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MAGYAR-GÖRÖG TANULMÁNYOK

SZERKESZTI
MORAVCSIK GYULA

ΟΥΓΓΡΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑΙ ΜΕΛΕΤΑΙ

ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΟΜΕΝΑΙ
ΥΠΟ
ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΜΟΡΑΒCSΙΚ

30.

STUDIES
ON THE HISTORY OF THE
SARMATIANS

BY

JOHN HARMATTA

BUDAPEST, 1950

PÁZMÁNY PÉTER TUDOMÁNYEGYETEMI GÖRÖG FILOLÓGIAI INTÉZET
ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΑΚΟΝ ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

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1. Görög költemény a várnai csatáról. Kiadta Moravcsik Gyula. — *Ἑλληνικὸν ποίημα περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς Βάρνης, ἐκδιδόμενον ὑπὸ 'Ιουλλίου. Moravcsik. 1935. (magyarul és újbörögül — οὐγγρυστί καὶ νεοελληνιστί.)*

2. Jeórijosz Zavirasz budapesti könyvtárának katalógusa. Összeállította Graf András. — *Κατάλογος τῆς ἐν Βουδαπέστη βιβλιοθήκης Γεωργίου Ζαβίρα, συνταχθεὶς ὑπὸ 'Ανδρέα Graf. 1935. (magyarul és újbörögül — οὐγγρυστί καὶ νεοελληνιστί.)*

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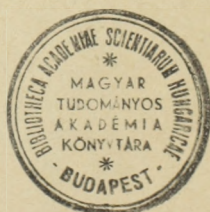
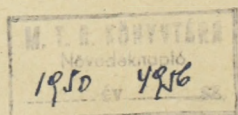
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The Western Sarmatians in South Russia from the Third to the First Century B. C.

The significance of the nomadic Iranian peoples, the Scythians and Sarmatians, emerges with ever-increasing clarity from the point of view of the evolution of Slav culture and ethnic characteristics. Thus the more recent Russian historical science, as compared with the older trend which began the history of Russia only with the Varangians, in dealing with the antecedents of the formation of the first Russian state, goes back, at least as far as the Scythian epoch. Accordingly GREKOV emphasizes the importance of Scytho-Sarmatian culture from the aspect of the Eastern Slavs¹ and LJAŠČENKO too deals in detail with these two peoples in his economic history of the USSR.² An even more far-reaching significance is ascribed to the Sarmatians in connection with the Southern Slavs by VERNADSKY, according to whose theory Slav and Sarmatian tribes had been living together as early as pre-Christian times in Southern Russia. This gave rise to the later Russians with regard to ethnic character and culture. In fact even the name "rus" derives from the name of a Sarmatian tribe.³ To some extent also the conception of MAVRODIN tallies with this view.⁴ Despite the recognition of the historical significance of the Sarmatians, their history nevertheless is obscure on many a point, in fact no unified picture could be formed of it. In the following we wish to throw light on one part of Sarmatian history which has hitherto not been elucidated.

1. Strabo in his description of the western part of the Pontic region mentions the Sarmatians several times, speaking of them in general terms. However, in the most essential passage he mentions particular tribes: VII 3, 17: ἡ δὲ ὑπερκειμένη πᾶσα χώρα τοῦ λεχθέντος μεταξύ Βορυσθένους καὶ Ἰστροῦ πρώτη μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν Γετῶν ἐρημία, ἔπειτα οἱ Τυραγέται, μεθ' οὓς οἱ Ἰάζυγες Σαρμάται καὶ οἱ Βασίλαιοι λεγόμενοι καὶ Οὐργοι, τὸ μὲν πλεον νομάδες, ὀλίγοι

¹ B. D. GREKOV, *The Culture of Kiev Rus*. Moscow, 1947. pp. 18.

² P. I. LJAŠČENKO, *Istorija narodnogo chozjaistva SSSR*. Vol. I (1947), 38—40.

³ G. VERNADSKY, *Ancient Russia*. New Haven, 1943. pp. 74, *passim*. See my remarks on the matter RHC. N. S. V (1947), pp. 230.

⁴ V. V. MAVRODIN, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*. Leningrad, 1945. 390.

δὲ καὶ γεωργίας ἐπιμελούμενοι· τούτους φασὶ καὶ παρὰ τὸν ῥῆιστρον οἰκεῖν, ἐφ' ἑκάτερα πολλάκις. ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ Βαστάρναι μὲν . . . Ῥωξολανοὶ δ' ἄρκτικώτατοι τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ Τανάϊδος καὶ τοῦ Βορυσθένους νεμόμενοι πεδία. Strabo thus enumerates four Sarmatian tribes: the Iazyges, Royal Sarmatians, Urgi and Roxolani and according to his description, their location on the whole might be conjectured thus: the Iazyges, the Urgi and Royal Sarmatians between the Dnieper and the Danube, furthermore, according to Strabo's description, the southernmost part was occupied by the Iazyges, and the Urgi took up the northern position, while the Royal Sarmatians were in the center between the two former tribes. The fourth tribe, the Roxolani, lived east of these between the Dnieper and the Don. Thus a certain plan in the sites of these tribes is to be observed: in the center is the royal tribe surrounded as it were by a protective ring formed by the other tribes. It is certainly no coincidence that among these Sarmatians, one "royal" tribe can be found. In the tribal unions of nomadic peoples two main types may be distinguished: in the first, tribes live side by side, loosely connected and at the most cooperate more closely in times of danger. In the other case all tribes are under the leadership of one of the tribes and are closely and cooperatively united under its power. A strong central power and strict military organization often give to these nomadic tribal unions an impressive power which renders possible the establishment of empires of vast extent. The varied character of nomadic tribal unions had been observed already by the Byzantines, e. g. Leo the Wise makes a clear distinction between "the idle nomadic" Scythians, i. e. nomad peoples "living under many chiefs" and the Scythians "under strong leadership" (XVIII 42: πολυαρχὰ τε καὶ ἀπράγμονα, νομαδικῶς ὡς ἐπίπαν βιοῦντα ~ μοναρχούμενα). The tribe heading the tribal union in accordance with its position considers itself high above the others. So it follows, according to the description of Herodotus, that the Persians hold themselves to be by far the most eminent of men, and the farther the other peoples live from them, the meaner grade they occupy in Persian estimation (I 134). It is again Herodotus who reports (IV 20) that the leading Scythian tribe also regards the other Scythians as its slaves. In accordance with this domineering spirit based on a strongly stratified society, this leading tribe is called "royal Scythians" (see Herodotus IV 22, 56, 59). That this connotation is not solely a Greek invention is probable also on the strength of the above mentioned data; it seems, however, that there is direct evidence in one of Strabo's reports of such nomenclatures being rooted in the social attitude and linguistic usage of Iranian nomads. Strabo, when dealing with the origin of Arsaces and of the Parni, gives the name of the Dahian tribe living beyond the Maeotis: φασὶ δὲ τοὺς Πάρνους Δάας μετανάστας εἶναι ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαιώτιδος Δαῶν, οὓς Ξανδίους ἢ Παρίους καλοῦσιν (IX 9, 3). According to VASMER's view the tribal name Ξανδίοι was based on the fact of the "royal" Scythians having lived on the same place prior to these. It originated from the Iranian word *xšayant-* "dominating" and refers to the linguistic matter of the Sarmatians.¹⁰ VASMER,

¹⁰ M. VASMER, Untersuchungen über die ältesten Wohnsitze der Slaven, I: Die Iranier in Südrussland, Leipzig, 1923. p. 45.

however, overlooked that this report of Strabo is taken from a source which in keeping with the geographical conception resulting from Alexander the Great's campaigns, had imagined the Syr-darya to be identical with the Tanais-Don and imagined Lake Aral and the Caspian Sea to be linked and both to be identical with the Maeotis-Sea of Azov. Thus the Dahae, or their Ἐάνθιοι tribes have nothing in common with the "royal Scythians" or the later Sarmatians and cannot be located, near the Sea of Azov, but they might have occupied the steppes north of Lake Aral. This stands out clearly from another passage of Strabo (XI 8, 2) where along with the Ἀπαρνοὶ and the Πίσσουροι he enumerates also the Ἐάνθιοι as a tribe of the Dahae living on the Aralo-Caspian steppes. There can hardly exist any doubt as to the identity of the tribal names of Ἐάνθιοι and the Ἐάνδιοι, and so we may see in the bearers of this name in all probability an Eastern Iranian tribe. Even though the connection with the "royal Scythians" must be abandoned despite the argument that the tribal name of Ἐάνδιοι derives from the Iranian word *xšayant-*, it nevertheless seems a plausible explanation both from the point of view of phonetics and semantics. But the old Iranian *-aya-* sound group has a much more common development in *-ay-* or *ē*, etc. than in *-ā-*. Notwithstanding, there are several examples of this also,¹¹ so that it might be applied to the name of Ἐάνθιοι too. From the point of view of semantics this explanation is born out by Strabo who calls this Dahian tribe also Πάριοι, and though it is not absolutely certain that the meaning of the latter name tallies with the former, in any case it is close to it. The name of Πάριοι is probably identical with the Iranian **parvya-* = "first" (cf. Ancient Persian *paraviya*, Avestan *paouruua-*, *paoirya-* "der erste, primus" BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 874¹²) thus belonging to the same semantic sphere as the tribal name of Ἐάνθιοι both have connotations of "ruling, leading, first", that is to say "royal" tribe. From the viewpoint of meaning the name of the ruling family of the royal Scythians is also similar. Herodotus (IV 6) reports this in the form of Παραλάται and since Müllenhoff it has been customary to regard it as the Scythian word corresponding to the Avestan *paradāta-* "Ehrentitel des Fürsten *Haošyanha*" signifying probably "voran, an die Spitze gestellt" (see BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 854)¹³. It is possible that the name of Πάριοι after all, like the Scythian Παραλάται, is no more than the name of the ruling dynasty of the Δάκai Ἐάνθιοι, that is of the "royal Dahae".

From the point of view of the Western Sarmatians, it is of the utmost importance that the appearance of "royal tribes" in the Iranian nomadic tribal unions went hand in hand with the formation of strong central imperial organizations. It is, therefore, easy to approach the assumption that the Sarmatian tribes between the Danube and the Don described by Strabo do not suggest "idle" nomads living either loosely linked, or independently from each other, side by side, but much rather tribal alliances under a strong

¹¹ See H. HÜBSCHMANN, *Persische Studien*, Strassburg, 1895. p. 167; G. MORGENSTIERNE, *Indo-Iranian frontier languages*, II. Oslo, 1938. p. 61.

¹² See VASMER, 15. *Die Iranier in Südrussland* 47.

¹³ Loc. cit. 15.

central leadership which, in the times referred to by Strabo, held a considerable part of the Pontus region in their sway. With regard to Eastern European history it is perhaps unnecessary to stress the importance of the existence of a strong Sarmatian empire between the Danube and the Don, the question being only to what period this empire might be assigned. The report quoted from Strabo certainly presents some clues to this effect. He mentions, after describing the geographical location of the Sarmatian tribes, that the Roxolani fought under the command of their leader Tasios against the generals of Mithridates Eupator in alliance with Palakos, king of the Crimean Scythian empire, but were defeated by Diophantos, one of Mithridates' generals. This event was recorded at that time in the inscription dedicated by the Chersonesians in honour of Diophantos (DITTENBERGER, Syll.³ No 709). His victory is put roughly between 110 and 106, namely about the first years of Mithridates' reign.¹⁴ Accordingly Strabo's description reflects the conditions of the last decade of the second century B. C., so that we can assume the existence of the Western Sarmatian empire in this period. We should, however, move on much safer ground if Strabo's source or sources could be defined more closely. To this, however, we have no direct clues; in fact it is not even certain whether the whole description is taken from one source or whether it is collated from several places. The latter view is taken by ROSTOV'TZEFF who attributes — in general in Strabo's Book VII. and also in the particular passage in question — the geographical data to Artemidorus, the ethnographical descriptions to Poseidonius, and the historical parts to Hypsikrates.¹⁵ This in relation to the description of the Sarmatian tribes means in practice that Strabo, in this relatively brief passage took the enumeration of the tribes from Artemidorus, his remark on the struggle of the Roxolani against Mithridates from Hypsikrates, while the description of the nomadic way of life and the armour of the Roxolani date from Poseidonius. We may, however, state that the unity of the construction of the description does not corroborate this view. The remark on the historical rôle of the Roxolani is organically linked up with the geographical enumeration, moreover the description of their armaments is added to one part of the historical remark as an explanation, as if it were to throw a light on the cause of the defeat: πρὸς μέντοι συντεταγμένην φάλαγγα καὶ ὠπλισμένην καλῶς τὸ βάρβαρον φύλον ἀσθενὲς πάν ἐστι καὶ τὸ γυμνητικόν. ἐκείνοι γοῦν . . . οὐκ ἀντέσχον, ἀλλ' οἱ πλείστοι διεφθάρησαν. χρώνται δὲ ὡμοβοίοις κράνεσι κτλ.

Eventually the description of the Roxolanian armaments refers back to the other Sarmatian tribes: τοιοῦτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλείους and this is the transition to the description of nomadic ways of life. This part appears to be tacked loosely on to the end of the report and owing to this some hesitation can be seen in scientific literature too in assigning it to its proper place and stating whom it concerns. In general it is customary to connect

¹⁴ See NIESE—HOHL, *Grundriss der Römischen Geschichte*, München, 1923. p. 198; DITTENBERGER, Syll. 3 No. 709, see footnote; MÜNZER, RE XV, pp. 2164.

¹⁵ *Skythien und der Bosphorus I*, pp. 92, 126 ff.

it with the Roxolani.¹⁶ DIEHL, however, tries to connect it with the nomads fighting on Palakos' side.¹⁷ The latter conjecture seems to have little foundation because there is no mention at all in the text of "nomads" fighting on the side of Palakos, on the other hand DIEHL may be right in holding that the description cannot refer the Roxolani, because the opening: τῶν δὲ νομάδων clearly sets them apart in contrast to the description of the Roxolani. The sentence concluding the description of the armaments of the Roxolani, on the other hand, may contain a clear indication. It refers back to the other Sarmatian tribes; the report after a more detailed treatment reverts to the enumeration of Sarmatian tribes, where as to their way of living there is only this brief sentence: τὸ μὲν πλεόν νομάδες, ὀλίγοι δὲ κτλ. To this the beginning τῶν δὲ νομάδων is a direct reference which is followed immediately by the description of nomadic ways of life. Thus no clue whatever may be derived from the structure of Strabo's report about its compilation from diverse sources, in fact the unity of its composition definitely points to an origin from one source, which may have been Poseidonios who actually dealt with the story of Palakos too (FGrHist. 87 F 32). Yet, should there remain but one possibility and should we be obliged to forego naming the source, it is indubitable that the description of Strabo dates from the time of Mithridates' campaigns in the Pontus and that it was taken from a work dealing with these. This is borne out by Strabo himself, who holds the opinion that the northern region of the Pontus, from Tyras to the Colchians, became first known from the campaigns of Mithridates and his generals (I 2, 1) and for this reason he himself used the works of the elaborators of Mithridates' wars as yielding the most reliable material as his source (XI 2, 14).¹⁸

2. Apart from the fact that the coherence of Strabo's text clearly proves the simultaneity of the existence of a Western Sarmatian tribal alliance under "Royal Sarmatian" leadership and of Mithridates' expansion, in the Pontus region, also from the historical events themselves, the outlines of a picture of this Western Sarmatian empire stand out clearly from the end of the second century B.C. The appearance of Mithridates' generals and armies in the Greek cities of the northern coastal regions of the Black Sea was the last phase of a long historical process. From the second half of the fourth century B.C.¹⁹ the power of the Scythians was being steadily crushed by the new swarms of Iranian peoples advancing westward. Under the ever-growing pressure the Scythians were pushed more and more towards the West and South. Into this picture come undoubtedly the wars of Atheas, the Scythian king, along the lower course of the Danube against the Istrians and Triballians and lastly against Philip, King of Macedonia. That these are no longer merely predatory raids can be seen from the considerable booty looted by Philip at the defeat of Atheas; according to the

¹⁶ See ROSTOVITZ, *Skythien und der Bosphorus* I, 93.

¹⁷ RE VII, SpBd. 1196.

¹⁸ See K. MÜLLENHOFF, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* III. pp. 40. Berlin, 1892.

¹⁹ See J. HARMATTA, *Quellenstudien zu den Skythika des Herodot.* Budapest, 1941. p. 52.

report of Trogus Pompeius (Justinus IX 2, 15): 20.000 Scythian women and children were taken prisoner and a large number of cattle captured. This shows that the Scythians had drawn the lower Danube with their families and livestock, evidently to seek new territories instead of the abandoned Donets region. The natural consequence of giving up first the Donets and eventually the Dnieper region was the split of the Scythians into two parts.

One part retired to the Crimea while the other occupied the Dobrudja.²⁰ Both territories were well suited by their geographic position to offer points of vantage to smaller fractions of peoples to ward off attacks coming from the waves of the Migration of Peoples from the East. The Dobrudja known also by writers of late Antiquity as "Little Scythia", was held by the Scythians until the Roman Conquest, but also the other branch offered staunch resistance to the Sarmatians in the Crimea, which also bore for a time the name of Little Scythia. Thus the process of disintegration of the Scythian Empire is now clear, the remaining question, however, is the manner of how Mithridates' expansion in the Pontus comes into this and what the rôle of the above described strong Sarmatian power was.

In consequence of the advance of the Sarmatians, the good relations between the Greek cities of the Pontus and the Scythians which had existed for a long period, came to a speedy end. The Scythians, in consequence of their loss of valuable territories and economic resources, were more and more obliged to keep themselves above water by imposing levies on the Greek cities which they tried to bring under their power as bases for their struggle against the Sarmatians.^{20a} Glimpses into these events may be obtained from the Protogenes inscription and from one of the Polyainos narratives. According to the latter (VIII 56), the Chersonesians applied to Amage, queen of the Sarmatians for help in the face of the hostile attitude of the Crimean Scythian king and concluded an "alliance" with her. Amage first sent an order to the Scythian king requesting him to abstain from harassing Chersonese and when this proved of no avail, she appeared unexpectedly at the head of a small cavalry force, at the Scythian king's quarters, had the king put to death and set the dead king's son in his place as ruler of the Scythians ordering him to live in peace with the Greeks and the other neighbouring barbarians. The date of this story is of great importance from the viewpoint of its value and of the interpretation of the events contained in it. ROSTOVITZJEFF endeavours to prove that the historical situation reflected in the Amage story corresponds to the third century B. C., and that the Sarmatians actually fought as the allies of Chersonese against the Scythians.²¹ However, the character of Polyainos' narrative does not bear out this supposition. It is nevertheless true that the Chersonesians become "allies" of the Sarmatian queen, yet there is no mention of a joint warfare. Amage simply instructs the Crimean Scythian king to cease hostilities against

²⁰ J. HARMATTA, *Das Volk der Sadagaren: Analecta or. mem. A. Csoma de Kőrös dicata*, Budapest, 1942. pp. 24.

^{20a} See ROSTOVITZJEFF, *CAH VIII*, 514.

²¹ *Skythien und der Bosphorus I*, pp. 123.

the Chersonesians and when he does not comply with the order, she does not wage war against him as might be expected in the case of a hostile power, but instead she chastises the refractory ruler at the head of a small cavalry unit and bids his successor to abstain from every hostile interference with the neighbouring Greeks and Barbarians. These details show the Sarmatians in such absolutely superior forces over the Greeks and Scythians, that the latter can hardly be thought to have been independent political factors of equal strength to the Sarmatians. Amage's attitude towards the Scythian king clearly proves that he had been her vassal. It is comprehensible only so that she should have tried to put a stop to hostilities by a simple order and only in this case was it possible to settle the matter by enforcing reprisals against the Scythian king and his entourage and only so could she place another ruler at the head of the Scythians. Amage, in consequence, did not wish to annihilate the Scythians, she merely wanted to see her interests with regard to Chersonese safeguarded. Thus there can be no question of the Crimean Scythians having been the common enemy of both the Sarmatians and the Chersonesians, from which it follows that there is little likelihood of the Chersonesians being the equals of the Sarmatians in an alliance. On the strength of the character of the Polyainos narrative these "allied" relations should rather be given an interpretation according to which the Chersonesians, seeking protection against the Crimean Scythian king, the vassal of the Sarmatian queen, appealed to her and so became themselves vassals of the Sarmatians (ἐδεήθησαν αὐτῆς [sc. Ἀμάτης] γενέσθαι σύμμαχοι).²² It is thus comprehensible that there was no question of any large-scale campaign since the Sarmatian queen only wished for peace between her two vassals and this she attained easily by compelling the Scythian king to obedience, or rather by having him put to death for his disobedience.

Now the only remaining question is at what date the political situation unfolding from the narrative of Polyainos, may be put. There can hardly be any question of the third century B. C. which ROSTOVITZEFF suggested. It is difficult to imagine that the Scythians or the Chersonesians should have been Sarmatian vassals at so early a date. What serious force the Scythians still represented even after the defeat at the hand of Philip at the end of the fourth century B. C., is clearly shown by the fact that they could inflict a shattering defeat at the Battle of Olbia upon the army of 30,000 of Zopyrion, a general of Alexander the Great.²³ That the Scythians at that time had fought in defence of Olbia is a proof of their having then been the protectors of the Greek cities in the Western part of the Pontus region. Though the

²² It is worth observing that also according to Polyainos' own text it was the Chersonesians who had "asked for leave" to be the "allies" of the Sarmatian queen owing to the hostilities of the Scythians, thus the conclusion of this alliance was but an appeal for help. That σύμμαχία, σύμμαχος namely "alliance, allies", after all merely conceal the fact of vassaldom, in itself is nothing remarkable, in view of the linguistic usage of those times. We find also in the official language of inscriptions in connection with the Greek vassals of Rome the words σύμμαχία, σύμμαχος, see e. g. DITTENBERGER, Syll. No. 674₁₈, 41, No 764₈, etc.

²³ Iustinus XII. 2, 16; Curtius X. 1, 44; Macrobius Sat. I 11, 33.

power of the Scythians may have dwindled considerably in the course of the third century, nevertheless they still meant a menace to Olbia, according to the testimony of the Protogenes inscription from the beginning of the second century.²⁴ Olbia at that time already paid a heavy tribute to the Saii, a Sarmatian tribe. At the same time also Chersonese had been an independent power, as is seen from the pact (of 179 B. C.) between the powers of the Pontus region, in which they figure as an independent signatory party.²⁵ We also know that Chersonese at that time was under heavy Scythian pressure and was for this reason obliged somewhat later to conclude a pact with Pharnaces I. in virtue of which the king at the request of the Chersonesians was to help the latter against the barbarians.²⁶ These events thus reflect a political situation vastly different from that of the Polyainos narrative, and so we cannot put the Amage story at this or any earlier date. About half a century later, we find an entirely new situation but this also differs very distinctly from the historical background of the Polyainos narrative. By then the power of the Crimean Scythians had essentially increased, and the area in their sway extended as far as the Dnieper, in fact Olbia also had at a time been under their supremacy, as can be ascertained from the coins which their king Skiluros had minted.²⁷ This state of things, however, changed considerably somewhat later. Again the power of the Crimean Scythians had been completely shrunk and the generals of Mithridates finally broke the power of the Scythians and incorporated their territory into their Bosphorus realm.²⁸ We have, however, a clue to the Crimean Scythian kingdom having no longer been an independent power even in the period between the collapse of the Crimean Scythian kingdom of Skiluros and the appearance of the generals of Mithridates. According to Strabo's report (VII 3, 17) it was the Roxolani who hastened to the help of Palakos, son of Skiluros, against Diophantos, Mithridates' general. Knowing about that long struggle carried on by the Sarmatians and Scythians and bearing in mind that the Roxolani only formed the Eastern wing of a big Sarmatian tribal union, the conjecture that the Roxolani went to the help of the Crimean Scythians as an independent power becomes highly improbable. If earlier hostile relations between Scythians and Sarmatians had changed to the opposite, this could only have happened by the Crimean Scythians having become vassals of the powerful Pontic Sarmatian empire, which in its turn came to their help later against Mithridates.^{28a}

²⁴ DITTENBERGER, Syll. No. 495₁₀₆.

²⁵ Polybios XXV 2.

²⁶ EBERT, Südrussland im Altertum 239; ROSTOVITZ, Iranians and Greeks in South Russia 148.

²⁷ EBERT, Südrussland im Altertum 225; REGLING, RE II. R. III pp. 526.

²⁸ ROSTOVITZ, Iranians and Greeks in South Russia 149.

^{28a} ROSTOVITZ also saw this correctly, CAH IX, 228. According to him, however, the Scythians extended their power over Olbia and the area up to the Dnieper just as the vassals of the Sarmatians. This in itself is improbable enough, because how could the Sarmatians have tolerated the Scythians spreading over their own sphere of interest, to which Olbia also belonged; apart from this, the Nikeratos inscription also, originating from not long before Mithridates' Pontic conquests, contradicts this. See about this later.

Thus it seems most probable that at the time just preceding the appearance of Mithridates in the Pontus, the Crimean Scythian kingdom had indeed been the vassal of the Sarmatians, which hypothesis is borne out by the Amage story. However, we may not place the Polyainos narrative into this epoch despite this. The Chersonesians — as we know from Strabo's report (VII 4, 3) — after their city had been ravaged by the Barbarians (that is when Theodosia for a short time came into Scythian hands) were obliged to ask for the help of Mithridates Eupator. This fact is in gross contradiction to the political situation such as is seen from the Amage story. While the Sarmatians at the time seemed willing to accept the protectorship over Chersonesos and also to ward off their other vassal, the Scythians, on the other hand the Chersonesians in this case had to apply for help elsewhere. This points to the Sarmatian empire's hostile attitude at that time towards the Greek colonial cities in the Pontus and its support of the Crimean Scythians' attempt to occupy some Greek cities. Only thus is it possible to understand that after the collapse of the power of Skiluros, the dwindled Crimean Scythian empire succeeded after all in either taking possession of one part of the Greek cities, or in looting them. It is possible that this attitude of the Sarmatians hangs together with the increasing awakening of Iranian national consciousness.⁹

Thus it can be stated that the Polyainos narrative cannot refer to a time prior to the pact between Chersonese and Pharnakes I., nor to the period following the foundation of the power of Skiluros. So, there cannot be any other solution than putting it at the time between these two dates, broadly between 165 and 140 B. C. It is easy to imagine that the Sarmatians, holding at that time the Western part of the Pontus region, whose ruling tribe the Saii are familiar to us from the Protogenes inscription, had extended their supremacy also over the Crimean Scythians and, since they did not pursue an entirely hostile policy towards the Greek cities — as can be concluded from the pact of 179 B. C. — accepted as "allies" also Chersonese which had applied to them for help, and, — obviously in exchange for adequate reciprocal assistance — protected them against the Crimean Scythians.

Hence the history of the Sarmatians can be reconstructed on broad lines as follows. At the beginning of the second century the aspect of a strong Sarmatian power appears for the first time. Broadly speaking it held in its sway at that time the territory between the Don and the Dnieper. Undoubtedly the backbone of this Sarmatian power was chiefly the tribe of the Saii to which also Olbia had to pay heavy tribute. The rôle of Gatalos, king of the Sarmatians, in the pact concluded in 179 B. C. by the powers of the Pontus region shows clearly that this Sarmatian power had been an important political factor. It seems that the lengthy struggle between the Sarmatians and Scythians which paralysed commercial and economic life in South Russia for a long period, had at that time come to a standstill to a certain extent and Sarmatian power had consolidated to such a point that commerce could once more revive. From an inscription of about 175

²⁹ See for reference Ebert, *Südrussland im Albertum* 343.

B. C. in honour of an Attic merchant it is clear that commerce between Attica and the Pontus was lively again, thanks to the more peaceful conditions in the wake of the Pact of 179 B. C. The extension of Sarmatian power over the Crimea and the extension of its suzerainty over the Scythians, may have occurred immediately after these times. Also the political conception of increasing commerce and economic life fits well into this picture and tallies with the acceptance of the protectorate over Greek cities, so that the Amage story might with great probability be put at this date. Also the name Σαῖος appearing later in Pantikapaion might testify to the Crimean rule of the Saii.³⁰

The fact, in the face of the process of consolidation of Sarmatian power in the Pontic region, that a decade or two later the Crimean Scythians recover their strength with extraordinary speed and reconquer from the Sarmatians the territory right to the Dnieper and even bring Olbia under their power, is indeed surprising. It is evident that the strengthening of the Crimean Scythian kingdom under Skiluros was possible only owing to the large-scale weakening and eventual collapse of Sarmatian power. There is another clue to this conjecture, namely, later as seen in Strabo's reports, a few decades after the troubled times, once more a strong Sarmatian tribal union developed. However, not one of the Sarmatian tribal names occurring in the Protogenes inscription can be found among the tribal names figuring in the Strabo enumeration. As has been shown, this symptom can have but one explanation: a new Iranian swarm from the East had arrived in South Russia and had completely broken up or absorbed the tribes figuring in the Protogenes inscription.^{30a}

This change, accompanied by great upheavals, naturally favoured greatly the restoration of the Crimean Scythian power, but the sudden growth of Scythian power came to a speedy end when under the leadership of "royal" Sarmatians a new, strong Sarmatian tribal alliance was formed. The Scythians soon became once more the vassals of a new Sarmatian empire whose power politics were levelled at the full possession of the Greek cities. In consequence of this boosted enemy force the Greek cities in the Pontic region were obliged to apply to Mithridates Eupator for help. Thus the appearance of the troops of Mithridates in the Greek cities in the Pontic region is in close connection with the establishment of a new, strong Sarmatian empire.

This picture gained mainly from the history of the Greek cities in the Crimean peninsula is corroborated by the data on Olbia. Olbia, as seen above, had been compelled to pay tribute to the Saii in the first half of the second century B. C., while about the middle of the same century she came entirely under the domination of Skiluros, the Crimean Scythian ruler. Towards the end of the second century probably Olbia too was freed from the rule of the Crimean Scythians. Two Olbian inscriptions date from this time, they to a certain extent allow a glimpse into the historical position

³⁰ See the name in VASMER, *Die Iranier in Südrussland* 50.

^{30a} See J. HARMATTA: *Folia Ethnographica* 1/2 (1949) in the press.

of this city. One was erected in honour of Epicerates, an architect³¹ who was on contract from Byzantium to conduct the building operations of the city and also to restore its fortifications and who stood his ground splendidly, both when the Olates, probably a Thracian tribe, threatened to wage war and also later in his capacity of technical inspector of fortifications. Hence Olbia at that time was obviously again independent and endeavoured to keep her fortifications in good shape so as to be able to resist the attacks threatening on the part of various barbarian tribes. The other inscription honoured Nikeratos (DITTENBERGER, Syll.³ No. 730). He was — as can be inferred from the inscription — the military commander of Olbia and not only held at bay the “enemy continually menacing the city” but also smoothed the internal strife of Chersonese, “steeped in continual wars”. This brave soldier, however, fell a prey to the snare of the barbarians in the end. On one occasion he accompanied an Olbian group under strong military escort to the forest region beyond the Borysthenes-Dnieper, to the Hylaia, and he succeeded in getting the civilians back to the city because the enemy prepared a surprise attack, which he wanted to parry outside the walls. The enemy dared not attack him openly but set him a trap in the dead of night and so could kill him.

Thus both inscriptions prove that Olbia was under severe enemy pressure of the neighbouring barbarians and that she strove to defend herself single-handed, of her own strength. There are also certain formal clues as to the determination of the date of the inscriptions. The orthography of the Nikeratos inscription links it closely to the Aristagoras inscription (Dittenberger. Syll.³ No. 708) which in view of the shape of its characters and its spelling may not be placed at a date earlier than the end of the second century B. C., and not later than this period, according to the evidence of the coins with the Arista(goras) legend put at the second half of the second century.³¹ Thus the Nikeratos inscription dates probably from 120—100 B. C., while the Epikerates inscription on which no itacistic flaws can be found yet, may have a somewhat earlier date. This is the only possible date determination also if we try in the history of Olbia to locate the events fixed in the inscription. It is obvious that the activity of both Epikerates and Nikeratos is unimaginable in Olbia under the rule of Skiluros, that is before about 130 B. C., but neither is it possible after 106 B. C. when the armies of Mithridates had taken over the defence of the Greek cities in the Pontus region. From an inscription in honour of a ship-captain from Amisos, we know that Olbia too had placed herself under Mithridates' protection and that formations of the forces of the King of Pontus had also been stationed in this city.³² Even if the conditions recorded in this inscription correspond to a later date (about 70—64 B. C.), the Νεοπτολέμου πύργος

³¹ DITTENBERGER, Syll.³ No. 707. The name of the city is missing from the inscription, yet there are ponderous proofs that it was Olbia, see DITTENBERGER, Syll.³ II, 339, n. 1.

³¹ See DITTENBERGER, Syll.³ II pp. 340.

³² See EBERT, Südrussland im Altertum 225, furthermore ROSTOVITZEFF, CAH IX, 232.

at the Dnieper estuary mentioned by Strabo (VII 4, 16) clearly proves that Olbia and her environs, had belonged to the Pontic Empire, since the military operations against the Scythians and Sarmatians,³³ led by the generals of Mithridates, Diophantos and Neoptolomos (110—106 B.C.). This is borne out by the testimony of another Strabo context, (VII 4, beginning of 3) according to which Mithridates from the outset had planned the extension of his operations as far as the Dnieper and even farther west. Thus, since Olbia belonged to the Pontic Empire until Mithridates' death and since she was entirely devastated in the subsequent decade by the Getae,³⁴ the events forming the background of the Epikrates and Nikeratos inscriptions can be put only at the period between 130—107 B.C. This result is supported by the part played by Nikeratos in the Chersonese, which can also be imagined only before the appearance of Mithridates' generals. The question now is only which barbaric power meant at that time a constant threat to Olbia.

According to DITTENBERGER's view the barbarians menacing Olbia at the time were the Getae of Burebista,³⁵ yet this view is undoubtedly erroneous. It would, in itself, seem probable enough that the Getae meant a danger to Olbia, it is highly improbable however, that they should also have subdued the wooded region east of the Borysthenes, and it is precisely from this area that Nikeratos and Olbia were attacked. Besides it would be a mistake to attribute such a historical importance to Burebista and the Getae as early as between 130 and 107 B. C. The more recent investigations have clearly proved that Burebista could only have ascended the throne round about 60 B.C., thus the great increase of Dacian power began only after that.^{35a} We may therefore hardly have in mind others than the Sarmatians to have been the enemy threatening Olbia. This solution is all the more plausible since, as was stated above, the report of Strabo about the Sarmatian tribal confederacy occupying the territory between the Danube and the Don, refers to the last decade of the second century B.C., and so it is beyond doubt that the environs of Olbia also had been under the sway of the Sarmatian tribal confederacy. It would seem probable, even if no data were at our disposal, that the policy and attitude of the Sarmatians was not different towards Olbia than towards the Crimean Greek cities. Their chief aim was to bring the Greek cities completely under their power, or at least under the power of one of their vassals. The inscriptions in honour of Epikrates and Nikeratos afford a good opportunity for looking into one phase of this process, the fight against Olbia.

Thus the new Sarmatian empire formed in the last decades of the second century B.C. with its pressure upon the Greek cities makes its influence felt from the Crimean peninsula to the Dnieper region. There are, however, traces too which show the consequences of Sarmatian power

³³ Viz. Neoptolemos, see Strabo VII 4, 18; Fr. GEYER, RE XV, 2168, XVI, 2465.

³⁴ Dion Chrys. or 36, 4.

³⁵ See DITTENBERGER, Syll.³ II, 393.

^{35a} A. ALFÖLDI, Budapest története [The History of Budapest]. Budapest, 1943. I, 139.

politics to have been fully felt by Greek cities much farther west, also in the Dobrudja. Thus from inscriptions from the end of the second century B. C. which the inhabitants of Istros erected to their prominent countryman Aristagoras (DITTENBERGER, Syll.³ No. 708), it becomes clear that the barbarians occupied and devastated Istros also at that time. The citizens, however, in part returned later to the abandoned city, yet the danger being constant, the city had to be fortified and further clashes with the barbarians could not be avoided. Of somewhat later origin is an inscription from Tomi (DITTENBERGER, Syll.³ No. 731) which also testifies to the endangered position of this city too. DITTENBERGER assumed also with regard to these two inscriptions that the barbarians menacing Istros and Tomi may have been the Getae of Burebista. This is most improbable, as this territory came under Burebista's power only after 60 B. C. This is clearly proved by the fact that Antonius Cicero's partner in consulship was defeated in 61 B. C. near Istros by the Scythians and their allies the Bastarnae³⁶, which shows that at that time Dobrudja was still in their hands. It would be much more probable to think just of these two barbarian peoples. Of the Scythians we know also that pressed westward by the Sarmatians, they had occupied Dobrudja previously. Just because of this, however, it is probable that they had more settled relations with the Greek cities. To this points the fact that their kings had money coined — obviously in the Greek cities — from which it can safely be concluded together with ROSTOVTZEFF,³⁷ that both Istros and Tomi politically had belonged under the Dobrudjan Scythian kings' power. Coins of four Scythian kings, Tanusas, Kanites, Akrosas and Charaspes, are known to us, all date largely from the years 230 B. C. and 150 B. C.³⁸ It is not very likely however, that Tomi and Istros should have been in so hard pressed a situation as is revealed in the two inscriptions mentioned above. It is, however, surely no coincidence that the coinage of the Scythian kings — as far as can be concluded from the material so far extant — came to an end in the last decades of the second century. The cause, evidently, was the collapse of Dobrudjan Scythian power and it was obviously in connection with the disintegration of Crimean Scythian power which occurred at about the same time. No doubt the new Sarmatian Empire formed in the last decades of the second century B. C. was the cause and it is near at hand to see the effects of this also in the Dobrudjan events. It is highly probable that the Sarmatians, made also the Dobrudjan Scythians their vassals like the Crimeans, because the Dobrudja, just like the Crimea, was of supreme importance to them as the economic sphere of interest of a number of Greek cities. Along with this, it is also possible that they had partially occupied this territory because Strabo's above mentioned report (VII 3, 17) expressly emphasizes that the Sarmatians on the whole live their nomadic lives on both banks of the Danube. It is easy to imagine how much the advance of the Sarmatians into the

³⁶ Cassius Dio XXXVIII 10,2.

³⁷ Iranians and Greeks in South Russia 86; CAH IX. 223.

³⁸ REGLING, RE II, R. VIII 2230.

Dobrudja transformed the position of the Greek cities: they came into a position as menaced as Olbia or the Crimean Greek cities in the same period.

3. Thus it can easily be ascertained even from the incomplete material extant, that in the last decades of the second century B. C. from the Don to the Danube a strong Sarmatian tribal confederacy must be reckoned with. Its suzerainty extended even over the Crimean and Dobrudjan Scythians, moreover, it aimed at the complete occupation of the Greek cities in the Pontus partly by itself and partly by its vassals. In consequence the Greek cities' situation was extremely critical and eventually they had no other choice but to apply for help to the greatest potentate of the Pontus region of the time, to Mithridates. Mithridates succeeded, thanks to his military superiority, in liberating the Greek cities from Scythian and Sarmatian pressure, however, this by no means meant the full smashing up of Sarmatian strength. Despite this the appearance of Mithridates meant an important turning point both from the point-of-view of the Greek cities and of the Scythians, or the Sarmatians. This self-confident and ambitious personality recognized clearly that the possession of the Greek cities in the Pontus would only then mean a considerable source of strength for him if he could restore their economic life and trade. This had one pre-condition, namely to establish adequate commercial ties with the Scythians and Sarmatians under whose control the economic and commercial sphere of interest of the Greek cities had been. That is why a great change must be observed in the policy of Mithridates towards the Scythians and Sarmatians after the immediate danger threatening the Greek settlements had been averted. As soon as his power in the Crimean peninsula was consolidated, he endeavoured to establish friendly relations with them, instead of the hostile attitude prevailing until then. His person and personality were both very suitable for that. On his father's side he could trace his ancestry right back to Cyrus and Darius, while on his mother's side he could boast of Alexander the Great as his ancestor, a ruler who stood in the highest esteem with the Iranian peoples. In addition, his regal appearance, his admirable horsemanship and huntsmanship were all important assets in the eyes of equestrian peoples. It suffices to recall that Darius also boasts in the Naxš-i-Rustam inscription: "as a rider I am a good one" (b41—2: *asabāra huvāsabāra ahmiy*) and even later the Parthians drove away one of their kings, Vonones because he neglected hunting and did not care for horses (Tacitus, *Annales* II 2: *raro venatu, segni equorum cura*). Mithridates, in addition to all these, had an almost demoniacal will power and a most impressive personality and thanks to his great linguistic talent he could speak to all his subjects and allies in their mother tongue.^{38a} In short, the figure of Mithridates to the barbarian peoples of the Pontus suggested and called to life the memory of the almost legendary Persian "great king", and of the "world conquering Alaksandar" and thus

^{38a} See MOMMSEN's characterisation, pat in many regards, *Römische Geschichte* II, pp. 265.

it is no wonder that they stood by him to the end, also at the time when the Greeks of the Pontus had turned from him. Naturally besides his personal charm he also used other means of winning the barbarians of the Pontus. He married his daughters to barbarian chiefs and gave them splendid presents to assure their loyalty. In consequence of this far-sighted and conscious policy, every nation of the Pontus region was represented in his army, so that he had at his disposal inexhaustible manpower, of the time of the war waged against the Romans. That he succeeded in winning the Sarmatians for himself is proved clearly by a date of Appianos (Mithr. 19), according to which he used Sarmatian cavalry as his vanguard as early as in the first war against the Romans.

Apart from this our sources also mention continually the Sarmatians as his allies.³⁹ This shows that he could after the initial hostilities establish lasting good relations with them which might have been inspired in addition to his personal charm and clever diplomacy also by common economic and political interest. Undoubtedly the Sarmatians were in sore need of the industrial goods made or distributed in the Greek cities of the Black Sea. There is no better evidence of this than that the Olbians after the Getae had devastated their town, returned to its site as a result of the persuasion of the "Scythians" (= Sarmatians) and founded Olbia again.⁴⁰ Accordingly, however, it was in the interest of the Sarmatians to be on good terms with the king of the Pontus who held the Greek cities in his power. As to political aims, it may have been Mithridates' old plan to attack the Romans by land, from the North, *i. e.* from the Pontus as well. To this effect, along with the other Pontic peoples, the strong Sarmatian tribal confederacy could be used appropriately, therefore it is probable that Mithridates approved, and possibly encouraged, the spreading of the Sarmatians to the West. For the Sarmatians, on the other hand, this was the only possibility of expansion after the occupation of the Greek cities of the Pontus by Mithridates, besides, the possession of the Roumanian plain and the Dobrudja was always highly desirable to the peoples of the steppes.

Keeping in view the concurrence of the political and economic interests of Mithridates and the Sarmatians, one of Strabo's data gains particular moment, that the Sarmatians used to put their quarters also along the banks of the Danube and often stayed on both her banks. This information is usually so interpreted that single roving or fleeing Sarmatian swarms avoiding the Bastarnae reached the southern banks of the Danube as early as in the course of the first century B. C.⁴¹ This view, however, is not correct, because Strabo's report as was seen above, refers to conditions in the last decade of the second century B. C. In addition, also the manner of expression of Strabo gives no clue to this hypothesis, because his remark *τούτους φασὶ καὶ παρὰ τὸν Ἰστρον οἰκεῖν, ἐφ' ἑκάτερα πολλάκις* does not stress any groups, but refers to the Sarmatians who had been mentioned in the text before. Besides, the verb *οἰκεῖν* indicates systematic, protracted sojourn and not roving.

³⁹ Appianos, Mithr. 15, 69; Justinus XXXVIII 3, 6.

⁴⁰ Dio Chrys., Log. Borysth. p. 49. Ed. DINDORF.

⁴¹ See A. ALFÖLDI, Budapest története [History of Budapest] I, 180.

Thus it is a much more probable assumption that the Sarmatians at certain fixed intervals camped regularly by the Danube. There can be no doubt as to the Sarmatians — in true nomadic shepherdlike fashion —, having constantly changed their pastures. In fact Strabo remarks about them that they are largely nomads, furthermore, when characterizing the nomad ways of life he even reports the observation made by his source, namely that they “follow the pastures, always seeking the places which yield grass” (VII 3, 17). Neither has it escaped the attention of ancient observers that the seasons had a decisive importance in the choice of pastures. Strabo reports, as a continuation of the quoted passage, the fact about the Sarmatians living near to the Maiotis, namely that they spend the winters among the swamps of the Maiotis, whereas the summers are spent on the plains. That the nomads had the habit of putting their winter quarters round rivers and lakes, can be ascertained from many sources. However, it may suffice to remind of Ibn Rusta’s report on the Magyars: “their abodes are between these two rivers (Don and Danube). When winter comes, those (tribes) who are near to one of these two rivers, draw up to it and spend the winter on its banks”.⁴² Considering that the Sarmatian tribal confederacy described by Strabo, like the Magyars, occupied the territory between the Don and Danube, they may have changed about their winter and summer quarters similarly. It thus seems very probable that Strabo’s report must be so interpreted that the Sarmatian winter quarters were by the Danube and often both banks were occupied. It would be difficult to understand the latter part of the report if it were the question of roving Sarmatian swarms settling down or intruding south of the Danube. Why should Strabo in this case emphasize that the Sarmatians very often stayed on “both” banks? It is a feature easy to observe with Southern Russian and Asiatic nomads that certain tribal systems, or often single tribes, settle on both banks of rivers, or reaches of rivers, evidently in order to secure the water supply of their live-stock.⁴³ Such bilateral settlements can be found also at the settling of Magyar tribes occupying Hungary.⁴⁴ Thus we may assume that the Sarmatians also endeavoured to settle down on both banks of the Danube and one part of their quarters was on the southern bank. It is possible that the same situation is reflected in Ovid, who repeatedly mentions the Sarmatian carts crossing the frozen Danube.⁴⁵ The interpretation of Ovid’s data is contested — Patsch had in mind the goods traffic going across the icebound river,⁴⁶ while Alföldi thought of predatory raids⁴⁷ — we can nevertheless state that the picture of Sarmatian ox-carts traversing

⁴² See K. CZEGLÉDY, *A magyarság őstörténete* [Pre-history of the Magyars], ed. L. LIGETI. Budapest, 1943. pp. 106.

⁴³ See A. ALFÖLDI, *A kettős királyság a nomádoknál* [Double kingship with nomads]. Károlyi-Emlékkönyv. Budapest, 1933. p. 29.

⁴⁴ See Recently E. A. MOÓR, *A honfoglaló magyarság megtelepülése és a székelek eredete* [Settling down of the Magyars in Hungary and the origin of the Széklers]. Szeged, 1944. pp. 8, 11.

⁴⁵ TRISTIA III 10, 34; 12, 30; Epist. ex Ponto IV 7, 9–10.

⁴⁶ Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Südosteuropa V 1, 118.

⁴⁷ A. ALFÖLDI, *Budapest története* [History of Budapest] I, 178.

the frozen Danube is nowhere in direct connection with the plunderings of the Sarmatians, which by the way are frequently mentioned, whereas Ovid never even as much as mentions goods traffic. Apart from this too, it is difficult to imagine nimble mobile nomadic troops to have encumbered themselves with heavy ox-carts. It is far more probable to surmise here too that the Sarmatians for a while, even after the annexation of the Dobrudja by the Romans (probably until the Jazyges moved to Hungary) in the winter drew as far down to the Southern bank of the Danube and spent the winter months there. This would, at the same time explain why Ovid mentions the Sarmatians alongside with the Getae as the inhabitants of the environs of Tomi (Tristia V 7, 11) and on the whole, only the frequent and protracted presence of the Sarmatians, renders it feasible that they constantly occur together with the Getae and that he learnt the language of the Getae and Sarmatians also (Tristia V 12, 58) even if this is only a poetic figure of speech. It is natural that the frequent appearance of nomadic Sarmatians may easily have gone hand in hand not only with bartering but also with robbing. It may thus be probable that the Sarmatian objective was focused — at the time of Ovid's stay at Tomi, — on a bilateral position at the Danube and in this connection on the occupation of the territories on the right bank of the Danube.

4. The fact that the Sarmatians set foot on both banks of the Danube had a double importance for Mithridates. In the first place a certain amount of pressure was brought to bear upon the peoples of the Northern Balkans, who in their turn rushed down upon Macedonia and the Roman provinces which they harassed all the time with raids and plundering and penetrated in this way as far south as Greece, right to Delphi. On the other hand being in possession of Danubian fords and bases on the southern bank, the Sarmatians themselves could easily penetrate into the Balkans and march against the Romans. This from a strategic point-of-view was of utmost importance to Mithridates. The Romans, on the other hand, faced with the lack of an adequate fleet, could not for a long time acquire naval superiority and since their main supply and reserve lines to Asia Minor went across the Balkans, Mithridates with the help of the Sarmatians and the other Northern Balkan peoples could easily endanger these. Thus we cannot wonder at this territory having become sort of a sideshow theatre-of-war during the Mithridates warfare. Already Sulla had been obliged on the occasion of his march on Asia Minor, to check the North Balkan tribes, yet he could not obtain lasting results, because the Macedonian prefects in the subsequent years too had to lead one campaign after the other against these martial barbaric peoples. After Sulla, L. Cornelius Scipio, then Ap. Claudius Pulcher, C. Scribonius Curio, and finally M. Terentius Varro Lucullus continued them from 85 B. C. (Sulla) to 71 B. C. (Lucullus), yet without achieving lasting results, albeit, Lucullus succeeded in occupying the Greek cities Apollonia Kallatis, Tomi and Istros, which had been military bases of Mithridates.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ See NIESE—HOHL, *Grundriss der römischen Geschichte* pp. 203. ff.

That these fights in reality belong to the scope of the Mithridatic War, was clear all along, yet one date deserves special attention: Ap. Claudius Pulcher in course of his operations penetrated as far as the Sarmatians.⁴⁹ This proves that the Romans in an attempt to ward off the pressure weighing down on them from the North Balkans found themselves in course of the campaign up against the Sarmatians, who were the last dynamic force. At the time, however, there was no possibility as yet to break Sarmatian strength and that is just why Roman efforts were ineffective against the other barbarian tribes; Sarmatian expansion forced these again and again either as their foe or their ally against the Romans.

Thus it seems probable that the Sarmatian tribal confederacy under "royal" Sarmatian leadership played an important rôle — even if only indirectly — during Mithridates' campaigns in the development of Balkan events. This naturally was possible only if they held the Danube line, also the right bank in their hands. That this was so the case is clearly proved by the above mentioned report of Strabo, the question only is to what extent Sarmatian power expanded and to which territory on the right bank of the Danube. Inscriptions revealing the hard pressed position of Istros and Tomi afford certain clues to this effect. On the strength of these we might consider it probable that the Sarmatians held at least the right bank of the Danube in the Dobrudja. It should, however, not be overlooked that with the conquests of Mithridates in the Pontus, here too, it may be assumed that the situation had changed. From the information of Florus that Lucullus in his Thracian campaign which comes under the Mithridatic wars occupied Istros, Tomi, Kallatis and Apollonia, it is clear that the Thracian coastal region and its Greek cities were under Mithridates' sway. Recently, however, an inscription from Apollonia came to light which fully bears out this conjecture.⁵⁰ From this it is clear that Mithridates also sent military formations to assist the city, thus it is beyond doubt that Apollonia and along with it evidently also Istros, Kallatis and Tomi had belonged to his empire. Therefore it is only justified to assume that Mithridates exonerated the Greek cities in the Dobrudja also from Sarmatian pressure and in consequence more peaceful relations developed between Greeks and Sarmatians. If in this way Mithridates stemmed Sarmatian expansion in the Dobrudja, it all the more concurred with his interests that they should southwards expand from a farther western position. Considering all this, the possibility must be taken into account that Strabo's report, according to which the Sarmatians had occupied both banks of the Danube, does not refer to the Dobrudjan Danube course alone, but also to other parts of the Thracian banks of the Danube.

If this conjecture is examined more closely, we may safely state that the Sarmatian expansion to the South of the Danube was a well observed phenomenon and so it could not have been a fact the significance of which was minimized at the beginning of the first century B. C. Regarding this,

⁴⁹ FLORUS, *Epitomae* I 214. 39,6.

⁵⁰ See T. V. BOROZDINA, *VDI* 1946, 3/17 pp. 197.

there is another passage of Strabo (VII 3, 2): καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἀναμείκται ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη (sc. Σκύθαι καὶ Σαρμάται) τοῖς Θραξὶ καὶ τὰ Βασταρνικά, μᾶλλον μὲν τοῖς ἐκτὸς Ἰστροῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐντὸς. This report originates without doubt from Poseidonius (87 F 104) and the adverb "now too" is of special importance. This cannot be Strabo's expression, because in his time the situation such as it appears in the report, is unimaginable. Thus we can only assume that it also comes from the original of Poseidonius and from it we may gain one more valuable proof of the Sarmatian south-of-Danube drive having occurred in Poseidonius' time, that is to say the period of the Mithridatic Wars. Besides, from the reference to the Scythians and Bastarnae it may be concluded that this date too can only refer to the Dobrudja. There is, however, in Strabo's report on the southward drive of the Sarmatians another detail also, from which it can be inferred that this is not necessarily to be concluded. Strabo here mentions the Sauromatians = Sarmatians likewise with the Scythians and Bastarnae, in addition to which also the scene of the events can be determined more accurately from the report: VII 3, 13... καὶ τὸ τῶν Τριβαλλῶν δ' ἔθνος, Θρακικὸν ὄν, τὸ αὐτὸ πέπονθε τοῦτο (sc. τὸ ἀναμείχθαι), μεταναστάσεις γὰρ δέδεκται, τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἐς τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἑξαναστάντων, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς περσικῆς Σκυθῶν καὶ Βασταρνῶν καὶ Σαυροματῶν ἐπικρατούντων πολλάκις, ὥστε καὶ ἐπιδιαβαίνειν τοῖς ἑξελαθεῖσι καὶ καταμένειν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἢ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις ἢ ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ· τῶν δ' ἐκ θατέρου μέρους ὑπ' Ἰλλυριῶν μάλιστα κατισχυομένων. That this report can also only refer to the period of the Mithridatic Wars, or shortly before it admits of no doubt in view of the above arguments. Thus according to this report, the Sarmatian-drive south of the Danube (together with the Sarmatians also the Scythians and Bastarnians are mentioned) at the beginning of the first century B. C. also affected the Triballians. Thus from the Triballians one more clue may be gained to the Sarmatian expansion. Though it is rather difficult to give a precise description of the territory occupied by the Triballians, it is, however, beyond doubt that it included roughly the area between the Morava and the Oescus.⁵¹ This geographical framework may be even further restricted from our point of view, because Triballian territory extended on the Danube line towards the West probably only as far as Ratiaria, since the settling down of the "little" Scordiscians west of the Morava.⁵² Hence, we may locate the South-of-Danube drive of the Sarmatians, on the strength of this report, roughly in the territory between Vidin and the Isker. This naturally does not rule out the seizure of other Danubian right-bank territories, through it is possible that the occupation of the southern bank of the Danube section between Vidin and the Isker was carried out to strict schedule from the outset. This area yielded excellent vantage ground for filing up through the Nestos valley into the heart of the Balkans, from which the Triballians had often profited.⁵³ It may thus be assumed that the Sarmatians too were led when occupying this Danubian

⁵¹ See E. POLASCHEK, RE II. VI, 2396.

⁵² Strabo VII 5, 12. POLASCHEK RE II. VI, 2396, 2400.

⁵³ E. g. the assault on Abdera, see POLASCHEK, RE II. VI, 2393.

section by the desire to establish a convenient bridgehead for possible Balkan adventures.

In this way the Sarmatian penetration of Triballian territory, may have been in line with the broad, large-scale political objectives of Mithridates against Rome. Strabo, however, mentions along with the Sarmatians also the Scythians and Bastarnae and so emerges the question of what connection there may have been between the penetration of these two peoples into Triballian territory with Sarmatian penetration. Considering that the Sarmatians at that time formed a strong tribal confederacy under central leadership, under the power of which the whole territory between the Don and the Danube fell, therefore it seems improbable that the Bastarnae and Scythians should have been equivalent in strength and hence independent political factors of the Sarmatians. As to the Scythians, it was successfully attempted above to prove to a certain extent that they had been the vassals of the Sarmatians and thus we may assume that the Bastarnae too at that time were obliged to recognize the suzerainty of the Sarmatians, even if they preserved to a certain degree their independence. That the Bastarnae belonged to the Sarmatian sphere of power is borne out by the fact that they had taken over several important cultural elements from these,⁵⁴ and by the evidence given by Tacitus (*Germania* 46) that their nobles intermarried with the Sarmatians. It may therefore be assumed that the Bastarnian and Scythian intrusion into Triballian territory either was due to Sarmatian orders, or was effected in alliance with them, in any case it was in close cooperation with them. In this construction it is of special importance that this was not the first intrusion of the Bastarnae in this direction towards the territory south of the Danube. Much earlier, in 179 B. C., in alliance with Philip, king of Macedonia, strong Bastarnian forces had crossed the Danube. Philip wanted the Bastarnae first to occupy the territory of the Dardani in order that they should then intrude with the Scordiscians into Northern Italy. Although his death foiled this plan, one Bastarnian fraction, notwithstanding set foot on Dardanian territory and only three years later was it possible for the Dardani to drive them out.⁵⁵ These antecedents of this Sarmato-Bastarnian-Scythian expansion during the Mithridates warfare, are all the more interesting as they show Mithridates' plans to have been very similar to Philip's designs of attacking Italy on land from the Balkans. Thus it is easily possible that the intrusion of these peoples on Triballian territory happened at his instigation. That this territory had strategic importance is clearly shown by the fact that the Bastarnae much later, after Burebista's death, again penetrating into this South-Danubian territory and setting foot on the land of the Denthelians, south of what is to-day Sofia, marched across Triballian territory.⁵⁶ The occupation of the southern or Triballian bank of the Danube carried out in cooperation with the Sarmatians in the course of the Mithridates warfare, fits organically into the gap between the two Bastarnian southward

⁵⁴ See FR. ALTHEIM, *Die Krise der Alten Welt I*. Berlin—Dahlem, 1943. p. 88.

⁵⁵ See L. SCHMIDT, *Geschichte der Ostgermanen*. Berlin, 1910. p. 460.

⁵⁶ Cassius Dio *LI* 23, 3; see in this connection POLASCHEK *RE* II. VI, 2393.

thrusts, although the appearance of the Scythians so far in the West is somewhat unusual. The Dobrudjan Scythians, though, may have been by that time the vassals of the Sarmatians, so that cooperation with them is feasible enough, however, there is little likelihood of their return to the area north of the Danube and to their subsequent moving back to the Triballians across the Danube. What might be conjectured, however, is that some Scythian fractions pressed westward by the Sarmatians had reached the territory of Little Roumania earlier while their bulk occupied Dobrudja. The rhyton of Poroina may be regarded as an archaeological trace of this Scythian group which had got as far as the Iron Gates. It originated most probably from the beginning of the second century B. C.⁵⁷ This western Scythian fraction may also have come under Sarmatian rule at the beginning of the first century B. C. and may have invaded Triballian territory with them. The gist of this historical event is probably contained in an enumeration by Pliny, in which the Sarmatians and Scythians also appear South of the Danube in Thrace: *aversa eius [sc. Haemi] et in Histrum devexa Moesi, Getae, Aedi, Scaugdae, Clariaeque et sub iis Arraei Sarmatae, quos Areatas vocant, Scythaeque . . . optinent* (Nat. hist. IV 41). We cannot take into account the Sarmatians between the Haemus and the Danube, prior to the first half of the 1st c. so that the Arraei Sarmatae of Pliny, can be identical only with the Sarmatians who invaded Triballian territory as mentioned by Strabo. That Strabo does not enumerate any Sarmatian tribe of this name, does not signify much, because the name of Arraei⁵⁸ probably only meant they were "Aryans",⁵⁹ thus it may not have been a tribal connotation. So the name of Arraei is no obstacle to identifying Pliny's Sarmatians with those mentioned by Strabo, it may at the most mean that Pliny's report comes from another source. Hence Pliny preserved an independent historical tradition for us. It is important that in Pliny's enumeration the Scythians come after the Sarmatians. The Dobrudjan Scythians he mentions later separately (IV 44), thus we find also in Pliny a Scythian group apart from the above. All this shows that the circumstances given by him essentially agree with Strabo's and that they originate from a source which probably gave a geographical picture of the period of the Mithridatic Wars.

5. Thus the picture of a Sarmatian power which is easily tangible also in its historical effects, unfolds itself clearly from the reported sources,

⁵⁷ See ROSTOVITZ, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* 105. *Skythien und der Bosphorus* I, 490.

⁵⁸ We may conjecture that the names „Arraei“ and „Areatae“ are linguistically connected. In this case the form „Arraei“ must be a corruption of the original „Arei“, „Arii“ or perhaps „Ariae“ which indeed might derive from *arya*—. The form of *Areatae*, on the other hand, might be a version of the same word with the plural ending *-t*, *-tā* known from Ossetian, Sogdian or Yaghnobian, namely from those languages with which Sarmatian is most closely connected. Thus the signification of both names is probably „Aryan“, „Aryans“, which was evidently the general denomination used by these Sarmatians of themselves. A good parallel to this is the name the Eastern Ossetians gave themselves *ir*, *iron*, which equally derives from the word *ārya* or *arya*.

⁵⁹ See VASMER, *Die Iranier in Südrussland* 33.

in fact it can be ascertained without doubt that its existence, at least in part coincides with the Pontic expansion of Mithridates Eupator. In addition, certain clues are extant as to the upper and lower time limit of the existence of the historically so important Sarmatian tribal confederacy. A good clue to the lower limit is the date of Appianos (Mithr. 69) according to which Mithridates when preparing his second campaign against the Romans, secured among others also the participation of the "royal" Sarmatians (Σαυροματῶν οἱ τε βασιλῆες). GEYER puts this date of Appianos between 80 and 74 B. C.,⁶⁰ since, however, we may not assume any serious preparations by Mithridates' prior to Sulla's death, this timing may be narrowed down to between 78 and 74 B. C., in fact with some likelihood even to 76 and 74 B. C. Hence, about 75 B. C. the "royal" Sarmatians and the tribal confederacy, which is inferred from this tribal denomination, was still a significant power factor. On the other hand, not much later than 60 B. C. began the sudden increase of Burebista and the Dacians' power, in the course of which, within a few years, they came to possess not only the Roumanian plain and Dobrudja, but the whole territory as far as Olbia. It is evident that this large-scale expansion of the Dacians was possible only after the collapse of Sarmatian power. Thus the conclusion is that the strong tribal confederacy under "royal" Sarmatian leadership had broken up by about 60 B. C. and so the Sarmatians thus disintegrated could no longer preserve even the Roumanian Plain, let alone their South-Danubian conquests. The dissolution of the Sarmatian tribal confederacy is clear also from the fact that we no longer hear of "royal" Sarmatians after the report of Appianos, while later sources only mention the other Sarmatian tribes. That this event was felt as early as about 60 B. C. is seen also from the defeat which Antonius, Cicero's partner in the consulship, suffered at the hands of the Scythians and their allies the Bastarnae in 61 B. C. in Dobrudja near Istros, which shows that at this time the Sarmatians were no longer in that area. Accordingly, we may put the dissolution of the tribal confederacy, brought about by the "royal" Sarmatians, at between 75 and 61 B. C.

As to the formation of this strong Sarmatian power, so much is certain — as was seen — that Mithridates at the time of his expansion in the Pontus region, had found himself face to face with it, therefore its foundation must be conjectured to have been earlier. Considering, however, that the appearance of Mithridates in the northern coastal region of Pontus is closely connected with the expansion of the Sarmatian tribal confederacy, its foundation may not be put at a much earlier date. This is rendered impossible also by the fact that hardly a decade or two earlier, the domination of the Crimean Scythians extended as far as Olbia and their king Skiluros had even money coined in that city. On the other hand, according to one of Strabo's data (VII 4, 3) Skiluros himself was still alive when Mithridates' generals began their operations in the Crimea, although by then his son Palakos may have played the chief part. In any case, so much is clear that Skiluros lived through the height of Crimean Scythian power and survived its

⁶⁰ RE XV, pp. 2179.

downfall, therefore, if he had even been ruling for 40 years when about 108 B. C. the troops of Mithridates appeared in the Crimea, we could not put the foundation of a strong tribal confederacy under "royal" Sarmatian leadership prior to 130 B. C. This is quite in keeping with the fact that we learn of the new Sarmatian power formation for the first time from a report of Strabo dealing with the Mithridatic campaigns, thus from a source recording the geographical picture of this epoch. Hence, the formation of the new Sarmatian power may roughly be put between 130 and 108, yet as we must place within these limits also the Epikrates and Nikeratos inscriptions which look back upon several years' events, but infer the existence of the new Sarmatian power, this interval with much likelihood may be narrowed down to between 130 and 120 B. C. In this respect there is one more clue. Strabo at one point (II 5, 7) reports Hipparchos' view on the size and shape of the oikumene and points out, that above the Borysthenes, in the north farthest from "the known Scythians", there are Roxolani. In itself it would be difficult to decide whether the information originates from Hipparchos or whether it is Strabo's addition. The latter is borne out by the whole passage having the character of an incidental remark and is a little irrelevant in the enumeration of data concerning the size and distances of the oikumene. Despite this, however, we may find it probable that this information comes from Hipparchos. When mention is made of the Roxolani a remark is added, namely that these are more in the south than the known people living on the farthest spot north of Britannia. This remark is comprehensible only in Hipparchos, because he put Britannia on the same latitude as Borysthenes and held Thule — probably after Pytheas — to be the northernmost point of the oikumene. Strabo, on the other hand, imagined Byzantium to have been much more in the north than Massalia while he considered the distance between the latter and Britannia as well as the distance between Byzantium and Borysthenes equal, therefore the Roxolani living in the north farthest from Borysthenes, could not have been more in the south than the people who lived farthest north of Britannia. Thus it seems probable that Hipparchos knew the Roxolani. The activity of this eminent astronomer of antiquity probably took place in the second half of the second century B. C.,⁶¹ astronomic observations from him date back to between 146 and 126 B. C.⁶² Even though it is not entirely impossible that his activity reached as far as into the last decades of that century, nevertheless we may place his information on the Roxolani with greatest likelihood at the most in the time of his last known astronomical observations, i. e. in the years round about 125 B. C. The mentioning of the Roxolani at that time, shows that the new Sarmatian power was an important factor by then and that even their remotest tribes were known.

6. According to these, the formation of the Sarmatian tribal confederacy under "royal" Sarmatian leadership and the appearance of the

⁶¹ See H. BERGER, *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen*. Leipzig, 1903. p. 459.

⁶² See REHM, *RE VIII*, 1666.

constituent tribes between the Don and Dnieper, may be put between 130 and 125 B.C. This relatively accurate definition helps in an attempt to find further connections with this event. Historical research, some time ago recognized that the Eastern European peoples' movements were in close connection with the shaping of Western Asiatic history. Accordingly, up to now several attempts have been made to clear the Eastern roots of Sarmatian movements. In this direction it was VERNADSKY who went farthest by trying to take hold of the Eastern origin and relations of the Sarmatians by means of identifying the peoples' names occurring partly in Greek, Latin and partly in Chinese sources.⁶³ However, the identifications of such names, which form the basis of his experiment do not hold good,⁶⁴ so that we may safely dismiss the discussion of this theory. Also ROSTOVTZEFF dealt with this question and ventured on a hypothesis that the beginning of South-Russian Sarmatian expansion to the West was connected with the Eastern events of Alexander the Great's age, the appearance of the Jazyges, Roxolani, Aorsians, and Siracians with the Sako-Parthian movements while the appearance of the Alans hangs together with the Yüeh-chih migration.⁶⁵ This conjecture underwent modification by ALTHEIM, inasmuch as he put the beginning of Sarmatian movements at the beginning of the second century B. C. and thus linked up the Western expansion of Sarmatian tribes in general with the birth of the Parthian empire and with the Tochar-Saka migration.⁶⁶ It is, however, indubitable — as has been shown by JUNGE⁶⁷ — that the beginning of Sarmatian movements goes back to much earlier times and so cannot be directly connected with the Tochar-Saka migration called forth by the birth of the Hsiung-nu power. In addition, the fact must be taken into account that the Western drive of Sarmatian tribes went forth in several waves, it was a rather complex process, the phases of which must be put to the test one by one from the point-of-view of motive forces. Thus ALTHEIM's hypothesis cannot be accepted, ROSTOVTZEFF's theory is likewise too vague and lax, let alone that the appearance of Jazyges and Roxolani in South Russia, in this case should have to be put practically one century earlier, which is grossly at variance with the given data of the sources. So much, however, seems clear that the historical events which can be observed in the course of the second century B. C. of the Pontic Sarmatians are somehow connected with the great movements called forth by the birth of the Hsiung-nu empire. This may now be more closely defined with the help of the more accurate chronology of Eastern and Western events. As was seen, the birth of the new Sarmatian power under "royal" Sarmatian leadership was probably an accomplished fact by 125 B. C. When

⁶³ See *Ancient Russia* pp. 82, 88.

⁶⁴ See HARMATTA, *RHC V* (1947), 232.

⁶⁵ *Skythien und der Bosphorus I* 609; for general reference: *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* pp. 114.

⁶⁶ *WaG II* (1936), 320; McGOVERN, *The Early Empires of Central Asia*. Chapel Hill, 1939, p. 424 n. 12. attributes the westward drive of the Sarmatians to the pressure of the Hsiung-nu, yet without expounding his conception in detail.

⁶⁷ J. JUNGE, *Saka-Studien. Der ferne Nordosten im Weltbild der Antike*. Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, XLI. Beiheft. Leipzig, 1939. p. 94, n. 5.

this process began cannot be ascertained with accuracy, yet it may not have begun much earlier, because prior to this Skiluros, still alive in 107/108, had money coined in Olbia. Nor may the dissolution of the Saiian power be put at a date approximately two decades earlier, owing to the Amage story, so that the chronology of events may probably be established thus: about 145 or 140 B. C. the power of the Sarmatians known from the Protogenes inscriptions as Saii, declined and simultaneously the Crimean Scythians once more recovered their strength and extended their suzerainty as far as the Dnieper. This situation suddenly changed after 130 B. C. when — in the Western part of the Pontus — the new Sarmatian tribes: the “royal” Sarmatians, the Jazyges, Urgi, and Roxolani appeared or took shape through the coalescence of newly arrived Iranian elements with the Sarmatians who had been living there before they united and seized the territory between the Danube and the Don. From this it is evident that the event responsible for the formation of the new Sarmatian power, or the appearance of the new Sarmatian tribes, had to occur in the east round about 130 B. C. However, in addition to this another earlier agent asserting itself round about 150/145 must be taken into account as well. These conclusions are in complete harmony with the chronology of Eastern events. As is known, the migration of the Yüeh-chih, to which the Hsiung-nu had given impetus, occurred in two phases. The first of the two may be put — according to the careful estimation of HALOUN — round about 174—160 B. C., in fact a slightly later date does not seem to be out of question either.⁶⁸ In the course of this process the Yüeh-Chih-s drove the Sacae away from their old territory,⁶⁹ and these in their turn, according to JUNGÉ's thorough arguments, occupied Kashmir by 155 B. C. at the latest.⁷⁰ Although Chinese sources know only of this large-scale southward Saka migration, it is highly probable that this event led to such an extensive dispersion of Saka tribes, that it was felt also in the West. One Chinese report, in fact, mentions (Han-shu, 96. c., *s. v.* Chi-pin) that Saka tribes spread out and founded small states in several places, yet as may be expected this report refers only to the Sacae who remained within the orbit of the Chinese. On the whole it is difficult even to engage in guesswork as to why and how far this blow affecting the eastern Sacae concerned the Saka tribes living on the steppes of Western Turkestan, though one date of Ptolemaios affords a certain clue. He mentions when describing Asiatic Sarmatia (V 8,13) a people in the Caucasus whom he calls Σακαβοί, by which no doubt a Saka fraction drifted to the far West must be understood.⁷¹ It is thus probable that simultaneously with the migration of the bulk of the Eastern Sacae there were also certain shifts to the west, the effects of which reached also the Pontic Sarmatians and resulted in the

⁶⁸ G. HALOUN, ZDMG XCI (1937), pp. 246.

⁶⁹ HALOUN, ZDMG XCI (1937), 246, and note 2, p. 251 and note 6; see also e. g. HERZFELD, AMI IV (1932), pp. 14 ff.

⁷⁰ Saka Studien pp. 98.

⁷¹ The Greek form, renders the Middle Persian plural *sakān* ~ *sagān* of the Saka-name (cf. e. g. *Sagānšāh* 'King of the Sakai'), or his form with the suffix *-na-*, *sakan* < *sakana-* (cf. e. g. Ossetian *iron* 'Ost-Osete, ost-ossetisch' side by side with *ir* 'Ost-Osete').

weakening and eventual disintegration of the power of the tribes mentioned in the Protogenes inscription. If we consider that this could only have been a rather slow process, and that 10—15 years must have elapsed before effects could be felt far in the West, we arrive at the above conjectured date concerning the earlier agent asserting itself in the history of the Western Sarmatians. HALOUN⁷² puts the second phase of the migration of the Yüeh-chih between 133 and 129 B. C., however if JUNGE's assumption that we must see Tochari (Yüeh-chih) in the "Scythians" called by Phraates II. to his assistance in 130/129 B. C.,⁷³ is correct, only the upper limit of the interval can be taken into account. That is when the Yüeh-chih occupy Bactria and this event was bound to make its effect felt on the Western Turkestan steppes. It is probable that this powerful thrust of the Yüeh-chih forced also other Iranian tribes to move westward. This process is to a certain extent easy to grasp on the grounds of our sources. We know from Chinese sources (Han-shu 96/I, Shih-chi 123) that at the time when the Yüeh-chih migration was concluded, a people named Yen-ts'ai lived in the region of Lake Aral; HIRTH and GUTSCHMID also recognized that behind this name are hidden the Aorsians, well known from both Greek and Latin sources.⁷⁴ They and the Siracians according to Strabo, who reported on them first lived on the steppes east of the Don (XI 5, 9), yet it was not here they had their original seats they had fled from the Aorsians living farther up in the north. These Aorsians, "living farther up in the north" duly considering Strabo's geographical picture, should not be sought in the North, but in the Aral region,⁷⁵ thus just where Chinese sources place the Yen-ts'ai. From this it is clear that the Aorsians and Siracians had moved to South Russia from the Aral region. That their original abode was here is palpably proved by Ptolemaios, who following older tracks in his description of the peoples of Scythia intra Imaum (VI 14, 10), places the Aorsians, near to the Iaxartes-Syr-Darya. The intrusion of the Aorsians and of the Siracians into Eastern Europe was evidently the event which caused the "royal" Sarmatians and the other Western Sarmatian tribes under the leadership of the former, to occupy the territory between the Danube and the Don and to consolidate their power there. As we have seen this event was roughly between 130 and 125 B. C., in which time also the settling of the Aorsians and Siracians in Eastern Europe had to occur. Since the movement of the Sarmatian tribes extending from Lake Aral to the Danube, coincides in time with the Yüeh-chih inroad into Bactria, a close interrelation between the two events suggests itself. Thus it is highly probable that the formation of the great Sarmatian power between the Danube and the Don round about 125 B. C., may be brought into direct connection with the westward drive of the peoples' masses, due to the expansion of the Hsiung-nu empire. When the first Yüeh-chih move compelled large Eastern Saka masses

⁷² ZDMG XCI (1937), pp. 249.

⁷³ Saka-Studien 101.

⁷⁴ FR. HIRTH, China and the Roman Orient. Shanghai—Leipzig, 1885. p. 139, n. 1 and A. v. GUTSCHMID, Geschichte Irans. Tübingen, 1888. p. 69.

⁷⁵ See JUNGE, Saka-Studien pp. 54, 77 ff.

to migrate, this event caused certain shifts also in the line of the Iaxartes-Syr-Darya, Lake Aral and the Caspian Sea, and in consequence of the pressure from the East gradually asserting itself, the power of the Sarmatians i. e. Saii holding the Dnieper region in their sway round about 145 B.C., weakened considerably. The decisive turn, however, occurred through the second Yüeh-chih move. Then one part of the Yen-ts'ai-Aorsians evidently strongly affected by the Yüeh-chih migration, together with other Iranian tribes, press westwards as far as the Don. The Sarmatian tribes, on the other hand, that had held this territory previously, took possession of the Dnieper region absorbing the Saii and formed with the other Iranian elements found there under "royal" Sarmatian leadership an empire extending from the Danube to the Don.⁷⁶

7. It can also be ascertained from the available sporadic sources that the Western Sarmatian tribes had not always lived in loose formations and in chaotic disorder side by side, but brought about round 125 B. C. — after invading the territory between the Don and the Danube owing to the pressure of the Yüeh-chih expansion from the East —, a strong empire under the central leadership of a "royal" tribe which empire played for almost three quarters of a century an important historical rôle. Recognition of this fact permits the definition of the archaeological remains of the Western Sarmatians from this period. The Sarmatian finds from the Hellenistic epoch have a characteristic group with which ROSTOVTZEFF dealt in several works.⁷⁷ The main characteristic of this group of finds is represented by golden or gilt silver horsetrappings (*phalerae*) partly with representations of religious subjects, partly with plant ornamentation. ROSTOVTZEFF includes in this group the finds of Ahtanizovskaja Stanica, Severskaja Stanica, Jančokrak, Starobeljsk, Taganrog, Uspenskaja Stanica, Novouzensk, Isteckaja Jurta and Galiče, as well as a phalera from an unknown place of origin and two specimens of Pontic origin in the Cabinet des Médailles. Moreover he proves that the styles and manners of representation of these *phalerae* are in close connection with Greco-Indian art. According to ROSTOVTZEFF the bearers of the *phalerae* were Sarmatian tribes that had been living in the past somewhere in the farther East in the vicinity of Indo-Scythians whence they had brought this style to South Russia. Here this art had no immediate precedent, the finds of Alexandropol and Fedulovo which alone might be taken into account from this point of view, belong to the beginning of the third century B. C., which means they are from a much earlier period than the above mentioned ones. However, the latter two also have links in common with Eastern and Graeco-Indian art, so that ROSTOVTZEFF is inclined to attribute them to an earlier Sarmatian wave.

⁷⁶ Hereby an old surmise of MÜLLENHOF's won credit. See Deutsche Altertums-kunde III. Berlin, 1892. p. 41.

⁷⁷ Iranians and Greeks in South Russia pp. 136. Sarmatskij i indoskifskij drevnosti. Recueil-Kondakov. Praga, 1926, pp. 239. Skythien und der Bosphorus I, 542, pp. 548, pp. 552, pp. 554, 583. See further A. SPIGYN, Falary južnoj Rossij: IIAK XXIX (1909) and N. FETICH: Die Metallkunst der landnehmenden Ungarn. AH XXI. Budapest, 1937. pp. 142.

Two clues exist as to the chronological position of the mentioned group of finds. One is the find of Severskaja Stanica, which, in view of the coins of the last Pairisades found in it, must be placed in the last decade of the second century B. C. The other clue is offered by one of the plaques in the Cabinet des Médailles. Provided the inscription on it is no forgery, this may be regarded as originating from the period of Mithridates Eupator. As the finds belonging to the group are closely linked up by stylistic and topical concurrences, it is very probable that their place is between the time boundaries represented by the *phalerae* of the Cabinet des Médailles, and of the find of Severskaja Stanica, *i. e.* roughly between 110 and 60 B. C. The remaining question now is how this group of finds can be valued from the historical and ethnical points of view. As was seen the group of finds spread over a territory extending from the Tobol to Bulgaria. This circumstance renders the solution extremely difficult. On this territory this time neither political, nor ethnical unity can be reckoned with, although this would be the most natural explanation of such a closely coherent find group within such a comparatively short interval. Thus it is no wonder that ROSTOVTZEFF was also vague about this problem, in fact he eventually risked several conjectures partly at variance with one another. As was mentioned, ROSTOVTZEFF arrived at that undoubtedly correct result, according to which on the strength of the examination of the Sarmatian archaeological legacy, the immigration of the Sarmatians into South Russia, happened in several waves. Hereby he obtained a historical frame into which he could place the group of the *phalerae* finds. A clue to this was the close connection of the *phalerae* with Graeco-Indian art, which could most easily be explained with the origin of the bearers of the *phalerae* in the vicinity of the Indo-Scythians. However, the piecing together of this seemingly concordant theory ultimately came up against various difficulties. The main territory of the occurrence of the group of *phalerae* finds as ROSTOVTZEFF himself states, is after all confined to the Western part of South Russia and as a new art which may be called Irano-Celtic came about under the influence on the Celts, it can only be brought into connection, with those Sarmatian tribes, who, according to him, first came into contact with Western nations.⁷⁸ On this point it was extremely unfavourable that ROSTOVTZEFF had no clear picture of Sarmatian migration. He did not reckon with the possibility that Sarmatian waves did not necessarily settle down one after the other from West to East in the order of their appearance, but that they could very well stratify one above the other and the later ones might have absorbed the earlier ones. Since he did not give thought to this, for him the order of geographical location of the Sarmatian tribes was tantamount to the sequence of their historical appearance, so that he held the Jazyges, who penetrated farthest West, to have been the first Sarmatian wave. This led to the result that he was compelled to consider the *phalerae* finds as the legacy of the westernmost Jazyges and Roxolani, who again in his opinion were the first Sarmatian wave in South Russia.⁷⁹ Needless

⁷⁸ Iranians and Greeks in South Russia 139.

⁷⁹ Op. cit. 145.

to say, this theory was in sharp contradiction to the result he had reached, namely that the *phalerae* were bound to have been brought by a Sarmatian wave from the vicinity of the Indo-Scythians. The beginnings of the *phalerae* find group can only have been at the end of the second century B. C.; their bearers (thus those who brought them from the east) evidently can not be identical with the earliest Sarmatian wave. ROSTOVITZEFF himself may have felt this contradiction and tried to obviate it somehow. As he saw that the identification of Jazyges representing the first Sarmatian wave with the bearers of the *phalerae*, met with difficulties, he gave up this idea and merely stressed that the *phalerae* had to be brought by a newer Sarmatian wave from the east; but he refrained from giving a closer definition of the latter.⁸⁰ It goes without saying that this was not a reassuring solution, therefore ROSTOVITZEFF came to the conclusion that the *phalerae* had been brought to South Russia by the Siracians and it is from them that they spread along the Northern Euxine coastline.⁸¹ This apparently puzzling change of opinion, after all is easy enough to explain: if the Jazyges who appeared earliest could not have brought the *phalerae* from the east, another tribe had to be found of which this could be more readily surmised, a tribe which arrived later and had a more eastern situation. ROSTOVITZEFF found the Siracians the most suitable. However, these lived east of the Don on the steppes extending above the Caucasus, and not in the Western part of South Russia, whence the larger part of the *phalerae* finds originate and whence the influence of this group of find reached the Celts. Thus he was obliged to surmise that the Western Sarmatians had taken over the *phalerae* from the Siracians. This conception, however, partly contradicts that conjecture of his, according to which the Siracians had lived from as early as the end of the fourth century B. C. in their homeland north of the Caucasus, and he partly deprives his own theory on the origin of the *phalerae* of its foundation. It is obvious that, if the appearance of *phalerae* finds among the Western Sarmatians on whose territory their larger part had been found, are interpreted as having been borrowed from a Sarmatian tribe living farther east which handed them over, it is not necessary to consider the group of *phalerae* finds as a whole, as the legacy of a new Sarmatian tribe arriving from the immediate vicinity of the Indo-Scythians. Therefore all the efforts of ROSTOVITZEFF levelled at the historical evaluation and the ethnic determination of the *phalerae* finds must be regarded as unacceptable owing to internal contradictions.⁸²

If we seek the causes which called forth the error of this eminent expert of Scythian and Sarmatian archaeological material, the following may be concluded: ROSTOVITZEFF had no clear picture of that epoch of Pontic Sarmatian history to which the *phalerae* may be assigned and there-

⁸⁰ Sarmatskija i indoskifskija drevnosti 256, 258, Skythien und der Bosphoros I, 604.

⁸¹ CAH XI, 102.

⁸² The main cause of ROSTOVITZEFF's statements being partly at variance with each other, is evidently that he could not work out his results in detail and cast them in a final form after his emigration.

fore he could not determine the historical framework of the material of finds, nor state its ethnic location. In addition to this, he unnecessarily linked up the problem of ethnic determination and the origin of the *phalerae*. First he asserted that the *phalerae* are linked by numerous common traits to Graeco-Indian art and from this he immediately concluded that the *phalerae* were bound to have been brought from the vicinity of the Indo-Scythians by Sarmatian tribes migrating westwards from there. The correct procedure, on the other hand, is first to clarify the ethnic determination, or at least not to make this dependent upon the Eastern relations of the representations and style of the *phalerae*, since these may not solely be explained by contiguity. So much can, in any case be stated that the chronological position of the *phalerae* finds fully tallies with the time of existence of the Western Sarmatian empire which stood out from our above results. The latter may be put round about 125 and 61 B. C. while the *phalerae* finds may be placed between 110 and 60 B. C. This concurrence no doubt proves that the *phalerae* finds are bound to be historically related to the Western Sarmatian tribal confederacy under "royal" Sarmatian leadership. The total ethnical identification of the *phalerae* finds with the Western Sarmatian tribal confederacy is obviously contradicted by the fact that the area of occurrence of the *phalerae* finds extends from Bulgaria to Siberia, whereas the Western Sarmatian tribal confederacy held only the territory between the Danube and the Don in its sway. From this would follow that the *phalerae* finds have no ethnic determinative value, because the *phalerae* in a certain period were used by most Sarmatian and in fact by non-Sarmatian peoples (cf. the Noin-Ula *phalerae*). Thus, if we hold that the appearance of *phalerae* in themselves do not constitute adequate ground for separating one Sarmatian tribe or tribal group from the other, we may, notwithstanding, not deny the possibility that within a *phalerae* find group there might occur such differences which might be utilized also for ethnic differentiation. Considering this we must stress the fact emphasized also by ROSTOVTZEFF, that the major part of the *phalerae* finds originates from the western part of South Russia, that is, from the territory of the Western Sarmatian tribal confederacy. From this territory, in the south-easternmost corner of the Carpathian basin, in the department of Háromszék near Szörce, a more recent *phalerae* find came to light, which underlines the Western character of the *phalerae* find group even more. Investigating the Szörce find (consisting of six *phalerae*) Dr. N. FETICH arrived in this connection at the important result that the *phalerae* of Szörce, Galiče, and in addition the Taganrog, Jančokrak and Starobeljsk finds are linked up by so many close congruences as far as subject, style and technique, that it is highly probable that they came from the same workshops.⁸³ This statement is important because in this way one group clearly stands apart from the others, namely the one whose area of occurrence is precisely the same as the one over which the empire under "royal" Sarmatian domination extended. This means that we have

⁸³ See Folia Ethnographica I/2 (1949) in the press.

succeeded in getting hold of the archaeological legacy of a Western Sarmatian tribal confederacy from the reign of Mithradates Eupator. It is surely no coincidence that only the works of one workshop or metal work centre spread just in this territory, but we might conclude that this territory at that time formed an economic and political unity. Apart from this such a large-scale production of *phalerae* implies a certain economic boom, which again was possible only after the understanding reached by the Western Sarmatian power with Mithradates, when commercial relations could be established with the Pontic Greek cities. Thus we may ascertain that the Western Sarmatian tribal confederacy under "royal" Sarmatian leadership between 125 and 61 B. C., was a historical factor playing an important rôle in South Russia, which also made its influence clearly felt in the archaeological records. This is all the more obvious if we consider that certain finds, e. g. the Galiče one, can be evaluated historically even more accurately within comparatively narrow limits. Near Galiče a large Sarmatian find of 14 *phalerae* came to light. This locality, however, is south of the Danube, in Bulgaria, in the district of Orehovo, where the cropping up of a Sarmatian find is conspicuous anyway, because this area had never been inhabited by Sarmatians. However, we have pointed out above that the Western Sarmatian power during the Mithridates campaigns intruded on the territory south of the Danube as well, and, in fact, according to the definite evidence of our sources, — just upon Triballian territory. Galiče lies roughly in the centre of what used to be Triballian territory, not too far from the Danube, so that there can hardly be any doubt that the *phalerae* find, which has come to light nearby, is a palpable record of the short-lived Sarmatian occupation of Triballian territory.

Thus it seems beyond doubt that one clearly isolated group of *phalerae* finds is to be regarded as the legacy of Sarmatian tribes belonging to the Western Sarmatian empire between 125 B. C. and 61 B. C. However, the question arises how the links of the *phalerae* with Graeco-Indian art as emphasized by ROSTOVITZ, may be explained. As was seen above, only the eastern origin of the Aorsians in the course of the Yüeh-chih migrations is clearly traceable. The Sarmatian tribes between 130 and 125 B. C. occupying the territory between the Danube and the Don, had probably been living in Eastern Europe at that time, — namely in the decades immediately preceding this, — and were only driven from here by Aorsian pressure further west. So there is little likelihood from the historical point of view of the Sarmatian tribes bringing the *phalerae* directly from the vicinity of the Indo-Scythians. Against this stands the fact that we do not find the precedent of the *phalerae* find group confined to the territory of the Western Sarmatian empire farther east. It is true, on the other hand, that there are *phalerae* finds further east, as well, yet there is no clue whatever to these being older, moreover, they are so far removed from the Western group as regards style and technical characteristics that they cannot be derived from those. Thus, there is no other possibility than to consider this *phalerae* find group on the whole, as having originated in the West, and to link it up with the economic boom which was the consequence of the friendly

relations established by Mithridates in the Pontic region with the Sarmatians. By this we wish by no means to refute the eastern links of the *phalerae* so strongly stressed by ROSTOVTZEFF. The fact that South Russia had very strong ties with India at this epoch should not be disregarded. This is proved not only by the *phalerae* in question but also by other archaeological finds. Thus, e. g. in Taxila the exact counterpart of the dagger of the Sarmatian find of Prochorovka was unearthed.⁸⁴ This lively trade linked India with South Russia across the Caucasus and Persia, which is recorded by the sources. Strabo mentions in his description of the Aorsians (XI 5, 8) that the latter conveyed on camels Indian and Babylonian merchandise which they took over from the Armenians and Medes. This report is important also because it states clearly that from India the trade crossing the Parthian empire did not only reach the Pontic empire but indirectly also the Sarmatians. Albeit JUNGE would like to interpret this report of Strabo as a central Asiatic caravan route in a north easterly direction,⁸⁵ but this forced explanation has no serious foundation. That Indian goods should have found their way to the Sarmatians on a trade route by passing the Caspian Sea from the north, in itself is feasible enough, but Strabo is explicit about the merchandise having been also Babylonian, moreover about the rôle of Armenians and Medes as middlemen, so that there can be no question of misunderstanding. Apart from this, Transcaucasian trade is clearly visible also from other sources. We know from another report of Strabo's (XI 2, 16) that in Transcaucasia on the Euxine coast the most important centre was Dioscurias. Strabo also mentioned that 70 neighbouring peoples came there to transact their business, among whom the Sarmatians are represented in the largest numbers. From this it can be clearly asserted that Sarmatian trade reached right down to Transcaucasia, where the merchandise from India could be taken over directly. In this connection the discovery of a burial ground near the Transcaucasian Bori (dept. of Kutais) on a territory belonging to the commercial sphere of Dioscurias, is of decisive significance. In this burial ground ornaments and precious metal objects came to light which show a close connection with the Taxila finds.⁸⁶ In the same place also Roman, Parthian and Indo-Scythian coins were found which shows clearly that Indian trade must have crossed through this area. Taking all this into account we may further assume that the links of the Sarmatian *phalerae* with Indo-Scythian art may also have come about in this way, either by applying some Indo-Scythian motifs to Sarmatian *phalerae*, or by *phalerae* having found their way through trade from Indo-Scythia to Pontus where they were imitated. Such imported *phalera* or one which had been made at the influence of an imported one, might be the

⁸⁴ See W. GINTERS, *Das Schwert der Skythen und Sarmaten in Südrussland*. Berlin, 1928. p. 82.

⁸⁵ *Saka Studien* 78.

⁸⁶ See ROSTOVTZEFF's arrangement: *Sarmatskija i indoskifskija drevnosti* 251. Concerning the Bori finds see E. PRIDIK, *MAR XXXIV* (1914), pp. 94.

specimen in the Cabinet des Médailles from an unknown place, yet originating from the Pontus region; in the middle of it we find an elephant represented.⁸⁷

8. Summing up our results briefly, we may safely say, while challenging the generally current view according to which the Sarmatians were merely a loosely linked conglomerate of larger and smaller tribes living rather chaotically side by side, that the picture of a strong Sarmatian power existing for almost three quarters of a century round about the turn of the second and first centuries, stands out plainly even from the sporadic sources. The Sarmatian tribes bringing this about probably took final possession of the territory between the Dnieper and Danube round about 125 B. C. as a result of the peoples migration after the second Yüeh-chih move, and founded here an empire disposing of expansive power under the leadership of their "royal" tribe. In the course of their expansion they soon made the Scythians their vassals and endeavoured to bring the Pontic Greek cities under their power. This challenged the interference of Mithridates Eupator, through which they were barred from the possession of the Greek cities, but in view of Mithridates' friendly policy they enjoyed the boons of favourable economic and trade relations and Mithridates' foreign political conceptions afforded them new expansive possibilities towards the west. Here they occupied the whole Lower Danube line, in fact they intruded on the territory south of the Danube and for a time they held one part of the land of the Tribalians. We find the traces of this once important Sarmatian power during the Mithridates warfare also in the archaeological record material. When after the Pontic conquests of Mithridates the balance of power had been stabilized, more peaceful conditions were brought about and lively commercial relations were established between the Sarmatians and the Pontus region, moreover, across Parthia among the Indoscythians, richly adorned horse trappings (*phalerae*) under the influence of Indo-Scythian art were being made in Pontus, perhaps also by the Sarmatians. It is just in the Western Sarmatian territory that we find one group of these characteristic trappings, most likely made in the selfsame metalwork centre, which is a clear proof of the economic and political unity of the territory under their power. Round the time of the death of Mithridates Eupator the strong Sarmatian tribal confederacy disintegrated and the "royal" Sarmatians vanished from history. What may have been the reason cannot be clearly stated for the time being. However, later, after the consolidation of Roman power in the Balkans and the Pontus region such a strong Sarmatian power could not again spring up, so that we may indeed regard the epoch of the Sarmatian empire existing between 125 B. C. and 61 B. C. as the most interesting period in Western Sarmatian history.

⁸⁷ See ROSTOV'TZEFF, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* XXVII, 2.

THE SARMATIANS IN HUNGARY*

I.

The appearance of the Huns has been generally held responsible to have set in motion the large-scale movement of peoples that has been known by history as the migration of peoples. The appearance of the Huns in Europe was without doubt of decisive importance in history, yet it would be a mistake to believe that their entry to Eastern and Central Europe had been an entirely new and isolated phenomenon in the history of those parts of Europe. Over a century ago *A. Hansen* already saw clearly that the migration of peoples had begun a thousand years earlier with the appearance of the Scythians,¹ and recent investigations have convincingly demonstrated that the migration of the Huns was only one episode in the long series of migrations in the course of which the equestrian nomads of the steppes moved from east to west, and that the movement spread for over more than two thousand years. The process set in with the appearance of the Cimmerii at a thousand years before our era. The earliest known seat of the Cimmerii was in the Caucasus and on the adjoining steppes lying north to it; subsequently they penetrated further west and entered South Hungary in the course of the 8th

*LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS:

AE	Archeológiai Értesítő
AH	Archeologica Hungarica
AMI	Archeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran
AntHung	Antiquitas Hungarica
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
EPhK	Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny
ESA	Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua
FA	Folia Archeologica
IIAK	Izvestija Imperatorskoj Archeologičeskoj Komissij
KCsA	Kőrösi Csoma-Archivum
MNy	Magyar Nyelv
NK	Numizmatikai Közlöny
RE	Pauly—Wissowa—Kroll, Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschafts
RHC	Revue d'Histoire Comparée
RLV	Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte
SWAW	Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften
VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii

¹ *A. Hansen*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Völkerwanderung. I. Ost-Europa nach Herodot. Dorpat, 1844.

century before our era. The archeological remains relating to these peoples, contain a great number of horse trappings; one find of a reflex-bow, identified recently, clearly points to a warrior people with equestrian bowmen. The Cimmerii were, therefore, the first people who introduced to Europe a nomad type of warfare that employed equestrian bowmen in large numbers. The migration of the Cimmerii swept along with them a number of peoples who belonged to other ethnic groups, but there can be not doubt about it that the ruling classes of the Cimmerii must have spoken an Iranian language judging from the names of their rulers. It is, therefore, highly probable that they had originally come from somewhere in the steppes of Kazakstan which was supposedly the cradle of the Iranian peoples.²

A new equestrian nomad people appeared soon in the footsteps of the Cimmerii: the Scythians, who in the course of their westward movement put an end to the power of the Cimmerii. At the end of the 6th century before our era the Scythians had already invaded and conquered the South Eurasian steppes and penetrating further into the western borderlands of the Eurasian steppe belt, they arrived to Hungary by about the beginning of the 5th century before our era. Judging from their archeological remains they settled in two separate lots on their new territories namely in Transylvania and along the river Tisa. The number of Scythians settled in Hungary must, however, have been so small that they soon became merged into the indigenous Thracian peoples and into the Celtic peoples who had come to Hungary from the west. Like the Cimmerii, the Scythians also spoke an Iranian language, and so their arrival, one incident in the migration of the equestrian nomad peoples, again increased the preponderance of Iranian elements on the East European steppes.³

In the course of the migrations taking place in the Eurasian steppe belt, a new Iranian people, the Sarmatians, followed the Scythians to South Russia in the last centuries before our era. According to the current view we can trace their origin and history as far back as the 5th century before our era.⁴ It was at this time that the contemporary account of *Herodotus* reported

² For the latest stand of the investigations concerning the Cimmerii see *J. Harmatta*, *AE* 7/8 (1946-48), pp. 107ff.

³ The outstanding publications on the Scythians are: *E. H. Minns*, *Scythians and Greeks*. Cambridge, 1913.; *M. Ebert*, *Südrussland im Altertum*. Bonn-Leipzig, 1921.; *M. Ebert* in *RLV XIII*, pp. 52ff.; *M. Rostovtzeff*, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*. Oxford, 1922.; *M. Rostowzew*, *Skythien und der Bosphorus*. I. Berlin, 1931. On the Scythian archeological remains found in Hungary see *N. Fettich*, *Bestand der skythischen Altertümer Ungarns*, in *Rostowzew's Skythien und der Bosphorus*, vol. I., pp. 494ff. Since the latter publication many new Scythian remains from the Tisza region have become known. For these see *M. Párducz*, *Dolgozatok (Studies)* 16 (1940), pp. 79ff., *AE* 4 (1943), pp. 50ff., *AE* 5/6 (1944-45), pp. 62ff. For literature on the Scythians in Hungary see *P. Reinecke* in *AE* 17 (1897), pp. 9ff.; *V. Pârvan*, *Getica. O Protoistorie a Daciei*. Bucarest, 1926., pp. 6ff.; *V. G. Childe*, *The Danube in Prehistory*. Oxford, 1929., pp. 394ff. *Rostowzew*, *Skythien und der Bosphorus*. Vol. I., pp. 530ff. *J. Nestor*, *Bericht der römisch-germanischen Komm.* 22 (1932), pp. 143ff. *N. Fettich*, *La trouvaille scythe de Zöldhalompuszta* in *AH III*. Budapest, 1929, and the same author's *Der skythische Fund von Gartschinowo*. *AH XV*. Budapest, 1934. On the ancient tribes of South Russia see *S. A. Žebelev* in *VDI*, 1938 1. pp. 149ff.

⁴ See among others *Ebert*, *Südrussland im Altertum*, pp. 339ff. and his contribution in *RLV XIII*, p. 61. *K. Kretschmer* in *RE II*. R. I., pp. 2545f. *M. Vasmer*,

(IV. 21) that eastwards to the Scythians and beyond the river Tanais (=Don), there settled a people called the Sauromatae. The Sauromatae of *Herodotus* have generally been thought the same people as the Sarmatae of a later date.⁵ But *Rostovtzeff*, one of the foremost authorities on Scythian and Sarmatian archeology, went so far as to deny that the two peoples had anything in common apart from a superficial similarity in their names. The description of the Sauromatae by *Herodotus* (IV. 110—117) shows obvious traces of a matriarchy or gynaiocracy, and *Rostovtzeff* adduces this as an argument to prove that this Iranian tribe had absorbed a great many local ethnic elements of the land. On the other hand, as *Rostovtzeff* points out, not the slightest traces of a social organization can be recovered that would point to a matriarchy with the Sarmatians.⁶ *Rostovtzeff's* arguments have been rejected by practically all the investigators,⁷ and in his latest summary of the question he himself has undertaken a certain modification of his original attitude on the dissimilarity of the Sauromatae and the Sarmatae.⁸

It cannot be maintained that the position *Rostovtzeff* had originally taken, was the best way to get rid of the difficulties, though it must be also admitted that not much was gained either by identifying the two peoples or by looking upon the two tribal names as simply being doublets. It must on no account be forgotten that it has so far not been unequivocally established what the names Sauromatae and Sarmatae connote ethnically; such a delimitation has not even been attempted though, it stands to reason, that without attempting such a definition, the question can never be solved in a satisfactory way. As soon as we set about to remedy this deficiency, we shall find already at the outset that the problem is far more complicated than either *Rostovtzeff* or his antagonists have ever imagined. The name Sauromatae as employed by *Herodotus* (IV. 21, 110—17), seems to suggest that it was used as a designation of an Iranian tribe whose seats lay east of Scythia, and that an attempt was made by him to delimit their actual seats with some accuracy by means of cartographical terms. Hardly a century had passed after the time of *Herodotus* when *Éphoros* widened the term of Sauromatae⁹, while his successors employed the name to denote a number of actual and mythical peoples.¹⁰

Die Iranier in Südrussland. Leipzig, 1923., pp. 23ff., and his contribution in RLV XII. p. 237.

⁵ In addition to the literature quoted in the previous footnote see on this question the works of *J. Marquart*, *Eransahr*. Berlin, 1901. p. 155. *E. Herzfeld* in AMI 1 (1929—30), p. 102, footnote 1. *H. H. Schaeder*, *Iranica*. Berlin, 1934., p. 50.

⁶ See *Rostovtzeff*, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, pp. 32ff., his *Skythien und der Bosphorus*, vol. I., p. 101, and his book on *The Animal Style in South Russia and China*. Princeton (1929), pp. 44f.

⁷ On the position taken by other scholars see among others *Altheim-Szabó* in WaG 2 (1936), p. 318, footnote 24, and *J. Junge*, *Saka-Studien*. Leipzig, 1939. 9 footnote 2, pp. 73f.

⁸ Cf. CAH XI., pp. 91f.

⁹ See *J. Harmatta*, *Quellenstudien zu den Skythika des Herodot*. Budapest. 1941, pp. 18f.

¹⁰ An attempt of this nature can be seen among others with *Mela* (I 116) who included among the Sauromatae peoples like the Budini, Thyssagetae and Jyrcae. See *J. Harmatta*, *Quellenstudien zu den Skythika des Herodot*, op. cit., pp. 8f., pp. 11f. and p. 19.

A century and a half will have to elapse after *Ephoros* before the name Sarmatae crops up for the first time in its historically accepted form, but even then the evidence contained in this first mention is so scanty that it is hardly sufficient to define what ethnic features went with the name Sarmatae.¹¹ It was only considerably later that a picture was given of the ethnic background of the name Sarmatae by *Strabo* (VII, 5, 18) in an information that can be traced back to *Artemidoros*. *Strabo* called Sarmatae a number of tribes or peoples who in his time made their first entry into classical literature. He used the term in a rather general sense and employed it to call by that name a number of tribes that were newcomers on the stage of history. The name received an even wider range of application in the first centuries of our era when it came to be applied to peoples who formerly used to be well-known in geographical literature but who had since then been entirely lost sight of.¹²

This brief survey in itself will suffice to convince that the ethnic entities associated with the names Sauromatae and Sarmatae, may not be identified without reservations, not even if proofs were forthcoming that both names happened to be identical.¹³ Such an erroneous identification would lead to a number of difficulties. How are we going to account for it in a satisfactory way why the name Sauromatae, that had already acquired a rather general application in the 4th century before our era, should come to be used in a narrower sense by *Strabo* in the form Sarmatae to denote a number of Iranian tribes that had but shortly been brought to the notice of the contemporaries? This latter fact undoubtedly suggest that a new wave of migration had by then broken over the steppes of South Russia. Such a belief receives confirmation from archeological evidence, too. It was no other than *Rostovtzeff* himself who examined a portion of South Russian archeological material from the last two centuries before our era, and in reference to the gilded silver phalerae, that characterised one group of finds, he came to the conclusion that the style of these phalerae stood in a rather close relation to Greco-Indian art.¹⁴ In view of the great number of relevant finds, this relationship, according to *Rostovtzeff*, can only be accounted for by assuming that the phalerae must have been used by tribes that had formerly been settled in the east in a close vicinity to Indo-Scythian tribes from whom the style of workmanship had been adopted and brought to South Russia.

Premissa like the foregoing make it rather likely that in the last centuries before our era, there had appeared a number of new Iranian tribes from the east. This again involves that, speaking ethnically, the names Sauromatae

¹¹ The Sarmatae were first mentioned without any doubt by *Polybios* who included *Gatalos*, king of the Sarmatae, as one of the parties to a treaty concluded in 179 before our era. The passage can be found in *Polybios* XXV 2.

¹² Cf. *Pliny the Elder's* Natural History VI 19. See also *J. Harmatta*, Quellenstudien zu den Skythika des Herodot, p. 11.

¹³ From a linguistic point of view the names were identified by *Marquart*, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran. II. Leipzig, 1905, p. 78 and in his *Eräusahr*, p. 155. See also *Vasmer*, Die Iranier in Südrussland, p. 51. *E. Herzfeld* in AMI 1 (1929—30), p. 102, footnote 1. *Schaefer*, Iranica, p. 50. Contrary to them *N. S. Nyberg*, Die Religionen des alten Iran, Leipzig, 1938, p. 250 considered the two names to derive from different roots.

¹⁴ *Rostovceff*, Sarmatskija i indoskifskija drevnosti. Recueil-Kondakov. Prague, 1926, pp. 239ff. See also *N. Fettich*, Die Metallkunst der landnehmenden Ungarn. AH XXXI. Budapest, 1937, pp. 142ff.

and Sarmatae must on no condition be identified, not even if it is assumed that the two names happened to be identical; on the other hand we may surmise that the ethnic entities of the Sauromatae-Sarmatae had undergone a change in the intervening period.

A careful scrutiny of the results obtained concerning the identification of the Sauromatae and Sarmatae peoples, suggest the conclusion that the original seats of the Sarmatae have to be put considerably further east but on no account with the Sauromatae of *Herodotus*. The name Sarmatae could not have been the name of one single tribe only, it must have been much more a collective name for a number of tribes scattered over a wide area. This again implies that the ethnic background of the name Sarmatae included features widely divergent in time as well as in geographical distribution.

2.

Among the epigraphical sources of the ancient history of South Russia the so-called *Protogenes* inscription has been given an outstanding significance.¹⁵ The inscription was found on a memorial tablet dating from the beginning of the 2nd century before our era,¹⁶ and was dedicated in honour of *Protogenes*, her much esteemed citizen, by the Greek town Olbia in grateful acknowledgement for the help received in many of the crises that had confronted the community. The inscription gives us a close-up of the hard times that had come upon the once prosperous town. The flourishing and peaceful life of the town to which *Herodotus* bore testimony, had been a thing of the past by then. Numbers and numbers of new peoples threatened to sack and destroy the town (cf. lines 102ff. of the *Protogenes* inscription). The inscription gives a list of these new peoples by name such as the Saii, Galatae, Skiri, Thisamatae and Saudaratae. From among these only the Galatae and the Skiri are known to us from other sources. The Galatae were a Celtic tribe of South Russia whose presence can be proved by archeological evidence.¹⁷ The Skiri¹⁸ were a Teutonic tribe who were to play some part in the age of the Huns. The other tribal names mentioned on the inscription such as the Saii, the Thisamatae, the Saudaratae, have never been mentioned in any other sources.

There are, however, clues that contribute to our knowledge of these otherwise unknown peoples. The inscription includes the name *Saitapharnes*, kind of the Saii, and his name can be established without doubt to have been an Iranian proper name.¹⁹ This is a useful hint to establish the origin of the tribal name Saii,²⁰ which can be sufficiently explained as an Iranian derivative

¹⁵ Cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. No 495.

¹⁶ See a recent article by *Altheim-Szabó* in *WAG* 2 (1936), p. 319.

¹⁷ See *Rostowcew*, *Skythien und der Bosporus*, vol. I. p. 465ff.

¹⁸ *L. Schmidt* deals with them in this *Die Ostgermanen*. München, 1941, pp. 47f.

¹⁹ See *Vasmer's Die Iranier in Südrussland*. p. 50. It was justly pointed out by *Tomaschek* that the first element of the compound proper name may be traced to Avestan *ša'ta-* (= Geld, Vermögen) and the second element to Avestan *xvaranah-*, Old Persian *farnah-* (= Ruhm, Ruhmesglanz, Herrlichkeit, Hoheit, Majestät). The name *Saitapharnes* may, therefore, be related to an Iranian **šaitafarn*. This is an instance of the *bahuvrīhi* type of word-composition, and it may be rendered by "der durch Vermögen Herrlichkeit besitzt".

²⁰ *Tomaschek* in his *Die alten Thraker*, I. p. 99., connected the word Saii with the Avesta *xšaya-* which means "Herrscher, Fürst, König". *Vasmer* in *Die Iranier in Südruss-*

and its meaning is multi-coloured.²¹ The adjective was often used as a proper name with a number of nomad tribes, and especially with the horse-breeding nomads it used to refer to the colour of the tribe's horses.²² Thus among others we know a number of Turk tribes with the tribal name Bulaq (= multi-coloured).²³ This is significant insofar as it may serve in a way as a hint to trace the origins of the Saii. A multi-coloured type of horse was known in Chinese records,²⁴ and may, therefore, be taken as a typical Asiatic equine variety.²⁵ Undomesticated specimens of this breed were still seen by *Przewalsky* in Asia.²⁶ If, therefore, the Saii had a peculiar breed of horses, and this may be assumed, then they themselves together with their horses, must have come into South Russia from the West-Asiatic steppes.

This evidence is of great importance since in the Saii we believe to have got hold of the first eastern tribe that had been pushed along by the new Iranian wave of migration. And this new Iranian wave seems to be significant. The name Saii covers, namely, not only one single tribe but rather a federation of tribes since the *Protogenes* inscription mentions their tribal chiefs in the plural number (cf. lines 43f.). Further the name Saioi²⁷ on one Panticapaeum inscription may be taken to witness to their subsequent spread eastwards and attest the fact of their survival.

The other tribal names on the *Protogenes* inscription: Thisamatae and Saudaratae, are not unlikely of Iranian origin,²⁸ that is to say, like the Saii tribe, we may also take these two peoples to have been Iranians. And since the inscription made separate mention of the Scythians, it is not unreasonable to assume that the two tribes did not belong to the Scythians; as we have done, with the Saii, we may take them also to have belonged to the new, eastern tribes of Iranian descent. It is of decisive importance, therefore, that

land, p. 50., doubts the possibility of such a comparison since the Greek transcription of the name points to an initial *s-* or *š-*. Against this we have to point out that in some of the New Iranian languages a sound-change from *xš-* to *š-* is an established fact. Thus e.g. the Avestan word *xšaya-* sounds in Wakhi and Šuṇi as follows: in Wakhi *šai* "fat, rich", in Šuṇi *šayēn* "khans" Although the modern forms of the Old Iranian etymon **xšaya-* entirely coincide, as far as phonetic development goes, with the tribal, name Saii, yet this coincidence may be a fortuitous one since the Iranian dialects in South Russia have not so far yielded any evidence that would justify to assume a phonetic change from *xš-* to *š-*.

N. Jokl in RLV XIII, p. 281, pointed out the phonological identity between the word Saii and the Thracian tribal name Saii. *Dittenberger*, however, has proved that this contention is far from being likely. See the latter's *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. I. p. 739, footnote 12.

²¹ Compare Avestan *sāy-* (= ungleichmässig gefärbt, scheckig), *sāyuzdri-* "Eigenname eines Gläubigen". Specific meaning of latter: 'des weibliche Zugtiere scheckig sind' *Bartholomae*, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. 1569, 1572.

²² See J. Németh in KCsA 1. Ergänzungsband (1938) pp. 345ff. J. Harmatta in the MNy 42 (1938), pp. 27ff.

²³ See J. Harmatta in MNy 42 (1946), p. 31.

²⁴ Cf. E. Chavannes, Documents sur les T'ou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux. St. Petersburg. 1903, p. 29.

²⁵ For further information on this point see J. Németh in KCsA 1 Erg. Bd. (1938). pp. 349ff.

²⁶ See *Bretschneider*, *Mediaeval Researches*. I. 168., p. 463 footnote.

²⁷ See *Vasmer*, *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, p. 50.

²⁸ See *Vasmer*, *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, p. 51.

the *Protogenes* inscription did not call any of these newcomers by the name of Sarmatae; nor can it be said that the name Sarmatae was not known in those days for *Polybios* mentioned it in the peace treaty of 179 as referred to above. There is one explanation open to account for this strange circumstance, and that is that the name Sarmatae was not a tribal proper name but only an appellation of a more general application, the use of which was spread by literary means. This, of course, makes it peremptory to search for the solution of the difficulties attached thereto, more on literary basis than by any other means.

Mention has already been made of *Strabo's* information that takes an important place among the classical sources on the Sarmatae since it was with him that the name Sarmatae received an ethnic connotation for the first time in history. According to the description of *Strabo* (VII. 3, 18) the Jazyges as well as the Urgi and the Royal Sarmatae were settled between the Danube and the Dnjeper rivers whereas the Roxolani were settled between the Dnjeper and the Don rivers. One thing strikes us at first sight in this enumeration. Not one of the Sarmatian tribes mentioned by *Strabo* were included in the *Protogenes* inscription. This can only mean that important historical events had taken place in the course of the century that divided the *Protogenes* inscription from the days of *Artemidoros*, who, most likely, was *Strabo's* main source of information. Following upon the footsteps of the Saii, the Saudaratae and the Thisamatae, there arrived a new wave of migrating peoples that eventually were to absorb these older tribes so completely that even their names came to be forgotten by history. Where had these new tribes come from? The appearance and the spread of the Sarmatian tribes mentioned by *Strabo*, entirely coincides with a group of South Russian archeological remains, referred to above, the main features of which are presence of a great number of gilded silver phalerae.²⁹ These phalerae, according to Rostovtzev, point to their bearers having come into South Russia from the East, from the vicinity of the Indo-Scythians. If we establish a proper reference between one group of the phalera finds and the Sarmatian tribes of *Strabo*, then we have at the same time gained a valuable argument to establish the Sarmatians' place of origin.

3.

Strabo's information has still another significance. While the *Protogenes* inscription puts the Saii east of the river Bug, and the Saudaratae and Thisamatae west of the Bug though not beyond the Dnjester, *Strabo's* report mentioned that the Sarmatian tribes had penetrated as far west as the Danube and had even reached the southern banks of that river. This is significant since later informations, dating from the last century before our era, never mentioned the Sarmatae as being settled along the Danube.³⁰ For this reason it has been generally held that *Strabo's* statement referred only to a few Sarmatian bands, wandering or in flight, who evading the Bastarnae, had reached the southern banks of the Danube already by the last century

²⁹ In addition to the literature quoted in footnote 14 add Rostovtzev's *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, pp. 136ff.

³⁰ See: Budapest története (The history of Budapest). I. Budapest, 1942, pp. 180ff.

before our era.³¹ Such a view maintains on the one hand that *Strabo's* report reflected a situation that prevailed in the middle of the last century before our era, though such a view can by no means be justified, while on the other hand it fails to do justice to the real import of that report. *Strabo's* description goes back very likely to *Artemidoros* and thus dates from not later than the end of the 2nd century before our era. Therefore the geographical distribution of the Sarmatian tribes, as reported by *Strabo*, must be taken to reflect an earlier stage than sources from the last century before our era do, since the latter sources never mention the Sarmatae as being south of the Danube or even anywhere near to that river.

Important historical conclusions for history may be drawn from this. *Strabo* mentions (VII. 3, 18) that one of the Sarmatian tribes was called the Royal Sarmatae. A somewhat similar application of the word "royal" was in vogue with the Scythians and was not unknown to *Herodotus* (IV. 20, etc.) since he applied the same attribute to their ruling tribe. Similarly, when we hear of a royal tribe with the Sarmatae, then this can only mean that the tribe concerned must have ruled over the others. From this it follows that round the end of the 2nd century before our era, the western Sarmatian tribes had lived side by side not in a loose tribal configuration but had been welded into an organised imperium under the leadership of one royal tribe. This may be confirmed by the geographical distribution of the tribes, too. In the south were the Iazyges, northwards were the Urgi tribes and to the east the Roxolani, so that the Royal Sarmatae had their seats in the centre surrounded by a defensive ring of cognate tribes. It must have been such an inter-tribal organisation of the Sarmatae which in these parts had absorbed the Iranian peoples of an earlier wave, mentioned in the *Protogenes* inscription, and wiped out the last traces of the Scythians north of the Danube who were mentioned there in the *Protogenes* inscription.

If we keep in mind the existence of such a strong tribal organisation under a central leadership, then we shall understand how the Sarmatae had been able to conquer the Great Roumenian Plain and gain a foothold south of the Danube in the latter half of the 2nd century before our era. That such an inference is not unlikely, may be proved by two other passages of *Strabo's* where he mentioned the Sarmatae again as having spread south of the Danube. One passage (VII, 3,2) stated, in general terms though, that the Sarmatae intermixed with the Thracians living south of the Danube. The other passage (VII, 3, 13) imparted the information that the Bastarnae and the Sarmatae, having driven off the Triballi from the left banks of the Danube and having crossed the river itself, had settled down on the islands of the Danube and on the southern banks of the river. This information is valuable; it means that the Sarmatae have spread far west along the southern banks of the Danube and may even have reached the level of Viddin.

Archeological evidence supplements the picture given by *Strabo*. A rich find of Sarmatian phaleræ, consisting of 14 pieces, was found near Galiče in the district of Orehovo, north-west Bulgaria, that had at one time been settled by the Triballi tribe.³² In view of the arguments submitted above, it cannot be doubted that the Sarmatian find of Galiče is con-

³¹ See: Budapest története (The history of Budapest), I., p. 180.

³² See *Rostovzev*, Sarmatskija i indoskifskija drevnosti, p. 244.

nected with the Sarmatians' advance south of the Danube at the end of the 2nd century before our era.

Similar archeological remains were recently found near Szörce (Surcea) in the County of Hâromszék (Trei Scaune) in Transylvania. Investigating these remains Dr. N. Fettiĉ succeeded in proving³³ that the phalerae from Szörce, Galiĉe, from Taganrog in South Russia, Janĉokrak and Starobeljsk, had come from the same workshops.³⁴ This statement is of importance since the geographical distribution of the phalera from the same workshops entirely coincide with the West-Sarmatian empire as can be reconstructed from the data supplied by *Strabo*.

It seems, therefore, clear that the new Iranian wave coming from the east must have arrived to the country around the Dnjeper at about the beginning or the middle of the first century before our era, and also that at about the turn of the second to the first century before our era, or probably slightly earlier, the Iranian newcomers had already built up a strong empire between the Danube and the Don, which was so strong that in spite of the powerful Thracian tribes, the newcomers expanded into the Roumenian Lowlands and penetrated even south of the lower reaches of the Danube. The hey-day of this empire must have been contemporaneous with the dates and spread of the silver phalera since the production of the phalera in such great numbers, presupposes a great political and economic prosperity. The fact that the products of one workshop have been found in great numbers between such distant points as Galiĉe and Taganrog, go to prove a peaceful period that was possible only in a well-organised empire governed by a strong central authority.

The Western Sarmatian empire could, however, not have outlived the first decades of our era. The last notice we have of the Royal Sarmatae, is connected with the name of *Mithridates*,³⁵ after which their name as of a still existing tribe, was never to be mentioned again in classical literature. Their disappearance from history may be interpreted to mean that the Western Sarmatian empire came to an end and broke into its constituent parts. At the same time the Sarmatae lost their seats along the Danube, too. What might have been the reason for such a break-up? At all events, we can observe that as the Sarmatian power began to decline the power of the Dacians grew under the rule of *Boirebista*. We do not know how these two events were connected, i. e. whether it was the Dacians who broke the power of the Western Sarmatian empire or whether the breakdown of the Sarmatian empire was followed by a vigorous upsurge of Dacian power. It is established, however, beyond a doubt that the Sarmatae had been driven out from the lower reaches of the Danube by the Dacians only after some hard fighting. The memory of these events has very likely been preserved by the remains of

³³ I owe this information to conversations with Dr. Fettiĉ for which I wish to express my sincere obligation.

³⁴ For these remains see the works of *Rostovtzev* quoted further above in footnotes 29 and 32, and the articles by A. Spicyn, *Falery juŹnoj Rossii* in the *IIAk* 29 (1909), pp. 18ff.

³⁵ See *Appianos* XII 69.

Szörce which, according to *Dr. Fettich*, must have been in Dacian and not Sarmatian possession. It is easy to imagine that the phalera found there might have got into Dacian hands as a booty from the Dacian-Sarmatian warfare during *Boirebista's* rule.

4.

In the decades immediately preceeding our era an advance of the Sarmatae towards the Danube estuary can again be observed.³⁶ This is very likely connected with the break-up of the Dacian empire after the death of *Boirebista*. The power of the Dacians having been broken, the way was open again to the Sarmatians across the Roumenian Lowlands towards the Danube. This time we hear about one of their tribes: the Iazyges.³⁷ *Ovid* living in banishment in Tomi between the years 9 and 17 of our era, often complained of their raids.³⁸ A few decades later we already find them in Hungary.³⁹ Concerning the route of the Iazyges on their way into Hungary, it has been suggested that they entered the country from Galicia passing through the mountain passes of the Carpathians.⁴⁰ The distribution of the early Iazygian archeological sites contradicts this assumption as it has been proved by *Michael Párducz*. No traces of Sarmatians have so far been found in Galicia or in the Carpathian Ruthenia. The northernmost of the early Sarmatian archeological sites is the gold treasure found in the vicinity of Eger in Hungary. The number of sites increases as we proceed southwards, and reach their highest density between the Danube and the Tisa and on the eastern banks of the middle course of the latter river; from these parts on the sites form a continuous chain and reach that stretch of the Danube which lies north of the Iron Gates.⁴¹ This circumstance clearly shows that the Iazyges entered Hungary from the south through Oltenia and the Banat and not from the north through Galicia. This view receives a further confirmation by a circumstance that has so far not been considered. In his enumeration of the Sarmatian tribes (VII. 3, 18) *Strabo* passed from south to north and first mentioned the Iazyges, whose seats lay southernmost; to the north of these, between the Carpathians and the Dnjeper, were the seats of the Royal Sarmatians and the Urgi. *Ovid* also mentioned the Iazyges as being settled along the lower reaches of the Danube, i. e. all through the Iazyges had kept southernmost of all the Sarmatian tribes. Thus the geographical distribution of the Iazyges before their entry into Hungary, also confirms that they invaded Hungary from the south through Oltenia.

The entry of the Iazyges into Hungary and the problems connected therewith, were recently dealt with by Hungarian scientists. They attribute their settlement into Hungary to the Roman foreign policy that desired to set

³⁶ See: Budapest története (The history of Budapest), vol. I., p. 180.

³⁷ Concerning the Iazyges and the Roxolani see the latest publication by *K. F. Smirnov*, in VDI. 1948. 1, pp. 213ff.

³⁸ See: Budapest története (The history of Budapest), vol. I., p. 180. footnote 99.

³⁹ For the entry of the Iazyges into Hungary and the date of their arrival see: Budapest története (The history of Budapest). I. p., 181. For the literature on the subject see the same work footnote 101. on p. 181.

⁴⁰ See *C. Daicovicu*, *Apulum* 1 (1939—41) p. 15 and *Dacia* 7/8(1941) p. 460.

⁴¹ See *M. Párducz*, *AE* 3 (1942) p. 315.

up a series of buffer states in front of their most dangerous enemies. The entry of the Iazyges had been permitted and even encouraged in order to form a bulwark against the Dacians, and it might even be assumed that the Iazyges were ordered by the Romans to settle down in the Danube-Tisa region.⁴² The significance of the part played by Rome in the movement of the Iazyges into Hungary, cannot be denied but it is not unlikely that other forces must have contributed, too. We have seen further back that a number of Iranian waves followed each other migrating westwards across the South Russian steppes; each wave of newcomers pushed the earlier ones westward in front of them or else absorbed them completely. Such a newer wave set in with the arrival of the Alani into South Russia in the first decades of our era.⁴³ For the time being this new wave had not passed beyond the river Don, yet the pressure it brought to bear upon the intervening tribes must have been felt by the west Sarmatian tribes and by the Iazyges and Roxolani as well.⁴⁴ It is very likely that this pressure had played a part in the movement of the Iazyges into Hungary.

This view is further strengthened by the consideration that such a change of seats was far from being desirable for the Iazyges. As the results show, they were being hemmed in on one side by a well-defended Roman territory and on the other by warlike and inimical Dacians; there was left only a narrow corridor connecting them with the cognate Roxolani, a corridor that could at any time be cut off by the Dacians whose power was increasing; such an isolation did indeed take place in the days of *Decebal*. Due to these circumstances the Iazyges were forced into a precarious position with hardly any satisfactory way out. Added to this was the consequence that by moving into Hungary they had lost their contacts with Pontic commerce and economy though these contacts had been of vital importance to them.

These factors make themselves strongly felt in the archeological remains of the Iazyges.⁴⁵ The archeological remains of the Iazyges in Hungary from the first two centuries of our era, strike one at first sight as being rather poor in comparison to the Scythian and Sarmatian finds in South Russia. It is true, though, that the remains in Sarmatian graves from South Russia cannot be compared with the wealth of the Scythian Kurgan graves,⁴⁶ but even so the poverty of the Iazygian graves in Hungary remains a rather striking feature. Among the grave goods not only larger sized gold objects are lacking but also the usual equipments of the warrior as well. Opposed to the grave goods found in the Sarmatian graves in South Russia, this feature of the Sarmatian graves in Hungary needs an explanation.

⁴² See: Budapest története (The history of Budapest), I. p. 181.

⁴³ For literature on the history of the Alani see *J. Kulakovskij*, Alani po svedenijam klassičeskich i vizantijskich pisatelej. Kiev, 1899. *Ebert*, Südrussland im Altertum op. cit. pp. 375ff. *Rostovtzev*, Iranians and Greeks in South Russia op. cit pp. 116ff. *Junge*, Saka-Studien. pp. 76ff.

⁴⁴ See *Rostovtzev* in CAH XI p. 95.

⁴⁵ The archeological remains of the Iazyges were examined by *M. Párducz* to whom we owe a reliable information on the point. The more important works of *M. Párducz* in this line are: Die frühesten Funde der ersten pontisch-germanischen Denkmälergruppe in Ungarn. Szeged, 1935. Denkmäler der Sarmatenzeit Ungarns. I. AH XXV, Budapest, 1941., II. AH XXVIII. Budapest, 1947. Laureae Aquincenses. II., pp. 309ff.

⁴⁶ For a general picture of the subject see *Ebert*, Südrussland im Altertum, p. 344.

The wealth of the Scythians in the heyday of their empire, depended on their trade with the Pontic Greeks. The Scythian empire in South Russia was well-organised and created peaceful conditions to a certain extent. The agricultural production in these territories increased remarkably, and their produce found a way to Athens through the Greek towns along the Black Sea.⁴⁷ By the 4th century before our era South Russia had become the granary of Athens. Wheat and other agricultural products were exported from South Russia through the Greek trading towns and correspondingly enormous amounts of Greek articles, precious metal objects, arms, pottery, etc., streamed into Scythia and reached even the innermost parts of that empire. The most important trading centre for the western part of Scythia was the Greek town Olbia.⁴⁸

The flourishing economic life of Scythia ended for ever and with it the wealth of the Pontic Greek towns, too, dwindled when the Scythian empire was destroyed by the Iranian newcomers from the East.⁴⁹ The long wars prevented trade with the interior of the country and brought about a sharp decline in agriculture. We have seen from the *Protogenes* inscription what the position of Olbia, the most important trading centre of the Dnieper basin was like about the beginning of the 2nd century before our era. We see an impoverished town with its inhabitants living from day to day amid the constant threats of all kinds of barbarian tribes, interspersed with occasional sackings of the town; the inhabitants were embittered and were planning to leave the town altogether.

There are undoubted traces, however, that the town enjoyed once more an economic improvement for a short spell. In the 2nd century before our era trade relations between Athens and the Pontic Greek towns seems to have been taken up once more. This was undoubtedly the result of the peace treaty concluded between the Pontic powers in 179 before our era. Among the parties to the treaty we find the Sarmatian king *Gatalos*. It was this treaty that to a certain extent had brought about a more peaceful state of affairs bringing about the revival of economic life and of trade relations.⁵⁰ This event seems to hang together with the rise of the great Sarmatian empire that was founded in the 2nd century before our era by a new wave of Iranian tribes coming from the East. This spell of peace and economic improvement had brought about the manufacturing and wide-spread use of the silver phaleræ that were found in great numbers among the grave finds of the Sarmatians. It can hardly be doubted, therefore, that Olbia was playing an important part in this economic revival since she was the outstanding centre of trade with the western Sarmatian empire.

It has already been pointed out that the Sarmatian empire came to an end in the early decades of our era. Such an event could not have taken place without greater internal troubles and without affecting, in fact, even

⁴⁷ For the latest publications on this problem see *A. A. Jessen*, *Grečeskaja kolonizacija severnogo Pričernomorja*. Leningrad, 1947 and a review of it by *B. J. Nadelj* in *VDI* 1948, 3, pp. 122.

⁴⁸ See *Ebert*, in *RLV XIII*, p. 94, *Rostowcew*, *Skythien und der Bosphorus*. I., p. 404.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Ebert*, *Südrussland im Altertum*, p. 214.

⁵⁰ This was noticed by *Ebert*, as well. Cf. his *Südrussland im Altertum*, pp. 215f.

crippling economic life once more. A new blow was dealt to the Sarmatian tribes when the Dacians began to expand vigorously eastwards and to cut the Sarmatians off from the Greek coastal towns. Dacian expansion reached its climax when in the middle of the 1st century of our era, the Dacians destroyed Olbia.⁵¹ An attempt was to be made afterwards to rebuild the town but the new town was just a miserable shadow of the old one.⁵²

The destruction of Olbia must have come as a hard blow to the trade of the western Sarmatian tribes. It is obvious that they became impoverished on account of the break-up of their empire, while the eastward expansion of the Dacians and the greatly perturbed conditions brought about a sharp fall in their economic life and trade. The Sarmatian tribes had, anyhow, been unable to restore the economic productivity of their occupied territories to a level of the former Scythian trade, so that with their arrival there had set in a marked drop in exports. The exchange of goods, however, was a vital necessity to the Sarmatians since their territories were poor in manufactured goods and in metals. That is why it had become vitally important to plunder the agricultural population and the Greek towns — something similar was said by *Strabo* about the nomads of Crimea (VII 4, 6) — since looting articles. This expedient, however, did not help them, since in the course of time the Pontic Greek towns and mainly Olbia had impoverished and the latter had been destroyed by the Dacians.

Keeping all these in mind we shall understand the significance of an information from the 2nd century of our era by *Pausanias* who paints a realistic picture of the poverty in which the Sarmatian tribes lived. The Sarmatians have no iron, we read, because iron is not mined with them nor can they rely on imports. From among all the barbarians in those parts, there is the least contact with them. They have bones for their spearheads, bows and arrows are made of sticks, and the arrowheads are also tipped with bones. In their encounters with the enemy they employ lassos and they cover their armour with scales chipped-off hoofs. *Pausanias* describes a horn coat of mail which suggests that he referred to the Roxolani. If this was the state of affairs with the Roxolani who were still in the sphere of interest of the Pontic Greek trade and who had remained comparatively speaking free, the conditions must have been much worse with the Iazyges who had really got into a tight corner by then.

The seats allotted to the Iazyges suggests that the tribe was a kind of a vanguard such as can be found in many of the nomadic tribal societies.⁵³ When they moved into Hungary, judging by the remains from their material culture, they might even have been poorer than such nomadic tribal vanguards usually were. In Hungary they first settled in the Great Hungarian Plain which best suited their nomadic system of breeding and small-scale agriculture,⁵⁴ but as this region was also poor in minerals, it did not supply them with precious metals, nor with iron needed for their

⁵¹ *Ebert*, Südrussland im Altertum, p. 225.

⁵² *Ebert*, Südrussland im Altertum, p. 226.

⁵³ For such organizations see *J. Németh*, A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása (The ethnogenesis of the settling Hungarians). Budapest, 1930., pp. 19f.

⁵⁴ For the agriculture of the Iazyges see: Budapest története (The history of Budapest), I., p. 178.

arms and other equipment. Such staple necessities might have been procured if the Iazyges had organised production in their occupied territories for exports for it would not have been impossible to find markets. But the agriculture of the local population must have been on a low level to supply them with goods for trade, and, in addition, they were surrounded by enemies on all sides. The Romans could not be plundered with impunity like the Pontic Greek towns had been, though the Iazyges succeeded later on to extort stipends from their mighty neighbours.⁵⁵ We should not be surprised that the well-organised economic life and industry of the adjacent Roman province, was a great temptation to them. And they did make use of the possibilities along this line. But neither their plundering raids, that were almost always followed by punitive expeditions, nor their economic contacts with the Romans, could have been sufficient to satisfy even to a smallest measure their most elementary necessities. Their contacts with Pontic commerce and trade also had ceased especially after the Dacians had occupied the corridor connecting the Iazyges with the Roxolani.

They had to rely almost entirely on what they had brought along with themselves from their earlier seats such as small articles of precious metals made in the Pontic workshops,⁵⁶ and what they had found here in the occupied territories as the metal and pottery products of the indigenous Dacian and Celtic population.⁵⁷ It cannot surprise, therefore, if only such remains were found in their burying places. It is unlikely that they possessed iron arms but if they did, these must have been very valuable possessions that were passed on from one generation to the other and were never put into the graves. If they had at all put arms along with their dead, made of wood or bone, these would have decayed in the course of the many centuries. But is not unlikely that in this impoverished period of their tribal existence, arms were not included among the grave finds at all.

5.

It is small wonder therefore, that the Iazyges were living in a ceaseless turmoil and unrest trying to widen the tight corner into which they had been pushed.⁵⁸ It was of vital importance to them from a political as well as economical point of view, to re-establish trade relations with the Roxolani and with Pontic commerce. It was, however, only in the days of *Marcus Aurelius* that after a long strife and after many unsuccessful attempts, they had succeeded in building-up these business relations once more. The philosopher-emperor gave them leave to contact the Roxolani across Dacian territory.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ According to recent investigations the Iazyges had received some kind of contribution from the Romans already at the very outset of their arrival in Hungary.

⁵⁶ For an analysis of the archeological evidence see *M. Párducz*, *Denkmäler der Sarmatenzeit Ungarns*, I., pp. 60f.

⁵⁷ On Dacian and Celtic influences in the Sarmatian finds see *M. Párducz*, *Denkmäler der Sarmatenzeit Ungarns*, I., pp. 60f.

⁵⁸ On the wars of the Iazyges see: *Budapest története* (The history of Budapest), pp. 188ff.

⁵⁹ *Dio Cassius* 71, 19, 1—2.

The great importance of this contact of the Iazyges with the Roxolani and with Pontic commerce, can best be seen from archeological evidence. The investigations of *M. Párducz* proved that the archeological material of the Sarmatians in Hungary, may be taken to fall into several periods.⁶⁰ Now it is an important fact that the second period set in at about the end of the 2nd century of our era, and that it differs from the first era chiefly that such metallic objects and types of beads were found which had otherwise been completely unknown among the finds in the Carpathian Basin. These are the so-called Sarmatian buckles, the short swords with ringed and cylindric hilts, various types of fibulae and cubo-octaëdric beads.⁶¹ Here the question at once arises as to where do these Sarmatian finds come from. There is no doubt about it that the peculiarly Sarmatian remains from the first period, derive from the Pontic workshops and that the Sarmatians had brought them along when they migrated into Hungary. In connection with the archeological remains of the second period *M. Párducz* also suspects a Pontic origin based on positive and negative arguments. He succeeded in proving the Pontic origin of one part of the remains as in the case of the swords, double pendants, a certain type of buckle and a fibula with a downward bent leg. As to the other part of the archeological remains, he thinks a similar origin probable on the ground that nothing similar has ever been found in Hungary. It is worth while, therefore, to examine these latter finds in some detail.

As regards the cubo-octaëdric beads, it has been generally held, as *M. Párducz* had also thought in a previous paper,⁶² that beads from semi-precious pearls are of North Indian origin.⁶³ It seems that Pontic Greek commerce had lively business relations with Northern India in the Sarmatian period from the 3rd century before our era onwards until the appearance of the Huns, and it may be surmised that the chief goods of exchange were these semi-precious beads. It is not unlikely that the Syr-darya river served as a trade route for the business in beads, and it is probable that the river got its name Jaxartes (*Yaxšart) on this account since Chinese and Turk translations call it "the Bead River". As to the eastern origin of the cubo-octaëdric beads in Hungary, it is proved directly by the fact that these beads are well known in the archeological finds from Černiachov⁶⁴ and from Olbia.⁶⁵ It is obvious, therefore, that this type of beads reached the Sarmatians of Hungary throught the Greek towns of the Black Sea.

It is equally easy to trace the Sarmatian buckles to the Pontic towns and to the East. And in fact *M. Párducz* does point out one type of a buckle where the spike was shaped into a cross that was similar to the one found among the remains from Kertsh.⁶⁶ He also showed that similar double pendants used on belts, were found in the graves of Košibejev and

⁶⁰ See his recent communication in *Laureae Aquincenses*. II., pp. 320f.

⁶¹ See *Párducz*, *Denkmäler der Sarmatenzeit Ungarns*. II., pp. 74ff.

⁶² *Denkmäler der Sarmatenzeit Ungarns*, I., p. 71.

⁶³ See among others *J. Szrygowski*, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung*. Leipzig, 1916., p. 276.

⁶⁴ See *Ebert*, *RLV XIII*.

⁶⁵ See *B. Posta*, *Archeologische Studien auf russischem Boden*. Budapest—Leipzig, 450, 251., drawing 2.

⁶⁶ *Denkmäler der Sarmatenzeit Ungarns*, II., p. 77.

Kuzminsk.⁶⁷ The number of parallel finds may easily be increased. A similar buckle with a cross spike was found further east in Permia near Trandy.⁶⁸ Another type of a buckle seems to have been also wide-spread, i. e. large buckles sometimes round, sometimes slightly oval-shaped without a strap fastening metal strip. Similar buckles were also found in the East, e. g. in the archeological remains from Atamanovy Kosti.⁶⁹ We know also oblong buckles without strap fastening metal strips in the archeological finds of Sarmatian origin in Hungary and similar ones in the finds from Olbia.⁷⁰ The two last types appear in another shape as well with a short strap fastening metal strip. A semi-circular type was found among others in Olbia,⁷¹ square one in the kourgans of Miškina Pristan at the Volga.⁷² The most typical form of the Sarmatian buckles from Hungary, are small, semi-circular or square ones with long connecting metal strips. A buckle similar to these was found in the graves of Atamanovy Kosti in Russia.⁷⁴ We have to mention one more peculiarly Sarmatian buckle where the spike is surrounded on both sides by an ornament in the shape of two semi-circles. This type of buckle was found in the archeological remains from Ernőháza,⁷⁵ Csongrád,⁷⁶ and Orgovány.⁷⁷ The chalcidonic buckle found at Monor may be classed to this type in spite of its slight variation.⁷⁸ An exact replica of this type of buckle can be seen in the Muzeum of Odessa from Olbia or Kertsh⁷⁹ and another one was found recently among the Sarmatian grave finds excavated in the vicinity of the „Stepan Razin“ kolchoz (distr. Davidov, gov. Voronež).⁸⁰

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the cubo-octaëdric beads together with the various types of Sarmatian buckles, swords with ringed and cylindric hilts and the fibula with a downward bent leg, are of Pontic origin in the Sarmatian archeological material from Hungary. Since in the Hungarian archeological material from earlier periods we can find no traces of these elements, and on the other hand the chalcidonic beads and the ceramics closely connect the archeological material of the first and the second periods, we are therefore not justified to assume a change in ethnic type, the sudden revival of a rather active trade with the Pontic Greek towns seems to be a more likely explanation.

Searching for the historical factors causing this process, it is essential to delimit chronologically the first and the second periods. *M. Párducz* had not succeeded for some time to produce an entirely clear and definite result,⁸¹

⁶⁷ Denkmäler der Sarmatenzeit Ungarns, I., p. 74.

⁶⁸ See *A. V. Schmidt*, *ESA* 1 (1927) 31, 13 figure.

⁶⁹ See *Schmidt*, *ESA* 1 (1927) 39, figure 27.

⁷⁰ *B. Posta*, *Archeologische Studien auf russischem Boden*, op. cit., 390 drawing 226.

⁷¹ *B. Posta*, *Archeologische Studien auf russischem Boden*, op. cit., 421 drawing 242.

⁷² *Schmidt*, *ESA* 1 (1927) 37, figure 19.

⁷³ See recently *M. Párducz* on this subject, *AntHung* 1 (1947), pp. 50ff.

⁷⁴ *Schmidt* *ESA* 1 (1927) 39 figure 29.

⁷⁵ *M. Párducz*, *AE* 1 (1940) XLIII., Table 14.

⁷⁶ *M. Párducz*, *Denkmäler der Sarmatenzeit Ungarns*, I. Table III. figure 2.

⁷⁷ *K. Szabó*, *FA* 1/2 (1939) II., Table 1.

⁷⁸ *M. Párducz*, *Denkmäler der Sarmatenzeit Ungarns*, I., XXIII. 20.

⁷⁹ *B. Posta*, *Archeologische Studien auf russischem Boden*, 433, 244. figure 4.

⁸⁰ *A. Smirnov*, *VDI* 1940 3/4 364, Fig. 3.

⁸¹ See *Denkmäler der Sarmatenzeit Ungarns*, II., pp. 82ff and *Laureae Aquincenses*.

but recently working on the exact chronological delimitation of the various Sarmatian periods he came to the conclusion that the central part of the second period must be put between 200 and 270 of our era.⁸²

On a closer examination we shall find that the most practical way to establish the date when the second period set in, is to consider the latest archeological material from the Black Sea, the more so because this will, first of all, help to establish the main character of the finds. If this is so we can accept the conclusions of *M. Párducz* on the dates of some of the archeological material, and might place the beginning of the second period indeed somewhere about 200 of our era and the end somewhere later about 280—300 of our era. Now if we consider that these pieces had been in use for some twenty years at least before the burial, then we might put the date of this energetic revival of trade with the Pontic region somewhere between 180 and 260 of our era.

As we can see, the beginning of the second period and the revival of Pontic trade, falls together with the time when *Marcus Aurelius* admitted the Iazyges to a free passage over Dacia to the Roxolani. Thus it seems established that the most important factor in the Sarmatians' material culture as presented by the archeological evidence from the second period, was first of all the renewed contact of the Iazyges with Black Sea regions.

It seems likely that the end of the second period, the break-off in the trade with the Pontic region, may also be connected with some important historical event. In the Pontic trade with the Dnjeper basin the chief part was played by Olbia and Tyras. We have already noted that among the Sarmatian archeological remains from Hungary of this period, there were several pieces of Pontic origin that have their next parallels in the finds from Olbia. This evidently shows that Olbia was one of the chief centres for the trade with the Iazyges. But the movement of the Goths was a heavy blow to the trade along the Black Sea, and when in 260 of our era Tyras and Olbia was captured by them,⁸³ it must have put an end to all business connections of the Iazyges with the Pontic regions. This date agrees again with the conclusions drawn from archeological evidence which shows that business relations ceased once more with the Black Sea Greek colonies.

6.

It is important for us to observe that in the archeological material which showed such a marked change in the Iazygean civilization of the second period, there were present such elements that take us back not only to the vicinity of the Black Sea but even further east as far as the Volga basin. If the first place we refer to the swords with ringed and cylindric hilts and to the cubo-octaëdric beads which were found in the Alanian tombs of the Volga basin.⁸⁴ This bears on our argument insofar as it shows that during the 1st and 2nd centuries of our era some shifting of the peoples took again place in South Russia. On the evidence of a number of classical sources it has been generally believed by scholars that the Alani

⁸² Denkmäler der Sarmatenzeit Ungarns, III.

⁸³ See on the subject *Ebert*, Südrussland im Altertum, 228 p. 376.

⁸⁴ See *Ebert*, RLV XII 106, 108.

slowly migrated towards the west during the 1st and 2nd centuries of our era, and that in the time of *Marcus Aurelius* they had arrived as far as the lower Danube.⁸⁵

But this belief rests on an error. The statements of those classical geographical sources which put the Alani west to the Don, were based on a simple cartographical mistake, whereas the historical sources that placed the Alani to the same territory, were a pseudohistorical reflection of later ages.⁸⁶ But there is another way to deal with the problem as to how the Alani settled down in South Russia, which have been neglected so far. The Greek cities in South Russia became Iranian to a great degree during the first centuries of our era.⁸⁷ In the course of this process members of different Iranian tribes migrated into the Greek cities in such great numbers that hundreds of inscriptions remained after them along the coast of the Black Sea to preserve their names.⁸⁸ Obviously this enormous number of names is comparatively the safest evidence to establish the presence of Alanian ethnic elements. We are thus well-informed of the differences that distinguish Alanian language from the languages of other Iranian peoples;⁸⁹ hence there is no peculiar difficulty to pick out the Alanian names. If we examine the inscriptions from this angle, then we shall find that we can trace a great number of Alanian elements in the Pontic towns lying east of the Don and in the Crimea, but not a single one in the Greek cities on the north-western coast of the Black Sea. It is not very likely, therefore, that the Alani should have reached the Danube in the 2nd century of our era. It might, of course, have happened that they extended their power west of the Don, probably even as far as the river Donec, but in the western parts of South Russia we cannot reckon with them as having been one of the ethnic elements.

The implies some important consequences. First of all, it eliminates that wide-spread belief that the Roxolani had been absorbed by the Alani⁹⁰ and leaves the Roxolani as important factors in history even as late as the 2nd and 3rd centuries of our era. In the 2nd century of our era, or rather at the end of it, the Goths arrived in South Russia and conquered the territories that had formerly been the seats of the Roxolani. The Goths in South Russia stood under a strong Iranian influence that affected almost all sections of their civilization.⁹¹ This influence has so far been attributed

⁸⁵ See among others *Ebert*, *Südrussland im Altertum*, p. 376.

⁸⁶ A good example of the case point can be seen in connection with *I. Maximinus*, whom a biased *Herodianos* made out to be a semi-barbarian of Thracian origin, and adding to this the *Historia Augusta* took him to have been of Gothic-Alanian extraction.

⁸⁷ *Ebert*, *Südrussland im Altertum*, pp. 343f; *Rostovtzeff*, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, pp. 144., 167ff.

⁸⁸ These inscriptions were collected and published by *B. Latyschev* *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*, *Petropoli* I. 1885, II. 1890. IV. 1901. The investigations concerning the Iranian names of the inscriptions were summarised by *Vasmer*, *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, pp. 23ff.

⁸⁹ See *W's. Miller*, *Osetinskije etjudy* III. Moskva 1887. p. 82f., *Die Sprache der Osseten*. Strassburg, 1903. 7; *Vasmer*, *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, p. 28f.

⁹⁰ *Rostovtzeff*, *CaH* XI. 95, 97; *F. Altheim*, *Die Krise der alten Welt*. I. Berlin-Dahlem, 1943. 97.

⁹¹ See *Altheim*, *Die Krise der alten Welt*, pp. 98ff.

to the Alani, partly in the belief that the Goths had already found the Alani on the spot, and partly based on the fact that in the age of the Huns the Goths often appeared together with the Alani.⁹² But as we have already pointed it out, in those days there were no Alani settled west of the Don, where the Goths must have found the Roxolani, and therefore the Iranian influence on the Goths was mainly due to the Roxolani.

7.

At this point the historical events, hitherto relatively easy to follow, begin to get confused. Thus if we take the Roxolani as an important factor in South Russia, how are we to account for their sudden disappearance in the 3rd century? Formerly it used to be maintained that they had been absorbed by the Alani⁹³, while those who did not accept this view, believed that the Goths had crushed and assimilated them.⁹⁴ We have already pointed out the improbability of the first assumption, but the latter one is hardly more tenable. If we follow closely the fate of the nations connected with the Goths, we shall find absorption or coalescence had never taken place, not even in the case of much smaller nations than the Roxolani such as the Skiri, the Bastarnae or the Carpi were. It seems by all means certain that the Goths pushed them out from their original seats around the Dnjeper and squeezed them into the Roumenian Plain. Yet the question still remains open what happened to them later on.

At the same time as the Roxolani vanished from the scene, other events, hardly less unaccountable, took place with the Iazyges settled in Hungary. The Iazyges caused a considerable stir during the 3rd century⁹⁵ but we are at a loss to explain the vigorous activity they displayed during the time of the Tetrarchy. The emperors themselves had to lead during their twenty years seven campaigns against them⁹⁶ and in the meantime they had to settle them in great numbers on Roman territory.⁹⁷ What was it that had strengthened the forces of the Iazyges to that extent? Later on, under the rule of Constantine, internal disturbances broke out among them, and by the orders of emperor again great numbers of them were settled in Roman provinces, according to the sources about 300,000.⁹⁸ We can only realise fully the meaning of these numbers, if we consider that the number of the Hungarians entering this country, were estimated to have amounted to not more than 200,000.⁹⁹ In spite of such large-scale settlements the Iazyges, already called by the name Sarmatae, still kept on besieging the Roman frontiers with the same force

⁹² See *Altheim*, *Die Krise der alten Welt*, op. cit., pp. 97, 104ff.

⁹³ See among others *Rostovcev* and *Altheim* mentioned in footnote 88.

⁹⁴ *Bibl. Pann. VI. 276*; *J. Harmatta*, *Das Volk der Sadagaren. Kőrösi-Csoma Emlék-könyv. Budapest, 1942. p. 27.*

⁹⁵ About the wars of the Iazyges in the 3rd century see: *Budapest története* (The history of Budapest), I., 670.

⁹⁶ See: *Budapest története* (The history of Budapest), I., 675.

⁹⁷ *Orosius*, VII. 25, 12.

⁹⁸ *Exc. Val. 32.*

⁹⁹ See recently: *A magyarság őstörténete*. (The prehistory of the Hungarians.) Editor *L. Ligeti*. Budapest, 1943. 125.

during *Constantine* and *Valentinian*.¹⁰⁰ It is hardly possible that the Iazyges not too numerous when they came to Hungary, should have multiplied and grown in strength to such an extent while they were having one destructive war after another.

It would be obvious that this increase of the Iazyges took place by the addition of new popular elements and, in fact, there are certain traces that seem to strengthen this view. A part of the Sarmatian names preserved by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, show such phonetic peculiarities which differ from former Iazygian names and point to a different Iranian language. There occur among these names already some typically East Germanic names, too which testified that for sometimes already the Sarmatae have intermingled with the East Germans. *Ammianus* described the Iazyges (XVII 12, 2.) as wearing armour made of chipped scales of bones, a type of armour not worn by the Iazyges¹⁰¹ but which was, as we have seen, a typical armour of the Roxolani¹⁰²

Similar problems present themselves in the archeological material as well.¹⁰³ *M. Párducz* proved that at the end of the 3rd century a new period shows in the archeological remains of the Sarmatians in Hungary,¹⁰⁴ with two different groups discernible from this time on. One group is represented by burial places with barrows, the other is represented by an absence of any burial mounds. There is more than one reason for supposing that the civilization of the latter type of burials, developed from the Sarmatian civilisation of the second period under the influence of the small-mound graves. On the other hand, the new rite of burial and the mass of the recovered things which point to the Black Sea and the Roumenian Plain, witness that the archeological material of the third Sarmatian period points to the appearance of a new people.¹⁰⁵ It is worth while to note that among the grave finds there appeared the long sword,¹⁰⁶ which had not yet been known to the Iazyges,¹⁰⁷ but which, as we know from a description of *Tacitus* (Hist. I. 79), was a typical weapon of the Roxolani. It is equally important that in the archeological remains there appeared a large number of traces bearing Germanic influence, but in all probability the influence not of the Hungarian Vandals but of East Germanic, Gothic or Taifal.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁰ See about these wars Budapest története (The history of Budapest), I., pp. 679ff.

¹⁰¹ See Budapest története (The history of Budapest), I. 177.

¹⁰² *Tacitus*, Hist. I. 79.

¹⁰³ We discovered this problem with *Mihály Párducz* and solved it together. Later *Aladár Radnóti* also added interesting observations in Roman provincial archeology and numismatics. We gave an account of our results at a meeting of the Régészeti és Művészettörténeti Társulat (Society for Archeology and the History of Arts) giving a joint lecture on 26th October, 1946.

¹⁰⁴ Laureae Aquincenses, op. cit., II. pp. 321ff. Denkmäler der Sarmatentezeit Ungarns, III. s. a.

¹⁰⁵ See *M. Párducz*, Laureae Aquincenses, II., p. 325. *Párducz* already thought of that possibility and dealt with it in some detail in his Denkmäler der Sarmatentezeit Ungarns, III.

¹⁰⁶ See *M. Párducz*, AÉ 2(1941) pp. 111ff. Laureae Aquincenses, II. p. 322f.

¹⁰⁷ In the Sarmatian second period we have come across only of short swords. See *M. Párducz*, Denkmäler der Sarmatentezeit Ungarns, II., II. 77ff.; Budapest története (The history of Budapest). I. 177.

¹⁰⁸ See *M. Párducz*, Denkmäler der Sarmatentezeit Ungarns, III.

The importance of this fact will only be clear if we consider that among the Sarmatian names of *Ammianus*, we can find typically Eastern Germanic names, too. Archeological evidence points to the assumption that the barrow people had already been intermixing for some time with Eastern Germans.

These historical and archeological data present the following two problems. The Goths pushed the Roxolani out of their seats at the Black Sea and squeezed them into the Roumenian Plain. This event must have gone on for some time and could not have taken place without the two nations influencing each other deeply. The Goths had adopted numerous Iranian cultural elements and obviously absorbed several ethnic features of the Roxolani as well. We might presume similarly that a great cultural and ethnic influence had been exerted by the Goths on the Roxolani. At the time when the Goths led their great attack, the Roxolani had completely vanished from the scene, while the rest of the small nations crushed by the Goths, such as e. g. the Bastarnae, the Carpi and others, history can still trace after this event. The question is, therefore, where and why did the Roxolani vanish.

On the other hand, at the same period such an activity and such an increase in the population, can be observed to have taken place with the Sarmatians of Hungary that is easiest explained by assuming the arrival of newcomers. This assumption is corroborated by a new set of Sarmatian names appearing in the work of *Ammianus*. In addition *Ammianus* gave such a description of the Sarmatians of Hungary that does not fit the Iazyges, but is very like the picture we have formed about the Roxolani from other sources. The names known by *Ammianus* will convince us as well that these Sarmatians had for some time contacts with East Germans and had intermingled with them. Archeology presents a new ethnic element, too, in the new rite of burial and in the numerical increase of the finds almost to the double number.¹⁰⁹

Among the archeological remains we come across a long, claymore like sword which indicates the Roxolani, but other recovered articles clearly show that the newcomers had been intermingled with Eastern Germanic ethnic elements.

8.

The two problems helped to solve each other. As the Roxolani had vanished at a time when the new Iranian element appeared in Hungary, we must necessarily conclude that these two events were in some way connected with each other. The Roxolani under the pressure of the Goths, arrived through Oltenia and Dacia into Hungary at a time when the great Gothic attack was beginning against the Roman Limes on the lower Danube.

This assumption solves the whole string of the problems mentioned above. We get an explanation for the disappearance of the Roxolani, and we understand as well why the sources of the following ages keep silent about them. Contrary to the other nations who were driven by the Goths before them, the Roxolani did not settle on Roman territory but came to that part

¹⁰⁹ According to the statistics of the Sarmatian archeological finds in Hungary the finds are distinguished according to different periods: first period: 30 finds, second period: 50 finds and third period: 105 finds. See *M. Párducz*, *Denkmäler der Sarmatenzeit*, vol. III.

of Hungary which had been occupied by the Iazyges. We must not forget that during the 1st and 2nd centuries of our era the strongest desire of the Iazyges and the Roxolani seemed to have been to contact each other. In this — as we have seen — they have succeeded under *Marcus Aurelius* and the essential changes in the Iazygian archeological material witness to the intensity of the Iazyges-Roxolani relations. It must have been obvious to the Roxolani, when they were driven on by the Goths, to seek shelter in the seats of the related Iazyges and not on Roman territory in Moesia. This accounts for the fact why contemporary historical sources never mention the Roxolani any more. The sources dealt with contemporary events only from the Roman point of view, and thus they mention only those peoples who, fleeing from the Goths, took their way towards Roman territory, or such as were to be settled on Roman territory, as was the case with the Bastarnae. The Roxolani joined the Iazyges and from that time on they went together by the name Sarmatae.

This makes it clear why the Iazyges got so suddenly strong in arms as well as in number, and why they displayed such remarkable activity from the last quarter of the 3rd century on. Very likely these Roxolani settlers, coming in great numbers, pushed the Iazyges out of their seats, and since by all probability they were a stronger and a more numerous tribe, they took the power into their own hands and changed the material culture of the Iazyges.

This will solve the problem of the archeological remains as well. The custom of barrow burial was brought in by the Roxolani, and the flat graves were those of the Iazyges, the two tribes living side by side. But the Iazyges soon took over the material culture of the Roxolani, and from then on the grave finds found in the flat graves do not materially differ from those found in the barrows. If we assume that the Roxolani, who had had contacts with eastern Germanic peoples and had been intermixing with them, settled in Hungary, then we can understand why we find names of Germanic origin among the Sarmatians names mentioned by *Ammianus*, and further on why we find such a strong Germanic influence in their archeological remains. It becomes clear as well why *Ammianus*, writing of the armour of the Sarmatians in Hungary, really gave a description of the Roxolani when he wrote of scale-armoured warriors.

We need not be surprised that *Ammianus* did not know about the Roxolani in Hungary and simply used the name Sarmatae when referring to them. It is true, though, that Roman history in the 1st and 2nd century of our era applied the name of Sarmatae generally to the Iazyges and never to the Roxolani. But by the 4th century of our era, in the age of *Ammianus*, the name Roxolani had completely ceased to be used in the current language of the day, neither was the name of Iazyges any more in use. The conglomerate of Iranian peoples living in a turmoil in Hungary, was simply referred to as Sarmatae to tell them apart from the Alani who by this time had also arrived there.

That *Ammianus* was mistaken as far as the names Iazyges and Roxolani were concerned, is clearly shown when he took these peoples as still being settled along the northern shores of the Black Sea following therein his earlier sources.¹¹⁰ This is more than a deliberate attempt at being archaic. Similar mis-statements can be found in other periods of classical geography.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *Ammianus* XXII. 8, 31.

When the Sarmatians had destroyed the Scythian empire, many centuries after the event our sources keep on mentioning the Scythians and other peoples as still being settled in the Pontic regions as they used to do in the days of *Hecataeus* and *Herodotus*.¹¹¹ The chief cause of this mis-statement was that for a long time no information had been available to throw light on the new situation with its confused ethnic developments. Something similar got again repeated in the 3rd and 4th centuries of our era when this time the Sarmatians were driven away from around the Black Sea. *Ptolemy* was the last to undertake a great geographical synopsis in classical literature; no similar attempt was made after him in order to present a geographical picture on a large scale that would have given a clear picture of the new state of things. So *Ammianus* had to avail himself of what there had been ready at hand, and there nothing else to rely on but *Ptolemy*.¹¹² That he should pick out of *Ptolemy's* work just the Iazyges as a Sarmatian people as being still settled in the Pontic regions, shows in itself how completely forgotten the name Iazyges had been by then though formerly, in the 1st and 2nd centuries, it was used as a synonym for Sarmatian. In the days of *Ammianus* new barbarian names were known in connection with the Sarmatians such as the Limigantes and Ardaragantes.¹¹³

9.

We can see, therefore, that a series of problems of the 3rd century of our era, solve themselves when we admit that the Roxolani, being driven by the Goths, settled in Hungary. It remains to be decided when and how that was possible.

If we examine the historical events, we shall find that the first great blows Dacia received, were inflicted upon her under *Philippus* and *Traianus Decius*.¹¹⁴ According to our sources Dacia was ravaged by the Carpi, while the invasion of the Goths was directed rather against Lower Moesia.¹¹⁵ We shall best understand what a terrible blow this was to Dacia, if we consider that from that time on nearly no Roman coins at all were found in that country.¹¹⁶ It seems rather obvious that the Roxolani must have moved into Hungary during this unsettled period.

It is not at all difficult to find some traces of this event. Though the invasion of the Carpi was mainly directed against Transsylvania, while the Goths broke into Lower Moesia, yet the territory of Oltenia did not remain intact either. Under the emperors *Philippus* and *Traianus Decius* the chain of front-line fortifications were lost in the east of the Olt, and it was at this time that the Romans withdrew their occupying forces behind the Olt limes.¹¹⁷ In view of all this we may assume that this province was also visited by invasions. As it is not very likely that these invasions were in any

¹¹¹ See *J. Harmatta*, Quellenstudien zu den Skythika des Herodot, pp. 6f.

¹¹² See as to relation of *Ptolemy* and *Ammianus Th. Mommsen*, *Hermes* 16 (1881); *O. Cuntz*, *Die Geographie des Ptolemaios*, Berlin, 1923. 39.

¹¹³ *Hieronymus*, *Chron.* a. 2350.

¹¹⁴ See *EPhK* 54 (1930), 2.

¹¹⁵ *Schmidt*, *Die Ostgermanen*, 207; *EPhK* 53 (1929) 163. That the Gothic raids were not directed against Dacia, see *EPhK* 54 (1930) 92.

¹¹⁶ See *EPhK* 54 (1930) 3. and *Magyarok és románok* (Hungarians and Roumanians) I. Budapest, 1943. 70.

¹¹⁷ *Magyarok és románok* (Hungarians and Roumanians), I. 70.

way connected with either the Carpi or the Goths, it seems much more probable that they hung together with the earliest arrival of the Roxolani on Hungarian territory. That such an invasion was not impossible through the Oltenian-Banatian narrow Roman corridor, is proved by the fact that even in Moesia permanent raids and invasions of the barbarians were the order of the day, so that fortifications had to be built against them far in the interior of the province as is attested by the inscription of Kutlovica dating to 256 of our era.¹¹⁸ It is not very likely, however, that the entire nation of the Roxolani had reached Hungary during these few years. Other nations such as the Carpi also reached Roman territories only in several waves.¹¹⁹ It is highly probable, therefore, that the Roxolani reached Hungary not in one body but that they arrived in various groups. Very probably this infiltration and settling down in small numbers, came to an end only after Dacia had been completely given up, and thus there were no more obstacles in the Roxolani's way. We might infer that this movement towards Hungary, beginning under *Traianus Decius*, was stopped for some time by the consolidation under *Gallienus*.¹²⁰ Though it is true that the bulk of the army, stationed in Transsylvania, was withdrawn under *Gallienus*,¹²¹ yet on the other hand, the country between the Danube and the Timișul was under a stronger military occupation than ever before.¹²² The reason of this interesting military re-shuffle was performed, according to recent research, in order to leave a route open in case of any threatening invasion and to isolate from Moesia those barbarians that had been settled by *Gallienus* in the east or north-east of Dacia obviously to guard the frontiers. On the other hand, taking into account that Dacia had not been entirely given up as yet, and that military troops and state administration had been left behind, we might as well suppose that the chief reason for this military occupation was to guard the contact between the colonies and the mother country. That such military measures were necessary is shown by the fact that the contact had been for some time in considerable danger, and that this danger very probably was due to the Roxolani.

Which route might namely the Roxolani have taken? If we consider all the possible means of transport available in those days, it will be clear to us that the most likely route taken was through the Iron Gate, Mehadia, the Porta Orientalis and through the valley of the Timișul, a route that has been much favoured ever since classical times.¹²³ It is very interesting to note in this context that the southern part of this road was guarded by two divisions under *Gallienus*: the cohorts III Dalmatarum between Mehadia and Plugova and a detachment of the legio XIII Gemina at Băile-Herculane.¹²⁴ It is hardly probable that the divisions were guarding the road between Dierna and Sarmisegethusa at this particular spot since from a strategic point of view it could hardly be imagined to hold up an attack from the north or east by guarding the last stretches of the road. Such a disposition of the troops could

¹¹⁸ See EphK 54 (1930) 90.

¹¹⁹ See Schmidt, Die Ostgermanen, 221, 224.

¹²⁰ See on this subject Magyarok és románok (Hungarians and Roumanians) 73.

¹²¹ EphK 54 (1930) p. 8, 11f.

¹²² See EphK 54 (1930) 10.

¹²³ See about this road C. Patsch, Der Kampf um den Donauraum unter Domitian und Trajan. SWAW 217 (1937) 1. Abh. 108.

¹²⁴ See EphK 54 (1930) 12; Schmidt, Die Ostgermanen. 211.

have been effective only when the idea was to secure the road between Dierna and Sarmisegethusa from an attack that was expected from the south. It is equally unlikely that these troops had been placed here to intercept an attack against Moesia from the east or north-east. It is hardly conceivable either that the enemy could traverse over the Godeanul or the Retezat as both mountains are over 2000 metres high. An attack coming from the Transylvanian Basin was possible only through the Iron Gate pass and the Bistra valley. Had these Roman forces been kept there to defend against such an attack, they ought to have been stationed somewhere about Caransebeş. From a strategic point of view it seems more likely that these divisions were meant to secure the connections between Rome and Dacia against an attack expected from Oltenia. The task of these troops was very likely to guard the road leading from Oltenia through the valley of the Timişul to the Hungarian Plain in order to prevent the Roxolani from breaking through the Dacian corridor and cutting the communications between Rome and her colony already partly evacuated.

It is very possible that all attempts at an invasion by the Roxolani must have been stopped for a time by the military reforms of *Gallienus* and the consolidation following it, as well by closing down the military road from Oltenia to the Hungarian Plain by stationing troops there.

An episode from the life of *Regalianus*, a rival of *Gallienus*, has hitherto been neglected and not fully understood; this episode will help to prove that a part of the Roxolani had already been settled in Hungary. *Regalianus* after defeating *Ingenuus* was proclaimed emperor by his troops in 260 of our era, according to one information in Moesia and according to another at the initiative of the Moesians.¹²⁵ Recent investigations resulted in proving that the legions taking part in the revolt of *Regalianus* were the X and XIV Gemina from Upper Pannonia, the XIII Gemina of Dacia, and the XI Claudia legion from lower Moesia.¹²⁶ It looks rather probable that the information of both sources meant not more than that *Regalianus* was proclaimed emperor on the initiative of the Moesian legion. The proclamation must have taken place somewhere in Pannonia since the defeat of *Ingenuus* took place in the same province, probably near Mursa or Sirmium, where all the rebellious troops must have been concentrated.¹²⁷ The power of *Regalianus* could hardly have spread as far as Moesia since his coins have not been found outside Pannonia.¹²⁸ According to our informations during his short reign *Regalianus* had to fight against the Sarmatians, but at the instigations of the Roxolani a conspiracy by his own soldiers put an end to his life.¹²⁹ According to the usage of the time the name Sarmatians here means Iazyges and therefore the fight against them also connects *Regalianus* to Pannonia once more. But what does it mean that the Roxolani took part in the plot against *Regalianus*? This information makes no sense, if we assumed that the Roxolani were settled on the Roumenian Plain near Lower Moesia, since *Regalianus* could not have visited this province during his short reign. Everything will be clear

¹²⁵ Epitome de Caesaribus 32, 3; Script. Hist. Aug. trig. tyr. 9. On the revolt of *Regalianus* see Stein, RE II. R. I. Bd. pp. 462ff.

¹²⁶ See NK 25 (1926) p. 71f.

¹²⁷ See Stein, RE II. R. I. Bd. 462.

¹²⁸ See Stein, RE II. R. I. Bd. p. 462. The explanations given by B. Saria, Klio, 30 (1937), pp. 352ff., do not materially alter this fact.

¹²⁹ Script. Hist. Aug. Trig. Tyr. 9.

at once, if we assume that some of the Roxolani had already been settled in Hungary. It might have been they who were responsible for the Sarmatian disturbance which *Regalianus* had to quell, and this again was an important factor since it led to his final destruction.

The defeat of *Regalianus* seems to point to the presence of the Roxolani in Hungary and this needs not be doubted. Another information in the *Historia Augusta*, cleared up only lately, tells that *Regalianus* was proclaimed by the Moesians; this information has also been interpreted to prove that it was the Claudia legion of Moesia that took part in the revolt leading to the proclamation of *Regalianus*.¹³⁰ Now if the *Historia Augusta* gave evidence that was for once exceptionally reliable about the beginning of *Regalianus'* reign, then we might trust that the story of his fall might equally be true.

10.

The Romans left Dacia for good under *Aurelianus* after which the way was open to the Roxolani. The effect of their arrival must have been felt soon. According to our sources the Sarmatians soon became a standing danger already under *Carus*, and they threatened not only the Illyricum, but even Thracia and Italy.¹³¹ Historical investigation has not appreciated this fact at its full merit, because the historical connections behind it were not seen. We cannot even accuse our source of rhetorical exaggeration since the threat of the Sarmatians increased in the following years. Two punitive expeditions were led by *Diocletian* himself against the Sarmatians in 286 and 293. At the same time a number of fortifications were being built along the Danube under the personal supervision of *Diocletian*. He took a special interest in the setting up of a bridgehead at Dunaszekcső, and he also caused the rebuilding of the extensive fortifications on the two wings of the Sarmatian front at Bononia and Transaquincum. After these preparations the great attack was launched against the Sarmatians led by *Maximianus* in person.¹³²

We have excellent documents on the great importance attached to these Sarmatian wars. It was at this time that the Tetrarchy began to strike new silver coins, and this was used to commemorate the victory won over the Sarmatians.¹³³ These coins bore witness to the great importance the Romans paid to the defeat of the Sarmatians, implying even that it was the outstanding event of the times because no other conquest had ever been celebrated in this way, neither the ones won over the Goths, Bastarnae, Carpi nor those over the Quads or the Marcomanni. This proves that the Sarmatians had been a much greater danger than any of the other nations.¹³⁴ It seems, therefore, rather likely that the bridgehead at Dunaszekcső was set up more against the Sarmatians than against the Goths.

The wars led by the emperors themselves against the Iazyges continued during the Tetrarchy. Small wonder that historians in the past found it "surprising" that during *Diocletian's* reign seven imperial wars had to be

¹³⁰ See NK 25 (1926) 72.

¹³¹ Script. Hist. Aug. Car. Num. et Carin. 9.

¹³² See Budapest története (The history of Budapest), I. 673.

¹³³ See Budapest története (The history of Budapest), I. 674.

¹³⁴ See, Budapest története (The history of Budapest), loc. cit.

fought against the Sarmatians and yet no reason could be given why this should have happened. The unparalleled exertions of the Romans against the Sarmatians were rather remarkable in an age when no similar strenuous efforts were needed against any nation, not even against the Goths. It seems as if the pressure on the Roman empire put on by the Sarmatians, was greater than that by any other nation during those decades. This circumstance may be accounted for by assuming that the entire people of the Roxolani had been settled in Hungary by then.

Historical evidence shows that after his victory, *Diocletian* settled great masses of the Sarmatians on Roman territory. These Sarmatian masses, at least a part of them, were probably Iazyges since it was at about this time that the second of the Sarmatian archeological periods ended. Future archeological investigations will have to decide on this question, but in the meantime we want to call attention to one interesting archeological find which is by all probability in connection with the departure of the Iazyges. In the vicinity of Szil (County of Somogy) that is to say, in the former province of Pannonia, a sword with a ringed hilt was discovered, and we know that this was a characteristic piece of the archeological goods from the second Sarmatian period.¹³⁵ It is probably no mistake on our part to bring this archeological evidence into relation with the settlement of the Iazyges on Roman territory during the reign of *Diocletian*. This evidence proves, too, that the Sarmatians, admitted to Roman territory, were the carriers of the 2nd Sarmatian period, that is to say, Iazyges.

The departure of such great masses of the Iazyges eased the internal strain with the remaining Sarmatians considerably. The Iazyges remaining in their former seats, intermixed freely with the Roxolani. It is likely that the cemeteries of the third period with their flat graves belonged to their descendants whose grave finds are not different from those found in the tumuli. The fact that from this time on the flat graves and tumuli appear side by side,¹³⁶ points to the assumption that an end had been put to the independent power of the Iazyges.

In view of the above interpretation we will find it only too natural that in the following years the pressure of the Sarmatians on the Roman Limes, was considerably lessened.¹³⁷ But great disturbances break out again among them when the Goths attacked the country. Though *Constantine* hurried to their aid and defeated the Goths, nevertheless great masses of Sarmatians, according to one information a population of 300,000, were forced to leave the Hungarian Plain and settled on Roman territory. This great disturbance, according to our informations, was caused by a Sarmatian civil war. When the Goths attacked the Sarmatians, the latter armed their servants, who thereupon revolted and drove their masters away.¹³⁸ Information being very scanty we do not know whether this civil war was waged along social lines or was prompted by tribal hatred. Neither can we ascertain what part the differences in the social position between the Iazyges and the

¹³⁵ On the sword of Szil see *M. Párducz*, *Denkmäler der Sarmatenzeit Ungarns*, II. 79.

¹³⁶ See on this subject *M. Párducz*, *Denkmäler der Sarmatenzeit Ungarns*, III. s. a.

¹³⁷ See, *Budapest története* (The history of Budapest), I., 676.

¹³⁸ *Eusebius*, *Vita Const.*, 4, 6; *Ammianus* XVII 12, 18.

Roxolani, played in this outbreak. Nevertheless, it is most likely that the internal strife was a tribal war waged between tribes, and if it was that, then this event also suggests that the tribal organization of the Roxolani, unable to withstand the strain, got broken up.

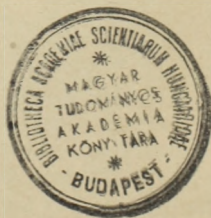
It is likely that the Sarmatians, settling on Roman territory at that period, were mostly or even entirely Roxolani. We have an interesting information on this point. During the reign of *Julianus*, hardly thirty-one years after Constantine had such masses of Sarmatians transferred, there appeared a small Iranian nation along the lower Danube under the name of Sadagarii.¹³⁹ Later on *Jordanes* mentioned this small nation, too, and from him we get the information that they were living in Little Scythia. Now there was only one chance for an Iranian tribe to get settled in this place, and that was by joining the great re-settlement of the Sarmatians by Constantine. And our sources do, in fact, tell us that a part of the Sarmatians were settled in Scythia. Therefore, it is extremely likely that the nations of the Sadagarii were transferred from Hungary to Little Scythia in the course of the Constantine re-settlements. Now the name of Sadagarii means: "(the nation) of the hundred hills". It seems obvious for us to assume a connection with the burial rites of the tumuli since such a grave-yard looks very much like a hilly country with hundreds and hundreds of hills. If such a connection had really existed, and we have no reason to doubt it, then in the Sadagarii we have got hold of the carries of the tumuli civilization by way historical evidence, too. We might, therefore, take it as a certainty that the Sarmatians, resettled by *Constantine*, must have mostly or entirely been Roxolani.

The Sarmatians, left behind in Hungary, were scattered during the great turmoil caused by the appearance of the Huns. We can follow the fate of some of these surviving fragments even through the following centuries. Yet a new chapter begins here in the history of the migration that was spreading for over two thousand years.

¹³⁹ On the following see *J. Harmatta*, *Das Volk der Sadagaren*, pp. 17ff.

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