

A HISTORY  
OF THE  
EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE

FROM THE FALL OF IRENE TO THE  
ACCESSION OF BASIL I.

(A.D. 802-867)

BY

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MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED  
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON

1912

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## CHAPTER XIII

### THE EMPIRE OF THE KHAZARS AND THE PEOPLES OF THE NORTH

#### § 1. *The Khazars*

AT the beginning of the ninth century the Eastern Empire had two dependencies, remote and isolated, which lived outside the provincial organization, and were governed by their own magistrates, Venice and Cherson. We have seen how Venice, in the reign of Theophilus, virtually became independent of Constantinople; under the same Emperor, the condition of Cherson was also changed, but in a very different sense—it was incorporated in the provincial system. The chief value of both cities to the Empire was commercial; Venice was an intermediary for Byzantine trade with the West, while Cherson was the great centre for the commerce of the North. And both cities lay at the gates of other empires, which were both an influence and a menace. If the people of the lagoons had to defend themselves against the Franks, the Chersonites had as good reason to fear the Khazars.

In the period with which we are concerned, it is probable that the Khan of the Khazars was of little less importance in the view of the Imperial foreign policy than Charles the Great and his successors. The marriage of an Emperor to the daughter of a Khazar king had signalised in the eighth century that Byzantium had interests of grave moment in this quarter of the globe, where the Khazars had formed a powerful and organized state, exercising control or influence over the barbarous peoples which surrounded them.

Their realm extended from the Caucasus northward to the Volga and far up the lower reaches of that river; it included

the basin of the Don, it reached westward to the banks of the Dnieper, and extended into the Tauric Chersonese. In this empire were included peoples of various race—the Inner Bulgarians, the Magyars, the Burdās, and the Goths of the Crimea; while the Slavonic state of Kiev paid a tribute to the Chagan. The Caucasian range divided the Khazars from Iberia and the dependencies of the Caliphate; towards the Black Sea their neighbours were the Alans and the Abasgi; the Dnieper bounded their realm on the side of Great Bulgaria; in the north their neighbours were the Bulgarians of the Volga, and in the east the Patzinaks. All these folks came within the view of Byzantine diplomacy; some of them were to play an important part in the destinies of the Eastern Empire.

The capital of the ruling people was situated on the Caspian Sea, at the mouths of the Volga, and was generally known as Itil.<sup>1</sup> It was a double town built of wood. The western town was named Saryg-shār, or Yellow City, in which the Chagan resided during the winter; over against it was the eastern town of Chamlich or Khazarān, in which were the quarters of the Mohammadan and the Scandinavian merchants. Chamlich seems to have lain on the eastern bank of the eastern branch of the river, while Saryg-shār was built on the island and on the western shore of the western mouth, the two portions being connected by a bridge of boats; so that Itil is sometimes described as consisting of three towns.<sup>2</sup> The island was covered with the fields and vineyards and gardens of the Chagan.

Three other important towns or fortresses of the Khazars lay between Itil and the Caspian gates. *Semender* was situated at the mouth of the Terek stream at Kizliar.<sup>3</sup> It was a place rich in vineyards, with a considerable Mohammadan population,

<sup>1</sup> The name of the Volga. The western arm of the delta was called Ugru (Westberg would read *Ulug*), the eastern Buzan. See Westberg, *K. analizu*, ii. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Rusta and Ibn Fadhlān speak of two towns or parts of the town (the former designates the eastern as Habu balyg). Masudi (Sprenger, 406-407) speaks of three parts, and places the King's palace in the island. This agrees with the Letter of Joseph, where

three towns are mentioned: in the largest of them is the Queen's palace, in the smallest the King's palace, between (? around) whose walls flows the river. See Marquart, *Streifzüge*, rlii. Saryg-shār was called al-Baidhā ("the white") by older Arabic writers (Westberg, *op. cit.* ii. 14). Westberg has shown that the later name of Itil was Saksin (*ib.* 37 *sqq.*, and *Beiträge*, ii. 288 *sqq.*).

<sup>3</sup> Westberg, *K. analizu*, ii. 41 *sqq.*

who lived in wooden houses with convex roofs.<sup>1</sup> The fortress of *Belenjer*, which lay on the lower course of the Sulek, on the road which leads southward from Kizliar to Petrovsk,<sup>2</sup> seems to have played some part in the earlier wars between the Khazars and the Saracens.<sup>3</sup> Further south still was the town of *Tarku*, on the road to Kaiakend and the Caspian gates.<sup>4</sup>

The Arabic writers to whom we owe much of our knowledge of Khazaria suggest a picture of agricultural and pastoral prosperity. The Khazars were extensive sheep-farmers;<sup>5</sup> their towns were surrounded by gardens and vineyards; they were rich in honey and wax; and had abundance of fish. The richest pastures and most productive lands in their country were known as the Nine Regions, and probably lay in the modern districts of Kuban and Ter.<sup>6</sup> The king and his court wintered in Itil, but in the spring they went forth and encamped in the plains.<sup>7</sup> According to one report, the Chagan had twenty-five wives, each the daughter of a king, and sixty concubines eminent for their beauty. Each of them had a house of her own, a *qubba* covered with teakwood, surrounded by a large pavilion, and each was jealously guarded by a eunuch who kept her from being seen.<sup>8</sup> But at a later period a Chagan boasts of his queen, her maidens, and eunuchs, and we are left to wonder whether polygamy had been renounced or was deliberately concealed.<sup>9</sup>

The Chagan himself seems to have taken no direct share in the administration of the state or the conduct of war. His sacred person was almost inaccessible; when he rode abroad, all those who saw him prostrated themselves on the ground and did not rise till he had passed out of sight. On his death, a great sepulchre was built with twenty chambers, suspended

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Haukal and Istachri describe it; see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, xlii. n. 3, and i-2. Istachri says that it was governed by a prince who was a Jew and related to the Chagan. This refers to a period after the conversion to Judaism.

<sup>2</sup> Westberg, *ib.*

<sup>3</sup> For the evidence see Marquart, *op. cit.* 16-17. He wrongly identifies Tarku with Somender.

<sup>4</sup> Westberg, *ib.*

<sup>5</sup> Westberg, *op. cit.* ii. 13.

<sup>6</sup> τὰ ἐννέα κλίματα τῆς Χαζαρίας, from which was derived ἡ πᾶσα ζωὴ καὶ ἀφθασία τῆς X.; they were on the side towards the land of the Alans (see below). Const. *De adm. imp.* 80.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. Gurdizi, p. 96 (tr. Barthold). See also *der chaz. Königsbrief*, 80.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. Ibn Fadhlān (*Vet. Mem.*, 592; Marquart, xlii. n. 2. When the Chagan wished to embrace one of his consorts, her eunuch took her in an instant to his *qubba*, waited outside, and then reconducted her.

<sup>9</sup> *Der chaz. Königsbrief*, 79.

over a stream, so that neither devils nor men nor worms might be able to penetrate it. The mausoleum was called *paradise*, and those who deposited his body in one of its recesses were put to death, that the exact spot in which he was laid might never be revealed. A rider who passed it by dismounted, and did not remount until the tomb could be no longer seen. When a new Chagan ascended the throne, a silk cord was bound tightly round his neck and he was required to declare how long he wished to reign; when the period which he mentioned had elapsed, he was put to death. But it is uncertain how far we can believe the curious stories of the Arabic travellers, from whom these details are derived.<sup>1</sup>

We have no information at what time the active authority of the Chagan was exchanged for this divine nullity, or why he was exalted to a position, resembling that of the Emperor of Japan, in which his existence, and not his government, was considered essential to the prosperity of the State. The labours of government were fulfilled by a Beg or viceroy,<sup>2</sup> who commanded the army, regulated the tribute, and presided over the administration. He appeared in the presence of the Chagan with naked feet, and lit a torch; when the torch had burnt out he was permitted to take his seat at the right hand of the monarch. When evil times befell, the people held the Chagan responsible and called upon the Beg to put him to death; the Beg sometimes complied with their demand.<sup>3</sup> The commander of an army who suffered defeat was cruelly treated: his wife, children, and property were sold before his eyes, and he was either executed or degraded to menial rank.<sup>4</sup>

The most remarkable fact in the civilisation of this Turkish people was the conversion of the Chagan and the upper rank of society to Judaism. The religion of the Hebrews had exercised a profound influence on the creed of Islam, and it had been a basis of Christianity; it had won scattered prose-

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Fadhlān, *ib.* 592-593. He is called by Arabic writers the *ishād* (Gurdizi, tr. Barthold, 120; *isha*, Ibn Rustā; = *āl-shād*, cp. Marquart, *op. cit.* 24). But he was probably also known as the *bul-khan*, see below, p. 406, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Const. *De adm. imp.* 178, δ γάρ

καγάρως ἐκείνος καὶ ὁ πρέχ Χαζάριας (text δ καὶ πρέχ erroneously, which we could correct even without the right reading in *Cont. T.* 122). Ibn Fadhlān, *ib.* 592. Cp. Masudi (Sprenger), 410.

<sup>3</sup> Masudi, *ib.* 411.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Fadhlān, *ib.* 593.

lytes; but the conversion of the Khazars to the undiluted religion of Jehovah is unique in history. The date of this event has been disputed, and the evidence variously assigns it to the first half of the eighth century or to the beginning of the ninth.<sup>1</sup> There can be no question that the ruler was actuated by political motives in adopting Judaism. To embrace Mohammadanism would have made him the spiritual dependent of the Caliphs, who attempted to press their faith on the Khazars, and in Christianity lay the danger of his becoming an ecclesiastical vassal of the Roman Empire. Judaism was a reputable religion with sacred books which both Christian and Mohammadan respected; it elevated him above the heathen barbarians, and secured him against the interference of Caliph or Emperor. But he did not adopt, along with circumcision, the intolerance of the Jewish cult. He allowed the mass of his people to abide in their heathendom and worship their idols.<sup>2</sup>

The circumstances of the conversion are as uncertain as the date. Joseph, the Chagan whose Hebrew letter to the Rabbi Chisdai of Cordova in the tenth century is preserved, states that the Roman Emperor and the Caliph, whom he respectively styles the King of Edom and the King of the Ishmaelites, sent embassies laden with rich gifts and accompanied by theological sages, to induce his ancestor to embrace their civilisations. The prince found a learned Israelite and set him to dispute with the foreign theologians. When he saw that they could

<sup>1</sup> For the former date, our authority is the Khazar tradition preserved in the Letter of Joseph; it is supported by Westberg, *K. anal.* ii. 34. For the latter (reign of Harun), Masudi (Sprenger), 407. According to Joseph, the name of the King who was converted was *Bulan*, who passed through the Gates of Dariel and reached the land of Ardebil. We know from Arabic and Armenian sources that such an expedition was conducted by *Bulkhan* in A.D. 731. *Bulkhan* was the major-domo (ῥέχ), as Westberg says; and we may suspect that this was his title, not his name. Marquart (who denies the genuineness of Joseph's Letter) places the conversion to Judaism in the second half of the ninth century, after the mission of Constantine (*Streifzüge*, 5-17), on the ground that

in the accounts of that mission the Chagan is not represented as a Jew. But the Arabic accounts of the Khazars (Ibn Rusta, etc.), which depend on an older source prior to A.D. 850, assume the Judaism of the Khazars at that time. Marquart endeavours to explain away this evidence by assuming that it is a later addition of an intermediate source, Gaihani. The passage which he cites from the commentary on Matthew by Druthmar (on Matt. 24, 34, *Max. bibl. veterum patrum Lugdun.* xv. 158, 1677), who was writing soon after the conversion of the Bulgarians, proves nothing as to the chronology, except that the conversion of the Khazars was prior to A.D. 865, the date of the conversion of the Bulgarians. Cp. Westberg, *op. cit.* 36.

<sup>2</sup> So Gurdizi and Ibn Rusta.

not agree on a single point, he said, "Go to your tents and return on the third day." On the morrow, the Chagan sent for the Christian and asked him, "Which is the better faith, that of Israel or that of Islam?" and he replied, "There is no law in the world like that of Israel." On the second day the Chagan sent for the learned Mohammadan and said, "Tell me the truth, which law seems to you the better, that of Israel or that of the Christians?" And the Mohammadan replied, "Assuredly that of Israel." Then on the third day the Chagan called them all together and said, "You have proved to me by your own mouths that the law of Israel is the best and purest of the three, and I have chosen it."<sup>1</sup>

The truth underlying this tradition—which embodies the actual relation of Judaism to the two other religions—seems to be that endeavours were made to convert the Chagans both to Christianity and to Islam. And, as a matter of fact, in the reign of Leo III. the Caliph Marwan attempted to force the faith of Mohamammad upon the Khazars, and perhaps succeeded for a moment. He invaded their land in A.D. 737, and marching by Belenjer and Semender, advanced to Itil. The Chagan was at his mercy, and obtained peace only by consenting to embrace Islam.<sup>2</sup> As Irene, who married the Emperor Constantine V., must have been the daughter or sister of this Chagan, it is clear that in this period there were circumstances tending to draw the Khazars in the opposite directions of Christ and Mohamammad. And this is precisely the period to which the evidence of the Letter of Joseph seems to assign the conversion to Judaism. We may indeed suspect that Judaism was first in possession—a conclusion which the traditional

<sup>1</sup> *Der chaz. Königsbrief*, 74 sqq. In its main tenor this story coincides with that told by Bakri (whose source here Marquart considers to be Masudi, *Streifzüge*, 7). The Chagan had adopted Christianity, but found it to be a corrupt religion. He sent for a Christian bishop, who, questioned by a Jewish dialectician in the king's presence, admitted that the Law of Moses was true. He also sent for a Mohammadan sage, but the Jew contrived to have him poisoned on his journey. The Jew then succeeded in converting the king to the Mosaic religion. It is clear that the same

tradition, recorded by Joseph, has been modified, in the Arabic source, in a sense unfavourable to Christianity and favourable to Islam. In the twelfth century the Spanish poet Juda Halevi wrote a curious philosophical religious work in the form of a dialogue between a king of the Khazars and a Jewish rabbi. It has been translated into English by H. Hirschfeld (*Judah Halevi's Kitab al Khazari*, 1905).

<sup>2</sup> Baladhuri, *apud* Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 12. The invasion of Marwan was a reprisal for an expedition of Khazars, who in A.D. 730 penetrated to Adarbeyan.



story *unintentionally* suggests.<sup>1</sup> The Jewish influence in Khazaria was due to the encouragement given by the Chagans to Hebrew merchants.<sup>2</sup> Of the Jewish port of Tamatarkha more will be said presently; and we may notice the Jewish population at Jundār, a town in the Caucasus, which was governed in the ninth century by a relation of the Chagan, who is said to have prayed impartially with the Moslems on Friday, with the Jews on Saturday, and with the Christians on Sunday.<sup>3</sup>

Somewhat later in the eighth century a princess of the Khazars married the Saracen governor of Armenia, and there was peace on the southern frontier till the reign of Harun al-Rashid.<sup>4</sup> In A.D. 798 another marriage alliance was arranged between a daughter of the Chagan and one of the powerful family of the Barmecides. The lady died in Albania on the way to her bridal, and the officers who were in charge of her reported to her father their suspicion that she had been poisoned. The suggestion infuriated the Chagan, and in the following year the Khazars invaded Armenia, by the Gates of Derbend, and returned with an immense booty in captives.<sup>5</sup> Then Harun's son, Mamun, carried his arms victoriously into the land of the Khazars.<sup>6</sup>

## § 2. *The Subjects and Neighbours of the Khazars*

The Khazars had never succeeded in extending their lordship over their neighbours the ALANS, whose territory extended from the Caucasus to the banks of the river Kuban and was bounded on the west by the Euxine. The Alans, who

<sup>1</sup> The Jewish rabbi who disputes is already on the spot. The Letter of Joseph gives the date as about 340 years before his own time (c. A.D. 960). 340 is clearly corrupt, and if we read 240 with Westberg (*op. cit.* ii. 84), we get c. A.D. 720 as the date.

<sup>2</sup> In the ninth century, Ibn Khurdadhbeh mentions that Jewish merchants from Spain used to come regularly overland, through the country of the Slavs, to the capital of the Khazars (Chamlich). Marquart, *op. cit.* 24.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Rusta and Gurdizi, 190; Marquart, *op. cit.* 20.

<sup>4</sup> Baladhuri (Marquart, *op. cit.* 37).

<sup>5</sup> Marquart, *ib.* 5.

<sup>6</sup> The authority is Mukaddasi, who says that Mamun required the Chagan to embrace Islam (Marquart, *ib.* 3). Mamun governed Khurasan, under his father, from A.D. 799. He was also in Khurasan, as Caliph, between A.D. 813 and 818. Marquart does not decide the date of the campaign in Khazaria. It is natural to suppose that it was the reply to the Khazar invasion of A.D. 799, and to assign it to the earlier period; but cf. Marquart, 476.

have survived to the present day under the name of the Ossetians, were a mainly pastoral people; their army consisted in cavalry; and they had a fortress, which was virtually impregnable, at the so-called Alan-gate of the Caucasus or Pass of Dariel.<sup>1</sup> We are told that the habitations of the people were so close together that when a cock crowed in one place he was answered by all the cocks in the rest of the kingdom. At some time before the tenth century the king adopted Christianity, but the mass of his subjects remained heathen.<sup>2</sup> He received his Christianity from Constantinople, and the Emperors appropriated to him the special title of *exusiastes*.<sup>3</sup> Between the Alans and the Khazars were the habitations of the SARIRS, a heathen people whose name does not come into the annals of Byzantium.<sup>4</sup>

North of the Alans, between the rivers Kuban and Don, the territory of the Khazars extended to the shores of the Maeotic lake,<sup>5</sup> and at the mouth of that water they possessed the important town of Tamatarkha, the modern Taman, which had arisen close to the ancient Phanagoria, over against the city of Bosphoros on the other side of the straits. The commercial importance of Tamatarkha, which had a large Jewish population, will claim our attention presently. Bosphoros itself, the ancient Pantikapaion, was under the control of the Khazars, and the Tetraxite Goths, who occupied the greater part of the Crimea, were subject to their sway. The Gothic capital, Doras, had been taken by the Khazars before A.D. 787, and in the following years the Goths, under the leadership of their bishop, had made an attempt to throw off the yoke of their powerful neighbours.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For descriptions of the Alans, see Gurdizi and Ibn Rusta, 193-194, and Masudi (Sprenger), 434 sqq. Cp. Marquart, *op. cit.* 164 sqq. The King's title was *baghāyār* (Ibn R.) or *karkundāj* (Mas.). Arabic writers call the Alans Naudar, or Tūlash (?), with the second part of which Marquart connects the Georgian name *Ovsi* (= Old Russian *Fasi*), whence the modern *Ossetian*.

<sup>2</sup> That the Alans were still pagans in the ninth century is shown by Kulakovski, *Viz. Vrem.* v. 1 sqq. (1898).

<sup>3</sup> Constantine, *Cer.* 688. He was a spiritual son of the Emperors (*πνευματικὸν ἡμῶν τέκνον*).

<sup>4</sup> Of the Sarirs an account is preserved by Ibn Rusta and Gurdizi (187 sqq.), derived from their common ninth-century source.

<sup>5</sup> This country had been the habitation of the Utigurs—the *παλαιὰ Βουλγαρία* of Theophanes and Nicephorus. Cp. Marquart, *op. cit.* 503. After the sixth century we hear nothing more of this people, but their descendants may have still been there, though of no political importance.

<sup>6</sup> Shestakov, *Pamiatniki*, 35 sq. *Viz. Joann. ep. Gottliciae*, 191. The bishop John was taken prisoner, but succeeded in escaping to Amastria.

North of the Don and extending to the banks of the Dnieper were the tents and hunting-grounds of the **MAGYARS** or Hungarians.<sup>1</sup> The continuous history of this Finnish people, who lived by hunting and fishing,<sup>2</sup> begins in the ninth century, and if we think we can recognise it under other names in the days of Attila and the early migrations, our conclusions are more or less speculative. It is, however, highly probable that the Magyars had lived or wandered for centuries in the regions of the Volga, had bowed to the sway of the great Hun, and had been affected by the manners of their Turkish neighbours.<sup>3</sup> They spoke a tongue closely akin to those of the Finns, the Ostyaks, the Voguls, and the Samoyeds, but it is likely that even before the ninth century it had been modified, in its vocabulary, by Turkish influence.<sup>4</sup> A branch of the people penetrated in the eighth century south of the Caucasus, and settled on the river Cyrus, east of Tiflis and west of Partav, where they were known to the Armenians by the name of Sevordik or "Black children."<sup>5</sup> These Black Hungarians, in the ninth century, destroyed the town of Shamkor, and the governor of Armenia re-peopled it with Khazars who had been converted to Islam (A.D. 854-855).<sup>6</sup>

On the northern shore of the Sea of Azov, and extending towards the Dnieper, was the land of the Inner or **BLACK BULGARIANS**,<sup>7</sup> which thus lay between the Magyars and the

<sup>1</sup> For criticism of the Arabic sources (Gurdizi, etc.) see Westberg, *op. cit.* 20 sqq., *Beitr.* i. 24 sqq. Marquart, (*op. cit.* 30-31, 516) places the Hungarians between the Don and the Kuban, but his interpretation has been refuted by Westberg.

<sup>2</sup> Regino, *s.a.* 889, p. 132, ed. Kurze. This is an insertion of Regino in his general description which is transcribed from Justinus, ii. 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> Marquart finds their ancestors in the Akatzirs (cp. Priscus, fr. 8 in *F.H.G.* iv. 89; Jordanes, *Get.* c. 5) and the Unigurs (*op. cit.* 40 sqq.); but see the important work of K. Némäti, *Nagy-Magyarország ismeretlen történelmi okmányai* (1911), where the passage in the *Origines* of Isidore of Seville (ix. 2, § 66, in Migne, *P.L.* 82, 334) is fully discussed. He likewise identifies them with the Unigurs.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Marquart, 53. The basis of the Hungarian language was Ugrian,

but it was profoundly modified by Turkish. The well-known attempt of Vámbéry to prove that it was originally a Turkish tongue (in his *A magyarok eredete*) has not convinced me, nor has it persuaded Marquart, who has pertinent observations on the subject (49).

<sup>5</sup> Constantine, *Cer.* 687 *eis toús γ' ἀρχοντας τῶν Σεβροτιῶν* (leg. *Σεβροτιῶν*, Marquart) τῶν λεγομένων μαύρα παιδιά. Hence Marquart explains *Σαβάραι* *ἄσφαλοι*, said in *De adm. imp.* 169 to be the old name of the Hungarians, as "the lower Sevordik" (*op. cit.* 39-40); -ordik, children, he considers only an Armenian transformation by popular etymology of Orgik = Ugrians. See also W. Pécz in *B.Z.* vii. 201-202, 618-619.

<sup>6</sup> For this we have the good authority of Baladhuri, who calls the Sevordik *Sāvardī*. Marquart, *ib.* 36.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 337.

Goths. The lower Dnieper seems to have formed the western boundary of the Khazar Empire, but their influence extended up that river, over some of the Eastern Slavs. The Slavs round Kiev<sup>1</sup> paid at one time tribute to the Chagan, who perhaps ensured them against the depredations of the Magyars.

On the central Volga was the extensive territory of the BURDĀS,<sup>2</sup> who were subject to the Khazars, and formed a barrier against the Outer Bulgarians, their northern neighbours, whose dominion lay on the Volga and its tributary the Kama, including the modern province of Kasan.<sup>3</sup>

If the Burdās served the Khazars as a barrier against the northern Bulgarians, they were also useful in helping to hold the PATZINAKS in check. This savage people possessed a wide dominion between the Volga and the Ural; their neighbours were, to the north-west the Burdās, to the north the Kipchaks, to the east the Uzes, to the south-west the Khazars. It would seem that some of their hordes pressed early in the ninth century, west of the Volga, into the basin of the Don, and became the formidable neighbours of the most easterly Slavonic tribes.<sup>4</sup>

### § 3. *The Russians and their Commerce*

Such, in the early part of the ninth century, was the general chart of the Turkish Empire of the Khazars, their clients, and their neighbours. Before we consider the import of this primitive world for the foreign policy of the Roman Empire, it is necessary to glance at yet another people, which was destined in the future to form the dominant state in the region of the Euxine and which, though its home still lay beyond

<sup>1</sup> The Poliane; see below, p. 412. Constantine, *De adm. imp.* 75, mentions that Kiev was called Samhatas (which has not been satisfactorily explained; cp. Westberg, *K. anal.* ii. 12; Marquart, 198). The capital of the Slavs, called Jirbab or Hruab by Ibn Rusta (179), Jirant by Gurdizi (178), is probably Kiev, and Westberg (*ib.* 24) would read in the texts *Chāyab*.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Rusta and Gurdizi, 158 sqq. For the orthography see Westberg, *K. anal.* ii. 14. He distinguishes the Burdās from the Mordvins, and shows that the river Burdās means the central course of the Volga, not a

tributary (*ib.* 19, and i. 385). Cp. Masudi (Sprenger) 412, and see Marquart, xxxiii. and 336.

<sup>3</sup> From their chief town, Bulgar, the Bulgarians could sail down the Volga to Itil in less than three weeks (Ibn Fadlan, 202).

<sup>4</sup> For the boundaries of the Patzinaks according to the early Arabic source of the ninth century, see Westberg, *K. anal.* ii. 16 sqq., *Beitr.* i.:212-213. The Patzinaks or Pechenegs were known to the Slavs as the *Polotsi*, the name they bear in the Chronicle of Pseudo-Nestor.

the horizon of Constantinople and Itil, was already known to those cities by the ways of commerce. The RUSSIANS or Rūs were Scandinavians of Eastern Sweden who, crossing the Baltic and sailing into the Gulf of Finland, had settled on Lake Ilmen, where they founded the island town, known as Novgorod, the Holmgard of Icelandic Saga, at the point where the river Volkhov issues from the northern waters of the lake.<sup>1</sup> They were active traders, and they monopolized all the traffic of north-eastern Europe with the great capitals of the south, Constantinople, Baghdad, and Itil. Their chief wares were the skins of the castor and the black fox, swords, and men. The Slavs were their natural prey;<sup>2</sup> they used to plunder them in river expeditions, and often carry them off, to be transported and sold in southern lands. Many of the Slavs used to purchase immunity by entering into their service. The Russians did not till the soil, and consequently had no property in land; when a son was born, his father, with a drawn sword in his hand, addressed the infant: "I leave thee no inheritance; thou shalt have only what thou winnest by this sword." They were, in fact, a settlement of

<sup>1</sup> The following account of the Russians and their commerce is derived from the early Arabic source and from the somewhat later book of Ibn Khurdadhbih, as elucidated by Westberg, *K. anal.* ii. 23 sqq. and i. 372 sqq. As for the Scandinavian (Swedish) origin of the Russians (Rūs 'Ρῶς), the evidence is overwhelming, and it is now admitted by all competent investigators. The theory that they were Slavs—of which Ilvoaiski was the ablest exponent—was crushingly refuted by Pogodin, Kunik, and Thomsen. The "Norman" or "Varangian" question which raged in Russia at one time is no longer *sub iudice*. For a full examination of the data, the English reader should consult Thomsen's *Ancient Russia* (see Bibliography, ii. 5). The theory propounded by Vasil'evski, in his old age, that the Russians were (Crimean) Goths, and that Ρῶς is a corruption of *ραυ-ροσ-κόθαι*, may be mentioned as a curiosity.

<sup>2</sup> The general disposition of the Slavonic tribes, as the Russians found them, seems to have been as follows: the Krivichi (Κριβιτῆαι, Constantine,

*De adm. imp.* 79), south of Novgorod, towards Smolensk; the Viatichi, on the river Oka, south of Moscow; the Radimishchi, on the river Sozh', east of the Dnieper; the Siever, on the river Desna, which joins the Dnioper north of Kiev; the Poliane ("plainmen"), probably west of Kiev; the Drievliane ("men of the woods"; Δριβλιῆναι, *Const. op. cit.* 166), perhaps north of the Poliane; the Dregovichi (Δρουγουβίται, *ib.* 79), between the rivers Pripet and Dniina; also the Tiver'tsi, on the Dniester (whom Schafarik, ii. 133, finds in Constantine, *ib.*, reading τῶν Τεβερτιάνων for τῶν τε Β.) and their neighbours the Uglichi (identified by Schafarik with Constantine's Οὐλιτῆναι, *ib.* 166); the Bujani, so called from their habitation on the river Bug. Schafarik (ii. 113) explains Constantine's Δερζανῖναι (*loc. cit.*) as Luchane, whom he considers a portion of the Krivitsi. The localities of these tribes are mainly determined by the data in Pseudo-Nestor. See further Schafarik, ii. sect. 28, and *op.* the relevant articles in Legor's Index to his *Chronique de Nestor*.

military merchants—it is said their numbers were 100,000—living by plunder and trade. They had a chief who received a tithe from the merchants.<sup>1</sup>

The Russian traders carried their wares to the south by two river routes, the Dnieper and the Volga. The voyage down the Dnieper was beset by some difficulties and dangers.<sup>2</sup> The boats of the Russians were canoes,<sup>3</sup> and were renewed every year. They rowed down as far as Kiev in the boats of the last season, and here they were met by Slavs, who, during the winter had cut down trees in the mountains and made new boats, which they brought down to the Dnieper and sold to the merchants. The gear and merchandise were transhipped, and in the month of June they sailed down to the fort of Vytyshev,<sup>4</sup> where they waited till the whole flotilla was assembled.<sup>5</sup> South of the modern Ekaterinoslav the Dnieper forces its way for some sixty miles through high walls of granite rock, and descends in a succession of waterfalls which offer a tedious obstacle to navigation.<sup>6</sup> The Slavs had their own names for these falls, which the Russians rendered into Norse. For instance, *Vlnyi-prag'* was translated literally by *Baru-fors*, both names meaning "billowy waterfall,"<sup>7</sup> and this "force" is still called *Volnyi*, "the billowy." In some cases the navigators, having unloaded the boats, could guide them through the fall; in others it was necessary to transport them, as well as their freights, for a considerable distance. This passage could not safely be made except in a formidable com-

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic writers designate him the Chagan of the Russians, and so he is called (*chaganus*) in *Ann. Bert.*, s.a. 839. This Turkish title was evidently applied to him by the Khazars, and was adopted from them by the Arabs and perhaps by the Greeks (in the letter of Theophilus to Lewis?).

<sup>2</sup> The following account is derived from Constantine, *De adm. imp.* c. 9. Though composed at a later time, when the Patzinaks were in the neighbourhood of the Dnieper, it obviously applies to the earlier period too.

<sup>3</sup> μονόπλανα, "one-plankers."

<sup>4</sup> Вѣтѣбѣ. The name still exists.

<sup>5</sup> Constantine says that the merchants came not only from Novgorod, but also from Miliniska (Smolensk),

Chernigov, Vyshegrad, and Teliutsa (Liubech), but it is uncertain whether any of these settlements were prior to the settlement at Kiev.

<sup>6</sup> There are eleven *porogi* (waterfalls extending over the whole bed of the river), of which Constantine enumerates seven, and six *zabori* (only partial obstructions).

<sup>7</sup> The fifth in Constantine's enumeration: Βουλνηπράχ, Βαρουφόρος (*volna* is the Russian, *bára* the Old Norse, for "wave"). All the names are not quite so clear, but they have been explained, some with certainty, others probably, by Thomsen, *op. cit.* Lect. ii. These double names are one of the most important items in the overwhelming evidence for the fact that the Russians were Scandinavians.

pany; a small body would have fallen a prey to predatory nomads like the Hungarians and the Patziuks. On reaching the Black Sea, they could coast westwards to Varna and Mesembria, but their usual route was to Cherson. There they supplied the demands of the Greek merchants, and then rounding the south of the peninsula, reached the Khazar town of Tamatarkha, where they could dispose of the rest of their merchandise to the Jewish traders, who in their turn could transport it to Itil, or perhaps to Armenia and Baghdad. But the Russians could also trade directly with Itil and Baghdad. The Volga carried them to Itil, where they lodged in the eastern town; then they embarked on the Caspian Sea and sailed to various ports within the Saracen dominion; sometimes from Jurjan they made the journey with camels to Baghdad, where Slavonic eunuchs served as their interpreters.

This commerce was of high importance both to the Emperor and to the Chagan, not only in itself, but because the Emperor levied a tithe at Cherson on all the wares which passed through to Tamatarkha, and the Chagan exacted the same duty on all that passed through Chamlich to the dominion of the Saracens. The identity of the amount of the duties, ten per cent, was the natural result of the conditions.

#### § 4. *Imperial Policy. The Russian Danger*

The first principle of Imperial policy in this quarter of the world was the maintenance of peace with the Khazars. This was the immediate consequence of the geographical position of the Khazar Empire, lying as it did between the Dnieper and the Caucasus, and thus approaching the frontiers of the two powers which were most formidable to Byzantium, the Bulgarians and the Saracens. From the seventh century, when Heraclius had sought the help of the Khazars against Persia, to the tenth, in which the power of Itil declined, this was the constant policy of the Emperors. The Byzantines and the Khazars, moreover, had a common interest in the development of commerce with Northern Europe; it was to the advantage of the Empire that the Chagan should exercise an effective control over his barbarian neighbours, that his influence should be felt in the basin of the Dnieper, and that

this route should be kept free for the trade of the north. It is not improbable that attempts had been made to convert the Khazars to Christianity, for no means would have been more efficacious for securing Byzantine influence at Itil. The Chagans were not impressed by the religion of Christ; but it was at least a matter for satisfaction at Byzantium that they remained equally indifferent to the religion of Mohammad.

While the relations of Constantinople and Itil were generally peaceful, there were, however, possibilities of war. The two powers were neighbours in the Crimea. We have seen how the sway of the Khazars extended over the Crimean Goths and the city of Bosphoros or Kerch, and it was their natural ambition to extend it over the whole peninsula, and annex Cherson. The loss of Cherson, the great commercial port and market-place in the north-east, would have been a sensible blow to the Empire. There were other forts in the peninsula, in the somewhat mysterious Roman territory or frontier which was known as the *Klimata* or Regions.<sup>1</sup> The business of defence was left entirely to the Chersonites; there was no Imperial officer or Imperial troops to repel the Khazars, who appear to have made raids from time to time. But Imperial diplomacy, in accordance with the system which had been elaborated by Justinian, discovered another method of checking the hostilities of the Khazars. The plan was to cultivate the friendship of the Alans, whose geographical position enabled them to harass the march of a Khazar army to the Crimea and to make reprisals by plundering the most fertile parts of the Khazar country. Thus in the calculations of Byzantine diplomacy the Alans stood for a check on the Khazars.<sup>2</sup>

The situation at Cherson and the movements in the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Constantine, *De adm. imp.* 80, 17, 180<sub>22</sub>. In the Fragments of the Toparcha Gothicus a single fort was called *Kλῆμαρα* (some think this the right orthography), and Westberg proposes to identify it with the Gothic fortress Doras. See Westberg's ed. of the Fragments (*Zap. imp. Ak. Nauk*, v. 2, 1901) pp. 83 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> This principle of policy is stated by Constantine VII. in the tenth

century, *De adm. imp.* 80, but it was equally applicable to the eighth or ninth. Constantine also points out that the Black Bulgarians could be used against the Khazars (*ib.* 81); and also the Uzes (80), who, however, were not on the horizon of Byzantium in the ninth century. The Patzinaks would have been available, if the Emperors had had cause to approach them.



surrounding countries must have constantly engaged the attention of the Imperial government, but till the reign of Theophilus no important event is recorded. This Emperor received (c. A.D. 833) an embassy from the Chagan and the Beg or chief minister of the Khazars, requesting him to build a fort for them close to the mouth of the Don,<sup>1</sup> and perhaps this fort was only to be the most important part of a long line of defence extending up that river and connected by a fosse with the Volga.<sup>2</sup> Theophilus agreed to the Chagan's proposal. He entrusted the execution of the work to an officer of spatharo-candidate rank, Petronas Kamateros, who sailed for Cherson with an armament of ships of the Imperial fleet, where he met another contingent of vessels supplied by the Katepano or governor of Paphlagonia.<sup>3</sup> The troops were re-embarked in ships of burden, which bore them through the straits of Bosphoros to the spot on the lower Don where this stronghold was to be built. As there was no stone in the place, kilns were constructed and bricks were prepared<sup>4</sup> by embedding pebbles from the river in a sort of asbestos. The fort was called in the Khazar tongue Sarkel, or White House, and it was guarded by yearly relays of three hundred men.<sup>5</sup>

When Petronas returned to Constantinople he laid a report of the situation before the Emperor and expressed his opinion that there was grave danger of losing Cherson, and that the best means of ensuring its safety would be to supersede the local

<sup>1</sup> The account will be found in Constantine, *De adm. imp.* 177 sqq. = *Cont. Th.* 122 sqq. The date seems to be soon after A.D. 832; for in *Cont. Th.* c. 26 *ad fin.* the elevation of John to the Patriarchate is dated; then, c. 27, prophecies are recorded relative to John; then c. 28 τῷ ἐπιόντι χρόνῳ ("in the following year") there is warfare with the Saracens, and κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν the Khazar embassy arrives.

<sup>2</sup> For the position of Sarkel, see Westberg, *Beiträge*, i. 226. Ibn Rosta says that "the Khazars once surrounded themselves by a ditch, through fear of the Magyars and other neighbouring peoples"; see Marquart, 28, who suggests that Sarkel was connected with a whole line of defences. If so, the fosse would probably

begin where the line of the Don ended. The theory of Uspenski that Sarkel was built for the Empire, not for the Khazars, and in the reign of Leo VI., c. 904 A.D. (propounded in the *Kievskaja Starina*, May and June 1889), has found no adherents: it was answered by Vasil'evski, in the *Zhurnal min. nar. prosv.*, Oct. 1889, 273 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Petronas, on reaching Cherson, τὰ μὲν χελάνδια εἶπεν ἐν Χερσῶνι (*De adm. imp.* 178a). I formerly suspected εἶπεν (*B.Z.* xv. 570), but now see that it means "found the Paphlagonian chelandia" already there.

<sup>4</sup> βήσαλον = *bessalis* (later).  
<sup>5</sup> ἐν ᾧ ταξέσθαι καθέξονται τὰ κατὰ χρόνον ἐναλλασσόμενα, *De adm. imp.* 177, where τὰ is clearly an error for τ' (*Cont. Th.*, *ib.*, has τριακόσιοι).

magistrates and commit the authority to a military governor.<sup>1</sup> The advice of Petronas was adopted, and he was himself appointed the first governor, with the title of "Stratêgos of the Klimata."<sup>2</sup> The magistrates of Cherson were not deposed, but were subordinated to the stratêgos.

In attempting to discover the meaning and motives of these transactions we must not lose sight of the close chronological connexion between the service rendered by the Greeks to the Khazars, in building Sarkel, and the institution of the stratêgos of Cherson. The latter was due to the danger of losing the city, but we are not told from what quarter the city was threatened. It is evident that the Khazars at the same moment felt the need of defence against some new and special peril. The fortification cannot have been simply designed against their neighbours the Magyars and the Patzinaks; for the Magyars and Patzinaks had been their neighbours long. We can hardly go wrong in supposing that the Khazars and the Chersonites were menaced by the same danger, and that its gravity had been brought home both to the Emperor and to the Khazar ruler by some recent occurrence. The jeopardy which was impending over the Euxine lands must be sought at Novgorod.

It was not likely that the predatory Scandinavians would be content with the gains which they earned as peaceful merchants in the south. The riches of the Greek towns on the Euxine tempted their cupidity, and in the reign of Theophilus, if not before, they seem to have descended as pirates into the waters of that sea,<sup>3</sup> to have plundered the coasts, perhaps venturing into the Bosphorus,<sup>4</sup> and especially to

<sup>1</sup> Shestakov, *op. cit.* 44, thinks that the danger may have been the disloyalty of the citizens. A certain disloyalty is not impossible, for the Chersonese had been a refuge for many monks during the persecution of the iconoclasts, and there may have prevailed a feeling highly unfavourable to Theophilus; but there was no real danger of Cherson inviting the rule of another power.

<sup>2</sup> This was the official title (*Takt. Uspenski*, 123).

<sup>3</sup> The evidence for these early Russian hostilities, unnoticed by the chroniclers, is to be found in the *Life*

of *St. George of Amastris and the Life of St. Stephen of Surazh* (Sugdaia). Vasil'evski (who has edited the texts in *Russko-vizantiiskiiu Izhiedovanie*, Vyp. 2, 1893, a work which it is impossible to procure) seems to have shown that the whole legend of George of Amastris (whose *Vita* he would ascribe to Ignatius the deacon) was complete before A.D. 843. See V. Jagić in *Archiv f. slavische Philologie*, xvi. 216 sqq. (1894).

<sup>4</sup> See *Vita Georg. Am. (vers. Lat., A.S. April 23, t. iii. 278)*: "a Propon-tide cladem auspici omnemque oram maritimam depasti." It should be

have attacked the wealthy and well-walled city of Amustris, which was said to have been saved by a miracle. We also hear of an expedition against the Chersonese, the despoiling of Cherson, and the miraculous escape of Sugdaia.<sup>1</sup> Such hostings of Russian marauders, a stalwart and savage race, provide a complete explanation of the mission of Petronas to Cherson, of the institution of a stratêgos there, and of the co-operation of the Greeks with the Khazars in building Sarkel. In view of the Russian attack on Amastris, it is significant that the governor of Paphlagonia assisted Petronas; and we may conjecture with some probability that the need of defending the Pontic coasts against a new enemy was the motive which led to the elevation of this official from the rank of katepano to the higher status of a stratêgos.

The timely measures adopted by Theophilus were efficacious for the safety of Cherson. That outpost of Greek life was ultimately to fall into the hands of the Russians, but it remained Imperial for another century and a half; and when it passed from the possession of Byzantium, the sacrifice was not too dear a price for perpetual peace and friendship with the Russian state, then becoming a great power.

Some years after the appointment of the stratêgos of Cherson, Russian envoys arrived at the court of Theophilus (A.D. 838-839). Their business is not recorded; perhaps they came to offer excuses for the recent hostilities against the Empire. But they seem to have dreaded the dangers of the homeward journey by the way they had come. The Emperor was dispatching an embassy to the court of Lewis the Pious. He committed the Russians to the care of the ambassadors, and in his letter to Lewis requested that sovran to facilitate their return to their own country through Germany.<sup>2</sup>

noted that the Russians were also a danger for Trapezus (Trebizond), a great entrepôt for trade between Roman and Saracen merchants (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 136), though we do not hear that they attacked it.

<sup>1</sup> Besides the *Life of Stephen*, see the passage of the Russian Chronicle of Novgorod (A.M. 6860) quoted by Murlat, *Chron. byz.* 426-427 (s.a. 842). A Russian band of Novgorodians, under

Prince Bravalin, sailing from Cherson to Kereh, attacked Surozh, which was saved by the miraculous intervention of St. Stephen. The date 6860 would be 852; but the dates of the Russian chronicles for this period are untrustworthy. Pseudo-Nestor, for instance, places the accession of Michael III. in 852.

<sup>2</sup> *Ann. Bert.*, s.a. 839. The embassy arrived at the court of Lewis in April or May. It is quite possible that these

In their settlement at Novgorod, near the Baltic, the Russians were far away from the Black Sea, to the shores of which their traders journeyed laboriously year by year. But they were soon to form a new settlement on the Dnieper, which brought them within easy reach of the Euxine and the Danube. The occupation of Kiev is one of the decisive events in Russian history, and the old native chronicle assigns it to the year 862. If this date is right, the capture of Kiev was preceded by one of the boldest marauding expeditions that the Russian adventurers ever undertook.

In the month of June, A.D. 860,<sup>1</sup> the Emperor, with all his forces, was marching against the Saracens. He had probably gone far<sup>2</sup> when he received amazing tidings, which recalled him with all speed to Constantinople. A Russian host had sailed across the Euxine in two hundred boats,<sup>3</sup> entered the Bosphorus, plundered the monasteries and suburbs on its banks, and overrun the Islands of the Princes.<sup>4</sup> The inhabitants of the city were utterly demoralised by the sudden horror of the danger and their own impotence. The troops (Tagmata) which were usually stationed in the neighbourhood of the city were far away with the Emperor and his uncle;<sup>5</sup> and the fleet was absent. Having wrought wreck and ruin in

Russians belonged to a different community from those who had attacked Cherson and Amastris. Novgorod was hardly the only settlement at this time. But here we are quite in the dark. For the embassy see above, p. 273.

<sup>1</sup> The date of the Russian expedition (which used to be placed in A.D. 866) is now incontrovertibly fixed to A.D. 860 by the investigation of de Boor (*Der Angriff der Rhdn.*). The decisive proof is the notice in a brief anonymous chronicle (from Julius Caesar to Romanns III.) published by Cumont, *Anecdota Bruxellensis*, I. *Chroniques byzantines du Mscr.* [Brux.] 11,376 (Ghent, 1894). The passage is ἤλθον ῥῶς ἐν ναυαὶ διακοσίας ἐκ διὰ πρεσβείων τῆς παρυμνήτου Θεοδοίου κατεκυριεύθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἠρτήθησαν τε καὶ ἠφανίσθησαν, June 18, ind. 8, A.M. 6368, in fifth year of Michael III. Note the accurate statement of the date (Michael's sole reign began in Mscrh 856). The chronological data supplied by Nicetas, *Vita*

*Ign.*, are in perfect accordance. The other sources for the episode are Photius, *Homiliæ*, 51 and 52; Simeon (Leo. Gr. 240-241); Joann. Ven. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Simeon (*Cont. Georg.* ed. Mnralt, 736; *vers. Slav.* 106) γεγενημένου ἤδη κατὰ τὸν Μαυροβράμον. This place (cp. above, p. 274, n. 4) has not been certainly identified.

<sup>3</sup> Anon. Cumont, and Simeon. Joann. Ven. says 360.

<sup>4</sup> Nicetas, *Vita Ign.* 236: "The bloody race of the Scythians, ἐκ λεγόμενου ῥῶς, having come through the Euxine to the Stonon (Bosphorus) and plundered all the places and all the monasteries, overran likewise the islands around Byzantium." The ex-Patriarch, then at Teresinthos, was in danger.

<sup>5</sup> The absence of Bardas seems a safe inference, as only Ooryphas the prefect is mentioned as being left in charge (Simeon). For Ooryphas see above, Chap. IV. p. 144.

the suburbs, the barbarians prepared to attack the city. At this crisis it was perhaps not the Prefect and the ministers entrusted with the guardianship of the city in the Emperor's absence who did most to meet the emergency. The learned Patriarch, Photius, rose to the occasion; he undertook the task of restoring the moral courage of his fellow-citizens. If the sermons which he preached in St. Sophia were delivered as they were written, we may suspect that they can only have been appreciated by the most educated of his congregation. His copious rhetoric touches all sides of the situation, and no priest could have made better use of the opportunity to inculcate the obvious lesson that this peril was a punishment for sin, and to urge repentance.<sup>1</sup> He expressed the general feeling when he dwelt on the incongruity that the Imperial city, "queen of almost all the world," should be mocked by a band of slaves, a mean and barbarous crowd.<sup>2</sup> But the populace was perhaps more impressed and consoled when he resorted to the ecclesiastical magic which had been used efficaciously at previous sieges. The precious garment of the Virgin Mother was borne in procession round the walls of the city;<sup>3</sup> and it was believed that it was dipped in the waters of the sea for the purpose of raising a storm of wind.<sup>4</sup> No storm arose, but soon afterwards the Russians began to retreat, and perhaps there were not many among the joyful citizens who did not impute their relief to the direct intervention of the queen of heaven. Photius preached a sermon of thanksgiving as the enemy were departing;<sup>5</sup> the miraculous deliverance was an inspiring motive for his eloquence.

It would be interesting to know whether Photius re-

<sup>1</sup> In his first sermon (*Hom.* 51). Gerland (in a review of the ed. of the *Honilies* by Aristarchos), in *Neue Jahrb. f. das klassische Altertum*, xi., 1908, p. 719) suggests that this address may have been delivered on June 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Hom.* 51, p. 20 (*Βασιλικὴ καὶ παρεκκλῆσις*). The absence of troops is referred to, p. 17: "Where is the Basileus? where are the armies? the arms, machines, counsels, and preparations of a general? Are not all these withdrawn to meet the attack of other barbarians?" It is to be observed (cp. de Boor, *op. cit.* 462) that in this sermon there is no reference to the

relic of the Virgin; the preacher insists exclusively on human efforts.

<sup>3</sup> *Hom.* 52, p. 42. Simeon erroneously represents the Emperor as present at the ceremony.

<sup>4</sup> Simeon, *loc. cit.*, according to which the wind immediately rose in a dead calm. But in his second sermon Photius represents the Russians as retreating unaffected by a storm. Joann. Ven. 117 lets them return home in triumph.

<sup>5</sup> *Hom.* 52. The Emperor was not yet in the city (p. 42; cp. de Boor, 460).

garded the ceremony which he had conducted as a powerful means of propitiation, or rather valued it as an efficacious sedative of the public excitement. He and all who were not blinded by superstition knew well that the cause which led to the sudden retreat of the enemy was simple, and would have sufficed without any supernatural intervention. It is evident that the Russians became aware that the Emperor and his army were at hand, and that their only safety lay in flight.<sup>1</sup> But they had delayed too long. Michael and Bardas had hurried to the scene, doubtless by forced marches, and they must have intercepted the barbarians and their spoils in the Bosphorus. There was a battle and a rout;<sup>2</sup> it is possible that high winds aided in the work of destruction.<sup>3</sup>

The Russians had chosen the moment for their surprise astutely. They must have known beforehand that the Emperor had made preparations for a campaign in full force against the Saracens. But what about the fleet? Modern historians have made this episode a text for the reproach that the navy had been allowed to fall into utter decay. We have seen, on the contrary, that the Amorians had revived the navy, and the impunity which the barbarians enjoyed until the arrival of the Emperor must be explained by the absence of the Imperial fleet. And, as a matter of fact, it was absent in the west. The Sicilian fortress of Castrogiovanni had been captured by the Moslems in the previous year, and a fleet of 300 ships had been sent to Sicily.<sup>4</sup> The possibility of an attack from the north did not enter into the calculations of the government. It is clear that the Russians must have been informed of the absence of the fleet, for otherwise they would never have ventured in their small boats into the jaws of certain death.

<sup>1</sup> This is obviously the true explanation of the sudden retreat, which began spontaneously, before the battle. It is impossible to accept Gerland's view that the battle was fought during the procession, perhaps in sight of the praying people.

<sup>2</sup> Of the battle we know no more than the notice in Anon. Camont. Simeon ascribes the destruction entirely to the miraculous storm. How the land forces of the Emperor operated against the boats of the enemies we can only con-

jecture; but possibly on receiving the news he had ordered ships to sail from Amastris to the Bosphorus. Two iambic poems on the Church of Blachernae, *Anthol. Pal.* i. 120, 121, most probably refer to the rout of the Russians. Cp. 121, vv. 10, 11:

*ἐνταῦθα μνηστὰρ τοῦ ἐναγίου  
ἀνέλετ ἀποῦς ἀπὲρ λόγγης εἰς Ἔσωρ.*  
where Stadtmüller *ad loc.* misses the point by proposing *εἰσὶδωρ*.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Gerland, *op. cit.* 720.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 307.

The episode was followed by an unexpected triumph for Byzantium, less important in its immediate results than as an augury for the future. The Northmen sent ambassadors to Constantinople, and—this is the Byzantine way of putting it—besought the Emperor for Christian baptism. We cannot say which, or how many, of the Russian settlements were represented by this embassy, but the object must have been to offer amends for the recent raid, perhaps to procure the deliverance of prisoners. It is certain that some of the Russians agreed to adopt Christianity, and the Patriarch Photius could boast (in A.D. 866) that a bishop had been sent to teach the race which in cruelty and deeds of blood left all other peoples far behind.<sup>1</sup> But the seed did not fall on very fertile ground. For upwards of a hundred years we hear no more of the Christianity of the Russians. The treaty, however, which was concluded between A.D. 860 and 866, led probably to other consequences. We may surmise that it led to the admission of Norse mercenaries into the Imperial fleet<sup>2</sup>—a notable event, because it was the beginning of the famous Varangian<sup>3</sup> service at Constantinople, which was ultimately to include the Norsemen of Scandinavia as well as of Russia, and even Englishmen.

It has been already observed that the attack upon Constantinople happened just before the traditional date of a far more important event in the history of Russia—the foundation of the principality of Kiev. According to the old Russian chronicle,<sup>4</sup> Rurik was at this time the ruler of all the Scandinavian settlements, and exercised sway over the northern Slavs and some of the Finns. Two of his men, Oskold and Dir,<sup>5</sup> set out with their families for Constantinople, and, coming to the Dnieper, they saw a castle on a mountain. On enquiry they learned that it was Kiev, and that its inhabitants paid tribute to the Khazars. They settled in the place, gathered many Norsemen to them, and ruled over the

<sup>1</sup> Photius, *Ep.* 4, p. 178. The Russians are said to have placed themselves *ἐν βρεχέων καὶ προθέων ῥάξει*. *βρ.* refers to ecclesiastical dependence, *προθ.* to political friendship. The other source is *Cont. Th.* 196.

<sup>2</sup> Under Leo VI. (A.D. 902) there were 700 Πῶς in the fleet (Constantine, *Cer.* 651).

<sup>3</sup> The connotation of *Varangian* is equivalent to *Norse* or *Scandinavian*. Arabic geographers and Pseudo-Nestor call the Baltic "the Varangian Sea." In Kekaumenos (ed. Vasilievski and Jernstedt) 97 Harald Hardrada is "son of the Emperor of Varangia."

<sup>4</sup> Pseudo-Nestor, xv. p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Scandinavian names.

neighbouring Slavs, even as Rurik ruled at Novgorod. Some twenty years later Rurik's son Oleg came down and put Oskold and Dir to death, and annexed Kiev to his sway. It soon overshadowed Novgorod in importance, and became the capital of the Russian state. It has been doubted whether this story of the founding of Kiev is historical, but the date of the foundation, in chronological proximity to A.D. 860, is probably correct.<sup>1</sup>

### § 5. *The Magyars*

The Russian peril had proved a new bond of common interest between the Empire and the Khazars, and during the reign of Michael (before A.D. 862),<sup>2</sup> as we have seen, a Greek missionary, Constantine the Philosopher, made a vain attempt to convert them to Christianity.<sup>3</sup>

About this time a displacement occurred in the Khazar Empire which was destined to lead to grave consequences not only for the countries of the Euxine but for the history of Europe. At the time of Constantine's visit to the Khazars, the home of the Magyars was still in the country between the Dnieper and the Don, for either in the Crimea itself or on his journey to Itil, which was probably by way of the Don, his party was attacked by a hand of Magyars.<sup>4</sup> A year or two later the Magyar people crossed the Dnieper.

<sup>1</sup> Pseudo-Nestor's date is A.M. 6370 = A.D. 862 (but events extending over a considerable time are crowded into his narrative here). The chronicler attributes to Oskold and Dir the attack on Constantinople, which he found in the Chronicle of Simeon and dates to A.D. 866. I am inclined to think that there is a certain measure of historical truth in the Pseudo-Nestor tradition, if we do not press the exact date. If Kiev was founded shortly before A.D. 860 as a settlement independent of Novgorod, and if the Kiev Russians attacked Cple., we can understand the circumstances of the conversion. It was the rulers of Kiev only who accepted baptism, and when the pagans of Novgorod came and slew them a few years later, Christianity, though we may conjecture that it was not wiped out, ceased to enjoy official recognition.

<sup>2</sup> The posterior limit is usually given as A.D. 863 (the latest date for

the embassy of Rostislav, see above, p. 393); but we can limit it further by the Magyar incident, cp. Appendix XII. The circumstance that in A.D. 854-855, Bugha, the governor of Armenia and Adarbiyan, settled Khazars, who were inclined to Islam, in Sham-kor (see above, p. 410, n. 6), may, as Marquart suggests (*Streifzüge*, 24), have some connexion with the religious wavering of the Chagan.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 394 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita Constantini*, c. 8. The attack of the Hungarians is related before Constantine (c. 9) starts for the country of the Khazars, to which he is said to have sailed by the Maeotis. If this order of events is accurate, we must suppose that the Magyars made an incursion into the Crimea, and perhaps the incident occurred in the territory of the Goths. See Appendix XII.



The cause of this migration was the advance of the Patzinaks from the Volga. We may guess that they were pressed westward by their Eastern neighbours, the Uzes; we are told that they made war upon the Khazars and were defeated, and were therefore compelled to leave their own land and occupy that of the Magyars.<sup>1</sup> The truth may be that they made an unsuccessful attempt to settle in Khazaria, and then turned their arms against the Magyar people, whom they drove beyond the Dnieper.<sup>2</sup> The Patzinaks thus rose above the horizon of the Empire and introduced a new element into the political situation. They had no king; they were organized in eight tribes, with tribal chiefs, and each tribe was subdivided into five portions under subordinate leaders. When a chief died he was succeeded by a first cousin or a first cousin's son; brothers and sons were excluded, so that the chieftainship should be not confined to one branch of the family.<sup>3</sup>

The Magyars now took possession of the territory lying between the Dnieper and the lower reaches of the Pruth and the Seret<sup>4</sup>—a country which had hitherto belonged to the dominion of the Khans of Bulgaria. They were thus close to the Danube, but the first use they made of their new position was

<sup>1</sup> Constantine, *De adm. imp.* 169. In the later movement of the Patzinaks to the west of the Dnieper (in the reign of Leo VI.), we are expressly told that they were driven from their land by the Uzes and Khazars, *ib.* 164.

<sup>2</sup> Constantine says that a portion of the Magyars joined their kinsmen, the Sabartoi asphaltoi in "Persia," i.e. the Sevodrik in Armenia (see above p. 410).

<sup>3</sup> Constantine, *ib.* 165. He gives the names of the eight γένη or θέματα, in two forms, simple and compound, e.g. Tzur and Kuarti-tzur, Ertem and Iabdi-ertem.

<sup>4</sup> This country was called (by the Hungarians or Patzinaks, or both) Atel-kuzu: Constantine, *ib.* 169 *eis τόποις τοῦ ἐπονομαζομένου Ἀτελκούζου*. The name is explained, *ib.* 173, as κατὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ ἐκείσε διερχομένου ποταμοῦ Ἐτέλ καὶ Κουζού (where there seems to be an error in the text, as Ἐ. καὶ Κ., two rivers, is inconsistent with τοῦ ποταμοῦ) and p. 171

it is said to be called κατὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῶν ἐκείσε ὄντων ποταμῶν, which are enumerated as the Βαρύχ (= Dnieper, cp. Var in Jordanes, *Get.* c. 52, and Boiy-sthenes), the Κουβού (= Bug), the Τροῦλλορ (= Dniester: Turla, Tyras, cp. Roesler, 154), the Βροβρορ (= Pruth), and the Σέπερορ. Atel or Etel means river (and was specially applied to the Volga—the "Itil"—cp. Constantine, *ib.* 164). Zeuss (*Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, 751), Kuun (*Relat. Hung.* i. 189), Marquart (*op. cit.* 33), explain kuzu as between (cp. Hungarian köz, in geographical names like Szamosköz); so that Atelkuzu would mean *Mesopotamia*. But Westberg (*Kanal.* ii. 48) explains *Kocho* in the *Geography* of Pseudo-Moses as the Dnieper, and identifies the name with Kuzn. He supposes that in Constantine, p. 169, the true reading is (as on p. 173), Ἄτελ καὶ Κουζού, and that Atel and Kuzu were alternative names (καί="or") for the region of the lower Dnieper.

not against Bulgaria.<sup>1</sup> In A.D. 862 they showed how far they could strike by invading territories in central Europe which acknowledged the dominion of Lewis the German,<sup>2</sup> the first of that terrible series of invasions which were to continue throughout a hundred years, until Otto the Great won his crushing victory at Augsburg. If we can trust the accounts of their enemies, the Magyars appear to have been a more terrible scourge than the Huns. It was their practice to put all males to the sword, for they believed that warriors whom they slew would be their slaves in heaven; they put the old women to death; and dragged the young women with them, like animals, to serve their lusts.<sup>3</sup> Western writers depict the Hungarians of this period as grotesquely ugly, but, on the other hand, Arabic authors describe them as handsome. We may reconcile the contradiction by the assumption that there were two types, the consequence of blending with other races. The original Finnish physiognomy had been modified by mixture with Iranian races in the course of many generations, during which the Magyars, in the Caucasian regions, had pursued their practice of women-lifting.<sup>4</sup>

Up to the time of their migration the Magyars, like the Patzinaks, had no common chieftain, but among the leaders of their seven tribes<sup>5</sup> one seems to have had a certain pre-eminence. His name was Lebedias,<sup>6</sup> and he had married a noble Khazar lady, by whom he had no children. Soon after the crossing of the Dnieper, the Chagan of the Khazars, who still claimed the rights of suzerainty over them, proposed to the Magyars to create Lebedias ruler over the whole people. The story is that Lebedias met the Chagan—but we must interpret this to mean the Beg—at Kalancha in the gulf of Perekop,<sup>7</sup> and refused the offer for himself, but suggested

<sup>1</sup> Their attack on the Slavs of Kiev cannot be dated. Pseudo-Nestor, xix., p. 12; Marquart, *op. cit.* 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ann. Bert.* (Hincmar), s.a. "sed et hostes antea illis popnlis inexperti qui Ungri vocantur regnum eiusdem populantur."

<sup>3</sup> *Cp. Ann. Sangall.*, s.a. 894 (*M. G. H. Ser. I.*).

<sup>4</sup> This hypothesis is Marquart's, *op. cit.* 144.

<sup>5</sup> Constantine (*op. cit.* 172) gives the names of the tribes: Nekké,

Megeré (= Magyar?), Kurtygermatu, Tarianu, Genakh, Karé, Kasé. *Cp. Knun*, i. 148-158.

<sup>6</sup> Knun (*op. cit.* i. 205, 208) thinks that Lebedias is identical with Elend of the Notary of King Béla. His title was, no doubt, *Kende*, see Ibn Rusta, 167.

<sup>7</sup> Constantine, *op. cit.* 168 τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποσταλήναι Χελάνδια τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν βοέβοδον. Banduri saw that Χελάνδια was a proper name, and εἶς has probably fallen out of the text. See Knun, i. 208, Marquart, 35.

Salmutzes,<sup>1</sup> another tribal chief, or his son Arpad. The Magyars declared in favour of Arpad, and he was elevated on a shield, according to the custom of the Khazars, and recognized as king. In this way the Khazars instituted kingship among the Magyars. But while this account may be true so far as it goes, it furnishes no reason for such an important innovation, and it is difficult to see why the Khazar government should have taken the initiative. We shall probably be right in connecting the change with another fact, which had a decisive influence on Magyar history. Among the Turks who composed the Khazar people, there was a tribe—or tribes—known as the Kabars, who were remarkable for their strength and bravery. About this time they rose against the Chagan; the revolt was crushed; and those who escaped death fled across the Dnieper and were received and adopted by the Magyars, to whose seven tribes they were added as an eighth. Their bravery and skill in war enabled them to take a leading part in the counsels of the nation. We are told that they taught the Magyars the Turkish language, and in the tenth century both Magyar and Turkish were spoken in Hungary.<sup>2</sup> The result of this double tongue is the mixed character of the modern Hungarian language, which has supplied specious argument for the two opposite opinions as to the ethnical affinities of the Magyars.<sup>3</sup> We may suspect that the idea of introducing kingship was due to the Kabars, and it has even been conjectured that Arpad belonged to this Turkish people which was now permanently incorporated in the Hungarian nation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Almus in the Hungarian chronicles. On Arpad's date, see Appendix XII.

<sup>2</sup> Constantine, *op. cit.* 171-172. Vámbéry, *A magyarok eredete*, 140, explains the name Kabar as "insurgent."

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 410, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Marquart makes this assertion (*op. cit.* 52), basing it on the passage in Constantine (*op. cit.* 172<sub>14-21</sub>), where, he observes, of *Κάβαροι* is the

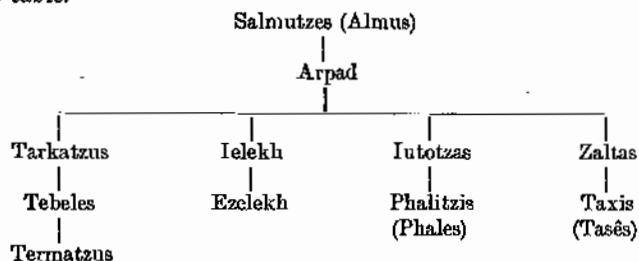
subject throughout, and consequently *τὸν Λεβέντινα τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἀρπάδη εἶχον ἀρχοῦντα* means that Levente, Arpad's son, was ruler of the Kabars. I cannot accept this strict interpretation of the grammar. I feel sure that the subject of the verbs (*διεπέρασον, εἶχον*, etc.) is not the Kabars, but the Hungarians (*οἱ Τοῦρκοι*), who include the Kabars. *Levente* was ἀρχὴν of the Hungarians.

## APPENDIX XII

### THE MAGYARS

#### I. Date of the Second Magyar Migration (to Atelkuzu)

WESTBERG has put forward a new view as to the date of the migration of the Hungarians to Atelkuzu (in *K anal.* ii. 49-51) which he places c. A.D. 825. His argument is based on a passage in Constantine, *De adm. imp.* 175, relating to the four sons and four grandsons of Arpad. The descent may conveniently be represented in a table.



When Constantine was writing (A.D. 950-952), Phalitzis was the Hungarian king (τὸν νυνὶ ἄρχοντα), Tebeles was dead, and his son Termatzus was adult and had recently visited Constantinople on an embassy (ὁ ἀρχὴν ἀνελθὼν φίλος mistranslated by Westberg, as by most others).<sup>1</sup> Westberg infers that Tebeles died not later than 945, and that the surviving grandsons of Arpad, Phalitzis and Taxis,<sup>2</sup> were advanced in years. Reckoning thirty years to a generation, he goes on to place the death of Tarkatzus about 915, that of Arpad c. 885, that of Salmutzes c. 855. At the time of the elevation of Arpad, Salmutzes was alive and considered (by Lebedias) capable of ruling the Magyar nation. Therefore the election of Arpad must belong to the second quarter of the ninth century, not later than A.D. 850. But the migration to Atelkuzu occurred not long before Arpad's election (*De adm. imp.* 169<sub>14</sub>); so

<sup>1</sup> I have pointed this out in *B.Z.* xv. 562.

<sup>2</sup> I assume that Taxis and Tasés are the same. Pecz, however, has conjectured that Tasés was a son of Liuntis or Levente,

who, he thinks, was the eldest son of Arpad (*B.Z.* vi. 587-588). But the passage implies that Tasés has been already mentioned, and the identification with Taxis seems inevitable.

"the presence of the Magyars in Atelkuzu covers the period from approximately 825 to 895."

This argumentation carries no conviction. We can readily accept 885 as the approximate date of Arpad's death, for c. 889 his son Levente (who is not mentioned in this passage) was king. But this does not necessitate the inference that Arpad was elected before 850, or even before 860. Suppose that he was sixty years old when he died; then he would have been born in 825. Suppose that Salmutzes, his father, was then twenty-five years old, he would have been sixty, a "hodrii starik," in 860. This hypothesis, which might be varied (there is no reason to suppose that Arpad was old when he died; he may have been much younger than sixty), is sufficient to show that Westberg's reasoning is arbitrary, and that the data admit of no such conclusion as he draws.

Our fixed date *ante quem* for the first migration of the Magyars is A.D. 862, the year in which they invaded the empire of the Franks, for it is improbable that this invasion was undertaken before they had settled west of the Dnieper. Our fixed date *post quem* is the time of the visit of Constantine the Philosopher to Cherson and the Khazars, which we can only define approximately as before A.D. 863 (see above, p. 396). At that time, as we learn from the *Vita Constantini*, the Magyars were still in the neighbourhood of the Crimea. Although there are many unhistorical details in this *Vita*, the episode of the Hungarians evidently preserves a genuine fact, for when the *Vita* was written the Hungarians were far away, and no inventor of fiction would have dreamed of introducing them on the scene. Westberg (*ib.* 51) admits the genuineness of the notice, but seems to think that the Hungarians invaded the Crimea from Atelkuzu. This is possible, but less probable; once they left their old seats, they were not likely to return across the Dnieper and trespass on the hunting grounds of the Patzinaks, whom they dreaded.

As the mission of Constantine was probably about A.D. 860, we can deduce A.D. 860-861 as a probable date for the first historical migration of the Magyars. Their second migration, to their abiding home, occurred about 895, so that their period in Atelkuzu was about forty years. The election of Arpad may be placed roughly about A.D. 860.

The appearance of the Magyars west of the Dnieper c. A.D. 837 (see above, p. 371) proves only that, as we should expect, they made predatory expeditions into Atelkuzu long before they occupied it.

## 2. Date of the First Magyar Migration (to Lebedia)

The question of the date of the migration of the Magyars into their earlier home between the Don and Dnieper is more difficult.

According to Constantine (*op. cit.* 168) they called this territory *Lebedia*, after the name of their most important tribal leader, Lebedias. I take this to mean that in later times, when they were in Atelkuzu and Hungary, they described this territory, having no other name for it, as the country of Lebedias—the country which they associated with his leadership. According to the text of Constantine, *ib.*, they occupied this country, on the borders of the land of the Khazars, for three years (*ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς*). This is certainly an error; and we can indeed refute it from Constantine himself, who goes on to say that during this period the Magyars fought for the Khazars “in all their wars,” a statement which naturally presupposes a much longer period. The probability is that there is a textual error in the number. Westberg (*ib.* 51) proposes to read *τριάκοντα τρεῖς* or *τριάκοντα*. If we adopted the former, which is the less violent, correction, we should obtain c. 822-826 as the date of the arrival of the Magyars in Lebedia.

It must be considered doubtful whether they had come to Lebedia from beyond the Caucasus, where there were Magyars known to the Armenians as the Sevordik. See above, p. 410. Constantine indeed says that they were still known by this name (*Σαβάρτοι ἄσφαλοι*) in Lebedia. It is true that the troubles which distracted Armenia and the adjacent regions in the reign of Mamun (see the account of Yakubi, *apud* Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 457 *sqq.*) might have forced a portion of the Sevordik to seek a new habitation under the protection of the Khazars.

We can say with certainty that the Magyars did not arrive in Lebedia at a later period than in Mamun's reign, and there is perhaps a probability that if they had been there long before that period, some indication of their presence would have been preserved in our sources. The conjectural restoration of Constantine's text (thirty-three years) cannot be relied on; but it may be noted that the Bulgarian warfare on the Dnieper in Omurtag's reign (see above, p. 366), if it was provoked by the presence of the Magyars, would be chronologically compatible.

Constantine does not tell us the source of his information about the Magyars and their earlier history. We can, however, form a probable opinion. While he was engaged in writing his treatise known as *De administrando imperio*, or just before he had begun it, an Hungarian embassy arrived at Constantinople (referred to above, p. 489) consisting of Termatzus, a grandson of Arpad, and Bultzus, who held the dignity of karchas (the third dignity in the realm, after the king and the gylas). It seems very likely that Constantine derived much of what he tells us about the Magyars from this friendly embassy. Compare my paper on “The Treatise *De adm. imp.*” *B.Z.* xv. 562-563.

3. *The names Magyar, Hungarian, Turk*

While they were in Lebedia, the Hungarians seem already to have called themselves Magyars, for they were known by this name to an Arabic writer (before A.D. 850), who reproduced it as Bazghar (cp. Marquart, *op. cit.* 68).<sup>1</sup> In their own ancient chronicles the name appears as Mogor. It is obviously identical with the name of one of their tribes, the *Μεγέρη*, mentioned by Constantine.<sup>2</sup> We may conjecture that this was the tribe of which Lebedias was chieftain, and that his pre-eminence was the cause of its becoming a name for the nation.

To the Slavs and Latins, the Magyars were known by the more comprehensive name of the Ugrian race, to which they belonged: *Ungri*, whence *Hungari*; and the Greek chronicle, which describes their appearance west of the Dnieper in the reign of Theophilus, likewise calls them *Οὐγγροι* (*Add. George* 818). But this designation in a Greek writer of the ninth and tenth centuries is exceptional, for the Greeks regularly applied to them the term *Τούρκοι*, and even in this passage they are also called *Τούρκοι*<sup>3</sup> and *Οὐννοί*. Why did the Greeks call them Turks? The simplest answer is that the name came into use after the union of the Magyars with the Kabars who were Turks.

Marquart has put forward an ingenious but hardly convincing explanation of *Τούρκοι*. He identifies it with the *Ίούρκαί* of Herodotus 4. 22, who seem to appear in Pliny, vi. 19, as *Tyrcae*, and in Pomponius Mela, i. § 116, as *Turcae*. He supposes that *Iurkai* is the same word as *Iugra*, Ugrian, with metathesis of *r*, that the word afterwards acquired an initial *t* in Scythian dialects, and that the Greeks borrowed it from the Alans as a designation of the Magyars (*op. cit.* 54 *sqq.*) before their union with the Kabars. According to this theory, the Turks are false "Turks," and the Magyars are true "Turks," according to the original denotation of the name; in fact, the Ugrian name, in its Scythian form, came in the course of history to be transferred from the Ugrian to the Turanian race.

<sup>1</sup> The Arabs used the same name to designate the Bashkirs, and this led to confusions, for which see Marquart, 69 and 515.

<sup>2</sup> It has been supposed that *Μάγαροι* in Const. *De adm. imp.* 164<sub>10</sub> means Magyars; so Hunfalvy, Roesler. The Patzinaks are said to have had as their neighbours, when they dwelled between the Volga and Ural (Γεήχ), *τούς τε Μαγάρους καὶ τοὺς ἐπαινομαζόμενους Οὐζ.* The context, however, renders it highly

improbable that these *Μάγαροι* are the same as the *Τούρκοι* (Magyars) who are mentioned a few lines below. Some eastern people is meant—I suspect the Bashkirs, who lived between the Patzinaks and the Bulgarians of the Kama. Probably we should read *Βαζάρους* (an instance of the frequent confusion of  $\mu$  and  $\beta$  in eleventh-century MSS.).

<sup>3</sup> But this does not prove that the Greeks called them *Τούρκοι* in the reign of *Theophilus* (as Marquart argues, p. 54).

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In some cases I have added references to other editions than those from which I cite, for the convenience of readers to whom they may happen to be more accessible.

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#### 4a. RELATING TO CONSTANTINE (CYRIL) AND METHODIUS

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