horses and sheep of the Oγuz (to the mind of the nomad peoples this would mean the end of independent life), there can be no doubt that the subjugation of the Oγuz took place in 682).

<sup>27</sup> Hirth: *Nachworte*, p. 32; G. Schlegel, *Die chinesische Inschrift auf dem uigurischen Denkmal in Kara Balğassun (MSFOu IX, Helsingfors 1896, p. 21, n. 1; Chavannes, Documents*, p. 98, n. 2.

<sup>28</sup> Concerning the geographical position of Tendük cf.: Chavannes: *BEFEO* III, 223, n. 3; Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches* III, p. 414; J. R. Hamilton, *Les ouighours à l'époque des cinq dynasties* (Paris 1955), p. 61, n. 4.

<sup>29</sup> With regard to the *γ*- of the Chinese form cf. Prof. Ligeti's notes in *Acta Orient. Hung.* I (1950), p. 172.

<sup>30</sup> E. M. Murzaev, *Монгольская Народная Республика* (Moskva 1952), p. 427.

<sup>31</sup> Murzaev: *o. c.*, pp. 374—375 (E. Thiel, *Die Mongolei*. München 1958, pp. 407—409).

<sup>32</sup> According to W. Bang (*Mitteil. der Vorderas. Ges.* XXII, pp. 285—288; *Türkische Turfantexte* VI, p. 62) the word *öng* — judged by the usage of the inscriptions and certain Uyghur texts — also carried the meaning 'wüstes, steppenartiges Hochplateau'. However, the quoted sentences do not necessarily yield this inference, and, in fact, Bang does not quote examples from other Turkish languages to support his statement. Malov (*o. c.*, p. 407), taking the meaning of the word *öng* as a common noun, gives «Зеленый Восток (?)» as the translation of the name *Kök Öng*. But this too would make a rather unusual name for a river. It is a question whether the name *Öng* ~ *Ongi* was at all of Turkish origin. As regards Giraud's explanation of *Kök Öng*, cf.: above, p. 62, n. 4; 63, n. 23.

<sup>33</sup> According to W. Bang (*loc. cit.*) the meaning of the verb *yoyur-*, in connection with the word *öng*, is 'übersteigen' (cf.: A. v. Gabain, *Altürk. Gramm.*, p. 356, 'durchqueren'; Giraud, *L'Inscription de Bañ Tsokto*, p. 84, 'dépasser'). However, in the sentences under scrutiny the meaning of the verb *yoyur-* is everywhere 'to tread (on snow, snake)', and this is in inseparable connection with the original meaning 'to knead' of the verb *yoyur-*. In fact, certain Turkish languages also furnish the meaning 'to knead clay' of the word *yoyur-*. (Uygh. and Chuw., cf.: Z. Gombocz, *Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache [MSFOu XXX, Helsinki 1912]*, pp. 80—81; Bang: *Mitteilungen der Vorderas. Ges.* XXII, pp. 283—292; *idem: Uigurica* IV, pp. 62—3)

ΤΕΡΜΑΤΖΟΥΣ<sup>1</sup>

1. In Chapter 40 of his work *De administrando imperio* Emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenitus sets forth the genealogy of the royal house of Árpád. In the line of Árpád's descendants he enumerates Termaçu who, according to his list, was the son of Teveli (Τεβέλης) and a great-grandson of Árpád. The Emperor also reports that «at a recent date» Termaçu, «as friend», accompanied by Bulçu (Βουλτζούς), visited the imperial court (ed. Moravcsik, p. 178<sup>63-65</sup>): Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Τεβέλης, καὶ ἔστιν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Τερματζούς, ὁ ἀριτίως ἀνελθὼν φίλος μετὰ τοῦ Βουλτζού, τοῦ τρίτου ἀρχοντος καὶ καρχᾶ Τουρκίας. It seems most probable that it was on the occasion of Termaçu's visit, and from data supplied by Termaçu himself, that the Emperor recorded the genealogy of the Árpád Dynasty.<sup>1</sup>

This princely visit to the imperial court is also mentioned by Joannes Skylitzes who, however, records only the name of Bulçu and in no way indicates that, with Bulçu, there was also another Hungarian princely personage who paid a visit to the Constantinople court.<sup>2</sup> Thus we are left with the Emperor's report as our only source concerning the person of Termaçu. The title φίλος which the Emperor applies in his work to Termaçu admits of two interpretations. It either denoted ambassadorial rank and so was conferred

<sup>1</sup> This was also the opinion of J. B. Bury (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift* XV [1906], p. 563). G. Moravcsik holds the same view (*A magyar történelem bizánci forrásai* [The Byzantine Sources of Hungarian History], Budapest, 1934, p. 155).

<sup>2</sup> The critical text of Skylitzes' relevant report (ed. Bonn, p. 328), on the basis of a new collation of the MSS of Cedrenus and Skylitzes, was published by G. Moravcsik *Szent István-Emlékkönyv* I [St. Stephen Memorial Volume I], Budapest, 1938, p. 392. — The report of Skylitzes was also adopted by Zonaras (ed. Büttner-Wobst, p. 484). The critical text of the latter report, also on the basis of a new collation of the MSS, was published by Moravcsik in the same work (p. 394). — According to Skylitzes (*loc. cit.*), shortly after the visit of Bulçu another Magyar prince, Gyula (Γυλάς), also went to Byzantium where he too was baptized. Gyula, also in his later life, remained loyal to the new faith. Bulçu, however, soon committed apostasy and often resumed with all his people his incursions against the Byzantine Empire. Skylitzes also gives the information that Bulçu, while on a marauding expedition in the West, was captured by the Franks who impaled him. The latter event, which took place in 955, is attested, in an essentially concordant manner, by numerous Byzantine, Magyar and also by contemporary Western sources (cf. Moravcsik, *Szent István-Emlékkönyv* I, p. 396; C. A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 114—116).

on foreign envoys to Byzantium, or it was a princely title applied to certain foreign rulers.<sup>3</sup> However, in view of the fact that Termaču was but a junior member of the ruling family of the Magyars, the second assumption may hardly merit our serious consideration.<sup>4</sup> Neither the Emperor nor Skylitzes gives any evidence from which one might conclude that Termaču was baptised on the occasion of his visit. This cannot be safely inferred from the title *φίλος* either.<sup>5</sup>

Both the Emperor's work and our other sources fail to indicate the exact date of Termaču's visit. So, at first glance, we can only be sure that it could not have taken place before the composition of the work *De administrando imperio*. If we knew the time when Chapter 40 was composed, then we might possibly undertake a more accurate dating of the aforesaid event. But then again, we are left with the fact of the princely visit itself from which to infer the time when the events of Chapter 40 were possibly recorded. So, on the basis of Constantine's report, the only safe conclusion that can be drawn is that Termaču's visit coincided with the work's composition (between 948/9 and 951/2)<sup>6</sup>, or had taken place shortly before (*ἀρτίως*) that date. This would tally chronologically with the Skylitzes' report which mentions the visit after the coronation of crown prince Romanos II. Since we know that the coronation took place in the spring of 948, the safest assumption is to regard 948 as the most probable date of Termaču's visit.<sup>7</sup>

Also in other respects, this year had its special importance in Byzantine—Magyar relations. This was the year of the expiration of the five-year peace which the patrician Theophanes had negotiated with the Magyars after their incursion in 943.<sup>8</sup> It is therefore most likely that the visit of Termaču and Bulču had something to do with a possible prolongation of peace.<sup>9</sup> Judged by the fact of Bulču's baptism, the new negotiations ended with an agreement.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. F. Dölger, *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal, 1953), pp. 37, 38, 42, 64, 65.

<sup>4</sup> Already Bury gave this explanation (*Byz. Zeitschrift*, XV, p. 562, n. 7), without referring to the former alternative.

<sup>5</sup> Since the old interpretation set forth by K. Szabó (*A magyar vezérek kora* [The Age of the Magyar Chieftains] Pest, 1869, p. 232) it has repeatedly been assumed that the title *φίλος* of Termaču had the same relationship to the fact of baptism as the title *πατριώτης* worn by Bulču which, according to Skylitzes (*loc. cit.*) was conferred upon the latter after his baptism in Byzantium. Yet this assumption has no foundation whatever either in Skylitzes' report or in the Emperor's work.

<sup>6</sup> Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I<sup>2</sup> (Berlin, 1958), p. 364.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Moravcsik, *Szent István-Emlékkönyv* I, p. 397; *Byzantinoturcica* I<sup>2</sup>, p. 132.

<sup>8</sup> As to the events of the year 943, cf. Georgius Continuatus, ed. Bonn, p. 917; *Повесть временных лет* I, изд. Д. С. Лихачев (Москва—Ленинград, 1950), p. 33 [230], II, p. 288; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I<sup>2</sup>, p. 272; Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bonn, p. 430, 431; Moravcsik, *op. cit.*, p. 542; Ps. Symeon (ed. Bonn), p. 748, cf. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I<sup>2</sup>, p. 601. — P. Krug, *Kritischer Versuch zur Aufklärung der byzantinischen Chronologie* (St.-Petersburg, 1810), p. 263; K. Szabó, *op. cit.*, p. 232; Bury, *loc. cit.*, p. 561; R. Lüttich, *Ungarnzüge in Europa im 10. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1910), p. 145—146; Gina Fasoli, *Le incursioni ungarie in Europa nel secolo X* (Firenze, 1945), p. 178.

<sup>9</sup> Already Bury thinks so (*loc. cit.*, pp. 561—562).

Yet neither this agreement nor the fact of his baptism — as Skylitzes indicates at the end of his report — prevented Bulču from turning again, at a later date, against Byzantium.<sup>10</sup>

The only way of arguing against this dating of the princely visit could be to refer to the aforesaid report of Skylitzes according to which the visit of Bulču did not follow a period of peace but rather introduced one (ed. Moravcsik, p. 392): *Ὁὐ διέλιπον δὲ καὶ οἱ Τούρκοι εἰσβολὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ποιούμενοι καὶ ταύτην δηοῦντες, μέχρις οὐ Βουλοσουδῆς ὁ τούτων ἀρχηγὸς τὴν τῶν χριστιανῶν πίστιν ἀσπάζεσθαι ὑποκριθεὶς κατειλήφει τὴν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ βαπτισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναδέχεται Κωνσταντίνου, τῆ τῶν πατρικίων ἀξία τιμηθεὶς καὶ πλείστων χρημάτων ὑπάρξας κύριος ἐκ' αὐθις οἰκάδε ἐπιστρέψας.* Thus, in view of the fact that it was in April 943, that, as a result of the negotiations of the patrician Theophanes, the five-year period of peace was agreed upon, the words of Skylitzes might warrant the assumption that the visit of Termaču and Bulču took place shortly after this event, that is, about the year 943. This conclusion would not contradict Constantine's *ἀρτίως* because Chapter 40 records certain events that had taken place as long as fifty years before the composition of his work (for instance, the rebellion of the Kavars and their joining forces with the Magyars). So it would not be strange for the Emperor to refer to events about 943 as of «recent» occurrence.

However, this interpretation — whatever advantages it may otherwise offer — is not acceptable. In the first place, we must consider that none of the historical sources composed about the time of the princely visit knows about the conversion to Christianity of the princely personages of the Magyars as a preliminary to the peace treaty of 943. Secondly, this interpretation would also contradict the other reports of Skylitzes which, in the aforesaid context, yield 948 as the most likely date of the visit. At last we must also take into consideration that the report of Skylitzes about incursions immediately preceding the visit of Bulču in 948 obviously contradicts all the other relevant sources which clearly witness to the fact that the year 948 was preceded by a five year period of peace.<sup>11</sup> All this prompts the conclusion that Skylitzes made a mistake by establishing a causal relationship between the peace treaty and

<sup>10</sup> Cf. above, n. 2.

<sup>11</sup> K. Szabó (*op. cit.*, p. 232) gave the following interpretation to the above-quoted words of Skylitzes: after the five-year period of peace, about 948, new Magyar incursions occurred, and that it was only after these, about the year 949, that Bulču and Termaču went to Byzantium. Lüttich (*op. cit.*, p. 147) believes that the new incursions immediately followed Bulču's return from Byzantium. However, in the quoted passage of Skylitzes there is nothing to warrant the assumption that Bulču's apostasy and his new incursions took place directly after his return. Bury (*loc. cit.*, p. 561) is of the opinion that the new incursions of Bulču were identical with the expedition which is mentioned by Theophanes Continuatus (ed. Bonn, p. 462) and Pseudo-Symeon (ed. Bonn, p. 756) as having taken place towards the end of Constantine's reign. Yet recent research (cf. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 542 and 501) sets the date 959 for this incursion, that is, into a time which followed the death (955) of Bulču.

the visit of the Magyar princes. As a matter of fact, peace was established in 943, as a result of the negotiations of Theophanes the patrician, and it was later, after the five-year period of peace had expired, that the princely personages visited the Byzantine court.<sup>12</sup>

2. Outside the work of Emperor Constantine, the name *Termaču* does not occur in any of the Magyar or non-Magyar sources of pre-conquest Hungarian history. The name does not bear a Magyar character, and so, in view of the fact that most of the old Magyar personal names of non-Magyar origin come from the Turkish language,<sup>13</sup> there seems to be an *a priori* likelihood that the name *Termaču* too was taken over by the Magyars from the ancient Turkish peoples. This assumption is fully corroborated by a report of Levond, a chronicler of the Armenian wars of the Arabs, about the incursion of the Khazars in 730. His report reads as follows (Levond, ed. Ezeanc, p. 101):

Չայնու ժամանակն զարձեալ արրոխ յուզէր ի կողմանցն Հիւսիսոյ քանզի մեռաւ արքայն իսպարաց որում իսպարանն կոչէին: Իբրև ետես մայր նորին, որոյ անունն էր Փարսբիթ. Հրաման տայր զօրակարին որ թարմաչ կոչէր. զօր բազում գումարել ի վերայ աշխարհիս Հայոց: «At this time a big commotion developed in the northern parts because the ruler of the Khazars had died who is called Xak'an. When this was seen by his mother, whose name was P'arsbig,<sup>14</sup> she gave order to her military commander who was called T'armač'

<sup>12</sup> According to P. Krug (*loc. cit.*) the visit of the Magyar princes took place during the five-year period of peace. This old explanation was renewed by J. Marquart (*Streifzüge*, p. 120). Also G. Pauler (*A magyar nemzet története Szent Istvánig* [History of the Hungarian Nation until St. Stephen], Budapest, 1900, pp. 74–75) and J. Darkó (*Byzantinisch-ungarische Beziehungen*, Weimar, 1933, p. 4) believed that the visit of Gyula to Byzantium took place during the peace period. Yet, according to Darkó, Bulču's visit was made in 940. In establishing this date Darkó was most probably led by the consideration that, in the narrative of Skylitzes, Bulču's visit is preceded by an unbroken series of Magyar incursions. The last of these, as Darkó seems to have supposed, was the one which took place in 943.

A similar line of reasoning gave rise to the hypothesis that Bulču and Gyula were taken as hostages to Byzantium after the peace treaty of 943 (Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 561; Gina Fasoli, *op. cit.*, p. 178). However, Moravcsik was on safe grounds when he rejected this assumption (*Szent István-Emlékkönyv* I, p. 397), since it was only as late as in 948 that Bulču's visit, in terms of the aforesaid chronology, took place, and it was still later that Gyula called on the Byzantine court. Skylitzes, who goes to considerable lengths in relating the visit of Bulču, makes no allusion to Bulču's going as a hostage to Byzantium. Yet there is the other obvious fact which renders this assumption utterly untenable: the Emperor tells us quite clearly that *Termaču* came as *φίλος*, that is, in all probability, as an envoy to Byzantium.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 131–134; II<sup>2</sup>, pp. 362–3.

<sup>14</sup> The text edition of Ezeanc' has here the faulty form *Փարսբիթ*: P'arsbi'. However the Arab historian Ibn A'tam al-Kūfi uses the correct form *Barsbig* in this connection (ed. Akdes Nimet Kurat: *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* VII/2, 1949, pp. 255–273. — The names *Barsbig* and *Jebgu*, as well as the word *ρίζάνιον*: *ρίζα* 'flower' (cf. Moravcsik, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* IV (1931), pp. 69–71; A Zajaczkowski, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem chazarskim* [Études sur le problème des Khazars]: *Polska Akademia Umiejętności. Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej*, 36 (Kraków 1947), pp. 39–40; cf. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* II<sup>2</sup>, p. 313) are Turkish forms with a North-Western Turkish (Qypčaq) character, quite distinct from those remains of the proper Khazar language which have Chuvash characteristics.

to levy a big army against Armenia». A number of other sources<sup>15</sup> also refer to this invasion, but they do not mention T'armač', the Khazar commander. Yet the historical and geographical background is all the more clear in these sources inasmuch as they inform us that T'armač' was the commander of the Western Turkish Khagan residing in Itil to whom the Khazar ruler residing in Balangar appealed for help. The name of the Turkish *Barsbig* is also frequently mentioned in these sources, he was, however — according to the Muslim writers — not the wife but the son of the said Khagan.

The similarity which the Magyar *Termaču* bears to the Western Turkish name T'armač' is at once obvious.<sup>16</sup> This similarity becomes, however, still more striking, if we consider that the final *-u* of the Magyar form *Termaču* is the Old-Hungarian ending of the nominal forms.<sup>17</sup> The *e* in the first syllable is also easily accounted for as a case of dissimilation replacing Turkish *a*, a change that is not at all infrequent in OHung.<sup>18</sup> Thus the similarity between the Hungarian and Turkish nominal forms is not a mere coincidence but reflects a genetic link between the two.<sup>19</sup>

But as far as the etymology of the Western Turkish name T'armač' is concerned, we must be, for the time being, content with stating a *non liquet*. The suffix *-mač*, or rather the compound suffix *-ma-č*, does not belong to the common Turkish suffixes,<sup>20</sup> neither can we be certain about the origin and

<sup>15</sup> I dealt with the relevant Arabic (Ibn al-Atir, Ya'qūbi and the Melkite Agapios), Armenian (Moses Kalankatvac'i ed. Tiflis, p. 368) and Greek (Theophanes, A. M. 6220) sources in a lecture which was delivered on the 26th of September, 1958, at the Onomastological Conference of the Hungarian Philological Society; cf. *Névtudományi vizsgálatok* [Onomastological Studies], ed. S. Mikešy, Budapest, 1960, pp. 119–125.

<sup>16</sup> The Russian Hebraist A. Harkavy was the first to call our attention, in his study of the remains of the Khazar language, to the name T'armač' in the Armenian source (*Russische Revue* VI/1 [X], 1877, p. 321). M. Gyóni took up the hint and, having transcribed the form *Tarmatsch* in Harkavy's study as *Tarmacs*, in Hungarian transliteration, identified it quite precisely with the name *Termaču* (cf. M. Gyóni, *A magyar nyelv görög feljegyzéses szótáryemlékei* [Die Streudenkmaler der ungarischen Sprache in griechischen Texten], Budapest, 1943, pp. 132–133). Neither Harkavy nor Gyóni took up the philological problems which arise in relation to the Armenian original. Harkavy simply took over the form *Tармач* in K. Patkanean's Russian translation of Levond's work, and Gyóni followed Harkavy. Since, however, the Russian transliteration which is undertaken here reflects, with essential faithfulness, the Old-Armenian form T'armač', we can make no objection to the transcription *Tармач* ~ *Tarmatsch* ~ *Tarmacs*. The only exception which we might take to Gyóni's interpretation is to point out clearly that, in the name T'armač', the *-č* is not a Hungarian suffix, since it already existed in the borrowed Turkish form.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Gyóni, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

<sup>18</sup> This was stated by J. Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* [The Ethnic Evolution of the Pre-Conquest Magyars] Budapest, 1930, p. 292.

<sup>19</sup> There is a most probable connection between the name *Termaču* and the Hungarian place-name *Tormás* (o: *Tormás*) which is borne by not less than six localities in Hungary (cf. Pauler, *op. cit.*, p. 172; Németh, *op. cit.*, p. 291).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Németh: *Acta Orient. Hung.* VIII (1958), p. 8; L. Ligeti, *ibid.*, p. 4. Thus the suffix *-mač*, also in the case of the name *Tarmač*, would likely point to a North-Western Turkish (Qypčaq) origin. But we cannot discount the possibility that the name *Tarmač*, just as a considerable part of the Old-Turkish names, came from non-Turkish (probably T'o-pa or other) languages.

meaning of the element *tar*.<sup>21</sup> All that seems to be fairly certain at the present moment is that the Magyars took over the name *Termaču* from the Western Turks and that the word had been adopted prior to the «Landnahme», in the territory of the Khazar Empire.

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## ŠARKEĽ

### AN ANCIENT TURKISH WORD FOR "HOUSE"

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Of all the ancient terms for a 'dwelling', 'abode', in the Altaic languages, it is probably the Khazar word *kel* that has most frequently engaged the attention of expert research. The first known record of the word dates back to the middle of the Xth century when the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus noted it as the second element in the composite name *Šarkel*, also explaining that the meaning of the name in the Khazar language was Ἰασπρον δσπίτιον, that is, 'white lodge', 'white house'. The emperor's explanation leaves no doubt that the first component of the name *Šarkel*, that is, the word *šar*, stood for 'white' in the language of the Khazars.

This record of the name *Šarkel* was later reiterated by the author of the work known under the title *Theophanes Continuatus*. The author himself belonged to the literary school of the emperor who gave him commission for his work. He, however, brushed up the style of the emperor's note and so replaced the colloquial Ἰασπρον δσπίτιον with the Classic Greek rendering Λευκὸν οἰκημα as expressing the same meaning.

As it can be gathered from the emperor's narration, the Byzantines had already learned the name *Šarkel* in 833, more than a century before the composition of the emperor's work, when, at the request of the Khazars, Byzantine experts travelled to the region near the lower course of the Don to build up for the Khazars the fortress *Šarkel*.

Beside the emperor's aforesaid note, there are also certain data, in Russian chronicles, which have a bearing on this name. The name *Belaveža* in those chronicles which, in Ancient Russian, has the meaning 'white tent (tower)', is at the very first glance reminiscent of the

<sup>21</sup> Recently D. Pais (*Onomatological Studies*, ed. S. Mikesy, pp. 95, 98) undertook the explanation of the name *Termaču* as a derivative of the Turkish roots *tara-* or *tir-*. However, the form *Tarmač*, as we find it in the Armenian source, resists the derivation from the root *tir-*, and the derivation of *Tar-* from *tara-* is not clear either.

signification 'white lodge' that we meet in the emperor's note. The Russian name occurs in connection with the Khazarian campaign of Svyatoslav in 965 and denotes a place near the Don river, that is, where Šarkel lay. By having collated the Byzantine and Russian data, the Russian historians, already between 1745 and 1816, could convincingly prove that the Khazar name Šarkel denoted the same city which is known under the name Belaveža in the Russian chronicles. As to the exact geographic location of the place, it was already sixty years ago that Russian research workers began to look for the ruins of Šarkel in the district of Cimlyansk, at the lower course of the Don river. The archaeology of the peoples of the Steppe entered one of its most interesting chapters when, in the course of investigations conducted in the fifties of our century, Soviet scholars succeeded in finding the ruins of the ancient fortress of Šarkel in the district of Cimlyansk. The appraisal of the finds has since been completed chiefly by Prof. M. I. Artamonov. At present, the ruins are under the waves of the artificial inland sea since established at Cimlyansk.

Those dealing with the etymology of the name Šarkel have, from the beginning, been aware of the great significance which this enterprise, beyond its philological importance may have for the study of Khazar history. In spite of the wealth of data on hand in Arab, Byzantine, Armenian, Hebrew and other sources, we have but a rather meagre body of established knowledge concerning the Khazars. Thus, for example, we still have the moot question as to which group of the Turkish languages the language of the Khazars belonged, neither can we solve the problem as regards the specific group of Turkish peoples to which the Khazars proper of the Khazar Empire belonged. Although our extant sources have preserved the proper names and honorifics of a number of Khazar dignitaries, the inferences that might be drawn from such names, in view of the peculiar trend in proper names to transcend national and linguistic frontiers, are, by necessity, quite uncertain. But, on the other hand, neither of the two component elements of the name Šarkel are proper nouns, and thus it may better lend itself to an attempt at determining the dialectological status of the Khazar language.

As to the first element of the name Šarkel, the word šar which means 'white', certain scholars, as early as in

the XVIIIth century, began to look to the Turkish language for its etymology. Their attempt, however, has met with the great difficulty in that the word šar with the meaning 'white' has not been found so far in any of the Common Turkish, that is, z-Turkish languages. So certain researchers gave up the attempt and have tried to interpret the word from the vocabulary of some of the Finno-Ugrian languages, in particular from the Vogul or the Hungarian language. Over the last decades, explanations along this line have been offered also. Other scholars have turned to the language of the Circassians or to Persian for a clue. However, the majority of the researchers, in view of the definite classification of the Khazars, in our sources, with the other Turkish peoples, have adhered to the opinion that the name Šarkel must have its origin in one of the Turkish languages. At the beginning of the last century, C. Lehrberg thought the name to be of Turkish origin. A similar opinion was later entertained by H. Vámbéry who held that the component šar of the name Šarkel was connected with the word sariγ of a Common Turkish language. The same view was held by Z. Gombocz, that outstanding student of the ancient Turkish loanwords of the Hungarian language.

But there have also been arguments to prove the origin of the name Šarkel in one of the r-Turkish languages of Chuvash character. This theory was first offered in 1835 by C. M. Fraehn who pointed out, in a very convincing manner, that the first component of the name Šarkel was related to the Chuvash šura < \*sariγ which, in fact, has the meaning 'white', whereas the word sariγ in Common Turkish as well as in all languages of Common Turkish character carries the meaning 'yellow'. Fraehn also noted that, beside the component šar, the Chuvash language also has the second component kel, in the form kil with the meaning 'house'. Fraehn's arguments have ever since held their ground, and so the most outstanding experts in this field, as P. Pelliot, J. Németh, L. Ligeti, have been at one in the conviction that the agreement of the Chuvash words šura and kil, both in meaning and form, with the name Šarkel as recorded by the Byzantine emperor, is the decisive argument to prove that the origin of the name is to be sought in a Turkish language of Chuvash character. This agreement, if we take the emperor's note at its face value, might also indicate that the Khazars spoke a Turkish language of Chuvash character.

The original Chuvash character of the name Šarkel has recently been underscored by the evidence of the Hebrew sources of Khazar history, where the name, in the form Šarkīl, also occurs. The Hebrew form Šarkīl is noteworthy for two reasons. First, its second vowel is identical with the vowel of kil in modern Chuvash, and secondly, the writing of the Hebrew form leaves no doubt that the first consonant of the name Šarkel was š and not s. This is a very important conclusion to which the Byzantine form alone could not lead us as the Byzantine character sigma can stand equally for the sounds s and š of other languages. Now the assured pronunciation of the first consonant as š definitely speaks in favour of connecting šar in the name Šarkel with the Chuvash šurā 'white', while excluding any relationship with the Common Turkish word sarıy, 'yellow'.

Yet there still remains the problem — and to solve this is the main object of my paper — as to the origin of the Khazar kel-kil and the Chuvash kil, and there is also the unanswered question whether the word kel-kil was peculiar to the Chuvash language or whether it can also be found in other Turkish languages as well. To be sure, it is on the latter problem that some of the valuable findings in the course of the etymological investigation of the word kel-kil over the last hundred and fifty years may have the most instructive bearing. For, although this word could not be traced in other Turkish languages in the same form and with the same meaning, A. Samoilovich, for the first time, and, after him, Professors Németh and Zajaczkowski pointed to the connection which may exist between the said Khazar and Chuvash words, on the one hand, and the word, or rather particle, gil, as found in the southwestern Turkish languages, on the other.

This particle gil is well known, first of all, in the Anatolian and Balkan dialects of the Osmanli language, and we must add that, at present, we have much more material collected from these dialects than Samoilovich could rely on at the time he wrote his article on this subject in 1925. According to J. Deny, the Osmanli gil does not have its exact equivalent in the French language. It might be rendered approximately as 'la famille, le chez soi, l'habitation', but in most cases, the word chez alone can also convey its meaning. According to the two Turkish dictionaries of the Osmanli dialects, the word gil is used in a

number of places with the meaning 'famille, sile'. We also have some data from the Konya dialect, in T. Kowalski's edition. According to Balkanoglu, gil has the meaning 'famille, maison' among the Türkmén of Syria. It can also be found in the Osmanli dialects of the Balkan peninsula. So we have some relevant data published by Prof. Németh and J. Eckman from the region of Varna. In the latter, the particle gil can be translated, in the way known in Hungarian and other European languages, by adding the sign of the plural to family names. Also in Azeri, as Samoilovich informs us, the word gil has a similar meaning. About half a century ago Tevfik Bey indicated that the word gil with the meaning 'house' was extant in the language of the Majar nomadic tribe living in the Turkish-Persian border region. Also the notes of Sir Aurel Stein on the language of the Āinallu Turks of the South-Persian province Fars attest this particle.

Now a few examples to illustrate the use of the particle gil: — "Ali gile gitdim: je suis allé chez Ali"; "Ahmed gilde dir: il est chez Ahmed"; "anam gil yanında oturur: il (elle) habite pres de chez ma mere" (Deny);

"çalam gil göçti: семья моей тетки переселилась";

"dayiniz gilin evi harada-dir: где дом семьи вашего дядк?"

"bajimiz gil-ile sefere gitdik: мы отиправляемся в путе-

(Samoilovich); "Ivan gildän = Ivannardan: from the Ivans"; "Osman â gildän galyorum: I come from the Osman Nagas" (Németh); "Ahmet gile gittik: we went to the Agmets"; "teyzem gil: my aunt's" (Anadilden derlemeler); "amjam gile gittik: we went to my uncles's; Naji gile: to the Najis" (Halk agz. söz derl. derg.) "Mustafagilde iaşın varidi: im Hause des Mustafa ist ein Brand ausgebrochen (Konya, Kowalski); "Ömer gilin: семья Омера" (Magazinik) "Qazim çân gillär: die Anhänger des Qazim Chan (Āinallu, Kowalski).

In Azeri, besides being appended to family names, names of persons and words expressing kinship, the particle gil can also be tacked on to names of professions (teacher, molla, nöker) that stand for names of persons (Samoilovich).

As a word of the Osmanli language reform movement, gil, in the composite word evgil, can replace the word halk 'household' (Arab. ḫalq 'people') of hane halki (Bonelli, Magazanik).

The meaning of the particle gil, as judged by the data quoted above (cf. especially the phrase dayiniz gilin evi and the compound evgil), is not exactly 'house', neither 'family' but rather 'dwelling-place, home, who or what is in the house: family (a meaning with local colouring), house-keeping'. Other languages, too, have words that possess a similar sphere of meanings. For example, we may find, the following ancient and modern meanings expressed by the Arab noun ahl and the verb ahala: "tent (cf. the Hebrew ohel), house, household, family, father of the family, mother of the family, people, tenant, owner; to get accustomed to some place, to get married, to establish a family". Also the Turkish word ab has gone through a similar semantic development, with the result that we may find in the various Turkish languages, besides the basic meaning 'house, tent', the following additional meanings: 'family, household' (Radloff), 'wife' (Radloff), 'husband' (Kirgh. Yudakhin), 'to establish a household' (Common Turkish avlan — Chuvash avlan —).

The word gil, as a part of speech, cannot be classified either with the substantives or with the formatives. If it were noun in its full right then, in the quoted example, we would expect ḫalam gili instead of ḫalam gil ('my aunt's'), and, if it were a formative, then we would expect ḫalagilim (Samoilovich). Deny classifies the word gil with the particles. The dictionary of Magazanik, without giving a reason, gives the possessive form gilin as the basic form.

Samoilovich was the first to connect the particle gil of the Southwestern Turkish languages with the Khazar and Chuvash word kel-kil. But, at the same time, he points to two reasons which argue against the common origin of the two: first, the meaning of the Chuvash word kil is 'house', and not 'family' which is, according to him, the meaning of the word gil, and, secondly, the Chuvash word kil is an independent noun, hence it cannot be connected with the particle gil. Yet this explanation of Samoilovich is not fully convincing. So some accepted the explanation of Prof. Németh who believes that the two words, in spite of the difference in their meanings, are of common origin.

Németh's thesis is confirmed, above all, by the fact that the meaning of the Chuvash word kil is in fact much nearer to the meaning of the Southwestern Turkish gil than the data quoted by Samoilovich would seem at first to allow. So, for instance, according to N. V. Zolotnitskiy, the Chuvash kil "also in itself has the meaning 'economy' and 'family' which constitute the house". This, in its essence, agrees with the aforesaid meanings of the word gil. The second argument of Samoilovich also fails to carry conviction when he assigns the two words to two different parts of speech. I shall return to this question in a moment.

If, however, the Khazar and Chuvash kel-kil and the Southwestern Turkish gil are indeed of common origin, then we must also answer the difficult question as to how to account for the fact that this word occurs only in the Khazar and Southwestern Turkish languages, but in none of the other Turkish languages. I believe, however, that we are today in the position to give a satisfactory answer to this question too. I refer to a passage in C. Bartholomae's work Zur Kenntnis der mitteliranischen Mundarten where he, while dealing with the problem of the correct reading of a certain group of letters or rather ligatures which consists of the letters dd r he convincingly demonstrates that, in the phrase dd r vatay, the only correct reading is gil and its meaning can only be 'house'.

This Middle Persian gil is a regular development of Avestan gərəða, (Ancient Indian gṛhá — 'house'). Bartholomae is also successful in explaining the word gil-ist-ak as being the same Middle Persian word gil with the double suffix — ist-ak. The Middle Persian gil which has the meaning 'house' is both semantically and phonetically the exact equivalent of the word kel-kil and gil in the Khazar, Chuvash and Southwestern Turkish languages. Making use of the notes of Prof. Harmatta on the history of this Persian word, gil, we must conclude that this word was taken over, without a change in pronunciation that is, in the form gil, into the Southwestern Turkish languages. On the other hand, Khazar and Chuvash, which, unlike the former, do not possess the initial sound g, had to substitute their initial k for the original g of the Middle Persian word.

Returning to the former question as to why it was, that, of all the Turkish languages, Osmanli and Azeri alone took over the Middle Persian word gil — the answer is now



quite simple: it was only these Turkish languages that came into direct contact with Persian. Since the VIth century the southwestern branch of the Turks lived continually in the neighbourhood of the Persians, and the ancestors of the present-day Chuvash also had many opportunities to borrow from the language of the Persians. It will suffice if we refer to the fact that, according to Arab sources, one half of the Khazar capital was continually occupied by the Persians and Khwarezmians who were coming by thousands to live there. It must have been by the mediation of the Khazars that the word kil-kel got to the present domicile of the Chuvash, as this region too came at one time under the sway of the former. But we must also take into account, that Persian merchants, as e.g. the travel reports of Ibn Fadlan inform us, also used to dispatch from Khwarezm or Khazaria vast caravans to the onetime territory of Volga-Bulgharia.

With reference to the difference between the Khazar and Chuvash word kel-kil and the Southwestern Turkish word gil, as parts of speech, the word kil, in the Chuvash language, completely supplanted the Proto-Turkish word ab 'house', apart from its derivative avlan 'to establish a household'. Ab had also been in use originally in that language. The foreign origin of Chuvash kil is betrayed by the single fact that, although it belongs to the most frequently used elements of the vocabulary, it has no derivatives. On the other hand, the word gil in the Southwestern Turkish languages has not displaced the old Turkish word av, which, with its derivatives, vigorously persists to the present, while the word gil having become a particle without derivatives in these languages, can only function — as we have seen in the quoted examples — in certain syntagmas.

In this paper, my aim has been to illustrate how a Persian word denoting 'house' was borrowed by the Turks of the Steppe and how this borrowing developed semantically in the languages which adopted it. A number of other instances in which the Turks borrowed words of a similar semantic range could be quoted from other Turkish languages that were in contact with various Iranian dialects (e.g. Turk. otag 'tent' and Turkish känt from the Sogdian; Turkish chadir 'tent', and Turkish bächküm 'Halle im Hause' from the Persian, quoted by Prof. Harmatta). It

would indeed be an attractive task to examine the exact anthropological conditions under which these borrowings were made.

K. CZEGLÉDY (*Budapest*): NOTES ON SOME PROBLEMS OF THE EARLY  
KHAZAR HISTORY

The task of assessing the sources of the early Khazar history — in spite of repeated attempts at removing its difficulties — still presents a great challenge. The main cause of the difficulties, as it becomes more and more apparent today, lies in the philologically inadequate treatment that has so far been given to the multilingual—Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, Armenian, and Georgian — source material. There is much to be done in this field, yet the tackling even of some detail problems may help us forward towards our goal.

The earliest data with Khazar references are found in the Arabic, Syriac, Byzantine, Armenian, and Georgian genealogies. The latter belong to the Christian gender of the Διαμερισμός τῆς γῆς with which they, also as regards their origin, are connected. There is a further parallelism between them inasmuch as both augment the Biblical genealogy by adding the names of contemporary peoples, including the peoples of the Steppe. However, these

lists of names, as far as the time of their origin can be fixed, are not older than the IVth century, and only a very limited significance can be attached to them, as they are most arbitrary in establishing relationships between the names of peoples they enumerate. The same problems beset the Alexander Romance and the Legend Concerning Alexander the Great as well as certain variants of the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios which also mention the Khazars in their genealogies of the peoples. Neither do we receive much help in our search for the early phase of Khazar history from the genealogical story which centres around the eponymic brothers *Bulgarios* and *Khazarig*. This story which, by Nestorian mediation, passed from the Pehlevi notes of a Persian Christian to the Syrian Monophysites, also makes mention of the migration of the Danubian Bulgars, and this precludes any possibility of having been written earlier than the end of the VIIth century.

Some scholars are inclined to attach great significance to the references to early Khazar history in the notes of the Armenian and Georgian historiographers. These data might indeed have a considerable bearing also on the whole history of the Steppe. Yet the investigations into the authenticity of the writing of Pseudo-Moses Khorenac'i already proved, more than two centuries ago, that they are not authentic and that the case in question here is but the transference of the name of the Khazars upon the ancient Alans.

In connection with the events of the IVth and Vth centuries the Arabic-Persian epitomisers of the Middle Persian *Khwatāy-nāmak* also make repeated references to the Khazars. Yet in assessing these data, we must consider, on the one hand, that the usage of the Arab and Persian epitomisers does not reliably reflect the Middle Persian original, and, on the other hand, that the last redaction of the *Khwatāy-nāmak* is not earlier than the last decades of the Sasanian Era, i.e., it is contemporaneous with the emergence of the Khazar Empire. In this case we must also reckon with the possibility of a generalising use of the name, that is, the name "Khazar" being used in the sense of "Northern Nomadic".

However, great importance must be ascribed to those data of the *Khwatāy-nāmak* which connect the name of the Khazars with events that took place between 515 and 580 A. D. According to Byzantine sources, the actors of these events were the Khazars, and, according to Muslim sources, it was only in Persian that the Khazars, even in the Xth century, figured under the name *Khazar*, while in Turkish they were called *Savir*. We may infer from this fact and also from some data in the Geography of Pseudo-Moses Khorenac'i which also attest the identity of the word *Khazar* = *Savir* that, after 515, or perhaps even at an earlier date, the Khazars, at least in part, were identical with the Savirs.

It is in view of this identity that we must also accept, as an important fact, the note found in the work of Moses Kajankatvac'i, this exceedingly important source of Khazar history, which says that the Christian missionary see of Derbend had to be relocated, because of Khazar, to Partav, south to the river Kur.

On the other hand, in reconstructing Khazar history, we can hardly make any use of the recently oft-quoted date (*k.s.r.*) in the Appendix to the work of Zacharias the Rhetor on church history. The list in this work is in fact a Syriac translation of the Pehlevi note of a Persian Nestorian author which is based on a Byzantine original. This is born out, among other things, also by the peculiar name form *h.r.w.s.* among the names enumera-

ted. The latter comes from the Legend Concerning Alexander the Great and, as from the ultimate source, the variant  $\beta$  of the Alexander Romance ( $\pi\alpha\rho\rho\iota \sim \rho\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\iota \sim$  Dinawari: 'red' ← LXX 'Pōs ~ pahl. *h.r.w.s.*) and, as the beginning *h.r.* of the word shows, it reached the Syrian Monophysite author by Middle Persian mediation. The same inference must be made from the clerical errors obviously betraying Pehlevi mediation in the other names of the list and also from the Middle Persian form of the geographical names.

Very important are, in determining the relation between the Khazars and the Western Turks, the narratives of Armenian authors concerning the Turkish allies of Herakleios. Thus the report of Sebeos reveals that the allies of Herakleios were in fact the descendants of those Armenians who were settled by the Persians on the outskirts of Hyrcania to defend the frontiers of their empire. In the course of time these Armenians took up the habits of the horsemen of the Steppe, then they revolted and joined those troops of the Western Turks which, from the regions of the Oxus, undertook large-scale marauding incursions against Persia. The data of Sebeos are corroborated in an important way by some very detailed reports of Moses Kajankatvac'i who took them from a contemporaneous ecclesiastical source. These reports by Moses Kajankatvac'i are among our most valuable sources of Khazar history. These, like the corresponding notes of Theophanes — relate that the Western Turkish prince ruling over the Khazars, Ton jebgu, possessed a rank only second to that of the Khagan of the Western Turkish Empire. In this early phase of Khazar history there were yet two princely residences on Khazar territory: one, the ancient residence of the Khazars, at Balangar, in the South, and the capital of the Western Turkish overlords of the Khazars, Itil, in the North, near the delta of the Volga.

K. CZEGLÉDY, BUDAPEST

OLD TURKISH HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

(KĀNGÜ-TARBAN AND FIRDAUSI'S KANG)

According to a passage in the Turkic runic inscriptions, the Turks were conducting campaigns in the first part of the 8th century also to the far west, the region of the Syr Darya. Here, around the Syr Darya, according to the text of the inscriptions, the Turkish troops got as far as the region of *Kāngü-Tarban* (var. *Kāngü-Tarman*). The latter name was read in this form by Thomsen, and, on the basis of his authority, this form is found in the entire recent special literature. Some extremely important geographical questions, as well as questions of a philological character referring to the name *Kāngü*, remain, however unsolved. These are the problems I should like to discuss briefly in my lecture today.

Already the first commentators of the Turkic inscriptions made noteworthy attempts as to the explanation of the name *Kāngü*. Thus F. Hirth, even though having his doubts about it, suggested the idea already 60 years ago, that the name *Kāngü* is connected with the name of the ancient country *K'ang-kü*. According to evidence furnished by Chinese sources, the country of *K'ang-kü* lay east of the Parthians, in the region of the Syr Darya, in the time when China was ruled by the Han dynasty and Iran was under the dominion of the Parthians. According to the earliest Chinese sources<sup>1</sup> the capital of *K'ang-kü* was about 300 kilometres northwest of the province of Chach, i.e. from modern Tashkend, in the vicinity of the right bank of the middle reaches of the Syr Darya. In the south, however, *K'ang-kü* occupied not only the province of Chach, but also Sogdiana, between the Oxus and the Syr Darya. At a later period —also according to Chinese sources<sup>2</sup>—the old name *K'ang-kü* was abridged and assumed the form *K'ang*. *K'ang-kü* as an independent country ceased to exist around A. D. 350, when its entire territory was occupied by the tribes of the Hephthalites called *x-yōn*, mentioned by other sources as *xun* and *hun*. After the rule of the Hephthalites, *K'ang* was subjected by the Turks, a fact which, if Hirth's afore-mentioned suggestion is correct, is also proved by the name *Kāngü* of the Turkic runic inscriptions.

The reference to the name *K'ang-kü* implied, however, further inferences with which Hirth did not deal at all. Namely two important observations were made, long before the commentaries of Hirth, regarding the short variant *K'ang* of the name *K'ang-kü*. The one is by Reinaud, who pointed out that the Chinese name *K'ang* shows perfect agreement with the name *Kang* of Firdausi's *Shaname*. *Kang* is an important place in the *Shaname*, the name of the capital of Turan. The author of the other observation was W. Tomaschek, who pointed out that this certain *Kang*, mentioned also by Firdausi, according to the evidence furnished by Arabic geographical sources, could have been north of modern Tashkend, in the western neighbourhood of the ancient town of *Ispēchab*, in the direction of the Syr Darya, because, according to Tomaschek it is here that the Arabic geographical sources localize the town of *Kang*.

As to the reference of Tomaschek, although he does not quote any of his sources, he doubtlessly refers here to that part of Isṭakhri's geographical work where Isṭakhri describes the towns around Ispēchab. Namely, according to Isṭakhri it was between Ispēchab and the Syr Darya, two days' walk west of Ispēchab that the town was situated, the name of which—on the basis of a non-vocalized Arabic text—could have been read by Tomaschek as *Kang deh* (written *K. nj-deh* in Arabic letters). The name *Kang-deh* (*Kang-village*), if, indeed, that is the way Isṭakhri's non-vocalized name has to be read, exactly corresponds to the names *Kang-diz* and *Kang-diz* of similar meaning used already by Firdausi's source, the New Persian prosaic translation of the Middle Persian *Xwality-nāmak* and also by the Middle Persian theological literature.

But the correctness of the reading *Kang-deh* is doubtful, since the majority of Isṭakhri's manuscripts give, not the reading *Kang-deh*, but the reading *Kangī-deh*, and this is not changed by the fact that both the 1961 Teheran edition of the Persian translation of Isṭakhri, and the new edition by Kramers of Ibn Ḥauqal, who

<sup>1</sup> Cap. 61 and 96/A of the *T'ien Han-shu* (referring to 129/8 a.c. and 36 a.c.); cap. 118 of the *Hou Han-shu* (referring to ca. A.D. 120); the *Wu-tsu* (referring to ca. A.D. 240); the *Tsin-shu* (referring to ca. A.D. 260).

<sup>2</sup> *Wu-tsu* (*Wu-shu*; referring to the 4—5th cent. A.D.).

made use of Iṣṭakhri, accept the reading *Kang-deh*. These are but secondary sources as compared to Iṣṭakhri, besides, in most cases, the manuscripts of these sources also contain the reading *Kangi-deh*. Thus we have no reason to doubt the correctness of the *i* in the reading *Kangi-deh* accepted by de Goeje and Barthold, the two great experts of Arabic geographical sources and by other scholars as well. Therefore, if the correct reading is *Kangi* and not *Kang*, the identification of *Kangi*, the place name and Firdausi's *Kang* becomes at least doubtful.

Hirth's explanation also involved great difficulties. He tentatively identified the name *Kängü-Tarban* with *K'ang-kü* of the Chinese sources. This explanation contains, on the one hand, phonetic difficulties, on the other hand, *Kängü-Tarban* is a geographical name in the Turkic inscriptions, therefore, first of all, exact location would have been needed for its identification, but Hirth was unable to enumerate satisfactory arguments regarding this point. After such preliminaries in 1937 the commentary written by Professor V. Minorsky to the *Hudūd al-ālam* was published, in which Prof. Minorsky accepted neither the reading *Kang-deh*, nor that of *Kangi-deh*, but decided in favour of the reading *Kungi-deh*. Prof. Minorsky's reading *Kungi-deh* is undoubtedly correct, in so far as in the Leningrad facsimile edition of the *Hudūd al-ālam*, in the passage in question, the vocalized *Kungi-deh* form can clearly be read. Since the identification of the phonetic form *Kungi-deh* and the name *Kängü*, as well as the name *Kang*, would meet with insurmountable phonetic difficulties, the research concerning *Kängü-Tarban* and the other names mentioned above came to a standstill for a long time.

It was only in 1947 that some aspects of these problems were again taken up for discussion, when a Soviet scholar G. V. Pticyñ pointed out in one of the publications of the Ermitage that some geographical data of Firdausi, just in the case of *Kang*, capital of Afrasiyab, are quite exact, in so far as it clearly appears from the history of the war waged by Khosrav against Afrasiyab, that the road to *Kang* from Ghach, i.e. from modern Tashkend, led northward to Ispechab. The boundary of the country of Afrasiyab was west of Ispechab, in the direction of the Syr Darya, the capital of Afrasiyab: *Kang*, judging from Firdausi's words, was between the Syr Darya and the boundary. We owe the other significant result to another Soviet scholar, S. G. Kljashtornyj, who, in 1951, partly by developing the results of Pticyñ, convincingly proved, that on the territory of Firdausi's *Kang* was to be found *Kängü-Tarban* of the Turkic inscriptions too. Namely the second member of the double name: *Tarban*, denotes that town which in earlier Arabic sources, like Azraqi and Tabari bears the name *Tarband*, in later sources the name *Utrar*. We know exactly the site of Utrar on the basis of earlier and more recent Soviet stratigraphical excavations: the ruins of Utrar are near the Syr Darya, not far from the mouth of the river Arys, thus exactly in that region which, on the basis of Firdausi's data, we have just defined as the territory of *Kang*.

On the basis of all these Kljashtornyj rightly points out the fact that Firdausi's *Kang* is a variant of the Turkic name *Kängü* and together with this he rightly revives also Hirth's supposition according to which the Turkic name *Kängü* is connected with the old Chinese name *K'ang*.

To the convincing results of the two Soviet scholars I wish to add the following remarks:

Concerning the road leading from Ispechab to *Kang*, we may quote an important Chinese datum not recognized until now. One of the contemporary sources, the *Ta T'ang Si-yü-ki*, also describes this route and also names that town which was west of Ispechab. The name of this town, according to the Chinese source, was *Kong-yü*. The phonetic form of the name *Kong-yü* (Ancient Chinese *Ki'ong-ngi'o'*), according to the Ancient Northwestern Chinese pronunciation, renders regularly an original *Küngü* or *Küñgi* and this phonetic form reveals a surprising similarity to even two of the names dealt with up to now, first of all to the non-vocalized Turkic form *Kngü* (*Küngü* or perhaps *Kängü*)<sup>3</sup>. Secondly it is not doubtful either that the reading *Kungi-deh* of the *Hudūd al-ālam* is also connected with the phonetic form *Küngü~Küñgi*, but the Iranians (Sogdians who were living in the vicinity of *Küngü~Küñgi* or the Persians) substituted, as usual the sound *u* for the *ü* in the original, as there was no *ü* in their language.

All this also means that to the more recent phonetic form *Kang* was joined only Firdausi's *Kang*, whereas the 7th, 8th and 9th century Chinese, Turkish and Iranian forms (*Kängü*, *Kängü~Küñgi*, *Kungi*) are related to the earlier *K'ang-kü* phonetic form. *Kängü* or *Küñgi*, instead of the original *K'ang-kü* (*\*Kängkü*) are regular forms in Turkish on the basis of the vowel-harmony.

<sup>3</sup> *Kngü*, according to the strict orthographical rules of the Turkish runic inscriptions, must, in Prof. O. Pritsak's opinion, expressed in the discussion, represent an original *Kängü*. This well-known rule however, concerns in the first place the stem-syllables of Turkish appellatives. For the orthography of non-Turkish proper names, we have only a few examples.

The exact determination of the name and the geographical situation of the country *Kängü~Küñgi~Küñgi* makes several important inferences possible, of which I should like to emphasize two at the present occasion.

1. It is remarkable that the geographical localization of *K'ang-kü* (*K'ang*) given by the Chinese sources of the Han period, exactly agrees with that given of *Kang* in the *Shahname*. Also according to the *Shahname*, *Kang* proper was northwest of Ghach, but as mentioned in the Chinese sources too, Sogdiana was under *Kang* domination as well (between 129/8 B. C. and 36 B. C. and again from the first half of the first century A. D. until ca. A. D. 350). Thus Firdausi draws from very well-informed sources of the age of the Parthians, when he speaks of Turan, which is for him the land beyond the Oxus, as of a territory under the dominion of *Kang*. In connection with this it has to be pointed out that in other parts of Firdausi's work traces of another tradition are to be found too. No doubt this different tradition referring to *Kang* is in connection with the religious tradition preserved in the 9th century Middle Persian theological literature which, however, in this case, is less authentic than the secular tradition of the *Xwaday-namak*.

2. The power of *Kang*, as already mentioned, was overthrown by *xyñ* tribes of the Hephthalites, whose rule was followed by that of the Turks. This change is reflected in the works of the Middle Persian period, in which the Turanian enemy is no longer named *Kang*, but *xyñ*. The Middle Persian apocalyptic literature also considers the *xyñ* as the eastern enemy of the last days. The latest relevant apocalyptic works, however, already mention the Turks instead of the *xyñ*. From all these it appears that Firdausi follows a very ancient tradition of the age of the Parthians when he points out *Kang* as the eastern enemy of Iran. Neither is it by chance that Firdausi mentions several times the Kushans in Sogdiana as eastern neighbours of the Parthians.

These observations are in conformity with the present results of the *Shahname* research. Let me refer briefly to the important observations of J. Markwart and Th. Nöldeke who clearly demonstrated that many features of the reigns of the Parthian kings Artabanus III (ca. A. D. 12-38), Vardanes and Gotarzes (ca. A. D. 38-51) reappear as traits of Kay Khosrav's legend in the Persian epic. A remarkable feature of Kay Khosrav's campaigns in Turan, which refers apparently to the age of Artabanus III, is the presence on Sogdian soil of the Kushans. According to the interpolated cap. 123 of the *Shi-ki* the southern part of *K'ang-kü* (Sogdiana), to the west of Fergana, was under the dominion of the Ta Yüe-chi in that period (ca. 36 B. C.) when the Hiung-nu got hold of the eastern part of the *K'ang-kü* territory. This alteration of the original report of the *Ts'ien Han-shu* in the *Shi-ki* bears witness to the settlement of the Ta Yüe-chi (possibly of some Kushan tribes) on Sogdian soil in this period. After some decades, however, Sogdiana and the Kushan tribes of Sogdiana got again under the dominion of *K'ang-kü*.

Another important observation of Markwart was that the figure of Gushtasp in the epic corresponds to the historical Vologeses I (ca. A. D. 51-80), further that the figure of Isfandiari in the epic is formed after the brother of Vologeses, Tiridates who fought against the Alans.

It follows from what has been said that not only is the Iran of the epic identical with the land of the Parthians, but also the epic enemy, in these parts of the *Shahname*, is identical with the great eastern nomadic neighbour of the Parthians, the country of *Kang* (*K'ang-kü*). At the moment we do not possess any such historical sources that could inform us of the wars of Parthia with *K'ang-kü*. Yet it is possible that after a more thorough knowledge of the sources of Central Asia, we shall get to know better those real historical events which would reveal the background of the epic fights between Afrasiyab and his Parthian adversaries.

# ORIENTAL STUDIES

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## FROM THE BEGINNINGS TO 1873

In most European countries oriental studies first appeared as an auxiliary science of theology, and the oriental scholars generally were theologians or missionaries whose interest in Hebrew, Arabic and also Chinese resulted in the compilation and analysis of a vast linguistic and philologic material in the 17th and 18th centuries. The situation was somewhat different in the field of Turkish studies; the first exponents here were historians and diplomats concerned with the history and language of the Osmanli-Turkish Empire. The rapid development of Indology and Iranian studies, initiated in the late 18th century, was due to the circumstance that the European scholars developing the comparative linguistic method with the help of their studies in Sanskrit could trace back to the period of the primitive Indo-European language the history of their own languages and that of Greek and Latin.

An entirely different motive underlies the decisive impulse that gave birth to Hungarian oriental studies. From the time the Magyars settled on the territory of present-day Hungary in the late 9th century after lengthy migrations from the East, the knowledge and interest in their eastern origins have never faded from the minds of the Hungarians.

The theory of Hunnish origin, which was taken over by the Hungarian chroniclers from the western chronicles of the 9th and 10th centuries, persisted even after Monk Julian's travel (in 1235–1236) to the northern *Magna Hungaria* along the Volga River, and also despite the recognition early in the 16th century that the Magyars are linguistically related to the Voguls (Manshi) and Ostyaks (Khanty) living in the Yugrian woodlands along the Urals and not to the Huns of the Central-Asian steppes. By this reason the theory of the 'Hebrew origin of all languages,' so fashionable at that time in Europe, could never strike deep roots in Hungary, a theory professed—after some other attempts in the 16th century—by F. OTRO-

KOCSI FÓRIS in his *Origines Hungaricae* published in the Netherlands in 1693.

Otrokocsi Fóris was one of the many Hungarian students who after the Reformation studied at the universities in Germany, the Netherlands, England and Switzerland. Among them we find also a pupil of the Dutch scholar A. Schultens, the first Hungarian orientalist J. KÖRÖSI URI (1724–1796) who studied Arabic literature, Hebraic philology and Turcology. Uri spent many years at Leiden and Oxford, and also compiled the catalogue of the eastern manuscripts of the *Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (1787).

The envoy and minister of the emperor's court in Vienna K. REVICZKY, having acquainted himself with the Turkish and Persian languages in Constantinople, became the first Hungarian and one of the first European students of Persian literature. His Latin translation of Hafiz's poems was published in Vienna in 1771, translated into English by J. Richardson (London, 1774) and published again in Vienna in 1782 in German, giving a strong impetus to the early studies of Hafiz in Europe.

Meanwhile the theory of the Hunnish origin of the Magyars was kept alive in its full vigour, although one of the founders of European comparative linguistics, S. GYARMATHI, had by that time published his *Affinitas* (Göttingen, 1799), clearly proving the unity of the Finno-Ugric languages and definitely discarding the theory of Hunnish origin. Occasional travels to the East, like those of S. HATVANI TURKOLY and of J. JERNEY (1800–1855), fostered also the hope of finding the linguistically related peoples who were thought to have remained in the country of origin. J. Jerney and the historians of the period, like G. FEJÉR (1766–1851) and F. KÁLLAY (1790–1861), were busy studying the history of the peoples of the steppe—the Huns, Khazars, Petchenegs and Kuns (Cumanians)—who once had lived together with the Magyars.

Also Alexander KÖRÖSI CSOMA (1784–1842), an outstanding exponent of Hungarian oriental studies, sought to discover the related peoples in the country of origin. His biography, his journey to Tibet, and his research work devoted to this idea and carried on under conditions of hardships and privation have become an integral part of the history of international oriental studies. He never reached the original lands of the Magyars but laid the foundation of Tibetology with his Tibetan grammar and dictionary.

During his years of study at Tübingen, Kőrösi Csoma learned from J. Eichhorn about the valuable information contained in the Arabic and Persian sources on the history of the Magyars prior to

the conquest of their present home. Research workers in Hungary acquainted themselves with this important group of sources in the years between 1825 and 1831 from the work of the Austrian diplomat and orientalist J. Hammer Purgstall. The first to acquire thorough knowledge for studying the Arabic sources was H. Ewald's pupil in Tübingen, J. REPICZKY (1817–1855). In 1851 he became reader in eastern languages at Pest University. His appointment initiated the teaching of non-biblical eastern languages, Turkish and Arabic, at the University.

The most important Arabic information on the peoples of the steppe was published in 1869 by the Russian scholar D. Chwol'son from the work of Ibn Rusta. The first to use this information in Hungary was the Finno-Ugric scholar P. HUNFALVY in this work *Magyarország etnográfája* [The Ethnography of Hungary] published in 1876.

Following the defeat of the Hungarian War of Independence of 1848–1849, several of the political émigrés in Turkey, among them Lajos Kossuth, learned the country's language. D. SZILÁGYI (1830–1885) not only learned Turkish but made an intensive study of the documents in the Sultan's archives and Turkish historical sources, his work earning him international recognition. His collection of historical references served as valuable source material for the later work done by J. THURY. His library and collection of manuscripts is now in the possession of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Á. SZILÁDY (1837–1922) was also an excellent specialist in this field. He carried on his oriental studies in both Göttingen and Turkey and, as a young student, took part in the edition of the nine-volume *Török—magyarkori okmánytár* [Documents from the Turkish—Hungarian Period]. His library was also inherited by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

The horizon of Hungarian oriental studies widened when in 1870 K. LUKÁCSY published a volume on the Armenian sources dealing with the history of the peoples of the steppe. The translation carried detailed comments and annotations.

A. REGULY's (1819–1858) travels between 1837 and 1846 to Russian and Finnish regions, supported by both the Hungarian and Russian Academies of Sciences as well as by various Russian scientific societies, had a great importance for oriental studies in Hungary. The chief purpose of his journey was to prove the linguistic affinity of the Finno-Ugric peoples, but in the course of his travels Reguly collected rich material from the language of the Chuvashes (a Turkic people of the Volga region), used later by J. BUDENZ for the compi-

lation of a Chuvash grammar. Budenz in turn studied other Turkic languages, publishing valuable treatises based on Osmanli historical sources, on the Turkic languages of Central Asia and on the language of the Yakuts. Beside the Turkic languages, Budenz's scholarship extended to the Mongolian and Manchurian languages, creating thereby a wide basis for the study of the relations between the Hungarian and the Turkic languages, and in general for that of the Altaic languages. By his appointment in 1872 as professor at Budapest University, the first chair of the Ural-Altaic comparative linguistics in the world was created.

The chief representative of the old Hunno-Hungarian theory in that period was a young professor of Turkish studies, A. VÁMBÉRY (1832–1913), Repiczky's successor since 1865 in the Department of Eastern Languages at Pest University. Vámbéry altered the old theory by saying that the Huns, like the other peoples of the steppe connected with the Magyars, the Avars, Bulgarians, etc., spoke a Turkic language. After examining the Turkic loan-words in Hungarian, Vámbéry came to the conclusion that Hungarian was a language of Finno-Ugric origin, though connected genetically with Turkic as well. A few years later, in 1873, came Budenz's reply, essentially solving the 'Ugro-Turkic issue' by proving beyond any doubt that Hungarian belongs to the Finno-Ugric languages with its Turkic loan-words being adopted in different historical periods. Budenz also demonstrated that a layer of Turkic loan-words originating from the period before the 9th century derives from a Turkic language showing phonetic affinities with the language of the Chuvashes. This statement of Budenz's has proved to be one of the most important theses in the Hungarian oriental studies of the subsequent years.

#### HUNGARIAN ORIENTAL STUDIES BETWEEN 1873 AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR

After 1873 the most rapid and extensive development was observed in Hungarian Turcology. Vámbéry made a number of journeys to the East, and his subsequent series of works on the various Turkic peoples, languages, the significance of old Turkic inscriptions and especially the literary languages of Central Asia earned him wide European reputation. His *Journey to Central Asia* was published in English, French, Russian, German, Italian, Dutch, Swedish, Danish and Urdu. Vámbéry's young colleague G. BÁLINT (1844–1913)

studied various Turkic languages (Kazan-Tatar, Osmanli) and Mongolian linguistics. His relevant studies are now being edited. The most important product of G. KUUN's (1838–1905) activities in Turcology, although philologically open to criticism, is an edition of an important relic of the Cumanian language, the *Codex Cumanicus*. Turkish financial documents and treasury accounts from the years of the Turkish rule in Hungary during the 16th and 17th centuries were translated by A. VELICS (1855–1915); reports of Turkish historiographers and some parts of Evliya Chelebi's travels were published in Hungarian by I. KARÁCSONY (1863–1911). J. THURY (1861–1906), outstanding as an expert on Turkish literature and dictionaries of Central Asia, and the Osmanli dialects and literature, successfully solved several problems of Hungarian prehistory and was the first to apply systematic philologic methods in dealing with the Armenian sources concerning the Magyars and the peoples of the steppe. The contribution of I. KUNOS (1860–1945) was in the field of Turkish literature. He collected many Turkish texts, analysed Osmanli folklore and edited Turkish folk-tales and popular plays.

Although as a critic and methodical linguistic scholar B. MUNKÁCSI (1860–1937) did not come up to Budenz's standard, by the diversity of his scientific activities, by his excellent qualities as an organizer, he was an outstanding figure of Finno-Ugric linguistics and oriental studies at the turn of the century. The scope of his research work covered the questions of the Hungarian-Chuvash and Hungarian-Mongolian linguistic relations, and the supposed connection of Hungarian with the Iranian and Caucasian languages (*Árja és kaukázusi elemek a finn-magyar nyelvekben* [Arian and Caucasian Elements in the Finno-Hungarian Languages], Vol. I, 1901). He analysed the possibility of a Caucasian place of origin of the Magyars and tried to ascertain the former existence of Hungarian ethnic groups in the Volga region from toponyms. As a result of the good relations established by Munkácsi between the Hungarian and Russian orientalists, various young Hungarian students (V. PRÖHLE, J. [G.] NÉMETH, J. MÉSZÁROS) were given opportunities to go to Russia and study the Turkic languages, such as Bashkirian, Karachay, Balkar, Kumyk and Chuvash in the regions where they were spoken. His efforts made for the creation of the Hungarian Commission in the International Society for Central and Eastern Asia, and later he began editing the international organ of Hungarian oriental studies, the *Keleti Szemle* [Revue Oriental] (1900–1932). Another journal, more specialized in scope, was started by Hungarian scholars of Armenian origin, chiefly by K. SZONGOTT (1843–



1907) and L. PATRUBÁNY (1861–1924), the *Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen* which ran, however, for only two years (1897–1899).

An important factor furthering oriental studies was the activity of Z. GOMBOCZ (1875–1935) who, continuing Budenz's Altaic programme, published in 1912 his *Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter der ungarischen Sprache* which had appeared in 1908 also in Hungarian in a somewhat different form. Gombocz considered the old layer of Turkic loan-words in Hungarian as having come from the Bulgaro-Turkic (early Chuvash) language, and it is due to his studies that we have an almost complete list of these words. Another work of his, of great importance for Turcology, is *Árpádkori török személynéveink* [Hungarian Personal Names of Turkish Origin at the Time of the Árpád Dynasty] published in 1915.

In the field of Chuvash linguistic research G. MÉSZÁROS published a remarkable collection of Chuvash folklore, *Csuvas népköltési gyűjtemény* (Vols. I and II, 1909, 1912).

An outstanding figure of Semitic philology, highly appreciated beyond the borders of Hungary, was Ignác GOLDZIHER (1850–1921), a great scholar of Moslem theology, juristic and philosophical thinking and tradition, whose works are being translated into various foreign languages today, some half a century after their publication. Goldziher studied in Budapest, Berlin, then in Leipzig where he was H. Fleischer's pupil. His interest first turned to Hebrew philology of the Old Testament and to the later traditional literature, and resulted in an interesting work, his *Mythos bei den Hebräern* (Leipzig, 1876). Later he concentrated on Arabic philology and Islamic studies. The large number of his monographs in these fields place him as one of the founders of Islamic studies. In them he introduced the modern interpretation of many of the basic aspects of Mohammedan traditions, and questions of Mohammedan theology and jurisprudence (*Muhammedanische Studien*, Vols. I and II, Halle, 1889–1890). His *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg, 1910; 2nd ed. 1925) and *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (Leiden, 1920; 2nd ed. 1952) dealing with the major features of Islam and with the various interpretations of the Koran are still works of great importance. Many of his works, such as his *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, Vols. I and II (Leiden, 1896–1899), were exhaustive researches into Arabic philology, its literary, linguistic and cultural history. His activities were followed with keen attention all over Europe, and his scholarship has established him as one of the greatest figures in the history of Hungarian and European oriental studies.

The Chair of Semitic Philology at Budapest University was re-established in 1873. Up to 1904 it was occupied by P. HATALA, biographer of Mohammed and author of an Arabic grammar, and then, from 1905, by Goldziher up to the time of his death.

A very popular collection of Arabic sources was compiled at this time (1898) by Géza KUUN for *A magyar honfoglalás kútforrása* [The Sources for the History of the Hungarian Conquest]. Kuun's activities were reviewed by Goldziher (in *Akad. Emlék*, Vol. XIII, 1907).

V. BACHER (1850–1913), an expert of the *Talmud*, acquired international reputation as a scholar of Semitic philology by his work of several volumes on the Haggadic lore in traditional literature. An outstanding Hebrew scholar and a well-known expert on the history of European Jews was D. KAUFMANN (1852–1899), whose library rich in manuscripts, *genizahs*, illustrated Hebrew codices and *incunabula* was bequeathed to the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. L. BLAU (1861–1936), a well-known authority of the *Talmud*, of the Massorete text and of the Elephantine Papyri, displayed important philological activities.

An outstanding scholar of Persian studies in those years was again V. Bacher whose research into the works of the Persian poets Saadi and Nizami earned him an international reputation. S. KÉGL (1862–1920) who spent two years in Persia in 1889 and 1890 studied classical and modern Persian literature.

In Hungary the founder of research into the eastern cultures of antiquity was E. MAHLER (1857–1945). Having first studied mathematics, Mahler later turned to research in Assyrian-Babylonian and Egyptian studies, which became a dedicated field of work throughout his life. His revision of Wüstenfeld's *Vergleichungstabellen* has run into several editions and remained up to our days an indispensable aid for researchers in Islamic studies.

#### ORIENTAL STUDIES IN HUNGARY BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

The Turanian Society was founded as early as 1910, and its journal, the *Turán*, represented between 1913 and 1918 the Utopian 'Turanian brotherhood.' In view of the Hungarian-Turkish collaboration during the First World War, it naturally received the support of the official circles of the two countries, a support that was by no means favourable from a scientific standpoint. In 1918 several orientalist

joined the editorial board, hoping to turn the journal to the benefit of international oriental studies. Finally, in 1921 the Kőrösi Csoma Society was founded, and its journal, the *Kőrösi Csoma Archivum*, was started under the editorship of J. NÉMETH who placed this organ at the service of high-standard linguistic science.

After a journey to Turkey in his early youth, J. Németh studied under such excellent scholars as Z. Gombocz and J. Szinnyi, and acquired their critical approach to linguistic problems. As a young research worker he toured the Crimea, and visited also the Kumyks in the Caucasus and the Chuvashes at Belebey. Having been appointed university professor in 1916, in his first works Németh examined the problems of Turkic and Mongolian linguistic history in the spirit of Budenz's and Gombocz's Altaic programme. He studied, in particular, Kumyk, Balkar and Yakut. In the *Sammlung Göschel* he published his grammar of the Osmanli language and a text-book in 1916 (published in English in 1960). Both are still used by students of Turkish. In 1919 he published the *Ferahname* on the basis of a unique manuscript from the archives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. After writing a number of papers, in 1930 he published his first major work on the development of the Magyar tribal organization prior to the Conquest of the Country, outlining the historical background of Hungarian and Turkish linguistic connections and, on the basis of a study of the organization and names of the Turkic tribes, shed light on questions associated with such for the ancient Magyar tribes. Relying chiefly on J. Melich's method, Németh made a thorough study of the old ethnic and personal names, the only relics of Hungarian prehistory. He accomplished the programme of Vámbéry, Thury and Munkácsi but with a linguistic erudition and critical faculty of a much higher standard and more systematically. He reexamined the linguistic material of the Kuns (Cumanians) and the Petchenegs (*Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagyszentmiklós*, 1932), and studied the Siberian 'piebald-horse' people as well as questions on the origin of the Székely people, the Székely and Magyar runic script of Turkic origin (*A magyar rovásírás*, 1934). Reviving an old problem of Hungarian oriental studies, he edited a collection of treatises by several authors under the title of *Attila és hunjai* [Attila and his Huns].

Under Németh's direction the *Kőrösi Csoma Archivum* became a vital organ for maintaining and expanding the international relations of Hungarian oriental studies, in spite of the indifference of official circles which, nevertheless, prevented the journal from appearing in more than three volumes and a supplement in the course

of two decades. The foundation in the same period of the *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* served the purposes of publishing monographs on oriental philology. It was edited by J. Németh up to 1938, then by L. Ligeti, and published, among other things, the very important Kashgari edition of C. Brockelmanns' in 1929.

Many outstanding Hungarian and foreign orientalists studied in Budapest University under Németh after the First World War. L. RÁSONYI NAGY is known for his broad and successful activities in the field of Turkish onomatology. In various treatises he dealt with Turkish personal, geographical and ethnic names preserved in Hungarian, Byzantine and Slavic sources (*L'origine des Basarabas*, 1936) as well as with special types of Turkish names. These are considered to be preliminary studies to his large monograph, the *Török onomasztikon* [*Onomasticon Turcicum*].

Some questions of Turco-Hungarian linguistic relationship and the etymology of Hungarian words of Turkish origin have been studied by Margit K. PALLÓ, pupil of J. Németh and of W. Bang. G. GYÖRFFY has investigated Petcheneg linguistic relics, toponyms in Hungary and some features of Hungarian prehistory connected with Turkish peoples.

The establishment of a chair for Central-Asian studies at Budapest University was an important event in the history of oriental studies in Hungary before the Second World War. Appointed to it was L. LIGETI, a pupil of J. Németh and the French orientalist P. Pelliot, who had travelled several times in the East. In 1928 and 1931 he visited Central Mongolia and that part of Northern Manchuria inhabited by Mongolian tribes, then, in 1936-1937, the Mongolian and Turkish tribes in Afghanistan, and made a study tour to Japan in 1940. The outcome of his visits to the Mongolians is a report of great scientific value (1933).

In several articles Ligeti dealt with the unclarified questions both of old Turkish loan-words in Hungarian and of those considered by some to be of Mongolian origin, the Turkish and Hungarian runic script, Turkish personal and ethnic names, and with the titles of Turkish dignitaries. His papers on the Turkish loan-words in Hungarian have opened a new period in research. Ligeti made a reexamination of the scientific value of Alexander Kőrösi Csoma's journey to Tibet and upon his reports concerning Central Asia. *A magyarság őstörténete* [The Prehistory of the Magyars] edited by him (Budapest, 1943) sums up the results achieved by research workers in Hungarian prehistory, including his own conclusions, and should be regarded as the most important publication in this field ever since 1930. His

paper on the long vowels in Turkic (*Journal Asiatique*, Vol. 1938/I) has turned out to be an extremely important treatise for modern Turcology. The *Catalogue du Kanjur mongol imprimé*, Vol. I (*Bibl. Or. Hung.*, Vol. III) published in 1942 is a significant work for both Mongolian philology and the history of Buddhism. Ligeti has been a pioneer in popularizing works of such high scientific standard. Those on his travels to the East can be looked upon as introductions to the manifold aspects of Central-Asian philology (*Ismeretlen Belső-Ázsia* [The Unknown Central Asia], Budapest, 1940); it was translated also in Turkish.

An Arabic-language Turkish glossary from the 15th century, published by S. TELEGDI, is a highly important source for studying the Kypchak branch of the Turkish language. He also studied the Hebrew origin of the Turkish Khazars and the Eurasian dissemination of the Semitic script.

In the wake of Á. Szilády, I. Karácson and A. Velics, L. FEKETE continued their programme of collecting documents of Turkish diplomatics and palaeography. His publications are of fundamental importance for Turkish history, for the period of Turkish rule in Hungary and also for international Turcology (*Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatie der türkischen Botmässigkeit in Ungarn*, 1926; *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterházy, 1606–1645*, 1932; *A török kori Vác egy XVI. századi összeírás alapján* [The Town of Vác in the Light of a 16th-Century Tax Book], 1942; *Az esztergomi szandzsák 1570. évi adóösszeírása* [The Esztergom Sanjak's Assessment of Taxes from 1570]).

By the publication of Syrian texts (in *Patrologia Syrica*, ed. by R. Graffin, Paris) and studies in Syrian patristics, M. KMOŠKÓ (1876–1931) earned an international reputation. He also collected, translated and annotated Syrian, Arabic and Persian historical and geographical sources relating to the history of the peoples of the steppe, among them the Magyars and Turks. This copious work of his has remained in manuscript (Oriental Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences).

In the field of international Semitic philology, I. LÖW's (1854–1944) *Flora der Juden*, Vols. I–IV, is of equal importance for Hebrew and Aramean lexicography, and for the history of botany.

In the field of Arabistics the Islamologist and researcher of folktales B. HELLER (1871–1943) devoted a monograph to the Arabic Antar novel (1918). J. GERMANUS is among the few Europeans who performed the pilgrimage to Mekka (*Allah Akbar*, Vols. I and II, also in German and Italian). Between 1929 and 1932 Germanus was

a visiting professor at the University of Santiniketan in India where his courses and treatises dealt with the modern trends in Islam and Turkish literature (*Modern Movements in Islam*, Calcutta, 1932; *Az arab szellemiség megújítása* [The Renaissance of the Arabic Spirit], Budapest, 1944).

In the history of Persian literature and research into Omar Khayyam's works we have valuable treatises by B. CSILLIK (*The Principal Manuscripts of the Rubá'iyát of 'Umar-i Khayyám in the Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris I, Szeged–London, 1934). In the field of literary studies an important work was B. MUNKÁCSI's Ossetic folk-poetry collection (*Keleti Szemle*, 1923–1932), S. TELEGDI's treatises on the Iranian loan-words in the Aramean language of the *Talmud* (*Journal Asiatique*, 1935) and on some questions of the Sogdian morphology (*ibid.*, 1938) are of lasting value for international Iranistics.

After E. Mahler's death A. DOBROVITS continued research into oriental antiquity and published various treatises on features of the history of Egyptian art and religion (*Osiris és Harpokrates kultusz*) and wrote a comprehensive study of Egyptian culture in the Hellenistic times (*Egyiptom és a hellénizmus*, Budapest, 1943). A. DÁVID was commissioned to hold lectures in Assyrian and Babylonian philology at Budapest University. Besides minor papers (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1923, 1928) he has also written a summing up of the problems in this field (*Bábel és Assur*, Vols. I and II, Budapest, 1927).

The bibliography of Hungarian oriental studies between the two World Wars was compiled by Gy. MORAVCSIK and L. RÁSONYI in 1926 and 1935.

#### ORIENTAL STUDIES IN HUNGARY AFTER THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY

Although in the first post-war years oriental studies could not avoid the effect of the aftermath, the year of 1949 brought a turning-point which not only allowed resumption of work but opened unprecedented vistas for oriental studies in Hungary. The initiatives were taken by the reorganized Hungarian Academy of Sciences which gave every support to oriental researches, too.

The most important factor was the establishment of relations with the Soviet scholars, reviving the connections that had existed between Hungarian and Russian orientologists. Thus Hungarian oriental-

ists could acquaint themselves also with the principles of Marxist theory, with its scientific methods and their application, which soon brought rich results in the investigation of the history, literature and languages of the oriental peoples. Facilities for publication were also created. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences started the publication of the *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, edited by L. LIGETI. Between 1950 and 1964 this ran into seventeen volumes and, together with the monographs published in the *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*, proved suitable for the publication of almost every result of oriental research work in Hungary.

The 1949 reorganization of university education (followed by another in 1963) resulted in the consolidation of the chairs of oriental studies in the universities and also in their enlargement—new posts for professors, readers, lecturers, allocations for the enlargement of libraries and other improvements.

By the creation of the Scientific Qualifying Committee and by the introduction of the new system of post-graduate training, the orientalists, too, were given the possibility of state grants.

The first Conference of Hungarian Orientalists in 1950 and the second, in 1955 made use of the new possibilities and drafted detailed plans for studies. These conferences evaluated the situation of the relevant institutions—the oriental collections of the museums, libraries, collection of manuscripts—as well as the position of the oriental studies at the university and created working committees for the fulfilment of the two five-year plans in the various branches. The works were supervised and directed by the Linguistic Commission of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences up to 1955, when a special Orientalistic Commission was established, to become the chief organizer, supervisor and guide in Hungarian oriental studies.

Thanks to the cultural agreements with the socialist countries, Hungarian orientalists could again undertake study tours in the Soviet Union, in the neighbouring democracies as well as in China and Mongolia. Conventions promoting fruitful cooperations were signed with Soviet, Czechoslovak and other foreign orientalists for the publication of oriental historical sources concerning Central and Eastern Europe. Owing to the activities of the East-West Subcommittee of Unesco, Hungarian orientalists could travel to Japan and Iran, and it became possible for Hungarian and Turkish orientalists to undertake study tours in their respective countries.

The new circumstances provided a great stimulus to the work. In 1947 J. Németh examined the linguistic problems of the prehistory of the Turks in a treatise of great importance also for Altaic studies.

In the subsequent years he analysed the Turkish poems recorded by the Hungarian poet Bálint Balassi in the 16th century. He continued his studies of the Turkish dialects of the Balkans, which he had started in 1926, and dealt with these dialects spoken in Albania, Bulgaria and other regions in his *Zur Einteilung der türkischen Mundarten Bulgariens* (Sofia, 1954), bringing new knowledge to a rarely explored area of Turcology. His etymological studies of the words *tábor*, *tolmács* and *nökür* are especially valuable. Németh's research into the life of the Turks in Bulgaria will be summed up in his monograph *Die Türken von Vidin — Sprache, Folklore, Religion*. Relying on the recognition that the achievements of Soviet Turcology are of decisive importance also for Turkish studies in Hungary, J. Németh initiated the publication of the bibliography *Soviético-Turcica* (Budapest, 1960) edited by G. HAZAI.

After 1945 L. RÁSONYI NAGY continued his important studies in Turkic onomatology. In his treatises on Hungarian prehistory, his *Krónikáink és a magyar őstörténet* [Our Chronicles and Hungarian Prehistory] published in 1948 and his *Magyarország történeti földrajza* [The Historical Geography of Hungary], Vol. I published in 1963, G. Györffy dealt with various aspects of Turkish philology as well.

After the liberation of the country a new generation of J. Németh's pupils joined in Turcologic studies, many of them concentrating especially on the Balkan dialects, and various treatises in the *Acta Orientalia* and the *Acta Linguistica* were published between 1955 and 1963. In addition to her work on the Turkish dialects of the Balkans, Susanna N. KAKUK dealt with the language of the Salar Turks in Central Asia and with a study of the Osmanli loan-words in Hungarian. G. HAZAI investigated the Turkish loan-words in the Slavic languages of the Balkans, the Turkish linguistic monuments recorded in the Slavic script and the Turkish dialects of Macedonia. A. BODROGLIGETI devoted several valuable treatises to the language of the Kypchak Turks, to the Turkish literature of the Golden Horde, to the ancient Turcic literatures of Central Asia and to the linguistic relations between Iranians and Turks.

The future tasks of Hungarian Turcology outlined in these works were the analysis of the Turkish loan-words borrowed by the Hungarian language prior to the Conquest of the Country with due regard being given recent lexicographic material and to the new results in Turkish linguistics; a detailed description of the background of Turco-Hungarian relations; the compilation of a Turkish *onomasticon*; the publication of Kypchak-Turkish literary relics and of the linguistic monuments of the Kypchaks recorded in Armenian

characters; the study of the relations between the Turkish and the Persian languages; a methodical summing up of the Turkish dialects of the Balkans.

In the field of Turkish historical and palaeographic research, L. FEKETE's *Die Siyāqat-Schrift der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, Vols. I and II, published as Vol. VII of the *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* in 1955, was an important event also in international Turcology. This is the first complete description of the *siyaqat* script used in Turkish financial administration and a rich collection of documents written in this script. L. Fekete's pupil G. KÁLDY-NAGY added to the edition of Turkish documents with his *Baranya vármegye XVI. századi adóösszeírása* [The Tax Book in Baranya County in the 16th Century] published in 1960. The monograph *Budai török számadási könyvek* [Account-Books of the Turkish Financial Administration in Buda] published in 1962 is their joint work.

Further monographs on documents of Turkish financial administration, on the assessment of taxes in the Turkish *sanjaks* in Hungary, their historical and geographical appraisal constitute the future programme of Turkish historical and palaeographic research. The facsimile catalogue of some twelve thousand Turkish documents in the possession of the Institute for Turcology and that of the Turkish manuscripts at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences will also be compiled in the future.

The greatest development after 1945 could be observed in the field of Altaic and Central-Asian studies. Before L. Ligeti took up the lectures in oriental studies at Budapest University, the activities of some of his outstanding predecessors in this field remained always isolated in the absence of successful pupils. Thanks to his consistent efforts since his appointment in 1938, however, a number of young orientologists became active in the field of Central-Asian, Altaic and East-Asian studies, and there are two chairs at the University, one for Central Asia and one for Eastern Asia at present.

One of the most important fields of L. LIGETI's activities was Mongolian philology. He published the Mongolian *Subhashitaratnamidhi* in 1948 (*Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*, Vol. VI), various linguistic studies in the *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* on the Mongol language in Afghanistan, on R. Leech's Mongol glossary and on the four-language Mongolian glossary of Istanbul. In 1962 he published a document of great importance of Old-Mongolian literature, the *Secret History of the Mongols*, in Hungarian translation with notes. Ligeti's thorough criticism of the scientific literature on Mongolian studies are instructive contributions to this field of

linguistics. The systematic preparation of the decoding of the 'little' Jurchi script is equally important for Manchurian philology and script history. Ligeti has written treatises on the Manchurian script, on the Mongolian loan-words in Manchurian, on the linguistics monuments of Central Asia recorded in the 'phags-pa script and on the history of Chinese phonetics. His paper on an episode of Chinese origin in the *Geser* legend is a valuable contribution to Tibetan studies. He has written several articles on the correlation of the Altaic languages, on some questions of the Uighur texts and on etymological problems in the Cumanian language. L. Ligeti has made further important studies also of the Turkish loan-words in Hungarian.

Treatises on the studies of young research workers taking up the Mongolian dialects have been published in the *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*. G. KARA discussed the *Ujumuchin* dialect in several papers. A. RÓNA-TAS described the Dariganga dialect, and others have been described by L. BESE and Katharine U. KŐHALMI. These studies have a pioneering character in this branch of Mongolian philology. Some young students of Mongolian philology (G. Kara, K. U. Kőhalmi, A. Róna-Tas and L. Bese) collected interesting material on Mongolian folklore and material culture during their travels in Mongolia, which has been published in the *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*. G. KARA, K. U. KŐHALMI and V. DIÓSZEGI made studies in various fields of Manchurian philology. V. Diószegi published also treatises and monographs on Siberian Shamanism and the ancient religion of the Magyars.

Some questions of the relation between the Mongolian and the Tibetan languages have been examined by G. Kara and by A. Róna-Tas. The latter, in a work to be published soon, studies the Tibetan loan-words in the Monguor language on the basis of the archaic Tibetan dialects.

G. URAY has devoted various treatises on the morphology of the Tibetan language, of Tibetan script and to the classification of the Tibetan dialects, studied the ancient Tibetan social and military organization on the basis of Tun-huang Tibetan texts.

The Chair of Eastern-Asiatic Studies has been organized and led by L. LIGETI between 1942 and 1962 when it was taken over by reader B. CSONGOR, whose scientific interest embraces the history of the Chinese language during the 7th to 10th centuries, the dialects and linguistic stratification of this period. He has published several valuable treatises in this field and also on the Uighur linguistic documents in Chinese script.

F. TŐKEI studied various features of Chinese philosophy and of ancient Chinese society, wrote a monograph on the birth of the Chi-

nese elegy (1962, in French 1963) and published two translations of the classical Chinese philosophers (1962–1964). S. JÓZSA made a study of the relations between the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and China in several treatises. E. GALLA and P. MIKLÓS have specialized in modern Chinese literature and art history.

An upsurge in translation activity by Hungarian scholars has resulted in the publication, in Hungarian, of many classical and modern Chinese poets and writers.

The programme of Central- and Eastern-Asian studies has been evolved and extended vastly: the study of the Mongolian language prior to Genghiz Khan; the study of Mongolian dialects; characteristic of Mongolian grammar; Mongolian folklore and literature; the history of the Mongolian invasion of Europe; the material culture of the Mongols; the publication of the *Secret History* of the Mongols and of the *Altan Tobchi*. In the field of Manchurian philology: detailed study of the Jurchi language, and of the literary and material monuments of Manchu-Tunguz Shamanism. In Tibetan philology: the reconstruction of the Old-Tibetan language and the compilation of an Old-Tibetan dictionary; the study of Tibetan dialects and of the structure of Tibetan society.

In the field of Semitic philology an important milestone was the appointment in 1953 of J. GERMANUS to the philological faculty of Budapest University as lecturer on the Arabic language and literature, and the appointment of K. CZEGLÉDY as professor in Semitic philology. An important event in J. Germanus's activities was the translation and analysis of the poems of Ibn Rumi. Among his popular monographs are *A fakó félhold fényében* [By the Light of the Pale Half-Moon] (1957); *Arab költők antológiája* [An Anthology of Arabic Poets] (1961); *Arab irodalomtörténet* [A History of Arabic Literature] (1962). A. SCHEIBER has published important mediaeval manuscripts from Kaufmann's *genizahs*. K. CZEGLÉDY has investigated the problems of the texts and manuscripts of the Arabic geographers al-Khwarizmi and Ibn Fadhlán, the Syrian version of the *Legend of Alexander the Great*, the Arabic, Syrian and Armenian sources of Khazar history, and several questions of the history, historical geography and organization of the ancient Turkic peoples. In various essays he has dealt with the Arabic and Persian sources of Hungarian prehistory (e.g. *IV–IX. századi népmozgalmak a steppén* [Demographic Phenomena in the Steppe in the 4th to 9th Centuries], Budapest, 1954). He has initiated a programme of Armenian and Georgian research and lectures at the University. E. SCHÜTZ has devoted several treatises to Armenian linguistics and

has analysed Kypchak-Turkish texts written in Armenian characters. The Georgian studies are represented by M. ISTVÁNOVITS who is a graduate of the University at Tbilisi.

The programme of Semitic research comprises the examination of various features of Arabic literary history; a monograph devoted to information on the peoples of the steppe found in Syrian, Arabic and Armenian sources in the 4th to 7th centuries; a monograph on the history of the Khazars, and one containing the publication and translation of the Arabic and Persian sources concerning Hungarian prehistory.

In the field of oriental antiquity J. AISTLEITNER (1883–1960) has published various significant papers on Semitic comparative phonetics, studies in Ugaritic grammar (ed. by the *Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1953), the first German translation of the main Ugaritic texts (*Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*, Vol. VIII, 1959), a dictionary of the Ugaritic inscriptions (*Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1963) and various important essays on the Accadian language.

In the field of Assyrian-Babylonian research, A. DÁVID has investigated certain problems of Sumerian grammar and script, and his pupil G. KOMORÓCZY has published Mezopotamian cylinder seals.

Beside the activities of A. Dobrovits, appointed at the University, the appearance of young students is an important mark in the development of Egyptologic studies. DOBROVITS has done specialized work on Egyptian history of art and has published in Hungarian translation Egyptian short stories with annotations (1963). V. WESSETZKY has studied the Egyptian amulets, Koptic texts and various questions of the history of Egyptian religion. His monograph *Die ägyptischen Kulte zur Römerzeit in Ungarn* (1961) is devoted to Egyptian cults on the territory of Hungary in the Roman/period. L. KÁKOSSY has studied the Thoth cult in the period of the emperors, Koptic magic texts, the society of the time of the pyramids and some questions of the *Book of the Dead*. In the course of their research into Egyptian archaeology and history of art E. C. VARGA and L. CASTIGLIONE dealt also with philological questions.

S. TELEGDI, professor of general linguistics, has studied various questions of New-Persian grammar in several treatises of fundamental importance (*Acta Orientalia*, 1950–1962). L. GAÁL has devoted his attention to problems of Ossetic grammar, and Éva APOR has analysed B. Munkácsi's Ossetic manuscripts. A. BODROGLIGETI has done research on a Persian-language *Koran* translation, analysing it from linguistic standpoint. An important finding of J. NÉMETH

was a 15th-century list of words written in the language of the Jász (i.e. Alans) who once lived in Hungary (*Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1958). The long-range programme of Hungarian Iranian studies includes the compilation of a Persian etymological dictionary, the study of the Persian-Turkish linguistic relations and also studies in the language of the Ossetes.

Several Hungarian classical scholars and historians on antiquity have dealt with questions related to oriental studies. The second edition of G. MORAVCSIK's *Byzantinoturcica*, Vols. I and II, was published by the German Academy of Sciences, Berlin, 1958. This is a highly important work for research into the history of the ancient Turks.

I. TRENCSENYI-WALDAPFEL's research into mythology and history of religions has revealed literary and mythological motives common to the culture of Ancient Asia Minor. This is important also in respect to Semitic philology. His treatises take up many aspects of the eastern influences on Greek archaic poetry, questions in the history of religion concerning the Old Testament, the text of the *Septuaginta* and in Jewish literature of the Hellenistic period.

In his various treatises I. HAHN has written on some hitherto misinterpreted passages in Josephus, problems of Qumran texts and the financial problems of the Sassanide empire.

Proceeding from his researches on Herodotus, J. HARMATTA dealt with the subject of Greek-Oriental relations from a linguistic historic and archaeological standpoint. He traced from the earliest times to the period of Byzantine-Turkish relations the contacts of the eastern peoples Kimmerians, Sarmatians-Alans, Huns and Turks with the Greeks. Beside documents in Iranian and Aramean script, J. Harmatta devoted several treatises to the Dura-Europos and Parthian parchments and ostraca, to the Sassanide gemmae of the Moscow and Leningrad museums, unpublished so far, and has given a linguistic and historical interpretation of the Baktrian inscriptions recently discovered and written in an Eastern-Iranian language, as well as of the old Sogdian letters. By his treatises he has contributed not only to knowledge of Iranian linguistics and dialects but also to social and historical features of Iran and the peoples of the steppe.

The expansion of the field of Hungarian oriental studies requires a growing amount of books and microfilms. The establishment of the Oriental Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has been a significant step forward in this field, for its material of books, manuscripts and microfilms is an indispensable aid. In 1963 the

Oriental Collection published the recent bibliography of Hungarian oriental studies, *Hungarian Publications on Asia and Africa, 1950-1962*. An important factor in the development of the Oriental Collection was the probating of Sir Aurel STEIN's will, by which the Collection obtained in 1957 part of his rich library. Sir Aurel Stein, the excellent orientalist of Hungarian extraction, was only one of the orientalists who left their country and achieved considerable fame abroad.

This short survey sketches the background of oriental studies in Hungary, giving some indication of the extraordinary development attained during the past twenty years. The realization of the plans in this field impose a heavy burden on the people's state but there is every reason to believe that, as in the past, it will offer further valuable help for the successful fulfilment of this programme.

# DAS SAKRALE KÖNIGTUM BEI DEN STEPPEN- VÖLKERN \*

VON

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Die Erforschung der Institution des sakralen Königtums wurde durch den Kongress der IAHR (Rom, 1955), der diesem Thema gewidmet war, stark gefördert. <sup>1)</sup> Unsere Kenntnisse über das sakrale Königtum wurden durch die vielen Beiträge in jeder Hinsicht bereichert. Am wichtigsten war aber, meines Erachtens, dass die neuen Angaben uns ermöglicht haben, zu einem neuen vergleichenden Studium dieser Phänomene überzugehen.

Dieser vergleichenden Arbeit standen aber terminologische Schwierigkeiten im Wege. Das umfangreiche phänomenologische Material des Kongresses hat sich als in hohem Masse heterogen erwiesen, und es hat sich bald herausgestellt, dass zum weiteren Fortschritt auf diesem Gebiet eine terminologische Klärung der Lage nötig ist. Dieser Schritt wurde von dem holländischen Gelehrten TH. P. VAN BAAREN gemacht, der in einem Aufsatz <sup>2)</sup> den Weg zur Klärung überzeugend darin bestimmte, dass man zum originellen Frazerschen Terminologie zurückkehren soll. Unter sakralen Königtum sollte man also ausschliesslich diejenigen Typen des Königtums verstehen, wo: 1) der König nach seiner Thronbesteigung als eine auf Erden wandelnde Gottheit betrachtet wird, 2) wo er mit göttlicher Macht sein Volk regiert, 3) wo er verantwortlich für die Ordnung im Kosmos ist, 4) wo das Leben und Sterben des Königs kosmische Bedeutung hat. Der Tod des Königs hat einen stellvertretenden Charakter, und wie im Falle der Demagötter der Urzeit, wird sein Sterben ein Lebensborn für sein ganzes Volk.

\*) Vortrag, gehalten an der Religionsgeschichtlichen Konferenz, Strassburg, 19. Sept. 1964.

1) La regalità sacra. — Contributi al tema dell' VIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia delle Religioni (Roma, aprile 1955). The Sacral Kingship. Studies in the History of Religions. Supplement to "Numen" N° 4 (Leiden 1959).

2) Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift X (1955-1956), 204-295.



Es ist klar, dass es nur wenige Fälle gibt, wo all diese Kriterien vorhanden sind. Nach der Ansicht VAN BAARENS bleiben nur die afrikanischen <sup>3)</sup> Beispiele übrig.

Das wichtigste, was meines Erachtens seit dem Kongress über die soziologischen Beziehungen des sakralen Königtums gesagt wurde, sind die Beobachtungen von F. SIERKSMA, eines anderen holländischen Religionshistorikers, der in seinem Aufsatz <sup>4)</sup> über die „Religie en primitieve culturen“ darauf hinwies, dass sich das sakrale Königtum in allen bisher bekannten Fällen bei den Primitiven nur dort entwickeln konnte, wo eine gesellschaftliche Überlagerung stattgefunden hatte, wo also ein Volk durch Eroberung und Gewalt seine Herrschaft einem anderen Volk aufzwang.

Gegenüber der Ansicht aber, nach welcher uns das sakrale Königtum ausschliesslich in Afrika begegnet, scheint es, dass es ein weiteres Beispiel für das sakrale Königtum gibt, das nicht nur hierher gehört, sondern geradezu ein klassisches Beispiel für diese Institution darstellt. Es handelt sich um das sakrale Königtum bei den Steppenvölkern, dessen Untersuchung eine neue Auswertung dieses Phänomens ermöglicht und den Weg für das weitere Studium einiger Züge, vor allen Dingen der soziologischen Beziehungen dieser Institution eröffnet.

Der riesige eurasische Steppengürtel, zwischen der Ungarischen Tiefebene und der Chinesischen Mauer, der sich südlich der eurasischen Waldzone hinzieht, wurde seit dem ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend von iranischen, hunnischen, türkischen und mongolischen Reiternomadern bevölkert, die zu verschiedenen Zeiten grosse Teile der Steppenzone, bisweilen die ganze Steppenzone in einem einzigen Reich vereinten. Die von mir besprochenen Beispiele des sakralen Königtums

<sup>3)</sup> Die afrikanischen Beispiele des sakralen Königtums wurden neuerdings zweimal monographisch bearbeitet: TOR IRSTAM, *The King of Ganda*. The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden. New Series. Publication N° 8. (Stockholm 1944); P. HADFIELD, *Traits of Divine Kingship in Africa* (London 1949). HADFIELD'S Ergebnisse stimmen in mehreren Hinsichten mit denjenigen IRSTAM'S überein. In diesen beiden Werken werden die einschlägigen neueren Untersuchungen der Afrika-Forscher (C. G. SELIGMAN, C. K. MEEK, P. A. TALBOT, E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD u.a.) eingehend erörtert. Rituelle Texte von einem sakralen Königtum (Rwanda) sind, Übersetzung, veröffentlicht in M. D'HERTEFELT und A. COUPEL, *La royauté sacrée de l'ancien Rwanda*. Koninklijk Museum voor Midden-Afrika, Tervuren, Belgie. *Annalen*, Reeks in 8°. Wetenschappen van de Mens N° 52 (1964).

<sup>4)</sup> *Nederlands Theol. Tijdschr.* X, 209-236.

beziehen sich teilweise auf die Türken, die in der Mongolei südlich vom Baikalsee zwischen dem 6-9. Jahrhundert ein Riesenreich errichteten. Der westlichste Stamm der Türken schob sich weit nach dem Westen vor und gründete ein eigenes Reich im Lande der Chazaren, dessen Zentrum zwischen dem 6-10. Jahrhundert an der unteren Wolga, nördlich des Kaspischen Meeres lag. Das dritte Beispiel ist das altmagyarische sakrale Königtum. <sup>5)</sup> Die alten Magyaren gehörten zu den finnisch-ugrischen Völkern und bildeten zusammen mit den Wogulen und Ostjaken, deren letzten Reste jetzt in Westsibirien leben, den ugrischen Zweig des finnisch-ugrischen Sprachstammes. Im finnisch-ugrischen Zeitalter siedelten diese Völker nördlich der Wolga, in der Waldzone, unweit von den westlichen Abhängen des Urals. Gegen das 6. Jahrhundert u.Z. erfolgte eine grosse Veränderung im Leben der Magyaren. Sie liessen sich nämlich südlich in den Auen zwischen der Waldzone und der offenen Steppe nieder und gingen zur Pferdezucht über. Sie erschienen bald als ein echtes, berittenes Steppenvolk, das nunmehr nur sprachlich von den türkischen Chazaren verschieden war.

Die Quellen, die über das türkische sakrale Königtum berichten, sind erstens die dynastischen Geschichten der chinesischen Čou-Dynastie, <sup>6)</sup> zweitens die arabischen geographischen Quellen. <sup>7)</sup> Die

<sup>5)</sup> Mit dem chazarischen und ungarischen sakralen Königtum hat sich als erster GÉZA RÓHEIM eingehend befasst (*Man* XV, 1915/2, 26-28; *Ethnographia* [Budapest] XXVIII, 1917, 50-98 auf ung.). Vgl. *Psychoanalysis and Culture. Essays in Honor of Géza Róheim*, hrsg. von G. B. WILBUR und W. MUENSTERBERGER (New York 1951), 456.

Als konsequenter Anhänger FREUD'S verwendete RÓHEIM weitgehend die Freud'schen psychoanalytischen Interpretationsmittel (Oedipus-Komplex, Traumpsychologie, Sexualpsychologie der Infantilen, das psychologische Gesetz der Ambivalenz, usw.). Vgl. auch P. RADIN, *The World of Primitive Man* (New York 1953), 308-310.

FRAZER, dem die Angaben über den chazarischen Königsmord zur Zeit der Herausgabe der ersten Auflage des „Golden Bough“ noch nicht bekannt waren, fand die von RÓHEIM angeführten muslimischen Angaben wichtig genug, um sie — soweit sie ihm in Übersetzungen zugänglich waren — in einem Aufsatz (*Folk-lore* XXVIII [1917], 382-407) zu veröffentlichen. In seinem „Aftermath“ (310) kam er später wieder über dieses Thema zu sprechen.

<sup>6)</sup> Čou-šu, Kap. 50; vgl. LIU MAU-TSAI, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe)*. Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen Bd. 10 (Wiesbaden 1958), 8, 459, 496, Anm. 46. — Vgl. P. BOODBERG: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* IV, 245; K. A. WITTFOGEL und FENG CHIA-SHĒNG, *History of Chinese Society*. Leao (New York 1949), 274, Anm. 189.

<sup>7)</sup> Die arabischen Berichte über das chazarische und das ungarische sakrale

Chinesen berichten über das Barbarenvolk der mittelasiatischen Türken, weil sie dem Reich der Mitte durch ihre Raubzüge viel Schaden zugefügt haben. Die Araber sprechen über das Reich der Chazaren und über die Magyaren auf Grund von Augenzeugenberichten muslimischer Kaufleute, die mit ihren grossen Karawanen durch den Kaukasus oder von Sogdiana und vom Aralsee her die Steppenvölker aufsuchten. Einiges über das magyarische sakrale Königtum befindet sich in byzantinischen Quellen oder in den ungarländisch-lateinischen Chroniken.

Das Bild, das sich aus den genannten Quellen klar ergibt, ist folgendes: alle drei Völker, die östlichen Türken in Mittelasien, die westlichen Türken im Lande der Chazaren an der Wolga und schliesslich die Magyaren, die sich bis 889 u.Z. zwischen dem Don und der Donau aufhielten, kannten die Institution des sakralen Königtums. Die sakralen Könige der Chazaren und der Magyaren wurden dermassen mit Tabuvorschriften umgeben, dass sich bei diesen zwei Völkern ein ausgesprochenes Doppelkönigtum entwickelte. Es gab den sakralen König und es gab einen zweiten König, den die Araber ebenfalls mit dem Wort *malik* ('König') bezeichnen, und der eigentlich als Geschäftsführender König fungierte. Dieser König war der oberste Feldherr, er entschied über Krieg und Frieden und er stellte die höchste Instanz in allen Angelegenheiten seines Volkes dar.<sup>8)</sup> Die Tabuvorschriften, die den anderen, den sakralen König vom Volke völlig isolierten, waren sehr zahlreich und fast genau identisch mit denjenigen, die die afrikanischen sakralen Könige umgaben, wie wir sie aus den Katalogen von TOR IRSTAM und P. HADFIELD kennen.<sup>9)</sup> Der chazarische

Doppelkönigtum: Ibn Rusta, ed. DE GOEJE, 139-140 (Chazaren); 142-143 (Magyaren); Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Z. V. TOGAN, 43 (arab. Text); Iṣṭahri, ed. DE GOEJE, 224-225; persische Übers. des Iṣṭahri, ed. Iraj Afshar (Teheran 1961), 180-181; Ibn Hauqal, ed. DE GOEJE, 283-285; Ibn Hauqal, ed. J. H. KRAMERS, II, 395-396; Mas'ūdī, Murūḡ al-ḡahab, ed. Paris II, 12-14; Übersetzungen der arabischen Texte in D. M. DUNLOP, The History of the Jewish Khazars (Princeton 1954). — Ein hebräisches Geniza-Fragment (Cambridge, T-S Loan 38) enthält interessante, aber offenbar unverlässliche Angaben über den Dynastien-Wechsel in Chazarien (ed. P. KOKOVCOV, Evrejsko-chazarskaja perepiska v X veke. Leningrad 1932, 33-36 Text, 112-123 russ. Übers. mit kritischen Noten).

8) Ibn Rusta, Ibn Faḍlān, Iṣṭahri — Ibn Hauqal, Mas'ūdī, a.a.O.

9) Der chazarische König hielt sich ständig in seinem Palast, in seinem Harem auf (Mas'ūdī), da er nicht gesehen werden durfte (Iṣṭahri). Er verliess seinen Palast viermonatlich nur einmal und ritt seinen Truppen eine Meile voraus; falls ihm dennoch jemand begegnete, musste er vor dem König prosternieren. (Ibn

König wurde vom Volk als verantwortlich betrachtet für den Regenfall, die Dürre und andere kosmische Ereignisse im Lande. Er war verantwortlich für das Kriegsglück, und sein körperliches Versagen brachte Übel auf das ganze Land.<sup>10)</sup> Dieselbe Betrachtungsweise treffen wir in Afrika, wo das Altern, Ergrauen und Impotenz des sakralen Königs Verderbnis für das ganze Land bedeutet. Man denkt an die Worte des lateinischen Dichters Claudian, der in seiner ersten Invektive gegen den Eunuchen Eutropius ausruft (im Schlussteil des Gedichtes): „Wie soll man Krieg führen unter den Auspizien eines Effeminierten? Können die Ehen Kindersegen haben und die Äcker reiche Ernte bringen, kann die Erde fruchtbar sein und Fülle gedeihen unter einem unfruchtbaren Konsul?“ Im Falle einer Dürre oder eines Missglücks im Krieg, d.h. eines Versagens des chazarischen Königs wird er — und das ist besonders wichtig — getötet.<sup>11)</sup> Seine Tötung erfolgt auch, wenn er schon eine Anzahl von Jahren geherrscht hat.<sup>12)</sup> Nach Ibn Faḍlān beträgt die Regierungsdauer des chazarischen Königs höchstens 40 Jahre. Besonders interessant ist aber der andere Bericht, nach dem die Zahl der Regierungsjahre des Königs schon bei seiner Einweihung festgelegt wird. Dem mittelasiatischen türkischen sakralen König wird, nach den chinesischen Jahrbüchern<sup>13)</sup>, und dem chazarischen, den arabischen Berichten<sup>14)</sup> nach, bei seiner Einweihung eine seidene Schnur oder ein Schal um den Hals geworfen, und man zieht die Schnur so eng zusammen, dass er fast erwürgt wird und in letzter Verzweiflung ein Wort hervorstösst und zwar eine Zahl, die dann die Zahl seiner Regierungsjahre sein wird.

Eine schlagende religionsgeschichtliche Parallele zu diesem Brauch befindet sich in einer Beschreibung<sup>15)</sup> der Religion der afrikanischen Bambara von CH. MONTEIL. Nach dieser Beschreibung wird der künftige König der Bambara bei der Einweihung ebenfalls durch Würgen bis zum Rande des Todes gebracht. Vor ihm wird vorher ein Gefäss,

Faḍlān). Vgl. die ähnlichen afrikanischen Vorschriften bei TOR IRSTAM, op. cit., 21-25, 78-88; HADFIELD, op. cit., 33-40.

10) Mas'ūdī, a.a.O.

11) Mas'ūdī, a.a.O.

12) Ibn Faḍlān, a.a.O.

13) Čou-šu, a.a.O.

14) Iṣṭahri — Ibn Hauqal, a.a.O.

15) Les Bambara de Ségou et du Kaarta (Paris, 1924), 305; D. WESTERMANN, Die Geschichte Afrikas (Köln 1952), 37.

gefüllt mit Steinen und Blättern des Baobab-Baumes hingestellt. In letzter Verzweiflung greift er einige Steine vom Gefäss heraus, deren Zahl die Zahl seiner Regierungsjahre angibt. Diese Übereinstimmung würde HOCARTH gewiss zum Beweis gedient haben dafür, dass das sakrale Königtum in der Mongolei und in Nordafrika gemeinsamen Ursprungs ist. Ich glaube aber, dass hier nur eine, wenn auch wirklich wunderbare religionsgeschichtliche Konvergenz vorliegt.<sup>16)</sup>

Wir müssen uns auch davor hüten, mit FRAZER der kosmischen Macht des sakralen Königs z.B. über den Regen eine alles überragende Bedeutung beizumessen und zu behaupten, dass die älteste Religion eben der Glauben an der Göttlichkeit des Königs war. Ich schliesse mich in dieser Frage gänzlich der Meinung Prof. WIDENGRENS an, wonach der König nicht wegen seiner Macht über den Regen König ist, sondern weil er König ist, Macht über den Regen hat.<sup>17)</sup>

Ich möchte auf nur einen phänomenologisch wichtigen Zug des chazarischen sakralen Königtums hinweisen. Nach einer unserer arabischen Quellen nahm nämlich der chazarische sakrale König an den Kriegszügen seines Volkes Teil. Während des Marsches wurde ein *samsa*, d.h. irgendeine Sonnenabbildung vor ihm hergetragen, deren Licht er während des Marsches beobachtete.<sup>18)</sup> Ich möchte in diesem Zusammenhang auf eine Stelle<sup>19)</sup> des armenischen Historikers Levond verweisen, der über eine Schlacht zwischen Chazaren und Arabern in Kaukasien berichtet, wo die Chazaren eine schwere Niederlage erlitten,

16) Allerdings ist es nach einer, nach dem Vortrag gemachten Bemerkung Prof. KERÉNYIS heutzutage schon völlig denkbar, dass es zwischen Afrika und Mittelasien über Mesopotamien und Iran schon sehr früh eine Vermittlungsmöglichkeit gegeben habe.

17) G. WIDENGREN, Hochgottglaube im alten Iran (Uppsala 1938), 352-354.

18) Ibn Rusta, a.a.O. — V. Minorsky (Oriens XI, 1958, 129) verweist auf eine Stelle im Taʿrīḥ-i Bayhaq (173), wonach ein Daylamiter den Mond mit einem vergoldeten Schild vergleicht, der beim Marsch vor dem König hergetragen wurde. — Im Zusammenhang mit diesem *samsa* erhebt sich die Frage, ob wir eine historische Verbindung zwischen der chazarischen und der iranischen Sonnensymbolik anzunehmen berechtigt sind. Die Schilderhebung als Wahlakt bei den Chazaren und Magyaren (Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, De adm. imp., Kap. 38) verbindet man gewöhnlich mit ähnlichen byzantinischen Riten. In diesem Falle könnte man aber ebenfalls iranische (vgl. H. P. L'Orange, Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World. Oslo 1953, 88-89, 103-109) und kaukasisch-albanische Parallelen herbeiziehen. Wir müssen aber nicht vergessen, dass der ähnliche Ritus an vielen Orten üblich war, und dass ein ähnlicher Erhebungsakt bei der Königswahl auch bei den Türken belegt ist.

19) Ed. EZEANÇ, 101.

so dass auch ihre „kupferne Abbildung“ in die Hände der Araber geraten ist. Die armenischen Bezeichnungen dieses Bildnisses sind aber leider sehr allgemein gehalten. Die Abbildung heisst hier nämlich *patker* und *nšan* und diese beiden parthischen Lehnwörter bedeuten im Armenischen eben nur 'Zeichen', bzw. 'Bildnis'. Die Verbindung des Sonnenkultus mit dem sakralen Königtum in diesem Falle ist deshalb wichtig, weil in Afrika das sakrale Königtum nach der Meinung von einigen Forschern mit dem Mondkult verbunden zu sein scheint.<sup>20)</sup>

Der Ursprung des altungarischen sakralen Königtums stellt ein schwieriges Problem dar. Die älteste Quelle, die über die Ungarn vor ihrer Westwanderung nach Mitteleuropa, d.h. vor 889 u.Z. berichtet, war das verlorene Werk des samanidischen Ministers Ğaihānī, der um 920 u.Z. schrieb. Den Text von Ğaihānīs verlorenem Bericht kennen wir aber aus so vielen frühen und späteren arabischen und persischen Auszügen, dass es gegenwärtig keine unlösbare Schwierigkeit bedeuten würde, die Originalfassung des Berichtes wieder herzustellen und gemäss den in der klassischen Philologie gültigen textkritischen Grundsätzen zu edieren. Es unterliegt also keinem Zweifel, dass die beiden Könige der alten Magyaren, die bei Ğaihānī genannt werden, den Würdenamen *Künde*, bzw. *Ĝila* trugen. Es ist ebenfalls klar, dass diese beiden Namen mit den aus dem ungarischen Altertum wohlbekannten Namen *Kende* (< *Künde*) und *Gyula* (< *Ĝila*) zusammenhängen. Diese Namen sind in den früheren ungarischen Quellen noch Bezeichnungen von fürstlichen Würdenträgern, später kommen sie aber als Namen hochadliger Familien vor und schliesslich, in moderner Zeit, ist *Kende* noch immer als Familienname und *Gyula*, ganz depotenziert, als Vorname bekannt.<sup>21)</sup>

Es ist aber noch immer die Frage, woher die Ungarn diese beiden Würdenamen übernommen haben. Denn sie gehören zum alten finnisch-ugrischen Sprachgut der Magyaren sicherlich nicht. Von Anfang an stand nur soviel fest, dass man am ehesten berechtigt ist, den Ursprung der beiden Namen bei den Chazaren zu suchen, denn der purgeborene byzantinische Kaiser Konstantin behauptet in seinem für seinen Sohn als Lehrbuch bestimmten Werk „De administrando im-

20) VAN BAAREN, Nederl. Theol. Tijdschr. X, 293.

21) Vgl. D. PAIS, Magyar Nyelv L (1957), 507.

perio" um die Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts, dass die Magyaren in ihrer alten Heimat zwischen dem Don und der Donau eng mit den Chazaren verbunden waren.<sup>22)</sup> Er sagt sogar, dass die Magyaren, nachdem sie eine grosse Niederlage durch die Petschenegen, ein Türkenvolk, erlitten hatten, ihren Staat auf Grund eines Vorschlags des chazarischen Königs aufs neue ordnen wollten. Aus den Worten des Kaisers geht dabei eindeutig hervor, dass die Magyaren lange auf chazarischem Gebiet gelebt und zusammen mit den Chadaren oft auch Kriege geführt haben. Wenn wir weiterhin bedenken, dass die soeben angeführten arabischen Beschreibungen des chazarischen und altmagyarischen sakralen Königtums in jeder Hinsicht wesensgleich sind, so müssen wir zugeben, dass all dies stark für einen chazarischen Ursprung des magyarischen sakralen Königtums spricht. Doch kann dieses meines Erachtens erst dann als einwandfrei erwiesen betrachtet werden, wenn wir auch den Ursprung der Terminologie des magyarischen Königtums als chazarisch erweisen können.

Diese Idee ist an sich nicht neu, aber die Versuche, den altungarischen königlichen Würdenamen *Künde* aus dem Chazarischen, d.h. aus dem Türkischen, herzuleiten, scheiterten bis jetzt immer an sprachlichen Schwierigkeiten. Es ist hier nicht der Ort, diese linguistischen Fragen eingehend zu erörtern, ich möchte jedoch meine Ergebnisse kurz zusammenfassen. Der Würdenamen *Künde* ist in drei verschiedenen Formen in den arabischen, persischen und ungarländisch-lateinischen Quellen belegt. 1) die Grundform ist *Kündä*, die bei *Ġāihāni*, bzw. bei dem arabischen Geographen Ibn Rusta als Name des magyarischen Königs vorkommt. Daraus entwickelte sich regelrecht mit regressiver Assimilation im Altungarischen *Kende*. 2) Aus der ursprünglichen Form *Kündä* ist ebenfalls regelrecht, mit progressiver Assimilation sowohl im Ungarischen, als auch im Türkischen (Chazarischen) *Kündü* entstanden, eine Variante, die in den arabischen, sowie in den ungarländisch-lateinischen Quellen belegt ist. In den letzteren hat sie die Form *Cundu* (\**Kündü*).<sup>23)</sup> Die arabische Form derselben Variante lautet \**Kundü* und ist aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach im Reisebericht Ibn Faḍlāns belegt, der sich als muslimischer Faḳīh 921/2 u.Z. bei den Wolga-Bulgaren aufhielt. Ibn Faḍlān nennt den Träger des dritten

22) Kap. 38, ed. MORAVCSIK, 170-174; Kap. 40, 175-178.

23) Anonymi Gesta Hungarorum, ed. SZENTPÉTERY I (Budapest 1937), 41: Cundu pater Curzan.

Ranges bei den Chazaren *Kundü Ḥāqān*.<sup>24)</sup> Dieser dritte Herrscher der Chazaren besass also ebenfalls den türkischen königlichen Titel *Ḥāqān*. Er unterstand nach Ibn Faḍlān unmittelbar dem zweiten (Geschäftsführenden) König. 3) Die dritte Variante: *Kündācīk* ist mit der Grundform *Kündä* identisch, nur ist der Name hier mit einem türkischen Verkleinerungssuffix *-cīk* versehen. Diese Form kennen wir aus der arabischen historischen Literatur, die die Geschichte des ausgehenden 9. Jahrhunderts erzählt. In diesen Geschichtswerken wird ausführlich über einen türkischen Vezier gesprochen, der im Kalifat bis zum Amt des Gouverneurs von Mosul und bis zu den höchsten Militärämtern gestiegen ist und in den regen Ereignissen seiner Zeit eine hervorragende Rolle spielte. Sein Name lautete *Ishāq ibn Kundāgiq al-Hazarī*. Aus seinem eigenen mohammedanischen Namen (*Ishāq*) und aus dem Namen seines Vaters (*Aiyūb*) zu urteilen, war er ein islamisierter Chazare und gehörte zum frühesten Schicht der türkischen *Maneluken*, die dann später die Macht im Kalifat an sich reißen konnten. Seit J. Marquarts „Streifzügen“<sup>25)</sup> und bereits vorher, hat man versucht, den Namen dieses *Ishāq Ibn Kundāgiq* mit dem altungarischen *Kündä* zu verbinden. Besonders wichtig war der Versuch Prof. A. ZAJĄCZKOWSKIS, der den letzten Teil dieses Namens, die Silbe *-giq* überzeugend als mit dem türkischen Suffix *-cīk* identisch erklärte.<sup>26)</sup> Dennoch wurden diese Versuche von den ungarischen Turkologen aus linguistischen Gründen von Anfang an konsequent abgelehnt. Man wendete gegen diese Erklärungen ein, dass ein türkisches *Kündācīk* in der arabischen Schrift unbedingt mit einem Kef und nicht mit einem *Qaf* geschrieben sein sollte. Diese Einwände sind aber meines Erach-

24) Ibn Faḍlān nennt den dritten chazarischen König *K.n.d.r*. Mit Rücksicht auf die ungarische Variante *Kündü* muss man aber anstatt *k.n.d.r* *k.n.d.w* (*Kündü*) lesen. Diese Emendation bedeutet kaum eine Abänderung des arabischen Schriftbildes. Dieselbe Variante hat auch Firdausi gekannt, der im Königsbuch über *Kundü* (*K.n.d.r.*) als über einen saqlābischen (slawischen) Gehilfe des türkischen Fürsten spricht. Er zitiert seine Quelle, wie gewöhnlich, auch hier nicht, aber die Art und Weise, wie er das Wort *Saqlāb* gebraucht, weist deutlich darauf hin, dass er den Namen aus Ibn Faḍlāns Reisebericht übernommen hat, weiterhin, dass er dieselbe Textvariante von diesem Reisebericht vor sich hatte, die auch dem Lexikographen Yāqūt vorlag.

25) S. 168. Vgl. V. MINORSKY, A History of Sharvan and Darband (Cambridge 1958), 156; H. VÁMBÉRY, Ursprung der Magyaren (Leipzig 1898), 84.

26) A. ZAJĄCZKOWSKI, Ze Studiów nad zagadnieniem chazariskim. Polnische Akad. d. Wiss. (Krakow 1947), 34.

tens nicht stichhaltig. Es ist erstens sehr natürlich, dennoch verfehlt, die Namensform der arabischen Texte ohne weiteres auf Grund der historischen osmanischen Orthographie zu beurteilen. Es handelt sich hier nämlich um die arabische Aufzeichnung eines türkischen Namens, der der arabischen Bevölkerung des ganzen Kalifats geläufig war. Die Aufzeichnung muss also als die arabische Aufzeichnung eines fremden Namens, wie es im Munde der arabischen Bevölkerung des Kalifats lebte, gewertet werden, und das muss auf Grund der arabischen Lautgeschichte geschehen. Von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus ist aber sowohl die Wiedergabe der Anfangssilbe *kü-* mit *ku-*, als auch die Aufzeichnung der letzten Silbe *-cik* durch *-giq* völlig regelrecht.<sup>27)</sup> Somit hat der Name in der Aussprache der arabischen Bevölkerung des Kalifats *Kundaḡiq* gelautet. Wie erwähnt, ist die letzte Silbe des Namens *Kündācik* mit dem türkischen Verkleinerungssuffix *-cik* identisch. Ich möchte dazu nur noch bemerken, dass derselbe Name auch mit einem anderen Verkleinerungssuffix versehen belegt ist. Anstatt *Kundaḡiq* schreiben nämlich einige Prosaschriftsteller *Kundāḡ*, und diese letztere Form ist keine fehlerhafte Schreibung. Der berühmte Schmeichler, der Dichter Buhturī, ein Zeitgenosse des Ishāq ibn Kundāḡiq, der auch den grossen Türken in seinen Gedichten verherrlicht hat,<sup>28)</sup> nennt ihn nämlich in einem Gedicht nicht *Kundāḡig*, sondern *Kundāḡ*. Diese letztere Form nun, durch etwa dreissig aufeinander folgende Reime auf *-āḡ* gesichert, steht textkritisch fest. Die sprachliche Erklärung der Form *Kundāḡ* bereitet keine Schwierigkeiten, denn sie kann als eine mit dem türkischen Verkleinerungssuffix versehene Koseform des Namens *Kündā* leicht erklärt werden. Der Träger des Namens „kleiner

27) Die türkische Anfangssilbe *ü-* wurde auch sonst ins Arabische, wo es einen Vokal *ū* nicht gegeben hat, als *ku-* übernommen (alte Beispiele dafür sind die arabischen Formen von *Kül tegin* und *Kül çor*). Die Wiedergabe des türkischen und iranischen *e*-Laute im Arabischen durch *ā* ist auch sonst wohl bekannt und wurde dadurch ermöglicht, dass das *ā* (und auch das *a*) schon im Altarabischen, wie in vielen neuen Mundarten, eine Neigung aufwies, zu *ā* (offenem *e*) zu übergehen. Das ist die wohlbekannte Erscheinung, die die arabischen Nationalgrammatiker *imāla* (Neigung) genannt haben. Die Schreibweise des Schluss-*k* mit *q* im Arabischen ist ebenfalls nicht unerwartet, denn das arabische *k* war, wie wir mit ihrem *k* haben also die Araber auch griechisches und armenisches *k* regelmässig durch ihr *q* wiedergegeben. Diese Beobachtungen wurden auch durch die neueren phonologischen Untersuchungen J. CANTINEAUS (*Études de linguistique arabe*. Paris 1960, 64-71) in vollem Masse bestätigt.

28) *Diwān*, ed. Beirut 1962, 425-427; 437-439.

*Kündā*“ war vielleicht der Kronprinz, denn dass der Vater Ishāqs früher zu den höchsten chazarischen Würdenträgern gehörte, oder vielleicht sogar, dass er selber einst chazarischer Kronprinz gewesen sei, geht aus Buhturīs Versen hervor. Schliesslich möchte ich noch bemerken, dass die Namensform *Kündāc* im Geschichtswerke des Ya‘qūbī auch als *Kundās* belegt ist.<sup>29)</sup> Das ist ebenfalls keine unerwartete Form, denn das fremde *c* wird im Altarabischen regelrecht entweder durch *ḡ* oder durch *š* ersetzt.

Was nun den Ursprung des Würdenamens des zweiten ungarischen Königs betrifft, stimmen die Meinungen schon seit langem darin überein, dass dieser Name ebenfalls nicht zum originellen ungarischen Sprachgut gehört, sondern etymologisch auf den türkischen Würdenamen *Jıla~Gıla* zurückgeht, der im Bericht des Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos über die türkischen Petschenegen als Würdenamen belegt ist. Damit können wir den chazarischen, d.h. türkischen Ursprung des altungarischen sakralen Königtums nicht nur sachlich, sondern auch sprachlich als einwandfrei erwiesen betrachten.

Das ist aber auch religionsgeschichtlich sehr lehrreich. Die Erforschung der Reste des altungarischen Heidentums sowie der Religion der beiden kleinen Völker, der heutigen Ostjaken und der Wogulen am Ob in Westsibirien hat nämlich gezeigt, dass das sakrale Doppelkönigtum nicht zu den alten religiösen Institutionen der ugrischen Völker gehörte. Die Magyaren haben sie erst dann übernommen, als sie aus der Waldzone in die Steppe niederstiegen und unter die Oberherrschaft der Chazaren gerieten. Die Chazaren haben damals, nach dem 6. Jahrhundert u.Z., ihre Oberherrschaft auf Dutzende von kleineren und grösseren Stammesverbänden kaukasischer, bulgarischer, finnisch-ugrischer und slawischer Völker ausgedehnt. Die Folge davon war, dass das chazarische Oberhaupt an der Spitze einer durch gesellschaftliche Überlagerung hierarchisch aufgebauten Reichsverwaltung zum sakralen König wurde, genau, wie der türkische Oberkönig in der Urheimat südlich des Baikalsees. Dieselbe Entwicklung hat sich dann später, im 9. Jahrhundert, wiederholt. Diesmal waren es die Magyaren, die eine von ihren chazarischen Oberherren unabhängigen Stammesverband organisierten, der, wie wir aus den arabischen geographischen Quellen wissen, bald zu einer Grossmacht zwischen dem

29) Ed. Beirut 1960, II, 492.

Don und der Donau wurde. Bezeichnend ist, wie nach dem Bericht des Čaihäni die Slawen von den Magyaren unterdrückt wurden. Die Ungarn trieben regen Sklavenhandel in den Hafenstädten des Schwarzen Meeres und ihre Raubzüge erstreckten sich auf ein grosses Gebiet in Mitteleuropa, einschliesslich das Wiener Becken. Das einst unbedeutende Waldvolk übernahm jetzt die Institution des sakralen Königtums von den Chazaren und seine zwei Könige massen sich sogar die türkischen Würdenamen ihrer einstigen chazarischen Oberherren an.<sup>30)</sup>

Der Zusammenbruch der ungarischen Oberherrschaft in Südrussland und in ihrer Umgebung hat dem altungarischen sakralen Königtum noch nicht unmittelbar ein Ende bereitet. Der ungarische Stammesverband, geschlagen von den türkischen Petschenegen hat zwar sein altes Gebiet in Südrussland eingebüsst, es ist aber ihnen offenbar gelungen, den zerfallenen Stammesverband neu zu organisieren. Der chazarische Khagan, beunruhigt wegen der Nachbarschaft der gefährlichen Petschenegen, griff ebenfalls ein. Er schlug den Magyaren vor, sich wieder ihm zu unterwerfen und einen Vasallenkönig zu wählen, der seine Tochter heiraten sollte. Das hätte natürlich die Aufgabe des magyarischen sakralen Königtums bedeutet. Der chazarische Plan wurde jedoch nicht verwirklicht, da die Magyaren nach ihrer zweiten, von den Petschenegen erlittenen Niederlage 896 u.Z. Südrussland endgültig räumen mussten. Zur selben Zeit sandte der byzantinische Kaiser, der damals Krieg mit den Bulgaren führte, eine Botschaft zu den Ungarn. Die Gesandten berichteten, dass die Ungarn unter zwei Königen leben.<sup>31)</sup> Das bedeutet für uns, dass das sakrale Königtum bei den Ungarn auch nach ihren, durch die Petschenegen erlittenen Niederlagen im J. 889 bzw. 896 u.Z. weiter bestanden hat.<sup>32)</sup> In ihrer neuen Hei-

30) Das nomadische Doppelkönigtum wurde von A. ALFÖLDI (Károlyi Árpád Emlékkönyv. Budapest, 1933, 28-39) mit der bei den Nomaden überall üblichen Zweiteilung des Stammesverbandes in Zusammenhang gebracht. Diese Ansicht hat in der letzten Zeit grossen Anklang gefunden. Wir dürfen jedoch nicht ausser acht lassen, dass das nomadische Zweiklassensystem (über die Dualsysteme vgl. H. PETRI: Jahrbuch des Linden-Museums 1951, 188-201) weder genetisch noch historisch mit dem sakralen Doppelkönigtum verbunden ist.

31) Georgius Continuatus A, ed. BEKKER, 854.

32) Die beiden ungarischen Fürsten hiessen nach Georgios *Arpad(es)* und *Kusan(es)*. Von Kusan wissen wir aus den ungarischen Chroniken, dass er der Sohn Kündüs war. Daraus haben einigen Forscher, zuletzt G. GYÖRFFY (Budapest régiségei XVI, 1955, 9-17), der die Entstehung des sakralen Doppelkönigtums mit

mat in der Donau- und Theissebene setzten sie ihre Raubzüge noch einige Jahrzehnte fort. Nach ungefähr einem Jahrhundert jedoch, um 1030 u.Z., unter Stephan dem Heiligen, wurden sie zum Christentum bekehrt. Von nun an waren sie nicht mehr sakralen Königen, sondern christlichen Königen „von Gottes Gnaden“ untertan.

Die Untersuchung des türkischen, chazarischen und altungarischen Königtums liefert also wichtige Ergebnisse auch für ein vergleichendes Studium der Institution des sakralen Königtums. Die Bedeutung der besprochenen Angaben besteht einerseits darin, dass sie gegenüber der einschlägigen afrikanischen Angaben — ein historisches Studium dieser Institutionen ermöglichen, andererseits aber, dass sie ihre soziologischen Voraussetzungen beleuchten. SIERKSMAS These, wonach das sakrale Königtum immer infolge einer gesellschaftlichen Überlagerung zustande kommt, bewährt sich auch in diesem Falle. Der türkische und altmagyarische sakrale König ist nicht nur Oberherr seines eigenen Stammesverbandes, sondern seine Macht erstreckt sich über eine Vielheit von Stämmen und Völkern, die ihm nicht nur zinspflichtig sind, sondern von ihm sogar als Leibeigene betrachtet werden. Der Abstand zwischen dem König und den Untertanen ist unendlich gross: die Gestalt des Königs ragt ins Übermenschliche hinüber. Die gesellschaftliche Überlagerung kann freilich keineswegs als einziges Motiv im Werden des sakralen Königtums betrachtet werden, immerhin lässt sich eine soziologische Erschliessung des Problems für das richtige Verständnis dieser wichtigen religionsgeschichtlichen Erscheinung nicht entbehren.

dem wachsenden Reichtum des Königs in Zusammenhang bringt, folgern wollen, das Kusan (Curzan) der sakrale und Árpád der Geschäftsführende König der Ungarn war, mit anderen Worten, dass die Dynastie der Familie Curzan erst später durch diejenige Árpáds ersetzt wurde. Dagegen spricht aber die gesamte byzantinische und ungarische historische Tradition. Árpád wird auch bei Georgios an erster Stelle erwähnt. Hinzukommt, dass man kaum den Beweis zu erbringen vermag, dass ein jeder Sohn eines *Kündü* ebenfalls *Kündü* wurde. In Wirklichkeit bekleideten die Söhne des Nomadenherrschers die verschiedensten wichtigen Posten ihres Reiches.

პროფ. ძ. ცხელიძე (ბუფაშვიტი)

**პეტრე იბერის სირიული ცხოვრების გამო**

ფილოლოგიური კვლევისათვის ძალზე დიდი მნიშვნელობა აქვს პალესტინის აღმოჩენებს, რომლებმაც ფართო გამოსმაურება პოვეს მსოფლიო მეცნიერულ სამყაროში. ამ აღმოჩენებმა, ერთის მხრივ, მეცნიერებას გააცნეს უძველესი ქართული წარწერები, სოლო მეორე მხრივ ახალი შექი მოჰფინეს პეტრე იბერის პიროვნებასა და მის მოღვაწეობას.

ყველაფერი ეს უფრო მნიშვნელოვანს ხდის პეტრე იბერის სირიულ ცხოვრებას. რომელიც, როგორც ცნობილია, დაწერილია იოანე ეპისკოპოსის მიერ (ეს უკანასკნელი პეტრე იბერის მემკვიდრე იყო მაიუმის ანკისკოპოსო ტახტზე). იოანეს დოკუმენტური დებულება ბოლო ხანებში შრავალგზისა გვიჩვენებს საჯანი გახდა. იოანე დაჯერებული მონოფიზიტია და თავის შიშის პეტრე იბერსაც მონოფიზიტად წარმოგვიდგენს. მკვლევრები უფრო მეტს ნდობით ეყიდეიან „ცხოვრებაში“ გადმოცემულ ისტორიულ ცნობებს. Josef Markwart-ი, რომელიც თავის წერილში იხილავს პეტრე იბერის გაქრისტიანების საკითხს, პეტრე იბერის სირიულ ცხოვრებაში მოცემულ ისტორიულ ცნობებს ძირითადად სარწმუნოდ მიიჩნევს. გვიანდელი მკვლევარებიც უმეტეს შემთხვევაში ამ აზრს იზიარებენ. პალესტინის აღმოჩენები, თავის მხრივ, ავტორის მოსაზრებების სისწორეს ადასტურებენ. სირიული ცხოვრება ცნობებს გვაწვდის აგრეთვე პეტრეს გენეალოგიის შესახებ. იმავე სახელზეა ვხვდებით პალესტინურ წარწერებშიც. აქ მოხსენებულია პეტრეს წინაპრების სახელები, რომლებიც, როგორც პროფ. გ. წერეთლის ნაშრომ-ში და ვგებულობთ, უმეტესად სპარსული წარმოშობის არიან. ამასთან დაკავშირებული პროფ. გ. წერეთლის მიერ დადგენილი ეტიმოლოგიები დღეს საყოველთაოდაა აღიარებული. „ცხოვრებასა“ და პალესტინურ წარწერებში მორის არსებული შესატყვისობა უდავოდ ადასტურებს სირიულ ცხოვრებაში მოხსენებულ პეტრე იბერის გენეალოგიის სისწორეს.

მაგრამ დგას საკითხი სირიულ ცხოვრებაში მოხსენებული პეტრეს გენეალოგიასთან დაკავშირებული სხვა ისტორიული ცნობების შესახებ. მე მსურს ეს საკითხი უფრო დაწვრილებით განვიხილო „ცხოვრებაში“ მოცემული ამ ცნობების საფუძველზე, რომლებიც რომის აღმოსავლეთ იმპერიაში თეთრი ჰუნების შემოჭრას ეხება. მხედველობაში მაქვს სირიული ცხოვრების რამდენიმე წინადადება, რომელიც ავტორს მოაქვს ნაწარმოების დასაწყისში, პეტრეს გენეალოგიასთან დაკავშირებით. აქ ნათქვამია: ფარსმანი, პეტრეს დიდდეს ძმა, იყო რომის კეისრის, არკადიოსის მხედართმთავარი. მოვიანებით იგი იძულებული გამხდარა: მიეტოვებინა ჰეისრის კარი და სამ-

შობლოში დაბრუნებულიყო. იბერიაში გამეფებისას მან თან ჩამოიყვანა თეთრი ჰუნები, რომლებმაც დიდი ზიანი მიაყენეს ყველას, ვინც რომაელთა ქვეშევრდომად ითვლებოდა.

აქ იგულისხმება ჰუნების დიდი შემოსევა აღმოსავლეთ რომის იმპერიის აღმოსავლეთ პროვინციებში. ჩვენი წყაროების მიხედვით ჰუნების ასეთი მძლავრი შემოსევა მოხდა პეტრეს ეპოქაზე ცოტა ადრე, 395/6 წლებში. ეს დადგენილია უკვე ი. მარკვარტის მიერ. მისი აზრით, სარწმუნო ჩანს „ცხოვრების“ ცნობა იმის შესახებ, რომ შემოსეული ჰუნები ჰეპტალიტებად იწოდებოდნენ. აქ მარკვარტი ეყრდნობა აგრეთვე მოვისეს დასხურანცის ნაშრომის ერთ ადგილს, სადაც ნათქვამია, რომ წმინდა მამტოცმა გააქრისტიანა ჰეპტალიტებიც, რომლებიც ალექსანდრე დიდმა დაასახლა კავკასიაში. მარკვარტის დასკვნის სისწორის შესახებ რომ ვიმსჯელოთ, საჭიროა განვიხილოთ ჰუნების 395/6 წლების თავდასხმის შესახებ არსებული სხვა ცნობებიც.

ჰუნების ისტორიის უკანასკნელი ოცდაათიანი წლები (430—360 წწ.), აღსაყვამდ დრამატული ეპიზოდებით, ეკუთვნის მსოფლიო ისტორიის კარვად ცნობილ ფურცლებს. ჰუნების ტომთა კონფედერაცია გრძელდება არა მარტო ევროპაში, ოცდაათწლოვანი აყვავების პერიოდში, არამედ აგრეთვე 50 წელი. მაგრამ ამ ადრინდელი ხანის შესახებ ჩვენ ძალზე ძუნწი ცნობები მოგვეპოვება. ეს მით უფრო საკვირველია, რომ ჰუნების კონფედერაცია, რომელსაც უდაოდ შესწევდა ძალა დაემარცხებინა და განედევნა თავისი ქვეყნიდან ძლიერი გოთები, უკვე ატილამდე არაჩვეულებრივად ძლიერ სამხედრო ძალაუფლებას წარმოადგენდა და უზარმაზარ ტერიტორიას ფლობდა დონსა და ქვემო დუნაის შორის.

ბურუსი, რომლითაც ჰუნების ევროპული ისტორიის პირველი ათეული წლებია მოსილი, იშვიათად გაიფანტება ხოლმე, ისიც ძალიან მოკლე პერიოდისათვის, ისე, რომ ჩვენ მოკლებული ვართ საშუალებას რამდენიმე სრულად წარმოვიდგინოთ ჰუნების ტომების კონფედერაციის შინაგანი წყობა, წარმოშობა და ორგანიზაცია. განსაკუთრებით ძუნწია ჩვენს განკარგულებაში მყოფი ცნობები აღმოსავლეთ რომის იმპერიისა და ჰუნების ურთიერთობის შესახებ. ჰუნები შედარებით იშვიათად ესხმოდნენ თავს იმპერიის აღმოსავლეთ მხარეს. თანაც ეს თავდასხმები არასდროს არ ისახავდა მიზნად იმპერიის განადგურებას. მათ მიზანს შეადგენდა რაც შეიძლება მეტი ნადავლის მიტაცება.

პირველი და ამავე დროს ყველაზე დიდი თავდასხმა მოხდა 395/6 წლებში. ჩვენს ხელთა მთელი რიგი წყაროები ამ თავდასხმის შესახებ, რომლებიც, ალბათ, ჰუნების ისტორიის ყველაზე საინტერესო ფურცლებს ეკუთვნიან. ამ ნაშრომში მინდა ვუჩვენო, რომ წყაროების შესწავლისას ბევრი რამაა მხედველობიდან გამოარჩენილი და რომ ყველაზე მნიშვნელოვანი ამ წყაროებიდან — მათ შორის პრისკეს ცნობებიც — დღემდე თითქმის სრულიად უწყურადღებოდა დატოვებული. ამის გამო ჩვენ თავიდან უნდა დავიწყოთ არსებული საბუთების შესწავლა. აქ განზრახული მაქვს წარმოვადგინო მთავარი შედეგები ერთ-ერთი ჩემი ხელნაწერი სტატიისა, რომელშიც მე დაწვრილებით განვიხილავ ამ პრობლემას.

მთელი რიგი რომაულ-ბერძნული წყაროები აღნიშნავენ 395/6 წლებში ჰუნების შემოსევას თრაქიასა და აგრეთვე კავკასიონის ვაკლით აღმოსავლეთ რომის იმპერიის აღმოსავლეთ პროვინციებში. ამ ფაქტის მთავარი მოწმე იყო პოეტი კლავდიანუსი, რომელიც თავის პანეგირიკებსა და სატირულ ლექსებში

ში მრავალგზის იხსენიებს ჰუნთა შემოსევებს. ერთ-ერთ თავის ინვექტივაში, რომელიც მან დაწერა აღმოსავლეთ რომის იმპერიის მინისტრის რუფინუსის წინააღმდეგ. კლავდიანუსი წერს ჰუნთა ურდოების შესახებ, რომლებიც აღარისის გოთებთან ერთად 395 წლის ზამთარში (სახელდობრ, თებერვლამდე ან თებერვლის შემდეგ) გადავიდნენ გაყინულ დუნაიზე და ეწვივნენ თრაქიას. ამავე წინაარსის მოკლე ცნობებს ვპოულობთ ეკლესიის ისტორიკოს სოზომენესთან, კესარიელისა და აგრეთვე კასიოდორუსის შრომაშიც. არა მარტო ამ წყაროების ავტორები, არამედ თანამედროვე კომენტატორებიც იმ აზრის არიან, რომ ბარბაროსების თავდასხმის საბაბი მაშინ იყო ის გარემოება, რომ ამ დროისათვის აღმოსავლეთ რომის იმპერიის მთელი ჯარი დასავლეთში იმყოფებოდა. რომაელთა ჯარებს მეთაურობდა ძლევაშილი მინისტრი სტილიქო. კლავდიანუსის და ეკლესიის ისტორიკოსების სოკრატესა და სოზომენეს აზრით, ჰუნების თავდასხმა რომის იმპერიის ამ ნაწილში თვით რუფინუსს გამოუწვევია. კლავდიანუსი იქვე იხსენიებს ჰუნების მეორე ლაშქრობას აღმოსავლეთ რომის იმპერიაში. მისი აზრით, ხსენებული თავდასხმა თრაქიაზე მოხდა per terga ferocis Danuvii solidata იმ დროს, როდესაც, მისივე აზრით, alii (sc. Hunni) per Caspia claustra invadunt Orientis opes.

მართალია, ამ ერთ ფრაზაში ჰუნების ორ თავდასხმაზე ლაპარაკი, მაგრამ მისი სიტყვებიდან არ ჩანს, რომ ეს ორი თავდასხმა ერთმანეთთან სტრატეგიულად იყოს დაკავშირებული. კავკასიონზე გადმოსულმა ჰუნთა ურდოებმა კლავდიანუსის თქმით ჯერ სომხეთი ააოხრეს — ავტორი ასახელებს ნიფატეს მთას — ხოლო შემდეგ გადავიდნენ აღმოსავლეთ რომის იმპერიის მდიდარ აღმოსავლეთ პროვინციებში. გადამწვარი სოფლების კვამლი ფარავდა კაპადოკიის მთის არგაიოსის მიდამოებს. მდინარე ჰალისი წითლად შეიღებდა სისხლისაგან. ბარბაროსებმა კილიკიაც არ დაინდეს. გაჩანაგდა სირიის უხვი სამოვრები; ალყა შემოარტყეს ანტიოქიას. კლავდიანუსი ევტროპიუსის წინააღმდეგ მიმართულ ინვექტივებში აღწერს ჰუნების ტყვეობაში ჩავარდნილ რომაელთა ვასაქირს. კაპადოკიელი ქალები კავკასიის მდინარის ფაზისის გადაღმა, ჩრდილოეთისაკენ გაუტაცნიათ, და „სირიის ყვავილები“ კი კიმერიასა და claustra Taurorum-ის იქით, ე .ი. ყირიმის ჩრდილოეთით, სკვითების მონებად გაუხდიათ.

კლავდიანუსის ლექსებიდან ვგებულობთ ჰუნების თავდასხმის გეოგრაფიულ საზღვრებს; მისგანვე ვიგებთ იმ საინტერესო ამბავს, რომ ჰუნთა შემოტევა დარიალიდან დაიწყო და რომ მათი თავდასხმის პირველი ჰუნქტები claustra Taurorum და კიმერული ანუ მეოტური ქაობები იყო. კლავდიანუსის მიხედვით ჰუნების ქვეყანა შავი ზღვის ჩრდილოეთით მდებარეობდა. ამ საკითხს შემდგომ დავუბრუნდებით.

კლავდიანუსის ცნობებს სავსებით ადასტურებს ფილოსტორგიოსის ზემოხსენებული ცნობები. ამ უკანასკნელის მიხედვით, თავდასხმელი ჰუნები მოემართებოდნენ აგრეთვე სკვითეთიდანაც. მათ თავდაპირველად გადალახეს მდინარე ტანაისი და შემდეგ თავს დაესხნენ რომის აღმოსავლეთ პროვინციებს. როგორც უკვე ითქვა, კლავდიანუსი ახსენებს ნიფატეს მთას სომხეთში. ფილოსტორგიოსი ასახელებს პროვინციას — Megale Armenia-ს, სადაც მდებარეობს ნიფატეს მთა. ფილოსტორგიოსის ცნობა გვაფიქრებინებს, რომ თავდასხმელთა ურდოები მალე დაიყო რამდენიმე რაზმად. ფილოსტორგიოსის მიერ მოხსენებული რაზმები შესაძლოა გაემართნენ არა კაპადო-



კისაყენ, არამედ მელიტენესკენ და შემდეგ კი გასწიეს ევფრატის გადაღმა სამხრეთით სირიისაკენ, კოილე-სირიამდე. უკან დაბრუნების ემს ურდობმა ააოხრეს კილიკია. ფილასტორაგოსისა და კლავდიანუსის ცნობები სამხრეთში ჰუნების ექსპანსიის შესახებ დასტურდება იერონიმუსის მიერ. იერონიმუსი თავის ცნობილ წერილებში (ad Oceanum და ad Heliodorum) ჰუნების შემოსევასთან დაკავშირებით ლაპარაკობს (არც თუ ისე დამაჯერებელი კილოთი) სირიის დედაქალაქ ანტიოქიასა და ჰალისზე, კიდნოსზე და ორონტზე განლაგებული ქალაქების შესახებ. განსაკუთრებით მკვეთრ ფერებში აღწერს იმ შიშს, რომელიც გამოიწვია ჰუნების შემოსევამ პალესტინასა, ფინიკიასა, ეგვიპტესა და არაბეთში. შეიქმნა იერუსალიმზე თავდასხმის საშიშროება; კიდევ გავრცელდა ხმები, რომ ჰუნები აპირებენ იერუსალიმის განადგურებას. იერონიმუსი განსაკუთრებით შეძრწუნებული იყო — და ეს სავსებით გასაგებია — მრავალი მონასტრის ბერთა და მონაზონთა ბედით.

სწორედ ამ ამბებს ეძღვნება სირიელი საეკლესიო მწერლის კირილონოსის მეტრეული ჰომილიები, რომლებშიც იგი დასტურებს ჰუნების შემოსევის შედეგად გამოწვეულ საშინელ უბედურებას. ლიტერატურული ხასიათის სირიული წყაროები გადმოგვცემენ, რომ ბარბაროსების ეს შემოსევა აღწერილია აგრეთვე სხვა სირიელი საეკლესიო მწერლის მიერ. ეს მწერალი იყო პრესვიტერი და ამ წყაროებში მოახსენიება აბსამიას სახელით. ამ ცოტა ხნის წინ ი. ბ. სეგლის მიერ Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies-ში გამოქვეყნებულ იქნა დღემდე უცნობი ძველი სირიული წარწერები (ჩვენი წელთაღრიცხვით მეორე საუკუნისა). ვინაიდან ამ წარწერებში სახელი აბსამია ნახსენებია, როგორც წარმართული თეოფორული სახელი, ჩემი აზრით, პირვანდელი მოსაზრება იმის შესახებ, რომ წარმართული სახელი აბსამია იმავე პიროვნებას ეკუთვნის, რომელსაც ქრისტიანული კირილონოსი — ეკვმიუტანელი ხდება. განსაკუთრებული მნიშვნელობისაა კირილონოსის ქრონოლოგიური მონაცემები. 396 წელს ედესაში, ჩრდილო სირიაში, კირილონოსმა ყოვლადწმიდის დღესასწაულთან დაკავშირებით შეთხზა ჩვენამდე მოღწეული ჰომილიები. ამ ჰომილიებში ნათქვამია, რომ ჰუნების შემოსევა დაახლოებით ერთი წლის წინ მომხდარა. თუ გავითვალისწინებთ იმას, რომ მეოთხე საუკუნეში ჩვენთვის ყოვლადწმიდის მხოლოდ სამი დღესასწაულია ცნობილი და თანაც სამივე ზაფხულზე ტარდებოდა, უნდა ვივარაუდოთ, რომ კირილონოსს თავისი ჰომილიები 396 წლის გაზაფხულზე დაუწერია. ხოლო ჰუნების დიდი თავდასხმა მომხდარა 395 წლის ზაფხულზე. კირილონოსი წერს, რომ ჰუნთა თავდასხმის საშიშროება ჯერ კიდევ არ იყო გასული თვით ამ ჰომილიების რედაქტირების პერიოდში; მეტიც, არ იყო გამორიცხული შესაძლებლობა, რომ ჰუნები კვლავ განასლებდნენ შემოსევას, ვინაიდან ისინი ჯერ კიდევ იმ მიდამოებში იმყოფებოდნენ. ეს იმას ნიშნავს, რომ ჰუნების შემოსევა ორი წლის განმავლობაში გრძელდებოდა. ეს დასკვნა მით უფრო მნიშვნელოვანია, რომ ბერძნულ-რომაულ წყაროებში თითქმის არ მოიპოვება ჰუნთა ლაშქრობის შესახებ ქრონოლოგიური ცნობები. საინტერესო ცნობებს გვაწვდის ე. წ. ფსევდო-დიონისე ტელმარენსის ქრონიკა, რომელშიც ძალზე დაწვრილებით არის აღწერილი ჰუნების თარეში ჩრდილო მესოპოტამიაში. ამ წყაროს მიხედვით ჰუნებმა დალაშქრეს ტურა საჰია (Tura Sahya) ე. ი. ტავრის მთის მიდამოები. ავტორი ასახელებს არხანენს და ინგილენს პიროვნებებს, ქალაქებს: მაიფერკატს, ე. ი.

მარტიროპოლისს, ამიდს, ჰანციტს, არზამოსატარს და დიდი ციატის ციხე-სიმაგრეებს. ჰუნებს განსაკუთრებით გაუჭირდათ ზემო ტიგროსის და მგლის მდინარის ნაპირების აღება. მაგრამ ყველაზე მნიშვნელოვანია ცნობა იმის შესახებ, რომ რომაელებმა ბოლოს და ბოლოს დაამარცხეს ჰუნები: ჯერ ზურგნი ჩაუნგრეს ხიდი ევფრატზე და მერე პირისპირ ეკვეთნენ ჰუნებს. ეს ერთადერთი შემთხვევაა, სადაც რამდენიმე სიტყვით მაინც არის აღწერილი ევტროპიუსის გამარჯვება ჰუნებზე. მეორე, უფრო მოკლე ცნობას ჩვენ ვხვდებით იოშუა სტილიტის სირიულ ქრონიკაში. აქ ლაპარაკია იმაზე, რომ ჰუნების შემოსევის მიზეზი იყო რუფინუსის დალატი და სტრატელატ ადდაის სისუსტე. ადდაის შესახებ მხოლოდ ის ვიცით, რომ მისი სახელი სირიული წარმოშობისაა.

ბოლოს, მე მინდა შევესო კიდევ ერთ სირიულ წყაროს ე. წ. „Liber Calipharum“-ს, რომელიც საინტერესო ცნობებს გვაწვდის ჰუნების ლაშქრობის შესახებ. გარდა იმისა, რომ აქ გადმოცემულია ის წვრილმანები, რომლებსაც სხვა წყაროებშიც ვხვდებით, ეს წყარო მოგვითხრობს იმის შესახებ, რომ ჰუნებმა მიატოვეს რომის პროვინციები და სირია, თავი მოიყარეს ზემო ტიგროსის და ევფრატის მიდამოებში; იქიდან გასწიეს სამხრეთისაკენ, დალაშქრეს სპარსეთის პროვინციები და ძალიან ახლოს მივიდნენ სპარსეთის დედაქალაქ სელევკია-ქთეზიფონთან. მალე ამას მოჰყვა სპარსელების საპასუხო იერიში; ჰუნები უკუაქციეს, ნადავლის დიდი ნაწილი წაართვეს ჰუნებს და გაათავისუფლეს 18 000 ტყვე. ეს ცნობა პირველ რიგში მნიშვნელოვანია ქრონოლოგიური თვალსაზრისით. ესლა ჩვენთვის ცხადია, რომ ჰუნები მეორედ შეიყარნენ ზემო ტიგროსისა და ევფრატის მიდამოებში, ვინაიდან მათ განზრახული ჰქონდათ სპარსეთის წინააღმდეგ გალაშქრება. ამ ცნობის შედარება ფსევდო-დიონისე ტელმარენსის ხსენებულ ქრონიკასთან გვაფიქრებინებს, რომ ჰუნების მეორე შეყრა ჩრდილოეთ სირიაში უნდა მომხდარიყო 396 წლის გაზაფხულზე. თავისთავად ეს ფაქტი მნიშვნელოვნად ავსებს ბერძნულ-რომაულ წყაროებს.

კიდევ უფრო საინტერესო ისაა, რომ ეს სირიული ცნობა ჩვენ შესაძლებლობას გვაძლევს ავსინათ და დავათარილოთ პრისკეს ნაწერიდან მრავალჯის ეტირებული ადგილი. საქმე ეხება პისკეს ზემომოხსენებულ სტრიქონებს, რომლებშიც ლაპარაკია იმაზე, რომ დასავლეთ რომის ელჩი რომელუსი. რომელიც 449 წელს შეხვდა პრისკეს ატილას ბანაკში, მოგვითხრობს სპარსეთში ჰუნების დიდი ლაშქრობის შესახებ. რომელუსი ამ ფაქტს ათარიღებს სიტყვით — პალაი (παλαι). ყველაშათვის ცნობილია, თუ რა თავსატეხად იყო ქცეული კომენტატორებისათვის ამ სიტყვის ამოხსნა. სანამ არ აღმოჩნდებოდა ახალი წყაროები. აქ აღწერილ ამბებს აკუთვნებენ დაახლოებით მეოთხე საუკუნის შუა პერიოდს, ხან მეხუთე საუკუნის ოციან წლებს. მხოლოდ ი. ვეზენდოკმა თავის მოკლე წერილში და მის მიხედვით პ. ვაჩიმ (P. Váczy) დაუკავშირეს ერთმანეთს რომელუსის და „ლიბერ კალიფარუმის“ ცნობები. ჩემი აზრით, სირიული წყაროსა და პრისკეს ცნობების შედარებას მივყავართ ორივე ცნობის იდენტურობამდე. რომელუსის მიხედვით ჰუნებმა სტეპებსა და ჰაობებზე გავლით 15 დღეში მიადწიეს მთიამ მხარეს. კლავდიანუსის სიტყვებიდან ჩანს, რომ ჰუნებმა გაიარეს კავკასიონი დარიალის გზით. პრისკისთან არ არის ნახსენები ჰუნების შემოსევა აღ-

მოსავლეთ რომის იმპერიაში; რომულუსს უნდოდა მხოლოდ ის დაემტკიცებინა, რომ ჰუნებისათვის ცნობილი იყო გზა სპარსეთისაკენ. განსაკუთრებით ბევრის მთქმელია ამ ორი ციტატის დასასრულის თანხვედრა, სადაც ლაპარაკია იმის შესახებ, თუ როგორ დაიბრუნეს სპარსელებმა ჰუნების მიერ გატაცებული ნადავლი.

ბერძნულ-რომაული წყაროები დღემან იმის შესახებ, თუ რომელი გზით დაბრუნდნენ ჰუნები თავის ქვეყანაში ამ დიდი ლაშქრობის შემდეგ. სამაგიეროდ რომულუსის მონაყოლიდან ვიგებთ, რომ ჰუნების გზა გადიოდა მიდიაზე ნავთობის საბადოებისაკენ, ე. ი. ბაქოსა და დერბენდთან მდებარე ვადასავლელებისაკენ.

დიდ ინტერესს იწვევს რომულუსის მიერ დასახელებული ფაქტი იმის შესახებ, რომ ჰუნების ლაშქრის მეთაურები ვასიხი და კურსიხი უფრო გვიან ჩასულან რომში რომაელებთან სამხედრო კავშირის (homaichmia) დასადებად. ჩვენს ხელთ არსებული არც ერთი წყარო არ იძლევა ცნობას აღმოსავლეთ რომისა და ჰუნებს შორის სამხედრო კავშირის შესახებ. მართალია, 400 წელს ჰუნთა მეფემ ულდინმა რომაელებს დიდი სამსახური გაუწია იმით, რომ მოაკვდინა გოთი მეამბოხე გაინასი, მაგრამ ულდინმა ამისთვის მიიღო მხოლოდ საჩუქარი და მასთან დადებული ხელშეკრულება (Spondai) — როგორც ირკვევა მომდევნო წლების ისტორიიდან — არ იყო დაკავშირებული არც ჰუნების გადმოსახლებასთან აღმოსავლეთ რომის პროვინციებში და არც სამხედრო კავშირთან. დიდია ალბათობა იმისა, რომ ამ ადგილის (eis ten Romem) ტრადიციული თარგმანი — „ქალაქ რომში“, სწორი უნდა იყოს. მაშინ იქმნება მხოლოდ ორი შესაძლებლობა: ვასიხი და კურსიხი ჩაედინნენ რომში სამხედრო ხელშეკრულების დასადებად ან 405 წელს, ან 406 წელს. ეს ორი შემთხვევა იყო, როდესაც ჰუნები მეხუთე საუკუნის პირველი ოცდაათიანი წლების განმავლობაში გამოდიოდნენ როგორც დასავლეთ რომის მოკავშირეები. მაგრამ, ვინაიდან 409 წელს ჰუნებს არ შეეძლოთ შესულიყვნენ გაუწევის მიერ ალყაშემორტყმულ რომში, რჩება მეორე შესაძლებლობა. კერძოდ ის, რომ დასავლეთ რომაელებთან სამხედრო ხელშეკრულება 405 წელს სწორედ ვასიხმა და კურსიხმა დადეს. ამ ხელშეკრულების თანახმად დასავლეთ რომაელებისათვის ჰუნებს გადასწავი დახმარება გაუწევიათ რადაგაისის თავდასხმის დროს. უკვე გასაგებია ისიც, თუ რატომ წერს ზოსიმე შემდეგ 409 წლის ამბებთან დაკავშირებით, რომ: იმპერატორმა პონორიუსმა რავენაში თავისი თავშესაფარიდან საშველად უბმო (epikaleito) 10 000 ჰუნს, ეს მოხდა უკვე არსებული ხელშეკრულების თანახმად, თუმცა პრისკესთან საეპკო ადგილის ასეთი ახსნა შეიძლება არ იყოს ერთადერთი. მე მაინც ვფიქრობ, რომ ჩვენ სერიოზული ანგარიში უნდა გავუწიოთ იმ ფაქტს, რომ ვასიხმა და კურსიხმა 395 წლის შემდეგ დადეს რომთან დიდი მნიშვნელობის ხელშეკრულება. როგორც ცნობილია, რადაგაისის უზარმაზარი ურდოს წინააღმდეგ საბრძოლველად იტალიაში პირადად ჩამოვიდა ჰუნთა მეფე ულდინი. ეს სრულიად გაუგებარი იქნებოდა, წინასწარ რომ არ გვევარაუდა ის ფაქტი, რომ ჰუნთა გამოჩენას რომში წინ უძღოდა სერიოზული მოლაპარაკება კეისარსა ან სენატს და პარბაროსთა წარმომადგენლებს შორის. ჰუნების 395 წლის ლაშქრობის აღწერის შემცველი აღმოსავლური და დასავლური ცნობების შედარებიდან გამომდინარეობს დასკვნა,

რომელიც ერთის მხრივ ეხება ამ ეპოქის ქრონოლოგიას, ხოლო მეორე მხრივ, კლავდიანუსის შემოქმედებას.

დასავლეთი რომაული შემთხვევითი თვალსაზრისის მიხედვით 399 წელს აღმოსავლეთ რომში შემოჭრილ ჰუნებზე გამარჯვებამ კონსტანტინე პოლიტანა იონუხ ევტროპიუსს. ოტტო ზეისი, ერნსტ შტაინის და ე. დემუჟო-ს („De l'unité à la division de l'empire romain“) მიხედვით ევტროპიუსმა 398 წელს დაამარცხა ჰუნები. იმავე წელს კეისარმა იგი დანიშნა მომავალი წლის კონსულად. მაგრამ ეს არ შეესაბამება ზემოხსენებულ სირიულ წყაროებს. რომელია მიხედვით ჰუნები დაბრუნდნენ სკვითეთში 396 წელს. მართალია, არცერთი შესატყვისის ბერძნულ-რომაულ წყაროში არ არის ნათქვამი, რომ ჰუნებთან ბრძოლები 397-8 წლებში გრძელდებოდა, მაგრამ საფიქრებელია. ეს მაინც ასე იყო, რადგან კლავდიანუსი, როგორც ჩანს, იონუხის კონსულობას უკავშირებს მის გამარჯვებას ჰუნებზე. მას მოაქვს ტალიბუს პროგნოსტიკის დამტკიცებელი სიტყვები „მოხუცებული ამორძალის“ (ასე უწოდებდნენ იგი ევტროპიუსს) ლაშქრობის შესახებ. ამავე დროს ყურადღების გარეშე რჩება არა მარტო აქ მოტანილი აღმოსავლური ცნობები, არამედ კლავდიანუსის მტკიცება იმის შესახებ, რომ ევტროპიუსის კონსულად დანიშვნას წინ უძღოდა „ერთი მშვიდობიანი წელი“ (qui caruit bellis, ennicho traditur annus) ხოლო ეს საგნებით ემთხვევა ჩვენს სირიულ ცნობას: ევტროპიუსის ბრძოლები ჰუნებთან დამთავრდა 396 წელს. სამაგიეროდ შემდეგი წლის პირველ ნახევარში ადგილი ჰქონდა გოთებთან ბრძოლას ბალკანებში. 397 წლის ბოლომ და 398 წელს ევტროპიუსის კონსულად დანიშვნამდე ომების გარეშე ჩაიარა. ეს ზუსტად ემთხვევა კლავდიანუსის სიტყვებს: „annus, qui caruit bellis“.

დასკვნის სახით შეიძლება ითქვას: „ცხოვრებაში“ მოცემული ცნობები 395/6 წლებში ჰუნთა შემოჭრის შესახებ დასტურდება მთელ რიგ ბერძნულ-რომაულ და სირიულ პარალელურ წყაროებში. აქამდე ჩვენ შეგვიძლია გავიზიაროთ იოსებ მარკვარტის აზრი. მაგრამ ხაზი უნდა გაესვას იმ გარეშე მოვას, რომ არცერთი ამ წყაროთაგანი გარდა სირიული ცხოვრებისა არ იხსენიებს თეთრ ჰუნებს. პრისკე და ფილოსტორგიოსი დარწმუნებულნი არიან, რომ ის ჰუნები, რომლებიც თავს დაესხნენ აღმოსავლეთ რომის იმპერიას, იყვნენ ევროპელი ჰუნები, დასახლებული დონსა და დუნაის შორის. ადვილი გასაგებია რატომ იხსენიებს „ცხოვრების“ ავტორი თეთრ ჰუნებს. იგი წერდა 528 წლის შემდეგ, ე. ი. იმ დროს, როდესაც ევროპელი ჰუნების სახელმწიფოს ხსენებაც აღარ იყო. ჰუნების ერთადერთი სახელმწიფო, რომელიც არსებობდა იმ დროს, თეთრი ჰუნების სახელმწიფოა, რომელიც მდებარეობდა არა იბერიის მახლობლად, როგორც ეს „ცხოვრების“ ავტორს ჰგონია. არამედ ეხლანდელი ავღანეთის ჩრდილოეთით. ჩვენ აგრეთვე ვერ დავრწმუნდებით წმ. მარტინის ცხოვრების ისტორიაში გადმოცემულ ცნობებს კავკასიონის ჰეფტალიტების შესახებ, ვინაიდან იბადება ეჭვი, რომ მოგისე დასხურანცის წყარო ალექსანდრე დიდის მიერ კავკასიონის მიდამოებში ჩამოსახლებულ ჰეფტალიტებში ავღანეთის ჰეფტალიტებს გულისხმობდა. ალექსანდრეს ისტორიის მიხედვით არსებობს სხვა კავკასიონი და სწორედ იქ, სადაც მდებარეობს ჰეფტალიტების ისტორიული სახელმწიფო — ინდოეთის ჩრდილო დასავლეთით.

ძალიან მნიშვნელოვნად მიმაჩნია სირიული „ცხოვრების“ ის ცნობა. რომლის თანახმად სწორედ ფარსმან იბერიელმა ჩვენთვის გაუგებარი მიზეზების გამო „ჰუნები თან ჩამოიყვანა“. ფარსმანი ეტყობა იმპერატორის კარიდან გაქცევით შემდეგ რომაელებს გადაემტერა. ამით აიხსნება მისი კავშირი ჰუნებთან. მაგრამ ჰუნთა დიდი შემოსევა 395/6 წლებში არც ფარსმან იბერიელის და არც აღმოსავლეთ რომის მინისტრის რუფინუსის ბრალი არ იყო. როგორც დავინახეთ, პრისკეს სავსებით სარწმუნო ცნობა იმაზე მიუთითებს, რომ ჰუნთა შემოსევის მიზეზი ღალატი კი არ უოფილა. არამედ გვალვა, რომელსაც მოჰყვა შიმშილიანობა ჰუნთა ქვეყანაში.

(გერმანულიდან თარგმნა ლ. მამაცაშვილმა)

## PSEUDO-ZACHARIAS RHETOR ON THE NOMADS

BY

K. CZEGLÉDY

It is customary, from the viewpoint of Proto-Bulgarian and Khazar history and, in general, of the history of the Steppe, to attach extraordinary importance to the *Appendix* which was joined by an unknown author to the epitomized Syriac translation of the lost Greek *Church History* of Zacharias Rhetor (Book XII, Chapter 7).<sup>1</sup> In recent decades, however, it

<sup>1</sup> Ed. E. W. Brooks, vol. II, pp. 202–213: *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. Scriptores Syri*. Tomus 42. *Historia Ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta*, Louvain 1953 (reimpr.). — The epitomized text of Zacharias Rhetor's lost Greek *Ecclesiastical History* is comprised in the books III–VI of the Syriac *Historia Miscellanea* known as the *Ecclesiastical History of Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor*. The latter is an anonymous work in 12 books (A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn 1922, pp. 183–184). On Zacharias Rhetor see K. Wegenast: *Pauly-Wissowa Realencyklopädie* IX. A, 2 (1967), coll. 2212–2216.

The possibility of attributing the lost Greek original of the *Ecclesiastical History* to Zacharias, bishop of Mitylene, has been flatly denied by E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis: Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Literatur* XLIX/2 (1939), pp. 366–367; cf. E. Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites: Corp. Script. Christian. Orient. Subsidia*, t. II, Louvain 1951, p. 101, idem, *Patristic Studies: Studi e testi* N° 173, 1953, pp. 194–204; A. Baumstark—A. Rucker, *Die aramäische und syrische Literatur: Handbuch der Orientalistik* (ed. B. Spuler) III, *Semitistik*, 2–3. Abschnitt, Leiden 1954, pp. 186–187.

The Syriac *Ecclesiastical History* is held by church historians to be the main source of ecclesiastical history in the period following the Synod of Chalcedon (451 A.D. G. Bardy, *Zacharias le Rhéteur: Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* XV, 1950, coll. 3676–3680; P. Mouterde, *Le Concile de Chalcedonie d'après les historiens monophysites de langue syriaque: Das Konzil von Chalkedon* I, Würzburg 1951, pp. 581–602). — Some passages of the Syriac *Ecclesiastical History* bearing on the life of Petrus Iberus have been discussed in detail by V. Nosadze in his review of the *Corpus Areopagiticum. Petrus Iberus (Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita)*. Opera, ed. S. I. Erukachvili, Tbilisi 1961, in *Bedi Karthlisa* XIII–XIV (1962), pp. 176–181; S. I. Nucubidze, *Petr Iver*, Tbilisi 1963, pp. 115–126.

has been realized with growing clarity that there are special difficulties which beset the use of this *Appendix*. Since the publication, in 1903, of the comments of J. Marquart,<sup>2</sup> which have ever since been regarded as basic to the knowledge of this writing, doubts have repeatedly been raised about certain data contained in the *Appendix*. The ethnic name *k. s. r.*, in particular, the first historical occurrence, as often alleged, of the name of the Khazars, has occasioned a great deal of discussion.<sup>3</sup> It is also customary to stress the extraordinary importance of the ethnic name *h. r. w. s* in the text.<sup>4</sup> As many believe, the latter in fact denotes the *Ῥῶς* and thus precedes by centuries the subsequent historical references to this people. Marquart and also some other authors following him attached until quite recent times great importance to the ethnic names *k. w. r. t. r. g. r* and *s. r. w. r. g. w. r* in the text of the *Appendix*, and Marquart used their evidence to reconstruct the original ending of the Proto-Bulgarian ethnic names ending in *-gur* in the Byzantine sources as *-urgur*.<sup>5</sup> The name *burgar*, on the other hand, has raised a number of historical and geographical problems, and there is no general agreement as to their resolution.<sup>6</sup>

In the course of the discussions since 1903 no one has attempted to re-examine the specifically philological problems which the *Appendix* raises. The time has therefore come to review the philological conclusions which

<sup>2</sup> J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, pp. 355–367.

<sup>3</sup> F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurische Glossen: Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* VIII (1920), p. 312; M. Kmoskó apud K. Czeglédy, *Monographs in the Literary Remains of M. Kmoskó: Acta Orient Hung.* IV (1954), pp. 39–41, 53–55; P. Pelliot, *Histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1949, p. 207; W. B. Henning, *A Farewell to the Khagan of the Aq-Aqatāran: Bull. of the School of Orient. and African Studies* XIV (1952), pp. 501–507; F. Altheim–Ruth-Stiehl, *Ein asiatischer Staat* I, Wiesbaden 1954, p. 288, 292–293; F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen* I, Berlin 1961, p. 5, IV (1962), pp. 274–279, 307; K. Czeglédy, *Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der Chazaren: Acta Orient. Hung.* XIII (1961), pp. 239–251; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* II, Wiesbaden 1965, pp. 73–74; O. J. Maenchen-Helfen, *Akatir: Central Asiatic Journal* XI (1966), pp. 282–283.

<sup>4</sup> Marquart: *Baltische Monatsschrift* LXXVI (1913), pp. 264–277; N. V. Pigulevskaya, *Imya rus v sirijskom istočnike VI. v. n. ē.: Akad. B. D. Grekovu. Sbornik statej*, Moskva 1952, pp. 42–48, cf. K. Czeglédy: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIII, pp. 242–244; H. Paszkiewicz, *The Making of the Russian Nation*, London 1963, pp. 117–118.

<sup>5</sup> Marquart, *Die altbulgarischen Ausdrücke in der Inschrift von Čatalar*, Sofia 1911, p. 13, n. 4; idem: *Ungarische Jahrbücher* IX (1929), pp. 80–81.

<sup>6</sup> F. Altheim, *Waldleute und Feldleute: Paideuma* V (1954), pp. 424–430; H. Lauterbach, *Untersuchungen zur Vorgeschichte der Protobulgaren, nach einem Bericht des Theophanes*, apud F. Altheim–Ruth Stiehl, *Die Araber in der Alten Welt* IV, Berlin 1967, pp. 583–585.

Marquart made nearly seventy years ago. We have all the more reason to do this as there is hope that a new analysis might also cast some light upon the ethnic names of the *Appendix*.

## I.

The Ptolemaeus epitome embodied in the *Appendix* under the title *Ἰσθμὸς τῆς οἰκουμένης: σκόδιος τῆς οἰκουμένης* («A delineation of the habitable world») is undoubtedly one of those Ptolemaeus epitomes circulating in the Byzantine empire which, beside their Greek versions, also existed in Armenian and Syriac.<sup>7</sup> The Syriac *Skariphos*, however, is of much smaller volume than either the Syriac epitome of James of Edessa (+ 708 A. D.)<sup>8</sup> or the Armenian *Geography* (the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*) attributed to Moses Xorenac'i,<sup>9</sup> and it is much shorter than the Ptolemaeus epitome of Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Ḥuwārizmī, the *Rasm al-rub' al-ma'mūr* (c. 840 A. D.).<sup>10</sup> Its author, like the compilers of the other epitomes, dismissed the whole of the physico-mathematical introduction of the Ptolemaic work, and even the meagre supply of geographical data culled thence and incorporated in his abstract bears the marks of careless and arbitrary selection.

<sup>7</sup> On the Ptolemaeus epitomes in the Near East see E. Honigmann, *Die Sieben Klimata und die ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΕΠΙΣΗΜΟΙ*, Heidelberg 1929, pp. 1, 114–116, 158–160.

<sup>8</sup> *Hexaemeron, seu in opus creationis libri septem*, ed. J. B. Chabot – A. Vaschalde: *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient. Scr. Syri*, t. 56, 1928.

<sup>9</sup> The *Armenian Geography* (attributed sometimes without sufficient proofs to the mathematician Anania Širakac'i) is an epitomized translation of the Greek original, written by Pappus of Alexandria. The Armenian version includes, however, very important new details concerning the Northern regions, see H. Mžik, *Neue Gesichtspunkte zur Würdigung der Geographie des Klaudios Ptolemaios für die Orientalistik: Litterae Orientales* LVI (1933), pp. 1–16; A. Akinean in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopaedie*, Suppl. Bd. VI (1935), coll. 534–540; A. Abrahamyan, *Xorenac'un veragrvoł «Ašxarhac'oyc'»-i helinaki harc'i šurfo*, Erevan 1940; idem, *Anania Širakac'u matenagrut'yunu*, Erevan 1944; J. Manandjan, *Kogda i kem byla sostavlena Armjanskaja Geografija pripisivac'maja Mojseju Khorenskomu: Vizantijskij Vremennik* XXVI (1947), pp. 127–143; C. Toumanoff, *On the Date of Pseudo-Moses of Chorene: Handes Amorya* LXXV (1961), coll. 467–475; S. T. Evremjan, *Hayastano est «Ašxarhac'oyc'»*, Erevan 1963; V. Inglisian: *Handbuch der Orientalistik* I. Abteilung, 7. Bd. Leiden–Köln 1963, pp. 178–178; E. Polaschek, in *Realenz.* Suppl. Bd. X (1965), coll. 789–794; R. H. Hewsen, *On the Date and Authorship of the Ašxarhac'oyc': Revue des Études Arméniennes* IV (1967), pp. 409–432.

<sup>10</sup> On al-Khuwārizmī see: K. Czeglédy: *Acta Orient. Hung.* II (1951), pp. 46–54; for the most complete reconstruction of al-Khuwārizmī's map: Tadashi Takahashi: *Chirigakushi Kenkyu* II (1962), pp. 5–58, with an English summary.

Compared with the Greek original, his work tells us very little about the geographic conditions and peoples of the countries in the inhabited world. He shows consistency only in giving the numbers of the cities in the countries mentioned.<sup>11</sup>

One might naturally raise the question whether the *Skariphos* was the compilation of the man who epitomized Zacharias Rhetor, that is, the author of the Syriac *Historia Miscellanea*, or was it simply borrowed material, a translation by another author. Available data hardly admit a conclusive answer. In view of the fact, however, that the Syriac *Skariphos* has an independent manuscript tradition<sup>12</sup> of its own, it is more likely that it was not made by the author of the *Appendix*, but this man found and took over an already existing Syriac translation of it. This assumption is certainly corroborated by the further fact that, unlike Pseudo-Moses Xorenac'i and al-Huwārizmi, the author of the *Appendix* made no effort to incorporate the existing geographical knowledge of his own age in the original text of the *Skariphos*, but added a special *Supplement* which he had also found ready and so inserted it into his *Appendix* (cf. under II).

There was only one point in the text of the *Skariphos* on which the author of the *Appendix* effected an essential change. Where Ptolemaeus speaks of the Median *Kadošai* (*Geography* VI, 2), there the author of the Syriac translation mentions the horse-worshipping (ܩܕܝܫܐ) *qadiš*. The reason for this alteration is quite obvious: the *kaduš* living in the southwestern shore regions of the Black Sea had no importance from the viewpoint of the Syrian author. The *qadiš*, however, this nomadic people of eastern origin, some tribes of which lived on the territory of Eastern Syria were too well-known after the painful experiences they had caused. It was since 360 A.D., when the Persian king Shapur II transferred a part of this important tribe of the Chionites (Xyōn, Hiung-nu, Hun) from the eastern borders of Iran to northern Mesopotamia, that their incursions kept the Syrians of that region in constant terror.<sup>13</sup>

After the closing sentences of the *Skariphos*, the author of the *Appendix* goes on to make a number of important chronological statements. He denotes the age in which his own notes were made, giving their date more

<sup>11</sup> On the *Skariphos* see Th. Noldeke: *ZDMG* LVI (1902), p. 428; Marquart, *Streifzüge*; idem: *Keleti Szemle* XI (1910), p. 16, n. 1; Baumstark, *Gesch. der syr. Lit.*, p. 171; L. Bagrow: *Imago Mundi* IV (Stockholm 1948), p. 72, cf. Honigsmann, *Patristic Studies*, p. 204, n. 1.

<sup>12</sup> MS. British Museum, Add. 14620, IXth cent.

<sup>13</sup> The Western *qadiš* are often met with in the Syriac literature, see K. Czeglédy: *Acta Orient. Hung.* IV (1954), pp. 62–63.

precisely as the 866th year of the Greek Era (554–555 A.D.), the 28th year of Emperor Justinian's reign (555 A.D.) and the years of the 333rd Olympiad (553–556 A.D.).<sup>14</sup> These data are very important for they make it very probable that the author of the *Appendix* is identical with the author of the whole Syriac *Historia Miscellanea*. For the span of the latter's continuous narrative also covers the same stretch of time, from creation to 555 A.D.<sup>15</sup>

## II.

The short *Supplement*<sup>16</sup> attached to the *Skariphos*, its brevity notwithstanding, is for the historian the most important part of the *Appendix*. It begins with the enumeration of five Christian countries lying to the north of the Mesopotamian author's residence. These are Persarmenia, Gurzan (Iberia) and Arran (Caucasian Albania) under the rule of the Persian king, and Sisagan and Bazgun, the latter stretching from the sea to the Caspian Gates on the territory of the Huns. The heathen people of the Burgars, who have cities, live beyond the Caspian Gates. Then the Alans who have five cities, and the Dadu in the mountains, also possessing cities. The enumeration of thirteen tent-dwelling nomadic peoples follows: 'w.n.g.w.r, 'w.g.r, s.b.r., b.w.r.g.r k.w.r.t.r.g.r, 'b.r, k.s.r, d.y.r.m.r, s.r.w.-r.g.w.r, b.'g.r.s.y.q, k.w.l.s, 'b.d.l, 'f.t.l.y.t. In view of the forms of these names known from other — mainly Byzantine — sources and also of the fact that the phonetic value of the Syriac *k* and *b* as is general in Aramaic languages,<sup>17</sup> was, already prior to the 6th century,  $\chi$  and  $\beta$ , we may propose the following vocalisations: *onogur*, *ogur*, *saβir*, *burgar*,  $\chi u(r) turgur$ , *aβar*, *χasir*, (*i*)*di(r)mar*, *saru(r)gur*, *barsilq* (?), *χwalis*, *aβdel*, *eftalit*. These peoples, continues the *Supplement*, eat the flesh of animals and live by their weapons. Beyond them, north of their region, lies the land of the Amazonides (Ἀμαζονίδες) whose neighbours are a people called *h.r.w.s*. The lat-

<sup>14</sup> K. Ahrens—G. Krüger, *Die sogenannte Kirchengeschichte des Zacharias Rhetor*, Leipzig 1899, p. 380, n. to p. 252, 17.

<sup>15</sup> In XII, 4 he very shortly mentions the year 560 A.D. and in I, 1 the year 569 A. D. without any detailed reports on these years. These may be later interpolations of his own. His continuous narrative ceases with the year 555 A.D. Neither do we know of any old quotations taken from a more complete copy of his work, relating to the period after 555 A.D. This would militate against the idea that the extant text of the work of Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor is incomplete.

<sup>16</sup> Ed. Brooks, p. 214<sub>8</sub>—205<sub>11</sub>.

<sup>17</sup> S. Telegdi, *Essai sur la phonétique des emprunts iraniens en araméen talmudique*: *Journal Asiatique* 1935, pp. 200–201. 213.

ter are giants with long limbs who, because of the enormous size of their extremities, cannot be carried by horses. The Amazonides live together with the *h.r.w.s.* one month each year, then, returning to their own country, they bear their children, of whom only the girls are left alive. There are further three black peoples in the Northeast.

What strikes one's eyes immediately in the text of the Syriac *Supplement* is the Middle Persian forms of the geographic names. For instance, the name of the Caucasian Albania which is well known as *Albania* to Greek and Latin authors, while the Armenian authors write it in the form *Atvank'*.<sup>18</sup> Here we find *Arran* — the form quite well known from the royal inscriptions of Persia<sup>19</sup> and the later New Persian and Arabic sources. Another characteristically late Middle Persian name is *Gurzan* which denotes Iberia.<sup>20</sup> The name *Sisagan* is also a Middle Persian term denoting the province which was called *Siunik'* by the Armenians.<sup>21</sup> Beside the Middle Persian elements, the Byzantine forms in the text of the *Supplement* are also interesting. Thus, the great passage through the middle range of the Caucasus, the Alan Gate (Daryal),<sup>22</sup> is mentioned here by its Greek name as the *Caspian Gates* (*Κάσπια Πύλαι*). It also seems certain that the form *Bazgon* actually reflects a Greek *Ἀβασγῶν* (*gen. plur.*, the name of the Abkhaz).<sup>23</sup> And, of course, it is quite certain that the name *Amazonidae* and the description of the Amazonides is borrowed from some Greek source.

All this indicates that the names occurring in the brief text of the *Supplement* do not come from a single source. Still more remarkable is the fact that certain names in the *Supplement* have partly Middle Persian and

<sup>18</sup> J. Marquart, *Erānšahr*, Berlin 1901, p. 116.

<sup>19</sup> Marie-Louise Chaumont, *L'inscription de Kartir*: JA 1960, p. 361.

<sup>20</sup> G. A. Melikišvili, *K istorii drevnej Gruzii*, Tbilisi 1959, p. 393 (on *Gurzan* in the inscriptions).

<sup>21</sup> H. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, Strassburg 1904, pp. 263–266; A. Maricq (—E. Honigsmann), *Res Gestae divi Saporis*, Bruxelles 1953, p. 173; C. Toumanoff: *Handes Amsorja* LXXV (1961), p. 470. On *Siunik'* see also the controversial conclusions of Z. Bunjatov, *Azerbajdzsan v VII—IX vv.*, Baku 1965, p. 100 and A. S. Mnacakanyan, *O literaturne kavkazskoj Albanii*, Erevan 1969, p. 110.

<sup>22</sup> The problem of the Gate of the Alans has been discussed lately by M.-L. Chaumont: JA 1960, pp. 361–362; J. Harmatta in *Ókori keleti történeti chrestomathia*, Budapest 1965, p. 351; G. Cereteli in the *G. Azvediani Jubilee Volume*, Tbilisi 1969, pp. 327–337, in Georgian.

<sup>23</sup> This interpretation was given by H. Gelzer, *apud* Ahrens—Krüger, *Die Kirchengesch. des Zach. Rhät.*, p. 382, cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 174; the name *Bazgon* has been explained, less convincingly, as a name for *Balasakan* (A. Adonc, *Armenija v epochu Justiniana*, St. Petersburg. 1908, p. 219; Maricq, *Res Gestae divi Saporis*, pp. 32–83; Melikišvili, *K istorii drevnej Gruzii*, p. 392).

partly also Greek characteristics, as, for instance, the name of the husbands of the Amazonides, the *h.r.w.s.* One can prove, as was shown elsewhere in detail, that this is, in fact, the name of the Red Giants in some of the variants of the *Romance of Alexander the Great*, and thus the Syriac *h.r.w.s.* is but the borrowed form of the Byzantine *ῥοῦσσιος*, «red». It can also be shown that, in certain variants of the *Romance of Alexander the Great*, the Red Giants and the Black Peoples mentioned in the *Supplement* live in the geographic vicinity of the Amazonides. Since we can trace the first such variant of the *Romance* chiefly to the Persian Firdausi, we cannot but conclude that it is from a Middle Persian source that the name *h.r.w.s.*, together with the geographic names appearing in Middle Persian forms, reached the author of the *Supplement*.<sup>24</sup> This conclusion is fully confirmed by the fact that the author of the Syriac *Supplement* follows the Middle Persian usage of writing *hr* instead of *rh* or *r*, as usual in Syriac script,<sup>25</sup> to transliterate the Greek *ρ*.<sup>26</sup>

The same is borne out by the manner in which the name *estalit* is written in the *Supplement*. Whereas this form undoubtedly belongs to the group of Greek words ending in *-itai*,<sup>27</sup> and thus can be traced back to the Greek *Ἐφθαλιται*, its transliteration is also different from what one would expect in Syriac. For the Syrians always use *ܐ* to transliterate the Greek *τ*, while they invariably write *ܐ* for the Greek *θ*. Unlike these, both Greek sounds are represented by *ܐ* in that variant of the *Romance of Alexander the Great* which was not based on the Greek original but on a Middle Persian translation of it.<sup>28</sup>

In view of all this we may now safely suppose that the text of the *Supplement* cannot be traced back directly to a Byzantine source, but was made on the basis of a Middle Persian translation of a Byzantine source. There is nothing surprising in this if we take into account that the author of the *Supplement* — and of the whole *Historia Miscellanea* — lived in Amida, that is, near the Persian frontier in Northern Mesopotamia. For in this

<sup>24</sup> On the problem of the *h.r.w.s.* and the Red Giants of the Middle Persian *Alexander Romance* see K. Czeglédy: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIII, pp. 242–244.

<sup>25</sup> See the coll. 3826–3640 of the *Thesaurus Syriacus*.

<sup>26</sup> The best known instance is the name of Rome (*Ῥώμη*) which was pronounced as *Hrōm* in Middle Persian (cf. Maricq, *Res Gestae divi Saporis*, p. 42, n. 2) and *Frōm* in Parthian.

<sup>27</sup> See K. Czeglédy: *Acta Orient. Hung.* IV (1955), p. 53; in W. B. Henning's opinion *Ἐφθαλιται* renders the Sogdian plur. of the name of the Hephthalites (*ZDMG* XC, 1937, p. 17, n. 2).

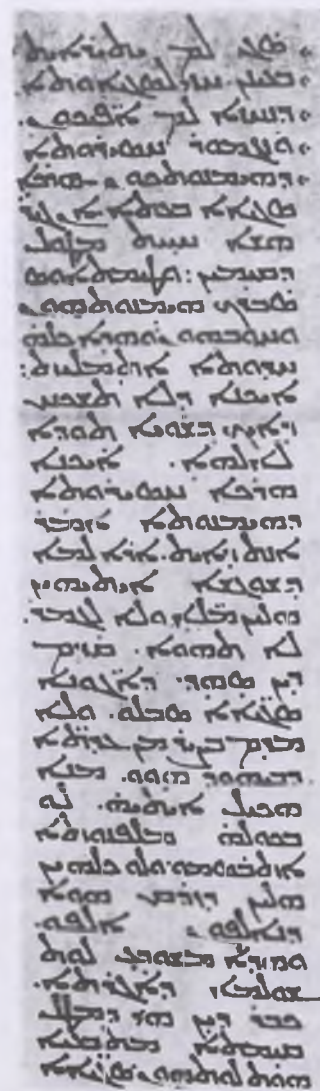
<sup>28</sup> T. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans*: *Denkschriften der Akad. der Wissenschaften. Wien. Phil.-hist. Classe XXXXVIII* (1890), p. 15.

region, even after the final partition of the Syrian territory in Northern Mesopotamia, the ties between Christians living under Byzantine and Persian rule remained quite close. The products of Byzantine theology and other learning found their way through the frontier to Nisibis and other centres of the Christians of Persia. At the same time, the products of the Syriac literature in Persia also crossed the frontier to reach Amida and Edessa, these centres of the Syrians living in Northern Mesopotamia. These Persian Syriac works, however, were often founded upon Middle Persian translations rather than on their Greek originals. For in more than one case, the Greek writings reaching Persia were first translated into Persian for the use of Persian-speaking Christians living there, and it was only after this that Syriac translations were also made on the basis of the Middle Persian versions. Such Syriac texts resulting from two translations were, of course, at the disposal of the author of the *Supplement* also.

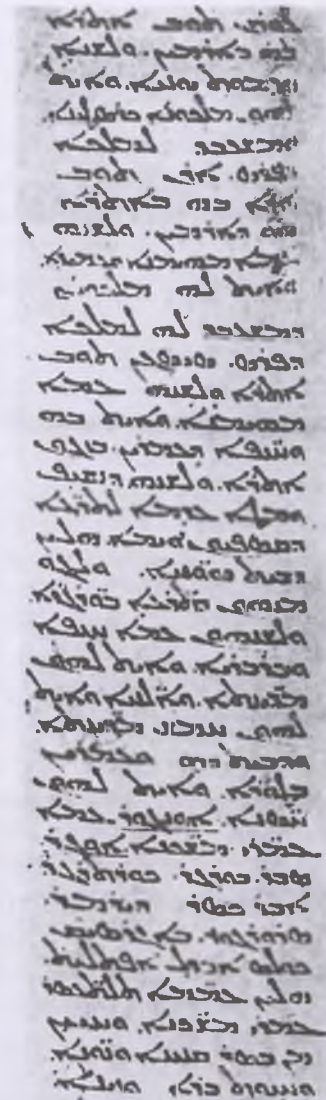
The compiler of the *Appendix* did not take the *Skariphos* and the *Supplement* from one and the same source. This can be clearly shown by studying the transliteration system of the *Skariphos*. This system indicates that the *Skariphos* was made directly from a Greek text and not from the Middle Persian translation of such a text. First we must note that the *Skariphos*, unlike the *Supplement*, follows the rules of the traditional Syriac orthography in writing consistently ܐ and ܘ for the Greek τ and ϑ, respectively. The same can be said of the transliteration of the ρ which is always r- in the *Skariphos*, as against the hr- of the *Supplement*. Furthermore, it is also very significant that the *Skariphos* uses l and r for the Greek λ and ρ, whereas the Syrian translators working on Middle Persian original texts were often apt to err in transliterating these two Greek letters since the Pehlevi script has only one character (𐭪) to denote the two consonants, and thus the translator, if ignorant of the authentic pronunciation, was forced to guess in choosing between the two possible ways of transliteration.<sup>29</sup>

The *Skariphos*, therefore, judged by its transliterations, was made from a Greek original and not from a Middle Persian one. This conclusion is further corroborated by its mistakes in spelling. These: ܝ (y) instead of ܢ (n), ܟ (k) instead of ܒ (b), ܠ (l) instead of ܓ (g), ܕ (d) instead of ܕ (r), ܕ (d) instead of ܙ (z), are the most common mistakes of Syrian copyists which are characteristic of not only the *Skariphos* but of the whole of the manuscript of the *Historia Miscellanea* and warrant the conclusion that the London MS of the *Historia Miscellanea* is not an autograph manuscript; but as a copy it is a very early one. W. Wright, that outstanding expert of

<sup>29</sup> Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 14.



Add. MS. 17 152, f. 30r  
Dated: 593 A. D.



Add. MS. 17 202, f. 192r  
Undated

London, British Museum

Syriac palaeography, proposes a time *circa* 600 A.D. as the possible date of the copying of the London MS.<sup>30</sup> Today, with more Syriac manuscript material of ascertained dates at our disposal, we can only subscribe to his opinion. With respect to palaeography, our manuscript is indeed closely related to the ancient Syriac manuscripts in *Estrangelo* script made about 600 A.D.

Thus the first two pieces of the *Appendix*, the *Skariphos* and the *Supplement*, are of quite different origins. This has to be borne in mind when one comes to their philological appraisal, particularly to the assessment of the much-debated list of ethnic names in the *Supplement*. J. Marquart, whose notes on the *Supplement* — very valuable in their own time and still not wholly outdated — have been accepted since 1903 by every subsequent interpreter who, not seeking the origin of the Syriac text, accepted the variants of the ethnic names in the *Supplement* as original, authentic forms and attributed to them independent significance as against the variants occurring in Byzantine (Priscus, Procopius, Menander) sources. But the above considerations militate against this assumption. The *Supplement* is no independent work, and its list of ethnic names originates from Byzantine sources which reached the Syrian author via Middle Persian mediation. The Byzantine source, at least as far as a part of the data is concerned, was, in view of the combined mention of the Ogur peoples, the Avars and Savirs, a work by Priscus Rhetor who, while narrating events taking place about 463 A.D., gave his report about the Ogurs, Onogurs, Saragurs, Savirs and Avars. These names, in such an assemblage, are not found in any of the later Byzantine sources, and in times prior to the age of the author of the *Appendix* (555 A.D.) no Byzantine source, except Priscus, mentions any one of them. It is almost with full certainty that we can trace back the names *ogur*, *onogur*, *saru(r)gur*, *saβir* and *aβar* in the *Supplement* to the work of Priscus Rhetor. Yet the borrowing could hardly have been direct. For the work of Priscus was not in common use in Byzantium, and hence it was mostly by the mediation of the *Chronicle* of the Syrian Eustathius Epiphaneus that even the Byzantine authors used it.<sup>31</sup> We have every reason to suppose that the Syrian author of the *Supplement* also came

<sup>30</sup> W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum II*, London 1871, p. 803a. Cf. the two photostates published here: a dated MS from 593 A.D. (taken from W. H. P. Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts*, Boston 1946, p. 86 and the page of the work of Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor including the list of names of the northern nomads (f. 192r of the *Historia Miscellanea*, British Museum, Add. 17202).

<sup>31</sup> Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica I*<sup>2</sup>, Berlin 1958, pp. 258, 330–331, 483.



across these names in the no-longer-extant work of Eustathius which chronicled the events to 502. Furthermore, it seems probable that the name *di(r)mar* also comes from this source. Although the form occurring in the work of Priscus is *Ἰτλιμαγοί*, the substitution of the Syriac *d* for the Greek *t* becomes readily understandable if we assume Middle Persian mediation.

It is far more difficult to ascertain the origin of the other ethnic names in the *Supplement*. What seems certain is that these names come from a period prior to 555 A.D. This is the case, above all, with the name *χου(r)turgur* which was recorded in 554 A.D., that is, precisely at the time when the *Supplement* was compiled, in the form *kuturgur* by Procopius.<sup>32</sup> These data in the *Supplement* and in the work of Procopius represent, at the same time, the oldest occurrences of this name. Their difference in the word initial indicates that Procopius and the author of the *Supplement* drew on different sources. In view of the geographic conditions — the Kuturgurs lived in an area north of the Black Sea — it is highly probable that this name, too, was taken from a Byzantine source. In the extant Byzantine sources, however, the variant of this name beginning with *χ* does not occur anywhere at all.

It is conspicuous that both in the name *saru(r)gur* and in the name *ku(r)turgur*, and even in *di(r)mar*, unlike in the Greek variants, we find a superfluous *r*. As to the first two names, the most probable explanation is that the Middle Persian original used here the character *w* to denote the sound *u*. The letter *w*, however, has in the Pehlevi script the additional phonetic values of *r* and *n*. Hence the Syrian translator took the letter *w* for the phonetic representation of *r*. In the spelling of *saru(r)gur*, etc., however, the pronunciation of the name *χου(r)turgur* may have influenced him analogically as well.

In the case of the name *χου(r)turgur* and also of the other names in the list of the *Supplement* it was also probably the same lost work of Eustathios that constituted the original source, though we cannot wholly exclude the possibility that the author of the *Supplement* actually drew upon the work of Theodorus Lector who had recorded the history of the period between 439 and 527 A.D.,<sup>33</sup> and we may even reckon with the probability that the original source was an unknown Byzantine work. The reading and interpretation of the name *bagarsiq* (?) in the list are at present uncertain, even if we assume Pehlevi mediation. The name *χwalis* is well known from later

<sup>32</sup> Moravcsik, *ibid.*, II<sup>2</sup>, pp. 171–172. — The form accepted in the critical edition of Haury is *Κουτρίγουργοί*, but some of the codices of the *primus ordo* have *Κουτούργουργοί*.

<sup>33</sup> Moravcsik, *ibid.*, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 519–520.

Byzantine and Arab sources.<sup>34</sup> This Syriac datum, however, precedes by two centuries the next — Byzantine — occurrence. As to the origin of the two names of the Hephthalites, the *abdel* and the *eftalit* we must, first of all, bear in mind that it was before the victory of the Turks and Persians over the Hephthalites after 557 A. D. and the destruction of the Hephthalite Empire that the author of the *Supplement* recorded his notes. This may explain that there is yet no mention of the Western Turks in the *Supplement*, respectively of the Khazar tribe of the Western Turks. On the other hand, it is quite remarkable that the names *apdel* and *eftalit* are mentioned together also by Theophylactus Simocatta in his history of the founding of the Turkish Empire (VII. 7, 8) where he notes that the two names denote one and the same people. One may hardly doubt that, also on this point, the report of the *Supplement* and the annotation of Theophylactus can be traced back to the same Byzantine source, i.e. to the work of Eustathios.

Of the ethnic names listed in the *Supplement*, it is the name *χ. s. r* that raises the most difficult problems. It has often been suggested since 1887<sup>35</sup> that *χ. s. r* is the transliteration of the name of the Khazars and so it is to be read \**χasar*. In view of the fact, however, that the date of the composition of the *Supplement* (555 A.D.) precedes the founding of the Inner Asian Empire of the Turks and their European appearance on what later became Khazar territory (567 A.D.), our present knowledge would hardly confirm this probability. But, beside this, there are also philological considerations that argue against the identification of the two names *χ. s. r* and *χazar*. For the Persian version of the *Supplement* would certainly have used the *z* of the Pehlevi script to denote the *z* of a Greek *χazar*, just as the Syrian author of the *Appendix* would have followed the general custom of Syriac literature in using *z* to transliterate the *z* of the Pehlevi alphabet. When, on the other hand, we start out from the assumption that the form \**χasar* was an otherwise unrecorded, ancient form of the name of the Khazars, which gave rise only later to the form *χazar*, then we come up against the fact that even the oldest Byzantine, Armenian and Arab sources record the name of the Khazars with *z*. We might add that, also on the ground of Turkish phonetic history, the confirmation of the assumed phonetic transformation *s > z* would run into almost insuperable difficulties.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Moravcsik, *ibid.*, II<sup>2</sup>, pp. 338–339.

<sup>35</sup> For the first time by J. P. N. Land, *Aardrijkskundige fragmenten uit de syrische literatuur der zesde en zevende eeuw: Verslagen en Mededeelingen der kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen*. Amsterdam. Afd. Letterkunde, 1887, p. 184.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. P. Pelliot's linguistic expositions on the supposed Syriac *χasar* form, in his posthumous work, *Hist. de la Horde d'Or*, pp. 213–224. — W. B. Henning (*BSOAS*

It is much more likely, as J. Marquart proposed, that the form  $\chi. s. r$  actually reflects the name of the Akatzirs mentioned by Priscus. In this form, however, Marquart's conjecture does not seem to be convincing since the letter-group  $\chi. s. r$  is too far removed from the name *akatzir*. But on closer look we see the force of the argument. For, in the Pehlevi script, the same group of letters can be pronounced both  $\chi a$ - and  $a \chi a$ -. Hence  $\chi. s. r$  can also stand for *\*axasir*. In the Syriac form the *s* is a natural substitute for the Greek *tz* ( $\sigma: c \sim ts$ ). The only difference that remains between the Greek and the Syriac form is that, in the place of the Greek *k*, as in the form *χυτurgur*, here too, we find  $\chi$ . This slight phonetic difference, however, should warn us not to seek the origin of the supposed *\*axasir* in Priscus' work.

This interpretation might be modified to some extent if the variant *katzir* of the name *akatzir*, met once in the work of Priscus (all codd.), were not due to scribal error and proved to be a variant based on some authentic record. For, in such a case, it would be still simpler to identify the Byzantine *katzir* with the Syriac  $\chi. s. r$ .<sup>37</sup> We might further argue that a similar variant of the name *akatzir* — though more than two centuries after the age of Priscus — actually occurs in Byzantine sources. In the list of the Christian episcopacies of the Crimea, in the *Notitia Episcopatumum*, mention is made of the episcopacy among the people of the *Χότζιροι*.<sup>38</sup> Since the phonetic value of this form was *χotzir* or *χatzir*, these forms closely approximate the form  $\chi. s. r$ .<sup>39</sup> Thus, although we have but scant data which are

XIV, 1952, pp. 505—507, cf. G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen II*, pp. 73—74) proposes the reading *\*xasir* which he connects with *χazir*, the Armenian name of the Khazars. He assumes the development *\*xacir* > Syriac *\*xasir* ~ Armenian *χazir* and interprets the name of the Akatzirs, accepting a very old etymology for this name, as *\*aq hacir* «White Xacirs». He gives full value to the Armenian form *χazir*, which is an isolated form, against *χazar* found in all other old sources. He refers, besides, to the fact that of the nations whose historical records we possess none was so close to the Khazars as the Armenians. He does not deal with the possibility of tracing back the isolated Armenian form to the language of the Caucasian Albanians whose territory was situated between Armenia and Khazaria.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Henning: *BSOAS* XIV, 506, n. 4.

<sup>38</sup> Gy. Moravcsik, *Studia Byzantina*, Budapest 1967, pp. 254—255.

<sup>39</sup> O. J. Maenchen-Helfen (*CAJ* XI, 282—283) accepts W. B. Henning's opinion (put forward in *BSOAS* XIV, pp. 505—506) that *Χότζιροι* stands for *χazar*. He rejects, however, the explanation given by J. Marquart according to which Priscus wrote always *Ἀκάζιροι*, the form *Ἀκάζιροι* being due to the 6th century copyists of his work. Instead, he puts forward the daring hypothesis that the original form of this name was *Ἀκάζιροι* and the variant *Ἀκάζιροι* can be interpreted as a borrowing of the 16th cent. copyists of Priscus' work from the printed editions of Jordanes. However, such

temporally far removed from one another, they nonetheless seem to prove that the word  $\chi. s. r$ . in the *Supplement* is a variant of the name of the *Akatzirs*, respectively *Kotzirs* — a form showing the marks of Middle Persian mediation.

### III.

The third part of the *Appendix* contains two narratives.<sup>40</sup> The first records the spreading of Christianity among the Northern Huns, while the second reports that, during the last seven years, Khosrav himself, the Persian ruler, came under the influence of Christianity, owing to the efforts of his Christian physicians. We have a great deal of mostly legendary reports in other Syriac, Byzantine and Armenian sources about the Christian physicians and alleged conversion of Khosrav.<sup>41</sup> But we must attach more significance to the report about the Christian mission among the Northern Huns, this informing us, by giving the accounts of eye-witnesses, about events only partly known or not known from other sources. For the author of the *Appendix* got his information, as he tells us at the beginning of his report, from certain craftsmen of Amida who, at the beginning of 503 A. D., at the fall of Amida, had been captured by the Persians who sold them immediately to the Huns. This happened «more than fifty years ago» — says the author of the *Appendix* who himself was a monk in Amida. In view of the fact that the *Appendix* was composed in 555 A.D., the dating, in this case also, seems to be accurate.

The prisoners captured at Amida spent more than thirty years with the Huns. Then they succeeded in returning to Amida. It is quite certain that,

a form (*Ἀκάζιροι*) may be more easily explained as a Greek rendering of the 6th cent. Latin form *acatziri*, borrowed by the copyists of Priscus' work, as Latin was still in force in the Eastern half of the Roman Empire in the 6th century. Priscus may have contacted people from the West in Attila's court where he could have obtained information about the Akatzirs. No autograph MS of his work is extant, the variations in the spelling of the name in the codices of the *Excerpta de legationibus* may be due either to his own inconsistency and «purism», or to the early copyists of his work as well. All this does not affect the etymology of the much debated name of the Akatzirs which must still be considered as unsolved. — As for the proposed identity of the names *Χότζιροι* and *χazar*, no single case is known in which Byzantine *tz* would represent the Turkish *z* sound.

<sup>40</sup> The first report: P. Zach. *Rhet.*, ed. Brooks, pp. 215—217, the second one on pp. 217—218.

<sup>41</sup> See Ahrens—Krüger, *op. cit.*, pp. 383—384; cf. Pigulevskaya, *Note sur les relations de Byzance et des Huns au VI<sup>e</sup> s.*: *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* VII (1969), pp. 199—203.

together with them, many other Byzantine and Syrian prisoners of war had also been taken to the land of the Huns. This might have prompted the action of a bishop called Qardusat who, with six other clerics, went from the Caucasian Albania to the prisoners to stay with them for some time and to care for them. The clerics did not make their journey through the Gate of the Alans which was under the control of the Persians, but crossed the mountains. Their stay in the land of the Huns took many years. While being there, they also carried on missionary activity among the Huns and prepared some writings in their language. It was during their stay there that Probus, the legate of Emperor Justinian, also arrived there with the purpose of recruiting mercenaries for the Byzantines to be employed in their war against the Persians. Probus was the nephew of Anastasius, the emperor with Monophysite leanings, himself a Monophysite, who was glad to make contact with the Albanian churchmen working in the country of the Huns, and the emperor, on learning about them, dispatched material help from the nearest Byzantine city, probably from Phanegoria, to the missionary effort of the Albanians. Qardusat and his companions stayed with the Huns until about 537 A.D., when they were replaced by an Armenian bishop called Maqar who, with the support of Hunnic princes, successfully continued the missionary work among the Huns – informs us the report in the *Appendix*.

The antecedents of the journey of Probus are narrated in detail by Procopius. He tells us that Emperor Justinus dispatched the nephew of Emperor Anastasius c. 523–525 A. D. on his recruiting mission.<sup>42</sup> The original purpose of Probus was to enlist mercenaries among the Huns of Crimea for the Iberian actions. Bosphorus was a free city, and it had submitted itself only shortly before 525 A.D. to Byzantine rule.<sup>43</sup> West of the city, on the southern part of the Crimean peninsula lived Huns who, for the time being, appeared to be hostile to the expansion of Byzantine power on the Crimea. The words of Procopius, at any rate, leave no doubt that it was after unsuccessful negotiations that Probus left the Huns of the Crimea and the city of Bosphorus. Procopius and the other Byzantine sources do not report the continuation of the journey of Probus. He went on to work among the Huns living north of the Caucasus, trying to enlist recruits among them. The *Appendix* does not speak about the results of his work, but Procopius informs us that the number of Huns fighting in Iberia against the Persians in 526 A.D. was

<sup>42</sup> *De Bello Persico* I, 12, 6. — For the date, see E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, Paris 1949, pp. 269–271.

<sup>43</sup> Procopius, *Bell. Pers.* I, 12, 8.

yet quite small.<sup>44</sup> But the missionary effort of the Monophysites and, above all, as the narrative of Malalas informs us, the magnificent gifts of the emperor soon had their desired effect when, in 528 A.D., the widowed princess of the Savirs, Boarex, after having defeated two Savir princes who had been allies of the Persians, joined the Byzantines with a force of 100,000 men.<sup>45</sup> The author of the Syriac *Appendix*, according to the custom of the Byzantines and in a generalising sense, calls the nomads living to the north of the Caucasus «Huns». The report of Malalas, however, leaves no doubt that these «Huns» were in fact identical with the Savirs.

The Savirs arrived in Europe in 503 A.D.<sup>46</sup> and from this time to the year of 558 A.D. occupied vast tracts of land north of the Caucasus. Their western frontier reached the lower reaches of the Kuban and the land of the Zikhians — the ancestors of the Circassians — inhabiting the northwestern slopes of the Caucasus. There were also some other nomadic peoples under their sovereignty in this vast territory, notably the Onogur-Bulgars whose settlements lay to the north of the Gate of the Alans, in the Kuban region. These heathen «Burgar»-s, as we have seen above, are also mentioned by the author of the *Supplement* who, however, does not know as yet of the missionary work among the nomads living north of the Caucasus. His lack of information seems to indicate that the *Supplement* was composed before the journey of Qardusat and his companions, that is, some time before 520 A.D. It must be noted that, between 503 and 558 A.D., the Onogur-

<sup>44</sup> Procopius, *Bell. Pers.* I, 12, 9.

<sup>45</sup> *Chronographia*, pp. 430–431.

<sup>46</sup> As is to be seen from the report borrowed by Arab historians from the lost Middle Persian *Xvatây-nâmak* (Ibn Xurradâbih, ed. de Goeje, pp. 122–123, cf. Qudâma, ed. de Goeje, pp. 259–261; Balâduri, ed. de Goeje, pp. 193–197; Ya'qûbi, ed. Houtsma II, pp. 203–204; Ibn al-Faqîh, ed. de Goeje, pp. 286–290; Yâqût, ed. Wüstenfeld, I, pp. 221–222) according to which Kavâd had to fight in the North against the nomads (the Khazars as Balâmi says, ed. Lucknow 1901, p. 312, cf. Zotenberg II, 148). This northern campaign began, as Procopius tells us (*Bell. Pers.* I, 8, 9) in the late summer of 503 A.D. Joannes Antiochenus (*Exc. de ins.* fragm. 103) refers to the same event when speaking of the second big Savir raid through the Caspian Gates (Daryal-pass, the Gate of the Alans) in 515 A.D. Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor mentions the raid of 503 A.D., in all probability on the basis of the report of the war prisoners dragged away from Amida, also in Book VII, Chap. 3, where he reports on a raid of the Huns who broke through the Caspian Gates in the 13th year of the Emperor Anastasius. In this case, however, the Hunnish (Savir) raid across the Caspian Gates in the Caucasus is falsely connected by the Syrian author of the *Appendix*, or by his source, with the Hephthalite raid through the «old» Caspian Gates near Teheran of the year 484 A. D.—F. Altheim and Ruth Stiehl (*Geschichte der Hunnen* II, pp. 8–9) did not recognize this mistake.

Bulgars, having lost their independence, figured as a tribal group in the tribal confederation of the Savirs. It is, therefore, understandable that, excepting the author of the *Supplement*, no other source of this period mentions by name the Onogur-Bulgars of the Kuban. Geographic circumstances make it quite probable that not only the Savirs but the Onogur-Bulgars also got in touch with the Monophysite missionaries working north of the Gate of the Alans.

It was, however, primarily a matter of expediency on tactical considerations that the Huns accepted Christianity. Hence it is not surprising that the Savirs already in 531 A.D., apparently with Persian consent, passed through the Gate of the Alans and made a big pillaging incursion in Armenia and in the eastern provinces of Byzantium to Cilicia and to Antiochia in the South. It was as late as in 548 A.D. that the Byzantine-Abkhazian-Alan-Savir alliance was finally consolidated. Yet this coalition continued to exist even after 567 A.D. when the Savirs had to accept Western Turkish, respectively Khazar sovereignty.

After 525 A.D., Christian mission was going on among the Crimean Huns also. The results were the same as with the Savirs. Gordas, the ruler of the Crimean Huns, went to Byzantium in 528 A.D. to be baptized. On his return, however, the heathen Huns of the Crimea, led by his brother Mugal (Muageris) rebelled against him, killed him and occupied the city of Bosphorus. The emperor had to send sizeable land and naval forces to liberate the city. The action was successful. So Bosphorus remained in the subsequent epochs under Byzantine sovereignty, and, from this time onward there is hardly any reference in our sources to the Huns of the Crimea.

The designation «Huns of the Crimea» in the work of Procopius is a generalizing use of the name. In view of the fact, however, that the *Notitia Episcopatum* describes the location of the see of the *Xotzir* episcopacy as being in the south-eastern part of the Crimean peninsula, that is, the place where once the Crimean Huns had lived, it is most probable that the «Hunish» participants of the events around the Bosphorus at the time of the journey of Probus and also in 528 A.D. were actually the *Xotzirs*. In this case, however, we must reckon with the possibility that it was from Probus that the prisoners of war from Amida learned about the Crimean events and of the name of the *Xotzir*. It might have been through them that the name *Xotzir* reached the Amida-based author of the *Syriac Appendix*.

## ON THE NUMERICAL COMPOSITION OF THE ANCIENT TURKISH TRIBAL CONFEDERATIONS

BY

K. CZEGLÉDY

It is generally held that we have no certain information about the number of the Eastern Turkish tribes. Those holding this view, however, tend to overlook the inscription surviving on the tomb of the daughter of the Eastern Turkish qaghan Qapghan.<sup>1</sup> This inscription informs us how all the Turkish tribes rejoiced in 691 A. D. when Qapghan came into power. The peculiar phrases expressing this rejoicing are well known from the Orkhon Turkish inscriptions (II E 2) as stock words carrying, in this case, the meaning that all the tribes accepted the rule of the new qaghan without rebelling.

The epitaph of the Qaghan's daughter also indicates the number of the tribes under Qapghan's rule naming him «the qaghan of the Thirty-tribes».<sup>2</sup>

According to the clear testimony of the Turkish inscriptions, the tribal confederation under the rule of Qapghan was composed of Turkish and Oghuz tribes. This is also confirmed by the tomb inscription of the qaghan's daughter which, directly after the quoted phrase, in what seems to be an explanation of why Qapghan was called «the qaghan of the Thirty-tribes», goes on to tell the reader that, at first, nine tribes paid homage to the new qaghan and then further twelve tribes welcomed his blissful rule. The name *Nine-tribes* of the Chinese sources, as we know,<sup>3</sup> often figures as an equivalent of *Toquz-oghuz* ('Nine-oghuz') mentioned in the Turkish inscriptions. Hence the name *Twelve tribes* must denote the other group of tribes under Qapghan's rule, that is, the

<sup>1</sup> Edited and commented on by E. Chavannes, *Épigraphes de deux princesses Turques de l'époque des Tang: Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen* (Leipzig 1912), pp. 78—87; cf. P. Pelliot, *La fille de Mo-tcho Qaghan et ses rapports avec Kul-tegin: T'oung Pao XIII* (1912), pp. 301—306.

<sup>2</sup> Chavannes, *loc. cit.*, p. 82, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Mainly by the investigations of V. Thomson, E. H. Parker, J. Marquart and T. Haneda: *Toyo Gakuho IX* (1919), pp. 1—61, 141—145, cf. moreover the French résumé in *Recueil des oeuvres posthumes de Tôru Haneda II* (Kyôto 1958), pp. 20—23; cf. furthermore E. G. Pulleyblank's notes: *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* 1956, pp. 35—42 and Liu Mau-tsai's notes: *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-kiue)* II, pp. 591—593, n. 831.

Turks. The fact, however, that the total number of the tribes was 30, necessitates the conclusion that the name *Nine-tribes* must somehow denote 18 Oghuz tribes, as only in this case would the number of the Turkish tribes (12) and that of the Oghuz tribes (18) add up to 30.

There are cogent arguments for both conclusions. First we must refer to the Tibetan manuscript n° 1283 of the Pelliot Collection, of Tunhuang origin, which was published with translation from the literary remains of Pelliot by Bacot in 1956.<sup>4</sup> This manuscript gives a brief description, based on explorers' reports, of the countries of Central Asia, plainly telling the reader that the Eastern Turks have 12 tribes, and actually gives the names of the 12 tribes. This Tibetan writing contains data which date back to the period of the Uyghur Empire, certainly after 750 A. D.<sup>5</sup> Some Chinese data too, dating from the same period tell us that the Eastern Turks have 12 tribes: first in 742, then later, in the report on An Lu-šan's rebellion, about 750–760 A. D., it is again with the name *Twelve tribes* that the Eastern Turks are referred to.<sup>6</sup>

We have evidence of equal cogency for stating that the name *Nine-tribes* denoting the Toquz-oghuz tribal confederation, was in fact the name of a tribal group composed of 18 tribes. I already discussed in an earlier article<sup>7</sup> the structure of the Toquz-oghuz tribal confederation. I tried to prove there that it is by comparing the Turkish inscriptions, the relevant Chinese, Uyghur and other sources with each other that we can ascertain nearly every name of the Toquz-oghuz tribes (*Buqu, Tongra, Uyghur, Bayirqu*, etc., 9 in all).

We have clear evidence, on the other hand, to the fact that the leading tribe *Uyghur* possessed alone nine sub-tribes, the names of which (*Yaghlaqar*,

<sup>4</sup> J. Bacot, *Reconnaissance en Haute Asie Septentrionale par cinq envoyés ouïgours au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Journal Asiatique* 1956, pp. 137–163. — The data of this Tibetan document referring to the Pechenegs had been made known before Bacot's paper to the Hungarian orientalist by Prof. L. Ligeti.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. G. Clauson, *À propos du Manuscrit Pelliot Tibétain 1283: Journ. Asiat.* 1957, pp. 11–24.

<sup>6</sup> The Chinese data were made accessible for historical research by E. G. Pulleyblank: *T'oung Pao* XLI, p. 339, n. 2, cf. also Pulleyblank's data *ap. Clauson: Journ. Asiat.* 1957, p. 18. However, the inscription on the tomb of Qapghan's daughter had escaped Pulleyblank's attention so that he found no occurrence of the name «Twelve-tribes» earlier than the middle of the 8th century. The epitaph, however, clearly indicates that it was not only about the time of the dissolution of the Eastern Turkish empire, that is, about 750, that the name *Twelve-tribes* denoted the Turks, but, in fact, much earlier, already in the days of the qaghans Qapghan and Bilgä and even at the time of Qapghan's accession to the throne in 691 A. D. As we shall see later, the duodecimal designation is even earlier than that and was introduced probably some time after 557 A. D.

<sup>7</sup> «On the structure of the Turkish tribal organizations and on the classification of the Turkish languages»: *Magyar Nyelv* [Hungarian Language], XLV (1949), pp. 291–296.

*Yabutqar, Kürebir*, etc.) are enumerated in the Chinese sources<sup>8</sup> and mentioned partly also in Saka and other documents.<sup>9</sup> The Nine-oghuz tribal confederation was formed accordingly by the 9 sub-tribes of the Uyghur tribe and by 8 other Oghuz tribes, i. e. by 17 tribes in all. Our sources furnish convincing evidence as to the 18th tribe of the Toquz-oghuz confederation too, as they prove that to the nine tribes of the Toquz-oghuz there was added a tenth one, of non-Oghuz origin.

These ten tribes,<sup>10</sup> according to the Chinese sources, constituted only the leading tribal group within the old tribal confederation of the T'ieh-le, whose territories comprised big parts of the Eurasian steppe, from the North of Mongolia as far as the Altai region and further to the West to the river Volga, the Caucasian mountains and the Pontus. About 620 A. D. the leading ten tribes (*Buqu, Tongra, Uyghur*, etc.) of the mighty T'ieh-le confederation, according to the Chinese sources, assumed the name *Uyghur*,<sup>11</sup> as at that time the Uyghur came into prominence and overtook the leading role within the Ten-tribes. Consequently we would have to assume the existence of a Turkish name *On-Uyghur* («Ten-uyghur») on the basis of the Chinese reports, even if it did not occur in the Uyghur-Turkic inscriptions of Shine-usu (N 7), where it figures as the first component of the compound name *On-uyghur-Toquz-oghuz* applied by the Uyghur qaghan to his own people.

From these facts it becomes clear that both names *On-uyghur* and *Toquz-oghuz* or even the compound designation *On-uyghur-Toquz-oghuz* denoted, with the exception of a single tribe, the same group of tribes.<sup>12</sup> The double division may have been due to historical developments in the course of which the very old clan organization of the Nine-oghuz was completed by a tenth,

<sup>8</sup> For the names of the tribes belonging to the Toquz-oghuz in the T'ang period (618–907 A. D.) see Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 87, n. 3; for the names of the sub-tribes of the Uyghur tribe: *ibid.*, pp. 93–94; cf. also Haneda's and Pulleyblank's papers quoted above, n. 3.

<sup>9</sup> The Saka documents were discussed by W. B. Henning: *BSOS* IX (1937–1939), pp. 553–559.

<sup>10</sup> The oldest list of these tribes originates from the Sui period (589–618 A. D.) and is contained in the report of the *Sui-History* (cap. 84) on the T'ieh-le, cf. J. J. de Groot's translation *ap. J. Marquart, Komanen*, pp. 199–200; cf. also Liu Mau-tsai, *op. cit.*, pp. 127–129.

<sup>11</sup> According to the report of the *Chiu T'ang-shu* (cap. 195) on the Uyghurs (translated by Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 89).

<sup>12</sup> I already emphasized this in 1949, in my paper quoted above, n. 7. — For another interpretation of the sources on this point see E. G. Pulleyblank, *Some remarks on the Toquzoghuz problem: Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* XXVIII (1956), pp. 35–42. The author of this paper does not regard as wholly authentic the Chinese list of the Uyghur sub-tribes but proposes a bold emendation by which he raises the number of the Uyghur sub-tribes from nine to ten. The 18 Toquz-oghuz tribes were composed, consequently, in his opinion, by ten Uyghur sub-tribes and eight other Oghuz tribes.

non-Oghuz tribe. The military forces of the great tribal confederations of Central Asia having come to power, were, from the Hsiung-nu times on until Jinghiz-khan, mostly rearranged according to a decimal pattern.<sup>13</sup>

The tribal groups of ten were furthermore subdivided into two symmetrical «wings» consisting each of five tribes. This seems to have happened in the case of the Turkish tribal confederation too. The Eastern Turks had, as we shall see below, originally ten tribes, the same being the number of the Western Turkish tribes as well. The two wings of the Ten-uyghurs bore the names *Töliš* (five tribes) and *Tarduš* (five tribes).<sup>14</sup> The same two names denoted the two wings of the Eastern Turkish and possibly of the Kirghiz tribal groups as well.<sup>15</sup>

The old clan organization of the Nine-oghuz, however, continued to exist too even as far as the 10th century A. D. This is testified on the one hand by the Muhammadan historical and geographical sources which still use the designation *Nine-oghuz* for the (Ten-) Uyghur tribal group in the 9th and 10th centuries and on the other hand by the use of the double name *On-uyghur* – *Toquz-oghuz* in a 10th century Uyghur-Turkic text of Turfan origin.<sup>16</sup>

It was in 1948 that a new and compelling argument for 18 as the number of the Toquz-oghuz tribes was found. In a passage of the Meshed manuscript of the Arab geographer Ibn al-Faqih,<sup>17</sup> an Arab traveller who visited the Uyghur court, tells his readers that, besides the qaghan, the Toquz-oghuz had 17 chieftains. A further note by the same traveller is also important: as to their individual military power, the 18 tribes of the Toquz-oghuz are about equal. This means that the 9 Uyghur sub-tribes in themselves were about as strong a military force as the remaining 8 Oghuz tribes together. This helps us to understand the military events related in the Shine-usu inscriptions (E 1–7). Here we read about a rebellion against the Uyghur, that is, Toquz-oghuz qaghan, when, with the exception of his own people, the nine Uyghur sub-tribes, all other eight Oghuz tribes rose against the qaghan, and they even allied them-

<sup>13</sup> Emphasizing the significance of the decimal system for the rearrangement of the old clan-organizations I am slightly altering, in this paragraph, the text of my paper written in 1962 (cf. below, n. 25).

<sup>14</sup> This is proved by the Shine-usu inscriptions and by the quoted Saka documents.

<sup>15</sup> A Kirghiz *Tarduš inandı ğor* is mentioned in the Orkhon Turkic inscriptions (I N 13). — Our sources furnish sufficient evidence that each of the ten tribes belonging to the two wings of the Turkish tribal confederation stood under the military leadership of a *šad*. Besides, one of the wings was also headed by five *irkin*-s and the other by five *ġor*-s. The decimal system still existed with the Uyghurs even after the collapse of the Orkhon Uyghur empire in 840 A. D., as the Saka sources still speak of the *Töliš* and *Tarduš* wings of the Uyghurs in the time of the late Uyghur state founded in Turfan and Kansu about 860 A. D.

<sup>16</sup> Published by A. von Gabain, *Türkische Turfan-Texte* IX, line 90.

<sup>17</sup> Ed. V. Minorsky: *BSOAS* XI, p. 281.

selves with the Toquz-tatars, and yet the qaghan, heading only his own tribe, that is, the 9 Uyghur sub-tribes, was able not only to resist but even to defeat the *Eight-oghuz* (*Säkiz-oghuz* in the text of the inscription).

A Tibetan text furnishes further proof of the fact that the number of the Toquz-oghuz tribes was 18. Here, in a description of the tribes living beyond the northern frontiers of Tibet, we read of the «18 *Drugu* 'Bog-ġhol», i.e. «the Eighteen Turkish 'Bog-ġhol» tribes and land, respectively.<sup>18</sup> This — at first glance — curious name occurs in the form *Dru-gu* 'Bug-ġhor in the Tibetan texts of Tunhuang origin.<sup>19</sup> The meaning and use of this Tibetan phrase have so far been only partially clarified. It seems, however, certain that the name 'Bug-ġhor is identical with the designation of the earlier military rank Qapghan qaghan's: *Bäg-ġor* of the Talas Turkish inscriptions and *Mo-ġ'o* of the Chinese sources.<sup>20</sup>

To all this we may add three more comments: 1. according to the above evidence Qapghan *Bäg-ġor* had 30 tribes, including 18 tribes of the Oghuz-Uyghur. The number 18 in the Tibetan sources refers to these 18 Oghuz-Uyghur tribes. 2. The Tibetan phrase *Dru-gu* 'Bug-ġhor renders a Turkic *Bäg-ġor Türk* and refers also to the territory held by the Eastern Turks. It is a designation of the same nature as the Turkish name *Yabghu Türk* («Western Turks»). It was a well-known custom among the Turkish peoples to name certain ethnic groups and their corresponding habitats after the dignitary designation of the chiefs. Any doubt one may have about this explanation may be dispelled by the fact that the Chinese, too, used the expression *Mo-ġ'o T'u-chüeh* (*Bäg-ġor Türk*) in the same manner.<sup>21</sup> — 3. The name *türk* (*drugu*) in the Tibetan phrase *18 Drugu* 'Bog-ġhol was transferred to the Uyghur-Oghuz not because the Tibetans knew that the Türk and the Uyghur-Oghuz spoke the same language, but because of the political union of the two tribal groups inasmuch as the Oghuz also belonged to the Turkic tribal confederation of the qaghan *Bäg-ġor* Qapghan.

The numerical relations of the Eastern Turks and the Oghuz-Uyghur tribes as well as the unity of the ancient Turkish-speaking peoples are reflected in a remarkable manner in a very ancient genealogical myth of the Eastern Turks which has been preserved in two main variants by the Chinese.<sup>22</sup> Accord-

<sup>18</sup> R. A. Stein, *Les tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines* (Paris 1961), pp. 4, 10.

<sup>19</sup> F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan II* (London 1951), pp. 276–287.

<sup>20</sup> The Chinese form of the name *Bäg*: Anc. Chin. *mak* seems to prove that the Tibetans heard of *Bäg-ġor* qaghan first by Chinese mediation. — Cf. Pelliot's note *ap. Bacot: Journ. Asiat.* 1956, p. 151; cf. J. Hamilton: *T'oung Pao* XLVI, p. 131 and A. Macdonald: *Journ. Asiat.* 1962, pp. 533–541.

<sup>21</sup> Liu Mau-tsai, *op. cit.*, pp. 388, 733.

<sup>22</sup> Liu Mau-tsai, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–5.

ing to both variants the Eastern Turks originated from their totemic ancestral animal, the Mother Wolf. According to one variant, the chief of the primeval horde and his brothers numbered 18. The ancestor of the Kirghiz was the descendant of one of the brothers, while that of another was the progenitor of the Eastern Turks. Both variants assert that the forefather of the Turks had 10 wives. According to one of the versions these ten wives had ten sons from whom the names of the ten tribes originated.

There cannot be any doubt that this myth is in fact the genealogical saga of the Eastern Turkish, Uyghur-Oghuz and Kirghiz peoples and the number 18 in it obviously refers to the number of the Uyghur-Oghuz tribes. However, it is surprising that, according to the saga, the Eastern Turks had not 12 but only 10 tribes. But this is also understandable if we take into account that in the Tibetan list of the Eastern Turkish tribes, the 11th tribe is named *He-bdal*.<sup>23</sup> We know of the Hephthalites that it was only in 557 A. D., after their defeat by the Turks, that they became the latter's subject. It is therefore, most probable that, prior to 557, the Eastern Turks had but 10 tribes and that it was only after 557 that the 11th tribe, the *Heftal*, and the 12th one, the *Gar-rga-pur*, were made to join their alliance. Thus the tribal confederation of the Turks was symmetrically divided into two groups each consisting of 10 tribes. But, whereas the original number of the Eastern Turks had changed after 557, already in the initial phase of Turkish history, that of the Western Turks remained constant. That explains also the name *On-oq* («Ten-arrow») of the Western Turks used also in the Orkhon Turkish inscriptions.

The finding that the Turkish and Oghuz tribal confederation of Bäg-ör Qaghan consisted of 12 Turkish and 18 Uyghur-Oghuz tribes, making altogether 30 tribes, as well as the definition of the meaning of the double name *On-uyghur-Toquz-oghuz*, provide the key to a more exact interpretation of a fragmentary passage of the Orkhon Turkish inscriptions. For, in the Kültegin Inscription, in a throne address from the mouth of qaghan Bilgä (I S 1), the qaghan speaks to his whole people and also addresses those having the highest offices. In his appellation, he uses a double name similar to the *On-uyghur-Toquz-oghuz* of the Shine-usu Uyghur inscription, but some letters of the name have crumbled away: *Otuz . . . Toquz-oghuz* («Thirty . . . Nine-oghuz»). In view that the Qaghan's words are addressed to the whole people, that is, the 12 Turkish and the 18 Uyghur-Oghuz tribes, the filling in of the gap following the word *Otuz* raises no difficulties, the obvious reading being: *Otuz-turk-Toquz-oghuz*. Thomsen — in his time — suggested *Otuz-tatar* — with a question mark — in view of the fact that the Orkhon inscriptions also speak of an *Otuz-*

<sup>23</sup> In the Tibetan document published by Bacot: *Journ. Asiat.* 1956, pp. 141 and 145, line 11.

tatar tribal group.<sup>24</sup> It must be pointed out, however, that the only right place of the name *Otuz-tatar* would be in the enumeration of the subjugated tribes and definitely not here where the qaghan addresses his own tribal confederation. Moreover, as we have seen, qaghan Qaghan, «the lord of thirty tribes» was, according to the epitaph on his daughter's tomb, the ruler of 12 Turkish and 18 Uyghur-Oghuz tribes.

The phrase *Toquz-oghuz*, in the compound name *Otuz-türk-Toquz-oghuz*, is a repetition, in the same way as in the *On-uyghur-Toquz-oghuz* of the Shine-usu inscription, for it was with the inclusion of the *Toquz-oghuz* tribes that the number of the Turkish tribes gave the total of 30, while the *On-Uyghur* also included the *Toquz-oghuz* tribes to make the total of 10 tribes. The repetition of the name *Toquz-oghuz* in both cases reflects the importance of the role which the *Toquz-oghuz* tribes played in the Turkish and Uyghur-Oghuz tribal confederations.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> It is a very remarkable fact that both the Turks and the Tatars, at the time of the Turkish and Uyghur empires, possessed tribal groups consisting each of 9 and 30 tribes. The number 9 had a sacral character with the Turkish peoples.

<sup>25</sup> The Hungarian original of this paper was published in 1962 (*Magyar Nyelv* LIX, pp. 456–461.) The concluding paragraphs, on qaghan Abuz of the *Toquz-oghuz*, shall be published separately in the volume containing the papers read at the meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference in Szeged, 1971 (to be published as the next vol. of the *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*).

D. Sinor: *Inner Asia*. Indiana University, Bloomington 1969, 261 p. = Indiana University Publications. Uralic and Altaic Series. Volume 96.

Le théâtre géographique de l'histoire des peuples nomades est le territoire steppé de la partie centrale de l'Eurasie. Mais le terme «partie centrale de l'Eurasie» n'est pas employé dans la littérature spéciale, c'est pourquoi Sinor le remplace par une solution de fortune, l'expression «Asie intérieure». En effet nous ne pouvons guère soulever d'objections contre ce terme, surtout si nous tenons compte de ce que les grands peuples de la steppe sont tous arrivés en Europe du côté de la steppe de l'Asie intérieure. Du reste, S. lui-même souligne constamment les traits communs dans l'histoire des peuples habitant la zone de steppe asiatique et européenne, ainsi que les motifs communs et les jeux internes des événements survenus dans les secteurs asiatique et européen de la steppe. Parmi les explications de Sinor les plus intéressantes sont celles qui portent sur les régularités des rapports des nomades et des peuples établis en Europe d'une part, et d'autre part celles qui s'occupent des rapports des nomades et des Chinois; à ce propos il démontre que la Chine a donné asile à beaucoup plus de peuples nomades que l'Europe.

Le deuxième chapitre du livre, le seul dont l'auteur n'est pas S., est écrit par D. C. Montgomery et contient la description technique de la steppe asiatique et des territoires limitrophes, de la taïga et de la toundra, avec des indications sur l'influence exercée par le milieu géographique sur la vie des peuples de la steppe. Les chapitres suivants (3 et 4) ont également un caractère d'introduction, et font connaître les langues et écritures de l'Eurasie centrale. En parlant des écritures, S. insiste sur l'importance de l'écriture cyrillique au point de vue de la civilisation des peuples de l'Eurasie centrale. Comme l'histoire de ces peuples se poursuit aussi en partie dans le présent, le 5<sup>e</sup> chapitre



présente une vue d'ensemble très intéressante et complète au point de vue statistique des peuples de l'Eurasie centrale qui habitent actuellement l'Union soviétique, la Turquie, la République Populaire Mongole et la Chine. «A l'époque des temps modernes, c'est l'Union Soviétique qui a résolu avec le plus de succès le problème des minorités nationales» — dit S., et cette constatation démontre clairement qu'il s'efforce de traiter ces questions de la façon la plus objective. Les chapitres 6—9 portent sur les sources écrites permettant de connaître l'histoire des peuples d'Eurasie centrale. Comme on ne dispose pas de nombreuses sources écrites dans ce domaine, Sinor attache une importance particulière aux trouvailles archéologiques. Les peuples nomades eux-mêmes nous ont laissé très peu de sources appréciables; ainsi, ce sont sans doute les sources chinoises qui contiennent la plus grande quantité d'informations.

Mais leur application devient assez difficile, car leurs auteurs n'étaient pas des historiens compétents, mais seulement des fonctionnaires historiographes qui s'en tenaient strictement aux conventions de la société. De cette manière, leurs ouvrages contiennent beaucoup de descriptions schématiques qu'ils appliquèrent sans distinction à tous les peuples nomades anciens et nouveaux. Pourtant les parties annalistiques et biographiques des 24 œuvres dynastiques chinoises, ainsi que celles qui contiennent des monographies sur les différents peuples, sont les sources les plus importantes de l'histoire de l'Eurasie centrale. Les encyclopédies historiques chinoises, les rapports des explorateurs, de même que les rapports de voyage des pèlerins bouddhistes partant pour l'Inde à travers les diverses régions de l'Eurasie centrale, fournissent des appoints précieux aux annales chinoises. A partir de la fin du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, nous disposons déjà d'importants et volumineux ouvrages araboperses de caractère historique et géographique. Parmi les descriptions des voyageurs musulmans, S. met l'accent en parti-

culier sur l'importance du rapport de voyage d'Ibn Fadlan. Les auteurs des produits de la littérature occidentale (latine, grecque et byzantine) étaient souvent les participants actifs des événements qu'ils décrivent. Ces rapports de témoins oculaires sont importants surtout au point de vue de l'histoire de l'Eurasie centrale. Mais l'application de ces rapports est limitée dans ce cas aussi, car les auteurs occidentaux appliquaient volontiers les schémas ethnographiques d'un peuple à l'autre, dans la description des nomades, et en plus ils employaient le nom de tel ou tel grand peuple nomade de façon archaïque et généralisante à presque tous les groupes de tribus et peuplades nomades ultérieurs. L'époque des croisades est riche surtout en sources latines relatives aux Turcs. De l'époque de l'invasion des Tartares (Mongols) et des siècles suivants, nous disposons des rapports de voyageurs qui avaient fait eux-mêmes de longs voyages en Eurasie centrale. Leurs rapports sont complétés par les impressions de voyage du roi arménien Hethum, puis par les chapitres au sujet mongol de la grande œuvre historique de Kyrakos. Un certain nombre de travaux en syriaque fournissent des détails très intéressants tant sur l'histoire nomade ancienne (Ps.-Zacharias Rhetor, Johannes Ephesinus) que sur celle de l'époque mongole (Barhebraeus). Les travaux de Rabban Sauma et de Yabalaha contiennent aussi des rapports de voyage en syriaque de l'époque mongole. Sur les Koumans, les Pêche-nègues, les Ouzes et les peuples nomades de la Russie du Sud, c'est en premier lieu la Chronique Russe qui fournit beaucoup de données précieuses, mais cette œuvre est riche aussi en données relatives à l'histoire des peuples forestiers des steppes boisées de Russie et de la région de la Volga.

Les 2 chapitres suivants (19—20) contiennent l'idée principale de l'œuvre de S.: l'histoire des peuples nomades de l'Eurasie. Parmi les peuples nomades les Scythes, les Hiong-nous, les Jouan-jouans, les Turcs

anciens, les Chinois et les Djourtchens, figurent dans le premier groupe. Après le chapitre consacré aux Ouïgours, on est surpris de trouver un chapitre sur l'art de l'Asie centrale. Dans le deuxième groupe sont classés les Huns, les Avars et les peuples de la région de la Volga. Puis on trouve de brèves informations instructives sur la formation de l'Empire mongol, sur Gengis Khan, l'extension des Mongols vers l'Est et l'Ouest, ensuite sur les ilkhans, les khanats mongols subordonnés, Timour et les Timourides. Les chapitres consacrés aux Oïrates mongols sont précédés de l'histoire sommaire des conquêtes russes en Sibérie, et suivis d'un aperçu général sur l'invasion des Russes en Asie intérieure.

Les chapitres terminaux du livre (30—34) s'occupent des religions de l'Asie intérieure (croyances primitives d'Asie intérieure, bouddhisme, christianisme, Islam) et des littératures de ce territoire. L'analyse de l'art de l'Asie intérieure devrait figurer en réalité dans ces chapitres.

Les chapitres historiques constituant la partie centrale de l'œuvre traitent les connaissances essentielles portant sur les différents peuples, les dates précises, les événements célèbres décrits d'une manière détaillée dans les sources, et dans certains cas ils étudient les fouilles archéologiques complétant ou remplaçant les sources écrites. Dans ces chapitres il est question aussi du mode de production et de la vie économique des peuples présentés, ainsi que de la cause et du cours des migrations des peuples nomades. Dans son exposé S. a évité sciemment l'énumération des discussions et des opinions subjectives et compliquées, en mettant toujours l'accent sur les connaissances positives. Dans les indications bibliographiques, S. renvoie aux livres et aux articles qui servent le mieux le but de l'introduction. La littérature recommandée a été rédigée avec beaucoup de soin. Dans tous les cas Sinor prend en considération la littérature spéciale soviétique dont la connaissance est, à son avis, la condition la plus importante de

l'étude de l'histoire de l'Asie centrale. De ce point de vue, cette œuvre de S. a les mêmes mérites que son «Introduction à l'étude de l'Eurasie centrale» éditée en 1963 à Wiesbaden, et qui est devenue depuis un instrument de travail indispensable pour les études d'Asie intérieure.

La valeur de cette œuvre peut-être pas très volumineuse, mais riche en idées, pourrait être encore augmentée lors d'une nouvelle édition éventuelle, si l'auteur consacrait un chapitre à part à l'histoire des Hephthalites. Au cours des deux dernières décennies, les recherches sont devenues très poussées dans ce domaine. A l'heure actuelle on peut considérer comme une notion solide et valable non seulement le fait que les Hephthalites avaient constitué un empire puissant dans le Turkestan de l'Ouest à l'époque de l'empire Jouan-jouan (milieu des IV<sup>e</sup>—VI<sup>e</sup> s.), mais aussi que les deux composants les plus importants de l'organisation tribale hephthalite étaient les Uars et les Huns.

En outre il est d'une importance primordiale que l'identité des Hiong-nous mentionnés par les Chinois et des Huns connus à l'Occident, puis celle des Jouan-jouans figurant chez les Chinois et des Avars Uar mentionnés dans les sources byzantines, peut être attestée d'une manière convaincante à la base des matériaux provenant de sources abondantes justement dans le domaine hephthalite.

Le livre de D. Sinor est un manuel universitaire, «syllabus» qui présente les grands peuples d'Eurasie en 60 conférences tenues au cours de 2 semestres universitaires. En transmettant ce manuel aux étudiants et enseignants des universités, Sinor voulait assurer une place encore plus importante à l'étude de l'histoire nomade de l'Eurasie dans l'enseignement universitaire. Il fait souligner que l'auteur destinait son livre non seulement aux étudiants, mais aussi aux enseignants. Cette intention est sans doute justifiée, car à l'heure actuelle nous ne disposons pas d'un seul travail spécial qui s'occupe, soit à titre d'introduction, soit avec une exigence

scientifique, de la matière traitée dans l'œuvre de Sinor. Son mérite scientifique n'est aucunement diminué par l'omission des hypothèses et des théories de valeur douteuse.

Il est incontestable que Sinor avait des dispositions exceptionnelles pour écrire cette œuvre. Il connaît à fond et dans leur détail non seulement la littérature spéciale parue en langues occidentales, mais aussi la littérature soviétique, et même ce dont peu de chercheurs peuvent s'enorgueillir en dehors de la Hongrie, la littérature hongroise de la question. Il dispose d'un mérite encore plus important, à savoir que, dans son exposé, il était guidé par le désir de l'objectivité. Sa méthode d'analyse est claire et conséquente, et les matériaux qu'il présente sont abondants par rapport aux proportions du livre.

S. destinait son œuvre à être un simple manuel scolaire, mais elle est sans nul doute plus que cela, et nous pouvons être certains qu'au cours des années suivantes les étudiants d'université et les chercheurs expérimentés désireux de trouver une introduction et un point de repère sûr dans les problèmes complexes de l'histoire de l'Eurasie en profiteront dans le monde entier.

*K. Czeglédy*

## HISTORY AND THE TURKIC INSCRIPTIONS

*K. Czeglédy ( Hungary )*

It is generally held that the best sources of the history of the Turkish and Mongolian empires of the Middle Ages are the Chinese dynastic chronicles. Such a view is certainly justified if we compare the Turkic inscriptions with the many-sided and comprehensive Chinese informations on the same events. Yet, in my opinion, a thorough study of the Turkic inscriptions leaves no doubt about their reliability. This time I shall try to furnish new evidence as to the historical value and importance of them.

I. Let us begin with the problem of the Oghuz who, between 550 A.D. and 840 A.D. were the main constituents of the old Turkic tribal confederations of Central Asia. Now, the great difficulty which we still have to face analysing the Chinese sources arises, on the one hand, from the fact that the Chinese do not enumerate the single Eastern Turkish tribes as they do it in the case of the Western Turks and, on the other, from the fact that the name Oghuz could not be identified with certainty as yet in the Chinese sources. It is therefore of great importance that the Turkic inscriptions, including the Shine-Ussu one, make a clear distinction between Türk and Oghuz.

I am aware of the fact that Prof. Annemaris von Gabain and Prof. Pritsak do not accept this conclusion in view of the repeated allusion of the Turkish qaghans to the Oghuz as to their own people. But this does not mean that the Oghuz were the only subjects of the Turkish qaghans. In a paper written in Hungarian in 1949 I tried to show that the Oghuz tribes which bear the names Uyghur, Tongra and Bayirqu did not belong according to the clear testimony of the Chinese sources, to the original Eastern Turkish tribes. Therefore speaking of the events of the old Turkish history we must always distinguish between Türk and Oghuz. Later on, in 1956, Prof. E. G. Pulleyblank came to a similar conclusion emphasizing that the Türk and Oghuz had separate tribal organizations of their own.

A comparison of the sources, including the Khotan Saka and the Tibetan ones, enables us, in my opinion, even to identify the names of the single Oghuz and Eastern Turkish Tribes. Thus we know at present that the leading tribe of the Oghuz tribal group was that of the Uyghur which possessed of nine sub-

tribes, namely the Yaghlaqar, Yabutgar, Eyebir, etc. these nine Uyghur sub-tribes constituted, however, a single unit within the Oghuz tribal confederation. The latter comprised eight other tribes as well, which bear the name Säkiz Oghuz/"Eighuz"/in the Shine-Usu Uyghur inscriptions. The leading tribe Uyghur and the eight other Oghuz tribes, the Säkiz Oghuz bore the well-known name Toquz-Oghuz/"Nime Oghuz"/ in the Turkic inscriptions.

The number of the nine Uyghur sub-tribes and of the other eight tribes of the Toquz oghuz amounted to seventeen in all. But we have evidence that the Uyghurs, in the time of the foundation of their independent state, raised the number of their tribes from nine to ten. This is clearly shown by the name on Uyghur, i.e. "Ten Uyghur" occurring in the Shine-Usu Uyghur inscription, by a 10th century Turfan document and also by the latter tradition. The introduction of the decimal system apparently enabled the qaghan of the new Uyghur state to a better military organization. We must not forget that all the great military leaders of Central Asia including Cingiz-khan reorganized their tribal groups according to the decimal pattern.

It is very interesting that we even find the old name Toquz-Oghuz and the new one On-Uyghur side-by-side in the Shine-Usu inscription where the Uyghur qaghan designates his own people by the double name On Uyghur-Toquz-Oghuz. The reason of this strange simultaneous use of the two names is made clear by Kashghari, the great Turkish scholar of the eleventh century who states that the Turks considered the number toquz /"nine"/, used in the name of certain tribal groups, as sacred. He assures us that even if the Turks introduced changes in the numbers of their tribal groups they kept the old sacred name toquz as well.

As to the number and the names of the Eastern Turkish tribes I should like to call your attention to the Tibetan document No. 1283 of the Pelliot-Collection which was published by the late Prof. Bacot in 1956. Here we find a very important description of the people of Central Asia dating from the middle of the eighth century A.D. This document describes, together with many other tribal groups, the Eastern Turks as well as and also enumerates the names of the twelve tribes which constituted this confederation. The number thirty is now fully confirmed by two additional sources: on the one hand by a fragmentary passage of the Orkhon Turkish inscriptions and on the other by the Chinese inscriptions devoted to the memory of the daughter of Qapghan qaghan. Both of these sources speak of thirty tribes which constituted tribal confederation of qapghan qaghan and Bilgä qaghan.

2. The second problem which I am going to discuss briefly is connected with Cabi-qaghan, an important personality of the first Turkish empire whose name is also written as Cabis qaghan in the Chinese sources. He was one of the prince of the Eastern Turks and belonged to the Ashina, the ruling clan of the

ancient Turks. His realm comprised the central part of the Altai mountains and the Kobdo-basin in Western Mongolia. He was living in the first half of the seventh century A.D. and after his death, which occurred in 650 A.D., his realm was inherited by another Ashina prince whose name was Ashina Holu. There are plenty of information in the Chinese sources both on Cabis qaghan and on Ashina but nothing is known about their subjects. The territory of Cabis qaghan was situated between the Oghuz in the East and the Western Turkish and Qarluq tribes in the south. It would therefore be natural to look for the origin of the tribes of Cabis-qaghan either among the Oghuz or, on the basis of the distinction of the Turks and the Oghuz, among the Oghuz tribes of Western Mongolia. Yet a comparison of the Chinese sources with a report of Ibn al-Muqaffa preserved in a Persian historical work, I came to the conclusion that the tribes of Cabis-qaghan belonged neither to the Turk nor to the Oghuz. They had two constituents: one part of them belonged originally to the Turkish people of the Kimäk and the other to the Mongolian people of the Tatars. Some time before 750 A.D. the tribal confederation of Cabis qaghan and Ashina Holu was dissolved. The Turkish tribes belonging to them moved to the Irish river, the other tribes the Tatar ones, remained in the Altai region and became known, in the period preceding Cingiz-Khan, as the people of the Naiman

There are of course a number of further implications of these new data for the history of Central Asia but I am afraid I must leave them for another occasion. This time I just wanted to illustrate the importance of the Turkic inscriptions for the history of Central Asia and for history at all.

GARDIZI ON THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA  
(746—780 A. D.)

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IIY

K. CZEGLÉDY



The new edition of the work *Zayn al-akhbār* of Abū Sa'īd 'Abd-al-Ḥaiy ibn Dahhāk ibn Maḥmūd Gardīzī published by 'Abd al-Ḥaiy Ḥabībī in 1968 in Tehran<sup>1</sup> is an important contribution to the study of Iranian history, comparative chronology as well as to the history of the steppe-dwelling peoples.

In addition to the text the new edition contains an introduction in Persian to the manuscripts of the *Zayn-al-akhbār* and the problems which the editor had to face. After the text Ḥabībī gives a list of the rare words and phrases occurring in the work and their meanings (pp. 303—310) with the detailed interpretation of some of the words (pp. 311—312). Also among the supplements (pp. 312—315) he publishes again the preface written by the recently deceased Sa'īd Nafīsī to the *Zayn al-akhbār* (pp. 313—315) as well as the introduction of another outstanding Persian scholar, the late Muḥammad Qazvīnī, to the work. The edition has a further supplement (pp. 319—320) in which Ḥabībī compares a number of corresponding sections in the texts of Gardīzī's work and Ibn Rustā's *Kitāb al-'a'lāq al-nafīsa*. A careful index of the proper names (pp. 321—351) ends the new edition.

The publication of Ḥabībī will certainly give a new impetus to the Gardīzī research. Especially the sections of the text not published so far will induce new findings. In other cases, by successfully reconstructing certain sections of the text which were known so far in their faulty shape only, Ḥabībī gives valuable aid to the better understanding of the contents of the work.

In his introductory expositions Ḥabībī, on the whole, agrees with the findings published in the relevant literature. Thus, in the first place, he accepts the view<sup>2</sup> that the Oxford manuscript is nothing but a late (1781 A. D.) copy of

<sup>1</sup> = *Enteshārāt-e Bunyād-e Farhang-e Īrān*, 37. *Manābe-e Ta'rīkh va Joḡhrāfiyā-ye Īrān*, 11. — As to earlier literature on Gardīzī (editions and investigations) see C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, Sect. II/1, p. 68; I/2, p. 256; G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose Persane* 1 (Paris 1963), pp. 71—73. Important observations with regard to the *Zayn al-akhbār* were made by M. Kmoskó on whose literary remains see K. Czeglédý: *Acta Orient. Hung.* IV (1954), pp. 19—90, esp. 82—90.

<sup>2</sup> V. Minorsky: *BSOAS* XII (1948), pp. 625—626.

the Cambridge manuscript written in 1497—1498 or 1523—1524, with the same errors of the scribes, omissions, faulty forms of proper names and occasional confusion in pagination.<sup>3</sup> Both manuscripts were produced in India, with the Indian *nesta'liq* type duct. Ḥabībī also emphasizes the difficulty of establishing the correct readings owing to the numerous errors of the copyists. The diacritical points of the letters are often missing, and the transcribing of the proper names of foreign origin is especially poor. In some cases, as Ḥabībī states, the copyist obviously inserted the marginal notes — mostly in the wrong places — into the text. All this seems to indicate, according to Ḥabībī, either the extreme negligence of the Indian copyist, or his failure to understand the Persian text. We may add that, compared with the vast number of errors, there are but few cases in which the Oxford copyist tried to correct the erroneous readings of the Cambridge original (Minorsky, *loc. cit.*).

Gardīzī wrote his work after 1041 A. D. and he dedicated it to the Ghaznevid Sultan 'Abd al-Rashīd (1050—1053 A. D.). The homeland of our author was Gardīz near Ghazna in Afghanistan. Certain Persian words of dialect character in the *Zayn al-akhbār* also witness to the East-Iranian dialect spoken there. The language of the work is simple. V. Minorsky compares it with the language of the *Hudūd al-'ālam*. Its style, not only in its geographical descriptions but also in its chapters dealing with historical and ethnographic subjects, is unassuming. Some of its linguistic archaisms (e.g. *andar* and *hamī* for later New-Persian *dar* and *mī*) were fairly faithfully preserved by the Cambridge copyist.<sup>4</sup>

However, speaking of Gardīzī's language, we must add to the expositions of Minorsky and Ḥabībī that only a part of the *Zayn al-akhbār* is an original composition since the major part of the work<sup>5</sup> is the translation — and partly a very poor one at that — of Arabic texts. This can be established in those cases in which we also have at our disposal the Arabic original. Such is the case, with the description of the Turkish peoples of the steppe which was also used, beside Gardīzī, by several other Persian, Arab and Turkish compilers. The whole section, as has been long known,<sup>6</sup> is taken from the work *Kitāb*

<sup>3</sup> As it was shown already by H. Éthé, *Catal. Codd. MSS Bibl. Bodl.*, Pars XIII, P. I, *Persian MSS* (Oxf. 1899), col. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Lazard, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> One of the main Arabic sources of the *Zayn al-akhbār* was Salāmī's lost *Ta'rikh wulāt Khurāsān*. This was pointed out by the first editor and commentator of the *Zayn al-akhbār*, W. Barthold, (*Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, pp. 10—11, 21); on Salāmī see Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums I* (Leiden 1967), p. 362 (n° 5). — The translations from Salāmī's work in the *Zayn al-akhbār*, though we do not possess the original, seem to be, on the whole, much better than those made on the basis of Jayhānī's *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*.

<sup>6</sup> Minorsky, *Marvazī*, pp. 6—11; cf. Czeglédy: *Acta Orient. Hung.* IV, pp. 86—88.

*al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, «The Book of Routes and Kingdoms» of the Khorasanian wazir, al-Jayhānī. The translation in the *Zayn al-akhbār* (ed. Ḥabībī, pp. 255—279) of this important chapter<sup>7</sup> belongs to the poorest of the whole work. It teems with minor and major inaccuracies and misunderstandings, and this can only in part be accounted for by the fact that probably the Jayhānī manuscript itself on which the translation of the *Zayn al-akhbār* is based had many faults.

Speaking further of the language of the *Zayn al-akhbār*, it is also important to note that, judged by the evidence of the narratives of folk etymology to be discussed below, Gardīzī's command of the Turkish language was also poor. It was because of his imperfect knowledge of the language that, in some cases, he missed the very points of the stories. Thus, for instance, in this chapter about the Kimāk-Turks (ed. Ḥabībī, pp. 257—258),<sup>8</sup> he explains that the title *tutugh* was given to the Kimāk ruler because of the adventure he had had on the bank of the Irtish river. While standing there, he heard a voice and saw a plait of hair swimming in the water. He quickly jumped into the water, grabbed the tress and saved — his own wife. Thereupon the Kimāk began to call their ruler *tutugh* «for he heard the voice, went into the water and was not afraid».

It is obvious that the author of the original story of popular etymology was under the impression that the title *tutugh* — which is of Chinese origin — is a derivative with the suffix *-uq* of the Turkish verb *tut-* 'seize, grab', while Gardīzī, ignorant of the Turkish language, omitted from the quoted sentence precisely what was the etymological clue to the story, the words «and grabbed the tress».

The most valuable part of the *Zayn al-akhbār* is the third part with its 25 pages which make Gardīzī's work a significant source of East-European and Asian history. This part is composed of three sharply distinctive elements: 1) genealogical and aetiological narratives about the Turkish peoples of the Eurasian Steppe (Oghuz, Qarluq, Kimāk, Yaghma, Qirghiz), 2) geographical expositions dealing with Tibet, two Turkish peoples of Asia Interior: the Toquz-Oghuz and the Barskhan, as well as with the Chinese; a description of the peoples of the East-European Steppe and of a number of the neighbouring countries (Khazar, Volga Bulghār, Majghir, Saqlāb, Rūs, Sarīr, Allān), 3) itineraries leading the reader into the aforesaid countries of Europe and Asia. Of them one, the itinerary leading to the domicile of the Türgish and Chigil,

<sup>7</sup> Edited and translated for the first time by V. Bartol'd, *Otchet o poezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu* (S.-Petersburg 1897), pp. 78—126.

<sup>8</sup> Translated by Marquart, *Komanen*, pp. 89—91.

obviously belonged in Gardīzī's source to the description of these peoples. Gardīzī, however, omitted the description and affixed the itinerary, as an incoherent supplement, to the end of the whole chapter.

It is at the beginning and the end of the whole part that Gardīzī gives the list of his immediate sources for the description of the steppe-dwelling peoples. Such sources are the *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* of the Khorasanian wazīr *al-Jayhānī*, the *Kitāb rub' al-dunyā* of Abū 'Amr 'Abdallāh ibn al-Muqaffa' and the book of 'Ubaydallāh ibn Khurradādhbih under the title *Kitāb-i akhbār*. But Gardīzī also mentions other information he had from «all kinds of» sources.

As to the quotations from the work of *al-Jayhānī*, we briefly note that, in line with the great progress of recent research, we relate these quotations to a single description composed about 870 A. D. on the basis of Arab and Persian caravan-merchants. There are indications that it was also from the work of *Jayhānī* that Gardīzī took most of the descriptions covering the Steppe of Central Asia, China and Tibet as well as the bulk of the data in the itineraries of China and Tibet.

But when he comes to the description of the Turkish peoples of the central part of the Eurasian Steppe (the region between the Sir-darya and Irtysh rivers, the lands flanking the river Ili and Dzungaria), he no longer relies on the works of *Jayhānī* and *ibn Khurradādhbih*. This we can easily understand because these peoples lived much nearer to Gardīzī's home in Afghanistan than either the European peoples or those of the Far East and, some of them, as, for instance, the Oghuz and Qarluq had already been strongly involved in the political life of Western Turkestan. Thus Gardīzī, who wrote his work about 1050 A. D., might have likely been satisfied with *Jayhānī*'s older descriptions — written about 870 A. D. — to cover distant peoples, but obviously could not borrow the obsolete data of the same author when he dealt in his work with nearby peoples well-known in his own country. Since, however, he himself was no geographer and had no first-hand information about the countries he described, he had no other choice but to use a source which, though not new either, and in fact even about a hundred years older than the data borrowed from *Jayhānī*, contained no obviously obsolete details which might have annoyed his readers. Such a historical source was the book entitled *Rub' al-dunyā* the copy of which used by Gardīzī featured the name of *Ibn al-Muqaffa'* as its author.

Abū 'Amr 'Abdallāh ibn al-Muqaffa' (720—about 757 A. D.) who died prematurely was one of the great personalities of early Arab literature whose great accomplishment was out of proportion to the brief span of his life. As one of the founders of scientific Arab prose, he was the first to translate the Middle Persian history of the Sasanid dynasty, the *Khvatāy-nāmak*. His translation has subsequently exerted a very great influence upon all the Arab

works dealing with world history. But his other translations from Middle Persian were also widely popular.<sup>9</sup>

The report on the Oghuz<sup>10</sup> constitutes the first part of Gardīzī's chapter about the steppe-dwelling peoples. The introductory lines of the chapter read as follows: «In his work entitled *Kitāb-i akhbār*, 'Ubaydallāh ibn Khurradādhbih says that the Turks belong to the Chinese. Then Abū 'Amr 'Abdallāh ibn al-Muqaffa', in his work *Kitāb rub' al-dunyā*, tells us that, when Noah the prophet (peace be unto him!) disembarked from the Ark, the world had no inhabitants at all. He had three sons: Sām, Hām and Yāfith. Then he distributed the world between his sons. Thus he gave the Black, the Negroes, the Abessinians, the Nubians and the Berbers, together with their territories, the land and the sea with its islands, to Hām. Irāq, Khorāsān, Hījāz, Yemen, Syria and Irānshahr became the share of Sām. The Turk, Saqlāb, Gog and Magog, all the way up to China, became the property of Yāfith». <sup>11</sup> Then the quotation from the book of *Ibn al-Muqaffa'* continues and is followed by two aetiological legends. The first discusses the rain-making stone of the Turks which first belonged to Yāfith, then of his descendants, to the Ghuzz (Oghuz). The second describes certain traits of the appearance and character of the Turks: their sparse hair and evil disposition. The cause of these traits was, according to the legend, that it was only by feeding him with ant eggs and wolf's milk that his mother could cure Yāfith of a disease in his childhood. When he reached adulthood, the consumption of ant eggs in his childhood had the effect that he had only sparse hair, while the consequence of his former drinking of wolf's milk was his wicked nature. These traits were then inherited by his descendants, including Turk, the ancestor of the Turkish peoples.

These legends, which are bare of any historical data, form the introduction to the detailed description of the other Turkish tribes. This Gardīzī begins with the following words: «Now I am going to tell about them, by tribes, what I have found in books (*kih andar kutub yāftam*). These words might naturally suggest that the following descriptions are no longer taken from the work of *Ibn al-Muqaffa'* but from some other source. This, however, would be a hasty conclusion. For one of the descriptions, that of the Qirghiz, constitutes the direct sequel to the legend of the ant eggs in the introductory chapter. It is also an aetiological legend which is designed to explain the external appearance of the Qirghiz. As contemporary Chinese sources also inform us,

<sup>9</sup> F. Gabrieli: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new edition) III (1960), p. 883; M. Grignaschi, *Les «Rasā'il» 'Aristū'alīsa 'ilā-l-Iskandars: Bulletin d'Études Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas* XIX (1967), pp. 7—83; Grignaschi: *VII Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara 1972), pp. 230—260.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. Hāblībī, pp. 255—256; ed. Bartol'd, pp. 80—81 [Russian transl. pp. 103—104].

<sup>11</sup> The quoted sentences form part of a Muhammadan Διαμερισμός τῆς γῆς.

red (blonde) hair and blue eyes were common among the Qirghiz.<sup>12</sup> The legend quoted by Gardīzī explains this remarkable fact by maintaining that the Qirghiz intermarried with the Slavs who were generally known in the Arab world to have red hair.<sup>13</sup> The name *saqlāb* (Slav) is also explained in the legend which, in the manner of folk etymology, derives the word from the Persian *sag* ('dog') and *lab* ('mouth'), expressing that the ancestor of the Slavs, the son of Yāfith, was fed as child with dog's milk. The same son, says the legend, was born blind, since an ant, when the sick Yāfith in his childhood had been given ant eggs to eat, had cursed him with not having any joy in his son. Thus the description of the Qirghiz obviously assumes that the readers know what they were told in the introductory chapter and also forms the sequel to that chapter.

At the same time, the description of the Qirghiz is also closely related in its contents to the reports on the Qarluq,<sup>14</sup> Kimāk,<sup>15</sup> Yaghma<sup>16</sup> and Barskhan.<sup>17</sup> This is borne out not only by the identical style we find in the said chapters, the appearance of the name-giving heroes, the aetiological legends and explanations in the manner of the folk etymology, but also by the fact that the description of the Qirghiz<sup>18</sup> contains a number of historical data which have reference to the descriptions of the other Turkish peoples. Thus, in the first place, the chapters on the Qirghiz, Qarluq and Yaghma also speak of the *khaqān* of the Toquz-Oghuz as one of the two greatest Turkish rulers (the other was, according to the descriptions of the Qarluq, Kimāk and Yaghma, the Western Turkish khaqān). Besides, the descriptions of the said Turkish peoples also relate chronologically identical situations: all speak of an era in

<sup>12</sup> L. Ligeti, *Mots de civilisation de Haute Asie en transcription Chinoise: Acta Orient. Hung. I* (1950), pp. 140—185; 151.

<sup>13</sup> Procopius, *De bell. Goth.* III, 4. 27; cf. Liudprand, *Antapodosis* V. 15 (ed. Dümmler, p. 107); — Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih* (ed. de Goeje), p. 141: on the Rūs; Yāqūt (ed. Wüstenfeld) III, p. 405: on the *Ṣaqlāb*; cf. K. Czeglédý: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIII (1961), p. 248.

<sup>14</sup> Ed. Ḥabībī, pp. 256—257; ed. Bartol'd, pp. 81—82 [104—105]; cf. Minorsky, *Hudūd*, p. 288.

<sup>15</sup> Ed. Ḥabībī, pp. 257—258; ed. Bartol'd, pp. 82—83 [105—106]; cf. B. E. Kumekov, *Gosudarstvo kimakov IX—XI vv. po arabskim istochnikam* (Alma-Ata 1972), pp. 10—20.

<sup>16</sup> Ed. Ḥabībī, p. 260; ed. Bartol'd, pp. 84—85 [108]; Marquart, *Komanen* pp. 94—95.

<sup>17</sup> Ed. Ḥabībī, p. 265; ed. Bartol'd, p. 89 [113]. — Gardīzī may have known of the Barskhan origin of Sultan Sābūktigin, cf. C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids* (Edinburgh 1963), pp. 39, 272.

<sup>18</sup> Ed. Ḥabībī, pp. 260—262; ed. Bartol'd, pp. 85—86 [108—109]; cf. O. Karaev, *Arabskie i persidskie istochniki IX—XII vekov o kirgizakh i Kirgizii* (Frunze 1968), pp. 26—27.

which of the Turkish tribes, the Western Turks, the Toquz-Oghuz, the Qarluq, the Kimāk and the Yaghma played the leading role.

However, with regard to the facts covered, the reports on the Yaghma and Kimāk are also closely related. Thus, according to the report on the Kimāk, the title of the Kimāk ruler was *shad-tutugh*, while, according to the report on the Yaghma, the intention of the khaqān of the Western Turks, by giving the title *tutugh* to the Yaghma ruler, was to annoy, in this way also, the *shad-tutugh* of the Kimāk. At the same time, there is also close connection between the reports on the Yaghma and the Qarluq: the introductory lines of the description of the Yaghma inform us that the khaqān of the Western Turks began to be worried about his hegemony when he noticed the growth of the numbers of the Qarluq in his land, and saw that the Qarluq had established contacts with the Hephthalites living in his country. On the other hand, the report on the Qarluq describes in detail why the Qarluq flooded the territory of the Western Turks, and, speaking about the end of this process, it also related how the Qarluq overthrew the rule of the khaqān of the Western Turks.

From all this we may infer that Gardīzī's quotation from the *Kitāb rub' al-dunyā* includes, in addition to the introductory report (about the Turk-Oghuz), the reports about the Qarluq, Kimāk, Yaghma, Qirghiz and Barskhan as well. The exact date of the composition of these reports has not yet been ascertained. According to J. Marquart, certain parts of the reports about the Yaghma and the Kimāk seem to point to the last period of the Western Turkish empire, that is, the first part of the 8th century, when the Qarluq had already become a thorn in the flesh of the Western Turks, and the Hephthalites also reappeared on the scene.<sup>19</sup> It seems, however, that a much more exact dating is possible. As to the *terminus post quem*, there can be no doubt that these reports were composed after the fall of the Eastern Turkish empire (744 A. D.) and during the time of the Uyghur empire (744—840 A. D.). But it is also clear that the sixties of the 8th century A. D. would yield an even closer approximation of the *terminus post quem*. For the Qarluq, Kimāk and Yaghma reports speak of an era in which yet the khaqān of the Western Turks held sway over the western part of Central Asia. The Qarluq report, on the other hand, already relates the rebellion of the Qarluq who kill the khaqān of the Western Turks and take over the sovereignty over the former Western Turkish empire. The Qarluq uprising took place in the seventies of the 8th century. Consequently the report about this event could not have been composed earlier than about 770 A. D. So the time span in which we may find our date must be between 770 and 840. A more exact answer which we may find might also solve another problem, that is, the question as to whether we can accept Ibn al-Muqaffa' as the author of the *Kitāb rub' al-dunyā*.

<sup>19</sup> Marquart, *Komanen*, p. 94.

Trying to give a closer approximation, we might start out from a three-fold correspondence which has not so far been noticed. On the one hand, certain details of the report about the Yaghma are in complete agreement with the *Uyghur Inscription of Shinc-usu*, and, on the other hand, with the *Dynastic Histories* of the Chinese and some chapters in certain Chinese works of encyclopaedic nature. Then, both the *Uyghur Inscription* and the Chinese sources are specific about the exact date of the events concerned. In this way it becomes possible to fix the exact date of the report about the Yaghma and, together with this, also the date when the report about the Turks in the *Kitāb rub' al-dunyā* was composed.

According to the report on the Yaghma in the *Zayn al-akhbār*, it was from among the Toquz-Oghuz that the tribe of the Yaghma emigrated and fled west to join the Qarluq then under Western Turkish sovereignty. But soon afterwards enmity broke out between them, and the Yaghma, obeying the command of the khaqan of the Turks, moved further, led by their ruler Yaghma, to settle down among the Qarluq and the Kimāk. At the same time, so Gardizī's report on the Yaghma informs us, there lived a group of rich nomadic horsemen (north) of China. As, at some time, dissension arose among them, some of them left the group and placed themselves under the protection of the khaqan of the Western Turks, who, at their request, gave them permission to join the Yaghma. The neighbouring Qarluq, however, treated them badly, and so finally, on the order of the khaqan of the Turks, they moved further and settled down among the Qarluq and the Kimāk. There, however, they soon became exposed to the pressure of the Kimāk leader, the *shad-tutugh*. In the end they settled down near the khaqan of the Western Turks. He gave the title *Yaghma-tutugh* to their leader.

From the chronological viewpoint it is important to note first that, according to this report, the Qarluq lived under the rule of the khaqan of the Western Turks. This state of affairs, as we know, came about in 745 A. D. In 742 the Qarluq, together with the Uyghur and Basmil, had rebelled against the Eastern Turks and made the Basmil ruler their khaqan. In 744, the Uyghur first deposed the Basmil ruler and then established their sovereignty over those Qarluq tribes as well that, as it seems, had moved, in the course of the narrated events, to the Ötüken mountains.<sup>20</sup> The Qarluq tribes, however, living in the west, in the upper region of the Irtish river and at the Altai, considered this

<sup>20</sup> On the dissolution of the Eastern Turkish empire (742–745 A. D.) see the report of the *Hsin T'ang-shu*, cap. 215/B (ed. *So-yin po-na-pên êrh-shih-szū*, vol. XIII, Peking 1958, p. 1605), translated by Liu Mau-tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe)*, I, pp. 230–231; J. R. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties* (Paris 1955), pp. 2–4; on the Ötüken Qarluq (the Yabāghū of Gardizī) see cap. 217/B of the *Hsin T'ang-shu* (p. 19631), translated by E. Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 86; cf. C. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire* (Canberra 1972), p. 8.

a hostile action. This seems to be indicated by the *Shinc-usu Inscription* (N 11, ed. Ramstedt, p. 16)<sup>21</sup> which tells us that the Qarluq, as early as in 745, shifted their allegiance to the Western Turks. From this time onward, hostilities between the Uyghur and Qarluq, with but brief intermissions, continued to the end of the Uyghur empire (840 A. D.).

As Gardizī's report on the Qarluq indicates, he also knows of an eastern tribal group of the Qarluq, moreover, telling a story of folk etymology, he explains the name *Yabāghū* which was the designation of the Ötüken Qarluq tribes. Judging by his report, the Yabāghū were composed of numerous tribes and they too, like the western Qarluq tribes, soon joined the Western Turks. But, after a brief period, they rebelled against the khaqan of the Western Turks also. They were who killed the khaqan and took his possessions. The report emphasises that a great number of Yabāghū-Qarluq tribes had settled down on the territory of the Western Turks. Even as late as in the 11th century, in the age of Kāshgharī,<sup>22</sup> one of the Yabāghū tribes played an important historical role.

The report on the Yaghma in the *Zayn al-akhbār* tells us further that the example of the Qarluq groups was followed by two groups of the Uyghur (Toquz-Oghuz) ruler's own subjects. As regards to the Yaghma tribe, the background of their flight to the West is illuminated by the *Shinc-usu Inscription* of the Uyghur qaghan Bayan čor (N 11—O 7, pp. 16–21)<sup>23</sup> which relates that, after the death of the first Uyghur ruler, a big rebellion led by his eldest son, Tay Bilgä Yabghu, broke out on the territory of the Uyghur empire. Of the «Nine Oghuz» tribes of the Toquz-Oghuz, excepting the leading tribe of the Uyghur, all the other eight Oghuz tribes (in the text of the *Inscription*: Säkiz-Oghuz: «Eight Oghuz») took part, and even the Toquz-Tatar gave their support to the rebels. In the end, however, the Uyghur qaghan, Bayan-čor, successfully crushed the revolt. Some of the rebels surrendered themselves to the qaghan, while the others fled. Of the name of the place to which the latter groups fled but a single letter is now extant in the *Inscription* (O 7: . . . . . 9<sup>7</sup>). However, in view of Gardizī's report on the Yaghma, we are in the position to make a fairly safe conjecture for the missing characters: *qarluqa* «to the Qarluq».<sup>24</sup> At any rate, it is clear that some of the Oghuz rebelling in 749 left the Oghuz territory after the victory of the khaqan, and one cannot doubt that the flight of the Yaghma as reported by Gardizī was related to this event. There is, in this connection, another — hitherto unappreciated — fact recorded in the Chinese sources. It indicates that it was, on the one hand, at the head

<sup>21</sup> Ed. S. E. Malov, *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii* (Leningrad 1959), p. 35 [39].

<sup>22</sup> *Diwān*, ed. Constantinople I, p. 28 (*Yabāghū*).

<sup>23</sup> Ed. Malov, p. 35–36 [39–40].

<sup>24</sup> Malov [41, l. 19] thinks of the Qitān.



of the Bayirqu tribe of the Toquz-Oghuz that Tay Bilgā led his rebellion against the Uyghur kaghan, and, on the other hand, that Tay Bilgā, following his defeat, sought refuge in the Chinese court.<sup>25</sup>

As to the other fleeing group of the Oghuz recorded by Gardīzī, that is, the rich horsemen who, from the northern neighbourhood of China, went to the Qarluq, the Uyghur inscription as well as the Chinese sources also contain some very accurate and detailed references. According to the Chinese sources, in the fifties of the 8th century three famous nomadic chieftains played important roles on the northern frontiers of China: Abuz yabghu, Ko-shu Han and An Lu-shan.<sup>26</sup> Abuz yabghu, who was named after the Abuz, a sub-group belonging to the Sikār tribe of the Toquz-Oghuz, served the Eastern Turks as yabghu until 742, and, in the same year fled to the Chinese court. Abuz yabghu and An Lu-shan, however, never really trusted each other, and in 752, it came to an open breach between them.<sup>27</sup> After they severed their contacts, since An Lu-shan still enjoyed the full support of the emperor, there was no other choice for Abuz yabghu than to flee. He first went to the area of Bayan-čor in the north who, according to the *Shinc-usu Inscription* (S 8, p. 29),<sup>28</sup> had just come home from a protracted military campaign in the west. The words of the *Inscription* seem to indicate that a part of Bayan-čor's people sided with Abuz yabghu. But even this could not prevent Bayan-čor's victory, and the only option for Abuz yabghu was to flee to the Qarluq. It is again the Chinese sources that inform us about the flight of Abuz. They tell us that, after his defeat, An Lu-shan succeeded in persuading the the people of Abuz to shift their allegiance to him.<sup>29</sup> Thus the group following Abuz in the flight was not possibly large. At first, the Qarluq opened the doors before Abuz yabghu and permitted him to join the Yaghma (Gardīzī). Later, however, complying with an order from the Chinese, they extradited him to a Chinese general who took him to the capital where he was executed in 754.<sup>30</sup> When, therefore, Gardīzī relates that the Qarluq committed improper acts (*nāravā ihā*

<sup>25</sup> His arrival is reported in the *T's'ê-fu-yüan-kuei*, cap. 971, 17 v° (= p. 11413) and cap. 975, 21 v° (= p. 11458).

<sup>26</sup> E. G. Pulleyblank, *The Background of the Rebellion of An Lu-shan* (London 1955), p. 167, n. 87; R. des Rotours, *Histoire de Ngan Lou-chan* (Paris 1962), p. 117, n. 6, pp. 123—127; H. S. Levy, *Biography of An Lu-shan* (Berkeley 1960): an annotated translation of cap. 200/A of the *Chiu T'ang-shu*. — I have proposed the reading *Abuz* for the Chinese *A-pu-szū* and for the *b.z* (*Buz?*) of the *Turkic Inscriptions* in a paper read on the occasion of the session of the Permanent International Altaic Conference held in Szeged (25. VIII. 1971; to appear in the acts of the session).

<sup>27</sup> Des Rotours, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>28</sup> Ed. Malov, p. 37 [42].

<sup>29</sup> Des Rotours, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>30</sup> Des Rotours, *op. cit.*, p. 127; cf. Chavannes, *Documents, Notes additionnelles*, p. 87, n. 4.

*hami-kardand*) against the newcomers then this obscure phrase seems to denote the extraditing of Abuz yabghu.

All this shows that the source of Gardīzī was best informed about the events which had taken place between 745 and 753 in Central Asia. If we considered only these data we would have no difficulty in identifying Ibn al-Muqaffa' as the first recorder of the events related. However, as we already indicated above, the report about the Qarluq also refers to the fall of the Western Turkish empire about 760—766 A. D. — an event which took place about seven years after the death of Ibn al-Muqaffa'. So we must exclude him as the original author of the report. The simplest solution, in this case, seems to be to ascribe these reports to the son of Ibn al-Muqaffa', who, according to the latest findings of research<sup>31</sup> was the author, among other writings, of works translated from the Greek and published under the name of Ibn al-Muqaffa'. But we must also reckon with the other possibility that the real author of our reports was a Muhammedan Persian who lived in the neighbourhood of Eastern Iran and had excellent informations about the Turkish peoples of Central Asia. As the original source of the said informations we might consider some Mohammedan merchants or envoys. For, in the period between 745 and 760, Uyghur Qarluq and Arab envoys kept on arriving in almost every year<sup>32</sup> in the Chinese court. In 753, the year in which Abuz was captured and sent to the Chinese court, two Qarluq delegations (one of them consisting of 130 members) were sent to the Chinese court, and in the same year two Arab missions (one of them consisting of 25 high ranking persons) also arrived.<sup>33</sup> At any rate, the Mohammedan envoys had excellent opportunities in the Chinese court to obtain accurate information about the events which were taking place in Central Asia.

<sup>31</sup> P. Kraus: *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* XIV, p. 4; F. Gabrieli: *Enc. of Islam* (new ed.) III, p. 833.

<sup>32</sup> Chavannes, *Documents, Notes additionnelles*, pp. 74—90.

<sup>33</sup> Chavannes, *ibid.*, pp. 86—88.

## THE XXIXth INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

At its XXIXth session held in Paris from the 16th to the 22nd of July the International Congress of Orientalists celebrated the 100th anniversary of its founding. Prof. R. Labat, chairman of the session, was right in pointing out in his opening address that the Congress was observing its 100th birthday in the city which from the beginning had played a significant role in the history of this important international organization. The chairman's address, however, was more than a simple review of the glorious century of the Congress; it also specified the reasons which, in the opinion held by the Organizing Committee and Prof. Labat himself, called for basic changes in the activity of the Congress. He spoke of gigantism reflected in the size of the Congress. The organizing of the learned discussions of several thousand participants, with the financial and organisational resources ordinarily at disposal is a work beset by almost unsurmountable difficulties. Another negative feature of the sessions has long been the undue intrusion of tourism. The Organizing Committee is not in the position to review the incoming registrations. Hence it is up to the participants to choose between the role of the listeners and that of the lecturers when they partake of the work of the Congress. This freedom has more than once been the source of difficulties. It has therefore been a natural development — as those in the Organizing Committee believe — that, in the fields of studies represented at the sessions of the Congress, sectional associations — under the auspices of the Congress — have come into being which then arrange very efficient conferences in regular intervals. This, however, has a distracting effect inasmuch as some of the best experts prefer to attend the exclusive conferences on themes in their special fields rather than to make the physical exertion of attending the sessions of the Congress which are held, by necessity, in widely scattered places and fraught with a heavy programme of almost incomprehensible range.

Although these arguments contain a great deal of truth, many of the participants regretted the Organizing Committee's decision in terms of which the Congress, in still closer cooperation with the UNESCO, will hold quinquennial meetings, specifically for the delegates of the individual countries, although the non-delegated experts will also be admitted. After the announcement of this decision many expressed the view that the Congress, with its centenary record of greatly successful activity, might have found hosts for its sessions in the coming decades as well. At any rate, the number of its potential hosts was by no means exhausted, and hence the serious decision to curtail the Congress' activity with such an excellent record for so long a time was perhaps premature. The other decision of the Organizing Committee to hold the XXXth session in Mexico — a country of not negligible though relatively modest orientalist traditions — also seemed rather difficult to accept. This decision, as many believed, reflected again an undue regard for the interests of tourism.

The fragmentation of the Congress indicated by the organizing of special conferences might also have its disadvantages. For many of the participants are not in the convenient position to limit their attention to the activity of but one section. The history of some of the countries of the East and, in general, some of the problems of the economic, cultural and religious history of the East would rather call for an all-round orientation comprising the fields of several sections. Those engaged in the investigation of such interdisciplinary themes are often interested in the work of several sections and hence the special conferences limited to the themes of the individual sections cannot substitute for them the wider opportunities of information offered by the traditionally wider scope of Congress' sessions. One cannot foresee whether the future sessions in the comparatively long interval of five years will be able to make up for the loss of the opportunities of the

more frequent sessions. Again, the scientific character of the future congresses of delegates also will probably be less than assured, and the chairman's address did not make quite clear the legal status of the Congress (its proposed new name: International Congress of the Human Sciences in Asia and the North of Africa) and of the sectional conferences within the framework of the UNESCO (more specifically, of the Conseil International de la Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines). Moreover, the relation between the new Congress and the Union Internationale des Orientalistes also needs clarification.

At any rate, the sections, right during the days of the Congress, began to implement the resolutions in that the plans of organizing a whole range of new associations, in addition to the already existing sectional conferences (such conferences have been at work for years in the fields of Altaic, Iranian, Sanskrit and Tamil studies, of certain special investigations dealing with the ancient East, and of Sinology) was announced, although the process of their formation is still in progress. It is very likely that almost all the sections represented in the Congress will meet in every third year at special conferences.

The summary review and appraisal of the XXIXth International Congress of Orientalists would be, of course, a task quite beyond the capabilities of any single participant. Hence the following remarks, which include some of the observations made by other Hungarian participants, does not at all make the claim of comprehensiveness.

The 3000 odd participants of the XXIXth Congress (including 14 Hungarian Orientalists) carried on their work at the sessions of 11 sections or 22 sub-sections, in a number of seminars and colloquies. Some of the sections were fortunate to attract in fairly large numbers the outstanding representatives of the fields concerned and their active participation in the common effort and this led to a high-level and useful performance. Such gathering was, for instance, the Tibetan sub-section the participants of which, though small in number, gave a many-sided and effective treatment to some of the timely problems of Tibetan and of the increasingly fertile Tangut philology. The same efficiency marked the work of some of the other less populous sub-sections. Thus in the field of Iranian and Hebrew Studies, of Semitic Studies and Phoenician philology some interesting lectures were delivered and important announcements of recent discoveries were made. The work of the sub-section dealing with the Christian cultures of the East was also interesting and instructive when, in addition to lectures on Syrian, Aramaic, Coptic and Caucasological subjects, some of the Eastern liturgies and themes of archaeology and of the history of the fine arts were also discussed. The same sub-section, joined by the Islamologists, devoted several lectures and a seminar to the memory of the remarkable life work of Hunayn b. Ishaq. Apart from some outstanding lectures, the accomplishment of the Turkish and Mongolian sub-sections was less significant, owing, as one may assume, to the absence of many of the outstanding experts in this field and their probable intention rather to attend the Ankara Conference in October 1973.

It is still more difficult to appraise the work of the more populous sections of the Congress. Of the latter, but few could produce such a uniformly high-level and efficient work as the sub-section of Egyptology. Only few of the best experts took part in the work of the sub-section on Assyrology, and one to two of the few lectures on Sumerian themes were far below the international level to which one is accustomed in Sumerology. On the other hand, the demonstration of some archaeological and epigraphic discoveries recently made in Mesopotamia, Cyprus, Anatolia, Syria and Palestine was most instructive for those attending the sub-section on Assyrology. Incidentally, some of the representatives of the studies dealing with the Ancient East voiced their opinion that for them cooperation with the Far Eastern sections, within the traditional framework of the Congress, was not fruitful. It was therefore subsequently resolved that those working in the fields

of Egyptology, Assyrology, Hittitology, Syria, Palestine and the ancient Iran will hold their special congress in every third year.

Also in the other well-attended sections the lectures delivered were unequal in value. The same can be said of the sections on Indology and Sinology. On the whole, the number of literary and aesthetic lectures based on social history was rather small, and, apart from some outstanding lectures, a rather modest level of performance prevailed. Moreover, the work of the sections on Arabic and Islamic themes reflected rather unfavourably the present situation of the Middle East. And it also belongs to the negative features of the Congress that fairly large was the number of the lectures which figured only in the printed programme but were not actually delivered.

But these disappointments were amply compensated for by the remarkable thoughtfulness, helpful kindness and cordial hospitality of the French colleagues. The various sessions and receptions of the Congress offered many opportunities to the participants to meet personally some French colleagues long known by their names and works and also other experts coming from many parts of the world. And the cultural programme organized by the French colleagues was indeed magnificent. The exhibition «Treasures of the Orient» of the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the further exhibitions of the Louvre, the Museum Guimet, of the Museum Cernuschi as well as the Chinese and African exhibitions and film premières arranged in various places offered unforgettable experiences.

The French participants are at any rate in the position to look back with justified pride not only upon the Congress in Paris hundred years ago but also upon the Congress of Paris in 1973, the XXIXth and probably the last International Congress of Orientalists.

K. Czeglédy

B. E. KUMEKOV, *Gosudarstvo kimakov IX—XI vv. po arabskim istočnikam* (Alma-Ata 1972), 8° pp. 156 (Izdatel'stvo „Nauka“ Kazachskogo SSSR).

Kumekov's small monography is based on practically all ancient sources as well as on a very comprehensive modern special literature. The author took pains to make a critical analysis of all his sources, ancient and modern as well. It is, of course, no easy task to give a critical survey of so many old reports and modern views, yet Kumekov, no doubt, deserves our appreciation for at least having made the attempt.

After an introductory chapter on the history of the problem (pp. 3—9) Kumekov gives a summary of the sources dealing with the history and geography of the Kimäk (pp. 10—35). The most valuable chapter of Kumekov's work is the next one, which deals with the historical geography of the Kimäk lands, as well as with the migrations of the Kimäk tribes (pp. 48—87). Kumekov analyses here also Gardizi's itinerary which starts from the lower reaches of the Syr-Darja and having crossed the Kazakh steppe reaches Kimäk territory on the upper course of the Irtysh river. In this part of his work Kumekov adds a number of new data and convincing interpretations to the findings of his predecessors. Two chapters on the economic aspect of the life of the Kimäk tribes (pp. 88—97) as well as on the political organization of them (pp. 98—129) together with a short recapitulation (pp.

130—131) and an excellent bibliography (pp. 132—155) of Soviet and Western literature on the subject conclude Kumekov's work.

Kumekov deals in detail with the tribal name *Kimäk* (pp. 31—35) and accepts the form *Kimäk* which he uses both on the title-page and generally in his work. This «innovation» is, however, hardly to be retained. Namely the Arabic orthography of *Kimäk* does not suggest a Turkic original with *a* in the second syllable, but a Turkic form with a very open *ä* sound. This latter was rendered by the Arabic letter *ä*, which was pronounced, as it is well known, already in ancient times dialectally with *imäla*, i.e. as an open *ä*. Similarly Byzantine and Chinese people also used sometimes their unrounded *a* sound to render Turkic *ä*, both sounds being acoustically almost identical. Thus *Yen-mo*, the Chinese name of the Yimäk tribe, goes also back to an Ancient Chinese *\*jäm-mäk*. The *ä* of the Ancient Chinese form represents here also a Turkic open *ä* sound.

The Chinese report on the Yimäk is very important because it enables us to connect the report of our various sources and thus to prepare a sketch of the Kimäk history and historical geography. Our Chinese sources speak of the land of the Yimäk dignitary *Yimäk nien tu-lu küll irkin*. In spite of the efforts however made by L. Hambis and Ju. A. Zuev this compound name is only partly elucidated as yet, and the Turkish original of the Chinese words *nien tu-lu* has remained unknown. Nevertheless there seems to be enough evidence to show that the name *Nien*, Ancient Chinese *\*nien*, as a Qitay Mongolian dialectal form, is to be connected with the name of the partly mongolicized Turkic Naimans who, according to MS. n° 1283 of Pelliot's Tibetan collection, lived around 750 A.D. in the western part of the Kobdo basin as well as in the mountains to the west of it. The full name is to be restored, as *\*Njäm tuyluq* which means «He, who possesses eight flags». This seems to be the equivalent of the name *Naiman*

«Eight», the Mongolian name of the same people in the Kobdo basin.

The Chinese report on the Naiman dates from the period of the history of the Turkic peoples when the collapse of the Eastern Turkish Empire was followed by the subordination of the big Oghuz-Uighur tribes to the Chinese (627—652 A.D.). Diplomatic connections with the Chinese of the far North-West was made only possible by the decline and fall of Turkish power in the Northern part of Central Asia.

The Chinese, as it was observed by Zuev, report little after 627—652 A.D. in 652—657 A.D.) from another \**Njem tuyluq kül irkin* (without the name *Yimäk* and with a number of variant readings for \**Njem*: mod. *Nën, Lan, Lai*), who also lived in the Kobdo basin.

As to Gardizi's report on the Tatar (i.e. Mongolian) origin of the Kimäk, we no longer consider it as a legend, but we accept it at present as a historical report, dating from about 750 A.D. which bears in its present form traits of the folk-lore as well (cf.: *Gardizi on the History of Central Asia 750—780 A.D.*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXVII, 1972, pp. 257—267). We must, consequently, date the Kimäk migration from the West of the Kobdo basin and the neighbouring parts of the Altai-mountains to the Irtysh river little before 750 A.D. Within a short time this migration of the Kimäk was followed by that of the Qypčaq tribe of the Kimäk from the Irtysh region to the Eastern side of the Ural mountains. About 800 A.D. this was followed by the appearance of the Kimäk in the South, on the lower reaches of the Syr-Darja.

These short remarks, which will be dealt with in the near future, had the aim to point to some open problems of Kimäk history. They will by no means diminish Kumekov's merit who as a young representative of A.N. Kononov's and S.G. Kljaštornyj's Leningrad Turkological school performed excellent work in publishing his valuable «Gosudarstvo Kimakov».

K. Czeglédy

I. I. LOMAKINA, *Mardzan Šarav*. Izd. Izbrazitel'noe Isskustvo, Moskva 1974, 192 p. With 136 ill.

The study of the history of Mongolia is one of the most interesting adventures for a historian. Even more fascinating is the history of a painter whose life and life-work reflects an interesting aspect of this history and momentous changes connected with it. The *oeuvre* of the Mongolian painter Mardzan Sharav, Sharav the «Funny-maker», has not been known beyond the borders of Mongolia before 1957. That year members of a Hungarian expedition discovered the paintings partly at an exhibition in the Central Museum of Ulan Bator, partly in the old Palace-Museum of the former Bogdo-gegen. (Cf. A. Róna-Taš, *Po sledam kočevnikov*, Moscow 1964, pp. 222—226, original Hungarian 1961.) There is scarcely any literature on Sharav, apart from a few articles mostly in unaccessible Mongolian newspapers and journals. It is therefore a great merit of I. I. Lomakina that she devoted a detailed monograph to this painter important not only for the history of Mongolian art, but also for the universal history of arts.

Sharav, born about 1809 in a poor nomad family, was admitted in his early childhood to a provincial monastery where the lamas soon became aware of his talent and taught him the elements of drawing Lamaist ikons. But he soon left the province and went to the capital of Mongolia. These were the last decades of the Mongolian «Middle Ages». The theocratic-feudal system of society met with the accelerating developments of the outer world. The great contrasts of the old and the new were more perceptible in the capital where the *Bogdo-gegen*, the head of the Mongolian Lamaist hierarchy ruled. The young boy joined the iconographers of the great monasteries without, however, undergoing the usual lamaist education. He learnt the strict rules of lamaist iconography and earned his living by making religious paintings. With his native talent he soon made

## ZUR GESCHICHTE DER HEPHTHALITEN

Die Erforschung der Geschichte der Hephthaliten hat während der zwei letzten Jahrzehnte zu wichtigen Teilergebnissen geführt, die heutzutage die Revision einiger Grundfragen der hephthalitischen Geschichte ermöglichen. Ich möchte diesmal von den letzteren, zwei miteinander zusammenhängende Probleme ins Auge fassen: einerseits die Frage der Namen und der Stammeskomponente der Hephthaliten, andererseits die Geographie der hephthalitischen Einwanderung nach Ost-Tocharistan. Obwohl ich beide Problemkomplexe bereits vor 25 Jahren in einem ungarisch herausgegebenen Aufsatz<sup>1</sup> behandelt habe, ist es nicht meine Absicht meine frühere Arbeit hier zusammenzufassen. Vielmehr möchte ich Rechenschaft geben von meinen neueren Untersuchungen, die ich auf Grund von neuen Quellenstudien, einschließlich der chinesischen Berichte angestellt habe.

Die Beurteilung der ältesten Periode der hephthalitischen Geschichte ist eng mit der Frage ihrer verschiedenen Benennungen verbunden. Der Name *heftal* scheint weder altaischen, noch iranischen Ursprungs zu sein: diese etymologische Frage ist aber vom Gesichtspunkte unserer Problemstellung weniger aufschlußreich. Aus den Quellen geht nämlich eindeutig hervor, daß *heftal* ursprünglich nur Name einer zeitgebundenen Dynastie um ungefähr 460—560 unserer Zeitrechnung war und erst nach 460 auf das Volk der Hephthaliten übertragen wurde. Der Auftritt der hephthalitischen Dynastie ist also ein terminus post quem für die Authentizität der Erwähnungen der Hephthaliten. Mit anderen Worten: diejenigen Quellen, die die Hephthaliten vor 460 erwähnen, antizipieren diesen Namen, was unter Umständen auch für die Beurteilung ihrer Quellenwertes von Belang sein kann. Noch wichtiger ist aber, daß wir für die Zeitalter der Erscheinung der Hephthaliten und für ihre frühere Geschichte, anstatt des Namens *heftal* andere Benennungen zu erwarten haben. Und das ist in der Tat der Fall: die Hephthaliten erscheinen in den chinesischen Quellen vor 460 u. Z. unter dem Namen *Hua*. In den Quellen des Mittel- und Nahen Ostens werden sie als *hyaona*, *xyōn*, oder *xon*, beziehungsweise *hon-k'* und *hupa*

<sup>1</sup> Hefthaliták, hunok, avarok, onogurok. Magyar Nyelv [Ungarische Sprache] 50 (1954) 142—151.

erwähnt, während sie bei den Byzantinern *Hunnen*, oder *Weißer Hunnen* genannt werden.

Was nun das chinesische *hua* 華 betrifft, sind die besten Kenner der chinesischen Lautgeschichte, unter ihnen P. Pelliot,<sup>2</sup> B. Karlgren,<sup>3</sup> L. Ligeti<sup>4</sup> und neuerdings auch E. G. Pulleyblank<sup>5</sup> der Meinung, daß das chinesische Graphem *Hua* im Mittelchinesischen als \**ɣwāt* ausgesprochen wurde. Seine Lautform entwickelt sich aber in derjenigen chinesischen Mundart, in der die meisten Sprachreste der nördlichen Barbaren Innerasiens im VII–IX. Jh. übermittelt worden sind, ins *huad*, oder *huad*, eventuell auch *'uad*, oder *'uad*. Das *ɣ*-verstummt also in in dieser Mundart stufenweise. In der Form mit modifiziertem *h* gibt letzteres ein stimmhaftes *h* zurück. Dieser alte Laut wurde zuerst von P. Pelliot angenommen. Pulleyblank kam neuerdings zum gleichen Resultat. Das stimmlose *h* hat Ligeti auf Grund von sino-tibetischen Entsprechungen vorgeschlagen.

In meinem ungarischen Aufsatz ging ich von diesen wichtigen linguistischen Erkenntnissen aus, und nahm an, daß wir den alten Namen der Hephthaliten mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit in \**uar* zu sehen haben, umso mehr, da auch sonst mittelchinesisches *δ* fremdsprachiges *r* vertritt. Einer ganz anderen Meinung ist dagegen Kazuo Enoki,<sup>6</sup> der in einem ausgezeichnet dokumentierten Aufsatz neue Lösungen der hier erörterten Fragen vorlegt. Er zweifelt darin auch meine in 1954 veröffentlichten Ausführungen an. Enoki, ein hervorragender Kenner der chinesischen Quellen betrachtet die letzteren nach den Prinzipien der modernen Quellenkritik und demonstriert auch in diesem Falle überzeugend, daß wir ohne einen kritischen Vergleich der chinesischen Kompilationen, welche denselben Bericht in verschiedener Fassung darbieten, kaum zu einem befriedigenden Resultat gelangen können. Seine Übersetzungen und Kommentare enthalten viel wertvolles Material zur Frage. Auch seine Ansichten auf dem Gebiete der chinesischen Lautgeschichte trachtet er sachgemäß zu fundieren. So verläßt er sich im Falle des Namens *Hua* auf die kompetente Rekonstruktion B. Karlgrens, indem er die zeitgenössische Lautform dieses Namens als *ɣwāt* rekonstruiert, das er auf eine mit Asteriskus versehene Form \**Ghwār* zurückführt. \**Ghwār*, seiner Meinung nach, ist nichts anderes als der alte Name der nordwestafghanischen Provinz, der später, in den islamischen Quellen oft als *Ĝūr* belegt ist. Mit diesen Erörterungen verknüpft schließlich

<sup>2</sup>T'oung Pao 16 (1915) 9, cf. Journal Asiatique 1921/I, 139 sqq.

<sup>3</sup>B. KARLGREN: Grammata Serica Recensa. 133–134, No 486/e; 91–92, No 302/m.

<sup>4</sup>In einem Vortrag, gehalten 13 Okt. 1945 an der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

<sup>5</sup>Asia Major 9 (1962) 258.

<sup>6</sup>KAZUO ENOKI: On the Nationality of the Ephthalites. Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko 18 (1959) 1–58.

Enoki seinen wichtigsten neuen Deutungsversuch, indem er die Hephthaliten für ein in Ostiran autochtones Volkselement erklärt.

Es fällt allerdings sofort auf, daß Enoki in diesem Falle gar nicht sagt, in welcher Sprache die Entwicklung \**Ghwār* > *Ĝūr* stattgefunden hat. Diesbezügliche Angaben fehlen in unseren älteren Quellen und auch den Muslimen war die Sprache vom unzugänglichen *Ĝūr*, wie auch sein heidnisches Volk im allgemeinen, fast gänzlich unbekannt. Enoki nimmt eine mit Asteriskus versehene «ursprüngliche» Form von *Ĝūr* als \**Ghwār* offenbar deshalb an, weil sie dem mittelchinesischen Lautwert (\**ɣwāt*) von *Hua* am nächsten stehen würde.

Weitere Schwierigkeiten häufen sich, wenn wir die geographischen Erörterungen Prof. Enoki's näher ins Auge fassen. Die wichtigste Beschreibung des Landes *Hua* finden wir — wie schon längst bekannt — in dem 54. Kap. des Liang-šu aus der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts. Hier finden wir eine Reihe von wichtigen Angaben auch bezüglich der Nachbarländer von *Hua*. Der Wert der Berichterstattung des Liang-šu wird aber dadurch beeinträchtigt, daß die Verfasser dieses Jahrbuches, Hofbeamter der südlichen Liang-Dynastie, mit der Lage der einzelnen Länder des fernen Nordwestens, im Verhältnis zu einander, nicht ganz im Klaren waren. So unterlief ihnen ein Fehler im Falle des Landes *Hua* und der Provinz Balch, indem sie behaupteten, daß sich das Land *Hua* auf sechsh Tagesmärsche westlich von der Provinz befinde, während weniger später, im selben Kapitel behauptet wird, daß der westliche Nachbar der Provinz Balch *Po-si*, das heißt Persien, wäre. Es ist jedoch glücklicherweise gar nicht schwierig festzustellen, welche von den zwei einander ausschließenden Berichten zu akzeptieren sei. Alle historischen und geographischen Quellen nämlich, welche die Geschichte des persisch-hephthalitischen Krieges behandeln, lassen keinen Zweifel darüber bestehen, daß das eigentliche Zentrum des Hephthalitenlandes sich immer östlich und nicht westlich von der Provinz Balch befand. Deshalb erscheint es einigermaßen befremdend, daß Enoki die andere Angabe (*Hua* westlich von Balch) für richtig erklärt, indem er *Hua*, als soeben gesagt, mit der Provinz *Ĝūr* identifiziert, obwohl letztere sich südwestlich und auf einer großen Entfernung von Balch befand.

Umso mehr entscheidend fällt in die Waagschale, daß sich weitere wichtige Angaben bezüglich des Landes *Hua*, d. h. \**Uar* in den chinesischen Quellen einerseits und muslimischen historischen und geographischen Quellen andererseits befinden, welche die Anwesenheit des Volkes *Hua*-\**Uar* östlich von der Provinz Balch, im eigentlichen Tocharistan bezeugen. Um hier nur die zwei wichtigsten zu nennen: H'üan Tsang, der berühmte chinesische Pilger, durchkreuzte während seiner Reise nach Indien um 630 auch Tocharistan. Er verweilte damals auch in der hephthalitischen Hauptstadt. Letztere befand sich, gemäß seiner Aufzeichnungen, südlich vom Oxus, in der Gegend des jetzigen Kunduz. Der Name der Hauptstadt lautet bei H'üan Tsang *Huo* 火, also wieder einmal ein chinesisches Wort, dessen mittelchinesische Form *ɣwāt* lautet, also

identisch mit der des chinesischen Volksnamens *Hua* ist. Die natürliche Annahme, daß wir auch in diesem Fall mit dem Hephthalitennamen \**Uar*, als Name der hephthalitischen Hauptstadt zu tun haben, wird erhärtet durch Birūnī's Angabe, wo gesagt ist, daß die Hauptstadt der Hephthaliten in alten Zeiten den Namen *War-waliz* trug. Mit Rücksicht auf Hiūan Tsang's *War* erscheint nun sehr wahrscheinlich, daß es sich hier um einen zusammengesetzten Namen handelt, dessen erste Hälfte den Hephthalitennamen \**Uar* enthält, während die zweite — wie es lange her vermutet wurde — ein Wort mit der Bedeutung 'Burg, Stadt' sein kann.<sup>7</sup> Wir sollen dabei die Tatsache nicht vergessen, daß \**Uar* sich im eigentlichen, östlichen Tocharistan befand, also auf altem iranischem Boden, wo neben der Sprache der Eroberer auch noch das mittelbaktrische Idiom gesprochen wurde. Ich bin daher zur Überzeugung gekommen, daß wir genug Grund dazu besitzen, zwischen diesem *waliz* und dem mittelbaktrischen *malizo* einen Zusammenhang zu suchen, und diese Annahme scheint auch vom linguistischen Standpunkt aus plausibel zu sein.<sup>8</sup>

Was nun die oben genannten anderen Bezeichnungen der Hephthaliten betrifft, die mit dem Namen der Hunnen zusammenhängen (*xyōn*, *χun*, *hun*), ich habe mich in meiner früheren Arbeit mit den sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten dieser Namensformen eingehend beschäftigt. Jetzt bemerke ich nur, daß wir bezüglich des Endnasals in der chinesischen Form *hiung-* (im Namen *hiung-nu*, archaisch-chinesisch *χiwong-nuo*) besser unterrichtet sind als früher. J. Hamilton und E. G. Pulleyblank haben nämlich schwerwiegende Argumente vorgetragen für die Beobachtung, daß der chinesische Nasal in manchen Transkriptionen fremdsprachiger Streudenkmäler den Lautwert *-n*, anstatt des gewöhnlichen *ŋ* besitzt. Das bedeutet, daß wir die archaische Form von *hiung-nu* problemlos als *χiun-nuo* rekonstruieren können, welch letzteres mit dem mittelpersischen *xyōn* bis auf den im mittelpersischen schon nicht mehr bezeugten,

<sup>7</sup> Prof. HARMATTA, dem ich diesen etymologischen Gedanken vortrug, hatte die Güte dazu zu bemerken, daß so eine Erklärung ohne weiteres akzeptabel ist, aber unter der Bedingung, daß wir vom Element *lizo* des baktrischen Wortes ausgehen.

<sup>8</sup> Das Zusammenleben der Hephthaliten und der Qarluqen in Ost-Tocharistan geht besonders deutlich aus einer von ENOKI nicht angeführten Stelle des T'ang-hui-yao (ed. Shanghai 1935. 1315), aus dem Jahre 649. 10. Monat 3. Tag) hervor, wo von der administrativen Organisation der Westländer die Rede ist, welche die Chinesen nach ihren überwältigenden Siegen über die Türken planten. Hier wird auch eine Präfektur (*šou*), namens *Ko-lo* (abgekürzt von *Ko-lo-lu* ~ *Qarluq*) aufgezählt für zwei Horden, die Qarluq und die Hephthaliten eingerichtet. Wichtig in diesem Berichte ist, daß hier eine Verwechslung, wie im Falle des arabischen Graphems *h.l.h* (mögliche Lesungen: *halluh* = *qarluq* oder *halag* = *qalač*) ausgemacht ist.

Die *Yabgus* (bzw. *Sads*) von Tocharistan und von den ihm angrenzenden Gebieten gehörten zum westtürkischen Zweig der herrschenden A-schi-na Dynastie. Einige von ihnen trugen den Namen *P'u-lo* oder *Ko-lo P'u-lo*. Im Bárczi Géza Emlékkönyv [Festschrift für Géza Bárczi. Budapest 1963. 60] habe ich versucht zu beweisen, daß die mittelchinesische Form dieser Namen: *b'uok-lá*, *ká-lá b'uok-lá* eine genaue Wiedergabe des türkischen *Buyra*, *Qara Buyra* darstellt. Gleichzeitig habe ich die Bedeutung dieser Angaben für die Frage des Ursprungs der Bugra oder Qara-Chanidischen Dynastie gewertet.

also wohl auch schon im Original entfallenen Endung *-uo* identisch ist. Die Hephthaliten besaßen also, wie auch die Awaren, neben den Uar-Stämmen, auch starke hunnische Stammeskomponente. Der gemeinsame Ursprung der verschiedenen Namensformen der Hunnen (*hiung-nu*, *xyōn*, *χun*, *hun*) tritt im Falle der hephthalitischen Hunnen am deutlichsten hervor.

Budapest.

## ZUR STAMMESORGANISATION DER TÜRKISCHEN VÖLKER

VON

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Die Erforschung der Organisation und des Stammesaufbaus der Türk-völker Mittelasiens hat während der letzten Jahrzehnte zu wichtigen Ergebnissen, beziehungsweise Teilergebnissen geführt. Es hat sich vor allen Dingen herausgestellt, daß die älteste Stammeskonföderation, zu welcher die oguzischen Stämme gehörten, seit dem 2ten Jahrhundert v. u. Z. den Namen *Ting-ling*, später *T'ie-le* trugen. Letztere Form geht auf ein in nicht chinesischen Quellen einstweilen noch nicht belegtes Original *\*tereg* zurück.

Das Reich der eigentlichen *Türken* entstand um die Mitte des 6ten Jh. u. Z. und ihr Reich löste sich in zwei Phasen um 744 und 776 auf. Ihre Vorherrschaft in Mittelasien sicherte ein Sieg über die *T'ie-le* (im J. 543 u. Z.). Dadurch gerieten die östlichen (oguzischen) Stämme der *T'ie-le* in der nördlichen Mongolei und im Tienschan-Gebiet für zweihundert Jahre, bis 744, mit Unterbrechungen, unter türkische Souveränität. Das gleiche Schicksal erlitten auch die westlichen *T'ie-le* Stämme, die Oguren, die um 463 u. Z. im Norden des Kaukasus-Gebirges, in Osteuropa erschienen sind und um 576 die türkische Hoheit hinnehmen mußten.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Daß die drei Namen, *Ting-ling*, *Ti-li* und *T'ie-le* in verschiedenen Zeitaltern dasselbe Volk bezeichneten, erklärt das Wei-schu, in seinem Bericht (Wei-schu, Po-na Ausg., Peking, 1958, S. 9721, Kap. 103, f. 26, a-b) über die *Kao-tsche*. Letzteres ist ein chinesischer Name für das genannte Volk, mit der Bedeutung 'Hoher Wagen'. Daß die *Ti-li* Abkömmlinge der halblegendären *Ti* gewesen wären, wie es im Bericht des Wei-schu angegeben wird, ist kaum akzeptabel. Dagegen müssen wir bei der Beurteilung des Quellenwertes dieses Berichtes darauf achtgeben, daß es auf chinesischem Boden, in der Provinz Ho-pei, im 4ten und 5ten Jh. u. Z., wie wir aus den Berichten des Pen-ki-Teils im Wei-schu entnehmen, eine *Ting-ling*-Stammesgruppe lebte, die sehr oft in die kriegerischen Ereignisse dieser Gegend eingriff. Es wäre also sicher verfehlt, daran zu zweifeln, dass die Verfasser des Wei-schu bezüglich der Angelegenheiten dieses Volkes, seiner Namen und seines Ursprungs nicht im klaren waren.

Zum Übergang der archaisch-chinesischen Namensform (*Ting-ling* ~) *\*teŋ-leŋ* ins mittelchinesische (*Ti-li* ~) *\*dek-lek* (und Varianten mit ähnlichem Lautwert), letztlich in die Form, die im 7ten Jh. verwendet wurde (*T'ie-le* ~) *\*thet-lak* vergleiche E. G. PULLEYBLANK: *Asia Major IX* (1962), p. 230 und J. HAMILTON: *JAs. 1962*, pp. 25-26. Der mittlere Lautwert des Namens kann also *\*t̄iγriγ* (PULLEYBLANK), oder *\*t̄agr̄ag* (HAMILTON), und der letzte *tereg* gewesen sein.

Die türkische Souveränität wurde in der Periode der inneren Kämpfe im Osttürkischen Reich, um 600 u. Z. unterbrochen, als sich die T'ie-le Stämme sowohl in der nördlichen Mongolei, als auch nördlich des Kaukasus gegen ihre türkischen Oberherren erhoben. Dem Aufstande war im Westen mehr Erfolg beschert, als im Osten. Im Kuban-Gebiet entstand in den folgenden Jahrzehnten das On-Ogur — Bulgarische Reich, dessen Macht die türkischen Herren der Chazaren zwischen dem Kaukasus und dem Wolga-Fluß erst um 650 u. Z. brechen konnten.<sup>2</sup>

Im Osten war der Aufstand am Anfang erfolgreich: Tardu, der westtürkische Khagan wurde zur Flucht gezwungen (603 u. Z.). Bald erklärten sich auch die T'ie-le Stämme des Tienschans und auch diejenigen der Uiguren, des Führerstammes der T'ie-le Stämme in der nördlichen Mongolei, für selbstständig, aber mußten auf ihren Herrschertitel kurzfristig verzichten. Der Gruppe, der Uiguren, zusammen mit anderen, später als oguzisch bekannten Stämmen bildete gemäß den Jahrbüchern der Sui-Dynastie im J. 607 eine zehnstämmige Gruppe in der Nordmongolei. Letztere war anfangs noch die zweitstärkste unter den T'ie-le Stämmen hinter den Sie Yen-t'o, der stärksten Gruppe, südlich vom Fluß Tola. Infolge der chinesischen Intrigen kehrten sich die Sie Yen-t'o und die Uiguren immer mehr gegen einander. Letztere mußten einsehen, daß sie die chinesische Hilfe nur erwerben können, wenn sie sich den Chinesen unterwerfen, das bedeutete aber offenen Bruch und den Austritt der Sie Yen-t'o aus der alten zehnstämmigen T'ie-le Konföderation. Die chinesischen Berichte beleuchten also die Umstände der Entstehung der toquz-oguzischen («neun-oguzischen») Konföderation sehr gut. Letztere ist entstanden

<sup>2</sup> Das Wei-schu (ibid.) zählt die sechs Stämme der Kao-tsche, d. h. der Ti-li auf, darunter auch die *Yüan-ho*, deren chinesischer Name auf ein fremdes \**ongur* (*onogur*) mit dem auch sonst (vgl. J. NEMETH: *Kőrösi Csoma Archivum* I 1921—1925, S. 150—151; HAMILTON: *JAs.* 1962, S. 30—31) bekannten Verlust des mittleren Vokals zurückgeht.

Obwohl die *Yüan-ho*—On(o)guren nach der Wei-Periode aus der Geschichte der ostlichen t'ie-le—oguzischen Stammesgruppen gänzlich verschwinden, kennt das *Sin T'ang-schu* noch immer ihren Namen. In seinem Bericht über die T'ie-le wird sogar, zusammen mit *Yüan-ho*—\**On(o)gur*, ein zweites Volk, die *Wu-ho* erwähnt, deren Name offenbar eine sehr genaue Wiedergabe (mittelchines, *uo-yuel*, später *yud*) des Namens *Ogur* darstellt. Außer den zwei Namen teilt aber das *Sin T'ang-schu* gar keine Einzelheiten bezüglich der *Yüan-ho* und *Wu-ho* mit. Die Identität dieser beiden Völker mit den On(o)guren, bzw. Oguren geht allerdings aus den historischen Angaben bezüglich der Kuban-Gegend und des nördlichen Kaukasus um 607 klar hervor. Auf die Möglichkeit dieser Identifikation von *Yüan-ho* und *Wu-ho* habe ich schon 1949 (*Magyar Nyelv* XLV, S. 296) hingewiesen; 1969 habe ich die historischen Konsequenzen gezogen, die sich aus den Identifikationen ergeben: *Nomád népek vándorlása Napkeletől Napnyugatig* [Völkerwanderungen der Nomaden vom Sonnenaufgang nach Sonnenuntergang.]. Budapest 1969, S. 106—110; zur Rekonstruktion von *Yüan-ho* als \**Ongur* vgl. auch J. HAMILTON: *JAs.* 1962, pp. 30—31, 55, n. 32).

durch den Austritt der Sie Yen-t'o aus der alten T'ie-le Konföderation von zehn Stämmen, die auch auch später als oguzische Stämme auftreten (*Uigur*, *Buqu[t]*, *Tongra*, etc.).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Bei der Erforschung der Entstehungsumstände der toquz-oguzischen Konföderation ist man am Anfang von der Geschichte des Sie Yen-t'o des nach 600 führenden t'ie-le-Stammes ausgegangen. Es wurde einerseits beobachtet, daß der chinesische Name *Kiu-sing*, d. h. «Neun Stämme», dem *Toyuz-Oyuz*, d. h. «Neun Oguz», der türkischen Inschriften entspricht, andererseits, daß dieser Name zuerst zur Zeit des Rivalisierens beider mächtigen t'ie-le-Stämme, der Sie Yen-t'o und der Uiguren, zwischen 628 und 646 in den chinesischen Quellen auftritt (vgl. HAMILTON: *JAs.* 1962, pp. 27—29; PULLEYBLANK: *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* XXVIII 1956, p. 36 — zitiert die erste Erwähnung der *Kiu-sing* im *Tse-techi-t'ung-kien*, p. 6072, s.a. 630 u. Z., 2. chinesis. Monat; J. MAROUANT, *Komanen*, S. 36, 201 verweist auf die Erwähnung der *Kiu-sing* im Bericht von der Vernichtung der Sie Yen-t'o durch die Chinesen und die mit ihnen verbündeten *Kiu-sing*, im J. 646.

Damit haben diese Forschungen den historischen Hintergrund der Erscheinung der Toquz-Oyuzen gewiss richtig erkannt. Weniger klar ist aber noch immer die Hauptfrage, nämlich: warum die große uigurisch-oguzische Stammesgruppe, die nach P'ei Kü's Liste aus dem J. 607 noch aus 10 Stämmen bestand, 629 als 9 *Oyuz* reorganisiert wurde. Die Antwort auf diese Frage ergibt sich allerdings, unseres Erachtens, klar aus einigen bisher außer Acht gelassenen Angaben bezüglich der Sie Yen-t'o Stämme. Es handelt sich vor allen Dingen darum, daß die Sie Yen-t'o ihre alte Heimat südlich des Flusses Tola im J. 600 verließen, um weit im Westen, südwestlich des Altai-Gebirges sich neue Weideplätze zu suchen (vgl. über diese Zerstreuung: *Kiu T'ang-schu*, ed. Peking, 1958, S. 15349, I, r°; E. CHAVANNES, *Documents*, S. 89; LIU MAU-TSAI, Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken [T'u-küe], Wiesbaden 1968, S. 128). Dieselben Quellen berichten auch eine weitere Zerstreuung ihrer Stämme im J. 603. Jedenfalls wohnten sie nach der Stämmeliste P'ei Kü's im J. 607 schon südwestlich vom Altai. Aus diesem Anlaß haben sich wohl jetzt auch Stammessplitter der oguzischen Stämme *Bayirqu* (*Bayarqu*) und (*H*)*ikil* (chin. *Hi-kie*) der Westwanderung der Sie Yen-t'o angeschlossen. Sie kehrten aber mit den Sie Yen-t'o nicht mehr zurück. Das Ms. Tibétain n° 1283 der Mission Pelliot (transliteriert und übersetzt von J. BACOT: *JAs.* 1956, S. 146—147, Z. 60—65) verzeichnet sie daher in der ersten Hälfte des 8ten Jh. noch immer zusammen mit Stämmen der Altai Gegend (*Qarluq*, *Basmil*).

Die Rückkehr der Sie Yen-t'o nach dem Osten erfolgte 627 (zur Zeitangabe vgl. LIU MAU-TSAI, op. cit., S. 354, 722, n. 1595/6). Sie war eine Folge des Aufstands der Stämme, die dem Ton Jabgu, Qagan, dem westtürkischen Herrscher unterworfen waren. Die Sie Yen-t'o schlossen sich im Osten zuerst dem *Hie-li*, dem osttürkischen Qagan im Süden, im chinesischen Grenzgebiet an. Sie erhoben sich aber noch im selben Jahr gegen *Hie-li*. In den Kämpfen nahmen auch die oguzischen Stämme aus dem Norden an der Seite der Sie Yen-t'o teil. Nach ihrem Sieg kehrten die Verbündeten 628 nach ihrem Sitzen im Norden der Wüste-Gobi zurück. Die Sie Yen-t'o siedelten sich unter dem Gebirge *Ötükan* an, und ihr Ruf verbreitete sich weithin. Selbst ihre Verbündeten, die Uiguren, zusammen mit den anderen großen oguzischen Stämmen (*Bayirqu*, *Tongra*, *Ädiz*, *Buqu[t]*, *Si*, namentlich erwähnt), hielten es für ratsam, sich den Sie Yen-t'o zu unterwerfen (*Kiu T'ang-schu*, S. 15393, II, v°).

Die neue sie yen-t'o—toquz-oguzischen Konföderation hat sich aber sehr kurzfristig erwiesen. Obwohl die Chinesen *I-nan*, den sie yen-t'o Herrscher zur Annahme



Offen bleibt aber noch immer, wie der Doppelname der uigurischen Ursprungslegende *On-Uiyur—Toquz-Uiyur* zu erklären ist.<sup>4</sup> Hier müssen wir zuerst bemerken, daß dieser Doppelname ursprünglich richtiger *On-Uiyur—Toquz-Oyuz* lautete, wie wir es in der Inschrift von Šine-usu finden (8tes Jh.

des Qaganats ermuntert und ihm einen Qaganstitel zuerkannt hatten, fürchteten sie sich, daß die Sie Yen-t'o, wenn ihnen die Herrschaft über die Neun Stämme anzueignen gelingt, übermäßig stark werden. Sie begannen also sofort ihre Intrigen. Daraufhin unterwarfen sich vier oguzischen Stämme (Bayirqu, Buqut), Tongra, Si und die nicht oguzischen Hi) den Chinesen (Sin T'ang-schu, S. 16943, I, v<sup>o</sup>). Der Bruch mit dem Führerstamm Sie Yen-t'o bedeutete aber für die restlichen neun Stämme die Entstehung der toquz-oguzischen Konföderation. Nach 630 übersiedelten die Sie Yen-t'o nach ihre alte Heimat (*ku kuo*), südlich vom Fluß Tola (Kiu T'ang-schu, S. 15393, II, v<sup>o</sup>; LIU MAU-SIAI, op. cit. 355), und es blieben nur zwei mächtige Führer im Norden der Wüste-Gobi: Pu-sa, der Herrscher der Toquz-Oguzen und I-nan, der Qagan der Sie Yen-t'o. In den Jahren 629—646 festigte sich dann die Sonderstellung, der Name und die Organisation der Toquz-Oguzen für mehrere Jahrhunderte. Die Macht der Sie Yen-t'o wurde dagegen 646 durch die Chinesen und ihre toquz-oguzischen Verbündeten endgültig vernichtet.

<sup>4</sup> Früher (in meinem oben zitierten Aufsatz aus 1949 und in einer weiteren Arbeit: On the Numerical Composition of the Ancient Turkish Tribal Confederations, Acta Orient. Hung. XXV [1972], S. 275—281) versuchte ich den doppelten Namen *On-Uiyur—Toquz-Oguz* zu verstehen, indem ich unter dem Namen *On-Uiyur* 1 *Uiyur* + die *Toquz-Oyuz* verstand, wobei der erste Name, *On-Uiyur* die Gesamtzahl der ganzen Stammesgruppe unter dem Führerstamm *Uiyur* angibt, während *Toquz-Oyuz* den Namen der weiteren oguzischen Komponente des ganzen Stammesgruppe wiederholt. Die obige Entstehungsgeschichte der toquz-oguzischen Stammeskonföderation bringt jedoch, meines Erachtens, den zwingenden Beweis dafür, dass die uigurisch-oguzische Konföderation schon seit 629 aus 9 Stämmen bestand. Wir dürfen daher die alte, zehnstämmige Organisation der T'ie-le bei der Deutung des zusammengesetzten Namens *On-Uiyur—Toquz-Oyuz* keineswegs heranziehen. Es bleibt also keine andere Möglichkeit übrig, als Tamim ibn Bahr's Zeugnis anzunehmen, dessen Beschreibung des *on-uyur—toquz-oguzischen* Rundlagers folgenden Stammesaufbau voraussetzt: 9 Unterstämme des Führerstammes Uigur + 1 weiterer Unterstamm des Qagans + 8 oguzische Stämme (die *Sakiz-Oyuz* der Inschriften) = 18. Prof. PULLEYBLANK proponierte schon früher, in seinem oben zitierten Aufsatz (1956, S. 40—41) die Idee, daß man gegenüber dem Bericht des Sin T'ang-schu über die 9 Unterstämme der Uiguren (Endsumme 17) dem Tamim Ibn Bahr (Endsumme 18) den Vorrang zu geben hat. Er unterließ aber Beweise für die Richtigkeit der Endsumme 18 anzuführen. In meinem Aufsatz (1972, oben) habe ich wichtige Quellenangaben dafür gesammelt. Die Interpretationsmöglichkeit, die ich für die Entstehungsgeschichte der toquz-oguzischen Konföderation in der vorigen Anm. versuchte, zusammen mit neuen Beweisen der Organisation in 18 Stämmen bei den Nomaden scheinen für mich für die Interpretation des zusammengesetzten Namens *On-Uiyur—Toquz-Oguz* als  $9 + 1 + 8 = 18$  ausschlaggebend zu sein. Ein indirekter aber schwerwiegender Beweis dafür ist, meines Erachtens, auch die Tatsache, daß die Zahl 18 der uigurisch-oguzischen Stämme, und die Stammeszahl 12, der Osttürken sich zusammen eben auf 30 beläuft, denn 30 ist, wie wir jetzt wissen, die Gesamtzahl der osttürkischen und uigurisch-oguzischen Stämme (vgl. meinen oben zitierten Aufsatz, 1972).

u. Z.). Die Antwort auf diese Frage scheint zunächst ziemlich leicht. Das Sin T'ang-schu berichtet nämlich, daß Uigur, der Führerstamm der Neun Oguzen Unterstämme hatte, deren Namen auch gesondert angeführt werden (*Yaylaqar, Yabutqar, etc.*). Der Doppelname erklärt sich also dadurch, daß die Unterstämme des Führerstammes gesondert mitgezählt werden, und als eine einzige Einheit, zusammen mit den restlichen 8 Oguzen-Stämmen die Stammesgruppe der neuen oguzischen Konföderation bilden. Wie ist es aber zu erklären, daß hier von 9 und nicht von 10 Unterstämmen die Rede ist, während die Inschrift von Šine-usu von «Zehn-Uiguren—Neun-Oguzen» redet?

Die überraschende Antwort auf diese Frage erhalten wir aus dem Bericht des muslimischen Grenzsoldaten Tamim ibn Bahr «des Freiwilligen», der als Augenzeuge über seinen Besuch bei dem uigurischen Khagan in der Nordmongolei berichtet. Tamim's Reise dürfte um 830 u. Z. stattgefunden haben. Tamim besuchte den Khagan in seinem Rundlager. (Diese Rundlager heißen im Mongolischen *kūriyān, kūren.*) Die Zelte und seine 12 000 Soldaten befanden sich im Zentrum der gewaltigen kreisförmigen Lagerreihe, die aus den Zeltlagern der 17 Führer bestand, mit je 13 000 Soldaten. Die insgesamt 18 Lager stellen offenbar die militärische Potenz der Neun-Oguzischen Konföderation deren Zahl (17 + 1, das Lager des Khagans) auch aus anderen Quellen feststeht.

<sup>5</sup> Die Stammeszahl 18, oder 17 + 1, kommt sowohl im östlichen, als auch im westlichen Teil des Osttürkischen Reiches bei Völkern vor, die den Osttürken unterworfen waren. So nach dem Bericht des Kiu T'ang-schu über die Schi-wei (Vorfahren auch der Mongolen im engeren Sinne), die (manchmal wohl zusammen mit den Qitay und den Hi) in den türkischen Inschriften unter dem Namen *Toquz Tatar* und *Otu* («DreiBig») *Tatar* erwähnt werden (vgl. für die Schi-wei P. RATSCHNEVSKY; Melanges de Sinologie, offerts à Monsieur Paul Damiéville, Paris 1966, 225—251; 235). Nach diesem Bericht standen die Schi-wei unter 17 Stammeshäuptern, aber ihre wahren Oberherren waren drei türkische *Tukun*, deren Heer wohl dem 18ten Stamm entsprach.

Eine andere ähnliche Organisation können wir weit im Westen, bei dem Volke *Az* beobachten, die nach der unlängst herausgegebenen uigurischen Inschrift (S. G. KLJAŠTORNYJ: Sovetskaja Tjurkologija 1980/3, S. 82—95) ebenfalls unter 17 Stammesobersten und uigurischen Oberherren standen.

Die letzte Angabe für die Organisation in 18 Stämmen bei den Nomaden kommt in den Berichten über die *Qara-qitay* vor, die nach den chinesischen Berichten ebenfalls 18 Stämme hatten (vgl. E. BRETSCHNEIDER, Mediaeval Researches I (1888), S. 213). Über Tamim ibn Bahrs Reisebericht vgl. V. MINORSKY: BSOAS XII/2, 1948 pp. 275—305.

## THE FOUNDATION OF THE TURFAN UYGHUR KINGDOM

BY

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One of the most outstanding events of Inner Asian history is the foundation of the late Uyghur Kingdom in Turfan.<sup>1</sup> Yet, in spite of the fact that we possess a fairly great number of relevant sources, many details of the dissolution of the Orkhon Uyghur Empire and the establishment of the new Uyghur centres in the T'ien-shan and Turfan area are still shrouded in mystery. The Tarim basin together with the rest of the Western regions (called *Anhsi* by the Chinese) was divided from China at the end of the 8th century by the Tibetan possessions in Kansu. Therefore the Chinese lost sight of Anhsi from the end of the 8th century and they provide us for decades only with some meagre bits of information concerning Inner Asia.

The Chinese sources dealing with this period of Uyghur history were thoroughly studied in 1955 by James Russell Hamilton in a seminal work<sup>2</sup> on the history of the late Uyghur kingdoms in the age of the Five Dynasties. His conclusions, on the whole, are still convincing. Lately Dr. Anatolij Gavrilovich Maljavkin published an important monography<sup>3</sup> in which he collected all the Chinese and most of the non-Chinese sources relevant to these problems, and studied them in great detail. His results are disputable on many points but will form a basis for future investigations.

The disastrous defeat which the Uyghurs on the river Orkhon in Central Mongolia suffered from the Qirghiz in 840 A.D. led immediately to the final dissolution of the Uyghur tribal confederation. As they received the fatal blow from the north, they scattered to the east, south and west, to evade complete annihilation. One, comparatively small, Uyghur tribal group fled to the east, to the people of the Shih-wei in north-western Manchuria where they disappeared and did not reappear in the Chinese historical sources any more. Another Uyghur tribe migrated to the Qitay territory in south-western Manchuria. They too had soon to submit to their fate. A third, fairly important, group, consisting of thirteen tribes left their old abodes on the river Orkhon for the border region of the Gobi, where the men of these tribes even chose a qaghan for themselves (841 A.D.). Later on they crossed the

<sup>1</sup> The text of this paper was read on the occasion of the XXIXth International Congress of Orientalists in Paris (1973), cf. the Abstracts of Papers. Section 6-7 (Central Asia, India), of the same Congress, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Ouighours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties*. Paris 1955.

<sup>3</sup> A. G. Maljavkin, *Ujgurskie gosudarstva v IX—XII vv.* Novosibirsk, 1983.

desert and settled in the neighbourhood of the great curve of the Huangho river. Yet, they could not long resist the diplomatic and military measures taken against them by the Chinese and were scattered at length within a single decade (848 A.D.).<sup>4</sup>

A less important part of the Uyghur confederation migrated to the west of the Huangho curve, to the Alashan and the Edzin-göl region. Here they passed at first under Tibetan rule. But in 862 A.D. they achieved a victory over the Tibetans and within a few decades they succeeded in establishing the Kanchou Uyghur principality in these eastern regions. Other fleeing Uyghur groups appeared farther in the west in Western-Kansu. They found there shelter against the Qirghiz but, at the same time, they passed under Tibetan overlordship. An important part of the Uyghur confederation consisting of 200,000 men migrated still farther to the west, to the region between the Bar-köl and the northern area of the Bogdo-ola mountains, in Eastern T'ien-shan. The main problem about the history of this group is that in the Chinese report concerning its migration there is absolutely no hint at the important Chinese fortification Peit'ing situated on the edge of the territory which had come under the control of this important Uyghur group.

The most important of all fleeing Uyghur groups including 15 tribes went according to our main Chinese source to the west, to the people of the Qarluq. These tribes were led by the prince P'ang-le te-le. These Chinese words render, as stated convincingly by Dr. Hamilton, a Turkish original *Mānglig-tegin* ('Prince Mānglig'). The Uyghurs left soon the Qarluq territory for Anhsi in Central T'ien-shan. *Anhsi* refers in this case to the city of Qarashahr. We do not know why Mānglig-tegin left the Qarluq territory, but we may refer in this regard to the investigations of G.P. Suprunenko. She calls our attention to Chinese reports which refer to some further attacks made by the Qirghiz in 842 and (or?) 843 against Anhsi and Peit'ing. Thus, the Qirghiz at least tried to continue the pursuit of the Uyghurs during the disintegration of the Orkhon Uyghur Empire.

Those parts of Kansu and Hsinchiang which had been held by the Tibetans were reconquered by the Chinese and allied Uyghur troops during the years following 848 A.D. Turfan was won back in 850 A.D., lost again for a while (c. 861–865 A.D.) and finally retaken in 866 A.D. This latter date marks the foundation of the Uyghur kingdom in the T'ien-shan. The foundation of the Kansu principality of the Uyghurs followed within a few years, between 866 and 872.

Besides the Chinese sources, however, there is an important Moslem work which may be of good service to us with regard to the aforesaid events, namely the *Zayn al-akhbār* a work of the Persian historian Gardīzī, a native of Afghanistan who worked for the Ghaznevid dynasty about the middle of the 11th century. One of the

<sup>4</sup> Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 8 and n. 3.

most important parts of Gardīzī's work contains the description of the Turkish peoples living on the Eurasian steppe and some other peoples living in their neighbourhood. This chapter is one of the most valuable existing sources of nomad history. The first part of it is a long quotation from the work of the Khorasanian wazir, al-Jayhānī, which goes back to eye-witness-reports on the nomads of south-eastern Europe: the Khazars, the Burtas, the Volga-Bulgarians and the Bulgarians living to the south of the Danube, as well as on the Hungarians, Alans, Caucasian Avars, Slavs, Rus and Moravians.

As to the Asian dwellers of the steppe region, Gardīzī refers to another very early source, namely to the *Kitāb rub' al-dunyā* of Ibn al-Muqaffa' who lived in about the middle of the 8th century. To judge by the extant parts of this curious work, it belonged to the genealogical works of the Moslems. These works contain genealogical tables of the peoples of the Universe patterned after the biblical *Genesis*. The forefathers of the Turkish peoples are eponyms in these legendary tales which are often interrupted by aetiological legends and folk-etymologies, just as we find them in the biblical pattern. However, the last phrases, e.g. those of the report on the Qarluq speak of the migration of the Qarluq tribes to the Western Turkish territory and of their rebellion against the Western Turkish qaghan. We are also told of the assassination of the qaghan and of the shifting of the power into the hands of the Qarluq. It goes without saying that all these details are to be found in well-known Chinese sources too and consequently must be considered as records of real events. The most important observations, however, may be made, with regard to the origin of the Yaghma. This report is quoted by Gardīzī from the work of Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Every detail in this report agrees either with the corresponding report in the *Shine-usu Uyghur Inscriptions*, or with the Chinese *Dynastic Histories* on the same event. The immediate source used by Gardīzī had, at any rate, a surprisingly thorough knowledge of the events between the years 745 and 760 A.D., consequently we must regard his narrative as our most valuable source on the early history of the Yaghma.

Besides this old source, however, Gardīzī also uses two other ones which could not have been recorded before 870 A.D. for chronological reasons. One of them contains the continuation of Jayhānī's Eastern-European descriptions. The other one, against this, as regards its style is identical with the *Kitāb rub' al-dunyā*. This is proved also by its report on the dissolution of the Uyghur Empire. The content of the latter is as follows: There ruled a qaghan over the Toquz-Oghuz «in the old times» who had a younger half-brother, Kūr-tegin by name. Kūr-tegin's mother was a Chinese lady. The qaghan's mother was of less aristocratic birth. The qaghan sought the life of his half-brother. He wounded Kūr-tegin on his throat, and in the belief that he was dead, he threw his body in the graveyard. Yet Kūr-tegin's nurse saved his life and handed him over to the Manicheans who took care of him until he

recovered. He then secretly returned to Arg, the residence of the qaghan and succeeded later in appeasing him. Thus he was nominated by the qaghan commandant of Panjikath (the Sogdian name of Peit'ing). Now it was Kūr-tegin's turn to seek the life of his half-brother. He attacked him all of a sudden during a hunt. The qaghan fled to a fortress, which, however, was forced to surrender. The qaghan was then killed. He was succeeded by Kūr-tegin in the qaghanship.

This story, at first sight, does not seem to be a reliable historical report either. A thorough study will, however, reveal many features agreeing with the Chinese sources. On some points it is even Gardīzī's narrative which offers more complete information. The name *Toquz-Oghuz* denotes the same Uyghur tribal confederation, as it was the tribe of the Uyghurs which had the leading in the confederation. It is very important that Gardīzī's source which was written about 880 A.D. refers these events to the «old times» when the Toquz-Oghuz qaghan was still residing in the city of Arg. The name of the latter is written *Azal* in the MSS of Gardīzī and the correct form, *Arg* could not be established with complete certainty when W. Barthold, J. Marquart and V. Minorsky published their comments on Gardīzī. Nor was it possible to know at that time that the name *Arg* represents the Iranian variant of the old native name of Qarashahr, which was rendered as *Yen-ki* (Archaic Chinese \**Argi*) by the Chinese.

Now it is of paramount importance that there was only one single period in Uyghur history when the qaghan resided in Arg. It was the years following the flight of the 15 tribes first to the Qarluq and then to Arg. This is attested at the very end of the report of the *Hsin T'ang-shu* on the Western Turks which is quite explicit in stating that after his flight the Uyghur ruler resided in Yen-ki (Arg), i.e., Qarashahr.

The Chinese sources leave no doubt about the identity of the qaghan either: as is clearly proved by these sources he was *P'ang-le-tegin*. The Chinese words *P'ang-le*, var. *Mang-le* render, as we have stated in connection with this name a Turkish original \**Mānglig*. According to the report of the *Hsin T'ang-shu* on the Qarluq, Mānglig-tegin first assumed in Arg the title *yabghu*, but both T'ang annals maintain that by about 848 A.D. he had already assumed the title *qaghan*. The Chinese reports are fully corroborated by Gardīzī's narrative who also calls the Uyghur ruler of Arg by the title of *qaghan*. As to his residence, according to the Chinese sources Mānglig-qaghan was still residing in Arg in 856. Therefore, the *Hsin T'ang-shu* as well as Hu San-hsing misinterpret the report of the *Kiu T'ang-shu* when they assert that in 856 Mānglig-qaghan was residing in Kanchou. As a matter of fact the *Kiu T'ang-shu* does not speak of Mānglig-qaghan but of his successors who were residing in Kanchou. This is also shown by Gardīzī's narrative who only knows of Mānglig's residence in Arg. It, was from Arg, according to Gardīzī, that he appointed his half-brother to be the commandant of Peit'ing.

This is the most important piece of information in Gardīzī's narrative, because it enables us to identify Kūr-tegin, half-brother of Mānglig-qaghan as well. Namely, the Chinese sources state that the commandant of Peit'ing was P'u-ku Tsūn, that is to say «Tsūn of the Buqu(t) tribe» or possibly «Chief Tsūn of the Buqu(t) tribe», who, next to Mānglig-qaghan played the most important part in the events preceding the establishment of the Uyghur principality in Kanchou. At last, as shown by the Chinese sources in 866 A.D. he became Lord of Turfan as well. The last phases of his career are told only by Gardīzī. According to the latter's narrative he rebelled against Mānglig qaghan and deprived him both of his qaghanship and of his life. As suggested by the Chinese data, this must have happened sometime after 866 A.D. The Uyghur residence was then removed from Arg and was established in Turfan and possibly as a summer-residence in Peit'ing. Thus it was as a result of these victories of Buqu(t) Tsūn that the foundations of the latter Uyghur kingdom of Turfan were laid.<sup>5</sup>

Last, but not least, cross-checking of the available pieces of information enables us to clarify the family ties between Mānglig-qaghan and Buqu(t) Tsūn. We do not possess any evidence for this in the Chinese sources, but Gardīzī's narrative is very explicit in this respect. According to his statements, as we have seen, Buqu(t) Tsūn was a younger half-brother of Mānglig-qaghan. As Buqu(t) Tsūn's mother was, according to Gardīzī, a Chinese lady, we may identify her as Tai-ho, daughter of the emperor Hsien-tsung. Tai-ho married the 10th, or according to Yamada's calculation, ninth Uyghur-qaghan Tsh'ung-te, who ruled between 821 and 824 A.D. She survived the break-up of the Uyghur Empire in 840 A.D., married possibly, as it was usual, the following qaghans, but she did not accompany her son Buqu(t) Tsūn or Mānglig-qaghan in their flight to Qarluq and to Arg. She reached her native land after undergoing sad trials while fleeing together with the 13 Uyghur tribes to the Chinese border. Thus, Mānglig-qaghan's mother was of less aristocratic origin. This explains why Mānglig sought the life of his half-brother. At the same time it may have been the ground for Buqu(t) Tsūn's ambitious plans to wrest the qaghanship from his elder half-brother.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 8-18.

DIE SPÄTSASSANIDISCHEN UND SCHIITISCHEN  
MAHDĪ-ERWARTUNGEN<sup>1</sup>  
K. CZEGLÉDY

Die verschiedenen apokalyptischen Schriften der spätsassanidischen und fruhislamischen Zeit verfolgen die persische Geschichte bis zum Ende des sechsten Jahrhunderts in der Form einer *vaticinatio ex eventu*. Es handelt sich um die apokalyptischen Schriften Zand-i Vahman Yasn (gewöhnlich Bahman Yast genannt), um das *Žāmāsp nāmak*, um die erweiterte Version des letzteren, des *Ayātkār-i Žāmāspīk*, weiterhin um den entsprechenden Abschnitt des *Bundahišn* und um einige späte Literatur-Werke der Parsen, wie das *Zaratusť nāma*, das *Ulamā-i Islām* und die persischen *Rivāyats*.

Die historischen Anspielungen dieser Schriften sind meistens ganz deutlich, da die einzelnen vorhergesagten Ereignisse ohne grössere Schwierigkeiten zu erkennen sind. Daran ändert auch die Tatsache nichts, dass die Anspielungen, wie üblich, im verhüllten Stil der Apokalypsen vorgetragen werden. Die Aufgabe, die die Identifizierung der einzelnen Wahrsagungen mit den entsprechenden geschichtlichen Ereignissen bereitet, ist jedenfalls nicht schwieriger, als im Falle von Daniel Kap. 11, da es sich auch hier um eine Erzählung bekannter Tatsachen handelt. Auf die verschiedenen Momente dieser Wahrsagungen, die in strenger chronologischer Reihenfolge sowohl der persischen historischen Tradition des mittelpersischen *Xvatāy nāmaks*, als auch denjenigen der byzantinischen Quellen genau entsprechen, habe ich in einem Aufsatz in den *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* bereits 1958 hingewiesen.<sup>1</sup>

Die letzten historischen Ereignisse die diese Apokalypsen darstellen, sind diejenigen der grossen Revolution des Bahrām Čōbīn um 590 u. Z. Im Mittelpunkt dieser Ereignisse stand der glänzende, beinahe übermenschliche Sieg des Feldherren Bahrām Čōbīn, des späteren Usurpators über die türkischen Erzfeinde, deren Angriff aus dem Osten eine Todesgefahr für ganz

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<sup>1</sup> Vortrag (gehalten 12. Sept 1960), dessen Resümees in einem Sammelband ("X. Internationaler Kongress für Religionsgeschichte", Marburg 1961) veröffentlicht wurde (SS. 147-148).

Ostiran bedeutete. Dieser Sieg hat Bahrām in den Augen seiner Zeitgenossen unter die göttlichen Helden der iranischen Heldensage erhoben, unter die Heroen, die einst über den turanischen König triumphierten. Es ist nun eine höchst merkwürdige Tatsache, dass selbst das *Xvatāy nāmak*, bzw. seine arabisch-neupersischen Bearbeitungen, die Schritt um Schritt ihre Loyalität gegenüber dem sassanidischen Herrscherhaus bezeugen, im Falle des Usurpators Bahrām Čöbīn kaum ihre Sympathien zu verhüllen vermögen. Daraus ergibt sich ganz deutlich, dass die Sache des Usurpators auch unter den Mobads Anhänger gefunden hat. Die Sympathie des Klerus geht aus den genannten apokalyptischen Schriften noch deutlicher hervor, in denen ja die Mobads ihre Meinung unter der Hülle des apokalyptischen Stils viel freier zum Ausdruck bringen konnten.<sup>2</sup> In diesen pseudo-historischen Weissagungen kommt nun dem Bahrām Čöbīn nicht nur seine historisch beglaubigte Rolle zu, sondern auch die eines versprochenen Messias. Unter dem Namen Vahrām Varcāvand wird er nämlich gemäss diesen Apokalypsen die Feinde der Endzeit besiegen. Da nun die Schilderung der eschatologischen Feinde Irans auch einige unverhüllte Hinweise auf die Araber enthält, und der eschatologische Sieg Vahrām Varcāvands, d.h. Bahrām Čöbīns als ein Sieg über die Araber dargestellt wird, kann es keinem Zweifel unterliegen, 1) dass diese spätzoroastrischen Apokalypsen in ihrer jetzigen Form erst nach der arabischen Eroberung Irans als den erwarteten Messias ansahen. Das ist umso interessanter, als wir aus der vielfachen historischen Überlieferung wissen, dass Bahrām Čöbīn im J. 591, nach dem militärischen Zusammenbruch seines Aufstandes, nach der türkischen Hauptstadt geflohen war, wo er dann später unter nicht ganz geklärten Umständen starb.<sup>3</sup>

Man hat also an dem Tode des ungemein populären Usurpators nicht glauben können, überdies hatte man offenbar keine zuverlässigen Berichte über die Geschehnisse in der weit entfernten türkischen Hauptstadt. Nach dem mysteriösen Verschwinden der legendenumwobenen Figur Bahrām Čöbīns setzte sich die Legendenbildung sofort ein, und es knüpften sich an seine Figur Vorstellungen von seiner bevorstehender Wiederkunft.

Bahrām wurde der Held der Endzeit, der wie der Messias Pisiyōtan<sup>4</sup> aus seiner mysteriösen Burg Kangdež einst zurückkehren wird, um die Sache des Guten zum Sieg zu verhelfen. Die Verborgenheit der unsterblichen Helden in

ihren wunderbaren Palästen war ein altes, wohlbekanntes Motiv der iranischen Heldensage.<sup>5</sup>

Was nun den Zufluchtsort des Bahrām Čöbīn betrifft, stimmen unsere Quellen samt und sonders überein darin, dass Bahrām nach der türkischen Hauptstadt geflohen sei. Der Name der letzteren wird zwar in den meisten Quellen nicht angegeben, wir wissen jedoch aus der späten, auf Grund von Bahrāms Geschichte überarbeiteten Quellen der Isfandiyār-Spandiyāt-legende, dass die türkische Hauptstadt die Namen Diž-i rōyīn, Rōyīn diz, Madīnatu-l-sufr und Madīnatu-l-nuhās, oder Madīnatu-l-tuggār (Stadt der Kaufleute) trug, die alle von dem letzten Namen abgesehen, soviel wie "Kupferstadt" bedeuteten.

Es unterliegt wohl keinem Zweifel, dass alle diese Namen eigentlich Städte bezeichneten im Verwaltungsbezirk von Buchara.<sup>6</sup> Ein anderer Bericht der Chronik von Buchara ist besonders wichtig, weil er die Identität von Paikand und Diž-i rōyīn klar aussagt.<sup>7</sup> Die andere mögliche Beweisführung, dass diese zwei Städte unmöglich identifiziert werden könne, scheidet daran, dass Paikand in der Tat nur im Bahrām Čöbīn-Roman die Verwaltungsstadt von Buchara war. Eine andere Frage ist freilich, dass Paikand einige Zeit früher selbst Buchara an Bedeutung übertraf. Die Ansicht, dass Diž-i rōyīn sich weitab im Osten, im Tienschan-Gebiet befand, habe ich mir deshalb nur für eine kurze Frist angeeignet.

Eine weitere wichtige Angabe bezüglich Diž-i rōyīn hat bereits Paul Pelliot entziffert und später J. Bacot herausgegeben.<sup>8</sup> Es handelt sich um eine höchst wichtige geographische Beschreibung Zentralasiens, in der auch Diž-i rōyīn erwähnt wird. Dieses Dokument (das N° 1283 der Collection Pelliot, Tibétain) enthält einen ursprünglich um 750 verfassten Bericht von 5 uigurischen Aufklärern, der in tibetischer Übersetzung erhalten blieb. Über Diž-i rōyīn wird hier folgendes berichtet (in Bacot's Übersetzung): "Le nom du pay en chinois est Ji-'ur, en drugu Ba-ker-pa-lig." Der chinesische Name des Landes konnte bisher nicht ermittelt werden. Den türkisch-ugurischen (drugu) Name hat aber schon Pelliot (im Aufsatz von Bacot, S. 151) als die türkische Entsprechung von Kupferstadt: Baqīr-baliy erkannt. Aus dem übersetzten Zitat ergibt sich weiterhin auch, dass der Kupferstadt eine wichtige Stadt im Lande Ji-'ur war, und Ji-'ur war einer der vielen Namen von Buchara.

Denn bei der Entscheidung von Problemen bezüglich der möglichen Identität von Ortschaften, bzw. Ortsnamen müssen wir eine Tatsache nicht aus den Augen verlieren: auf iranischem (sogdischem) Boden konnten sämtliche Städte eines Bezirkes auch den Namen der Verwaltungstadt tragen. Diese neue Erkenntnis, die meines Erachtens aus den einschlägigen Angaben zwingend hervorgeht, ermöglicht eine Antwort auf eine ganze Reihe von alten Fragen, die wir jetzt klarer fassen können. Ich werde sie diesmal nur ganz kurz aufzählen, da ich sie in einem Vortrag im Juni 1960 in Halle vor dem Orientalischen Seminar und dem Archäologischen Museum unter dem Titel "Die Kupferstadt in der arabischen und persischen Literatur" eingehend besprochen habe.<sup>9</sup>

Es handelt sich um die Tatsache, dass von der wirklichen Kupferstadt weit im Osten des iranischen Blickfelds bald eine Stadt am Rande der Oikumene wurde, die in der arabisch-persischen Literatur, wie z. B. bei Tabarī, Idrīsī, und Dimasqī die Rolle der Säulen des Herakleios übernimmt. Diese Autoren sprechen von einer Kupferstadt oder bezeichnenderweise von Kupfersäulen am Rande der Oikumene, die sich gemäss einigen muhammedanischen Autoren im äussersten Osten, nach anderen aber im äussersten Westen, in Andalusien, in Nordafrika, bzw. Cadix am Tore des Ozeans befand. Viele von diesen Angaben wurden bekanntlich schon von dem grossen holländischen Islamforscher A. J. Wensinck in einen Band der "Verhandlungen der Koninklijke Akademie der Wetenschappen te Amsterdam" besprochen, die die Kupferstadt bei den muhammedanischen Verfassern erfuhr.<sup>10</sup> Bekanntlich ist nämlich dieser Name auch in die arabischen Versionen des Alexanderromans eingedrungen, wo er den Namen der Juwelenstadt des Originals ersetzte. Die Juwelenburg ist in den Versionen C und L des Alexanderromans eine wunderbare Totenstadt hinter Indien, also am Rande der Welt.<sup>11</sup> Sie erscheint einerseits unter dem Namen Kupferstadt in den Traditionen über die koranischen Figuren Xadir und Dū-l-Qarnayn, andererseits trägt sie aber auch den Namen Gabarqat (und Varianten) in denselben Hadīten. Für den letzteren Namen, die Wensinck und die neuere Forschung für rätselhaft erklärt hat, könnte man auf arab. *zabargad* aus *zmargad* hinweisen. Auf dieses letztere Wort hat sich schon W. B. Henning in anderem Zusammenhange berufen. Da *zabargad* 'Emerald, Topas' bedeutet, eignet es sich ausgezeichnet als genaue Wiedergabe des Namens Juwelenburg.<sup>12</sup> Wir sehen aber jetzt, woher der andere Name der toten Juwelenburg, nämlich Kupferstadt herrührt: die

Juwelenstadt des Romans hinter Indien wurde mit der Kupferstadt am Ostrande der Oikumene identifiziert.

Das Interesse der Araber für die 'Kupferstadt' wird auch durch Geschichten bezeugt, wie diejenige über eine Karawanenreise, welche man unter dem Chalifen 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān unternommen haben soll. Diese Geschichte war schon Ibn al-Faqīh und Mas'ūdī bekannt und wird ausführlich auch in der 1001 Nacht erzählt.<sup>13</sup>

Noch viel wichtiger erwies sich aber für die äthiopische Literatur die Geschichte des Besuches Alexanders des Grossen in der Juwelenburg, wo diese Episode in der Alexanderlegende eine geradezu zentrale Stellung einnimmt. Aber auch aus den verschiedenen arabischen Hadīten über Alexander-Dū-l-Qarnayn geht deutlich hervor, dass die berühmte koranische Lebensquellsage ursprünglich untrennbar mit der Episode über die Juwelenburg verbunden war, es wäre also gar nicht übertrieben zu behaupten dass die Juwelenburg-Episode aus dem Koran nur zufällig fehlt.<sup>14</sup>

Die sunnitischen Traditionisten befassten sich wiederholt mit dieser Episode, Bal'amī bespricht die Frage der Juwelenburg als ein interessantes Problem<sup>15</sup> und noch im elften Jh. schrieb der bekannte Theologe Ḥaṭīb al-Bagdadī ein – wahrscheinlich nicht auf uns gekommenes – Werk über die "Geschichte der Kupferstadt und der bleiernen Kuppeln".<sup>16</sup> Derselbe Titel findet sich wörtlich so auch bei al-Mas'ūdī, kann sich also wohl nur auf unsere Stadt beziehen. Überdies möchte ich noch auf ein armenisches Werk hinweisen, das den Titel "Patmthiwn plnjē k'ala'in" ("Geschichte der Kupferstadt") trägt.<sup>17</sup>

Am wichtigsten aber war der Einfluss der ursprünglichen iranischen Vorstellungen bezüglich der messianischen Rolle Bahrām Čöbīns in der frühchristlichen Gedankenwelt. Wir sind nämlich imstande eine unmittelbare Berührung zwischen den messianischen Erwartungen, die sich an Bahrām Čöbīns Gestalt knüpften und denjenigen einiger abbasidischen Propagandisten klar nachzuweisen. Es handelt sich um eine Stelle des *Siyāsatnāma* von Nizām al-Mulk, wo von Sindbād die Rede ist, der um 750 u. Z. auftrat.<sup>18</sup> Sindbād der von den Quellen zu einem Mazdakiten geglaubt haben, sondern er habe gelehrt, Abū Muslim sei nicht tot, er befinde sich als weisse Taube zusammen mit dem Mahdī in einer "Kupferstadt" (*dar hišār-i mis*).<sup>19</sup> Als dritter wird in Sindbāds Lehre Mazdak genannt, der nach ihm als General dieser Messias

fungieren soll. Bis jetzt hat man diese Äusserung für kaum mehr als eine phantastische Erfindung halten können. Denn warum soll der Messias eben aus einer 'Kupferstadt' kommen? Bedenken wir aber das soeben Gesagte, so wird es ohne weiteres klar, dass Sinbād seinen Meister und den Mahdī deshalb aus einer 'Kupferstadt' erwartete, weil die Iranier den zu einem Messias gewordenen Mahdī bereits 150 Jahre früher aus der 'Kupferstadt' zurückerwarteten.<sup>20</sup> Sinbād selbst gibt an, er habe gewissen Sassanidischen Büchern (*az Kutub-i Sāsāniyān*) entnommen, dass die arabische Unterdrückung ein Ende haben werde.<sup>21</sup> Es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass es sich hier um die spätroroastrischen Apokalypsen handelt. Ignaz Goldziher verwies in einem seiner auf Ungarisch geschriebenen Arbeiten darauf, dass während der abbasidischen Bewegung überall Apokalypsen (*malāḥim*) auftauchten, auf die man sich gegen die Umayyaden berufen konnte.<sup>22</sup> Aus Sinbāds Geschichte geht deutlich hervor dass sich unter diesen Apokalypsen auch einige spätroroastrischer Herkunft befanden.

Nun fragt es sich natürlich, was das Verhältnis zwischen den beiden messianischen Figuren, die Sinbād nennt, also zwischen dem vergöttlichten Abū Muslim und dem mit ihm in der Kupferstadt verweilenden Mahdī ist. In diesem Zusammenhang kann ich jetzt nur kurz darauf hinweisen, dass den islamischen Mahdī-Erwartungen von Anfang an eine Duplizität eigen ist. In einer grundlegenden Studie über den Mahdī-Begriff hat schon der grosse holländische Islam-Forscher, Snouck Hurgronje darauf hingewiesen, dass die islamische Mahdī-Figur eigentlich im gewissen Sinne einen Doppelgänger des christlichen Messias darstellt, an den ja auch der Prophet glaubte.<sup>23</sup> Das Verhältnis zwischen 'Īsā und dem Mahdī war auch für die islamischen Theologen oft recht problematisch. Es gibt eine ganze Reihe von Traditionen, die zeigen, wie sehr man sich in späteren Zeiten bemühte, das Verhältnis zwischen den beiden Erlösergestalten auf eine logisch befriedigende Weise zu bestimmen. Die Situation war auch in Sinbāds Fall eine ähnliche: die Lehre über den zum Messias erhöhten Abū Muslim musste irgendwie mit dem im ostiranische Volksglauben fest verankerten Glauben an Vahrām Varcāvand in Einklang gebracht werden. Wurde Vahrām also von der Kupferstadt zurückerwartet, so musste auch Abū Muslim von dort kommen.

Nun könnte man aber behaupten, das alles habe sehr wenig mit dem Islam zu schaffen. Denn diese Lehren von Sinbād sind eigentlich so weit von

denjenigen des sunnitischen Islams entfernt, dass man hier vielleicht besser von einer synkretistischen Religion sprechen kann, in der sich neben spätroroastrischen und mazdakitischen Lehren auch islamische Motive befinden. Man könnte sich auch auf die Tatsache berufen, diese Lehre schon früher, um die achtziger Jahre des 7. Jahrhunderts aufgetaucht sei, als einige Anhänger des von Muḥtār propagierten Aliden Muhammad ibn al-Hanafīya nach dessen Tod behaupteten, er sei nicht tot er habe sich nur verborgen und wird zurückkehren, um die Welt mit Gleichheit und Gerechtigkeit zu erfüllen. So könnte man sich auch auf die Lehren der Kaisānīya und auf die Gedichte Ibn Kuṭayyirs berufen. Wir müssen jedoch nicht vergessen, einerseits, dass die Mahdī-Erwartungen die an die Gestalt Bahrām Cōbīns geknüpft wurden, fast um ein Jahrhundert früher anzusetzen sind, als der Auftritt des Muhammad ibn al-Hanafīya, andererseits aber, dass das Vorhandensein der erwähnten Erwartungen, durch die spätroroastrischen Apokalypsen und in Sinbāds Lehren für Iran, d.h. für den Schauplatz von Muḥtārs Revolution, unwiderleglich erwiesen wird. Es ist also kaum anzunehmen, dass die Vergötterung von Muhammad ibn al-Hanafīya und die nach seinem Tode aufgekommene Lehre von seiner Verborgenheit, bzw. von seiner Rückkehr und von seinem eschatologischen Siege ganz unabhängig von der derzeitigen, genau entsprechenden spätroroastrischen Lehren entstanden sein können. Denn was Sinbād und die Zoroastrier über die Verborgenheit Vahrāms, bzw. über seine Rückkehr gelehrt hatten, ist doch im wesentlichen mit den schiitischen Lehren von der Verborgenheit (*gayba*) und von der Rückkehr (*rağ'a*) des Mahdī identisch.

Die Tatsache, dass Sinbād mit seinen Lehren unmittelbar an die iranischen spätsassanidischen Erlösungslehren anknüpfte, ist allerdings durch den zitierten Bericht des Nizām al-Mulk sozusagen dokumentarisch erwiesen. Verallgemeinern möchte ich jedoch die Annahme bezüglich des Einflusses von Sinbāds Lehren selbst in schiitischer Hinsicht nicht. Denn die schiitischen Mahdī-Lehren waren von Anfang an zu sehr zeit- und ortsgebunden, als dass man in ihrem Falle durchgängig von einem dogmatischen Inhalt hätte sprechen können. Die Schiiten wurden ja immer aufs Neue in ihren Mahdī-Erwartungen enttäuscht und nach jeder neuen Enttäuschung entstand eine neue Situation, der die neuen Erwartungen entsprechen mussten. Es ist immerhin ein charakteristischer und ständiger Zug der schiitischen Mahdī-Erwartungen,



dass der schiitische Mahdī gegenüber dem Idealchalifen der Sunniten göttliche Züge trägt. Auf diesem Grund hat man aber schon wiederholt vergeblich versucht, die schiitischen Lehren vom verborgenen und als Mahdī zurückkehrenden Imām in ihrem Ganzen aus den entsprechenden iranischen Lehren abzuleiten. Ich erinnere an Darmesteters und Blochets Versuche<sup>24</sup> und an die Rezension, die Ignaz Goldziher über Blochets Buch über die schiitischen Heterodoxien veröffentlichte.<sup>25</sup> Goldziher betonte in dieser Rezension auf eine sehr überzeugende Weise die innerislamischen Elemente, die in der schiitischen Mahdī-Lehren zu vermerken sind, und verwies auf die frühen Beispiele, in denen die Vergöttlichung des einen oder anderen alidischen Imāms auch ohne Irgendeine Annahme eines fremden Einflusses befriedigend zu erklären ist.

Ich glaube aber nicht, dass diese an sich überzeugenden Beispiele als Beweis gegen jede Annahme bezüglich der Beeinflussung der schiitischen Mahdī-Lehren von aussen her anwendbar seien. Sindbād Beispiel zeugt vom Gegenteil, und wir dürfen nicht vergessen, dass Sindbāds Fall, also das Auftreten von nur halbwegs zum Islam gehörenden Extremisten keine vereinzelte Erscheinung während der abbasidischen Bewegung und nachher darstellt. Vor allen Dingen dürfen wir aber nicht aus den Augen verlieren, dass Sindbāds Lehren, gleichwie die ähnlichen, zoroastrisch beeinflussten Vorstellungen, die in Ostiran wucherten, zeitlich nicht nur den ersten alidischen Imamatsprätendenten, sondern auch dem Islam selbst vorangehen.

Manche schiitisch-inspirierten Lehren der Mystiker werden ebenfalls durch die Lehren über Vahrām Varcāvand beleuchtet. So vor allem die Behauptung, der Mahdī müsste aus dem fernen Osten ankommen. Auch die Lehre vom "Schatz" des Mahdī den er in Talaqān habe, ist kaum vom "Schatz" des Vahrām Varcāvand zu trennen.

Die Frage in wieweit die Identität gewisser religionsgeschichtlichen Erscheinungen die Folge von äusseren Beeinflussung oder religionsgeschichtlichen Konvergenz zuzuschreiben ist, war während des letzten Jahrzehntes zu wiederholten Malen untersucht. Am wichtigsten waren die glänzenden Werke von Mary Boyce, die sich mit der Religion Zarathustras in weitem Sinne des Wortes befasste. Sie untersuchte auch die Probleme der spätzoroastrischen Apokalyptik und gab gegebenenfalls zu, dass es sich um äussere Beeinflussung handelt.<sup>26</sup>

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## ANMERKUNGEN

- <sup>1</sup> K. Czeglédy: "Bahrām Cōbīn and the Persian Apocalyptic Literature", *Acta Orientalia Hung* 8 (1958) SS. 21-43, bes. SS. 32-41.
- <sup>2</sup> Th. Nöldeke: *Tabari, Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leiden 1879, S. 21, Anm. 4.
- <sup>3</sup> J. Markwart: *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden 1938, S. 145; Nöldeke: *Tabari ...*, S. 289, A. Christensen: *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhague 1944, S. 445.
- <sup>4</sup> A. Christensen: *Les Kayanides*, Copenhague 1931, S. 84.
- <sup>5</sup> A. Christensen: *Les Kayanides ...*, S. 105.
- <sup>6</sup> J. Markwart: *Wehrot ...* S. 159; Christensen: *Les Kayanides ...*, S. 121.
- <sup>7</sup> J. Markwart: *Wehrot ...* SS. 160-165; J. Markwart: *Eransahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenaci*
- <sup>8</sup> J. Bacot: "Reconnaissance en Haute Asie septentrionale", *Journal Asiatique* 244 (1956) SS. 137-153.
- <sup>9</sup> Der ungarische Text dieses Vortrages erschien in *Antik Tanulmányok [Studia Antiqua]* 7 (1960) SS. 211-216.
- <sup>10</sup> A. J. Wensinck: *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites*, Amsterdam 1918.
- <sup>11</sup> I. Friedländer: *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, Leipzig-Berlin 1913, SS. 140, 152, 185, 208, 216, 327.
- <sup>12</sup> Vgl. W. B. Henning: "Two Central Asian Words", *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1945) SS. 150-162.
- <sup>13</sup> Die Nächte 566-578.
- <sup>14</sup> Friedländers zitiertes Werk hat sich als Grundlage für die gesamte spätere Forschung bezüglich der arabischen Lebensquellsage erwiesen. Es war nur schade, dass Friedländer den inneren Zusammenhang zwischen den beiden Episoden über Alexanders Reise zur Juwelenburg und weiter zur Lebensquelle nur wenig beachtete.
- <sup>15</sup> Tabarī: *Chronique*, ed. H. Zotenberg, Paris 1867-1874, Bd. I, SS. 45-49.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibn Khaldun: *The Muqaddimah*, transl. by F. Rosenthal, London 1958, Bd. I, S. 75, Anm. 10.
- <sup>17</sup> Ed. Tiflis 1857 und öfters. — Inzwischen konnte ich dieses Werk einsehen. Es handelt sich um eine Nacherzählung der zitierten Geschichte in der "1001 Nacht".
- <sup>18</sup> Ch. Schefer: *Chrestomathie Persane*, Paris 1883-1885, Bd. I, S. 174, Z. 4.

- <sup>19</sup> Das messianische Motiv der Taube kommt auch in der Geschichte der Kaisāniya vor (Gh. H. Sadighi: *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1938, S. 141). Es ist ein altes, messianisches Motiv, vgl. Apokal. Elias XXXII, 1: "Wenn der Gesalbte kommt er gleich wie eine Taubengestalt; ein Kranz von Tauben ist um ihn" (zitiert nach P. Riessler: *Altjüdisches Schrifttum außerhalb der Bibel*, Augsburg 1928, S. 119.)
- <sup>20</sup> Nach der eschatologischen Legende wird die Wiederherstellung Irans aus Pišiyōtan-s Burg, Kangdēz hervorgehen (A. Christensen: *Les Kayanides ...*, S. 84; vgl. Gh. H. Sadighi: *Les mouvements ...*, S. 141, Anm. 5). Andererseits hat man einen etymologischen Zusammenhang zwischen dem Namen *Kang* (aw. *Kangha*) und saka *kahy'naa*- 'of brass' skt. *kāṃsa* 'bell metal, white copper' vermutet.
- <sup>21</sup> Ch. Schefer: *Chrestomathie ...*, Bd. I, S. 174, Z. 8.
- <sup>22</sup> I. Goldziher: "Az iszlám az omajjádok bukásáig" [Der Islam bis zum Sturze der Omajjaden], *Nagy képes világtörténet* [Große illustrierte Weltgeschichte], hrsg. von Henrik Marczali, Budapest 1900, Bd. IV, Teil I, SS. 676–677; vgl. D. B. MacDonald: "Malāhim", *Enzyklopaedie des Islām*, Leiden–Leipzig 1913–1938, Bd. III, SS. 204–205.
- <sup>23</sup> Chr. Snouck Hurgronje: *Der Mahdi, Verspreide Geschriften*, Leiden 1923–1927, Bd. I, SS. 145–181.
- <sup>24</sup> J. Darmesteter: *Le Mahdi depuis les origines de l'Islam jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris 1885. E Blochet: *Le méssianisme dans l'hétérodoxie musulmane*, Paris 1903.
- <sup>25</sup> *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 24 (1903) SS. 2535–2540.
- <sup>26</sup> Vgl. ihren wichtigen Aufsatz "On the antiquity of Zoroastrian apocalyptic" BSOAS 47/1, 1984, SS. 57-75; und ihres zweibandiges, grundlegendes Werk *A History of Zoroastrianism* I, II (erschieden in der Reihe: *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I, 1975; II, 1982).

