

On the Westerly Drifting of Nomades, from the Fifth to the Nineteenth Century. Part IV.

The Circassians and White Khazars

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Source: The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London (1869-1870), Vol. 2, No. 2 (1870),

pp. 182-192

Published by: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland

Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3014425

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XXII. On the Westerly Drifting of Nomades, from the Fifth to the Nineteenth Century. By H. H. Howorth, Esq.—Part IV. The Circassians and White Khazars.

(Part III. was published in this volume, pp. 83-95.)

By tracing back the various lines of migration, we have at length succeeded in eliminating from the ethnography of Europe and Southern Asia a most perplexing and, in many respects, preponderating element. We have pushed back the Turks beyond the Volga and the Oxus. Their history in that further region, which forms the typical Turkestan, I hope to trace out in a future paper. At present I must commence to make good my rash proposition, that the Petchenegs were the first Turks that crossed the Volga. I call it rash, because it is directly at issue with the conclusions of Dr. Latham, the most patient and careful of English ethnologists, and because it involves a position which, so far as I know, is entirely new.

The northern flanks of the Caucasus form, in my opinion, one of the best ethnological barometers that we possess. Its many races are the waifs and strays of invasions that have swept by and through the great marching-ground of all western invaders, the Steppes north of the Caspian Sea and the Euxine. Each body of invaders who has occupied these plains has left a portion of its race behind, which remnants have been pressed forward into the mountains by succeeding invaders. Thus if we peel the mountains, as it were, and remove the successive layers of population that occupy them, we shall have a series representing, not unfaithfully, the various tribes and races which have occupied Southern Russia.

According to Maçoudi, when the Gusses crossed the Volga, they entered the land of Kazaria. The Khazars, in the pages of Byzantine, Arabian, and Russian authorities, were the precursors of the Gusses, or Comans, and the Petchenegs. Our inquiry therefore commences with the Khazars. Who were the Khazars? One mistake by one author may divert the reasoning on a whole science into a vicious and wrong channel. No better example of this fact can be chosen than the case of the Khazars. Ebn Haoucal's Geography, which was written in 976–7, was translated into English by Sir Wm. Ouseley. His statements about the Khazari, with whom he was contemporary, are of course of the highest value. Sir Wm. Ouseley has unfortunately mistranslated the most important passage, and his mistranslation has been followed by English inquirers. Long ago, the greatest authority on this branch of Arabian literature, Fraehn, in his "De Chasaris, Excerpta ex scriptoribus Arabicis," published in the Memoirs of the St. Petersburg Academy, called

attention to and corrected this mistake; and the question has been ably discussed by Vivien St. Martin. There can no longer be the slightest doubt that Sir Wm. Ouseley gave the exact reverse of the meaning of the passage. Ebn Haoucal says the Khazars differed entirely in their language from the Turks. Ouseley made him say they were like the Turks in language. The term Turk is used by Ebn Haoucal in a more limited sense than by many of his Byzantine and Arabian contemporaries, who apply it indiscriminately to the Hungarians, Bulgarians, and to all the various Nomades of the Steppes, in an almost equivalent manner with the ancient term Scyth. Ahmed ben Fozlan also says that the Khazar tongue differs from the Persian and Turk. The Khazars, as we shall presently see, differed from the Turks entirely in their physique, their religion, and their manners, as they did, according to Ebn Haoucal, in their more important ethnological differentiae, as in their language. If they were not Turks, what were they? I cannot believe that a race, so very important as they were for three centuries, should have been wiped out without leaving a trace behind. Let us appeal, experimentally only, to our ethnological barometer, the flanks of the Caucasus.

In a previous paper I have shown that the Nogays, and other so-called Tartar hordes of the Kuban and the Caucasus, are the descendants of the Petchenegs and Gusses. If we remove the Nogays, therefore, from our map, we shall perhaps meet with The layer of population which lies immediately some clue. beyond the Tartars is that of the Circassians. What, then, is the history of the Circassians? This question involves a very difficult answer, if we are to be guided by orthodox text-books. It is not denied that the Circassians are, and have been, as long as tradition reaches back, the masters and leaders of the Caucasian Tartars, of the Ossetes, and of their other neighbours, supplying the princely and governing caste to all the northern Caucasus. Yet we are taught to believe that these Circassians have no history, properly so called, and that we must be content to trace them, perhaps, in the Zychians &c. of the Greek writers. I cannot believe such a position to be well founded. Let us trace them back in some detail. First, we must limit the term Tscherkessian, or Circassian, to the inhabitants of the two Kabardahs, and the Circassians proper of the mountains, described in detail by Klaproth, under their various tribal names of Beslenie, Muchosch, Abasech, Kemurquáhe, or Tenurgoi, Hattiquáhe Attigoi, or Hattukai, Bsheduch, Schapschik, Shana, or Shani, and Schegakeh. I exclude entirely the Abassians, or Abkhassians, classed, I know not on what authority, by Dr. Latham with the Circassians, but most sharply distinguished

from them by Klaproth. These latter have Circassian princes, and have a few customs and words in common with their masters, otherwise they are very distinct, and are really the remnants of the occupants of the Circassian area before the arrival of the Circassians.

Having thus limited the name Circassian to the Kabardiens and the Circassians proper of the mountains, let us turn to their First, the Kabardiens; the name is as old as the days of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, as applied to a large division of the Circassian nation. As applied to the district now occupied by Kabardiens, it is much more recent. Their ancient seats were among the Beschtau, or Five Mountains, the most northern spurs of the Caucasus, when in the sixteenth century, in the quaint language of Klaproth's translator, "The Tscherkessians, weary of everlasting war, at length abandoned the Beschtau, or the Five Mountains, and removed nearer to the Terek, where they settled on the river Baksan, in the Russian territory. They had then at their head two princes, the brothers Kabarty-Bek, who, quarrelling on account of this change of abode, parted, and divided the Tscherkessian nation between them. The elder remained on the river Baksan, but the younger, with his followers, proceeded to the Terek, and thence afterwards arose the division of their country into the Great and Little Kabardah. The princes and usdens (nobles) of the nation professed Mohammedanism, but the mass of the people and the peasants were Christians of the Greek persuasion, and had churches and orthodox priests among them." This story of Klaproth's, obtained by him apparently from the Count Potocki, is so reasonable, and happened within such a recent period, that it may well be accepted. It is confirmed by the traditions of the Basians, who relate that they occupied the Kabardahs before the Circassians, and were driven into the mountains on the arrival of the latter. The subsequent history of the Kabardiens is easily accessible; it would not assist us in our present inquiry.

Jehosaphat Barbaro, the Venetian ambassador to the Persian court in 1474, calls the present Kabardah by that name, according to Klaproth. This somewhat antedates the arrival of the Kabardiens. It may be a mistake of Barbaro; for in 1497, in a map made by Fredutio of Ancona, found in the library of Wolfenbuttel, the name Cabardi stands somewhat west of the present Tajanrog. Here it is also found nearly two centuries earlier (about 1312) in some manuscript maps preserved at Vienna; in the latter it is spelt Cabari. The upper part of the river Belbek in the Crimea is known as the Kabarda. Lastly, Constantine Porphyrogenitus places the Cabari on an island at the mouth of the Kuban. So much for the Kabardiens.

Since the Russian extension into the Caucasus, the Circassians of the mountains have been driven much further to the south. Many of their tribes lived formerly on the Kuban. The island of Thaman and the whole coast of the Black Sea, as far as Anapa, was in their possession. They then used to go in numerous caravans to the lakes between Kislar and Astrachan to fetch salt. Georgio Interiano, who wrote in the fifteenth century, places their northern limit at the Don. We have already said that a river in the Crimea is called Kabarda.

In that peninsula, situated between the rivers Katscha and Belbek, is a tract known as Tscherkess-Tüs, or the Plain of the Tscherkessians; there are also the ruins of a castle, called by the Tartars Tscherkess-kjermän. It is well known that the capital of the Cossacks of the Ukraine was known as Tscherkesh, a name also adopted by the Cossacks of the Don for their capital. In the Russian annals the Cossacks are frequently referred to under the name Tscherkessians. In 1500 Agatscherkess is named as a chief of the Azof Cossacks. Lastly, and perhaps most important of all, the Nogays still call the whole country between Kabardah and the Katscha, Therkestus (vide Pallas, i. 392). All these facts show how wide-spread and important the Tscherkessian name was in southern Russia and the plains of the Kuban, before the Mongol supremacy. But our evidence is not yet finished. The name Tscherkess has been held by Klaproth to be a Turk gloss, compounded of "Tcher," a road, and "Kesmek," to cut off, meaning a cutter-off of roads, i. e. a brigand. Whether this be so or not, I cannot look upon the name Tscherkess as an ancient one in the Causasus, nor can I see any evidence, save a similarity of sound, for identifying it with the Kerkites of the ancients. To the Ossetes and Mingrelians, the Tscherkessians are known as Kassack, and the Ossetes have a tradition that the Kabardiens were so called before the emigration from the North. We thus get an explanation of the term Kasachia of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

We also get the origin of the Cossack name. The Cossacks (although of Polish and Russian descent), and more especially the Cossacks of the Don, have many customs in common with the Circassians, and succeeded to the name as well as policy of their predecessors, the Kassacks, or, as they are called by Nestor, the Kassogi. The name Kassack appears for the first time in Cons. Por. and had apparently very limited use. We must search for the Tscherkessians under some other name if we are to find them in the pages of the earlier Byzantines and the Arab geographers. With both these latter the name Khazar is by far

the most important in these regions, in the eighth and two following centuries. The Caspian was known as the Chazarian Sea; the plains west of the Volga as the land of Khazaria, while the same name was more particularly applied to the Cri-As the name Khazar gradually disappears, the name Tscherkessian predominates. They both occupied the same area, and we are led to the inevitable result that they were the same people under two names; the more so, as, especially in the case of the Crimea, the Circassians are the only race we know whose early history is compatible with their being the descendants of the Khazars, all the Turkish tribes being excluded from such a claim, as we showed in starting. This very reasonable position is abundantly corroborated by other evidence. Thus the Circassians have a tradition that they were formerly the masters of the Nogays; the Nogays, as we have shown in another paper, are chiefly the descendants of the Comans or In the accounts we have of the earlier struggles of the Comans, we generally find them fighting in alliance with the Khazars. With the Khazars they invaded the Russian and Petchenegian territory. When Klaproth went to the Caucasus he was furnished with a long list of names of the Polowzian or Comanian invaders of Russia, preserved in the chronicles. They were always the names of leaders or chieftains: these names had been a puzzle to previous inquirers. They were clearly not Turkish; no such names are found among the Nogay hordes. Klaproth, to whose pages I refer the credulous for proofs, found that with very few exceptions these same names are still the names of princely families in Circassia, and that they are confined to the Circassians. This chain of argument seems to me to be complete, nor could a more crucial test be My only wonder is that Klaproth never fell upon the notion that the Khazars were the ancestors of the Circassians: the more so, as the fact is attested by still clearer evidence if need be, namely, the testimony of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who mentions the Cabari as one of the tribes of the Khazars, and even as the chief tribe, to which the predominance was willingly allowed. These Cabari can be no others than the Kabardi and Kabari of later writers.

The only vestige remaining of the language of the Khazars, in the shape of a gloss, is the name of their capital, Sarkel, which, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, means the "white dwelling." Sarghili in Hungarian would mean "yellow place." Klaproth says that in the Vogul dialect and in western Siberian, sar, sarni, sorni, and sairan mean "white." In many Samoyede compounds the same word is found, as syr, sirr, and siri. Among them a house is called kell, kella, kuel, koual, kal; among

the Tchuvash, kil. The significance of this derivation will

appear in a future paper.

The Arab geographers Ebn el Ethir and Schems-ud-din respectively connect the Khazars with the Georgians and the Armenians. This sufficiently distinguishes them from the Turks, and is no bad guess at some of their superficial relations, if they were Circassians. That the Khazars were very distinct from the Turks physically is perhaps best proved by the fact that the Russian princes and the Byzantine grandees chose their wives (one of whom was the mother of Leo the Khazar, who succeeded to the imperial throne in 758) from among them; and so common was this practice, that Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the Chesterfield of his day, severely warned his son against such a pernicious example. Here, again, we are reminded of the popularity of Circassian beauties even in our own day, and can only credulously smile when we find the Khazar brides identified with the ancestors of the repulsively ugly Nogay women.

This accumulation of facts seems to me overwhelming. On the other side we have only the dictum of Zeuss, supported by the statement that the titles in use among the Khazars, such as Bec or Beg, Khan or Khacan, &c., are Turkish. Now Bec or Beg is unquestionably found as a particle in Circassian names. Khacan or Khan is a title common to the Bulgarians, Avares, and Russians, and is the same as the Norse Hacon. Nor do I know of a tittle of evidence for making them peculiarly Turkish glosses.

That the Khazars had no Turkish blood in them I will no more affirm than I would make the same assertion of the Circassians. The Khazars were constantly in alliance with the Turkish Gusses, in the forays made by the latter upon the Russians and the Petchenegs; and further, the body-guards of the Khazarian princes were formed, as those of the Arab emirs of Transoxiana were, of Turkish mercenaries. In the case of the Khazars these were known as Larssiyes, a name very ingeniously compared by D'Ohsson with Alars, a tribe of the Kaptchaks, according to Schems-ud-din. These Turks must in both cases have corrupted the language and race materially. But such corruptions can no more make either Khazars or Circassians Turks than Anglo-Saxon corruptions make North Wales into a German-speaking province.

The name Khazar has received many etymologies. Strahlenberg made it identical with the Hungarian Huzzar or Hussar. I think it very probable the latter may be derived from the former. Chazar in Slave means an emigrant, according to Bohucz. The Persians called all the Sunnites, or followers of Ali, Chadshars; the term Chadshar, therefore, with them is equivalent to that of heretic with us, and Klaproth derives from it the

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German term for heretic, "Ketzer." The Lesgs call the Jews Ghusar, which is their way of pronouncing Khazar. Ouseley translates Khazrians by Christians. The Chinese mention a western people called Kosa. Vivien St. Martin connects them with the Katiars of Herodotus and the Cotieri of Pliny, Scythian Whatever the value of these suggestions, it is more to our purpose to know that the Khazars were divided into two sections by the Arabian geographers,—the Black Khazars and the White Khazars, distinguished by very marked peculiarities, the former situated to the north of the latter. These divisions correspond, as Zeuss, Schlætzer, and Thunmann have already pointed out, to the Black and White Ughres of Nestor, the former of whom were the Hungarians or Magyars. They correspond also, as I believe, to the Black and White Huns of other The White Huns, or Epthalites, of Priscus (on whom Vivien St. Martin has written an elaborate essay, which I have not been able to procure) were, as is well known, the invaders who overran Transoxiana about the sixth century, and formed a considerable power there. They were, I believe, the Khazars, who at a later date (819-820) were assisted by the Khorasmiens against the Turks of Khorassan, and converted by them to Islamism, as related by D'Ohsson from Ebn el Ethir. This identification is very important. These White Huns must have come from the Khirghiz desert. Even Dr. Latham, whose Turcophobia is so pronounced, allows that the Khirgises are, in name and in many respects, other than Turks, though their language is unquestionably Turkish. I believe with him that Khirgis, a mere form of the ancient Kergis or Kerkis, is the same word as Circassian or Tscherkessian; the more so, as the Khirgises; like the Tscherkessians, are known as Keseks or Kassaks. I believe also that the almost simultaneous invasion of Transoxiana and Europe by the Khazars was a consequence of their being driven out of their native country by Turkish invaders. That native country called Bersilia by Theophanes and others, I can find no room for anywhere, except in the Khirgiz steppe, where it is actually placed by Moses of Chorene (vide infrà). Before this invasion the Khazars occupied the country north and north-west of the Aral and the Caspian, and the Turks were confined to more eastern and northern regions, the Altai and the banks of the Irtysch.

We may now trace out rapidly the history of the Khazars, for which the Arabs and the Byzantines have left us abundant material. I shall not discuss the traditional and other early invasions of the Caucasus by the Khazars mentioned by the Armenian historian Moses of Chorene, and in the Georgian annals, because it is very doubtful if the exploits of some other race have not been credited to the Khazars, and because we are

going somewhat beyond our subject (already involved enough) in discussing them. I shall commence with Theophanes, who is the first Byzantine who clearly mentions them, and describes the part they took in the invasion of Persia by Heraclius in 626, when they forced the Caspian Gates, and entered Adjerbaidjan. This temporary foray was followed by a general invasion in the reign of Constantine III., between the years 642-688, when leaving the land of Berzilia, and driving the Bulgares before them, they occupied the plains east of the Don, as far as the Batbaia, one of the princes of the Bulgares, was made The country Berzilia has been a puzzle to most geotributary. Herodotus names the Katiars with a people he calls graphers. Basiliens (Royal Scyths). Pomponius Mela, Pliny, Strabo, and Ptolemy all mention them. Moses of Chorene, in the fifth centurv. says the Volga divides itself into sixty branches, on which is settled the Barsileen nation. We cannot be wrong in placing Berzelia in the Kirghiz steppe, east of the Volga. The relations of the Royal Scyths of Herodotus with the Circassians, through the intermediate links of the White Huns of Claudian and the Acatziri of other authors, is a promising subject, which we must postpone to another occasion.

The Khazars speedily made tributary the neighbouring Russian tribes, as appears from Nestor, and made incessant incursions into Armenia and the other appanages of the caliphs south of

the Caucasus, which are detailed by D'Ohsson.

At the demand of the Khan of the Khazars, the emperor Theophilus sent engineers, in 834, to build a fortress on the Don, as a protection against the Petchenegs. This was the celebrated Sarkel, known to the Russians as Belaia Wess. Lehrberg has fixed the situation of Sarkel about seventy versts from the mouth of the Another of their towns was Phanagoria or Tamatarkha. In the tenth century their territory was bounded on the south by the Caspian and the last spurs of the Caucasus; on the west by the Don, which separated them from the Petchenegs, by the Mæotis and the Cimmerian Bosphorus; on the north by the Bulgarians of Great Bulgaria on the Volga; and on the east by the Baschkirs and Gusses. Such are the limits fixed by D'Ohsson; but from the first invasion of the Khazars they must have occupied the flat country of the Crimea, which was known as Khazaria down to the times of the Genoese supremacy at Kaffa. The previous masters of the peninsula had been a remnant of the Goths. These were now driven into the mountains, where their stronghold was known as Kastron Gothia to the middleage writers. We are told that in the reign of Constantine the sixth (780-797) the Gothic Bishop St. John Parthenites had to flee for having attempted to detach the Goths from their subjection

to the Khazars. South of the Kuban, the Alans long contested the supremacy of the Khazars, but like the Gusses and the Petchenegs they had to submit to the superior energy and perhaps culture of the Khazars. The power of these latter seems to have been effectually broken by the great Russian conqueror, Sviatoslav, who overran their country and took their capital, Sarkel. Thenceforward the Gusses seem to have gradually gained ascendancy. The Khazar nation was divided into two sections, one in the Crimea, the other pressed beyond the Kuban; the former retained the old name, came into constant contact with the Genoese, and became the ancestors of the Kabardiens, whose emigration we have already mentioned; the latter began to appear in the Russian annals under the new name of Kassogues, perhaps so called from their chief tribe, for we are told by Constantine Porphyrogenitus that one of the tribes of the Khazars was called Kosa. So late as 1226, the Khazars formed the van of the Georgian armies in their invasions of Persia. We have thus traced the history of this extraordinary race, and, I think, succeeded in proving their connexion with the Circassians. In conclusion, I would give, from Fraehn's 'Extracts de Chasaris,' a few particulars about the manners and customs &c. of the Chazars.

Ibn Fozlan, who wrote about 921, A.D., Ibn Haukal, about 976-977, Maçoudi, about 943-947, and Yakout, about 1220, are the chief authorities made use of by Fraehn. From these I

take the following:—

The Khazars differed entirely from the Turks, the Persians, and the Russians in language. Their language was the same as that of the Bulgarians. In their appearance they also differed from the Turks. There were two kinds of Khazars: one, the Black Khazars, of a dark colour almost approaching that of the Indians; the other of a fair complexion, and a handsome and distinguished look (both kinds had black hair). The idolaters among the Khazars sold their children into slavery, and held it right to make one another slaves; the Christians and Jews among them held this to be wrong. Their king was a Jew; the Khazars themselves were Mahommedans, Christians, and idolaters; a few, like their king, were Jews. The soldiers were chiefly Mahommedans. According to Ibn el Asir they formerly followed the religion of their ancestors, i.e. idolatry. In the eighth century, and during the reign of Haroun al Raschid, the Jews were expelled from the Greek empire; finding the Khazars a tractable race, they converted them, but some time after they became subject to the Khorassan Turks. Having sought assistance from the Chorezmiens against these Turks, the latter offered their assistance conditionally on the Khazars embracing Islamism,

which most of them did. Thus does the Arabian historian relate the conversion of the Khazars.

The king of the Khazari was called Khakan, or the great Khakan; he was a mere roi fainéant, kept in rigid seclusion; he was shown on particular occasions, and held more the position of the Dalai Lama than that of an ordinary ruler. He had twenty-five wives and sixty concubines. These wives and concubines lived in a separate house, known as the Kubba; each one had a eunuch to wait on her.

When the king went out on horseback, he was attended by all his army, who kept off the vulgar gaze. His throne was a rich erection of gold and hangings; his commands were held so sacred that any one turning his back on any commission appointed by him had his head taken off. He was not allowed to reign more than forty years, and when that limit was reached he was strangled, or allowed to commit suicide. Occasionally, in times of dire calamity, the king was required to sacrifice himself for the people. The same story is told about him that is told of Attila, and doubtless true in both cases, that on his death a palace was built in the bed of a river, and his corpse placed inside, and the river then diverted over it, those who took part in the erection being all killed. His unknown restingplace they called Paradise. They held it safe from the attacks of men or worms. The Khacan of the Khazars was held in high esteem at Byzantium. He was addressed as the most noble and illustrious Khacan of Khazaria. Letters addressed to him were sealed with seals of the value of three solidi, while those on the letters to the most illustrious European potentates were sealed with seals of the value of two solidi only. We have said that the Khacan of the Khazars was a mere roi fainéant.

The real ruler (he who commanded the army, made peace and war, and was de facto the king, although nominally only a vicarial sovereign) was known as the Khacan-bh (Khacan bey?), or simply the Khan. Such was Ziebil, who assisted Heraclius against the Persians. Next to him was one called Kender Chakan; next to him again, another, who bore the title of Tschaus-These great dignitaries alone had audience of the sacred king, the great Khacan. The body-guard of the king consisted, as we have said, of Turkish mercenaries, called Larssiyés; they were 7000 in number, all armed with bows and lances, equipped in helmets, in cuirasses, and coats of mail (compare this with the modern Circassian uniform). Russians and pagan Slaves also formed a portion of the Khazar army. Justice was administered at Itil, the capital of Khazaria, by seven judges: two Mahommedans administered the law of the Prophet, two Khazars that of the Hebrews, and two Christians that of the Gospel. The seventh

for the Slaves, the Russians, and other pagans judged by the law of nature. In difficult cases the latter consulted the Mahometan cadhis, and was ruled by their decisions. The king

was in constant communication with the judges.

Security of property and ample justice, we are told by the Arab authorities, led to the settlement at Itil of a great number of merchants, as many as 10,000. Copper and silver were both found in Khazaria; but its chief wealth consisted in its being the entrepôt of a vast trade: honey, wax, the roe of the sturgeon, and furs, especially otter-skins, passed this way from Russia and Bulgaria to Persia, and no doubt the products of Persia and the East returned by the same route. Itil itself was a large city of wooden houses, containing thirty mosques and a large cathedral, with schools attached. Besides Itil, the Arabs describe three other cities of the Khazars,—Belendscher, Semender, and Chamlidsch; the Georgian chronicles have several more; but this will suffice. It will be seen, even from our meagre relation, that the Khazars were a people highly advanced in the arts, a people with an ancient civilization, with customs, such as those attaching to their king, pointing to an old history. We have brought them from beyond the Volga, we must follow them there on another occasion. It must suffice us now to have proved them to have been the ancestors of the Circassians, to have brought the latter isolated race into more close connextion with the history of Eastern Europe, and to have somewhat simplified the tangled subject of the ethnology of the Caucasus.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Meneam.—This people of cannibals, among whom Dr. Livingstone in his last letter announced that he was about to take his course, and whom he stated to be, on native authority, notorious cannibals, are the Niam Niam or Nya Nyas, the people in the western ranges of the district of the Nile. Livingstone has either carried out that intention, or, from fear of the Nya Nyas, he has sought to return by the course of the Congo, and may thus have exposed himself to the misfortune alleged to have befallen him.—Hyde Clarke.

Turkish "Know" and "Sow."—In Turkish cognoscere and scire are distinguished, being respectively tanemak and bilmek. Sow and Sew are represented by one verb, dikmek.—Hyde Clarke.