

Hungarian Orientalism and the Zichy expeditions

By

András Maracskó

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Supervisor: Professor Nadia Al-Bagdadi

Second Reader: Professor László Kontler

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Table of Contents

Table of Contents.....	3
Chapter I. Introduction to Hungarian Orientalism.....	5
Introduction to Thesis	5
1. Orientalism debate	7
2. Romanticism and Hungarian Orientalism	9
3. Linguistics.....	15
4. Archeology.....	19
5. Ethnography.....	21
6. The Finnish connection.....	23
7. State of the art	24
Chapter II. A “Who’s Who” of the expeditions and the intellectual preparations	26
1. Introduction	26
2. Zichy the mastermind and his fellow world traveler Béla Széchenyi	28
3. Companions for the expedition of 1895.....	32
4. Companions for the expedition of 1897-99.....	37
5. Influences on Zichy: a short biography of Orientalist travelers before Zichy.....	42
6. Inspirations: textual sources, theories, ideas that influenced Zichy during the first expedition.....	45
7. Inspirations: textual sources, theories, ideas that influenced Zichy during the third expedition.....	50
8. Finances.....	52
9. Space, routes and modes of transport	53
10. Map of the route of the third expedition	55
Chapter III. The First Zichy expedition of 1895.....	56
1. The travelers and their goals	57
2. The journey to the ancient homeland.....	59
3. The Caucasus.....	62
4. The towns of Magyari.....	64
5. Social issues in the Caucasus.....	65
6. In the Southern Caucasus	71
7. In Central Asia	72
8. Return trip.....	75
Chapter IV. The third expedition: Béla Pósta and the beginnings of Hungarian comparative archeology	78
1. Archeology and national romanticism	79
2. The diary of Béla Pósta.....	82
3. Mór Décsy the stanch critique of Zichy.....	86
4. Into the Caucasus.....	87
5. Conflict with Zichy	89
6. Pósta’s archeological report.....	93
Chapter V. The third expedition: János Jankó and Hanti ethnology.....	99
1. Description of the diary	101

2. From Tiflis to the Hanti.....	102
3. Jankó's personal reflections on Hungarian science.....	107
4. Jankó and the Hanti.....	109
5. Journey to the Hanti lands	111
6. Ancient traditions and Gods.....	113
7. Jankó's method of data collection	115
8. Scientific publication	119
9. Conclusion.....	121
Chapter VI. Pápay and the Reguly collection.....	123
1. Work in St. Petersburg and Helsinki.....	124
2. Trip to Obdorsk.....	126
3. Life in Obdorsk.....	128
4. First trip to the Hanti	130
5. Hanti Pagan Festival.....	130
6. Trip to Poluj	132
7. Solving the riddle with Kirikori	133
8. The scientific publication.....	134
Chapter VII. Conclusions to the Thesis	136
1. Brief conclusion on the scientific publications	136
2. Aftermath for the scholars	137
3. MTA's relationship with Zichy.....	139
4. Hungarian Orientalism and Romanticism	140
Bibliography	144
Primary Sources:	144
Secondary Sources:.....	145
Appendix	148

Chapter I. Introduction to Hungarian Orientalism

“Asia begins at Landstrasse”

Klemens von Metternich

Introduction to Thesis

Travel has been an important human activity since the dawn of man. Whereas most animals travel on the same route between their mating ground and feeding ground for generations, humans tend to venture out to places they have no serious biological reason to go to. Throughout human history travel manifested itself in different shapes and forms. The earliest recorded tale *The Epic of Gilgamesh* is centered on the act of traveling. Not to mention Homer’s *Odyssey*. Ancient historians were also interested in writing on travels. *The Campaigns of Alexander* by Arrian tells the story of Alexander’s travel into Asia as well as his military exploits.

Whilst on the one hand travel was done in order to carry out some great human deed or for military reasons, it also served as a means to gather knowledge, mostly historical and anthropological. This kind of travel writing goes back to Herodotus who traveled the Eastern Mediterranean to write about and observe the local people and their customs. Julius Cesar’s *Conquest of Gaul* is as much a political propaganda as it is a travel narrative and an anthropological observation of the northern tribes. Following ancient times Europe saw the beginning of a new kind of travel writing namely, on pilgrimages to the Holy Lands, which were deeply imbedded in religiosity. By the Renaissance a common literary form emerged in Italy the

private diaries. A notable writing from that period is the travel diary of Buonaccorso Pitti a Florentine nobleman who traveled Europe in the 15th century. The Renaissance diaries were solely intended to be read by the members of the family and not by the public. In Europe, the Renaissance period was the stepping stone to a slow but steady economic growth. This growth overtime was combined with technological advancements like gunpowder and the compass both of which enabled ocean faring and European military supremacy over much of the globe during the upcoming centuries.

As the Western European monarchies consolidated their rule over the Americas, Africa, South East Asia and Polynesia, travel acquired a new meaning in an imperial context. The act of travel by Europeans became a means to accumulate knowledge on the far corners of their empires and mediate that knowledge back home for the scholarly and public audiences. This knowledge production started in the 18th century and although it reached its height in the 19th it remained important to a lesser degree in the 20th century.¹

Travel and scientific knowledge production became a contest between the imperial capitals. Until the mid-19th century Paris, London and St. Petersburg breed scores of Jack of all trades² and polymaths who voyaged across the seas and oceans on ships or tracked across Siberia or North America to carry out, sometimes quasi-scientific, observation on geography, botany, zoology, anthropology and so on. Thanks to the growing printing press their reports were eagerly picked up by the curious public in the European capitals. These travelers not only published diaries but also scientific reports. These scientific reports became more standardized as ethnography, archeology, linguistics *etc.* became serious disciplines at European universities thus

¹ Liebersohn, Harry, *The Traveler's World*, (London: Harvard University Press, 2006), 1-14.

² *Ibid*, 2.

the students these institutions produced became more and more professional on their fields from the second half of the 19th century. This scientific knowledge production about the East is generally referred to in European scholarship as Orientalism.

1. Orientalism debate

Orientalism as a discipline received a negative connotation with the groundbreaking publication of Edward Said's³ book titled *Orientalism*. Said expressed a strong criticism of Western European orientalist literature that he saw imbedded in imperialist discourse. Orientalist scholars put the emphasis on the study of philology and linguistics of Oriental languages. According to Said European Orientalist scholars aimed to exploit the Orient through their scientific inquiry into eastern languages, culture and history. The trait of this exploitation was clearly visible for Said in the biased European literary representation of the Arab world. In the first part of his book Said identified two arch villain scholars of enlightened thought Ernest Renan and Silvestre de Sacy.⁴ According to Said, these two scholars were able to scientifically draw a line between the civilized West and the barbarous Orient in order to justify European supremacy over the East. By doing so they greatly influenced European views on the East in a negative light. Said called this intellectual process *Orientalism*.⁵ In other words, he viewed the study of Oriental languages, history and cultures as a tool for European scholars to downgrade the Oriental "others." Since Said was of Palestinian origin he focused on the treatment of the Arabs by these orientalists and thus he largely ignored other Orientals around the globe. My

³ Said was not the first who tried to articulate a criticism of colonialism, scholars of the postcolonial era like Talal Asad, Bryan Turner and Roger Owen all predate Said by a few years.

⁴ Said, Edward, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 2-3.

⁵ Ibid, 123-148.

criticism below of Said's theory only applies to the first part of his book. Debating the "Palestinian Question" is out of the scope of this thesis.

The main argument against Said would be to point out that he was student of literature and not of history. Historians use different methodologies regarding their sources than literature students. For historians primary source work is a must if they want to draw sound conclusions about their topics, here lays Said's weakness. Although eminent scholars like Robert Irwin,⁶ formed valid criticisms of Said; yet Said's principal notion still stands in academia. Irwin basically argues that Said created a biased picture of the Orientalists, only including in this picture what served his purpose and his theory, but left out a great deal of information about the benefits of the works of Orientalists and moreover, Said did not mention a score of important scholars who would not fit his scheme. We can add to this that Said unconsciously, since it was not his aim, created a contrariety between the aggressive West and the submissive East.⁷ More importantly for the topic of this thesis, Said also failed to tackle two angles of this discourse first, that Orientalism as a scholarly movement was not restricted to Western Europe and, that it was not always hostile or exploitive towards the East.⁸

On a positive note, Said was able to identify a core problem with orientalism that was previously ignored by scholars of orientalism namely, that the views of European orientalists about the Orient were imbedded in scientific racism and religious bias. On the other hand,

⁶ Irwin, Robert, *Dangerous Knowledge Orientalism and its Discontents*, (New York: The overlook press, 2006). It is worth reading for anyone interested in this debate the introduction. The following quote is some food for thought: "Although some admirers of Said's book have conceded that it contains many errors and often misrepresents the achievements of the Orientalists it discusses, they sometimes go on to argue that it deserves praise and attention because of the subsequent debate and research it has provoked. I am not so sure about this." Then he goes on saying that our notion of Orientalism is actually the interpretation of what Said thinks happened with Orientalism and not what actually or factually happened. pg 4.

⁷ Burke Edmund III and David Porchaska, ed., *Genealogies of Orientalism: history, theory, politics* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008) 1-4.

⁸ Said, 57-73.

Hungarian Orientalists also produced knowledge about the East yet, the Hungarian's knowledge production was neither primarily directed towards the Arabs of the Middle East nor did it further Hungarian colonial aspirations in the East. The reason for this was that Hungarian Orientalism was first and foremost preoccupied with finding the ancient homeland and the closest linguistic relatives of the Magyars in the Eurasian steppe.⁹

The academic debate which *Orientalism* started turned many scholars away from Western European Orientalism. Subsequently, inquiries into orientalist movements outside the Western world are slowly gaining importance as this topic attracts the attention of contemporary scholars anew. In more recent scholarship Susan L. Marchand's *German Orientalism and Empire* (2009) has to be mentioned which aimed to move the compass from Western Europe to Central Europe thus coming closer to the Hungarian case. Marchand's grandiose work studied in depth the orientalist movement in Germany during the 19th century. She emphasized the correlation of German Orientalism with Renaissance philology and Protestant thought. While her inquiry deals with the Germans and their colonial projects, it only touches briefly on the Hungarians.

2. Romanticism and Hungarian Orientalism

In order to understand the ways in which Hungarian Orientalism was different from Western European Orientalism I will use Géza Staud's work *Orientalism in Hungarian Romanticism*. Staud argues that European national romanticism in Hungary manifested itself in

⁹ To be fair here, I am well aware of the Turanist movement of the post Trianon period in Hungary. Although this movement was greatly imbedded in orientalism and sought to establish economic relationships with our "brothers" in the East, I would not categorize this attempt as imperialist in nature since the Turanist were rarely taken seriously by the Horthy regime. Lajos Nagy Sassi, a member of the Turanist movement, has played with ideas that can be vaguely defined as imperialist but he mostly sought to establish economic ties with the East.

orientalism from the late 18th century; first in literature then in architecture and lastly in oriental expeditions. Moreover, while in the West the Oriental others were the subjects of interest because they were perceived as exotic; in Hungary the exotic Orient was found, first and foremost at home, in folk culture and language. In addition, there were Asians in the Orient. But even this Orient was split in the Hungarian imagination between related Asiatic tribes and the other Oriental tribes. Subsequently, the Hungarians did not think of all the Orientals in the East as “others” but viewed some as kindred.¹⁰ This is an important distinction since it would be hard to find a British official, who writes in his travel diary back from India, with tears in his eyes, how he longs to be back with his long lost Indian ancestors; which is precisely the case with some members of the Zichy expeditions.

Furthermore, Staud argues that romanticism in Europe evolved out of the individual’s need to express his idea of liberty and freedom. The individual in literature can be a lone hero and in real life a lone world traveler to the Orient. Freedom as an idea, for the men of romanticism, translated itself into travel to distant lands. Here what is important is the romantic thought, that there is the possibility to travel and discover. Moreover, I would argue that for Hungarian travelers, like Zichy’s men, the idea of freedom was projected onto and subsequently found with the primitive Siberian tribes. Traveling was, in a way, a form of escape from the present. In the heart of the Hungarian romantic men, according to Staud, two antithetical emotions battled the belief in the nation’s glorious future and the belief in the hopeless present.

¹⁰ Staud, Géza, *Az orientalizmus a Magyar Romantikában* [Orientalism in Hungarian Romanticism] (1931), <http://mek.oszk.hu/01300/01385/html/>. Staud (1906-1988) was a professor of literature and studied the history of theater.

This idea I believe, is most clearly present in János Jankó's diary but it also can be found in the others as well to some extent.¹¹

In addition, Staud points out that the emerging nationalism of the 19th century influenced the topics chosen by romantic writers, architects and travelers.¹² This means that the romantic men chose his topics based on his romantic emotion. This romantic emotion in the Hungarians case was imbedded in nationalism and the therefore, in the need to find the ancient homeland of the Magyars (nationalist) in the East (romantic). Thus in the fields of archeology, ethnography and linguistics the romantic topics became the study of the “free spirited” *volk* at home and in the Orient.

Studying Hungarian Orientalism is a complex undertaking. If we can generalize about the nature of the Hungarians at all, we could say that Hungarians take their orientalism seriously. For many Magyar scholars like István Kiszely (1932-2012) this is a discipline that can answer the most fundamental of human dilemmas, who we are and where do we come from.¹³ For others like Palóczy Horváth (1908-1973), Hungarian Orientalism was the manifestation of nationalist delusions.¹⁴ Thus, for contemporary young scholars to objectively write about the merits of Hungarian Orientalism is no easy task because one will be inevitably sucked into one of these academic rabbit holes if not careful. The section below will introduce some of the core problems—or rabbit holes—of orientalist scholarship in Hungary.

The first orientalist dispute is over the question of national origin. When the Hungarians first appeared in Europe and when exactly they conquered the Carpathians Basin is still hotly

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Kiszely, István, *A Magyar nép őstörténete* [The ancient history of the Hungarians], (Magyar Ház, 2001).

¹⁴ Szendrei László, *A Turánizmus* [Turanism], (Gödöllő, Attraktor, 2010), 67-68.

debated in Hungarian scholarship today. Folk legends and medieval chronicles tell us that Attila (434-453), greatest king of the Hungarians, was a Magyar who tried to expand his rule over the already disintegrating Western Roman Empire. After his tragic death his generals and sons fought each other for control over the numerous tribes however, none were able to triumph. As the Hunnish armies scattered one of Attila's son Csaba, fled to Greece but some of his generals who stayed behind led a Magyar speaking tribe into Transylvania and settled them there, they are known today as the Székelys. According to this legend Magyar presence in Europe goes back to the 4th century.¹⁵

In the 20th century another popular theory was developed, but not invented, by the archeologist Gyula László (1910-1998). He theorized based on his archeological work that there was a two-phased conquest of the homeland first by the Avars then by the Magyars. His theory led to misunderstandings amongst general public. The more nationalist minded readers of his work wrongly interpreted his theory. The amateur readers, based on László's theory, thought that the Avars, who occupied the Carpathian Basin before the Magyars, were actually Hungarians. Yet, László only pointed out that the Magyar and Avar warrior graves he inspected were found in separate clusters; that there was no Hungarian settlement names that resembled Avar names, which meant that the Avars probably spoke a Hungarian-Turkic language. And that the late Avars experienced the Magyar invasion and they peacefully integrated into Magyar society possibly because there was no serious linguistic difference to overcome between the two tribes. In other words he simply hinted for a distant kinship between the Avars and the Magyars. This theory since then has been refuted on the ground that common people (Slavs, Avars, and Magyars etc.) were buried in mass graves together. Plus, archeologists found in some parts of

¹⁵ Lengyel, Dénes, *Régi magyar mondák* [Old Hungarian tales] (Móra Ferenc Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 1985), 44-45.

Hungary that Magyars were buried on top of Avar graves and not in clusters, which to some degree disproves László's theory.¹⁶

In my opinion, we can conclude with some certainty that there was possibly no mass invasion of Magyars led by Árpád on one specific day but rather the conquest was a slow--more or less peaceful--process. In addition, the language of the Avars is a mystery since they left behind no written records thus to prove linguistic kinship between Avars and Magyars is impossible. To further complicate the issues at hand, the Europeans in their records called both Avars and Magyars, Huns. This is quite evident in Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*¹⁷ where the author repeatedly calls the Avars, Huns. It is more likely that the groups Einhard conveniently calls Huns was a multi lingual alliance of different tribes.

The most generally accepted theory on the conquest that is taught in post-communist Hungarian schools was developed in the 19th century, which stated that the Hungarians arrived to their present day homeland in 896. The history of the establishment of this exact date is quite controversial. After the *Ausgleich* that established the dual Monarchy of Austro-Hungary, the Magyar nobles sought to commemorate the arrival of the seven tribes to Central Europe by organizing the Millennium Exhibition. The Hungarian government dully called for the preparations of a series of celebrations and commemorations across Hungary in 1892 to mark the thousandth year anniversary of Hungarian presence in Europe. The national assembly appointed the minister of trade Béla Lukács to organize a six-month world exhibition known as the Millennium Exhibition in the city park at the end of Andrásy Street. The preparations for this exhibition coincided with the rapid urban development of the city of Pest, which began in the second half of

¹⁶ Gyula, László, *A kettős honfoglalás* [The two-phased conquest], (Magvető Kiadó, 1978).

¹⁷ Einhard, *The life of Charlemagne* (The University of Michigan Press, 1960), 37-38.

the century. The nobility decided that some of the building projects, like the subway, had to be finished by the opening of the exhibition, which they wanted to happen in 1895; the city fathers and historians agreed on this date to mark the Hungarian conquest of the homeland. But the subway and many other buildings were only ready a year later; thus Árpád and his brave soldiers were forced to linger in the swamps of Moldavia for an extra year. This means that what we learn of the ancient Hungarians today is mostly based on late 19th century views, like the date of 896, and the education system rarely accepts contemporary finds and theories into their curriculums.

Although scholarly orientalism originated in Western European culture first and foremost, the Hungarians also had a long-standing tradition of what I would call “Orientalist projects.” In the early 13th century friar Julianus traveled to the foot of the Ural Mountains to convert Hungarian tribes to Christianity. In addition, there are obscure reports of a monk named Otto who got as far as the Caucasus Mountains sometime before Julianus to carry out a similar Christianization mission but we know little of what he accomplished. In a way these two missions can be singled out as the beginning of Hungarian travels back to the ancestral lands.

The importance of these two missions was that they gave two locations for Magna Hungaria or the birthplace of the Magyars, the Caucasus and the Ural Mountains. Otto’s mission alone did not influence Zichy in choosing the Caucasus as his main target of his first expedition. But he did give a long speech at the Országos Casino before his journey to a group of reporters, nobles and intellectuals about his goals and motives on 1895 March 31st. In his speech he made it clear that he believed that the Magyars/Huns/Ugors, who he viewed to be one people, originally inhabited the area of the Volga basin and the Caucasus. In other words, he imagined the Magyars to be the “indigenous inhabitants” of this region, as he put it, a proto tribe. This was contrary to

the belief that the Magyar-Ugor tribes migrated from the Gobi Desert region to Siberia and from there to Finland and the Carpathian Basin. Some followers of the Finno-Ugric school that relates the Magyar language to Finnish supported this latter mentioned migration theory. However, many of the nationalists in Hungary viewed this theory as anti-Hungarian. The nobility argued that Finno-Ugrism was Vienna's scheme, based on a theory established by a Slovak-Hungarian, János Sajnovics¹⁸ in the mid 18th century, who traveled with Maximilianus Hell to Norway to observe the transit of Venus, to downgrade the nation.¹⁹ On that expedition with Hell, Sajnovics noticed a linguistic similarity between Hungarian and Lapp languages. Zichy, at first, was openly against the established Finnish theory, which was promulgated by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA). This was the reason why he was greatly isolated in intellectual circles and received criticism in Hungarian newspapers while on his journey. His speech at the Casino therefore evoked indifference, criticism and hostility from more serious scholars. Below I will introduce some of the core problems that Zichy's scholars were engaged with on the fields of linguistics, archeology and ethnography. Throughout the essay I will discuss these in greater detail.²⁰

3. Linguistics

The history of scholarly Orientalism in the West started with the learned men of the Middle Ages, the monks. Monks were originally concerned with the study of Biblical languages such as Hebrew, Greek and in some cases with Aramaic. Since many of the monks were deeply religious

¹⁸ Sajnovics, János, *Demonstratio idoma ungarorum et lapponum idem esse* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2000), 105. Sajnovics put the birthplace of the Magyars to Karelia in Finland, which is completely unrealistic.

¹⁹ Kontler, László, *Distances celestial and terrestrial Maximilian Hell's Arctic expedition of 1768-1769: contexts and responses*, 4-5. http://szijarto.web.elte.hu/program/kontler_hell_ms.pdf.

²⁰ Szádeczky, Kardoss Lajos, *Zichy-expedició Kaukázus, Közép-Ázsia 1895* [The Zichy expedition Caucasus, Central Asia 1895], (Budapest: Magyar Őstörténeti Kutató és Kiadó, 2000), 16-21.

they wanted to follow Jesus' exemplary life. The only way for them to learn about the true life of Jesus was through the study of either Greek or Hebrew texts on Jesus. During the slow demise of the Byzantine Empire many Greek scholars interacted with their Arab neighbors and that is how the Arabs discovered Aristotle, Plato and many other ancient scholars whose works they translated into Arabic and wrote commentaries on them. With the Arab takeover of Hispania, the Europeans in the West came into closer contact with the previously insignificant people of the desert. The Arab conquerors did not only bring Islam and their armies into Europe but also their language, Arabic. With the establishment of Al-Andalus, Arab translations of the ancient Greek works resurfaced in Europe and ignited the study of Arabic amongst the monks. The study of Arabic by Christians had two motives behind it, one was to translate the Greek classics, and the other was to etymologically use Arabic to correct the textual mistakes in Bible translations. Up until the 18th century orientalism remained a primarily textual and ecclesiastical discipline. Then, with the European colonial expansions from the 19th century and with the discovery of the Indo-European language family by William Jones and Max Müller, orientalism became more and more secular although never losing its ecclesiastic side completely. Secularization of orientalism was no accident, Peter van der Veer in his *Imperial Encounters: religion and modernity in India and Britain* (2001) gives a general account of this process. While Al-Andalus greatly contributed to the beginnings of Orientalism, the process continued in 14th-15th century Italy.

Textual philology began to develop during the Renaissance in Italy due to the influence of the Italian scholars who rediscovered ancient Roman and Greek authors. Throughout the following centuries philology was mostly concerned with Biblical languages. With the appearance of encyclopedias or large collections of knowledge in multiple volumes, scholars began to think that universal knowledge could be represented through a single source in this

case, in books. Subsequently, philology helped the development of vocabularies, which were a path to “discover” the *Ur-sprache* the language that Adam spoke with God by comparing words from different languages to find their origin. After the Reformation Bible translations into vernacular languages further expended the study of language structures. Philology until the first half of the 19th century was mostly restricted to the study of languages that had a preexisting written tradition and scholars were occupied with creating language families as well as identifying proto languages. That is why, for example, Max Müller never had leave Europe to visit India but could become a renowned scholar of Sanskrit from books alone. This was not the case for the Hungarians. Those tribes that the Hungarians viewed as kin were people without a written literary tradition. This meant that the Hungarian scholars had to travel to the people in order to study their language. Through a more “face-to-face” approach European philologist developed systems in which they were able to work with none-literary languages in a *universal modus operandi*.

For understanding this thesis it is crucial to have a quick overview of the issues concerning the debate about Finno-Ugric versus Ural Altaic language families since this debate often comes up in the diaries. Today we speak of two main language groups in Siberia the Finno-Ugric (Fins, Hungarians, Samoyeds, Estonians etc) and the Altaic (Mongols, Turks, Koreans etc). However, this was not always the case. In 1730, Philip Johan von Strahlenberg suggested that Turkic, Mongol, Finno-Ugric and Caucasian languages were linguistically similar. During the 18-19th centuries many European scholars agreed with Strahlenberg’s linguistic theory. The first to give the Siberian and Central Asian languages a name was the Finnish linguist Matthias Castren (1813-1852) in 1844, who called these languages Uralic; and later Ural Altaic. Furthermore, Castren also stated that the Finns came from Central Asia where they lived with

Magyars and Turks; this idea was also the founding theory of Turanism. The base for this linguistic theory was no phantasmagoria but rested on the understanding that all these languages share similar typological features. For example, all lack genders; all use suffixes (aka agglutinating) subsequently, all have vowel harmony to make agglutinating possible and word order in a sentence is almost the same. Since then, scholars have refuted the Ural Altaic theory saying that these characteristics could have developed regionally or through outside influences. Still what is the base of the confusion here is that there is no proto Siberian language which all these languages could be derived from, like Sanskrit is the proto language for the Indo-European languages. Thus these above mentioned linguistic features, however similar they might be, cannot always signal kinship between tribes and it is often questionable from which language certain languages borrowed from and when. While linguistics can offer one approach to the study of ancient Hungarians, archeology can fill the gap that linguistics cannot.²¹

²¹ <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/619019/Ural-Altaic-languages> Be as it may, the purpose of this thesis is not to say the final word in such a heated and complex linguistic debate. However for the future, recent archeological findings and genetic research could help scholars better understand where could have the Hungarians migrated from and circa when. For example, National Geographic's current research of genetic reconstruction of human migration could be a starting point for such research as well as further tightening the collaboration between Hungarian and Russian archeologists. <https://genographic.nationalgeographic.com/> (I personally contributed my DNA for this project).

4. Archeology

Although throughout this thesis I refer to Béla Pósta and Mór Wosinsky as archeologists,²² in reality there was no modern archeological training in Hungary at the time. Thus none of them were archeologist in the modern sense; this however does not mean that their deeds were unscientific. In fact based on their work both of them were regarded as important archeologist at that period. It was actually Pósta who organized the first systematic archeological training at the University of Kolozsvár where he trained future archeologists. On the expedition his aim was to study the kurgan finds of southern Russia on the field as well as in museums.

The kurgans are burial mounds of nomadic warriors; these mounds can be found from the Great Plains of Hungary to Central Asia. Herodotus in his *Histories* clearly stated that the Scythians roamed from the Great Plain of Hungary to the Northern shores of the Black Sea; thus we know that there are Scythian graves in Hungary.²³ This also means that the Western border of kurgans is the Danube River. That is why Pósta thought that by studying these he could find some connection between the ones in Hungary and the ones in Russia. In Hungary the kurgans are called *kunhalom* or kuman mound. While it is true that most of kurgans can be found in areas where the Kumans settled in the 13th century, yet there are some kurgans outside this area as well. Moreover, modern archeology shows that kurgans originate from three distinct historical periods the Bronze Age, the Late Iron Age and from the 6th through the 9th centuries. One problem with kurgans is that in many instances the kurgans were robbed as soon as the man was

²² That being said, I do not want to make the impression that archeology was not taught in Hungary. Maria Theresa established schools where one could study basic archeology. Later on József Hampel or Flóris Rómer can be considered archeologist, but still, modern archeological training only begins in the 20th century in Hungary.

²³ Purvis, Andrea L. trans., *The Landmark Herodotus: the histories*, ed. Strassler, Robert B. (New York: Pantheon Books, 2007), 301-305.

buried in it and eventually someone else was later buried in the same empty grave. All this considered, at the turn of the century, it was not a sound idea from Pósta to search the kurgans for Magyar connections since there was no comparative study done on kurgans between Hungary and Magna Hungaria.

Another problem that had to be considered by archeologist regarding the conquest period was that the Hungarians found a multi ethnic Carpathian Basin. The alliance of the Magyar chiefs created a powerful military machine, which was able to keep the Hungarians dominant over the locals. However, instead of eradicating the none-Magyar population of Hungary the Magyars mixed with them and by doing so the conquerors made the ethnic makeup of the region a bit more heterogeneous. One problem with 19th century archeology is that it wanted to interpret grave findings as the representations of various national characters. But this approach completely ignored the multicultural aspect of medieval Hungary. This means that there was a significant amount of cultural communication and subsequently, cultural borrowing, which excludes the exclusive nationalist character of the graves.²⁴

Archeology has been playing an important role in supporting or refuting historical debates regarding what nationality was buried in which grave. In fact only by combining archeological and linguistic studies can we get a clearer picture of the Hungarian migration across Asia. Recent excavations in Russia seem to have confirmed the reports of Julianus from the 13th century.²⁵ The Dominican monk completed two journeys to Southern Russia in the 1230s. During his first trip he penetrated the steppe as far as the Ural Mountains and there he supposedly found Magyar-speaking people whom he could talk to although by then the tribes

²⁴ Mende, Balázs ed., *Research on the prehistory of the Hungarians: a review*; Archeological research on the conquering Hungarians: a review by Langó Péter (Budapest: Varia Archeologica Hungarica, 2005), 177-179.

²⁵ Lake Ulegi 2013, Bolsije-tigan 1970s-80s. Both of these excavations revealed Hungarian material objects from the 8-9th centuries.

separated for some 800 years. The area where Julianus “found”²⁶ Magyars is now generally referred to as Bashkiria, which is located west of the Ural Mountains.²⁷ It was precisely around the Ural Mountains where Zichy’s scholars believed they had to carry out their research.

Our fundamental issue is concerned with how to interpret archeological finds. What does it mean if one finds, for example, a saber in a grave in Hungary and an identical one in a grave around Kazan? Does this mean cultural connection, kinship or outside influence? Or maybe the man who is in the grave stole the saber or maybe he bought it or exchanged it with a friend. Furthermore, material objects can be exchanged and traded through trade routes across long distances. Subsequently, working with archeological finds from similar periods requires a speculative approach. Still, contemporary archeological finds from Russia confirmed that Zichy’s team was on the right path.

5. Ethnography

János Jankó, who was the official ethnographer of the third expedition, tried to find similarities between the fishing techniques of the Hanti and the Hungarians in Europe. He used Ottó Herman’s book on Hungarian fishing techniques as a reference book. At the late 19th century Hungarian ethnologist generally believed that by observing and comparing archaic

²⁶ The found word has been put into quotation mark above because Julianus’s report has been called into question recently by Borbála Orbusánszky who argued that his descriptions of the Magyars is extremely vague and misses information that other travelers having completed such an important discovery would have made. She put forth the idea that the real mission of Julianus was to spy on the coming Mongols and not to find Hungarians.

<http://epa.oszk.hu/00900/00939/00040/text.htm>

²⁷ http://www.flagmagazin.hu/bulvarvilag/szenzacios_magyar_leletekre_bukkantak_azsiaban (I have talked to one scholar who is close to the members of the expedition, and he told me that the local people in the area are convinced that the graves do belong to Magyar nomads.). In 2013, Russian archeologists requested the assistance of Hungarian scholars because they found a large gravesite in the Eastern part of the Ural Mountains at Lake Uelgi. Attila Türk who is leading the delegation from the Pázmány Péter Catholic University stated that the graves were quite possibly holding 8-9th century Hungarian artifacts but more research is needed. Yet if the graves will yield Magyar objects the results could change our understanding of Hungarian migration and we might have to think of an ancestral homeland (if such thing can exist for wandering nomads) closer to Central Asia than to Siberia.

professions (bee keeping, fishing, hunting, animal husbandry etc.) they could prove some sort of kinship between distant peoples. Of course, in the Hungarian case, which groups were to be observed was greatly determined by linguistics. This was exactly the methodology or convention that Jankó sought to follow, which at his time was the apt thing to do.

However, today this kind of research would not be useful for multiple reasons. One, we know today that such tribes as the Hanti could have migrated from the south, where animal husbandry or even agriculture was practiced, to northern Siberia where they practiced primitive fishing and hunting to sustain themselves. We also know that tribes go through crucial lifestyle changes all over the world due to climate change. Moreover, that similar, even identical, fishing technique did develop in different parts of the world independently. Ottó Hermann in his book on Hungarian fishing noted that the Magyars used bones as weight on fishing nets when they practiced river fishing. This practice, he went on, was completely missing in the German tradition therefore the Germans had to have adopted it from the Magyars. But if we keep the argument in mind that the use of fishing methods could develop independently across the globe then to say that the Hanti used bones weight while fishing is similarly to Hungarian practices from the Tisza region it does not prove the two people's relatedness.

6. The Finnish connection

Since many Finnish scholars will come up periodically in this thesis a short introductory paragraph is needed here to show how they were related to Hungarian scholars. The 19th century movement of national romanticism touched not just the nations of Western Europe but the Finns too. Therefore, to describe “Finnishness” became the main focus of the Finnish nationalist movement. National romanticism in Finland manifested in Karelianism, which advocated the idea that the Finns nearest relatives were the Karelians. What further elevated this belief was the publication of the Kalevala poems in the 1830s. Since the stories in the Kalevala took place in the region of Karelia, this place became a major focal point of scholarly research and national romanticism.²⁸

Still, discovering Finnishness required that Finnish culture should be connected to its related Finno-Ugric cultures abroad. Daniel Europaeus (1820-1884) and Johan Reinhold Asperin (1845-1920) were groundbreaking archeologist of the time and they supported the theory that the Finns ancestral homeland was somewhere around the Southern Ural Mountain. Subsequently, comparative archeological excavations were done between Finland and the Ural Altaic regions. Accordingly, the Finns dispatched multiple ethnographic, linguistic and archeological expeditions into these above-mentioned territories with identical intentions as the Hungarians.²⁹

²⁸ Kerkko, Nordqvist; Oula, Seitsonen, *Finnish Archeological Activities in the Present-Day Karelian Republic Until 1944* (Fennoscandia archeologica XXV, 2008), 29.

²⁹ *Ibid*, 28-31.

7. State of the art

For the purpose of this thesis I am consulting secondary and primary sources on the Zichy expeditions. There are a handful of secondary sources that deal with either a member of the expedition or with some minor aspects of it, some are letters some are newspaper articles. For primary sources there are the eight volumes of scientific studies published by Zichy's team on the expeditions. In addition there are diaries by a few members of the team. I am particularly interested in seeing a dialogue between the diaries and the scientific works; this inquiry can help reconstruct the intellectual framework of the expeditions. I want to explore the ways in which the understanding of their fields of science influenced these men. Moreover, I want to understand what Western intellectual milieu they were working in and how that affected their work. Furthermore, what scientific methods they utilized or invented in order to complete their mission. Lastly, how national romanticism influenced their attitude towards the Hanti.

My research did run into difficulties as it was expected. For one, there is no work that would deal with the entirety of the expeditions in that sense this work will be the first to attempt to reevaluate Zichy's undertaking. Second, locating the scientific works published by Zichy's team almost ended in failure. Although five out of the eight works were available through various sources, three volumes were unreachable because they were not catalogued in the library of the Ethnographic Museum. It was only by accident that I found all the volumes. Another shortcoming is the state of Hungarian museum collections. Almost all of Zichy's material collection was donated to the National Museum and to the Ethnographic Museum. Yet today most of his collection is undocumented, lost or stored in various basements. This is of course due

to multiple historical factors of our 20th century history.³⁰ Still, it prevented me from seeing the materials they brought back from Asia. On a positive note, I believe that my fieldwork in Mongolia during the summer of 2013 was a great success in as much as it helped me understand and relate to the hardships in the diaries regarding their travel amongst nomadic people.

³⁰ There is really no space to go into details about this. But it has to be said that the Romanian occupation of Budapest between 1919-1920 saw the plundering of Hungary, including the museums. In 1920, after the peace treaty of Trianon, some museums were relocated to Hungary from the lost territories through the great effort of the Hungarian staff, like Béla Pósta. Under the Horthy regime there were meager attempts to catalogue the items brought over. In addition, the senseless siege of Budapest by the Soviet forces dealt another blow to the collections of Hungarian Museums. During the Communist regime the situation was little better. There is still a lot of work that needs to be done in this field if we ever want to know what we have and do not have in our museums. Until then the Zichy collection will remain in its obscure places.

Chapter II. A “Who’s Who” of the expeditions and the intellectual preparations

1. Introduction

This chapter will introduce the various members of the expeditions also other travelers to the Orient before Zichy. Moreover I will introduce various Hungarian scholars and critiques who had an influence on the expeditions. Furthermore, I will discuss below the main theories that were followed by Zichy’s team. To present these topics, first, I will introduce the main characters of the expeditions starting with the first of 1895 and then moving on to the third expedition of 1897-99. Then the chapter will turn to the scholars who were on the periphery of the events as observers of Zichy. Then, I will introduce people who are important Orientalist travelers and whose works Zichy and his team used as sources. Lastly, finances, modes of transportation and routes will be discussed. Preparations for the second expedition, which left in the summer of 1896, are little known, thus, it will not be discussed below.³¹

The main driving force behind the first and second expeditions was to bring back artifacts for the 1896 Millennia Exhibition, which was to commemorate the anniversary of the Magyar conquest of the Carpathian Basin. The collection that Zichy brought home was exhibited at the church of Jankó’s ethnographic village. The third expedition was a result of the criticisms Jenő

³¹ The second expedition was a quick run through of the Caucasus by Zichy. During this trip he traveled by train and horses stopping at the bigger cities and buying up archeological collections from local shops and collectors. It was this collection that was later documented by Pósta and Jankó. But there are little written records of this expedition we only know of it through spares references. One such reference is a letter Zichy wrote to his friends detailing his hunting activities in Kazak lands with archduke Nicholas.

Zichy received from Hungarian scholars most notably from Ottó Herman. For the expedition of 1897-99, Zichy's goal was to find the ancient homeland of the Magyars.

The expeditions consisted of a small number of prominent and young scholars, recruited and paid by Zichy. The members of the first expedition were, Jenő Zichy a lawyer and landowner, Lajos Szádecky-Kardoss, a professor of history from Kolozsvár, Mór Wosinsky, archeologist and the abbot of Szekszárd, Jakab Csellingerian,³² an Armenian journalist, translator and a Russian citizen who was living in Budapest, Károly Roslapi, the forest ranger of Zichy and the orientalist, Gábor Szentkatolnai Bálint. One shortcoming of this enterprise was that after they returned from the short three-month trip none of them published memoirs or scientific studies. The reason for this was that they had ideological differences with the idealist Zichy that made any future work impossible. The disagreements sprang from Zichy's demand of them writing scholarly observations that would have made them the laughing stock of the academia. After the 1895 affair Zichy received harsh criticism from prominent scholars in Hungary. These criticisms upset him so much that he was contemplating not launching a new expedition. However Zichy's debates with Ottó Herman in the *Budapesti Szemle* [Budapest Review] made him change his mind and instead of giving up hope he chose to make his third expedition more professional and aligned with scholarly standards of his time. Thus, the third expedition had a completely new group, freshly recruited by Zichy. The expedition of 1897-99 was joined by János Jankó, an ethnographer, Béla Pósta, archeologist, János Pápay, Finno-Ugric linguist, Ernő Csíki, zoologist, Károly Roslapi, András Léhocky, Zichy's master of horse and by Count Bánhidly.³³ Next, I will

³² Csellingerian's contribution to the expeditions is little known. I was also unable to find enough information on his life to write about him in this chapter.

³³ Bánhidly's identity is a mystery; there are no records of his first name. Kissné, Rusvai, Julianna. *Pápay József kéziratok debreceni hagyatéka* [The handwritten bequest of József Pápay in Debrecen] Ph.D. diss., (University of Debrecen, 2005), 23.

turn to Jenő Zichy and Béla Széchenyi because both were good friends and both led significant expeditions to the Orient albeit for different reasons.

2. Zichy the mastermind and his fellow world traveler Béla Széchenyi

It is hard to get a grip on a life that is so rich with activity in a few pages. Zichy was involved with a few dozen organizations, he served as a politician, he organized large-scale hunts on his lands, he founded theaters, museums and scores of institutions and above all, he was an avid traveler. Zichy was tall with a dark red beard thus he acquired the nickname “The Red Baron.” He felt deep loyalty to his nation; he was a man of vision and more importantly someone who was able to admit his mistakes. Zichy’s turbulent political career can shed some light on his true personality. During the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy party politics required strict party discipline, this meant that the entire body of the party had to vote together regardless of individual opinions. But he was not a man to be influenced by a party leader thus when he disagreed with political decisions he simply quit and moved on. Moreover, he was generous towards the nation that he held close to his heart; Zichy was not afraid to spend large sums of money on supporting education, culture, history and industry for the sake of the country and progress.

The count was born in Sárszentmihály in 5th July 1837 and died at Meran (Italy) in 26th December 1906. He belonged to the Szentmihály branch of the family. As the polymath Ottó Herman, a staunch critic of Zichy and his expeditions, pointed out in an article in the *Budapesti Szemle*,³⁴ the Zichy family dated its roots back to the early Middle Ages. As the family records

³⁴ Herman, Ottó. “*Gróf Zichy Jenő utazása a Kaukázusban*” [The travels of Jenő Zichy in the Caucasus], *Budapesti Szemle*, Franklin Társulat, no. 93 (1898): 123-39.

showed in the archives the family was originally called Zajk, but sometime in the XIII century they changed their name to Zichy, after the settlement of Zich in Somogy County. The family, having had multiple branches, contributed many great figures to Hungarian history such as statesmen, artists, reformers, governors and Oriental travelers. The Zichy family became wealthy over time because throughout the turbulent history of Hungary they always sided with the Habsburgs in Vienna and for their unwavering loyalty they were often rewarded with lands the crown has confiscated from troublemakers.³⁵

Zichy first studied law in Berlin then in 1860 he became a judge in Fejér County. From 1861 until his death he served as a politician in the parliament; first in the Deák Party then as an Independent and lastly as a Freethinker. In 1861 he represented Fejér County's Bodjái district, three times the Elesdi district and then the city of Székesfehérvár. He helped found and finance the first theater company in Székesfehérvár. Moreover in the same city in 1879 he organized the first large-scale cultural, industrial and agricultural exhibition. Then in 1884 he was the elected representative of downtown Budapest, from 1887-96 Bodró and from 1896-1901 Ipolyság districts. Afterwards he returned to Székesfehérvár between 1901 and 1905. As a representative in the Parliament he supported the introduction of classes on economics and industry in the major schools of Hungary.³⁶

Zichy also traveled to Great Britain where he inspected the drainage systems and the channels of England. Inspired by what he saw in England he drew up plans and came up with funds for a massive channel construction in the Alföld in 1876. However, due to the private interest of the local landlords in the region the plan was never carried out. In 1880 he was

³⁵ Bányai, Balázs; Kovács, Eleonóra ed., *A Zichy-expedíció* [The Zichy-expedition], (Székesfehérvár: Szent István Király Múzeum, 2013), 11-19.

³⁶ On Zichy's biography you can see the *Magyar Életrajzi Lexicon* [Hungarian Biographical Lexicon], <http://mek.oszk.hu/00300/00355/html/ABC17155/17265.htm>.

appointed president of the National Industry Association. During this time, he personally supervised the creation of Schools of Industry in eighty-six cities. In 1896 he had a small exhibition of his collected “treasures” from the Caucasus and Central Asia that he showed to the audience in the Millennia Exhibition. Due to the coming Millennia Exhibition, in the 1890s Zichy became interested in locating the ancestral homeland of the Magyars. I speculate that Zichy spent the first part of the 1890s in his library reading books on the history of ancient Hungarians.³⁷

The yearlong duration of the third expedition interfered with his political duties. Thus on 10th March 1898 the Parliament gave him permission to leave for his third expedition to Asia. At the turn of the century he worked on the Paris *Exposition Universelle* of 1900 where he organized the Hungarian pavilion that displayed agricultural and hunting themes from Hungary. In 1901 he built his museum³⁸ on Rózsa Street in Budapest (today the Czech embassy) where he displayed his Asian exploits; later he became the President of Historical Monuments.³⁹ Throughout his life he has been a member in dozens of organizations in fact too many to be listed here. Zichy had an active life and in a way he was the embodiment of an enthusiastic aristocratic patriot who used his wealth to enrich his country culturally and economically.

However, Jenő was not the first Zichy who crossed Asia, two brothers before him Ágost (1852-1925) and József set out on a two-year journey in 1875-77, which led them through the ocean to India, China and Japan. József Zichy (1841-1924) was the first governor of Fiume and a minister between 1872 and 1875; he has written a long and interesting description of Japan in his

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ This was one of the first Oriental museums in Hungary. Fajcsák, Györgyi, *Keleti Művészeti Kiállítás* [Eastern Art Exhibition], 202. The museum was open to the public for free three times per week—those were the days. http://epa.oszk.hu/02100/02120/00034/pdf/ORSZ_BPTM_TBM_34_185.pdf.

³⁹ This is a more detailed source on Zichy from the records of the Hungarian Parliament http://www.ogyk.hu/e-konyvt/mpgy/alm/al905_10/433.htm.

diary, which is the highlight of his work. Also, they returned to Hungary through Mongolia and Russia; thus, they became the first organized Hungarian expedition to cross Asia. The account of their journey is only recently been published, after it was acquired from the archives of Bratislava (Pozsony), in 2013.⁴⁰ Interestingly, Zichy makes no mention of this expedition in his writings. Either he was ignorant of this expedition or –as I assume--he kept it a secret from his readers out of jealousy. While it is possible that Ágost Zichy did not influence Jenő in undertaking his quest, his childhood friend the oriental traveler Béla Széchenyi can be singled out as his feasible example that Zichy wanted to follow. This is evident for me from the fact that Zichy proposed a similar, but not identical, travel plan as the one that Széchenyi took.

Zichy and Széchenyi families developed strong ties, Jenő Zichy and Béla traveled extensively in their youth together in the Balkans and in the Caucasus; therefore their friendship must have been an important factor in awakening Zichy's interest in the East. Széchenyi was born on 3rd February 1837 in Pest and died in 12th December 1918 in Budapest. He was the son of István Széchenyi⁴¹ who was a Hungarian statesman and reformer. Béla Széchenyi studied law at the University of Bonn and the University of Berlin. In the 1850s he extensively traveled in France, England and hunted with Zichy in the Balkans.⁴² In the 1860s Széchenyi organized hunting trips to Africa. Later in 1862, accompanied by Count Gyula Károlyi, he toured the East Coast of the United States and Canada; afterwards published a travel account of it. But he is most known for his Asian expedition of 1877-80 that touched India, Indonesia, the Island of Hokkaido, China and the borders of Tibet; the linguist Gábor Bálint, Lajos Lóczy a young

⁴⁰ Dr. Zichy, Mihály. *Zichy József utazásai I-II* [The travels of József Zichy I-II], (Budapest: OSZK és az Írók Alapítványa - Széphalom Könyvműhely, 2013).

⁴¹ Széchenyi was the builder of the famous Chain Bridge in Budapest that was the first modern bridge to cross the Danube. István founded the National (Pesti) Casino on 10th June 1827 where aristocrats could discuss issues related to national causes, it was here where Zichy read out his ideas on ancient Hungarian history before the first expedition. In addition, Széchenyi founded the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on 3rd November 1825.

⁴² Sadly no records of these adventures are available we only know about them from few references.

geologist and Gusztáv Kreitner a geographer, accompanied Széchenyi on this trip. In 1880 Széchenyi returned with a great geological hoard that was collected by Lóczy, which became the most valued feat of the expedition. In addition, they collected zoological, anthropological, botanical and linguistic data for the MTA. The expedition was highly praised by the Academy and by international organizations. Some twenty scholars published a three-volume work of their adventure. We can speculate that Zichy in some way wanted to imitate his friend's achievements; there is some evidence of this in one of Jankó's letters where he writes that Zichy wanted to travel through China, India, Afghanistan and Tibet but soon abandoned the plan once he realized how long it would take and what it would cost him.⁴³ Next I will introduce the members of the first expedition, which targeted the Caucasus and Central Asia.

3. Companions for the expedition of 1895

For the linguistic aspect of the expedition Gábor Bálint, by then a well-known orientalist of his time, was in charge of finding similarities between the Caucasian languages and Hungarian. His life's work is a good example of what a linguist did in the 19th century compared to a philologist. Bálint was born in 1844 at Szentkatolna. He came from a poor Székely gentry family. In gymnasium he learned Latin, Italian, French and Hebrew. Later he studied Arabic and his lifelong fascination with the East was sealed.⁴⁴ Arabic opened his interest into Turkic languages, which helped him along to Persian. But already at this stage he noticed that Turkish

⁴³ This is a short biography of Széchenyi. <http://terebess.hu/keletkultinfo/lexikon/szechenyibela.html>. In addition, *Pesti Hírlap* [Pest News] (1898. Jan. 8.) reports on Zichy's desire to travel through Central Asia (including the Hindu Kush and Afghanistan). In this sense he was even more ambitious than Széchenyi.

⁴⁴ György, Lajos, Gábor *Bálint emlékezete* [The remembrance of Bálint Gábor], (1945), 82-84. http://adatbank.transindex.ro/html/alcim_pdf6073.pdf.

and Hungarian shared grammatical similarities and in a way he became convinced that the two languages had to have the same root.⁴⁵

After graduation he met Ármin Vámbéry who helped him study Ugric and Ottoman languages. Vámbéry strongly advocated the view that Hungarian belonged to the Turkic language family in contrary to what the MTA accepted, that Hungarian belonged to the Finno-Ugric language family. Bálint shared his tutor's theory and quickly found himself alienated within circles where Finno-Ugrism was the dominant view.⁴⁶

On 21st December 1868, Baron József Eötvös (president of the MTA 1866-1871) on the initiative of János Fogarasi, a lawyer by profession but a strong supporter of philology, called for a young scholar who would travel to Mongolia and study its languages to see if there was any relation with Hungarian. This is an interesting point here because it shows that the MTA was not always hostile to the idea of Hungarian being related to other Asian languages than Finnish. Vámbéry immediately recommended Bálint, who dully set out in 1st June 1871 to Kazan with meager 1200 forints per year allowance from Fogarasi and the MTA.⁴⁷

The plan was to study the three branches of the Altaic family, Tatar, Mongol and Manchu. After a meandering journey through Russia he arrived to Kazan to find that the famous Oriental department with its library has been recently relocated to Petersburg. Bálint was given a place to stay with a Russian nobleman outside the city next to a Christian Tatar village where he

⁴⁵ Ibid 85.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 82-84.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 87-88.

visited the local school regularly. After four months he was able to write for the school a small Tatar grammar book before he embarked for his next station, Astrakhan.⁴⁸

At Astrakhan, where the government recently settled a small number of Mongols, Bálint implemented the same strategy as before and spent his time at the local school conversing with the students. He had time to work on a Kalmyk alphabet and dictionary, to translate the poet Mihály Vörösmarty's *Szózat* [sic] into Kalmyk and to write down twenty-five folk songs. In addition, he recorded over a dozen folk tales, which he even tried to translate into Hungarian. After staying with the Mongols for seven month he returned to Petersburg. On 21st February 1873 Bálint again left the Baltic Sea on train for the frozen steppes of perennial Mongolia. Following a perilous journey he arrived to Urgo the religious center of Mongolia.⁴⁹

In Mongolia, Bálint came under the tutorage of an aged monk, while he stayed with the Russian consul. He translated Isaac Jacob Schmidt's German translation of the document of Geser Khan (1836) into Khalkh. He collected words and sentences, which was important for him in order to understand the grammar of the Khalkh language. In addition, he carried out some ethnographic work by observing the local customs of birth, marriage and death. Then, after three years of absence, he returned to Hungary with rich linguistic materials for the MTA.⁵⁰

Bálint's accomplishments were duly noted by the MTA that is why Béla Széchenyi asked him in 1877 to join his upcoming expedition to Asia. They planned for a three years journey, but after a few months Bálint fell ill and had to return to Hungary although in the short time he was able to study Japanese and the Dravidian languages. He came to the conclusion that the

⁴⁸ Ibid, 88-89.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 90-92.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Dravidian was closely related to Turanic languages therefore, to Hungarian.⁵¹ Bálint was a passionate and headstrong man when Pál Hunfalvy expressed his derisive criticism of his theories he could never forgive the MTA and went to Athens into self imposed exile from 1879-1890. Finally in 1892 he was able to take his chair of Ural-Altai studies at the University of Kolozsvár.⁵² It was during these trying times when Zichy approached Bálint, who was past his fiftieth year, to go with him on his expedition to the Caucasus; this was to be his last trip to Asia.⁵³

The historian of the expedition was Lajos Szádeczky-Kardoss; his job was to record the great journey through the Caucasus for posterity. Kardoss was born at Pusztafalu in 1859 and died in Budapest in 1935. He studied in Budapest (1877-79) then in Vienna (1879-81) at the *Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*. Kardoss worked for the University Library in Budapest from 1882-91. His main interest was Polish-Transylvanian diplomatic relations during the Ottoman occupation of the Kingdom of Hungary, which established the Transylvanian Principality as a vassal state to the Porte. Kardoss wrote books on Hun-Székely-Magyar historical connections, but his more important works were on the history of Transylvania and on

⁵¹ *Tamulische (Dravidische) Studien. In zwei Teilen. I. Grammatikalischer Teil. II. Lexikalischer Teil.* Separatabdruck aus dem II. Bande des Werkes „*Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der Reise des Grafen B. Széchenyi in Ostasien. 1877–1880.*” (Budapest).

⁵² György, Lajos, 99-104.

⁵³ Sadly after his death on 26th May 1913, Bálint’s memory fell into oblivion; only a few times did his name emerge in an academic paper in the 20th century. His life and work re-emerged on the 8th of December 2006 when a hand full of scholars organized the first Szentkatolnai Bálint Gábor International Conference in Budapest. On the conference Ágnes Birtalan the chair of Inner Asian studies at Eötvös Lóránt Tudományegyetem (ELTE) and István Seres orientalist came to the same conclusion about Bálint’s work. Namely, that he used a fundamentally new method for the study of languages that he developed during his travels in Asia. This meant that instead of being a textual philologist and relying on the previously written textual evidences of primary sources or other scholars, Bálint collected words and observed the language of the common people. Another of his achievements was that he established Mongolian studies in Hungary, even though Budenz and Hunfalvy opposed the “useless study” of a language with no literature. Bálint was an outstanding figure in the Orientalist movement and his hard work earned him the respect of Széchenyi Béla and Zichy that is why both choose him as a companion. Even though, Bálint was more than capable to work in the Caucasus the three-month period was not enough to do linguistic research. Obrusánszky, Borbála, *Szentkatolnai Bálint Gábor Újraértékelése* [The revaluation of Szentkatolnai Bálint Gábor], *Magyar Tudomány*, no. 3 (2007): 364-5.

Polish-Hungarian relations.⁵⁴ Moreover, he researched the history of Transylvania and the Székely people; this brought him into contact with the great mysteries of ancient Hungarian history. In addition, he helped organize the resettlement of some 4000 Székelys from Bukovina to Hungary in 1883. In 1895 he accompanied Zichy on his first expedition. Later he conducted research in the archives of Poland and Romania. It was Pósta who found in these archives many of the personal correspondences of Péter Apor, Gábor Bethlen and Gáspár Illésházy; all of them are important figures of Transylvanian history. In 1903 he traveled to the Ottoman Empire and visited the residence of Imre Thököly (1657-1705) Prince of Transylvania and his wife Ilona Zrínyi in Izmit where they lived in exile.⁵⁵

Yet his historical expertise was not the main reason for him to get on the expedition; rather, that he was an excellent shorthand writer; that is how he became the official scribe of the expedition. Ironically, he only published one short *memoire* of the journey in 1898. What we know about the first expedition comes from his diary. It was through the painstaking efforts of Pálma Schelken that the diary was deciphered and after twenty years of work made available to the general public in the year 2000.⁵⁶

Although a priest, Mór Wosinsky was also an archeologist who was born in Tolna in 1854 into an immigrant Polish family and died at Szekszárd in 1907. He studied at Kalocsa then at Pécs where he was made priest in 1877. With the support of the local Count Albert Apponyi, from 1881 he becomes the parish priest of Lengyel. It was during a trip with Apponyi when Wosinsky noticed the ruins of a structure in the distance at the outskirts of Lengyel; he

⁵⁴ Szádecy, Lajos, *Báthory István lengyel királlyá választása: 1574-76* [The election of Stephen Bathory to the Polish throne 1574-76] (Budapest, 1887).

⁵⁵ On Kardoss's life see: http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sz%C3%A1deczky-Kardoss_Lajos.

⁵⁶ Szádecy, Kardoss Lajos. *Zichy-expedició Kaukázus, Közép-Ázsia 1895* [Zichy-expedition Caucasus, Central Asia 1895] (Budapest: Magyar Őstörténeti Kutató és Kiadó, 2000).

immediately began excavations with the count's approval and found a large Neolithic settlement. Thousands of artifacts were unearthed at the site and it soon became necessary to find an appropriate place to exhibit them. Subsequently, Apponyi founded the Museum of Tolna County, which today bears Wosinsky's name. In addition, the Neolithic culture he found was called "lengyeli culture" after the nearby village. The findings have been published in many European papers and Wosinsky gained the recognition of Western European scholars. It is possible that because of his outstanding work with the lengyeli culture that Zichy became interested in the man and asked him to be his chief archeologist. Next I will turn to the members of Zichy's most ambitious expedition.⁵⁷

4. Companions for the expedition of 1897-99

After the first expedition returned the members of Zichy's entourage departed without composing any scientific report of their accomplishments. The intellectual differences estranged the idealist Zichy and the scholars; thus any future work was sabotaged. Therefore, Zichy had to find an entirely new crew to write an official scientific publication; Pósta and Jankó composed the two-volume work as well as they cataloged the archeological and ethnographic collections that Zichy bought. The problem with their scholarly involvement with this publication was that none of them actually knew what they were cataloging. The entire volume is filled with general references from various European scholars who worked on the Caucasus; subsequently it lacks

⁵⁷ This is the website for the Wosinsky Museum where you can find a biography of Wosinsky. http://wmmm.hu/a_muzeum/a_muzeum_tortenete.

original scholarly work.⁵⁸ But thanks to the criticisms of Ottó Herman, Zichy made his third journey more professional.

Taking Herman's criticism to heart Zichy began his search for a new team. During this search he came to know the twenty-five year old linguist József Pápay (1873-1931)⁵⁹ who was the student of the renowned Finno-Ugric theorist Zsigmond Simonyi (1853-1919). The young pupil was an enthusiastic student and received special attention from his mentor. Pápay early in his studies became interested in the unfinished works of Antal Reguly. He was more or less convinced that the closest linguistic links to Hungarian has to be found in Siberia amongst the Hanti people. During his time as a university student Simony encouraged him to publish his researches in the *Magyar Nyelvőr* [Hungarian Language guard], where Simony was the editor. It is possible that through these publications Zichy noticed the young man. The events related to Pápay's acceptance to the expedition are little known. Julianna Rusvai however found a letter from 1941 to Pápay from his mentor in which Simony writes:

I remember with great pleasure the time when Jenő Zichy stumbled into my office and asked me if I would recommend you as his travel companion. I was already convinced by then, that this trip would be of great benefit for our science.⁶⁰

In the summer of 1897, Pápay was formally asked by Zichy to join his adventure and thus Pápay began his preparations to get his passport. Zichy had to pull some strings to postpone Pápay's military service by one year. While the prospect of being the official linguist of the

⁵⁸ Gróf Zichy, Jenő, *Kaukázusi és közép Ázsiai utasai, A Magyar faj vándorlása, A gyűjtemények leírása, vol I-II*, [Travels in the Caucasus and Central Asia, The migration of the Hungarian race, The description of the collections], (Budapest, Ranschburg Gusztav Kiadas, 1897). Pósta and Jankó both worked on the collections. But I must say that reading through it is tiresome and almost pointless since it offers a meager scientific contribution.

⁶⁰ Rusvai Julianna, *Simonyi Zsigmond és Pápay József*, 486. <http://epa.oszk.hu/00100/00188/00045/pdf/130409.pdf>.

expedition flattered him, he was especially excited for seizing the moment and traveling to the Hanti people to further study their language, by doing so, possibly deciphering Reguly's notes.⁶¹

One of the longer diaries of the expedition comes from János Jankó who was an ethnographer and anthropologist born in Budapest in 1868 and died at Borszék in 1902. His early death came as a shock to many among his friends and his passing prevented him from completing his scientific work on the Zichy expedition. He graduated from the Geography University in Budapest in 1890, and then began working for the Hungarian National Museum. Between 1888 and 1889 with the financial help of the Trade and Industrial Chambers he traveled to North Africa to carry out anthropological studies in Egypt, Tripoli and Tunis. His anthropological work was later extended into Transylvania, Northern Balaton and the Jászság. He also studied the anthropological institutions of England and France in 1890-91. In addition, he began the systematic description of human remains in the archeological sites of Hungary. He also organized the Ethnographic Village at the Millennia Exhibition. With the Zichy expedition he explored the River Ob and Irtysh regions from where he collected and brought back an important bone and skull collection. His diary regarding his adventure to the Hanti is also an important document of Zichy's expedition.⁶² Jankó was particularly interested in the fishing techniques of the locals, which he compared to Ottó Herman's work on Hungarian fishing practices.⁶³

Since Wosinsky was unavailable for Zichy, Béla Pósta became his new archeologist who was excited to travel to Asia to do comparative examination of the kurgans of Southern Russia

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Jankó, János. *Utazás osztjáföldre 1898* [Travel to Osztjak land 1898] ed. János Kodolányi Jr. (Budapest: Néprajzi Múzeum, 2000).

⁶³ Szikossy, Ildikó and Szemőke, Endre. *Jankó János* (Budapest: Pulszky Társaság, Magyar Múzeumi Arcképcsarnok), 418–420.

with Hungarian ones.⁶⁴ Pósta was born in Kecskemét in 1862 and died at Kolozsvár in 1919. He began his studies at the Pázmány Péter Science Academy as a law student but soon the lectures of Károly Torma on Roman archeology invoked his attention. From the mid-1880s on he joined archeological digs in Hungary with the Hungarian National Museum regarding Magyar graves from the 9-10th centuries. Pósta also made attempts to study the history of not just Hungary but of Eurasia from an archeological point of view, that is why when Zichy returned from his second expedition and offered his bought archeological collection for the Museum, it was Pósta who had the opportunity to catalogue the treasures.⁶⁵

In a way it can be concluded that Zichy took a much younger team for his third expedition. These men in fact hoped that they could achieve a great breakthrough for their careers with this journey. Also we can theorize, knowing Zichy's niggardly nature that he had chosen young scholars because they would accept a smaller salary for their work. Not to belittle their achievements, but it can be said that this team, if given ample time and opportunity, was more than capable of achieving great discoveries for Hungarian archeology, linguistics and anthropology.

The emerging middle classes in Budapest were thoroughly entertained by Zichy reports from his journey which they read in the newspapers and were more than impressed by anything the count achieved for the nation, however meager that might have be in the beginning. But as far as scholarly circles were concerned; he had some serious critiques around Europe and in Hungary alike. One of his critique was Mór Déchy was a mountaineer who resided in Odessa and Zichy often stopped at his place *en route*, Mór who enjoyed an international fame seems to

⁶⁴ The kurgans are the burial mounds of nomadic horse people and they can be found from the Alföld to Central Asia.

⁶⁵ This is the web page of the Béla Pósta Society: <http://www.postabela.ro/postabela.html>.

have been well connected with intellectual circles.⁶⁶ Ottó Herman a polymath, ethnographer, naturalist and a politician who articulated the most constructive criticism of Zichy's first and second expedition in the *Ethnographia* magazine.⁶⁷ Bernát Munkácsi was an ethnographer, linguist and member of the MTA. Munkácsi and Károly Pápai traveled together to Russia in 1888. Munkácsi also formulated a short criticism of Zichy in the *Ethnographia* but it was not as practical as Herman's. Munkácsi argued that the town name of Hunib in the Caucasus is not related to the Huns as Zichy imagined so.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ On Mór see: <http://www.fsz.bme.hu/mtsz/mhk/csarnok/d/dechy.htm>. Mór Déchy was a mountaineer (1851-1917) who was born and died in Budapest. He studied at Budapest, Temesvár and Vienna. Already in 1869 he took multiple hiking trips to the Alps; he climbed the Jungfrau (4158m), Monte Rose (4556m), Monte Blanc (4807m) and many other tops of Central Europe. In the 70s we find him climbing heights all over Europe and North Africa, because of his achievements he became the member of multiple geographical societies in the West. In 1872 he helped found the Hungarian Geographical Society. In 1879 along with the Swiss alpinist Alexander Maurer he visited the grave of Sándor Körösi Csoma in Tibet. In 1884 he married Juliana Steinberg, the daughter of a well to do merchant in Odessa, where he moved for her and often received Zichy and his entourage. Between 1884 and 1902 he embarked on six climbing excursions to the Caucasus with different mountaineers and geographers from England and Austro-Hungary. He published multiple books on his adventures, but sadly his personal notes have mostly been lost during the Second World War.

⁶⁷ This is the biography of Herman Otto: <http://www.hermuz.hu/hom/index.php/hu/2011-07-06-20-20-21/herman-otto-eletrajz>. Otto Herman the polymath, ethnographer, naturalist and politician was born in Breznóbánya on 26th June 1835 and died in Budapest on 27th December 1914. He began school at the Catholic Gymnasium of Miskolc, later studied mechanics and worked in Vienna. On his own he started his zoological and botanical education. He served six years as a soldier in Dalmatia once discharged he worked as a photographer. After leaving the South he became the taxidermist for the Transylvanian Museum of Kolozsvár; it was here where he began to publish on *aves* and *araneae*. In 1875 he came to Budapest to work for the Hungarian National Museum's natural sciences department. He wrote a three-volume study on the spider faunas of Hungary; in it he published 31 new spider breeds. Herman also traveled to Scandinavia to observe the life of the local birds and founded multiple associations that supported wild life in Hungary. His more important works for this thesis was the research into the pastoral life of Hungary and his lengthy work on Hungarian fishing techniques, the book that Jankó used during the expedition as reference. At the Millennium Exhibition on 1896 his fishing exhibition was greatly praised by the public.

⁶⁸ This is a short biography of Munkácsi: <http://mek.oszk.hu/00300/00355/html/ABC09732/10839.htm>. Bernát Munkácsi was born in Nagyvárád on 1860 and died in Budapest on 1937. He was an ethnographer, linguist and member of the Academy. He studied under Budenz and Vámbéry at the Academy, yet he supported Hunfalvy in the Finno-Turkic War. In 1880 he traveled to the Csángós (a Hungarian minority group in Romania) and studied their culture and linguistics. Five years later the MTA sent him to the Udmurt people from there he visited the Chuvash and Voguls in Siberia collecting linguistic data. He edited the *Ethnographia* magazine, where Zichy and Herman got into a heated debate, between 1894-1910. In 1910 he became the member of the MTA. Munkácsi concisely trained himself to decipher the Vogul collection of Reguly. In addition, he collected words from the Udmurt prisoners of war at Esztergom in 1915.

5. Influences on Zichy: a short biography of Orientalist travelers before Zichy

The following travelers are important figures of Hungarian Orientalism and Zichy frequently mentions their theories. Generally speaking Zichy took the ideas that suited his imagination from Orientalist scholars in order to justify his expedition and to prove himself academic in front of scholarly audiences. It is important to take a quick look at these travelers and their ideas in order to understand what intellectual discourse Zichy was engaged with. Zichy borrowed ideas especially from János Besse; in fact, it seems to me that his entire theory on Hungarian migration from Asia to Europe and the location of the ancient homeland came from this source first and foremost.

János Besse (1765-1841)⁶⁹ came from a rich landowning family. Between 1791 and 97 he fought in the armies of the Prince of York and the King of Naples. From 1810 he studied Turkic and Persian in Paris and became a friend of Alexander von Humboldt. After finishing his studies he extensively traveled in Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Besse was deeply interested in Hungarian history. In 1829-30 he set out on a two-year journey to the Crimea and to the Caucasus to research for the remnants of ancient Hungarians. His most exciting find was the ruins of two towns/castles called *Kis* [Little] and *Nagy* [Great] “*Magyari*” in the Northern Caucasus.⁷⁰ Besse made drawings of the ruins, which were published in his book. Through these drawings Zichy was able to imagine and visualize what he might find when he gets to the area. Since no organized excavation had taken place in the area of *Magyari*, Zichy hoped that with the

⁶⁹ On Besse see: <http://terebess.hu/keletkultinfo/lexikon/besse.html>.

⁷⁰ Harvard University - Collection Development Department, Widener Library, HCL / Zichy, Jenő. *Keleti kutatások a magyarság eredetének felderítése érdekében történelmi attekintés és észleleteim, tapasztalataim különös tekintettel expedicióm eredményeire* [Research in the East concerning the origins of Hungarians, historical overview and my observations and experiences with special regards to the achievements of my expedition], (Budapest: Hornyánszky; Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1905), 25.

help of Mór Wosinsky--and the permission of the Russian government, which he never received--he would be the first to unearth the secrets of the ruins. The other important report of Besse was that he noticed that the local Tatars called the horse drawn cart *madzsari*⁷¹ therefore; it was the Hungarians—Zichy concluded--who introduced the cart to this region, which also meant that they had to have lived in the Northern Caucasus in the past.⁷² In addition, Besse did some comparative linguistic research between Hungarian and some of the local languages. It was also him who noted the Zizi or Zichy--as the count read it--family name in the region, this find served as the core motivation for Zichy to pursue his phantasmagoria of locating his long lost family members. In conclusion, Besse believed that the ancestral homeland of the Magyars was in the Caucasus, a theory enthusiastically shared by Zichy.⁷³ Besse's travel was published in French and has not been translated into Hungarian.⁷⁴

Next to Besse, Ármin Vámbéry (1832-1913) was highly praised by Zichy for his life's work and daring spirit. Born to a poor Jewish family, Vámbéry studied Hebrew but after studying Turkic languages Vámbéry was responsible for starting the so-called "Finno-Turkic War." This war battled two ideas, one that Magyar was related to the Finnish language family, the other that Magyar was related to the Central Asian Turkic languages. For Zichy, Vámbéry's linguistic theory was nonsensical and had "*no use for anyone in Hungary*" but he still respected the man's achievements as a world known traveler.⁷⁵ By dismissing Vámbéry on linguistic grounds Zichy clearly made a strong stand for the Finnish connection although his linguistic

⁷¹ Ibid, 26.

⁷² It has to be mentioned here that Besse was not entirely wrong in his assumption because the English, French and Spanish word for a horse drawn cart is coach, coche, which comes from the Hungarian word kocsi. Thus, it is possible that the Tatar use of madzsari indicates Magyar influence and the use of this word is not accidental.

⁷³ Kardoss, 275-6.

⁷⁴ Besse János, *Voyage en Krimée au Caucase, en Géorgie, en Arménie, en Asie-Mineure et Constantinople, en 1829 et 1830, pour servir l'histoire de Hongrie*, (Paris, 1838).

⁷⁵ Zichy (1905), 66-67.

theories often changed, as we will see from the diaries. Vámbéry's "archenemy," Pál Hunfalvy also appeared in Zichy's book.

Pál Hunfalvy (1810-1891) was a politician and ethnographer of German origin. He and his colleague József Budenz, a German linguist, were ardent supporters of the Finno-Ugric theory and both came into conflict with Vámbéry and Gábor Bálint. In fact, it was because of the attacks of Hunfalvy that Bálint left for a self-imposed exile to the Ottoman Empire after he was rejected from the MTA. Hunfalvy made a major contribution to linguistics by restarting the works of János Sajnovics and Sámuel Gyarmathi, thus reintroducing the study of Finnish languages to the Academia. Hunfalvy encouraged the systematization of the Hanti collection left behind by Reguly, which actually was the project of Pápay in the expedition.⁷⁶ However, Hunfalvy was a controversial figure in Hungary. His critiques have pointed out that he only learned Magyar at a later stage of his life thus it was not his mother tongue; in addition, that Hunfalvy's collaborator, Budenz also never learned Hungarian properly. Moreover, that Hunfalvy was appointed to the MTA during the Bach era (which was introduced to Hungary after the failed 1848-49 revolution as a counter measure to stop any future upheaval and to "hunt down" the dangerous elements in Hungarian society) to be the pawn of the Habsburgs. Although the latter acquisition can be debated, it seems untrue. Nonetheless, Hunfalvy was able to upset the Hungarian aristocracy by debasing them to be the offspring of primitive hunter-gatherers from the swamps of the Ural Mountains to where his mentor Antal Reguly traveled, to study the closest linguistic relatives of the Magyars the Hantis and Mansis.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Ibid, 90.

⁷⁷ Hunfalvy biography: <http://mek.oszk.hu/00300/00355/html/ABC05727/06648.htm>.

Antal Reguly was known for his work on the Ural-Altai languages. In 1839 he left Hungary for an eight-year journey across Siberia. First he settled in Finland where he learned Finnish and Lapp then he moved on to Russia where he was delayed and had the opportunity to study Russian. In 1843 he managed to collect the sum needed for his journey and began his long trek across the steppe to study the languages of the Udmurts, Bashkirs and Manysik's. But the long stay in Russia wore him down and his health was never the same after he returned to Hungary in 1847. Until his death he traveled Northern Hungary and studied the culture of the Palóc people⁷⁸ with Hunfalvy.⁷⁹ Because he did not understand the language his collection was in he was unable to begin working on it and his work was left on the shelves of the MTA.

6. Inspirations: textual sources, theories, ideas that influenced Zichy during the first expedition

Zichy became interested in the East while he avidly researched his family tree. After doing some “close reading” of historical texts, before his first expedition, he became convinced that the Hungarians did not come from the Ural Mountains or Central Asia rather they were a proto tribe from the Caucasus, moreover, that the remnants of his family could still be found in the Caucasus under the name Zichianoff, and that they still lived in the area of Zichia.⁸⁰ That is why he chose this mountainous region as the target of his adventures. Even though members of the MTA openly criticized his planned route, he was not entirely a phantom chaser; he based his hopes on the findings of János Besse. In addition, he seems to have done extensive readings of

⁷⁸ The Palóc people are ethnic Hungarians probably decedents of the Polocy or Pechenegs (Besenyő) or some Kuman tribes.

⁷⁹ Reguly biography: http://www.rubicon.hu/magyar/oldalak/1819_julius_11_reguly_antal_szuletese/.

⁸⁰ Munkácsi, Bernát and Sebestyén, Gyula ed., *Ethnographia*, no. IX (1898): 397.

the works of János Orlay, János Jerney and László Berzenczey; all of these men located the homeland of the Magyars in the vicinity of the Caucasian Mountains.

His sources overall were able to convince Zichy that the Hungarians must have spent a considerable amount of time in the Volga Basin in fact he believed, they originated from that region. Therefore, he hoped that by traveling there with his entourage, he would be able to find proof of Hungarian presence. The count also hoped to use the most up to date research methods available to him at the time; namely linguistic and anthropological research supported with archeology. Until the 19th century linguistic research was seldom supported by archeological findings.⁸¹ Therefore, Zichy's methodology was perfectly acceptable and if carried out properly and given enough time it could have produced important finds.

His chapter on the "*Migration of the Hungarian race*" gives us an insight into his ideas about this shadowy event in history. First of all, Zichy clearly states that he believes that there has been ample philological research done on the Hungarian languages but these findings were not quite supported by archeology.⁸² Prior to the launch of the expedition he visited Berlin and met Dr. Bestian Adolf an ethnologist who theorized that there is a general psychic unity of humankind that is responsible for certain elementary ideas common to all peoples.⁸³ Bestian told him that:

*Les Hiou-Huns sont donc une race a part, qui n'est ni finnoise, ni turque;
et de cette tribu est issue le peuple Magyar qui a fourni les preuves de sa vitalité
par une exsistance dix fois séculaire.*

⁸¹ Zichy, 89.

⁸² Zichy, Jenő. *Zichy Jenő gróf Kaukázusi és Közép Ázsiai utazásai*, vol. 2, *A Magyar faj vándorlása*. [The Caucasian and Central Asian travels of Jenő Zichy, The migration of the Hungarian race], (Budapest: Rauchenburg Gustáv, 1897).

⁸³ On Bastian see: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/55606/Adolf-Bastian>.

Zichy was more than happy to agree that the Magyars are a Hun proto tribe that was pushed out of from the periphery of China by the Emperor's armies around 200 BC.⁸⁴

According to Zichy the Huns then arrived to the Volga Basin (where they met the Magyars) around 200 AD, which he supports by the idea that there is a settlement in the Caucasus called Hunivar, which would translate into Hungarian as the "Castle of the Huns."⁸⁵ This idea is more or less supported by Strabo (63 BC – 24 AD) the Greek historian and Jordanes the 6th century Roman historian, although the latter wrote that the Huns lived in the Northwestern shores of the Black Sea. In contrast, Procopius states that the Huns settled closer to the Caucasus than to the Ural Mountains, a statement that Hunfalvy found problematic and he accused Procopius (500-565) of mixing up the dates.⁸⁶ Moreover, the count believed that every mention of Ugors, Huns and Turks by Byzantine authors between 457 and 950 are actually references to the Magyars.⁸⁷ Then, Zichy explains, using Priscus Rethor (who visited Attila the Hun) and the Thurócy chronicles (15th century) as sources, how the Bulgarian-Hunnish-Magyar alliance broke up and how the Bulgarians subsequently stormed Central Europe in the 630s, supported by Magyar forces. At the same time some Magyars left behind in Circassia and that is the main reason why Zichy visited the Circassian people, quite naively believing that he could find Magyars in the region after more after a thousand years.⁸⁸

From these sources Zichy concluded that the Magyars lived in the Caucasus for at least 800 years. Moreover, that the Circassians are Zikhs, what he possibly means here is that they are

⁸⁴ Zichy, *Magyar faj*, IX.

⁸⁵ Ibid, XI.

⁸⁶ Ibid, XVI.

⁸⁷ Ibid, XXVI.

⁸⁸ Ibid, XXIV.

related to the Zichy family.⁸⁹ Also that there are still Magyars in Dagestan and more importantly, that Georgia and Tiflis could have many Magyar village and family names. Thus collecting Magyar names in the area was a top priority for Zichy, with this collection he hoped to prove that the Zichianoff family was in fact the long lost relative of his own Zichy clan.⁹⁰ Although he names all the possible Hungarian related tribes he might find in the region, he does not believe that he would be able to come up with any useful linguistic date since many of the languages spoken in the Caucasus might not at all be related to Hungarian; that is why he put his hopes into the archeological findings.⁹¹

The problem with his theory was that he fell into the same trap as many Hungarians before and after him who tried to tackle the problem of Hungarian tribal migration. The trap was in the Byzantine sources. The Byzantine emperors imitated the ancient Greek writers when they reported on neighboring barbarian tribes. This meant that they often used the names given to these tribes in ancient times; moreover the Byzantine sources often (almost all the time) referred to different people with the same name. Thus for the Greeks all who came forth from Central Asia were Turks or Huns but were seldom referred to as Scythians or Onugors let alone as Magyars. Thus for a researcher it is hard (if not impossible) to find out when do the sources refer to specific tribes.

Before Zichy set out on his first expedition, he gave a speech summarizing his theories at the *Országos Casino* in front of a scholarly audience in 31st March 1895.⁹² The *Budapesti Hírlap* published his speech but the article generated no response from the MTA. Zichy also wrote letters to all the organizations he was involved in to request a leave of absence in addition, he

⁸⁹ Ibid, XXX.

⁹⁰ Ibid, XXXVII.

⁹¹ Ibid, XVI.

⁹² Kardoss, 16-21.

wrote to the MTA and asked for a reference letter for the Geographical Society in St. Petersburg, which probably could have helped him on his journey to get in touch with scholarly circles abroad, but only one person replied, Ernő Dániel the minister of commerce. Dániel wished Zichy a safe journey and provided them with a carriage to transport the crew to the borders of Austro-Hungary.⁹³

The members of the first expedition prior to departure skimmed through the museums and libraries of Hungary, but the lack of time prevented them from accomplishing notable research. If their preparedness for museology, especially regarding Russian museums was a moot, then their linguistic knowledge of the Caucasian languages was finite at best. It became obvious that their *au fait* with Armenian, French and German languages would only go so far in the Caucasus. Even the command of the Russian language, which none of them had at any acceptable level, could only offer limited help in such a multi lingual terrain. That is why Zichy brought along Bálint who already knew the language of the Kabar⁹⁴ people.⁹⁵ Wosinsky, Kardoss, Bálint and Zichy read French or German publications on the Caucasus that were available in Budapest. However the Russian sources, often written in French, could only be read locally in Odessa, Tiflis or Moscow thus, the available three month they spent on the road was hardly sufficient enough to undertake any serious research into these sources.⁹⁶

⁹³ Kardoss, 11.

⁹⁴ The Kabars are related to the Hungarians in as much as, according to legend; when the seven Magyar tribes took the homeland they brought with them a tribe of Kabars who thus became the 8th tribe. Some linguist thinks that the Kabars were in fact, Turkic and thus spoke a Turkic language. According to this theory, the Kabars brought the Turkic loan words into the Hungarian language. However, this theory is highly speculative. However, Besse thought that the Kabars were related to the Csermisz-Karacsaj people who do speak a form of Turkic.

⁹⁵ Bálint actually completed his studies of the grammar of the Kabar people previously.

⁹⁶ Kardoss, 274.

7. Inspirations: textual sources, theories, ideas that influenced Zichy during the third expedition

Many prominent members of the pantheon of Hungarian Orientalism can be found in Zichy's sources in the sixth volume of his Third Expedition Report. Zichy heavily relied on Constantinus Porphyrogeneta⁹⁷ and other Byzantine writers all of whom extensively wrote about the migration of nomadic tribes. Many ideas were taken from these works and linked together in order to help him develop a theory about the history of the Hungarians before their settling in Europe. Thus his knowledge of the Orient at first was completely textual.

Zichy was clearly able to articulate that Hungarian Orientalism is a movement, and he now became the newest pioneer of it. Still after three expeditions it is questionable how clearly he understood the issue surrounding the competing language families within the Hungarian Orientalist discourse or any other archeological or ethnographic issues. I believe his rejection of the Turkic linguistic theory of Vámbéry has more to do with his attempt to conform to the known trend, dictated by the MTA, than with his own personal conviction. His confusion about linguistics will be visible during the third expedition when Zichy had to be convinced by Jankó to support his linguistic research among the Siberian tribes and abandon his plan to extend the expedition to Mongolia, which Jankó thought was unnecessary. In addition Pápay, a staunch Finno-Ugrist, also had to persuade Zichy during the expedition to give up his belief in any kind of Turkic-Hungarian linguistic relationship and focus on the Finno-Ugric language family.

⁹⁷ Byzantine emperor lived between 905-959 he is most well known for his *De administrando imperio* and the *De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae*. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/133971/Constantine-VII-Porphyrogenitus>.

Zichy also had a secondary objective for his third expedition, which can be described as the most hopeless out of all his convictions and it had to do with the Mongols. Batu, the grandson of Genghis Khan, led the Mongol invasion of the Kingdom of Hungary in 1241-42. According to the chronicles that Zichy read the Mongols took important documents from the King's Castle. Moreover, the Mongols captured the royal stamp after the battle of Muhi and used it to issue official edicts that aimed to invite back the already fled population to the countryside. Thus it was Zichy's task to travel to Urgo, modern day Ulaanbaatar, and to Peking to find the stolen property of the Árpád dynasty in the Buddhist monasteries and imperial libraries and bring them home.⁹⁸

Zichy did not take into account that first; it is impossible to know how many documents the Mongols took with them to Asia. Second, the first capital of the Mongols was at Karakorum, where Ögodei built his capital but abandoned it after forty years and moved to Peking (possibly taking all the documents he had with him). Karakorum was later attacked by Manchu troops and completely destroyed in 1388. From its ruins Buddhist monks built Erden Zuu the first Buddhist center in Mongolia. There is no record that Ögodei ever kept any documents at Urgo. Thus the success of this plan was highly unlikely, not to mention that Zichy never went to Karakorum. In light of this I believe that Zichy's best bet would have been Peking, however the political upheaval in China prevented him from visiting the libraries.

The preparations for the third expedition were more thorough and professional. We know from the letters of Jankó that Zichy wanted to take a route similar to Széchenyi, however when he realized the time and financial requirements of such journey he backed down. Jankó was sent to Russia to study the museums and libraries on 19th July 1897; Pósta followed him on the 1st of

⁹⁸ *Ethnographia* no. IX, 1898, 182.

September and together they went to Finland to connect with eminent Finno-Ugric scholars. After Zichy was able to postpone his military service Pápay was dispatched to Russia to begin studying Russian in early December. Before setting out for the third expedition, Zichy asked the Parliament for a one year leave, which was granted. In return he promised to bring home valuable archeological collections and information on the life of ancient Hungarians. Zichy also wrote a farewell letter to the *Pesti Hirlap* that was published on 8th January 1898.

8. Finances

Zichy financed the three expeditions himself. We can get a fairly good idea of how much money was spent during the journeys since the diaries are dotted with references to financial struggles, which can be attributed to Zichy's niggardly behavior. In fact, it is astonishing to see how much space has been wasted by the members of the team on writing about their financial problems *en route* instead of writing about their inquiries. The first expedition cost 60.000 forints all of which was covered by Zichy.⁹⁹ We know from Pósta's diary that on the third expedition each member got around 300 rubles for a month in addition, Zichy paid their travel expenses.¹⁰⁰ This meant that they were only able to spend around 10 rubles per day. Considering the occasional financial troubles between Zichy and the team I believe they were well paid.

⁹⁹ Kardoss, 272.

¹⁰⁰ Banner, János, *Pósta Béla születésének százados ünnepe 1862-1962* [The hundreds year anniversary of the birth of Béla Pósta] (Budapest: Muzeumok Rotaüzeme, 1962), 126-131.

9. Space, routes and modes of transport

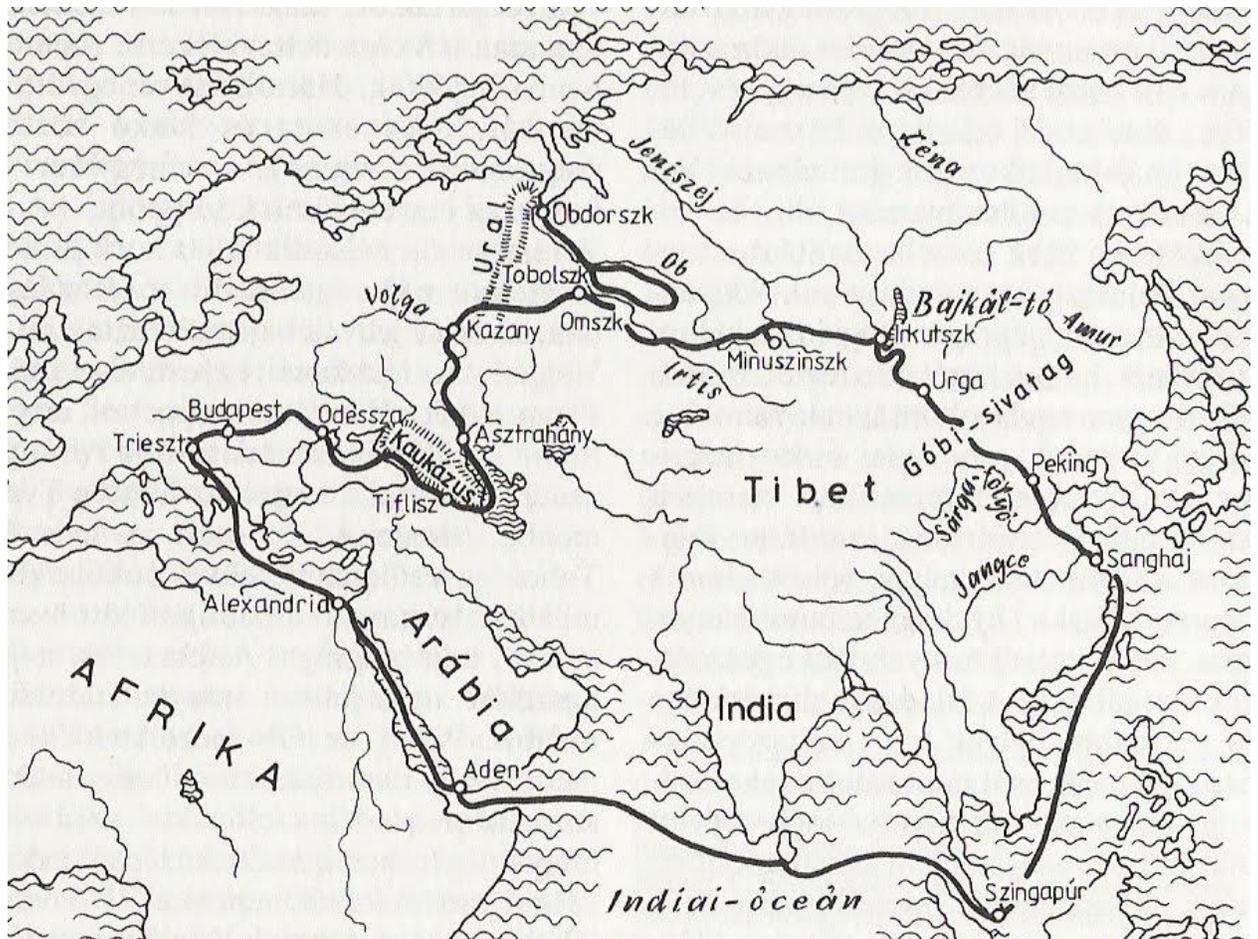
The Hungarians traveled through a territory far greater than the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was at the time. Even the tribes they sought to study on the third expedition lived in an area almost the size of continental Western Europe. Moreover, they were traveling in a space which has been thoroughly colonized by the Russians. Therefore, their encounters with the locals took place in a colonial context. Which meant that the Hungarians were often viewed by the natives as the colonizers in this case as Russian officers. This fact did not complicate the expedition but rather it made it easier for them to acquire hospitality. At the same time, the drawback of this colonial encounter was that the locals kept their distance from the team.

During the first expedition Zichy generally traveled on the main roads either by train or by cart, given his advanced age, this comes as no surprise. From Hungary the first expedition took a train to Lemberg, which was then a border city of the Monarchy in Galicia. From Lemberg there was direct train to the port city of Odessa from where ships ran regularly to the port of Jalta and to the city of Novorossiysk on the shores of the Caucasus. In the Northern Caucasus they used horses to get to the villages and between Vladikavaz and Tiflis, the famous Georgian Military Road, which was constructed by the Russian Army between 1799 and 1876. Tiflis was connected by a railway with the oil rich Baku. The Caspian could be crossed on boat either towards the Central Asian port of Krasnovodsk or to the Volga Delta port of Astrakhan. Between the 1880s and 1910s the Russians were building railways in a rapid pace in order to connect the far-flung corners of the Empire. As a result of this need the Trans-Caspian Railway connected Krasnovodsk and Central Asia, the Trans-Aral Railway crossed Kazakhstan and the Trans-Siberian reached into the Far East. Because of the relatively good railway system in 1895,

Zichy was able to take the train from Krasnovodsk to Merv, Bukhara and from there to Samarkand. On the way home the expedition used the train from Novorossiysk to Moscow then on to St. Petersburg.

The third expedition used the train system between Odessa, Kiev, Moscow and St. Petersburg. Besides the winter and early spring, when large chunks of ice rush down the Volga, the river was navigable upstream from Astrakhan. The Trans-Siberian Railway was almost completed up to the city of Krasnoyarsk on the banks of the River Enisey. From Irkutsk they took a boat down the River Angara to the Baikal Lake. The Baikal had to be crossed by boat to the Selenga River that took them down to the Mongolian border. The main trade route between Siberia and China went from the Selenga to Peking through Urgo. This road had to be crossed by small Mongolian horses (although at the Chinese border they had to change to Chinese horses). From Peking Zichy took a ship back to Fiume stopping at major seaports on the way but this part of the expedition is not documented.

10. Map of the route of the third expedition



This map depicts Zichy's third expedition. The black circle below the River Ob is where Jankó traveled. The black path up to Obdorszk is Pápay's route.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ <http://m.cdn.blog.hu/sz/sziberia-neprajz/image/zichy3terkep.jpg> This is the webpage for the map.

Chapter III. The First Zichy expedition of 1895

This chapter will examine the travel diary of Lajos Szádeczky-Kardoss, who was one of the five members of the expedition led by Jenő Zichy to the Caucasus and Central Asia in 1895. For this thesis his diary will be used exclusively to demonstrate how he saw the periphery of the Romanov Empire and its inhabitants in 1895 when the last Romanov took his throne. The main focus will be on Kardoss's description of the Romanov Empire and its periphery in the Caucasus, which was conquered by Russia in 1864. The expedition lasted from April 30th until the middle of August. The hastiness of time prevented serious orientalist/scientific work and none of the members of the expedition published any scientific work about their journey afterwards. This fact makes the writing of a critical study of the scientific methods used on the expedition nearly impossible. I will however examine what historical, political and ethnic issues Kardoss mentions in his work. Moreover, how he saw the historical events that impacted the region and its inhabitants in the near past. What was Zichy's team's relationship to the Romanov Empire? What were their objectives and did they accomplish them?

Kardoss's diary has only been published in 2000. The reason for this was that it took two scholars and almost thirty years to decipher his handwriting. Kardoss used his own shorthand codes, which meant that Pálma Schelken had to learn to think as Kardoss once did in order to modernize the text. Kardoss taught shorthand writing in Transylvania. Since he was a professional shorthand writer he wrote the entire diary in this style. This style of writing was useful if the writer intended to decipher his own writings and transfer it into a standard form in the near future. But since he did not do this, even though Zichy offered him money to publish the diary, it is hard to tell how well Schelken was able to decode Kardoss's writing. Consequently,

this diary should not be thought of as the perfect representation of Kardoss's memoirs. We have to accept that there are mistakes in the translation even if we can never be sure of those mistakes.¹⁰² Schelken's published book runs 299 pages; it includes a few of Wosinsky's photographs as illustrations, few personal letters by Zichy and news articles from various Hungarian newspapers that reported on the expedition. In addition, there are reflections on the history of the Caucasus and on the local people by the editors. The book follows an entry style narrative. Each entry is titled after either the location or the date. Schelken included photographs of some pages of the diary these depict the drawings of Kardoss. These drawings have little artistic value they are more like sketches. Most of them depict landscapes and houses.

1. The travelers and their goals

Besides Kardoss there was Mór Wosinsky the archeologist. However, his archeological expertise was not needed since the group never received permission from the Russian government to carry out archeological excavations. Another member was Dr. Gábor Bálint, a gifted linguist who spoke approximately twelve languages. During the expedition, he was the only one who was able to communicate with some of the locals who spoke any one of the Turkic dialects in the Caucasus. Lastly, Jakab Csellingierian, an Armenian from the Caucasus, who happened to be in Hungary at the time when the expedition was organized. He became the personal secretary of Zichy.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Szádecy Kardoss Lajos, *Zichy-expedíció Kaukázus, Közép-Ázsia 1895* [Zichy expedition, Caucasus, Central Asia 1895] (Budapest, Magyar Östörténeti Kutató és Kiadó, 2000), 14. On this page Schelken admits that the translation of the diary is not perfect.

¹⁰³Kardoss, 9.

It is important to mention that none of the members knew Russian adequately. Even Csellingerian who was educated in Armenian in Russian occupied Armenia was not fluent in Russian. This severe handicap in Russian often led to misspellings or the complete distortion of local tribe names. Thus it is often unclear to what people or settlements Kardoss refers to. In addition, some Russian sentences that they heard or tried to learn were mistranslated in the diary.

The expedition basically had four goals first, to find the old cities of Madzsari, which János Besse refers to in his book. Second, to find Zichys in the Caucasus. Third, to travel to Central Asia and find out if it was possible for the Magyars to migrate over the desert from Persia towards the Volga region. Lastly, to buy archeological and ethnographic collections related to Hungarian culture for the purpose of exhibiting them at the 1896 Millennium Exhibition in Budapest. The expedition's method of data collection was as follows.

Kardoss and Bálint were responsible for visiting libraries and museums in order to find Hungarian material objects. In the Caucasian villages the count personally interviewed the locals about the history of the region and asked them if they knew about their relationship to the Hungarians. Wherever they could they recorded the dances and tried to compare it to Hungarian dances. In addition, they collected songs and often sang Hungarian songs for the locals to prove a rhythmic and lyrical connection to Hungarian folk songs. The count made Kardoss record as many family names as he could to find other the Zichys in the region. It was unexpected, since the Hungarian Zichy family had no real connection to the region, but they did find a family in Gori, which was named Zizianowok (Ziczichovili in Georgian). Zichy immediately recognized them as his long lost relatives from ages past although the rest of the group strongly disagreed with him based on the fact that familiar sounding names can develop separately in different

regions of the world.¹⁰⁴ Lastly, Zichy bought numerous arts and crafts from the locals that he brought back with him including earth and grass from the supposed homelands of the Magyar tribes. One of the most valuable outcomes of the expedition is a photo collection that is available online at the *Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár* (OSZK); the majority of the pictures were taken by Wosinsky and they give us a picturesque insight into the folk art of the locals.¹⁰⁵

2. The journey to the ancient homeland

Before the official start of the expedition, Zichy sent invitations to all members of the government and the MTA to come to his departure but nobody replied. In fact their departure went more or less unnoticed by the public, save a few newspapers that did write about the event. They left via train from Budapest on April 30th 1895 toward Lemberg. Kardoss confronts the reader on the first pages of his diary with orientalization of the landscape when he refers to distant orthodox churches as Chinese pagodas at Lawoczne.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, he refers to the lands over the Carpathians as Poland even though he was traveling in Galicia, which at that time was part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and not of Poland.¹⁰⁷ In other words, for his imagined geographical regionalization “Asia” started as soon as he left the Carpathians. And yet, as we will see later, in the Caucasus Mountains there is also another border of Asia for Kardoss. The mental regionalization in his work is the interesting in as much as it helps us understand how lucid people’s ideas of regional borders were at the time. Kardoss had a strong sense of where places began or ended. As we saw before when they left Hungary, over the Carpathians there

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 197.

¹⁰⁵ <http://keptar.oszk.hu/html/kepoldal/index.phtml?id=037390> This is the OSZK webpage for the photographs.

¹⁰⁶ Through out this thesis I will write the names of towns and settlements as they appear in the diaries, unless they are well known cities like Kazan or Odessa. In that case I use their English name.

¹⁰⁷ Kardoss, 24.

was Poland, then Russia and over the Caucasian Mountains, Asia. What makes this regionalization interesting is that he never compares the Asian landscapes with Asia. He never writes, for example, that buildings or landscapes in Central Asia are stereotypically Asian. The Chinese pagodas only appear for him in Poland. While they were traveling to Moscow, on their way back, the landscape seemed to him more Asian than the landscape in “Asia.” In addition, while they were searching for the ancestral lands of the Magyars, he barely made a mental connection between the Hungarian landscapes and the Caucasian. However, in Russia almost everything he sees houses, steppe, people and rivers all remind him of Hungary.

The team spent a few days in Lemberg where they visited the local museum searching for Hungarian material objects but they only found broidery motifs that were clearly Hungarian.¹⁰⁸ From the town of Woloczynska from where they continued their journey to Odessa. Zichy might have acquired the official invitation of the Czar beforehand in order to be able to travel with little interference from the officials in the Empire. From the diary it is unclear how or why Zichy was given the permission. Furthermore, it is not mentioned if it was Alexander III, who died in November of 1894, who gave the permission for the expedition or his successor Nicholas II. But since the scientific works published by Zichy about his enterprise are dedicated to Nicholas II, I assume it was him who gave the permissions.

The first major stop was the port city of Odessa that offered a spectacular view of the Black Sea. The city was well organized with large streets and neat little shops. In Odessa they met Hungarian and Austrian subjects who resided in the city. The day they arrived was the last day of the official six-month mourning period for the deceased Alexander III. The city rang its church bells day and night whilst the people put out candles in their windows to show their

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 24.

respect. Kardoss describes the trading city of 360.000 residents as a cosmopolitan hub inhabited by a large Jews population along side of Turks, Greeks, and Russians.¹⁰⁹ The majority of the people dressed in Russian dresses and although it was not mandatory but almost everything was written in Cyrillic. However, there were ethnic problems under the seemingly peaceful cosmopolitan surface that a Russian university professor brought to their attention during a dinner party with Mór Décsy. Professor Borzenkho A.A. informed them of the enormous Muslim emigration out of the country--according to him--by 1895 over 400.000 left for the Ottoman Empire and he felt that it was “a travesty” that the Russian government was unable to stop this. The problem of the Muslim emigration comes up several times in the diary. It was a serious concern for local governors in the Caucasus how to deal with the depopulated regions.¹¹⁰

The other reoccurring problem for the Russians was the Polish question. Formerly, the Polish Kingdom was recognized and given relative autonomy in 1815 after the Napoleonic Wars. However, the Poles were just as troublesome for the Russians as the Hungarians were for the Habsburgs. After a long and unsuccessful uprising in 1867, the Polish lands were incorporated into the Empire. The quick loss of independence further deepened the already strained Polish-Russian ethnic-national relations. Reports of this ongoing conflict reached the ear of Kardoss too. The gossip in Odessa of the time was about two anti-Polish events that were carried out by the governor Zeloni J. (1885-1898). In the diary, Kardoss depicts the governor as a ruthless, savage man “*who calls men dogs and women whores.*” The gossip was that not long before the Zichy expedition’s arrival, for unknown reasons Zeloni arrested fifty Poles and sent them to Siberia at once. According to Géza Daruváry, who was the son of the Austro-Hungarian ambassador to the Caucasus, another incident happened when a ship arrived with a Pole on board

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 27.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 29.

to Odessa. As soon as the Pole got off the ship he was detained for twenty-two days until his alleged crimes could be investigated.¹¹¹ Hungarians especially during the troublesome 19th century developed a sympathetic attitude towards the Poles and vice versa. Many Poles fought in the Hungarian revolutionary army in 1848/1849 and after the Russian general Ivan Paskevich forced the Magyar forces at Világos to surrender; the Russians became the new enemy in the national consciousness. Therefore, the mutual dislike of Russians was an ample connecting point for the two nations. This could be the reason why Kardoss went on in great detail about these events in the diary. After the expedition's pleasant stay in Odessa they sailed for the Caucasus stopping at Sevastopol and Jalta. The massive devastation from the Crimean War of 1856 was still visible for the naked eye. At the city of Sevastopol they visited the museum that housed the war memoirs but the meager exhibition left the group unimpressed.¹¹²

3. The Caucasus

From the diary we get a significantly different picture when it comes to Kardoss's description of the Northern and Southern Caucasus. Kardoss names the dividing line as the Caucasian mountain itself, which even today separates the Russian Federation from the independent states in the South. The striking disparity of the two regions shows how the adaptability of the Empire's imperialism played out under various circumstances. When reading the diary Central Asia, where they only traveled to Bukhara and Samarkand (today Uzbekistan), also has a completely unique "feeling" to it compared with the Caucasus. Central Asia is described as backward and desolate.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid, 37-38.

The expedition landed in the port of Jekatyerinodar, a town founded by Catherine the Great in 1792. The small town with its dirt roads and wooden houses was unimpressive for Kardoss. Here they met the governor, a Cossack named Sergeij Jackevich, who warned them not to go to the Caucasus for their own safety. Nonetheless Jackevich gave them a Circassian guide named Agirov Kanamat who already been on diplomatic missions for the Russians to quiet the obstreperous tribes. Kanamat had to be dressed, fed and paid by the Zichy throughout the journey and he also served as an interpreter.¹¹³

While traveling in the Caucasus the expedition mostly used the Georgian military road, which was in good shape since the Russians spent a lot of effort to upgrade it.¹¹⁴ Because Kardoss periodically sent reports back to Hungary for the *Vasárnapi Hírlap* [Sunday News] and *Budapesti Hírlap* [Budapest News], the postal system that used the military road was crucial for the mission. At the postal stations they were able to change horses, usually a station had between nine to twelve horses and a small Cossack garrison, which went out to escort Zichy's group between stations. Surprisingly, in this periphery of the Empire the postal system worked without a glitch except for one time when a few weeks of letters got piled up in Tiflis because the expedition unexpectedly changed course. But most of the time the letters caught up with the caravan in time.¹¹⁵

In the Northern Caucasus, the expedition's main objective was to find the ancient city of Nagy-Magyari (Karabagh in Armenian). The source for the existence of this town with a medieval castle came from the writings of János Besse whose work was the main source and

¹¹³ Ibid, 46-47.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 111.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 74.

inspiration for the journey. The Zichy expedition more or less, followed his recorded route.¹¹⁶ The beginning of Kardoss's diary starts with his notes on Besse's book;¹¹⁷ unfortunately the editors decided not to include it in the published version.¹¹⁸ Besse, after carrying out ethnographic observations, tried to prove—unsuccessfully--that the Dugur, Balkar, Kuljam, Bingizi and Uruspie tribes were the direct descendants of the Szavárd Magyars who migrated to the Caucasus from the Volga region sometime in the 8-9th century. Since Besse's linguistic attempts were fruitless it is engrossing why Zichy believed that his try would be more fortunate. Although Besse spoke multiple languages he was not a linguist, thus, he was unable to scientifically prove that the Magyar language is related to any of the languages of the above-mentioned tribes.¹¹⁹

4. The towns of Magyari

According to Kardoss there were three towns called Magyari on the Kuma River small, big and central Magyari. But he could only locate big and small with any certainty. Big Magyari was then called Karabagh. Since the team received no permission from the Russian government to perform archeological excavations, when they found the town their hands were tied. To make matters worse an earthquake destroyed the old castle subsequently, the locals already have quarried the stones. In addition there were no ancient Magyars living in town but Armenians, who moved in around 1839 from the Karabagh region of Armenia--hence the name Karabagh.

¹¹⁶ http://www.magyarormeny.hu/uploads/file/fuzetekfileok/EOGYKE_2012DEC_internetre.pdf On page 37 of this pdf there is a map for Besse's route in the Northern Caucasus.

¹¹⁷ Besse, János, *Voyage en Krimée au Caucase, en Géorgie, en Arménie, en Asie-Mineure et Constantinople, en 1829 et 1830, pour servir l'histoire de Hongrie*, (Paris, 1838).

¹¹⁸ Kardoss, 23.

¹¹⁹ <http://terebess.hu/keletkultinfo/lexikon/besse.html> This is a good source on Besse's work. Terebess is an independent web site containing many original texts on Hungarian Orientalism.

Zichy quickly found out after talking with the village elders that the newcomers had no idea that the town was ever called Madzsari (Magyari), they only knew that there were some Tatar graves in the graveyard but the Tatars have left some time ago, probably moved out during the great Muslim exodus. In many villages the newcomers often robbed the graves of the previous inhabitants.¹²⁰ The kurgans were clearly visible for Kardoss in both Magyari towns. Zichy was afraid of the accompanying Cossack cavalry that was not only there to protect them but also to keep an eye on the team therefore, Zichy secretly went down with Kardoss and Wosinsky to the banks of the Kuma River with a shovel to dig a little. After finding nothing they decided to buy broken pottery and bricks from the locals who have found many when they planted grapes in the hillside. Thus the first objective of the expedition partially failed. Partially, because at least they got to the town but they were unable to do any scientific work at all.¹²¹

5. Social issues in the Caucasus

Kardoss's geographical description of the Northern Caucasus was grim. The long wars of the Russian conquest that only ended in 1864 have left a visible mark on the land even after thirty years. A noteworthy observation by Kardoss is the systematic deforestation of the landscape by the Cossacks. The reasons for this were possibly military in nature. The Russians thought that by deforesting they would be able to limit the spaces where guerillas could hide and wage war on them. In addition, the landscape was littered with ruined castles. It is hard to tell if the castles were blown up by the Russian military or simply fallen into disuse over the centuries. Nonetheless, the castles were a testament to the once thriving Caucasian Kingdoms. By the

¹²⁰ Kardoss, 162.

¹²¹ Ibid, 91-95.

1860s in some cases the army took over strategically important fortifications and reinforced them with Cossack garrisons.

Most of the Russian troops were Cossacks from New Russia. These men were housed not in barracks but in the villages, often living with local families. After three years of service they received their own land, which there was plenty of in the Caucasus due to the mass Muslim migration out of the region.¹²² The heavy alcohol consumption of the Cossacks was no rumor. Kardoss mentions multiple accidents when on the road they would see saddled horses wandering aimlessly, but then a few yards away they would find Cossacks passed out in their own vomit. Kardoss recorded that the governor passed a law that in the villages, where the Cossacks were housed, if a resident found a Cossack front of his house intoxicated he have to take him in for the night otherwise, if the Cossack died, the residents were heavily fined.¹²³ That is why the witty villagers would go out at night and pull the Cossack front of the fence of a disliked member of the community. Then, if needed, they would pick up the vomit and place it next to the body, so that the next morning their neighbors will be fined instead of them for not giving shelter to the Cossack.

The locals disliked the Cossacks not just because they were alcoholics but also because they did not work in the factories. In Novorossijszk, Lajos Ehrtmann the Hungarian manager of a cement factory explained to Kardoss that he had to hire Germans, Poles and Tatars to work in the factory otherwise there would be no workforce available. The reason for this was that in the 1880s ten to fifteen thousand, in the 1890s an additional fifteen thousand Muslims left the region without being able to sell their lands. The Russian government settled large number of Cossacks

¹²² Ibid, 87.

¹²³ Ibid, 107.

on the empty lots. However, the laziness of the Cossacks and their unwillingness to engage in any form of hard physical labor created a labor shortage that had to be remedied by bringing in Central European workers.¹²⁴

Besides the indigenous Muslims and Christians a large number of Jews also lived in the Caucasus. The Caucasian Jews were not Ashkenazi who lived in the Pale of Settlement but of a local stock. Kardoss only met Jews in one settlement at Jevrejszko-Dzsegutinszkij. The elder of the village told them that the Empire forcibly settled his parents here in 1846 when many Jewish villages were uprooted from the mountains to be relocated into the valleys surrounded by Russian and Circassian villages. In the beginning their synagogue was closed because the Empire wanted to convert them to Christianity but when this policy failed they were allowed to reopen their places of worship. It seems that those Jews who were born in the new settlement were not angry over the relocations since they had no memories of being in another place to which they could have developed an emotional connection to. The difference between the Odessian Jews and the Caucasians is striking. Whereas at Odessa, Jews were shopkeepers and merchants, in the Caucasus they were poor farmers and leather working was the only industry they participated in.¹²⁵

In the same Jewish village, Zichy complained to Kardoss that the guide and the Cossack guards only took them to Russian villages and avoided the Circassians, where they hoped to find people of Hungarian ancestry, thus they were sabotaging his mission.¹²⁶ The possible reason for this could be that the Russians wanted to avoid hostile regions. In other words, they wanted to hide the deep ethnic conflicts and anti-Russian sentiment the lurked behind the curtain. For

¹²⁴ Ibid, 42-43.

¹²⁵ Ibid, 54-55.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 55.

example in the Kabard region Zichy received additional Cossack cavalry for protection, although, the count falsely interpreted the gesture as an honorary guard. Whereas, the gesture was more likely for military protection.¹²⁷

In the town of Uchkulan, which is located in the Karachay region, we get a description of the local school. Kardoss often describes with great interest the school system as they travel through the Caucasus. The Russian government issued an order in 1879 for the region that every town had to found a school at their own cost. Each family had to pay 1.50 rubles per month for maintaining the school. The school in Uchkulan was a one-story building. The fifty-eight students who attended the school were collected from the nine neighboring villages. Although the population was mostly Karachay, the children were learning Russian and Arabic in school, since the Karachay language (Turkic) had no extensive written literature to be taught. For the honor of the guests' the children sang the Russian anthem, very poorly according to Kardoss.¹²⁸ The singing of the Russian anthem can be interpreted as another political move to show the Hungarians that the local population adapted to Russian rule. In the smaller villages where the families were too poor to build schools; only the wealthier members of the community were able to afford a teacher that came into the village once a week to educate their kids--this is still the custom today in many regions in Afghanistan and Pakistan.¹²⁹

The Karachay region was important for the Russians for economic reasons. In the southern part of Karachay lay the Elbrus mines where the Russians mined large quantities of silver. Zichy was very much interested in seeing the mines, which worried the authorities and there are muddled writings of searches and checks by the police who was responsible for keeping

¹²⁷ Ibid, 62.

¹²⁸ Ibid, 63-65.

¹²⁹ Mortenson, Greg, *Three cups of tea* (Penguin Books, 2008).

order at the mines. But from the diary it is unclear what actually took place between the team and the police. The brief description of the mines gave the reader an interesting insight into the socio-economic life of a mining town. Sergeij Petrovich Pjetuchov, the president of the mine who was educated in Italy, explained to them that they were getting to the veins by using explosives. Then the lead was shipped to the Baltic for melting. German and Russian miners worked the mine since the Karachay men refused to do the hard labor; they preferred to work in agriculture instead. However, Karachay boys were employed to collect the remnants of the blown up rocks at the riverside. In addition, the Karachay women worked around the mines as prostitutes, they offered themselves for 5 rubles (in comparison a train ticket on first-class from Novorussijsk to Moscow cost 25 rubles). To summarize, we can observe here an entangled socio-economic system that included child labor, prostitution and a strong gendered/ethnic division of labor, which could have been common in other parts of the Caucasus too.¹³⁰

In the end, their search for a Karachay-Magyar ethnic/historical relationship failed. Albeit Zichy had high hopes for the Karachay because he believed they were also the descendents of Turkic tribes as the Magyars were. After questioned by the team it turned out that no Karachay in the villages remembered that his ancestors were once part of the Magyar tribe. Although Zichy found names that were similar in sound to some Magyar names like one elder Karachay, named Mátyás, according to Zichy, but according to Kardoss his name was Macho and he was a Kabard. The members of the expedition often disagreed with Zichy over how he interpreted ethnographic findings like Hungarian sounding family names. Mostly, because Zichy always wanted to find Hungarian objects or words where ever they went. One ethnographic observation of Kardoss's was that he noted how the Karachay families put a horse skull on a pole

¹³⁰ Kardoss, 72-74.

in front of their homes to keep evil spirits away. This tradition according Kardoss was also common in Hungary mostly in Somogy County. But for Zichy the name Mátyás and the skull on the pole signaled the connection between the Magyars and the Karachay. Once again Zichy's methodological approach shows grave shortcomings because he relied on his romantic imagination instead on science.¹³¹

It is known from medieval chronicles that when the Magyars took the Carpathian Basin a tribe of Kabars came with them from the shores of the Black Sea as military allies.¹³² Thus Zichy pushed his group to go to Kabard villages. Kardoss was convinced that the Kabard language sounded like Orthodox Jewish--he possibly meant Yiddish, which is closer to old German than to Turkic--but the structure of the language--for Zichy—was similar to Hungarian. At Kassai-Habal they found headstones made out of wood that reminded them of the Székely *fejfa* [grave totem].¹³³ But once again they failed to establish any significant historical connection. Truthfully, it was unreasonable of Zichy to think that after a thousand years they could find any elders in the regions who could remember stories about his tribe's Magyar past. Since the main Hungarian tribes have moved away from this region sometime in the 7th or 8th centuries. Those Hungarians who stayed behind must have assimilated and lost their language a long time ago.

¹³¹ Ibid, 75.

¹³² Tóth, László, *A kavarok (kabarok) katonai és politikai szerepe* [The military and political role of the Kabars] (Hadtörténeti Közlemények, 126/3).

¹³³ Kardoss, 83.

6. In the Southern Caucasus

The passage over the Caucasian Mountains was no easy task for the expedition. Icy roads, avalanches and snowstorms slowed down the caravan. In his imagined geography Kardoss refers to the other side of the mountain as Asia, he even gave the title “Asia” for his entry of the passing in his diary.¹³⁴ On the train to Tiflis the landscape changed drastically. Kardoss writes of neat villages and trees. Everywhere he looks he sees beautiful gardens and well-tilled lands. Tiflis is described as clean and European in feel—yet he was traveling in Asia according to his diary. Two notes are important to mention from Tiflis. First, on June 2nd, they witnessed the anniversary of the conquest of the Caucasus for which the governor organized a large military parade in the city and a soup kitchen for the poor--possibly to show the good intentions of the Russian Army. The Russian Army paraded the streets first then a Georgian division came performing traditional Georgian songs on pipes. The Georgians watched the parade with little enthusiasm. They were so much so unenthusiastic that Russian soldiers had to push them to cheer for the troops. This is an obvious sign of resentment towards the occupation from the locals. The other event worth mentioning was that the expedition decided to go to the bathhouse in Tiflis. In the baths, they had a large machine that created a soap bubble so big that it covered the person from head to toe. Kardoss was fond of this machine and described the feeling of being “bubbled” as most pleasant.¹³⁵

From Tiflis, they took a train to Baku a city important for its oil production. While the scenery was nicer in Armenia than in the Northern Caucasus, the trains were in worse condition

¹³⁴ Ibid, 119.

¹³⁵ Ibid, 127-8.

and heavily loaded with passengers. The railroad was the artery of the Caucasus. That is why it frequently came under attack by vandals. To prevent the local bandits from damaging the railways the Russians erected watchtowers at the rail stations in addition, military patrolled the train.¹³⁶ It seems from the report that the Russian army went through a great deal of trouble to safeguard the trains and the railway.

7. In Central Asia

From Baku they sailed to Krasznovodszk, then via train up to Samarkand stopping at Bokhara. In Central Asia the expedition investigated its last objective; if it was possible for the Magyar tribes to cross the deserts of Central Asia and move towards Europe. If this was the case then the Hungarians originated from the borders of Persia in Turán—thought Zichy. If they found that the desert could not be crossed by hundreds of thousands of men and woman, then they would have to search for the birthplace of the Hungarians further up to the North, on the great highway of the steppe that was used by countless Asiatic tribes to reach the fertile lands of Europe over the centuries. In an article to the *Budapesti Hírlap* written in Bokhara, Kardoss explains, that according to their findings it was impossible for the tribes to cross the desert from Persia because there was little availability of water or grazing pasture for animals. Kardoss concluded that the Hungarians possibly came from further North. But he was still in doubt about this because they have found rivers and mountains named after possibly the Magyars. Local Muslims called them *Mazar*, [sic] which ironically is also an Arabic word for graveyard or for the designation of the burial place of a saint—wrote Kardoss.¹³⁷ Of course this above-mentioned

¹³⁶ Ibid, 134.

¹³⁷ Ibid, 145.

theory was probably the influence of Zichy's. Kardoss, being a historian, never truly could have believed that the familiar sounding word of *Mazar* actually relates to the Magyars. But since Kardoss was paid by Zichy to write these reports, he had to write down what the count wanted. I assume it was this kind of historical disagreements that prevented any future work between the team and Zichy. Thus in a way the expedition was unable to conclude anything specific about the Magyar migration in Central Asia.¹³⁸

Central Asia's description different from all the other places they went to, except for Moscow. In a way, his very negative description of Moscow is similar to his mental rejection of Central Asia. Kardoss found the region unimpressive with endless sand dunes as far as the eye can see. The extreme heat made them uncomfortable. His description of Central Asia sheds light to the different social space and the different approach of the Empire toward governing the region compared with the Caucasus. One notable difference is that on the train they were only traveling with Russians. The ethnic minorities were pushed to the edge of society and were often disrespected by the Russians; Kardoss, in fact, comments on this phenomenon multiple times. For example, he describes a scene at the train station of Kodzh where while a Muslim man preformed his daily prayer, a Russian soldier stopped by and urinated right next to him.¹³⁹ A Russian general on the train explains the situation in Central Asia briefly and it is possible that many, especially in the army, shared his view. According to the general, it was a great mistake to come to Central Asia and "*waste so much blood*" on conquering the region. Moreover he added that the Russians had no interest in the region besides that they aimed to use it as a buffer zone

¹³⁸ Ibid, 253-4.

¹³⁹ Ibid, 155.

between them and the English and as a road towards the conquest of India. Thus in the general's opinion Central Asia had no real use for the Russians besides being a military outpost.¹⁴⁰

The expedition returned from Central Asia and traveled through Dagestan towards Moscow. In Dagestan they visited the village of the Avar Imam Shamil who led an unsuccessful and bloody resistance against the Russians between 1830 and 1859. Gunib (Gimry in Russian) was the locality where Shamil was most active. Kardoss found the entire region still heavily garrisoned by Cossack troops after more than thirty years of the capture of Shamil.¹⁴¹ When the expedition got there, possibly to show the might of the army, the Russians were training their troops out in the open close to the place where Shamil surrendered in 1859 August 29th. Apparently the sword of Shamil, which he gave over to the Russian general Alexander Baryatinsky when he surrendered, was in the possession of Zichy's father who received it as a gift from Baryatinsky himself.¹⁴² The town of Shamil where he spent his last days resisting the Russians was in ruins; nobody was allowed to settle there. An Avar soldier and his family occupied Shamil's house. The man was in the service of the Empire but did not speak a word of Russian. The heavy military presence in Gunib demonstrates that the Russian Empire was still afraid of a possible insurrection in the region. Moreover, that the physical occupation of this place was symbolic inasmuch as it sent a message of a permanent Russian presence for the Avars in the region. In addition, Kardoss mentions the influx of Russian settlers into the region and the forcible dislocation of the natives once again probably for military/security reasons.

From the diary, the reader also gets an insight into what Zichy thought about the Russian Empire. His view could be characterized as a common negative Western European aristocratic

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 135.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 167.

¹⁴² Ibid, 170.

opinion about Russia. The count usually gave his opinions during fancy dinners at some Russian noble's palace while being under the influence vodka and wine. I believe that Kardoss recorded these because he was so embarrassed of the count. For example at a dinner party with Grand Duke Nicholai Mihalkovich,¹⁴³ whose father was the viceroy of the Caucasus; Zichy expressed his critique of the Empire. He complained that the Russians had no Parliament and although it was a gigantic country, its foundation rested on wooden legs. Furthermore, that the ethnic groups of the Empire were just as utterly different from the Russians than from each other, thus it was impossible and unrealistic for the Russians to try to rule everything with force. To which the duke replied that it always depends on the Emperor how the country is run. The duke added that only one tenth of the population of the Empire wishes to have a constitution, the rest was fine with the constitutional arrangements they already had. After Zichy's criticism Mihalkovich got angry with the group and never talked to them again, even when they met at a coffee shop the next day he behaved coldly. Zichy's and the duke's dialogue clearly demonstrates the aristocratic attitude in the two countries, one is criticizing the backwardness, the other aims to keep the social status quo and display blind obedience to the Emperor.¹⁴⁴

8. Return trip

The expedition returned through Moscow and St. Petersburg to Hungary. Moscow received long pages of negative description by Kardoss. The town was dull, except for the Red Square and the Cathedral. He observed multiple street fights and widespread drunkenness. According to his diary Moscow had a large prostitute workforce that entertained the middle and

¹⁴³ I assume this is the grand duke that Zichy went on hunting trips during his second expedition in 1896.

¹⁴⁴ Kardoss, 200-1.

upper class men who spent a fortune on keeping these women around. St. Petersburg's description was more positive. The city had a "civilized" European feel to it completely the opposite from Moscow's. Sadly, after Petersburg the diary is unreadable and their journey for the reader ends there.¹⁴⁵

In conclusion, this chapter aimed at showing the aspects of the Zichy expedition that was directly related to the Romanov Empire and its periphery. As this chapter demonstrated the scientific goals of the expedition were never fully realized. In fact, there was no conclusive study written by the members about the expedition because Zichy wanted them to write things they did not feel comfortable writing as scholars. For example, it is clear from Kardoss's articles and the diary that what he wrote in the reports to the newspapers were not entirely what he believed to be the truth about the Magyar migration in Central Asia, rather it was what Zichy wanted him to report. Besides the intellectual conflicts between the participants of the expedition and the critical attitude of the MTA towards them, the diary provides a great source for the description of the Empire and the ethnic-Empire relations in the periphery. Although the Russians made an attempt to hide the ethnic problems from the expedition it can be concluded that all the major historical problems such as war damages, education, mass migration, vandalism, military occupation and religious differences were visible for Kardoss, and the expedition members were quite conscious of them.

Furthermore, the diary gives a clear picture about the geographical-social differences in the Northern Caucasus versus the South and Central Asia. While on the one hand the different Imperial political approaches to these regions show the willingness of the Empire to adapt to the varying regional differences. On the other hand, it can be seen how the Russians were viewed as

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 226-38.

invaders and how the Russians often disrespected the local tribes and cultures. In other words, there was nothing liberating or glorious about the Russian conquest of these regions. It is questionable to see just from this diary what benefit, besides the railroad, the Russian occupation brought to the region. That being said, the complexity of tribal relations, the deep-seated historical animosity of the ethnic groups and the natural desire for independence amongst the peoples of the Caucasus presented a severe problem for the Russians who tried to unify the region. In fact the same ethnic problems remained to be the issue throughout the Soviet period to this day.

Concerning the history of the Hungarian tribes, the expedition revealed little. Even with the relatively large number of archeological items bought by Zichy, he still felt the need to return the next year and collect more materials, which shows that even he was not satisfied with the outcome of the expedition. In a way, the hasty preparations for the expedition resulted in a lost opportunity to methodologically study Caucasian ethnography. That being said, Zichy's efforts were not completely fruitless in as much as they reignited a scholarly interest in the Caucasus in Hungary. Furthermore, parts of the collection he brought back were exhibited at the Millennia Exhibition then donated for the Hungarian Ethnographic Museum. But one important outcome of the trip was that Wosinsky got in touch with the Russian archeologist Alexander Spitsin who began his work on researching the archeological connection between 9th century steppe materials from the Carpathian to Russia.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ Langó, 208.

Chapter IV. The third expedition: Béla Pósta and the beginnings of Hungarian comparative archeology

As in the previous chapters I have pointed out, the story of Zichy's second expedition is little known. Therefore, chapters IV-VI will deal with Zichy's third expedition from 1897-99. These chapters will give an account of the expedition based on diaries and scientific publications organized under the topics of archeology, ethnography and linguistics. This chapter will specifically deal with archeology. First, I will further expand on national romanticism. Then a description of Pósta's short diary will follow. But due to the fact that the surviving parts of the diary only deal with events from Finland to Astrakhan; and have no references to Pósta's research in Siberia, this chapter's analysis of the diary will have little to say on archeology. Nonetheless, the diary is a good source of the team's troublesome relationship with Zichy. After the analysis of the diary the chapter will turn to Pósta's scientific publication, which will shed light on his methodological approach to comparative archeology. Regarding the scientific publication I will focus on his theory of Iron Age cultural influences in Eastern Europe. And on the conclusions he drew from his study with the Zichy expedition relating to Hungarian migration across Asia.

1. Archeology and national romanticism

In Europe, the late 18th and the early 19th century saw the emergence of national romanticism.¹⁴⁷ National romanticism influenced not just the arts like paintings or architecture but also historiography. The European nobility and the growing urban *inteligencia* began to search for a means to understand the socio-economic problems of modernity with the help of romanticism. This historiographical search resulted in the view that the ancient past was more glorious and stable than the present, due to the heroes of the past, whose individual sacrifice and bravery led to the foundation of modern nation states. Subsequently, such heroic tales as *Beowulf* (1820), the *Kalevala* (1835) or in Hungary, Mihály Vörösmarty's *Zalán futása* [sic] (1825) became immensely popular with the public. Moreover, due to the influence of nationalist minded archeologists, national romanticism found its way into archeology.¹⁴⁸

But following national romanticism led to a serious methodological fallacy in European archeology. National romanticism led to the belief that ethnicities buried themselves separately from other ethnicities according to their national affiliation. One of the first presenters of national romanticism in Eastern European archeology was the Czech Slavophil, Josef Dobrovsky who identified medieval ethnic Slavic graves in 1786.¹⁴⁹ This approach was problematic because it ignored the fact that the common people were buried in mass graves and only the elite were buried alone. Another issue that confronted the archeologists was the territorial space in which graves were found. In the nationalist imagination, the graves had to be located within the regions

¹⁴⁷ Craig, Edward, ed.; *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy vol. 8* (London: Routledge, 1998), 348-351.

¹⁴⁸ In July 1834, in the vicinity of Ladánybene, three shepherds found graves of ancient Hungarians. Miklós Jankóvich cataloged their finding, thus he began the research into the conquest period of Hungary. (See in Langó, 193.).

¹⁴⁹ Langó, 195.

of what the nationalist imagined to be the borders of their nation's territory in order to justify their claims to those lands.¹⁵⁰

At first Hungarian archeologists compared and cataloged finds of ancient Magyar graves within the Carpathian Basin. It was the archeologist Flóris Rómer (1815-1889) who first suggested in 1870 that his colleagues should look outside this region and study the finds of the Russian archeologists as well, since the Magyars known to have lived in the territories that the Romanovs ruled.¹⁵¹ Béla Pósta in this sense followed Rómer's advice and became a pioneer in comparative archeology. Pósta's classification of Eastern grave finds became the standard system for decades in archeology.¹⁵² One point has to be made however, regarding the time frame for the migration period. In the Carpathian Basin the pagan burial customs of the Magyars spent until the 12th century. By the second half of the 1100s, Magyars began to bury their dead around Christian churches. Therefore in Hungary, the time frame for Magyar pagan burials was around 300 years while in Russia this period was significantly longer. This means that detecting cultural changes with the pagan burials in Russia requires a more complex approach.¹⁵³

Pósta followed the positivist methods, which meant that he wanted to create a scientific method with which he could catalogue and work with his finds. One of his advantages was that he knew Russian, unlike many of his Hungarian colleagues. Thus he was able read contemporary Russian works on archeology. Knowing Russian was an important skill for someone who wanted

¹⁵⁰ For example modern Jewish archeologist go through a great deal to unearth Jewish material objects in Israel to disprove Palestinian claims to the Holy Lands. In an article by Ella Shohat titled *Taboo memories and diasporic visions* she writes: The role of archeology in Israeli culture, it should be pointed out, has been crucial in disinterring remnants of the biblical past of Palestine, at times enlisted in the political effort to demonstrate a historical right to the "land of Israel." Quoted from Burke, 372. I found History Channel's TV show *Naked Archeologist* a good example of this process.

¹⁵¹ Langó, 200.

¹⁵² Ibid, 208-209.

¹⁵³ Ibid, 188.

to work on comparative archeology between Hungary and Russia. To better understand what Pósta's aim was I would like to quote the Hungarian archeologist Péter Langó:

*Pósta tried to find the models of the pre-conquest Hungarian materials with retrospective arguments—and steppe analogues from other periods. However, already the starting point was incorrect: in his opinion, the Hungarians came from the steppe, so their whole material culture should be traceable back to the cultures of the steppe; at the same time, certain remains—regardless of the place and time of their manufacture—can be compared to early Hungarian finds, since the earliest known homeland of the Hungarians was in the steppe, and their material culture emerged there as well. Thus the material discovered confirms the presence of the Hungarians in the steppe, since comparable antiquities (or decorative motifs) were found in both areas.*¹⁵⁴

This passage sums up in a basic argument Pósta's methodological approach that is visible throughout his published scientific work. The problem here is precisely that Pósta, regarding the Hungarian material finds; often disregarded the notion that finds in Western Russia could have developed independently or could have been borrowed. In other words, finding an identical flower motif in a grave in Hungary that clearly belongs to the Conquest Period (9th-10th centuries) and in a grave in Kazan, for example, does not mean that both graves held Hungarians. Furthermore, if a typical sword design is present in graves from, let's say, the Ural Mountains to the Danube, it does not mean that it had to originate from the Ural Mountains. It only means that that is the most eastern area where that design can be found. Above I wanted to follow up on romanticism and Pósta's approach so that in the subsequent subchapters it is clearer what Pósta was doing in Russia. Below I will turn to the description of the diary that will, first and foremost, shed light on the personal issues between the team and Zichy.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 209.

2. The diary of Béla Pósta

Pósta's archeology student János Banner published the remnants of the diary in 1962 on the hundredth year anniversary of his teacher's birth. The diary contains short entries and little narrative. The publication has no maps, pictures or additional information save the short introduction by the editor. The diary entries began in St. Petersburg and suddenly ended in Czarczin. We know that this was not the only diary that Pósta was working on; in fact it seems that this was his secondary diary. We have multiple references in this diary that he was in the process of writing a main diary parallel to this one; sadly that one is completely lost to us. Moreover, Pósta had a number of pan pals, his wife, the archeologist József Hampel, Minister Gyula Wlassics and Zichy. During the Soviet conquest of Hungary in 1944-45 these letters and parts of the diary were destroyed. Today only three letters survived that he wrote to Hample, all others including the seventy-seven letters he wrote to his wife are lost. In spite of this great loss, the remaining materials give the account of seventy days on a hundred and forty-five pages.¹⁵⁵ Pósta's involvement with the expedition lasted from September 1st 1897 to August 31st 1898. He originally planned to do preliminary studies in Russia for a year before the expedition departed from Tiflis; but in the end he only stayed seven months.

The diary starts in St. Petersburg with an intellectual parley between the linguist Emil Setälä, Arvid Neovius, Urje Hirn and Pósta. The three Finnish scholars were expressing their strong criticism of Zichy and the expedition. Setälä was particularly opposed the work of Bernát Munkácsi who, according to him had no training in linguistics and only focused on the similar

¹⁵⁵ Banner, János; *Pósta Béla születésének százados ünnepe, 1862-1962* [The hundred year anniversary of the birth of Béla Pósta (Budapest: Múzeumok Rotájuzeme, 1962), 43-44.

sounds in language. Furthermore, Setälä showed a letter to Pósta from professor Kunik¹⁵⁶ in which he criticized Zichy for his lack of understanding ethnography and history. Kunik proposed that the count “*should get a beating*” for disagreeing with Hunfalvy’s Finno-Ugric theory—which he did disagree with on the first expedition. In addition Kunik wrote that archeology said nothing of the Magyars yet. It is possible that Kunik referred to Russian archeology, which in this context makes sense since no Russian archeologist had searched for Hungarian grave materials in Russia since they were familiar with Magyar finds in Hungary.¹⁵⁷

According to the same entry in the diary the above-mentioned group was also debating Gothic tribal history. The Goths were important for Pósta’s theory because, as it is articulated at multiple points in his scientific publication, he believed that first; the Finn-Ugors came into contact with the Germanic tribes in the region of European Russia. Therefore, he attributed sword designs in the graves of the Avar-Magyar area to German influence. The Turkic influence, he thought, came later when the Huns pushed the Turks out of their homeland thus mixing them with Magyars. We can see this as the testament of his belief that the Magyars somehow lived in a cultural bubble for millennia until they were encircled by Germans-Slavs-Turks and the contact with these peoples is what shaped what a Hungarian is today.¹⁵⁸

While from this scholarly debate we can see the hostility against the Zichy expedition from academic circles in Russia, there were some supporters too. On the event when Pósta and Jankó went to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Finnish National Theater, professor Donner O. admitted to Pósta that in fact there has been a great enthusiasm about the Zichy expedition in Russia. He explained that although the Finnish and Russian scholars would never admit it in

¹⁵⁶ A.A. Kunik (1814-1899) librarian of the Russian Academy of Sciences. He was also a pen-pal of Reguly.

¹⁵⁷ Banner, 45-6.

¹⁵⁸ Pósta Béla, *Régészeti tanulmányok az Oroszföldön III. kötet*, [Archeological studies in Russia vol. III] (Budapest, 1905).

front of Zichy's team they were in fact excited about the expedition which, according to Donner, has "poured fresh water" into the "still" Siberian research.¹⁵⁹

The next noteworthy event dates from October 18th when accompanied by Henrik Heikel (1808-1867), Pósta and Jankó set out for Finland from Petersburg to visit the Stone Age Paivaniemi gravesite. Jankó's was to photograph the excursion, while Pósta was supposed to examine the graves--although Heikel vehemently opposed the idea that Jankó should publish his sketches and photos.¹⁶⁰ Heikel was known for his work on the Stone Age settlements of Tavastland. Pósta suggests to him that he should use a comparative methodology of Stone Age finds between East and West. This is of course the methodology that Pósta was using regarding the Hungarian Iron and Bronze Age cultures.¹⁶¹ But it nonetheless shows that the comparative approach regarding the Stone Age was not widespread in Finland. The reason for this was that the Finnish scholars believed that Finns left their ancestral homeland after the Stone Age therefore their efforts were only directed towards comparative finds from the Metal Ages.¹⁶²

After returning to Russia, Pósta retired to museums and libraries where he studied Russian language as well as read publications on the kurgans of Southern Russia. He also had time to do a short comparative study of cooper tools from East and West of the Urals. Moreover, based on his research in St. Petersburg he concluded that the Persian-Sassanid art (*indás* in Hungarian) on the Nagyszenmiklós treasure, which was found in 1799, came from the Armenians.¹⁶³ After he finished his work in the Baltic region he set out for the Black Sea. On route in the city of Rumjankov, Pósta met the Russian archeologist G. D. Filimonov who handed

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, 47-49.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 58-9. The Finnish scholars opposed the idea that a Hungarian—a foreigner—should publish their findings possibly out of their nationalist pride.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 54-58.

¹⁶² Nordqvist, 29.

¹⁶³ Ibid, 59-60.

him archeological and numismatic publications in exchange for the publications of the Hungarian National Museum. He searched for books to buy on archeology in the bookshops but he only found the works he already read in Petersburg.¹⁶⁴

On March 18th Pósta arrived in Odessa. On the train station Jankó and Csiki waited for him and together they stopped at the house of Mór Décsy; Zichy and Bánhidly were already there. During their meeting Zichy proudly proclaimed that he bought a new Scythian kurgan collection for 400 rubles—but Pósta writes it only cost him 120 rubles. Zichy never told the real price he paid for anything during the expeditions he always exaggerated the price to show to his team what a great financial sacrifice he was making for them. This collection mostly included pressed golden plates. Zichy also got in town a few bronze objects from a trader named Ilija Miranovich Nagyel. In addition he bought another collection of Scythian gold from a trader named Maurocordat, who asked Zichy for 400 rubles only, because he believed that many of the objects were fake, but the count bought it anyway. This just shows that Zichy preferred to buy from collectors instead of financing long-term archeological digs.¹⁶⁵

At Décsy's dinnertable they discussed the state of archeological trade in Russia; Pósta learned from the Russian guests that in the Romanov Empire archeological finds had to be presented to the Commissariat, then it had to be bought back from the office and sold on the market for profit. To avoid bureaucracy, diggers usually took their finds abroad without ever reporting it. Therefore, according to Pósta, the best archeological finds were not in Russia but in private collections across Western Europe. Moreover, he found out about another problem namely that the Cossacks often robbed kurgans in the Volga delta during spring when the rivers

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 72.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, 73-75.

washed out the graves. Bureaucracy and thievery plagued archeology in Russia both factors Pósta had to include into his calculations if he wanted carry out his research. But the seemingly calm dinner party soon took an unexpected turn when Décsy turned the table on Zichy.¹⁶⁶

3. Mór Décsy the stanch critique of Zichy

I want to give a detailed account of Décsy's criticism of Zichy because they are important in understanding what some of the arguments were against Zichy's expedition in Russia. Furthermore, because a significant part of the diary deals with the various intellectual conflicts between the team members, Zichy and outsiders like Décsy. After the dinner was over Zichy retired and Décsy pulled the Hungarian scholars into his study for a secret discussion. As Pósta writes, during this secret meeting, Décsy showed them a letter from a German professor who impulsively criticized the expedition and Zichy. Décsy specifically told the team that he already has written a letter to minister Wlassics asking him not to finance the expedition any further. The failure of this enterprise, which he saw inevitable, will shed a negative light on Hungarian science at large in Europe, he said. Décsy encouraged the group to "*save their skins*" and leave Zichy while they still could in order to protect their scientific reputation.¹⁶⁷

In my opinion, Décsy based his opinions on his experience with Zichy during his first expedition when the team arrived unprepared not even knowing the terrain on which they were to travel on. His negativity was an insult not just to Zichy, but to the members of the expedition as well, who spent a considerable amount of time preparing for this journey. Not to mention that the team did accomplish groundbreaking scholarly work on their respective fields in the end. Of

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 75-78.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 73-75.

course one could argue that Décsy draw the right conclusions from the first expedition, but even he must have known that Zichy came much more prepared this time. Nonetheless, I exemplified this event in order to show, in connection with the events in the Baltic with Setälä, what a negative international atmosphere they had to conduct their work in.

Furthermore, I believe that Décsy was in some way obsessed with Zichy. According to the diary on multiple occasions he expressed his negative views on Zichy after their first meeting. Every time the team met him for dinner he could only talk about the count. Décsy mentioned at one point that Franz Joseph offered the title of prime minister to Zichy twice, but he refused--out of his vanity.¹⁶⁸ The only good thing he had to say about Zichy was his planned route across Asia, which he agreed with. Yet, the constant Zichy topics at dinner by the end annoyed even Pósta, which is evident from the diary. The reason I dwelt on this issue because I think Décsy's pessimistic attitude had some role in deepening the wedge between the team and Zichy and his negativity prepared the groundwork for the upcoming personal conflicts, which manifested in Tiflis.¹⁶⁹

4. Into the Caucasus

The boat trip across the Black Sea had some highlights. For starters the boat they embarked on arrived with a dead man on board; this made the superstitious Jankó nervous because he interpreted this as a bad omen for the expedition.¹⁷⁰ They visited the museums and churches of Sebastopol and Jalta. During this excursion on the Crimea Pósta observed that many of Zichy's Caucasian collection, which he cataloged, were mass produced items and the count

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 84.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, 84.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid,85.

could have brought them right there. At the museum of Kerch, Pósta made twenty-three drawings of the exhibited items.¹⁷¹

In Tiflis on March 30th the team ran into the Finnish archeologist-ethnographer A. O. Heikel (1851-1924) who was leading an expedition into Central Asia and Mongolia. The expedition consisted of Baron Munk and Donner who was the son of the president of the archeological committee of Helsingfors. Their objective was to study ancient Turkic writings in Turkestan along the river Karakon. These writings were usually written on stone poles, which can be found all the way to Mongolia. I assume that Heikel was a Turanist who believed that the Finns, Magyars and Turks all coexisted together in Central Asia in the past. When Zichy heard that they are going to Karakon he misunderstood it for Karakorum and gave the Finns a long speech about Mongolia, but the Finns could not understand him because of their poor German. Pósta criticized Zichy's attitude towards the Finns; because previously Zichy called them *fish fat eaters* behind their backs but now *he welcomed them as brothers*.¹⁷² Meaning, that brothers form the same nation, it is probable that by this time the count began to accept the Finno-Ugric theory albeit slowly and that is why he related positively towards the Finns.

Since Zichy has already visited Georgia on multiple occasions he truly felt at home and was not in a rush to move on. He made contact with his "ancestors" the Cicianovs or Zichys of whom he met during the first expedition. The long lost family member was in fact a drunkard and a penniless noble man who possibly put himself into everlasting debt to entertain Zichy. Pósta disagreed with the count's ideas about the Hungarian-Georgian brotherhood, which Zichy often proclaimed to his host. Pósta, after a terribly dull hunting excursion, told his intoxicated

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 85-95.

¹⁷² Ibid, 102-110.

hosts not to believe anything Zichy tells them about their common Magyar-Georgian ancestry because was *all rubbish*.¹⁷³ For days Pósta and Jankó had to follow the “Zichy family” around Georgia. First they visited the ruined village of Uplis-zicse, which already have been visited by the French traveler Dubois de Montpereux who wrote that Huns used to live in the settlement.¹⁷⁴ He based this on his observation that there was no Christian church on the site; of course this was enough for the count to convince him that Uplis-zics was a Hun-Magyar settlement in the past. Zichy also noted the “zics” in Uplis-zics, which sounded like Zichy therefore there had to be some Magyar connection in the region for him. In the vicinity they stopped by the home of an Armenian family and Pápay asked them the names of the objects in their home. These were in fact the way in which Zichy had conducted linguistic research during the first expedition. Zichy’s idea of archeological research was visiting ruins, the linguistic research had to be conducted in a rush on an “ask then tell” bases. No wonder that at this point Pósta had had enough of the expedition. He writes with great despair that the expedition as of that point was a failure and they were only wasting time with Zichy. Pósta summed up his sorrow by rightfully noting that he was not a Georgian archeologist and Pápay was not a Caucasian linguist. Therefore, they had no business in the region.¹⁷⁵

5. Conflict with Zichy

In fact the growing frustration between the scholars and Zichy has been brewing for some time. Already back in March 21st the team made plans to lock horns with the count. Pósta, Jankó and Pápay planned to invite Zichy for a talk during which they would let him speak his mind

¹⁷³ Ibid, 118-121.

¹⁷⁴ Dubois de Montpereux, *Voyage Autour Du Caucase V5* (1843).

¹⁷⁵ Banner, 111-118.

about going to China, then they would present their plan, which would be different from his, namely to go to the Hanti without him. Then they would ask him for 10.000 rubles per head and if he refuses threaten him to pack their bags and return to Hungary.¹⁷⁶

Subsequently, on April 1st they executed the first phase of their plan in Tiflis when they each gave a report to Zichy about their scientific work thus far. Pósta emphasized that Zichy should forget about going to Mongolia and Karakorum also he should not waste time on Bashkiria; these places required long years of organized excavations. They should instead focus on ancient Turkic stone inscriptions—the ones that Heinke was after—and on kurgans. And if they had the time they should visit more museums. The reason why Pósta pushed for museums is that they took pictures of the exhibited material with Jankó and in Hungary the Russian collections were largely unknown. We know from the diary that often times the pictures did not develop correctly; in other instances Jankó would forget to bring the photo camera. Taking photos was an advanced level of research of the time, when few scholars could afford such a device. Nonetheless, Pósta clearly articulated his scholarly view when he said that the Magyars always lived under either Finn or Turkic influence. Therefore, the team should study areas where this contact zone existed and not Mongolia or China as Zichy wished.¹⁷⁷

The next lecturer was Jankó who explained to Zichy that he must focus on fishing practices since that has been the most thoroughly studied archaic profession in comparative ethnography. He was referring to Ottó Herman's book on Hungarian fishing, which he carried with him as reference book. Jankó included in his proposal to study the bigger rivers and their inhabitants in the region—he possibly meant the Volga, Ob and Ural Rivers. One of the

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 82-83.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, 102-111.

problems Jankó faced was that Russians were planning to pass a law, which would ban indigenous fishing practices in those regions.¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, he called Zichy's attention to Hanti shamanic practices, which had to be further observed. At the end Pápay reasoned that the study of the Hanti people and their language had to be top priority since they were the closest relatives of the Magyars. They mutually agreed that if Zichy wanted to go to China he should do it without them and let them roam Siberia on their own. When Zichy angrily stormed out of the room the first phase of their plan was complete.¹⁷⁹

But the troubles were far from over. The next phase of their plan was to get money from the count. By April Pósta ran out of money. This was in some way due to the fact that he and Jankó had to support Pápay whose valet was already empty in Odessa. Thus Pósta had no choice but to beg Zichy for money. The money ordeal with Zichy that lasted for an entire day is greatly detailed in the diary, but does not have to be presented here. In the end Pósta got 1000 rubles, the rest of the team 300 rubles per month;¹⁸⁰ Zichy also agreed to allow them to conduct their research on their own, whilst he would continue with Csíki and Bánhidly to China. Since before they embarked on their journey with great fanfare Zichy promised to the Parliament that he would bring back the stolen documents of the Árpáds from China; Pósta rightly mentions that the count had no way out of his Chinese adventure.¹⁸¹ In other words Zichy's reputation had to be preserved and of course he was not the man to sit around in mosquito-infested swamps in a teepee whilst Jankó deciphers Hanti bear songs.

The constant financial troubles and Zichy's vanity was only one side of the coin. An even greater problem for the team was that the count only agreed to buy ethnographic or archeological

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, 140-141.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, 102-111.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, 126-131.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, 121-124. Mongolia was under Chinese until 1911.

collections that he thought valuable. Oftentimes Jankó wanted to buy fishing hooks and nets from the locals, to use it for comparison to similar items back home, but he could never get Zichy to buy it for him. During the dinner party back in Odessa when Zichy showed the team his Scythian collections it is evident from the diary that the count did not even care to consult with Pósta on what he was buying. As I have showed before, to acquire money from Zichy for travel was a serious and time-consuming ordeal. For example when Pósta wished to visit Saratov where there were over 600 kurgans, Zichy refused to give him money for the travel. Thus, Zichy's niggardly behavior had drawbacks for the expedition.¹⁸²

The last pages of the diary are concerned with the events after they left Tiflis. The team took the train to Baku where they visited Zoroastrian temples; the same drill as during the first expedition. From the oil rich port the team sailed for Astrakhan where they argued some more with Zichy about finances, meanwhile Jankó collected some fishing tools from local fishermen. Soon after this entry Pósta's narrative cuts off. The last few notes are testaments to his growing frustration with Zichy and the whole expedition. While the narration ends here we know that Pósta continued to travel with Zichy all the way to Minusinsk. On the way he was able to visit and study the museums of the municipal towns. His most significant finds were in the museum of Minusinsk where he was able to identify the Siberian influence on Hungarian material culture. After his work in the museum he decided that he has found enough material to work on and returned home to Hungary. Therefore, now I will turn to the description of his scientific publication.

¹⁸² Ibid, 141-144.

6. Pósta's archeological report

Pósta's main achievements with the Zichy expedition were that he indentified the cultures in Siberia that directly influenced the ancient Hungarian saber, saber sheath and stirrup; located the most Eastern mark of Avar cultural expansion and he was able to distinguish, to some degree, Hunnish material objects in Eastern Europe from the surrounding Sarmatian, Scythian and other nomadic cultures.¹⁸³

Pósta outlined the motivation for his work in his publication *Archeological studies in Russia*. In the introduction he argued for the need to conduct comparative archeology. He stated that comparative archeology had an easy task in Europe since European Iron Age material cultures can be originated from the La Tene culture. On the other hand, the Hungarian Iron Age culture came from the East. Thus it is in the East where Hungarian archeologist had to find evidence to which they could compare Iron Age finds to. In addition, he emphasized the problem with the Hungarian finds from the migratory period (600 AD-900 AD). Namely, that they were only the representations of a metamorphosed culture. The metamorphosis was caused by Western influences, which affected the Magyars already on the steppe before they reached the Carpathians. In order to understand and see this transformation Pósta had to go and follow the path of the migrating Magyars on land and study the archeological sites of Russia. He thought that by doing so he could go back to the ancient homeland where he can find the purest form of Hungarian Iron Age material culture. As we can see this idea of finding a pure material culture was imbedded in national romanticism. Yet to achieve his goal he had to study the Russian

¹⁸³ <http://www.postabela.ro/> This is the website of the Pósta Society.

literature on this topic, which was virtually unavailable in Hungary, and the German scientific publications were only partially up to date on Russian archeology.¹⁸⁴

Since due to the shortness of the expedition Pósta's main goal was to study Russian literature and museums moreover, to lay the foundations for future Hungarian-Russian archeological research. Whilst during the first expedition they were not allowed to dig, this time Pósta was able to work on the kurgans of Sarepita and Tomsk.¹⁸⁵ On the trip he used as reference József Hampel's *A honfoglalás kor hazai emlékei* [Memories of the conquest period at home], (Budapest, 1900).¹⁸⁶ This book was published for the millennium and it contained all of the archeological data on the conquest period from Hungary. Much of Pósta's scientific work is a constant reference and argument with Hampel's publication. Pósta's study comes in two parts. The first is the description of various Russian finds like the Bjelmeri, Krasinsky, Istecky, Zagebiny, Vorobejovi and Sanyibai. These finds according to him were directly related to Magyar material culture. In addition, he reports on his own digs in Sarepita. These finds generally came from West of the Ural Mountains around the Don and the Volga Rivers. That is the space where Julianus and Greek historians like Jordanes have put the homeland of the Magyars. The second part of his study deals with the Avar and Sarmatian-Hun-Iazyges cultures.

One pillar of Pósta's theory was to differentiate between two distinct cultural spheres of influence on Eastern Europe. The first is what he calls the Finno-Germanic, which influenced the Northern parts of Eastern Europe; at this region Finno-Ugric tribes came into contact with German, mostly Goth tribes. Due to the limited cultural contact zones, the North retained some form of originality for a longer period than the South. The other culture is the Turan-Germanic,

¹⁸⁴ Pósta Béla, *Régészeti tanulmányok az Oroszféldön III. kötet*, [Archeological studies in Russia vol. III] (Budapest, 1905), 1-4.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 6-8.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 9.

which is located in the Southern part of Eastern Europe. The Southern culture is more complex, according to him, because it was influenced by Indian, Persian as well as by Greco-Roman arts. The cultural exchange between the North and the South was severed by the Avar conquest, according to Pósta.¹⁸⁷ In light of this theory of cultural spheres Pósta examined burial customs, saber designs, arrowhead types and stirrups. I will show in the following paragraphs what conclusions he draws from these finds.

First he examined burial customs. Pósta argues that in Hungary the conquest period graves held bodies that were not burned and buried facing to the East.¹⁸⁸ From this he concluded that Hungarians had to have buried their ancestors unburned in the steppe. However, in Russia he only saw burned bodies. He attributed this to the Finno-Germanic influence and argued that by cataloging to what extent can we find burned bodies we can draw the borders of this culture in Siberia. For Pósta this meant that the Finno-Ugors probably did not burn the dead rather they took over this practice from the surrounding German tribes.¹⁸⁹

Second, Pósta writes in great detail about swords, sabers and arrowheads. It is important to clarify that there is a difference between a sword and a saber. A sword is longer than a saber with a straight blade with sharp edges. This type of weapon is widespread in Europe and was used by the early Europeans. The saber on the other hand, is shorter with a curved blade and handle, and usually has one sharp edge. The use of saber is more typical to ancient Hungarian and other steppe warriors. The saber has been generally thought in the 19th century to originate from Persia, but Pósta argued that it could have developed independently in Siberia due to

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, 149-150.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 11.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, 38-39.

Chinese and Indian influences.¹⁹⁰ Pósta moreover, found a two-edged sword in Yekaterinburg that he identified as the proto-Siberian sword, which was the proto type for the Hungarian saber.¹⁹¹ Pósta observed not just the shape of the saber but also the sheath and the two arches that helped secure it to the warrior's belt. He used various images of steppe warriors and the Kamennaja stone figures to show that the type of saber and sheath design, which he identified as proto-Hungarian, was in fact the dominant weapon in Southern Russia and in the Orkhon Valley of Mongolia.¹⁹²

Third, Pósta was able to identify the earliest type of the conquest period Hungarian arrowheads in Siberia. Since there are multiple variations of arrowheads across Hungary his conclusion should not be taken final on the issue. But he did find bone arrowheads that had a depressed spine, which had iron counterparts in Hungarian graves.¹⁹³ In addition, Pósta found that the S-shaped bronze bridle in Siberia is similar to the Scythian and Avar bridles and that this design was in use in the South until the 3rd century.¹⁹⁴ The Magyars on the other hand used a round shaped bridle, which pushed out the S-shaped design over time.¹⁹⁵ Another important find was regarding the belt bag [tarsolyemez] decorations. The *tarsoly* was used to hold fire-making tools. These bags were delicately decorated with tribal motives. In Hungary graves were rich with such finds, however, in Russia there were none. Pósta only found one grave from the Kuban region that had a *tarsoly* decoration that was related to Hungarian ones.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, 126.

¹⁹¹ Ibid, 96-111.

¹⁹² Ibid, 112-115.

¹⁹³ Ibid, 202-203.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, 211.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, 212-213.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, 301-2.

All these objects mentioned above were in either the Hermitage museum in St. Petersburg or in museums of provincial capitals. Pósta's publication has 340 drawings and photographs of these items. Only at two sites was he allowed to dig and actually "find" something authentic both were located around the possible homeland of the Magyars. Thus they were relevant for the expedition. On the lands of Count Nesselrode¹⁹⁷ he opened up two kurgans. Sadly, all have been robbed; thus, few material objects remained.¹⁹⁸ Amongst what remained was a pony snaffle with a design that showed similarities with snaffle designs from Magyar graves in Hungarian. But this does not mean that Nesselrode's kurgans were the resting places of Hungarians.¹⁹⁹

Lastly, the most important finds of Pósta's, regarding Hungarians, came from the region of Minusinsk. The area around of Minusinsk was known for being rich in kurgans. In 1895 the Russian archeologist Adrianov unearthed two kinds of stirrups at the town of Dza-Tas. The first kind had an opening made in the iron through which the stirrup was connected to the saddle. The second kind was made out of a single iron piece, which was bent on the top to make a hole for the leather to connect to the saddle. Adrianov, who had no knowledge of Hungarian archeological finds, did not recognize the importance of this find; but Pósta did. Across Hungary, but for this case in Szentendre, kurgans yielded a rich harvest of stirrups from the Avar period. These Avar stirrups were identical to the ones found by Adrianov. Moreover, Pósta was able to conclude from other finds in Southern Russia that the Avars moved out of the Kama region and spent little time in Southern Russia, where a different stirrup design was used. He based this claim on the fact that in Hungary the Avar type stirrup flourished, in Southern Russia the other German-Hun type survived suggesting it was little influenced by the swift Avar migration.

¹⁹⁷ He was probably a relative of Karl Nesselrode the famous Russian diplomat. Karl is also known for inventing the Nesselrode ice pudding.

¹⁹⁸ Pósta, 225.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 238.

Moreover, Pósta gave the borders of Avar influence: in the West the Oka River and in the East Minusinsk.²⁰⁰ This also meant for him that the Avars were situated between the Finno-Germanic and the Turan-Germanic cultures and that their movement into Hungary severed the link between the two cultures.²⁰¹

The last part of the archeological study deals with Sarmatian-Hun-Iazyges material objects. Although Pósta demonstrated the Pontus influence on the Sarmatian culture in Hungary; I chose not to deal with this issue since it does not relate directly to the question of ancient Hungarian migration. All things considered Pósta was able to carry out ground breaking research in the field of archeology. No Hungarian archeologist before him went through the material objects of the Russian museums with such thoroughness. His good relationship with the Russian colleagues on the expedition was a stepping-stone in laying the foundation for further cooperation. While Pósta was busy in Minusinsk his fellow team members Jankó and Pápay were on their way to the Hanti. The next two chapters will deal with their diaries and scientific publications.

²⁰⁰ Ibid, 332-33.

²⁰¹ Ibid, 327-28.

Chapter V. The third expedition: János Jankó and Hanti ethnology

The previous chapter detailed the beginnings of Zichy's third expedition through Pósta's eye; moreover, it introduced national romanticism and its influence on 19th century archeology. Since Pósta's diary ends in Astrakhan this chapter will continue the narrative of the expedition with the diary of János Jankó. In this chapter we will further see the manifestation of national romanticism in the ethnographic work of Jankó. First, I will examine Jankó's diary and then his scientific publication. Regarding the diary I will highlight his method of data collection, his relationship with the Hanti and his personal reflections on Hungarian sciences. I will juxtapose his scientific publication with the works of Ottó Herman and Bernát Munkácsi on Hungarian fishing.

In Hungary biological anthropology started in 1878 when Flóris Rómer and Ferenc Pulszky founded the Hungarian Society of Archeology and Biological Anthropology.²⁰² Gyula Farkas writes on the origin of the society that:

The main trigger behind the emergence of the biological study of Hungarians was the World Exhibition in Paris in 1878. When Aurél Török saw skulls of robbers and murderers shown under the label "Real Hungarian types" at the anthropological exhibition and complained about this at Broca, he received the following reply: "Well, you, noble Hungarians, protesting here, can you only talk? Here only facts may be brought forward. Don't you find it worthwhile to study your own race?"²⁰³

Then Farkas continues that this event led to the proposal by Török to establish serious anthropological studies in Hungarian universities, however, his proposals were only fully

²⁰² Mende, *Biological Anthropology/Human Biology and the pre history of the Hungarians* by Gyula Farkas, 11.

²⁰³ Ibid.

realized seventy years later.²⁰⁴ This is the background story to understand why Jankó spent time collecting skulls and comparing human remains in Hungary with remains from the ancient homeland because this was the leading methodology of comparative biological anthropology of the time.

János Jankó's work deserves attention because he got engaged with an indigenous Siberian culture that was on the verge of disappearance and, because he died two years after the expedition subsequently this trip was his last contribution to Hungarian ethnography. In accordance with the contract he signed with Zichy he had two main objectives: to study the Hanti-Hungarian kinship and to shed light on the origin of Hungarian fishing practices.²⁰⁵ Jankó, based on Ottó Herman's work on Hungarian fishing, focused his main research on three material objects that were present in Hungarian ethnography that he hoped to find in Siberian: the tobacco leaf shaped oar, two speared harpoons and fishing net weights made of bone. Accordingly, the diary often mentions references to these objects. On the trip Jankó collected fishing tools, traditional dresses, human bones, skulls and wrote down tribal legends.

In this chapter I will discuss in greater detail some parts of the diary to show the methodological approach of Jankó's towards the Hanti, which I would call contradictory and highly unethical. As I will show in this chapter Jankó's personality went through a mild metamorphosis from a positivist to an impudent scientist. Yet, while he took with one hand, he gave back with the other. He wrote with great respect of his subjects, he often emphasized and

²⁰⁴ Ibid. Of course it is not entirely true that anthropological studies were only established in the 1950s. In fact, Török became a prominent teacher in Hungary and Jankó frequently attended his lectures. Moreover, Török collected skulls from Hungarian gravesites in order to observe the difference between Mongolid skulls and Europid. But still according to Gyula Gyenis ethnography was still behind anthropology in the 19th century. In light of this Jankó's criticism of the insufficient ethnographic education in Hungary, in his diary, is understandable. Mende, 33-38.

²⁰⁵ Jankó, János, *A Magyar halászat eredete I. kötet*, [The origins of Hungarian fishing vol. I] (Budapest, 1900), 13.

sympathized with their struggle against the Russians. Jankó also paid them well and in one instance he even saved a Hanti family from starvation. Jankó's behavioral dichotomy is one of his most intriguing characteristics and I have found this aspect of his downplayed in secondary literature. Gerő Csinády writes little on this issue in, furthermore, Rusvai also only briefly addresses this issue in her dissertation.²⁰⁶

1. Description of the diary

After Jankó's untimely passing the diary became the property of his widow. A scholar borrowed the diary from her on December 29th 1903. Afterwards the diary changed hands often until it landed in the archives of the Ethnographic Museum in 1954. It was János Kodolányi Jr. who decided to work through the diary and finish its final version that was published in the year 2000. The original diary consisted of two separate books that Jankó wrote during the voyage. Some of the pages were missing; some were crossed over by the author. Also there are a few pages of the diary that were written by pencil and they seem to be the work of someone else than Jankó. Kodolányi's publication runs four hundred pages, but the diary itself is around two hundred. The book includes some of Jankó's photographs, his drawings, and his letters—although the letters he wrote to his wife are lost—his anthropological measurements, a small Hanti²⁰⁷-Hungarian dictionary by Márta Csepregi and the lists of the items Jankó bought for the Ethnographic Museum from Russia. The diary starts in Tiflis, sadly the Finnish ordeal is

²⁰⁶ Rusvai, Julianna, *Pápay József kéziratos Debreceni hagyatéka* [The handwritten bequest of József Pápay at Debrecen], (DE Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 2005), 36.

Csinády, Gerő, *Zichy Jenő oroszországi és kínai expedícióinak története új megvilágításban* [Zichy Jenő's Russian and Chinese expedition in a new light], (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1963).

²⁰⁷ Ostyak is the name given to the Hanti by the Russians, although Jankó refers to them as Osztyaks, I would rather use their original name, which in English would be Khanti but I will write it as Hanti. Moreover, the Vogul people (also known as the Mansi) are linguistically related to the Hanti.

missing, but at least Pósta's diary fills in that gap of the story. Jankó wrote in Hungarian but often-used Russian and in a few instances German. The diary is written with dated entries, each also notes the location. The entries are fairly long loaded with his personal reflections often going into great detail about specific events.²⁰⁸

We learn from his scientific publication that Jankó traveled from Budapest to Berlin and from Stettin to Helsinki.²⁰⁹ In Helsinki he spent three months in studying various museums; then he traveled to St. Petersburg where he spent another three months in museums. During this time he came into contact with various scholars and familiarized himself with the achievements of multiple Russian expeditions to the East and their scientific reports that were little known in Europe of the time like the Baer-Danilevskii expedition of 1852. Jankó was impressed with the amount of cataloged material on fishing in the Russian archives. He thought that the Russian archival collections were more thorough than Herman's work on Hungarian fishing.²¹⁰ From the Baltic, after his preliminary research was done he traveled to the shores of the Black Sea to meet Zichy.

2. From Tiflis to the Hanti

As we know from Pósta's diary the group agreed to meet Zichy in Tiflis so that each could give a report on their preliminary research. The first passage of the diary that remains for us starts in Tiflis and sheds more light on Zichy's plan to recover the Árpád documents from China. We learn from Jankó that Zichy consulted with Chinese officials in Berlin about the

²⁰⁸ János Jankó, *Utazás osztjáföldre 1898* [Travel to Ostyak land], edited by János Kodolányi Jr., (Budapest: Néprajzi Múzeum, 2000), 7-9.

²⁰⁹ Jankó, 15.

²¹⁰ *Ibid*, 22.

matter and asked their advice on how to contact the Emperor of China. The German interpreters advised him that he should award the cross of the St. Stephen Order to the Emperor and write him a letter about his request, this way he will surely be let into the archives.²¹¹ However the Boxer Rebellion, which broke out when Zichy arrived to Peking, stopped Zichy from meeting the Emperor and forced him to leave the country.²¹²

The Volga Delta was the first important stop for Jankó because of the active fishing industry in Astrakhan. Every year thousands of workers would come from the countryside to work as seasonal fishermen before the hard winter set in.²¹³ Despite the good work opportunities fishing was a dangerous job, especially in the summer time when thousands died from malaria in the mosquito infested villages. Whilst there, Jankó was able to arrange short trips to fifteen nearby settlements and observe the fishermen in action. He visited five to six villages a day as well as the Museum of Astrakhan.²¹⁴ Jankó observed the widespread use of tobacco leaf shaped oars by the fishermen in the region.²¹⁵ These oars were identical to the ones used by Hungarian fishermen in Szeged. Ottó Herman noted this design in his book *A Magyar Halászat Könyve* (1887), which Jankó used as a reference book throughout the trip.²¹⁶ Jankó looked for this leaf shaped oar design because Herman believed that this design was originally Magyar, which influenced the region of the Volga, thus wherever this design was in use there was the possibility that Magyars lived in that region in the past. Of course this approach was shaky since it ignored

²¹¹ Kodolányi, 35.

²¹² Zichy, Jenő. *Keleti kutatások a magyarság eredetének felderítése érdekében történelmi attekintés és észleleteim, tapasztalataim különös tekintettel expedicióm eredményeire VI. kötet* [Research in the East concerning the origins of Hungarians, historical overview and my observations and experiences with special regards to the achievements of my expedition vol. VI], (Budapest: Hornyánszky; Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1905), 260-264.

²¹³ Kodolányi, 53.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, 44.

²¹⁵ *Ibid*, 42, 52.

²¹⁶ Herman, Ottó, *A Magyar Halászat Könyve* [The book of Hungarian fishing], (Budapest: K. M. Természettudományi Társulat, 1887).

that this oar design could have develop independently in different regions and identical material objects do not necessarily signal kinship. His plan to study fishing practices became restricted when Jankó realized that fishing became less important as they traveled up the River Volga where the locals practiced either animal husbandry or farming.²¹⁷

Their next major stop was Uralsk where he specifically went to meet the Russian ethnographer N. Borodin to acquire his book on fishing. When they met N. Borodin gave him his book on fishing in the Ural region, in exchange, Jankó let him read Herman's book. Borodin helped Jankó by enlightening him about what ethnographic materials he could find in the Ural region. Borodin explained to him that tobacco leaf shaped oar was unknown there. Moreover, there was no evidence that tribes used bones as weight on nets in river fishing. Herman put forth the idea that it was the Hungarians who introduced bone weights for river fishing into the Carpathian Basin. Therefore Jankó wanted to find evidence of this practice. In addition, Jankó was looking for two speared harpoons, which Herman identified as Hungarian, but in this region there were only three, four and five speared harpoons.²¹⁸

Jankó's first ethnographic work began on the lands of Count Nesselrode where Pósta did his archeological excavation. While Pósta and Zichy were opening kurgans, Jankó left with an interpreter to visit Csuvas (Chuvash) villages. The Csuvas people²¹⁹ were thought by contemporary ethnographers to be related to Magyars; accordingly, Jankó writes with great enthusiasm that he will finally meet his "*countrymen*." In the first village he found an old Csuvas man and immediately questioned him. The set of questions he used were his more or less

²¹⁷ Kodolányi, 70.

²¹⁸ Ibid, 76-78.

²¹⁹ The Chuvash language belongs to the Altaic branch of the Turkic language. But originally it was thought to be related to the Uralic languages, and only distantly to Turkic.

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/117441/Chuvash-language>.

standard repertoire that he reused over and over again. These were designed to find out if local men knew about their relationship to Magyars or not.

I recreated the dialogue in order to demonstrate the methodology he used to get information and to show the kinds of answers he received:

Jankó: Where did your people come from?
Csuvas: From Kazan, two hundred years ago with five families.
Jankó: Who lived here when your family arrived?
Csuvas: Kalmuks.
Jankó: How many people do you know of?
Csuvas: That is stupid question since there are only seventy-seven languages in the world.
Jankó: What do you know of the Magyars?
Csuvas: I only heard about the Magyars from soldiers who fought against them in 1849.
Jankó: Tell me about your pagan customs and songs.²²⁰

Studying indigenous pagan rituals were a part of Jankó's objective. Ethnographers in Hungary knew that ancient Magyars practiced shamanism. Therefore finding connections with Siberian shamanic practices was important in order to rediscover the pagan Magyar culture. But asking around about shamanic practices was risky. The Russian government prohibited pagan rituals and anyone caught doing sacrifices were tried by the local courts. The Hanti were especially afraid of admitting to practicing pagan rituals even when Jankó saw the signs on trees or noticed the blood of sacrificed animals.²²¹ Moreover, since he did not publish his scientific book on the Hanti culture these references in the diary are the only sources we have on what he might have written about.

²²⁰ Kodolányi, 80. Községéről sokat tudott, azt mondja a falu lakói mintegy 200 évvel ezelőtt Kazánból jöttek...a hagyomány szerint valamikor vagy az 5. nemzedék (visszafelé számítva) idejében voltak itt kalmükök, de hogy ezekkel mi dolguk volt, arra nem tudott felelni. Kérdésemre miféle népeket ismer, kijelentette, hogy ezt ostobaság kérdezni, mert 77 nyelv van a világon, és ő nem tudhatja, kik beszélnek azokat...A magyarokat csak a katonáktól ismeri "akik ott verkedtek" (1849-ben)... Áttérve a mythológiára ebből az öreg kevesebbet vallott...

²²¹ Ibid, 80-84.

Russification was an even great problem for Jankó's research then shy Hanti. Every place he visited showed signs of Russian culture. The houses were built after Russian style, the material objects in the homes were mass produced Russian products. The dresses people wore were made in Russian textile factories. In very few places Jankó was able to buy old women dresses that were made by the locals following a traditional style. But traditional men's dress was nonexistent. Russification in part was due to the fact that most Hanti men married Russian women and over time they lost their mother tongue because they would only converse in Russian at home.

After leaving Nesselrode's residence they passed through Kazan where Jankó visited the local museum and made drawings of over a hundred objects, but the museum was largely useless for him since nothing was cataloged in it. Yet he noticed the model of a Cseremis (Mari) home with the decorative Székely gate that showed similarities to Hungarian culture. But Jankó wrote that the Cseremis and Mordvin cultures already have been thoroughly studied by Alex Heikel.²²² At Perm he found the *best Russian Museum*, as he put it. The museum was rich in Vogul and Hanti materials; here he finally found a two-speared "Magyar" harpoon. Perm was also the last European city they visited.

Imagined geography is also present in Jankó's writing. He locates the borders of Europe at Yekaterinburg. Although the Russians had a sign before the city signaling the border between east and west, which made this an easy choice for Jankó; nonetheless, he distinctively calls Yekaterinburg the *first Asian city* he enters. For comparison I would like to point out that for Kardoss during the first expedition the Southern Caucasus was already Asia. But for Jankó what was Asia for Kardoss was still a part of Europe. In this sense I would argue that Jankó was

²²² Ibid, 88-89.

following the generally accepted views on the borders of Europe. While Kardoss was more imaginative in this respect.²²³

3. Jankó's personal reflections on Hungarian science

Jankó on multiple times expressed his strong criticism of Hungary and of the current state of Hungarian sciences. Here I will summarize his views on previous Hungarian expeditions, then his criticism of the MTA and Hungary; and lastly, his opinion about the current expedition. He noted in his diary that Hungarian Orientalism started with Sajnovics's study in Lapland, which is a sound starting point. Jankó then turned to Reguly, who was the most noteworthy linguist to follow up on Sajnovics's work. But according to Jankó, Reguly's work was unavailable to the wider European scholarly public. It is unclear why he states this since Reguly wrote his diary in German therefore many European scholars could have read his work. Jankó had a negative opinion of Munkácsi who according to Jankó drained the MTA purse to take multiple trips to Siberia but returned with no ethnographic data and his linguistic collection only made people hate linguistics and it failed to generate interest for Munkácsi's work. Furthermore, Munkácsi's partner Károly Pápai, according to Jankó, only was able to make headway but not to do any serious scientific work since he barely spoke Russian and knew nothing of Hungarian ethnography. Pápai was still in his mid-twenties when he set out for Russia to visit the Ob region and died a couple of years after, at the age of thirty-one. Ironically, Jankó also died a few years after he returned from the Hanti. Since Jankó has done extensive ethnographic research in Hungary, as his preparation for the ethnographic village at the Millennia Exhibition, I believe he viewed himself more knowledgeable about ethnography than Pápai. Subsequently, he writes,

²²³ Ibid, 104.

thanks to these men's failures the Hungarians lost their advantage in the field and the Finns armed with Setälä's school formed the spearhead of the movement. And now it was Jankó's time to make his mark on the field but he did not know how.²²⁴

Jankó thought that the Hungarian academic situation was pointless, not because of the lack of money or the lack of time for expeditions but because of personal scholarly conflicts. Jankó here referred to his exhausting arguments with Ottó Herman, and in fact it upset him greatly that the latter did not support him but rather criticized him in Hungarian scholarly magazines. Moreover, Jankó blamed the MTA for the neglected state of ethnography in Hungary. He named three reasons for this situation. First, the MTA only recognized anthropology as a serious science instead of ethnography. Here we have to understand what the difference between anthropology and ethnography is. According to Tim Ingold: *anthropology is to seek a generous, comparative but nevertheless critical understanding of human being and knowing in the one world we all inhabit. The objective of ethnography is to describe the lives of people other than ourselves, with an accuracy and sensitivity honed by detailed observation and prolonged first-hand experience.*²²⁵ In this since Jankó was an ethnographer. Second, he argued that there was no organized ethnographic education in Hungary, which was true. And lastly, the only newspaper that was supposed to inform the public about ethnography, the *Ethnographia*, was filled with articles on linguistics.²²⁶ Although his last claims can be debated—not all articles in *Ethnographia* dealt with linguistics—he did make a noteworthy observation regarding the state of the art by recognizing that American scholars were soon to take the lead in scientific research because the Americans could finance their scholars and publish their finds worldwide.

²²⁴ Ibid, 106-108.

²²⁵ <http://proc.britac.ac.uk/tfiles/154p069.pdf>, p. 69. Ingold is a fellow of the British Academy.

²²⁶ Kodolányi, 21.

Here he referred to the Smithsonian Institute that was hiring scholars to work for years in Russian Universities and to the Bureau of Ethnology (est. 1879). Both of these institutions clearly had an advantage over the Hungarians.²²⁷

In light of these arguments Jankó was especially worried about Pápay's research since at the same time Kustaa F. Karjalainen set out for his Hanti expedition that was to last for two years. Jankó rightly raised the question what could Pápay accomplish in five months that Karjalainen cannot in two years with ample money and the help of Setälä? Subsequently, Jankó was worried that there will be no one to follow up on his work in Hungary after him. Giving the fact that he died a few years after he wrote this and his diary was only published in 2000 this was a peculiar observation.

4. Jankó and the Hanti

Jankó's stay with the Hanti lasted for three months from July until September. Amongst the Hanti, Jankó carried out thorough ethnographic research. However, I found the ways in which it was done questionable, in some cases even disturbing. It is clear from the diaries that generally, the Hanti lived a primitive lifestyle and their tribe was on the verge of extinction. They know little of the world at large. Russians represented for them the rest of the world as well as a superior "race" that ruled over them. For the average Hanti every visitor from the West was considered to be Russian. Jankó was no exception from this rule no matter how hard he wanted to find a "brotherly" connection with these people. They never accepted him as their own. Whenever he appeared at a village they viewed him as a Russian Imperial officer whose bidding they had to do. In other words, the Hanti answered his questions followed him around, showed

²²⁷ Ibid, 106-108.

him their houses and their graves out of fear not because they were glad that their long lost Magyar relative came back to save their culture for posterity.

Throughout the diary we can observe the change in power dynamics between the scientist and his “subjects.” I believe that Jankó started his adventure from a more settled state of mind and originally he aimed to work amongst the Hanti with respect for their culture. But as he realized that his subjects do not trust him and as the hardships of the trip began to take its toll on his health he developed a mild form of megalomania. Moreover, he slowly began to dislike his subjects, which actually led him to stop the excursion and return to civilization. Although scholars who worked on Jankó cite his poor health as the main reason for his return, based on the diary I believe that it had to do with his disgust with the Hanti, which I will demonstrate later.

The most disturbing act of Jankó’s was grave robbery, which he did in order to collect anthropological data. The dead for the Hanti, as in many cultures around the world, were never truly dead. Thus the Hanti treated the dead with the outmost respect. One of the most important collections that Jankó brought back to Hungary was a large hoard of Hanti skulls and bones; all of them were taken out of graves that he or his Russian helpers opened up. Jankó in some ways was aware of his ill behavior but still carried on with his mission. He robbed almost every grave along the river Demjanka, Juganok and Salum. Next I will turn to Jankó’s perspective on his journey.

5. Journey to the Hanti lands

Jankó left from Tobolsk by a small boat with five Russians and headed up the Irtysh towards Demjanskoje, which was the southern border of Hanti settlements.²²⁸ Between the two cities only Russians and Tatars lived. They arrived to Demjanskoje on July 10, 1898. Since there were no Hanti living in town Jankó relied on the Russian official to fetch Hantis for him. Soon the Russians brought in ten Hanti for Jankó. On his first meeting with the Hanti, Jankó sat in the main hall of a hotel where they shepherded the ten subjects. Jankó offered them tea and chocolate for the children, in return, the kids knelt before him and kissed his shoes. Then he took them outside and photographed them whilst he measured their bodies. From Jankó's writing it is telling how ignorant the Hanti were about what was taking place; that they only let him touch them because they feared that he was there to measure them for military service and that he asked them personal questions in order to extract higher taxes from them. The Hanti thought that by not complying with his demands they would surely be drafted into the army.²²⁹

The next day the Russian official gathered ten new Hanti for Jankó. In Hanti culture women had to veil their heads and it was inappropriate for strangers to touch them, as Jankó was well aware of this since he recorded this tradition in his diary.²³⁰ Thus in order to measure them, including their breasts, the Russians told the women that Jankó was a doctor and he had the right to touch them and ask them about their sexual practices as well as their menstrual cycles. After

²²⁸ Ibid, 113-114.

²²⁹ Ibid, 119-120.

²³⁰ Olson, James, S., ed. *An ethnographical dictionary of the Russian and Soviet Empires* (London: Greenwood Press, 1994), 377-380. Women in Hanti society was thought of as temptations for other man thus they had to veil themselves. Moreover, they were viewed as the defilers of the household therefore; they were restricted to separate living quarters from men. In light of this, I believe that Jankó was seriously pushing the Hanti cultural norms when he was doing his anthropological measurements.

he was done measuring them Jankó paid them for their services and let them go. Indeed throughout the trip he paid the Hanti for everything they did for him—except for the skulls—but the Hanti were not accustomed to such treatment by the Russians and Jankó noted that his behavior was confusing for them. Of course the Hanti men quickly used up the money in local pubs thus their families saw little benefit from their work.²³¹ Jankó only measured people under the age of 60, for what reason I could not find out.²³²

From Demjanskoje he left with two Hanti and six Russian helpers that he hired in town, one of them was called Nikolai Tailakov. Their first stop up river was Nikolai's yurt. Here Jankó, after realizing that everything looked Russian, headed for the forest to find Hanti graves. Nikolai was forced by Jankó to show him where the graves were, and since it was Jankó who paid him, Nikolai had to comply. After some tracking in the forest they arrived to the graves of Nikolai's family. The poor Hanti broke down in tears and begged Jankó not to disturb his parents' graves and instead he showed him the graves of other villagers that were unrelated to him. Jankó learned from this incident; later on he changed tactics. When he would arrive to village he would ask the elders to show him the graves then he would send them back so they would not see the deed being done. Moreover, he paid his Russians 25 kopek for each skull they unearthed to motivate them.²³³ From these grave finds he concluded that the Hanti also buried their dead facing the East just as the Hungarians did.²³⁴ Furthermore, he decided not to disturb fresh graves, which otherwise he would have done in a heartbeat but I believe that he knew that digging up the dead with still living relatives around would greatly upset the families in question.

²³¹ Kodolányi, 119-120.

²³² Ibid, 128.

²³³ Ibid, 126.

²³⁴ Ibid, 123-124.

The first leg of his trip in Hanti lands led him down the River Demjanka as far as yurt Chingiskij. Although Jankó refers to the places he visited as yurts they were not yurts. Instead they were small wooden houses that stood on pillars with a door on the front and one small window; most homes had no windows at all. These houses he identified as purely Hanti homes, however few Hanti actually lived in them since the majority resided in Russian style homes. Why did Jankó choose to call small villages—often no more than a hand full of families lived in them—yurts is unclear. The diary has multiple instances when Jankó spends a great amount of time writing and drawing down every parameter of these homes; he was particularly interested in seeing traditional fireplaces. But to his disappointment he only found one traditional Hanti fireplace.²³⁵

6. Ancient traditions and Gods

Recording Hanti pagan traditions and their Gods was the side project of Jankó's. On these topics the diary gives us an insight into the culture and tradition of the Hanti. Before I discuss this topic I would like to point out once again that the Hanti mistrusted Jankó and often they lied to him or played ignorant on certain cultural issues. I also believe that in some cases they made up folk tales just to satisfy his curiosity. I believe this to be the case because the Hanti he meets are already more or less Russified and baptized. Few of them spoke their native language even less were familiar with their ancestors' pagan culture.

The Hanti had a pantheon of Gods some of which Jankó was able to record although the spelling he uses in the diary, even for the same God, often differs yet the similarity is clearly visible between the names, thus I believe that these Gods were consistent across the Hanti

²³⁵ Ibid, 137-139, 166-168.

settlements. The main God was Torum in addition there were the God of the Earth Szar, God of Water Jinkiki, God of thunder Pajiki, God of Rain Jirt, God of the Forest Vontjik and there was the Chuvash God of the Wind Szil, which is similar to the Hungarian word *szél* for wind. Furthermore, Jankó heard the tale of Szulaxan the Hanti giant who fought Javan the Samoyed hero.²³⁶

There are some additional valuable observations made by Jankó. First of all he recorded multiple tamgas. The tamgas are the signature drawings of various Hanti families with which they signed official Russian documents when the Russians colonized them. No Hanti in the region of the time knew the meaning of the tamgas since they have not used them in decades, luckily the Russian officials recorded their meaning in the late 18th century and Jankó was able to copy them down from official documents.²³⁷

Bears were significant figures in Hanti mythology. Majority of the songs recorded by Reguly and translated by Pápay were bear-songs. The Hanti believed that bears were humans and that they understood human speech. The Hantis in Siberia were known to be the people who spoke the language of the bears. This belief is evident in some of the hunt themed bear-songs. During hunting the Hanti hunters would talk to the bear; especially if the bear was hiding in a cave he had to be convinced to come out. If the hunters would kill a bear they would take it back to the village and dress up the bear according to its gender. Then they would seat the bear at the head of the table and celebrate with the dead bear for three days during which period the Hanti danced the bear-dance. Jankó had the chance to witness the bear-dance in two occasions but by his time few Hanti knew how to dance it.²³⁸ Some body parts of the bear were reused for special

²³⁶ Ibid, 127, 166.

²³⁷ Ibid, 137.

²³⁸ Ibid, 191-192.

purposes. The *baculum* of the bear for example, was used to make arrowheads, which when fired would never miss the target, at least according to the Hanti.²³⁹

Important information he gathered concerned embroidery motifs. Decorative motifs on clothing usually had specific meanings behind it. For example the Shipibo tribe of South America still makes embroidery that is actual songs and can be sang if one could read the motifs. Similarly, embroidery had meaning for the Hanti too. Women used three colors for decoration; red for woman, blue for men and black, which meaning none knew.²⁴⁰ In the village of Jugan he found a woman who was familiar with all of the motifs. Jankó drew down the various pictures; they usually represented animals in different positions for example: lying fish, horse head or snake and so on.²⁴¹ These finds regarding the motifs were especially significant because the rapid expansion of the standard industrial textiles relentlessly replaced indigenous arts.

7. Jankó's method of data collection

The following incident occurred around the end of the trip. I would like to bring this up here in some detail in order to demonstrate how Jankó's megalomania manifested itself and how his attitude towards the Hanti has evolved over time. It all started when, somewhere in the vicinity of Surgut, the crew he was traveling with expressed their wish to return to their families. Thus Jankó hired a new crew to take him up the River Ob. The four new men were local to the region, in this most northeastern leg of his trip Jankó believed that he would meet less assimilated Hanti since they were farther from Russian settlements. He soon learned from his men that they took the job not because they wanted to take him up river but because their

²³⁹ Ibid, 142-144, 186.

²⁴⁰ Ibid, 141-142.

²⁴¹ Ibid, 176.

families were starving. Moreover, the men were afraid to leave their families behind in such times of need, but they probably followed Jankó for two reasons. They believed him to be a Russian officer and second he had food. At first Jankó did not believe the starvation story he heard but when they took him to their yurt the truth hit him:

It was a terrible site, men came before me with starved faces, I stepped inside the yurt, the old blind men set with parched face, in the corner set the women the two child were sleeping; on the table there was tea made of some dried leaves.²⁴²

It turned out they were without food and gunpowder for twenty days, the men were unable to catch any fish and they had no money to buy flour, Jankó did arrive at a desperate hour.

Despite of the desperate situation he still wanted to go forward, the next settlement he wanted to reach was Larnomkin which was a weeklong return trip from his current location. The Hanti informed him that there were no other yurts to supply fresh recruits between them and Larnomkin. Jankó had to turn the situation around so he could benefit from it and so he did. First he feed the family, gave them gunpowder and sent the men to hunt immediately. After they were fed, mostly with sugar cubes, Jankó set his plan in motion. He “*caught*,” as he put it, one of the hunters and interrogated him about graves nearby. The Hanti, like all others before him, was afraid to show the graves because it was the site where his family was buried. But he could not refuse a “Russian officer” who just fed his family; Jankó was well aware of this fact. Soon they took the boat and found the graves. In order for the Hanti not to be disturbed by what was to follow, he sent him back to the yurt. The grave robbery plan was complete. Next Jankó crossed another line while still exploiting his savior status with these starving people. Previously on the expedition, women refused to take their veils off their heads in front of Jankó when he

²⁴² Kodolányi, 204. Rettenetes kép volt ez; a férfiak kiéhezett arcczal jöttek elé, beléptem a házba, az öreg vak elaszott arcczal ült, az asszonyok egy sarokban kuporogtak, a két gyermek aludt, s az asztalon szárított levélből csáj.

photographed them. Jankó was not even able to photograph the trousers women wore under their skirts. But now he had the upper hand and he used the situation to his full advantage. He photographed women without their veil. More importantly, he was shown tribal tattoos on one of the woman's arm and back, which means she had to undress for him to show the ink.²⁴³

This event was just a taste of what was to come. The next incident with the Hanti reached the zenith of his megalomania when Jankó did not pretend to be a sensitive scholar or a savior anymore rather he used brute force to enforce his will. At the settlement of Kaikov, he writes: ... *I decided to take 10 skulls no matter what...*²⁴⁴ Accordingly, he used a Russian chinovnik—minor official—to gather the Hanti before him. Jankó asked if anyone would show him the graves, but as was expected everyone walked away. Jankó's patience has ran out, he grabbed his gun and ordered the chinovnik to pull one of the man back ...*he took his hat off and stood before me shaking...*²⁴⁵ Jankó recorded their dialog in which he fully embodied the role of a chinovnik and used his “imagined powers” to force the poor fellow to do his bidding. At the graves the usual drill was enacted, he paid the Hanti and sent him back. However, in this case he took more than just human remains.

The Hanti had a special custom that kept the dead spirits around the graveyard and stopped the ghosts from going into the village to hunt them. They believed that when someone came down with body ache it was because he was hugged at night by the dead. To avoid sickness they would make sweaters to dress up small trees around the graveyard. This way, I assume, they tricked the spirits into believing that the dressed trees were live humans. At first Jankó did not understand the meaning of these but he thought it wise to steel it anyway and ask questions later.

²⁴³ Ibid, 203-206.

²⁴⁴ Ibid, 212. ...elhatároztam, hogy innen 10 koponyát viszek akárhogyan is.

²⁴⁵ Ibid, 213. A jegyzőnek erre megmondtam, vezessen elő egy osztjákat; széles gallérjánál fogva húzott ki egy öreget, aki remegve kalap levéve állt meg előttem.

He got Nikiforov his Russian helper, to hide the stolen goods and sneak them into the boat without the locals seeing it. Meanwhile Jankó returned to the village to distract the Hanti by making a delicious meal for his crew and giving his hosts vodka.²⁴⁶

When Jankó learned the meaning of the dressed trees, after much interrogation and threatening, he called it his most important find because he noted a connection here with the Hungarian's belief of *lidérc* [incubus]. In Hungarian there is the saying that one can have *lidércnyomás*, which translates to ghost pressure. I think Jankó referred to this phenomena and possibly thought that the pressure can be attributed to the Hanti's idea of being hugged by the spirit and thus being under pressure. This way he indentified an important cultural connection.²⁴⁷

The last disturbing story of the expedition took place on the Juga River. By that time he had been on the move for months, his health already began to fail him, diarrhea, body ache, headaches and insomnia tormented him on a daily bases. Meanwhile his growing dislike of the Hanti's grew.

*There is no bath in Jugan...the people are dirty, ugly the anthropological research is the greatest sacrifice I make...they smell terribly...the last few times my humble Hantis disgusted me when I observed their bodies, they were so dirty and smelly...*²⁴⁸

At last he could not go on and turned the boat around.

²⁴⁶ Ibid, 212-124.

²⁴⁷ Ibid, 214.

²⁴⁸ Ibid, 215-216. A Jugánban már nincs fürdő...az antrop. Kutatás a legnagyobb áldozat amit hozok...az utolsó időkben már rettenetesen undorodtam jámbor osztjákjaim testi megvizsgálásától, oly piszkosak és bűdösek voltak...

8. Scientific publication

Jankó returned to Budapest on October 22, 1898 and soon turned his attention to organizing his finds; sadly he only had time before he died to finish his first volume, which dealt with fishing, his second volume would have been on the Hanti culture. The two main sources he worked with on the Hungarian side were Herman's book on fishing and Munkácsi's work on Magyar folk fishing. Munkácsi's short book was important in as much as it followed up on Herman's work by looking at Hungarian words on fishing and more or less conclusively identified the loan words regarding fishing in Hungarian from other languages. His work thus was more philological than ethnographic. Both Herman and Munkácsi concluded that fishing was the most important archaic profession of the Magyars; thus Munkácsi wrote that the ancient homeland had to be located around major rivers.²⁴⁹

Jankó disagreed with both of them and concluded that fishing was not the main archaic profession of Hungarians and that they came from a lake country and not from rivers. He argued that since Hungarians have borrowed scores of words regarding fishing from Turkic and Slavic languages this borrowing primarily meant that they were not fishermen otherwise they would have used their own words and had no need to borrow. Moreover he wrote that the Slavic loan words on fishing came into Hungarian when the Magyars were enslaving Slavs in Southern Russia. It was evident for him that these Slavs fished for their Hungarian masters while the Magyars continued animal husbandry. Subsequently, it was the Slavs who were fishermen and practiced this as their archaic profession; the Magyars on the other hand were hunters. While the

²⁴⁹ Munkácsi, Bernát, *A magyar népies halszát műnyelve* [The technical vocabulary of Hungarian folk fishing], (Budapest, 1893), 2-3.

Magyars and the Hanti lived together, before their separation due to the Hun invasion, it was hunting that supported Magyar families and fishing was practiced meagerly. One of his supporting arguments was the known use of fishing arrowheads by the Magyars, which meant that Magyars shot at the fish in the lakes or rivers with arrows just as if they were hunting for larger mammals. In other words Magyars adopted hunting to fishing.²⁵⁰

In Jankó's opinion he had to clear up Herman's work especially his material collection that related to Eastern influences on Magyar fishing objects because Herman was largely ignorant of the Eastern material objects. Herman's ideas on the Eastern influence on fishing in the Carpathian derived from the 1880 Berlin International Fishing Exhibition's catalogue; which Jankó taught was less than sufficient for making the conclusions that Herman did.²⁵¹ Regarding the origin of the three material objects that I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter Jankó stated that the two speared harpoon was Turkic, the leaf shaped oar was Magyar and the bone weight was German since he found these weights in Finland amongst Swedish finds.²⁵² In addition he judged the origin of almost all the objects given in Herman's book.

Jankó's methodology to make these judgment calls was questionable although it was acceptable in his time. He combined comparative ethnography with Munkácsi's linguistic work. In practice this meant that he strictly looked at material objects and the origin of their name in Hungarian. For example the word harpoon [*szigony* in Hungarian], he concluded based on Munkácsi, was a Turkic loanword. This meant that the Magyars first used the two-speared harpoon in a region where they first came under Turkic influence. Thus the ancient Hungarians

²⁵⁰ Jankó, 599-606.

²⁵¹ Ibid, 14.

²⁵² Ibid, 578, 581.

did not invent this object. Of course this kind of reasoning had its pit falls as Ottó Herman pointed out.²⁵³

9. Conclusion

The same year Jankó finished his scientific study Herman was quick to formulate his criticism of it. He accused Jankó of plagiarizing his and Munkácsi's work thus his original work only made up 3/10 of the publication despite of this fact, Jankó did nothing but criticized both of his "mentors." Moreover, Herman argued that the problem with young Hungarian scholars of the time was that they believed, just as Jankó argued, that the Magyars never invented anything they only borrowed from other cultures. Herman disagreed passionately with this narrow-minded contemptuousness and upheld the view that the Magyars were capable of inventing their own traditional practices just as the Slavs or Germans did. Lastly, he critiqued Jankó's meager attempt to located the borders of the ancient homeland—which Jankó put to Western Russia—by observing the use of Slavic and Hungarian fish names. Herman's criticism was devastating and in some instances uncalled for. It was exactly this kind of scholarly behavior that Jankó complained about in his diary, which according to him held back Hungarian science. Still, I believe Herman's observations regarding some of Jankó's conclusions were sound. Sadly, both were unable to give each other the credit they deserved.²⁵⁴

In this chapter I wanted to show that the diary reveals a stark transition from a man who is searching for his lost countrymen; to a ruthless scientist who is willing to cross any line in order to achieve his goals, even if that meant disrespecting the culture of those he felt so

²⁵³ Ibid, 41, 478.

²⁵⁴ *Budapesti Szemle* [Budapest Review] 104. szám [edition] (1900), 176-194.

passionately about in the beginning. Jankó and his fellow Finnish scholars were amongst the last to visit the region from Europe for such ethnographic studies. The Soviet revolution quickly closed the country and collaboration between Hungarian and Russian scholars came to a halt. It is precisely due to this political change that his work is so important because it gives us the last glimpse into the life of an ancient indigenous Siberian culture. As we saw even by the late 19th century the Hanti culture was on the event horizon. Lastly, since he never published his second volume on Hanti ethnography his diary is the only source of information on what he might have written.

Chapter VI. Pápay and the Reguly collection

This chapter will deal with József Pápay's work amongst the Hanti at the shores of the Arctic Ocean. His primary objective was to find Hantis who could decipher the heroic songs recorded by Antal Reguly. However, Pápay received from Budapest only four of Reguly's songs close to the end of his trip. What he had with him was Munkácsi's Vogul songs, which were sang to Munkácsi in the South in a different dialect then what was spoken in the Northern Ob where Pápay spent most of his time. Despite the lack of time to work with the Reguly collection he was still able to decipher them with the help local singers. Pápay also recorded Hanti songs and folk tales on his own adding more to what Reguly and Munkácsi collected. One of his most valuable observations was witnessing the Hanti sword dance and an animal sacrifice. How he came to decipher the songs and how he was able to be present in a pagan sacrifice I will show in this chapter.

In terms of linguistics the third expedition yielded a rich harvest. Sadly his early death prevented him from finishing his work on his collection. Only a few publications of his on the Hanti were published after the expedition. This was due to the fact that during the 19th century, linguistics went through rapid changes in methodology. This meant that from the dawn of the century succeeding generations of philologists and linguists often could not use the methods utilized by their teachers because these methods outdated in a rapid pace. This was also the

situation for Pápay. By the time he finished his work on the Hanti collection his vowel system based on Munkácsi was obsolete.²⁵⁵

Regarding the members of the expedition Hungarian secondary literature is most abundant on Pápay.²⁵⁶ His handwritten diary however is still unpublished, the first part of it can be found in the archives of the Protestant College of Debrecen the second part in the libraries of Budapest in the *Bibliotheca Pápayensis* collection. It is evident from the diary that he did not spend as much time on detailing his everyday life as Jankó did possibly because he was too busy editing his linguistic collections.

1. Work in St. Petersburg and Helsinki

Rusvai writes that Pápay left Hungary during the winter of 1897 for St. Petersburg where he stayed for almost four months. The plan was to study Russian and get in contact with Finnish and Russian linguists. In Petersburg he was welcomed by Pósta and Jankó, both of them were already there with their families. Pápay spent time visiting museums although that was not his main aim; he thought that mastering Russian, however difficult it was, had to be his focus during his short stay. He took Russian lessons from his English landlord named Marchal for thirty rubles. While taking Russian, Pápay was busy working on the Samoyed and Hanti languages. During his short stay in Petersburg his frustration with the Russian language grew. It is fair to

²⁵⁵ Rusvai, Julianna, *Pápay József kéziratok Debreceni hagyatéka* [The handwritten bequest of József Pápay at Debrecen], (DE Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 2005), 169. I am referring to identifying suffixes and assigning diacritical marks for vowels; which is crucial in Finno-Ugric languages where the intonation defines the meaning of a word. During this time Setälä was working tirelessly on developing a standardized system for the phonetic system of the Finno-Ugric languages. Papp, István, *Leíró Magyar hangtan* [Hungarian phonetics] (Budapest, 1966), 31-34.

²⁵⁶ Just to name a few authors who wrote on Pápay: Fazekas Jenő (1934), Csúry Bálint (1935), Csinády Gerő (1962), Bakró-Nagy Marianne (1973), etc.

point out here that the idea that one could master Russian in a few months got the better of him.²⁵⁷

While working in Petersburg a heated debate developed between the scholars and Zichy on where to go for fieldwork and how long this should take. Pápay, as it was expected, wanted to leave for the city of Tobolsk as soon as it was possible and not waste time on leisure trips with the count. Yet for the team it was still unsure if the count would begin the expedition since back in Hungary Zichy was receiving such negative feedback from various newspapers that it greatly upset him and for a while he considered calling it off. Zichy was particularly upset about the fact that the MTA never considered discussing his plans at any of their scholarly meetings. Even more troubling for Pápay was the growing dislike between Pósta and Jankó. The latter two spent considerable time together on this trip creating their own personal bubble of conflict that I think left Pápay on the periphery of their relationship.²⁵⁸

From Petersburg Pápay went to Helsinki (Helsingfors) where he met with the most eminent Finnish scholars like Emil Setälä, Heikki Paasonen, Kustaa F. Karjalainen, Yrjö Wichmann, Julius Mikkola and Otto Donner.²⁵⁹ In Tobolsk he reconnected with Karjalainen who spent four years studying the Hanti between 1898 and 1902. The two scholars spent three weeks together working in museums and comparing notes; Karjalainen left a great impression on Pápay. In my opinion, we can observe here the shortcoming of the Zichy expedition, namely the lack of time. Whereas Karjalainen spent two years mastering Russian, Pápay had less than three months. This just shows that the Finnish scholars were able to conduct research on a completely different scale than the Hungarian scholars. This was on the one hand due to better financing on

²⁵⁷ Rusvai, 48.

²⁵⁸ Ibid, 23, 49.

²⁵⁹ Ibid, 91.

the other due to the fact that Finland was under Russian rule therefore traveling to Siberia was easier for the Finns. Since the journey from Odessa to Astrakhan has been detailed in the diaries of Pósta and Jankó there is no need here to repeat the story. Pápay left the group in Tiflis on the day when Jankó's diary starts to visit the Hanti, thus Pápay had a headway compared to the rest of the group.

2. Trip to Obdorsk

After leaving the team in Tiflis, Pápay stayed three weeks in the city of Kazan, which was the first place where he could begin his research. At Kazan he met two Finno-Ugric scholars Nikolaevich Smirnoff and Feodorovich Katanov. In town Pápay bought books on the Bashkir, Tatar and Chuvash languages, which he mailed back to Hungary for the MTA. Furthermore, Pápay met pagan Chuvash people in the vicinity of Kazan. As much as he tried he could not get any information out of them regarding their pagan believes. From his first encounters with the indigenous people Pápay had to realize, as Jankó did, that the locals were thoroughly russified moreover, that the pagans were afraid to share their religious secrets with an outsider.²⁶⁰

After a weeklong journey from Kazan, Pápay arrived at Tobolsk where he met Karjailainen with whom he worked together for three weeks in the local Bibliotheca Sibirica; while still being considerably ahead of the team.²⁶¹ That is why it came as great surprise for him when he accidentally ran into Zichy in Tobolsk on June 30th. The truth was that Pápay, according

²⁶⁰ Pápay, József, *Nyelvészeti tanulmány utam az északi Osztyákok földjén* [My linguistic study in the lands of the eastern Osztyaks] (Budapest, Budapesti Szemle, 345. szám [publication] 1905), 6-8.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

to the schedule, should have been with the Hanti already but he was wasting precious time in Tobolsk, unable to find a boat to take him up river.²⁶²

Finally on July 1st his boat arrived and in the middle of the night he left city up river. On board he met his first live Hanti. His name was Ivan Jevdakimovics, a Russified local.²⁶³ Ivan was on board with his family to help navigate the captain of the ship. Pápay observed every move of this family with great enthusiasm. But he soon became disappointed when he realized that few Hanti lived on this leg of the river. Unable to meet Hantis he occupied himself with making drawings of the landscape from the boat.²⁶⁴ At Berjozov he was welcomed by the chief of police who showed him around in town and provided a room for him to stay in. The next day he received a Russian guide who spoke Hanti, together they visited Hanti homes in the slums of the town but they found only one family at home. They entered this family's room where two women were weaving textiles. Pápay got the younger women to answer his questions regarding the names of certain objects in the room. But the other older woman was less than welcoming thus Pápay decided to avoid conflict and left.²⁶⁵ Pápay wanted to continue up North as soon as it was possible but he needed an interpreter for his journey. After a few days he found a Russian named Kokulin Andrejevich who spoke some Hanti. In the meantime he also had a boat made in which he continued his journey. The diary has sparse references to what took place up river since he was busy recording the Hanti songs his two shipmates were constantly singing for him.²⁶⁶

Although Pápay wanted to decipher the Hanti songs of Reguly he was unable to attain a copy from the MTA beforehand thus with great delay they sent after him four heroic songs. He

²⁶² Rusvai, 33-334, 51.

²⁶³ Pápay, 10-11.

²⁶⁴ Rusvai, 52.

²⁶⁵ Pápay, 14.

²⁶⁶ Rusvai, 53.

only had Munkácsi's Vogul songs that he read out for the Voguls he met.²⁶⁷ His trip to Obdorsk was less than fruitful since few Hanti lived in the region and those he did find were hostile towards him and avoided contact as much as they could. The only noteworthy achievement was that he met an aged Vogul named Urtipenkov who told him a few folk tales. A few days later he reached a deserted village where he was able to find only one Hanti called Siberov Vaska²⁶⁸ who stayed behind whilst the rest of the villagers were out on their hunting grounds. Pápay spent ten days with him and worked the men tirelessly. Vaska told tales, sang songs and explained the names of material objects in the camp. But even this work had its setbacks. Vaska would often get tired or irritated by Pápay thus it was unpleasant to work with him in the end Vaska literally ran away from him never to be heard from again.²⁶⁹

3. Life in Obdorsk

Obdorsk was built over a Hanti fortress on the Northern end of the Ob and served as an important trade hub for the region. An Orthodox mission and traders ruled the town side by side, and as was expected their relationship was far from serene. Pápay often found himself in the midst of internal struggles and he indeed felt uneasy at Obdorsk since no one was particularly happy having him there. But it was the Hantis who were at the receiving end of the stick in town. The priests were there to convert them and by doing so destroying their ancient way of life while the traders in town ruthlessly exploited the locals for their own commercial interest. On top of this arrived Pápay to harass them with his questions and snoop around their homes. No wonder

²⁶⁷ Pápay, 16.

²⁶⁸ Ibid, 20.

²⁶⁹ Rusvai, 54.

the Hantis were suspicious of him at first and it was with great sacrifice that he was able to convince them to let down their guards.

At first it was difficult for Pápay to find someone in town who would be able to help him with the songs. This was due to the successful Russification that left few locals knowing their mother tongue. Another problem was that most Hanti only returned in late September from their fishing grounds. Even then, they were useless since the Hanti return was marked by the arrival of large quantities of vodka and weeks of drunkenness. It was the first sign of relief when around mid October, Sobrin Andrej arrived who was the Hanti helper of August Ahlqvist. Pápay immediately hired him but Sobrin's alcohol addiction made the work nearly impossible. Moreover, his health began to fail him; in addition by January he grew homesick as he realized that most of the expedition was already back in Hungary. But his work was far from over.²⁷⁰

Luckily for Pápay he found a Hanti named Muchrin who tried to help him decipher the Munkácsi songs. Muchrin had an outstanding knowledge of folk songs but he had little interest and patience in helping Pápay thus the work became tiresome over time still, he had no other options but to rely on his more or less sober source. Finally he embarked on his mission to visit the Hanti in their nomadic settlements. He bought a sledge with four reindeers and dressed up in animal skin just as the Hanti did to protect himself from the cold and with Muchrin and Sobrin he headed out for the frozen lands of Siberia. I would argue that his act of dressing up as a Hanti could be connected to romanticism. In a way he wanted to become the people he was observing, his romantic spirit wanted to transform into a Hanti. It is interesting to put him in contrast with Jankó who never dressed up as a Hanti but rather took on the role of a Russian officer. Between

²⁷⁰ Pápay, 22.

the two scholars we can see that one was drawn to humble romanticism the other to mild authoritarianism.²⁷¹

4. First trip to the Hanti

His stay with the Hanti lasted for three weeks. During this time he traveled from one encampment to the next. At first the locals received him with suspicion but after a while they got used to this Hungarian dressed in animal fur. He returned to Obdorsk on November 4th to learn that the Hanti of Vulpasli were in the midst of their seven-day pagan sacrificial celebration. Without resting he immediately embarked to find them and observe their pagan ritual. He was particularly interested in the famous Hanti sword dance that has been recorded previously by Russians from secondary sources, yet no foreigner who witnessed it ever wrote about the dance. The trip to Vulpasil was slow and we can imagine the horror of the Hanti guides leading Pápay. According to Pápay's report the guides most certainly believed that he was going there as a Russian chinovnik to punish them for practicing pagan rituals.²⁷²

5. Hanti Pagan Festival

When he finally reached the yurt, which was actually more like a teepee, he found thirty men and women inside. Muchrin, who Pápay called Péter, had a hard time convincing the Hanti that Pápay was there as a friend and he meant them no harm. Still the locals were far from happy to see him and decided to keep him in the teepee as much as they could. The celebration had two parts to it the animal sacrifice that took place at a separate teepee and the dancing. After a few

²⁷¹ Rusvai, 61-62.

²⁷² Pápay, 24.

hours of him trying to get his female “captors” drunk on vodka, men arrived to perform the sword dance.²⁷³

Men who stood in two lines with swords in their hands did the dance. Between them came the shaman, in this case a female, with two hammers in her hand, which she slammed together occasionally and in response the men yelled *hay!*, and swung their swords in the air. This went on for thirty minutes. Next came a “theatrical act” when two men, one dressed as a woman, entered the tent and performed a comedy accompanied by dance and songs. These two acts then repeated each other until three in the morning.²⁷⁴

On the morrow after much deliberation the Hanti allowed Pápay to observe their sacrifice, which took place in two phases. First they brought two young white reindeers. The animals were taken next to a black sledge that was turned upside down and was covered with sacrificial blood. The men built a large fire next to it then they strangled the two animals whilst holding burnt trousers over their heads. Strangely, the Hanti did not cook the meat but eat the reindeers raw. To celebrate their sacrifice the men held various physical games.²⁷⁵

The next phase took place inside the idol tent, which was specifically erected to house the Gods. The Gods were usually made of wood with a silver face cover and they were dressed in traditional dresses. Inside the tent people stuffed their offerings to the Gods. When the Christians arrived in 1712 to spread the word of universal love and toleration their first act was to burn every wooden idol they found. Luckily, the cornered Hanti were able to hide a few idols

²⁷³ Ibid, 25.

²⁷⁴ Ibid, 26.

²⁷⁵ Ibid, 27.

in the woods. Ever since that time the Gods had to be brought in for the celebration from the woods and after they had to be returned.²⁷⁶

The sacrifice went as follows, first the men killed the animal outside then they brought in the dead animal. All who entered the tent had to bow three times before the God then sit around the fire. After presenting the animal to the God they handed out parts of it to each other. At the same time two wizards entered the tent with a log in their hands. The wizards chanted for a while then they threw their logs on the fire. Soon they created such unbearable heat that Pápay was sweating from it. The night ended with more sword dance and festivities.²⁷⁷ Pápay's description of these events is important because he witnessed firsthand such a secretive ritual and actually lived to write about them.

6. Trip to Poluj

The next day Pápay returned to Obdorsk to record his experience. He noted with enthusiasms that now that he attended a sacrifice the Hanti were more helpful; possibly because they began to trust him. His next trip took him to the Poluj stream to visit families he already knew from Obdorsk. With Muchrin on his side he stayed for one week with the family of Mada who was the caretaker of the idols in the region. Pápay was able to record many tales about the Gods, even one about the history of Mada's tribe. This was identical to the story of Hunor and Magyar, which tells the tale of how these brothers chased a deer until they arrived to their new

²⁷⁶ Ibid, 29.

²⁷⁷ Ibid, 28-29. I witnessed similar pagan practice in Mongolia during the annual Naadam festival.

homeland. Sadly, the singer in the village was not fond of Pápay and never sang for him. Still, it was a productive week for Pápay.²⁷⁸

By January 14th the Reguly copies have reached him thanks to his professor Simonyi, and he found a Hanti named Selimov Mikolka who was known to be the best singer in the region. Yet even he could not understand Reguly's songs. It was a painstaking effort from Pápay to break up the continuous notes of Reguly. Day and night they set together and sang, meanwhile Pápay was afraid when will Mikolka stand up and leave him. During the same month Puris a pagan singer arrived to town for the Christmas festivities. Between Pápay, Mikolka and Puris the work became an ego competition of "who knew more" about folk songs. Until May 29th Pápay tirelessly worked on the Reguly material putting his own work on the side, while he often fell ill with fever.

7. Solving the riddle with Kirikori

However, since the Reguly collection came from the Berjozov region in the south where the Hanti spoke with a different dialect in order to crack the songs he had to travel there to find the same tribes that Reguly worked with. As Pápay hoped, this trip was short and became a great success. Next to the River Little Ob, Pápay became acquainted with a family that had a nephew who was the son of a shaman and a great singer. The young man was called Kirikori and when he arrived to meet Pápay they immediately signed a contract that stated the Kirikori will stay with Pápay in Berjozov for two month and will work with him on the Reguly songs.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ Ibid, 30-32.

²⁷⁹ Ibid, 37.

Kirikori knew many heroic songs besides; he knew and understood every aspect of animal sacrifices. However, Reguly's songs, although they came from Kirikori's dialect, were mostly concerned with the bear-cult, which the singer was not as familiar with. This problem was solved when Pápay was introduced to Mikiskin Vaska who was an expert on bear songs from the Kasam region. The work between the two singers soon became a competition about folk songs. Every day they came up with new songs and tales to entertain Pápay. Yet the fun did not last as long as the contract stated. After a month or so Kirikori became irreversibly homesick, thus he packed up and left. Urtipenkov who spoke Vogul and Hanti replaced Kirikori. With his help Pápay was able to decipher Munkácsi's Vogul songs.²⁸⁰ By this time it was already June in 1899 and Pápay's health was in a limbo. Fearing that his vitality will not support him much longer he decided to return to Budapest.

8. The scientific publication

Pápay's scientific report appeared as the fifth volume of the Zichy expedition in 1905. The publication has two parts, first Pápay discusses the life of Reguly in great detail; the second part is his corrections of Reguly's songs with parallel German translation. Pápay described Reguly as a linguist who saw the connection between Hungarian and Turkic languages but this only proved for him that the Magyars were Asians and not what language family they belonged to.²⁸¹ Reguly used the theory of the German linguist Karl Friedrich Becker, which Pápay thought was outdated by his time that is why he chose to rely on Setälä's system. In Russia, Reguly was helped by a local Hanti named Baktjar who told him folk tales and songs but he also relied on the

²⁸⁰ Ibid, 39-41.

²⁸¹ Pápay, József, *Az Osztyák népköltési gyűjtemény V. kötet* [The collection of Osztyak folk poetry V. volume] (Budapest, 1905), xii-xiii.

local priests for dictionaries and translations. In this way he combined linguistics and philology. During his trip Reguly wrote down bear songs and witnessed the sacrifice of a horse.²⁸² The reason why Pápay decided to visit the Hanti because Reguly was unable to finish his work with them and Pápay sought to continue in his footsteps. In this sense as the chapter showed, Pápay not just continued in his footsteps he also went further than Reguly ever did.

Considering the hardships he encountered Pápay did an outstanding work amongst the Hanti. Not just that he was able to decipher Reguly's and some of Munkácsi's heroic songs but he collected a large collection of new tales and songs on his own. Up until the achievements of Pápay, Finnish and Hungarian efforts to systematize the language of the Hanti were in vain although both nations' scholars have collected songs amongst the Hanti. But the fact that Pápay went to the Hanti, which Hunfalvy did not do, and he lived long enough, unlike Reguly, helped him achieve his goal. The Zichy expedition gained him recognition in Hungarian academic circles as the man who deciphered the Reguly songs.

²⁸² Ibid, xxiii-liii.

Chapter VII. Conclusions to the Thesis

In this concluding chapter I will first give some additional information on the scientific publications. Then I will discuss the aftermath for the scholars after they returned from Asia. Additionally, I will write on the MTA's relationship with Zichy and lastly I will conclude this thesis by turning back to Hungarian Orientalism and Romanticism.

1. Brief conclusion on the scientific publications

The scientific publications came out between 1900 and 1905 in six volumes. The first was Jankó's unfinished work on fishing that is missing its second part due to his early death. The second was Ernő Csiki's zoological studies; the third and fourth is Pósta's archeological publication. The fifth was Pápay's Hanti poetry and the last one was Zichy's personal observations. In addition, the first expedition's scientific work was published in two volumes. In the next two paragraphs I would like to briefly summarize Csiki's zoological work because he did not receive a separate chapter in this thesis due to the fact that he did not write a diary. Yet, without mentioning Csiki this work would be incomplete.

At the outset of the third expedition Zichy was asked by minister Gyula Wlassics to take Csiki for the sake of zoology. With the help of an extensive international team Csiki catalogued 2532 species out of which 167 were previously unknown. Thirteen of the new species were named after Zichy like the *Aphodius Zichyi* and the *Limnetis Zichyi* but Csiki and Pósta also got their names taken by some crawling creatures in Siberia. Yet we do not know why Csiki did not name any of the new animals after Jankó or Pápay maybe he disliked them so much that he did

not deem them worthy of such honors. When they finished the publication Zichy gave the entire zoological collection to the Hungarian National Museum.²⁸³

In his scientific publication Csiki, just like all the other members of the expedition, complained about the shortness of time that was allocated for his work. Moreover, weather was seldom on his side. In Southern Russia heavy snowfall, in Tiflis long rainy days prevented him from work. Astrakhan and Kazan were the first stops where he was able to catch bugs; some of the interesting bugs were eating a dead porcupine when he found them. On route he visited the zoological exhibitions of every major town he passed through. About the exhibitions he concluded that the vast majority of the exhibited bugs were from collections brought in from Germany and had little to do with local wildlife. Hunting was one part of their methodology for collecting animals, Zichy was particularly eager to kill bears in Siberia but they never found any. Csiki acquired much of the zoological collection when the ships stopped to pick up firewood, an operation that only took a few hours. Thus, the richest harvest was gained in Mongolia where they traveled on horseback and Csiki had time to roam the steppe without a strict timeframe. The large zoological collection was another notable feat of the expedition.²⁸⁴

2. Aftermath for the scholars

After Zichy's team returned from Asia, the MTA and the public applauded their achievements and as a show of gratitude Zichy became the member of the Hungarian Academy of Science (1899) and of the Geographical Society. The city of Budapest also named a street after him in the VI District behind the Basilica to commemorate his achievements for the

²⁸³ Ernő, Csiki, *Zichy Jenő gróf harmadik Ázsiai utazásának állatani eredményei*, ed. Dr. Horvath Géza [The zoological achievements of count Jenő Zichy's third Asian expedition], (Budapest, 1901), i-xi.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid*, xii-xli, xx-xxix.

country. Kardoss from 1891-1919 taught at the University of Kolozsvár and after the Romanian takeover of Transylvania he helped relocate the university to Budapest where he was a professor of Hungarian history until 1911. Pósta in 1899 became the chair of archeology at the University of Kolozsvár where he trained the new generations of Hungarian archeologists. Pápay after the expedition began his long struggle with his ailing health. It took him many years to organize his collection from the Zichy expedition. Meanwhile he became the member of the Ethnographic Society and finally the chair of Finno-Ugric studies at the Protestant College of Debrecen until his death.

As I tried to show in the thesis the Zichy expeditions were scientifically a complex undertaking. On the one hand they stirred up controversy with the first and second expeditions in scientific circles from Budapest to St. Petersburg; on the other, the third expedition was a groundbreaking enterprise with benefit to Hungarian sciences. I would argue that besides the team's scientific work the most important achievement of theirs was to start a dialogue between Finnish, Russian and Hungarian scholars. Zichy understood the need for comparative research between East and West and supported this idea to the best of his abilities. Moreover, Zichy proposed the establishment of a scientific organization or a committee that would only deal with Hungarian Orientalism, which never came into existence but this idea shows that he was truly a visionary.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁵ Zichy, VI. volume, 87.

3. MTA's relationship with Zichy

At the start, the negative reception of Zichy's quest, the indifference of the MTA and other scholarly circles in Hungary handicapped him. I believe with less negative criticism and with more constructive advice and support even greater feats could have been achieved. The major problem with the MTA in my opinion was in the essence of what the institution stood for namely; that the institution itself embodied what the standard European scientific trends were at the time. The MTA became the representative of Western sciences in Hungary. In this respect the MTA had to conform to a European scientific norm, which they were seldom willing to change for idealists like Zichy. This is evident during the first expedition when Zichy was devoted to the Turkic linguistic theory and searched for the ancestors of the Magyars in the Caucasus where the MTA thought it was not possible to find any trace of them; hence, he received no help from them. The situation changed little with his announcement of his third expedition. In fact, Zichy had to prove for the MTA with the outcome of his last expedition that he can carry out scientific work, which the MTA thought worthy of acknowledgment and only when he returned did he received their full backing.

During the 19th century the fields of archeology, linguistics, anthropology and ethnography was changing constantly. Zichy's scholars' constant struggles with the MTA can be contributed to the fact that they individually were searching for their own ways in which they could influence their fields of science. But this search for a new methodology was frequently called into question by the authority on science, the MTA; for example, by Ottó Herman who disagreed with many of Jankó's ethnographic conclusions. Still Pósta's comparative archeological work from Minusinsk defined Hungarian archeology for decades, Pápay's

linguistic data helped decipher the Reguly songs and Jankó collected significant ethnographic data from the Hanti.²⁸⁶

The knowledge these scholars produced were important for Hungarian science. All of them served as mediators of knowledge for the public and the scholarly audiences back in Hungary. Jankó's and Pápay's Hanti collections were intended to inform the Hungarians about the mythology of their ancestors, yet this attempt never fully materialized since few Hungarians today actually know about Hanti mythology. The reason for this is that, especially in the 19th century, the Hantis were not viewed as a desirable ancestor compared to Attila the Hun who embodied national romanticism more so than the Hanti God Torum.

4. Hungarian Orientalism and Romanticism

Géza Staud wrote that the idea of individual freedom was an important aspect of Romanticism.²⁸⁷ For Orientalism this idea meant that the Hungarians imagined their Oriental kin as free individuals untouched by modernity. The diaries of Pápay and Jankó although never explicitly stated, have suggested to me that both of these men arrived to Asia with a sense of romanticism towards their subjects of study. I believe they subconsciously hoped to find the Siberian tribes in a state of enlightened purity and harmony with life. In other words they were searching for the “natural man” which was often found by Europeans in America amongst Native American tribes. However, the reality they encountered could not have been further from their romantic ideas.

²⁸⁶ Langó, 208-209.

²⁸⁷ Staud, *Orientalismus*.

Both Jankó and Pápay were shocked by the poverty, ignorance, alcoholism, indifference, starvation and primitiveness they encountered amongst the tribes. Both scholars viewed Russification as a negative phenomenon because they operated under the romantic assumption that modernity (Russification) was destroying the pure and free spirit of the natives. Their work amongst the tribes, accordingly, became a self-appointed rescue mission. Both justified their acts like grave robbery or intruding into communal sacrifices as “good deeds” because they were saving whatever pureness was still left in these indigenous cultures, no matter how much it upset the Hanti. Theoretically, in the spirit of national romanticism, if we would transplant this issue to Hungary, then I would argue that they were saving the freedom and pureness of Hungarian culture, which was damaged with the failed revolution of 1848-49 and was still in a crisis at the turn of the century. I believe these scholars unconsciously projected the Hanti’s struggle against the Russians as the Hungarians struggle against the Germans and Slavs back in Europe, thus, transplanted the socio-cultural crisis of 19th century Hungary to Siberia. This transplanting of the national struggle is evident in some of Jankó’s letters where he writes with great urgency on doing research amongst the Finno-Ugric tribes before they disappear completely due to Russian pressure. Following this line of thought, Jankó praised the Finns for resisting Russification and for creating their own national revival. Jankó wrote in a letter to Wlassics that:

...this nation [the Finns] is bound together by the strongest national feeling and they are nurtured through their efforts to cultivate national culture in order to save them from foreign influences even when surrounded by the most autocratic empire in Europe [Romanov].²⁸⁸

In another letter Jankó wrote:

The national question here manifests itself in a cultural struggle in this struggle the German, Estonian, Latvian, Livonian and Lithuanian stand against the

²⁸⁸ Kodolányi, 23, ...e népet a legerősebb nemzeti érzés tartja össze s a legmagasabb nemzeti művelődés táplálja és óvja meg a külső befolyásoktól még Európa legautokratább birodalmának keretében is.

*Russians...these national cultures fight a life and death struggle against the cultural doctrines of Russian church and schools...*²⁸⁹

These quotes are testaments to his awareness of this cultural struggle that every minority in the Empire were engaged in against the Russians. The Hantıs, due to their low birth rate, were particularly sensitive to this and in his opinion were endangered by Russification. Jankó could have never come to this conclusion without traveling to these regions and observing this for himself.

In fact I agree with Staud's notion that Hungarian national romanticism manifested itself in the fullest sense in orientalism more specifically in Oriental travel. Orientalism in literature, music or architecture can only give partial fulfillment for the romantic men. In orientalist expeditions the free spirit wrapped in romantic ideas can come out and explore the far corners of the earth to confront itself with a distant but reachable illusion. With expeditions there is a physical journey that can be undertaken and completed; there is a way of escaping the present and visiting the past in person. Thus the romantic idea of travel to the Orient can be fully realized even if the romantic illusion leads to disillusion in the end. To illustrate Jankó's romantic tendency I quote from a letter where he writes about his departure from the Hanti:

*I left my small boat and stepped on the steamship, I felt like I woke from a beautiful dream when the last island disappeared over the horizon...tears ran down my face...and my soul cried out for my small boat I wanted to be back in the wilderness with my loyal, honest, fair, naive, childish Hanti...Its over! Its over! I have to return to reality...*²⁹⁰

As many thinkers have stated from Buddha to Sándor Márai: *It is not the road that matters but the journey.* This romantic idea of travel, this psychological longing for distant lands

²⁸⁹ Ibid, 31-32. A nemzetiségi kérdés itt kultúrák küzdelme, melyben a német, észt, lett, lív és litván áll az oroszokkal szemben. ...nemzeti művelődések vívnak élet halál harcot az orosz egyház és iskola által képviselt művelődéssel...

²⁹⁰ Ibid, 226. Elhagytam csónakomat s a gőzhajóra léptem, úgy érzem, mintha egy gyönyörű álomból ébredtem volna fel s mikor eltűnt a láthatáron az utolsó ismert sziget is...könnyek töltek szemembe s feledve minden fáradalmat, lelkem visszasírt kicsiny csónakomra, bevágytam a vadonba az én hű, becsületes, őszinte, tisztességtudó, naív, gyermekes osztályjaim közé...Vége! Vége! Vissza kell térnem a reális életbe...

what I believe drove Zichy and his men. Be as it may, the Zichy expeditions were an important milestone in Hungarian Orientalism. Although the members of the expeditions were in a constant battle with the idealist Zichy without his willingness to organize and pay for the expeditions none of them would have been able to travel to Asia on their own and make their mark on Hungarian science.

From a historical perspective the expeditions have two angles. Firstly, they were a continuation of a nationalist romantic tradition that reached its zenith in the 19th century. But even this Hungarian Orientalist tradition by the time of these expeditions has been through a transition. Expeditions during the first half of the century, like the János Jerney, Besse or Orlay undertakings, were deeply imbedded in romanticism. By the second half of the century expeditions and individual searches for the ancient homeland became more and more scientific and less romantic in their approach; in many ways due to the MTA. Secondly, the Zichy expeditions closed the book on such enterprises in Hungarian history. The First World War and the subsequent collapse of the monarchies of Eastern Europe and their empires fundamentally restructured Hungary. The launching of such adventures as Zichy's became problematic due to the rise of multiple new borders and totalitarian governments.

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On page 37 of this pdf there is a map for Besse’s route in the Northern Caucasus.
http://www.magyarormeny.hu/uploads/file/fuzetekfileok/EOGYKE_2012DEC_internetre.pdf

Appendix

Since many names appear in the thesis in this appendix you can find the majority of the persons I refer to in my text.

Agirov Kanamat: Circassian guide of Zichy during the first expedition.

Alex Heikel (1851-1924): Finnish archeologist and ethnographer who led multiple expeditions to Siberia and Central Asia.

Árpád (845-907): Leader of the Magyar tribal confederation, which took the Carpathian Basin and the founder of the Árpád dynasty.

Arvid Neovius (1861-1916): Finnish philosopher.

August Ahlqvist (1829-1889): Finnish poet, Finno-Ugric linguist who contributed greatly to the reformation of the Finnish language.

Baron Loránt Eötvös: Head of the MTA between 1889-1905.

Béla Lukács (1847-1901): Member of the Parliament, minister of transport and commerce during the Millenia Exhibition.

Bestian Adolf (1826-1905): German polymath known for his contributions to ethnography and anthropology.

Edward Said (1935-2003): Palestinian-American literary theorist who is most known for his criticism of orientalism in a postcolonial context.

Emil Setälä (1864-1935): Finnish politician and linguist, he was the ambassador to Hungary between the World Wars.

Ernest Renan (1823-1892): French philologist, philosopher, religious scholar and intellectual.

Ernö Dániel (1843-1923): Minister of Commerce under the Bánffy government. He played a major role in organizing the Millenia Exhibition.

Flóris Rómer (1815-1889): Hungarian archeologist and art historian.

Friar Julianus: Between 1235 and 1237 he made two journeys to Asia where he located the possible ancient homeland of the Magyars.

Friar Otto: Between 1231 and 1234 Otto made trips to the Caucasus to baptize Hungarian tribes in the region.

General Alexander Baryatinsky (1814-1879): From 1856 governor of the Caucasus. He pacified the gurellas from the mountains and defeated Imam Shamil.

Géza Staud (1906-1988): Hungarian theater critique.

Grand Duke Nikolai Mihalkovich (1859-1914): A politically liberal member of the Romanov family. He stayed extensively on his lands in Georgia, where he often entertained Zichy.

Gustave Radde (1831-1903): German naturalist and mountaineer. He explored the Caucasus and settled in Tiflis where he ran the Caucasian Museum where Zichy's team often worked.

Gyula László (1910-1998): Hungarian historian and archeologist who worked on the dual-conquest theory.

Gyula Wlassics (1852-1937): Hungarian politician, Minister of Religion and Education 1895-1903.

Imam Shamil (1797-1871): Avar revolutionary leader in the Caucasus. Defeated at the Battle of Ghunib in 1859 by the Russian forces.

Issac Jacob Schmidt (1779-1847): Lived in Russia specialized in Mongolian and Tibetan languages. Translated the Bible into Kalmyk.

István Kiszely (1932-2012): Hungarian anthropologist.

Jankó János' and József Pápay's Hanti and Mansi helpers: Nikiforov, Urtipenkov, Siberov Vaska, Sobrin Andrej, Muchurin, Selimov Mikolka, Kirikori, Mikskin Vaska, Baktjar.

János Jerney (1800-1855): In 1844-1845 he traveled to Southern Russia and located the two pre-conquest territories of the Hungarian tribes known as *Levédia* and *Etelköz*.

János Orlay (1770-1829): Hungarian doctor who lived in Odessa. In 1819 he traveled the Caucasus to find the ancient homeland of the Hungarians.

János Sajnovics (1733-1785): Hungarian philologist who belonged to the Jesuit order. He was the first Hungarian to write an extensive study on the relationship between Lapp and Hungarian languages.

Johan Reinhold Asperin (1845-1920): Finnish entomologist traveled to Karelia, Siberia and Central Asia.

Josef Dobrovsky (1753-1829): Czech philologist, historian and archeologist.

József Hampel (1849-1913): Hungarian archeologist advocated comparative archeological work between Russia and Hungary. Pósta's work had a great influence on him.

Károly Pápai (1861-1893): Finno-Ugrist linguist who accompanied Munkácsi to the Hantis in 1888.

Károly Torma (1829-1897): Hungarian archeologist known for his work on Roman archeology in Hungary.

Kokulin Andrejevich: Jankó's Russian helper who spoke Hanti.

Kunik A. A. (1814-1899): Russian philologist, historian and ethnographer. He articulated the theory that the early Rus state structure had Normann influence. He also maintained an active friendship with Antal Reguly.

Kustaa F. Karjalainen (1871-1919): Finnish linguist and ethnographer.

László Berzenczey (1820-1884): Politician who after the failed 1849 revolution immigrated to the USA. From San Francisco he traveled to China to find the birthplace of the Magyars in Asia but he could not go past Hong Kong. He fought in the Crimean Wars then a few years later traveled through Siberia to Mongolia and to India in search of Hungarians.

Mathias Castren (1813-1852): Finnish linguist and ethnologist. He and Budenz founded Finno-Ugric philology. Castren made several trips to Lappland, Karelia and Siberia.

Max Müller (1823-1900): German linguist who translated the Vedas into English, well known scholar of Sanskrit and Indology.

Maximillianus Hell (1720-1792): Jesuit priest and astronomer who observed the transition of Venus in the Kingdom of Denmark-Norway with Sajnovics.

Nicholas II. (1868-1918): The last Romanov Tsar on the throne. Zichy traveled Russia during his reign.

Otto Donner (1835-1909): Finnish linguist and politician expert on Sanskrit but also studied Finno-Ugric languages.

Palóczy Horváth (1908-1973): Hungarian writer known for his reportings on the rise of Nazism in Europe.

Péter Langó: Contemporary Hungarian archeologist specializes in the conquest and Árpád periods.

Philip Johan von Strahlenberg (1676-1747): Geographer, cartographer who worked Russia. Studied the Mongol tribes and wrote a German-Kalmyk dictionary.

Sergeij Jackevich: Governor of Yekaterinodar.

Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838): French linguist and orientalist.

William Jones (1746-1794): British lawyer and philologist who studied the relationship between Greek, Latin and Sanskrit languages.

Zeloni Alexseyevich: Governor of Odessa between 1885-1898.

Zsigmond Simonyi (1853-1919): Finno-Ugric linguist and the teacher of Pápay.