



Prometheus in the Hungarian National Bloodline. A Theory of the Origin of the Hungarians in Ferenc Otrokocsi Foris's *Origines Hungaricae*...

Levente PAP

Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (Cluj-Napoca, Romania)

Department of Human Sciences

paplevente@uni.sapientia.ro

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5191-6997>

Abstract. Although the end of the seventeenth century is considered as the beginning of the Hungarian scientific historiography, it does not mean that the famous mediaeval origin theories of the Hungarian nation disappeared. On the contrary, they continued to influence the historical thinking for many centuries. The well-known legendary and biblical theories get a new possible interpretation. The Protestant priest converted to Catholicism Ferenc Otrokocsi Fóris (1648–1718), using his distinguished education (he had learned and researched in Utrecht, Franeker, Oxford, and Rome), attempted to extend the scope of these theories with a new character: the famous *Prometheus* from Greek mythology. The aim of our paper is to present a critical analysis of Otrokocsi's theory and of the sources he used in his work entitled *Origines Hungaricae*... (1693).

Keywords: Greek mythology, Hungarian prehistory, identity

Research on identity is as old as mankind itself, and, although its forms of manifestation and definition (or indefinability) have changed throughout the centuries, in-depth self-discovery and, consequently, positioning oneself within a given social context has always been one of the major existential questions of the individual (Assmann 1992, Kertész 2019, Harmatta 1996). The Delphic maxim “know thyself” is the first school for the individual searching for knowledge of him-/herself (from Oedipus through Shakespeare to Tolkien). The concise definition (*gnothi seauton*) has retained its relevance throughout the centuries. Erikson successfully summarizes the essential elements of this complex phenomenon, highlighting the constructive factors of individuality (e.g. language, religion, origin) (Erikson 1977); Jan Assmann posits that collective

identity can appear as a result of the encounter between groups, societies, norms, mentalities, and values of different characters (Assmann 1992; 1996, 130). Historical myths and historical narratives have always played an important role in forming national identity (Smith 1999). As Homi K. Bhabha puts it:

Nations, like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully realize their horizons in the mind's eye. Such an image of the nation – or narration – might seem impossibly romantic and excessively metaphorical, but it is from those traditions of political thought and literary language that the nation emerges as a powerful historical idea in the west. An idea whose cultural compulsion lies in the impossible unity of the nation as a symbolic force. This is not to deny the attempt by nationalist discourses persistently to produce the idea of the nation as a continuous narrative of national progress, the narcissism of self-generation, the primeval present of the Volk. (Bhabha 1990, 1)

István Bitskey draws attention to the role of historical narratives in forming national identity in Europe in general and Central Europe in particular and emphasizes the importance of contrastive studies on the phenomenon (Bitskey 2007). In his writing, Bitskey analyses the different forms of identity existing in the Carpathian Basin in the early modern times (from humanist patriotism through local identities to Protestant and Catholic national identities). Apart from religious belonging, the identity of the nobility was also influenced by the belief that they are actually descendants of an ancient belligerent people, the Scythians. Basing on written sources, historiographers elaborated the Scythian–Hun–Hungarian concept of ethnogenesis as early as in the eleventh–twelfth centuries, the influence of which can be traced in subsequent centuries as well. The main source of the theory on the Scythian ethnogenesis (proudly declared and accepted by the nobility of the Middle Ages and modern times) is *Regino of Prüm*, a monk whose seminal work entitled *Chronicon* (889) is the first writing written in the Latin language that provides a detailed (although not fully reliable) description of the Hungarians plundering the area along the eastern border of the Frankish Empire (Regino 1890). He writes the following: “They came from the Scythian provinces and from the marshes that were immeasurably extended by the flooding of the Thanais” (Regino 1890, 131). Of course, the author does not assume that the Hungarians are Scythians. He only mentions that they migrated westwards from the dwelling spaces of the Scythians. Following *Chronica Hungarorum* (1448) by János Thuróczi, István Werbőczy's *Tripartitum* (1514) settled the question regarding the identity of the nobility for centuries, the quintessence of which was the Scythian–Hun origins of the Hungarians (Szovák 2021, 179).

Historiography had an important role in the dissemination of the theory (Ábrahám 2012), a compelling example of which is Ferenc Otrokocsi Flóris's work entitled *Origines*. Otrokocsi, regarded as a prodigy of the seventeenth-century scientific life, prides himself with an unusual and spectacular life. He was born in Otročok (present-day Slovakia) in 1648. After leaving the college of Sárospatak (Knapp 2006, 201), the talented young man continued his studies abroad. First, he travelled to Utrecht (1671), where he learnt from the most prominent professors of that time. Later he returned to Hungary, where he worked as a Calvinist priest. His life, too, was affected by the violent Counter-Reformation of those years: between 1675 and 1676, together with other Protestant priests, he was sentenced to galley slavery. After completing his sentence, he carried out research in Utrecht and Oxford, and then, returning to Hungary, he worked as a priest again. At his last place of service, in Košice, he was accused of collaboration with the Catholics and removed from his position (Szabados n. y., n. p.). After that, he set out on another journey to Amsterdam, Oxford, and Franeker (Bujtás 2018, 127) to continue his activity as a researcher. In Franeker, besides works promoting the idea of reconciliation between religions, he published his seminal work on linguistics and history entitled *Origines* (1693).

After that, he returned to Košice, where – not being trusted by the Calvinists anymore – he enjoyed the Jesuits' support and converted to Catholicism. After Trnava, he travelled to Vienna and Rome (Galla n. y., n. p.), where he studied theology and law and obtained the doctorate in both sciences (Knapp 2006, 202). Returning home, he lived in Trnava, where he worked as an archivist and teacher until his death. Although it is difficult to judge Otrokocsi's religious frailty based on the circumstances characteristic of the centuries to come, Éva Knapp rightly points out that the limits of religious identity in Otrokocsi's time could be identified differently as compared to the nineteenth century, in which, in all probability, apart from the religious identity, fights for power also had a decisive role (2006, 203). He is known to have died in Trnava on 1 October 1717 (Galla n. y., n. p.). The field of science that required no compromises from (the Calvinist and Catholic) Otrokocsi was historiography.

His scientific interest was primarily focused on theology and history. There is little information on the circumstances of his death. Although the beginnings of scientific historiography are linked to other names (such as Melchior Inchoffer, Sámuel Timon, and György Pray), Otrokocsi also had an active role in the research of sources carried out by the Jesuits and made an undisputable contribution to the elaboration of the Scythian–Hun–Avar theory of ethnogenesis¹ (Szabados 2006, 26; László 1987; Pálfi and Tanos 2006). He published his main work in Franeker during his Protestant period, but it proved to be useful among the Catholics as well, being regarded as an outstanding achievement of the Hungarian scientific life of that time.

1 For the origins of this theory, see Kulcsár (1973).

The work, entitled *Origines Hungaricae, seu liber, quo vera nationis Hungaricae origo et antiquitas, e veterum monumentis et linguis praecipuis panduntur* [The Hungarian Origins, or a Book in Which the True Origin and Antiquity of the Hungarian Nation is Published Based on the Ancient Documents and Main Languages], sets the Hungarian ethnogenesis into the focus of its investigations. Also, it is important to mention that the work is a proof of the author's remarkable knowledge of foreign languages, who tries to make use of his skills acquired in mastering biblical and ancient languages in order to work out the theory of the Hungarian ethnogenesis (Tóth 2012, 224). He identified correspondences between Hungarian and a number of European and ancient languages, often providing etymological and lexicon-like enumerations and analyses. Not without any bias, relying on his etymological investigations, Otrokocsi did not exclude the possibility that the ten tribes of Israel deported by the Assyrians were assimilated into the Hungarians² (Otrokocsi 1693, XXIX). Adopting the findings of earlier theories on languages, he held the position that European languages derive from the Scythian (Otrokocsi 1693, XV–XXVI). From here, it takes only one step to posit that the Hungarian is the *primaeval* language all European languages derive from. As far as the origins of the Hungarians is concerned, Otrokocsi's position coincides with the theories that can be found in the chronicles; what is more, he even reiterates these theories (Szovák 2021, 179–180). Otrokocsi skilfully manipulates the possible variants of the biblical theory of origins. In the first lines of the book, he posits that one who is familiar with history cannot deny the Scythian origins of the Hungarians: “No one with an even moderate knowledge of history can deny that the Hungarians are of Scythian origin...”³ (Otrokocsi 1693, 3). In the preface to the readers (*praefatio ad lectorem*), he emphasizes that those who carried out research into the origins of the Hungarians neither had proper knowledge of languages (which is a major problem) nor were they Hungarians, and they did not speak Hungarian properly at all.⁴

In what follows, the author does not continue to present the approach to the topic taken from the chronicles. Instead, he goes on to tell Prometheus's story, who rebels against Zeus, fails, and, as punishment, is bound to a rock on the

2 The Hebrew language had its own authority, which is why they were so fond of linking their own mother tongue with the ancient biblical language (Borst 1960, 132; cf. Borst 1957).

3 *Hungaros Scythicae esse originis, nemo qui Historias vel mediocriter novit, negare potest...*

4 “*Neque etiam potuere illi, Origines Hungarorum veras ex asse tradere; scilicet e subsidio linguarum, quod hic maxime requiritur. Ut enim taceam, Hebraicae linguae et Chaldaicae raram eorum temporibus cognitionem; id quod principale hic e mediis est, Linguae videlicet Hungaricae exacta et vernacula scientia, eos defecit. Nullus enim eorum, purus fuit Hungarus*” (Otrokocsi 1693, I). [Nor was it even possible for them to deliver the true origins of the Hungarians from nothing; that is to say, aided by language, which would have been highly required. For the knowledge of the Hebrew and Chaldaic languages was rare those days. However, the most important thing here was that they lacked the exact and vernacular knowledge of the Hungarian language. None of them was of pure Hungarian origin.]

land of the Scythians in the Caucasus: “Nota est celebris fabula gentilium, de Prometheo, ad Jovis imperium in Scythia vincto, juxta montem Caucasum, vel verius, in tractu Scythiae Europaeae remotius a Caucaso”⁵ (Otrokocsi 1693, 3). Otrokocsi enumerates several authors whose works are referred to in his writing, among whom we can mention Aeschylus, Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Ptolemy, or Flavius Josephus (Otrokocsi 1693, 3; Harmatta 1941). The author mentions a number of possible theories, some of which, he admits, are hardly acceptable. For example, a theory holds that the Scythians derive from a virgin (Otrokocsi 1693, 7). In Chapter VI, he provides a detailed analysis on the possible geographical position and extent of Scythia, using as source the authors mentioned above (Otrokocsi 1693, 10–11). He also refers to *Philippus Cluverius* (1627), a well-known geographer of the seventeenth century (Otrokocsi 1693, 11). Chapter XI expounds on the origins of the Scythian language and the languages of the peoples neighbouring them. He even includes the language of the Gipsies into the analysis (Otrokocsi 1693, 18–19). The most significant part of the book is Chapter XII, where he expounds on a genealogical analysis (Otrokocsi 1693, 19–21). Chapter XIII culminates in a remark according to which even the pagans admitted that Prometheus was the forefather of the Scythians: “Ipsi Gentiles quoque vetustissima sua fabula, agnoscunt Prometheum fuisse Scytharum progenitorem”⁶ (Otrokocsi 1693, 21). The same ancient sources prove that the place of Prometheus’s agony cannot be located anywhere else than in Scythia (although some authors mistakenly place it into the Caucasus), the most compelling evidence on which is provided by Aeschylus’s drama *Chained Prometheus* – says Otrokocsi (1693, 22). Examining the text of the drama, it can be noticed that the word “Scythian” appears in the second line, for setting the scene: “We have reached the land at the furthest bounds of earth, the Scythian marches, a wilderness where no mortals live” (Aeschylus 2009, 445). At first sight, it is logical that the place of Prometheus’s sufferings is Scythia. However, the problem is that research has proved that Ancient Greeks’ knowledge on the geography of Scythia was rather inaccurate. As Margalit Finkelberg rightly points out:

The Caucasus is the place where Prometheus’ punishment is usually located in Greek tradition. Yet, of all the treatments of the Prometheus legend, it is the one that is ostensibly ignorant of the real location of the Caucasus that transfers Prometheus’ punishment to the far north-west end of Europe. Hence, not only the Caucasus but Prometheus himself are misplaced in

5 The famous story of the Gentiles about Prometheus is well known – the hero was bound to Jupiter’s empire in Scythia, near Mount Caucasus, or rather in the area of European Scythia, farther from the Caucasus.

6 Even the Gentiles themselves, in their oldest legend, acknowledge that Prometheus was the progenitor of the Scythians.

this version. And this is not all: the Chalybes, traditionally represented as living south of the Black Sea, are now north of it (714–715), and the same is true of the Amazons, who are placed just below the “Caucasus,” that is, again, north-west of the Black Sea, and not in their traditional habitat along its southern coast. (724–726)

Moreover, “it is worth remembering in this connection that, being exclusively associated with the specific ridge between the Black Sea and the Caspian, ‘Caucasus’ was also used by the Greeks as an inclusive term. Thus, when Alexander and his army met a great mountain range on their march east, transferred to it the name ‘Caucasus,’ or ‘Indian Caucasus’ together with Prometheus” (Finkelberg 1998, 122).

As Otrókocsi did not consider it persuasive enough for everybody, he raised readers’ attention to the fact that Prometheus’s son, Deucalion, was also named “the Scythian.” Among other researchers, he also holds the position that Deucalion was first referred to as “the Scythian” by *Lucian* (120–180) in his work *De Dea Syria* (Dirven 1997). Although it cannot be denied that the name “Scythian” appears in Lucian’s work, editors and researchers of modern times have formed a different position regarding this appellation. In the comments written to the 1967 translation, Roy Darcus remarks that “although Lucian says he has heard the story from the Greeks, the account he gives follows the Babylonian tradition rather than the Greek [...] Consequently, Buttman⁷ proposed Sistes” (Dracus 1967, 63). In Herbert Strong’s translation, the appellation “Scythian” does not appear at all. Instead, the sentence in question appears in the following form: “The people, then, allege that it was Deucalion or Sisythus who founded the temple” (Lucian 1913, 50). In his commentaries appended to the Lucianian text, John Garstang remarks the following:

This version of the deluge, though associated by Lucian’s Greek informants with Deucalion, is clearly of eastern origin, having little resemblance to the Greek legend, and much in common with the Babylonian versions [...] A fundamental difference is that in the Greek legend only Deucalion and Pyrrha were saved, and mankind was subsequently renewed miraculously in response to the oracle of Themis. Lucian’s account of the animals coming in couples has its parallel in the Babylonian text. (Lucian 1913, 51)

The reasoning continues, and Otrókocsi finds another evidence to support his presupposition, arguing in favour of Deucalion’s “Scythian” appellation, the *Chronicon Marmoreum* (Jacoby 1904, 1997) dating back to the third century

7 Although it does not appear in the reference, it is presumably about Buttman’s *Mythologus* (1828).

(Otrokocsi 1693. I. 24–25). It goes without saying that Otrokocsi also included one of the remarkable epigraphic discoveries of the sixteenth century, the Parian Chronicle, in the sources of evidence to sustain his position. The marble stele containing the chronology of Greek history was found on Paros and was exhibited in Oxford in 1667 (Jacoby 1904, 1997). Otrokocsi, who was carrying out research here in the 1690s, had probably seen the remarkable discovery. The source of the information inscribed on the stele has not been clarified even to this day. Scientists, however, agree that the accuracy of the entries referring to the years that date back to ancient, mythical times is difficult or impossible to be proved, their main role being only to ensure chronological order (Young and Steinmann 2012). Rotstein remarks the following:

The Parian Marble, as many have noted, may be disappointing as a historical source. What is more, chronology often differs from what we know from other sources. Nevertheless, to readers, ancient or modern, perusing it from beginning to end, the Parian Marble offers a compact version of Panhellenic history. In that sense, the inscription not only offers a chronology, as originally intended, but at the same time a historical overview. If read in this way, a national hero emerges and a plot seems to form. The hero is Hellas, at times identified with Athens; the plot is the rise and fall of political powers. (Rotstein 2016, 138–139)

Otrokocsi's reasoning is simple: if the son is Scythian, so is the father: "Si filius Scythia fuit, ergo et pater" (Otrokocsi 1693, 22). Moreover, he finds an even more interesting proof in the scholion written to Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonautica* (Radová 2009, 86), where it is claimed that Prometheus was the king of the Scythians: "Prometheum Scytharum Regem fuisse" (Otrokocsi 1693, 22). Owing to continuous floods, he could not provide food to the population, and therefore was toppled: "qui cum res ad victum necessarias, propter continuas Aquilae fluminis inundationes praebere non posset, ab illis vincitus est"⁸ (Otrokocsi 1693, 22). Also, he is of the opinion that Iapetus was Prometheus's son, who could not be anyone else than the biblical Japheth, Noah's son. A compelling evidence to support the first statement could be Hesiod's *Theogony*. Otrokocsi also refers to it: "Now Iapetus took to wife the neat-ankled maid Clymene, daughter of Ocean, and went up with her into one bed. And she bore him a stout-hearted son, Atlas: also she bore very glorious Menoetius and clever Prometheus" (Hesiod 1936, n. p.). He rightly points out that there are close correspondences between the texts from the Old Testament (Genesis and Chronicles) and those belonging to early Greek literature (mythology). Researchers' opinions differ regarding the sources

8 Who, since he could not provide the things necessary for life owing to the continuous floods of the River Aquila, was bound by them...

and direction of these correspondences (which one had an influence on the other), but the majority of specialists agree about the fact that these correspondences really existed. Presuppositions regarding earlier correspondences are problematic because they are probably inaccurate. As Loudén points out in his monograph published in 2019: “Iapetos is grandfather of Deucalion, the Greek character corresponding to Noah (and the earlier Utnapishtim)” (Loudén 2019, 41). This makes it evident that there are striking incongruities as far as the correspondence and bloodline of characters are concerned. Modern research considers Noah as Deucalion’s biblical correspondent, who is father of the biblical Japheth, while Deucalion is the grandson of the mythological Iapetos. Although this is far from being a seamless correspondence, it is clearly visible that both Magog’s and Prometheus’s father was Japheth, or Iapetos. Therefore, he mentions two French Protestant authors who hold the opinion that the heathen Prometheus is nobody else than Japheth’s second son, Magog: “Salmasius et Bochartus existimant Prometheum Gentilium ipsissimum fuisse Magogum, secundum nempe Iapheti filium”⁹ (Otrokocsi 1693, 23). French philologist Claudius Salmasius (1588–1653) had an undisputed role in recognizing the fact that European languages can be traced back to a common Indo-European language (Önnerfors 1994). As nothing was known about this common language, it was identified with the Scythian language. *Geographia Sacra seu Phaleg et Canaan* was a popular Protestant biblical exegesis published by Samuel Bochartus in 1646. As Otrokocsi does not provide an exact text reference, it can only be hypothesized that he alludes to the theory expounded on in Book 1, Chapter 2 of the exegetical work mentioned, where, based on Hebrew etymology, Bochartus proves that the biblical Magog is identical with the mythological Prometheus (Bochartus 1681, 13–14). Otrokocsi finds this conclusion quite unacceptable, and jokingly remarks that even though Prometheus is not Iapetus’s son, he might be his grandson (Otrokocsi 1693, 23–24). These two sources contributed with nothing new because attempts to regard the Hungarians as descendants of a biblical people and to derive them from Magog is one of the earliest objectives of Hungarian historiography. Mediaeval chronicles also regard the Hungarians as descendants of Noah’s beloved son, Iapetus. Anonymus, the chronicler of King Béla III, even draws a sketchy genealogy: “The first king of Scythia was Magog, son of Japheth, and this people were called after him Magyar” (Anonymus 2010, 7). The mediaeval chronicles prove that the biblical origins of the Hungarians has never been a neatly elaborated theory. The *Chronicon Pictum* tries to justify the Japhetic theory:

Whence it is clear for all to see that the words of those are not true who say that Hunor and Magor, the fathers of the Hungarians, were the sons of

9 Salmasius and Bochartus think that Prometheus was Magogus, the Gentile himself, the second son of Japheth.

Nimrod, who was the son of Cush, who was the son of Kham, who was cursed by Noah. For then the Hungarians would not be of the seed of Japheth, as says the blessed Jerome; nor at any time did Nimrod live near the river Tanais, which is to the east, but he lived towards the seas of the ocean. (Kálti 1337–38, n. p.)

To sum up, Otrókocsi holds that Prometheus is the son of Japheth (more precisely Iapetus), the progenitor of the Scythians, whose son, Deucalion, already a real Scythian, could be the equivalent of the biblical Magog (by contrast, present-day research claims him to be Noah's equivalent). Although Otrókocsi's argumentation is rather erratic, and three hundred years later almost all his statements can be refuted, this clergyman – eager to present the Hungarian ethnogenesis with all its splendour – did not intend to add another work on Hungarian history to the ones written on the same topic in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries (Szovák 2021). Instead, he tried to provide historiography a scientific basis. While it is true that Hungarian scientific historiography is linked to names such as György Pray or István Katona, the very first attempts were made by the “Protestant-Catholic” Otrókocsi. Endowed with distinguished education and outstanding qualifications, his aim was to prove the ancient origins of the Hungarian nation, placing it onto the map of ancient European nations. Although this is an objective that the mediaeval chroniclers also aimed to achieve, Otrókocsi, along the ancient Hungarian gesta and biblical roots, made attempts to prove that the Hungarians are related with European mythical figures through their Scythian ancestors.¹⁰ This made it possible for the seventeenth-century nobility's cohesive identity to step on a superior level because, through the Scythian bloodline, the Hungarians could not only be the descendants of reputable ancient peoples, but they were also sons of Prometheus, Iapetus's son; and along the Scythian Deucalion line, close relationship could be demonstrated with civilizations of high culture, such as the Greeks and biblical Jews, which at a certain level was an attempt to prove the ancient character of the Scythian language, as well as the close relationship between Hebrew and Hungarian. All these objectives were triggered by the nobility's need to assert national identity, which also facilitated Otrókocsi's Catholicization, together with the *Hungarus attitude*, an outstanding representative of which was Otrókocsi, besides Matthias Bel (Tóth 2012, 234). Otrókocsi's Prometheus theory had an influence on the works of other representatives of Hungarian historiography such as Matthias Bel or István Horváth.

10 In that period, many linguists and historians alike tried to link the origin of their own people to the ancient Scythians. See Borst (1957) and Hegedűs (2003).

Works Cited

- Ábrahám, Ádám. 2012. "The Image of Attila in the Hungarian Historiography of the 17th and 18th Centuries." *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis* vol. 14, no. 1: 161–166.
- Aeschylus [525–456 BC]. 2009. *Prometheus Bound*. Transl. Alan H. Sommerstein. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Anonymus [13th cent.]. 2010. *Anonymi Bele regis notarii Gesta Hungarorum* [Gesta Hungarorum by Anonymus]. Transl. János M. Bak and Martyn Rady. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press.
- Apollonius Rhodius [3rd cent. BC]. 1913. *The Argonautica*. Transl. R. C. Seaton. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/830/830-h/830-h.htm>. (Last accessed 6 April 2022).
- Assmann, Jan. 1992. *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* [Cultural Memory. Writing, Memory and Political Identity in Early Advanced Civilizations]. Munich: C. H. Beck.
1996. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity." *New German Critique* no. 65 (Spring–Summer): 125–133.
- Bhabha, Homi K. 1990. "Introduction: Narrating the Nation." In *Nation and Narration*, 1–8. London and New York: Routledge.
- Bitskey, István. 2007. "Az identitástudat formái a kora újkori Kárpát-medencében" [Forms of Identity in the Early Modern Carpathian Basin]. In *Humanizmus, Religio, Identitástudat* [Humanism, Religion, Identity], 11–24. Debrecen: DEENK Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadója.
- Bochartus, Samuel. 1681. *Geographia Sacra seu Phaleg et Canaan*. Francofurti: Johann David Zunner.
- https://books.google.ro/books?id=IVBfl7uZT18C&printsec=frontcover&hl=hu&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=true (Last accessed 6 April 2022).
- Borst, Arno. 1957. *Der Trumbau von Babel* [The Tower of Babel]. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann.
1960. "Die Geschichte der Sprachen im abendländischen Denken" [The History of Languages in Western Thought]. *Wirkendes Wort* vol. 10, no. 3: 129–143.
- Bujtás, László Zsigmond. 2018. "Otrokocsi Fóris Ferenc hollandiai könyvajándékozásainak nyomában" [Tracing the Book Gifts of Ferenc Otrokocsi Fóris in the Netherlands]. *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* vol. 19, no. 1: 127–134.
- http://epa.oszk.hu/03300/03307/00057/pdf/EPA03307_egyhaztorteneti_szemle_2018_01_127-134.pdf (Last accessed 6 April 2022).
- Buttmann, Philipp Karl. 1828. *Mythologus*. Berlin: Mylius.

- Cluverius, Philippus. 1627. *Philippi Cluverii Introductionis in Universam Geographiam tam Veterem quam novam, Libri VI*. Lugduni Batavorum: Officina Elzeviriana.
- Dirven, Lucinda. 1997. "The Author of 'De Dea Syria' and His Cultural Heritage." *Numen* vol. 44, no. 2: 153–179. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3270297?seq=1> (Last accessed 6 April 2022).
- Dracus, Roy. 1967. *A New Translation of Lucian's De Dea Syria with a Discussion of the Cult at Hierapolis*. Thesis. Vancouver: University of British Columbia. <https://open.library.ubc.ca/soa/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/831/items/1.0104525> (Last accessed 6 April 2022).
- Erikson, H. Erik. 1977. *Identität und Lebenszyklus. Drei Aufsätze* [Identity and Life Cycle. Three Essays]. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Finkelberg, Margalit. 1998. "The Geography of the Prometheus Vincetus." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* vol. 141, no. 2: 119–141. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41234311> (Last accessed 6 April 2022).
- Galla, Ferenc. n. y. *Otrokocsi Fóris Ferenc gályarab Rómában* [Ferenc Otrokocsi Fóris Galley Slave in Rome]. Published based on the manuscript by József Boróvi. http://www.c3.hu/~mev/tartalom/98_1_2/galla.htm#0 (Last accessed 6 April 2022).
- Harmatta, János. 1941. *Quellenstudien zu den Skythika des Herodot* [Source Studies on the Skythika of Herodotus]. Budapest: PPTÉ.
1996. "Historische Vergangenheit und Identitätsbewusstsein" [Historical Past and Sense of Identity]. *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* vol. 97, no. 1–2: 117–126.
- Hegedűs, József. 2003. *Hiedelem és valóság. Külföldi és hazai nézetek a magyar nyelv rokonságáról* [Belief and Reality. Foreign and Domestic Views on the Kinship of the Hungarian Language]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Herodotus [4th cent. BC]. 1914. *The History of Herodotus*. Transl. G. C. Macaulay. London: Macmillan. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/2707/2707-h/2707-h.htm> (Last accessed 6 April 2022).
- Hesiod [8–7th cent. BC]. 2008 [1936]. *Hesiod. The Homeric Hymns and Homeric*. Transl. Hugh G. Evelyn-White. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/348/348-h/348-h.htm> (Last accessed 6 April 2022).
- Jacoby, Felix. 1904. *Das Marmor Parium* [The Parian Marble]. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
- 1997 [1929]. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* [The Fragments of the Greek Historians]. Vol. II. Leiden: Brill.
- Kálti, Márk. [1337–38]. *Chronicon Pictum*. Transl. János Bollók. http://sermones.elte.hu/szovegkiadasok/magyarul/madasszgy/index.php?file=125_132_KepesKronika (Last accessed 6 April 2022).

- Kertész, István. 2019. *A hódító Róma* [Rome the Conqueror]. Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó.
- Knapp, Éva. 2006. “Ismeretlen források Otrokocsi Foris Ferenc katolizálásának kérdéséhez” [Unknown Sources on the Catholicization of Ferenc Foris Otrokocsi]. *Magyar Könyvszemle* vol. 122, no. 2: 201–217.
- Kulcsár, Péter. 1973. *Bonfini magyar történetének forrásai és keletkezése* [The Sources and Origins of Bonfini’s Hungarian History]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- László, Gyula. 1987. *Őstörténetünk* [Our Prehistory]. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó.
- Louden, Bruce. 2019. *Greek Myth and the Bible. Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Lucian [120–180]. 1913. *The Syrian Goddess: Being a Translation of Lucian’s “De Dea Syria” – with a Life of Lucian*. Transl. Herbert A. Strong, comm. John Garstang. London: Constable & Company Ltd.
- Otrokocsi, Fóris Ferenc. 1693. *Origines Hungaricae, seu Liber, quo vera nationis Hungaricae origo et antiquitas, e veterum monumentis et linguis praecipuis, panduntur* [The Hungarian Origins, or a Book in Which the True Origin and Antiquity of the Hungarian Nation Is Published Based on the Ancient Documents and Main Languages]. Franekeræ: Leonard Strik.
- Önnerfors, Ute. 1994. Claudius Salmasius. In *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, Band 8: 1232–1233. <https://www.bbkl.de/index.php/frontend/lexicon/S/Sa/salmasiusclaudiussaumaiseclaude-68002> (Last accessed 6 April 2022).
- Pálfi, Zoltán and Bálint Tanos. 2006. “A sumer–magyar hit és a sumerológia” [The Sumerian–Hungarian Belief and Sumerology]. *Ókor* vol. 5, no. 3–4: 101–106.
- Radová, Irena. 2009. “Mythology in the Scholia on Apollonius Rhodius.” In *Greek Research in Australia: Proceedings of the Eighth Biennial International Conference of Greek Studies, Flinders University June 2009*, eds. M. Rossetto, M. Tsianikas, G. Couvalis, and M. Palaktsoglou, 85–92. Adelaide: Flinders University Department of Languages.
- Regino of Prüm [840–915]. 1890. *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*. Ed. Fridericus Kurze. Hannoveræ: Impensis bibliopolii Hahniani.
- Rotstein, Andrea. 2016. *Literary History in the Parian Marble*. Hellenic Studies. Series 68. Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies. <https://chs.harvard.edu/read/rotstein-andrea-literary-history-in-the-parian-marble/#> (Last accessed 6 April 2022).
- Smith, D. Anthony. 1999. *Myths and Memories of the Nations*. Oxford: OUP.
- Szabados, György. “Otrokocsi Fóris Ferenc.” In *Magyar Művelődéstörténeti Lexikon*. http://mamul.iti.mta.hu/MAMUL6/mamul_view.php?editid1=5282 (Last accessed 6 April 2022).

-
2006. *A magyar történelem kezdeteiről* [On the Beginnings of Hungarian History]. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó.
- Szovák, Kornél. 2021. "Szkítia és a Szittyia azonosságtudat" [Scythia and the Scythian Identity]. *Magyar Tudomány* vol. 182, no. 1: 176–187.
- Tóth, Gergely. 2012. „Civilizált” őstörténet. A magyar nyelv és a magyar nemzet eredetének kutatása Bél Mátyás életművében [“Civilized” Prehistory. Research into the Origins of the Hungarian Language and the Hungarian Nation in the Life Work of Mátyás Bél]. *Történelmi Szemle* vol. 40, no. 2: 219–246.
- Young, Rodger C. and Andrew E. Steinmann. 2012. “Correlation of Select Classical Sources Related to the Trojan War with Assyrian and Biblical Chronologies.” *Journal for the Evangelical Study of the Old Testament* vol. 1, no. 2: 223–248.