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Ethnonyms in Europe and Asia: Studies in History and Anthropology

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BOOK REVIEWS

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Ethnonyms and Early Medieval Ethnicity: Methodological Reflections

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The paper deals with the significance of ethnonyms for the study of early medieval ethnicity. The historiographic sources are full of names of peoples, and endow them with collective agency. That may not prove that all of these peoples had strong ethnic identities. But it attests to the general use of ethnicity as a cognitive device to differentiate between large social groupings who were relevant actors on the political scene. In this scheme, ethnonyms are fundamental. 'Ethnicity' as a system of distinctions between collective social actors and 'ethnic identity' as the result of a series of identifications are of course closely linked, but they represent different aspects of 'the ethnic'. Therefore, ethnonyms do not necessarily reflect ethnic self-identification of the group concerned, although they often do. What they attest to is some shared belief that humans can be distinguished by ethnonyms, that is, on the basis of 'natural' affiliations that people are born with.

Keywords: ethnonyms, early medieval ethnicity, Longobards, Goths, gentes

What did ethnonyms mean in the early medieval period?[1] We can begin with an example of what people thought about this question themselves. In the middle of the seventh century, the origin story of the Longobards was written down in the Longobard kingdom in Italy in a text called *Origo gentis Langobardorum*. Toward the end of the eighth century, Paul the Deacon faithfully repeated the story in his Historia Langobardorum, although he (a Christian monk) distanced himself from it by calling it a *ridicula fabula*.[2] According to these two texts, a long time ago a small people called the Winnili migrated from Scandinavia, led by the wise woman Gambara and her sons. They were challenged by the Vandals, who solicited the support of Wodan (a Germanic god of war). Gambara therefore asked Wodan's wife Frea for support, and she gave the advice that the Longobard women should tie their hair in front of their faces so that it looked like a beard and go with the men to the battlefield. When Wodan awoke the next

1 In general: Pohl, "Aux origines d'une Europe ethnique." The research leading to these results has received funding from the Austrian Science Fund (FWF), Project F 42-G 18 – SFB 'Visions of Community' (VISCOM).

2 *Origo gentis Langobardorum* 1; Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* 1:7–8.

day, he looked out on the battlefield and asked "Who are these longbeards?" Frea replied, "As you have given them the name, give them victory!" From then on, the Winnili were called Longobards.[3]

In all likelihood, this is a pre-Christian story based on the supposed agency of pagan gods.[4] If Wodan gives a name to the people, he adopts it in a sense, and is obliged to give it victory. Scholars have long assumed that Wodan had (unwittingly, as the legend implies) conferred one of his own epithets on the Winnili. Yet the fourteenth-century text in which *langbardr* is listed among Odin's/Wodan's names may also have relied on a knowledge of Paul the Deacon's *Historia*.[5] The name conferred on the Longobards is strikingly paradoxical. As Paul the Deacon states, "it is certain that the Longobards were afterwards so called on account of the length of their beards untouched by the knife."[6] This is a rather straightforward explanation, immediately comprehensible both in Germanic languages and in Latin (*longibarbi*, as Wodan says in Paul's account). It was also taken up by Isidore of Seville in his seventh-century *Etymologies*: *Langobardos vulgo fertur nominatos prolixa barba et numquam tonsa*, "the Longobards, according to popular opinion, are named after their long beards that are never cut."[7] However, the origin story subverts this clear-cut etymology based on a secondary male sexual characteristic by attributing the long beards to women, and the narrative privileges female agency: Gambara, as leader of the Longobards, is more successful by relying on Frea, than the Vandals, who have directly appealed to Wodan.[8] Whatever the implications of this and other stories about "women in the beginning,"[9] this narrative must have allowed the women to regard themselves as Longobards in the full sense, too. This, then, is a story of self-identification with and through an ethnonym.

At the same time, ethnonyms also allowed external identification of peoples. This is illustrated by a second example from a somewhat earlier period. The *Historia Augusta*, written around 400 AD, offers a detailed and fictive description of the Emperor Aurelian's triumph, thought to have taken place in the 270s. According to this account, Aurelian rode up to the Capitol in a chariot which had belonged to a king of the Goths and was drawn by four stags, followed by

3 Waitz, *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, 1.

4 Pohl, "Narratives of Origin."; Wolfram, "Origo et Religio.."

5 Nedoma, "Der altisländische Odinsname *Langbardr* ."

6 Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, 1:7–8; translation based on Foulke.

7 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, IX.2:95.

8 Pohl, "Gender and ethnicity in the early middle ages."

9 Geary, *Women at the Beginning. Origin Myths from the Amazons to the Virgin Mary*, 22–24.

exotic animals, gladiators, and captives from the barbarian tribes, among them Arabs, Indians, Persians, Goths, Franks, and Vandals. "Ten women were also led along, who, fighting in male attire, had been captured among the Goths after many others had been killed; a placard declared these women to be of the kin [*genus*] of the Amazons—for placards are borne before all, displaying the names of their people [*gens*].[10] This set-up (representatives of a people marching past the spectators, one after the other, carrying signs with their names) reminds one of the grandiose opening ceremonies of the Olympic Games of our time. At Roman triumphs and in panegyrics devoted to Roman emperors, long lists of defeated peoples were a standard feature. Again, the functional logic of ethnonyms is somehow subverted by women: the Amazons, a fictive female people. The Gothic women found fighting on the battlefield certainly did not constitute a people of their own; but their spectacular presence in Aurelian's triumph was endorsed by ancient mythology.[11]

In both examples, ethnonyms are a central feature of ethnic identification. Contemporaries tended to believe that they represented the nature of a people, an assumption that Isidore of Seville systematically employed in his *Etymologies* to explain the characteristics of the numerous peoples that he lists.[12] Indeed, some names carried a clear meaning in the language of their own people, such as Longobards or Alamanni ("all" or "full" men). Others, mostly by coincidence, could easily be (mis)understood in Latin: Saxons (rocks), Angli (angels), Bulgars (vulgar), or Avars (greedy). The names already seemed to tell a story, as in the Longobard origin myth.

Ethnonyms, furthermore, were the usual way to structure the political world, and the history of its changes. Some texts (judging from the manuscripts) bore the names of peoples in their titles, if in rather different phrasings: *De origine actibusque Getarum*, *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, *Liber Historiae Francorum*, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. Still, the ethnonyms were not without ambiguities. In the construction of the Getica (which by the way is a modern title), the Goths were identified with the ancient Scythians and Dacians, and in particular, with the similarly-named Getae, who were referenced in the title. The intention was to enhance the ancient glory of the Goths, but this created rather confusing equations. Isidore, in his Gothic history, proposed the rather far-fetched argument that the names were so similar that "with one letter removed and one

10 Chastagnol, *Historia Augusta*, 33 f., 1004.

11 Liccardo, "Different gentes, Same Amazons."

12 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, IX.2.

letter changed, 'Getae' becomes 'Scythae'."[13] Isidore also added an identification with the apocalyptic peoples of Gog and Magog, featured in the prophecies of Ezekiel and in John's Apocalypse: *Gothi a Magog filio Iaphet nominati putantur, de similitudine ultimae syllabae* "the Goths are supposed to be named after Magog, son of Japhet, because of the similitude of the last syllable."[14]

What historians habitually refer as "Anglo-Saxons" or simply the "(early) English" was in fact a conglomerate of peoples, mainly Angles and Saxons; in different passages, Bede variously adds Jutes and/or Frisians, and sometimes other names.[15] Bede did much to promote the name Angli/English for all of them, not least because of the association with angels, expressed in a famous saying attributed to Pope Gregory the Great: "Not Angles, but angels" (whereas "Saxons" could be understood as "stones" or "daggers"). And the Longobards only got their name at the beginning of their written history; in later manuscript catalogues, Paul the Deacon's *History of the Longobards* was occasionally still entered as "History of the Winnili." This does not mean that these peoples had no solid identities, and in a sense the onomastic multiplicity could also enhance their pride. It does however indicate that these stories were about identities in the making, not about clear-cut routines of identification.

The ethnic element of identity is prominent in the early medieval sources because, at the end of Antiquity, the countries mostly came to be named after the people by which they were inhabited , and not vice versa. Gaul became France, a large swathe of the ancient province of Liguria came to be Lombardy, the main part of Britain, England. Later, what had been Pannonia became Hungary; instead of Thrace, there was Bulgaria; and northwestern Illyricum became Croatia. Only the Goths did not reign long enough to leave their name on their former realms. In the long run, some of the ancient territorial designations in Europe were maintained: Italy, Spain, Britain, Greece/Hellas (Belgium was only re-appropriated by the new state in 1830), and some regional names such as Aquitaine, Tuscany, Dalmatia, and Macedonia. A few new territorial designations appeared over the course of history, for instance Castile, Provence, Lotharingia/Lorraine, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Austria. Northern and eastern Europe, beyond the former Roman borders, have an almost exclusively ethnic

13 Idem, *History of the Goths*, 108.

14 Ibid., IX.2.89. See also Pohl and Dörler, "Isidore and the gens Gothorum."

15 Bede, *"Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum."* See Pohl, "Ethnic names and identities in the British Isles."

topography: Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Poland, the Czech Republic, Serbia, and Russia.

This ethnic configuration of the political geography of large parts of Europe was not a straightforward development. Ethnicity was not necessarily the prime mover of medieval and early modern European history. It mattered more or less as a form of identification and social cohesion, depending on the circumstances. If the names of states and peoples on today's map of Europe are surprisingly similar to those on a map from one thousand years ago, this is not because these peoples and states had unbroken histories of linear development. Some disappeared from the map for centuries (for instance Poland, Bulgaria, and Serbia), or their geographical position shifted (for instance Burgundy, Bulgaria, and Lithuania), or they were conquered by foreigners (for instance England by the Normans and much of southeast Europe by the Ottomans) or lived through periods of fragmentation (for instance France and Germany). For a long time, *Francia* was only the core of the Frankish realm, more or less today's Île de France. But even where political independence or continuity of a sense of ethnic community were interrupted, they remained available to later appropriations. Sometimes such appropriations were fictive, and rested on the similarity of the name or of the region. For instance, the "Wends" (a German name for the Slavs) were soon identified with the long-disappeared Vandals, a self-representation which reached its peak in the late medieval and early modern period.[16]

What remained in place throughout all these changes was the principle of a distinction by ethnonyms. In this simple sense, "ethnicity" is a system of distinguishing between named social groupings according to their ethnonyms and ascribing collective agency to them.[17] For the early Middle Ages, we have only patchy information about ethnic self-identification. However, we have ample evidence for the systematic employment of ethnic distinctions, mostly by outside observers, as shown in the example from the *Historia Augusta*. In that sense, the early Middle Ages were a world of *gentes*. In the narrative sources, collective agency was unproblematically attributed to peoples: they migrated, converted to Christianity, waged war, or raised kings. A state or a kingdom could hardly act as a collective; it was only the king as the representative of the people or the people itself who could take political action. Ethnic agency also applied to smaller groups and non-state actors, as long as they could be

16 Steinacher, Roland, "Wenden, Slawen, Vandalen."

17 Although some scholars claim that, I cannot see any heuristic advantage in denying that a distinction of social groups by ethnonyms, *nomina gentium*, can be regarded as 'ethnic'.

identified (otherwise such groups would often be generally labeled "barbarians"). In that sense, ethnicity was generally used as a system of distinctions between *gentes* which made it possible to structure the social world and to circumscribe collective political actors and broad, inclusive social groups. This raises problems of definition: can we distinguish between ethnic and other social groups, or do they represent a continuum in early medieval usage? And what distinguishes an ethnonym from a territorial or political label?

It is hard (and controversial) to define "ethnic."" in an unambiguous way. Many scholars offer definitions with lists of distinctive features (common origin, memories, language, culture, customs, costume, territory, etc.).[18] These kinds of definitions mostly apply to urban or territorial identities as much as they do to ethnic identities. There are also subjective definitions, according to which ethnic identity is determined by a subjective sense of belonging to a group.[19] However, we have relatively little evidence of actual subjective self-definitions in the early Middle Ages. Therefore, I would propose four answers to the question of definition.

First, we all know in everyday usage what an "ethnic" name is, and so did ancient and medieval historians. Our understanding obviously differs little, for instance, from the one laid out by Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologies* in the seventh century, which remained popular throughout the Middle Ages. Most of the *nomina gentium* which he lists (with etymological explanations) are also ethnonyms by our standards.[20] They include the Romans (at the time often considered one *gens* among others), but otherwise only a few groups that we might not consider as ethnic. Isidore also discusses the terminology (*gens, natio*) and the relationship between peoples and languages. The unquestioned assumption is that after the Flood, the world was divided up by *gentes* according to their descendance from the sons of Noah.[21] Consequently, Isidore defines *gens* as a multitude descended from one origin, but he then adds an alternative: "or distinguished by its particular grouping."[22] The twenty books of his *Etymologies*

18 See for instance: Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*.

19 Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung*. This was an important step in overcoming objective, 'essentialist' definitions of ethnicity.

20 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies,* IX.2.

21 Ibid. (with enumeration of the gentes descended from each of the sons of Noah). Unlike the wording of the Old Testament, "the peoples were divided on earth," *divisae sunt gentes in terra* (Gn. 10.32), Isidore's phrase assumes that the entire earth was divided up by the gentes: *Gentes autem a quibus divisa est terra*, the peoples by whom the world was divided.

22 Ibid., IX.2.1 (*gens est multitudo ab uno principio orta sive ab alia natione secundum propriam collectionem distincta*).

contain only two other chapters which provide exhaustive lists of named social groups: imaginary peoples (the "monstrous races," that is, fantastic ethnicity) and Christian heresies (often named after their founder, for instance "Arianism").[23] Isidore was surely able to draw the line between *gentes* and other social groups. The same applies to the general historiographical use of ethnonyms, most of which seem to correspond to modern notions of ethnicity.

Second, as noted above, according to ancient and medieval perceptions, countries and polities cannot act, only people and their representatives can. In our political language, Washington or France can take political action. Rome or the *regnum* of the Franks do not have agency, only the *senatus populusque Romanus* or the *rex* and the *gens Francorum* can act. The ancient *populus* essentially implied a political definition of the "people," not an ethnic one. In the ancient period, the notion of civic identity was so strong that the *populus*, the people of a city, dominated the political landscape and the historical narratives. In the early Middle Ages, this changed, and the *gentes* came to the fore. Thus, the Romans came to be regarded as one *gens* among many.[24] Still, there are some cases in which the texts also attribute the same kind of agency to groups that we might not regard as ethnic, for instance the "Romans" of the eastern Roman Empire (who by our standards were mostly Greeks) or the populations of cities (for instance the Venetians), (former) provinces (the Aquitanians), and smaller kingdoms (the Mercians). Our more neutral term "peoples" may thus be more appropriate to cover the entire range of collective agents.

This leads to the third element of definition: on a pragmatic level, an ethnonym is defined by its position in a horizontal system of distinctions within the social world. If the prevalent distinction is between *gentes*, then named collective actors whom we would not regard as ethnic groups (Romans, Normans, or Venetians, for instance) tend to be ethnicized as well, and can be presented in the texts as a *gens Romanorum*, *Normannorum*, and *Veneticorum*.

The fourth element of a terminological clarification tends to be narrower. The term *gens*, which is overwhelmingly used for early medieval peoples, comes from *gignere*, to procreate; *genus* and *natio* have a similar etymological background. This suggests that *gentes* were understood as "having a common origin," regardless of whether or not the people in question actually did. In this context, "ethnic," in my view, can most usefully be understood as a perceived intrinsic

23 Ibid., XI.3 and VIII.5.

24 *Transformations of Romanness*.

quality that is in the people themselves: common blood, common origin, or a similar quality. Thus, it needs no defining point of reference outside the person, such as a city, a land, a polity, or a religious cult.[25] One can be a Goth or a Hun wherever one is, under Hunnic, Gothic, or Roman rule, as a pagan or a Christian. Of course, in most cases ethnic identities attach themselves to territorial, political, religious, or other identities and form amalgamates of identification. Yet it is methodologically more advantageous to be able to distinguish between these different elements of identification in order to analyze how their relative significance changes. For instance, is the affiliation with the people crucial, or is the affiliation with the land more important? It makes a difference whether a royal title is *rex Hungarorum* or *rex Hungariae*. However, it is not a fundamental difference (the land is named after the people), but a gradual one.

The approach defined by these four methodological principles is necessarily flexible. It cannot rely on one clear definition which can be used for all periods, but compels us to historicize our concepts. The goal is not to decide whether or not an early medieval people "was" an ethnic group. That would be a static and not very productive approach. Three questions may be more interesting. One is the question of the extent to which a people or peoples in general were regarded by contemporaries in ways that fit our criteria for ethnicity. The second is the question of our heuristic purposes to use the concepts of ethnicity and ethnic identity. Thirdly, this gradual approach allows us to assess how the salience and meaning of ethnicity changed over time or differed in different contexts at the same time.

This flexible approach also allows us to deal with a good number of problematic cases of ethnonyms. First, some ethnonyms found in biblical, ancient, or medieval sources are clearly fictive. But as argued above, educated observers could basically distinguish between actual people and "monstrous races." As we have seen, Isidore draws clear distinctions between them.[26] Second, frequently ancient and outdated names were used, which were sometimes conjured up to make the victories of a Roman emperor seem more impressive or, in other cases, to refer to ethnographic stereotypes or relatively stable identifications of earlier with later peoples. Thus, the Huns could be called Scythians, the Avars Scythians and Huns, and the Hungarians by all of these names.[27]

25 Pohl, "Introduction: Strategies of identification."

26 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, lists the *gentes,* i.e. actual peoples, in Book IX. ('De gentium vocabulis', IX.2), and the '*monstra*' among the *gentes* in XI.3, 'De portentibus'.

27 Pohl, *Die Awaren.*; reworked English translation forthcoming: *The Avars.*

Third, names employed by outsiders could consistently differ from the name used for self-identification. This can be an enormously stable practice: the Hellenes have been called "Greeks" by many of their neighbors for more than 2000 years, and they still are. If such a case of cultural translation is well-established and generally known, it may create surprisingly few problems. The modern *Deutschen* are called Germans by the English, Allemands by the French, Tedeschi by the Italians, Němci (or something similar) by many Slavic peoples, and Saksa by the Finns, but everybody seems to be well aware who is who.

Names for collectives only mentioned in isolated texts may not help much to establish any "real" identities. More frequent mentions at least allow one to trace consistent naming practices within a wider system of distinction. It may still be difficult to grasp to what extent this mental map corresponded to social practice, or in this case, to an ethnic identity. A decisive criterion is whether there is evidence to suggest interaction and communication between the author of the source, his environment, and the people in question. In general, the representatives of the Roman, Byzantine, or Carolingian empires could hardly afford to deal with their many neighbors on the basis of totally fictitious mental maps. Some inconsistencies are always noticeable, especially in the barbarian lands and the steppe zone; in many cases, they may point to shifting identifications. At almost the same time, around 550, both Jordanes and Procopius provided a generally consonant, but to some extent contradictory map of peoples living around the Black Sea.[28] East Roman diplomats and travelers provided the material for these kinds of ethnographic descriptions. The contact with Romans may even have convinced some smaller peoples in the area that they were in fact Scythians or Huns.

Byzantine name-giving, according to Florin Curta's hypothesis, gave the impulse for the spread of the name "Slavs."[29] As I have argued, at least in the Latin West, the name "Slavs" came from Constantinople, not from communication with the Slavs themselves.[30] We can trace the way in which the use of the name spread, for instance through a letter of the exarch of Ravenna, who informed Pope Gregory I, who had previously only spoken of "barbarians." John of Biclaro, who had spent many years in Constantinople, introduced it in distant Spain. Frankish authors only employed it in the seventh century. The European Avars, ridiculed as "pseudo-Avars" by the Byzantines, were supposed to have

28 Procopius, *Bella*, vol. 5, 8.5.31–33, 99; Iordanes, *Getica* 6.37, 5.1, 63.; Pohl, *Avars*.

29 Curta, *The Making of the Slavs*.

30 Pohl, *Avars*.

soon adopted a prestigious name given them by other peoples; Turks and Byzantines initially called them "Varchonites."[31] The Byzantines very insistently called the Magyars/Hungarians "Turks," and even sent a golden crown to the Hungarian king with the inscription "*kralēs Tourkias*," King of Turkey; but this never turned into a self-designation.[32]

These and similar examples should not be used in support of the claim that ethnic identities were infinitely malleable and did not really matter. Ethnicity mattered, not least because it was controversial and not easy to handle on a conceptual level. It was always a matter of communication and cultural translation, and a way of placing oneself and one's own community within a wider world of *gentes*. This ethnic landscape was constantly changing, but at the same time, it also provided a familiar long-term perspective for identifications. Most ethnonyms that one finds in early medieval sources were used for considerably longer than an individual lifetime. They made the world more predictable, in part because the names and some of the background information connected with the respective peoples hinted at what one could expect from them.

Given the evidence that we have, then, ethnicity can most easily be studied on the discursive level as a way of structuring the social world and of ascribing agency to broad social groups. In pre-modern societies, there were not many levels on which the naming of macro-groups was so systematically pursued. In many historical contexts, ethnonyms and a very culture-specific terminology of peoplehood shaped perceptions of large groupings and guided political decisions. For instance, it made a big difference in Late Antiquity whether groups immigrating from beyond the Roman border were perceived simply as unspecified "barbarians" or were identified using ethnic distinctions (which made it possible to play them off against one another and to rely on previous experiences with the same or similar groups). Apart from serving as a cognitive tool, ethnic discourse also provided a powerful framework with which to express "visions of community." It could be extended far beyond the range of groupings that we would describe as "ethnic," at least in metaphorical ways. For instance, as Denise Buell has shown, the early Christians could be described in ethnic terms.[33] That makes the concept of ethnicity hard to delineate and define. We would hesitate to class Christians as an ethnic group. On the other hand, such uses indicate the potential of ethnic language to promote social cohesion or,

31 Ibid.

32 Pohl, "Huns, Avars, Hungarians."

33 Buell, *Why this New Race?*

indeed, disruption. It is the very success of ethnicity in many historical contexts that makes the concept fuzzy for scholarly uses. Yet this is the challenge that makes research on ethnicity so interesting.

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Comparative Approaches to Ethnonyms: The Case of the Persians

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This article[1] examines ethnonyms for Persians in Medieval Latin, Greek, and Arabic sources. These ethnonyms are part of ethnic terminologies which changed over time and varied in different regional contexts. The ethnonyms for Persians are approached in different textual genres from a combination of historiographical, philological, and social anthropological perspectives. In the first part, the investigation of Persians in Late Antique source material sets out from the Tabula Peutingeriana and examines the entries on the map which refer to the Persians, highlighting both their ethnic and political meanings. The second part deals with source material on medieval South Arabia. First, it focuses on the texts of the tenth-century Yemeni scholar al-Hamdānī and his use of a set of ethnonyms for the Persian minority population, of which each term evokes a different association. This is followed by an analysis of the early thirteenth-century account of Persian traveler Ibn al-Mujāwir, in which the roles and meanings of ethnonyms for Persians in different narrative units are discussed. This case study shows that there are interdependencies between ethnonyms and other means of identification, such as language, lifestyle, place of dwelling, kinship, descent, and the division of the world into different spatial and ideological realms. The case of the Persians illustrates how the authors under discussion used ethnonyms as part of narrative strategies which support processes of *selfing* and *othering*.

Keywords: ethnonyms, ethnicity, historical geography, Alexander narrative, Late Antiquity, (Early) Middle Ages, South Arabia, Tabula Peutingeriana, Persian

This article focuses on the study of ethnonyms in medieval sources from Mediterranean Europe and Southern Arabia, or historical Yemen, through a comparative and interdisciplinary approach. In our understanding, ethnonyms are group designations which express ethnic differentiation. Thus, the terminological distinctions of collective groups never refer to bounded ethnic categories, nor are they fixed in their application. In this article, the case of "the Persians" serves

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as an example of the construction of identities through the use of ethnonyms by authors with different regional, temporal, and stylistic backgrounds in their historiographical, geographical, or cartographical accounts, as well as in literary narratives from medieval Mediterranean Europe and Southern Arabia.[2] Broader categories of comparison are necessary, which are representative of various academic disciplines, including history, philology, and social anthropology.[3] By thoroughly examining the sources, we have identified the following often interrelated key concepts and used them as additional categories of comparison: myths, notions of space, use of terminology, and (pseudo-)etymology.

We argue that the medieval authors under scrutiny employed ethnonyms as conceptual tools, and that ethnonyms were thus made meaningful. The Arabic sources for this case study on ethnonyms for "Persians" include two historical works by the tenth-century Yemeni scholar al-Hamdānī and a travelogue by the early thirteenth-century Persian author Ibn al-Mujāwir. The Latin and Greek source material includes the Tabula Peutingeriana and literary sources from Late Antique and Early Medieval authors.

Myths, Notions of Space, and Environmental Determinism

Myths often feature elements of great narratives which meet a universal human need for the expression of particular conditions. In this sense, they can function as a code of understandings of the world. In mythical narratives, the *self* and the *other* interact, as do human and divine elements. Furthermore, mythical narratives contain a processual element, which Angelika Neuwirth calls "myth[s] in a broken form."[4] In these narrative processes, the authors employ popular literary topoi with which they provide meaningful contributions to broader discourses.[5] In the context of the analysis of ethnonyms and collective processes of identification it becomes evident that the medieval authors' narrative strategies not only include mythical features, but that these mythical features are often linked to notions of space. In their accounts, real and imagined places, the distinction between center

2 For reasons of readability, "medieval" and "Middle Ages" are used in this article for European and non-European contexts. For South Arabia, this refers to the Islamic period before the Ottoman conquest (ca. seventh–sixteenth century CE. Also for reasons of readability, all references to centuries are understood as centuries in the so-called Common Era).

3 We apply the methodical approaches of *distant and regional comparison* according to Gingrich, "Comparative Methods.

4 Neuwirth, Introduction, x–xi.

5 Ibid.

and periphery, environmental determinism, and spaces and places of collective memory function as unifying or separating elements. For example, a people's ethnogenesis is constructed through processes of *selfing* and *othering*, often in reference to a certain place. As we argue in this article, ethnonyms obtain their various meanings precisely in this interplay of factors.

The Biblical-Quranic founders and ancestors of the South Arabians, together with environmental and climatic conditions, are the central elements of a mythically narrated moment in which the formation process of not only a town, but a South Arabian existence is explained. Environmental determinism is the notion that the physical environment exerts a determining influence on human societies and cultures. In South Arabian mythical narratives, the influence of planetary and stellar constellations on people and climates is particularly emphasized. The notion of environmental determinism was borrowed from Hellenistic Greek discourses and has later been applied in many regions of the world. It has often been used to suggest that some peoples are more advanced than others. In the beginning of his *Ṣifat jaẓīrat al-ʿarab*, al-Hamdānī introduces the division of the world into seven "climates" (*ʾaqālīm*, sg. *iqlīm*) in accordance with the Ptolemaic idea.[6] He locates Sanaa and South Arabia in the first climate and marshals different arguments to prove that the first climate is the best and, therefore, its inhabitants are also more advanced. According to the myth, the descent from Sām (Shem) through Qaḥṭān (Joktan) and Sanaa as the initial place of settlement in South Arabia are substantiated. The narrative strengthens the authenticity of the South Arabians, as well as the *qaḥṭānīyūn* and their South Arabian identity, by which they differentiated themselves from the North Arabians, the *ʿadnānīyūn*.

Although largely following Ptolemy's view, al-Hamdānī disagrees with him concerning a climatic region named by Ptolemy after the Ethiopians (*al-ḥabasha*), to which Yemen (South Arabia) is also assigned.[7] It is particularly the terminological designation of this area as that of the Ethiopians which al-Hamdānī rejects. South Arabia and northeast Africa competed for power for centuries. Al-Hamdānī's use of the term *al-ḥabasha* refers to the territory and the dynasty of Aksum, which was a threat to the South Arabian kingdom of the Ḥimyar, and, in the third century, gained control over Yemen. In the sixth century, the *ḥabasha* were finally expelled from South Arabia with the help of

6 Müller, *Ṣifat jaẓirat al-ʿarab*, 1.

7 Ibid, 29.

the Sasanian army. Al-Hamdānī takes a stance not only against the subsuming of Yemenis and Ethiopians in a geographical and terminological sense, but also against the idea of shared physical and personal characteristics. Ptolemy describes the area, ranging from the equator up to the middle of the Hijaz (the western part of the Arabian Peninsula), as being extremely exposed to the sun, which causes black skin-color, dark, frizzy, and thick hair, and the (allegedly) hot or even "uncivilized" temperament of its inhabitants. Al-Hamdānī argues against this, saying that the *ḥabasha* are only a minority in this area and that the skin color of the inhabitants of the region varies greatly. From the perspective of skin color, some of the inhabitants of the region are in strong contrast to the *ḥabasha*. He identifies the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula and of China (*al-ṣīn*) as such people, located at the edge of this zone. Obviously, al-Hamdānī dislikes the idea of subsuming the South Arabians and the Ethiopians under the same climatic zone, which would imply that they were similarly affected by environmental conditions and therefore share some characteristics. African ancestry was generally associated with inferior status by Arab authors, often related to racial stereotypes.[8] Both the regional history of South Arabia and the desire to see the two ethnic categories as separate motivate al-Hamdānī to make these contentions.

The necessity of drawing a distinction between the *ḥabasha* and the *ʿarab* ("Arabs") is also expressed in a mythical tale recounted by Ibn al-Mujāwir in his *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*.[9] According to the story, the territory of the *ḥabasha* was originally connected to the territory of the *ʿarab* through a stretch of dry land, an empty valley which reached from Suez to Bab al-Mandab. Dhū l-Qarnayn,[10] the mythical hero figure Alexander the Great, then opened up Bab al-Mandab so the seawater would pour forth, flood the valley, and form the Red Sea. By creating the Red Sea, Alexander the Great intended to separate the two regions and grant each people their own territory under their own rule, so that the violent conflict between the *ḥabasha* and the *ʿarab* would finally come to an end. Alexander's intentions notwithstanding, the *ḥabasha* did not cease invading South Arabia and besieging its inhabitants until much later in history.

8 Szombathy, "Genealogy," 19f.

9 Smith, *Traveller*, 119. Löfgren, *Taʾrīkh 1*, 95.

10 "the two-horned."

Anthropogeography, Terminology, and the Affective Dimension of (Pseudo-) Etymology

In Late Antique and Early Medieval Latin and Greek literature, ethnonyms played a central role in authors' sense of place. While cartographic representations of the world seem to have been uncommon,[11] geographical knowledge was spread through numerous geographical treatises. Being purely textual, these works reflect an image of the world as the product of the totality of names of places and peoples. Thus, ethnonyms constitute a fundamental part of the conceptualization of space. Their importance for the Roman and post-Roman sense of place, as well as their longevity, made ethnonyms a central instrument in authors' attempts to understand and organize a shifting ethnic landscape. Ethnonyms served both to contextualize the *gentes* dwelling on the periphery of the Roman world and to support coeval political agendas.

Medieval Arabic geography, more precisely the classical school of the tenth century, was primarily concerned with cartographical material which depicted the (Islamic) world. These maps were accompanied by rather short explanatory commentaries.[12] Ibn Ḥawqal revised, rewrote, and expanded the literary commentary of the work of his predecessor al-Iṣṭakhrī and thereby crafted a geographical treatise of considerable breadth, the *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ (The Book of the Image of the World)*.[13] Ibn al-Mujāwir copied a section from this work for his South Arabian travelogue, in which Ibn Ḥawqal defines "the homeland of the Arabs," *diyār al-ʿarab*.[14] This section offers an example of how an ethnonym was used in an internal differentiation within the Islamic world. To define "the homeland of the Arabs," the author takes into account elements of physical geography, i.e. mountains, landscapes, seas, deserts, and steppes, but also administrative districts and tribal territories. The ethnonym for "Arabs" is combined with the word diyār – *diyār al-ʿarab*. In the text and on the map, the word *diyār* is used again, but together with several tribal names to signify tribal territories. The meaning of the word *diyār* indicates that the sense of place is shaped by social and political interaction. *Dār,* the singular of *diyār*, means "dwelling, abode, house" and is

11 For an introduction to the subject, see Bianchetti, Cataudella, and Gehrke, *Brill's Companion to Ancient Geography*. For an overview of diffusion and the accuracy of maps illustrating the Geography of Ptolemy, considered as a compendium of classical scientific geography, see Mittenhuber, *Text- und Kartentradition in der Geographie*.

12 Dunlop, "al-Balkhī."

13 Miquel, "Ibn Ḥawqal."

14 Kramers, *Opus geographicum*, 19–21.

often part of compound words that take on abstract meanings, e.g. *dār al-aman* "house of safety" and *dār al-ḥarb* "house of war." These expressions refer to places/territories which are defined by military conflicts and peace treaties.[15] In the expression *diyār al-ʿarab*, the ethnonym is used to represent the home of a large ethnic group that in itself is not homogenous; this home is further structured through a geographical and tribal terminology.

Moreover, ethnonyms can be loaded with stereotypical qualities and values. In such cases, ethnonyms take on an affective dimension which has an impact on the way they are used or influences social encounters with the respective group. If ethnonyms are applied in this manner, categorical projections of positive or negative ascriptions are made to the respective group. The affective substance of an ethnonym is particularly interesting from the perspective of the distinction between self-ascription and the ascription by others. Even though ascriptions by others can have neutral or positive connotations, they frequently entail negative characteristics and fuel processes of *othering*.[16] While some ethnonyms do not have an obvious disparaging tone, many of the names used by Roman rhetoricians and historians have a strong affective value. When they refer to people's looks, for instance in the case of the Lombards (who were given this name because of their long beards[17]) or way of life, for instance the Arabes Scenitae (who were given this name because they dwelled in tents[18]), ethnonyms can highlight the "barbaritas" of distant peoples and reinforce Roman attitudes towards non-Romans.

Fantastic pseudo-etymologies, a specialty of the author and traveler Ibn al-Mujāwir, can add affective value to ethnonyms and give new connotations to a group's name. The author explains that the Arabs call the inhabitants of the highland of Ẓafār and those of the islands Soqotra and al-Masīra *al-saḥara*, "the sorcerers," since, as he claims, *al-siḥr*, "sorcery," is their innate characteristic. This attribution conveys a strong sense of otherness which stands in close relation to the theme of insularity. Perceived as self-contained worlds due to their remoteness, islands inspired all kinds of ideas about the *other*.[19] These stories could be used to evoke a sense of normalcy and self-affirmation among the

15 "Dar al-Harb," *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*.

16 Cardona, *Nomi propri e nomi di popoli*, 12.

17 See *Origo Gentis Langobardorum* 1; Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* 1.8.

18 See Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 22.15.2; 23.6.13.

19 Margariti, "Ocean of Islands," especially 203f.

readership.[20] It is also possible that in this case the author misinterpreted the Arabic designation for the South Arabian *Sḥeri*-speakers,[21] since in Arabic the root consonants *s-ḥ-r* bear the meaning "magic" or "sorcery."

Resorting to synonyms, i.e. literary or archaic versions of the same name, Latin and Greek authors could adapt their ethnic terminology according to the political and cultural climate. The use of antiquated ethnonyms to describe Late Antique *gentes*, as in the case of the Goths (which were often designated as Scythians or Getae), was not only a matter of style. By repeating ancient ethnic denominations, writers could flaunt their literary knowledge, but they also drew the attention of their readership to older narratives concerning the peoples in question. This literary strategy could be considered a sort of "defense mechanism."[22] In other words, it reinforced the belief that the new ethnonyms (such as "Goths") did not prove the existence of new peoples. This rhetorical device clearly shines through Synesius of Cyrene's speech addressed to the emperor Arcadius. In an attempt to urge the emperor to pursue a more aggressive policy against the Goths, Synesius considers the new ethnonym a forgery made by the barbarians to frighten the Romans, to make them believe that another foreign nation had sprung from the soil.[23]

In what follows, we show how ethnonyms, considered as conceptual tools, were used together with the above exemplified key concepts to form distinctive discourses in the particular case of the Persians. In Part I of the case study, Salvatore Liccardo analyzes the way in which Persians are portrayed on the Tabula Peutingeriana. Since the Tabula Peutingeriana represents a compendium of Greco-Roman geographical and cartographical knowledge, a study of the visual and written representations of the Persians on the map will serve to highlight both the adaptability and diffusion of ethnonyms, which shaped and supported a specific ethnic discourse or political agenda. In Part II, Odile Kommer studies how the Yemeni author al-Hamdānī applies different ethnonyms for Persians and how this relates to strategies of *selfing* and *othering* in the context of interethnic relations between the tribal majority population of the Yemen and local Persian minorities. Her contribution is based on an analysis of al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī's

20 Al-Azmeh, "Barbarians," 3.

21 Smith, *Traveller*, 269, n2. *Sḥeri* is an older name for *Jibbāli*, a South Arabian language. Johnstone, *Jibbāli Lexicon*, xiff.

22 The expression is borrowed from psychology and applied to Synesius of Cyrene in Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns*, 7.

23 See Synesius, *On Imperial Rule*, 11, 6.

Kitāb Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿarab and *Kitāb al-Jawharatayn al-ʿaṭīqatayn al-māʾiʿatayn min al-ṣafrāʾ wa-l-bayḍāʾ*, Arabic sources written in Yemen in the tenth century. Andrea Nowak examines how Ibn al-Mujāwir, in his thirteenth-century travelogue *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir,* traces the presence of the Persians in Yemen throughout its history and along the travel route. Since the travel genre presents a rich blend of styles and topics, it provides different narrative units in which ethnonyms are charged with meaning. Furthermore, Part II offers an example of how an Arabic exonym which predominantly conveyed negative ideas about a (Persian) *other* later became a neutral and, eventually, positive connoted Persian self-ascription.

The Case of the Persians Part I – Late Roman Empire

According to C. R. Whittaker, the Tabula Peutingeriana is "the only certain map, in any sense that we would recognize it, to survive from antiquity (…) although preserved in a medieval copy."[24] The map was intended to represent the entire inhabited world (in Greek οἰκουμένη), from the Atlantic Ocean in the West to India in the East. Despite its impressive size (6.75 m long and 32-34 cm high), the copy in our possession is, however, incomplete, since it is missing the western extremity, *grosso modo*, corresponding to the west coast of North Africa, the Iberian peninsula and most of the British Isles. While the history of this copy is rather clear,[25] the dating of its archetype remains a topic of heated debate. For the purpose of this article, suffice it to say that there is a certain degree of academic consensus on the dating of the last redaction of the Tabula to the Late Antique period, more specifically to the first half of the fifth century.[26] Among the several thousand writings on the Tabula Peutingeriana, a handful concern the Persians. These elements of the map represent the focus of the present analysis, which aims to highlight the essential connection between sense of place, ethnographic reasoning, and imperial political discourse.

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24 Whittaker, "Mental Maps and Frontiers: Seeing like a Roman," 82.

25 The map was produced in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, probably in Swabia/Alemannia, and its first mention dates back to January 24, 1508, when the German humanist Conrad Celtis decided to bequeath it to the antiquarian and imperial counsellor Conrad Peutinger, hence the name. For a brief recap of the transmission process, see Dalché, "La trasmissione Medievale e Rinascimentale della Tabula Peutingeriana," 43–53.

26 See Weber, "Zur Datierung der Tabula Peutingeriana," 113–17. For a dissenting opinion, see Albu, *The Medieval Peutinger Map*. For the latest overviews of this subject, see Rathmann, "The Tabula Peutingeriana and Antique Cartography," 335–62; Rathmann, *Tabula Peutingeriana,* 6–25; Weber, "Die Datierung des antiken," 229–59.

References to Persians consist of regional names, city names, and ethnonyms. Although these entries are not particularly abundant, the Persian world appears to occupy a significant place in the imagination of the mapmakers. The most visible entry, *PERSIDA* (10B5–11C3),[27] designates a vast territory stretching from the Tigris to the Indus River. Though it is located in a somewhat peripheral area which the mapmakers knew only partially, Persia differs in no way from any other region. As in the case of the Roman provinces, the map's coverage focuses primarily on the street network and the urban centers. The only significant difference is represented by the use of the Persian unit of itinerant distance, the parasang, instead of the Roman mile.[28]

Regarding the presence of other territorial names, the Tabula includes also the rubric *PARRIA* (11C1–11C2), indicating the region of Parthia. The size and position of this caption seem to reflect its relation to the term *PERSIDA*. One name, Parthia, clearly represents a subcategory of a bigger entity, Persia, which encompasses a much larger number of cities and streets. Turning one's attention to city names, one can find the illustrious urban centers of Ctesiphon (capital of the Sasanian Empire), Ecbatana (capital of Media and subsequently one of the seats of the Parthian kings), and Persepolis (royal residence of the Achaemenes).[29] Both the entry for Ecbatana and the entry for Persepolis contain a specific reference to the ethnic component of these cities. Ecbatana is called "Ecbatana of the Parthians," and Persepolis is defined as the "Persian commercial hub." The coexistence of Persians and Parthians on the map mirrors the ethnic reasoning of Late Antique writers, who often used *Parthi* and *Persae* as synonyms.[30] Although several sources mention the shift of power from the Arsacid to the Sasanian Empire,[31] in Roman accounts Persians and Parthians appear as part of the same ethnic entity, sharing customs and ethnographical stereotypes.

27 For this and all the other entries, see the website containing the digital material added to Talbert, *Rome's World*. In brackets the corresponding location on the map.

28 See Magini, "In viaggio lungo le strade della Tabula Peutingeriana," 7–15. The Persian road network as represented on the Tabula Peutingeriana was studied at the end of the nineteenth century by Tomaschek, "Zur historiographischen Topographie," 145–231. Recently on this theme, see Braun, "Untersuchungen zum XI. Segment der Tabula," 11–32.

29 *Cesiphvn* (11C1); *Ecbatanis Partiorvm* (11C1); *Persepoliscon Mercivm persarvm* (11C2).

30 Chauvot, "Parthes et Perses dans les sources du IVe siècle," 115–25; Drijvers, "Ammianus Marcellinus' Image," 193–206.

31 See Herodian, *History* 6.2; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 80.3.4; Paschoud, *Zosime* 1.18.1. Ardashir I defeated the last Parthian emperor, Artabanus V, in 224.

The ethnonym "Persian" recurs on the Tabula on two other occasions.[32] Halfway between the regions of Mesopotamia and Persia, squeezed in a complex and confused fluvial system, there are the entries *TROGODITI PERSI* (10B5) and *FLVMEIPERSI* (10B5). They are examples of ethnic "double names." Within this category fall ethnonyms composed of a known ethnic denomination and a second textual element which serves to specify the group in question. In most cases, these double names represent a particular ethnic subgroup belonging to a larger *gens*. For example, the entries *ESSEDONES SCYTHAE* (11A3) and *ROXULANI SARMATE* (7A5) refer to specific groupings ascribed to the broader ethnicities of Scythians and Sarmatians. In other cases, a textual element matched with an ethnic umbrella term can hint at something more than a simple subgroup. It can evoke the geography of a people's dwelling, their way of life, their physical appearance, and their political structure, or it may even recall a literary figure.[33] In the case of the entries *TROGODITI PERSI* and *FLVMEIPERSI*, the double names, placed a few centimeters away from each other, represent two groups which share the same ethnic origin: they are both considered Persians. Although one can only speculate about their exact meaning, an analysis of these entries will serve to highlight both the ethnographic knowledge and the political agenda of the authors of the map.

The inscription FLVMEIPERSI represents the most enigmatic case. As the inscription exists today, on the only surviving copy of the map, the legend is obscure. It could be that the term reflects the mapmakers' decision to coin a neologism in order to emphasize the exotic nature of this people. Another possibility is that the ethnonym is unintelligible, because one or more different hands involved in the transmission did not understand and, therefore, did not reproduce a previously existing abbreviation. For a better understanding, it is necessary to propose a significant emendation of the inscription FLVMEIPERSI.[34]

Although any interpretation of this legend is simply a more or less informed conjecture, one could suppose that the term *Flumei* refers to an unspecified *Flumen*. Emended as *Fluminei Persae*, the inscription would mean "the Persians

32 Another entry, which seems to refer to the Persians, is *Are(a)e fines romanorvm* (10C2), which arguably marks the Roman–Persian frontier. On this subject, see Weber, "Areae fines Romanorum," 219–27.

33 E.g. *SARMATEVAGI* (4A5–5A4); *Nigizegetvli* (7C3); *MEMNOCONES ETHIOPES* (7C2–7C3).

34 More than one hundred years ago, Konrad Miller connected this inscription with the ethnonym Elamitae, a name that has an ancient and rich tradition, which is included in the bible, in patristic texts, and in a few medieval maps. Miller, *Itineraria Romana: Römische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana*, 838.

of the River." This explanation has some advantages. It is close to the text and seems to reflect the location of the inscription, which is stretched out in close proximity to a watercourse. Additional perspectives can be gained by looking at other double names on the Tabula Peutingeriana that seem to allude to the specific geographical area inhabited by a given ethnic subgroup. For instance, the legend *PARALOCAESCYTHAE* (10A4) has been interpreted as referring to Scythians living on the coast of the Caspian Sea,[35] while the inscription *RVMI SCYTHAE* (11A1) arguably refers to another group of Scythians dwelling near the River Rhymmus.[36] Finally, the map also has the legends VAPII (1A2) and VARII (1A3), which plausibly relate to two ancient Germanic ethnonyms with their typical ending ("varii").[37] If *Amsivarii* and *Chasuarii* were the correct reading of the terms on the Tabula, these two terms would be another two ethnonyms on the map that may have been derived from the name of a river, since there is a connection between *Amsivarii* and the river Ems, as well as between the *Chasuarii* and the river Hase.[38]

However, the *Fluminei Persae* would differ slightly from the aforementioned cases, because the name is an allusion not to a specific river but to an unnamed one.[39] A look at the Cosmographia of Julius Honorius,[40] a geographical treatise which is roughly coeval to the Tabula Peutingeriana, might help find a more equivalent example. In one of the different catalogues which constitute this work, one finds the ethnonym *Fluminenses gens*.[41] Based on its position in the text (after the *Feratenses* and the *Barzufulitani*, but before the *Quinquegentiani*) and its content,

35 From the *provincia paraliton* (from Greek παράλιος, ία, ον, Eng. "by the sea"), mentioned by the Cosmographer of Ravenna, see Miller, *Itineraria Romana,* 624; Podossinov, *Vostochnaya Evropa*, 367.

36 See Miller, *Itineraria Romana,* 623; Podossinov, *Vostochnaya Evropa,* 372.

37 See Miller, *Itineraria Romana,* 612–13.

38 See Rübekeil, *Diachrone Studien zur Kontaktzone*, 316, 323, 401–11.

39 Like the "Persians of the river," precise or ill-defined geographical locations could be used in relation to the word *natio* to specify the origin of an individual. Thus, we find persons defined as *natione montanus* – CIL XIII, 7684 – or *natione transfluminianum* – P.Lond. II 229 (S. XXI) = ChLA III 200 = FIRA III 132 = CPL 120 = Jur. Pap. 37. On the latter case, Palme, "Die classis praetoria Misenensis in den Papyri," 294–96; Ferreira, "El papiro 229 de la British Library," 93–111. More in general on the interplay between civic, ethnic, and geographical identity, see Mathisen, "Natio, Gens, Provincialis and Civis," 277–86.

40 The *communis opinio* places this work between the second half of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century. The standard edition is in Riese, *Geographi latini minores*, 24–55. Recently, Monda, *La Cosmographia di Giulio Onorio*. On its meaning as a textbook of Geography, Dalché, "L'enseignement de la géographie dans l'antiquité tardive," 157–59.

41 On this ethnonym, see J. Desanges, « Fluminenses », Encyclopédie berbère, 19, 2862. More generally on the African section of the Cosmographia see Modéran, *Les Maures et l'Afrique romaine, IVe–VIIe s.*, 37–62.

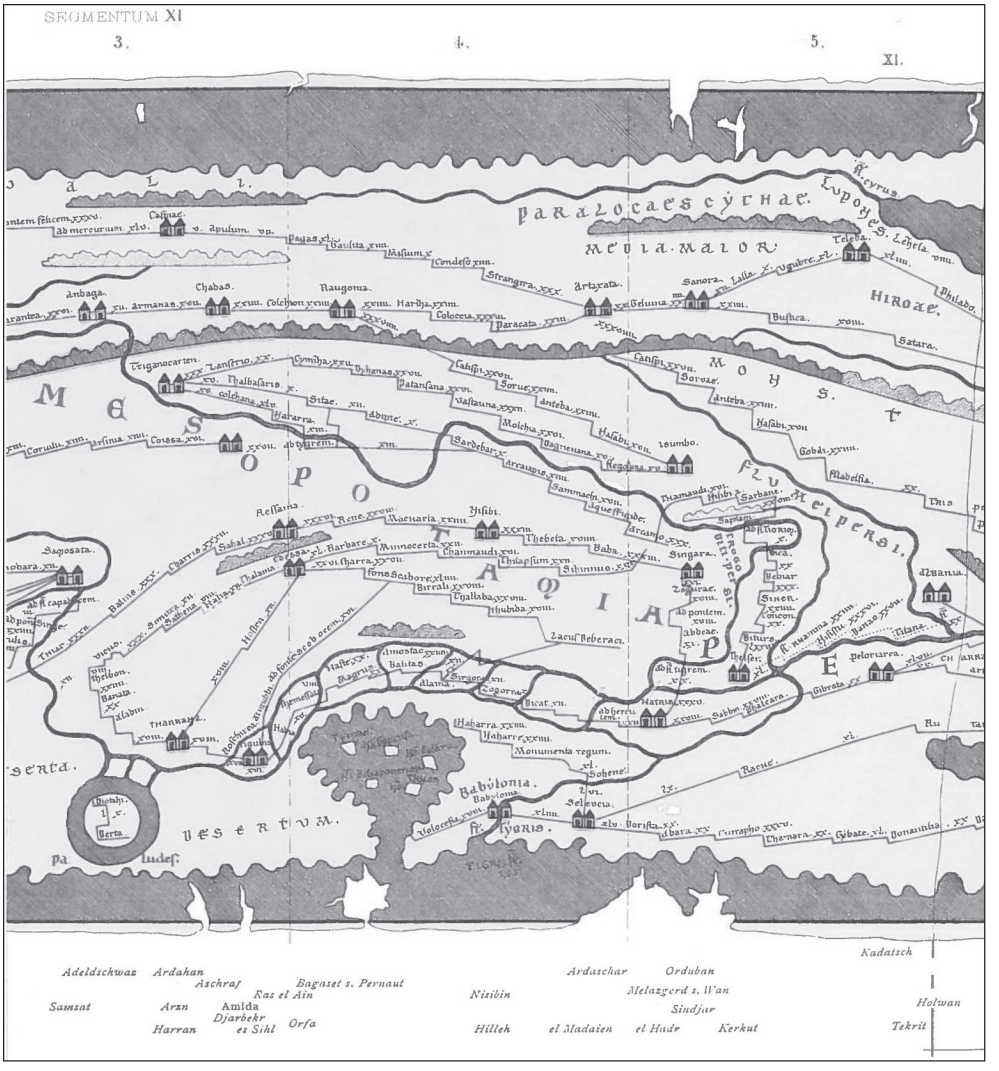

Figure 1. Miller, Die Peutingerische Tafel, Segmentum XI, 3–5.

Philippe Leveau has proposed interpreting this name as referring to a specific group of *Mazices*, a people of *Mauretania Caesariensis*, which lived next to the River Chelif.[42] Since the Tabula Peutingeriana and the Cosmographia are similar,

42 See Leveau, "L'aile II des Thraces," 172–73. In a second-century funerary inscription found in Lambaesis (next to the modern village of Tazoult in Algeria) – CIL VIII, 2786 = ILS, 2659 – the *Mazices* are characterized as coming from a mountainous region. See Malone, *Legio XX Valeria Victrix*, 102–03; Bernard, "Les prétendues invasions maures," 365–66; Migliorati, *Iscrizioni per la ricostruzione*, 571. Although this second source is chronologically distant, it seems to attest to the coexistence of two subgroups of

both in terms of chronology and the ethnonyms employed,[43] the *Fluminenses* could represent an analogous case to the *FLVMEIPERSI* and therefore support the interpretation of the map's legend as referring to the "Persians of the river."

On the basis of this reasoning, one could hypothesize that *TROGODITI PERSI* and *FLVMEIPERSI* were used by the mapmakers to designate two ethnic groups living in two different environments. The "Persians of the River" could represent the inhabitants of the Tigris and Euphrates river valley, while the "Persian Troglodytes" could be the dwellers of the Zagros Mountains. However, the ethnic "double name" *TROGODITI PERSI* carries a meaning broader than a simple geographical characterization.

The last consideration introduces a subject central to this section of this article: the analysis and contextualization of the legend *TROGODITI PERSI*. Albeit less obscure, this inscription is also unclear. First, the text needs a small emendation: the inclusion of an 'l' in the term *Trogoditi*, which should read *Trog<l>oditi*. The unusual location of the legend is also problematic. In the segments representing the eastern and far eastern lands, the depiction of both physical and urban landscapes is often inaccurate. Nevertheless, the discrepancy between the content of the inscription *TROGODITI PERSI* and its position is particularly striking, because of the ethnographic tradition and evocative power connected to the term "troglodytes." While Greek and Roman geographers used this term in connection with various ethnic groups living on the fringe of the inhabited world, most frequently in Ethiopia, the authors of the map put the cave dwellers next to a meander of the Tigris, making the homeland of this people anything but peripheral. In contrast with the comparative absence of cities and roads typical of the northern periphery of the ecumene, here city names and streets proliferate.

Nonetheless, this abundance of details is not the result of precise geographical knowledge of the region. The depiction appears chaotic and in some cases utterly wrong. The Mesopotamic fluvial system is far from being exact. The river Tigris, for example, has many incongruous characteristics. First, it gushes from a small mountain chain and then crosses another much longer one. Later, it flows into a neighboring river, the morphology of which is

the same broader ethnic *gens* that are distinguished on the basis of their habitat: the *Fluminenses*, i.e. *Mazices* living next to a River, and the *Mazices* of the *regio Montensis*.

43 Podossinov has drafted a chart which compares some of the ethnonyms present on the Tabula Peutingeriana, the Cosmographia and the Laterculus Veronensis; Podossinov, *Vostochnaya Evropa*, 103–04.

even more bewildering,[44] and finally, after twisting with the latter, it flows into a circular inland body of water, named *Palvdes* (10C3). The number and location of cities and roads reflect a picture just as baffling. A few place names are written twice in two different positions of the map. This is the case with Sinjar, present on the map as *Singara* (10B5) and *Sirgora* (10C4, without a symbol), and Ain Sinu, on the map as *Zagvrae* (10B5) and *Zogorra* (10C4).[45] As they doubled names, the mapmakers also doubled the relative routes (Singara-Hatris and Lacvs Beberaci-Singara). In addition to this confusion, one should mention the atypical position of the caption in question, which, due to the lack of space and the large amount of neighboring physical and urban elements, is vertical rather than horizontal.[46]

What is more perplexing about the entry *TROGODITI PERSI* is its content. The juxtaposition of the name "troglodytes" with the ethnonym Persians is unique. Late Antique Latin and Greek texts reflect a nuanced image of the Persians, who represented a sort of counterpart to the Roman world despite often being considered morally inferior.[47] Accurate historical information, longstanding ethnic stereotypes, and literary metaphors and commonplaces interweave in the works of Late Antique writers, even in the writings of authors like Ammianus Marcellinus, Procopius, and Agathias, who either travelled to the eastern frontier or had (or claimed to have had) personal contact with Persians and access to Persian documents.[48] Even if the depiction of Persians could vary according to author and political climate, Roman persons of letters shared a profound interest in this *gens*. The fourth-century historian Ammianus Mercellinus represents one of the most glaring examples of this fascination. In his historical work, known as the *Res Gestae*, he inserted a large number of excursuses which

44 After a very bizarre course, the river is specified as the Ganges. On the depiction of the fluvial system in the eastern lands of the inhabited world, see Schuol, "Indien und die großen Flüsse," 92–155.

45 On this Roman site, see Oates and Oates, "Ain Sinu: A Roman Frontier Post," 207–42. More generally on the urban landscape and road network of this region, see Palermo, "Settlement Patterns and Road Network in Upper Mesopotamia," 123–37.

46 Talbert mentions this detail when he analyses the design of the map, see Talbert, *Rome's World,* 100–01.

47 For an overview of the image of the Persians in Late Antique sources, see Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth*, 12–36; Schneider, "Orientalism in Late Antiquity," 241–78; Drijvers, "Rome and the Sasanid Empire," 441–54; McDonough, "Were the Sasanians Barbarians?" 55–65; Drijvers, "A Roman Image of the "Barbarian" Sasanians," 67–76.

48 On Ammianus see Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus Marcellinus*, 130–79; Teitler, "Visa vel lecta?," 216–23; Drijvers, "Ammianus Marcellinus' Image of Sasanian Society," 45–69; Wiebke, *Das Imperium Romanum und seine Gegenwelten*, 86–126; Morley, "Beyond the Digression," 10–25. On Procopius, see Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea*, 62–93; Börm, *Prokop und die Perser*. On Agathias, see Cameron, "Agathias on the Sassanians," 67–183.

contain information primarily of a geographical and ethnographical nature. The section dedicated to the Persians, included in book 23 right before the account of Julian's Persian expedition, is by far the longest.[49] Since the chronology of this work (380s) is not very distant from the last redaction of the Tabula Peutingeriana, a brief analysis of Ammianus' Persians highlights the extent to which the entry in question deviates from or converges with the opinions of his contemporaries.

Ammianus never explicitly defines the Persians as barbarians,[50] yet his judgment of them cannot be considered positive. Century-old ethnographic stereotypes influenced the description of their physical features, temperament, and habits. In its desire to emulate more ancient and authoritative authors, such as Herodotus and Ptolemy, Ammianus' digression resembles a display of erudition rather than a report of new information about Persian society. Although he seems well aware of the complexity and vastness of the Persian Empire, which is considered a patchwork of diverse peoples and disparate environments, Ammianus does not make any clear distinction among the subjects of the King of Kings when he lists the alleged virtues and vices of the Persians.[51] Among their many moral flaws, he mentions their unrestrained lust (which explains why they have numerous concubines and as many wives as they can support), their effeminate posture, their vanity, and their cruelty. Ammianus' remarks on king Sapor II (309–79) are everything but flattering: he is greedy, quick-tempered, rough, pompous, treacherous, and dishonest. Yet, Persians do not know pederasty, and they do not engage in obscene behavior, such as urinating in public. They are also extremely frugal when it comes to food and particularly disciplined on the battlefield.[52]

In other words, Ammianus stresses the Persians' otherness, emphasizing their effeminacy, their licentiousness, and their cruelty, all typical traits of

49 For a detailed comment on this digression, see Ferraco, *Ammiano geografo* (23.6).

50 See A. Chauvot*, Opinions romaines face aux Barbares*, 386 ff. More generally on Ammianus' depiction of non-Romans, see Guzmán Armario, "Ammianus adversus externae gentes," 217–22.

51 After a historical and a geographical account of the Persian Empire, Ammianus describes the good and bad habits of the Persians, see Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 23.6.75–84.

52 Concerning military skills, however, Romans continue to have the edge over Persians, who Ammianus describes as crafty but rather weak in a one-on-one fight, see *Res Gestae* 23.6.80; 25.1.18. To stress the superiority of the Roman armies over the eastern *gentes*, an anonymous panegyrist presents the victory of Constantine over fellow Romans as more praiseworthy than Alexander's Persian campaign, because the Macedon won against "leves Medos et imbelles Syros et Parthorum arma volatica," see *Panegyrici Latini* 12 (9), 5–6.

eastern barbarians according to Greco-Roman ethnography,[53] but he also recognizes some praiseworthy aspects of their way of life, distancing himself in a few instances from the older historical tradition.[54] To conclude, although the Persians share some characteristics with other barbarians and are often depicted in negative terms, they are a unique interlocutor for the Romans, an *alius orbis*[55] representing another, although not equal, civilization. The judgment that shines through the pages of the *Res Gestae* seems to contradict the entry on the Tabula Peutingeriana, which puts the Persians unambiguously in the realm of the *barbaricum*.

However, the unusual connection of the Persians with the "troglodytes" appears less strange if one broadens the scope of the primary sources taken into consideration. While Ammianus attributes barbaric habits to Persians but never explicitly calls them barbarians, other Late Antique sources do define them as such. For example, a register of provincial, urban, and ethnic names dating to 314, the so-called *Laterculus Veronensis,*[56] does not imply any difference between Persians and other barbaric groups. The ethnonym *Persae* is included in a list of *gentes barbarae* who spread under the authority of Roman emperors.[57] For the author of this catalogue, there is no substantial difference between Persians and other barbaric groups, like Saxons, Vandals, and Goths.

One can recognize the same reasoning in a certain number of inscriptions dedicated to the emperor Julian and found in the eastern part of the empire.[58] These inscriptions praise the emperor for his military, civic, and religious policies. Julian is celebrated as *liberator orbis Romani*, as *restaurator templorum,* and as *recreator curiarum et rei publicae*. Regarding Julian's success over external enemies,

53 For a useful analysis of the different typologies of barbarian, see Dauge, *Le Barbare*, 466–510.

54 Particularly interesting is its relationship with Herodotus. On one hand, Ammianus repeats the reference to their good manners in executing their physical needs; on the other, he diverges from Herodotus concerning alcohol consumption and pederasty. According to the historian of Halicarnassus, the Persians made important decisions while drunk and learned to practice pederasty from the Greeks. See Herodotus, *Historiae* 1. 133–35.

55 "Der alius orbis Persien" is the title of the section dedicated to this subject in Wiebke, *Das Imperium Romanum und seine Gegenwelten,* 2013.

56 For an overview of its content, see Klein, "Laterculus Veronensis," 1745–46.

57 The heading reads: *Gentes barbarae quae pullulaverunt sub imperatoribus*.

58 Greek and Latin inscriptions erected during the empire of Julian have been collected and studied by Stefano Conti. See Conti, *Die Inschriften Kaiser Julians*. These inscriptions constituted part of the imperial discourse, see Conti, "Un aspetto della propaganda imperiale tardo-antica: la titolatura di Giuliano nelle fonti letterarie ed epigrafiche," 29–44; Benoist, "Identité du Prince et discours impérial: Le cas de Julien," 109–17. More generally on the topic of inscriptions and imperial ideology in Late Antiquity, see Davenport, "Imperial ideology and commemorative culture," 45–70.

the inscriptions contain the *cognomina devictarum gentium Alamannicus*, *Francicus*, *Germanicus,* and *Sarmaticus*.[59] In a few cases, the emperor is hailed with more comprehensive victory titles, such as *debellator omnium barbararum gentium*, *extinctor barbarorum* or νικητὴς παντὸς ἔθνους βαρβαρικοῦ.[60] In texts from the eastern provinces, the term *barbari* would likely indicate primarily the Persians, who represented the major threat in the area.[61] This seems to be the most logical conclusion concerning at least two inscriptions from the Roman province of *Phoenicia*,[62] where the text presents both *cognomina*, referring to individual groups of western barbarians, and the generic title *extinctor barbarorum*. The *cognomina devictarum gentium* allude to successes accomplished by Julian at the Rhine frontier in 355–58, while the pompous title *extinctor barbarorum* reflects the propaganda implemented by Julian and his supporters in the months preceding the Persian campaign.[63]

Although it does not contain the term *barbari*, an episode in Ammianus' account of the Persian campaign represents one of the closest examples to the disparaging entry on the Tabula Peutingeriana. In front of an army that was increasingly demotivated and in need of supplies due to the effective scorched-earth policy of the Persians, Julian ordered some prisoners to be brought before the army and harangued his troops as follows: "Behold what those warlike spirits consider men, little ugly dirty goats; and creatures who, as many events have shown, throw away their arms and take to flight before they can come to blows."[64]

The description refers to undernourished and unkempt prisoners, yet it repeats and amplifies negative stereotypes of Persians in general. The animal metaphor serves to highlight their physical repugnance and their cowardice on

59 For a commentary on the single inscriptions containing these titles, see Conti, *Die Inschriften Kaiser Julians* .

60 According to Conti's register, nr. 17, 18 (*extinctor barbarorum*); 26, 27 (*debellator omnium barbararum gentium*); 54 (νικητὴς παντὸς ἔθνους βαρβαρικοῦ).

61 That the eastern frontier was opposing barbaric groups shines through Ulpian's description of Palmyra as a city "prope barbaras gentes et nationes collocata," *Digest* 50.15.1.5.

62 Inscriptions nr. 17 and 18. See Negev, "The Inscription of the Emperor Julian at Ma'ayan Barukh," 170–73; Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*, 123–24; Dietz, "Kaiser Julian in Phönizien," 821–22; Eck, "Zur Neulesung der Iulian-Inschrift von Ma'ayan Barukh," 857–59.

63 Conti suggests dating the inscriptions to the first months of 363. Julian left Antioch for the east on March 5, 363.

64 "En" inquit "quos Martia ista pectora viros existimant, deformes inluvie capellas et taetras, utque crebri docuerunt eventus, antequam manus conferant abiectis armis vertentes semet in fugam," *Res Gestae* 24.8.1. On this passage, see Den Boeft, *Philological and Historical Commentary*, 223–25.

the battlefield. This tirade reflects the intolerant attitude towards everything that was not Roman, an attitude which formed an integral part of the political discourse supported and spread by Julian and his court.[65]

Libanius, a teacher of Greek rhetoric in Antioch who was a friend of and advisor to the emperor, was among the most prominent spokespersons of this anti-Persian rhetoric.[66] In his orations, Persians are repeatedly and explicitly called barbarians.[67] In *Embassy to Julian*, Libanius ascribes two quintessential barbarian vices to the Persians: the disdain for blood ties and the lack of mercy. Prone to violent outbursts, Persians act like wild beasts, while Julian is a Greek who rules over Greeks, and therefore follows a superior moral code of conduct.[68] The Greek-Persian dichotomy follows the opposition human-inhuman. The political ideology supported and spread by Julian and his pagan collaborators tended to stress the Hellenic nature of Roman power.[69] As stated more than once by Julian himself, Romans and Greeks belong to the same *γένος*: the Greeks civilized the Romans and the latter acquired, preserved, and spread the Greek religion and political institutions.[70] In the political message of Julian and Libanius, the more the Romans resembled the Greeks, the more the Persians took the role of barbarians par excellence.

Although particularly evident in the works of Julian and his court, this attitude towards the Persians was not exclusive to their political and cultural discourse. Judgments of the Persians went hand in hand with the contemporary political situation. Since the rise of the Sasanian Empire in 224, Romans and Persians were in almost constant conflict.[71] Mesopotamia, Syria, and Armenia were the main war zones. In a Roman world which looked on the Persians with renewed apprehension, the narrative of Alexander the Great enjoyed a period of revival. The Latin rendition of the *Alexander Romance* represents one pivotal

65 On Roman prejudices, especially towards Persians, as highly influenced by Greek ethnography, see L. Cracco Ruggini, "Pregiudizi razziali, ostilità politica e culturale," 139–42; Rosivach, "The Romans' View of the Persians," 1–8; Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*, 371–80.

66 Specifically on the relationship between Julian and Libanius, see Wiemer, *Libanios und Julian*.

67 E.g. Libanius, *Oratio* 15.3; 17, 25–27; 16.9.

68 See ibid.

69 See Rivolta, "Miti letterari e programmi politici," 525–46; Stenger, "Libanius and the 'game' of Hellenism," 268–92; Caltabiano, "La comunità degli Elleni," 137–49.

70 See Julian, *The Caesars* 324a; *Hymn to King Helios* 153a.

71 The literature on this topic is vast. For detailed overviews of Romano–Persian relations, see Blockley, *East Roman Foreign Policy*; Winter and Dignas, *Rom und das Perserreich*. For a collection of ancient sources for this period, see Dodgeon, Greatex, and Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier*.

example of this new interest in the figure of Alexander.[72] This text, whose author is traditionally identified as Julius Valerius Alexander Polemius, consul in 338, contributed greatly to the diffusion and longevity of the myth of Alexander in medieval Europe. The Macedon and his deeds in the East represented a model for any Roman emperor who had to confront the Persian threat. If Julian was the most enthusiastic emulator of Alexander,[73] other emperors aspired to follow in his footsteps.[74] These are the premises on which a text known as the *Itinerarium Alexandri* (the latest possible date of which is 345) rests.[75] Dedicated to Constantius II, this work exploits the myth of Alexander for contemporary political exigencies. Alexander's expedition is presented both as an archetype and as an omen for the emperor, who had just started his campaign against the Persians. Significantly, the revival of the Alexander narrative also finds expression on the Tabula Peutingeriana. References to Alexander's deeds play a central role in the map's portrayal of the eastern lands. The campaigns of the Macedonian king are evoked through the numerous cities that bear his name (founded during or after Alexander's reign),[76] the mention of the Indian elephants,[77] and especially two isolated symbols (the "altars of Alexander"), which, marking the limits of Alexander's expeditions, define the edges of the inhabited world.[78] Thus, it appears that the Alexander narrative enjoyed a period of renewed interest in Late Antiquity, a phenomenon that could be interpreted as closely linked to the contemporary political climate. The account of Alexander's Persian campaign provided a story in which the Persians played the role of the main antagonist, who eventually succumbs, and thus the narrative served to reassure a Roman public worried about the aggressive Sasanian policy.

72 Since the *Itinerarium Alexandri* is to a certain degree based on the Romance, the Latin version of the Romance must have been known by 345.

73 See Smith, "The Casting of Julian the Apostate 'in the Likeness' of Alexander the Great," 44–106.

74 The myth of Alexander played a significant role in Constantine's imperial propaganda. For numismatic evidence, see Kolb, *Herrscherideologie in der Spätantike*, 201–04. Moreover, Constantine announced a campaign against the Persians but fell ill before accomplishing it, see Fowden, "The Last Days of Constantine," 146–70; Fowden, "Constantine and the Peoples of the Eastern Frontier," 377–98. In his biography of Constantine, similarly to Libanius, Eusebius of Caesarea calls the Persians barbarians; see *Life of Constantine* 4.56.1.

75 The original title should have been *Itinerarium Alexandri Magni Traianique*, but the Codex Ambrosianus P 49, the only manuscript that preserves the work, neither contains the last accomplishments of Alexander nor the campaign of Trajan. See Tabacco, *Itinerarium Alexandri*. For the question of its authorship and the use of this text in political discourse, see Lane Fox, "The Itinerary of Alexander," 239–52.

76 E.g. *Alexandria* (11A4); *Alexandria Bvcefalos* (11B3); *Alexandria catisson* (9B4); *Alexandria troas* (8B2).

77 *In his locis elephanti nascvntvr* (11C4).

78 *Ara alexandri* (11A3); *Hic Alexander Responsvm accepit V sq(ve) qvo Alexander* (11B4–11B5).

In light of the above, it is now possible to contextualize the entry *TROGODITI PERSI* on the Tabula Peutingeriana, which at first glance appears so bizarre. Contrary to the more nuanced judgment of influential historians, such as Ammianus and Procopius, the imperial discourse, influenced by the renewed popularity of the Alexander narrative, described the Persians in clear-cut negative terms. The Tabula Peutingeriana, or at least its last version, appears as the product of Roman imperial ideology. With Italy covering one-third of the map and Rome located in its center,[79] the map represents the ecumene seen through the lens of Roman geography and political discourse. Moreover, the myth of Alexander, which offers a particularly disparaging image of the Persians, evidently informs the depiction of the East on the Tabula. To conclude, although the Tabula Peutingeriana represents the only instance in which the Persians are described as "troglodytes," this legend can be interpreted as an extreme example of Late Antique anti-Persian rhetoric, which, fuelled by the political tensions at the time, repeated and adjusted themes of Alexander's narrative and perpetuated the most derogatory stereotypes of the Persians.

The Case of the Persians Part II – South Arabia

The basis of the analysis in this article on South Arabia in the tenth century is the writings of al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Yaʿqūb al-Hamdānī (280–334 AH/894–945), a distinguished scholar, poet, and public figure. As one of Yemen's minority groups, the Persians offer an example of al-Hamdānī's adaptation of ethnic terminology, analyzed in consideration of its historical and ethnographic context. Applying ethnonyms in order to differentiate social categories is a universal strategy of *othering*. In the case of the Yemeni author, it becomes obvious that these strategies can only be understood in relation to simultaneous *selfing* processes, that they are primarily local, and that they are always contextual. An understanding of *othering* as the construction of an imagined *other* through the differentiation of this *other* from the *self* (often in a pejorative way) reveals a close link between this strategy and the concept of ethnicity itself, since processes of ethnic differentiation are generally based on constructions of precisely these kinds of dichotomies. The following terminological examination will clarify this.

79 Since the first few leaves, which correspond to the map's western edge, are missing, it is impossible to positively identify the centre of the archetype. However, everything points to this conclusion, see Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana*, 13; Talbert, "Peutinger's Roman Map," 221–30.

Al-Hamdānī applies different ethnonyms to Persians in his writings: *al-abnāʾ*, *al-furs*, and *al-ʿajam*. Their etymological meaning and the context in which they are used in the sources are the basis of interpretation regarding the social implications of the terms and the author's discursive strategies. Processes of *selfing* and *othering* concerning South Arabians and Persians are significantly shaped by tribal ideologies in al-Hamdānī's account. However, his use of the different terms is fluid and cannot be clearly categorized. In spite of sectarian conflicts and continuous power struggles, particularly in the ninth and tenth centuries[80] (when al-Hamdānī was writing), there is a remarkable element of continuity, most clearly expressed in the consistent use over long periods of time of tribal names and toponyms, which resist political ruptures and changes.[81] This element of continuity must not be ignored in the study of tribal identities and social environments in the Yemeni highlands. The case of the Yemeni Persians further supports the argument. For many centuries, their main area of settlement remained the city of Sanaa and the surrounding region, and their most characteristic ethnonym *al-abnāʾ* appears consistently in the sources for about 600 years between the sixth and twelfth centuries.[82]

This main term for Persians (and also the term used most by al-Hamdānī), *al-abnāʾ* ("the sons") in the abridged or *abnāʾ al-furs* ("the sons of the Persians") in the complete form, clearly refers to the descendants of Persians, who came to Yemen at the end of the sixth century, when it fell under Sasanian rule.[83] They were not regarded as "real Persians," since they were born in Yemen and often had Yemeni mothers.[84] Hence, the significance of the term is deeply rooted in the Yemeni local context and history. Al-Hamdānī mentions *al-abnāʾ* several times, particularly in his *Kitāb Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿarab* (*Geography of the Arabian Peninsula*).[85] Among them were prominent personalities, individual inhabitants of towns or villages, and larger groups of the population. The designation *al-abnāʾ* creates a terminological relation to the tribal population of Yemen. It has the same meaning as *banū* ("sons"), which is a term for members of a tribal group and can be part of the tribal name. Hence, the two terms *abnāʾ* and *banū* are equivalent designations with regard to meaning, yet they are distinct markers of

80 Smith, "The political history of the Islamic Yemen," 130ff.

81 Gingrich, "Multiple Histories," 9; Dresch, *Tribes, Government and History*, 320ff.

82 Last mentioned, to our knowledge, in ath-Thaqafī, *Sīrat al-ʾImām ʾAḥmad b. Sulaymān*.

83 Lewis, "al-Abnāʾ."

84 Crone, "ʿAbbāsid Abnāʾ," 2.

85 Müller, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿarab*.

social groups, which is highly interesting from the perspective of an analysis of the constructions of identity and interethnic relations. Both terms are part of group designations which imply kinship references. Through *banū* a connection to genealogy is expressed, which marks an important factor of tribal identities. However, not every tribal group shares such an identity-establishing genealogical record or is composed of a mixture of different genealogical backgrounds. Yet the addition of *banū* to the tribal name conveys the impression of having one shared genealogy.[86]

Al-furs appears either as additional part in the construction with *abnāʾ*, e.g. *abnāʾ al-furs*, or can otherwise be applied as an ethnonym by itself. Al-Hamdānī used *al-furs* partly synonymously with *al-abnāʾ* for people of Persian descent. The following example is a passage on Persians from the mining city of al-Raḍrāḍ, who came under attack and had to flee the town. It shows that *al-furs* is the term applied to descendants of Sasanian Persians but also of Persians who came to Yemen in later periods (under the Umayyads and the Abbasids). It seems they worked in the mine and therefore were called *furs al-maʿdin* ("Persians of the mine"). Some of them had a background in Sanaa, including houses [*manāẓil*] and estates [*diyāʿ*], to which they could return. Furthermore, those who returned to Sanaa are identified by names, which all contain *banū*, followed by a Persian word as the first syllable,[87] and the same ending syllable [*ōye*], which was very common to Persian names even if probably pronounced differently[88]:

> When Muḥammad b. Yuʿfir was killed and these qabāʾil[89] fell into distress because of that, some of them acted unjustly against its inhabitants, killed among them and ransacked them. Who remained flew, and they were dispersed in the bilād [country]. A qawm [body of men/women] of them went to Ṣanʿāʾ who had a footing there from times of old and dwelling houses and property. Its inhabitants were all from al-Furs [the Persians], from those who came there during the jāhiliyya [pre-Islamic times], in the days of the Banū Umayya [Umayyads] and the Banū al-ʿAbbās [Abbasids]. They were called Furs al-maʿdin [Persians of the

86 Heiss, *Tribale Selbstorganisation und Konfliktregelung*, 139.

87 *sard* = "cold"; *mihr* = "sun"; *ẓanj* = "plaint"/"Blacks"; *bard* = "(brave) man"; *Jand* = city in Turkistan (Steingass, *Persian-English dictionary*).

88 *wayh* in Persian.

89 Engl. "tribes"

> mine]. Who is in Ṣanʿāʾ of them are Banū Sardōye, Banū Mihrōye, Banū Zanjōye, Banū Bardōye, and Banū Jandōye.[90]

Al-furs is also a general designation for Persians beyond the Yemeni context, which refers to a territory, namely the *bilād fāris* ("Persia"). *Fāris,* "Persia," was used in Achaemenid (559-330 BCE) and Sasanian (224-651 CE) times and designated both the Persians as an ethnic group and their homeland. In early Arabic sources, the term *fārs/fāris* was applied both in the narrow sense to the Persian province of Fars and in a wider sense to the whole Persian territory. As an ethnonym for Persians, *al-furs* was much more common than *fāris*.[91] *Al-furs* can be opposed to other ethnonyms, such as *al-ʿarab* ("the Arabs") or *al-rūm* ("the Byzantines"). Having the qualities of a typical ethnonym, *al-furs* cannot be combined with these alternative categories, since, when used in the same context, they are mutually exclusive.[92] It is used in this sense by al-Hamdānī, for example in listings of people or lands, but since the focus of his writing is South Arabia, such lists are only marginal and little explanation of them is provided. One corresponding example is a passage from the *Kitāb al-Jawharatayn al-ʿaṭīqatayn al-māʾiʿatayn min al-ṣafrāʾ wa-l-bayḍāʾ (The Book on the Two Noble Metals Gold and Silver)* on the mining business in Yemen: "The merchants from among the Iraqis [al-ʿirāqīyīn], Persians [al-furs], Syrians [ash-shaʾmīyīn], and Egyptians [al-miṣrīyīn] carried away the silver of Yemen at that time, and they gained through it significant profit."[93] Here, Persians are listed with other agents active in the mining business. In this context, *al-furs* is in line with the other foreign categories, and there is no indication of any closer relation to Yemen. On the contrary, there is some sign of a tie to the foreign lands to which the silver was "carried away" by the merchants.

Another designation that can be applied to Persians is *al-ʿajam* (pl. *aʿājim*). Al-Hamdānī mentions it more rarely than *al-abnāʾ* and *al-furs*. Where it appears in the text, it is sometimes not clear whether it actually refers to Persians or to non-Arabs. This ambivalence is caused by the historical use of the term. *ʿAjam* has its etymological root in *ʿujma*, "impure speech," and is opposed to *faṣāḥa*, "highly eloquent, clear speech." Even pre-Islamic poetry drew a distinction between *al-ʿarab* and *al-ʿajam*. In the context of the Islamic conquests, it was used in order to

90 Heiss, Johann. Unpublished Translation of *Kitāb al-Ǧawharatain al-ʿaṭīqatain al-māʾiʿatain aṣ-ṣafrāʾ wa ʾl-baiḍāʾ* [al-Ḥasan Ibn-Aḥmad al-Hamdānī], by Christopher Toll, 1968 [2014], 144–45.

91 Savant, *New Muslims*, 8–9.

92 James, "Arab Ethnonyms," 684–85.

93 Toll, *Kitāb al-Ǧawharatain*, 148.

distinguish between "Arabized" populations and "pure" or "real" Arabs.[94] The etymology and semantic evolution of this collective term are comparable to those of the Greek term *βάρβαροι*, and it was primarily associated with the neighboring Persians. The affective value attributed to the word was at times inspired by claims of Arab superiority due to their more civilized and refined culture.[95] In Yemen of the tenth century, *al-ʿajam* could have functioned as general designation for non-Arabs, could have meant non-Arabic speakers, or could have been an ethnic designation for Persians. Al-Hamdānī, for example, writes about *abnāʾ aʿjam*,[96] which can be translated as "offspring of non-Arab descent" or "offspring of Persian descent." In later sources, such as Ibn al-Mujāwir's *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*, *al-ʿajam* was explicitly used for Persians. The *Shuʿūbīya* movement in the time of the 'Abbasids[97] questioned Arab superiority and strove to revalue the role of the *aʿājim*, which mostly but not exclusively meant the Persians. Fostered by these developments, *ʿajam* as the initially pejorative identification of others by Arabs became a neutral term of ethnic differentiation. With its novel quality of an ethnic group designation for Persians, it was eventually used as self-ascription.[98] Moreover, the term could also be used to denote a territory, i.e. *bilād al-aʿājim* ("non-Arab lands").[99] Thus, *ʿajam* in its various forms is the most unspecific of the terms in question. It stresses distinctiveness without qualifying or defining it. It can be assumed that the Yemeni readers were able to discern, at least in some matters, whether *al-ʿajam* meant Persians or non-Arabs, but al-Hamdānī's intention in using this term might have been less to identify the *other* and more to evoke a sense of it.

In order to explore ethnonyms for Persians in South Arabia in a later medieval period, this case study draws on Ibn al-Mujāwirs *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir (The Historiography of the Sharp-Sighted)*, a travelogue from the early thirteenth century. The author, to all appearances a native of Khorasan, Persia and native Persian-speaker, visited South Arabia at least three times between 1220 and 1230. He shows great interest in the history and topography of the Arabian Peninsula, but mainly focuses on the topic of trade and commerce, which leads to the assumption that he was most likely a businessman himself.[100] In a copious style,

94 Gabrieli, "ʿAdjam."
95 Ibid.
96 Müller, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿarab*, 88.
97 Enderwitz, "al-Shuʿūbiyya."
98 Gabrieli, "ʿAdjam."
99 Toll, *Kitāb al-Ǧawharatain*, 68.
100 Smith, *Traveller*, 3.

he combines his own observations and those of informants and transmitters with an abundance of storytelling, including local myths and legends as well as Quranic themes and his own dreams, creating a rich mix of genres. Thus, the analysis of ethnonyms in this source focuses on their roles and meanings in these different narrative units and also their etymology and historical context.

In *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir,* the abovementioned terms *al-furs* and *al-ʿajam* are used synonymously and are equally eligible to designate people of Persian origin or descent, meaning either Persians who came to Yemen from Persia or their Yemeni offspring. It is clear that the term *ʿajam* refers to no other ethnicity than Persian. *ʿAjam* as used by Ibn al-Mujāwir has no negative connotation whatsoever and bears no reference to its Greek/Arabian etymology of "impure speech." The author even uses the term *al-ʿAjamīya* to refer to the Persian language when quoting a Persian saying given by his contemporary Yemeni Persian-speakers. Although *furs* and *ʿajam* are used interchangeably, the term *ʿajam* is used slightly more often in the text. When in opposition to other typical ethnonyms, especially *ʿarab*, the term *ʿajam* is preferred, maybe because of its phonetic similarities or because *al-ʿarab wa-l-ʿajam* had been coined as a pair of opposites since pre-Islamic times. The following quotation shows how *ʿajam* qualifies as a term that clearly designates Persians as an ethnic group in distinction to others:

> They are a people descended from Ham, son of Noah – peace be upon him. Moreover they are not Arabs [ʿarab], Persians [ʿajam], Indians [hind], Abyssinians [ḥabash], Turks [turk] nor Nabateans [nabaṭ], but they have a language all of their own which is used [only] among themselves.[101]

In this passage, the author recounts one of his dreams about a mystic valley and its inhabitants near the city of Medina. In this case, it is obvious that "Persian" serves as an ethnic category that is dissociated from any distinct historical timeframe.

Whenever the frequently used phrase "it was built by the Persians" or its variation, "a construction of the Persians," is used, the question arises how an approximate historical period can be determined. Ibn al-Mujāwir provides his readership with a hodological rather than a chronologically organized narrative, meaning that he structures his writing according to the stops on his itinerary (towns, cities, historical sites). He shows a pronounced tendency to attribute the

101 Ibid., 44. Löfgren*, Taʾrīkh* 1, 16.

erection of impressive building structures such as fortifications and mosques and even the founding of whole towns to the Persians, whether these edifices or settlements still existed, were in ruins, or were gone altogether. Flipping this causality around, he interprets the remains of constructions as indications of Persian presence in major cities and various other towns in earlier history. If at all, he gives only vague time specifications, e.g. "when the Pharaonic rule came to an end," "in the days of the Persians," and "under Persian rule." One can either try to reconstruct at least a tentative timeframe from the context and compare it with other historical records to determine whether the building in question was or could have been of Persian making, or one can use additional information given on the building materials, location (e.g. the center or the periphery of the town), and other architectural features to determine Persian workmanship.[102] Particularly in the case of Aden, it seems most likely that expressions like "the days of the Persians" refer to the period of Sasanian rule in the sixth century. Roxani Margariti notes that "Al-Marzūqī[103] conveys the tradition that Aden always came under the jurisdiction of Yemen's rulers."[104] On some occasions, Ibn al-Mujāwir supports his statements by saying that the information was revealed to him in a dream, hence it was a divinely inspired vision (*manām* or *ruʾyā*), which can be understood as strong proof.[105] A legend like that of Alexander the Great, a mythical figure who also appears in the Quran, might also serve as evidence. In spite of the fact or, perhaps, precisely because of the fact that such narratives defy clear historical substantiation, they attain a strong effect. The following may serve as a prime example:

> When Dhū l-Qarnayn [Alexander the Great] released the sea from Jabal Bāb al-Mandab and it flowed out, all the area around Aden dried up. […] When the Persian rulers [mulūk al-ʿajam] took over Aden they saw this exposed area and were afraid for the town, that someone coming to conquer might lay siege to it. Then they made an opening on the side near to Jabal ʿImrān and released the sea over it. The sea poured forth, descending until it drowned the whole exposed area

102 Roxani Margariti did so in her book *Aden and the Indian Ocean Trade: 150 Years in the Life of a Medieval Arabian Port*. For two illuminating examples concerning Ibn al-Mujāwir's claim for Persian workmanship see 51ff. and 99ff.

103 A philologist who died in 421 AH/1030. Pellat, Ch., "al-Marzūqī."

104 Margariti, *Aden*, 224–225, n83.

105 Fahd, T., and Daiber, H., "Ruʾyā."

> around Aden. Aden became an island. […] The new-made sea was called Buḥayrat al-Aʿājim and was known by their name for all times.[106]

Here, the plural form *aʿājim* is part of the hydronym *buḥayrat al-aʿājim*. Ibn al-Mujāwir never uses the word *aʿājim* as a term to designate the Persians. It occurs only twice in the text, the second time in a piece of Arabic poetry which he quotes. *Mulūk al-ʿajam* might refer to the Sasanian rulers, but the fact that this story connects to the legend of Dhū l-Qarnayn creates a certain level of ambiguity. Such ambiguities are characteristic of Ibn al-Mujāwir's writing and do not necessarily undermine the author's discourse. If anything, they create narrative tension and draw more attention to what seems to be the author's intention, namely to point out the momentousness of Persian influence in medieval Yemen.

One group of Persians which is datable and clearly distinguishable from other Persians throughout the text are *al-furs min ahl Sīrāf,* "the Persians of the people of Siraf." The ancient city of Siraf, situated on the Iranian coast of the Persian Gulf, was a seaport and early Islamic trade center. In 997, it was left in ruins by an earthquake which lasted for seven days. The people of Siraf, whose merchants had already been traveling back and forth to the Red Sea, then immigrated to the coastal regions in the area.[107] Ibn al-Mujāwir introduces the *ahl Sīrāf* early in his account when dealing with the history of the seaport Jeddah.[108] A group of contemporary Yemeni Persians tells him the story of their Sirafi ancestors who fortified the city by enclosing it with a massive wall. They then dug a huge moat around it so that the seawater would pour into it and run around the town until it flowed back into the sea. Thus the city of Jeddah resembled an island amidst the sea. The incredible number of a thousand reservoirs, built to guarantee a secure supply of drinking water, adds a fantastic element to the story. After approximately 80 years of prosperous community life, the Persians were forced out of Jeddah by the Arabs, and they immigrated to other islands and coastal cities in the region yet again.

Another tale which features the *ahl Sīrāf* speaks to their pride and wealth as merchants.[109] The same story appears in Ibn al-Baṭṭūṭa's *Riḥla*, who visited Aden about a hundred years later, probably around 1330.[110] In Ibn al-Mujāwir's

106 Smith, *Traveller*, 137; Löfgren, *Taʾrīkh* 1, 115–16.
107 Whitehouse, *Siraf*, 2–3.
108 Smith, *Traveller*, 70ff; Löfgren, *Taʾrīkh* 1, 42ff.
109 Smith, *Traveller*, 122; Löfgren, *Taʾrīkh* 1, 98.
110 Miquel, A., "Ibn Baṭṭūṭa."

account the protagonists are the Sirafi Persians. Two slave-boys of two Sirafi merchants are sent to the market to bid for fish. The slaves start bidding for the only fish available until the price exceeds 1,000 Dinars and one of them buys it. When he brings home the fish, his master is so pleased with him that he sets him free and provides him with 1,000 Dinars sustenance. The other slave who returns to his master empty-handed is severely punished. In Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's version the fish is a ram, but the masters who send their slave-boys are not associated with any particular ethnic group, but rather with the social group of Adeni traders in general.[111]

As to the etymology of the name Aden, Ibn al-Mujāwir states that it was derived from the word *maʿdin*, more specifically from *maʿdin al-ḥadīd*, "the iron mine," and that it was called *ākhuri sangīn* "an empty, or rather, stony cratch" by the Persians.[112] This is clearly a reference to the Persian mining activities in Yemen and a further example of how the author uses different tools to point out the strong impact of Persian presence in medieval Yemen.

Despite the different etymologies of *al-furs*, *al-ʿajam* and *al-abnāʾ*, and although there are some tendencies in al-Hamdānī's texts, which at first glance suggest preferences for one or the other term depending on the context, these South Arabian sources from the tenth century show that no clear-cut distinctions between the three terms can be made. The range between *al-abnāʾ*, *al-furs*, and *al-ʿajam* varies in terms of their *othering* potential. The relatedness of the terms *abnāʾ* and *banū* can be interpreted as minor differentiation and could even be read as a strategy of *selfing*, e.g. *al-abnāʾ* refers to the Yemeni Persians, understood as part of the author's own society, in contrast to *al-furs*, which refers to the Persian Persians, not understood as part of Yemeni society. Of course, the differentiation between *abnāʾ* and *banū*, or Persians and Yemeni tribesmen respectively, continues. Otherwise the ethnonym would not make sense. Consequently, the three ethnonyms for Persians in Yemen, which al-Hamdānī uses, combine different levels of *selfing* and *othering*. Yet the flexibility of how they are used underlines the fluid character of ethnic categorizations in medieval South Arabia. Genealogy and descent were major factors of tribal belonging and ethnic naming, as the case of the *abnāʾ* shows. What becomes evident is that in the case of the *abnāʾ,* the construction of identity for the (Arab) *self* and the (Persian) *other* follows patterns of tribal belonging and genealogical descent. The

111 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥlat*, 252.

112 "i.e. an unprofitable situation," Steingass, *Dictionary*, 25; Löfgren, *Texte*, part 1, 29, n1; Smith, *Traveller*, 133, n3.

abnāʾ are addressed as sons/offspring of an ancestral group or referential figure, like Yemeni tribesmen, but this ancestral reference is an ethnic *other*: the *furs* (*abnāʾ al-furs*). In al-Hamdānī's writings, *ʿajam* and its variant forms bear, according to its etymology, the highest *othering* potential. Yet the affective dimension of the term gradually lost its meaning of "impurity" in its practical applications over time. Also, the term became increasingly limited to designating something or someone as "Persian," rather than referring to a non-Arab or non-Arabic *other*. Ibn al-Mujāwir, in all probability a native Persian and an author of the early thirteenth century, also uses the terms *furs* and *ʿajam* to designate Persians in the Yemeni context, and a third term which refers to a certain group of immigrants, *al-furs min ahl Sīrāf*. *Furs* and *ʿajam* are used synonymously and are predominantly to be understood as ethnic terms which identify people of Persian descent. Both *furs* and *ʿajam* convey no additional information as to social status or the historicity of a group, unless they are combined with other compounds which indicate either rulership or geographical origin, e.g. *mulūk al-ʿajam* or *al-furs min ahl Sīrāf*. Ibn al-Mujāwir's writing is characterized by fluid transitions between the historical report, mythical narratives, fantastic stories, and genuine observations, a style that creates ambiguity, which can be interpreted as part of the author's narrative strategy. The text consistently highlights the Persians' presence in South Arabia, and building structures serve as the main indicator in the emerging discourse of Persian self-authentication. The ethnonyms *al- furs*, *al-ʿajam* and *(al-furs min) ahl Sīrāf* are all suitable to praise the outstanding accomplishments of Persians and thereby portray them as an ethnic group who is more advanced in comparison to others. Thus, all three terms have the same *selfing* potential. This is also where it becomes most evident that over time the term *ʿajam* not only lost its original pejorative meaning, but eventually acquired a positive affective value, being used as a Persian self-ascription.

Conclusion

This comparative study shows that ethnonyms function as conceptual tools, which authors can strategically use in their narratives. Drawing on Latin, Greek, and Arabic source material, we presented the particular case of the Persians as an illustration that ethnonyms are dynamic and adaptable, that they shape processes of *selfing* and *othering*, and that they support ideologies and political agendas. Ethnonyms and, more generally, ethnic terminology can serve to accentuate or reduce the hiatus between the *self* and the *other*. The case study shows that

constructions of Persians as the *other* in interethnic relations varied greatly over the course of time.

The legends that refer to the Persians on the Tabula Peutingeriana are a mixture of erudite citations, ill-informed guesses, and ethnographic commonplaces. While Late Antique Greek and Latin authors have conveyed a nuanced view of the Persians and their empire, the inscription TROGODITI PERSI on the Tabula represents a vivid example of ethnic polemic in the service of Roman imperial propaganda.

TROGODITI PERSI on the Tabula Peutingeriana portrays the Persians as an extreme opposite to the Roman (self-)understanding of (Roman) "civilization." Around the time of the advent of Islam, Arabs developed a comparable notion of "non-Arabs" (*al-ʿajam* or *al-aʿājim*), from which they marked themselves off. In the case of the Roman map, the point of reference for distinction was the dwelling place and way of life, whereas the Arabs referred to language. For them, Arabic was the divine language, and it was closely linked to the holy script of the Quran, which distinguished the Arabs from all non-Muslims and non-Arabs. Persians were among the first non-Arabic speakers whom the Arabic-speaking Muslims conquered in the seventh century. Until the tenth and thirteenth centuries, *ʿajam* was more and more closely associated with (and even adapted by) the Persians, and less closely associated with non-Arabs in general, or the inability to speak Arabic properly. In Latin sources, the terminological designations for Persians did not change significantly between Antiquity and the Middle Ages. However, perceptions of the *Persae* varied between notions of them being "barbarous" in the fullest sense to them being "civilized," or even similar and comparable to the Romans.

In the South Arabian context of the tenth century, the local term *al-abnāʾ* created a zone of transition between the Yemeni *self* and notions of the Persian *other*. *Al-Abnāʾ* could be combined or exchanged with the transregional terms *al-furs* and *al-ʿajam* to appropriate new meanings. In this interplay of local and transregional ethnonyms, it was possible either to enhance the role of the Persian minority as an integral part of the Yemeni society or to express a stronger sense of its otherness and separation. In the early thirteenth century, the Persian author Ibn al-Mujāwir used the terms *al-furs* and *al-ʿajam* to elevate the Persians as a civilization in the context of South Arabian history. A strong element of storytelling, together with references to elements of construction as evidence of civilizational accomplishments, built the framework through which he engaged in a discourse of Persian self-authentication.

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Some Thoughts on the Translation and Interpretation of Terms Describing Turkic Peoples in Medieval Arabic Sources*

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The identification of the various peoples who lived on the medieval Eurasian Steppe has always been an engaging problem among scholars of the early history of this territory. The Arabs came into contact with Central Asian peoples from the beginning in the seventh century, during the course of the Islamic conquest. Hence, one finds many details about the peoples of the Steppe in the Arabic sources.
The Arabic geographer Ibn Rusta mentions the Hungarians among the Turkic peoples in the beginning of the tenth century. However, according to the Arabic sources, there were many Turkic tribes or peoples in different regions, such in Ferghana, Khorasan, Transoxania, Samarqand, and near Armenia. Based on this fact, the term "Turk" can be interpreted in different ways. My aim is to indicate some of the difficulties concerning the translation and interpretation of the terms referring to peoples or tribes, such as "jins" and "qawm," and to give some examples of occurrences of the ethnonym "Turk" in medieval Arabic texts.
I begin with a discussion of the relevant methodological questions and then argue that the designation "Turk" should be used more cautiously as a group-identifying term in the wider context of the early Medieval world of the Eurasian Steppe.
Keywords: Turks, ethnonyms, Eurasia, Arabic sources

Introduction

The Arabs conquered Central Asia in several waves of attacks and finally overthrew the Chinese forces at the Talas river in 751, so they annexed Transoxania to the Caliphate. First, one must highlight the importance of contacts between various peoples and cultures in Eurasia and the long-durée changes that shaped the history of the region. However, this would go beyond the framework of this paper. We can find traces of the meeting of Arab and Eurasian peoples and cultures in the archaeological heritage but also in the medieval Islamic geographical and historical literature. These sources contain

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very important information about the early medieval history of these territories and their peoples, but one must keep in mind that, if we seek to arrive at an understanding of the wider context of the region's history, we need to consider the Turkic, Chinese, Uighur, and Persian sources as well.[1] Many of the Steppe peoples who lived in different regions (such in Ferghana, Khorasan, Transoxania, Samarqand, and near Armenia), are referred to as Turks in the Medieval Islamic texts. It is therefore sometimes difficult to identify the various "Turkic" peoples in the sources. My research focuses on early Hungarian history (by which I mean the period before the eleventh century), to which this issue is relevant because the Hungarians were referred to in the sources primarily as Turks, but the "Turk problem" is a very important and fascinating question in the wider context of the world of the early Medieval Eurasian steppe too. In the following, I would like to emphasize that as an Arabist, I will examine these questions on the basis of Arabic sources exclusively. One must begin with the first question: who were the peoples referred to as Turks in the sources, and which parts of the Steppe did they inhabit?

If we speak of Turkic peoples, even if we take into consideration their skills in military affairs and their emergence into the politics of the Islamic caliphate during the centuries following the Arabic conquest, it is interesting to see how the nomadic, barbarian, and pagan Turkic peoples became the defenders of Islam and the Caliphate. Yehoshua Frenkel correctly points out that the image of the Turks has changed over time, and he assumes that descriptions of the Turks in Arabic sources can be divided into two main periods, the early stage contacts (ca. 650–830, when the peoples of the Steppe were characterized as barbarians) and the later period (830–1055), during which their image evolved into that of the noble savage.[2] He analyzes the second period in his article using a wide array of sources. His examinations and recent translations[3] of texts about the Turkic peoples are very important and highly valuable, giving some insights into their history and showing their main characteristics in the medieval Arabic texts. Nevertheless, many questions remain concerning shifts in the descriptions of the Turks in the Arabic sources. Hopefully, future studies will pay attention to this subject as regards the early Islamic age, too.

1 On this problem, see for example: Czeglédy, "A török népek és nyelvek."

2 Frenkel, "The Turks of the Eurasian Steppes in Medieval Arabic Writings," 234.

3 Idem, *The Turkic Peoples in Medieval Arabic Writings*.

The Question of Group-identifying Terms

Before speaking of the problem of the identification of these peoples,[4] one must raise questions related to the usefulness and limitations of group-identifying terms in general. This is a very complex problem, which concerns not only the translation of words, but also interpretations which are subjects of the fields of history and anthropology. If one reads about Turkic or any other kinds of peoples in the Medieval Arabic geographical or historical works, one finds many expressions and sentences resembling the following two examples:

> *"at-turk ummatun ʿaẓīmatun kathīratu al-ajnāsi wa al-anwāʿi kathīratu al-qabāʾila wa'l-afkhādhi"*
> "The Turks are a great people and consist of many kinds and varieties, many tribes and sub-tribes");[5] (Trans. Minorsky)
> *"wa fihi ayḍan jinsun min al-ṣaqāliba"*[6] ("and [in the Caucasus] [dwells] a kind of Slavic peoples too"). "*Wa'l-majghariyya jinsun min al-turk*"[7] ("The Hungarians are a kind of Turkic people").

But the question arises, which social/ethnic groups/tribes or peoples are mentioned among the Turkic peoples by the authors?[8] When reading about the early Hungarians or any other kind of Turkic peoples, this can be confusing, even if one keeps in mind that the identification of ethnicity is another general issue.[9] In order to further an examination of the categories of "Turkic" peoples, it is essential to consider the interpretation of the word "jins," and other terms which are used in the medieval Arabic texts to designate peoples or tribes should also be interrogated. I list the most specific terms found in the sources.

I would like to begin by emphasizing that a full discussion of the problem of "tribes" lies beyond the scope of my research and this paper. However, it is important to summarize the main methodological questions, which are strongly connected with the focus of this inquiry, namely the questions relating to translations and interpretations of words and terms designating various social

4 On the possible types of identification of early medieval ethnic communities in general see: Pohl and Reimitz, *Strategies of Distinction*.

5 al-Marwazī, *Sharaf al-zamān*, *17, and the English translation on 29.

6 Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, 295.

7 Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-aʿlāq an-nafisa*, 142.

8 On the problem of the early Hungarian social/ethnic group/tribe, see recently Szabados, *Állam és ethnosz a IX–X. századi magyar történelemben*.

9 On the subject of ethnicity in general see: Pohl, "Conceptions of Ethnicity."

groups in our written sources. The problem of tribe and its translations may be too broad and complicated in part because it demands interdisciplinary work from the fields of philology, anthropology, and history, which would be a complex undertaking.[10] It has become almost a commonplace in anthropology that the main problem of the tribe is that it is a "magical word,"[11] and it is hard, if not impossible, to define what it means exactly.[12] The meaning of "tribe" can be quite different and can shift over time, depending on a wide variety of factors, such as territory, the exact period of time in question, or the origins of the author and whether or not the term is used to denote a particular fluid society.[13] This also means that in most cases, it is a difficult to translate and interpret the terms or nouns describing groups, peoples, or tribes, and in some ways, the mapping of these social groups, if they can be mapped at all, is strongly connected with the ethnographers' (or translators') fictions.[14] Despite the serious methodological issues, it might be worth taking into consideration the anthropologists' notes and considering how their findings could be used in historical research. Of course, many methodological problems arise, for instance the question of extrapolation of sources,[15] such as the case of the word "īlāt." This word has been applied to the tribal, pastoral, nomadic population, but it is not found in the medieval Persian records.[16]

Surprisingly, it was social anthropologist David Sneath who raised the problem of the interpretation of these terms some years ago and suggested that "specialists in other fields" should think about the problem of translations.[17] While Sneath is not a philologyst, he recognized this fundamental issue concerning the Mongol era and Persian texts, and he found that the word "qawm" in Rashīd al-Dīn's

10 Tapper, "Anthropologists, Historians," 48–49.

11 Southall, "Tribes," 1329.

12 Sneath,"Ayimag, uymaq and baylik: Re-examining Notions of the Nomadic Tribe and State," 163; Tapper, "Anthropologists, Historians," 49–51. On the Middle Eastern terminology of tribes see also Kraus, *Islamische Stammesgesellschaften,*125–27.

13 Johann Heiss and Eirik Hodsen also highlighted the problem of fluid social groups and the changes in the meanings of these terms. Heiss and Hovden, "The Political Usage of Religious and Non-Religious Terms for Community in Medieval South Arabia."

14 Tapper, "Anthropologists, Historians," 49–51; Southall, "Tribes," 1333.

15 On the problem of extrapolation, see for example: Tapper, "Anthropologists, Historians," 60; and on the continuity of the "timeless traditional nomadic society" see Sneath, "Imperial Statecraft: Arts of Power on the Steppe," 2.

16 Paul, "Terms for nomads in medieval Persian historiography," 438.

17 Sneath, "Ayimag, uymaq and baylik," 161.

work does not mean "tribe" or "lineage."[18] With regards to the interpretation of group-identifying terms, I assume that his arguments are persuasive. Christopher P. Atwood also emphasizes that there is no comprehensive study of the terms used to designate various groups in Rashīd al-Dīn's work. For example, the word "qawm" seems to be regularly applied to any Turco-Mongol social group, so it is not possible to specify its meaning. At the same time, he points at the difficulties of the simultaneous usage that were common with reference to the interpretation of his material as ethnographical research into the Pre-Chinggisid Mongols, which is a very important observation.[19]

There are articles demonstrating the unambiguousness of the usage of words like "peoples" or "tribes" in various sources. A few decades ago, Richard Tapper mentioned the problem of interdisciplinary studies in this field, and he emphasized that historians and philologists translate and interpret words like "qabīla"," ṭāʾifa"," qawm" as tribes many times but without knowing how they were actually used by the authors.[20] To my knowledge, there is also no comprehensive study examining the terms mentioned in various sources and originating from different regions, like the Arabian Peninsula, the Middle East, or Central Asia. However, in the field of Oriental studies, recently some articles raised this issue concerning interpretations of tribe in written sources from the perspective of the representation of communities,[21] or they examined the terms used to designate nomadic peoples.[22] In a recent article, Johann Heiss and Eirik Hovden analyzed and compared the terms describing tribes or social groups in al-ʿAlawī's (ninth-tenth century) and al-Hamadhānī's (tenth century) works, and they found that al-ʿAlawī used mostly the term "ʿashīra" when speaking of tribes or groups of peoples, while interestingly, this word is not found in al-Hamadhānī's genealogical work. They highlighted that al-ʿAlawī was of north Arabian origin, while al-Hamadhānī belonged to the south Arabian peoples, and

18 On the question in general see: Sneath, *The Headless State. Aristocratic orders, kinship society & misrepresentations of nomadic Inner Asia*. He has an exchange with Golden about this problem: Golden, "Review of the Headless State" and Sneath, "REJOINDERS. A Response by David Sneath to Peter Golden's Review of *The Headless State*; Sneath,"Ayimag, uymaq and baylik," 161, and 176–81. For the review of Sneath's book see Kradin, "The Headless State."

19 Atwood, "Mongols, Arabs, Kurds, and Franks: Rashīd al-Dīn's Comparative Ethnography of Tribal Society," 227–28. ff. 17.

20 Tapper, "Anthropologists, Historians."

21 See for example the articles published as part of the *Visions of Community* project: Morony, "Religious Communities in the Early Islamic World;" or Heiss and Hovden, "The Political Usage."

22 See for example Paul, op. cit.; Leder, "Nomaden und nomadische Lebensformen in arabischer Begrifflichkeit."

this may have been one of the reasons why they used different terms to describe various social groups.[23] The general use of group-identifying terms in the case of Turkic or other peoples differs significantly from this, and I would like to add some examples from the Arabic sources describing Turkic peoples and point out some difficulties concerning the translations of group-identifying terms. Of course, it is impossible to understand how Turks identified themselves on the basis of the Arabic sources, as these sources are external and they depict these peoples mostly as nomads, barbarians, or infidels,[24] but this could be the subject of another paper.

Jins

In the medieval Arabic sources, one finds many terms designating Turkic peoples, such as ǰins, umma, qawm, qabīla, and ṭāʾifa. The lexicons of Régis Blachère or Edward William Lane or even simply Ibn al-Manẓūr's dictionary give a good idea of the diversity of meanings of these words. The most common word one finds in these descriptions of nomadic Turkic peoples is ǰins. This term basically means a kind or class within a higher-order thing, for example in the case of animals and peoples:

> "*al-ḍarbu min kulli shaʾyin, wa huwa min al-nāsi wa min al-ṭayri*…"
> "[this word means the] kind of everything, such as the [kind of] people or birds…"

In this sense, the modern Arabic dictionary later also gives "nation" as one possible meaning. Jins might be a loanword from the Greek *γένος* and Latin *genus* (though these terms do not have the same meaning), and it usually refers to a species within a genus.[25] "Jins" can also refer to pagan or barbarous peoples, or other ethnic groups.[26] If one takes a closer look at the geographical sources, one sees that the term "jins" can designate smaller or larger groups of people, including Turks, Chinese, Indian peoples, or Slavs:

"jinsun min al-turk," [they are]a kind of Turkic peoples;

23 Heiss and Hovden, "The Political Usage."

24 In general, see Frenkel, "The Turks of the Eurasian Steppes."

25 Van den Bergh, "Jins," 550; Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* I, 470; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* II, 383.

26 Blachère, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français-Anglais* I/1783; Lane, *An Arabic–English Lexicon* I/470. The term is used mostly in this sense in the geographical and travel literature, see later, for example in the case of the Khazars (see note 82).

"ajnāsi al-turk," groups of Turkic peoples;
"jinsun min al-saqāliba," a kind/group of Slavic peoples;
"wa ajnāsun min al-turk badū yusammūna al-w.l.n.d.riyya,"[27] and [some] kinds of the nomadic Turks called al-w.l.n.d.riyya

This word is translated many times as race[28] or tribe, but the word race should not be used anymore, especially in these kinds of translations, and "jins" usually denoted a group or kind of peoples, which is very common in the geographical literature. For example, al-Masʿūdī († H 345/956) writes the following in his *Kitāb al-tanbīh*:

> The fifth group of peoples *(ummatun)*[29] consists of [various] kinds of Turkic peoples *(ajnās al-turk),* and among them are the *kh.r.l.khiyya,* the *ghuzz* and *kīmāk,* and the *ṭughuzghuz and the khazar.* [The *Khazars*] are called *sabīr* in Turkish and *al-khazarān* in Persian, and they are a kind of Turkic peoples *(jinsun min al-turk)* who are settled [people], and their name was Arabized. It is related that the *Khazars* and other [kinds of Turkic peoples] have one common language, and they have one king.[30]

As one sees, the term "jins" refers here to a larger group or a kind of Turkic peoples. At the same time, in the work of al-Marwazī, V. Minorsky translated the word "jins" in some places as tribes, but it is possible that the author meant tribes:

> *"wa ʿan al-yasār al-Ṣīn ʿindā maṭlāʿi al-shamsi al-ṣayfi khalqun kathīratun fīmā bayna al-Ṣīn wa al-khirkhīz wa hum ajnāsun lahā asāmin mithla Abrmr (?), Ḥwrnyr (?), Tūlmān (?), F.rāḥnklī (?), Yāthī (?), Ḥynāthī (?), Būbūʿnī (?), B.nkū (?), Fūrī (?)."*
> "To the left of China towards the summer sunrise, between China and the Kyrgyz, there is a large population. They are tribes with names such as *Abrmr (?), Ḥwrnyr (?), Tūlmān (?), F.rāḥnklī (?), Yāthī (?), Ḥynāthī (?), Būbūʿnī (?), B.nkū (?), Fūrī (?)."* (Trans. by Minorsky)

27 al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, 180. The word al-*w.l.n.d.r.iyya* is in itself a problem, see Czeglédy, "A IX. századi magyar történelem főbb kérdései," 38–47.

28 Bang and Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien,* 142; Ibn Faḍlān, *Riḥla* 35*; translation on 80; *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir* III, 222. See also Zsidai and Langó, "Kunok és alánok," 425, 429; Frenkel, *The Turkic Peoples in Medieval Arabic Writings*, 42.

29 The word umma can be translated as community or nation too, but I do not think that in this case this would be appropriate. See more on the word "umma" later in this article.

30 al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, 83. Based on this edition, other variations of names in these MSs include *al-ḥūl.ḥiyya, al-kh.w.l.kh..yya, al-ṭʿar.gh, y.s.y.r or b.sh.r.*

V. Minorsky noted that the transcription of these names is conventional and cannot be relied upon, but this is another problem concerning the interpretation of the sources related to the history of these peoples.[31]

It is also hard to determine what kind of social or relational connection this word had. An interesting example of the use of term "jins" is found in the work of Ibn al-Athīr (†1233), in which he contends that the Tatars wanted to ally with the Kipchaks against the Alans in 1222, and they based their argument on the "fact" that they and the Kipchaks originated from the same "jins", but the Alans did not. As one later sees, the Tatars used this only as a reason to attack the Kipchaks.[32] Here the word "jins" seems to refer to a kind of kinship connection between the Kipchaks and the Tatars, but we know little of this, and in the end, obviously, it meant nothing to the Tatars. Emphasis in this case can be placed rather on the argument itself: how did they make friends out of their enemies, and how did they use this during the negotiations?

Umma

Another term which is often found as a designation of different kinds of peoples is the plural of word *umma*: *umamun*. The word "umma" refers primarily to the Muslim religious community, but of course, it can have different meanings in various sources. Michael Cooperson examined uses of the term "umma" on the basis of al-Masʿūdī's work. He suggests that the term was used to denote peoples, nations, or communities as well, and its attributes were in flux. If one is speaking of larger communities, such as nations, one could mention the Persians, the Byzantines, the Chinese peoples, Turks etc. among the major *umam* of the ancient world in the historical and geographical literature. Cooperson also assumes that al-Masʿūdī was well aware of the difficulties of the reconstruction of each *umma*'s history.[33] Heiss and Hovden concluded that in the singular, "umma" meant mostly the universal Muslim community, and in the plural (*umamun*) referred to the many peoples from different part of the world and among them to the Muslim community's pagan and heterodox enemies. They give an example from al-Idrīsī's (†1165) work, in which the author used this term to designate peoples along the East African coast or the Turkic peoples

31 al-Marwazī, *Sharaf al-zamān*, 14* and 26 (I use V. Minorksy's translation). On the difficulties concerning the Arabic vowels which are not marked in these texts, see for example Ormos, "A magyar őstörténet arab forrásainak újabb irodalma," 743–45.

32 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* XI, 385.

33 Cooperson, "'Arabs' and 'Iranians': The Uses of Ethnicity in the Early Abbasid Period," 376–77.

of Central Asia.[34] One finds instances of this in other sources too, for example when we read the following about the Turkic peoples in al- Marwazī's work:

> *"wa minhum khirghiz wa hum ummatun kathīratun,"* and among [the Turks] there are the Kyrgyz people, who are a great people"
> *"wa ʿalā yamīn haʾulāi al-kīmākīya thalāthu umamin yaʿabudūna al-nayyirān wa'l miyāha"* and on the right side of these Kimeks, there are three kinds of peoples who adore the sun and the moon and the waters"[35] (Trans. by Minorsky)

It is worth noting that he uses the words "umam" and "ajnās" (i.e. as plural forms) quite often, but it is not clear what the difference is between these terms exactly. In another passage, al-Masʿūdī mentions the Burtās people as "*ummatun ʿaẓīmatun min al-turk*," or "a community or group from the Turkic peoples."[36] As one can see, this word denoted primarily larger or smaller groups of peoples out of the Muslim communities in terms of Turkic peoples.

Qawm

The other term designating larger or smaller groups is *qawm* or *aqwām* in the plural. This word can be found in an array of geographical works. For example, al-Marwazī mentions the Magyars as *"qawmun min al-turk,"* or "the Majgharī are a Turkish people" in V. Minorsky's translation, which is the same in Ibn Rusta's work, though he refers to them as a "jins", not as a "qaum".[37] In another passage, he writes about the Pechenegs:

> *"wa'l-bajnākīyya qawmnun sayyāratun,"* or "the Pechenegs are wandering people."[38] Ibn Faḍlān also uses this term in his work: *"baladu qawmin*

34 Heiss and Hovden, "The Political Usage," 63.

35 al-Marwazī, *Sharaf al-zamān*, 18*; 20*; 30; 32.

36 al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-tanbih*, 62. The Burtās people lived between the lands of Khwarezm and the lands of the Khazars.

37 al-Marwazī, *Sharaf al-zamān*, *22; 35. Most probably, they used the same source for the description of the Magyars. Historians tend to avoid discussing the sources of these descriptions. On the so-called Jayhānī tradition see: Göckenjan and Zimonyi, "*Orientalische Berichte über die Völker Osteuropas und Zentralasiens im Mittelalter.* For a relevant critique of their work see Ormos, *A magyar őstörténet*; "Kiegészítések 'A magyar őstörténet arab forrásainak újabb irodalma. Kmoskó Mihály, Hansgerd Göckenjan és Zimonyi István művei' című írásomhoz" and "Remarks on the Islamic sources on the Hungarians in the ninth and tenth centuries."

38 al-Marwazī, *Sharaf al-zamān*, *20; 32.

> *min al-atrāk yuqālu lahum al-bāshghird,"* or "the land of a kind of Turkic peoples called Bashkirs."[39]

Qabīla

There are other words which the authors used primarily to refer to smaller groups of peoples, such as tribes. One of these words is *qabīla* (in the plural *qabāʾilu*). As Heiss and Hovden highlight, this is not a term denoting exclusively Arabs, though one finds other mentions of non-Arab peoples, mainly in travelers' accounts, in which they write about non-Arab-or Islamic lands.[40] This is the case with the Turkic peoples too. For example, Ibn Faḍlān refers to the Oghuz peoples as "tribes": *"qabīlatun min al-atrāk yuʿrifūna bi'l-ghuzziya,"* or "a tribe of Turkic peoples known as Oghuz."[41] He also mentions the tribes of infidel peoples:

> *"fa-baynakum wa bayna hadhā al-baladi alladhī tadhkurūna alfu qabīlatin min al-kuffār,* or "and between you and the land, which you have mentioned, there are one thousand tribes of infidels."[42]

But this word can be found in many other works too, including for instance Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī's description:

> *"wa Yājūj wa Mājūj arbʿa wa ʿishrūna qabīlatan fa-kānat qabīlatun minhum al-ghuzzw wa hum al-turk,"* or "And Gog and Magog had 24 tribes (?) and there was a tribe (?) among them, the Oghuz, and they are the Turks."[43]

Ṭāʾifa

Another term which was widely used to designate tribes in the Arabic sources is *ṭāʾifa* (pl. *ṭawāʾifu*). This basically means a part of something (*"juzʾun min al-shayʾi"*) and also a group of people (*"jamāʿatun min al-nāsi"*) numbering less than one thousand,[44] and in this sense, as since it designates a smaller group of peoples, the word can be translated as tribe. This word describes many groups of peoples or tribes in the Middle East and Central Asia, and it has been studiously analyzed in the anthropological scholarship. For example, the term "qawm" and "ṭāʾifa" are widely used today in Iran and Afghanistan and they can refer to various

39 Ibn Faḍlān, *Riḥla*, *18; 35. Z. V. Togan translates this as Turkic peoples ("*Dann hielten wir uns im Lande eines Türkenvolkes auf, das Basghird genannt wird.*").

40 Heiss and Hovden, "The Political Usage," 69.

41 Ibn Faḍlān, *Riḥla*, *10; 19.

42 Ibid., *6, 11.

43 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-buldān,* 298–99.

44 Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab* VIII, 223.

levels of the social organization of a group of peoples like tribes, groups, and the like.[45]

This word can denote Turkic peoples in the Arabic geographical literature, for example in al-Bīrūnī's or Ibn Faḍlān's works:

> *"wa ḥawlahu (al-baḥr al-khazar) ṭawāʾifu min al-turk wa-al-rūs wa-al-ṣaqlab,"* or "and around the (Caspian Sea) dwell groups of the Turkic, Rūs and Slavic peoples";[46]
> "*wa raʾynā ṭāʾifatan minhum taʿbudu al-ḥayyāta wa ṭāʾifatan taʿbudu al-samaka wa ṭāʾifatan taʿbudu al-karākīya," or "*and we saw a group of them, which worshiped the snake, a group, which worshiped the fish, and [another] group, which worshiped the cranes."[47]

Thus, this term can refer to tribes or different kinds of peoples in the sense of the Arabic word *nawʿ* at the same time.

Other Terms and the Problems of Interpretations

There are other words like "jīl" which can also stand for smaller or larger groups of people or tribes, but it is only rarely used in descriptions of the Turkic peoples. Blachère suggested it refers primarily to larger groups of peoples, like the Chinese, the Turks, etc. as is mentioned in Ibn Manẓūr's dictionary,[48] but Lane found that "jīl" can also refer to tribes, and in al-Kāshgharī's Dīwān one finds the same assertion, although no Turkic word is given as an equivalent of this term.[49] It is worth noting that the term *ʿashīra* (pl. *ʿashāʾir*), which can denote smaller sub-tribes of *qabīla*,[50] is rarely used in the sources to denote Turkic peoples, and indeed I myself have not seen it used once to denote Turkic peoples.

On the basis of the examples mentioned above, one can conclude that the translation of these words can be very difficult and uncertain, which means that ultimately the translation is an interpretation of the terms. One comes across several examples of this when reading about the history of the Eurasian Steppe, because in the sources there are various words which are consistently

45 Orywall, *Die Ethnischen Gruppen Afghanistan,* 78–80; Tapper, "Anthropologists, Historians," xvi–xviii.

46 al-Bīrūnī, *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdi*, 4.

47 Ibn Faḍlān, *Riḥla*, *19; 36.

48 Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* II, 436. e.g. the Turks, the Chinese, the Arabs, the *Rūms* (Byzantines).

49 *Dictionnaire Arabe-Francais-Anglais,* III, 1984–85; Lane, *An Arabic–English Lexicon,* I, 494; Dankoff, "Kāšγarī on the tribal and kinship organization of the Turks," 30–31.

50 Lecerf, "ʿAshīra."

translated as tribe. For instance, there is a fascinating article about the people of Nūkarda, and there are some places where the translations of "tribes" are confusing. The author, Turkologist Peter Golden, translates both "jins"[51] and "jīl" as tribe.[52] However, if one takes a closer look at the given text, one sees that these words could denote larger groups of peoples, or at least they could refer to different kinds of peoples that were described by al-Masʿūdī there. *"al-jīlu al-awwalu minhum yuqālu lahum bajnā, thummā yalīhi ummatun thāniyatun yuqālu lahā bajghird, thumma yalīhā ummatun yuqālu lahā bajnāk … talīhā ummatun ukhrā yuqālu lahā Nūkarda."* He translates this as follows: "The first tribe is called bajnā. Near to them is the second people, who are called bajghird, and near them is a people, the bajnāk, … near them is the last of these peoples, the Nūkarda."[53] I would venture the contention that it is not immediately obvious that, when using the word "jīl", he meant tribe, as the text is a listing of the peoples living in the Caucasus. The other thing is that *ummatun ukhrā* does not mean the last of these peoples, but rather can be translated as follows: "[they are followed by] another [group of] peoples called Nūkarda."[54] One notices the same thing if one also reads the translation of *anwāʿ* (kinds, sorts, species) as tribes,[55] though they do not have this meaning.[56] Here the author quotes al-Masʿūdī's historical work, in which he mentioned the Black Sea: *"al-burghār wa al- rūs wa bajnāk, bajghird wa hum thalāthatu anwāʿin min al-turk."*[57] He translates as follows: "The Burghar, the Rus, the *Pacänā̄, the Päčānak and the Bajğird, (the latter) are three tribes of the Turks."[58] The word *nawʿ* cannot mean tribe here, so they are three kinds of Turkic peoples. Moreover, al-Masʿūdī wrote about the Baḥr Nītas in the first instance, describing them as the sea of the people of Burghar, the Rus, the *Pajänä, the Päjänak, and the Bajğird. Golden, however, assumes that he is speaking of three tribal organizations.[59] I would suggest that the

51 Golden, "The people Nūkarda," 23.

52 Ibid., 22–23. One finds the same translations of these terms in an article in which he translates a passage from al-Yaʿqūbī's *Kitāb al-buldān* about the Kimeks' state (or stateless) organization: j*ins* and the plural form *ajnās* are translated consistently as "tribe" and "tribes." Golden, "The Qipčaqs of Medieval Eurasia: An Example of Stateless Adaptation in the Steppes,"144.

53 Golden, "The people Nūkarda," 22.

54 The word *ukhrā* is the feminine of the word *ākhar*. The word which stems from the same root (*a.kh.r*) and means "last" is *ākhir* or *ākhiratun* in the feminine, which is not the case here.

55 Ibid., 24. and 34.

56 See e. g. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* XIV, 330. *Akhaṣṣu min al-jinsi.*

57 al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj* I, 262.

58 Golden, "The people Nūkarda," 34.

59 *"annā baḥra al-burghār (in Pellat's edtion: al-B.r.gh.z) wa ar- rūs wa bajnāk, bajghird wa hum thalāthatu anwāʿin min al-turk…wa huwa baḥr Nītas."* al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj* I, 262.

sentence should be translated as follows: "And as the astrologers from among the holder of astrological tables and other [astrologers] among the elders say, the sea of al-Bulghar and al-Rūs [and B.j.nā and B.j.n.āk and Bgh.r.d—and they are three kinds of the Turkic peoples] is the Sea of Nīṭ.sh. (the Black Sea)"[60] Adding to this, al-Masʿūdī mentions the Burghar as a kind of Slavic people using the term "nawʿ" (*nawʿ min al-Ṣaqāliba*) in his geographical description, which does not denote tribes there.[61] Finally, in the same article there is a sentence in which one finds the word "jins", but it has not been translated at all.[62] The article is still highly valuable, but the translator thus can confuse the reader, even if he also correctly noted later, in another passage, that he is uncertain as to how to translate the word "jins".[63] In the recent translations of excerpts about Turkic peoples in the Arabic sources, Frenkel found the translation of these group-identifying words as hard as in the case of Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī's work.[64]

In conclusion, how these terms are translated is important. If one examines the history of the Steppe peoples, it does matter whether they are referred to as peoples or tribes, especially if one seeks to analyze their state/tribal organization.[65] Unfortunately, in most cases one does not find descriptions of these terms that are as detailed and clear as the ones found in the Arabic-Turkish

60 For a good summary of the history of the Black Sea and the Azov Sea in the geographical literature see Kovács, "A Maeotis ingoványai."

61 al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, 141.

62 *"wa qad dhakarnā fī Kitāb funūni al-maʿārifa wa mā jarā fī al-duhūr al-sawālifa al-sababa fī intiqāli hadhihi al-ajnāsi al-arbʿati min al-turkʿan al-mashriq wa mā kāna baynahum wa bayna al-ghuzziyati wa'l-kharlukiyyati wa'l-kīmākiyyati min al-ḥurūb wa'l-ghārāt ʿalā al-buḥayrati al-Jurjāniyyati."* Golden, op. cit., 23; al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, 180–81. Golden translates this as follows: "*We have mentioned in (our) 'Book of the Science of What Happened in Ages Past' the reason for the movement of the Turks from the East and what occurred between them and the *Oğuz, *Qarluq and Kimäk, of the wars and raids around the Sea of Jurjān."* But in fact here al-Masʿūdī spoke of four kinds of Turkic peoples (*al-ajnāsi al-arbʿati min at-turk*), which he mentioned at the beginning of this passage, namely the *Bajnāk, *Bajnā, the *Bajghird, and the *Nūkbarda (?). This passage is interpreted by Zimonyi as al-Masʿūdī shows here the fighting between the Oghuz, Qarluq, Kimek, and the Pechenegs as a cause of the western migration of the early Hungarians and Pechenegs. Zimonyi, "A besenyők nyugatra vándorlásának okai," 135. On Zimonyi's works in general see: Ormos, op. cit. Based on the poor philological examination and the uncertainty of the identification of these Turkic peoples/tribes, I find no evidence in support of Zimonyi's conclusions. Moreover, the work he mentions is lost, so we have no other works on which to draw unless other sources are found. Zsidai, "Ismāʿīl ibn Aḥmad."

63 Golden, "The Turkic World in Maḥmûd al-Kâshgharî," 503, note 3.

64 Frenkel, *The Turkic Peoples*, 42.

65 As Golden also notes in his article "[a]s it is not infrequent in steppe history, where sources are scarce and speculation abundant, a number of potential solutions present themselves." Golden, "The people Nūkarda," 34. For the usage of lineage in imperial politics, see also Atwood 2013.

dictionary of al-Kashghārī, in which he describes them quite precisely.[66] On the basis of the abovementioned examples, and because these words denote tribes or particular fluid social groups, I would like to argue that we should use "jins", "qabīla", "qawm", or "ṭāʾifa" etc. as group-identifying terms more cautiously in the wider context of the early medieval world of the Eurasian Steppe. Moreover, one also has to consider that it is not possible to apply "modern" (or Western) terms like nation for the description of the communities of the medieval (and eastern) Steppe. With regards to the Arabic sources, Heiss and Hovden have recommended further comparisons and analyses of various texts from different regions in a historical context which would be based on source criticism.[67] I can only highlight the importance of their suggestion as it concerns the sources on the Turkic peoples of the Eurasian steppe.

The Ethnonym Turk and Problems with Its Use

In the following, I raise the problem of the interpretation of the ethnonym Turk. Narratives of early Hungarian history (i.e. the period before the eleventh century) offer many examples of the problems with the use of this term because of the scarcity of sources and also because the early Hungarians were nomadic, so they were mentioned as Turks not only in the Islamic sources but very often in Latin and Greek sources too. Studies on the so-called Turkic peoples are popular, but there are few works and little research on the history of the Turks which rely on the Arabic sources before and by the time of early Islam because this period of the Turkic people's history is poorly documented. The problem has been discussed in the international research,[68] however, and it is clearly important to consider carefully how the sources use the term "Turk"

66 For example al-Kāshghārī has used *qabīla* for tribes and *buṭūn* for subtribes: al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān,* 27. For a detailed description of the tribal organizations of al- Kāshgharī see Dankoff, "Kāšγarī on the tribal and kinship organization of the Turks."

67 Heiss and Hovden, "The Political Usage."

68 See for example: Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge,* 46; Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, 9–10; Bosworth, "The Turks in the Islamic Lands," especially 196–205; Vásáry, *A régi Belső-Ázsia története,* 151–52; Lewiczki,"The Oldest Mentions of the Turks in Arabic Literature"; Sinor, "The establishment and dissolution of the Türk Empire"; Harmatta and Maróth, "Zur Geschichte der arabisch-türkischen Beziehungen," 139–44.

(i.e. to which groups of people or peoples do they apply it).[69] If one only takes the English translation of al-Ṭabarī's chronicle (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) into account, one will have difficulties regarding the identification of "Turks."[70] Apart from the chronicle of al-Ṭabarī, one could also mention the case of the Khalaj Turks. According to an article by Miklós Maróth, who examined this question on the basis of the al-Balkhī tradition, the Khalaj Turks lived between the steppe of al-Dāwar and Ghazna. Maróth agrees with al-Khwārizmī's conclusion that they were the descendants of the Hephthalites if it was true that the Hephthalites were Turkic.[71] But this assumption is related to the problem of the Hephthalites (*hayāṭila* in the Arabic sources), which is another interesting subject of debate among scholars at the moment.[72]

With respect to early Hungarian history, which is strongly connected to the history of the Eurasian Steppe, unfortunately in some cases it is far from clear that a given source which mentions "Turks" has any connection to the history of the early Magyars, and this raises the problem of "Turk" as an ethnonym,

69 See for example the case of the ghuz-toghuzoghuz problem and the misinterpretation of ethnonyms after Barthold, in general see for example: Vásáry, *A régi Belső-Ázsia története,* 82–84.

70 For example the case of Balanjar's siege in the North Caucasus region in Hijra 32 / A. D. 652–53, when the Turks joined the inhabitants of Balanjar against the Muslims. The translator, S. Humphreys, assumes that the term "Turks" probably refers to the elite who lived under Khazar rule. *The History of al-Ṭabarī* (XV, 95. Note 167). At another place, where al-Ṭabarī writes about Nīzāk Tarkhān in 51/671, M. G. Morony notes that he should be the Hephthalite ruler of Bādghīs, and the Turks mentioned here may are Hephthalites from Bādghīs and the surrounding area. *Ibid.* (XVIII, 163. Note 488 and 164. Note 489). Or see Sijistan's conquest (79/697–698), when ʿUbaydallah b. Abī Bakra attacked Zunbil and its Turkish troops were forced to withdraw from one territory after another, until they reached the region of Zābulistan. E. K. Rowson pointed out the same problem here. Ibid. (XXII, 183−84. Note 662). Another good example is an article written by J. Harmatta and M. Maróth in which they analyze the Arabic-Turkic contacts in the beginning of the eighth century, and their conclusions were drawn on the basis of the Arabic and Persian sources as well. They came to the conclusion that the "Turks" were mentioned three times near each other in al-Ṭabarī's (†923) chronicle, referred to in it as three different tribes or tribal alliances. According to their research, the Turks who lived in 701 A. D. near Kishsh were western Turks, the Turks who were fighting against Ḳutayba ibn Muslim in 707 A. D. were most probably eastern Turks, and the Turks who attacked the people of Samarqand during the Arab siege in 711 A. D. were western Turks from Shāsh and Ferghana. Harmatta and Maróth, "Zur Geschichte der arabisch-türkischen Beziehungen."

71 Maróth, "Die Xalağ in den arabischen Quellen," 271–72.

72 On the question of Turks and Hephtalites in general see Bivar, "Hayāṭila." K. Enoki thinks that al-Ṭabarī distinguished the Hephthalites from the Turks when writing about Turks at the time of Bahrām Jūr, and the Turks who invaded Persia were a non-Persian tribe living northwest of the Persian territory. It is remarkable that he examined the historical background as well. Enoki, *Studia Asiatica,* 149). Recently see Vaissière, "Is There a 'Nationality' of the Hephthalites?"

too.[73] One example is found in an interesting passage in Ibn Rusta's work, which derives from Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā, who lived in Constantinople and described the Byzantine Empire and its neighbors. The passage in question goes back to the second half or the end of the ninth century. Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā mentions Turks as guards of the emperor.[74] On the basis of an analysis of the *De administrando imperio* (DAI), which was edited by Emperor Constantine VII of Byzantium (913–59) in the middle of the tenth century, and the work of Ibn Rusta, Joseph Marquart concluded that these Turks were Turks from Ferghana *(Φαργάνοι)*. However, he quoted another passage from the DAI in which the term "Turks" (Τοῦρκοι) refers to the Turks of Ferghana, the Khazars, and other soldiers who might have been Hungarians.[75] Some historians have concluded that this fragment refers clearly to the early Hungarians, but I do not see any clear evidence in support of this conclusion.[76]

Another example of the misinterpretation of ethnonyms is the case of Samanid Ismāʿīl ibn Aḥmad's raids against Taraz in 893. Al-Tabarī's account of this event is mentioned in the historical sources on the Hungarian conquest because some of the Hungarian historians and archaeologists thought it was this raid which caused the Pechenegs' raid against the Hungarians, which may

73 On the problem of the ethnonym Turk in general see Sinor, "Reflections on the History and Historiography of the Nomad Empires of Central Eurasia," 3–6; Zsidai, "Turkok az arab forrásokban"; Golden, "The Turkic World in Maḥmûd al-Kâshgharî," 503–04; Vásáry, "Hungarians and Mongols as 'Turks'. On the applicability of Ethnic Names."

74 Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-aʿlāq an-nafisa*, 121. Zsidai, "Turkok az arab forrásokban," 8–9, recently Vásáry, *A régi Belső-Ázsia története*, 539.

75 Marquart, *Osteuropäishe und ostasiatishe Streifzüge,* 227; see also: Vasiliev, "Harun-ibn-Yahya and his description of Constantinople."

76 Vásáry and Zimonyi thought that the phrase Turks from Ferghana referred to the Hungarians, but later he was more cautious and said that it was very likely that they were Hungarians because the Greek sources mention the Hungarians as Turks (Kristó, ed., *A honfoglalás korának írott forrásai*, 28, note 32; Kmoskó, "Mohamedán írók a steppe népeiről," 185, note 738). I assume that at the moment we cannot determine with certainty which people they might have been, and in my view Zimonyi's argument is unreliable on this point, so I agree instead with Marquart, because he examined the source in detail. Unfortunately, there are minor mistakes in the Hungarian translation of the passage. On the question of the translation of this fragment, see Zsidai, "Turkok az arab forrásokban," 8–9. The question of Byzantine uses of the ethnonym Turk is complex, and the meanings with which the term is used depend mostly on the given source and its context and criticism. Sinor thought that in the Byzantine sources, the name Turk referred mostly to the Turkish speaking peoples, and there are some exceptions when this name was applied to the Hungarians, but this is not the case here. About the Hungarian-Turk question as raised by Sinor, see: Sinor, "The Outlines of Hungarian Prehistory," 517–24.

have prompted the Hungarians to migrate into the Carpathian Basin in 896.[77] If one takes a closer look at the sources, however, one sees that al-Masᶜūdī's work, in which he wrote more about the raids and fights on these territories, unfortunately has been lost, and no sources have been found describing this raid as the starting point of an eastern-western migration of the Karlukhs towards to the Oghuz people who dwelled near the Aral Sea. Instead, according to the sources, part of the Karlukh people moved to Kasghar, and this city lies not to the west, but to the southeast of Taraz. Moreover, if we look at the map of this raid as it is reconstructed in the secondary literature, there is no clear explanation why Bukhara would have been the starting point of the raid. Al-Narshakhī writes that the Samanid emir returned to Bukhara with the captives and booty, but there is no mention in any of the sources of the specific site from where the raid was launched, so in all likelihood, this argument was based only on the fact that Ismāᶜīl ibn Aḥmad was the emir of Bukhara by that time.[78] Unfortunately, the abovementioned problems of translation and interpretation notwithstanding, one of the most important migration hypothesis concerning the early Hungarians is based on this argument. After having studied the related sources, however, I have come to the conclusion that we cannot consider this raid the starting point of a greater migration, at least not in the case of the Hungarian conquest. Rather, it was in all probability an important event in a longer border fight between the pagan Turkic/Nomadic peoples and the Caliphate. These fights are important from the perspective of the history of the steppe, and I find Deborah G. Tor's argument interesting. Tor contends that there are not many notes on these raids against the Turks because these fights resulted in great losses and deficits for the Caliphate.[79] Whatever the truth is, it would be worthwhile to reevaluate our sources with regards to the Arabic conquest of Central Asia as well. Apart from the problems of the sources on the early history of the Hungarians, the use of ethnonyms is confusing in other texts too. Sometimes, a name does not refer to a people but rather to the territory where they live, for example al-Iṣṭakhrī mentioned the name Burṭās (who were

77 On this question in general see Szabados, "A magyarok bejövetelének hadtörténeti szempontú újraértékelése."

78 al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh* XIII, 2249; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj,* IV, 245; Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib* IV, 360; al-Narshakhī, *Taʾrikh-i Bukhārā* 84; Mirkhond, *Histoire*, 6; Summary of the sources and the event: Zsidai, "Ismāʿīl ibn Aḥmad."

79 Tor, "The Islamization of Central Asia in the Sāmānid era and the reshaping of the Muslim world," 291–92.

described by al-Masᶜūdī as Turkic peoples as well)[80] as an "umma" and later as "nāhiye": "Burṭās is the name of a region (*nāḥiya*), like the Rūs, and the Khazar and the Sarīr, which are all the names of countries (*mamlaka*) and not the names of cities or peoples."[81] However, the term Khazar was used to denote peoples in the beginning of the same work: "as regards Khazar, it is the name of this kind of peoples (*innahu ismun li-hadhihi al-jinsi min al-nāsi*)."[82] Claus Schönig has also noted the ambiguousness of term Turk in al-Kāshgharī's Dīwān, and he concludes that the term Turk denoted 1) the Turkic people as a whole, 2) the non-Oghuz peoples (in remarks on the Oghuz dialect), and 3) a part of the core population of the Karakhanid state, i.e. the Čigil.[83]

Further examples of the use of the term "Turks" could be listed, but they would not add to the core argument of my inquiry. Another important factor is the question of the "Turkicization" and Islamization of the territory where "Turks" had lived earlier. A decade ago, Sören Stark published a book which examined this question from the perspectives of archaeology and history,[84] and in a later article he noted a problem concerning the early Turkic archaeological material and the interaction between the inhabitants of early medieval pre-Muslim Transoxania. He also noted that, "[t]he actual status of these earliest influences [viz. the middle of the first millennium A.D.] from the Turkish steppes in Transoxania is still poorly understood and consequently a matter of considerable dispute between archaeologists, historians and linguists."[85] In conclusion, each use of the term "Turk" must be interpreted in a wider historical and geographical context, and it is obviously not easy to define which kinds of Turkic peoples were described in the chronicles or the geographical descriptions. Hence, as noted above, historians must be careful with the translations of these ethnonyms.[86] The term "Turk" can refer to various kinds of peoples and also tribes, subtribes, or clans, which are mainly nomadic in the Arabic sources. Historians must also keep in mind that the term does not have anything to do

80 al-Masᶜūdī, *Kitāb al-tanbih*, 62. *"wa Burṭās ummatun ᶜaẓimatun min al-turk bayna bilād Khwārazm wa mamlakat al-khazar"*

81 al-Istakhrī, *Kitāb Masālik wa'l-mamālik,* 220, 223, 225.

82 On the use of the term Khazars as the name of peoples see ibid., 10.

83 Schönig, "On some unclear, doubtful and contradictory passages in Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī's "Dīwān Luγāt at-Turk," 35–38.

84 Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel-und Zentralasien.*

85 Stark, "Mercenaries and City Rulers: Early Turks in pre-Muslim Mawarannahr," 307.

86 Zsidai, "Turkok az arab forrásokban." Recently I. Vásáry has also raised this question in a short article. Vásáry, "Hungarians and Mongols."

with the ethnicity in itself, especially if we speak of the early medieval history of the Steppe.

In my assessment, further study of the uses of ethnonyms like "Turk" is necessary, as is further study of the migration of early nomadic peoples in the historical context of the Eurasian Steppe. This question is interesting not only from the perspective of early Hungarian history, but also as regards the early medieval history of the Steppe. There is still room left for Orientalists, Antropologists and Historians in this field of these studies.

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Magyar – A Name for Persons, Places, Communities

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With a name, we identify a community. But if we consider how people assigned and used names in the early Middle Ages, we are confronted with limits and problems. On the one hand, communities were organized in several ways, and the different kinds of identities (e.g. person, state, clan, ethnic group) can be confusing and thus can be confused. On the other hand, the history of a name and the object it denotes can lead in different directions: a name could identify more peoples or groups, and conversely, a single ethnic group could have many denominations. "Magyar" is now the vernacular name of the Hungarians who first emerged as a distinct group in the ninth century, but this noun appeared much earlier and not in a group-identifying function. Around the year 530, a Kutrigur-Hunnic king lived who was mentioned as "Muageris" by Byzantine authors. Some scholars have observed the similarity between the name "Muageris" and the ethnonym "Magyar." Another Byzantine work (*De Administrando Imperio* ca. 950) enumerates the "clan of Meger" among the "Turk" [Hungarian] clans, and centuries later the Hungarian gestas and chronicles mention "Hetumoger," "het Mogor" as "seven Hungarians." If one compares the Byzantine sources with internal sources, it is possible that King "Muageris" can be inserted into the frame of the written data. The noun "Magyar" had four coherent functions. It was used as 1) a personal name, "Muageris" and "Magor," the latter of whom was one of the forefathers of the Hungarians according to their original ethnic myth; 2) a toponym for the ancient homeland, i.e. the Hungarian chronicles use "Magor" for "Scythia" or "Magoria" to refer to part of "Scythia"; 3) the name of one of the leading clans, the clan of "Meger"; and 4) an ethnic name, i.e. "Hetumoger" or "het Mogor" as 'seven Hungarians'.

Keywords: Hungarian ethnonym, functions of the name "Magyar", king Muageris, medieval historiography

Introduction

To name a community is to identify it, or at least to try to identify it. But if we examine the processes of naming in the early Middle Ages, we are confronted with many limits and problems.[1] On the one hand, communities were organized in several ways, and the different kinds of identities (whether one belongs to

1 See e.g. Sinor, "Reflections on the History and Historiography," 3–14; Pohl and Mehofer, *Archaeology of Identity*.

a state, a clan, or an ethnic group) can often be confused.[2] For instance, the inhabitants of the Avar Khaganate, i.e. the state or the steppe-empire of the Avars, were not automatically parts of the Avar ethnic community,[3] as many immigrating groups had been integrated under Avar rule in the Carpathian Basin during the existence of the aforementioned khaganate (568–ca. 822).[4] On the other hand, the history of a name and its denoted object can lead in different directions, since one name could identify several peoples and, conversely, several names could be used to denote a single ethnic group.

Why was a single ethnic group referred to by different names in the texts? The pool of authors was so strikingly diverse from the perspectives of the eras in which they lived, their origins (where they lived), and their literacy (cultural/religious determinations) that the various names do not form one big organic logical system; only "subsystems" can be revealed in different sources. The following examples illustrate the divergences among and diversity of the ethnonyms. Emperor Leo VI of Byzantium (886–912) enumerates the Turks [Hungarians] among the "Scythian nations" (*Σκυθικὰ ἔθνη*).[5] Leo's son Emperor Constantine VII (913–959), in his compiled didactic work (*De Administrando Imperio*), registered an older ethnic name.

> The nation of the Turks [Hungarians] (*Τούρχων ἔθνος*) had of old dwelling next to Chazaria, in the place called Lebedia after the name of their first voivode, which voivode was called by the personal name of Lebedias, but in virtue of his rank was entitled voivode, as have been the rest after him. Now in this place, the aforesaid Lebedia, there runs a river Chidmas, also called Chingilous. They were not called Turks (*Τοῦρχοι*) at that time but had the name *Sabartoi asphaloi* (*Σάβαρτοι ἄσφαλοι*), for some reason or other."[6]

In the first part of the tenth century two other important sources presented the diversity of the terms used to designate ethnicities. The *Annals of Fulda* revealed

2 See e.g. Pohl, Gantner, and Payne, *Visions of Community*; Szabados, "Identitásformák és hagyományok," 289–305.

3 Pohl, "A non-Roman Empire," 571–95.

4 Szádeczky-Kardoss, "The Avars," 206–28; Szőke, *The Carolingian Age*, 9–43.

5 Dennis, *The Taktika of Leo VI*, 452–53. Although the text of his *Taktika* is mainly based on *Strategikon*, which was probably written by Emperor Maurikios (582–602), *Taktika* is a useful source on Hungarian history in the ninth and tenth centuries, as Emperor Leo VI supplemented the basic text with contemporary data. Dennis, *Das Strategikon des Maurikios*.

6 Moravcsik, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio*, vol. 1, 170–71.

an "overwriting" process speaking of "Avars, who are called Hungarians" (*Avari, qui dicuntur Ungari*).[7] On the other hand, two Muslim authors, Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī, assert that "The Magyars are a race of Turks…"[8] One could enumerate further examples, but these cases clearly demonstrate that it is impossible to build one big logical system of Hungarian ethnonyms. However, Gyula László may well have offered a convincing answer to the question with which I began this paragraph. Since the Hungarians appeared as Magyars, Onogurs, Bashkirs, Turks, Savartoi, or Savards, etc. in the sources, at one time all these names were understood as referring to a single ethnic entity, the Magyars, but it is highly likely that they (the Magyars) emerged from a fusion of peoples which earlier had separate identities.[9] In order to approach at least one subsystem of possible correlations of names and the named, one must invert the question and ask not "how many names can be used for one people," but rather "how many meanings belong to one name."

The Meanings of "Magyar"

The Hungarians who called themselves Magyars in their own vernacular can be differentiated first in the ninth century, but this noun was used much earlier and not in a group-identifying function. When three authors, namely Johannes Malalas († after 570), Theophanes the Confessor (†817), and Georgios Kedrenos (mid-eleventh century) discuss the political relations of the Eastern Roman Empire with its neighbours, their chronicles report on an internal struggle among the Huns in the Black Sea region during the first imperial year of Justinian I (527–565). Although Johannes Malalas lived earlier, the text-tradition of his work is more problematic than Theophanes' *Chronographia* (Malalas' chronicle survived in later and corrupted texts, and especially from the aspects of the onomastic data: the forms of the foreign names are not reliable), and it is worth reading Theophanes' version of the incident. Kedrenos compiled his *Synopsis* from the *Chronographia*, so this is another reason to turn to Theophanes.[10]

> In the same year [527/528 AD], the king of the Huns near Bosphoros, called Gordas, joined the emperor, became Christian, and was baptized.

7 *Annales Fuldenses,* 125; *The Annals of Fulda*, 140.

8 Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*, 206.

9 László, *The Magyars,* 54.

10 Moravcsik, "Muagerisz király," 261–65.

> The emperor received him, provided him with many gifts, and sent him back to his own country to guard Roman territory and the city of Bosphoros… After the king of the Huns, who had become a Christian, returned to his own country, he found his brother and told him of the emperor's love and liberality and that he had become a Christian. He then took the statues that the Huns worshipped and melted them down, for they were made of silver and electrum. Enraged, the Huns united with his brother, went away and killed Gordas and made his brother Mouageris king in his place. Then, in the fear that the Romans might seek him out, they fell suddenly on the city of Bosphoros and killed the tribune Dalmatius and his soldiers. At this news the emperor sent out the ex-consul John the grandson of John the Scythian and son of the patrician Rufinus, with a large Scythian force, and at the same time directed against the Huns Godilas… and the general Badourios. On hearing this, the Huns fled and disappeared.[11]

The texts contain the *Οὖννοι* ethnonym and the versions of the king's name as follows: *Μοῦγελ* (Johannes Malalas), *Μουαγέρην* (Theophanes), and *Μοαγέρα* (Georgios Kedrenos).[12] Since the second half of the nineteenth century, scholars have debated whether the name of this person is in close connection with the "Magyar" ethnonym;[13] in his philological analysis, Gyula Moravcsik gives an answer to this question which is rather "more" than "less" positive. He also defines these Huns as Kutrigurs and emphasizes the relation with another Byzantine source concerning a people who must have been the Hungarians.[14]

In his didactic compilation, the so-called *De Administrando Imperio*, after telling of how the Kabars were defeated by the Chazars and joined the Hungarians, Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus enumerates the leading clans of the "Turks" [Hungarians] in the following manner (ca. 950):

"The first is the aforesaid clan (*γενεά*) of the Kabaroi, which split off from the Chazars; the second, of Nekis; the third, of Megeris (*Μεγέρη*); the fourth, of Kourtogermatos; the fifth, of Tarianos; the sixth, Genach; the seventh, Kari; the eighth, Kasi."[15]

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11 *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor,* 267.

12 *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, 432; *Theophanis Chronographia*, 269–70; *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae Ope*, 645.; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica,* 192–93.

13 In support of this connection e.g. Szabó, *Kisebb történeti munkái* vol. 1, 155–56; Moravcsik, *Muagerisz,* 259–60; Idem, *Byzantinoturcica* vol 2, 192–93. Against it e.g. Róna-Tas, *Hungarians and Europe in the early Middle Ages,* 297–98.

14 Moravcsik, *Muagerisz,* 271.

15 *De Administrando Imperio*, 174–75.

It is worth noting that in this context the *De Administrando Imperio* uses the meaning "the clan of Megyer" instead of "the clan [called] Megyer," therefore a genitive structure of the noun and the clan demonstrates a closer denominating relation; otherwise a "clan Megyer" could mean a distant and an institutionalized connection within the phrase.

Several times in the history of the Eurasian Steppe, the name of a ruler became the name of a community (clan, folk, empire), e.g. Seljuq, Nogai, Osman, and Chagatai.[16] These examples are important from the perspective of this discussion, because they prove that the *person* → *group* system of naming was part of this wide cultural "commonwealth." It is more important, however, to examine the Hungarian sources containing the occurrences (and the types of occurrences) of the proper noun "Magyar."

First, the most important features of early Hungarian history must be summarized briefly, because the age of the surviving texts does not necessarily inform us of the first recorded use of the term. Several times, earlier texts contain secondary data or secondary (perhaps transcribed, misunderstood) versions of a story, and later codices sometimes contain the more original variation of a concrete component of the ancient tradition.[17]

The basic and most detailed narrative of the mythical and historical past is found only in the text which was written in the Angevin Era. The first chapter of this chronicle reveals unambiguously the fact of the earlier histories, as well:

> In the year of our Lord MCCCLVIII on the Tuesday of the week of His ascension [15 of May in 1358] this chronicle was begun concerning the deeds of the Hungarians in ancient and most recent times, whence they came and how they fared, their victories and their bravery, compiled from diverse old chronicles, preserving what in them is true and utterly refuting what is false.[18]

Thus, this chronicle was compiled on the basis of several older works. The reconstruction of the older texts contains details of which we remain uncertain because when the continuation (in which the original version is changed, misunderstood, and reinterpreted) was finished, the earlier texts were no longer extant. Its earliest source was the so-called *Ancient Gesta*, which has not survived, but its existence has been verified, and its text has been partially reconstructed on

16 Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples,* 6.

17 E.g. see Szabados, "On the origin-myth of Álmos Great Prince," 437–42.

18 Dercsényi, *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle,* 89.

the basis of a comparison of the available sources. The first *Gesta* was continued several times by unknown authors during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. According to the most persuasive theory, the *Ancient Gesta* was made during the reign of King Andrew I (1046–60), and Bishop Nicholas, who appears in Chapter 90, was its author.[19] There is a wide divergence of the opinion among scholars concerning the phases and authors between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries. The oldest surviving member of these historiographical processes is the *Gesta Hungarorum* (Deeds of Hungarians), written and compiled by Master Simon of Kéza ca. 1285, during the reign of King Ladislas IV (1272–90). He is the first Hungarian historian whose name we know for certain. Since only an excerpt of his chronicle has survived, we must use later texts to reconstruct the complete (or at least more detailed) version. During the Angevin Era, the literate clericals produced two groups of the chronicle-composition. First, an unknown Franciscan friar of Buda constructed a text when King Charles I (1301–42) ruled Hungary, and as the continuance of his work was later printed in Buda in 1473, this circle of the text is named the *Chronicle of Buda*. In the time of King Louis I (1342–82), a longer history was compiled. It began to be written on May 15, 1358, and I cited the introduction has above. It was attributed to Márk of Kált, a cleric of the royal court and the canon warden of the Royal Basilica in Székesfehérvár. The most representative copy of his work is the codex of the *Illuminated Chronicle*.[20]

Recording the ancient tradition: it cannot be simplified to a linear process because of an "irregular actor." An anonymous author, Master P., formerly the Notary of King Béla III (1172–96), wrote his *Gesta Hungarorum* on "the genealogy of the kings of Hungary and of their noblemen" ("*genealogiam regum Hungariae et nobilium suorum*") in the early 1200s.[21] The most important difficulties from the perspective of our inquiry can be summarized as follows: the Anonymous Notary and Simon of Kéza both read the older chronicles or gestas, Simon of Keza adopted parts from the Anonymous Notary, and some fragments of their additions got into the *corpus* of the *Illuminated Chronicle*.[22]

19 Horváth, *Árpád-kori latinnyelvű irodalmunk,* 305–15.

20 Dercsényi, "The Illuminated Chronicle and its Period," 22–23; Szovák, "L'historiographie hongroise á l'époque arpadienne," 375–84; Veszprémy, "The Illuminated Chronicle," 11–36. Conf. with the earlier secondary literature e. g. Hóman, *A Szent László-kori Gesta Ungarorum*; Gerics, *Legkorábbi gestaszerkesztéseink*; Kristó, *A történeti irodalom Magyarországon.*

21 Rady and Veszprémy, *Anonymus and Master Roger,* 2–3.

22 Veszprémy, "The Illuminated Chronicle," 31.

According to the chronology of the surviving histories, we have to look into the *Gesta Hungarorum* written by the Anonymous Notary. His prologue contains relevant data, as he explains the aim of his work, which is to narrate:

> how the seven leading persons (*VII principales persone*), who are called the *Hetumoger*, came down from the Scythian land, what that Scythian land was like, and how prince Álmos was begotten and why Álmos, from whom the kings of Hungary trace their origin, is called the first prince of Hungary, and how many realms and rulers they conquered and why the people coming forth from the Scythian land are called Hungarians in the speech of foreigners but Magyars in their own (*in sua lingua propria Mogerii vocatur*).[23]

The anonymous author shows here an adequate awareness to draw a distinction between the external and vernacular forms. In his prologue, the phrase *Hetumoger* ("seven Hungarians") was used in a political sense to refer to the seven highest leaders (who chose one of their own as a monarch), but without a number, the noun *Moger* refers to the whole speech community. Unfortunately, his explanations were distorted by scholastic explications and (mis)interpretations, as the following example illustrates:

> Scythia is then a very great land called *Dentumoger*… On its eastern side, neighboring Scythia, were the peoples Gog and Magog (*fuerunt gentes Gog et Magog*), whom Alexander the Great had walled in… The first king of Scythia was Magog, son of Japhet, and this people were called after him Magyar (*gens illa a Magog rege vocata est Moger*).[24]

This error is the result of the mixing of different traditions. Medieval histories shared an essential characteristic feature: the authors had to integrate stories of the *origo gentis* into the Biblical tradition. In this case, Moger's name was similar to Magog, who appears on the one hand as the second son of Japheth (Gen 10,2) and, on the other, with Gog as a warrior in Satan's army (Revelations 20,7). The Biblical etymologies of the ethnonyms were elaborated by Isidore of Seville (†636), the last of the Fathers of the Church. With regards to our case, we read, "Magog, from whom people think the Scythians and the Goths took their origin."[25]

23 Anonymous, *Gesta Hungarorum*, 2–3.

24 Ibid., 4–7.

25 *The* Etymologies *of Isidore of Seville,* 193.

It is a little ironic that the phrase *Hetumoger* itself was criticized some decades later. Soon after the seven captains of the conquering Hungarians were enumerated, the text of the chronicle from the Angevin Era contains the following:

> The other clans, who by descent were of equal standing with those of the captains, made their dwelling-places wherever seemed good to them. When therefore it is said in some chronicles that the aforesaid seven captains entered Pannonia and alone settled and populated Hungary, whence come the clans of Akus, Bor, Aba and other noble Hungarians since none of these were strangers but had all come forth from Scythia. They adduce no other reason than that it is common to speak of the seven Hungarians. If the Hungarians numbered only these seven with their families, and not numerous families with their wives, sons, daughters, servants and maids, is it possible that these seven should take possession of the kingdom? It is impossible.[26]

The scholars attribute this argumentation to Ákos of the clan Ákos, a noble clerical in the court of King Stephen V (1270–72).[27] His gesta-continuation did not survive in its original form. A few fragments of his work were incorporated into the chronicles during the process of composition. Ákos offers another explanation concerning the meaning of the "seven Hungarian," but his reasoning did not result in a positive solution. On the contrary, his etymology is quite tragic and contains nothing that might be characterized as glorious. In the time of Great Prince Toxun (ca. 950–72), a Hungarian army was defeated in Thuringia and the Duke of Saxony killed all its warriors. Only seven Hungarians were left alive. The duke ordered that their ears be cut off and sent home to tell of the fate of their military campaign. Since these seven Hungarians chose life without pride and chose not to be killed with the others, they were deprived of all their property and were separated from their families. These mutilated survivors were sentenced to go begging from tent to tent. There is an important difference between the two groups of chronicles when they name the seven beggars. The *Chronicle of Buda* calls them "het Mogor/Magiar and Gok/Gyak" (a corrupted version of "seven mourning Hungarians"), but in the *Illuminated Chronicle* one finds the word "Lazari."[28] Ákos misunderstood the old concept

26 *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, 100.

27 Mályusz, *Az V. István-kori gesta.*

28 *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, 100. Conf. Szentpétery, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum,* vol. 1, 294.

of "seven Hungarians," as he thought that these seven people were the people who became the forefathers of the Hungarian elite. Actually, in the earlier records he was not considered kin to the seven leading Hungarian clans. Thus, the misinterpretation was completed with the injured vanity of a nobleman with pure "Scythian" origins. Since the Anonymous Notary and Master Ákos represented both aspects of the Hungarian aristocracy, the traces of wider and deeper historical interest can be found in other texts with further relevant data.

The oldest version of the Hungarian ethnic origin-myth was written by Simon of Kéza. The story of the wonderful deer begins with an obligatory Biblical influence but continues as an authentic ethnic origin-myth. So, the giant Ménrót (*Menrot gigans*) – son of Thana of the seed of Japheth – "entered the land of Havilah (*terram Euilath*), which is now called Persia, and there begot two sons, *Hunor* and *Mogor*, by his wife Eneth."[29] One day, the brothers went hunting in the Meotis marshes, and they began to pursue a deer, but it disappeared out of sight. Hunor and Mogor saw that the land was well suited for grazing cattle, so they asked their father's permission to move into the Meotis marshes, which bordered their Persian homeland. They entered the Meotis marshes and remained there for five years. In the sixth year, they came out and discovered the wives and children of the sons of Belar, and the brothers seized them. Two daughters of Dula, prince of the Alans, were also seized. Hunor married one of them, Mogor the other, and all Huns were the descendants of these women. They remained in the marshes, and they grew into a very powerful people, and the land was not large enough to contain or feed them.[30]

The myth appeared in the fourteenth-century chronicles, too. The *Chronicle of Buda* contains onomastic forms similar to Kéza's: the giant Nemproth, Eneth, and their sons Hunor and Mogor, "from whom the Huns or the Hungarians descended (*ex quibus Huni sive Hungari sunt egressi*)." The *Illuminated Chronicle* changes Nemproth into Magor/Magog [!], because Nemproth was the son of Chus, who was the son of Cham, the damned son of Noah (Gen 10, 6–8). Avoiding the disgraceful ancestry and returning to the strict genealogy of Japheth, Márk of Kált replaced Nemproth with Magor/Magog, and this Magog, Japheth's second son, "upon his wife Enee begat Magor and Hunor, after whom the Magyars and the Huns are named (*ex coniuge sua Enee genuit Magor et Hunor, a quo Magari et Huni sunt nominati*)."[31]

29 *Simonis de Kéza: Gesta Hungarorum,* 12–15.

30 Ibid., 14–17.

31 Szentpétery, *Scriptores,* vol 1, 247–50. Conf. *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, 90.

Continuing the story, as Hunor's and Magor's descendants became a mighty nation (*gens validissima*), they had to seek new lands, so they sent scouts to Scythia to explore its land, and when they received the good news, they decided to move there with their children and their herds.[32]

Framing the geographical conditions of Scythia, the name Magyar appears in another function. Simon of Kéza gave us this enigmatic description:

> In fact, the Scythian realm has a single border, but administratively it is divided into three kingdoms, namely Barsatia, Dencia, and Mogoria. (*Sciticum enim regnum comprehensione una cingitur, sed in regna tria dividitur principando, scilicet in Barsatiam, Denciam et Mogoriam.*) As well, it has 108 districts (*provincias*) representing 108 families (*progenies*), which were divided among the sons of Hunor and Mogor long ago, when they invaded Scythia.[33]

The three "kingdoms" are mentioned in the latter chronicles of the Angevin Era as *Bascardia*, *Dencia* (or in its misread form, *Bencia*), and *Magoria/Mogoria*.[34] Comparing this tradition with the *Gesta Hungarorum* by Anonymous, we find a significant difference: his Scythia is equal with *Dentumoger* which seems to have two components (*Dentu* ~ *Dencia*? and *Moger* ~ *Mogoria/Magoria*) confronting the image of a tripartite Scythia (*Barsatia/Bascardia*, *Dencia* and *Mogoria/Magoria*) found in the chronicles. The version of the "three kingdoms of Scythia" probably contains the primordial tradition.[35] However, the geographical function of the noun Magyar appears again in the chronicles, but in a more antinomic situation. The second entry of the Hungarians in Pannonia begins with the origin-myth of the ruling dynasty, when in the ancient land Eleud from Eunodbilia begat a son named Álmos (Almus). The place of his birth was "Magor" according to the *Chronicle of Buda*, but according to the *Illuminated Chronicle*, it was "Scythia."[36]

As we can see, the noun *Magor* appeared in following mythical and historical roles: forefather of the Magyars, denominator of a leading clan and an ethnic community, and toponym referring to a homeland, from where the Hungarians came and occupied the Carpathian Basin. The most problematic function is the

32 *Simonis de Kéza, Gesta Hungarorum*, 18–19; *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, 91. Conf. Szentpétery, *Scriptores, v*ol 1, 146, 252.

33 *Simonis de Kéza, Gesta Hungarorum*, 22–23.

34 Szentpétery, *Scriptores,* vol. 1, 253.

35 Szabados, "Szkítia három tartománya," 285–301.

36 "Eleud filius Vgeg ex filia Eunodbilia in Magor/Scythia genuit filium, qui nominatur Almus…" Szentpétery, *Scriptores,* vol 1, 284.

last one, because in its case the contradictions did not arise from a disturbing influence caused by two different traditions, as was the case with the similarity of two personal names, the original Hungarian Magor and the Biblical Magog. On contrary, the incoherence of the toponyms remained within the circle of the native written tradition. Thus Magor (and its variations) occurred in three situations: 1) it meant the whole of Scythia (*Magor* in the *Chronicle of Buda*, *Scythia* in the *Illuminated Chronicle*, Chapter 26); 2) it meant half of Scythia, if *Dentumoger* in the *Gesta Hungarorum* by the Anonymous Notary (Chapter 1, 3, 5) is composed of *Dentu* ~ *Dencia*? and *Moger* ~ *Mogoria/Magoria*; and 3) it meant one-third of Scythia, since it was enumerated among its three kingdoms (*Barsatia/Bascardia*, *Dencia*, and *Mogoria/Magoria* in the *Gesta Hungarorum* by Simon of Kéza, Chapter 6, the *Chronicle of Buda*, and the *Illuminated Chronicle*, Chapter 6).[37] Two circumstances may explain this kind of dubiousness or inconsistency: the complicated and often uncertain relationships of the early Hungarian historiography, which I briefly discussed above, and the fact that the toponymical function of this noun is secondary to its role as an ethnonym.

Thus, Magor appeared primarily as a forefather of the Magyars, i.e. the denominating ancestor of the whole ethnic community. However, this phenomenon is not so simple and clear, and we cannot claim to have found a satisfying and unambiguous answer. First, we have to face the fact that the role of the mythical forefather has been duplicated. How did Hunor become part of this story? Was he an original character, or did he become part of the myth later? From the philological point of view, Gyula Moravcsik thought the second alternative more realistic. According to Moravcsik, Magor's mythical companion was the result of a misreading of a phrase: the author of the *Ancient Gesta* read "*Hunorum rex*" in an abbreviated form "*Hunor*[um] *rex*," and he was led astray by the absence of the *-um* plural genitive ending, so he transformed the Hun ethnonym into a character and created the ancestor of the Huns.[38] However, this argumentation cannot be supported by the comparative ethnology. Attila Mátéffy emphasized that the sub-feature of two brothers can basically be found in the origin myths of the Turkic peoples.[39] Forasmuch the language of the myth cannot be entirely translated into the language of the history, we have to recognize that forcing their "confrontation" cannot result an unambiguous

37 Szentpétery, *Scriptores,* vol 1., 34, 38, 39, 146, 253, 284.

38 Moravcsik, *Muagerisz*, 265.

39 Mátéffy, "The Hind as the Ancestress, ," 944–45.

answer to the question raised above. E.g. Muageris was a king of the Huns, and he had a brother, but his brother's name was Gordas, and they became enemies.

Although myth and history should not be mixed, we cannot separate them hermetically, as both consist of texts referring to the basis of a common identity. Mihály Hoppál's statement on the nexus of these two phenomena is worth citing:

> The folklore texts, thus the texts of myths, are the 'long-term memory of culture'… an ethnic community can from time to time repeat the past, the history of the origin things, the world, and the group itself, i.e. its prehistorical history. Myths intermediate between the two. Therefore, the investigation of myths of mythological systems may indirectly be employed to draw conclusions concerning prehistory.[40]

Conclusion

Considering all mentioned data and used methodologies, we can participate in the investigation of the connection between Muageris, the historical king of the Huns, and Magor, the mythical ancestor of the Hungarians. It must be emphasized again and again that there are many complexities and ambiguities which nourish a sense of uncertainty, including the lack of data, the diverse functions of the nouns, and the diverse forms of the names. It is worth noting that the names Magor, Moger, Muageris etc. are found in strange linguistic milieus. From the perspective of the Byzantine historians, the name of the Hun king was basically an external proper noun, and although the name "Magyar" was a vernacular word for the Hungarian chroniclers, they wrote their works in Latin using letters with foreign origins to record this name, and both the Greek and the Latin texts were transcribed several times, thus there were several occasions to misunderstand and miswrite the words. Nevertheless, to the question of whether the name of King Muageris is closely connected to the "Magyar" ethnonym my answer is yes. And there is one more argument which merits mention and which offers further persuasive evidence in support of this conclusion: the historical (King Muageris) and the mythical (Magor) settings are the same: the northern region of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. Thus, we have evidence not only from the field of onomastics, but also from the perspective of geography. Moreover, this similarity is found in sources which were unquestionably independent, since the

40 Hoppál, "Myth: Image and Text," 69, 80.

Byzantine authors and the Hungarian chroniclers were separated by space, time, and language. Therefore, the figure of Magor could retain at least the influence of the memory of King Muageris. Drawing on Reinhard Wenskus' convincingly elaborated theory on the "seed of tradition" ("Traditionskern," i.e. the notion that a dominant group/elite constructs the highest political unity and legitimizes this process with its own origin myth, which later determines the identity of the whole community),[41] I offer a possible reconstruction. King Magyar (Muageris/Magor) may have been the ancestor of a clan (Meger), which more than three centuries later, under its leader Álmos, organized a steppe-state, and ultimately this ancestor became the name used to designate a whole nation.

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41 Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung,* 54–87.

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The Formation of Modern Turkic 'Ethnic' Groups in Central and Inner Asia

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International Asian studies, including Asian studies in Hungary, have examined several livestock breeding and horse-riding nomadic groups which provide additional data for hypotheses concerning the social structure of the pre-Conquest Hungarians. Some important questions related to the early history of Hungarians cannot be examined due to the lack of written historical data. But we do have written data related to Central and Inner Asia (the so-called Steppe Region) from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and sometimes from much earlier periods.[1] One of these problems is the relationship between etic and emic terms for various "peoples." Another is the appearance of ethnonyms on different levels (ethnic, sub-ethnic, clan, and sub-clan)[2] among various ethnic groups. One might well wonder whether it is really appropriate to use ethnonyms as designations for these ethnic groups. After all, several modern ethnic groups were formed only in recent times, and the ethnonyms which are used to refer to them (today autonyms) are the result of political (not ethnic) processes, and they are sometimes the decision of a small group. Similar processes can be observed in Europe in early medieval times.[3] Ethnic names have also undergone rapid changes, and it is interesting to observe attempts to create a national history for these modern ethnic groups, and the obvious shortcomings of these attempts.
Keywords: ethnos, conic caln system, Turkic, Inner Asia, Central Asia, Mongolic

Before one begins to take a closer look at the formation of modern Turkic ethnic groups, one should consider how Hungarian ethnology tried to define the notion of "ethnos" in the twentieth century, drawing on the theories of Russian scholars like Shirokogoroff[4] and Bromlei.[5] Mihály Sárkány argues that "ethnos" (ethnic group) is a "form of cooperation which includes all spheres of life."[6] It constitutes a broader group than a real or fictive kinship group, and the members of this group considers themselves one "people." They express this sense of belonging through the use of an ethnonym. The characteristics of this cooperation and sense of community include:

1 See: Atwood, "Rashid al-Din's comparative ethnography."

2 I do no use the term "tribe" in the meaning of "clan." Tribe is a social organization based on political alliances, not genealogy, while a clan is based on biological relations (see Fried, *The Notion of Tribe*).

3 Pohl–Reimitz, *Strategies of Distinction*; Gillet, *On Barbarian Identity.*

4 Shirokogoroff, *Ethnical Unit and Milieu.*

5 Bromley, *K kharakteristike poniatiia;* idem; *Etnos i etnografiia.*

6 Sárkány, "Kultúra, etnikum, etnikai csoport."

1) A communication system: this system contains special tools and methods which would be difficult for others to develop intentionally. Different communication systems help separate social groups from one another. Common language has a prominent role, but language is not the most complicated element of a communication system for outsiders to acquire (these elements, rather, include tradition, folklore, beliefs, worldview, religion, etc.).

2) Biological ties: exchange of wives,[7] ethnic endogamy.[8]

3) Common military activity: willingness to undertake or participate in group military endeavors can have both ethnical and political motives.

These criteria are difficult to apply to the nomadic peoples of the Steppe. It is almost impossible to apply them to some of the modern ethnic groups. Various communication systems can be observed not on the ethnic level but rather on a regional level, e.g. Central Asia, the northern Caucasus, Volga-Kama, and Altay-Sayan. Biological ties and ethnic endogamy can exist between separate ethnic groups, e.g. the Kazak–Kyrgyz, Tuva–Uriankhai, Daur–Solon, and Buriad–Khamnigan. This is clearly reflected in their system of kinship and their common kinship terms, e.g. the widespread Mongolic *quda* term for "marrying clans" instead of the ancient Turkic "tüngür." The so-called conic clan system[9] existed in the Mongol Era (the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries) and has survived to the present day, together with its identity and hierarchy. The major characteristics of the clan system are the following:

1) terms for the patri-linear clan	
clan	*uruy* "seed"[1]
sub-clan	*söngek* "bone"[2]
2) clan member's relation to various clans	
own or paternal clan	*öz yurt* "own people"[3]
maternal clan	*taqay/tayay* or *nayaču* (Mongolic)[4] *yurt*
in-laws or wife's clan	*qadïn/qayïn yurt*
clan of a married woman	*törkün* (Mongolic *törküm*)
"marrying clans"[5] clan members related by the marriage of other clan members, not by their own marriage	*quda* (Mongolic word, Old Turkic: *tüngür*)

7 Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*.

8 Shirokogoroff, *Ethnical Unit and Milieu*.

9 Conic clan system is a hierarchical system that has the ruling clan (*töre*) at its peak. Beneath it there are the so-called marrying clans (*quda-söngek*) in a widening structure (like a cone). Clans intend to go higher in the hierarchy through marriages to people from clans of higher rank.

1 The word *uruγ* is a Turkic loan in Mongolian, but it is used only as a synonym for other words (hendiadys) meaning "relatives" (*töröl-uruγ, sadun-uruγ*).
2 See Mongol *yasan*, or "bone." Among Eastern Mongol groups (Buriad and Bargu) *aimaγ* ("clan") and *oboγ/omoγ* ("sub-clan") is used (see Manchu *hala* and *mokon*). Among the *Khalkha* ethnic group, the clan system disappeared during Manchu times (the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries).
3 Within their own clan, everyone is brothers or sisters with one another (differentiated only by age and sex).
4 The word *taqay/tayay* is of Turkic origin (see Kyrgyz *taay/tay*), while *nayaču* is Mongolic (see Kazak *nayaší*).
5 People related through the marriages of other members (children or siblings) of their particular clans (so-called marrying clan). These marrying clans stand close to each other in the hierarchy of the conic clan system.

The names of the various clans show intermingling among modern ethnic groups of the Turkic and Mongolic peoples. They clearly show that the integration of clans into tribes and larger political unions took place mainly for political reasons and not ethnic or linguistic considerations. The clan names of some modern Turkic ethnic groups include the following (the linguistic origin and the possible meanings of the various clan names are given in brackets):

Main Kazak clans among the three tribal unions (*jüz*)

Uli ('Old') Jüz	*duwlat, alban* (Mongolic)
Orta ('Middle') Jüz	*nayman, kerey, kongïrat, jalayïr, argïn* (Mongolic) *kïpšak, kangli* (Turkic)
Kiši ('Young') Jüz	*tabïn* (Mongolic) *taz, aday* (Turkic) *nogayli, šerkeš* (Nogay and Circassian)
Independent clans:	
1) *töre*	ruling clan of the Chingisids (Borjigid)
2) *koja*	"Khoja," Muslim teacher (Arabic and Persian)

Major Bashkurt (Bashkir) clans

Southeast	*böryän, öθärgän, dünggäwer-yurmatï, kïpsak-tamyan*
Northeast	*tabïn* (Mongolic), *katay-kalmak* (Kitay/Chinese and Kalmak/Mongol)
West	*meng: taθ, kïrgïθ, kangli* (Turkic origin: Kyrgyz and Kangly), *yänäy*[1]

1 The *yänäy* clan's name is the Bashkurt version of the proper name Janay, derived from Persian *jän* meaning "soul." It is not related to the Hungarian clan name Jenő (see Mándoky, Newcomers from the East, 287–92). The *yurmatï* clan's name, in contrast, may be related to the Hungarian clan name Gyarmat.

Major Kyrgyz clans

Sol kanat ('Left Wing')	*bugu, bagïš* (totem names 'deer' and 'elk/moose') *kušču, sayak, solto* (Turkic) *munduz, döölös, mongguš* (Siberian Turkic)[1] *kïtay* ('Kitay/Chinese') *mongoldor* ('Mongols')
Ong kanat ('Right Wing')	*kongurat, noygut, abat, teyit* (Mongolic)[2] *adigine-sart* (Tajik)
Ičkilik ('Middle'):	*kïpčak* (Turkic) *yüdürša* (Tajik)
Mongolic: *Sart-kalmak*	Muslim Kalmak (Oirad) (autonym: *xoton* 'Muslim')[3]

1 One finds similar clan names among the clans of Altay and Tuva (Altay *töölös, mundus*, Tuva *monggušˇ*).
2 The final *–t* is from the Mongolic plural *–d*, see the ethnonyms Oirad, Buriad.
3 The Muslim group speaking Oirad-Mongol dialect moved to Ysyk-köl (Kyrgyzstan) in the nineteenth century. They live in villages around the city of Karakol: Chelpek and Börü-bashy. See Somfai, "Kalmak."

Several historically recorded Mongolic clans (*nayman, kerey, jalayïr, kongïrat, duwlat*) and Turkic clans (*kangli, taz, sayak*) have survived to the present day, while other names which were used as names for tribal unions and nomadic states have become clan names again (pl. *kïpčak, kïtay, mongol*). Many clan names are used as ethnic names (*kïrgïz, nogay, čerkes, monggol, kalmak, sart*). This clearly shows that the system of names is dynamic.

There are several Turkic and Mongolic ethnic groups in Central and Inner Asia that only came into existence after the Mongol Era (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), and their formation is well-documented. The Mongol Ulus System was an ethnically and linguistically diverse political union inhabited by various nomadic and settled peoples. This new political framework made it necessary to have a common language as a means of communication. The ruling clan (*töre*) of the Chingisids was Mongolic but in the steppe region between the Altay Mountains and the Lower part of Danube (Dobrudja), called *Dašt-i qipčâq* in Persian sources and Cumania in Latin since the eleventh century, Kypchak Turkic was the *lingua franca* even for non-Turkic peoples (see Codex Cumanicus). Settled peoples in major trade centers (e.g. East Iranians of Central Asia: Sart, Sughdi, and Saka) were also under strong Turkic influence.

In the Mongol Era, the former political framework was replaced by the Ulus system.[10] Nomadic clans were organized into new tribal and political unions,

10 After the death of Chingis khan, the Mongol Empire was divided into partial empires (*ulus*) among his sons: Jochi, Chagadai/Chagatay, Ögüdei, and Tolui. Jochi received the Dašt-i Qipčāq, Chagatay received

where one finds mainly Mongolic and Turkic clan names, but they were not independent ethnic groups. The ruling (*töre*) and leading clans (Kazak *ak süyek*) of the Mongols were assimilated linguistically by the Kypchak Turks, creating a new linguistic and ethnic unity among the nomads of the Jochi Ulus. Their language developed into modern Kazak, Karakalpak, and Nogay. The same is true of the nomads of the Chagatay Ulus. Its nomadic population spoke various dialects of modern Kyrgyz: Ala-taw Kyrgyz, a Pamir-Alay Kypchak. Although linguistically unified, these clans were of different origin and did not have a common ethnic identity. They only had an identity on a clan (genealogical) and tribal (political) level, although they started to use common languages.

The acceptance of Islam also had a great impact on the identity of the nomads. The khans, the Chingisid Mongol elite, accepted Islam as the official religion in the fourteenth century in the two abovementioned nomadic states (Ulus). There are written sources on the narratives of Islamization regarding Özbek khan (1313–41) in the Jochi Ulus and Tarmashirin (1331–34) in the Chagatay Ulus.[11] Islam religious identity became more important, and this process strengthened the assimilation of the Mongol elite to the Turkic majority. Mongol as a political name disappeared very early in the Jochi Ulus (replaced by Özbek, Kazak, Nogay, etc.), but it was preserved longer in the Chagatay Ulus. The Eastern part of Central Asia (inhabited by nomads of the Tien Shan Mountains and settled peoples of the Tarim Basin) was called Moghulistan ("Mongol land"). The Western part (inhabited by nomads of Syr-darya and settled peoples of Khwarazm) was called Turkestan (Turk land), although they were both inhabited by linguistically Turkic ethnic groups. Beginning in the nineteenth century, the term Turkestan was also applied to Ferghana and Mawara-an-nahr by the Russians. Iranian languages (Khwarazmi, Sughdi, and Saka) formerly used in the region disappeared. Persian was only dominant in some cultural centers (Bukhara, Samarqand, and Herat).

Temür (Persian Tīmūr-i lang "the lame," 1370–1405) was from the Mongolic Barlas clan, but his descendant Bābur considered himself a Turk (see Bāburnāma) although his dynasty that conquered India was called Moghul (Mongol) Dynasty (1526–1858). In the Jochi Ulus the "People of Özbek" (Persian *Ozbekiya*) became more accepted instead of Moghul/Mongol. Babur also referred to the Nomads of Dašt-i Qipčāq as Özbeks. There was a common language and culture

Māwarā'al-nahr, Farghāna and Tārim, Tolui received the central territories (Karakorum), and Ögedei received the north of China (Kitad or Kïtay).

11 DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde*; Biran, "The Chagataids and Islam."

among the peoples of these new political units, but the nomads had no ethnic identity as we define it nowadays. But they were Muslims and clearly separated themselves from the Turco-Mongol peoples of the Buddhist successor states of the Mongol Empire: Oirad (Tibet and Jungaria), Khalkha, or the Late Yuan Dynasty (Inner Asian Mongols), who lost power in China (1271–1368) but ruled the steppe until the Manchu conquest (1691). Muslim successor states of the Mongol Empire considered them "pagan" *(kalmak)* enemies. The Buddhist regions of Turfan were occupied on that ground by the Chagatay Ulus at the end of the fourteenth century (Kumul, Hami in Chinese, was occupied only in 1513).

Similar processes occurred in the West too. The Muslim population of Volga Bulgaria was linguistically assimilated by the nomads (Kypchak Turkic), as was the settled population of former Khazaria (the northern Caucasus and the Caspian See). Khazaria had a significant Oghur (Bulghar Turkic) population, and Alania also had multilingual peoples (only the Ossetians preserved their East Iranian language).

It would be misleading to create an ethnic history for these modern Turkic groups based on the history of their languages, because they were formed on political and cultural levels. The disintegration of the Mongol Ulus system (in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries)[12] sparked new political processes which led to the formation of modern ethnic groups, while branches of modern Turkic languages (Oghuz, Kypchak, Karluk, Kyrgyz, and Uighur) had existed long before that era. People were usually mentioned in the written sources by their political and not their ethnic names, so these names can also be misleading. On the other hand, several political terms originate from the names of ruling clans (e.g. Türk, Oguz, Kypchak, Karluk, Kyrgyz, Uighur, Mongol, Oirad, etc.). Other external names were also used, e.g. *tatar, türkmen, kalmak, sart, uriangqai, taranči, estek* (Ostiak), and *burut*. After the disintegration of the Jochi Ulus, new political terms emerged. Nomadic clans to the west of the Jayïk (Ural) River (north of the Caspian See) started to form the independent Nogay Horde. Central territories by the Syr-darya (to the east of Aral Lake) became the Özbek Horde. Rebellious eastern clans founded the Kazak Horde in the Jeti-suw region (to the south of Balkash Lake). One finds these names among modern

12 Temür (1370–1405) basically destroyed the political power of the Jochi and Chagatay Ulus. From the Jochi Ulus, the Nogai, Özbek, and Kazak Hordes separated, as did the Crimean, Kazan, Haji-Tarqan, and Khwarazm khanates. The Chagatay Ulus also disintegrated: Moghulistan (Tarim, Turfan, and nomadic Kyrgyz), Māwarā'al-nahr and Ferghana. The Iranian Ilkhan (1357) and Chinese Yuan (1368) states had disappeared earlier.

Turkic ethnonyms, but in their first uses they were merely political terms. The ruling clans were still Mongols (mainly Chingisid). After the conquest of the Shibanid dynasty[13] in Central Asia in the sixteenth century, the name Özbek was gradually accepted by some local sedentary Turkic groups (*sart*) as an ethnic name. Vámbéry rightfully notes that originally Uzbeks lived in Khwarazm, and they spoke an Oghuz dialect (Khwarazmi and Khorasani). The sedentary Turkic population of Māwarā'al-nahr and Farghāna was called *sart* before the Soviet era. The sedentary Turks from the Tarim, Turfan, and Ili Valleys (today the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region in China) were similar in language and culture to the *sart* of Farghāna. They were called *taranči* ("peasant") by the Jungar (Oirad) Mongols, while the nomadic Turks also called them *sart*.

The Kazak Horde was established in the Jeti-suw region (1456) as a vassal state to Moghulistan. During the reign of Qasim khan (1511–18), Kazaks spread their influence to the west of the Dašt-i Qipčāq and started a power struggle with the neighboring nomadic states:

1) Moghulistan
2) Özbek Horde: Shibanid Bukhara and Sibir Khanate
3) Nogay Horde.

During the reign of Haqq-Nazar (1537–80), the newly founded Russian Empire crushed the Nogay Horde and occupied Qazan (1552) and Haji-Tarqan or Astrakhan (1556). The Kazak Khanate pushed the Nogays out of Central Asia and reached the Edil (Volga) River. Some Nogay clans rebelled against the Kazaks and joined the Özbek Khanate (the Karakalpaks are their descendants).[14] Meanwhile, a new nomadic state, the Jungar (Jöün-gar), was established by the Oirad-Mongols (1634–1758), who attacked the Kazak Khanate (with the help of Russia) and caused it to split into three tribal unions (Ulï, Orta and Kiši Jüz). It would be strange to state that the ethnic group now called Kazak did not exist before the emergence of the Kazak Khanate. It existed, but it was referred to by a different name (Kypchak, Tatar). Culturally and linguistically, the ethnic group was formed during the times of the Golden Horde (Ak and Kök Orda). Interestingly, the Russians called the Kazaks "Kirgiz" until Soviet times, while the Kyrgyz were called "*kara-kirgiz*."

13 The Shibanids ruled Māwarā'al-nahr (centred in Bukhara) between 1505 and 1598, and the ruled Khwārazm (Khiwa) between 1511 and 1695.

14 During the reign of Tawakkul khan, the Kazaks conquered Tashkent. The Kazak Esim khan (1598-1628) and the *amir* of Bukhara were fighting for the city. In 1598, the Mangγït (Mangγud) clan seized power in Bukhara, while the Karakalpaks from the Nogay Horde joined the Khwārazm (Khiwa) Khanate.

The name Kyrgyz is found in a seventh-century Turkic runic inscription, but the next known use in the historical sources from Central Asia dates from the sixteenth century, when it was used in the Tārīh-i Rašīdī for example. Mirza Mohammed Haidār Dughlat (1500–51), the author of this chronicle, mentions Mohammed Kyrgyz as the leader of the rebellious nomads of Moghulistān (Tianshan and the Pamir Mountains). Kyrgyz was a political term for the nomads who rebelled against the Chagatay (Muslim Mongol/Moghul) central power. The Buddhist Mongols (*kalmak*) called the Kyrgyz "*burut*," or "wrong faith" (Muslim), on the basis of their religious identity.[15]

Meanwhile, there was another Kyrgyz tribal union by the Yenisei (Kem) River which tried to oppose Russian advances in Siberia (1667–79) until their defeat in 1703 and the annexation of the Minusinsk Basin. Some of these Yenisei Kyrgyz migrated to Tuva (Altay-Sayan region), others to Chichgar in Manchuria (Fuyu Kyrgyz). The remaining Turkic clans (Yenisei Kyrgyz) were called the Tatars of Minusinsk by the Russians, and soon this became their autonym (tadarlar). In Soviet times, their official name (exonym) changed. They became Khakas after their Chinese name "*xiaqiasi*," or Kyrgyz.

The following is a summary of the various names and terms (autonyms and exonyms) as they appear on the ethnic and clan level among the Turkic and Mongolic peoples. Modern ethnonyms can be dived into six different groups:

1) Former clan names

Modern ethnic name	clan name among other ethnic groups
Uighur (east Turkestani Sart/Taranchi)	Tofa (reindeer-keeping Tuva) clan
Kyrgyz (nomads of the Tianshan)	Tuva and Bashkurt (Bashkir) clan
Salyr (north Tibetan Muslim Turks)	Turkmen clan

2) Names of political units (Horde, Turkic Orda).

Özbek (west Turkestani and Khwarazmi Sart)	Özbek Khanate (Shibanid) nomadic state after the Jochid Özbek khan (1313–41)
Kazak (Nomads east of the Volga)	Kazak Khanate (Toka-Temürid) nomadic state, Rebellious (*kazak*) state (1456) against the Özbeks
Nogay (Nomads west of the Volga)	Nogay Horde nomadic state founded by the sons of Edige Manghid Amir (1440) after the Nogai Khan (1270–1300)

15 Its possible etymology is from Oirad-Mongol: *burū-d*, "untrue ones" or "people of other faith" (other than Buddhism).

3) Ancient ethnic or general names

official name (autonym)	name found in early sources (language)
Bashkir (*bašqort*)	*bašyird/bajiyir/bajiyid* (Arabic, Persian, Mongol)[1]
Tuva (*tïba*)	*tubas* (Mongol)[2]
Turkmen (*türkmen*)[3]	*torkemān/turkomān* (Arabic, Persian)[4]

1 The *bašyird/bajiyir/bajiyid* name can be found in various forms in Arabic, Persian and Mongol sources also. For *bajiyid* (plural of *bajiyir*) see Ligeti, *Histoire secrète*, 205, 235. For *bašjirt/basjirt* and its various forms see al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik,* 225; for *bāšghird* foms see Ibn Faḍlān, *Riḥla,* 18.
2 The *tubas* are mentioned among the "people of the forest" (*hoi-yin irgen*) in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (the oldest surviving work of literature in Mongolian). The Mongols called the Tuva and their assimilated Mongolic groups *uriangqai.*
3 We can find Turkmen clans among the Kazak and Nogay (*türikpen*). The Turkmens of Stavropol (*türikpen*, Russian *trukhmen*) number around 15,000 and are considered a distinct ethnic group, although they speak Nogay.
4 The name *türkmen* probably referred to the Oghuz-Turks, who were in contact with the Persian-speaking population of Iran, Azerbaijan, Khorasan, and Khwārazm (Pesian *tork-e īmān* means "Muslim Turk").

4) External names (exonyms)

External names can become the autonym of a particular ethnic group or can be used as an alternative name with the passing of time.

External names (exonyms) (source language)	Their original autonyms (official names)
kalmak (Turkic name)[1]	*oirad* or *öörd* (Oirad Mongol/Kalmyk) *oyrot*: *altay-kiži* and *telengit* (Altaiets)
tatar (Russian name)[2]	*bulgar, büsürmen* "Muslim Bolgar" (Tatar) *kazanli* "people of Kazan" (Tatar) *kïrïmli* "people of Crimea" (Crimean Tatar) *xïrgïs* (Khakas)
uriangqai/uraangkay (Mongol name)[3]	*tïba* (Tuva) *saxa* (Yakut)

1 Originally *kalmak* meant "pagan" (Arabic *kāfir*) in Turkic languages (see Somfai Kara, "Kalmak," 170).
2 The settled Turkic population along the Volga used to be called *bulghari.* Tsar Catherine II (1762–96) ordered that they be called Tatars. Some settled groups were also called Nogay by the Kazaks.
3 Tuva and Yakut also use *urāngkay* as an alternative autonym (*tïba-urāngkay, saxa-urāngkay*).

5) Created names (by Soviet ethnography)

Khakas (Yenisei Kyrgys)	from the Chinese *xiajiasi* (Kyrgys)
Altaiets (*Oyrot: altay-kiži, telengit*)	after the name of the Altay Mountains

6) Names deriving from geographical terms:

tawlu (Karachay-Balkar)	"mountain-dweller"[1]
kumuk/kumuklu (Kumuk)	after the name of the region Kumukh[2]
saxa (Yakut)	"peripheral" (Turkic and Mongolic *yaqa* "edge")[3]

1 Neighboring groups also call them "mountain people" (Ossetian *xoxägtä*, Circassian *qušha*, Swan *sawar*). This ethnic group was only divided by Soviet ethnography. The *malqarli* live to the east of Elbrus Mountain, the *karačayli* to the west of it. The *tawlu* people also use *alan* as an autonym (compare with the Ossetian *asiag*, "As people," also used for *tawlu*). The *as* and *alan* were ethnic names of the Iranian tribes that lived with the Cumans before the Mongol Conquest (1236).

2 The city of Kumukh was the center of the Daghestani Emirate or Shamkhal State (734–1560). Later, Tarki (1560–1867) near modern Makhachkala (Anjikala), became the center of the state.

3 The name *yaqa* is the Buriad version of *saxa*. Its plural form *yaqūd* is the etymology for the Russian name Yakut.

Ethnic terms (ethnonyms or clan names) that appear on different levels among the Turkic and Mongolic peoples.

Usage of various names	Meaning
I) Kyrgyz:	
1) *kïrgïz*	Central Asian Muslim Kyrgyz[1]
2) *xïrgïs*	Khakas (after the Chinese *xiajiasi* meaning 'Kyrgys')
II) Uighur:	
1) *uyyur*	east Turkestani peasant or settled Turk (*taranči, sart*)[2]
2) *yugur*	Buddhist or yellow Uighur (*kara yugur/sira yogur*)[3]
3) *uigur*	Reindeer-keeping Tuva (*soyod/uriangxai/tofa/tsaatan*)
III) Tatar:	
1) *tatar*	various settled Turkic speaking groups (Russian term)[4]
	kazan, kïrïm, aštarxan, sibir
2) *tadar*	Autonym for the Khakas (former Russian name)
IV) Sart:	
1) *sart*	settled Turkic (*uygur, özbek, tajik*)
2) *sart*	Huizu or Khoton (Muslim of China)[5]
3) *sarta/santa*	Dongxiang (Mongolic Muslim)
4) *sartul*	Khalkha Mongol clan

1 Oirad Mongols called the Muslim Nomads of Turkestan *burut*. Russians called the Kazakhs *kirgiz* and the Kyrgyz *kara-kirgiz* before Soviet times.

2 Sedentary Turks were called *sart* by Kazaks and Kyrgyz in east Turkestan (Tarim Basin or *Yette-šeher*, "Seven towns") and the Ili Valley. Oirad-Mongols called them *tarianči*, or "peasant," hence their former name, *taranči*. Their Uighur ethnonym was introduced in 1921 at the suggestion of Russian Turkologist Sergei Malov. Modern Uighurs are closely related to eastern Uzbeks (*sart*) and not related to the former Buddhist Uighur population of Turfan and Kumul.

3 The western group of Yugur speaks a Turkic language (close to Tuva), and the eastern group speaks a White Mongol (*čigan-monggul*) dialect (close to Huzhu Monguor).
4 The Russians used to call all the Turkic population of the Golden Horde (Jochi Ulus) Tatar (Kazak, Crimea, Astrakhan, Tobolsk/Siberia). Some of these groups use Tatar as an autonym today.
5 The Muslim population of northern Tibet (Qinghai, Gansu) is called *sart/sarta* by the Turkic and Mongolic (Yugurs and White Mongols) groups. Among them, one finds the Chinese *huizu*, the Mongolic *dongxiang* and *bonan* (*bao'an*), and the Turkic *salïr*.

The following exonyms used by the Kazaks and Oirads shed light on the system of ethnic names, but also make it more complex.

1) Exonyms of various peoples in Kazak

Modern ethnonyms	exonyms used by the Kazaks
Bashkir (*bašqort*)	*estek* (Ostiak or Ugor)[1]
Tatar (*tatar*)	*nogay* (living in the Nogay Orda)
Özbek and Uygur (*ozbek/uyγur*)	*sart* (settled merchants)
Oirad (*oirad/öörd*)	*kalmak* (meaning "infidel, non-Muslim")[2]
Altay Turk (*altay-kiži/telengit*)	*kalmak* (meaning "infidel, non-Muslim")

1 It is possible that Kypchak-Turks had a reason for calling the Bashkir *estek* (Ostyak). They might be related to the Ugric peoples, but switched to Kypchak during the times of the Golden Horde.
2 The Oirads of the Volga (Kalmykia, Russia) use the Turkic name *kalmak* as an autonym (Oirad *qalimag* pronounced *xal'mäg*, Russian *kalmyk*).

2) Exonyms of various peoples in Oirad-Mongol

Modern ethnonyms	exonyms used by the Oirads
Kyrgyz (can also mean Kazak before 1920)	*buruud* ("not Buddhist, Muslim nomad")
Nogay (can also mean Tatar)	*manggud* (after the name of Edige's clan)
Uighur (East Turkestani Sart)	*tarianči* ("peasant")
other Muslim peoples	*xoton* (Oirad-speaking)

The system of exonyms is also clearly complex. Oirad-Mongols call the Nogays *mangyad*, while Buriad-Mongols use that name for the Russians (Cossacks). The Buriad's neighbors, the Khakas, call the Russians *xazax* (Kazak), while their autonym is *tadar* (Tatar).

So-called "ethnogenesis" is a problematic term because ethnic groups (people with a common ethnic identity) are not created "by themselves" (*genesis*). Rather, the creation of an "ethnic" group is the result of long-term cultural and political processes. The ethnic identity of a certain group is recognized due to political and

economic exigencies in a particular region. Ethnic identities, if there was such a thing among the peoples of Inner Asia, were formed according to subjective (not objective) criteria, so they cannot be defined in precise terms. The various ethnic names (internal and external) have political meanings: they come from the names of tribal unions or the name of their leaders (e.g. Özbek khan and Nogay emir). Siberian indigenous peoples, who lived in classical clan societies (organized around extended families), had no political or ethnic autonyms. We only find exonyms describing them. They referred to themselves with general terms:

Nganasan	*nya* "relatives"
Gilyak	*nyivhu* "people"
Gold/Nanai	*na-ni* "local people"
Tunguz	*ewen/ewen-ki* "gathering"

Nomadic states were ethnically and linguistically diverse political units, so they needed a common language (*lingua franca*) which soon spread to cover a vast territory. Groups that were ethnically and culturally distinct became linguistically homogeneous among the peoples of the Jochi and Chagatay Ulus (e.g. the Kazak, Bulghar, Bashkir, Nogay, Kumuk, Tawlu, Kyrgyz, and Sart). On the other hand, several modern ethnonyms come from exonyms used by colonizing powers (Russia, China), but they were accepted by the peoples to which they were ascribed and now are used as autonyms (e.g. Tatar, Kalmak, and Uighur). Thus, one must be very careful when using the notions of *ethnos* and *ethnogenesis* as concepts with which to structure narratives of the early history of the Hungarians. Ethnic identity and ethnicity are cultural phenomena which change dynamically over time according to society and political system. Only vague information is available concerning the culture, society, and political system of the pre-Conquest Hungarians. Given the lack of internal written sources, no conclusions can be drawn concerning ethnic identity and ethnicity in their society. The sparse available data can be better analyzed with the use of analogies and parallel models from the nomadic societies of the Steppe.

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Ethnic Levels and Ethnonyms in Shifting Context:
Ethnic Terminology in Hunza (Pakistan)

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This paper constitutes an attempt to unravel the complexity of ethnic levels and ethnonyms, and to outline the roles of "origin," "language," "locality," and "social solidarity" in the ethnic identities of the Hunza, using the methods of anthropological studies on ethnicity, discourse analysis and cognitive semantics. The former kingdom of Hunza (now in the Pakistani controlled Kashmir). It is not obvious what one can call *the* ethnic level in Hunza. Ethnonyms do not have set definitions. There are overlapping categories of ethnic and quasi-ethnic perspectives. The notion that an ethnic group is based on a strict unit of origin, language, and territory seems to be false. Ethnic levels appear in constantly changing registers of personal knowledge, which only partially overlap. However, the discourse in which the inhabitants of Hunza express and experience their ethnic perceptions is an existing communicational frame, even if it contains relatively fluid and constantly changing elements of narratives, experiences, emotions, and values. The notion of Hunzakuts is seemingly a politonym, but it is also a local unit. The Burusho, Dom, Xik, Shina etc. are seemingly language based endonyms, but kinship, cultural relations, historical coexistence, administrative frames, language, and religiosity can all influence these ethnic perspectives. I delineated the essence of my explanation in a table, showing the complexity of ethnonyms used in social interactions. A native speaker has all these concepts in his or her mind, and in any particular situation, the relevant meanings are called forth. Ethnic identity is a set of different attachments, as frames of a person's ethnic perceptions and behavior. Ethnicity is a kind of knowledge: participating in a discourse, sharing more or less common narratives, emotions, experiences, and values. Ethnicity is also a recognition: placing someone in the social environment, and it is also the foundation for meaningful and relevant relations. Finally, ethnicity is a practical tool of communication: ethnic perceptions and categories appear in conversation nearly always for a particular purpose.

Keywords: Hunza, Burushaski, Shina, Bericho, Wakhi, Pakistan, ethnicity, ethnonym, discourse analysis, cognitive semantics, nationalism

Introduction

When I arrived in the northern areas of Pakistan, I met a Wakhi-speaking man (a driver) in Gilgit, who introduced himself as a *Hunzakuts* (as an ethnic identity). He took me to Hunza, where I conducted anthropological fieldwork. My *Hunzakuts* hosts always mentioned him as an (ethnically) *Wakhi* driver, while my hosts referred

to themselves sometimes as *Burusho* and other times as *Hunzakuts*. The driver took me to Sost (a town in Upper-Hunza), where his family told me they were *Xiks*, which was translated to English as *Tajik*.[1] The outwardly confusing usage of the terms *Burusho, Xik, Tajik, Hunzakuts*, and *Wahki* focused my attention on the study of ethnic identity in Hunza. I realized that the categorization is much more complex than it seems at first, and the terms used in different situations depend on who refers whom, and what the particular context of the conversation is.

In recent decades, ethnicity studies have been dealing with questions like: are there definite categories (ethnonyms) of ethnic groups referring to members with existing collective "identities" (primordialism); or is the ethnic perspective rather a discourse, recalling patterns, emotions, and narratives from a constantly changing knowledge register (constructivism)? This paper is based on anthropological fieldwork,[2] and it constitutes an attempt to outline the roles of "origin," "language," "locality," and "social solidarity" in the ethnic identities of the Hunza. I use methods borrowed from anthropological studies on ethnicity, including discourse analysis and cognitive semantics. I focus both on endonyms and exonyms, but I also consider the historical background and the current political context, since the former kingdom of Hunza now belongs to the Pakistani controlled territory of Kashmir.[3]

Theoretical Frame and Methodology

The study of ethnicity became one of the most important fields of social anthropological studies with the release of Claude Lévi-Strauss' famous essay, published as a small booklet, *Race and History* (1952). According to Lévi-Strauss, ethnicity and even ethnocentric attitudes are natural phenomena of humankind, as cultural diversity requires distinctions and categorization.[4] He argues that ethnicity is an instinctive response to recognition of cultural diversity. The book *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, edited by Frederik Barth and published in 1969, became another milestone. In his introduction, Hunza stresses that ethnic differences are emphasized (symbolically expressed and verbalized) at the

1 I used English as the lingua franca of the Indian subcontinent, and I learned some *Burushaski*, which is the main language used in Hunza. Sometimes I hired interpreters, especially when I travelled to remote villages. See the description of the *Wakhi* language below.

2 My first fieldwork lasted for three months in 2001. I then returned to the wider region in 2005 for a short period of study. Since then, I have remained in touch with my friends in Hunza using the internet.

3 As a disputed part of Kashmir, it was claimed by India in 1947.

4 Lévi-Strauss, *Race,* 11.

boundaries of the ethnic groups, so ethnicity is based on social interaction.[5] He argues that ethnic patterns and cultural reactions are based on interactions between social groups. Later, Rogers Brubaker wrote his famous work *Ethnicity Without Groups*,[6] in which he reflects on the idea of Fredrik Barth, adding new aspects to the study of ethnicity and adopting a critical approach to "groupism." Brubaker states that ethnic identity is not an objective, substantial frame into which one is born. According to his concept, "ethnic perception" is called forth by situations, so ethnicities are "not things in the world but perspectives on the world."[7] Brubaker contends that ethnicity is, rather, a discursive and fluid phenomenon, and its narratives and values depend on the personal emotions and the given situation in which it emerges.

We can distinguish the phenomenon of "ethnicity" from "nationalism," although Anthony D. Smith emphasizes that the division is relative.[8] Whether it had roots in the past or not, nationalism is a modern phenomenon, claiming legal self-determination (autonomy) for the presumed community: the nation. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Rangers suggested that national frames are invented cultural constructions.[9] Clifford Geertz claimed that nationalism is one of the modern ideologies, and it penetrates society as a political endeavor.[10] Benedict Anderson used the term "imagined community" for a nation, identifying it as a constructed frame of modern political ideology.[11] Brubaker emphasizes that ethnicity and nationalism should be approached not as some primordial form of identity or attachment, but rather "in terms of practical categories, cultural idioms, cognitive schemas, discursive frames, organizational routines, institutional forms, political projects, and contingent events."[12] Unlike nationalism, ethnicity is based on an instinctive ability to realize differences between social groups, based mostly on kinship or other discursive social units. This is why ethnicity can be built on several cognitive categories which mix origins (kinship), religious community, and legal and other distinctions (like language, locality etc.). Ethnicity can be described in a much more complex way, since (despite the one-level kind

5 Barth, *Introduction,* 12.

6 Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups*.

7 Brubaker, *Ethnicity* 174–75.

8 Smith, *Ethnic*.

9 Hobsbawm and Rangers, *Invented* (The "cultural" nation-construction often refers to the narratives of origin and/or language; while the "political" nations rely more on legal and ecological frames.)

10 Geertz, *After*.

11 Anderson, *Imagined*.

12 Brubaker, *Ethnicity,* 167.

of nationalism, which claims only one unit, the nation, as a legitimate identity) ethnic terminology can use controversial and overlapping emic terms.

As a cultural and social anthropologist, I conduct fieldwork involving long-term participant observation among the social groups which I study, and I learn their languages to the extent that I am able during the given time frame of the research projects. For the present case study, I conducted my fieldwork in Hunza from June 2001 until September 2001, but I returned to the region in 2005, and since then I have remained in email communication with some of my friends there, so I frequently share information with my local informants (I must thank them for all the nuances to which they have drawn my attention). I extended my studies with interviews and I have also drawn on the scholarship on Hunza and the languages spoken there.

Throughout this paper, I often use the local Burushaski language emic terms for social and cultural phenomena, and for this reason, I use the orthography of Stephen R. Willson,[13] which differs from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), but may be read more easily by non-linguists and used for later studies about Hunza. When a particular emic term is not taken from the Burushaski language, I note this.

Site and Setting: Hunza

As a geographical territory, Hunza is located at the border between China, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. It is formed by Hunza, the only river which cuts across the Karakorum mountains in the Pakistani-controlled area of Kashmir. The former kingdom, also known as Hunza, was mostly on the right (north and west) side of the river.[14] However, in some of the southern and northern parts of Hunza, the territory contains the opposite side of the bank. On the left (south and east) side of the Hunza River lies the former kingdom of Nagér (also called Nagyr or Nagar in some of the secondary literature). As the neighboring community of Hunzakuts, the Nagér residents are called Nagérkuts.[15] Their folklore heritage is very similar to that of the Hunzakuts, and most of them also speak the Burushaski language (like another community in Yasin valley,[16] far

13 Willson, *Look,* 3–7.

14 Dani, *History.*

15 The suffix *-kuts* means "person/people" (and is both the singular and plural form).

16 Berger, *Yasin-Burushaski.*

to the west, in the Hindu Raj mountains).[17] They also call themselves *Burusho*. According to the 1998 Pakistani census, 46,665 persons lived in Hunza and 51,387 people in Nagér.

Most of the inhabited territory of the Hunza basin is below 3,000 meters, but around Hunza there are 33 peaks rising to altitudes of more than 7,300 meters.[18] Only the high grasslands, which are used to feed cows, yaks, horses, buffalos, and goats in summertime, are higher, between 3,300 and 4,200 meters high. The famous Karakoram Highway,[19] which links China and Pakistan, was the first road to reach the region in 1978. It crossed the Chinese border in 1982, and it was opened to foreigners in 1986.[20] Until then, the area was accessible only through very high passes which were unsuitable for motor vehicles. Due to the mountainous landscape, in a wider sense the Hunza region is divided into many smaller valleys. The Chapursan Valley borders Afghanistan's Wakhan corridor, the Boiber Valley is located on the Chinese border, and the Shimshal Valley, which extends towards Baltistan, is near the ceasefire line between India and Pakistan, in the middle of the disputed Kashmir area.

In Burushaski, *Hunzakuts* (or in some dialects *Húnzukuts*) is both a singular and plural term for the inhabitants of Hunza.[21] The Hunza society is based horizontally and territorially on *khan*s,[14] or local communities centered around fortified villages. While there are several *khan*s, the first established khans are at the center of the Hunza society: Baltit (Karimabad), Altit, and Ganesh, which altogether (including all the cultivated land but excluding the summer pastures) comprises less than 30 square kilometers. The Hunza Kingdom extended its borders to the north and to the south, along the Hunza River in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,[22] so today Hunza constitutes a much larger territory than before.[23] Hunza society is built on the kinship system (as descent groups) and the khan system (as local groups). The region was traditionally divided among the khans (fortified hilltop towns and the surrounding territories). Before the twentieth century, Hunzakuts were not allowed to settle out of a khan. In the

17 Frembgem, *Ökonomische*.
18 Willson, *Look*, 16.
19 Often mentioned as "the eighth wonder of the World" in northern areas of Pakistan.
20 Sidky, *Shamans*, 94, Willson, *Look*, 1, Flowerday, *Hunza*.
21 Some sources (e.g. Sidky, *Shamans*, Frembgen, *Ökonomischer* etc.) use the singular form as *Hunzakut*.
22 Dani, *History*.
23 Csáji, "Flying," 161.

Map 1. Hunza in the Northern Areas of Pakistan (disputed area)

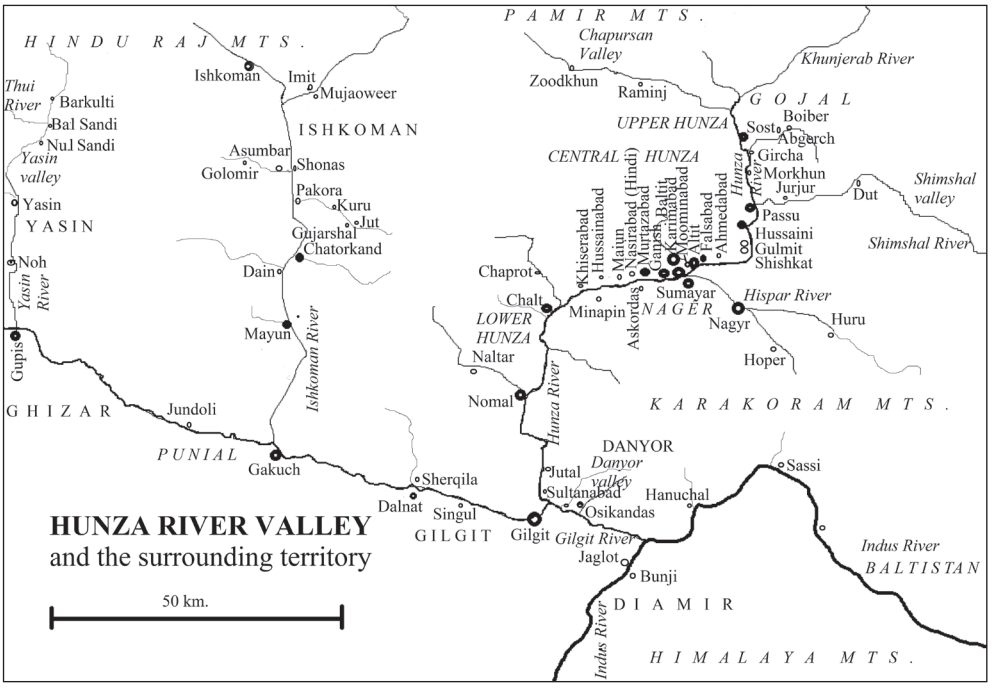
twentieth century, villages were established around the khans, since under British rule raids by the Nagérkuts were no longer a danger.[24]

There are many works about the Hunzakuts' culture, their irrigation system, customs, shamanistic worldview and rituals, history, and language(s). Hunza receives an average of 130 millimeters of rain per year,[25] so it is necessary to construct and maintain water-channels from the rivers of the Karakorum glaciers for agriculture.[26] This centuries-old irrigation system brings the water supply and

24 Willson, *Look,* 17, 194.

25 Sidky, *Irrigation*, 34.

26 Staley, *Economy*; Sidky, *Irrigation*.



Map 2. Hunza Valley and its surroundings

makes agriculture possible. As natives of the former kingdom, Hunzakuts are proud of their culture and of the fact that they are able to survive and cultivate their traditions in a highland mountain-desert environment. The concept of "one thousand years of independence" is also an element of the "Hunza-brand,"[27] and it is given particular emphasis when this "brand" is presented to tourists, who began to come to the region from all over the world since the Karakorum Highway made the area more accessible.[28]

The Role of Language, Locality, and Social Structures as the Foundations of Ethnic Levels in Hunza

It is not obvious how one might recognize "the" ethnic level in Hunza, if one were to insist on looking for a one-level model. As a consequence, "the" ethnic terms are also uncertain. Several more or less overlapping local, linguistic, social,

27 Flowerday, *Hunza*. This brand is not only a representation for outsiders, but also constitutes part of the Hunzakuts identity.

28 The peak of tourism was in the 1990s and early 2000s, when many restaurants, hotels, and shops were opened.

and religious categorization can be observed, seemingly with contradictions. In the secondary literature on ethnos and ethnicity, the most common named potential principles are[29] language, locality, "origin" (descendance), and social solidarity. I demonstrate in the following that these principles of criteria yield recognitions of different sets of people. Inhabitants of Hunza certainly use terms based on locality or language or political order etc., but the "groups" to which they seek to refer do not overlap. Furthermore, the same word can refer to different people depending on context.

In some situations, *Burusho* seems a widely used we/they distinction, i.e. someone is referring to linguistic difference, although whether this word in the given situation means the *Burushaski* speakers in Hunza, Nagar, Yasin, or simply all of them depends on the context in which it is being used.

Locality is another foundation of ethnic categorization. The former kingdoms of Nagér and Hunza form the most important local frames of ethnic identities, but I have heard inhabitants of Hunza refer to *Hunzakuts* as their common local identity many times, and I participated in a conversation in Ganesh, in which a *Burusho* man said "the *Hunzakuts'* musicians are the *Bericho* people, who are from the South." Even if *Bericho* are usually regarded as a part of the *Hunzakuts*, in this context *Hunzakuts* referred to *Burusho* (and opposed to *Bericho*), so *Burusho* people sometimes use the word *Hunzakuts* to mean "*Burusho* speakers of Hunza." *Wakhi* people, most of whom live in "Upper Hunza" (the territory north of Karimabad), rarely refer to themselves as Hunzakuts, but when they are out of Hunza (e.g. in Gilgit) they identify themselves as Hunzakuts in their interactions with Shina speaking locals.

Hunzakuts never supposed that they had common origin, even if the image of the "thousand-year-old Hunza kingdom" is a core part of the narrative of Hunza identity. On the one hand, they refer to this as a shared element of the cultural history of the Hunzakuts, but on the other, everyone knows that the origins of Hunza society are very diverse. The people(s) of Hunza often give expression to their pride in their cultural and linguistic diversity ("multi-colored unit"), particularly in interactions with foreigners and as part of political events, and this multicultural frame is also part of the "Hunza identity" and semantic frame.[30] The increasingly important indigenous discourse[31] does not exclude the

29 Many earlier works suppose an imagined unity of locality and language, complemented with an imagined common origin. This kind of expectation would not work in the case of Hunza.

30 See Fillmore, *Frame*.

31 Parallel to worldwide recognitions of so-called "indigenous knowledge."

narratives of "later waves." I have heard many times that the "Burusho people are indigenous in Hunza," but on some occasions I also heard that "the highest status of Burusho people is the *Diramiting* phratry (the *Tharákuts* and *Waziírkuts* clans), who came from Gilgit" and became the ruling class. The *Bericho*, a subgroup of the *Hunzakuts*, are a conspicuously collecting frame, into which any occupational group or family to settle in Hunza was integrated, so I heard many times that the "*Bericho* are from all around the Indian subcontinent or from even more distant regions."

In order to further a more nuanced understanding of the multi-dimensional nature of the ethnic terminology in use in Hunza, I identify the following elements as potential distinguishing features among different groups (which could be characterized as "ethnic" groups):religions, spoken languages, political frames, descent groups, social stratification and solidarity, and territorial/local subgroups of Hunza. Each of these elements has some impact on the ethnic perspective, but none of them could be chosen as "the" ethnic level.

Hunza is widely characterized, both in Hunza and by people living beyond its bounds, as "an Ismaili territory." Hunzakuts identity is strongly connected with Ismaili Islam[32] in many situations. The tourist brand of Hunza is also built on "Ismailism." All inhabitants of Hunza, Nagér and Yasin adopted Islam several centuries ago. The peoples of Hunza were converted in the sixteenth century,[33] but they retained many of their earlier beliefs. Most Hunzakuts converted to (or were converted from) Ismaili Islam from their former Shia faith at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Today, the population is predominantly Ismaili in Hunza and Yasin, but a strong minority (around 10-15 percent) is Shiite/Shia (*Shía*)[34] and a very small minority (1-2%) is Sunni.[35] The Shia (Shi'ite) minority live in religious endogamy and often in local units in Ganish, Dorkhan, Garelt, and parts of Aliabad and Murtazabad. Once, a Shia Hunzakuts told me that they are the "proper" Hunzakuts "who did not leave their faith." He meant that other Hunzakuts converted from their Shia faith to Ismaili Islam.

32 Opposed to the Nagérkuts' supposed Shia identity.

33 Willson, *Look,* 147–48.

34 Although Ismaili is part of the Shia way of Islam, Ismaili is called the "seveners" and Shia is called the "twelvers." Ismaili is further divided, and followers of Aga Khan are one of its subgroups (see Willson, *Look,* 185). Shia Islam is dominant in Gilgit, Haramosh, Ishkoman, and Baltistan, although in Baltistan the Nur Bakhshiya (Noorbakshia) sect of Shia is also present in Shigar and Hushe (Mock and O'Neil, *Tracking,* 27).

35 Willson, *Look,* 200.

Endogamy functions as a survival strategy: this is how they try to keep their religious identity relatively untouched by the majority of Ismailis.

Most *Shia* people live in the southern parts of Hunza and some in Central Hunza (in Ganesh). Most of the Shias in Hunza self-identify as members of the Shina people (see below), except those who live in Central Hunza. Shinas live in the neighboring territories (in Nagér and Gilgit) as well, where they form a majority. Burusho people are predominantly Shias in Nagér,[36] which is on the opposite side of the Hunza River. There are very few Sunnite Muslims (*Sunni*) here, and they are (or are regarded as) "newcomers," who came from places in the south of Pakistan. In a Hunzakuts' cognitive semantic frame,[37] "Sunni Muslim" means nearly the same as Punjabi or Pakistani outlander in Hunza, or at least these notions are strongly connected. I have heard people say "he is a Sunni," as a reference to a person's outlander inhabitant status. I have also heard Ismaili and Shia people share many jokes and rumors, laughing at each other's habits, customs and values, and this has strengthened my conviction that religious identity works very much like ethnic identity in this region[38].

There is a rivalry between the Shia and Ismaili people in Hunza, and they form endogamous communities, with rare examples of intermarriage. However, I have only once heard someone say that "*Ganish* people are not 'typical' *Hunzakuts*, since they are *Shia*." This shows the strong connection between religious and ethnic identities and the stereotypes based on these identities.

The Five Languages Spoken in the Geographical Hunza Region

Burushaski (or as it is also called, *Misháaski*, which means "our way/speech") is the main (official) language, spoken by virtually everyone who lives in Hunza, whether as the mother tongue or as a second language. Burushaski is said not to be related to any other language in the world.[39] Some linguists have tried to demonstrate parallels between Burushaski and some Paleo-Siberian languages (e.g. Ket).[40] With a very rough estimation, there are between 30,000 and 40,000 native speakers (Burusho) of Burushaski in Hunza.

36 Frembgen, *Ökonomischer*.

37 Croft and Cruse, *Cognitive*.

38 It was observed long ago that religiocentrism is a phenomenon similar to ethnocetrism (Ray and Doratis, *Religiocentrism*.).

39 Lorimer, *Burushaski*; Toporov, *Phonological*; Berger, *Yasin-Burushaski*; Willson, *Look*.

40 Edelmann, *Jazik Burushaski;* Toporov, *Phonological*.

Shina (it is an endonym; in Burushaski it is *Ṣhenaâ*) is a Dardic language, related to Khowar, Kalash, Kashmiri, and Kohistani languages. These languages belong to the Indo-European language family.[41] Shina speakers form the vast majority in Gilgit, Chilas, the lower Ghizar valley, Haramosh, Diamir, and the Ishkoman region (to the south and west of Hunza). They numbered 2,084,673 according to the 2004 Pakistani census (and nearly 200,000 in India). Shina has many dialects in and around Hunza, such as Astir, Gilgiti, and Kohistani.[42] As a Shina diaspora, between 12,000 and 15,000 Shinas live in Hunza. They belong to the Yeshkun, Kamin, and Shin subgroups, and they speak different Shina dialects. Sometimes, *Dom* (in Burushaski *Bericho)* is also mentioned as a fourth Shina community. Shins have the highest status among them. Most Shinas are Shia Muslims, but in some villages they are Ismaili (especially to the west of Gilgit, so a bit far from Hunza). The Shina converted to Islam during in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Until then, most of them were Hindu (and some were Buddhists).[43] I have a Shina friend who sometimes introduces himself as Hunzakuts and sometimes as Shina, depending on the circumstances and audience, and I have the impression that these ethnic identities have never been in contradiction.

The *Wakhi* (in some works: Waqhi) language is related to Tajik and Sarakol (both are in the Pamiri language group, which belongs to the Iranian Branch of the Indo-European language family). They came to Hunza from the north (from Wakhan) and were mostly pastors (herding cows, goats and yaks). Wakhi is an exonym. In Burushaski, the term used is *Guitso* (beside Wakhi) and the language is called *Guíchiski*. The Wakhi people are known as *Guyits/Guicho* or (depending on the territory in which they live in Hunza) *Gujali* (the Farsi word *Wakhani* is also in use, alongside the English term *Wakhi*). The endonym for the people is *X̌ik* (or *Xik ẓik*, and in some sources *Khik, Zik* or *Xik*), and the term *Xikwar* is used as a designation for their native language. The suffix *-wor/ war* refers to the language. It comes from the name of the Amudarja (Oxus) River, which is *Waxša* in Wakhi. Most of the Wakhi live in Gujal/Gojal, which was occupied by Hunza in the eighteenth century, and Wakhis migrated there

41 Whether the Dardic languages form a real group is a subject of dispute, as is the question of whether they belong to the Indo-Arya language branch or a transitory branch between the Indo-Arya and Iranian branches. See Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian.*

42 Mock and O'Neil, *Trekking,* 28, 37.

43 Biddulph, *Tribes*, 114.

later (to preserve their Shia faith in the face of Sunni expansion in Badakshan). They form the majority of the population in Gojal, with between 8,000 and 9,000 people. Wakhis belong to Ismaili Islam in Hunza. They sometimes refer to themselves as *Pamiri* or *Tajik*. The Wakhi language is considered as a dialect of Tajik in Tajikistan, and they are counted among the Tajik minorities abroad. Today, Wakhis are settled farmers, who plant grain and vegetables (and potatoes beginning in the 1970s), but some of them continue to practice transhumance (a form of pastoralism that involves moving livestock by a specialized group, from one grazing area to another according to a seasonal cycle; among the Wakhi, this work is done mostly by women).

The *Bericho*, or in their own language *Dom*,[44] people speak *Doma*, *Domáaki*, or *Dumaki Beriski* (in Burushaski *Beriski*). *Domaaki* is a Dardic language[45] spoken only in Hunza. It is spoken mostly by the villagers of Berishal (Moominabad) and some in Dorkhal (near Baltit). They number roughly 700, living in approximately 100 households (half of which are in Moominabad, while the others are in other villages).[46] The Bericho people are Ismaili Muslims.[47] They do not claim a common origin unique to their group. There is evidence that musicians, blacksmiths, and craftsmen who wanted to settle in Hunza in the past were integrated into the Bericho community,[48] formed a new lineage, and adopted the *Domaki* language (in addition to *Burushaski* as the main regional language). The Bericho own and rent out most of the tractors for plowing nowadays. The current clans of Doms are *Majun, Dishil, Ashur, Bak, Gulbeg*, and *Mishkin*).[49] Given the similarities between the lifestyles and cultures of the *Bericho* and *Burusho* peoples today, many *Hunzakuts* sometimes call the *Bericho* "*Burusho*."[50]

In addition to the four native languages, there are three other important languages which Hunzakuts learn in schools as languages of interaction with non-Hunzakuts:

Urdu is spoken by the Pakistani administration and today is learned by all Hunzakuts in elementary school. It has been the lingua franca in Pakistani-controlled Kashmir since the 1970s.

44 Lorimer, *Dumaki.*
45 Willson, *Look,* 200.
46 Shmid, *Dom,* 107.
47 Willson, *Look.*
48 Shmid, *Dom,* 109.
49 Ibid., 34.
50 Willson, *Look*, 201.

As a "traditional" lingua franca in the region, *Farsi* (Persian) was taught in schools until 1974, and since then, it has remained an educational language for secondary school pupils. Urdu is taught in elementary and secondary school.

Beginning in the 1980s, many Hunzakuts began to learn and use English, parallel to growth in the tourist industry.

Most Hunzakuts speak at least three languages (including their mother tongue). Illiteracy is also very low, since there were schools for children (teaching Farsi) long before the British Empire came to the region in the nineteenth century. Arabic was also used for religious purposes, but it was spoken by only a few people (the religious and cultural elite) in Hunza.

There were three political frames for Burushaski-speaking people: one is Hunza, another is Nagér, and the third is Yasin (to the west). All the three territories were independent kingdoms in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Hunza and Nagér kingdoms were rivals, and each launched raids against the other.[51] The inhabitants of the two areas usually consider themselves enemies even today. There were several small kingdoms in the region: Gilgit, Ishkoman, Yasin, the kingdoms of Baltistan (Shigar, Kapalu, Shkardu etc.), the Chinese administration in Tashkurgan, etc. Foreign sources also called the kingdom of Hunza *Biltum*, *Khajuna*, and *Kunjut*.[52]

Hunza was in a politically fragmented space until Kashmir's Sikh maharaja tried to occupy more and more territories of the Karakorum and Hindukush in the nineteenth century, though he failed to do so in Hunza and Nagér. I have heard many narratives (as oral history) about the cruelty of the Sikh army, but it is hard to distinguish between the narratives recently constructed as part of Pakistani propaganda for the Kashmir war (ongoing since 1947) and the real legends (folk narratives), the origins of which lie in the nineteenth century.

After 1892, as a result of the period of the Great Game,[53] Hunza and Nagér became semi-independent princely states of the British Empire, and they remained in this status until 1947, when they were integrated into Pakistan. The *tham* (emic term for king) was from the Ayasho family, but the dynasty lost power in 1974 according to administrative reforms introduced by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Today, efforts are being made to strengthen a new political frame: "Pakistan," which is not widely accepted by the peoples of Hunza as their "real" nation. I

51 Dani, *History*.

52 Grimes, *Isolates* 317.

53 The colonial confrontation of Russia and the British Empire in the nineteenth century.

have frequently heard the contention that "Hunza, Nagér and Gilgit are occupied territories, and not «natural» parts of Pakistan". Hunzakuts often demonstrate their independence by listening to music on Indian radio channels, by stressing that although the homeland of polo (a traditional equestrian game in Hunza) is the northern areas of Pakistan, Hunzakuts or members of the Gilgit people are not allowed to play on the national team. I have often heard characterizations of the Sunni majority and the Urdu-speaking administration as the "new colonialists." So the construction of a Pakistani nation so far has not met with much success in Hunza, even if the schools teach the official "nationalized" education and narratives. Most of the Hunzakuts resist this effort as part of "Sunni propaganda of Pakistan." Religion, political semi-integration, different cultural roots cause mostly passive resistance to the Pakistani nation-ideology in Hunza. Despite this, I have heard of Hunzakuts introducing themselves in Europe as Pakistani people. Certainly this must have been motivated in part by a consideration of communicative rationality, i.e. an awareness that Hunza is not widely known outside of Pakistan, so they identify themselves abroad as Pakistanis or *Hunzakuts* from Pakistan.

Hunza and Nagér always found themselves in a fluid political field in recent centuries, and they tried quite successfully to maintain their independence. Just to mention the closest neighborhood in the south, there were the many Baltistani states and Gilgit kingdom. To the west, there was Ishkoman and Ghizar, and further west there was Yasin. In the north, there was the Wakhan part of Badakshan and Tashkurgan, and to the east Little Tibet (Ladakh and Zanskar). The Shina people came from the direction of Gilgit, Wakhis from the north, from Wakhan, and the origins of the Bericho people (according to the oral history) lie somewhere in Baltistan (they were given as a wedding dowry to the *thám* of Hunza long ago).[54]

Hunzakuts have a patrilineal kinship system. *Burusho* of the former kingdom of Hunza is traditionally divided into lineages, clans and phratries,[55] as a kinship categorization.

The smallest group above the family is *qhaanadáan*, which means "lineage." Lineage is a unilineal kinship group, in which the members trace their descent from a person (e.g. from a great-grandfather). Lineages form a changeable

54 Willson, *Look,* 200.

55 Sidky, *Hunza.*

set, and sometimes have special names, but they are specifically based on their founder.

The clan (*gụṭí*, plural: *gụténts*) contains two or more lineages. A synonymous term is *jót qabiilá*, which means "small phratry." Members of a clan cannot easily trace their common ancestor, but they often refer to him as the founder. Clans have names, like *Tharákuts, Béegkuts, Mamétkuts, Haríkuts, Faráat, Béegkuts* etc. Clans are stabile parts of the kinship system, and exist for many generations.

The term *roóm* (in some dialects *ruúm*, but it is also often called *qabiila*), means phratry. David Lockhart Robertson Lorimer, the noted linguist who undertook research in the late 1920s and 1930s which has since become a mainstay of the secondary literature, identified the Burushaski term *ruúm* as "tribe."[56] However, recently cultural anthropologists have agreed that this definition is not accurate.[57] Summer pastures are shared between the phratries (and not the local units of the *khans*[58]). Phratries have special names, like *Dirámiting, Buróong, Barátaling, Qhúrukuts* etc.[59]

Bericho, Shina and Wakhi peoples have different kinship systems and social structures, but they are unimportant from the perspective of my inquiry.

In addition to the lineage and phratry system, I outline social stratification according to status and solidarity. According to social status, the Hunzakuts' society is divided vertically into three main levels.

The highest status is the *Ayasho* family, which belongs to the *Tharákuts* clan, and, together with the *Waziírkuts*, forms the *Diramiting* phratry.[60] They have the highest status.[61]

The second group is the *Burusho* people, who are often regarded as the so-called "folk": the native, Burushaski speaking inhabitants of Hunza. According to oral history narratives, they are the indigenous people of the region, and the *Diramiting* phratry are the conquering rulers of Hunza. The *Burusho* people are in the middle of the social hierarchy.

The third group is divided into three communities, each of which speaks its own language: Shina, Wakhi and (in the lowest status[62]), the Bericho.

56 Lorimer, *Burushaski,* 304.

57 Sidky, *Irrigation*; Willson, *Look*, Csáji, *Flying*.

58 Fortified hilltop towns and their surrounding villages.

59 Willson, *Look*, 193.

60 Ibid., 192–93, see also Staley, *Economy*; Sidky, *Irrigation*.

61 Tikkanen, *Burushaski*.

62 On the Indian subcontinent, musicians and blacksmiths are often considered of a very low status.

Since the mid-1970s, the Pakistani administration, and later (since the 1980s), the slowly established tourist industry began bringing more and more people from Pakistan to Hunza, but these people still form only a slight minority of the society. They are considered outlanders, who are not Hunzakuts. As an form of opposition to the Pakistani administration and politics, Hunzakuts still resist sharing the nation concept of Pakistan. Many times, Hunzakuts have told me that "Pakistanis do not consider us equal citizens, as evidenced by the fact that Pakistanis do not let us play on the national Pakistani polo or soccer teams". However, as noted earlier in this article, Hunzakuts often identify themselves as Pakistani when they are outside Pakistan[63].

Ethnicity Emerging in Context

In the preceding section I outlined the main social units and groups in Hunza. In this one, I draw on this and give examples of in-situ conversations in which people use the relevant terms. Basically, I seek to show that one must always consider the context of the given situation. Whether a conversation takes place inside or outside Hunza is one important element, and it is similarly important to take into consideration who is using the exact terms, to whom he or she is referring, and the audience to or with whom he or she is speaking. Contextualization is essential if interpretation is going to be adequate, so I give some examples of the everyday use of the ethnic terminology.

Before beginning to outline the ethnic levels and ethnonyms in Hunza, I must stress that people do not always act from their "ethnic perspective."[64] In some respects, Hunzakuts have a lifestyle (agriculture, working on the irrigation system, animal husbandry) which is very similar to the lifestyles of other Shia and Ismaili peoples in the region of the Karakorum and Hindukush. They have many distinctive customs, some of which can be easily recognized, but cultural differences cannot be equated with ethnicity. As culture is never homogeneous and always changing (as it is a cognition), it can be considered a kind of discourse. Several social, religious, and other orientations (e.g. school, avocation or special interest-based groups) can give frames for different discourse spaces and lead to the emergence of more or less overlapping systems of "culture." Which is

63 It has – according to the social linguistics – pragmatic reasons: to identify themselves with well-known categories (Csáji, *Tündérek*.).

64 Brubaker, *Ethnicity*.

ethnicity, if ethnic roots do not trace the same directions whether according to cultural, kinship (origin), religious, or territorial (local) identities?

As it is theoretically based on the notion of origin, language, and cultural or political coexistence, ethnicity emerges only in some situations, when one or more of these values are affected. On other occasions, religious or social identity provides the foundation of their actual perspective. Kinship can also have an important role, even today. However, ethnic perspective cannot be easily divided from religious, social, local, and kinship cognition. It is the ideology of nationalism, which tries to give a one-level frame of a particular ethnic level, tending to exclude multi-ethnic identities and rule over religious, political, and cultural identities. In Hunza, this "nationalistic turn" has not yet taken place, since Pakistani nationalism has been failed to control ethnic cognitions.[65]

It was surprising to me that I found a complex terminology for "ethnicity" in the Burushaski language. In the Burusaski language, the word *qáum* means "ethnic group," but it can refer to two different categories: (1.) "a traditionally formed community with a common geography, culture, and history," and (2) "a group of people speaking the same language and living in a similar kinship system."[66] In the case of Hunza, the first term is *Hunzakuts qáum*, the second (language-based) term is *Burusho qáum*. Inhabitants of the former kingdom of Nagér (*Nagérkuts/Nagarkuts*) also belong to the *Burusho qáum*, but certainly do not belong to the *Hunzakuts qáum*.

Theoretically, it would be easy to distinguish these meanings of *qáum*, but sometimes the words *Hunzakuts* and *Burusho* mean something different, and some Hunzakuts use other terms for the *qáum* to which they want to. The speakers of a language do not automatically refer to one *qáum*, as people normally speak three or more languages (Hunza is a multi-lingual territory), and sometimes they speak Burushaski better than their mother tongue.

Native speakers of the same language can be intermixed according to political frames: if the word Burusho is mentioned in Hunza, people will not automatically think about Nagér and Yasin Burusho people as well. Mostly, the word refers only to the Burusho people in Hunza. In some contexts, the word Burusho even excludes the Burushaski speaking elite and means only the Burushaski speaking Burusho folk in Hunza.

65 The ethnos-model is also not useful for this analysis, given the many kinds of fragmentations (see Csáji, *Etnográfia*).

66 Willson, *Look*, 11.

If the word *Burusho* is mentioned outside Hunza, it often refers to Hunza's, Nagér's, and Yasin's Burushaski speakers, but not exclusively. Sometimes it means simply "those who speak Burushaski," and sometimes, depending on the context is so the conversation can refer to Burusho in Hunza without drawing any distinctions. Other times, they extend it with the Hunza's reference adjective: "Hunzakts Burusho."

The word *Hunzakuts* is similarly complex. It usually refers to a territorial frame (a local unit of people), but sometimes Hunzakuts means only Burushaski speaking people in Hunza, e.g. when it is mentioned by a Wakhi to another Wakhi outside Hunza.

In the case of Shinas and Wakhis, ethnic considerations are even more complex, as they both have neighboring territories in which they form majorities, thus their presence points out the origins of Hunnza. Shinas in Gilgit and Wakhis in the Wakhan corridor of Afghanistan have their own "original homeland." In most of the conversations I have observed, they consciously stressed their *Shina* or *Wakhi* identity, and very rarely mentioned Hunzakuts identity, even if – theoretically – the Hunza regional identity covers all of them as well, and they can also refer to themselves as "Hunzakuts," especially when they refer to it towards non-Wakhi or non-Shina outsiders. And they are quite proud of both their Hunzakuts and Shina or Wakhi identity. On other occasions, they can simply identify themselves as Shina or Wakhi, within the Shina or Wakhi speaking communities in the northern areas, if they want to stress their community with other Shinas or Wakhis or they want to refer to their language.

The case of the *Berichos* is a bit different, as they do not have a "homeland," and they consider themselves traditional Hunzakuts without being a part of the Hunza kinship system. They had semi-slave status until the twentieth century, so they had communal emotions because they were an integrated part of Hunza, occupying a niche of occupations (blacksmith, musician, tractor-owners etc.). I have never heard them saying that they were Burusho, but they referred to themselves as Hunzakuts many times, at least when they were out of Hunza (e.g. in Gilgit).

An ethnonym can refer to a political frame, a language community, or a political and linguistic frame. Ethnic levels are often different when seen from the outside (exonyms) and when seen from the inside (endonyms), so one must also briefly analyze the terms used by people who describe or name these groups from the outside. Non-Hunzakuts often refer to Hunzakuts with the term *Hunzas* in English or similar terms in other languages.

The admixture of ethnic levels outside Hunza is more confusing. To simplify, Wakhis belong to a Wakhi ethnic group, Shinas to a Shina ethnic group, and so on. But then where do the Burusho or the Hunzakuts belong? How can we consider the Ismaili institutions, which reach towards political and language frames and cause strict endogamy, stricter than the language or even the phratry system? In practice, it is preferable for a Shina woman to marry a Shia Burusho man than to marry an Ismaili Shina. Religious frames can be more important in the case of ethnocentric expressions as well. I have heard many jokes told by Shia Muslims about their Ismaili neighbors, even when they shared the same language. These jokes contained stereotypes, concerning for instance ethnocentric attitudes and behavior. Many cultural patterns are shared by religious groups, but not by linguistic or local ones. A Burusho who is Shia can have many customs and rules in common with a Shia person in Gilgit, more than she/he might with her/his Ismaili neighbors in Hunza. So one cannot forget the region's cultural and religious diversity when attempting to analyze or interpret these terms.

Levels of Ethnicity and the Relativity of Ethnonyms

In the previous sections I outlined the linguistic and social diversity of Hunza and the local categories which also influence ethnic cognitions. In this one, I summarize the Hunzakuts' ethnic terminology in a table. The lines of the table list the native language groups and also some geographical and political frames. Each line starts with the subject who is referring to someone (named in the columns). Terms (written in the following columns) show a set of possible emic words for the ethnic or linguistic group (to whom the speakers refer).

To avoid misunderstanding, I have used changes in formatting. Words with normal characters refer to peoples; words in *italics* are terms for languages spoken by the people in question; the most common words are written with bold letters. As a reduced matrix[67] of endonyms and exonyms, the table is based on linguistic differences in Hunza. It is extended with the categories of Pakistani and Nagérkuts as important complementary categories of the locality, but even so, the table is a simplification, since it cannot adequately emphasize the role of locality. This is why I explained the considerations above, to demonstrate

67 The table does not show the religious and local segmentations (except in the case of Nagér), some of which I have already explained. Some lexemes of the Bériski, Shina, Urdu, and Wakhi languages may be missing, given the lack of data, but my main goal was to demonstrate the multi-dimensional nature of this set of ethnic terminology in Hunza.

Who is naming whom?	Burusho (in Hunza)	Shina	Wakhi	Bericho (Dom)	Nagérkuts (Burusho in Nagér)	Pakistani
Burusho (in Hunza)	**Burusho** ***Misháaski*** ***Burushaski*** Húnzó Hunzakuts/ Húnzukuts Buru / Bru (Biltum Khajuna Kanjut/Kunjut[1]) *(Werchikvar/ Wirchikwor2)*	***Shenaá*** **Shená** Shina *Shinaki* Húnzukuts (for Shinas in Hunza) **Nagérkuts**/ Nagarkuts (for Shinas in Nagér)	**Guítso/ Guicho** *Gujali/Gojali* Hunzakuts/ Húnzukuts Guyits ***Guíchiski*** Waqhí *Xikwor/Xikwar* Wakhani	**Bericho** Béri ***Bériski*** Berits Hunzakuts/ Húnzukuts Berishal sís Burusho	Burusho ***Burushaski*** **Nagérkuts**	***Urdu*** Panjabi (often extended to all Pakistanis) **Pakistani** Paki (English loanword)
Shina	**Hunzakuts** Buru / Bru ***Burushaski*** Burusho	**Shiná** ***Shinaki*** *Shina* **Hunzakuts**	Húnzukuts *Gujali/Gojali* **Waqhí** ***Wakhi*** *Xikwor, Xikwar* Wakhani	**Dom** Bericho *Bériski* ***Domaki*** Béri Hunzakuts/ Húnzukuts	Burusho ***Nagér/Nagyr*** ***Burushaski*** **Nagérkuts** Nagiri	***Urdu*** Panjabi (often extended to Pakistanis) **Pakistani** Paki
Wakhi	Buru Burusho **Hunzakuts** ***Burushaski***	**Shina** ***Shina*** ***Shinaki*** Hunzakuts	**Xik zik** **Zik, Khik** ***Xikwa*** *Wakhíní* Húnzukuts Pamiri Tajik	***Bériski*** **Hunzakuts**/ Húnzukuts Bericho Dom	**Nagérkuts** Nagar/Nagyr ***Burushaski*** Buru	***Urdu*** **Pakistani**
Bericho (Dom)	Buru, Bru, Burusho, ***Burushaski*** **Hunzúkuts**	**Shiná** *Shina* ***Shinaki*** **Hunzakuts**	**Guítso/ Guicho** Hunzakuts / Húnzukuts ***Guíchiski*** Waqhí *Xikwor, Xikwar* Wakhani	**Dom** Doma ***Domáaki*** *Dumaki* Bérits Hunzakuts/ Húnzukuts	**Burusho** *Nagér/Nagyr* ***Burushaski*** **Nagérkuts** Nagiri	***Urdu*** Panjabi (often extended to all Pakistanis) **Pakistani**
Nagérkuts (Burusho in Nagér)	**Burusho** ***Misháaski*** ***Burushaski*** *Werchikvar/ Wirchikwor (for Yasin-Burusho)* Buru / Bru	***Shenaá/*** **Shená** Shina *Shinaki* Húnzukuts (for Shinas in Hunza) **Nagérkuts**/ Nagarkuts (for Shinas in Nagér)	**Guítso/ Guicho** ***Guíchiski*** Waqhí *Xikwor/Xikwar* Wakhani	**Bericho** Béri ***Bériski*** Hunzakuts/ Húnzukuts	**Burusho** ***Misháaski*** ***Burushaski*** Nagérkuts/ Hanarkuts *Werchikvar/ Wirchikwor (for Yasin-Burusho)* Buru / Bru	***Urdu*** **Pakistani**
Pakistani	**Hunzakuts** Burusho ***Burushaski*** *Hunzai*	**Shina** Húnzukuts Nagérkuts Nagarkuts	**Wakhi/***Waqhí* Hunzakuts Hunzai Wakhani Tajik	Dom **Bericho** *Domaki* ***Bériski*** Hunzakuts	***Nagari*** **Nagérkuts** Burusho *Burushaski*	**Pakistani** ***Urdu*** etc.

1 The words Biltum, Khajuna, and Kanjut/Kunjut sometimes appear in Burushaski conversations with a connotation concerning their historical roots.

2 Werchikvor/Werchikvar refers to the Burushaski dialect spoken in Yasin.

Table I. Endonyms and exonyms in and around Hunza

that the table can be interpreted only according to the complexity of the social structure of Hunza. The several "synonymous" words in a heading all have different semantic frames and relevance.

I only use English words in the table if I have heard them used in a native conversation, they were explained in ethnographic interviews, or I have data about their usage from written sources. The table demonstrates the multi-dimension of endonyms, exonyms, and politonyms. The variety of ethnonyms in each headings shows that the terms can be used in a given situation according to their relevance. The areal linguistic interactions are also easy to recognize (e.g. from the frequent loan-words).

Conclusions

The notion that an ethnic group is based on a strict unit of origin, language, and territory seems to be false. Ethnic levels appear in constantly changing registers of personal knowledge, which only partially overlap. However, the discourse in which the inhabitants of Hunza express and experience their ethnic perceptions is an existing communicational frame, even if it contains relatively fluid and constantly changing elements of narratives, experiences, emotions, and values. This dialectic set of cognitions explains the very complex ethnic terminology of Hunza.

It is not obvious what one can call *the* ethnic level in Hunza. Ethnonyms do not have set definitions, and in different situations only the context can help us understanding who a term is being used to designate. There are overlapping categories of ethnic and quasi-ethnic perspectives. I have analyzed the role of language, locality, descendant, and social structure. The first consequence is that, on the basis of these principles, very different groups of people share common ethnic identities.

I explained that the notion of Hunzakuts is seemingly a politonym, but it is also a local unit. The Burusho, Dom, Xik, Shina etc. are seemingly language based endonyms, but kinship, cultural relations, historical coexistence, administrative frames, language, and religiosity can all influence these ethnic perspectives (although none of them can be considered as "the sole and only" ethnic level). I showed that the term Burusho, for example, can mean all Burushaski speakers, but sometimes it means the folk of Hunza (opposed to the Diramiting elite) and sometimes it means Burushaski speakers of Hunza. It is also used, in other contexts, to refer to the distant Burushaski speaking populations of Nagér and

Yasin, and there are cases in which it is simplified to the Ismaili Muslims of Hunza and Yasin. A native speaker has all these concepts in his o rher mind, and in any particular situation, the relevant meanings are called forth. The context can be interpreted with the tools of the cognitive semantics.

There are institutions (such as clans and phratries, Ismaili religious community, and local settlement frames like *khanat*s), into which someone is born, so there are groups which allocate ethnic perspectives. Ethnic identity is far from being incidental. It is, rather, a set of different attachments, as frames of a person's ethnic perceptions and behavior. Ethnicity is a kind of knowledge: participating in a discourse, sharing more or less common narratives, emotions, experiences, and values. Ethnicity is also a recognition: placing someone in the social environment (according to linguistic, local and other difference), and it is also the foundation for meaningful and relevant relations. Finally, ethnicity is a practical tool of communication: ethnic perceptions and categories appear in conversation nearly always for a particular purpose.

The question of which languages are used in the family is also not incidental, and neither is the question of the society to which someone belongs. These factors can sometimes be changed (by moving out of Hunza, emigration, intermarriage etc.), but there must be a reason for this change. It seems insufficient to consider ethnicity "merely" a changeable discourse, although the ethnic perspective is indeed a constantly changing (and never homogeneous) register of knowledge.

Ethnic identity in Hunza contains the concept of the former Hunza kingdom (the "thousand years of independence"), but it does not suppose or imply any common origin. Inhabitants of Hunza recognize the role of native languages, local communities, and social coexistence. Social and religious differences can lead to expressions of identity that are similar to or part of ethnic perceptions. Inhabitants of Hunza certainly recognize differences in language, and they use several words for the linguistic groups. Despite the linguistic diversity and the current political power of the nation-state ideology of modern Pakistan, Hunzakuts identity survived the collapse of the former kingdom's administration in 1974. The semantic frame of the word Hunzakuts has certainly undergone a transformation since 1974, and the role of locality has increased. Social solidarity remained an important part of it.

I delineated the essence of my explanation in a table, showing the complexity of ethnonyms used in social interactions. In addition to their (etic) vocabulary meanings, the ethnic terminology (as a set of emic categories) catalyzes other

notions, narratives, and emotions. Each word has a cognitive semantical frame, which calls forth emotions, narratives, and values in the given situation by the exact actors.[68]

After briefly outlining the complexity of the ethnonym-system in Hunza, according to which terms can be recalled on the basis of the given circumstances, I demonstrated the complexity of ethnic levels and perceptions (Table I.). As the diversity and overlapping nature of ethnic perceptions, ethnic discourses, and semantic frames suggests, there is no single, exclusive level of ethnonyms in Hunza. Finally, I emphasize that cognition of "ethnic categories" is not omnipotent. There are considerations in which the national (Pakistan), ecological (social status), religious, or the political attachments seems more relevant than the ethnic ones.

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FEATURED REVIEW

A szovjet tényező: Szovjet tanácsadók Magyarországon [The Soviet factor: Soviet advisors in Hungary]. By Magdolna Baráth. Budapest: Gondolat, 2017. 254 pp.

Why did Ernő Gerő mention Gierichev in his March 11, 1953 letter to the Soviet ambassador on the manufacturing of artillery percussion caps? The solution to this mystery (or the lack thereof) exemplifies the difficulties that Magdolna Baráth faced while writing this book, which fills a lacuna in the secondary literature. The literature on Soviet advisors raises novel questions about the fall of communism. Before the change of regimes, very little was accessible apart from the rather stereotypical information on the anecdotal presence of Soviet citizens working in national security and armed bodies (which is the subject of the "Room of Soviet Advisors" in the so-called House of Terror museum in Budapest, which opened its doors to the public in 2002). Since the archives were partially or completely opened after 1989, the examination of this complex phenomenon could begin with the following core questions: what professional connections were made, and how did these connections change over time between the Soviet Union and the countries in its sphere of influence, or, in Baráth's terminology, the "satellite countries"? The advisors and the experts under scrutiny in this inquiry doubtlessly played key roles in this process.

One of the key virtues of the volume is that it places terminological issues in a wider historical context. It shows that different kinds of experts and advisors arrived between 1945–48, 1948–53, and 1953–56 and then again from 1956 into the 1960s and beyond. The first group of advisors worked for the police forces and the counter-intelligence services. The next groups consisted of Soviet experts active in all walks of life, who as industrial spies, integrated commissars, experts, or intermediaries contributed to the Sovietization of the country in various ways. What kinds of answers emerge from the analysis of this process?

First, these experts were needed in part because the previous elite had been compromised, had emigrated for political reasons, had been sidelined, or, worse, had been imprisoned. A great merit of Baráth's volume is that it provides the exact number of Soviet citizens active in Hungary, including details concerning who worked where and in what positions, and it thereby dispels the myth that Soviet advisors arrived in throngs to Hungary. In effect, their numbers were

in the double-digits only. Though they were miniscule in number, however, their influence was exponentially large. This is why Baráth's findings will have a stimulating effect on further research concerning Hungarian intellectual collaboration.

For the second problem which prompted the installment of Soviet experts, there is a particular expression in Russian: *comchvanstvo*, or "communist arrogance," which derives from the so-called Chekist attitude. At the beginning of the 1920s, the Soviet Union had to face the fact that despite its hopes (or what the Soviets considered an objective historical inevitability), in all likelihood no other countries would choose the true path of communism for several decades, and thus the country would remain solitary in a hostile environment. The response of the party leadership was the construction of a strong and controlling state apparatus, and the total mobilization of all human and material resources in the interest of economic and social development. The Soviet Union could implement this process only by assuming the self-assured commitment of those on the right side of history. This self-assurance, which grew with their victory in World War II, engendered the Bolshevik professional-revolutionary, who had already been acculturated in the atmosphere of political repression, whose theoretical knowledge was grounded in the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, but who also possessed practical, applicable expertise.

This type of "homo sovieticus" appeared in Hungary with stunning salaries. They earned 4,000-7,000 forints per month when the average income was 200-300 forints, and they were given apartments, had access to specialized stores to meet their needs and wants, and received reimbursements and other benefits, such as free fishing licenses. However, these privileges were not guaranteed for everyone, nor were they guaranteed at all times. The process of issuance was a long and tedious bureaucratic ordeal, which, fortunately for the historian, produced a wealth of sources. Baráth's volume allows the reader to trace clearly how, until 1953 (the year of Stalin's death), the number of Soviet advisors and experts grew continuously, as did the number of privileges they were accorded.

During the 1956 Revolution, all of these "experts," with the exception of those working for the state security forces, were evacuated by plane to Soviet army barracks. After this event, less money was spent on the operating costs of Soviet advisors. At the same time, they were commanded to take seriously the instructions they had been given after 1953: not to interfere with the inner affairs of the country or of their workplaces, which led to a direct decrease in their political and professional influence.

During the 1960s, i.e. the glorious era of Soviet technical advancement, when for a short time it seemed that the Soviets would emerge superior from the technological competition with the Americans, scientific and technological exchange flourished. However, by the 1970s, Soviet self-confidence was undermined by more frequent interactions with consumer societies of the West, the actual winner of the technological competition. From this time on, the Soviet Union's participation in world trade was more or less limited to the selling of raw materials. This is how the concept of the "Soviet professional" changed over time: first, it signified a highly powerful agent backed by the world-leading knowhow of the Soviet secret services; later, it meant a well-paid foreign expert of percussion cap production; and finally, the so-called expert was little more than a door-to-door agent of ridiculously outdated technology, tolerated only for ideological reasons. At the same time, the secret service cooperation, which had begun in 1944 and had continued to develop throughout the period in question remained effective.

The question of whether there was a master plan for the Sovietization of Eastern European countries or whether it took place as a reaction to the Marshall Plan is the subject of long-standing debate in the literature. This book, which offers a study of the similarities and differences between the functions and acts of the Soviet advisors in the various countries of the Eastern Bloc (i.e. within a comparative Eastern European framework), shows that during the advancement of the Red Army into Eastern Europe, the Soviets used the method of obtaining a system of influence, which had already proven effective in Mongolia, – while after 1944 they reacted in an ad hoc manner to the challenges they had to confront. These ad hoc reactions in turn led to chaos and the need for micro-management, as illustrated by Gerő's personal intervention in percussion cap production.

Another issue that should be analyzed concerning the functions of Soviet advisors and professionals in Hungary concerns the kinds of changes introduced into the Hungarian professional world by the presence of Soviet advisors, who only rarely enjoyed the appreciation of their Hungarian colleagues, for instance in the case of Russian foreign language assistants or in areas of expertise in which Hungarians were less advanced, such as the nuclear industry. It was clear that the Soviets saw their work in Hungary as a well-paid assignment, and they not only tried to mobilize every possible financial resource, but they were also unwilling to return to the Soviet Union. In addition, since Soviet citizens had a direct link to their Embassy, they could remove Hungarian professionals who

did not support their work or raised objections to their presence. Furthermore, much as Gerő directly interfered with percussion cap production, the most insignificant affairs, such as the issuance of a fishing license, were also taken care of at the highest levels (to the great delight of the historian). Today, historians are grateful that even these kinds of cases were dealt with at the highest levels, since they produced sources which offer insights into the power relations and intrigues of the era.

As Baráth shows, the presence of Soviet professionals had a significant effect on the workplace. On the one hand, these experts, who were provided generous funding from the Hungarian government budget, represented an external human resource; on the other, by employing Soviets, one could score political points and build a support network. The volume outlines some very interesting strategies deployed by Hungarian leaders to maximize their gains from the presence of Soviet advisors, while they at the same time tried to minimize the damage caused by the Soviets' lack of expertise, which at times was glaring. For instance, the University of Physical Education requested an expert for the Department of Sport's History, where the assigned "expert" would be least likely to cause a disturbance; the professors at ELTE (who had already ridden out many political storms) artfully managed to avoid a situation in which Soviets who had just received their degree were at once appointed to serve as university professors in Budapest (these same Hungarian university professors were often willing to host staff to help in Russian language instruction). Both the party apparatus and professionals utilized the Soviet advisors in their power struggles. Rákosi once quite spectacularly expressed his concern for the "ailing health" of Gábor Péter in front of Soviet advisors, thus undermining his rival. Comparable scenes of subtle resistance took place on lower levels too, where the advisors were not provided with the right materials, information was held back from them, or what was done was the exact opposite of what had been advised. The presence of Soviet advisors in Hungary thus had an immense effect on how politics and ideologies intermingled with knowledge, as well as on everyday patterns of behavior.

Baráth has performed an enormous task: she has examined every Hungarian archive and every accessible Russian archive and collection of documents for data on Soviet advisors and professionals. It is laudable that she expresses her gratitude in a collegial manner to all those who helped her in this lengthy process. However, the abundance of sources also represents the greatest unresolved issue of the book. Baráth accurately introduces all the information

at her disposal, and she marks with precision incidences in which she could not trace the follow up history of an official document or in which there was no more data in a given archive concerning the issue at hand (for instance, we may never know who Gierichev, the master of percussion cap production, was, why he came to Hungary, what his professional background was, or what happened to him afterwards). Still, the reader at times feels inundated with specific details found in the sources and presented without contextualization. Furthermore, Baráth appears to take the same position regarding the reliability of her sources. Memoirs, such as the memoirs of Béla Király, are to be approached with serious source criticism, because Király, like so many other memoir-authors, tuned his account of his own former stances to real or perceived expectations at the time of writing. Memoirs clearly cannot be used or cited as if they had the same status and value as a consular report, for instance. At the same time, memoirs, along with interviews (for instance), can shed light on issues on which there are no other accessible sources. Furthermore, they offer examples of the wide array of reactions people in contact with the Soviets had.

A central question concerns how to evaluate the role of Soviet advisors and the economic policies they introduced to Hungary. In the 1920s, heavy industry was forcedly developed in the Soviet Union with sources stolen from agriculture, a process which Trotskyist economist Yevgeni Preobrazhenski (1886–1937) described as "primitive socialist accumulation." In her summary, Baráth approvingly quotes György Gyarmati, who refers to the post-1945 era in Hungary as "the dictatorship of modernization". Indeed, it was primarily Hungarian agriculture that suffered from the enforcement of Soviet methods alien to the climate and soil of the country, like the growing of cotton and rubber root, or the irrigation systems. The Soviet-style development of heavy industry was against economic rationality and even common sense, and it served as a tool with which the regime built Soviet political control. From the outset, the system was doomed to slow economic growth, and the system of direct administrative control was incapable of spurring growth and at the same time maintaining quality."; furthermore, the economy was endangered by the country's large military expenditures. According to Martin Malia, this system was an "ideocracy," led by ideology instead of rational planning in order to achieve utopian goals. The advisors, experts, and correspondents played their own roles in the attempted realization of this utopia, building, as the documents show, a "new traditionalism" in Hungary, instead of modernity. The great role played by personal connections (one recalls the relationship between Gerő and Gierichev),

the camarilla-style politics, the pervasiveness of reporting, the hierarchical system, and the clientelism all acted against modernization (understood as impersonal, effective, specialized, and functional knowledge) and suited well the neo-baroque world of Horthyism that continued to flourish despite the political cleansings and all the apparent changes.

The development of the Soviet sphere of interest long remained a story focused on a small party of secret service experts. Magdolna Baráth's research broadens the scope of and adds further nuances to this narrative. This splendidly written volume, which rests on the thorough study of primary sources, together with accurate annotations, shows that the process was indeed part of international history, and that despite all of the difficulties encountered while researching (such as the inaccessibility of Russian archives), it is a human story too. Perhaps someday we may even learn who Gierichev was.

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BOOK REVIEWS

"A Pearl of Powerful Learning:" The University of Cracow in the Fifteenth Century. By Paul W. Knoll. (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 52.) Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2016. 789 pp.

Publications on the history of the University of Kraków, including the medieval period, would fill a library. The topic has been attracting historians' interest for a long time now. The very first summaries were published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, both in Polish and in French. Since then, several works have examined and presented the history of the university, but most of them were written in Polish. Paul W. Knoll, Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Southern California, is an expert in Eastern European and, in particular, Polish history, and he has been dealing with the history of the University of Kraków in the Middle Ages for half a century. The present monograph can be regarded as the essence of his oeuvre.

Knoll examines the history of the Jagiellonian University until the fifteenth century. His work is divided into eleven chapters, framed by an *Introduction* and a *Conclusion*, two maps at the beginning, and eighteen illustrations (mainly of the university buildings) scattered throughout the text. The *Appendix A–D* contains the list of the rectors of the university and deans of the faculty of arts between 1400 and 1508 and the number of the matriculated students year by year at the University of Kraków between 1400 and 1509, classifying them into ten geographical groups. The latter are presented in charts, too. The *Appendix* includes a short summary of the life and work of Copernicus. The *Index* of people and place names will be very useful for researchers who are in search of precise data.

The *Bibliography* is impressive and grandiose, and it merits some emphasis. The 129 published sources in Latin with Polish, English, French, and German comments and the 1,151 (!) bibliographical entries in Polish, English, German, French, Italian, Czech, and Slovak were issued between 1665 and 2015 all over Europe, in the United States of America, and in Canada. Naturally, the bibliography primarily contains works on university history and the history of the University of Kraków, but it also includes publications on the history of Poland and Kraków and its buildings, the history of other universities and the academic curricula, and writings on several sciences (the liberal arts, philosophy, literature, theology, astronomy, astrology, humanism, etc.).

The first, second, and third chapters (*Instauracio Studii: The Foundation of a Pearl of Powerful Learning, Cracow and Its University, Institutional History and Development*) give a portrait of the origins of the University of Kraków and the history of the university in the fifteenth century. The book provides a summary of the history of the university, which includes descriptions of the academic dignitaries, academic everyday life, and the city of Kraków itself. The fourth chapter (*The Personnel of the University: A Statistical, Social, and Academic Profile*) discusses the students of the university, focusing in particular on their geographical and social origins and the main tendencies in matriculation and graduation. The fifth chapter (*The University in the National Life of Poland*) examines the uses of the courses of study for the Krakowian clergy and the role of the university in the spread of the vernacular Polish language and the formation of Polish national consciousness.

The subsequent chapters are dedicated to the curriculum at the Jagiellonian University, including the ideas which shaped it, the works which were used during the lessons, and the professors who interpreted these works. Furthermore, it examines the works by Polish thinkers which became part of the curriculum by the end of the fifteenth century. The sixth and seventh chapters (*The Arts Faculty I–II*) discuss the curriculum of the most important faculty, the seven liberal arts, and the eighth chapter is dedicated to the other two faculties (*Medicine* and *Law*). However, the faculty of medicine was relatively weak in Kraków in the fifteenth century, but the faculty of law had existed since the foundation of the university, and it was very important as a tool with which Casimir the Great consolidated his power and regulated the system of public administration. Although both cannon and Roman law were supposed to be taught in Kraków, the teaching of the latter started only in the sixteenth century. The ninth chapter (*Theology*) emphasizes the significance of theology. As the "queen of sciences," it was especially important in medieval education. In Kraków, the second founder, King Władysław Jagiełło, managed to get papal permission for this faculty.

The tenth chapter (*Humanism*) describes the spread of Humanism from the middle of the 15th century. However, Humanism did not dominate the era, and in the early period the neighbouring countries inspired its spread. It became a significant phenomenon only at the end of the fifteenth century. The eleventh chapter (*Libraries and the Library*) emphasizes the importance of books and libraries in academic education. It describes the establishment of the first libraries of the University of Kraków, namely the present-day *Biblioteka Jagiellońska* and the libraries of the students and professors. This chapter is especially worthy of

attention since it interprets in detail the works which were used by the masters of Kraków, and it follows shifts in both public and scientific interests and seeks to restore the personal libraries of more than forty scholars of Kraków, completing them with their biographical data.

Knoll's publication is an essential work, since no other modern English monographs have been published on the medieval Jagiellonian University (except some publications on the whole history of the university). The English translations of the cited Latin sources add to the value of the monograph, as do the shorter and longer biographies of the relevant representatives of the university in the various chapters.

If one takes the above mentioned aspects into consideration, the monograph is highly recommended to anyone who is interested in university history, the history of the University of Kraków, the city of medieval Kraków, the ideas and works which flourished here, or the Polish scholars who exerted important influences on education in the fifteenth century.

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Writing History in Medieval Poland: Bishop Vincentius of Cracow and the Chronica Polonorum. Edited by Darius von Güttner-Sporzyński. (Cursor Mundi 28.) Turnhout: Brepols, 2017. 250 pp.

The *Chronica Polonorum*, written around 1220 but before 1223, is the second historical composition by a single author to be written after the *Gesta Principum Polonorum* of Gallus Anonymus (written around 1113) about the history of Poland and the Piast dynasty. It is, furthermore, one of the most researched and discussed medieval texts concerning the history of Poland. The narrative's author, Master Wincent or Vincentius, is the first identified history writer of the Piast dynasty whose career and deeds scholars have studied, and so, since the editio princeps of the text, both the question of the identity of the author and the text itself have been subjects of intensive research.

Master Vincentius, called Kadłubek, studied either in Italy or in France, and he had a wide and deep philosophical, theological, and legal erudition. He was one of the most important and influential ducal officers of Kraków during the second half of the twelfth century, before he was elected Bishop of Kraków in 1207. In 1218, he asked for this dispensation, and he withdrew to the Cistercian monastery of Jędziejów.

His chronicle consists of three general parts. In the first, which is based mostly on legends and classic patterns, he composed the mythical beginnings of Poland. The second is devoted to the deeds of the Piasts in the eleventh century. In this part of his narrative, Vincentius draws strongly on the *gesta* of Gallus Anonymus, which means that he must have been familiar with at least with one of its manuscripts. Since Vincentius was practically an eyewitness to many of the events which took place during his career, the third part, which contains stories about twelfth-century Poland, is based on his own experiences.

The book which is the subject of this review, which was edited by Darius von Güttner-Sporzyński (one of the Australian Polonica researchers), contains papers contributed by recognized Polish medievalists on Master Vincentius' chronicle. This collection of studies is the most recent one on this subject, after the basic Latin text edition, published by Marian Plezia, the modern Polish and German translations of the text, and several studies devoted to the author and his work edited by Andrzej Dąbrówka and Witold Wojtowicz some years ago. Due to lack of space, I will refrain from discussing all the contributions in detail.

Rather, I offer basic impressions about each individual paper, which I have arranged in thematic groups.

One of the focuses of the volume is the author himself. In addition to Darius von Güttner-Spozynski's preface, two papers are devoted to this topic, one by Jacek Maciejewski (Bydgoszcz) on Vincentius' background and family origins and one by Marian Zwiercan (Kraków) on the author's influence on history writing in Poland. A further contribution by Józef Dobosz of Poznań discusses two general points: the when and the why, presenting all relevant scholarly theories about the time of the writing of the *Chronica Polonorum* and analyzing the chronicle writer's *causa scribendi*.

Since the *Chronica Polonorum* was composed in a very sophisticated, academic, classical Latin language, using all possible Antique and medieval literary patterns, one of the most significant scholarly questions has always been the issue of the text itself as a literary and grammatical phenomenon and accurate or plausible interpretations of the narrative. Four papers discuss this issue in the book. Two of them were written by Edward Skibiński (Poznań), one of the outstanding experts on medieval Latin philology in Poland. Skibiński presents the problems of the language of the text, and he attempts to interpret the narrative of the chronicle on the basis of philological observations. The third paper of this kind is by Katerzyna Chmielewska of Częstochowa. Chmielewska presents the antique and biblical topoi of the text. The fourth and last contribution in this group is by Zénon Kałuża (Paris). He puts the chronicle and its author into the context of the erudition of the twelfth century, the so called Renaissance of the twelfth century.

Four papers are devoted to questions of social history. In contrast with Gallus Anonymus, who tried to depict the *gesta militaria* of the Piasts, Master Vincentius, presumably prompted by his erudition, was more interested in social history, and he used terms of Roman law in his work in his attempts to construct and interpret particular social bonds. As one of his terms of social bonds, he refers to Poland as *res publica* in his work. One finds one paper devoted to this phenomenon by Paweł Zmudzki (Warsaw) on the construction of the nation in the chronicle.

No doubt, the *Chronica Polonorum* is one of the most ancient sources on the origins and kind of political order in Poland, since Master Vincentius provides us with a tradition about the legitimation of ducal power and the rules of dynastic succession, describing the famous testimony given by Boleslas III the Wrymouth on his deathbed. These particular questions are discussed and presented in

Przemysław Wiszewski's (Wrocław) paper. Marcin R. Pauk (Warsaw) analyzes another aspect of social/political order depicted in the chronicle. Wiszewski's paper focuses on the transition in society and economy in Poland represented by Master Vincentius, which, we may add, corresponds to the general skills of the European economic and social changes of the late twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth. The last paper in this section, and also the last one in the book, was written by Robert Bubczyk (Lublin). It provides an overview of church life and courtly culture seen though the text of the chronicle.

The book also contains two appendices, both of which are intended to help readers better orient themselves. One is an abbreviated genealogy of the Piasts, representing the main descending line of the dynasty from Mieszko I to Konrad I of Masovia. It is a little jarring that the list of representatives of the Piast dynasty is ordered rather like a catalog and not a proper genealogical chart. The second appendix provides a chronology of Polish history, presenting the most important events from the very beginning of the history of the country up to 1230.

It is not easy to summarize one's impressions of a book the goal of which is to provide one of the most complicated narrative texts on Medieval Poland. The questions discussed in the book were and still are the subjects of scholarly debates. It suffices to think for example of the question of the time, place, and the intention of the writing of the text. But not only classical issues of research are of significance here. Subjects like the social order and the question of the seniority throne succession system, on which there is a great deal of secondary literature, are issues which remain to be solved by new generations of historians. The publication of this book, which offers a sample in English of all of the relevant scholarly approaches to this important text, is thus an event to be hailed. It will prove of tremendous importance and usefulness for Polish researchers on the text and for Anglophone readers. I hope that this volume will be the point of departure for more research on Master Vincentius' life and text.

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Kaiser Karl IV. 1316–2016. Ausstellungskatalog Erste Bayerisch-Tschechische Landesausstellung. Edited by Jiří Fajt and Markus Hörsch. Prague–Nuremberg: Nationalgalerie / Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2016. 703 pp.

The historiography of Emperor Charles IV of Luxemburg (1346–78) is closely tied to his anniversaries. In the nineteenth century, some important works on him were published around the 500th anniversary of his death by Emil Werunsky (*Geschichte Kaiser Karls IV. und seiner Zeit. I–III*. [1880–92]). Another anniversary in 1978 brought the still indispensable biography by Ferdinand Seibt (*Karl IV.: Ein Kaiser in Europa, 1346–1378* [Munich, 1978]) and a number of other volumes. In 1978, commemoration of the emperor was linked to exhibitions, like the one in the Nuremberg imperial castle and the memorable exhibit on the artistic and architectural influence of the fourteenth-century Parler family *(Die Parler und der Schöne Stil)* in the Schnütgen-Museum in Cologne.

The 700th anniversary of the birth of Charles in 2016 has been celebrated both in Germany and in the Czech Republic with several special events, conferences, public festivities, and exhibitions to mark the jubilee. One of the most spectacular events of the festivities was the exhibition organized by the Czech National Gallery and the House of Bavarian History, which was on display both in Prague and later in the German National Museum in Nuremberg in 2016 and 2017. In the case of this exhibition, entitled *Emperor Charles IV, 1316–2016 IV*, Jiři Fajt acted as the curator of the exhibition, and he and Markus Hörsch served as the editors of the catalogue volume. Fajt, currently the director general of the National Gallery in Prague, has impressive experience as the organizer of major international art historical exhibitions, like the one on Magister Theodoricus in 1998, Prague; *The Crown of Bohemia, 1347–1437* in 2006; and *Europa Jagellonica 1386–1572* in 2012. Fajt and Hörsch are both well-known experts on the late medieval art of Central Europe, and based on the outcome, there is little reason to doubt that the tasks were in the right hands.

The catalogue is an impressive publication from the perspective of its size and its quality. It constitutes an endeavor to meet the interests of both the general public and the scholarly audience. The volume includes many high quality illustrations, maps, ground plans, and chronological tables. The thirty-one scholarly essays and the approximately 350 page-long catalogue section present a multifaceted image of Charles's personality and the period of his reign. To make

a sound judgment on this new overview one could turn to a similar antecedent volume for comparison. In the anniversary year of 1978, Ferdinand Seibt, at that time the leading expert on medieval Bohemian history, published a volume of collected essays on Charles IV as statesman and art patron (*Kaiser Karl IV.: Staatsmann und Mäzen* [1978]). The differences between the two books shed some light on the findings of the last almost four decades in the study of Charles IV.

It is clear from the comparison that the traditional approach of political history partly has lost its prestige in the recent catalogue. Some chapters, like the one on the coronations of Charles IV by Olaf B. Rader, the one on the Charles IV's accession to the imperial throne and the Golden Bull by Eva Schlotheuber, and the one on the analysis of marriage policy by Václav Žůrek, represent the field of political history. The 1978 volume offers more studies in this area, e.g. on the church policy of the emperor, the political contacts with other European countries, and individual chapters on the position of various territories under his rule in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Brandenburg, etc.

There are some attributes which have traditionally been connected to Charles IV not only in the historical literature, but also by his contemporaries. The Luxemburg ruler is often characterized as a wise and learned sovereign, and also as *pater patriae* in medieval Bohemian literature. These aspects are presented both in the 1978 volume of essays by Fidel Rädle and František Kavka and in the current volume. Here, Eva Schlotheuber discusses the impact of Charles as a medieval author who wrote an autobiography, in which he reflects on the first thirty years of his life. Many contemporary chroniclers referred to Solomon as the Biblical model of the wise ruler, and one can find this concept connected to Charles IV. He was well-educated in theology, as some sermon-like chapters of his autobiography demonstrate, and in practical matters as well. Both the autobiography and the Golden Bull emphasize the importance of having command of several languages, and Charles himself spoke Czech, French, Italian, German, and Latin. The foundation of the Prague university in 1348 also constituted an institutional emphasis on the importance of this concept.

Charles has often been referred to as a pious ruler. This was discussed in the 1978 volume in the contribution of Franz Machilek. His formative paper about interactions of private and state religiosity is still a basic work of reference. In the recent catalogue, Martin Bauch's essay gives many examples of Charles' personal and public shows of religiosity. There are a number of sources on the emperor's interest in relics. He was one of the most devoted collectors of relics among his contemporaries, and he used them very efficiently as a tool to

strengthen his legitimacy. Pilgrimages, for instance to Aachen, or royal journeys might also have served as occasions to acquire the sought-after relics, which could be put in the service of his political aims. Similarly, architectural projects, such as the construction of the St. Wenceslaus Chapel in the St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague or the concept and decoration of the Chapel of the Holy Cross in Karlštejn castle, also exemplify his determination to use the cult of saints and their relics in the service of his own idea of state religiosity.

Studies on Charles' support for the arts have an important place in both volumes, but the 2016 catalogue brought several new insights to this discussion. If offered a multifaceted discussion of the field itself, reflecting on the courtly art of the Luxemburgs, goldsmith objects, textile works, and the music of the period. Art patronage under the reign of Charles is obviously connected to two other characteristics of his influence. On the one hand, he exerted a decisive influence on the two centers of his realms, Nuremberg and Prague, discussed in the chapter by Benno Baumbauer and Jiří Fajt on Nuremberg and the chapter by Jana Gajdošová on Prague. The latter essay refers to Prague as *Grossbaustelle* and *Versuchslabor* (a large construction site and experimental laboratory), i.e. as sites for a new kind of Gothic architecture. On the other hand, Charles' art and architectural projects were closely interconnected with his sophisticated sensibility towards royal representation. Royal representation, including the presentation of his own portraits in various formats, was a unique characteristic of Charles's personality. The essay by Markus Hörsch examines the representation of Charles in the German imperial towns, and Martin Bauch discusses the entry of the emperor into Rome in 1368/69. František Šmahel, the doyen of Czech medieval studies, returns in his contribution to the theme of his earlier book about the last visit of Charles to Paris in 1377/78 (*The Parisian Summit, 1377–1378: Emperor Charles IV and King Charles V of France* [2014]), combining it with a reconstruction of the funeral ceremony (*Pompa funebris*) of the emperor.

The economic aspects of the reign of Charles IV were presented in detail in the 1978 memorial volume in the study by Wolfgang von Stromer entitled "Der kaiserliche Kaufmann" (The imperial businessman). The writings of Stromer and his concept on the economic policy of Charles still belong to the basic reference works on the period. The 2016 catalogue includes three essays on special aspects of economic life, e.g. mining and long distance trade, monetary history, and the role of the royal forests. Environmental and climate history represents a new and fresh field in the 2016 catalogue. Gerrit Jasper Schenk discusses the concept

of a "fourteenth-century crisis," reflecting on various phenomena connected to this crisis, such as the Great Plague, famine, and the flagellant movement.

Both catalogues include essays on the memory of the Luxemburg ruler. In the new volume, Wilfried Franzen follows the effect of Charles's rule in the period of his two sons, Wenceslaus IV and Sigismund. Jan Royt surveys his position in the early modern and modern period, and René Küpper discusses his image in the historiography and public view.

The catalogue *Kaiser Karl IV. 1316–2016* certainly does not displace or replace the earlier publications on Charles IV, but it does add several inspiring new contributions to the reading list of eventual further works on the emperor. It will be used as an indispensable new overview of the various aspects of his rule. A quick glance at the list of the authors of the individual essays will convince the reader that there are numerous younger or already established scholars who have contributed to our understanding of the personality and period of Charles IV by writing significant new inquiries. The volume will serve its editorial concept well, which was to give a well-structured, up-to-date overview of the present state of research on Charles IV and a nicely illustrated catalogue of his period, which will also meet with interest among the general public.

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The Art of Memory in Late Medieval Central Europe (Czech Lands, Hungary, Poland). By Lucie Doležalová, Farkas Gábor Kiss, and Rafał Wójcik. Budapest–Paris: L'Harmattan, 2016. 352 pp.

With this volume, the authors have begun to fill a gap in the scholarship on Central European medieval cultural history. One could list numerous reasons for this omission, among which perhaps the most important ones are the unfavorable judgement of the art of memory and the difficulty of uncovering new sources. Adopting approaches to the study of the art of memory which have emerged in the German and Italian speaking world (such as that of Johann Christoph Frh. von Aretin, Paolo Rossi, Frances Yates, and Sabine Heimann-Selbach), the authors have tried to collect and present the late medieval Bohemian, Hungarian, and Polish provenience or origin sources connected to the *artes memorativae*. As they emphasize several times, this research has remained a largely unexplored field in Central Europe, and they have taken only preliminary steps toward subsequent monographs and, above all, text editions.

In the introduction, editor-in-chief Gábor Farkas Kiss outlines the history of the scholarship on this topic. After a short definition of the *ars memorativa*, he enumerates antecedents from Antiquity (such as the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*) and then offers possible explanations as to why an unprecedented growth occurred in the popularity of treatises on the art of memory in the late Middle Ages. According to Kiss, the most important factors included the requirements of new and resurgent universities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the rising significance of preaching (against either the Ottomans or other confessions), and last but not least, monastic devotion. These factors are continually revisited in the succeeding chapters.

The first chapter, "Artes Memoriae and the Memory Culture in Fifteenth-Century Bohemia and Moravia," is the work of Lucie Doležalová. Taking into account the manuscripts containing treatises on the art of memory, Doležalová presents the most interesting texts in their context. Of course, many of these treatises pertain to the Hussite environment. The texts of Czech origin are mostly translations or compilations (such as Mattheus Beran's memory treatise); these frequently survived as fragments or parts of larger works.

In the next chapter, Rafał Wojcik, whose dissertation discusses the printed treatise of Jan Szklarek, presents the late medieval mnemonic treatises in Poland. As in the Czech lands, *artes memorativae* in Poland first appeared in the university

environment, particularlyin Kraków, and in the friaries of the Polish Observants. In disseminating the studies on the art of memory at the University of Kraków, foreign professors, the so-called "itinerant humanists" (such as Jacobus Publicius, Conrad Celtis, etc.) played leading roles. It is worth adding, like the Mendicant communities, these figures connected the entire Central European environment to the written culture in Italian and German speaking world. Furthermore, the Polish Observants created and modernized the art of memory, an apparently successful innovation, since traces of it can be identified later, for instance in nineteenth-century pedagogical treatises.

In the third chapter, Farkas Gábor Kiss introduces the reader to "The Art of Memory in Hungary at the Turn of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries." Kiss notes that, compared to Bohemia and Poland, fewer sources from the Middle Ages in Hungary survived the Ottoman attacks. Still, thanks to the political connections between Hungary and Poland (and principally the Jagiellonian contacts), several treatises or authors mentioned in the Polish environment can be considered Hungarian as well. Of course, the use of the art of memory as a learning method stands out in comparison to its other uses. Students used it to help them memorize grammatical rules, and preachers were able to learn sermons by heart more easily.

The chapters discussed above figure as prefaces to the text editions, which comprise more than half of the volume. Most of these are first editions are of these texts edited on the basis of a single extant source. Every text edition is headed by a short exordium about the source itself and its context. Unfortunately, there are only a few references in these three chapters to the texts in the Appendix, and the exordia sometimes contain references to the more detailed analyses in the chapters. More problematically, the chapters are to be read as articles in a series: for example, the volume overall is inconsistent in the citation and translation of Latin paragraphs and in summaries of the main theses. But aside from these formal inconsistencies, it might have been more useful had the original authors and their works been presented not simply in their regional contexts, but also chronologically and with some discussion of their methods. For example, the treatise of Magister Hainricus is discussed in every chapter because of its considerable influence in East Central Europe, but there are problems concerning the text itself, which is included in the Appendix. If there is only one manuscript and several printings containing inserted notes sometimes in Hungarian and sometimes in Slovak, why did the editor choose a printed version with only Hungarian notes? Conversely, why did the authors

of this volume dedicate several subchapters to the itinerant humanist Jacobus Publicius, but not include a text edition of his art of memory in the appendix? These choices seem accidental and unconsidered and, unfortunately, this affects the value of the entire volume.

This editorial unevenness notwithstanding, this publication will certainly attract great interest because of its intent and sources. The well-chosen examples and expressive illustrations at the end of the volume will acquaint the curious reader with the different methodologies of the art of memory. In delineating the East Central European sources on the *ars memorativa*, the authors have opened the door wider to research on this *ancilla* of late medieval rhetorical studies.

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Workers and Nationalism: Czech and German Social Democracy in Habsburg Austria, 1890–1918. By Jakub S. Beneš. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. xv + 268 pp.

While the subtitle of this book sums up the object of Jakub S. Beneš's inspiring study, its main title simplifies what turns out to be a sophisticated argument about a complex relationship. "This book is … about how the workers that made up one of Europe's largest Social Democratic movements came to embrace nationalism," Beneš initially declares (p.2), while in his conclusion he highlights how "Social Democracy played a leading role in the democratization process in Austria … Socialism empowered the growing ranks of industrial workers to lay claim to political rights as well as national culture" (p.239). The Introduction's triad of "Socialism, Nationalism, and Democracy" would thus have made for a more accurate title, as Beneš agrees with the politician and Austro-Marxist thinker Otto Bauer that genuine commitment to the three can at times be inseparable (p.17).

While the former story has been told by Hans Mommsen and other scholars, the more complex narrative is more original and enriching, in particular because Beneš highlights the autonomy of ordinary workers to form their own views on nationhood, class relations, and political means and aspirations. He does so by analyzing a rich collection of sources, ranging from proletarian prose and poetry to speeches, essays, diaries, and memoirs of rank and file workers and party activists. Within Austrian Social Democracy, Beneš has chosen to focus on the party's interconnected but increasingly separate Czech and German spheres. The inclusion of other national branches would have enriched the argument, but there are good reasons to accept this particular framing. In the 1907 *Reichsrat* elections, Czechs and Germans accounted for 87 percent of the Social Democratic vote and won 74 of the party's 87 seats in parliament. Czech-German relations largely defined the character of the party, and mostly Beneš is attentive to the ways in which Czech stood out from the culturally dominant and "universal" German as a marked ethnic category in Habsburg Austria, which could make Czech Social Democrats *look* more nationalist than their German counterparts.

The book consists of five chapters. The first, "Narrating Socialism in Habsburg Austria," explains how, beginning in the late 1880s, the Austrian Social Democracy took shape and evolved as a loose, locally autonomous "poetic organization," centered more around meetings, manifestations, and the

dissemination of socialist periodicals than around tight, centralized structures with clearly regulated membership. Beneš shows how emotion and rationality coexisted quite comfortably within the movement. Epic stories of suffering and redemption proved highly successful, and while for example stories about the sexual exploitation of working-class girls by bourgeois men were common, (while the mention of these accounts is a rare example in the book of the issue of gender), national issues were rarely central to Social Democratic narratives. Beneš points to the many at times conscious parallels and references to religious imagery in these stories of martyrdom, baptism by suffering, and ultimate salvation, but he might have given more emphasis to how bourgeois nationalist narratives and rituals had already done the same.

With the rejection by workers of the nationalist chauvinism exploding in the wake of the Badeni language ordinances of 1897 as its starting point, Chapter 2, "Exclusion from the Nation," examines how socialist workers reacted to accusations of being nationally indifferent or traitors. In reality, Beneš argues, most workers were not indifferent to the idea of national belonging, and they protested angrily about being excluded from the national communities to which they felt they belonged. This feeling was shared by German and Czech workers, albeit with somewhat different modalities due to the different composition of their national bourgeoisies. Czech Social Democratic workers in particular felt forced to address accusations of being anti-national after 1897, which influenced their views and vocabularies on nationhood.

Chapter 3, "Storms of November," offers a detailed analysis of the campaign for universal suffrage in November 1905, an event that catapulted Social Democracy into the center of Austrian politics. Mass mobilization linked electoral reform and revolution and released an enormous, at times violent energy among ordinary workers that forced the government to give in. For Czech Social Democrats, the campaign became their entry ticket to the national community, and many activists felt that the party was now ready and entitled to lead the nation. The gap between the German Austrian Social Democrats and the bourgeois nationalist parties remained bigger, but German Social Democrats too now felt that they more than other parties represented the national will of the (German) people.

This growing self-confidence bolstered attempts to claim national symbols for the Czech and German working classes, as discussed in Chapter 4, "Socialist Hussites, Marxist Wagnerians." Czech socialists stylized themselves as the natural heirs to the radical Hussites in ways that would resonate decades later

in the speeches of Klement Gottwald, when the Communists seized power in February 1948, while their Austrian German fellows tried to claim Schiller and Wagner for their cause. Beneš points out how this was not a case of smooth integration into a bourgeois national culture, but a deeply combative battle for control of national cultural icons and political leadership. The socialist versions of nationalism abandoned neither the class struggle nor the idea of solidarity among the international working class.

Still, the years leading up to 1914 witnessed an organizational split between German and Czech Social Democrats, a process discussed in Chapter 5, "The Logics of Separatism." Beneš initially suggests that rising Czech ethnic nationalism was "the chief driving force behind the demise of the internationalist workers' movement" (p.175), but his account is more nuanced than this assertion might at first suggest. The national splitting of the Austrian party was institutionally overdetermined, we hear, and Beneš points out how Austrian German socialists' paternalism or indifference to Czech needs accelerated national separatism. It was a *political* disagreement about tactics in November 1905 that led the more radical Czechs to favor autonomy from Vienna, not nationalism per se. Even within the trade unions, there were many structural factors and practical local concerns that worked against any all-Austrian trade union centralism.

A shorter final chapter, "War and Revolution," covers the years of the Great War and the dissolution of Habsburg Austria. The account seems sketchier than the rest of the book, and I missed references to Zdeněk Kárník's seminal 1968/1996 study *Socialisté na rozcestí: Habsburk, Masaryk, či Šmeral* (*Socialists at a Crossroads: Habsburg, Masaryk, or Šmeral*). Generally, however, Beneš covers the secondary literature well.

The short conclusion offers a spirited plea for the relevance of working class history. Class is, as Beneš initially argues, a cultural and ideological postulate that is powerful because it speaks to demonstrable social facts (p.8), and his cultural history of the lives and worlds of ordinary workers is innovative and enriching. My only major reservation is the absence of a proper discussion of the term "nationalism." The author lets the term cover phenomena ranging from simple identification with a given nation to manifestations of radical chauvinism and denigration of other nations. This failure to explain his use of the terminology more precisely is problematic because Social Democrats (party leaders and rank and file) consistently claimed that their commitment to the nation was radically different from that of the bourgeoisie, and free of chauvinism. "[O]nly a genuine patriot can be a real internationalist" (p.200), the carpenter Vojtěch Berger wrote

in his diary in 1912, and for all the occasional bickering and mistrust among Czech and German Social Democrats, this was, Beneš convincingly shows, the predominant socialist view. I therefore find that the true message of Beneš's book lies not in narrating the failures of Austrian socialism as a conventional "workers-into-nationalists" story, but rather in his conclusion (p.244) that the "conviction that wage-earning people possessed the right to determine the character of national politics and culture was … a major achievement."

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Die Habsburgermonarchie und die Slowenen im 1. Weltkrieg. By Walter Lukan. (Austriaca 11.) Vienna: New Academic Press, 2017. 260 pp.

Austro-Hungarian politics in World War I and its role in the eventual demise of the Habsburg Empire are topics which have interested historians and other scholars since 1918. Slovenian historians are no exception, and Slovenian politics during World War I has also been given a great deal of scholarly attention. Walter Lukan, a retired professor at the University of Ljubljana, has been researching Slovenian politics for decades and has published a number of articles in journals and edited volumes on the subject, as well as a book in Slovenian. His current book is a synthesis of his research and also the first book about Slovenian politics in Austria-Hungary during World War I in a language other than Slovenian. This makes it especially valuable.

The book begins with a short chapter on Slovenian politics in the pre-war years and then tracks its development from the outbreak of the war to the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (i.e. Yugoslavia) on December 1, 1918. In six chronologically arranged chapters, Lukan describes and analyzes the evolution of Slovenian high politics from its predominantly ultrapatriotic and loyalist beginnings in the autumn of 1914 to its break with the dynasty four years later. A supplement with seven crucial documents (some of which have been translated into German for the first time), a ten-page English summary, an extensive bibliography, and a name index complete the book.

Building on the existing secondary literature and his own research, Lukan shows how Slovenian politics recovered from the shock of Sarajevo, which shattered the dream of an autonomous Slovenian-Croatian administrative unit, to be established by Francis Ferdinand upon his accession to the throne, and how the political elite slowly started showing some initiative beginning in the summer of 1915. The attempt to use the entrance of Italy into the war as a means of pushing for some semblance of autonomy in the form of an anti-Italian "military border" (Lukan was the first historian to write about this plan, decades ago) was unsuccessful. While parts of the army, including chief of staff Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf, were not unsympathetic to the idea, several generals did their best to nip it in the bud. In the end, they prevailed, and the plan was shelved.

In the second half of 1916, however, the improved political atmosphere in the Empire and a reshuffle within the dominant Slovenian People's Party resulted

in a definitive change of course. The new Emperor slowly dismantled military absolutism, and in the People's Party and the Croatian-Slovenian caucus in the Reichsrat Anton Korošec and Janez Evangelist Krek pushed the hyper-loyal Ivan Šusteršič to the side. Consequently, as Lukan shows, passivity was replaced with a much more ambitious approach to politics. The People's Party managed to prevail on the liberals to collaborate with them in the pursuit of their vision, and the pre-war goal of a Slovenian-Croatian state within the Empire was revived. For a while, Korošec and Krek toyed with the so-called subdualist solution, which would have united the so-called Slovenian lands and Croatia within the Hungarian half of the Empire. However, beginning in early 1917, Slovenian politicians and most Croatians from Istria and Dalmatia started talking seriously about trialism, i.e. the establishment of a third, South Slav unit of the Habsburg Empire. While this could not have been achieved without the dismantling of the existing dualist structure, a large majority of Slovenian politicians remained loyal to the Habsburgs and could only envision the new South Slav state within the Habsburg framework.

When the Reichsrat finally reopened in May 1917 and the Slovenian and Croatian MPs presented their program for the reform of the Empire, the so-called Habsburg clause was an inseparable part of the May Declaration; only a few MPs were privately already thinking about alternatives, while most were deeply convinced that the Empire was going to survive and that it could be reformed. As it became clearer, however, that the emperor and his successive governments were unwilling to fulfil the demands put forward in the Declaration, this attitude began to change. For mainstream politicians, Lukan shows, the Habsburg clause increasingly became a tactical instrument which shielded them from accusations of disloyalty and allowed them comparatively unfettered freedom of action. Additionally, the clause was very important in popular propaganda as a large majority of the Slovenian speaking population would only support a South Slav state "under the scepter of the Habsburgs."

During the last year of the war, Slovenian (and Croatian) politicians gathered in the newly established Yugoslav caucus were, as Lukan persuasively shows, deeply hypocritical in their politics. Publicly they still pursued the goal of a South Slav unit within the Habsburg Empire, but privately they were increasingly working for full independence and, at least in some cases, unification with Serbia and Montenegro. Beginning in early 1918, even public proclamations became more radical, and the Habsburg clause was often missing. As South Slav politicians from the Austrian and the Hungarian half of the Empire gathered

in Zagreb in the first days of March 1918, the document they prepared, the so-called Zagreb Resolution, demanded a South Slav nation state without even mentioning the Habsburgs. Anton Korošec, by that time a leading figure in the "Yugoslav movement," later claimed that they "threw the Habsburg scepter out of the window then and there" (p.147).

These developments were the result of the changed international situation (the survival of Austria-Hungary was by then far from certain) but also of disenchantment with the emperor and the government. As Lukan's detailed analysis shows, neither Charles nor his ministers were willing or able to support a reform of the empire that would have satisfied Slovenian politicians, who were leading figures of the Yugoslav movement. Korošec and his allies were not really prepared to compromise anymore. While the leaders of the Slovene People's Party were ready to accept partial autonomy within Cisleithania in the autumn of 1915 (possibly limited to Carniola and the Littoral) and would probably have agreed to the unification of Cisleithanian Croatians and Slovenians in an Illyrian Kingdom in the first half of 1917, they were not prepared to give any ground in 1918. Their greatest fear was an incomplete reform within the dualist framework (unification of Croatia-Slavonia with Dalmatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, and, possibly, Serbia, was often talked about in government circles) which would have left the Slovenians isolated. They therefore pushed for a unification of all the Habsburg South Slavs, within or without the Habsburg Empire. Thus, the October 1918 manifesto of Emperor Charles, which was a last-minute attempt to save the Empire, was rejected outright, and on October 29 the new State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs was simultaneously proclaimed in Zagreb and Ljubljana.

Lukan's well-written and comprehensive synthesis presents wartime events and developments clearly, and his interpretations are balanced. Yet the book has a few flaws. First, his analysis is focused almost exclusively on the politics and politicians of the People's Party. This is understandable to a point (the party had dominated Slovenian politics for years), yet a more comprehensive examination of liberal and social democratic politics would offer the reader a more complete picture. Similarly, the book would also benefit from a wider focus when it comes to the visions of the future within Slovenian politics. Namely, Lukan writes primarily about the developments which led to the break with the Habsburg Empire, and he only mentions alternative ideas sporadically. Finally, Lukan rarely goes beyond high politics, yet when he does, he shows that this would be a worthwhile endeavor. For instance, when he compares the visions of the future

held by large parts of the population with those advocated by politicians, a non-negligible divide emerges. It is therefore a pity that his inquiry is focused so narrowly on elites.

Yet on the whole, Walter Lukan's book is an important contribution to the historiography on World War I Slovenian politics, and it is a must read for any historian dealing with the political history of the Habsburg Empire during the Great War. It provides a pithy summary of the existing secondary literature and presents many new insights based on original research. In short, it is the new standard work on the subject.

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Radikálisok, szabadgondolkodók, ateisták: A Galilei Kör története (1908–1919) [Radicals, freethinkers, atheists: The history of the Galileo Circle 1908–1919]. By Péter Csunderlik. Budapest: Napvilág, 2017. 400 pp.

An amazingly well documented first book was published by young historian Péter Csunderlik based on his PhD dissertation (defended in 2016) on a subject known for its extremely polarized and ideologized interpretations in Hungary. After having been monopolized by counterrevolutionary narratives during the Horthy regime in the 1920s, according to which the Galileo Circle was responsible for the rise of the postwar Soviet Republic in Hungary (1919), later the memory of the Galileo Circle became entirely dominated by Communists in power between 1948 and 1990, who sought to cast the members of this circle as forerunners. Nevertheless, the last historical volume on the subject was published in 1960, which might indicate that student radicalism was also seen as a challenge to the Hungarian communist regime, which in many regards was of a conservative mindset. Whatever the case, this diachronic aspect was much better known than the "story" itself, which has remained a something of a lacuna in the historiography until now. By putting aside these diametrically opposed and ideologically biased images, Csunderlik has opted to dig out what was hidden by these posterior interpretations: namely ideas and practices based on empirical documentation (press, publications, minutes, registers, memories, correspondences, etc.) linked to the Galileo Circle itself around the 1910s. To the Circle's reception during the Horthy era, he dedicated only the last chapter of his book, which remains essentially separate from his comprehensive narrative of the Circle itself.

Originally, the Galileo Circle, launched in Budapest in 1908, was a student branch of the *Szabadgondolkodás Magyarországi Egyesülete* (Hungarian Freethinking Association), itself part of a larger, international network. According to Csunderlik, this student group, which was composed originally of students in the humanities and medical sciences and never numbered much more than 1,000 men and women, soon turned out to be a literal countercultural institution (including networks of media, associations, schools, aesthetic and scientific activities, happenings, etc.) opposed to liberal-conservative norms and institutions as they had been in force since 1867. If one considers conflicts with the establishment in the arena of higher education, for example, effectively a vivid antagonism can be drawn. By claiming anti-clericalism and articulating

a harsh criticism of the conservativism, backed by political power, in the arts and sciences (the choice of Galileo as a name was a gesture to the well-known scientific figure, and it was considered a sort of "battle cry"), the Galileo Circle, thanks to its membership's radically critical endeavors, effectively challenged in many ways hegemonic practices and institutions. (However, power felt even more challenged by "adult" radical bourgeois thinkers directed by Oszkár Jászi, who was also by the way a mentor of the Galileo Circle, because of their democratic views on the question of ethnic and national minorities in historical Hungary.) According to Csunderlik, this peculiar group was not only a student intellectual milieu but also a breeding ground for new revolutionary attitudes.

The book successfully mixes the history of ideas and social history in order to obtain an image as complex as possible of the peculiar backdrop to the young intellectuals' revolt against patriarchal society, which began much earlier than 1968. At this point, Csunderlik misses a (not so much diachronic but) horizontal comparison: a transnational perspective both on youth movements and on secondary and higher education would have shed light on similar phenomena in the larger European context (for instance Robert Wohl, The Generation of 1914 [1979]; Mark Roseman, ed., Generations in conflict [1995]; Giovanni Levi and Jean-Claude Schmitt, eds., History of Young People in the West, vol. 2 [1997]; David Fowler: Youth culture in modern Britain, c.1920-c.1970 [2008]). Student precarity, about which the Galileo Circle collected statistics for Budapest in 1909 (statistics which were published in 1912), was a problem all over Europe in the pre-war years, and it was often connected to a growing dissatisfaction. In France, for example, the most representative and influential opinion poll, *Les jeunes gens d'aujourd'hui*, published by Henri Massis and Alfred de Tarde in 1913 indicated a return to traditional ideals, a change of mood that was going to being exploited by war nationalism, which promoted patriotic redemption and salvation (Koenraad W. Swart, The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth-Century France [1964], p.196). In this regard, Csunderlik leaves the reader hungry to know more, because he fails to address the cultural context of conscription of a certain part of the Galileo Circle's membership in World War I by switching too rapidly to their antimilitarism later in the conflict (so an eventual exacerbation of patriotism, as short as it could be among them, was not taken into consideration).

When the topic at hand is more a question of philosophical and ideological currents than practices, Csunderlik effectively turns to transnational comparison: he detects, for example, the European circulation of freethinking, anti-clericalism, atheism, and Marxist ideas, which were widely used by members of the Galileo

Circle. The group was in fact marked by internal divisions in terms of these very ideas: one faction, led by the young Károly Polányi (the first president of the Circle and a subsequent polyhistor, economist, sociologist, and philosopher known for his work later written in London entitled *The Great Transformation*, a model for historical sociology) was stuck in a more apolitical freethinking (based on the theories of Ernst Mach), while many members progressively opted for Marxism and, in the second part of World War I, even for revolutionary Socialism.

Thus, Csunderlik discuses the role of the Galileo Circle not exclusively within the political field or the scientific one, but also within a broader cultural context; he examines many of its social and cultural factors and conditions: its recruitment practices, its locations, its events, its media, its scholarly activities, its receptions, and its audiences. In order to discuss all this, he needed to abandon the linear chronology within the greater, nevertheless chronologically limited parts, i.e. the so-called "great" (1908–14) and the "short" (1914–19) periods of the Galileo Circle, and opted instead for thematic organization. The Galileo Circle was linked to discussions of politics, ideologies, war, science, history, youth, gender, sports etc., in other words a wide array of important discourses of political and cultural currents of the epoch. Csunderlik describes how the Circle's manifestations were perceived by contemporaries in political and intellectual arenas, but also in society at large. Csunderlik successfully traces the contributions of the Galileo Circle to the shaping of the ideas of cultural and political modernity in early twentieth-century Hungary, and he has assembled a balanced and well-founded historical work on this youth group.

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Europe's Balkan Muslims: A New History. By Nathalie Clayer and Xavier Bougarel. Translated by Andrew Kirby. London: Hurst, 2017. 285 pp.

When people refer to "European Muslims" or "Islam in Europe," they tend to forget the eight million Muslims in Southeastern Europe. Sophisticated studies on Islam and Muslims between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean are rare, and there are almost no comparative studies on the subject, probably due to the obstacle posed by the linguistic diversity of these communities. In *Europe's Balkan Muslims: A New History* (first published as *Les musulmans de l'Europe du Sud-Est (XIXe-XX siècles)* [2013]), Xavier Bougarel and Nathalie Clayer undertake the monumental task of synthesizing their knowledge of this heterogeneous Muslim group and presenting a historical overview of it from the early nineteenth century to 2001.

Clayer and Bougarel are professors at the Center for Turkish, Ottoman, Balkan, and Central Asian Studies in Paris, with complementary research profiles. Bougarel specializes in Slavic-speaking Muslims in Yugoslavia from the Second World War to the violent dissolution of the Yugoslav state, and Clayer's emphasis is on the Albanian and Turkish side and the Ottoman and post-Ottoman period. They are thus able to compare the situations of diverse Muslim groups in several countries in different political periods, many of which were extremely turbulent.

The process of Islamization in Southeastern Europe during six hundred years of Ottoman rule was by no means uniform, and the authors also emphasize that religious diversity is one of the region's main characteristics. Although the vast majority of the Muslims in the region are Sunnis of the Hanafi rite, there are significant regional, social, and ethnic differences among them, and there is also a great intra-Islamic variety in terms of religious interpretations, practices, and affiliations. This heterogeneity is made vividly clear throughout the book, as the authors explore the complex character of Muslim identity formation in changing contexts. At the same time, the authors also point out the Muslim population's exposure to and interaction with a myriad of political and religious impulses from both East and West. Bougarel and Clayer's approach is based on the premise that Southeastern European Muslims cannot be understood simply in relation to the dismantling of empires and the emergence of nation states, but must be situated in a broader political, social, and cultural perspective.

The chronological structure of the book functions as a framework for presenting the diversity of these communities and the ruptures and continuities

of their histories in an orderly manner, and it gives a good understanding of their development from the early nineteenth century, when the Ottoman Empire really started to lose control over its European possessions. The first chapter discusses reforms, bureaucracies, and new elites before the Eastern Crisis in 1876, with emphasis on changing Muslim-Christian relations, intellectual enterprises, different Islamic networks, and national identity discourses. The second chapter covers the five decades between the Eastern Crisis and the fall of the Ottoman Empire in 1923. In this period, Muslims in Europe found themselves in a precarious situation between a crumbling empire and Christian-dominated nation building projects (with the exception of Albania), projects which included population exchanges, migration, and the forced displacement of minorities. While identities were politicized, nationalism developed more slowly among Muslims, who were often influenced by Islamic reformist currents. Chapter three explores the interwar period and World War II, which was marked by important political changes, including new territorial divisions, agrarian reforms, ideological struggles, nationalization programs, and the rise of authoritarianism. Outside Albania, Muslims were in a minority in all the states of the region. Islamic institutions were reorganized and subjected to nationalization, and local forms of Islam became parts of new networks.

Chapter three covers the communist period from the end of World War II to 1989, i.e. the general context of the Cold War, nationalisms, and authoritarianism. At the end of World War II, Albanian-speaking Muslims were massacred and violently expelled from northern Greece, and the 1950s saw the migration of other Muslim groups in the Balkans to Turkey. Modernization and collectivization reduced the influence of Muslim elites, and "Islam" was often portrayed as a reactionary force. From the outset, the communist regimes introduced antireligious policies, and scientific socialism became the cultural norm. Muslim groups developed different national identities, depending on factors such as ethnic distribution. The reorganization of Islamic institutions reflected the states' attitudes towards their Muslims groups and towards religion in general. Bosnia was the only place in the region where pan-Islamic and Islamist currents maintained a continuous presence after 1940.

The last chapter discusses the dramatic years between 1989 and 2001, when the communist regimes collapsed, Yugoslavia disintegrated, and the countries of the region generally reoriented themselves towards the European Union and NATO. In this period, religious freedom was restored and institutions were revived and reintegrated into global religious networks. At the same time,

the 1990s was traumatic for many of the Muslims in the region. Bulgaria had forced 300,000 of its Muslims to flee to Turkey, and warfare in Bosnia and Kosovo included massacres and ethnic cleansing of Muslims. Religious symbols were destroyed. The Muslims in the Balkans emerged as victims, but also as a political actor. In Bosnia, Muslim identities have to a certain extent become re-Islamized after the war. In the other countries, political Islam has been marginal or nonexistent. While religious life in public was revitalized after communism, liberalization and globalization have led to the diversification of religious practice and the fragmentation of religious authority. Muslim identities in Central and Southeastern Europe are also related to questions of economic, social, and political status.

One important observation is nevertheless that the post-Ottoman history of this region is characterized by the violent expulsion of Muslims from new Balkan states with Christian majorities. The last "ethnic cleansing" of Bosnian Muslims and Albanians from Kosovo in the 1990s was part of a recurrent pattern which began in the early nineteenth century with the expulsion of "Turks" from Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece. At the same time, the authors draw attention to the demographic changes which took place in Southeastern Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in part as a consequence of Muslim emigration, particularly to the remaining parts of the Ottoman Empire and later to Turkey, but also to the West. Furthermore, large Muslim communities have remained in the region and grown, and today three Balkans states have Muslim majorities (Bosnia, Kosovo, and Albania).

The authors admit that the end of communism inevitably led to a certain desecularization and in many cases a strengthening of the link between religion and nation, but they do not agree that this necessarily means that religious practice is on the rise or that there has been a general de-secularization of society. While a minority of Muslims have become very pious, most notably neo-Salafis (who insist that religious precepts must regulate every detail of daily life), the vast majority are non-practicing. Southeastern European Muslims' religious development basically has followed same pattern as religious development in the rest of Europe, with the pluralization and individualization of religious life, and most of the Muslims in the region do not practice their religion.

Bougarel and Clayer emphasize the need to consider "the diversity of national and provincial historical trajectories, the complex interactions between local, national and supranational actors, and moments of rupture and uncertainty" (p.209). The nation state has not been the only actor in Southeastern Europe,

and the Balkan states must be understood in a wider political context, including from the perspective of the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the Great Powers' interest in the region, the logic of the Cold War, Yugoslavia's copy of the Soviet model, international factors in the violent breakup of Yugoslavia, the United Nations, and Euro-Atlantic integration. Another observation is that one cannot really talk about one Balkan Islam or treat the Muslims in this region as an "Islamic curiosity," cut off from the rest of the Muslim world. They are part of the wider Muslim world and connected to many of the same religious, cultural, and political developments. Their Muslim networks are not simply Ottoman or Middle Eastern, but have points of contact with global Salafism and with Sufi networks in Asian and African countries.

Against this backdrop, it is almost impossible to generalize about Southeastern European Muslims, and the overview provided by Clayer and Bougarel of this complex topic is impressive. The 13-page glossary, nine maps, and various demographic tables are useful. *Europe's Balkan Muslims* fills a hole in the academic literature and is accessible and relevant to non-academics. It contains food for thought for anyone interested in processes of religious change, secularization, globalization, nationalism, religion and politics, the privatization of religion, religion and nationalism, Islam and pluralism, Islamic diversity, Islam in Europe, and Islam and Muslims in general. Moreover, it can be recommended to various policymakers, security analysts, and others with a practical interest in Muslims. Hopefully, Bougarel and Clayer are already preparing a book covering developments after 2001, which have been as complex as the processes and changes in the period covered in this book.

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A magyarországi németek története. [The history of the Germans of Hungary]. By Gerhard Seewann. Translated by Zsolt Vitári. Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó, 2015.

There are few works of scholarship in Hungarian which examine the histories of the religious, linguistic, and national minorities in parallel with the other processes of the region, the country, or the majority society. Gerhard Seewann has undertaken to address this shortcoming (or at least to address one of the lacuna in the secondary literature) by presenting the history of the German community of Hungary as part of European and regional processes and the prevailing interethnic relations of these communities with the Hungarians, as well as in comparison with the circumstances of other minority groups. Published originally as *Geschichte der Deutschen in Ungarn* in 2012, in his synthesis, which spans historical eras, Seewann considers the German minority not simply as a kind of passive object of the events of history, but rather as a subject or agent in these events. Thus, his work can serve as a basis for modern textbooks on the history of this community. The monograph will be of interest and relevance to scholars of the subject, members of the community, and readers who take an interest in history.

In order for Seewann to be able to achieve his admittedly complex aim, he needed not simply to draw on and rethink the existing secondary literature, but also to break with the nation-centered mode of historical narrative which is so prevalent in the scholarship on (Central) Europe. Of course, at the same time, in connection with the individual eras in the history of the region, he had to present the relevant political, economic, and social processes in Hungary in order to be able to analyze the various events which took place on different levels (transnational, regional, and significant from the perspective of the German minority) in their complex interaction with one another. In his presentation of the connections and interconnections, for the most part he demonstrates a good sense of proportions.

The first volume of the two-volume work, which with the appendices is more than 1,000 pages long, concludes with the year 1860. The second begins with the negotiations between the Hungarians and the Habsburg court which preceded the Compromise of 1867 and presents the history of the German minority in Hungary until 2006. Seewann divides his narrative into periods on the basis not of individual events, but rather according to the points at

which historical processes began and came to an end, an approach which is praiseworthy. However, while the chapters on the period beginning with the early Modern Era and concluding in 1860 are based exclusively on the events of Hungarian history, the structure of the second volume also seems to take into account pivotal points which influenced the fate of the German community, for instance their situation at the end of World War II and the expulsion of many members of this community from the country.

The structure of any major work of historical scholarship which covers several centuries of history is inevitably a bit uneven at times, since there are different quantities and qualities of source materials for each individual period, and in many cases the research methods also differ. Although the structural disproportionalities of Seewann's work are due for the most part to this, some scholars on medieval Hungarian history and the period of Ottoman occupation, notably Márta Fata and Tobias Weger, have made a few concrete remarks concerning the chapters on these periods. Their fundamental objection is that Seewann does not offer an adequately deep comparison of the German-speaking communities in Hungary with other linguistic or national minorities, nor does he address the German aspects of the occupied territories in his discussion of these periods.

He also does not make adequate use of the most recent findings in the historical scholarship on Eastern and Central Europe, so the chapters in question must be regarded more as outlines or sketches. Reviewers of the monograph have also criticized the Seewann for having failed in some cases to clarify the precise meanings of the terms he uses. The section on the socialist era is similarly schematic, as indeed its relative brevity makes clear, and it is difficult to understand why Seewann did not devote a separate chapter to the period after 1989. Since there is almost no basic research in the secondary literature on the decades of socialism, Seewann might have done better simply to include this section at the end of the second volume as a kind of overview, thereby indicating that it is not yet possible to offer a thorough narrative summary of the period. In my view, he should have taken this into consideration when deciding when to bring his narrative to an end. He also should have included a chapter summarizing the main tendencies in the history of the German minority in Hungary.

The narrative is nicely complemented by the source materials which are included in the monograph (36 in the first volume and 23 in the second), and these materials strengthen the work as a kind of "handbook." Almost all of these source materials have been published before, and it would perhaps have

been preferable to have selected source materials which have not yet been published and include them with the appropriate annotations. The first volume includes four maps, two of which (one of the Habsburg Empire, 1699–1795, the other of Hungary, 1867–1914) have no information concerning the ways in which the lands in question were divided by nationality. The second of the two, furthermore, should have been included in the second volume, which in fact does not contain a single map. In general, given the tremendous breadth of the material and the span of history covered, Seewann would have done well to have included more maps, diagrams, tables, and illustrations, as these kinds of additions would have made the book more useful in an educational setting. Indices of names and places at the end of both volumes and the register of concordance are integral parts of the work and so is the list of primary and secondary sources containing several hundreds of items. Since Seewann completed the original German manuscript in 2011 and six years passed before the work was published in Hungarian, it would have been worthwhile to have added the most recent works of secondary literature to the list of sources on the subject.

Quite understandably, Seewann examines the main questions of his work, which as already noted covers a millennium of history, in chronological order. Accordingly, the titles of the main chapters refer in general to the defining trends of a given era and thus also the main reference points of the analysis. The main chapters, however, are divided into thematic subchapters. The only exception is the short introduction, in which Seewann compares the main tendencies of German settlement in Hungary in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Era.

Since in a brief review, one could not possible give a summary of such an ambitious work, I will limit myself to a few observations and explanations offered by Seewann which I consider important contributions to the existing scholarship, both in content and approach.

The most important part of the chapter on the period between 1526 and 1699 is the discussion of the demographic legacy of the Ottoman occupation and the political and economic general conditions of the settlement and resettlement of the country. Seewann persuasively refutes a cliché which has become a commonplace in Hungarian historiography, according to which the territories which were occupied by the Turks were almost completely deserted. Interpretations resting on this contention tend to ignore the fact that a large proportion of the population simply moved to larger settlements in the hopes of surviving. Seewann also offers a detailed analysis of the South-North migration

of hundreds of thousands of people and refutes a "romantic" German interpretation which was vigorously instrumentalized in the 1930s according to which the settlers created the villages (which later blossomed) out of little more than blood and sweat (i.e. out of nothing, *creatio ex nihilo*). He convincingly shows that the period between 1688 and 1711 did indeed bear witness to a kind of dress rehearsal for the later large-scale importation of settlers, the primary purpose of which was to ensure a workforce for the owners of large estates and food for the soldiery and the cities. The arrival of settlers was also important for the development of agriculture, the improvement of the work ethic, and from the perspective of reliable taxation incomes.

The most extensive and also most thoroughly developed section of the first volume is the chapter dealing with the period between 1711 and 1790, which Seewann refers to as the century of new settlers. He approaches this very complex process from the perspective of the actors, taking into consideration the motives of the settlers, the landowners, and the state, as well as the various steps they took, the results they achieved, and the consequences of the influx of new inhabitants. Seewann presents the efforts that the landowners and the state had to make to lure members of the workforce in German-speaking territories to Hungary, efforts they were compelled to make in part because they were in competition with Prussia and Russia for this workforce. This competition ultimately determined the concessions and allowances that were offered to the settlers. Seewann also refutes the notion that the settlers were impoverished. Most of them came to Hungary as peasants, smallholders, artisans, or day-laborers with at least modest financial means. In Hungary at the time, however, this capital was not insignificant, and it was often complemented by bequests paid by family members who had remained in the settlers' ancestral homelands. The German settlers were also motivated by the opportunity to achieve a better social status than before. Having acquired the right to move freely, they could accept the best or at least better offers of land and plots and the most advantageous conditions offered to incoming settlers, which included the freedom of religion for Protestants, which Joseph II's Edict of Tolerance guaranteed. In his presentation of the perceptions and perspectives of the people who were affected by this process, Seewann makes excellent use of various ego documents (memoirs, correspondence, last wills and testaments), thus offering his reader a wealth of knowledge relevant to the social history and the history of the mentality of these communities.

Of the chapters on the history of the Germans in Hungary in the Early Modern Era, "The Period of Political Mobilization, 1914–1945" merits

particular mention as perhaps the best section of the monograph. In this chapter, which fundamentally addresses political history, Seewann puts emphasis on the questions of political mobilization, ethnic identity, and the construction of identity. He goes into considerable detail and offers a persuasive portrayal of the process which began with the efforts of the Ungarländischer Deutscher Volksbildungsverein (led by Jakob Bleyer, the Verein initially sought only to secure rights concerning cultural affairs and education) and ended with the rise of the Ungarisches Volksbund der Deutschen, which was led by Franz Basch and which served the great power interests of the Third Reich. Seewann shows the interconnections among the events in the coordinate system of the efforts and actual measures taken by the German minority and the German and Hungarian states. Fundamentally, he seeks an answer to the question of how, by the second half of the 1930s, for a significant segment of the German minority, which at the beginning of the era was for the most part apolitical, the notion of the indivisible Hungarian nation had been replaced as the principal orientation point by attachment to its own ethnic group, the community of the German folk, and the "mother country," i.e. Germany.

My critical remarks notwithstanding, I consider Gerhard Seewann's groundbreaking work an important contribution to the secondary literature. His monograph provides a summary of the scholarship on and knowledge of the history of the Germans of Hungary which is critical and in many respects innovative in its approach, and which also goes beyond simple descriptions and analyzes subtle interconnections. The unevennesses in his synthesis call attention first and foremost to the dearth of research on the subject, thus also suggesting new avenues of inquiry.

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Export Empire: German Soft Power in Southeastern Europe, 1890–1945. By Stephan Gross. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. 398 pp.

Export Empire engages with an often neglected aspect of German relations with Southeastern Europe before World War II: German attraction and influence, projected through peaceful, voluntary commercial and cultural exchange. It discusses soft power as one of two alternative views on empire, which were advanced by different elite circles and administrative departments in a polyarchic Nazi state and by different non-state organizations. It studies the ideas of hard power, formal empire, and informal empire or sphere of influence based on soft power from their conception in the imagination of German elites in the late nineteenth century to their application in policy, and it makes a definitive assessment of their efficiency and effects.

Gross convincingly argues that it was precisely soft power, based on the export of goods and cultural products and advanced primarily by non-state institutions, that delivered to Germany valuable economic resources and political influence in the Balkans and helped sideline the traditionally leading power, France. Soft power is the answer to how Germany regained economic positions which had been lost after World War I and how it managed to shift its foreign trade away from its Western European creditors. Soft power also paved the way for Nazi economic exploitation during World War II. But this book demonstrates that economic exploitation was not the result of carefully designed, planned entrapment. Rather, it was the result of a power shift within the German state, whereby the proponents of soft power and informal empire lost influence over the region or switched sides and adopted the Nazi approach of hard power colonial imperialism. The hardline Nazi vision of *Lebensraum* took over the private institutions' liberal view of *Mitteleuropa* and *Grossraumwirtschaft* or greater economic space. As Gross shows, 1941 was the turning point of the soft power decline, when, after the unsuccessful German operations in the Soviet Union, the war effort meant greater demands for food, labor, and raw materials. The "economic miracle" achieved through soft power in the 1920s and 1930s, which no doubt was in line with German interests, was destroyed completely by the brutal force of occupation and resource extraction, which left behind devastated economies and war ridden societies. However, the principles at work which won Germany its status as a desired and legitimate partner (and even a

modernizing mentor and "natural" ally), may also be observed in other informal empires in the past and today.

Competing concepts of German power in Europe and competing imperial visions ran almost in parallel among German elites from the Wilhelmine Empire to the Weimar Republic. The traditional understanding of empire as colonial rule or hard *Weltpolitik* was shared by nationalist-minded elites after 1880 (Admiral Tirpitz and Chancellor Bismarck, for instance) and intellectuals including Max Weber, Gustav Freytag, Heinrich Class, and others who believed Germany "had a historical mission to either uplift or rule over the Slavic peoples of the Russian Empire" (p.15). These ideas informed the perception of Russia shared by the highest military officials, such as Moltke and Kaiser Wilhelm: "after 1910 they believed any future war would be a 'struggle for existence between Teutons and Slavs'" (p.16). The concept of *Lebensraum*, which motivated Nazi atrocities in Poland and Russia during World War II, derive genealogically, even if indirectly, from such a vision.

The liberal vision of an economic federation in Central Europe, the *Mitteleuropa* project, was advanced most notably by Gustav Stresemann, for whom the economy, rather than the nation, was to transcend state borders and win Germany its reputation and prestige. This view grounds German power on the quality of German exports, the reliability and adaptability of German traders, the precision of German technology, and the knowledge and prosperity that Germany spreads through its economic relations. Germany as a "developmental mentor" within an economic and cultural hierarchy was viewed here as a sustainable source of power and prosperity.

Trade and cultural diplomacy are the two pillars of soft power. Yugoslavia and Romania represent the region as a whole, because they were of the highest economic importance for Germany, Yugoslavia due to its minerals and Romania due to its oil. They are also compared to each other in the book to highlight nuances of soft and hard power. The central focus of the new contribution is on non-governmental organizations. The Leipzig Trade Fair, the *Mitteleuropaeischer Wirtschaftstag*, the German-Romanian Chamber of Commerce, and others such forums provided crucial points of contact for traders from different countries; they supplied information on the markets where Germany had lost its positions and investments after World War I; they served the small and medium-sized businesses looking to export and import under the confusing conditions of bilateral clearing; and they were the social platform where trade actually happened. The remarkable increase in

trade between Germany and the Balkans is attributed to a great extent to the effective operation of these organizations.

Cultural diplomacy in the form of academic exchange programs made Germany the most desired destination for people interested in pursuing the study of economic, technical, and medical subjects, and graduates from these kinds of programs in Germany often took high government positions back home. Not only were they pro-German by conviction and loyalty, they also had access to certain material rewards, and they had a vested interest in fostering and perpetuating the subordinated relations with the Reich. Development work was also high on the agenda. Although less industrially and infrastructurally developed, the nations of the Balkans were seen as capable of advancement. Furthermore, they were seen as suitable for "Germanization," meaning advancement under German mentoring. Aryanization (the ethnic cleansing of the territory and its repopulation with non-Jewish people) was not the main message of these programs. In contrast to Poland, southeastern Europe was not seen as a space to be populated with Germans as part of their *Lebensraum*, but rather as a place where the Reich should play its "civilizing mission."

None of these policies of trade and cultural diplomacy in the Balkans were controlled by Nazis belonging to Hitler's inner circle. It was other groups, consisting primarily of businessmen and academics, which shaped the vision of an economic space. And no doubt these groups worked to secure the empire Germany sought to create by providing reliable deliveries of food and raw materials and maintaining a hierarchical division of labor in which the agrarian states developed, but still remained agrarian. In response to some of the earlier debates on this issue, Gross argues that hindering the development of the Balkan states was not a German objective, but increasing their purchasing power was.

The end of World War II struck a final blow to the hard imperial ambitions of German foreign policy, along with the racism and unilateralism of National Socialism. The soft power of German exports and cultural diplomacy are palpable elements of German international influence today. As a study of the mechanisms of soft power, this book is relevant to our understanding of other imperial systems of the same period and also to a more nuanced grasp of the role of soft power in other spheres of influence.

The main contribution of the book is its disaggregation of the Nazi state into a battlefield of worldviews and its presentation of the ways in which private actors were able to achieve various results under certain conditions of autonomy: soft power was indeed effective. Furthermore, soft power wins a worthier victory

than nationalism. More generally, the book addresses fundamental problems concerning economy and society and the formation and competition of elites. It raises questions about the role of society in bringing to power one worldview over another, and it warns indirectly of the brutal human costs paid for the rise and fall of some ideas. *Export Empire* offers a safe way of learning a valuable historical and theoretical lesson. Comprehensive, balanced, and well-argued, it is a must read.

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A terror hétköznapjai: A kádári megtorlás, 1956–1963 [The everyday weekdays of terror: The reprisals of the Kádár Regime, 1956–1963]. By Zsuzsanna Mikó. Budapest: Libri, 2016. 286 pp.

Around the time of the 60th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, a vast array of writings was published on the events of the momentous year, including scholarly essays, commemorative volumes, and memoirs. With this outpouring of publications came new opportunities for the presentation of the findings of profound scholarly research as well. The monograph by Zsuzsanna Mikó, which is the result of ten years of dedicated research, was one such work. It offers a complex analysis of the reprisals and repressive measures implemented by the Kádár regime and memories of these reprisals.

The study of the reprisals which were implemented between 1956 and 1963 alone would merit a thorough historiographic overview. The first analyses, which were essentially political in nature, had an important role in ensuring that the "Hungarian case" remain a prominent agenda item among Hungarians in the émigré communities and that the memory of 1956 remain vivid. The early historical essays, some of which were samizdat publications, shaped the historical and scholarly discourses on the period during the change of regime. After archives were opened, numerous research initiatives were launched to study the newly accessible files. In addition to the various monographs on the revolution, beginning in the 1990s CD-ROMs and online databases were also produced. Mikó's book constitutes a continuation of this scholarly discourse. She presents and analyzes the findings of the various projects which strove to foster and spread historical knowledge of the events and their legacy, as well as the fragmentary nature of some of the projects and the various ways in which they might be continued. Her book, which she published as the head of the Hungarian National Archive, can also be read as a kind of platform of an institutional leader.

The essential focus of the book concerns justice and compensation (in addition to questions concerning history and, more narrowly, the history of law). The tension between the various approaches to the study of historical events shapes the entire text. The cases presented and analyzed by Mikó offer a vivid illustration of how juristic solutions are unsuitable as approaches to historical questions or attempts to understand the recent past, whether we are speaking of the 1989 rehabilitation proceedings launched by the last government in power

before the change of regime or the 2011 "lex-Biszku" bill (which was intended to allow the prosecution of people suspected of having committed crimes in the suppression of the revolution). In the course of her analysis, Mikó emphatically notes that "the historian raises questions (…) and searches not for juridically sound answers, but rather for answers which are appropriate from historical, professional, and moral perspectives, and she does not judge" (p.29).

Unquestionably, in the best-case scenario, the study and narration of the past should remain the task of the professional historian. In this spirit, Mikó's analysis seeks to restore the "logical order" to the process of the repressions and reprisals. She presents the various measures that were taken, from the decisions of the political actors to the composition of the laws and the procedures adopted by the prosecutors and the courts. The cases which she has examined earlier and the systematically structured series of data shed light on the functions and the dynamics of the retaliation in the wake of the revolution. Her presentation of the internal statistical data and the political debates which took place in 1957 concerning the process of launching the mechanisms of reprisal reveal the dilemmas and ambitions of the leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the reorganized party state. The statistics concerning the summary rulings are evidence of a raw desire to take revenge and deter any and all shows of opposition, while the later data shed light on the tactics of the practice of power. One of the most interesting parts of Mikó's analysis—and an aspect of her findings to which she gives considerable emphasis—is her presentation of the way in which people in power were confronted with the falseness of the official ideology and propaganda: as the initial reports on the reprisals made clear, the active participants in the revolution had come from the working classes, and they could hardly have been considered class enemies or "reactionary" elements known from previous epochs. The statistical and linguistic conjuring in which the party machinery engaged after having received these reports gave rise to one of the most fundamental propaganda texts.

After having presented the "constituent elements" of the mechanism of repression and reprisal, Mikó examines some of the problems that arose in the functioning of this mechanism. She examines the question of the responsibility of the judges and prosecutors, shedding light on the reestablishment of the so-called People's Tribunals, which had served as an instrument of the communist takeover between 1945 and 1949.

In recent years, the study of the roles of collaborators and people in power has become a subject of increasingly pressing interest in public life in Hungary.

This may be due in part to a kind of craving for justice, which has also become increasingly palpable in recent years, and it may similarly be due to growing recognition of the interrelationships between the databases and the various datasets which are available, as well as the lacunae in these datasets. At various points in Mikó's narrative, she discusses persons who were active participants and collaborators in the measures that were adopted and the policies that were implemented. In the accounts of the period of reprisals and any study addressing the issue of responsibility, an assessment of their part in the events is one of the most exciting questions. Within the framework of her narrative, Mikó addresses the resistance and hesitancy of the judges and the collision of legal procedure and political expediency. The directions that were given by the Board of the Supreme Court reveal perhaps better than any other source that the trials held after the 1956 Revolution were indeed political in nature.

One essential precondition of Mikó's analysis – and in fact of any analysis of the legal and ideological language that was used – is a clarification of the terminology and a kind of linguistic deconstruction. One of the strengths of her work is her examination of the terms (and the contexts of the terms) used in the written documents produced by the organs of power and also used in the secondary literature. She sheds light on the meanings and usefulness of the terms used to designate someone's background. Similar key terms include conceptual, constructed, and show trials; because Mikó offers precise definitions of these terms, they prove useful tools in her analysis. True, in her assessment some of the terms should simply be rejected, as they have no meaning. For instance, the term "socialist legality," she claims, is beyond definition. A more nuanced approach would admit the adjective 'socialist' in this context may simply mean 'the lack thereof', but could also refer to a decisive emphasis on social origins or to a formal respect for procedure.

In the wake of the conferences that were held as part of the anniversary of the revolution and the publication of almost innumerable documents on the events, both within academic circles and in public life, debates concerning the source documents on the reprisals have again flared up. According to Attila Szakolczai's 2017 publication *Koholt perek* (Invented Trials), the "1957 narratives" (the narratives that were constructed by the machinery of repression) tell us nothing of 1956. Even though the book includes a photograph of Ilona Tóth, whose life and execution during the repressions is in the center of the debates among historians and people involved in the politics of memory, Mikó's analysis does not deal with this question. And yet the study of our knowledge of the

events of 1956 and the revolution could become even more complex if we were to apply similar perspectives to the individual requests and amnesty documents.

The individual cases, histories, and sources presented in the book do indeed shed light on the less familiar consequences of the reprisals. The excerpts found in the second half of the book give a strong sense of the social psychological effects of the measures that were implemented and the existential crises in people's everyday lives (first and foremost the absence of a father or child who supported the family). The documents which constitute the main source base (files found in the Pest County Archive and the Military History Archive) provide an overview of processes which lasted decades. Interestingly, the illustrations in the book demonstrate the difficulty of presenting the local histories. The pictures present the prominent events (the trial of Imre Nagy and his alleged co-conspirators, for instance), but not the procedures which affected the masses, which perhaps cannot be presented in pictures at all. When it comes to the closed-door negotiations and the proceedings which took place far from the public eye, at most we have mug shots.

Mikó's contentions concerning the historical research on the present also constitute a clear stance in the discourse among her contemporaries. Indeed, in many cases her suggestions seem inspiring, for instance regarding the pre-planned process and pace of Sovietizing the administration of justice. Some of her ascertainments, however, may well meet with a critical response, for instance her summary assessment that the 1963 amnesty is depicted as a watershed in mainstream historiography and her comments on the alleged failure, for the moment, of the community of historians to confront and deal with the past.

Another point of (temporal) reference in this book, which was published for the 60th anniversary of the 1956 Revolution, is 1989 and the process of regime change. At the beginning of her discussion, Mikó, drawing on the familiar essay by János Kornai, raises the following question: "is seeing justice done a necessary precondition […] of proclaiming the change of regime complete" (p.12). By raising this question, she addresses a topic that again has come into the foreground of the discussions in public life and professional circles. At the book launch of on October 20, 2016, Hungarian historian János M. Rainer, who authored the preface to the book, drew on the writings of Timothy Garton Ash and called attention to the ambivalent results of attempts to confront, study, and narrate Hungary's past. In Hungary, measures adopted involving injured parties, victims, agents, and questions of responsibility proved both productive and unproductive in various spheres. Fundamental research is indispensable

if we hope to untangle these intertwined questions (questions of justice, compensation, open files, the writing of history, and public discourses).

Zsuzsanna Mikó's book, a monograph on the repressive measures and reprisals implemented by the Kádár regime, is an example of such a research. It is, moreover, a work of scholarship that will inspire further research in part because of Mikó's use of sources to present the fates of individuals and in part because of the questions she raises in the individual chapters. From the perspective of the structure and organization of scholarly and scientific life, she has also provided an example of the directorial platform of a major institution. Finally, Mikó's book can be read as a kind of progress report on the state of the historical research and scholarship on the 60th anniversary of the 1956 Revolution.

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Gender in 20th Century Eastern Europe and the USSR. Edited by Catherine Baker. London–New York: Palgrave, 2017. 259 pp.

This volume, edited by Catherine Baker, lecturer at the University of Hull, on the everyday lives of and activism among women in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in the twentieth century is the seventeenth publication in the series *Gender and History*. The fifteen contributors range from PhD students to the most acknowledged experts of gender studies and women's history, all of whom teach at universities in England and the United States. In addition to the general introduction, written by the editor, the book consists of 14 chapters. They are organized into four thematic sections which follow a chronological order. Drawing inspiration to write this book partly from social media, users of which have been preoccupied for years by certain issues related to socialist ideology (e.g. sex, fashion, traditions, etc. in the Eastern bloc), the authors seek answers to the following questions: what was the socialist woman and man supposed to be? How was the power to intervene in the structure of gender relations contested under state socialism? How did women experience the positive and negative effects of the democratic transition until the end of the 2000s?

Altogether four chapters focus on gender (in)equalities in the Soviet Union. Additionally, one study discusses the Sovietization of Armenian women, and three chapters analyze gender relations in Yugoslavia (and the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia). Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland are each represented by two chapters, occasionally in comparison with other countries of the Eastern Bloc. In contrast with these geographic units, one chapter examines the effects of the Cold War on the region's gender history and LGBT politics from a transnational perspective. The last chapter of the book, written by Baker, is based primarily on methodologies from sociology and political science. It offers a short overview of LGBT rights after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The first part of the book provides a detailed discussion of the fin-de-siècle and interwar periods in Bohemia, the South Slavic area, and Armenia in the 1920s. The chapter on the artistic depiction of the "Czech National Mother" suggests that women's lives were not at all separated from Bohemian nationalist politics within the framework of the Austro–Hungarian Empire. Cynthia Paces suggests that maternal symbols like the Jan Hus Memorial in Prague (which features a mother breastfeeding at the feet of Jan Hus) and the images of Anna Fischer-Dückelmann's *Die Frau als Hausärztin* (The Woman as Family Doctor) demonstrated women's fundamental roles in processes of nation building and

public health and also embodied the strict expectations placed on women. The second chapter describes the characteristic features of the lesbian relationship of Nasta Rojc, the Croatian/Yugoslavian painter, and Vera Holme, the British suffragette and ambulance driver during the First World War in the territory which became Yugoslavia. Using archival sources (above all, correspondence), Baker and Dimitrijevic have developed a methodology for researching lesbian networks. In the third chapter, Jo Laycock and Jeremy Johnson compare and contrast traditional and modernized features of Armenian women's lives (customs concerning dress and the wearing of veils, education, and paid work). According to the study, the complete Sovietization of these women did not occur in the 1920s, and the women preserved certain characteristics of their local (rural) lives. Together with the effects of the genocide against Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, this created a peculiar mixture of traditionalism and modernity within Armenian society.

The second part analyzes the impact of revolution and war on the lives of ordinary people and soldiers. Erica L. Fraser concludes that revolutions follow different social and geographical trajectories. She studies the Russian Revolution (1917) within the theoretical framework of the French and the Latin American revolutionary models. Kerstin Bischl outlines the wartime conditions of the 800,000 women who fought in the Red Army between 1941 and 1945 as medical orderlies, radio operators, snipers, and pilots. This chapter is distinguished by its reliance on oral history interviews. The study by Katherine R. Jolluck also focuses on the Second World War. She examines the opposition of various groups in Poland to mass arrests, executions, acts of sexual violence, and the deportation of civilians committed by Nazi and Soviet troops. Jenny Kaminer argues that, as a consequence of Stalinization and the brutal intervention into family life in Russia after the October Revolution, the burden of childrearing was shouldered by the collective and also led to the crisis of fatherhood that persisted in the post-Soviet period.

The third thematic unit examines gender politics of state socialist regimes in the satellite states. Judit Takács presents historical evidence about the "lists of homosexuals" compiled for official state use in Hungary beginning in the 1920s. Takács provides an evaluation of the statistical data, and she emphasizes that regimes of different stripes made use of these lists. The chapter by Ivan Simic analyzes how the Yugoslav Communist Party directed its gender policies towards the youth in the second half of the 1940s. He offers a case study related to a large governmental project ("Youth Work Action"), which tried to mediate

ideas about desirable gender roles. Maria Bucur applies the methodology of *Alltagsgeschichte* as developed by Alf Lüdtke to reconstruct the difficulties a woman living in an urban environment had to face during the Ceauşescu regime, such as lack of running water, no central heating, the scarcity of food in the shops.

The last section of the book focuses on gender during and after the democratic transition. Maria Adamson and Erika Kispeter draw interesting conclusions by comparing the labor market of the Soviet Union and Hungary. Even though several legal acts in principle established equal rights for working women, women nonetheless continued to work in positions of low prestige until the 1990s. Anna Muller analyzes gendered representations in the letters of Polish male political activists (some of whom belonged to the Solidarity movement) which were addressed to their wives. She also studies the types of relationships among political prisoners and criminal prisoners. The study by Adriana Zaharijevic delineates the place of women in the violence of war, which erupted during the transition process in Yugoslavia. She argues that feminist activism was highly determined by this war, as it continued to oppose party politics until the turn of the millennium, when feminists started to handle the state as a partner in their efforts to enforce European democratic values.

The volume builds on the growing scholarship on gender in the formerly state socialist parts of Europe, epitomized, perhaps above all, by the pioneering volume *Gender and War in Eastern Europe*, edited by Nancy M. Wingfield and Maria Bucur. It extends the themes and methodologies of gender studies to the post-Communist countries, in which old and new prejudices make LGBT lives the subject not only of scholarly debates, but also of political contestation. Apart from the first chapter on Czech visual culture, the volume is not rich in visual materials. The authors aim to address fellow scholars and call their attention to the importance of reconstructing local gender histories. The accurate historiographical overviews in each chapter and the selected bibliography at the end of the book serve as excellent points of departure for this.

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A Contemporary History of Exclusion: The Roma Issue in Hungary from 1945 to 2015. By Balázs Majtényi and György Majtényi. Budapest–New York: Central European University Press, 2016. 242 pp.

A researcher in legal studies and a professor of history, both tending to use the tools of the social sciences and be sensitive about the ethical and methodological aspects of their own work, this is an excellent combination to raise the questions which are raised in the book under review (henceforth *The Roma Issue*). The book examines the public discourses and the policies regarding the Hungarian Gypsies/Roma from the end of World War II until the present. Despite the seeming simplicity of this formulation, the mere naming and definition of the protagonist group are far from simple matters. In the international literature, writers frequently opine that the term *Roma* ought to be regarded as the single correct name (analogous to the contemporary use of *African American*) because the more conventional *cigány* (*Gypsy*) is considered pejorative. This is not "just" a moral or political issue, but a methodological one as well, because in Hungary many more people are regarded as "Gypsy" by their non-Gypsy environment than identify themselves as Gypsy or Roma. The reasons are, on the one hand, the apparently negative associations of the word and, on the other, the fact that in most cases the mother tongue of person who is identified as "Gypsy" by the people in his or her surroundings but who does not identify as "Gypsy" him or herself is Hungarian. However, the situation is more complicated, because there are people in Hungary, including some young intellectuals and students, who, instead of the term Roma, prefer the term *cigány* as their self-label. The Majtényi brothers (the authors of the book under review are siblings) reflect on this problem and take neither self-evidence of the terms nor consensus concerning the definitions for granted. Instead of ignoring this question by opting for a single term, they use both as synonyms, they use both terms, in each individual case preferring one over the other for a specific contextual reason, and in some cases using the terms together: "Roma/Gypsy." This solution is perhaps adequate *inside* the book, where there is room for explanation, but the term "Cigánykérdés," or "Gypsy question," in the original Hungarian title has been changed to "Roma Issue" in the English. This may have been a prudent choice on the part of the translator, but it does somewhat sidestep the problematic nature of the terminology.

C*igánykérdés* in Hungarian, because of the secondary meaning of the word question as "problem," is less adequate as an analytical term than the Roma/

Gypsy *issue* in English, but it is a useful term to deal with the (social) policies and the (public) discourses regarding the Roma with the same theoretical tools. The use of this term is often met with the criticism that this kind of history *cannot be equated with the history of the Roma*. This is eminently true, but any attempt to narrate Roma history from *inside* raises other, similarly grave moral/epistemological issues, the most relevant of which is the inherent risk of ending up depicting the Roma communities in an ahistorical, essentialist manner. The perspective of *The Roma Issue*, to formulate it in a slightly provocative way, *theoretically integrates the Roma/Gypsies into Hungarian society, even if it does so through an analysis of the social mechanisms that were and are used to discriminate, exclude, and disintegrate communities.*

The book presents an exciting narrative. Between the theoretical *Introduction* and *Summary*, *The Roma Issue* consists of four chapters divided according to historical sub-periods. In the first of these chapters ("*Comrade, If You Have a Heart…*" *The History of the Gypsy Issue, 1945–1961,* pp.31–62) we encounter a paradox. After 1945, the communist regimes initiated and implemented radical (although not always planned) changes in every sector of society. The life of Roma, however, changed probably less than the lives of any other group, even if discrimination against them may have become less harsh and the neglect of the Roma in public discourses became less definitive in this first sub-period than it had been in the interwar era. The paradigmatic types of sources in that period were produced by the authorities, very often by the police, at a time when these institutions were "overburdened" by endeavors to discipline the *whole of* society. For those familiar with the history of the socialist system, the most surprising findings might be that high inherited unemployment rates among the Roma did not decline, at least not until the early 1960s, because later and for some years there was indeed almost full employment among the male Roma/Gypsies.

The Roma underwent radical social changes from the early 1960s to the end of the socialist system, as discussed in the next chapter (*"Life Goes On…" The Hungarian Party-State and Assimilation,* pp.63–118). The prevailing discourses of the period tried to present this development as the product of the social policy initiated due to the benevolence of the leadership and of "society" (in that order). Meanwhile, the real driving force of the process was the *soft budget constraint* (a concept introduced by János Kornai), in other words the insensitivity of the socialist economic units to the costs of and insatiable demand for any and all kinds of sources, including the manpower of unskilled industrial workers. This key tendency ultimately led to the fall of state socialism, but it had a favorable

side-effect: the positive change of the Roma/Gypsy population's social situation from around 1960 to the system-change in 1989/90.

During this same period, there was an (admittedly slow and limited, but in the context of the Soviet bloc, nonetheless highly relevant) process often referred to as the "softening" of the political dictatorship. Paradoxically, the authorities' disciplinary measures taken against the Roma became harder or, more precisely, more systematic in this period. Meanwhile, the Roma and the non-Roma populations' housing conditions, working status, lifestyle, etc. began to resemble the housing conditions, working status, and lifestyles of the non-Roma population more than even before, but the everyday expression of prejudicial attitudes and sentiments in everyday life also became more common than ever. A redefinition of the relationship between the Roma/Gypsies and the non-Roma majority would have required profound and sustained change in social discourses. But the proposals and attempts to promote this kind of discourse in the Kádár era were labeled an "oppositional political activity" (which was just a little "softer" than calling these acts "the political activity of the enemy" would have been).

It is a cruel irony of history that the system change which ushered in the freedom of political organization and the freedom of the press, while in theory it brought new opportunities for the Roma too, in fact combined the old and the new disadvantages without the advantages of any of the two previous periods (see the chapter *Roma Policy after the Regime Change*, pp.119–86). To cite two examples, first, the most important development of the Kádár era—full employment among the Roma—faded with the regime change. Second, although a new and more extensive discourse has emerged regarding the Roma/Gypsies in the twenty-first century, this discourse has not been defined by representatives of Roma movements or civil right activists. Furthermore, the "civil rights activism" on behalf of the Roma is again viewed as an illegitimate form of political activity in present-day Hungary (*Panopticon: Roma Policy, 2010–2015*, pp.187–203).

The Majtényi duo strove throughout their inquiry to remain scholarly and analytical. The thoroughness with which they approached the issues and questions made it inevitable that they would highlight moral and political aspects. Theirs is a dangerous, but respectable enterprise.

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