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I. ZIMONYI

THE ORIGINS OF THE VOLGA BULGHARS

Editionis curam agit  
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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study, as first books, is a result of a long research. Hungarian Turcology dealing with the Turks of Eastern Europe and Central Asia has concentrated on the Turkic language history and mediaval history of the steppe, as early Hungarians were formed among Turkic peoples in the 6-9th centuries adapting Turkic, nomadic institutions. I have taken interest in the history of the Turkic nomads, as a student at the Department of Altaistics at Szeged University where Professor András Róna-Tas suggested that I deal with the history of the Volga Bulgars. I wrote my university doctorate in 1983 about the fall of the Volga Bulghar empire (*The Volga Bulgars in the early 13th century*) wich has been published in parts (*The first Mongol raid against the Volga Bulgars*. Altaistic Studies. Ed. G. Jarring and S. Rosén. Stockholm, 1985, 197-204; *Volga Bulgars between wind and water*. Paper read at the 29th PIAC in Tashkent 1986; *Egy mongol hadifogoly vallomása az 1240-es kijevei ostrom idején* [The statement of a Mongol prisoner of war during the siege of Kiev (1240)]. Keletkutatás 1988/1, 39-45.)

In 1985 I got a three-year scholarship from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences to write a monograph on the history of the Volga Bulgars. I am grateful to the Academy and to the trustees of the Soros Foundation for their generous grants wich facilitated the completion of this study. This book contains the first part of the work and deals with the formation of a new ethnopolitical unit in the Middle Volga region.

In the course of preparing of this work, I have been aided by a number of persons. I wish to express my profound gratitude to Professor András Róna-Tas, the head of the Department of Altaistics at Szeged, for his encouragement, for his reading several drafts, and for his wise counsels. The colleagues of the Department of Altaistic also helped me with their critical remarks. A particular debt of gratitude is owed to Professor Sámuel Szádeczky-Kardoss, the head of the Department of Classical Languages at Szeged, who guided me in the field of Latin and Byzantine sources, and who made critical suggestions on the last stage in the preparation of this book. Finally, I am deeply indebted to Professors Sándor Fodor and István Vásáry for their profitable suggestions after reading the text of this study.

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István Zimonyi



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## INTRODUCTION

Muqtadir Billah, the caliph of the Muslim Empire at the beginning of the 10th century, received an ambassador of an unknown ruler from the far north who asked him instructions on religion and Islamic laws. The caliph, understanding the importance of Islamic penetration into Eastern Europe which had been temporary before, sent an embassy from Baghdad in 921. It reached the Samanid court in Transoxania. It travelled from Bukhara to Khwarizm. Finally, only five members of the embassy crossed the Kazak steppe and arrived at the Volga-Kama region in 922. One of these Muslims was Ibn Fadlan who wrote a report about the journey, the countries, and the peoples the embassy had visited. His most detailed account is about the country which he called *Ṣaḡāliba* whose king wanted his people to convert to Islam. This country is known as *Bulghār* in other Muslim sources and as Volga Bulgharia in later Russian annals to distinguish it from the Danubian Bulgharia. Ibn Fadlan described the political and economical life of the Volga Bulgars, their customs, and the marvels of this northern country. He stated that the Volga Bulgars had been under Khazar supremacy and the king of the Volga Bulgars had embraced Islam in order to counterbalance his political dependence on the Khazar ruler. The glosses in Ibn Fadlan's work concerning the language of the Volga Bulgars reflect Turkic speaking tribes. These tribes were nomads. These latter characteristics provide a basis to suppose that the Volga Bulgars were not autochthons in this region. There are two aims of this paper. The first is to answer the question of where the tribes forming the Volga Bulgars Empire came from. The second is to determine the time of their migration to the Volga-Kama region.

The first question can be answered without difficulty: they came from the Eurasian steppe. More precise location is possible as there are five tribal names in the Muslim sources from the beginning of the 10th century: *Bulghār*, *S.wār*, *Barsūlā*, *Askal* and *Baranjār*. The Jayhānī tradition recorded that the Volga Bulgars were divided into three groups: *Barsūlā*, *Askal*, *Bulkār*. Ibn Fadlān mentioned four ethnonyms: *Bulghār*, *Askal*, *S.wār* and *Baranjār*. The tribal name *S.wār* is known as a name of a famous Volga Bulghar town from later Muslim sources. According to Ibn Fadlān, Almish was the *malik al-ṣaqāliba* 'the king of the Ṣaqāliba'. This term denotes the ruler of the Volga Bulghar tribal union, but it was stated once that he was the *malik al-bulghār* 'king of the Bulgars'. It means that Almish was the chieftain of the Bulghar tribe and the tribal union at the same time. The Arabic *malik* 'king' is also used in the sense of chieftain in connection with the rulers of the *Askal* and *S.wār* tribes in the work of Ibn Fadlān. As for the political structure of the Volga Bulghar tribal union, Ibn Fadlān mentioned twice that there were four kings (*malik*) under Almish. The king of the *Askal* tribe must have been one of them. Almish himself said that the king was under his power and Almish had given his daughter in marriage to him. Another could be the king of the *S.wār* tribe who revolted against Almish when the embassy stayed in Almish's court. The third may have been the chief of the *Baranjārs* although Ibn Fadlān did not mention him. As for the fourth king, we can suppose that Ibn Fadlān might have had the leader of the *Barsūlā* tribe recorded only by the Jayhānī tradition in mind. Supposing that these tribes took prominent part in the foundation of the Volga Bulghar Empire, these are the traces we can start on. But first of all, the forms of these ethnonyms must be gathered and reviewed. After the reconstruction of the original forms the names *Bulghār* and *Askal* are well attested ethnonyms among the names of the Turkic tribes. As for the others, however, identification of the *S.wār* with the *Sabir* and the tribal name *Baranjār* with the

name of a famous Khazar city *Balanjar* seems to be probable. The most uncertain is the connection between the names *Barsūlā* and *Bārsil*.

These tribal names were recorded by the written sources in the western half of the Eurasian steppe between the 5th and 7th centuries. As I am not an expert in the field of classical languages which provide most of the data, I used the works of Gy. Moravcsik as guides concerning the history of these peoples. The history of the early Bulgars<sup>1</sup> was examined by Beševliev. Beside his works I used Samuel Szádeczky-Kardoss' unpublished monograph entitled 'The Sources of Bulgar History before Asparuch', which included the Hungarian translation of all the written sources with commentary.

These ethnonyms with the exception of *Balanjar* were completely absent in the sources about the 8-9th centuries and they reappeared among the Volga Bulgars in the beginning of the 10th century. I tried to determine the habitat of these tribes using the sporadic references appearing in the sources in the 5-7th centuries. The geographical determination of their abode in the 5-7th centuries does not automatically mean that these tribes migrated north from those places as the two hundred-year-gap between the disappearance of their names from the sources in the steppe region and their reappearance among Volga Bulgars cannot be neglected.

The date of the northward migration of the tribes forming the Volga Bulgar tribal union is put to different periods from the 4th to the 8th centuries. The reason for the uncertainty is the lack of written sources concerning the date and cause of this migration. I have reviewed the different hypotheses in chronological order. Most of these views are based on the evidence of only one particular written source, or other sources such as archeology, which make them too doubtful. Only a complex approach can be successful. I have taken

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<sup>1</sup> Here this term means the Bulgars north of the Black Sea before the westward migration of Asparuch around 680.

the standard works of archeology, numismatics and Turkic historical linguistics concerning the early Volga Bulgars into consideration. As the written sources have not been studied from this point of view, I have chosen this approach as the basis of my argument. The results of these different sciences have provided a firm base to form the approximate epoch of the northward migration, the dates taken into account must be connected with historical events which could have forced these tribes to leave their abode. In this respect the history of the Khazars is of crucial importance.

The Khazars founded their empire in the 7th century and played a predominant role in the history of Eastern Europe till the end of the 10th century. The close connection between the Khazars and the Volga Bulgars is well attested in the sources: on one hand, the Volga Bulgars were under Khazar tutelage before 922 as the king of the Volga Bulgars embraced Islam to gain independence from the Khazars. On the other hand, the tribes appearing also in the Volga Bulgar tribal union played important role in the formation of the Khazar Empire in the 7th century. In spite of the fact that these tribal names were not recorded in the sources of the 8-9th centuries, these tribes were parts of the Khazar Empire. The study of the Khazars has been flourishing recently. There are three monographs on their history (Dunlop 1954; Artamonov 1962; Ludwig 1982). K. Czeglédy published a series of articles on the early history of the Khazars (1953, 1959b, 1960, 1961, 1971). The Hebrew sources of the Khazar history (cf. Kokovcov 1932) were supplemented by the Kievan letter, a new source. This letter and the Cambridge document, which was published by Kokovcov, were edited and translated by Golb and Pritsak gave historical and geographical notes and commentary (Golb-Pritsak, 1982). The most spectacular progress took place in the field of the study of the Khazar language. Golden collected all the Khazar words from the written sources and commented them in detail (Golden 1980 I). The second volume contains the facsimile edition of

the relevant pages of the Arabic, Byzantine, Armenian, Georgian, Hebrew, Persian MSS (1980 II). Then the Kievan letter brought new datum since its attestation was in runiform script (Ligeti 1981). Finally the Turkic form of the ethnonym Khazar was found on the runic inscriptions of the Uyghur Khaganate (Róna-Tas 1982a) On the basis of the new material Ligeti suggested that the Khazar language was Chuvash type Turkic (1986, 475-493). This view is of great importance as earlier most of the linguists accepted the opinion that the Khazars spoke a Common Turkic language whereas the Volga Bulgars' language was a Chuvash type Turkic. Therefore, the Khazars and the Volga Bulgars can be connected historically and linguistically.

Besides the study of the events of the Khazar history which might have been in close connection with the Volga Bulgars, the evidence of other sciences must be dealt with. The most significant development has taken place in the field of archeology concerning the early Volga Bulgars, meaning the pre-Muslim archeological finds in the Volga-Kama region since the fifties. The first results of these excavation were published by Genning and Halikov (1964). According to their conclusion, the tribes of the Volga Bulgars arrived in the Volga region from the lands north of the Caucasus in the middle of the 8th century. This archeological result has been widely accepted. Then the new finds of the Volga region brought the research to a turning point as it became evident that the relics of the early Volga Bulgars could be divided into two groups and there were chronological differences between them: the first group could be dated to the 8-9th centuries while the second one to the end of the 9th and 10th centuries (Halikova 1971, Kazakov 1971). The archeological map of the early Volga Bulgars in the territory of the Tatar Republic assembled by Hlebnikova and Kazakov (1976) corroborated this suggestion and provided further important details. The early history of the Hungarians must have been in connection with the tribes of the Volga Bulgars. The archeological evidence

of these contacts has been studied by I. Fodor in his articles (1977, 1982). Mention must be made of the two monographs on the history of the Volga Bulgars which were written by archeologists: A. P. Smirnov (1951) and Fahrutdinov (1984).

The Volga-Kama region was an important port of trade through which the dirhams of the Caliphate reached Eastern Europe during the 9-10th centuries. Recently, the dirhams of the Umayyads, Abbasids and Samanids found in the Volga-Kama region have been studied by Valeev (1981). Noonan has opened up new vistas in the field of the historical numismatics and economic history between the Caliphate and Eastern Europe in his articles (1980, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985). He suggested that after the Arab-Khazar wars the Abbasids tried to establish commercial ties which became successful during the end of the 8th century. In the 9th century the dirhams reached Eastern Europe through the trade route starting from the central Islamic lands, crossing the Caucasus on the Caspian coast and a heading North along the Volga. At the end of the 9th century this route ceased to exist and a new one was opened. Transoxania, ruled by the Samanids, became the centre from which the dirhams were imported to Eastern Europe. The rulers of the Volga Bulgars minted silver coins on the analogy of the Samanid dirhams in the 10th century. The first comparative study on these coins was written by Fasmer (1925). Janina (1962) supplemented the material and revised Fasmer's conclusions. Recently Kropotkin has gathered the dirhams of the Volga Bulgars unearthed in Eastern Europe in his paper (1986).

The language of the Volga Bulgars can be studied only by indirect methods since their written sources have not come down to us. The most important linguistical data are from the so-called Volga Bulgar tomb inscriptions from the 13-14th centuries which were written in Arabic, but there are Turkic words and even some sentences in the Arabic texts (Jusupov 1960). Only those

inscriptions are attributed to the Volga Bulgars which contain Chuvash type Turkic words (Fodor, Róna-Tas 1973; Hakimzjanov 1978). The rest of the inscriptions are thought to originate from the Qypchaqs of the Volga region (Hakimzjanov 1987). As for the chronology of the northern migration of the Volga Bulgar tribes, the historical linguistics can provide the evidence of Turkic loanwords in the local Finno-Ugrian languages. First of all, the earliest layer is of crucial importance. The articles of Rédei and Róna-Tas (1982, 1983) on the Volga Bulgar Proto-Permian contacts seem to shed further light on the migration of the Volga Bulgar tribes. The Bulgar (Chuvash) language history was thoroughly examined by Róna-Tas (1978, 1982). Another valuable contribution to this language history is Ligeti's later synthesis on the early Hungarian-Turkic contacts which deals with most of the linguistic and historical problems of the Turkic peoples of Eastern Europe including those tribes which may have taken part in the formation of the Volga Bulgar Empire (Ligeti 1986).

The written sources on the Volga Bulgars of the 10th century are mainly in the works of Muslim authors. As there is no monograph concerning the sources of the Volga Bulgars, the review of the study of Eastern European peoples is needed. The first step was the edition of the relevant Arabic authors in which field the greatest work was done by de Goeje publishing the eight volumes of his *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (BGA). As the Russian orientalists were interested in their early history and they realized that the nomadic peoples of Eastern Europe played an important role in the formation of the Russian State, they started to publish Muslim sources about the history of Eastern Europe. The first most important ones were the works of Hvolson (1869) and Kunik-Rozen (1878). The greatest Russian orientalist was, without a doubt, Barthold,<sup>2</sup> whose activity included the examination of those Muslim

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. his collected works: *Sočinenija* 1-9.

sources which gave information about Eastern Europe. The German Marquart played the same role in Western Europe. His work, the famous *Streifzüge* (1903), can be regarded as the starting point in the philology of Oriental sources concerning Eastern Europe. The Russian tradition was followed by Minorsky who translated three basic sources into English, but the real value of his work lies in the comments which are useful historical treatises (1937, 1942, 1958). Among the Soviet Orientalists Kovalevskij is worth mentioning from our point of view since he edited, translated, and commented on the description of Ibn Fadlān about his journey of 922 to the court of the Volga Bulghar king (1956). The discovery of the new MS of Ibn Fadlān in Mashhad was significant as a more complete version was found by Togan. Beside the edition of Kovalevskij Togan published the critical text with German translation and commentary (1939). Another outstanding Soviet Orientalist was Zahoder (1962, 1967) who gathered the information about the peoples of Eastern Europe from various sources. A unique enterprise was undertaken by the Hungarian Orientalist Kmoskó who is known as the historian of the steppe people by his two articles (1921, 1924-25). He translated extracts from the Syriac and Muslim sources concerning the peoples of northern Eurasia into Hungarian and commented on them. His work has never been published. To indicate magnitude of his MS remains, they consist of 2180 pages and he translated extracts from 35 Arabic works.<sup>3</sup> I used the MSS of Kmoskó which gave useful references in most cases during my work. The work of Kmoskó can be compared with that of Minorsky if the unpublished MSS are taken into consideration. The work of Kmoskó has been followed by a series of articles of Czeglédy in which he was dealing with the early history of the Turkic peoples of Eurasia.

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<sup>3</sup> The description of the MSS of Kmoskó cf. Czeglédy 1954.



After brief review of the literature in different fields of sciences I supposed that some of the Turkic tribes who founded the Volga Bulghar Empire moved to the middle Volga as a consequence of the Arab-Khazar wars around the middle of the 8th century agreeing with the archeologists. The archeological finds, however, reflect a new and more numerous group by the end of the 9th century. The historical numismatics show that the dirhams unearthed in Eastern Europe were taken from the central Islamic lands in the 9th century, but they were imported from Transoxania from the end of the 9th century. According to the Chuvash language history, the first Chuvash type loanwords in the Proto-Permian were taken during the 10th century. Finally, the Volga Bulgars appeared in the written sources at best at the end of the 9th century. All of these traces suggest that something very important happened at the end of the 9th century. The only recorded historical event which was significant in the history of Eastern Europe was the westward migration of the Pechenegs in the 890s who moved from the Ural River to the region north of the Black Sea crossing the Volga and the Don. In my opinion it was the turning point of the history of the Volga Bulgars and it caused the second migration of the Turkic tribes to the Volga-Kama region.

## SOURCES

Here only those Muslim sources are going to be dealt with in which the Volga Bulgars were described or supposedly mentioned. Some of these works have been lost. Most of the relevant sources belong to the Arabic geographical literature. The Muslim geographical science, the origin of geography among the Arabs and its different developments, and the works of the geographers have been studied thoroughly by Kračkovskij (1957) and recently by Miquel (1973).<sup>4</sup>

My aim is to give some basic information on the author and his work including the date of composition, the dates of the MSS, the sources of his knowledge concerning the peoples of Eastern Europe, and the names of the later writers who excerpted the given author.

### *Sallām the Interpreter*

Sallām was a Turkic interpreter in the court of Caliph Wāthiq (842-847), who sent him to the wall of Gog and Magog. The description of his journey was recorded by Ibn Khurdādhbih who stated that Sallām was his source on it (BGA VI, 162-170). According to Kmoskó, two versions can be reconstructed: a shorter one which is the older, represented by Ibn Khurdādhbih and those writers who used this part of his work as a source,<sup>5</sup> and a longer version has been preserved by Idrīsī (934-938) and Nuwairī. They gave further details about

<sup>4</sup> Other useful reviews of the Muslim geographers can be read in the works of Barthold (cf. Minorsky 1937, 8-44), Kmoskó (MII, 10-78 cf. Czeplédy 1954, 70-78), Brockelmann (1943, I, 257-264, 626-635), Zahoder (1962, 9-89), Lewicki (1965) and Dunlop (1971, 150-171).

<sup>5</sup> Muqaddasi (BGA III, 362-365), Hamadhānī (BGA V, 301), Ibn Rusta (BGA VII, 148) and Yāqūt (1979, III, 199-200).

the Islamization of the people who protected the wall of Gog and Magog. Kmoskó attributed this dispatched account to Jayhānī since Idrīsī said that he had relied on the description by Ibn Khurdādhbih and Jayhānī (Kmoskó AI, 65). The authenticity of Sallām's journey is still debated.<sup>6</sup> Its French translation was done by de Goeje (BGA VI, 124-131) and Wiet (1955, 167-172).

### *Jarmī*

Ibn Khurdādhbih quoted Muslim Ibn Abī Muslim al-Jarmī as the source of the Byzantine Empire's description (BGA VI, 102-112). Other fragments of Jarmī's book can be found in the works of Qudāma (BGA VI, 252-259), Mas'ūdī (BGA VIII, 137-141, 176-180), Idrīsī (802-804), and in the *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam* (Minorsky 1937, 156-158).

Mas'ūdī wrote about Jarmī in his *Tanbīh* that he was redeemed from Byzantine captivity in 845-846 and composed a book "on the history of the Byzantines and their kings and dignitaries, on their land and its roads and routes, the times (favourable) for the raids into their territory, the campaigns therein, on the neighbouring kingdoms of the *Burjān*, *Abar*, *Burghar*, *Ṣaqāliba* and *Khazar*" (Minorsky 1937, 419; Arabic: BGA VIII, 190-191). Minorsky identified *Burjān* with the Danubian Bulgars and *Ṣaqāliba* with the Serbs on the basis of different fragments of Jarmī's work (1937, 423). For the name *Burghar*, Minorsky wrote: "It is true that Muslim, v.s., is also said to have written of the Burghars but this term could possibly refer to the Volga, or Azov Sea, Bulgars" (1937, 423 note 1). The extracts of Jarmī in the works of Ibn Khurdādhbih, Qudāma and Idrīsī did not contain the form *Burghar*. The author of the *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam* describing the Byzantine Empire mentioned the province of the *Burjāns* and a

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also Zichy 1922, 190-204; Wilson 1923, 575-612; Kračkovskij 1957, 137-141; Miquel 1973, XVIII-XIX.

people called *Bulgharī* (Minorsky 1937, 157). These two ethnonyms refer to the same group i.e. Danubian Bulgars, but described under two names (Minorsky 1937, 423). The name *Bulghār* occurs as *Burghar* in Mas'ūdī's works. Mas'ūdī confused the Volga Bulgars with the Danubian Bulgars in his *Murūj al-dhahab* several times (cf. Minorsky 1958, 149-150). The term *Burghar* in Mas'ūdī's last work the *Tanbīh* referred to the Danubian Bulgars as he mentioned that the *Burghars* stayed on the banks of the Danube (BGA VIII, 67, 183), on the shore of the Black Sea (66), or together with other peoples living west of the Khazars (141, 180, 181, 183, 196, 225). So it seems to be probable that Mas'ūdī, relying on Jarmī's work used two terms, *Burjān* and *Burghar*, denoting the Danubian Bulgars. The name *Burghar* could not refer to the Volga Bulgars as it was said that the kingdom of *Burghar* was in neighbourhood of the Byzantine Empire.

Marquart accepted Harkavy's view according to which Jayhānī depended on Jarmī's work as the source of the description of the northern peoples in his writings (Marquart 1903, 28-30). This was denied by Kmoskó (MII, 17), Minorsky (1937, 424), and Czeglédy (1945, 40) stating that the Khazar Sea means the Black Sea in the work of Jarmī, whereas Jayhānī used this term for the Caspian Sea. The Christianization of the *Ṣaqqāliba* mentioned by Jayhānī refers to a later date and other source.

### *Hārūn ibn Yahyā*

His work was excerpted by Ibn Rusta (BGA VII, 119-130). Marquart translated and commented on it (1903, 206-270). Hārūn ibn Yahyā was a war prisoner in Constantinople and gave a description of the Byzantine Empire and its neighbours, among them the Bulgars (Danubian). Marquart dated this work between 880 and 890 as he suggested that the *malik al-Burjān* was identical

with Boso, the king of Burgund, who was crowned in 879 and that the Christianization of the *Ṣaqāliba* happened in 877 in the time of Emperor Basil I (866-886) (Marquart 1903, 207). According to Minorsky, "the text seems to indicate that Emperor Basil I's time (A. D. 866-886) was regarded as past, therefore we may bring Hārūn's date down to years 890-900" (1937, 424).

Minorsky supposed that the chapters on the Hungarians (*Majghar*), *WNNDR* (Onogundur=Danubian Bulgars here) and *Mirwāt* in the *Hudūd al-‘Ālam* and in Gardīzī's book were taken from Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā through Jayhānī (1937, 424, 468). Czeglédy (1945, 40-41) did not accept Minorsky's view as Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā called the Danubian Bulgars *Bulghar* and did not mention them as *WNNDR*. Another contradiction appears in their relation with the Byzantines as according to Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā, "...the people of *Bulghar* wage war against the Byzantines and the Byzantines wage war against them" (BGA VII, 126<sup>22-23</sup>) while Gardīzī said: "[On] the river that is to the left of them [i.e. the Danube], towards the *Saqlābs*, there are a people belonging to the Byzantines, all of whom are Christians (*qomī and az Rūm; hame tarsā and*) [i.e. all are Orthodox or of Greek rite]. These are called *Nandur* (*N.nd.r.*)." (Martinez 1982, 160). These differences preclude the possibility of direct borrowing from the lost part of Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā.

### *Ibn Khurdādhbih*

Work: *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*. Ed. BGA VI, 1-183.

<u>MSS:</u>	Bodleian	Date: 1232/3	B in the ed.
	Nationalbibliothek Vienna.	Date: before the 12th century,	A in the ed.

He was Persian in the service of the Abbasid Court during the 9th century. He was a familiar of the Caliph Mu'tamid (870-892). According to de Goeje, his geographical work had two versions. The earlier was written in 846-847 and MS B represents it. He then supplemented this work and reedited it in 885-886 (BGA VI, XVIII-XXI). Marquart (1903, 390) accepted only the later date as Tamīm ibn Baḥr's journey to the Uyghurs was described in both versions and, according to Marquart, Tamīm visited the later Uyghurs of Turfan who settled there in 866. Minorsky restored the force of de Goeje's arguments by dating Tamīm's journey to 821 (1948, 303). Ibn Khurdādhbih's work was widely used by later geographers, among others Qudāma, Hamadhānī Mas'ūdī etc., but perhaps the most significant follower was Jayhānī (and through him Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī, Bakrī etc.). It is supposed that Jayhānī could use Ibn Khurdādhbih's original version and not its compendium published by de Goeje.<sup>7</sup>

### *Hamadhānī*

Work:        *Kitāb al-buldān*. Ed. BGA V.

<u>MSS:</u>	British Museum	Undated	B in the ed.
	India Office	Date: 1315	I in the ed.
	Berlin, Sprenger	Date: 1013	S in the ed.

De Goeje dated the composition of Hamadhānī to 902 as later events were not referred to and he proved that Hamadhānī had excerpted the book of Ibn Khurdādhbih and not that of Jayhānī as it was stated by al-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* where he accused Hamadhānī of plundering the work of Jayhānī (BGA

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also Minorsky 1942, 6-11; Barthold: Minorsky 1937, 12-15; Kračkovskij 1957, 147-150; Miquel 1973, XXI, 87-92.



Faḍlān made inquiries about the adjoining countries so he wrote about the Khazars, Rūs and Wīsū, too.

Before the discovery of the Mashhad MS the *Risāla* was known from the extracts of Yāqūt's *Muʿjam al-buldān* under the titles of Khwārizm, Khazar, Rūs Atil, Bāshghird and Bulghār. The Mashhad MS is an uninterrupted text and gives further details. Mention must be made of the two Persian authors who excerpted the *Risāla* independently: Aḥmad Tūsī flourished 1173-1193, Kovalevskij proved that the author of *ʿAjāyib al-makhlūqāt* was not Aḥmad Tūsī but Najīb Hamadhānī (Togan 1939, IX-XI; Kovalevskij 1956, 93-95), and Amīn Rāzī who wrote his *Haft Iqlīm* in 1593 (Togan 1939, XI; Kovalevskij 1956, 95). The critical edition of Ibn Faḍlān's text including all these variants was published by A. Zeki Validi Togan with a German translation and commentary (1939). In the same year the Russian edition was published under the name of Kračkovskij, but the translation, the commentary, and the introductory chapter was written by his student Kovalevskij. Ritter (1942) and Czeglédy (1950-1951, 217-242) provided further philological notes on the text. Finally Kovalevskij published a book on the work of Ibn Faḍlān with an introduction which gave a survey of all the literature on the problems of the *Risāla* up to 1956. It was then followed by the Russian translation with commentary (Kovalevskij 1956).

### *Jayhānī*

Work:        *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik.*

As for his life, we have to identify the author of this book from three persons who were called Jayhānī:

1. Abū ʿAbdillāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad was appointed to a minister in the Samanid court in 913 and "... he wrote letters to all the counties of the world and requested that the customs of every court and *divān* should be



written down and brought to him, such [as existed in] the Byzantine Empire, Turkistān, Hindūstān, China..." (Minorsky 1937, XVII). Ibn Faḍlān must have met him in Bukhara in 921. Jayhānī may have had good relation with Balkhī who died in 934.

2. His son Abū 'Alī Muḥammad became a wazīr in 937 and died in 941.

3. His grandson: Ibn Jayhānī was appointed to a wazīr in 976 (Miquel 1973, XXIII-XXV).

The geographer whose work is very important concerning the history of Eastern Europe must have been the person discussed under number one. According to Pellat, this basic work was supplemented by his descendants (EI suppl., 256).

His great geographical work was lost. We know, however that Jayhānī gathered information systematically so we can reconstruct most of it. His most important written source was the work of Ibn Khurdādhbih as Muqaddasī remarked (BGA III, 241<sup>8-9</sup>). But as it was quoted, he wrote letters and questioned the passing embassies. Muqaddasī said: "[He] assembled foreigners, questioned them on the kingdoms, their revenues, the kind of roads leading to them..." (Minorsky 1937, XVIII).

There is a long debate on the date of its composition. The crucial point is the date of Ibn Rusta's book since it is generally accepted that he excerpted the work of Jayhānī, though Barthold tried to prove that Ibn Rusta had utilized a more complete version of Ibn Khurdādhbih's book which has not come down to us (1968, 511-513). According to Minorsky, "All we can say is that I. Rusta's quotations are probably borrowed from the complete I. Kh. (which was used by Jayhānī as his ground-work), or possibly that I. Rusta used only an earlier draft of Jayhānī which did not include the later additions" (1942, 9). Hvolson dated Ibn Rusta between 903 and 913. His main point is that Ibn Rusta did not mention the campaign of the Rūs against the people living on the shore of the

Caspian Sea in 913 which proves that it was compiled before this date (Hvolson 1869, 4). Zahoder did not accept this argument (1962, 67). De Goeje supposed that it was written circa 903 because Ibn Rusta said that he had visited Mecca in 903 and he had not considered any event after this date (BGA VII, V-VI). This date was held by Dunlop (1971, 164), Miquel (1973, XXII) and Golden (1980, I. 115). Marquart thought that Jayhānī should have written his book after 922 as the name of the Volga Bulghar king, Almish occurs in the description of Eastern Europe and this information was taken from Ibn Fadlān (1903, 25-26). This concept was accepted and supported by Kmoskó (MII, 49 cf. Czeglédy 1954, 87-88) and Czeglédy (1986, 84-85). Zahoder found further parallel descriptions between Ibn Fadlān and Ibn Rusta (1962, 56).

The lost work of Jayhānī was utilized by many authors: Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī, Bakrī, Maqdisī, the unknown writer of the *Hudūd al-‘Ālam*, Marvazī, ‘Aufī etc. Kmoskó reconstructed some parts of Jayhānī’s work on the understanding that Bakrī quoted him in his description of the Oxus and also referred to his name (Kunik-Rozen 1878, 25-27). Since the same can be read in the works of Ibn Rusta (BGA VII, 91-92) and Maqdisī (Huart IV, 55-56) Kmoskó supposed that the similar accounts in the works of Ibn Rusta and Maqdisī were taken from Jayhānī, such as:

1. The description of the seas (BGA VII, 83; Huart IV, 51)
2. The description of the rivers (BGA VII, 89; Huart IV, 53)
3. The description of the seven climates (BGA VII, 96; Huart IV, 47)
4. The Eastern European peoples (BGA VII, 145-147; Huart IV, 62-63)
5. The route from Iraq to Mecca (BGA VII, 185; Huart IV, 85).

Kmoskó suggested that the chapter on the routes from Baghdad to the most remote part of Khurāsān (BGA VII, 163-191) is from Jayhānī because it represents a much more complete version of Ibn Khurdādhbih and the accounts of Sallām, the Interpreter and Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā must have been read in the

book of Jayhānī, too (Kmoskó MII, 46-48). Minorsky also proved that the coinciding items in the works of Gardīzī and Marvazī concerning India and China passed through Jayhānī (1942, 62-63; 123-127).<sup>9</sup>

*Ibn Rusta*

Work: *Kitāb al-a'lāq al-nafīsa*. Ed. BGA VII, 1-229.

MS: British Museum                      Date: 1254

As he remarked, he was a native of Ispahān (BGA VII, V, 151<sup>13</sup>; Wiet 1955, 175). The date and source of his work was mentioned under Jayhānī. The accounts of the Eastern European peoples: Khazar, Burdās, Bulkār, Majghar, Ṣaqlab and Rūs were edited and translated into Russian with commentary by Hvolson (1869). The French translation of this work was done by Wiet (1955).<sup>10</sup>

*Balkhī*

Work: *Ṣuwar al-aqālīm*

He was born in Balkh around 850. He visited Iraq where he learned sciences from the well-known philosopher Kindī. Then he returned to Khurāsān and lived there. It is known from the *Fihrist* of al-Nadīm that he had good relations with Jahyānī who sent him slave-girls (Barthold: Minorsky 1937, 15-17). He died in 934 (Kračkovskij 1957, 194-196). Balkhī must have known the work of Jayhānī; As he lived in Khurāsān which was also a commercial centre for Eastern Europe, he may have had original information about it (Zahoder 1962, 49-51).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. also Kračkovskij 1957, 219-224; Miquel 1973, 92-95.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also Kračkovskij 1957, 159-160; Miquel 1973, XXII-XXIII, 192-202.

His geographical work which has not come down to us in its original form, was a commentary to the maps. It was seen by Muqaddasī (BGA III, 5). The work of Balkhī was dated to 920 or a little later by de Goeje (1871, 49). It was supplemented by Iṣṭakhrī and this later version was the basis for Ibn Hauqal. Barthold suggested that Muqaddasī might have used both the work of Balkhī and Iṣṭakhrī's reedition since "Khorāsān, Sistān, and Mā-warā' al-nahr, Balkhī is preferentially quoted; while in three others, Fārs, Kirmān, and Sind, preference is given to Iṣṭakhrī." (Minorsky 1937, 19).

### *Iṣṭakhrī*

Work:        *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*. Ed. BGA I.

<u>MSS:</u>	Bologna		A in the ed.
	Berlin	Date: 1840	B in the ed.
	Gotha	Date: 1173	C in the ed.
	Persian transl. of the Gotha Ms.	Date: 1605	E in the ed.
	Leiden	Date: 1193	(cf. BGA IV, 381-431)

According to de Goeje, there are two versions, the first is represented by the Gotha MS and its Persian translation which was composed by Iṣṭakhrī between 930 and 933, i.e. in Balkhī's life. His widely used version represented by the Bologna and Berlin MSS was dated to 951. De Goeje thought that Iṣṭakhrī met Ibn Hauqal and gave him permission to revise his work at the same time (de Goeje 1871, 49-53; Barthold: Minorsky 1937, 19). Ritter discovered six MSS of Iṣṭakhrī in Istanbul (1930, 55-56). Kramers, revising the question of the

Balkhī tradition on the basis of the maps, stated that the Bologna and Berlin MSS are later copies of a MS from 1193 and he added two MSS, i.e. Hamburg and British Museum. Excluding two of the Constantinople ones, Kramers divided the MSS into two groups:

**Iṣṭakhṛī I:** MSS of Gotha ar. 1521, Leiden ar. 1702, Consple B. S. 3348 (date: 1284), Hamburg and the Persian texts.

**Iṣṭakhṛī II:** MSS of Consple A. S. 2971, 2613 and Consple B. S. 2830, London Br. Mus. Or. 5305, Bologna, Berlin ar. 6032. (Kramers 1932, 12-16).

A new edition is required in spite of the fact that Muḥammad Jābir al-Hīnī edited a new critical text using the MSS of Dār al-kutub in Cairo (199, 256, 257).

The chapter on the Khazar Sea (Caspian Sea) was translated by Dunlop (1954, 91-100). According to Kmoskó (1921, 140-148), this chapter seems to be collated from two accounts since the order of the description of the different peoples is the following: "...the Khazars, especially with reference to the king (Bak, Beg), - the river Atil (Volga) - Samandar, Sarīr, Burṭās - the Khazars, especially with reference to the Khaqan-Burṭās, Bashkirs, Bulgars, Russians." (Dunlop 1954, 102). Dunlop agreed with Kmoskó's idea concerning the structure of this chapter but he did not accept his suggested date, c. 800, but he dated it to the beginning of the 10th century (1954, 103-104).

Zahoder found parallel accounts in Iṣṭakhṛī's work with that of Ibn Fadlān. Iṣṭakhṛī mentioned a *khaṭīb*, who preached in the Bulghar towns, twice, and he took two records of this *khaṭīb*: the number of the inhabitants of the Bulghar towns and the shortness of the summer nights at the Bulghars which both coincide with the *Risāla* of Ibn Fadlān (Zahoder 1962, 78).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Cf. also Kračkovskij 1957, 196-198; Miquel 1973, XXXI, 292-299.

*Mas'ūdī*

Work 1: *Murūj al-dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawhar*. Ed. Barbier de Meynard-Pavet de Courteille, 1861-1877.

<u>MSS:</u>	Paris 714 du supplement arabe	Date: 1708	A in the ed.
	Paris 598 Ancien fonds arabe	Date: 1566	B in the ed.
	Paris 579 Ancien fonds arabe	Undated	C in the ed.
	Societe Asiatique	Date: 1194	D in the ed.

Work 2: *Kitāb al-tanbīh*. BGA VIII.

<u>MSS:</u>	Paris	P in the ed.
	London, British Museum	L in the ed.

Mas'ūdī was an outstanding writer of the 10th century whose main interest was history. During his life he travelled from place to place and visited most parts of the Islamic land. Marquart called him the forerunner of modern reporters and globetrotters (1903, XXV). He died in Cairo in 956.

He wrote many books, but only two of them have come down to us. The *Murūj al-dhahab* was written between 943-947 and the *Kitāb al-tanbīh* was completed in 956. According to Dunlop, "both these existing works include at once a cosmography and a history from earliest times, taking account of biblical history and of the history of the Arabs before Muḥammad, which were commonly linked. Both give more or less attention to the past of nations, Persians, Greeks, Indians, etc., with notices remarkable customs and other matters of interest about them, and some geographical information. Both culminate in a

history of the Islamic world since the appearance of the Prophet, the last occupying about half of the *Murāj adh-Dhahab* (part of volume iv and volumes v-ix in the Paris edition), and rather less than half of the *Tanbīh*." (Dunlop 1971, 102).

Mas'ūdī took Ya'qūbī's History as a model and Marquart supposed that the source of the description of the northern peoples in Mas'ūdī's works was the lost part of Ya'qūbī's *Kitāb al-buldān* (Marquart 1903, XXXIV). Dunlop did not accept this opinion as some events mentioned in the works of Mas'ūdī happened after the death of Ya'qūbī (Dunlop 1971, 103). Mas'ūdī enumerated his sources in the introduction of the *Murāj* and he mentioned among other things, the works of Ibn Khurdādhbih and Qudāma ibn Ja'far. He quoted Jayhānī's book as a source in the *Tanbīh* (BGA VIII, 75). Zahoder tried to prove that Mas'ūdī knew the *Risāla* of Ibn Faḍlān or he might have met him somewhere south of the Caspian Sea (Zahoder 1967, 181-184).<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. also Kmoskó MII, 99-111, Brockelmann 1943, I, 150-152; Kračkovskij 1957, 171-182; Miquel 1973, XXIX, 202-212.

*Ibn Hauqal*

**Work:** There are two titles of the same work: *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*. Ed. BGA II and *Kitāb ṣūrat al-ard*. Ed. BGA II<sup>2</sup>

<b>MSS:</b>	Istanbul B. S. 3346	Date: 1086	It is the basis of BGA II <sup>2</sup>
	Leiden	Undated	L in BGA II, in BGA II <sup>2</sup> : حَل
	Oxford		B in BGA II, in BGA II <sup>2</sup> : حَو
	Paris	Date: 16th c.	P in BGA II, in BGA II <sup>2</sup> : حَب

Kramers supposed three versions: I. the Istanbul MS (plus Consple A. S. 2577); II. MSS of Oxford and Leiden without maps; III. Paris MS which is an abridgement of the Istanbul MS supplemented annotations relating to period of the epitomizer (1139-1184) (plus MSS Consple B. S. 3347, A. S. 2934) (Kramers 1932, 16-20).

Ibn Hauqal belongs to the line of Balkhī as he revised the work of Iṣṭakhrī who he met providing valuable addenda such as the story of judgement of the Khazar Khaqan and the Rūs attack against the Khazar capital, etc. As for the latter information, he got it in Jurjān in 968 (BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 393). He must have travelled the Muslim East and some years before finishing his work lived in the West as a subject of the Fāṭimid Caliph. This could explain why his work was not translated into Persian (Barthold: Minorsky 1937, 19-20). According to de Goeje, Ibn Hauqal finished his work before 977 as it is stated that the *khuṭba* was read in the name of the Fāṭimid Caliph by the Ziyādid ruler of Yemen and this situation changed after 977 (BGA IV, V). Barthold proved that



changing of the names of the Fātimids to Ziyādids took place in 987 (Minorsky 1937, 20 note 3). It means that the work must be dated before 987.

Ibn Hauqal himself wrote that he took the books of Ibn Khurdādhbih and Jayhānī and Qudāma during his travel and made notes to them (BGA II, 236; cf. Kračkovskij 1957, 198).<sup>13</sup> The French translation of the second revised edition was done by Kramers and Wiet (1964).

### *Muqaddasī*

**Work:** *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm*. Ed. BGA III.

<b>MSS:</b>	Berlin	Date: 1854	B in the ed.
	Istanbul	Date: 1260	C in the ed.

Muqaddasī belonged to the Balkhī school showing much more originality than his predecessors. He gave a systematic description of the Islamic provinces including geographical and sociological features (Dunlop 1971, 165-167; Miquel 1973, XXXIV, 313-330). He was born in 946 and died around 1000 (Kračkovskij 1957, 210-211). The introduction of his work is dated to 985 but one passage points to 997 (BGA III, VII; Minorsky 1937, XIX note 1). According to Kračkovskij, there were two versions: the first is from 985 as the author says, and the second one is from 988 which was used by Yāqūt (1957, 211).

Besides the Balkhī tradition, Muqaddasī used other written sources. He mentioned Jayhānī first among his sources in the preface and gave a critical review of it (BGA III, 3-4; Minorsky 1937, XVIII). Kmoskó gathered all the

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also Miquel 1973, XXXIV, 299-309.

references to Jayhānī as Muqaddasī quoted him many times.<sup>14</sup> It proves that Muqaddasī read the works of Ibn Khurdādhbih and Jayhānī and relied on the latter one when he compiled his book (Kmoskó M II, 43-44).

*Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*

Ed. Barthold 1930 (facsimile).

MS: Leningrad Date 1258

The Persian text was translated into English with commentary by Minorsky (1937). The author of the book is not known. He was a native of Gūzgān (Northern Afghanistan) as he dedicated his book to the local ruler of the Farīghūnid Dynasty there and only the description of Gūzgān and perhaps Gilān shows personal experiences (Minorsky 1937, VII, XIV). This book was compiled in 982-983. The author was not a traveller so he used written sources and oral traditions. His main sources were Iṣṭakhrī for the Islamic world and Jayhānī for the non-Islamic lands (Turks, Eastern Europe etc.) (Minorsky 1937, XIV-XIX; Minorsky 1942, 9).

*Ibn al-Nadīm*

Work: *Kitāb al-fihrist*. Ed. Flügel 1871.

<u>MSS:</u>	Leiden		L in the ed.
	Paris	Date: 1864	C in the ed.
	Paris	Date: 1220	P in the ed.

<sup>14</sup> The number of seas BGA III, 16; Nile - 20; Khurāsān - 68; South Mesopotamia - 115; Muqaddasī said: "If you examine the book of Jayhānī, you will find that he took possession all the basis of Ibn Khurdādhbih and built it on this" - 241; Soghd - 269.

Vienna No. 33

H in the ed.

Vienna No. 34

V in the ed.

Ibn al-Nadīm was born in the 930s and died in 995 or 998. He was a bookseller and copyist living in Baghdad. As a bookseller he wrote notes about the authors of the books in the store and made a catalogue with useful information about the writers and their works. Finally his collection became an encyclopaedia of the works of the bookmarket in Baghdad. Ibn al-Nadīm completed his *Fihrist* in 988, according to his own statement (Füeck 1981, 17-30; Dodge 1970, I, XV-XXIV).

Ritter found new MSS of the *Fihrist* in Istanbul (1928) later other MSS were discovered (Dodge 1970, I, XXIV-XXXIV). According to Füeck, there are two recensions of the *Fihrist* which is divided into ten discourses: 1. the Holy Scriptures of Muslims etc.; 2. grammar and philology; 3. history, biography, genealogy etc.; 4. poetry; 5. scholastic theology; 6. law and tradition; 7. philosophy and the ancient sciences; 8. legends, fables, magic, etc.; 9. doctrines of the non-monotheistic creeds; 10. alchemy.

The first edition contains all these chapters, while a shorter edition was published with only the last four chapters dealing with the non-Islamic subjects in it (Füeck 1981, 18-19, 28-29).

### **Bīrūnī**

**Work:** *Kitāb al-āthār al-bāqīya ʿan al-quṭūb al-khāliya*. Ed. Sachau 1923.

**MSS:** Paris      Date: 17th c.      P in the ed.

London, British Museum,      Date: 1668      I. in the ed.  
Add. 7491

London, British Museum, Date: 1838 R in the ed.  
Rawlinson coll.

All the MSS are characterized by the same faults and gaps and reflect one old MS (Sachau 1923, LVI). A new MS from the 13th century was discovered in the Soviet Union (Kračkovskij 1957, 252-253).

Bīrūnī was a native of Khwārizm and was an outstanding polihistor of the Muslim East. He wrote this work circa 1000. His book is a description of different calendars and feasts of the nations and religions.<sup>15</sup>

### *Gardīzī*

Work: *Zayn al-akhbār*. Ed. Ḥabībī 1968.

MSS: Cambridge Date: 16th or 17th  
c.

Oxford (a copy of the Date: 18th c.  
Cambridge MS)

Gardīzī's chapters on the Turks were edited by Barthold (1973) on the basis of the Oxford MS. Kmoskó reconstructed the critical text using both MSS but his edition with a German translation has not been published (cf. Czeglédy 1954, 82-90). The critical text of Gardīzī was published by Ḥabībī in 1968. Recently, Martinez published the facsimile of the Cambridge MS with an English translation (1982).

Gardīzī was a younger contemporary of Bīrūnī in the Ghaznavid court. He wrote his work in the middle of the 11th century as it was 'dedicated' to 'Abd al-Rashīd who reigned between 1050 and 1052. His work contains the

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Sachau 1923, XX-XXV; Kračkovskij 1957, 244-262; Miquel 1973, XXXVI, 223-227.

History of Persia, the Turkic nations, some chronological questions similar to Bīrūnī, and the customs of India. The description of the Turks are from two different sources. Czeglédy proved that the description of the peoples living in the eastern part of Eurasia is from the work of Pseudo Ibn Muqaffa' written circa 780 while as for Eastern Europe, Gardīzī took his information from Jayhānī's work (Czeglédy 1972, 138-145; Czeglédy 1973, 257-267).

### *Bakrī*

Work:        *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*. Ed. Kunik-Rozen 1878.

MS:        Istanbul, Nur-i Uthmaniya        Date: 1447  
3034

Three new MSS have been discovered (Kračkovskij 1957, 276 note 5). Bakrī lived in Spain and gathered information about Eastern Europe from different books. He died in 1094. He finished this work in 1086. Kunik and Rozen published nine excerpts of it. In excerpt 9 Bakrī described Eastern Europe with the exception of the Saqlabs and the Rūs on the basis of the Jayhānī tradition (Minorsky 1942, 10; Zahoder 1962, 64-66). He got his information on Eastern Europe in fragment 7 from Mas'ūdī's *Murūj*. The bestknown excerpt is the eighth as it contains the chapter on the Slavs originally recorded by the Jewish traveller, Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb from 965 (Kračkovskij 1957, 190-192; Miquel 1973, XXXII).

### *Marvazī*

Work:        *Tabā'īf al-ḥayawān*. Ed. Minorsky 1942.

MS:        London, India Office        Date 1369

Marvazī was a native of Marv and was employed as a physician at the Court of the Saljukid Sultan Malik-shāh and his successors. His work was completed circa 1120. His main source about Eastern Europe was the lost books of Jayhānī. His work was used extensively by ‘Aufī (Minorsky 1942, 1-10).

*Idrīsī*

Work:        *Kitāb nuzhat al-mushtāq fi iktirāq al-āfāq*. Ed. Cerulli-Gabrielli-Levi Della Vida-Petech-Tucci cf. Idrīsī 1970-1978.

<u>MSS:</u>	Paris 2221	Date: 1300	P in the ed.
	Paris 2222	Date: 1344	A in the ed.
	Leningrad	Date: 14th century	L in the ed.

(Only these MSS concern our theme in Vols VII-VIII.)

Idrīsī was born in 1100 and died in 1165. He wrote this work in the Court of Roger II in Sicily and completed it in 1154. He divided the Earth into seven climates from South to North. Every climate consisted of ten parts from West to East on the basis of the work of Ptolemy. Idrīsī described the countries in this order. As for Eastern Europe, he used the works of Jayhānī, Ibn Khurdādhbih, Qudāma and Ibn Hauqal (Kračkovskij 1957, 280-299).

## HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS

### *1. The early Bulgars*

The first reliable appearance of this name attributed to the Greek author Ioannes Antiochenus in the form of Βούλγαροι. The writer lived in the 7th century and according to him, the Bulgars were asked to confederate the Byzantines around 480 (Moravcsik 1983, I, 313-315, II, 100; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1979, 14). This is the accepted form of the name *Bulghar* in the Byzantine sources (Moravcsik 1983, II, 98-106). The early medieval Latin authors called them *Bulgari* and less frequently *Vulgari* which reflects a Greek β (other forms cf. Glossar 1981, 190-195). The Syriac Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor mentioned them as *Burgar* beyond the Caspian Gates around 555 (Czeglédy 1971, 137). The Armenian Pseudo-Moses Chorenaci wrote about the Bulgars in the middle of the 7th century (the variants and commentary cf. Marquart 1903, 57). These data mentioned above were taken from the age of the early Bulgar history (circa 480-680) and all the variants reflect the form *Bul'yar*. The Syriac *Burgar* can be from a Middle-Persian source according to Czeglédy, as "...the Pehlevi script has only one character to denote the two consonants (r, l Z. I.), and thus the translator, if ignorant of the authentic pronunciation, was forced to guess in choosing the two possible ways of transliteration" (Czeglédy 1971, 140).

As for the Volga Bulgars, Ibn Faḍlān used *B<sup>h</sup>lghār* (Togan 1939, A 22<sup>4</sup>; Czeglédy 1950-51, 252, 204a<sup>16</sup>). The Jayhānī tradition gave the form *B<sup>h</sup>lkār* (Ibn Rusta: BGA VII, 140-142; *Hudūd*: Barthold 1930, 76<sup>15</sup>; Gardīzī: Martínez 1982, 204<sup>15</sup>, 207<sup>17</sup>; Bakrī: *B<sup>h</sup>lkān* Kunik-Rozen 1878, 44<sup>16, 17, 23</sup>). The data of the Balkhī line agree with that of Ibn Faḍlān: *B<sup>h</sup>lghār* (Istakhrī: BGA I, 225<sup>8</sup>; Ibn Hauqal: BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 396; Muqaddasī: BGA III, 51, 355, 361; Marvazī: Minorsky 1942, 44).

*Mas'ūdī* called them as *B<sup>u</sup>rg<sup>h</sup>z* in the *Munāj* (Barbier de Meynard II, 15) but it can be reconstructed as *B<sup>u</sup>rg<sup>h</sup>r*. The same can be found in the *Mu'jam* of Yāqūt quoted from *Mas'ūdī* (1979, I, 385). The *Fihrist* of al-Nadīm contains three forms: *B<sup>u</sup>rg<sup>h</sup>r* (Flügel 1871, 20, 111), *B<sup>u</sup>lg<sup>h</sup>r*, and *B<sup>u</sup>lg<sup>h</sup>ār* (Flügel 1871, 20). The coins of the Volga Bulgars from the 10th century also have *B<sup>u</sup>lg<sup>h</sup>ār* (Fasmer 1925, 29, 36-38).

There are two unusual forms in the Muslim sources of the 10th century: *B<sup>u</sup>lkār* of the Jayhānī tradition which "seems to reflect a Persian pronunciation (cf. also *Burdās* for *Burās*)" according to Minorsky (1942, 110), and *B<sup>u</sup>rg<sup>h</sup>r*. Its connection with the form *B<sup>u</sup>lg<sup>h</sup>ār* is not obvious.

The long version of the reply of Joseph, the ruler of the Khazars in the 10th century mentioned *Bul-g-r* among the peoples living on the banks of the Volga (Kokovcov 1932, 98).

The first dated reference to the Volga Bulgars in the Russian annals is from 985 in the form of *Болгары* where the *o* is secondary from an original *u* (PSRL I, 84).

The form *Bulghar* is found in most of the sources concerning the history of the Volga Bulgars from the 11th to the 14th century. The Muslim sources have *B<sup>u</sup>lg<sup>h</sup>ār* in the following pages Kāshgharī: Atalay 1941, 25<sup>6</sup>; Abū Hāmid: Dubler 1953, 9; Ibn al-Athīr: IX, 498, 502, 520, XII, 388; Juwainī: Qazwīnī I, 31, 150, 205, 222, 224; Rashīd al-Dīn: Ali-Zade 1980, II/1, 123, 125, 128, *Balgār*: 57; Volga Bulgar inscriptions: Hakimzjanov 1978, 152-153, 158-159, 1987, 92-93.

The Latin sources of the 13th century reflect the same form. Julianus used the form *Bulgaria* (Dörrie 1956, 156) and *Bulgar* (Dörrie 1956, 166, 173, 174). Plano Carpini had *Bulgaria* (Wyngaert 1929, I, 73, 89, 111) as did Rubruk (Wyngaert 1929, I, 199, 209, 212, 218-219).



There is a Chinese record about the *Pu-li-a-erh* from 1330 which was reconstructed by Pelliot as *Bul'ar* (Pelliot 1949, 135). Ligeti did not accept this and supposed that this Chinese form reflected *Bulyar* (Ligeti 1986, 389).

A new form of this name appeared in the 12th century. In Anonymus' *Gesta Hungarorum* from the 12th century it is said that some nobles from the land of *Bular* arrived in Hungary at the time of Taksony (middle of the 10th century). The early date of this form by Anonymus is dubious (SRH I, 114-115; Anonymus 1975, 57<sup>21</sup>).

Abū Hāmid, writing in the middle of the 12th century, gave the etymology of *B'ighār* in his *Mu'rib* (Dubler 1953, 11-12). According to him, the name *B'ighār* means 'scholar' but it is an Arabic form. Originally scholar is called *b.l.r.* among them and this noun became the name of a land because a Muslim *faqīh* cured the Bulghar King and his wife who later converted his people. The Khazar ruler attacked the Bulgars but got defeated as the Bulgars had asked help of Allah. The legend and the etymology is rather questionable. The reconstruction of this name can be only *Biler* on the basis of Turkic language history as this is the aoristos form of the Turkic verb *bil-* 'to know' (Clouston 1972, 330-331).

The form without *γ* is frequently mentioned in the 13th century. The Secret History of the Mongols mentioned *Bolar* twice (Ligeti 1971, 236, 248) and *Buqar* once (243), which was corrected to *Bolar* by Pelliot (1949, 129). Rashīd al-Dīn knew this form and recorded it in two ways: *Bū'īr* (Ali-Zade 1980, II/1, 119, 125, 127) and *Būlār* (123, 163). The Volga Bulghar inscription of Bulgar from 1329 contains the name *B'ī'r* (Hakimzjanov 1978, 126-127). The coins from the 13th century have the form *B.lār* (Muhamediev 1983, 17-18).

Besides the form *Bulgar* the above mentioned Latin authors knew other forms: Plano Carpini: *Biller* (Wyngaert 1929, I, 73) and *Byler* (98, 111); Benedictus Polonus: *Byler* (Wyngaert 1929, I, 138). Finally, the personal name *Belar* in

the work of the Hungarian Simon de Kéza who wrote around 1283 is connected with this form (SRH I, 145<sup>4</sup>).

Ligeti pointed out that the disappearance of the  $\gamma$  after a consonant is a typical Middle-Chuvash change (Ligeti 1986, 31-34, 528). According to Ligeti, the Old-Chuvash  $u$  became  $i$  in the Middle-Chuvash and on the last stage the  $i$  was palatalized. So Ligeti supposed the following order of changes: *Bulγar* > *Bular* > *Biłar* > *Biler* (Ligeti 1986, 280).

The article of Šišmanov gave a full account of the literature on the etymology of the name Bulghar until 1903. He classified the opinions and collected all the forms of the ethnonym (Šišmanov 1903-1904). There are numerous etymologies from different language groups, the most important ones being from Turkic, Slavic and Finno-Ugrian languages. Most of the Slavic, and Finno-Ugrian etymologies connect the ethnonym with the River Volga, including Šišmanov's Finno-Ugrian etymology. Pelliot emphasized that the Bulgars had never called the River Volga as *Volga* but had used the name *Ātil* (Pelliot 1949, 22). Pelliot and Németh accepted only Turkic etymologies on the basis of historical background. Németh adopted the view of Tomaschek who derived the name Bulghar from a Turkic verb *bulγa-* 'to mix' plus  $r$  nomen verbale and its meaning is mixed. This etymology was corroborated by Németh's historical explanation according to which the Huns, retreated to north of the Black Sea after the death of Attila (453) and the Oguric peoples, arrived here from the East (463), mixed and the ethnonym reflects this process (Németh 1930, 95-97). Later Németh abandoned this opinion and preferred Vámbéry's explanation (Šišmanov 1903, 77) according to which the stem verb is *bulγa-* 'to rebel' and the name *Bulghar* means 'rebellious people' (Németh 1978, 68-71, 1982, 7-13). Pelliot accepted the latter etymology but he also suggested another solution: *bul-* 'to find' plus the suffix *-γar* which is the aoristos participium (Pelliot 1949,

228). These three etymologies are the most acceptable from Turkic linguistic point of view, but no preference can be given to any of them.

As for the history of the early Bulgars, they were first authentically mentioned in 480 when the Byzantine Emperor Zeno made an alliance with the Bulgars against the Eastern Goths who raided Thrace. From this time on the Bulgars were recorded in the Byzantine and Latin sources many times. We know from them that the Bulgars attacked Thrace in 489, 493, 499 and 502.

The Byzantine Emperor had the Long Wall built against them in 507. The Bulgars took an active role in the Vitalianus revolt in 513-515. They attacked Illyricum in 518 and 529-30, and raided Moesia in 535 and 539. Some Bulgars became Christians by about 550 and Jordanes reported that they lived north of the Black Sea (Moravcsik 1983, I, 108; Beševliev 1970, 46-51, 1981, 76-84; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1979, 14-36). The Syriac Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor from around 555 recorded that the Bulgars (*Burgar*), who had cities, lived beyond the Caspian Gates and their name was mentioned among the thirteen tent dwelling peoples (Czeglédy 1971, 137). Czeglédy located the land of these heathen Bulgars in the Kuban region, north of the Alan Gate (Darial Pass) (Czeglédy 1971, 147).

Two new tribal names, Utigur and Kutrigur, appeared in the Don region in the middle of the 6th century. The Byzantine policy played one against the other so these two tribal unions weakened in the wars against each other (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1970, 516-520; Beševliev 1981, 95-99).

Most of the Avars became dominant for the first time in the Eastern European steppe in the 550s after the Western Turks had defeated them who, then conquered the northern part of the Black Sea in the 560s. These Avars settled in the Carpathian Basin in 567. The Western Turk rule was, however, short-lived in Eastern Europe as the Avars reoccupied this territory around 600, when the Western Turk power declined (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986, 155-159).

The Bulgars reappeared in the western sources from the end of 6th century on. In most cases they are mentioned as the auxiliary troops of the Avars (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1980, 21-42; Beševliev 1981, 88-90). The Byzantine army attacked the Bulgars at the Lower Danube in 595 (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986, 79). According to Theophanes, the Avar Khaqan besieged Singidunum, but then the Byzantine army took it back from the Bulgars.<sup>16</sup> The Avars attacked Thessalonica around 614-616 and according to the *Miracula Sancti Demetrii*, there were Bulgars among their auxiliary troops (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986, 88, 1983, VII, 97). The Avars tried to capture Constantinople in 626 in which the Bulgars also took part (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986, 91-92).

In 631-632 a civil war broke out between the Avars and the Bulgars as the latter tried to get hold of the throne. Finally the Avars won and drove out the Bulgars from Pannonia (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986, 93). Bóna connected this event with the foundation of the empire of Kuvrat, who was the ruler of the Onogundurs according to Nicephorus Patriarcha (Moravcsik 1983, I, 458). He based this on the fact that Kuvrat revolted successfully against the Avar khaqan in 635 and it led to the division of their empire since the Avars were able to dominate the Carpathian Basin but they lost the territories north of the Black Sea (Bóna 1981, 107).<sup>17</sup>

As for the habitat of the Bulgars during the 5-7th centuries, Beševliev thinks that those Bulgars who were mentioned to stay in the area of the Byzantine provinces and the lower Danube lived in Pannonia (1981, 87), and another group dwelt north of the Black Sea (1981, 145-146). Recently, Bóna has

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<sup>16</sup> The Bulgars were mentioned only by Theophanes, but his source, the work of Theophylactus Simokatta did not contain this ethnonym cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss 1982, VI/2, 142-143.

<sup>17</sup> The date of the revolt is settled on relative chronology of the events, but Szádeczky-Kardoss has doubted its reliability. The date of this revolt can be put to 631-632 cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss 1987, 227-235.

pointed out that the Bulgars whose appearances were on the Balkan Peninsula and in the Carpathian Basin before 631 could not have lived there as they could have reached these territories from the north of the Black Sea (Bóna 1981, 79-107).

Without a doubt, the empire of Kuvrat was centred on the northern shore of the Black Sea and is generally called the Great Bulgar Empire adopting the term of Theophanes the Confessor and Nicephorus Patriarcha. This term is anachronistic, it was used to indicate the former home of the Danubian Bulgars. If we have to give a name to this empire, Onogundur is more appropriate as Kuvrat was the ruler of this tribe. According to Moravcsik, the name Onogundur is identical with Onogur as Agathon called the Danubian Bulgars Onogur-Bulgars when they attacked the Byzantine Empire in 713, whereas Theophanes the Confessor mentioned them as Onogundur-Bulgar when describing the dissolution of Kuvrat's Empire (Moravcsik 1930, 72-73). Szádeczky-Kardoss called my attention to the fact that the MS tradition of Agathon has not been studied in detail, so the value of the datum Onogur is dubious (cf. Moravcsik 1983, I, 217-218). There is more evidence that the form Onogundur is the authentic one. The author of the reply of Joseph, the ruler of the Khazars, said that the antecedents of Joseph had driven out the *V-n-n-t-r* (Onogundur) from their home who then crossed the Danube and settled there (Kokovcov 1930, 92); Constantine Porphyrogenitus reported that the Onogundurs had crossed the Danube in the end of the rule of Constantine Pogonatus (668-685) (Moravcsik 1930, 72, 1983, I, 386). The term *Onogundur* as the name of the Danubian Bulgars was preserved till the 10th century in the form of *V.n.nd.r* in the Jayhānī tradition (Minorsky 1937 465-471) and *Nándor* among the Hungarians (Ligeti 1986, 268-269). It is very strange that another group of the Kuvrat's Empire, which moved to the Carpathian Basin after the fall of the empire, was called *Onogur* (Bóna 1981, 107-112; Király 1987, 162-180, 314-331). So Kuvrat's

Empire, which dominated the territories north of the Black Sea from 631-632 till the 670s, must be called *Onogundur Empire*. The Bulgars and Kutrigurs lived within it. After the death of Kuvrat the Khazars conquered this empire. Some of the tribes migrated to the West. A group of them under Asparuch crossed the Danube and founded the country of the Danubian Bulgars. According to Moravcsik, this new empire was called *Onogundur-Bulghar* at first, but later only *Bulghar* (Moravcsik 1930, 71-73).

The disintegration of Kuvrat's Empire after his death and the story of his five sons who did not keep their father's instruction was recorded by Theophanes and Nicephorus. According to this, four sons moved to the West and only one stayed who became the subject of the Khazar ruler.<sup>18</sup>

All in all, according to the written sources, Bulgars lived in the region north of the Black Sea and on the western half of the South-Russian steppe from the end of the 5th century to the second half of the 7th century.

## II. *S.wār* – *Subir*

In the extant MSS of Ibn Faḍlān we find the tribal name *S.wān* (Togan 1939, A. 33; Czeglédy 1950-1951, 256, 208b<sup>11</sup>). Kovalevskij reconstructed the form *Suwāz*, which he connected with the ethnonym *Chuvash* (1954, 21-29). This view is unacceptable as the reconstruction must be *S.wār* and, what is more, the name *Chuvash* cannot be explained from *S<sup>w</sup>wāz* from Turkic linguistic point of view.

The Balkhī line mentioned the town *S.wār*: de Goeje always reconstructed this name by adding a *damma* to *S<sup>w</sup>wār* whereas the *damma* is not written in the available MSS. Iṣṭakhrī has *S<sup>w</sup>wār* (BGA I, 225<sup>9</sup>) but *S.wār* in the Leiden

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<sup>18</sup> The sources of these events were discussed in detail by Bečevliev cf. 1981, 145-190.

MS (Golden 1980, II, 129<sup>b</sup>). Ibn Ḥauqal wrote *S.wār* (BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 396). Muqaddasī mentioned them three times: *S.wār* (BGA III, 51<sup>6</sup>), *S<sup>w</sup>wār* (BGA III, 335<sup>9</sup>, 361<sup>b</sup>) and *S.wār* in the Berlin MS (Golden 1980, II, 219<sup>15</sup>, 220<sup>9</sup>). *Ḥudūd* contains *S.wār* (Barthold 1930, 76<sup>23</sup>); Marvazī: *S.wār* (Minorsky 1942, A 44); Idrīsī: *S.wār* (918<sup>9</sup>, 920<sup>4</sup>); Yāqūt: *S.wārā* (1979, I, 384).

The name *S.wār* can be seen on the coins of the 10th century (Fasmer 1925, 33-36). The long version of reply of Joseph, the ruler of the Khazars mentioned the name *S-war* which is the name of a Volga Bulghar town and *S-w-r* which is uncertain among the towns and peoples on the banks of the Volga (Kokovcov 1932, 98). Bīrūnī knew the two northern Muslim nations: *B<sup>h</sup>ighār* and *S<sup>o</sup>wār* (Sachau 1923, 4121). Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, who wrote between 1072-1077, and his MS from 1266 (Dankoff-Kelly 1982, 6-10) has the form *S<sup>w</sup>wār* with *damma* (Ātalay 1941, 25<sup>6</sup>). Abū Ḥāmid describing *Saqsin* recorded that the tribe *Ṣ.wār* had a mosque there (Dubler 1953, 5). Finally, the Volga Bulghar inscriptions contain the form *S.wār* (Hakimzjanov 1987, 96-97). Perhaps the form *vedasuar* from Fra Mauro's map of World of 1459 (Tardy 1982, 189-190) can be connected with this name.

This tribal and town name is generally interpreted as *Suwār* with *u* in the literature on the basis of the emendation of de Goeje during the edition of *Iṣṭakhrī*, Muqaddasī. But the first authentic *S<sup>w</sup>wār* form is in the work of Kāshgharī from the end of the 11th century at best.

The name *S.wār* has been connected with a kingdom in the North Caucasus called *S<sup>w</sup>w<sup>o</sup>r* (Golden 1980, I, 87-88) and both have been related to the name *Sabir*. As for the kingdom of *S<sup>w</sup>w<sup>o</sup>r*, Ibn Khurdādhbih said: "Outside *Bāb*, there are Kings of *S<sup>w</sup>w<sup>o</sup>r*, *L<sup>o</sup>kz*, *Allān*, *Filān*, and *M<sup>o</sup>sq<sup>o</sup>t*, and the ruler of *S<sup>o</sup>rīr* and the town *S<sup>o</sup>m<sup>o</sup>n<sup>o</sup>r*" (BGA VI, 124<sup>14-15</sup>). Hamadhānī repeated this sentence word for word (BGA V, 297<sup>17</sup>-298<sup>1</sup>) and the *Ḥudūd* also relied on it, but used the form *Sūr* (Barthold 1930, 76<sup>10</sup>; Minorsky 1937, 162, 454-455). First of all we can

realize that the form *S<sup>w</sup>r* was vocalized by de Goeje because the Vienna MS of Ibn Khurdādhbih (Golden 1980. II, 236<sup>4</sup>) contains *SWR*. Then de Goeje emended this form to *S.wār* in his note (BGA VI, 124 note n). Minorsky was uncertain concerning this emendation (1937, 455), but Golden quoted the emended name *S.wār* from Ibn Khurdādhbih's work as a standard form, whereas Golden quoted the form, *Suwar*, reconstructed by de Goeje on the basis of MS B from the parallel account of Hamadhānī (Golden 1980, I, 256). So the earliest vocalized form is from the *Hudūd* and we have to read it as *Sūr*. Besides de Goeje's vocalization he himself quoted the opinion of Dorn who connected the name *SWR* with the different forms of the Armenian name of the Darband pass *Ch'or* (BGA VI, 297 note p). It was generally recorded as *Ṣūl* in the Arabic sources. Ibn Khurdādhbih also knew the form *Ṣūl* as he mentioned the fortresses of the passes of the Caucasus (BGA VI, 123<sup>14</sup>) which corroborates the assumption of Dorn. So the form *SWR* must be excluded from the investigation of the *S.wār* problem. The name *S.wār* can be connected with the ethnonym *Sabir*. The Sabirs played an important role in the history of the steppe in the 5-6th centuries.

In 463 the Saragurs, Urogs (Ogurs) and Onogurs entered Europe because of pressure from the Sabirs who were driven out by the Avars and migrated to the Kazak steppe (Czeplédy 1983, 97-103, Mohay 1979, 129-144). In 506 or a little earlier the Sabirs also arrived in Europe (Czeplédy 1983, 103; 1971, 147 note 46). They crossed the Darial Pass in the Caucasus and attacked Byzantine territories in 515. The widow of the Sabir King made an alliance with the Byzantine Emperor in 528, but two other kings remained on the Persian side who in 531 plundered Byzantine provinces. In 550 they were mentioned as the confederate of the Persians. In 551 the Byzantine forces captured the fortress of Petra with the help of a machine constructed by a Sabir person. In 558 the Avars, instigated by the Byzantine emperor, attacked the Sabirs and defeated



them (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986, 63). After the fall of their realm they fought against the Byzantines with the Persians in 573. In 574 the Byzantines defeated the Sabirs and settled them around the Kur River in Armenia. They were recorded for the last time during the siege of a Persian fortress in 587 when one man of these Sabirs was mentioned as a member of the Byzantine army (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1977, 277-280; Moravesik 1983, I, 67-69, II, 262-263).

In the Oriental sources the Sabirs were mentioned by the Syriac Pseudo Zacharias Rhetor as one of the tent-dwelling nomadic tribes of the northern Caucasus around 555, and by Pseudo-Moses Chorenaci who located them between the Caucasian Huns (North of the Darband Pass) and the River Volga (Marquart 1903, 58; Minorsky 1937, 401). The date of Pseudo-Moses Chorenaci's description is put to the either 6th century because the name of the Sabirs disappeared after 558 and in that case it contains interpolations of later events, or to the 7th century (Marquart 1903, 58; Golden 1980, I, 120).

So the Sabirs flourished in the first half of the 6th century and lived mainly in the north-eastern part of the Caucasus, as described by Pseudo-Moses Chorenaci. He also wrote that they could cross the Caucasus through the Darband Pass from there.

The form *S.w.r* by Ibn Khurdādhbih and his followers, as it was mentioned above, does not belong to this question. The various forms of the name *Saward*<sup>19</sup> in the Byzantine, Arabic, Hungarian and Armenian sources also must be excluded from our investigation.

### III. *B.rsūlā* ~ *Bārsil*

This tribal name is known only from the Jayhānī tradition: Ibn Rusta: *B.rsūlā* (BGA VII, 141<sup>11</sup>); *Hudūd: B.rđūlā* (Barthold 1930, 76<sup>14</sup>); Gardīzi: *B.rsūlā*

<sup>19</sup> They are thought to be the Hungarian remnants in the Caucasus cf. Czeglédy 1959, 373-385; Golden 1980, I, 256-257.

(Martinez 1982, 204<sup>14</sup>). According to Czeplédy, the final *-a* is a Rus' ethnonymic ending (1983, 104) which is hardly acceptable.

This tribal name is similar to the name *Bärsil*. That group had two branches: one of them lived in the territory north of the Caucasus, the other branch was east of the Urals. Among the Armenian sources the history by Moses Chorenaci mentioned the *Bärsil* as *Baslac'* (Golden 1980, I, 146) three times in connection with the Khazars and Alans in the 1st and 3rd centuries but it must have been an interpolation from those early centuries (Gadlo 1983, 82-83). The Geography of Pseudo Moses Chorenaci put their dwelling place to the lower Volga and said that the *Baslac'* hid themselves from the Khazars on the island of the Volga (Marquart 1903, 153-154; Gadlo 1983, 83; Ludwig 1982, 86). He also mentioned that the wife of the Khazar Khaqan, the *Khatun*, was from among the *Bärsils* (Marquart 1903, 58-59; Gadlo 1983, 83-84).

In the Byzantine sources their name appeared with the Onogurs and Sabirs in the middle of the 6th century when the Avars conquered these nations (Moravcsik 1983, II, 87, 129; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1978, I, 86-87; Gadlo 1983, 84). Around the same date they were recorded by the Syriac Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor among the tent-dwelling nomads, and their name was in the form *B.'g.r.s.y.q* (Czeplédy 1971, 137). The Arabic historian Balādhurī (died in 892) when speaking about the meeting of the Persian King Anūshirwān and the ruler of the Turks said: "The two met at *al-Barshalīyah* where they caroused together for some days,..." (Hitti 1916, 307). As for the form *Barshalīyah*, it is de Goeje's emendation on the basis of Yāqūt's *Mu'jam* (1979, I, 384; cf. Ludwig 1982, 43 note 113) as the MSS have *al-B.rs.līya*<sup>20</sup> (cf. Golden 1980, I, 146; II, 21 <sup>last line</sup>,

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<sup>20</sup> The Arabic termination *īya*, the feminine form of the derived adjective is used to denote a community of people which can refer to ethnonyms: *Majghariya*, *Ṣaqlabiya*, *Rūsiya* etc.

22<sup>14</sup>). Qudāma followed Balādhurī and wrote: "The two met at a place called بوسلية (*Būsīlyā*, a corrupt form of *Barsālyā*)" (BGA VI, 260<sup>s</sup> note c). The meeting of the rulers in the territory of the *B.rs.ls* can be dated to the 560s (Dunlop 1954, 23-25; Golden 1980, I, 146-147; Ludwig 1982, 43).

After a century they were mentioned in connection with the fall of Kuvrat's empire: Theophanes and Nicephorus said that the Khazars came from *Berzilia*, attacking and defeating the sons of Kuvrat (Moravcsik 1983, II, 89; Golden 1980, I, 45; Gadlo 1983, 85). The Syriac Michael Syrus recorded a legend of three brothers who migrated from the East to the Don. One of them called Bulgarios crossed the Danube and asked Emperor Maurice (582-602) to give him land and the emperor gave him Moesia.<sup>21</sup> The other two brothers came to the land of the Alans which is called *Barsāliā*. The name of the elder brother was Khazarig (Marquart 1903, 484-485; Czeglédy 1961, 244; Golden 1980, I, 143-144; Ludwig 1982, 37-45). The geographical name *Bercel* in Hungary is also from the form *Bärsil* (Ligeti 1986, 362).

The *Bärsils* were known in Eastern Europe first in the middle of the 6th century when the Avars entered Europe. Their name then reappeared in the second half of the 7th century in close connection with the foundation of the Khazar Empire. Besides the Khazars, they were generally mentioned together with the Alans. Their dwelling-place must have been located in the north of the Caucasus.

The eastern branch of the *Bärsils* was recorded by Turkic, Tibetan and Chinese sources. The *Bärsil* was mentioned in the inscription of Terkh written around 754 which enumerated Turkic tribes in the part dealing with the history of the first Turk Khaganate (552-630) (Klaštornyj 1982, 345). The Tibetan and

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<sup>21</sup> This event must have taken place a hundred years later.

Chinese data are from the same period and continue on for some time (Ligeti 1986, 360-361).

#### IV. The *Askals*

Ibn Fadlān mentioned this tribal name twice as *Ask.l* (Togan 1939, A 33<sup>10</sup>, 35<sup>14</sup>; Czeglédy 1950-1951, 256 208b<sup>15</sup>, 257 209b<sup>11</sup>). The Jayhānī line also has preserved this name: Ibn Rusta: *Asgh.l* (BGA VII, 141<sup>11</sup>), *Ask.l* (142<sup>6</sup>); Gardīzī: *Ask.l* (Martinez 1982, 204<sup>15</sup>, 207<sup>17</sup>); *Hudūd*: *Ashk.l* (Barthold 1930, 76<sup>14</sup>); Bakrī: *Ashk.l* (Kunik-Rozen 1878, 45<sup>3</sup>).

Most of our data reflect an *Ask.l* form the vocalization of which is uncertain. The form *Asgh.l* of Ibn Rusta seems to reflect the Persian pronunciation of *Ask.l* which is *Asg.l*. The name *Ashk.l* is attested from later works, the *Hudūd* and Bakrī so it can be secondary. Smirnova suggested that the ethnonym, *sklk/skδk* on the Turkic-Soghdian coins may be connected with the word *Ask.l* (Smirnova 1981, 252-253).

Perhaps a place name in Tokharistan can be mentioned here which has been preserved in two forms: *S.klkand* (Ya'qūbī, BGA VII, 288; Iṣṭakhrī, BGA I, 275<sup>6</sup>; *Hudūd*, Barthold 1930, 12<sup>11</sup>, 42<sup>4</sup>; Yāqūt, 1979, III, 231) *'sk.lkand* (Muqaddasī, BGA III, 49<sup>18</sup>, 296<sup>2</sup>, 303<sup>6</sup>; Yāqūt, 1979, I, 182).

The people called *Ask.l* must have been in connection with two of the tribal names of Western Turk Empire and with the name of the Hermikhion ruler, Ἄσκηλ. Ligeti, dealing with the history of the Western Turk Khaganate on the basis of the Chinese sources, enumerated the chiefs of the ten tribes referring to the events of 651. The ten tribes were divided into eastern and western halves. Ligeti reconstructed the first and the fourth tribal names of the western part as *Āskāl* and the chief of the first tribe, *Āskāl kül erkin* who was the most powerful among the chiefs and had many soldiers. Ligeti connected

this tribal name with the Khermikhion ruler *Askel* of the Byzantine sources (Ligeti 1986, 329-331).

Theophanes the Confessor wrote that envoys had arrived at Constantinople from *Askel(tur)*, the ruler of the Khermikhions in 563 (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1979, II, 96; Moravcsik 1983, II, 75).<sup>22</sup> The ethnonym Khermikhion means the Turks in Persian according to Theophanes Byzantinus (Moravcsik 1983, II, 158-159; Czeglédy 1961, 246 note 5; 1963, 61-62; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1979, II, 96, 105-106). So the Byzantine and Chinese sources refer to the same tribal name among the Western Turks in spite of the hundred years difference, and their habitat can be put to western Inner Asia, the Kazak steppe.

#### V. *Baranjär* – *Balanjar*

They are mentioned only by Ibn Faḍlān: *B.r.njār* (Togan 1939, A30<sup>17</sup>; Czeglédy 1950-1951, 255, 207b<sup>15</sup>).

This community might be the remnants of the inhabitants of the famous Khazar town, *Balanjar*, in the north Caucasus which will be discussed in detail in the chapter on the Arab-Khazar wars. *Balanjar* may have been a tribal name before it became the name of the Khazar town (Golden 1980 I, 221-224).<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> The form *Askeltu(r)* is the emendation of Marquart on the basis of the form *Scultor* in Corippus (1903, 354). Szádeczky-Kardoss accepted Marquart's view and corroborated it stating that the form *Enscultor* must be read according to the Corippus MS tradition (1987, I, 83), and the Latin translation of Theophanes reflects the form *Asceltus* (1979, II, 96).

<sup>23</sup> Czeglédy suggested that the Balanjars should have emerged from among the Sabirs cf. 1983, 103.

## VI. *Yuwār* – *Qabar*

Finally, mention must be made of the theory of Pritsak concerning the *Qabar* – *Yowār* identity (Pritsak 1965, 378-393). The Qabars revolted against the Khazars in the first half of the 9th century and after being defeated they joined the Hungarian tribal union (Golden 1980, I, 133-140). The form *Y'wārī* (Hakimzjanov 1978, 126-127, 186-187) is a *nisba* in the Volga Bulghar inscriptions. Pritsak's suggestion that this form can be explained from *Qābar* is correct according to the Chuvash change *qā* > *yu* (Pritsak 1965, 392-393).

Golden did not accept the view of Pritsak because the verb *qābar-* contrary to the rule (*qā* > *yu*) became *xāpar-* in the Chuvash (Golden 1980, I, 141). Golden's arguments are not correct as the Chuvash verb *xāpar-* 'podni-mat'sja' (Egorov 1964, 293) is form another verb, *qopar-* (cf. *kopur-* 'to raise' Clauson 1972, 586).

Ligeti rejected Pritsak's theory on the grounds that the form *qābar* with long *ā* is not attested by our sources (Ligeti 1986, 352). Thus further investigation must be done to determine the relation between the two names.

The above mentioned peoples were recorded to live in the territories from the Kazak steppe to the lower Danube during the 5-7th centuries. The Askals lived in the East, the Bārsils and Sabirs dwelt in the north of the Caucasus, and the Bulghars' habitat was north of the Black Sea. During the 7th century the Khazar Empire was founded. The Bārsils and Sabirs were very important components of the Khazar tribal union and perhaps the role of the Western Turks is reflected by the appearance of the name Askal. After the consolidation of the Khazar power north of the Caucasus during the first half of the 7th century, the Khazars defeated the sons of Kuvrat and extended their rule to the lower Danube in the 670s and became the masters of Eastern Europe for three centuries. The ethnonyms mentioned above disappeared in the end of the 7th

century which coincided with the establishment of the Khazar Empire and reappeared among the Volga Bulgars in the beginning of the 10th century. Therefore, these tribes or their fragments lived anonymously on the steppe under Khazar supremacy during the 8-9th centuries. After the weakening of the Khazar power during the second half of the 9th century, their anonymity came to an end. Finally, we can conclude that all these tribes came to the middle Volga region from the European steppe.

## THE MIDDLE VOLGA REGION IN THE 3-6TH CENTURIES

According most of the archeologists in the Soviet Union, the Volga Bulgars appeared in the area of the Middle Volga and the Lower Kama in the 8th century. As the tribes of the Volga Bulgars were Turkic, the Turkishization of this region began with them; contrary to this, it has recently been raised that some Turkic tribes might have arrived there earlier (Halikov 1971, 7-36; Starostin 1971, 37-63).

The Volga-Kama-Ural region is supposed to have been habitat of the Finno-Ugrian peoples. New archeological cultures were formed there between the 3rd and 5th centuries which was the consequence of a migration from the south. This migration can be connected with the Hunnic penetration into Europe. The ethnic character of the newcomers to the Volga region is uncertain. The archeologists have taken different points of view identifying them with Turkic, early Hungarian, and Sarmatian tribes (Halikov 1971, 8-21).

Halikov supposed that Hun tribes who arrived in the Volga region and spoke a Chuvash type Turkic language, mixed with the local Finno-Ugrians, and became the ancestors of the Chuvash (Halikov 1971, 16, 21). As for the language of the Huns, there are some vague traces that a part of them might have spoken Turkic.<sup>24</sup> Harmatta emphasized the importance of Iranian elements among the Hunnic words and he supposed that the Huns of Asia spoke an eastern Iranian language (Harmatta 1986, XIII-XVIII, XXVI-XXVIII). It is hazardous, therefore, to connect the language of the Huns with that of the Chuvash due to the present level of our knowledge. The Chuvash loans in the

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<sup>24</sup> Cf. Németh 1940, 222-226; Golden 1980, 1, 28-29; Pritsak 1982, 428-476; against it cf. Doerfer 1973, 1-50.



Finno-Ugrian languages of the Volga region show that the beginning of these contacts must be dated after the 7th century (Rédei - Róna-Tas 1983, 26-27 note 26).

The archeological culture of Imen'kovo was born in the Middle Volga-Lower Kama region in the 4-5th centuries where the Volga Bulghar tribes lived later. Starostin, who published the findings of this culture, supposed that besides the local Finno-Ugrian tribes, some nomadic tribes took part in the formation of this culture who spoke Turkic (Starostin 1971, 43-54). His proofs are:

1. The settlements were on the banks of the bigger rivers and valleys which reflects nomadic tradition (1971, 45)
2. The fortified settlements were on the northern and western borders (Svijaga, Kama, Volga) of this culture. It means that they were akin to peoples living in the south of the culture (1971, 46)
3. Besides the permanent settlements, the traces of temporary quarters can be found among the findings which are characteristics of the semi-nomadic way of life (1971, 47).
4. Bones of camels were unearthed among the bones of the domesticated animals and Petrenko (1971, 55-63) pointed out that the horses of this archeological culture were from the steppe belt (1971, 49).

Smirnov rejected the possibility of a nomadic migration to the territory of the Imen'kovo culture as its inhabitants already had a highly developed agriculture which contradicts the concept of Eurasian nomadism (Smirnov 1972, 89-90).

I do not regard myself competent to judge the archeological arguments, but if we accept the possibility of the appearance of nomadic tribes in this area, the language of these nomads cannot be determined by archeological methods. The absence of the written sources force us to be more cautious.

According to Halikov, the second period of the Turkishization of the Volga-Kama region started in the middle of the 6th century when the Turks founded their empire. Some archeologists supposed new migration to the eastern part of the Volga-Kama-Ural region (Halikov 1971, 21-28).<sup>25</sup>

Halikov connected the appearance of the Kama silver in the 6-7th centuries with the Turks. The richest silver findings of Eastern Europe were known beyond the Kama. They consisted of Sasanian silver plates, bowls, Byzantine vessels, etc. It is generally accepted that these were transported to this region in exchange for the northern furs. This step can be considered the opening stage of the trade between Europe and the East (Halikov 1971, 28-33; Frye 1971, 255-262, 1972, 265-269; Noonan 1982, 269-302). Halikov suggested that these silver findings were in possession of Turkic tribes who belonged to the Western Turk Empire. These tribes took part in the campaigns against the Sasanid Persia and Byzantium and then retreated to the North.

According to Halikov, the Turkishization of the Volga-Kama region happened in two steps: 1. The inroads of the Huns lead to the formation of the Chuvash language 2. The migration of the Western Turks laid the foundation of the Tatar and Bashkir languages (1971, 36). The first Turkishization was rejected above, as for the Western Turkic - Tatar and Bashkir continuity, it is linguistically unacceptable.

Halikov's idea to take the history of the Eurasian steppe into consideration when studying the changing features of the archeological cultures in the Volga-Kama-Ural region is thought-provoking, but his suggestion that all nomadic and seminomadic characters in the cultures of the 4-6th centuries should be connected with Turkic tribes can be proved with neither archeological (Fodor

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<sup>25</sup> It is connected with the second period of the culture of Lomovatovo.

1977, 108-109; 1982, 59 note 10) nor linguistic methods. Thus, the concept of early Turkishization remains an unprovable possibility.

Ligeti put the date of the Volga Bulghar - Hungarian contacts to the 6-7th centuries in his synthesis on the early Turkic loans in the Hungarian language. According to Ligeti, the Volga Bulgars appeared in the Volga-Kama region in the second half of the 6th century together with the Khazars who inhabited the Northern Caucasus. When the Empire of the Khazars was founded in the 7th century, the Volga Bulgars lost their political power. The role of the Volga Bulgars, became important again after the decline and collapse of the Khazar Empire in the 10th century (Ligeti 1986, 344).

Ligeti seems to connect the appearance of the Volga Bulgars in the 6th century with the legend of the three brothers (*Bulgarios*, *Khazarig*, and the third name is absent) preserved in the work of Michael Syrus supposing that the original source was the work of Iohannes Ephesinus. The major sources of Michael Syrus concerning the history of the 6th century was Iohannes Ephesinus (died in 586). The description of the Avar attack against Byzantium in 584 which was written before the legend by Michael Syrus is undoubtedly from the work of Iohannes Ephesinus (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1980. IV/1, 92; Marquart 1903, 482-484). But as for the legend, the authorship of Iohannes Ephesinus is debatable. According to the legend, *Bulgarios* crossed the Danube and settled in Moesia under Maurice (582-602). Moesia was attacked many times by the Avars under the rule of Anastasius (491-518) while the elder brother, *Khazarig*, founded a realm in the northern Caucasus (Marquart 1903, 484-485; Ludwig 1982, 38-39). Altheim and Stiehl, and following them Ludwig tried to prove that the legend was taken from Iohannes Ephesinus so it could be dated to the end of the 6th century (cf. Ludwig 1982, 39-45). Marquart remarked that the stories of the foundation of the Danubian Bulghar Realm and that of the Khazars are historical, but in a reversed order, and can be dated not to 583, but a century

later (Marquart 1903, 488). Szádeczky-Kardoss corroborated it stating that Iohannes Ephesinus was a contemporary of Avar history in Eastern Europe so it is not possible to suppose that he had put the first appearance of the Avars to the beginning of the 6th century (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1980, IV/1, 93). Finally Czeglédy has shown that the legend was recorded by a Greek author, reflected in the form *Bulgarios*, but the Syriac writer used a Middle-Persian translation of it as the ending of *Khazarig* proves (Czeglédy 1961, 244).

The habitat of *Bulgarios*, before they reached the Danube, was east of the Don in the north of the Caucasus. So this legend fails to support the assumption of Ligeti.

As for geographical setting of the Volga Bulgars, Burtās, and Khazars, Ligeti used the description of the Jayhānī tradition which can be dated at best to the 870s. The existence of the described situation cannot be proved in the 6th century (Ligeti 1986, 344, 411).

The concept of the early appearance of the Volga Bulgars by Ligeti serves the historical background of the new explanation of the ethnonym *Magyar* (1986, 401). The basic form would be *Majγir* preserved by the Jayhānī tradition, and the disappearance of the *γ* can be dated before 950 in Proto-Hungarian. The ancestors of the Hungarians lived in the Kama region from the 5th to the 7th century. The Volga Bulgars became their neighbours in the 6th century. The ethnonym *Majγir* changed to *Bajγir* in the Volga Bulgar language as this substitution is characteristic for the Chuvash type Turkic languages. The Hungarians migrated to the territory of the Khazars who consolidated their power in the second half of the 7th century. The earlier home of the Hungarians in the Kama region was inhabited by Qipchaq tribes who inherited the name *Bajγir* which became *Bašγir* in their language (Ligeti 1986, 400). The etymology might be correct, though the function of the suffix *-γir* is not known. In any case, the historical background does not support it.

Besides some similarities between the concepts of Ligeti and Halikov, the most important difference is that Halikov dated the appearance of the Volga Bulgars to the 8th century while the Huns and Western Turks would have appeared in the 3-4th and 6-7th centuries respectively.

The appearance of the Turkic tribes in the Volga-Kama region in the 3-6th centuries cannot be excluded as this area was influenced by the historical events of the steppe belt, still the identification of the nomadic characters in the findings with the Turkic population is not provable. Before the coming of the Volga Bulgars, Finno-Ugrian tribes dominated the Volga-Kama region. They had a highly developed agriculture which is reflected in the archeological material (Fodor 1973).

## THE CONSEQUENCE OF THE FALL OF KUVRAT'S EMPIRE

From this time on, the history of the Khazars deserves a special interest since the tribes of the later Volga Bulgars were the subjects of the Khazar Empire and their appearance in the Volga Kama region can be connected with Khazar historical events.

The language of the Khazars has been recently discussed thoroughly. Gombocz, followed by Németh examined the Khazar glosses and came to the conclusion the Khazars spoke a Common-Turkic language. Their main proof was the etymology of the ethnonym *Qazar*. Golden, having collected the available Khazar glosses from the written sources formed the opinion that, "the wordlist cannot give any definitive answer regarding the exact ethnic place of the Khazars within the Turkic world" (Golden 1980, I, 262-263). The etymology of *Qazar* has been studied by Róna-Tas who proved that the verb *qaz-* 'to wander' is a ghost word and its Turkic form was *qasar* which can be either a Chuvash type or a Common-Turkic form (Róna-Tas 1982a, 349-380). Ligeti reexamined the glosses and supplemented them with Khazar names and titles recorded by the early Hungarians (1986, 475-487). He also added a word written in runiform script to the end of a Khazarian letter from Kiev and explained it from a Chuvash type language (1981, 5-18). He suggested that the Khazars should have spoken a Chuvash type language (1986, 487-489). This assumption is very important regarding the history of the early Hungarians as the Chuvash type loanwords in Hungarian could have been taken from the language of the Khazars and from that of the Volga Bulgars, as they both may have spoken the same language. It would mean that the Chuvash type language or languages played the most important role in Eastern Europe during the Khazar period.

As for the origins of the Khazars, Czeglédy supposed that the Khazar Empire was formed from three basic groups: the genuine Khazar who were of Sabir origin (later Czeglédy included other *Ogur* tribes); The Western Turks who organized the tribal union; and the Caucasian Huns who were remnants of the Avars (Czeglédy 1961, 245; 1983, 104-106).<sup>26</sup>

The Sabir-Khazar identity is a possibility. The role of the Sabir in the Khazar history seems to be significant and the tribal name *S.wār* among the Volga Bulgars shows that they took an active part in the events of the Khazar period

Eastern Europe was under Western Turk supremacy from the middle of the 6th century so the first period of the Khazar history can be called the Western Turkic epoch. The trace of this connection may be the tribal name Askal among the Volga Bulgars which was a powerful tribe in the Western Turk tribal union and later (perhaps only a fragment) joined the Khazar Empire and remained in it.

The first appearance of the Khazars in the written sources is from the middle of the 6th century and, as it was mentioned, they were subjects of the Western Turks whose power expanded to the Lower-Danube till the end of the 6th century. Then the northern territories of the Black Sea was reoccupied by the Avars as Kuvrat had to fight against the Avars to gain independence (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986, 155-162). The northern Caucasus remained under Western Turk supremacy which is reflected in the events of the Byzantine-Persian wars in the 626-630 when the Khazars under Western Turkic leadership attacked Transcaucasian territories as an ally of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (Czeglédy 1953, 319-323; 1959a, 107-128; Golden 1980, I, 50-51; Ludwig 1982, 348-354).

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<sup>26</sup> Other theories are enumerated by Golden 1980, I, 51-57.

The Arab conquest reached the Caucasus in the middle of the 7th century. The Arabs tried to expand their power to the northern Caucasus and they found themselves face to face with the Khazars. The first clash between them was dated to 642 according to Tabari (IV, 158-159). Dunlop took this information without questioning it (1954, 50-52). Marquart, Kmoskó, and Czeglédy denied that the Arabs could conquer the Darband Pass and attack Balanjar because: 1. Ṭabarī repeated the story of the invulnerability of the Muslims under 652; 2. Ṭabarī took his information from the tradition of Sayf which is considered unreliable; 3. Balādhurī and the Armenian sources knew nothing about this raid; 4. The conquering of the Darband Pass and an attack against the Khazar city Balanjar was possible only after the consolidation of the Arab power in Ādharbayjān and Armenia. The date 642 seems to be too early for this (Marquart 1903, 491-492; Kmoskó 1924, 280-292; Czeglédy 1959a, 122-123; Artamonov 1962, 179).

In 652 the Arabs under ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Rabī‘a penetrated into Khazar territory and began the siege of Balanjar, a well-fortified city. The defenders made a sortie when a relieving force appeared. The Arabs were totally defeated in the battle, and their leader was killed. The Khazars repulsed the first serious Arab effort to take possession of the northern Caucasus. Dunlop did not see any reason to think that the relieving force would have been a Western Turkic army in spite of the fact that Ibn al-Athīr said: *The Turks united with the Khazars and fought with Muslims* (Tornberg 1882, III, 131). The source of misunderstanding can be the alternative usage of Khazar and Turk by Ṭabarī (Dunlop 1954, 56 note 68). Contrary to this concept, Czeglédy quoted other sources to assure the reliability of Ibn al-Athīr’s record (Czeglédy 1959a, 123).

The role of the Western Turks in this clash needs further investigation. The Western Turks lost their power and independence in 659 and they became the subjects of the Chinese court (Ligeti 1986, 328-329; Grousset 1970, 82). The



consequence of the fall of the Western Turks was the possibility for the Khazars to form an independent tribal union. At the same time the Arabs were engaged in a civil war between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya so the danger of fresh onslaught was over and there was peace in the Caucasus for nearly 30 years (Golden 1980, I, 60).

By the end of the 650s the Khazars represented a significant power, controlling the steppe in the north of the Caucasus. The other important power was the western neighbour of the Khazars, the empire of Kuvrat, which gained independence in the 630s. After the death of Kuvrat the Khazars annexed his empire and took possession of the northern territories of the Black Sea and established a long-lasting nomadic empire, including the whole steppe of Eastern Europe.

The disintegration and the fall of Kuvrat's empire was preserved as a legend of Kuvrat's five sons by Nicephorus and Theophanes. The common source Nicephorus and Theophanes can be dated to the lifetime of Kuvrat's elder son (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1971, 476 note 13). Moravcsik stated that the legend had two sources: the national tradition of the Danubian Bulgars, and the combinations of the Byzantine chronicler. The latter is the topos of unity since Kuvrat ordered his sons not to break away from each other, but as the sons did not obey, their fall was necessary (Moravcsik 1930, 71).

Among the five sons only three were named: the first was *Baian* or *Bat-baian*, the second was *Kotrag*, and the third was *Asparuch*.

The first son, *Baian* (*Batbaian* by Theophanes) remained in his land and paid tribute to the Khazars. According to Moravcsik, *Baian* was a historical person and his people, the Onogurs, were the early Hungarians as this name appeared in the 8th century among the episcopal registers and later, in the 9th century as the name of the Hungarians referring to the same territory (Moravcsik 1930, 81-89). But this identity cannot be proven true before the 9th century

and the Hungarians could have taken this ethnonym not only in the Kuban region but in Carpathian Basin (see above). Recently, Ligeti has considered the story of *Baian* as legendary, supposing that his figure was formed after *Baian*, the founder of the Avar Empire (Ligeti 1986, 350).<sup>27</sup>

According to Moravcsik, the second son, *Kotragos*, was neither a historical person nor the son of Kuvrat, but appeared as the heros epynomos of the Kutrigurs in this legend (Moravcsik 1930, 78-79).

The third, *Asparuch*, was the founder of the Danubian Bulghar state after crossing the Danube around 680. This event was mentioned by Pseudo Moses Chorenaci (Golden 1980, I, 45) the Bulghar List of Princes (Moravcsik 1983, II, 352-354; Beševliev 1981, 482), Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the letter of Joseph (Golden 1980, I, 45), Geographus Ravennas, and Acta concilii oecumenici sexti (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1980, 64; cf. Beševliev 1981, 173-182).

The fourth son went to Pannonia and became the subject of the Avars while the fifth settled in Italy. Moravcsik supposed that there is a chronological error in this information as the appearance of the Bulgars in Italy under Avar supremacy can be dated before the establishment of Kuvrat's empire (1930, 79-80). The historical authenticity of the legend has been restored as the fifth son was identified with *Alzeco* on the basis of Paulus Diaconus (Beševliev 1981, 156-158) and recently Szádeczky-Kardoss corroborated the identification of the fourth son with *Kuber* (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1971, 473-477; 1988; Beševliev 1981, 159-172).

If we accept the reliability of this legend (Moravcsik 1930, 71-72) it can be concluded that after the Khazars defeated the five sons, *Baian* remained in the east of the Don, *Kotragos* settled west of the Don, the other three migrated west: to the Balkan, to Italy and Pannonia. There is no mention of a group in

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<sup>27</sup> On the life of *Baian* cf. Olajos 1976, 150-158.

our sources which migrated to the Volga-Kama region. In spite of it, the appearance of the Volga Bulgars in the Volga region is frequently mentioned in historical works after the fall of "Great Bulghar" (Moravcsik 1930, 89; Halasi-Kun 1943, 84-85; Genning-Halikov 1964, 117-118; Golden 1980, I, 86; Ludwig 1982, 86).

As it was mentioned above, Kuvrat's empire was never called *Great Bulghar* as it is an anachronistic name in the sense of the former home of the Danubian Bulgars. The idea that the Volga Bulgars derived from the Great Bulghar Empire, just like the Danubian Bulgars, is based on the appearance of the name Bulgars on three different territories. According to the original assumption, the Danubian Bulgars came from Great Bulghar so the Volga Bulgars must have originated from the same empire. As none of the sources from the age of Kuvrat's empire referred to it as the Great Bulghar Empire, this term appeared later, referring to the former home of the Danubian Bulgars, but not that of the Volga Bulgars. Also, the appearance of the Volga Bulgars in the Volga region in the second half of the 7th century, when the empire of Kuvrat fell down, cannot be proved.

## THE VOLGA REGION AND THE ARAB-KHAZAR WARS

### *I. The capture of Balanjar*

The next period of the Khazar history was characterized by the wars with the Arabs. After defeating Kuvrat's sons, the Khazars renewed their activity in the Caucasus. In 681/682 the Caucasian Huns, who were the vassals of the Khazars, carried out a raid against Arrān followed by new Khazar campaigns into Transcaucasia in 685 and 689 (Dunlop 1954, 58-60; Golden 1980, I, 60). At the time the Khazars were in possession of the Darband Pass (*Bāb al-abwāb*) which was one of the most important strategic points in the Caucasus. The Arabs succeeded in reaching Darband shortly after 700 (Dunlop 1954, 60; Czeglédy 1960, 120; Golden 1980, I, 62). In 713/714 Maslama took the city of Darband and penetrated the territory of the Huns who asked help from their suzerain, the Khazar Khaqan. He came with a big army, waiting for further reinforcement. Maslama, realizing the situation, retreated, leaving behind his camp. The pursuing Khazar army was defeated by the Albanian prince (Golden 1980, I, 62). In 717 the Khazars attacked Transcaucasia, helping the Byzantines whose capital was besieged by the Arabs (Kmoskó 1942, 360-362; Dunlop 1954, 60-61; Czeglédy 1960, 120; Artamonov 1962, 205; Golden 1980, I, 62).

The wars between the Khazars and Arabs took place near Darband and in the Caucasus till the 720s but during the next phase the campaigns extended. In 721 the Khazars attacked the Alans and the next year they fought a great battle in Armenia against the Arabs where they were victorious. Thus the way to the lands of Islam was open to them. The Caliph assembled a strong army and appointed Jarrāḥ to the governor of Armenia who marched against the Khazars. The Khazar army, led by the son of the Khaqan, met the Arabs north

of Darband and was completely defeated (Kmoskó 1924, 262-264; Dunlop 1954, 61-64; Artamonov 1962, 205-207).

After this victory the Arabs captured Hamzīn and Targhū.<sup>28</sup> Then, as Ibn al-Athīr wrote: *Then al-Jarrāh marched against Balanjar which was one of their [the Khazars'] famous fortresses and got into a fight over it. The people of the fortress had collected three hundred carts and bound one to another and set them up around the fortress in order to protect themselves with these [carts] and to prevent the Muslims from entering the fortress. These carts were the worst for the Muslims in the fight with them. When they [the Arabs] saw the damage they [the carts] caused them, a group of them about thirty men volunteered and were ready to die. They broke the scabbards of their swords and attacked as one man [in union]. They proceeded toward the carts and the infidels made every effort to fight against them. They shot so many arrows that the Sun was not seen but they [the Arabs] did not retreat until they reached the carts and fastened one of those. They cut the rope it was fixed with and pulled it. It started rolling and it was followed by the rest of the carts as they were bound together and all [the carts] rolled toward the Muslims. The fight grew embittered in close combat (iltāham al-qūāl) and the matter became more critical and so hard for all of them that the hearts were in the throats. Then the Khazars were defeated and the Muslims captured the fortress by force. They took all of its contents as war booty in the month Rabīʿ al-awwal. One horseman got three hundred dinars although they were over thirty thousand. Then Jarrāh caught the sons and kinsfolk of the ruler of Balanjar and sent him a message and called him back and gave him back his possessions, kinsfolk and fortress, making him the eyes [guard] for them, to inform them what the infidels want to do. Then he marched from Balanjar against the fortress Wabandar [Wanandar].*

<sup>28</sup> It is written as *Burghar* in the Bodl. MS of Ibn al-Athīr, which is an error cf. Dunlop 1954, 64 note 32.

*There are about forty thousand Turkic families in it. They agreed with Jarrāh upon the money they had to pay.*" (Tornberg 1982, V, 112-113; German translation: Kmoskó 1924, 364-365).

Ṭabarī gave a short account of these events: "*In this year [722-723] Jarrāh ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥakamī, the commander of Armenia and Ādhardbayjān, carried out a military expedition against the land of the Turks. Balanjar was conquered by him and he defeated the Turks. He drowned them and most of their children into the water and they [the Muslims] took as many prisoners as they wanted. He captured the fortresses near Balanjar. Most of the inhabitants moved out*" (Ṭabarī, VII, 14-15).

It is said that Jarrāh decided to march forward but the ruler of Balanjar informed him about the assembling of the Khazar army so Jarrāh retreated. Dunlop thinks that the story of alliance between Jarrāh and the ruler of Balanjar cannot be authentic as the ruler should have embraced Islam (Dunlop 1954, 65).

The capture of Balanjar and the exodus of its inhabitants are connected to the appearance of the name Baranjār among the Volga Bulgars mentioned by Ibn Faḍlān although there is a two hundred year difference between the two (Togan 1939, 191-192; Artamonov 1962, 207; Golden 1980, I, 88) Dunlop corroborated this stating, "In Ibn Faḍlān's time, the Baranjār had recently been converted to Islam, but he found a non-Muslim with the name Ṭālūt (Saul). This may point to Judaism among them at an earlier period" (1954, 66). This indicates that they were converted to Judaism together with most of the other peoples of the Khazar Empire.

## *II. The transfer of the Khazar capital to the Lower-Volga*

As for the capital of the Khazars, Masʿūdī wrote in his *Murūj*: "... the Khazar empire, the capital of which used to be a city 8 days from the city of Bāb,

called *Samandar*, which at the present time is inhabited by a Khazar population. The fact is it was conquered in early times by *Sulaymān ibn Rabfah al-Bāhili*, and the king removed thence to the city of *Ātil*, between which and the former is a seven days' journey. It is in *Ātil* that the King of the Khazars now lives." (Dunlop 1954, 204-205; cf. Minorsky 1958, 146; Arabic: Barbier de Meynard 1863, II, 7). This is repeated by *Yāqūt* in connection with *Samandar* in his *Muʿjam* (1979, III, 253).

*Salmān* (or *Sulaymān*) *ibn Rabīʿa* was the brother of ʿAbd al-Rahmān who was killed during the siege of *Balanjar* in 652. As Dunlop noted there is no mention of the siege of *Samandar* under *Salmān* in the sources (Dunlop 1954, 205 note 187). If this remark refers to the events of 652, there are two misunderstandings in it: it was the Muslims who were defeated and the name of the sieged town was *Balanjar*. To complicate the matter, *Masʿūdī* said in the *Tanbih*: "The Khazar River passes the town *Ātil*, the capital of the Khazars at present, but earlier their capital was *Balanjar* ..." (BGA VIII, 62<sup>15-16</sup>).<sup>29</sup>

*Kmoskó* supposed that *Ātil* became the capital after 722 as *Balanjar* was conquered in that year (A III, 182). *Artamonov* thought that *Samandar* and *Balanjar* were not two cities but one, and this opinion was denied by Dunlop (1954, 49-50 note 40). Dunlop seemed to prefer *Balanjar* to *Samandar* and he considered the date of the transfer authentic (1954, 57). But as it is known from reliable sources, the Muslims were defeated at *Balanjar*, so its inhabitants did not need to evacuate the city. *Czeglédy* formed the opinion that *Balanjar* must have been the capital since the town and its ruler played the most important role during the Arab-Khazar wars (1959b, 122 note 48). Also, the Khazars

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<sup>29</sup> Other parallel texts cf. Dunlop 1954, 205 note 186.

transferred their capital from Balanjar to the Volga around 766, after the fall of the second Turk Khaganate (682-766) as the Khazars were under Turk supremacy during that time and the Khaqan of the Turks lived on the banks of the Volga (1955a, 123-124).

It can be concluded that the Khazar capital was probably Balanjar and the transfer from it to the lower Volga took place in the middle of the 8th century after 722. The town Balanjar is thought to be Verhnečirjurtovscoe gorodišče at the River Sulak (Ludwig 1982, 243-246; Magomedov 1983, 46-52).

### *III. Marwān's campaign*

After the capture of Balanjar, the clashes between the Khazars and Arabs reoccurred in almost every year. In 723/724, Jarrāḥ attacked the Alans and "... passed through this [territory] and go to the towns and fortresses beyond Balanjar. He conquered some of them and forced some of its inhabitants to emigrate from it, he gained a lot of booty" (Ṭabarī, VII, 21). Ya'qūbī knew about only the fight for the Darial Pass: "Jarrāḥ ibn 'Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī raided the Bāb Allān until he got through the Bāb" (1960, II, 315). The campaign against the Alans seems to be authentic but the other details about Balanjar by Ṭabarī are vague and would rather echo the events a year earlier (Dunlop 1954, 66).

The following years Jarrāḥ (722/723-726/727 and 729/730-731/732) and Maslama (726/727-729/730) were engaged mainly in the country of the Alans. They tried to get hold of the Darial Pass. Jarrāḥ's raid against al-Bayḍā' in 729/730 mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr is in confusion with later events (Dunlop 1954, 66-69).

The Khazars could not stand the loss of the Darial Pass as it was the second most important strategic point in the Caucasus after the Darband Pass which was controlled by the Arabs. In 730/731 under the leadership of the



Khazar Khaqan's son (Czeplédy 1960, 122-123) a large army broke through the Darial Pass. Jarrāḥ met them at Ardabīl where the Muslims were totally defeated in the heavy battle and Jarrāḥ himself fell. The Khazars sacked Ādharbayjān so the Arabs had to send a new army against them urgently. Finally, Maslama was sent who forced the Khazars to retreat beyond the Darband Pass (Dunlop 1954, 69-76; Artamonov 1962, 211-216).

Next year Maslama attacked the Khazars and, according to Ṭabarī, Maslama penetrated beyond the mountains of Balanjar and the son of the Khaqan was killed. Ibn al-Athīr added to this that when the Khazars learned this news, they began to assemble in a great number so the Muslims, leaving behind their tents and camp-fires, retreated, thus deceiving the Khazars. The Arabs reached the Darband Pass successfully (Dunlop 1954, 76-80). Golden suggested that the raid against the territory beyond Balanjar should have been a desire but not a fact as this account is similar to the story preserved by the Armenian sources in 713/714 and some other sources<sup>30</sup> which located these events near Darband (Golden 1980, I, 62-63). It is corroborated by Ibn al-Athīr stating that Marwān, who took part in the expedition of Maslama, went to the Caliph and, giving an account of the events, said among others: *"He penetrated into [only such part of] their country which was the nearest them [the Arabs]"* (Tornberg 1982, V, 177).

The largest effort to conquer the Khazar state was made by Marwān ibn Muḥammad, the later Caliph. As a preparation he sent an army against the Alans and they took three fortresses (Dunlop 1954, 80-81). The aim of this campaign was to assure the Darial Pass. His great campaign was carried out in 737. His plan was to make a surprise attack through both the Darial and Darband Passes. The Khazars were misled and when the two Arab armies met at Samandar the Khazars did not have enough time to mobilize their military

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<sup>30</sup> Ya'ūbī, al-Kūfī, Theophanes cf. Dunlop 1954, 78 note 90.

forces so the Khaqan left his residence, al-Bayḍā' on the lower Volga and fled north. Marwān did not capture the Khazar capital but he also moved to north on the right bank of the Volga. During this march he defeated the Ṣaḡāliba. Meanwhile, the Khazar army under Hazār Ṭarkhān followed the Arabs on the opposite bank. Marwān dispatched one of his generals against the Khazars who were defeated. So the Khazar Khaqan had no choice but to accept the peace on the condition of embracing Islam (Dunlop 1954, 81-85; Artamonov 1962, 218-224).

The identification of Ṣaḡāliba is the subject of a long debate. This name is mentioned in the works of Balādhurī who died in 892, Ibn A'ṭham al-Kūfī who died in 926, and Bal'āmī, who flourished in the tenth century. Balādhurī gave the following account: *"Marwān ibn-Muḥammad then became the ruler of the frontier and took up his abode at Kisāl. Marwān was the one who built the city of Kisāl. This city lies 40 parasangs from Bardha'ah and from Taflīs. Marwān then entered the country of al-Khazar next to Bāb al-Lān and made Asīd ibn-Zāfir as-Sulamī abu-Yazīd, accompanied by the Kings of al-Jibāl, enter it from the side of al-Bāb wa-l-Abwāb. Then Marwān made an incursion on the Slavs [Ṣaḡāliba Z. I.] who were in the land of al-Khazar and captured 20,000 families whom he settled in Khākhī. When they later put their commander to death and took flight, Marwān pursued and slaughtered them."* (Hitti 1968, 325; Arabic: Munajjid, 1956-57, 244). Then he said that the Khazar Khaqan being frightened of the Arabs, finally accepted Islam (Hitti 1968, 325-326).

A more complete description is found in the work of Ibn A'ṭham al-Kūfī: *"Marwān came from Syria with 120,000 [warriors], till he arrived in Armenia. Then he took up his abode at a place called Kasāk which was 40 parasangs from the town Bardaca and 20 parasangs from Tiflīs... He wrote to all the troops which were at Bāb al-Abwāb to march against the country of the Khazars and to come and meet him at the town of Samandar. He said: Marwān announced the war to*

his comrades and marched till he passed through the Bāb Allān. He began to kill, take prisoners and destroy by fire, till he arrived at Samandar which was one of the Khazar cities. He said: The Muslim troops from the town al-Bāb, under a man called Asad ibn Zāfir al-Salamī, came to him so Marwān had an army consisting of 150,000 warriors. At this [town] he set his men in good order and let the commanders, soldiers and servants wear only white garments. He made everyone carry a spear and the spearheads were like the flame of the fire. He said: The army was glittering so much that no bird could pass it without falling as a consequence of perplexity caused by its extreme glitter and beam. He said: Then he advanced until he reached the city of al-Bayḍā' where the khaqan, the king of the Khazars, stayed. He said: The khaqan fled from Marwān until he reached the mountains. Marwān continued his march in the Khazar country with the Muslims until he passed along them and he was beyond him [the khaqan]. Then he made an incursion on the Ṣaqāliba and other infidels who were adjacent to them and captured 20,000 families. Then he advanced until he stopped at the river of Ṣaqāliba ...". The Khazar Khaqan sent an army of 40,000 against the Arabs but as the Arabs defeated them, the Khaqan had to surrender. He sent the following message: "Oh Emir, you led the Khazar and Ṣaqāliba into captivity and killed [a lot] and achieved your purpose, what more do you want." (Togan 1939, 296-297, 298-299, 301; facsimile: Golden 1980, II, 105-106). The Khazar Khaqan embraced Islam finally.

Balʿamī's three MSS are slightly different:

Bibl. Nat 162A	Bibl. Nat. 166	Oxford Fraser 131
Date: 1483	Date: 1695	Undated
<i>"The Khaqan slew from him and Marwān took all the mountains and he passed along the Khazars and they were left behind him.</i>	<i>"The Khaqan slew from him and Marwān passed all the Khazars and mountains and he left [them] behind him.</i>	<i>"The Khaqan slew and Marwān passed by that place and he left behind that city.</i>
<i>He stopped on the river Saqlāb. He attacked [different] tribes of the infidels and killed them, 20 thousand families were destroyed."</i>	<i>He stopped on the river Saqlāb."</i>	<i>He stopped on the river Saqarlāb. He attacked the tribes of the infidels and killed them, 20 thousand families were destroyed."</i>
Golden 1980, II, 107 <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> ; cf. Zotenberg's French translation: Marquart 1903, 199.	Golden 1980, II, 108 <sup>23</sup> <sup>25</sup>	Golden, 1980, II, 109 <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> ; cf. Togan 1939, 304

The MSS of Balʿamī reflect the ambiguities of the original Arabic source. When it was translated into Persian the copiers made mistakes and omitted some words or sentences. The main difference between the descriptions of Ibn

A'tham al-Kūfī and Bal'āmī is in the order of events: according to Bal'āmī, Marwān first stopped at the River Saqlāb, and then attacked the tribes of the infidels (he did not mention their names), while Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī recorded the attack against the Ṣaqāliba and other infidels first and then mentioned the arrival of Marwān at the River Ṣaqāliba. We are not in the position to determine which is more reliable.

Marquart supposed on the basis of Balādhuṛī and Bal'āmī that the term Ṣaqāliba in this case means the Slavs who lived on the bank of the Don (Marquart 1903, 199).

Togan rejected Marquart's assumption and used the text of Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī to clarify that the river of the Ṣaqāliba could only be the Volga and the people Ṣaqāliba could have lived north of the Khazar capital which was at the lower Volga (Togan 1939, 302-307). Togan identified the Ṣaqāliba with the Burtās and Volga Bulgars as they were mentioned on this territory from the middle of the 9th century by Muslim authors. Togan supposed that the Ṣaqāliba (Burtās or Bulgars) converted to Islam together with the Khazar Khaqan in 737 and remained Muslims whereas the Khazars embraced Judaism later. His main argument is connected to the name of a Muslim quoted as 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zubayr in a Tatar legend. According to the legend, three Muslim doctors helped the ill princess of the Volga Bulgars to recover, so the king embraced Islam. One of the doctors was called 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zubayr whom Togan identified with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. X al-Khūlānī. He was one of the two Muslim scholars sent by Marwān to the Khazar Khaqan to explain Islam to him in 737 as recorded in the work of Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī. A similar story to the Tatar legend was recorded by Abū Ḥāmid: the wife of the Volga Bulgar king was ill, then the king himself became ill but a Muslim doctor cured both of them so they converted to Islam. The early embrace of Islam<sup>1</sup> by the Volga Bulgars was supported by the correspondence between the king of Burghar

and Caliph Ma'mūn (813-833) the value of which is going to be discussed later (Togan 1939, 307-308). The arguments of Togan concerning the identification of the names and the similarities of the legends are witty but the conclusion is not convincing from a historical point of view.

Dunlop, accepting Togan's *Burtās* theory called them *Burtās* in his description of Marwān's campaign without referring to them as *Ṣaqāliba* as it stands in the sources (1954, 83). This concept was followed by Golden (1980, I, 64) and Artamonov believed the same (1962, 220).

Boba denied that the term *Ṣaqāliba* can be interpreted as Slavs since the Slavs could have lived at the upper Don in this period (1967, 60-61). Boba suggested that this term meant the Bulgars dwelling along the Kuban. Then he added: "On the basis of the use by Balādhurī and Ibn Faḍlān of the term *aṣ-Ṣaqāliba* we can draw the conclusion that the invasion by Marwān was the cause for the mass exodus of the Bulgars from the Kuban region. Thus we have a chronological approximation for the arrival of the Bulgars at the Kama-Volga, namely shortly after 737. We have to note that not all *aṣ-Ṣaqāliba* were taken prisoners and even the prisoners, having killed their leader, escaped. At the time of Ibn Faḍlān the migration of the Bulgars from the Kuban to the Kama-Volga region could still be part of living tradition - hence the application of the name *aṣ-Ṣaqāliba* with the connotation as applied by al-Balādhurī" (Boba 1967, 63 note 31). Boba's opinion about the Bulgars on the Kuban is based on the account of Balādhurī. The careful comparison of Balādhurī to Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī reveals that both used the same source (cf. the bolded parts in the work of Ibn A'tham are cited by Balādhurī word by word from their common source) but Balādhurī omitted some important events of the campaign. This explains why the description of the conquering of the Darial Pass is immediately followed by the attack against the *Ṣaqāliba*. A more detailed account of this

campaign in the work of Ibn A'tham precludes the possibility of the identification of the Ṣaḡāliba with the Bulgars along the River Kuban.

Czeglédy, reviewing the question of the usage of Ṣaḡāliba in the early Arabic sources (8-10th c.), concluded that it is not possible to determine whether it meant the Slavs or the Northern people of Europe in the tradition preserved by Ibn A'tham etc. (1950-1951, 231). Minorsky was inclined to think of some eastern Slavic tribes along the Don (1958, 109-110). Ludwig indicated that the identification of the Ṣaḡāliba with the Burtās and the River Ṣaḡāliba with the Volga is uncertain.

On the basis of the written sources concerning the Khazar-Arab wars we can conclude that the inhabitants of Balanjar which was the capital of the Khazar State moved to the lower Volga region after the destruction of the city in 722 and the transfer of the capital took place shortly afterwards. Marwān plundered the whole Khazar territory and, reaching the Volga, marched north on its bank fighting against the Ṣaḡāliba. It seems to be certain that as a consequence of these Muslim campaigns there was a strong inner migration to the North.

So the arrival of the Volga Bulgar tribes or some parts of them (Balanjar and Barsūlā cf. Golden 1980, I, 144, 222) could have been the consequence of these wars but the name Bulgar did not appear in the sources. The identification of the term Ṣaḡāliba with the Bulgars at the River Kuban or with the Volga Bulgars is still unprovable and uncertain.

## THE EVIDENCE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND NUMISMATICS

The achievements of archeology provide further contribution to the dating of the arrival of the Volga Bulghar tribes at the Volga-Kama region. The early Volga Bulgars<sup>31</sup> are considered here and the period can be dated between the 8th and 10th centuries. The findings of this period are from the pagan cemeteries and sites of the Volga Bulgars as opposed to the remains of later Muslim cemeteries of the 10th century.<sup>32</sup>

The systematic excavation of the Volga Bulgars was started in the fifties. The first summary was the book of Genning and Halikov (1964). They gave a full description of the cemetery of Bolšie Tarhany in the first chapter (1964, 5-66). They dated it to the 8-9th centuries on the basis of three coins found in the graves (1964, 63). There are similar cemeteries so this group of cemeteries is generally referred to as the type of Bolšie Tarhany. The closest parallels of this type are from the archeological culture of Saltovo-Majak at the lower Don and the archeological relics of the Turkic Danubian Bulgars (Fodor 1977, 82-97; 1982, 46-63).

Halikov has set up another type on the basis of the cemetery at Tankeevka and called it after its name. Halikov supposed that the type of Tankeevka contained the relics of two groups: the local Finno-Ugrians, and the Turks from the northern territory of Inner Asia and considered it as contemporary with the type of Bolšie Tarhany (Genning-Halikov 1964, 83-84). This view was rejected by the archeologists who published the finds of Tankeevka. They stated that the

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<sup>31</sup> This term is a translation of the Russian *rannie Bolgary* or *Volžskaja Bolgarija*.

<sup>32</sup> The conversion of the Volga Bulgars was in 922, the earlier dates are too vague cf. Halikova 1986, 137-145.



difference between the two groups of the archeological sites of the early Volga Bulgars is not ethnical but chronological as the type of Bolšie Tarhany can be dated to the 8-9th centuries, whereas the type of Tankeevka is from the 9-10th centuries. The cemetery of Tankeevka reflects the mixture of the different peoples the Volga Bulgars originated from (Halikova 1971, 92-93; Kazakov 1971, 154-155).

The archeological map of the early Volga Bulgars in the territory of the Tatar ASSR was composed by Hlebnikova and Kazakov with 56 items (Hlebnikova-Kazakov 1976). On the basis of the pottery they came to the conclusion that there are two groups. The first is the type of Bolšie Tarhany and its pottery resembles that of the Saltovo-Majak culture from the 8th to the middle of the 9th centuries. Most archeologists consider these cultures contemporary. Pletneva called attention to the idea that the type of Bolšie Tarhany has the closest similarities to the northern part of the Saltovo-Majak culture which is generally attributed to the Alans<sup>33</sup> of the steppe-forest zone (Hlebnikova-Kazakov 1976, 133-134).

The second group, the type of Tankeevka, can be divided into 8 subgroups: the first five subgroups have pottery similar to the Saltovo-Majak culture of the 9th - beginning of the 10th centuries. The 6th subgroup shows resemblance to the pottery of the settled population of Southern Kazakhstan; the 7th subgroup has common features with the remains of the people living at the upper Kama and Ural; and the pottery of the 8th subgroup is comparable to that of the Romensko-Borševskij territory which is in the neighbourhood of Saltovo-Majak culture. This group can be dated to the second half of the 9th century and beginning of the 10th century on the basis of parallel data from Saltovo-Majak culture of the same period.

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<sup>33</sup> Against it cf. Bálint 1981, 401, note 12.

The type of pottery of the Bolšie Tarhany is similar to that of the northern part of the Saltovo-Majak culture whereas four of the first five subgroup of the type of Tankeevka are analogous with the southern steppe or nomadic part of the Saltovo-Majak culture. Only one resembles the northern, forest-steppe zone of the same culture. The similarities of the 6th and 7th subgroups to the east show that besides the peoples of the Saltovo-Majak culture other elements might have arrived at the Volga region from the south-east (Turkic?) and the east (Finno-Ugrian?).

The archeological map of the sites of the early Volga Bulghar period in the Tatar ASSR and in the Kujbišev region (cf. Gabjašev-Kazakov-Starostin-Halikov-Hlebnikova 1976, 20-22, 30-31) reflects two important facts. First, that the cemeteries of the type of Bolšie Tarhany can be found in the southern and south-western part of the present Tatar ASSR along the Volga up to the mouth of the Kama, whereas the sites of the type of Tankeevka lie in the eastern and northern territories of the Tatar ASSR including both banks of the lower Kama; Second, that the archeological finds of the type of Bolšie Tarhany are sites and cemeteries which are characteristic for nomadic inhabitants, while there are settlements and fortified settlements besides the cemeteries and sites among the relics of the second group which reflect a seminomadic way of life (Hlebnikova-Kazakov 1976, 134-136).

In conclusion, it can be stated that a nomadic people arrived at the southern part of the Volga region from the south - west during the second half of the 8th century, and by the end of the 9th century a new archeological type was formed. In this type, as earlier, the most important element was from the south-west, but it was supplemented by newcomers from Kazakhstan and from the Ural-Kama region who had taken possession of all the later territories of the Volga Bulghar State. This second wave had seminomadic rather than nomadic characteristics.

Mention must be made of the relation between the early Volga Bulgars and the Hungarians on the basis of archeology summarized by Fodor (1982, 46-60). According to him, the Hungarian relics of the 10th century have the closest parallel finds among the type of Tankeevka in the whole Eastern Europe east of the Carpathian Basin. Fodor gave the following historical explanation of these similarities: most of the early Hungarians lived west of the Ural, perhaps in Bashkiria in the 6th century. The intensive Volga Bulgar - Hungarian contacts could have begun around 750 when the Volga Bulgars' northward migration reached the area of Kujbišev and lasted till the end of the 8th century when the Hungarians moved south. Some segments of the Hungarians remained there and Friar Julianus met their descendants in the beginning of the 13th century. Fodor concluded: "Presumably their slow integration and cultural impact are reflected by the growing number of 'Magyar features' in the yet pagan burial rites of the Bulgar cemeteries of the 9th and 10th centuries" (Fodor 1982, 51).

Another explanation was given by Ligeti concerning the Hungarians among the Volga Bulgars but he ignored the evidence of archeology. He supposed that the segments of the Hungarian tribes *Gyarmat* and *Jenő* migrated northward from the northern part of the Black Sea in the second half of the 9th century as a consequence of the Pecheneg attacks (see later). This assumption is based on the appearance of these tribal names among the Bashkirs (Ligeti 1986, 378-379) and on the fact that Julianus could understand their language in the beginning of the 13th century. This is possible if the migration of these fragments from the bulk of the Hungarians took place shortly before the conquest of the Carpathian Basin in 895 (Ligeti 1986, 394).

The numismatic data of Eastern Europe from the Muslim world and the historical background of the commerce between those regions in the 8-10th centuries have recently been studied in detail by Noonan (1980, 1984, 1985).

Noonan summarized his achievements about the appearance of the dirhams in Eastern Europe saying "In conclusion, this study has attempted to explain why Islamic dirhams first began to reach Russia and the Baltic around the year 800. These dirhams were the result of an active Islamic trade with Khazaria and the merchants of the North. This trade was impossible prior to the late eighth century due to the long-standing Arab-Khazar conflict for supremacy in the Caucasus. However, the 737 campaign of Marwān and the 'Abbāsīd revolution led both sides to seek some accommodation during the second half of the eighth century. While the search for Arab-Khazar detente was interrupted several times between 750 and 800, by the early ninth century the Arab-Khazar conflict had ended. The establishment of more peaceful conditions permitted Islamic trade with Khazaria to begin in earnest. Some Arab-Khazar trade, centred in Darband, apparently existed as early as the 730s, but it seems to have been limited and sporadic. Now, in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, Islamic merchants began to venture north into Khazaria using the Darband-Samandar route to Ātil, as well as a route or routes through the Central Caucasus. These merchants brought dirhams with them which they used to buy the furs, slaves, and other products of the North that they could then readily sell in the great market of Baghdad. The Arab wars and the subsequent Arab trade altered Khazaria fundamentally. The Khazar centre moved from Northern Dagestan to Ātil in the Lower Volga area, the Khazar economy became increasingly dependent upon the revenues of this trade, the Khazars began to create a tributary empire in the forest-steppe and forest zones to supply the goods for this trade, and the spread of the dirhams to Northern Russia attracted the Vikings who began to seek out the source of this scarce silver. The emergence of the Arab Khazar trade fundamentally changed the course of both Khazar and Russian history" (Noonan 1984, 281-282). This trade continued till the 860s with minor set-backs during the first half of the 9th century following the same route

(Noonan 1985, 181-182). The first silver crisis in Eastern Europe was from 870 to circa 900 when few dirhams reached Eastern Europe although new dirhams were struck in the mints of Iraq at that period, too. In the end of the 9th century Samanid dirhams replaced the earlier silver coins in Eastern Europe which shows that the trade between Islam and Eastern Europe followed a new route. The discovery of silver mines in Central Asia made the export of the dirhams of the Samanids possible but the disruption of the Caucasian route was the consequence of other factors, too. Noonan emphasized that the most important one must have been the attack of the Pechenegs and their conquest of the northern area of the Black Sea in the end of the 9th century (Noonan 1985, 183-204).

As for the role of the Volga Bulgars in this trade, Noonan remarked: "The new economy and new geography of Khazaria were also a primary factor in the development of Volga Bulgaria. The basic function of Volga Bulgaria in the tenth century was to serve as an intermediary between Islamic and Rus' merchants. In other words, Volga Bulgaria performed essentially the same role as the Khazars in the trade of Islam with Russia and the Baltic. The Volga Bulgars, thus, came to supplement the Khazar activities in this sphere and, as time went on, they became rivals of the Khazars in this trade. But, without the emergence of the Islamic trade with Khazaria, the basic impetus for the formation and development of Volga Bulgaria would have been absent. The emergence of Volga Bulgaria was one of the most important elements in the 'new politics' which grew out of the Khazar shift to the Lower Volga and the establishment of Khazar commerce with the Islamic world" (Noonan 1984, 279).

The silver dirhams of the early Volga Bulghar period in the Volga-Kama region were studied by Valeev (1981, 83-96). According to him, one hoard and seven separate finds were unearthed from the ninth century which corresponded to the period of the type of Bolšie Tarhany whereas 16 hoards and 10 separate

dirhams were found from the later period (the type of Tankeevka), most of which were Samanid dirhams. This reflects a close connection of the Volga Bulgars with the Samanids and the growing importance of the Volga Bulgar territory in the trade between Eastern Europe and Islam.

On the basis of the written sources and the evidence of archeology and numismatics we can conclude that the desperate wars between the Arabs and Khazars in the first half of the 8th century, which led to the transfer of the Khazar centre with several tribes from the Northern Caucasus to the Lower Volga, were very important to the further fate of the Volga-Kama region. The archeology indicates that nomadic peoples appeared at the Volga-Kama region in the second half of the 8th century and their ceramics were parallel and contemporary with those of the northern part of the Saltovo-Majak culture, which is attributed to the Alans. Most archeologists accept the theory according to which these Alans migrated there from the Northern Caucasus as a consequence of the frequent attacks of the Arabs against Alania during the Khazar-Arab wars (Noonan 1984, 200-201; Fodor 1977, 92-93).<sup>34</sup> So it is an analogous migration with that of early Volga Bulgars from the Northern Caucasus to the forest-steppe zone of the Volga region. According to the archeological finds, the tribe or tribes of the Khazar tribal unions having arrived at the Middle Volga took possession mainly of the two banks of the Volga up to the mouth of the Kama.

By the end of the 8th century, after the normal initial difficulties, a very intensive trade developed between the Arabs and the Khazars. The artery of this trade route reached Khazaria through the Caucasus, then it went via the coast of the Caspian, Volga, to the north. The peaceful trade on this territory was provided by the tribe or the tribes of the Khazars in the Middle Volga

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<sup>34</sup> Others put the date of this migration to 650-670s and connect this event with the Khazar conquest of Kuvrat's Empire cf. Bálint 1981, 400-402.

region. This situation was preserved until the end of the 9th century when great changes took place. The importance of the Volga-Kama region grew as it is reflected by the facts that the archeological finds of the 10th century (type Tankeevka) outnumber those of the earlier period which is due not only to different stages of settled population among the different periods, but also the drastic increase of dirham hoards in the tenth century and a new, direct trade route from the Samanids to the Volga-Kama region.

## THE EARLY VOLGA BULGHAR - PROTO-PERMIAN LINGUISTICAL CONTACTS

The Volga Bulgars must have spoken a Chuvash type Turkic language. The modern Turkic languages can be divided into two basic groups: the first one is represented by only one language, the Chuvash; the other group is the Common Turkic languages.<sup>35</sup> The Chuvash type Turkic languages were spoken by several peoples during the Middle Ages. Ašmarin suggested in his fundamental book entitled *Bulgary i Čuvaši* (1902) that the Volga Bulgars' language was the ancestor of the Chuvash. He based this statement on the fragments of the Volga Bulgar language preserved by the Muslim and Russian sources and the Volga Bulgar inscriptions of the 13-14th centuries. Then Ašmarin extended his assumption to other groups which were called Bulgar i.e. Danubian Bulgars, the Bulgars of the 5-7th centuries north of the Black Sea, and finally he supposed that the Huns also spoke this language. Except for the portion pertaining to the Huns, his theory has been accepted so the Chuvash and the similar vestigial languages among the Turkic languages are called Bulgar Turkic in the handbooks and literature. Németh added his supposition to this theory, according to which the tribal names ending in *ogur* are of Bulgar Turkic origin as opposed to the Common Turkic *oguz*. Therefore, the tribes of the Onogur, Saragur, Ogur, Utigur and Kutrigur must have spoken Bulgar Turkic languages (Németh 1930, 39-40).

Ligeti did not accept the terminology suggested first by Gombocz on the grounds that other peoples who were not called Bulgars, could speak Chuvash

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<sup>35</sup> The most frequently quoted differences between them are the Chuvash *r* in place of the Common Turkic *z* and the Chuvash *l* instead of the Common Turkic *ʃ*, though there are other important differences, too.



type Turkic language and he preferred the term Chuvash type Turkic, used first by Budenz (Ligeti 1986, 9-12). According to Ligeti, Chuvash type Turkic was spoken by the Volga Bulgars, perhaps the Danubian Bulgars, and the Khazars (Ligeti 1986, 441-496).

As for the language of the Volga Bulgars, it is supposed that they may have spoken Chuvash type Turkic. The most problematic points of the determination of their language are: 1. the Volga Bulgar glosses in the Muslim and Russian sources are too few and Common Turkic words also can be found among them; 2. the Volga Bulgar tomb inscriptions were written in Arabic and only some expressions and few sentences are Turkic including Chuvash type Turkic inscriptions (Fodor - Róna-Tas 1973), and Common Turkic ones (Hakimzjanov 1987). Also, these inscriptions are dated to the 13-14th centuries, in the period of the Golden Horde after the fall of the Volga Bulgar Empire.

The evidence of the Finno-Ugrian languages in the Volga-Kama region can help to determine the language of the Volga Bulgars and the date of their migration to the Volga-Kama. The Turkic loanwords in the Finno-Ugrian languages (Permians: Zyryan and Votyak; Mordvinian and Cheremis) are divided into two groups: Chuvash type Turkic and Volga Qipchaq (Bashkir, Tatar) loanwords. The Volga Qipchaq loanwords in the Finno-Ugrian languages are dated after the Mongol invasion of the 13th century as a great number of Qipchaqs moved to this territory at that time. There are some traces of earlier Qipchaq population in the Volga-Kama region (Berta 1989, 282-283), but their influence has not been discussed yet.

The Chuvash type loanwords belong to different chronological layers. According to Ligeti, the Cheremis language has 480 Chuvash loanwords and the contacts between them started in the 16th century. He stated this on the basis of the relative chronology of the layers as the Mongol loans in Chuvash, which were the traces of the Mongol rule of the Volga-Kama region in the 13-15th

centuries, represent an older layer (Ligeti 1986, 444-446; cf. Róna-Tas 1978, 67-68).

There are around 20 Chuvash type Turkic loanwords in Mordvinian (cf. Feoktistov 1965, 334-336). Some of them were borrowed before the 13th century. Róna-Tas enumerated three such words from the time of the Volga Bulghar Empire (1982, 156).

The Chuvash type loans in the Permian languages fall into three layers: 1. loans in the Proto-Permian (20-22 words); 2. loans in the Permyak, a dialect of Zyryan through Votyak mediation (about 9 words); 3. Chuvash loanwords in Votyak (about 130 words) (Rédei - Róna-Tas, 1982, 158). According to Ligeti, the Chuvash loanwords in Votyak seem to be older than those of the Cheremis but the place and time of their adaptation cannot be determined now (1986, 449). The first and the second layers have been the subject of a detailed study of Rédei and Róna-Tas (1983). The first and second layers can be separated on the basis of linguistical and geographical principles. The Chuvash type loans in Proto-Permian can be only those which occur in the northern dialects of Zyryan besides the Votyak, and in the southern dialects as the Zyryans moved north after the dissolution of the Proto-Permian unity, therefore their contacts with the Bulgars ceased. The Votyaks remained in contact with the Volga Bulgars. The Permyak, a dialect of Zyryan, was spoken north of the Votyak territory. The second layer represents words which can be found only in the Votyak and Permyak dialects. These loans in the Permyak were mediated by Votyak and the adaptation of these words can be dated to a later period than the first layer (Rédei - Róna-Tas 1983, 3-4, 33-34).

The chronological questions of the first layer are the most significant from our point of view. Rédei and Róna-Tas accepted the view of the archeologists who, dating the arrival of the Volga Bulgars at the Middle Volga region to the second half of the eighth century, put the beginnings of the Proto-Permian

Volga Bulghar contacts to the same time (Rédei - Róna-Tas 1983, 25-26). But after applying linguistical methods to determine the age of these contacts they concluded: "The loanwords permit us to reconstruct what is in some respect a slightly more advanced stage of phonetic development than we find suggested by the Bulghar-Turkic loanwords in the Hungarian language" (Rédei - Róna-Tas 1983, 25). The intensive Hungarian - Turkic contacts ended at the end of the 9th century when the Hungarians conquered the Carpathian Basin as the Pechenegs plundered their territory north of the Black Sea. At the same time, the adaptation of some Turkic words by the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin cannot be excluded.<sup>36</sup> So the contacts between the Volga Bulghar and Proto-Permian languages may have started after the end of the ninth century. Such an assumption can be corroborated by archeological evidences as the number of sites of the Tankeevka type settlements dated to the end of the 9th and 10th centuries might refer to intensive contacts between the local population and the newcomers.

The end of the Proto-Permian Volga Bulghar contacts was marked by the dissolution of the Proto-Permian unity. Two of the 20-22 Chuvash type loanwords in the Proto-Permian are of New Persian origin (Rédei - Róna-Tas 1983, 6-7, 11) which refer to the Islamization of the Volga Bulgars. Róna-Tas remarked: "... the Arabic and New Persian loanwords which came along with the Islamization needed a few generations to become part of the language of the Volga Bulgars. In any case, even if we assume that P *x<sup>w</sup>aja* was borrowed in the earliest times, the religious meaning of this word in Proto-Permian shows that it originates not from the first decades of superficial contacts, but from an

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<sup>36</sup> The three tribes of the Kabars who were of Khazar origin joined the Hungarians in the 9th century and they became the parts of the Hungarian tribal union so they became subjects of the Hungarians. Some Turkic loanwords in Hungarian were borrowed from them, but the bulk of these words were borrowed earlier cf. Ligeti 1986, 531-533.

already Moslem population which could hardly have developed before the end of the 10th century" (Róna-Tas 1982, 155 note 107). Not only the Permian languages borrowed words from the Volga Bulgars but there are Permian loanwords in Chuvash. Two of these words are certainly and one is probably from the Proto-Permian (Rédei - Róna-Tas 1982, 158-159, 162, 168-169, 176-177).

It seems to be certain that the contacts between the Volga Bulgar and the Proto-Permian began at the end of the 9th century and lasted till the end of the 10th century, on the basis of linguistic, historical, and archeological evidences.

## THE APPEARANCE OF THE VOLGA BULGHARS IN THE MUSLIM SOURCES

The first authentic account on the Volga Bulgars is the report of Ibn Faḍlān about his visit to the Bulghar king in 922. Earlier appearance of the Volga Bulgars in the Muslim sources is the theme of this chapter. The most frequently debated question is the relation of the Jayhānī tradition to Ibn Faḍlān. There are some records of the Bulgars in connection with the events of the 9th century in the works of Muslim scholars written in the 10th century.

### *1. The Burghar king in the Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadīm*

Ibn al-Nadīm mentioned the king of the Burghar in his celebrated *Kitāb al-Fihrist* completed before 988 in the part dealing with the literary activity of the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mūn who ruled from 813 to 833. He said: "*Among his books there were: Answers to the Questions of the Burghar Addressed to Him [al-Ma'mūn] about Islām and the Unity [Theology]*" (Dodge 1970, 254; Arabic: Flügel 1871, 111). This information is supplemented in another passage about al-Jāhīz: "*He [al-Ma'mūn] wrote to the king of the Burghar a letter over one hundred pages in length, but although he did not seek anyone's aid or quote any verse from the Book of Allāh, may His name be exalted, or any word from any wise man preceding him, al-Jāhīz cajoled his tongue into saying, This letter we*

have regarded as being taken in a favourable way from a discovery of *al-Jāhiz*" (Dodge 1970, 400). Finally Ibn al-Nadīm wrote about the scripts of the Turks: "The Turks, the Bulgar, the *Blaghā'* [sic. *Bulghar Z.I.*], the *Burghaz*, the *Khazar*, the *Llān*, and the types with small eyes and extreme blondness have no script, except that the Bulgarians and the Tibetans write with Chinese and Manichean, whereas the Khazar write Hebrew" (Dodge 1970, 36-37; Flügel 1871, 20). The name *Bulghar* is mentioned in three forms:

1. بلغر *B<sup>u</sup>lgh<sup>a</sup>r* which is unusual in the Muslim sources. Togan identified this name with the Danubian Bulgars but the appearance of this name together with the Tibetans difficult to explain so Togan remarked that Marquart was probably right when he emended this form to *T<sup>o</sup>gh<sup>u</sup>z o<sup>g</sup>h<sup>u</sup>z* (Togan 1939, 194 note 1). The usage of Chinese and Manichean scripts by the *B<sup>u</sup>lgh<sup>a</sup>r* people seems to reflect a confusion of this ethnonym not with *Toghuzoghuz* as Marquart suggested but with *Uyghur* (اينغر). The Uyghur embraced Manicheism in 762<sup>37</sup> and there are Turkic texts in Manichean script.
2. بلنار *B<sup>u</sup>lghār* which can be considered the standard Muslim form. Dodge's reading: *Blughā'* and its identification with the Vlachs of Rumania (1970, 37 note 82) is unacceptable.
3. برغر *B<sup>u</sup>rgh<sup>a</sup>r* a form taken from Mas'ūdī whose *Munāj* was quoted by Ibn al-Nadīm (Dodge 1970, 338). Mas'ūdī applied this form of the name both for the Volga and Danubian Bulgars sometimes confusing the two territories.

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<sup>37</sup> The term *Toghuz Oghuz* denotes the Uyghurs in Muslim sources cf. Minorsky 1948, 287, 301-303.

It is not obvious who is meant by the king of the Burghar on the basis of the *Fihrist*, therefore different opinions have been formed. Togan supposed that the correspondence between Ma'mūn and the king of the (Volga) Burghar can be explained by the assumption according to which one part of the Khazars, namely the Volga Bulgars remained Muslims after the Islamization of the Khazar Kingdom by Marwān in 737 (Togan 1939, 308).

Pritsak gave another explanation: after the fall of the Hun Empire in Europe (453) the Bulgars dominated the Bosphorus Kingdom (the strait of Kerch) until the Khazar conquest (circa 660). According to Ibn Khurdādhbih, the king of the Bosphorus Bulgars was called the king of the *Ṣaqāliba* meaning "ruler over a territory recognized as a reservoir of potential slaves" (Pritsak 1981, 61) during the 5-7th centuries. The same title was applied to the king of the Volga Bulgars by Ibn Faḍlān. So Pritsak concluded: "When the Turkic Khazars' drive for hegemony put an end to Magna Bulgaria as an independent political power ca. 660, many Bulgars migrated to either the Danubian Moesia, or Italian Ravenna, but apparently the essential components of Bulgar society remained on their old territory, and their ruler may have accepted Islam as early as the 8th century. This realm was known in the 10th century sources as the "Black Bulgaria": *η μαυρη Βουλγαρια = Чернии Болгаре*. Later (ca. 880), under circumstances which still need further investigation, a considerable number of Black Bulgars had migrated to the Volga-Kama Basin. During the ninth century the Bosphorus Bulgar realm was the only cultural centre to which a caliph interested in Greek philosophy could turn for help and discussion" (Pritsak 1981, 62). To understand Pritsak's theory, it is necessary to add that according to him, Hellenism is "a marriage of cultures that found its realization in the idea and practice of the art of translating" (Pritsak 1981, 72). It continued to flourish at the Bosphorus until the eleventh century. The Bosphorus was

the centre of commercial, intellectual and religious life in the western Eurasian steppe. The inhabitants of the Bosphorus had a very important role in the history of the steppe (Pritsak 1981, 72-73). According to Pritsak, the term *Şaqḷab* = *Sclav* meaning slave which refers to the slave-trade. The Christians and Muslims got the slaves from the territory east of the Elbe River and west of the Syr Darya. Thus the name *Şaqāliba* (Arabic plural of *Şaqḷab*) became a geographical term meaning Eastern Europe where the slaves were taken from (Pritsak 1981, 23-24).

The theory of Pritsak regarding the inhabitants of Kuvrat's empire remaining in their homeland, among them the ancestors of the Bulgars, and their migration in the end of the ninth century is convincing. The Islamization of the remnants of Kuvrat's empire however needs corroboration from other sources.

Kmoskó called the attention to the possible connection between the Islamization of the king of Burghar mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm and the remark of Muqaddasī (Kmoskó MII, 309; AIII, 119) who said: "*I heard that Ma'mūn had raided them [the Khazars] from Jurjānīya and had become the master of him*<sup>30</sup> and had summoned him to Islam" (BGA III, 361).

Marquart put the date of Ma'mūn's campaign between 813 and 818 or from 799 to the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd (809) as he was the governor of Khurāsān at the time (Marquart 1903, 3-4).

Barthold denied the historicity of this account supposing that the name Ma'mūn must refer not to the Caliph (813-833) but to Ma'mūn ibn Muḥammad, the ruler of Gurgānj who became the Khwārizm Shāh after 995 (Barthold 1968,

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<sup>30</sup> *malakahu*: Marquart emended it as *malikuhum* and translated 'und deren König' (1903, 3); Dunlop translated it as 'and having conquered them' (1954, 246) which is more certain, but the object pronoun is in singular so it can refer to a person i.e. the king of the Khazars.



597-601). This theory is based on other passages: 1. Muqaddasī wrote that the Khazar towns were sometimes plundered by the ruler of Jurjānīya (BGA III, 361 note S beginning on page 360); Ibn Miskawayh (d. 1030) recorded that a body of Turks raided the Khazars and the Khazar asked for help from the people of Khwārizm in 965. They promised to help if the Khazars would embrace Islam, therefore, the Khazars converted (cf. Dunlop 1954, 244).

Dunlop pointed out the problems of Barthold's view: "... it is surprising to find that Muqaddasī can refer to Ma'mūn ibn Muḥammad in 397/985 [when Muqaddasī wrote Z. I.] simply as Ma'mūn, as though there was no possibility of confusion with anyone else, ten years before he attained the dignity of Khwārizm Shāh" (Dunlop 1954, 247 note 57).

Artamonov accepted the theory of Barthold and dated the campaign of Ma'mūn to 985 on the grounds that: 1. the Russian annals recorded a campaign against the Volga Bulgars at that time, 2. Muqaddasī mentioned the raid of the Rūs after the Islamization of the Khazars and Artamonov agreed with its chronological order, 3. Ibn Hauqal (writing around 977) did not know about the conversion of the Khazars, 4. the great campaign of Svjatoslav against the Khazars in 965 was too early for Ma'mūn ibn Muḥammad as he became Khwārizm Shāh only in 995 (Artamonov 1962, 433-435). Artamonov tried to solve the contradictions of the different sources but there are too many ambiguities to be successful in it.

If we accept the historicity of Muqaddasī's account, new data are needed to corroborate the connection between Ma'mūn and the Khazars, such as Togan's cited account from the works of Tannūhī and Tartūshī according to which the envoy of the Khazar king visited Fudayl b. Sahl, the *wazīr* of Ma'mūn (Togan 1939, 263-264; Dunlop 1954, 188).

Returning to the record of Ibn al-Nadīm, we suggest that the king of Burghar should be replaced by the king of the Khazars. As for the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism, the record by Mas'ūdī seems to be the most reliable: the conversion of the Khazars took place during the reign of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (789-809) (cf. Golden 1983, 134-135 with further lit.). Ma'mūn, his son was the governor of Khurāsān during his father's reign from 799 to 809 so the Khazar king might have asked for information about the dogmas of Islam from him as recorded by Ibn al-Nadīm. Caliph Hārūn might have ordered his son to raid the Khazars to force them to embrace Islam as it is reflected in the work of Muqaddasī. The replacement of Burghar with Khazar can be explained if we suppose that Ibn al-Nadīm knew that the Khazars were Jews as he mentioned the Hebrew script they used. He, relying on the work of Mas'ūdī, knew also that the king of the Burghar had converted to Islam (Minorsky 1958, 149). Thus, he might have considered the supposed original Khazar an error and must have corrected it to Burghar, according to his more complete knowledge.

Finally, the identification of the king of Burghar with Omurtag, the king of the Danubian Bulgars (815-833) must be examined too.

All of these theories have several dubious points so we are far from the final solution of what the reference of the name Burghar meant in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*. Only further studies and new sources may provide firm basis to identify this term.

## *II. The travel of Sallām the Interpreter to the wall of Gog and Magog*

The textological problems of the travel of Sallām were discussed among the Muslim authors. The whole story is a fabulous description of a journey from different sources: 1. the story of the building of the wall of Gog and Magog in the Koran (Sur. 18, 84-97); 2. the Arabic translation of the Alexander romance (Kmoskó: cf. Czeglédy 1954, 31-33; Czeglédy 1957, 231-249); 3. some real historical and geographical data.

A story similar to that of Sallām can be found in the history of Tabarī without any historical value. It is said that the Persian governor of Darband sent a man to the wall of Gog and Magog. He sent a letter to the neighbour king asking him to write a recommendation for his envoy so they could travel on to the neighbour kingdom. He also sent gifts to the visited kings. The man using this method reached the king whose land was in the vicinity of the dyke. This king sent a letter to his governor of the province closest to the dyke. This governor sent his falconer with him to the dyke. Then the description of the dyke and a tale can be read (Tabarī IV, 159-160).

The sketch of Sallām's journey is the following: Caliph Wāthiq (824-827) saw the dyke open in his dream (Ibn Khurdādhbih: BGA VI, 162; Muqaddasī: BGA III, 362; Ibn Rusta: BGA VII, 149). The historical background of this dream can be connected with the consequences of the overthrow of the Uyghur Empire by the Kirghiz (Marquart 1903, 90).

Thus the Caliph chose his Turkic interpreter, Sallām, (Ibn Rusta: BGA VII, 149) who knew thirty languages (Ibn Khurdādhbih: BGA VI, 132-133) to bring information about the dyke. But according to Muqaddasī, Wāthiq had

sent Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī to Tarkhān, the king of the Khazars (Muqaddasī: BGA III, 362). As the later sentence was mentioned only by Muqaddasī, Kmoskó thought it was an error (AI, 67), while Dunlop believed in the historicity of this sentence (1954, 190) as did Pritsak (1976, 18-19).

Wāthiq supplied Sallām with the necessary provision. Then, as Ibn Khurdādhbih said: *"We went from Sāmarrā with the letter of Wāthiq Billāh about [the helping] our further travel [addressed] to Ishāq ibn Ismā'īl, the lord of Armenia living in Tiflīs. Ishāq wrote for us to the lord of the Sarūr, the lord of the Sarūr wrote for us to the king of the Alans,*

*Idrīsī (935)*

*then the king of the Alans wrote for us to Fīlān Shāh, then Fīlān Shāh wrote for us to Tarkhān, the king of Khazars. We stayed at the king of the Khazars for a day and night until he sent five guides with us. We travelled from him for twenty six days and arrived at the black and evil-smelling land*

*when we reached him [the king of the Alans Z. I.] he also sent us to the lord of Fīlān Shāh. When we came to him we stayed with him for some days. He chosed five guides for us who showed us the way we intended to go. We travelled from his place on the border of the Basjirt country for twenty seven days until we arrived at the black land*

*but we had been supplied with vinegar before we entered this region which we could sniff against the stink. We crossed it for ten days. Then we reached the destroyed towns and we travelled among them for twenty days. We asked about the condition of these towns and we were informed that the towns had been attacked*

*and destroyed by Gog and Magog. Then we reached the fortresses which were near the mountain the dyke was in a pass of it. There was a tribe in these fortresses who spoke Arabic and Persian.*

*Idrīsī (935)*

*There was a town there whose king was called the Khaqan of Adhk.sh ...*

*They were Muslims and they read the Koran. They had schools and mosques. They asked us where we came from. We said to them that we were the envoys of the Commander of the Faithful. They began to wonder and repeated: "The Commander of the Faithful." We said: "Yes". They asked if he was old or young and we answered that he was young. They wondered again and asked where he was. We answered that he was in a town called Sāmarrā in Irāq. They said that they had never heard about this.*

*Idrīsī (935-936)*

*We asked them about their conversion to Islam and asked where the Islam had come to them from, who had taught them the Koran. They said that a man had come to them many years ago who had ridden an animal which had long neck, two long forelegs and two long feet and a hump instead of its backbone. We realized that they*

*meant the camel. They said that he had put up at them and had talked to them in a language they had understood. Then he had taught them the laws of Islam and their consequences and they had accepted them. He had also taught us the Koran and its meanings and they had studied it and had learnt it by heart from him.*

*The distance between the fortress was minimum one parasangs maximum two parasangs. We arrived at a town called Īka ..."* (Ibn Khurdādhbih: BGA VI, 163-164; Muqaddasī: BGA III, 362-363; French BGA VI, 125-126; Wiet 1955, 168-169).

Then the description of the dyke and that of the return via Khurāsān to Sāmarrā can be read.

The travel of Sallām followed the commercial route from the Arabic capital via Caucasus to the Khazars which was described by Noonan. It is not clear why Wāthiq sent his envoys to the Khazars. May be he expected to get some information on the overthrow of the Uyghur Empire which took place in the eastern half of Inner Asia. If it were the case, he would have sent Sallām rather to Khurāsān and Transoxania to gather information as these provinces were the closest to Inner Asia. But Sallām mentioned them on his way back from the dyke. He recorded some other place names on his route back which were in the eastern part of Inner Asia (Togan 1939, 197-198). Dunlop supposed

that the Khazars sent the envoys of the Caliph further as the people living there had a better knowledge of the events of Inner Asia (1954, 193).

Ishāq ibn Ismā'īl, who died in 852, was a prominent figure of the Caucasian history. He married the daughter of the ruler of the Sarīr (Minorsky 1958, 57). He could have given a letter to Sallām in which he asked his father-in-law to help the envoys of the Caliph.

The geographical situation of these Caucasian peoples were described by Minorsky: Sarīr, the Caucasian Huns lived in Daghestan (Minorsky 1937, 447-450); the Alans inhabited central part of the Northern Caucasus (Minorsky 1937, 444-446). Fīlān was a province which location is uncertain (Minorsky 1958, 100-101). As for the route of Sallām, Minorsky said: "In any case the itinerary is embroiled, and the movements of the envoy erratic" (Minorsky 1958, 101). Kračkovskij thought that the account of the route of Sallām was authentic (1957, 138-141) as opposed to Ludwig who believed that Sallām did not even reach the Volga (1982, 170-173).

The word *Ṭarkhān*, the king (*malik*) of the Khazar, is the subject of a long debate, the main problem of which is its interpretation. As a Turkic title<sup>39</sup> (Clouston 1972, 539-540) it denotes a lesser Turkic king, not the supreme ruler (cf. Ibn Khurdādhbih: BGA VI; 41). Zahoder thought it was a title denoting the real ruler of the dual kingship (1962, 210). Minorsky identified this term with the *Ṭarkhān Khaqan* mentioned in the *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam* (1937, 451). Dunlop could not decide whether the term *Ṭarkhān* had to be substituted for another title or if another name had to precede it (1954, 191-192).

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<sup>39</sup> Among the Khazars cf. Golden 1980, I, 210-213.

Idrīsī said that Sallam crossed the country of the Basjīrī. His source could be either the legend of the Kirghiz preserved by Gardīzī (Martinez 1982, 125), or the Balkhī tradition (Iṣṭakhrī: BGA I, 225; Ibn Ḥauqal BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 396) as only these authors have this form of this ethnonym.

The dyke was put to different places. De Goeje, and following him Marquart, located it to the Great Wall of China (Marquart 1903, 85-86). Togan preferred the Iron Gate in the Tien Shan (1939, 196). Zichy and Pritsak supposed that the dyke was in the Ural mountains (Zichy 1921, 200; Pritsak 1976, 19 note 7).

The dyke was placed to the fringe of the civilized world which was the Darband Pass and was built against the nomads of Eastern Europe as recorded even in the Syriac legends of Alexander the Great (Czeglédy 1957, 231-249).

The Arabic versions of the Alexander romance did not place the dyke at the Caucasus. As Ṭabarī recorded, the Arabs conquered the Darband Pass which was in the hands of the Persians. They also looked, unsuccessfully, for the dyke there which is described in the Koran as made of copper and iron. Then they got acquainted with the peoples and geography of the Khazar Empire during their campaigns against the Khazars but found no trace of the dyke there either. Thus, the Arabs put the possible place of the dyke as north of the Khazar Empire.<sup>40</sup> Another source is Ibn Faḍlān who asked the king of the Volga Bulgars about the giant whose skeleton he saw. The king answered that he was from the people Gog and Magog, living north of the tribe Wisū. This

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<sup>40</sup> According to a Persian tradition the Sasanid Anūshirvān built a wall against the Khazars in Darband Pass. The Muslim writers quoting this story did not identify it with the Dyke of Alexander as they put this dyke north of the Caucasus. (Dunlop 1954, 23-24).



tribe was the northernmost mentioned by Ibn Fadlān. According to him, the dyke was between the Wisū and Gog and Magog (Togan 1939, A 32, G 72-73). Dunlop mentioned that the Chester Beatty MS. of Iṣṭakhrī contained a passage placing the Wall behind the Artha, a Russian tribe or province (1945, 193 note 121). It can be concluded from these examples that the supposed place of the dyke moved north as the geographical knowledge of Eastern Europe reached the Arabs.

According to the Syriac legends of Alexander the Great, he wanted to reach the end of the Earth and marched until he arrived at the shore of the stinking Ocean. After this adventure he travelled to Armenia and the Caucasus where he built the dyke. The two events: the searching for the edge of the world and the building of the dyke against Gog and Magog were combined in Sallām's story. Its proof lies in the crossing of the stinking land in Sallām's journey corresponding to the stinking Ocean. The term Black Land may also refer to the northern territory (Minorsky 1942, 115).

The motive of the destroyed towns could be taken from the fact that Alexander the Great founded many towns which were destroyed by nomads.

In the neighbourhood of the dyke a Muslim tribe lived. According to Ibn Khurdādhbih, there was also a town there which was called *Īka*. Idrīsī remarked that the king of the towns was *Khaqan Adhk.sh*. De Goeje identified the city with *Igu*, today Hami (BGA VI, 164 note G). Kmoskó, based on Idrīsī, thought that the name must be a deformation of *Adhk.sh* (Kmoskó AI, 69 note 2). The tribal name *Adhkish* is mentioned by Ibn Khurdādhbih among the Turkic tribes (BGA VI, 31<sup>9</sup> cf. Hamadhānī: BGA V, 329<sup>4</sup>). Idrīsī described them in the ninth part of the fifth climate living east of the Ghuzz (843-848), and Kāshgharī also knew them.

Zichy supposed that the Muslim tribe close to the dyke must be identical with the Volga Bulgars. This supposition is based on the records of the Muslim authors of the 10th century according to which the Volga Bulgars were Muslims and lived in the north behind the Khazars. The only problem left is the date of their conversion as Ibn Faḍlān travelled there in 922 to help with the adaptation of Islam. There are some traces of earlier conversion in the *Risāla* of Ibn Faḍlān (Zichy 1921, 197-198) but as it will be discussed later, these traces point to some years, but not a complete century, earlier.

A similar idea was proposed by Bīrūnī who gave an excellent critical review of the whole journey. He did not accept the identification of the Muslim people with the Volga Bulgars. He wrote: *"As to the rampart which he constructed between the two walls, it must be stated that the wording of the Koran does not indicate its geographical situation. We learn, however, from the geographical works, as Jighrāfiya and the Itineraria (the books called Masālik wa-mamālik, i.e. Itinera et regna), that this nation, viz, Yājūj and Mājūj are a tribe of the eastern Turks, who live in the most southern parts of the 5th and 6th klimata. Besides, Muḥammad ben Jarīr Aḡḡabārī relates in his chronicle, that the prince of Ādharbaijān, at the time when the country was conquered, had sent a man to find the rampart, from the direction of the country of the Khazars, that this man saw the rampart, and described it as a very lofty building of dark colour, situated behind a moat of solid structure and impregnable.*

*'Abdallāh ben 'Abdallāh ben Khurdādhbih relates, on the authority of the dragoman at the court of the Khalif, that Almu'tasim dreamt one night, that this rampart had been opened (rendered accessible). Therefore he sent out fifty men to inspect it. They set out from the road which leads to Bāb-al'abwāb, and to the countries of the Lān and Khazar; finally they arrived at the rampart, and found*

*that it was constructed of iron tiles, joined together by molten brass, and with a bolted gate. Its garrison consisted of people of the neighbouring countries. Then they returned, and the guide led them out into the district opposite Samarkand.*

*From these two reports, it is evident that the rampart must be situated in the north-west quarter of the inhabitable earth. However, especially in this latter report, there is something which renders its authenticity doubtful, viz. the description of the inhabitants of that country, that they are Muslims and speak Arabic, although they are without the slightest connection with the civilized world, from which they are separated by a black, badly smelling country of the extent of many days' travelling; further, that they were totally ignorant as to both Khalif and the Khalifate. Whilst we know of no other Muslim nation which is separated from the territory of Islām, except the Bulghār and the Sawār, who live towards the end of the civilized world, in the most northern part of the 7th klima. And these people do not make the least mention of such a rampart, and they are well acquainted with the Khalifate and the Khalifs, in whose name they read even the Khutba; they do not speak Arabic, but a language of their own, a mixture of Turkish and Khazarī. If, therefore, this report rests on testimonies of this sort, we do not wish to investigate thereby the truth of the subject.*

*This is what I wished to propound regarding Dhū-alkarnaini. Allāh knows best!" (Sachau 1879, 50-51).*

We can add to this that the tribe living near the Dyke spoke Persian as well as Arabic. The Arabic seems to be natural if they knew the Koran, but why did they speak Persian? This is the key to the problem as the "original" place of the dyke was in the Darband Pass which was under Persian control and was conquered by the Arabs later. In the 9th century the Persians were Muslims and the Koran mentions the building of the dyke. So the elements to

construct the story of the Muslims close to the dyke were already present. All in all, there is no possibility to suppose any references to the Volga Bulgars in the report on the journey of Sallām.

### *III. A tradesman from Khazarān among the Bulgars in the work of Ibn Ḥauqal*

Ibn Ḥauqal gave a very interesting story about the jurisdiction of the Khazars which is absent in the work of Iṣṭakhrī whom he followed almost word for word. He said: *"Frequently things occur in the decision of the king of the Khazars which sound like a fairy tale. Such, for example, is what al-Mu'tadid related, when he had been mentioned in his presence and the speaker referred to him scornfully. Not so, said the Caliph. It is related, of the Prophet that he said, God Whose name is great makes no man ruler of a people, without aiding him by a kind of guidance, even if he is an unbeliever. A good instance of this is that there was a certain man belonging to Khazarān, who had a son, skilled in trading and experienced in buying and selling. He sent him to Inner Bulgaria and kept him supplied with merchandise. Then, after he had sent his son away, he adopted one of his slaves, brought him up and educated him. His intelligence was good in what was suggested to him in the way of business, so that the merchant called him his son, owing to his nearness to him through dutifulness and ability. The real son continued long abroad, while the slave remained in the service of his father, until the man died. Application was made by the son for supplies, not knowing that his father was dead. The slave, however, took what was sent him, without sending equivalent merchandise in return. Then son wrote asking him to send supplies to the usual amount. The answer of the slave was a summons to return home, that the account might be settled for the goods which he held, and that he [i.e. the slave] might recover from him his father's property. This was enough to bring the*

*real son back to his father's house in Khazarān, and the two of them began to dispute and argue the case with proofs. But when one of them had produced what reckoned adequate proof, the other advanced objections which held him up.*

*The dispute between them lasted a whole year. The quarrel, having gone on so long, became very involved, so that the matter ended in a deadlock. The king then undertook to try the case between the parties and, having assembled all the judges and people of the city, held a court. The contestants repeated their claims from the beginning of the dispute. The king could see no advantage for either, owing to the equality of the proofs in his sight. So he said to the son, 'Do you really know your father's grave?' 'I have been told of it' he replied, 'but I did not see his interment, to be sure of it.' Then he asked the slave who made the claim, 'Do you know your father's grave?' 'Yes,' said he, 'I had charge of his burial.' Then the king said, 'Away, the two of you, and bring me a bone, if you find any.' The slave went to the grave, removed a bone and brought it to him. Then he said to the slave who claimed to be merchant's son, 'Bleed yourself' which he did, and the king gave orders that his blood should be cast upon the bone. But the blood went from it and adhered to no part of it. Next the son was bled, and his blood was cast upon the bone and adhered to it. Then the king punished the slave severely and handed over him and his wealth to the son" (Dunlop 1954, 215-217; Arabic: BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 391-392, French: Kramers-Wiet 1964, II, 381-382).*

The date of the story can be put to the reign of al-Mu'tadid, between 892 and 902. The authenticity of some details is rather doubtful. But there are some reliable geographical names and the active commercial life of the Khazar capital is attested in other sources. So this data seems to be authentic for the end of the 9th century.

The city called Khazarān was mentioned by Ibn Hauqal several times. As for the Khazar capital, Ibn Hauqal said: *The town (balad) is in two parts, one of the two is west of the river called Ātil and it is the larger, the other is east of it. The king lives in the western part and it is called Khazarān. The eastern part is called Ātil*" (BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 389<sup>15-17</sup>). The underlined part is left out from the Istanbul MS but is contained in the later MSS. The first edition of Ibn Hauqal contains a false emendation which was accepted by Pritsak: the western part is called Ātil and the eastern Khazarān (BGA II, 278; Golb-Pritsak 1982, 149 note 25, 150 note 37). Kramers corrected it in the second edition which is corroborated by the map of the Khazar Sea in the Istanbul MS on which Ātil is placed east of the river and Khazarān is placed west of it (cf. Golden 1980, II, 121). Idrisi wrote that the king lived on the western bank whereas the merchants and common people lived on the eastern bank (834<sup>9-10</sup>).

The bolded sentences are absent in the work of Iṣṭakhrī (BGA I, 220<sup>2-3</sup>). In the parallel accounts of Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Hauqal the former has never mentioned the name *Khazarān*: Iṣṭakhrī: *The royal army consists of 12.000 man*" (Dunlop 1954, 92; BGA I, 220-221), Ibn Hauqal: *"It is said that all the army of the Khazarān consist of 12.000 mercenaries"* (BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 390<sup>12-13</sup>). Iṣṭakhrī recorded about the river Ātil: *"It is said that more than seventy streams branch out from this river. The main body of it flows by the Khazars until it falls into the sea"* (BGA I, 222<sup>6-8</sup>, cf. Dunlop 1954, 95). Ibn Hauqal followed Iṣṭakhrī almost word by word, but in this case he had the form *Khazarān* instead of *al-Khazar* (BGA II, 393<sup>6-8</sup>).

Ibn Hauqal recorded the destruction of Khazarān by the Russians in 968-969 (BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 15, 392, 398; cf. Dunlop 1954, 242, 246). According to Hamadhānī, Anūshirwān built many cities, one of them is *Khazarān*.<sup>41</sup>

The form *Khazarān* also can be found in the Jayhānī tradition. Ibn Rusta said: "They [the Rūs] make raids against the *Ṣaqāliba*, they sail in ships until they reach them and take prisoners. They take them to *Khazarān* (*Kh.r.wān*) and *Bulkār*, they sell them to them" (BGA VII, 145<sup>14-15</sup>). Gardīzī has the same story, writing *Khazarān* and *Bulkār* (Martinez 1982, 210<sup>1</sup>, 167). The capital of the Khazars is called *Sāriḡshin* and *Hanbaligh* in the Khazar chapter of the Jayhānī tradition.

The term *Khazarān* was used as an ethnonym by Mas'ūdī when he said that the Khazars were called *Sabir* in Turkic and *Khazarān* in Persian (BGA VIII, 83<sup>1</sup>).

On the basis of Mas'ūdī the form *Khazarān* seems to be the Persian plural of the ethnonym *Khazar*.<sup>42</sup> Pritsak suggested another possibility according to which the suffix *-an* would be a common Altaic collective (Golb-Pritsak 1982, 151), but there is no reason to prefer the latter idea. Finally the Schechter Text among the Hebrew documents mentioned "and the name of the imperial city of *Qazar*" (Golb-Pritsak 1982, 119. Pritsak's comment 142-156).

<sup>41</sup> *H.rān* in the MSS which is emended by de Goeje BGA V, 288<sup>9</sup> and note i.

<sup>42</sup> Golden added: "In regard to *Xazarān* it is interesting to note that the Russian chronicles refer to the capital of the Volga Bulgars as 'Bolgary', also using a plural form." 1980, I, 224 note 759; cf. also Dunlop 1954, 217 note 247; Golb-Pritsak 1982, 143.

The term *Khazarān* meant the Khazar capital in the quoted text of Ibn Ḥauqal about the judgement but this term could not have been taken from the work of Iṣṭakhri as he had not known it. It had some vague traces in the *Jayhānī* tradition that Ibn Ḥauqal knew.

The formula Inner Bulghar (*Bulghār al-dākhil*) can be found only in the Istanbul MS. The Paris MS which is an abridgement of the Istanbul MS has only the form *al-Bulghār* (BGA II, 280 note e). This term is omitted in the other MSS.

Minorsky remarked that the formula Inner Bulghar belonged to Balkhī as it is mentioned only by his followers (1937, 438). This term was a part of a system as Iṣṭakhri used also the terms Outer Bulghar and Great Bulghar (*Bulghār al-khārij* and *al-a'zam*).

The formula Inner Bulghar is mentioned first during the description of the latitude of the earth: "then [the line] skirts the farther side (*ẓahr*) of the *Ṣaqāliba*, crosses the land of the Inner Bulghar and *Ṣaqāliba*, and goes along the *Rūm* country and Syria" (Minorsky 1937, 439; Ar.: BGA I, 7<sup>8-9</sup>, BGA II, 12). Some lines below Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥauqal both said: "From the region of *Yājūj* to the region of *Bulghār* and the land of *Ṣaqāliba* there is about forty days' journey." (BGA I, 7<sup>12-13</sup>). Marquart interpreted the name Inner Bulghar and that of the *Ṣaqāliba* as a hendiadyon which refers to the Danubian Bulgars, based on Mas'ūdī who said that the *Burghar* is a sort of *Ṣaqāliba* (BGA VIII, 141<sup>3</sup>; Marquart 1903, 517). Minorsky did not accept it stating, "This interpretation is hardly correct and the impression of the text is that the Inner *Bulghār* lived north of the (Eastern) *Ṣaqāliba*, or in close contact with them" (1937, 439-440).



Speaking about the distances cited above only *Bulghār* is mentioned without an adjective which refers to the capital of the Volga Bulgars in most cases. The parallelism of the above cited two accounts suggests that the omission of Inner in the second case should be a simple carelessness. Marquart quoted similar cases where the term *Bulghār* may refer to the Danubian Bulgars on the basis of the context (1903, 517-518).

The term *Outer Bulghār* is mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī: "*Outer Bulghār is a small town, there are many districts in it and it is famous for being the harbour of these kingdoms.*" (BGA I, 10<sup>67</sup>). Ibn Hauqal omitted the word 'Outer' (BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 15).

Finally the *Great Bulghār* and *Inner Bulghār* are mentioned in the end of the description of the Rūs. The first column is the translation of Iṣṭakhrī, the second is Ibn Hauqal:

*"These Rūs trade with the Khazars and trade with the Rūm and Great Bulghār and they [In MS C: Arba [i.e. Artha] lies between the Khazars and Great Bulghār.] border from the north on the Rūm and they are numerous, it is said from their might that they imposed kharāj on those of the Rūm who live near to their country, and the Inner Bulghārs are Christians."*

*"The Rūs still trade with the Khazars and the Rūm, and the Great Bulghārs border on the Rūm from the north and they numerous and they imposed kharāj on those of the Rūm in the old days who lived near them, and there are Christians and Muslims in [the country of] Inner Bulghār."*

*In our time no trace was left of the Bulghār, Burtās and the Khazars by the Russians except a few ruins which they had already despoiled."*

BGA I, 226; English tr.: Minorsky 1937, 438-439.

BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 397-398; English tr.: Minorsky 1937, 439 and Dunlop 1954, 246.

Marquart interpreted this passage of Iṣṭakhrī in two ways: if the personal pronoun after the *Great Bulghār* refers to the Great Bulgars, the Danubian Bulgars under Symeon can be meant, whereas if it refers to the Russians, Great Bulghar can be the Volga Bulgars which is corroborated in MS of Gotha C (Marquart 1903, 518-519), and the term *Inner Bulghār* means the Danubian Bulgars as they were Christians. The second interpretation seems to be more acceptable. Minorsky translated the last two sentences of Iṣṭakhrī as the *kharāj* was imposed not only on the Rūm but on the Inner Bulghar which is not convincing (cf. Marquart 1903, 518; Dunlop 1954, 100).

In Ibn Hauqal's interpretation of the text of Iṣṭakhrī the *Great Bulghār* refers to the Danubian Bulgars. Thus, the original meaning of *Inner Bulghār* in the work of Balkhī which was thought to be Danubian Bulghar by Marquart and Minorsky was lost in the work of Ibn Hauqal. Other proofs are: his addition to the text stating that the Inner Bulgars were also Muslims, his comment saying that his following sentence was also about the Volga Bulgars, and the fact that he never used the term *Outer Bulghār*.

In conclusion we can suppose that the words *Inner Bulghār* in the story about the judgement among the Khazars should refer to the Volga Bulgars. The proofs are as follows: 1. the MS of Paris has *al-Bulghār*, 2. the term *Inner Bulghār* seems to mean Danubian Bulgars only by Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥauqal did not use it in this sense (absence of Outer Bulghar, Islam among them, context), 3. the story about the judgement is not mentioned in the work of Iṣṭakhrī neither is the name *Khazarān* as the Khazar capital. Thus Ibn Ḥauqal might have used another source and might have interpolated the term *Inner* meaning the Volga Bulgars from the Balkhī tradition as the system of *Inner*, *Outer*, and *Great* can be found there, 4. the strict commercial ties between the Khazars and Volga Bulgars were recorded in the Muslim sources but no mention was made of such ties between the Khazars and Danubian Bulgars. If these proofs are convincing, this is the first authentic appearance of the Volga Bulgars in the written sources between 892 and 902.

#### IV. *The Rūs attack against the Caspian around 913*

Mas'ūdī gave a description of the Rūs campaign against the Caspian Sea in the *Murūj al-dhahab* some time after 300 AH (912 AD). Marquart reconstructed the route of the Rūs analyzing the account stating that they sailed down the Dniepr to the Black Sea then via Kerch Strait to the Sea of Azov. They sailed up the Don to the Don-Volga portage and carried their ships to the Volga. Then they travelled down the Volga to the Caspian Sea (Marquart 1903, 335-336). These waterways could be used with the permission of the Khazar ruler, as it was stated by Mas'ūdī himself. After reaching the Caspian Sea, the

Rūs raided Gīlān, Daylam, Ṭabaristān and Abaskūn. In the description of the fights in Gīlān and Daylam, one of the local generals, Ibn Abī al-Sāj, was mentioned in that of the raids on the coast of Sharwān it was said that, in those days, the king of Sharwān was ‘Alī ibn Haytham. These names are very significant for the date of the campaign. After his account on the sack of the southern and western coast of the Caspian, Mas‘ūdī said: *“When the Rūs were laden with booty and had had enough of their adventure, they sailed to the estuary of the Khazar river [Volga] and sent messengers to the Khazar king carrying to him money and booty, as had been stipulated between them. The Khazar king has no [sea going] ship (markab) and his men have no habit of using them; were it no so, there would be calamities in store for the Muslims. The Lārisiya and other Muslims in the kingdom [heard] what [the Rūs] had done and said to the king: ‘Leave us [to deal] with these people who have attacked our Muslim brothers and shed their blood and captured their women and children’. The king, unable to oppose them, sent to warn the Rūs that the Muslims had decided to fight them [p. 23]. The Muslims gathered and came down the stream to meet them. When they came face to face, the Rūs left their ships. The Muslims were about 15,000, with horses and equipment, and some of the Christians living in the town Ātil were with them. The battle lasted three days and God granted victory to the Muslims. The Rūs were put to the sword and killed and drowned and only some 5,000 escaped, who in their ships sailed to that bank which lies towards the Burtās. They left their ships and proceeded by land. Some of them were killed by the Burtās, others fell [into the hands of] the Burghar Muslims who [also] killed them. So far as could be estimated, the number of those whom the Muslims killed on the bank of the Khazar river was about 30,000, and from that time the Rūs have not reverted to what we have described (p. 24).*

9. Mas'ūdī says: *We have reported this account to refute the thesis of those who argue that the Khazar sea joins the MAEOTIS [Azov sea] and the strait of Constantinople [directly] on the side of the Maeotis and the Pontus. Were it so, the Rūs would have found an outlet because [the Pontus] is their sea, as already mentioned. Among the nations bordering on that [?] sea there is no divergence of opinion concerning the fact that the sea of the Iranians [a'ājim] has no straits [khalij] for communications with any other sea. It is a small sea and is completely known: The report on [the expedition] of the Rūs ships is widely spread in those countries and is known to the various nations. The year is also known: the expedition took place[ after 300/912 but the [exact] date has escaped my memory. It may be that he who said that the Khazar sea communicates with the straits of Constantinople assumed that the Khazar sea was the same as the Maeotis and the Pontus, which latter is the sea (p. 25) of the [Danubian] Burghar and Rūs, but God knows best how it is" (Minorsky 1958, 152-153; cf. Arabic: Barbier de Meynard 1863, II, 22-25; German tr.: Marquart 1903, 330-334).*

The date of this expedition was put to different years. Pritsak, commenting on the Hebrew Cambridge document or Schechter text, as he called it, gave the date as circa 925. He suggested that the expedition of the Rūs described in the Schechter text and in the work of Mas'ūdī refers to the same campaign. Pritsak put the date of this campaign after the accession of the Byzantine emperor, Romanus I (920-944), on the basis of the Schechter text and the Byzantine sources (Golb-Pritsak 1982, 135-136, 142) whereas the terminus ad quem is 928, the year of the death of Yusūf ibn Abū al-Sāj mentioned by Mas'ūdī (Golb-Pritsak 1982, 138-142). This interpretation is not acceptable as Pritsak omitted one sentence from the translation of Mas'ūdī which he quoted from Minorsky: *"The king of Sharvān in those days was 'Alī b. Haytham"* (Minorsky 1958, 152; cf. Golb-Pritsak 1982, 141). According to the History of Shar-

vān and al-Bāb, 'Alī b. Haytham was the ruler of Sharvān until 917 when he was killed (Minorsky 1958, 26-27). So the expedition recorded by Mas'ūdī cannot be dated after 917. Thus, the identification to the Rūs campaign mentioned in the Schechter text with that recorded by Mas'ūdī is chronologically impossible (cf. Minorsky 1958, 112).

The History of Tabaristān written by Ibn Isfandiyyār in 1216-1217 contains the description of three expeditions of the Rūs. The Rūs attacked Abaskūn in 910 and in the course of the account on the events it is mentioned that the Rūs had raided this town earlier, in the reign of Hasan b. Zayd (864-883). The following year the Rūs raided Sārī but then the Sharvān Shāh destroyed them and the remnants retreated (Minorsky 1958, 111; Aliev 1969, 316-321; Golb-Pritsak 1982, 139). The third expedition is connected with the description of Mas'ūdī, but Minorsky denied it: "Both for chronological and factual reasons these two expeditions seem to be distinct" (1958, 112 note 1). Minorsky identified the expedition recorded by Mas'ūdī with the expedition described by the later historian of Gīlān, Zahr al-Dīn Mar'ashī, according to which there was a Rūs raid in the first half of 301 end of 913, "and the Rūs were first repelled by the Samanid governor, which points to the same time, for in 914 the Samanids lost control over the Caspian provinces" (Minorsky 1958, 59) Pritsak, accepting Aliev's view, remarked that the raid mentioned in the work of Mar'ashī refers to the attack which is described by Ibn Isfandiyyār as the third expedition (Aliev 1969, 319; Golb-Pritsak 1982, 139). In any case the date of this campaign must be circa 913.

As for the Khazar-Rūs fights during the return of the Rūs from the Caspian, Marquart thought that it had taken place on the right (western) bank of the Volga (1903, 337). On the contrary, Minorsky placed the battle on the eastern

side of the Volga (1958, 153 note 1). The importance of the Muslims in connection with their political influence in the court of the Khazar king seems to be an exaggeration, but the idea of sacking the Rūs may have been theirs. The battle between them took place south of the Khazar capital, Ātil. Those who escaped sailed up the Volga passing the Khazar capital. As the Rūs could not use the Volga-Don portage they had to sail further north. So they arrived in the land of Burḡās, living north of the Khazars under Khazar suzerainty, perhaps on the western bank of the Volga. The Rūs walked from there to the Volga Bulgars on the bank of the Volga.

Marquart put the word Muslim after the name Bulghar in brackets: "während andere ins Land der *Buryar* (der Muslime) gerieten, ..." and he gave the Arabic in note 3 (Marquart 1903, 333). The Paris edition of Mas'ūdī's *Murūj* (p. cf. Barbier de Meynard 1863) contains the following part: *fa minhum man waqa'a ilā bilād il-burghaz ilā-l-muslimīn fa qatalūhum* which can be translated as "others arrived at the country of the Burghar, at Muslims who killed them". The Leiden MS (L) is slightly different since the preposition *ilā* is omitted between the words *Burghaz* and *Muslimīn* i.e. *al-burghaz al-muslimīn* 'Muslim Burghars'. Marquart remarked that the word Muslims after the country of the Burghars in the Arabic text may not originate from Mas'ūdī, but it can be a consequence of the omission of some parts of the original by later copiers (Marquart 1903, 337). He also added that if Mas'ūdī was responsible for the appearance of the word Muslims, it must have been anachronism (1903, 36-37), since Mas'ūdī himself had said some pages earlier: "The Burghar king at the present date, which is 332/943, is a Muslim: he accepted Islam in the days of Muqtadir-billah after 310/922, when he saw a vision in his sleep. His son went on pilgrimage and came to Baghdad and brought with him for Muqtadir a banner, a sawād and tribute [or money, māl]"

(Minorsky 1958, 149-150). Mas'ūdī must have been informed about the embassy to the Bulgars which Ibn Fadlān took part in (cf. Zahoder 1967, 181-184).

All in all we can say that the fight between the Volga Bulgars and the Rūs during their return from the Caspian expedition around 913 seems to be historically and geographically reliable, but the statement according to which the Bulgars were Muslims at the time is not authentic.

*V. The comparison of the descriptions of the Volga Bulgars by Jayhānī and Ibn Fadlān*

The description of the Volga Bulgars among the other northern peoples in the work of Jayhānī was preserved by later authors: Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī, Bakrī, and others. The date of Jayhānī's work is based on the following description. As it is said in the Jayhānī tradition the name of the Bulgar king is *Alm.sh*. He, with most of his people, was Muslim and they had mosques, schools, muezzins and imams. Marquart supposed that these data could be taken from Ibn Fadlān who visited the Volga Bulgars in 922 and his description contains all these details (Marquart 1903, 25-26). Barthold did not accept this view supposing that the description of the Bulgars could not have been taken from the work of Jayhānī but from the book of Ibn Khurdādhbih. The edition of Ibn Khurdādhbih (BGA VI) contains the description of the Khazars but no mention is made about the Volga Bulgars. To solve this problem Barthold suggested that the edited text is not complete. Besides this, he supposed that the name of the Bulgar king *Alm.s* might have not been in the 'original' MS of Ibn Fadlān. Later copyists probably put this name to the copies

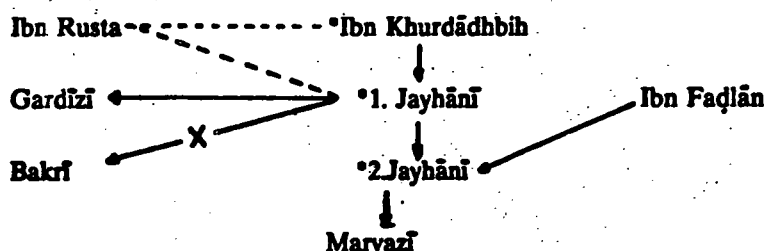


of Ibn Faḍlān's text which were used by Yāqūt. Barthold supposed that the copyists used Ibn Khurdādhbih or Jayhānī as the source of this name. The discovery of the Mashhad MS made this argument unacceptable as it is a more complete copy of the *Risāla* than that of Yāqūt's, and the name of the Bulghar king is mentioned twice as *al-Ḥasan*<sup>43</sup> (Czeplédy 1950-1951, 245 197a<sup>1</sup>) and *Alm.sh* (Czeplédy 1950-1951, 250, 202b<sup>2</sup>). According to Barthold, Ibn Faḍlān contradicted himself as he stated on one hand that the Volga Bulgars had embraced Islam not long before since the father of the Bulghar king was a pagan, but on the other hand, that the king said that his ancestors used to say that the believers and the unbelievers among the jinns fought with one another every night. So the tradition preserved by Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī and Bakrī, according to which the Bulgars converted and had mosques and schools etc., might originate from the information of the Volga Bulghar merchants who overestimated the role of Islam among them in return for more favourable conditions for their trade. Then Ibn Faḍlān was sent to instruct the Bulgars in religious affairs as they had converted earlier (Barthold 1968, 510-514).

There is a new detail in the Mashhad MS of Ibn Faḍlān concerning the relation between Ibn Faḍlān and Jayhānī which surfaced after Barthold's article. According to it, Ibn Faḍlan met "the elder bulwark" (Frye-Blake 1949, 11), Jayhānī in Bukhara when they passed Khurāsān travelling to the Bulgars. We might suppose that the embassy came back the same way they went, so Ibn Faḍlān could give information to Jayhānī in spite of the fact that the return of the embassy is not mentioned even in the Mashhad MS.

<sup>43</sup> *Alm.sh* in the parallel place of the Oxford MS of Yāqūt cf. Togan 1939, A 3<sup>6</sup> note e.

Minorsky, following Barthold, supposed that the Bulkār report of Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī, and Bakrī was incorporated in Ibn Khurdādhbih which was used by Jayhānī. Later, when Jayhānī met Ibn Faḍlān, he supplemented his data with those of Ibn Faḍlān. So Ibn Rusta could borrow the Bulkār report either from the work of Ibn Khurdādhbih or the earlier draft of Jayhānī (Minorsky 1942, 6-9, 110; (\*the work is lost):



Zahoder pointed out the parallel factors between the Jayhānī tradition and Ibn Faḍlān but he wrote that the Jayhānī tradition cannot be connected to Ibn Faḍlān and it represents the oldest data about the Volga Bulgars among the Muslim geographical literature (Zahoder 1967, 23).

As it could be seen, the systematic comparison of the *Risāla* of Ibn Faḍlān and the Jayhānī tradition has not been done yet. First the reconstruction of the original Jayhānī report must be done from its versions used by Ibn Rusta,<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> The French translation of Ibn Rusta by Wiet (1955, 158-159) and its English translation by Macartney (1930, 192-194) are also taken into consideration.

Gardīzī<sup>45</sup>, Bakrī, *Hudūd al-‘Ālam*, and Marvazī etc. The most significant effort of the reconstruction was done by Hvolson who translated and commented on the text of Ibn Rusta's account about Eastern Europe (1869, 22-25, 80-101). Zahoder continued this work and supplemented it with the relevant literature (Zahoder 1967, 23-35).

Analyzing the structure of the descriptions of the Eastern European peoples in the Jayhānī tradition, it seems that they have similar structure and the reports on the various peoples can be divided into different themes answering the same form of questions. The form contains the following inquiries: 1. Geography, their neighbours, distance between them and their neighbours, rivers, seas, and mountains in their territory; 2. the form of government and titles of their king; 3. way of life; 4. religion; 5. taxes; 6. weapons; 7. who do they raid; 8. marriage customs; 9. burial customs; 10. their merchandise. Of course the order of questions is not always the same and some of them are omitted because of the absence of the necessary data. So Minorsky is correct in saying: "Jayhānī himself collected information actively and systematically. Gardīzī says that after having become vazir in 301/913-914 he wrote letters to the courts of the Byzantine empire, China, India etc., with inquiries about the customs existing there. Muqaddasī reports that Jayhānī assembled foreigners and questioned them on revenues, roads and other matters of political interest, ..." (Minorsky 1942, 7).

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<sup>45</sup> The English translation of Gardīzī is quoted from the work of Martinez 1982, 109-217.

We are going to analyse the Bulkār report of the Jayhānī tradition sentence by sentence following the method of Zahoder, quoting the parallel descriptions of Ibn Faḍlān.<sup>46</sup> (The Arabic and Persian texts are in the appendix.)

1.

L.R.: *Bulkār is adjacent to the country of Burdās.*

Gard.: *As for the Bulgar country (welāyat-e Bolgār), it adjoins (peivaste ast be) the [two] halves (anāšif) of the Bordās.*

Bakrī: (1) *The country of Bulkān is adjacent to the country of Furdās.*

The relation of the Bulgars and Burṭās is mentioned in 14, 15, 22, 23. Zahoder supposed that the word *anāšif* 'halves'<sup>47</sup> by Gardīzī must be corrected to *nāhiyat* 'side, territory' on the basis of the parallel sentence of Ibn Rusta and Bakrī (1967, 23-24).<sup>48</sup>

The form *Bulkān* by Bakrī is a common error, the final *n* instead of *r* can be found in other names: eg. *S.wān* in place of *S.wār* by Ibn Faḍlān. The usual

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<sup>46</sup> The *Risāla* of Ibn Faḍlān is used on the basis of the facsimile edition of the Mashhad MS cf. Czeglédy 1950-1951, 244-260 and the critical edition of Togan cf. 1939, A1-45 with German translation and comments and the Russian translation and notes of Kovalevskij cf. 1956.

<sup>47</sup> The Arabic *anāšif* is an irregular plural form of *nisf* 'half' as its regular plural is *anšāf*.

<sup>48</sup> Ibn Rusta and Bakrī used the word *bilād* 'country' which generally corresponds with the term *wilāya* in most cases in the work of Gardīzī.

Arabic form of Bulghar is *Bulghār* (cf. Ibn Faḍlān: Togan 1939, A 22<sup>4</sup>; Czeglédy 1950-1951, 252 204a<sup>16</sup>). Minorsky thought that the form *Bulkār* reflects Persian pronunciation as the Arabic letter *k* is used to denote the Persian *g* with a sign which is generally omitted in the MSS. Since similar features can be noticed in case of *Burdās* opposing to the Arabic *Burṭās*, Minorsky supposed that the *Bulkār*-*Burdās* reports were the parts of the earlier draft of *Jayhānī* taken from Ibn Khurdādhbih and it did not contain new information from Ibn Faḍlān (Minorsky 1937, 462, 1942, 110).

Ibn Faḍlān called the Volga Bulgars *Ṣaqāliba* and only once used the ethnonym *Bulghār*. In spite of it, Yāqūt quoted his account on the Bulgars under the name *Bulghār*. The form *Bulkār* can be explained as a result of oral communication between Ibn Faḍlān and *Jayhānī* during the return of the embassy.

The country of *Burdās*<sup>49</sup> is described by the *Jayhānī* tradition before the *Bulkār* report. This ethnonym appears in the form of *Burṭās* in the *Balkhī* tradition and by Mas'ūdī. Hvolson called attention to the absence of this ethnonym in the work of Ibn Faḍlān (1869, 71). Zahoder supposed that the reason for this absence is that, by the 920s, the Bulgars could no longer remember them. He based his opinion on the account of the *Balkhī* line according to which the distance between the Pecheneg and *Burṭās* is ten days' journey, which can be correct for the period before the westward migration of the Pecheneg in the second half of the 9th century, and the *Jayhānī* tradition according to which the *Burdās* raided the Pechenegs and *Bulkār* (23), and on the theory that the Volga Bulgars moved to north not later than the 5th century. So Zahoder dated the

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<sup>49</sup> Further details about the *Burṭās* cf. Minorsky 1937, 462-465; Golden 1980, I, 88-90.

Burdās report between the 5th and 9th century (1962, 243-244). As for his latter statement, it is not acceptable.

2.

**L.R.:** *They dwell on the edge of the river which flows into the sea of the Khazar which is called Ātil.*

**Gard.:** *The population (ahl) of the Bulgar [country] dwell [lit. are] along the edge[s] of the great river (jeihūn) the water[s] of which flow into the Xazar [i.e. Caspian] Sea. This great river is called the River Etel (āb-e Etel x<sup>ā</sup>ānand, pro, az āb-e Etel x<sup>ā</sup>ānand).*

**Bakrī:** (3) *Their dwellings are on the bank of the river Ātil.*

**Hudūd:** ... west of it [the country of Bulkār Z. 1.], the river Ātil,

Zahoder sensed ambiguity concerning the position of the Bulgars to the river (Zahoder 1962, 24-25). Hvolson interpreted this sentence the Bulghar live on both banks of the river (Hvolson 1869, 90). Ibn Rūsta used the work *ḥāffa* 'edge', Bakrī *shāi* 'shore, coast', Gardīzī: *kanār* 'edge' all in singular which makes another interpretation possible according to which they lived only on one bank of the river. This meaning is corroborated by the *Hudūd* which is unambiguous in this respect.

Ibn Faḍlān mentioned the river Ātil several times (Togan 1939, 173-174). He said: *When we came to the king, we found him living at the water called Kh.lja. It is the three lakes, two of them are big and one is small, but there is no*

place [on their shores] where the bottom can be reached from. There is about one parasang between this place and their great river which flows to the country of the Khazar and which is called *Ātil*. The place of the market is on this river, which is busy in any minutes and many precious goods are sold in it." (Togan 1939, A 31; Czeglédy 1950-1951, 155-156 207b<sup>19</sup>-208a<sup>4</sup>).<sup>50</sup>

Kovalevskij identified the three lakes with Čistoe, Kuryševskoe, and Atmanskoe ozero, and the name *Kh.lja* with the Chuvash *hělleče* where the first element is the word *hěl* 'winter' *hělle* 'in winter' (cf. Egorov 1964, 297) and concluded that the winter quarters of the Bulghar king was on the shore of these lakes (1954, 30-32). Ibn Faḍlān's description of the Bulghars contains only such data (name of rivers etc.) which refer to the possibility that the Bulghars lived east of the river *Ātil*.

The form *ʾl* can be reconstructed as *Ātil* according to the rules of Chuvash language history. *ʾlil* is the Tatar form which can be explained from the form *Ātil* (Golden 1980, I, 224-229; Ligeti 1986, 478-480).

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<sup>50</sup> Togan's translation was revised by Czeglédy and Kovalevskij cf. Togan 1939, G 68-69; Czeglédy 1950-1951, 222; Kovalevskij 1956, 138 and notes 563-565.

3.

**L.R.:** *It<sup>51</sup> is between the Khazar and the Şaqāliba.*

**Gard.:** *It [ū, i.e..the Bulgar country] is between the Şaqlāb [country] and [that] of the Xazar[s].<sup>52</sup>*

**Bakrī:** (4) *They are between Furdās and the Şaqlāb.*

According to Zahoder, if the personal pronoun 3rd person is singular and masculine as in the MS of Ibn Rusta, it refers to the river but if it is plural, as in Bakrī's work, it means the Volga Bulgars. Gardīzī wrote *ū* which can be either masculine or feminine in Persian and it corresponds to the datum of Ibn Rusta, so Zahoder translated Gardīzī's sentence as 'river' on the basis of Ibn Rusta (1967, 24-25). As the Persian *ū* can refer to the country, Martinez translated it in this way (1982, 157). The reconstruction of the text is uncertain, the meaning 'country' or 'people' seems to be more probable on the basis of the context.

Zahoder called attention to the differences in the pair of names including Ḥājjī Ḥalīfa who wrote *Khazar* and *Rūs* (1967, 25-26). The *Khazar - Şaqlab* pair could be the original as they were in the works of Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī. Bakrī changed the *Khazar* into *Furdās* and Ḥājjī Ḥalīfa replaced the *Şaqlab* with *Rūs*.

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<sup>51</sup> *huwa* in the MS cf. Golden 1980, II, 20<sup>6</sup>, but *hum* 'they' in the edition of de Goeje cf. BGA VII, 141<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> The order of names is reversed in the MSS cf. Barthold 1973, 37; Martinez 1982, 204<sup>10</sup>.



According to Czeplédy, the term *Şaqḷab* in the Jayhānī tradition refers to the Slavs, whereas Ibn Faḍlān called the Volga Bulgars *Şaqāliba*, which is a literary tradition from Ibn Khurdādhbih and Khwārizmī meaning the peoples of northern Europe (1950-1951, 229-230).

4.

**L. R.:** *Their king is called Alm.sh<sup>33</sup> and he professes Islam.*

**Gard.:** *Their [i.e. the Bulgars'] king is called "mlān"<sup>34</sup> and he professes Islam.*

**Bakrī:** *(6) Their king is called Almūr [a corruption of Alm.s Z. I.] and he professes Islam.*

**Hudūd:** *The king is called Mus[?].<sup>35</sup>*

The name of the king can be reconstructed as *Alm.sh* on the basis of these versions, the final *-s* instead of *-sh* is the consequence of the omission of the diacritical points. Minorsky supposed that *Mas* in the *Hudūd* can be ex

<sup>33</sup> *Almush* is only in the edition of de Goeje cf. BGA VII, 141<sup>9</sup>, the MS contains *Alm.sh* cf. Golden 1980, II, 20<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> The name is the reading of Barthold on the basis of the Oxford MS, the Cambridge MS contains blurred form which can be reconstructed as *Alm.s* cf. Martinez 1982, 204<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> *Mas* in the MS cf. Barthold 1930, 76<sup>14</sup>.

plained by the dropping of *al* which was treated as the Arabic definite article (1937, 461).

Ibn Faḍlān stated that the name of the king was *Alm.sh ibn Sh.lk̄ Y.l.wār*. The Mashhad MS contains the form *al-Hasan ibn Y.l.wār*<sup>36</sup> (Czeplédy 1950-1951, 245 197a<sup>1-2</sup>) and *Alm.sh ibn Sh.lk̄* (Czeplédy 1950-1951, 250-202b cf. Togan 1939, A 16<sup>6</sup>). So the name is the same in the works of Ibn Faḍlān and Jayhānī.

This name was read as *Almush* on the basis of its similarity to the name of the founder of the first Hungarian dynasty *Álmos* (Hvolson 1869, 91). De Goeje, quoting Hvolson, wrote *Almush* in his critical edition so all historians using only the edition treated this emendation as authentic.

Ligeti discussed the linguistical problems of this name in detail. The etymology of it is the Turkic *al-* 'to take' plus the suffix *-mīš*. The Hungarian *Álmos* - if it is from Turkic - can be taken from *Almīš* (Ligeti 1979, 67-69, 407-424, 1986, 456-457). Ligeti pointed out that the suffix *-mīš* had a common form *-muš* in the Volga Bulghar inscriptions e.g. *Safīmuš* (1986, 457). Jusupov reconstructed a name *Almūš* from *[Al]mū[š]* which cannot be taken as a firm basis (1960, 9th plate). Therefore the standard Turkic form of the name of the first Muslim king of the Volga Bulghars was *Almish*. This is a Common Turkic name which is strange as the language of the Volga Bulghars is generally considered Chuvash type Turkic.

The Jayhānī tradition recorded the names of the Eastern European peoples' rulers: Khazars had two kings, the *Khaqan* and the *Ishād* (Golden 1980, I, 192-196, 206-208; Ligeti 1986, 480-481, 482-483); the Majghariya (Hungarians)

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<sup>36</sup> It was emended to *Alm.sh* by Togan on the basis of Yāqūt cf. 1939, A16<sup>6</sup>.

also had two rulers, *Kündü* and *Jila* (Ligeti 1986, 484-485); the identification of the two rulers of *Şaqāliba* was uncertain (Minorsky 1937, 429-431); the king of the *Rūs* was *Khaqan* similarly to that of the Khazars; the king of the *Sarīr* was called *Awār*, perhaps an Iranian title (Minorsky 1958, 98-99); the king of the Alans was *Baghātur* (Minorsky 1958, 169 note 8). All these names are titles with the exception of the supreme ruler of the *Şaqāliba*, if the identification with Svetopluk I, the king of Moravia (870-894), is acceptable but it is rather dubious (Minorsky 1937, 430). So the author, Jayhānī, must have recorded the titles of the kings and not their names, and thought that the name *Almish* was a title. The title of the Volga Bulghar king was *Yiltawār* or *Yeltāwār* as attested from Ibn Faḍlān and the coins of the Volga Bulghars (Czeglédy 1944, 179-186; Róna-Tas 1982, 166-167). The Common Turkic form of this title is *elteber* 'a title for a tribal ruler subordinate to a superior ruler' (Clauson 1972, 134). The north Caucasian Huns' (*Sarīr*) ruler had the same title (Golden 1980, I, 147-150) referring to the fact that both rulers were the vassals of the Khazar Khaqan.

The conversion of Almish took place before the visit of Ibn Faḍlān as he said that the *khuṭba* had been read in the name of the *King Yiltawār*, the king of Bulghar, before their arrival (Togan 1939, A 22, G 45). The date of the "first" conversion is difficult to determine on the basis of the written sources. Perhaps the numismatics can provide some help.

Fasmer identified Almish in his article about the coins of the Volga Bulghars of the 10th century. Ibn Faḍlān gave a Muslim name to the king of the Bulghars. The king took the name of the reigning Caliph Ja'far and 'Abdallāh as his father's name since his father was pagan (Togan 1939, A 22, G 46). Fasmer identified Mikāil ibn Ja'far with the son of Ja'far, i.e. Almish. The coins with this name were struck in Samarkand, Shāsh, Balkh, Nisapur in 306 and 308

AH (918 and 920 AD) and one undated in Bulghār. Fasmer noticed that the date of these coins were not correct because Ja'far was the ruler in 310 AH (922 AD) as it is known from Ibn Faḍlān, so these coins were counterfeit and their samples were struck in the towns of Transoxania and Khurāsān in 306 and 308 AH. Fasmer supposed that the coins struck in the name of Amīr Barmān were in connection with Almish. Barthold suggested that the two persons were identical and the copiers of Ibn Faḍlān put the name into the text as Alm.sh, which is a corruption of Barmān taken from Ibn Khurdādhbih or Jayhānī. This view was rejected by Fasmer and he identified the name of this Amīr with *Yiltavār* as the title of Almish (Fasmer 1925, 29-60).

Janina followed and revised the work of Fasmer. She has found a fragment of a coin with the name Ja'far ibn 'Abdallāh. But this name is her reconstruction as the following data can be read on one side: the names of the Caliph (Muqtafi 902-908) and the Samanid Amīr (Ismā'īl ibn Aḥmad 892-907) and *Ja'far ibn ...*; the other side has a religious text and then *...bdallāh*. This suggestion seems to be proven only by another coin with the full name i.e. *Ja'far ibn 'Abdallāh*.

Janina put the date of this coin between 902 and 907 because the Caliph Muktafi and the Samanid Ismā'īl reigned together only during that time. Janina tried to prove that her date was correct, stating that the names of the coins have political connotation and the Samanid ruler's name showed the role of the Samanids in the conversion of the Volga Bulgars: Also, the names of the caliph and those of the Volga Bulghar rulers chronologically correspond to each other. These arguments do not seem to be convincing as the role of the Samanids in the conversion of the Volga Bulgars was emphasized by Fasmer, because the coins of the Volga Bulgars were struck on the samples of the Sam-

anids and this coin can be counterfeit similar to those of Mikāl ibn Ja'far. Janina had to explain another contradiction too. According to Ibn Fadlān, Almish took the name Ja'far ibn 'Abdallāh during his stay there in 922. Janina supposed that Ibn Fadlān overestimated his role and Almish could take this name earlier, when he embraced Islam before 922.

Janina also corrected the date of Ibn Rusta supposing that this work must have been completed not later than 907 as Ibn Rusta said that the Bulgars had no minted money (cf. 21). This view is based on the coin discussed above as it would be the first coins of the Volga Bulgars which were unacceptable without further proofs (Janina 1962, 181-186).

Janina did not accept the emendation of Fasmer - *Barmān/Barmāl* to *Yiltawār* - and she identified it with *Barṣūlā*, mentioned in the Jayhānī tradition (cf. 7), emending the Barmān to Barsāl (1962, 186-187). But a new coin from 365 AH (975-976 AD) with the name of the Bulgar ruler Mu'min ibn al-Ḥasan contains his title which can be read as *Yiltawār* (cf. Róna-Tas 1982, 166-167), which can corroborate the emendation of Fasmer.

The numismatic data refer to a tight relation between Samanids and the Volga Bulgars. Janina's theory concerning the date of conversion of the Bulgar king before 922 has two problems: the name and the date of the coin attributed to Almish is uncertain.

5.

**Gard:** *This nation of the Bulgars amounts to five hundred thousand households (ahl-e beit).*

**Bakrī:** (5) *They are few in number, about five hundred households (ahl bayt).*

Zahoder noted that the number and the term household are the same in the Jayhānī tradition and in the *Risāla* of Ibn Faḍlān (1967, 26). Ibn Faḍlān said: "We saw among them household[s], five thousand persons from women and men, who all had embraced Islam and they are called *Baranjār*. A mosque was built for them where they worship..." (Togan 1939, A 30, G 67-68; Kovalevskij 1956, 138). The term *ahl bayt* here is not used in the same meaning as in the Jayhānī tradition. Togan translated this term as 'Sippe' (clan) whereas Kovalevskij interpreted it as the people serving one family or house. The family is expressed by the term *'ayyil* (1956, 217 note 556). The relation between Ibn Faḍlān and Jayhānī is evident. The number mentioned by Ibn Faḍlān referred to only one group of the Volga Bulgars i.e. *Baranjār*, whereas Gardīzī corrected the number from five thousand to five hundred thousand and Bakrī wrote only five hundred when taking account of the whole population of the Volga Bulgars. As for the number of the Volga Bulgars, other authors gave different numbers (Togan 1939, 189-190).

6.

**L.R.:** *Their territory is forest[ed], the trees [here being] contiguous and they take up residence in them.*

**Gard.:** *All of their territory is forest[ed], the trees [here being] contiguous. Within this environment they keep migrating from place to place.*

Zahoder determined the Arabic and Persian terms describing the forest belt north of the steppe including the Volga-Kama region in the works of the Jayhānī tradition (1962, 108-110). Ibn Fadlān mentioned the forest and trees several times and used the same Arabic term for the forest (Togan 1939, A 27<sup>7</sup>, 29<sup>17</sup>; Zahoder 1967, 28).

The text of Ibn Rusta according to which they take a residence in the forest contradict their migration as recorded by Gardīzī. Perhaps the sentence of the *Hudūd* can be connected with this problem: "They own tents and felt-tents..." (Minorsky 1937, 162). Ibn Fadlān says the same: "All of them are [i.e. live] in felt-tents..." (Togan 1939, A 28<sup>17</sup>). Kovalevskij remarked that the term *qubba* means nomadic felt-tent i.e. *yurt* (1956, 213 note 528).

As for the migration of the Volga Bulgars, Ibn Fadlān said that the king's dwelling place was on the shore of the Three Lakes which Kovalevskij identified with his winter quarters (2). Then it is said that the king migrated from his residence to the river called *Jawshīr* where he spent two months and ordered the tribe *S.wār* to join him (Togan 1939, A 33<sup>46</sup>, G 74-75; Kovalevskij 1956, 138). The Volga Bulgars were nomads or semi-nomads living in felt-tents

and migrating seasonally, according to Ibn Fadlān. The same way of living was described in the work of Gardīzī and in the *Hudūd al-‘Ālam*.

7.

**L.R.:** *They are divided into three classes. One class of them is called B.r̥ṣūlā, the other class Asgh.l and the third Bulkār.*

**Gard.:** *These [people] are [divided into] three groups. The first are called the B.r̥ṣūlā, the second Eskel/Esgel and the third Bolgār.*

**Hudūd:** *... and [they Z. I.] are divided into three hordes (gurūh): BARCHŪLA [spelt: B.h̥ḍwla], ISHKIL [Ashgil?], and B.LKĀR.*

The tribal names were discussed earlier. Ibn Fadlān mentioned the *Bulghār* and *Askal* but the name *B.r̥ṣūlā* is absent even in the Mashhad MS.

8.

**L.R.:** *The means of subsistence of them is all in one place.*

**Gard.:** *The dwelling place (maṣāṣ)<sup>57</sup> of [all Z.I.] these three groups is in one [single] place.*

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<sup>57</sup> Sic. the correct form: *ma‘āsh* cf. Martinez 1982, 204<sup>15</sup>.



The meaning of this sentence is not clear. Zahoder did not accept Hvolson's interpretation of the word *makān* meaning 'position' (*stepen*) in Ibn Rusta's work. Hvolson referred to the parallel Persian word *jā* in Gardīzī's text which means 'place' just like the first meaning of the Arabic *makān* (1967, 28).

The other problem is the meaning of *ma'āsh* which is used by both authors. Martínez translated this term used by Gardīzī as 'dwelling place' but it contradicts with Gardīzī's earlier sentence which stated they migrated from place to place (6). Zahoder translated it as *propitanie* 'subsistence' (1967, 28). Wiet used the same word i.e. 'subsistence' in his French translation (1955, 159). This word is also used in the description of the Khazars: "*Leur prince Isha impose aux notables et aux riches bourgeois d'entretenir des cavaliers, suivant leur état de fortune et leurs moyens d'existence*" (Wiet 1955, 157; Ibn Rusta BGA VII, 140<sup>3-4</sup>). So the 'means of subsistence' in the translation of the sentence concerning the Volga Bulghars seems to be better one.

The meaning of this sentence might refer to the market place because after this sentence their trade is described. Ibn Faḍlān said that the market on the bank of the Volga was very busy all the time (2), so the place of this market was constant and it was used by all of the Volga Bulghar tribes.

9.

**L.R.:** *The Khazar[s] trade with them and make [commercial] contracts with them and also the Rūs bring them their merchandise.*

**Gard.:** *The Xazars (Xazarīyān) barter [goods] with them (setadād konand), coming [to them] for [purposes of] trade, and likewise the Rus (Rūsī-yān).*

**Bakrī:** (7) *The Khazar[s] trade with them and make [commercial] contracts with them and likewise the Rūs.*

Similar account is in the *Risāla* of Ibn Faḍlān: "When a ship comes from the country of the Khazar to the country of the Ṣaqāliba [Volga Bulgars], the king boards and counts all things on board and takes one tenth of all. When the Rūs or others from the rest of the nations bring slaves, the king has the right to choose one person from every ten for him." (Togan 1939, A 35, G 80; Kovalevskij 1956, 140-141). The paying of the tithe, together with the other taxes, was discussed in more detail later by Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī (18). The selling of the slaves by the Rūs is mentioned in the Rūs report of the Jayhānī tradition (25).

It is interesting to note that the Persian plural of the ethnonym *Khazar* is *Khazarīyān* in the book of Gardīzī whereas the form *Khazarān* is also held a Persian plural as the name of one part of the Khazar capital by Ibn Hauqal and in paragraph 25.

10.

**L. R.:** *All of those who live on the edges of that river visit them frequently with their merchandise, such as sable (sammūr), ermine (qāqum) and gray squirrel (sinjāb) and others.*

**Gard.:** *Their trade is entirely [in] sable [or marten] (samūr), ermine (qāqom) and squirrel (senjāb).*

The first part of Ibn Rusta's sentence was interpreted in three ways: Hvolson thought that all of them (the Rūs) who lived on both banks of that river took their merchandise to them (Volga Bulgars (Hvolson 1869, 23). Wiet translated: "*Ces Bulgares, qui vivent sur les rives de la Volga, offrent en échange divers objets de négoce ...*" (1955, 159). Zahoder connected this sentence to the former: "*The Khazars trade with them, the Rūs also bring their merchandise, and other people also bring them different furs*" (1967, 29). To complicate the matter, Gardīzī put the bolded sentence after the quoted one referring to the Volga Bulgars (11).

As for fur trade, Ibn Faḍlān said: "*There are many merchants among them who travel to the land of the Turk (Oghuz) and they bring sheep to the country which is called Wisū and they bring sable (sammūr) and black fox (tha'lab) from there*" (Togan 1939, A 30<sup>14-15</sup>, G 67; Kovalevskij 1956, 138). The Turks were the Oghuz living in the Kazak steppe and the Wisū was a tribe north of the Bulgars, the distance between them being three months. Ibn Faḍlān mentioned that the Rūs traded in sable (Togan 1939, A 37-38, G 86-87; Kovalevskij 1956, 142) and the same is said about them in the report of the Rūs of the Jayhānī tradition (Zahoder 1967, 91). So the interpretation of Ibn Rusta about the fur

trade is the following: the Rūs and other northern nations brought furs to the Volga Bulgars (cf. Zahoder 1967, 29). However, neither Ibn Faḍlān nor the Jayhānī tradition gave such data according to which fur bearing animals were in the forests of the Volga Bulgars. Only Marvazī said: *There are in their forests furbearing animals, such as grey squirrels, sable, and so on.* (Minorsky 1942, 34).

The names of the furbearing animals are the same in the works of Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī. All of them are of Persian origin and these animals live only in the North (Zahoder 1962, 114-115):

11.

**L.R.:** *They are a people who have tilled sown fields, they sow all kinds of grains, such as wheat and barley and millet and others.*

**Gard.:** *They are a people who dwell by the edge[s] of river[s] and have tilled, sown fields (*kešt o barz*). Everything they sow is grains [or all of them sow grains *hame ħobūb bekārand*] such as wheat, barley, leeks, lentils, pulse, and everything else besides.*

The underlined sentence by Gardīzī and that of Ibn Rusta in paragraph 10 is the same but the context is different. Perhaps Wiet's translation of Ibn Rusta quoted above reflects Gardīzī's interpretation as Gardīzī undoubtedly meant the Volga Bulgars. If Gardīzī's version is closer to the original work of Jayhānī, this statement agrees with an earlier sentence (2) stating that the Volga Bulgars live on the bank of the Volga.

Zahoder noted the difference between the list of grains by Gardīzī and Ibn Rusta (1967, 30-31) and referred to Ibn Faḍlān who said: "[Most of] their food is millet and horse-flesh, although wheat and barley are plentiful and whoever sows anything, takes it for himself. The king has no right over it ..." (Togan 1939, A 27<sup>14-15</sup>, G 60; Kovalevskij 1956, 136). Zahoder called attention to the differences between Ibn Faḍlān and Ibn Rusta: IF: *jāwars* 'millet' Ibn Rusta: *dukhn* 'pearl millet'.

12.

**L.R.:** *Most of them have adopted the faith of Islam and there are mosques and schools and muezzins and imams in their settlements.*

**Gard.:** *Most of them profess Islam. There are mosques in their country [as well as] school[s] (dabīrestān[hā]), muezzins and imams, ...*

**Hudūd:** *The people are Muslims...*

**Mary.:** *They are Muslims, ...*

King Almish also professed Islams (4). Ibn Faḍlān, referring to the letter of Almish said: "he asked therein to send someone ... who would build for him a mosque and erect for him a pulpit from which might be carried out the mission of converting his people in his whole country and in all the districts of his kingdom." (Frye-Blake 1949, 9-10). We know from other parts of Ibn Faḍlān that apart from the king (and perhaps his tribe, the *Bulghār*) and the *Baranjār* had converted to Islam before the arrival of Ibn Faḍlān and a mosque had been built

for them (cf. commentary to 5). The people called *S.wār* revolted against the king however, and another tribe called *Askal* whose king was under the power of Almish did not convert to Islam. So on the analogy of the number of population by Gardīzī and Bakrī who extended the number of the *Baranjār* to the whole Bulghar population, Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī, etc., did the same concerning the Islamization of the Volga Bulghar population.

13.

**L.R.:** *The infidel among them prostrates himself before anyone whom he meets from among his friends.*

**Gard.:** *..., and when a pagan meets [lit. they see (sic)] an acquaintance [of his] who belongs to Muslims, he prostrates [himself] [lit. they prostrate themselves (sic)] before him.*

The Islamization of the Bulgars could not be complete if this sentence is authentic. The insertion of Gardīzī i.e. "who belongs to Muslims" seems to be an interpolation emphasizing the superiority of the Muslims.

A similar custom was described by Iṣṭakhrī among the infidels of the Khazars: "The predominating manners are those of the heathen. One man shows respect for another by prostrating himself before him" (Dunlop 1954, 92, BGA I, 220<sup>13-14</sup>).

Ibn Fadlān saw this custom among the Oghuz: *"When we had given him this, he made obeisance. That is their custom; when one man honours another, he makes obeisance before him"* (Frye-Blake 1949, 17).

Togan connected this pagan custom with the prostration of the Bulghar king before the embassy of the caliph which Ibn Fadlān tried to make acceptable from the stand-point of Islam stating that he did so to express thanks to Allāh (Togan 1939, A 19<sup>18-19</sup>, G 39, 136, 158-159).

14.

**L.R.:** *Between Burdās and these Bulkārīya is a journey of three days.*

**Gard.:** *Between the Bulgar and Bordās is a journey of three days.*

**Bakrī:** (2) *Between the country of Bulkān and the country of Furdās is a journey of three days.*

The Burdās were adjacent to the Bulghars and the distance is determined here (cf. 1; Zahoder 1967, 24).

15.

**L.R.:** *They raided them and attack them and take them captive.*

**Gard.:** *[The Bulgar] go off raiding continually (be ġazw šavand), attacking the Bordās and capturing [i.e. enslaving] them.*

According to the Burdās report, the Burdās in return also raided the Bulgars (23). The Jayhānī tradition mentioned other raids among the Eastern European nations in purpose of enslaving people. The Ṣaqāliba were taken captive by the Rūs (25) and Majgharīya (Ibn Rusta BGA VII, 142<sup>16</sup>-143<sup>1</sup>; Wiet 1955, 160; Zahoder 1967, 55-56). The Khazars made raids against the Pechenegs every year (Ibn Rusta BGA VII, 140<sup>4-5</sup>; Wiet 1955, 157; Gardīzī: Martínez 1982, 154) and so did the Burdās (cf. 23). Of course the Pechenegs also raided their neighbours (Martínez 1982, 151; Minorsky 1942, 33). The slave trade played an important role in the commerce between Eastern Europe and the Muslim East (Pritsak 1981, 23-24).

Zahoder noted that the raids of the Bulgars were recorded in the *Hudūd* and by Marvazī. The author of the *Hudūd* said: *"They are all at war with each other but if an enemy appears they become reconciled (yār)"* (Minorsky 1937, 162). This sentence followed the enumeration of the three hordes (7) which referred to internal struggles similar to those mentioned by Ibn Faḍlān between the king and the *S.wār* tribe. Marvazī recorded: *"They are Muslims, and make war on the infidel Turks, raiding them, because they are surrounded by infidels"* (Minorsky 1942, 34). Neither the *Hudūd* nor Marvazī mentioned the Burdās.

Ibn Faḍlān spoke about raids in connection with the taxes: *"When he [the king] sends a detachment to make a raid against one of the countries and they [the detachment] gain booty, he has a share in it with them"* (Togan 1939, A 27<sup>16-17</sup>, G 60; Kovalevskij 1956, 136). As it was mentioned above, Ibn Faḍlān did not even know the name of the Burdās.



16.

**L.R.:** *They have riding animals and coats of mail and complete armament.*

**Gard.:** *They have many weapons and all [of them] have good ponies[?] and horses (sotūrān wa asbān-e nīk).*

Zahoder believed that Ibn Rusta had preserved the better version (1967, 32). Both authors mentioned three things but the order was not the same. Gardizī used the word *sotūr* which completely corresponds to the Arabic *dābba* of Ibn Rusta, meaning 'riding animals' including the horse, and then he put the word *asb* 'horse'.

Ibn Faḍlān did not devote a chapter to this theme and their weapons and riding animals were recorded in different places. For example, Ibn Faḍlān said that their food was the meat of riding animal (*dābba*) and millet (Togan 1939, A 27<sup>14</sup>) and in the description of their burial custom he remarked that the weapons of the dead were put round the grave (Togan 1939, A 35<sup>1</sup>, G 79; Kovalevskij 1956, 140).

17.

**L.R.:** *They contribute to their king riding animals and other things. Whenever one of them [a man] marries, the king takes a riding animal each time.*

**Gard.:** *Whenever [their] king [so] desires, they give him a pony and whenever a man takes [lit. brings] a woman [in marriage] the king takes a horse from each one.*

Ibn Rusta used the word *dābba* twice for the riding animal as in paragraph 16, just like Gardīzī who spoke about the riding animal first and then about the horse.

According to Ibn Faḍlān: "they contribute to him [the king] a pelt of sable<sup>28</sup> from every house." Then he added: "The King of Ṣaqāliba [Bulghār] has to pay tax which he contributes to the King of the Khazar - a pelt of sable from every house in his country." (Togan 1939 A 355-6, G 80; Kovalevskij 1956, 140).

The Arabic word for sable is *sammūr* in the Mashhad MS, Yāqūt, copying, and old MS, read this word as *thiawr* 'ox', which is a misreading (سمور ثور). Gardīzī said that the inhabitants gave the king a *soṭūr* 'an animal, a quadruped, cattle beast of burden; a horse, mule, or ass' (Steingass 1977, 656b) which can be a misreading of *sammūr* (سمور ستور). The Arabic *dābba* 'animal, beat; riding animal (horse, mule, donkey)' (Wehr 1976, 270a) in the work of Ibn Rusta has the same meaning. So the supposition that the Jayhānī tradition has the explanation for this misreading is possible on the condition that Jayhānī wrote in Persian or a Persian translation of this work was used by Ibn Rusta. In this the word *sammūr* could have been read as *soṭūr* since this expression was found in Gardīzī's work and its Arabic equivalent in Ibn Rusta's. The existence of an early Persian version of Jayhānī's work is corroborated by the ethnonyms *Bulkār* and *Burdās* which reflect Persian pronunciation (commentary to 1).

As for the custom of paying tax when someone gets married, Ibn Faḍlān wrote: "Everyone who marries or arranges a banquet has to pay to the King ac

<sup>28</sup> So in Mashhad MS, but Yāqūt wrote 'ox' instead of 'sable' cf. Togan 1939, A27<sup>16</sup> and note q, G 60; Kovalevskij 1956, 136.

ording to the measure of the banquet - *sākrakh*<sup>29</sup> from mead and rotten wheat" (Togan 1939, A 27<sup>18-19</sup>, G 60-61; Kovalevskij 1956, 136). Kovalevskij did not accept the interpretation of rotten wheat as beer as suggested by Togan but translated bad wheat. The tax on marriage in the Jayhānī tradition was recorded but Jayhānī might have forgotten to note the form of the tax and he supposed that they pay the same tax on every occasion.

18.

**L.R.:** *When Muslim ships come to them for trading, they take the tenth part from them.*

**Gard.:** *When a merchant ship (kašti-ye bāzārgānī) comes, [the king] takes [a toll of] one-tenth [of the goods or their value].*

The only difference between the two texts is the insertion of 'Muslim' by Ibn Rusta. It was said in paragraphs 9 and 10 that the Khazars and the Rus traded with the Volga Bulgars but no mention was made of the Muslims. If this word was not an interpolation of Ibn Rusta, only the Muslims living in the Khazar capital could be meant although the Jayhānī tradition did not mention their ships (BGA VII, 1402-3; Wiet 1955, 157; Martinez 1982, 153).

It is corroborated by Ibn Faḍlān who also knew nothing about the Muslim ships among the Volga Bulgars but mentioned the Muslims of the Khazar capital (Togan 1939, A 45, G 101-102; Kovalevskij 1956, 147). The translation

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<sup>29</sup> Cf. Turkic *sa yra y* or *sa yrac* 'cup, goblet' Róna-Tas 1982, 164; Ligeti 1986, 459-460.

of the relevant passage of Ibn Faḍlān was quoted under paragraph 9 according to which the king of the Volga Bulgars took one-tenth of the goods including the slaves.

19.

**L.R.:** *Their dress resembles the dress of the Muslims.*

**Gard.:** *Their dress resembles that of the Muslims, ...*

There is a similar statement about the *M.rwāt*: "Their clothing resembles that of the Arabs" by Gardīzī (Martinez 1982, 161); "They dress like the Arabs" in the *Hudūd* (Minorsky 1937, 160).

About their dress, Ibn Faḍlān noted that they wore caps (Togan 1939, A 28<sup>9</sup>, G 63; Kovalevskij 1956, 136). There were clothes among the presents of the Caliph (Togan 1939, A 20<sup>13-14</sup>, G 41; Kovalevskij 1956, 132) and the king of the Bulgars had a tailor from Baghdad who came to this country earlier (Togan 1939, A 25<sup>6-7</sup>, G 53; Kovalevskij 1956, 135).

20.

**L.R.:** *They have cemeteries like cemeteries of the Muslims.*

**Gard.:** *..., and their cemeteries (gūrestānhā) resemble the cemeteries of the Muslims.*

Ibn Fadlān gave a detailed description of their funeral custom: *"If a Muslim dies among them and there is a woman from Khwārizm [there], they wash him according to the Muslim law ..."* (Togan 1939, A 34<sup>11</sup>, G 78; Kovalevskij 1956, 140). Ibn Fadlān recorded in another place: *"If a man among them dies, his heir is his brother and not his son. I told the king that it was not legal and I explained to him what the laws of inheritance were until he understood those"* (Togan 1939, A 28-29, G 64; Kovalevskij 1956, 137). These data of Ibn Fadlān do not mean that the cemeteries of the Volga Bulgars were similar to those of the Muslims but only the first steps were done in that direction.

21.

**L.R.:** *Most of their wealth consist of the pelts of weasel (dalaq < Persian dala). They have no 'solid' [minted] money. Their only money (dirham) is the pelt of the weasel. One pelt of weasel is current for two dirhams and a half. The white and round dirhams are brought from the land of Islam and they buy those from them.*

**Gard.:** *The greater [part] of their [i.e. the Bulgars'] wealth [consist] of ermine [or weasel] [pelts] (dale/dalle). They have no 'solid' money (māl-e šāmet) [of their own] and [therefore] give [i.e. make payment in] ermine skins instead of silver [at the rate] one [pelt] for two [and a half] dirhams [and these dirhams] are brought to them from the lands of Islam. [It] is a dirham that is white and round. This dirham they purchase and everything [is purchased] from them [with it]. Then they again, [in their turn] pay out [lit. give] that dirham to the Rūs and*

*Saqlābs, for the[se] people[s] will not sell [their] goods (axṭyān) except for solid money (deram-e šāmet).*

The first part of both texts reflects the same original source. The last sentence of Ibn Rusta was used for the reconstruction of its parallel place of Gardīzī by Martinez (1982, 159 note 34). Zahoder said that the last sentence of Gardīzī is not recorded in the text of Ibn Rusta, and the weasel pelt was a currency used not only among the Volga Bulgars but the Burtās and the Rūs as described in other Muslim sources (1967, 34-35).

Ibn Faḍlān did not mention their currency but spoke about their fur pelts in connection with the taxes (17) and commerce (10). The dirhams were mentioned in his description of their custom: the king sprinkled dirhams on the embassy when he first met them (Togan 1939, A 19<sup>19</sup>, G 39; Kovalevskij 1956, 131) and when the Bulgar queen put on the dress the embassy brought, the women sprinkled dirhams on her (Togan 1939, A 20<sup>17</sup>, G 41; Kovalevskij 1956, 132).

Fasmer formed the opinion that these dirhams were not struck by the Volga Bulgars, but they were imported from the lands of Islam, from the Samānids of Khurāsān and Transoxania (1925, 52). Ibn Faḍlān said that the embassy ought to have brought four thousand dinars to the king of Bulgar in order to build a fortress against the Khazar king, but the embassy did not take the money which caused them trouble in the court of the Bulgar king. Having been asked why he needed the money of the caliph, the king answered: *"If I wanted to build a fortress from my wealth consisting of silver and gold, it would not be difficult for me..."* (Togan 1939, A 35<sup>20-21</sup>, G 81; Kovalevskij 1956, 141).

Ibn Faḍlān, describing the Rūs, mentioned several times that the Rūs merchants sold their fur and slaves for dirhams and dinars (Togan 1939, A 36<sup>8-15</sup>, 37<sup>14</sup>-38<sup>12</sup>, G 83, 86-87; Kovalevskij 1956, 141, 142).

Frye emphasized the importance of Ibn Faḍlān's work from the standpoint of economics, as it is the account of an eyewitness. According to Ibn Faḍlān, the caravan the embassy went with consisted of 3000 riding animals and 500 men (Frye-Blake 1949, 29-31). So besides the political aims of the embassy, this was a "normal" commercial caravan.

This was the *Bulkār* report of the Jayhānī tradition, but before the final conclusions the scattered data about the Volga Bulgars in the report of Burdās (22, 23), Majghariya (24) and Rūs (25) must be taken into consideration.

22.

**L.R.:** *The country of Burdās is between the Khazar and Bulkār<sup>60</sup> (BGA VII, 140<sup>13</sup>).*

**Gard.:** *As for the Bordās [country], it is between the Xazar [country] and the Bulgār (Martinez 1982, 155.)*

**Bakrī:** *As for the Furdās country, it is between the Khazar and Bulkān (Kunik-Rozen 1878, 44<sup>10</sup>).*

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• *Tulkār* in the MS.

Comparing these statements with the ones described in paragraph 1, according to which the Bulgars and Burdās were neighbours, Jayhānī put the Burdās south of the Volga Bulgars.

23.

**L.R.:** *They [the Burdās] raid the Bulkār<sup>61</sup> and Bajānākīya<sup>62</sup> (BGA VII, 140<sup>19-20</sup>).*

**Gard.:** *All during the year there are hostilities between them [i.e. the Burdās] and the [Volga, or Great] Bulgarians and the Pechenegs (hame sāle mokāšafat bāšad mīyān-e īsān [wa] Bolgārīyān wa Bejenākīyān) (Martinez 1982, 155).*

**Bakrī:** *They are hostile to the Bulkān and the Bajānākīya (Kunik-Rozen 1878, 44<sup>17</sup>).*

**Mary.:** *They raid the B.lkār and Pechenegs" (Minorsky 1942, 33).*

The raids between the Bulgars and Burdās against each other seem to be mutual as the Bulkār also raided the Burdās according to the Bulkār report (15).

24.

**L.R.:** *The first of the boundaries of the Majghariya is between the country of*

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<sup>61</sup> *Tulkār* in the MS.

<sup>62</sup> *B.khānākīya* in the MS.



*the Bajānākīya and the country of Askal who belong to the Bulkārīya (BGA VII,142<sup>6-7</sup>).*

**Gard:** *Between the Country of the Bulgars and the Country of the Eskel/Es-gel who also belong to [lit. are off] the Bulgars, lies [the beginning] of the Hungarian (Majgārīyan) territory (hadd) (Martinez 1982, 159).*

**Bakrī:** *They are between the country of the Bajānākīya and the country of Ashk.l who belong to the Bākārīya (Kunik-Rozen 1878, 45<sup>34</sup>).<sup>63</sup>*

This passage has been studied in detail by Czeglédy since this problem is the part of the Bashkir-Hungarian question (Czeglédy 1943, 292-299). Gardīzī's text contained a corrupted form, Bulkār was written instead of the name of the Pechenegs (Czeglédy 1943, 293). Czeglédy remarked that the geographical position of the peoples described by Jayhānī was not clear. The Khazars lived on the north-western shore of the Caspian Sea and at the Lower Volga. The country of the Burdās was north of the Khazars. The territory of the Volga Bulgars lay north of the Burdās. These three peoples separated the Pechenegs from the Ṣaqlab and Majghariya. In spite of this, it was stated that the Pechenegs were neighbours of the Ṣaqlabs, which contradicts the above mentioned concept of Jayhānī. Macartney identified the term Ṣaqlab in the Pecheneg report with Burdās (1930, 26). It is tempting to identify this ethnonym with the one applied for the Volga Bulgars by Ibn Faḍlān, i.e. Ṣaqāliba. Czeglédy accepted the view of Marquart who based his explanation of the neighbourhood of the Ṣaqlab and the Pecheneg on chronological evidence. According to him,

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<sup>63</sup> Read *Bulkārīya*.

Pechenegs conquered the territory of Majgharīya around 895, the possibility of this neighbourhood is acceptable after that date. But as three other neighbours of the Pechenegs, the Khazar, the Qipchaq and the Oghuz are also recorded in the Jayhānī tradition, it indicates that they must have lived east of the Volga. Thus, we can suppose that the *Ṣaqlab* in the Pechenegs report refers to a Turkic tribe or some tribes living north of the Khazars.

According to the description of Jayhānī, the Majgharīya lived between the Bulgars and the Pechenegs who can be located east of the Volga, and they also lived north of the Black Sea. But, as in the case of the Pechenegs, the two habitats of the Hungarians were separated by the lands of the Khazar, *Burdās* and *Bulghar*. So Pauler and Marquart supposed that two distinct countries of the Majgharīya existed. Marquart explained the connection between the two countries by the mixture of two similar tribal names. The country east of the Volga was inhabited by the Turkic Bashkirs. The Hungarians (Majgharīya) lived north of the Black Sea. These two peoples were connected only by the similarity of their ethnonyms: *Majgharīya* and *Bajghird*, in the mind of the author whom Marquart erroneously identified with Muslim al-Jarmī. Pauler, however, supposed that the country of Majgharīya east of the Volga was their earlier home before their migration to the territory north of the Black Sea. Pauler interpreted the expression *awwal' hadd'* of Ibn Rusta as 'first territory' to corroborate this view. Czeglédy, revising the meaning of this expression, proved that it can be translated as 'first boundary'. The textological study suggest that the first boundary means the eastern border of the country of the Majgharīya, stretching from east of the Volga to the Lower Danube. Such an explanation was given by Minorsky. Czeglédy concluded that the geographical situation of the Eastern European peoples, described by Jayhānī, made the supposition of two Hungarian countries as expressed by Marquart and Pauler possible, but the textological

evidence refers only to one country of Majghariya. This contradiction was solved by Czeglédy supposing that in the sources of Jayhānī the two accounts were separated but Jayhānī, ignoring the geographical situation, may have connected the two territories or may have abridged his original source ambiguously (Czeglédy 1943, 292-299).

As for the habitat of the Hungarians east of the Volga, the Pecheneg report of Constantine Porphyrogenitus is frequently quoted. The Paris MS of the *De administrando* said that the Pechenegs had lived between the Oghuz and the Μαζαρουç (Moravcsik 1983, II, 179). Macartney supposed that this form can refer only to the Magyars (Hungarians) (1930, 31-33) and Minorsky accepted this view (1937, 313). Recently, Golden has renewed this theory (1980, I, 74). Moravcsik proved that the form Μαζαρουç is a corruption, instead of Χαζαρουç, as two lines below the form Khazar is written together with the same ethnonyms Oghuz and Pechenegs even in the Paris MS. So the critical edition and its English translation must be accepted: *"Originally, the Pechenegs had their dwelling on the River Atil, and likewise on the River on the river Geich, having common frontiers with the Chazars and the so-called Uzes"* (Moravcsik-Jenkins 1949, 167).

Ibn Fadlān also described the country of the Pecheneg (Bajanāk), placing it to somewhere around the Ural river which could be reached after crossing the land of the Oghuz (Togan 1939, A 17-18, G 33-34; Kovalevskij 1956, 130; Frye-Blake 1949, 20-21). According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, a group of the Pechenegs was left behind in their original homeland i.e. Ural region after the migration of the Pechenegs to the west: *"At the time when the Pechenegs were expelled from their country, some of them of their own will and personal decision stayed behind there and united with the so-called Uzes, and even to this*

*day they live among them, ...*" (Moravcsik-Jenkins 1949, 169). The two descriptions correspond to each other.

After crossing the territory of the Pechenegs Ibn Faḍlān arrived in the country of Bāshghird, a people of the Turks, and gave a short description of them (Togan 1939, A 18-19, G 35-37; Kovalevskij 1956, 130-131). Then, having passed the land of the Bāshghird, they reached the Bulgars.

Supposing the identification of Bāshghird of Ibn Faḍlān with Majgharīya of the Jayhānī tradition, and that Marquart was right when he suggested that these two names were connected in the mind of an Arabic author, a new theory can be proposed. Jayhānī was informed about the Hungarians (Majgharīya) living north of the Black Sea before 895 and he learnt from Ibn Faḍlān that a tribe called Bāshghird lived between the Pechenegs and the Bulgars. So Jayhānī identified the Majgharīya of an older tradition with Bāshghird of Ibn Faḍlān and used the former name for both. This caused not only geographical, but also chronological confusion as the date of the Majgharīya report must be before 895 and Ibn Faḍlān's data are from 922. Another proof could be the mentioning of the tribe *Askal* by the Jayhānī tradition in the neighbourhood of the Hungarians. This tribe is known among the Volga Bulgars also from Ibn Faḍlān. Ibn Faḍlān said about the king of Askal that he was under the power of the Bulgar king. He gave the king of Askal his younger daughter to avoid the fate of his elder daughter who was forced to marry the Khazar ruler (Togan 1939, A 35<sup>10-16</sup>, G 80-81; Kovalevskij 1956, 141).

As it has been mentioned, the form *Askal* is found in the *Risāla* of Ibn Faḍlān. Martinez gave alternative readings *Eşkel/Eşgel* of Gardīzī as the Persian *k* can be read in two ways. Ibn Rusta recorded this ethnonym in two forms: *Ashgal* (7) and *Askal*, the latter being identical with the form of Ibn Faḍlān.

The form *Ashgal* can reflect the Persian pronunciation i.e. *Asgal*, and the Persian *g* is written as *gh* in Arabic. This supposition can be probable if Ibn Rusta used a Persian text.

25.

**L.R.:** *They make raids against the Saqāliba, they sail in ships until they reach them and they take prisoners. They take them to Khazarān and Bulkār, they sell them to them (BGA VII, 145<sup>14-15</sup>).*

**Gard.:** *These people are always going [forth] in [their] ship[s] to raid the Saqlābs and they seize [people] from among the Saqlābs, make [them] captive [slave or prisoner, barde], and take them to the Xazars and Bulgar[s] [Xazarān wa Bulkār Z. I.] and sell them (Martinez 1982, 167).*

The commercial ties between the Rūs, the Khazars, and the Bulgars were discussed in paragraph 9, while the slave-trade was described in paragraph 15. The part above was taken from the description of the Rūs.

The form *Khazarān* in the work of Ibn Rusta and that of Gardīzī is a Persian plural (commentary in paragraph 9). In this case, more evidence is given to the supposition that Ibn Rusta used a Persian text which he translated into Arabic. Another Persian plural, *Khazarīyān* is found in the work Gardīzī besides the quoted part (cf. paragraph 9 and Barthold 1973, 295). But in most cases the form *Khazar* is used instead of the plural form (Barthold 1973, 36: the Khazar chapter). Gardīzī used to apply the plural form *-īyān* with ethnonyms,

but the plural of *Turk* is *Turkân*. The form *Khazarân* seems not to be a usual plural as it is mentioned only once both by Ibn Rusta and Gardîzî. This "irregular" plural meant the western half of the Khazar capital in the work of Ibn Hauqal and perhaps this form also may refer to the capital in this text.

In conclusion we can state that the Bulkār report of Jayhānī reconstructed from the works of Ibn Rusta, Gardîzî, Bakrī, and the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* were almost completely composed on the basis of Ibn Fadlān's data. Jayhānī may have asked Ibn Fadlān about the peoples he had visited on his return from the Volga Bulghar. This is a supposition as the description of the route of the return is absent in the Mashhad MS. Jayhānī, using his set of questions must have recorded the answers of Ibn Fadlān. It seems to be probable that Jayhānī wrote the section of his book concerning Eastern Europe in Persian, noticing the errors of Ibn Rusta in his Arabic translation.

There are two important differences in the description of the Volga Bulgars between Ibn Fadlān and Jayhānī: Ibn Fadlān did not mention the *Burdās* and the tribal name *Barşūlā*. As for *Barşūlā*, only unprovable theories can be proposed with our present information, such as, this name was in the lost part of Ibn Fadlān, or Jayhānī was informed about them by Muslim merchants earlier than the journey of Ibn Fadlān took place etc.

Since the *Burdās* are examined in a separate report in the work of Jayhānī and they are briefly mentioned in the Balkhī tradition and by Mas'ūdī, the review of the chronological problems of Jayhānī's work seems to be inevitable. Czeglédy supposed that Jayhānī's data concerning the Eurasian steppe and Eastern Europe can be divided into two layers (1986, 84). The first layer is from circa the 870s and these data were taken from a written source or sources (Ibn Khurdādhbih, Jarmī, Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā etc.). Jayhānī gathered the 2nd

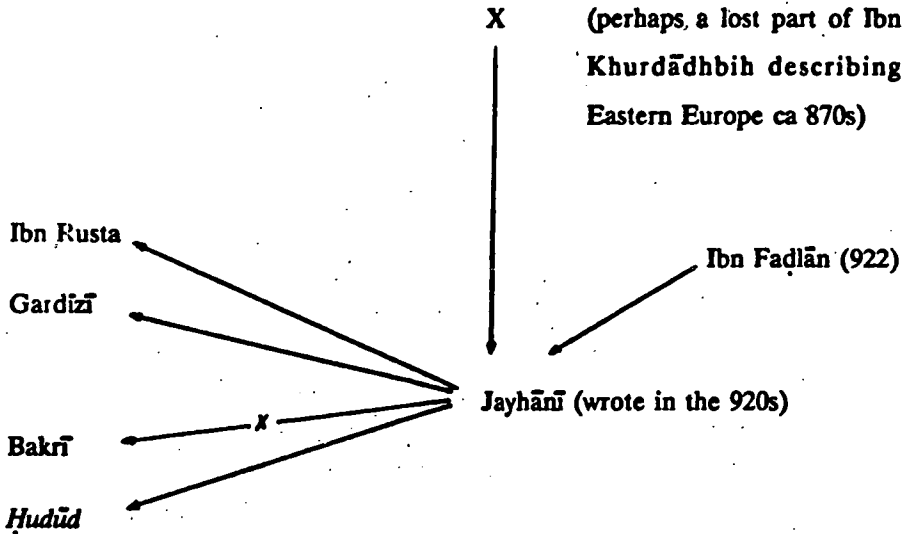
layer of information in the 910s and 920s and then assembled them. Czeglédý suggested that the description of the Hungarians, Khazars, Pechenegs, Slavs and the Danubian Bulgars should be dated to the 870s (1975, 48)

According to Jayhānī, the Pechenegs lived east of the Volga while the Hungarians were north of the Black Sea. This was true before the westward migration of these peoples in the 890s (Czeglédý 1945, 39-40, 1975, 48). The description of the Ṣaqlabs and Rūs contains such data which can refer to before 880 because Oleg took possession of Kiev at that time (Czeglédý 1975, 48 quoting Boba 1967, 118-129). The Danubian Bulgars, called *W.n.n.nd.r* in the Jayhānī tradition, were said to be Christians, which means that the information could be taken after their conversion in 864 or 870 when they joined the Byzantine Christianity (Czeglédý 1945, 41).

As for the date of the Khazar report of Jayhānī, there is no trace which can be evaluated from a chronological point of view. Dunlop accepted the earlier view that the main source of Jayhānī was Jarmī, so this account must have been written in the first half of the 9th century (Dunlop 1954, 104-109). This view was criticized by Minorsky and Czeglédý (under Jarmī among the sources). So the date of the Khazar report remains unsolved. The report of Jayhānī concerning the Khazars and that of Ibn Fadlān seems to be completely different although the systematic comparison of the two texts have not yet been done nor has the report of the Rūs.

To return now to the Burdās report, there is<sup>15</sup> a general agreement that this account belongs to the earlier layer i.e. 870s. Zahoder supposed that Ibn Fadlān did not mention them as the memory of them faded by 922. Minorsky thought that the Bulkār-Burdās reports had been taken from Ibn Khurdādhbih's book, which would mean that they were contemporaries.

On the basis of the Bulkār report the sketch of the Jayhānī tradition must be altered:



As neither the tribal name *Barsūlā* nor the *Burdās* report can be dated to the 870s with certainty, and most of the Bulkār report was taken from Ibn Fadlān, it is doubtful that there were any data about the Bulgars in the layer from the 870s.

The Volga Bulghar appeared in the written sources at the end of the 9th century and beginning of the 10th century, preserved by later authors. Ibn Hauqal seemed to refer to the Volga Bulgars first between 892 and 902. Then Mas'ūdī mentioned them in connection with the Rūs attack against the Caspian circa 913. Finally, the account of Jayhānī tradition depending on Ibn Fadlān can



be dated after 922, but some data might have been gathered by Jayhānī himself before 922 as he became the minister of the Samanids in 913.

The end of the 9th century was a turning point in the life of Eastern Europe. All sources of the Volga Bulghar history suggest that the politically significant groups among the Volga Bulgars became active at the very beginning of the 10th century. Although no source mentioned the connection between these events and the westward migration of the Pechenegs, the latter may have provoked some tribes from among the Khazar Empire to migrate north as the Pechenegs forced the Hungarians to leave their land which led to their conquest of the Carpathian Basin.

## THE WESTWARD MIGRATION OF THE PECHENEGS

The crossing of the Volga line by nomadic peoples was not recorded in the sources during the period of the seventh century to the end of the ninth century. The powerful Khazar Empire put an end to the westward migration of the nomads in the Kazak steppe for nearly three centuries. At that time, the history of Eurasia was less stormy than in the age of the Turk Empire, or later, in the age of the Mongol Empire. Therefore the pressure from the East was not very strong.

The end of the Pax Chazarica was marked by the westward migration of the Pechenegs. Its most important western source is the *De Administrando Imperio* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (Moravcsik-Jenkins 1949). Constantine Porphyrogenitus gathered his data from different sources. As a result, there are several contradictions and points of view expressed in connection with the same event (Moravcsik 1983, I, 365-367). For example, Harmatta proved that Constantine, in his writings about the history of the Hungarians in chapters 38, 39, and 40 used the reports of three separate envoys which took place in 894, shortly after 895 and in 948 (Harmatta 1985, 43). Győrffy pointed out that the value of authenticity fluctuates from chapter to chapter. Chapter 38 seems to be inferior in this respect (1985, 6-7).

The Pechenegs are described in a separate chapter i.e. 37. But they are also mentioned in the chapters on the Hungarians who are referred to as Turk by Constantine. The westward migration of the Pechenegs is recorded in chapters 37, 38, 40 of Constantine's work.

Constantine wrote about two Pecheneg attacks against the Hungarians in chapter 38: "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 eastward and settled in the region of Persia, and they to this day are called by the ancient denomination of the Turks 'Sabartoi asphaltai'; but the other part, together with their voivode and chief Lebedias, settled in the western region, in places called Atelkou-zuo, in which places the nation of the Pechenegs now lives. 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. And since that time the Turks have not sustained any attack from the Pechenegs. To the aforesaid nation of the Turks that settled in the east, in the region of Persia, these Turks aforesaid who live toward the western region still send merchants who look them up, and often bring them back official messages from them" (Moravcsik-Jenkins 1949, 171-175).*

Harmatta pointed out on the basis of his textual analysis, that the bolded parts of the text were mistranslated and the correct translation: "*one part lived eastward, in the region of Persia .... the other part lived in the western region...*" (1985, 46-47).

The time of the first Pecheneg attack is the theme of a long and still open debate. The story of the first attack against the Hungarians was questioned even by Grégoire who proposed that, though Constantine mentioned two Pecheneg attacks on the Hungarians in reality there was only one (Grégoire 1937, 633).

Most of the historians accept the existence of the two attacks as Constantine stated that the Hungarians had moved from their earlier home Lebedia to Atelkouzou as a consequence of the first Pecheneg migration. Recently, these

two place-names have been studied by Hungarian scholars who concluded that *Lebedia* was the name of the habitat of Lebedias, the ruler of the Hungarians, whereas *Atelkouzou* was the name of the country the Hungarian tribes lived in. Thus, the former can be in the territory of the latter. On the basis of the correction of the text quoted above, Harmatta concluded that the habitat of the Hungarians should not have changed after the first Pecheneg attack (1985, 47). These conclusions seem to support the view of Grégoire.

Czeglédý has dealt with this problem in several articles (1954, 12-15, 1956, 120-125, 1959a, 373-385, 1975, 51-52). His basic questions are the relationships between the names *Kangar - Pecheneg* and *Sabartoi - Hungarian* and when and where the names *Kangar* and *Sabartoi* appeared. Czeglédý first supposed that the Kangars and the Pechenegs were originally two different peoples at the time of the first attack and the Kangars later became the ruling strata of the Pecheneg tribal union. Czeglédý identified the Kangars on the basis of the Syriac sources in connection with an attack through the Caucasus in 541, and put the date of the Kangar - Sabartoi war to the 6-7th centuries (1954, 12-45, 1956, 120-125).

The name *Sabartoi* is connected with the ethnonym *Sabir* (Czeglédý 1959a, 380-385). The Sabirs were in possession of the northern Caucasus during the first half of the 6th century. Later, Czeglédý changed his view and supposed that the Hungarians were called *Sabartoi* just as the Pechenegs were named *Kangar* after their ruling tribes in the 9th century. As the name *Sevordi* of the Armenian sources can be the same as *Sabartoi*, and this name appeared around 854 in the Armenian sources, Czeglédý dated the Kangar - Sabartoi war circa middle of the 9th century (Czeglédý 1975, 52). This view was accepted by Kristó who tried to corroborate it with other data from Hungarian sources (Kristó 1980, 102-111). The most problematic point of these views is the ethnonyms *Kangar - Sabartoi* never occur together in any other sources.

Another datum of the first Pecheneg attack has been suggested on the basis of Regino's account who was a contemporary of the events: "899. *In this year of Our Lord the race of Hungarians (gens Hungarorum), a race un-named in earlier centuries, and consequently unknown (retro ante seculos inaudita quia nec nomina), emerged from the Scythian realms and the vast marshes round the mouth of the Don... driven from their own homes by their neighbours, the Pecinacs, because the latter were superior in numbers and valour (eo quod numero et virtute praestarent) and their native land, as said above (ut praemisimus), was insufficient to hold the overflowing multitude. So fleeing from their violence, they bade farewell to their fatherland, and set out to see what country they could dwell in and make their home*" (Macartney 1930, 70).

The date 889 is considered to be the year of the first Pecheneg attack which forced the Hungarians to leave to Lebedia (cf. Moravcsik-Jenkins 1949, 171; Győrffy 1972, 284 note 9).

Finally Czeglédy, accepting the date given by Regino, supposed three Pecheneg attacks: the first in the 6-7th centuries or circa 854; the second in 889, resulting the flee of Lebedias with the Hungarians to Atelkouzou; the third, in 895-896, when Arpad led the Hungarians to the Carpathian Basin (1954, 43-45, 1975, 52).

Győrffy examined the chronological problems in the work of Regino and concluded that Regino's data are reliable but chronologically are not always correct as he did not record the events year by year. As he was in exile in 906-908, he subsequently dated his reliable information, so he may have made mistakes. As for the Pecheneg migration, Győrffy supposed that it is an interpolation because: Regino mentioned it only once, told nothing about it in 895, and the terminology used in the account of 889 is similar to that of 901 which is unreliable in a chronological point of view (Győrffy 1972, 284-287).

The fact and the date of the first Pecheneg attack against the early Hungarians is uncertain. To complicate the matter, Constantine said that the Khazars had defeated the Pechenegs who then attacked the Hungarians. Geographically, this is rather strange as this war must have taken place east of the Volga. Kristó, using this assumption, supposed that the Hungarians should have lived in the Volga region around 850 (1980, 94-96).

Then Kristó connected the first Pecheneg attack with the story of the Kabar revolution and their joining forces with the Hungarians, preserved also in the work of Constantine (Kristó 1980, 11-115). Constantine said: *"The so-called Kabaroi were of the race of the Chazars. Now, it fell out that a secession was made by them to their government, and when a civil war broke out their first government prevailed, and some of them were slain, but others escaped and came and settled with the Turks in the land of the Pechenegs."* He went on to state: *"Having thus combined with one another, the Kabaroi dwelt with the Turks in the land of the Pechenegs"* (Jenkins-Moravcsik 1949, 175).

According to Constantine, *"the land of the Pechenegs"* was identical with Atelkouzou, the habitat of the Hungarians before the conquest of the Carpathian Basin, as he stated: *"...Atelkouzou, in which places the nation of the Pechenegs now lives"* (Jenkins-Moravcsik 1949, 173) and *"The place in which the Turks used formerly to be is called after the name of the river that runs through it, Etel and Kouzou, and in it the Pechenegs live now"* (Jenkins-Moravcsik 1949, 177).

On the basis of Constantine's reports Kristó proved that the Kabars could not join the Hungarians (Turks) in Atelkouzou; but the Kabaroi settled there with the Hungarians (Kristó 1980, 113). Constantine gave two explanations for the migration of the Hungarians to Atelkouzou: 1. the Pechenegs expelled them, 2. the Kabar revolt was surpassed so the Kabars joined the Hungarians and moved to Atelkouzou together. As the first explanation is charged with some unsolvable problems, the second one seems to be more preferable.

We have no reason to suppose that the Pecheneg crossed the Volga and migrated to the west before the 890s, since the Jayhānī tradition contains a report of the Pechenegs describing their habitat east of the Volga around the 870s (Minorsky 1937, 312-315; 1942, 32-33, 109; Martinez 1982, 151-152). Another proof is that the Khazars were superior in military point of view according to Constantine and the Jayhānī tradition which remarked that they attacked the Pecheneg every year (par. 15). Finally, Regino's chronology cannot be considered reliable.

Another source was used by Constantine in chapter 40 where the emperor spoke about the Hungarian history, too. After enumerating the tribes of the Hungarians, Constantine described the war between Emperor Leo and the Bulgar Symeon in which the Hungarians helped the Byzantines. He then said: *"But after Symeon was once more at peace of the emperor of the Romans and was free to act, he sent to the Pechenegs and made an agreement with them to attack and destroy of the Turks. And when the Turks had gone off military expedition, the Pechenegs with Symeon came against the Turks and completely destroyed their families and miserably expelled thence the Turks who were guarding their country. When the Turks came back and found their country thus desolate and utterly ruined, they settled in the land where they live to-day, which is called after the above name of the rivers, as has been said. The place in which the Turks used formerly to be called after the name of the river that runs through it, Etel and Kouzou, and in it the Pecheneg live now. But the Turks, expelled by the Pechenegs, came and settled in the land which they now dwell in"* (Moravcsik-Jenkins 1949, 177).

The Bulgaro-Greek war broke out as a consequence of a commercial dispute. First Symeon invaded the Byzantine territory, then Emperor Leo sent an envoy to the Hungarians to hire them as allies against the Bulgars. In 894 the Imperial Fleet ferried the Hungarians over the Danube and Symeon was defeated so the Hungarians retreated (Macartney 1930, 177-181; Győrffy 1977,

127-128; Kristó 1980, 173-182). Next year Symeon marched against the Hungarians and defeated them according to Georgius Monachus (Moravcsik 1984, 60-61, 64) and the *Annales Fuldenses* (Gombos 1937, I, 132-133). Neither of them however mentioned the Bulgaro-Pecheneg alliance, only Constantine. Macartney addressed the question as to why Symeon had been able to defeat the Hungarians. As the Byzantine troops only ferried the Hungarians without taking part in the campaign and the balance of power was more favourable for the Hungarians at that time, Macartney said that the Bulgar victory over the Hungarians was due to the Pecheneg attack from the east (1930, 181).

As for the Pecheneg-Bulgar alliance recorded by Constantine, its reliability was generally accepted. Gyórfy suggested another solution: that Constantine reconstructed the events according to the practice of the Byzantine diplomacy (Gyórfy 1986, 36). Kristó did not accept Gyórfy's view, though he also admitted that the westward migration of the Pechenegs and their conquest of the Hungarian territory were necessary whether they had been hired by the Symeon or not (Kristó 1980, 183-185).

Thus, it seems to be more probable that when Symeon had learnt of the Pecheneg attack against the Hungarians, he took advantage of the opportunity and marched against the Hungarians. This view is corroborated by the fact that Constantine knew nothing about the Bulgaro-Pecheneg alliance when he relied on Pecheneg information in the description of the same events.

Constantine, describing the Pechenegs in chapter 37, wrote: *"Originally, the Pechenegs had their dwelling on the river Atil, and likewise on the river Geich, having common frontiers with the Chazars and the so-called Uzes. But fifty years ago the so-called Uzes made common cause with the Chazars and joined battle with the Pechenegs and prevailed over them and expelled them from their country, which the so-called Uzes have occupied till this day. The Pechenegs fled and wandered round, casting about for a place for their settlement; and when they reached*



*the land which they now possess and found the Turks living in it, they defeated them in battle and expelled and cast them out, and settled in it, and have been masters of this country, as has been said, for fifty-five years to this day"* (Moravcsik-Jenkins 1949, 167).

Moravcsik supposed that Constantine had Pecheneg informers. (1984, 40 note 12). Constantine gave two different dates for the migration of the Pechenegs which were explained in several ways. Moravcsik put the date of the composition of the *De Administrando Imperio* around 950. The date of the migration must be 895 if these events had taken place 55 years earlier (Moravcsik 1984, 40 note 12).

According to Constantine, the cause of the westward migration of the Pechenegs was the common attack of the Uzes (Oghuz) and Khazars. The Khazars marched against the Pechenegs annually as it was described in the Jayhānī tradition, but the Khazars could not be involved in the westward migration of the Pechenegs since it meant the entering the territory of the Khazar Empire and crossing its most important commercial route along the Volga. On the contrary, the Khazars had to keep off the Pechenegs from the Volga to secure the peaceful commerce.

If we study the structure of the first part of the Pecheneg report, the following themes can be reconstructed: first, the Pechenegs lived in the east, on the rivers Ural and Volga between the Khazars and Oghuz; second, the Oghuz joined forces with the Khazars and defeated the Pechenegs; third, that the Oghuz occupied the land of the Pechenegs. There is a parallel between the first and second part, namely that the Pecheneg lived between the Oghuz and Khazar and were attacked by the alliance of the Oghuz and Khazar. But after the victory of the allied forces (Khazār-Oghuz) only the Oghuz occupied the country of the Pechenegs which seems to be unusual. These structural reflections suggest that the bolded text seems to be an interpolation, i.e. Oghuz did not

make common cause with the Khazars. Szádeczky-Kardoss examined the Greek text at my request and he concluded that the underlined part of the sentence could be omitted without the confusion of the grammatical structure of the whole sentence but there is no trace of interpolation on the basis of linguistical analysis. So if it were an interpolation, Constantine would be responsible for it.

In chapter 40 Constantine noted that the Pechenegs had expelled the Hungarians at the request of Symeon which contradicts to the story of the Pecheneg chapter. The Oghuz - Khazar alliance seems to be the outcome of the reconstruction of the events by Constantine according to the practice of Byzantine diplomacy, as in the case of the Bulgaro-Pecheneg alliance. So in our reconstruction, the first step was the occupation of the Pecheneg land by the Oghuz. To determine the role of the Khazars in these events, the evidence of the Muslim sources is needed. According to the account on the Pecheneg in the work of Jayhānī in the 870s, north of them lived the Qipchaqs, south-west of them stayed the Khazars, east of them were the Oghuz, and west of them the Ṣaqlabs.<sup>64</sup> The Khazar land, which is not identical with the Khazar Empire, centred at the lower Volga and Caucasus triangular according to its geographical description. As for the Ṣaqlabs - without trying to identify them with another ethnonym - they must have been Turkic and Finno-Ugrian tribes living north of the Khazar land under Khazar supremacy, but they could not have been Slavs.

The expelled Pechenegs had two choices: to move south-west to the Khazar land, or west, crossing the territory of the Ṣaqlabs to the habitat of the Hungarians. What did the Pecheneg choose?

If we compare the three separate descriptions of the westward migration of the Pechenegs in Constantine's *De Administrando Imperio* from three different sources in chapters 37, 38 and 40, we can state that only the least reliable

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<sup>64</sup> Cf. Martinez 1982, 151; Minorsky 1942, 33; Kunik-Rozen 1878, 42-43; *Hudūd* is rather confused in this respect cf. Minorsky 1937, 101, 314-315; Zahoder 1967, 72-74.

chapter i.e. 38 contains the story of two Pecheneg attacks. There are four descriptions of the same event, if we accept Grégoire's view according to which Pecheneg attack against the Hungarians was doubled by Constantine. If this is the case, on the basis of the "first" attack, we can answer the question what the Pechenegs chose: they attacked the Khazars, but as they were defeated, settled in the land of the Hungarians.

Constantine remarked that some of the Pechenegs had remained in their homes and were united with the Oghuz (Moravcsik-Jenkins 1949, 169). These Pechenegs were mentioned by Ibn Faḍlān (par. 24) and Kāshgharī (Pritsak 1975, 215).

So Constantine's data about the Pecheneg migration can be reconstructed in the following way: the Uzes, occupying the land of the Pechenegs along the rivers Ural and Volga expelled the Pechenegs, but some of them were left behind. The Pechenegs tried to move to the Khazar land, but, being defeated, crossed the Volga north of the Khazar land and expelled the Hungarians who lived north of the Black Sea. Symeon, learning of the Pecheneg attack against the Hungarians, marched against the Hungarians also. So the Hungarians, being attacked from two directions, were forced to settle in the Carpathian Basin.

The Muslim sources also recorded the Pecheneg migration. The Balkhī tradition has also preserved a short note about this migration. Iṣṭakhrī recorded: "A tribe of Turks called *Bachanāk* [Pecheneg] having been ousted from its land settled between the Khazars and Rum. Their place is not their ancient home, but they have come and occupied it" (Minorsky 1937, 313-314; Arabic: BGA I, 10<sup>8-9</sup>; the same can be read by Ibn Ḥauqal BGA II, 15). These undated reports on the Pecheneg migration must be identical with the ones recorded in the Western sources circa 895, but they provide no additional information.

The author of the *Hudūd al-Ālam* mentioned the Pechenegs in two different countries. Minorsky remarked: "under 20 is described the old Pecheneg

country and under 47 their new habitat. Taking his information from two distinct sources he present the consecutive stages of the Pecheneg peregrinations as existing simultaneously" (Minorsky 1937, 313). The description of the old Pecheneg country originated in the Jayhānī tradition, where it is called the country of the Turkic Pecheneg whereas the new habitat is the country of the Khazarian Pecheneg. As for the origin of the latter, it is said: "These people were formerly a group of the Pecheneg Turks (*Turkān-i Bachanākī*); they came here, took the country by conquest (*ba ghalaba in nāhiyat bisitadand*), and settled down in it" (Minorsky 1937, 160). This account must have been taken from the Balkhī tradition.

Mas'ūdī sheds further light on the eastern background of the Pecheneg migration in his *Tanbīh*: "The *Burğar* and tribes of nomadic Turks, who are called *الولندرية* after a town located at the extremes of the border of Rum [Byzantium], towards the East, which is known as *ولندر* [these nomadic Turks] are the *بجناك* the *بجنس*, the *بجفرد* and the *نوكرد*, conquered most of these five provinces. This was after the year 320/932. They camp here and block the road from Constantinople to Rome. This is a distance of some forty days journey. They have ravaged most of the land under cultivation there and their raids reach Constantinople and no-one can go from Constantinople at this time except by sea; for the land under cultivation between the two of them is a distance of many days. We have mentioned in [our] *Book of the Science of What Happened in Ages Past (Kitāb Funūn al-Ma'ārif wa Mā Jarā fī'd-Duhūr as-Sawālif)* the reason for the movement of these four Turkic tribes from the East and what occurred between them and the *Oğuz*, *Qarluq*, and *Kimak*, of the wars and raids around the *Sea of Jurjān*" (Golden 1972, 59, 1975, 23; Arabic: BGA VIII, 180-181).

The first part of this account is a short note on the attack of the Hungarians against Constantinople in 934, which is recorded in detail in the *Munāj al-dhahab* of Mas'ūdī. Marquart studied this attack (1903, 60-74). Recently

Golden has dealt with this question explaining the origin and form of the name *NWKRDA* (1975, 21-35). This attack is mentioned also in the Byzantine sources (Moravcsik 1984, 61, 64).

The tribal names of this account are rather confusing. Czeglédy pointed out that the name of the Byzantine town *W.Lnd.r* is the ethnonym for the Danubian Bulgars (1986, 100). So the Danubian Bulgars are called in this text Burghar and *W.Lnd.r* (Onogundur).

The four Turkic tribes are two in reality, since the Pechenegs are mentioned as *Bajanāk* and *Bajanā*; and the Hungarians as *Bajghird* and (*O*) *nūkurda* (onogur), so Golden supposed that Mas'ūdī or his source spliced together two distinct traditions, perhaps an Arabic containing the names *Bajanāk* and *Bajghird* and a Persian including the ethnonyms *Bajanā* and *Onūkurda* (Golden 1975, 35).

The last sentence of the account refers to earlier events of the history of these four tribes i.e. Pechenegs and Hungarians. Unfortunately, Mas'ūdī's book the title of which he quoted has not come down to us. It seems evident that the westward migration of the Pechenegs and the Hungarians is what he meant there. Pritsak and Golden dated this event to the first half of the 9th century (Golden 1972, 58-61; Pritsak 1975, 215). But most of the historians think that this migration is identical with the one recorded by Constantine around 895 (Macartney 1930, 72; Győrffy 1986, 30; Kumekov 1972, 58-59).

So the expel of the Pechenegs from their habitat east of the Volga was the consequence of the wars in the Kazak steppe, around the Aral Sea. Most of the Hungarian historians accept the view that the final reason of the Pecheneg migration was the attack of Ismā'il ibn Aḥmad against the Turks in 893 (Kmoskó AIII, 198; Hóman 1935, 116; Győrffy 1972, 286-287. 1986, 30-31; Kristó 1980, 171).

The most important sources of Ismā'īl's attack are Ṭabarī, Mas'ūdī and Narshakhī (Kmoskó AII, 187, AIII, 198; Pritsak 1951, 289). Ṭabarī's account was taken by Mas'ūdī who gave further details, by Ibn al-Athīr (Tornberg 1982, VII, 464-465) and Barhebraus (Kmoskó AIII, 154). So only Ṭabarī and Mas'ūdī are quoted:

*In ū (280 AH) the news came that Ismā'īl ibn Aḥmad attacked the country of the Turks. He occupied - as it is said - the town of their king. He captured him [the king cf. Barhebraus; Ibn al-Athīr: his father] and his wife, the Khātūn and about ten thousand [men]. He slaughtered many people from among them. He took also many riding animals that it is not possible to count. [It is said] that a horseman from the Muslims got one thousand dirhams booty (X, 34).*

*In this year Ismā'īl ibn Aḥmad marched against the land of the Turks after his brother, Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, had died and he had taken the power over Khurāsān. He occupied the town which is described as the residence of the king from their towns. He captured the Khātūn, the wife of the king and fifteen thousand Turks. He slaughtered ten thousand from among them. It is said that this king is called T.nk.sh and and this name is the title of every king who rules over the country. I think he is from the two tribes called al-Khadlajīya [Qarluq]. We have already mentioned the news of the Turks, their tribes and their homeland in general in this book and in our earlier books (Barbier de Meynard 1877, VIII, 144).*

Ṭabarī used the term *Turk* without further definition whereas Mas'ūdī identified the Turks with the Qarluqs. The title *qatun* 'the wife of the lord, ruler' (Clouston 1972, 602b) is a well-known Turkic word. Pritsak suggested that the title written as *Ṭ.nk.sh* by Mas'ūdī should be connected with the name of a Turkic tribal union, the *Tabgach*, which became a name of a northern Chinese dynasty (Pritsak 1951, 290, 1953, 20-21).

Narshakhī provided two new details: the attack was in March or April and the name of the town was Ṭarāz (Pritsak 1951, 288-289). There are other sources concerning this campaign. Hamadhānī, when speaking about the rain stones among the Turks, mentioned that the Turks could bring rain and snow with the help of these stones which were in the possession of the Toghuz Oghuz king (BGA V, 329). A much longer version of this account was used by Yāqūt in his description of Turkistān (1979, II, 25-26). These stones were recorded by Gardīzī (Martinez 1982, 117) and Tamīm ibn Bahr (Minorsky 1948, 285) who was the source of Hamadhānī. Then Hamadhānī quoted Ismā'īl ibn Aḥmad, the 'amīr of Khurāsān, who said that in a year he had raided the Turks who had used those rain stones to defeat his army. As he had asked for the help of Allāh, however, he defeated them. Apart from the fabulous character of this account, the war between the Turks and Ismā'īl is authentic. Kmoskó first supposed that Ismā'īl's campaign could have been in 893, 904 or 906 (MI, 153). He then changed his view and remarked that the date of this war was 904 or 906 since the author called Ismā'īl the 'amīr of Khurāsān which could have been later than 901, after his confirmation as a viceroy of Khurāsān (AI, 176 note 8). But this latter view is not convincing because it is not stated in the work that he made this raid when he was the viceroy of Khurāsān, and Hamadhānī completed his book in 902. Also, Ismā'īl dispatched his general against the attacking Turks in 904, but he himself did not participate in the campaign

(Ṭabarī X, 116). So it seems to be possible that the account of Hamadhānī refers to the raid of Ismāʿīl against the Turks in 893.

Another source is the work of Muqaddasī who wrote: "*Dih Nūjakath is a small town. It has a market which lasts for three months in springtime and eight rothls of boneless meat cost one dirham. It [the town] was very big but when Ismāʿīl ibn Aḥmad conquered this district, it lost its significance. It has a citadel*" (BGA III, 274<sup>11-14</sup>).

Tarāz was described after this town which corroborated the information of Narshakhī who said that the besieged town had been Tarāz. This campaign must be identical with the one described by Ṭabarī and Masʿūdī in 893. So the events of this campaign can be reconstructed in the following way: the Samanid Ismāʿīl became the ruler of Transoxania in 893 after his brother's death. Then he attacked the capital of the Qarluq ruler, Tarāz and sacked the town (cf. Barthold 1977<sup>4</sup>, 223-224).

To understand the importance of this campaign, the political situation of the Kazak steppe and Semirechye has to be taken into consideration. In the 840s after the fall of the Uyghur Empire in Inner Asia, the Qirqiz took the power in the eastern half of Inner Asia. The Kimāk lived in the north eastern frontiers of Semirechye (Kumekov 1972, 58-59). The Qarluqs founded their independent state in Semirechye in 840 (Pritsak 1951, 279-287). The Oghuz lived north of the Aral Sea, west of the Qarluq.

Pritsak suggested that the Karakhanid dynasty was of Qarluq origin and in the second half of the 9th century the eastern half of the Qarluq Empire was under the rule of *Bazir Arslan Khan* while the western half of the Qarluq Empire was ruled by *Oghulchaq Qadir Khan* with the centre being Tarāz. According to Pritsak, *Oghulchaq* was the contemporary of Ismāʿīl ibn Aḥmad, Ismāʿīl defeated *Oghulchaq* in 893 which caused the transfer of the capital to Kāshghar and



in 904 the Turks, attacking Transoxania, were led by *Oghulchaq* (Pritsak 1951, 287-290, 1953, 24-25).

In this respect Mas'ūdī's remark on the Turks is very important: "*Of these the strongest are the Ghuzz, while the Khartukh have the best shape, the tallest stature, and the finest faces; they live in the region of Farghāna and Shāsh [Tashkent] and in its neighbourhood. And they had a kingdom, and of them was the khaqān of the khaqāns, who united [under him] the other Turkish kingdoms and the kings used to obey him. Of these khaqāns was Afrāsiyāb the Turk who triumphed over the Persian Kingdom; of them was Shāba, but in our time there is no khaqān of the Turks whom the [other] kings obey. This has happened since the destruction of the town called 'Māt [Sūyāb?] which lay in the steppes of Samarkand. We have mentioned the passing away of the kingdom from that town and the reason for that in our book al-Awsaṭ*" (Minorsky 1948, 288).

According to Mas'ūdī, the Qarluq had an empire in the former Western Turk territory, but the destruction of their capital led to the fall of the empire. It is tempting to identify these events with those of Ismā'īl's campaign in 893 when the centre of the Qarluqs was plundered. So if Mas'ūdī's information is reliable, the Qarluq hegemony over the western half of Inner Asia came to an end in 893. Among others, Minorsky supposed that this description referred to earlier events (1948, 288).

Ya'qūbī in his *Kitāb al-buldān* completed in 891 wrote: "*The Turks are numerous tribes and have many kingdoms. These are the Kharlukhiya, the Toghuzoghuz, Turkhas, Kimak and Ghuzz. Every tribe of the Turks has its own kingdom (mamlaka) and they wage war against one another...*" (BGA VII, 295). This description seems to contradict that of Mas'ūdī's. This reflects the real political situation which means that the Kimāk and Oghuz people became the rivals of the Qarluq power. If there was no Qarluq Empire in western Inner Asia, this territory was under the rule of these three tribal unions and there must have

been a balance of power among them. The end of the Qarluq Empire or the upsetting of the balance was the consequence of the growing power of the Samanids which led to the campaign of Ismā'īl against the Qarluq capital. The Qarluq having lost their hegemony, remained in power east of the Semirechye and later became the founder of the Karakhānid dynasty. This presented the possibility that the two other tribal unions, the Oghuz and Kimāk, strengthened. According to Kumekov, the Kimāk tribal union became an empire, that is the ruler got the title of *qaghan*, at the end of the 9th century (Kumekov 1972, 116).

Kumekov supposed that the Oghuz who occupied the eastern half of the Kazak steppe after 766 defeated the Pechenegs living around the Ural and Emba with the help of the Kimāk and Qarluq, as Mas'ūdī had said (Kumekov 1972, 115). But it seems to be rather possible that the Oghuz, taking advantage of the situation that the Qarluqs had to consolidate their power in the Semirechye after the disastrous defeat of 893 and the Kimāk were engaged in establishing their own empire, defeated the Pechenegs.

The reconstruction of the events of the Pecheneg migration can be the following: the Qarluq Empire in western Eurasia had to face inner problems by the second half of the 9th century. The Kimāk and Oghuz tribal unions became so powerful that they were rivals of the Qarluqs. In 893 the Samanid ruler, Ismā'īl, defeated the western Qarluq ruler. As a consequence of this defeat the Qarluq power declined. The Oghuz, living west of the Qarluq, strengthened and tried to establish a new empire similar to the Kimāks who founded their empire at the same time in the end of the 9th century. To rule the Kazak steppe the Oghuz had to defeat the Pechenegs whose habitat was in the western part of this steppe. The Oghuz military superiority granted their victory over the Pechenegs who had two choices - to surrender or to migrate. Most of the Pechenegs chose migration but some of them remained in their homes. First the Pech-

enegs tried to move to the Khazar heartland, the territory north of the Caucasus, but the Khazar army prevented it. So the Pecheneg had to choose the other way. They crossed the Volga and Don north of the Khazar fortifications and conquered the region north of the Black Sea where the Hungarians had lived. The Hungarians, being expelled from their habitat, settled in the Carpathian Basin. But not all the Hungarians moved west. Ligeti suggested that the Hungarians in the Volga-Kama region who had been found by Julianus in the 13th century arrived here as the consequence of the Pecheneg migration (Ligeti 1986, 378, 394).

Returning now to the Volga Bulgars, the Turkic tribes living on the banks of the Volga and Don north of the Khazar heartland were forced to move north by the westward migration of the Pechenegs. Since the Volga-Kama was controlled by Turkic peoples from the Khazar Empire earlier, the attacked Turkic tribes must have settled in great number in the Volga-Kama region.

## CONCLUSIONS

The Volga Bulgars were nomads at the beginning of the 10th century in spite of the developed agriculture among them (Grekov 1945, 4-7). The evidence of this statement can be attested in the sources. According to Ibn Faḍlān, the Bulghar king and his tribe migrated between his winter and summer quarters. Their seasonal migrations on the rivers and their typical nomadic felt tent both reflect nomadic way of life (par. 6 in the Jayhānī tradition). Ibn Faḍlān used the term *qabīla* 'nomadic tribe' in connection with the tribe of the Askals. (Togan 1939, A 33<sup>9</sup>; Kovalevskij 1956, 324 note 607).

To understand the northward migration of those Turkic tribes that founded the Volga Bulghar Empire, the study of the nomadic migrations on the rivers of the Eastern European steppe has to be reviewed as these tribes arrived in the Volga-Kama region from the steppe.

Pseudo-Moses Chorenaci recorded that the Bulgars, north of the Black Sea, were called after the names of the rivers, then he enumerated four kinds of Bulgars (Marquart 1903, 57). Apart from the etymological problems, this story shows that the different groups kept on seasonal migrations on the banks of distinct rivers which is a typical nomadic character.

The Khazars and the peoples of the Khazar Empire deserve a special interest. Regarding the inhabitants of the Khazar capital, the Jayhānī tradition noted: *"The population remains during the winter in these two cities. When spring days come, they go out to the steppe and continue there till the approach of winter"* (Dunlop 1954, 105; cf. Martinez 1982, 153). The account of Iṣṭakhrī reflected a more settled population: *"The city has no villages. But their farms are extensive. They go out in summer for about twenty leagues through fields to sow. They collect some of the crop on the river and some in the steppe, and bring in their*

produce either on carts or by river" (Dunlop 1954, 93) and "Their houses are felt tents except a small number built of clay. [...] No one else owns a brick building, the king not permitting anyone to build with bricks" (Dunlop 1954, 92). The Khazars were semi-nomads preserving the seasonal migration and felt tents in spite of the traces of agricultural way of life. So the Khazars also kept on migrating along the Volga and its tributaries.

The Hungarians living north of the Black Sea were characterized by the Jayhānī tradition as nomads: "When winter comes (*zemeštān [ke] āyad*), anyone who may have gone somewhat far from [one of those two] great river[s] comes back close to [his] great river (*kasi ke az jehūn dūrtar šade bāšad, be nazdīk-e jehūn bāz āyad*), and stays there during the winter, [for] they fish and find their sustenance (*ma'īšat konand*) thereby" (Martinez 1982, 160; cf. Wiet 1956, 160). The system of summer and winter quarters among the Hungarians remained after the conquest of the Carpathian Basin (Győrffy 1975, 45-153).

The above mentioned examples are taken from those peoples that represent similar features to those of the Turkic tribes forming the Volga Bulgars. For the sake of analogy later data are also taken into consideration.

Győrffy reconstructed the habitat of the Pechenegs after their westward migration on the basis of the description of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Four Pecheneg tribes lived east of the Dnieper and four west of it (Moravcsik-Jenkins 1949, 169). Győrffy supposed that the winter quarters of the Pecheneg chiefs had been near the Sea on a bank of a river similar to the Hungarians living there before the Pechenegs, and their summer quarters were up in the north. The eight Pecheneg tribes migrated along the following rivers: 1. lower Danube, 2. Seret and Prut, 3. Dniester and Bug, 4. West of the Dnieper; the four eastern tribes must have lived on the west of Dnieper, in the Donec and at the upper Don (Győrffy 1972, 289-291).

In the beginning of the 13th century Plano Carpini described the habitat of the Mongol chiefs in Eastern Europe. He noted that Corenza had migrated on the Dnieper, Carbon on the Don, Batu on the Volga and two generals on the river Ural, and they all descended to the sea in winter and went up to the mountains in summer (Győrffy 1975, 48, 135). Also for the Volga, an important datum was recorded by Marco Polo who said that Berke, the ruler of the Golden Horde (1257-1266) had two residences, one in Sarai on the lower Volga and another one in the town of Bulgar (Yule-Cordier 1926, 4).

These data suggest that the Turkic tribes forming the Volga Bulgars should live on the banks of the rivers of the Eastern European steppe and the Volga-Kama might have been the summer quarters of some of the Turkic tribes living on the Volga.

Another important factor in the history of Eurasia is the connection between the peoples of the steppe belt and those of the forest belt. The nomads of the steppe were in close connection with the tribes of the forest zone north of the steppe. The author of Secret History of the Mongols divided the Mongols into two halves: the steppe people and the people of the forest. The tribes living in the forest belt were natural background of the steppe belt as they were able to adapt nomadism and to take important role in forming new tribal unions in the steppe when the situation was favourable for them. But the nomads who lost their power or were forced to leave their habitat could move to the north reaching the forest belt where they could consolidate their affairs. The Volga Bulgars seem to represent the second category.

Before the final conclusions we sum up the most important points in the formation of the Volga Bulgars:

The authentic forms of the ethnonyms among the Volga Bulgars in the 10th century are *Bulghār*, *S.wār*, *Baranjār*, *Askal* and *Barşūlā*.

Accepting the identifications of *S.wār* with *Sabir*, *Baranjār* with *Balanjar* and *Baršūlā* with *Bārsil*, these five ethnonyms were recorded in the Eastern European steppe from the 5th to the 7th centuries. The Bulgars were located north of the Black Sea, the Sabirs, Bārsils and Balanjar were north of the Caucasus and the Askals must have lived east of the Volga.

The disappearance these ethnonyms can be connected with the foundation of the Khazar Empire in the whole steppe of Eastern Europe during the 7th century. These tribes or tribal unions became the part of the Khazar political system. So the Turkic tribes forming the Volga Bulgars must have lived within the Khazar Empire.

As a consequence of the Hun migration to Europe and the extension of the Turk Empire to Eastern Europe some Turkic tribes might have moved to the Volga-Kama region on the basis of the archeological finds. The relation between these Turkic tribes - if they are Turkic - and those of the Volga Bulgars is not provable even by archeological methods. The supposition of the appearance of the Volga Bulgars in the 6th century based on the account of Mychael Syrus is also unacceptable because the Bulgars in that legend cannot be connected with the Volga Bulgars.

Kuvrat founded an independent empire in the 630s centred north of the Black Sea. The Khazars conquered this empire after the death of Kuvrat in the 670s. According to the written sources, the eldest son of Kuvrat remained in his place after the fall of Kuvrat's Empire, but the other four sons moved to west. Among them was Asparuch, who founded the Danubian Bulgar State. So there is no trace of the northward migration in the sources. The theory of the Volga Bulgars' appearance in the second half of the 7th century is based on the assumption that Kuvrat's Empire was Great Bulgar and if the Danubian Bulgars originated from it, the Volga Bulgars must have come from it, too. But

Kuvrat's Empire as Great Bulghar is an anachronistic expression and if we have to name this empire, the name *Onogundur* seems to be more appropriate.

The history of the Khazars can give the key of the northward migration of the Volga Bulgars. The Arab-Khazar wars in the first half of the 8th century forced some of the Turkic tribes to leave the north Caucasus. In 723 the Arabs captured Balanjar, the most significant Khazar city in the north of the Caucasus. This city seems to have been the capital of the Khazars before its capture. The Khazars transferred their capital to the lower Volga which was much safer than Balanjar. The Baranjārs seem to be the descendants of the inhabitants of Balanjar who had to migrate to the lower Volga around 723. In 737 Marwān carried out the greatest campaign against the Khazars. He reached the lower Volga and marched north on it. Then he attacked the Ṣaḡāliba and defeated them. It would be tempting to identify this ethnonym with the Bulgars as Ibn Fadlān used the same name for them, but the two hundred year difference makes this assumption too doubtful and historically unacceptable.

Then non-Muslim Volga Bulgars can be divided into two groups on the basis of the archeological finds. The earlier dated to the 8-9th centuries and the later to the end of the 9th-10th centuries. The relics of the earlier group are on the Volga up to the Kama mouth. The later group represents many more sites and they are found on the lower Kama, too.

Numismatics suggests that the dirhams found in Eastern Europe came from the central Islamic lands through the Caucasus on the coast of the Caspian, then following the Volga up to north in the 9th century. At the end of the ninth century this situation changed as the dirhams arrived in Europe from the Samanids who were rulers of Transoxania and Khurāsān. The Volga Bulghar dirhams of the 10th century were struck on the analogy of the Samanid dirhams which reflects close connection between them.



The earliest Turkic and Finno-Ugrian contacts in the Volga region started between the Proto-Permian and early Volga Bulghar languages. The intensive period of these contacts can be dated to the 10th century on the basis of linguistic and historical arguments.

The appearance of the Volga Bulgars in the Muslim sources has not been studied in detail yet. This work has been done here.

A. The Burghar king of the Fihrist mentioned in connection with Ma'mūn might refer to the Volga Bulgars, but its historical value in the first half of the 9th century is dubious.

B. Sallām who crossed the Khazar country in the 830s met Muslims in the vicinity of the Wall of Alexander the Great. Bīrūnī identified these Muslims with the Volga Bulgars in the end of the 10th century, but even Bīrūnī doubted this identification because of the fabulous characters of Sallām's journey. So there is no reason to suppose that the Volga Bulgars appeared in the sources in the first half of the 9th century.

C. A tradesman from the capital of the Khazars went on business to Inner Bulghar in the very end of the 9th century according to Ibn Ḥauqal. The term *Inner Bulghār* was applied for the Danubian Bulgars by Iṣṭakhri. Ibn Ḥauqal used this term ambiguously and it seems to refer to the Volga Bulgars.

D. Mas'ūdī, describing the Rūs campaign against the Caspian shore, recorded the return of these Rūs who had crossed the territories of the Khazars, Burtās and the Muslim Bulgars moving north along the Volga. The word Muslim before the Bulghar is an interpolation but the historicity of this story cannot be doubted. So the Volga Bulgars' appearance in the sources can be dated before Ibn Fadlān's journey in 922.

E. The Jayhānī tradition and its relation to Ibn Fadlān concerning the Volga Bulgars have been investigated in details. Most of the data on the Volga Bulgars in the Jayhānī tradition correspond to those of Ibn Fadlān. So

Ibn Faḍlān may have met Jayhānī when the embassy returned from the Volga Bulgars and Jayhānī could put his questions to Ibn Faḍlān and the answers were recorded. It is more than possible that Jayhānī had some information about the Volga Bulgars before 922, but it is not necessary to suppose that these data were from the 870s.

The importance of the westward migration of the Pechenegs for the history of the Volga Bulgars required the investigation of the background and consequences of this migration. The power of the Oghuz grew in the Kazak steppe after 893, and then they defeated the Pechenegs living west of them. The Pechenegs first attacked the Khazars on the lower Volga but, being repelled, they crossed the Volga and the Don north of the genuine Khazars, forcing the nomads living there to move to north. The Pechenegs settled north of the Black Sea.

In conclusion, the Turkic tribes forming the Volga Bulgars could not arrive in the Volga-Kama region before the 8th century. These Turkic tribes lived within the Khazar Empire. During the Arab-Khazar wars some of these tribes left their earlier homes north of the Caucasus and migrated to the Volga or Don etc. together with other tribes of the Khazar Empire. By the middle of the 8th century the northernmost Turkic tribes on the Volga may have reached the Volga-Kama junction during their seasonal migrations.

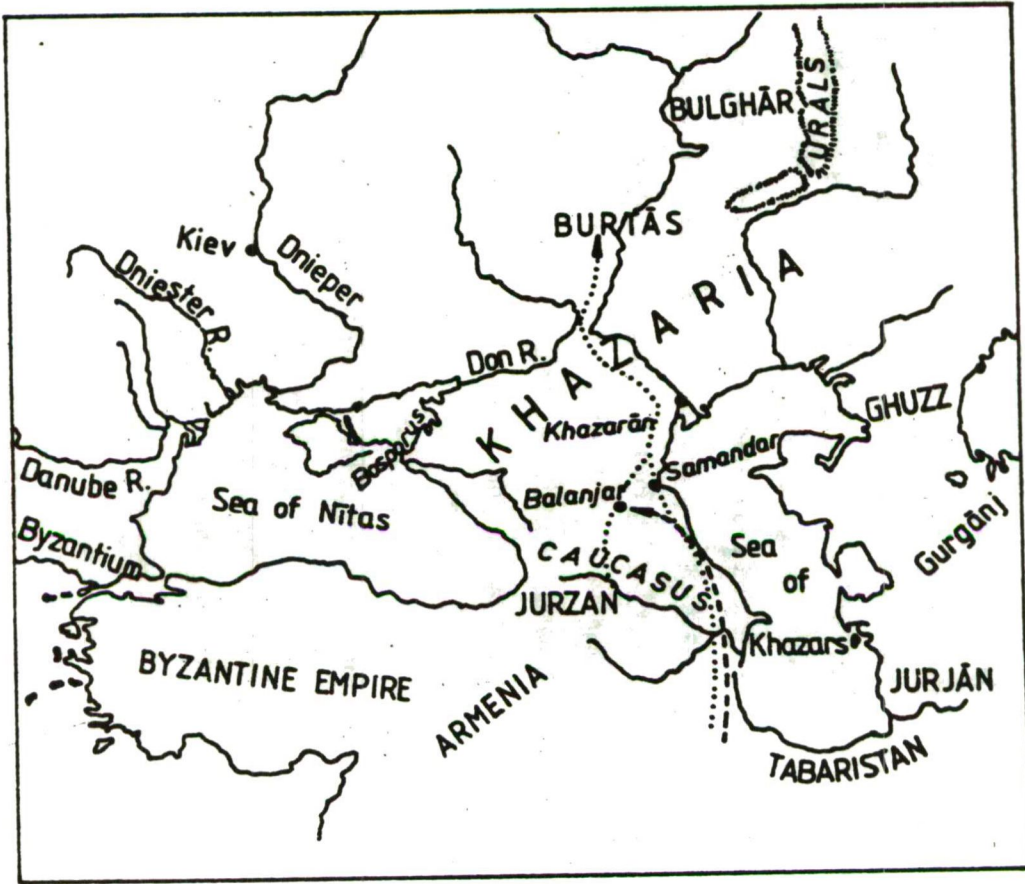
According to Noonan, the Khazar-Arab relation changed in the second half of the 8th century and an intensive commerce flourished between them in the 9th century. The most precious goods exported by the Khazars were furs, slaves, wax, and honey which they could gain from the forest belt of Eastern Europe. The Khazar extended their influence northward to assure themselves the access to these goods. So the political role of the northernmost Turkic tribes under Khazar supremacy on the Volga became important. Noonan emphasized the economic strength of the northern frontiers compared to that of

the southern regions of the Khazar Empire (Noonan 1983, 279-281). This economic superiority could evolve under Pax Chazarica which granted the peaceful commerce in the steppe belt along the Volga line.

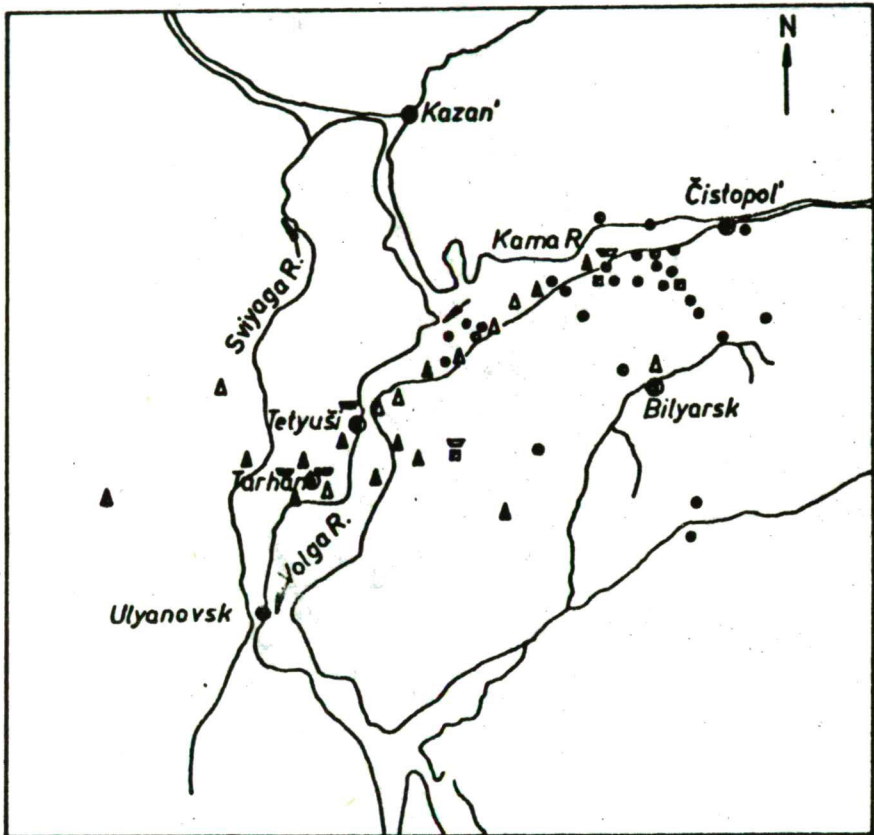
The end of Pax Chazarica was marked by the westward migration of the Pechenegs. The Khazars could prevent the Pechenegs settling in the North Caucasus, but could not detain them from crossing the Volga and Don north of their land. The Turkic tribes living west of the Pechenegs were forced to migrate north. The archeological finds reflect a more numerous population in the Volga-Kama region from the end of the 9th century. Therefore, it can be supposed that most of the Turkic tribes forming the Volga Bulgars arrived here as a consequence of the Pecheneg migration.

The commercial situation also altered. The Samanids, consolidating their power by the end of the 9th century in Khurāsān and Transoxania, began to export dirhams to Eastern Europe. First, the commercial route could follow Khurāsān and the Caspian provinces, the Caspian Sea and the Volga, but the Samanids lost their Caspian provinces in 914. The consolidation of the power of the Oghuz in the Kazak steppe provided a new possibility: the caravans could reach the Volga-Kama region from Transoxania via Khwārizm and the Kazak steppe, without encountering the Khazars. This route was used by the embassy Ibn Faḍlān took part in. This situation brought the Volga Bulgars to a new perspective in economic and political point of view. The Islamization of the Volga Bulgars provoked by the Samanids shows that they became the rivals of the Khazars. Thus, the history of the Volga Bulgar Empire started at the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries.

MAPS



## 2. Archeological map of the early Volga Bulgars.



8th - first half of the  
9th century

second half of the  
9th century - 10th  
century

8th - 10 century



archeological sites



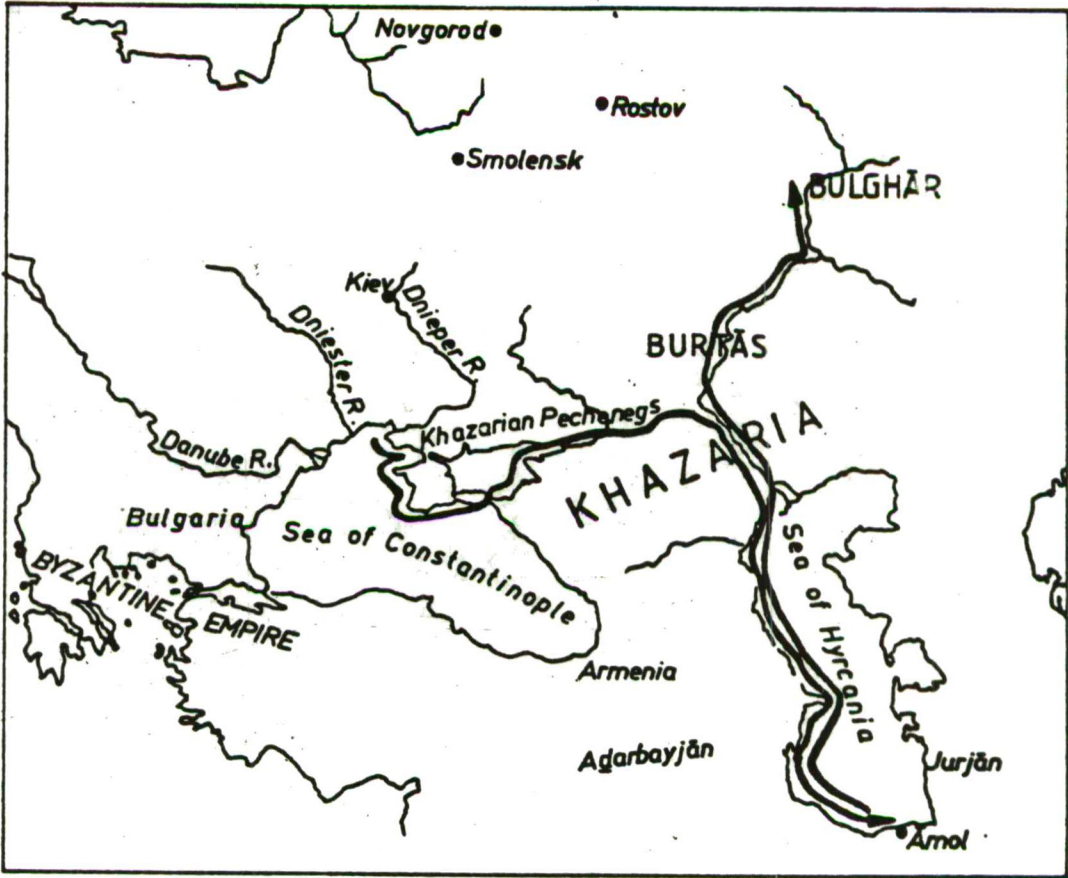
settlements



fortified settlement

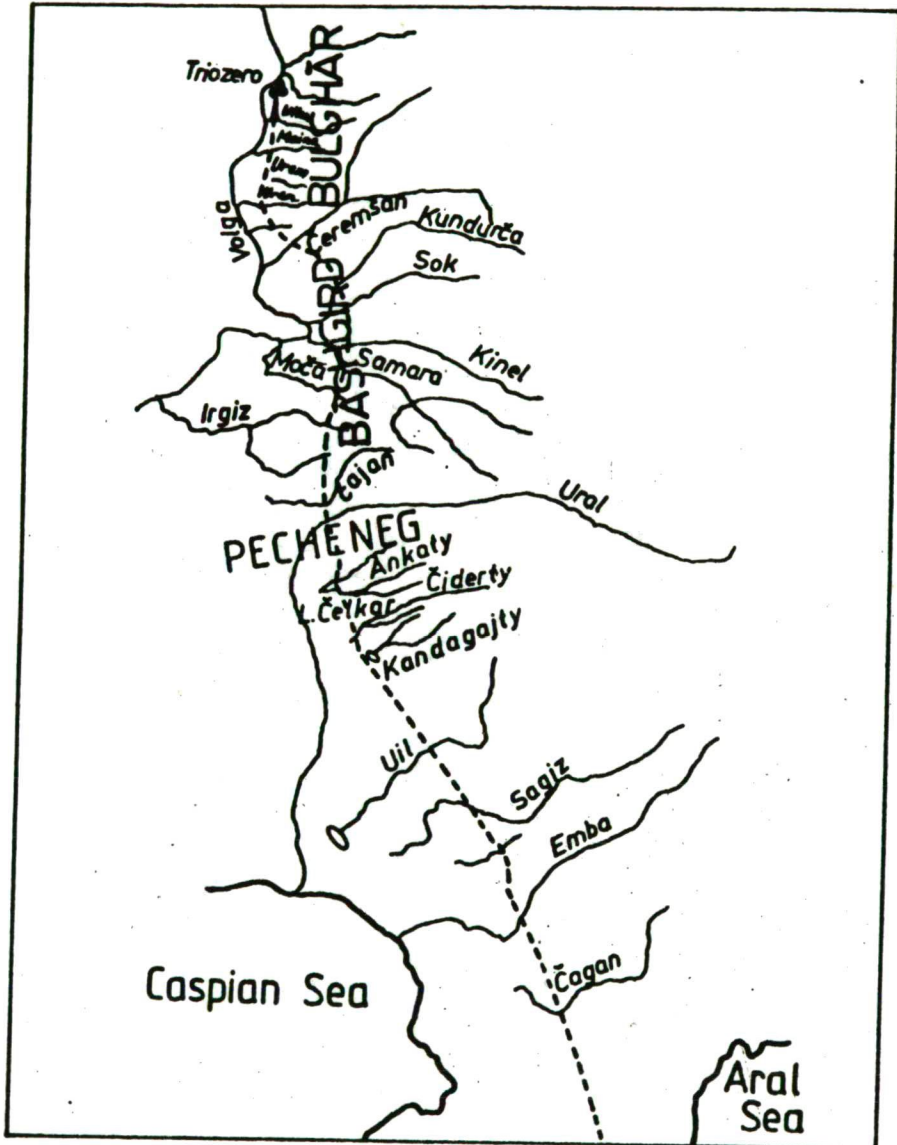


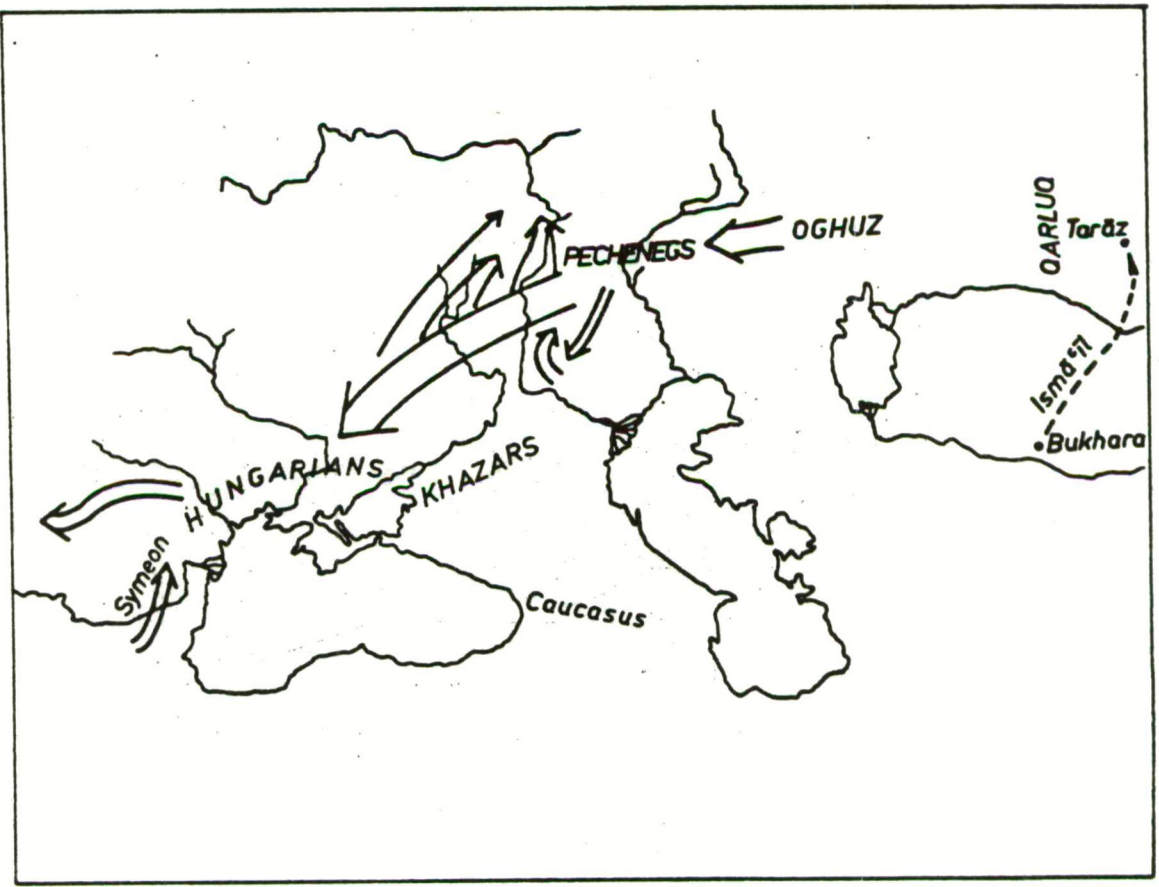
cemetery



3. The Rus campaign against the Caspian around 913.

4. Ibn Faḍlān's journey to the Volga-Bulghars (Kovalevskij 1956, 96, 99).





5. The Pechenegs migration.



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## **APPENDIX**

### **The Jayhānī tradition**

## The Bulkār report:

*Ibn Rusta* (BGA VII, 141-142)

## بلكار

وبلكار متاخمة لبلاد برباس وفي نزول على حافة النهر الذي يضرب  
في بحر الفزر المسمى ابل وفي بين الفزر والصلابة وملكهم يسمى المشه  
وهو ينحل الاسلام وارهوم غياض ومشاجر ملتفة وفي حبل فيها وفي 10  
ثلاثة اصناف صنف منهم يسمى برصلاء والصنف الآخر اسفل والثالث  
بلكار ومعاشهم كالم في مكن واحد ولا تتاجرهم وتبيعهم وكذلك  
الرومية اليهم يصيرون بهجراتهم وكل من كان منهم على حافة للده  
النهر يختلفون بهجراتهم اليهم كالمسور والقائم والسندجاب وغيره وفي 10  
قوم لهم زرع وحراثة يزرعون كل الحبوب من الخنطة والشعير والدخن 15  
وغير ذلك واكثرهم ينحلون دين الاسلام وفيه محاكم مساجد وكتاتيب  
ولهم مؤنثين واثنا والكافر منهم يسجد لكل من لقي من محبيه  
وهن برباس وبين هؤلاء البلكارية مسيرة ثلاثة ايام يفرطهم ويغرون  
عليهم ويسبونهم ولهم دواب ودروع وسلاح شاك وفي يؤدون الى ملكهم  
الدواب وغير ذلك والا تزوج الرجل منهم اخذ الملك منهم دابة 20  
والا جاتهم سفن المسلمين للتجارة اخذوا منهم والعشر وملابس

b) Cf. Chwolson p. 91.

Jão. I, ٧٣, 11 melius. c) Cf. de hoc et seq. nomine Chw.  
p. 93 seqq. Infra اسكل scribitur. d) Cod. ولما. e) Cf. Istakhrī  
٢٢. paen. بعض عند التنظيم. f) Cod. ويعيرون. g) Cod.

شبهة بلباس المسلمين ولهم مقابر مثل مقابر المسلمين واكثر اموالهم  
الذلف وليست لهم اموال صامتة انما دراهم الذلف يتزوج الذلف  
الواحد بينهم بدرهم ونصف وانما يحمل الدرهم البيص المدورة من 1.168r  
لواحي الاسلام يبتاعونها منهم ٥

## المجفريّة

وهن بلاد البجناكية وبين بلاد اسكل من البلكارية اول حد من  
حدود المجفريّة والمجفريّة

a) Cod. يتزوج. b) Cod. منهم. c) Cod. يبتاعونها. d) Cod.  
plerumque cum a pro a et li. l. prima littora cum dhanina scri-  
bitur. alibi sine voc. Sunt Maginri. Cf. apud Constant. Porph. *De*  
*acta. imp.* p. 172 *Megyty.* e) Cod. itorum cum خ.



(Golden 1980 II. 20)

وهم في سهل من الارض واكثر اثمارهم الخليج ولهم مزارع  
 وانك ثرواتهم العسل والدلق والوبر  
 وشعة ارضهم مقدار سبعة عشر يوما طولا وعرضا

## بلكار

وبلكار مناخه البلاد برد اشق وهم تدول على حافة النهر  
 الذي يصب في بحيرة الحذر المشي ابل وهو بين الحذر  
 والصقالبه ومدسهم يسمى المش وهو ينحل الا سلام  
 وارضهم غياض وثمار ملقفة وهم حول فيها وهم ثلاثة  
 اصناف صنف منهم يسمى برصولا والصنف الاخر  
 اشقل والمالك بلكارن ونعاشهم كلهم في مكان  
 واحد والحذر محلو ساجرهم وبتابعهم وكذلك الروشيه  
 اليهم يصرون بنجاراتهم وكل من كان منهم على حافتي  
 ذلك النهر مختلفون بنجاراتهم اليهم كالشعور والقارم

*Gardizi* (Barthold 1973, 37)

اما بلکار پیوسته است با ناصیف برداس<sup>5</sup> و اهل بلکار بر کنار جیعون باشند که آب او بر دریای خزر افتد و این جیعون را از آب اقل خوانند<sup>6</sup> و او میان خزر و سقلاب است و ملک ایشانرا املان<sup>7</sup> گویند و او دعوی مسلمانی کند و این قوم بلکار مقدار پانصد هزار اهل بیت است و همه زمین ایشان بیشه و درختانش پیوسته و ایشان اندران میان همیکردند از جای بجای و این سه گروه اند نخستین را درسولا<sup>8</sup> گویند و دیگررا اسکل<sup>9</sup> و سه دیگررا بلکار و معاش این هر سه گروه بیکجا بیست و خزریان با ایشان ستدداد کنند و بازارگانی آیند و روسیان همچنین و بازارگانی ایشان همه سمور و قاقم و سنها باشد و ایشان قومی اند که بر کناره آب نشینند و ایشانرا کشت و برز<sup>10</sup> باشد و همه حبوب بکار بردند چون گندم و جو و کال و عدس و ماش<sup>11</sup> و بجز آن<sup>12</sup> هر چیزی و بیشتر ایشان دعوی مسلمانی کنند و در ولایت ایشان مسجدها باشند و دبیرستان و مولدان و امامان و چون کافری<sup>13</sup> آشنای خویش را به بینند از مسلمانان او را سجده کنند و میان بلکار و برداس سه روزه راهست و پیوسته بغز و شوند و بر برداسیان تاختن برند و ایشان بگیرند و ایشانرا صلاح<sup>14</sup> بسیار بود و همه ستوران و اسبان نیک دارند و چون ملک بخواهد ستور بدو دهند و چون مردی زن آرد ملک از هر یکی اسپه بستاند و چون کشتی<sup>15</sup> بازارگانی بیاید ده یک بستاند و لباس ایشان لباس مسلمانان ماند و کورستانهای ایشان بکورستانهای مسلمانان ماند و بیشتر مال ایشان از دله باشد و ایشانرا مال صامت نباشد و بجای سیم پوست دله دهند یکی بدو درم ایشان از دیار اسلام برند درمی باشد سپید و کرد و این درم ببرند و از ایشان هر چیزی و باز ایشان آن درم بروسیمان و سقلابیان دهند که آن قوم جز بدرم صامت اخریان نغروشند

میان ولایت بلکار<sup>16</sup> و ولایت اسکل که هم از بلکار است حد مجفریانست

متاخمة IR با تاحمف رواسی Cod. <sup>5</sup>

اسکل IR <sup>6</sup> . برصولا IR <sup>7</sup> . المش IR <sup>8</sup> . المسمی اقل IR <sup>9</sup> . لبلاد برداس  
 cetera non habet. المنطة والشعير والدخن IR <sup>10</sup> . وجز Cod. <sup>11</sup> . اسکل aut  
 البجاناکیة: IR <sup>12</sup> . سغن IR کسی Cod. <sup>13</sup> . وخببران Cod. <sup>14</sup>

(Habibi 1969, 273-274)

### امایکار

پیوسته است با ناحت بر دس (۱۷). و اهل بکار بر کنار جیون باشند که آب او بر دریای خزر افتد ،  
و این جیون را آب آبی خوانند و او میان خزر و سقلاب است ، و ملک ایشان را امان گویند و او دعوی سلمانی کند.

در ۱۹۵۵ در اصل خوانده میشد و نیم صفا سینه پید . ب: با آیف و اس ؛ تصحیح متن حدیث . (۹۸) هر دو : را از اب ؛ اصل همین نگاشت . (۱۹۹) اصل :  
مشوش است خوانده میشود . ب: امان ؛ این نشان که در زمان حیات بود ، نام پادشاه نقاب الهش بر ایلیا و سینه پید ، که با قوت هم لشکر شاهی جنگ کرده  
در سفرنامه ابن فضلان ۱۹ :

و این قوم بکار مقدر پانصد هزار اهل بیت است و همه زمین ایشان همیشه در زخانش پیوسته . و ایشان اندر ۲  
میان همگی دند زجای بجای . و این سه گروه اند : نخستین ابرو لا گویند . د و دیگر را اسکل ، و سه دیگر را بکار .  
و مساشین هر سه گروه بیک جایست . و خزریان با ایشان سخته دار کنند و بازرگانی آیند ، و روسیان  
همچنین . و بازرگانی ایشان همه سمور و قاسم و سجاب باشد . و ایشان قومی اند که بر کنار ه آب نشینند .  
۳۷۳ وایشانرا کشت و بزر باشد ، و همه خوب بکارند چون گندم [۳۷۳] و جو و گال و عدس و ماش و جز آن هر چیز  
و بیشتر ایشان دعوی سلمانی کنند . و در ولایت ایشان مسجد ما باشد و دبیرستان مؤذنان امان . و چون  
کافری آتش افروزش را ببیند از مسلمانان دور اسجد کند . و میان بکار و بر دس سه روزه راهت است . و پیوسته  
بغز و شونه ، و در ، بر دس میان تا سخن بر نه وایشانرا بگیرند .

وایشانرا سلاح بسیار بود و همه ستوران اسپان نیک دارند ، و چون ملک بخوار استور بد و دهنند .  
و چون مردی زن آرد ، بیک از هر کی اسپان بنامند . و چون کسی بازرگانی بیاید ، ده یکستانه . باس ایشان بکار  
مسلمانان ماند . و گورستانهای ایشان گورستانهای مسلمانان ماند . و بیشتر مال ایشان از دکه باشد . ایشانرا  
مال صامت بنامند ، و بجای سیم پوست دکه دهند ، یکی بد و درم ایشان از دیار اسلام بر نه ، و دمی با  
سپید گردد . و این درم بر نه و از ایشان هر چیزی بخرند . و با ایشان آن درم بر روسیان و سقلاب بیان دهند ، و  
آن قوم جز بد درم صامت آخریان نفر و شند .

### (مجزریان)

میان ولایت بکار و ولایت اسکل که هم از بکار راست حد مجزریان است

(۱) کذا در هر دو . این کشته . در حدود ۱۹۳ به سولا ست ، که مینار سکی آن را با بر ز و طلا و شاه چنانسه و بر ز یلا و مجمل انوار و جلال و تقدص  
و بر ز لاد و رسی در جوار کف کونی تطبیق مید و تا اکنون هم ایننگاه را د آس بنام بر ز لاد این کف او دیدار است (تعلیقات ۲۶۱)  
(۲) کذا در هر دو ، حدود ۱۹۳ : اسکل - این سته : اسکل . (۳) اصل : بیکایست . ب : بیکایست ؟ (۴) اصل : ستره ؛  
(۵) هر دو : و بز د ؟ (۶) هر دو : خوب ؟ (۷) هر دو : بهینند ؟ (۸) هر دو : بغز ؟ (۹) هر دو : صلاح ؟ (۱۰) اصل : کس بازرگان  
بیاید . ب : مانند متن . (۱۱) ال صامت : یعنی مال خاموش که کنایه از زکیم و فقود و زویواست در مقابل مال ناطق از کینه و غلام چار پار (عطا)  
(۱۲) اصل : بخورند ؛ ب : هر چیزی باز ؛ تصحیح متن حدیث . (۱۳) آخریان بر وزن پر بیان ، قماش و متاع و اسباب کالای برگزیده (بر جان)  
(۱۴) جای این عنوانی هر دو سخته سید است . در حدود ۸۷۷ ناحت مجزری است که ایشانرا از ترکان گوید . مینار سکی این کشته با بکار در چنگری ، تطبیق  
مید و (تعلیقات ۲۱۷)



دو روزگان و صبح و شب و روز و شب هرگز نیست از این  
 دوی مسلمانان کند: دور و نایت ایشان شکر و همیشه و  
 در برستان در روزها چند مالک و چون که نزی آهنگار  
 بنویسند: چند از سندان در سینه که در میان بکار بود  
 سر روز را مست و بر سر نیزه شده و در سینه آن سخن  
 بر نیزه ایشان با کبریه و ایشان سلاح جان بود و در سینه  
 و اسکان یکند و اینند چون که بگویند: بدو  
 این بر روی زن آن که از هر کجا که آید سخن از آن  
 یکسکه با نیکان چنانچه یک بیت از دهن ایشان یک  
 سندان مانده که در سینه ایشان کبریه است  
 سندان مانده پیشتر ایشان نزد بینه در  
 مال صحت نباشد و زبان بر بر پوست در دهن کی  
 چه در دوش ایشان از دین اسلام بر نهاده شده سید کرم  
 و این در دم بر سر در ایشان هرگز گویند و این  
 آن در دم بر کوسیان و سندان و هند که آن قوم جز  
 در دم صحت ایشان نغز و کسه میان کلا  
 بکار و ولایت اسکی کرم از بکار است صد مکنز است  
 و این مکنز میان میسی است از کاز و کاز و ان با است  
 هزار سوار و این سال را مکنده خوانند و این نام است

*Bakrī* (Kunik-Rozen 1978, 44-45)

وبلاد بلكان متاخمة لبلاد فرداس وبين بلاد بلكان وبلاد فرداس مسيرة  
ثلاثة ايام ومنازلهم على شامل نهر انزل وهم بين فرداس والصناب وهم

فليل العدد نحو خمس مائة اهل بيت وماكهم يسمى المبر (sic) <sup>1</sup> وهو  
مسجل (sic) <sup>2</sup> الألام والخزرتناهم وتبايعهم وكذلك الروس <sup>3</sup>  
ذكر بلاد الخفرية <sup>3</sup> وهم بين بلاد البجاناكية وبين بلاد اشكل من  
الساكزية (sic)

1) См. пункт 6 в переводе, стр. 63, 2.

2) ч. Мангал Дер.

3) ч. الجفرية Дер.



**Készült: a Szegedi Magas-és Mélyépítőipari V.  
Sokszorosító Üzemében**





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