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XLI. *On the WESTERLY DRIFTING of NOMADES, from the Fifth to the Nineteenth Century.* By H. H. HOWORTH, Esq.—Part V. The Hungarians.

(Part IV. was published in this volume, pp. 182–192.)

THE ethnological position of the Hungarians is now too well fixed to admit of any new theories on the subject. M. Vambéry has, indeed, made some vague announcements that the question is by no means settled, and has even thrown out hints that he expects to find his ancestors among the Ouigours of Bishbalik, the most cultured race of the Turks; and that it was with the object of making such a race-pedigree that he set out on his voyage to Turkestan, which has yielded so many picturesque chapters to our stores of adventurous travels. But such a theory is Quixotic in the extreme. The Turkish ingredient in the Hungarian population, consisting of the various hordes of Petchenegs and Comans which it has absorbed, may perhaps be traced to such a source; but these are the merest surface-washings of the race, the great bulk of which, as has long been known, is not Turk at all, but Ugrian. In tracing out its early history we may be able to fix rather more accurately its exact position among the Ugrian races.

We will commence, as usual, with an examination of the various synonyms by which the race is known. They have been collected by Zeuss in his ‘*Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*,’ his chapter on the Ungri in that work being particularly full and interesting. The Ungri and Ungari of the western writers, and the Ouiggroi of the Byzantines, are both derived from the Slavic Ugri. Ugri is the form in Nestor; Uhry, Wcgry, and Wengri in other authors. In Russian, Ugor or Ugr means an *eel*; thence Zeuss derives Ugra, the name of a river near Oka, the province Ugra (Yugra of Nestor), the Yugoria of later writers—a province reaching the Arctic Sea, east of Archangel, whose inhabitants are called Yu-griczi by the Russian Chroniclers, Ugri and Ugari by Sabinus.

The Hungarians are known to themselves as Magyars. Mogerii is the form the name takes in the pages of the notary Bela: he also gives the forms Deutumoger and Hetumoger. Some of the Byzantines give it as Magaroi, others as Mazaroi and Matzroi. The Arabs call them Madscher. This name is apparently identical with Megere, the most important of those Chazar tribes which, according to Constantine, broke off from their own people and joined the Turks (*i. e.*, with him, the Hungarians). By many of the Byzantines they are very loosely called Turks; by others, almost as loosely, Huns.

Let us follow the migration of the Hungarians. “The Scy-

thian region is divided into three parts—that is to say, Bostardia, Deutia, Magaria” (Thwroc). Carpino says, “the Bastarque, that is great Hungary;” “Baschart or Pascatir, which is great Hungary.” Rubruquis tells us, “the language of those of Pascatir and of the Hungarians is the same.” “The country of Pascatir, whence formerly came the Huns, who were afterwards called Hungarians” (Berg). Such is the burden of the travellers’ accounts of the thirteenth century. It is abundantly confirmed by the accounts of those more competent to speak, namely the various Arabian geographers. Yacout, Cazvin, as well as Magoudi, speak of the Hungarians under the name Baschardes. Ibn Haoucal speaks of two nations of the Baschkhartes:—one at the extremity of the *east* (*vide* D’Ohsson ‘Peuples du Caucase,’ 257), near the Bulgarians, to whom they are subject; the other more numerous near the Batchenakes (Petchenegs). The historians of the Mongols, Alai-ed-din and Raschid-ed-din, in relating the conquest of Hungary by Batou Khan in 1241, call it Baschcardia. These authorities are sufficient to prove to us that the Hungarians came from the Baschkir country, namely the present government of Orenburg, and that they were the Baschkirs of the eighth century. The present Baschkirs, I need hardly say, show few traces of such an origin in their language; in the main this, as well as many of their characteristics, is Turk; but their *physique* betrays a cross at least of Ugrian blood, while, as Dr. Latham remarks, they are called Ishtaki (Ostiaks) by some of their neighbours—another link in such connexion.

I have already remarked in a previous paper on the Petchenegs, that I consider the present Baschkirs to be in a great measure their descendants. Before the arrival of the Petchenegs and the Thiukiu or Turks proper, the Baschkirs were not Turks. Relics and fragments of the previous layer of population are still found in the Orenburg country: they are known as Vogulitzzi, or simply Voguls. The Voguls still are, almost exactly what the first Hungarians are described to have been, most expert hunters and fishermen.

Listen to the eloquent description of them by Dr. Latham. “They are at the same time hill-men and foresters; for they lie within the northern limit of the fir and birch . . . They are a comfortless, undersized, ill-developed population . . . From four to eight cabins constitute a Vogul village; and these lie from ten to fifteen miles apart, the uncleared forest lying between. They have adopted a little agriculture from the Bashkirs. The winter hut of the Vogul is small, close, and smoky; the summer cabin made of the boughs and rinds of the birch-tree. He hunts on foot: even the dog is a rare companion; the elk is the chief beast for sustenance, and the sable for trade. Obdorsk, at the

mouth of the Obi, is the trading town of the Voguls; their hair is black or brown, seldom yellow or red; the beard scanty; the skin glabrous and pale; the cheekbones project; the face broad and flat." Their traditions point to an emigration from the west, from the Yug, and the Dwina, which, as Dr. Latham says, probably only means that they formerly extended over a much larger area, and that their limits have been curtailed. Their language is the nearest of any known tongue to the Magyar. Oerdik, the Magyar Devil, is the Ostiak Ortik, an evil demon. Lastly, the Voguls were known to the Siranian merchants as Yograyess, which is equivalent to the Ughres of the Russian chroniclers. All these facts make it clear that the Voguls are the descendants of the old stock whence the Hungarians were derived, the inhabitants of Pascatir, whose language was declared to be like the Hungarians' by Ruysbrock. Vogul is a name they derive from the river on which they are settled; they are the western branch of the race known as Ostiaks (also from the name of a river, the Ob, which, according to Dr. Röney, is known in their language as the Asz). They make no distinction between themselves and the Ostiaks, and call both by the same name, Mausí or Maucsi. This race, I hold, in common with most modern ethnologists, extended over all the present Baschkir area before the arrival of the Turks. It was known to some of the Russians as the Black Khazar race. It was bounded on the south by the Khazars or Khazars, more properly so called, the White Khazars of the Russians, who inhabited the border of the Caspian, and the Steppe of the Kuban; with these last it had relations of blood and language,—proved by the etymology of their capital Sarkel, which, as Klaproth has shown, is a Vogul and Ostiak gloss; proved also by the fact that they are said to have spoken the Hungarian (Turk of Constantine) language as well as their own, which among rude races means probably that the languages were cognate. West of the Hungarians, when in their seats on the Volga, were the White Bulgarians, identified by Carpino with the Mordvins and Bileres. The Arabs tell us the Khazars spoke the same language as the Bulgarians. We know the Mordvins and Voguls are only branches of one race. This reasoning would make the Circassians and Hungarians nearer relatives than they have been heretofore held to be, if, as I have tried to show in a previous paper, the Khazars are to be identified with the Circassians. In describing the Cabari, a tribe of the Khazars, Constantine mentions several facts which have been overlooked by ethnologists, and which would explain in a measure how a race of mere fishermen and hunters, such a race as the Voguls now are, were enabled to tramp over two-thirds of Europe, and to defeat its most renowned soldiers. Such an

event would seem to be impossible, unless these fishermen were led by a caste of warriors very superior to the Voguls and Ostiaks. Constantine tells us that a civil war arose among the Khazars, and that one portion of them was conquered. Of these, a section fled to the Turks in the Patzinacitan territory (*i. e.* to the Hungarians), and settled among them, and, having contracted a mutual friendship, were called Cabari. They taught the Turks the language of the Khazars, they also used the other language of the Turks. As they excelled the eight other tribes in strength &c., they held the first place, and one of the Cabari was prince of those tribes in his day. In another chapter he tells us that the tribes that broke off from the Khazars were the Cabari, the Nece, the *Megere*, the *Cuturgurmati*, the Tarcani, the Genach, the Care, and the Case. Apparently all these tribes are spoken of in other places under the general name Cabari. The Cabari, as we have elsewhere shown, were the ancestors of the Kabardi, in later times the most important division of the Circassians. It would appear, then, that the Ougres, Ogors, or Hungarians, were really led and governed by a caste of foreigners, whose warlike skill and talent we may assume, from their descendants' wars with Russia, to have been very considerable. We may well believe that this dominant caste was the source of the chief families in the country, just as the Norsemen were the ancestors of the best blood in Russia and Poland. One of its tribes, the *Megere*, seems to have given its name to the race; for I know of no other origin for the name Magyar. Every other etymology suggested by the latest writers appears to me unsatisfactory. About the same period the Scandinavian Russians were giving a name to the first power among the Slaves—a valuable parallel in many respects. Thus the Magyars were a dominant caste of foreigners, comparatively highly cultured, who effectually subdued the more numerous Ogors. Thus also, as in the case of the Russians, the culture remained, the chivalrous spirit remained, and so did many customs that carry us to the mountains of Circassia: but the language was absorbed as, in another parallel case, the Mandchou language has been absorbed by the Chinese. Perhaps (and I have very high authority for the statement, though I am not at liberty to mention it) the Hungarian language contains a very considerable element which may be correlated with Circassian; and thus my position is considerably strengthened. We will now trace out rapidly the earlier history of the Hungarians.

The Turks proper, the Thukiu of the Chinese writers, first came into contact with the Romans about the year 569. Having conquered the Avares and other nations of Central Asia, their Khan had acquired the rank of Grand Khan, and their race had

spread out in all directions over the Kirghiz steppes. They now sent an embassy to Rome to try and open a trade in silk and other Eastern produce with the West. This embassy was well received by Justin II., and an account of it is given by Menander. In reply to it, Zemarchus was sent as ambassador by Justin to the Turkish camp, on the Irtysh. He was entertained in a most imperial fashion, had a Kerkes slave presented to him, and returned home by the Kiptchak steppe and the northern shores of the Caspian, and, on crossing the river Volga, entered the country of the Ogours. These Ogours have been confounded by Zeuss with the Turkish Ouigour of Bishbalig; they were, in fact, the Ughres or Hungarians. They were subjects of the Khan of the Turks; and it was doubtless for this reason the Hungarians were called Turks by the Greeks at a later day. Constantine Porphyrogenitus tells us, the Hungarians (by him called Turks) formerly dwelt near the Chazars, in a place called Lebedias; then, he says, they were not called Turks but Sabartioasphali. Zeuss ingeniously conjectures that the first syllables are equivalent to the German *swart*, *schwarz*, "black;" and that the whole word is a translation of the Slavic *Czernii Ugri*, Black Ugri, by which the Hungarians are known in later Russian writers. For details of what follows I must refer to the next papers in this series, on the Avars and Bulgarians. Here it will suffice to say that, when the power of the Turks in Western Asia was broken, the Khazars succeeded to their supremacy in the regions north of the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus, and the Hungarians became their subjects. White and black, as is well known, means, with Eastern writers, little more than dominant and dependent; thus the Black Khazars, or Hungarians, were the subjects of the White Khazars. The former seem to have spread westwards very considerably on the decay of the power of the Great Bulgarians in the seventh century, and to have occupied their seats east of the Don on their great migration to Bulgaria beyond the Danube. From these seats they were apparently driven by the Petchenegs—driven across the Don into the country called Lebedias, so called, says Constantine Porphyrogenitus, from their first voivode, who was named Lebedias. This country is watered, he says, by the river Chingylus. This river, Zeuss identifies with the Ingul, one of the tributaries of the Bug.

Zeuss has some pertinent remarks on this passage of Constantine. He says, this title of Voivode (Bœbodos, as Constantine has it) is a title unknown to the Hungarians, and is clearly Slavic. The Hungarians, again, are hardly likely to have named their country from any leader. "The land of Lebedias" is clearly a name given by his neighbours to the land of some renowned prince.

The Petchenegs still pressed on; and we are told by Constantine that, about fifty years before his day (that is, about 862; the date is fixed, perhaps, with greater accuracy by Rhegnion, a contemporary, at 889), the Turks retired under Lebedias to a country called Atelchousou, identified by D'Ohsson, with great probability, with Moldavia. It is identical with the Erdelen of the Hungarian legends. We are told that, having arrived there, the Khan of the Khazars (that is, of the White Khazars), whose supremacy the Hungarians acknowledged, wished them to elect Lebedias as king, and sent word by Chelandia, the first of the Hungarian voivodes, to solicit him to take it; but he declined, saying there was another voivode, Salmuts by name, who had a son Arpad; either of these was worthy of the honour. Arpad was chosen as the one deemed by the Hungarians (the Turks, as Constantine calls them) the most worthy; and we are told that, after the solemn manner of the Khazars, he was elevated on a buckler. He was the first king of the Hungarians, according to Constantine; and the first royal house of Hungary was descended from him. If the emperor is consistent in his account, he must also have been a Chazar of the tribe of the Cabari (*vide antè*). At this time Sviatopolk had formed his kingdom of Great Moravia, which included Bohemia, by the cession of Arnolf, the Emperor of Germany. So long as he lived the west was well protected from nomade invaders, the previous wave having been well broken by Charlemagne. On his death in 894, civil war broke out between his sons (see Bohucz), and the barrier was broken. The Hungarians having sustained a fresh defeat at the hands of the Petchenegs, marched into Moravia under Arpad. This is one account; another, collected by Bohucz from Hungarian legends, is to this effect:—

After the destruction of the Avares, Pannonia became a huge desert. The Slaves, who were settled there by leave of the emperor, were employed in restoring it to cultivation when Cusid, son of Cund, an envoy of the Ougres, announced to Sviatopolk that his people intended to settle there; the latter, wishful rather of allies than of enemies, consented, and Cusid returned laden with the fruits of the country and a jar of water from the Danube; Arpad hereupon, having made an offering to the gods, sent a white horse as a present to Sviatopolk, which was accepted with too great complaisance. The Ougres now requested the great Moravian to evacuate a province which was worth only one white horse, and, on his refusal, defeated him severely. He escaped to the Danube, where some say he was drowned, others that he escaped to the forests beyond, and sought refuge among some anchorites, with whom he lived for six years and then died—making a parallel story to that of

Harold. Whichever of these accounts we accept (and I am bound to say the former one is, in every respect, the most credible), we are safe as to the main facts, which are the invasion of Pannonia by the Hungarians about the time of the death of Sviatopolk.

They were then divided into seven tribes, each governed by its separate chieftain, the seven forming the Hetumoger or seven Magyars of the Notary of King Bela. He gives their names as Almus, the father of Arpad, Cund, the father of Curzan, Ound, the father of Ete, Tosu, the father of Lelu, Huba, Tuhutun, father of Horca, who was the father of Gyula and Zombor, and Eleud, the father of Zobolsu. The last of these may be profitably compared with Ziebil, the Khazar ally of Heraclius. In another list the names are given as Arpad, Bolcher, Gyula, Cund, Leel, Verbulchir, and Urs. Three of these names occur in Zonaras; so they may be considered, on the whole, reliable. Each of the tribes is said, in the legends, to have numbered 30,857 men, and the number of clans or families is put at 108.

In occupying their new country, according to Constantine, the eight Turkish tribes (*i. e.* Hungarian) settled on its various rivers; they remained independent of one another, but had a mutual understanding that, in whichever direction war commenced, all should join against the enemy. They chose a common general of the race of Arpad to lead their armies, with whom were associated two officers to perform the office of judges; they were entitled *gylas* and *carchan* (compare this last with the later *Gourkhan* of Carakitai). Besides these, each tribe had its proper prince.

It may well be, and is in fact most probable, that only a small portion of the Khazars who broke away from the main body accompanied the Hungarians in their emigration; the rest remaining behind, near their kindred, occupied the Crimea, and became the ancestors of the Kabardi, as I have shown in my last paper.

The chronicler Reginon describes the Hungarians as living by fishing and hunting, and as fighting with bows and arrows.

The notary of Bela tells us they had no cities nor fixed houses, nor did they live on the produce of agriculture, but on flesh and fish; their young men were continually hunting; and thus it happened that, even in his day, the Hungarians were the most renowned hunters. This tallies well with what we have said of the affinities of the Hungarians with the Voguls. Leo has furnished Gibbon with material for some sonorous phrases in his description of the Hungarians. "Their tents were of leather, their garments of fur; they shaved their hair, and scarified their

faces; in speech they were slow, in action prompt, in treaty perfidious," &c. &c.

In the infancy of Lewis the Pious they invaded Bavaria, they overran Swabia and Franconia; and Gibbon affirms that the origin of walled towns is ascribed to the necessities of this period. Almost at the same instant they laid in ashes the Helvetian monastery of St. Gall and the city of Bremen. Pavia was burnt, and Italy overrun to the mountains of Calabria. They overran the Eastern empire to the very walls of Byzantium; and all Europe seemed to be the camping-ground of the Normans, the Saracens, and the Hungarians.

Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great owe no little of their fame to the victories they gained over the Hungarians, whose power they effectually crushed. Their subsequent history is beyond the scope of this paper. When they arrived in Hungary their religion was no doubt that of the foresters of the Ural mountains; but this arrival synchronizes with the most energetic period of Mahometan propagandism, and we find accordingly that Yakut mentions having met at Aleppo certain Mahometan Bashkirs from Hungary, who told him that in the time of their forefathers seven pious men from Bulgaria had visited their land and taught them the true faith. Whatever progress these missionaries may have made, they have left little trace behind; nor had Rome a more faithful ally, or civilization many more prolific cradles than Hungary after the days of St. Stephen.

The subsequent history of Hungary is very easily accessible, and is beyond the limits of my subject, which deals only with the pedigrees of races. Its present ethnological condition has been well described by Mr. Paterson in his recently published travels, an able *résumé* of which was given by Dr. Hyde Clarke, in the 'Athenæum.' A subsequent paper will deal with the somewhat intricate subject of the Avares and their ethnology, in which the earlier history of the Hungarians will receive some further criticism.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Phoenix.—This is the name of a new monthly magazine published in London, and devoted to Chinese, Japanese, Tibetan, Manchoo, Mongol, and Indo-Chinese subjects. It is edited by the Rev. Professor Summers, and reckons among its contributors and correspondents some of the leading students of these branches of knowledge. Ethnology is included, and thus a new opening to most interesting sources of information is obtained.—H. C.