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THE NAME OF THE PECHENEGS IN IBN HAYYÂN'S *AL-MUQTABAS**

Uli Schamiloglu

The name of the Pechenegs has come under scholarly scrutiny on numerous occasions.¹ For one thing, the name *Pecheneg* itself is one of the few words from the language of this Turkic-speaking group, to have come down to us.² For another, though the importance of the role of the Pechenegs in the history of western Eurasia in the 9th-12th centuries A.D. is well known,³ identifying them in the contemporary sources is a task hindered by the differing forms of the name under which they are recorded.⁴ In this contribution in honor of my mentor, Tibor Halasi-Kun, I would like to examine briefly a previously

*An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the 26th annual meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference held in Chicago, August 15-20, 1983. The transliteration system used in this article is based on the Republican Turkish alphabet.

¹For the literature on the name of the Pechenegs (especially the works of Z. Gombocz, W. Bang, Gy. Németh, and A. M. Şerbak), see D. Sinor, *Introduction à l'étude de l'Eurasie centrale* (Wiesbaden, 1963), pp. 290-291; and *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára*, i (Budapest, 1967), p. 288.

²On what is generally considered to be the language of the Pechenegs, see Gy. Németh, *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szent-Miklós*, Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica 2 (Budapest, 1932); and "The Runiform Inscriptions from Nagy-Szent-Miklós and the Runiform Scripts from Eastern Europe," *Acta Linguistica* 21 (1971) 1-52.

³On the history of the Pechenegs, see most recently P. B. Golden, "The Migrations of the Oğuz," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 4 (1972) 45-84; and *Khazar Studies. An Historico-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars*, BOH 25, i (Budapest, 1980), pp. 67-77; Gy. Györffy, "Sur la question de l'établissement des Petchénègues en Europe," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 25 (1972) 283-292; O. Pritsak, "The Pechenegs: A Case of Social and Economic Transformation," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 1 (1975) 211-235; and E. Tryjarski, "Pieczyngowie," *Hunowie Europejscy, Protobułgarzy, Chazarowie, Pieczyngowie* (Wrocław, 1975) 479-625.

⁴References to the name of the Pechenegs in the various contemporary sources may be found in the works cited by Sinor, *Introduction*, pp. 290-291; as well as in J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903/Hildesheim, 1961); and "Über das Volkstum der Komanen," *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-his. Klasse, N.F. 13:1 (Berlin, 1914/Göttingen, 1970), pp. 25-238; K. Czeglédy, "A kangarok (besenyők) a VI. századi szír forrásokban," *IV-IX. századi népmozgalmak a steppén*, A magyar nyelvtudományi társaság kiadványai 84 (Budapest, 1954) 12-45; Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantino-Turcica*, ii, Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten 10 (Leipzig, 1958²), pp. 87-90; M. Istvánovits, "Georgian Data Bearing on the History of the Petchenegs," *AOH* 16 (1963) 319-323; *TESz*, i, p. 288; B. N. Zaxoder, *Kaspiyskiy svod svedeniy o vostochnoy Evrope*, ii (Moscow, 1967), pp. 70-76; E. Tryjarski, "A Note on the Relations Between the Pechenegs and Poland," *Studia Turcica*, ed. L. Ligeti, BOH 17 (Budapest, 1971) 461-468; A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11^e siècle*, ii (Paris-The Hague, 1975), pp. 216-217; and Pritsak, "The Pechenegs." The problem of the varying forms of the name of the Pechenegs in the Islamic sources has been dealt with by P. B. Golden, "The People NWKRDH," *AEMe* 1 (1975) 21-35.

unattested form of this name found in a source only recently made available, the fifth volume of the *Al-muqtabas* of Ibn Ḥayyān.

Ibn Ḥayyān (987-8–1076) is generally considered the greatest historian of medieval Spain; the extant volumes of his *Al-muqtabas* are similarly considered the most important contemporary literary source for the history of Andalusia under the Spanish Umayyads (r. 755-1031).⁵ Following the discovery of a unique manuscript of the fifth volume of this work in Rabat in the 1960's, P. Chalmetta published an article outlining the new contributions of this source, together with selected passages in French translation.⁶ Among the sections which Chalmetta highlighted in his article is the notice on the appearance of the Turks (i.e., the Hungarians) in the upper border region of Andalusia in 942. This section includes a passing mention of a people whom Chalmetta translates as the "Pechenegs (*Petchenègues*)," though it was not until Chalmetta's recent publication of the Arabic text of the fifth volume of the *Al-muqtabas*⁷ (based upon which a Spanish translation has also appeared)⁸ that the corresponding text of this passage could be consulted. The following is an English translation of the passage referring to the Pechenegs based on the Arabic text:

The one who reported their matters said that their land [i.e., the land of the *Turk* = the Hungarians] is in the far east, and that the Pechenegs (*Bacanāk* بجاناك) neighbor them to the east that, the land of *Rūma* is in the direction of the *qibla* [i.e., Mecca] from them, and that the land of Constantinople is a little bit off to the east from them. To their north is the city of Morava (*Marāwa*) and the other cities of the Slavs (*Ṣaḡālība*). To the west of them are the Saxons (*ṢXṢNṢ*) and the Franks (*Ifranca*). To get to the land of Andalusia they traversed a long distance (a part of which is) desert . . . [There follows a break in the text.]⁹

However, in a note regarding the form *BCNAK*, which is found on the same page, the editor makes the following comments (here translated from the original Arabic):

The reading is not clear. It is (*qad takūna*)¹⁰ *BṢNAQ* بساناق . See the *Al-murūc* of Mas'ūdī, volume 2, pages 59-64.¹¹

It thus appears that the manuscript originally used the form *BṢNAQ*, which the editor replaced with the form (or, rather, with one of the forms) found in Mas'ūdī's *Murūc ad-dahab*. The next question, of course, is whether or not this form *BṢNAQ* can indeed be identified with the name of the Pechenegs.

In the first half of the 9th century the Pechenegs settled in the area between the Ural-Emba and Volga rivers. Then, in the 830's, they resettled in the upper Severskiy Donets and Kuban' river basins, forcing out the Hungarians residing there. (Of course, by Hungarians we mean here only one group from among the many ancestors of the present-day Hungarians.) Three years later, again forcing out the Hun-

⁵ See P. Chalmetta, "Historiografía Medieval Hispana: Arábica," *Al-Andalus* 37 (1972) 353-404; and "Treinta años de historia hispana: El tomo V del 'Muqtabas' de Ibn Ḥayyān," *Hispania* 25 (1975) 665-676.

⁶ "La Méditerranée occidentale et al-Andalus de 934 à 941: les données d'Ibn Ḥayyān," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 50 (1976) 337-351.

⁷ *Al-Muqtabas (V) de Ibn Ḥayyān*, ed. P. Chalmetta, et al. (Madrid, 1979).

⁸ *Cronica del Califa 'Abdarrāḥmān an-Nāṣir entre los años 912 y 942 (al-Muqtabas V)*, trans. M. J. Figuera and F. Corriente (Zaragoza, 1981).

⁹ *Al-Muqtabas (V)*, Arabic text p. 482 = ms. p. 325. For an English translation and study of this notice, see my "The Hungarian Raid on Spain of 942 A.D.," *AEMAE* (forthcoming).

¹⁰ Though the phrase *qad takūna* can mean 'could be,' the editor uses this phrase in his appended Errata ("*Idāfāt*," Ar. p. 580) to mean 'should be, actually is.'

¹¹ This corresponds to Mas'ūdī, *Murūc ad-dahab wa-ma'ādin al-cawāhir*, ed. Ch. Pellat, *Les Prairies d'or*, i (Beirut, 1966), pp. 236-238.

garians, they took over the whole of the southern Ukraine, where they were to remain until their move to Pannonia;^{1 2} this move took place gradually from the 10th-12th centuries.^{1 3} Since there is no single date for a mass Pecheneg flight to Pannonia, the Pechenegs would fit the geographical location given in the *Al-muqtabas* both in the time of the Hungarian raid on Spain of 942, as well as in the lifetime of Ibn Ḥayyân, though it should be kept in mind that our author was writing a work of compilation.

Once we accept that *BṢNAQ* can and probably does refer to the Pechenegs, in which case we may read this form of their name in Arabic as **Baṣanâq*, we return to the question implicit in the editor's emendation of the text, namely how such an unusual form of the name of the Pechenegs is possible. To appreciate just how unusual this form is, it may best be compared with the following list (not intended to be exhaustive) of the forms of the name of the Pechenegs found in the most important contemporary descriptions of these people in the Islamic sources written in Arabic and Persian:^{1 4}

864, 883	Ibn Xurdâdbih ^{1 5}	البجناك	952-3	Mis'ar Abû Dulaf (in Yâqût) ^{2 0}	البجناك
903	Ibn al-Faqîh ^{1 6}	البشناكية	956-7	Mas'ûdi ^{2 1}	a. بجناك
921-2	Ibn Faḍlân ^{1 7}	البجناك			b. البجناك
ca. 930	Ibn Rusta (from Cayhânî) ^{1 8}	البجناكية			c. بجناك
?942	IBN ḤAYYÂN	بشاق			d. بجنى (* بجنى)
951+	Iṣṭaxrî (from Balxî) ^{1 9}	a. بجناك			e. بجنى
		b. البجناكية			f. بجنى

^{1 2} Here I have simply followed Pritsak, "The Pečenegs," pp. 214-218.

^{1 3} See D. A. Rasovskiy, "Pečenegi, torki i berendei na Rusi i v Ugrii," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 6 (1933) 1-66; and Gy. Györffy, "Besenyők és magyarok," *Kőrösi Csoma-Archivum* 1. Supplementband (1935-1939) 397-500.

^{1 4} For the sake of uniformity I have given where possible the dates found in Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, i (Paris-The Hague, 1967), especially pp. XVI-XXXVI. Variant readings, which I have not given, will be found in the critical apparatus to each of the editions cited below.

^{1 5} *Kitâb al-masâlik wa-l-mamâlik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, vi (Leiden, 1967²), Ar. p. 31.

^{1 6} A. Z. Validov, "Meşxedskaya rukopis' Ibnu-l-Fakixa," *Izvestiya Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk* VI, 18 (1924) 237-248, especially p. 241. (I did not have access for the purpose of this paper to T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowianszczyzny*, ii/1 [Wrocław, 1969].)

^{1 7} A. Z. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlân's Reisebericht*, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 24:3 (Leipzig, 1939/Nendeln, 1966), Ar. pp. 17-18; A. P. Kovalevskiy, *Kniga Axmeda ibn-Fadlana o ego putešestvii na Volgu v 921-922 gg.* (Xar'kov, 1956), pp. 322-323; and K. Czeplédy, "Zur Meschheder Handschrift von Ibn Faḍlân's Reisebericht," *AOH* 1 (1951) 217-260, especially pp. 250-251.

^{1 8} *Kitâb al-a'lâq an-nafisa*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *BGA*, vii (Leiden, 1967²), pp. 139-140 and 142-143; and Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, ii/2, *Prace komisji orientalistycznej* 14 (Wrocław, 1977), pp. 26-28 and 32-34.

^{1 9} *Kitâb masâlik al-mamâlik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *BGA*, i (Leiden, 1967³): a) pp. 225-226; and b) p. 10.

^{2 0} Yâqût, *Mu'cam al-buldân*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, *Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch*, iii (Leipzig, 1868/Tehran, 1965), p. 446.

^{2 1} a) *Kitâb at-tanbîh wa-l-işrâf*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *BGA*, viii (Leiden, 1967²), pp. 180 and 183; b) *Tanbîh*, p. 141; c) *Murûc*, pp. 141 and 236-237; d) *Tanbîh*, p. 180; e) *Murûc*, p. 141; and f) *Murûc*, p. 236. See also Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 61, 65-68, and 78 (for variant readings in the manuscripts); and Golden, "The People *NWKR DH*" (for quotations of some of the texts).

965	Ibrâhîm ibn Ya'qûb (in Bakrî) ²²	البجاناكية	1050-1053	Gardîzî (from Cayhânî) ²⁶	بجناك
982-3	<i>Hudûd al-'âlam</i> (from Cayhânî) ²³	بجناك	?1057 1064	IBN HAYYÂN Kâşğarî ²⁷	بشناق [a. Oğuz: بجتك]
988	Ibn Hawqal (from Balxî) ²⁴	a. بجناك b. بجناك c. البجناكية d. البجناكية			b. بجتك [c. Oğuz: بجتك] [d. Oğuz: بجانك] e. بجاتك
973-1050+	Bîrûnî ²⁵	a. بجناك b. البجناكية	1068	Bakrî (from Cayhânî) ²⁸	a. البجناك b. البجناكية

²² Bakrî, *Al-masâlik wa-l-mamâlik*, ed. A. A. El-Hajji, *The Geography of Al-Andalus and Europe* (Beirut, 1968), p. 181 (the editor indicates [p. 179, n.4] that the form on p. 179 is a reconstruction from what he considers to be a corrupt form in the manuscript).

²³ *Hudûd al-'âlam min al-maşri q ilâ l-mağrib*, ed. M. Sotoodeh (Tehran, 1983), pp. 14, 34, 47, 59, 87, 190-191, and 194.

²⁴ *Kitâb al-masâlik wa-l-mamâlik*, ed. J. H. Kramers, *BGA*, ii (Leiden, 1967³): a) pp. 396-398; b) p. 397; c) p. 9; and d) pp. 15, 113, and 199.

²⁵ a) This form is given in the Persian-language *Kitâb at-tafhîm li-avâ'il şinâ'at at-tancîm*, ed. C. Humâ'î (Tehran, A.H. 1359/1939-40 A.D.), p. 200. (On the Arabic and Persian versions of this work, see C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, ii/1 [London, 1958], pp. 44-45.) This form is also given in n.179 (p. 284) to the Russian translation of Bîrûnî's *Kitâb taḥdîd nihayât al-amâkin li-taḥşîḥ masâfât al-masâkin*, which is in his selected works: "Opredelenie granits mest dlya utočneniya rasstoyaniy mejdu naselennîmi punktami," *Izbrannîe proizvedeniya*, iii (Tashkent, 1966), 81-269 (the reference to the Pechenegs is on pp. 95-96); b) *Taḥdîd*, Macallat ma'ḥad al-maxṭûḩât al-'arabîya 8 (Cairo, 1962), p. 46; cf. the incomplete form found in the facsimile of one of the manuscripts of the *Tafhîm* published in *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology*, ed.-trans. R. R. Wright (London, 1934), p. 145. An unlikely form with a *cîm* and a *qâf* (البجناقية) given in n.92 (p. 295) to the Russian translation of the *Tafhîm* ("Kniga vrazumleniya naçatkam naûki o zvezdax," *Izbrannîe proizvedeniya*, vi [Tashkent, 1975] 21-258) is presumably a typographical error, since the translation is based on the editions of this work by Wright and Humâ'î (*Izbrannîe proizvedeniya*, vi, pp. 16-18).

²⁶ *Zayn al-axbâr*, ed. V. V. Bartol'd, *Soçineniya*, viii (Moscow, 1973), pp. 35-36; and A. P. Martinez, "Gardîzî's Two Chapters on the Turks," *AEMAE* 2 (1982) 109-217, especially pp. 151-155, 163, and the corresponding facsimiles.

²⁷ *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk tıpkıbasımı*, ed. B. Atalay (Ankara, 1941): a) p. 245; b) pp. 20 and 25; c) p. 41; d) p. 245; and e) p. 245; and *Kitâb dîwân luğât at-Turk*, ed. A. Emiri, i (Istanbul, A.H. 1333): a) p. 404 (the form بجنك given in the edition is without the *fathas* discernible in the facsimile); b) pp. 27 and 30; c) p. 57; d) p. 404 (the form بجانك given in the edition is without the *fatha* which is discernible in the facsimile, but gives an additional *sukûn* which is not discernible in the facsimile); and e) p. 404.

²⁸ a) *The Geography of Al-Andalus and Europe*, p. 151; and b) M. Defrémery, "Fragments de géographes et d'historiens arabes et persans inédits relatifs aux anciens peuples du Caucase et de la Russie méridionale [I]," *Journal Asiatique* 13 (1849) 457-522, especially pp. 460-461 and 463-465; and A. Kunik and V. Rozen, *Izvestiya al-Bekri i drugix avtorov o Rusi i Slavyanax*, i (St. Petersburg, 1878), pp. 42-45. (Part of this text is also quoted by Marquart, "Über das Volkstum der Komanen," p. 97, n.3. See as well the forms given above by Ibrâhîm ibn Ya'qûb.)

1099-?	Idrîsî ²⁹	البجناكيه	1234	Ibn al-Atîr ³⁴	a. البجناك
11th century	Marwazî (from Cayhânî) ³⁰	a. بجناك		b.	(البجنى) البختي
		b. البجناكيه	1277	Dimasqî ³⁵	a. البجاناكيه
		c. البجناكيه			b. بجنا
		d. البجناكيه	1203-1283	Qazwîni ³⁶	بجناك
1160	Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭûsî ³¹	بجناك	13th century	'Awfî (from	بجناكيه
ca. 1179-1229	Yâqût ³²	البجناك		Cayhânî) ³⁷	
1208	Faxr ad-Dîn Mubâraqshâh ³³	بجناك	1248-1318	Raṣîd ad-Dîn ³⁸ [Oğuz:	بيچنه]

It becomes clear from the above list that the form of the name of the Pechenegs in Ibn Ḥayyân's work may be one of the earliest attestations of this name in the Islamic sources. The tradition originating with Cayhânî for the description of the peoples of the western Eurasian steppe and represented by Ibn Rusta, the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, Gardtzi, Bakrî, Marwazî, 'Awfî, and later writers is certainly one of the most important and has been studied in detail.³⁹ Another important tradition originates with Balxî and is represented by Iṣṭaxrî and Ibn Ḥawqal.⁴⁰ Though these works have themselves served as the basis for even later works which include descriptions of the Pechenegs, the work of Ibn Ḥayyân represents one of the few *original*

²⁹ *Kitâb muzhat al-muṣṭâq fi xtirâq al-âfâq*, ed. A. Bombaci, et al., *Opus Geographicum sive "Liber ad eorum delectationem qui terras peragrarare studeant"* (Naples, 1970-1978), p. 834.

³⁰ *Kitâb ṭabâ'i' al-ḥayawân*, ed.-trans. V. Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zaman Ṭahir Marwazî on China, the Turks and India*, James G. Forlong Fund 22 (London, 1942): a) p. *20; b) p. *32; c) pp. *18, *20, and *22; and d) pp. *18, *21, and *22.

³¹ *'Acâ'ib al-maxlûqât*, ed. J. de Hammer, *Sur les origines russes. Extraits de manuscrits orientaux* (St. Petersburg, 1827), p. 98.

³² *Mu'cam al-buldân*, i (Leipzig, 1866/Tehran, 1965), pp. 470 and 839. (See also the forms given above by Mîs'ar Abû Dulaf.)

³³ *Ta'rîkh-i Fakhru'd-Dîn Mubâraqshâh*, ed. E. D. Ross (London, 1927), p. 47.

³⁴ *Al-kâmil fi t-târîx*, i (Beirut, 1965), p. 339. (This text is also quoted by Golden, "The People NWKRDH," p. 24.)

³⁵ *Nuxbat ad-dahr fi 'acâ'ib al-barr wa-l-baḥr*, ed. M. A. F. Mehren, *Cosmographie de Chems-ed-Din Abou Abdallah Mohammed ed-Dimichqui* (St. Petersburg, 1866): a) pp. 22 and 263; and b) p. 264 (see p. XXIII).

³⁶ *Âṭâr al-bilâd wa-axbâr al-'ibâd* (Beirut, 1960), p. 580. (Note also the other possible forms on pp. 580 and 611.)

³⁷ *Câmi' al-ḥikâyat va-lâmi' ar-rivâyât*, ed. V. V. Bartol'd, *Turkestan v époxy mongol'skago našestviya*, i: *Tekstî* (St. Petersburg, 1898), p. 99.

³⁸ *Câmi' at-tavâriḫ*, ed. A. A. Romaskevič, et al., *Djâmi' at-tavâriḫ*, i/1 (Moscow, 1968²), p. 122.

³⁹ See the references and discussion in Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, i, especially pp. XXIII-XXV and 92-95; and Gy. Györffy, *A magyarok elődeirői és a honfoglalásról. Kortársak és kronikások híradásai* (Budapest, 1975²), pp. 84-94. An example of a later transmitter of Cayhânî is Şükru'llah Şihabeddin; for excerpts of his *Behcet üt-tevarih*, see de Hammer, *Sur les origines russes*, pp. 106-108.

⁴⁰ See the references in Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, i, p. XXVI; and Czeglédy, "Zur Mescheder Handschrift," pp. 230-231.

forms for the writing of their name in the Arabic script and is completely independent of these other traditions. Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing whether this form of the name reached Ibn Ḥayyân through oral transmission or in a written form, nor do we know what languages may have served as an intermediary for this report. It is also not possible to determine which of the orthographic norms for the various Arabic-speaking regions of the Caliphate might have served as a basis for the transcription of this name. Given these circumstances, the best path open to us is to treat this transcription according to the norms for an Arabic text written in Andalusia.⁴¹

The form *BṢNAQ* in the *Al-muqtabas* differs from the other attested forms because of the medial -Ṣ- (*ṣîn*) and the final -Q (*qâf*).⁴² The final *qâf* presents, surprisingly enough, fewer complications than the medial *ṣîn*. K. Czeglédy has already proposed in his discussion of the Old Hungarian title found in the form *KNDACQ* (which may be read *kundâciq* and which is interpreted by him as **kündäçik* [in our transcription **kündäçik*]) that the final *qâf* may be viewed as an unaspirated stop (as opposed to the aspirated stop *kaf*). Therefore, the presence of a *qâf* would not necessarily dictate, in contrast to later orthographic tradition in the Turkic world, that this word has back vowels.⁴³ In Andalusia, in fact, the letter *qâf* originally represented Spanish *g*, and only later did it come to represent *q* as well.⁴⁴ These explanations remove, I would think, any obstacle to seeing in *BṢNAQ* a form with front vowels.⁴⁵

As for the medial *ṣîn*, the proper reading of this letter in the form *BṢNAQ* has important implications. In Arabic texts from other regions and periods, *ṣâd*, *cîm*, and *ṣîn* represented the *ç* of foreign words (what Persian would later represent with *çîm*). In Andalusia, however, *cîm* (the medial letter which, with only one exception, is found in all of the eastern spellings of the name of the Pechenegs) represented the *g* ([*g*] or [*ǧ*]) of medieval Spanish, and only later represented the affricate *ǰ* (in our transcription [*c*]) and fricative *ʒ* (in our transcription [*j*]), as well as *ts* and *dz*.⁴⁶ *Ṣîn*, on the other hand, stood for the cacuminal 's' ([*š*]) of Andalusian Spanish,⁴⁷ while *ṣîn* usually stood for 'ç' of Spanish orthography.⁴⁸

For a foreign name, depending on how it was transmitted, *ṣîn* can no doubt have stood for *ç*; but in this instance in the *Al-muqtabas* there is no doubt that the *ṣîn* in the name of the Saxons, written *Ṣaxṣunṣ* (*ṢXṢNṢ*), represents what was in all likelihood an unvoiced *s* in the original name (German *Säch-*

⁴¹ On the question of the Spanish and Arabic languages in Andalusia, see A. Steiger, *Contribución a la fonética del hispano-árabe y de los arabismos en el ibero-románico y el siciliano*, *Revista de Filología Española* 17 (Madrid, 1932); A. Alonso, "Las correspondencias árabe-españolas en los sistemas de sibilantes," *Revista de Filología Hispánica* 8 (1946) 12-76; W. J. Entwistle, *The Spanish Language. Together with Portuguese, Catalan and Basque* (London, 1962²); J. M. Solà-Solé, "Un texto aljamiado sobre la articulación de los signos hispano-árabes," *Romance Philology* 24 (1970-1971) 86-89; F. Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch of the Spanish Arabic Dialect Bundle* (Madrid, 1977); and I. Elter, "Néhány megjegyzés Ibn Ḥayyânnak a magyarok 942. évi spanyolországi kalandozásáról szóló tudósításához," *Magyar Nyelv* 72 (1981) 413-419.

⁴² See also n.25 above.

⁴³ "Das sakrale Königtum bei den Steppenvölkern," *Numen* 13 (1966) 14-26, especially pp. 22-23.

⁴⁴ Steiger, *Contribución*, pp. 208-218; and Entwistle, *The Spanish Language*, pp. 125-126. (Entwistle often seems to base himself on Steiger, though he simplifies Steiger's transcription.)

⁴⁵ Cf. the view of W. Bang ("Über den Volksnamen *Besenyő*," *Turán* [1918] 436-437), who considers the word to have originally had back vowels.

⁴⁶ Steiger, *Contribución*, pp. 180-195; and Entwistle, *The Spanish Language*, pp. 110 and 123-125.

⁴⁷ Steiger, *Contribución*, pp. 195-202; and Entwistle, *The Spanish Language*, pp. 109-110 and 123-125.

⁴⁸ Steiger, *Contribución*, pp. 136-143; and Entwistle, *The Spanish Language*, pp. 109-110 and 123-125. (Entwistle transcribes orthographic 'ç' as [*š*].)

sen, Old Saxon *sahso*).⁴⁹ This was probably pronounced by Andalusians with a cacuminal [š], and may be compared with the form *SKNWN* (**SKSWN*) in Bakrī (a fellow Andalusian).⁵⁰ One must keep in mind, however, that in the Arabic of Andalusia there was seemingly a confusion between the phonemes /s/ and /z/, and /s/ and /š/, as well as between /s/ and /ʃ/ (which only compounded the difficulties posed by the similarity of their appearance when written).⁵¹ It would be possible to presume that the *šm* in the name of the Pechenegs represents some sort of *s* (unvoiced, voiced, palatal, or velar), though it could clearly stand for *š* as well.

It would be very tempting simply to dismiss the form given by Ibn Ḥayyân as a hapax legomenon. The Old Tibetan form of the name of the Pechenegs must be read with a medial *ç*,⁵² as must the forms in the Russian chronicles. The Islamic sources giving a medial *cîm*, and presumably the form given by Ibn al-Faqîh as well, also suggest that the name of the Pechenegs had a medial *ç*.⁵³ There is, however, one very important consideration which forces us to dwell further on this matter, namely the Hungarian form of the name of the Pechenegs: *Besenyő* (Hungarian 's' = *ş*). The form is important in this regard because it goes back to either **Bäşänäk* or **Bäçänäk*.⁵⁴ It is, in fact, just one of a series of Turkic loanwords in Hungarian with an *ş* (Hungarian orthographic 's') for Common Turkic *ç*. In the received tradition of Hungarian historical linguistics, the phonetic changes in these loanwords are explained by a development of *ç* > *ş* (orthographic 'cs' > 's') in Hungarian.⁵⁵ In 1975, however, Tibor Halasi-Kun proposed that a change *ç* > *ş* had taken place in Middle Kipchak and that these loanwords in Hungarian were borrowed from a form already in *ş* (instead of Common Turkic *ç*).⁵⁶ Implicit in this argument is that, like the name *Besenyő*, these words often represent the Pecheneg layer of the Kipchak Turkic loanwords in Hungarian. Though this important reformulation has already provoked reaction,⁵⁷ it is an idea which merits

⁴⁹ On the name of the Saxons (*sahso*), see W. Schlaug, *Studien zu den altsächsischen Personennamen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, Lunder germanistische Forschungen 30 (Lund, 1955), p. 147; and *Die altsächsischen Personennamen vor dem Jahre 1000*, Lunder germanistische Forschungen 34 (Lund-Copenhagen, 1962), p. 149; and P. Ramat, *Grammatica dell'antico sassone* (Milan, 1969), p. 6, n.1. On the unvoiced *s*, see J. H. Gallée, *Altsächsische Grammatik, i: Laut- und Flexionslehre* (Halle-Leiden, 1891), pp. 53-54; and Ramat, *Grammatica*, p. 50.

⁵⁰ *The Geography of Al-Andalus and Europe*, p. 158.

⁵¹ Corriente, *Grammatical Sketch*, pp. 48-50.

⁵² I am grateful to Ch. Beckwith for bringing this point to my attention. See also T. Moriyasu, "La Nouvelle interprétation des mots *Hor* et *Ho-yo-hor* dans le manuscrit Pelliot tibétain 1283," *AOH* 34 (1980) 171-184, especially p. 182.

⁵³ See the references in n.4 above. It has been noted that the forms indicating -*ç*- in the Polish Latin sources are corrupted borrowings from the Russian sources: see A. M. Şçerbak, "Znaki na keramike i kirpiçax iz Sarkela-Beloy Veji (K voprosu o yazıke i pis'mennosti peçenegov)," *Trudı volgo-donskoy arxeologičeskoy ekspeditsii*, ed. M. I. Artamonov, ii, *Materialı i issledovaniya po arxeologii SSSR* 75 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1959), 362-389 + I-XXIV, especially p. 368, n.34 (who follows P. Golubovskiy, *Peçenegi, torki i polovtsı do naşestviya tatar* [Kiev, 1884], pp. 34-35).

⁵⁴ *TESz*, i, p. 288.

⁵⁵ G. Bárczi, "Le traitement de *ş* et *ç* dans les mots d'emprunt turcs du proto-hongrois," *Studia Turcica* 39-46.

⁵⁶ "Kipchak Turkic Philology and the Turkic Loanwords in Hungarian, I," *AEMAE* 1 (1975) 155-210.

⁵⁷ In his learned article, A. Róna-Tas expresses the view that it is possible to see a *ç* > *ş* development in Hungarian in the 9th-10th centuries, and that the *ş* (< *ç*) development in the modern Turkic languages quoted by Halasi-Kun is fairly recent ("On the History of the Turkic and Finno-Ugrian Affri-

further consideration. Depending upon how it was transmitted to Andalusia, this form of the name of the Pechenegs in Ibn Ḥayyân's *Al-muqtabas* might just well be the first attestation in an Islamic source of the ξ -dialect form of their name. Whether this is the case or not, however, the form of their name found in this work certainly represents an important new orthographic tradition.

cates," *AOH* 36 [1983] 429-447). His argument does not, however, explicitly rule out the possibility of a $\zeta > \xi$ change taking place in Old or Middle Kipchak. He also admits that the data of the Mamlûk Kipchak linguistic monuments still await an authoritative study. (In fact, if one may see it as a possibility for certain Hungarian dialects, what is to prevent a similar change in Kipchak Turkic dialects in the same period in the same linguistic area?) On the other hand, if the name was transmitted to Ibn Ḥayyân through a Hungarian intermediary, the form in *BŞNAQ* might reflect phonetic changes taking place in Hungarian. In that case, not only might the medial - ξ - represent a change in Hungarian, but the final -Q ([g]) might also reflect what was on its way to eventually becoming a final ö in Hungarian. (On the change - \dot{g} > - μ /- \ddot{u} in the Hungarian of this period, see G. Bárczi, *Magyar hangtörténet* [Budapest, 1958²], p. 122; L. Ligeti, "Régi török jövevényszavaink és a vitás etimológiák problémái," *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai és ami körülöttük van*, I, Budapest Oriental Reprints A1 [Budapest, 1977], pp. 182-188, especially pp. 184-185; L. Benkő, *Az Árpád-kor magyar nyelvű szövegeimlékei* [Budapest, 1980], pp. 71-72, 179-180, and 207-208; and G. Bárczi, et al., *A magyar nyelv története* [Budapest, 1982⁴], pp. 116-117 and 142; as well as Halasi-Kun, "Kipchak Philology and the Turkic Loanwords in Hungarian, I," pp. 162 and 201-207.)

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