MARISIA

ARCHAEOLOGIA HISTORIA PATRIMONIUM

6





EDITORIAL BOARD

Executive Editor: Koppány Bulcsú ÖTVÖS

Editors: Sándor BERECKI Zalán GYŐRFI

János ORBÁN Szilamér Péter PÁNCZÉL

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Oliver DIETRICH, Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt (Halle/Saale, Germany) Elek BENKŐ, Institute of Archaeology, Research Centre for the Humanities (Budapest, Hungary) Marius-Mihai CIUTĂ, Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu (Sibiu, Romania) Zoltán CZAJLIK, Eötvös Loránd University, Institute of Archaeological Sciences (Budapest, Hungary) Ciprian FIREA, Romanian Academy, Institute of Archaeology and Art History (Cluj-Napoca, Romania) András KOVÁCS, Babeş-Bolyai University (Cluj-Napoca, Romania) Zsolt VISY, University of Pécs (Pécs, Hungary)

CORRESPONDENCE

Muzeul Județean Mureș / Mureș County Museum CP 85, str. Mărăști nr. 8A, 540328 Târgu Mureș, România e-mail: marisiaedit@gmail.com

Cover: István KARÁCSONY

The content of the papers totally involve the responsibility of the authors.

ISSN 2668-7232

DOI: https://doi.org/10.63509/MrsAHP.2024.6



Editura Mega | www.edituramega.ro e-mail: mega@edituramega.ro

CONTENTS

Botond Rezi – Sándor Berecki A Late Bronze Age Spearhead from Gornești	7
János Gábor Tarbay Fragmented Hoard from the Recycle Bin: Szentes-Nagyhegy I	17
Gergely Bálint – Szilamér-Péter Pánczél Roman Cosmetic and Medical Instruments from Călugăreni / Mikháza	45
Zsolt-Szabolcs NAGY – Szilamér-Péter PÁNCZÉL Roman Arrows from Călugăreni / Mikháza: A Typological Approach	57
Florian Matei-Popescu – Szilamér-Péter Pánczél Ready to Be Recycled? A Fragment of a Military Diploma from Călugăreni / Mikháza (Dacia Superior)	95
Bernadett Kovács Notes on the Historiography of <i>terra sigillata</i> Research in Roman Dacia	101
Katalin Sidó – Szilamér-Péter Pánczél New Evidence Concerning the <i>Ala Illyricorum</i> from Brâncovenești / Marosvécs	125
Bálint Kerényi The Use of the Russian Term "Ugor" in Hungarian Archeology	137
Áldor Csaba BALÁZS A Late Medieval Battle Knife Discovered in Mureş County	149
Anamaria Alexandra Marchiş Conflict and Violence in the Middle Ages – Revisionist Perspectives on Historiography in the Last Decade	161
Abbreviations	171

THE USE OF THE RUSSIAN TERM "UGOR" IN HUNGARIAN ARCHEOLOGY

Bálint KERÉNYI*

In Hungarian archeological literature the Russian term 'Ugor' can be translated to sign the population of the Ugric language unity – which in Hungarian linguistics is said to be lasted from the 2000 BC until 1000–500 BC –, or it can sign directly the ancestors of the Hungarians. Although if one reads carefully the archeological studies it is clear that in Russian the term "Ugor" is also used to sign the Ugric-speaking populations around the Ural mountain and Western Siberia in the first centuries AD, and also the term 'Ugor' can be used equivalently as 'Ogur', as in Russian archeology it is a wide spread theory that the European Huns and Oguric (f. e. Ogur, Onogur, Saragur, Kutrigur) people were formed east of the Ural by the unity of the local Ugoric and the settling Xiongnu population. Also the term 'Ugor' in Russian is the original designation of the Hungarians and it has a strong relation with the territory name Jugria and the Ob-Ugric people. From the term 'Ugor' was partly created the scientific designation of the so called 'Finno-Ugric' language-family as well. The original form seems to be 'Ogur' as the Byzantine sources testify.

Keywords: Ugric language unity, Ugors and Ogurs, Hungarian prehistory, terminology

THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE USE OF THE TERM "UGOR"

In his dissertation of the year 2011,1 Attila Türk stated that the archeological material of the conquering Hungarians cannot be connected to the Saltovo-Mayak culture, which is the heritage of an Alanian population around the river Seversky Donets, dated from the middle of the 8th century to the end of the 10th century.² With this statement Türk refuted the theory of István Fodor, who thought that the nomad Hungarians settled in the region of the river Don (the supposed area of Levédia) around the middle of the 8th century and, after spending about a hundred years there, moved westward.3 Also Türk states, there is no any archeological traces of an Uralian population moving to the territory of the Khazar Khaganate between the 6th and 8th centuries. 4 This

theory is represented mainly by turcologists, who on the basis of the quantity, the chronology and biogeographic aspects of the Turkic – and partly the Alanian - elements of the Hungarian language assumed that the Hungarians had to live for a longer period in the southern area of the East European steppe.⁵ Ultimately Türk refuses the possibility that the ancestors of the Hungarians could live in the southern steppe zone from the 5th to the 8th centuries, saying that in the Don-Kuban area 'the Eastern European archeological research did not reveal any traces of Onogurs, nor of any population (Hungarian?) that moved there from the Volga-Ural region... the majority of the designated area is uninhabited, and we currently do not know of any archaeological remains from there at all. On the other hand, the number of burials known from the settled areas do not exceed 120 even today, despite the research

^{*} University of Szeged, malevil7@gmail.com

¹ Türk 2011.

² Türk 2011, 48.

³ Fodor 1975, 171–186.

⁴ Türk 2014, 19–29.

⁵ Ligeti 1986, 160–161.; Zimonyi 2014, 85–91.

that can be said to be very intensive by means of Eastern European standards.'6 Türks states that the archeological material of the 9th century Hungarians shows more similarities to the Ural region from where they left in the first half of the 9th century and reached directly to the Dnieper region, where the so called Subotcy-layer can be connected to them.

However, in Türks' dissertation there is a number of citations to Russian archeologists who write about the presence of an Ugric/ Ugoric population in the Volga- and stepperegion in the second half of the first millennium. He mentions R. S. Orlov, who 'in his study of the Sivašovka-culture distinguished two main types of horse burials: partial and full horse burials. Although he connected the Sivašovka-culture with the ancestors of the Bulgars, he believed that in the 6th and 7th centuries, apart from the Bulgars, the Avars and the Ugors formed a single cultural community north of the Black Sea, of which this burial custom was an integral part.'7 According to Türk O. M. Prihodnuk suggests that 'the [...] tombs excavated at the Kordon-Oba site of the Khazar period in the Crimea may possibly indicate the settlement of a people of Finno-Ugric origin, given the large number of this type of tombs in the Volga-Kama region.'8 In the opinion of E. P. Kazakov '... the western orientation of the horse skull in the partial horse burials observed in the early medieval cemeteries of the Volga-Kama region would indicate an 'Ugric' origin, while the placement of the horse skull in a right angle to the human skeleton would be the legacy of the 'Bulgar-Turkic' peoples of the Don or Middle Volga'9 On the page 200 we can read that one of the main issues of the conference held in Ufa in 1969, which dealt with the ethnogenesis of the Bashkirs, was the question of the identification of the ancestors of the Ugor people. The majority of the researchers judged differently in regard of the possibility to separate them in the archeological material. N. A. Mažitov defined the Bahmutino culture as Ugor. Türk signs here that under Ugor we should understand Hungarian. Also on the same page we can read that E. G Matveeva defined the Kusnarenkovo and Karaakupovo cultures as the heritage of the Ugor people. Later in Hungarian archeology the Kusnarenkovo and Karaakupovo culture were defined as Hungarian.

From the citations above it seems that the term Ugor used in Russian archeology is the equivalent of the term Hungarian/Magyar used in Hungarian archeology. But the case is not that simple. In the series titled Magyar őstörténet/Hungarian prehistory the description of the Kusnarenkovo culture informs us that the culture west from the Ural is dated between the 6th and 8th centuries AD and is mostly connected to the population of the Ugric language unity or directly to the Hungarians.11 In Hungarian linguistic research it is basically a fact, that the branch of the Ugric language separated from the Finno-Ugric language unity around 2000 BC and lasted till c. 500 BC.12 From this Ugric language developed the ancient Hungarian and the ancient Ob-Ugric languages. Therefore, the first part of the definition given in the book from a linguistic point of view would be impossible. Our suspicion is strengthened by how Türk shortly describes in his dissertation the theory of M. I. Artamonov concerning the changes of the ethnic environment of the European steppe from the 4th century. '...this [Khazar] population was mainly descended from Sarmatian-Alan elements of the Black Sea steppes, who mixed with Finno-Ugric and Turkic tribes who had arrived from Asia with the Hun conquests. The Bulgarian-Khazar tribes born from this mixture

⁶ TÜRK 2021, 163–212, 191–192. In the text Türk refers to the author says the contrary: 'Despite the importance of the region, the archeological research on the issue is scarce. Fewer than 120 grave complexes and archaeological sites are known from the region and period under study, either as solitary burials or as part of communities with 2–4 graves. These circumstances impose serious limitations on interpretation.' GULYÁS 2021, 64–74.

⁷ Türk 2011, 92.

⁸ Türk 2011, 171.

 $^{^9}$ TÜRK 2011, 178–179. In this sense they seem to be different variants of a common burial tradition. Says Kazakov as well.

¹⁰ Türk 2011, 200.

¹¹ Magyar őstörténet 1, 38.

¹² BEVEZETÉS 1/2 1984, 5. Zsirai saw it possible that the separation occurred later, around the 5th century AD. See. ZSIRAI 1937, 150.

spoke Turkic languages.'13 We can clearly read here that in Artamonov's view a population with Finno-Ugric and Turkic elements/tribes arrived to the steppe with the Hun conquest of East-Europe. Accepting the above mentioned statement of the Hungarian linguistics, in regard of the Finno-Ugric elements of the Hun migration we should think of the Ob-Ugrians or of the Hungarians. This conclusion corresponds perfectly to the wide spread theory in Hungarian linguistics and archeology, according to which the ancient homeland of the Ugric-speaking population and later of the archaic Hungarianspeaking population was east of the Ural mountain and in Western Siberia.14 Türk Attila does not refer to M. I. Artamonov when he refutes the archeological relation between the Hungarian and the Saltovo Mayak culture, although it was Artamonov who stated this first.15

In the bilingual book of Oleksiy Komar we can read more about Artamonov's view about the origin of the Huns and Ogurs arriving to Europe in the second half of the 5th century.16 In his 1962 work The History of the Khazars, M. I. Artamonov represented the view concerning the origin of the Hungarians that the Ugric tribes appeared on the steppe in the Hun period as the tribes called Ogurs in Greek sources (Onogurs, Saragurs, Kutrigurs, Utigurs), and were in fact identical to them.¹⁷ Artamonov assumed, in agreement with Gumilev, that the European Huns had their origins in the unity of the Uralic and Western Siberian Ugors and the Xiongnus, who had settled there from the east.¹⁸ V. S. Aksyonov, following Artamonov's line of thought on the origin of the Ogur tribes, considered the horse bones placed at the feet as a distinct ethnic marker of the 'Turkic-Ugor' Utigurs, i.e. Ogurs, in burials, an observation which he later supplemented by saying that the

graves with a bench formed at the head or foot is also a legacy of the Ogur peoples, stressing that the burial customs of the two peoples (i.e. the settling Xiongnu and the Uralic Ugors) developed over centuries of coexistence. V. A. Sarapulkin, following Aksyonov, also considered the placement of the skull and limbs at the feet of the dead to be a Turkic [Hun]-Ugrian characteristic, and therefore linked the appearance of this burial custom in the cemetery of Rzhevka to a group of Hungarians from the Volga region.¹⁹ Komar himself considers the burial custom of the 9th century Hungarians to be of Oguric origin.20 Thus, one of the main representatives of the thesis of the identity between the Oguric and the Ugric peoples in Russian research was Artamonov in the second half of the 20th century, in the 1960s, whose opinion was accepted by many researchers until today. 'The existence (and even dominance!) of the 'Ugrian' population in the unity of the Huns, Bulgars and other nomadic peoples of Eastern Europe was accepted by many historians and archaeologists after M. I. Artamonov and was presented as indisputable information in subsequent works.²¹

Komar states that Artamonov, talking about the Ugor origin of the Ogurs, didn't talk about the origin of the Hungarians, and states that 'this very decisive hypothesis was based simply on the assumption of D. Europaeus, according to which the 'Ogur' population is identical with the 'Ugor' ethnic name. The second argument, which also attracted more attention was the Russian Primary Chronicle [Pověstĭ vremenĭnyxŭ lětů], which mentions 'white Ugors,' who on the side of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius [610-641] fought against the Sasanid king [of kings] II. Khosrow.' As for the first statement of Komar, in the Hungarian summary of Artamonov's book we can read that the author connects the Russian name of the Hungarians, 'Vengri', not with the name of the Onogurs, but with the name 'Ugor', which name was known around the Lower-Volga and Ural region in the form of 'Ogur' and 'Ogor' as the common name of

¹³ TÜRK 2011, 32–33. Artamonov in regard of the language of the "Ugoric" people talks about a strong Turkic influence.

¹⁴ Hajdú 1964, 128–132; Fodor 1975, 87–171.

¹⁵ Erdélyi et al. 1965. 85–90.

¹⁶ Komar 2018, 56.

¹⁷ Komar 2018, 76–78; Bartha 1964, 807–810; Erdélyi et al. 1965, 85–90.

 $^{^{\}rm 18}$ See also Zaseckaja–Bokovenko 1994, 701–724. See the map on p. 721.

¹⁹ Komar 2018, 66.

²⁰ Komar 2018, 89.

²¹ Komar 2018, 76.

related tribes.²² In both cases, even if we connect the name of the Hungarians to the Onogurs or to the Ogurs, we reach to Artamonov's hypotheses, according to which 'the Xiongnus from Asia settled in the region of the South-Ural and the lake Aral, where they mixed/united with the Ugors, based on the opinion of L. Gumiljov, among whom the Sarmatian material culture was spread. They [the Xiongnus] kept their Turkcic language, moreover it spread among the Ugors (the opinion of B. Serebnikov).²³

On the origin of the Huns, Sabirs, Onogurs and other Oguric tribes, Artamonov repeats the same view: The Onogurs are Turkicized Ugors, ethnically didn't differ much of the Huns. The Bulgars are of Ugoric origin, who joined to the Huns in Western Siberia.²⁴ The Khazars were the kin of the Bulgars, Ugors, about whose language the Muslim sources state that it is the same of the Bulgars.²⁵ If we compare Artamonov's thesis with what we know about the theory/theories of the Western Siberian homeland and origin of the Hungarians, we can see the direct relation.²⁶ Anyway, from what we read above it is clear that in Russian reasearch the term Ugor is used to designate the Oguric tribes, and from this point of view the differences between the archeological steppe heritage of the Bulgars and the Ogurs is secondary, since they were variants of the same nomadic tradition and can be explained in a way that an ethnically and culturally related population lived in or under different tribal federations. As for the second statement of Komar, saying that Artamonov's opinion was based only on two written sources, we have to see the book itself and its citations to realise, even if we do not read in Russian, that Artamonov used much more materials to present his argumentation.²⁷ Also it would be inexplicable, how this theory could spread in Russian archeology and exist till today, if it wouldn't be grounded properly. For this I have to refer to the article of Zaseckaja and Bokovenko again,²⁸ in which the authors to prove the settlement of the Northern–Xiongnus in the Ural region and their identity with the European Huns, mention not only the development and spread of the bronze cauldrons but other archeologic material as well.²⁹

THE (J)UGRIA-THEORY

To see the basic relation between the terms 'Finno-Ugric' and 'Ugric' in linguistics and 'Ugor' in Russian archeology we have to summarise shortly the research-history of the theory which links both the Ob-Ugric and Hungarian people to the territory of Jugria in Russian sources. In István Vásáry's article we can read that the Jugria-theory was born in Russian soil in the 15th century, according to which the Hungarians came out from Jugria, what was their ancient habitat.30 Vásáry states that the reason of connecting the Hungarians to the territory of the Ob-Ugric peoples was that the Russian name of the Hungarians was originally 'Ugry' in plural and 'Ugorsky' as an adjective,31 which is very close to the Russian name of the Ob-Ugric people 'Yugry', 'Yugrici', from which name comes also the name of the territory where these people live: Jugria. Miklós Zsirai in his book in 1930 stated that the form 'Ugra' is the original and the form 'Jugra' developed in the Russian language with preiotaition. Also the last vowel -a is common is Russian names of territories.³² Vásáry says that based on the spread of the different forms in the sources we could see, that the original 'Ugry' was used to sign the Hungarians, while the same original 'Yugry' form was used to sign the people living around the Ural, and because of the similarity the Russians connected the two peoples, although between the two forms there is no etymological relation.

²² ERDÉLYI ET AL. 1965, 85–90. As we can see below, the original Russian name to designate the Hungarians was not 'Vengry'.

²³ Erdélyi et al. 1965, 85–90.

²⁴ About the origin of the Bulgars and their relation to the Huns and Ogurs, see Kerényi 2021, 295–306.

²⁵ They state that it is nor Turkic nor Persian (Iranian).

²⁶ Kerényi 2023, 5–20.

²⁷ Artamonov 1962.

²⁸ Zaseckaja-Bokovenko 1994, 701-724.

²⁹ See also Masek 2017, 75–136.

³⁰ VÁSÁRY 2008, 73-87; VÁSÁRY 1982, 247-257.

³¹ The modern name of the Hungarians in Russian – from the 17th century – ('Vengry', 'Vengersky') comes from Polish.

³² Zsirai 1930, 100–122.

According to Vásáry in Hungarian research it was Zoltán Gombocz who suggested that the ancient homeland of the Hungarians could be in Western Siberia, which region was called Jugra, and in this region lived once the Onogurs with whom the Hungarians moved to Europe around 463.33 Therefore it was stated that both the name of the Ob-Ugric Yugors and the name of the Hungarians 'Onogur', or in Russian, 'Ugor', goes back to the same name: Onogur or Ogur.³⁴ From the 18th century onwards in linguistic research the Russian name Ugor starts to designate the eastern part of the Finno-Ugric languages, the so called Ugric language unity. The similarity of the languages between the two peoples was noticed already in the middle ages, which similarity was proved to be a genetic relation by modern linguistic research.35 This means that the Ob-Ugric peoples had a name 'Jugor', while the Hungarians had 'Ugor', they lived around the same area called Jugra and they spoke the same language. Vásáry accepts, that linguistically the etymological relation is correct, he himself tries to prove that it cannot be accepted on a historical basis.36

Based on the theory mentioned above nor the Onogurs, nor the Hungarians lived in Western Siberia any more afterwards the 5th century and the name Jugria appears in Russian sources from the 10th century. How it would be possible, asks Vásáry, that the Russians could make a connection between the Hungarians and the Ob-Ugrians, if there is a fourhundred-years-long gap between the leaving of the former and the arrival of the latter to the same territory? The Volga Bulgars could meet the name Jugra from the 8th century, the Russians from the 10th. From whom the Bulgars and Russians could take this name, if the Onogurs and Hungarians already left from the region in the 5th century and the Ob-Ugrians didn't use this name as a self designation? Vásáry also refers to newer results

according to which the Onogurs never lived in Western Siberia; they moved to Europe from the direction of the southern area of the Khazak steppe, therefore it is uncertain that the Jugra name can be linked to them.³⁷

An other argument in Vásáry's article is that, if the Bulgars themselves were of Oguric origin, they should have recognized their old, but presumably not yet forgotten name; but for this we have no any information and in the muslim sources from the 10th century they distinguish the territories based on the names of the people: Bulgar, Yura, Maggari. 'We could see that the origination of the name Jugra from the ethnic name Onogur cannot be demonstrated nor lingiustucally, nor historically. We can say the same about an older explanation by Bernát Munkácsi which was based on the name Ogur/Ugur.'38 Vásáry says, that the explanation of Zsirai doesn't take into account the Jura form in Muslim sources. The name comes from the Volga Bolgars and already has the preiotation. Therefore, the Jugra form is also original and cannot be connected to the Onogur or Ogur names. Although Zsirai in his book mentioned the solution of Munkácsi who could prove that the preiotation and the denasalization could happen in the language of the Bulgars as well.³⁹ Linguistically both the (J)ugra-Onogur, both the (J)ugra-Ogur solution can be accepted. In the followings Vásáry tries to prove that the name Jugra comes from the name of an Uigur tribe of the Kimeks who could settle on the west from the 840s and in the 10th century the Kimeks had a tribe called Yugur.40

As for the historical arguments of Vásáry's article I would like to note the followings. If the Onogurs and Ogurs moved from Western Siberia in the middle of the 5th century and the Hungarians were part of this migration, it can be suggested rightly, that parts of the Hungarians stayed in the ancient home, as this kind of separation is a common feature in the wandering of nomadic people. We can see this in the

³³ In reality it was not Gombocz, who suggested this first, but Antal Reguly 1864, 325–349, and József Thúry 1896, 677–692, 778–803, 880–917. See also Munkácsi 1894, 160–180.

³⁴ Munkácsi 1895, 349–387.

³⁵ Zimonyi 2014, 34–43.

³⁶ Vásáry 2008, 80–81.

³⁷ Vásáry 2008, 81–82.

³⁸ Vásáry 2008, 82.

³⁹ Zsirai 1930, 107–108.

⁴⁰ Zimonyi 2014, 42; Róna-Tas 1996, 34–35; Róna-Tas 1999a, 1–17.

case of the later Hungarians in Magna Hungaria and in the case of the Pechenegs as well.⁴¹ Also I have to mention that in linguistic research it was represented as well, that the separation of the Ugric language unity didn't occur in the 5th century BC, but in the 5th century AD,42 which would mean, that the Ob-Ugric people are those Hungarians who stayed in the original Western Siberian homeland from the 5th century onwards, keeping their territories east of the Ural, maybe even reaching to the western side of it, and later moving northwards following the river Ob. Also, if some of the Russian archeologists are correct in defining the ethnic origin of the Ust-Poluy culture as ancient Ob-Ugric,43 we can assume as well, that these Ugric people moved northward already from the 2nd century BC. In this case the separation between the later Hungarians and Ob-Ugrians happened around the same time, and later in the 5th century the Hungarians moved westward from Western Siberia.44 These people could be called Ogurs/ Ugors by their neighbors as it was the name of that tribal federation to which they belonged when the separation occurred and this can be the reason why in Russian the name of the Hungarians originally derives from the name of the Ogurs. To say that the Onogurs and Ogurs didn't live in Western Siberia, is based only on a note of a source, 45 according to which the Onogurs once - before arriving to Europe - had a city called Bakath, which name, based on its ending (-kath) is of Sogdian origin, therefore shows to the southern area of Middle Asia.⁴⁶

I already dealt with this question in a former article,⁴⁷ saying '... if the Onogurs took control of the southern parts of the Kazakh steppe up to Transoxania after the Huns left, does not

mean that they could not live north of the Huns before, as it is confirmed by several sources. The fact that the Onogurs ruled a city with a name of Sogdian origin on the Kazakh steppe for a hundred years (apparently where they traded with the Iranians/Sogdians) does not mean that the homeland of the population, from where it extended its power to the Southern Kazakh steppe, was not originally east of the Urals.' Also I added that in the sources it is only the Onogurs who are named to had Bakath once, not all the Oguric tribes (Saragur, Ogur, Kutrigur etc.). Later in the same article I cited different authors to demonstrate that we can really count with the early (1.–2. centuries AD) settlement of eastern nomads in the Ural region and Western Siberia, which territory is held as the ancient homeland of the Ugric- and Hungarian-speaking people. Therefore, we can count with a population, linguistically and ethnically kin of the Hungarians, living east of the Urals from the 5th century till the 9th-10th centuries, who could have the Ogur designation, which explains the chronologic gap Vásáry indicated. If we add, that the relation between the name Jugor and Ugor was already explained linguistically reassuringly, then we can confirm, that the Russian names of the Ob-Ugrians (Jugra) and Hungarians (Ugor) are etimologically and historically related and can be derived from the one and same name 'Ogur', as Artamonov described it in his well know book as well.48

THE USE OF THE TERM 'OGUR' IN HUNGARIAN ARCHEOLOGY

Very shortly we could say that in Hungarian archeological research concerning early Hungarian history/steppe history the term 'Ogur' is not in use. The reason for this, from one side, is based on the identification of the Bulgars and the Ogurs; in Hungarian steppe history Bulgar is held to be a common name for all the Oguric tribes/federations existing in the Eastern European steppe from the 5th to the 10th centuries.⁴⁹

 $^{^{41}}$ About whose behindhand people among the Kumans writes the DAI.

⁴² Zsirai 1937, 150.

⁴³ Róna-Tas 1979, 46–54; Chernetsov–Moszynska 1974, 113–137.

⁴⁴ This means that historically the separation could occur between the 2nd century BC and 5th century AD, and there should be a very clear linguistic demonstration to say: it could have happened only between 1000 BC and 500 BC.

⁴⁵ VILÁGTÖRTÉNELEM 2012, 250.

⁴⁶ Czeglédy 1976, 82–89.

⁴⁷ Kerényi 2023, 5–20.

⁴⁸ Erdélyi et al. 1965, 85–90.

 $^{^{\}rm 49}$ Vásáry 1993, 72; Róna-Tas 1999b, 215; Zimonyi 2005, 181–196.

Fodor only writes about the archeological relations between the (Volga) Bulgars and the Hungarians, but does not talk about the archeological heritage of the Ogurs and Onogurs.⁵⁰

It was Csanád Bálint who related the custom of the Hungarian partial horse burial to the Onogurs in an early article,51 but it is known how he changed his view concerning the possibility of research of the eastern elements in the Hungarian archeological material.⁵² Despite the publication of Artamonov's monograph in 1962, which was followed at least by two Hungarian reviews,53 Fodor in 1975 did not count with the settlement of early Turkic (Xiongnu or Ogur) population in Western Siberia, nor with any early Hungarian-Turkic culture-effect, saying that it was a dogmatic view of the 'old' Hungarian research.⁵⁴ Although later, in his article of 1980 Fodor mentioned this possibility by referring to Russian researchers who represents this view. He admits that the possibility of an early Hungarian-Turkic contact in Western Siberia could be assumed on the basis of linguistic, historical and arcehological evidences,55 but in his conclusion he kept his former interpretation, saying that the Bulgar-Turkic people moved northward along the Volga from the middle of the 8th century and this period was the beginning of the Hungarian-Turkic contacts.56

This chronology would be strengthened by the observation that the similarities between the Volga Bulgar and the Hungarian archeological material are the most developed/represented in the later cemeteries, which would mean that the coexistence between the two population did not begin earlier than the 8th century. Therefore, saying Fodor, the narrative of the Onogur-Hungarian wandering from Western-Siberia in the 5th century cannot be accepted. As I mentioned above, in Hungarian archeology the Russian term 'Ugor' – which comes from and means 'Ogur' – is not interpreted correctly, therefore it

can mean a kind of '(Finno)Ugric' population around the Ural or directly the ancestors of the Hungarians, but it is not linked to the Oguric tribes and people (to which it originally refers to).

In a former article I already pointed out that historically we should not identify the Bulgaric and Oguric tribes - even if they could have the same Western Siberian base-population -, since the tribal name Bulgar originally refers to the Huns who returned back north of the Black Sea after Attila's death and possibly united with the local Gothic population, at least with those who didn't move westward after the fall of the Hunnic empire.⁵⁷ Probably it was the original Hunnic federation to which the Kuturgurs/ Kutrigurs and Utigurs belonged as well, as it can be read out from their myth of origin.58 These Hun-Bulgars played an important role on the western side of the European steppe and on the Balkan Peninsula and cannot be confused with those Oguric tribes (Ogurs, Onogurs, Saragurs) which settled on the eastern part of the European steppe, east of the river Don in the 460s. These Ogurs and Onogurs still lived around the rivers Don, Kuban and Volga when the Avars and Gök-Türks arrived to Europe and later they became the vassals of the Gök-Türks until the middle of the 7th century.⁵⁹ After the rebels and the fall of the Western Gök-Türk empire two nomadic states emerged on the European steppe; Magna Bulgaria, a federation of Bulgars, Onogurs and Kuturgurs north of the Black sea and in the Kuban region founded by Kovrat, and Khazaria, south of the Volga, along the Caspian sea till the eastern region of the Caucasus, in the area of Daghestan. The Khazars can be identified with the Sabirs, who could have western Turk elements with them. From their west, on the northern foothills of the Caucasus mountain resided the Alans.

Oguric tribes lived also more on the north, following there the rivers crossed the steppe, especially the Don and the Volga.⁶⁰ Taking into account the descriptions of the written sources a

⁵⁰ Fodor 1977, 79–194;

⁵¹ BÁLINT 1971, 85–108.

⁵² Bálint 1996, 937–947.

⁵³ Bartha, 1964, 807–810; Erdélyi et al. 1965, 85–90.

⁵⁴ Fodor 1975, 91, 103–113.

⁵⁵ Fodor 1980, 9–33.

⁵⁶ Fodor 1980, 9–33.

⁵⁷ Kerényi 2021, 295–306.

⁵⁸ Kerényi 2021, 295–306. cit. 37.

⁵⁹ Menander Frag. 10. 4. (ed. 1985. 125.)

⁶⁰ Gulyás 2021, 64–74.

main settlement area of the Ogurs and Onogurs was the Middle and Lower Volga region, which connected the northern Volga and Kama territories with the Azov sea area, which could be the main route of the fur trade, of which the Onogurs were always famous.⁶¹ Both Symocatta and Menandros mention Ogurs living along the Volga. These Oguric tribes fell under Gök-Türkic rule for more than a half century and later possibly came under Khazar influence, as well as the southern Bulgar territories along the Black sea in the second half of the 7th century. From these Bulgars seceded Asparuch in the 670s and founded the Bulgarian Kingdom. At this time Bulgaric and Oguric people could live also in the Avar/Uarhun Khaganate. It were the Ogurs/Ogors living along the Volga to whose name Artamonov referred originating the Russian name of the Hungarians, 'Ugor', which name indicated the original habitat of these people in the Ural area and in Western Siberia called Jugria as well.62

From an archeological aspect I would mention, that István Fodor dated and localized the development of the use of the burial masks among the people of the Kama and Ural region from the 6th to the 10th century, saying that the development of the custom is of (Finno-)Ugric origin.63 Apart from the question, whether the custom is of local, or of steppe origin, as it is assumed by others,64 it seems to be a fact, that from around the 6th century the Hungarians had a secondary contact with their northern Permian and Ob-Oguric neighbors. This can explain the secondary common features between the Permian and Hungarian languages from one side,65 from the other with this observation we can outline the historical background of the origin of the common name of the Ob-Ogur and Hungarian people - Ogur - between the 6th and 9th centuries. From the Volga and Kama region following the rivers through the Ural mountain the Ogur tribes of the steppe could reach the Ob-Ogur people on the other side of the mountain, which can explain the spread of the burial masks. Being historically related and being in contact around the Ural, it is reasonable to assume that they could bear a common name which became also the name of their wider territory as (J)ugria. This gives the answer to Vásáry's 'scepticism' concerning the historical background of the common name Ugor/Ogur to designate both the Ob-Oguric and Onoguric/Hungarian people.

⁶¹ Getica ed. 2014. V. 37-38.

⁶² Erdélyi et al. 1965, 85–90.

⁶³ Fodor 1973, 159–176.

⁶⁴ Benkő 1988, 169–200; Benkő 1992, 106–108; Benkő 1989, 20–26; Erdélyi–Benkő 2005, 5–18.

⁶⁵ LIGETI 1986, 144–145. Although it can be suggested also, that if the Hungarians lived east of the Ural, then they could be in relation with the Permians living on the western side.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARTAMONOV 1962

M. I. Artamonov, *Isztorija hazar* (Leningrad 1962)

BARTHA 1964

A. Bartha, M. I. Artamonov: Isztorija hazar=A kazárok története. Leningrád, 1962, *Századok* 98/4, 1964, 807–810.

Bálint 1971

Cs. Bálint, A honfoglaláskori lovastemetkezések, *MFMÉ* 1971/2, 85–108.

Bálint 1996

Cs. Bálint, A kora középkori kelet-európai steppe régészete és a 9–10. századi magyarok, *Magyar Tudomány* 8, 1996, 937–947.

Benkő 1989

M. Benkő, A manvelovkai ezüstmaszkos lovassírról – halotti maszkokról, *Keletkutatás* 1989 (ősz), 20–26.

Benkő 1988

M. Benkő, Halotti maszk és sírobolus. A honfoglaló magyarok halotti álarcának eredetéről, *Antik Tanulmányok* 33, 1987-88, 169–200.

Benkő 1992

M. Benkő, A halotti arctakaró történetéhez, Antik Tanulmányok 36, 1992, 106–108.

BEVEZETÉS 1/2 1984

P. Hajdú – Gy. Kristó – A. Róna-Tas (Szerk.), Bevezetés a magyar őstörténet kutatásának forrásaiba 1/2, 1984.

Chernetsov 1974

V. N. Chernetsov - W. Moszynska, Prehistory of Western Siberia (Montreal-London 1974).

Czeglédy 1976

K. Czeglédy, Etimológia és filológia (Bolgár-török jövevényszavaink átvételének történeti hátteréről), in: L. Benkő – É. K. Sal (Szerk.), *Az etimológia elmélete és módszere*, Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 89 (Budapest 1976), 82–89.

Erdélyi-Benkő 2005

I. Erdélyi – M. Benkő, A szárgátkai kultúra és a hunok, *Eleink* 4, 2005/2, 5–18.

Erdélyi et al. 1965

I. Erdélyi – Z. Kádár – E. Ojtozi, A kazárok történetének első összefoglalása. Ismertetés: Артамонов М. И., История Хазар, *ArchÉrt* 92/1, 1965, 85–90.

FODOR 1973

I. Fodor, Honfoglalás kori régészetünk néhány őstörténeti vonatkozásáról, *FolArch* 24, 1973, 159–176.

FODOR 1975

I. Fodor, Verecke híres útján... A magyar nép őstörténete és a honfoglalás (Budapest 1975).

FODOR 1977

I. Fodor, Bolgár-török jövevényszavaink és a régészet, in: A. Bartha – K. Czeglédy – A. Róna-Tas (Szerk.), *Magyar őstörténeti tanulmányok* (Budapest 1977), 79–115.

FODOR 1980

I. Fodor, A magyar-bolgár-török kapcsolatok történeti hátteréről, in: I. Dankó (Szerk.), *Bolgár tanulmányok* III, A Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei 37 (Debrecen 1980).

GETICA ed. 2014

Iordanes, Getica. A gótok eredete és tettei, Közreadja: Kiss Magdolna (Budapest 2004).

Gulyás 2021

B. Gulyás, Kelet-Európa a hun kor utáni időszakban (5–7. század), *Magyar Tudomány* 182, 2021, 64–74.

Haidú 1964

P. Hajdú, Hol volt az uráli őshaza? in: L. Benkő (Szerk.), *Tanulmányok a magyar nyelv életrajza köréből*, Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 40 (Budapest 1964), 128–132.

Kerényi 2021

B. Kerényi, Huns and Bulgars, ActaAntHung 61/3, 2021, 295–306.

Kerényi 2023

B. Kerényi, Nyugat-Szibéria mint magyar őshaza, Keletkutatás 2023 (ősz), 5–20.

Komar 2018

O. Komar: *A korai magyarság vándorlásának történeti és régészeti emlékei / Isztorija i arheologija drevnyih magyjar v epohu migracii*, Magyar Őstörténeti Témacsoport Kiadványok 5 (Budapest 2018).

LIGETI 1986

L. Ligeti, A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban (Budapest 1986).

Magyar őstörténet 1

B. Sudár – Zs. Petkes (Szerk.), *Magyar őstörténet 1. A honfoglalók viselete*, MTA-BTK Magyar Őstörténeti Témacsoport (Budapest 2014).

MASEK 2017

Zs. Masek, A fresh look at Hunnic cauldrons in the light of a new find from Hungary, *ActaArchHung* 68, 2017, 75–136.

Menander ed. 1985

The History of Menander the Guardsman, Transl. By R. C. Blockley (Liverpool 1985).

Munkácsi 1894

B. Munkácsi, Az ugorok legrégibb történeti emlékezete, *Ethnographia* 5, 1894, 160–180.

Munkácsi 1895

B. Munkácsi, Az "ugor" népnevezet eredete, Ethnographia 6, 1895, 349–387.

Róna-Tas 1979

A. Róna-Tas, *A magyarság őstörténete*, Manuscript. (Budapest 1979).

Róna-Tas 1996

A. Róna-Tas, A honfoglaló magyar nép (Budapest 1996).

Róna-Tas 1999a

A. Róna-Tas, Honfoglalás és népalakulás a középkori Eurázsiában: Kitajok, avarok, magyarok, in: *Székfoglalók a Magyar Tudományos Akadémián: 1995–1998*, Budapest, 1–17.

Róna-Tas 1999b

A. Róna-Tas, Hungarians and Europe in the early Middle Ages. An Introduction to early Hungarian History (Budapest 1999).

REGULY 1864

Reguly Antal hagyományai. I. A' vogul föld és nép. Reguly Antal hagyományaiból kidolgozta Hunfalvy Pál (Pest 1864).

Thúry 1896

J. Thúry, A magyarok eredete, őshazája és vándorlása, *Századok* 30, 1896, 677–692, 778–803, 880–917.

Türk 2011

A. Türk, *A magyar őstörténet és a szaltovói régészeti kultúrkör*. Doctoral Dissertation. (Szeged 2011).

Türk 2014

A. Türk, A korai magyar történelem régészeti kutatása napjainkban (Perspektívák és teendők), in: B. Sudár – J. Szentpéteri – Zs. Petkes – G. Lezsák – Zs. Zsidai (Szerk.), *Magyar őstörténet. Tudomány és hagyományőrzés*, MTA BTK (Budapest 2014), 19–29.

Türk 2021

A. Türk, A korai magyar történelem régészeti kutatásainak aktuális eredményei és azok lehetséges nyelvészeti vonatkozásai, in: L. Klima – A. Türk (Szerk.), *Párhuzamos történetek* (Budapest 2021), 163–212.

Vásáry 1982

I. Vásáry: The "Yugria" problem, in: A. Róna-Tas (Ed.), *Chuvas Studies* (Budapest 1982), 247–257.

Vásáry 1993

I. Vásáry, A régi Belső-Ázsia története (Szeged 1993).

Vásáry 2008

I. Vásáry, A Jugria-kérdés: "Ceterum censeo Iugriam esse delendam", in: I. Vásáry, *Magyar őshazák és magyar őstörténészek*, Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár 24 (Budapest 2008).

VILÁGTÖRTÉNELEM 2012

Theophülaktosz Szimokattész, *Világtörténelem*, Ford. Olajos Teréz, Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár 26 (Budapest 2012).

ZIMONYI 2005

I. Zimonyi, *Muszlim források a honfoglalás előtti magyarokról. A Gayhani-hagyomány magyar fejezete*, Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár 22 (Budapest 2005).

ZIMONYI 2014

I. Zimonyi, *A magyarság korai történetének sarokpontjai. Elméletek az újabb irodalom tükrében* (Budapest 2014).

Zaseckaja-Bokovenko 1994

I. P. Zaseckaja – N. A. Bokovenko, The Origin of Hunnish Cauldrons in East-Europe, in: B. Genito (Ed.), *The Archaeology of the Steppes. Methods and Strategies* (Napoli 1994), 701–724.

ZSIRAI 1930

M. Zsirai, Jugria (Budapest 1930).

ZSIRAI 1937

M. Zsirai, Finnugor rokonságunk (Budapest 1937).

ABBREVIATIONS

Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
Acta ArchHung Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest

Acta Militaria Mediaevalia

ActaMNActa Musei Napocensis, Cluj-NapocaActaMPActa Musei Porolissensis, ZalăuActaPraehistAActa Praehistorica et Archaeologica

AnB Analele Banatului

Angustia Angustia. Muzeul Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe

Antiquity Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology Apulum Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia

Archért Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest

ArchKorr Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmu-

seum Mainz

ArhMold Arheologia Moldovei

Banatica, Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița

BAR (I.S./B.S.) British Archaeological Reports, International Series / British Series, Oxford

BayVgBl Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter

BerRGK Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission

BHAUT Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis

BMA Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis

BMusBrux Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles

CA Cercetări Arheologice

CommArchHung Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae, Budapest

Complutum Complutum. Publicaciones del Departamento de prehistoria de la Universi-

dad complutense de Madrid

Crisia. Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea

Dacia (N. S.) Dacia. Recherches et décuvertes archéologiques en Roumanie, I-XII

(1924-1948), București; Nouvelle série (N. S.): Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et

d'histoire ancienne, București

DissArch Dissertationes Archaelogicae ex Instituto Archaeologico Universitatis de

Rolando Eötvös Nominatae, Budapest

EphemNap Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca

EurAnt Eurasia Antiqua

FI File de Istorie. Muzeul de Istorie al Județului Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița

Folarch Folia Archaeologica, Budapest

Germania Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des

Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

HOMÉ A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve, Miskolc JAHA Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology

JAMÉ A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza

JASc Journal of Archaeological Science

JbRGZM Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz

JRA Journal of Roman Archaeology

JRomMilSt Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies

JRS The Journal of Roman Studies KuBA Kölner und Bonner Archaeologica

Marisia (V-), Studii și Materiale, Târgu Mureș

Marisia: Archaeologia, Historia, Patrimonium, Târgu Mureș

MCA Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, București
MFMÉ A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Szeged
Oltenia Oltenia Studii și comunicări. Istorie-Arheologie

OxfJA Oxford Journal of Archaeology
PBF Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Stuttgart
ProcPrehistSoc Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society

PZ Praehistorische Zeitschrift RA Revue archéologique

Rad Vojvođanskih muzeja (1994- Rad Muzeja Vojvodine)

Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta, Tongeren

RevBis Revista Bistriţei, Complexul Judeţean Muzeal Bistriţa-Năsăud

SaalbJb Saalburg-Jahrbuch. Bericht des Saalburg-Museums

Sargetia (S.N.) Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis, Deva

SCIV(A) Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie 1974–), București

SlovArchSlovenská Archeológia, BratislavaSMIMStudii şi Materiale de Istorie MedieStComBrukenthalStudii şi comunicări – Muzeul Brukenthal

SUBB-HistoriaStudia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, series Historia, Cluj-NapocaSzázadokSzázadok, A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Folyóírata, BudapestTibiscumTibiscum. Studii şi comunicări. Muzeul Județean CaransebeşTisicumA Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megyei Múzeumok Évkönyve

Tyragetia Tyragetia. The National Museum of History of Moldova, Chişinău *UPA* Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn

Ziridava (-2012 Studia Archaologica)

ZMúz Zalai Múzeum. Közlemények Zala Megye Múzeumaiból

ZPE Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

MARISIA. ARCHAEOLOGIA, HISTORIA, PATRIMONIUM

With a publishing tradition since 1965, in 2019 the annual of the Mureş County Museum initiated a new series entitled: *Marisia. Archaeologia, Historia, Patrimonium*. The publication provides a panel for new research results in archeology, architecture and material heritage of the history of arts and culture. The studies mainly focus on the inner Transylvanian region that encompasses also Mureş County. Beyond local valuable contributions, the annual aims at a regional and global concern that is relevant for the whole of Transylvania. Among the annual's missions is to provide mutual interpretation of the research results produced by the Romanian and Hungarian scientific workshops. Therefore, the annual articles are mainly in English but based on the field of research and the approached topic studies in German, Romanian or Hungarian are also accepted.

Cu o tradiție din anul 1965, anuarul Muzeului Județean Mureș s-a relansat în 2019 sub titlul *Marisia. Archaeologia, Historia, Patrimonium.* Această publicație se descrie ca o platformă științifică care cuprinde rezultatele cercetărilor în domenii precum: arheologia, arhitectura și patrimoniul material din zona istoriei artelor și a culturii, studii localizate în regiunea centrală a Transilvaniei, din care face parte județul Mureș. In extenso, anuarul își propune să ofere un spațiu unitar contribuțiilor științifice valoroase, relevante din perspectiva geografică a ceea ce înseamnă întreaga regiune a Transilvaniei. Una dintre misiunile publicației este aceea de a oferi tuturor celor interesați spațiul de schimb pentru cele mai noi rezultate din atelierele științifice românești și maghiare. Articolele anuarului sunt scrise în general în limba engleză, existând totodată articole scrise în germană, română și maghiară, în funcție de specificul domeniului și a temei abordate.

A Maros Megyei Múzeum 1965 óta megjelenő évkönyvének 2019-ben útjára bocsátott új sorozata, a *Marisia. Archaeologia, Historia, Patrimonium* elsősorban a mai Maros megyét is magába foglaló belső-erdélyi régió régészeti, épített és tárgyi örökségére, nemkülönben az ezekhez kapcsolódó művészettörténeti, művelődéstörténeti kérdésekre vonatkozó újabb kutatások tudományos fóruma. A lokális perspektíván túl igyekszik kitekinteni a regionális és univerzális összefüggésekre, így a tágan értelmezett Erdély területére nézve is közöl kiemelkedő értékkel bíró tanulmányokat. Küldetésének tekinti a hazai román és magyar tudományos műhelyekben született eredmények kölcsönös tolmácsolását. A dolgozatok nyelve főként az angol, de szakterülettől és témától függően német, román vagy magyar nyelven is közöl írásokat.