

Certain clans within many tribes would keep up their nomadic way of life, and would commute between winter and summer dwellings. It is almost certain that these interior migrations triggered power-related conflicts.

This situation had begun to deteriorate in the early 10th century. After 955, the lost battle of Lech, the collapse of the system of the tribal confederation accelerated, the tribes disintegrated and settled apart. To avoid significant changes endangering stability, the prince had to bank on the clans. Relying partly on the prince's military escort and partly on the leaders of the mighty clans, the ruling princes, Taksony and Géza (father of Saint Stephen), set out to reorganise the Magyars of the Carpathian Basin.

### 3. SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Following the year 628, the Bishop of Albania conferred with the Khazars several times. Describing one such occasion, an Armenian source enumerates the members of the Khazar delegation. The list proceeds from the highest in rank to the lowest. Accordingly, the source mentions sovereigns, princes, noblemen, military commanders and various clan patriarchs. It is very probable that this stratification reflected contemporary Persian conditions rather than the actual Khazar system; still, it gives some idea of the set-up of the Khazars' leading strata. The Turk texts differentiate between hereditary and bestowed peerage. Hungarian archaeological finds of the Conquest period reflect an economically highly stratified society. Economic status, however, did not in every case have a bearing on social standing.

If we isolate a relatively homogeneous group of titles—that of the great Turk inscriptions of Central Asia—and ignore titles which evidently apply to non-Turks (e.g. serve to denote Tibetan and Chinese persons), disregard one-off cases of personal names deriving from peer names, and overlook functions such as 'spy', 'envoy' (also, analytic titles like 'head of the army', etc.), we are left with some thirty titles altogether, give or take a few. To these we can add the compound titles, that is, when a title comprises multiple elements. Thus we can establish that the number of titles actually featuring in the sources on contemporaneous and similar tribal organisations (the Second Turk Khaghanate and the Uighur Khaghanate) adds up to around forty.

A closer look at the Khazar titles of the time reveals that, although the phonetic forms may vary, practically every one of them has an equivalent among the East Turks. Even the Danube Bulgars stuck with the same system, and had only one or two new titles compared to those in the Turk inscriptions in Central Asia.

It would be expected, then, that the conquering Magyars' organisation, too, featured a fair number of hereditary and bestowed peerages. However, the fact of the matter is that there are more Avar titles, recorded in the western sources, than Magyar. Avar examples include *khaghan*, *khapkhan*, *tudun*, *yugurrush*, *khaturun*, etc. The Latin sources tend to use the stereotypical *rex*, *regulus*, *dux* titles. The Magyar *gyula*, *karha*, *span* and *ispán* have been dealt with above. The title *gyula* has only survived in a personal name. Mention must be made of the title of *bán* which entered the Hungarian language from the Turkic, via Balkan Slavic mediation. The few still existing Árpadian names which preserved title names also deserve attention, for instance Jeleg and Üllő (*elig* 'king'), Jenő (*ineg* 'minister, counselor'), as well as Gyeucsá (pronounced *dyeucha*; *jevu* < *jabgu* 'ruler' + *-csa*, a Hungarian suffix), and Béla (< *bila* < *buyla* < *boyla* 'minister'). The identification of *Zalta*, quoted by Porphyrogenitus, with the Arab *sultan* title (via Turkic mediation) sounds unconvincing, not to mention the place names with *Solt* which have been suggested to be also related in some way. We shall not discuss those place names which are positively known to have derived from personal names, and which themselves have derived from Turkic titles (like, for instance *Ináncs*). These names occurred relatively late, therefore their uncertain chronology makes them unserviceable. For instance, they might have derived from eastern immigrants after the Conquest period. The name of Árpád's great-grandson, Termecsü, originates from the Turkic-Avar word *terem* 'hall'. The present-day title would be *\*termes* 'warden', but instead we only have *palotás* 'palace warden' and *udvarnok* 'court warden' in Hungarian, both of which are of Slavic origin. Two other words of the common Hungarian vocabulary belong to the category of words denoting nobiliary titles. The Hungarian *bő* 'plentiful' undoubtedly derives from the Turkic *bég* 'chieftain', 'bey'; the semantic change it underwent was similar to that of the title *doge* which ended up as the Hungarian *dús* 'abundant'. The Hungarian *úr* 'lord' derives from the Turkic *uri* 'youth' whose meaning of a 'noble, young gentleman' was only taken over by the Hungarians at the time of Hungarian-Turkic interaction. The Hungarian language also tagged a suffix onto this *úr*, of Turkic origin, to create *uruszág* > *ország* 'country', 'realm' as in *Magyarország* 'Hungary'. The model of semantic history is like what happened with the Hungarian word *malac* 'piglet'. Only its meaning 'young' exists in the Slavic languages, and only in Hungarian did it develop its semantics from 'young animal' to 'young pig'. The title *urum* 'heir to the throne' (which strongly resembles the Hungarian *uram* 'my lord') in Cinnamus, a 12th-century Byzantine author, is probably a suffixed Turkic derivation of the same Turkic word, and not a Hungarian variant with a Hungarian personal suffix. The origin of the Hungarian word *ín* 'poor' (which has only survived in *ínség* 'penury') is yet unknown. The suggested etymology

for the word *jobbágy* 'serf' is not very satisfactory. Supposed to have originated from the word *jó* 'good', *jobb* 'better' similarly to the Greek *aristokratia* or the Latin *optimates*, in the Middle Ages the word actually used to denote the members of the leading social stratum and 'villein' only from the 16th century. The suggested addition of the diminutive suffix *-gy*, however, does not sound very convincing. The Hungarian word *hadnagy* (today 'second lieutenant') cropped up in the sources surprisingly late (1213), although it might reflect the Ancient Hungarian word denoting the 'head of the clan', due to the fact that the Hungarian *had* 'army' had an earlier meaning of 'clan', 'extended family', and *nagy* 'great' also meant 'head of'.

The leading stratum of the conquering Magyars was backed by groups of armed, free people. Their main task was participating in raids, but naturally they were also in charge of guarding the animals, and of nomadic agriculture, too. In the 10th century, al-Istahri writes of the Khazars that their pagan groups would permit trading in their own and fellow kinsmen's children as slaves, while the Jewish, the Muslim and the Christian groups forbade this custom. The *Jayhani tradition* claims that the Etelköz Magyars would sell their captured Slavic slaves to the Byzantines at Kerch. This custom must have lived on, many decades after the Conquest. Actual work, especially agricultural, was almost certainly performed by servants.

The status of servants in this rather "sourceless" period is very difficult to establish, and in any event status was subject to the current circumstances. Ibn Haukal writes that a Khazar merchant adopted his slave who soon assumed an important role in the business. When the merchant died, the adopted son laid claim to the inheritance on the grounds of being the merchant's son. However, the deceased's real son quite unexpectedly appeared from lands afar, and stood up for his rights. The judgement ruled that the slave should pass to the merchant's real son. Albeit anecdotal and sounding like a legal parable, the story typifies the instance of adopted slaves integrating into the family, and the Hungarian words *család* 'family' and *cseléd* 'servant', both deriving from the same Slavic *chelyad*, provide a fine correspondence.

The Magyar clan was a larger unit than an "extended" family. Any clan would consist of anything from 5 to 20 related extended families. The clan patriarchs played a significant role in the clan cult, in settling disputes and in the division of land, booty and work. Clans were founded on the principle of blood descent, but there was much cross-breeding due to the adoption of women of other clans, or of outsiders. Adoption, however, was usually limited to men who were needed for labour in animal-rearing. Outsiders might be the orphaned members of other clans, and also non-Magys. Admittance into a clan had its own ritual, by which the adopted person swore to accept the clan cult.

The principle of patrilineal descent operated in the clans. Turkic and Mongolian nomads held that one's bones were patrilineal and blood matrilineal. Accordingly, the words denoting 'bone' in the Turkic languages more often than not also mean 'clan'. Ibn Haukal reports on the above belief. An inheritance dispute was settled thus: to decide who the real son of a deceased wealthy merchant was, they exhumed one of his bones. The false and the real son were then required to drip blood on the bone. The boy whose blood trickled off was lying, while the one whose blood the bone absorbed was truthful.

The smaller unit constituting the clan, the "extended" family, was founded on the cohabitation of three or four generations. The size of this unit was incidental, but also largely depended on the number of animals they could rear together, and on the conditions of the winter dwellings. Such was the stability of the clan system that continued to operate even after the tribal confederation had disintegrated. The system underwent changes, but nevertheless resembled the original set-up. Close ethnographic analogies suggest that the clans formed smaller units which even nowadays are called *had* in some Hungarian regions.

The position of craftsmen was special. Most of the ironmasters, implement and weapon makers must have entered the Carpathian Basin together with the conquering Magyars. As regards designations, only the Hungarian names *ács* 'carpenter' and *szűcs* 'furrier' are of Turkic origin. The former was a maker of *sátors* 'tents' and *karós* 'stakes', while the latter used a *gyűszű* 'thimble'. These words are also Turkic loan words. The furrier was an expert in working with leather. The local Slavs gave blacksmiths (*kovács*), potters (*gerencsér*), weavers (*takács*) and turners (*esztergályos*), and the word *konyár*, of Slavic origin, suggests a horse-related occupation, while *teszár* worked with wood (see *Ácsteszer*). The Hungarian language borrowed these words from local Slavic craftsmen. This does not mean that these crafts were unknown to the conquering Magyars. A *vasverő*, literally, 'iron beater', had a different technique from the blacksmith; the *csikós* 'horseherd' and the *juhász* 'shepherd' (all names of Finno-Ugrian origin) worked in different animal-rearing systems from the *konyár* and the *pásztor* (names of Slavic origin). Thus, very often the old Magyar craft expressions were preserved, alongside a brand new craft lingo. The Hungarian *ötvös* 'smith' was an expert in iron forging (*öttevény*), yet he probably encountered new techniques and tools.

The archaeological excavations of iron furnaces from around the Conquest period have revealed that the traditions of iron forging in the Carpathian Basin were unbroken; moreover it is likely that pre-Conquest ironsmithing in Transdanubia continued throughout the 10th century, and also appeared in the Upper Tisza region as from the 11th century. Scholars hold that there was no equivalent in Hungary to the types of furnaces the Khazars used, hence it is

likely that the conquering Magyars did not bring the technology and the ironmasters along with them.

The weaponry and accoutrement of the conquering Magyars were made by craftsmen. These are readily reconstructible from objects unearthed from graves dating back to that period. The most important piece of equipment was the 1.1 metre-long, recurved, or reflex, composite bow. The flexibility of its wooden staves was enhanced by twisted bundles of stag sinew, or plates of horn. The parts exposed to the heaviest wear, that is the nocks, where the bowstring was attached to the limbs, and the nocking point, where the arrow was placed for shooting, were protected by plates of bone. Some parts were even covered with leather. Technical reconstruction has demonstrated that the



Figure 69

Reconstructed Conquest-period man's costume (after Gyula László)

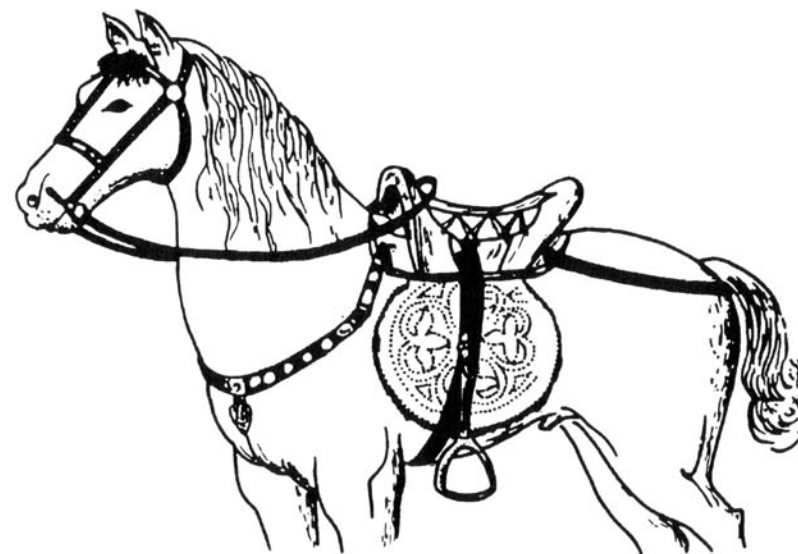


Figure 70

Reconstructed harness

Magyar's bows could fire arrows fairly accurately to a distance of approximately 60–70 metres. They kept their bows in quivers. The type of quiver depended on whether the bow was relaxed or braced. Arrows were kept in arrow quivers. The tips of arrows with wooden shafts were made of iron. The variously shaped and weighted arrowheads were designed for different purposes. There were so-called "whistling" arrows (which had a small bore running through the head to produce a whistling sound when they were fired), and incendiary arrows, used in night-time combat, or to set wooden buildings on fire. The Magyars' spears included close-combat spears and signalling spears which served to direct military actions. Where visibility would permit, the latter were pressed into the ground and worked like "sign boards". The equipment also consisted of a sabre which was double-edged at the point with a fuller running down its entire length. Slightly arched, the blade was approximately 0.7–0.9 metres long. The hilt was made of wood and was covered with leather, and the cross-guard would often have an ergonomic design to allow for a better grip. When out of use, the sabre was kept in a scabbard whose lockets were finely ornated. We have much knowledge (see p. 119) about the famous sword of Kiev which attests to a Magyar influence (see Plate I). Other weapons included the combat axe which was more often than not two-handed. No mace has yet been found.

Military clothing included leather (rather than iron) armour under which the Magyar warriors wore linen or hemp-cloth underwear, a thin leather shirt and trousers which could be tucked into the boots. To cover all, they wore a gown which reached the knees. The Hungarian word *bársony* 'velvet', of Turkic origin, might have referred to the material of this gown. On top of this, the Magyars wore a buckled belt ornated with various metal studs and mounts. A warrior would wear his sabre and arrow-quiver on the left-hand side, and the bow-quiver and a chased or embossed sabretache, in which he carried his flint and steel, on the right.

The many archaeological finds of Conquest-period saddles enable us to reconstruct this equipment well (see Plate XVI), and we also have a highly detailed description of a 10th-century Turkic saddle. We have been able to reconstruct the Magyars' harness and their usually pear-shaped stirrup, too (see Figure 70).

Merchants are known to have accompanied the Magyars to the Carpathian Basin. Most of the coins found in Conquest-period graves must have come from the booty obtained in raids, from war indemnities, taxation and ransoms. But we have also come across currencies attesting to long-distance trade, such as Arab dirhems. With objects it is very difficult to ascertain whether they were brought along by the Magyars, were robbed in the course of incursions, or whether they entered the country via trade channels. With objects bearing the traits of craftsmen of the neighbouring areas (Moravian ironwork, for instance), it is nigh-impossible to establish whether they were purchased or looted, or whether the Magyars brought along with them the craftsman who, having settled in Hungary, continued his craft in the manner and style he had learnt back at home. For instance, the hilt of the famous Vienna sabre had fragments of whale-skin on it, which were shown to have originated from a species indigenous to the Indian Ocean. Also, the raw material of many mother-of-pearl ornaments came from the Adriatic Sea, and many other objects, too, travelled to Hungary from afar.