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## The Concept of Nomadic Polity in the Hungarian Chapter of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De administrando imperio*<sup>1</sup>

Byzantine Emperor, Constantine Porphyrogenitus<sup>2</sup>, wrote a book for his son between 948-952 cited as *De administrando imperio*.<sup>3</sup> This work contains practical hints on diplomacy with the neighbouring peoples including a detailed description of their domestic affairs. Among the various nations he described, the emperor mentioned the Hungarians in three chapters (38-40). Only the 38th chapter is taken into consideration in this paper. This chapter, entitled "Of the genealogy of the nation of the Turks, and whence they are descended," is a unique historical narration of the early history of the Hungarians. So it is not surprising, that this chapter has been studied in almost every respect in the historiography concerning the early history of the Hungarians.<sup>4</sup> Only one question needs to be asked: which

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- <sup>1</sup> I express my thanks to Professor S. Szádeczky-Kardoss (Szeged) for explaining and interpreting the Greek text, who have not spared his time in answering my questions.
  - <sup>2</sup> A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World*. 1973; Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*. I. Berlin 1983:356-390; J. Karayannopoulos - G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz*. Wiesbaden 1982:392-379.
  - <sup>3</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*. I. Greek text Ed. by Gy. Moravcsik. English translation by R. H. J. Jenkins. Washington 1967, II. Commentary by F. Dvornik, R. H. J. Jenkins, B. Lewis, Gy. Moravcsik, D. Obolensky, S. Runciman. Ed. by R. H. J. Jenkins. London 1962; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*. I, 361-379.
  - <sup>4</sup> Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I:375-378; Moravcsik Gy., *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet bizánci forrásai. Fontes Byzantini historiae Hungaricae aevio ducum et regum ex stirpe Árpád descendentium*. Budapest 1984:32-34; Gy. Kristó, *Hungarian history in the ninth century*. Szeged 1996:97-203; T. Olajos's commentary on the Hungarian translation of the relevant chapters: *A honfoglalás korának írott forrásai* (The written sources on the period of the Hungarian conquest). Olajos T., H. Tóth I. és Zimonyi I. közreműködésével szerkesztette (Ed.) Kristó Gy. Szeged 1995:110-136; Harmatta J., "Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos magyar vonatkozású művei" (The works of Constantine Porphyrogenitus in connection with the Hungarians): *A honfoglaláskor írott forrásai* (The written sources on the period of the Hungarian conquest). Szerk. (Ed.) Kovács L., Veszprémy L. Budapest 1996:105-111.

sources did the emperor use during the compilation of the 38th chapter? It was widely accepted that this chapter was based on information from Hungarian dignitaries as Constantine remarks at the end of the 40th chapter: "... and it is his son Termatzous who came here as 'friend' with Boultzous ...". The visit of the Hungarian dignitaries to Constantinople took place in 948. Recently Harmatta pointed out that in addition to this Hungarian source of information Constantine might also have used other accounts from the Byzantine missions to the Hungarians in 894 and shortly after the conquest of the Carpathian Basin.<sup>5</sup> Therefore the possibility that various sources were unified in chapter 38 cannot be excluded. Macartney and Grégoire supposed that chapter 38 contains two stories from different sources.<sup>6</sup> But it is widely assumed that this chapter was compiled from a single source.<sup>7</sup> Chapter 38 can be divided into four chronological and thematic parts:

38. *Of the genealogy of the nation of the Turks, and whence they are descended.*

1. The nation of the Turks had of old their dwelling next to Chazaria, in the place called Lebedia after the name of their first voivode, which voivode was called by the personal name of Lebedias, but in virtue of his rank was entitled voivode, as have been the rest after him. Now in this place, the aforesaid Lebedia, there runs a river Chidmas, also called Chingilous. They were not called Turks at that time, but had the name 'Sabartoi asphaloi', for some reason or other. The Turks were seven clans, and they had never had over them a prince either native or foreign, but there were among them 'voivodes', of whom first voivode was the aforesaid Lebedias. They lived together with the Chazars for three years, and *fought in alliance* with the Chazars in all their wars. Because of their *courage* and their *alliance*, the chagan-prince of Chazaria gave in marriage to the first voivode of the Turks, called Lebedias, a noble Chazar lady, because of *the fame of his valour and illustriousness of his race*, so that she might have children by him; but, as it fell out, this Lebedias had no children by this same Chazar lady.

<sup>5</sup> Harmatta J., "Lebedia és Atelkuzu" (Lebedia and Etelkuzu): *Magyar Nyelv* 80 (1984):424-425.

<sup>6</sup> C.A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*. Cambridge 1930:100-112; H. Grégoir, "Le nom et l'origine des Hongrois": *ZDMG* 91 (1937):632-633.

<sup>7</sup> Kristó, *op. cit.*, 97-98.

2. Now, the Pechenegs who were previously called 'Kangar' (for this 'Kangar' was a name signifying nobility and valour among them), these, then, stirred up war against the Chazars and, being defeated, were forced to quit their own land and to settle in that of the Turks. And when battle was joined between the Turks and the Pechenegs who were at that time called 'Kangar', the army of the Turks was defeated and split into two parts. One part went eastwards and settled in the region of Persia, and they to this day are called by the ancient denomination of the Turks 'Sabartoi asphaltoi'; but the other part, together with their voivode and chief Lebedias, settled in the western region, in places called Atelkouzou, in which places the nation of the Pechenegs now lives.

3. A short while afterwards, that chagan-prince of Chazaria sent a message to the Turks, requiring that Lebedias, their first voivode, should be sent to him. Lebedias, therefore, came to the chagan of Chazaria and asked the reason why he had sent for him to come to him. The chagan said to him: "We have invited you upon this account, in order that, since you are *noble and wise and valorous* and first among the Turks, we may appoint you prince of your nation, and you may be obedient to our word and our commands." But he, in reply, made answer to the chagan: "Your regard and purpose for me I highly esteem and express to you suitable thanks, but since I am not strong enough for this rule, I cannot obey you; on the other hand, however, there is a voivode other than me, called Almoutzis, and he has a son called Arpad; let one of these, rather, either that Almoutzis or his son Arpad, be made prince, and be obedient to your word." That chagan was pleased at this saying, and gave some of his men to go with him, and sent them to the Turks, and after they had talked the matter over with the Turks, the Turks preferred that Arpad should be prince rather than Almoutzis his father, for he was of superior parts and greatly admired for *wisdom and counsel and valour*, and capable of this rule; and so they made him prince according to the *custom*, or 'zakanon' of the Chazars, by lifting him upon a shield. Before this Arpad the Turks had never at any time had any other prince, and so even to this day the Prince of Turkey is from his family.

4. Some years later, The Pechenegs fell upon the Turks and drove them out with their prince Arpad. The Turks, in flight and seeking a land to dwell

in, came and in their turn expelled the inhabitants of Great Moravia and settled in their land, in which the Turks now live to this day.<sup>8</sup> ...

The aim of this paper is to analyze certain expressions in this chapter which correspond to those of the runic inscriptions of the second Türk empire written in the first half of the 8th century. Only the inscriptions of Köl Tegin, Bilge Kagan, Köli Čor, Ongin and Tonyuquq are taken into consideration.<sup>9</sup>

1. συμμαχέω, συμμαχία—*ešig küčüg ber-*

According to Constantine, the Hungarians lived together with the Chazars in their first known homeland for three years “and fought in alliance with the Chazars in all their wars. Because of their courage and their alliance, the chagan-prince of Chazaria gave in marriage to the first voivode of the Turks, called Lebedias, a noble Chazar lady.” The expression ‘to fight in alliance’ in the Greek text is συμμαχέω, which was translated into Hungarian by Moravcsik as ‘to fight together’ and the word alliance is συμμαχία in the next sentence.<sup>10</sup> The Greek words can be interpreted in two ways: fighting together or in alliance suggests either a relationship between two equal groups or one in which one group is subordinated to the other. The context clearly indicates that the latter interpretation is appropriate, because the Hungarians fought in Chazars wars<sup>11</sup> and had no prince at that time, while the Chazar ruler was called chagan, which was the title of the

<sup>8</sup> Moravcsik, Jenkins op. cit., 170-173.

<sup>9</sup> T. Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*. The Hague 1968, Texts:229-258, English translations 259-295; G. Clauson, E. Tryjarski, “The Inscription at Ikhe Khushotu”: *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 34 (1970):7-33; S. E. Malov, *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti. Teksty i issledovanija*. Moskva-Leningrad 1959:19-73; “Materialen zu den alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei” Gesammelt von G. J. Ramstedt, J. G. Granö und Pentti Aalto bearbeitet und hrsg. von Pentti Aalto. *Journal de la Societe Finno-Ougrienne* 60. Helsinki 1958:3-61.

<sup>10</sup> Moravcsik, *Fontes Byzantini*, 43.

<sup>11</sup> Kristó, op. cit., 138.

sovereign ruler in the Turkic world.<sup>12</sup> So the Hungarians submitted to the rule of the Chazars.<sup>13</sup>

The corresponding idea is embodied by the expression *ešig küčüg ber-* in the Turkic inscriptions. Clauson and Tekin translated this as 'to give one's services'.<sup>14</sup> Doerfer provided a new explanation: to do one's duty towards the ruler, to support him.<sup>15</sup> The exact meaning of the term can be traced from the context.

After the collapse of the Türk empire it is said in the Köl Tegin Inscription: "Those (Turkish) lords who were in China held the Chinese titles and obeyed the Chinese emperor and *gave their service to [ešig küčüg bermiš]* him for fifty years. For the benefit of the Chinese, they went on campaigns up to (the land of) the Bükli kagan in the east, where the sun rises, and as far as the Iron Gate in the west. For the benefit of the Chinese emperor they conquered countries. Then, the Turkish common people apparently said as follows: 'We used to be a people who had an (independent) state. Where is our own state now? For whose benefit are we conquering these lands?' they said. 'We used to be a people who had its own kagan. Where is our own kagan now? *To which kagan are we giving our services? [nä qağanqa ešig küčüg berür män]*' they said. By talking in this way (among themselves), they again became hostile to the Chinese emperor. But, after they had become hostile to him, they could not form and organize themselves (i.e., the state) well, and therefore they again submitted (to the Chinese). (The Chinese), without taking into consideration the fact that (the Turkish people) *have given their services [ešig küčüg bertükgärü]* so much (to the Chinese), said: 'We shall kill and exterminate the Turkish people.'<sup>16</sup>

Tonyuquq remarked: "It was I who was (his) counselor, and it was I who was his wartime leader during these expeditions. ... Without sleeping by

<sup>12</sup> G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford 1972:611.

<sup>13</sup> Kristó op. cit., 131-133.

<sup>14</sup> Clauson defined the first element *iš* as 'work, labour' (ED:254), and the second *küč* as 'strength' (ED:693). The word *ber-* means 'to give'.

<sup>15</sup> According to Doerfer instead of the word *iš* 'work, labour' *eš* 'Pflicht' (duty) is more appropriate. G. Doerfer, "Zu alttürkisch  $Is^2g \sim s^2g$   $küčg$   $b^2Ir^2$  - 'dem H e r r s c h e r gegenüber seine Pflicht erfüllen, ihn unterstützen'": *Altaica Berolinensia. The Concept of Sovereignty in the Altaic World*. PIAC 34th Meeting. Ed. B. Kellner-Heinkele. Wiesbaden 1993:69-74.

<sup>16</sup> Tekin op. cit., 264-5; KT E 7-10.

night or getting rest by day, and letting my red blood pour and making my black sweat flow, *I gave my services [ešig küčüg bertim]* (to my kagans and people). I have sent (them) forward on far campaigns, I have made the fortifications and watchtowers great. I used to force withdrawing enemies to come (on us). I, together with my kagan, went on campaigns.”<sup>17</sup>

On the basis of the context of these passages the term *ešig küčüg ber-* means first and foremost either personal (Tonyuquq) or collective military service to the ruler. This meaning may be equivalent to the Greek *συμμαχέω* when it refers to an alliance between two unequal groups.

## 2. The virtues of a nomadic ruler

Suitability for rule was expressed by the sacrality of the dynasty as well as personal attributes.<sup>18</sup> The Hungarian leaders Lebedias and Arpad were characterized with the following words: Lebedias was “noble (*εὐγενής*) and wise (*φρόνιμος*) and valorous (*ἠνδρειωμένος*),” Arpad was “admired for wisdom (*φρόνησις*) and counsel (*βουλή*) and valour (*ἀνδρεία*).”

The kagans and high officials of the first Türk empire were described in the Köl Tegin Inscription with similar Turkic words: “Wise (*bilgä*<sup>19</sup>) kagans were they, brave (*alp*<sup>20</sup>) kagans were they. Their buyruqs, too, were wise and brave (*bilgä, alp*), indeed.”<sup>21</sup> Elterish was characterized in the Tonyuquq inscription as follows: “By virtue of his being wise and brave (*bilgäsin üčün, alpın üčün*), Elterish Kagan fought seventeen times against the Chinese<sup>22</sup>, ...” According to the Tonyuquq inscription “Their Kagan is said to be brave, and his counselor is said to be wise (*qağanı alp ermis, ayğučisi bilgä ermis*)”<sup>23</sup>.

17 Tekin op. cit., 289; T II. S 5-6, E 1-3.

18 Szűcs J., *A magyar nemzeti tudat kialakulása* (The development of the Hungarian national identity). Ed. Zimonyi I. Szeged 1992:188.

19 Clauson ED:340.

20 *alp* ‘tough, resistant, hard to overcome, brave’ Clauson ED:127-128.

21 Tekin op. cit., 264; KT E 3.

22 Tekin op. cit., 289; T II. S 4-5.

23 Tekin op. cit., 284, 286, 287; T S3, E4, N5.

The counsellor was Tonyuquq, who was called *bilgä Tonyuquq* in his inscription.<sup>24</sup>

A third term, *ärdäm* 'manly qualities, bravery'<sup>25</sup> appears three times in addition to the above-mentioned *alp* and *bilgä* in the Köli Ćor inscription: *kädim b[ängizi] alpī ärdämi anta kükädi* "His dress and [appearance], his heroism and manly qualities gained him much fame"<sup>26</sup>; *[bi]lgäsin üčün, alpīn ärdämin [üčü]n q[azg]antī* "Since he was wise, (since) he was brave and had manly qualities, (he won)<sup>27</sup>..."; *[tab]gäčqa bunča süngüsüp alpīn ärdämin üčün kü bunča tutdi* "(Köli Ćor) fought so many times against the Chinese and he gained so much fame by virtue of his courage and his manly qualities."<sup>28</sup> The words *alp* and *ärdäm* are used as hendiaduoim.

Therefore, the personal virtues attributed to the Hungarian leaders in the Greek text, i.e. wisdom (*φρόνησις*) and counsel (*βουλή*) and valour (*ἀνδρεία*) correspond on a conceptual level to the Turkic terms in the inscriptions: *bilgä* 'wise; counsellor' *alp* 'hard, difficult; brave; hero; heroism' *ärdäm* 'courage, manly qualities; brave, courageous'. It is interesting to note that the Greek *φρόνησις* 'wisdom' and *βουλή* 'counsel' can be compared with *bilgä* 'wise; counsellor' while the term *ἀνδρεία* can be linked to the Turkic *alp* and *ärdäm*.<sup>29</sup>

Constantine remarked "Because of their courage (*ἀνδρεία*) and their alliance (*συμμαχία*), the chagan-prince of Chazaria gave in marriage to the first voivode of the Turks, called Lebedias, a noble Chazar lady, because of the fame of his valour and illustriousness of his race," (*τὸ τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτοῦ περίφημον καὶ τὸ τοῦ γένους περιφανές*). In appreciation for the Hungarians' loyalty and the success of their campaigns the Chazar kagan gave a Chazar lady in marriage to the Hungarian leader, thus representing closer political ties to the Chazars. The personal merits of the Hungarian leader Lebedias, i.e. the fame of his valour and the

<sup>24</sup> Clauson noted that from the original meaning 'brave man' there developed a specific title of office 'counsellor' (ED:340).

<sup>25</sup> Clauson, ED:206-207.

<sup>26</sup> Tekin op. cit., 293; KĆ W4.

<sup>27</sup> Tekin op. cit., 293; KĆ W7.

<sup>28</sup> Tekin op. cit., 293; KĆ W12.

<sup>29</sup> The term *ärdäm* is etymologically comparable to the Greek *ἀνδρεία*, both originated from the word 'man'.

illustriousness of his race can be compared with the phrases in the Turkic inscription.

The first expression, *the fame of his valour* reflects the above-quoted Köli Čor fragments: *alpī ārdāmi anta kükādi* “his heroism and manly qualities gained him much fame<sup>30</sup>”; *[tab]gačqa bunča süngüsüp alpin ārdāmin üčün kü bunča tutdī* “(Köli Čor) fought so many times against the Chinese and he gained so much fame by virtue of his courage and his manly qualities.<sup>31</sup>”

The other expression, *the illustriousness of his race*, is ambiguous, since the Greek *ΓΕΝΟΣ* can mean either descent or clan, tribe, people. Moravcsik translated the expression as ‘splendour of his clan’.<sup>32</sup> As for the tribe, Constantine used the term *γενεά* in general, but it also means family: “so even to this day the Prince of Turkey is from his [Arpad’s] family.” The Greek *ἔθνος* denoted the nation or people. To complicate the matter the word *ΓΕΝΟΣ* is applied to the people or nation of the Hungarians in Chapter 3.<sup>33</sup> Thus, the exact meaning of *ΓΕΝΟΣ* in the expression “illustriousness of his *ΓΕΝΟΣ*” can be interpreted in two different ways: it refers to the notability of Levedi’s descent and it is identical with the term *εὐγενής* ‘noble’ enumerated among the merits of Levedias; it can be interpreted as a reference to the splendour of the Hungarian nation or people.

The second interpretation can be compared with the standard compound *türk bodun ati küsü* ‘the name and fame of the Turkic people’: “In order that the *name and fame of the Turkish people* would not perish, Heaven, which had raised my father, the kagan, and my mother, the katun, and which granted them the state, in order that *the name and fame of the Turkish people* would not perish, (the Heaven) enthroned (me). I did not become ruler over a wealthy and prosperous people at all; (on the contrary,) I became ruler over a poor and miserable people who were foodless on the inside and clothless on the outside. I and prince Kül, my younger brother, consulted together. In order that *the name and fame of the Turkish people*, which our father and uncle had won, would not perish, and for the sake of the Turkish people, I did not sleep by night and I did not relax by day.<sup>34</sup>” The expression is used three

30 Tekin op. cit., 293; KČ W4.

31 Tekin op. cit., 293; KČ W12.

32 Moravcsik, *Fontes Byzantini*, 43.

33 Moravcsik, *Fontes Byzantini*, 35.

34 Tekin op. cit., 267-268; KT E 25-27.

times in the same form: *türk bodun atı küsü yoq bolmazun* 'in order that the name and fame of the Turkic people would not perish' in connection with the successful creation and preservation of the realm of the Turkic people and his ruler.

Returning to the problem of the suitability for rule, it is worth mentioning that both Hungarian leaders, Lebedias and Arpad were in possession of personal virtues (wisdom and bravery), but noble descent (*ΕΥΓΕΝΗΣ*) was attributed only to Lebedias.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, the legitimation of Arpad's rule, besides his personal virtues, was based on the appointment of the Chazar Kagan.

### 3. ἔθος, ζάκανον — törü

Constantine describes of Arpad's installation ceremony as follows: "and so they made him prince according to the *custom*, or 'zakanon', of the Chazars, by lifting him upon a shield." The practice of lifting upon a shield was common throughout the Byzantine and Roman world and could therefore have been borrowed by the Chazars.<sup>36</sup> The expression ἔθος 'custom' and ζάκανον a Slavic loanword in Greek meaning law may reflect the Turkic word *törü* in the inscriptions.

The meaning of *törü* is the unwritten customary law, which comprises the ideas of custom and law.<sup>37</sup>

*Olurapan türk bodunıng elin törüsün tuta bermis, eti bermis* "After they [Bumin Kagan and İstämi Kagan] had become rulers, they organized and ruled the state and institutions of the Turkish people.<sup>38</sup>" *Anı ücün elig anča tutmis erinç, elig tutup törüg etmis* "For this reason, they were able to keep the state under control. Having kept the state under control, they arranged the state rules and regulations.<sup>39</sup>" *tabğaç qağanqa elin törüsün ali bermis* "they

<sup>35</sup> It is noteworthy that Tacitus wrote of the Germans: *reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt*. Cf. W. Schlesinger, "Über germanische Königtum": *Das Königtum. Seine geistigen und rechtlichen Grundlagen. Vorträge und Forschungen B III*. Sigmaringen 1956:131-132.

<sup>36</sup> Moravcsik, *Fontes Byzantini*, 45 Note 27.

<sup>37</sup> Clauson, ED:531-532.

<sup>38</sup> Tekin op. cit., 265; KT E1.

<sup>39</sup> Tekin op. cit., 264; KT E3.

consented to accept his realm (i.e. rule) and customary law from the Chinese emperor<sup>40</sup>” *yeti yüz er är bolup elsirämiš qağansiramış bodunuğ, küngedmiš quladmiš bodunuğ, türk törüsün içginmiš bodunuğ äçüm apam törüsincä yaratmiš bošğurmiš*. “After they had numbered seven hundred, (my father, the kagan,) organized and ordered the people who had lost their state and their kagan, the people who had turned slaves and servants, the people who had lost the Turkish institutions, in accordance with the rules of my ancestors.<sup>41</sup> [*elig*] *törüg qazğanip uça barmış, ... ol törüdü üze äçim qağan olurti*.” (My father, the kagan), after he had founded (such a great) empire and gained power, passed away. ... In accordance with the state rules, my uncle succeeded to the throne.<sup>42</sup> *anča qazğanmiš etmiš elimiz törümüz ärti. Türk oğuz bägläri, bodun, äsiding! Üzä tängri basmasar, asra yer tälilmäsär, türk bodun elingin törügingin käm artati?* “We had such a well-acquired and well-organized state and institutions. You, Turkish and Oguz lords and people, hear this! If the sky above did not collapse, and if the earth below did not give away, O Turkish people, who would be able to destroy your state and institutions?<sup>43</sup>”

This term was connected with the supreme ruler, the kagan and its empire (*el*) in the Turkic inscriptions and it can be interpreted as state law within the sphere of the kagan's power.<sup>44</sup> Arpad was therefore installed according to the customary state law of the Chazar Kagan.

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These corresponding notions can be interpreted as accidental, since these expressions could be applied to other peoples. The Latin *auxilia* and *foederati* or *mores* for the German tribes and kingdoms is the equivalent of the Turkic *ešig küčüg ber-* and *törü*, so such institutions might have been considered general characteristics of tribal societies at various times and locations. As for the qualities of a ruler, these expressions were applied to non-

<sup>40</sup> KT E8; Clauson, ED:122; Tekin's translation is not correct: “For the benefit of the Chinese emperor they conquered countries.” (op. cit., 264).

<sup>41</sup> Tekin op. cit., 265; KT E13.

<sup>42</sup> Tekin op. cit., 266; KT E16.

<sup>43</sup> Tekin op. cit., 267; KT E22.

<sup>44</sup> R. Giraud, *L'empire des Turcs Célestes. Les règnes d'Elterich, Qapaghan et Bilgä*. Paris 1960:71.

Christian, barbarian kings, because the Byzantine Emperor was characterised by other qualities.<sup>45</sup> So we ought to ask the question whether the expressions in question were generally used for barbarian peoples or if there is evidence that they were specially applied to the nomads of Eurasia.

The Hungarian polity was formed under the influence of the nomadic peoples of Eastern Europe, who spoke Turkic dialects. The political institutions of the Hungarian tribal confederation was built upon the Chazar example within the empire of the Chazars, which can be regarded as the successor state to the western Türk empire. The Chazars founded their empire as a consequence of the decline of the Türk empire in the first half of the 7th century.<sup>46</sup> So it is no wonder that Constantine called the Hungarians *Tourkoi*, *Türks*, while their polity was similar to that of the *Türks* and Chazars.<sup>47</sup>

Another difficulty appears if the problems arising from translations of these words are taken into consideration. The Turkic inscriptions reflect an eastern Turkic language. The formation of the Hungarian tribal confederation took place among Turkic peoples, who spoke western Turkic dialects, but the Hungarians preserved their Finno-Ugric language. The narration of the Hungarian dignitaries was probably translated in Constantinople by Slavic interpreters into Greek.

L. Ligeti published a monograph on the old Turkic loanwords in the Hungarian language.<sup>48</sup> The words in connection with virtues of the nomadic rulers and the customary law were borrowed from old Turkic.

1. Hung. *bölcs* 'wise' is from old Turkic *bögüči* 'wizard'. The term *bögü* ~ *bügü* means sorcery, sage and wizard and the Suffix *-či* is the *nomen agentis*, so its original meaning was wizard both in Turkic and in Hungarian,

<sup>45</sup> *Εὐσέβεια* (pietas), *Δικαιοσύνη* (iustitia), *φιλανθρωπία* (philanthropia), *Μεγαλοπρέπεια*, *φιλοτιμία* E. Ewig, "Zum christlichen Königsgedanken im Frühmittelalter": *Das Königtum. Seine geistigen und rechtlichen Grundlagen. Vorträge und Forschungen* B. III: Sigmaringen 1956:14; cf, also G. Rösch, "ONOMA ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ." *Studien zum offiziellen Gebrauch der Kaisertitel in spätantiker und frühbyzantinischer Zeit.* Wien 1978.

<sup>46</sup> Szűcs op. cit., 195-196.

<sup>47</sup> Róna-Tas, A., "Ethnogenese und Staatsgründung. Die türkische Komponente in der Ethnogenese des Ungartums": *Reinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Abhandlungen* 78, *Studien zur Ethnogenese*, Bd. 2:107-142; Kristó, op. cit., 68-70.

<sup>48</sup> Ligeti L., *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban* (Turkic links in the Hungarian language before the Conquest and during the Árpád period). Budapest 1986.

but after the Christianization of the Hungarians it was used as an adjective meaning wise. The root *bögü* ~ *bügü* itself had the double meanings of sorcery and wizard. Clauson drew our attention to the fact that the word *bögü* connoted both wisdom and mysterious spiritual power and it was used as a *handiadin* of *bilgä* in the Uygur texts.<sup>49</sup>

2. Hung. *bátor* 'brave' is from old Turkic *bagatur* 'hero, picked warrior, brave'. It was originally a noun and the secondary adjective was attested in the old and new Turkic languages. Ligeti pointed out, that it was used only as attribute in the Greek inscriptions of the Danubian Bulgars.<sup>50</sup>

3. Hung. *érdem* 'merit' is from old Turkic *ärdäm* 'manly qualities, esp. bravery', which is a denominal noun from *er* 'man, human male'. The Hungarian word and that of the Turkic inscriptions is the same.<sup>51</sup>

4. Hung. *törvény* 'law' meant customary, traditional, unwritten law in the Middle Ages just as the old Turkic *törü*. The Hung. *törvény* can be connected with the old Turkic *törü*, but the question of the suffix at the end of the Hungarian word requires further investigation.<sup>52</sup>

In conclusion, we can sum up the results of our investigations in the following figure:

Greek	Turkic	Hungarian
συμμαχέω, συμμαχία φρονησις βουλή ἀνδρεία	<i>ešig kücüg ber- bilgä</i> -	<i>bölcs</i> -
-	<i>alp</i> <i>ärdäm</i>	<i>bátor</i> <i>érdem</i>
τὸ τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτοῦ περίφημον τὸ τοῦ γένους περιφανές ἔθος ζάκανον	<i>alpī ärdämi anta kükädi</i>  <i>türk bodun atī küsü</i>  <i>törü</i> -	     <i>törvény</i> -

<sup>49</sup> Clauson, ED:324; *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára* (A historico-etymological dictionary of the Hungarian language). I-IV. Szerk. (Ed.) Benkó L. Budapest 1967-1984 = TESz I:360-361; Ligeti op. cit., 57, 272.

<sup>50</sup> Clauson, ED:313; TESz I:258; Ligeti op. cit., 66, 469-470.

<sup>51</sup> Clauson, ED:206-207; TESz I:781; Ligeti, op. cit., 30.

<sup>52</sup> Szűcs op. cit., 255-256; Clauson, ED:531-532; TESz III:975.

The testimony of the old Turkic loanwords in Hungarian corroborate our assumption that Hungarian polity as reflected in the Greek text by Constantine Porphyrogenitus was an integral part of the Chazar empire, and through it the nomadic world of Eurasia. The notions investigated above can be rightly compared with those of the Türk empire, whose history was preserved partly in their indigenous language. These political institutions flourished among the Hungarians in the middle of the 10th century after the conquest in 895, which was a turning point in the history of the Hungarians, as they lost their close contact with Turkic peoples of the southern Russian steppe.



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