

independently verify this. As presented, the simple assertion that pearl acquisition is the only possible reason a Sogdian might have been traveling in Oman lacks persuasive power. Without the primary source making explicit that this was the reason, the support the example was supposed to lend Allsen's claim collapses. Examples like this are sprinkled throughout the book, and attentive readers will no doubt notice them. Most of Allsen's examples are much stronger, and examples like the one above are decidedly in the minority. But the weak examples are also the ones that tend to stand

out most to critical readers, and unfortunately cast a pall on the better-documented claims and evidence that surround them.

Overall, this is a thoroughly researched book that is well-written and persuasively argued. Although sometimes the examples provided do not function effectively to support the claims they are linked to, these instances are rare. This is a book that should be read and cited by diverse scholars with a wide variety of interests and disciplinary backgrounds for many years to come.

- Samuel Rumschlag

Roman Hautala. *Crusaders, Missionaries and Eurasian Nomads in the 13th - 14th Centuries: A Century of Interaction*. Ed. Victor Spinei. București: Editoru Academiei Române, Brăila: Editura Istros a Muzueului Brăilei "Carol I" 2017. 477 pp.

This anthology reprints seventeen published and prints two unpublished articles by Roman Hautala of the University of Oulu (Finland) and the Marjani Institute of the History of Tatarstan of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Hautala's research focuses on "Latin sources known only to a narrow circle of researchers of Catholic missionary activity in the medieval East" (245). He makes a convincing case that "the accuracy of the Latin sources is not inferior to the reliability of the Mamluk and Persian sources" (433-34). Many of these sources were written by missionaries from inside the Jochid ulus, and thus have an advantage over the Asian sources written from abroad. Collectively the articles in this anthology enlarge the source base upon which the history of the Jochid ulus can be written, or, in some cases, demonstrate that previous historical views should be revised. Hautala thus make a significant contribution to our knowledge of nomads in the western Eurasian steppe.

The published articles appeared between 2014 and 2017. Eleven articles are in English, eight in Russian (each of which has an English-language summary). Hautala has made no effort to standardize terminology, but specialists are accustomed to such variety. In addition, he cites articles that ap-

pear in the anthology without cross-referencing them; it is up to the reader to realize that they are readily available by turning the page. The articles are organized in two numbered "parts." In the "Table of Contents," the articles are numbered but the numbers do not appear on the title pages of the article. A full-page color photograph of the author introduces the volume (5).

The anthology begins with an introduction by Victor Spinei, the distinguished Romanian specialist on the history of nomads in the Balkans and the editor of the volume and the series in which it appears. Spinei's introduction appears in both English, "A Medievalist with a Sense of Vocation: Roman Hautala" (11-14) (translated by Adrian Poruciuc) and Russian, "Medievist po priznaniuu: Roman Khautala" (15-18). Roman Hautala was born in Petrozavodsk, capital of the Republic of Karelia in the Russian Federation, and educated primarily in Finland and Italy (University of Siena, from which he received his Ph.D.). In addition to teaching, he is an editor, especially for English-language works, of journals in St. Petersburg and Kazan.

In discussing individual chapters, I have tried to avoid repeating conclusions already adduced from previous chapters.

Part I, "Crusaders and Missionaries," contains eleven articles. Chapter 1, "The Teutonic Knights' Military Confrontation with the Cumans during their Stay in Transylvania (1211-1225)" (21-37), examines the mixed experiences of the Teutonic Knights in Hungary. King Andrew II invited them

to settle in Burzenland, through which Cumans entered Transylvania to raid. Under the Teutonic Knights' protection, it began to recover, but tensions between the Knights and the king over intrusions into royal estates, illegal movement of Hungarians and Szekelys back into the region, the construction of forbidden stone castles instead of wood, and the minting of coins by the Knights led eventually to forcible expulsion. The pope, patron of the Knights, blamed Hungarian politics. This article sets the stage for one of the themes of the anthology, namely, the connection between the countries of Eastern or East-Central Europe—Hungary, Poland, and Lithuania—and the nomads of the steppe.

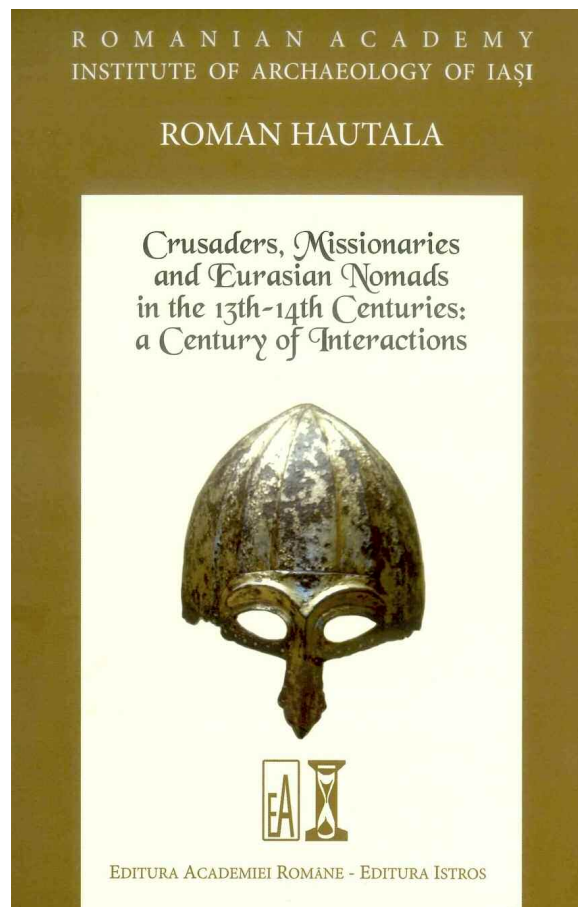
Chapter 2, “Gramoty vengerskogo korolia Andreia II, predostavelnnye tevtonskim rytsariam v Transil’vanii: latinskie teksty, perevody i kommentarii” (39-65), contains Latin texts and fully annotated Russian translations of four royal charters issued by Andrew II dealing with the Teutonic Knights' settlement in Transylvania. The letters are printed not from the lost originals but from papal epistles which quoted them verbatim. Hautala rejects arguments against the authenticity of the fourth letter. A theme that shows up here—Hungarian pretensions to the East Slavic principalities of Galicia and Volynia—reappears later in the anthology.

Chapter 3, “Information of the Latin Sources about the Relations between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Cumans on the Eve of the Invasion of Batu in 1241” (67-93), deals with efforts at first by the Dominicans (Order of Preachers) and later the Franciscan (Minorites) to convert the Cumans in Hungary. In 1228 the Pope established a Cuman bishopric, probably in the territory formerly occupied by the Teutonic Knights. The friars and the pope were too optimistic about the prospects for

conversion and sedentarization of the Cumans. The Cumans' nomadic life-style made adherence to the year-long liturgical calendar difficult. So did the presence of Orthodox Vlachs in the region. There were also jurisdictional disputes between the Cuman bishop and the bishop of Transylvania and the archbishop of Esztergom, and fiscal competition between the hierarchs and the crown.

Chapter 4, “Svedeniia o zavolzhsikh mad’iarakh v latinskikh istochnikakh XIII-XV vekov” (95-124), addresses the Latin sources concerned with “finding” the Trans-Volga Magyars living in “Great Hungary,” putatively the Hungarian Urheimat (*prarodina*). The Dominican Julian composed a “Letter about the way of life of the Tatars” and a brother Ricardus transcribed Julian’s account of his mission to Grand Bulgar and Great Hungary. The Mongols seem to have deported the Trans-Volga Magyars, because there are no further references to Great Hungary in the fourteenth century, although the Mozhars in the Kasimov Khanate may be their descendants. Hautala prudently avoids walking into the briar patch of the ethnic relationship between the Magyars and the Bashkirs.

Chapter 5, “Zapis’ brata Rikardusa ob otkrytii Velikoi Vengrii (nachalo 1236 goda)” (129-45), is devoted only to the text by Ricardus, for which Hautala supplies an annotated Russian translation. Several passing observations in the text resonate with material in other chapters. The friars posed as merchants; the close connection between Italian merchants and the Catholic missionaries is discussed below. Ricardus records that Julian and his party were treated most hospitably by Muslims; by the fourteenth century under the Mongols, Muslims were not always as welcoming. A unnamed Mongol envoy of undisclosed ethnicity supposedly spoke Hungarian, Russian, Cuman,



Teutonic (German?), Saracen (Arabic?) and Tartar (Turkic or Mongol?); Hautala does not comment on the plausibility of so polyglot an envoy at this time. Nor does he comment on the mistaken and optimistic expectation that Rus' Prince Yurii Vsevolodovich was expected to join the Catholic Church. The theme of papal attempts to convince Rus' princes to abandon the Byzantine Church also recurs below.

Chapter 6, "Pis'mo Ladislava, frantsikanskogo kustodiia Gazarii (Kaffa, 10 aprilia 1287 goda)" (145-51), pertains to a fascinating incident of socio-religious interaction between Catholics and Muslims. Father Ladislaus was a Franciscan custodian in Gazaria (the North Black Sea coast). Muslims in Solkhat in 1286 demolished a church in order to silence its bell. The Franciscans complained to Khan Tula-Buga and Nogai,¹ who dispatched representatives, backed up by troops, to punish the offenders severely, to compensate the Franciscans for their losses, and to authorize them to build three churches with bells. Although the representatives were Muslims, they carried out their orders faithfully. Royal patronage of Catholic missionaries was essential in the Jochid ulus. Ladislaus's letter also recounts that the senior wife of Nogai wanted to be baptized by a Catholic, much to the chagrin of Armenian and Greek clergy. The multi-denominational presence of Christians among the nomads and their competition strikes a familiar note. A former Nestorian interpreter, now a Catholic, also shows up. Supposedly a Franciscan cured a woman of a demon, which shamans had failed to do, so she and her husband converted, a typos.

Chapter 7, "The Franciscan Letters from the Golden Horde: Evidence of the Latin Sources against the Thesis of the Total Nomadic Islamization in the Early Reign of Uzbek Khan (1312/1313-1341)" (153-158), accomplishes exactly what the title indicates. Evidence that Catholic missionaries preserved the royal privilege of freely traveling about the steppe among the nomads to spread the Catholic faith impugns the thesis, spread by Uzbek himself to enhance his reputation among Muslim monarchs, specifically the Mamluks, that early in his reign after his conversion to Islam he had exter-

¹Hautala does not allude to the lack of consensus on Nogai's Chinggisid status.

minated advocates of other religions and Islam had been spread universally. Clearly Uzbek's change of confession did not induce him to ban or even restrict Catholic missionaries in the Jochid ulus. Modern studies declare that Uzbek made Islam the "state religion" of the Jochid ulus, an error that this reviewer has certainly committed, but the Mongols had no concept of a "state religion." Islam did significantly increase in the cities of the Jochid ulus, but not among the nomadic majority of the population. Hautala comments that the friars felt safer among the nomads than in the more Islamicized cities, as the actions of the Muslims in Solkhat just discussed indicate. Nevertheless, the nomadic Mongols clung fervently to the religion of their ancestors, which seems here to mean the traditional steppe "paganism," not Islam. Of course, the Franciscans much exaggerated their success, both quantitatively, as a percentage of the population, and qualitatively, claiming converts among the Chinggisid elite. Hautala pays particular attention to a garbled account that Khan Toqta had adopted Catholicism. The spread of Islam is better documented in the Ilkhanate than in the Jochid ulus.

Chapter 8, "Dva pis'ma frantsiskantsev iz Kryma 1323 goda: latinskii tekst, russkii perevod i komentarii" (177-212), again provides an annotated Russian translation of Latin texts, in this case two epistles from Franciscans in the Crimea in 1323 to a consistory of the Franciscan order and to the Papal curia at Avignon. The first extolled martyrs in Western Asia, the second overestimated missionary success in Crimea in order to inspire recruits. The details of the letters are consistent with those in a 1320 letter written in Bashkiria (now Bashkortostan) by Iohanca (Johanka), for which Hautala supplies quotations in his footnotes. These letters abound in fascinating details of daily life of both nomads and missionaries. Supposedly Hungarian, German and English friars were far more adept at learning the Cuman language in order to preach than those from the Mediterranean, France and Italy. Italian merchants purchased boys as slaves and donated them to the friars to be converted and raised as Catholics and trained as missionaries who would have the linguistic and cultural advantage of their Cuman birth. The letters also illuminate Mongol diet and dress, although their authors did not always agree with each other, for example,

on the cost of silk clothing. According to these letters and Iohanca's, "nomads" hated "Saracens," meaning Islam had not acquired significant adherents in the steppe. The missionary-merchant nexus began as soon as a friar decided to go to the Jochid ulus; the sea route, via the Black Sea, accompanying merchants, was highly recommended over the unsafe land route. These Franciscans did not mention Uzbek's conversion; as we shall see, some Rus' chroniclers were seemingly disinterested in that event when they did mention it.

Chapter 9, "Catholic Missionaries in the Golden Horde" (213-20), highlights both adaptation to convert nomads in the form of five mobile residences, felt-covered tents, that could accompany nomadic movement, and conversion top-down, beginning with members of the elite such as the Alan leader of Vosporo (Kerch), Millenus, and the sons of the thousand-man Tharmagar and Estokis, master of Bashkiria.

The previously unpublished Chapter 10, "Western Missionaries and Merchants: An Example of Cooperation within the Framework of the Mongol Empire" (221-43),² does not confine itself to the Golden Horde. Venetian merchants purchased land for churches in Khanbaliq and North China. At most the Pope and the missionary orders provided transport, but once onsite missionaries relied on locals, Christian and non-Christian, for financial assistance. Supposedly the cathedral in Samarkand was built through the generosity of a Chaghadaid khan cured of a cancer by a Franciscan, which sounds familiar. Another Chaghadaid khan donated the land for a church in Almalyk. However, Italian merchants were the greatest benefactors of the missionaries. Of course, there were tensions between the missionaries and the merchants, up to and including excommunications, but the friars sought and received Papal dispensation to ease the forbidden degrees of consanguinity for marriage to facilitate marriage among the small Catholic communities. Mongol patronage of the missionaries derived in part from a desire to please the merchants who provided revenue from commerce. Popes emphasized their own patronage of the missionaries in letters to the Mongol Great Khans and the khans of the Jochid

² Hautala thanks Stephen Pow for assistance in Chapters 10 and 11.

and Chaghadaid khanates.

Chapter 11, "Latin Sources on the Missionary Activity of the Franciscans in the Golden Horde during the Reign of Uzbek Khan (1313-1341)" (245-66), also previously unpublished, completes Part I. The popes and the orders of friars attributed their overall failure to convert Uzbek or his people to a shortage of missionaries, but their calls for reinforcements met little response. Misinformation, sometimes akin to wishful thinking, marred relations between the popes and the Jochid khans. The pope thought permission for churches to ring their bells applied not just to Solkhat but everywhere; the khans thought otherwise, although when there was a ban on bell ringing it did not reach Caffa. Only a secular Mongol judge saved the life of the Franciscan Johanca after he denounced Islam as a false faith. Sometimes Catholic apostates to Islam were forgiven upon repentance.

In Part I, Hautala rightly questions the inevitability and speed of the conversion of the Jochid ulus to Islam. Historical "inevitability" is always unprovable, and optimistic assertions on the spread of Islam in the Jochid ulus are no more credible than optimistic expectations of the spread of Christianity. However, we might have doubts that more Franciscans and Dominicans could have altered the religious path the Jochid ulus eventually took. Catholic influence derived from a tiny number of foreign missionary friars, but Islamic influence derived first and foremost from urban regions of the Jochid ulus—Volga Bulgaria and Khwarizm—that were Muslim before they were conquered by the Mongols, and the massive Muslim Central Asian establishment, who had much greater access to Horde urban residents and nomads than did distant Rome.

Part II, "The Mongols in the East of Europe" contains nine articles. Its source base continues to be Latin sources, but sometimes those sources tell us more about the fantasies of their authors and audience than about the nomads. Chapter 12, "Early Latin Reports about the Mongols (1221): Reasons for Distortion of Reality" (269-87), explains the anomaly that these early reports accurately attested the Mongol conquests in Western Asia but perceived them through the distorting lens of the legends of the peoples of Gog and Magog of the "Alexander Romance" and of Prester John. Western

Catholics believed that the Mongols wanted to believe, which is what their Nestorian informants told them: that the Mongols were or would soon become Christians who would vanquish Islam.

Chapter 13, “Istoriia deianii Davida, tsaria Indii (1221): latinskii tekst, perevod i kommentarii” (289-311), provides a Latin text and annotated Russian translation of the “History of the Deeds of David, King of the Indies” (from the Prester John legend) contained in the seventh letter of Catholic Archbishop of Acre Jacques de Vitry sent to the West on April 18, 1221. It provided the most comprehensive distorted history of the victories of Khwarazmshah Ala ad-Din Muhammed II, Naiman khan Kuchlug, and Genghis Khan, all attributed to the fictional Christian “King David,” a potential Crusader ally. Hautala leaves open the question of whether the Georgians invented the crosses on the standards of the Mongols, designed to confuse Christians, or whether they merely misinterpreted sketches of birds on the standards as crosses. We know from Mongol ultimata of the period that the Mongols were devoted to the Great Blue Sky and carried the nine-tail banner of Chinggis Khan. The Mongols were more than willing to send Muslim envoys to Muslim targets of conquest and Nestorian envoys to Christian targets of conquest, and were more than ready to use deceit in battle (like mounting dummies on horses). However, using Christian standards sounds improbable.

Chapter 14, “Latins Sources’ Information about the Mongols Related to their Re-Conquest of Transcaucasia” (313-30), clarifies the stages of Latin perception of the Mongols. By the early 1230s Catholic writers had learned that the Mongols were not Christian and were not intent on liberating Jerusalem from the Muslims. Nor were they led by “King David.” Rather, they were chasing Muhammed Khwarazmshah. Some, like the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, presented the Mongols as “virgin barbarians,” tall and beautiful, but later depictions describe them as ugly. Even with accurate information, some Latin writers believed or hoped that the Mongols would still aid Christians, if only indirectly by weakening Muslims. On the eve of the Mongol invasion of Eastern Europe, the pope had no inkling of the reality that the Mongols were far more dangerous than Muslims.

According to Chapter 15, “Latin Sources on the Religious Situation in the Western Mongol Uluses in the Late 13th - Early 14th Centuries” (331-45), the prevailing opinion of Russian, Tatar, and Western historians is that political and economic processes made the conversion of the Ilkhanate and the Jochid ulus to Islam inevitable. Personal religious orientation did not play a significant role in this development. Only Charles Melville has presented a modification of this theory for the Ilkhanate: the support of influential Muslims influenced Ghazan’s choice. Rather, to Hautala, Islam spread more rapidly among the nomads than the officials of the government (in contrast to the situation in the Jochid ulus?). In the cities and in Catholic perception, world religions, including Buddhism, Islam, and more than one Christian denomination, were competing for the adherence of the Chinggisid rulers. Adherents of each faith interpreted the contradictory information at their disposal of the religious preferences of the Mongol elite in their own favor.

Hautala’s discussion of the methods of nomadic evangelization are quite interesting. The “Codex Cumanicus” used Kipchak vocabulary and folk material to explicate Christian dogma to potential converts. Papal diplomacy with the Ilkhans was quite pragmatic: in return for conversion the popes offered the Ilkhans a military alliance. Of course, the friars used persuasion to spread the faith, particularly the theology of salvation.

Catholic missionary efforts toward the Mongols, both sedentary rulers and nomads, might fruitfully be explored within a broader context by comparing them to the evangelization of non-nomadic “barbarians,” the Germanic tribes in late Roman and early medieval times. However, the coercive conversion program of crusading knights in Eastern Europe against Balts and Slavs would provide no useful guidance on this issue.

At 78 pages in length, Chapter 16, “Ot Batu do Dzhaniibeka: voennye konflikty Ulusa Dzhuchi s Pol’shei i Vengrei” (347-425), is by far the longest in the anthology. Utilizing Hungarian, Polish, and German chronicles in Latin, Papal letters, and Russian and Mamluk sources, it provides a detailed narrative of conflicts between the Jochid ulus, on the one hand, and Poland and Hungary, on the other, from the thirteenth century conquests and

reign of Batu to the reign of Janibek, son of Uzbek (1342-1357), on the eve of the “great troubles” in the Jochid ulus of the 1360s and 1370s. This narrative foregrounds two salient features of Mongol-East European relations in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. First, the Jochid ulus never renounced its sovereignty over Galicia-Volynia in modern Ukraine nor its right to receive tribute from those lands, regardless of which East European power occupied them. In pursuit of that revenue, the Jochid ulus made and broke alliances with all the parties involved. Second, Lithuania, Poland, and Hungary were, despite vehement papal criticism, willing to pay that tribute to the Mongols rather than risk full-scale military confrontation. Of course, everybody raided everybody else regardless of political and diplomatic arrangements.

Hautala, relying on papal sources, asserts that before he became grand prince, Alexander Nevsky personally declared his loyalty to the Pope. The pope was dissatisfied with this agreement precisely because it was personal, not political, but when the Mongols recognized Nevsky’s accession to the grand-princely throne of Vladimir, Nevsky no longer needed the security of papal favor and he repudiated his declaration (357-58). Even such a temporary lapse of fidelity to Orthodoxy is hardly consistent with Nevsky’s idealized image in his vita or Eisenstein’s film, but some historians in Russia do accept this narrative.

Hautala suggests that the 1259 Mongol invasion of Eastern Europe may have been more than just an attempt to create a defensive perimeter for Galicia-Volynia, by then fully under Mongol control, but actually preparation for a major invasion of Eastern Europe, aborted by the break-up of the World Mongol Empire (370). Berke had demanded Hungarian subordination to the Jochid ulus, with a dynastic intermarriage of King Istvan V or a son to a Chinggisid princess, as part and parcel of his receiving Mongol military help against Poland. Istvan V refused, precipitating another Mongol invasion of Hungary.

I am inclined to believe that by 1259 the Jochid ulus was far more committed to fighting the Ilkhanate for Azerbaijan than invading Poland, Hungary, or Bohemia. Nevertheless, Hautala does convincingly demonstrate that the Jochid ulus remained a major player in East European affairs

long after the campaign of 1240-1241.

Chapter 17, “Latin Sources on the Religious Situation in the Golden Horde in the Early Reign of Uzbek Khan” (427-37), explains that the 1323 Franciscan letter from the Crimea “intentionally or unintentionally distorted reality.” Latin and Asian sources must both be examined critically (433-34).

Chapter 18, “Iarlyk khana Uzbeka frantsiskantsam Zolotoi Ordy 1314 goda: latinskii tekst, russkii perevod i kommentarii” (439-54), provides a Latin text and annotated Russian translation (the first in any modern language) of Khan Uzbek’s grant of privileges (*iarlyk*) to the Franciscan Order in 1314. Hautala infers that “apparently” the original, which survives only in Latin translation, was written in the Khwarezmian idiom of the Kipchak language, following the view of István Vásáry that in the 1280s that idiom had become “official.” (I wonder if the notion of an “official” bureaucratic language is as anachronistic as the concept of a “state religion.”) The charter links itself to previous charters from Mengu-Timur and Toqta, also not extant, but attesting to continuity in the Horde policy not only of religious toleration but also of freedom of proselytization. Imperial charters became invalid upon the death of the khan, so they had to be reissued by the new khan. Presumably Hieronym, from Catalonia, bishop of Kaffa, was the recipient of the charter.

Chapter 19, “Russian Chronicles on the Religious Policy of Khan Uzbek (1313-1341) and his Relations with the Principalities of North-Eastern Rus” (455-77), concludes Part II and the anthology. Hautala cites it as “forthcoming.”³ Although Islamic sources record Uzbek as repressing amirs who opposed Islam, fierce nomadic opposition precluded coercive conversion to Islam, and Uzbek maintained the Chinggisid policy of tolerating all faiths. The Russian chronicles contain very little information on Uzbek’s enthronement. Most chronicle compilations (*svody*) arose only a century or two after Uzbek’s reign. “Probably, Russian compilers in the 15th - 16th centuries did not consider events of 1312-1313 so important to give them any attention.” In general, they were “little interested in events in the Horde and focused on description of only

³ “In press” (Russian *v pechati*). In the anthology the citation lacked only the pagination. The updated citation is *Zolotoordynskoe obozrenie*, tom 5, no. 4, 2017, 736-55.

those events that were directly related to the Russian principalities and their rulers.” Russian chronicles paid “so little attention” to Uzbek’s Muslim sympathies because they did not affect his Orthodox subjects (461). Uzbek’s charter to the Russian Orthodox Church, forged during the 1540s, was based upon the charter he actually issued. Uzbek tolerated both Orthodox and Catholic Christianity in the Jochid ulus. He supported the Orthodox metropolitans, who in turn supported the Muscovite princes allied with the Horde.

The “Tale of Mikhail of Tver” (466-71), who was executed at the Horde, was composed by an eyewitness, probably his confessor Alexander. The Tverian versions of the “Tale” were more anti-Tatar than the more neutral Muscovite chronicles. Only later versions accused Uzbek of persecuting Christians after his conversion to Islam, and even then the connection to his execution of Mikhail is unclear. The villain in the “Tale” is the ungrateful Kavgadyi, whose life Michael spared after he had defeated and captured him. Some chronicles accused Uzbek of being a “lawless tsar” but others omit the accusation and praise him as a just ruler. The “Tale” contains a completely accurate account of the Horde’s nomadic itinerary, “but it was hardly the author’s intention to acquaint the readers with the activities of the khan’s camp” (470).

That the Tatar envoy Shcholkan intended to convert the residents of Tver in 1327 is probably a later invention, influenced by Edigu’s assault on Moscow in 1408 (471-74). Therefore Uzbek’s conversion did not have a significant impact on the character of his reign. I would argue that if someone forged Uzbek’s charter in the 1540s, then his actual charter must not have survived.

Uzbek’s conversion certainly did not impugn the traditional Mongol policy of religious toleration, and Tverian and Muscovite chronicles were hardly non-partisan in evaluating the actions of their respective rulers. However, Hautala’s analysis treats the reconstructed Trinity Chronicle (*Troitskaia Ietopis*) as if it were a text, which it is not.⁴ Uzbek’s sister, married to Prince Yurii Daniilovich of Moscow, was named Konchaka, not Konchak;⁵ her

⁴ Charles J. Halperin, “Text and Textology: Salmina’s Dating of the ‘Chronicle Tales’ about Dmitry Donskoy,” *Slavonic and East European Review* 79 (2001): 248-63.

⁵ Konchak was the name of a Cuman beg in the late twelfth

baptismal name was Afagiia. Hautala does not take into account the broader context of Rus’ attitudes toward the Chinggisids as legitimate rulers, epitomized by translating “khan” as “tsar,” the translation of the title of the Byzantine emperor, *basileus*. Because of the distinction between Rus’ attitudes toward the Tatars and toward the khans, the “Tale” can be seen as neither pro- nor anti-Tatar.⁶

Whether the author of the “Tale” intended to convey information about the Horde to his audience is a moot point; he *did* convey such information. On the whole, the Rus’ sources provide a wealth of information on the Tatars, although undoubtedly much less than they possessed.⁷ The fantastic allegation that Shcholkan intended to convert the Tvreians to Islam probably reflected not the three texts about Emir Edigu’s siege of Moscow in 1408—he is not accused of trying to convert the populace of Moscow to Islam⁸—but the equally baseless accusations against Grand Prince Vasili II during the Muscovite dynastic wars of the 1430s and 1440s.⁹ Finally, even if Uzbek’s conversion did not immediately alter the religious confession of all his Tatar subjects and never undermined Tatar policy toward Rus’ Orthodox Christianity, his conversion to Islam definitely aided and abetted the long-term conversion of the Tatars, urban and nomadic alike, of the Jochid ulus to Islam. Every khan after Uzbek was a Muslim.

century, immortalized in the “Lay of the Host of Igor” (*Slovo o polku Igoreve*) for capturing Prince Igor’ Sviatoslavich.

⁶ Ch. Gal’perin, *Tatarskoe igo. Obraz mongolov v srednevekevoi Rossii*, tr. M. E. Kopylova, ed. Iu. V. Seleznev (Voronezh: Izdatel’stvo Voronezhskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2012), 97-102.

⁷ Charles J. Halperin, “Know Thy Enemy: Medieval Russian Familiarity with the Mongols of the Golden Horde,” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 30 (1982): 161-75, reprinted in Halperin, *Russia and the Mongols: Slavs and the Steppe in Medieval and Early Modern Russia*, ed. Victor Spinei and George Bilavski (Bucarest: Editura Academiei Romane, 2007), 43-61.

⁸ Gal’perin, *Tatarskoe igo*, 161-67.

⁹ In analyzing the attitudes of Russian chronicles toward the Tatars, Hautala does not engage Donald Ostrowski’s paradigm. For a response to Ostrowski see Charles J. Halperin, “Paradigms of the Image of the Mongols in Medieval Russia,” in Volker Rabatzii, Alessandra Pozzi, Peter W. Geier, and John R. Krueger, ed., *The Early Mongols: Language, Culture and History: Tümen tümen nasulatugai: Studies in Honor of Igor de Rachewiltz on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday* (Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series vol. 173; Bloomington, 2009), 53-62.

As promised, after the appearance of *Crusaders, Missionaries and Eurasian Nomads in the 13th - 14th Centuries: A Century of Interaction*, Hautala did indeed publish an anthology of annotated Russian translations of the Latin texts.¹⁰ In his introduction, Spinei observes that “unlike West-European authors who often ignore works published

¹⁰ *Ot “Davida, tsaria Indii” do “nenavistnogo plebsa satany”: antologiya rannikh latinskikh svedenii o tataro-mongolakh* (Kazan’: Mardzhani institut AN RT, 2018).

István Zimonyi. *Medieval Nomads in Eastern Europe: Collected Studies*. Ed. Victor Spinei. București: Editoru Academiei Române, Brăila: Editura Istros a Muzueului Brăilei, 2014. 298 pp. Abbreviations.

This anthology by the distinguished Hungarian scholar of the University of Szeged István Zimonyi contains twenty-eight articles, twenty-seven of them previously published between 1985 and 2013. Seventeen are in English, six in Russian, four in German, and one in French, demonstrating his adherence to his own maxim that without translation from Hungarian, research by Hungarian scholars “will not become part of the international literature” (230). The five thematic sections of the anthology reflect Zimonyi’s evolving research interests, as outlined in the introduction by András Róna-Tas, “István Zimonyi—A Concise Portrayal” (11-12). Although the “Parts” are numbered, the articles are not. The book concludes with a list of “Abbreviations” (397). A full-page color photograph of Zimonyi graces the volume (5).

These are not facsimiles but reproductions. Neither the author nor the editor, the Romanian specialist on steppe-sedentary relations Victor Spinei, has attempted to standardize the apparatus, so in some articles book and article titles in Hungarian are translated, in others they are not. Different spellings of the same Inner Asian or Oriental names, such as Bulgar and Bulghar, remain unrationalized, but specialists will not be confused, and the lack of an index, a standard omission in an anthology, will not affect the utility of the volume. Aside from the instances mentioned below, the number of typographical and format errors in the English- and French-language articles is puny.

in Slavic or Balkan languages, or Russian authors who confine themselves to bibliography in their own mother tongue,” Hautala’s linguistic capabilities enabled him to become conversant with the entire field of Mongol studies (14), for which all specialists in the Mongols, and indeed all medievalists, should be grateful.

- Charles J. Halperin

Part I, “Volga Bulgars,” the subject of Zimonyi’s English-language monograph,¹ contains eight articles. In “The First Mongol Raids against the Volga-Bulgars” (15-23), Zimonyi confirms the report of ibn-Athir that the Mongols, after defeating the Kipchaks and the Rus’ in 1223, were themselves defeated by the Volga Bolgars, whose triumph lasted only until 1236, when the Mongols crushed Volga Bolgar resistance.

In “Volga Bulgars between Wind and Water (1220-1236)” (25-33), Zimonyi explores the pre-conquest period of Bulgar-Mongol relations further. The Bulgars defeated the Mongols not only in 1223 but also in 1229 and 1232. However, during this period the Vladimir-Suzdalian Rus’ princes annexed Mordvin territory that was part of the Bulgar realm. Zimonyi argues that the Bulgars considered the Mongols a greater threat than the Rus’ and therefore did not respond to the Rus’ territorial advance. Given Bulgar connections to Central Asia, their knowledge of the Mongols would indeed have given them a better appreciation of the Mongol danger than the Rus’ had; after 1223 the Rus’ thought that the Mongols had gone away for good. Unbeknownst to me, “between the wind and the water” is a nautical expression for “at a vulnerable point” or “in the crossfire.” This article is enhanced by maps showing Eastern European trade and campaign routes and a “Chronology” which serves as an appendix.

In “Volga Bulghars and Islam” (35-40), Zimonyi writes that “The adoption of a world religion is always a political decision” (25). Here he analyzes

¹ István Zimonyi, *The Origins of the Volga Bulghars* (Szeged: University of Szeged Press, 1990).