

H E T U M O G E R.

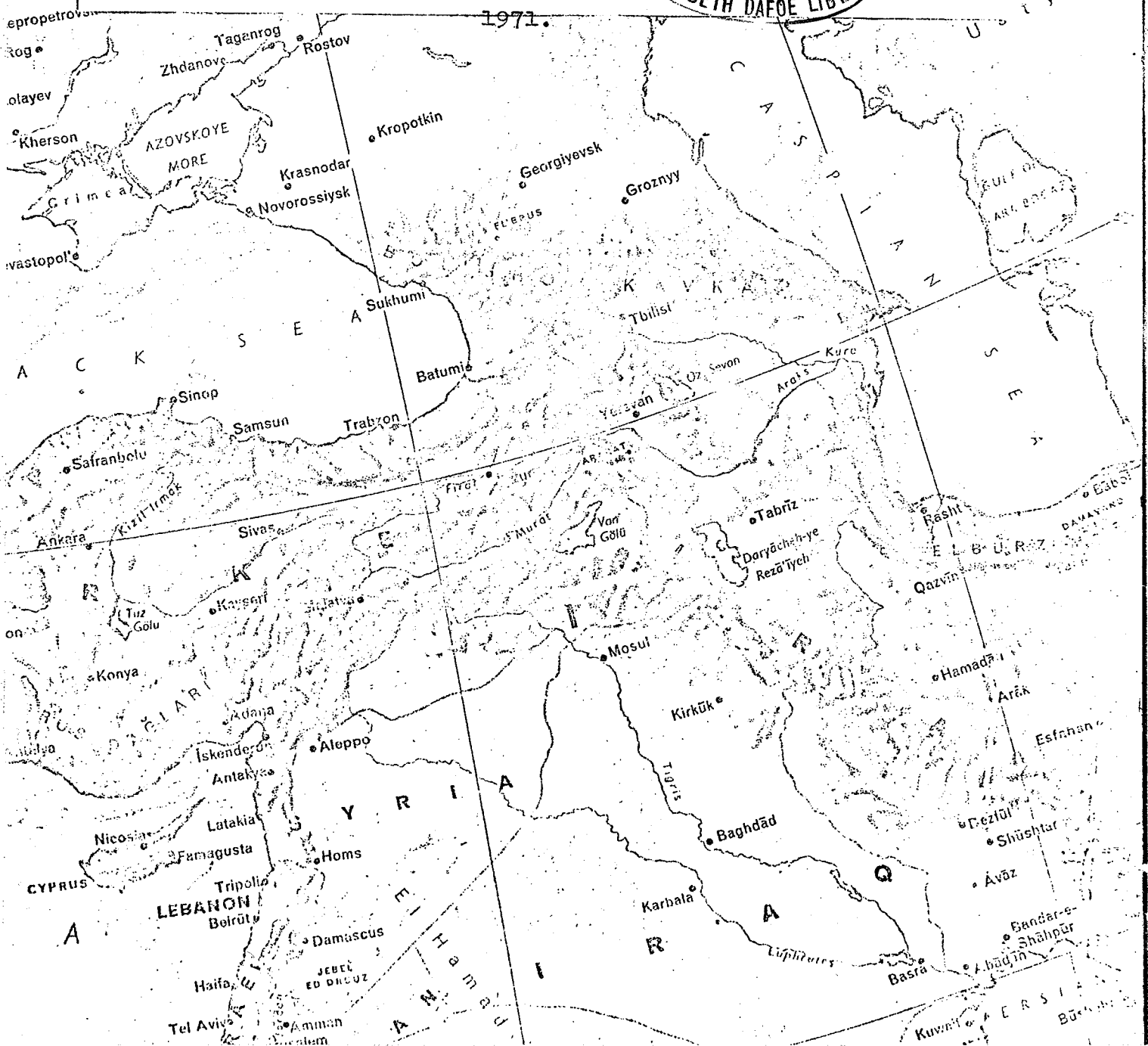
(The origin and the medieval migration of the Magyars.)

by

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Winnipeg.

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SREDNE-RUSSKIYA

Ustyurt

Kuwait, ERSIA, Buh...

P R E F A C E.

Historical approaches discussing the origin and medieval migration of the Hungarians were using the achievements of the method of Comparative Linguistics in the last hundred years. Some of the historians believed that the Hungarians were related to the Finns, and they came from the North-East, from a common Finno-Hungarian ancient fatherland. Some of the historians believed that the pre-Hungarians were actually Turks, and they came from a far-Eastern Turkish land. Since Comparative linguistics seemed to support mostly the Finn theory, it became the "official" theory in the last fifty years.

This "monopoly" of the Finno-Hungarian theorists was disturbed by the newest archeological explorations, which seemed to support not only the Turkish theory, but it did even more. It gave some support to other ideas, according<sup>x</sup> which the Hungarians, or some part of them, originated from the South, from Mesopotamia.

The large amount of opposing sources could easily confuse the reader. All the "Finn"-, "Turkish"-, and even the "Sumerian"-advocates are declaring that their analyses contain the truth, - the only and exclusive truth. The group of historians, who are advocating the "Finno-Ugrian" origin of the Hungarians, are also declaring that the other two theories are absolutely wrong. The attitude of the "Turkish" and "Sumerian" believers is exactly the same.

This approach attempts to discuss all the existing theories, nominating the "Finno-Ugrian" theory as "Hypothesis/A", the "Turkish" theory as "Hypothesis/B", and the "Sumerian" theory as "Hypothesis/C". The task is, of course, to justify the "right" of any of them, to find out that "A", "B", or "C" is right, - or to find out, that they are all wrong and, perhaps a new theory, "Hypothesis/D" could be right.

It will be important to inform the reader in this Preface, that the very special topic of this essay enforces us

to ignore the traditional method used in the organization in most of the history-essays.

The traditional way would be, to introduce the problem itself, than to state the hypothesis, followed by the approach attempting to prove the hypothesis. Finally should come the Summary, with conclusion.

We are going to follow this tradition as far as the extraordinary nature of prehistoric analysis let us to follow it. In some parts of this work, however, we have to leave this traditional system, choosing a special introductory and discussing method, which, according to our feeling, will fit to our complex topic better. Our reasons are:

(1) The medieval history of Asia, even with its European connections, does not represent a popular subject in most of the Western universities, and it is an almost perfectly unknown area for most of the western readers.

(2) We are going to deal with "prehistory" in this essay in a large extent. With the use of English translations of the Arabian, Byzantine and medieval Hungarian sources, we may declare certain portions of this work as "documented history", but certain subtopics will still give the impression, that they belong rather to the world of "prehistory", because the references were originally written by contemporaries, who were quite confused about many things in connection with their topics. Consequently, contemporary scholars were forced to be also confused, and forced to oppose each the other in many instances. We are not in the position to begin our work with one hypothesis. We have three hypotheses, and our task to discuss them in logical order, to justify them, to find the most logical hypothesis, or to compromise these existing hypotheses.

(3) We are going to deal with the Hungarian language, which language is not even similar to any of the Indo-European languages, consequently the use of this language as part of the analysis will represent considerable difficulty for the western reader. Mentioning some new results of Archeology will be only additional, since our analysis will be based mainly

on comparative linguistics. However, let us mention already here in this Preface, that it will be expressed, that excavations of the future will, hopefully, bring us more evidence, what we have today. Thus, the "hypothesis - evidence - summarized, and concluded thesis" - system in the case of this particular essay is not a workable system.

As we mentioned before, the number of the hypotheses are three. We named them "Hypotheses/A", "B", and "C". In certain points these hypotheses are quite similar, but in other points they will show considerable dissimilarity.

Before discussing "Hypothesis/A", we will introduce the Hungarian language itself. Only after this will be logical approach "Hypothesis/A" (The "Finno-Ugrian Theory"). It is the most traditional theory, which is also the most "official" theory today. After its relatively simple introduction, we are going to penetrate into the problem deeper and deeper. This part of the discussion will be aided by "family-tree" diagrams, and some linguistic examples. The unusually large amount of footnotes will help to understand details, and historical connections.

The analysis of "Hypothesis/A" will be followed with the introduction of "Hypothesis/B" (The "Turkish Theory"). This latter one represents still a more or less "traditional" theory, thus after the analysis of the possible Turkish-Hungarian relationship (also aided with diagrams and some examples of comparative linguistics), we may turn to the chronological discussion of the medieval migration of the seven migratory Magyar tribes. ("Hetumoger"). Only after this will be logical to return to the less traditional theory, which is named in this essay as "Hypothesis/C". (The Sumerian Theory).

Our final Conclusion will summarize the "A", "B", and "C" theories, dealing with all the important subtopics, which were related to the main problem. However, we will not attempt to defend, or favour any of the discussed hypotheses, attacking the other two. Doing this, we would follow some other narrowminded approaches in this topic. We are going to leave open the decision until archeological and further philological

investigations of the future could give us more opportunity for a decision. Beside this: in our Conclusion (a) we will propose a solution, which could be satisfactory for the advocates and believers of "Hypothesis/A", "B", and "C", (b) we will propose changes in the frontier of the Hungarian "prehistory-history" system, and (d) we will propose a historical reconsideration in the "Western culture" contra "Barbaric invaders" tradition too.

The parallel introductions of "Hypothesis/A", "B", and "C" represent an obvious risk for the author of this essay. The developing science of Philology, the new techniques and new opportunities of modern Archeology could prove quite easily in the coming years, that any of these theories were completely wrong. New findings could lead to the disqualification of any of our discussed hypotheses. We do not mind to take this risk. We are introducing here only hypotheses and not theses. In the year, when this essay was written, the possibility of "Hypothesis/A", "B", "C", and even "Hypothesis/D" (which will be suggested in our Conclusion) still stands.

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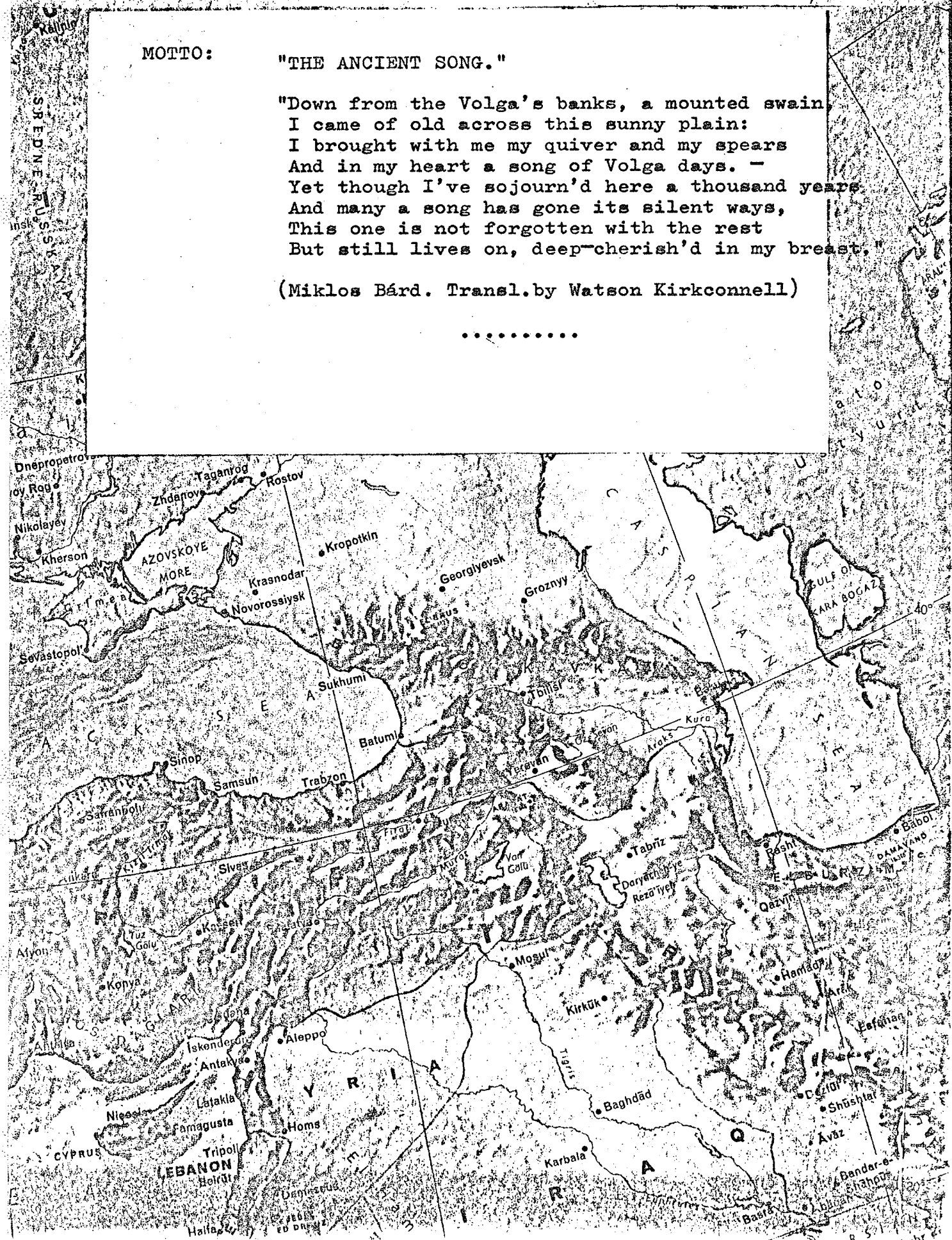
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MOTTO: "THE ANCIENT SONG."

"Down from the Volga's banks, a mounted swain  
I came of old across this sunny plain:  
I brought with me my quiver and my spears  
And in my heart a song of Volga days. -  
Yet though I've sojourn'd here a thousand years  
And many a song has gone its silent ways,  
This one is not forgotten with the rest  
But still lives on, deep-cherish'd in my breast."

(Miklos Bárd. Transl. by Watson Kirkconnell)

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## I.

I N T R O D U C T I O N .THE "STRANGE" LANGUAGE OF THE HUNGARIANS.

Beginning our speculation about the Hungarian origin, we would like to observe first, that in discussing nationalities, such as Germans, Slavs, or Hungarians, we will usually associate them with their languages, and not much with racial aspects. We confess that we entertain but scant sympathy for the belief in races and racial persistency. (#1). Wherever the Hungarians may have come from, and whether or no every one living Hungarian can trace his descent to one of the tribes, or clans invading the Carpathian Basin at the close of the ninth century is, in our opinion, immaterial. In the 19th century it became a patriotic fashion to talk about the "Turanian" race, but, as a matter of fact, very few Magyar nobleman can trace their family beyond the year of the battle of Mohács. (1526).

Situation is quite different with the language of the Hungarians. It could be the fair base of any linguistic or historical investigation, and from the knowledge of its relations to kindred idioms, many valuable conclusions may be drawn regarding the ancient Hungarian language, and regarding the rise and nature of Hungarian literature in the past and in the present. The study of racial characteristics could be easily misleading, but philological studies could lead far back to the Past, in the case of the Magyars far before the Conquest.

Not the race, but the common language, and the traditionally common culture has association with the nation ! One of the greatest

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#1: We agree that racial grouping has a great significance in natural sciences, because plant or animal species have characteristic physical qualities. However, the use of the race concept is best restricted to such sciences as anthropology, botany and zoology. Historiography should recognize the fact that physical criterias as skin colour, hair texture, and head shape, humanity can be divided into races, but objective historians also should keep in their mind that racists (to achieve their political goals) have many times extended the race concept to mental, social, etc. qualities. The concept of race has been misused to "justify" social and economic discrimination. In our essay we will ignore ethnocentric ideas and we will associate "nation" with "national language" and with "national culture".

patriots of Hungary, Count Stephen Széchenyi (#2) has tersely expressed the immense influence of language on the nation in the words:

"Language carries the nation away with it."

Hungarian linguists and historians concentrated on the language itself. Since it was the language that helped researchers to trace the origin of the people, the question must be asked: What is the tongue of the Hungarians like?

Before answering this question, before trying to give some impression about this "strange" language, let us call the reader's attention to the peculiar geopolitical situation of the Hungarians in Europe of today. They represented a linguistic island in Europe, not even distantly related to any of their neighbours. They have remained an alien body, jealous of their distinct personality, and looked upon with suspicion by their alien environment. Occupying the Carpathian Basin more than one thousand years ago, conquering an area, which was crowded with Indo-European people, living on the margin of the Slavic world, which covered almost the entire territory which is known as Eastern Europe today (#3), it was inevitable that this small nation should fall within the gravitational pull of more powerful nations; the surprising thing is, that they did not absorb it. (#4).

"The Hungarians, on the other hand, have only to invoke the testimony of the map to show that their country on the mid-Danube is in the fulcrum of great international highways, a strategic area. The strategic value of this region is attested by history, century after century. There have been a few in which she played the leading role." (#5).

#2: He was called "the greatest Hungarian" (1791-1860). In 1825 he founded the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

#3: The Slavs inhabit the areas to the north, east, and south of the Magyars; West of the Magyars is the large area of the Germans.

#4: The Finns also retained their national identity. However, they had a great advantage over the Hungarians in that they occupy a "cul-de-sac" of Europe, a blind alley, abutting on the empty northern seas and occupying a glacially corroded part of the distant north. The only danger threatening their national identity appears from their east, in the face of Russification.

#5: Emil Lengyel: 1000 Years of Hungary. (The John Day Company, New York, 1958.) p.10.

How is it possible that Hungary as a nation, Hungarians as a nationality still exist ?

It is not the purpose of this essay to examine this very complex problem. Here, let us mention only one factor of the possible answer: the linguistic isolation served continuously not only as a threatful factor, but many times as a preservative factor.

The linguistic influence of the surrounding Indo-European world, of course, affected the language of the Hungarians. (#6), but the main Magyar tongue is totally different in vocabulary and in grammar from the Teutonic, Latin, Slav, and Celtic languages. (#7).

We mentioned already, that Hungary represents a linguistic island in the ocean of the other surrounding languages. Now, let us take a closer look at this ocean:

To the west of the Hungarians live people speaking Germanic languages, practically almost from the "back door" of Budapest, the Hungarian capital, (#8), to the North Sea; and these people comprise the Austrians, the Germans, a large part of the Swiss, the Dutch, the Scandinavians, and the English.

To the north of the Hungarians people speaking variations of the Slavic language. There are the Czechs, the Moravians, the Slovaks, the Poles, and the Ruthenians. (#9).

To the south of the Hungarians we will find the variations of the Southern Slavic peoples, including the Slovenes, Croatians, Serbians, Montenegrins, Bosnians and Herzegovinians, and Bulgarians. (#10).

#6: Visitors of Hungary in the past may have gained the impression that the language of the people was German. A considerable number of the people had German names, and spoke some kind of German there. But what else was one to do? A few score miles from Hungary, Hungarian was not understood. The better educated people therefore felt compelled to learn German; However, the majority are completely "monolingual", and Magyar, nothing else.

#7: These are the traditional members of the Indo-European family.

#8: Budapest represents the unification of two ancient city, united only in the second half of the nineteenth century. Buda received its name after the older brother of the great Hun king, Attila. (433-453). "Pest"s original meaning is: oven.

#9: The Ruthenians are called as Carpatho-Ukrainians today.

#10: The Bulgarians were originally members of the Altaic racial- and language- family, probably related to the Huns, and at first ruled by princes of Attila's dynasty. By the conversion to Greek Orthodox Christianity, they were completely Slavicized, after 865.

Finally, to the east of the Hungarians lives a people which indicates its presumed origin by its very name, the Rumanians, who declared themselves as descendants of the Romans, speaking a language related to the Latin. (#11). Behind them are the large Slav areas again, Ukrainians, Russians, Belorussians. (#12).

Yet, as we mentioned already, the Hungarians are not Slavs, nor Germans, nor Latins, and this difference is an important factor in their history and fate. It is interesting that between Russian and German, or between Russian and even English there is much affinity, both groups of languages belonging to the Indo-European group of idioms. Between Hungarian and German, or Hungarian and Slav, there is not affinity whatever. The Hungarians have indeed inserted some Slav and German matter into crevices left open by an occasional decay of the Hungarian material; but the structure and the functions of the Magyar language are totally alien to either German, Latin, or Slav idioms, in grammar, in vocabulary, even in accent.

How strange is the Hungarian language, the reader can actually and practically realize only by trying to learn this language, but hopefully our introductory chapter has already given some impressions about its strange character.

As a logical next step, we shall try to introduce something about the main characteristics of the Hungarian language in our next chapter, and later we will try to use these linguistic characteristics as tools, speculating about the possible origin and relationships of the Hungarians.

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#11: Before they "adopted" their "Rumanian" (or "Roumanian") name (about in the second half of the 17th century), they were called as Vlachs, or Wallachians. The separate history of Walachia (Wallachia), and Moldavia goes back to Roman times and is much obscured, especially as to the origin of the people inhabiting them. According to the "Dako-Roman" theory, the Wallachians were the mixture of the Thracian Daks (Dacians), inhabitants of ancient Transylvania, and the conquering Romans of Emperor Traian (1st c. A.D.). Despite repeated conquests by various barbaric tribes, the Wallachians somehow preserved the Latin tongue which is the basis of the modern Rumanian language of to-day. (Inf.: Halecky: Borderlands of Western Civilization, pp. 31, 66, 68-69, 104-105, etc.)

#12: Since 1945, Russian appeared as a direct neighbour at North-east Hungary, occupying a portion of the Carpathians, which was part of the Hungarian Kingdom from 896 to 1920, and part of Czechoslovakia from 1920 (Treaty of Trianon) to 1945.

## II..

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE MAGYARS .

Before discussing the characteristics of the Hungarian language, it seems to be logical to explain the origin and meaning of the word "Magyar".

According to Henrik Marczali (History of Hungary, Athenaeum, Budapest, 1912, p.30), and many other historians, in the time of the Hungarian conquest (895-896), the names of the "Hetumoger" ("hetu": seven, "Hetumoger": the seven conquering tribes) were:

Nyék,  
Megyer,  
Kürtgyarmat,  
Tarján,  
Jenő,  
Kara,  
Kaza.

The tribe, mentioned in first place on this list, was not the most important, or most powerful tribe. "Nyék" means "enclosed or fortified place" in the ancient language of the migratory Hungarians. They fought in the forefront, and the duty of this tribe was also scouting, and ensuring the movement of the other tribes. Usually the oldest son of the greatest chieftain was the acting leader of the "Nyék" tribe, who could exercise himself in this dangerous military position for his important future.

The most powerful, and most respected tribe was the "Megyer" (or "Magyeri") tribe. According to the believers of Finno-Ugric origin of the Hungarians, this word "Megyer" was a Finno-Ugric word itself. The term "Mänsi" meant "men". "Mänsi-eri" was, according to the "Finno-Ugric"-believers, the original name of a certain tribe, which later became main element of the "Magyeri" - "Megyer" - "Magyar" tribe. (We are going to return to this problem in the coming chapters, with references).

In the time of the Hungarian Conquest, Árpád, son of Álmos, was the chief of the powerful Magyeri tribe. He became the ruler of the unified tribe-organization. By a semantic change, from now on, "Magyeri" meant the whole nation, settled down in the Carpathian Basin.



The origin of the term "Hungaria" represents much more of a problem. This Latin term has many different explanation. Let us mention here two from the possibilities: (a) the Magyars, coming from Asia, were almost identical with the Huns. Most of the western chroniclers were sure that the people of Attila came back to Europe for a terrible revanche. With the term "Hun", it seems to be, we have the first part of "Hungaria" already. The second part could be "Ugor" (which reveals the "Ugric" origin of the Magyars), or even "Ogur" (which was a powerful Turkish tribe-system in the 8th, and 9th century, north of the Caspian Sea. ("Hun"- "Ugor", or -"Ogur": "Hungaria"). (b) The second hypothesis is connected with this, mentioned, "Ogur" system. Unquestionably, the migratory Magyars were connected with this "Ogur" system; even intermarried with them sometimes at the end of the 8th century, or in the early 9th century. The "Ogurs" occupied a territory north-east of the Caspian, calling their organization "On-Ogur" ("Ten Arrows"). According to the opinions of another group of etymologists, and historians, the Turkish element was so strong in this newly formed Magyar-Ogur composition, that Arab, and later Byzantine chroniclers could easily name them "Onogur". This "Onogur" could be the origin of the Latinized "Hungaria" term.

It is important to mention that both these speculations have many uncertain elements. The fact was that the Arabs and the Byzantines used only sometimes the term "Onogur". Around the 9th century, Persian contemporary sources called them "Magyars", but Byzantine sources often called them "Turks". The term "Hungaria" appeared only in the coming 10th and 11th centuries, and was used first in ecclesiastical circles. (We will return to the "Turk" problem in our coming chapters again.)

After these explanations about the term "Magyar" and "Hungaria", let us take a look at the characteristics of the Hungarian language itself. Since we declared in our introduction that the main base of our investigation about the Magyar origin will be not the race, but the language, we must begin our observation on the Magyar language. We said already, that the Magyar language is different from all the languages of the Indo-European linguistic stock. This statement will be meaningless, until we gave some evidence of this, mentioned difference.

The language of the Magyars is an "agglutinative" language. (#13). The root of words are almost invariably formed by their first syllables, unto which all affixes and pronouns are soldered according to a fairly regular process of word and case formation.

In the Indo-European languages the root is, as it were, subterranean, and frequently hard to lay bare. In Hungarian the root is always transparent.

Hungarian is a language of affixes. Many varieties of meaning which other nations express by means of prepositions with the article, or by various separate words, are expressed in Hungarian by a letter or syllable, either simply added on at the end of the word or fused with it. (The Hungarian equivalent of the three words "I see thee", is "Látlak". The infinitive form is: To see: lát(ni), and in our example the second part of the word ("lak") will be simply the grammatical change of the "lát(ni)" to express the first person-form in declination. Or, let us take another example. "For my father", is "Atyámért" in Hungarian. This grammatical form represents the idea, which was expressed in English by using three words. Father: Atya; the English "my" is simply represented with the letter "m" in the newly formed word, and the English "for" is expressed by the conjugation of the main term, with an "ért"- addition. The result is: "Atyá - m - ért.")

Declination and conjugation is almost identical, or very similar to the English way in all of the Indo-European languages. The Hungarian way is similar to the other Ural-<sup>&</sup>Altaic languages, mentioned later in this essay.

"According to the evidence of the oldest written fragment, a funeral speech (1200 A.D., #14), those affixes were originally separate substantives, which were merely placed beside the principal word, as though, for instance, instead of saying 'within the house', we were to say 'house interior.'" (#15).

Another feature which distinguishes Hungarian from all the Indo-European languages (#16) is the assimilating of the vowel in

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#13: "Agglutinate": glued together, or "consisting of simple words combined into compounds without change of form or loss of meaning." (The Concise Oxford Dictionary. (Oxford University Press, 1964.)

#14: Appeared in the so-called Pray Codex. (Inf.: Imre Bán & Others: A Magyar Irodalom Története.—History of the Hungarian Literature. Bibliotheca, Budapest, 1957, p.24).

#15: Frigyes Riedl: A History of the Hungarian Literature. D. Appleton & Company, New York and London, 1915, p.9.

#16: But which we find in the language of the Finns and Estonians, which are the nordic groups of the Finno-Ugric branch of the Ural-<sup>&</sup>Altaic linguistic stock.

the affix to that in the stem of the word. If the stem contains the vowel, "o", "u", or "a" (#17), the affix must contain a sound of the same kind. (For example: "I see thee": "Látl(a)k, but "I look thee": "Nézl(e)k".)

The vowels in Hungarian certainly have a distinct musical value, and do not resemble the musically indeterminable vowels or diphthongs of English or German. Consonants are never unduly accumulated, as in Czech; and strong accents on one syllable of a word has a heavier stress on it.

Hungarian is rich both in its actual vocabulary, especially for outward things and phenomena, mpre especially still for acoustic phenomena; and in its prospective word-treasury.

"In few languages can new words, expressing shades and phases of meanings, be coined with greater ease. This facility applies to abstract terms as well as to material ones. It is probably not too much to say, that for purposes of Metaphysics or Psychology few languages offer so ample a repository and laboratory for terms as does the Magyar language." (#18).

Although far from being as adapted for rhyme as English or German, yet Hungarians has many and sonorous rhymes. On the other hand, it crystallizes with readiness into all the metres of Greek or Latin poetry, somewhat easier, than the English and German languages.

A peculiarity of Hungarian is the diminutive of more fully developed endearment and affection.

In connection with these characteristics of the Hungarian language, it seems to be necessary to mention, that since hundreds of thousands of Hungarian political refugees appeared in many other countries everywhere in this world in the last centuries, and especially in the last decades, it became known by almost everybody who ever met a Hungarian, that the members of this "strange" nation were quite slow in learning other languages. The reader of this chapter will be able to understand this problem. Being their language "agglutinative, using "post-positions" instead of prepositions, and many other basic differences in their native languages makes the learning

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#17: The latter being pronounced like "o" in "hot".

#18: Emil Reich: "Hungarian Literature." An Historical and Critical Survey. Jarrold and Sons, London, 1896. p:

of the first Indo-European language particularly difficult for a Hungarian.

Emil Lengyel (#19) has an interesting illustration of the basic nature of Hungarian. The writer cites a word which has a history. It is a long word, because of the agglutinative nature of the language, and it was scribbled on the walls of the seaport town of Fiume, at the head of the Adriatic Sea, before the end of the First World War. Fiume was then attached to Hungary once again (for a short time) as a semi-selfgoverning body. The law of Hungary provided that public officials in Fiume must master the Hungarian language before they could be employed as such. However, most of the candidates for these positions were Italian-speaking. (#20). To show how utterly impossible it was for a foreigner to master Hungarian, and also to show how impossible was the requirement, this was the Hungarian word Italians of Fiume scribbled on its vacant walls:

"A legeslegmegengesztelhetetlenebbeknek."

This is one word indeed, although a rather unnatural one, and it means:

"to the most irreconcilable ones" - referring to the irreconcilable nature of the ruling Hungarians. Also it is an illustration of the "gluing" nature of the tongue. (#21).

Another peculiar trait of the Magyar language is that it places the family name first (#22), followed by the Christian names, and finally the person's titles. (#23).

The Hungarian language has no gender, nor any word to express the idea "to have" as an auxiliary verb. On the other hand, Hungarian has the advantage of being phonetic; and words are written mainly as they are spoken. (#24). Also, this language can be very concise, expressing in one word what Indo-European tongues take several words to express. (#25). We could realize this from previous

#19: Emil Lengyel: 1,000 Years of Hungary. p.11.

#20: Medieval Venice had left her mark on that coast.

#21: Watson Kirkconnell in The Magyar Muse (An Anthology of Hungarian Poetry), Kanadai Magyar Ujság Press, 1933, p.15) also mentioned the word, as an extreme example, noting, that this word contains some nine factors of speech !

#22: Which is not illogical even for people of Indo European origin.

#23: One illustration: "Mr. President Richard Nixon" sounds in Hungarian like this: "Nixon Richard Elnök Ur" (Nixon Richard President mister.)

#24: This gives an unusual opportunity for the most beautiful Greek, and Latin translations in original metric forms.

#25: By the agglutinative characteristics again.

examples already, but let us choose another, typical example. In Hungarian, for instance: "I love you" is: "Szeretlek". The elements of this Hungarian word are these:

- (a) szeret(ni): (to) love.
- (b) l : sound to express the fact that I love a particular person. (If I do not use the sound "l" into the word, if I am simply using as "szeretek", than I am generalizing, without having a particular "accusative" in my mind.)
- (c) ek : you. (Actually, the Hungarian identical for "you" is "te". However, the use of "te"(you) is not important, because the declinative form expressed the situation already.)

Final result: "szeret/l/ek" : I love you.

It was because of these, mentioned qualities that Hungarian was recommended as an universal language by one of the world's greatest philologists, Jacob Ludwig Karl Grimm. (#26).

Studying our beginning chapters, the reader realized the linguistic - consequently cultural, social and political - isolation of the little Magyar "island" in the geographical heart of Europe, and also realized the distinctive character of the Hungarian language, which seems to be a readily understandable reason of this isolation from the surrounding Indo-European ocean.

The next logical step will be: looking for relatives in Eurasia, and finding those relatives, formulating a logical hypothesis, (or: introducing few hypotheses) about the possible placement of this unusual language, of this unusual nation in genealogical systems.

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#26: Jacob Ludwig Karl Grimm (1785-1863) was a German philologist, and was also the founder of comparative philology.

## III.

VARIOUS EARLY IDEAS ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE HUNGARIAN NATION.

The origin of the Hungarian language has been, and still is, a matter of great discussions between philologists, and between historians. They knew by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that Hungarian is not an Indo-European (Aryan) language, but beginning with this (negative) finding it was very hard to have a positive conclusion as a final solution.

Analyzing the earliest written history of the Magyars, studying the Chronicles, which began their narratives as far back as the ninth century, the reconstruction of Hungarian prehistory was still extremely hard. The wanderings of the Magyars before the Conquest of 895/96, seemed to be vanished in the fogginess of ancient history; the various legends caused more confusion than explanation. The analysis of the language did not seem to give too much aid, because it was quite clear in the beginning of the investigation, that the Hungarians were one of the interesting mixtures of the Great Medieval Migration.

In their circuitous wanderings the Magyars have picked up many foreign words emedded them in their own tongue. Thus it has been conjectured that the Magyar nomads must have come into contact with the Persians near the Caucasus region. From them they acquired such basic words as "vár" (fort), and "vásár" (market). In contacts with Turkic people, the Magyars picked up other words. When they turned from their earlier hunting and fishing stage to farming, they acquired special Turkic words connected with the tilling of the soil: "buza" (wheat), "árpa" (barley), "eke" (plow), "szőlő" (grape), and many others. (#27).

In a more sophisticated age, when they were in the Carpathian Basin already, the Magyars brushed against the Slavs, and learned from them many words relating to the Christian religion (#28), politics, law,

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#27: The Hungarians, of course, adopted additional Turkic words, when the Ottoman Empire conquered a large part of Hungary (1526-1686), but philologists were able separate these new adoptions from the vocabulary adopted from the pre-Muslim Turks in the migratory period already. (Inf.: Á. Vámbéry: A Magyarország Bölcsőjénél. Athanaeum, Budapest, 1944; H. Winler: Der Uralaltaische Sprachstamm. Berlin, F. Dummlers, 1939.)

#28: The pre-Christian religion was a form of Zoroastrianism. (A. B. Yolland: The History of Hungary. Turul Assoc. Budapest, 1928. p. 9). Baptism to Christianity was associated with the mission of German and Slav priests and monks in the tenth, and eleven centuries.

and crafts. (#29). There are a large number of Slavic words in the Hungarian language.

For many generations the country's official tongue was Latin, and the Hungarians also adopted many words of that tongue, especially words of religion and of education.

"The word of greeting to a friend even today is "szervusz" (in Hungary), the origin of which is of course the Latin 'servus' (servant). It is the simplified expression of the polite 'I am your servant'" (#30).

Tracing the acquisitions of the language into more modern times, we find that Hungarian has absorbed many terms of philosophy and psychology from German. (#31). Technical terms also have been taken or derived mostly from the German neighbors, located to the West from Hungary. (#32). Then in the course of time the Magyars were exposed to the Romance languages, French and Italian, referring to the arts, fashions, and above all abstract concepts. (#33).

Reading all these, we can realize that the most important alien contributions to Hungarian have been by the Slavic, German and Romance tongues. (#34). However, it seemed to be quite clear hundreds of years ago, that the language of the Magyars was not a branch of any of these large groups of the Indo-European family.

What has Hungarian given to other languages ?

Very little. The best known words of Magyar origin in the English language are: "kuszár", and "gulyás" - "goulash!" The English

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#29: The Hungarian "király" (Eng. king) came from the Slavic "kral", etc.

Some Pan-Slav nationalists in the early 20th century tried to prove that the Magyars were actually Slavs too. They were not successful.

#30: Mario Pei: The Story of Language. J.B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia & New York, 1965. Ch. Eight: "The Languages of Politeness and Insult." p. 84.

#31: We mentioned the influence on the language of the German neighborhood on our p. 3. #6. The use of German language was enforced on Hungarian officials especially, when Hungary became part of the Habsburg Empire, but most of the religious, and official words came to Hungary already in the age of the Holy Roman Empire.

#32: Since about the beginning of the 20th century, technical terms came from English.

#33: In the 15th century many of the educated Magyar noblemen were able to read the greatest authors of the Italian Renaissance in original Italian. In the 17th c., under the influence of Louis XIV, French became the language of the elegant palaces. Later it remained as the language of the "revolutionary spirit" until about 1867.

#34: We do not consider the Turkic languages as "alien", because the Magyar-Turkish relationship, discussed later in this essay.

term "coach" originated from the Hungarian "kocsi". (#35).

The earliest philologists investigated in the absolute darkness; some thought the Hungarians derived from Hebrew (#36), and many 19th century amateur "philologists" were speculating about a possible connection between the Magyar and Chinese tongue! Later, of course that type of speculation proved to be untenable, but it was also true, that those early, naive hypotheses already associated themselves with the right direction: the middle or the far East.

In the northeast Indian hillstation of Darjeeling within sight of the Himalayas' tallest peaks, a Hungarian explorer looking for the answers to these questions died in 1842, and there his grave still stands. His name was Alexander (Hung. Sándor) Körösi-Csoma (in some books: Csoma de Körös). His name still highly respected in the world of Science, especially in the world of Tibetan traditions. He was a scholarly explorer and a remarkable linguist who set out to seek the Magyars' ancient home, wherever the tracks might lead him. In the writings of Medieval Arab scholars (#37) he detected references to the esoteric Magyar race. His contorted tours of exploration led him first to the Arab lands of the Middle East, in search of authentic documents. Thence he penetrated into Central Asia, into the land of the steppes and of the valleys in front of the high mountains. The medieval Arab chroniclers spoke about the "Uigurs", a word that sounded like "Unger" - "Hongrie" - "Hungary", etc., and there he was looking for his kinsmen's forebears. Then he sought kinship in Dzungaria too. (#38).

#35: All the English dictionaries describing the "Goulash" as a stew made of beef or veal and vegetables, noting the Hung. origin of this word. In Hungary, the "gulyás" is not a stew, but a rich soup. According to Eng. dictionnaires, the word "hussar" is of Hungarian (or old Seebian, or Italian) origin. According to Hung. historians, the term "huszár" was associated with the light-armed cavalry headman, who commanded twenty horsemen. ("Husz": twenty.) Fajcssek-Szende: Miről Vallanak a Magyar Szavak? (Gondolat, Budapest, 1966. pp. 163-4, 188). All the English dictionnaires agree that the term "coach" (Fr. coche) was originated from the Hung. "kocsi", pertaining to a place "Kocs" in Hungary.

#36: He was Matthias Bél (1684-1749), a Lutheran preacher, who studied in the Univ. of Halle. (D. Kosáry: A History of Hungary, Franklin, Cleveland, 1941. p. 100).

#37: Ibn Rustah and Guardizi (Inf. Macartney: The Magyars in the 9th Century.)

#38: The remote land that lies northeast of Tibet's Lhasa.



He found many interesting things, exceptionally strange languages, but he did not find the original home of the Magyars. In his age, he was the most notable man in search of the Hungarian origin, and he was followed by others. (#39).

The difficulties which the explorers encountered were great. It is very well to look for the ancestral home of a settled people, who built towns and forts, and left their mark on their environment. But where is one to find the traces of nomads? Where is one to find the marks of the whirlwind of thousands of years ago? Archeological explorations did not aid historians before the 19th century. Where could the scholars find their clues?

There are the inevitable legends of course. (#40). Folklore speaks about Nimrod the giant, who had two sons, Hunor and Magor. The former was the ancestor of the Huns, and Magor was the progenitor of the Magyars. The first known Hungarian chronicler of the Magyar deeds, Anonymus (#41), derived the Magyar origin from the Magog of the Bible, the son of Japheth. (#42). Medieval writers, most of them were men of the Church, were inclined to attribute the ancestry of people to famous Biblical figures. What shall we think of such scholarship or of the legend of Nimrod? (#43).

From the previous chapters we were able to realize that the language of the Magyars is not an Indo-European language. Looking around in Europe, examining the languages of other peoples, it could be quite easily realized by linguists, that the Finns, the Lapps, the Estonians and the Turks are about in the same situation as the Magyars. The Finn, Lapp, Estonian languages of N. East Europe are not even

#39: Sándor Körösi-Csoma (1784-1842) wrote the first English-Tibetan grammar and dictionary. (Dictionary & Grammar of the Tibetan Language. British Mission Press, Calcutta, 1834). Tibetan lamas called him "Philingi Dasa": The foreigner student.)

#40: In 1235 four monks from the Hung. Dominican order (in the time of Béla IV, 1235-70) investigated the settlement of the "brothers" in Asia under the informative effects of those legends. One of them, Julianus, found Magyar villages in Asia. He brought the terrible news of Mongol invasion to Hungary. The Mongols swept over the steppes, destroying every footstep of previous migrations. (Inf. D. Kosáry: A History of Hungary, p. 31.)

#41: "Anonymus Belae Regis Gloriosissimi Notarius": "Gesta Hungarorum."

#42: Japheth was son of Noah. Arab traditions rank Japheth among the prophets. He was respected as progenitor of many Asiatic nationalities, esp. the Turks.

#43: Nimrod was the son of Cush. His grandfather was Ham. (Genesis, X. 8/10).

similar to the rest of the Scandinavian languages, and they do not show any similarity to the Slavonic languages. The Turkish language has little in common with the other languages of the Balkan peninsula. Of course this seems to be natural, because Turkey was only a late arrival in Europe, a strange guest, who did not seem to wish to return to her original home: Asia. But even in Asia; the Turks did not have any linguistic similarity with their Moslem collaborators the Arabs. The Arab language is one of the Semitic languages, and the Turkish language is very different from it.

The careful linguistic examination of the Finnish, Magyar, Turkish, etc. languages resulted in the thesis: these people have very similar grammar, sometimes even similar vocabularies. They are certainly not close "brothers", rather only some sort of "cousins". If a Finn, a Magyar and a Türk would sit around a table, they certainly could not understand each other. Only the careful analysis by the science of "comparative linguistics" will be able to produce the evidences of some relationship. These nations were the members of the same family, but as members of their family did not settle together as the members of the Indo-European family did in Europe. They all chose different ways, they chose different directions of national existence, or some unknown terrible historical storm pushed them in different directions, more than one thousand years ago.

Philologists, historians in the beginning of this century, called this mysterious language-family "Ural-Altai", associating them with the Ural and Altai mountains in Asia. Historical and linguistic investigations seemed to prove that around these mountains various, semi-barbarian peoples were using very similar grammatical forms, and often very similar vocabulary.

"The Ural-Altai tongues cover a sweep of territory even broader than the Semito-Hamitic. From Lapland, Finland and Estonia in Northern Europe, Hungary in the Danubian valley, and European Turkey in the Balkans, they skip over wide expanses of Indo-European territory to attain extensive continuity in their true homeland, the boundless plains of northern and central Asia. Eastern European Russia, Siberia, Turkestan, Turkey, Mongolia, Manchuria constitute the major portion of the gigantic playground of these languages... (#44).

Mario Pai, who wrote these, quoted sentences, is one of the well known linguists of our age. Most of the other linguists agree with him in these quoted statements. However, let us mention, that in the last two decades many other linguists have rejected the thesis of Ural-Altaiic unity and have preferred to classify these languages into two separate and unrelated families: the Uralic, or Finno-Ugric, including Finnish, Estonian, Lapp, Hungarian, and some of the Siberian languages, like Ostyak and Samoyed; and the Altaic family, including Turkish, the tongues of the various Tatars, Turkomans and Kirghiz, the Mongols, the Kalmuks, the Buryats, and finally the Manchus and Tungus of the Far East.

Speculating about the origin of the Magyars, this problem mentioned above becomes even more complicated when one realizes that the language of the Hungarians has elements both from the Finno-Ugric, and Altaic vocabulary and grammar.

Knowing that a migratory tribe-organization may have many intermarriages with other tribe elements, we may ask the question: were the prehistoric Magyars actually Finno-Ugrians, affected by wandering Turkish elements, or - the opposite, - they were simply one branch of the great Turko-Tatar migration, receiving some blood-(and linguistic-) transfusion from some northern, Ugric, tribe system ?

Before dealing with both of these, "Ugrian" and "Altaic" theories, first it will be sensible to introduce various ideas, propositions about a supposed, "unified", or "united" Ural-Altaiic language family. The careful analysis of some of the supposed "family trees" will may be qualify us to approach these problems:

a.) Were the Magyars actually Southern Ugrians, belonging to the "Uralic" - "Finno-Ugric" family, and later adopting some Turkish racial and linguistic elements ?

b.) Were they Turks ? Were they the mixture of both, but having basically larger "Altaic" factors and adopting later Ugric elements ?

c.) Should we reduce these questions to be a secondary problem, concentrating on other evidences in association with the most ancient Past ? Should we investigate of both the Uralic and Altaic origin (including the Magyar origin) somewhere in Mesopotamia, which was, in every probability, also the Biblical "Paradise"?

## IV.

VARIOUS IDEAS ABOUT THE URAL-ALTAIC "FAMILY - TREE"

Around 1900, historians, and philologists often used another term instead of "Ural-Altaiic." They used the term "Turanian." (#45).

The only difference between the "Ural-Altaiic" and "Turanian" theory was, that the "Turanian" speculation included the Japanese into the "family." It is true that the Japanese language shares many of the features (mentioned in Ch. II), notable the absence of gender and the system of postpositions to express case relations, but some of the modern linguists are sceptical and they have generally abandoned the supposed membership of the Japanese in this large family.

"The old belief that Japanese formed part of a vast 'Scythian' or 'Turanian' group, which also included the Ural-Altaiic languages is now generally abandoned. Hardly more plausible is the theory that Japanese was originally a Polynesian tongue, somehow related to the Malay in Indonesia, which has a similar system of sounds and syllabic structure." (#46).

Does Mario Pei, author of this quotation, represent a final decision in this problem? We hardly think so. Since the people of Japan shows much more racial and linguistic characteristics, which are similar to the Mongol and Tungusian (Ural-Altaiic stocks) than to the Indonesian-Malayan characteristics, it will be possible that comparative philology will find evidences in the future, which evidences will prove perhaps that the Japanese became a sort of mixture of Mongols and Indonesians. (#47).

#45: From the most recent references T. Baráth (A Magyar Népek Östörténete, Montreal, 1968) was still using the "Turanian" term. From our Bibliograph (pp. 187-194) references under nos. 6, 7, 30, 59, 67, 88, 96, 98 were using mostly the "Turanian" expression and not the "Ural-Altaiic" expression. The "Turan Lowland" is a flat area of C. Asia, close to the Aral-Lake Lowland, and around the Syr- and Amu-Darya rivers, including the Turgay river region. 19th C. historians suspected this area as the ancient home of the "Turanian" family, associating the "Turanians" with the "Scythians" who were already described by Hesychius, a Greek lexicographer in the 5th century A.D.

#46: Mario Pei: The Story of Language, p. 208.

#47: Even M. Pei admits that the morphology of Malay comes closer to that of Chinese than to that of Japanese, while vocabulary correspondences are conspicuous by their absence. The Japanese legend concerning the descent of the Japanese people from the sun-goddess Amaterasu is of as little help to the linguist and historian as the Chinese story to the effect that the Japanese are a cross between Chinese shipwrecked youths and maidens and a tribe of monkeys. (Inf. M. Pei: The Story of Language: "The Far Eastern Tongues.")

Medieval chroniclers generally believed ancient myths and legends and based their narratives, down to their own times, on those legends. The fact, that, following ancient legends, medieval historians associated the ancient Scythians with some hordes of horsemen, appeared in the centuries of the Great Migration (Huns, Avars, Magyars) was actually adopted by modern historians. They associated the Turanian idea with the hypothesis that those ancient Turanian peoples were identical with the Scythians, those nomadic and warlike horsemen of Asia, mentioned by ancient authors. (#48). The newest excavations, and historical investigations seem to prove that the Scythians were really some kind of forerunners of the Ural-Altai migrations.

From the many (basically quite similar) theories about the Ural-Altai "family-tree", let us choose now two typical, widely held theories.

The first one could be introduced by this quotation:

"We here adjoin the genealogy of the Hungarian language as given by Professor Simonyi, of Budapest, who is considered one of the greatest living authorities on the history and grammar of the Magyar language. He says that Hungarian together with Vogul and Ostiak (#49), Sirtyenian (#50), Votiak (#51), Lapp (#52), Finnish (#53),

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#48: Scythia was an ancient geographical and ethnographical region between the Carpathian Mountains and the Tanais (now the Don River), covering (according to Herodotos) a territory of about 400 sq.mi. The territory of the Scythians later comprised Sarmatia, and some of the Scythians and Sarmatians were pressed on into Asia as far south as India. The Juts and the Rajputs are probably the descendants of the Scythians, but, they may reappeared in Europe as "Turanians", or "Ural-Altai" peoples again.

#49: "The Voguls are primitive pagan cousins of the Magyars. They live a nomadic life of hunting and fishing through the sub-arctic wilderness of forest and stream to east and west of the Ural Mountains." (Watson Kirkconnell: The Magyar Muse. Kanadai Magyar Ujság Press, Winnipeg, 1933. p.221).

"East of the Urals, scattered across a vast West Siberian district from the basin of the Ob towards that of the Yenisei, live about 25,000 Ostiaks, a primitive nomadic race of fishers and hunters." (Ibid. p.217). "...the inhabitants of what the Russians called Yugria (Y-Ugria) seem to have been the Voguls and the Ostiaks." (C.A. Macartney: The Magyars in the Ninth Century. (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1930, p.164).

#50: Northwestern neighbours of the Voguls at the Arctic Sea. (Identical with the Hungarian expression: "Zürjén!")

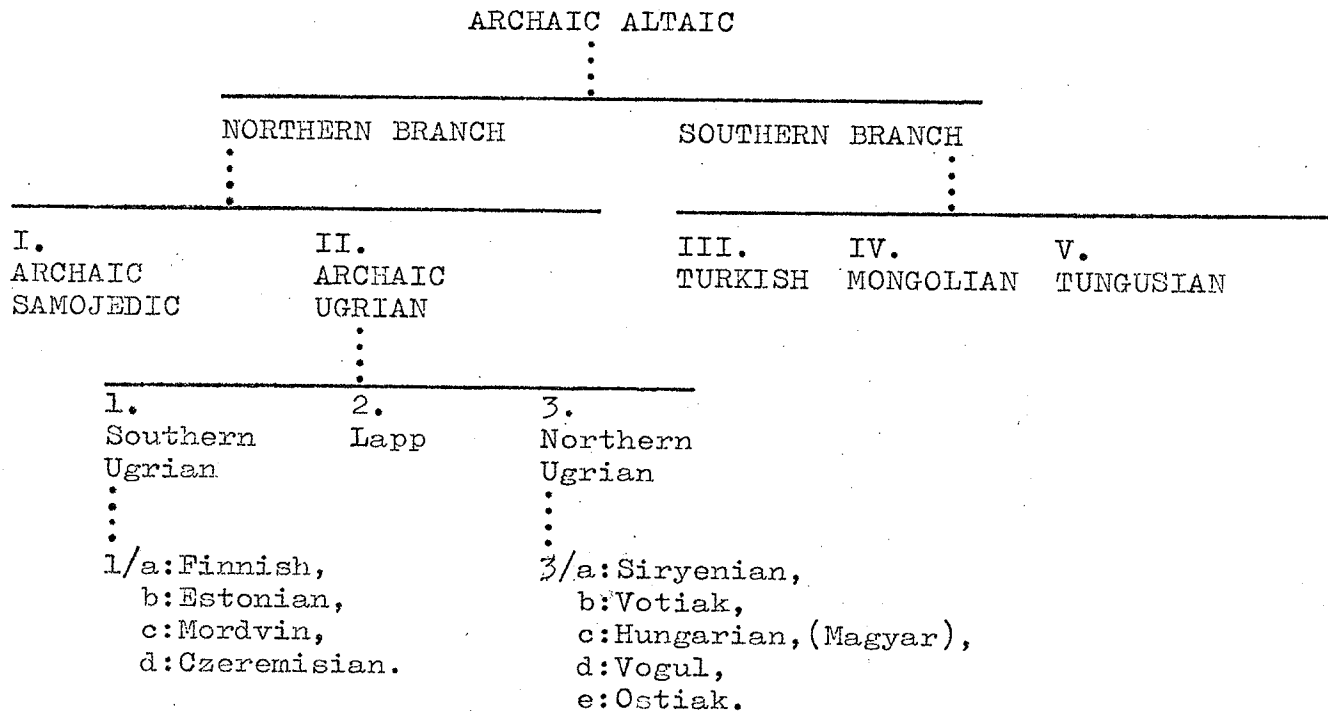
#51: Their present days-settlement is at the banks of the Kama River, west from the Ural, around the Russian city Berezniki.

#52: Lapland (Finn: Lappi) is a vast region of N. Europe, largely within the Arctic Circle. They are still nomadic. Some of them populated N. Sweden and Norway. Norwegians are usually calling them "Finns" by mistake.

#53: The Finnish language groups are detailed later in this chapter.

"Mordvin (#54), and Cseremiss (#55) form the "Ugrian" language group. This group is closely akin to four other groups, the Samojed (#56); the Turkish or Tartar; the Mongolian, and the Tungusian, or Manchu groups. (#57). These five large groups are called the Altaic languages and all derived from an original Altaic idiom." (#58).

Let us introduce the mutual relations described above in the following diagramm. (#59):



#54: The "Mordvinian Autonomous Soviet Republic" (Pop: 1,000,000) is at the banks of the Middle Volga. They were under Russification for many years and today only 35-40 % speak the original Mordvinian, the rest speak a Russo-Mordvinian mixture, or do not speak Mordvinian at all.

#55: The Cseremiss, or Cheremiss people is living in the so-called "Mari Autonomous Soviet Republic" of today. (Pop: 700,000). After many centuries of Russification, the original Cseremiss language is gradually dying out.

#56: Their neighbours are calling them "the Nentsy people!" They are living on Northern Siberia and the Tamyр peninsula.

#57: The Turkish, Mongolian and Tungusian peoples are detailed later in this chapter.

#58: Emil Reich: Hungarian Literature. London, Appleton & Co. 1898., p.7.

#59: Ibid. pp.7-8.

This diagramm represents the theory which is identical with our hypothesis/a in this essay. This theory is still the official theory in Hungary, declaring the definitely Finno-Ugrian origin of the Magyars. The main advocate of this theory was Balint Homan in the Interwar years. (Geschichte des Ungarischen Mittelalters. Eng: History of the Hungarian Medieval Ages., Verlag Walter de Gruyter & Co. Berlin. 1 Kapitel: Ursprung und Urheimat. Eng: Origin and Ancient Home. 1940.) We are going to spend an independent chapter to discuss the Finno-Ugrian idea.

Studying the diagramm, we have to realize, that according to the speculations of 1890 - 1910, the "family tree" was rather oversimplified. The "family" called " Archaic Altaic" which term will let us understand, that for Professor Simonyi and his fellow philologists, "Uralian group", or "Altaic group" was probably identical. Of course they realized some differences between the branches, which were nominated as "Uralic" and "Altaic" few decades later. Following the geographical settlements of their days (#60), they put the Samojeds and the Ugrians to the "Northern Branch", leaving the other, much more Oriental, groups in the "Southern Branch".

They did not care with the "Southern Branch" too much, because they concentrated to the "Archaic Ugrian" group. They were sure, that they were in the position to solve the problem of Magyar origin. Close relationship with the Samojeds was out from the alternatives, the 2nd group of the "Ugrians", the Lapps did not offer much opportunity for further investigation. So, it remained the relationship with the people of Suomi, or Finland.

In the early years of the twentieth century, when Bálint Homan was the most respected historian and Hungary, and when was the main advocate of the Finno-Ugric idea, it seemed to be almost sure for many historians, that the Magyars originated somewhere from northern Asia, they were actually one people with the Finns in prehistoric times. The Finnish people migrated to West, the Magyars left their closest relatives, the Voguls and the Ostiaks, and migrated to southwest. Nothing seemed to be more simple than this theory.

Since traditionalists are still the blind followers of this idea, other linguistic investigations made the problem more complex. It became clear that the Magyars did not adopt their many Turkish words during their 150 years of Turkish occupation. (#61). Those words were essential parts of the Magyar language certainly much before the Turkish conquest of 1526. As a matter of fact, old Magyar chronicles show that the Hungarian vocabulary probably contained more Turkic words than Finnish words around the time of the Conquest. (895-896).

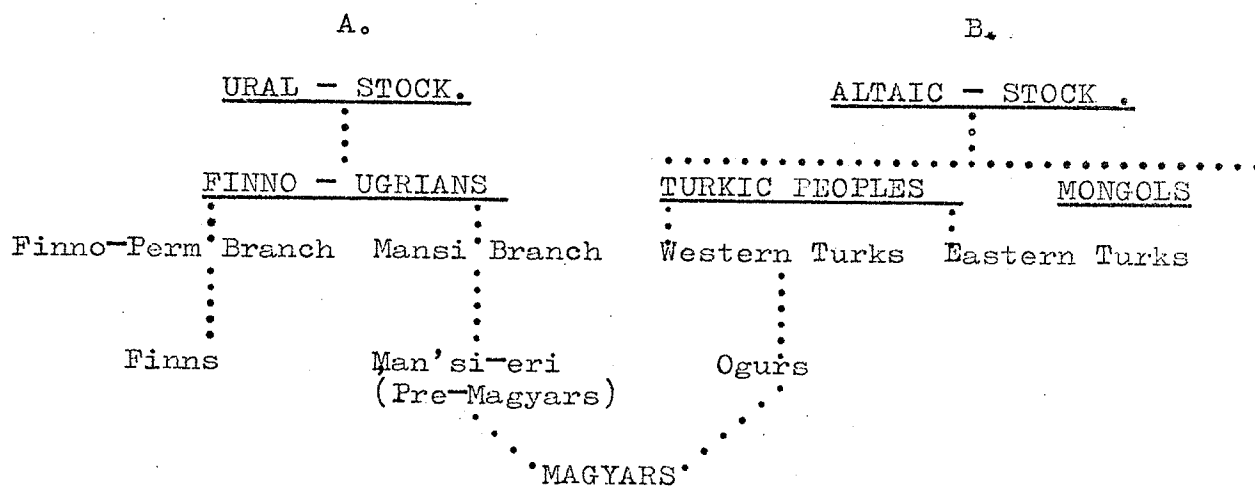
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#60: Some of the smaller Ural-Altaic peoples are still nomadic, but their settlement of today do not differ much from their location in the turn of the century.

#61: See #43 (on p. 11) again. It was true that between 1500 and 1700 the Hungarians adopted many Turkish words, especially agricultural and military terms, but modern philology is able to distinguish these words from those more ancient terms which were Turkish originated

Philologists are sometimes very conservative people. They do not like to change theories, which seemed to be so pleasant and comfortable in the first time, when they fit so well into previous presuppositions. They do not like to change respected ideas of respected scholars, whose great names represented the rubber stamp on their theories. However, following new realizations, it seemed to be that the time arrived for the revision of the "Archaic Altaic" idea.

Let us introduce here another diagram, which still represents the Finno-Ugric idea, but which based on more recent system of classification: (#62)



If we try to compare this diagram with the other one (in our p.19), we will certainly recognize many similarities. Finno-Ugrians, Turks and Mongols are still in one line, and they are on identical lines and relationships. The Magyars are still on the Finno-Ugrian side of the Ural-Altai scale. They are still rather "Finns" than "Turks". The diagram still ignores the details of the Turkish and Mongol branches, but concentrates slightly more on the Turks than the previous speculations. Here, we can find the main difference between the early Finno-Ugrian theory and the new Finno-Ugrian theory. The Turkish branch was now divided to Western and Eastern divisions. The reason of distinction was, that one subdivision of the Western Turks, the Ogurs seemed to be at least one of the forefathers of the Magyars.

#62: I found identical diagrams like this in Dominic G. Kosáry's "A History of Hungary". The Benjamin Franklin Bibliophile Society, Cleveland & New York, 1941. Ch. I: Origin and Settlement of the Magyars. p.8, and Imre Kovács: "Facts about Hungary". Hungarian Committee, New York, 1958, p.6.



The "Mansi Branch" is identical with the Northern Ugrian branch of the previous family tree. This theory (introduced in this second family tree) seems to refuse to accept the Magor-Magyar myth, or even the Magyeri-Magyar speculation. According to the historians in the interwar years, Magor (younger brother of Hunor) existed only in the fantasy of the medieval fable-tellers. They accepted the fact, that "Magyeri" was the most powerful and most respected tribe of the migratory Hungarians before their final unification, but, they felt, the actual name of the unified and settled people originated from the "Mansi" term (or: "Mansieri" term). Members of the most populous and most respected Magyeri tribe were actually the descendants of the North Ugrian "Mansieri".

This (second) theory has its final conclusion for us:

<u>Man'si - eri</u> (Pre-Magyars)		<u>Ogurs</u>
.		.
.		.
.	..... <u>MAGYARS</u> .....	.

Thus, this new, modernized theory seemed to solve the problem of the Finnish-Turkish-mixture of the Hungarian language. The Magyars were not simply Finno-Ugrians, but the national result of an intermarriage between the Ugrians and the Turkish-Ogurs. (#63).

"The Magyars may be traced to the intermingling of these two distinct races, and thus the Magyar language was enriched with Turkic elements while retaining its basically Finno-Ugric characteristics. The latter predominates in terms applying to family life, fishing, hunting, trading and the like; Turkic roots are found in words relating to animal husbandry, and to political and military organization...The merging of races that resulted in the Magyar people took place between the 1st and 5th centuries A.D. An Arabic writer notes that the Magyars had begun their southward migration from the Ural mountains before the end of the 5th century." (#64).

From the 5th century to the 8th century, this period represents still "prehistory" for the Magyars. During the 5th-8th centuries they lived north of the Caucasian-Caspian region, unquestionably east of the Sea of Azov, and under the influence of Turkic neighbors.

"It is difficult to determine their exact whereabouts during this period; being a nomadic people, they were constantly moving, often a part of empires founded by other Turkic

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#63: We have to be very careful with those phonetic Asiatic words. Ogur seems to be almost identical to Uigur (Ugor, Ugric, Ugrian), or M-Ogur, (Magyar). But the Ogurs were Turks, the Uigurs were not. Their tribe system was called "On Ogur" ("Ten Arrows") mentioned on p. 6.

#64: Dominic G. Kosáry: A History of Hungary, p. 8.

peoples under whose name they were known. Thus the Magyars were variously called Sabyrs, Turks, Onogurs, the latter supplying the stem for Hungarus, Hungarian, Hongrois, Ungar." (#65).

During their association with these great Turkish empires the migratory Magyar tribes patterned themselves almost exclusively after the Turkic model. They became a well-disciplined, warlike, conquering tribe-system. One of the quite well known Turkish empire of which the Magyars formed a part was the Khazarian Khaganate, with which they were connected about until the middle of the 9th century.

The second (modernized) theory has still many weaknesses. From the diagram (p.21) it is still not clear, that the "Ural Stock" and the "Altaic Stock" had ancient relationship, or not. It is clear now, and there are much evidence, which will be not discussed in this essay, that the "Finno-Ugrian" branch was not only a naive idea, but a fact; the ancient Finno-Ugrians were really a large ethnic group around the Urals, up to the Arctic, before the medieval migrations. It is also a proved fact now, that the Finno-Permian Branch (or Southern Ugrians) have differences from the Northern (or "Mansi") Branch. It is no question about it, that the peoples of this latter still exist around the Middle Volga, Kama, Bjelaja Rivers (#66), - until the endless pressure of Soviet Russification puts an "End" after their national histories. (Siryenian, Votiak, Vogul and Ostiak). Most of these peoples are able to let out their national life to one more century in the Arctic area; it is not so easy to approach, and to influence them. The Votiaks have less hope than their relatives. Living very close to the Soviet industrial centers at the banks of the Kama and in the western Ural, their national existence (together with their Finno-Permian cousins, the Mordvins and the Cheremisses) will end probably very soon.

It was still not sure after this second theory, whether the Magyars were simply the descendants of the "Mansieri", or the products of a "Mansieri" - Ogur intermarriage. They could be simply Ogurs, adopting some vocabulary from the intermingling Ugrians.

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#65: Dominic G. Kosáry: A History of Hungary. pp.8-9.

#66: B. Homan in his Geschichte des Ungarischen Mittelalters. puts the ancient home of the Magyars to the same geographical area. (p.3) (We are going to use quotation from this book, discussing the Finno-Ugrian problem in details in a coming special chapter.)

The other weakness of the second diagram is, that it does not deal in necessary details with the sub-branches of the Turkic peoples and the Mongols. In this condition, the diagram was not able to show historically well known peoples as Huns and Avars into any group, although it was unquestionable by contemporary philology and history, that the Huns and Avars were also members of this linguistic family. It was not very scholarly that the diagram did not connect them into any branch, putting them only to the corner of the diagram: "Huns, Avars, etc." (#67).

To find the right place for the Huns, or to declare an assumption at least which would reveal some sort of relationship, was very important, not only from the general reasons of historical science, but from the special reason of the Hungarian origin. After all, according to the myths and medieval chronicles, the Huns were the "older brothers" of the Magyars. Historians of the interwar years went too far in ignoring the significance of those ancient memories. To take old legends into serious consideration is always sensible, because the roots of such legends often rose from the soil of historical truth. The case of the Huns is only one of the examples. "Hunor was the older brother of Magor! The Magyar conquerors often called their country "Hunnia", and many of the peoples (including Magyars and Bulgars) were proud to feel themselves the descendants of the great Hun warriors. Medieval chroniclers of the Magyars took this Hun-Magyar relationship very seriously. German and Slav historians felt that stressing this Hun relationship, the Magyars were only trying to justify the conquest of the Carpathian Basin, which was the central administrative region of Attila's Empire. In the 20th century the Hun-Avar-Magyar relationship and continuity was widely recognized by historical

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#67: The belief that Huns and Hungarians are identical existed in the Medieval Ages in the West. Godfrey of Viterbo (1133-1198) noted: "Hungarorum regne duo esse legimus, unum antiquum apud Meotidas palus in finibus Asiae et Europae et alterum quasi novum a primo regno in Pannonia derivatur, quam Pannoniam nonnulli novam Ungariam vocant. Ungari etiam Huni sunt appellati." (C.A. Macartney: The Magyars in the Ninth Century, p. 156.) Vincent de Beauvais, a little later, wrote: "Hungaria duplex est secundum Orozium. Major quidem est in Ulteriore Syria (!) ultra meotides palus, a quo Hunni venationis gratia primitus exeuntes." (Ibid.)

((If the horrified western monks associated the Magyars with the similar looking Huns, was not a historical evidence. However Székelys (Hungarians in Transylvania) believe their Hun origin very seriously in their national traditions, and modern historical science is taking myths and old chronicles into much more serious consideration. than it did it previously.))

science, in spite of the fact that philologists still do not have examples of Hun or Avar vocabulary as evidence. Even so, in the present stage of historiography, the Hun-Magyar mythology and the texts of medieval Magyar chroniclers are justified in a large extent. Finding the place of the Huns and the Avars in the Ural, or Altaic family-tree could lead historians to the right trace, investigating the origin of the Hungarian people.

We may conclude the analysis of the second diagram, with a final comment, that the speculation from which this family-tree resulted proved to be very useful to have a quite clear picture on the Finno-Permian side, first of all. Now, we know, that the Finns have actually two main groups: the Baltic Finns (including Suomi itself and the Estonians), and the Volga Finns. The Permians represent another branch in the frame of the Finno-Permian group. All the other branches and sub-branches of the Ural and Altaic families cause major or minor problems for the philologists and historians, speculating about linguistic relationships, as there are too many unsolved questions.

Let us mention now some of the words which were borrowed by the migratory Magyars from the Uralic, or from the Altaic branches; for example the word "világ" (world) was borrowed from the Finnish "valkea", "fej" (head) came from the Uralic "pea" and "pai", "atya" and "anya" (father and mother) were terms (in the forms of "ata" and "ana") used by many of the Ural and Altaic tribes, and "lo" (horse) was a term which came from the Altaic Turkish peoples into the Hungarian. (The Turkic word was "lau", or "lu". (#68).

The "father" and "mother" terms ("ata", "ana") had a great importance in tribal circles of medieval Asia. The special respect of these terms were associated not only to the fathers and mothers of the families, but they represented much more. The chiefs, judges, high priests, elders were also regarded as the "fathers" of the clan and the tribe. The mothers were associated with Nature, with the native land itself, referring back to an ancient matriarchal society. (#69). It is very significant that Uralic and Altaic peoples, from Eastern Europe to the Pacific had similar terms for "father" and "mother!"

#68: Examples from Heinrich Winkler: Der Uralaltaische Sprachstamm. Das Finnische und das Japanische. F. Dummlers Verlagsbuchhandlung. Berlin. 1930.

#69: Hungarian historians suspect that the pre-Magyar Ugrians, before mingling with the Turks, existed in a matriarchal society.

The Hungarian "fej" (head) does not seem to be very similar to "paa", or "pai" used by other Uralic peoples. However, it will be necessary to realize that the "f" and "p" sounds often interchanging themselves in the Uralic languages, and it is possible, that "fej" sounded as "pei" from the mouth of the Ugrian pre-Magyar, or of the migratory Magyar warrior. This term meant (just like today) not only "head", as the top part of the human body, or the corresponding part of the animal's body, but the top part of anything, the head of a column of troops, the "head" of a tribe, or tribal organization.

What was important for a young horseman in medieval Asia? Being strong and independent enough to separate himself from his parents, his horse became the most important aid in hunting, adventuring, travelling, and fighting. He became stronger, wiser, he had to use his head well. If he originated from a well respected, powerful family, or clan of a chief, judge, he certainly hoped to be a head of a tribe, or clan, even of a tribe some day, leading his people on his white horse for great huntings, or for great victories, exploring new, wonderful areas. The title of the parents, - the world, - the horse, - the head... It seems especially significant, that these, mentioned, important words are so similar, in some cases even identical from the Baltic and from the Carpathians to Japan in the every day's use of many (supposedly Uralic or altaic) peoples. Probably it is a good evidence of the widespread Ural-Altai relationship too that if a Hungarian would travel as far as to the Ural region, to any parts of Siberia, or even to certain areas of Japan, and if he incidentally wishes to eat fish, it will be enough to name it in his own native language ("hal"), and the Finnish, Estonian, Turkish, Bashkir, Mongol, Tungusian and even some Japanese hosts would understand him right a way, bringing the fish-dinner with special kindness to his western relative. Probably neither the guest, nor the host would conclude the dinner with the speculation that "hal" as one of the common words represents the fact that the Uralic and Altaic peoples lived in a common ancient fatherland in prehistoric times, when their main occupation was fishing and hunting. Guest and host, they would be simply happy to understand each other a little bit better.

Since about 1940, further linguistic and historical investigations have given us more information about the Uralic and Altaic language families. We are able to divide the Samoid and Hapic languages into various dialects, and those dialects are usually associated with different geographical regions. We know much more about the Baltic Finns and the Volga Finns, and even their inner divisions. New investigations revealed the assumption that the Votiaks and the Siryenians (shown in the group of the Northern Ugrians in the first diagram on our p. 19) belong to the Permian group. Philologists in the last decades call the Voguls and the Ostiaks as "Ob Ugrians", symbolizing that these groups of Ugrians settled down in the Ob Valley, dissimilarly to other Ugrians who migrated away from the Ob region. We are able to list the members of the large Turkish family with much more elements than before, realizing that some of the subdivisions do not really exist any more. Some of them disappeared from the stage of history by bloody wars or by intermarriages. We can realize now, that on certain frontier territories the Ugrian and Turkish peoples, and the Turkish and Mongol peoples were intermingled, and this recognition will help us to understand, and investigate even closer the existence and history of peoples like the Huns, the Avars, the Magyars, the Bulgars, the Khazars, the Petchenegs, and other Ugric-Turkish-Mongol variations, which were simply called as "Tatars" or "Tartars" in old history-books by naive, semi-educated, or ignorant authors. By more philological and historical investigations the naively used term "Turco-Tatar" will gradually disappear from the pages of history-books, and this foggy term will be replaced with other terms which will hopefully identify the discussed tribal-systems, or nationality better.

We know more about the Mongol languages, and we are probably not far from the truth if we associate historical nations such as the Huns and Avars with both the Turkish and Mongol language branches. (Of course only the hoped finding of some Hun or Avar vocabulary will represent evidence about the right balance of the Mongol - Turkish origin.) Some assumptions, which require much more investigation, seem to indicate that the ancient Akkadians of Northern Babylonia may belong also to this great Eurasian family. Some

philologists (Gy. Györffy, Victor Padányi, Mario Pei, Varga, Heinrich Winkler, etc.) include not only the Japanese, but the Koreans in the Ural-Altai (Turanian) family-tree. (#70).

The Korean (Corean) language is not even similar to the Chinese, or to the Indonesian languages. Only one of the Indonesian languages shows some similarity and it is the Malayese. The Korean tongue also shows some relationship to the Japanese. They have a native alphabet of ten vowels and fourteen consonants, known as "Hunmoon", which is "probably one of the most perfect in the world." (#71).

How many individuals speak one of the Ural-Altai languages as their native tongue?

It seems that the Uralic and Altaic language families, which were in ancient times one of the most powerful, and one of the most populous family of the world, are gradually dying out. Mario Pei estimates that the "speakers" of the Uralic and Altaic peoples do not exceed sixty million. (#72). This number seems to be very low comparing to the 800 million Chinese or to the fact that the Indo-European language family has such members as 300 million English speaking people, 200 million Hindustani, or 150 million Russian, etc.

Those linguists who believe in Ural-Altai unity predicate their belief upon structural similarities. Those who disbelieve it point to the lack of vocabulary resemblances or phonetic correspondences between the two divisions.

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#70: Of course, many historians remained with the old tradition, which was satisfied to declare that the Akkadians were Semitic people. Let us mention here, that their script, which was Cuneiform, consisted partly of syllables (ab, ba, ga, etc.), and partly of Ideograms. The western historians realized that this type of writing was not typical for the Semites, but it was comfortable to say, that the Akkadians probably adopted their writing from their Sumerian neighbours. (Refs: Bobula: Origin of the Hung. Nation, Padányi: Dentumagyarja, T. Baráth: A Magyar Népek Östörténete.) Mario Pei (The Story of Language) declares the Etruscians as an unquestionably non Indo European race.

#71: M. Pei: The Story of Language. p. 384. (Note: Accepting the Japanese as not an Indonesian, but a Turanian language, the Korean should be placed also to the Turanian family-tree.)

#72: Ibid. (Ch: The Geography of Language) The possible addition with the Japanese and Korean makes the Turanian family a much larger system with about 180 million "speakers". Pei's term "speaker" means the people who are actually using Ural Altaic languages as their native tongues.

Generally speaking, all the Uralic and Altaic languages show a structure, which was already described, discussing the characteristics of the Hungarian language, as "agglutinative", postpositions appearing much more often than prepositions, vowel harmony appears as a general characteristics, and finally a general feature of the Uralic and Altaic tongues is the total absence of the concept of grammatical gender. Nouns are not divided into masculine, feminine and neuter, and consequently there is never any agreement for gender. This absence of grammatical gender is carried to the point where "he" "she" and "it" are expressed by the same word.

In the Hungarian language:

he: Ő

she: Ő, and

it: az

Having new informations about the subdivisions of the various Uralic and Altaic languages (# 73), we may summarize our knowledge and speculations about this language-family with the diagram (introduced below in a simplified form only):

ARCHAIC ALTAIC (?)

I. URALIC LANGUAGES.

- ∴ (Northern Branch)
- ∴ ∴ I/a: Finno-Ugric
- ∴ ∴ ∴ (Archaic Ugrian)
- ∴ ∴ I/b: Samoyed (Archaic Samoyed)

II. ALTAIC LANGUAGES.

- ∴ (Southern Branch)
- ∴ ∴ II/A: Turkic
- ∴ ∴ ∴ /B: Mongolian
- ∴ ∴ ∴ /C: Tungusian
- ∴ ∴ ∴ /D: Japanese (?)
- ∴ ∴ ∴ /E: Korean (?)
- ∴ ∴ ∴ /F: Akkadian (?)
- ∴ ∴ ∴ /G: Etruscian (?)

#73: My main sources for this and the following combinations were: (a) family-trees, introduced on p. 19 and p.21, (b) the Encyclopedia Britannica, whose classification was based on J. Deny: Languages turk, mongoles, tongous, 1952, and M. Räsänen: Materialien zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen, 1949. (Note: Looking the diagram above, we have to keep in our mind the fact that some of the linguists do not recognize the Uralic and the Altaic languages as members of one large linguistic family.) The classification of the Turkic languages (p.31) was based on Karl H. Menges: The Turkic Languages and Peoples. (Harrasowitz, Wiesbaden, 1968.) pp. 60-61.



The detailed divisions of the Uralic Branch:

I. THE URALIC LANGUAGES. (NORTHERN BRANCH).

I/A: FINNO-UGRIC (ARCHAIC UGRIAN)

- FINNIC (SOUTHERN UGRIAN)

- ...a) Baltic Finnic
  - ...Suomi (Finnish Proper)
  - ...Karelian
  - ...Olonecian
  - ...Ingrian
  - ...Lüdic
  - ...Votic
  - ...Vepsä
  - ...Estonian
  - ...Livian (Livonian)
- ...b) Lappic
  - ...Southwest...Scandinavian
  - ...South.....Lapps
  - ...East (Russian) Lapps
- ...c) Volga Finnic (Middle Volga)
  - ...Cheremiss (Mari)
  - ...Mordvinian (Erza & Moksha dialects)
- ...d) Permian
  - ...Votyak (Udmurt)
  - ...Zyrian (Komi, Syrian, Zürjän)

= UGRIC (N. Ugric)

- ...a) Ob Ugric
  - ...Vogul (Mansi)
  - ...Ostyak (Xanty)
- ...b) Magyar (Pre-Magyar ?)  
(Mansieri)

I/B: SAMOYED (Archaic Samoyed)

- NORTH SAMOYEDIC

- ...a) Yurak (Nenec)
- ...b) Tavgy (Nganasan)
- ...c) Yenisey Samoyed (Enec)

= SOUTH SAMOYEDIC

- ...a) Ostyak-Samoyed (Selkup)
- ...b) Sayan-Samoyed (Kamassin & other dialects, many of them Turkicized)

The Altaic group has much more subdivisions than the Uralic group. Especially the Turkic subdivision (classified as II/A on p.29) is complex because its various groupings.

## II/A. THE TURKIC LANGUAGES.

<u>A: CENTRAL- AND SOUTHWEST-ASIATIC (TÜRKÜT), LANGUAGES.</u>	<u>B: NORTHWEST (QYPCAQ) DIVISION.</u>	<u>C: OJROT (IN THE ALTAJ M.)</u>	<u>D: CENTRAL- SOUTH-SIBERIAN, (ABAQUAN- OR "XAQAS"- GROUP.) (VIII).</u>	<u>E: NORTH- EAST-, EAST-SIBERIAN (JAKUT)- GROUP. (X).</u>	<u>F: VOLGA- AND HUNNO-BULGARIAN- (ANCIENT NORTHWEST)- DIVISION.</u>
<u>I. Central Asiatic</u>	<u>III. Old-North-Western</u>	<u>VII. Ojrot (in the Altai Mts.)</u>			
..a. Orxon & Old Uighur	..a. Qumanian	and its dialects:	..a. Ser	a. Jakut	
..b. Uighur/Cagataj (transitional)	..b. Qypcag	Altaj-Kizi, Tälänät, Lebed, Qumandu, Tuba.	..b. Abaqan	b. Dolgans (Jakutized Samoeds).	<u>XI. Volga-Bulgarian</u>
..c. Cagataj	<u>IV. Pontocaspian</u>		<u>IX. Tuva Group.</u>		<u>XII. Modern Cuvash or Tavas (Intermediary between Proto-Turkic and Proto-Mongol) (Hun ?) (Avar ?) (Petcheneg?) (Xazar or Khazar ?)</u>
..d. Özbek	..a. Qarajim		..a. Karagas		
..e. New Ujgur	..b. Qaracaj		..b. Sojon		
..f. Qyrgiz	..c. Orim-Tatar (Crimea)				
<u>II. Southwest or Oguz group</u>	..d. Qumuk				
..a. Old-Anatolian & Old Osman	<u>V. Volga-Kama-West-Siberian</u>				
..b. Western-Osman	..a. Qazan Tatar (Tatar Proper)				
..c. Eastern-Türkmenian.	..b. West-Siberian				
	..c. Baraba				
	..d. Küärik				
	..e. Basqurt				
	<u>VI. Aralo-Caspian</u>				
	..a. Qazaq & Qaraqalpaq				
	..b. Qypcaq-Özbek				
	..c. Nogaj				
	..d. Qyrgyz				

One can make many comments explaining or criticizing this complicated Turkish family-tree. First of all, it is important to mention that almost all speculations about the Turkish family tree differs from the other one. Some of the sources put the Qyrgyz (Kyrkiz) to the Northwest Group as an independent subdivision, some of the sources put the Basqurt (Bashkirs) together with the Siberian Tatars. Some scholars put the Cuvash (Chuvash) people into the Southwest Group. (#74).

Trying to concentrate to the problem of the Magyar origin, we are interested only in some special parts of this family tree:

The Hungarians faced Seljuks and Osmanlis (both from the Southwest Group) (#75) in various battles, but only in much later periods of their national history. Let us call the reader's attention to the "Central Asiatic"-"Uighur" ("Ogur) Group. This group is identical with those migratory Turks in the 7th-8th centuries which supposedly intermingled with some Uralic pre-Magyars (North-Ugrians ? Mansiëri ?) according to the believers of the Finno-Ugrian theory.

We are also interested in the F/XI-XII Groups. Only the modern Cuvash (Chuvash) is a living language in this Group. The other languages (peoples) are Mongol-Turkish mixtures, thus (until further evidence) we can put Huns, Avars, Khazars, Petchenegs into this group. The Volga-Bulgarians (XI) were pure Turks, their importance (in our topic) is that they settled in the neighbourhood of "Magna Hungaria". (#76).

#74: The Bashkirs (3.5 million in the Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Soc. Republic) are living today on the area which was suspected by some historians as the ancient home of the Magyars. (Between the Kama River and the Ural Mountains.).

Note: The Turkic family tree is identical with the classification of Menges (The Turkic Languages and Peoples, pp. 60-61) who based his study on N.N. Poppe's Introduction to Altaic Linguistics. (Ural-Altische Bibliothek, Wiesbaden, 1965).

#75: The Seljuks (originally part of the II. Southwest, or Oguz) rose after 1037. In 1071 they defeated the Byzantines at Manzikert. They fought many wars against the Crusaders for Jerusalem. The Hungarians faced them in 1217 (5th Crusade). The Osmanli (Ottoman) Turks were the backbone of the Ottoman Empire, and were the fanatic advocates of the Moslem religion among other Turks, etc.

#76: The Huns (Hiung-Nu, or Hsiung-Nu by the Chinese) were originally pure Mongols. Under the pressure of the Zhu-Zhu Empire, they swept into Europe, intermingling with Turkish elements. In Europe they were Turkicized. The Avars were founders of the 1st Mongol Empire (407-553) under the name of Juan-Juan. They became later subjects of revolting Turkish groups, intermarriageing with them. In 560 they were Turco Mongol-mixtures in Europe.

The Mongol linguistic groups are constituting the following family-tree:

II/B: THE MONGOL LANGUAGES.

<u>LITERARY MONGOLIAN</u>	<u>WEST MONGOLIAN</u>	<u>NORTHERN MONGOLIAN</u>	<u>DIASPORA LANGUAGES</u>
or	⋮	⋮	⋮
<u>EAST MONGOLIAN</u>	⋮	⋮	⋮
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮
....a) Mongolian Proper (Xalxa)	....a) Kalmuck (Kalmyk, Kal'maq)	....Buryat	....a) Monguor
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮
....b) Ordos	....b) Oirat	⋮	....b) Tungshiang
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮
....c) Tsakhar	....c) Kobdo	⋮	....c) Dagur
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮
....d) Harachin	....d) Afghan Mongol	⋮	....d) Mogol

Historians identify Mongol Proper with the Mongols of the Medieval Age, who, under Dzingiz (Jengiz) Khan succeeded the foundation of an Eurasian Empire in the 13th century.

The "Diaspora" languages group may partially belong to the other Mongol groups, but linguists did not reach yet any certain position. As a fifth group, we may sort the historical Mongol-Turkish mixtures. (They could be, also, classified among the Turkish languages). The Hiung-Nu and the Juan-Juan were unquestionably Mongol peoples in their role of Chinese history. They appeared only in European history as "Turkicized" Huns and Avars.

Modern historians and philologists of Mongolia (and the West, and perhaps China) are able to sort certain main groups (introduced above) into subdivisions. We do not see any reason to deal with those subdivisions, since they have not connection with the topic of Magyar origin. When those historians and linguists will show some certainty in the classification of Huns and Avars, than perhaps the analysis of Magyar origin will receive a new, valuable element.

Finally, let us conclude our detailed classification of the Ural - Altaic language family with the introduction of

## II/c: THE TUNGUSIAN LANGUAGES (#770)

<u>α</u> NORTH TUNGUS	<u>β</u> SOUTH TUNGUS
...a) Northwestern T. or Evenki (Tungus Proper) (Yenisey-Sakhalin areas)	...a) Szürcen (Nü-chén) ...b) Manchu (mostly in Manchuria)
...b) Northeastern Tungus or Lamut (Northeast Siberia)	...c) Goldi (Nanay) ...d) Olcha ...e) Orok ...f) Udehe (Udekhe) ...g) Orochi

In the following chapters we are going to discuss Hypothesis/a (the theory of Finno-Ugrian origin) and Hypothesis/b (the theory of Turkish origin) in details. (#781).

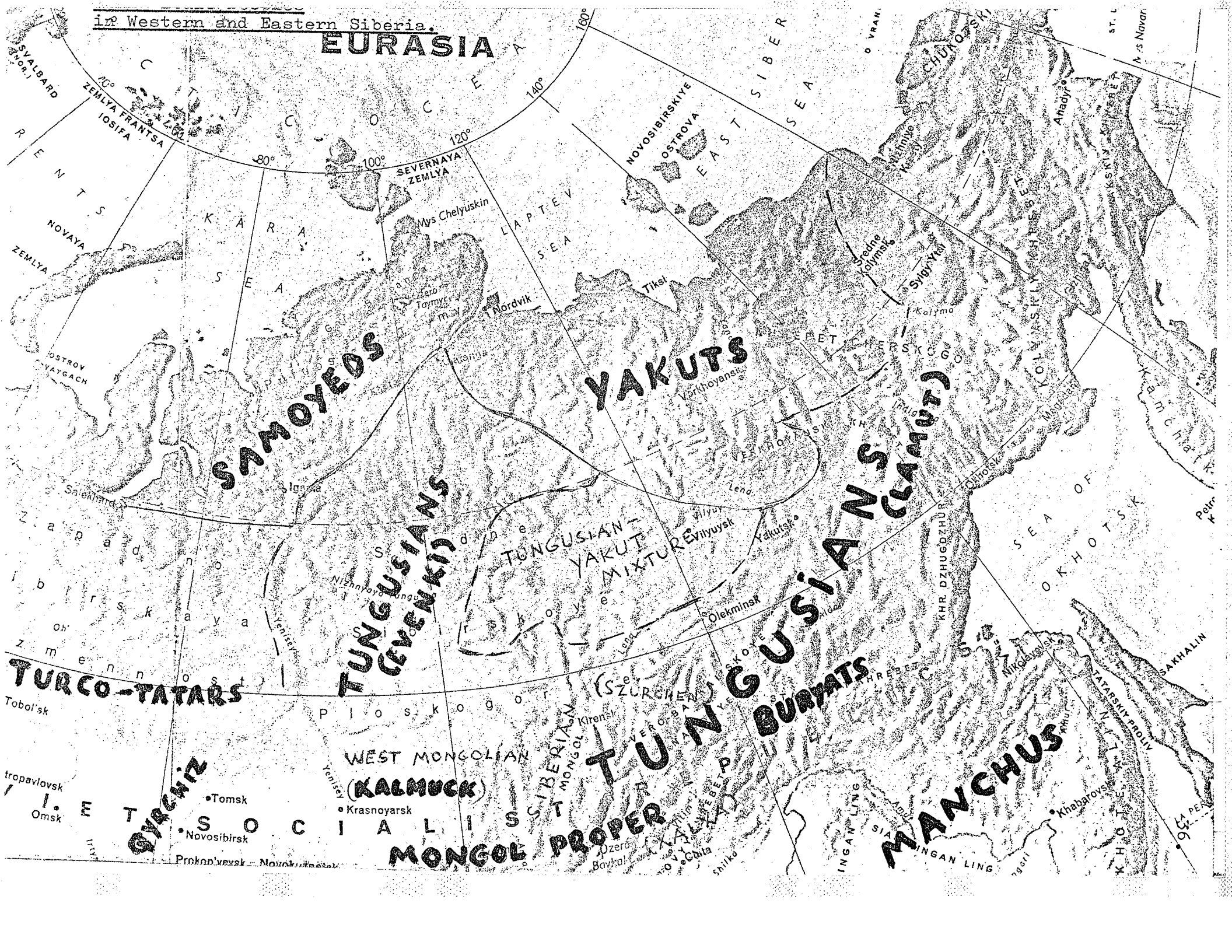
#770: The Tungus branch has a very minor importance in our basic topic. We introduced the Finno-Ugrian and Turkic branches with great details, because these two branches have important roles in any speculations about the Magyar origin. The Mongol branch has somehow lesser significance in association of the main topic. The diagram of the Tungus branch is included in this essay only for the sake of balance and completeness. The Tungusian race and language is dying out under Russian rule. Tungus Proper represents only 40,000 people today. We used basically the Encyclopedia Britannica for our Mongol and Tungusian classification. (Based on B. Collinder's Survey of the Uralic Languages, 1957, and Comparative Grammar of the Uralic Languages, and N.N. Poppe's Vergleichende Grammatic der altaischen Sprachen, 1960.)

#781: Before doing it, it will be advisable if the reader spends some time to observe the location of the various Ural-Altaic peoples in Eurasia of today. See MAP/I. and MAP/II on the following pages. (MAP/I: Ural-Altaic peoples in Europe and in Western Siberia. MAP/II: Ural-Altaic Peoples in Western and Eastern Siberia.)



in Western and Eastern Siberia.

# EURASIA



**SAMOYEDS**

**TUNGUSIANS  
CEVENKID**

**YAKUTS**

**TUNGUSIAN  
YAKUT  
MIXTURE**

**TURCO-TATARS**

**WEST MONGOLIAN  
(KALMUCK)**

**TUNGUSIAN  
BURYATS**

**MONGOL**

**PROPER  
KALMUCK**

**MANCHUS**

**BYRCHIZ**

**SOCIALIS**

**PROPER  
KALMUCK**

**INGAN LING**

99

THE FINNO-UGRIAN THEORY AND FINN-MAGYAR VOCABULARY.

Chapter III mentioned that the majority of historians believe that the pre-Magyars were a branch of the Finno-Ugrians (or Finno-Ugric) family. The "classical" advocate of this theory was the Jesuit John (János) Sajnovics in the eighteenth century.

Before dealing with Sajnovics and with his ideas, before mentioning Sajnovics' followers, we should mention, that he was really not the first one who suspected the Ugrian-Hungarian relationship. Chapter III mentioned the groups of theories and theorists, for example Julianus, the enthusiastic monk, who actually found the "brothers" of the Magyars in Asia (p.14, #40). It was interesting that Pather Julianus did not go to Asia Minor, to the land of the Mesopotamian Seljuks, or to the Caucasus region, following the contemporary ideas about the Turkish-Hunnic relations of the Magyars, the logical direction was rather east-southeast, and not north-east. (#179). However, Father Julianus, monk of Béla IV, had probably some information from sources which are not available today.

He found "Magna Hungaria" somewhere around the Ural Mountains, possibly in the fertile valley of the Ural river, which connects the high mountaneous area with the Caspian Sea. (#180).

"The 'Hungarians' received him with pleasure, conducted him 'per domos et villas eorum' and listened to all he had to say, 'quia omnino habent Ungaricum ydionia, et intelligebant sum, et ipse eos; These 'Hungarians' are described as savage pagans; 'sicut bestie vivunt; terras non colunt'; they had been attacked by the Mongols, but not conquered; they had, in fact, beaten them off in the first encounter, after which the two nations had joined hands, and 'together totally devastated fifteen kingdoms." (#181).

The year of this visit was 1235. Twelve years previously, in 1223, the Mongols (#182) under Khan Sabutai, invaded southern Russia

#179: Three years before him another monk visited the Caucasus. The recently found Codex of Kassa (Ch. "Exodus Fratrum") describes Otto, the Dominican's journey. His original task was to visit Syria, but he found Magyars at the river Kur, in the Caucasus. Mathias Pehér: Otto Pater Utia a Kaukázusi Magyarokhoz 1232-ben. (Fr. Otto's journey to the Caucasian Magyars in 1232; Hung. Hist. Review, Dec. 1969, pp. 48-57.)

#180: The "Finno-Ugrian" idea suggests that the Magyars moved southward from the Ural Mts in c. 830, following the river-valleys, and that found themselves in the stream of the Turkish westward migrations.

#181: C. A. Macartney: The Magyars in the Ninth Century, University Press, Cambridge, 1930, p. 159.

#182: In many sources: "the Tatars". This term suggests, that some divisions of Mongol Proper were already partially Turkicized.



from the Transcaucasian region, and completely defeated a coalition of Russian princes and Cuman leaders. (#83) at the Kalka River. After this victory, the Mongols returned to Asia, probably touching "Magna Hungaria", but without harming it, - as the priestly adventurer reported.

We could learn from the friar's diary, that he was invited to stay, but decided to return. He was old, and he did not wish to die before passing on his important information to the king. (#84). Unquestionably, the nervous hurry of the monk was associated not so much with his age, but with the excitement to report the existence of Magna Hungaria, and to report those Mongol hordes, which could return again, threatening the Christian nations of Europe. (#85).

Julianus returned to Hungary throughout the country of the Mordvinians. (#86). These were also pagans. They told to Julianus (#87), that their forefathers asked baptism from the Prince of Vladimir, but he had answered:

"..that is not my job, but the Pope's; for the time is near when we shall all have to adopt the Roman faith and become obedient to Rome. (#88).

Reading the monk's description, we have to ask the question: did he really find another, a more ancient Hungary ?

The answer is this: there was some possibility of the existence of a primitive, non-Christian, and perhaps not Turkicized, pre-Magyar system in the Urals in this early time. Some of the historians believe that this Magna Hungaria was nothing else but Bashkiria, and the language of conversation with Julianus was not Magyar, not even Ugrian, but old-Turkish. But, how was it possible that a Magyar

#83: See the II/A (Turkish) family-tree, NW group, a) subdiv., p. 31.

#84: When Julianus left Hungary, Andrew II (1205-35) was still the king. When he returned, Béla IV (1235-70) ruled the Hungarians.

#85: If Julianus had any suspicion about the Mongol reappearance, he was right. In 1237 they returned to European Russia, under Khan Batu. (The monk's journey described in details by Gy. Györffy (A Magyarok Mlődeiröl), by B. Homan (Geschichte des Ung. Mittelalters) and by László (Hunor és Magyar nyomában.), etc.

#86: See on p. 30, in the c) Volga Finnic group.

#87: Since the Mordvinians certainly did not speak Latin, the only way of communication was some sort of Ural-Altai dialect.

#88: The Mordvinians were referring to some ruler of the City of Vladimir (cap. of Suzdal), or perhaps to Vladimir the Saint, Prince of Kiev (978-1015), or to one of his descendants.

monk in the 13th century knew any dialect of Turkish ? (#89).

The returning Mongol hordes probably devastated Father Julianus' "Magna Hungaria" (#90), but the Magyars in the Carpathian Basin, recovering from the destruction in the following centuries, still believed about the existence of a legendary Great Hungary... Being surrounded by German, Slav and Turkish might in the 15th century, they were still dreaming about great, powerful Magyar relatives somewhere beyond the Russian steppes.

Towards the end of the 15th century, King Matthias Corvinus (#91) also heard, from travelling merchants, that far away in the east, there were some tribes related to the Hungarians. The great king intended to open communications with those tribes, but he died before effecting this purpose.

Two hundred years later, Martin Fogel, a learned physician in Hamburg, on reading the first Hungarian grammar, became convinced of the relations between Hungarian and Finnish, and wrote a book on the subject which served as a foundation for the theory of the philosopher-mathematician Leibniz, concerning the kinship of the Hungarians, Finns and Laplanders. (#92).

We know today about the linguistic ancestors of the Lapps, that they were probably the first to depart westward and northward from the Finno-Ugrian stock of the Ural Mountains. They were followed by the Finns, Estonians, Livs and Karelians later.

"These movements probably did not begin much before A.D. 500, when after the Hunnish incursions the Slavs began to press eastward and infiltrate the home of the Ugrian-speaking peoples. Some of the latter, the Cheremisses and Mordvins, are still there, living enclaves among Russians and Turkish speaking Tatars. (#93).

#89: The believers of the Turkish origin of the Magyars feel that Julianus' "Magyar dialect" was actually a sort of old Turkish, and he understood the Bashkirs easily, because these were another branch of the Turkish language family. (Vámbéry: A Magyarorság Bölcsőjénél.)

#90: Mongol armies under Khan Batu and Sabutai overran and conquered Southern and Central Russia (1237), and then invaded Poland and Hungary. (1241).

#91: Matthias Corvinus, "the Just" (1458-90) was the son of John Hunyady, hero of the Turkish wars. Matthias became the king of the "Hungarian Renaissance."

#92: See the Uralic Languages family-tree, p. 30.

#93: Carleton S. Coon: The Living Races of Man. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1965. "Ural-Altai Languages", p. 60. The Lapp relationship was also discussed in Homan's Geschichte des Ungar. Mittelalters, Cap. 1. "Ursprung und Urheimat." P. ajdu: Finn-Ugor Népek és Nyelvek, Gondolat, Budapest, 1962, and M/Zsirai: Finnugor Rokonságunk. Gond., Bp., 1937.

Although in most of the cases specialists of racial and of linguistic studies could agree about the identification, and classification of most of the Uralic and Altaic groups, the case of the Lapps still represents a problem, dividing anthropologists, and linguists. A number of specialists have tried to classify the Lapps racially, with conflicting results. The confusion has been caused by certain local peculiarities that did not fit into pre-conceived racial frameworks. As their language and probable ethnic origin would suggest, they resemble the Ugrian-speaking Uralic peoples in stature, facial form, hair texture, beard growth, and general pigmentation.

"But the Lapps differ notably from the Ostyaks in the form of the head; their cranial vaults are long, wide and low-vaulted, whereas the Ostyaks have narrower and higher heads." (#94).

The Lapps were perhaps descendants of ordinary Uralic people mixed with Teutonic Norwegians, and possibly earlier inhabitants of the Far North, and they were strongly influenced by their Arctic environment.

John Sajnovics, the Hungarian Jesuit (mentioned already in this Chapter), inherited the Lapp theories from Martin Fogel and Leibniz. He was actually an astronomer. In 1769 he went to the north of Europe to observe the transit of the planet Venus. At Vardö, on the extreme north coast of Norway, he saw a great deal of Lapplanders, and it struck him how very similar their language was to his own. That discovery outweighed in importance all his astronomical investigations and he published a book maintaining the common origin of the two languages.

"...The work proved the origin of the Hungarian language, for it was well known that the Lapp idiom was akin to the Finnish, and to that of several of the small tribes living in the northern parts of Russia." (#95).

#94: Carleton S. Coon: The Living Races of Man, pp. 69-70.

#95: Quotation from Emil Reich's Hungarian Literature, p. 8. Sajnovics's original title was: "Demonstratio Idioma Ungarorum et Lapporum." and it was discussed with most details by Gombocz' A Magyar Ősnyelvezés és a Nemzeti Hagyomány (Akadémia, Budapest, 1917-27), B. Homan's Geschichte des Ungarischen Mittelalters, V. Padányi's Dentumacvaria, and M. Zsirai: A Finnugorság Esmertetése, Gondolat, Budapest, 1963.

After Sajnovics' work appeared, the Finno-Ugrian relationship became gradually a tradition among most of the historians. To call pre-Magyars as "Ugrians", who came from "Ugria", or "Yugria" in prehistoric times, was a custom. This belief became even stronger, when the careful examination of old Russian chronicles seemed to prove this theory.

These chronicles speak of an ancient "Ugra" type. Some chroniclers distinguished the "Black Ugri" from the "White Ugri". Nestor, a learned monk of the Monastery of the Caves called the Magyars "Black Ugri", and the Khazars as "White Ugri" in the 11th century. (#96).

It was a historical fact that the Khazarian Khaganate decided to protect the wandering Magyars in the 9th century. The "Hetumoger" (Seven Magyar Tribes) became subject people of the Khazars, who constituted a powerful kingdom north of the Caspian and Black Sea area. The job of the Magyars (under their chieftain, Álmos) was: to overrule Kiev and force some permanent tribute from the Kievans. As a reaction to this, the people of Kiev called Rorik (Riurik) the Viking and his "Varangians" to rule Kiev and protect it from the Khazars and from the Magyars. The plan worked out very well. The Khaganate gave up its previous practice, and around 889, the Magyars left Kiev. Nestor, the chronicler wrote:

"The Ugri crossed the chain of Mountains still called the Mountains of Ugri..." (#97).

The fact that the Russians often called the Voguls and Ostyaks as "Yugrians" fits to the theory of "Black Ugrians" well. Identifying the Khazars as "White Ugri" seems, however, to be more than doubtful, in view of the fact that they were almost certainly not Ugrians, but Turks.

The conclusion of the "Finno-Ugrian" believers was, that in the distant past the Finns and the Magyars may have been tied together in blood-brotherhood, nomads in search of food, probably also hunters and fishermen. In the course of history they were flung apart. The Finns were tossed into NW. Europe. Arriving, there

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#96: Nestor, as the chief contributor to the first Russian history, wrote the Povest' vremennykh let (Annals) based on earlier records of Kievan and Novgorodian monks.

#97: D.N. Dunlop: The History of the Jewish Khazars. Princeton, 1954. pp. 196-7, and from C.A. Macartney: The Magyars in the 9th Century. p. 76.

they fell under the influence of the adjacent Scandinavian cultures. The Magyars, on the other hand, made their way into the mid-Danubian basin, intermarriageing with various Turkish tribes on their way, adopting customs and some vocabulary, but preserving their Ugrian dialect as their main language.

Professor Simonyi (mentioned by Emil Reich, pp.18-19) was really one of the greatest authorities on the history and grammar of the Magyar language, and also one of the advocates of the Finn-Magyar relationship in the late 19th century. In the interwar years Bálint Homan (#198) became the most respected leader of the Hungarian "Finno-Ugrians". He felt that the only way to investigate the origin of the Magyars is the use of Philology. He declared that the structure and grammar of the Hungarian language represents the main evidence that the Hungarians belong to the Ural-Altai family, and they belong to the Finno-Ugrian group of this family:

"Die erste and wichtigste Frage der Urgeschichte is die Frage des Ursprungs. Wir müssen das Verhältnis des magyarischen Volkes zu den übrigen Völkern kennen und seine Stellung in der grossen Völkerfamilie der Welt bestimmen. Unser Wegweiser ist hierbei die Feststellung der metodischen Sprachwissenschaft vom finno-ungarischen Ursprung der magyarischen Sprache und ihnen ogur-türkischen Beziehungen. Die urstruktur der magyarischen Sprache und die Grundsicht ihres Wortschatzes ist finno-ugrisch. Die ältesten Lehnwörter aus dem Begriffsbereich der Kultur sind ogur-türkischen Ursprungs. Wir müssen also die Vorfahren des Volkes unter den ural-altaischen Völkern suchen." (#199).

As we see, Homan, associating himself with the contemporary standing of linguistic science, declared that the most ancient vocabulary of the Magyars were rather Ugrian, but the vocabulary which expresses a later culture is rather Turkish, which fact seems to prove that the basically Ugrian pre-Magyars adopted the Ogur-Türkisch influence (#100) later, in the course of their wandering.

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#198: He was respected as one of the greatest Hungarian historian since Henrik Marczali, the father of Hungarian historical writing. He was also the minister of education in the interwar years in many Hungarian governments. Under his ministership popular education was widely extended.

#199: Balint Homan: Geschichte des Ungarischen Mittelalters. Verlag Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin, 1940. Kapitel 1: "Ursprung und Urheimat"; Ch.1: "Das Finno-Ugrische Urfolk", p.2.

#100: See the Ogurs (Uigurs) on the family-tee combinations p.21,22, and p.31.

Homan declared that the pre-Magyars were separated from their Finn brothers about in the time of birth of Jesus Christ, but they were still connected socially and culturally (but not politically anymore) with the Voguls, Ostiaks, even with the Cheremisses and Mordvinians in some extent.

The pre-Magyars belonged to the eastern branch of the Ugrians, and - according to Homan - even the name of their most powerful Magyeri-tribe was originated from the fact that the Ugrians (which was the "Mansi Branch" of the Finno-Ugrians) were gradually divided to Ob-Ugrians (the Voguls and Ostiaks) and to the "Mansieri" subdivision. (#101);

"Von dem östlichen Zweig, von dem in der Wissenschaft gewöhnlich als ugrisch bezeichneten, sich selbst aber mänsi (mögyi - mägy) nennenden Urvolk spalteten sich die Wogulen und Ostjaken ab, die aus der Gegend der Tschussowaja, der Kama und Bjelaja, ihrer ugrischen Urheimat, schon in historischer Zeit nach dem Nordosten zogen und im 13.-14. Jahrhundert das nördliche Uralgebirge überquerten und an dessen östliche Abhänge und die Gegend des Ob-Flusses gelangten. Aus demselben Stamme wie diese ob-ugrischen Völker entstammt - wie die Sprache einwandfrei bezeugt - jenes Volk, von dem die Magyaren ihre Sprache geerbt haben, und das wir zum Unterschied von dem später entstandenen historischen magyarischen Volk als prämagyarisches oder mägyi-Volk bezeichnen wollen." (#102).

Under the influence of Homan (#103) Hungarian students of high schools and universities were instructed that the ancient Fatherland was the region of the Oka, Kama and Bjelaja Rivers. The pre-Magyars separated themselves from their northern neighbours before the end of the 5th century, from a cause, which is still unknown, and moved southward, leaving the steppe region, and approaching the fertile region north of the Caspian Sea, probably in the area between the Volga and Ural deltas. (#104). The

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#101: See speculations on the pp. 21-22.

#102: B. Homan: Geschichte des Ungarischen Mittelalters, p. 3.

#103: It was true that the respect and influence of Homan was largely connected with the fact that he was the minister of education for many years, and his historical hypotheses had to be respected as unwritten laws for historians.

#104: We may assume that the pre-Magyars adopted the practice of animal-breeding, as a pre-type of occupation. The steppe could not offer enough food and water for the growing herds of horses and oxen, thus the pre-Magyars were forced to leave the Ural slopes and move closer to the fertile Caspian area.

Northcaucasian region and the Northcaspiian area were the territories subjected to the powerful Khazarian Khaganate, and these areas were also called as the "Road of (migratory) Nations." Of course, those migratory peoples were not yet in the state of nationhood, but quite close to it, since the chieftain of their most powerful tribe exercised growing influence above the subjected tribes, the tribe organization as a whole contained linguistically and racially related elements, and most of the tribes associated their cattle-breeding with a sort of primitive agriculture in times of temporary settlement.

Their settlements were disturbed, and their rest was changed to restless nomadic life again and again. The reason was in most of the cases not the (often mentioned) "nomadic blood", and "nomadic sentiment", hungry for adventurous life. The tribes on the "Road of Nations" moved gradually westward, pushed by their (stronger) eastern tribal relatives, other nomad systems. Pushed from the east, they also pressed their immediate western neighbours, step, after step, to the Carpathians.

Regardless to the fact that Bálint Hóman, chief advocate of the Finno-Ugrian origin of the Magyars, used not only academic arguments, but the authority of his personal political position as a Minister of Culture in a semi-Fascist government of Interwar Hungary, to silence criticism, (#105) - unquestionably, hundreds of words seem to prove the Finno-Magyar relationship. Let us introduce some of the examples, seeing and comparing the names of parts of the human body, first of all:

The Magyar term "szem" (Eng. eye) similar to the Finnish "silma" and even more similar to the Ostyak "sem". The Magyar "mell" (breast) corresponds with the Finn "majl". The word "száj" (mouth) has some similarity with the Finno-Ugrian "suu" and "su". The term "nyelv" (tongue) is almost identical with the Finn "nelv". The Magyar "vér" (blood) appears in the Finnish as "vere" and in the Ostiak as "ver". The Magyar word "kéz" (hand) is similar to the Finnish "kəsi", and "fej" (head) is related with "paa" and "pai" of the Uralic (Finnic) languages.

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#105: V. Padányi (Dantumagyarica, Parts II and III), T. Baráth (A Magyar Népek Östörténete, pp. 18-25), I. Bobula (Origin of the Hung. Nation), accused Hóman, that he, under German influence, and being a Schwa-  
bian himself, tried to serve the "Aryan superiority" with his activity, ignoring the possibility of the Turkish-Oriental origin.

It seems that forefathers of the Hungarians and the ancient Ugrians used the same names for the various parts of the body. (#106).

Let us see other words, connected with early primitive life in the ancient forests of the Ural Mountains:

<u>ENGLISH</u>	<u>MAGYAR</u>	<u>FINN</u>	<u>VOGUL</u>	<u>OSTIAK</u>	Other <u>F.U.</u>
tree	fa	puu	pu	pu	pu(Cherem)
winter	tél	talvi	tal	tal	
snow	ho	kou ,hawa	hawa	hawa	
spring	tavas	tovi	tovi	tovi	
trouble	baj	baji, buju			
feather	toll	togol	taul	togol	tolke(Lapp)
fisch	hal	hal, kala	kul	chul	kal(Mordv)
feuer	tüz	tuji,tule	taut	tuget	til(Votj.)
stone	kő	ku, pu	ku	chus,kos	kizili "
ice	jég	jää	jan	jink	jägne(Lapp)
walking	gyalog	jalka	jal	jal	
arrow	nyil	nuole	njal	njol	
star	csillag	selkaa			calget(Lan)

Unquestionably, there is a considerable difference in some cases between the Magyar and the Finn terms. The explanation of the believers of the "Finn-Ugor-origin" is this: (a) the Finns (Ugors) and the pre-Magyars constituted one people more than two thousand years ago. The words, what we able to compare today, are the words of the modern Finn and modern Magyar language, which languages are quite different from the ancient Ugric and pre-Magyar languages. (b) The Finn language was under Scandinavian, the language of the migratory Magyars was under Turkish influence for many hundred years. These influences considerably affected the spelling of various terms in both cases. (c) The linguistic reform of Hungary (under the effect of the Enlightenment and and later of cultural Nationalism) created a system of spelling which was very different from the old Hungarian tongue. For example the double letters ( tavaSZ, GYalog, NYil, CSillag, etc.) were relatively new creations in the Hungarian language. (d) Some differences between Finn and Magyar word-examples, introduced above, could be explained with the fact, that in Hungary, already in the Medieval Ages, there was a transformation from the sound "p" to the sound "f", from the sound "k" to "h", from "j" to "gy", and from the ancient "o", "a", "u" sounds to the Turkish "ö" and "ü" sounds. Keeping this interacting factors in mind, the Finn-Magyar comparative vocabulary-examples will seem much more similar.

#106: These (and the following) examples were selected by the author of this essay from Heinrich Winkler's Der Uralaltaische Sprachstamm (F. Dumm-lers, Berlin, 1939).



Three of the Hungarian colour-names seem to have Finn-Ugric

origin:	<u>ENGLISH</u>	<u>MAGYAR</u>	<u>FINN</u>	<u>VOGUL</u>	<u>OSTIAK</u>
	gray	szürke	šor	sor	sor
	yellow	sárga	sarig		
	blue	kék	kok		
	black	fekete	pek (fek)		

Some of the interesting word-similarities seem to prove not only Ugrian-preMagyar relationship, but the assumption, that ancient Ugrians and the forfathers of the Magyars reached a culture in their ancient Fatherland, which was considerably above the primitive fishing and hunting period:

<u>ENGLISH</u>	<u>MAGYAR</u>	<u>FINN</u>	<u>VOGUL</u>	<u>OSTIAK</u>	<u>OTHER F.U.</u>
to spinn	fonni	punoa	pona	puna	
picture	kép	kep	kep	kep	
butter	vaj	voj			
cow	ökör	ukur			
sad	szomorú	sumur			tummu(Ch)
thief	tolváj	talei	talei	tolmach	

At this point we would like to mention few semantiv problems, and explanations which are closely connected with the introduced Finno-Magyar comparative vocabulary.

Let us take, for example the Hungarian word "ember". This word is identical with the English word "human", or "man", but it was not always so. "Ember", as an ancient Ugrian word, was actually the unified form of two words:

"em" (Eng:woman) and "ber" (Eng: man, male).

The word "ember" had some type of neutral meaning, representing both, or any of the sexes, but the peculiar origin of this term seems to represent a linguistic aid to the historical hypothesis that the ancient Ugrians were living in matriarchal societies in prehistoric times, and in the period when the term "ember" was born, the Ugrian woman still enjoyed at least equal status in the Ugrian clans.

The word, or meaning of "female" also appears in another form. for example the Voguls call their females "né" or "ni", the Ostiaks are using the word "neng". In Hungarian the term received a semantic change. One form is FehérNÉ (Eng:Mrs Fehér), another form is "néni" (meaning:"aunt").

We mentioned, that the word "apa", (or:"atya"; meaning "father") has a common "ata" form, used by many of the Ural- Altaic peoples.(p.25). However, the Voguls have a semantic variation here. They are using

the form "aplje" for "father", and they are using the very same term for their holy animal, the bear. The term "aplje" must have a special respectful meaning in Vogul families, because it is used mostly for "very old fathers", or grandfathers, whose respect is similar to the respect expressed toward the holy bears. Another peculiarity is, that the Finn term is "atti", consequently the Magyar "atya" variation has rather a Southern Ugric (Finnic), the "apa" variation has rather a Northern Ugric origin.

The Finnish term "Van" (Engl: "ten") is not similar to the Magyar term, which is "tiz". However, the linguistic relationship appears in a semantic variation, this way:

- 40.....NegyVEN ("négy": "four" ...plus "ven": "ten")
- 50.....ÖtVEN ("öt": "five" ...plus "ven": "ten")
- 60.....HatVAN ("hat": "six" ...plus "ven": "ten"), etc.

The majority of the historians and linguists of Hungary still believe that the Magyars are a nation of basically Finnish origin. The name and works of Bálint Homan lost its original respect, but it was hard to find enough counterevidences which could counterbalance his Finno-Ugric arguments. German, French, and English philology examined and accepted the Finno-Ugric theory too, and only since the 1950-'s appeared more and more scholarly speculation, which speculates about the new Asiatic archeological findings with the feeling that the Finno-Ugric theory was not necessarily right, (or it was not right in its oversimplified version introduced and dogmatized in the interwar years). Was the "Turkish character" of the migratory Magyars simply connected with the assumption that this "Ugrians" were "Turkicized" on the "Road of Nations" ? Could not we assume the possibility that a basically Turkish tribe organization, or some tribes of it, adopted Ugric terms by tribal intermarriages ? Should not we suppose that further evolution of comparative philology, further findings of archeology, further evidences of historical investigation will justify the believers of the Turkish-origin, or even the believers of the Sumerian origin in the future ?

In our coming chapters we try to approach these other possibilities.

## VI.

THE TURKISH THEORY AND THE TURKISH-MAGYAR COMMON VOCABULARY.

In preliminary organization of the material of this essay the logically "right" order of presentation represented a considerable problem. Histories of Hungary, approaches about the possibilities of Hungarian origin, especially before 1945, used a system according which they discussed the possibility of Turkish origin first, and secondly (and also as a "final" conclusion) they turned to the believed truth: the pre-Magyars were not Turks at all, they were Ugrians. The reasons of this system were that (a) the theory of the Turkish-origin was an "older" belief, and (b) the "Finno-Ugrian" believers belonged mostly to the youngest scholarly generation in the interwar years and the newest speculations about language families seemed to give them full support.

After some hesitation, I decided to reverse this traditional order also from two basic reasons: (a) the Finno-Ugrian theory represents not a "new theory" anymore. It is one of the "old theories" in the second half of the twentieth century. (b) Since I am dealing with the Finnish - Turkish - and Sumerian theories in this essay, I found it logical to put the Turkish theory between the Finnish and Sumerian, because geographically and ethnographically the Turks are located between those nordic and southern peoples which are represented with the terms "Finnic" and "Sumerian". Thus, turning from the traditions of the "Finno-Ugrian" group away, I discussed rather the possibility of the Finno-Ugrian-origin first, and now I am going to continue the discussion with the possibility of Turkish-origin, as my "Hypothesis/b".

Using the word "Turks", or "Turkish", we should mean of course not only the people, or language of Turkey, but all the (partly pre-historic, partly historic, and partly still existing) peoples, introduced on p. 31 (diagram) and on the maps of pp. 35-36. We can find Turkish-speaking peoples in Turkey, USSR, Chinese Turkistan, and in East Iran. Their total number is close to 40 million today, and they distributed from the Dardanelles to Eastern Siberia. Their only ties are linguistic and religious (Islam). (#107).

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#107: It is extremely hard to estimate the actual number of the Turkish speaking peoples of today from two main reasons: (a) In Asia many peoples are speaking the mixture of Turkish and Mongol, and (b): in Turkey itself an uncertain part of the population (more than 31 million in 1965) are not Turks but semi-Turkicized Greeks, Arabs, etc. speaking a mixture of Turkish with their native language.

The original Turks probably lived in Southern Siberia and in Turkistan. Historians are calling them as "Turkish peoples", as "Ancient-" or "Prehistoric-Turks", or even as "Pre-Turks". From their ancient fatherland they gradually expanded to the south and west in the early Medieval Ages, establishing several empires and smaller kingdoms in Asia. On the pages of history the Seljuks (victors of Manzikert, later heroic defendants of Jerusalem against the Crusaders), and the Osmanlis, (named after Osman I., founder of the Ottoman Empire) appeared with association of militarism and religious fanaticism. Most of the population of modern Turkey is of Osmani by origin, according to the philological classifications of Mario Pei, S.I. Hayakawa, and other linguists.

In Hungary Ármin (Arminius) Vámbéry, historian, philologist, and famous Oriental traveller was the champion of the "Turkish" advocates. (#108). At the end of the nineteenth century the believers of Turkish origin represented gradually less and less respect at the front of the growing "Finno-Lappish" group, whose leader was Professor Hunfalvy of this time, a respected and aggressive follower of Father Sajnovics, and Prof. Simonyi, (mentioned in the previous chapter). Vámbéry and his followers represented only a minority among the growing number of Finno-Ugric enthusiasts in the beginning of the twentieth century. The Turkish-advocates, however, owned and represented historical traditions too. Putting the great name of Sándor Körösi-Csoma (see p.13) upon their flag, declaring that Körösi sacrificed his life at the end of a successful scientific journey far enough from the Ugrian territory, presenting many new arguments, which gave new light to the Turkish Theory, - Vámbéry and his followers opposed the Hunfalvy group, if not with success, but at least reaching sympathy, expressed not only by faithful students, but even by the Finno-Ugric opponents. (#109).

Vámbéry declared that the Magyars are a Turkish race, which inhabited the northern borderlands of the Turkish tribal systems, adopting a large number of Ugrian words, without changing their original identity. To Vámbéry the language was not so important as the social

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#108: Armin Vámbéry: A Magyarorszag Bölcsőjénél. A Magyar-Török Rokonság Kezdeté és Fejlődése. Athenaeum, Budapest, 1944.

#109: Pál Hunfalvy wrote the Ethnographie von Ungern, Akadémia, Budapest, 1877, (Transl. to German by I.H. Schwicker.)

life and civilization. He realized that the Magyars have common grammar and common vocabulary with other members of the Finno-Ugrian linguistic family to a large extent, but he had among his evidence a large amount of common Turkish-Magyar vocabulary, and he proved that the Magyar grammar was very similar to the Turkish. He also proved that the whole mode of living, the first appearance in history, the political organization of the Magyars was almost identical with the Turkish way of living, appearance, political and military organization in contemporary times.

Vámbéry reminded his fellow philologists and historians that according to the ancient legend, "Hunor" and "Magor" were brothers, sons of the biblical Nimrod. (p.14). Hunor became - according to the ancient myth, and consequently according to the popular belief throughout many centuries, - the ancestor of the Huns, Magor became the ancestor of the Magyars. We should not underestimate the significance of those legends, warned Vámbéry, because historical science proved many times already, that even the seemingly most irrational myths were nothing else but ancient appearances, memories about something, which received evidence later as historical realities. If the Hunor-Magor-myth was nothing else but a fairy tale, if the Magyars were not related to the Turco-Tatar Huns at all, than why did the Magyars under Árpád the Conqueror come with the Hun tradition already, declaring that they were the heirs of the great king, Attila? All the medieval chroniclers of the Hungarians seemd to underline the fact, that the Magyars justified their conquest declaring that being Hun descendants, they owned historical rights to re-occupy the inheritance of the great Hun. Additionally, the Magyars in the ninth century looked like Huns, and certainly did not look like the nordic Ugrians, the Ūstiaks and the Voguls, which peoples never really had any connections, social or political, with Attila's Huns.

Legends, myths were often the primitive and oversimplified descriptions of historical facts and many Greek, Teuton, and Indian myths represent the main aid to find out prehistory. However, the series of Hun-Magyar legends could represent irrespective tales only in themselves, if Hungarian and Byzantine medieval sources would not describe the Hun and Magyar appearance, customs and language so similarly and if the newest results of archeology would not support the Hun-Magyar relationship-theory in a so convincing way.

Anonymus, the chronicler of Béla III (#42), one of the most important source of historians dealing with medieval Hungary, believed the Hun-Hungarian brotherhood, and Gyula László, the most respected Hungarian archeologist of our days was able to support his notes and descriptions with considerable amount of archeological evidences, except, of course, his "references" about the role of supernatural elements in the Hungarian origin and migration. (#110)

"On the eastern areas, in the neighbourhood of Scythia, - wrote Anonymus, - they were the nations of Gog and Magog, which were isolated from the World by Alexander the Great... The first king of Scythia was Magog, son of Japhet, and this nation received the name "Magyar" after Magog. From the descendants of this king originated the well known and very powerful King Attila,.. Ügyek, father of Chief Álmos, whose descendants were the kings and leaders of Hungary..."(#111).

According to the Bible, Gog (#112) was a prince of Magog, a people that were to come from the North to invade the land of Israel, and be there defeated. (#113). Some of the historians believe that the Gog - Magog myth was nothing else, but the product of Medieval superstition, some others feel that further archeological investigations could find some realistic bases of this legend. Our reason to introduce this quotation was not to present any view in the Gog - Magog problem, but to introduce the fact, that the medieval Hungarian chronicler's information was that King Attila and members of the Árpád Dynasty belonged to the same family.

Simon Kézai, courtly priest and chronicler of László (Ladislás) IV (1272 - 1290) described the Hun - Magyar mythology in details. According to his beliefs, Hunor and Magor (Magyar) were the first born sons of Ménrot (Nimrod) (#43, p.14). The two brothers, as hunters, followed the footsteps of a mysterious and miraculous stag, which led them into the swamp of Meotis. (#114). There the animal disappeared, but the brothers

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#110: Gyula László: Hunor és Magyar Nyomában. (Eng: In the footsteps of Hunor and Magyar. Gondolat ed. Budapest, 1967.)

#111: Translation from the Hungarian version as quoted by Gyula László, pp.10-11.

#112: Occurs Ezek. XXXVIII, 3, 14, and XXXIX, 11, as a proper name.

#113: In a different sense, but corresponding with the assertions of other Oriental authors, Gog occurs in Rev. XX. 8, as the name of a country. Biblical interpreters generally describe Gog and Magog, as symbolical expressions for the heathen nations of Asia, or more particularly for the Scythians. As a collective name, Magog seems to indicate in the Hebrew the tribes about the Caucasian mountains.

#114: Around the Sea of Azov.

found the area very suitable for cattle-breeding. Receiving the permission of their father, they settled down in Meotis, and in the fifth year from the settlement, they found the wives and children of King Belár sons. They kidnapped them. They also found the daughters of Dula, who was the king of the Alans. The girls became the wives of the two brothers, and their descendants were the Huns and the Magyars.

It is significant that Simon Kézai's Hun Chronicle includes Hun - Magyar connections with the Onogur - Bulgars, (the Dulo dynasty were the well known royal family of the Bulgars, and the word "Belár" also resembles to "Bulgar"), and with the Alans. Although Kézai confuses Bulgars with Alans, these peoples appearance in the Hun - Magyar mythology helps to suppose the possibility of a common Hun-Magyar origin. (#115)

It is not the main aim of this essay to describe the newest findings of archeology in details, but it is mentionable that these findings (most of them displayed in the Ermitage of Leningrad) seem to give full support to the Hun - Magyar mythology. Hunor and Magyar, the royal horsemen, the miraculous elk reappeared in many versions from the excavations, both in Hungary and the the Soviet Union, on buckles, harnesses, jewels, and on various other ornaments. Since most of these findings were made and used before the Hungarian, and even before the Hun conquest in the Carpathian Basin, it seems, that archeology gives much more support to the Hun/Turk theory than to the Ugrian theory. Additionally to this, variations of the ancient, and respected "Turul" - bird (#116) were found both in Hungary and in the Soviet Union. The Hungarian findings are definitely older than 1000 years. They were made and used before the Hungarian conquest. The various Russian findings reveal rather Hun - Turkish - Magyar relationships, than Ugrian - Magyar relationships, because the "Turul", or some similar eagle was rather the holy bird of various Turco - Tatar peoples, and it was never respected by the Finno - Ugrians. (#117).

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#115: The migratory Magyars were closely connected with both the Onogur Bulgars and the Alans. The "Hun Chronicle" of Kézai associates here with later, modern historical evidence. It was also very probable, that both the Volga- and Onogur Bolgars, and the Alans had also connections with the Huns.

#116: The "Turul", in one of its versions, was a white eagle, holy bird of the migratory Magyars. In its other version, Turul was the forefather of Álmos; "he" was the founder of the Árpád Dynasty. ("Turul", and "Álmos" were rather Turkish terms. They were not Ugrian words.)

#117: Eagles appeared as the holy animals of the pre-Turks, and, generally the Orient; including Persians, Egyptians, etc. The nordic Ugrians glorified the "holy bear", which never appeared in Hun-Magyar mythology as a holy animal.

The Hun - Magyar relationship was a historical tradition in Hungary until the end of the nineteenth century, not simply a popular, but a scholarly belief, and this tradition did not disappear, even with the recognition that the Huns were actually a mixture of Turks and Tatars. When the Mongols devastated Hungary in the thirteenth century, when the Osmanli Turks became bitter enemies of both Hungary and of Western Christianity, Hungarians still did not see any reason to abandon the theory of the Hun - Magyar brotherhood. The Ages of the Reformation, and Enlightenment drove the national attention to many other directions, but Hungarian romanticism and nationalism witnessed the reappearance of the Hun - Magyar dreams in the nineteenth century again, until the very end of the century, when linguistic discoveries of the north put the Finno - Ugrian theoretists to the first front.

In the time, when Ármin Vámbéry defended the theory of the Turkish origin against the "Ugrians", archeology did not produce so many evidence yet on Vámbéry's side. With Gyula László's book in his hands Vámbéry could argue with his opponents with the hope of scientific victory. But the mentioned archeological findings, which seem to reveal rather Turkish than Finno-Ugrian origin, appeared many decades after Vámbéry's death. The enthusiastic professor used the very presence of the Székely people in the Carpathian Basin, and he mentioned the assumption that they were inhabitants of the Carpathian Basin many hundred years before the Hungarian Conquest of Árpád. The Székelys were always very proud to believe that they were the descendants of the Huns, and they were the remnants of the great Hun Empire, still guarding in the Eastern Carpathian and waiting the rightful return of the Huns. Medieval chroniclers were all agreed mentioning that the Székelys, as Hun (Avar ?) fragments happily reunited themselves with the coming Magyars, and this reunification was easy because the common customs, and language. If Árpád's Magyars were Ugrians, how possible that they and the Székelys realized so easily the common Székely - Magyar identity ? (#118).

The believers of the Turkish origin, both in Vámbéry's time and today, owned another argument, which seemed to be the most serious one, and fits to the other, mentioned, arguments very well. Even the name

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#118: According to the evidence of Székely literature, in times of various (Habsburg, Turkish and Rumanian) conquests, the Székelys were always desiring, waiting the liberation by the legendary Prince Csaba, who was, according to them, the youngest son of Attila.



by which the migratory Magyars of the ninth century were called by foreign authors represent considerable evidence.

"...Constantine and the other Byzantine writers referred to the Magyars habitually as 'Tovpkoi' (Turks). The other nations known to the Byzantines as 'Turks' are, besides the Magyars, the Seljuk and the Osmanli Turks."

Leo the Wise (#120) and Constantinos Porphyrogenitos (#121) were the most important authors dealing with the migratory Magyars, and later, with the Hungarians of the Carpathian Basin. Of course, as ruling emperors of Byzantium, they exercised political connections and military connections with the Magyars, thus their information should be regarded as most reliable. (#122). The fact, that these two contemporary emperor-scholars, who knew the Magyars so well, called them "Turks" did and will represent considerable evidence for the advocates of Turkish origin.

Even C.A. Macartney seemed to have a tendency to support the theory of Turkish origin, but respecting Bálint Homan and other contemporary Finno-Ugric advocates so much, finally did not take a firm stand in the question. With other words: he accepted the hypothesis of Homan and Homan followers, according which the Ugrian majority intermingled with some, minor Turkish elements in the way of their wanderings.

The Magyars were subjects of the Turco-Tatar Khazars for a quite long time, perhaps for a hundred years, or so. Did they receive the title "Turks" from them?

Macartney did not think so:

"I think, surely impossible that the name 'Turk' should have been applied to the Magyars as having previously formed part of the Khazar - Turkish Empire, when the name had been abandoned for the Khazars themselves." (#123).

Macartney suspected that the term "Turk" was usually used by Byzantines to denote invaders from the steppes of South

#119: C.A. Macartney: The Magyars in the Ninth Century, pp. 124-125.

#120: (886-912). In his Tactica he described the military system of the Magyars especially in battle.

#121: (913-959). He deals with the Magyar customs, political and social life in his De Administrando Imperio.

#122: Constantine received most of his informations from Árpád's grandson Tormás (Greek: Termatzus) and from Bulcsu, the "karchas" of "Turkia", who represented the Hungarians as ambassadors in Byzantium.

#123: Macartney: The Magyars in the Ninth Century, p. 125.

Russia, like the Petchenegs and Cumans. However, the Byzantines called them as Patzinaks and as Cumans, - but never as "Turks". (#124).

Should we underestimate Leo the Wise or Constantinos Porphyrogenitos as diplomats and scholars? Should we suppose that they were superficial using the "Turk" terms? Did they not have a special idea calling the Magyars consistently as "Turks", when simultaneously they abandoned to call the Khazars as "East-Turks", and when they did not call the Petchenegs and Cumans as "Turks" at all? If the Byzantines usually called the invaders from the steppe as "Turks", as Macartney suspected, why was it, that they never called the Varangians of Kiev as "Turks"? They were also invaders from the steppe in the late ninth and early tenth centuries? Or, - arguing with Macartney's idea from the other side, - were the migratory Magyars "invaders" from the Byzantines' point of view in the ninth century? Did they have any reason to nominate their Magyar allies against Symeon and his Bolgars - as "invaders"?

We have every reason to suppose that the Byzantine emperors, who were extremely intelligent both as diplomats and as scholars, gave the "Turk" nomination to the Magyars not only because they were nomad horsemen of the steppes, not only because they had a Turkish type of appearance, but first of all, because they spoke the same variation of the Turkish language, which was spoken by some sort of Turkish people (perhaps in Turkistan) known by Byzantine diplomats, scholars and travellers. Old Turkish, in many dialects, was well known in Byzantine circles, and the Emperors used the permanent service of professional interpreters to communicate with Huns, Avars, Magyars, and other similar peoples, aiding Byzantine diplomacy greatly with their interpretations.

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#124: The Petchenegs were called as "Besenyös" (plural form!) in Hungarian sources. The Cumans were identical with the "Polovtsi" of Kievan and Russian sources and with the "Kun(s)" in Hungarian sources. Géza Nagy in his A Honfoglalok és a Turkok (Engl: The Conquerors and the Turks. Magyar Történelmi Szemle, Hungarian Historical Review, Dec. 1969, pp. 8-24) stresses the significance of the fact, that the Petchenegs and some other Turco-Tatar elements were not mentioned as "Turks" by the Byzantines, only the Magyars. His conclusion: the Magyars belonged to the group of the Altaic Turks.

Advocates of the Turkish origin of the Magyars could use many arguments against the Finno-Ugrian believers. They could argue, that national myth connects the Magyars closely to the Huns and we can not find any old Hungarian legend, or myth, which could be regarded as Finnish origin. They could mention that Father Julianus, priestly traveller of the 13th century communicated with his hosts quite easily, because they were probably Turkish - Bashkirians. (#125). Vámbéry and his followers could mention the respected name of Sándor Csoma de Körös, with the fact that this important scholar and traveller investigated Magyar relations in Turkey, in Persia, and even in the Far East, but did not feel to find any useful footsteps on the Far North. They could refer to all the medieval chronicles of Hungary, as witnesses of the Hun relationship. They could refer not only to the Byzantines, but to Al-Bekri (died in 1094), Mahmud Gardezi (cca 1050), and other Oriental authors, who knew the Magyars personally, and who also called them as "Turks". They could mention western chroniclers, who confused the Magyars with the Huns. (Mentioned on p.24, #67). They could mention the Székelys, which were perhaps Huns themselves, or they were may be descendants of the Turkicized Avars, easy assimilants into the national body of the Magyars, because they common, or very similar language. They could mention that the Byzantine belief that the Magyars were actually members of the Turkish linguistic family existed even in the eleventh century, when Michael "Dukas" VII, Emperor of Byzantium (1071-78) sent a crown to Géza I. King of Hungary (1074-77) with these words on it:

"Géza the faithful King of Turkia" (ΚΡΑΑΗC ΤΟΥΡΚΙC) (#126).

Believers and advocates of Turkish origin of the Magyars still did not have enough evidence in the time of Prof. Vámbéry, and his followers had even less opportunity during the Homan-era in the 1930's. The philological evidence proved to be stronger than all these counter-arguments, listed above.

The Turkish arguments, however, were strong enough, and

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#125: Theorists of the Turkish origin could use the recently found Codex of Kassa, in which Ch. "Exodus Fratrum" describes Frater Otto's Caucasian journey, and his communications with "Magyars" at the Kur River. (Mentioned on p.37, #79). Of course, this finding was not available in Vámbéry's time.

#126: This crown is part of the "Holy Crown".

since archeological excavations seem to support the theory of Turkish origin again, it also seems that it could come a time when the ideas of Körösi-Csoma and Arminius Vámbéry will be rehabilitated.

Homan, and his followers acknowledged that the names of the Magyar chiefs, the names of the tribes were also Turkish names. They admitted that a considerable amount of the Hungarian language originated from the Old Turkish. They still advocated, however, that the Magyar terms of most ancient nature were mainly Ugrian terms, the Hungarian grammar is mainly Ugrian grammar, and this is the decisive factor. Fianco-Ugrian theorists were not disturbed by the counterarguments, which seemed to prove Turkish origin. These counterarguments seemed to be easily explained by the theory that the Ugrians (wandering southward from the forests of the Ural) found themselves under the military overlordship of a warlike Turkish group, which pushed them westward on the "Road of Nations", forcing them to obedience. Although, they said, their leaders of Turkish origin were more powerful, the former Ugrians represented the majority, preserving a large amount of Ugrian vocabulary, and preserving the Ugrian grammar.

The Turkish language, being an Altaic language, has very similar grammatical characteristics as the Uralic languages. Many Hungarian words have unquestionably Turkish origin. It was true, that the pre-Magyars adopted mainly political and military terms from the pre-Turks. This fact was an important argument in the hand of the Fianco-Ugrian believers, who could mention that the most ancient terms were Ugrian terms, and only terms revealing a higher form of political civilization were Turkish terms.

Of course, the migratory Magyars adopted words from the pre-Turks, which were not political, or military terms. For example here is the Magyar word "asszony"(woman), which is a recognizable version of the Turkish "aksin", and the Magyar "csillag" (star) is clearly identical with the Turkish "zillag". The Magyar "homok"(sand), "tenger"(sea), "kar"(arm), "bajusz"(mustache), "sas" (eagle), "kulacs"(flask), "bicska"(jackknife), "csizma"(boot), were also words of Turkish origin. The corresponding Turkish terms are identical or very similar.

Words, which often appear in oriental religions and in fairy tales have certainly Old-Turkish origin. God, as the Creator is "Teremtö" in Hungarian and it is "Terem" in Turkish. The Magyar term "boszorkány" (witch) is "bosurgan" in Turkish. The Magyar "tündér" (fairy) corresponds with the Turkish "tingir" and the Magyar "sárkány" (dragon) with the Turkish "sarkan".

In connection with terms of ancient religion and religious practices let us mention briefly the religious atmosphere of the migratory Magyars:

"Primitive Magyars worshipped the forces of Nature...one or others assumed a predominant importance, notably 'Terem' (The Creator) and 'Eleve' (the ancient God). Finally, the Magyars became monotheists, the name of their God ('Isten') being Persian in origin." (#127).

They believed in good and evil spirits, in fairies and elves. Those terms, as we mentioned above, were almost all of Old-Turkish by origin. They offered sacrifices to their God in the form of white horses slain by their priests, who read the future in their entrails. This was also a custom of migratory Turkish tribes. The word "áldomás", now used to denote a drinking bout, originally meant "sacrifice", and referred to the custom whereby the priests accompanied the sacrifice by pouring their blood into a common bowl, the "loving cup" of later times. This was also an Old Turkish ritual.

It is mentionable, however, that the term "Eleve" appeared in Ugrian times already, as an ancient Finno-Ugrian term. It was not used by contemporary Turkish tribes. "Eleve" was a term, which was associated with the imagination, according which the "Great Spirit" has eternal existence.

The adaptation of the Persian "Isten" (God) reminds us to the fact that the migratory Magyars, probably following the Ugro-Turkish intermarriage, were in connections with Persians, and also to the other fact that the migratory Magyar tribes (even in the time of the Conquest) had a religious belief, which was similar to the Persian Zoroastrianism. They believed in good spirits and they associated them with light, they believed in bad spirits and they

#127: A. B. Yolland: The History of Hungary (in View of Trianon's Hungary), G. Bethlen Press, Turul Association Publ., Budapest, p. 9.

associated them with darkness. The god of the migratory Magyars was also the "God of War". This phenomenon appears especially in beliefs of southern Oriental (mainly Turkish) peoples. (#128).

The vocabulary of legal and constitutional terms are mostly Turkish in the Hungarian language.

ENGLISH	MAGYAR	TURKISH
law	törvény	töre
assembly	gyűlés	jilizi
council	tanács	tamis
witness	tanu	tanu

The English term "wise" corresponds with the Hungarian "bölcös" and the Turkish "bilgä". The English "letter" is represented by the Hungarian "betü" and the Turkish "betik".

The wandering Magyars (in opposition of all the Ugrian groups which were peaceful fishermen and hunters without any association of horses) were one of the most warlike, horsriding tribal organizations of the Road of Nations.

"Riding horses of remarkable speed, using their arrows with extraordinary effect as they galloped to the attack, armed with curved, one-edged swords or with lances, they advanced rapidly in loose (concave) formation, indulged in feigned retreats whereby they entrapped their enemies, and if successful, pursued the flying foe relentlessly. Their various divisions were separated by gaps, behind which were stationed the reserves, behind the latter again the commissariat and the entrenched and fortified camp, with the women and children. Their method of warfare enabled them to attack (they were not defensive fighters) on a very extended front and to throw the closely-formed masses of the European armies they met into confusion. It was a revelation to European tacticians." (#129).

Rending this, we could understand why did the European nations feel that actually the Huns returned. We could also understand why did Leo the Wise (who described their appearance and war tactics in details, #130) feel that the Magyars were actually Turks. Their way of life, and especially their systems and behaviours on the battlefield was identical with the life, systems of

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#128: The "Spirit of Darkness" of Zoroastrianism was "Ahriman" (Persian term). This term appears in the Hungarian as "ármány", which emans "intrigue", "plot", or "devil".

#129: A. B. Yolland: The History of Hungary, p. 8.

#130: Tactica.

other Turco-Tatar peoples. Their terms associated with war and weapons are all Turkish originated in the Hungarian language.

ENGLISH	MAGYAR	TURKISH
army	sereg	cerig
axe	balta	balta
brave	bátor	batur
coward	gyáva	java
bow	ij	jij
quiver	tegez	teges
mace	buzogány	buzdogan
reins	gyeplő	jepluk
bridle	kantar	kantar

The Turkish language was not affected so much by various languages than the Hungarian. Modern Turkish is similar to Old Turkish. The Hungarian language in its modernized form is not so similar to the language of the migratory Magyars. One thousand years represented a radical transformation from Old Hungarian to Modern Hungarian. Keeping this fact in our mind, we may suspect that the migratory Magyars' expressions were closer to the Turkish word than to the modern Hungarian form. The Magyar term "háboru" (war) probably sounded as the Turkish "habaruk" of today, and the term "béke" (peace) sounded like the Turkish "bekik," etc.

In connection with the terms of law and war, we have to call the attention to certain semantic significance. The assemblies and councils ("gyűlés" and "tanács") were not similar to the contemporary medieval European political institutions and customs. They were the ceremonial meetings of the chieftains and the elders. Here too, the tribal customs based themselves on patriarchal traditions and on the fact, that the main, and original element of the tribe was: the family. The term "törvény" (law) did not mean always political rules, but sometimes religious rules.

What type of letters did they use ?

They certainly did not know the Greek or Latin alphabet in the period of their migration, they were not touched by the teaching of St. Cyrill and Methodius. Some of them knew an ancient runic writing, probably of Mesopotamian origin. (See table on the next page.)

Their army ("sereg") did not mean army in the present day's sense of the word. Every healthy horsemen was a member of the "sereg"

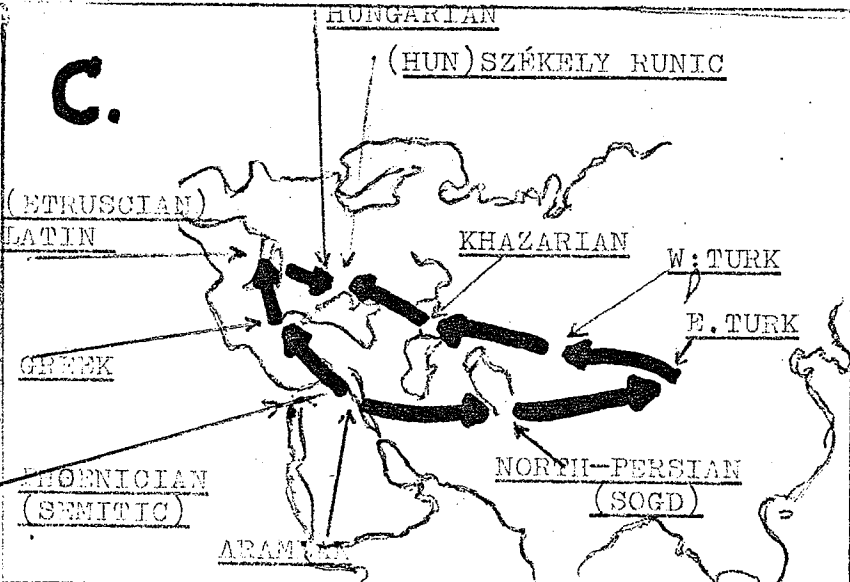
# A.

A	4	∧	X	P	∩	∩	∩
B	∩	∩	∩	R	∩	∩	∩
C	∩	∩	∩	S	∩	∩	∩
D	∩	∩	∩	SZ	∩	∩	∩
E	∩	∩	∩	T	∩	∩	∩
F	∩	∩	∩	V	∩	∩	∩
G	∩	∩	∩	Z	∩	∩	∩
GY	∩	∩	∩	ZS	∩	∩	∩
I	∩	∩	∩	AI	∩	∩	∩
K	∩	∩	∩	EL	∩	∩	∩
L	∩	∩	∩	ET	∩	∩	∩
M	∩	∩	∩	NK	∩	∩	∩
N	∩	∩	∩	NT	∩	∩	∩
NY	∩	∩	∩	ZSK	∩	∩	∩
O	∩	∩	∩				

# B.

a	4	m	∩
b	X	mb	∩
c	↑	n	)
cs	∩	ny	D
d	∩	o	∩
e,é	∩	ö(ü)	Z X
f	∩	p	∩
g	∩	r	∩
gy	∩	s	∩
h	∩	sz	∩
i	∩	t	∩
j	∩	ty	X
k	∩	u	∩
q(k)	∩	ü(ö)	X
l	∩	v	∩
ly	∩	z	∩
		zs	∩

# C.



#131: The scientific interpretation of most of the runic writings, found on the "Road of Nations" from Turkestan to Transylvania, will be the task for the future.

- (A). Tibor Baráth's assumption. (A Magyar Népek Östörténete (Engl.: The Ancient History of the Hungarian Peoples) The authors edition; printed by the Prompt Printing Co., Montreal, 1968).
- (B). György (George) Györffy's assumption. (Kronikáink és a Magyar Östörténet. (Engl.: Our Chronicles and the Hungarian Ancient History. Kossuth, Budapest, 1948.)  
Note: The runic writing was traditional among Székelys until c. 1500-1600. Simon Kézai chronicler mentioned as one of the Székely peculiarity. Scholars of the Hungarian Renaissance talked about it as "Scythian" or "Hun" writing.
- (C). Györffy suggests, that the Hungarian writing with Latin letters and the ancient Magyar runic writing has common origin: the Phoenician.
  - a.) Phoenician-Greek-(Etruscan) Greek, - Latin alphabet.
  - b.) Phoenician-North Persian-Western (Orchon) Turk-Western Turk - Khazarian-(Hun) Székely alphabet.



probably from twelve to the seventy years of age. What type of fortresses (vár) existed north of the Caspian and Black Seas? The Magyars certainly did not have any fortresses; migratory tribe-systems usually did not take any time to build such things, but they may use the term "vár"; nominating their hurriedly built stone and earth-trenches as such. (#132). They used probably the term "vár", observing the permanent (partly wooden, partly stone) fortresses of the Khazars and of the Kievans. (#133). These fortresses were unquestionably much poorer than the contemporary fortresses of Western Europe.

In connection with the terms of war, we have to underline the significance of the horse. The "lo" (Turk: "lu") was the word, used for the horse on the southern region of the Asiatic Continent, everywhere, where Ural - Altaic peoples existed. The horse was the most important living thing after the human beings in Asia, not only in wartime, but in peacetime too. These relatively small, but extremely fast, intelligent and persistent animals were not only the "tanks" of medieval warfare, the main meat was the horsemeat, the main drink was the horsemilk, the main alcohol was the fermented horsemilk. The horse represented dignity and wealth, but it was also a good friend of the horseman, strong partner in war, silent companionship in peace, and the horseman of Asia took this companionship so seriously, that his favoured horse followed him even to his grave after his death. Many excavated ancient cemetery are witnessing this fact. If additionally, we note, that the migratory Magyars, just as many other migratory Turkic - Mongol peoples sacrificed white horses to their heavenly Warlords, we may believe, that the horse had not only a political, military, and social, but also a religious significance. (#134). Men, women and small children were all excellent horse-riders, and in the periods of migration only the elders, babies and the wounded were sitting on the large carriages, pulled by four, or six horses or by the large white oxen. The "ij" (Engl. bow), and "nyil" (Engl. arrow) were not only Turkish words but terms used by most Ural-Altaic peoples of Asia.

#132: These trenches were probably similar to the so called "Avar-rings", circular-shaped earth-fortresses, which were found many places in Hungary as remnants of the Avar rule of the Carpathian Basin.

#133: The fortress of Kiev was a stone building, visited by the Magyars of Chief Álmos permanently. Although the first, historically known fortification was associated with the Vikings of Rurik, the Magyars probably had some participation, because, as V. Padányi mentioned, "kiev" was the ancient form of the modern Magyar "kövek" (Eng: stones).

#134: Victor Padányi in his Dentumagyarria (ed. Transylvania, Buenos Aires, 1963, Ch. IX: Az Új Történelmi Faktor, a lo; ...)

Now, let us raise the following questions: (a) Did the migratory Magyars move, wandered endlessly, without any intermediate settlement? (b) Did they have any opportunity and willingness to learn some sort of agriculture in their long course of migration? (c) Do the agricultural terms prove that the agricultural knowledge of the Magyars was also a Turkish heritage, or we should adopt the popular belief of historians dealing with medieval European history (declared mostly by authors from Slavic countries), that the Hungarians learned agriculture only after their Danubian settlement from the subjected Slav peasantry? The answers for these questions are the following:

(a) The migratory Magyars wandered from the Ural area to the Carpathians from cca 800 to 896, thus it took about 100 years to pass about 1000 miles. Knowing the speed of a medieval Turco-Tatar horseman, assuming the moving abilities of Asiatic nomads, we may assume that in a real need of hurry, the migratory Magyars (even with elders, large families, heavy carriages) could pass such a distance in about four - five weeks, taking the necessary resting periods into consideration. Although the various sources disagree, we may summarize them stating that the Magyars spent in the Khazarian Khaganate at least 50 - 75 years. Crossing the River Don in about 885, they settled down in the area between the Don and Dnieper (Levedia) for about four years. Crossing the Dnieper in about 889, they spent another six - seven years in the valleys of the Bug, Dniester, Pruth, and Sereth (#135).

(b) The Magyars could adopt agricultural knowledge especially in the framework of the Khazarian Khaganate, where the character of the area lent itself for agriculture. (c) Answering to the third question, yes, Turco - Magyar vocabulary proves that the Magyars adopted their agricultural knowledge from Turkish sources (#136), thus they did not learn this basic knowledge from their subjected Carpathian Slavs, only, perhaps, they perfected their previous agricultural experience associating with the Slavs after the Conquest.

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#135: The area between the Bug and Sereth Rivers was called by them as Atelkuzu (Etelköz in modern Hungarian).

#136: This agricultural knowledge could come from the Khazars first of all. Their males were mostly soldiers and hunters, but their women and probably their elders exercised farming. The neighbouring Onogur-Bulgars were another source. According to the newest speculations, (discussed in the following chapters), the "Sibirian" group of the pre-Magyars were partly, also agricultural people.

First of all, here is a group of words, associated with animals, with cattle -breeding:

ENGLISH	MAGYAR	TURKISH
cattle	barom	burum
bull	bika	buka
camel	teve	tive
goat	kecske	kecki
pot cheese	turo	turak
hem	tyuk	tauk
ram	kos	koc
hound	kopo	kopoj

A group of words revealing farming, and kitchen gardening:

wheat	buza	budaj
barley	árpa	arpa
apple	alma	alma
wine	bor	bor
beer	sör	sira
bulrush	káka	kaka
pea	borso	bursak
nettle	csalán	calan

These words already existed in the Magyar vocabulary before the sixteenth century when the Ottoman Empire conquered part of Hungary. Although religious, political and social differences made both the Moslem conquerors and the Christian conquered extremely hostile, recognition of linguistic relationship, and the use of common words made communication between the Turks and the Magyars somewhat easier.

The style of the colourful Hungarian folk - art is unquestionably Turkish by origin, embroidery, carpets, carvings and wall paintings are very similar to Turkish populated areas in Asia. Here are three words associated with manufacture:

ENGLISH	MAGYAR	TURKISH
weaver	takács	takuci
boiler	kazán	kazan
grocer	szatocs	satici

Now, let us examine some quotation from contemporary Arab authors, who also regarded the migratory Magyars as Turks, in special connection with the Magyar leadership in the ninth century. According to these descriptions, the Magyars, like the Khazars, had two rulers. One of them was called "kende" (kanda) and is said to have held the higher rank, but the task of governing was in the hands of the "jila" (or "jele" (#137)).

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#137: The spelling-transformation of this term is this: jele - jila - jula - gyula,

"The Magyars are a race of Turks, and their chieftain rides with horsemen to the number of 10,000 and their chieftain is called Kanda (and this name denotes their king, for the man who is king over them is called Jula, and all the Magyars accept the orders of their king Jula, in the matter of war and defence and the like.)" (#138).

"The Magyars are idolaters, and the name of their king is Kanda". (#139).

"And these Magyars are a Turkish race and their leader rides out with 20,000 horsemen, and they call this king Kanda (and this is the name of their greater king, and that chief who superintends their affairs is called Jula, and the Magyars do whatever Jula commands." (#140).

Of course, the Arab and Persian chroniclers were wrong associating those chieftains with the idea of kingship. "Kanda" and "Jula" were not kings. They were elected by the other chieftains of the Magyars, and the main reason of their election was that they proved to be the most capable for their particular positions. Constantinos Porphyrogenitos was right, when he wrote:

"...they had no king, but there were certain voivodes among them." (#141).

Which was the higher rank, the "kende" or the "jula" ? Probably the "kende", who seemed to keep the highest political position in his land. The "jula" was, perhaps, the commander in chief, and his position became a necessity only, when the Magyars left the protection of the Khazarian Khaganate. Surrounded by warlike and hostile neighbourhood, pushed by the Petchenegs, the position of the military commander became gradually more important than the position of the "kende":

"During the Kazar period the Magyar chieftain, bearing the title 'Kundu' was the leader of the entire people. After the break with the Kazar Empire, another chieftain of the rank of 'gyula' gradually rose in authority. This gyula was the forefather of the Árpád dynasty." (#142).

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- #138: Quotation from Ibn Rosteh (Ibn Rusta): Book of Precious Jewels, written in the early tenth century. (Quoted by C.A. Macartney: The Magyars in the Ninth Century, p.30.)
- #139: Quot. from Abd al-Aziz al-Bekri (died 1094): Book of Kingdoms and Roads. (Quoted by Macartney: The Magyars... p.30.)
- #140: Quot. from Mahmud Gardezi (Persian). He wrote his chronicle in about 1050-52. (Macartney: The Magyars... etc. p.30.)
- #141: Constantinos Porphyrogenitos: De Administrando Imperio. (Note: "voivoda" means "army leader" According to V. Padányi Dentumagyaris, The etymology of our word: Vajda, it is also a Turkish term. (pp.435-442). C.A. Macartney in his The Magyars in the Ninth Century (p.39) also suspects that this word is rather Turkish and not Slavic, because the Byzantines called the Avar ambassador as "Xavdia" too, which term is tempting to compare with the "voivode".)
- #142: Domokos Kosáry: A History of Hungary, p.9.

Constantinos seems to disagree with the contemporary Arab sources about the position of the "jula", or, as he spells it, of the gyla. According to his description about the political organization of the "Turks", the ruling chieftain (elected by all chieftains) had two judges, one of whom was called "gyla", and the other "karchas". Since the commander in chief had to perform the task of the judge too, he had practice in this position. In his old age, when he was unable to perform the duties of the military chieftain, he still remained a judge, together with the "karchas", who was probably a judge in non-military affairs. Supposedly, this is the solution of the seeming disagreement between Byzantine and Arab sources. We have taken also under consideration, that Constantinos received his information about one hundred years later. The position of the "jula - gyla" could be transformed in the same time. (#143).

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In our Chapter V. we proved that the pre-Magyars were actually Finno-Ugrians. In our Chapter VI we found much counter-evidence. According to this new evidence, the pre-Magyars (or rather: Magyars before the Danubian Conquest) were actually Turks.

Before going on to further speculation, let us summarize some experiences.

At this point we have two possibilities:

Hypothesis/A: The Magyars were originally primitive Finno-Ugrians, somewhere around the central, or nordic Ural region. They left their "brothers", the Finns, and the Ugrians. The Finns migrated to the northwest. The other Ugrians (Voguls and Ostiaks) migrated to the northeast, reaching the Arctic. The pre-Magyars went towards south. At the North Caspian area, they found themselves in the middle of storms of the medieval Great Migration. Under the influence of the Turco-Tatar environment, they were completely transformed. They changed their former mode of life. The peaceful fishers and hunters, ruled over by an aggressive Turco-Tatar minority, became a nomadic people, one of the most warlike of the tribe-organizations, and moved gradually westwards, pushed by other tribes, on the great Road of Nations.

#143: According to the Cambridge Medieval History (Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1907, Vol. VI. p. 196) Constantinos Porphyrogenitos used Khazar writings. "Karchas" could be identical with the "kende", and the double leadership of the Magyars were copied from the institutions of the Khazars. (Note: this institution disappeared in the Christian period, beginning with St. Stephen, 997-1038, but the position of the karchas

Hypothesis/B: The Magyars were basically one of the Turco-Tatar tribe-organizations, just like the Huns, Avars, Khazars, Petchenegs, Cumans, etc. Ruled over by mainly Hun leaders (like the migratory Bulgars), pushed by stronger waves of the Great Migration, they found themselves on the linguistic and racial frontiers of the Southern Ural, where they merged with the Southern Branches of the Ugrians. Completed with Ugrian and with some Khazarian tribes, the Hun - Magyar leadership decided to continue their way towards the Carpathians to reconquer the inheritance of the great Attila. Crossing the Carpathians, the remnants of former Ural-Altai nations (Hun - Székelys, Avars, etc.) welcomed them. The Hungarian people of today were the descendants of this Hun-Avar-Magyar reunification.

As we realize, the problem is still open for further speculation. As the next step (ignoring the possibility of a Hypothesis/C, #144, for a while), let us put the Ugrian - Turkish relationship on the scale. Let us speculate about the Ugrian - Turkish mixture of the Magyars a little bit more.

Where they Turkicized Ugrians? Where they main Turks, partly adopting some Ugrian vocabulary, by the adaptation of Ugrian fragments? What was the role of their chieftains? The Turco-Ugrian unification still belongs to the topics of speculative prehistory. However, we have every hope to believe, that the united forces of archeology, philology, and more historical investigation will solve the problems of this mysterious intermarriage.

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#144: Hypothesis/C, (discussed in the final portions of this essay), is closer to Hypothesis/B, than to Hypothesis/A. According to this new theory, which appeared very often in the writings of Hungarian historians since 1945, the pre-Magyars were rather Turks, but the main stream of their migration came not from the Ugrian Ural, not from the Mongol-Turkish populated Siberia, or Turkestan, but from Mesopotamia. The Sabirs (crossing the Caucasus) were the main elements of the migratory Magyars, the Turco-Mongols, and the Ugrians, had somewhat limited role in the further development.

## VII.

A MYSTERIOUS INTERMARRIAGE.

According to the various sources the age of the Ugrian - Turk confrontation was the V - VII century. (#145).

The first problem in connection with this is: was the intermarriage between the Ugrian hunters and Turkish warriors a marriage between relatives, or strangers ?

Since we know that both the Ugrians and the Turks did belong to the Ural - Altaic language family, the simple answer to this question would be: yes, it was an intermarriage between relatives.

However, this answer is not only simple, but it also represents a sort of impractical, and unhistorical oversimplification. The actual question should sound so: - did the Ugrians and Turks realize their relationship in the period of their confrontation ?

The Turks were powerful, warlike horsemen, loaded with heavily ornamented trimmings, jewels, weapons. The Ugrians were on foot, in raw skin-clothes and in furs, pressing their primitive instruments. Probably a certain portion of their vocabulary was quite similar in a recognizable way, but it was not enough for fluent communication. The Ugrians, (disregarding the problem now, that they were the majority or the minority), were probably friendly, because their tribal instinct dictated this behaviour facing well equipped horsemen. Were the Turk - pre-Magyars friendly too ? We know cases, when militarily superior Ural-Altaic tribal-systems patronated inferior, and related tribal systems (#146), but in most of the cases the tribe-organizations were hostile each against the other one, butchering the weaker, and kidnapping women and children. Although the lack of any historical evidences makes any assumption very risky, and although the Turco - Ugrian unification was, according to

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#145: Homan in his followers supposed that the Ugrian-Turk unification took place around the 7th century. Other sources, esp. since 1945 feel, that it happened much before this time, perhaps in the 5th century.

#146: The Hun Empire subjected (and patronated) many various Turco-Tatar tribes. The Avars patronated the migratory Bolgars. The Khazars patronated the Magyars.

the imagination of the historians until the Second World War, some sort of agreement (enforced by the Turkish elements), I have a tendency to assume that the Ugrians found themselves in the main stream of the Great Migration by force, and this force appeared in the form of kidnapping Ugrian mothers, wives, sisters and daughters, and in the form of butchering the resisting Ugrian males. The Ugrian women found themselves on the horses, carriages and tents of those Turks, and the first generation, which was the product of this enforced intermarriage spoke, of course a mixture of Ugrian and Turkish. This generation was not Ugrian anymore, and it was not really Turkish, (similarly to the Khazars, Petchenegs and Cumans), although they preserved the military and social customs of their fathers.

Kidnapping somebody's daughter was a widely spread custom everywhere of northern and central Asia since prehistorical times to the early medieval ages. Later, gradually, this custom was transformed into a "formal", ceremonial kidnapping. It was preceded by a financial agreement between the father and the fiancé. The girls represented a certain amount of commercial value. However, this business was not a cool-hearted practice between seller and customer. The young warrior was usually well known by the girl and her family, and the business between the father and the young man took place only if, it was quite clear that the sympathy, or even love was mutual between the youngsters. The young warrior actually bought the girl, but the father's purpose was not the income, but to find proof that the young man was serious and he was able to prove it with financial sacrifice. If the girl was especially very beautiful, or the fiancé was very rich, than the price was naturally higher. The payment was executed in gold, or silver, in jewels, horses, cattles, or with clothes, carpets, weapons, etc. Following the financial agreement, the girl's household was ready for the "kidnapping". Everybody hid himself, except the girl, who was waiting outside the house, or the tent, in her most beautiful dress, covered with jewels. The warrior arrived, and putting the girl on the saddle, galloped away with a great speed. The father, and other males of the household, of course, pursued the "kidnapper", but they "could not" catch him. The young couple, and the young man's family returned, and the wedding ceremony, and banquet continued.



Of, course, it did not happen always thisway. Some fathers actually sold their daughters to complete strangers, even to Arab merchants.

The ancient custom of "selling" the daughter still appears in the modern Hungarian language. The Hungarian term for fiancé (bridegroom) is: "völegény", which term is a shortened form of "vevő - legény" ("buyer - bachelor"). The Hungarian term for any girl, who is mature enough for marriage is "elado lány" ("daughter for sale").(#147).

This ancient custom (connecting wedding with kidnapping) did not mean that social life was immoral in the families, clans and tribes of the migratory Magyars.

"Immorality in sexual intercourse seems to have been unknown among the primitive Magyars, who were for the most part monogamists and seem to have treated their wives, who styled their husbands as their 'masters', with due respect."(#148).

Assuming that Ugrian participation in the formation of the Magyars was nothing else but by their kidnapped wives, sisters, and daughters, could we also suppose that they were also not "real", but imitated kidnappings? The answer for this: no, they were not imitated and ceremonial kidnappings. If the fate of a smaller unit put them in the way of a superior tribe, kidnapping was "real", and it was associated with butchering. Fathers, brothers, and husbands had to pay with their lives. (#149).

Count Paul Teleki, one of the most prominent historians and imagined the Ugrian - Turkish unification thisway:

"...the most probable truth is that Turkish warriors subjugated a greater mass of Finnish fishermen and farmers. Our language is more like Finnish; our national utensils, weapons, clothing, ornaments, and other objects are more akin to the Turkish. That is only natural. The master took over the language of the greater mass, language not being a question of pride in those days of changing and mingling communities. The servant imitated the dress of the master and must have been proud of it..."(#150).

#147: The "elado lány" term is used mostly in rural Hungary.

#148: A. B. Yolland: The History of Hungary, p. 9. (Note: "Uram" (My Master) still means in modern Hungarian "my husband")

#149: For example: in 895, while the Magyars were engaged in the Bulgarian War, the Petchenegs surprised the Magyar camps, kidnapping the women, and butchering the elders and children.

#150: P. Teleki (1879-1941) was a Hungarian statesman and scholar, prime minister of Hungary. Under fascist pressure, he committed suicide in 1941. This quotation is from his The Evolution of Hungary and Its place in European History. The Macmillan Co. New York, 1923, pp. 27-28.

Teleki supposed that Turkish warriors, and shepherds were driven by drought from their pasture - lands in Asia. They fell upon peasants acquainted with irrigation, destroyed their works, and conquerors and conquered: went forth to seek a new home. This may have happened in that part of Asia nearest Europe, may be in Turkestan.

"...Through the Uralo - Caspian gap," - concludes Teleki the theory, - between the Ural Mountains and the Caspian Sea, these waves inundated Europe on the great Ukrainian Steppe." (#151).

Teleki was right, when he supposed, that the newcomers met on the mentioned steppe the remnants of an indigenous population, which had been all but drowned in the first waves of the great migrations of peoples and which were mixed with various elements of all the peoples who had passed that way for centuries. They also found fragments of northern Uralic peoples and subsequently Slavs. These peoples had filtered slowly southward from the forest-belt of central Russia to the steppe belt. The forest-belt was rather quiet territory and migrations did not take place in masses.

"When the people of the forest-belt came into the steppe-belt the waves of the migrating warrior peoples swept them away, picked them up and carried them on into Europe. All these peoples together made a conglomerate mass, rolling continuously westward, sometimes as a disintegrated mass of quarrelling tribes." (#152).

Teleki would not separate and isolate the identities of those Ural - Altaic units, as most of the contemporary historians did. He felt, that in the tribal-system of the Scythians, Huns, Avars, Bulgars, and Magyars people were composed, both racially and linguistically, of similar elements. Only the percentage of the various elements in each tribal - organization was different. With other words: in all these great waves of Ural - Altaic migration, from the Scythians to the Magyars, appeared some elements of the Mongol, Turkish, or Ugrian races and languages, but the balance of racial domination was variable. For example: the Huns probably contained much more stronger elements of Mongols in themselves as the Magyars did. The Magyars contained a higher percentage of Turkish and Ugrian elements in themselves, as the Huns and Avars did. Probably in most of the cases the migratory wave began to move somewhere in the far East basically as a Mongol horde, but, on its way westward, merged with

#151: P. Teleki: The Evolution of Hungary and Its Place in European History.  
p. 28.

#152: Ibid.

Turkish elements, and it became, more or less Turkicized, adopting Turkish racial and linguistic characteristics, but also preserving some Mongoloid characteristics. This was the way, how, the Turco-Tatar peoples were born. The migratory tribal - system also swallowed Finno - Ugrian fragments, which poured to the steppe from their northern forests, and southern fragments, which crossed the mountains of Persia and Afghanistan (east of the Caspian Sea), or crossed the Caucasus, pouring their racial and linguistic material into the wave of this great migration.

The speed of the east - west wave was probably a determining factor. If the originally far-eastern wave was speedy, then the probability of Turkicization, or the probability to assimilate other nordic or other southern elements, was limited. If the wave was rather slow, if the tribal-system interrupted its westernly migration with settlements, if these settlements last sometimes for one or more generations, than the originally Mongol people gradually transformed itself into a basically Turkish, or basically Ugrian people, which showed decreasing signs of the original, racial and linguistic character. For example, since the western chroniclers described the Huns, as rather Mongoloid people, we may suppose that their migration from the Walls of China was rather quick, so Turkicization did not effect them so much, or the Turkish element appeared in the Hun migration in the representation of pure Turkish tribes, which were rolled under Hun pressure, or under Hun protection, westward. In opposition to this, the Magyar migration was very slow, the people spent the time of many generation on certain fertile and politically protected parts of the Road of Nations, consequently it lost its original characteristics, step after step gradually transformed itself. Arriving to Europe, it was still very similar to the Huns, but definitely not identical.

But what happened with the various Ural - Altaic peoples, which were not able to preserve their rules in Europe ? What happened with the Scythians, when, they were pushed out from the Carpathian Basin by the Roman legions Traianus and Hadrianus ? What happened with the Huns, when their great Empire tumbled down after the death of Attila ? What happened with the Avars, when their weakening kingdom could not preserve its existence anymore in the pressing ring of the Franks, Slavs, Bulgars and Byzantines ? They returned to Mother

Asia, or at least to the eastern doorstep of Europe, to the Ural - Caspian region. Leaving some remnants in the Carpathian Basin behind, they were able to flow against the great east - west stream, these various Ural-Altaic elements met with newer, younger waves. These newer, younger waves contained the same Mongol, or Turkish, etc. racial and linguistic characteristics as the returning fragments, thus merging with them was, probably, in most of the cases, peaceful, moreover, many of the new waves (Avars, Bulgars, probably also the Magyars) respected the fame of Attila so much, or recognized the military and political experience of the Huns so well, that accepted the leadership of some Hun tribe, clan or family, fleeing from the Danubian region. Since the Huns were more experienced in the West, since they seemed to know the safest ways toward the West, they were excellent guidances, even leaders for the newly arrived tribal systems. (#153).

Keeping this theory in our mind, we can understand, why the migratory and conquering Magyars came with the legend of "Hunor and Magor", why they felt themselves as the rightful re-occupants of "Attila's inheritance", why did they call Hungary sometimes as "Hunnia", why did the word "szittys" (which was the Magyarized form of Scythia, and Scythian) appear in the early Hungarian language as a term for the especially brave Magyars. Here, at this point, we may find answer, why the Székely people (#154) felt themselves as the remained tribe of the great Hun Empire.

Consequently, we may realize, that our title for this Chapter (A Mysterious Intermarriage) means actually much more, than the formation of a Mongol - Turkish, of a Turkish - Ugrian, of a Turco-Mongol - Ugrian, etc. interrelationship. This intermarriage was not unique, was not separated and not necessarily occasional, it covers a very complex, and continuous amalgamation of many Ural-Altaic tribal systems, in which continuous amalgamation the originally

#153: The traditionally first "Balkan" Bulgarian leader was Kurt (or Kubrat) (584-642) of the Dulo family. He was a Hun, and, as he said, descendant of Attila's dynasty. His dominion was north of the Caucasus. His son Isperikh (or Asperuch; 643-701) led his people to the Balkans, when the old Great Bulgaria was disrupted by the attacks of Avars and Khazars. Amalgamation with the Slavs gradually transformed the Bulgars into Slav people, but the ruling dynasty preserved its Hun identity for many more generations.

#154: There is a theory, that the word "Székely" originated from the Latin "Siculi" (Guardians). According to their tradition, they were used by Attila as guardians in the Eastern Carpathians, and actually it became their main task under the Árpád dynasty too.

Mongoloid wave was affected, step after step transformed by nordic (Finno-Ugrian), by southern (Iranian, Mesopotamian, Caucasian, etc.), by Turkish, and also by already returning Ural - Altaic side-, and tributary waves and streams. The main east - west Ural Altaic Migration in most of the cases quite easily merged with these side waves if, the returning, or side wave was racially, or linguistically identical, or similar. Adopting, for example, Teleki's theory, only the percentage of the various Mongol - Turkish - Ugrian elements were different in the Scythian, Hun, Avar, Bulgar, Magyar, Petchenegh, and Cuman peoples. But, if the neighbouring, accumulating, confronting tribal-system realized that they racially, or linguistically very dissimilar, than merging usually did not take place. For example: the Huns did not merge with the great Gothic migration, they only subjected the Ostrogoths and pushed the Visigoths southward to the Balkans. The Avars seemed to have a tendency to merge with the Bulgars only up to the point when the Bulgars showed signs of Slavization. Then they separated themselves from the Bulgars. (#155). The Ugrian - Turkish amalgamation created the people of the Magyars probably not without conflict, but from now on Khazar - Magyar intermarriage was peaceful and friendly, the Kabar tribe followed the main Magyar stream voluntarily, the southern Sabirs flowed into the main westernly stream easily, we may suppose peaceful intermarriage even between the Magyars and the hostile Petchenegs. (#156). In opposition to this, the migratory Magyars did not show any tendency to merge with Kievan Varangians and Kievan Slavs in the ninth century, and the Magyar conquerors sensitively, and jealously preserved their racial - linguistic identity in the German - Slav ring of the Danubian area. Swabians, northern and southern Slavs assimilated into the Hungarian nation, the Magyars adopted many German and Slav terms, but Magyars in the twentieth century mainly preserved the characteristics of their medieval forefathers, Hungary remained a linguistic island, and the formation of a German-Hungarian, or Hungaro-Slav nation did not take place. (#157).

#155: This separation was associated with the fact that the Dulo dynasty came to an end with Sevar. (724-739).

#156: This suspicion (which should be followed by more investigation in the future) was based on the fact, that after 896, the eastern part of Hungary was ruled by the "Gyula-dynasty". Interestingly, the most western wing of the following Petchenegs was also called as the "Gyula" tribe. There is a possibility, that the hindermost part of the Magyars, and the forerunners of the Petchenegs gradually merged, in spite of the hostility of the main bodies.

#157: Here, of course, we must distinguish "Nation" from the term "State". In the Hungarian State, or in the multinational Habsburg Empire, the nations and nationalities actually preserved their identities.

This continuous Ural - Altaic stream, associated with continuous amalgamations and re-amalgamations, began about between 600 B.C. and 300 B.C., when the first Scythian tribal systems moved from the Aral region and from Turkestan to the Carpathian Basin, and ended only in the thirteenth century, when finally appeared the might of Mongol Proper in Europe, sweeping the remnant fragments of previous migratory waves from Mongolia to the Carpathians. This continuous stream of Ural-Altaic migration is not clear from the sixth century B.C. to the fall of the Hun Empire of Attila. After it, the pressing waves of Avars, Bulgars, Magyars, Petchenegs, Cumans, and finally Mongol Proper, were more and more visible on the historical map, and gradually better documented. Hopefully the parallel progress of comparative linguistics and archeology will project clearer light on the Hun - Avar - Ugrian - Turkish intermarriage-problem, and our basically speculative, and mainly prehistoric topic will be a well documented historical topic sometimes in the future; a topic, in which the description is based on the logical construction of better and more linguistic and archeologic evidence, and in which speculation, and assumption appears only in a gradually limited extent. I hope, that my speculation about the prehistoric intermarriages of the Ural - Altaic migration contains more elements of truth than many similar works of the past, and I also hope that similar works of the future will gradually bring the story about the medieval Road of Nations from the stage of "Prehistory" to the stage of "History!"

However, let me continue my speculation about the mysterious intermarriages between migratory tribal-systems, dealing with the problem on the ground of the "Great Man" - "Determinism" controversy.

Well - known, that the proponents of the Great Man theory would have us believe that the major developments of human history are accounted for by the great men who sometimes seem to exert an almost superhuman control over the fate of their generation. In contrast to this conception, the determinists

"...often leave little more room for individual choice than the possibility of gauging correctly the direction in which history is moving..Some determinists would say that the leader is merely the voice of his group." (#158)

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#158 Carl G. Gustavson: The Preface to History. Mc.Graw-Hill Co. New York, 1955. Chapter 10: The Individual in History. Pp. 123, 124.

Reading books about the various waves of the Great Medieval Migration, one must have the feeling that some historians attaching a great importance to certain political - military leaders. In their writings, people like Alarich, Attila, or Árpád have almost the ability and significance of the superhuman. Some other historians are tending to introduce peoples and their leaders than simply passive factors in the pushing, pressing influencing, transforming storm of History itself.

The truth is generally somewhere in the middle between these two extreme sides, but, looking <sup>at</sup> the Great Migrations, the truth, in some peculiar cases, seems to be quite close to the "Great Man" idea.

It is true, that some social forces are too powerful for any man. In the case of the Great Migrations, the movement of some tribal - organizations became the subject of counteracting pressures before and behind them, and nobody, not even the deified leader of the tribal - system could change the fate of his people. The Dacian Decebal's heroism was not enough at the front of the more progressive Roman military technique; Alarich the Visigoth and Hermanric the Ostrogoth were pushed by the Hun might; the belief in Attila's invincibility vanished on the plain of Catalaunum; Baján, khagan of the Avars could not preserve his people's position surrounded by the growing power of Franks, Bulgars and Byzantines; Árpád's people was actually pushed into the Carpathian Basin by the bloodthirsty Petchenegs; "Tsar" Symeon, the Bulgar, was able to overrule the Balkans only by using the opportunity of the dynastic troubles of Byzantium; and Khan Batu, victorious leader of the Mongols was enforced to give up his further dreams, because of the sudden death of the Great Khan Ogotai threatened political complications in Mongolia Proper, etc. Thus great leaders of powerful units became often puppets of forceful circumstances. In spite of all these examples, it was also true, that in certain dramatic moments of the Great Migrations appeared "the right man at the right time," and became the force, which makes history, himself.

Even the Determinists agree that

"..an occasional genius, by extremely dexterous and willful actions, may achieve a historical mutation." (#159)

This statement seems to be very truthful, if we study the history of the Ural - Altaic peoples.

"...We see that in a moment of great danger, in one of those moments of hot struggle which gave a new impulse to migration, there arises the Man, the man whom Asia's races needed to form peoples from the related but scattered ranks and to lead them to new conquests." (#160).

Teleki, followed by many historians, believed, that the great peoples of Asia, the Huns, Hiungnus, Yuë - Tchis (#161), Mongols and others, were all more or less collected from the same or related tribes.

"It was the will of the great chiefs, of the Attilas, Kublai Khans, and Tamerlans, who raided the plains and put the stamp of the chief's own clan on all the peoples they touched. The Man of the Magyars arose in the person of Árpád." (#162).

In connection with this quotation, we have to agree, that the Hun Empire was actually a mighty framework for Gepids, Ostrogoths, Rugians, Scirians, Heruls, Thuringians, Álans, Burgundians, and Ripuarian Franks, and the terrible military power, which was represented by so many various, Ural - Altaic and Indo - European peoples, was actually concentrated in the hand of one man, called by the frightened peoples of Europe, as the "Scourge of God." We know, that one individual, son of Pepin III, the Short, called Charlemagne was able enough to change the course of history, and after his death, the product of his life fell immediately to pieces, because his great personality was the only force which hold his Carolingian Empire together. We know, that the personal power of Árpád forced the loose organization of the Seven Tribes to create a strong military unit, and the people, which was in his father's Álmos' time only a primitive subject in the service of Khazarian Khagans, was transformed, under his leadership so much, that it appeared on the scene of European history as important associate of the German and Byzantine Empires, and one of the decisive factors of contemporary Europe. It happened in the period of one generation, and it was the personal achievement of Árpád himself. Thus, the role of the great rulers

#160: P. Teleki: The Evolution of Hungary and Its Place in European History. p. 27.

#161: This people (supposedly Indo-European) were driven by the Hsiung-Nu (Huns) west from the Chinese border. (2nd Century A.D.)

#162: Teleki: The Evolution of Hungary, etc. p. 27.



was revealed not only by political and military achievements, but by the fact, that those great kings and chieftains personally facilitated, influenced, enforced, or completed the unification of related tribes. As the actually leading spirit of this centralization, as the genius, who managed a political - military power concentration by tribal intermarriages, the Attilas, Árpáds and Jengiz Khans secured the possibility of military victories and political dominations of the future for their united people.

This tribal unification was the first decisive step on the road of development towards nationhood, and the nation was named after the clan or tribe of the great king, or chieftain, whose personal management resulted the tribal intermarriage, or unification. (#163). This is the point, where our speculation about the problem of tribal intermarriage touches the topic of the "Great Man - Determinists" controversy, - for the disadvantage of the determinists in this case. Strong personalities were decisive history-makers in the long course of the Great Migration, and in many of the mentioned examples, they were powerful enough to counterbalance even unfavourable circumstances.

How could they do it ? They did it, because they led a decisive role managing tribal intermarriages, tribal unifications, renewed their people with fresh blood , and social transfusions, and in the critical period of history they were able to drop much heavier weight on their side in the medieval balance of power, than it was expected by their enemies. Estimating the significance of the great Ural-Altai kings, khagans, khans, chieftains, we have to do more than simply dealing with them, describing their rule in the framework of Europe. It would be a one-sided story. Their real significance begins earlier. They appear as history-makers, when unifying related tribal-systems with their own tribe, simultaneously concentrating the power in their own hands, they are becoming the main impulses in the "pulse of Asia."

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#163: Probably the Hun example is the best. In the time of Attila all the Turco-Tatar tribes and Ural-Altai fragments were equally called "Huns". Other examples: the Balkan-Bulgars preserved the term "Bulgar" as the name of their nation even after their complete Slavization, respecting the memory of their first Hun-Bulgar "Dulo" dynasty. The "Hetumoger", after their tribal unification, adopted the "Magyar" name for the newly born nation, because Árpád's original tribe was the "Megyeri" tribe.

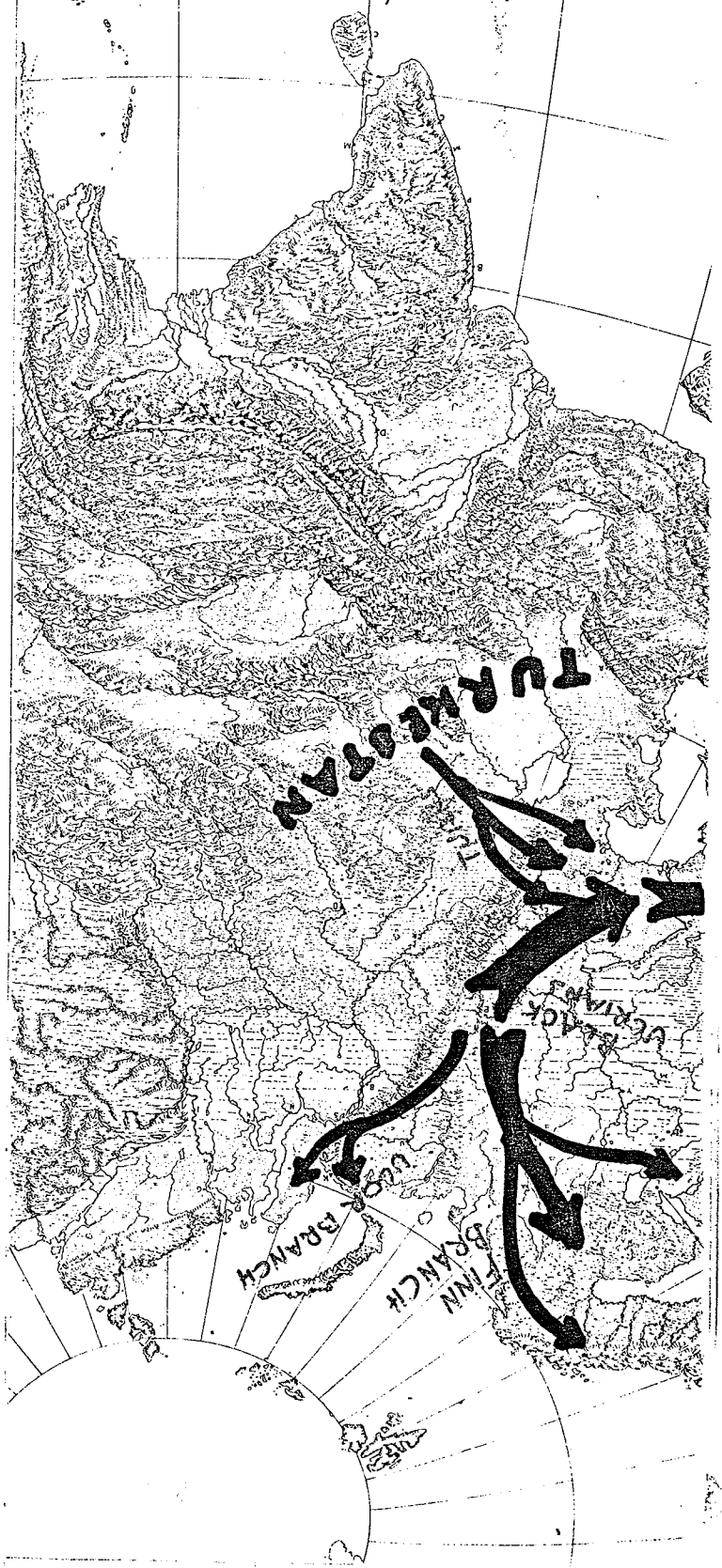
(The "Turkish" theory.)

HYPOTHESIS/B.



(The "Finnic-Uralian" theory.)

HYPOTHESIS/A.



## VIII.

THE "PULSE OF ASIA."

Before dealing with some details of the Magyar migration, it seems to be logical to speculate about the possible causes of the Great Migration of so many powerful tribe-organizations, which seemed to be continuous from the golden age of the Roman Empire until the Mongol Invasion in the thirteenth century.

What sort of fantastic dynamism could push people after people from east to west for thirteen hundred years ?

We know, that in Julius Caesar's time various Teutonic tribes already expanded slowly west to the North Sea, southwest, south, and southeast to the Rhine and the Danube and east to the Vistula, gradually occupying all the land beyond the Rhine. From the Roman point of view they came from the North, but in every probability, they were some early wave of the Great Migration, and they came from the depth of Mother Asia. (#164). These early German fragments, Marcomanni, Quadi, Carpi, etc. were pushed by newcomers from the east. The Angles and Jutes picked up some portions of these fragments and in the 5th century these north-European waves were supplemented and reinforced by the so-called Saxons too. About in the same time came the great Gothic Migration. According to our present day's knowledge, they came from Scandinavia sometimes after A.D.150, and from the Vistula-basin they migrated down to the Dniester, but on the base of the Indo-European theory they were the children of Asia too. The pulse of Asia was beating vehemently in the fifth century. The Goths were pushed by the arriving Hun tribes. The Huns, second incarnations of the ancient Scythians, stirred the temporary settlements of Germanic tribal-systems. The Vandals were pushed to Iberia and after it, to Africa. The Visigoths were pushed to the Balkans, and later they disappeared somewhere in Iberia too. The Ostrogoths were pushed to Pannonia, and later were completely subjugated, by the powerful representative of the Ural - Altaic family.

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#164: According to linguists, the very center of the Indo-European language family was the northern half of India, and most of the Iranian Plateau. According to German sources, the name of the family is: "Indo-German", which nomination shows the tendency about the belief of Indo-Iranian origin.

Attila's Empire was strong enough to paralyze the powerful movements of Migration, and if any change took place, it was associated with the political, or military tactic of the Huns. After the disintegration of this Empire, its subjected tribe-organizations, the Gepids, Ostrogoths, Burgundians, Franks continued their movements. The Ostrogoths, and later the Longobards (Lombards) filtrated into Italy, and the Franks, undisturbed from their east, were able to build up their own European domination. Simultaneously, the pulse of Asia made feel its renewed beating. New, wave arrived from Asia on the Road of Nations, the Avars. Supposedly under the guidance, (or even under the leadership) of returning Hun chieftains, the re-conquered the "Inheritance of Attila", pushing the rest of the Lombards to the Po - Valley, and the Bolgars, with many Slav fragments, to the Balkans. The strong neighbourhoods of the Frankish and Byzantine Empires were not able to challenge the Central European domination of the Avars for many centuries, because the Avars received repeated reinforcements of Ural - Altaic tribes, pressed into the Avar framework by the pulse of Asia. (#165).

After the disintegration of the Avar Empire, the Balkan Bolgars and some smaller Slav tribal settlements attempted to use the opportunity offered by the vacuum of power in the Danubian area. It seemed that the pulse of Asia slowed down, when the Hetumoger appeared in the crossing passes of the Carpathians, followed by the Petchenegs, and later the Cumans. These two latter were stopped by the Hungarian resistance, which used the great circle of the Carpathian Mountains as a giant fortress defending the settled nation against barbarian newcomers. Only some Petcheneg and Cuman fragments could enter into the Basin, rather as refugees and not as invaders, assmiliating into the main Hungarian body throughout centuries. The Petcheneg ambition was dissolved on the rocks of the Eastern Carpathians, and their weakened fragments were pushed to the Lower Danube area by the coming Cumans. The Cumans were pushed by the invasion of the mighty Mongol Proper, which penetrated into Europe with the plan of European domination.

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#165: The larges wave of new Ural-Altaic forces, pouring into the European empire of the Avars, appeared around A.D. 670. This tribal-system was formed from various Hun-Avar, and probably even from Magyar elements, since the wave of the "late Avars" came from the area, where the Ugrian-Turkish amalgamation took place. In connection to this, it is interesting to mention that Simon Kézai (p.52) dated the Hungarian Conquest to A.D. 670 (and not to the traditional A.H. 896).

What was the cause of this energetic East - West movement in the very beginning ? What type of powerful energy caused the forceful line of pressure from the time of the first Quads, and Marcomans on the Roman frontiers to the period of the Mongol flood ?

History is still lacking documentary evidence, attempting to answer this question. Something in the heart of Asia gave the first push to this historical avalanche. It could be a terrible earthquake. It could be a bloody revolution in a prehistoric Oriental Empire. This energetic, disturbing pressure could be the same which pushed the American Indians across the Bering Strait to their new home, America. But even if we do not know the original cause of the Migration, we may suppose that after the first forceful push, came an automatic, "selfwinding" pressure. For centuries the increase of population somewhere at the Chinese borders, in Turkestan, around the Caspian Mediterranean, or at any portion of the great Road of Nations had driven Germanic, later more and more Ural-Altaic tribes to seek more fertile or less thickly populated lands. The margin of subsistence was always small, and any increase of population on the Road from China until Europe soon caused overcrowding. The migration of these tribe organizations, driven from their territory by the pressure of other tribes behind them or begun of their own volition in search of more favorable conditions, was made more easy by the fact that they were not entirely dependent on agriculture. The males of these tribes were still mainly hunters, fishermen, cattle-breeders, and slave-traders.

"Neighboring brigands attack the settled peasant, then retreat into their barren steppes with their loot, to be propelled into the sown area again by the whip of hunger." - simplifies Emil Lengyel. "These hungry robbers then fasten themselves on the vanquished people, sometimes completely displacing them, settling, becoming the victims of bolder marauders." (#166).

More and more of the hungry nomads were crowded north of the Caspian - Asovian - Danubian line. They moved westward in bold outbursts of enterprise under their adventurous leaders. The story about the legendary wealth of the two Roman Empires must have reached the famished nomads in a vastly exaggerated form, telling of great urban centers gorging themselves with food, glittering with gold, and surrounded by smaragd-green abundant pasturages. The pressure from the East associated with the attraction of the West. The migra-

#166: Emil Lengyel: 1,000 Years of Hungary. p.7.

tory tribal - systems usually did not move too far north; they were forced to stay on the Road of Nations. The animals, just as the people, had to stay beside the waters of the Kaspian and Black Sea, at the rich, green grasses of the Deltas of the Ural, Volga, Don, Dnieper, Pruth, Dniester, and the other Rivers. Finally, in the order of European arrival, almost all those waves crossed the Eastern Carpathians, and the newcomers felt secure, finding themselves on a very fertile land, having the clear waters of the Danube and the Tisza, and being surrounded by the high mountains of the Alps and the Carpathians. The "Pulse of Asia" did not let them rest for too long. Most of the Danubian settlers were pushed westwards, or southwards out from the Carpathian Basin by new waves. Only three powerful Ural Altaic tribe-organizations proved to be strong enough to create a Central-European power-base here, and they were new reincarnations of the prehistoric Scythians: the Huns, the Avars and finally the Magyars.

The Huns played a very special, active role making the "Pulse of Asia" even more vehement, that it was in the period of the Gothic - Germanic migrations. Their invasion as Hiung-Nu (or: Hsiung-Nu) against China, (#167), their defeat (#168), and their powerful reappearance in Turkistan (#169) could be one of the main reasons of a tribal change-reaction, and east-west pressure, in itself.

It is not the reason of this essay to detail the history of the Hun power in Europe (#170). However, the problem of Turco-Hungarian intermarriage makes it necessary to deal with the question of Hun disintegration, because the refugeeing Hun chieftains, returning to the Road of Nations, exercised a significant role, stirring new storms on it, provoking new, ardent beatings from the "Pulse of Asia."

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- #167: Shih Huang Ti, first emperor of the Ch'in Dynasty (d. 210 B.C.) built the Great Chinese Wall (in about 214 B.C.) against the Huns.
- #168: China (in the period of the Han Dynasty; 202 B.C. - A.D. 9) was able to solve the Hun problem. Ho Ch'ü-ping (d. 117 B.C.) pushed them north of the Gobi desert. Then they split into northern and southern divisions. The southern (White) Huns remained in Turkistan, and one group of them interfered the history of China again forming Hun-dynasties on the northern marches of China.
- #169: The Black Huns remained also in Turkistan until about 300-320, but in 350, they were already on the Northcaucasus defeating the Alans.
- #170: Defeating the Ostrogoths north of the Black Sea, pressing the Visigoths to the Balkans, their king Rua (Ruas, or Rugilas, d. 434) managed actually the foundation of the Hun Empire in Europe. Attila (ruled together with his brother Buda in 434, and ruled exclusively only after his brother's death) only strengthened the Empire inherited from Rua.

After Attila's death his sons divided up the subject nations equally among themselves, but it was not many months after their father's death that they began to quarrel. This situation gave special opportunities for the subject nations to prepare a rebellion, which was started by a number of Ostrogoths in the Tisza (Theiss) valley. However, it was only a preliminary move; the great revolt of the Germanic peoples was led and inspired by Ardaric the king of the Gepids, who had been a confidant of Attila. After many battles, the decision was reached, probably in 455, at the Nedao River in Pannonia. (#171). Even Ellac (Hung: Ellák), eldest son of Attila died on the battlefield. His surviving brothers with the remnants of their followers fled across the Carpathians to the shores of the Black Sea, where eighty years before, the Huns had signalized their arrival in European history by crushing the Ostrogoths.

What was their activity there? It was only partly known. We know, that a portion of them returned shortly and attacked the Ostrogoths. The result was another shattering defeat for the Huns.

"Only a fraction... escaped from the battlefield under Ernac, Attila's favoured younger son, to take refuge with Marcian's permission at the confluence of the Danube and the Theiss... Some Huns... were settled in company with a body of other barbarians in the neighbourhood of Castra Martis... Emmetzur and Ultzindur, two otherwise unknown consanguinei of Attila's sons, were settled in Dacia Ripensis and controlled the fortresses of Utus, Oescus, and Almus." (#172).

The other portion of the Hun refugees was received by the related tribes, north of the Black Sea, with special respect. (#173). They were elected as chieftains, or were appointed as advisers, and it was, supposedly, in agreement with them, that the representatives of the Huns attempted to communicate with Byzantium.

#171: Speculation about the today's identity of the Nedao did not lead to any result yet. It could be the River Dráva, Száva, Rába, or Rapos, or any of the even smaller rivers.

#172: Quotation from E.A. Thompson: A History of Attila and the Huns. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1948, p. 156. Note: According to Tibor Baráth (A Magyar Népek Östörténete, p. 16) the right reading of "Emmetzur" and of "Ultzindur" is Emmetz-Ur, and Ultzind-Ur. ("Ur" means: "Mister!") Castra Martis was a fortress lying well back from the River Danube in the province of Moesia. It is identical with the modern Kula in Bulgaria. Thompson's quotation bases itself on the chronicle of the Gothic historian, Jordanes.

#173: Peoples, north of the Black Sea were mainly Ural-Altaiic by race and language. They were also part of the Hun empire until the death of its king, Attila. We have reason to believe that the forerunner-tribes of Ugrians, Onogurs, Sabirians were already there, and the first tribes of the arriving Avars also appeared on the Road of Nations.

Dengizech (second son of Attila after Ellac, and since his Brother's death, the most respected among Huns) reappeared in the Tisza valley in about 460. Having the commission of the Huns both from the Black Sea area and from the Danubian Basin, he, and the youngest son of Attila, Ernac decided to reestablish some Hun power associating with the Byzantines.

"In the year 468 - 9, an embassy arrived in Constantinople from the 'children of Attila'. Its purpose was to clear up the differences which existed between the East Roman government and themselves - evidently some fighting had taken place - and to negotiate a peace treaty which would reopen the market towns along the Roman frontier to the Huns." (#174).

The envoys achieved nothing. Leo I (457-474), the Emperor (#175) saw no reason why the benefits of Roman trade should be given to men who had done so much harm to the Empire.

When the Huns heard the failure of the embassy, they disagreed among themselves. Dengizech wished to declare war upon the Eastern Romans, but his younger brother, Ernac refused to join him, because he felt to consolidate his own dominion first. Dengizech lost his patience. He undertook the campaign alone. Appearing upon the bank of the Danube, he faced Anagast, the Thracian general. (#176). The negotiations broke down, because Emperor Leo was unwilling to enlist the Huns (as they requested) in his army. Dengezich attacked the Romans. He was defeated and killed by Anagast in 469.

"His head was brought to the Eastern capital, where it was carried in procession along the street called Mesé, and fixed on a pole at the Xylokerkos Gate." (#177).

Ernac was the only son of Attila in alive. An oracle foretold that he would restore the fallen fortunes of Attila's remnants. What happened with him? Since, his connection with Constantinople was quite good (#178) it was possible that he remained in Roman service. It was also possible that he returned to the Black Sea area for reinforcement, or for final settlement. In the myth of the Székelys

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#174: E.A. Thompson: A History of Attila and the Huns. p.156.

#175: He was a person of Thracian origin himself. Succeeding Marcian, as emperor of the east, he faced the Huns with much more hostility than his predecessor.

#176: He was the favoured general of the emperor, son of Arnegisclus, who had often fought Attila.

#177: E.A. Thompson: A History of Attila and the Huns. p.157.

#178: Especially with Marcian, the previous emperor. However, his reputation at the front of Leo was not bad either, since in the diplomatic circles of Constantinople it was well known, that he did not join Dengezich.



he remained as a legendary saviour, who will certainly return with his brave Hun warriors to help the Székely people against enemies. (#179).

Although the fate of Irnac remained unknown, the Hun fragments remained quite active both on the Balkans and north of the Black Sea. At the end of the fifth century Hun attacks represented some problems for Constantinople. (#180). Groups of Huns served the Western Romans very soon after the battle of the Nedao. As late as A.D. 559, remnants of the Huns still appeared at the wall of Constantinople causing some uneasiness for the defending generals. (#181). However, the real significance of the "postAttilan" Huns was associated with their role on the Road of Nations, uniting the Ural-Altai newcomers, and preparing a great return into the Inheritance of Attila. With this activity, the Huns remained the main force in the new waves of the Great Migration.

"Priscus tells us that in the middle of the sixties ambassadors arrived in Constantinople from the people of the... Uguri, and the Onoguri. These nations had been driven out of their homes by the Sabiri, who had themselves been set in motion by a nation whose name is now mentioned for the first time, the Avars." (#182).

From this quotation we could find out that (a) forerunners of Ugrians were already on the Road of Nations, (b), the Onogur, Bulgars, or at least some of their tribes already left Great Bulgaria of the Volga Valley, (c) Sabirians, crossed the Caucasus already, (d) the Avars appeared at the door of Europe (#183), and although the quotation itself did not mention, we could suspect, that the Hun refugees, bloodthirsty for revenge, were agitating everywhere, promising guidance toward the Carpathian paradise, increasing the speed of the feeble pulse of Asia again.

#179: On p.53 (and #118) we already mentioned the so-called Csaba legend. Irnac is unquestionably identical with Csaba of the Székelys. Padányi, in his Dentumagyaria (p.285) suggests that Irnac, or Irnák was his real name, "chaba", or "csaba" was probably a term for the rank of the smallest son of Attila. Macartney supposed (Studies on the Early Hungarian Historical Sources; Budapest, 1940. p.190) that Chaba-Irnac "have gone to Greece, married a Greek Princess, and settled down".

#180: The generals of Emp. Zeno (474-91) have beaten them back.

#181: The Huns (in alliance with Slavs) were driven off by Belisarius.

#182: E. A. Thompson: A History of Attila and the Huns. p.159.

#183: The Avars (called as "Juan-Juan" by the Chinese) founded the first Mongol Empire (407-533). Probably as a result of a revolt, many of their tribes moved westward, meeting with Hun refugees around the Asovian Sea. They crossed the Volga in 560, entering Thuringia in 562. After their first encounter with the Franks, they allied with the Lombards. They occupied Dacia in c.570.

The Avar power was able to re-occupy the Carpathian Basin using the guidance, (and possibly the partial leadership) of the Hun aristocracy, and the remnants of the Danubian Huns unquestionably welcomed the fact that the heart-beating of Mother Asia pressed new allies into the Danube Valley.

Were the Avars identical with the Huns ?

"It is a remarkable fact that ...Lesgjian (#184) or Caucasian Avars have a number of names and words which are identical with the names used by the ancient Huns, and this is an argument for the otherwise probable view that the Avars were a people very closely related to the Huns." (#185).

"...Like the Scythians of a thousand years before, they existed on horseback, moving with their herds. Their women bore children on the march, and no man could name the place of his birth....These barbarians...all resemble each other, but they resemble no one else...On that river (Danube) the Avars pitched their wagon-ring encampments, sheltering their supplies and treasures, while their kagan, Bayan, measured the strength of civilization around him. The name of Bayan is pure Mongol, and his Avars were of Mongol descent." (#186).

Although the Asiatic title of the Huns (Hiung-Nu, or Hsiung-Nu) was also Mongol-sounding, and even if they were considerably mixed with pure Mongols in about 200 B.C., Chinese sources suggested, that they were rather Turks, and their ancient home was probably Turkistan. The Avar case shows the opposite. They were probably pure Mongols, and their easy communication with the Huns and with other Turkish elements on the Road of Nations was only caused by the facts that (a) the Mongols belonged to the Ural-Altaic (Turanian) language family themselves, (b) the Avars were supposedly slightly Turkicized in the period of their short sojourns in Turkistan, on their way towards Europe, and (c) by the Hun intermarriages. However, their majority remained pure Mongol, and their leading chieftains were Mongols too. (#187). They adopted the idea of "Attila's Inheritance"

#184: J. B. Bury informs (in his The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians. Russell & Russell, Inc. New York, 1963, p. 263) that "There is at the present day a people called 'Avars' in Leghistan" (Caucasus).

#185: J. B. Bury: The Invasion of Europe...etc. p. 263.

#186: Harold Lamb: The March of the Barbarians. The Literary Guild of America, Inc., New York, 1940. p. 17.

#187: Let me remind the reader, at this point, to Teleki's theory, according which those Ural-Altaic peoples were basically all related, and the Carpathian Basin was reoccupied by similar peoples since the Scythians. Only the percentage of Mongol, Turkish, or Ugrian element was varied. (pp. 72-74). Supposedly the Hun aristocracy could reach leading position rather among the Bulgars, because they were rather Turks (as the Huns themselves), and Mongols only in a very limited extent. (See: the "Dulo Dynasty" and the Bulgars, p. 73, #153.)

from the Hun advisers, because it justified the Carpathian Conquest, and they adopted a large Turkish vocabulary. The Hun interpreters, employed by Byzantium did not have any problem to communicate with the Avar ambassadors.

The Avars dominated the Carpathian Basin from 580 to 796. (#188), pressing the Bulgarian relatives only to the secondary role. (#189). They received new reinforcements from the Road of Nations continuously. (#190), and even after the final defeat from Charlemagne in 795-796, large Avar fragments remained in the Carpathian Basin, waiting the arrival of the next Ural - Altaic wave.

The next wave, the next curious mixture of Mongol-Turkish-Ugrian-Sibirian-Hun-, and Avar elements left the southern slopes of the Ural Mountains <sup>at</sup> this time. They were on their way, pressed by the "Pulse of Asia!" The Magyars were coming.

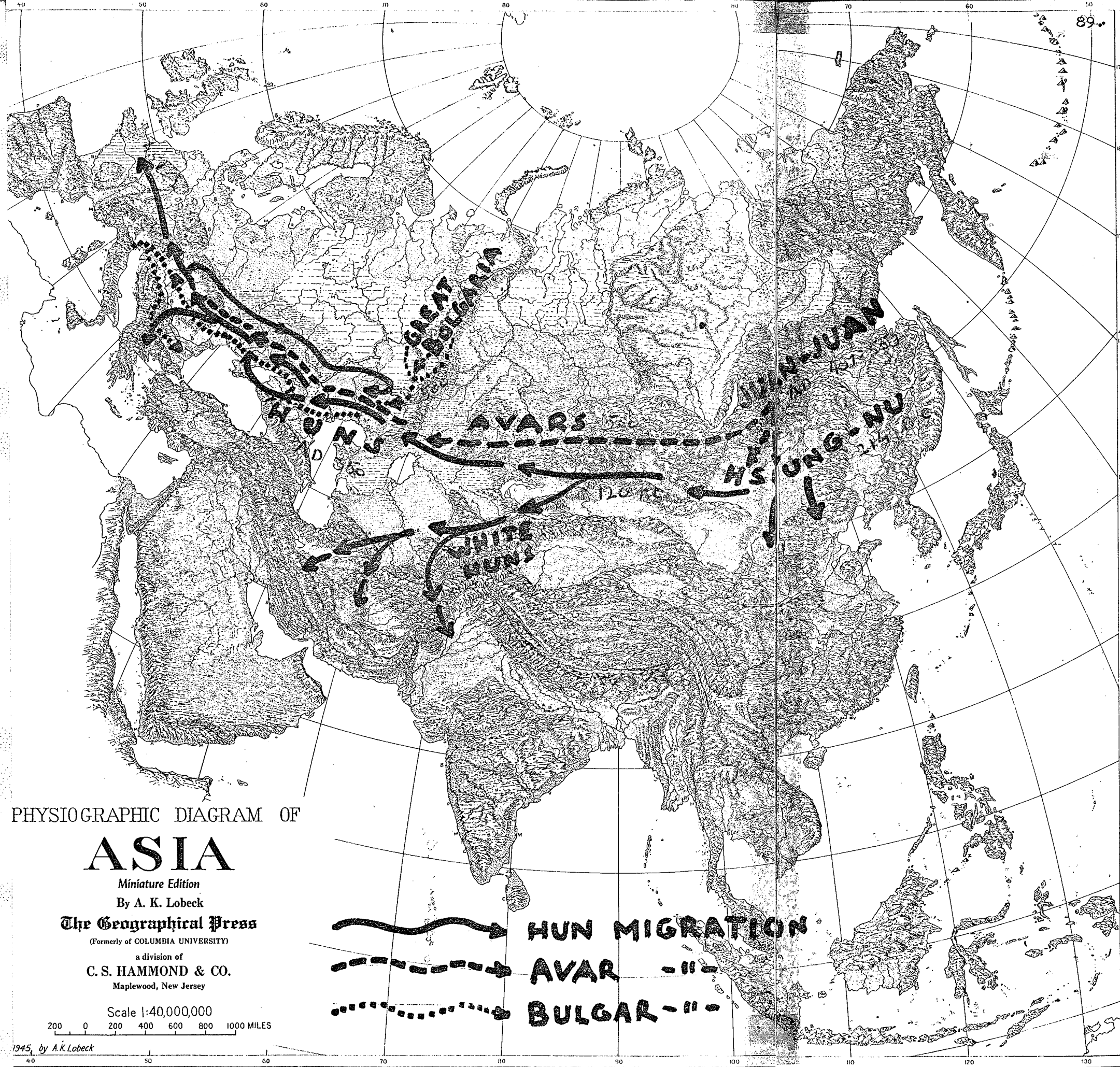
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Concluding our speculation about the "Pulse of Asia" with the described Hun - Avar waves, presenting the outlines of the Hun, Avar, and Bulgar migrations also as "prologue" before the detailed description of the Magyar migration from the Ural to the Carpathians, the author of this essay feels to raise this question: are historians of the West right discussing Hun, Avar and Hungarian history in separated, even isolated chapters? Should not we include all these great Ural-Altaic transformations into one, continuous story?

#188: The first defeat by the Franks taught the Avars to ally themselves with the Lombards. This step secured the conquest of Dacia (570). The Gepids were annihilated. Then the Lombards were pushed toward Italy. In 583, the Avars were grown to be a formidable power. They took the first along the Danube from Maurikios, Byzantine emperor, and raided the gates of Constantinople in 591, 619, and in 626, using the fact that Byzantium was simultaneously troubled by the Persians. In the middle of the 7th century, the Avars reached the height of their power.

#189: In the 5th century, the Bulgars still settled all together in Great-Volga-Bulgaria. The fact that Kurt (or Kubrat) of the Hun-Dulo aristocracy separated the Caucasian Bulgars from the Volga-Bulgars, represented an example of the Hun influence. Isperikh (643-701) led his people to the Balkans, because the concentrated Avar-Khazarian attack in the Caucasus. (645). Touching Pannonia, and even Italy in 650, he established his capital at Pliska, and in 680, defeating the Byzantines managed the foundation of Balkan-Bulgaria. The Bulgar position was, however, rather pressed until the fall of the Avars.

#190: As it was mentioned on p. 81, (#165) the Avars were reinforced in 670 by the so-called "late Avars". They came probably together with an Avar army, returning from the Caucasian war against the Bulgars. These "late-Avars" were not Mongols anymore, but rather Turks. They also could be the first wave of the Turco-Ugrian Magyars.



PHYSIOGRAPHIC DIAGRAM OF

# ASIA

Miniature Edition

By A. K. Lobeck

**The Geographical Press**

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200 0 200 400 600 800 1000 MILES

1945, by A.K. Lobeck

 **HUN MIGRATION**  
 **AVAR -"-**  
 **BULGAR -"-**

## IX.

THE MAGYARS IN THE KHAZARIAN KHAGANATE.

According to the believers and advocates of the Finno-Ugrian origin of the Magyars, the ancient home of them was a region somewhere at the western slopes of the Ural Mountains, probably the valleys of the Kama, the upper Volga, the Petchora, and the Ural rivers. The believers of the Turkish origin suggested that the ancient home of the pre-Magyars was probably Turkistan, somewhere on the area where the Sir-Daria and the Amu-Daria flow into the Aral Lake. Advocates of Mongol-Turkish origin imagined the ancient home in Mongolia Proper, and considered Turkistan only as a region for the period of Turkicization. We will see in the final chapters of this essay, that some historians and linguists are going so far with their hypotheses that they believe that the ancient Fatherland of the pre-Magyars, and of all the Ural-Altai peoples was Mesopotamia, the land of the ancient Sumerians.

Since this dispute is still undecided, and since it was quite possible that all these lands and areas were ancient homelands of a certain tribe, or tribes which later were united in the tribe-organization of the Magyars by an unknown, able chieftain, or by the agreement of the chiefs of the various groups, I feel, that discussing the possible wandering of the Magyars will be sensible, if we would begin our speculation at the area, where the Ural River flows into the Caspian Sea. After all, believers of all these theories agreed that somewhere the region between the Ural and Emba Rivers, which is called the "Caspian Lowlands" by geographers, the Magyars were more or less united, and the united tribe organization began its moving westward from here. Thus, the main topic of this chapter will be the Magyar migration from the southern slopes of the Ural Mountains to the Carpathians, regardless of the prehistory of the various Ugrian, Mongol, Turkish portions.

Before dealing with the possible situation of the pre-Magyars north of the Caspian Sea, let me suggest, that all the mentioned components were refugees from their original home-land. They run away from the neighbourhood of a powerful nation, or they run away from the misery of dryness, or some other unkindness of Nature, lack of necessary pasturages, etc. Mongolia proved to be a too small area

and too unfruitful area for the quarelling barbarian tribes already in the early Middle Ages. The Great Chinese Wall prevented southern penetration, the wide and green steppes tempted for western adventures. Turkistan was also overpopulated by the growing number of Turkish tribes and by the fact that more and more Mongol, and Indo-German (Persian, Indian, etc.) tribal systems crossed this area. The ancient Ugrians felt very uncomfortable under the growing pressure of Great Bolgaria and Baskiria. Their population was grown, the useful pasturages decreased. They were actually forced to move southward by their circumstances. (#191).

According to Béla Szász, the first historical appearance of a united tribal system, which could be similar, or even identical with the pre-Magyars, was in the beginning of the 6th century.

"The first historical appearance of the Magyars could be placed to 528. Around the River Don lived the people of the Onogurs (#192) thistime. They were organized from ten tribes. Their king, Gorda, was called the "Hun" king by the Byzantines. Gorda wished to adopt Christianity, but his brother, Muager murdered him." (#193).

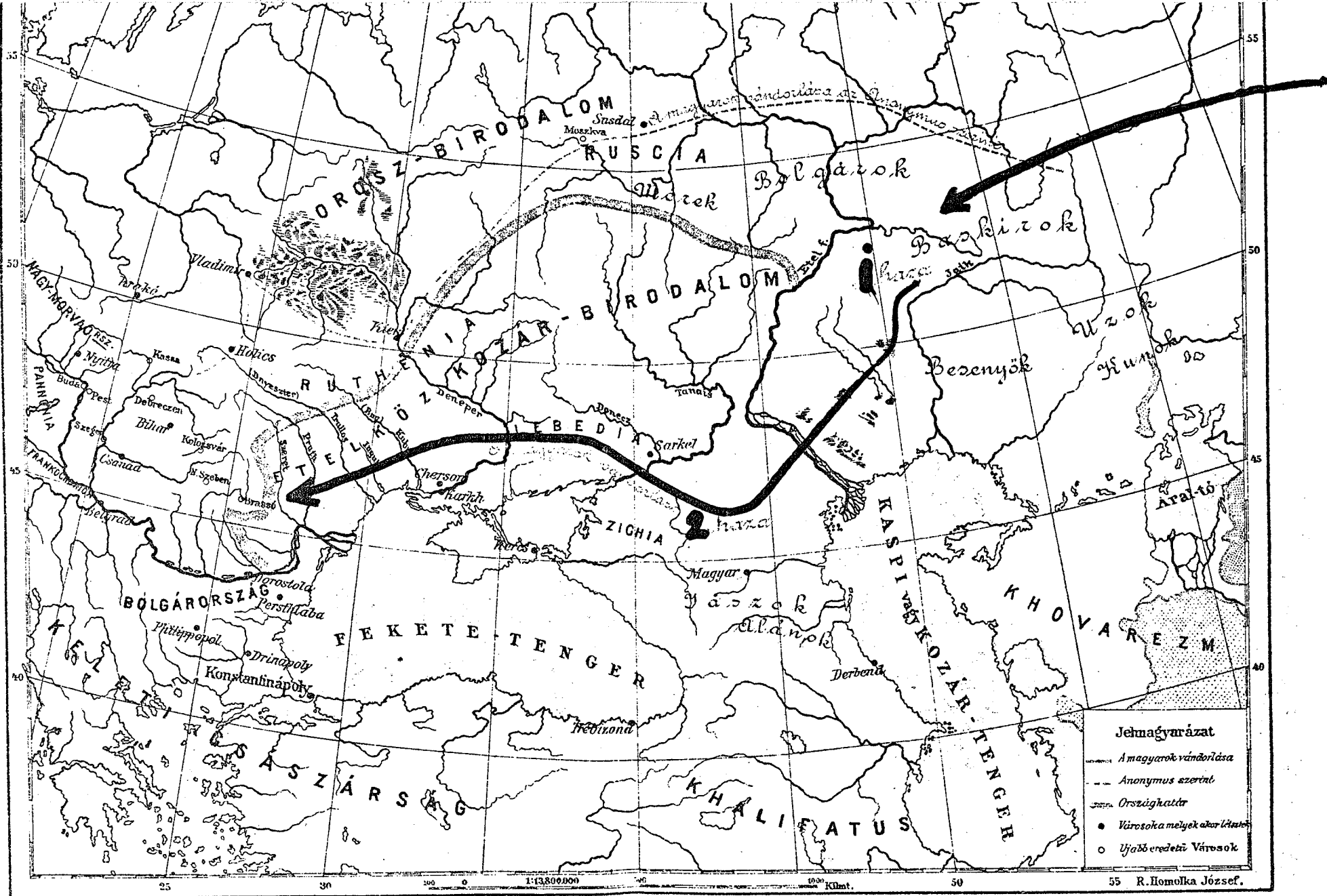
This theory about early existence of the Magyars was based on Byzantine sources. However, the Byzantines, mentioning early medieval peoples never used the term "Magyar", and the quotation above, represents only one more information which leads to the hypothesis, that (a) the Avar Empire (which stretched east to the Volga as far as the Khazarian Khaganate) embodied many Turco-Tatar tribal systems, which were similar to the Magyars, (b) the Onogurs were already one of these systems, ruled over by Hun aristocracy, and (c) the name "Muager" (as Szász suggests it) resembles to "Magor", or "Magyar", thus it could be considered as an early appearance of this name. (#194).

#191: Henrik Marczali's map gives some information about the ancient homeland of the Ugrians in the neighbourhood of Great Bolgaria and the Baskirs. (H. Marczali: Magyarország Története, Athenaeum, Budapest, 1912. p.4-5. See next page). Baskiria was suspected as "Magna Hungaria" by the Hungarians in the period of the Árpád Dynasty, and this was the region which was visited by Father Julianus. (Discussed on pp.37-38). Macartney examined the problem of possible Baskir-Magyar identity (The Magyars in the 9th Century, pp.33-38) and, as a conclusion, he feels it quite possible that the Baskirs were a tribe, closely related, even identical with the pre-Magyars. (See his Map on p.92)

#192: Discussed already on p.6, mentioned on p.22 (#67).

#193: Béla Szász: Magyarország Története a Római Kortól. (The History of Hungary from the Roman Age; Ed. Kossuth, Danubian Press, Buenos Ayres;) p.33.

#194: V. Padányi also mentioned Muager (Dentumagyarina, p.261), suggesting that the Onogurs supported thistime the Persians against Emperor Justinian. (537-39).

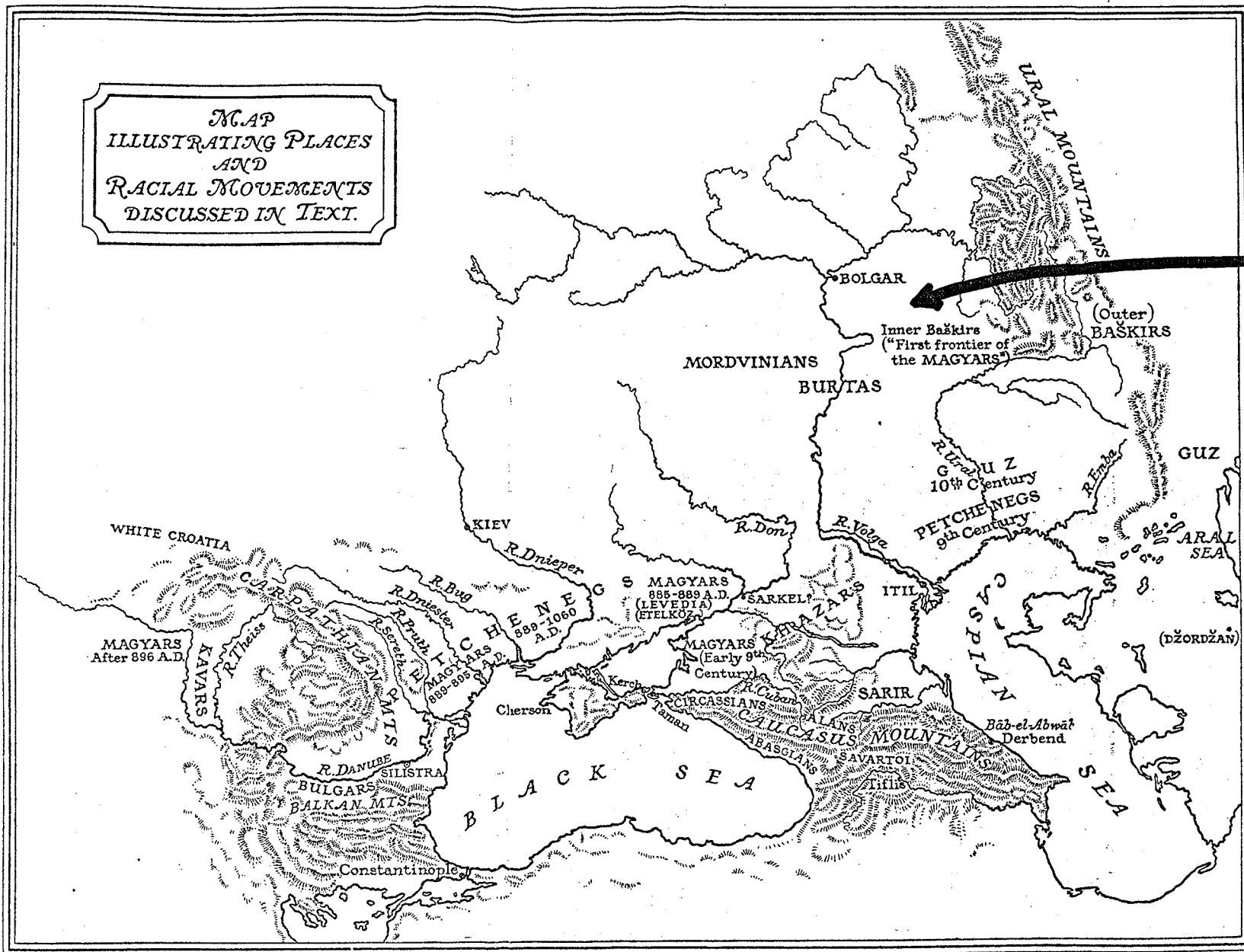


MŰVELTSÉG KÖNYVTÁRA.

AZ ATHENAEUM P.T. KÖNYVMÁSA.

Henrik Marczali (Magyarország Története; The History of Hungary. pp.4/5).  
 ( i means the suspected original home of the Ugrian pre-Magyars.)

MAP  
ILLUSTRATING PLACES  
AND  
RACIAL MOVEMENTS  
DISCUSSED IN TEXT.



Pre-Magyars discussed by Macartney

Map from C.A. Macartney: The Magyars in the Ninth Century.



The Ugrian branch of the pre-Magyars migrated slowly southward to the Caspian area. This migration happened in many waves and it could begin already in the sixth century. They filtered in the valleys of the Volga (#195) and the Ural rivers. (#196). This migration was so slow, that at the end of the seventh century still arrived some Ugrian fragments to the Caspian Lowland and joined their previously migrated forerunners.

"...they now also became exposed to the fate of all the steppe dwellers, attack by a stronger neighbour - nearly always on their east - forcing them to change their feeding grounds; an easy matter for nomads provided that their western neighbours, in their turn, were weaker than they." (#197).

Fortunately, the pulse of Asia slowed down between the sixth and the ninth century. The historical storms of Mongolia did not press dangerous waves for a while, the Avar Empire and the Khazarian Khaganate (closely associated by common political interest and by their common Hun aristocracies) controlled the Road of Nations from the Carpathians to the Lake Aral. Two centuries were enough for the Ugrians and the Turks to merge, forming a curious Ugro-Turkish tribe organization. (This intermarriage was discussed in Chapter VII). The Turkic element in this newly formed tribal system did not change its original way of life; they were the stronger, they enforced their life system on others. The Ugrians were transformed, and they became integral elements of the Turkish pre-Magyar organization. These nordic people turned from gleaning, fishing, and hunting to stock breeding. Consequently, their social structure was transformed too.

"Pastureland was still common property, but control over livestock, tents and major equipment gradually came into the hands of the head of the clan. Even clan structure changed: the matriarchal system of indirect inheritance, under which all possessions went to the mother's brothers or her sisters' male children, was replaced by male line or direct line of inheritance." (#198).

#195: The original name of the Volga was "Etel", named by peoples, remembering the great Hun, Attila (or: Etele). "Etel" in ancient Ural-Altai language means: water. (See Marczali's map on our p.92).

#196: The Ural River, which springs in the Ural Mountains and flowing into the Caspian Sea, was probably their eastern frontier.

#197: C.A. Macartney: Hungary. Edinburgh University Press, 1962. "The Beginning." p.6. (On Macartney's Map, on our p. 93, there are the Petchenegs between the R. Volga and R. Emba. However, they arrived to this area only in the beginning of the 9th century. The pre-Magyars settled here, relatively undisturbed, for many generations.)

#198: Imre Kovács: Facts about Hungary. Hungarian Committee, New York, 1958. p.12.

The Ugrian portion of the pre-Magyars adopted the patriarchal system of the Turks, in which the head of the family held the real power, and the whole tribal system was based on the strength, and respect of the chiefs and the elders, who were all regarded as providing "fathers" of the large "family". The period between the sixth and eighth centuries, was the period of transformation to be a tribe-organization, in which the symptoms of patriarchal nationhood already appeared. It was also a period of development as far as religious beliefs were concerned. Both the Ugrians and the Turks were fireworshippers, nature - worshippers, fetishists. Their possible trade-, and cultural connections with the Persians resulted the adaptation of the dualistic religion of Zoroastrianism (discussed on p.58), simultaneously preserving many rituals from their previous religious customs, especially the respect of the Turkish totem-sign, the legendary hawk, the "turul", (mentioned on pp.56-57), and the white-horse sacrifices. (#199). This period seems to correspond to the chieftainship of Edemen, mentioned in medieval Hungarian chronicles, a person of supposedly Hun origin, and already powerful leader of the Megyeri tribe. (#200). His son was Ügek, whose wife was - according to Anonymus and other medieval chroniclers, - Emese, mother of Álmos, the woman, who was probably the most ambitious force behind Ügek, to unify the related tribes. (#201). It happened in the time of Ügek, that the Magyars found themselves in the territory of the Khazarian Khaganate, became subjects of the khagan; and received special respect and positions in this Turco - Tatar Empire for their service.

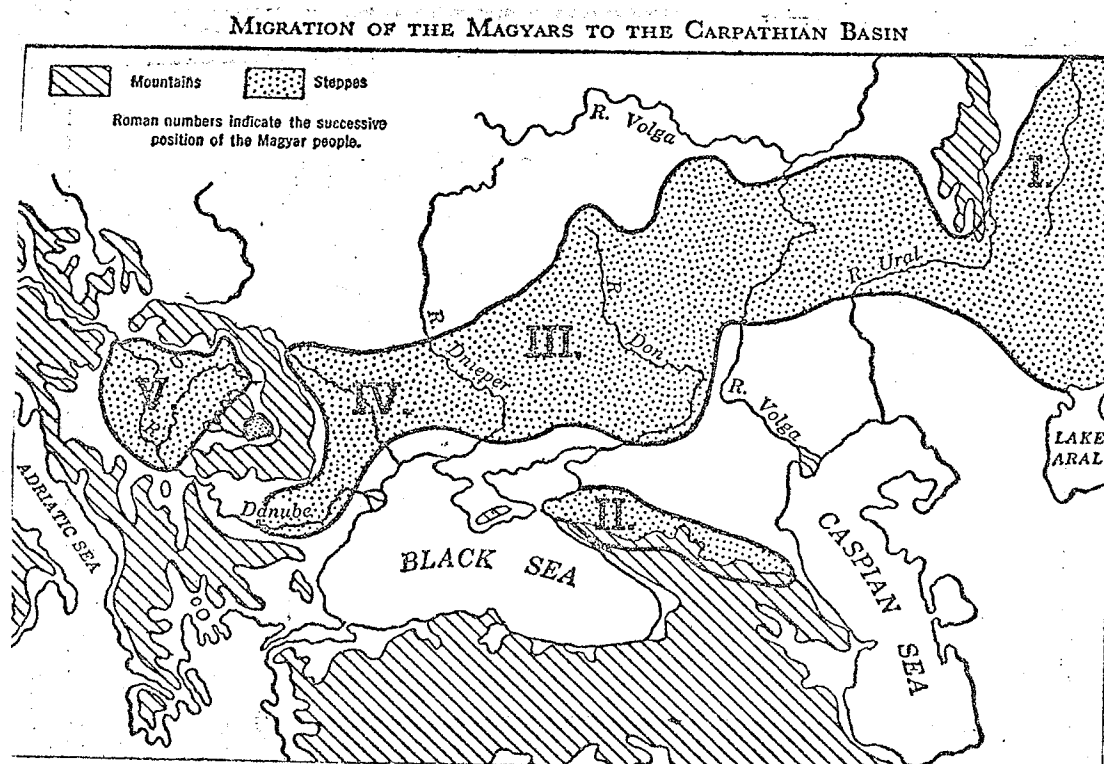
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#199: The white-horse sacrifices, and other ancient rituals, were performed by the so-called "táltos", which priestly position was identical with the role of the "shaman" in other Asiatic tribes. When one portion of these Turco-Ugrians left them, and joined the Avars as "late Avars" (p.81, #165), the Zoroastrian transformation did not take place yet. The "late Avars" were simply fetishists, just like the Huns, and Baján Khagan's Avars.

#200: Edemen was, according to Anonymus and Simon Kézai, descendant of Attila. Padányi suggests, (in his Dentunagyaria, p.334), that Edemen was born probably in the years between 760 and 770.

#201: According to the Hun-Hungarian mythology, Emese had a dream in which she foreseen the great career of the Árpád Dynasty, which will originate from her family. Actually, if Emese ever really existed, she was probably a very ambitious woman, whose ambition aided Ügek, and later Álmos to occupy a high position in the framework of the Magyar tribal system. (Ügek was a chieftain around 810 - 820, and if Padányi's calculation is correct, his son Álmos was born also about in 820.).

The Magyars remained on the steppe, close to large rivers everywhere on the course of their wanderings. This map below (and its simultaneous study with the maps already introduced on p. 92 and p. 93) will show, that the Magyars occupied the steppe-regions in the framework of the Khazarian Khaganate too. (The map, introduced below is from Dominic G. Kosáry: A History of Hungary. p.11).



Who were the Khazars ?

As we mentioned before, they were a settled Turco-Tatar tribe-organization north of the Black and Caspian Seas. Most of their tribes embraced Judaism, under their khagan, Bulan, in the middle of the eight century. The Khazars were semi-nomads, practicing agriculture, sheep raising and commerce. They conquered the Volga-Bulgars already in the seventh century. The rulers of Byzantium and the Russian dukes of Kiev paid them tribute, and sought their friendship. Soon after their conquest of the Volga-Bulgars, they occupied an immense portion of the Crimea, as well as Kiev, then the most important and largest Slavic city. The height of their power was in the first half of the eight century, (#202). The period of the close Khazar -

#202: When they disrupted the Old Great Bulgaria at the Volga in alliance with the Avars (at the end of the seventh century) they made the foundation of their respect in the Orient. In the first two decades of the eight century they were especially powerful. When they supported the revolt in the Crimea against Byzantium, Constantinople abandoned any further contact with them.

Magyar cooperation was associated with the gradual decline of the Khazar power. The khagans needed the support of the Magyar horsemen, but, on the other hand, the political and military power of the Khazars was not able to secure the Magyars from the molestation of Turco-Tatars newcomers.

The warlike Petchenegh tribe-organization entered into the loose framework of the Khaganate from the east, between 820 and 830. Still remaining on Khazarian territory, still serving the khagan, as tribute-collectors from Kiev (#203), the seven tribes of the Magyars moved westward. Their new home was a fertile triangle, bordered by the Volga (northeast), the Kaspian Sea (east), the Caucasian Mountains (south), the Black Sea and the Sea of Asov (west) and the Don River (northwest). The eastern shore of the Black Sea was "Maeotis". Here they found friendly neighbours, the Alans (#204) and the Onogur Bolgars. (#205).

By this time the Magyars were "a race of Turks" indeed to all outward appearance.

"...They subsisted by pasturing their herds in summer over the grasslands round their base, retiring in winter to the shores of the Maeotis and the banks of the Don. Although they now practiced a little agriculture, their chief sustenance was meat, mare's milk and fish. Much of their lives was spent in the saddle, and their raids and campaigns, too, were conducted on horseback. Their favoured arm was the bow and arrow." (#206).

Their land cultivation was quite limited, and since the Petcheghs endangered their crops, they did not have real patience for the cultivation of the fields. Their settlement did not mean immobility. If the animals used up the land, the people moved on to new pastures. The winter quarters were more permanent. During the summer their villages were either completely abandoned, or old people, women and children were left behind with some of the slaves.

#203: This specialized occupation of the Magyars in the service of the Khazarian Khaganate was discussed on p. 39.

#204: According to Masudî (Arab chronicler): "They are a clean living people, following the religion of the 'Magians' (Zoroastrianism). (Inf. Macartney: The Magyars in the Ninth Century, p. 46.) The Alans were probably of Iranian origin.

#205: The possible intermarriage of Magyars with Alans and Onogurs appeared in the Hun-Magyar mythology. (Discussed on pp. 49-50 in this essay).

#206: C. A. Macartney: Hungary, p. 7.

(Note: Their "raids and campaigns", as Macartney expressed it, probably disturbed even their Khazar allies and supporters. D. S. Dunlop mentioned in his The History of the Jewish Khazars, Princeton Univ. Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1954, p. 187, that the Khazarian Fort, Sarkil was built against the Magyars as a protection. Inf. The British

The men moved with the cattle, searching for "greener grass", or engaged in warfare, trying to defend their settlements, trying to fight against the growing pressure of the Petchenegs at the east.

Except for the penal slaves, the Magyars were all free persons. Extreme social differentiation did not exist, and they supplied themselves with slaves by raiding the neighbouring Slavs. They sold their slaves, or most of them, in the Crimean markets. Another group of their enslaved war-prisoners were kept to do manual work. (#207).

An interesting memory of the Khazarian Magyar settlement is the ruins of "Madzsar"

"In the Caucasus...on the bank of Kuma stands the ruins of a town, still called 'Madzsar'. Round this town tradition has woven the story of a great people, who once dwelt there civilized and urbane, receiving emperors as their guests. They were fine and noble manners and life, and believers in one God..." (#208).

Constantinos Porphyrogenitos, the great Byzantine emperor-chronicler calls the area between the Don (ancient name: Tanais) and the Dnieper: "Lebedia". It was part of the Khazarian Khaganate, and the area of settlement of the Magyar tribes between 830 and 889. (#209). The origin of this name was associated with the fact that one of the Magyar chieftains had a name, Lebed. (#210). He married the daughter of the khagan. The Khazarian king did not have any male successor and he hoped to unite and strengthen his people under the supposedly strong rule of his son in law, and under the his dynasty. However, the marriage proved barren, and with it, the attempt.

The khagan became very disappointed, but he still used the service of the Magyar horsemen, especially as guards above the enslaved Slav population. Ibn Koste, the Arab chronicler mentioned,

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#207: One of the most important businesses of the Khazars was the trade of Slavic slaves with the neighbouring Arabs. The Khazars had a close commercial contact with the Sassanid Empire, and later with the Omayyad Empire.

#208: A. Yolland: The History of Hungary. p. 8. Note: Padányi mentions many Magyar-sounding village-names in the Dnieper-valley (Káta, Ögyek, Geréb). Although the description of Yolland seems to be rather subjective, and glorifying, the Magyars actually were far more civilized than the horrified West supposed it. The mentioned "one God" is "Terem", or the God of Wars and Nature.

#209: Macartney's Map is slightly confused here (see p. 93). The Magyars were in Lebedia from 830 to 889, and after it, in Btelköz, from 889 to 899.

#210: In the tradition of the medieval Magyar chronicles, his name was Eleud, or Blöd. According to Anonymus, he was one of the "Septem capitanei" thistime.

that

"..the 'Mazsgars' were 'Turks' lived in the tents on the shores of the Black Sea, and moved about in all directions to find suitable pasture for their cattle..They ruled over their Slav neighbors, from whom they exacted tribute and from they sold the Greek slave-merchants of Kark(Kherson)."(#211).

The area of Kievan State, including Kiev itself, was still under the supervision of the Magyars. Since their settlement was so close to Kiev, certain Magyar tribes, especially the "Megyer", were occupied to serve the Khaganate on the northwestern frontiers.

"The Kievans...paid tribute to the Khazars and were practically controlled by the Magyar leader. (#212).

The chief of the controlling "Megyeri" tribe was the son of Ügek and Emese, Álmos. (Constantine: "Almutzes", Vernadsky: "Olon") He was born, in 819 (Radányi), or in 820 (Vernadsky, Macartney). He was still a very young man, when he was entrusted to lead the Magyar expeditions to Kiev. Since Lebed, being sterile, lost his prestige as a chieftain, Álmos' position became gradually stronger. Although we do not have any evidence about his ceremonial election as the head of the "Hetumoger", (probably Árpád was the first, who was elected by a Khazarian ritual), it was possible that his mother, Emese's dream became a reality already, when Álmos was c. 40 years old. As chief of the "Megyeri" tribe, Álmos was already the respected head of all the tribes. (#213). His son, Árpád was appointed as the chief of the "Nyék" also in a very young age. (#214).

The existence of the alliance between the Magyars and their Khazar protectors was improbable according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, that the Kabars, a part of the Khazars who were in revolt, joined the Hungarians. The incident happened around in 850-860.

"..The Magyars were joined by three tribes of people, called Kabars, from Kazaria. Constantine invites us to think of them as heading the migration into modern Hungary..So closely united were the two nations, or rather so influential did the Kabars become, that the Hungarians learned the language of the newcomers, and had retained it up to Constantine's own time.."  
(#215).

#211: A. Yolland: The History of Hungary, p.8. Kherson was an important market city on the Dnieper, near to the Black Sea.

#212: Oscar Haleczky: Borderlands of Western Civilization. The Ronald Press, New York, 1952, p:35.

#213: Álmos took over the chieftainship from his father in c.850. According to Dunlop (The H. of the Jewish Khazars, p.199) Álmos' palace was on a hill near Kiev. (Inf. based on the Rus. Chronicle, c.18). Note: Álmos' name could be of Onogur origin, because the Bulgars had a chieftain in the same time, called "Almish". Inf. Dunlop: The Jewish Khazars, p.202.)

#214: Árpád was born in 840, The "Nyék", Radányi suggest, was originally a Sabir tribe, and became one of the Magyar tribes. Its settlement was maybe at the Black Sea (see quotation from Yolland, #211) leading connections with the "Megyeri" at Kiev. Árpád's position was important.

#215: P.M. Dunlop: The History of the Jewish Khazars. Princeton, 1954, p.127.

It is notable, that we do not have any documentary evidence about the actual time of the Kavar union with the Magyars. The probability was that since the Khazarian Khaganate was considerably weakened by the defeat from the Omayyad Caliphate (#216), the political and military disintegration was gradual. The subjected semi-nomad tribes were out of control, or they rebelled. The three Kabar tribes were socially associated with the central government of Khazaria, they were converted to Judaism, just as the highest aristocratic circles around the khagan, but did not find security anymore under the central power. Probably the new ~~Turco~~, ~~Tatar~~ ~~ways~~ of the Great Migration molested them too. The Hetumoger's forceful military organization attracted the kabars, just as it attracted tribes in the neighbouring Onogur-Bolgar tribal-system. It could represent a sort of security. The Kabar tribes probably moved closer to the Hetumoger in Lebedia between 850 and 860, the unification took place already after 860, but the indubitable departure of the Kabars from their Khazarian overlordship took place only in 889, when the Magyars left Lebedia westward, and the Kabars followed them. This is the reason of uncertainty about the actual time of the Magyar-Kabar unification.

The Magyar tribe organization became, of course, more powerful with the Kabars, and even their internal political system became more sophisticated. The Magyars already practiced their political, judicial, and military system of organization (discussed on pp.64-65), in which the "kende" was the nominated head of the tribe, and the "jula" ("gyula") was the military commander, later, in his older age, probably judge. Marczali supposed that the fact, that a new type of judge appeared, the "karchas" (or: "carchas", #217), was the change influenced by the Kabar judicial system. (#218). The Kabars could participate in the government of the tribe thisway. Probably the "karchas" was usually a Kabar warrior, and one of his duties was to draw up the list of the warriors. He was may be the main military judge too, and the preservation of the military discipline, the distribution of the booty justified the necessity of this newly established position. The main duty of the "gyula" was to judge in quarell between tribes. Thus the position of the "gyula" was higher,

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#216: Yazid II (720-724) still could not compete with the Khazars, but his brother Hisham (724-733) defeated the Khaganate (probably in 729) conquering Georgia from them.

#217: This term "karchas" was transformed to the Magyar "horka".

#218: H. Marczali: Magyarország Története. p.32.

and was connected with the formation of the tribal constitutional system. The "karchas" judged in individual cases.

In cca 858 the Magyars still often appeared in Kiev, where the Slav population was still enforced to pay tribute to the Khazarian Khaganate. The control over the Kievans was probably considerably weaker since the Khaganate had trouble with the Arabs, but Álmos, and his tribe, the Megyeri, associating with the Nyék-tribe, where Álmos' son Árpád was appointed as leading chieftain, still appeared in Kiev, time after time. The Kievans, knowing probably that the Khazars were not so forceful anymore, felt, that here was the time for change. They called for the famous Riurik, the Swedish Viking, who already held possessions in Novgorod.

"The call was answered by Riurik (in the Frankish Annals Roric) the famous Norse adventurer and pirate who, as vassal of Emperor Lothaire, was then the ruler of southern Jutland and Friesland. Though he soon restored order to north Russia and established himself firmly in Ladoga and later in Novgorod, he displayed no interest in extending his dominions southward as the Russians had hoped." (#219).

While Riurik himself did nothing to aid the Kievans, a band of their warriors succeeded in reaching Kiev. Two of their probable leaders, Askold and Dir, were already in Kiev in 858, or 860, and establishing themselves there, they made an agreement with the Magyars. Álmos probably realized the considerable strength of the Vikings, and also realized that in case of conflict, the Magyar tribes, which had good reason to worry about the growing danger of the Petchenegs too, could not really calculate any essential aid from the Khazars. He was ready to negotiate, and from now on, the Magyars visited the newly fortified town of Kiev only quite seldom, without really enforcing the tribute.

About in 860, a band of Magyar warriors was encountered by St. Cyril, who had been sent on a mission from Michael III (842-867) Emperor of Byzantium to the Khazars to dispute them on the Christian faith.

"He was on his way from Cherson to Khazaria, immersed in prayer, when he was rudely interrupted by a party of Magyars who rushed upon him, howling like wolves, 'luporum more ululantes' - a very vivid and convincing touch. Abashed by his sanctity, however, they withdrew." (#220).

#219: G. Vernadsky: A History of Russia. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1963. Ch. I: "The Origin of the Russian State." pp. 31-32.

#220: C. A. Macartney: The Magyars in the Ninth Century. p. 71.



What did Magyar warriors do on the road which led from Cherson to Khazaria ?

This area was not part of Lebedia, but in some of their connections with the Khazars they had to use the road (probably beside River Cuban, north of the Caucasus) which led towards Khazaria. Unfortunately the sources did not mention the direction of the Magyar horsemen. Since the year was cca 860, and since we know that in 862 the Magyars raided the east Frankish Empire (#221) - presumably in Pannonia, it was possible that St. Cyrill was encountered by a troop of the Magyars on their way towards Pannonia. The pious prophet of the Slavs was unquestionably horrified by the shouting warriors, but finally, he found out that his life was not really in danger. The fact, that the Magyars were "abashed by his sanctity" reminds us the story, when Attila himself was "stopped" by Pope Leo the Great in 452. The Magyar warriors, just like the Huns before them, adopted some sort of "Asiatic chivalry". They could ruthlessly attack their armoured enemies, but it was against their dignity to make harm to a wandering prophet, who resembled them their own "táltos" so much.

After 870, the Petchenegs seemed to be more and more active again. The region of the Petchenegs

"...comprised the lands between the rivers Yaik (Ural) and Don, a distance of one month's journey, reaching on the west to the Slavs, on the south or south-west to the Khazars, and on the east and north to the Kipchaks (Cumans, or Polovtsi)."(#222)

The Petcheneg tribes were probably pushed by the much stronger Cuman tribal-system. (#223). They attempted to cross the Don

#221: Macartney's reference about the Magyar raid into Pannonia in 862 was Bishop Hinkmar of Rheims. (Mentioned in The Magyars in the Ninth Century on p.71), It was interesting that Hinkmar calls the Magyars as "Ugri" again. Macartney suspects that the Magyars were called into Pannonia by some Moravian princes, against Louis the German, frankish emperor. Padányi suggests (Dentumagvaria, p.348) that this expedition was directed by the young Árpád, who was about 22 years old now. For him the Pannonian adventure represented an excellent military exercise, and gave him local knowledge, used in the future.

#222: Cambridge Medieval History. Vol. IV. The Eastern Roman Empire. p.197.

#223: The Petchenegs were called by the Greeks as "Patzinakitai", and by the Arabs as "Bajnak". The Latin authors called them "Pezineigi", "Picenati", "Bisseni", and "Bessi". The "Petcheneg" term was the Slav variation. According to Vámbéry, they were closely related to the Cumans. The Cuman migration probably contained also Petcheneg and Guz elements.

River after 870, probably, many times. Since the Magyar tribes had a tendency to occupy the area rather between the Dnieper and the Donetz, the eastern region of Lebedia (between the Donetz and the Don) was not very heavily guarded. Some Petchenég tribes could easily patrol until the Donetz valley.

The Magyars were occupied rather with western interest thistime. Under the leadership of Árpád (and his Nyék tribe) they appeared in Pannonia in 885 again. The expedition did not need the mobilisation of many tribes. Charles the Fat (876-887), son of Louis the German was not able to defend the Danube Valley, being busy with the contemporary invasions of the Northmen in Flanders and in France. The German Empire was not strong enough yet to establish a stronghold in the Carpathian Basin. (#224).

According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and others, the Petchenegs crossed the Don with the bulk of their forces in 889. Álmos, the leading chief of the Megyeri tribe was a 70 years old man thistime. He was well informed by the actual strength of the Petchenegs, and he was also well informed that the Bug, Dniester, and Pruth valleys were fertile regions, with green grasses, with clean rivers, where various related tribe-fragments existed. Árpád, or other members of the Nyék tribe could also report to the elders in Lebedia, that the Carpathian Valley was also populated by Hun and Avar fragments as far as the River Danube, thus it was no reason to engage in bloody battles with the coming Petchenegs for Lebedia.

At the end of 889, or in the beginning of 890, the Magyar tribe-organization left Lebedia. C.A. Macartney quotes the Russian Chronicle, which reported the Magyars passing by Kiev, evidently on a national migration:

"The Ugri crossed the chain of mountains still today called the mountains of the Ugri; they approached the banks of the Dnieper and camped with their chariots not far from Kiev." (#225).

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#224: Thistime we do not have any evidence about the possible reason of the Magyar venture. It could be in the alliance of Sviatopluk, the Moravian prince (870-894), who used the opportunity of the weakness of Charles the Fat, uniting under his authority Moravia, Bohemia, the present-day Slovakia, with the northern part of Pannonia, maintaining his position against the Germans.

#225: C.A. Macartney: The Magyars in the Ninth Century. p.76. Note: we mentioned part of this quotation in our p.39, discussing the fact, that the Magyars were called by the Russian Chronicle as "Black Ugri". This nomination did not justify necessarily the Magyar origin. Unquestionably, the Kievans communicated with the Ugrians from the Magyars, since, probably they had also Ugrians from the northern part of Kievan Slavic interpretation.

Although Kiev was not a victimised Slav town anymore, but a well fortified political center (#226), the Kievans probably felt very much relieved, when the Magyar tribes disappeared westward, after so many years of rather unpleasant neighbourhood.

According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the Petchenegs were able to provoke war between them and the Magyars in 890, probably reaching the hindermost advancing tribes. Under the pressure of the Petcheneg attack, the Magyar tribes were forced to continue their migration in two different portions.

"And war breaking out between the Magyars and the Patzinaks who at that time were known as Kangar, the army of the Magyars was conquered and divided into two parts; and the one part migrated eastwards into the parts of Persia, who even now are still called by the old name of Magyars, Savartoi asphaloi (#227), but the other part emigrated westward, together with their voivode and commander Levedias (#228) into the district called Atelkuzu." (#229).

The Magyars settled down in the fertile valleys between the Sereth and the Dnieper, which was called Atelkuzu (Etelköz), resembling the name of the great Hun King, Attila, and also the fact, that this very fertile area contained many rivers, ("atel", or "etel" meant water) all flowing into the Black Sea.

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#226: In this years Prince Oleg was the ruler of Kiev already, a strong successor of Riurik. He united under his control both Novgorod and Kiev. Kiev gradually became the political center of his loose federation of Russian states. Kievan State was successfully transformed by the Scandinavians. Since 860 they did not feel to pay any tribute to the Khazarian Khaganate, and they became militarily so strong that they even attempted a raid on Constantinople in 860, probably in alliance with various Turco-Tatar fragments.

#227: They were probably the Sabirian tribes. We will return to their significance (especially in connection with Hypothesis/C) in the coming chapters.)

#228: Thus, according to Constantine, Lebed still had leading position this time. Actually it was much more probable that the tribal-system was directed by Álmos' son Árpád already.

#229: De Administrando Imperio. (Quoted by C.A. Macartney in his The Magyars in the Ninth Century, pp. 229-233.)

## X.

FROM ATTELKUZU TO PANNONIA.

The Magyars did not go far from Lebedia. Some of their fragments probably still stationed on the western side of the Dnieper, watching the Petcheneg movements. The rest of them occupied territories, inhabited by Slavs, and by various Turco-Tatar clans (remnants from previous Hun, Avar, and Bulgar migrations). This territory comprised the lands to the northwest of the Black Sea and was watered by the rivers Bug, Dniester, Pruth and Sereth. Atelkuzu ("atel":water, "kuzu": between; "atelkuzu" :between waters) seemed to be a useful and quite friendly territory for the Magyars, for permanent, or temporary settlement. The new home of the Magyars therefore consisted of the lands of southwestern Russia, Bessarabia, and Moldavia of today.

In their new country, Álmos declared, that he, as an old man, did not feel enough energy to lead the Magyars anymore. It seemed to be natural, that his son, Árpád, who was temporary military leader of the Nyék tribe, and probably proved his ability in various western campaigns, will be the leading chieftain.

Before dealing with the election of Árpád to the leading position, let us take a closer look on those tribes of the Magyars.

TRIBE	CHIEFTAIN (#230).
Nyék	Árpád
Megyer	Álmos
Kürt-Gyarmat	Eleud kende (#231).
Tarján	Ond
Jenő	Tas
Kéri (Kara)	Huba
Keszi (Kezi)	Töhötöm (Tuhutum)

The seven tribes were not mixed with Turco-Ugrian elements in equal extent. The word "Magyar" was probably Finno-Ugrian origin (#232). It was also the most populated, and most aristocratic tribe, ruled by the Hun dynasty of Edemen-Ügek-Álmos. The "Nyék" tribe was mentioned and

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#230: Listed on the p.5 already. The association of the tribes with chieftains is from Padányi's Dentumagyararia, p.352.

#231: Eleud (Elöd) could be identical with Lebed, although he was probably very old; in about in the age of Álmos. (70 ys old).

#232: Speculation on p.22. Although the leaders of the Megyeri tribe were probably of Hun origin, the common warriors were Ugrians. This hypothesis fits to the fact that the Kievan Chronicle called the Magyars "Ugri". After all, only the Megyer tribe was visiting them, as tribute-collectors.

described usually before the "Megyer" tribe, in spite of the fact, that it was less significant than the "Megyer" tribe. The reason for this was, that the "Nyék" tribe ("nyék" meant "enclosed or fortified place" #233), which was probably mainly a Turkish tribe, fought in the forefront, and served as a scout-group in the way of migration. We have reason to believe, that not only Árpád, but the sons of other leading chieftains learned the practice of warfare in the framework of the "Nyék". Also, other tribal systems, as the Kabars, were all obliged to prove their faithfulness in this tribe, accepting dangerous positions. The meaning of "Kürt-Gyarmat" was "snowstorm", or "indefatigable". This tribe was created by the amalgamation of two smaller tribes, Kürt and Gyarmat. ("kürt" is a Turkish word, means "avalanche"; the meaning of the Turkish "gyarmat" is "untiring"). The fourth tribe, "Tarján" resembled the title of a high office, used by Khazars and also by the Magyars in Lebedia ("Tarchan". The task of the "tarchan" was to supply all the tribes with the necessary quality and quantity of weapons, especially swords, lances, bows, arrows, maces, and shields. (#234).) The fifth tribe was "Jenö". It was also a Turkish tribe ("jenö" means "councillor" in Turkish). (#235). The sixth was "Kéri" (or Kara). The Turkish meaning of "kér" is "giant", but if they used the "kara" version, it meant "black". The seventh tribe, the "Keszi" (or Kezi) was probably a fragment only, because its meaning is "remnant". The seven tribes embraced totally 108 clans. (#236).

"The circumstances in which Árpád took over the leadership from his father, Álmos are somewhat mysterious" — feels Denis Sinor. — "According to Constantinus, Árpád was the leader elected by the Hungarians on Khazar advice. According to the Hungarian tradition, more likely to be right, the first elected chief was Álmos." (#237).

In connection with this quotation, it will be necessary to mention, that Constantinos probably confused Álmos with Árpád. After the deposition of Lebed, the Khazars probably proposed the appointment of Álmos to the leading position. According to the ancient

#233: The description and identification of the tribes from D. Kosáry: A History of Hungary, p. 11.

#234: Victor Padányi suggests (in his Dentumagyaria, p. 339) that the "tarhan", or "tarján" meant "the king of the armourer", and his rank came right after the Khagan and the karchas in the Khazarian society.

#235: The term "jenö" became later a personal first name as "Jenö", and was associated with the western name Eugen, just like Gyula was interpreted as Julius.

#236: According to Padányi (Dentumagyaria p. 351) "Keszi" was the tribe of the "gyula", and "Jenö" was a Sabirdian tribe.

#237: Denis Sinor: History of Hungary. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. London, 1959.

type of democracy of the pre-Magyars, the chiefs, accepting the Khazarian proposal, elected Álmos, chief of the Magyar tribe as their leader. Although the Magyars still had some communications with the Khazars after leaving the Khaganate, it was not likely that they elected Árpád only because he was proposed by the Khagan.

"In the event Árpád was raised upon a shield in what Constantine calls the Khazar manner and proclaimed, according to the text, zakanos, which perhaps is simply for Khaqan" (#238).

It was while in Etelköz, so the medieval Magyar chroniclers tell us, that the chieftains drew up the Blood Compact (cca 892) contained the following clauses: (1) The prince of the nation was to be chosen from the house (clan) of Álmos, or (from now on) of Árpád. (2) Any land conquered was to be equally divided among them. (3) The chieftains (who had elected their prince of their free will) and their successors were to take part always in the government of the country. (#239). (4) Anyone who proved disloyal to the prince or endeavored to create discord in the nation was to have his blood shed as theirs had been in making the compact. (5) An eternal curse should rest on any one of the successors of Árpád or the chieftains, who should break the oath.

In this remarkable compact were the germs of complete system of government by a limited monarchy. Actually the Hetumoger established the "nation" in its historical sense, already before their final settlement in the Carpathian Basin. Supposedly, the "gyula" ("jula") had a special role in this constitutional ritual. (According to Marczali his name was Kurszán - or Cursan - this time, and his rank came right after Árpád's position.)

Padányi suggests, that Álmos died in 893, in the age of 75. (#240). After his death, the leadership of the tribes developed this way:

TRIBE	CHIEFTAINS
Nyék	Levente (Árpád's oldest son)
Megyer	Árpád
Kört-Gyarmat	Eleud (Elöd, Lebed) (Cont. on the next page).

#238: D.M. Dunlop: The History of the Jewish Khazars, p. 197 (The election of the chief on a shield was a general practice among Turks. "Zakanos", however, is a word of Slav origin. "Zakan": law.)

#239: This point characterizes the fact, that early feudalism of the Magyars (developed in the 10th C.) was dissimilar from its western type. It was rather adaptation of the Khazar system, and was associated to the ancient patriarchal clan system. "Nobility" was a moral term, until some medieval kings invited foreign knights.

#240: Padányi: Dentumagyararia, p. 364.

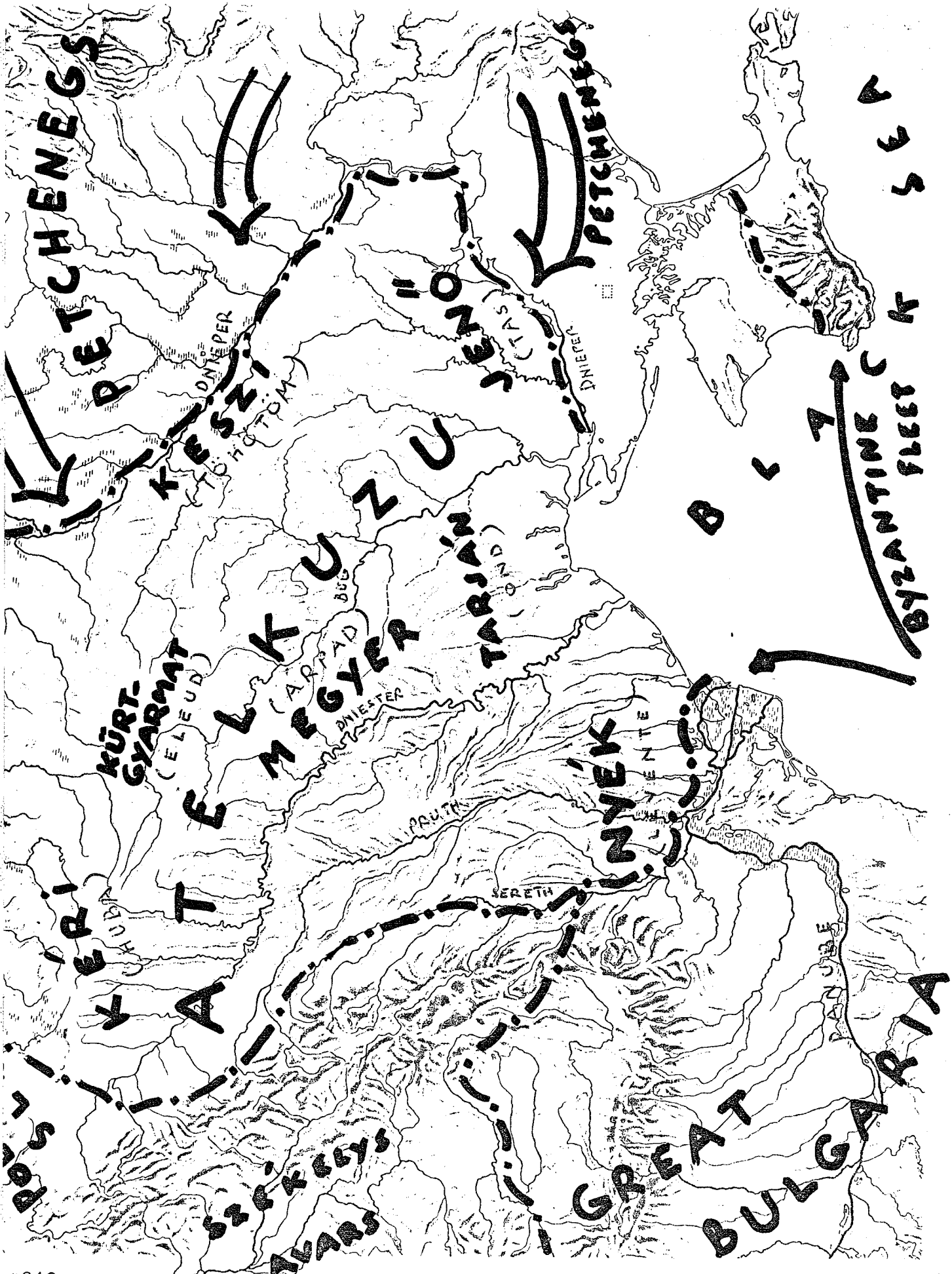
TRIBE	CHIEFTAIN. (Cont. from the prev. page)
Tarján	Ond
Jenő	Tas
Kéri	Huba
Keszi	Töhötöm (Map of settlement on the next page).

Although Árpád was elected as the national head of the "Hetumoger" by the "Blood Compact" already in 892, Álmos remained as formal, and ceremonial head of the "Megyer" tribe until his death of 893, and Árpád led still the "Nyék" tribe. After Álmos' death, Árpád occupied the traditional position of the "Megyer" tribe, and Árpád's oldest son, Levente (born in 873, thus he was twenty years old now) took over the leadership of the "Nyék" tribe, following the tradition of his father. He was also appointed as "kharchas" (horka) in the same time.

The years of 892 and 893 were also associated with the appearance of the Hungarians in the international diplomacy of contemporary Europe. Although the Khazarian Khaganate, (and Lebedia with it was outside of the perspective of the German rulers, the strong military organization of the Magyars in Atelkuzu was observed in German political circles with interest. Arnulf, grandson of Louis the German proved to be a very able Carolingian ruler (887-899). In the very first year of his rule began negotiations with the Moravian Sviatopluk, and when realized that Sviatopluk was actually hungry for more power at the expense of the German kingdom, Arnulf was ready to forget that the Magyars actually appeared previously in Pannonia as enemies. Árpád's people seemed as excellent allies against Sviatopluk and his Slavs. Having trouble with the invading Vikings too, Arnulf defeated them first on the Dyle (Löwen, 891), and following this victory, he did not waste any time to send ambassadors to the Magyars, discussing the possibility of a German-Magyar alliance against Sviatopluk. (#241).

In every probability, Árpád was the chieftain, who personally discussed with Arnulf's ambassadors (in 891 or 892), and perhaps the opportunity of this important European alliance quickened the constitutional unification of the tribes by the Blood Compact, and the election of Árpád to be the leading chieftain. In the very same year Árpád accepted the ambassadors of Byzantium too. Constantinople

#241: Padányi (Dentumaryaria, p. 356) suggests, that the Avars of the Carpathian Basin probably asked the Magyar aid against Sviatopluk before. Arnulf's offer only fit into the plan.



#242: This map about the Magyar settlement in Atilkuz was made according to the theory of Gyula László, introduced in Victor Vadányi's *De Hungarorum*



had trouble with the Balkan-Bulgars since 889, when Wladimir, king of Bulgaria (#243) began his attacks against Byzantium. Leo VI, the "Wise" (886-912) offered a permanent Byzantine alliance to the "Turks" in 892, and probably he continued to encourage Árpád for a Bulgarian war in 893, when Symeon, the first Bulgarian ruler who assumed the title of "Tsar" (893-927) renewed the Bulgarian attacks against Constantinople. Árpád realized that in the doorstep of Europe the Hetumoger already became an important factor of European diplomacy, since both Germany and Byzantium hoped for the Hungarian alliance in their time of troubles.

Árpád decided to aid Arnulf first, and the allied German-Hungarian armies devastated Great Moravia in 892-893. In 894, some fragment of the Magyars reappeared in Pannonia again, but this time without the invitation of Arnulf, and it was very possible that Árpád's horsemen observed the Carpathian Basin as an excellent area of a future settlement, in this occasion.

After 894, Tsar Symeon led continuous campaigns against Constantinople. This war grew originally out of disputes regarding trade rights and ultimately developed into a contest for possession of the imperial throne. (#244). The Byzantine army was defeated in 894, thus Emperor Leo realized that a possible attack by his "Turk" allies behind the Bulgars would be very urgent. He sent Nicetas Scleros to Atelkuzu. Árpád was ready for a Balkanic campaign, and while the patrician Nicephorus Phocas led an army from the south against the Bulgarians, the other patrician, Eustathius sailed with a fleet to bring the Magyar forces to the back of Symeon.

"The Magyar army was led by one of the sons of the supreme ruler, Árpád. (#245). As soon as they had crossed the Danube they ravaged the land terribly and vanguarded Symeon in two consecutive battles." (#246).

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#243: Wladimir (889-893) was the son of Boris I (852-889), the king who converted the Bulgarians to Christianity. In 889, Boris voluntarily retired to a monastery, but in 893, when a revolt of the aristocrats exposed Wladimir, re-emerged from retirement and put down the revolution. He deposed and blinded his son, completing the organization of the Church. The attack against Byzantium was influenced by mostly pagan reactionaries this time.

#244: Symeon had been educated at Constantinople as a monk. Becoming ruler of the Bulgars, he ambited to be the emperor of Byzantium himself.

#245: Levente (Greek: Leontas) led the expedition against the Bulgars. (Árpád had four sons. The second was Zsolt (or Zoltán), and he became the ruling chieftain after his father's death (907-944). We do not know the names of the two younger children.)

#246: Cambridge Medieval History. Vol. IV. Ch. VII/A. pp 198-199.

Symeon was really surprised by the military superiority of the Magyar horsemen, who occupied even the Bulgarian capital, Peresljavec (Preslava).

"The victorious Magyars then called upon the Emperor to ransom the Bulgarian prisoners which they had taken - in accordance, it must be assumed, with the terms of their treaty with the Empire. This ransom must have been one of the rewards which they had arranged to obtain. The Emperor duly sent delegates to conclude the traffic." (#247).

Symeon now requested the Emperor for peace, through Drungarius Eusthadius, the commander of the fleet which had ferried the Magyars across the Danube. (#248). Byzantium was ready to negotiate (#249); despatched Leo Chaerosphactes to discuss the conditions of the treaty. Simultaneously Nicephorus Phocas was ordered to withdraw the Byzantine army, and Eusthadius also withdrew the fleet. Levente's horsemen were deserted now by the traitorous Byzantine diplomacy. Without the fleet they could not receive reinforcement from the northern side of the Danube, and they could not withdraw either.

Symeon now proved that he was a good student of Byzantium, not only in the sense of their Orthodox Christian religion (#250), but in the sense of diplomacy too. Realizing that the Petchenegs, east of Atelkuzu, on the other side of the Dnieper were deadly enemies of the Magyars, he managed to find connection with them, and while the Petchenegs crossed the Dnieper, attacking the "Kezi" tribe and the "Jenö" tribe on the other side of the rivers, threatening the "Megyeri" tribe itself, Symeon (who did not have to worry about the Byzantine army anymore) concentrated his forces and gained a great victory above Levente, destroying a greater part of his army, (895).

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#247: C.A. Macartney: The Magyars in the Ninth Century. p.179.

#248: Thus the situation was now completely reversed. Before the combined Byzantine-Hungarian attack, Leo sent peace delegates to Symeon. Now, Symeon, in his tight situation, attempted to neutralize Byzantium.

#249: The year of 894 was a busy year for Constantinople, which had trouble enough, not only on its north, but on its Arabian frontiers too, where Multadid (892-902) threatened with attack. Emperor Leo also considered Germany's possible activity. He sent an ambassador to Regensburg with gifts, trying to arrange that the German Empire will not support Bulgaria against the Magyars, interfering the Byzantine plans. In the coming months, however, since Byzantium negotiated with Bulgaria anyway, the agreement with Arnulf lost its original value for Constantinople.

#250: The belief that Orthodox faith will also help against the pagan Magyars was represented, when Symeon's aged father, Boris, who was now living in a monastery under the name of Michael, ordered a national fast for three days, as a penance for the wrong done to the Christians.

Since Levente did not appear later in any of the sources, and since the second oldest son, Zoltán (Zsolt) became the leading "fejedelem" (#251), Levente probably died on one of the Lower Danubian battlefields. His father could not send reinforcement to the Balkans because Levente and his "Nyék" tribe was isolated since the Byzantine fleet disappeared.

Árpád made an obvious miscalculation. He did not take into consideration, that Symeon could manage a separated treaty with Emperor Leo. He did not know, that Byzantine diplomacy could easily betray its allies for temporary political advantages. He probably overestimated the military strength of Levente's army too. He was so sure, that Levente will be able handle the Bulgarians alone, and the Petchenegs will not attack, that in 895 (in the year when the "Nyék" fought its heavy battles) he, with another Hungarian army, raided Pannonia again. Sviatopluk of Moravia died in 894. Constantinos tells us that after his sons

"...lived in peace one year, but with war and dissension arising among them, and they making fratricidal war against one another, the Magyars came and destroyed them altogether and conquered their country in which (the Magyars) also live today." (#252).

Meantime the Petchenegs ruthlessly attacked the homes of the Magyars in Atelkuzu, putting to the sword old men, women and children. The tribes certainly missed the "Nyék" and "Megyeri" tribes, and the attack was so surprising that the chiefs of "Kürtgyarmat", "Tarján", "Jenö", "Kéri" and "Készi" did not have any other choice, but to move westward, leaving behind some fragments, which were too slow. These remnants became the victims of the Petchenegh attack.

Let us take a closer look on the Petchenegs now:

This nomadic Turco-Tatar people actually formed two tribe organizations, the "Little Petchenegs" (3 tribes), and the "Big Petchenegs" (5 tribes). The Magyars were attacked by the "Little Petchenegs", who were called as "Bajnak" by the Arab Al-Bekri and by the Persian Gardezi, medieval chroniclers. They called "Kangi", or "Kangar" themselves. ("Kangi" means "heroic", "brave").

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#251: Western sources usually named the Hungarian leaders (before the foundation of the Kingdom) as "Prince". This nomination is wrong, because the term "Prince" resembles typical western type of feudal conditions. The Magyars called their ruling leader "fejedelem". (Fej" means head. "Fejedelem" could be translated as "Ruling Head!")

#252: Constantinos Porphyrogenitos: De Administrando Imperio, Quoted by C.A. Macartney in his The Magyars in the Ninth Century, p. 188.

## LITTLE PETCHENECS.

- (1) "Ertim" tribe,
- (2) "Csür", or "Körösecsür",
- (3) "Csaba", or "Csabakengyel".

## BIG PETCHENECS.

- (1) "Kap", or "Kapu" tribe,
- (2) "Gyula" tribe,
- (3) "Csaraboj" tribe,
- (4) "Kölpény" tribe,
- (5) "Talmát" tribe. (#253).

According to Constantinos Porphyrogenitos the Petchenegh attack was caused by the brilliant diplomacy of Tsar Symeon. This was not completely true. The Petchenegs were pressed by the powerful Cuman tribe-organization, thus they always had a tendency to move westward. The East-West movement was quickened in 893 by the fact, that the Arabs invaded territories north of the Kaspian Sea. The neighbouring Turco-Tatar tribes moved toward the west, thus the pressure on the Petchenegs became heavier. The Petchenegh chieftains planned to cross the Dnieper sooner or later, but they hesitated because the considerable strength of the Magyars. Since they were informed that parts of the "Hetumoger" were in Pannonia and on the Balkans, and since they received the encouragement of Tsar Symeon, they invaded Atelkuzu.

The Magyar tribes could not advance westward with full speed. They took heavy carriages and large herds of animals with them. They did not follow the northern line of the Black Sea, because they could not defend themselves on the plain seashore. They remained in the valleys of the Bug, Dniester, and Pruth, and they followed the north-west direction of these rivers.

At this point it will be important to mention that there is a considerable difference between the historical attitude of Balint Homan (#254), and Hungarian historians since 1945. Homan suggested, that the main reason of the Carpathian Conquest was the flight from the Petchenegs. He became the target of serious criticism by Victor Padányi (#255), and others. According to the critics, Árpád planned the Carpathian Conquest at least since 892. Magyar raids in Pannonia

#253: V. Padányi gave a detailed study about the Petchenegs in the Supplement of his Dentumagyarica. pp. 443-444. He mentioned even the names of the Petchenegh chieftains in this critical years. It is interesting that those chieftains all had Magyar sounding names (Mojza, Kál, Vata, Géza, Ipa, Kostán, etc.) which fact seems to prove the Magyar-Petchenegh linguistic relationship.

#254: B. Homan: Geschichte des Ungarischen Mittelalters.

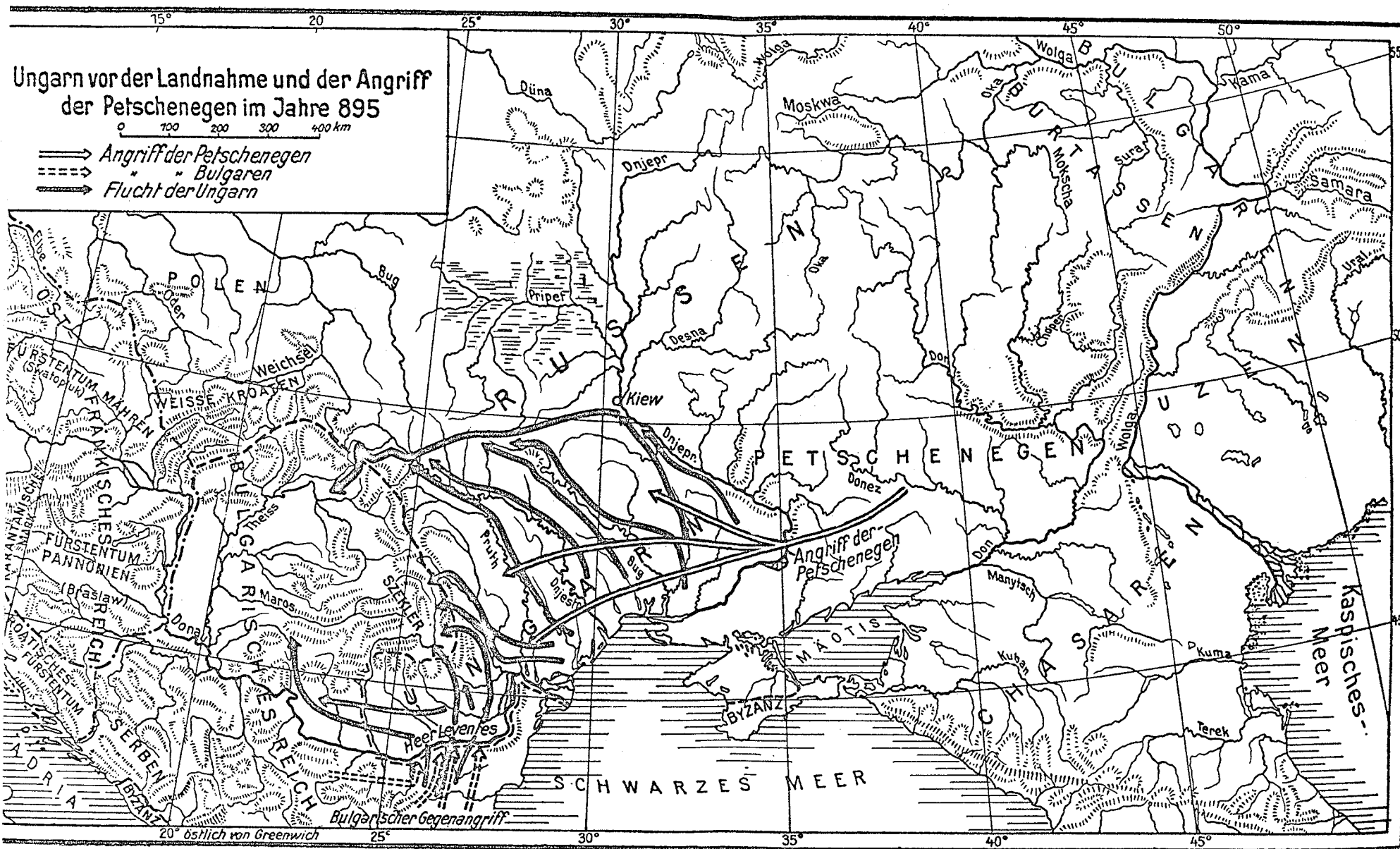
#255: V. Padányi: Dentumagyarica. pp. 371-376, and pp. 390-396.

in every year since 892 seemed to prove that Árpád appeared there not only to aid Arnulf against the Moravians, but to become more familiar with the natural and political conditions of the Carpathian Basin. When Árpád (and his deputy-chief Kurszán (Cursan) disputed the possibility of Hungarian-Byzantine alliance against Symeon, they considered the military activity of Hevente, as a tactical, and strategical step toward the Danubian Conquest. According to Árpád's plan, - suggests Padányi, - Levente, after his victory above Tsar Symeon, will not return to Atelkuzu, He will continue his movement on the Lower Danube, up to the Carpathian Basin, where he will meet with his father, reuniting the "Nyék" and "Megyer" tribes for further military activity. It was true, that the surprising attack of the Petchenegs quickened the events. Árpád was not able to meet with Hevente, in the Carpathian Basin, so he returned to Atelkuzu, just in time. Organizing the tribes, prepared the complete and permanent Carpathian conquest. The "Hetumoger" withdrew from Atelkuzu, but they did not flee, and behind the natural defence-lines of the Carpathian Mountains, they could defend their new home against any further Petchenegh invasions. Homan described the Conquest as running away from Atelkuzu in panic. (See Homan's Map on the next page). Perhaps the new historical assumptions are closer to the truth; the Hungarian Conquest was a well planned military action. Alliance with Arnulf and with Leo the Wise were parts of this plan. There was no centralized power in the Carpathian Basin since the fall of the Avar Empire at the end of the eight century, but the existence of Moravians in Pannonia and Bulgars in south Transylvania made it necessary, that Árpád should secure the Conquest by German and Byzantine alliances. The Petchenegh attack was not the main reason, only one of the factors which induced the Magyars for the immediately execution of the original plan. The Magyar movement was speedy, but not confused, - as Homan supposed it. (#256).

The remnants of the defeated "Nyék" tribe actually participated in the Conquest of 895-896. While Árpád concentrated the Hungarian forces in the Pruth-valley, the "Nyék" crossed the Southern and Eastern Carpathians trying to approach the Maros valley.

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#256: Thus, Bálint Homan was seriously criticised not only as political servant of a semi-fascist regime, not only as exaggerated interpreter of the "Finno-Ugric" theory, but also as a pro-German, who attempted to undermine the Hungarian heroic tradition with subjective descriptions.



Königlich Ungarische Staatliche Kartographie

The main army, under the leadership of Árpád, crossed the North-east Carpathians, using the Pass of Vereczke towards the upper current of the Tisza River, finding association with the Avars and with the Székelys. Some tribes (probably the "Jenő" and "Keszi" tribes, the latter led by the powerful clan of Gyula; #257) crossed the passes of the Eastern Carpathian, searching reunification with the remained fragments of the defeated "Nyék" in the valley of the Maros River. These southern branches carefully remained on the northern side of the Maros, because the southern side, and the whole Tisza - Maros triangle was still part of the Bulgarian Empire of Symeon, governed by Prince Zalan. However, they probably found sympathizers too in Transylvania in the representation of the Transylvanian Székelys, who welcomed the newcomers, as brothers, as descendants of their legendary Attila and Csaba. (#258). (See the Map, introducing the ways of the Conquest, on the next page.)

We may suppose, that, according to Árpád's original plan, the main stream of the Hungarians, should be reunited with the eastern and south-eastern branches somewhere in the Tisza-valley, perhaps where the Körös flows into the Tisza. Unification and reorganization was necessary, since crossing the Danube was the next step, and fight against the Slav tribes in Pannonia. (#259).

Meanwhile, the Petchenegs were stopped at the eastern slopes of the Carpathians by the Hungarian rear-guards. Being unable to follow the Magyar tribes into the Carpathian Basin, both the "Little" and the "Big" Petchenegs settled down in Atelkuzu. (#260). The Byzantines, endeavouring to restrain them from invading their colonies in the Crimea, sent them valuable gifts, and bought their assistance

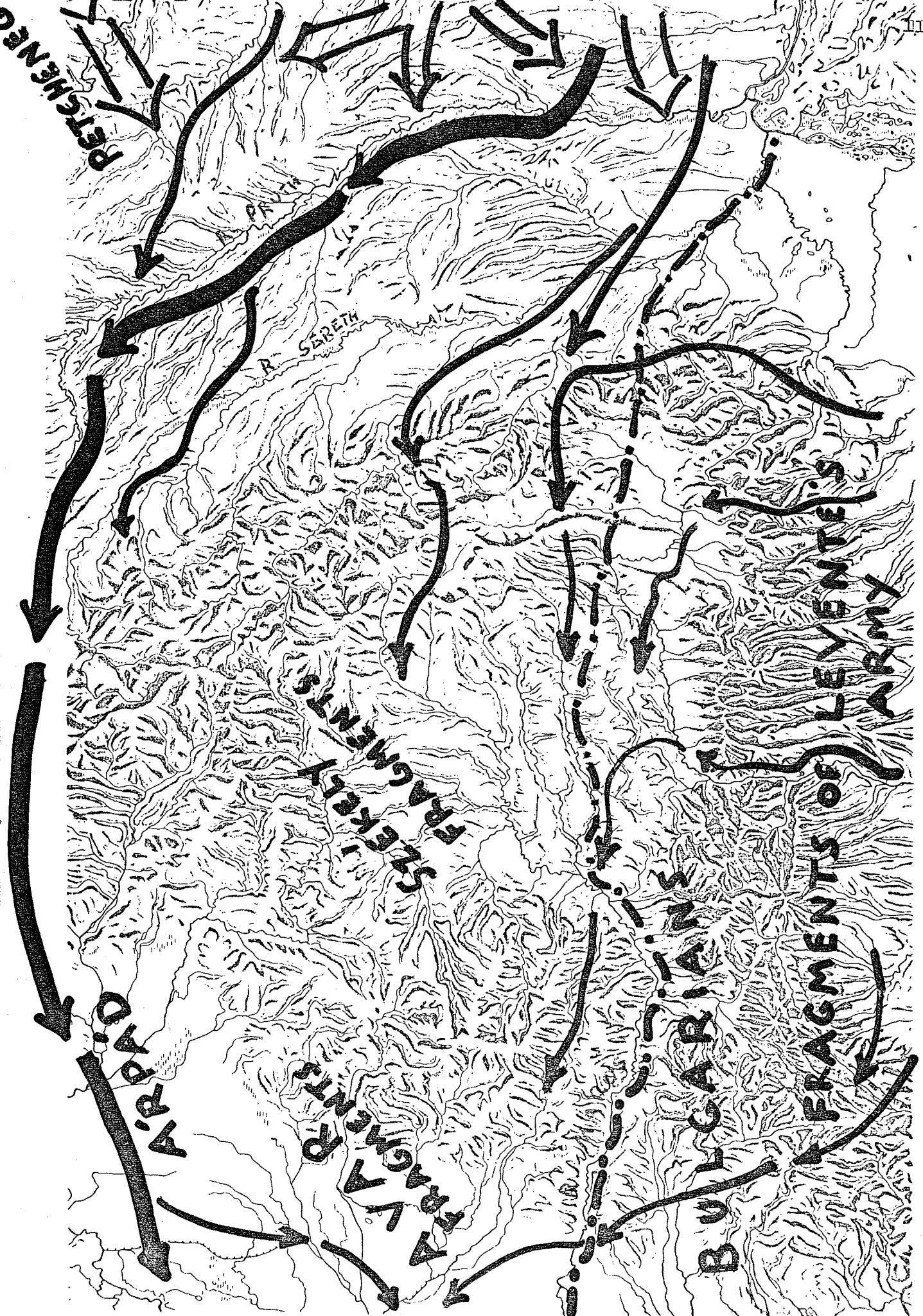
#257: The former rank "jula", or "gyula" (which means "torchlight" in Turkish) became also a personal name thistime. Gyula was one of the most powerful leaders among the Magyars in 896. He and his clan entered the Carpathians from the east, and settled down in Transylvania.

#258: The "Csaba-legend" was discussed on pp. 51, 85-86.

#259: After the death of Sviatopluk, Arnulf still worried about the possibility of Slav reunification. His attempt to use Symeon against the Moravians fell, because Symeon's ambitions were directed towards Constantinople. Arnulf's final choice was to invite the Magyars into the Carpathian Basin, promising them a permanent alliance. The center of the Moravian military power was Nyitra (Slovakia), but the Slavs still had considerably strong forces in Pannonia.

#260: The "Little" Petchenegs settled down between the Carpathians and the Fruth River. The "Big" Petchenegs found home in the Sereth valley, and in the area north of the Lower Danube. Their "Gyula" tribe (suspected in Padányi's Dentumagvaria, p. 444) gradually infiltrated to Transylvania.

PERMENE C



SARETH

S. MOUNTAIN  
S. MOUNTAIN

BU  
CARRIANS

FRAGMENTS OF HERMITS

A.P.P.A.D



against the Danubian Bulgars, Russians and Khazars. (#261). In times of peace the Petchenegs furthered the commercial intercourse between the Kievan Russians and Kherson, which was still the most important market-town, north of the Black Sea, and a Byzantine trading post at this time. (#262).

After crossing the Carpathians, the main force of Árpád rested on the spot where stands the town of Munkács. Then, the leading chieftain met with the other chiefs, discussing the circumstances and the coming tasks at Ungvár.

"At his seat at Ungvár, so runs the tradition, Árpád received the embassy sent by the Székelys: thus, after centuries of separations, the two kindred peoples were united again. But another embassy, of a less peaceful character, was on its way to the Magyar headquarters. Zalán the Bulgarian prince...sent to warn Árpád not to presume to cross the river Bodrog; if he did he would find himself attacked by the whole force of the Bulgarians and the Greeks!" (#263).

Árpád, according to the medieval Magyar chronicles, sent valuable gifts to Zalán, demanding the Tisza-Maros triangle. He tried peaceful negotiations with the Bulgarian governor, simultaneously informing him, that, in case of resistance, he (Árpád) was ready to conquer the whole inheritance of Attila with force.

The campaign against the Bulgarians was prepared by a previous military step. Three chieftains, Tas, Szabolcs and Töhötöm (supposedly with the "Jenö", "Kéri" and "Keszi" tribes) were sent to subdue Marot, the Khazar prince, who ruled over the district between the Tisza and Transylvania, (#264), who had refused to come to a friendly understanding. Töhötöm followed up the victories over Marot by an incursion into Transylvania, then ruled over by a chief, named Gyalu, (or Gyelo) (#265), who was killed, and his subjects were forced to swear fealty to the Magyars. Clearing the northern side of the Maros, the expedition crossed the river southwards.

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#261: Since the Khazarian Khaganate was very close to complete decline, and since Kievan State (under Prince Oleg) became a quite peaceful trading partner, Symeon's Bulgaria seemed to be still the most dangerous neighbour in spite of the treaty of 895.

#262: Sometimes the Petchenegs gave up their seemingly peaceful attitude, and they robbed the Russian merchants, penetrating as far as the dominions of Kiev, causing problems for Prince Oleg.

#263: Arthur Yolland: The History of Hungary. p.10.

#264: Macartney suggests that Marot was a Khazarian by origine, but the settlements ruled over by him were mainly Slavs and Bulgarians. (Studies on the Early Hung. Historical Sources, p.170.)

#265: Macartney (in the Studies of the Early...etc., pp.208-213) discusses the possibility of the Turkish origin of Gyalu.

Zalán became alarmed and appealed both to Symeon and Byzantium. The Tsar of the Bulgarians did not seem to care with this northern province (#266), and Constantinople was too far away. (#267). The decisive battle, turned into a complete rout of Zalán's hosts, was fought on the fields of Alpár, on the right bank of the Tisza. Zalán fled to Bulgaria, and his armies were driven into the river. (#268).

After the battle, all the lesser Bulgarian and Slav chieftains submitted to Árpád at once. Turning west, Árpád established his headquarters on the Isle of Csepel. (#269). In the years of 896 and 897, the Magyars conquered Pannonia, breaking down the resistance of the Slav tribal fragments. According to the expectation, the battles of Pannonia, seemed to be heavier than the battles of south Transylvania. It did not happen thisway. Great Moravia of Sviatopluk disintegrated two years ago, and the small fragments of the previously dangerous Slav tribes, (which disturbed Arnulf's German Empire) were not able to resist with the hope of success.

Although the traditional date of the Hungarian Conquest was 896 (#270), the actual occupation of the Carpathian Basin was not completed before 900. The main theme of the national assembly, convoked by Árpád at Pusztaszer in 900 (#271) was the official distribution of the conquered lands among the tribes, and to lay the foundations of the constitutional government.

Each of the eight tribes (including the united tribe of the Kabars) was assigned its place of settlement. The conquered

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#266: Symeon suspected that Arnulf will support the Hungarians if they would request for it. (Although the German ruler concentrated his interest on Italy, where he was crowned king in 894, and emperor in 896, it was possible that he could send considerable aid for his Magyar allies if it was necessary). Symeon decided to concentrate on Byzantium, preparing his new invasion (what he actually began in 913 against Constantinos Porphyrogenitos).

#267: Leo VI knew that the Byzantine-Bulgarian treaty was not based on true friendship. Since he had continuous trouble with the Saracens too, it did not seem to be sensible to send a Byzantine army north through unfriendly territories.

#268: The important battle of Alpar was the topic of one of the most beautiful Hungarian epic, written by Michael (Mihály) Vörösmarty. (The Flight of Zalán, 1825.)

#269: It is south of Budapest. Árpád found the traces of the old Roman colony of Aquincum, and (according to tradition) he also found the ruins of Attila's capital. Beside of the Roman amphitheatrum was the settlement of Árpád's deputy chief, Kurszán. (According to the chronicles, Árpád was buried near to this place in 907).

#270: The Hungarians commemorated the thousand years of national existence by the celebration of the Millenium in 1896.

#271: This place was north of Alpár, also on the right bank of the Tisza.

peoples became the slaves of the victorious settlers. According to the agreement at Pusztaszer, in each district the chieftain became the principal judge and the hereditary leader of his people in war: but all cases of dispute between clans were referred to Árpád himself, who in times of national danger, assumed the supreme command. The national assembly also ratified the terms of the Blood Compact of Atelekuzu, confirming Árpád's position as founder of a Dynasty. (#272). (See Genealogical Chart on the next page.)

The "Megyer" tribe settled down in the turn of the Danube, around Árpád's own Clan. The fragments of the "Nyék" occupied Pannonia, concentrating its forces north of the River Drava. It was called as the "tribe of the 'horka's", and it was reorganized by Levente's descendant's Bogát, later by (Bloody) Bulcsu (Bulchu). (#273). The "Kéri" tribe conquered Slovakia and its chieftain, Huba had his headquarter near to Pozsony (Slov:Bratislava). The "Jenö" tribe settled down at the southern turn of the Danube, near to the place, where the Drava river flows into the Danube. The chief was Tas' son, Botond <sup>at</sup> thistime, and his main tasks were to be on guard on the southern frontiers, to control the Bulgarian fragments, and to keep contact with Constantinople. Lehel, who inherited the "Kürt-Gyarmat" tribe from Lebed (Eleud, Elöd), occupied the northern Tisza valley together with the Kabar settlements. In the middle-Tisza - Maros area was the headquarter of the aged Ond, with his "Tarján" tribe. It was possible that Avar and Jász (Alán) fragment assimilated into the "Kürt-Gyarmat" and "Tarján" tribes. Probably the "Keszi" tribe was united with the large and powerful clan of Gyula. They settled in Transylvania, their task was to defend the eastern frontier against the Petchenegs, with the aid of the various Székely fragments.

The many hundred years of migration came to an end. The thousand years history of Hungary began.

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#272: The Golden Bull of 1222 ("Magna Charta" of the Hungarians) based its declaration on the traditions of the Blood Compact of 892, and on the Assembly of Pusztaszer of 900.

#273: Bulcsu and Tormás, two great-grandchildren of Árpád, visited Constantinos Porphyrogenitos in Constantinople. Pádányi suggests (Dentu magyaria) that the Byzantine Emperor based his historical writings on their narrations in a large extent. Also Bulcsu, Lehel and Botond were the main leaders of various expeditions in Western and Southern Europe.

GENEALOGICAL CHART

of the Árpád Dynasty until the foundation of  
the Hungarian Kingdom.

?

Edemen (born c. 768, died c. 810)

Ügek (b: c. 784, married Mhese c. 805, d: c. 850)  
(810 or 815 - 850)

Álmos (b: 819, or 820, d: 896)  
(850-892)

Árpád (b: 840)  
(892 - 907)

Levente (Laád) (b: c. 861) (d: 895)	Tarkoš (Ullo) (they died between 862 and 907)	Jutás (they died between 862 and 907)	Zoltán (Zsolt) (b: 893, d: 947) 907 - 944
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Vál (Vaisz) (944-947)	Taksony (b: 931, married in 947:?, Cuman princess) (947-972)
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Geisa (Géza) (b: 92?, mar/1: Sarolt (Gyula's daughter) in c. 966 (972-997). mar/2: Adelheid (d. of Miesko I, king of Poland) in 973.	Mihály (Michael)
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(from his 2nd wife)						
Vajk (ST. ISTVÁN) b: 969 (997-1038)	Judith b: 967 (Mar: 988 to Boleslaw I Kg. of Poland)	Mária b: ? (Mar: 1009 to Otto Orseolo Doge of Venice)	Sarolta b: ? (Mar: Samuel, Kg. of Hungary)	Vazul b: ?, d: 1038	László b: ?	
Imre (b: 1007) (d: 1031)				Endre	Béla	Levente



**EUROPE**  
c. 900 A.D.

Scale 1:20,000,000 (320 miles=1 inch)  
Statute Miles  
0 100 200 300 400

- Lands of Arnulf & Louis the Child (Germany)
- .. Charles the Simple (France)
- .. Rudolf of Burgundy
- .. Louis of Provence
- Boundaries fixed by the Treaty of Mersen, 870
- of Themes of East Roman Empire
- of vassal states of E. Roman Empire
- of acquisitions of E. Roman Empire
- Viking raids
- Saracen raids
- Magyar ..
- Route of the Varangians

**THEMES OF THE EAST ROMAN EMPIRE**  
in the X. Century

ASIA	16 Chaldeu
1 Opsikian	17 Mesopotamia
2 Optimaton	18 Lykandos
3 Paphlagonia	19 Cyprus
4 Bukellarian	<b>EUROPE</b>
5 Anatolic	20 Thrace
6 Thracasian	21 Macedonia
7 Samos	22 Strymon
8 Aegean	23 Thessalonica
9 Cibyrhaet	24 Hellas
10 Seleucia	25 Peloponnesus
11 Cilicia	26 Nicopolis
12 Cappadocia	27 Dyrrhachium
13 Charsianon	28 Cephallenia
14 Armeniac	29 Longibardia
15 Sebastea	30 Calabria
16 Colonea	31 Cherson

## XI.

ANOTHER LOOK AT SCYTHIA.

Chapter V concentrated on the most popular theory, that the Magyars were Finno-Ugrians and they were Turkicized later in their course of migration. Chapter VI seemed to find many evidence to prove the opposite theory: the Magyars were actually Turkish people, intermixing themselves with Ugrian fragments, but still keeping their original national identity. Chapter VII adopted both of these theories, trying to describe this prehistoric intermarriage and its results. After attempting to introduce a general impression about the character of the Ural-Altai migration from Asia to Europe in Chapter VIII, we described the supposed Magyar migration from the southern slopes of the Ural Mountains to the Carpathian Basin in Chapters IX and X. This description was based on both Hypothesis/A, and B, without arguing on Ugrian, or on Turkish majority. A couple of decades ago, the author of any similar topics would probably end his approach about the Hungarian origin and migration with our previous chapter, with the conclusion that (a) although the Hungarian grammar seems to reveal rather Finno-Ugrian origin, and (b) a large sum of the Hungarian vocabulary, and the historical memories about the early Hungarian appearance indicates rather Turkish origin, (c) only more philological and archeological investigations of the future will bring solution to this problem.

Further investigations in the last two decades did not solve this problem, only made it even more difficult. First of all, studying the history of the English, Bulgarian, Lombard, Jewish, etc. peoples, it is clear now, that certain tribe-organizations, or tribal fragments were able to adopt a completely new language without losing their original national, racial identity, and, secondly, the newest investigations found out that the Sibirian elements in the Magyar tribal system had a much more important role in the Hungarian origin and migration, than it was previously suspected.

Theorists of the recent years developed a new theory, which we nominated in this essay as Hypothesis/C. The believers and advocates of this hypothesis are rather closer to the Turkish theory, than to the Finno-Ugrian theory. The main different between Hypothesis/C

from Hypothesis/B. is, that theoretists of the Hypothesis/C do not place the origin of the pre-Magyars in Mongolia or Turkestan. They turn in their bold, and striking speculations into the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates. They feel, that some descendants of the great valley-civilization crossed the Caucasus, and the Iranian Mountains in ancient times, which, (in lack of enough evidence, is still classified by most of the historians as "prehistoric",) and ruled the endless steppes of Asia in gigantic horserider-armies. The Greeks, Arabs, Slavs, Chinese and other peoples called them "Scythians".

We touched the Scythian problem in the beginning of Chapter IV (pp.17-18), but in connection with Hypothesis/C it will be necessary to take another look at Scythia.

The believers in Hypothesis/C are sure that the Huns, Avars, and even the Dacians were all branches of the Scythian stem. (#274). They feel, that the medieval peoples were right to associate the Huns and Avars with the Scythians, and they are using the medieval Hungarian chronicles as evidence, that the Magyars, after the Conquest still traditionally believed their own Scythian origin. Victor Padányi, Ida Bobula (#275) and others are blaming the "misleading" of certain German (or Germanic-influenced) philologists, and historians. They think that European philology and historiography (under the influence of basically German professionals) was responsible for it, that the Scythian-Magyars were artificially connected with the Vogula and Ostiaks, declaring a close relationship, and concluding the "Finno-Ugrian" idea from it. Padányi and his followers agree, that those northern, primitive Ugrians are also relatives of the Magyars, but they are not some kind of "twin-brothers", only very distant cousins.

"...The Vienna-inspired historians began to erase all belief in a proud Scythian past. It was pointed out that 'Scythia' had never had an exact meaning. The old Hungarian chronicles were stamped unreliable." (#276).

The advocates of the new Scythian theory did not leave Jesuit Sajnovics out from the attack. (#277). He made a mistake -

#274: The Dacians (Daks) were called "Getae" by the Greeks, "Daci" by the Romans. Romanian nationalists advocated that they were the descendants of Romans and Daks. (The "Dako-Roman theory". Mentioned on p.4, #11).

#275: Victor Padányi: Dentumagyaria, Ida Bobula: Origin of the Hungarian Nation, Tibor Baráth: A Magyar Népek Östörténete, (Engl: The Ancient History of the Hungarian Peoples.), etc.

#276: Ida Bobula: Origin of the Hungarian Nation. Danubian Research and Information Center, Florida, 1966, p.7.

#277: Discussed on p.40.

they said, - even with the title of his main book Demonstratio Idioma Ungarorum et Lapporum Idem Esse (The Language of the Hungarians and the Lapps is shown to be Identical, publ. 1770, Tyrnaviae). The two languages are anything but identical. They are distant from each other as English and Greek. True, they are related, but the reason of the distant relationship based on the fact, that the Lapps represented a distant branch of the Scythian peoples.

"German scholarship, especially in the post-Napoleonic era of nationalism and romanticism, eagerly embraced theories on ethnic origins calculated to humiliate the proud Hungarians. It was safe to do this since there was truth in the distant relationship of Hungarian and Lappish. So Finno-Ugrian linguistics developed. Unquestionably, many people working in this direction did this in an honest effort to find out the truth. The trouble was that the existing political power favoured only this one line of approach to the truth. Only part of the truth was revealed." (#278).

The new historians, dealing with the origin of the Magyars, are trying to remind their fellow historians, that the present day's "official" opinion about the Hungarian origin is actually the result of an artificial political situation in Austria-Hungary, during many decades, and also the result of another Pangermanic influence, during the interwar years, during two decades. Anyone, who tried to seek light from any source but the Finno-Ugrian relationship, was denounced as an amateurish, ignorant chauvinist, ashamed of poor relatives.

"..Of course," - argueing Ida Bobula - "no Hungarian in his right mind could be ever be ashamed of being related to the Esthonians and the Finns...Nevertheless, there were in every generations some Hungarians, who tried to establish historical and linguistic ties with other groups too." (#279).

The young Hungarian historians, who were sent to Vienna, or to Prague with research grants and official patronage, were influenced and corrupted by the narrow-minded Finno-Ugrian idea, - according to the mentioned new historians, - and, of course these very persons were still in their important positions when Hungary regained her freedom from Austria after the First World War. They were professors of history in various Hungarian universities, they were respected scholars, and they were even important political figures (as the previously mentioned Bálint Homan) in the Nazi influenced interwar years.

#278: Ida Bobula: The Origin of the Hungarian Nation, p.8.

#279: Ibid. p.9.



Most of the advocates of Hypothesis/C are Hungarian immigrants in North- and South-America emigrating from Hungary since the end of the Second World War. A group of them already studied and taught in Hungarian academic circles between the world wars. The conservative "official opinion" was able to ridicule and frustate those independent scholars, who suggested that we should examine the opinions of medieval chroniclers about the Scythian origin of the Hungarians as a possible fact, and who proposed the investigation of the supposed Mesopotamian origin of the Scythians.

After 1945 there came the Russian occupation of Hungary and once again destiny produced a situation in which a foreign imperialist power could exploit the treasures of the Hungarian soil and the labor of a gifted people, for its own selfish purposes. "Scientific interpretation" in the colonised Hungary became very similar to the situation, when the Magyars were the subjects of the Habsburgs, or the subjects of the Nazi madness.

"In the Habsburgs times Hungarian children were taught that most of their civilization came from the Germans; today they are taught that their 'barbaric' ancestors were civilized by the educated Slavs." (#280).

At this point, let us leave the practical sensitivity of these Hungarian philologists and historians in emigration behind, and, trying to approach the problem with humanly possible objectivity, let us return to ancient Scythia.

Herodotos, the "father of history", Strabo, the Greek geographer and historian, Pliny the Elder, the Roman naturalist and encyclopedist, Curtius, the Roman historian, and others explained to us, that when they speak of Scythians, they mean a large group of peoples, having many individual names, but being essentially the same race language, or even nation. Of course many difficulties appeared already in the works of these classical authors. Greek and Roman writers refer to the Scythians in many instances, they all agree, that this nomadic, horseriding people existed north of the Black Sea - Caucasus - Caspean Sea - Iran - Aral Lake - areas. However, classical authors contradict each other and often tell impossible stories about Scythians. Hippocrates, the Greek "father of medicine" gives us a detailed description of the Scythian physique: if true,

#280: Ida Bobula: Origin of the Hungarian Nation, p.10.

the Scythians were flabby, degenerate orientals. But we also know, that the police force of the city of Athens was mainly Scythian ! This fact certainly disproves Hyppocrates; it would be hard to believe, that the Athenians employed degenerate individuals into their police force. The political power in this ancient democracy based on the patriotism and just sensibility of its citizens, but the achievements of the Athenian Empire had to be defended by a professional, well trained force. The Athenians choosed Scythians for the duties of policeman, guards and bodyguards. Herodotos said that some Scythians were cannibals on their northern steppes. It could be true in some cases, but we can not adopt the classical fantasy, according which the Scythians (or some of them) were one-eyed, or goat-footed. Some Greek authors certainly confused the Scythians with the dream-world of their own mythological imaginations,

If we deduce the fantastic imaginations from the descriptions of the classical authors, considering only the geographical and historical possibilities, we have every reason to suppose that the medieval Magyar tradition refers to the very same Scythia. It was a fact, that the living tradition of the Hungarians, based on old national chronicles, which were written mainly in the period of the Árpád Dynadty, that the ancestors of the Magyars came from the East, the shores of the Black Sea, "from Scythia". They were Scythians. There is no doubt that for awhile the ancestors of the Hungarian people lived in the legendary ancient steppes and swamps of Turkestan, or Maeotis (the Sea of Azov), this territory was called by Greek and Latin authors as Scythia.

Anonymus, notary of King Béla III, wrote about the Scythian origin of the Magyars with absolute certainty, associating his statements with the "Hunor and Magor"-myth:

"Scithici enim sunt antiquiores populi et est potestas  
Scithie fuit Magog filius Japhet ."etc.

His story also contains elements from historical events, which were not in the very distant past in the twelvth century, and generally accepted by all the believers of the various origin-theories. (For example the description of the "Hetumoger", who decided to emigrate from Scythia westward, because the military pressure from the East.)

Anonymus describes Scythia in his Gesta Hungarorum as "Scythia igitur...paludibus magnis", and "Scythica autem terra multum patula...subacti fuerunt!",

and his descriptions are very identical with the descriptions of the Chronicon Budense, or the Gesta Hunnorum (#281). The medieval Hungarian chronicles proved to be quite practical with their excellent geographical descriptions. They gave also a certain impression of realism, because connecting the Scythian origin with the Hun-Magyar relationship, they actually declared the former existence of some members of the Ural-Altai family on the geographical area, which was known as Scythia. Their story about the Scythian Hun-Magyar relationship somehow logically leads to the practical description of the wandering Magyars to Lebedia and to Atelkuzu, and to such details, that the migratory Hungarians were only 108 pure Magyar families (clans) and the remainder stands on a different footing, etc. The medieval Hungarian authors, similarly to their western contemporaries, began their narratives with supernatural elements. (For example: the mythical White Stag led Hunor and Magor to Scythia, or: the Árpád dynasty actually originated from the mythical "Turul" hawk, etc.). However, the story, which described the main reason, coming to Scythia, as the fact, that the original homeland "in Evilath" became overpopulated, sound quite logical and credible. Where was "Evilath"? Advocates of the theory, which was named in this essay as "Hypothesis/C", are calling the special attention for the fact, that the word "Evilath" does not sounds Turkish, or Mongol. This type of word suggests the impression about some kind of Mesopotamian origin. (See: examples of the Great Stag, found in Siberia, p.186.).

Thus, the pre-Magyars came from this mysterious "Evilath" according to the medieval Magyar chroniclers. And where did they settle down in Scythia, after leaving the overpopulated "Evilath"? The answer of the Chronicles was clear. They settled in "Dentumoger". If we try to believe that "Evilath" was not a fantasy-land, but the name of the ancient home, if we realize that "Scythia" was the area of the steppes, (what we called as the "Road of Nations" in this essay,)

#281: The first, known Magyar chronicler, Bishop Miklos, from about 1050, narrated the Hungarian origin and migration. He was followed by many others in the 11th and 12th century. Anonymus' Gesta Hungarorum was the most detailed. The next chronicler was "Master" Akos from 1270. His student, Simon Kézai write the Gesta Hunnorum in c.1285. The author of the Chronicon Budense was probably Márk Kálti in 1358. This work reappeared in richly illustrated form as Illustrated Chronicle in the library of King Louis the Great (1342-1390).

than it will be much easier to find out that "Dentumoger", mentioned by Anonymus, and others, was the name of one of the transistional settlements. It was "the land of Magyars at the Don" (#282).

Historians at the end of the nineteenth century, and in the first decades of the twentieth century, similarly to cartographers, still used the term "Scythia" only to express "unknown land of unknown Asiatic horsemen" in shorter term. Many of the modern historians are still rejecting the idea of Scythia, or Scythian unity. They still think that this "fantasy-land" existed only as a mistaken notion in the heads of classic writers.

If the word "Scythia" represented only a foggy collective-noun for the classical scholars, mentioning certain land and peoples on their northeast, for which they actually knew almost nothing, why was it, that chroniclers of a people whose ancestors came from this "strange" territory, used also the very same term? The answer for this question sounds very logical: it was possible that early Hungarian chroniclers, describing "Scythia" as the homeland of the nation, did not use genuine popular tradition, but took and copied classic descriptions of "Scythia!"

This answer sounds very convincing, and probably many of the advocates of the "Hypothesis/C" would give up their theory, if classic literature and medieval Magyar chronicles would not have a new "alliance" which appeared in the recent years. We have now another source of information on the Scythians, which is unbiased and becomes more explicit and more valuable every day. This is archeology.

It was mentioned before in this essay (p.50), that excavations in recent years seem to prove that Hun-Magyar relationship was not an unfounded legend. The newest archeological findings seemed to support much more the theory of Turkish origin (Hypothesis/B) than the "official" theory of Finno-Ugrian origin (Hypothesis/A). Other, even older findings gave information about these mysterious nomads of Asia many hundred years before the supposed Hun-Magyar brotherhood. A world of new information about Scythians has come to light in the last decades. Some important material came from the South; such are the Luristan Bronzes (Iran). Of the many recent discoveries related

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#282: The most recent speculation about "Dentumoger" (or in modern Hungarian: Dentumagyaria) was Victor Padányi's "Dentumagyaria Keletkezése" (Engl: The Origin of Dentumagyaria), as the Ch.12 of his Dentumagyaria (pp.265-290.)

to Scythians, none is more important than that of the treasures of Ziwiye (#283). These treasures date from about 700 B.C., and they display fully and clearly the character of the typical and unmistakable Scythian art.

"This fact sheds light on Scythian origins, it is obviously a mistake to look for the ancestry of Scythians and their art in Central Asia. The origins of their ethnic body, as well as of their culture, are to be sought South of the Caucasian Mountains, in old Mesopotamia." (#284).

"Scythian" art seems to be very similar, almost identical to the Mesopotamian findings. The believers of the Mesopotamian origin of the Scythians became even more certain now, that the Scythians were actually migrating groups, wandering for a long time following the downfall of Sumer, in all directions. It was safe again to declare, that somewhere east, or north-east of the Tigris River emigrants from Mesopotamia developed superior horsemanship and that enabled them to ride across Eurasia, between the two Oceans. They carried their exquisite metal art everywhere. New excavations certainly seem to prove that Herodotus was right stating that the homeland of the Scythians was south of the Caucasian Mountains, from where they moved to North. This statement could be associated now, with the support of archeology.

The classical authors believed some kind of Scythian unity, or with other words, they discussed Scythia not only as a merely geographical term, but they suspected that the Scythians were more or less organized in tribal systems. Some of the modern historians followed this example, under the influence of new excavations. (#285). Some others still denied the idea of the Scythians as an united, organized tribal system, especially denied the idea of

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#283: Ziwiye is a ruined fortress between the Tigris River and the Caspian Sea. (Note: in the last decade some Soviet archeologists are trying to prove, that even the Russian Slavs were Scythians by origin. Linguistically the Slavs belong to the Indo-European family, thus this new tendency sounds as "wishful thinking." On the other hand, however, it is also truth, that a large Scythian ethnic material enriched the Slav population. Consequently, the claim is not quite absurd.)

#284: Ida Bobula: Origin of the Hungarian Nation. ("The Scythian Problem") p.18.

#285: For example, Tamara Talbot Rice in his The Scythians (Thames and Hudson, London, 1957) based her speculation on the new findings. (On the next page we introduce a map from this book. (pp.104-05), which shows the sites, burials in the area of Scythian influence. The map includes Mesopotamia and the northern migratory regions too from Mongolia to the Carpathians !

The Scythians

The Tombs

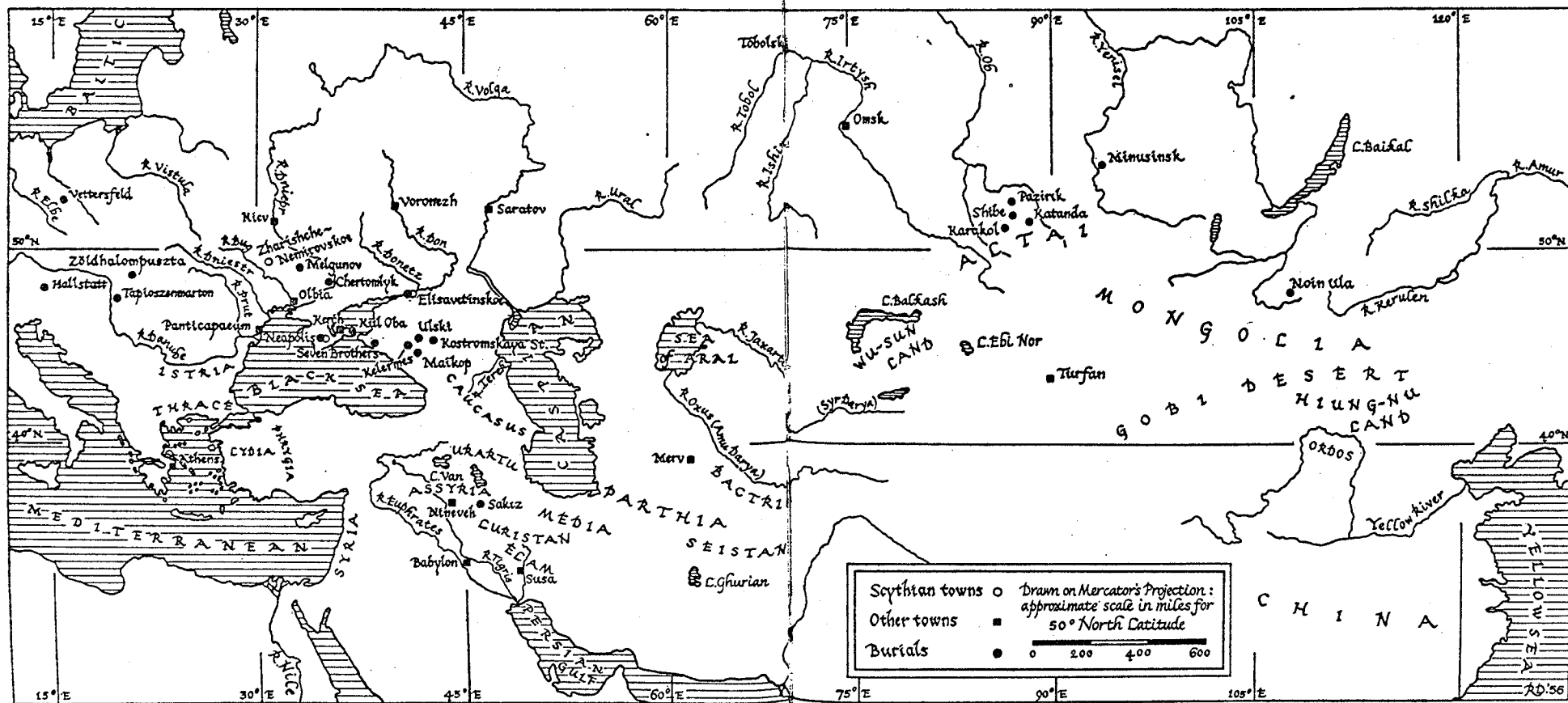


Fig. 24. Map of sites and burials in the area of Scythian influence.

the Sumerian origin of the Scythians. Imaginations, theories about an Ural Altaic unity was much more fashionable, and it seemed to fit much more to the neighbouring Indo-European theory, than supposing the origin of some "Turco-Tatar" peoples in the frame of a Scythian unity, especially, when it was claimed that the Scythians were one of the Mesopotamian (Sumerian) radiations. Scholars of Indo-European or Semitic origin feel it very uneasy to assume that those Asiatic nomads could be the descendants of the Sumerian civilization, which was more ancient than any of the Semitic or Indo-European civilizations.

The Hungarian believers of the Scythian theory hope, that some more archeological findings in the future will bring more and more evidence about the Scythian - Mesopotamian origin of the Magyars, or of part of the Magyars. It is also to be hoped that time will bring us more knowledge about Scythian writing and language. These new theorists have the courage to go far from the traditional Ural-Altaic (Turanian) idea. They suppose that the main group, the original racial and linguistic ancestors of the Scythian "family" were the Sumerians. The ancient radiations of the Sumerians were probably the Minoans, Mycenaeans, Cypriotes, and Etruscians. (See "Family Tree" on p. 30). (#286). They suppose that the Médes (#287), and the so-called "Daha people" (#288) were also branches of the Sumerian ethnic and linguistic center. According to their theory, as the Medieval descendants of the Scythians, the Huns, the Avars, the Turks and even the nordic Finno-Ugrians, were also all descendants of the disintegrated Sumerian Kingdom. (#289).

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#286: The Aegean civilization and the Etruscan culture were suspected to be immigrant branches of an ancient Mesopotamian culture by European scholars before the appearance of the Hypothesis/C advocates. The Minoan, Mycenaean, Etruscan archeological findings are similar both to the Mesopotamian and Scythian findings.

#287: The Medes appeared after the Assyrians and before the Persians in Mesopotamia. The Orientalist Jules Oppert asserted (in 1789) that they were probably a "Turanian" people.

#288: They are identical with the Dacians (Daks). They, supposedly, came from the Caspian-Aral areas to Transylvania.

#289: The Huns (who were called "Hsiung-Nu" by the Chinese, and "Unni" by the ancient Egyptians, were usually called as "Scythians" by ancient European sources. The Avars, according to the theory of the advocates of Hypothesis/C, could be identical with the Parthians of Roman time. (It was true, that the Romans already associated them with the Scythians. (The only problem is: if the Avars were identical with the Parthians, how could they reappear, as the rather Mongoloid "Juan Juan" on the Chinese frontier in the 5th century?).

Thus, believers in the "Hypothesis/C" had an answer to the believers of the "Hypothesis/A" (Finno-Ugrian origin of the Magyars). They could use Herodotos as a reference, who, discussing the Scythians, mentioned that some of the nordic peoples (living on both sides of the Ural Mountains) were Scythians too. According to the "Hypothesis/C" the relationship of the Magyars with the Finno-Ugrians was based on the philological and historical fact, that the Finno-Ugrians were "Northern Scythians", and the Magyars belong to the "Central Scythians" with all the Turkish peoples. Thus the relationship of Hungarians with Finns, Lapps, Voguls, Ostiaks, etc. is so distant that there is no mutual intelligibility.

At this point, without attempting any preliminary justification in this controversy, we have to ask a very important question: if the Scythians were ancestors of the Hungarians, as the tradition states, and if the Scythians derived from the Sumerians, then the Sumerian language and the Magyar language must be related. Is this so ?

To examine this hypothesis, we must return from the medieval "Road of Nations" and from medieval Hungary to the land of Sumer.



## XII.

THE SUMERIAN THEORY AND THE SUMERIAN-MAGYAR COMMON VOCABULARY.

Modern man rediscovered slowly the records of ancient civilizations. Passing the dark medieval period, the age of the Renaissance could not work out transition from medieval to modern, only with the rebirth of classic architecture, and sculpture, and only with the rebirth of classical humanism. The foundation of a Modern Age was associated with the excavations of buried treasures of ancient Hellas and Rome. The next step of historical science into the more ancient past took place in the Napoleonic era; the wonders of Egypt came to light. Not much later Mesopotamia began to yield the clay tablets and inscribed stones of, as it was believed first, the Assyrians. When Grotefend, the German schoolteacher (1775-1853) began to decipher the cuneiform scripts, the science of "Assyrology" was born. Then, one of the early decipherers, E. Hincks perceived, that this earliest writing system of Mankind was not written in Semitic Assyrian, and it was not written in any other Semitic language. He, and his followers supposed that there must be an earlier language, which was not Semitic at all. In the mid-nineteenth century more and more excavated documents of this earlier language came to light. Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, English orientalist and cuneiformist, called this pre-Semitic language in 1853, "Scythian." Two years later, J. Oppert suspected that the recently discovered syllabic language (of the possible inventors of writing) must belong to the Ural-Altai (Scythian, or Turanian) language family. He continued to specialize himself on the problem, and already in 1859, after comparing this ancient Non-Semitic language with many Ural-Altai languages, he stated that it was related to the Turkish and to the Hungarian. To these he added Finnish in 1869, and he was the first, who suggested, that this ancient language, which was still nameless in the 1860-es, should be called "Sumerian" (#290).

His denomination faced opposition in scientific circles. Another French orientalist, Francois Lenormant felt that

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#290: J. Oppert: Etudes Sumeriennes, Journal Asiatique, 1875. (From the Bibliography of Ida Bobula's Origin of the Hungarian Nation.)

"Accadian" would be a better name for the discovered writing. Other French scholars used the term "Chaldean" for a time, until they all agreed in Oppert's original proposal, and this ancient Non-Semitic, and pre-Semitic language was called again "Sumerian". (#291).

Lenormant followed Oppert's system in comparing Sumerian with other Ural-Altaic languages. (#292). He showed, on lexical and many grammatical examples, that this ancient language is agglutinative, and related to the Ural-Altaic languages, especially to the Hungarian. Continuing his investigation on comparative cultural fields, he found that old Babylonian magic was very similar to the magic of Turanian peoples in ancient and medieval times. (#293).

The acceptance of the Sumerian language as one of the Ural-Altaic languages, or even as the origin of the Ural-Altaic languages was prevented by Joseph Halévy, a Jewish-French professor in Paris. (1827-1908). He declared, that

"...no one had ever lived in ancient Mesopotamia but the Semites. Sumerians had never lived - he said. The so-called Sumerian language was only a secret, artificial language of the Semitic priests." (#294).

Halévy was a highly respected scientist, since he deciphered Sabeian and Himyaritic inscriptions (#295). He was an excellent debater too. His performance was so impressive, that Friedrich Delitsch, German Assyrologist (1850-1922) (#296), who had already taught Sumerian, suspended his lectures and J. Oppert himself stopped arguing. Halévy's victory was overwhelming: Sumerians never lived. Since he died only in the age of 81, and he was a highly respected scholar and an insistent polemist until his very last years, he succeeded in confusing the issue.

#291: The return to the term "Sumerian" was possible when historians generally agreed that before the Akkadian Empire (c. 2600-2420), there existed the first Sumerian dynasty of Ur (c. 3000-c. 2600 B.C.)

#292: F. Lenormant: La Langue Primitive de la Chaldée et les idiomes touraniens, Paris, 1875.

#293: F. Lenormant: Chaldean Magic, London, 1877.

#294: Ida Bobula: Origin of the Hungarian Nation, p. 25.

#295: The "Sabeian" inscriptions were found in Sheba (biblical name of a region in S. Arabia, including Yemen). They were one of the oldest Semitic inscriptions together with the "Hymaritic" writings. These latter were the writings of an extinct Arab tribe.

#296: F. Delitsch: Kleine Sumerische Sprachlehre für Nichtassyrologen. Leipzig, 1914. (From the Bibliography of Ida Bobula).

Time and true scholarship proved Halévy totally wrong. Archeology aided Philology to find the right way. Excavations of French archeologists at Telloh, and of Anglo-Americans at Ur, have established, beyond doubt, the facts that Sumerian was once a living language, that there was a Sumerian people and a Sumerian culture in ancient Mesopotamia. They were a Non-Semitic people. Their civilization was highly developed. They were skilled metal workers, they possessed a system of writing which was probably the first writing in history, they dug numerous canals for irrigation purposes, they built palaces and tower temples ("zigurrats") of brick. As Samuel Noah Kramer, one of the foremost Sumerologists of the United States, declared, the Sumerians revealed numerous "firsts" in man's recorded history. They had the first schools, the first bi-cameral Congresses, they produced the first historical writings, they collected taxes in the first time, they invented scientific agriculture, their <sup>ING</sup>thinker expressed moral ideas and expressed them in proverbs and pre-aesopian animal-fables. They were the historically-known first literary debaters, they wrote their "Bible" much before our traditional Bible, dealing with the Creation, with the Great Flood, even with the idea of resurrection. They wrote the first love songs, and the first library Catalogue too. The Sumerian civilization was the first Golden Age of Mankind. (#297).

Even if in the beginning of the twentieth century, the term "Sumer" represented the oldest civilization of Mesopotamia, and the term "Sumerian" represented the most ancient language of the Near East, and a definitely Non-Semitic language, - the influence of Halévy was still effective in philological and in historical circles. Halévy hammered so successfully the idea of a Sumerian-Turanian unity, that, for example Sir Leonard Woolley (#298) and his followers attempted to link Sumerian with almost every language-groups of the world, carefully ignoring the Ural-Altai languages, because this step could provoke the angry attack of Halévy's followers. The result was: the Sumerians are nobody's ancestors, and only cultural nationalists are so daring to claim them as racial or linguistic forefathers.

Since German and Hungarian historians already agreed that the Magyars originated on the Ugrian North, which theory was very

#297: Samuel Noah Kramer: History Begins at Sumer. Doubleday Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc. Garden City, New York, 1959.

#298: Author of The Sumerians, Oxford, 1930. Ur of the Chaldees, London, 1950, Excavations at Ur, London, 1954, The Art of the Middle East, Baden-Baden, 1961, and many other similar works.

satisfactory for the German nationalist circles in the Habsburg Monarchy

"..A body which joined wholeheartedly in this agreement - (according which the Sumerians are nobody's ancestors), - was the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The research of Sumerian paternity was strictly taboo. The concepts of 'Scythian' and 'Turanian' elicited sarcasm." (#299).

Between 1920 and 1945, Hungarian scholars, who tried to connect Sumerian with Turkish were rejected by the Academy. In the interwar years, when Nazism dictated to its satellites that the Indo-German (Aryan) race represents the elite of Mankind, it was very comfortable for Hungarians to "remain" Finno-Ugrians, ignoring Sumerian and Scythian possibilities, hoping that Dr. Goebbels will open the door of Aryanism for Finno-Ugrians. After 1945, when Hungary changed its totalitarian master, not the German, but the Slav became the "superior" race. The University of Moscow encouraged the Finno-Ugrian theory, because the Kreml was happy to associate Hungarians with primitive, subjected Voguls, Ostyaks and Chremisses. (#300). If a linguist or a historian risked the assumption that perhaps the Turkish language had something to do with the Hungarian origin, his statements was considered only as an "ever returning misconception". To declare that "the Magyars represented a Turkish type of Oriental culture" was dangerous in the Soviet "socialist" system, because the dictated "official" theory was that "the barbaric conquerors learned culture by the peaceful, humanitarian and educated Slav subjects". It was no wonder, that the reappearance of the Turkish-, and Sumerian origin-theory was observable in the free West, and the theorists were mostly Hungarian immigrant historians and linguists.

We found that the advocates of the Finn-, and of the Turkish theory produced documentary evidences. What about the evidences of the Sumirologists ?

With the progress of archeology, more and more clay tablets appear in the museums of the world. Scholars are working at copying and reading them, enriching knowledge about the Sumerian grammar, lexical material and cultural history. Having more and more linguistic material, the opportunity for comparative linguistics

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#299: I. Bobula: Origin of the Hungarian Nation. pp. 25-26.

#300: The Kreml continued the Russification-policy of the Czars. In the middle of the 20th century a large percentage of the Finno-Ugrians were already hopelessly Russified.

had grown. But, is there any reason to compare Sumerian with another living language ?

Toynbee, the famous English historian wrote the following statements:

"...if there is any grain of historical fact in the legend of a confusion of tongues in the Land of Shinar at the foot of an unfinished ziggurat in a recently built city of Babel, the story perhaps takes us to Babylon in an age in which the Sumeric universal state was breaking up; for in the catastrophic last chapter of Sumeric history the Sumerian language became a dead language." (#301).

Toynbee refers here to the fact that Sumer (or, the Empire of Ur under the Third Dynasty (#302) was still in the classical period of Sumerian culture. After c. 2200 B.C. however, the Sumerians declined, and losing their national identity, they became part of the First (Amoritic-Semitic) Dynasty of Babylon. In the time of the great Hammurabi, sixth king of this dynasty (c.1950 B.C.) Sumerians did not seem to exist anymore.

But, even if the Sumerians died out or assimilated in the ocean of the surrounding Semitic peoples, is the Sumerian a dead language ?

Ida Bobula refers to Deimel (#303):

"Oppert and Henormant had operated once with only 300 Sumerian words, known at their time. Today we have in Deimel's Glossary more than 4000 Sumerian wordroots (morphemes), more or less well understood. This material is increasing...A good look at Deimel's and other scholars more recent Sumerian material reveals a striking quantity of correspondences between Hungarian and Sumerian words. Even if we presume that half of these are fortuitous, the other half is sufficient to establish relationship." (#304).

Hungarian Sumiologists in emigration feel that they found new evidence about the Hungarian origin, and on basis of this

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#301: Arnold Toynbee: A Study of History. Abridgement of Vol. I-V. Oxford University Press, New York & London, 1947. "Schism in the Soul", p.467.

#302: Ur-Nammu, Dungi, Bur-Sin, Gimil-Sin, Ibi-Sin. The Sumerians declined under the mutually hostile dynasties of Isin and Larsa (2000-c.1950 B.C.)

#303: A.S.J. Deimel: Sumerisches Lexicon. Rome, 1927-37.

#304: Ida Bobula: Origin of the Hungarian Nation. "Sumerian and Hungarian", p.27.

this evidence, they ask for a new reconsideration of the old tradition about the Scythian origin of the Magyars.

What type of language of the Sumerian ?

The Sumerian is an "agglutinative" language: its roots, generally monosyllables, do not undergo internal changes, but are modified by adding suffixes, infixes and prefixes, each of which maintains its separate identity. The script, which is Cuneiform, consists of four vowels and fourteen consonants. In the pronouns of the first and second persons, which are also used as enclitics, and in the noun, Sumerian does not distinguish gender, which it expresses either by placing the determinative "male" or "female" before the noun, or by employing entirely different words. The noun distinguishes four cases, formed by suffixing vowels or syllables - nominative, genitive, dative and accusative; the plural, when indicated, is formed either by a duplication of the root or by the suffixes.

With its characteristics, the Sumerian seems to be different from both the Indo-European and the Semitic languages, but on the other hand it seems to be similar to the Ural-<sup>Altaic</sup> languages, and, being a recognized Ural-<sup>Altaic</sup> language, to the Hungarian too.

- "1. The body of Sumerian phonemes seems to correspond to the body of Hungarian phonemes.
2. There is in both languages an almost universal thematic harmony of the vowels, to which there are but few exceptions.
3. Both languages eliminate the accumulations of consonants.
4. Both languages are agglutinative.
5. The absence of grammatical distinction between masculine and feminine is a common characteristic.
6. There is a similarity of pronouns.
7. Clear correspondences are obvious in the declension of nouns.
8. Less obvious, but important similarities are found in the use of verbs." (#305).

Let us see some examples from the Sumerian and Hungarian vocabulary. Unquestionably, some Sumerian words, known from the cuneiform texts of the clay tablets, sound exactly, or at least similarly like Hungarian words for the same, or related concepts.

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#305: This comparison of the Sumerian and Hungarian languages is from Zsigmond (Sigismund) Varga's Ötezer Év Távlatahol. Sumir-Ural-Altái Ösrokonság. (Engl: From the Distance of Five Thousand Years. Sumerian-Ural-<sup>Altaic</sup> Ancient Relationship. Debrecen, Hungary, 1942.) Ida Bobula, who quoted these points in his Origin of the Hungarian Nation, p.28. noted (on p.26) that Zs. Varga was a professor of Oriental languages at the Univ. of Debrecen. When he presented his thesis about Sumerian-Ural-<sup>Altaic</sup> relationship to the Academy, he was awarded a prize for his scholarly work. Yet, at the same time, the Academy stated officially that Varga did not succeed in proving his thesis.

<u>SUMERIAN</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>	<u>HUNGARIAN</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>
Ur	guard, protect, warrior, man, husband, strong, powerful.	Ur	gentleman, lord, husband.
Isten	one, the only one	Isten	God
Nap	sun god	Nap	sun
Hud	to shine	Hold	moon
Zalag	bright	csillag	star
Ama, or Eme	mother	anya	mother
Adda	father	atya	father
Nin	lady, priestess, sister.	néni	aunt, older sister.
Ussa	younger brother	öccs	younger brother
Es	eats	esz	eats
Sil	cuts	szel	cuts
Hun	reposes	huny	sleeps (#306).

Realizing the similarity of Sumerian and Hungarian words and grammar, the German Hartmut Schmöckel stated:

"Das Sumerische gehört seinem Aufbau nach zu den agglutinierenden Sprachen. Dieser Typ, der in Europa etwa vom Finnischen und Ungarischen, in Asien von den Türkensprachen vertreten wird, formt den unveränderlichen und oft einsilbigen Wortstamm durch angehängte Bildungsteile, die für sich allein nicht vorkommen. Zusammengehörige Worte und Satzteile werden damit zu einer einzigen Kette aneinandergesetzt, wobei die Kettenbildung einem bestimmten Schema unterlegt." (#307).

Henry Sweet's opinion is this:

"The main argument in favour of the affinity of Sumerian with the Uralo-Altaic family is that they are all governed by the great law of vowel harmony. Many languages all over the world show various convergent acoustic sound-changes, but none of them show anything like vowel-harmony as carried out in these two groups of languages." (#308).

#306: This vocabulary appears in Ida Bobula's Origin of the Hungarian nation. Note: "Ur" was also the capital city of Sumer. Some of the words above were also introduced as Turkish words, the term "Isten" (God) was adopted also by the Persian language.

#307: Hartmut Schmöckel: Das Land Sumer. Stuttgart, 1956. quoted by Tibor Baráth in his A Magyar Népek Östörténete. p. 93.

#308: Henry Sweet: The History of Language, London, 1936. p. 125. Quoted by Tibor Baráth: A Magyar Népek Östörténete. p. 94.

Samuel Noah Kramer wrote very similarly:

"Sumerian is an agglutinative tongue, not an inflected one like Indo-European or Semitic. Its roots, by an large, are invariable... In structure, therefore, Sumerian resembles no little such agglutinative languages as Turkish, Hungarian, and some of the Caucasian languages." (#309).




Of course, many of the Sumerian words not even similar to the other Ural-Altai (or to Hungarian) words. Sumirologists, who also declare Sumerian - Turanian relationship, are trying to explain this with the argument, that the bulk of the language underwent great changes. After all, 5000 years separate Sumerian from modern Turkish or from modern Hungarian. This is a very long time, even longer than the time span separating Latin from its daughter languages, or old Anglo-Saxon from modern English.

"We must not forget, that, while Sumerian was the language of humanity's first high civilization, it was still an archaic language of a few thousand words. To be an adequate language of the space-age, Hungarian had to evolve an immensely richer vocabulary. This happened by using the phonetically older wordform to express some slightly different idea from the one expressed in the new form. Large families of Hungarian words can be traced back to a single, simple, monosyllabic Sumerian ancestor." (#310).

For example

<u>SUMERIAN</u>	<u>HUNGARIAN</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>
Sab	Szabni Szabás Szabo Szablya Szabályos	to cut, hit, throw shape, pattern, form tailor sword exact (#311).

Victor Padányi's observation was that in the Sumerian cuneiforms appears the same orthographical relationship, which appears - as phonetic relationship - among the corresponding Hungarian words:

<u>SUMERIAN</u>	<u>HUNGARIAN</u>	<u>TURKISH</u>	<u>GERMAN</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>	<u>FRENCH</u>
 : esz-a	eső, víz		Wasser	water	eau
 : esz-i	{ sziv iszik	masset icmek	sucken trinken	suck drink	sucer boire
 : iz	tűz	atisz	Feuer	fire	feu

#309: S. Kramer: The Sumerians. Their History, Culture and Character. Chicago, 1964. p. 366. Quoted by Tibor Baráth: A Magyar Népciklópötönet. p. 93.

#310: Ida Bobula: Origin of the Hungarian Nation. p. 29.

#311: Ibid. p. 30.



<u>SUMERIAN</u>	<u>HUNGARIAN</u>	<u>TURKISH</u>	<u>GERMAN</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>	<u>FRENCH</u>
 : isa	Biz, isa		gewiss	surely	
 : asz	ház		Haus	House	maison

(#312).

"Hypothesis/C" philologists, comparing Sumerian with modern Hungarian, found a sound-change from "D" to "T". For example:

<u>SUMERIAN</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>	<u>HUNGARIAN</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>
Dal	vessel	tál	dish
Dar	splits, open	tár	opens
Dag	add, increase	tág	wide
Dadara	dress	takaros	well dressed
Dan	to be bright, free, enlightened	tan	teaching
		tanit	teaches
		tanito	teacher
		tanács	advice, counsel, council
		tanu	witness
Dingir	divine	tündér	fairy
Des	(numeral unit)	tiz	ten
Dun	species of ox	tino	young ox
Dil	perfect, full	teli	full
Duk	container	tok	case, sheath
Dal	to fly	toll	feather
Dal	be far away	tul	over, across
Durdur	inhabit, bond	Turtur	(the old name of the northern Hungarian fron- tier. Today: Tatra)

(#313).

The following word-list illustrates the phonetic change from Sumerian S to the sound written in Hungarian with Cs. (#314).

<u>SUMERIAN</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>	<u>HUNGARIAN</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>
Saku	high	csáko	high hat, shako
Sabu	road, way	csapás	track, trail
Sap	army	csapat	troup
Sen	clean, shiny	csin	neatness
Si-ip	lace	csipke	lace
Sepu	leg	csipő	hip
Suhur	bouquet	csokor	bouquet
Sakan	ass	csökönyös	stubborn
Susi	summit, angle	csucs	summit, peak, top, pointed end
Suba	clean, clear	csupa(sz)	bare, naked, nude

#312: Victor Padányi: Dentumagyaria. Ch. 4: "Is the Hungarian relative to the Sumerian?" p. 103.

#313: Selected from Ida Bobula: Origin of the Hungarian Nation, pp. 31-33.

#314: The Hungarian "Cs" represents only one sound. The English language symbolizes the very same sound with the letters "Ch" in the words CHain, CHair, CHalk, CHance, etc.

(List continued from the previous page;)

<u>SUMERIAN</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>	<u>HUNGARIAN</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>
Sur	flow, drip	csurog	flows, drips
Sabura	vessel	csupor	vessel
Sag	low	csügg	hangs
Suru	stable, barn	csür	barn, shed

(#315).

"The vast majority of the Hungarian vocabulary goes back to Sumerian roots;" - wrote Ida Bobula, - the question of the alleged Turkish and Slavic loanwords has to be reconsidered. The Turks inherited their words from the same source as the Hungarians - the Slavs borrowed these words from the great Scythian cultures." (#316).

The final conclusion of the believers in "Hypothesis/C" is that the migratory pre-Magyars spoke a Turkish tongue, which was one of the linguistic radiations of the ancient Sumerian in itself. This old-Hungarian language gradually changed, when the Magyars, in the period of their migration, and even after the settlement in the Carpathian Basin, adopted other Scythian idioms from the Huns, Ugrians, Khazarians, Kabars, Sabirs, Avars, and Székelys.

"All evidence points to it, that the bulk of the conquering people...brought along a language that was a tool fit for government, organization, lawmaking and constitution - a language evolved and polished through millenia. There is every reason to believe, that this hieratic language...preserved by a group of priests, treasured in all adversity, as sacred tradition." (#317).

This was the explanation of many of the Hungarian Sumerologists after examining the interesting similarity of the Sumerian and the Hungarian languages. As we see, "Hypothesis/C" is much closer to "Hypothesis/B", but it adopts even "Hypothesis/A" in a certain extent, declaring that the nordic Finno-Ugrians were also a far, and minor branch of the (Sumerian originated) Scythians. At this point, we have to take a look on ancient Mesopotamian history, trying to find arguments for, or against the believers of the Sumerian-Magyar theory.

#315: Selected from Ida Bobula: Origin of the Hungarian Nation. (Author of this essay made only one change. Bobula feels that "csupa" corresponds with the English "clean, clear". It is not really true, because "csupa" means "all" in English. However, "csupasz" means "bare", which could correspond with the Sumerian meaning. (See last terms, p. 142).)

#316: I. Bobula: Origin of the Hungarian Nation, p. 35. (At this point I remind the reader to the fact that Russian scientists are investigating the possible origin of the Slavs from the Scythians. Mentioned on p. 130, #283).

#317: Ibid. p. 36.

## XIII.

SUMER - SUBARTU - DENTUMOGER.

"The Sumerologist is one of the narrowest of specialists in the highly specialized academic halls of learning, a wellnigh perfect example of the man who knows mostest about the leastest"

This was the beginning sentence of Samuel Noah Kramer in the Introduction to one of his works (#318), trying to make feel with his readers the fact, that the science of Sumirolgy was taking only its first, uncertain steps, and even the specialist, who knows the most about the Sumerians, should be very careful, because his actual knowledge is limited to a very narrow material of documents.

A century ago nothing was known even of the existence of the Sumerians. Archeologists and scholars who, some hundred years ago, began excavating Mesopotamia were looking not for Sumerians but for Assyrians and Babylonians. Yet today the Sumerians are one of the well-known peoples of the ancient Near East. Archeologists found their statues and steeles, their columns and bricks, their tools and weapons, pots and vases, harps and lyres, jewels and ornaments, and also they found their clay tablets, inscribed with their business, legal and administrative documents, giving us information about the social structure and administrative organization of the ancient Sumerians. If S.Kramer still feels that the material under scientific examination is too little, it is because Sumerologists need more documents to find out (a) where did the Sumerians come from, (b) what language-family did their language belong to, and (c) what did happen with the fragments of the Sumerian nation after the disintegration of the Sumerian Empire ?

We know that Sumer was divided into city-states, and these were in frequent conflict over border lines and water rights. They fought for the hegemony of the country and this hegemony passed from one city state to the other. Agriculture was their chief occupation, additionally with flourishing commerce. They had banking practices, standard weights and measures and codified laws. Their sexagesimal system, which was later combined with the decimal, still

#318: Samuel Noah Kramer: History Begins at Sumer, p. xviii.

appears in our time measuring of today. From pictographs they developed their cuneiform writing. They worshipped the god of the sky ("Anu"), the god of the atmosphere and the earth ("Enlil"), the goddess of the water ("Ea"), and many other city-gods in their three-stepped pyramids, the ziggurats, and the faithful Sumerian believed in life after death.

In the time between 3000 and 2600 B.C., when the First Dynasty of Ur and the First Dynasty of Lagash ruled Sumeria, Sumerian civilization was already urban and sophisticated. It was probably the result of intermarriages between different ethnic groups and cultural exchange. After the third millenium B.C. the Sumerian character of the Mesopotamian city states was fading. It was possible that the too luxurious life in the cities had weakened the Sumerians. When a new element, the hairy and energetic Akkadians overran Mesopotamia, the Sumerians paid for their decadency.

The Akkadians took over the political power, founding the Akkadian Empire (c.2600-c.2420). The Sumerian element had three choices: they had to die, submit or emigrate. The participation of Sumerians seemed to appear in the fact, that Sumerian culture was adopted by the Akkadians and slightly modified.

Although we do not have historical evidence, about details, undoubtedly many groups of Sumerian migrants left Mesopotamia in the Akkadian age. These Sumerians went in all directions in search of some free land. It does not seem impossible that migrant elements of Sumer built the early Hittite Empire, which collapsed under the onslaught of the "People of the Sea". It was also possible, that Minoans, Mycaeneans, and Etruscians were also radiations of the Sumerian culture, or, with other words, Sumerian refugees on parts of the Mediterranean.

After c. 2420, until c. 2300 B.C. the barbaric Gutium from the eastern hills conquered Babylonia. From 2300 to c.2200 B.C. the Third Dynasty of Ur, probably constituted from Sumer-Akkadian elements, represented the final effort of the Sumerian culture to survive. However, the streaming of various (mostly Semitic) tribes continued. Mesopotamia was highly overpopulated. More and more migrants left the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates again, many peoples from the original Sumerian stock, but also Semitic peoples,

if we are taking under account the reference from the Bible (Gen. xi 28), according which Abraham was born in "Ur of the Chaldees", (in c. 2000 B.C.) and left it with his clan, following the valley of the Euphrates to northwesternly direction, looking for new home, and found it in Canaan, which was the "Land of Promise."

The fact that between c.2200 and c.1950 B.C. Mesopotamia finally lost completely its original Sumerian identity, was connected with two things:(1) So many Semite tribes crowded to Mesopotamia, that the original Sumerian fragments assimilated to them. In the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon (c.2050-1750) peoples, who belonged still to the Sumerian race, probably spoke only the Babylonian accent of the ancient Semite language. Other Sumerians, who were in Assyrian territories, they gradually abandoned their language, adopting the Assyrian version of the Semitic. (2) The Sumerian migration from Mesopotamia was permanent.

On the directions, which would certainly appeal to many refugees, was part of the Sumerian Empire in its early golden age. It was known as Subartu, the mountain district beyond the River Tigris. This land was relatively quiet, comparing to the terrible historical storms in Mesopotamia. After every impulses of those storms new flood of the refugees came to Subartu, and since peoples and individuals of Semitic origin had better opportunities in Semitic Mesopotamia, most of the refugees were non-Semitic Sumerians. One historical storm was, when Assyria was invaded by the Hittites, Egyptians and the Hurrians of Mitanni. (after c.1800 B.C.) About in the same time Babylonia also suffered by the Hittite invasion. Part of the political refugees moved to the Hittite Empire, part of them migrated to Subartu. When, after the fall of the Hittite Kingdom Assyria slowly recovered, new, non-Semitic migration moved to Subartu, mostly peoples, who were handled as inferiors by the Assyrian Empire. After 933, Assyria was the most powerful empire, on the ruins of the Babylonians, too. Its fearful shadow leaned upon Subartu too, although the Assyrians did not conquer this territory. (#319).

"At this very time a mysterious group of horsemen appears in Luristan and leaves in the earth the traces of a peculiar and characteristic culture." (#320).

#319: This paragraph is the shortened description of V. Padányi's detailed narrative in his Dentumagyarai. ("Szubartu" pp. 223-228).

#320: I. Bobula: Origin of the Hungarian Nation. p.44.



CASPIAN

SUSHAN MTS.

ARAKS

CAUCA

ARMENIA

BLACK SEA

CAPPADOCIA

PHRYGIA

CILICIA

PONTICA

SUMER

LAKE VAN

ASSYRIA

MESOPOTAMIA

SYRIA

ARABIA

NINEVEH

TIGRIS

EUPHRATES

BABYLON

LURISTAN

ELAM

SUSA

LAGASH

UR

SINUS PERSICUS

CYPUS

CANAAN

EGYPT

The Luristan bronzes were mentioned in this essay (on p.129). (#321). According to archeologists, the Luristan art is connected with Mesopotamian art.

"...Yet, the art of Luristan is in essence different from that of Sumer. Sumerian art was that of a well-fed, well-to-do, sedentary people. Luristan art is that of impoverished, endangered, fighting and moving peoples. It is an art of refugees...The masters of these little masterpieces were several generations of refugees from Sumerian city-states, who hid among the hills of Luristan." (#322).

The refugees were surrounded by an alien Assyrian world. They had to cope with the swift horsemen of the Assyrian cavalry, so they became great horsemen themselves, good enough to overrun the "Road of Nations" some centuries later.

Some emigrants from Sumer were luckier than that bulk which could save only their skins and their creative selves. In some fortresses, like Ziwiye, lived rich people. They did not use bronze as the refugees of Luristan. They still worked gold. (See p.130). Their symbol was the stag, the very same majestic animal, which appeared often in the ancient Sumerian art, and which reappeared again in the Hun-Magyar myth, folklore and folk art. (See pp.49-50, and also see the pictures on p.149).

Assyriologists found that in the ninth century B.C. the people of Subartu were able to organize themselves into a kingdom. The name of this kingdom was "Urartu". The Assyrians attempted to conquer it many times. Shalmaneser III (859-824) was not successful, but Tiglath-pileser III (745-727) restrained the expansion of Urartu, conquering its major city, which name was Árpád. The remnants of Urartu, and other tribes from Subartu migrated to the southern Caucasian region.

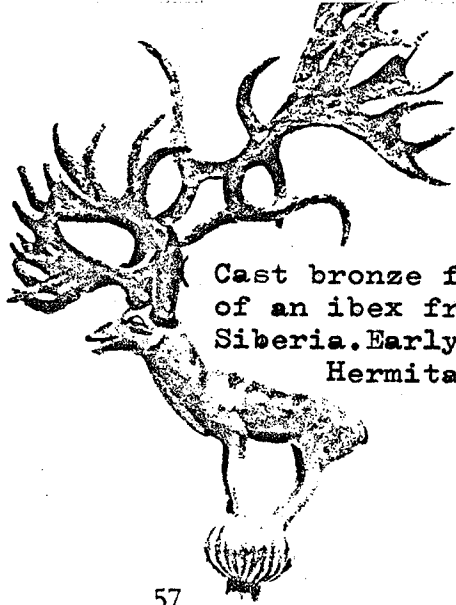
The final disintegration of Assyria by the Medians and Babylonians (612 B.C.) opened a new age in the history of Subartu and of the southern Caucasus too. Cyrus the Great (550-530), the Persian conquered the whole Mesopotamia, including Subartu, and the southern Caucasian region. When the Medes revolted against the Persian rule and most of their leaders were slaughtered, the rest accepted co-existence with the Persians (#323), but those independent

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#321: Luristan is part of the Iranian Kingdom today.

#322: I. Bobula: Origin of the Hungarian Nation, p.45.

#323: One of them, Zoroaster, even reformed the old Magus religion for the benefit of the Persian Empire. Darius I (521-485) became Zoroastrian himself.



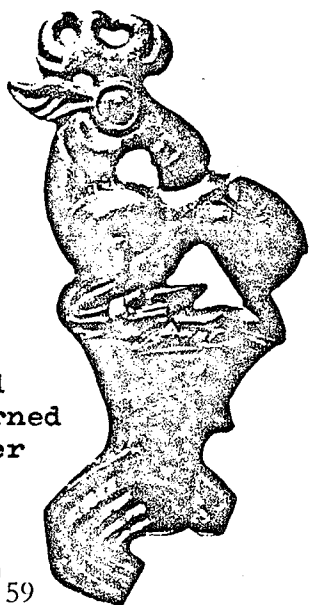
Cast bronze finial in the form of an ibex from Minussink, Siberia. Early bronze age. Hermitage Museum)

57



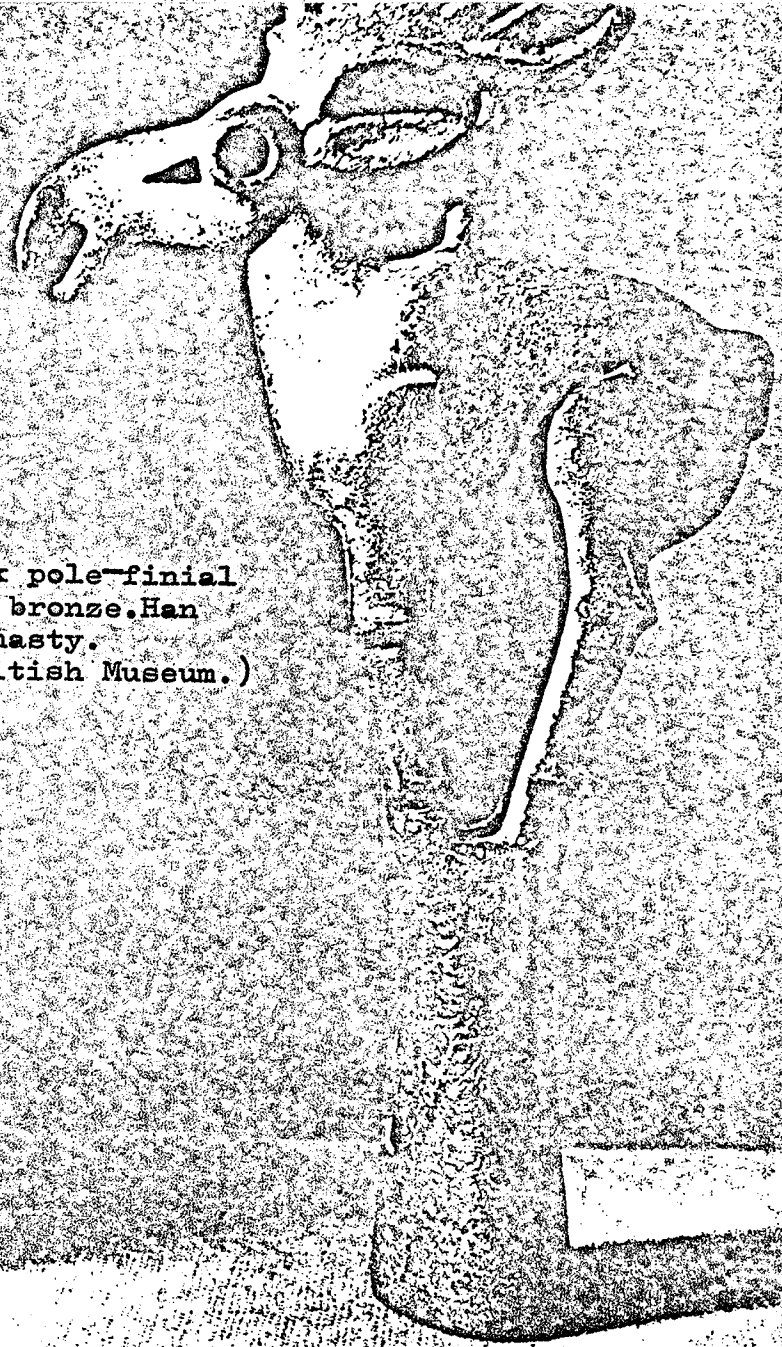
(Cast bronze. Chirigin. VI-V.c.B.C. Hermitage.)

58



(Carved wood finial adorned with leather antlers. Pazirik. IV.c.B.C. Hermitage.)

59



(Elk pole-finial in bronze. Han dynasty. British Museum.)

60

(These illustrations were copied from F.T.Hice: The Scythians, 57-60.)



souls, who had left Mesopotamia for the sake of freedom would stir, and begin to move again, away from the Persian yoke. The migration of people, (and on the base of archeology we may call them Scythians) was permanent from Subartu to northwestern direction. The southern slopes of the Caucasus were probably crowded by refugeeing tribal fragments in the age of the Greco-Persian wars, and, one by one, some bolder tribes even crossed the Caucasian Mountains, flooding the world of the steppes with their speedy horsemen.

The fifth century was the period, when the scholars of Hellas began to write about these peoples from Subartu to the northern Transcaucasian steppes. Herodotos distinguished the peoples of Subartu, Urartu, and Southcaucasus from the peoples of the northern steppes. He called the first ones "Scythians", the latter one "Massagetes", without explaining what was the difference of the two. Xenophon was better informed about the tribal fragments existing on the southern slopes of the Caucasus. In his Anabasis, he speaks about "Chaldeans of the mountains". The fact, that in an age, when Chaldea represented nothing else, but a historical term from the ancient past, and in an age when Mesopotamia was crowded basically with Semitic peoples, the great Greek scholar speaks about "Chaldeans" in the Caucasus, - seemed to prove that modern Sumirolology was on the right trace declaring that Subartu - Caucasus - and the Northcaucasian world was the road of the northward migration of Sumerians after the fall of their ancient Empire.

After 330 B.C. the Persian Empire fell too, and the Orient belonged to the victorious Alexander the Great until India. Alexander's army occupied Mesopotamia, but his warriors did not go as far north as Subartu and the Caucasus. After the disintegration of the Macedon Empire, the area south of the Caspian was ruled by the Parthians, Subartu, and the territory north to the Caucasian was part of the Armenians. Armenia became a vassal of Rome in 69 B.C., but the Parthians, who were Scythians themselves, and as excellent horsemen and archers defended their country heroically against Rome. (#324). Sumirolologists are suggesting that these Parthians were identical with the Avars, who, after a previous intermixing with the other Ural-Altaic peoples (perhaps with the "Juan-Juan"; see p. 86, and #183) reappeared, as one of the Turco-Tatar tribal system in the Medieval Age.

**#324:** Crassus was utterly defeated by the Parthians in 53 B.C. The fate of the Parthians came when the Persians revolted against them, and finally Parthia became part of the Neo Persian Empire of the Sassanians in 226 A.D.

While the possession of rich agricultural lowlands was important to the great powers, and empires followed each the other one, - Persian, Macedonian, Roman, - after terrible battles, less ambitious groups could survive in less fertile and less coveted lands - the hidden valleys of the Caucasus, and on the Northcaucasian marches, and steppes. Mountains and marshes were always the classic lands of the freedom seekers. Hungarian Sumerologists suppose that Subartu itself, remained mainly Sumerian, because the Semitic extension seemed to tend rather westerly directions (Asia Minor, Palestine, Arabia), the European (Macedonian, Roman conquests rather aimed to go eastward. Both of these imperial ambitions ignored, more or less, these, less fertile, mountaneous, or marshy areas, between the Black Sea and the Caspian, south of the Caucasian Mountains.

What was the origin of the name, "Subartu" ?

In the period, when Sumer was still an independent and powerful kingdom, the Sumerians called the peoples of their north the "men of destruction". (#325). Later, of course, when the Sumerian power disintegrated, and the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates were conquered by Babylonian and Assyrian warriors, many Sumerians changed their minds about the North, which seemed so unfriendly before. From now on, they regarded this area as a free land, the land of new opportunity for refugees. South of the Caucasus, there is a city, named Sippar. Subartu, the land of Subarians, (or Sabirians, as they were called later), could be explained in some association with this city. Ida Bobula feels that

"...perhaps a better explanation may be derived from the Sumerian SU (Engl:hand) and BAR (Engl:to open). Prince translates SU-BAR as 'hand loosening', and Delitzsch as 'freilassen', to liberate. May I suggest that Sumerian SUBARTU corresponds to the Hungarian SZABAD (Engl:free). The mountainous lands east of the Tigris were 'the land of the free'." (#326).

Of course, there is another explanation. After the fall of Media, in the Persian, and Macedonian period, tribes south of the Caucasian Mountains were called as Sabirs, or Savards by ancient authors. These tribes were also inhabitants of the land, which was

#325: Information from N.S. Kramer: The Sumerians. Ch.VIII. The Legacy of Sumer. p.286.

#326: I. Bobula: Origin of the Hungarian Nation. p.49.

nominated, after these Sabirs, as Subartu.

How long was Subartu "the land of the free" ?

It was definitely "the land of the free" in the Assyrian and Babylonian period. These giant Semitic empires did not extend beyond the Tigris. The Great Persian Empire occupied the areas up to the Caucasians, but, as we previously said, more or less ignored the Subartu region. However, it was not "the land of the free" anymore, and when the Medes and Macedonians took over Mesopotamia, the population of Subartu migrated northward, and crossed the Caucasian Mountains in large tribal fragments. The Scythian horsemen ruled the northern steppes from the Danube until China, and their original horseriding skill, which was, according to the Sumiologists, inherited from the Assyrians (#327) even improved on the great plains, which extended from the Carpathians to the Altai Mountains. Victor Padányi believes that the Daks (Dacians) were identical with the Dahae people, north of Parthia. This people migrated northward, crossed the region between the Caspian and the Aral, and finding themselves in the stream of the early migration, arrived to Transylvania, representing there the most westernly branch of the Scythians. The Turks, according to the assumption of some Sumiologists, were a radiation of Sumer to Turkestan, the Finno-Ugrians were far nordic Scythian filtrations, losing the custom and ability of horseriding in the Ural, but preserving their original language. The far-east Scythian branch mixed with yellow races, but they also preserved a large amount of the original language, and developed an even higher horsemanship. (#328).

The ancient Hun Empire in the Chinese neighbourhood, contained mostly Sabirian, Massagetan, Parthian elements, - there were all closely related branches of the Scythians, - suggested Victor Padányi (#329). When they invaded China in 214 B.C., and were called as "Hsiung-Nu" by the Chinese, their northern branches were probably considerably Mongolized. The Avars, according to modern Sumiologists, were mainly migratory Parthians, also partly

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#327: The horse appeared, as a new historical factor, after the fall of Sumer, and especially the northern "kassu" horsemen of the Assyrians participated in the victorious battles, which resulted the foundations of the Assyrian Empire after 933 B.C.

#328: The Mongols were regarded as the best horsemen in Asia.

#329: V. Padányi: Dentumagyararia. "The question of the Eastern Sabirians". Detailed speculation; pp. 247-264. Even the term "Siberia" originated, according to the author, from the Sabirians. p. 250.

Mongolized when they managed the foundation of the first Mongol Empire after 407 A.D., as "Juan-Juan", but, the preservation of their original Scythian language made their communication with Hun fragments easier, when they occupied the Scythian - Hun inheritance in the Carpathian Valley. The Volga-, Onogur-Bolgars, and the Khazars, - Ural-Altai peoples according to traditional philology and history, - were, of course all descendants of the Sumerian originated Scythians, according to the "believers in the theory, which was nominated in this essay as "Hypothesis/C."

Meanwhile, Subartu itself was relatively peaceful. Medes and later the Macedonians still ignored the provinces north-east of the Tiger. The Romans actually extended their frontiers to the Caucasian Mountains, but the Roman legions were occupied mostly with the Parthian wars. Rome entrusted the colonial - administration of Subartu to Armenian satraps, who did not seem to care that the original Sabirian population gradually migrated northward, joining the mountaineers, or the great Scythian fragments on the northern steppes. When the Neo-Persian Empire of the Sassanians, swallowing the Parthian fragments, gradually pushed Rome out from Armenia and the Southern Caucasian region (3th and 4th century A.D.), a large portion of remained Sabirians migrated again northward, joining the Hun and Alan fragments on the northern steppes. However, no doubt, the largest masses of people fled North at the time when the impact of the young and fanatic Arab power defeated Persia (after 637) and started its brilliant capital, Baghdad in Mesopotamia. Baghdad needed male slaves for public works and female slaves for the harems. The people of Subartu were not willing to go to Baghdad, and after some unsuccessful resistance, they turned northward. (#330).

Padányi called special attention to the fact, that some form of the term "magyar" appeared very often in connection of Subartu, and its Sabirian inhabitants. Since the Semitic, Greek and Latin scholars had always trouble with the spelling and pronunciation of the difficult "g" and "gy" sound, the term appeared in various deformities. (#331). For example, in north-west Iran, on the area of ancient Subartu, there is a fort, called Macur. This fort

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#330: In the period of the Sassanid Empire (637-643) the rest of the Sabirs left the area. After 644, when the Oayyad Caliphate, replaced the Sassanids, Sabirian probably did not existed anymore south of the Caucasian Mountains.

#331: Padányi: Dentumagyarina. p. 241.

(and the village with it) existed in the sixth century, and was mentioned by Arab sources as "Madar", and by Byzantine sources as "Mazar". North-east from the Tigris a number of very similar words appeared already in ancient times. Padányi mentioned Xenophon, who, marching with a Greek army, crossing North-Mesopotamia, just returning from the Persian war, in c.400 B.C. They met with Scythians and "Makers" on the region south of the Black Sea. The ancient Sumerian cuneiform tablets reveal cities as "Magar-iz", and "Madara". Ptolomeus mentioned a city, called "Mazara", on the same area. Cyrus the Great had a general from the northern "mada" tribe. His name was "Mazar", and Cyrus appointed him as the governor of Sardes. North of the River Euphrates, there is a mountain called "Madur-Dagh", and a minor river, which name is "Magarda" (#332).

Additionally to this, Ida Bobula mentioned, that

"Arab historians tell about a revolutionary leader, Upas ibn Madar, who broke out from his besieged fortress in 739 and, with his men, escaped to the North" (#333).

It seems that for centuries groups of emigrating refugees have moved towards the northern shores of the Black Sea, and began to live on those shores, between the Don and the Dnieper. We find them there in the middle in the ninth century. This territory was called in antiquity "the marshes of Meotis", but Simon Kézai called it "Dentumoger", - Hungary on the Don mouth. Transcaucasian newcomers found themselves in the framework of the Khazarian Khaganate, and probably mixed with the related Khazarian, Hun, and Onogur-Bulgar fragments, but it seems however, that in the ninth century they still called themselves Sabirs.

The reader of this essay will realize at this point, that (a) analysis of this chapter turns from Oriental and ancient Classical History to Medieval History again, and that (b) the "Hypothesis/C" meets with the "Hypothesis/A, and B. at Maeotis.

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#332: Inf. from V. Padányi's Dentumagyaria, pp.242-245. Author compares his findings with the "man-si", "mans-eri" theories of the "Finno-Ugrian" theorists, (discussed on pp.21-22 in this essay), and he feels that this artificial term seems to be a very poor evidence against the great number of versions of the "Magyar" terms in Subartu. (p.244).

#333: Quotation from I. Bobula: Origin of the Hungarian Nation, p.49. Upas ibn Madar (according to Padányi, his name could be interpreted as "Opos, from the clan of the Magyars", Dentumagyaria, pp.277-278.) was probably the leader of the last Sabir fragment leaving Subartu.

Of course, the advocates of the "Hypothesis/C", discussing the migration from Maeotis to the Danubian area, are stressing the significance of the Sabirian element in the Hetumoger, facing the opposition of the other two theories. Padányi supposed, that "Dentumoger" was the land of the Sabirs. This region situated between the Dnieper and Donec rivers. North-east of them was the land of the Onogur tribes, between the Donec and Don rivers. (#334). Both of these territories were actually the provinces of the Khazars. Padányi suggested, that the Khagan sympathized first with the Onogurs, which was very understandable, because this tribe-organization was linguistically, and by its customs, closer to the Khazars. When the leader of the Onogurs, Lebed proved to be sterile, he, and his tribes lost the khagan's grace, and instead of them, he favoured Álmos, and his Sabirs. Álmos and his Megyeri tribe was entrusted to collect the tributes from the Kievan Slavs. It was natural in a geographical sense too, because Kiev was the north-western frontier-town of Dentumoger, neither the Lebedian Onogurs, nor tribes of Khazaria-Proper had communication-touch with Kiev, only Álmos and his Sabirian-Magyars. Padányi was not disturbed by the fact that Nestor, the Russian chronicler described the departing Magyars as "Black Ugri". The Ugrians belonged to the same Sumerian-Turanian (Ural-Altai) language family as the Sabirians. The Megyeri tribe perhaps had nordic Ugrian elements with them from northern infiltration. From a Slav point of view, both the Ugrian and Sabirian languages were alien, but it was recognizable, that these languages were related, and, using only simple vocabulary in discussion, almost identical. The Sabirians were much darker than the nordic Ugrians, consequently the Kievans called them "Black Ugri". (See p.103).

Padányi, Bobula and other Sumirologists believe, that the voluntary unification among the seven migratory tribes, which was symbolized with the "Blood Compact" ritual (see p.107), was actually the unification between the Sabirs and Onogurs, following the Khazarian advice. The unification was not difficult, because (a) the Onogurs belonged to the same linguistic stock than the Sabirs, (b) the Onogurs, since the failure of Lebed, lost their previous prestige, and they favoured the support of Álmos, and (c) under

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#334: Next page introduces Padányi's theory with the reproduction of Padányi's map, (Dentunagvaria, p.336).



EMPIRE  
FROM 750 A.D.  
THE ABBASID  
CALIPHATE

the shadow of the coming Petchenegh menace, the Onogur tribes, which were the closest neighbours to the Petchenegs, really could not find a better choice than unification with the Sabirs.

When the Sabir-Onogur forces were united, the military formation of the migration was similar to the previous geographical relation of the Sabirs and Onogurs. Dentumoger was south of Lebedia, thus the Sabir tribes were on the left wing, the Onogur tribes were on the right wing. Padányi was sure that the Nyék, Tarján and Jenő tribes were Sabir tribes, the Kéri, Kürt-Gyarmat and Keszi tribes were Onogurs, and the Megyer tribe, advancing in central position, was also a Sabir tribe. (See p.109). (#335).

Atelkuzu (Etelköz), the land of new settlement, was, according to I. Bobula, the Hungarian equivalent of Mesopotamia, which meant also "between the rivers". (#336). Theorists of "Hypothesis/C" agree with the more traditional theorists, that Atelkuzu was a very unsafe, indefensible homeland, open to enemy attack; the rivers were no real protection. But, at this point, the Sumerologists suppose, that the memory about an ancient Sumerian colony was maybe still alive in the Sabirian traditions. They knew that the Carpathian Basin was previously conquered and colonised by Huns and Avars, but perhaps they also knew that this territory was colonised by Sumer many thousand years ago (#337), and was also occupied by Scythians much before the Huns. The Carpathian Conquest, following this assumption, was not only the reoccupation of Attila's inheritance, but the reoccupation of a much earlier Sumerian inheritance.

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#335: Theorists of the "Hypothesis/A" could not have any counter-argument at this point, because the names of the tribes were definitely not Ugrian-sounding names, except maybe the "Megyeri" ("mansieri") tribe. "Hypothesis/B" theorists are arguing, that all the tribe-names were Turkish, (including "Tarján"), except "Jenő", (which could be connected with the Vogul "jäni"), and "Nyék" (because Turkish terms usually did not begin with "n", or "ny" sounds). (Géza Nagy: A Honfoglalók és a Turkok; Engl: The Conquerors and the Turks. Magyar Történelmi Szemle, Hungarian Historical Review, New York, Dec. 1969. p.13.) This opinion fits to the theory of "Nyék"'s Sabir origin.

#336: The term "Mesopotamia" was not necessarily Sumerian origin, but a Greek denomination. The Hebrews, and probably other Semitic peoples called it Aram, or Aramea. Thus, Bobula's arguments could be criticized at this point.

#337: Since the alluvial land of Sumer had no mines, expeditions were sent to bring in the raw materials. Believers of the "Hypothesis/C" suppose, that some of these expeditions brought the gold from the Carpathians. Archeological findings seem to support this theory. Excavations found also a prehistoric canal-system in Hungary. The findings proved to be c. 5000 years old. They may have been established by Sumerian engineers.



Believers of the "Hypothesis/C" have another base of their argument. They refer to Constantinos Porphyrogenitos. The Byzantine emperor-historian followed the Byzantine tradition, writing about the Magyars, as "Turks". He had however another interesting and unusual remark:

"...they were known as "Τούρκου" (Turks), at that time, but for some reason were called "Σάβαρτοι ασφαλοι" (Savartoi asphaloi)."(#338).

C.A.Macartney speculated about this mysterious term, (#339), and he did not seem to have a final solution for the problem. Since he knew that the Kievan Chronicle called the Magyars "Black Ugri", he welcomed the proposition, that "Savartoi" is identical with the "Sevordik" of the Armenians, and the "al-Sijawardija" of the Arabs: "Black Sons". Trying to support this assumption, Macartney refers to Constantinos again, who, in one of his other works, in "De Ceremoniis" mentioned "Savartoi" again, describing them, that they are living under three chiefs (#340), and a race of "Savartoi" inhabited Persia till his own day. (#341). Macartney also mentioned another theory, according which "Savartoi" means; "Savirs" (Sabirs). Thus, the Magyars were identical with the Sabirs, and the Bulgars with the Onogurs. Supposing that the first theory was right, than "Savartoi asphaloi" meant: "Black Ugrians". But: what was the meaning of "asphaloi", if "Savartoi" meant the second theory: "Savirs"?

Macartney could not answer this question:

"...I leave the point open, merely mentioning the difficulties in each case. For my purpose it is enough to show that the attempts to prove an Arabic source for the name Savartoi asphaloi have failed. The name, whatever it is, is the Magyar national name..."(#342).

The Sumiologists agree that C.A.Macartney is one of the greatest name in the area of Hungarian prehistory, but he did not spend time enough to investigate the possible Sumer-Sabir origin of the Magyars, or part of the Magyars. However, Macartney proved to be

#338: Constantinos Porphyrogenitos: De Administrando Imperio. c.38: "Concerning the genealogy of the race of the Magyars and whence they spring." (Engl. translation from the original Greek is from C.A.Macartney: The Magyars in the Ninth Century. p.229.)

#339: Ibid. pp.61-62, 86-88, 174-176.

#340: This information fits to Padányi's theory about the Szabirs.

#341: Macartney: The Magyars...etc. p.88. This information also seems to support the theory that the "Turks", who called themselves "Savartoi" were related to some elements of Persia. ("Persia" here, of course, did not mean Persia Proper, but the Persian Empire, with its numerous non-Persian tribal elements.)

#342: Macartney: The Magyars... p.176.

objective enough, admitting that Arab sources did not bring him closer to the solution, and he "left the point open" for further speculation.

Well, "Hypothesis/C"--advocates feel, if "Subartu" meant "the land of the free" (see p.151, # 326), than the term "Sabirs" could be interpreted as "the free ones!"

"Sabartoi is the old name - 'the free ones! 'Asphaloi' is the Greek translation of the word, meaning 'unfettered! And Constantinos knew well from the writings of his father, the Emperor Leo, that 'this is a free people!' (#343).

Géza Nagy, who should not be regarded as a follower of the traditional "Finno-Ugrian" theory, but also should not be regarded as an extreme Sumirologist, has an assumption, which adopted some of both (Macartney and Bobula) hypotheses:

"The interpretation of 'Savartoi Asphaloi' with the Armenian-Arab, as Black Sons, ... maybe is true; ... but it is not absolutely certain. Another question is, how did the term "sevorti" (blacksons) originate in Armenia, and why did they call the Magyars as "sevorti" ? We could find a completely satisfactory explanation in the historical fact, that the northern neighbours of the Armenians were the Sabirs, or Savirs during half thousand years before the Hungarian Conquest..." (#344).

Thus, although Sumirologists (as Bobula, Padányi, Tibor Baráth and others) seem to have an answer for the "Savarthoi Asphaloi"-problem, and although advocates of the "Hypothesis/B" (as recently Géza Nagy) could produce interpretations, which also seem to represent a step forward; similarly to Macartney, we still have to "leave the point open", at least until archeological findings, or further philological speculation will not produce new evidence for the final solution.

We already mentioned (p.155) that according to "Hypothesis/C" the presence of Ugrian terms in the Hungarian language could be explained with the assumption that nordic Ugrians permanently infiltrated both to the Onogur and Sabir tribes, and their admission was not difficult, because it was recognized that they were also related to the great Scythian stock. How did those Finno-Ugrian relatives get into the Urals ?

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#343: I. Bobula: Origin of the Hungarian Nation. p.51.

#344: G. Nagy: A Honfoglalok és Furkok. Magyar Történelmi Szemle. Dec. 1969. p.22. (Note: Géza Nagy did not adopt the theory about the Sumirian origin of the Sabirs. He also connected the Sabirs with the term "Siberia", but he believes that the Sabirs were Turks, who came from Siberia both to Khazaria and to Armenia.)

One of the possibilities was already mentioned (on p. 152): different peoples of Scythian racial and linguistic character radiated in a series of waves, and - according to the Sumirian theory, the Finno-Ugrians were also Scythians, who migrated to the north, up to the Arctic Sea. Under the effect of their changed environment, and partially transformed by intermarriages with unknown, nordic tribal fragments, they abandoned most of their original southern customs. Their horses decayed, but the Finno-Ugrians preserved their Scythian language in a large extent.

Hungarian Sumirologists have another suggestion, which puts the Finno-Ugrians to the North even before the supposed Scythian migration. These peoples were perhaps placed there by the great rulers of Sumer, or Babylonia as miners or as wood cutters.

"I am inclined to believe" - wrote I. Bobula, - that the near linguistic relatives of Hungarians went to their Uralian habitate forced to settle there by one of the mighty conquerors of the Middle East. There is the puzzle of the Voguls, knowing the vocabulary of horsebreeding, but having no horses. Are the Zyrians not forced settlers from Syria?" (#345).

The foggy prehistory of some Ural-Altaiic peoples, which are called as Turanian, or Scythian by the believers of "Hypothesis/C", opens many questions, and we do not have answers for those questions yet. Lacking necessary archeological, philological, or other historical evidence, any question about certain tribal fragments, even extreme assumptions are justified. New findings could contain surprising answers, which sound so unbelievable for the first hearing or reading, that even the most extreme assumption concerned to the problem previously, looks very conservative beside it. Yes, the ancestors of the Finno-Ugrians may have been simple servant folk, settled in the North to help miners, and after the fall of their southern (Sumerian? Scythian?) lord, they <sup>were</sup> left to their fate in a cold world. The Sumirologists are often the targets of various scholars from the fields of philology, archeology, history and anthropology, and are accused: often as unscientific dreamers, amateurs, or as people,

who are attempting to falsify history. Undoubtedly, new approaches are representing easy opportunities for ignorant amateurs, and for extreme, subjective professionals. However, the new Sumirologists could represent important stimulative forces raising problematic questions about Voguls and Zyrians, suggesting ideas, inspiring archeology, philology for new researches. Until the science of history is in the unfortunate position that it is able to produce information only about the last three-five thousand years, knowing almost nothing about the previous hundred thousands of years, new, even extreme historical speculations, assumptions should be welcomed, because some of them will lead to new evidence, new recognitions, new informations, new knowledge.

Is the relationship of Sumerian and Hungarian proven? The answer is: no, it is not. Until the Sumirologists, especially those of them, who advocate the Sumirian origin of the Magyars, are not supported by more evidence, produced by both Archeology and unbiased Philology, believers of "Hypothesis/C" will face serious criticism. There are still many uncertainties in the Sumerian problem, which make comparisons difficult. It is quite dangerous to compare a "dead" language of five thousand years ago with a living, modern language, which appeared in writing in less than one thousand years ago, and which was transformed by the various effects of environment and of language reforms many times in this thousand years. Although these new Sumirologists gave valuable ideas about the origin of the Sabirian element in the migratory Hetumoger, it is still not proven sufficiently, that the Sabirs were Sumerian refugees, and they occupied a leading position in the framework of the Hungarian tribe-organization. The similarity between some Sumerian and Hungarian words are amazing, but most of the leading linguists did not consider yet to identify the Sumerian language with the Ural-Altai language stock, or to introduce the Hungarian language as a late descendant of the ancient Sumerian. The international world of professional philologists and historians are still very sceptical about the Sumerian origin of the Scythians, or Hungarians. However, the assumptions of "Hypothesis/C" theorists are interesting, the future could prove many of their ideas, consequently "Hypothesis/C" had its right to be part in our speculation about the Hungarian origin and migration.

## XIV.

C O N C L U S I O N .

In this essay we tried to introduce a topic, which is quite unusual for most of the western readers. Most of the books, dealing with Hungarian History, begin their narrations with the Carpathian Conquest of 896. Our approach actually ends with the Carpathian Conquest. Books dealing with Hungarian pre-history were published mostly in the first half of this century, and these books tried to fit their references to the monopolistic "wisdom" of comparative linguistics, according which the Hungarians were a branch of the Finno-Ugric - family. Very often the authors realized that medieval Arab, Persian, Byzantine, German, and Hungarian chronicles seemed to oppose the Finno-Ugric theory, because the appearance, customs, and even the ways of communication of the wandering Magyars seemed to be Turkish. The authors did not have any other choice, only the careful application of the material to the Finno-Ugric theory. Archeology could not give aid enough to oppose Finno-Ugric theory, and to suppose that at the occasion of the Finno - Turkish intermarriage the Turkish element was the more numerous, which ruling element adopted, from some reason, a large vocabulary from the suppressed and swallowed Ugric element. In the last twenty years new findings of archeology seemed to support the "Scythian - Turkish" theorists against the "Finno-Ugric" theorists, and in this critical stage Philology were facing two coinciding allies, medieval informants and archeology. The presence of the Finno-Ugric vocabulary in the Hungarian language is still a fact, thus historians could not expect any modification from Philology in this matter, but, the coinciding declarations of medieval scholars and archeological findings about the Turkish identity of the Hungarians should force linguists to speculate about the possibility of language adaptation, and should stimulate historians to investigate about more evidence, which will make this assumed language adaptation more probable. This essay still based itself on comparative linguistics, but, differing from similar approaches, it did not bind itself to the "Finno-Ugric" theory, which monopolized

the problem of Magyar-origin so much, that it left only a very narrow footpath for speculation. This essay took the courage to leave the traditional footpath, and took the risk of possible mistakes, introducing other possibilities. Presenting Turkish and even Sumerian examples, we could perhaps create an impression that the Turkish, Scythian, even Sumerian origin of the Magyars is among the probabilities, and the careful consideration of the previous, conservative theories will be necessary, not only because medieval scholars and modern archeology seem to support Turco - Scythian origin, but also because the amount of Turkish words are reaching the level of the Ugrian words in the framework of the Hungarian language. Additionally to this, let us mention that language-statistics could not produce any advice in this Finno-Turkish problem, because many of the words which seem to come from the Finns, Voguls or Ostiaks to the Hungarian language are also present in the Turkish with a slightly different form, and, on the other hand, many of the words, which seem to be definitely Turkish-originated in the modern Hungarian, are also there in the Finno-Ugrian stock, used by Estonians, Cheremises, or Lapps with only a slightly changed spelling or pronunciation. The linguists could acquiesce in this, generalizing that the Hungarians belong to the Ural-Altai language family, partly to its Finnish-Uralian, partly to its Altaic branch, and the significance of these branches in the Hungarian identity is more or less equal, because, after all, these branches are very closely related.

The historian can not be satisfied with this kind of generalization, because (a) the Uralian branch is similar to the Altaic branch only by its vocabulary and grammar, but not necessarily racially, and because (b) any generalization which declares that the Magyars originated partly from the Uralic, partly from the Altaic branch, still did not give any help in the investigation, which was looking for the actual origin of the main Magyar-body, the essential pre-Magyars. Did they come from the north, from the east or from the south? Who were they? Were they nordic Ugrian, transforming themselves into Turco-Tatars? Was this transformation really possible if the overruling Turkish horsemen, - as it was supposed by the "Finno-Ugrian" theorists, - represented only a little minority? Were the pre-Magyars mainly Turks, or a Turkish-Mongol mixture, swallowing Ugrian fragments and adopting Ugrian vocabulary with them?

Historians, from the beginning of this century, and especially in the interwar years, seemed to adopt a comfortable, and also quite ignorant position. Since Philology stressed the "Finno-Ugrian" line, speculation tended to fit all the narratives and conclusions into this line. Totalitarian German, and Soviet political systems in Hungary also supported the "Finno-Ugrian" idea, because any belief that the subjected Hungarians were relatives of poor and primitive Lapps, Voguls, or Ostiaks seemed to fit to the theory of German, and Slav racial superiority.

Historians, especially Hungarian scholars in emigration, were not under any political, or "scientific" brainwashing anymore. They were in the position to read and understand original Hungarian, Finnish and Turkish sources. They were not endangered with poor translations, or with prejudiced misinterpretations. They were not forced by circumstances to follow the western tradition, according which many Anglo-Saxon, or French historians, dealing with the "strange" East-European medieval history, "simplified" their investigations copying German or Russian approaches without criticism.

The developments of Archeology, Anthropology gave more help to History in the last thirty years than ever before. The term "Scythia" became a scientific term again. Archeological findings proved that the "Scythians" were actually people with common art, customs, common social and even political organizations, and their large territory extended from the Danube Valley to Turkestan and from the Russian Plain down to Northern Mesopotamia. Archeology did not seem to agree with Philology about the Magyar-origin, and it could happen, that more excavations, which will support Arab, Byzantine, Hungarian medieval chronicles about the Scythian-Hun-Turkish origin of the Magyars, will also influence, or enforce linguists to reconsider and modify their "dogmas" not only in the Hungarian problem, but also in the problem of the "Indo-European", or "Ural-Altai" theories.

Under the effect of nineteenth century romantic-nationalism, we have a tendency to identify the "historical nation" with the people, who speaks the "national language". Perhaps this identification is right in our modern age. "Nation" is definitely not identical with the "political state", and multinational states are unquestionably not nations in culturo-historical sense in this term. However, we should

not simplify this theory, and we should not apply to the medieval circumstances, and especially to the circumstances of the Great Migration, - as the advocates of the "Finno-Ugrian" theory did it. The Anglo-Saxons were Germans and today the modern English language is full with Latin and French words, and the German appears in it in a minor sense. The Franks were also Germans, and today nobody could say to a Frenchman that "you are a German by origin". The Frenchman knows that his language is mainly Latin, and the complete adaptation of Latinism changed his identity. He would be probably very angry if somebody would "insult" him, that he is a German. The Prussians were basically Slavs, but, under the influence of the Teutonic Knights they became "more German" than any other German in Bavaria, or Austria. They have a Slav origin, but the important thing is that they are Germans by language. And how about the "Rumanians" ? Are they really "late Romans", as they like to believe, or we should follow the historical interpretation, according which they were actually Slavs and Cumans, "Romanized" by the Roman legions. Historians often realized that "race" and "language" are not simple and identical things. They often realized that the race could change its original identity, adopting a language and the culture with it. However, on the other hand, especially in cases, where the available narrative was full with "prehistoric" elements, many historians had a tendency to choose the most comfortable way. To identify race with culture was easy. To speculate about probable difficulties and to investigate racial intermarriages, to investigate language adaptations seemed to be too hard, especially in cases when the lack of evidence produced a difficult situation for the historian anyway. The knowledge of most of the Western historians in the Hungarian language was very limited, and their confusion even grew, when they tried to read Magyar chroniclers, who often wrote Latin using Hungarian grammar and Hungarian suffixes in their "Latin" texts. It was much easier to read sources in translations, it was much easier to identify races with languages, ignoring the possibility of language adaptations, and it was much easier to copy, and translate German and Russian explanations and interpretations, than - begin everything from the very beginning.

Are we in the position now to criticise the "Finno-Ugrian" theory ("Hypothesis/A" in this essay), and to prove that



one of the opposing theories ("Hypothesis/B" and "/C" in this essay) are closer to the truth ?

No, we are not in the position, - or, using probably a better expression, we are not in the position yet. Nevertheless, after unbiased study of the Finnish, Turkish and Sumerian language, after considering and reconsidering all the available details about the Hungarian migration, after studying the results of modern Archeology, we are certainly in the position to be able to refuse the adaptation of the "Finno-Ugrian"-theory as "the only possible" theory.

This essay did not follow the "Finno-Ugrian" theorists on their traditional and monopolistic road. This essay did not adopt blindly the "Turkish-theory", and this essay did not fall into the trap of the new, overenthusiastic "Sumirologists", who came with their "sacred" declaration about the Sumerian origin of the Magyars. Our approach attempted to avoid the "overdefiniteness" of "Finno-Ugrian", "Turkish" and "Sumerian" advocates, who were all swore their believed rights, ignoring, and sarcastically criticising opposing ideas. The "Finno-Ugrians" did not even mention the "Sumerian" probability, because in the Interwar Years this probability was not even advocated, and they mentioned the "Turkish" probability as a regrettable, old mistake. The "Turkish"-believers ignored the evidence of Philology. The "Sumirologists" are often under the influence of a newly emerged nationalistic romanticism, and their highly emotional approaches contain more Anti-Germanism and Anti-Slavism, than evidence about their "only redeeming" theory. This situation on the field of available secondary sources puts the reader into a very difficult situation. If he incidentally finds a "Finno-Ugrian" advocate, he, under the influence of his reading, will be a follower of the "Finno-Ugrian" theory, only laughing<sup>at</sup> the "naivety" of opposing ideas. If he finds and reads a "Turkish" or "Sumerian" approach, he will feel the same thing against opposing theories. The author of this essay could not find one book in the studied Bibliography, in which the author seemed to have information enough, or objectivity enough to introduce all the available theories in a parallel way, confessing that the dispute is still undecided, and leaving the choice to the reader, or leaving the solution for the, hopefully less

biased, but more scientific, investigation. In this essay we did not follow the example of the mentioned sources, listed in our Bibliography. Taking the courage to hint that the traditional "Finno-Ugrian" theory could be wrong, we tried to introduce all the three existing theories, also attempting to create an impression, that perhaps all these theories were partially right and partially wrong, and a fourth theory, which is the combination of these three, will lead us to the golden truth in the problem of the Hungarian origin and migration.

Before the beginning of historical investigation, we introduced the strange language of the Magyars. Describing the extraordinary characteristics of this language, hopefully we were able to make ourselves understood, why the Hungarians represent a linguistic island in Europe. (Chapters I. and II.).

We described the various early ideas about the origin of the Magyars, and arriving to the too generalized, but still the "most official" hypothesis, we introduced the most common diagrams of the "Ural-Altai family trees." In connections with this, we tried to present some ideas about the Finnish, Ugrian, Turkish, Mongol, and "Fungusian" "ethno-linguistic" connections, already feeling, and trying to suggest the impression, that "ethno-linguisticism" is not a too scientific term, because in certain cases the history of a certain race could be different from the history of the specific language, which was adopted by the given race. This assumption made very difficult the placing of "dead" languages, (or the placing of peoples, tribes, which extinct, or assimilated,) into the "correct" place in the "family-trees", and we took the courage to do it anyway, hoping that our assumption was right, or, if we made a mistake, our error will stimulate a scientific criticism, which will serve the great purpose of our investigation. (Chapters III and IV).

At this point, we had to deal with the "Finno-Ugrian" theory, as our "Hypothesis/A". Describing the previous linguistic findings, we tried to present some etimological and semantic analysis, which seems to prove the hypothesis, but hinting the fact, that the "Finno-Ugrian" theory became a monopolistic theory, not simply from scientific, but unfortunately also from political reasons. (Chapter V.)

"Hypothesis/A" is still the most commonly accepted theory, because most of the German, Russian historians, most of the German-, or Russian influenced Hungarian historians, most of the Western historians, whose activity was simply the copying of German- or Slav interpretations, - are sharply rejecting any other probabilities. However, historical objectivity, and the desire to introduce the whole problem, forced us to deal with the possible Turkish origin of the Magyars, ("Hypothesis/B.") and our Chapter(VI) became extremely long, because the "Turkish" evidence-material, - including the work of previous "Turkish" theorists, including mythology and medieval narrations, etc. - is much more today, than it was in the "golden age" of the "Finno-Ugrian" advocates in the Interwar Years.

Intermarriage between Finno-Ugrian and Turkish tribal systems could be very complex. We felt that our secondary sources did not deal enough with this problem, and feeling that at this point we may have the key, which will open the lock of the mysterious Hungarian origin, we attempted to go a little bit deeper into this speculation. Here came the assumption, that a certain race could perhaps adopt a different language by intermingling with even a racial minority; thus not necessarily the majority will be identical with the new language of the newly formed "nation!" At this point, we also took the risk to suppose something which did not appear in any of our sources. Perhaps the conquering Turco-Tatar element was the majority. Perhaps these warlike and wild horsemen butchered the Ugrian males and kidnapped the Ugrian females and children. Would not be logical and understandable if, in a case like this, the next pre-Magyar generation, which learned the practice of war from the Turkish fathers, but learned language from mostly Ugrian mothers, becomes Turkish in appearance but largely Ugrian in its language? Intermarriage in the great Asiatic migrations, where marriage itself was nothing else but kidnapping, was often not result of friendly co-operation, but rather result of fight and enforcement. The fact, that a "nation" was formed by so many racial and linguistic intermarriages, the fact that refugees of the Hun Empire had unquestionably a decisive role in guiding and leading new waves into Europe, made the author of this essay very sympe-

thetic to Teleki's theory, according which all the Ural-~~Altaic~~ conquests of the Carpahtian Basin, Scythians, Huns, Avars, and Magyars constituted more or less the same racial and linguistic element, only the percentage of the Mongol-, Turkish-, Ugrian-, or Sabirian portions changed in a certain, probably quite limited extent, and the history of the Great Migration, where Hun and Mongol leaders occupied extraordinarily decisive roles seems to support rather the "Great Man" theorists against the "Determinists" (Chapter VII). We still do not know enough about the Great Migration and our view is still subjectively influenced by the "European" and "Christian" Egocentrism. Further investigation about the possible origin of the Migration, about the origins and roles of Huns and Avars in it, could represent important information in the problem of Magyar origin too. After all, the Magyars, this strange product of many intermarriages, were pressed into Europe by the great "pulse" of Asia too, and only certain historical circumstances preserved them as one of the modern nations of Europe, in contrast to the Huns and Avars, powerful peoples which disappeared from the stage of history. Did they really disappear? Or they reappeared in the ninth century, and using the "Magyar"-title re-occupied the inheritance of Attila until recent years and days? (Chapter VIII).

In Chapters IX and X we described the traditionally accepted wandering of the Magyars from the Ural to the Carpathian Basin, supposing the validity of "Hypothesis/A" and "Hypothesis/B", but, here again, we did not follow Homan, (who binds his speculation to the "Finno-Ugrian" idea, ignoring, even concealing and misinterpreting anything which did not seem to fit into this main idea), not even Macartney, (who introduced and criticized the medieval sources one by one, avoided chronological summary, and anywhere, where his final results seemed to oppose his contemporary Hungarian friends, remained politely undecided, without presenting any professional suggestion.) Our chronological description of the Hungarian migration is less detailed than the description of these, mentioned great authorities, but we tried to get free from the dictatorial "Finno-Ugrian monopoly", basing ourselves on the Teleki theory: the elements of the "Hetumoger" were all related, and the pre-Magyars were also related, as a complex framework of Ural-~~Altaic~~ elements, to the Huns

and Avars, in which nations also the Turkish element was the dominant.

At the end of Chapter X, we actually arrived, with our Magyars to Pannonia, but at this point it was necessary to mention, that the special organization of this essay makes it necessary to return to ancient, even "prehistoric" Scythia again. Why did we do this? Was not more logical to end the whole speculation with the Carpathian Conquest?

Unquestionably, any essay dealing with the given topic would end with the Carpathian Conquest, - if the essay was written twenty years ago. The special situation of today enforced another system. We have the traditional, and "official" "Hypothesis/A" and the also traditional, but "unofficial" "Hypothesis/B." Both of these hypotheses were discussed, and this speculation could be followed by the story of the migration in the ninth century, because both the "Finno-Ugrian" and "Turkish" theories represent complete bases for the description of the migration. After all, the intermarriage, in which the Ugrians, or even the Turks represented the decisive majority, took place before the ninth century.

If we took the courage and we attempted to introduce the theory of some enthusiastic Hungarian "Sumirologists" as "Hypothesis/C", at least we had to separate this brave, new, and "scandalously unusual" theory from the first two, which were traditional. The intermarriage, as we said, took place before the ninth century migration. The place of the "ancient, first Fatherland" was still undecided. According to the advocates of "Hypothesis/A", it was somewhere in the Ural, rather in the North. According to the advocates of "Hypothesis/B", it was somewhere in Turkestan, close to China, thus somewhere in the far East. It seemed to be logical for the author of this essay, that, following the interpretation of the two traditional theories and the description of the migration from the Caspian to the Carpathians, to turn to the "Hypothesis/C", as to a rather supplementary portion of this work.

The Sumerian theory seems to be "too wild", if the reader "jumps in", right after the discussion of a rather traditional material. It was necessary to build a logical connection here. We took another look on "Scythia" in our Chapter XI, and with this step we did not go too far from tradition, because "Scythia" was an accepted geographical, even ethnographical term already in ancient times, and "Scythia", geographically speaking, was the very same

area for ancient scholars and medieval Hungarian chroniclers. In this chapter, we actually supported "Hypothesis/B", not with subjective purpose, but simply because the "Scythians" were ancestors of the ancient Turks (according to the advocates of the "Turkish" theory), and because this chapter gave an opportunity to deal with the newest findings of Archeology, which findings (a) made "Scythia" a scientific term again, after one hundred years of scepticism, and (b) made clear, that in ancient times the large territory from the Danubian Valley to Turkistan and from the Ural down to Mesopotamia belonged to the very same, mostly nomadic, ethno-culturally probably identical people, the Scythians. Looking the findings of Luristan, Ziwiye, and other Scythian graves, it seems, that classical scholars, deducting of course the supernatural elements, knew more about Scythia, than modern nineteenth century historians. Looking for example the "Miraculous Stag" figurines, which were found in Turkestan, South-Russia and in Hungary, and looking the very similar figurines which were found south of the Caucasus, one must have the impression, that the mythical brotherhood of Hunor and Magor represents perhaps more meaning than Homan's Ostiak and Vogul suffixes, and medieval Hungarian chroniclers, like Anonymus and Simon Kézai should have more credit investigating the Hungarian origin.

After examining the "Scythian argument" closer, we returned to ancient Mesopotamia of the Sumerians, to the actual, biblical "Paradise", where Noah's descendants tried to build the tower of Babel to heaven and for this presumption they lost ability to speak intelligibly to each other. "Hypothesis/C" (discussed in Chs. XII-XIII) brings us to the same place, where the unique culture of the Sumerians was destroyed by various, mostly Semitic invaders, and many clans and tribes (including the clan of Abraham) took refuge to various directions. These fleeing clans and tribes became the forefathers of great peoples, nations, languages, religions. The new "Sumirologists" are suggesting that the Scythians were descendants of the Sumerians, fleeing to the North-Mesopotamian Subartu, and gradually crossing the Caucasian Mountains, and the plain between the Caspian and the Aral, gradually populating Asia, they became the people, which are called as the "Ural-Altai" family today. Looking

the Sumerian - Hungarian comparative etymology and examining the semantic connections, the result is surprising for anyone, who knew nothing about the Sumerian language, and who did not realize yet, that this ancient language did not belong to the Indo-European, or to the Semitic languages. However, the Sumerian origin of the Hungarians is not proven yet. Belief in traditional hypotheses is too strong. Most of the linguists and historians feel that "Hypothesis/C" is nothing else, but the dream of some "national-romanticists", who are trying to find some consolation in the dark years of Hungarian national tragedy, in looking the foggy prehistory through the rosy glasses of romantic imagination. This criticism sounds well, but - on the other hand, - did not the various dragon fables receive a realistic meaning after the finding of the first dinosaur bones? Did not the story about the sinked Atlantis become more credible, since we found the Inca pyramid-culture and since the formation of the "Wegener-theory"? Was not the narration about the siege of Troy mostly a Homeric "romantic imagination" until Heinrich Schliemann excavated the seventh of the nine Trojan settlements? We have information only about the last few thousand years from the hundred of thousands years history of Mankind. It happened before, and it will happen again that documented facts of science justified shocking assumptions, or declared even more shocking evidence. Our previous experience with formerly ridiculed "romantic imaginations" should warn us, and we should be less conceited, and more tolerant listening those courageous assumptions which are attacking some conservative bastions of the fortress of our "knowledge". Those bastions are not very strong. Many of them already proved to be only a castle in the air.

Do the theorists of the "Hypothesis/C" have some hope to prove their believed ideas with convincing evidence to the scientific world? Yes, they certainly have such hopes. More excavations, more findings could bring more and more evidence for historical analysis. Those evidence of archeology could be supported by computer science too. When all the vocabularies and grammatical systems of the world's living and "dead" languages will be fed into computers, many, already assumed, relationships will be justified, and many other, not even suspected linguistic relationships will find scientific

support with mathematical exactitude.

Waiting this desired final solution, in the mean time we have to sort the evidence of "Hypotheses/A", "B", and "C" into the spacious store of "prehistoric" assumptions. We will, perhaps, find some more data which seems to support one, or another of these theories. We will find counterevidence in the future, which will reduce the trustworthiness of one or another of them. We may continue our speculation on Hungarian prehistory using more and more proven, or suspected details, because, after all, it is a lovely game for enthusiastic historians. However, only the hoped new findings of archeology and computerized Philology will bring us indubitable answers and solutions, and will bring justification to the advocates of "Hypothesis/A", "B", or "C".

One will realize that these last few pages of this Conclusion was actually a summary of speculations introduced by the previous thirteen chapters in more details. This system should be understandable. In the case of a historical essay, in which the actual content introduces factual, and unmistakably documented text, the conclusion will offer opportunity for reflecting the main idea of the work, including solution or final opinion. Our essay dealt with prehistory, parallel and equally introducing three hypotheses in a free speculative way. The speculative system was necessary, because all these three hypotheses were supported more or less by evidence, but not any of them was supported so satisfactorily, which support also proved: the other two hypotheses were completely false. After speculating about evidence and counterevidence, these three theories are still standing with some degree of probability. Consequently, our "Conclusion" will not justify, it will not emphasize or stress any of these theories, it will not propose any order of credibility.

However, our "Conclusion", as any other final conclusion, should express some kind of final opinion, which opinion was not mentioned before, because it is too general, too summarizing, thus it would not fit into the narrower framework of any of the previous chapters. We feel to offer a proposition, which attempts to "cut the Gordian knot" of the Hungarian-origin problem, which attempts to point toward a direction, which will be a new, more practical direction to find solution in the future.



Examining "Hypothesis/A", "B", and "C" from an objective, non-obligatory way, it was easy to find out, that advocates of all these theories had a tendency to overvalue evidence which seemed to support their main idea, and simultaneously underestimate, or even ignore details which seemed to confuse, or oppose this main idea. But taking a close look, we may also realize, that "A", "B", and "C" theorists were not speaking about the same topic ! They did not speak about the Magyars. They concentrated on other peoples, - "A" theorists on the Ugrians, "B" theorists on the Turks, and "C" theorists on the Sumerians and Sabirians, - trying to use any available evidence that their "chosen people" was actually identical with the "pre-Magyars". If some counterevidence seemed to propose that perhaps <sup>they were</sup> not the "chosen" <sup>in</sup> tribe was the main stream of the Magyars, the advocates of "Hypothesis/A", "B" or "C", - being under the influence of their, adopted, partly overvaluing, partly underestimating system, - were ready with the answer, according which their selected tribe was the "majority" before the assumed intermarriage between tribes, and it remained majority, placing its tribal identity as, as some sort of princely seal on the created new nation. According to "Hypothesis/A", the main stream was a Finno-Ugrian tribe, consequently the Magyars are Finno-Ugrians. According to "Hypothesis/B", the main stream was one of the Turkish tribal-organizations of the Great migration, and this tribal-organization remained Turkish even swallowing some Ugrian elements in their way. "Hypothesis/C" suggests, that the most intelligent, and ruling element was the Sumerian-originated Sabirian, which element rightfully represented the common ancient home of all Scythian peoples, consequently all other - Turkish and Ugrian - Scythian fragments naturally followed them.

Let us suppose now, that we do not have to justify these theories at all, - as previous sources did, - creating some sort of order of credibility. Let us suppose, that not any of the mentioned advocates were wrong, but, on the contrary, they were all right - in a certain extent. After all, the "Hetumoger" unquestionably contained elements from the Ugrians, Turks and also from the Sabirians ! After all, all these opposing theorists agreed that a tribal intermarriage took place before the ninth century ! Instead of trying to justify which one of the composing elements were the real, decisive

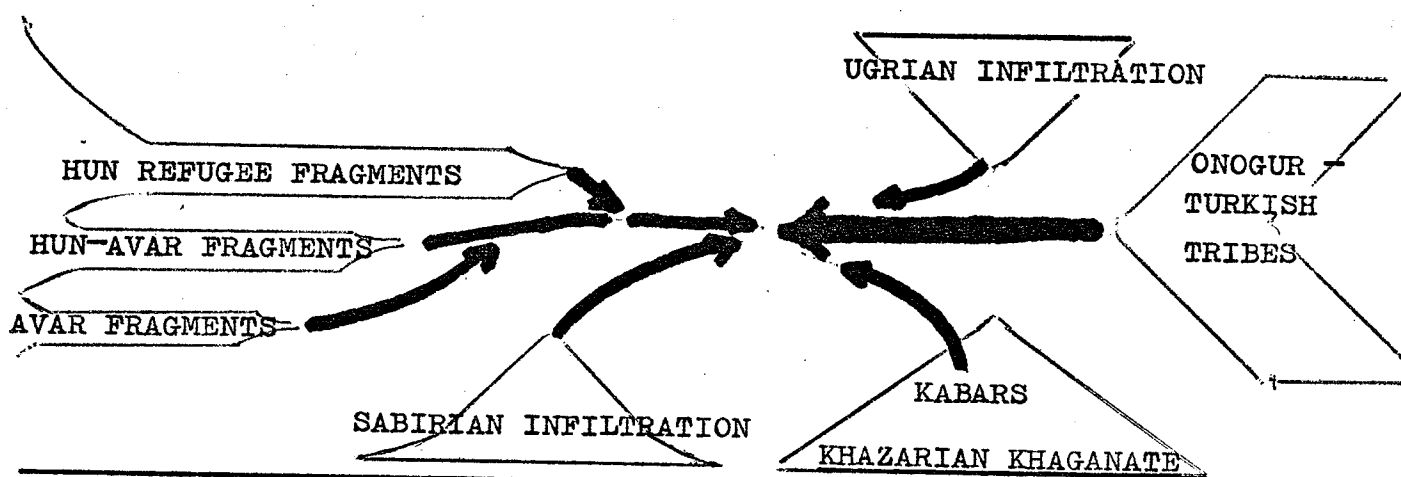
"majority", should not we, perhaps, separate these portions of investigations to "Ugrian pre-Magyars", "Turkish pre-Magyars" and "Sabirian pre-Magyars" ? We know that this problematic intermarriage between linguistic, or racial groups did not take place only in a tribal sense, but also in the sense of the whole tribe-organization. With other words: the presupposed intermarriage took place not only in the framework of one single tribe, but by the alliance of tribes, which were linguo-racially probably related, but not identical, and these tribes, although recognizing the leadership of one ruling, politically unifying individual and his clan, they still preserved they own identity for many generations.

Future investigations should not presuppose that the Magyars were actually Ugrians, Turks or Sabirians. This sort of assumption leads automatically to narrow oversimplifications, to subjective, unscientific "results". Future investigations should not concentrate on the problem of "majority", because the age of the Great Migration should not be confused with philosophies about democracy. Ethnic, or linguistic "majority" was perhaps hopelessly overruled by an other ethnic, or linguistic minority, which was much more aggressive, or much more experienced. Future investigations should divide and separate the material to "Ugrian-Magyars", "Turk-Magyars", and "Sabirian-Magyars" aiming to find out, that which one of the seven tribes was mainly a Ugrian, mainly a Turkish, or mainly a Sabirian tribe. The second, deeper step should be to find out, that any of these tribes was purely an Ugrian, Turkish, or Sabirian tribe, or perhaps, for instance, it was an Ugrian tribe, overruled by a Hun-Turkish leadership, or it was a mainly Turkish tribe, but guided and directed by a Sabirian aristocracy. The basic mistake of most of the scholars dealing with the Hungarian-origin problem was, that they were generalized an uncertain mass of tribal fragments - which were before the historical step, which made them "Hetumoger" - as "Magyars", and these scholars actually did not deal with the "Magyars", because this people did not existed yet. They were dealing with Ugrians, or Turks, or Sabirians, or, perhaps, they were only dealing with one of the tribes, which later became one of the "Hetumoger", and later again part of a unified people which were called as "Hungarians". Advocates of "Hypothesis/A", "B", or "C" should not

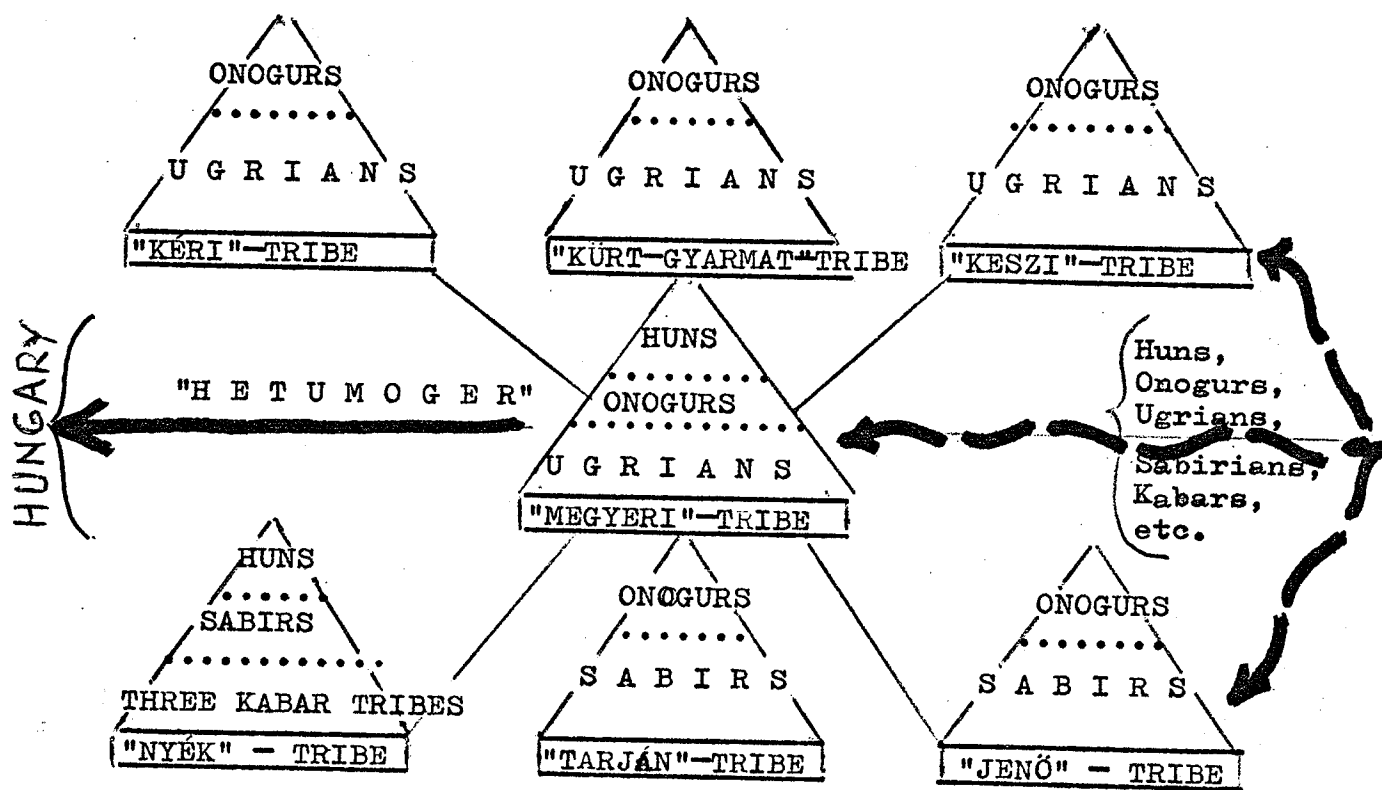
be too happy with their own evidence, and should not endeavor to ignore, underestimate, or ridicule some findings, which seemed to oppose their believed theory. They should realize that the other theory, the ignored, or criticised line was talking about "other type of pre-Magyars", which was a quite different tribe from their "own" suspected "pre-Magyars," before political creation of the "Hetumoger".

Let us illustrate our theory, - which could be called as "cutting the Gordian knot", or even as "Hypothesis/D;" - with the following, simplified assumption:

STAGE I.



STAGE II.



Studying "Stage I" and "Stage II" of this assumption, it will be clear, that it includes all the discussed hypotheses in a certain extent, without favouring any of them, or disqualifying any of them. "Hypothesis/A", "B", or "C", all have enough evidence, which would make disqualification incorrect, and simultaneously, not, any of these theories has enough, or has complete and exclusive evidence, which would not offer room for counter evidences.

Our solution separates the migratory period to two period-sections, The first was illustrated by "Stage I.", the second by "Stage II." "Stage I" begins in an uncertain, prehistoric age, which could be 3000 B.C. at the Sabirian-line side, and perhaps the fourth - sixth centuries at the Turkish- , and at the Ugrian side. Assuming various origin branches, consequently we should not look for one, specific "ancient Fatherland" of the Magyars, because the migration originated at least from three directions, from three ancient homes, supposedly from (a) Subartu, (b) Turkestan and (c) from the Ural Mountains. "Stage I"-period ends, where the three branches found themselves in the framework of the Khazarian Khaganate, where the Onogurs, the Ugrians and the Sabirians all received protection and tasks, where they were joined by Khazarian (Kabar) fragments, and where they intermingled not only with each the other one, but also with Hun-Avar refugee fragments. The intermarriage of racially related, but linguistically and culturally more or less different tribes represented positive regeneration for all the participating fragments, and the most respected Hun descendants of the great Attila were wise enough to adopt a rather moderate attitude. They did not enforce amalgamation, they realized, that the time-factor will work toward this direction anyway. The foggy contours of the "Hetumoger" formed itself already in the age of Chief Álmos, and it was the task of his son Árpád, who managed the creation of the voluntary organization of the Seven Tribes, under Hun-Onogur leadership, but including Ugrian, Sabirian and Kabar elements in some tribes in large extent. "Stage II" - which began in c. 800 and ended with the Conquest, - illustrates this period. All of the seven tribes received their ethno-linguistic identity, in our supposed way, around in the beginning of the ninth century, but the political unification of these tribes under Árpád took place only in Atelkuzu in 893 by the "Blood

Compact. The Hun leadership justified the "re-occupation" of the "Inheritance of Attila", but after the Conquest, when the tribes intermingled with Carpathian Huns, Avars, Székelys, when the warlike period of European adventures ended, and when Christianization was associated with the adaptation of western feudalism, a further step of amalgamation took place. Certain Turkish, Ugrian, Sabirian, and Kabar words were identical, or very similar. One of the terms, which were related, became the literary term for a certain idea or thing, the other terms became dialects of certain districts, counties, on former areas of a settled tribe. In the tenth century Transylvania received Petchenegh infiltration, in the thirteenth century the Danube, and Tisza valleys received further Cuman infiltration, but, generally speaking, in the fourteenth century a Hungarian literary language existed in the Carpathian Basin which was only slightly and gradually modified by Slavic, Latin and German linguistic infiltration.

Our proposed solution contains everything, which was advocated by the theorists of "Hypothesis/A", "B", and "C". Our solution does not oppose anything which were stressed by the believers of "Finno-Ugrian", "Turkish", or even "Sumerian"-origin. With better words: our conclusive assumption adopted all the positive and documented proposals, rejecting only the subjective, egocentric attitude of "A", "B" and "C" theorists, who recognized only their own, narrow roads from the assumed "ancient home" to the Danubian Valley.

The adaptation of our proposed assumption (a) associates with the mixed vocabulary-content of the Hungarian language of today, (b) Makes it understandable why our vocabulary and grammar contains Ugrian and Turkish elements, (c) justifies the Russian Chronicle, which called the (presumably northern tribes of the) Magyars as "Black Ugr", (d) justifies the Arab scholars, who called the pre-Magyars as "Turks", and in certain later period as "Madzsars", (e) agrees with Leo the Philosopher, who felt that the Hungarians were "Turks", (f) understands the slight confusion of Constantine Prophyrogenitus, who was connected mostly with southern tribes, and called them also "Turks", mentioning that they were also "Savartoi Asphaloi", (g) associates with western medieval scholars, who realized the ninth century return of the Huns, but later generally called the Magyars,

(slightly reconstructing the "Hun", "Ugri", "Ungri", "Onogur" terms), as "Hungarians", and finally, (h) on base of our proposed assumption we could build philosophical bridges both to the ancient classical scholars, and to their "Scythia", and to the medieval Hungarian chroniclers, who believed their Scythian origin and the Hun-Magyar brotherhood.

This is our way "to cut the Gordian knot!" We know, that our proposition contains a large amount of oversimplification, and more, detailed investigation will be necessary to find out stronger and weaker points of our assumption. However, if we were successful to clarify that "Hypothesis/A", "B" and "C" are actually not opposing, but participating theories, if we were successful to stimulate further investigation on the lines of the individual tribes, than we will be proud to feel, that our work represented also a step toward the desired, and well documented final solution.

This essay touched the periods and certain areas of Oriental History, Classical History and Medieval History. In our Conclusion we feel to remind the reader that in many sources which were written in the first half, or first third of this century, Hungarian history "officially" began in 896, with the Conquest of the Carpathian Basin. Anything else, which may happened before, was declared as "Prehistory". Since about the end of the World War II, this way of classification gradually changed, and reading our essay will probably help the impression, that the Magyar migration in the ninth century (from the North-Caspian area to Pannonia) was also "history", and not so much "prehistory". We may push the invisible time-line of "prehistory" back to the eight century, and, geographically speaking, back to the Ural Mountains, back to Mongolia and Turkistan, and beyond the Caucasian Mountains, to Subartu. Additionally to our "unified A/B/C" hypotheses (which could be regarded as our first conclusion), this will be our second conclusion.

However, let us offer a third conclusion, - especially for some western readers, who grown up in a quite narrowminded atmosphere of certain naive, superficial, and sometimes even directly misleading informations about the Great Migrations, especially about certain Ural-Altai waves of the Migrations.

Most of the western history-students were told by school-

books and by encyclopedias about the "primitive", "savage", and "cruel" Hungarians, who entered into Europe in the ninth century, and who faced "cultured" European Christendom with evil ideas and practices. It is not easy to find a scholar who shows the reader, that the Magyars were no more savage and cruel, no less bold and adventurous than the contemporary Vikings, Anglo-Saxons, Franks, Germans, Slavs, etc. Yes, medieval Magyars on horseback rode with remarkable speed, they used their arrow with extraordinary effect as they galloped on the attack, keeping the best Scythian and Hun tradition, - but we have not any real evidence that they were "more savage" than the Normans of Rollo, Saxons of Arnulf, Moslems of the Spanish Omayyads, Anglo-Saxons of Alfred the Great, Byzantine warriors of Leo the Wise, Bulgarians of Tsar Symeon, or Moravians of Sviatopluk.

Were they primitive, were they illiterate entering "cultured" Christendom? In contemporary medieval Europe only a limited percentage of the feudal nobility and a moderate percentage of the priesthood were illiterate. The Magyars came to the shores with a script of their own, and we do not have any evidence, which would prove that their military and priestly aristocracy was more illiterate than feudal Europe in the same time.

Many western medievalists quoted the chronicles of horrified monks without the expected analysis and criticism. The chroniclers produced terrible stories about the actions of the "pagan" Hungarians. Where they really "pagans"? Yes, we may justify them as such, if we wish to adopt the emotion of medieval Christianity, according which the belief in Christ and the "Son of God" represents the only religion; everything else is wickedness and paganism. It is interesting that even in the twentieth century, most of the modern historians are looking migratory peoples of the medieval centuries with the servile and uncritical adaptation of the medieval view. How many students of medieval history know that the Magyar conquerors were the believers and worshippers of their own divinity? How many students know, that only part of the Magyars were still Nature-worshippers, other parts practiced a Zoroastrian religion, adopted from the Persians, and other parts again, practiced Judaism, adopted from the Khazars and their Kabar fellow warriors? How many western historians speculated about in the necessary depth, that in the age when

both the Western and Eastern Churches permitted polygamy for the newly baptised German and Slav masses, - the "barbarian" Magyars practiced a puritan type of monogamy ?

They were Oriental people, with a peculiar Oriental morality, and this morality - perhaps, even in the stormy years of the Hungarian Conquest - achieved similar, or probably in some cases even higher level of humanity than the "fairness" of the Carolingian and Saxon emperors, the "decency" of the contemporary Anglo-Saxons and Danes, or than the "ethic" of Byzantines and Bulgarians of the age.

Many medievalists repeat the the narrowmindness of their original and the mistakes of their secondary sources, thus most of the modern students of history are enforced too look Medieval Age, especially those tribe-organizations coming from the East as waves of the Great Migration, with the eyes of semi-literate, bigot, horrified and rancorous monks, who, in the dark cells of their monasteries and in the dark depth of their minds associated those Oriental horsemen with the imagined monsters of Hell. How many western students of history have a tendency to exercise control, criticism on those texts, reading that the "nomadic barbarians came in menacing hordes" ? How many of them took the effort to speculate, trying to compare Western "barbarism" with Eastern "barbarism", trying to contrast Christian priestly hypocrisy to the Oriental worships, or how many of them took the effort to find out from original Arab and Byzantine sources, that those "barbarians" usually sent quite sophisticated ambassadors and diplomats, and those "hordes" were actually strict and efficient politico-military organizations ?

After assuming that "Hypotheses/A", "B" and "C" are actually not contrasting but participatory theories if we are ready to investigate the origin and migration of the individual tribes instead of the generalized "pre-Magyars", after proposing that Hungarian chronological history should begin from the Northern Caspian area and from about 800, instead of from the Conquest of 896, our third and final conclusion is that the medieval migratory Magyars were not more "savage", not more "barbarian", than most of the peoples of contemporary Europe. They were certainly not



Christians, but their religious and social morality was at least equal than their neighbours' morality in Europe. They were educated according to their own Oriental traditions, bringing not only Asiatic weapons, but also their ancient Asiatic culture into Europe, a culture, which had its brilliant roots everywhere on the great Road of Nations, and in Persia and Mesopotamia. They had their own constitution, and well organized political and military institutions, based on their ancient patriarchal clan-system, and on the adopted Khazarian state-system. These bases made them very capable to adopt the Frankish constitutionalism of the great Charlemagne, the feudal system of the German Carolingians, the diplomatic methods of the Macedonian emperors of Byzantium, and the ecclesiastical structure of Rome. These Oriental socio-political bases made them capable to produce a written Constitution, their "Golden Bull", only seven years after the English "Magna Charta". They were the second nation of Europe with this historical step. The "Magna Charta" was associated with chaos and feudal anarchy. The "Golden Bull" was, on the other hand, the true representation of a patriarchal-feudalism, which actually re-declared a much earlier, unwritten constitutions, the "Blood Compact" of 893, and the Decision of Pusztaszer of 900.

Their essential Oriental origin and Western orientation made it possible for them to fulfill a great mission in European history. Not only are they one of the bastions of Europe, defending the Western Civilization against that East upon which the Hungarians themselves turned their backs, but they are also a bridge, which for the past ten centuries has been in important link between the East and the West.

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