

**CHAPTERS FROM THE POLITICAL LIFE OF NAMES  
THE NATIONALISATION OF NAMES AND NAMING IN DUALIST  
HUNGARY**

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## Abstract

The thesis investigates conflicting nationalisation projects, visions of national histories and state Magyarisation policies in Dualist Hungary (1867–1918) from the perspective of proper names, naming and renaming. Transylvania, the Banat and the eastern confines of historical Hungary proper make up the narrower focus of research, where dominant or non-dominant national elites jockeyed to popularise Romanian, Hungarian and German historical imaginaries, set to come into collision with one another. The thesis makes a case for proper names as ideal objects of research in the quest for such imaginaries and their social pathways. Since proper names lack lexical meaning, they have served as privileged projection screens for historical visions and as ideal sites for negotiating, affirming and representing identifications with the nation.

My scope here is analogous to that of a whole spate of recent research that has interrogated public monuments, ceremonies and holidays from the perspective of nation formation, and the thesis even intersects with this research paradigm at the study of commemorative street names, which can be understood as verbal public monuments. Like the best recent crop of this paradigm, it also engages with popular responses, and the sources have in many a case allowed to assess how far the related imaginaries resonated with broader publics. The analysis is undertaken at three levels, which alternate in the course of the thesis: practices, usages, processes and acts of naming as the second-order social; discourses, perceptions, fantasies and myths related to names as the third-order social and policies of renaming. The basic structure follows the external division of proper names to personal (given and family) and place names (street names, settlement names, hydronyms and names of surface features). Beyond its



historical subject matter, the thesis also offers more generally valid considerations and research designs for the socio-historical study of names.

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More in number than the hairs of my head  
 are those who hate me without cause;  
 mighty are those who would destroy me,  
 those who attack me with lies.  
 What I did not steal  
 must I now restore?  
 (Psalm 69:4)

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The present thesis makes a case for revisiting the significance of proper names for history writing, especially for writing histories of nation formation. Names as carriers of ideological contents have received little attention from historians, and in general lines, the space between analytic philosophy's theoretical interest in proper names and the all too often purely descriptive and taxonomic pursuits of onomastics constitutes a barely exploited field. In particular, my work makes a wager that a socio-cultural history of nationalism that is comprehensive in its breadth can be written from this seemingly narrow and barren perspective. I will pick up on this thread at the end in a concluding chapter, where I will reassess the dynamics of nation formation and national conflict in the given historical context based on the results that my engagement with proper names has yielded.

In some respects, this is a sequel to my book *The Politics of Early Language Teaching*, which explored how Hungarian was taught to native Romanian and German children in Dualist Hungary.<sup>1</sup> Sharing the earlier study's temporal and spatial framework, it also uses many of the same sources and it tries to steer the same non-partisan path through the difficult subject of Dualist Hungary's national policies and national conflicts. The time frame of my research extends from 1867 to 1914, and the territory under study encompasses historical Transylvania, together with its neighbouring counties to the West, ex-

<sup>1</sup> *The Politics of Early Language Teaching: Hungarian in the primary schools of the late Dual Monarchy* (Budapest: Pasts, Inc., Central European University, 2013).

cluding Máramaros, but including Temes Counties, according to the administrative division introduced in 1876. While the language ecology of the major, central part of the area was centred upon Romanian, its eastern chunk, the Szeklerland together with a few contiguous groups of villages, stood apart as predominantly Hungarian-speaking. The same applies for the north-western half of Bihar and the western half of Szatmár Counties in the West, included here for statistical reasons. Cities also constituted separate linguistic contexts with either Hungarian or German playing central roles, and the bigger a place was, the more likely it had a Hungarian or German linguistic majority. To orient the reader among the diverse linguistic micro-worlds of the land, I indicate the relevant data of the 1880 and sometimes also the 1910 censuses next to each place in the place-name index.

**Table 1.1. Basic linguistic attraction-dependency model of the territory according to the 1880 census (people able to speak only)<sup>2</sup>**

Language	Native speakers	In proportion to the entire population	Monolinguals among natives	Speakers among the non-native population
<b>Romanian</b>	2,837,833	53.0%	92.7%	~18-22% <sup>3</sup>
<b>Hungarian</b>	1,167,564	28.6%	77.9%	5.6%
<b>German</b>	429,788	10.5%	40.1%	5.8%

Far from merely being categories created by nationalist discourses, censuses and ethnic maps, the mother-tongue groups shown here more or less also corresponded to earlier native and ultimately ethnic categories. Moreover, the pre-existing relatively rigid ethnic divisions between Romanians, Magyars and Transylvanian Saxons, based on the confluence of confessional and linguistic boundaries and often underpinned by status dif-

<sup>2</sup> The source of the data, and of all other census data from 1880, is *A Magyar Korona Országában az 1881. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei* [Results of the census conducted in the Lands of the Hungarian Crown, in the beginning of 1881], 2 vols (Budapest: Országos Magyar Kir. Statisztikai Hivatal, 1882).

<sup>3</sup> Due to the incomplete processing of the 1880 data, these had to be controlled on the basis of the more relevant 1910 ones.



ferences, impose a two-tier model of ethnicity and nationalism on describing how the national diversity came about that was so typical for the region in the twentieth century. With Max Weber, I define ethnicity on the basis of belief in common descent, in distant ancestors who are imagined to have already lived together as one group.<sup>4</sup> This in turn is reflected in belief in a shared, distinct culture inherited from the common ancestors. Reproduced by strategies of boundary maintenance, including symbolic marking of some segments of culture and stereotyping—the discursive positioning and self-positioning of communities—ethnicity implicates a broader scope of social life than nationalism even claimed. In the nineteenth century, the national was superimposed on the ethnic, first as a powerful language of political mobilisation along the old ethnic lines, but projecting solidarities and goals on a wider scale and investing earlier linguistic-confessional categories with new stakes. In the form as it was preached by the intelligentsia to the peasant masses, national ideology often built on ethnic identifications, stereotypes and paths of reasoning. It subsequently broadened its range of influence over the thoughts and actions of peasants, but old and new largely coexisted and occasional conflicts between them could be accommodated, toned down or ignored. Ethnic mental structures, memories, old patterns of boundary maintenance, the old significance of local ties and of inherited, intra-national divisions continued to linger on for a long time.

Since confessional identity was people's only institutionalised, legally enforceable and at the same time subjectively valid identity that transcended the local, it had a decisive influence on the perception of ethnic divisions that the area's confessional groups used the vernacular or a standard variety more or less close to the vernacular in their liturgy, with the exception of Roman (and Armenian) Catholics and Jews. That the main languages were *Abstand* (discretely contrasting) languages in relation to one another, that

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<sup>4</sup> Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretative Sociology*, trans. Ephraim Fischhoff et al. (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1968; 1978), 385–98.

most people were monolingual and that second-language skills were distributed asymmetrically in contact settings further increased the role that language played in constituting ethnicity. Although the area was perhaps unique in East-Central Europe in the high proportion of linguistically diverse villages, the various ethno-linguistic groups did not share the same space, but as a rule lived in ethnically segregated neighbourhoods. The rates of interfaith weddings were very low in the countryside, with interethnic unions and individual conversions between Christian denominations being exceedingly rare.<sup>5</sup> Add to these factors status, which blended with religion and language to form a sharper dividing line, like in the case of Saxons of the Saxon Land, who had not known serfdom and collectively formed one of the three *nationes* in Transylvania, or whenever former Romanian serfs or cotters<sup>6</sup> lived side by side with Magyar petty nobles.

Apart from said *ethnies*, ethnicity had unfolded in other dimensions as well. Leaving aside the pervasive and universal scale of social proximity, spanning in concentric circles from the kinship network through the locality to the district as the largest reference group (the *țară* or *vidic* of Romanian peasants<sup>7</sup>), there existed locally or more broadly relevant ethnic divisions rooted either in migration—like the ones between *frătuți* and *bufeni* in the Banat or the ones between Saxons on the one hand and *Landler*, *Durlacher* or *Zipsers* on the other in Transylvania<sup>8</sup>—or in hereditary status differences, like the ones

5 Mircea Brie, *Căsătoria în nord-vestul Transilvaniei (a doua jumătate a secolului XIX—începutul secolului XX): condiționări exterioare și strategii maritale* [Marriage in North-western Transylvania (the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries): external factors and marital strategies] (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2009); Gheorghe Șișeștean, *Etnie, confesiune și căsătorie în nord-vestul Transilvaniei* [Ethnicity, confession and marriage in North-western Transylvania] (Zalău: Caiete Silvane, 2002); Corneliu Pădulean and Ioan Bolovan, eds, *Căsătorii mixte în Transilvania: Secolul al XIX-lea și începutul secolului XX* [Mixed marriages in Transylvania: nineteenth and early twentieth centuries] (Arad: Editura Universității 'Aurel Vlaicu', 2005); Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények, new series, vol. 7 (Budapest: Magyar Kir. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1905), 56–7; Ágnes Zana, 'Vegyes házasságok vizsgálata a kevert etnikumú Tekén' [The analysis of mixed marriages in multiethnic Tekendorf/Teke/Teaca], *Néprajzi Látóhatár* 12 (2003), nos 3–4, 172–5 and Zoltán Ilyés, 'Az exogámia hatása három román eredetű csik-megyei havasi telep anyanyelvi állapotára és etnikus identitására (1841–1930)' [The impact of exogamy on the state of the mother tongue and on ethnic identity in three Romanian-origin alpine settlements in Csík County, 1841–1930], *Demográfia* 41 (1998): 285–99.

6 *Inquilinus, zsellér, jeler*. Landless peasant performing farm work on the lord's own (allodial) land.

7 Paul H. Stahl, *Household, Village and Village Confederation in Southeastern Europe*, trans. Linda Scales Alcott (s. I.: East European Monographs, 1986), 47–50 and Barbu Ștefănescu, *Sociabilitatea rurală, violență și ritual: Cartea în practicile oblativ de răscumpărare a păcii comunitare, Transilvania, sec. XVII-XIX* [Rural sociability, violence and ritual: the book in offering practices propitiating communal peace, Transylvania, 18th–19th centuries] (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2004), 139–40.

8 Damian Izverniceanu, *Olenii din Banat (bufenii sau țărani) și originea lor* [The Olenians of the Banat (bufeni or țărani) and their origin] (Lipova: Libr. Românească, 1935); Mihai Gașpar, *Date monografice referitoare la comuna Bocșa-Montană* [Monographic data regarding Bocșa Montană/Deutsch-Bogschan/Németbogsán] (Caransebeș: tipografiei dieceazane, s. a.), 19; Virgil Birou, *Oameni și locuri din Căraș* [People and places from Caraș/Karasch/Karas] (Timișoara, Facla, 1982), 160; Gheorghe Jia-

between peasant nobles and commoners, between former free Szeklers and serfs in the Szeklerland or between *boieri*, former border guards, freedmen, serfs and cotters in the Land of Fogaras/Făgăraş/Fogarasch.<sup>9</sup> Inherited status differences, which always readily flow into ethnic divisions, could even cross-cut *ethnie* boundaries. One important measure of the nationalisation process later became to overcome these internal differences.

The resilience of ethnic phenomena is but one reason that nationalisation is an open-ended process, analogous to Tetris rather than to the jigsaw puzzle, to borrow Edin Hajdarpasić's metaphor.<sup>10</sup> Mature nationalisms keep on changing, and the national community needs to be continuously reproduced in new forms as old generations die out and new ones grow up. Also, while on one hand, the fulfilment of national projects always seems postponed into a future when their constitutive lack is eliminated,<sup>11</sup> on the other hand, nations 'have always been seen as falling apart';<sup>12</sup> from the moment that their existence is taken note of, they are imagined as being in decline, with their authenticity damaged and in need of being saved. More to the point, one feels similarly at a loss to pin down in time the onset of the peasantry's nationalisation process. Nineteenth-century people acquired national categories, beliefs, imageries and argumentation schemes in relating to concrete situations, which usually revolved around ongoing conflicts. Therefore,

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nu, *Potpourri* (Oravița: self-published, 1901), 69; Wilfried Schabus, *Die Landler: Sprach- und Kulturkontakt in einer alt-österreichischen Enklave in Siebenbürgen (Rumänien)* (Vienna: Praesens, 1996); Martin Bottesch, 'Identität und Ethnizität der Landler: zum Selbstverständnis der Landler', in *Die siebenbürgischen Landler: Eine Spurensicherung*, eds idem, Franz Grieshofer and Wilfried Schabus, vol. 1, 155–77 (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002); Theobald Streitfeld, *Durlachisch-Hanauisches aus Mühlbach* (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1984) and Horst Göbbel, *Abschied aus der Geschichte: Das Beispiel Jaad in Siebenbürgen; Werden und Niedergang einer deutschen Gemeinde* (Nürnberg: self-published, 1990).

9 Claude Karnoouh, *Inventarea poporului-națiune: cronică din România și Europa Orientală 1973–2007* [Romanian translation of *L'invention du peuple: Chronique de Roumaine et d'Europe orientale*, 2nd ed.], trans. Teodora Dumitru (Cluj: Idea, 2011); Gail Kligman, *The Wedding of the Dead: Ritual, Politics, and Political Culture in Transylvania* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1988), 32–4; Béla Berde, *A kolozsmegyei Szucság község története* [The history of Szucság/Suceagu commune in Kolozs County] (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1914); Tache Papahagi, *Graiul și folklorul Maramureșului* [The dialect and folklore of Maramureș] (Bucharest: Cultura Națională, 1925), XV; Ion Conea, 'Nemeși și rumâni în Clopotiva' [Nemeși and rumâni in Clopotiva], in *Clopotiva: un sat din Hațeg* [Clopotiva: a village in the Land of Hațeg], ed. idem, vol. 2, 525–31 (Bucharest: Institutul de Științe Sociale al României, 1940); István Imreh, *Erdélyi hétköznapiak: társadalom- és gazdaságtörténeti írások a bomló feudalizmus időszakáról* [Everyday Transylvania: writings on the social and economic history of the period of decaying feudalism] (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1979), 122–3; Ioan Georgescu, *Amintiri din viața unui dascăl: pagini trăite* [Remembrances from the life of a teacher: pages lived through] (s. l. [Craiova]: Editura Casei Școalelor, 1928), 60–1 and Ioan Dima Petrașcu in *Telegrafu Romanu* 14/26 October 1873, p. 314.

10 Edin Hajdarpasic, *Whose Bosnia? Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840–1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015), 206.

11 Yannis Stavrakakis, 'Enjoying the Nation: A Success Story?', in *The Lacanian Left: Psychoanalysis, Theory, Politics*, 197–8 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

12 Orvar Löfgren, 'The Nationalisation of Culture', *Ethnologia Europaea* 19 (1989): 18.

it should not be thought that peasants started behaving and thinking as nationals all at once. At first, they rather acceded to being framed so, then started to see themselves as nationals, but first in some relevant domains and roles and not in others, until their repertoire gradually widened. Moreover, peasants were selective in appropriating the elements proposed by nationalist elites, and they might also reinterpret and rearrange them for their own purposes.<sup>13</sup>

From the methodological point of view, what poses an insurmountable barrier is the illiteracy of the peasantry and the resulting lack of ego-documents from the early stages.<sup>14</sup> Usually others wrote on behalf of peasant, mostly with a powerful performative thrust, filtering the content through their own culture and tailoring their arguments to the upper-class reader. Once they saw that people's voice mattered, the clergy also did not hesitate to enlist their flock in support of nationalist causes. Scores of Romanian priests, for example, enumerated their mostly illiterate parishioners below their letters endorsing the nationalist leaders indicted in a much-publicised political trial in 1894.<sup>15</sup> Do these letters reveal anything about the national consciousness of the peasants involved? By comparison, a few years later the Maltese Catholic clergy collected sixty thousand signatures in protest against the looming threat for the public uses of Italian, which not only surpassed the number of literate Maltese, but was also many times more than those who spoke Italian on the islands.<sup>16</sup>

In their reflections on their people's national consciousness, nationalist activists typically swung between the exaltation of peasantry as bearers of the national spirit in its purest form, even if it may have slumbered in them, and disappointment at their national indifference. The testimony one can get from outside observers is as a rule equally elu-

13 Keely Stauter-Halsted, *The Nation in the Village: The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland, 1848–1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

14 Sorin Mitu and Elena Bărbulescu, 'Romanian Peasant Identities in Transylvania: Sources, Methods and Problems of Research', *Transylvanian Review* 22 (2013), supplement 3, 269.

15 Nicolae Josan, *Adeziunea populară la mișcarea memorandistă (1892–1895): mărturii documentare* [Popular adherence to the Memorandist movement: documentary evidence] (Bucharest: Științifică, 1996), 115–304.

16 Geoffrey Hull, *The Malta Language Question: A Case Study in Cultural Imperialism* (Valletta: Said, 1993), 46.

sive, since few raised the question in such terms, and the comments of those who did may also reveal more about their own preconceptions or fears than the subject. Finally, in the lucky cases where they can be retrieved, peasants' words still present a confusing ambiguity: pre-modern elements and arguments mix up in them with modern ones. In several sections of my study, in 2.1, 4.2 and 4.5.8, I will make attempts to crack this notorious silence of the village. Only the data analysed in chapter 2.1 emerge unproblematically from the peasants themselves, however, and even there my sample is likely not representative for the peasantry as a whole.

Before I proceed further, let me lay out a few points of reference in bullet style so as to demarcate the nationalisation process of especially the Romanian and Magyar peasantry, a problem that will come up repeatedly on the next five hundred pages. The following concepts and identity symbols I consider proto-national: 1. The estate-based noble 'nation', the *natio Hungarica*. There was, however, a continuity between it and the modern imagined community of Magyars, facilitated by the lack of distinction in the ethnonym *magyar* between nobles and non-noble speakers of Hungarian. 2. The myth of Romanians' Latin origins as a learned tradition infiltrating the peasantry, as long as its political relevance remained flexible and modest. 3. The myth of Szeklers' direct descent from the Huns. 4. Dynastic loyalty, the cult of the Good Emperor, pan-Orthodoxy with Russian or Illyrian sympathies. 5. Calvinist Magyar proto-nationalism, with a parallel between Magyars and Old Testament Jews as its master narrative. 6. An ethno-linguistically inclusive, but confessionally exclusive Catholic Hungarian patriotism, with the cult of the Hungarian saints and of the Virgin Mary as the patroness of Hungary. 7. The tradition of belonging to the Teutonic nation in the Transylvanian Saxon elite. 8. Basic forms of linguistic loyalty to the locally spoken idiom against imposition of a dominant language.

National identities developed in response to the ideas promoted and practised by the respective elites, closely intertwined with modernisation and in tandem with other forms of political consciousness. Some of the main avenues, contexts and engines of the nationalisation process, without order of importance, were the following: 1. Priests figured as the foremost popularisers of nationalist ideas and imageries in the peasantry, via sermons, religious education, by the tightening of confessional boundaries and by enforcing the ancestral language on diasporic communities. 2. Primary schools. Romanian schools in Hungary also disseminated the Romanian, while Transylvanian Saxon schools the German national school culture. Furthermore, priests and school teachers taught nationalist songs, organised celebrations and staged amateur theatre performances. 3. Everyday conflicts with the Hungarian state. Peasants at large disliked the state as an expanding tax-levying, monopoly-holding and conscripting entity, but non-Magyars in Hungary carried the additional burdens of an imposed state language, with the possibilities of abuse that it opened up, and occasional discriminations and humiliations. My hypothesis is that peasant masses became more easily nationalised in non-dominant positions, provided that association and the press were relatively free.<sup>17</sup> 4. Outgroup nationalisms. 5. Parallel development of a free-holding peasant identity following enfranchisement.<sup>18</sup> 6. Servitude trials and conflicts over land consolidation between Romanian smallholders and Magyar landlords.<sup>19</sup> 7. The memory of the peasant uprisings and civil war of 1848–49, which had pitted Magyars against Romanians and Saxons. Similarly to the Greek War of Independence, the participation of the masses in the events themselves does not attest to the prevalence of national ideas in their midst. 8. Direct access to the penny press and its nation-

17 Friedrich Lachmann's memorandum to the Viennese Ministry of Foreign Affairs; in Ernst R. Rutkowski, 'Österreich-Ungarn und Rumänien 1880–1883, die Proklamierung des Königreiches und die rumänische Irredenta', *Südostforschungen* 25 (1966): 274 and Ferenc Nagysolymosi Szabó, *Erdély és a román kérdés* [Transylvania and the Romanian question] (Marosvásárhely: self-published, 1910).

18 John-Paul Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Houndsmill, Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press, 1988), 143–217.

19 Iosif Kovács, *Desființarea relațiilor feudale în Transilvania* [The abolishment of feudal relations in Transylvania] (Cluj: Dacia, 1973), 101–53.

alised portrayal of peasants, beginning with the 1890s in Romanian. 9. Associational life organised along ethno-national lines. 10. Plans and rumours of ‘liberation wars’ by Romania and/or Russia, excitement and panic mounting in the countryside in 1882 and 1893–4.<sup>20</sup> 11. Work migration to Romania, Germany and the United States. 12. Visits to the 1896 millennial exhibition in Budapest and the 1906 national exhibition in Bucharest. 13. Electoral canvassing. In Transylvania, the Romanian National Party boycotted elections until 1903. 14. In the Banat, the long-drawn-out legal actions for the division of church property between Romanians and Serbs.<sup>21</sup> The separation of Orthodox parishes on linguistic grounds could sometimes create boundaries where none was perceptible earlier.<sup>22</sup>

Finally, a brief review of what already pertained to the national paradigm. 1. The distancing of Magyar (Sunday) peasant costume from the Romanian one, towards coalescing into national patterns. This process got started around the mid-nineteenth century and extended deep into the twentieth.<sup>23</sup> 2. National symbols used as decorative motifs, especially the integration of the Romanian tricoloured into Romanian peasant dress in the

20 Teodor Pavel, *Mișcarea românilor pentru unitate națională și diplomația puterilor centrale* [Romanians’ movement for national unity and the diplomacy of the Central Powers], vol. 1 (Timișoara: Facla, 1979), 37–52; *Szabadság* (Nagyvárad/Oradea) 21 September 1893, quoted in G. Gábor Kemény, ed., *Iratok a nemzetiségi kérdés történetéhez Magyarországon a dualizmus korában* [Documents on the history of the nationalities problem in Hungary in the Dualist Era], vol. 1 (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1952), 192 and Corneliu Mihail Lungu, ed., *De la Pronunciament la Memorandum, 1868–1892: mișcarea memorandistă, expresie a luptei naționale a românilor* [From the Pronunciament to the Memorandum, 1868–1892: the Memorandum movement, an expression of Romanians’ national struggle] (Bucharest: State Archives of Romania, 1993), 232–6.

21 Lucian Mic, *Relațiile Bisericii Ortodox Române cu Biserica Ortodoxă Sărbă în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea* [Relations between the Romanian and the Serb Orthodox Churches in the second half of the 19th century] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană and Caransebeș: Editura Episcopiei Caransebeșului, 2013) and Tiberiu Mărgineanțu, *Triumful românilor ortodoxi din comunele Berecuța și Mănăstire: acte și documente privitoare la despărțirea Românilor de către Sârbi, din aceste comune* [Triumph of the Romanian Orthodox from Berecuța and Mănăstire/Sendurad: acts and documents regarding the separation of local Romanians from the Serbs] (Caransebeș: Tipografie diecezană, 1937).

22 Annemie Schenk and Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, *Interethnik und sozialer Wandel in einem mehrsprachigen Dorf des rumänischen Banats* (Marburg: Marburger Studienkreis für Europäische Ethnologie, 1973), 32–3.

23 László K. Kovács, *A Borsa-völgyi juhászat* [Shepherding in the Borša/Borsa Valley] (Budapest: Gondolat and Európai Folklór Intézet, 2008), 234; Gyula Döri, Lajos Petrik and József Déry, ‘Kirándulások a barcasági hegységekbe’ [Excursions to the mountains of the Burzenland/Bârsa/Barcaság], *Turisták Lapja* 7 (1896): 11; József Faragó, Jenő Nagy and Géza Vámszer, *Kalotaszegi magyar népviselet* [The Magyar folk costume of Kalotaszeg] (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1977), 96–7 and 356; Balázs Orbán, *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népművészeti szempontból* [The description of the Szeklerland from historical, archaeological, natural and ethnographic viewpoints], vol. 1 (Pest: Ráth and Tettey, 1868), 75; Károly Kós, *A Mezőség néprajza* [Ethnography of the Cămpie/Mezőség/Heide] (Marosvásárhely: Mentor, 2000), vol. 2, 196–205; Klára Gazda, *A székely népviselet* [The Szekler folk costume] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1988), 122–5, 133 and 168–70; István Györfly, ‘Viselet’ [Costume], in *A magyarság tárgyi néprajza* [The material ethnography of Hungarians] by Zsigmond Bátky, István Györfly and Károly Viski, vol. 1, 386 and 421 (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, s. a.); Mária Flórián, ‘Parasztférfiak “zsínóros magyar ruhája”’ [Peasant men’s ‘soutached Magyar clothes’], in *Életmód, szemléletmód és a módi változása a parasztság körében a 19–20. század fordulóján* [Way of life, perception and fashion change among the peasantry at the turn of the 19–20th centuries], idem ed., 353–67 (Budapest: MTA Néprajzi Kutatóintézete, 2010); Mária Kresz, *Magyar parasztviselet (1820–1867)* [Magyar peasant costume, 1820–67] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1956), 97–8 and V. Gr. Borgovanu, *Amintiri din copilărie: școala primară, românească și nemțească, preparandia și gimnaziul; 1859–1873* [Childhood memories: Romanian and German primary schools, teachers college and high school; 1859–1873] (Brașov: Mureșianu, 1909), 93.

Dualist Era. These two practices still marked the body, as pre-modern ethnic boundary-maintenance strategies would usually do, and in this respect they should be seen as transitional. 3. A secular conception of time and secular history, as against cyclical time, sacred history and living local memory. 4. An even, cartographic conception of space. These two, closely linked to literacy and school learning, obviously do not make up for a national mindset and could freely coexist with national indifference. They were nonetheless indispensable to becoming national, and the fact that they were jointly instilled to school children's minds with the rudiments of nationalism reinforced the link between them. 5. The latter two, together with the notions of ownership internalised by new generations of enfranchised peasants, prepared the ground for a passionate belief in the nation's historical priority in the claimed homeland and for a view of the national Other as alien there. Truth be told, newcomers of all stripes and especially the ethnically different had always been resisted by local communities as a threat to their customs and interests, and mid-nineteenth century peasants would remember if the other group had moved into their village during previous generations, but attitudes based on such knowledge had been bound by the confines of local memory and devoid of broader political stakes. And the other way around, nationalism would at least theoretically make any member of the nation proudly feel at home in any part of their claimed national homeland. 6. Pride taken in (the civilisational achievements, military victories of) Romania or Germany as kin states. 7. Solidarity transcending ethnic, religious, social and geographical divisions within the projected national community. 8. A superior degree of linguistic loyalty pursued with heightened awareness, involving allegiance to abstract linguistic authorities and the re-learning of the ancestors' language (in diasporic settings). 9. Belief in Roman ancestry with a coherent system of political claims based upon it. 10. The demand to be governed by one's co-nationals and to become integrated into a separate political body.



Emotional engagement with national symbols and other national signifiers and their reproduction through use fits among the latter attributes of national consciousness, indeed it should have figured at the head of this catalogue as a *sine qua non* of nationhood. Proper names, the subject of the present study, do not belong to the company of flags, anthems, dishes, dances, pieces of garment and music and even landscapes as national symbols proper, but they have been heavily used to represent national identity and history. Moreover, standard national languages are national symbols *per se*, and names are the most suitable for such uses from all linguistic elements and features, although linguistic contrasts can take on similar meanings in puristic practices and in the case of pluricentric languages like Bosnian-Croatian-Montenegrin-Serbian. This certainly has to do with the marginal place that names occupy somewhere on the periphery of vocabulary, indeed, the uncertainty of whether they form part of the linguistic system at all. This dubious position is reflected in the scholarly tradition, also embraced here, of treating the inventory of proper names that can, with some reservations, be attributed to one language as a subsystem called the onomasticon, separate from common nouns. These latter will be also referred to as appellatives, especially in relation to names.

More specifically, I tentatively propose that it is because of their lack of lexical meaning that proper names have been more able to convey nationalist messages than core elements of the lexicon. There is a general agreement about the peculiarity of their semantic behaviour, which has made them a pet subject of analytic philosophers ever since Frege, Russell and Wittgenstein. According to mainstream opinions, a proper name does not have sense (*Sinn*, intension), only a referential status (denotation) that fixes its referent (*Bedeutung*, extension, denotatum). That is, there are no rules determining their applicability to things or concepts, but as mere tags, they are simply assigned to a referent, so that for instance a person's first or family name cannot be guessed from the way

she looks or behaves.<sup>24</sup> It is tempting to think that this semantic void makes proper names more amenable to symbolic uses, as it translates into a higher connotative potential. To exploit this potential, it is necessary either to impose new normative clues to their interpretation, to invest names with new connotations or to create new names that derive their interpretive values from the spaces they occupy. The semiotic rearrangement of a name, of course, also delimits the possible range of associations that it may call up.

There is little need to add that different categories of names were not put to symbolic uses in the same way. Animal names, for example, did not take on such connotations, and for all the interest they offer for the study of language contact and cultural transfer, I will also not cover them in the present study. With other categories of names, the operation could follow two distinct strategies. One of them hitched the name to a person or family who had originally worn it or at any rate to some remote era, typically the nation's golden age, when it had been first used as a name. This strategy, inherent in the trend of national given names and in commemorative street naming, related modern referents to dead prototypes and turned these names into sites of memory, which would also naturalise national canons and visions of history. The second strategy in turn built on the indexicality of the etymons proposed for place or family names, of their being derived from a national language, and then it matched this up with the ethnic character of referents. It could often point to an appellative meaning, the residual etymological meaning that a name may have in spite of its lack of lexical meaning, e.g., *Frankfurt* 'the Franks' ford'.<sup>25</sup> This is because historically, these two categories of names were neither arbitrary nor did they arise by one specific act of name giving, but were typically motivated by some characteristics of their referents. Note that this second strategy equally operated through evoking historical visions.

24 Saul A. Kripke, *Naming and Necessity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1972; 1980).

25 Willy Van Langendonck, *Theory and Typology of Proper Names* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2007), 92–3.

If my account of pre-national ethnic relations and of their transition to nationhood followed ethno-symbolist views, I must part ways with them on this point. While Anthony D. Smith thought that the masses could not engage with nationalist accretions not fitting into their pre-existent ethnic myths, the names and interpretations that my three nationalising elites brought into circulation belonged to just this kind of invented traditions and they still found acceptance in the long run, although not entirely without difficulties. In other words, the 'ethno' part of the ethno-symbolist approach can offer a partial explanation of pre-existent ethnic divisions and their realignment along national lines, but the 'symbolic' part does not provide for the autonomy and independent dynamic of elite constructions and underestimates the flexibility of peasants' minds, especially of the younger, school-going generations. Peasants did cherry-pick from the nationalist package and might even reinterpret some of its elements, but they had a very limited ability to impose new signifiers in the nationalist vein. The traditionally ethnified dress and music were the most likely domains where such innovative grassroots responses to national propaganda could take over before the War, but even there with the active approval of rural intelligentsia. Otherwise, even where bits and aspects of peasant culture were elevated into national significance with new meanings, the initiative rested with intellectual networks. This was certainly the case with naming and interpretations of names.

Common to both underlying strategies of nationalising proper names was that they turned them into projection screens for visions of national history. In order to avoid functionalist-pragmatist overtones of the term *historical ideology* and its derivatives, I will approach this field with visual metaphors related to the concept of historical imagination. By historical imagination, I mean common variations on those associative chains, or from a less mentalist perspective, those popular myths and received interpretations,

loaded with emotional involvement and directed to action, which have structured especially lay people's, but also trained historians' knowledge about the nation's history. It filters and frames new information, guides social action and ultimately feeds back into immediate reality. Historical and political imaginaries have as a rule been intimately interwoven. Nationalist historical visions have alternated between imagining 'our' past as being continuous and self-identical on the one hand and the temptation of alterity on the other, inspiring an imagination of 'our' ancestors as different from us. From all theorists of meaningful pasts, my concept of historical imagination is the most indebted to Lucian Boia's treatment of the 'history of imaginary' in his book *Pour une histoire de l'imaginaire*, and it bears no more than superficial affinity to the synonymous concepts by Collingwood, White and the Comaroffs.<sup>26</sup>

Obviously, the terms imagination and myth do not imply a judgement on truth value. This would be inapplicable even to imagination. Reversing the question, in fact its inclusiveness and neutrality make the latter a felicitous term. For anything not directly subject to perception needs to be called up in the mind to be reflected upon, and even the remembrance of things experienced always inescapably involves re-creating them. The nation's past as a matter for thought doubly justifies the use of this term, first as past, and then also as having a collectivity as its agent or its subject. Nations are communities that famously need to be imagined, as opposed to face-to-face groups, which may sometimes be perceived directly. Assisting the work of imagining the nation there were already widespread aids like national symbols and maps, but the era preceded the boom of visual information in the twentieth century.

As regards the myths organising historical imagination, they could be closer or farther from the truth, but in most cases it is hard to see what truth conditions they could be assigned at all. A popular Magyar myth of the era that was largely impervious to dis-

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26 Lucian Boia, *Pentru o istorie a imaginarii*, trans. Tatiana Mochi (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2000).

proval was the scapegoating of General Görgei of the revolutionary army as a traitor. More elaborate assaults on Görgei insinuated his alleged vengefulness against Kossuth, a rather flimsy and subjective basis for the charge of treason.<sup>27</sup> Apart from the word of Kossuth, who had launched the slander campaign against him, this charge relied on Görgei's surrender to the Russians in 1849 and his royal pardon from execution. Both were facts in a sense, but as historical facts, they had to be assembled in hindsight and could have been assembled more carefully if myths would not resist circumstantial explanations; already for some contemporaries from the same community of memory, he was rather the one who had salvaged what could be salvaged against overwhelming odds in a moment when other leaders of the revolution had turned down responsibility, who had not surrendered to the Austrians and who had been punished by lifelong internment, only interrupted in 1867 by the Austro-Hungarian Compromise. On the other hand, the public opinion that execrated him did so from the position of an intransigence in hindsight, in significant disregard to strategic reason and measuring his capitulation against the revolutionary army's superhuman valiance, thereby linking the acceptance of the myth to a positive self-image. This meaning becomes explicit and loaded with emotional weight in the following folk lyrics from the Kalotaszeg/Ținutul Călatei area of Transylvania:

But Görgei wasn't our true leader,  
 He made us surrender at Világos,  
 Had Görgei been true-hearted,  
 The Magyar wouldn't be a slave to anyone.<sup>28</sup>

Behind the two historical myths informing much of the imaginary that I will discuss here, it is possible to isolate factual bases, at least as they are given to us in the twenty-

27 Domokos Kosáry, *A Görgey-kérdés története* [History of the Görgey problem], 2 vols (Budapest: Osiris-Századvég, 1994).

28 'De Görgei nem volt igaz vezérünk, / Világosnál letétette fegyverünk, / Ha Görgei, sejhaj, igazszívű lett volna, / Magyar ember senki rabja nem volna.'

first century. In the case of Romanian nationalism's charter myth throughout the era, this is best put as Romance linguistic continuity in the former land of Dacia. This hypothesis of humanist origin is false, but it was perfectly tenable until the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>29</sup> In exchange, bringing up its exploitation in political arguments, the normative implications of 'Latinity' for the contemporaries and the very idea of bimillennial self-identity as the Romanian nation poorly captures the myth entwined with it. A counter-myth, to which I am going to refer as the myth of submerged Magyartdom, tells us that a significant part of contemporary Romanians in Hungary (Romanian-speakers of the Eastern rite), and in some areas their majority, had descended from people that had once spoken Hungarian and had belonged to Western churches. It is impossible to refute or corroborate this claim in practice, but it was always advanced together with clues that allegedly betrayed such roots, and these supposed clues, some of which will be heard from in later chapters, can be proven wrong. For an illuminating parallel, consider the Muslims of Bosnia, the majority of whom (the Bogumil theory aside) clearly had ancestors who had once owed loyalty to the Eastern Orthodox Church, but their momentous reconceptualisation as such did not entail an agreed-upon conclusion as to where they should really belong in the new constellation of the late nineteenth century.<sup>30</sup>

In the Lacanian view from which I think the study of nationalism could greatly benefit, driving the related imagination was ultimately the desire to recapture the enjoyment stolen from the national self, the core emotional content of nationalism.<sup>31</sup> The myth

29 What later became Romanian could only take on its Balkan features and acquire a specific early layer of its lexicon in a situation of intense contact with Albanian, Eastern Balkan Slavic and Greek, and it could only borrow its Latin-origin terms related to Christianity after the third century AD. V. A. Friedman, 'Balkans as a Linguistic Area', in *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics*, ed. Keith Brown, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 1, 657–72 (Oxford: Elsevier, 2006) gives a brief introduction to the Balkan Sprachbund. On the lexicon, a seminal book is Kr. Sandfeld, *Linguistique balkanique: problèmes et résultats* (Paris: Société de Linguistique de Paris, 1930). On the origins and contemporary history of Balkan linguistics, Helmut-Wilhelm Schaller, 'Geschichte der Südosteuropa-Linguistik', in *Handbuch der Südosteuropa-Linguistik*, ed. Uwe Hinrichs, 94–104 (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1999). On the core vocabulary of Christianity in Romanian, Johannes Kramer, 'Bemerkungen zu den christlichen Erbwörtern des Rumänischen und zur Frage der Urheimat der Balkanromanen', *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 34 (1998): 15–22. On the other hand, it is also far more parsimonious to treat as Romanians (Vlachs) only the expanding late medieval population of the Carpathians that is referred to as such in the sources and medieval dwellers of tithe-paying Catholic villages in the Transylvanian Basin and elsewhere that were to be destroyed and repopulated in the early modern period as Hungarian, German or Slavic-speaking than to have the latter as Romanians in disguise and to explain their settlement names as 'chancellery names'.

30 Hajdarpasic, 16, 32–4, 80–1 and 119–21.

31 Stavrakakis, 198.

of submerged Magyardom will command special attention on this score, since it points to a twofold definition of Romanians and other national minorities as the enjoyment lost to the Magyar/Hungarian nation and also as its enemies, the Other who had stolen said enjoyment, or on the surface, as the ones who have dissimilated ‘ours’ and the ‘ours’ who have become dissimilated. This ambiguity will come useful to understand the double-edged discourse constituting national minorities at once as brethren and as invaders, as people invited to assimilate and as undesirable, as well as the assimilatory nationality policies that were at the same time also ethnicist and repressive.<sup>32</sup>

Rather than probing the veracity of historical myths, I propose the more hermeneutic approach of reconstructing the horizons against which they were reproduced, in part to avoid holding against the contemporaries what they had no good reason to think about or indeed, what they could not have known, and to reserve this latter kind of information for the footnotes. This will keep us—the reader and myself—from falling into a smug and unjustified sense of superiority over our predecessors and will help to study historical imagination within its dynamics and dialogicity. The chapters in which I can perform this operation in depth prominently feature articulate scholarly or would-be scholarly pieces, which is a blessing since these allow me to tease out whether they responded to contradictory information and how, whether their etymologies and arguments could be thought to pass Occam’s razor and how far they absorbed Western paradigms of the time. The same circumstance is also a curse, however, since it makes me refer to imagination and myth the most often in contexts where these terms are the most misleading.

I am a constructivist, but not an epistemological relativist, and I do believe that historical methodologies help to create more adequate descriptions of the past. Obviously, the work of historian cannot dispense with imagination, all the less if it is accepted as a

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32 See the typology of language policies in Itesh Sachdev and Howard Giles, ‘Bilingual Accomodation’, in *The Handbook of Bilingualism*, eds Tej K. Bhatia and William C. Ritchie, 363 (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2006).

form of narrative art; historians perform deductions on images conjured up in their minds, fill up the gaps between facts, imagine themselves in the place of their characters, engage in counterfactual reasoning and apply rhetorical devices that would amount to inadmissible blanket generalisations if they were taken literally. I caution the reader that I will do all these and more in the course of the present work, and I can only offer in my defence that I cannot write a complex, argumentative-narrative text otherwise.

Imagination increasingly impinges upon the narrative as historians try to make a strong point with what they write, select and group their facts accordingly, and especially as the available sources get scarcer and more problematic. Things go sour only when they take on a contentious topic and refuse to set aside their sympathies, but step into the fray of *historia militans*. In the words of the late Péter Esterházy, ‘it is deucedly difficult to tell a lie when you don’t know the truth’.<sup>33</sup> To dissipate any doubt, the kind of imagination in history writing that is worth studying does not thrive on lies, but on the soil of hypotheses and interpretations. Although imagination is indispensable to formulate any hypothesis, it is when a scholar is faced with alternative explanations or tries to distil some knowledge from obviously insufficient data that her choices will show historical imagination at work at its purest, and irrespective of whether her conclusions are later proven false or not. The assurance with which such claims are put forward is also indicative, and some historians and philologists whom I will quote would not hesitate to present as gospel truth their tall and fancy conjectures that followed from what they were eager to prove by them. The novelty of critical historiography and historical-comparative linguistics in the era goes some way towards an explanation, but this kind of bluffing does not actually represent contemporary scholarship at large, at best the average nationalist output on such dubious topics as the prehistory of the author’s nation, where imagination was given free rein and which Romantic historians of East-Central Europe had

33 *Celestial harmonies*, trans. Judith Sollosy (London: Flamingo, 2004), 5.



still invariably described on the basis of Tacitus.<sup>34</sup> My occasional deconstructing of etymologies and historical speculations from the positions where they were conceived should not be taken as a gratuitous intellectual *tour de force* on my behalf, but as an avenue to the truth; a truth that does not reside in facts behind the myths, but in the people and the milieus that held them. My challenge here will be to critically examine nationalised visions without succumbing to my own theoretical biases and to do this with the ambition to offer more widely relevant insights.

Proper names will appear not only as projection screens for historical visions in the course of my work, but also as sites for creating, negotiating, affirming and representing identities based on history, on a par with the national holidays and memorials, celebrations and commemorations that a long line of recent historical anthropological research has been investigating guided by similar interests. My work intersects with this research paradigm at commemorative street names, the subject of my Part 3, which can effectively be seen as verbal public monuments. This is also the point where my thesis relates most closely to Pierre Nora's magisterial series *Les Lieux de mémoire*, whose title has become emblematic for the entire field. Although it mostly made its theoretical point heuristically by the range of things it covered, the breadth of this range has helped to remove the controversy from examining names as sites of identity production.

Incidentally, due to the overwhelmingly rural character of the Romanian fragment-society, the domain of street names was less affected by the conflict between state nationalism and its antagonistic national agendas in Dualist Hungary, which however permeated other aspects of naming not tied to urban environments. Nationals competed to establish their titles of ownership over the spheres they claimed for their nations by renaming these in their normative self-image, they waged a symbolic struggle to re-define

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<sup>34</sup> Monika Baár, *Historians and Nationalism: East-Central Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 173–81.

things, to enforce the equation ‘one nation—one onomasticon’ and ultimately to achieve a ‘monopoly of legitimate naming’ in a quite literal sense.<sup>35</sup>

Available onomastic studies have eased my burden of collecting primary data, but they give precious little theoretical guidance to the socio-cultural historian. Onomastics has continued its course as the discipline that establishes etymologies and organises its data into neat taxonomies in a spirit of antiquarian empiricism, the same pursuits that had lent it prestige in its heyday lasting until the First World War, when it was appreciated for the special knowledge that it contributed to the research of early history.<sup>36</sup> It has preserved a somewhat higher professional standing in Germany, where it also branched out in the 1970s into the study of naming fashions under the label *Namenssoziologie*, as well as in Scandinavia. In these lands, the belated critical turn of the discipline has recently ushered in a new florescence, but the new directions, of which the critical study of place names will be briefly touched upon in my chapter 3.1, have so far mainly focussed on present-day topics.

The structure of my work follows the classification of relevant classes of proper names according to an established and commonsensical typology, with one slightly smaller major unit on commemorative street names sandwiched between two longer ones on personal and place names. These two major structural parts will conclude with theoretical and methodological reflections written with those readers in mind who have no special interest in the historical context under scrutiny. Since the various sorts of names are often more different between themselves than they share common ground, I shall also reflect on their specific features and the specific stakes attached to them at the outset of the individual chapters. This structure in turn intersects with another tripartite division, ran-

35 Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 239.

36 Yakov Malkiel, *Etymology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 36 and Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman and Maoz Azaryahu, ‘Geographies of toponymic inscription: new directions in critical place-name studies’, *Progress in Human Geography* 34:4 (2010): 455.

ging across different levels of analysis and different main actors. Chapters 2.1, 2.2, 2.4, 2.5, 2.7, 2.9, 4.3 and 4.4 and sections 2.8.1 and 3.3.4 represent the second-order social, consisting in doing things with names; practices, usages, processes, individual acts of naming. Chapters 2.6, 4.1 and 4.2 move to a higher level of abstraction, which can be called the third-order social, namely discourses, perceptions, fantasies and myths related to names. Finally, the entire Part 3, the chapters 2.3 and 4.5 and the section 2.8.2 focus on an administration engaged in policies of renaming and on official practices towards the symbolic appropriation of names.

Throughout my work, I will use diverse methods and sources in accordance with the varied nature of my chapters. It is also my goal to propose research designs to examine the phenomena that I think are worth studying in other historical contexts. In some chapters, I will perform basic quantitative analysis on large databases and will illustrate the results on graphs and choropleth maps. I will often engage in reconstructing contemporary perceptions and debates with frequent reliance on quotes and will apply textual analysis to laws, decrees, and other regulative texts. I will incorporate brief assessments of the relevant historiography and comparisons with the contemporary world and with other regions of Dualist Hungary in the flow of the text, to spell out specificities of the area under study.

A few words about my own use of names. I tried to restore the Romanian names of people who appear under Hungarian forms in the sources, but were to all appearances Romanian. This led to disputable results at times, but even these I found preferable to keeping the Hungarian name forms. A few people with known double loyalties will figure under double names like ‘Grigore Moldovan/Moldován Gergely’. Places will be referred to by all their relevant names at their first occurrence, and later on by the names as used by the locally largest linguistic group at the time. If the largest group was not the

same in 1880 as in 1910 (the first and the last census to ask about mother tongue), I have made a decision by comparing their relative shares in the total population. The names of the counties existing after 1876, however, will appear in Hungarian. Due to changes of Hungarian locality names in the 1900s and of Romanian ones after 1920, to be described in chapter 4.5, some names that I use cannot be found on modern maps. A place-name index at the end of the work contains all important name variants and cross-references from the present-day Romanian names.

## 2. THE NATIONALISATION OF PERSONAL NAMES

### 2.1. Under Ancestral Masks: Name Giving Nationalised

‘Both within and outside of anthropology names have often thought to “historicize” the self in complex ways.’  
Barbara Bodenhorn and Gabriele vom Bruck<sup>1</sup>

Given names (or first names, although they come after the family name in Hungarian) have several peculiarities in comparison with other classes of names that together make them eminently suitable for disseminating and naturalising historical visions. Not only they have multiple bearers, but they typically also tolerate a great deal more referents than family, never mind place names. Their corpus also changes more rapidly, as people are born and die. Similarly to official place naming, they do not develop through gradual evolution, but are bestowed upon their bearers by small groups of persons of authority (parents or godparents), and derive no proper semantic motivation from the newborn child. Under modern European conditions, there is an intermediary level between acts of baptism and linguistic meaning; there exists a distinct and finite set of given names, an ‘onymic dictionary’, which circumscribes choices about babies’ names.<sup>2</sup> This inventory of first names was traditionally embodied in the calendar, the first and for a long time the most widespread printed matter in the world of villages.<sup>3</sup>

With the emergence of ‘national’ given names, the subject of the present chapter, this combination of freedom and constraint, the intimacy of being named at birth by one’s parents or godparents on one hand and the socially approved inventory of names on the other revealed potential to root the political deep within the personal. Since a given name was chosen for each new-born child, this connection could be potentially extended to every member of the nation. In actual fact, the new national names did not even come

<sup>1</sup> “‘Entangled in Histories’: An Introduction to the Anthropology of Names and Naming”, in *The Anthropology of Names and Naming*, eds idem, 26 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

<sup>2</sup> Willy Van Langendonck, ‘Do Proper Names Have an Etymological Meaning?’, in *Names in Daily Life: Proceedings of the XXIV ICOS International Congress of Onomastic Sciences*, eds Joan Tort i Donada and Montserrat Montagut i Montagut, 172–6 (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya Departament de Cultura, 2014).

<sup>3</sup> I use the term *inventory* when referring to the ensemble of types and *corpus* for the ensemble of tokens.

close to prevail, one possible explanation for this being that the native forms of traditional and mostly ‘international’ Christian names could also be perceived as singular and therefore ‘national’.

Baby naming also seems to offer a good piece of evidence supporting cultural modernisation theories, at least as far as Europe is concerned. Name giving was structurally rearranged in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to leave more space for individuation. The basic pattern of the process was very similar in the various European nations.<sup>4</sup> In early modern times and in particular among the non-elite, three major factors influenced the naming of a baby: the calendar (which popular saint’s feast day was closest to the baby’s birth?), geographical variation (local preferences for certain names) and name inheritance.<sup>5</sup> The same factors were in play in the territory under study, with the calendar being the most decisive of the three, not only among the Orthodox and Roman Catholics, but even among Calvinists.<sup>6</sup> Individual names waxed and waned in popularity, but at a very slow pace and with great regional differences. It was all about custom, and very little about fashion.<sup>7</sup>

And then, within a few generations, fashion took the place of custom, and choosing a name for one’s baby became a matter of taste. Whilst the average popularity cycle of names shortened enormously, the range of available choices widened both for boys and girls, with the gender gap in the diversity of given names being reversed in favour of females. The various name variants were unified on the national level, while the pool of

4 Stanley Lieberman, *A Matter of Taste: How Names, Fashions, and Culture Change* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), XVI.

5 Mihály Hajdú, *Általános és magyar névtan: személynevek* [General and Hungarian onomastics: personal names] (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), 402–6.

6 Vasile Todinca and Mihaela Bulc, *Lumea satului românesc în răspunsuri la chestionarele Muzeului Limbii Române din Cluj (Zona Bihorului)* [The world of the Romanian village in the responses to the questionnaire of the Museum of the Romanian Language in Kolozsvár/Cluj/Klausenburg (Bihar/Bihar region)] (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2012), 382 and 387; Simion Retegan, *Drumul greu al modernizării: un veac din istoria unui sat transilvănean; Cuzdrioara, 1820–1920* [The hard road of modernisation: a century from the history of a Transylvanian village; Cuzdrioara/Kozárvár, 1820–1920] (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2011), 58 and Ioan Cipu, *Fragmentarium făgetean 1733–1920* [Fragmentarium from Făget/Facsád/Fatschet: 1733–1920] (Lugoj: Nagard, 2008), vol. 1, 43.

7 Lieberman, 66.

given names and preferences for baby names also came to follow national rather than regional or local patterns.

The Reformation had already reshuffled the given name corpus of Protestant communities with the introduction of new Old Testament names, but French revolutionary republicanism was arguably the first secular ideology to have an effect on naming trends.<sup>8</sup> It introduced new names inspired in classical antiquity (*Brutus*, *Ulysse*, *Achille*) and brought others into fashion (*Alexandre*, *Camille*, *Émilie*, *Hippolyte*, *Julie*).<sup>9</sup> In post-Risorgimento Italy, urban people committed to democratic-republican ideas and often of modest means would also give classical names to their children (*Bruto*, *Aristotele*, *Ercole* and probably *Ettore*) and sometimes even went for more directly ideological ones taken from recent history (*Menotti*, *Mentana*).<sup>10</sup> As Stefano Pivato established, the popularity of such republican names peaked in the twenty years between 1895 and 1915.<sup>11</sup>

While the transition to the modern paradigm of name giving was on the whole a more gradual process in Western Europe, often in the Eastern half of the continent, the diffusion of new, ‘national’ names brought a more radical break with the past. The popularity of these new clusters of names expanded top-down, through the pattern described by Georg Simmel as class imitation.<sup>12</sup> They were usually drawn from putative national history, national mythology and Romantic literary works, but late-coming nationalisms sometimes showed idiosyncratic variations. Thus Turkish and Estonian national names were created from adjectives signifying personal qualities, from common nouns designating objects or phenomena of nature, and some Estonian ones were even borrowed from the cognate Finnish language.<sup>13</sup> Sabin (Sabino) Arana, the father of Basque nation-

<sup>8</sup> Hajdú, 407–9.

<sup>9</sup> Philippe Besnard and Guy Desplanques, *Un Prénom pour toujours: La Cote des prénoms hier, aujourd'hui et demain* (Paris: Balland, 1986), 26.

<sup>10</sup> Stefano Pivato, *Il nome e la storia: Onomastica e religioni politiche nell'Italia contemporanea* [The name and history: onomastics and political religions in contemporary Italy] (Bologna: il Mulino, 1999), 45–6, 56–7 and 66–7.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

<sup>12</sup> Besnard and Desplanques, 50 and Lieberman, 14–15.

<sup>13</sup> Doğan Gürpınar, ‘What is in a Name? The Rise of Turkic Male Names in Turkey (1908–38)’, *Middle Eastern Studies* 48 (2012): 689–706; Annika Hussar, ‘Changes in Naming Patterns in 19th Century Estonia: Discarding the Names of Parents and Godparents’, in *Names in Multi-Lingual, Multi-Cultural and Multi-Ethnic Contact*, eds Wolfgang Ahrens, Sheila Embleton and André

alism, single-handedly invented an entire new Basque name inventory, applying to Latin name forms the rules of phonological adaptation that he distilled from vernacular loanwords from Latin. Although his male names in *-a* completely went against tradition, they nevertheless also gained currency after his onomastic work was published posthumously in 1910.<sup>14</sup>

In the area studied, the traditional first names of each of the three main ethno-linguistic groups—Romanians, Magyars and Saxons—were overwhelmingly hagiographical and biblical in their origins; they were based on a Byzantine, Greek-Slavic onomastic tradition in the Romanian and on Latin, Greek and Jewish sources in the Magyar and the Saxon cases. First names and hypocoristic forms had apparently already been used as ethnic markers, although the purchase of ethnic marking typically remained local, and the Romanian first name corpus included many Hungarian loans.<sup>15</sup> What was unprecedented about the new sets of names was that the intelligentsias of the three groups consciously adopted them in order to assert their national affiliations. In an initial period encompassing at least two generations, national names functioned as sandwich boards that their early bearers wore day and night, gently but efficiently advertising—‘bringing into life’—the nationalist canon of history. This power they inherited from the Christian rite of the baptism. Much of it later vanished as name giving was caught up in the by and large internally motivated logic of fashion.

Can we measure the penetration of the national paradigm on the basis of the popularity of national names? In general, the idea of quantifying nationalisation seems awkward, since it is hard to think of any feature that could be boiled down into a binary variable and that could adequately capture the range of the process. Whilst nationalism integ-

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Lapierre, 790–4 (Toronto: York University, 2009) and George Kurman, *The Development of Written Estonian* (Bloomington: Indiana University, Research Center for the Language Sciences, 1968), 36.

14 Patxi Salaberri, ‘Politics and onomastics in the Basque Country: Historical and current situation’, *Onoma* 45 (2010): 225.

15 See p. 56 and Ion Muşlea, *Şcheii de la Cergău şi folklorul lor* [The Şchei (Bulgarians) of Cergău and their folklore] (Cluj: Ardealul, 1928), 16.



rated segments of ethnic culture and ethnicised non-ethnic elements of folk culture, sometimes peasants with a still essentially pre-national mindset could also pick up new national symbols (such as the tricoloured) and adjust them to their needs. If anything, however, choices of national names probably stand the closest to an ideal proxy for the spread of nationalism among the peasantry. At least in the three cases studied here, national names were new additions to the ethnic first-name inventories, where they obviously did not fit well. They originated in distinctly nationalist imaginaries and their cultural references were incomprehensible for the uninitiated. More importantly, the seriousness of the act of naming a child enhances the cultural leap and the emotional investment that the choice of national names entailed, at least in the early phase of their careers.

Certainly, national names cannot be used for drawing comparisons across national movements. There is no reason why their popularity would reach similar proportions in different nationalist movements, and it is also unlikely that the cleavage between traditional and national names would be similar for Protestants and Orthodox Christians. In its social and regional asynchronies, however, the spread of a particular set of national names can point to different levels of openness to the nationalist ideology among the nation's claimed constituency. Of course, not everyone from the rural nationalist vanguard gave national names to their children. But given the high rates of popularity that these names enjoyed among the three elites and the unified cultural patterns of the respective national movements, statistically significant regional differences should be put down in the first place to the spread of the nationalist message rather than to its varying regional understandings.

It is unlikely that any nineteenth-century, catching-up national movement triumphed without reshuffling the corpus of first names, even though this process clearly did not follow the same dynamic and did not usher in the same amount of new names in the vari-

ous cases. Simultaneously, increasing social communication also nationalised name giving by levelling out regional differences, but the shared cultural space of the modern nation has never wiped out social divergence in naming patterns. On the contrary, these patterns constitute an important aspect of the way fashion works in modern name giving.

### **2.1.1. Romanians: Latinate Names (mostly)**

In conformity with their foundation myth and reflecting their Latinist ideals, the forty-eight generation of Romanian nationalists inaugurated a trend of Latinate first names. Romanian Latinate names referred back to Roman *gentes* (*Aureliu, Claudiu, Corneliu, Fabiu, Flaviu, Iuliu, Liviu, Mariu, Octaviu, Pompeius, Sextiliu, Terenție, Ulpiu, Valeriu*), *prænomina* (*Caius, Marcu, Septimiu*), common *cognomina* (*Camil, Felix, Longin, Sabin*), Roman emperors (*Traian, Tiberiu, Adrian, Nerva*), historical figures (*Brutus, Cezar*), mythical heroes (*Romulus, Remus, Coriolan, Pompiliu, Enea*) and Latin authors (*Ovidiu, Virgil, Horațiu, Tertulian*). But it was their cultural origin and not their particular referents that really mattered. They evoked a Latinity envisioned as national past, connected to the belief that the ancestors of nineteenth-century Romanians in fact had borne such names. By resorting to them, parents behaved as if they were to bring back the new generation to their true essence, putting into action a form of magic by contiguity, derived from the earlier cult of patron saints. They presented their bearers as quasi-Romans not only to themselves, to the community and to immediate outgroups, but also to the Western public opinion, something that should matter for all Romanians according to George Bariț:

it can be in no way indifferent to our nation whether our children will in the future represent us to Western and Southern Europe under names like *Bratu, Bucur, Ivan, Staicu, Paicu, Raicu, Vlad, Neacșa, Stana, Adelaida* etc. or as *Adrianu and Adriana, Aureliu and Aurelia, Antoniu and Antonia, Claudiu and Claudia, Corneliu and Cornelia, Iuliu and Iulia, Iustin* and

*Iustina, Octavianu, -a, Octaviu, -a, Traian, Cecilia, Clara, Livia* and a thousand other classical Romanian names.<sup>16</sup>

The social life of Ruthenian/Ukrainian national names in Galicia offer a comparison to that of Romanian Latinate names in the intra-Carpathian space, and Jaroslav Hrytsak's paper on them is the only case study accessible to me that probes the spread of new national names in nineteenth-century East-Central Europe.<sup>17</sup> The story started in 1848 in both cases, but Ruthenian national names only gained popularity in the 1880s even among the intelligentsia. They invoked rulers and princes from the Rurik dynasty and hetmans: *Vladyslav, Myroslav, Lyubomyr, Vyacheslav, Vsevolod, Bohdan* etc. Interestingly, their body partly overlapped with Polish and Russian national names. In the 1860s, Greek Catholic calendars adopted the two most popular resurrected names, *Volodymyr* and *Ol'ha*. As a novelty, however, babies who were given these names were not typically those born around the days of their patron saints. Until the First World War, the trend remained largely urban, although priests tried to popularise the new-old names in the countryside. As an example of success, Hrytsak mentions the village of Belzec near Sokal/Sokal', where *Volodymyr* and *Ol'ha* took root after the local landlord acted as a godfather to the first Volodymyr, the priest's son, and the baptism was followed by a lavish banquet.

Priests baptising their children in pagan names and making propaganda for them to reluctant parishioners strikes one as a glaring contradiction. In 1819, an encyclical of the patriarch of Constantinople still condemned the recent vogue of Hellenic first names.<sup>18</sup> In the intervening time, however, several nationalist movements of the Byzantine cultural orbit had resurrected or coined 'pagan' names that lacked eponymous patron saints. Apart from these, George Bariț could in 1872 also hint at the similar names among Mag-

16 George Bariț, 'Despre numele proprie, gentilitie, geografice, topografice, straine si romane' [On proper, gentile, geographical and topographical names, foreign and Romanian], *Transilvani'a* 5 (1872): 4.

17 Jaroslav Hrytsak, 'History of Names: A Case of Constructing National Historical Memory in Galicia, 1830–1930s', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 49 (2001): 163–77. I give thanks to Maciej Janowski for calling my attention to this paper.

18 Peter Mackridge, *Language and National Identity in Greece, 1766–1976* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 140.

yars and Germans, and he added the argument that the Sinaxarion, the hagiographical compendium of the Orthodox Church, anyway did not contain all the saints.<sup>19</sup>

The two Romanian clergies, the Orthodox and the Uniate, made up the bulk of the Romanian intelligentsia, and the majority of Romanian priests truly became agents of nationalisation. Their major reason for embracing the cause of Latinate names was secular beyond any doubt. The idea followed from the early version of Romanian nationalism and held that these names were more worthy of the ancient Latin glory and that restoring them was nothing more than putting things back on the normal track. Several names taken up by this Latinate trend, like *Fabian*, *Felician*, *Patriciu* and *Lucreția*, had already enjoyed some currency in the Romanian peasantry, where they had entered through Uniate or Magyar channels.<sup>20</sup> The Latinate names *Valeriu*, *Aurel*, *Emilian*, *Lucian*, *Iulian*, *Ciprian*, *Longin* and *Claudiu* even figured in the Sinaxarion (a circumstance that did not automatically prevent peasants' opposition to them), while priests were able to moor *Adrian*, *Cezar*, *Cornel*, *Marcel* and *Sabin* to the ecclesiastical names *Andrian*, *Chesaris*, *Cornilie*, *Marchel* and *Savin*.<sup>21</sup> Last but not least, there had always been popular Romanian secular names (e.g., *Florea*, *Bucur*, *Barbu*, *Mândra*, *Brândușa*) independent of Byzantine hagiography, whether they had established equivalents among ecclesiastical names or not.<sup>22</sup>

Since many Latinate names did not occur among Magyars at all and few of them were popular among them, they gave a welcome opportunity to the Romanian intelligentsia to emphasise their national otherness. While adopting Latinate names, learned Romanians also rejected some Hungarian-influenced ones, like *Sigismund* and *Ladislau*,

19 Barit, *Despre numele proprie*, 4.

20 Al. Cristureanu, *Aspecte ale onomasticii românești în secolele al XIX-lea și al XX-lea, influența curentului „latinist” în domeniul numelor proprii* [Aspects of Romanian onomastics in the 19th and 20th centuries, the influence of the 'Latinist' current in the realm of proper names] (Cluj-Napoca: Napoca Star, 2006), 34 and Retegan, *Drumul greu al modernizării*, 57.

21 Cristureanu, *Aspecte*, 31. My source of information about contemporary Orthodox ecclesiastical names is Gherasim Timus, *Dicționar aghiografic cuprindând pe scurt viețile sfinților* [Hagiographic dictionary, including a short life of the saints] (Bucharest: Tipografia cărților bisericești, 1898).

22 Iosif Popovici, *Rumänische Dialekte*, vol. 1, *Die Dialekte der Muntenî und Pădurenî im Hunyader Komitat* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1905), 62–3.

which had been still popular in the generation of their parents.<sup>23</sup> At the same time, they probably did not use the new names to distinguish themselves from the peasantry. On the contrary, the Romanian elite sought to popularise them amongst the widest possible range of the population. Not only did Romanian priests circulate lists of national names, but the nationalist association ASTRA also took action to recommend them to peasants in numerous popular lectures and brochures.<sup>24</sup>

Peasants, however, had manifold reasons to shun Latinate names. To start with, most of these had no tradition of use among them. In an early phase, parents could hope that a Latinate name would become a form of symbolic capital for their children, but only if they destined them to enter higher schools; otherwise it was to be feared that such a name could turn into a handicap. (One more reason to think that my sample inflates the popularity of Latinate names in the peasantry.) Even when parents decided to give an uncommon name to their child, they had a wide pool of rarely used, but traditional and Christian first names to choose from. For Latinate names were also found improper on a different count, because of their heathenness. Moreover, lacking a patron saint and a feast day in the calendar, their majority were not anchored anywhere in the course of the year, while peasants traditionally chose names on the basis of the child's day of birth. Later, after Latinate names became widespread in the elite, they were also shunned because they were found 'lordish' (*domnesc*).<sup>25</sup> Incidentally, not only Latinate names were seen as 'lordish'; in 1921, a school teacher from Lugașu de Jos/Alsólugos/Nižný Lugaš equally categorised the names *Mihai* and *Alexandru* as such, although the intellectuals of the village did not have children with these names.<sup>26</sup> My numbers contradict his judgement

23 Traian Mager, *Ținutul Hălmașului: monografie* [The Land of Hălmaș/Nagyhalmagy: a monograph], vol. 3, *Cadrul istoric* [The historical framework] (Arad: Tipografia diecezană, 1937), 39 and 48–9.

24 Ștefan Pașca, *Nume de persoane și nume de animale în țara Oltului* [Personal and animal names in the Land of Făgăraș] (Bucharest: Academia Română, 1936), 41 and Cristureanu, *Aspecte*, 22.

25 Pașca, 40 and Sextil Pușcariu, *Spîta unui neam din Ardeal* [The descent of a Transylvanian family] (Cluj-Napoca: Clusium, 1998), 46.

26 Todinca and Bulc, 390. Nicolae Iorga in fact attributed elite origin to *Alexandru* when he wrote about the enduring popularity of the Alexander romance as a possible reason behind the frequency of the name in Moldavian and Wallachian princely families; N[icolae] Iorga, *Istoria literaturii românești: introducere sintetică; Arta și literatura românilor: sinteze paralele* [The history of Romanian literature: synthetic introduction; The art and literature of Romanians: parallel syntheses], trans. Lidia Simion and An-

about *Mihai* and *Alexandru*, but at least one non-Latinate first name, *Eugen*, was indeed frequent in the middle class and missing among peasants.

Authors who have written on the spread of Latinate names in the villages have very often provided poor data by forgetting to specify whether the children christened in such names belonged to the village intelligentsia (priests, school teachers) or to the local peasantry. It is not enough to know, for instance, that Latinate names appeared as early as 1850 in Făget/Fatschet/Facset (in the Banat), or that nine girls and seven boys received such names in Vaca (in the Apuseni Mountains) between 1878 and 1920.<sup>27</sup> Even Alexandru Cristureanu, the foremost researcher of the topic, overlooked the problem of the baptised children's social background when analysing the parish registers of Gârbova de Sus (to the West of Nagyenyed/Aiud/Enyeden), although in the case of Țaga/Cege (in the Câmpie), he did note that it was the local Uniate priest who first gave Latinate names to his children starting with 1870.<sup>28</sup>

More perceptive analyses have usually indicated a late adoption of the trend by the peasantry. In his well-documented study of Romanian personal and animal names in what had been Fogaras County under Dualism, Ștefan Pașca mentioned 1875 as the year when a peasant couple first gave a Latinate name to their child in the entire area, an occurrence not to be repeated until 1890.<sup>29</sup> Alexandru Cristureanu and Valeria Stan chose a synchronic approach to examine the first name corpus of Purcărești, a village alongside the Sebeș/Mühlbach/Sebes River, and found that the three oldest villagers who bore Latinate names in 1957 had been born in 1913 and 1914.<sup>30</sup> In the seven villages along the upper stretch of the river, no boy was baptised Aurel or Traian until 1926, Cornel until

doi Pippidi (Bucharest: Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1999), 47.

27 Cipu, *Fragmentarium făgețean*, vol. 1, 44 and Ioachim Lazăr, *Crișan: un sat istoric din Zarand* [Crișan: a historic village in Zarand/Zarând] (Deva, Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, 2007), 336.

28 Cristureanu, *Aspecte*, 55.

29 Pașca, 41.

30 Alexandru Cristureanu and Aurelia Stan, 'Prenumele locuitorilor din satul Purcărești, raionul Sebeș, în 1957' [First names of the inhabitants of Purcărești village, Sebeș Rayon, in 1957], *Cercetări de lingvistică* 5 (1960): 107.

1930 and Emil until 1936.<sup>31</sup> In the village of Köbölkút/Chibilcut in the Câmpie/Mezőség/Heide, however, with a population divided almost equally between Magyars and Romanians, Latinate names appeared simultaneously with Hungarian historical ones; the first girl was baptised Etelka in 1874, followed by an Octavian in 1876, and neither of the two were children of priests. There followed a slow, but continuous succession of national names until the 1900s, when their numbers rose in both communities.<sup>32</sup>

The elite origin of the trend was perfectly clear to the contemporaries. Endre Ady, an epochal poet if a less epochal short-story writer, was apparently conscious of the class connotation of Romanian first names when he baptised his Romanian peasant characters appropriately with names such as *Von*, *Toader*, *Toma*, *Rafla*, *Zenobia* and *Maria*, but the daughter of a Supreme Court judge *Veturia* and a priest *Romulus*. His only incongruous name choice seems to have been *Traian* as the name of an elderly peasant, but the name *Traian*, perhaps felt the most ‘exotic’ new Latinate name by contemporary Magyars, also stirred the imagination of Margit Kaffka, another prominent writer of the same generation. From the three Romanian characters of her major novels, two are named this name; the son of a village mayor and a servant in a convent.<sup>33</sup> Magyar political writers, nevertheless, did not miss the nationalist connotation of Latinate names and typically exaggerated their prevalence in the peasantry if they wished to strike a pessimistic tone about the prospects of large-scale voluntary Magyarisation. The Romanian-born, but assimilationist ethnographer Grigore Moldovan/Moldován Gergely bemoaned the abnormality of a situation where

Before long, these newcomers will squeeze out the old, good-sounding Christian names. Even in the remotest mountain village, we can already find the names Traian, Brutus, Aure-

31 Aurelia Stan, ‘Frecvența numelor de persoană masculine în Valea Sebeșului’ [The frequency of male first names in the Sebeș Valley], *Cercetări de lingvistică* 2 (1957): 267–80.

32 Maria I. Loghin-Bosica, Vasile Șt. Tutula and Vasile Lechințan, *Fântânița (1297-2012): studiu monografic* [Mezőköbölkút/Fântânița (1297–2012): monographic study] (Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărții de Știință, 2012), 95–101 and 118–36.

33 The short stories of Ady’s that I refer to are *A dumbravai lóvászár*, *Szelezsán Rákhel kísértete*, *A Zenobia faluja*, *Benesán Mária zarándoklásai*, *Veturia asszony halála* and *A Puskásné Krisztusa*. See, e.g., Endre Ady, *Összes novellái* [Complete short stories] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1977). The English versions of Kaffka’s novels are Margit Kaffka, *Colours and Years*, trans. George F. Cushing (Budapest: Corvina, 1999) and *The Ant Heap: a novel*, trans. Charlotte Franklin (London: Marion Boyars, 1995).

lian, Valer, Cornel; Aurelia, Valeria, Veturia, Lucreția etc. It is strange to my mind that such a religious, god-fearing people can so easily throw away the Christian names reminding them of saints and should take up lots of pagan names by baptism, assisted by the Church. Men in coats and women without aprons now despise names like Gligor, Maței, Chifor, Gafta, Todosia etc.<sup>34</sup>

The Independentist politician Miklós Bartha's assessment about the political significance of Latinate names gave voice to a common sentiment in the Magyar elite: 'These Coriolans, Gracchuses, Traians, Suetoniuses and Brutuses would be much more honest and reliable people if they were still called Dumitru, Gavrilă, Nicolae and Gligor.'<sup>35</sup>

I have the unique opportunity to supplement and check these results and opinions about the diffusion of Latinate male names against a more comprehensive set of hard data than Hrytsak had at his disposal about Ruthenian national names. Moreover, my dataset also allows for a comparison with the trends among Magyars and Saxons. In its major part, it contains the data of matura takers between 1867 and 1914 who were born in the territory studied and those whose birthplace is unknown, but took the matura exam in a high school of the area. The database from which I derived my set of data was designed for the purpose of studying correlations between ethno-confessional background and scholarly achievement, and the data was collected from the original school registers, which contain more information about the students than school yearbooks.<sup>36</sup> Missing are the matura takers of the Saxon Lutheran gymnasia of Bistritz/Bistrița/Beszterce, Mediasch/Mediaș/Medgyes and Schäßburg/Sighișoara/Segesvár, the communal gymnasium of Petrozsény/Petroșani/Petroschen (from the 1905/6 school year onward) and the communal gymnasium of Orawitz/Oravița Montană/Oravicabánya (from the year 1913/14), which translates into a very high rate of missing data (around half of the actual student body) among Saxons, but this rate is rather small among Romanians, and is indeed negli-

34 Gergely Moldován, *Alsófehér vármegye román népe* [The Romanian populace of Alsó-Fehér County], in *Alsófehér vármegye monographiája* [Monograph of Alsó-Fehér County], vol. 1/2, 760 (Nagy-Enyed: Nagyenyedi, 1899).

35 Miklós Bartha, *Összegyűjtött munkái* [Collected works], vol. 3 (Budapest: Benkő, 1910), 484. (Originally published in 1900.)

36 Its administrators are Victor Karády and Péter Tibor Nagy. It was created in the framework of the research project elites08 (*Culturally Composite Elites, Regime changes and Social Crises in Multi-Ethnic and Multi-Confessional Eastern Europe: The Carpathian Basin and the Baltics in Comparison – cc. 1900-1950*, directed by Victor Karády) and funded from European Research Council Advanced Team Leadership Grant nr. 230518. I am indebted to Prof. Victor Karády for making it available for the purpose of my research.



gible among Magyars. A slight minority of students whose years of birth were unknown were assigned the means of the given high school cohorts' known birth years by the developers of the original database. Social ranking was based on the occupation of the fathers, given only in a minority of cases, but a minority large enough to allow significant conclusions. Unfortunately, this variable does not reflect the situation at the time of a student's birth, but at least ten years later, when the student was enrolled into the first year. This difference, however, is hardly important in the case of peasant fathers. Occupations were categorised by the developers at several levels, which I further simplified for the sake of the present analysis.

This major part of my dataset encompasses data about somewhere between half and one per cent of all people from the area born between the mid-1840s and the turn of the century. Whilst this student population comprises the whole elite taken in the narrower sense, its contingent of peasant origin hardly represents the peasantry in its cross section. This is true even for Romanians, although a wide assortment of scholarship funds allowed for proportionally more needy Romanian peasant boys to continue their studies in high schools than for Magyars and Saxons.

For obvious reasons, the subset of matura takers does not go beyond the turn of the century. As regards Romanians, I have been able to complete my data with those students enrolled into the inter-war Romanian university of Kolozsvár/Cluj/Klausenburg whose actual or calculated years of birth fell into the period under study. This latter subset of data, however, contains an incomplete body of medical students and as good as no information about the occupation of fathers. Although the social make-up of Romanian university students in the first years of Romanian state sovereignty might not have been very different from that of the earlier high-school student population, trends among the former still cannot be considered a prolongation of the latter.

The American sociologist Stanley Lieberman considers that twentieth-century trends of name giving ‘provide an exceptional opportunity to study internal mechanisms of taste’, not only because they can be examined on extraordinarily rich datasets and allow for systematic tests of explanation, but also because very little or no commercial influence is involved in them.<sup>37</sup> Yet, although taste is a social phenomenon, fashion also has its own dynamics, which cannot be reduced to social changes.<sup>38</sup> Lieberman goes on to describe the dynamics of fashion, but he only claims validity for his reservations about the social element for the twentieth century and not for a rural society in transition from pre-modern to modern. Rather than taste, the bounds of tradition and a totalising national ideology seem to have played crucial roles in the diffusion of national names among the peasantry.

What is the choice of a Latinate name indicative of? It certainly does not in itself show a more heightened national commitment of the parents compared to the ones who chose traditional names. But it presupposes that peasant parents should have overcome their aversions and challenged the solidarity of their community. Latinate names had everything against them and only national identity on their side. In an early stage, and it is doubtful whether Romanian peasantry had left this stage before the War, their choice therefore implies identification with a national vision of history. And not only with the tradition of Latin origins, but also with a line of argument that could make the choice of a pagan name seem desirable and the investment of symbolic capital that it involved worthy against all odds. The relative scarcity of cases will demonstrate how hard it could be to cross that bridge and to take such a decision. Obviously, personal conflicts with the Magyar authorities could help make it happen.

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<sup>37</sup> Lieberman, XIII and XV.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII–XIV and inevitably, Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 2010).

In the slim layer of the intelligentsia and the bourgeoisie, who were partly innovators, partly early adopters with regard to Latinate names, these could become established after the second or third generation, when some new-born children already inherited Latinate names from their parents. As a consequence, their ideological potential could become suspended. It would be an interesting, although rather theoretical question whether this suspension of the ideological potential applied to the Latinite cluster of names as a whole or to the individual names one by one, and therefore whether new Latinate names entering the corpus started with a blank slate. As a matter of fact, however, it does not seem that the cluster of Latinate names broadened during the period, it rather became narrower over time.

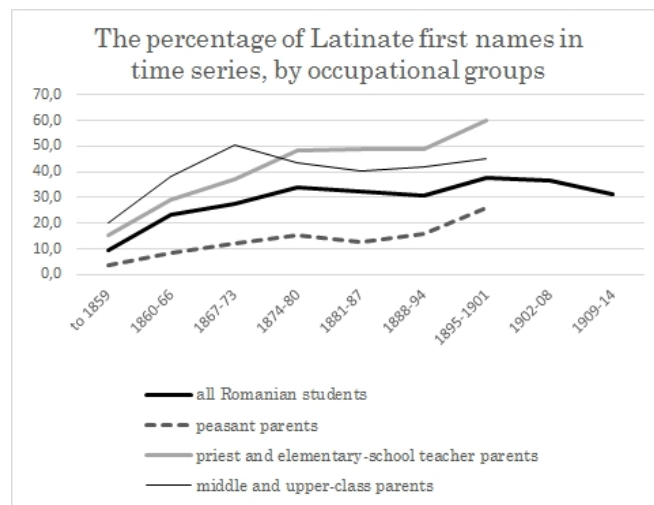
I identified 15,610 students in the dataset as Romanian. I included here all matura takers of the Orthodox and Greek Catholic confessions, except from the gymnasia of the Banat and Szatmárnémeti/Sătmar/Satmar/Sathmar, where I tried to sift out Serbs and Ruthenes on the basis of their family and given names.<sup>39</sup> While a certain number of students with a Romanian identity may have been lost, an unmistakably Latinate first name always gave a clue of a student's Romanian family, a circumstance that could minimally increase the percentage of Latinate names in the dataset. The same task was easier with inter-war university students, since their mother tongue and nationality are indicated in the records together with their confession. Out of the altogether 15,610 students, the birthplace is known of 10,401 and the father's occupation of 4,548. It is important to note that the data available about the occupation of the father are geographically uneven, since certain schools recorded it, while others did not.

Apart from Latinate names, the trend of Latinism also introduced Latinate forms of traditional given names, sometimes leading to a duality between classical and vernacular forms; thus, *Basiliu—Vasile*, *Nicolau—Nicolae*, *Vicențiu—Vichentie*, *Daniel—Daniil* or

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<sup>39</sup> For more details, see p. 150.

*Dănilă*.<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately, I could not take such nuances into account, since the sources reveal nothing about the actual name variants intended by the parents and used in the families. One widespread Latinate name, *Iuliu*, coincides with the Hungarian national name *Gyula*, which creates an awkward ambiguity, since Hungarian, Romanian and Saxon high schools cross-translated given names in their documents. As I will show later in this chapter, however, it is unlikely that more than a handful of Romanian students were actually baptised *Gyula* rather than *Iuliu*.



I was faced with a difficult challenge when I had to categorise all first names in the dataset as to whether they were intended Latinate or not.<sup>41</sup> I excluded the ecclesiastical names *Augustin*, *Clemente*, *Florian*, *Ilarian* and *Salvator*, which could be sometimes treated as Latinate, but included a few rare names of Classical Greek origin. Here follows a comprehensive list of the names that I considered Latinate: *Abrațiu*, *Adrian*, *Aecius*, *Albin*, *Aurel(-iu/-ian)*, *Axente*, *Brutus*, *Caius*, *Camil*, *Candid*, *Casian*, *Celestin*, *Cezar*, *Cicero*, *Ciprian*, *Claudiu*, *Coriolan*, *Cornel(-iu)*,<sup>42</sup> *Dante*, *Dioclețianu*, *Eliseu*, *Emil(-iu)*, *Enea*, *Epaminanda*, *Fabian*, *Fabiu*, *Faustus*, *Felician*, *Felix*, *Filemon*, *Flaviu*, *Fortunat*, *Grațian*, *Horațiu*, *Iulian*, *Iuliu*, *Iuniu*, *Iustin*, *Laurean/Laurian*, *Laurențiu*, *Leo(n)(-te)*,

<sup>40</sup> Cristureanu, *Aspecte*, 30 and 32.

<sup>41</sup> Similar difficulties arise with delimiting the inventory of French revolutionary first names; Raphaël Bange, 'Les Prénoms de l'an II et les autres: typologie des attributions de prénoms dans la France en révolution', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 322 (2000): 61–86.

<sup>42</sup> Doublets of names of this type were the result of the shift from etymological to phonemic spellings.

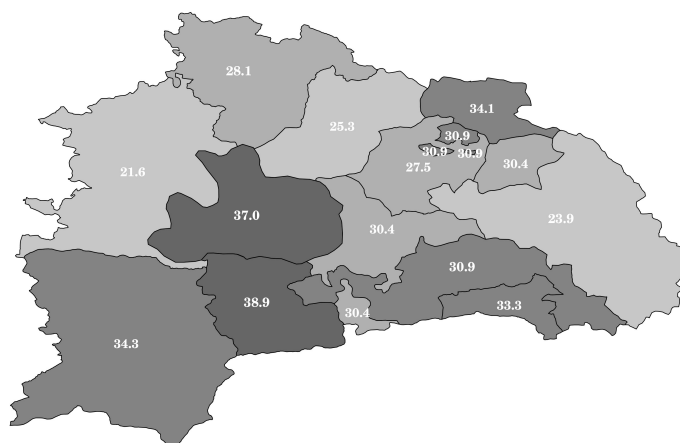
*Leonida, Liciniu, Liviu/Livius, Longin, Lucian, Lucilian, Lucin, Luciu, Marcel, Marcian, Marcu, Marian, Marius, Martiale, Martian, Nerva, Octav(-iu/-ian), Olimpiu, Oliviu, Onoriu, Ovid(-iu), Patriciu, Petrucius, Plinius, Pompei(-u), Pompiliu, Publiu, Quintiu, Remus, Romeo, Romul(-us), Sabin, Salustiu, Sempronius, Septimiu, Sever, Severian, Sextil, Sidoniu, Silvan, Silvestru, Silviu, Tarcvinu, Terenție, Tertulian, Tiberiu, Tit(-us), Tit Liviu, Traian, Tului, Ulpian, Ulpui, Valentin, Valer(-iu/-ian), Vespasian, Victor and Virgil.* The most popular among them were *Aurel, -iu/-ian* (558 students), *Victor* (423), *Emil, -iu* (367), *Cornel, -iu* (332), *Iuliu* (316), *Valer, -iu* (261), *Traian* (257), *Octav, -iu/-ian* (223), *Romul, -us* (187), *Virgil, -iu* (184) and *Liviu/Livius* (164).

On the chart above, the percentage of Latinate names is indicated by six-year intervals (according to the time of birth) among different groups of students, classified by the occupation of their fathers. The curve representing sons of middle and upper-class fathers takes off in a steep climb and by the beginning of the Dualist Era, the rate of Latinate names already reaches fifty per cent in this group. They are later overtaken by sons of priests and elementary-school teachers, whose curve rises even higher, up to sixty per cent in the years between 1895 and 1901, the last interval from which class-specific data are available. These clusters are followed at a large distance by peasant boys, who despite an upswing before 1873 and another after 1894, never approached to half the values of priests' sons and remained closer to one third of them. The single curve after 1901 represents the Romanian students of the inter-war Ferdinand University. Since the university did not publish statistics about the social composition of its student body, it is hard to make sense of the apparent change. In the entire Romanian population, in which non-peasants only made up a tiny minority, the overall diffusion of Latinate names was scarcely any quicker than among mature takers of peasant background. Indeed, if we as-

sume that the uppermost layer of the peasantry is over-represented in the sample, which seems highly probable, the general trend results in a much lazier slope.

The map below shows slight regional differences in the popularity of Latinate names, on the basis of the 10,401 students with known birthplaces. Hunyad County, the Apuseni Mountains, the Banat and the erstwhile Land of Năsăud/Naszód/Naßendorf display the highest, the Szeklerland, Bihar and Arad Counties the lowest rates. With the possible exception of the high values of Hunyad and the low values of Arad Counties, these trends concur with contemporary stereotypes about spatial differences in the intensity of Romanian national consciousness. Because of the missing data, the map cannot be broken down to social groups, but the relatively few peasant boys baptised with Latinate names were distributed fairly evenly within the catchment areas of the schools that produced data on social status. Peasants who gave Latinate names to their children also cannot be shown to have preferred names endowed with patron saints. The most frequent names among them were the same as in the elite; indeed, we find proportionally more Traians here than in the rest.

**Percentage of Latinate names among Romanian male students, by areas**



There is no difference between the proportion of Latinate names among Uniates (28.6%) and Orthodox (28.7%). This is a surprising result considering that Latinism as a

language planning paradigm arose from Greek Catholic circles before 1848 and its popularity lasted longer in the Greek Catholic clergy than among the Orthodox. I have also found that Latinate names were significantly more frequent in that half of Romanian students who took the matura exam in a Hungarian or Saxon high school (30.1%) than among the matura takers of Romanian gymnasia (25.1%). Again, due to the missing data, it is impossible to tell whether this gap had to do with the different social structure of the Romanian students attending the two types of schools. At any rate, this curious fact supports the general impression that sending one's boy to a Hungarian or Saxon high school was not considered a transgression of norms in Romanian circles.

Since very few girls took the matura at the time, female names are all but lacking from my dataset. To somewhat make up for their absence, I have processed the corpus of first names in Romanian girls' civil schools from every tenth school year between 1887/8 and 1917/18.<sup>43</sup> One single such institution existed in 1887/8, maintained in Hermannstadt/Sibiu/Nagyszeben by ASTRA, with a Greek Catholic one in Belényes/Beiuș joining it nine years later. It was the low percentage of Latinate names in this latter school that caused the drop in the 1897/8 school year. Since no data is given about students' families, one can only speculate that fewer of these girls came from peasant background than among matura-taking boys. I ignored home-schooled and non-Hungarian citizen students.

	<b>1887/8</b>	<b>1897/8</b>	<b>1907/8</b>	<b>1917/18</b>
entire sample	75	122	213	254
Latinate names <sup>44</sup>	32 (42.7%)	39 (32.0%)	91 (42.7%)	118 (46.5%)
borrowings of modern Western forms	16 (21.3%)	26 (21.3%)	53 (24.9%)	37 (14.6%)

<sup>43</sup> On the basis of the school yearbooks.

<sup>44</sup> From the names occurring in the student body, I considered as Latinate names the following: *Angela, Aurelia, Aurora, Bibiana, Blanca, Cecilia, Clelia, Constanța, Cornelia, Emilia, Ersilia, Fabiola, Florentina, Hortensia, Iustina, Laura, Leontina, Letiția, Livia, Lucia, Lucreția, Minerva, Octavia, Olimpia, Olivia, Otilia, Petronella, Sabina, Silvia, Valeria, Veturia, Victoria, Virginia* and *Volumnia*.

Latinate names are present in high numbers, but the uncertain social parameters and much smaller size of the student body invalidate any comparison to that of boys. Besides, only a more approximate grasp is possible here of what was perceived as Latinate, since several popular female names were borrowed from Italian rather than directly from Latin. In general, and this is a positive inference that can be based on the data at hand, borrowings of modern Western names established themselves with girls, but not with boys. These names had been traditionally unknown in the peasantry, and their large numbers might suggest an earlier appearance of fully-fledged fashion trends in the domain of female names. Such names also spread among the Romanian elite of the Regat, where according to contemporary assessments, they overtook the names of Roman *matronæ* in popularity after the turn of the century.<sup>45</sup> Two significant differences emerged, however, between the two sides of the Carpathians. First, unlike in the intra-Carpathian elite, Western names were also given to boys in the Regat. Second, the pool of popular names differed. Just like in their reading habits, Romanians in the Kingdom of Hungary tended to orient themselves according to German, rather than French models.<sup>46</sup>

Another new trend of first names after the turn of the century, more pronounced with boys than with girls, was inspired in the folklore and in medieval and early modern Romanian history. Since many of these names had Slavic origins and they had been typically upheld by the most traditional part of the peasantry, we can describe this new trend as an analogue of the vernacularist Junimist linguistic ideology in name giving. In the Kingdom of Hungary, these peasant names had survived chiefly in the southernmost tracts of Transylvania, and it was in the same region that non-peasants started to adopt them progressively after 1888, until their popularity spilled out to other areas around the

45 Al. Cristureanu, 'Prenume de proveniență cultă în antroponomia contemporană românească' [First names of erudite origin in contemporary Romanian anthroponymy], in *Studii și materiale de onomastică* [Studies and materials of onomastics], ed. Emil Petrovici, 25 (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1969) and Pașca, 42.

46 Cristureanu gives *Aneta, Beatrice, Bianca, Georgeta, Marieta, Mirela, Nicoleta* and *Simona* as examples from the Kingdom of Romania. I encountered none of these in the school yearbooks, but *Albertina, Alexandrina, Aloizia, Amalia, Carolina, Dorina, Eleonora, Elvira, Eugenia, Gabriela, Ida, Irma, Lia, Malvina, Margareta, Matilda, Natalia, Olga, Paulina, Sultana* and *Wilhelmina*.



turn of the century.<sup>47</sup> Continuously on the rise, their share reached 2.8% in the last six-year interval (between 1909 and 1916), and averaged at 1.6% among the Orthodox, but only at 0.4% among the Uniate students of my dataset. Similarly to the earlier trend of Latinate names, this affection for old peasant names emerged from the ranks of the elite.

As has been pointed out, the dataset has other deficiencies beyond the absence of girls, and in particular, it sorely needs a comparable database from the Regat, which could round out my analysis of Romanian name giving. Significantly lower rates of Latinate names among the extra-Carpathian elite would underscore the role that opposition to the Hungarian regime could play in boosting their popularity. The above results nonetheless confirm two important facts about Latinate names. First, their slow spread among the peasantry, compared to the immediate popularity they enjoyed in the elite. At the same time, although the nature of the dataset certainly inflates their numbers, there can be no doubt that they gained a real foothold in the Romanian masses. Contrasted with the Ruthenian case as presented by Hrytsak (who had no such database at his disposal), their diffusion may even seem a veritable success story.

Second, the proportion of children who received Latinate names continued to increase after the Latinist reform entered a decline. It does not transpire from the statistics, but certain Latinate first names indeed lost favour after the 1870s, most notably double names like *Tit Liv*, as certainly also did the imitation of the trinomial Latin nomenclature. In his early satirical piece from 1873, *Revoluția din Pîrlești* ('Revolution in Deceitville'), Ioan Slavici already ridiculed the figure of flag-waving small-town power broker by naming him *Iuniu Iuliu Marcu Brutu Catone August Spulberu*, while in *Marcu Tulliu Pițulă*, a name from one A. P. Bănuț's sketches, the grotesque of the family name (*pițulă*

<sup>47</sup> I categorised into this group *Bogdan*, *Bujor*, *Doru*, *Dragoș*, *Florin*, *Horea/Horia*, *Mircea*, *Radu*, *Răzvan*, *Șerban*, *Sorin*, *Stan*, *Vlad* and *Viorel*, *Basarab*, a historical name, and *Dorin*, which seems to have been a nativist coinage. Other traditional peasant names that were potential candidates for adoption, but did not come into style, include *Bucur*, *Florea*, *Lupu*, *Nechifor*, *Oprea*, *Păun*, *Trandafir*, *Trifon* and *Voicu*. Cf. Cristureanu, *Prenume de proveniență cultă*, 26 and 32–3.

means ‘farthing’) produces an effect of bathos standing next to the evocation of Cicero.<sup>48</sup>

This slight change in the public taste did not affect the most popular Latinate names, however. Although the data of inter-war university students show a slight downward trend in their frequency, the scattered evidence about their late adoption in the peasantry suggests that the preference for Latinate names grew unabated until the end of the era, and probably afterwards.

### **2.1.2. Magyars: Historical and Pagan Names**

Moving over to Hungarian national names, I have decided to pare down the category of Magyars in my dataset to the two confessional groups that were exclusively Magyar in the area: Calvinists and Unitarians.<sup>49</sup> This not only because of the mass of non-Magyar or assimilating parents among Roman Catholics, who could not be filtered out without running into serious inconsistencies, but also because the majority of Roman Catholic gymnasias did not provide information about the birthplace of their students, thus preventing the separation of those who were born elsewhere.

Hungarian national names had a slightly older and slightly better established tradition than Romanian Latinate ones, but their popularity never rose to such heights in any social group. I think it proper to distinguish two clusters of names here, both of which owed their ascendancy to the Romantic nationalism of the decades flanking 1848. The first cluster consists of names drawn from medieval Hungarian history, which either had their eponymous patron saints or were matched with one. Beyond the more popular

48 Ioan Slavici, ‘Revoluția din Pîrlești’ [Revolution in Pîrlești], in *Opere* [Works], vol. 8, *Romane* [Novels], 751–90 (Bucharest: Scriitori Români and Minerva, 1976) and A. P. Bănuț, ‘Elocvința frachelui Ladislau’, in *Tempi passati: umor și satiră din Ardealul de ieri* [Tempi passati: humour and satire in yesterday’s Transylvania] (Bucharest: Bucovina, 1931), 3.

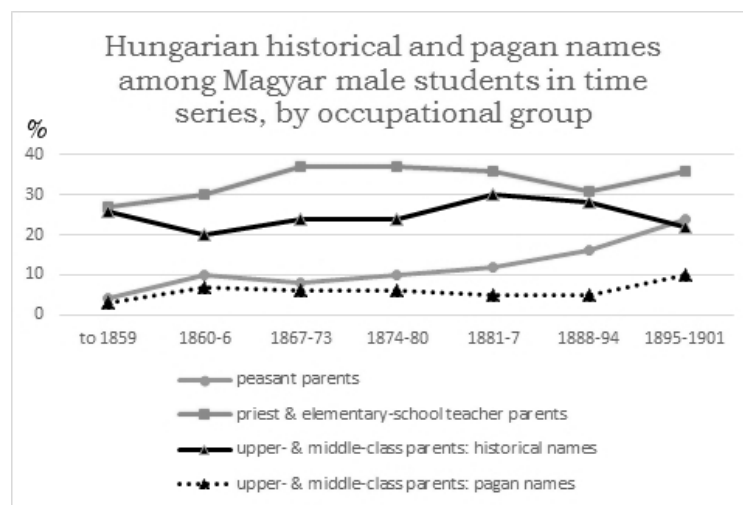
49 I also restrict myself to male names. As in the Romanian case, the data retrieved from civil school yearbooks would not yield a relevant object of comparison. But there are two further problems as well. On the one hand, I would need to collect the data of no less than fifty-three female civil schools with Hungarian language of instruction, a formidable task that I cannot hope to undertake. On the other hand, it is even less clear than with Romanian female names which ones should be counted as national. *Etelka* was invented as the name of a fictional pagan Hungarian princess, but was later matched with *Adelheid*. *Jolán* and *Sarolta* may have pagan Magyar etymologies, which contributed to the popularity of the former, but they can also be treated as Western borrowings. Finally, there seem to be no unambiguously historical, non-pagan female name, unless *Margit* and *Gizella* are counted as such on account of their Hungarian connections.

*Ákos, Aladár, Béla, Dezső, Elemér, Géza, Gyula, Imre, Jenő, Kálmán* and *Tibor*, the dataset also contains students with the names *Tibolt* and *Zoárd*.<sup>50</sup> I will call them ‘historical names’ in the following. Names belonging to the second cluster raised the stakes and gained acceptance especially in high-status groups in spite of being devoid of patron saints. Only three male ‘pagan names’ got really popular during the era: *Zoltán, Árpád* and *Attila*, the names of two pagan Magyar chieftains and a Hun ruler, the first one also the protagonist of one of Mór Jókai’s most-read books. Beyond them, there was a wide pool of male and female names taken from real or invented pre-Christian Magyar or Hunnic history and from Romantic literature, providing much room for parents to exhibit originality in taste, as did ancient Rome for Romanian parents. In my dataset, *Álmos, Alpár, Balambér, Botond, Csaba, Csongor, Előd, Emőd, Ete, Etele, Hunor, Indár, Ipoly, Kende, Kocsárd, Kund, Lehel, Levente, Örs, Szabolcs, Szörény, Tarján, Zolt* and *Zsombor* fall into this category. The separation of historical and pagan names would be even more justified in the case of Catholics, but the Protestant population that I investigate here also used calendars and celebrated name days.

On the chart, I merged the two categories of national names in the case of two out of the three social clusters, because of the diminutive numbers of pagan names in both. The social trends seem very similar to those witnessed among Romanians, even if they unfolded on a slightly lower scale. There were no actual differences in the popularity of either historical or pagan names between the Szeklerland, the rest of Transylvania and Eastern Hungary. A comparison can also be drawn with Magyars in core-Hungary, thanks to Mihály Hajdú’s historical surveys of name giving trends in various Hungarian-speaking regions and towns, although he used a different method and ranked names in an order of

<sup>50</sup> Some of these were taken directly from medieval Hungarian history and had been borne by kings (*Béla, Kálmán*), a royal prince (*Imre*), aristocratic lineages (*Ákos, Tibolt*) or had figured as the name of one of the occupying Magyar tribes (*Jenő*) and as a dignitary title (*Gyula*). *Ákos* and *Imre* had remained in use as given names until the early modern period. Others, like *Elemér* and *Tibor*, had been popularised by literary works. I decided to ignore *Endre*, a revived archaic variant of the name *András*, because its frequent and systematic occurrence in certain schools leads me to believe that some teachers displayed their students baptised *András, Andrei* and *Andreas* as *Endre*.

popularity. In comparison, his data are the most telling about the diffusion of national names among the peasantry. Although Protestant churches did not restrain their believers from giving their children any name they chose, it seems that even Calvinist peasants resisted the vogue of pagan names, and not only in Transylvania and Eastern Hungary. Even the two most popular pagan names, *Árpád* and *Zoltán*, were almost completely absent from the rural areas that Hajdú examined. By contrast, several historical names became popular in the peasantry during the second half of the century. After abruptly shooting up from zero, *Gyula*, a name drawn from the early history of Magyars and matched with *Iulius*, was the second most common given name in a tie in the multi-confessional region of the Őrség in Western Hungary between 1871 and 1895 and the single most common given name in the Calvinist peasant town of Békés/Bichiș, on the Grand Plain.<sup>51</sup>



In an 1869 number of the journal *Familia*, Atanasie Marian Marienescu turned to his female readers, scolding those Romanian parents who named their children *Árpád* and other foreign pagan names and posing the rhetorical question whether his readers had ever encountered ‘pure Romanian names’ given to Magyar, German or Serb children.<sup>52</sup> Certainly, non-Romanian families might also choose names for their children that coincided with Latinate ones, but rather less likely with the purpose of giving a Romanian

<sup>51</sup> Hajdú, 492–4.

<sup>52</sup> At. M. Marienescu, ‘Numele de botezu si prolec’a: unu apelu către femeiele romane’ [Christian name and family name: an appeal to Romanian women], *Familia* 5 (1869): 361.

national name. As far as Hungarian national names were concerned, however, a strong argument can be made based on my dataset that for all its didactic value, Marienescu's point had little referential content and most of his educated readers had small chance to meet Romanians called Árpád in real life.

Among one, clearly atypical group, the nobles of the Hațeg/Hátszeg/Hötzing Basin, even those who belonged to a Romanian confession and were recorded at censuses with Romanian mother tongue might grasp at Hungarian national names as new ethnic markers distinguishing them from their 'rumân' (serf) neighbours.<sup>53</sup> On the Western boundaries of the Romanian-speaking territory, in the village of Săcal/Szakál and especially in the farmsteads lying on its outskirts, Orthodox Romanians picked up certain Hungarian national names from their Magyar neighbours, in particular *Etelka*.<sup>54</sup> Latinate names also started to gain some popularity in the village, but in the period between 1874 and 1913, Hungarian pagan names outnumbered them by twenty-three new-born children to seven.<sup>55</sup> In yet another social context, Iosif Ambruș, the pro-Magyar MP and later subprefect from the 1848 generation, baptised Melinda the first daughter he had from his marriage with the Magyar gentry woman Johanna Fráter, very likely after the female hero of *Bánk bán*, the trademark historical play of Hungarian Romantic literature.<sup>56</sup> Cornel Grofșorean, the future mayor of Temeswar/Temesvár/Timișoara/Temišvar, born in 1881 to the family of a district administrator, was later remembered to have received his middle name *Béla* upon the insistence of his father's boss, the subprefect Béla Tallián, to act as his godfather.<sup>57</sup> It is also apt to mention at this juncture Aron Iosif, a Romanian

53 Alexandru Cristureanu, 'Prenamele de la Livadia și Rîu-Bărbat (țara Hațegului)' [First names in Livadia and Râu Bărbat/Borbátviz (Land of Hațeg)], *Cercetări de Lingvistică* 4 (1959): 159–69; Mihai Gregorian, 'Graiul din Clopotiva' [The Clopotiva dialect], *Grai și Suflet* 7 (1937): 149–50 and Ovid Densusianu, 'Graiul din țara Hațegului' [The dialect of the Land of Hațeg], in *Opere* [Works], vol. 1, 403 (Bucharest: Editura Pentru Literatură, 1968).

54 Originally devised by the writer András Dugonics as the name of a pagan princess character for what became a literary hit, *Etelka* was later matched with the Christian name *Adelheid*.

55 Barbu Ștefănescu, 'Ioan și Maria, Gheorghe și Floare sau despre numele de botez la Săcal (Ungaria) (1874–1923)' [Ioan and Maria, Gheorghe and Floare, or on Christian names in Săcal/Szakál, 1874–1923], *Romanian Journal of Population Studies* 4 (2010), supplement, 207–21.

56 Béla Pálmány, ed., *Az 1848–1849. évi első népképviseleti országgyűlés történeti almanachja* [Historical almanac of the first Hungarian representative parliament of 1848–9] (Budapest: Argumentum, 2002), 45.

57 Carmen Albert, 'Cornel Grofșorean: trepte spre o biografie' [Cornel Grofșorean: steps towards a biography], in *Documentele Institutului Social Banat-Crișana* [Documents of the Banat-Crișana Social Institute], vol. 2, 12 (Timișoara: Mirton, 2009).

soap factory worker from the Banat, and his wife Borbála Pócze, a Calvinist peasant girl from the Grand Plain, who lived in rented rooms in the Ferencváros/Franzstadt district of Budapest around the turn of the century and somehow getting caught up in the fashion of Hungarian national names, named their children Jolán, Kálmán, Etelka and Attila, the latter receiving baptism in the Romanian Orthodox Church and later becoming the poet Attila József.<sup>58</sup>

Up until 1873, however, four years after Marienescu's appeal to Romanian women was published, a mere sixteen new-born Romanian boys, or 0.5% of the Romanian contingent, were given Hungarian national names in my dataset, and their proportion did not rise afterwards either.<sup>59</sup> This low figure is all the more representative as most families of the Romanian elite are included in the dataset and that I defined the notion of Romanian ethnicity broadly. (Four of the sixteen youths born until 1873 identifiably came from Aromanian families assimilated as Magyars.<sup>60</sup>) Otherwise, if one has to point out a more significant Hungarian influence on first names of the contemporary Romanian elite, it must be looked for where it is perhaps least to be expected. In Latinate names, the pronunciation of <c> before palatal vowels fluctuated between /tʃ/, the extra-Carpathian norm, and /ts/, which corresponded to its value in intra-Carpathian spoken Latin and Hungarian- and German-transmitted loanwords of Latin origin.<sup>61</sup> Indeed, it was sometimes also spelt <ț>.<sup>62</sup>

58 Miklós Szabolcsi, *Fiatal életek indulója: József Attila pályakezdése* [March of young lives: the start of Attila József's career] (Budapest: MTA Irodalomtörténeti Intézet, 1963), 10–8 and 33–4. Aron Iosif Magyarised his surname in 1903, the year his daughter Etelka was born.

59 Their net number is sixty-one. I always considered *Adalbert*, *Dezideriu*, *Coloman* and *Emeric* to stand for the Hungarian national names *Béla*, *Dezső*, *Kálmán* and *Imre*, but could not disentangle the potential few *Gyulas* and *Jenős* from the body of *Iulius* and *Eugens*. On the earlier Hungarian influence on another cluster of Romanian names, see pp. 56 and 94.

60 The Ghicas/Gyikas of the Banat and the Poynars/Poynárs of Nagyvárad.

61 Cristureanu, *Aspecte*, 38.

62 E.g., Florea Grapini, *Enea Grapini și ziua cea mare* [Enea Grapini and the great day] (Bucharest: Constantin-Titel Petrescu, 1999), 21.

### **2.1.3. Saxons: German Names**

Even more so than among Romanians, national names dominated the Saxon elite's preferences to a striking degree.<sup>63</sup> The Saxon contingent of the dataset is seriously incomplete—around half of Saxon students from the era are missing—, but this trend is so robust that the missing data would hardly invalidate it.<sup>64</sup> Among sons of priests, elementary-school teachers, middle- or upper-class parents (these groups exhibit nearly identical values), as many as 65.5% received names of Germanic origin.<sup>65</sup> The most popular of these names were *Adolf, Albert, Alfred, Carl/Karl, Erich, Ernst, Friedrich/Fritz, Gustav, Heinrich/Heinz, Hermann, Ludwig, Otto, Richard, Rudolf/Rolf* and *Wilhelm*, but we also encounter *Adalbert, Adalgoth, Alfons, Alwin, Arnold, Bernhard, Bruno, Eberhard, Eduard, Edwin, Egon, Erhard, Erwin, Ferdinand, Gerhard, Gottfried, Guido, Günther, Harald, Helmut, Herbert, Herwart, Hubert, Hugo, Konrad/Conrad, Kurt, Lothar, Norbert, Oskar*,<sup>66</sup> *Oswald, Ottmar, Reichard, Reinhold, Robert, Roland, Siegfried, Traugott, Waldemar, Walter, Wilfred* and *Willibald*.

Another characteristic, at least as notable as the prevalence of German names in the elite, cannot be convincingly proven on the basis of the dataset. Not so much because of the large amount of missing data as because of the apparent class-exclusiveness of Saxon gymnasia; from the 893 Saxon students whose social background was recorded, only fifty-three came from peasant families. Fortunately, the nineteenth-century first name corpora of three Saxon villages (*Deuschtekes/Ticușu Vechi/Szásztyukos, Keisd/Saschiz/Szászkézd* and *Draas/Draos/Daróc*) were described by Adolf Schullerus (as typical

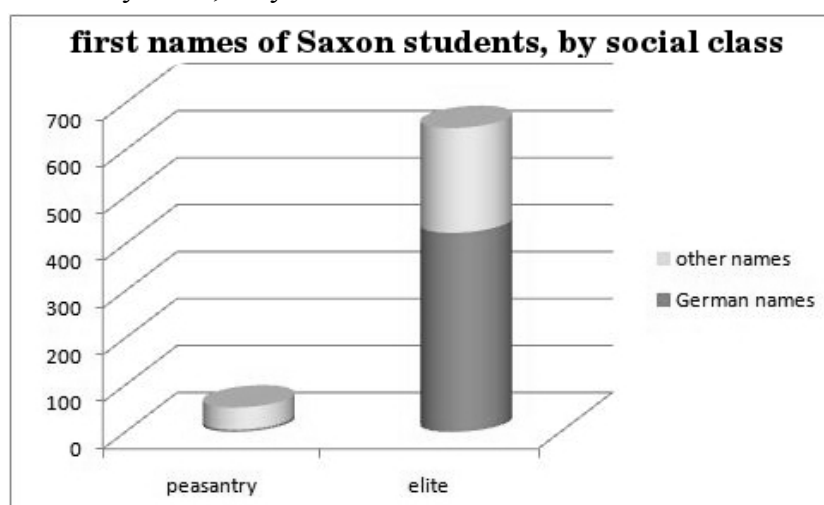
63 Cf. Béla Pukánszky, *Erdélyi szászok és magyarok* [Transylvanian Saxons and Magyars] (Pécs: Danubia, 1943), 150.

64 I took as Saxons all Lutherans with German family names born in Transylvania or taking the matura exam in a Saxon gymnasium and Lutherans outside Transylvania with typically Saxon family names. I was not able to complete the dataset with the missing gymnasia or to examine trends of female national names, since as a rule yearbooks of Transylvanian Saxon schools do not contain the names of students.

65 Including Nordic (Scandinavian) names, a group in some respects similar to Hungarian pagan names. It would perhaps make sense to treat them separately in a later period, but their numbers were low in any social group before the Great War, and they only achieved popularity during the Nazi era. Moreover, the literature that I use for comparisons with contemporary Germany also lumps them under the broader category of Germanic names.

66 Although in fact Celtic and the name of a character in Macpherson's Ossianic poems, the name *Oskar* was likely considered Germanic by those who chose it for their sons, on account of the early popularity it enjoyed in Sweden, including the contemporary Swedish king Oscar II.

for the Saxon peasantry) and the first name corpus of Zendersch/Senereuş/Szénaverös from 1903 by Georg and Renata Weber.<sup>67</sup> In all these villages, peasants bore biblical and ecclesiastical names of Greek, Hebrew and Latin origin (the most current among them were *Johann, Michael, Georg, Martin, Andreas* and *Matthias* for men and *Anna, Katharina, Sara* and *Sophia* for women), and there was little or no trace of German names outside the intelligentsia.<sup>68</sup> The situation was only slightly different among the peasant boys of my dataset; out of the fifty-three, only five had German names.



This wide gulf between the first names of the Saxon elite and of the peasantry, together with the stability in the rate of German names among the elite throughout the timespan of the dataset (except for some coming and going of individual German names) strongly imply that beyond displaying national loyalty, these names also functioned as class markers. On the other hand, the Saxon elite did not initiate the trend of German names, but adopted it from core-Germany, where their popularity soared under the Napoleonic Wars. From a Transylvanian Saxon viewpoint, it could thus seem ‘normal’ that they preferred *Friedrich* and *Heinrich* to *Georg* and *Matthias*. In the time period that my dataset overlaps with Michael Wolffsohn and Thomas Brechenmacher’s statistics of nam-

67 *Siebenbürgisch-sächsisches Wörterbuch* (henceforth, SSWb), vol. 1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1924), 114 and 138 and Georg Weber and Renate Weber, *Zendersch: Eine siebenbürgische Gemeinde im Wandel* (Munich: Delp, 1985), 412. Cf. Friedrich Rosler, *Agnetheln in den sechziger Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts: Kulturhistorische Bilder* (Agnetheln: Schmidt, 1920; reprint, Helbronn: HOG Agnetheln, 1991), 71.

68 The chronicler of the Saxon community of Marpod suggests that the popularity of the name *Franz* in the village rose during the Dualist Era due to Francis Joseph and that of *Wilhelm* due to Emperor William; Georg E. Schuster, *Marpod: Ein Dorf in Siebenbürgen* (Munich: Siebenbürgisch-Sächsische Stiftung, 1998), 35.



ing trends among Munich's Protestants (between the 1840s and 1873), the latter show a somewhat similar picture; the percentage of German names steadily stood around thirty-five per cent in the entire group, and between fifty and sixty in the upper bourgeoisie.<sup>69</sup> Half of Protestant Gymnasium students wore German names in Berlin in the second half of the century, and fifty-nine per cent of the overwhelmingly Protestant students of the Wandsbeck Gymnasium near Hamburg in 1891.<sup>70</sup> Moreover, in comparison with the trends among the Protestants of Grimma in Saxony and the two Westphalian Protestant communities that Michael Simon examined, Transylvanian Saxons even appear as relatively early adopters.<sup>71</sup>

In this first chapter, I have described the trend of national names, the most salient new feature in the social and political life of given names, which I identified as the hinge between earlier, custom-based baby naming and the fashion-based paradigm of the twentieth century. I have presented in a relative isolation the developments of male national names among Romanians, who took centre stage in this chapter, among Calvinist and Unitarian Magyars and among Transylvanian Saxons, although influences between the three groups also called for cross-references. I have found highly unequal distribution of national names between the elites and peasantries in all three populations. In the Romanian and the Magyar cases, which allow for a time-series analysis, the popularity of national names seems to have passed its peak in the elite before the Great War, while in the peasantry it was still very much on the rise, which corroborates the trickle-down hypothesis. The question remains open, however, whether the smaller proportions that upon the whole the trend assumed among Magyars could have to do with the politically dominant position of Hungarian nationalism and, a related question that would be theoretic-

69 Michael Wolffsohn and Thomas Brechenmacher, *Die Deutschen und ihre Vornamen: 200 Jahre Politik und öffentliche Meinung* (Munich: Diana, 1999), 176 and 206.

70 Nathan Pulvermacher, *Berliner Vornamen: Eine statistische Untersuchung*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Gaertners, 1902), 5 and 8.

71 Jürgen Gerhards, *The Name Game: Cultural Modernization & First Names* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 2005), 36–7 and 47.

ally easier to answer, how far political resistance could contribute to the spectacular success of these names in Romanian and Saxon elite quarters.

It is not clear whether Saxon and Magyar priests tried to promote national names beyond the example they set, but Romanian priests definitely did, even though with a relative lack of success, especially when the likely imbalance in the data of peasant boys is considered. And while the data cannot support comparisons across ethno-linguistic boundaries, the spatial differences in the spread of Latinate names nevertheless reveal asynchronies in the process of nationalisation. Another solid finding, the overall very similar trends among Greek Catholics and Orthodox Romanians, together with their continuing rise after the decline of the Latinate norm, show that Latinate names got detached from the influence of the Latinist paradigm.

From this point on, most chapters will engage with the interrelations between the various ethno-national corpora of given and family names, the major factor behind the nationalisation of names and naming in the area. My focus will also change from the parallel socio-cultural processes of nationalisation first to the hegemonic field of nation-building state policies and then to elite discourses and adaptive strategies, against the background of a cross-linguistic social history of names and the impact that the two consecutive breaks in Romanian writing exerted, to shift back to another socio-cultural trend, family name Magyarisation, in the last chapter.

## 2.2. Translatability and Borrowing

A firm tradition among the social and cultural elites of Dualist Hungary treated non-Hungarian given names with known Hungarian cognates, that is, names pointing back to the same biblical or early Christian figures, as translatable.<sup>72</sup> This translatability ulti-

<sup>72</sup> Compare with Hans Ungar's historical note on the earlier translatability of family names: '...früher der Familienname, wie der Taufname auch jetzt noch, wenn übersetzbar, ebenso wie jedes andere Wort im Verkehr behandelt und einfach aus der einen Sprache in die andere übersetzt wurde' (Hans Ungar, 'Ungarisches Lehngut im Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen', *Die Karpathen* 5 (1911/12), 565).

mately sprang from earlier diglossia in Latin and corresponded to similar norms in the rest of Europe. Translation could take four directions in the public sphere. The Romanian press usually referred to notable Magyars by Romanian or Romanianised first names.<sup>73</sup> In the same way, the Hungarian press regularly Magyarised the first names of prominent ethnic Romanians and somewhat less consistently those of the lower classes.<sup>74</sup> By default, educated Romanians and Saxons also readily used the Hungarian counterparts of their own first names in Hungarian speech and writing.<sup>75</sup> On turn-of-the-century photographs, shop signs are sometimes seen displaying the shopkeepers' names in multiple versions. (See *Annexe 1–2*.) There is also some evidence that Magyar politicians, public intellectuals or entrepreneurs, on the rare occasions that they signed or put their names in a Romanian text, were not above referring to themselves by Romanian first names.<sup>76</sup> They also proceeded similarly when writing in German. Indeed, until surprisingly late, translating first names was standard fare in major Western languages, and an historical monograph in English published as late as 1984 by a prestigious academic press still rendered the names of its figures in forms such as *Alexander Cuza* and *Nicholas Pavlovich Ignatiev*.<sup>77</sup>

Beyond their easy-going attitude towards the translation of first names in the private sphere and in civil society, members of the minority nationalist intelligentsias seldom

73 It may be telling that even in his private journal, the Romanian Greek Catholic metropolitan Victor Mihályi referred to his colleague Kornél Hidasy, Bishop of Szombathely, as *Corneliu*, although the latter form did not necessarily correspond to a different pronunciation in the etymological orthography that he used; 'Ziarul întâmplărilor mai momentuoase din viața Episcopului Victor Mihályi al Lugojului, scris cu mâna-i proprie în următoarele' [Bishop Victor Mihályi's journal about the more momentous events in his life, written by his own hand as follows], in *Memoriile unui ierarh uitat: Victor Mihályi de Apșa (1841–1918)* [Memoirs of a forgotten high priest: Victor Mihályi de Apșa, 1841–1918], eds Nicolae Bocșan and Ion Cârja, 241 (Cluj-Napoca, 2009).

74 On the evidence of its three years between 1904 and 1906, editors of the Déva/Deva-based Hungarian paper *Hunyadvármegye* tended to leave peasants' first names in Romanian and translate those of the middle classes.

75 To quote just one example, the Déva-based advocate Francisc Hossu Longin later remembered: 'Otherwise, I always introduced myself as Francisc Hossu Longin and in Hungarian as Longin Hossu Ferenc'; Francisc Hossu Longin, *Amintiri din viața mea* [Memories from my life] (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1975), 194. What he was trying to stress here is that he used his Latinised family name (he was born Hossu/Hosszu) in the same way in Hungarian as in Romanian.

76 For instance, Conservative politician and literary author János Asbóth put his name as 'Joane de Asbóth' both in his letter to George Bariț and on the cover of the Romanian translation of his parliamentary speech against the church political laws; the passionate Hungarian nationalist Jenő Gagyí signed his contribution to the journal *Transilvania* as 'Eugen Gagyí de Etéd', and *Lumina*, the short-lived Romanian newspaper of the Independentist Party, launched in 1906, referred to politicians of the party by forms like 'Francisc Kossuth' or 'Ludovic Bay'. See *Gheorghe Bariț magyar levelezése*, 155; *Vorbirea deputatului Joane de Asbóth din cercul Sasca pentru libertatea religioasă a poporului creștin* [Speech by János Asbóth, deputy of the Sasca/Szászka constituency, in defence of Christians' religious freedom] (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1894) and *Transilvania* 1911, no. 1, 38–61.

77 Barbara Jelavich, *Russia and the formation of the Romanian national state 1821–1879* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

challenged the official practice of using the Hungarian versions of first names until this practice became compulsorily enforced on the entire population, thus systematically affecting the peasants whom they regarded as their ethnic constituents in their national communities. Even after the Hungarian state politicised the question of first names, it did not immediately transform the personal habits of the ethnic middle classes. In the case of Romanian nationalists, this practice contrasted dramatically with their increasingly frequent complaints over the common Hungarian spelling of Romanian family names in official documents.

In addition, the Romanian elite made ample use of Hungarian diminutives in their private sphere. Politician Alexandru Mocsonyi regularly addressed newspaper editor Vincențiu Babeș as *Lieber Vityó* in his letters, which he signed as *Sándor*.<sup>78</sup> Politician and lawyer Iuliu Maniu was sometimes called *Gyulca* or *Gyuluca* by fellow-Romanians close to him,<sup>79</sup> politician and high-school teacher Vasile Goldiș—*Laci*,<sup>80</sup> Brassó/Brașov/Kronstadt lawyer Alexandru Străvoiu—*Sanyi*,<sup>81</sup> Belényes lawyer Paul Pop—*Pap Palcsi*,<sup>82</sup> Gheorghe Părau, headmaster of the Orthodox gymnasium in Brad/Brád—*Gyuri bácsi*,<sup>83</sup> the wife of Toma Păcală, Orthodox protopope of Nagyvárad/Oradea Mare/Großwardein—*Teréz néni*.<sup>84</sup> (*Bácsi* and *néni*, Hungarian for ‘uncle’ and ‘auntie’, together with their related and descendant forms, were widely used not only in the Romanian elite, but

78 Mihai P. Dan and George Cipăianu, eds, *Corespondența lui Vincențiu Babeș* [The correspondence of Vincențiu Babeș], vol. 1, *Scrisori primite* [Letters received] (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1976), 146–55. Cf. Vincențiu Babeș, *Corespondența* [Correspondence], vol. 2, *Scrisori trimise* [Letters sent] (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1983), 86–94.

79 Hortensia Goga to Octavian Goga, on 25 February 1912 and Ilarie Chendi to the same, on 4 January 1911; in *Octavian Goga în corespondență: documente literare* [Octavian Goga in correspondence: literary documents], vol. 1 (Bucharest: Minerva, 1975), 76 and 170. What is more, some Peasant Party voters went to the ballots in 1946 scolding the slogan ‘Hip, hip, ura, trăiască Manighiula’ (Maniu Gyula); Dionisie Radu and Adrian Radu, *Monografia satului Curciu, jud. Sibiu* [The monograph of Curciu/Kirtsch/Küküllőkörös village], 2nd, rev. and enl. ed. (Cluj-Napoca: Napoca Star, 2001), 119.

80 Alexandru Vaida-Voevod, *Memorii* [Memoirs], vol. 1 (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 2006), 122.

81 In the diary entries of Aurel Ciorta, professor at the Brassó Orthodox gymnasium; ‘Din ziarul profesorului Aurel Ciortea’ [From Prof. Aurel Ciorta’s diary], *Țara Bârsei* 8 (1936): 422.

82 Hossu Longin, 48.

83 Ion Candrea, *Din copilăria mea: amintiri și impresii* [From my childhood: memories and impressions] (Oradea: Tipografia Românească, 1935), 17.

84 Ion I. Lapedatu, *Memorii și amintiri* [Memoirs and remembrances] (Iași: Institutul European, 1998), 153.

also among Transylvanian Saxons and Banat Swabians.<sup>85</sup>) By all appearance, the people designated by these pet names did not perceive them as cultural transgression.

The non-elite, in contrast, did not usually regard first names as translatable. It is not that peasants crossing ethnic borders necessarily used different strategies of self-presentation from the elite, but a Magyar peasant called Jancsi likely remained Jancsi (*Ioanci*) rather than becoming *Iuon* in his contact with Romanian-speakers or after settling in a Romanian-speaking environment, and vice versa for a Romanian peasant. Moreover, the bulk of average Romanians, living in largely Romanian monolingual areas, not only spoke neither Hungarian nor German and had relatively little general experience in crossing languages, but they also had at best a patchy knowledge of the Hungarian or German first name corpus. Symptomatically, the only set of written records that I have come across from the period where given names could have been translated, but were consistently written out in their original forms, emanated not from critical social democratic or radical circles, but from the traditional artisanate, and it probably transmitted a plebeian sense of limited translatability. The two parallel, German and Hungarian versions of the records of the Brassó/Braşov/Kronstadt bootmakers' guild, conducted between 1871 and 1884, referred to master bootmakers from the other linguistic group under their native names, preserving not only the mother-tongue forms but the name order as well; thus, 'Friedrich Reich' was the regular form for German bootmakers in the Hungarian version and 'Konya Balázs' for Magyars in the German one.<sup>86</sup>

85 SSWb, 416; Antal Horger, 'A bánsági sváb nyelvjárás magyar szavai' [Hungarian loanwords in the Banat Swabian dialect], *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny*, new series 7 (1899): 710; Hans Mokka, *Erlebtes Temeswar: Alttemeswarer Mosaik* (Marburg: Elwert, 1992), passim; Hans Klein, *Heimatsbuch der Heckegemeinde Josefsdorf im Banat* (s. l.: Josefsdorfer Heimatortsgemeinschaft, 1986), 165; Jakob Hübner, *Monographie der Großgemeinde Sanktanna* (s. l.: Heimatortsgemeinschaft Sanktanna, s. a. [1984]), 53; Jean Lamesfeld, *Geschichte der elsass-lothringischen Kolonisation des XVIII Jahrhunderts in Ungarn im Wandel der Zeiten: Ernste und heitere Geschichten und Flausen eines lothringischen Dorfes im Rumänien: Blumenthal* (s. l. [Avignon]: self-published, s. a. [1975]), 27 and Heinrich Lay, ed., *Ebendorf: Monographie und Heimatsbuch einer deutschen Marktgemeinde im Banat (1786–1992)* (s. l.: Heimatortsgemeinschaft Ebendorf, 1999), 349. *Bácsi* and *néni* were also among the few Hungarian elements in the German speech of Oberwart/Felsőőr in the 1970s; Susan Gal, *Language Shift: Social Determinants of Linguistic Change in Bilingual Austria* (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 79.

86 Arhivele Naţionale ale României (henceforth, ANR) Direcţia Judeţeană Braşov, Fond Breasla cizmarilor din Braşov, bundles 45 and 46.

Peasants' unfamiliarity with names across ethno-linguistic boundaries may also help us interpret the widespread popularity of some borrowings from Hungarian as Romanian name forms. In particular, *Ghiuri*, *Ghiurca*, *Ianăș*, *Lați*, *Mișca*, *Șandor*, *Catița*, *Iulișca*, *Juja*, *Juji* and *Marișca* (< Hun. *Gyuri*, *Gyurka*, *János*, *Laci*, *Miska*, *Sándor*, *Katinka*, *Katica*, *Juliska*, *Zsuzsa*, *Zsuzsi*, *Mariska*) remained current among Romanian peasants until the Great War, sometimes even afterwards.<sup>87</sup> Unlike in the case of the elite, their popularity does not indicate that hypocoristic forms constituted an ethnically neutral domain for the peasantry, since the majority may not have been aware of their non-native origin. An ethnographic fieldwork carried out after 1940 in a Romanian–Magyar mixed region, the environs of the Borșa/Borsa stream, suggests that particular ‘shared’ names and name forms could take on ethnic marking, whose validity was nevertheless very limited locally. According to informants from one village, *Jusztina* and *Nella* passed as typical Magyar names, while they were considered Romanian in another village.<sup>88</sup>

Transylvanian Saxons, it is true, must have known about the origin of their diminutives borrowed from Hungarian, among which *Djirko* (< *Gyurka*) for *Georg*, *Martszi* (< *Marci*) for *Martin*, *Matszi* (< *Maci*) for *Matthias*, *Miši* (< *Misi*) or *Miška* (< *Miska*) for *Michael*, *Pišto* (< *Pista*) for *Stefan* and *Šāri* (< *Sári*) for *Sara* enjoyed the widest currency.<sup>89</sup> These, however, did not play the same role as the Romanian diminutives of the

87 N. A. Constantinescu, *Dicționar onomastic românesc* [Romanian onomastic dictionary] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1963); Al. Cristureanu, ‘Nume de familie și prenume din localitatea Țaga’ [Family and first names of Țaga/Cege], in *Monografia comunei Țaga* [Monograph of Țaga commune], ed. Ioan Mârza, 431–2 (s. l.: s. p., 2009); Todinca and Bulc, 382; Ioachim Lazăr and Adela Herban, eds, *Densușienii: corespondență* [The Densușianu family: correspondence] (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2011), 105–95; Mager, 20; Marienescu, *Numele de botez și prolec’a*, 361; Emil Petrovici, ed., *Micul atlas lingvistic român* [Small linguistic atlas of Romanian], new series, map 1268; Loghin-Bosica, Tutula and Lechințan, 94–9; Pașca, 38; Mariana Pintilie, ‘Copilăria și adolescența în Dăbâca la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și prima jumătate a secolului al XX-lea’ [Childhood and adolescence in Dăbâca/Doboka at the end of the 19th and in the first half of the 20th centuries], in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Orală* (2002): 62; Popovici, *Rumänische Dialekte*, vol. 1, 64–74; Miron Țic, Petru Balaj and Partenie Vasile Verghelia, *Cronica de la Ilia-Mureșană* [Chronicle of Ilia/Marosillye] (Deva: Călăuza, 2005), 268–91; Ioan Silaghi, *Satul bihorean la început de secol XX: însemnări etnografice* [Village life in Bihor/Bihar at the beginning of the 20th century: ethnographic notes] (Cluj-Napoca: Mediamira, 2002), 25, 33, 51, 82 and 89; Liana Maria Gomboșiu, *Valeria Dr. Pintea: un roman familial* [Dr. Valeria Pintea: a family novel] (Timișoara: Marineasa, 2013), 6 and 41; Biblioteca Academiei Române, Manuscript Collection, Manuscrise românești 4554, 431v and 432f and Virgil Valea, *Miniș: istorie și cultură* [Miniș/Ménes: history and culture] (Arad: Editura Fundației “Moise Nicoară”, 2006), 41.

88 Mózes Gálffy, ‘Keresztneveink becéző alakjai a Borsavölgyben’ [The hypocoristic forms of our given names in the Borșa/Borsa Valley], in *Az Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet évkönyve 1944*, 64 (Kolozsvár: Minerva, 1945).

89 SSWb, vols 3 and 7 and Ungar, 731. Cf. Horger, *A bánsági sváb nyelvjárás magyar szavai*, 714 and Peter Kottler, Ileana Irimescu, Alwine Ivănescu, Eveline Hâncu and Mihaela Șandor, *Wörterbuch der banater deutschen Mundarten*, vol. 1 (Munich: IKGS, 2013), 188 on hypocoristics borrowed from Hungarian by Banat Swabians.

last paragraph. They were not bound to individuals in a permanent way, but, as Hans Ungar contended, were used occasionally and to convey a pejorative note.<sup>90</sup>

It is important to point out here that the interchangeability between what today's observer would see as different variants of the same name was often limited in the world of the village. *Ilona* and *Elena* could be the names of two sisters, just as well as *Maria* and *Marișca*.<sup>91</sup> *Ionuț*, *Ionel*, *Ioniță*, *Nuț*, *Onișcă* and *Ianăș*, all hypocoristics of *Ioan/Iuon/Ion*, could behave as functionally different names, individuating their bearers within a given community.<sup>92</sup> It also attests to this trend that after the establishment of the civil registry, parents often tried to give hypocoristic forms to their children in front of registrars. Romanian priests, who had kept the registers until 1894, had the necessary expertise to introduce a more normative form in such cases. Since they had not recorded births and marriages with any consistency before the end of the eighteenth century, Romanian priests' onomastic control was neither very old, nor could it become too coordinated. There is no evidence that their flock resented it, not only because it was not coercive, but also because Romanian peasants felt their ethnic churches incomparably closer to them culturally than the state.

### 2.3. *Floreas* into *Virágs*: State Regulation of First Names

'Finally, Wallachian litigants will learn what they are called in Hungarian from the writs, summonses and sentences.'<sup>93</sup>

The codification of a Hungarian first-name regime has hardly received any serious attention in the historical literature, something that has been by and large also true for the codification of first-name regimes in general.<sup>94</sup> To be sure, the subject became truly rel-

<sup>90</sup> Ungar, 731.

<sup>91</sup> Țic, Balaj and Verghelia, 268 and 270.

<sup>92</sup> Iustin Pop, 'Maghiarisarea – în justiție' [Magyarisation – in the judiciary], *Libertatea* 13/26 July 1902 and Dumitru Loșonți, 'Diminutifs et hypocoristiques utilisés dans la commune Bontida, Département de Cluj', *Studii și cercetări de onomastică și lexicologie* 7 (2014): 92–3.

<sup>93</sup> 'Egy kolozsvári táblai elnök rendelete' [An order by a Kolozsvár high court of appeal judge], *Egyetértés* [Budapest] 24 July 1902.

<sup>94</sup> A slightly modified version of this chapter was published in *Austrian History Yearbook* 2016 under the title '*Floreas* into *Virágs*: State Regulation of First Names in Dualist Hungary'.

evant only with the emergence of the nation state, whereas earlier interventions in parents' choices about naming their babies were rare and often followed a different logic. Until the modern era, name giving fell under the authority of the Church, through the institution of baptism. However, the slow replacement of Germanic with Christian names in Western Europe during the high and late medieval period did not result from a consistent Church policy, and only after the Council of Trent did the Catholic Church restrict the pool of baptismal names to the names of canonised saints.<sup>95</sup> By that time, Calvin and his fellow pastors in reformed Geneva had forbidden and even tried to uproot names that they associated with the papal faith, either because they were unbiblical (*Gaspar, Melchior, Balthazar*) or else because they were linked to popular local saints (*Claude, Martin*).<sup>96</sup> Similar regulations, forbidding pagan or foreign names, were also introduced in the German-speaking Protestant lands during the early modern period.<sup>97</sup>

Absolutist rulers sometimes curtailed the right of specific groups to name their babies. Joseph II of Austria, for example, planned to introduce a ban on specifically Jewish names to promote the enforced integration of Jews, while the Prussian king Frederick William III tried to achieve the exact opposite, perpetuating Jews' social exclusion by limiting their choice to specifically Jewish names.<sup>98</sup> Finally, the first modern baby-naming trend of secular, although still non-nationalist inspiration, the French revolutionary taste for Ancient Roman and Greek names, found a formal recognition in Napoleon's law dated 11 Germinal year XI (1 April 1803), which opened up the list of eligible names to names of ancient historical figures.<sup>99</sup>

95 Stephen Wilson, *The Means of Naming: A social and cultural history of naming in western Europe* (London: UCL Press, 1998), 99–111 and 191.

96 William G. Naphy, *Calvin and the Consolidation of the Genevan Reformation* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994; 2003), 144–9.

97 Alex Linsberger, 'Namenrechtliche Anfänge in Österreich: Frühe Regelungen zu Namenwahl, Namenführung, Namenwechsel und Namensschreibung von Ruf- und Familiennamen', *Onoma* 47 (2012): 207.

98 Dietz Bering, *The Stigma of Names: Antisemitism in German Daily Life, 1812–1933*, trans. Neville Plaice (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 35 and 48–65.

99 <http://www.legilux.public.lu/rgl/1803/A/0001/Z.pdf>.



Once the state took over population registers from the churches, a move that in most Roman Catholic areas also inaugurated the usage of the national standard language instead of Latin, the state apparatus started to make implicit or explicit decisions about the official usage of specific name forms.<sup>100</sup> This was a novelty compared to the examples cited in the preceding paragraphs, where the selection took place between different names and not among variants of the same names. Wherever the state-nation project was not contested by successful rival national movements, the general trend reduced variety and favoured standard, accepted forms of first names at the expense of sundry regional and local variants, which, at least among the peasantry, remained very much alive during the nineteenth century. The work of registrars was abetted here by the universalisation of literacy and the growing number of required personal documents. The ideal was a national inventory of names with few alternative forms and a size that could be memorised, something that was given a physical manifestation in the ubiquitous calendars and in baby naming books, a genre that became popular in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>101</sup> Such first-name inventories re-enforced the symbolic boundaries of the nation, the community of those who wear one of ‘our’ names. Interchangeability disappeared between cognate names in the same system, and in the last resort, the possibility of conversion between equivalents across languages was also greatly diminished.

Wherever the borders of states and nations did not overlap, that added a further dimension to this state of affairs, one of wilful discrimination against the forms used by linguistic minorities. The repressive *Polenpolitik* in the Prussian provinces of Posen and West Prussia, often quoted approvingly by hawkish Magyar commentators on contemporary Hungary’s ‘nationalities question’, established provisions similar to those the

100 For the French situation, where the earlier parish registers had already been kept in the national language, see *Prénoms pouvant être inscrits sur les registres de l’état civil destinés à constater les naissances: conformément à la loi du 11 germinal an XI (1er avril 1803)* (Paris: Dupont, 1858), the revised edition of the same list from 1865 and Paul Geslin de Kersolon, *Catalogue des noms et prénoms que, seuls, peuvent être donnés légalement à l’état civil et au baptême* (Paris: Roussel, 1876).

101 According to a survey on Google Books, the genre cropped up in Germany in the 1830s, and together with its more highbrow, but in fact scarcely different cousin, the popular etymological dictionary of first names, yielded eight separate German, English and French titles in the 1850s.

Hungarian government would impose. A Prussian ministerial decree connected to the 1875 imperial law on the civil registry ordered that children of Polish-speaking parents must be registered with the German equivalents of their first names.<sup>102</sup> In contrast to the Hungarian regulation, however, the Prussian practice made a sharp distinction between people born before and after the introduction of the civil registry in 1875. For the older generations, forms found in the parish registers were treated as official, which lead to the mildly anachronistic effect that many Polish-speaking Catholics officially bore Latin first names.<sup>103</sup>

In the German-speaking parts of Alsace-Lorraine/Elsaß-Lothringen, a regional policy specifically targeted the ‘nationally alienated’, especially urban population of the new German province, who were oriented towards French cultural models and developed a fashion for French name variants. Imperial German officials thus enforced an informal ban on these variants in the civil registry. French names were not considered a threat elsewhere in Germany, where children could be freely registered with names like *Louis* and *Marie*, but only *Ludwig* and *Maria* were thought admissible in Alsace-Lorraine. The pioneering sociolinguist Paul Lévy was himself entered into the registry as *Paulus*, from the registrar’s fear that a higher authority might find *Paul* too French.<sup>104</sup>

The cause of names lent itself to political use in turn-of-the-century Ireland after Irish nationalists enthusiastically embraced Gaelic, and where British officials had, among other things, consistently replaced the popular Irish versions of Christian names with their English versions in the civil registry.<sup>105</sup> The Gaelic League’s call to use Irish name forms triggered a sharp response from the British authorities, peaking in the *cause*

102 Ernst Müser, *Führung und Abänderung der Familien- und Vornamen in Preußen* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1913).

103 Helmut Glück, *Die preußisch-polnische Sprachenpolitik: Eine Studie zur Theorie und Methodologie der Forschung über Sprachenpolitik, Sprachbewußtsein und Sozialgeschichte am Beispiel der preußisch-deutschen Politik gegenüber der polnischen Minderheit vor 1914* (Hamburg: Buske, 1979), 353–4.

104 Paul Lévy, *Histoire linguistique d’Alsace et de Lorraine*, vol. 2, *De la Révolution française à 1918* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1929), 365.

105 A testimony about the changing practice in Ireland is provided in Robert E. Matheson, *Varieties and Synonyms of Surnames and Christian Names in Ireland: For Guidance of Registration Officers and the Public in Searching the Indexes of Births, Deaths, and Marriages* (Dublin: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1890) and its 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1901.

*célèbre* of the nationalist activist Pádraic Mac Piarais/Patrick Pearse, who lost a case before the appellate court after being fined for his confrontational act of painting his Irish name on his cart.<sup>106</sup>

### **2.3.1. The Practice before Regulation**

Before 1894, non-Magyar citizens' names appeared in a variety of ways in documents produced by the state and county authorities, the local governments and the judiciary. As most personal documents were not based on birth certificates, it could happen that the same person bearing a first name with several corresponding Hungarian variants had it recorded differently in their trade licence, tax booklet, passport and on the electoral rolls. There was no uniformity or consistency either between the practice of various authorities or within the same authority longitudinally, sometimes not even in the same document. An order by a district judge in Ilia/Marosillye, dated 5 July 1906, refers to the same person first as *Mártin* and then as *Márton*.<sup>107</sup>

In Hungarian official usage, first names were either left in their native forms (nearly always if no obvious equivalent was available in Hungarian) or translated, but the name order regularly followed the Hungarian custom: family name first, given name second. A rough estimation about how widespread these alternative methods were can be made based on the registry books of the Ministry of the Interior. The hundreds of Romanian names contained in these registry books for each year are written in diverse forms, which likely reflects the diversity of the authorities that forwarded the files to the Ministry. At least in the years immediately preceding the regulation, it was clearly the 'family name +

<sup>106</sup> Liam Mac Mathúna, 'What's in an Irish Name? A Study of the Personal Naming Systems of Irish and Irish English', in *The Celtic Englishes IV: The Interface between English and the Celtic Languages; Proceedings of the fourth International Colloquium on the 'Celtic Englishes' held at the University of Potsdam in Golm (Germany) from 22-26 September 2004*, ed. Hildgard L. C. Tristram, 73–4 (Potsdam: Universitätsverlag Potsdam, 2005).

<sup>107</sup> ANR Deva, Fond Tribunalul Hunedoara 2/1891.

native given name' pattern that appeared most often, with both elements transcribed according to Hungarian spelling.

While non-Magyar town or county officials were more likely to write native forms, zealous champions of Magyarisation might try to stamp them out from bureaucratic practice in their particular sphere of influence. In 1882, as the prefect of Szolnok-Doboka County, the later prime minister Dezső Bánffy ordered non-Hungarian first names to be translated in all official documents.<sup>108</sup> Some district administrators put pressure on local governments to use the Hungarian variants in their records, claiming that they 'would not understand them' otherwise.<sup>109</sup> As early as 1894, the Lugoj/Lugosch/Lugos-based lawyer Nicolae Proșteanu protested against those authorities that had Magyarised first names in cadastral map transcripts, and had done so in an arbitrary fashion that the Romanian *Achim* had been replaced with the unrelated Hungarian name *Ákos*.<sup>110</sup>

### **2.3.2. The Stages of Regulation**

With Act XXXIII of 1894, however, the state took over from the churches the keeping of registers of births, marriages and deaths. This measure was hotly debated in the Hungarian press and was widely interpreted as challenging the secular power of churches. The law also included measures that served as nationalist sugar coating for the anticlerical pill. The governing Liberal Party tried to deploy the full Magyarising potential inherent in the new institution of a state civil registry. Although the law enacting the new system did not explicitly prescribe how the first names of new-born children, newly-wed couples and of the dead should be introduced in the registers, section twenty declared Hungarian to be the language of registers, and from this passage in the law, de-

<sup>108</sup> ANR Bistrița, Fond Prefectura Județului Năsăud 8/1886, 7 and Dezső Bánffy, *Magyar nemzetiségi politika* [Hungarian nationalities policy] (Budapest: Légrády, 1903), 151. Cf. Mihai Eminescu, 'Mai lesne se torc...' [It is easier to spin], in *Opere* [Works], vol. 13 (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1985), 315–16.

<sup>109</sup> Editorial from *Dreptatea* 16/28 May 1897.

<sup>110</sup> Petru Oalde, *Lupta pentru limbă românească în Banat: apărarea și afirmarea limbii române, la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea* [The struggle for Romanian in the Banat: the defence and the affirmation of the Romanian language at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century] (Timișoara: Facla, 1983), 94.

crees by the minister of the interior presumed an obligation to display all names in their ‘Hungarian-sounding’ (*magyaros*) forms. ‘Foreign’ (i. e. the native) names could appear only upon request and between parentheses.<sup>111</sup> Registrars were also called upon to make sure that the names parents reported for their babies were the same they were given in church baptisms.<sup>112</sup>

Preparations for the law started as early as the late 1880s. In order to establish the proper Hungarian equivalents for non-Hungarian names, the Ministry of the Interior asked prefects to draw up lists of all first names current in their counties. Prefects would in turn forward this request to village or circle secretaries (*községi jegyzők* and *közjegyzők*), the only professional bureaucrats in rural local governments. Nominated by the county administration and elected for life, those serving in these places were increasingly Magyars, even in non-Magyar villages, and often acting as local representatives of Hungarian state nationalism. In most places after 1894, they would also be invested with the new duties of registrar.

Only seven prefects returned lists of names, collected by village secretaries subordinated to them, during 1889 and 1890. Significantly, three of these came from counties with Romanian majorities, another three from counties with substantial Romanian minority populations and only one from Slovak-speaking parts of Upper Hungary.<sup>113</sup> The ministry then entrusted the Hungarian Academy with compiling an equivalence list for the names thus collected. The resulting printed brochure, the work of a team of four, listed the first names in use among the minorities alongside with their Hungarian counterparts, sometimes more than one. German first names were rendered in their German spellings, whereas Romanian first names were reported in an (attempted) phonetic Hungarian tran-

111 Decrees nos 86.225/1895 and 49.893/1898 of the Ministry of the Interior; *Magyarországi rendeletek tára* 1895, vol. 2, 1397 and *Belügyi Közlöny* 3 (1898): 261.

112 Decree no. 80.000/1906 of the Ministry of the Interior, § 55 point 7 and § 82, in *Magyarországi rendeletek tára* 1906, pp. 1834 and 1869–70.

113 MTA Manuscript Collection RAL 440/1892.

scription. To help state registrars who were often at a loss in linking diminutive forms to their roots, the brochure contained a variety of hypocoristics. Still, this catalogue of Romanian first names was less than exhaustive. It was sent out to all registrars and to other official organs, first in 1893 and later in two amended and extended versions.<sup>114</sup>

As was usual with measures that reduced the scope for minority languages, the Hungarian government also offered an alternative reading of its intent from that of Magyarisation, adducing practical grounds for the introduction of an official first-name regime. As was also usual, government officials appealed to the alleged demands of a modern, efficient bureaucracy. They argued that it added an excessive burden on officials, unfamiliar with the language and names of the people they administered, to find their ways through a thicket of strange diminutives in order to establish the identity of a person. In some cases, even a person's gender was hard to ascertain!

In a 'decision of theoretical importance' from 1905, the minister of the interior also put forward the slightly spurious reasoning that the usage of Hungarian first names in Hungarian documents was just a routine part of translation and that it ensued from the status of Hungarian as the official state language:

Since the lists of parliamentary voters need to be redacted in the official language of the state, it necessarily follows that the first names of voters, as far as possible, also have to be entered on the lists in the official language of the state or according to Hungarian spelling.<sup>115</sup>

In fact, the part of the regulation that affected non-Magyar first names takes on its full significance when it is seen as part of the Bánffy government's line of action that outstripped all previous Hungarian governments in gratifying an increasingly jingoistic civil society by implementing designs that imposed a uniform Magyar/Hungarian vision on multilingual Hungary. On the horizon optimistically painted by the Magyarising discourse of the era, Hungarian first names would help Hungarian culture to assert itself by

<sup>114</sup> *Nem-magyar keresztnévek jegyzéke* [List of non-Hungarian first names] (Budapest, 1893, 1909<sup>2</sup> and 1914<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>115</sup> *Beliügyi Közlöny* 10 (1905): 227.

developing an affectionate bond among the names' reluctant bearers to the state language, thus making them better disposed towards learning Hungarian. Or, short of that, they would at least make them bow to Magyar cultural sovereignty.

Soon after the new state registrars stepped into office, they started to besiege the Ministry with complaints about the many names that parents were choosing for their children that were not listed in the official publication. Acting upon a circular from the Ministry of the Interior in 1896, registrars working in minority areas sent up new lists of names to the academy. The academician authors, however, refused to consider these new names in earnest, pointing out that they were either hypocoristic forms or untranslatable to Hungarian. The words they used to dismiss these new lists are worth quoting, as they relate to expectations that were apparently widespread among public servants: (some registrars) 'misinterpret the goal of the list, presuming that the government or the Academy, or both, want to extirpate [...] the names [...] that the minorities have freely used so far and want to replace them with Hungarian-sounding names yet to be created.'<sup>116</sup> On the basis of this expert opinion, the Minister now made an exception for first names without ascertainable Hungarian equivalents, which could thereafter stand in their native forms in the registers. However, state registrars should not let themselves be fooled by parents and accept as a name what was really just a hypocoristic variant, and it fell upon them to determine whether the requested forms belonged to a name with an established Hungarian equivalent.<sup>117</sup>

The law included the following ominous, equivocal passage (§ 44): 'No one can bear a family or first name different from the ones entered in his birth certificate.' This clause was neither meant nor interpreted as a general ban on the non-Hungarian forms of first names, but referred to cases where people assumed a false identity or would inad-

<sup>116</sup> György Joannovics and Oszkár Asbóth to the Ministry of the Interior; MTA Manuscript Collection RAL 6/1899.

<sup>117</sup> Decree 55.093/1899 of the Ministry of the Interior, in *Magyarországi rendeletek tára* 1900, vol. 1, 17.

vertently mislead the authorities by taking on an altogether different name. The regulations left untouched the private sphere, not to mention the written practice of the non-Hungarian press and of non-Magyar institutions (with the exception of schools, as we shall immediately see).

One truly paradoxical aspect of the law was that it regulated only the official first names of those born or married after it came into effect, but contained no provision regarding the rest of the population. Though the regulation was ambiguous, it clearly emerges from the sources that the Budapest government in fact aimed at replacing native names in the short run, across the age pyramid and in the entire official realm. Indicative in this regard is the letter that the Ministry of the Interior sent out to state organs in preparation of the law: it has come to the Minister's attention, the letter reads, that in certain regions, documents issued by the administration contain 'foreign-sounding' first names or names that 'correspond to the local idiom', instead of to the appropriate Hungarian forms. One version of the letter explicitly mentioned that too many Romanian first names turned up in official texts.<sup>118</sup> The Minister stressed that 'this widespread improper practice has no justification whatsoever'.<sup>119</sup> His judgement fits oddly with the Ministry's similarly incongruous handling of non-Hungarian first names in its registry books, to which I referred above. Beyond such indirect commands, the circulation of the brochure to all state and county offices was itself meant to drive it home to civil servants that the government wished to expand the usage of Hungarian names to the entire citizenry. Later on, several decrees were issued that circumscribed the sphere in which non-Hungarian name forms could officially appear, irrespective of whether their bearers were born after or before 1894. Hungarian first names became officially binding in lists of conscripts for the Honvéd Army after 1896 and in the land registers after 1910, whose keeping also

<sup>118</sup> MTA Manuscript Collection RAL 23/1891.

<sup>119</sup> Ioan Popovici et al., eds, *Bihor: permanențe ale luptei naționale românești* [Bihor/Bihar: constants of Romanian national struggle], vol. 1, 1892–1900; *documente* [1892–1900; documents] (Bucharest: Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului din Republica Socialistă România, 1988), 82–3.



pertained to the duties of village secretaries.<sup>120</sup> In 1902, the chair of the Kolozsvár high court of appeal ordered all subordinate courts to use the Hungarian versions of first names in all their registers and when addressing the parties, witnesses and forensic experts in the courtroom.<sup>121</sup>

Measures were also taken to inculcate the official, Hungarian names in the minds of new generations. The 1908 curriculum for non-Hungarian primary schools (the majority of Romanian and Transylvanian Saxon pupils attended mother-tongue schools) instructed teachers to acquaint children of six to seven years of age with their Hungarian names in and outside of Hungarian classes, and starting with the 1908/1909 school year, pupils' names had to be put in the class registers using the Hungarian equivalents and the Hungarian family name + given name order.<sup>122</sup> A manual of methodology advised non-Magyar trainee teachers to start familiarising children with their Hungarian names already on the day of enrolment, when they came to school with their mother or father:

The German writes his name like this: *Stefan Laub*. While noting it down, we pronounce it in a slow and drawling voice: *Laub István*. We accompany this with a gentle smile, as if we were truly happy that *Stefan Laub* is *Laub István*. Then we keep on repeating in the child's mother tongue, e.g. in German: So, so! Du heißt *István*, *István*, *István*, *Laub István*, *Laub István*. Ist es so, guter Nachbar? Ja, ja, er heißt *Stefi*, hier *Laub István*. *István* ist auch schön gesagt.<sup>123</sup>

Later, children were to be made to practise their names for a few half-hours during Hungarian classes, and teachers were encouraged to call them by their Hungarian names well into the first year, whenever they addressed them.<sup>124</sup> In practice, however, all this was likely no more than the desires of Magyar educationalists. Non-Magyar teachers

120 Decree 65.788/1896 of the Ministry of Defence and Decree 26.141/1910 of the Minister of Justice; *Magyarországi rendeletek tára* 1896, p. 543 and *Igazságügyi Közlöny* 19 (1910): 415.

121 'Egy kolozsvári táblai elnök rendelete' [An order by a at the Kolozsvár high court of appeal judge], *Egyetértés* [Budapest] 24 July 1902.

122 *A magyar nyelv tanításának terve a nem-magyar tannyelvű népiskolában és útmutatás ezen tanításterv használatához* [Curriculum for the teaching of the Hungarian language in the non Hungarian-medium primary school and guidance for the use of this curriculum] (Budapest, 1908), 37 and *Libertatea* 23 August/5 September 1908.

123 Mihály Láng, *A magyar beszéd tanításának természetszerű módja a nem-magyar ajku népiskolákban: a tanító-, tanítónőképző-intézeti növendékek, tanítók és tanítónők számára* [The natural way of teaching Hungarian in non-Hungarian-speaking schools: for training school students and primary teachers] (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1900), 92.

124 *Ibid.*, 109. Cf. Pál Szebeni, 'A magyar nyelv módszeres kezelése románajku népiskolákban' [The methodical treatment of Hungarian language in Romanian-medium primary schools], *Néptanítók Lapja* 16 (1883), no. 3, 37 and *A magyar nyelv tanításának terve*, 37.

might have agreed that it was useful for children to know their official first names, but it is rather unlikely that many would have followed their textbook instructions so excessively. At the same time, the usage of Hungarian names went without saying in schools with Hungarian medium of instruction. As a consequence, awareness of them was probably higher among new generations of Banat Swabians,<sup>125</sup> whose primary schools had been by and large Magyarised by the turn of the century, although a local historian of Werschetz/Vršac/Versec/Vârșeț remarked the following about Swabian children's last day in Hungarian school: 'Von diesem Tage an hießen die Schüler nicht mehr "János" sondern "Hans", nicht "Károly" sondern "Karl".'<sup>126</sup>

I found little evidence that citizens were pestered for the given names they put in official documents; the only such case that I was able to locate was that of the liquidators of the Gaura credit cooperative in Szatmár County in 1910, who first signed *Ursz Vaszili* and *Szima Juon*, and were thereafter compelled to report the Hungarian forms of their given names (*Ursz László* and *Szima János*).<sup>127</sup>

But how deeply did the principle of translating given names in fact permeate the official sphere until the outbreak of the Great War, when the first generation entered into the civil registry at their birth had not yet turned twenty? The registry books of the Ministry of the Interior are no longer accessible for the respective period to gauge the extent of change in the practice of the executive branch.<sup>128</sup> The weekly county bulletins, a new type of publication that in most counties had not existed before the turn of the century, systematically translated citizens' first names. These bulletins, however, at best reflected the practice of county administrative departments and not necessarily even that, since the chief clerks were Magyars in all counties by 1914, and they were more likely to guard

125 Helmut Frisch, *Werschetz (Versecz – Vršac): Kommunale Entwicklung und deutsches Leben der Banater Wein- und Schulstadt* (Vienna, 1982), 481 and Klein, 165.

126 Frisch, 369.

127 *Központi Értesítő* 35 (1910), no. 70.

128 From between 1896 and 1918, the bulk of the archives of the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior are kept in the Cluj County Branch of the National Archives of Romania and are closed for researchers.

over the enforcement of the spirit of regulations, at least in the public eye. Moreover, announcements issued by lower-level officials also disrupt the uniform picture presented by county bulletins. Many district administrators, police chiefs and village secretaries, Magyars and non-Magyars alike, did not go the extra mile to look up the Hungarian equivalents, but rather followed the old custom and wrote *Danilla, Átyim, Radu, Viorika, Tógyer, Costi, Filip, Barbu, Avram* and *Toma* instead of the *Dániel, Joákim, Rudolf, Viola, Tódor, Szilárd, Fülöp, Bárb, Ábrahám* and *Tamás* expected from them.<sup>129</sup> Indeed, why would have they done otherwise? The new first-name regime might have simplified state administration, but it unnecessarily encumbered the work of local governments, where officials often themselves knew all residents by name. Even though the binomial mother-tongue names were seldom used in everyday village settings, they nevertheless could be relied upon with a fair degree of certainty to identify their bearers for co-villagers, whereas one could not expect the local public to decode Hungarian given names. Thus if a village secretary put a bounty on a stray horse, it saved complications if he indicated the owner as *Sztán Bukur* rather than *Sztán Vidor*, even if the person in case was normally referred to as, say, *Bucur al lui Ionică al lui Moise Şchiopu*. The surviving files of local and county archives provide ample evidence for the continuing official use of vernacular first names.

People who lived in localities with Romanian or German as an official language would indeed usually encounter their names in mother-tongue spelling (*Bucur Stan* or *Stan Bucur*) in documents issued by the local authorities. Although the percentage of such local governments had fallen since the first decades of Dualism, twenty per cent of village secretaries in the Eastern counties still declared Romanian nationality in 1910, and Transylvanian Saxon villages were typically administered by Saxon village secretar-

129 *Alsó-Fehér vármegye Hivatalos Lapja* 1914, 36 and 456, *Brassóvármegye Hivatalos Lapja* 1914, 17, 39, 224, 230 and 312, *Fogaras vármegye Hivatalos Lapja* 1914, 132 and *Szebenvármegye Hivatalos Lapja* 1914, 202 and 360.

ies.<sup>130</sup> There were also Magyars in these jobs who wrote documents related to strictly municipal tasks, as well as letters to the public, in Romanian or German. Ironically, it was probably in the corps of village secretaries, who usually also acted as state registrars, that most officials continued to write first names in their vernacular forms and mother-tongue spellings, even though they would grudgingly enter the Hungarian names in the registers.

Nonetheless, average villagers more often received notices from the state authorities than from the village secretary, who would rather send for them or go to their homes and talk to them in person. State agencies and courts sent out papers only in Hungarian, and they were also more likely to use the Hungarian equivalents of first names. And yet, the old ways were slow to die out even in this sphere, judging by a document no less prominent than the supreme court sentence from 1904 in a famous case of gendarmes shooting over thirty Socialist demonstrators to death, which contained an untidy mixture of Romanian first names sometimes translated into Hungarian and sometimes left in their vernacular forms.<sup>131</sup>

In any case, documents carrying citizens' names multiplied rapidly as the administration expanded in leaps and bounds. For this reason, non-Magyar subjects of the Hungarian state had abundant opportunities to become confronted, time and again, with the labels by which the state deigned to recognise them and that they felt alien to themselves. Indeed, many Romanian peasants could hardly get their tongues around what had become their official first names. The assertion of state dominance was unmitigated here by shared national identity, which in other parts of Europe bound subjects of diverse linguistic backgrounds to the state. (Widespread illiteracy could perhaps, however, soften the intensity of such encounters. With wide differences regionally, between fifteen and fifty per cent of Romanians were reported as literate in 1910, while virtually all grown-

130 *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények*, new series, vol. 56 (Budapest: Kir. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1915), 725.

131 Kemény, ed., vol. 4 (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1966), 229–30.

up Transylvanian Saxons and the large majority of Catholic Germans knew how to read.) As Hungarian nationalism left them indifferent at best, it is hard to imagine how Romanian peasants could have experienced the Hungarian names foisted on them as anything other than exotic, and no matter how perfectly these matched their ‘real’ names. They reacted with aversion to the very institution of a civil registry, as evidenced by their calling the state registrar ‘the Jewish pope, since he can marry unlawfully’.<sup>132</sup> (The term ‘Jewish pope’ here also alluded to the increasing share of Jews among village secretaries-cum-registrars in Romanian-inhabited regions in the early twentieth century.)

### **2.3.3. The Handling of Exclusively Romanian Names**

This is not, however, the whole story. Through the massive Magyarisation of the German-speaking Christian and Jewish urban bourgeoisie, the rules of conversion between German and Hungarian forms of given names had gradually solidified. Indeed the most popular names of pre-Christian German origin had also taken root in Hungarian.<sup>133</sup> But no such linguistic assimilation involving Romanian-speakers took place on a comparable scale, and a large group of Romanian first names remained untranslatable to Hungarian even in an elite context. To the group of untranslatable Romanian names belonged those saints of the Eastern-rite calendar who were either not venerated in the Western Church or had not become popular patron saints among Magyars. Many of these names were typically borne by monks as monastic names, but some of them enjoyed currency in the populace at large.

More critically, here belonged most Latinate first names, which were *par excellence* carriers of nationalist imaginaries. It was this latter group that would rankle Magyar vil-

<sup>132</sup> Nicolae Iorga, *Neamul românesc în Ardeal și în Țara Ungurească* [The Romanian people in Transylvania and Hungary], vol. 1 (Bucharest: Minerva, 1906), 201. On a demonstration in 1893 where, according to a Magyar observer, a speaker’s attack on the regulation of first names (then still in the making) received general acclaim from his Romanian peasant audience, Kemény, ed., vol. 2 (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1956), 109.

<sup>133</sup> Kálmán Szily, *A magyar nyelvújítás szótára a kedveltebb képzők és képzésmódok jegyzékével* [Dictionary of the Hungarian language reform with a list of its favourite suffixes and types of word formation] (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1902), vol. 1, 172.

lage secretaries-cum-registrars the most. While Neolog Jews, Dualist Hungary's exemplary assimilationist ethnic group, consciously adjusted their first names to the latest trends among middle-class non-Jewish Magyars, Romanians continuously drifted away from any future shared corpus of names.<sup>134</sup> Worse than this and flying in the face of culturally homogenising policies and designs, Latinate names were also symbols of a separate national identity.

For all the distaste and scorn they provoked from Magyar nationalist ultras, the Hungarian state could not place a ban on Latinate names, if for no other reason that it would have meant an unlawful and undue breach of Church autonomy. But the many Hungarian locality names coined after 1898, especially for Upper Hungary and the Banat, demonstrate that fabricating new Hungarian equivalents for Romanian first names that had none would have also been a viable option. For instance, they could have matched Romanian *Traian* with *Tarján*, the name of a pagan Magyar tribe preserved in Hungarian place names, or *Tiberiu* with *Tibor*, one of the archaising first names coined in the Romantic period, in the same way as learned tradition had already matched Hungarian *Jenő* with *Eugenius* and *Gyula* with *Iulius*. Eventually it was not the prestige of Latin in itself but the views of the academicians involved in the process that prevented this scenario, as testified by the correspondence between the academy and the Ministry of the Interior.

The Romanian component of the official list of equivalents was largely the work of György/Gheorghe Joannovics, Honorary Member of the Academy and chair of its Linguistics Committee.<sup>135</sup> He was entrusted by the institution with heading the original team of authors and he took on himself the task of establishing Hungarian equivalents for Romanian names. In the second, 1909 edition of the list, he was replaced in this role by

134 Kinga Frojimovics, 'Jewish Naming Customs in Hungary from the Turn of the Twentieth Century until the Holocaust', paper presented at the 23rd International Conference on Jewish Genealogy, July 20–25, 2003, Washington DC.

135 His family name is sometimes spelt *Joanovics*, but he never signed it in the Romanian fashion as *Joanovici*; D. Braharu, *Un colaborator al lui Șaguna: secretarul de stat Gheorghe Ioanovici de Dulău și Valea Mare* [One of Șaguna's collaborators: Secretary of State Gheorghe Joannovics] (Cluj: Cartea Românească, 1932), 43.

Sulica Szilárd/Constantin Sulică. This new edition, however, brought few changes to Romanian names, the most important addition being two new Hungarian equivalents (*László* and *Vászoly*) for the widespread Romanian first name *Vasile*.

Born to a landowning Orthodox merchant family in the Banat of Aromanian descent, German culture and Hungarian political sympathies, György Joannovics spent four years in prison for his activity during the 1848–49 revolution on the side of the revolutionary Hungarian government and served as secretary of state under Minister of Education József Eötvös after 1867.<sup>136</sup> No doubt could be cast upon his Hungarian nationalist credentials, but being representative of an older, more tolerant generation, he was not as averse to non-Magyar cultural life in Hungary as were many of his younger colleagues. However, his linguistic interests were confined to Hungarian (his main field of research was Hungarian word order), and he never dealt with Romanian-related topics in a scholarly manner.

More importantly, he set forth his views on Hungarian language planning in two lectures presented at the academy. In their organicist understanding of linguistic development, which ruled out deliberate intervention from above, these lectures bore resemblance to the radical vernacularist ideology of the *Magyar Nyelvőr*, an influential periodical to which he frequently contributed.<sup>137</sup> In particular, he found the language reform of the first half of the century guilty of confusing the logic of Hungarian and he marked out corrupt linguistic coinages for purging. The yardsticks he used were alleged ‘laws’ of word formation, which he boldly extracted from earlier layers of the Hungarian vocabulary. This work of cleansing he certainly considered to be as necessary evil, since he was no friend to linguistic engineering and would have preferred to leave it to the ‘spirit of

<sup>136</sup> Braharu; József Balassa, ‘Joannovics György’, *Magyar Nyelvőr* 38 (1909): 145–7 and Elemér Jakabffy, ‘A Banat (Bánság) magyar társadalmának kialakulása a XIX. század folyamán’ [The formation of a Magyar society in the Banat during the nineteenth century], *Magyar Kisebbség* 19 (1940): 234.

<sup>137</sup> On the vernacularism of the *Magyar Nyelvőr*, G. Béla Németh, ‘A századvégi Nyelvőr-vita: a népies provincializmus kialakulásához’ [The Nyelvőr debate at the *fin de siècle*: on the emergence of Populist parochialism], in *Mű és személyiség: irodalmi tanulmányok* [Work and personality: literary studies], 465–520 (Budapest: Magvető, 1970).

language', working unadulterated in the simple folk, spontaneously to bring about linguistic change.<sup>138</sup>

One cannot help but see a connection between Joannovics's theoretically grounded resistance to neologisms and his prudence in establishing Hungarian equivalents for minority first names. His purism of the organicist type kept him from satisfying some of the tacit expectations of Hungarian nationalists. In their letter written to the Ministry of the Interior during the first round of the process, he and his colleague, the Slavacist Oszkár Asbóth, made it clear that they had not undertaken to create new Hungarian forms, even though the method of 'translating' classical names had been in vogue in Hungarian throughout the nineteenth century and had given birth to names like *Angyalka* from *Angelica*, *Aranka* from *Aurelia*, *Hajnalka* from *Aurora*, *Bódog* from *Felix*, *Győző* from *Victor*, *Szilárd* from *Constantinus* or *Vidor* from *Hilarius*. They did not even consider the matching of Latinate Romanian or pre-Christian German first names with similar-sounding pagan Hungarian ones, to be recovered from historical sources or place names. They pointed out that whenever they had not found a proper Hungarian equivalent, they had left the minority first name unchanged.<sup>139</sup> Joannovics could only repeat this principle when the Ministry approached him again in 1896.

Certainly, the bulk of the most common Romanian first names had long-established Hungarian equivalents and did not need further codification: *Catarina* ~ *Katalin*; *Elena* ~ *Ilona*; *Ioan* ~ *János*; *Petru* ~ *Péter* etc. Apart from these, however, Joannovics included few new Romanian-Hungarian pairs of cognates.<sup>140</sup> His new pairs were always motivated by an etymological relationship, even if a less obvious one for the non-philologist: *Sava* (formerly transcribed into Hungarian as *Száva*) ~ *Sebők*, *Sânziana* ~ *Johanna*, *Vlad* ~

138 György Joannovics, *Adalékok a magyar szóalkotás kérdéséhez* [Contributions to the question of new word coinage] (Pest: Egenberger, 1870) and idem, *Értsük meg egymást: a neologia és orthologia ügyében* [Let's get it right: about Neology and Orthology] (Budapest: M. Tud. Akadémia, 1881).

139 MTA Manuscript Collection RAL 440/1892.

140 See also the table at the end of the chapter.



*László*. For a few names without modern Hungarian equivalents, Joannovics restored related forms attested in medieval Hungarian, like *Beszárion*, *Cirjék*, *Karácson*, *Pentele* and *Prokóp*. Through this strategy, often employed in the Magyarisation of locality names, the Romanian name bearers were symbolically grafted onto one thousand years of Hungarian cultural and language history, in accordance with the ideology of a triumphant Hungarian state nationalism, rather than allowing their ‘alien-sounding’ first names to enter the authorised inventory. Joannovics implemented this particular method rather sparingly, however.

A series of rare, mainly monastic names were given truncated Hungarian forms, by removing their distinctly non-Hungarian endings. It is unclear whether Joannovics actually coined any of these or they were already in use in Hungarian Greek Catholic publications, or in reference to Romanian or Serb monks. One Latinate name, *Tiberiu*, also received an apocopic Hungarian equivalent (*Tibér*), which hints at the possibility of a similar treatment in the case of most Latinate names. Although forms like *Horác*, *Homér* and *Ovid* still sounded natural in Hungarian at the time, Joannovics did not make further use of this strategy.

Instead, he more often pursued the opposite method and added the Latin *-ius* ending to names that did not have it in Romanian (*Longin*→*Longinus*; *Terenție*→*Terentius*). He probably aimed at achieving more prestigious and more universal versions, or he might have had Western monastic names in mind, but maybe he just wanted to live up to his task and alter some more Romanian forms. His procedure is all the stranger as such Latinising of names only emphasised the Latin character of their Romanian bearers, something the regime likely wished to avoid. Moreover, most names affected were not of Latin origin (*Artemie*, *Crăciun*, *Gherasim*, *Macavei*, *Sofronie*) or did not count as Latin-

ate names among Romanians (*Anghel, Maxim, Șerban*). Indeed, at least two of them (*Artemie* and *Carp*) had patron saints only in the Eastern Church.<sup>141</sup>

Joannovics usually left out those names from the list for which he did not find a Hungarian equivalent. He included a few Romanian names, with just two examples (*Sabin* and *Traian*) traditional ones, on which he performed purely orthographic Magyarisation. (He may not have even intended this orthographic Magyarisation, since he also transcribed the original Romanian names.) According to the ministerial decision, names not included in the brochure could keep their original forms in the civil registry.

Thus, while a majority of new-born ethnic Romanians and the great majority of ethnic Germans would be introduced into the civil register with name forms generally accepted as Hungarian, even if not particularly widespread among ethnic Magyars, a significant minority of Romanian names were either declared untranslatable, subjected to a merely cosmetic Magyarisation or outright re-Latinised. Paradoxically, most Latinate names, which the Romanian intelligentsia had thrown into circulation to become the bearers of a Romanian nationalist vision, were assigned into this group of ‘untranslatable’ names. In that way, their special treatment may have even boosted the acceptance of Latinate names among Romanian peasants, which had been rather low until the turn of the century. Romanian intellectuals referred to their official untranslatability as an argument for Latinate names when making propaganda for them, and various sources can attest that Romanian priests circulated lists of ‘untranslatable’ first names among themselves and promoted them to their faithful.<sup>142</sup> It certainly added to the appeal of these ‘pagan’ names that they spared Romanian children from the burden of a separate Hungarian name, a reason that could lead otherwise reluctant parents to give them for their chil-

<sup>141</sup> Interestingly, yearbooks of Hungarian high schools made an even wider use of this method than Joannovics, which suggests that such forms were actually supported by some consensus of usage.

<sup>142</sup> Cristureanu, *Aspecte*, 22; Oallde, 89–90 and Pașca, 40.

dren.<sup>143</sup> A similar hypothesis, which connects the rise in popularity of first names of Slavic origin to homogenising civil registry policies in the Province of Posen/Poznań under German rule, has been formulated by Justyna Walkowiak.<sup>144</sup>

An interesting confusion arose around the name *Florea*. On the basis of its etymology, the first edition matched it with *Virág*, a Hungarian female name revived in the nineteenth century from medieval sources to replace *Flóra*. This solution caused quite an uproar among *Floreas* in Hungary, whose majority knew *Virág* only as a popular name for buffalo cows, as the editorialist of the Romanian weekly *Libertatea* flippantly pointed out in 1905.<sup>145</sup> The prefect of Arad County besought the academy to reconsider its choice. Joannovics retracted and pleaded a misprint in the brochure, where *Flóra* and not *Virág* should have figured.<sup>146</sup> Subsequently, *Flóra* was established as the Hungarian equivalent for the Romanian *Florea* in a ministerial order from 1899.<sup>147</sup> This correction did little to solve the problem, however, since both *Virág* and *Flóra* are female names, whereas *Florea* is male. It was the second edition that ultimately disentangled the difference between two Romanian names, *Florica* or *Floara* on the one hand, female names corresponding to *Flóra*, and the male name *Florea* on the other, which the publication now identified with the Hungarian *Flórián*. Incidentally, the equivalence of *Florea* and *Flórián* had been known earlier at least to Florea Bozgan, a Romanian Kossuthite lawyer from Caransebeş/Karánsebes/Karansebesch, who habitually styled himself *Bozgán Flóris* in Hungarian, *Flóris* being a variant of the name *Flórián*.

143 Cf. Wolfgang Dahmen, 'Magyarisierungsversuche im Siebenbürgen des 19. Jahrhunderts als Motor für die Sprachnormierung des Rumänischen', in *Sexaginta: Festschrift für Johannes Kramer*, eds Wolfgang Dahmen and Rainer Schlösser, 103 (Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 2007).

144 Justyna B. Walkowiak, 'A Name Policy and Its Outcome: Programmatic Names in the Nineteenth-Century Province of Posen', *Names in Daily Life: Proceedings of the XXIV ICOS International Congress of Onomastic Sciences*, eds Joan Tort i Donada and Montserrat Montagut i Montagut, 1745–56 (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya Departament de Cultura, 2014).

145 *Libertatea* 3/16 September 1905.

146 MTA Manuscript Collection RAL 6/1899.

147 Decree 55.093/1899 of the Ministry of the Interior, in *Magyarországi rendeletek tára* 1900, vol. 1, 17.

### **2.3.4. Conclusion**

Was there a genuine belief in the Magyar political elite that modernisation of the administrative machinery demanded a homogeneous inventory of first names? What makes it difficult to give a straight answer to this problem is that the dominant public discourse in Dualist Hungary projected modernisation and Magyarisation as two closely intertwined goals, and social, not to mention official, multilingualism as an obstacle to progress. Without claiming that the modernising ethos, often stressed in senior officials' public utterances, was somehow less genuine, the argument that the generalisation of Hungarian first names would make the work of (Magyar) civil servants smoother seems related in this logic to the broader bid for unconditional cultural dominance. In hindsight, even if some sort of regulation was necessary, the troubles at which government circles hinted certainly did not warrant the demotion of minority first names to an inferior status, as is borne out by the states that today maintain larger and more complex bureaucratic apparatuses than Dualist Hungary and yet also implement more inclusive name policies (contemporary Hungary and Romania among them).<sup>148</sup> By the same token, since the Hungarian state ordered a survey of minority first names, it could just as well have declared the non-Magyar names on the list, which all registrars received anyway, to be official. Instead, they exploited the ambiguous perception of translating first names, which they could still claim to be 'natural', though they could hardly conceal the political intent behind it.

In the end, what did it entail officially to 'rename' half of Hungary's citizens from the viewpoint of the state nationalist agenda? How could it satisfy assimilationist expectations if peasants who usually did not know much Hungarian became increasingly aware that the authorities did not record them under their 'real' names? Such renaming could

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<sup>148</sup> On today's incongruous regulations and official practices of personal name use, Justyna B. Walkowiak, *Personal Name Policy: From Theory to Practice* (Poznań: Wydział Neofilologii UAM, 2017) and Fernand de Varennes and Elżbieta Kuzborska, 'Human Rights and a Person's Name: Legal Trends and Challenges', *Human Rights Quarterly* 37 (2015): 977–1023.

instantly create a semblance of assimilation in the eyes and the imagination of Magyar society, with the proviso that this result was as yet far from obvious in a context where even the first names of famous foreigners, like writers and scientists, were also routinely translated into Hungarian. Clearly a Hungarian first name did not necessarily signify cultural Magyariness. Nevertheless, this kind of make-believe assimilation of the surface was intended and welcome. It symbolically displaced non-Magyar citizens to the realm of the state language, which signified the beginning of their merging into a shared national community.

In the short run, no equivalence table could bridge the incongruity between the Hungarian and Romanian corpora of first names. Most of the new Hungarian equivalents remained markedly non-Magyar, sometimes because they were new creations in Hungarian and more often because they were rare or virtually non-existent among ethnic Magyars. Somebody officially called *Athanáz* or *Vazul* would be rightly identified as a Romanian, a Ruthene or a Serb, and a *Dömötör* or *Illés* as more likely a Romanian than a Magyar. These first names, however 'Hungarian', carried an undertone of foreignness for most Magyars, not much unlike any Romanian form. The majority of Hungarian nationalists perhaps wished to see Magyar cultural patterns generalised and would expect that the offspring of ethnic Romanians bear the same names as theirs. Others would gladly incorporate non-national or domesticated elements of 'minority cultures' into a future Hungarian culture. The regulation, at any case, left intact the specifically Romanian trends of name giving.

As far as the desired internalisation of Hungarian first names was concerned, some rural Banat Swabians might use them under certain settings, but Romanian peasants, apparently the main targets of the regulation, could only perceive them as just another kind of vexation. Hungarian nationalists could perhaps invest their hopes in future generations

of peasants who, by learning Hungarian and growing up to be more functionally literate, might take a liking to them. While traditional Romanian names presented little threat for assimilationist designs in this respect, Latinate names were a delicate matter, especially since their popularity was on a steady upswing. Joannovics's list offered no strategy that promised to neutralise their nationalist content, although Hungarian orthography might go some way to taming it. On the contrary, the regulation only underscored their national character by declaring them untranslatable. Short of anything better, Hungarian nationalists could only hope that the connotation invested in these names would slowly wear out.

Finally, rather than linking them to straightforward and level-headed assimilatory expectations, we can also regard this series of measures as a form of symbolic violence, the affirmation of an asymmetrical relationship through which the state could impose upon its subjects a legitimate view about who they were. The maintenance of subordination, realised in acts of naming, mattered more for state nationalism and especially for its local representatives than the actual content of this view, which was often mediated through partly autonomous knowledge regimes, as is shown through Joannovics's example. The vision that the Magyar/Hungarian political elite offered through such symbolic legislation gained its strength from the message it carried about the nation's power. In the Eastern peripheries of Hungary, however, this power was hard and coercive rather than soft and hegemonic, particularly so in rural contexts. On the outside, Magyar politicians and political commentators talked much about the culturally integrative function of their onomastic *Gleichschaltung* policies, appealing to the inherent truth of their vision and the inexorable logic of modern state sovereignty, but the effect of such policies was bound to be the opposite, at least on Romanians and Transylvanian Saxons. These populations had direct access to strong minority nationalist ideologies endowed with their own institutionalised linguistic authorities, which thus enjoyed a structural advantage

over any state-sponsored vision. Hungarian names, when applied to the intimate sphere, necessarily emphasised the cultural distance separating the self and its immediate face-to-face group from the state. Influential rival nationalisms validated this perception and called the attention of their claimed constituencies to the aggression that the Hungarian state perpetrated by imposing bits of an alien culture on them.

Would the enforcers of the law have resented such a framing of what they were doing? Certainly, they would have vehemently rejected the labelling of the officially promoted state culture alien to inhabitants of Hungary—not on empirical grounds, but by apodictically justifying their claim with the political subject's obligation of loyalty to his or her sovereign state. Given the Hungarian establishment's ingrained obsession with the lurking threat of irredentist designs (pan-Slavic, 'Daco-Romanian' or pan-German), failure to surrender designated parts of one's cultural identity in the public sphere was treated as a breach of civic loyalty or even as an incitement against the Hungarian state and nation. Clearly, this politico-legal figment itself shows that the ultimate problem with Hungary's non-Magyar subjects was precisely that they were seen as alien and therefore unreliable.

The knee-jerk response to the perceived threat, especially among the Magyar elites of non-Magyar-majority areas, was not so much the heightening of genuine assimilationist expectations, but rather the demand that the authorities reduce the non-Magyar masses to a quiet resignation and the acceptance of their second-rate status. The assimilationist agenda could happily coexist with these drives in a harder or softer version, openly or in a concealed manner, as a legitimising discourse or to blame peasants for being slow in acquiring knowledge of the state language. Many public servants and landowners were in fact not particularly enthusiastic about the possibility that non-Magyar peasant masses actually learn Hungarian, and many young radical nationalist Magyars gave up the belief

in large-scale linguistic and cultural Magyarisation after the turn of the century. But they could equally find pleasure in the newly devised disciplining strategy that put them in the position of being better able to pronounce some non-Magyars' 'legitimate' first names than the bearers themselves.

**Table 2.1. A selection from *Nem-magyar keresztnévek jegyzéke* [List of non-Hungarian first names]: Romanian names and their Hungarian equivalents, by categories**

	Romanian name <sup>149</sup>	Hungarian equivalent
cognates with long-established usage as counterparts	<i>Alexa</i>	<i>Elek</i>
	<i>Alexandru</i>	<i>Sándor</i>
	<i>Andrei</i>	<i>András</i>
	<i>Antonie</i>	<i>Antal</i>
	<i>Avram</i>	<i>Ábrahám</i>
	<i>Catarina</i>	<i>Katalin</i>
	<i>Dan (Dănilă, Daniil)</i>	<i>Dániel</i>
	<i>Dionisie</i>	<i>Dénes</i>
	<i>Dumitru (Mitru)</i>	<i>Dömötör</i> <sup>150</sup>
	<i>Elena (Ileana)</i>	<i>Ilona</i>
	<i>Filip</i>	<i>Fülöp</i>
	<i>Gavril (Găvrilă)</i>	<i>Gábor</i>
	<i>Gligor</i>	<i>Gergely</i>
	<i>Ieremie</i>	<i>Jeremiás</i>
	<i>Ilie</i>	<i>Illés</i>
	<i>Ioan (Iuon etc.)</i>	<i>János</i>
	<i>Matei</i>	<i>Máté*</i>
	<i>Mihai (Mihu)</i>	<i>Mihály</i>
	<i>Moise</i>	<i>Mózes</i>
	<i>Niculae (Nicoară etc.)</i>	<i>Miklós</i>
	<i>Oana</i>	<i>Johanna</i>
	<i>Paul (Pavel)</i>	<i>Pál</i>
	<i>Petru</i>	<i>Péter</i>
	<i>Rafila</i>	<i>Ráchel</i>
	<i>Raveca</i>	<i>Rebeka</i>
	<i>Simeon</i>	<i>Simon</i>

149 I indicate the forms given in the publication, but I have changed their spelling into modern Romanian. The asterisked forms first appear for the first time in the second edition.

150 In earlier practice, usually translated as *Demeter* or *Döme*.



	Romanian name	Hungarian equivalent
	<i>Ștefan</i>	<i>István</i>
	<i>Toma</i>	<i>Tamás</i>
cognates without a tradition of translatability	<i>Sava</i>	<i>Sebők</i>
	<i>Sânziana</i>	<i>Johanna</i>
	<i>Tănase</i>	<i>Athanáz</i>
	<i>Toader</i>	<i>Tivadar</i> <sup>151</sup>
	<i>Vlad</i>	<i>László</i>
cognates, Hungarian name archaic	<i>Chira</i>	<i>Cirjék</i>
	<i>Crăciun</i>	<i>Karácson</i>
	<i>Pascu</i>	<i>Paszkál</i>
	<i>Pantaleon (Pinte)</i>	<i>Pentele</i>
	<i>Precup</i>	<i>Prokóp</i>
	<i>Vasile</i>	<i>Vászoly*</i>
	<i>Visarion</i>	<i>Beszárion</i>
false cognates	<i>Claudiu</i>	<i>Kolos</i> <sup>152</sup>
	<i>Iordache</i>	<i>Jordán</i> <sup>153</sup>
correspondence based on similar sounding	<i>Radu</i>	<i>Rudolf/Rezső</i> <sup>154</sup>
19th-century Hungarian coinages, matching based on meaning	<i>Aurelia</i>	<i>Aranka</i>
	<i>Bucur</i>	<i>Vidor</i>
	<i>Constantin (Costa)</i>	<i>Szilárd</i>
	<i>Cristea</i>	<i>Keresztély</i>
	<i>Florea</i>	<i>Virág</i>
	<i>Macarie</i>	<i>Bódog</i>
apocopic Hungarian forms, freshly coined or not borne by Magyars	<i>Axentie</i>	<i>Auxent</i>
	<i>Eustachie [recte Eustatie]</i>	<i>Euszták</i>
	<i>Ghenadie</i>	<i>Genád</i>
	<i>Leonte</i>	<i>Leont</i>
	<i>Nichasie</i>	<i>Nikáz</i>

151 *Tivadar* being a freshly resurrected given name, *Teodor* or *Tódor* had been more frequently used in actual practice for translating *Toader*.

152 Contrary to contemporary belief, *Kolos*, a Romantic resurrection of a medieval name, originally stood for *Nicolaus* and not for *Claudius*.

153 According to Constantinescu, *Iordache* and its related forms go back to *Gheorghie*.

154 Although *Rezső* had once been formed on the basis of *Rogierius*, its usage had by that time shifted to correspond to *Rudolf*; Szily, vol. 2, 172.

	Romanian name	Hungarian equivalent
'Magyarisation' through (re-) Latinisation	<i>Tiberiu</i>	<i>Tibér</i>
	<i>Anghel</i>	<i>Angelus*</i>
	<i>Artemie</i>	<i>Artemius</i>
	<i>Blânda</i>	<i>Placida</i>
	<i>Carp</i>	<i>Carpus</i>
	<i>Crăciun</i>	<i>Gratianus</i>
	<i>Gherasim</i>	<i>Geratimus</i>
	<i>Longin</i>	<i>Longinus</i>
	<i>Macarie</i>	<i>Makarius*</i>
	<i>Macavei</i>	<i>Makabéus</i>
	<i>Maxim</i>	<i>Maximus</i>
	<i>Mândra</i>	<i>Pulcheria</i>
	<i>Nicodin</i>	<i>Nikodémus</i>
	<i>Sofronie</i>	<i>Szofronius</i>
	<i>Șerban</i>	<i>Servianus</i>
	<i>Terenție</i>	<i>Terentius</i>
	<i>Tit</i>	<i>Titus</i>
(almost) purely orthographic Magyarisation	<i>Barbu</i>	<i>Bárbu</i>
	<i>Dămășchin</i>	<i>Damaszkin</i>
	<i>Dragan</i>	<i>Dragán</i>
	<i>Neagoe</i>	<i>Nyagoe</i>
	<i>Roman</i>	<i>Román*</i>
	<i>Sabin</i>	<i>Szabin</i>
	<i>Traian</i>	<i>Traján</i>
	<i>Zamfira</i>	<i>Zámfira</i>

## 2.4. Family Names: Who Needs Them?

Nationalist intellectuals insisted on finding national essence and antiquity in the peasantry's family names, which as a rule were at once relatively young and had a secondary role for the peasants themselves; herein lies the central paradox in contemporary discussions of family names. In the two chapters to follow, I will first dwell on the gap between the official and vernacular personal nomenclatures and will then map out the ar-

chaeology of a politically significant cluster of family names, those originating in some form of language contact. The exposition of these topics will serve as a backdrop for the heart of the matter, the ideological uses of family names in contemporary discourse.

Non-noble Magyars and Saxons started to inherit surnames in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, whilst Romanians of Transylvania and Hungary in the seventeenth and eighteenth. For a long time, these surnames were in a state of constant flow, and only the authorities sought to enforce continuity on them, with more success as bureaucracy evolved and as priests started to record births and marriages after 1784.<sup>155</sup> Katherine Verdery draws a parallel between the state's institution of family names and its more general work of codifying and promoting rigid identities, necessary for overseeing large populations, since 'one cannot keep track of people who are one thing at one point, another thing at another'.<sup>156</sup> James C. Scott, who gives a nice summary of the process, describes it as an example of how the state imposed 'legibility' on its subjects against their will.<sup>157</sup>

Left to its own, the village community was inclined to disrupt the chain of inheritance and to allocate new surnames taken from some slice of reality related to the individual.<sup>158</sup> People's constant impulse to re-motivate their family names defied the efforts of feudal domains and churches to stabilise the system. Serfs who escaped their landlords had a vital interest in taking a new name, but non-serfs often also did so after moving to a new place. For example, the poet George Coşbuc's earliest known ancestor on the paternal line had moved to the village of Hordou from Ilişua/Alsóilosva, where his family had been known as Ungur and later as Tipora. In Hordou, they started calling themselves

155 Hajdú, 417, 734 and 750; Fritz Keintzel-Schön, *Die siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Familiennamen* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1976) and Paşca, 62–4.

156 Katherine Verdery, 'Ethnicity, nationalism, and state-making: *Ethnic groups and boundaries*: past and future', in *The Anthropology of Ethnicity: Beyond 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries'*, eds Hans Vermeulen and Cora Govers, 37 (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1994).

157 James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 64–71.

158 Cf. the response of Miklós Sükösd, village secretary of Cioara/Csóra, to Frigyes Pesty's questionnaire in 1864; *Pesty Frigyes helynévgyűjteménye, 1864–1865: Székelyföld és térsége* [Frigyes Pesty's collection of toponyms, 1864–5: the Szeklerland and its environs], vol. 4 (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár and Sepsiszentgyörgy: Székely Nemzeti Múzeum, 2015), 22.

Sâcuet or Săcuiet, until one of their descendants was renamed Coşbuc.<sup>159</sup> In the case of other literary celebrities, one need not go back even this far to discover the motivations behind the family names. Consider, for instance, the trailblazing linguist Sámuel Brassai (literally, ‘from Brassó’), whose grandfather had been in fact a Saxon from Brassó, or the writer Ion Agârbiceanu (‘from Agârbiciu’), whose grandfather had moved to Agârbiceanu’s native Cenade/Scholten/Szászcsanád from Agârbiciu/Arbegen/Egerbegy.<sup>160</sup> Commoners’ family names consolidated at an even later stage beyond the Carpathians, already under the independent Kingdom of Romania, and then demonstrably under bureaucratic pressure.<sup>161</sup> In general, the late development of a stable family name regime was a common feature across the Balkans, and it was also typical of another European periphery, Scandinavia, where its early vicissitudes have been thoroughly documented.<sup>162</sup>

In lieu of fixed surnames, Romanian peasants most of the time used a more malleable polynomial nomenclature, consisting of, beyond one’s given name, a reference to the person’s lineage, most often in the form of one or more patronymic (or metronymic)<sup>163</sup> elements, and an optional hereditary surname, which was in the majority of cases not the person’s official family name. Sometimes the same person was called differently by different branches of their family, and a person’s name could also change during a lifetime, indeed this happened regularly to women after they got married. The main

159 Niculae Drăganu, *George Coşbuc la liceul din Năsăud şi raporturile lui cu grănicerii* [George Coşbuc at the Năsăud gymnasium and his relationship with the frontierspeople] (Bistriţa: Matheiu, s. a. [1926]), 2 and Attila T. Szabó, ‘A Coşbuc-család ősei Hordón’ [The ancestors of the Coşbuc family in Hordou], *Erdélyi Múzeum*, new series 52 (1947): 134–7.

160 József Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* [The life and works of Hungarian writers], vol. 1 (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1891) and Mircea Zăciu, *Ion Agârbiceanu* (Bucharest: Minerva, 1972), 17.

161 Al. Graur, *Nume de persoane* [Personal names] (Bucharest: Editura Ştiinţifică, 1965), 90–1; Camelia Firică, ‘Onomastică românească: probleme teoretice privind categoriile antroponimice; poreclă şi supranume’ [Romanian onomastics: theoretical problems concerning anthroponymic categories; byname and surname], *Studia Romanica et Anglicae Zagrabienisa* 52 (2007): 5 and Lajos Gecsényi, ‘Ein Bericht des österreichisch-ungarischen Vizekonsuls über die Ungarn in der Moldau: Jassy, 1893’, *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 16 (1988): 179.

162 In spite of the royal orders in 1826 and 1856, Danish authorities had in the second half of the century much trouble with peasants who held to the old practice and tried to pass on their first names to their children with the patronymic suffixes *-sen* and *-datter*. Similarly in the Netherlands, Sweden and Norway, where only Napoleon’s decree from 1811 and the laws on personal names from 1901 and 1923 fixed patronymics as family names, while the state of Iceland even adopted the vernacular personal nomenclature as official. Ole Degn, ‘The Fixation of the Danish Patronymics in the 19th Century and the Law’, *Onoma* 34 (1998–9): 59–76; Kendra Willson, ‘Linguistic Models and Surname Diversification Strategies in Denmark and Sweden’, *ibid.* 47 (2012): 299–326; Ferdinand Jan Ormeling, *Minority Toponyms on Maps: The Rendering of Linguistic Minority Toponyms on Topographical Maps of Western Europe* (Utrecht: Utrechtse Geografische Studies, 1983), 18; Gregory Clark, *The Son Also Rises: Surnames and the History of Social Mobility* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 25 and Solveig Wikstrøm, ‘Surnames and Identities’, in *Names and Identities*, eds Botolv Helleland, Christian-Emil Ore and Solveig Wikstrøm, 258 (Oslo: University of Oslo, 2012).

163 Metronymic, that is, referring to one’s mother.

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3. [first name] GEN [husband's or father's (unofficial) surname]

The relative prominence of the various patterns could change from village to village, but the basic genealogical structure was similar. Henri H. Stahl described an interesting variety of the system from Drăguș, a village near Fogaras, where the locals anchored their names to house plots rather than organising them along family lines, in a way that name sequences still took a genealogical form. Young husbands who married into a house also obtained the names of their in-laws. To give an example, once Dumitru lui Vasile Ghichii Onii married Măriuța lui Gheorghe a Donesii, née Măriuța Huplii, the widow of Gheorghe a Donesii and the daughter of Gheorghe a Huplii and Liuca Huplii, and the two moved together to live on the plot that Măriuța had inherited from Gheorghe, it was Dumitru who took his wife's married name and became Dumitru Donesii. To complicate the system, each habitant of the village also had a byname in addition to this primary nomenclature and to their official names.<sup>167</sup>

Perhaps only townspeople's children did not receive such genealogical names. Social risers started out being called 'sons and grandsons of this and that' and continued to be referred to this way in their native villages; Valeriu Braniște's father, the district administrator Moise Branisce was known as *Sica lui Moșica lui Moise* in Mergeln/Mergindeal/Morgonda, and the later politician Petru Nemoianu as *Pătru alu Costa alu moș Avram* in Petrilova.<sup>168</sup> This vernacular nomenclature could even be extended to non-Romanians; after settling in a Romanian village, the family name of Gábor Csató, Octavian C. Tăslăuanu's Roman Catholic Szekler godfather, was reinterpreted as a patronymic element, leaving him with the Romanian name *Gabor a Ciatăului*.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>167</sup> Henri H. Stahl, 'The Onomastic System of the Village of Dragus (Transylvania, Romania; - 1934)', in *Name and Social Structure: Examples from Southeast Europe*, ed. Paul H. Stahl, trans. Carvel de Bussy, 94 (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1998).

<sup>168</sup> Valeriu Braniște, *Amintiri din închisoare* [Memoirs from the prison] (Bucharest: Minerva, 1972), 5 and P. Nemoianu, *Amintiri* [Memoirs] (Lugoj: Tipografia Națională, 1928), 49.

<sup>169</sup> Octavian C. Tăslăuanu, *Spovedanii* [Confessions] (Bucharest: Minerva, 1976), 20. Cf. Ion Agârbiceanu, *Din viața preotească: schițe* [From the life of a priest: sketches] (Arad: Ed. Librăriei diecezană, 1916), 75.

Family names, which Romanian peasants had since the early nineteenth century at the very latest, remained outside everyday social interactions. If their family names did not correspond to their informal surnames, most Romanian peasants used them only in their official affairs.<sup>170</sup> In contrast to *numele zis*, ‘the spoken’, that is, the vernacular name, family name was thought of as *numele scris*, ‘the written name’.<sup>171</sup> However, this very connection popularly made with literacy also forecast the growing significance of family names. The percentage of Romanians who could read and write, quite insignificant at the outset of the Dualist Era, rose sharply in the following decades, in synch with the increasing number of personal documents and other official records. If there were still Romanians who did not know their own family names, like the peasants referred to by Grigore Moldovan/Moldován Gergely and the Hermannstadt Catholic gymnasium first-years whom Valeriu Braniște recalled in his memoirs, the spread of schooling and administration could not fail to make new generations more conscious of them.<sup>172</sup>

Surnames ending in *-on* (spelled *-oniu*), common in and around the Poiana Ruscă Mountains, were a happy case of near-coincidence between vernacular and official nomenclatures. Their adoption as official family names, however, made some violence to folk usage, and not simply by freezing down change. As a matter of fact, this *-on* ending was originally sort of a clan-name suffix, which extended family members added to the patriarch’s given name, but the patriarch himself did not wear.<sup>173</sup>

Magyar and Saxon peasants also held a parallel nomenclature of unofficial hereditary surnames for daily use, more amenable to change than family names. In some Szekler villages of Csík County, as described by the agronomist Imre T. Nagy, men normally handed down their personal bynames to their children, who apparently wore them

170 Valea, 42 and Cipu, *Fragmentarium făgețean*, vol. 1, 45.

171 Kligman, 39–40; Retegan, *Drumul greu al modernizării*, 59 and Braniște, *Amintiri din închisoare*, 5 and 90. Another sign for the official roots of the binomial naming pattern, Transylvanian Saxons and the Romanians of Eastern Hungary and Northern Transylvania showed a tendency to use the Hungarian name order and to put their family names before their given names.

172 Gergely Moldován, *Alsófehér vármegye román népe*, 753 and Braniște, *Amintiri din închisoare*, 90.

173 Rusalin Isfănoni, *Pădureni Hunedoarei: o viziune etnologică* [The Pădureni of Hunedoara/Hunyad: an ethnological view], 2nd, rev. ed. (Bucharest: Mirabilis, 2006), 74 and Constantinescu, XV.

until acquiring one on their own.<sup>174</sup> In the Kalotaszeg area in the second half of the twentieth century, all Magyar men had bynames, sixty per cent of which were passed on to the next generation.<sup>175</sup> Hungarian and German family names, going back to a longer history than among Romanian ones, also had a somewhat more established usage. But here again, the modern system of binomial nomenclature was reserved for the official and elevated contexts, while bynames, inheritable surnames and patronymic elements did the job of identification in everyday interactions. A book on the everyday life of Agnet-heln/Agnita/Szentágota in the 1870s reported on the peripheral role that family names held among Saxons in this market town, although the fact that the author, who addressed the new generations of locals, deemed this detail worthy of note in 1920, suggests a change in the intervening time.<sup>176</sup>

Nobles constituted the group to whom family names had traditionally mattered. A permanent family name could guarantee the unbroken transmission of their privileges and offered them a means to control their legitimate lines of descent. These functions bestowed much greater continuity on their family names, and local legal custom could sustain them even after noble families died out on the sword side, as it happened to several families of ‘first occupants’ in the petty noble community of Rákosd/Răcăștia.<sup>177</sup>

It is interesting to note that the church and secular administrations, otherwise the main promoters of the binomial name pattern, sometimes made concessions to popular usage and appended vernacular elements to family names if they needed to disambiguate people with identical official names. Full homonymy between different people caused frequent trouble to local authorities, something that they could solve by resorting to the

174 Imre T. Nagy, *Csikmegye közgazdasági leírása* [Administrative description of Csík County] (Budapest: Pesti Könyvnyomda, 1902), 16.

175 János Jankó, *Kalotaszeg magyar népe: néprajzi tanulmány* [The Magyar folk of Kalotaszeg: an ethnographic study] (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1892), 126 and Piroska B. Gergely, *A kalotaszegi magyar ragadványnevek rendszere* [The system of Hungarian nicknames in Kalotaszeg] (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1977), 77.

176 Rosler, 57.

177 Károly Kós, ‘A nemzeti szervezeti nyomai Rákosdon’ [Traces of clan organisation in Rákosd/Răcăștia], in *Népélet és néphagyomány: tíz tanulmány* [Folk life and folk tradition: ten studies], 238–52 (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1972).



vernacular nomenclature. Thus, before the drawing up of electoral rolls in 1903, the Orăștie/Szászváros/Broos town hall issued a certificate to attest that ‘Oprean Georg’, a registered voter at earlier elections, was the same person as ‘Oprean Gyeorgye l. Iuan gornicu’.<sup>178</sup> Ambiguities were especially rife in villages with a relatively small pool of official family names, a circumstance that obliged Greek Catholic priests in Cuzdrioara/Kozárvár to enter mixed forms into the parish register (e.g., *Iuon Ilieș a lui Iuonu lui János*) and Calvinist pastors of Magyarvalkó/Válcăul Unguresc to put down parishioners’ bynames together with their family names.<sup>179</sup> In the secular sphere, the advocate Toma Ienciu kept track of his peasant clients under names like ‘Gyermán Péter lui Gyermán Jakab’, ‘Butan Juon al Marii’ or ‘Domka Juon lui Ádám’, the district administrator Moise Branisce reported on the whereabouts of a certain ‘Bursan Alexandru alui Veronicii’, a passport was released in 1889 to the name of ‘Ioana lui Iuon Resinar’ and the Court of Appeal of Kolozsvár pronounced a sentence in 1891 in the criminal case of ‘Patitul Mária lui Stéfán’.<sup>180</sup>

On the list of virilists of the mining towns Abrud/Abrudbánya and Roșia/Verespatak for 1886, there appears, alongside Romanian semi-vernacular names and Hungarian–Romanian mixed forms like ‘Kornya Josi lui Ferencz’, the genuinely Hungarian ‘Szabó János a Gyurié’.<sup>181</sup> It was this latter pattern, ‘family name + Hungarian form of first name + definite article + father’s (Hungarian) name with a possessive suffix’, adopted from Hungarian peasant dialects, that the administrative committee of Beszterce-Naszód County endorsed in order to replace the customary Romanian patronymic element with a similar

178 ANR Deva, Fond Primăria orașului Orăștie 2/1903.

179 Retegan, *Drumul greu al modernizării*, 58 and Jenő Nagy, *Család-, gúny- és ragadványnevek a kalotaszegi Magyarvalkón* [Family names, nicknames and bynames in Magyarvalkó/Văleni, Kalotaszeg] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1944), 5.

180 ANR Deva, Personal Fond Toma Ienciu, folders 2 and 3; ANR Alba Iulia, Fond Primăria orașului Sebeș (inv. 33) 39/1889, 96 and 313 and ANR Bistrița, Fond judecătoria cercuală Rodna 1/1881 [*recte* 1891!], 112–13.

181 ANR Alba Iulia, Fond Primăria orașului Abrud, Acte inventariate 1/1886, 1–5.

Hungarian form. They encouraged its use in the public registry, and from there it apparently began to gain some wider currency.<sup>182</sup>

## 2.5. Contact-influenced Family Names: Their Origins

In the three chapters to follow, I will, somewhat blushing, use the makeshift term ‘contact-influenced family name’ as a shortcut to refer to a set of family name types that reflect past language contact at various removes. It helps me keeping terminological precision and avoiding sloppy terms of the ‘family name of foreign origin’ kind, which would suggest extraneous naming, that is, naming solely based on linguistic resources external to the name bearer’s mother tongue. ‘Contact-influenced family name’, on the other hand, should convey the lay and casual vantage point, the one that will take centre stage in the chapters below. The term should embrace all family names seen as ‘foreign’ from this perspective. Apart from names that typically go back to extraneous naming, I will therefore also include here names converted from loanwords and patronymic surnames based on borrowed name forms. Let me add the proviso that although the various types and circumstances of naming that fall into this category can be delineated with precision, which is what I will do at some length in this chapter, individual tokens cannot be mechanically assigned to this or that type, only with more or less probability.

With notable regional differences, the politically dominant and culturally hegemonic status of Hungarian in the area made itself felt on the formation of Romanian family names. Its impact was the strongest in the North-western Szatmár, Szilágy and Bihar Counties and the weakest in the Banat.<sup>183</sup> As I shall show, this status of Hungarian not only led to an asymmetry in the mutual influence between the two languages on each other’s family name corpus, but it is also palpable in the different nature of this influ-

<sup>182</sup> Decree 10855/1895 of the prefect of Beszterce-Naszód County; ANR Bistrița, Fond Primăria orașului Năsăud, XIX, Stare civilă 2/1895–1898, 13 and, e.g., *ibid.*, XVII, Personal, 2/1910–15.

<sup>183</sup> Constantinescu, XVI.

ence. In the following, I first give a detailed account of Hungarian-influenced Romanian family names and then turn to the remaining combinations. These latter will, however, only play a secondary role in later chapters.

### **2.5.1. Hungarian-influenced Romanian Family Names**

The most peculiar thing about Hungarian-influenced Romanian family names is that a very substantial part, perhaps the majority, of them could well be internal creations in Romanian, based on elements borrowed from Hungarian. Such names were not of Hungarian origin in the proper sense, but the point to be taken is that usually standing in non-suffixed forms, they made apparent their indebtedness to Hungarian word forms to anyone who spoke Hungarian.<sup>184</sup>

1. Family names converted from Hungarian loanwords. Apart from the possibility that any name presented here could in particular cases arise from the language change of their bearers, all names in this and the third group could also be assigned by the authorities. Their separate treatment is justified by the widespread presence of the corresponding nouns in Romanian dialects, which makes Romanian naming the most likely hypothesis. Many of these names designate occupation or office, like *Suciu*, *Săbău*, *Nemeş*, *Cătană*, *Deac*, *Puşcaş*, *Vaida*, *Şuteu*, *Lăcătuş*, *Cherecheş*, *Cociş*, *Cordoş*, *Mesaroş/Misarăş*, *Biriş*, *Săbăduş/Sabadiş*, *Jeler*, *Varga*, *Boitor*, *Birău*, *Ciordaş*, *Husar*, *Dudaş*, *Timar*. A few occupational surnames, like *Covaci*, *Cadar* and *Socaci*, have at their bases parallel Slavic loans

<sup>184</sup> For the following classification, I have used Constantinescu; Jenő Janitsek, 'A magyar eredetű román családnevekről' [On the Romanian family names of Hungarian origin], in *Az V. Magyar Névtudományi Konferencia előadásai* [The lectures of the 5th Hungarian Conference of Onomastics], eds Piroška B. Gergely and Mihály Hajdú, vol. 1, 101–7 (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság; Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kara, 1997) and Lajos Tamás, *Etymologisch-historisches Wörterbuch der ungarischen Elemente im Rumänischen: Unter Berücksichtigung der Mundartwörter* (London: Mouton & Co., 1967). For assessing the frequency of names, I have consulted the map of Romanian family names at <http://nume.ottomotor.ro>. See also Alexiu Viciu, *Etnografice* [Ethnographic writings] (Blaj: Tipografia Seminarului Teologic greco-catolic, 1929), 18 and 40–41.

in Hungarian and Romanian, but a Hungarian transmission was likely in the intra-Carpathian context. Several ethnonyms once current in Transylvania also came from Hungarian, and hence indirectly the names *Sas/Sasu*, *Raț/Rațiu*, *Oros*, *Lenghel* and *Tăut*. Finally, some names in this category originally had the function of nicknames: *Barna*, *Șanta*, *Bolog* (and its derived form *Bologa*), *Cioanca*, *Vereș*, *Pogan*, *Boitoș*, *Găzdac*, *Lobonț*, *Copos* etc.

2. Patronymic (and a few metronymic) surnames created from given names or hypocoristic forms borrowed from Hungarian make up a distinct group, e.g. *Tamaș/Tămaș*, *Balint*, *Ilieș*, *Orban*, *Miclăuș*, *Gherghel*, *Mărcuș*, *Balaj*, *Ioja*, *Lorinț*, *Dămăcuș*, *Gheție*. The respective given names were Hungarian forms of Latin ecclesiastical names, in which Latin /s/ had been distinctively substituted with /ʃ/. These names may or may not have their Greek- and/or Slavic-influenced Romanian variants, but they were quite common among Romanian peasants in Transylvania and Hungary.<sup>185</sup> It retrospectively enhanced their ‘Hungarian’ character that they were later left out from the normative body of traditional name forms. To these should be added two Hungarian secular (pre-Christian) names adopted early on by Romanians, *Mogoș* and *Farcaș/Fărcaș*.<sup>186</sup> Again, my assumption is that these given names became hereditary surnames in a Romanian-speaking environment.
3. There are a host of names converted from Hungarian nouns that were absent from most Romanian dialects, which makes it more reasonable to propose Hungarian naming in their case. It has become customary to attribute these names to Magyar estate administrators’ concern for registering and keeping account of the population, although there is no direct evidence for such intervention. At any rate, local

<sup>185</sup> See p. 56 and Constantinescu, XLVI.

<sup>186</sup> On the popularity of the name *Farcaș/Fărcaș* among Romanians in the early-modern Eastern Banat, Klára Hegyi, *A török hódoltság várai és várkatonasága* [Fortresses and garrisons in Ottoman Hungary] (Budapest: História and MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2007), vol. 1, 338.

Romanian priests later stabilised these external labels as official family names.<sup>187</sup>

The original motivation very often had to do with physical appearance, e.g., *Chiş*, *Fodor*, *Feier*, *Naghi* (> *Noaghea*),<sup>188</sup> *Fechete*, *Moarcăş*, *Condor*, *Hossu*, *Cormoş*, sometimes with occupation (*Boroş*, *Şereş*), property (*Checicheş*/*Cheşcheş*) and, in the single case of *Ola/Olah*, ethnicity.

4. The transmission of the landlord's family name to his or her serfs has its parallels in Western feudalism as well as in classical and African-American slavery. It only occurred sporadically in the area, producing names like *Racoţi*, *Zeicu*, *Corniş* or *Bornemisa*.
5. A group of local surnames, derived from place names with the Hungarian suffix *-i*, were probably also given to Romanian serfs by Magyars, especially if the toponyms they incorporate denoted larger regions or manorial centres, which could stand for whole estates: *Silaghi*, *Mezei*, *Chereji*, *Halmaghi*, *Satmari*, *Beltech* etc. This category was the most frequent in Eastern Hungary.
6. Local surnames formed with the *-i* derivational suffix could emerge in a different setting as well. Formerly, Uniate Romanian students, who typically aspired to become priests, often received from their teachers Hungarian surnames based upon their birthplace or, less commonly, upon some personal trait. Such practice was customary not only in Latin high schools, but even in the Greek Catholic educational centre of Blaj/Balázsfalva/Blasendorf.<sup>189</sup> As an extreme case of Hungarian influence on Romanian clerics' names, I may quote the Romanian signatories, mostly priests, of a petition from 1865, addressed to the Emperor and requesting the separation of the Máramarossziget/Siget/Sighet/Sygit Greek Catholic parish

187 See e.g., Gergely Moldován, *A magyarországi románok* [The Romanians of Hungary] (Budapest: Nemzetiségi Ismertető Könyvtár, 1913), 498.

188 Graur, *Nume de persoane*, 97.

189 Zoltán I. Tóth, *Az erdélyi román nacionalizmus első százada* [The first century of Romanian nationalism in Transylvania] (Csík-szereda: Pro-Print, 1998), 163–5 and Lazăr and Herban, eds, 14–19 and 26–7.

between Romanians and Ruthenians. The Romanian elite of Máramaros County can be regarded as a limit case; due to its strong noble contingent, it was heavily marked by Magyar/Hungarian cultural hegemony and was hardly reached by the onomastic self-fashioning of Romanian forty-eighters. From the twenty-seven representatives of the Romanian party in the debate, nine had family names derived from Hungarian variants of toponyms designating nearby villages (populated by Romanians or Ruthenians) and suffixed with Hungarian *-i*; nine from Hungarian common nouns (whether through borrowing or not); eight from personal names, seven of which reflected Hungarian influence in Romanian; while the family name of one signatory was an Eastern Slavic formation.<sup>190</sup> The same influence also made *Pap/Papp* ‘priest’, technically the Hungarian equivalent of Romanian *Pop* or *Popa*, one of the most common family names among Romanian Uniate priests. Priestly families tended to preserve the Hungarian spelling of these names, and until the mid-nineteenth century, they apparently regarded them as specifically clerical rather than Hungarian.

7. There is still another group of local surnames with the *-i* suffix, described by Janitsek on the example of Romanian noble families in Máramaros County. These names (like *Petrovai/Petrovay*, *Săplăntai/Szaplonczay*, *Iodi/Joódy*) were taken up by Romanian noblemen starting with the late medieval period. Since extremely few Romanians had family names around that time, Hungarian derivations from the names of their estates should not be seen anachronistically as an expression of political or cultural loyalty, but simply as the most obvious method at hand to secure a family name for their offspring. The same pattern of name formation was

<sup>190</sup> The names as they stand in the petition are (grouped by the above categories) Bazil Karácsonyi, János Csobay, Gergely, György and Demeter Petrovay, Péter Lipcsey, Mihály Kökényesdy, Pál Lipcsei, Miklós Joódy, Bazil Szüts, Péter and Mihály Szálka, József Gyenge, Zsigmond Visói Papp, Gábor Deák, Péter Bondor, László and Mihály Kiss, Péter Mihály, Miklós Fabian, Emanuel Sándor, István Visói Simon, György and Gyula Vincz, Gábor and Fülöp Mihálka and Péter Ilnczky. In *Comitetul Asoțiațiunii pentru Cultura Poporului Român din Maramurăș 1860–1905* [Yearbooks of the Association for Romanian People’s Culture in Máramaros/Maramorosh/Maramureș/Maramarash/Marmarosch] (Gherla: Aurora, 1906), 154–60.

also productive in the Hațeg Basin. The conclusion that these names were created by Romanians in Hungarian may go against commonsensical assumptions about the ‘ethnicity’ of family names, but to give two examples from the area, they can be compared to the Hungarian family names assumed quite early on by Transylvanian Armenians or to the early-modern fashion of name Latinising among the Saxon intelligentsia (see *below*).<sup>191</sup>

Two things follow from this typology. First, it seems that Romanian peasants of the pre-national era did not consider the linguistic origin of family names as an ethnic marker, at least as long as the forms in use did not violate the phonological constraints of Romanian. Second, there is no reason to suppose that more than a relatively small part of the families bearing Hungarian-influenced names were originally Hungarian-speaking. Since I will later devote considerable space to voices to the contrary, it seems appropriate to complete my presentation with a group that I will call duck-rabbit names.<sup>192</sup> These could be the result of either Hungarian or Romanian naming, with no influence from the other language, but due to their identical or nearly identical forms in the two languages, they were often seen as ‘Hungarian’ by Magyars and as ‘Romanian’ by Romanians. To these duck-rabbit names belonged:<sup>193</sup>

- Family names converted from ecclesiastical names that sounded similar in the two languages, in spite of their different historical routes of transmission (through Latin in Hungarian, through Byzantine Greek and Slavonic in Romanian): *Achim*,

191 Kristóf Szongott, *A magyarhoni örmény családok genealogiája* [The genealogy of Armenian families in Hungary] (Szamosújvár: Aurora, 1898).

192 Following Evangelos Karagiannis, *Flexibilität und Definizionevielfalt pomakischer Marginalität* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2005), 158; quoted by Justyna B. Walkowiak, ‘Minority Language Policy Regarding Personal Names: An Overview’, *ESUKA – JEFUL* 2 (2001), no. 1, 373. The term was taken from the late Wittgenstein.

193 I took many of the examples below from Janitsek.

*Aron/Áron, Cozma/Kozma, Dan/Dán, David/Dávid, Demian/Demján, Lazăr/Lázár, Lucaci/Lukács, Mihai/Mihály* etc.

- Family names converted from South-Slavic secular names, borrowed into both languages: *Balica/Balika, Bara, Boca/Boka, Buda* etc.
- Chance homophones, e.g., *Badea/Bágya, Borcea/Borcsa, Borz, Buză/Buza, Golea/Gólya* etc.

All these types combined still leave a host of common Hungarian names that do not normally have parallel or phonologically adapted Romanian forms.<sup>194</sup>

From the more than three thousand Romanian students who took the matura exam in one of the four Romanian gymnasia between 1867 and 1914, around fifteen per cent bore Hungarian-influenced names.<sup>195</sup> Slightly more than half of these belonged to the types that I have identified as apparent internal creations; thirty-one per cent could easily develop on the basis of loanwords and twenty per cent on the basis of given names borrowed from Hungarian, while an additional five per cent were duck-rabbit names. These proportions are not representative for the entire Romanian population, however, since Hungarian family names of priestly families are much over-represented in the dataset.

### **2.5.2. Other Combinations**

The frequency of Romanian-influenced names among Magyar matura takers was of an altogether lower order of magnitude: around three per cent among Roman Catholic students born in Transylvania and 1.7% among Calvinists and Unitarians merged to-

<sup>194</sup> Like *Ábrahám, Adorján, Ágoston, Albert, Ambrus, Andrási, Antal, Bakos, Balázsi, Barabás, Barta, Bartalis, Bartók, Bencze, Benedek, Benkő, Bereczki, Bernád, Bertalan/Birtalan, Bodó, Bodor, Boldizsár, Both, Buzás, Csáki, Cseh, Cseke, Csiki, Csoma, Daróczi, Demeter, Dénes, Dézsi, Dobai, Egyed, Enyedi, Erdei, Erdős, Erős, Ferenczi, Filep, Gálfi, Györfi, Hajdu, Hunyadi, Imre, Incze, István, Jakab, Jancsó, Jánosi, Juhász, Kálmán, Karsai, Kelemen, Király, Kolozsi, Kóródi, Kristóf, Kun, László, Lénárd, Márton, Megyesi, Mikó, Molnár, Móricz, Mózes, Németh, Nyíri, Osváth, Örvös, Pál, Pálfi, Pásztor, Péntek, Péter, Péterfi, Rákosi, Salamon, Sárosi, Sebestyén, Simó, Soós, Sütő, Szántó, Széles, Szigeti, Szőke, Szöllősi, Tamási, Tóbiás, Tordai, Tökés, Török, Váradi, Vári, Varró, Vásárhelyi, Vass, Vigh, Vincze, Virág, Vizi, Zilahy, Zöld and Zsigmond.*

<sup>195</sup> I use the same database that I presented in my chapter on name giving. For the present purpose, I have narrowed it down to Romanian gymnasia, to filter out arbitrarily Magyarised forms. Unfortunately, data about the fathers and birthplaces of students are so deficient that I cannot use them for analysing the social and territorial distribution of names.



gether. The higher score of Roman Catholics can be largely put down to the participation of Magyarised Transylvanian Armenians, who often had Romanian-influenced family names.<sup>196</sup> Even in the group of Calvinists and Unitarians, where the percentage of recent assimilants was relatively small, more than three times as many matura takers had names influenced by other languages than Romanian (German, Slavic etc.). However, whilst the data are not significant enough for such small values to draw conclusions about the social distribution of Romanian-influenced names, it is clear that the presence of names of German and Slavic origin would be much less pronounced were the composition of the student body less skewed toward the elite.

Romanian-influenced names were not only much less frequent among Magyars than were Hungarian-influenced names among Romanians, the structure of their corpus was also entirely different.<sup>197</sup> If we put aside the Romanian names of Armenians, their great majority normally imply an assimilated Romanian name bearer at some point in family history, since they have at their basis Romanian given names that did not become naturalised among Magyars<sup>198</sup> or nicknames without an attested loanword status in Hungarian dialects.<sup>199</sup> The conversion of given name into family name could still well belong to a Hungarian-speaking community. Only relatively few names allow to conjecture Hungarian naming.<sup>200</sup>

It is quite impossible to quantify the German influence on Magyar surnames on the basis of my dataset, due to the multitude of first- and second-generation assimilants.

196 These Armenian families had brought their Romanian names from Moldavia, where they had lived for centuries; Kristóf Szongott, *A magyarhoni örmény családok*.

197 On Hungarian family names of Romanian origin, see Attila Benő, *Kontaktusjelenségek az erdélyi magyar nyelvváltozatokban* [Contact phenomena in the Hungarian language varieties of Transylvania] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2014), 66–73. A useful frequency list of today's Hungarian family name corpus in Romania, among them family names of Romanian origin, can be found in László Murádin, *Erdélyi magyar családnevek* [Hungarian family names in Transylvania] (Nagyvárad: Europrint, 2005).

198 Ráduly, Bokor, Váncsa, Vaszi, Oprá, Sorbán, Koszta, Szávuly, Mircse, Nyáguly, Nyisztor, Urszuly, Juga, Trucza, Tanaszi, Pintye, Dobricza, Sztójka, Triff, Turbucz, Dragomér, Mitruly, Rozvány.

199 Rusz, Krizsán/Krisán, Albu, Kolcza, Argyelán. On Romanian loanwords in Hungarian dialects, see Gyula Márton, János Péntek and István Vöde, *A magyar nyelvjárások román kölcsönszavai* [Romanian loanwords in the Hungarian dialects] (Bucharest: Criterion, 1977) and Ferenc Bakos, *A magyar szókészlet román elemeinek története* [History of Romanian elements in the Hungarian lexicon] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1982). The examples given throughout the chapter are not from the database, but represent an attempt to list the most widespread names of the respective categories.

200 E.g., *Berszán/Burszán, Boér, Borbáth, Bács, Muntyán, Gombár, Oltyán, Mokán, Roska*.

There is not a single *matura* taker whose name could be the product of Hungarian naming on the basis of a German loanword, and the overwhelming majority of German-influenced Hungarian names among the students were also not specific to the area. Outside the dataset, we can certainly find a few such names that were more typical among Magyars in Transylvania than elsewhere, but only one, *Gocsmán*, can be traced back to a Hungarian dialect word of German origin.

German-influenced family names represent a mere 0.4% of Romanian *matura* takers in Romanian gymnasia. If we again abstract from the dataset and try to establish the list of most widespread German-influenced names in the Romanian population, we find that their majority can be ascribed to Romanian naming, similarly to Hungarian-influenced names. They cluster around the *Fundus Regius*, where the underlying loanwords were used.<sup>201</sup> Additionally, *Han* and its derivatives, *Hanea*, *Haneş* and *Hanzu*, had been apparently adopted from German and turned into a family name by Romanian-speakers.<sup>202</sup>

The anthropologist Steven L. Sampson dropped an interesting clue about a possible route through which German names could enter Romanian communities without the actual assimilation of a single Saxon. He found that between 1867 and 1895, ten per cent of new-born Romanians in Marienburg/Feldioara/Földvár were baptised by their fathers' local Saxon employers/masters, and some of them later inherited their godfathers' (unofficial) German surnames.<sup>203</sup>

The broad understanding of contact influence that I have applied so far needs to be suspended for the treatment of Slavic influence on Romanian family names, because of the tremendous impact Slavic had once exerted on the corpus of Romanian given names, from which patronymic surnames later formed. With the possible exception of the Ortho-

201 *Maier, Fleşer, Henter, Paler, Bugner, Chirvai*. Some names' indebtedness to German is uncertain; *Taus, Flondor, Brote, Golda, Goldiş*.

202 Constantinescu.

203 Steven L. Sampson, *National Integration through Socialist Planning: An Anthropological Study of a Romanian New Town* (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 1984), 142.

dox clergy, the knowledge of Slavic languages was marginal among non-Slavs of the area, and most Romanian family names of indirect Slavic origin certainly did not reveal their Slavic roots to non-linguists. From the viewpoint of contemporary lay perceptions, it would make as little sense to take into account such indirect Slavic influence as to measure the Latin influence that asserted itself on Hungarian patronymic surnames via Latin given names. Restricting Slavic-influenced Romanian names to those suffixed by *-ič/-vič* (*-ić/-vić*), *-ik*, *-ski*, *-ko*, *-ev* and *-ov*, the percentage of Slavic names among Romanian matura takers can be put to a mere 3.6%. As an additional difficulty, however, there is bound to be some arbitrariness in drawing a line between Romanian and Slavic naming, if only because it cannot be excluded that a given suffix of Slavic origin was productive in some peripheral Romanian dialect.

The widespread presence of *-ici* and *-iciu* endings among Romanians in the Banat was in the main due to the diglossic or ethnically Serb clergy, who recorded the names of their parishioners using Serbian patronymics.<sup>204</sup> Wilhelm Josef Merschdorf examined the question in the Orthodox parish registers of Tschakowa/Ciacova/Čakovo/Csákova and could trace fifty-three Romanian family lineages who first appeared with Romanian and later with Serbian patronymic surnames. To attribute these changes to priestly interference alone does not seem a convincing explanation, however, since most families affected lived in the Serbian neighbourhood of the town, where their environment could also stick Serbian names on them.<sup>205</sup> It is important in this connection that many linguistically mixed Orthodox parishes in the Banat were only split up between Serbs and Romanians decades after the separation of the two church hierarchies in the 1860s.

Priestly families who had not yet committed themselves to Romanian identity had been in particular subject to this onomastic influence of Serbian, and no matter what lan-

204 Constantinescu, XV and Imre Hatvani, *Szózat az oláh faj ügyében* [Speech in the cause of the Wallachian race] (Pesten: Magyar, 1848), 21.

205 Wilhelm Josef Merschdorf, *Tschakowa: Marktgemeinde im Banat: Monographie und Heimatbuch* (Augsburg: Heimatortgemeinschaft Tschakowa, 1997), 303.

guage they or their flocks had spoken, since they had usually studied in Serb monasteries and had been supervised by a Serb or Serbianised hierarchy. The frequency of *-ici* ending among the Orthodox and of Hungarian names among the Uniate priests led Atanasie M. Marienescu into inveighing against the Romanian clergy, who ‘have the ugliest and most muddled surnames, while their surnames should be a mirror of Romanity’.<sup>206</sup>

On the other hand, there was also a substantial Serbian-speaking peasant population in the Banat that underwent language change and adopted Romanian language during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In Chizdia/Kizdia, one of the Montenegrin communities settled around 1730 in the hills South of Lipova/Lippa, no inhabitant declared Serbian mother tongue by 1880, but names ending in *-ici* had survived both in the parish register and in the usage of their bearers.<sup>207</sup> In the South-eastern Banat, many new South Slavic toponyms were recorded for the first time at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in areas where later no South Slavic-speakers could be found. Several times during the eighteenth century, Orthodox South Slavs were also settled into Romanian-speaking environments. Although the institution of family name was scarcely more established at the time among Serbs than among Romanians, it is possible that part of Romanians’ South Slavic names may go back to this population.

In Saxon village communities, Romanian and Hungarian linguistic influence was almost entirely confined to bynames and unofficial surnames. Few Saxon peasants had been serfs to Hungarian landlords, but even they had family names centuries before Romanians, so that the estates did not need to assign them names to keep track of them. As a further explanation, it may be assumed that Saxon pastors, who also took care of the High German versions of their parishioners’ names, replaced the ‘foreign’ surnames that they disliked with German ones. In Deutschtekes, half of the Lutheran community were

<sup>206</sup> Marienescu, *Numele de botezu si prolec’a*, 362.

<sup>207</sup> Liubomir Stepanov and Nicolae Ignea, *Chizdia-Coșarii: repere monografice* [Chizdia-Coșarii: monographic details] (Timișoara: Banatul, 2010), 40 and 67–8.

descendants of Szeklers who had settled down in the village following the ravages of the Tatars in 1658. In the nineteenth century, many local families that still used Hungarian surnames figured under German ones in the parish registers.<sup>208</sup> On this hypothesis, the very few Hungarian-influenced official surnames included in Fritz Keintzel-Schön's dictionary of Saxon family names, all but one from the ethnic contact zone along the two Küküllő/Târnava/Kokel Rivers, may well have belonged to assimilated Magyars.<sup>209</sup> The same dictionary contains one single Romanian-influenced family name,<sup>210</sup> but the first volume of Schullerus's Saxon dialect dictionary alone cites three dozen examples of unofficial surnames of Romanian origin, recorded from across the Saxon territory.<sup>211</sup> At the same time, Hungarian-influenced unofficial surnames were frequent only in Saxon communities near the Szeklerland.<sup>212</sup>

The situation was somewhat more complicated within the Saxon intelligentsia and middle classes. Although in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Saxon elite had the habit of translating their family names in Hungarian contexts, this practice left no mark on their family name corpus. The share of Hungarian- and Romanian-influenced family names was hardly any higher in their midst than in the peasantry; out of 1,568 Saxon matura takers, there were only seventeen of the former and merely two or three of the latter type.<sup>213</sup> This contrasts strangely with the thirty-seven Slavic (mainly Western Slavic) names among them, especially that Lutheran Slavs came in short supply in the

208 Pál Binder, *Közös múltunk* [Our shared past] (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1982), 73. The Magyar district administrator hinted at a similar situation in the case of the North-eastern Transylvanian Saxon community of Birk/Petelea/Petele in 1864; OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel no. 63.

209 Benki, Bolind (< Bálint), Botradi (< Bótrágyi), Gätsi (< Gécz), Gubesch (< Gubás), Konyen (< Kónya), Palku (< Palkó) and Schebesch (< Sebes); Keintzel-Schön, 200. More to the South in Reichsdorf/Rechişdorf/Riomfalva, at fair distance from any Hungarian-speaking village, Csaki, spelt in this form, was the name of a well-established local Saxon family, and Hamrodi (< the place name Homoród, dial. Hamaród + -i) that of another to the South-east in Weißkirch/Viscri/Szászfehéregyháza, in the Resper Stuhl/Scaunul Cohalmului/Kőhalomszék; Andreas Nemenz, ed., *Reichsdorf: Eine Ortschaft im Weinland Siebenbürgens; Beiträge zur Ortsgeschichte* (Munich: Siebenbürgisch-Sächsische Stiftung, 1999), 270–1 and Sofie Van Der Borcht, Anca Goția, Michael Markel and Truus Roesems, 'Soziale Einrichtungen', in *Weisskirch (Deutsch-Weißkirch / Viscri): ein siebenbürgisches Dorf im Griff der Zeit; Zur Siedlungsgeschichte Rumäniens*, eds Herman Van der Haegen and Paul Niedermaier, 94 (Leuven: Instituut voor Sociale en Economische Geographie Katholieke Universiteit, 1997).

210 Bursen (< Bărsan).

211 SSWb, vol. 1, 235 and 249–50. Cf. *ibid.*, 679 and Adina-Lucia Nistor, *Rumänisch-deutsche/siebenbürgisch-sächsische Sprachhinterferenzen im Südwesten Siebenbürgens* (Iași: Demiurg, 2001), 178–9.

212 SSWb, vol. 1, 249–50 and Ernst H. Philippi and Wigant Weltzer, eds, *Sächsisch-Regen: Die Stadt am Berge; Lebensbilder aus der Vergangenheit einer kleinen Stadt in Siebenbürgen* (Bochum: self-published, 1991), 151.

213 I have to remind the reader that the dataset is the most lacunary with respect to Saxons, as three out of the five Saxon gymnasia are missing.

entire Habsburg Monarchy. Saxon bearers of Slavic names may have partly descended from Zipsers—there had been a constant flow of migrants from Upper Hungary to the Transylvanian towns—or may have had Prussian or Silesian ancestors.

Apart from Slavic family names, another remarkable peculiarity of the Saxon elite were the many Latinised names of the types *Jekelius/Paulini/Molitoris*, nearly absent from the ranks of the peasantry. The humanist fashion of name Latinisation had gone defunct by the nineteenth century, still around eleven per cent of students born to middle-class Saxon families bore such names. And whilst this earlier trend does not seem to have had any influence on the mid-nineteenth century self-Latinisation of Romanian intellectuals, its traces can also be detected among the family names of Magyars; in my dataset, there are Magyar students with the family names *Fábry*, *Kusztos* and *Szutor* (< Lat. *fabri*, *custos*, *sutor*).

## 2.6. Contact-influenced Family Names Exploited in Political Discourse

‘You’re really a Bulgarian, aren’t you? C’mon, admit it.  
You’re all Bulgarians, but you’re trying to turn yourselves into Serbs!’  
Aleko Konstantinov, *Bai Ganyo*<sup>214</sup>

The last two chapters have made it clear that family names were neither particularly old nor were they treated as ethnic markers by the rural society. Nationalist intelligentsias, however, wished to find a kernel of national essence in them, perhaps enclosed in a rotten shell, but apt to be disengaged. When nationalist ideology imputed a millennial continuity to family names, the confusion of scale was the same as in the case of the larger national programme that contemplated folk culture (or rather its representative fragments) as remnants from the nation’s golden age. I also tried to show how audacious it was in the given context to draw conclusions about people’s ethno-linguistic ancestry

<sup>214</sup> *Bai Ganyo: Incredible Tales of a Modern Bulgarian*, trans. Victor A. Friedman et al. (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010), 36.

from the etymologies of their surnames. Yet both points often went unchallenged in contemporary discussions, and the combination of the two could lead to results that may seem bizarre nowadays and give a foretaste of the historical discourse related to toponyms, to be presented in later chapters.

In his ‘The History of Romanians in the Banat’, the Lugoj archpriest Gheorghe Popovici quoted the family name *Got* as a possible trace of an erstwhile Gothic population in the area.<sup>215</sup> By way of an argument for the mixed origins of the Romanians of Hunyad County, the school inspector Lajos Réthi also put the formation of some Romanian surnames that he could not explain on the basis of Romanian and Slavic to the first millennium AD, assuring his audience that ‘it is fully probable that these were left to us by the fallen Hunnic and Avar Empires’.<sup>216</sup> Incidentally, it seems that Réthi regarded Huns and Avars as subspecies of Magyars, and his words hark back to a certain László Tóth’s opinion piece from a quarter of a century earlier, who speculated that entire Romanian-speaking, Greek-rite village communities similarly went back to Hunnic or Avar populations in Hunyad County.<sup>217</sup>

In a similar vein, the Greek Catholic provost Nicolae Brînzeu, being aware that the Romanian villages around Orăștie had been founded by Saxons in the Middle Ages, identified his Romanian Greek Catholic schoolmates Rudi Neumann, Pompei Neustätter and others with German names as descendants of the erstwhile Saxon settlers.<sup>218</sup> Since the villages in case had been destroyed by marauding Turks in the fifteenth century and

215 George Popoviciu, *Istoria românilor bănățeni* [The history of Romanians in the Banat] (Lugoj: self-published, 1904), 66.

216 Lajos Réthi, ‘Hunyadvármegyéről’ [On Hunyad County], *Vasárnapi Újság* 34 (1887): 528.

217 László Tóth, ‘A vallás hatalmas tényező a népek történetében’ [Religion is a mighty factor in the history of peoples], *Kolozsvári Közlöny* 9 April 1864. On the legendary relationship between Huns, Avars and Magyars, see Mihály Horváth, *Magyarország történelme* [History of Hungary], 2nd, exp. ed., vol. 1 (Pesten: Heckenast, 1871), 22–3; Gábor Klaniczay, ‘The Myth of Scythian Origin and the Cult of Attila in the Nineteenth Century’, in *Multiple Antiquities—Multiple Modernities: Ancient Histories in Nineteenth Century European Cultures*, eds Gábor Klaniczay, Michael Werner and Otto Gecser, 183–210, esp. 198 (Frankfurt: Campus, 2011) and Amédée Thierry, *Histoire d’Attila et de ses successeurs jusqu’à l’établissement des hongrois en Europe*, 2 vols (Paris: Didier, 1856). Perhaps due to its interconnections with the tradition of a separate Szekler ethnogenesis, some of the die-hard supporters of this theory among professional historians, like Károly Szabó, Elek Jakab and Gábor Bálint, were Transylvanians.

218 Nicolae Brînzeu, *Memoriile unui preot bătrân* [Memoirs of an old priest] (Timișoara: Marineasa, 2008), 41. On the early history of these villages, see István Draskóczy, ‘Az erdélyi Szászöld demográfiai helyzete a 16. század elején’ [The demographic situation of the Saxon Land in Transylvania at the beginning of the 16th century], *Erdélyi Múzeum*, new series 61 (1999): 1–30.

had been soon repopulated by Romanians, Brînzeu's hypothesis (as far as the names are concerned) would require that the oral tradition of the locals, likely with no German, transmitted these High German family names through five centuries, under conditions where family names played at best a peripheral role for their lives. (Not to mention that in the fifteenth century, the social institution of inheritable surnames had not yet stabilised even among Saxons.) It seems more reasonable to suppose that in the preceding century and a half, the Saxons of Orăștie gave German names to their farmhands or herdsmen from the surrounding villages, which Romanian priests later made official.

If we are to believe the writer Józsi Jenő Tersánszky, this primordialist perception of family names, together with the intense nationalisation of the era, had a truly peculiar consequence in the mining district of Nagybánya/Baia Mare: a group of purely self-constructed 'Poles'.<sup>219</sup> As a third factor, the colourful imagery attached in Hungary to the Polish gentry and especially to Polish émigrés also needs to be mentioned, since the family names on which these people based their Polishness were in fact Slovak rather than Polish.<sup>220</sup> Besides his father, a mining entrepreneur, Tersánszky names two other men from his family's circle of acquaintances who considered themselves Poles in turn-of-the-century Nagybánya: one called Kuzskó and Ádám Krizsovánszky, Greek Catholic by religion. Tersánszky's father, who was so passionate about his Polishness that in a maudlin state of mind, he would sometimes kneel down to recite the lines of 'Poland Is Not Yet Lost', was born Roman Catholic in Rodna/Radna, to a mother of Szekler and a father of Slavic origin. The only detail that could support his Polish roots for Tersánszky the writer was the vernacular Romanian name by which he was known in his birthplace, *Ianoș a Totului*; but *tot* in fact means Slovak.<sup>221</sup> Like most Roman Catholics in Rodna,

219 Józsi Jenő Tersánszky, *Életem regényei* [Novels of my life] (Budapest: Magvető, 1968), 42, 57 and 98.

220 From the three surnames given by Tersánszky, two are Slovak, while *Kuzskó* could originate anywhere between Bohemia and Belarus. I am indebted to Tamás Racskó (LvT), the author of the blog <http://onomastikion.blog.hu/> and the unofficial host of the topic 'Nevek, családnevek magyarul' at <http://forum.index.hu>, for elucidating the origin of these names.

221 'Pole' would probably have been *leș* in the region.



his parents spoke Romanian at home, and he did not learn Hungarian until he moved away from the locality after turning twenty. A detail significant for his rejection of Magyar identity, an alliance of the Church and the Hungarian state (as maintainer of a local school and proprietor of the local mines) was waging an ideological struggle in the time of his youth for nationalising the Roman Catholic miners of Rodna.<sup>222</sup> In Nagybánya, he professed pro-Romanian and anti-Magyar political sympathies, and apart from his ‘fellow-Poles’, his closest friends were Greek Catholic Romanians.

Tersánszky’s father apparently took his Polishness very seriously. To my mind, his case demonstrates that above a certain standard of living, even those who were caught between two antagonistic national identities could not escape the imperative of national belonging, although the odd expedient of a Polish identity was an option available only for the few with a plausibly Polish-sounding surname. Tersánszky Sr.’s repudiation of Magyardom, a national category with which he could have identified himself seamlessly, must be seen as a form of political protest. With his Roman Catholic religion and his Western Slavic family name playing against the more obvious choice of taking up a Romanian identity, Slovakness could have fulfilled the same function, but the Slovak national movement was weak, and seen from the borderlands of Transylvania and Hungary, the argument that Slovaks constituted a nation apart could appear flimsy even for a politically nonconformist mining entrepreneur.

The self-claimed Poles of Nagybánya are a useful reminder that people could develop rich and unpredictable shades of do-it-yourself identities in reaction to the challenge of contending nationalisms, but the most common applications to which the supposed ethnic indexicality of family names was put were less innocent and more enmeshed in mainstream political ideologies. Most notably, the frequency of Hungarian-influenced family names among ethnic Romanians served as a major support for the myth

222 See the sources quoted in my *The Politics of Early Language Teaching*, 194.

of submerged Magyardom. The argument was aptly summed up by the British traveller Arthur J. Patterson:

the main ground for the assertion so often made that half a million of Transylvanian Magyars have changed their nationality, and become Wallachized, is the prevalence of Wallachian-speaking peasants of genuine Magyar family names, such as Pap, Kis and the like. To this, it has been objected that the Wallach serfs, having originally no family names at all, have had such Magyar names imposed upon them by their Hungarian lords.<sup>223</sup>

From this perspective, villagers with Hungarian names or with what a given author considered as such, were thought to be survivors of a medieval Magyar population from prior to the deluge of ‘foreign elements’, who assimilated linguistically, changed religions, but somehow retained their ancient, Hungarian family names. The debasement of these people was imagined to have been continuous since the Ottoman period. Authors did not necessarily re-claim them for Magyardom, even implicitly. The reader very often gets the impression that the primary function of these Magyars in disguise was rather to call up a gruesome past rife with undisclosed mysteries, and their mistaken ideas about their true selves only added to create this ambience. Potentially, however, this argument could always help justifying the founding of a Hungarian institution.

Not only did Magyar authors who played out this card usually turn a deaf ear to alternative explanations, they were often also extraordinarily liberal in finding Hungarian names, especially where Magyars also lived or had lived in the past. Any name that a Magyar peasant could also bear would fit, including the duck-rabbit names presented in the last chapter. Of course, names that sounded somewhat similar to unrelated or hypothetical Hungarian names could be exposed as distorted forms.<sup>224</sup>

223 Arthur J. Patterson, *The Magyars: Their Country and Institutions* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1869), vol. 2, 315.

224 Cf. the following returns to Frigyes Pesty's survey from 1864: village secretary Sándor Kendy on Țețchea/Cécke and mayor János Ellmes on Sântandrei/Szentandrás, published in *Pesty Frigyes kéziratok helységnévtárából, 1864: Bihar vármegye* [From Frigyes Pesty's manuscript place name directory, 1864: Bihar County], vol. 1 (Debrecen: Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Magyar Nyelvtudományi Intézete, 1996), 135 and vol. 2 (*ibid.*, 1998), 501; mayor Mihai Secui on Almaș, Ádám Szokolay on Gura-honț, Buceava-Soimuș, Mădrigești and Zeldiș (OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel no. 2), anonymous on Ciachi-Gârbou/Csákigorbó (*ibid.*, reel no. 18), village secretary Sándor Enyedi on Copand/Koppánd (*ibid.*, reel no. 20), János Bálint on Băiești, village secretary Elek Barabás on Livadia de Câmp (*ibid.*, reel no. 28), József Mózes on Socolari (*ibid.*, reel no. 35) and village secretary Lajos Darkó on Pogăceaua/Mezőpagocsa (*ibid.*, reel no. 63), council members Todor Fleșer, Tănase Feleudean and Vasile Pădurean from Hopârta/Háporton, in *Pesty Frigyes helynégyűjteménye 1864–1865: Székelyföld*, vol. 4, 54 and anonymous on Mihál/Mihálcfalva, *ibid.*, 74.

In Szatmár County, where the percentage of Hungarian-influenced names was among the highest, this procedure could indeed present the bulk of the Romanian population as estranged Magyars on the pen of Cornel Maroşan/Marosán Kornél, the employee and chronicler of the Magyarising Széchenyi Association:

Would anyone dare doubt that Komjáti, Harsányi, Rákóci, Gyülvészi, Balog, Sugár, Hosszu, Kiss, Csáki, Néki, Kolbász, Bán, Török, Bojthor, Takács etc., used to be Magyars earlier? And there are villages where the majority bear such names. Now, if we add to these names those that once sounded pure Hungarian, but in course of time have been, deliberately or unwittingly, distorted, like Nagyszeghi, today = Noczig, Kerekes = Chereches, Somló = Somlea, Balta = Bálta, Kovács = Coaciu, Kanálos = Canalisu, Bogyó = Bode, Szabó = Sabou, Székely = Seiche etc., etc., isn't it a proven fact that the villages where these people live and the people themselves used to be of a purely Hungarian mother tongue?<sup>225</sup>

In a monoethnic region more at bay from outside cultural influences, such as the Jiu/Zsil Valley before the boom of coal mining, the visitor could find fewer Hungarian-influenced names, which would imply fewer paternal-line ancestors who had, we are told, merged into the 'Romanian torrent' by the fifteenth century:

the only, unexpected signs of assimilation, showing up now and then among these sheep-skin-hatted alpine rustics, are a few family names with ancestral sounding or roots and the corresponding physical type.<sup>226</sup>

Although phenotype and cultural characteristics were also observed through ethnographical glasses, family names had a critical significance for these authors. They were sometimes deemed to have such evidential power that needed no further comment:

In many of these villages, the inherited Magyar elements are recognizable in the external and internal traits of the houses, but it is in Wallachian that the old and the young of the household talk or frolic at the gates. You only feel a warning shove from the depths of the past when you learn that the old farmer is called Gavrilla Barcsai or Juon Mészáros. It is truly worth to examine the traces of Magyardom; they would allow us to detect its terrible decrease.<sup>227</sup>

For some authors, it had little importance what village they happened to visit; if the dwellers spoke Romanian, they could reliably find errant Magyars. It could just as well

225 Kornél Marosán ed., *A szatmármegyei Széchenyi Társulat emlékkönyve 25 éves működésének évfordulója alkalmából* [Memorial volume of the Szatmár County Széchenyi Association, on the occasion of its twenty-five years of activity] (Szatmár: Széchenyi Társulat, 1907), 14.

226 Ferencz Sólyom-Fekete, 'Hunyadvármegye hely- és helységneveinek történetéhez' [On the place names of Hunyad County], *A Hunyadvármegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat évkönyve* 2 (1884): 74.

227 Oktáv Hangay, 'Kolozsvármegye szelidebb területében' [In the gentler parts of Kolozs County], *Erdély* 19 (1910): 12.

be Corbu/Gyergyóholló, a place dating from the eighteenth century, when it was probably settled from Moldavia, and thus unlikely to accommodate Magyars from medieval times:

Irén *Muzsdai*, János *Mikó*, Flóra *Labonc*, Mrs. *Szilvási* (...) But look, there comes Demeter *Ungurán* as well. (...) I want to call out to them: ‘You are Magyars! Awake!... Awake!...’<sup>228</sup>

Most likely, the person presented here as ‘Muzsdai’ bore the name *Mujdei*, from *mujdei*, a garlic sauce eaten on fast days, while the word *ungurean* referred to a migrant from Transylvania settled in the Romanian Principalities, without ethnic implications. As a name on the Transylvanian side of the Carpathians, it implied settling and resettling in family history. This (probably unconscious) cooking of the raw data, however, is far overshadowed by the self-delusion of the archaeologist Gábor Téglás, who visited Paroș, a poverty-stricken Romanian village at the feet of the Retezat Mountains, to look for pre-historic remains in a nearby cave. It is doubtful whether he could convince even his sympathetic readers that the name *Băcălete* should be regarded Hungarian:

Soon after, there appeared the owner of the place, János Bekeletye, with his brothers Mihály and Péter, but in spite of their good Hungarian-sounding name (probably Bekelettje), they don’t speak a peep of Hungarian, and only their physiognomy reveals that they got drifted into the whirlpool of this foreign element by poverty and ignorance.<sup>229</sup>

*Bekelettje* not only does not seem to be a more likely Hungarian name than *Bekeletye*, neither does it make more sense as a word form, something Téglás seems to suggest. With some charity, it is possible to parse it in the following way: *be-* verbal prefix + *kel* ‘to rise’, ‘to awake’ + *-e-* link vowel + *-t* de-verbal nominal suffix + *-je* possessive suffix indicating a 3rd person singular possessor. However, it is hard to attribute a meaning either to *bekelet* as a noun or to *bekel* as a verb. What probably happened was that Téglás entered the village with the anticipation that he would find Magyars and then tried to project some meaning into the first name he encountered. In fact, Paroș was not just a

<sup>228</sup> Zoltán Földes, *A magyarságért!* [For Magyaredom!] (Ditró: Pannonia-könyvnyomda, 1913), 8. Emphases in the original.

<sup>229</sup> Gábor Téglás, ‘A paroszi barlang Hunyadmegyében: a Retezát előhegységének egy új barlangja’ [The Paroș Cave in Hunyad County: a new cave in the foothills of the Retezat Mountains], *Földrajzi Közlemények* 9 (1881): 98. Emphasis in the original.

random village like Corbu, but as Téglás was well aware, its inhabitants had been petty nobles whose seventeenth-century ancestors had followed the Calvinist faith. Neither of these two circumstances made the origin of the Băcălete family any more Magyar in the context of the Hațeg Basin, and accidentally, their name also does not figure among the noble families of the village as listed in 1683.<sup>230</sup> Magyar authors, however, were in general inclined to equate formal noble status (belonging to the *natio Hungarica*) with Magyariness. In the following passage about the Ioja family from Ramna/Ravna, this equation remains implicit, but it is important for following the author's logic:

Nowadays, almost the entire village is still Józsa. Their priest is also Józsa. Barely one or two of them speak some garbled Hungarian. Mind you, at the beginning of the last century, at each county election, the Hungarian nobles of Ravna were among those to be reckoned with!<sup>231</sup>

By way of explanation, only nobles had been entitled to participate at county elections in the feudal era. Again, the fact that they had been nobles does not imply that they also had Magyar roots, especially not if the same family also produced the Orthodox priest of the village. Not surprisingly, András Vályi's topographical dictionary of Hungary, published at the end of the eighteenth century, does not know of Magyars in the village: 'a Wallachian village in Arad County, landlord Józsa, residents Orthodox [ó hitűek]'.<sup>232</sup>

The idea that family name was indexical of ethnic origin could underpin the submerged Magyardom myth in all its uses. Ignác Acsády, a pioneer of social history in Hungary, made use of family names to calculate the ethnic make-up of the peasantry in the early eighteenth century in a book that carried all the more weight since it was published in the official series of the statistical service and without Acsády's name on its

230 József Koncz, 'Anno 1683: Haczogh vidéki nemesség regestruma' [Anno 1683: the noble census of the Hațeg/Hátszeg/Hötzing District], in *A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat évkönyve* [Yearbook of the Hunyad County Historical and Archaeological Society] 17 (1907): 130.

231 Albert Hajnal, *Menyháza és vidéke* [Moneasa/Menyháza and its environs] (Arad: Aradi, 1903), 15.

232 András Vályi, *Magyar országnak leírása* [Description of Hungary], vol. 3 (Budán: Királyi Universitás, 1799), 183. On the family Ioja, see Felicia-Aneta Oarcea and Spiridon Groza, *Moneasa: monografie istorică* [Moneasa/Menyháza: an historical monograph] (Arad: Gutenberg Univers, 2007), 166–7.

cover.<sup>233</sup> Acsády contemplated that the correspondence between name and nationality had been more direct back then as compared to his own time, and went on to categorise as Magyars even those Saxons who figured under translated Hungarian names in the conscriptions, as was customary in the eighteenth century.<sup>234</sup>

Since it did not so much relate to territory as to people, this supposed correspondence between name and ethnic origin could more aptly support integrative-assimilationist than xenophobic-exclusivist arguments. The school inspector Lajos Szeremley, for instance, when reporting to the Minister on the founding of a state primary school in Buduş/Budesdorf/Kisbudak, mentioned that numerous Romanian families were enthusiastic about the new school and, alluding to the real or assumed Hungarian origin of their family names, did not fail to add that ‘these are not exactly descendants of Trajan’.<sup>235</sup> In his version, the Romanianised Magyars of the village, stirred by some atavistic call, willingly co-operated with the authorities to ‘re-Magyarise’ their children or at least to have Hungarian ‘re-taught’ to them.

According to the much grimmer vision of Kálmán Bélteky’s book on the ‘Magyar diaspora’, written forty years later, the business of pinpointing Romanianised Magyars by their names was itself made difficult by peasants’ obstinate clinging to their false identity. Following this line, Bélteky considered as Hungarian even family names derived with the Romanian *-an* derivational suffix from place names of Hungarian origin, or at any rate designating places within the contemporary Kingdom of Hungary:

to complete our knowledge against deceit, we need to consider a peculiar modifying circumstance, to wit, that names get distorted through addition, foreign pronunciation or spelling. Family names are not so much subject to the control of the public, there are no limits set to their erosion, they can be bent into an unrecognisable shape, and a few Hungarian names may stand as messengers for many that had fallen. The Wallach makes a parade of trying to

233 [Ignác Acsády], *Magyarország népessége a Pragmatica Sanctio korában 1720–21* [The population of Hungary in the time of the Pragmatica Sanctio, 1720–1] (Budapest: Országos Magyar Kir. Statisztikai Hivatal, 1896).

234 *Ibid.*, part 1, 48. Cf. Ambrus Miskolczy, ‘A 18. századi erdélyi népességszámok értelmezéseinek historiográfiájából’ [From the historiography of the interpretations of population figures from eighteenth-century Transylvania], *Múltunk* 2013, no. 1, 6–35.

235 Lajos Szeremley to Minister Ágoston Trefort, on 19 June 1879; MOL VKM K305/2586.

efface his origins, any scheme is dear to him that can break the neck of the revealing surname.<sup>236</sup>

Bélteki was a truly radical practitioner of this strand of discourse, and most writers did not follow his principle of counting people with Hungarian-influenced names as only a fragment of historic Magyars. Indeed, it would be mistaken to overgeneralise the prevalence of this ethnicising treatment of Romanian family names. Many well-informed and less well-informed Magyar authors, born or living in the area, came to grips with the fact that many Romanians had Hungarian names without assuming that such families had been originally Magyar. One did not even need to be moderate in one's nationalist views to claim otherwise; the fanatically chauvinist school inspector of Bihar County, Orbán Sipos, explained the abundance of Hungarian-influenced names among the Romanians of his county by arguing that at seigniorial censuses, agents of the lords had usually given family names to those who had none.<sup>237</sup> The argument that Hungarian names had been given to Romanian peasants by the management of estates or by tax-collectors in order to keep track of them, also mentioned by Patterson, was widely familiar to the Magyar elite. Moreover, the ethnographer Grigore Moldovan/Moldován Gergely, writing for a Hungarian readership, undertook to classify Hungarian-influenced Romanian family names, drawing a distinction between the mountains, where Hungarian loanwords were allegedly rare and therefore bearers of such names were probably assimilated Magyars, and the basins, where for the most part they could well be 'genuine' Romanians.<sup>238</sup> The availability of these alternative explanations brings into salience the ideological character of the motif; they were usually ignored by those who peddled this line of argument. To be sure, there were also authors who calculated with some of these factors, but nevertheless made much of Romanian peasants' 'Hungarian' names. In the same ethnographic

236 Kálmán Bélteki, *A magyar szórványság: az 1900-ik évi népszámlálás alapján* [The Magyar diaspora: on the basis of the 1900 census] (Nagyvárad: Szent László, 1910), 17.

237 Orbán Sipos, *Biharvármegye a népesedési, vallási, nemzetiségi és közoktatási statisztika szempontjából* [Bihar County from the aspect of demographical, religious, ethnic and educational statistics] (Nagyvárad: Szent László, 1903), 9–11.

238 Moldován, *Alsófehér vármegye román népe*, 761.

monograph of Alsó-Fehér County where Moldovan/Moldován's account was published, István Lázár laid down as a general rule that Hungarian names were proofs of Magyar origin only where this could be also supported by local history; read: in villages that once had Roman Catholic or/and Calvinist communities. In such villages, however, he put forward as Hungarian even family names of German origin.<sup>239</sup>

The counter-argument referring to loanwords turned into family names was not one often voiced by contemporary Romanian nationalists. Projecting national oppression back into past centuries and insinuating the national enemy with a deliberate ploy, they would rather retort that the new generation of Magyars, after climbing to power, were trying to reap what their forefathers had sown by consciously replacing the names of their Romanian serfs with Hungarian ones.<sup>240</sup> Certainly, denouncements of coercion were in general favoured over arguments that involved linguistic borrowing, but something more important was also at stake here. After all, there could not be any point in the past where Romanian serfs, who were said to have descended from Roman colonists with a Latin trinomial system, had no family names. The yawning chasm between Latin and Romanian names gave Romanian authors quite a headache, especially the Latinist generation of the early decades. There were two possibilities; either to claim that the adversities of history had wiped out the original Latin nomenclature and replaced them with the actually existing combination of Slavic and Byzantine Greek stems and native suffixes or to insist against all odds that contemporary Romanian family names could be somehow traced back to Latin.<sup>241</sup>

239 István Lázár, 'Alsófehér vármegye magyar népe' [The Magyar populace of Alsó-Fehér County], in *Alsófehér vármegye monographiája* [Monograph of Alsó-Fehér County], vol. 1/2, 466–7 (Nagy-Enyed: Nagyenyedi, 1899).

240 For this type of argument, e.g. *Unirea* 20 April 1901, p. 130. The sober-minded Ladislau Vaida/Vajda László was among the few who cared to seriously disprove the charge of being a 'Wallachised Magyar' in a pamphlet written in Hungarian for Magyars. He originated from a noble family of long standing, he could therefore point to the Orthodox religion and typically Romanian first names of his ancestors, quoting the oldest preserved family documents; László Vajda, *Szerény észrevételek a Magyar Közművelődési Egyletekről, a Nemzetiségekről és a Sajtóról* [Humble observations about the Hungarian cultural associations, the nationalities and the press] (Kolozsvárt: Róm. kath. lyceum nyomdája, 1885), 26–7.

241 See, for example, Bariț, *Despre numele proprie*, 1–3 and Marienescu, *Numele de botezu si prolec'a*.



Certainly, Romanian intellectuals could easily imagine that the names of some Romanian peasant families went back to Roman *nomina gentilicia* or *cognomina*. As late as 1893, Nicolae Densușianu's questionnaire inquired about the survival of such family names among the people, and the attorney of the Năsăud border guard funds Nestor Șimon answered by matching the family names of his region that were based on words of Latin origin to illustrious Roman families.<sup>242</sup> But to systematically carry out this operation on the family name inventory of even one single village required too big a leap of faith, and the exact nature of the link between Latin and Romanian names perhaps necessarily remained unelaborated, even if the bounds of the authors' and their sympathetic readership's imagination were the only limitation to such a feat. When in 1891, the aged Latinist philologist Atanasie Marian Marienescu embarked on a comparison between Italian family names and the Romanian ones from the surroundings of Orawitz in the Banat, his series of articles was discontinued after two instalments, and it is difficult to see how such analogy could have gone beyond the shared pool of liturgical names and a similarity between some suffixes.<sup>243</sup>

If Romanian intellectuals could not play up the Latinity of Romanian family name stems and could not point to surviving traces of the Roman trinomial system, they could nevertheless stand firm by the Latin pedigree of certain name endings, especially *-escu*. More importantly, whatever their linguistic origins were, they surrounded existing Romanian family names with a halo of authenticity, presented them as an important stake at play in national conflicts, making it a moral obligation to hold to them and not to let them 'Magyarised' or 'Germanised'.<sup>244</sup>

242 Nic. Densușianu, *Cestionariu despre tradițiunile istorice și anticitațiile țărilor locuite de români* [Questionnaire about the historical traditions and antiquities of the lands inhabited by Romanians], vol. 1 (Bucharest: Göbl, 1893), 24–5 and Nestor Șimon, *Dicționar toponimic* [Toponymic dictionary] (Cluj-Napoca: Napoca Star, 2007), 227–8.

243 At. M. Marienescu, 'Numele familiare românești' [Romanian family names], *Familia* 27 (1891): 8.

244 See for example the letter of Dimitrie Coltofean, Orthodox archpriest of Bereck/Brețcu in the Szeklerland; quoted by Ana Grama Brescan, *Români sudtransilvani în secolul al XIX-lea: Județul Covasna; contribuții documentare* [South-Transylvanian Romanians in the 19th century: Covasna County; documentary contributions] (Arcuș: Arcuș, 2007), 99.

At first sight, a Romanian narrative that wished to expose centuries of brutal Magyarisation and deplore the Romanians fallen victims to it had to dispense with the onomastic argument. Speaking of Transylvania, at best some semi-authentic ‘ancestral’ Romanian surnames could be trotted out to claim back such magnate and middling noble families who had actually or allegedly descended from medieval Romanian village headmen (*cnezi*). In this spirit, *Telegraful Român* ridiculed the then unfolding campaign to re-Magyarise so-called Romanianised villages in Hunyad County by contending that not only there were no such villages, but that the Magyars of the county, rashly equated with the county leadership, were themselves Magyarised Romanians, as supposedly attested by their family names.<sup>245</sup>

In a twisted way, the frequency of Hungarian-influenced Romanian surnames and duck-rabbit names was hiding the possibility that Romanians regard Magyars who bore such names as assimilated Romanians. As census taker in 1850, the Greek Catholic priest Augustin Papp/Pop, later an ill-famed Magyarone, reportedly expressed his view that people with the surname *Pap* must be counted as Romanians.<sup>246</sup> With his own family included, he himself probably had more Romanian than Magyar *Paps* among his acquaintances, but his personal experience weighed little against the solid place of the word *pap* (‘priest’) in the Hungarian core vocabulary, which also made it into a frequent surname among Magyars, a process probably assisted by the Reformation.<sup>247</sup> This ‘Valachitas submersa’ narrative would come to a head after the Great War, when families with names of Romanian origin were forbidden to enrol their children in schools with Hungarian or

245 ‘Magiarii romanisati’ [Romanianised Magyars], *Telegraful Român* 16/28 January 1877, p. 17. In Hunyad County, Magyar/Hungarian and Romanian nationalist discourse tended to conflate at least two distinct and geographically distant ‘nationally ambiguous’ groups. The first group consisted of Calvinist petty nobles and commoners with an obsolescent knowledge of Hungarian. Members of the second group were Greek Catholic and Orthodox lesser gentry, who often defined themselves in pre-national terms as ‘nemeși’ (nobles) and did not intermingle with the surrounding ‘rumâni’ (serfs). Many of their ancestors had embraced Calvinism in the seventeenth century, but they had converted back to the Eastern rite in the first decades of Habsburg rule. Most significantly, this latter group did not even have historical traditions of using the Hungarian language. For militant Magyar/Hungarian activists, the indisputable Magyar ethnic background of the first group also proved the Magyariness of the latter, while for some Romanian nationalists, the Romanianness of the latter group also disqualified the first group as Magyars.

246 Ágnes Deák, ‘Az abszolutizmus vas vesszője alatt: Erdély magyar szemmel 1850–51-ben’ [Under the iron cane of absolutism: Transylvania through Magyar eyes in 1850–1], *Holmi* 8 (1996): 722–3. On Papp/Pop, see Nicolae Josan, *Memorandistul moț Rubin Patiția (1841–1918)* [The moț Memorandist Rubin Patiția, 1841–1918] (Alba Iulia: Altip, 2002), 61.

247 Hajdú, 808–9.

German medium of instruction, and the decision of which family names qualified as such—a practice ill-famed as ‘name analysis’—was left to the discretion of the headmasters of state primary schools.<sup>248</sup>

Romanian authors also shared in cultivating another discursive strategy based on a similar logic, which consisted in discrediting national adversaries by pointing up their contact-influenced family names. This strategy differed from the previous one on three points. First, its targets were the elite and not the peasantry. Second, it did not lay claim on the people it aimed at. On the contrary, its performative intent was to brand its victim as a wretch, someone who had betrayed his own true pack and as a consequence did not deserve membership in any nation. Third, the target was often exposed as a traitor of a third group rather than the author’s ingroup; the essential was to show up the gap between the incriminated person’s ‘real’ origins and the group the person identified with.<sup>249</sup> Thus László Réthy sought to unmask Mircea B. Stănescu as a Serb on account of his native family name, *Stanovici*,<sup>250</sup> Kossuth and Petőfi (née Petrovics), these two central figures of the Magyar cult of 1848, were constantly referred to as ‘Magyarised Slovaks’ in the Romanian press, and Romanian writers rarely failed to mention the Swabian, Jewish or Armenian backgrounds of the Magyars they wrote about, manifested by their current or former family names. Family name very often provided the only clue that motivated true or false conclusions about one’s ancestry.

At one end of the scale, it is not difficult to understand the bafflement of Saxon burghers in Brassó after scores of intellectuals with German names settled in their midst

248 László Fritz, ‘Az erdélyi román kultúrzóna ügye a Népszövetség előtt’ [The question of the Romanian cultural zone of Transylvania before the League of Nations], *Magyar Kisebbség* 11 (1932): 351 and András B. Kovács, *Szabályos kivétel: a romániai magyar oktatásügy regénye; 1918, 1944–1948, 1996* [Regular exception: the story of Hungarian education in Romania, 1918, 1944–8, 1996] (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1997), 26–7. Under the Primary Education Act 1924 (sect. 1, cap. 1, art. 8), which declared that ‘Citizens of Romanian origin who have lost their mother tongue are obliged to educate their children exclusively in public or private schools with Romanian language of instruction’; *Monitorul Oficial* 1924, no. 161, p. 8602.

249 Jeremy King mentions a similar conflict from Budweis/Budějovice from the Dualist Era, where Czech nationalists called into question the Germanness of the mayor, Anton Franz Taschek, partly on the basis of his Czech family name; Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 63.

250 László Réthy, *Az oláh nyelv és nemzet megalakulása* [Formation of the Wallachian language and nation] (Budapest: Pallas, 1887), 213.

from one generation to the other, who only socialised with the Magyar elite and preferred to speak Hungarian. One of these intellectuals, the gymnasium teacher Jenő Binder, later recalled that they had been reviled as ‘hergelaufenes Renegatengesindel’ by local Saxons.<sup>251</sup> On the other end, hearsays circulated endlessly in Romanian elite circles about the concealed Romanian origins of chauvinist Magyar public figures. Beyond the absurdity of assigning an identity drawn from one’s distant, paternal-line ancestors, these gossips were also largely predicated on fantasy; a fantasy inspired by the motif of the proselyte’s zeal, to be sure. About the virulently Romanophobic Benedek Jancsó, a leading contemporary commentator on the ‘Romanian question’, who himself sought to cast aspersions on the founding fathers of Romanian nationalism by tendentiously displaying their noble predicates beside their names, rumours apparently spread that his original name had been the emblematically Romanian *Iancu*.<sup>252</sup> Yet there was no need for time-consuming research to chart the already well-documented history of the nagynyűjtődi Jancsós, a middling Szekler landowning family ennobled in 1625 under the same name.<sup>253</sup> Neither could the predicate *losonczy*, referring to the town Losonc/Lučenec/Lizenz in Upper Hungary (today in Slovakia), spare Dezső Bánffy from the following unusual obituary by the Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga:

The difference of temperament between him and other Magyars is unmistakable. It requires an explanation, which can be found in his appearance, in his origin, in his name. He did not have in his veins the Asiatic perfidy of the nation that he served. (...) And his name itself reveals what he was: ‘the son of a ban’, a Wallachian ban from these border regions.<sup>254</sup>

251 Jenő Binder, *Rombauer Emil, 1854–1914* (Budapest: Légrády, 1914), 14.

252 Benedek Jancsó, *A dako-romanizmus és a magyar kultúrpolitika* [Daco-Romanism and Hungarian cultural policy] (Budapest: Neumayer, 1893) and Coriolan Băran, *Reprivire asupra vieții: memorii* [Looking back to my life: memoirs] (Arad: ‘Vasile Goldiș’ University Press, 2009), 148.

253 Endre Bakk, *A Bak és Jancsó család története* [The history of the Bak and Jancsó families] (Budapest: Hunyadi Mátyás, 1883). To be sure, Bakk’s study was much less easily available than Iván Nagy’s representative genealogical compendium, to be referred to in the next footnote.

254 Nicolae Iorga, *Oameni cari au fost* [The people of yore], vol. 1 (Bucharest: Fundația pentru literatură și artă ‘Regele Carol II, 1934), 462. *Ban* was a dignitary title, first a viceroy in medieval Croatia, and later the administrator of several regions from Dalmatia to Little Wallachia (Oltenia), subordinated to the King of Hungary. Cf. Gabriella Schubert, ‘Der Einfluß des Ungarischen in Südosteuropa’, in *Handbuch der Südosteuropa-Linguistik*, ed. Uwe Hinrichs, 681–2 (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1999). The name giver of the Bánffy/Bánfi family seems to have been Dienes, who held the title of Ban of Dalmatia in the fourteenth century. The branch of the family from which Dezső Bánffy descended settled in Transylvania in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, where they intermarried with the Kemény, the Bethlen and the Dániel families and received a baronial title in the 1690s. See Iván Nagy, *Magyarország családai* [The families of Hungary], vol. 1 (Pest: Friebeisz, 1857), 153 and 169–70. Note Moise Nicoară’s inclusion of the Bánffys sixty years earlier into his swollen list of Romanians turned into magnates; quoted by Sorin Mitu, *National Identity of Romanians in Transylvania*, trans. Sorana Corneanu (Budapest: CEU Press, 2001), 164.

Of course, such gossips and character assassinations were highly resistant to refutation and were at any rate addressed to the writers' ingroup. For their bearers, even genuinely contact-influenced family names caused relatively little trouble in their daily relationships with co-nationals. It is to this problem, the ingroup perception, self-perception and management of contact-influenced names, that I turn in the next chapter.

## 2.7. Contact-influenced Family Names in Romanian Society:

### Anxiety and Relief

'My other argument was that he is after all more Magyar than me, being called Surányi.'  
Józsi Jenő Tersánszky<sup>255</sup>

#### 2.7.1. Family Name Romanianisation

Romanian nationalist intellectuals could not fail to believe that their forebears had once borne classical Roman names, which had been phased out or had become defigured due to foreign rule and the intrigues of enemies. The urge to redress this sore state of affairs, to restore themselves and their kinsmen to the image of their putative ancestors was strongest in the generation of 1848. It was this cohort of young Transylvanian Romanian intellectuals who first adjusted their family names to their self-image as nationals. Their name changes most often took the form of Latinisation. They altered their names to sound more Roman (to forms which they perhaps believed the original ones): *Porcu*→*Porcius*,<sup>256</sup> *Aldulea*→*Aldulianu*, *Oprea*→*Aprianu*, *Șerban*→*Servianu*, *Kásay*→*Casianu*, or translated them: *Nădejde*→*Sperantia*, *Oltean*→*Alutanu*.<sup>257</sup> Many also imitated the trinomial Roman nomenclature; hence Dionisie Pop *Martianu*, Ioan Axente *Sever*, Constantin Romanu *Vivu*, Vasile Bob *Fabianu* (based on the semantic overlap between dialectal Romanian *bob* and Latin *faba* 'bean'), Alexandru Papiu *Ilaria-*

<sup>255</sup> Tersánszky, 85.

<sup>256</sup> The later botanist Florian Porcius was in fact born *Șteopan* and derived his new name from his mother's family name, *Porcu*.

<sup>257</sup> Alexandru Cristureanu, 'Latinismul reflectat în domeniul numelor de familie ale românilor' [Latinism reflected in the field of Romanian family names], *Lucrări științifice* [Oradea], *Filologie* 1 (1971): 29–31.

nu (by translating his second name, *Bucur*) or August Treboniu *Laurianu* (born *Trifan*).<sup>258</sup>

By 1866, when George Bariț dismissed this form of ‘self-Romanisation’ as exaggerated, it had by and large already gone out of fashion.<sup>259</sup>

Others from the same generation chose new names with a more vernacular taste. Ilie Fleșer’s family from Reußmarkt/Miercurea/Szerdahely translated their family name, based on a dialectal German loanword meaning ‘butcher’, to *Măcelariu*.<sup>260</sup> Ion and Ilarian Pușcaș took the new name *Pușcariu*; both *pușcaș* and *pușcar* used to mean ‘rifleman’, but the former originated from or at least coincided with Hungarian *puskás*, whereas the derivational suffix tacked on to the same noun in his new name sported an apparent Latin origin.<sup>261</sup>

The family name ending *-escu*, a reflex of the adjectival suffix *-esc* and initially a patronymic element, deserves a mention apart. In the Principalities, it had been a hallmark for the boyar class until the emerging middle classes keenly adopted it in the nineteenth century.<sup>262</sup> In 1895, the Names Law passed by the Romanian parliament itself advocated its use,<sup>263</sup> and some Transylvanians also attached it to their names after settling in the Regat.<sup>264</sup> Even the Saxon Josef Carl Hintz, a bookseller’s clerk from Brassó, displayed his family name as *Hințescu* on the cover of a collection of Romanian folk tales that he published in 1877 for the Romanian readership.<sup>265</sup>

258 *Ibid.* and Constantinescu, XLVI.

259 George Bariț, ‘Cum se se scria connumele neromanesci în limb’a romanéscă?’ [How to spell non-Romanian family names in Romanian?], *Gazeta Transilvaniei* 29 (1866): 97.

260 Braniște, *Amintiri din închisoare*, 110 and Eugen Străuțiu, *Miercurea Sibiului: pagini de istorie* [Miercurea/Reußmarkt/Szerdahely: pages of history], 2nd, rev. and exp. ed. (Sibiu: Editura Universității ‘Lucian Blaga’, 2011), 47–9.

261 Pușcariu, *Spîta unui neam din Ardeal*, 22 and 88.

262 Constantinescu, XXXVI; Teodor Oancă, ‘Nume de familie derivate cu sufixul *-escu*: considerații statistice’ [Family names derived with the suffix *-escu*: statistical considerations], in *Numele și numirea: actele Conferinței Internaționale de Onomastică* [Name and naming: proceedings of the International Conference of Onomastics], vol. 1, *Interferențe multietnice în antroponimie* [Multiethnic interferences in personal names], ed. Ovidiu Felecan, 185–7 (Cluj Napoca: Mega, 2011); Garabet Ibrăileanu, ‘Numele proprii în opera comică a lui Caragiale’ [Proper names in Caragiale’s comical works], in *Scriitori români* [Romanian writers], 185 (Chișinău: Litera, 1997) and Graur, *Nume de persoane*, 90–1.

263 Firică, 5.

264 Victor I. Șuiaga, *Juriști hunedoreni: precursori și [sic!] luptători pentru libertate și unirea Transilvaniei 1849–1918* [Lawyers from Hunedoara/Hunyad: precursors and fighters for freedom and the union of Transylvania, 1849–1918] (Deva: Emia, 2007), 47; Al. Olăreanu, *Contribuții pentru o istorie a teatrului românesc în Banat, Transilvania și Bucovina până la 1906* [Contributions to the history of Romanian theatre in the Banat, in Transylvania and the Bukovina until 1906] (Craiova: tipografia Liceului Carol I, s. a. [after 1919]), 12; Ion Stănișor, *Prin Săliștea de altădată* [Across the old Săliște] (Sibiu: Salgo, 2009), 58 and Pușcariu, *Spîta unui neam din Ardeal*, 46.

265 Virgiliu Florea, ‘I. C. Hintz-Hințescu: autor al celui dintâi catalog al poveștilor populare românești (1878)’ [I. C. Hintz-Hințescu: the author of the first catalogue of Romanian folk tales (1878)], *Studii și comunicări de etnologie*, new series 11 (1997): 125.

Inside the Carpathians, the suffix was distributed unequally in traditional anonymity. Absent from most of the area, it nevertheless formed a staple part of family names in some parts of the Banat. It was in the Banat that in September 1848, the village notary of Fizeş/Füzes/Fizesch got permission from the Ministry of the Interior to change the family name *Joanovics*, under which he figured in the parish register, to *Joáneszkó*.<sup>266</sup> This was a flash in the pan, an ethnic Romanian turning to the Hungarian state authorities to get his family name Romanianised. Later on, just like other means of family name Romanianisation, the adding of *-escu* went on informally, or at least without state sanction. Romanian intellectuals of the 1850s and the 1860s appended it to names of various forms and origins: *Maior*→*Maiorescu*, *Marian*→*Mariencescu*, *Taloş*→*Tălăşescu*, *Balta*→*Baltescu*, *Popovici*→*Popescu*, *Drăghici*→*Drăgescu*, *Stanovici*→*Stănescu*.<sup>267</sup> The then sixteen-year old Bukovinian poet Mihai Eminovici became *Eminescu* in 1866, upon advice from Iosif Vulcan, editor of the journal *Familia* in Pest/Pešta/Pesta. In the Dualist period, some Magyars came to associate the suffix with subversive nationalist views; when the school teacher Ioan Georgescu arrived to the Székelykeresztúr/Cristuru Secuiesc/Ungarisch-Kreutz teachers' college to attend a compulsory Hungarian summer school, the course leader allegedly picked a quarrel with him for his name and angrily sent him packing to Bucharest.<sup>268</sup> Rendering the *-escu* ending in a more neutral form as *-eszkó/-eszkó* may have helped to prevent malicious comments from Magyars.

The gates of official family name Romanianisation did not fully close with the Compromise. To be sure, there was little chance for the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior appreciating one's ideological reasons to Romanianise one's family name, although it occasionally gave its consent to taking up Romanian names, probably for family motives or

<sup>266</sup> Pálmány, ed., 386–7.

<sup>267</sup> Mager, 49; Gelu Neamţu, 'I. C. Drăgescu, militant pentru republică şi dacoromânism (1866–1914)' [I. C. Drăgescu, an advocate of republic and Daco-Romanianism, 1866–1914], *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj* 15 (1972): 264 and Hossu Longin, 192.

<sup>268</sup> Georgescu, 45.

documented misspellings at birth.<sup>269</sup> Until the civil registry was introduced, however, the operation basically depended on potentially more pliable Romanian parish priests. One of Minister Trefort's circulars from 1885 drew the attention of state school inspectors to the name changes performed by teachers of Romanian Greek Catholic schools without ministerial approval, pointing as evidence to the mismatch between the names as they stood in training school certificates and in deeds of appointment.<sup>270</sup> In spite of the technical possibility, however, hardly any public figure had their family name Romanianised in the intervening years, which suggests that the trend was already petering out from the ranks of the elite. In the same period, Alexandru Vaida-Voevod and Francisc Hosszu-Longin added new elements to their names rather than replacing them. Vaida-Voevod believed that the semantically equivalent *Voevod* or *Voievod* had been the original name of his family.<sup>271</sup> *Longin* resembles the creations of the forty-eight generation, but the old Hosszu-Longin remembered that it had been tagged to him during Latin classes as a student nickname and had been made semi-official by his supervisor at court during his legal training. Characteristically, Hungarian papers vilified him during the Memorandum trial for having Romanianised his 'honest Hungarian name'.<sup>272</sup>

The possibility of tacking a Romanian translation onto one's inherited family name and keeping the two alongside each other as a double, Hungarian—Romanian family name had already been exploited by the previous generation, as shown by the case of two Uniate high priests, the arch-provost Teodor Kőváry-Chioreanu and the canon Ioan Fekete-Negrutiu.<sup>273</sup> A different solution, still considered legitimate in the first decades of the

269 See, for example, János *Vuics*→*Vuia* (Arad, 1876), Anna *Gellerin*→*Florea* (Săcărâmb/Sekerembe/Nagyág, 1882) and János *Juon*→*Ruszu* (Sebiş/Borossebes, 1888); in Zoltán Szent-Iványi, *Századunk névváltoztatásai: helytartósági és miniszteri engedéllyel megváltoztatott nevek gyűjteménye, 1800–1893* [Name changes of our century: the list of names changed with gubernatorial and ministerial authorisation, 1800–93] (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1895).

270 Lungu, ed., 311. A similar concern about citizens' illicit name changes was documented by Richard Wonsler Tims in the case of imperial Prussia, where German nationalists agonised over the excessive power that the keeping of church registers gave to Polish priests by enabling them to 'Polonise' their German parishioners' names and by implication, as if in an act of sympathetic magic, German Catholics themselves. See Richard Wonsler Tims, *Germanizing Prussian Poland: The H-K-T Society and the Struggle for the Eastern Marches in the German Empire, 1894-1919* (New York: AMS Press, 1966), 135 and 138.

271 Vaida-Voevod, *Memorii*, vol. 1, 13–14.

272 Hosszu Longin, 192. *Hosszu* means 'long', semantically corresponding to *Longinus*.

273 According to his biographer, Fekete-Negrutiu's family earlier bore the name *Oltean*; V. Gr. Borgovanu, *Biografi'a canonicului Ioanu Fekete Negrutiu dedusa din acte si scrisori originale* [The biography of Canon Ioan Fekete Negrutiu, gleaned from ori-



era, was the usage of two parallel name variants, one in Romanian and another in Hungarian: *Iustin Popfiu/Pappfy Jusztin*, *Ioniță Scipione Bădescu/Bágyai*, *Iosif Pop Sălăjanu/Papp-Szilágyi József*, *Gheorghe Pop de Băsești/Ilyefalvi Pap György*.<sup>274</sup> Unlike the latter, many Romanians of noble origin left the Hungarian place names in their predicates even in Romanian writing, the way these probably figured in their patents of nobility.<sup>275</sup> Place names in noble titles thus tended to be treated as fossils. I will later show how some Magyar nobles protested against the Magyarisation of the place names that served them as titles of nobility.

### **2.7.2. Relief**

The Romanian generation of 1848 invested family names with a high ideological stake. From all the linguistic facts about Transylvanian Romanians, their family names in particular became the source of deep anxiety for them; a stigma that demanded to be covered with a Roman *pallium*. This opened a brief period of family name Romanianisation, most often intended as Latinisation, which however did not affect more than a relatively small segment of the already small Romanian intelligentsia. Thanks to the political milieu and the disinterest of the authorities, this trend could continue into the 1850s and 60s, but the drive behind seems to have evaporated thereafter, and for the rest of the Dualist Era, Romanian intellectuals showed a rather comfortable attitude to their contact-influenced family names, both in public and in private. This comfortable attitude was by no

ginal records and letters] (Gherl'a: Cancelariei Negrutiu, 1889), 5. He usually signed his private letters as *Fekete*; Ștefan Pascu and Iosif Pervain, eds, *George Bariț și contemporanii săi* [George Bariț and his contemporaries], vol. 3 (Bucharest: Minerva, 1976), 140–165.

274 On Bădescu, see László Gáldi, 'A magyarországi román költészet a múlt század második felében' [Romanian poetry in Hungary in the second half of the past century], *Magyarságtudomány*, new series 1 (1942): 282 and Ofelia Avarvarei, Nicolae Cordoș, Ioan Dordea, Lia Dragomir and Ioan Drăgan, eds, *Documente privitoare mișcarea națională a românilor din Transilvania* [Documents concerning the Romanian national movement in Transylvania], vol. 1, 1881–1891 (Bucharest: Viitorul Românesc, 1998), 92. Pop Sălăjanu Romanianised his name from Silaghi, but the title page of his canon law textbook suggests that he preferred the Hungarian version in Latin; Iacob Radu, *Istoria diecezei române-unite a Orăzii-Mari* [The history of the Greek Catholic Diocese of Nagyvárad] (Oradea: Tipografia românești, 1930), 146 and Josephus Papp-Szilágyi, *Enchiridion juris ecclesiae orientalis catholicae: pro uso auditorum theologiae et eruditione cleri Graeco-Catholici* (M.-Varadini: Tichy, 1862).

275 See for example the business card of 'Ilie Carol Barbul de Sósmező și de Gaura', quoted by Petru Groza, *Adio lumii vechi! memorii* [Farewell to the old world! memories] (Bucharest: Compania, 2003), 65. Place names in Hungarian noble titles did not usually replace the family name, but preceded it.

way unique for Romanians, in spite of the clamorous movement of family name Magyarisation. Magyarising one's family name became a popular way of exhibiting loyalty in certain circles, but the masses of linguistic and cultural assimilants outstripped many times over the number of name changers. Moreover, the Magyar nobility of Slavic extraction typically did not Magyarise their family names.

The attitude of Saxon intellectuals was not different either. Magyar politicians vituperated Lutz Korodi as the most dangerous pan-German agitator in Hungary, despicable twice over for having betrayed his Magyar roots, but there is no trace that his Saxon colleagues ever questioned his Saxonness on the basis of his family name, which in fact derived from the Hungarian toponym *Kóród* with the derivational suffix *-i*. Michael Csaki, the custodian of the Brukenthal Museum, a Saxon cultural institution in Hermannstadt, even kept the characteristically Hungarian <cs> of his family name.<sup>276</sup> If there was anything to stand in stark contrast to this indulgence towards the contact-influenced names of ingroup members, it was rather the sensitivity to them in the ranks of the outgroup, equally acute in Romanian, Magyar and Saxon elite discourses.

It seems unlikely that the administrative changes linked up with the Compromise could in itself bring about the decline in name Romanianisations, since the Romanian churches continued to keep the registers of births, marriages and deaths for thirty more years to come. The demise of Latinism and the tolerance of Junimism towards linguistic borrowing were more important reasons. The Romanian clergies continued to receive a steady intake of seminarists with family names of Hungarian and Serbian origin who would not replace their names and many of whom would also spell them in a Hungarian way.

When remembering the period, Romanian memorialists almost never reflected on the Hungarian or Serbian origin of their Romanian contemporaries' names. As a rare ex-

276 Carl Göllner, ed., *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen in den Jahren 1848–1918* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1988), 303.

ception, Aurel Cosma notes that ‘Uniates sometimes had the habit of Magyarising their names’, after the second Romanian figure by the name *Kőváry* appears in his narrative.<sup>277</sup> *Kőváry* is not simply a Hungarian-influenced name, it is also worth attention for containing two vowels absent from Romanian. Colloquially, Romanian contemporaries probably substituted such sounds, in the same manner as Romanian peasant speech transformed the Hungarian names of landlords.<sup>278</sup> As Alexandru Roman remarked in a letter, *Véghső*, the similarly difficult name of a prominent Greek Catholic family, was pronounced *Vîşeu* by Romanians.<sup>279</sup>

Slavic names formed with the patronymic suffix *-ič/-vič* (*-ić/-vić*) got naturalised in the eyes of the contemporary Magyar public; it is enough to think here about the Gyurkovics as an archetypical Magyar gentry family in Ferenc Herczeg’s successful *A Gyurkovics leányok* (‘The Gyurkovics girls’). The same thing happened in Romanian society as well, although the foreignness of such names could always be rekindled.<sup>280</sup> The complaint that the Serbian church leadership had Serbianised Romanians’ names in the Banat was all too usual at the time. The stereotypical ‘Serbo-Romanian’ Orthodox priest from the Banat and his pendant, the ‘Magyaro-Romanian’ Greek Catholic priest from the North-western parts even lent themselves to satirical uses; in A. P. Bănuţ’s *Doi ‘Fraţi in Cristos’: Tipuri de pela 1900* (‘Two “Brothers in Christ”: types from around 1900’) an Orthodox clergyman baptised Duşan Novacoviciu and his Uniate colleague and adversary Antoniu Papiriu de Kőváry call each other a Serb and a Magyar respectively,

277 Aurel Cosma, Jr., *Memorii* [Memoirs] (Timişoara: Mirton, 2010), 87.

278 On Romanian versions of landlords’ names, see Pál Binder, *A bodolai (Béldi) uradalom története: Bodola, Keresztvár vagy Nyén, Márkos és Bodzaforduló* [The history of the Béldi demesne of Budila/Bodola: Budila, Teliu, Mărcuş and Întorsura Buzăului]. (Szecseleváros: D&H Soft, 1994), 5 (*Beldea/Béldi* and *Marchiş/Márkos*); Lapedatu, *Memorii şi amintiri*, 122 (*Bârceanu/Barcsay*); Rodica Colta and Doru Sinaci, *Secusigiu: monografia* [Secusigiu/Sekeschut/Székesút: the monograph] (Arad: Tiparniţa, 2013), 296 (*Tâpari/Szapáry*); Iacob Radu, *Istoria vicariatului greco-catolic al Haţegului* [The history of the Greek Catholic Vicariate of Haţeg] (Lugoj: Gutenberg, 1913), 173 (*Brazovanul/Brazovai*) and Paul Oltean, ‘Schiţă monografică a opidului Haţegü’ [A monographic sketch of the market town of Haţeg/Hátszeg/Hötzing], *Transilvania* 23 (1892): 229 (*Estoras/Eszterházy*).

279 Alexandru Roman’s letter to George Bariţ on 18 June 1881; Ştefan Pascu and Iosif Pervain, eds, vol. 2 (Bucharest: Minerva, 1975), 245.

280 A late-nineteenth-century election ditty from Tolna County set the ‘un-Hungarian’ *-ics/-vics* against the seemingly more patriotic-sounding *-nszky*, of Western Slavic origin; Tamás Farkas, ‘“Nem magyar az, aki ics-vics...”: Egy fejezet a névmagyarosítások történetéből’ [‘An ics-vics is not Hungarian...’: A Chapter from the History of the Magyarisation of Names], *Létünk* 39 (2009), no. 2, 43.

partly predicated on each other's family names.<sup>281</sup> Regardless of such representations, publicly challenging the national loyalty of a Romanian priest on account of his Serbian or Hungarian name (and as long as he did not christen his children with names like Dušan or Árpád) was likely considered rude.

Serbian *-ić* was rendered *-iciu* or *-ici* in Romanian, but Hungarian-influenced family names were very often, probably in the majority of cases, spelt in a Hungarian way. In practice, the various spellings freely mixed in all types of writings without much consistency, transcribed and adapted forms showing up randomly, but there was hardly any genre where Hungarian spelling was systematically avoided. In the 1900 schematism of the Nagyvárad Greek Catholic Diocese, the names of thirty-nine Romanian priests carried Hungarian diacritic letters or digraphs.<sup>282</sup> People with such names also commonly signed their names in a Hungarian spelling, as did a few Romanians with noble titles, even if their names—like the Mocsonyi family's—were not rooted in Hungarian.

From this fact, however, we cannot conclude that the spelling of Romanian family names was a non-politicised domain, only that contemporaries may have seen it logical or natural to spell them according to the conventions of the language in which they originated. *Mutatis mutandis*, many educated Magyars with German names also used the German spelling. Due to the tribulations of Romanian writing, however, the question of spelling Romanian family names has so many ramifications that I feel necessary to devote the entire next chapter to this problem.

## 2.8. The Most Correct Ways to Spell One's Name

'The principle of writing *the family name* as in the original, unchanged, and with all its national marks.'  
*Libertatea* 23 August/5 September 1908<sup>283</sup>

281 Bănuț, 50.

282 *Schematismus historicus venerabilis cleri diocesis magno-varadinensis graeci ritus catholicorum pro anno jubilarum 1900* (Magno-Varadini: Berger, 1900).

283 Emphasis in the original.

### **2.8.1. The Heritage of Romanian Etymological Spellings**

In many orthographic traditions, family names can preserve the marks of long-forgotten spellings, so much so that such vestiges sometimes even altered the pronunciation of names. Ironically, Romanian names achieved a similar veneer by virtue of a failed experiment of language planning. Although the etymological norm dominated the writing of Romanian for no more than four decades, it burdened Romanian family names with a disproportionate gap between sounding and written forms.<sup>284</sup> This was particularly true for the intra-Carpathian space, where its use started earlier and survived longer.

Romanian family names were certainly subject to external orthographic influences as well. German had a more modest impact in this respect than Hungarian. With some reservation, I can concur with Vasile Gr. Borgovan in attributing the *v* of his family name, which he received upon entering the Năsăud *Normalschule*, to German influence. He called it ‘my disfigured German name’—*numele pocit nemțesc*—which replaced the one they had used to call him in his village, *Vasilică Bârgăoanu a Roșului*.<sup>285</sup> More significantly, Borgovan’s comment reminds us that the German schools and administration of the Military Frontier passed the written forms of Romanian names through a German filter.

The etymological orthography, however, brought about more variation and uncertainty, it upset the correspondence between the spelling and pronunciation of Romanian names in a more systematic way than did extraneous influences. Apart from individual name Latinisations, four features were in particular prone to persist in the writing of family names: the final *-u/-iu*; the attempt to eliminate /i/; the <si> spelling of /ʃ/ and the <ti> spelling of /t͡s/, both resulting in an intercalated *i*; and the <c> spelling of /t͡s/. This orthographic legacy affected the illiterate as well, since parish priests adopted the etymolo-

<sup>284</sup> See Berecz, *Politics of Early Language Teaching*, 103–6.

<sup>285</sup> Borgovanu, *Amintiri din copilărie*, 78.

gical spelling during its heyday for keeping the registers, which could effectively overhaul the family name corpus of entire village communities, provided that later priests continued to cherish the etymological tradition; a more likely scenario in the Uniate than in the Orthodox Church. But the intelligentsia had to tackle this problem more often, since it required a firm decision on their part to break the usage hallowed by their fathers in order to re-adapt the spelling of their names to the actual pronunciation. A decision, moreover, that they would preferably coordinate with their family members, although the county official Moise Branisce retained the etymological spelling of his name after his brothers switched to write *Braniște*.<sup>286</sup>

Some Romanian surnames already had a final *-u* in folk usage; it was the postposed article, more or less de-grammaticalised.<sup>287</sup> In etymological spelling, however, all names ending in a consonant automatically received an *-u* or *-iu* (depending on whether the final consonant was ideally palatalised or not).<sup>288</sup> Indirectly, these came into play in enhancing the Latin flavour of names, but they carried no grammatical function.<sup>289</sup> After the ‘phonetic’ turn, some people removed the *-u/-iu* ending from their names, while others fluctuated between the two alternate forms. If one was building a career in the public sector, it could seem advisable to get rid of it in Hungarian writing, although this probably also added to the opprobrium of ‘renegadism’ in Romanian nationalist eyes. Thus Octavian Rebreanu used the name *Rebreán Olivér* as a Honvéd officer, while his father, *Vasile Rebreanu* in Romanian, signed his name as *Rebréan László* under a request.<sup>290</sup> But written bilingualism and Magyar expectations only added a further dimension to an existing indecision. In 1909, the same author’s name appeared as *Crișan* under his paper in

286 Branîște, *Amintiri din închisoare*, 5.

287 On the *-u(l)/Ø* alternation in old Romanian personal names and the possible alternative origins of the *-u* ending, Alexandru Graur, ‘Les Noms roumains en *-u(l)*’, *Romania* 52 (1926): 495–504 and Maria Cosniceanu, ‘Nume de familie românești cu și fără articolul *-l*’ [Romanian family names with and without the *-l* article], *Limba Română* [Chișinău] 17 (2007), nos 10–12, 170–1.

288 Graur, *Nume de persoane*, 97.

289 Cf. Domnița Tomescu, *Gramatica numelor proprii în limba română* [The grammar of proper nouns in Romanian] (Bucharest: ALL, 1998), 189–90.

290 Niculae Gheran, *Tinărul Rebreanu* [The young Rebreanu] (Bucharest: Albatros, 1986), 80 and Cornel Sigmirean, *Elevi din Transilvania la Academia Militară de Honvezi ‘Ludovika’ din Budapesta* [Transylvanian pupils at the ‘Ludovika’ Honvéd Military Academy in Budapest] (Sibiu: Astra Museum, 2013), 98.

one Romanian educational magazine and as *Crişanu* in another, perhaps depending on the editors' moods or principles.<sup>291</sup> That contemporaries often omitted this erudite *-u/-iu* from the names of people who retained it suggests that it was seldom actually pronounced: 'Oniţ' (= *Oniţiu*)<sup>292</sup>, 'Puşcar' (= *Puşcariu*),<sup>293</sup> 'Barcian' (= *Barcianu*),<sup>294</sup> 'Cipar' (= *Cipariu*)<sup>295</sup> etc. In some cases, like the name of the leading Romanian political commentator George Bariţ/Bariţiu, it is still an open-ended question whether it should be written out.

The rest of etymological features affected fewer names. In some names where an original /i/ was spelt <e> (*Ternovan*), <o> (*Borgovan*) or <u> (*Bursan*), spelling pronunciations would prevail with the etymological spellings preserved. Thus the conductor Iosif Velceanu, born in 1874 in the Banat village of Văliug/Franzdorf/Ferencfalva, mentioned that the first vowel of his family name had earlier been spelt with a special letter of Romanian Cyrillic script, <ѣ>, corresponding to later <â>, and that it had been pronounced *Vâlceanu* (derived from the place name *Vâlcea*).<sup>296</sup> Many families, two important families of intellectuals, the Muresianus and Densusianus among them, kept unchanged the etymological spelling of /f/ in their names. The Banat-born General Michael Trapsia would even revert to the etymological spelling of his baptismal certificate at an advanced age (somewhere before 1893), which he then combined with the German form of his first name.<sup>297</sup> In most such cases, the bearers and their environments later assigned a phonetic value to <i>, starting to pronounce [ʃi] or [tsi] (in the case of <ti>) what was originally a digraph, and to restore consistency, the name ended up with a cedilla under

291 *Reuniunea învăţătorilor* 1909, nos 11 and 12 and *Biserică şi şcoală* 1909, no. 29.

292 Virgil Oniţiu, the director of the Orthodox gymnasium in Brassó. From a letter by Andrei Bârseanu (himself at least once referred to as *Bârsean*) to Valeriu Branişte, Brassó, 13/26 April 1911; in Valeriu Branişte, *Correspondenţă* [Correspondence], vol. 4, 1911–1918 (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2001), 51.

293 Nicolae Cristea, *File de memorialistică: jurnal* [Pages of memoir: diary] (Sibiu: Tribuna, 1998), 187. From an 1898 entry.

294 Obituary of Daniil Popovici Barcianu, teacher of the Hermannstadt Orthodox seminary and the ASTRA girls' school; in *Libertatea* 8/21 February 1903.

295 *Ibid.*, 8/21 October 1905.

296 Iosif Velceanu, *Autobiografie* [Autobiography] (Timişoara: Tipografia Românească, 1937), 15.

297 Irina Marin, 'The Formation and Allegiance of the Romanian Military Elite Originating from the Banat Military Border', PhD thesis, 2009, 219 (University College London School, of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies); available at <http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/18562/1/18562.pdf>.

<s> or <t>. It seems that the pronunciation of such written forms already hesitated around the turn of the century, but Nicolae Iorga, whose wife had been born in Brassó, was for one well aware that Iosif Siegescu, professor at Budapest university, was ‘in fact’ *Șeghescu*, the Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia/Karlsburg lawyer and nationalist activist Rubin Patiția—*Patiță* and Metropolitan Ioan Mețianu—*Mețan*.<sup>298</sup>

The <c> spelling of /ts/ had its origin in the old Ciparian orthography and transformed few family names. Chief among them was the name of Cipariu himself. In 1873, discussing the confused state of Romanian orthography, the great linguist Hugo Schuchardt rightly inquired about ‘le moyen, par exemple, de savoir que M. Cipariu prononce son nom à l’allemande, non pas à l’italienne?’<sup>299</sup> At the turn of the century, educated Romanians still knew that he had pronounced his name *Țipariu* (‘in the German way’, that is) and they might also know that it originally sounded *Țipar* or *Țâpăr*, from *țipar*, the Romanian for eel.<sup>300</sup> Around the same time, the Circa and Ciura families continued to use the /ts/ pronunciation of their names and corrected those who pronounced them with /tʃ/, as one would have expected.<sup>301</sup>

The shift to a thoroughly new orthography in the 1880s and the qualified survival of the Latinate norm mixed up the spelling of a large part of family names for decades to come, and exactly when nationalist reasoning strategically needed to show up a firm tradition against the real and perceived encroachment of administrative practices. Notably, the Hungarian transcription of family names in documents was the single aspect of Dualist Hungary’s official handling of personal names that Romanian nationalists most chafed at in these decades. In a memorandum drafted in 1910, Ioan Mișu included among Romanian minority politicians’ conditions to enter into negotiations with Prime Minister

298 Iorga, *Oameni cari au fost*, vol. 2 (Bucharest: Fundația pentru literatură și artă ‘Regele Carol II’, 1935), 183 and 98 and idem, *Neamul românesc*, vol. 1, 46.

299 Hugo Schuchardt, ‘De l’Orthographe du roumain’, *Romania* 2 (1873): 78.

300 Jianu, 33 and Ioan Pătruț, *Nume de persoane și nume de locuri românești* [Romanian personal names and place names] (Bucharest: Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1984), 104.

301 Lapedatu, *Memorii și amintiri*, 28 and 31 and Tăslăuanu, *Spovedanii*, 193.



István Tisza the point that ‘the names of Romanian parties will not be distorted in bureaucratic usage, but will be used and written as pronounced’. Tisza left the following note on the margin: ‘Where does that happen?’<sup>302</sup> In fact, everywhere in the state administration, at courts, in documents and in Hungarian newspapers, the family names of ethnic Romanians were most often spelt in Hungarian; ‘as pronounced’, but from a Magyar point of view.

## **2.8.2. The Heritage of Cyrillic Put in the Service of Nation Building: Magyars**

### **Write Romanian Family Names**

‘When you write me, write my name in Hungarian, because the people  
who are going to pass it to me don’t read Romanian and would give it to somebody else.’  
the volunteer Ion Jivcovici to his fellow-villager Dumitru Savescu  
from Babşa/Babsa, Temeswar, 1915<sup>303</sup>

Most Magyar officials had always transcribed Romanians’ names, and indeed they had little other conceivable option as long as Romanian was written in the Cyrillic script. The custom became more visible in the Dualist Era due to the extension of state bureaucracy with its largely Magyar personnel and thanks to the rising literacy rates. At the same time, although forms like *Sekszpir* (instead of *Shakespeare*) were still to be found in the Hungarian press, the rule was slowly crystallising that foreign family names should not be transcribed from another language that used the Roman script.<sup>304</sup> This rule was not applied to minority family names, although the returns to Frigyes Pesty’s questionnaire from 1864 prove that Magyar village secretaries active in Romanian-majority areas had by that early date already acquainted themselves with the basic rules of Romanian etymological orthography.<sup>305</sup> Thus the custom of transcription increasingly carried the latent message that official Hungary deliberately ignored the spellings of its

<sup>302</sup> Kemény, ed., vol. 5 (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1971), 365.

<sup>303</sup> In Simion Dănilă, ‘Scrisori din Bătaia Mare’ [Letters from the Big Fight], *Patrimonium Banaticum* 2 (2003): 171.

<sup>304</sup> In general, the transcription of family names between languages using the same writing system is very rare today, but it has been the rule in Latvian since the mid-nineteenth century; Velta Rūķe-Draviņa, *The Standardization Process in Latvian: 16<sup>th</sup> Century to the Present* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1977), 95.

<sup>305</sup> OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A.

minority languages, indeed that it refused to accept the claims of national minorities to cultivate their own literacies and in particular the claims of non-Magyar intelligentsias to set cultural norms for their co-linguals. These hidden meanings found blunt expression in 1904 in the following words of Independentist MP for Nagyvárad Béla Barabás:

And then there are the names on inscriptions. You only wonder what kind of convoluted inscriptions there are on certain shop signs. Everyone should write his name as it is pronounced. We have now amended the law on the civil registry, steps should also be taken to this effect, and it should not be tolerated that anyone should spell his name differently from the way it is entered into the registry and as it is pronounced in plain, honest Hungarian.<sup>306</sup>

The long-standing tradition of the practice of transcription, which preceded any solid, Roman-based Romanian writing system by centuries, naturalised it in the eyes of Magyar officials and intellectuals, whilst the—often overstated—references to the chaotic condition of Romanian spelling served as further justification. This practice can be regarded as hegemonic to the extent that the people concerned signed their names using the Hungarian forms out of routine rather than in conscious acquiescence. In the early period, Romanian names regularly appeared in Hungarian spellings in Romanian texts, not only the Hungarian-influenced ones and quite independent from ideological stances. A village secretary from Târnava/Küküllő/Kokel County, who responded to Pesty's questionnaire in Romanian and who revealed an unusual awareness of the political significance of names by claiming that the Hungarian name of his village, *Erdőalja*, was just a late translation of the original *Subpădure*, nevertheless spelt the names of the local mayor and his informant on local microtoponymy in the Hungarian forms 'Koszté Porfirie' and 'Szöts Iftimie'.<sup>307</sup>

The principle that the transcribing of family names was unacceptable had already been contended for by George Bariț in 1866. At the 1866 elections, it caused an uproar among Magyar and Saxon burghers of Orăștie that the Romanian town-hall official en-

306 Béla Barabás's speech in the debate of the 1904 bill on primary schools (Lex Berzeviczy), on 10 August 1904; *Képviselőházi napló* 1901, vol. 28, 369.

307 OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel 37.

trusted with the task wrote their names in a Romanian etymological spelling on the electoral rolls: *Ghentii* (= *Gönczi*), *Siencu* (= *Schenk*), *Ghiurfî* (= *Györffi*), *Siuleru* (= *Schuller*). Commenting upon the affair, Bariț disapproved of the official's way of proceeding, but did not refrain himself from placing the spelling of names in an imagined demographical framework. For centuries, he argued, Magyar public functionaries had been consciously Magyarising the names of the Romanian masses in the service of their own, well thought-out national goals. Therefore, if Romanians follow the Hungarian/German spelling of Hungarian/German names, that will not only be a courtesy gesture, but will also make manifest the peaceful nature of their nationalism and their demographic self-sufficiency:

We, Romanians, should all the more keep Hungarian and Saxon family names the way they write them with their own spellings since we have never thought about recruiting Magyars, Saxons or Germans to augment our numbers.<sup>308</sup>

He urged his fellow-Romanians to stick with one surname and to pass it on in an unaltered form. An article from 1892 in the Temeswar paper *Luminătorul* likewise called upon artisans and shopkeepers to put the proper Romanian forms of their names on shop signs.<sup>309</sup> It suggested that the majority who were unversed in the intricacies of spelling should consult their apprentices or a teacher for help, and instructed them that while given names were translatable, family names were not.<sup>310</sup> It was the exact same phrasing of this principle that Constantin Lucaciu, Greek Catholic priest in Királydaróc/Craidorolț, used for rebuking the gendarmerie headquarters of Arad, which had apparently asked him to give the names of his parishioners in Hungarian; his parish was not entitled to perform translations, he wrote, and besides, only given names can be translated, fam-

308 Bariț, *Cum se scria connumele neromanesci*. See also the gymnasium teacher Vasile Dumbravă's manual of orthography on the spelling of foreign names; V. Dumbrava, *Ortografia română în actuala sa stare de dezvoltare* [Romanian orthography in the present stage of its evolution] (Beiuș: s. n., 1897), 36.

309 Cf. Iorga, *Neamul românesc*, vol. 1, 336, where Iorga is dismayed to find Romanian shopkeepers' names spelt in Hungarian in Dobruja, Hunyad County.

310 *Luminătorul* 1892, no. 33. Quoted by Oallde, 151.

ily names cannot.<sup>311</sup> Alas, those families who had taken Bariț's advice in 1866 and insisted on keeping the spelling of their names were likely to bring them into conflict with the new, phonemic orthographic norm twenty years later.

The diffusion of Romanian spellings was slowed down by the weakness and later the gradual retreat of the Romanian school networks in the face of Hungarian state schools, which not only did not teach Romanian spelling, but as a rule also transcribed their Romanian pupils' names. Starting with the 1908/9 school year, Romanian confessional elementary schools were made to enter pupils' names in class registers in the 'family name + given name' order, and either by misunderstanding or under pressure from local dignitaries, some Romanian schools also lapsed into writing names in the Hungarian way.<sup>312</sup> Reacting to this latter practice, the standing committee of the archdiocesan Orthodox teachers' conference declared it 'something contrary to natural laws and fought off by all who work to promote culture among the people'. They also added the highly debatable statement that 'Surnames are in all civilised countries written in the spelling of the people to which the individual belongs.'<sup>313</sup> The editors of *Libertatea* also advised Romanian teachers that the new regulation did not require them to write *Lászku János*, *Cserbicsán Vazul*, *Boncza Elek*, *Szabó Győző* and *Kerpenyesi Sándor*, but left them free to write *Lascu János*, *Cerbicean Vazul*, *Bonța Elek*, *Săbău Győző* and *Cărpinișian Sándor*, the family names spelt according to the standard Romanian phonemic orthography and the Hungarian forms of given names.<sup>314</sup>

311 Viorel Ciubotă, Bujor Dulgău, Doru Radosav and Sergiu Vasil-Marinescu, *Lupta românilor din județul Satu Mare pentru făurirea statului național unitar român: documente 1848–1918* [The struggle of Romanians in Satu Mare County for the creation of a unitary Romanian nation state: documents, 1848–1918] (Bucharest: Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului din Republica Socialistă România, 1989), 384.

312 *Libertatea* 23 August/5 September 1908 and Grigore Sima [Onisifor Ghibu], *Școala românească din Transilvania și Ungaria: dezvoltarea ei istorică și situația ei actuală* [Romanian school in Transylvania and Hungary: its historical development and present situation] (Bucharest: Göbl, 1915), 44. State school inspectors sometimes tried to enforce the Hungarian transcription of family names earlier. One such episode is related from the Szilágyssomlyó/Șimleu Silvaniei Romanian girls' endowment school from 1895 in Augustin Vicaș, *XXV ani [!] din viața Reuniunii Femeilor Române Sălăjene 1881–1906* [25 years from the life of the Sălaj Romanian Women's Association, 1881–1906] (Șimleu-Silvaniei: Victoria, 1906), 45–6.

313 From the Committee's report dated 8–9 October 1910; Onisifor Ghibu, *Cercetări privitoare la situația învățământului nostru primar și la educația populară* [Investigations to the state of our primary schooling and popular education] (Sibiu: Tipografia arhidiecezane, 1911), 6.

314 *Libertatea* 23 August/5 September 1908.

In a letter sent from the Temeswar barracks in February 1917, the volunteer Ion Jivcovi captured in just two words the onslaught that the Hungarian language and spelling had made in primary schools in the last pre-war years.<sup>315</sup> Asking his fellow-countryman from Babşa/Babsa in the Banat to address the envelope in Hungarian spelling, he referred to it as the ‘children’s orthography’.<sup>316</sup> It is likely that a new state school had been established in his village, where the Hungarian state had settled three hundred fifty Magyar colonists in the 1900s, but the local Romanian school may have also been Magyarised in the wake of the Lex Apponyi. In any case, Jivcovi had still learned to write in Romanian, while the youngest generation were already accustomed to the Hungarian spelling.<sup>317</sup>

In the administrative sphere, Romanian citizens’ names had little chance of being consistently spelt in a Romanian fashion outside of Saxon counties and communes with Romanian village secretaries. With the introduction of civil registry, the Hungarian spelling of Romanian family names gained further ground. Registrars were advised to enter the names of newly-wed couples according to the transcripts that priests issued from the parish registers, and children were to inherit the spelling of their fathers’ names. It is likely, however, that a good many Magyar registrars automatically transcribed the Romanian names from parish register transcripts.

The question of how to spell minority family names in the civil registry only turned up in the bulletin of the Ministry of the Interior in 1905. It is indicative that the registrars seeking advice from the Ministry did directly address the spelling of non-Hungarian names in general, but more specifically those ‘Hungarian family and place names that have been entered into the parish registers of some churches according to the spellings of

315 Berecz, *Politics of Early Language Teaching*, 125–32.

316 Dănilă, 184.

317 On the settlement in Babşa, János László, *A Bukovinában élő (élt) magyarság és kirajzásainak története 1762-től 1914-ig az első világháború kitöréséig* [The history of Bukovina Magyars and their swarming out between 1762 and 1914, the outbreak of the First World War] (Kolozsvár: Kriterion, 2005) and Nicolae Săcară and Vasile Cica, ‘Gospodăria maghiară din Babşa de la Muzeul Banatului’ [Hungarian household from Babşa in the Museum of the Banat], *Tibiscus: Etnografie* 3 (1978): 167–80.

the respective nationalities and often also altered to sound foreign'. Such tendentious framing was meant to cast a systematic intervention into the written forms of names as demographic self-defence against the intrigues of minority clergies.

The response came in the form of a 'statement of principle' by the Minister, who decided that names that were 'Hungarian according to common knowledge' and that figured 'in distorted forms' in parish registers should be restored to their Hungarian forms. In the case of a 'more glaring distortion', the non-Hungarian written variants were to be displayed between parentheses for the sake of disambiguation. The Minister's directive was based upon the reasoning already encountered in my chapter on first name policies: the passage of the law that required that the civil registry be kept in Hungarian was taken to imply that names should be also entered 'in Hungarian'.<sup>318</sup> As a hint for the sort of names that the Minister had in mind, the text indicated three Romanian family names based on Hungarian loanwords: *Sas*, *Sabo* (in fact, *Săbău*) and *Suciu*.<sup>319</sup> The criterion of 'common knowledge', reiterated several times, implicitly meant the common knowledge of the Magyar elite, something that gave the decree a potentially boundless elasticity, for in the logic of certain county officials, any name that had ever existed in Hungary in its post-1867 form was necessarily a Hungarian name. (A similar ordinance was sent out to civil registrars in Alsace-Lorraine in 1899, but behind the similar wording, there lay a more modest purpose: to eradicate the fashionable acute accents from the final *e*-s of German names.<sup>320</sup>) Thereupon, registrars in Hungary had one more option regarding the written form of certain family names. A name that appeared as *Socaciu* in the parish register could be spelt *Socaciu* or *Socaci* following a traditional or a phonemic

318 Decree 24.233/1901 of the Ministry of the Interior; *Belügyi Közlöny* 6 (1901): 76–7.

319 The Minister also cites an hypothetical written Romanian form *Chitiu*, allegedly derived from a Hungarian *Kis*, which is all too unlikely.

320 Lévy, 434.

Romanian spelling, transcribed into Hungarian as *Szokács* or re-etymologised into *Szakács*.<sup>321</sup>

In 1903, in opposition to this vaguely worded guideline, the Romanian Greek Catholic archbishop ordered the priests under his jurisdiction to strictly adhere to the spellings found in the parish registers when writing in any language, also urging them to familiarise state registrars with Romanian orthography. It is telling of the still widespread relaxed attitude about spelling and perhaps of the habit of switching between spelling variants that the archbishop felt it necessary to repeat his admonition four years later.<sup>322</sup> In rebuttal of the archbishop's second circular, the new Minister of the Interior Gyula Andrássy Jr. reaffirmed the validity of his predecessor's 'statement of principle', again naming the 'restoring of distorted names' as a goal.<sup>323</sup>

It contributed to the politicisation of the matter that especially a young middle-class or upwardly mobile Romanian could expect to be interrogated several times by a Magyar teacher or clerk about the pronunciation of his name and to be faced at least once with the choice whether to resign to it being re-spelt or to run into conflict with an authority over its spelling. Teachers of Hungarian schools were sometimes encouraged to teach minority children the 'Hungarian pronunciation' of their family names, whatever that meant.<sup>324</sup> But the possibility of a clash arose especially during higher studies, if a young man's name as it stood in his baptismal certificate confronted with the spelling that his professors thought proper. Attitudes probably varied, and the Faculty of Catholic Theology in Budapest introduced the future writer Ion Agârbiceanu's name in the faultless 'phonetic' form *Agârbicean* into his credit book, whereas a few years earlier it figured as

321 Another widespread Romanian family name that probably has a Hungarian loanword as its origin in most instances: *socaci* and *szakács* mean 'cook'. The example is taken from the archives of Caransebeș. It seems that in 1907 and 1908, the Caransebeș town hall 'corrected' the family names of craftsmen who applied for trade licences. Thus the locksmith who signed his name as *George Socaciu* (under a request in Hungarian) became *Szokács György* in the response; ANR Caransebeș, Fond Primăria orașului Caransebeș 47/1907–08, 45 and 109.

322 *Răvașul* 5 (1907): 25.

323 *Brassóvármegye Hivatalos Lapja* 5 (1907): 375.

324 Láng, *A magyar beszéd tanításának*, 101 and Gyula Berecz, 'A beszéd- és értelemgyakorlatok módszeres kezelése a nem-magyar tannyelvű iskolák I-ső osztályában' [The methodical treatment of speech and mind exercises in the first year of schools with non-Hungarian medium], *Néptanítók Lapja* 12 (1879): 208.

*Agarbiceanu* in the yearbooks of the Romanian gymnasium of Blaj.<sup>325</sup> At the Faculty of Humanities, however, Axente Banciu could only keep the spelling of his name (pronounced [ˈbant͡ʃu]) unchanged by falsely insisting, when cross-examined by Professor Pál Gyulai, that it sounded [ˈbont͡siu], as it would in Hungarian.<sup>326</sup>

After finding their names misspelt in their matura certificates at the Calvinist gymnasium of Orăștie, the later prime minister and president Petru Groza and the future Greek Catholic cathedral provost Nicolae Brînzeu went to complain to the director, Ferenc Simon. The episode, as related in Groza's memoirs, highlights the (perhaps feigned) outrage of the high school president after his eminent students displayed their loyalty to another high culture, one which his own circles tended to diabolise. Incidentally, the spellings quoted by Groza (in particular the circumflex on *brînza*) do not seem to be Hungarian transcriptions, but rather approximations to meaningful Romanian words, notably the ones mentioned in the text.

– Sir, in this certificate my name is spelt with an accent on *o*: ‘Gróza’. But I am called Groza, without an accent. In our Ciparian orthography, this accent on the letter *o* makes it sound *oa*, which would also mean that my name is not Groza, but Groaza.<sup>327</sup> Now, that sounds bad to us, and I wouldn't like to carry that name through a lifetime!

The old director looked at me astonished through his dazzling glasses, followed by a moment of awkward silence. But seeing that my friend Brînzeu was also holding his certificate in his hand and anticipating another, similar surprise, he snapped at him:

– And you?

With a physiognomy that betrayed the smile of the later Jesuit, Brînzeu quietly replied:

– Sir, in my certificate there is written ‘Brînza’. But my name is Brînzeu. I have to protest against such distortion of my pure Romanian name, the more so as the word ‘brînza’ means in Romanian what in Hungarian is called ‘túró’,<sup>328</sup> which I also can't bear a lifetime.

Hearing this, the old director truly awoke from the bewilderment into which he had fallen and yelled out to us in rage:

– You treacherous snakes! I have cherished and nursed you in my bosom for eight years and now you are proving yourselves to be some venomous Vlachs, enemies of the Hungarian nation!

And he threw us out of his office, so that we were left with those certificates and with those names, made official and later copied into all our documents. For a long time, we remained ‘groază’ and ‘brînză’.<sup>329</sup>

325 Zăciu, unpaginated annexe.

326 Axente Banciu, *Valul amintirilor* [The flood of memories] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Universitară Clujeană, 1998), 215.

327 *Groază* means ‘horror’.

328 Cottage cheese, Quark.

329 Groza, 37–8.



The transcription of citizens' family names into Hungarian could offer a practical advantage, namely to make their pronunciation clear; not a negligible aspect in a public administration chiefly staffed by Magyars and with Hungarian as its main working language. The Romanian press in Hungary, too, sometimes spelt Hungarian family names in the Romanian way with the same intent.<sup>330</sup> But spelling a Romanian name in Hungarian was no simple business either, especially if the name bearer was illiterate. A clerk faced with this task had two options. He could transcribe a Romanian written form as found in another document, but he could easily get lost if various sources spelt the same name differently and if he was unversed in the intricacies of Romanian spellings. He could also try to put down the name by ear, but the spellings thus produced could be encumbered with dialect features and quite hard to match with the forms written by other clerks. There were rather tendencies than rules for the Hungarian spelling of the Romanian vowels missing from Hungarian.

The practice was inconsistent until well after the introduction of the civil registry. Some clerks spelt the family name in Hungarian and the given name in Romanian (*Zsura Iuon*), while others did the inverse (*Jura János*). Still others produced half-transcribed forms, mixing elements from Romanian and Hungarian spellings, not to mention the frequent German interferences. A name as simple as *Dubar* was written in at least three different fashions, all intended as Hungarian, in the court records of the case of defendant Mihai Dubar from Chișcădaga, and this constituted the norm rather than the exception.<sup>331</sup> To make matters worse, an erratic Romanian hand could also easily produce forms that made the reader wonder about the pronunciation of a name, as Hungarian and German spellings had a permanent influence on the already uncertain Romanian orthographic practice. In 1908, an anonymous correspondent to the educational journal *Biserica și*

<sup>330</sup> For example, *Libertatea* spelt the name of a Magyar councillor in the Orăștie/Szászváros/Broos town hall as *Șüchei* in their issue of 5/18 January 1902, but as *Sükei* in the following number. In 1904, Minister Albert Berzeviczy's name usually appears in the Hungarian form, but sometimes as *Berzeviți*, probably to indicate the pronunciation.

<sup>331</sup> ANR Deva, Fond Tribunalul Hunedoara 1/1905.

*Școala* scolded a priest who had spelt the same boy's family name in three different ways in three parish register transcripts (as *Macicovescu*, *Mașcovescu* and *Macskovesku*) and formulated the more general lament that the forms in which peasants' names appeared on gables, grave signs, coffins and wayside crosses did not reflect either custom or the parish registers, but only the executing craftsmen's spellings.<sup>332</sup> When a Swabian mason painted a commissioning Romanian owner's name on the gable of his new house, as it often happened in the Banat, the result would likely reflect German influence.<sup>333</sup>

For intellectuals, cross-switching between Romanian and Hungarian spellings of one's family name, still feasible at the outset of the era, increasingly turned problematic and could expose the person to the charge of turn-coating from both sides. Dénes Pázmándy, Independentist MP and specialist of the 'Romanian question', exploited this rhetorical possibility in order to discredit two convicts of the Memorandum trial, Father Vasile Lucaciu and Ioan Rațiu, as Magyar defectors. It gives a touch of irony to his claims about these two men that, hardly unexpectedly for a pamphlet in French published in 1897, he himself appeared as 'D. de Pazmandy' on the cover of his work.

Lukacs→'Lukaciu', being born in a half-Hungarian village; was declared by his parents to be the son of Mr. Lukacs (Lucas), spelt in Hungarian. Our clergyman was thus called when he was still a professor at the Hungarian high school of Szatmár. The threat of a transfer to another city made him irredentist, and he immediately added a sonorous *u* to his Hungarian name (...) an *ab origine* Hungarian name. I was shown the old sign on the door of his law firm in Torda—and it read: Racz. Mr. Ratiu became a Hungarian-basher, and quite naturally appended the vibrating *u* to his name.<sup>334</sup>

332 'Scrisoarea' [The letter], *Biserica și Școala* 21 December 1908/3 January 1909, pp. 4–5.

333 Hans Gehl, *Wörterbuch der donauschwäbischen Lebensformen* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2005), 43.

334 'Lukacs→Lukaciu, étant né dans un village moitié hongrois; fut déclaré par ses parents être le fils de monsieur Lukacs (Lucas), orthographié à la hongroise. Quand il était encore professeur au lycée hongrois de Szathmar, l'abbé s'appelait ainsi. La menace d'un transfert dans une autre ville l'a rendu irrédentiste, et immédiatement il a ajouté un *u* sonore à son nom hongrois. (...) un nom *ab origine* hongrois. On m'a montré l'ancienne enseigne d'avocat qui figurait sur sa porte de l'étude de Torda—et j'y ai lu: Racz. M. Ratiu est devenu mangeur de hongrois, et tout naturellement s'est allongé le nom d'un *u* vibrant.' D. de Pazmandy, *La Vérité sur la situation des Roumains en Hongrie* [1897], 39. *Lucaciu/Lukács* is a duck-rabbit name. *Rác* is an old Hungarian ethnonym for a Serb (from *Rascia/Raška*). The Rațiu/Rác are an old Transylvanian noble family with the predicate *nagylaki*, and the first time a member of the family transcribed the name as *Ratiu* was in 1820. Jenő Rác, Hungarian minister of finance in 1946–7, apparently came from the same family; Ioan-Gheorghe Rațiu, 'Familia Rațiu de Noșlac: Dinastie culturală românească; 7 secole de istorie în slujba românilor' [The Rațiu de Noșlac/Nagylak family: a Romanian cultural dynasty; seven centuries in the service of Romanians], *Țara Bârsei*, new series 14 (2015): 54–7.

And vice versa: the fact that the Greek Catholic confessional school teacher Alexiu Pocoliu/Pokol Elek spelt his name in the Hungarian way after he turned into a millionaire and rubbed shoulders with the highest echelons of Magyar society, could seem a full-scale name change to a Magyar observer:

The former primary-school teacher was called Pokol by that time, after he had relinquished his Romanian-sounding old name, Pokoliu, since it behoved a peace-time squire to have a name that sounds Hungarian.<sup>335</sup>

By the turn of the century at the latest, a consensus had taken shape in the Romanian nationalist camp that accused of renegadism ethnic Romanians who regularly transcribed their family names to Hungarian in Hungarian texts and contexts, unless a Hungarian-influenced surname was in question. To stress their ‘treacherous’ assimilationism, the Romanian press of Hungary tendentiously referred to Grigore Moldovan and Gheorghe Alexici in the Hungarian fashion, as ‘Moldován Gergely’ and ‘Alexics György’, by the same move making a pointed exception to the contemporary practice of reversing the Hungarian name order in Romanian writing. *Tribuna* transcribed Ioan Ciocan’s name into ‘Csokán’ reporting on the praises that he received in Dezső Bánffy’s paper, although the Năsăud professor himself spelt his name *Ciocan* in both languages.<sup>336</sup> *Libertatea* used the same device to pillorise a Romanian priests who voted for the governmental candidate in the Torockó/Trăscău constituency at the 1910 elections.<sup>337</sup> The village secretary Căldăraru/Kaldarár in Rebreanu’s *Ion* and Dragonescu/Dragoneszku, a high official from Temeswar in József Méliusz’s wartime autobiographical novel *Város a ködben* (‘City in the

335 Gyula Krúdy, *Régi pesti históriák: színes írások* [Old stories from Pest: colourful writings] (Budapest: Magvető, 1964), 173. On Pokol, see Robert C. Tökölly, ‘Câteva date cu privire la familia Pokol de Lozna Mare’ [A few data concerning the Pokol de Lozna Mare family], *Revista Arhivei Maramureșene* 3 (2010): 175–84.

336 Ovidiu Emil Judean, ‘Solidarități politico-naționale la românii năsăudeni în timpul alegerilor parlamentare de la începutul secolului XX’ [National-political solidarities among the Romanians of Năsăud at the time of parliamentary elections in the early 20th century], in *Identitate și alteritate 5: studii de istorie politică și culturală* [Identity and alterity 5: studies of political and cultural history], eds Constantin Bărbulescu, Ioana Bonda, Cecilia Cârja, Ion Cârja and Ana Victoria Sima, 38 (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2011).

337 *Libertatea* 27 May/9 June 1910.

Mist') advanced their careers by spelling their names in Hungarian, but also drew the contempt of fellow-Romanians.<sup>338</sup>

The spelling of family names had become a staple source of grievance into which Romanian political actors recurrently tapped. In everyday routine situations, however, this sensitivity could coexist with a high degree of flexibility. In 1903, Father Ioan Moța, editor of *Libertatea*, attacked the mayor of Orăștie in the town council, rebuking him for the Germanised spelling *Kristea* in the passport that the town hall had issued for the engineer Silviu Cristea.<sup>339</sup> Moța's outrage seems studied or at least gratuitous, however, since around the same time, the Romanian notary of the town hall, Aurel Mureșan, habitually spelt town councillors' names in the most diverse ways on town assembly invitations, including ethnically 'transgressive' diacriticals.<sup>340</sup>

When inveighing against the ubiquitous transcription of Romanian family names into Hungarian, Romanian national activists could only gradually appeal to peasants' own sense, let alone family tradition, of the way their names should be spelt, since the majority of Romanian peasants remained illiterate until the end of the era and they made three X's instead of signing their names. In his already quoted opinion piece from 1866, that is before the Magyar menace had become acute, Bariț made a matter-of-fact assessment of the situation, exhorting the elite to pay more attention to their own names and the clergy to take care of the masses. Around that time, many parish registers were still kept in Cyrillic or had just shifted to the Roman script, which held out the promise of an onomastic blank slate.<sup>341</sup> By 1908, a discourse invoking the allegedly homogeneous tra-

338 Liviu Rebreanu, *Opere* [Works], vol. 4, *Ion* (Bucharest: Minerva, 1970), 445 and József Méliusz, *Város a ködben: regény* [City in the mist: a novel] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1982), 482. Rebreanu's printed text has *Kaldarar*, but the form *Kaldarâr* seems more congruous with his intentions. Cf. also *Libertatea* 23 August/5 September 1908.

339 *Libertatea* 18/31 October 1903.

340 ANR Deva, Fond Primăria orașului Orăștie 2/1903.

341 To give concrete examples from the Romanian Orthodox Church, the parish registers were still kept in Cyrillic in 1866 in Veched/Vekerd in Bihar County and in Tămășasa in Hunyad County, they shifted to the Roman script in that very year in Răcășdia (Krassó County), and around 1865 in the Romanian Orthodox parishes of the southern part of the later Temes County; Gheorghe Borza, Cornelia Borza and Maria Popescu Borza, *Tămășasa în documente, amintiri, datini, obiceiuri și tradiții* (s. l.: s. n., 2007), 16; Elena Csobai, 'Comunitatea românească din Veched' [The Romanian community of Vekerd/Veched], in *Modele de conviețuire în Europa Centrală și de Est* [Models of coexistence in Central and Eastern Europe], ed. Elena Rodica Colta, 178 (Arad: Complexul Muzeal Arad, 2000); Emilian Novacoviciu, *Monografia comunei Răcășdia jud. Caraș-Severin dela anul 1777–1922* [Monograph of Răcășdia commune in Caraș-Severin County, from 1777 to 1922] (Oravița: Weiss, 1923), 62 and Mircea Samo-

dition of Romanian spelling could barely cover the little tradition and no homogeneity. In that year, *Libertatea* presented as ‘national marks’ the diacriticals specific to the Romanian phonemic orthography and suggested that Romanian confessional school teachers, when they got unsure of the proper spelling of their pupils’ names, should check them in the parish registers, which the newspaper claimed as the depository of authentic spelling.<sup>342</sup> Of course, the marks thus elevated to national significance had been in usage for twenty-five years at best, and the teachers had a fair chance to find etymological or mixed spellings in the parish registers, especially in Uniate communities.

## 2.9. Dimensions of Family Name Magyarisation

‘who finds fifty kreuzer too much for changing his gross Wallachian name to a nice Hungarian one’  
*Áfgánistán Vártán ürminy-magyar kalendáriuma*<sup>343</sup>

Although enforced name changes will come to the fore in this chapter, it must be emphasised right in advance that the majority of family name Magyarisations in Dualist Hungary were carried out by free will. A massive phenomenon after 1880, it is perhaps appropriate to call family name Magyarisation a social movement, although it was weakly organised and involved no enduring or collective action. It certainly exceeded the intra-Carpathian Romanian elite’s tampering with their names both in its range and its timespan, and in pre-War Europe, it probably only fell behind the contemporaneous Fennicisation of Swedish family names in Finland.<sup>344</sup> The Hungarian movement was neither restricted to a small intellectual elite nor did it expand to large peasant masses, but it

ilă, *Viața numelui: contribuții la relațiile dintre numele de familie și localități raportat la români din Voivodina* [The life of names: contributions to the relationship between family name and home locality among Romanians of the Voivodina] (Seleuș: Comunitatea cultural-instructivă, 2002), 8.

<sup>342</sup> *Libertatea* 23 August/5 September 1908.

<sup>343</sup> ‘a ki sajnájja az ütven krajczárt, hogy azt a kamisz aláh nevit, egy szíp magyarral felcseríjje’; [Tivadar Törös], *Áfgánistán Vártán ürminy-magyar kalendáriuma: válogatott trifás iszmazgásakkal* [Afganistan Vartan’s Ungarian-Armenian olmenack: wi’ selectid amusin thurrts] (Szamosújvár: Törös, 1882), 41. The passage refers to Patrubby, an Armenian burgher of Szamosújvár, whose name was Romanian in its linguistic origin only (< R. *patru bani* ‘four denars’), but it does not seem that the same name had ever been borne by ethnic Romanian families. The author himself had Magyarised his name from *Marusán*.

<sup>344</sup> Sirkka Paikkala, *Se tavallinen Virtanen: Suomalaisen sukunimikäytännön modernisoituminen 1850-luvulta vuoteen 1921* [That ordinary Virtanen: modernising Finnish family names from the 1850s to 1921] (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2004), 797–809. For an overview of family-name-changing campaigns, Walkowiak, *Personal Name Policy*, 229–41 (encouraged) and 243–9 (enforced).

mainly comprised urban middle and working-class men of Jewish, German and Slovak backgrounds, who took up Hungarian names as a token of political and cultural loyalty and in order to facilitate their children's social acceptance as unhyphenated Magyars/Hungarians. The public discourse promoting the Magyarisation of family names shared the ideology of self-Magyarisation; a mainly upper-class social movement promoting voluntary identity change and the cultural realignment this entailed.<sup>345</sup>

The subject has grown into an established field of research in Hungary in the last decades. Victor Karády and István Kozma wrote the social and political history of the movement, while a slim book by Tamás Farkas (the abridged version of the author's doctoral thesis) provides a linguistically oriented history of family name Magyarisations and other family name changes in modern Hungary.<sup>346</sup> Since 2004, Farkas has also headed a research group dedicated to the topic within the Institute of Hungarian Linguistics and Finno-Ugric Studies at ELTE, Budapest.<sup>347</sup> Further studies have analysed historical family name Magyarisations regionally, locally or specifically among Jews, but no research has focussed upon Transylvania or changes of Romanian family names.

The present chapter does not undertake to survey all family name changes in the territory under study. The majority of them, carried out by Jews and Catholics on German names, offer little in the way of specific regional features, and their proper assessment would require a cross-country analysis. Many Armenians also Magyarised their Armenian and Turkic surnames, but largely preceding the Dualist Era, and precise data are scarcely available from that period.<sup>348</sup> Here I will only look at Magyarisations of Romanian family names and family name Magyarisations by Transylvanian Saxons, but ir-

345 As against forcible, administrative Magyarisation. This distinction is analogous to the two meanings of 'Russification', *obruset'* and *obrusit'*, as explained in Edward C. Thaden, 'Introduction', in *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855–1914*, idem ed., 7 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981).

346 Viktor Karády and István Kozma, *Név és nemzet: családnév-változtatás, névpolitika és nemzetiségi erőviszonyok Magyarországon a feudalizmustól a kommunizmusig* [Name and nation: name change, name politics and ethnic power relations in Hungary from Feudalism to Communism] (Budapest: Osiris, 2002) and Tamás Farkas, *Családnév-változtatás Magyarországon* [Family name change in Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 2009).

347 At the time of writing, their site was available at <http://nevvaltoztatatas.elte.hu/>. The literature of the field was also reviewed by Tamás Farkas, 'The research of official family name changes in Hungary', *Onomastica Uralica*, vol. 7 (2008): 87–102.

348 Szongott, *A magyarhoni őrmény családok*.

respective of the name changers' places of residence; although around eighty per cent of my material comes from the counties studied.

Alongside the popular drive towards family name Magyarisation, support from the state also acted as an important catalyst, and its role becomes decisive when turning to the segment of cases I am investigating. State involvement began in 1881, when—upon petition from a certain Central Association for Name Magyarisation—the Chamber of Deputies passed an amendment to the stamp act that reduced the stamp duty on name changes from five forints to fifty kreuzer.<sup>349</sup> Hence people with newly acquired Hungarian family names were sometimes contemptuously dubbed 'fifty-kreuzer Magyars'.<sup>350</sup> Later in Germany, the *völkisch* organisation Deutscher Ostmarkenverein seems to have picked up the idea from Hungary and got the Prussian government to make the process of Germanising one's family name free of charge under certain circumstances.<sup>351</sup>

This relief triggered a massive rise in name changes for a few years and following a slight slag, the decade leading up to the Millennium saw their number stabilised at seven-eight hundred cases per year.<sup>352</sup> Then came Dezső Bánffy's premiership in 1895, who had been among the few high-ranking officials who had already reacted enthusiastically to the call of the Central Association for Name Magyarisation back in 1881 and had founded its local chapter in Dés/Dej.<sup>353</sup> As prime minister, Bánffy launched an unprecedented propaganda campaign in order to get surnames Magyarised in that sector of society that he could most directly influence: state employees. The government took arrangements to speed up the name-changing procedure and its ministers, who had already promoted the cause through circulating announcements by associations, now addressed public servants

349 Simon Telkes, *Hogy magyarosítsuk a vezetéknéveket?* [How to Magyarise family names?], 2nd, rev. and enl. ed. (Budapest: Pesti Könyvnyomda, 1898), 74.

350 The tag changed into 'one-crown Magyars' after the monetary reform of 1892, as attested by Pavel Jumanca, the sometime teacher of the Caransebeş Orthodox primary school; Pavel Jumanca, *Amintiri: anii tinereții; învățător de școală românească în vremea stăpânirii ungurești* [Memoirs: the years of youth; Romanian school teacher under Hungarian rule] (Timișoara: David Press Print, 2011), 300.

351 Bering, 118 and Tims, 138.

352 Telkes, 76–7.

353 *Ibid.*, 71.

on their own behalf, calling on them to Magyarise their non-Hungarian family names and to encourage their subordinates to do the same.<sup>354</sup> The proviso rejecting pressure could not mask the threat of coercion lurking in these decrees and ordinances, brought home by the equivocal, but ominous title of the brochure that the government enclosed to them: ‘Instructions for Name Magyarisation’ (*Utasítás a névmagyarosításhoz*), originally a chapter from Simon Telkes’s book that gave practical advice to people wishing to Magyarise their names.<sup>355</sup> True, the government could contend that they applied no compulsion. However, although ministries regularly sent out implicit or explicit endorsements for companies and publications, there was at least one critical difference in this case, namely that such information did not usually reach out to the rank-and-file personnel. Sending instructions for family name Magyarisation down the command hierarchy all the way to the bottom ranks amounted to little less than a camouflaged attempt to browbeat public employees, who had been drilled to receive commands and obey them.

Magyars in the House of Commons indirectly owned up to this interpretation on 29 January 1898, when the Transylvanian Saxon MP Oskar Meltzl questioned Minister of Commerce Ernő Dániel. Meltzl reported his latest information about enforced Magyarisation carried out on railwaymen’s family names in Transylvania: ‘It has occurred, for example in Nagyszeben, Segesvár, Földvár and at other stations of the state railways in the Transylvanian parts, that local station masters or other officials gathered their subordinates, directly called upon them to Magyarise their names, (*Exclamations from the extreme left: They did it right!*) and undertook to complete the necessary formalities, trying to persuade them with threats and coaxing.’<sup>356</sup> The minister ensured the Saxon MP that

354 Karády and Kozma, 65 and 71 and Telkes, 84–6.

355 Cf. Karády and Kozma, 69–70, where the authors suggest that the government resorted to harsher methods after the first volley of calls met with a poor response among public employees.

356 This episode is reproduced from the minutes of the House of Commons in Kemény, ed., vol. 2, 656 and is also presented and interpreted at length by Karády and Kozma, 71–4. During the year 1898, eight Romanian and six Saxon railwaymen Magyarised their family names in Hermannstadt, four Saxons and three Romanians in Schäßburg, and further railwaymen dropped their German, Slavic or Hungarian (*Markó*) family names in both places. It is not clear whether by ‘Földvár’, Meltzl referred to Feldioara/Marienburg/Földvár or Feldioara Secuiască/Székelyföldvár. In the former, only two railwaymen Magyarised their Romanian family names that year, while the latter, an important hub of the railway network, mustered six Romanian name changers.



there existed no ministerial decree that explicitly ordered railway employees to change their names, but the opposition left no doubt that they welcomed the forced Magyarisation of family names and attacked Meltzl for objecting to it.

This government intervention, whose behind-the-scene details are unknown,<sup>357</sup> produced an all-time record of 6,722 family name changes in 1898.<sup>358</sup> This does not mean that coercion did not occasionally take place before Bánffy's tenure. In 1884, the Greek Catholic priest of Oláhláposbánya/Băiut, in Bánffy's Szolnok-Doboka County, reported to his protopope on the district administrator's threat that he would send packing to Germany and Romania any German or Romanian who would not Magyarise their names.<sup>359</sup> This represents a rare case where name changes in the public sector can with high probability be connected to pressure from an official, since within two years, fourteen workers of the nearby Treasury mines and smelteries in fact Magyarised their German and Slavic family names.<sup>360</sup> Certainly much depended on the patriotic zeal of local magistrates and power holders, and Simon Telkes, by that time likely the only person behind the Central Association for Name Magyarisation,<sup>361</sup> himself made appreciative references to officials, like a public prosecutor from Arad or the Detta/Deta district administrator in the Banat, who 'initiated' or 'carried out' the name changes of whole families, leaving the reader to speculate about the exact meaning of these words.<sup>362</sup>

The data attest to a palpable social imbalance: the 1898 lists of family name Magyarisers teem with humble public employees like railwaymen and gendarmes, but few

357 The archives of the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior from the years between 1897 and 1918 are kept in Cluj and are inaccessible to researchers.

358 Karády and Kozma, 75.

359 The letter is published in Simion Retegan, *În umbra clopotnițelor: școlile confesionale greco-catolice din dieceza Gherlei între 1875–1885; mărturii documentare* [In the shadow of belfries: Greek Catholic confessional schools in the Gherla/Szamosújvár Diocese between 1875 and 1885; documentary evidence] (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2008), 442.

360 They can be found *apud* Szent-Iványi as miners and metalworkers from Oláhláposbánya, Horgospataka and Rohajidja.

361 An investigation from 1909 revealed that the Association had no real leadership, had not convened an assembly since its founding in 1881 and could not produce a record of its members. Based on this evidence, the Ministry of the Interior declared the much publicised and seemingly influential association automatically dissolved, forbidding Telkes to pass himself off as its head; Decree 94.618/1909 of the Ministry of the Interior, *Belügyi Közlöny* 14 (1909): 563.

362 Telkes, 90. Andor Mészáros cites the example of Václav Stehlík, a Czech public official in the Banat, who was prompted by his superiors to Magyarise his family name into *Kis*, and who lived under the name Václav Kýsý after retiring from service; Andor Mészáros, *A cseh elem a magyar polgárosodásban* [The Czech component in the modernisation of Hungary] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat; Piliscsaba: PPKE BTK Szlavisztikai Intézet, 2011), 124.

higher or middle-ranking officials appear on them, in a striking contrast to the by and large middle-class recruitment of the self-Magyarising movement. Browsing through public sector directories from the following years, one gets the impression that only a small minority of the upper ranks Magyarised their surnames in the civil service. And while not only private gendarmes and NCOs, but even trainee gendarmes took on Hungarian names by the hundreds in these years, which suggests a heavy pressure from above, the Kolozsvár Gendarmerie District had in 1900 officers by the distinctively non-Hungarian family names *Éderer, Proch, Raith, Reschner, Pfeiffer, Krausz, Klatrobecz, Saymann* and *Spalla*.<sup>363</sup>

All this makes it clear that, at least from a certain salary bracket upward, by no means every civil servant had to Magyarise their non-Hungarian names. Neither was resistance necessarily futile, although it certainly did not further the official's career. In his daughter's telling, a Máramaros Zipser forestry clerk stationed in Sebeş by the name of Schmidt was able to retain his German family name by virtue of his perseverance, even though his superiors tried to bully him into dropping it in favour of *Kovács* and they withheld his salary to this end for three months.<sup>364</sup>

Such excessive concern for the names of others certainly marked a new phase after the policy line of reducing the stamp duty in the 1880s, which merely encouraged people to leave behind their foreign roots and to look forward into a bright future as equal members of a grand nation. To an hypothetical objection that his name-changing campaign reduced citizens into unwilling public noticeboards advertising the Magyar character of the state, Bánffy, who otherwise thought himself as a liberal, would probably have retorted that liberal notions of personal dignity and the private sphere were as yet unfit for the special Hungarian conditions. From his and Telkes's perspective, the state's heavy-

363 *A magyar királyi honvédelmi ministerium, a honvédség és csendőrség névkönyve 1900. évre* [Directory of the Hungarian Royal Ministry of Defence, the Honvéd Army and the Gendarmerie for 1900] (Budapest: Pallas, 1899).

364 Recollection of Medi Schmidt, a woman of 59 from Vișeu de Sus/Oberwischau/Felsővisó/Vyshovo-Vyzhnye in 1968; Claus Stephani, *Oben im Wassertal: Eine Zipser Chronik* (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1970), 70.

handed incursion worked in perfect concert with the self-Magyarisation of the elite, since any ‘Hungarian name (...) prevents that another nation should claim Hungarians with foreign names as its own.’<sup>365</sup>

Romanian nationalists were not slow in arguing about the superficial results that any such onomastic operation ought to yield: ‘Doesn’t the ear-locked Telkes know that you can call a spade a digging instrument, but it still remains a spade?’<sup>366</sup> Doesn’t he and those who pay him for his foul job of Magyarising know that a Jew will still remain a Jew even if he takes on a name like Hunyadi or Légrády?’<sup>367</sup> And the author confidently added that ‘Magyarisation does not have much ground among Romanians’. Ten years later, the ‘moderate’ Romanian Emil Babeş came to the same conclusion in a text written in Hungarian for Magyars. He pointed to Romanians’ unwillingness to Magyarise their family names as a sign of their exuberant ‘racial pride’. Not even the strong man of Caransebeş, he contended, the governmental/renegade politician Constantin Burdia, would be ready to cast away his ‘typically Romanian name’.<sup>368</sup>

I am in the fortunate position to measure how much ground the Magyarisation of family names in fact gained among Romanians. Basic data on all authorised name changes (old and new family name, occupation, place of residence, year of name change) are available until 1894 in a book entitled *Századunk névváltoztatásai*,<sup>369</sup> and thereafter in the half-yearly lists produced by the Ministry of the Interior, which also indicate place of birth and confession.<sup>370</sup> For the purpose of the present analysis, I tried to gather all cases where a Romanian family name was changed for a Hungarian one. I could obviously not restrict the notion of ‘Romanian family name’ to names with Romanian etymologies

365 Telkes, 91.

366 Two close synonyms for a tobacco pipe, *pipă* and *lulea*, in the original.

367 Blondin, ‘Maghiarisarea numelor’ [The Magyarisation of names], *Tribuna Poporului* 2/14 April 1897, p. 298.

368 Argus [Emil Babeş], *Nemzetiségi politikánk hibái és bűnei* [The errors and vices of our nationalities policy] (Budapest: Deutsch, 1908), 56. Cf. *Drapelul* 13/26 June 1902.

369 Zoltán Szent-Iványi, *Századunk névváltoztatásai: helytartósági és miniszteri engedéllyel megváltoztatott nevek gyűjteménye, 1800–1893* [Name changes of the century: the list of names changed with gubernatorial and ministerial authorisation, 1800–93] (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1895).

370 I am indebted to Tamás Farkas for making these lists available for my research.

(many Romanian names would then qualify as Slavic), but I also included those that were typically borne by Romanians either in Hungary in general, or in the context of the given name changer's place of birth or place of residence.<sup>371</sup> I did not include names that can sooner be considered Hungarian than Romanian by the above criterion. It is worth mentioning, however, that in Romanian-speaking environments, some Hungarian family names (e.g., *Baksa*, *Kolumbán*, *Simon*) could appear Romanian enough to single out their bearers for pressure, regardless of their ethnic background. When assembling my data, I dealt more cautiously with ambiguous cases where the name changers did not have documented connection to Romanian-inhabited areas.

I split up my dataset between those who can and those who cannot be identified as public (state or municipal) employees, the first category of people being much more likely to have changed their names under duress. This distinction can be no more than approximate, not only because the lack of occupational data approaches twenty-five per cent, but also because even when it is available, it is succinct and very often ambiguous.<sup>372</sup> Furthermore, likely not all name changers in the public sector acted out of necessity, while some private employers may have also pulled rank on their workforce and some schools on their students. The massive name Magyarisation in 1886 among employees of the AcsEV railway company seems in particular suspect on this score.

The number of people actually involved in the process was doubtless much higher than the number of family name changes. Family members sometimes filed separate requests, but petitioners more often received new names together with their children or sib-

371 Thus, I counted *Popovics*/*Popovici* a Romanian name in Kolozsvár. The spelling of the data copied from church registers was often telling, and at times I also consulted Constantinescu's dictionary and the online Romanian telephone directory <http://www.carte-telefoane.info>.

372 Gendarmes, judges, justice court employees, tax and excise officers, Honvéd officers, state-school teachers, post-office employees, telegraph operators, border guards, registrars, jail wardens and tobacco factory workers were necessarily on state payroll, policemen received their salaries from the town halls, while district administrators and district bailiffs from the county budgets. Railwaymen (brakemen, station masters, ticket inspectors, pointsmen, pushers, signallers, engine drivers, stokers, railway porters), platelayers and navvies can also with certain likelihood be put down as state employees, although several private railway companies were in operation. Finally, considering the huge over-representation of public employees, I chose to include into the category all scribes, bailiffs (*hivatalsozolgá*), temporary junior clerks (*díjnok*), primary-school teachers, rangers, foresters, hospital workers and military officers (unless specified as serving in the K. u. K. Army), assuming that their majority also worked at Hungarian state or municipal institutions.

lings, averaging at slightly less than two people mentioned per case.<sup>373</sup> Wives, who are left unmentioned in the sources, further need to be added to this number. I probably err on the side of caution if I put the actual number of all people affected at somewhere around 2.5 times the number of requests, also taking into account Karády and Kozma's estimate (based on their sampling of the more detailed archival files of the Ministry of the Interior) that those who changed their Romanian family names tended to come from the younger age groups, half of them being in their twenties and sixty per cent of them below thirty.<sup>374</sup>

One last methodological comment before turning to my results, concerning the grey zone between family name Magyarisations and family name changes of a non-Magyarising character. A small portion of name changes had pragmatic motivations, such as adoption, illegitimate paternity or misspelling of one's name at birth.<sup>375</sup> It is not very likely that more than a handful of people happened to change Romanian names to Hungarian ones for any of these reasons. What presents a more delicate problem is those new family names that could pass as Romanian just as well as Hungarian, belonging to any of the overlapping categories that I described earlier as contact-influenced and duck-rabbit names (e.g., *Barna*, *Boér*, *Bogdán*, *Borcsa*, *Boros*, *Darabont*, *Gólya*, *Jordán*, *Keresztes*, *Kerezsi*, *Nemes*, *Pap*, *Puskás*, *Rácz*, *Száva*, *Toma*). Although I included them in my dataset, the fact that my sources spell most names in Hungarian makes it impossible to decide whether Magyarisation was actually intended in these cases. When public employees chose such ambivalent new names, it may also be the sign of covert resistance.

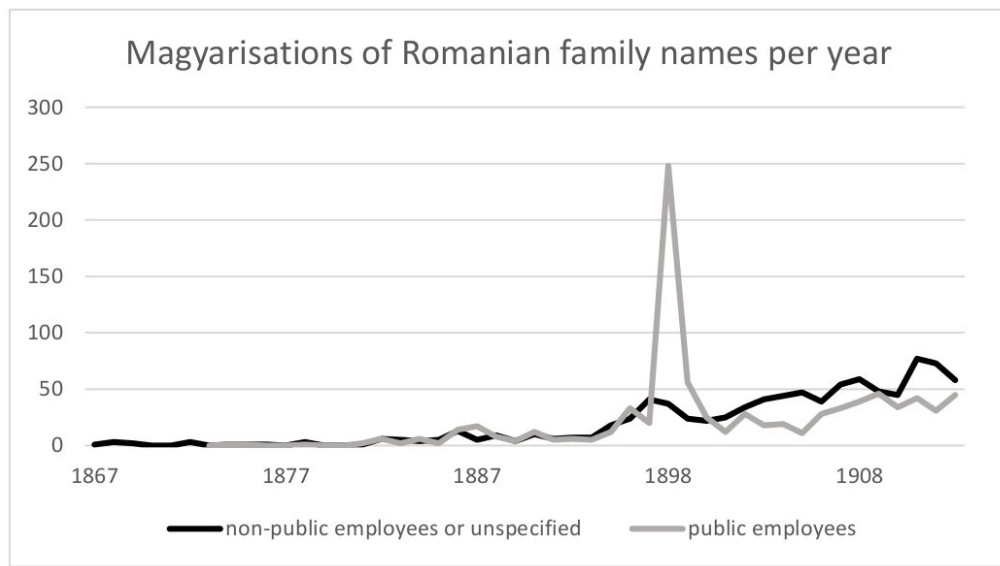
I have counted 1,782 cases where Romanian family names were Magyarised between 1867 and 1913, or around 4,500 people altogether. Out of these cases, 875

<sup>373</sup> Cf. Karády and Kozma, 105. When encoding the data, I counted as one case when two applicants from the same year changed their identical Romanian family names to the same Hungarian one, but as two cases if their name changes were authorised in different years.

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

<sup>375</sup> On these causes, see Béla Orosz, 'A hivatalos családnév-változtatásokat megalapozó tényezők a XIX. század második felében' [The factors influencing official family name changes in the second half of the 19th century], *Magyar Nyelvőr* 101 (1977): 33–7.

(49.1%) were performed by confirmed public employees. These figures make Romanian family names sharply under-represented compared to the overall number of sixty-seven thousand family name changes in Dualist Hungary, overwhelmingly name Magyarisations.<sup>376</sup> As the chart below shows, the annual number of cases hovered around one hundred after 1898, and that amounted to little more than three per cent of the full, country-wide yearly average.<sup>377</sup>



The divergence between the two curves validates my distinction between confirmed public employees and the rest, in particular the feature of the chart that first catches the eye, the dramatic 1898 spike in name Magyarisations by the first group, accompanied by a very minor growth among the second. 1898 was the peak year not only for changes of Romanian family names, but for family name changes in general. The extraordinarily uneven participation between the two categories and the quick reversion of the trend to its earlier level among confirmed public employees throws into relief the state-sponsored campaign under the Bánffy government and strengthens the impression that it could build less on spontaneous positive dispositions, but rather on manifest or suspected coercion. At the same time, in spite of the outstanding prominence of 1898, the 250 name

<sup>376</sup> Karády and Kozma, 49.

<sup>377</sup> *Ibid.*

changers that year were only a relatively small fragment of all public employees of Romanian ethnicity or ancestry; almost ten times more people employed in the state, municipal and communal spheres and in the judiciary would report Romanian mother tongue in 1910.<sup>378</sup> The much lower values in the following decade and a half suggest that individual high officials may have continued to promote or even to impose Hungarian family names on their subordinates, but the central authorities had withdrawn from the campaign.

I found few significant differences in character between the Hungarian names taken by confirmed public employees and by the rest. Names with the *-i* derivational suffix made up almost half of the corpus in both clusters (411 out of 875 and 417 out of 908, respectively), and few of these names were derived from the birthplaces of name changers. Translation of the original family names was also rather rare. There is some preference among confirmed public employees for extravagant names with an overdone Magyar character: flamboyant ones of Romantic nationalist inspiration (*Rónai, Bérczi, Kárpáti, Cserhalmi, Drégelyi, Fegyveresi, Hazai*) or names of Hungarian national heroes, historical families and even acting politicians (*Petőfi, Rákóczi, Bulcsu, Kinizsi, Bátori, Batyányi, Darányi, Bánfi*; three new Romanian *Bánfis* under Dezső Bánffy's premiership!). They also made more frequent use of the patronymic suffix *-fi* than the rest (42 out of 875 vs. 23 out of 908), which at times lead to unlikely results such as *Bétafi*.<sup>379</sup> Such public employees or their superiors may have tried to hedge their bets by choosing family names with a guaranteed Hungarian pedigree. Simple, low-profile names, however, still made up the majority in both categories.

In what follows, my aim is to circumscribe the small cluster of people with Romanian family names who chose to take the symbolic step of assimilation that the change

<sup>378</sup> *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények*, new series, vol. 56, 678–9 and 682–3.

<sup>379</sup> Contemporary regulations wanted Magyarised family names to be spelt phonologically, without the aristocratic frills, including the *-y* ending.

of one's family name meant, and therefore I will set aside confirmed public employees and will restrict my analysis to family name changers with other or undetermined professions. The professional and ethno-confessional breakdown of this population is shown on the table below.

**Table 2.2. Magyarisers of Romanian family names without confirmed public employees—their distribution by occupational and ethno-confessional categories<sup>380</sup>**

Occupation	SUM	Ethnic character of confession			
		Romanian	Magyar	German	unknown/other
minor/student	199	121	45	5	28
artisan/small entrepreneur	64	27	21	0	16
worker/journeyman	48	27	13	0	8
peasant	36	19	10	1	6
domestic servant	19	16	2	1	0
intellectual	15	4	2	0	9
agricultural labourer	13	6	7	0	0
clerk	12	6	4	0	2
merchant/restaurateur	11	5	1	0	5
landowner/rentier	8	2	1	0	5
waiter	5	5	0	0	0
miner	4	2	2	0	0
musician	4	1	1	0	2
other	1	0	0	0	1
unknown	469	233	103	11	122
<b>SUM</b>	<b>908</b>	<b>474</b>	<b>212</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>204</b>

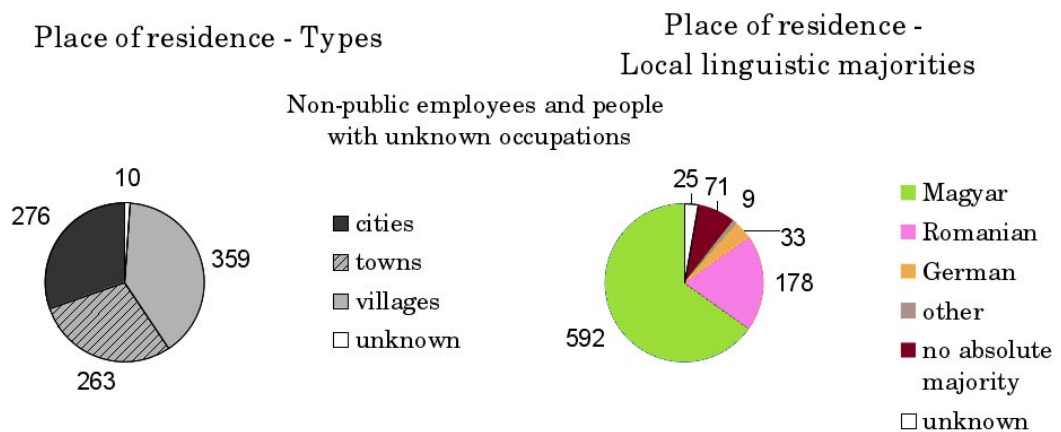
Only sixty-one of these 908 name changers were women (twenty-five of the women were minors), the balance either males or brothers and sisters who jointly changed their names. The high participation of minors and the pronounced under-representation of peasants were a general feature of the movement. Moreover, the number of under-age name changers is certainly an underestimate and does not contain the many who were in employment and whom the keepers of the records assigned to the various professional

<sup>380</sup> I have encoded Orthodox and Greek Catholics as Romanians, Calvinists and Unitarians as Magyars, while Roman Catholics and Lutherans as Magyars or Germans, according to the linguistic group to which these confessions were typically attached in the given name changer's place of residence and/or place of birth. I have assigned the few Jews with Romanian family names to the category of others.



categories as apprentices or journeymen.<sup>381</sup> Hence it is safe to assume that the majority of name-changing minors, even if they came from peasant families, also did not expect to become peasants themselves. Taken as a whole, the occupational profile of name Magyarisers was decidedly atypical for the Romanian society in Hungary as a whole: rather than peasants, teachers and clergymen, they were mostly tradesmen, skilled workers, lower white collars, entrepreneurs and servants.

From the ethno-confessional breakdown, it also becomes clear that only two-thirds of those with known religious affiliations belonged to one of the two Romanian churches, while at least one third of them should be rather described as Magyars of Romanian origin or with Romanian-influenced names. Conversion and the changing of family name could even accompany each other, and several Uniate or Orthodox men in my data had Calvinist children. The mere twenty-nine name changers recorded with Latinate first names (fourteen of them minors) also implies a Magyarising population, since the social composition of the group would certainly have allowed for a much higher number, had these families identified themselves as Romanian.



The two pie charts above sort the places of residence of name Magyarisers into major settlement types (cities, towns and villages) and according to the locally largest lin-

<sup>381</sup> Karády and Kozma, 75 and 92. Legal age was twenty-four in Dualist Hungary.

guistic groups at the censuses closest to their name changes.<sup>382</sup> It can be gathered from these data with some assurance that unenforced family name Magyarisation occurred more often in urban or semi-urban and in Magyar-majority settings. From this group, no more than 102 people of Romanian confession Magyarised their family names in localities with Romanian majorities, and at least thirty-seven of them were minors. But even the places of residence of this latter group were typically not outlying villages with purely Romanian populations, but very often bi- or multilingual localities with strong Magyar minorities, some administrative role, commerce, third sector or commodity production.

The following map shows the spatial distribution of these presumably voluntary (unenforced) family name Magyarisations, giving further clues on the possible motivations behind them. There is a clear negative correlation between the number of name Magyarisations and the relative share of native Romanian-speakers on the county level (according to the 1880 census), which again highlights the link with linguistic assimilation. Whilst forty-two such Magyarisations of Romanian names fell to every ten thousand ethnic Romanians' share in Udvarhely County, thirty in Békés (not included on the map), twenty-three in Háromszék and sixteen in Csík, the ratio goes below five in the densely Romanian-speaking counties (Kolozsvár alone is responsible for the high value of Ko-

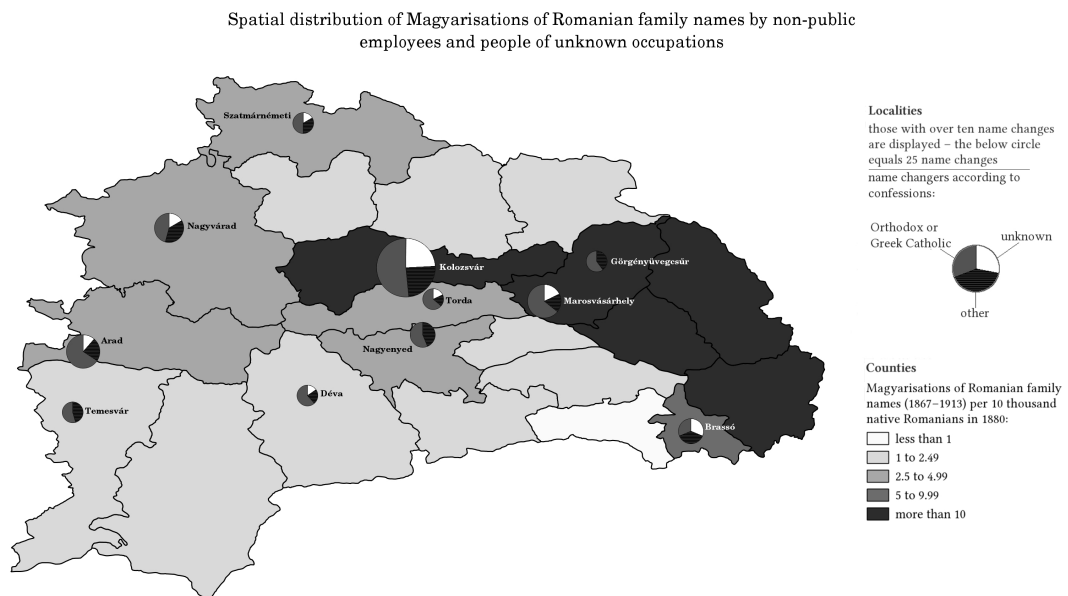
382 Cities: Arad, Berlin, Brassó, Budapest, Debrecen, Hermannstadt, Kolozsvár, Košice/Kassa/Kaschau, Marosvásárhely/Oșorhei/Neumarkt, Nagyvárád, Paris, Temeswar and Vienna. Towns: Abrud, Agnetheln/Agnita/Szentágota, Alsójárá/Iara de Jos, Bánffyahunyad/Huedin, Boroșineu/Borosjenő, Čaba/Csaba/Tschabe, Bereck/Brețcu, Bistritz, Blaj, Bozovici/Bosowitch/Bozovics, Brad, Câmpeni/Topánfalva, Caransebeș, Cegléd, Chișineu-Criș/Kisjenő (Arad County), Csíkszereda/Ciuc-Sereda, Dés, Déva, Dicsőszentmárton/Diciosânmărtin/Martinskirch, Dobra (Hunyad County), Élesd/Aleșd, Érmihályfalva/Mihailfalău, Erzsébetváros/Elisabetropole/Elisabethstadt, Felsőbánya/Baia Sprie, Felvinc/Vințu de Sus, Geoagiu/Algyógy, Großschenk/Cincu/Nagysink, Großsanktnikolaus/Sănnicolau Mare/Veliki Semikluš/Nagyszentmiklós, Gyergyószentmiklós/Giurgeu-Sănniclaș/Niklasmarkt, Gyula/Giula/Jula, Gyulafehérvár, Hunedoara/Vajdahunyad/Hunnedeng, Ilia/Marosillye, Kézdivásárhely/Chezdi-Oșorhei, Kiskunfélegyháza, Kisvárd, Losonc, Lugoj, Magyarláros/Lăpușu Unguresc, Marosludas/Ludoșul de Mureș, Marosújvár/Uioara, Mehadia-Băile Herculane/Mehadia-Herkulesbad/Mehădia-Herkulesfürdő, Munkács/Munkatsh/Mukacheve, Nadlak/Nădlac/Nagylak, Nagybánya/Baia Mare, Nagyenyed, Nagykároly/Careii Mari/Karol, Nagyszalonta/Salonta, Năsăud, Nyírbátor, Nyíregyháza/Nired'háza, Orăștie, Orawitz, Orosháza, Pančevo/Pantschowa/Pancsova/Panciova, Pécs/Fünfkirchen, Petrozsény, Požega/Pozsega/Poschega, Rekasch/Rekaš/Rékas/Recaș, Reschitz/Reșița Montană/Resica, Rodna/Radna, Roșia, Sächsisch Regen/Szászrégen/Reghinul Săsesc, Sanktanna/Sântana-Comlăuș/Őszentanna-Újszentanna, Sátoraljaújhely/Nové Mesto pod Šiatrom/Neustadt am Zeltberg, Schäßburg, Sepsiszentgyörgy, Szabadka/Subotica, Szamosújvár/Gherla/Hayak'alak'/Neuschloss, Szatmárnémeti, Székelyhid/Săcheiid, Székelykeresztúr, Székelyudvarhely/Odorheiu Secuiesc/Oderhellen, Szerencs, Szikszó, Szilágysomlyó/Șimleu Silvaniei, Szinerváralja/Seini/Warolli, Szombathely/Steinamanger, Teiuș/Tövis/Dreikirchen, Teken-dorf/Teke/Teaca, Tenke/Tinca, Torda/Turda, Velika Kikinda/Großkikinda/Nagykikinda/Chichinda Mare, Veliki Bečkerek/Großbetschkerek/Nagybecskerek, Vinga, Vințu de Jos/Alvinc, Visk/Vyshkove, Weißkirchen, Werschetz/Vrșac/Versec/Vârșet, Zilah/Zălău, Zvolen/Zólyom/Altsohl and Zsibó/Jibou.

lozs County) and below one in Fogaras. Moreover, name Magyarisers living in the four Szekler counties came in equal numbers from the Romanian and Magyar confessions. In the case of confirmed public employees, a similar map would show a balanced spatial distribution between counties.

Let me return here to the over-representation of minors. In general, taking a new name is an easier and more likely choice on the threshold of adulthood, when the person works on constructing their identity and when a new name still does not interfere with a professional career or an established business. In this concrete context, students were also indisputably more vulnerable to the influence of men of authority, some of whom may have tried to use their position to carry out propaganda for name Magyarisation. In fact, Telkes credited the principal of the nearby forestry school with bringing out what amounted to the biggest collective family name Magyarisation in the territory under study.<sup>383</sup> In 1897, 147 entire families Magyarised their German, Czech, Slovak and Romanian names in Görgényüvegcsűr/Glăjărie, originally a glass-workers colony. If Telkes's vague formulation at this point means that the families involved had children studying at the school, it conceivably points to pressure. But the locals were by that time native speakers of Hungarian and as such could have their own ideological motives as well to change their names.

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383 Telkes, 90.



The geographical patterns of name-Magyarising minors do not differ statistically from other name-Magyarising non-public employees, but many students who reported villages as their places of residence probably lived in urban environments. It is in their confessional distribution that they significantly diverged from most other brackets, a much higher percentage of them belonging to the Romanian churches. Whether the above-discussed specificities of the adolescent and young adult age can account for this difference is a question that I do not feel able to answer in the lack of narrative sources.

In spite of their scarcity, the Magyarisation of Romanian family names had a more or less permanent presence in Romanian elite discourses, either to unmask the shallowness of socio-cultural Magyarisation (rarely refraining from scornful references to Jews with Magyarised names), or to denounce the state's 'denationalising' schemes. In works of fiction, it was sometimes used as a motif to give a moral assessment to characters or to their inner development. Iosif Vulcan exploited this device to the full in his *Ranele națiunii* ('The Wounds of the Nation').<sup>384</sup> The protagonist of the novel, Ștefan Zimbranu, can only gain his future father-in-law's assent to his marriage by Magyarising his name, a juncture in the narrative after which he is referred to as *Pista*. Another figure, a careerist

384 Iosif Vulcan, *Ranele națiunii* [The wounds of the nation], 3 vols (Budapest: Kocsi, 1876).

originally called Bumbescu, keeps changing his family name as the political winds blow; he starts off calling himself *Knopfler* in the 1850s, then reverts to *Bumbescu*, only to change his name again after 1867, this time to *Gombosi*.<sup>385</sup> A priestly character, Sofronie Plopescu, appears under the name *Nyárfay Szemprő* in Hungarian papers while preparing to deliver a sermon in Hungarian.<sup>386</sup> The effect Vulcan tried to create here is marred by his preference for evocative rather than true-to-life names, an equally common trend in Hungarian Romantic literature. He certainly deserves credit for *Szemprő*, a happy concoction that captures the contemporary Magyar taste for names. But not only is the improvised translation of *Plopescu* into *Nyárfay* entirely unrealistic, it also seems strange that Vulcan should try to drive home his point with such family names, for *Plopescu* sounds just as laboured as *Nyárfay*.<sup>387</sup>

In the later period, the half-yearly official press bulletins on name Magyarisers kept alive the interest of Romanian newspapers in the subject. For them, the old and new family names standing alongside each other evoked the image of Jews and ethnic Germans trying to hide their real identities, something they hoped could be trusted to give a thrill to Romanian readers and to reassure them about the hollowness of Hungarian society. Such articles regularly took pride in the fact that very few Romanians Magyarised their family names.<sup>388</sup>

Curiously, this latter detail was often lost on later Romanian historiography, however uncritically it has usually based its reconstruction of Dualist Hungarian realities on the contemporary Romanian press in Hungary. I may be criticised for paying disproportionate attention to the Magyarisation of Romanian names, which involved altogether four or five thousand people, a quantity dwarfed by Jewish and Catholic German name Magyar-

385 Romanian *bumb*, German *Knopf* and Hungarian *gomb* equally mean 'button'.

386 Vol. 2, 106. Romanian *plop* and Hungarian *nyárfa* mean 'poplar'.

387 Something similar can be said about Punguleanu/Pungulányi in *Revoluția din Pirești* by Slavici. His name is deliberately fanciful, formed from Rom. *pungă* 'purse'.

388 E.g., *Tribuna Poporului* 2/14 April 1897; *Tribuna* 7/20 October 1907 and *Țara Noastră* 12/25 April 1909.

isers even in the same area. The subject matter, however, became a steady fixture in authoritative accounts of what has been constructed as Romanian struggle against Hungarian rule. The most bizarre offshoot of the political uses of the *topos* has been arguably the French translation of Simon Telkes's brochure, published in the 1970s by the ultra-nationalist, Protochronist emigrant millionaire Iosif Constantin Drăgan, under the manipulative title *Les faux hongrois: la multiplication artificielle d'un peuple* and depicting a machine fabricating Magyars on its cover.<sup>389</sup> In such a staging, Telkes's self-help guide for the family name Magyariser was cast as a piece of evidence that the Magyar minority in Romania was an artificial result of Magyarisation under Hungarian rule, in order to legitimise the then unfolding homogenising policies of Nicolae Ceaușescu's national-communist regime.

The truly significant fact about the afterlife of name Magyarisations is not that they were blown out of all proportion in nationalist history writing or in political propaganda, but that they also entered popular memory as a massive phenomenon, and through more intimate channels than school knowledge. An average ethnic Romanian from Transylvania will have heard of a relative or acquaintance whose forebears were forced to Magyarise their surnames under Hungarian times. While acknowledging that this kind of Magyarisation was more thoroughgoing in the public service of Northern Transylvania between 1940 and 1944, I would propose that the basic explanation for this common misperception lies with a narrative agreed upon in the inter-war period by the Romanian state and the organisations pursuing 're-Romanisation' campaigns on the one hand and by Romania's new ethnic Romanian subjects on the other, and passed on ever since in a popular form. Widespread Hungarian-influenced names engendered unease in the new ruling class—at fifteen per cent, these names were vastly more than name Magyarisers—and a consensual interpretation suggested that all these names had been foisted

389 Simon Telkes, *Les faux hongrois: la multiplication artificielle d'un peuple* (Milan: Nagard, 1977).

upon Romanian families with the aim of ‘denationalising’ them. People with such names, whether they kept them or not, internalised this view with pleasure, since it allowed them to present what threatened to become a stigma as the mark of sufferings past. As it often happens, collective memory envisioned earlier centuries on the model of recent past, and the genuine campaign of name Magyarisation in the late Dualist period was offered as a prototype for imagining how ‘Hungarian’ names could come about.

My hypothesis is informed by American immigration historians’ dismissal of stories about Ellis Island immigration officials’ Anglicising of immigrants’ family names upon hearing. Such anecdotes have been deeply ingrained into family histories in the United States. The procedure that an immigrant’s name underwent was at least a two-stage one, being copied on the passenger list upon boarding at a European port and from there entered into the US records on Ellis Island. This double transcription certainly gave way to confusion, but researchers of the topic suggest that the stories about imposed name change should be rather understood as a post-hoc strategy to account for the frequent Anglicising of family names inside the family and towards the ethnic community.<sup>390</sup>

In my Romanian dataset, I have tried to collect all Romanian names rather than just Romanian name changers, so as to include people and families at different stages of their assimilation. This has not been possible with Transylvanian Saxons, since a Magyar person with a German name was not necessarily an assimilated Saxon, even in Transylvania. I had to narrow down my research to Lutherans who Magyarised their German names in Transylvania, to those who Magyarised their names elsewhere but had been born in a Transylvanian Saxon locality and to those bearing typical Transylvanian Saxon names. The number of Saxon name Magyarisers thus counted is proportionally roughly the same

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390 Angela Clark, Duane Roen Oates and Sherry Rankins-Robertson, ‘Understanding the Life Narratives of Immigrants Through Naming Practices’, in *Rhetorics of Names and Naming*, ed. Star Medzerian Vanguri, 89–101 (New York: Routledge, 2016) and Scott Baird, ‘Anglicizing Ethnic Surnames’, *Names* 54 (2006): 96–7.

as that of (Orthodox and Greek Catholic) Romanians, but more of them worked in the public sector. From the 103 Saxon name Magyarisers that I managed to identify, seventy-three were confirmed public employees and as many as seventy-six lived outside the Saxon Land. On the basis of these data, ordinary Saxons seem to have been even less inclined to Magyarising their family names than Romanians. Even with due consideration paid to the relatively narrow spatial interface between Saxons and Magyars, the figures remain staggeringly low. This finding nevertheless squares with what is known about the tight, institutionalised separation of the Saxon society and the distance Saxons kept towards all aspects of Magyarisation.

The diminutive number of Romanian family names Magyarised by non-public employees in Romanian-majority environments speaks for the mainly enforced nature of Magyarisations in the public sector. Confirmed public employees made up around half of the cases, but their number was limited by the under-representation of Romanians in the public service. Name-Magyarising public employees tended to work in the lower grades or in subsidiary jobs and were scattered throughout the countryside wherever railway lines ran or gendarmerie stations operated. The remaining half concentrated in the cities and in the Szeklerland, where the Hungarian-speaking environment fostered assimilation, they typically came from the traditional and modern lower-middle classes, a large part of them belonged to one of the Magyar confessions and relatively many were minors.

Their overall low numbers tell about structural and attitudinal barriers to assimilation. Romanian and Saxon name Magyarisers were outnumbered several times over in the area under study by Jewish and Catholic natives and newcomers, public employees and mostly urban middle class who Magyarised their German or Slavic names. In particular, the near absence of the upper classes and the intelligentsia suggests that either no



Romanians assimilated into Magyardom from these social milieus or that such assimilants did not feel the need to Magyarise their family names.

However, as becomes very soon apparent to anyone reading the contemporary press or memoirs by contemporaries, a diverse lot of prominent public figures populated the *terra nullius* between the Romanian and the Magyar/Hungarian part-societies. From 1879 at the very latest, when Gheorghe Pop de Băsești/Ilyefalvi Pap György left the Independentist parliamentary group, not only did dual identities (Magyaro-Romanian or Romanian *Hungarus*) become untenable in the face of a nationalised Romanian elite, but those people who openly cooperated with official Hungary or took active membership in Magyar/Hungarian political organisations also came down to public abhorrence as ‘renegades’. Of course, this stigma was applied in nested circles, from which only the inner ones are important here, or those who partly or entirely identified themselves with Hungarian state nationalist ideology. This bunch of people included ministerial officials, judges, MPs, university professors, the teacher of the Brassó Orthodox gymnasium Nicolae Sulică, priests, lawyers and journalists. Most of them made or hoped to make a career by their repudiation of the Romanian national movement, but otherwise certainly represented diverse equations of multiple allegiances and mimicry. There were genuine assimilants among them, like Grigore Moldovan/Moldován Gergely, the rector of the Kolozsvár university, while others believed that they were working for the good of their communities, like the police chief, later mayor and finally MP of Caransebeș, Constantin Burdia, who turned the high-school endowment fund of the Caransebeș Community of Property to establish a Hungarian gymnasium, made millions by acquiring the monopoly of plum brandy distillation over a vast area, while remaining an ardent developer of his home town.<sup>391</sup>

<sup>391</sup> On Moldovan/Moldován, see Tímea Berki, *Magyar–román kulturális kapcsolatok a 19. század második felében: értelmiségitörténeti keret* [Hungarian–Romanian cultural contacts in the second half of the 19th century: a history of intelligentsia framework] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2012), 173–212. On Burdia, Béla Gajda, ‘Az intézet alapítása’ [The founding of the institution], in *A karánsebesi m. kir. állami főgimnázium első évi értesítője az 1907–1908. tanévről* [Yearbook for the first, 1907/8

None of these people Magyarised their family names, a step that would have underlined their political loyalty without necessarily severing their earlier ties. (This of course does not mean that some of them did not switch between Romanian and Hungarian spellings of their names.) The majority of Romanian family names were perhaps felt less foreign by the Magyar public of core-Hungary than the emblematically foreign German names and did not contain difficult consonant clusters as did Slovak ones. But there was probably another, more specific reason why these people did not change their family names. Namely, their status partly depended on their self-positioning as ‘loyal Romanians’, for which they needed to credibly present themselves as Romanians at last in some contexts and for certain audiences or interlocutors. From this perspective, a Romanian family name could mean an advantage rather than a hindrance for their careers.

If a former public employee left service and returned to live in his village, his Magyarised family name could easily become the object of jokes, but peasant communities were all the more likely to get over it since family names in general had limited currency in their world. Even for the very few from the intellectual professions who Magyarised their Romanian family names under duress, the fact that they wore a Hungarian name in official documents did not in itself engender identification with Magyardom.<sup>392</sup> Because Romanian name Magyarisers were very few, I do not know enough about the perception of imposed Hungarian family names in any sphere of Romanian society. One Romanian school teacher, Petru Cotoroiu, Nicolae Brînzeu’s schoolmate from the Orăştie Reformed gymnasium, changed his name to *Kemény* in 1908, but according to Brînzeu, he ‘left a purely Romanian family behind’;<sup>393</sup> that is, he raised his children speaking Romanian while being stuck with a Hungarian name in his documents.

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school year of the Caransebeş Hungarian Royal High Gymnasium], 21–40 (Káransebes, 1908); Nicolae and Eduard Magiar, *Monografia localităţii Bozovici* [Monograph of Bozovici] (Reşiţa: Tim, 2008), 68; Ovidiu Laurenţiu Roşu, *Comunitatea de avere a fostului Regiment Grăniceresc Româno-Bănăţean Nr. 13 din Caransebeş: 1879–1948* [The community of property of the former 13th Caransebeş Banat-Romanian Border Regiment, 1879–1948] (s. I. [Reşiţa]: Muzeul Banatului Montan, 2010), 65 and Jumanca, 258.

<sup>392</sup> See p. 126.

<sup>393</sup> Brînzeu, 48.

A large part of the public employees who Magyarised their German or Slavic surnames under Dualism probably fled to rump-Hungary after 1918. Many of them had been born outside the lands annexed to Romania. Romanians who had been forced to take Hungarian family names would take the first opportunity to get back their former ones.<sup>394</sup> The inter-war Romanian state, in a tandem with the nationalist organisation ASTRA on the one hand and the new ethnic German institutional network on the other, waged a heavy campaign to dissimilate Magyarised Romanians and Germans, which makes unlikely that many of those who adopted Hungarian family names before the war would keep these out of sheer forgetfulness rather than as the symbol of an identity, consciously chosen or one into which the bearer of the name had been born. It happened, however, that Romanian villagers who had attended Hungarian schools continued to sign their names in the Hungarian-spelt or even translated versions once inculcated in them.<sup>395</sup>

My single contemporary object of comparison for enforced family names comes from the Kingdom of Romania, although this is most certainly only the result of the contingency that other such cases have not been documented in any language accessible to me. In the Moldavian region, Catholic Magyars were systematically given Romanian family names through a process that was at once coercive and decentralised. According to a report from 1892 by Stefan Lippert von Granberg, vice-consul of the Dual Monarchy in Iași, village secretaries, who were always Orthodox Romanians, registered their villagers with their Hungarian surnames sometimes translated, sometimes adapted to Romanian, which would thereafter count as their official family names. In nineteenth-century Romania, however, village secretaries also provided with family names the Romanian Orthodox by similar means, and in conclusion, they may not even have attributed

394 Klaus Bochmann, 'Sprache und Gesetzgebung', in *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik*, vol. 3, *Die einzelnen romanischen Sprachen und Sprachgebiete von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart: Rumänisch, Dalmatisch/Istroromanisch, Friaulisch, Ladinisch, Bündnerromanisch*, eds Günter Holtus, Michael Metzeltin and Christian Schmitt, 256 (Berlin: Niemeyer, 1997) and Kárády and Kozma, 263–8.

395 I thank Gábor Egry for this information.

special significance to the symbolic Romanianisation involved.<sup>396</sup> This circumstance calls attention to the often overlooked fact that family name changes are only possible to the extent that the system of family names has consolidated in the first place, which is already hardly conceivable without the intervention of control mechanisms external to the peasantry.

## 2.10. Conclusions

When naming their children, pre-modern families were to a large extent driven by different considerations from today's parents. I identified a transition period towards modern name giving, occurring at various historical intervals in different societies, which removed the choice of given names from its liturgical connections, widened the inventory of names and paved the way towards the ascendancy of fashion and individual tastes. National names functioned as instruments of this process in that they marked the first crack in the calendar-based paradigm. For contemporaries, they were signifiers of the national essence, conveying visions of national history that centred on a golden age in which the nation was fully self-identical. Their revival was meant to assist and to signify the restoration of the nation to that truer stage, and the historian can pinpoint them as nationalist accretions not rooted in local ethnic cultures, often unsanctioned by Christian hagiography and spreading top-down. Historians might gain useful hints about the nationalisation of the peasantry by quantifying this spread of national names, and they will have the advantage over sociologists who investigate twentieth-century name-giving trends to learn about the social dynamics of taste that in the first generations, the choice of a national name can be confidently put down to some combination of nationalist commitment and higher status aspirations on the part of parents. Although I was unable to

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<sup>396</sup> Stefan Lippert von Granberg to the Habsburg embassy in Bucharest, in 1892; in Gecsényi, 178–9.

carry through a conclusive comparison between boy and girl names, partial data suggest that naming of upper-class girls followed different trends in this transition period.

As national signifiers without an ethnic past, the three clusters of national names that I studied fit seamlessly into a narrowly modernist (Gellnerian, Hobsbawmian, Andersonian) account of nationalism that prioritises its elite origins, but at the same time, the sluggish expansion of these names among nineteenth-century peasant masses, a solid finding of my survey, makes some justice to the ethno-symbolist model proposed by Anthony D. Smith. For especially if one acknowledges that contemporary peasants were sometimes already mobilised for nationalist causes whenever these coincided with their religious, local or broadly ethnic identifications or with their primary interests, something that is hard to deny, then one is indeed tempted to see a connection between the utter novelty of these items of the nationalist baggage and their relative tardiness in taking hold among the peasantry.

In further chapters, I presented coercive assimilationist policies in the working on two examples that are uncharted territory for historians, the state codification of given names and the spelling of minority family names. I pointed out the limits to the homogenising of given names where minority groups had truly different naming traditions and preferences. In such cases, the imposition of an official first-name regime based upon a system of equivalences merely displaced the difference. Transcription of family names may convey denial of a group's right to a standard orthography of its language, but care must be taken to compare of non-dominant minorities with their kin majorities abroad. Similarly, the translation of first names was ready to take on new ideological messages from the moment that it began to lose its legitimacy.

Nationalising elites presented family names and ultimately even their spellings as ancient and representative of remote origins. Such a reading was more justified in those

parts of the Balkans where family names had partly grown out of clan names, whereas elsewhere they had been often imposed on the peasantry by the literate outside world and had coexisted with vernacular personal nomenclatures better geared to close-knit kinship networks. The supposed ethnic indexicality of family names was then used rhetorically to define people, to incorporate them into the national fold or to exclude them from it. While this indexicality of family names was widely agreed upon, it could be easily re-negotiated among ingroup members and even suspended where it was claimed that the enemy had abused its power to name and had kidnapped ‘ours’.

### 3. WRITING THE URBAN FABRIC

‘A strange toponymy that is detached from actual places and flies high over the city like a foggy geography of “meanings” held in suspension, directing the physical deambulations below’  
Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*<sup>1</sup>

#### 3.1. Why Bother with Street Names?

In the last decade or so, a new line of research initiated by a group of cultural geographers and called Critical Place-name Studies by its practitioners, together with the related French concept of *néotoponymie* and with similar developments in German, have injected new vigour into the study of street names (urbanonyms, hodonyms, odonyms),<sup>2</sup> hitherto the usual stomping ground only for local historians with an interest in fostering community heritage awareness. I propose the ideas underlying Critical Place-name Studies as a framework to think about the ways that artificially established street names have borne on the historical imagination and the cultural identity of people at large.

Via critical discourse analysis, Critical Place-name Studies owe to Roland Barthes’s notion of naturalisation and to Foucault’s well-known concept of pervasive but imperceptible, soft power, which does not emanate from a specific group of ‘powerful’ actors, and is inextricably connected to knowledge. Such a perspective exposes street names referring to historical figures, events or abstract concepts as being eminently suitable for delivering ideological messages exactly on account of their apparent triviality, which lulls suspicion: ‘everybody uses them but hardly anyone pays attention to their specific historical meaning and to their belonging to the structures of power’, and thus ‘they introduce an official version of history into mundane settings of everyday life’.<sup>3</sup> Consider children growing up in an urban environment that is ridden with onomastic references to

<sup>1</sup> Trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1984; 1988), 104.

<sup>2</sup> The latter three technical terms are more precise, since by definition they also include the names of all public spaces, squares, alleys etc. just as well as those of streets. For the sake of simplicity, I will mostly use the term ‘street name’ in the text, but with this broader meaning.

<sup>3</sup> Maoz Azaryahu, ‘Naming the Past: The Significance of Commemorative Street Names’, in *Critical Toponymies: The Contested Politics of Place Naming*, eds Lawrence D. Berg and Jani Vuolteenaho, 57 and 67 (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009). Cf. Ruben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman and Maoz Azaryahu, ‘Geographies of toponymic inscription: new directions in critical place-name studies’, *Progress in Human Geography* 34:4 (2010): 459.

the martyrs of the 1848–49 Hungarian revolution. They will first get acquainted with these linguistic forms not as personal names, but as names of more or less familiar places and reference points. This very early, intimate familiarity with the signifiers only becomes conscious retrospectively, at school, when the eureka effect likely also contributes to the consolidation of attachment. What adds to the efficacy of this type of street names is thus the semantic displacement they execute, enclosing in the place name a reference to a person in a way that under certain conditions (like for the children in the example), this latter reference is not even recognised.

What has been said so far applies in the first place to commemorative street names, a special type of street name making reference to a public figure, an historical personality, a positive abstract concept (*Béke tér* ‘Peace square’), an historical event (*Unio utca* ‘Union street’) or even to a place (but then necessarily without an orientating function! —e.g., *Kárpát utca* ‘Carpathians street’), which comes into being by a single, wilful act of naming and is sanctioned by an authorised official body, ideally (and in a varying measure also in reality) representative of the local community. There is typically no previous connection between the referent of the street name and its denotatum, the street (or square etc.) as a physical object, although such connection might exist in a minority of cases, such as when a street is named after its famous former resident. Note that this latter is a different sort of relationship from what spontaneous, vernacular street naming has usually seized upon.

In another category of street names given by fiat, known as decorative street names, structures of power/knowledge operate differently. The second semantic layer, which in the case of commemorative street names is constituted by distinct referents, becomes less individualised; male or female first names and names of animal or plant species (often considered as a middle category between proper and common nouns) take the place of



great people and memorable events. Here also belong simple common nouns (appellatives) chosen as street names for their historical reminiscences, like the weaponry or warrior types of bygone eras (*Buzogány utca* ‘Mace street’, *Hajdu utca*). An important asset of decorative street names is that they can be arranged into series, enabling their clustering in space according to semantic/functional classes. Due to this quality, they can also be depended on to spread encyclopedic knowledge, and this merely through the juxtaposition of streets.<sup>4</sup> To be sure, streets named after places (towns, rivers, mountains) have been also clustered in the same manner, but given their distinct, individualised referents, such names sooner belong to the category of commemorative street names.

Commemorative and decorative street naming became the two obvious possibilities for the official invention of street names in modern Europe. In the literature of the field, street names devised in that way have been designated with the slightly awkward term ‘artificial street name’, in contradistinction to the more traditional vernacular, spontaneous origin, which also implies a slower process of piecemeal acceptance by a local community. Important is not to confuse this artificial–vernacular dichotomy with another dimension, that of the official vs. non-official status of street names. Certainly, this second distinction has also been a product of later times; if one can speak about official status at all in reference to earlier street names, it was not granted through any authoritative act, but it remained implicit and was enacted through the use of the respective names in documents of an official character. On the other hand, official regulation did not do away with all street names of vernacular origin; on the contrary, their majority were usually sanctioned for official use. Below, I will also show how old street names have normally persisted in unofficial use for a long time after being eliminated from the official sphere, irrespective of their vernacular or artificial origins.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Henri Stahl’s ironic proposal from 1910 about the street names of Bucharest; Henri Stahl, *Bucureștii ce se duc* [The Bucharest that is going by] (Bucharest: Fundația Culturală Gheorghe Marin Speteanu, 2006), 41–2.

Artificial street names rarely have a descriptive semantic basis, which has always been the case with vernacular street names. Vernacular names can designate direction, some feature of the street's topography, they can refer to the occupation or the ethnicity of their residents or can replicate the name of the patron saint of a local church. They can also highlight the name of one single resident, especially in the case of powerful enough residents or short enough streets. There is a wide range of variation in the lifespan of street names; urban street names have been very often in use for several centuries, whilst the names of smaller village alleys could change from one generation to the other. On the one end, *Siculorumgasse* in the town of Sebeş preserved until the twentieth century the memory of a medieval Szekler population who had lived there prior to the Saxon settlement in the thirteenth. On the other end, the streets of Árkos/Arcuş were in the 1860s named after the people and families living in them, and according to the local Unitarian pastor, the street that bore the name of Sándor Biró at that time had been still referred to by the name of his father, Sámuel, while the latter had been alive.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, vernacular street nomenclatures could accommodate multiple signifiers for the same object. One of Edit Fél and Tamás Hofer's informants from the village of Átány on the Hungarian Grand Plain sheds some light on the nature of this multiplicity in the case of small village streets, explaining how each local family referred to one particular alley by the name of the resident whom they happened to feel closest to them.<sup>6</sup>

The idea that street names can be used as public monuments was first brought to bear in absolutist France, a major turning point in their history, which incidentally also tallies with Foucault's periodisation of the history of power. After the ancient template set by Alexander the Great and the Roman emperors fell out of use, the first specimens of this type served dynastic self-representation in French cities, with great man of culture

5 *Pesty Frigyes helynévgyűjteménye 1864–1865: Székelyföld*, vol. 1 (2012), 25.

6 Edit Fél and Tamás Hofer, *Proper Peasants: Traditional Life in a Hungarian Village* (Chicago: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, 1969), 49.

joining in as referents in 1779.<sup>7</sup> It was not until the French Revolution, however, that the ideological potential of street names was deployed in the earnest. The wave of renamings began in 1791, with the Marquis of Villette's proposal to name after Voltaire the street of Paris where the philosopher had lived, and it took enormous proportions under the Jacobins, who purged city nomenclatures of religious overtones and assigned words designating their own secular virtues to public spaces. Their campaign affected half of streets and squares in Paris, if only for a short period.<sup>8</sup> Later, Napoleon equally took interest in the ideological use of street names. He first commemorated his own military valour in Paris, and then added a new layer of street names representing a French history encompassing many centuries, with all its Catholic and royal frills. With this second layer, he became the first to impose a nationalist vision on the toponymy of a city.<sup>9</sup>

Concurrently, there had also been a false start in the English colonies of Northern America. The early importance of city planning gave more space for artificial street naming and from an earlier date here than in Europe. Names like *King Street*, *Queen Street*, *Duke Street* and *Crown Street* were much in favour throughout eighteenth-century New England, and the main streets of Fredericksburg, Virginia were named in 1727 after members of the Dynasty.<sup>10</sup> This onomastic pattern, however, enjoyed little popularity in later American urban toponymies. In the long run, more influential would become another pattern, first implemented on the master plan of Philadelphia from 1684, with the parallel streets numbered and the perpendicular ones named after plants.<sup>11</sup>

In the nineteenth century, the practice of commemorative street naming spread out to the whole Europe. Great Britain seems to have been the most reticent about adopting it.

The official renaming of streets began late in Albion, and although names of victorious

7 Daniel Milo, 'Le Nom des rues', in *Les Lieux de mémoire*, vol. 2, *La Nation*, subvol. 3, ed. Pierre Nora, 288–9 and Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, 'Reading City Streets', *The French Review* 61 (1988): 390.

8 *Ibid.* and Milo, 292–4.

9 *Ibid.*, 298–300.

10 George R. Stewart, *Names on the Land: A Historical Account of Place-Naming in the United States* (New York: New York Review of Books, 1945; 2008), 142.

11 *Ibid.*, 105–6.

battles (Waterloo, Trafalgar, Alma) were ascribed to streets across the land, the municipality of London merely had the elimination of duplicates as its main purpose with commemorative names.<sup>12</sup> Around the same time, commemorative naming gathered a momentum in the Paris of the Third Republic that a contemporary English observer found exaggerated.<sup>13</sup> Gambetta, Victor Hugo and the Republic became the most popular single new referents for French street names. The most frequent category, however, here as elsewhere in continental Europe, consisted of municipal politicians and council members; an unsurprising tendency considering that street naming usually belonged to the competence of local governments.<sup>14</sup>

It was thus France that made its urban dwellers the most sensitive to the power of street names, as is also attested by the title of a book from 1906, penned by Raoul Morand: *De l'instruction des masses par les choses les plus utiles: les plaques des rues*.<sup>15</sup> Since the trend started earlier in France, French cities had by that time already gone through at least one round of ideologically motivated replacement of commemorative street names, whereas cities in East-Central Europe would experience the same overwriting of city maps into palimpsests only in the twentieth century.

After years and years of continuous everyday use, the second layer of references wears out, in other words, the street name loses much of its ability to activate the associations once connected to it. You may recall that according to the tenets laid out at the beginning of this chapter, the ideological potential of a street name will grow as the attention shifts from its commemorative function towards its indexicality. This potential, however, becomes truly operational only as long as the referents are also accessible for the users of the names in the discourses that surround them. It is far from obvious that this

12 Samuel T. Sheppard, *Bombay Place-Names and Street-Names: An Excursion into the by-ways of the history of Bombay City* (Bombay: The Times Press, 1917), 6–8.

13 Azaryahu, 67.

14 Milo, 304–5.

15 *Ibid.*, 286.

condition is always met. Even if it is assumed, with some oversimplification, that any particular newly introduced commemorative street nomenclature represents a canon, displacements inevitably appear over time between the canon of the day and the one that was valid at the time of naming. Still, the dormant link to the ideological field can be brought into play at any moment.<sup>16</sup> Throughout their existence, commemorative street names thus perennially oscillate between the endpoints of absorption by their denotatum and the re-emergence of their referents into sight. Finally, if the politics of public memory turns against them and they get replaced, that inexorably calls attention to their forgotten ideological valences, and they submerge in the full glow of their signifying power.

Commemorative street names might be the least perceptible of public monuments, but they also have been produced on the greatest scale. As the first period of commemorative street naming spanned no more than thirty years in the area under study, a catalogue of new street names, exhaustive to the limits of possibility, will provide a one-of-a-kind snapshot of the making of public memory in Dualist Hungary. My major goal in this part of my work is to offer an experimental quantitative research design for approaching the national historical-cultural canon of an era through the study of official street naming in Dualist Hungary.

When municipal leaders hammered out a local pantheon of figures and events thought worthy of remembrance, they might take into account the existing preferences among the public, but at the same time they could also feel entitled to educate said public by putting on pedestal representatives of civic virtues like heroism, selflessness, progress, order and solidarity. The main propelling force behind the spread of artificial street naming, however, was the more banal process of cultural imitation. Without the perceived exigency of model following, it is unlikely that smaller towns would have ever

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<sup>16</sup> de Certeau, 104.

initiated the partial replacement of their vernacular street nomenclatures. Once they decided upon such an act, they also found concrete ideas and clues about the possible referents in bigger and more central cities.

I have little first-hand evidence at my disposal about the name-giving process, I shall therefore base my survey on a dataset of the street names actually introduced. This limitation dictates some caution in drawing conclusions about the signification of particular names. I assembled this dataset from works on local history, from contemporary maps (with a preference for the ones closest to the Great War) and from the official announcements of name changes in the contemporary press. The main question that I will pose to this dataset concerns the core names, the ones most frequently chosen. These names can in fact be considered as a popular canon. Beyond the composition of the top ten or twenty, the size of overlap between the various city nomenclatures will also of be interest, but it should be kept in mind that the recurrence of names was ultimately limited by practical reasons, since the same referent was usually not used more than twice in the same town. Expanding my focus to the entire dataset, I am also interested in the relative weights that various historical periods received and in the distribution of referents along a pro-Habsburg vs. pro-independence scale. Obviously, these aspects already raise the possibility of significant regional differences.

When turning to individual towns, I will rely on the concept of scale, a convenient tool already in use for studying commemorative street nomenclatures.<sup>17</sup> Scale refers here to the spatial range that the referents of street names were taken from and for which they bore relevance. In the context of my research, its values could be imperial, national, regional or local. Validating the perspective of the then dominant Hungarian state national-

17 Joshua Hagen, 'Theorizing Scale in Critical Place-Name Studies', *Acme* 10 (2011), no. 1, 23–7; Zoran Stiperski, Lučka Lorber, Emil Heršak, Pavel Ptaček, Zygmunt Górka, Arkadiusz Koloś, Jelena Lončar, Josip Faričić, Mirjana Miličević, Ana Vujaković and Anita Hruška, 'Identity through Urban Nomenclature: Eight Central European Cities', *Geografisk Tidsskrift-Danish Journal of Geography* 111 (2011): 186 and Slavomír Bucher, René Matlovič, Alena Lukáčová, Barbora Harizal, Kvetoslava Matličová, Jana Kolesárová, Lenka Čermáková and Miloslav Michalko, 'The Perception of Identity through Urban Toponyms in the Regional Cities of Slovakia', *Anthropological Yearbooks* 19 (2013), no. 3, 33–4.

ism, the imperial scale will embrace references to the Habsburg lands outside the lands of the Hungarian crown. Here belong members of the Dynasty (with the exception of the naturalised palatines József and István), Habsburg military leaders and civil governors whom official memory did not claim for the Hungarian nation and battles of the Habsburg army fought against foreign powers. Categorisation sometimes depends on the context; the same Austrian German referent that I will attribute to the imperial scale in the case of towns with Magyar leaderships could equally represent the national scale in a German-dominated local government.

Without a doubt, the national scale played the central role in Dualist Hungarian street nomenclatures, in the same manner as the assertion of the national perspective was also the ideological function most commonly invested with commemorative street names in the wider Europe. Magyar/Hungarian national history constituted the narrative underlying commemorative names in most towns of the area, a fact that must be attributed as much to simple ethno-demographic reasons (to be illustrated further below) as to obvious political ones. Consequently, an attendant question also needs to be asked about the space that was left in this domain for rival national histories.

Due to the multinational and contested character of the area, the regional and local scales of street naming should not be naively regarded as a counterbalance to nationalist narratives. All disposable regional canons had been either conceived as national in the first place or had been later nationalised. Indeed, Transylvanian Romanians certainly attributed an all-Romanian importance to their own regional pantheon of history (a pantheon that did not actually appear in street naming), and the heritage of the early modern Principality of Transylvania occupied an important place in the Independentist view of Magyar history. At the same time, it is important not to forget that especially the local

scale offered the possibility to construct a conciliatory, ethnically non-marked commemorative landscape for multilingual places.

It has been proposed that commemorative names were as a rule less numerous in the city centres, where reverence for the past called for keeping the old descriptive names.<sup>18</sup> This principle held only partially true to the area under study, where municipal politicians showed less respect for the age of street names than their peers in various other regions of Europe, to be presented in the next chapter. It is true, however, that the transition from uncontrolled urban sprawl to conscious urban planning was responsible for the advance of commemorative naming. Governability required that new streets must bear names from the very outset, and apart from their convenience, the associations that commemorative street names evoked could partly substitute for the lack an historical milieu in newly built suburbs.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, the demolition of city walls and fortifications also created space for new boulevards and squares to be named.

As a methodological principle, it has also been suggested that the higher the relative prominence of a street, the more distinction has been accorded to its commemorative referent.<sup>20</sup> I will return to this latter aspect in the analysis of my dataset.

## 3.2. Commemorative Street Naming across the Globe

### **3.2.1. In the Borderlands of the German and Russian Empires**

To look for applicable parallels and possible models, I will in the following give an overview of contemporary commemorative street names in cities on the margins of the Hohenzollern and the Romanov Empires and in the colonies. Subsequent to that I will pass on to developments in the Austrian half of the Habsburg Monarchy and in the Balkans, which are of immediate interest due to their proximity. The agencies and tem-

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<sup>18</sup> Azaryahu, 59.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 64 and Stiperski et al., 182.



poralities behind my examples will be usually left unspecified, as I mostly have to base my survey on maps and gazetteers. Only rarely are historical-onomastic studies available, and these also seldom expatiate on such questions. So much can be said, however, that commemorative street names were in general affixed by the local governments in Europe, either as a concerted action of executive boards or special commissions, or else upon individual motions by councillors and the public. In the early stages of overseas colonial rule, on the other hand, the colonial administration and the army assigned names to streets. Similarly in Congress Poland, where municipal rights had been abolished, Gubernia committees had discretion to name streets.<sup>21</sup>

As I write these words, the digitisation of public map collections is proceeding in leaps and bounds, and I am sadly aware that a similar, although probably more time-consuming research would yield a more nuanced picture within a matter of a few years. It is to be hoped that a search interface will in the future integrate the various national, regional and university digital map repositories. I have tried to find data as closely preceding the Great War as possible, and sometimes I could also contrast successive street maps of the same city. On the whole, I have relied on the various Wikipedias and on the Google search engine to identify the referents of street and place names, and I will only refer to the few specialised onomastic works and not to the countless sites that provided clues in this regard.

The most reported locales for aggressive nationalising policies in contemporary Europe were the largely defined border areas of the Romanov and the Wilhelmine Empires. From all environments, the Eastern peripheries of Prussia bore the closest resemblance to the Hungarian East, yet there is not much to say about them in the present context. The German towns located in Polish- and Lithuanian-speaking environments from

21 Danuta Bieńkowska and Elżbieta Umińska-Tytoń, 'Łódzkie urbonimy w okresach utraty niepodległości' [Łódź urbanonyms in non-independent periods], *Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne Seria językoznawcza* 20 (2013): 48.

which I have data either did not introduce commemorative street names to any larger extent (Memel/Klaipėda and Hohensalza/Inowrocław), and those that did (Tilsit/Tilžė, Posen/Poznań, Bromberg/Bydgoszcz, Thorn/Toruń, Gnesen/Gniezno, Ostrowo/Ostrów Wielkopolski) reproduced the street name profile of Berlin, consisting of Prussian generals and politicians, the Hohenzollerns and the same pantheon of German cultural heroes.<sup>22</sup> Very few of their new street names did not have counterparts in Berlin or its suburbs.<sup>23</sup> Fewer still bore references to Poles: only Posen honoured with streets Edward Raczyński, the founder of an important public library, the Sapiehas and the Garczyńskis, a local noble family. In the Eastern part of Upper Silesia (Oppeln/Opole, Kattowitz/Katowice, Königshütte/Królewska Huta, Beuthen/Bytom, Tarnowitz/Tarnowskie Góry and Ratibor/Racibórz), where ethno-national categories and oppositions were less rigid, the place of Prussian generals was occupied by even more Hohenzollerns, while the local dimension played a slightly bigger role.<sup>24</sup>

The Western provinces of the Russian Empire showed a more fragmented picture. Contrary to Prussia, non-dominant groups (Germans, Poles, Jews, Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians) formed the majority of the urban population here, therefore the relevant questions are different: how far could the locally dominant elites assert their nationalist, regionalist or localist agendas through commemorative street names, and how far did the Russian state symbolically mark out the territory either via soft power mechanisms, by

22 J. Schutz, *Übersichts-Plan von der Kreis-Stadt Tilsit* (Tilsit: von Mauderode, 1895); *Adressbuch für die Kgl. Preuß. See- und Handelsstadt Memel und deren Vororte* (Memel: s. n., 1909); *Pharus-Plan Hohensalza* (Berlin: Pharus, s. a. [1910]); *Pharus-Plan Posen* (Berlin: Pharus, s. a. [1911]); *Plan der Stadt Bromberg mit Vororten* (Bromberg: Dittmann, 1914); *Pharus-Plan Thorn* (Berlin: Pharus, s. a. [1912]); Albert Gehrke, *Plan der Stadt Gnesen und Umgegend* (Gnesen: Rauch, s. a. [1911]) and Józef Pietrzak, 'Samorząd miejski Ostrowa Wielkopolskiego w okresie II Rzeczypospolitej (lata 1918–1920)' [The Ostrow Wielkopolski local government during the Second Republic (1918–1920)], *Roczn. Ostrowskiego Tow. Nauk* 1 (2006): 100. Cf. Mathias Niendorf, *Minderheiten an der Grenze: Deutsche und Polen in den Kreisen Flatow (Złotów) und Zempelburg (Śępólno Krajeńskie); 1900–1939* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1997), 315.

23 A searchable historical dictionary of Berlin street names (*Berliner Straßenlexikon*) can be found at <http://www.berlingeschichte.de/strassen>.

24 *Plan der Stadt Oppeln* (Oppeln: Kunert, s. a. [1907]); Daniela Pelka, 'Die deutschen Straßennamen von Oppeln', *Zeitschrift für Mitteleuropäische Germanistik* 2 (2012): 21; *Plan von Kattowitz* (Kattowitz: Siwinna, s. a. [1910]); Leo Woerl, ed., *Illustrierter Führer durch das Oberschlesische Industriegebiet mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Orte Kattowitz, Königshütte, Beuthen, Tarnowitz, Zabrze und Gleiwitz* (Leipzig: Woerl, s. a. [1904]), 41, 57 and 75 and idem, *Führer durch Ratibor in Schl. und Umgegend* (Würzburg: Woerl, 1891). On the formation of national identities in nineteenth-century Silesia, see Tomasz Kamusella, *Silesia and Central European Nationalism: The Emergence of National and Ethnic Groups in Prussian Silesia and Austrian Silesia, 1848–1918* (West-Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 2007).

indirect pressure, by meddling into municipal affairs or by direct fiat? The door was open for imperial high officials to pursue the latter means in Congress Poland, where the *zemstvo* reforms had not been implemented and cities were led by appointed mayors.

The data at hand from the Western regions of the empire show a great variation from one city to the other not only in the range of commemorative naming, but also in the distribution of commemorative street names among various types. Curiously, Congress Poland in no way stands out as a land with individual features. Male members of the Romanov dynasty functioned as ubiquitous signs of state sovereignty, generally as the names of main urban arteries.<sup>25</sup> Street names pointing to geographical features from other regions of the Empire likely served an integrative purpose, especially when the respective places lay far beyond the inhabitants' usual reference points. Such faraway, but supposedly not foreign places were present in the street nomenclatures in Keshenev/Kishinyov/Chişinău, Riga, Warsaw, Białystok/Belastok and Łódź/Lodz/Lodz,<sup>26</sup> clustered together or scattered throughout the urban network. Their presence nowhere took such proportions as in Wilne/Wilno/Vil'na/Vil'nya/Vilnius, where at least twenty such names were established in the 1860s.<sup>27</sup> From among the giants of Russian culture, however, only Pushkin, Gogol, Turgenev and Lermontov appeared on street maps, and they were far surpassed in numbers by obscure and not easily identifiable former civil and military administrators.<sup>28</sup>

25 *Pharus-Plan Dorpat* (Dorpat: Krüger, s. a. [1914]); *Plan der Stadt Pernau* (Pernau: Peters, 1913); Karl von Bædeker, *Russia with Teheran, Port Arthur, and Peking: Handbook for Travellers* (Leipzig: Bædeker, 1914), 49 (Liepāja/Lipaw/Lipawa/Liepoja) and *Plan von Mitau Jelgawa* ([1907]).

26 Lucia Sava, *Viața cotidiană în orașul Chişinău la începutul secolului al XX-lea (1900–1918)* [Daily life in the city of Keshenev/Kishinyov/Chişinău at the beginning of the twentieth century (1900–1918)] (Chişinău: Pontos, 2010), 54–5; Husnik and Häusler, *Neuester Plan von Riga* (Riga: Jonck and Poliewsky, s. a. [1904]); Johann Nebocat, *Plan der inneren Stadt Riga* (Riga: Schnakenburg, s. a. [1904]); *Pharus plan Warszawy* (Berlin: Pharus, s. a. [1910]); Tomasz Fiedorowicz, Marek Kietliński and Jarosław Maciejczuk, *Białostockie ulice i ich patroni* [Białystok/Belastok street names and their eponyms] (Białystok: Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, 2012) and *Plan miasta Łodzi: dodatek do kalendarza 'Czas'* (Łódź: Resiger, s. a. [1910/1911]).

27 Darius Staliūnas, *Making Russians: Meaning and Practice of Russification in Lithuania and Belarus after 1863* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 190 and F. Valitskiy, *Plan goroda Vil'ny* (Vilnius: Matz, 1904).

28 Yu. Veliogorskiy, *Skhema g. Kishinyova* (Chişinău: s. n., s. a. [early 20th century]); Cornelius Löwe, *Pharus-Plan Reval* (Berlin: Pharus, s. a. [1910]); Ebok and Fiedorowicz, Kietliński and Maciejczuk.

Commemorative street names representing the ethnic groups holding local power were in general fewer and local in their scale. It is possible to identify mayors, a few priests, philanthropists and local factory owners (on the 1910/11 map of Łódź), besides two men of a wider prominence with local linkages: the philosopher Herder in Riga and the naval explorer Kotzebue in Tallinn/Reval.<sup>29</sup> A more neutral option, the town hall of Riga tagged suburban streets with male and female first names on a large scale. Figures taken from national histories and without a local connection appear in a few cases, but never as names of important streets: Hamann in Riga, Lessing in Tallinn/Reval, Jan Sobieski and Chopin in Białystok and Mickiewicz in Częstochowa/Tschenstochau.<sup>30</sup> Apparently between 1905 and 1910, Łódź also commemorated in this manner Copernicus, Sienkiewicz, Słowacki, Chopin, Mickiewicz, the political thinker Staszic and the composer Stanisław Moniuszko, most of them in new neighbourhoods as the town extended.<sup>31</sup> In other cities where the evolution of street names can be followed in a longitudinal section (Warsaw, Riga, Tallinn and Tartu/Dorpat/Yur'yev), the year 1905 brought demonstrably no de-Russifying or nationalising backlash in the urbanonymy.<sup>32</sup>

On the whole, it seems that the main influence of Russian sovereignty did not reside in the commemorative street names actually introduced, but rather in preventing the cities dominated by Poles and Germans from nationalising their street nomenclatures. Not only smaller-sized cities like Lublin, Radom, Kalisz, Częstochowa and Tartu, but even a metropolis like Warsaw largely kept their descriptive street names or introduced decorative ones, but Poles had to wait for post-war independence to place elements of their national memory on street signs.<sup>33</sup> Another consequence, perhaps more visible for the aver-

29 Veligorskiy; Nebocat; Löwe and *Plan miasta Łodzi*.

30 Nebocat; Löwe; Fiedorowicz, Kietliński and Maciejczuk; and *Częstochowa* ([1913]).

31 *Plan miasta Łodzi and Łódź* (s. l.: Podróżnik Polski, s. a. [1903]).

32 *Plan m. Warszawy poprawiony i dopełniony* (Warsaw: Główny, 1879); *Warszawa* (Warsaw: Kasprzykiewicz, s. a. [1897]); Yezhovskiy, *Plan goroda Varshavy* (s. l. [Warsaw]: Lindley, 1900); *Pharus plan Warszawy*; R. Stegmann and A. Agthe, *Stadtplan von Riga* (Zürich: Hofer and Burger, 1885); Husnik and Häusler; Nebocat; Bædeker, *Russia*, 53; *Karte der Gouvernements-Stadt Reval* (Reval: Kluge, s. a. [1889]); *Plan der Gouvernementsstadt Reval* (Reval: Kluge and Ströhm, 1901); Löwe; *Plan der Stadt Dorpat* (Dorpat: Laakmann, s. a. [1892]) and *Pharus-Plan Dorpat*.

33 Witold Cholewiński, 'Plan m. Lublina 1912 g.', annexe to *Przewodnik firm polskich w Lublinie na rok 1914* [Guide of Polish companies in Lublin for the year 1914] (Lublin: Ziemi Lubelskiej, 1914); K. I. Pauli, *Plan miasta Radomia* (Radom: Trzebiński,

age citizen, was that street names had to be displayed bilingually and sometimes in Russian only, a problem to which I will return in a later chapter.<sup>34</sup>

### **3.2.2. In the Colonies**

Recent German scholarship has offered some intriguing hints about the ways colonial and domestic ethnic policies and thinking could be interrelated. Alas, the utility of a knowledge transfer approach is largely limited to Wilhelmine Germany within East-Central Europe, an empire with both colonial and ethnically alien metropolitan appendages where it can be argued that colonies sometimes served as a training ground for policies towards ethnic minorities at home.<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, colonial parallels are at their weakest when state rule over whatever linguistically diverse lands there existed in Europe is labelled ‘colonial’ without further ado, perhaps as a reaction to a priori differentiation between European and other settings.<sup>36</sup> Such superficial metaphors, reminiscent of the ones nationalist historical memory used to relish in order to highlight past victimhood, should not deter the historian from drawing comparisons with colonial policies and teasing out structural analogies, differences and possible influences. My attempt below is confined to representation through urban spaces, connected in more than one way to the legitimization of power.

On the first blink, colonial cities had little in common with the ones in the territory studied as far as their official street names are concerned, and the present section will bear out this impression. The assimilationist motifs present in French colonialist discourse, however half-heartedly and inconsistently that assimilationism was implemented, would seem to create some common ground at least with Algeria, the model settler

1899); Bronisław Bukowiński, *Plan miasta Kalisza* (s. l. [Kalisz]: Boretti and Graeve, 1911); *Częstochowa; Pharos-Plan Dorpat* and *Pharus plan Warszawy*.

34 Peter Päll, ‘Historical Multilingualism of Street Names in Estonia’, in *Names in Multi-Lingual, Multi-Cultural and Multi-Ethnic Contact*, eds Wolfgang Ahrens, Sheila Embleton and André Lapierre, 792–3 (Toronto: York University, 2009).

35 Sebastian Conrad, *Globalisation and the Nation in imperial Germany*, trans. Sorchá O’Hagan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

36 Part of the essays in Róisín Healy and Enrico Dal Lago, eds., *The Shadow of Colonialism on Europe’s Modern Past* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

colony of France.<sup>37</sup> Beyond the ethnic make-up of urban populations, however, the general conditions of street naming were in general also very different, as will be shown further. Colonial street naming moved toward European patterns where white or non-white elites emancipated themselves from the guardianship of a metropolitan state and its colonial agencies, as it happened with the South African cities of Cape Town and Johannesburg and the Guadeloupian towns carefully researched by Stella Vincenot.<sup>38</sup> With this restriction, several features marked off colonial urban naming as different.

Early colonial settlements had developed descriptive street names after landmarks or the relative position of their streets, which the more important cities partly replaced with commemorative names during the second half of the late nineteenth century. Colonial towns founded from scratch or conquered during the period under study were already built or rebuilt according to development plans carefully designed by military cartographers, and new streets usually received names before they were actually laid out. In the scenario followed with little variation across the French second colonial empire, street names were chosen by officers of the colonial armies and were nearly always commemorative or decorative in character. Europeans regarded the spaces earmarked for urban planning as onomastic blank slates, although the English adopted many Boer street names in South Africa and a few local Chinese toponyms in Hong Kong.<sup>39</sup> As a rare exception, an example of what can be seen the logical conclusion of English indirect rule in

37 About assimilationism in contemporary French colonial thinking in general, see Raymond F. Betts, *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory 1890-1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961). On the linguistic relations of contemporary Algeria, André Lanly, 'Le Français dans les "colonies" et "territoires français"', in *Histoire de la langue française 1880-1914*, eds Gérard Antoine and Robert Martin, 397-413 (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1985).

38 Stella Vincenot, 'La Culture politique en Guadeloupe après l'émancipation, 1871-1914', PhD thesis, 2014, 355-403 (New York University); accessed through ProQuest. My conclusions about the two South African cities are based on the maps *Johannesburg* (London: The London Geographical Institute, 1913); B. W. Melvill, *Plan of Johannesburg and Suburbs* (Johannesburg: Grocott & Sherry, 1897) and T. W. Carncross, *Map of Cape Town: Being the Map of 1884, revised and corrected to date* (Cape Town: Richards, 1891), compared with earlier Cape Town street maps from the William and Yvonne Jackson Digital Africana Program at the University of Cape Town; available at <http://www.specialcollections.uct.ac.za>.

39 K. A. Massey, *Victoria Peak: with Plan of City from Pokfulam Road to Wanchai Road* (Hong Kong: South China Morning Post, Ltd, s. a. [1909]); Andrew Yanne and Gillis Heller, *Signs of a Colonial Era* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009). All my examples from Hong Kong come from a comparison between these two sources.

street naming, the streets of Lagos were baptised by an indigenous surveyor, mostly in Yoruba and partly after indigenous local figures.<sup>40</sup>

Power usually remained in the hands of white elites after new colonial cities were endowed with local autonomy, and the naming of new streets shifted to include notables from the ranks of local communities.<sup>41</sup> In the Guadeloupian towns mentioned above, French governors never tried to impose new street names on the local councils, but they vetoed local decisions twice between 1879 and 1916.<sup>42</sup>

Public spaces named after the geography of the metropole were widespread in all colonial empires. They did not have the same integrative function as their main purpose that I referred to in the case of the Romanov Empire, but were principally intended to infuse the foreign environment with a sense of intimacy for the white population, a large part of whom were short-term residents. The reproducing of commonplace metropolitan street names had a similar effect in so far as *Rues Gambetta* and *Victoria Squares* could call up intimate memories of the *Rue Gambetta* and *Victoria Square* in one's home city. In Tunis, the new European centre constructed between the medina and the sea was invested mostly with street names referring to countries and cities from Europe and the wider Mediterranean coast, a cosmopolitan vision befitting a city that was to accommodate large masses of non-French white immigrants according to French expectations.<sup>43</sup> To the extent that French authorities actually contemplated assimilation in Northern Africa, its immediate targets were the urban Italians, Spaniards, Maltese and Sephardic Jews.<sup>44</sup>

European name givers, especially in earlier times, also often drew on local geography and wildlife. Even the Germans, who everywhere disembarked with the same

40 Liora Bigon, 'Urban planning, colonial doctrines and street naming in French Dakar and British Lagos, c. 1850–1930', *Urban History* 36 (2009): 444–6.

41 Cf. Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Patrick Camiller (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014), 285.

42 Vincenot, 364–72.

43 Massimo Amodei, 'Tunis 1860–1930: The Formation of a colonial town', *Environmental Design* 1 (1985): 30 and 'Tunis', annexe to Henri Le François, *Guide annuaire tunisien indicateur officiel, commercial, industrie, agricole et viticole de la Régence, 3<sup>e</sup> (4<sup>e</sup>) année*, 2 vols (Tunis: Éditeur scientifique, 1893–4).

44 Lanly, 400.

ready-made package of colonial street names, tapped into this resource in the city of Lome.<sup>45</sup> Neither earlier nor later European colonisers, however, tried to valorise the local cultural heritage. The complexity of the very early French street nomenclature of Algiers from 1832 stands out as an exception in this respect. Although Paul Siblot identifies the Saint-Simonian ‘social religion’ of the French expeditionary officer corps at its source, it can also be read as a colourful encyclopaedia of contemporary Orientalism, mixing together elements from Punic, Roman and early Christian Africa with a rich Ottoman staffage, exotic fauna and the glory of the French army.<sup>46</sup>

Colonised people usually appeared as an unindividuated mass (*Kaffir Road*, *Haussa-Straße*).<sup>47</sup> Whilst wealthy Parsi merchants, local saints and Hindu godheads served as eponyms to streets in Bombay (although in non-European zones of the city), the rare concrete figures who appear from the ranks of the colonised in French and German colonial cities were political leaders of their peoples, either defeated or nominally reigning under *de facto* colonial rule.<sup>48</sup>

There was a tendency to inscribe racially based residential segregation into colonial street names.<sup>49</sup> Street names in the neighbourhoods built by and for Europeans ought to have ‘European’ referents, whilst the ones inhabited by the natives or by non-native non-whites were often given street names with a ‘native’ flavour (geography-based or exoticist decorative names) or else no names at all. A ‘sociological map’ of Calcutta from 1910 shows how English street names copied from London concentrated in white residential and business areas of the city, whilst Bengali street names became frequent in In-

45 Heinrich Schnee, ed., *Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1920), vol. 3, 512.

46 Paul Siblot, ‘La Bataille des noms de rues d’Alger: Discours et idéologie d’une toponymie coloniale’, *Cahiers de sociolinguistique* 11 (2006): 154–9.

47 *Johannesburg* and Schnee, ed., vol. 3, 512.

48 Sheppard; Ernest Farnet, *Plan d’Oran et ses environs* (Paris: Garnier, s. a. [1913]); E. Mayen, *Constantine* (Constantine: Roubille, 1895); Schnee, ed., vol. 1, 440; Marie A. Rieger, ‘From Kaiserstraße to Barabara ya Bandarini: What Swahili street names can tell us about the past’, in *Names in Daily Life: Proceedings of the XXIV ICOS International Congress of Onomastic Sciences*, eds Joan Tort i Donada and Montserrat Montagut i Montagut, 1678 (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya Departament de Cultura, 2014); *Plan de la ville de Hanoi* (1905, Cité de l’Architecture et du Patrimoine 3.4 VN HAN.1905A) and Bartholomew, *Plan de la ville de Saigon (Cochinchine)* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Daily Press Office, 1900).

49 Cf. Osterhammel, 285.



dian neighbourhoods.<sup>50</sup> Municipalities in the Dutch East Indies and Singapore consistently gave street names referring to India in Tamil and to China in Chinese suburbs.<sup>51</sup> In Qingdao/Tsingtau, Germans assigned Chinese street names to the Chinese village, but named their newly built modern town after contemporary political leaders of the Reich and after German cities, as they usually did in their colonies.<sup>52</sup> In Hanoi, too, only the new neighbourhoods commemorated French politicians, soldiers and explorers, while street names in the old town referred to the guilds whose members traditionally populated them.<sup>53</sup> The first development plan of Dakar, a city that the colonial military authorities designed to become a model site for the French colonial experiment, assigned names for thirty-eight prospective streets (twenty-four of these names were to pay tribute to the conquering French troops), but they ignored the old medina.<sup>54</sup> A similar map for the Moroccan city of Casablanca, however, conceived fifty years later in a similarly martial vein, not only displayed French names for the streets of the medina, but several of these names also referred to the colonial army.<sup>55</sup>

The plethora of generals, battles, war heroes and military units commemorated in planned colonial cities amply reflected the military origins of local street naming.<sup>56</sup> Whilst Prussian towns showed a preference for military leaders that was quite unusual in Europe, Oran, with a similar size, boasted thirty streets named after generals (partly contemporary with the town's master plan, partly serving in the Napoleonic wars) against

50 *Calcutta: sociological map* (Manchester: Taylor, Garnett, Evans & Co., s. a. [1910]).

51 Freek Colombijn, *Under Construction: The Politics of Urban Space and Housing during the Decolonization of Indonesia, 1930–1960* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 82; J. R. van Diessen and R. P. G. A. Voskuil, *Stedenatlas Nederlands-Indië* [Netherlands Indies city atlas] (Purmerend: Asia Maior, 1998), 74–5; Brenda S. A. Yeoh, 'Street Names in Colonial Singapore', *Geographical Review* 82 (1992): 314 and 316 and Subramaniam Aiyer, 'From Colonial Segregation to Postcolonial "Integration": Constructing Ethnic Difference through Singapore's Little India and the Singapore "Indian"', PhD thesis, 2006, 80–1 (University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand); available at <http://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/handle/10092/2782>.

52 [Claude] Madrolle, *Northern China: The Valley of the Blue River; Korea* (Paris: Hachette, 1912), 144 and Sebastian Conrad, *German Colonialism: A Short History*, trans. Sorchia O'Hagan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 61–2 and 101.

53 *Plan de la ville de Hanoi*.

54 Liora Bigon, 'Names, Norms, and Forms: French and indigenous toponyms in early colonial Dakar, Senegal', *Planning Perspectives* 23 (2008): 482–8.

55 A. Tardif, *Plan de Casablanca* (s. l. [Paris]: Groniez and Chevillard, 1912).

56 See also Philippe Gervais-Lambony, *De Lomé à Harare: Le fait citadin* (Paris: Karthala; Nairobi: IFRA, 1994), 384–6 and David Prochaska, *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bône, 1870–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1990; 2002), 209–13.

Posen's eleven.<sup>57</sup> This overflow of recent military history was typical for French towns in North Africa, while the navy reigned supreme in the street names of Saigon.<sup>58</sup> The battlefields of the Zouave regiments in the Crimean War, incorporated into the street grid of Oran through street names, may have strengthened the feeling of solidarity with France, but this effect was more than counterbalanced by the usual practice of naming streets after French soldiers fallen during the conquest, which could potentially antagonise the natives. By the same token, the Brits showed little tact in conciliating the Burmese when they commemorated British generals of the Anglo-Burmese wars in Rangoon, only a few decades after the events.<sup>59</sup>

In general, colonial street naming gave a strong preference to near-contemporary persons and events. The French officer corps imposed the cult of Napoleon on cities in the Maghreb, but only the nostalgic Portuguese laid stress on a bygone era, the golden age of their colonial empire, when renaming the streets of Luanda and Lourenço Marques—alongside colonial officials in the former and nineteenth-century metropolitan advocates for colonialism in the latter.<sup>60</sup> The most common and usually the first referents of commemorative street names were royalties, colonial governors, explorers and missionaries in English and soldiers in French colonial settlements, together with metropolitan politicians committed to colonial expansion in both, later to be joined by local municipal officials. Germans, wherever they launched urban development projects in their colonies, replicated a pantheon consisting of the imperial family and of contemporary Prussian politicians,<sup>61</sup> whereas the Spanish gave relatively few commemorative street names both at home and overseas, and only in Manila did contemporary public figures

57 Farnet and *Pharus-Plan Posen*.

58 Bartholomew, *Plan de la ville de Saigon*.

59 Donald M. Seekins, *State and Society in Modern Rangoon* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2011), 73 and J. G. Bartholomew, *A Literary and Historical Atlas of Asia* (London: Dent, s. a. [1912]), 143.

60 Berta Maria Oliveira Jacob, 'A Toponímia de Luanda: Das memórias coloniais às pós-coloniais' [The toponymy of Luanda: from colonial to post-colonial memories], MA thesis, 2011, 47–8 (Universidade Aberta, Lisbon); available at <http://repositorio-aberto.uab.pt/handle/10400.2/1866> and *Pranta de Lourenço Marques indicando aproximadamente todos os melhoramentos da cidade e do porto* (s. l. [London]: Delagoa Bay Development Company, s. a. [1910]).

61 Madrolle, 144 and Schnee, ed., vol. 1, 440 and vol. 3, 512.

appear as eponyms in a greater number.<sup>62</sup> As a common feature, the high culture of the colonising nations kept a low profile, which in the French case stood in glaring contrast to domestic trends.

Several sources suggest that the colonised made very infrequent use of the street names given by the colonisers, even in newly built towns. The Cantonese, Hokkien and Tamil of Singapore all worked out their own alternative street nomenclatures along descriptive lines, while the African population of Dakar developed their alternative system of orientation based on blocks instead of streets for the new European city.<sup>63</sup> This rejection of European street names not only stemmed from linguistic, but also from cultural barriers. Commemorative street naming was a uniquely European thing, it seems, and non-Europeans may have even bucked at the idea of naming a street without any reference to reality.<sup>64</sup>

In conclusion, I have singled out the following as common ingredients of the colonial brew of street names: all-encompassing, systematic street naming connected to large-scale development projects, the dominance of commemorative names in general, the prominent place reserved for the colonial apparatus, the preponderance of recent over remote history, the toponymic references to the metropole, the little space for artists and scientists and the ethnic marking of neighbourhoods. It is not hard to see why the preconditions for a similar mix were largely missing from pre-WW1 Europe. There were few absolute zero points, towns built from scratch with the sponsorship of a culturally alien state. During the nineteenth century, some European towns were annexed to nation states with already existing traditions of commemorative street naming. However, the maps of Nice/Niça/Nizza, Chambéry, Straßburg/Strasbourg, Metz and Kiel reveal that the majority of descriptive names were left intact, and the new commemorative names did not

62 Francisco J. de Gamonedá, *Plano de Manila y sus arrabales* (s. l.: Montes, 1898).

63 Aiyer, 81–2 and Bigon, *Names, Norms, and Forms*, 492–6.

64 Siblot, 147.

emulate the colonial brand.<sup>65</sup> In Nice as well as in Straßburg and Metz, the two major cities of German-annexed Alsace-Lorraine, the new authorities also found relatively old commemorative street names.<sup>66</sup> Germans restored the old, descriptive names of the places commemorating the battle of Austerlitz and Napoleon, but they did not touch the revolutionary generals and politicians with obvious local ties, and neither did the French to earlier Sardo-Piemontese references in Nice. In the newly built-up areas of Straßburg, which lent themselves more naturally to active memory politics, half of the public spaces received names pointing to local or Alsatian figures (most of these names still exist nowadays), and one quarter of them were named after places from the Rhine Province and the wider German Empire. The few new names in Nice that invoked Italian national culture and the Italian nation state certainly ran counter to French metropolitan trends, but unlike in the colonies, these reflected local, indigenous agency. In a similarly unusual fashion, the town hall of French-speaking Metz managed to name local streets after two recently dead French politicians and one general in the second year of German sovereignty.<sup>67</sup>

Perhaps Nice, Kiel and Straßburg are not quite relevant examples, since their populations cannot be described as culturally alien to their new state frameworks. It was in the German case that the street naming of cities on the Eastern ethnic peripheries and in the colonies differed the least, but the German majorities of the former felt unconditionally at home in Germany. Their town leaderships may have reiterated the template of Berlin

65 Ch. Montolivo and Ch. Dyonnet, *Plan de la ville de Nice* (Nice: Visconti, 1856); Erhard, *Plan indicateur de la ville de Nice* (Nice: Jouglas, s. a. [1865]); Ad. de R. and J. Jérôme, *Guide-touriste plan de la Ville de Nice avec Indication des Rues, Places, Hôtels, Banques, Villas, Établissements et monuments publics* (Paris: Dufrenoy, s. a. [1891]); *Plan de la ville de Chambéry* (Chambéry: Perrin, 1861); Dardel and Bouvier, *Plan de Chambéry* (Chambéry: Perrin, 1910) and Karl Bædeker, *Northern Germany as far as the Bavarian and Austrian Frontiers: Handbook for Travellers*, 15th, rev. ed. (Leipzig: Bædeker; New York: Scribner, 1910), 135.

66 *Nouvelle description de Strasbourg: contenant des détails sur tous ses édifices publics et ses curiosités* (Strasbourg: Lagier, 1842) and André Jeanmarie, *Vieux Metz: Les noms de rues* (Metz: Zalc, 1976).

67 *Ibid.*; J. N. Villot, *Strasbourg d'après le Plan général*, rev. and corr. ed. (s. l.: Berger-Levrault, 1870); *Plan der Stadt Strassburg* (Strassburg: Schauenburg, s. a. [1872]); *Plan de la ville de Strasbourg avec banlieue* (s. l.: Imprimerie Alsacienne, s. a. [1883]); *Plan der Stadt Strassburg* (Strassburg: Schultz, s. a. [1886]); *Strassburg* (Berlin: Goldschmidt, s. a. [1902]); *Plan der Stadt Strassburg: aufgestellt nach dem amtlichen Bebauungsplan* (Strassburg: Heinrich, s. a. [1914]); J. Veronnais, *Plan de Metz* ([1868]); *Plan de Metz* (Metz: Serpenoise, 1881) and Haug, *Plan von Metz und Vororten* (Metz: Lupus, 1904). The three public figures from Metz were the mayor Félix Maréchal, the senator Charles de Ladoucette and the general Jean-Victor Poncelet.

in commemorative street naming, but they also preserved the major part of old, downtown street names. Moreover, they would have likely scoffed at the idea that adopting the names of remote German cities for their streets could better anchor them in their physical locations.

The new street names of Küstendje/Constanța after the Romanian annexation of 1878, to be described in the next section, show a somewhat closer similarity to the colonial model, at least in two important respects. First, the new power did not adopt or translate earlier descriptive names. Second, another condition rarely found in contemporary Europe, the town grew to several times its earlier size in the decades after its annexation. As a joint consequence of these two, the new street nomenclature became entirely commemorative. Its frequent references to ancient Roman and medieval Romanian history, however, also set it apart from the colonial model.

To thoroughly rewrite urban toponymies in a triumphant, self-glorifying, quasi-colonial vein, the sovereign power would not only have needed to suspend local autonomies, instituted over the bulk of the continent, but it would probably also have required a strong will to convey contempt for the locals. The first condition was present in Congress Poland, but the Russian bureaucracy apparently showed little interest in commemorative street names. After the post-War border changes, non-elected and vengeful town leaderships would indeed echo the dynamism of colonial administrators in their sweeping replacement of street names, as in Kolozsvár and Marosvásárhely/Oșorhei/Neumarkt.<sup>68</sup> Apart from other notable differences from colonial street naming, however, the motif of conquest was downplayed here instead of being used as a legitimising factor.

68 Zsombor Bartos-Elekes, *Nyelvhasználat a térképeken: Erdély, 19. és 20. század* [Language use on maps: Transylvania, 19th and 20th centuries] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2013), 145–6.

### **3.2.3. In the Habsburg Monarchy and the Balkans**

Turning my attention to the Dualist Habsburg Monarchy, the Viennese city government certainly revealed an unusual predilection for commemorative street names. Between 1862 and 1914, upwards of 1300 new street and place names, or their vast majority, fell into this category, whilst the old street names of the historic city centre largely remained unaltered.<sup>69</sup> This high proportion and the near lack of decorative names were unparalleled in the European cities that I studied. Neither was the Viennese generosity that named public spaces after famous and unremarkable people alike copied elsewhere in the Monarchy.

Official street naming debuted in 1780 with *Josefsplatz*, celebrating Joseph II's accession to sole rule over the Empire. A handful of other Dynasty members were honoured the same way in the next eighty years, while the trend also had its modest beginnings in a few other cities, with the names of Habsburgs, generals and governors.<sup>70</sup> In the meantime, however, many more vernacular street names appeared on the maps of Vienna that immortalised first or distinguished residents, property owners and developers linked to the respective streets. Such street names could emerge anywhere spontaneously and were often approved as official names. In Vienna, they were in later decades also frequently affixed through official means.

The first big wave of official street naming took place between 1862 and 1876, when the German liberal bourgeoisie that governed the capital in those years found the opportunity to inscribe their intellectual heroes in the urban fabric. The merging of outer suburbs into the city in 1892 unleashed a second wave of renaming. This time, the distinctive part of new names was made up of the medieval minor place names and names of

69 My calculations on the basis of Peter Autengruber, *Lexikon der Wiener Straßennamen: Bedeutung, Herkunft, Frühere Bezeichnungen*, 5th ed. (Vienna: Pichler, 2004). I did not consider new names introduced in the suburbs before these were annexed to the city.

70 Jaroslav Hrytsak and Victor Susak, 'Constructing a National City: The Case of L'viv', in *Composing Urban History and the Constitution of Civic Identities*, eds John J. Czaplicka and Blair A. Ruble, 146 (Washington, D. C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003) and Denisa Kmeťová, 'Historická urbanonymie města Uherského Hradiště od počátku do r. 1781' [The historical urbanonymy of Uherské Hradiště from the beginning to 1781], BA thesis, 2009, 24–5 (Palacký University, Olomouc); available at <http://theses.cz/id/sxwpkx/43670-502164126.pdf>.

former landlords and parish priests that had been brought to life from the scant references of historical documents, likely to foster a sense of rootedness in the mainly working-class, newcomer population of these districts. Many ‘big names’ also received streets in these neighbourhoods.

With less intensity, the giving of commemorative street names continued unabated until the Great War. Altogether, an impressive three hundred public spaces received names of artists between 1862 and 1914, and a closer study could perhaps reveal how far this tendency should be put down to conscious self-positioning of Vienna as the city of arts. Artists were followed by municipal office holders, scholars, scientists and inventors, generals, soldiers and battles of the Empire, philanthropists, endowers, industrialists and members of the Dynasty. The Christian Socials, whose city leadership coincided with the second wave of renaming, brought little change to these trends, only the share of priests and monks grew among the referents, from five-six to ten-eleven per cent.

In 1914, upon the decision of the city hall, four public spaces in the Favoriten suburb got the names *Klausenburger Straße* after the town of Kolozsvár, *Thyrnauer* and *Wieselburger Straße* and *Eisenstadtplatz* after the Western Hungarian towns Trnava/Nagyszombat/Tyrnau, Moson/Wieselburg and Eisenstadt/Kismarton, while a street in Florisdorf received the name *Ödenburger Straße* after Ödenburg/Sopron/Šopron.<sup>71</sup> Such reference to place names was exceptional in the Viennese tradition. As a matter of fact, these names create a link to the topic of a later chapter, since it would be difficult to interpret the gesture of the city hall as anything else than a protest against the Hungarian legislation on locality names, which demanded the use of Hungarian names in the official sphere and which remained an oft-levelled charge against Hungary in Austrian German political discourse.

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71 *Wiener Zeitung* 22 January 1914.

Major urban centres in the Dual Monarchy very often constituted multinational and multilingual, ‘contested’ spaces. This could simply mean that city-dwellers spoke a different language from the surrounding countryside, but upstart ‘Ruritanians’ often also threatened to take or in fact took the demographic and economic lead from smug ‘Megalomanians’. The conflict-seeking contemporary public discourse in inter-ethnic matters helps to understand why incumbent national majorities at Cisleithanian town halls, even if they did not represent local linguistic majorities, put their exclusivist national stamps on new urban nomenclatures. For all the mixture of languages and ethnic groups, only cities of the Bukovina sported a plural landscape of commemorative street names in the decades before the Great War. The street nomenclature of Czernowitz/Chernivtsi/Cernăuți/Czerniowce was carefully balanced between notable Germans and Jews, Romanians, Ruthenians, Poles and (Polish-)Armenians.<sup>72</sup>

Apart from the Bukovina, commemorative street names everywhere showed a nationally rather uniform picture; figures and symbols considered as parts of the other’s legacy were largely avoided. If only five streets in 1916 reminded citizens of the Ruthenian population in Lwów/Lemberg/L’viv, a Greek Catholic bishopric seat, the locally non-dominant, ‘second’ national cultures were given even lower profiles elsewhere.<sup>73</sup> The Split/Spalato city leadership perhaps sought to placate the Italian minority when they included Ugo Foscolo’s name into the new street gazetteer in 1912, which otherwise conveyed the image of a Croatian history of Dalmatia, and the German town hall of Marburg/Maribor renamed a street after the Slovene Catholic politician Ivan Šušteršič in the same year or shortly afterwards, when he was appointed governor of

72 Ludwig West, *Plan von Czernowitz mit der neuen Straßenbenennung, den Hausnummern und Höhenzahlen* (Czernowitz: König, 1911); *Adressbuch von Czernowitz samt Vorstädten zusammengestellt nach Daten der k. k. Polizeidirektion sowie der Städte Radautz und Suczawa* (Czernowitz: Pardini, 1909) and Hermann Sternberg, ‘On the history of the Jews in Czernowitz’, trans. Jerome Silverbush, in *History of the Jews in the Bukowina*, ed. Hugo Gold; available at [http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Bukowinabook/buk2\\_027.html](http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Bukowinabook/buk2_027.html)

73 Hrytsak and Susak, 148.



Carinthia.<sup>74</sup> From the ‘opposite camps’, there were streets bearing Shevchenko’s name in Stanislau/Stanisławów/Stanyславiv<sup>75</sup> and Sokal,<sup>76</sup> a street named after the early Ukrainian poet Ivan Kotliarevsky in Tarnopol/Ternopil’,<sup>77</sup> two named after Kepler and Goethe in Plzeň/Pilsen,<sup>78</sup> a *Mozartova ulice* in Prague<sup>79</sup> and a *Giskra-Straße* in Brünn/Brno.<sup>80</sup> The tiny Moravian industrial town of Witkowitz/Vítkovice, with a population almost equally split to German and Czech halves, was fairly unique in 1914 for having streets bearing the names of both the Styrian German poet Peter Rosegger and the Slavic ruler Svatopluk the Great.<sup>81</sup> For the most part, it was only the obligatory bow to the dynastic power that disrupted ethnic uniformity in non-German cities, in the form of Habsburgs, civil and military governors and the omnipresent Radetzky.

The imperial authorities had the right to cancel the relevant decisions of local governments if they saw the referents undesirable. Although they proved fairly tolerant in this respect, there was a certain sensitivity to people, events and symbols that could raise suspicion of irredentist designs. For that reason, nations fully contained within the Habsburg Monarchy—Magyars, Czechs, Croats and Slovenes—were freer to rely on the entirety of their national culture and history when renaming urban spaces, while national groups with parent states beyond the imperial borders—Italians, Germans and Romanians—had to manoeuvre between local and provincial horizons on the one hand and what the imperial apparatus could tolerate from the signifiers of their broader national worlds on the other.

74 *Splitski kažiput* [Index of Split/Spalato] (Split: Općinsko Upraviteljstvo, 1913), 20 and Sašo Radovanovič, *Mariborske ulice* [Maribor streets] (Maribor: Kapital, 2005), 93.

75 *Plan miasta Stanisławowa* (s. l.: s. n., 1904). All data from the town are taken from this map.

76 *Plan von Sokal* (s. l.: s. n., 1918). All data from the town are taken from this map.

77 *Plan miasta Tarnopola* (w Tarnopolu: Brugger, 1908). All data from the town are taken from this map.

78 *Orientační plán kr. m. Plzně* (Prague: Unie, 1912).

79 *Neuester und vollständigster Orientierungs-Plan der königl. Hauptstadt Prag mit den Vorstädten (Smichov, Nusle, Vršovice, Kön. Weinberge, Žižkov, Karolinenthal, Bubeneč)* (s. l.: im Verlage des Böhm. Landesverbandes zur Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs in Königreiche Böhmen, s. a. [between 1900 and 1911]). All data from Prague come from this map.

80 Karl von Bædeker, *Österreich-Ungarn nebst Cetinje, Belgrad, Bukarest: Handbuch für Reisende*, 29th ed. (Leipzig: Bædeker, 1913), 336. All data from the city are taken from this map.

81 David Vaculík, ‘Urbanonymie vybraných měst Moravy a Slezska: její vznik, vývoj, systém a klasifikace’ [Urbanonyms of selected towns in Moravia and Silesia: its origin, evolution, system and classification], PhD thesis, 2014, 313 and 451 (Masaryk University, Brno); available at [http://is.muni.cz/th/237960/ff\\_d/Disertacni\\_prace.pdf](http://is.muni.cz/th/237960/ff_d/Disertacni_prace.pdf).

This is not to say that Czech, Croat and Slovene municipal majorities did not assert the distinctive emphases of their own national metanarratives. In Greater Prague, referents for street names were taken from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries and from the modern period starting with the national revival. The names of Comenius, Charles IV, Jan Hus and the Podiebrads on the one hand and of Jungmann, Smetana, Dobrovský, Palacký and Jan Neruda on the other figured repeatedly on the city map.<sup>82</sup> With Žižkov (a name itself coined from that of the Hussite leader Jan Žižka), a whole suburb grew out the ground with street names reminding of figures and events of the Hussite era.<sup>83</sup> Towns with Czech majorities everywhere reproduced the same, rather narrow pantheon of national heroes, with Palacký, Hus, Comenius, Jungmann and Kollár as its core names.<sup>84</sup> Only the Czech town of Týn nad Vltavou/Moldautein and the Moravian town of Uherské Hradiště/Ungarisch Hradisch did not resort to any of these among the Czech-led towns that I studied.<sup>85</sup>

In the Moravian towns of Kroměříž/Kremsier and Prostějov/Proßnitz, strategically located in what *völkisch* German nationalists called an ethnic ‘corridor’ between Lower Austria and Silesia, Czechs achieved a majority in the town councils in 1887 and 1892, respectively.<sup>86</sup> The subsequent period up to 1914 saw the renaming of most public spaces

82 On commemorative street naming in late nineteenth-century Prague, see Marek Nekula, ‘Hus – Husova, Žižka – Žižkov...: Toponyma a ideologie’ [Hus – Husova, Žižka – Žižkov...: Toponyms and ideology], in *Jazyk a jeho proměny: Prof. Janě Pleskalové k životnímu jubileu* [Language and its transformations: on Prof. Jana Pleskalová’s jubilee], ed. Michaela Čornejová, 181–4 (Brno: Host, 2008).

83 Jan Škoda, *Za tajemství názvů žižkovských ulic* [On the mystery of the Žižkov street names] (Prague: Milpo, 2013).

84 Vaculík; *Orientační plán kr. m. Plzně*; Ant. J. Zavadil, *Situační plán královského horního města Hory Kutné* (s. l. [Kutná Hora]: Adolf Švarc, s. a. [early 20th century]); Jan Mužik, *Orientační plán královského komorního města Pardubic* (s. l. [Pardubice]: Liebich, s. a. [1903]); Hanuš Kuffner, *Hradec Králové* ([1895]); *Povondrův orientační plán města Kroměříže* (s. l. [Kroměříž]: Povondra, 1915); Adolf Řehák, *Plán král. věnného města Jaroměře* ([cca 1915]); *Královské věnné město Chrudim* ([early 20th century]); *Město Slaný: polohopisný a regulační plán* (v Slaném: “Palacký” musejní a literární spolek, 1901); Josef Vějvoda, *Plán královského komorního a lázeňského města Poděbrad* (Poděbrady: Vančura, s. a. [early 20th century]); V. J. Jonáš, *Plán města Hranic* (Hranice: Tiskem Družstva Knihotiskárny v Hranicích, 1909); Andrea Janečková, ‘Urbanonyma v městě Mnichovo Hradiště’ [Urbanonyms in Mnichovo Hradiště town], 3rd year BA thesis, 2012, 18 (University of South Bohemia, České Budějovice); available at [https://theses.cz/id/cjz1a3/DP\\_Hakenova\\_IL.pdf](https://theses.cz/id/cjz1a3/DP_Hakenova_IL.pdf); Václav Kuneš, ‘Názvy ulic ve Volyni’ [Street names in Volyně], diploma thesis, 2013 (University of South Bohemia, České Budějovice); available at <https://theses.cz/id/o1rx0g>; Zbyněk Likovský and Václav Rathouský, ‘Jména ulic a náměstí Opočno’ [The names of streets and places in Opočno], *Orlické Hory a Podorlicko* 13 (2005): 277; *Historie píseckých ulic a náměstí* [The history of Písek streets and places]; available at [http://ihsv.eu/ihsv/pisek/H\\_O\\_historii.php](http://ihsv.eu/ihsv/pisek/H_O_historii.php) and *Adressář města Přerova* [Přerov/Prerau town gazetteer] (V Přerově: Michálek, 1900).

85 Petra Balínková, ‘Urbanonyma v městě Týn nad Vltavou’ [Urbanonyms of the town Týn nad Vltavou], 3rd year BA thesis, 2012, 22–3 (University of South Bohemia, České Budějovice); available at [https://theses.cz/id/1fq92s/BP\\_Balinkova.pdf](https://theses.cz/id/1fq92s/BP_Balinkova.pdf) and Kmetřová, 25–6.

86 Richard Zimprich, *Zur Geschichte der mittelmährischen Stadt Kremsier und ihres k. k. deutschen Staatsgymnasiums* (Esslingen: Bruno Langer, 1978), 7 and *Mährisches Tagblatt* 4 May 1892.

with Czecho-Slovak references; forty-six per cent of the new names referred to the national renaissance of the nineteenth century and twenty-nine per cent to the centuries before the Battle of White Mountain. Only sixteen per cent of the referents were local and a further twenty-seven per cent non-local Moravians.<sup>87</sup> There is a tangible contrast with German towns of Bohemia and Moravia, where the local dimension played a more important role.

The aldermen of Zagreb/Agram mainly tapped into the Renaissance and the Baroque periods when they renamed half of the old town streets in 1878 and when they returned to street renaming in 1896.<sup>88</sup> The same figures were cherished in the Croatian countryside, with little regard to local ties.<sup>89</sup> Nationalist leaders of the nineteenth century, especially Ban Jelačić and Bishop Strossmayer, also kept a high profile, and four out of the five Croat-majority towns from Croatia whose data I had access to copied Zagreb in naming their main squares after Jelačić.<sup>90</sup> In Ljubljana/Laibach, by contrast, not only were the Middle Ages conspicuous by their complete absence, but nearly all referents were also chosen from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>91</sup>

The political limits of street renaming became the most visible in the Italian case, especially as the Trieste city hall was consciously pushing these limits starting with 1884, to the extent that their decisions on new street names were invalidated several times by the imperial authorities.<sup>92</sup> Eventually, the central authorities proved relatively permissive, accepting giants of Italian culture with no local connections, including nineteenth-cen-

87 Markéta Mercová, *Kroměřížské ulice: Vývoj pojmenování* [Kroměříž streets: the evolution of their naming] (Kroměříž: Kroměříž State District Archive and Kroměříž Museum, 1999) and Léon Karný, *Historie prostějovských ulic* [History of the streets of Prostějov] (Prostějov: Státní Okresní Archiv Prostějov, 2007).

88 Jelena Stanić, Laura Šakaja and Lana Slavuj, 'Preimenovanja zagrebačkih ulica i trgova' [The renaming of streets and squares in Zagreb], *Migracijske i etničke teme* 25 (2009), 1–2: 94–5.

89 The cadastral maps of Karlovac from 1902 (1905), Ogulin from 1908 (1911), Virovitica/Verőce/Wirowitz from 1900 (1912) and Pakrac/Pakrac/Pakratz from 1915 (1916) (MOL S76 nos 1661/1–9, 1851/1–35, 2207/1–58 and 2308/1–22).

90 Osijek/Esseg/Eszék, Karlovac, Virovitica and Pakrac. In the case of the first, the main square of the lower town; Zlatko Karač and Skender Kovačević, *Regulatorna osnova grad Osijek* (s. l.: s. n., 1912).

91 Vlado Valenčič, *Zgodovina ljubljanskih uličnih imen* [The history of Ljubljana street names] (Ljubljana: Partizanska knjiga, 1989) and C. M. Koch, *Ljubljana* (Ljubljana: Blasnik, s. a. [1910]).

92 Maura E. Hametz, 'The Nefarious Former Authorities: Name Change in Trieste, 1918–22', *Austrian History Yearbook* 35 (2004): 238–9.

tury figures<sup>93</sup> and even, where the irredentist subtext was the most glaring, the choice of the Zadar/Zara council to honour Enrico Dandolo, the Venetian doge under whose term the Venetians had captured the city.<sup>94</sup>

Whilst Italian city councils could still appeal to the universal significance of these figures (except perhaps Dandolo's), all but one Romanian who received street names in Czernowitz/Chernivtsi/Cernăuți/Czerniowce were former residents. They were probably also found more acceptable by the non-Romanian majority of city dwellers than non-Bukovinian Romanians, even though the poet Mihai Eminescu, who was honoured with a street in the suburbs after his death upon a request from the public, had been born outside the Bukovina and had merely studied in the city for six years.<sup>95</sup> The one absolute exception, who had not even lived in Czernowitz, was the Transylvanian Andrei Mureșanu, the lyricist of the future Romanian national anthem. Romanian referents of streets were presumably local in Radautz/Rădăuți/Radevits as well (I was only able to identify a few), whilst in Shots/Suceava/Suczawa, the town council also named a street after the fifteenth-century Moldavian prince Stephen the Great, who had died in the city, and the Sturdzas, a prominent family of politicians originating in the Bukovina.<sup>96</sup> A Sarajevo city map published in the final years of the era suggests that a similar logic was at work there, privileging Bosnian Serbs over Serbs from Serbia.<sup>97</sup>

As has been mentioned in the case of Vienna, German intellectual figures with an international stature qualified as possible eponyms for streets irrespective of their pedigrees. On the other hand, Germans from outside the Habsburg Empire who could not be considered as first-rank men of culture had to have lived some time in Austria for coming

93 *Plan von Triest* (Vienna: Hartleben, s. a. [cca 1912]); Karl Bædeker, *Austria-Hungary: with excursions to Cetinje, Belgrade, and Bucharest; handbook for travellers*, 11th ed., rev. and augmented (Leipzig: Bædeker, 1911), 218 (all data from Trent are taken from this map); *Nuova pianta topografica della città di Gorizia* (Gorizia: Paternolli, 1907) and Domenico Ive, *Pianta della città di Pola* (Pola: Schrinner, 1898).

94 Bædeker, *Österreich-Ungarn*, 380.

95 *Revista Politică* 1 September 1889, p. 12, quoted by Ion Drăgușanul, *Bucovina și Eminescu* [The Bukovina and Eminescu] (Suceava: Mușatinii, 2006), 48.

96 *Adressbuch von Czernowitz*.

97 Bædeker, *Austria-Hungary*, 408.

into question. The same also applied for other German-majority towns in Cisleithania. To limit myself to ethnically contested areas, public spaces were named after Schiller in at least nineteen German-majority towns of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, the Bukovina and Styria, after Goethe in at least thirteen, after Luther in at least six, after Friedrich Fröbel in at least five, after the Saxon poet Theodor Körner in at least four etc.<sup>98</sup> Commemorative street names in these towns typically featured local German-speaking municipal office holders, intellectuals, industrialists, aristocrats, figures from Austrian German cultural and military history and members of the Dynasty, the latter being more popular referents here than in non-German towns. The street nomenclature of Teschen/Cieszyn/Těšín can be seen as the most *kaisertreu* in the Monarchy, with ten of its toponyms in 1909 representing the House of Habsburg.<sup>99</sup> In Bohemian and Tyrolean German towns, a tendency to nurture a regional German history was also traceable.<sup>100</sup>

Only in a few rare cases did street names directly give voice to a feeling of German fraternity and sympathy towards the German Empire. Since 1876 and 1877, *Dresdner*

98 'Plan der Stadt Cilli and der Burg Cilli mit Umgebung', annexe to Andreas Gabo, *Geschichte der Stadt Cilli vom Ursprung bis auf die Gegenwart* (Graz: Moser, 1909); West; Bädcker, *Österreich-Ungarn*, 314, 336 and 348; 'Situationsplan von Teplitz-Schönau', annexe to *Adressbuch Teplitz-Schönau-Turn* (Teplitz: Weigend, 1912); *Adressbuch für den politischen Bezirk B.-Leipa* (s. l.: Gebert, 1913); Friedrich Brazda, *Adressbuch des polit. Bezirkes Leitmeritz* (Leitmeritz: Blömer, 1912); *Adressbuch der k. k. Bezirkshauptmannschaft Komotau: Berichtsbezirke Komotau, Görkau und Sebastiansberg* (Saaz: Hornung, 1914); Franz Landspersky, *Budweis* (s. l.: s. n., 1911); Daniel Kovář and Pavel Koblasa, *Ulicemi města Českých Budějovic: Názvy českobudějovických veřejných prostranství v minulosti a dnes* [The streets of České Budějovice: public spaces in České Budějovice in the past and today] (České Budějovice: Veduta, 2005), 27; King, 115–16; Jana Divišová, 'Urbanonymie města Jihlavy' [Urbanonymy of Jihlava town], MA thesis, 2008, 29 (Technical University of Liberec, Faculty of Education); available at [https://dspace.tul.cz/bitstream/handle/15240/1373/mgr\\_15856.pdf?sequence=1](https://dspace.tul.cz/bitstream/handle/15240/1373/mgr_15856.pdf?sequence=1)); *Plan v. Brüx* (s. l.: Gabert, s. a. [early 20th century]); *Znaimer Wochenblatt* 31 October 1885, p. 9; *ibid.* 21 March 1914, p. 8; *ibid.* 5 September 1914, p. 13; Franz Schäffauer, *Plan der Stadt Teschen* (Teschen: Verlag des Deutschen pädag. Vereines in Teschen, 1909); Vaculík, 262, 302, 384–5, 407, 415 and 454; Radovanović, 107, 112, 132, 158, 195 and 246; *Situationsplan der Stadt Karlsbad samt einem Teile von Fischern und Drahowitz* (Prague: Haase, 1913); *Plan von Aussig (Innere Stadt)* (Aussig: Stadtrat Aussig, s. a.); Paul Wiebach, *Stadtplan vom Saaz* (s. l. [Žatec]: Kern, s. a. [early 20th century]); 'Jablonecké ulice' [Jablonec streets]; available at <http://www.mestojablonec.cz/cs/mesto/jablonecke-ulice.html>; *Vollständiges Adreß-Buch von Bozen-Gries*, 12th ed. (Bozen: Tyrolia, 1914), 161; Friedrich Grosse, *Plan von Olmütz* (s. l.: s. n., after 1909) and Štěpánka Lichtblauová, 'Entwicklung der deutschen Straßennamen in der Innenstadt von Olmütz in den Jahren 1895–1945', diploma thesis, 2010 (Palacký University, Olomouc); available at <http://theses.cz/id/rdkqh6/55542-773281498.pdf>).

99 The trans-national forms of identification that were backed by political advocacy in the Teschen area seem important in this respect. See Kevin Hannan, *Borders of Language and Identity in Teschen Silesia* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996).

100 See also *Gassen-Plan der Stadt Rumburg 1879*; Leo Woerl, ed., *Trautenau: Illustrierter Führer durch Trautenau und Umgebung* (Leipzig: Woerl, 1913); Füssli, 'Plan von Franzensbad', in Josef Cartellieri, *Franzensbad in Boehmen: das Wissenswerteste über den Curort zugleich ein zuverlässiger Führer in seine Umgebungen* (Franzensbad: Saemann, 1887); 'Zur neuen Straßenbenennung', *Znaimer Wochenblatt* 4 August 1877, pp. 4–5; 'History of Street Names in Český Krumlov', available at [http://www.ckrumlov.info/docs/en/mesto\\_histor\\_nazvul.xml](http://www.ckrumlov.info/docs/en/mesto_histor_nazvul.xml); 'Historické názvosloví náměstí a ulic Nového Jičína' [The historical nomenclature of squares and streets in Nový Jičín/Neutitschein]; available at <http://galerieosobnosti.muzeumnj.cz/historicke-nazvoslovi-namesti-a-ulic-noveho-jicina>; 'Historie názvů ulic v Hodoníně' [History of the street names of Hodonín/Göding]; available at <http://www.hodonin.ic.cz/NazvyUlic/UliceStart.html>; *Leitmeritzer Zeitung* 9 June 1880, p. 5; *Vollständiges Adreß-Buch von Bozen-Gries*, 159–66 and *Adressbuch des Kurortes Meran* (Meran, Obermais, Untermais, Gratsch), *der Gemeinden des Gerichtsbezirkes Meran und der Gemeinde Lana*, 9th ed. (Meran: Ellmenreich, 1912), 3–13.

*Straße* and *Sachsenplatz* in Vienna commemorated the railway connection established with Dresden, but Saxony had fought on Austria's side in the Austro-Prussian War. Decisions of the Cilli/Celje, Troppau/Opava and Reichenberg/Liberec city governments to pay tribute to Bismarck were somehow allowed to pass around the turn of the century, whereas the same attempt was torpedoed in Innsbruck and finally overturned by the Administrative Court.<sup>101</sup> Finally, the resistance of the central authorities started to give in during the lead-up to the Great War. The Parkring in Vienna was renamed *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Ring* after William II's visit in 1910, a *Berliner-Straße* appeared on the brink of the Bohemian spa town Teplitz-Schönau, and upon his death in 1912, the Breslau/Wrocław professor, *völkisch* theoretician and historical novel writer Felix Dahn was honoured with streets named after him in Karlsbad and Mährisch Ostrau/Moravská Ostrava.<sup>102</sup> (It is interesting that while Jews in general stood a limited chance of becoming commemorated with street names in German cities of the Habsburg Empire, the same Mährisch Ostrau that hastened to eternise the memory of the virulently anti-Semitic Dahn had fifteen years earlier also dedicated a street to the Rothschilds, who owned large estates in the area.) In Marburg, as if a dam had broken, not only Emperor William received a square and a street and Bismarck a street immediately before the war, but also Richard Wagner and the nationalist poet Ernst Moritz Arndt, not to mention an ambiguous *Reich Straße*.<sup>103</sup> With Yugoslav sentiments on the rise, *Beogradska ulica* was apparently also approved by the authorities in 1912 as the new name of a major thoroughfare in Split (and the continuation of *Zagrebačka ulica* to boot!), alongside many other new street names referring to Dalmatian and Bosnian towns.<sup>104</sup>

Perhaps not unrelated to their aristocracy's special role in imperial politics and cer-

101 Gabo, 455; Vaculik, 371 and *Budwiński's Sammlung der Erkenntnisse des K. K. Verwaltungsgerichtshofes*, vol. 24 (1901), 1141, quoted by Piotr Kisiel, 'The Politics of Space: Symbols of Hegemonic and Non-Dominant Ethnic Groups in the Urban Landscape of Prussia and Austria-Hungary (1867-1914)', 66 (PhD thesis, 2016, European University Institute, Florence).

102 Vaculik, 382; *Situationsplan der Stadt Karlsbad; Situationsplan von Teplitz-Schönau* and Bædeker, *Österreich-Ungarn*, 317.

103 Radovanović, 101, 103, 126, 151, 202, 245, 268, 280 and 285.

104 *Splitski kažiput*, 14 and *Split (Spalato) en Dalmatie: plan de la ville et carte des environs* (Split: Općina Splitska, s. a. [1914]).

tainly also due to the division of their historical homeland between three adjacent empires, Galician Poles were free from the official disapproval of irredentist connotations in street naming. Galician urban nomenclatures were pronouncedly cast in a Polish national rather than in a more narrowly Galician Polish mould. Mickiewicz, for example, with few personal links to Galicia, had streets or places named after him in all Galician cities and towns from which I have data. John III Sobieski was present in Lwów with three streets,<sup>105</sup> the towns of Polotsk/Polatsk/Połock and Smolensk, as places formerly belonging to the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, in Cracow<sup>106</sup> and the Constitution of 3 May in Cracow and Przemyśl/Premissel/Peremyshl.<sup>107</sup> Revolutionaries against Russia were also venerated with streets: Kościuszko in Cracow, Wadowice,<sup>108</sup> Jarosław/Jaroslau/Iaroslav,<sup>109</sup> Przemyśl, Tarnopol and Sokal, Jan Kiliński in Cracow and in Jarosław and Józef Bem in Lwów and in Stanisław.

If other German-majority cities of the Monarchy did not replicate the commemorative street names of Vienna—at best the currency of Schiller and other giants of modern German culture can be attributed to the imperial capital's influence—the street names of other national groups also remained a far cry from whatever patterns developed in the cities of their kin states. Entangled between localised nationalist conflicts and a moderating central power, the scale of commemorative street naming may have remained local, but it nearly always transmitted the image of a city with a single culture and tongue. I will return to the Habsburg Monarchy for a comparison of Budapest and Vienna after giving a short overview of the trends in the newly independent Balkan states.

Athens represents an early case of an officially imposed street nomenclature in

105 Hrytsak and Susak, 147. My Galician material is fragmentary, especially as compared to the Bohemian, Moravian and Silesian. The street names of various other towns have been analysed in separate volumes or in periodicals in Polish.

106 Wiktor Skołyszewski, *Nowy plan miasta Krakowa* (Cracow: Stasiak, 1916).

107 *Stadtplan von Przemyśl* (s. l.: s. n., 1907). All data from the town are taken from this map.

108 Andrzej Nowakowski, 'Nazewnictwo ulic i placów w Wadowicach' [The nomenclature of streets and places in Wadowice], *Wadoviana* 1 (1998); available at <http://wadoviana.eu/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Nazewnictwo-ulic-i-plac%C3%B3w-w-Wadowicach-A.-Nowakowski.pdf>.

109 S. Kornman, *Jarosław* (Vienna: Freytag & Berndt, 1906).

Europe. After King Othon chose it as his capital, the architects Kleanthis and Schaubert chose names inspired in classical antiquity for the new streets on their master plan from 1832. Although few of these proposed names came into effect, the naming of streets continued along the path set out by the official national ideology, reminding citizens of ancient Greek glory. This hegemonic vision of the past was liberal enough to accommodate famous Philhellenes, but only in the 1890s did it expand to include Byzantine emperors on the street signs of a new suburb.<sup>110</sup> Street naming also went together with urban restructuring in Sofia, where the great majority of down-town spaces received commemorative names after 1878. Several of these referred to early Bulgarian history, to Russia, the new Bulgaria's protector state, and one even to Gladstone. A distinct group of new Bulgarian street names in Sofia and Varna fostered Irredentism by inscribing into the public mind the territories considered 'unredeemed'.<sup>111</sup> With the same intent, some twenty streets of Belgrade were renamed between 1909 and 1913 after lands supposedly sighing under foreign yoke and longing to become liberated.<sup>112</sup>

As opposed to other Balkan states, the Irredenta held a rather low-key presence in Romanian urban toponymy, and understandably so, since the potential main target of the Romanian Irredenta, the Habsburg Monarchy, was at the same time the country's long-term ally. From among the towns that I have studied, the street names of Ploiești carried by far the most references to Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary, but in a largely commemorative urban toponymy suffused by the Romanian past: Transylvania, the 'Transylvanian triad' (Samuil Micu, Petru Maior and Gheorghe Șincai), the peasant leaders Horea and Axente Sever, the bishops Ioan Bob and Andrei Șaguna, the Latinist philo-

110 Leonidas Kallivretakis, 'Athens in the 19th century: From regional town of the Ottoman Empire to capital of the Kingdom of Greece', in *Archaeology of the City of Athens*; available at [http://www.eie.gr/archaeologia/En/chapter\\_more\\_9.aspx](http://www.eie.gr/archaeologia/En/chapter_more_9.aspx) and 'Plan d'Athènes', annexe to G. Fougères, ed., *Athènes et ses environs: extrait du guide de Grèce* (Paris: Hachette, 1906).

111 Karl von Bædeker, *Konstantinopel und das westliche Kleinasien: Handbuch für Reisende* (Leipzig: Bædeker, 1905), 28; *Meyers Reisebücher: Balkanstaaten und Konstantinopel; Anatolische und Bagdadbahn*, 8th ed. (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1914); *Generalen plan na gr. Varna* (Varna: Varn. Gr. Obsh. Upravleniye, s. a. [1897]) and Stefan Krause, 'Straßennamen und politische Symbole: Das Beispiel Sofija', *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 30 (1994): 206–8.

112 Ljubiša Rajić, 'Toponyms and the Political and Ethnic Identity in Serbia', in *Names and Identities*, eds Botolv Helleland, Christian-Emil Ore and Solveig Wikstrøm, 205 (Oslo: University of Oslo, 2012).



logist Timotei Cipariu and the poet Andrei Mureșanu.<sup>113</sup> Horea was also present in Craiova as the only Transylvanian referent.<sup>114</sup> Bucharest had streets named after Michael the Brave, the prince of Wallachia who had for a few months in 1600 brought his land into personal union with Moldavia and Transylvania and who therefore became extolled as ‘the unifier’, the town of Alba Iulia, where he was elected prince of Transylvania, the village of Miriszló/Mirăslău, where he died in battle, and Avram Iancu, the leader of the Romanian peasant revolt against the Hungarian government in 1848–9.<sup>115</sup> Moreover, Bucharest and Iași honoured with streets Karl Lueger, the Christian Social mayor of Vienna and advocate for the rights of Romanians in Hungary.<sup>116</sup> In Bucharest, this took place following Lueger’s visit of the Jubilee Exhibition in 1906, and the street named after him housed the offices of the Cultural League for the Unity of All Romanians from Everywhere, at the time mostly an information agency that spread propaganda for and about Romanians abroad, with strong irredentist overtones.<sup>117</sup>

The staple domains from which Romanian municipal leaders drew names for public spaces were the royal family, modern politicians, Romanian battles and heroes of the 1877–8 Russo-Turkish War, Roman emperors, gods and authors, late medieval and early modern Wallachian and Moldavian rulers and universal concepts like Concord, Eternity, Hope, Liberty, Light and Progress, which could take on a more specific meaning in a nationalised semiotic context.<sup>118</sup> Decorative street naming was more productive than in

113 *Planul orașului Ploesci (1902-1904)* (s. l.: Institutul Geografic al Armatei, s. a.).

114 P. D. Călinescu, *Planul Nr. 1 al orașului Craiova cu indicarea stradelor deja pavate* (Craiova: Samitca, s. a.).

115 *Planul orașului București* (s. l.: ediția oficială, 1911).

116 *Meyers Reisebücher: Balkanstaaten und Konstantinopel*.

117 Constantin Bacalbașa, *Bucureștii de altădată* [The Bucharest of yore], vol. 3, 1901–1910, 2nd ed. (Bucharest: Universul, 1936), 134 and Benedek Jancsó, *A román irredentista mozgalmak története* [The history of Romanian irredentist movements] (Mária-besnyő: Attraktor, 2004), 292.

118 D. P. Condurățenu, ‘Planulu orașului Târgoviște și a locurilor din apropiere pentru studiul geografiei județului’ [1886], in *Atlas istoric al orașelor din România*, Ser. B, *Țara Românească*, Fasc. 1, *Târgoviște*, ed. Gheorghe I. Cantacuzino (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2006); P. F. Radovici, *Planul general al orașului Focșani 1896-97-98 adus la curent cu modificările survenite până la 30. april 1908* (Bucharest: Göbl, s. a. [1908]); George Atanasiu, *Planul orașului Galați* (1908); George Negruzzi, T. *Planul orașului Bârlad* (Bucharest: Baer, 1900–6); Ștefan Andronache, ‘Denumirea străzilor Tecuciului: începuturi, evoluție, sugestii’ [The street names of Tecuci: beginnings, evolution, suggestions], *Tecuci* 11 August 2012; available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20130509084249/http://www.tecuci.eu/istoric-tecuci/articole-istorice/denumirea-strazilor-tecuciului-2.html>; Călinescu and *Planul orașului Ploesci*. See also Marius Gabriel Neculae, ‘Planul orașului Râmnicu Sărat: 1912’ [The plan of Râmnicu Sărat, 1912], *Analele Buzăului* 4 (2012): 224–5, a unique case of a street nomenclature that was completely overhauled at a stroke, and with no apparent guiding principle.

Austria, something that also kept the share of commemorative names at a lower level. Only around one third of the streets of Botoșani had commemorative names in 1895, and fewer still did in Brăila, although the latter's grid of streets had undergone massive restructuring in the nineteenth century.<sup>119</sup>

The Romanian annexation of the Dobruja on the terms of the Congress of Berlin offers a rare opportunity to study how the Romanian authorities filled what seemed to them an onomastic blank slate when the presence of a strong non-Romanian speaking population turned civic education into an important concern. Two years after Romania occupied Küstendje, the second largest town in the province, and renamed it Constanța (allegedly upon the suggestion of Mihai Eminescu), the 1880 census found a mere 279 Romanian town dwellers alongside 1,853 Tatars, 1,542 Greeks, 344 Jews, 342 Bulgarians, 187 Armenians, 154 Turks and 127 Muslim Roma.<sup>120</sup> The town had descriptive street names under the Ottomans, but the new power did not take these into consideration, and in 1882, they renamed a first lot of streets after the following: 23 November, the day when the Romanian army marched into the town, the medieval Wallachian ruler Mircea the Elder, *Tomis*, the ancient name of the place, the Romans, the Roman deities Neptune and Thetis, the emperor Trajan, the poet Ovid, who had lived there in exile, Italy, the reigning king Charles I, the Independence of Romania, the Wallachian town Roșiorii de Vede, the local Muslim and Greek communities and the ideals of Concord, Freedom and Justice.<sup>121</sup> In the period until 1912, as the city grew, further urban spaces were dedicated to Ovid (a second time), Virgil, the deities Jupiter, Juno, Apollo, Venus, Mercury, Diana and Ceres, the emperor Marcus Antonius, two Moldavian and a Wallachian rulers, a Wallachian dynasty, Michael the Brave, the first day of the 1848 Wallachian revolution, the union of

119 Daniela Ștefania Butnaru, 'La Symbolique de la dénomination toponymique: Etude de cas; la toponymie urbaine officielle de Botoșani', *Philologia Jassyensia* 8 (2012): 144–5 and Ioan Munteanu, *Stradele Brăilei: documente pentru viitor* [The streets of Brăila: documents for the future], vol. 1 (Brăila: Ex Libris, 2005), 28–31.

120 Petre Covacef, *Onomastica străzilor din Constanța: din ciclul Povestea Farului Genovez* [Onomastics of the street of Constanța: from the cycle The Story of the Genoese Lighthouse] (Constanța: Ex Ponto, 2010), 37.

121 *Ibid.*, 40–2.

the two principalities, the queen consort, the poet Mihai Eminescu, three former prime ministers (two Conservatives and a Liberal), the diplomat Costache Negri, three battles and a hero of the Russo-Turkish War, the infantrymen who distinguished themselves in the fight, the first prefect of the county, the mayor Cristea Georgescu, the architect of the port I. B. Cantacuzino, the Carpathians and Transylvania.<sup>122</sup> By interlacing the lifetime of citizens (among whom Romanians already formed a thin majority by 1913) with the time line of national history, street signs certainly contributed to validate the official view that in a perhaps elusive, yet all the deeper sense, the place had always been Romanian. Another Dobrujan city, Medgidia/Mecidiye, whose initial Muslim population was by that time far outnumbered by Romanians partly settled from Transylvania, passed a decree in 1912 by which it renamed its streets after the former mayors of the city, including a few Turks, and its founder, the sultan Abd-ul-Mejid I.<sup>123</sup>

I have left to the end Budapest, the closest possible model for cities and towns in the Kingdom of Hungary. Apart from dynastic street names, present as everywhere in the Dual Monarchy, Pest already had a few street names taken from Hungarian history (*Attila*, *Báthory*, *Géza*, *Zrínyi*) and from contemporary Hungarian public life (*Széchenyi*) before its unification with Buda/Ofen and Óbuda/Alt-Ofen into Budapest in 1873.<sup>124</sup> Much more were to follow in 1874–5 and throughout the next decades, partly because the municipal council showed less respect than the Viennese for the old descriptive names of the city centre. Compared to Vienna, vastly less public spaces were named after council members, municipal officials and local residents or benefactors. A couple of the latter type of referents got lost in the translation of street names to Hungarian around 1846, when their names were mistaken for their appellative meanings (*Freudenthal Gas-*

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 50–1.

<sup>123</sup> Dumitru-Valentin Pătrașcu, *Dobrogea: Evoluția administrativă (1878-1913)* [The Dobruja: administrative development, 1878–1913] (Iași: Institutul European, 2014), 413–14.

<sup>124</sup> Mihály Ráday, György Mészáros and Péter Buza, *Budapest teljes utcanévlexikona* [The complete street name dictionary of Budapest] (Budapest: Dinasztia and Gemini, 1998). For an account in English, more detailed than mine, Eva Bodnar, “‘I Have Often Walked Down This Street Before... But What Was It Called?’: Changes to Street Names in Budapest from the End of Turkish Rule to the Present”, *Past Imperfect* 15 (2009): 129–36.

*se*→*Örömvölgy utcza*, *Schopper Gasse*→*Tömő utcza*, *Frühlingsfeld Gasse*→*Tavaszmező utcza*, where *Freudenthal*, *Schopper* and *Frühlingsfeld* originally stood for family names).<sup>125</sup> If members of the Dynasty are discounted, the new commemorative names contained similarly few references to the world outside Hungary as did those of Vienna to the non-German space: two people (Columbus and Benjamin Franklin) and a few ethnonyms and toponyms belonged to this category. Unlike in Vienna, however, the municipality did pursue decorative street naming in the suburbs. There were also street names derived from the Hungarian toponymy at large, taken from both the core areas and the peripheries, and clustered according to conceptual fields (rivers, mountains, wine regions etc.).

Contrary to the usual colonial scenario, there was a regard for the old, descriptive street names in Europe, which imposed a limit on official renaming at least in historical city centres. Some cities in the Balkans went furthest in the direction of remodelling their street nomenclature along commemorative and decorative lines, while the Russian sovereign power apparently blocked the giving of nationally motivated commemorative names in its western, ethnically non-Russian cities. I could not check what happened under similar conditions in the German Empire, because I did not find data from Polish-led towns. Names of dynasty members and provincial governors constituted the most frequent street name type with a symbolic integrative function in all three continental empires, as well as in other monarchies. Aside from these dynastic references, commemorative urban nomenclatures tended heavily towards national exclusivism, something that became the most manifest in the multi-national Habsburg Monarchy, where national domination was exercised not by the central state apparatus, but by the local and regional majorities in the local governments and the crownlands.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 133 and Viktor Cholnoky, 'Soroksár elsziratósa' [The mourning of Soroksár], in *A kísértet: Válogatás Cholnoky Viktor publicisztikájából* [The Ghost: a selection from the journalism of Viktor Cholnoky], 113 (Budapest: Magvető, 1980).

### 3.3. The Politics of Memory in Dualist Hungary

‘The streets, which style themselves Attila, Tuhutum and whatever else these heroes of Asia are called, are straight.’  
Nicolae Iorga about the streets of Abrud<sup>126</sup>

#### 3.3.1. General Traits

In the Banat, public spaces had sporadically received names of notable people since the eighteenth century; of Dynasty members, Habsburg generals, colonising landlords and senior mining officials.<sup>127</sup> These early acts of naming were conceived in a supranational and loyalist spirit. With the possible exception of a street in Lugoj named in 1857 after the botanist and forty-eighter Johann Heuffel, even those names that were anchored in local history fitted seamlessly into a Habsburg absolutist narrative of the region’s past.<sup>128</sup> The systematic, large-scale renaming of urban spaces only started after 1867 in the area, under the supremacy of Hungarian state nationalism. The progress of the mail service and the increasing complexity of administrative tasks prompted town governments to systematise house numbering and to stabilise their street nomenclatures. As a solution, they either turned their vernacular street names into official ones or devised new, commemorative (more rarely and mostly on the outskirts, decorative) names. Brassó represents the first option in its purest in the following table, whilst Szatmárnémeti and Székelyudvarhely allotted most space to the commemorative function. The median stood somewhere near the middle; town leaderships kept half of their local-descriptive names and replaced the other half with artificial ones. Significantly, the officialisation of street names not only froze a snapshot of spontaneous change, but it also largely precluded the possibility that new neighbourhoods to be built later receive spontaneously developed names. Occasionally, however, artificial names could refer to some important

<sup>126</sup> Iorga, *Neamul românesc*, vol. 1, 361.

<sup>127</sup> Anton Peter Petri, *Vom ‘Aachenibrunnen’ bis zur ‘Zwölften-Gasse’: die Gassennamen der deutschen Siedlungen des vortriانونischen Banats* (Munich: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks, 1975).

<sup>128</sup> Heinrich Lay, *Denumirea străzilor lugojene din cele mai vechi timpuri până în prezent* [Street names of Lugoj from the oldest times up to the present] (Töging a. Inn: s. n., 2007), 44.

landmark, a strategy otherwise typical of spontaneous naming; a few such new street names were affixed in Déva, Nagybánya and Kézdivásárhely/Chezdi-Oșorhei.<sup>129</sup>

**Table 3.1. Officialisation of street names and large-scale renaming of public spaces in cities and towns of the area**

Hermannstadt	1872–4	Kolozsvár	1899
Arad	1880	Zilah/Zălău	1899
Szatmárnémeti	1883	Nagybánya	1900, 1910
Brassó	1887	Temeswar	1902
Marosvásárhely	1887	Nagyvárad	1904
Nagyenyed	1890	Déva	1907
Lugoj	1891	Kézdivásárhely	1910
Felsőbánya/Baia Sprie	1896	Nagyszalonta	1910

To better understand the context of street naming in the area, I find it important to repeat that Magyars were very much over-represented among the urban citizenry compared to their share in the overall population, and that the extent of their over-representation only grew over time. At the 1910 census, 74.4% of the urban population claimed Hungarian as their native language. (See the first two maps at the close of the present chapter, representing the linguistic make-up of urban settlements in 1880 and in 1910.) Only nine out of fifty-four towns had Romanian majorities in 1880, and five out of forty-two in 1910. However, the assimilation of non-Magyar city-dwellers only accounted in a relatively small measure for the advance of Hungarian. Although contemporary theoreticians of Hungarian state nationalism, in particular the influential Gusztáv Beksics, calculated with cities as the major crucibles of future linguistic Magyarisation, urbanisation started from a very low basis and remained relatively moderate in the region, with Magyars being over-represented among rural migrants to the cities, too. Property relations were slightly more balanced among Romanian than Magyar peasants, and destitute Ro-

<sup>129</sup> Székely *Újság* 9 January 1910; *Nagybánya és Vidéke* 17 April 1910 and *Hunyadvármegye* 24 December 1906.

manian villagers tended to go working on large estates in the Kingdom of Romania rather than taking up industrial work in the nearby cities.<sup>130</sup>

In Gyulafehérvár and Abrud, Magyar residents made up a minority at the time of systematic street renaming, but thanks to two factors, Magyar or pro-Magyar council members were able to control the local councils.<sup>131</sup> First, the universally implemented institution of virilism, which meant that half of council members were non-elected representatives of the biggest local taxpayers, privileged the Magyar part of the population to the detriment of Romanians, and Saxons to the detriment of both Romanians and Magyars. Second, Acts XX and XXXIII of 1876 created a special category of towns, where these two towns belonged together with those in the former Saxon Land. Instead of the broader local franchise valid elsewhere in Hungary, the more restrictive parliamentary franchise was introduced in the towns specified in these laws, which then entrenched the Saxon elite in the leadership of Saxon towns and the Magyar elite in the rest.<sup>132</sup> In addition, from among the cities where Magyars did not make up the majority, Temeswar and Werschetz belonged to the higher urban category of towns with county rights (*törvényhatósági jogú város*), and as such were kept under tighter government control through various legal institutions and guarantees.

On balance, however, the great majority of people in towns with Magyar leaderships were Magyars, and commemorative street names could mostly serve their civic education. They may have never used the new street names, but would daily encounter street signs bearing the names of people with ostensibly no relationship to either the street or the town. Street naming in these towns, which made up the majority of urban places in the area, thus had a more indirect bearing on inter-ethnic dimensions than the processes studied in other parts of my thesis.

<sup>130</sup> See Berecz, *Politics of Early Language Teaching*, 34–7.

<sup>131</sup> The same was also true for Lugoj, but there the renaming of 1891 did not take an exclusively state nationalist character.

<sup>132</sup> Regarding the voting franchise in Lugoj, cf. *Krassó-Szörényi Lapok* 28 April 1887.

On a closer inspection, ideological education of the citizenry was certainly an important function of commemorative street names, but in most cases, it did not figure on the top of municipalities' list of immediate concerns when they interfered with local toponymies. What motivated their decisions was rather the need to follow the trend dictated by bigger cities and the fear of falling behind. Honouring the nation's worthy men (and much less commonly, women) with names of public spaces could easily come to be seen as a prerequisite of urban modernity, something similar to paving the pavements and installing street lighting. Local councils sometimes acted on commands to put up street signs or to draw up lists of their public spaces, and spurred by the embarrassment of not having 'real' street names, they hastily improvised commemorative names for most of their streets and squares.<sup>133</sup> More frequently, however, only a minority of the old, vernacular street names fell victims to renaming. Most cities and towns went through a single round of official street naming during the era, and only newly laid-out public spaces would receive new names after that point. This also implied that only a restricted circle of people, usually the town councillors, took part in choosing the new names. The cases of Marosvásárhely, where commemorative street names were introduced at six stages between 1887 and 1910, and of Arad, where street naming branched out into a social movement, were quite unusual in their protracted time frame.<sup>134</sup> The municipality of Arad regularly received requests from the public to rename public spaces after prominent figures of local history and Hungarian culture, including a petition from the lawyer Jenő Gabos in 1909, suggesting to replace all the remaining seventy-six old, descriptive street names, and thus to completely wipe out the traces of vernacular toponymy.<sup>135</sup>

133 László Bura, *Szatmárnémeti (Satu Mare) utcanevei* [The street names of Szatmárnémeti (Satu Mare)] (Budapest: ELTE Magyar Nyelvészeti Tanszékcsoport, 1987), 7. Cf. the order of the subprefect of Kis-Küküllő County from 1910 to all communes, calling upon them to give names to their streets and places, and compulsorily 'Hungarian-sounding' ones; *Vármegyei Híradó* 23 October 1910.

134 Sándor Pál-Antal, *A marosvásárhelyi utcák, közök és terek történeti névtára. – Indicatorul istoric al străzilor, pasajelor și piețelor din Târgu Mureș* [Historical register of street, lane and square names in Marosvásárhely/Târgu-Mureș] (Marosvásárhely: Mentor, 1997).

135 Dénes Ficzy, 'Az aradi utcanevek változásai' [Changes in the street names of Arad], in *Válogatott írások: (Séták, rejtélyek, utcanevek és mások)* [Collected writings: walks, mysteries, street names and more], 131–4 (Arad: Aradi Kölcsey Egyesület, 2005).



There was in general even less appreciation for historic place names as repositories of cultural memory than for old city fortifications, routinely pulled down if they presented the smallest impediment to urban renewal. By the same token, city leaderships grasped the opportunity to do away with street names felt offensive, like *Poklos* ('hell' or 'leper') *utca*, the first street name to be replaced in Marosvásárhely, in 1868.<sup>136</sup> Once renaming was in the air, it also made local elites find such flaws in their place names that would have otherwise gone unnoticed. A leader in a Nagybánya paper from 1900, occasioned by the renaming of localities, informed its readers that the 'city's intellectual leaders' had long nursed the desire to change the 'outworn' name of the city's main watercourse, *Zazar*, although this traditional spelling benignly obscured the scatological note lurking in the name.<sup>137</sup> If neither shameful nor mundane, old street names could still be branded 'meaningless'. This was the failing that the Arad city councillor Ignác Klein pinpointed to dismiss street names of descriptive origin on the wholesale.<sup>138</sup> *Malom utca* 'Mill Street' in Dés and *Magtár utca* 'Granary Street' in Nagybánya in particular seemed 'meaningless' for councilmen around 1900, due to the disappearance of the mill and the granary involved.<sup>139</sup>

Numerous public spaces were named after living people. Also taking into account the towns of the Grand Plain, probably more squares and streets received the name of Lajos Kossuth before his death in 1894 than in the subsequent twenty years. Such gestures would be felt improper nowadays, but even if living members of ruling dynasties are disregarded, the data surveyed in the previous chapter demonstrate that they were still very common in contemporary Europe and beyond. The first street named after Abraham Lincoln, for example, predated his presidency.<sup>140</sup> In the area studied, Ferenc Deák was

<sup>136</sup> Pál-Antal, 16.

<sup>137</sup> *Nagybánya és Vidéke* 16 September 1900, p. 1.

<sup>138</sup> Ficzay, 128.

<sup>139</sup> Attila Szabó T., *Dés helynevei* [The place names of Dés] (Turda: Füßy, 1937), 35 and *Nagybánya és Vidéke* 16 September 1900, p. 1.

<sup>140</sup> Stewart, 299, 319 and 321.

the first person to be honoured that way in Marosvásárhely in 1868.<sup>141</sup> Nagyszalonta renamed its *Nagy-Kölesér utca* after János Arany in 1880, in spite of the poet's express objection to the plan.<sup>142</sup> The town of Lugoj chose the botanist August/Ágoston Kanitz and the former mayor Constantin Udria as referents of street names in 1893, still in their living days.<sup>143</sup> The town of Dés baptised a promenade and a street after the sitting prefect Dezső Bánffy in 1880, and another street after the mayor Jenő Ilosvay in 1910.<sup>144</sup> By the latter year, a street in Caransebeş had already borne the name of the incumbent MP Constantin Burdia.<sup>145</sup> In Arad, the street that Minister of Worship and Public Instruction József Eötvös had walked down on his way to lay the foundation stone of the new gymnasium building took his name in 1869, while further streets were named after the then thirty-nine-year-old prefect Gyula Károlyi in 1910, after Prime Minister and MP for the city István Tisza somewhere between 1910 and 1912 and after Mayor Lajos Varjassy in 1912.<sup>146</sup>

For the purposes of the present survey, I have processed the entire contemporary commemorative urbanonymies of the following places: Almasch/Almáskamarás/Almaş-Cămăraş, Arad, Bistritz, Boroşineu/Borosjenő, Brassó, Buteni/Körösbökény, Caransebeş, Cermei/Csermő, Csíkszereda/Ciuc-Sereda, Dés, Déva, Erzsébetváros/Elisabetopole/Elisabethstadt, Felsőbánya/Baia Sprie, Gyorok/Ghioroc, Gyulafehérvár, Hermannstadt, Kézdivásárhely, Kolozsvár, Lugoj, Marosvásárhely, Medeş/Medgyesegyháza, Nagybánya, Nagyenyed, Nagykároly/Careii Mari/Karol, Nagyszalonta, Nagyvárad, Pankota/Pâncota, Sanktanna/Újszentanna/Sântana, Săvârşin/Soborsin, Schäßburg, Sebiş/Borossebes, Sepsiszentgyörgy/Sânjiorz/Skt. Georgen, Szatmárnémeti, Székelyudvarhely/Odorheiu Secuiesc/Oderhellen, Szentleányfalva/Seintlein/Sânleani, Szilágysomlyó/Şimleu

141 Pál-Antal, 16.

142 László Bordás, *Nagyszalonta város népessége és utcáinak elnevezése* [The population and street names of the town of Nagyszalonta/Salonta] (Csíkszereda: Státus, 2009), 10.

143 Lay, *Denumirea străzilor lugojene*.

144 Szabó T., *Dés helynevei*, 10.

145 Ferenc Fodor, *A Szörénység tájrajza* [Geography of the Severin area] (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1930), 197.

146 Ficzay, 125 and 129.

Silvaniei, Temeswar, Torda/Turda, Weißkirchen/Bela Crkva/Biserica Albă/Fehértemplom, Werschetz and Zilah/Zalău; altogether twenty-nine cities and towns. In addition to these, I have also added incomplete data from Abrud, Barót, Belényes, Busiasch/Buziaş/Buziás, Detta, Deutschbentschek/Bencecu German/Németbencsek, Dicsőszentmárton/Diciosânmărtin/Martinskirch, Făget, Fogaras, Gyergyószentmiklós, Haţeg/Hát-szeg/Hötzing, Jibou/Zsibó, Kovászna/Covasna, Lipova, Ludoşul de Mureş/Marosludas, Lupeni/Lupény, Magyarpécska, Marosújvár/Uioara, Orschowa/Orşova/Orsova/Orşava, Petrozsény, Piskitelep/Colonia Simeria, Pusztakalán/Călan/Kalan, Reschitz/Reşiţa Montană/Resica, Şomcuta Mare/Nagysomkút, Székelyhid/Săcheihid, Székelykeresztúr, Szinyérváralja/Seini/Warolli, Tenke/Tinca, Tschakowa and Vajdahunyad/Hunedoara/Hunnedeng.<sup>147</sup>

The breakdown of referents according to scales is shown on the third map at the end of this chapter. (The pies are proportionate in size to the number of commemorative

147 Lajos Asztalos, *Kolozsvár: helynév- és településtörténeti adattár* [Kolozsvár/Cluj/Klausenburg: a database of place names and local history] (Kolozsvár: Kolozsvár Társaság and Polis, 2004); János Fleisz, *Város, kinek nem látni mását: Nagyvárad a dualizmus korában* [A city without a peer: Nagyvárad/Oradea Mare/Großwardein under Dualism] (Nagyvárad: Charta, 1997); Aladár Vende, 'A város leírása' [Description of the city], in *Bihar vármegye és Nagyvárad* [Bihar County and Nagyvárad], ed. Samu Borovszky, 180–1 (Budapest: Apollo, 1901); Ficzy, Bura; *Nagybánya és Vidéke* 14 October 1900 and 17 April 1910; *Nagybánya* 2 February 1911; Levente Rácz, 'Nagyenyed város házszámozása és régi utcanevei' [The house numbering and old street names of Nagyenyed/Aiud], *Művelődés* 53 (2000), nr. 11, 20–5; *Gyulafehérvár sz. kir. város uccahálózati térképe*; Attila T. Szabó, *Zilah helynévtörténeti adatai a XIV–XX. században* [Toponymic data from Zilah/Zalău from the 14–20th centuries] (s. l.: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1936); idem, *Dés helynevei*; Mór Petri, *Szilágy vármegye monographiája* [The monograph of Szilágy County], vol. 4 (Budapest: the community of Szilágy County, 1902), 579; Lukács Ávedik, *Szabad királyi Erzsébetváros monographiája* [Monograph of Erzsébetváros royal free town] (Szamosújvárt: Auróra, 1896); Domokos Pap, *Torda és környéke: turista kalauz* [Torda/Turda and environs: a tourist's guide] (Torda: Fodor, 1909); *Hunyadvármegye* 24 December 1906; Béla Guóth and Ödön Aczél, *Csikszereda rendezett tanácsu város térképe* (Budapest: Klösz, s. a. [1911]); Pál Györgybiró, Barna Imreh and Zoltán Kisgyörgy, 'Sepsiszentgyörgy helynevei' [The place names of Sepsiszentgyörgy/Stăntu Gheorghe], *Aluta* 10–11 (1980): 296–43; *Székely Újság* 9 January 1910; *Felsőbányai Hírlap* 11 April 1897; Bordás; *Nagykároly város térképe* [1914]; Christof Hannak, 'Die alten Kronstädter Gassennamen', in *Kronstadt: Eine siebenbürgische Stadtgeschichte*, ed. Harald Roth, 268–85 (Munich: Universitas, 1999); Walter Roth, *Toponymisches von Schäßburg: Deutsche Namen von Häusern, Straßen, Gassen und Plätzen*; available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20071028022640/http://www.hog-schaessburg.de/sn10/toponymisch.htm>; Ernst Schuster, 'Bistritzer Gassennamen', *Siebenbürgisch-sächsischer Hauskalender Jahrbuch* 1959: 55–8; Arnold Pancratz, *Die Gassennamen Hermannstadts: Ein Kulturbild* (Hermannstadt: Krafft & Drotleff, 1935); Gyula Somogyi, *Arad szab. kir. város és Arad vármegye községeknek leírása* [The description of Arad royal free town and of the communes of Arad County] (Arad: Monographia-bizottság, 1913); Petri, *Vom 'Aachenbrunnen' bis zur 'Zwölften-Gasse'*; Lay, *Denumirea străzilor lugoje-ne*; Fodor, 197; Frisch; Josef Andreas Kauer, 'Häuser-, Haushalte- und Personenstandsverzeichnis der Stadt Weißkirchen', in *Heimatluch der Stadt Weißkirchen im Banat*, ed. Alfred Kuhn, 483–621 (Salzburg: Verein Weißkirchner Ortsgemeinschaft, 1980); Bædeker, *Österreich-Ungarn*; Merschdorf, 292; Mihai Petre, *Toponimie urbană hunedoreană* [Urban toponymy of Hunedoara/Hunyad] (Timişoara: Editura Universităţii de Vest, 2012); idem, *Urbanonimie hunedoreană: particularităţi şi perspective* [The urbanonymy of Hunedoara: special features and perspectives] (Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărţii de Ştiinţă, 2013); *Petrozsény, Petrilla és Livazény községek területei egy részének kataszteri térképmásolata tekintettel a m. kir. állami szénbányászatra az 1908. és 1909. évi részletes felmérés szerint* (Budapest: Magyar kir. állami nyomda, 1910); Lajos Bene, *Székelyudvarhely rendezett város térképe* (Kolozsvár: Stief, s. a. [between 1898–1910]); Kálmán Palmer, ed., *Nagybánya és környéke: A Magyar Országos Bányászati és Kohászati Egyesület első vándorgyűlése alkalmára* [Nagybánya and its surroundings: on the occasion of the First Itinerant Meeting of the Hungarian Association of Mining and Metallurgy] (Nagybánya: the editorial board, 1894); Sándor Nagyhalmágyi, *Magyarpécska múltjából* [From the history of Magyarpécska/Rovine] (Pécska: Kálmány Lajos Közművelődési Egyesület and Pécskai Római Katolikus Plébánia, 1999); Reinhard Gaug, 'Sanlean – Seintlein', 547, in Elke Hoffmann, Peter-Dietmar Leber and Walter Wolf, *Städte und Dörfer: Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Deutschen im Banat* (Munich: Landmannschaft der Banater Schwaben, 2011) and from postcards, mostly retrieved from the Magyar Múzeumi Képeslap Katalógus (Hungarian Museums' Postcards Catalogue); available at <http://gallery.hungaricana.hu>.

street names.) As can be observed, a majority of local governments favoured non-local references. Beyond the extreme cases of Szatmárnémeti and Nagyszalonta, Hungarian national heroes with no connection to local history also dominated the new urban toponymies of Kolozsvár, Marosvásárhely, Nagykároly, Gyulafehérvár, Felsőbánya, Déva and Dés. The situation was only seemingly similar to the first group in Werschetz, Weißkirchen and Caransebeş, where Magyars made up a minority in town councils, and where the preponderant non-local scale mostly stands for members of the Dynasty, Habsburg generals, other non-Magyars and acting national politicians. Arad and Temeswar displayed a balance of local and non-local referents (with a mixture of Magyar and imperial ones in the latter), while in Lugoj, the systematic street naming executed in 1891 stood in sharp contrast to the practice of the subsequent decades: while the 1891 renaming shows a preference for local and in a large measure Romanian figures, the forty-six names given to new public spaces between 1891 and 1918 convey the image of a Magyar town, with the dominance of the national scale. In Hermannstadt, Schäßburg and Erzsébetváros, the Saxon, respectively Armenian, municipal leaders opted for local figures who represented the ethnic character of their towns. Among Magyar places, Nagyvárad and the four towns of the Szeklerland included on the map stand out for their tendency towards celebrating the local and the (Magyar) Transylvanian pantheons.<sup>148</sup> In Nagyvárad, a Catholic episcopal seat twice over, two-fifths of local referents had belonged to the Catholic clergy.

I will examine the corpus of referents by three types of urban settlements, differentiated by the relationship of their leaderships and citizenries to Hungarian nationalism. The largest of these three groups is made up of towns with Magyar elites who by themselves or together with co-opted elements controlled the municipalities at the time of street re-

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148 I added Józef Bem, commander of the Transylvanian revolutionary army in 1849, to the category of Transylvanians.

naming.<sup>149</sup> I included here nineteen towns with complete street nomenclatures and those with incomplete data, with the exception of the Banat, Pankota and Sanktanna. The two counties of the Banat with their mainly German, culturally and politically by and large loyal self-Magyarising urban population constitute the second group. As a whole, the German elites of these towns can be described as sometimes enthusiastic, sometimes more reluctant fellow-travellers of Hungarian nation-building. Transylvanian Saxon towns (the towns of the former Land of Saxons, with Transylvanian Saxon leaderships) certainly demand a separate treatment. Finally, the historically Armenian Erzsébetváros does not fit into either of the three pre-set categories.

Among the referents of public spaces in towns dominated by Magyars, the only non-Magyars (in the understanding of contemporary Magyar society)<sup>150</sup> were the Polish revolutionary general Józef Bem (eight streets), Calvin (seven), Garibaldi (like Bem, a constituent part of the Hungarian Independentist tradition), Charles XII of Sweden (in Zilah), the pharmacist Joseph Sterzing (in Fogaras), Kazimir Rulikowski, a Polish officer of the Tsarist interventionist army who joined the Hungarian revolution and was executed (in Nagyvárad), János Hunyadi's fellow-in-arms Saint John of Capistrano (in Marosvásárhely), the Roman emperor Trajan (in Gyulafehérvár) and the only Romanian on the list, the bishop Mihai Pavel (in Nagyvárad, his episcopal seat).

On the testimony of these towns, the period of Hungarian history most often tapped for commemorative street naming was the long nineteenth century, including the emergent Hungarian nationalist movement of the late eighteenth, with approximately sixty per cent of the referents. Among local personalities, the emphasis fell upon the living and the recently dead, but manifestly upon the first two-thirds of the century among the referents

<sup>149</sup> For uncertain cases, I have at my disposal lists of town council members from archival sources or from the contemporary press, although not necessarily from the years of street renaming. Moreover, the names of town officials, which are available for all towns and all years in the official gazetteer, also give a good indication of the local ethnic balance of forces. On localities without urban status, however, only census figures provide clues.

<sup>150</sup> Hence I added Attila the Hun and all the martyr generals of 1849 to the category of Magyars. The Romanian elite, it is understood, would claim not only the Hunyadi family, but even Pál Kinizsi for the Romanian nation.

taken from the national scale. The long nineteenth century was followed by the early modern period (nineteen per cent), the middle ages (9.5%) and the pagan Magyar prehistory (5.5%); although Iorga, in a passage quoted at the head of this chapter, got alert to just this latter, narrow segment of street names during his stay in the town of Abrud, in keeping with the Romanian elite's orientalisising counter-narrative about Magyars as a barbaric Asian horde. Among all referents, 20.2% were artists, 4.8% scholars and a mere 4.3% members of the Habsburg dynasty (including Queen Consort Elisabeth).

No doubt, the Hungarian Independentist version of history could potentially expand to medieval heroes, to generals fighting under Habsburg flags, such as Miklós Zrínyi, or to anybody who took public office in revolutionary Hungary after autumn 1848. Here, I have reduced the definition to the bare minimum and have only included princes and office-holders of the autonomous Principality of Transylvania, the *kuruc*, those participants of the 1848–9 revolution who either did not live long enough to see the Compromise of 1867 or did not accept it, and politicians of the Kossuthite Independentist parties. The Independentist tradition thus defined embraced an impressive 34.9% of commemorative street names. It seems that historical figures falling to this category did not even need to have displayed personal virtues or to have scored successes in order to become commemorated; the timid Transylvanian prince Mihály Apafi, the stooge of the Ottomans and of his chancellor Mihály Teleki, entered town maps five times.

In order to measure up how far the historical canon established by Magyar name givers fit in with the wider Hungarian trends, I have contrasted my dataset with the new commemorative street names in eight Magyar-majority counties of the Central Hungarian Grand Plain: Békés, Csanád, Csongrád, Hajdú, Heves, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, Pest-Pilis-Kiskun (without its parts to the West of the Danube) and Szabolcs. The data collected from these counties amount to around three times the names of Magyar or

Magyar-dominated towns of the territory under study, and include the complete commemorative nomenclatures of fifty towns and villages: Abony, Balmazújváros, Battonya/Batanja/Bătania, Békés/Bichiș, Čaba/Csaba/Tschabe (today Békéscsaba), Cegléd, Debrecen, Eger, Gyoma (today part of Gyomaendrőd), Gyula/Giula/Jula, Hajdúböszörmény, Hajdúszovát, Hódmezővásárhely, Jászárokszállás, Jászberény, Kalocsa/Kollotschau, Karcag, Kecskemét, Kevermes, Kiskunfélegyháza, Kiskunhalas, Kisvárd, Kunszentmárton, Makó, Mándok, Mezőtúr, Nagykőrös, Nyírbátor, Orosháza, Poľný Berinčok/Mezőberény/Maisbrunn, Püspökladány, Sándorfalva, Sarvaš/Szarvas, Szeged, Szeghalom, Szentés, Szolnok, Téglás, Tetétlen, Tiszabúd (today part of Tiszavasvári), Újkécske (today part of Tizsakécske), Vác/Waitzen/Vacov, Vésztő, Erzsébetfalva, Kispeszt, Pestszentlőrinc, Rákospalota/Palota, Soroksár/Markt and Újpest/Neupesth (the latter six are today districts of Budapest).<sup>151</sup>

- 151 Cadastral maps in fond S78 of the National Archives of Hungary: Balmazújváros (1906/1914, 104. téka, Balmazújváros, 22–117), Erzsébetfalva (1910, Pest m. Erzsébetfalva 1910, 1921, 1934, 1–184), Hajdúszovát (1911/1914, téka 114, Hajdúszovát, 49–83), Kevermes (1882/1902, téka 86, Kevermes 001–028), Kispeszt (1904/1905/08, Pest m. Kispeszt 1908, 1–12), Kisvárd (1900/1916, 216/6–26), Mándok (1909/1914, téka 217, Mándok, 6–22), Soroksár/Markt (1882/83, Pest m. Soroksár 1882, 1–169), Tetétlen (1910/1913, téka 116, Tetétlen, 35–49), Tiszabúd (1912/1915, téka 225, Tiszabúd, 7–33) and Újpest/Neupesth (1894, téka 149, Újpest 001–011); cadastral maps, *ibid.*, in fond S79: Abony (1881, no. 0570/003), Battonya/Batanja/Bătania (1886, no. 0289/003) and Újkécske (1880, no. 0622/002); cadastral map of Pestszentlőrinc in the Budapest City Archives (1911–12, Budapest térképeinek katalógusa 4181), Ferenc Lőrincz, *Békés új házszám- és utcaelnevezések átnézeti térképe* (s. l.: Vég, 1915); Imre Czeglédi, *Békéscsaba megyei jogú város közterületi nevei* [The toponyms of Békéscsaba/Békešská Čaba, town with county rights] (Békéscsaba: Békéscsaba Megyei Jogú Város Önkormányzata, 2000); Imre Luchenbacher, *Cegléd térképe* (Cegléd: Sebők, 1917?); Mihály Nábrádi, ed., *Debrecen utca nevei* [The street names of Debrecen] (Debrecen: Debrecen megyei városi Tanács V. B. művelődési osztálya, 1984); Lajos Zoltai, *Debrecen sz. kir. város térképe* (Debrecen: Méliusz, 1915); Géza Bárány, *Eger rendezett tanácsú város térképe* (Eger: s. n., 1913); Sándor Hévízi, 'Gyoma földrajzi nevei' [Place names of Gyoma], in *Gyomai tanulmányok* [Studies on Gyoma], ed. Ferenc Szabó, 421–83 (Gyoma: Gyoma Nagyközség Tanácsa, 1977); Ferenc Scherer, *Gyula város története* [The history of Gyula/Giula/Jula] (Gyula: published by the town, 1938), vol. 2, 222 and 228–9; Péter H. Fekete, *Hajdúböszörmény helyneveinek adattára* [Place name register of Hajdúböszörmény] (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1959); János Dömötör, 'Vásárhely utca nevei: történeti áttekintés' [The street names of Hódmezővásárhely: an historical survey], in *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve* 1971, no. 1, 91–117; János Herbert, *Jászárokszállás nagyközség monografiája* [The monograph of Jászárokszállás large commune] (Karcag: Kertész, s. a. [1928]), 55; Jenő Kurcz, *Jászberény rendezett tanácsú város belsőségének térképe* (Budapest: Radó, 1909); Miklós Asbóth, 'Kalocsa település-szerkezetének kialakulása és a kalocsai városrészek, közterületek nevének változásai' [The formation of the settlement pattern of Kalocsa/Kollotschau and the name changes of its neighbourhoods and public spaces], in *Bács-Kiskun megye múltjából* [From the past of Bács-Kiskun County], vol. 19, ed. idem, 363–464 (Kecskemét: Bács-Kiskun Megyei Önkormányzat Levéltára, 2004); László Séllei, Mrs., *Szeretett szülővárosom, Karcag utca nevei* [The street names of my beloved home town, Karcag] (Karcag: Karcag Város Önkormányzata, s. a. [2002]); Gusztáv Rihocsek, *Kecskemét törv. hat. város térképe* (1905); János Fekete, *Kiskunfélegyháza településfejlődése és utca neveinek története* [The urban development and the history of street names of Kiskunfélegyháza] (Kiskunfélegyháza város Tanácsa, 1974); Károly Palásti, 'Kiskunhalas utca nevei' [The street names of Kiskunhalas], in *Írások Kiskunhalasról* [Writings on Kiskunhalas], eds József Ö. Kovács and Aurél Szakács, 17–44 (Kiskunhalas: Kiskunhalas önkormányzata, 1993); József Homolka, *Budapest székes-főváros és környékének térképe* (Budapest: Hoffmann and Vastagh, 1909); László Józsa, *Kunszentmárton utca nevei* [The street names of Kunszentmárton] (Kunszentmárton: Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt kunszentmártoni szervezete, 1990); Jenő Kolosy, *Makó város térképe* (s. l.: s. n., 1901); *Mezőtúr r. t. város helyszínrajza: a m. kir. brassói 24. honvéd pótászlóalj elhelyezkedési vázlata* (Kolosvár, 1918) (manuscript map in the collection of Hadtörténeti Térképtár, Budapest); Erzsébet Erdélyi, *Nagykőrös utca neveinek története 1850 és 1982 között* [History of the street names of Nagykőrös between 1850 and 1982] (Budapest: ELTE Magyar Nyelvészeti Tanszékcsoport Névutató Munkaközössége, 1985); László Jakab and Árpád Kálnási, *A nyírbátori járás földrajzi nevei* [Place names of the Nyírbátor District] (Nyírbátor: Nyírbátor Város Tanácsa, 1987); Ferenc Szabó, 'A belterület története' [History of the built-up area], in *Orosháza néprajza* [The ethnography of Orosháza], ed. idem, 25–61 (Orosháza: Orosháza Város Tanácsa, 1965); Ambrus Molnár, 'A belterület története és helynevei' [History of the built-up area and its place names], in *Mezőberény története* [The history of Poľný Berinčok/Mezőberény/Maisbrunn], vol. 2, ed. Ferenc Szabó, 155–78 (Mezőberény: Mezőberény nagyközség tanácsának kiadása, 1973); Gyula Kecskés, *Püspökladány újkori története helyneveiben* [The modern history of Püspökladány in its place names]

I have left out the southern Bács-Bodrog County from this comparative dataset due to its large South Slavic population and especially its Catholic Germans, whose pro-Magyar, assimilationist attitudes hardly differed from the Banat Swabian model. The Grand Plain so defined constituted the most heavily Hungarian-speaking major region of contemporary Hungary, where even the ethnically Slovak, bilingual settlements emulated the surrounding patterns of commemorative street naming. Market towns of the region were also known as the electoral turf of Independentist, forty-eightist parties, the staunchest keepers of that anti-Habsburg tradition that formed a basic ingredient of Magyar political culture. Conveniently for my purposes, I was not able to trace more than a couple of new urban nomenclatures from the western, Hungarian-speaking stripe of my focus area, contiguous with this comparative region. This leaves only Nagyszalonta and Magyarpécska as an undesirable overlap between the two sets in comparison, which geographically and culturally belonged to the Grand Plain, but make part of my Eastern Hungarian dataset, defined along county borders for statistical reasons.

The structure of the two corpora were strikingly similar in most aspects that I investigate here, although the single-floor, sprawling peasant towns of the Grand Plain usually had more streets to be named, which created a greater diversity of referents. Only in three points did trends significantly differ on the Grand Plain; the proportion of dynasty members was even lower, while that of artists (24.6%) and of those intertwined with anti-Habsburg struggle (39.7%) higher than to the East. The region's distinctly Independ-

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dány in place names] (Püspökladány: Püspökladány Nagyközség Tanácsa, 1974); Antal Juhász, Sr., ed., *Sándorfalva története és népélete* [The history and folk life of Sándorfalva] (Sándorfalva: Önkormányzat, 1999); Jenő Neumann, *Szarvas nagyközség története* [The history of Szarvas/Sarvaš large commune] (Szarvason: Szarvas község, 1922), 144; László Barta and Ferenc Páhi, *Szentes utcanevei* [The street names of Szentes] (Szeged: Somogyi-könyvtár, 1980); László Péter, *Szeged utcanevei* [The street names of Szeged] (Szeged: Szeged megyei Város Tanácsa Végrehajtó Bizottságának Igazgatási Osztálya, 1974); Piroska Bíró, Mrs. Szarka, *Szeghalom XX. századi településképe és történeti értékű épületei* [The twentieth-century urban landscape of Szeghalom and its historical buildings] (Szeghalom: Sárreai Múzeum, 1996); Géza Cseh, *Szolnok város utcanevei: helytörténeti adattár* [The street names of Szolnok: local history database] (Szolnok: Szolnok Megyei Jogú Város Önkormányzata, 1993); Evelin Mozga, 'Téglás helynevei' [The place names of Téglás], in *Hajdú-Bihar megye helynevei* [Place names of Hajdú-Bihar County], vol. 1, *A Hajdúböszörményi és a Hajdúhadházi járás helynevei* [Place names of the Hajdúböszörmény and Hajdúhadház Districts], ed. Barbara Bába, 254–95 (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press, 2015); Ignác Tragor, *Vác és határának hely- és ingatlannevei* [The place and property names of Vác and its periphery] (Vác: Váci Múzeum-Egyesület, 1935) and Károly Ladányi, 'A közterületek elnevezése' [The names of public spaces], in *Vésztő története: kezdetektől a várossá válásig* [The history of Vésztő: from its beginnings to its elevation to town status], ed. idem, 481–96 (Vésztő: Vésztő Város Önkormányzata, 2008).



entist political sympathies, however, strongly warrant against generalising the high popularity of the latter category to Hungarian-speaking towns in the entire Kingdom of Hungary. At the same time, the solid place that Transylvanian princes had in the new toponymy of the Grand Plain seems to confirm their association with the Independentist tradition for the contemporaries.

That erstwhile challengers of Habsburg power played a privileged role in the official public memory of a Habsburg land was made possible by the unique constitutional framework that was Dualism. Neither personal monarchy nor confederation, and haunted by a fair measure of indeterminacy that ultimately only Francis Joseph was authorised to resolve, the system had at any measure no formal authority that could overturn decisions made by the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior.<sup>152</sup> At the highest level of politics, and notably in Hungarian governments' dealings with the monarch, the figure of Kossuth in particular gave occasion to much uneasiness, and Hungarian ministers often had to walk a tight rope not to incur the anger of a nationalist public opinion, which held Kossuth in a high esteem bordering on idolatry. Although revolutionaries of 1848 were by the turn of the century also venerated with street names in Vienna and Ljubljana, Kossuth was not one of your domesticated one-time radical heroes, and no wonder that Francis Joseph still harboured a grudge against him. After all, Kossuth had dethroned and commanded troops against the reigning monarch, and the nonagenarian still avidly commented on Hungarian politics in a resolutely anti-Dualist stance and proudly refused to renew his Hungarian citizenship. After Kossuth's death in 1894, his body was taken to Budapest, where the apparent official character of his burial could not fail to stir one last conflict between the monarch and his Budapest government.<sup>153</sup>

152 Zoltán Szente, *Kormányzás a dualizmus korában: a XIX. századi európai parlamentarizmus és Magyarország kormányformája a kiegyezés után, 1867–1918* [Governance under Dualism: nineteenth-century European parliamentarism and Hungary's form of governance after the Compromise, 1867–1918] (Budapest: Atlantisz, 2011) provides a brilliant analysis of the ambiguities underlying the constitutional system of Dualism.

153 Péter Hanák, 'Kossuth temetése és a Wekerle-kormány' [The burial of Kossuth and the Wekerle government], *História* 16 (1994), nos 5–6, 45–7.

The king and emperor's cordial hatred of Kossuth did not prevent the latter from becoming the most popular referent of street names in both areas. On the Grand Plain, Kossuth was typically also the first person to be commemorated in this manner, and usually with prominently located spaces. The reverence paid to the former governor approached the same high intensity in the similarly Independentist-leaning Szeklerland; in all Szekler localities from which I have data, at least one public space bore his name.

Forty-eightist street names did justice to their former revolutionary referents, and they could also convey a sense of anxiety about the limits of Hungarian sovereignty from Vienna. In this sense, they could act as symbolic proxies for a fully-fledged statehood. Moreover, Germanophobic, Independentist fantasies and gestures also had their well-established place in Dualist Hungary's urban culture. Apart from the nests of anti-Habsburg dissent on the Grand Plain, the Magyar middle-class at large might also relish symbolically re-enacting the 'freedom fight' against 'Germans' and might feel a thrill at the idea of provoking the 'alien oppressors', although the latter were stubbornly invisible on the ground and could be identified at best with the German-speaking officer corps of the Common Army. With a power to engineer consent, but with a potentially unruly dynamics, anti-German sentiment played a by and large similar role for Magyars as did irredentism for other national publics in contemporary Europe.

A comparison between the frequency lists of individual referents can be made based upon the following table. Taking into account the threefold difference in size between the two corpora in favour of the Grand Plain, the variety of referents was much higher in the latter, even if the difference was partially due to the larger average surface area of towns. Although it does not come as a surprise that royalties earned less attention in core-Hungary than in the Eastern Hungarian towns, the gap is nevertheless staggering. Francis Joseph does not even make it to the top twenty, and even Consort Elisabeth, with a strong

personal cult in Hungary on account of her ostentatious Magyarophilia, only ranks fourteenth-fifteenth on the Grand Plain, while she occupies the second place in my focus area if the towns of the Banat are included (the column marked by Roman ‘I’). The greater popularity that János Hunyadi,<sup>154</sup> Gábor Bethlen, King Matthias and Miklós Wesselényi enjoyed in the East can be easily explained by their Transylvanian connections, but there is no obvious reason that made Attila the Hun a more frequent referent in Eastern towns; Szeklers surely had their own, separate ethnogenetic myth that linked them directly to the Huns, but references to Attila were in no way specific or even typical to the Szeklerland.

**Table 3.2. The most frequent commemorative referents of public spaces: a comparison between the focus area and the Grand Plain**

in the area under study	I <sup>155</sup>	II	on the Grand Plain	
1. Kossuth	36	32	1. Kossuth	43
2. Queen Elisabeth	24	16	2. Petőfi	38
3. Rákóczi	23	23	3. Széchenyi	37
4. Hunyadi	21	16	4. Rákóczi	33
5. Petőfi	16	13	5. Árpád	27
6–7 Ferenc Deák	15	11	6. Zrínyi	26
Francis Joseph	15	9	7–8. Ferenc Deák	25
8. Gábor Bethlen	13	13	Hunyadi	25
9. Árpád	12	9	9. Vörösmarty	23
10–13. Attila	10	7	10–11. János Arany	22
King Matthias	10	9	Jókai	22
Széchenyi	10	7	12–13. Bocskai	21
Wesselényi	10	10	Damjanich	21
14–15. Bercsényi	9	7	14–15. Batthyány	20
Jókai	9	9	Queen Elisabeth	20
16. Eötvös	8	6	16–17. Báthori	17
17–18. Vörösmarty	7	7	Werbőczy	17
Zrínyi	7	6	18–20. Eötvös	16
19–20. Bocskay	6	5	Kinizsi	16
Damjanich	6	5	Lehel	16

<sup>154</sup> I assumed that all public spaces bearing the name ‘Hunyadi’ referred to János Hunyadi.

<sup>155</sup> The first column shows the values for the entire Eastern area under study, while the one to the right, indicated by Roman ‘II’, stands for Magyar-dominated towns.

Limiting the scope of research to the main thoroughfares and squares only increases the lead of Kossuth; nineteen such prominent public spaces were named after him in Magyar towns, far surpassing the second-ranking *kuruc* leader Ferenc Rákóczi II (with eight), Ferenc Deák (with six), a tie between János Hunyadi and István Széchenyi (with five each) and another between Gábor Bethlen and Francis Joseph (with four each). On balance, this scaling method does not fundamentally reshuffle the top list of referents, but it downgrades Queen Consort Elisabeth, the only woman on the list, and the national poet Sándor Petőfi, who was after all perhaps not found respectable enough for too prominent spaces, having died at the tender age of twenty-six.<sup>156</sup>

### 3.3.2. The Southern Road towards Magyardom: Public Memory in the Banat

The self-Magyarisation of urban society proceeded rather smoothly in the Banat (or, under the contemporary name that was felt more compatible with Hungarian state nationalism, ‘Southern Hungary’).<sup>157</sup> In spite of the widespread pro-Magyar sympathies of the

<sup>156</sup> Since estimating the prominence of a public space is necessarily a subjective task, here are the detailed results: Kossuth in Barót (twice), Csíkszereda, Dés, Déva, Gyergyószentmiklós, Kolozsvár, Kovászna, Marosvásárhely, Nagyenyed, Nagyszalonta, Petrozsény, Sepsiszentgyörgy, Székelykeresztúr, Székelyudvarhely, Tenke, Torda, Zilah and Zsibó; Rákóczi in Csíkszereda, Dés, Nagybánya, Nagyenyed, Szilágysomlyó, Szinyérváralja, Zilah and Zsibó; Deák in Arad, Gyulafehérvár, Kolozsvár, Nagybánya, Szatmár and Székelyudvarhely; Hunyadi in Felsőbánya, Gyulafehérvár (twice), Kolozsvár and Vajdahunyad; Széchenyi in Kolozsvár, Marosvásárhely, Nagykároly, Nagyvárad and Torda; Bethlen in Dicsőszentmárton (twice), Fogaras and Székelyudvarhely; Francis Joseph in Abrudbánya, Fogaras, Kolozsvár and Tenke.

<sup>157</sup> On various aspects of the Magyarisation of towns in the Banat, István Berkeszi, *Temesvár szabad királyi város kis monographiája* [A concise monograph of Temeschwar royal free town] (Temesvár: Temesvár-kerületi Tanári Kör, 1900); Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn, *Deutsche Kulturbilder aus Ungarn* (Leipzig: Meyer, 1896); Károly Telbisz, *Dr. Telbisz Károly m. kir. udvari tanácsosnak Temesvár szab. kir. város polgármesterének és díszpolgárának 25 évi polgármesteri működése alatt elmondott beszédei* [The speeches of Court Councillor and Mayor of Temeschwar Royal Free Town Károly Telbisz, delivered during his twenty-five-year tenure as mayor] (Temesvár: a városi tisztikar, 1910); Tiberiu Schatteles, *Evreii din Timișoara, în perspectivă istorică* [The Jews of Timișoara in historical perspective], trans. Andrei Banc (Bucharest: Hasefer, 2013), 217–8 and 229–30; Sim. Sam. Moldovan, *Oravița de altădată și teatrul cel mai vechiu din România* [The Oravița of yore and the oldest theatre in Romania] (Oravița: Weiss, Progresul and Kaden, s. a. [1938]); Mihály Fekete, *A temesvári színészet története* [The history of theatre in Temeschwar] (Temesvár: Engel, s. a. [1911]) and Ferencz Ries, *A Délmagyarországi Természettudományi Társulat története* [History of the Southern Hungarian Scientific Association] (Temesvár: Délmagyarországi Természettudományi Társulat, 1899). On the contribution of the Catholic Church, Sándor Kovács, *A csanádi papnevelde története: a mai papnevelde megnyitásának első centenáriuma alkalmából; 1806–1906* [History of the Csanád priestly seminary: on the centenary of the opening of the current seminary, 1806–1906] (Temesvár: Csanádegyházmegyei Könyvnyomda, 1908) and Leonhard Böhm and Alfred Kuhn, ‘Weißkirchen im ungarischen Staatsverband’, in *Heimatsbuch der Stadt Weißkirchen im Banat*, ed. Alfred Kuhn, 103–4 (Salzburg: Verein Weißkirchner Ortsgemeinschaft, 1980). On the associations for the spread of Hungarian, István Pontelly, *A temesvári Magyar-nyelv-Terjesztő Egyesület feladatai* [The tasks of the Temeschwar Association for Spreading the Hungarian Language] (Temesvár: Temesvári Magyar-nyelv-Terjesztő Egyesület, 1883); Miklós Lendvai, *Nemzeti kulturmunka: a temesvári magyar nyelvet terjesztő egyesület negyedszázados működése* [National cultural work: a quarter of a century of activity of the Temeschwar Association for Spreading the Hungarian Language] (Temesvár: Unió, 1909); Lajos Perjéssy, *A Verseczi Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület története: 1885–1910* [The history of the Hungarian Cultural Association of Werschetz: 1885–1910] (Versecz: Kirchner, 1910); Gál; Sándor, 65–70; Zoltán Frank, *Délkeleti képek* [South-eastern images] (Oravicza: Wunder, 1900), 22 and *Magyar Minerva: a magyarországi múzeumok és könyvtárak címkönyve* [Hungarian Minerva: the register of museums and libraries in Hungary], vol. 5, 1912–1913 (Budapest: Múzeumok és Könyvtárak Országos Főfelügyelőisége és Országos Tanácsa, 1915). On the 1850s, Gyula Szekfű, *Három nemzedék és ami utána következik* [Three generations and what follows] (Budapest, 1934; reprint, Budapest: ÁKV and Maecenas, 1989), 168–9 and Ferenc Herczeg, *Emlékezései: A várhegy, A gótikus ház* [Memoirs: The castle hill, The Gothic house] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1985), 81 and 104.

local German bourgeoisie, fed by the memories of 1848–9 and the protest against Habsburg policies in the 1850s, Ferenc Herczeg (born *Herzog*) later wrote about Temeswar with some exaggeration that Hungarian could only be heard spoken in three points of the city in the mid-1870s: at the county hall, in the Piarist high school and at the confectioner's where magnates from the province regularly stopped to savour custard buns and vanilla liqueur.<sup>158</sup> Later Magyarisation unfolded in two dimensions: the symbolic (flagging the use of languages and replacing German with Hungarian in significant places) and the practical (learning and speaking Hungarian). It obviously received backing from the Dualist Hungarian state, but it would not have overcome without the enthusiastic participation and advocacy by the local urban upper-middle and middle-middle classes, by the Roman Catholic Church and by wealthy landowners. As a social movement, Magyarisation created its own institutions with a network of 'associations for the spread of Hungarian'; these associations organised language courses and child exchange, supported Hungarian schools and kindergartens, waged campaigns for the introduction of Hungarian into education and civil society, subsidised the replacement of German shop signs, fought German nationalist initiatives and in general brokered between central cultural policies and the local urban society. The upper segments of this urban society, mainly of Catholic German and Jewish backgrounds and with a convertible social and cultural capital, began to replace German with Hungarian as their dominant language. At the same time, Temeswar continued to function as a centre of the German press in Hungary, with its range of German newspapers and journals actually becoming more diverse during the period, and the census of 1910 still showed a slight relative majority of German-speakers in the city. The first circumstance was deemed harmless politically, insofar as the influential papers of this regional scene pledged loyalty to Hungarian state nationalism, and the

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<sup>158</sup> Herczeg, 85.

second was largely due to the inflow of German-speaking industrial labour from the surrounding countryside.<sup>159</sup>

In so far as the municipal leaders of Banat towns drew street names from the local scale, they must face difficulties whenever they tried representing their towns in exclusively Magyar colours. In a proposal for new street names in the town of Veliki Bečkerek/Großbetschkerek/Nagybecskerek/Becicherecu Mare, Jenő Szentkláray (born *Nedits*) explained how exemplary historical figures issued from the minorities should be included to urban toponymy and how the regional and the national scales should be balanced out in order to produce a multi-ethnic, but patriotic vision, one that would be still dominated by Magyars.<sup>160</sup> Surprisingly, however, Magyarising municipal leaders only applied such accommodating schemes in situations where they had to make compromises, and it was rather in spite of them that commemorative street names featured a much more varied ethnic landscape in the Banat than in Magyar towns of Transylvania.

At the turn of the century, the municipality of Temeswar introduced new commemorative street names taken from the Hungarian nationalist canon. They left in place the commemorative street names given earlier, a loyalist mixture composed of the mostly German, but also Slavic, French and Italian names of royalties, former mayors, Habsburg governors and Roman Catholic bishops.<sup>161</sup> Official street naming went through similar stages in Lugoj, a town that regained its urban rights in 1889, with the former district administrator Árpád Marsovszky as its mayor. Hungarian was introduced as the third language to the minutes of its council as late as 1886, but it became dominant in local administration by the turn of the century.<sup>162</sup> Simultaneously, the population of the town also

159 István Berkeszi, *A temesvári könyvnyomdászat és hírlapirodalom története* [The history of book printing and journalism in Temeschwar] (Temesvár: Délmagyarországi Történelmi és Régészeti Múzeum-Társulat and the public of Temesvár royal free town, 1900).

160 Jenő Szentkláray, *Nagy-Becskerek utcáinak és tereinek magyarosítása: vonások a vidék és város történetéből* [The Magyarisation of the streets and squares of Veliki Bečkerek: features from the history of the region and the town] (Nagy-Becskerek: Pleitz, 1879). The town is in Serbia today and is called Zrenjanin.

161 Petri, *Vom 'Aachenibrunnen' bis zur 'Zwölften-Gasse'*, 64–75.

162 On the administration of Lugoj under Dualism, István Iványi, *Lugos rendezett tanácsú város története: adatok és vázlatok* [The history of Lugoj town with settled council: data and sketches] (Szabadka: Horváth, 1907); Elemér Jakabffy, 'Krassó-Szörény vármegye története: különös tekintettel a nemzetiségi kérdésre' [The history of Krassó-Szörény County: with special regard to

swiftly Magyarised. Following a systematisation and large-scale renaming of public spaces in 1891, consecutive town leaderships left the existing street names untouched and only named the new public spaces of the rapidly expanding town. These new names were decidedly at odds with the spirit of the 1891 renaming, which still gave considerable space to local Romanian figures. Members of the Dynasty would still receive greater attention than in Magyar towns, but apart from them, perhaps only the eighteenth-century military governor of the Banat Claude-Florimund Mercy (spelt ‘Merczy’) and the ‘Greek’ landowner János Palikucsevnyi were not intended as Magyars among the new referents.<sup>163</sup>

I could not ascertain when the towns of Werschetz and Weißkirchen received commemorative street names under Dualism, but the two street name nomenclatures do not convey the image of town leaderships culturally subservient to the Hungarian nation-state agenda. This is perhaps less surprising in the case of Weißkirchen, whose German-speaking majority remained remarkably lukewarm towards the Magyarising movement.<sup>164</sup> Besides Karol/Károly Abancourt and Franz/Ferenc Maderspach, two martyr officers of the revolutionary army in 1848–49, Petőfi, Széchenyi, the contemporary politicians Gábor Baross and Ignác Darányi and the Millennium, the town chose the names of Schiller, Queen Consort Elisabeth, Archduke Rudolf, Archduchess Stephanie, the generals Mercy, Laudon and Radetzky, the mayors Karl Fronius and Kajetan Barray, the archdeacon Eissinger and an obscure local notable by the name Adrian C. Schmidt for its public spaces.<sup>165</sup>

More puzzling is the case of Werschetz. Not only did the upper layer of local Germans enthusiastically embrace Magyarisation, but its status as ‘town with county rights’

the nationalities problem], *Magyar Kisebbség* 19 (1940): 533; ANR Timișoara, Fond Primăria orașului Lugoj 18/1888 and Inventories 363 and 364.

<sup>163</sup> Lay, *Denumirea străzilor lugojene*.

<sup>164</sup> Gál; Böhm and Kuhn, 88–9; MOL K150, 1890-II-2, bundle 1,857 and *Drapelul* 15/28 June 1904.

<sup>165</sup> Kauer.

also allowed for more government intervention in its affairs.<sup>166</sup> Still, only the 1849 martyr Julius/Gyula Hruby and the contemporary politicians Gyula Andrásy and Gábor Baross represented the Magyar/Hungarian narrative among its new commemorative street names, against Francis Joseph, general Mercy, the municipal office-holders Michael Kormann and Konstantin Spajić, the painter Đura Jakšić, a Banat Serb, the seventeenth-century Serbian patriarch Arsenije Čarnojević and the German poet Lenau, born and grown up in the Banat.<sup>167</sup>

Two other urban street nomenclatures from the Banat, that of Lugoj from 1891 and that of Caransebeș, present unique examples of Romanian self-representation, mostly reduced to the local scale. In Lugojul Român/Rumänisch-Lugosch/Románlugos, the Romanian-majority half of Lugoj lying on the right bank of the Timiș/Temesch/Temes River, the systematic street renaming of 1891 immortalised names of local Romanian public leaders, although it is not known and would be hard to ascertain in the lack of documents just how far Romanian town council members took part in their selection. In any event, the Romanian referents of streets, all of them drawn from the nineteenth century, did not represent a Romanian nationalist canon and their memory could seem innocuous for Hungarian state nationalism: the prefect Emanuil Gozsdu, the subprefect Ioan Faur, the Greek Catholic bishop Alexandru Dobra, the mayors Constantin Alexandrovici, Gavrilă Gureanu and Constantin Udria, the county official Niță Pop, the notary public Aurel Maniu and the philanthropist Alexandru Nedelcu.<sup>168</sup> As mentioned earlier, no public space was named after Romanians starting with 1892.

Like Lugoj, the town of Caransebeș entered the Dualist Era with a significant German-speaking minority, but (although equally assimilationist) this group never became as influential in local politics. In 1873, the town council declared Romanian the official lan-

166 Perjéssy and Ingomar Senz, *Die nationale Bewegung der ungarländischen Deutschen vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg: Eine Entwicklung im Spannungsfeld zwischen Alldeutschum und ungarischer Innenpolitik* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1977), 65.

167 Frisch.

168 Lay, *Denumirea străzilor lugojene*.



guage of its minutes, introducing Hungarian for the contact with state authorities and for answering petitions drafted in that language; a resolution renewed in 1888 and 1905.<sup>169</sup> In the second half of the Dualist Era, two major public institutions of the town, the town hall and the Community of Property of the former border guard regiment, came under the thumb of Constantin Burdia, a local boss affiliated with the Liberal Party/National Party of Work and conciliatory with Hungarian state nationalism. Under the leadership of his faction, the pre-eminent role that Romanian had enjoyed as the official language gradually turned fictitious in the town's internal administration.<sup>170</sup> Whilst the introduction of Hungarian into the town's internal affairs could be presented as an inevitable concession in turn-of-the-century Hungary, Burdia's acolytes were also obliged to fashion themselves as 'good Romanians' if they wished to be accepted as true servants of their community.

Caransebeș had thirteen commemorative street names at the outbreak of the First World War.<sup>171</sup> The referents fell into four distinct groups, three of which will come as no surprise: the imperial scale (Francis Joseph, Maria Theresa, Archduchess Helen and Radetzky), Hungarian medieval history (Royal Prince Imre and János Hunyadi) and contemporary Hungarian politics (Deák and Wekerle). The fourth group, however, was entirely unusual in contemporary Hungary in containing not only two oblique references to the Romanian nationalist canon—oblique in that if necessary, both the local and the state authorities could explain them away as such—but also the name of a controversial earlier Romanian leader.

The road leaving the town to the South-west received the name of the Latin poet Ovid. Of all Roman artists, Ovid played the most prominent role in Romanian historical

169 Constantin Brătescu, *Orașul Caransebeș între 1865–1919: file de monografie* [The town of Caransebeș between 1865 and 1919: pages of a monograph] (Caransebeș: Dalami, 2011), 22 and 25.

170 ANR Caransebeș, Inventory 1624 (Primăria orașului Caransebeș) and *ibid.*, Fond Primăria orașului Caransebeș, 2/1884–93; 1/1897–9, 40 and 104–5; 19/1909, 93–6, 212–17 and 254–6 and 4/1913–14, 11.

171 Fodor, *A Szörénység tájrajza*, 197.

imagination, due to his exile to the Moesian port town Tomis. In its quest for the symbolic appropriation of the Dobruja after 1878, official Romania exploited his figure to the fullest. They erected his statue in 1887 on the Independence Square of Küstendje/Constanța, a town near historical Tomis, which was thereafter advertised as the major sight and the emblem of the town.<sup>172</sup> (In the last chapter, I also mentioned the street bearing his name in the town.) Earlier, however, a less well-informed Romanian priesthood in the Banat had already found an alternative site for Ovid's exile: the tower (in fact a medieval keep) above the village of Turnul.<sup>173</sup> This tradition could not have other than learned provenance, but according to the testimony of an aristocratic traveller, the baroness Aloise-Christine de Carlowitz, it had gained wide currency in the region by as early as 1846.<sup>174</sup> And although Turnul was the third village to the South-west and the tower could hardly be seen from the town, it is fully possible that the town hall sanctified earlier use by the choice of the street name.

Naming the main street of the North-eastern, rural and overwhelmingly Romanian-inhabited neighbourhood of the town after the Romans amounted to a not too well-disguised allusion to the idea of continuity between Romans and Romanians, especially that no Roman findings had turned up in that neighbourhood.<sup>175</sup> Although the contemporary urban nomenclature of Gyulafehérvár (the Roman Apulum) made a similar reference to Roman antiquity by a street named after emperor Trajan, unlike Gyulafehérvár, Caransebeș could not boast with a Roman history. If the street was so named before the acceptance of phonemic spelling, the reference was even more obvious; Latinate orthographies

172 Pătrașcu, 93–4.

173 On the tower, see Dumitru Țeicu, *Medieval fortifications in Banat* (Timișoara: Cosmopolitan-Art, 2009), 50–1.

174 Aloise-Christine de Carlowitz, 'Voyage dans les Principautés Danubiennes et aux embouchures du Danube', part 1, *Revue de Paris* 33 (1856): 530.

175 Sabin Adrian Luca, *Descoperiri arheologice din Banatul Românesc: repertoriu* [Archaeological finds in the Romanian Banat: a repertory] (Alba Iulia: Altip, 2006), 56–9.

(and the pronunciation promoted through them) made no distinction between Romans and Romanians, allowing Romanian authors to play indefinitely on this ambiguity.<sup>176</sup>

In contrast, there was nothing oblique about commemorating Traian Doda with a street, and no choice of name from among local figures could be more calculated to outrage official Hungary.<sup>177</sup> For who was Traian Doda? He fought against the Hungarian revolutionaries in 1848–9 as a border guard officer, later he was promoted to the rank of a general, and after retiring from the Common Army, he also represented the constituency of Caransebeș in six consecutive Hungarian parliaments between 1873 and 1888, despite his lack of Hungarian, the language of proceedings. In 1882, he presented an unsuccessful petition for the establishment of a Romanian gymnasium on the costs of the Caransebeș Community of Property, which he also presided. In protest against the coercion used at the 1887 elections, he announced staying away from parliament meetings. His otherwise fairly moderately worded public letter to his voters on this occasion stirred an all-out onslaught of the Hungarian press and earned him a two-year prison sentence for incitement to national hatred, from which he was promptly pardoned by the monarch.<sup>178</sup> Due to this conflict, his name entered the dictionary of Hungarian political journals as synonymous with high treason.<sup>179</sup> But at the end of the day, Magyars probably did not have a much better opinion about his voters either, and in any case they preferred to see them under Burdia and with a street commemorating Doda (the existence of which they barely knew about) than led by one of Doda's political friends.

176 Ioan Popa, *Dimensiuni etno-identitare și național-politice în spațiul școlar sud-transilvănean 1849-1918* [Dimensions of ethnic identity and national politics in the southern Transylvanian education scene, 1849–1918] (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2013), 212.

177 The fourth street bore the name of Ilie Curescu, the head of the Community of Property of the former Border Guard Regiment after Traian Doda. On Curescu, see Roșu, 63.

178 Kemény, ed., vol. 1, 740–3; Veritas [Jenő Gagyí], *A magyarországi románok egyházi, iskolai, közművelődési, közgazdasági intézményeinek és mozgalmainak ismertetése* [Presentation of the ecclesiastical, educational, cultural and economic institutions and movements of Romanians in Hungary] (Budapest: Uránia, 1908), 370–4; Antoniu Marchescu, *Grănicerii bănățeni și comunitatea de avere: contribuțiuni istorice și juridice* [The border guards of the Banat and the community of property: historical and juridical contributions] (Caransebeș: Tipografia diecezană, 1941), 383–6 and Jakabffy, *Krassó-Szörény vármegye története*, 389–90.

179 While few of the street names given in the period have remained in official use, the respective streets were still called *Calea Romanilor* and *Strada Traian Doda* at the time of my stay in Caransebeș in 2013, and the two street names were still in effect in 2016, according to Google Maps.

Whilst the towns of the Banat were little different from the Magyar towns of the first category in their range of street renaming and in their preference for commemorative names, they show nothing of the enormous gulf between Independentist and imperial references present in the latter. Twenty-five of their public spaces were named after the Independentist canon, against twenty-four named after Habsburgs (or 13.7% vs. 13.2%), not including fourteen streets named after generals in Habsburg service. The share of pagan Magyars and of medieval Hungarian heroes was smaller than either in Transylvania or on the Grand Plain. In exchange, the number of referents who could not be easily identified as Magyars was certainly much higher; nineteen public spaces bore names of Romanians, four of Serbs and three of Germans from outside the Empire.

### **3.3.3. Transylvanian Saxon Town Leaderships**

Altogether different patterns unfolded in the towns of the former Saxon Land, with leaderships dominated by the Saxon elite. These towns overwhelmingly made official their vernacular, descriptive street names, and their few commemorative names had a local character. As a consequence, there was no overlap between the personalities immortalised in the various towns. The council of Brassó changed some of its street names as they officially settled the urban nomenclature in 1887, but only two streets received names of historical figures, notably those of the sixteenth-century mayoress Apollonia Hirscher and the seventeenth-century mayor Michael Weiß.<sup>180</sup> The main square was later named after Francis Joseph and a newly laid-out boulevard after the by-then late Crown Prince Rudolf. Schäßburg introduced four commemorative names: *Albertstraße* after the local poet Michael Albert, *Eisenbrunnnergasse* after the seventeenth-century mayor Martin Eisenbrunner, *Walbaumgasse* after Friedrich Walbaum, mayor of the town between 1897 and 1910, and *Georg Daniel Teutsch-Platz* after the locally born bishop, historian

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<sup>180</sup> Hannak, 269.

and politician.<sup>181</sup> In Bistritz, *Hinter der Mauer* was named after Pfaffenbruder sometime after 1880, a heroic early-seventeenth-century smith who had saved the city from falling prey to marauding mercenaries. Another motion in the 1900s to name a street of the town after the philanthropist Camilla Textoris had an uncertain fate.<sup>182</sup> Two other towns with Saxon leaderships, Sebiş and Sächsisch-Regen/Szászrégen/Reghinul Săsesc, apparently did not introduce any commemorative street name in the period.<sup>183</sup>

The former Saxon seat, Hermannstadt, was more generous in earmarking its public spaces for commemorative purposes. Eleven distinguished Saxons were honoured with down-town streets or squares in 1872, eight in the suburbs in 1874 and twenty after the parcelling out of new neighbourhoods in 1898 and 1908.<sup>184</sup> All these bishops, pastors, mayors, savants and city fathers had close connections to local history, what is more, several of them had even owned properties in the respective streets. The Romanian Orthodox metropolitan Andrei Şaguna, whose centenary in 1909 was marked by the renaming of the former *Mühlgasse*, had also been a long-time resident of the city, his archiepiscopal seat.<sup>185</sup> The single non-local referent of an urbanonym in Hermannstadt became that greatest of all the heroes of German culture, Friedrich Schiller. In 1905, to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of his death, the bust of the poet was inaugurated on the small square renamed *Schillerplatz*, a token of Transylvanian Saxons' membership in German-dom.<sup>186</sup>

We need not suspect a heightened appreciation for historic street names on the part of Transylvanian Saxon town councils to account for their sparing use of commemorative references. Neither was such pattern proper to urban Protestant milieus in the Ger-

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181 Roth.

182 Schuster.

183 Călin Anghel, 'Contribuții la nomenclatura stradală a oraşului Sebeş' [Contributions to the street nomenclature of Sebeş], *Terra Sebus* 2 (2010): 399–411 and Dorin-Ioan Rus, 'Influența factorului politic asupra denumirilor de străzi din Reghin' [The influence of the political factor on the street names of Reghin/Szászrégen], *Historia Urbana* 15 (2007): 213–36.

184 Emil Sigerus, *Chronik der Stadt Hermannstadt, 1100–1929* (Hermannstadt: Honterus, 1930), 47–8, 57 and 60.

185 *Ibid.*, 60.

186 *Ibid.*, 78 and Pancratz, 69.

man Empire, the main cultural model for the Transylvanian Saxon elite. But it would have taken the nerve of Trieste municipal leaders to try and reproduce the commemorative street nomenclature of an imperial German town in Transylvania, which would have likely been treated with even less leniency by the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior than was the audacious street naming in Trieste by the Austrian authorities.<sup>187</sup> In fact, the paucity and the local scale of commemorative street names had their closest parallel in the contemporary urbanonymy of the Baltic German towns presented in the last chapter, where the aggressive cultural policies enacted by Russian gubernia authorities apparently imposed similar self-restraint on council members. After all, however, the nationalist sensibilities of the Dualist Hungarian regime did not deprive the Saxon elite from the possibility of writing their German identity into the street networks insofar as they were free to adopt the names of personalities taken from local Saxon history. Although such exclusively local commemorative street nomenclatures were unusual in the German sphere, the German nation, more than any other contemporary nation, was imagined as an ensemble of regional communities, who celebrated their Germanness through preserving their own regional cultures. Along these lines, Transylvanian Saxons were reinterpreting their regional identity as constitutive of the German nation, and Transylvania as a *Heimat* on a par with the German *Mittelstaaten*.<sup>188</sup>

### **3.3.4. The Reception of New Urban Toponymies**

‘Next time take the trouble to learn the new street names and everything will be just fine.  
The sooner you forget the old ones, the better.’  
Dubravka Ugrešić, *The Ministry of Pain*<sup>189</sup>

The urban geographer Allan Pred interpreted the reluctance of the Stockholm working class to utter the official, commemorative street names and their consistent usage of a

<sup>187</sup> Hametz, 238–9.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1990) and Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871–1918* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

<sup>189</sup> Trans. Michael Henry Heim (New York: HarperCollins, 2006), 118.

playful popular geography instead at least in some measure as subconscious resistance to the ideological domination of that ‘punsch patriotism’ that in 1885 gave new names to 109 pre-existing streets, ranging from Swedish history and geography to Nordic mythology.<sup>190</sup>

In the area studied, the majority of Hungarian publications adopted the new street names the very day they came into force, at best also indicating the old names between parentheses for a few years to come. Two exceptions from this rule are the first part of the Kolozsvár address directory from 1904, five years after the city’s toponymy had been systematically reshaped, and the local monograph of Felsőbánya/Baia Sprie, whose author justified his use of the old names as follows: ‘At the occasion of the millennial celebrations, the streets and spaces of the town gained new names, but only with much difficulty have these passed into public knowledge.’<sup>191</sup> His remark can be confidently generalised to other cities and towns of the area; the establishment of an artificial, commemorative urban toponymy in the place of a spontaneous and vernacular regime was probably harder even than later transitions from old artificial urban toponymies to new ones. (The same obviously did not apply to the names of newly laid-out streets.) According to a portrait of everyday life in turn-of-the-century Temesvár written in the inter-war period, the new street names had not yet entered the usage of city-dwellers. What is more, the downtown *Paradeplatz* had been renamed after Prince Eugene of Savoy at an earlier stage, locals still most commonly referred to it by its old name after forty years. The same article also relates an anecdote about a cab driver who turned to a policeman for help after a stranger gave *Báthory utca* as his destination; unlike cab drivers, policemen were bound by their office to learn the new street names.<sup>192</sup> In his autobiographical novel, the writer

190 Allan Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds: Modernity and the Language of Everyday Life in Late Nineteenth-century Stockholm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 126–42.

191 Asztalos, 31 and Antal Szmik, *Adalékok Felsőbánya szabad királyi bányaváros monographiájához* [Contributions to the monograph of Felsőbánya/Baia Sprie royal free mining town] (Budapest: self-published, 1906), 151–2.

192 Sámuel Kastriener, ‘A temesvári utca’ [The Temesvár street], *Temesvári Hírlap* 22 December 1929.

Géza Laczkó expressed a similar opinion about Kolozsvár: ‘Natives of Kolozsvár, however (...) hardly learned the new names’.<sup>193</sup>

The generations of grown-ups could not be relied upon to change their habits, and migration to the cities remained within moderate limits. Children sometimes encountered the new street names as a lesson to be learned at school; the elementary curriculum included the geography of the home town and the home county in the third grade, and some textbooks described the major local thoroughfares and squares under this heading.<sup>194</sup> In spite of this, it is questionable whether the average three decades of their legal existence could in themselves cement the new names in Hungarian-speaking city-dwellers’ minds. I rather suspect that it was the symbolic resistance against later Romanian rule, which had completely rewritten the urban nomenclature of the largely non-Romanian cities in a Romanian nationalist mould, that ultimately valorised the ideational content of commemorative Hungarian street names. In the local Hungarian newspapers from the inter-war period examined by Krisztina Sófalvi, the public spaces of Kolozsvár and Arad were usually designated by their last official Hungarian names, either standing between parentheses after the official Romanian names or by themselves as the main forms.<sup>195</sup> It was in that period that the street names of the Belle Époque became definitively the ‘true’ ones for the Magyar inhabitants of these cities. Moreover, most of the old commemorative names were later reintroduced in the cities re-annexed to Hungary in 1940, and many of them were also left in place for some time after 1944.<sup>196</sup>

A somewhat unexpected fact about the afterlife of Hungarian commemorative street names comes from Weißkirchen, where local Germans, known for their less than fervent

193 Géza Laczkó, *Királyhágó: regény* [The King’s Pass: novel] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1971), 37.

194 István Máthé, *A lakóhely ismertetése és Kolozsvármegye földrajza: elemi iskolák III. oszt. számára* [Presentation of the home-place and the geography of Kolozs County: for the third class of elementary schools] (Kolozsvárt: Stief, s. a. [1913]), 110–31 and János Györfly and Ildebert Kiss, *Földrajzi előismeretek; Aradvármegye rövid földrajza: az aradvármegyei népiskolák III. osztályú tanulói számára* [Preliminary notions of geography; Brief geography of Arad County: for the third classes of elementary schools in Arad County] (Budapest: Szent István-Társulat, 1905), 28–30. Cf. Alexandru Vaida-Voevod’s speech in the House of Commons on 11 March 1907; *Képviselőházi napló* 1906, vol. 7, 243.

195 Krisztina Sófalvi, ‘Román közterületnevek a két világháború közötti időszak romániai magyar napilapjaiban’ [Romanian toponyms in Hungarian daily newspapers from Romania in the inter-war era], *Névtani Értesítő* 30 (2008): 104–8.

196 Bartos-Elekes, *Nyelvhasználat a térképeken*.



support of Hungarian state nationalism in Dualist times, apparently adopted at least some of these in their everyday communication.<sup>197</sup> The German local monograph of the town reports *Darányigasse* (after Minister of Agriculture Ignác Darányi), *Maderspachgasse* (after the military commander of the town in 1848), *Baroschgasse* (after Minister of Public Transport Gábor Baross) and *Millenniumgasse* (after the Hungarian Millennium of 1896) as forms actually used by the local German community before its elimination. Indeed, the Nazi administration had reintroduced the former two into official use for a few years after 1941.<sup>198</sup>

The idea of commemorative street names may have seemed less alien to the inhabitants of the western plains, where new villages had been frequently named in honour of the administrative officials and landlords conducting the settlement. After a group of Swabians moved on the edge of Szentleányfalva in the 1880s, a village north of Arad which had itself received its name from the director of Treasury estates Szentleányi (Schönlein) in 1854, they promptly named their new street *Sandygasse* after the landowner Géza Sándy, who sold them the building sites.<sup>199</sup> I know about two instances of commemorative street naming in the Transylvanian Saxon countryside. The Saxon community of Großau/Cristian/Kereszténysziget renamed their former *Poplakergasse* into *Straußenburggasse* to honour the lawyer Albert Arz von Straußenburg, who won their lawsuit over a disputed piece of land.<sup>200</sup> Like in the previous case, the act of renaming in all appearance came about by popular decision and was perhaps not even officially sanctioned, which would suggest that rural Transylvanian Saxons slowly accepted this new form of street naming. In Marpod, however, another Saxon-majority village of a similar size, the new street names commemorating worthy and popular Saxon personalit-

197 Cf. Kálmán Gál, *A Fehértemplomi 'Társaskör' története: Kulturtörténeti adatok, 1876–1912* [The history of the Weißkirchen Gentlemen's Club: contributions to cultural history, 1876–1912] (Fehértemplom: Kaszinó, 1912), 12 and 19 and Herczeg, 123.

198 Kauer, *passim*.

199 Eva Filip-Six, *Heimatsbuch Sentlein im Kreis Arad* (Anzing: self-published, 2013), 86.

200 Ernst Martin Weingärtner, *Ein Heimatbuch über die Gemeinde Grossau in Siebenbürgen/Rumänien* (Memmingen: self-published, 1988), 129.

ies reportedly did not catch on and were wiped out by the Romanian power after the War.<sup>201</sup>

### **3.3.5. The Languages of Street Signs**

A related, but in fact rather different problem area is that of the languages in which local governments displayed the names of public spaces. It does not concern the study of public memory, and I am inclined to venture the hypothesis that under conditions of language war, the very fact of being in the opposite language sent alert signals and raised a barrier that prevented the ideological message from making too much effect on nationalised allolinguals.

The languages of street signs are part of the wider phenomenon of urban public signage, which sociolinguists have actively researched in the past twenty years using the heuristic metaphor of ‘linguistic landscape’. (Although it would be more accurate to speak about ‘linguistic cityscapes’.)<sup>202</sup> This can be seen as a form of top-down communication, which can actually influence speakers’ language choices on the street, through the normative and regulatory character of public spaces.<sup>203</sup> Obviously, different mechanisms are at play in the case of official inscriptions than with regard to advertisements and shop signs. In this context, street signs put up by the municipal authorities convey the normative view about the legitimate or accepted languages, all the more since their choice of language contributes little to their orientating function, unless a significant number of people cannot read the given writing system. The latter was the case around the turn of the century in Constantinople, where the signs gracing the French versions of street names alongside the Turkish names in Arabic script were of genuine help at least to

<sup>201</sup> Schuster, *Marpod*, 13.

<sup>202</sup> Bernard Spolsky, ‘Prolegomena to a Sociolinguistic Theory of Public Signage’, in *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery*, eds Elana Shohamy and Durk Gorter, 25 (New York: Routledge, 2009).

<sup>203</sup> Rodrigue Landry and Richard Y. Bourhis, ‘Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality: An Empirical Study’, *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 16 (1997): 23–49.

the elites of the various ethno-religious groups, not to mention the foreigners, for whom they could also boost the image of the city as an international metropolis.<sup>204</sup>

In the previous chapter, I already referred to the bilingual or Russian-only street signs in the cities of Congress Poland, where the native Russian-speaking section of the population was by and large limited to the administrative and military personnel. In Cisleithania, the languages of street signs occupied a far more prominent place in national conflicts than the street names themselves, and disputes about them threatened twice to throw the empire into major political upheaval. The first of these two clamorous affairs broke out in 1892, with the Prague municipal leadership's decision to replace the city's bilingual street signs with Czech monolingual ones. In the tense nationalist climate of Dualist Cisleithania, this measure could not fail to spark violent demonstrations in various German urban centres of the Empire, and it only added oil to the fire that a multitude of streets were also to be renamed after heroes from Czech history. What is more, the Czech majority motivated the new street signs with the intelligent if dishonest reasoning that the new Czech street names, by virtue of their character as proper names, could not be translated into another language. Bringing a lengthy process to an end, the Higher Administrative Court (*Verwaltungsgerichtshof*) finally approved of the city government's decision in 1896, to which an angered Prague German Club called on German landowners to hang up bilingual street signs on their own cost.<sup>205</sup>

A second major incident came about in 1911, this time not so much between hostile nationalist elites as between the regional and the central political wills. The parties represented in the parliament of Bosnia-Herzegovina struck the agreement that the new Sarajevo street signs would display street names in the Roman, the Cyrillic and the Arabic

204 Johann Strauss, 'Linguistic diversity and everyday life in the Ottoman cities of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans (late 19th–early 20th century)', *The History of the Family* 16 (2011): 134.

205 Gary B. Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861–1914*, 2<sup>nd</sup>, rev. ed. (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 2006), 111 and Gerald Stourzh, *Die Gleichberechtigung der Nationalitäten in der Verfassung und Verwaltung Österreichs: 1848–1918* (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 1985), 112.

scripts. For both Serbs and Croats, the inclusion of the Arabic script was partly a way to court the Muslim camp, partly an appeal to the principle that I call ‘three is less than two’. By this I mean the consideration that adding a third language or script can somewhat neutralise the presence of the more heinous second one and can soothe the bitterness felt over it. The imperial authorities had other priorities and vetoed the idea of triscriptural street signs. They had to yield at the end, however, and the ensuing parliamentary crisis got resolved by the putting up of street signs conforming to the agreement between the parties, that is, complete with the controversial Arabic versions.<sup>206</sup>

In Cisleithanian cities, the introduction of bilingual street signs marked an emancipation of the smaller or less powerful local linguistic group, while through the replacement of bilingual with monolingual street signs, the group in power announced its bid for indisputable supremacy. In Budweis/Budějovice, the Czech versions of street names appeared for the first time in 1875–6, but apart from their mostly German referents, the arrangement of the two versions—the German on top and the Czech below—also made the local power hierarchy visible.<sup>207</sup> The German town leadership of Prostějov/Proßnitz in Moravia also put up bilingual street signs in 1881 in the Christian part of the town, which the new Czech majority hastened to replace with monolingual Czech ones the year after they came to power in 1892.<sup>208</sup> In Lwów, the earlier German–Polish street signs gave place to Polish ones in the years around 1869, the period when the Polish elite took control over Galicia.<sup>209</sup> The Galician border town of Biala/Biała tried in vain to break off from Polish-dominated Galicia and to join neighbouring Silesia, whereby the local council declared the ‘German character’ of the town in 1884 and to validate this principle, it

206 Dževad Juzbašić, ‘Die Sprachenpolitik der österreichisch-ungarischen Verwaltung und die nationalen Verhältnisse in Bosnien-Herzegowina, 1878–1918’, *Südost-Forschungen* 61–2 (2002–3): 255–7.

207 Kovář and Koblasa, 56. On local politics in Budweis, see King.

208 Kamý, 2–4 and Lucie Kučerová, ‘Prostějovské historické stavby v kontextu dějin města’ [Historic buildings of Prostějov in the context of local history], diploma thesis, 2013, 11 (Palacký University, Olomouc); available at <http://theses.cz/id/4ps45e/00174369-980715926.pdf>.

209 Harald Binder, ‘Making and Defending a Polish Town: “Lwów” (Lemberg), 1848–1914’, *Austrian History Yearbook* 34 (2003): 68.

renamed sixty-seven per cent of local street names and put on German street signs instead of the earlier bilingual ones in 1890.<sup>210</sup> Simultaneously with Prague, the city of Ljubljana also introduced monolingual, Slovene-only street signs in 1892, in conjunction with a systematic renaming of its public spaces. The *Landesregierung* of the crownland of Carniola nullified the decision, establishing a violation of Article 19 of the Constitution (*Staatsgrundgesetz*),<sup>211</sup> but the case was appealed to the Higher Administrative Court, which ruled, in accordance with the Prague case, that the procedure of the Ljubljana city hall had been constitutional.<sup>212</sup>

In Hungary, too, national activists were more sensitive to the language of street signs than to the referents of commemorative street names. In particular the lack of Hungarian versions could outrage the columnists of Hungarian newspapers so much that most of my data actually come from such indignant references. To be sure, Magyar-majority towns did not make allowances for local minority languages, and Hungarian was also making a steady advance in this domain throughout the era. Thus, Hungarian street signs replaced the earlier German–Hungarian bilingual ones in the town of Lipova in 1881.<sup>213</sup> In 1906, around the time when Magyars turned into a local majority due the influx of workers to the local ironworks, the Vajdahunyad town hall also put up Hungarian-only street signs.<sup>214</sup> In Lugoj, the Hungarian street names were painted alongside the Romanian (in the Lugojul Român neighbourhood) and the German ones (in Deutsch-Lugosch/Német-

210 Kiesel, 80.

211 'Alle Volksstämme des Staates sind gleichberechtigt, und jeder Volksstamm hat ein unverletzliches Recht auf Wahrung und Pflege seiner Nationalität und Sprache. Die Gleichberechtigung aller landesüblichen Sprachen in Schule, Amt und öffentlichem Leben wird vom Staate anerkannt. In den Ländern, in welchen mehrere Volksstämme wohnen, sollen die öffentlichen Unterrichtsanstalten derart eingerichtet sein, dass ohne Anwendung eines Zwanges zur Erlernung einer zweiten Landessprache jeder dieser Volksstämme die erforderlichen Mittel zur Ausbildung in seiner Sprache erhält.' In Joshua Shanes' English translation: 'All ethnic peoples of the state have equal rights, and each has the inalienable right to defend and nurture its nationality and language. The state recognizes the equal rights of all customary languages in schools, government offices and public life. In those areas in which several peoples reside, public education institutions are to be so founded that each people, without compelling the learning of a second language, receives the necessary means for education in its own language.' Joshua Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 35.

212 Stourzh, 110–11.

213 *Familia* 25 January/6 February 1881. Lipova had 3,335 self-declared Romanian, 2,459 German and 721 Magyar inhabitants at the moment of the change.

214 *Hunyadvármegye* 2 August 1906. On the composition of the local council, Károly Dénes, ed., *Hunyadvármegyei almanach 1909* [Hunyad County Almanac] (Déva: self-published, 1909), 39–40.

lugos/Lugojul German) starting with 1891.<sup>215</sup> In Werschetz, Hungarian versions were added to the earlier German and Serbian ones in 1893, on the motion of the local Magyarising association.<sup>216</sup>

The trilingual street signs of Orăștie were presumably introduced after 1889, the year when Saxon, Magyar and Romanian members first reached near-equality in the local council and struck a deal on the trilingual administration of their town.<sup>217</sup> Two towns lead by Transylvanian Saxons, Brassó and Schäßburg, replaced their German street signs with trilingual ones—the former in 1887–90, the latter in 1909—playing on the ‘three is less than two’ principle.<sup>218</sup> Although both towns had large Romanian populations, they would likely not have added Romanian versions had they not felt the pressure to introduce Hungarian ones. Observing punctilious respect for the linguistic rights of Romanians had become part of Saxon town leaderships’ habitual strategy to resist attempts at the linguistic Magyarisation of their official life. German street names occupied the central position on the new street signs, and Sextil Pușcariu later complained that the Brassó city hall had everywhere made the Romanian translations of German street names official, ignoring the existing vernacular Romanian names.<sup>219</sup> Other Saxon towns, with fewer Magyar residents than Brassó and Schäßburg, do not seem to have given up their German-only street signs; these were still in place in Hermannstadt in 1909 and in Mediasch in 1902.<sup>220</sup> The town of Bistritz even commissioned new ones in 1903.<sup>221</sup>

<sup>215</sup> Jakabffy, *Krassó-Szörény vármegye története*, 535 and Lay, *Denumirea străzilor lugojene*.

<sup>216</sup> Perjéssy, 23.

<sup>217</sup> ‘Dela oraș’ [From the town], *Libertatea* 5/18 October 1902.

<sup>218</sup> Lehel István Kovács, *Brassó magyar közterületnevei* [The Hungarian toponymy of Brașov/Brassó/Kronstadt] (Brassó: self-published, 2013), 12–13; Ferenc Szemlér, ‘Nagyapám, a proconsul’ [My grandfather, the proconsul], in *Vajúdó idők küszöbén: erdélyi magyar írók történelmi elbeszélései* [On the threshold of times in travail: historical short stories by Transylvanian Hungarian authors], ed. Béla Pomogáts, 343 (Budapest: Noran, 2004); *Magyar Polgár* 11 July 1899 and *Vármegyei Híradó* 20 June 1909.

<sup>219</sup> Sextil Pușcariu, *Brașovul de altădată* [The Brassó/Brașov/Kronstadt of yore] (Brașov: Schei, 2001), 125.

<sup>220</sup> ‘Discuție în jurul tablitelor’ [Debate about street signs], *Telegraful Român* 1/14 August 1909, p. 343 and Géza Hainiss, ‘Balneologiai tanulmányút Erdélyben’ [A balneological research trip to Transylvania], *A Mi Fürdőink* 1902: 23.

<sup>221</sup> Sándor Biró, *The Nationalities Problem in Transylvania, 1867–1940: A Social History of the Romanian Minority under Hungarian Rule, 1867–1918 and the Hungarian Minority under Romanian Rule, 1918–1940*, trans. Mario D. Fenyo (Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Monographs, 1992), 108 and Oktáv Hangay, *Harcz a magyarságért! az Alldeutsch Szövetség (All-deutscher Verband)* [Struggle for Magyardom! the Alldeutscher Verband] (Koložsvár: Gámán, 1903), 108.

### 3.4. Conclusions

Taking an inventory of commemorative street naming in the focus region has made it possible to analyse the structure of the pantheon that was engraved into public memory through this medium, it has shed some light on the leeway available for minority nationalist or regionalist ideologies, and a comparison with the contemporary Grand Plain and with the wider European and global trends has helped me to make better sense of these results. In general, Magyar urban elites enjoyed the same broad latitude in renaming their public spaces as did Poles throughout Galicia or Germans in the *Ostmarken*, and their espousal of state nationalism produced monochromatic commemorative nomenclatures similar to what one could find in most parts of continental Europe. This confident national exclusivity is less remarkable in the majority of urban places that were largely Hungarian-speaking, but the towns where Hungarian-speakers and their allies held only thin majorities presented much the same picture. The more numerous public spaces on the Grand Plain may account for the greater variety of referents there. With the notable exception of the Szeklerland, the major difference between the two regions seems to lie in the greater prominence given to dynastic and the more sparing use of implicitly Independentist references in the focus area, although the latter kind of references still greatly overwhelmed the former. In that respect, however, it was likely the Independentist-leaning Grand Plain that went on a separate path, whilst the East may have followed nationwide patterns.

Invocations of a separate Transylvanian past certainly also appealed to regionalist sensibilities, but the steady presence of the same Transylvanian referents on the Grand Plain is one more indication that this regionalism stood in no contradiction with the state nationalist agenda, but was rather similar to the cult of *Heimaten* and *petites patries*. In its cautious defiance of the status quo and in the grand vision of the future that it

provided for the nationalist mind, the Hungarian Independentist agenda, heavily tinged with Germanophobia, was functionally similar to the national irredentas in the newly independent Balkan states. Both trends found ample echo in contemporary street renaming, and urban leaderships in Hungary could draw on anti-Habsburg resources almost unhampered by official restraints. Still, it is not at all unlikely that beyond simple model following, compliance with assumed expectations, actual pressure from above or bargaining between actors with contrasting ideological outlooks also contributed to the choice of referents, even in towns led by Magyars. In the lack of archival sources, I have not been able to adequately address this issue. But constraint, either real or imagined, probably influenced non-Magyar urban leaderships to eschew allusions to rival nationalisms in towns where their ethnic constituencies otherwise made up uncontested demographic majorities. In the towns of the Banat, this resulted in plural commemorative landscapes made up of Magyar/Hungarian national, dynastic, local and regional references, whose ethnic diversity was rivalled only by Bukovinian street nomenclatures in the entire Habsburg Empire. Few street names pointed to the non-Magyar national scale. Apart from Schiller (the most popular referent of street names in the German towns of Cisleithania) and Lenau (a native of the Banat, however), here belonged Ovid and the Romans in Caransebeş. Transylvanian Saxon towns chose a similar strategy to Baltic Germans in the Russian Empire, and in the rare cases that they renamed their public spaces at all, they chose local Saxon referents.

Recent historiographical interpretations have sought to trace parallels between contemporary colonial ideologies and practices and the rule of nineteenth-century empires over East-Central-European borderlands. As far as commemorative street naming goes, it would be an uphill battle to ascribe colonial features to the patterns observed in contemporary Transylvania and Eastern Hungary. I have shown that contemporary street naming



had a distinct profile in the colonies, quite unlike street naming in the metropolises. Magyar elites (and for that matter, also Germans in the *Ostmarken*) had good reason not to use colonial strategies of street naming, which were designed to domesticate a space that colonialists felt alien, whereas applied to these environments, the same strategies would have symbolically made them surrender parts of what they considered as theirs.

Had Magyar city governments of the area followed the colonial template, they would have in the first place introduced artificial street names on a larger scale than they did, and would have renamed the great majority rather than just half of their public spaces. Moreover, they would have drawn more heavily on the resources of decorative naming, naming streets after the geography, the fauna and the vegetation of the land. Although Transylvania was famous for its games among sportsmen, especially for the bear and the trout, these did not turn up on street signs. Similarly, nationalist discourses did single out certain landmarks of Transylvania as romantic or emblematic and even ethnised them as Magyar, but we find no *Székelykő utca*, *Hargita utca* or *Királyhágó utca* on contemporary town maps, although there were such examples in the street nomenclature of Budapest. Apart from a single street named after the Carpathians, the decorative street names introduced in Kolozsvár in 1899 had a pedestrian nature and could have graced any Hungarian town.<sup>222</sup>

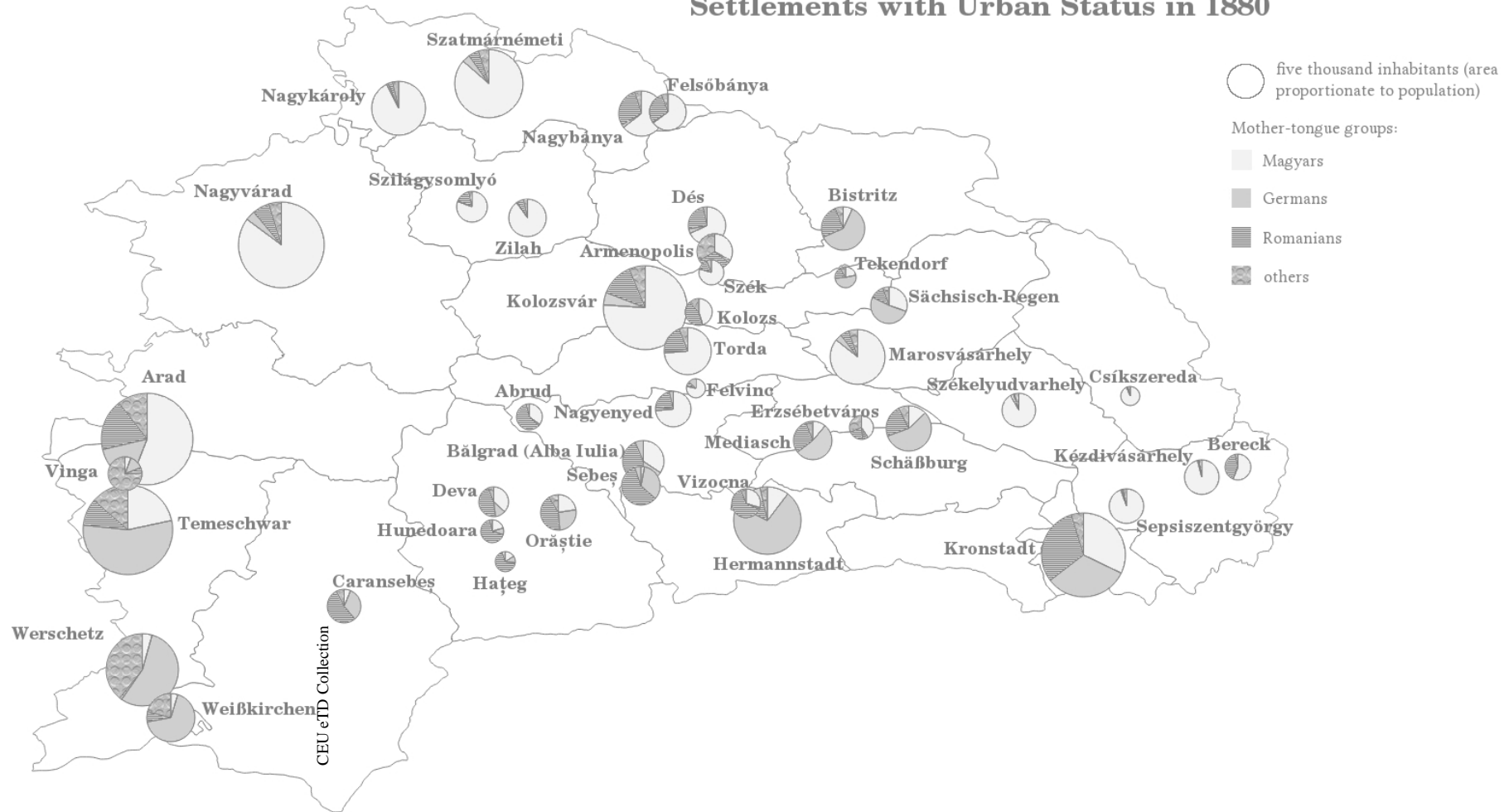
Magyar urban governments of the area also did not try to ‘anchor’ their identity in the geography of core-Hungary, as they would have done in the colonies by, say, placing references to Budapest, to Szeged or to the Bakony hills. In general, the existing geographical references of street names were descriptive and were usually inherited from the old, vernacular urban toponymies. Likewise, a colonial street naming authority would have typically given more emphasis to the motif of conquest. Whilst Magyar authors reg-

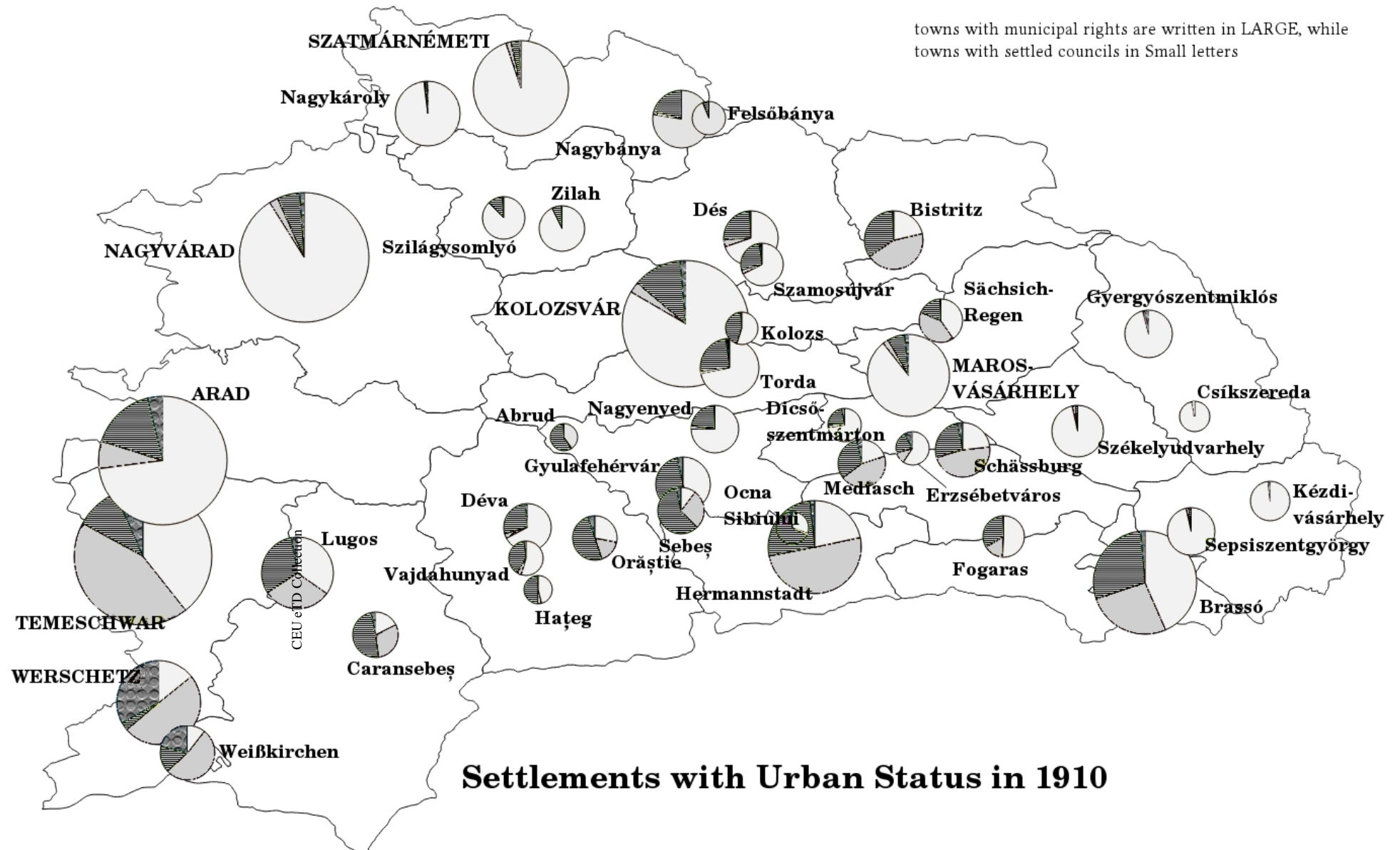
222 Barát (‘monk’ or ‘friend’), Búza (‘wheat’), Csóka (‘jackdaw’), Hajnal (‘dawn’), Liliom (‘lily’), Mester (‘master’), Pacsirta (‘lark’), Tímár (‘tanner’), Varga (‘cobbler’) and Veréb (‘sparrow’).

ularly cited the late-ninth-century conquest as a source of legitimacy for Magyar rule over Hungary, and semi-mythical pagan Magyars had a salient enough presence on street signs at least for a caustic Nicolae Iorga, their actual share among referents of street names was rather modest, slightly even lower than on the predominantly Hungarian-speaking Grand Plain.

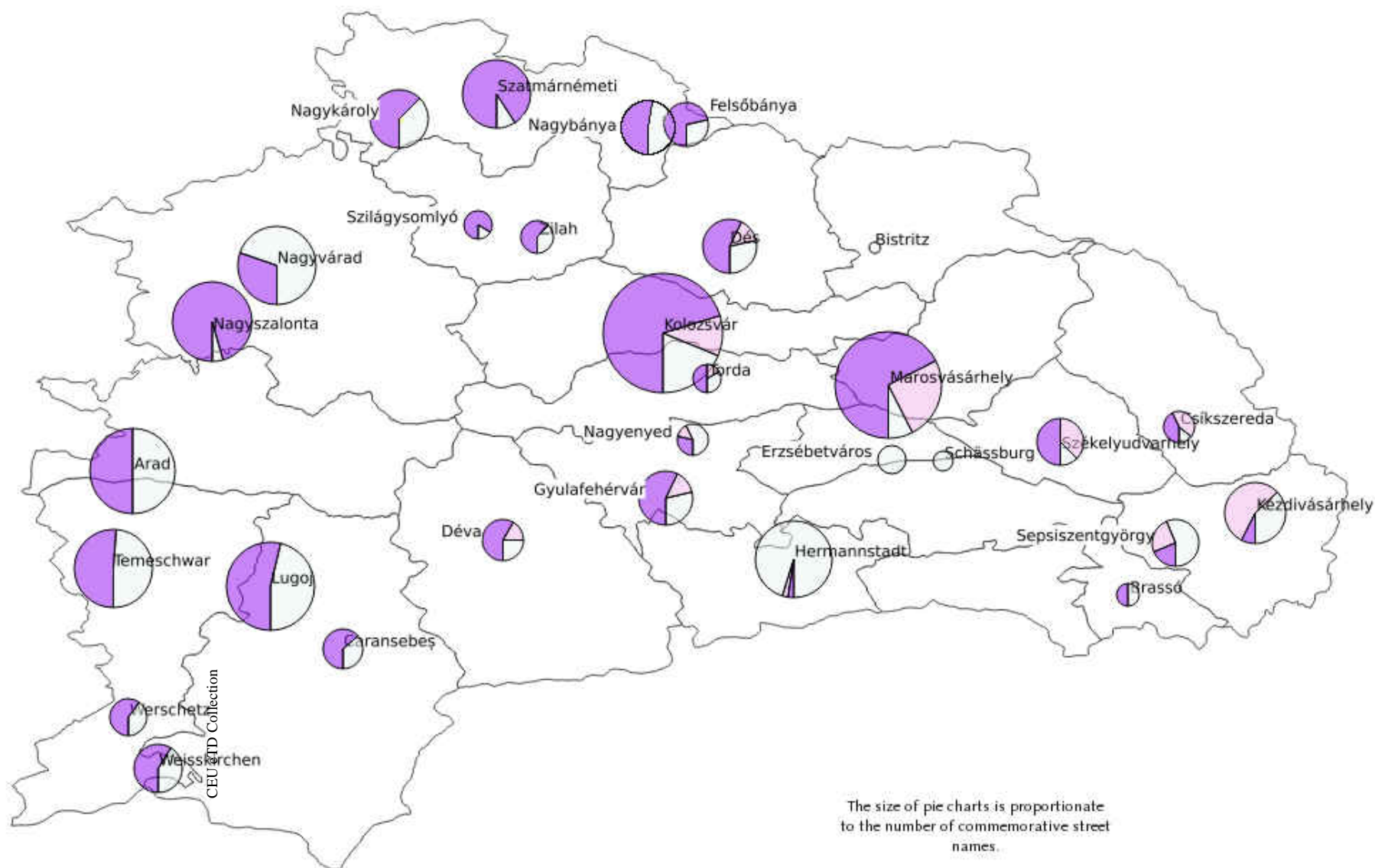
Finally, the idea of using street naming for marking ethnic neighbourhoods as places of segregation, a strategy often applied in colonial cities, plainly went against the grain of assimilationist state nationalism. Historically Romanian suburbs did exist (like Pârneava and Gai in Arad, the ‘Wallachische Seite’ in Temeswar, Pe Vale in Déva and Lipoveni in Gyulafehérvár), but one would have never guessed this simply by reading the street signs. Only part of the new street names in Lugojul Român referred to local Romanian luminaries, but with presumably very different motives.

## Settlements with Urban Status in 1880





# Commemorative Street Names According to Scale



Referents:

- national heroes unrelated to local history
- historical figures from Transylvania (in Transylvanian towns only)
- local personalities or national heroes related to local history

#### 4. SIGNPOSTS OVER THE LAND: THE POLITICS OF TOPONYMY

The concept of place does not refer to a physically pre-existent given, but to a bounded space, delimited and invested with meanings by humans. Places (at least communal as against private places, which are meaningful for entire groups of people) are created and sustained by linguistic practices, chief among which is naming and the use of place names.<sup>1</sup> The lifespan of places varies in function of their size and their type, but it is typically far longer than a person's lifetime, and so is the lifespan of a place name. Human settlements, for example, only rarely take on completely new names in the same language, and the forces of continuity are so powerful that settlement names are sometimes kept even as villages move at some distance, as it frequently happened in the Ottoman occupation zone of medieval Hungary. When people from the same village moved to an entirely new environment as colonists, they also often transferred the name of their earlier village.<sup>2</sup>

As they stretched unchanged or with imperceptible changes over many generations, place names, as mere tags, were able to organise and to symbolise local identities, which on their turn became building material for the ethno-national identities of the modern era. The very form of place names only turned into an object of controversy with this latter development, as the nationally conscious felt the need to legitimise and symbolically anchor the presence of their group in a given place or to assert their symbolic ownership over that place.<sup>3</sup> The exact etymological meaning of place names could also matter, but the most important frontline in this discursive game was their conformity with the corres-

1 Yi-Fu Tuan, 'Language and the Making of Place: A Narrative-Descriptive Approach', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 81 (1991): 684–96.

2 Pál Engel, *A temesvári és moldovai szandzsák törökkori települései: 1554–1579* [Settlements of the Temesvár and the Moldova Sanjaks in the Ottoman Era, 1554–79] (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 1996).

3 Hervé Georgelin, 'Thrace Orientale et Anatolie: territoires à nommer et à saisir, à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> et au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Nommer et classer dans les Balkans*, eds Gilles de Rapper and Pierre Sintès, 205 (Athens: École française d'Athènes, 2008).

ponding ethnic languages and onomastica. Behind contemporary opinions as to whether a place name fitted harmoniously into a language (in fact, into the corresponding onomasticon), three yardsticks can be identified: semantic transparency, phonological well-formedness and falling into analogical patterns.

A form is semantically transparent if an ordinary speaker of the language can easily attribute a lexical sense to it. Forms devoid of such sense will be called opaque. Note that this apparent sense need not actually be the one that historically motivated the name, but it can easily arise as the result of a mere coincidence or folk etymology, an inherent tendency in language to re-semiotise opaque forms. To illustrate this point, consider the following pairs of settlement names from the area, where the Hungarian and Romanian names are akin to each other and yet they appear to have distant meanings: Rom. *Ciumăfaia* ‘the Devil’s snare’ (a toxic plant)/Hun. *Csomaľája* ‘Csoma’s tree’; Rom. *Cătina* ‘the sea-buckthorn’/Hun. *Katona* ‘soldier’; *Apa* ‘the water’ (Rom.) and ‘father’ (Hun.); Hun. *Teke* ‘bowling’/Rom. *Teaca* ‘the sheath’; *Buza* ‘the lip’ (Rom.) and ‘wheat’ (Hun.); Rom. *Leş* ‘corpse’/Hun. *Les* ‘lookout’; Rom. *Var* ‘lime’/Hun. *Vár* ‘castle’; Rom. *Vad* ‘ford’/Hun. *Vád* ‘accusation’.

It is often very hard to decide whether a given lexical sense could occur to an average speaker. One would think that the words *ostrov* ‘isle’, *ulm* ‘elm tree’ and perhaps *laz* ‘clearing’ were understood in the entire Romanian-speaking realm, but this seems contradicted by the reported cluelessness of the locals in the eponymous villages about the origins of these names, if we are to believe the village secretaries who filled out Frigyes Pesty’s questionnaire in the mid-1860s.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, *zabola* has been a fairly widespread dialect form of the Hungarian word *zabla* ‘mouth bit’. Still, it seems that it was unknown at least to the Hungarian-speaking dwellers of Zabola, who explained the name of their village as *Zab olja* ‘Zab’s stall’ (*zab* ‘oat’), and supported this etymology by an aetiolo-

4 OSzK Manuscript Collection FM 1 3814/A.

gical story about a founding father called *Zab*.<sup>5</sup> Such uncertainties may hamper the reconstruction of the local and in general the folk optics, but less so the literate one, which will take centre stage in my discussion.

Unlike commemorative street names or most personal names in the European tradition, the majority of place names were initially motivated by some quality of their referents, and it could also happen that their etymological meanings still gave appropriate and relevant information on the places after several centuries.<sup>6</sup> Hence the publicity value of toponyms, which already at an early time prompted powerful people to try and stamp out place names with unpleasant connotations. Dom João II of Portugal wasted no time ordering that the more auspicious Cape of Good Hope replace *Cabo Tormentoso* ‘Stormy Cape’, the name originally given by the discoverer Bartholomew Dias, whilst it took two centuries until the elusive *Nevetlenfalú* ‘nameless village’ finally phased out *Gyakfalú* ‘Bonkham’ as the name of a village in the Ugocsa County of the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>7</sup> When nineteenth-century historicism foregrounded the historical perspective of place names, their pointing back to the time of naming, then transparency came to be regarded as evidence and symbol for the unity of the linguistic nation across time and for its rootedness in the given place.

The other two concepts that I propose as native criteria for the relationship between toponymies and linguistic systems, phonological well-formedness and falling into analogical patterns, come to the fore when no lexical sense is retrievable. I will engage with them in depth when analysing the formal means of place-name Magyarisation. Suffice it to note in advance that such attributes as ‘Hungarian-sounding’ or ‘foreign-sounding’ ap-

5 Orbán, *A Székelyföld leírása*, vol. 3 (Pest: Ráth, 1869), 131.

6 Kripke, 31–2.

7 Carmen Val Julián, *La realidad y el deseo: Toponymie du découvreur en Amérique espagnole (1492-1520)* (Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2014); online ed., 1<sup>st</sup> part, 2<sup>nd</sup> chapter, par. 34; available at <http://books.openedition.org/enseditions/1583> and István Szabó, *Ugocsa megye* [Ugocsa County] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1937), 439.



pealed to fuzzy concepts, ranging from phonological constraints to euphony, and they only set loose limits to acceptability.

Arguably, place names allow for fewer referents than either first names, family names or the two combined. But how much polysemy do they allow for exactly? At this juncture, I find it convenient to introduce the concept of mental maps.<sup>8</sup> Individual mental maps will show schematic similarities on the collective level of local communities, and it is within these collective mental maps that place names need to disambiguate the corresponding places. Admittedly, some fixtures of the microtoponymy will recur across local nomenclatures, but always denoting unique landmarks; ‘the Marketplace’ or ‘the Magyar church’ will refer to the marketplace and the Magyar church of the village in focus, while those in another village will be complemented with the name of the given village. This model can also cater for such contextual variants as when, say, the major watercourse of a village is locally simply called ‘the Brook’, but locals can resort to a more individuating name if need arises. As will be discussed, the codification of the toponymic corpus meant, among other things, imposing the flattening perspective of a top-down administrative gaze upon such localised mental maps, which required that all the major features should bear unique names on the level of what was put forward as a national community.

I will follow a reverse course in the following three chapters, first exploring the ideological roles that the supposed origins of place names played for nationally engaged historical knowledge production, then making an attempt at describing how the relationship of place names to national histories and multilingualism, the key issues for intellectuals, were perceived from a contemporary vernacular perspective, and only later will I turn to describe their ontological character, as it was reflected in basic everyday usage. In this way, my analysis will proceed from the metalinguistic towards the pragmatic, but I should remind the reader that these latter, more down-to-earth realities were also of the

<sup>8</sup> The concept has been popularised by Peter Gould and Rodney White, *Mental Maps*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Routledge, 1986).

volatile category of linguistic facts, which only materialise in the context of discursive practices.

## 4.1. The Priority Contest

‘Or could they have possibly been preserved by the Magyars, who can however boast no more than 1000 years since their coming to Europe and their founding of their state?’  
Timotei Cipariu<sup>9</sup>

‘I was often asked, “Where did the Garos come from?” (...) When asking about the Garos, the questioner assumes that long ago and somewhere else people were living who were the “same”, in some sense, as the people we know today as “Garos.” Presumably these ancient and distant Garos had much the same customs and language as modern Garos, and they are certainly taken to be the biological ancestors of the Garos we know today.’  
Robbins Burling, *The Lingua Franca Cycle*<sup>10</sup>

The present chapter jumps to a new level of analysis and makes a one-off excursion into the field of intellectual history by taking as its topic contemporary interpretations of place names by trained or self-appointed philologists. I undertake to map out etymological discourses about the place-name cover of the area under review in a loosely chronological sequence, to see how place names got embroiled in nationalist visions of history and how these visions acted out in suggested place-name etymologies. The transition from proto- or pre-nationalist to nationalist etymological inquiries intersected with another paradigm shift, the appearance of a more methodical and institutionalised line of research into the origins of place names, grounded in the fledgling discipline of historical linguistics. Without eliminating its role altogether, this latter shift also set limits to the work of creative imagination, which had its consequences for etymology pursued as a hobby. Whereas any educated person could devise relevant etymologies in the late humanist tradition or within the hybrid, late Enlightenment-Romantic paradigm of root theory, the new scientific study of place names de-legitimated these etymologies as hit-and-miss attempts at best and demanded additional expert knowledge from its practitioners. There was a brief spell, however, when interest for place-name etymologies mobilised a

<sup>9</sup> In *Archivul pentru filologia și istoria* 22 (1869): 431.

<sup>10</sup> ‘The Lingua Franca Cycle: Implications for Language Shift, Language Change, and Language Classification’, *Anthropological Linguistics* 49 (2007): 224.

relatively wide circle of contributors from the national public spheres, whose etymologies could still lay serious claim to validity.

By the diverse means described in this chapter, Romanian and Magyar place-name etymologies articulated the link between place names on the one hand and the corresponding linguistic self-images and historical visions on the other, and through this link, both Romanian and Magyar nationalists asserted symbolic ownership over places of the area. The two discourses clashed openly with each other when, in the 1870s, they were caught up in the protracted grand dispute on Romanian ethnogenesis. Political innuendos by the scholars themselves and comments made on the margins of the debate or in polemical exchanges between Romanian and Magyar/Hungarian nationalists reveal that the key question around which the debate revolved was which *ethnie* had historical priority in the intra-Carpathian space. Historical priority was a claim first staked by the nascent Romanian nationalist movement, and it was the categorical and elaborate rejection of the facts underlying it that sparked the grand dispute. Since sources were scarce and ambiguous about the centuries when the putative ancestors of modern Romanians and Magyars were told to have appeared in the area, both parties to the debate could make convincing cases for their head-on different versions of the story. Convincing, that is, for already sympathetic readers, while participants to the debate probably did not even seriously contemplate to convince the other party. They used arguments taken from toponymy to support or to disprove the continuous presence of Romance-speakers in ancient Dacia in general, and within the Carpathians in particular, between the third and the thirteenth centuries AD. At the same time, these arguments represented the first serious challenge that put to test the new, scientific philological skills of the Magyar and Romanian scholars involved in the debate.

Of course, claims to historical priority are always relational.<sup>11</sup> Romanian adherents of Latinism liked to call themselves autochthonous, although their own version of Romanian priority in fact rested on a story of immigration as its foundation myth, namely Emperor Trajan's colonisation of Dacia with veteran soldiers. Crucially, however, this immigration would have happened prior to the coming of Magyars and Saxons. The major underlying issue thus being anteriority (I only shirk the word because of its clumsiness), this relational term should be understood wherever I refer to priority, autochtony or indigenouness. In fact, these multiple shades of meaning came in handy for the actors themselves. 'Autochtony' was a particularly powerful term, which could establish historical rights for political sovereignty and mark out ethnic others as historical immigrants. The ideology of autochtony constructed primordial and singular links between languages (peoples) and territories.<sup>12</sup> Whilst the most radical register of Romanian nationalist discourse wished to see Magyar 'intruders' 'returning' to a downsized core-Hungary to the West from the Tisza/Tisa River, strident Magyar voices from the later decades utilised the leitmotif of Romanians' 'late' arrival as a rhetorical device to argue for withholding political rights from them.

The conclusions that the participants to the debate drew from their arguments was to a very large extent defined by the logic of territoriality, a concept pivotal to the nation-state idea. While the first document mentioning Vlachs (Romanians) living in the Land of Fogaras, a border region of Transylvania, roughly coincided in time with the resettlement of Szeklers into another Transylvanian border region, the modern-day Szeklerland, this did not make the advocates of Magyar ethnic priority any more inclined to accept Romanians of Fogaras County as indigenous on a par with Szeklers. Similarly, the two parties to the grand debate might as well agree that Romanian inhabitants had been the

<sup>11</sup> Rogers Brubaker, *Grounds for Difference* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015), 77.

<sup>12</sup> Felix Tacke, *Sprache und Raum in der Romania: Fallstudien zu Belgien, Frankreich, der Schweiz und Spanien* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), 87–120.

first occupants in the mountainous zones and that the conquering Magyars had found few or no Vlachs in the main valleys, this subtle distinction had nevertheless no bearing upon the exclusiveness that made them imagine Transylvania and the neighbouring areas of Hungary as inherently Magyar or Romanian, and the presence of ethnic others as purely accidental and deleterious. Although the two historico-political visions partitioned the geographical space differently, they shared the same totalising understanding of the debate about Romanian ethnogenesis as a zero-sum game. Of course, it was ultimately the ideal of the nation state that demanded that the national space be imagined as contiguous, so that in the last instance, the historical rights deduced from a supposed priority also made the Hungarian-speaking Szeklerland justly Romanian and vice versa, the Romanian-speaking Apuseni Mountains justly Magyar/Hungarian.

The two antagonistic versions of ethnic priority offered obvious connection points to the two no less antagonistic stories about ethnic decay, both of which principally blamed the other group for rolling back their ethnic constituencies. In very different ways, the toponymy and its (real or assumed) historical changes were utilised as evidence for both stories. In the Magyar narrative, the degeneration of the originally transparent Hungarian or at least Hungarian-sounding place names accompanied the historical Romanianisation of the population, sometimes presented as a piecemeal process spanning over seven centuries and sometimes spiralled up into a few generations, as expediency dictated. In the Romanian pendant of this story, Hungarian state power had always tried to erase or to disguise the linguistic traces of Romanian, whilst the dearth of Romanian linguistic forms in medieval documents testified to Magyars' essential unreliability and in no way to the absence of Romanians.

In his introduction to the medieval chronicler simply known as the Anonymous, who will play a key role in this chapter, Martin Rady wrote that today 'only dinosaurs care

about who was where first'.<sup>13</sup> Ironically, throughout modern times, while one would normally think that nationalist movements actually boosted its strength, historical priority could always make the impression on observers that it was all but dead as a political argument. On the eve of the First World War, the Romanian historian Xenopol even accomplished the feat of introducing an article in which he laid out a case for Romanian historical rights over the eastern part of Dualist Hungary with a disclaimer that such claims of title had lost prestige in contemporary politics.<sup>14</sup> I wish I could share Rady's optimism, but as supranational integration does not currently seem to be taking the place of nation states, our world continues to be dominated by the national principle, which on its turn can still accommodate autochtony as a legitimising force, although certainly more reticently than it does majority will. A typical nation state can distinguish between two types of cultural aliens within its borders: immigrants and indigenous minorities, for whom a special niche status may be granted on condition that their size does not exceed a certain scale and that they do not obstruct the political ambitions of the titular majority. Politically troublesome ethnic minorities numbering in the hundreds of thousands or in the millions are easily redefined as immigrants. Arguments based on historical priority underpin secessionist movements and protracted political conflicts, as those haunting the Holy Land, the Nagorno-Karabakh, Northern Ireland and Kosovo.<sup>15</sup> Sometimes the remorseful gestures of less autochthonous majorities signal its validity; I think here of the recognition of Native American rights in the United States and of First Nations rights in Canada. Finally, and Rady seems to concede this point, what better proof of the endurance of either dinosaurs or the idea of historical priority than the fact that the two mainstream positions in the debate about Romanian ethnogenesis described in this chapter

13 'Introduction' (to Anonymus), Anonymus Belæ Regis Notarius and Rogerius, Archbishop of Split, *The deeds of the Hungarians; Epistle to the sorrowful lament upon the destruction of the kingdom of Hungary by the Tartars*, ed., trans. and annot. Martyn Rady, László Veszprémy and János M. Bak, XXXIII (Budapest: CEU Press, 2010).

14 A. D. Xenopol, 'Dreptul Istoric al Românilor' [The historical rights of Romanians], in *Românii și Austro-Ungaria* [The Romanians and Austro-Hungary], 8–13 (Iași: Goldner, 1914). Originally published in *Românul* (Arad) 18 September/1 October 1911.

15 Cf. Brubaker, 77.

stand as wide apart nowadays as they did a hundred years ago? Besides, this gap also represents an unfortunate circumstance that does not particularly help me keeping up a detached narrative voice.

As I have myself used etymologies as parts of my arguments in other chapters, it probably stands to reason to point out with emphasis that this chapter is not about the real etymologies of place names in the area, neither about the relation of one or the other historical vision to truth. I do not even want to delve into the question here whether and in what ways the narrative frames of these visions can be converted into really meaningful statements, which could theoretically be confirmed or refuted. Whether or not either version correctly interpreted some previous state of affairs, they were fashioned in such a way (and only secondarily through the means of place-name etymologies) that all but excluded the possibility that hard facts would ever strike back and disqualify them, so that they could comfortably fulfil their ideological roles through the connotations tacked onto them. What interest me in this chapter are the representations by cultural elites as reflected in their metalinguistic discourses, and their changing perceptions of what counted as possible and favourable place-name etymologies in the given geographical-historical framework. Etymological speculations and polemics endowed place names with supplementary meanings, they fed back into historical imaginaries and reinforced the ideological stakes that would underpin the subsequent waves of renamings. In addition, I also hope that my chapter will offer insights into the roles that new scholarly standards, the challenge posed by the rival historical vision and the internally driven changes of historical and linguistic imaginaries played in shaping the outcome of research.

This being said, given the relative obscurity of both the targets and the tools of the philologists discussed, namely the place-name cover itself, the languages in question and the related name-formation patterns, I will need to resort to triangulation methods, as it

were, and to involve third points of view anchored in my knowledge about the linguistic material and in the relevant scholarship in order to recreate the actors' horizons and thus to help the reader tease out the contributions of the three factors just mentioned. To this end, I will also indicate in the footnotes whenever I think that a given place name has a tolerably secure etymology today, or, in the lack thereof, its first attested historical forms.<sup>16</sup>

#### **4.1.1. The Late Humanist Tradition of Etymology**

The Calvinist pastor and polymath József Benkő's place-name etymologies in the second part of his *Transsilvania*, written in Latin between 1782 and 1784 and published more than two hundred years later in a Hungarian translation from the surviving manuscripts, typify the last stage in a long tradition of etymologising rooted in Humanism, and offer a reservoir of said tradition for Transylvania.<sup>17</sup>

Benkő did not transcend his own age, in which, as Voltaire was said to have quipped, etymology was really 'une science où les voyelles ne font rien et les consonnes fort peu de chose'.<sup>18</sup> Although he posited an historical evolution between the contemporary forms and the ones that he established as original, he obviously knew nothing about the historical sound changes that had taken place, or for that matter about the sound changes that were in general likely to take place. Moreover, if learned etymologies had by his time more or less got rid of the Cratylan view of language present in Varro and Isidore of Seville, they were still infected by the humanist weakness for colourful origin myths and

16 Unless otherwise stated, the etymologies given in the footnotes are taken from Lajos Kiss, *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára* [Etymological dictionary of geographical names], 4th, exp. and rev. ed., 2 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1988). My ultimate source of historical forms is Zsigmond Jakó, *Erdélyi okmánytár: oklevelek, levelek és más írásos emlékek Erdély történetéhez* [Transylvanian Diplomatarium: diplomas, letters and other written documents on the history of Transylvania], 4 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1997–). However, since this series has only reached the year 1372 as of this writing, I follow the spin-off version of its place-name index, compiled by its editor; János Vistai András, *Tekintő: erdélyi helynévkönyv* [Lookout: Transylvanian gazetteer], 3 vols; available at [https://web.archive.org/web/20110710231100/http://www.fatornyosfalunk.com/html/erdelyi\\_helynevkonyv.html](https://web.archive.org/web/20110710231100/http://www.fatornyosfalunk.com/html/erdelyi_helynevkonyv.html).

17 József Benkő, *Transsilvania specialis*, trans. György Szabó, 2 vols (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1999).

18 This apocryphal saying was first attributed to Voltaire by the hugely influential Max Müller; John Considine, "'Les voyelles ne font rien, et les consonnes fort peu de chose': On the history of Voltaire's supposed comment on etymology", *Historiographia Linguistica* 36 (2009): 181–9.



entertaining fables.<sup>19</sup> Needless to say, the venerable periods of pre-classical and classical antiquity enjoyed priority. Hence Benkő's soft spot for Dacians, the earliest known inhabitants of the land. Adopting the view that Dacians had spoken a Slavic language allowed him to attribute to them the few Slavic words that he (correctly) identified as the basis of Transylvanian place names (*Zalatna* < *zlata* 'gold', *Toplica* < *teplice* 'hot spring' and *Branyicska* 'small gate'),<sup>20</sup> apart from his fanciful etymologies that explicitly evoked them (*Dátk* < *dák* 'Dacian', 'as can plainly be seen',<sup>21</sup> *Gogán* < *Kogaionon*, the holy mountain of Dacians,<sup>22</sup> *Valea Dâlsii*, which he believed had originally meant 'the valley of Dacians' in Romanian, and *Bojabirz* < *Burebista*, the name of a Dacian king).<sup>23</sup>

In a typically humanist fashion, Benkő assumed that settlement names had often been given as a form of tribute to outstanding people. This made him to search for personal names in them; 'Scythian', old Hungarian, Latin or even Germanic.<sup>24</sup> He thought to discern a Scythian man called Zéta or Zota behind *Zetelaka*, an aristocratic Hun or Szekler with the exotic-sounding name *Kurs* behind *Karc*, the chieftain Zirind behind *Zaránd*, the medieval King Béla's daughter Szabina behind *Szeben*, a Roman military commander Camillus behind *Komolló*, another Roman called Ausonus behind *Uzon*,<sup>25</sup> and he accepted the Transylvanian Saxon historian Johannes Tröster's idea to link *Freck* to the Gothic goddess Freya/Friga. To lend more credibility to his etymologies, he partly supplemented them with aetiological stories, inevitably of the just-so kind, and partly with explanatory glosses.

19 Yakov Malkiel, *Etymology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1 and J. J. Egli, *Geschichte der geographischen Namenkunde* (Leipzig: Brandstetter, 1886), 19–24.

20 On the philological tradition according to which Dacians had spoken Slavic, Gr. G. Tocilescu, *Dacia înainte de Romani: cercetări asupra popoarelor cari au locuit terile romane de a stang'a Dunarii, mai înainte de conuista acestor teri de cotra imperatoriulu Traianu* [Dacia before the Romans: investigations on the peoples that inhabited the Romanian lands on the left bank of the Danube before the conquest of these lands by Emperor Trajan] (Bucharest: Academiei Române, 1880), 174–82.

21 Benkő, *Transsilvania specialis*, vol. 1, 154. The name had evolved from an original *Dobuka*, through the following stages: *Dobucha* (1235) > *Dobka* (1372) > *Dobk* (1377) > *Daak* (1494). The Romanian name of the village (*Dobca*) has preserved an intermediary form.

22 From the homonymous medieval personal name. Incidentally, there is no mountain around the village of Gogán/Gogan.

23 Boia/Boja and Bârz/Birz (< Proto-Slavic \**brъzъ* 'quick') were originally two distinct villages.

24 On the myth of 'Scythians', James William Johnson, 'The Scythian: His Rise and Fall', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 20 (1959): 250–7.

25 Ultimately from Turkic *uzun* 'long', via the homonymous medieval personal name.

However, he proposed appellative origins more often. When a Hungarian, Romanian or German etymology did not present difficulties, he glossed the transparent meaning in Latin. In more difficult cases, he mainly looked for Hungarian or ‘Scythian’ etymons in the Szeklerland and Hungarian or Slavic (masquerading as Dacian) etymons elsewhere. His slight bias for Hungarian is reflected in his overdrawn Hungarian etymons that were either quite distant or fictitious: *Kézdi* < *kezdő* ‘starting’ (viz. starting, that is, located on the border of Transylvania),<sup>26</sup> *Menaság* < *málnás* ‘raspberry thicket’, *Kovászna* < *köv haszna* ‘profit from stones’,<sup>27</sup> *Brassó* < *város* ‘town’, *Prázsmár* < *forrás* ‘spring’ + *-mány* and *Hermány* < *ér* ‘vein’ + *-mány*.<sup>28</sup> In general, convoluted vernacular etymologies were almost as much in favour with philologists in the humanist tradition as the ones predicated on classical personal names. Significantly, all these places but Kronstadt/Braşov/Brassó and Tartlau/Prejmer/Prázsmár were Hungarian-speaking. As opposed to the Hungarian ones, his Romanian etymologies are limited to more transparent ones: *Klopotiva* < *clopot* ‘bell’,<sup>29</sup> *Kolc* < *colţi* ‘fangs’, *Brád* < *brad* ‘fir’, *Brusztur* < *brusturi* ‘burdock’ and *Hilib* < *hrib* ‘boletus.’ Rather unusually for his time, he derived one single place name from a Latin appellative; in lack of anything better, he spelled out, he reluctantly accepted the fifteenth-century chronicler Thuróczi’s explanation for the name of Dés as going back to *deus*, and thus commemorating the pagan Magyar conquerors’ shouting the name of God three times at their arrival to the place (in Latin, it would appear).<sup>30</sup>

The ontological status of Benkő’s etymologies is rather uncertain; having lost their Cratylan faculties, they mostly seem to serve the purpose of stylistic embellishment and give proof of their author’s philological erudition. He gave etymologies for just a minor-

26 From the Hungarian name of (Szász-) Kézd (Keisd/Saschiz).

27 *Köv* is the stem form of *kő* ‘stone’ that is used only before vowel-initial suffixes, and never in compounds. At the same time, *kőb* was still the unique stem form of the noun in the Middle Ages, and Benkő regarded the stems complete with *β/v* as the ‘true’ ones (*Transsilvania specialis*, vol. 1, 203). The name is of Slavic hydronymic origin, < *kvasъna* ‘sour’.

28 From the German personal name *Hermann*.

29 From Slavic *\*klopotiva* ‘babbling’.

30 From *Dés*, a truncated medieval Hungarian form of the ecclesiastical name *Desiderius*.

ity of the places that he described, and although he often quoted etymologies advanced by earlier scholars, he probably knew about more than he actually mentioned. Notably, there is surprisingly little overlap between his suggestions and the etymologies spelt out eighty years later by Frigyes Pesty's local informants, some of which had probably already circulated at Benkő's time. Moreover, his explanations for *Menaság*, *Brassó*, *Prázsmár* and *Kalota* (derived from *Tuhutum*) appear out and out baffling, and together with some of his remarks, they give the impression that he did not in fact attach any great importance to the accuracy of his etymologies and rather maintained a frivolous attitude to them.

In spite of Benkő's preference for Hungarian etymons at least in the Szeklerland, no matter that some of these could seem utterly specious even by contemporary standards, he nevertheless projected a more or less unproblematic ethnic diversity into the distant past. The venerable races of Dacians, Romans, Scythians and Goths had inhabited his ancient Transylvania, partly side by side with each other. They had left their traces in the form of place names, and the latter three had also served as ancestors for the modern peoples of the land; Romans for Romanians, Scythians for Szeklers and Magyars and Goths for Saxons. For Benkő, the presence of ancient ruins near a given place called for an ancient etymology; he accepted the link between the toponym *Sárd* and the Sardis of Sardinia, proposed by András Huszti, on the evidence of the Roman bricks found in abundance around the village.<sup>31</sup>

Benkő seems to have believed that place names were coeval with the origin stories and historical realities that he linked to them. Although it often appears that he attributed their creation to the erstwhile residents themselves, he gave little thought to the language these people may have spoken, which he apparently did not think would present obstacles to naming. Thus pagan Magyar warriors could conceivably acclaim God in

31 Hun. *sár* 'mud' + *-d* suffix.

Latin, and the Magyars of Krizba, who had earlier called their village by the Hungarian name *Rákospatak*, could switch to a new name derived from German *Krebsbach* (at Benkő's time, still the German name of the village and its stream).<sup>32</sup> Behind *Hilib*, the name of a Szekler village, Benkő spotted the Romanian word *hrib*. The word had already entered Hungarian around his time, and two hundred years later, it served as a usual Hungarian name for the whole *Boletus* genus in a village very close to his congregation.<sup>33</sup> Benkő knew Romanian, however, and he probably shared the concept of languages as discrete, bounded entities, with exclusive ownership of their vocabulary items. Whether for this or other reason, he simply considered *hirip/hrib* a Romanian word, without even mentioning the possible Hungarian appellative intermediary.<sup>34</sup>

Romanian Latinist place-name etymologists would follow the same late humanist tradition, with the same arbitrary, whimsical style of etymologising as found in Benkő. Romanian nationalists, however, were slow to discover the ideological potential of place names. Nicolae Stoica, the elderly protopope of Mehadia, who drafted his chronicle of the Banat in 1826–7 for the use of the Romanian youth, praised and even epitomised Petru Maior's work on Romanians' Roman origins and was an amateur Roman archaeologist and numismatist himself, but he failed to draw political consequences from his belief. He did cite place names in his manuscript, yet their great majority did not serve to bolster the continuity between Romans and Romanians in Dacia. An avid reader of Jovan Rajić's *History of Slavic Peoples*, which he used as his main source, he gave a long list of settlement names of Slavic origin found in his archdeanery and its immediate surroundings as evidence of South Slavs' early presence in the Banat, from the centuries when Romans/Romanians had allegedly abandoned the lowlands and had taken shelter in

<sup>32</sup> Benkő, vol. 2, 467.

<sup>33</sup> Bakos, 260 and Győző Zsigmond, 'A gomba helye népi kultúránkban: Egy falu (Sepsiköröspatak) etnomikológiai vizsgálata' [The place of mushroom in our folk culture: the ethnomycological analysis of a village (Sepsiköröspatak/Valea Crișului)], *Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság évkönyve* 2 (1994): 45. Romanian *hrib* comes from Eastern Slavic.

<sup>34</sup> Benkő, *Transsylvania specialis*, vol. 2, 169. The name bears no relation to mushrooms of any sort, but is probably the reflex of the Eastern Slavic personal name *Hleb*.

the mountains. His Slavs would partly rename the deserted Roman settlements and would partly impose Slavic names on extant Romanian villages. Romanians, we are told, accepted the new Slavic place names together with the Cyrillic alphabet.<sup>35</sup> Stoica's lines should serve as a reminder that many Romanian clergy from the Banat, at least those who received education in Serb monastic centres, were well aware of the rich Slavic toponymy of their homeland, and to the extent that the next generation would ignore this knowledge, it was the result of a more or less deliberate decision on their part.

#### **4.1.2. Roots, Latin and Otherwise**

The linguistic origins of the toponymy only sparked vivid interest after 1849, but then simultaneously among Magyars and Romanians. The previous tumultuous year and a half had made clear the overlapping territorial basis of the two national movements, greatly alarming both sides about the other's claims on what both envisaged as their own national space. First the liberal Magyar gentry hastened to attach Transylvania to Hungary in summer 1848, and then in February 1849, encouraged by Serbian demands for territorial autonomy, the Romanian Orthodox bishop Andrei Șaguna submitted a petition to the monarch that asked for carving out a Romanian principality from the Romanian-speaking parts of the Empire.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, the abolition of serfdom and its execution by the imperial authorities gave peasants property rights to their households and to their plots in a way that the Magyar landed gentry, the initiators of the reform, could draw no moral profit from it.

While the Magyar scholarly elite soon found a solid ally in collections of medieval documents in their bid to reaffirm their titles over the land, the Latinist Romanian intelligentsia, at the time mainly consisting of priests, turned to the Peutinger Map, to narrative

<sup>35</sup> Nicolae Stoica de Hațeg, *Cronica Banatului* [The chronicle of the Banat], 2nd ed. (Timișoara: Facla, 1981), 58–9.

<sup>36</sup> Keith Hitchins, *Orthodoxy and Nationality: Andrei Șaguna and the Rumanians of Transylvania, 1846–1873* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977), 70–1.

sources about Roman Dacia and ultimately to the Latin dictionary in order to stake similar claims. They gave priority to the not very numerous place names actually attested from the Roman period and matched them with present-day ones that they deemed sufficiently similar in form. In the majority of cases, however, Romanian inventors of Latin etymologies followed a method similar to Benkő's; they thought to have discovered the true origin of a place name in the nearest word of the Latin dictionary that presented some semantic feature apt for place naming. The obvious analogy between this procedure and the method that Latinists followed in their codification of the standard, drawing written and spoken forms closer to their (hypothetical) Latin etymons, also helped them to bridge the gap between the names as they were used by peasants in Romanian speech and their proposed etymological forms. Like common words, place names were also shrouded by the 'etymological' spelling in a Latinate garb, halfway to their proposed Latin etymons. Hence, for instance, the Latinate spelling of the place name pronounced [si'biw] became *Sabiiu*, in accordance with the etymology relating it to the Sabins, a form supplanted by *Sibiiu* in the 1870s and by the current spelling *Sibiu* as late as 1919.

The appellatives put forward as etymons were necessarily Latin in this paradigm, unlike Benkő's mostly vernacular etymologies, who was in general sceptical about the possibility of deriving modern place names in the province from Latin. In their quest for etymologies, Latinists tended to disregard transparent vernacular meanings, and not only Hungarian ones, which is just to be expected, but Romanian ones as well. In the following collection of Latin place-name etymologies, which does not pretend to exhaustiveness, at least the names *Miercurea* (*miercuri* 'Wednesday') and *Brad* (*brad* 'fir tree') offer transparent Romanian etymologies, besides the Hungarian word forms behind *Almaş* (*almás* 'rich in apples') and *Călan* (*kalán* 'spoon').

**Table 4.1. Proposed Latin—Romanian place-name etymologies**

Romanian name	Proposed etymology	Inventor/Source	Note
<i>Mediaș</i>	* <i>Media</i>	the protopope Ștefan Moldovan	‘headquarters of a Roman legion’ <sup>37</sup>
<i>Pata</i>	<i>Patavissa</i>	‘it is thought’ <sup>38</sup>	from the Peutinger Map <sup>39</sup>
<i>Denșuș</i>	<i>ad densas</i>	unknown	quoted by Ferenc Tóth in 1855 <sup>40</sup>
<i>Logoj</i> (Lugoj)	<i>locus</i> ‘place’	the priest Dimitrie Teodori <sup>41</sup>	
<i>Țibleș</i>	<i>Cybele</i>	unknown	quoted by Sándor Réső Ensel <sup>42</sup>
<i>Homorod</i>	<i>homum</i> [recte <i>humum</i> ] <i>rodit</i> ‘gnaws the soil’	mayor Gheorghe Lup	‘due to its thinness, the ground is washed away here in rainy weather’ <sup>43</sup>
<i>Apadia</i>	* <i>Aqua Dia</i> vel <i>Diana</i>	village secretary Alexandru Mureșanu <sup>44</sup>	
<i>Valeadeni</i>	* <i>Valia Diana</i>	idem	
<i>Peșteana</i>	<i>piscina</i> ‘fishpond’	anonymous <sup>45</sup>	
<i>Marga</i> (hydronym)	<i>margo</i> ‘margin’	anonymous <sup>46</sup>	near the border between Transylvania and the Banat
<i>Băbeni</i>	<i>Babeni</i> (name of a proconsul)	the (unlettered) mayor Iuon Pap and the village secretary J. Cs.	‘it is told that he had lived in this place’ <sup>47</sup>
<i>Țirimia</i>	<i>termino</i> ‘endpoint’	village secretary Ioan Pop <sup>48</sup>	
<i>Țicud</i>	<i>cicuta</i> ‘hemlock’	village secretary Simeon M. <sup>49</sup>	
<i>Sibiu</i>	* <i>Sabinum</i>	anonymous	spelt <i>Sabiiu</i> <sup>50</sup>

37 The records of the protopope’s canonical visitation, Mediasch, May 1852; in Retegan, ed., vol. 2 (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2004), 51. The etymology goes back to the seventeenth-century Transylvanian Saxon historian Johannes Tröster; Hansotto Drotloff, ‘Der Name der Stadt’, in *Mediasch: Ein historischer Streifzug durch die siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Stadt an der Kokel*, eds Hansotto Drotloff and Günther E. Schuster, 314 (Sibiu: Schiller, 2014). Rom. *Mediaș* (< Ger. *Mediasch*) < Hun. *Meggyes* ‘rich in sour cherries’.

38 László Kővári, *Erdély régiségei* [The antiquities of Transylvania] (Pest: Tilcsch [sic!], 1852), 49. From the homonymous medieval Hungarian personal name; cf. (*Gyöngyös*-) *Pata*, *Pata* (merged with Poklosi as *Patapoklosi*) (in Hungary) and *Vágpatta* (Slovak *Pata*) (in Slovakia).

39 TP 7A2 (Talbert 1925), where the first code indicates the segment grid value where the feature is placed on the Peutinger Map, and the number between parentheses identifies it in Richard Talbert’s *Rome’s World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010; 2014). I used the online content of the latter book (<http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/>) and the Roman route planner <http://omnesviae.org> to identify the features.

40 Sándor Réső Ensel, Jun., *A helynevek magyarázója* [Interpreter of place names], vol. 4 (Budapest: Nagel, 1893), 3.

41 *Logojul, altcum Lugos și Lugas, își trage numele său dela latinul Locus (locul)* [Logoj, otherwise Lugos or Lugas, derives its name from Latin *locus* (place)] (Timișoara: Hazay, 1859). Teodori is identified as the author by Vasile Muntean, ‘Dimitrie Teodori (1822–1865): schiță biobibliografică’ [Dimitrie Teodori (1822–1865): a bio-bibliographical sketch], *Altarul Banatului*, new series 26 (2015), no. 12, 101.

42 Réső Ensel, vol. 3 (Pest: self-published, 1862), 8. He erroneously gives Kőváry as a source.

43 Lajos Mizser, *Szatmár vármegye Pesty Frigyes 1864–1866. évi Helynévtárában* [Szatmár County in Frigyes Pesty’s place name directory from 1864–6] (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Levéltár, 2001), 51. From Hun. *homoró* ‘hollow’ + *-d* suffix. Cf. the homonymous brook in the Szeklerland and *Homorúd* in Western Hungary.

44 OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel no. 28.

45 *Ibid.*

46 *Ibid.*

47 *Ibid.*, reel 31.

48 *Ibid.*, reel no. 37. From Hun. *teremi* (*terem* ‘room’ + *-i* suffix).

49 *Ibid.*, reel 63.

Romanian name	Proposed etymology	Inventor/Source	Note
<i>Miercurea</i>	* <i>Mercurium</i>	idem <sup>51</sup>	
<i>Petriș</i>	* <i>Petris</i>	the canon Gavril Pop <sup>52</sup>	from the Peutinger Map
<i>Apahida</i>	* <i>Aqua Hidata</i>	idem	fictitious Roman place name, allegedly from the Peutinger Map <sup>53</sup>
<i>Almaș</i>	<i>Almo</i>	idem	from the Peutinger Map <sup>54</sup>
<i>Călan</i>	(Aurelius) <i>Calanus</i>	idem <sup>55</sup>	name allegedly found on an epitaph from Petridul de Jos <sup>56</sup>
<i>Hațeg</i>	<i>Sarmazege</i>	idem	(the name <i>Hațeg</i> ) ‘can be more reasonably derived from the last syllables’ (of <i>Sarmazege</i> ) <sup>57</sup>
<i>Câmpeni</i>	<i>Alæ Campanæ</i>	idem	from a Roman inscription allegedly found in Câr-nești <sup>58</sup>
<i>Poca</i>	<i>Napoca</i>	idem <sup>59</sup>	from the Peutinger Map <sup>60</sup>
<i>Vâlcan</i>	<i>Vulcanus</i>	idem <sup>61</sup>	spelt <i>Vulcanu</i> <sup>62</sup>
<i>Bocșa</i>	* <i>Bocaucis</i>	idem <sup>63</sup>	allegedly from the eighth-century Ravenna Cosmography <sup>64</sup>
<i>Sebeș</i>	<i>Sebesio</i>	idem <sup>65</sup>	a word found on a Roman inscription, presumably from Dacia Mediterranea <sup>66</sup>
<i>Szamos</i>	<i>Zalmoxis</i>	Timotei Cipariu <sup>67</sup>	according to Herodotus,

50 *Telegraful Român* 1866; quoted by Robert Roesler, *Romänische Studien: Untersuchungen zur älteren Geschichte Romäniens* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1871), 132. Spelt *Sabiniulu* in A[ugust] Treb[oniu] Laurian, *Istoria românilor din timpurile cele mai vechie pînă în zilele noastre* [History of Romanians from the earliest times to our days], 2nd ed. (Bucharest: Nifone, 1862), 13.

51 *Ibid.*, 133.

52 Gavrilu Popu, “Inceputulu principatului romanescu” de Dr. Robert Roesler’ [‘Die Anfänge des walachischen Fürstenthums’ by Dr. Robert Roesler], *Familia* 5 (1869): 291. The *Petris* of the Peutinger Map lay around modern-day Simeria/Piski, some sixty-five kilometres upstream from Petriș; TP 7A1 (Talbert 1742). *Petriș* < Rom. *p(i)etriș* ‘stony bank’, ‘pebbles’.

53 An etymology predicated on Lat. *aqua*→Rom. *apă* ‘water’; Popu, 301. From. Hun. *apát hida* ‘the abbot’s bridge’ (1326, *Apathyda*), under the possible influence of Hun. *apa* ‘father’.

54 *Ibid.* *Almo* on the Peutinger Map likely refers to a river, which can be identified with the Lom, a right-bank tributary of the Danube in what is today Bulgaria; TP 6A5 (Talbert 1771).

55 *Ibid.*

56 At 150 kilometres from Călan. The Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (available at <http://cil.bbaw.de>) does not contain such inscription.

57 *Sarmatege*; TP 6A5 (Talbert 1740). Popu, 302.

58 *Ibid.* < Rom. *câmpeni* ‘people from the lowlands’. The inscription was published in J. F. Neugebauer, *Dacien: Aus den Ueberresten des klassischen Alterthums, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Siebenbürgen* (Kronstadt: Gött, 1851), 76.

59 Popu, 303. From the homonymous medieval Hungarian personal name.

60 TP 7A2 (Talbert 1926). Ancient Napoca lay about a hundred kilometres to the West of Póka/Poca, present-day Păingeni.

61 *Ibid.*, 313. Cf. p. 324.

62 The *u*-spelling had been introduced earlier by the Habsburg army.

63 *Ibid.*, 314.

64 Judging by his other references, Pop used the 1860 Berlin edition; *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia et Gvidonis Geographica* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1860). He refers to p. 278 of the book, where the cosmographer enumerates places from Italy, but makes no mention of *Bocaucis*.

65 Popu, 314. The place took its name from its river; Hun. *sebes* ‘swift’.

66 Pop quotes Antonio Bartoli here. Sebesius is equivalent to the Thracian god Sabazios, identified with Jove and likely also with Ahura Mazda. The words ‘Nama Sebesio’ were engraved on the walls of Mythraic temples; Franz Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, trans. Thomas J. McCormack (New York: Dover, 1956), 151.

67 Cipariu, *Archivu pentru filologia si istoria* 22 (1869): 430.



Romanian name	Proposed etymology	Inventor/Source	Note
			the god of the Thracian Getæ
<i>Făgăraş</i>	<i>fagus</i> ‘beach’	Vasile Maniu <sup>68</sup>	
<i>Denta</i>	<i>dentatum</i> ‘toothed’	idem <sup>69</sup>	
<i>Rafna</i>	<i>Rammensis</i>	anonymous <sup>70</sup>	
<i>Ezeriş</i> (displayed as <i>Iziriş</i> )	<i>Azizis</i>	Petru Broşteanu <sup>71</sup>	from the Peutinger Map <sup>72</sup>
<i>Răstolţ</i>	<i>Resculum</i>	Vasile Başotă <sup>73</sup>	name of a Roman castrum found on an inscription <sup>74</sup>
<i>Corna</i>	<i>Coruna</i>	idem	‘the Roman mine of Coruna’ <sup>75</sup>
<i>Târnova</i>	<i>terra nova</i>	anonymous <sup>76</sup>	

The Peutinger Map (*Tabula Peutingeriana*) is a medieval copy of a road map of the Roman Empire from late imperial times, published in several editions since 1591 and still considered the main source of knowledge on ancient Roman geography. Among the twenty-seven place names that it indicates on the territory of later Transylvania and the Banat, at least nine were proposed by various authors of the era as having contemporary derivatives in Romanian nomenclature. The suggested genetic relationships between the names *Azizis* and *Ezeriş*, *Napoca* and *Poca* and *Petris* and *Petriş* did not outlive the Latinist trend and would not turn up in the grand debate about the continuity of Romance-speakers in Dacia. In a surprising manner and very likely by sheer inadvertence, the semantic proximity between the names of ancient *Caput Bubali* ‘buffalo’s head’<sup>77</sup> and the

68 Vasile Maniu, *Studii asupra scrierei profesorului Dr. I. Iung intitulata Romanii si românii din tierille dunarene: studii istorico-etnografice* [Studies on Dr. J. Jung’s *Römer und Romanen in den Donauländern*: historical-ethnographical studies] (Bucharest: Societatei Academice Romane, 1878), 72.

69 Idem, *Zur Geschichtsforschung über die Rumänen: Historisch-kritische und ethnologische Studien*, trans. P. Broşteanu (Reschitza: Pocrean, 1884), 59. The medieval form of the name was *Dent*.

70 Gyula Halaváts, ‘Az Aranyos-hegység Krassómegyében’ [The Aranyos Range in Krassó County], *Földrajzi Közlemények* 19 (1891): 170.

71 P. Broşteanu, ‘Charta lumii (orbis pictus) de Castoru, séu așa numita Tabula Peutingeriana’ [Castorius’s world map (orbis pictus) or the so-called Tabula Peutingeriana], *Transilvania* 22 (1891): 75. The medieval name of the place was *Egrus*, from Hun. *éger* ‘alder tree’ + -s. Cf. Sorin Forțiu, ‘Despre un *Egris* care nu-i Igrîș, ci Ezeriş: sau cum a apărut planul unui *Schanz* drept fortificație medievală la Igrîș’ [About an *Egris* that is not Igrîș, but Ezeriş: or how the plan of a *Schanz* appeared as the medieval fortress of Igrîș], *Morisena* 1 (2016), no. 2, 1–9.

72 TP 6A3 (Talbert 1723).

73 Vasile Başotă, ‘Resultatulu învingerilor Romaniloru asupra Daciloru’ [The result of Roman victories over the Dacians], *Transilvania* 25 (1894): 19.

74 Nicolae Gudea, *Das Römerkastell von Bologa-Resculum* (Zalău: s. n., 1997), 8.

75 Başotă, 24.

76 Somogyi, 230.

77 Or possibly ‘the source of the Buffalo Brook’.

Romanian village *Valea Boului* ‘Ox Valley’,<sup>78</sup> two places with more or less matching locations, would also remain unexploited by later authors.<sup>79</sup> The idea of a continuity between Latin *Ad Mediam*<sup>80</sup> and modern *Mehadia* was dismissed by Haşdeu, but it was upheld by Xenopol, and it continued to serve as a popular reference point supporting unbroken Romance settlement,<sup>81</sup> similarly to the apparent continuity between *Tierna* (*Tierva* on the Peutinger Map, where it likely refers to a river)<sup>82</sup> and the hydronym *Cerna*, in spite of the latter’s transparent meaning in Slavic.<sup>83</sup> Two further etymologies based on the Peutinger Map first appeared in later authors: Jung’s connection between *Bersovia*<sup>84</sup> and the hydronym *Berzava* and Xenopol’s between *Germisara*<sup>85</sup> and modern *Gelmar*.<sup>86</sup>

Another routine method consisted in showing up somewhat similar place names from Romance-speaking regions of Europe as a proof that a given place had been founded under the Roman occupation and had been continuously inhabited by Romans/Romanians since then. These place names might be used to serve simply as parallels, and sometimes to suggest that the original settlers had arrived to Dacia from the respective places. The more informed and better equipped took such attempted analogies from ancient or early medieval sources, making use, or at least claiming to make use, of the eighth-century Ravenna Cosmography, Petar Katančić’s epigraphical collection from Pannonia and Dacia, texts by ancient geographers and inscriptions and wax tablets excavated in Transylvania.<sup>87</sup> But contemporary place names were also thought proper for

78 Present-day *Păltiniș*. *Valea Boului* can also mean ‘Ox Brook’.

79 Popu, 314.

80 *Admediā*; TP 6A4 (Talbert 1732).

81 According to M. M. Deleanu, it was also ridiculed by Gustav Weigand as ‘so crasser Dilettantismus, dass ich kein Wort darüber verliere’. I was unable to locate the passage in Weigand’s *Der Banater Dialekt*, but it seems that he indeed considered the name as going back to a Hungarian etymon; Marcu Mihai Deleanu, *Manuscrisul de la Prigor (1879-1880): comentariu lingvistic și juridic-administrativ* [The Prigor Manuscript (1879–80): a linguistic and judicial-administrative commentary] (Reșița: Eftimie Murgu, 2005), 78 and Gustav Weigand, *Der Banater Dialekt* (Leipzig: Barth, 1896), 3.

82 TP 6A3 (Talbert 1731).

83 Cipariu, *Archivul pentru filologia și istoria* 22 (1869): 428.

84 TP 6A3 (Talbert 1722). Jidovini, the village lying above the ruins of the Roman castrum, today bears the name Berzovia.

85 *Germizera*; TP 7A1 (Talbert 1743).

86 Julius Jung, *Römer und Romanen in den Donauländern* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1877), 240–1.

87 Károly Torma, *Repertorium ad literaturam Daciae et epigraphicam* (Budapest: M. Tud. Akadémia Archæologiai Bizottsága, 1880).

the purpose, which offered unlimited space for chance coincidences. In Vasile Maniu's viciously combative vision, the Banat abounded in place names with close parallels in contemporary Spain,<sup>88</sup> while the former border guards of the Bârgău Valley asserted their illustrious ancestry with reference to the otherwise Germanic generic *borgo* in Italian settlement names.<sup>89</sup> Institutionalised Romanian historiography would steer clear of this form of etymologising, but it continued to prosper in grassroots nationalist propaganda.

**Table 4.2. Proposed etymologies based on place names from the Roman Empire**

Romanian name	Proposed parallel	Inventor/Source	Note
<i>Măgura</i>	<i>Megara</i>	Nicolae Stoica <sup>90</sup>	
<i>Bologa</i>	<i>Bologna</i>	anonymous <sup>91</sup>	
<i>Șimleu</i>	<i>Sileum</i> (a pretended ancient Italian town)	Gavril Pop <sup>92</sup>	via 'soldiers settled in Dacia Traiana from Sileum'
<i>Tuștea</i>	<i>Tuscia</i>	idem <sup>93</sup>	
<i>Folea</i>	<i>Foglia</i> (river in Italy)	idem <sup>94</sup>	
<i>Ravna</i>	<i>Ravenna</i>	Vasile Maniu <sup>95</sup>	
<i>Abrud</i>	<i>Abruzzi</i>	idem <sup>96</sup>	
<i>Deva</i>	<i>Deva</i> (river in Spain)	idem <sup>97</sup>	
<i>Salonta</i>	<i>Saluntum</i> (in Sicily)	idem <sup>98</sup>	
<i>Brad</i>	<i>Bradano</i> (river in Italy)	idem <sup>99</sup>	
<i>Deleni and Delinești</i>	<i>Delium</i> (ancient Greek city)	idem <sup>100</sup>	
<i>Ilva (Mare and Mică)</i>	<i>Ilva</i> (ancient Elba)	Vasile Bașotă <sup>101</sup>	

<sup>88</sup> Maniu, *Zur Geschichtsforschung*, 57.

<sup>89</sup> Response to Frigyes Pesty from Prundu Bârgăului by the village secretary Atanasiu Ușieriu and the illiterate mayor Theodor Ușieriu (Retegan, *Drumul greu al modernizării*, 65) and Nestor Șimon's letter to Albert Wachsmann from 1898; *Restituiri* [Reconstructions] (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2012), 247. The name in question derives from Germ. *Burg* + *Au*.

<sup>90</sup> Stoica de Hațeg, *Cronica Banatului*, 32. From Rom. *măgură* 'solitary hill'.

<sup>91</sup> OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel no. 30. The name is of Romanian anthroponymic origin, which on its turn comes from Hun. *balog* 'left-handed' (Constantinescu, 208).

<sup>92</sup> Popu, 313. From Hungarian *Somlyó*; cf. *Csiksomlyó*, *Kis-Somlyó*, *Mezősomlyó*, *Somló*, *Somlyód*, *Szársomlyó*, (*Vértes*-) *Somló*.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 314. The medieval form of the name was *Fele*.

<sup>95</sup> Maniu, *Studii*, 81.

<sup>96</sup> Maniu, *Zur Geschichtsforschung*, 58.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.* From a personal name of Slavic origin, cf. Pol. *Suleja*. With parallels in Hungarian toponymy: *Hejőszalonta*, *Szalánta*.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* From Rom. *brad* 'fir'.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.* From Rom. *deal* 'hill' + *-eni*; Iorgu Iordan, *Toponimia românească* [Romanian toponymy] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1963), 407.

<sup>101</sup> Bașotă, 22. Of Slavic origin; cf. *Ilova* in today's Slovakia.

Romanian name	Proposed parallel	Inventor/Source	Note
<i>Tiha</i>	<i>Tycha</i> (neighbourhood in ancient Syracuse)	Nestor Şimon <sup>102</sup>	
<i>Colţirea</i>	Corcyra (present-day Corfu)	landowners of the village at the turn of the century (the Iacob family?) <sup>103</sup>	‘they threaten to hit on the head anybody who would call this [etymology] in question’ <sup>104</sup>

Turning to the attempted etymologies based on Latin appellatives, it is necessary to place them in context to appreciate both the intellectual horizons of the wider rural intelligentsia where they sprouted and their perception by the Magyar middle classes. My main point here is that although such speculative Latin place-name etymologies may seem behind their time to us, in fact they were also common among contemporary Magyars, although Magyars obviously did not link them up with an ethno-national self-narrative. The value of Latin as a language of erudition was simply too well embedded in society not to lend prestige to those who had acquired some knowledge in it and who could claim to derive a place name from a Latin word. Ferenc Kenderesi derived *Déva* from the name of Emperor Aurelian’s wife, Diva Faustina, in his response to Pesty, the local (Magyar) leadership traced back the same *Páké* that had sounded ‘Scythian’ to Benkő to Latin *pace* and the Calvinist priest of Magyarléta derived the name of the place from Latin *laeta* ‘fertile’.<sup>105</sup> At the turn of the century, two authors of county monographs who paid due consideration to historical forms in their explanations of place names and who first turned to Slavic if there seemed no viable Hungarian etymon available, nevertheless succumbed to the temptation of Latin etymologies in a few cases, under the possible influence of locally popular beliefs. This seems to be the case with Málom, a village notable for its fruit production, whose Hungarian name the monographer József Ká-

102 Şimon, 247. From Slavic *tihŭ* ‘quiet, smooth’; Iordan, 334.

103 *A magyar korona országainak mezőgazdasági statisztikája* [Agricultural statistics of the countries of the Hungarian crown], vol. 2, *Gazdaczintár* [Farmers gazetteer] (Budapest: Magyar Kir. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1897), 396.

104 Miklós Rác, ‘Helynevek Nagybánya környékén’ [Place names around Nagybánya], *Erdély* 13 (1904): 179.

105 Ferencz Kenderesi, ‘Vajda Hunyadi Vár és ennek környéke’ [The castle of Hunedoara and its surroundings], *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* 155 (1831), no. 5, 80; Benkő, *Transsilvania specialis*, vol. 2, 165 and *Pesty Frigyes helynévgyűjteménye 1864–1865: Székelyföld*, vol. 1, 108 and vol. 4, 127.

dár explained accordingly as the ‘Hungarian pronunciation’ of Latin *malum* ‘apple’, adding (erroneously) that its Romanian name, *Malin*, meant ‘raspberry’.<sup>106</sup> What is more, the Communal Registry Board later took this etymology at face value and (somewhat tautologically, one could object) attached the prefix *Almás* ‘rich in apples’ to the name, which thus became *Almásnálom*. Taking inventory of the villages of Szilágy County, Mór Petri indicated Latin *portio* ‘lot’ or ‘billeting’ as an alternative etymon for *Porc/Port* (apart from Romanian *porci* ‘pigs’, which leads one to think that Petri was unaware of the phonetic value of Romanian <c>), Latin *pagus* ‘village’ as the etymon for *Bagos*<sup>107</sup> and explained *Sülelmed* as a composite form made up of Hungarian *szél* ‘edge’ and Latin *ulmus* ‘elm’ (!).<sup>108</sup> Since Málom and Bagos had Magyar ethnic majorities, it is unlikely that the Latin etymologies were inspired by Romanian Latinism in their case.

The idea of Latin place-name etymologies could seem all the more plausible since towns and sometimes even villages also possessed erudite Latin or Greek names in living memory. These names had been often inherited from the Middle Ages and were sometimes sustained in the registers and inner correspondence of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1864, for example, the Roman Catholic parish of Şiria/Világos/Hellburg still referred to the place as *Castrum Lucidum* in its written practice.<sup>109</sup> Most often, and the latter case is no exception (Hun. *világos* ‘lucid’), these Latin or Greek names were nothing more than the vernacular (Hungarian or German) names with Latin endings or translated into Latin (*Varadinum* < *Várad*, *Schaesburgum* < *Schäßburg*, *Spinopolis* < *Tövis*, *Rivulus Dominarum* < *Frauenbach*), but sometimes, and such cases look more interesting in the present connection, they had been born out of learned misunderstanding and could be

106 József Kádár, *Szolnok-Dobokavármegye monographiája* [Monograph of Szolnok-Doboka County], vol. 5 (Deésen: Szolnok-Dobokavármegye közönsége, 1901), 105. The likely etymon of the name is Hun. *málom* ‘mill’.

107 From a personal name of Slavic origin, cf. Serbo-Croatian *Boguš*, Pol. *Bogusz*. With parallels in Hungarian toponymy: (Csen-ger-) *Bagos*, *Hajdúbagos*.

108 Petri, vol. 3, 55 and vol. 4 (ibid.: idem, 1902), 260 and 357. Cf. also Béla Köllönte, *Gyergyó története a kialakulástól a határőr-ség szervezéséig: tekintettel a nemzetiségi kérdésre* [History of Gyergyó/Giurgeu from its emergence until the establishment of the Military Frontier: with regard to the nationalities question] (Gyergyószentmiklóson: Kossuth-nyomda, 1910), 15.

109 OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel no. 2.

later understood as the true etymological forms as against the opaque vernacular names: Latin-Greek *Lignopolis*/Hun. *Fogaras* (interpreted as *fa* ‘wooden’ + *garas* ‘farthing’), Lat. *Claudiopolis*/Hun. *Kolozsvár*, Lat. *Corona*/Ger. *Kronstadt*.

In the Croatian town of Petrinja, at some three hundred miles from the Western boundaries of the area, the high-school teacher Simon Frangeš received a request from a Viennese educational journal to give an overview of the Empire’s South-Slavic, Italian and Romanian toponymy, with the necessary etymological explanations. Frangeš’s contribution was duly published in 1882 as part of a series of articles on place names, and four years later the geographer Friedrich Umlauf, who apparently did not smell a rat, included Frangeš’s Romanian etymologies in his handbook *Geographisches Namenbuch von Österreich-Ungarn*, intended as a gap-filler in the book market.<sup>110</sup> Umlauf’s handbook in general fell well below contemporary standards of scholarship in its treatment of Hungary; toponyms considered Hungarian in origin were covered by Johann Heinrich Schwicker, Pál Hunfalvy’s German translator and populariser, who did not pay attention to diachrony and relied on his insufficient knowledge of Hungarian when establishing Hungarian etymologies.<sup>111</sup> Frangeš, for his part, gave especially short shrift to Romanian, explaining no more than fourteen names, in their majority names of peaks and mountain ranges, from a Romanian that he conceived very much along Latinist lines. His view of the language as a close descendant of classical Latin and his stinginess in finding place names of Romanian origin in the Romanian-speaking area, compared even to Slavic ones, made strange bedfellows in the ideological context of the time, and they suggest that he did not give much thought to these problems. On the basis of the information available to him, he apparently found his knowledge of Latin and Italian sufficient to

110 Simon Franges, ‘Erklärung südslawischer, romänischer und italienischer Namen, soweit sie Kroatien, Slavonien, Dalmatien, das Küstenland, Südungarn, Siebenbürgen und Bosnien betreffen’, *Zeitschrift für Schul-Geographie* 3 (1882): F130–9 and 167–75 and Friedrich Umlauf, *Geographisches Namenbuch von Österreich-Ungarn: Eine Erklärung von Länder-, Völker-, Gau-, Berg-, Fluss- und Ortsnamen* (Vienna: Hölder, 1886).

111 Cf. H. I. [János Hunfalvy], ‘Geographisches Namenbuch von Oesterreich-Ungarn’ (review), *Földrajzi Közlemények* 14 (1886): 243–4.

identify Romanian place naming where he expected to find it on the map: in the mountains of Transylvania and Eastern Hungary. He gleefully traced contemporary names back to Latin words which had no reflexes in all but the most artificial Latinate lects of contemporary Romanian: *Almas* (‘recte *Almasiu*’) to *almus* ‘nährend, hold, wonnig’, *Buteanu* to *buteo* ‘Falke’, *Nevoi* to *nevoso* ‘schneeig’, and he even ‘restored’ *Orșova* to a form that stood closer to his suggested etymon: ‘recte *Ursova*’, from *urs* ‘Bär’.<sup>112</sup> As much as I can judge, the latter is the only exact match between actual Romanian Latinist etymologies and the fabrications of this dabbling philologist from Croatia, which are otherwise virtually indistinguishable of the former ilk.<sup>113</sup>

Left to their own devices, educated Magyars were in general clueless about the plausibility of the Latin etymologies circulated by the Romanian clergy, unless the place names in case offered transparent Hungarian meanings. They liked to deride the Romanian clergy as pretentious nitwits, but by the 1870s, both Greek Catholic and Orthodox priests had increasingly received the same Latin education as them, which otherwise obviously did not and could not embrace the study of Roman toponymy. Indeed, until late, Magyars saw little reason why there could not be place names of Latin origin in the land, and quite regardless of their opinions about contemporary Romanian peasants’ relationship to Trajan’s veterans. For if Latin etymologies had been also held in esteem for places with Magyar populations, what would the acceptance of a Latin etymology prove to them about the inhabitants of the place in the intervening two thousand years?

However, proving continuous Romanian existence in a particular place since the first century AD was exactly the main purpose of Latin—Romanian etymologies. Their Latinist creators, beyond their wider ideological agenda, probably also made a point of not being led astray by transparent meanings in the ‘corrupt’ Romanian of their time, not to

<sup>112</sup> Franges, 133, 137 and 172. Tellingly, *buteo* did not figure even in Laurian and Massim’s *Dictionariulu*.

<sup>113</sup> Maniu, *Studii*, 89.

mention other languages. They also did not feel a pressure to comply with the criteria of comparison (with Roman naming patterns) and of historicity (using early attested forms). In most cases, there was even some leeway regarding the forms in which contemporary names could be rendered.

Magyar Romantic nationalists, who attributed a privileged place to Hungarian as one of humanity's 'original languages', devised similar, pre-scientific place-name etymologies to sustain their ideas.<sup>114</sup> In 1825, István Horvát, a star professor of history at the Pest university, equated some foreign place names with Hungarian ones upon a vague similarity criterion (e.g., *Babylonia* ~ *Bábolna*, two villages in Hunyad and Komárom Counties) and projected Hungarian words and phrases into others (e.g., *Jerusalem* = *Sólm Salamonvára* 'Falcon Salamon's castle'), in the service of a self-congratulatory story that made 'Scythians' the founders of all high cultures.<sup>115</sup> In postulating a kinship between Hungarian and the languages that came to be known as Semitic during the nineteenth century, Horvát followed a long tradition in Hungarian linguistic thought.<sup>116</sup> His disciple, the Szekler Károly Vida, sharpened his focus to this Semitic connection in a book he wrote in rural seclusion after the defeated revolution. He added a long list of Semitic etymologies for Hungarian place names to his book; among the many taken from the territory under study here, Hungarian *Arad* was proposed as cognate with the name of the Canaanite town Arad, *Fogaras* as originating in the cult of the Moabite deity Phogor, *Hadad* in the Akkadian storm god by the same name, whilst *Herepe* would come from Hebrew *chereb* 'sword'.<sup>117</sup>

114 On the history of 'nationalistic' monogenetic theories, Umberto Eco, *The Search for the Perfect Language*, trans. James Fentress (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 95–103.

115 István Horvát, *Rajzolatok a 'magyar nemzet legrégebb történeteiből* [Vignettes from the earliest stories of the Hungarian nation] (Pesten: Trattner, 1825).

116 József Hegedűs, 'Rendhagyó magyar nyelvhasználat-történet' [The history of unorthodox language comparisons with Hungarian], *Magyar Nyelv* 94 (1998): 290–2.

117 Károly Vida, *Elmélkedések a magyar nemzet viszontagságainak története felett* [Reflections on the history of the Hungarian nation's misfortunes] (Pesten: Lukács, 1852).



The so-called root theory deserves mention not so much for the etymologies that it directly inspired, which in the next century would surface occasionally as an underground stream, but because its style of etymologising probably influenced eccentric diletantes of various stripes, and most notably the ‘Celtomaniacs’, to whom I will return.<sup>118</sup> Root theory was a whimsical offshoot of Romantic German *Sprachtheorie*, which early nineteenth-century Hungarians read in Göttingen and other German universities, with a neat, Enlightenment-style classificatory scheme grafted onto it. Its main ideas went back to Herder’s *Essay on the Origin of Language*. In this paradigm, lexical items owed their formation to synaesthetic links between basic strings of sounds and ideas, formed in the infancy of mankind.<sup>119</sup> The word stems of some languages, the so-called ‘original’ ones, were thought to have preserved this analogy of the senses. Here belonged the Semitic languages, various languages without a written tradition, such as Romani, and, not the least, Hungarian. The rest of languages, like the entire Romance family, were considered merely ‘derivative’; they had no such motivated roots, only word etymons.<sup>120</sup> As can be seen, the paradigm behind root theory conceived the inception of language in Cratylan terms, but it held that the original bond between form and meaning had gradually come loose in the course of civilisation.

In technical terms, root theory assigned at least one, but more typically several complex tangles of meanings to all high-frequency syllables in Hungarian, each called a ‘root’. This operation was best done through comparison with other ‘original’ languages, since root theory typically subscribed to a monogenetic view of language evolution, but in any case it held that primeval synaesthetic associations had been uniform across the

118 Cf. Lajos Szádeczky, ‘A Gyergyó név eredete’ [The origin of the name *Gyergyó*], *Erdély* 23 (1914): 82.

119 Johann Gottfried Herder, ‘Essay on the Origin of Language’, trans. Alexander Gode, in *On the Origin of Language* by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Johann Gottfried Herder, 85–166 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966; 1986).

120 Vera Békés, *A hiányzó paradigma* [The missing paradigm] (Debrecen: Latin betűk, 1997) and Zsuzsa C. Vladár, ‘A gyök fogalma az európai nyelvészetben és a Czuczor–Fogarasi-szótárban’ [The concept of root in European linguistics and in Czuczor and Fogarasi’s dictionary], in *II. Czuczor–Fogarasi-konferencia: ‘Ha szabad a magyart a magyarból magyarázni’* [2nd Czuczor–Fogarasi Conference: ‘If it is permitted to explain the Hungarian from the Hungarian’], ed. Katalin Horváth, 69–81 (s. l.: Magyar Művészeti Akadémia, 2013).

human race. Polysyllabic words were then matched with one of the semantic fields associated with their word-initial syllables. Looking for the original ‘roots’ of Hungarian grew a widespread hobby among amateur philologists, which gave rise to multiple systems, not easily reconcilable with one another.

To see how this method was applied to place names, let me quote a few passages from László Tóth’s response to Frigyes Pesty’s questionnaire from Bârcea Mare/Nagybarcsa in 1865.<sup>121</sup> He parsed the (Hungarian) name of his village, *Barcsa*, in the following way: *bar* is a root meaning ‘beautiful, fertile field girded by mountains’. (There is no such word in Hungarian, but this was not what he claimed.) He followed by invoking the Hebrew word *bar* ‘creation’, without clarifying what similarity he saw between the two meanings: ‘that much is certain that creation and beautiful, fertile field are two kindred notions’ (‘atyafiságos eszmék’). He explained the second syllable of the name as a diminutive suffix, as in *Julcsa* (hypocoristic form of *Júlia*). But essential for Tóth was the root, which brought the name into relationship with a series of other place names, among them *Brassó* (< *bar alsó* ‘lower *bar*’), *Bardoc*, *Barót* and *Paros* (‘which in the beginning probably also sounded “Baros”, that is, field-ridden’). His underlying assumption was that when naming these places, early Magyars referred to their beauty, fertility and their mountainous environment as their salient features, and that primeval synaesthesia had still been a productive force in the Hungarian of that time. One only wonders how Tóth could forget to cite two twin villages called *Bár* in his native Hunyad County, which were surrounded by mountains on three sides: Baru/Nagybár and Bărișor/Kisbár.

Tóth’s response to Pesty also illustrates the divergence in the search for ‘roots’. By far the most influential and probably the most voluminous catalogue of Hungarian ‘roots’ was the one that Gergely Czuczor and János Fogarasi composed for the etymological glosses to their first and in some respects still unsurpassed explanatory dictionary of the

121 OSzK Manuscript Collection FM, 3814/A, reel no. 28.

language. The first volume of Czuczor and Fogarasi's dictionary, however, which came out three years earlier, did not mention the meaning 'beautiful, fertile field girded by mountains' in its entry for *bar*.<sup>122</sup> Unless Tóth drew on his own resources, it is the influence of the count Géza Kuun that may be suspected in the first place, landlord of nearby Mintia/Marosnémeti and a root researcher who later gave his inaugural lecture at the Hungarian Academy exactly on root theory.<sup>123</sup>

Root researchers seem to have taken for granted that the names of Hungarian and Transylvanian villages had to be interpreted on the basis of Hungarian, no matter if they had no Magyar populations at present, although at the end of the day it is not clear whether their 'roots', abstracted with an ambition of comparative validity and based on a monogenetic theory of language, should be regarded Hungarian at all. This self-confidence was shaken by the emerging positivist paradigm, which placed etymology on a firm historical footing and established strict methodological principles for place-name etymologies. At the same time, the new, scientific research of toponymy was itself more complexly underpinned and its research programmes guided by nationalist concerns than its antecedents.

#### **4.1.3. Toponymic Research, an Ancillary of the New Science of History**

The new, scientific study of place names made its breakthrough in Germany starting with the 1840s and interconnected with the rise of comparative-historical linguistics.<sup>124</sup> The notion of etymology was now deprived of what residual links it still kept to the ideal of a timeless essence and was pared down to the reconstruction of a word's previous meaning and form, which had to be reconstructed either on the basis of historical sources

<sup>122</sup> Gergely Czuczor and János Fogarasi, *A magyar nyelv szótára* [Dictionary of the Hungarian language], vol. 1 (Pest: Emich, 1862), 424–5.

<sup>123</sup> Géza Kuun, 'A gyökök elméletéről' [On the theory of roots], *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 6 (1867): 111–24.

<sup>124</sup> The four paragraphs to follow are based on Egli; Franz Cramer, 'Aufgaben der heutigen Ortsnamenforschung', *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur* 17 (1914): 210–6; Wolfgang Haubrichs, 'Namenforschung in Deutschland bis 1945', *Namenforschung*, ed. Ernst Eichler, vol. 1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), 62–85 and Robert Rentenaar, 'Namenforschung in den Niederlanden und in Flandern', *ibid.*, 55.

or by series of deductions from what was already known.<sup>125</sup> Place names, according to a newly formulated principle, always depart from a distinct original meaning. They rather rarely commemorate famous historical figures, they hardly ever refer back to anecdotal snippets of dialogues and they never arise out of arbitrary, nonsensical sequences of sounds. Their meaning is still clear for the first generations and only gets obscured later, either because the area is repopulated by speakers of a different tongue or simply because the place name does not participate in certain linguistic changes and is left behind as an incomprehensible relic from the past. It often happens that place names that have become semantically opaque are reinterpreted by new generations, with their forms made to fit the new meanings that are seen into them, a process called folk etymology. Folk etymology was described as a force constantly active in language by Ernst Förstemann, the author of an authoritative *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, precisely on toponymic examples. For these reasons, it was thought indispensable to collect all archival references to the given place in order to access the earliest forms, which are also the ones truly relevant for a comparative analysis. In the lack of early attestations, just as in the case of appellatives, it was claimed that a competent scholar could still reconstruct the original forms with the help of analogies from among the same people, preferably also from the same region and paying due respect to the phonological characteristics and regular historical sound changes of the given dialect. Although morphological changes might leave proper names unaffected, the new philologists assumed that the newly discovered sound laws were just as fully operative in names as they were in the more central part of the vocabulary, and they required that the constituent stems and suffixes should be subjected to thorough diachronic analysis. In that way, they firmly anchored the study of place names in the developing paradigm of comparative-historical linguistics.

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<sup>125</sup> Malkiel, 2.

Historical onomastics was envisioned not as a self-serving pursuit, but as an ancillary of both historiography and historical linguistics, since place names were thought to yield precious information about the history of dialects as well as about historical settlement geography. They were classified into types on the basis of formal criteria, the types were then dated to different periods and were sometimes also connected to erstwhile groups of people who had presumably created them. In Wilhelm Arnold's *Ansiedlungen und Wanderungen deutscher Stämme* from 1875, the diachronic layers and spatial patterns of Hessian place names offered the author a code to follow the historical migrations of Germanic tribes, with each leaving behind its own specific type of names.

Of course, not only the various dialects of the same language, but the various languages also have their own devices and patterns of place name formation, and toponymic data were often interrogated to gain insight into the undocumented linguistic and, what was thought to be synonymous, ethnic history of an area. The idea that place names were sometimes the only testimonies of the erstwhile local use of certain modern idioms was not new, although earlier authors could overwhelmingly rely on contemporary linguistic forms and were rather deficient on the side of methodology. In an influential book published in Bilbao in 1587, Andrés de Poza explained the geographical nomenclature of Spain on the basis of the Basque language, to prove that the latter was a remnant of the Iberic once spoken throughout the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>126</sup> In 1836, Jakob Fallmerayer pointed out that a large part of place names in the newly-formed Greek state were Slavic, in order to disprove the ethnic continuity between ancient Hellenes and contemporary Greek-speakers.<sup>127</sup> The new discipline of onomastics used the linguistic analysis of place names to demarcate the former settlement area of different peoples, some of them ex-

<sup>126</sup> Andres de Poça, *De la Antigua lengua, poblaciones y comarcas de las Españas en que, de paso, se tocan algunas cosas de la Cantabria* [On the ancient language, settlements and districts of the Spains, in which a few things are incidentally related about the Cantabria] (Bilbao: Marés, 1587).

<sup>127</sup> J. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters: ein historischer Besuch*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1836), 269–87 and Michael W. Weithmann, 'Interdisziplinäre Diskrepanzen in der "Slavenfrage" Griechenlands', *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 30 (1994): 94–9.

tinct, others not quite so. Remarkably, there emerged a copious literature in German on the Slavic place names to be found in German-speaking areas, with the conclusion that large swathes of land, including the surroundings of Dresden and Leipzig, had once been inhabited by Slavic-speakers.

Other such endeavours had more implicit nationalist overtones and were used to support overt political claims. A typical research paradigm of the era set out to trace the historical changes in the ‘language border’ between Germanic and Romance dialects. According to Wolfgang Haubrichs, an early historical reconstruction of this kind from 1870 already influenced the tracing of the new boundary line between France and Germany in Lorraine.<sup>128</sup> In an 1894 book, Adolf Schieber argued that settlement names composed of Germanic personal names and French formants should be regarded as German, and that this fact alone gave Germany historical right to such settlements, even if they had been inhabited by French-speakers for centuries.<sup>129</sup>

Henceforth, the methodological principles described above became the touchstone of objective scholarship, they defined what counted as legitimate argumentation and separated the wheat of true scholars from the chaff of dilettantes. It should be noted that neither the German masters nor the later non-German practitioners of the discipline always kept to these principles, but they acknowledged their validity and at least claimed to obey them. As an established form of bowing to these standards, scholars often distanced themselves from Romantic nationalist myths and repudiated popular unscientific beliefs. Beyond the truth value of the points made and their role in argument structures, such gestures also confirmed the author’s scholarly integrity in the eyes of fellow scholars. Hence, Magyar and Romanian pioneers of the new methodology jettisoned core ele-

128 Haubrichs, 66. He probably means the German proposal with the ‘green line’, which was later enforced on the French party; Catherine Tatiana Dunlop, *Cartophilia: Maps and the Search for Identity in the French-German Borderland* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 31–2 and 80.

129 Adolf Schieber, *Die fränkischen und alemannischen Siedlungen in Gallien, besonders in Elsass und Lothringen: Ein Beitrag zur Urgeschichte des deutschen und des französischen Volkstums* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1894).

ments of their Romantic nationalist mythologies. Hunfalvy surrendered the Anonymous as a valid historical source, Haşdeu accepted the Hungarian etymologies of the place names *Ardeal*, *Mehadia* and *Arieş*, whilst Xenopol co-opted the Slavs into Romanian ethnogenesis.<sup>130</sup> All these ostensible concessions, however, did not preclude teleological reasoning, bias in case selection and logical fallacies, as will be shown.

The positivist paradigm moved place names closer to the centre of interest and invested their study with a distinct methodology, but it could not endow this methodology with epistemological autonomy. Ideally, history and linguistics would complement each other in a dialectic fashion along the way. History would set out the geographical and chronological parameters for the linguistic analysis of place names, and in exchange, linguistics would provide further information about historical groups of people who spoke different dialects or languages. Finally, this information would feed back into improving valid historical knowledge. For this synergy to produce consensual knowledge, however, it was necessary that there exist either agreed-upon or flexible enough historical preconceptions as to what languages could be spoken in various parts of an area in various historical periods.

Toponymic research started with the study of areas with less diverse linguistic histories, where classificatory typologies and chronologies were easier to develop, and the knowledge thus garnered would be then applied to border areas that were more thoroughly multilingual. If closer to the engines of international scholarship, it was sometimes possible to sharpen the focus of research on two genetically distant languages at the same time, for example to determine historical changes in the course of the Romance—Germanic ‘language border’, that was thanks to the consensually recognised nodes of knowledge that the study of both Romance and Germanic place names had pro-

<sup>130</sup> Bogdan Petriceicu-Hasdeu, *Etymologicum magnum Romaniae: dicţionarul limbei istorice şi poporane a românilor* [Dictionary of Romanians’ historical and folk language] vol. 2 (Bucharest: Minerva, 1974), 364.

duced and that could serve as points of reference. Although such a research was bound to be contentious, in so far as French and German scholars agreed on the reality of its object and on its conditions of existence, at least the operations carried out along the way promised to remain transparent.

In the murky crosswaters between lesser-studied toponymic traditions, however, without their own accepted typologies and chronologies of the trends and patterns of place naming, researchers could to a surprising degree reduce their choices to their language of preference and get on with circular reasoning between linguistics and history, while seemingly complying with the basic methodological principles of the trade. Traces of other languages, once they were regarded undesirable from the point of view of one's historical master narrative, could be conveniently swept out of sight or glossed over. Adding insult to injury, a basic expectation from researchers of toponymy was that they provide new data on early forms of the language, unattested from other sources. The hermeneutic circle implied in the completion of this task had serious discontinuities even in the lucky and (due to the Latinity of medieval records) rare case of a truly monolingual context. Not only are place names by definition grammatically isolated and thus potentially hard to interpret if they do not fall into predictable patterns, but those that could yield precious information about undocumented stages of the language are necessarily also the most enigmatic. This plight is only aggravated if the names coming to light can also belong to various languages, and it is pushed to the extreme if ideological blinkers prevent the person who interprets the data from acknowledging this fact.

Underlying these troubles was a major contradiction in the new science of history, which placed historians in the position of unbiased observers, but which at the same time constituted its subject, compartmentalised its material and even tailored its methodological purview along national lines. National historiographies then pumped out facts



guided by presuppositions that were sometimes resilient to correction, particularly so if they held a central place in nationalist mythology. In the controversy that is my central topic here, the supposedly universal standards of probability and of parsimonious reasoning conspicuously failed to apply across national paradigms, they rather remained contingent on the background information and assumptions funnelled in from nationalist master narratives. Elsewhere, the unwieldy material of history might set limits to such a huge discrepancy between interpretations, but in this case, the unusually high political stakes played against bridging the positions.

The segmentation of international scholarly community into separate national academic scenes, each with its own institutional infrastructure, producing scholarship in the national language and for the national audience, could make bad scholarship, based on fallacious, self-serving arguments and inconsistent cherry-picking of the data proof against refutation, if there was sufficient ideological consensus over the given issue internally. The new nation states and nationalist movements helped into life well-bounded national communities of humanity scholars, who in most of the time thought they were honestly seeking objective truth, but who received their mandate in the first place to research their own national histories from a national perspective and who tended to attribute exceptional qualities to their nations. On the arguably greater part of the Old Continent, where the construction sites and building materials for national histories were still up for grabs, the role of the main villain was strategically cast with the significant national other that had the potentially biggest slice of shared history and whose voice thus threatened to become the most disturbing; hence with Germans for Magyars and with Magyars for Romanians, at least within the Carpathians. Although the ethos of positive science theoretically encouraged cross-national dialogue between practitioners of the same discipline, it was understood that historians and philologists of such antagonistic

national vanguards should not regard each other as partners, but at best as fair adversaries, while loyal members of the nation were expected to believe what their national historiographies put forward as a consensus and to dismiss the views that the enemy consensually held.

In such a highly politicised issue as Romanian ethnogenesis and the related toponymic evidence, Magyars attached some importance to convince the Romanians of Hungary about their truth (Grigore Moldovan/Moldován Gergely's government-sponsored journal *Ungaria* published some relevant Hungarian texts in Romanian translations), but almost nobody wasted time on trying to convince the rival national community of scholars. Objections from the other national camp were almost taken as corroborative evidence, and were reacted to in a tone of irony ranging from the condescending to the vitriolic. The two parties fought out their battles in the German and French book markets, their faces turned towards Western onlookers and awaiting applause mainly from their home audiences.

If both sides could present toponymic arguments that seemed credible to Western specialists, that was partly because both highlighted their own strong points and partly because there was as yet absolutely no agreed-upon knowledge about place naming in the two languages. Since participants in the debate were applying the concepts of comparative-historical philology to a new material, they had unusual latitude in marshalling their evidence. Of course, the uses to which they put this freedom were not solely dependent upon their ideological commitments or their intellectual integrity, but also upon their actual grasp of the new methodology and their individual talents. It also goes without saying, but it may be still worth spelling out, that those who ventured into the field without the intention to take part in the debate on historical priority also did not remain immune to the same pitfalls. In this connection, I have already presented the Latin

etymologies of the Croatian Simon Frangeš. A much more influential figure than Frangeš was Alexandru Cihac, author of the first etymological dictionary of Romanian. The criteria that Cihac used in the second volume of his work for sorting place names according to their linguistic origin were sorely out of touch with the latest scholarship, which is all the more notable because his method actually dwindled the number of place names of Romanian origin. He arranged place names by the loanwords from which he derived them, irrespective of whether these words actually existed in any Romanian dialect, and even if the names were formed with Romanian suffixes. In this way, he included the ambiguous *Toplița*, *Laz* and *Vârtop* and the evidently Romanian *Dumbrava*, *Drăgănești*, *Tâmpa*, *Glod*, *Lunca*, *Lazuri*, *Rusul de Jos*, *Uricani*, *Trestie* and *Ponorel* in his section of Slavic elements, because their stems had Slavic origins. His Hungarian attributions were even more confused, due to his phonologically untenable, far-fetched Hungarian etymologies for Romanian common nouns. As he picked out only those place names that he traced back to a stem from his corpus of Hungarian loanwords, he ended up with a highly selective list, which was in a great part also mistaken twice over; once because the names at issue carried Romanian suffixes and once because their stems did not actually come from Hungarian.<sup>131</sup>

Magyar philologists launched their first attempts at the systematic collection and interpretation of toponymic material after 1849. The data presented by Imre Révész starting with 1850 came from outside the area under review here, his plea for the importance of his work is nevertheless worth quoting. On the one hand, he regarded Hungarian place names (including the microtoponymy) in great part as ‘remnants from the time when our ancestors settled in this land’, and on the other, he raised the need to single out place names of foreign origin ‘so that we can restitute these words to the languages where they

<sup>131</sup> A. de Cihac, *Dictionnaire d'étymologie daco-romane: éléments slaves, magyars, turcs, grecs-moderne et albanais* (Frankfurt: St.-Groar, 1879).

belong'. He apparently implied that by determining the provenance of their linguistically non-Hungarian place names, Magyars would fulfil a moral obligation to other peoples living in their homeland.<sup>132</sup>

An apparent surge of interest in place names encouraged the Hungarian Academy to announce a contest for the best place-name collection in 1853, with the long-term aim of assembling a toponymic dictionary of Hungary. The enterprise proved premature: few contributions were received, and even those few raised questions about their reliability.<sup>133</sup> In the long run, however, the call of the Academy indeed stimulated the collection and interpretation of Hungarian place names. The lawyer Sándor Résző Ensel, who picked up interest in the field in 1853, embarked on publishing an etymological dictionary in 1861 that was to embrace the settlement names of Hungary and Transylvania, but his venture soon stranded at the letter B.<sup>134</sup> Although he did not apply a critical lens, this is exactly what makes his series a precious source on pre-scientific etymological thinking in Hungarian, since he presented the divergent opinions circulating about the origins of the various place names side by side; anecdotal etymologies together with speculations based on root theory and derivations from oriental languages.

The Magyar elite's unmediated access to German learning helped the spread of new ideas about place names as historical sources. Arguably the key figure of Hungarian toponymic scholarship in these decades, Frigyes Pesty, who had emerged from the German cultural milieu of Temeswar, echoed many of these ideas in a programme article from 1857. Still unimpressed by the power of folk etymology, he argued that the transparent meaning of a place name marked out the language in which it had been formed, since common people rarely translated place names for their own use. Pesty did not hide that

<sup>132</sup> *Új Magyar Múzeum*, 1853, 92 and 83–4; quoted by Attila Szabó T., 'A magyar helynévkutatás a XIX. században' [Hungarian toponymic research in the nineteenth century], in *Az Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet évkönyve 1943*, vol. 1, 189 (Kolozsvár: Minerva, 1944), 189.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 201–4.

<sup>134</sup> Sándor Résző Ensel, Jun., *A helynevek magyarázója* [Interpreter of place names], 4 vols (Pest: self-published, 1861–93).

besides the testimony that place names could give on the linguistic history of Hungarian, he also had another axe to grind with investigating their histories. If Révész, a man from the Grand Plain, was keen to acknowledge the (supposedly not very numerous) place names of non-Hungarian origin that he might find around Debrecen, the Banat-based Pesty contended that tracing back the region's place names to their original forms would prove that the local population had overwhelmingly spoke Hungarian prior to the Ottoman conquest:

We could demonstrate the erstwhile purely Magyar character of the Banat of Temesvár even if all the historical records, all the relevant deeds would have perished—on the basis of place names. Many such place names have preserved a pure Hungarian stamp, even though the inhabitants of the respective places now speak foreign tongues, whereas others have a mere secondary status, and even more are hiding in a disguise so that their nationality can be revealed only under investigation, especially if they have been isolated from the Magyar element for a longer period.<sup>135</sup>

After the place names had been appropriated by the languages of the new inhabitants, these had remodelled them according to their own sound patterns. The break of vowel harmony, for instance, had made originally Hungarian place names sound alien to Hungarian ears, but this circumstance constituted no more than an illusory veneer, as even a simple historical inquiry could reveal:

The names *Temes*, *Duna*, *Esztergam*, *Pozsony*, *Balaton*, *Perjámos* sound Hungarian, but they have no proper Hungarian meaning, and were transformed by our ancestors from Roman and Oriental designations. In the same fashion, *Szakul*, *Facsed*, *Illok*, *Bukovec*, *Bikis*, *Varadia*, *Bessenova*, *Tovatnik*, *Fikatar* etc. exhibit partly Wallachian, partly Slavic colouring, although it can be shown that these names were originally Hungarian and were distorted afterwards.<sup>136</sup>

The Hunfalvy brothers would later refine the model laid out here, it nevertheless already presented the basic ingredients of Magyars' later preoccupations with their lost toponymy. In keeping with the international vanguard of scholarship, Magyars moored their etymologies of settlement and other major place names to the comparative study of historical documents, and they made a case for state nationalism out of the medieval

<sup>135</sup> Frigyes Pesty, 'Magyar helynevek' [Hungarian place names], *Magyar Sajtó* 26 October 1857.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

Hungarian nomenclature on the peripheries. Accordingly, they focussed their toponymic research on the Hungarian Middle Ages, witness the representative handbooks emerging from this research agenda, the two-volume ‘Historical hydrography of Hungary until the late thirteenth century’ by the similarly Banat-based Tivadar Ortway<sup>137</sup> and the five-volume ‘Historical geography of Hungary in the age of the Hunyadis’ by Dezső Csánki, the first volume of which only indicated the earliest attested forms.<sup>138</sup>

In 1892, Lazăr Șăineanu characterised the subject area of Romanian toponymy as a ‘vast field of fantastic conjectures, where everyone feels indebted to voice their opinions instead of putting their hands to collecting the very materials’.<sup>139</sup> In so far as that was really the case, it had special reasons regarding the lands west of the Carpathians. As I have just shown, the publication of historical source editions was making great strides in Hungary. Since medieval documents were drafted in Latin and they sometimes also referred to settlements by Latin names, some of their data on historical toponymy could with some imagination be interpreted as to fit even Latinists’ expectations. For Nestor Șimon, for example, the names *Latina Superior* and *Inferior*, mentioned in a document from 1488, proved the earlier local presence of Romanians, although the two villages had Saxon populations at the time that the document was issued.<sup>140</sup> On the whole, however, transparently Romanian settlement names became fewer and Hungarian ones even more frequent in the records going back in time, and many names that were opaque in the present had transparent Hungarian forms in the past. This was an alarming development for the historical vision of Romanian nationalists, even if the majority of settlement names from any historical period and in any language likely remained impenetrable for

137 Tivadar Ortway, *Magyarország régi vízrajza a XIII-dik század végéig* [The historical hydrography of Hungary until the late thirteenth century] 2 vols (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1882).

138 Dezső Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [The historical geography of Hungary in the age of the Hunyadis], 5 vols (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1890–1913).

139 Lazăr Șăineanu, *Istoria filologiei române: studii critice* [The history of Romanian philology: critical studies] (Bucharest: Socec, 1892), 316.

140 The first attested forms of the two names are *inferiori Waldorf* (1295) and *Waldorf Superiori* or *villa Latina* (1332–6). The names might refer to Walloon or in any case Romance-speaking settlers, but they may have been simply transferred by the Saxons from their earlier location.

contemporary eyes. Moreover, the question also had another side to it: why did medieval documents not mention the majority of villages with transparently Romanian names, which should have existed since Roman times?

Faced with such felt historical injustice, Romanian intellectuals grew distrustful of historical records arising from medieval Hungarian chancelleries. In the 1860s, some developed the idea that the supposed original, Latin/Romanian place names, or at least the majority of them, had in the Middle Ages fallen prey to a nationalising Hungarian state, which was said to have replaced them by force with new, Hungarian ones: ‘thousands of pure Romanian names disappeared without a trace’, Bariț estimated.<sup>141</sup> It also followed from the logic of the story that Magyars had managed to force their invented names on the native Romanian population, since the old names had disappeared without a trace. This story was meant to pre-emptively rule out that Romanian readers take the scarcity of Romanian linguistic forms from the early period as evidence for anything other than Magyar violence and the millennial subjugation of Romanians. The popularity of the story grew as the nationalising Hungarian state that it projected back into the distant past in fact took shape in the present, as the Magyarisation of place names actually began and perhaps as intellectuals learned about the new canons of comparative-historical linguistics and began to distrust Latinist etymologies.

The medieval replacement of Romance place names finally became an all-purpose trump card that could combine with various other *topoi*. Romanian authors often toned down its specifically Magyarophobic implications, and claimed that dominant state nations had always and everywhere reshuffled the toponymy of the lands they had conquered. This thesis also generalised the implicit denial of the applicability of critical philological methods to place names. In this view, the historical written forms of place names do not mirror contemporary spoken usage, but only attest to national power rela-

<sup>141</sup> Bariț, *Despre numele proprie*, 1.

tions. To substantiate this argument, Cipariu quoted the case of a place that he thought had been indisputably Romanian-speaking throughout its history. He recalled that a deed issued by the Hungarian king Sigismund of Luxemburg in the early fifteenth century, which he had the chance to study in 1849, allegedly mentioned the Wallachian town Câmpulung by the semantically equivalent Hungarian form *Huzmezeu*. Moreover, he added, the same town later also figured under the Slavic name *Dlagompoli* in an Old Slavonic print from 1642. All this, appealed Cipariu to the a priori beliefs of his readers, happened over the heads of the locals, who must have referred to their town by its Romanian name as *Câmpulung* all the time.<sup>142</sup>

In perhaps the most serendipitous use of this idea, Nestor Țimon deployed it to assert the possibility that Dacia had been completely Latinised during the one hundred and seventy years of Roman rule, a necessary condition of Roman—Romanian continuity that foreign scholars often called into question. If Magyars were able to transform the physiognomy of the province in such a brief period after their conquest, why not also the Romans before them?

Anybody can form an idea about the mechanism of Magyarisation just by recalling the countless names that occur in old documents, where all the earlier names had been completely wiped out and replaced by Hungarian ones or had been so much disfigured that their origin has become hardly, if at all, recognizable. The Dacian nomenclatures had been also wiped out, with Latin ones occupying their place.<sup>143</sup>

The story about the medieval Magyarisation of place names co-existed with the opposite vision, which regarded the extant Romanian place names as the true ones and Ro-

142 Timotei Cipariu, *Archivul pentru filologia și istoria* 22 (1869): 429. In reality, the first princely seat of Wallachia was also a bustling trading town with well-established Hungarian, German and even Italian names (*Langerau*, *Campolongo*), whose Transylvanian Saxon community matched the Romanian population in size in King Sigismund's time. Obviously, contemporary Romanian scribes did not anticipate Cipariu's nineteenth-century underlying beliefs about the ethnic economy of names; Old Slavic and later Romanian documents regularly referred to Saxons living in Wallachia and Moldavia, as well as to the places that they named, by Hungarian translated forms. Thus a person who was called Paul Dick in German appeared in Cyrillic texts as Paul Kever (Hun. *kövér* 'fat'). Laurențiu Rădvan, *At Europe's Borders: Medieval Towns in the Romanian Principalities*, trans. Valentin Cîrdei (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 264–71 and Binder, *Közös múltunk*, 94. None of this, it should be stressed, reveals much about how places settled and named by Romanians were mentioned in medieval Hungary. On a side note, the thirteen volumes that have been published so far from the ongoing project 'Diplomatarium of the Sigismundian era' contain no document by Sigismund dated from Câmpulung in Wallachia, but several that he issued in the five villages under the name Hosszúmező in Belső-Szolnok, Kraszna, Máramaros, Ung and Zemplén Counties of Hungary; Elemér Mályusz, Iván Borsa, Norbert C. Tóth and Bálint Lakatos, eds, *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* [Diplomatarium of the Sigismundian era], 13 vols (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1951–2013).

143 Țimon, *Dicționar toponimic*, 218.



manian peasants as the keepers of these true names. This ethnocentric cliché has been certainly more widespread across national movements than its pessimistic counterpart, and had its foundations in the pre-modern imaginary. Its Romanian version, however, could flourish more freely before the new philology and the concurrent demise of Latinism began to compromise Latin etymologies. The typical form that this argument took can be illustrated with the following passage from a review by Alexandru Roman, then professor of Romanian at the Budapest University:

‘This map, apart from its impeccable design, which gives credit to the Bucharest lithographic institute that executed it, also has the advantage that it indicates the Romanian, that is, the true names of Transylvanian localities, which the Magyars have mangled beyond recognition, the traditional names as they are known not only to Romanians, who make up the immense majority in Transylvania, but also to the strangers who live there.’<sup>144</sup>

Although the two perceptions ultimately contradicted each other, they shared the motive of Magyars as an eternally lurking threat and as ingrained assimilationists, and to some degree, the two could even blend with each other. This happened, for example, when a small number of proposed etymologies were foregrounded as of decisive importance, implying that the names under discussion were the fortunate few that escaped from being Magyarised in the Middle Ages.

This belief in the systematic replacement of an otherwise non-attested Romance toponymy by an assimilationist medieval state machinery ran counter to the scientific method’s ultimate reliance on the available data, not to mention Occam’s razor. Such large-scale replacement of toponyms without a concurrent resettlement of the population would have also been unprecedented in European history. The scientifically up-to-date Romanian contributors to the grand debate therefore did not place much emphasis on this theme, even if it lingered at the back of their minds. They rather tried to fend off the toponymic arguments deployed in support of Magyar priority by appropriating the Slavic

<sup>144</sup> Alexandru Roman, in *Familia* 1877, nr. 3, p. 35.

toponymy for Romanian and by minimising the amount and importance of place names of Hungarian origin.

#### **4.1.4. A Transylvanian Saxon Perspective**

In a book-length study, the Transylvanian Saxon Johann Wolff embarked on tracing back all first elements of German compound settlement names from the former Saxon Land and ending in *-dorf*, *-heim*, *-weiler*, *-hausen* or *-stadt* to well-documented German etymons. Considering that the majority of these German names were cognates of the corresponding Romanian and Hungarian ones, his apparent success can serve as a cautionary tale about the freedom of interpretation left open by the new philological methods and about the elusiveness of the toponymic material.<sup>145</sup> Johann Wolff worked as the director of the Saxon low gymnasium in Sebeș, as the editor of *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereines für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, and (under the pseudonym Karl Ludolf) was the author of a political pamphlet denouncing the Magyarisation of official life in the former Saxon Land.<sup>146</sup> The scope of his study was more modest than the totalising Magyar and Romanian narratives, but it should not go unmentioned that his undertaking had a similarly powerful underlying story of ethno-demographic decay; the Saxon Land, in the form as it was abolished in 1876, already had a Romanian ethno-linguistic majority by that time, not to mention that Saxon settlements had extended over a much larger area in the Middle Ages. The shrinkage of the Saxon population had been followed by the erasure of their onomastic footprints, Wolff argued, and for recovering the original names, one often needed to proceed through confronting rather different written forms:

The German names went here and there. The national colour little by little bleached out, new, foreign sounds intermingled. The German designation was adapted by small additions,

<sup>145</sup> Johann Wolff, 'Deutsche Ortsnamen in Siebenbürgen', in *Programm des evangelischen Unter-Gymnasiums und der damit verbundenen Lehranstalten in Mühlbach (Siebenbürgen) für das Schuljahr 1878/9*, 3–48 and 1879/80, 3–36 (Hermannstadt: Krafft, 1879 and 1880) and 'Deutsche Dorf- und Stadtnamen in Siebenbürgen', in *Programm des vierklassigen evangelischen Gymnasiums und der damit verbundenen Elementarschule in Mühlbach (Siebenbürgen) für das Schuljahr 1880/81*, 3–30 and 1890/91, 3–31 (Hermannstadt: Krafft, 1881 and 1891).

<sup>146</sup> *Der Sprachen- und Völkerkampf in Ungarn: ein Bericht- und Mahnwort an das deutsche Volk* (Leipzig: Mutze, 1882).

by detachment of uncomfortable elements, by the displacement of the accent, here according to the Hungarian, there to the Romanian idiom.<sup>147</sup>

Although Wolff began both instalments of his survey with the proviso that the long intermixing of peoples and languages in Transylvania, which would drive crazy the most cautious onomasiologist, sometimes made it impossible to answer the question of priority, he finally managed to present the land as a virtual onomastic blank slate at the time of the Saxon settlement in the twelfth—thirteenth centuries, only with a scattering of Slavic place names. Although it is certain that compound place names with generic German final elements are indeed likely to have German personal names in the initial position, Wolff's Magyar and Romanian colleagues would have still explained as folk etymological formations many of the forms that he analysed as originating in German. Wherever Saxons were supposed to have lived in the distant past, he drew a line at the earliest forms that he could explain on the basis of German, and interpreted any meaningful non-German variant as folk etymology. By that time, German onomastic works supplied place-name etymologists with such a closely-knit interpretive mesh that very few of Wolff's name-initial elements fell through its loops without being identified as Middle German forms of a personal name, sometimes more than one.

Despite its geographical and formal limitations, Wolff's was the single most extensive contemporary attempt at a systematic etymological research of Transylvanian place names. If it is hard to find fault with his reconstructions on a purely formal ground, that is due to the comprehensive scholarly apparatus that he closely followed in his work. Only rarely did he run into such more entangled problems that ultimately laid bare the dubious nature of his presuppositions, which almost excluded non-German etymologies. This was notably the case with *\*Bärendorf*, his reconstructed medieval German name for

<sup>147</sup> 'Die deutschen Namen gingen hinüber und herüber; das nationale Kolorit wurde allgemach matter, neue, fremde Töne mischten sich ein. Die deutsche Benennung wurde durch kleine Zusätze, durch Ablösung unbequemer Glieder, durch Verlegung des Accentes hier dem magyarischen, dort dem rumänischen Idiome angepasst.' Wolff, *Deutsche Ortsnamen in Siebenbürgen* (1879), 7.

an erstwhile Saxon village in the Brooser Stuhl, repopulated by Romanians in the late fifteenth or the early sixteenth century.<sup>148</sup> For the reconstruction of this name, Wolff took two attested written forms as his starting point: *Byrni* and *Beerdorf*. And yet *Beren*, a third form of the name mentioned at its earliest occurrence in 1332, had some twenty close parallels throughout medieval Hungary, and mostly without German residents.<sup>149</sup> To insinuate, as Wolff did, that all these place names went back to German *Bär* ‘bear’ seems a rather hollow argument, much as it would have been to deny any connection between the *Beren* at issue and the rest.<sup>150</sup>

Wolff’s second contribution to the historical toponymy of Transylvania, this time about hydronyms, is neatly inferior to his first one.<sup>151</sup> Nevertheless, it presents interest on a different score, for dusting off the humanist thesis about Transylvanian Saxons’ partial Gothic origins. As chronological reasons precluded Germanic attribution for the names of the largest rivers, Wolff grasped at the largest one that had not appeared in ancient sources, to claim both its two names, the Turkic—Hungarian *Küküllő* and the Slavic—Romanian *Târnava*, for German.<sup>152</sup> Expanding upon Rösler’s idea, he argued that medieval *Kukul* was none else but the first element in *Caucaland*, the name of Goths’ fourth-century homeland, itself derived from a Germanic root *kuk/kok* ‘living, flowing’.<sup>153</sup> Since medieval sources consistently added the generic *fluvius* to *Kukul*, Wolff speculated that the full original name must have been *\*Kukulbach*, or better still, a Gothic *\*Kukulaha*. Regarding Romanian *Târnava*, he related the eminently Slavic *Drenowa*, the form in which it appeared in 1438, to a Sanskrit root *drâ-* ‘to run, to rush’, whereby this second name supposedly also assumed an honorary Germanic character. As for the rest, Wolff concluded with satisfaction that *Alt*, the German name of the Olt

148 Draskóczy.

149 The name likely goes back to a Turkic etymon and is thought to have originated as the name of a Kabar clan.

150 Wolff, *Deutsche Ortsnamen in Siebenbürgen* (1879), 19–20.

151 *Idem*, ‘Zur Etymologie siebenbürgischer Fluss- und Bachnamen’, *Archiv des Vereines für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, new series 17 (1883): 487–525.

152 The Transylvanian Saxon name of the river is *Kokel*.

153 Roesler, *Romänische Studien*, 72.

River, if it cannot be the original one, at least stands closer to the ancient form, *Aluta*, than its Hungarian and Romanian equivalents.

As the editor of *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereines für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Wolff also gave space to the Straßburg/Strasbourg professor Matthias Fuss's paper on parallels of Transylvanian Saxon place names in the Rhineland.<sup>154</sup> This modest study, the initiative of which was later taken up and much expanded upon by the Transylvanian linguist Gustav Kisch, hinged on the search for the Transylvanian Saxon *Urheimat*, which became one of the Transylvanian Saxon elite's intellectual predilections during the nineteenth century.<sup>155</sup> To be sure, pinpointing toponymic parallels on the map between Transylvania and the region of the Rhine and the Mosel/Moselle was an a posteriori exercise if there ever was one; there is no hint that anyone made a similar comparison with another German region as a control study. For one thing, it brought Transylvanian Saxons another piece of evidence that their ancestors had come from the north-western German areas, an important token of their belonging to Germandom. Moreover, the place names allegedly transferred from their earlier homeland also proved that their ancestors had named their new environment based on their own resources and that they did not need to rely on previous, non-German place names.

#### **4.1.5. The Vision of Magyar Historical Priority**

The thesis of ethnic continuity in Transylvania since the second century AD not only provided a case for Romanian irredentism, but it served as the fulcrum for the whole narrative construction of Romanian nationalism. Recanting belief in it was the ultimate thou-shalt-not both in Romania and in the Romanian society of Hungary. Romanian academics integrated new counterarguments into a reshaped, high-brow version of the story,

<sup>154</sup> M. Fuss, 'Rheinische Verwandte der siebenbürgisch-deutschen Ortsnamen', *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereines für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 4 (1881): 52–4 and 115–17.

<sup>155</sup> On Transylvanian Saxons' contemporary fascination with the Rhineland and with Luxemburg in particular, Jenő Nagy, *Néprajzi és nyelvjárási tanulmányok* [Studies in ethnography and dialectology] (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1984), 213–32.

which commanded such high prestige and the Romanian civil society exerted such moral pressure on public utterances in its defence that even the political *enfant terrible* Ioan Nădejde, who had by that time been already removed from the faculty of the university of Iași for his socialism, outwardly dissociated himself from Rösler's ideas at the head of a review in which he in fact espoused those very same ideas and attacked Xenopol as a linguistic charlatan.<sup>156</sup> The Magyar academia had similarly closed ranks by the turn of the century, after they recognised the utility of Rösler and Hunfalvy's story as a weapon against anti-state Romanian nationalism. For a long time, the reputation that the Anonymous had traditionally enjoyed prevented full agreement between Magyar historians, but those who condemned Rösler and Hunfalvy for questioning the veracity of the Anonymous remained silent on early Romanians, although their stand in the first question would have apparently implied taking a position in the latter, too.

It was the publication of Robert Rösler's studies around the year of the Compromise that first stirred up the waters, but the debate only flared up after the Austrian scholar had already died in 1874. It reached its highest pitch in the 1880s, and although it simmered down for a while after the turn of the century, neither party retracted from their positions. A chronological list of the books and more important papers published in western languages that upheld one of the two antagonistic views about Romanian ethnogenesis can serve as a gauge for the changing intensity of the debate. Some of these were translations from Romanian and Hungarian, others original works in German. The list should not be seen as a representative corpus; whilst the latter category of contributions often added little to the existing arguments, some important texts, like many of Hașdeu's studies,

<sup>156</sup> Ioan Nădejde, 'Istoria rominilor (Vol. I) de dl. A. D. Xenopol', [The History of Romanians, vol. 1, by A. D. Xenopol], *Contemporanul* 6 (1887/8): 317–18. Cf. idem, 'Teoria lui Roesler: Studii asupra stăruinței Românilor în Dacia Traiană de A. D. Xenopol' [Rösler's theory: studies on Romanians' persistence in Dacia Traiana by A. D. Xenopol], *Contemporanul* 4 (1884/5): 108–14, 148–54, 199–4, 250–9, 340–51, 427–39, 497–501, 546–50 and 605–12 and 'O socoteală cu dl. Onciul' [Settling affairs with Mr. Onciul], *Contemporanul* 5 (1886/7): 279–86, 310–20 and 447–51.

were not translated into major languages, and the European scholarly community only knew about them from reviews.

**Table 4.3. The timeline of additions to the debate in Western languages**  
(arguing for M: Magyar or R: Romanian priority)

Robert Rösler	<i>Dacier und Rumänen</i>	1866	M
idem	<i>Die Anfänge des walachischen Fürstenthums</i>	1867	M
idem	<i>Romänische Studien</i>	1871	M
Julius Jung	<i>Römer und Romanen in den Donauland</i>	1877	R
Pál Hunfalvy	<i>Ethnographie von Ungarn</i>	1877	M
Jos. Lad. Pič	<i>Über die Abstammung der Rumänen</i>	1880	R
Pál Hunfalvy	<i>Die Ungern oder Magyaren</i>	1881	M
idem	<i>Die Rumänen und ihre Ansprüche</i>	1883	M
Vasile Maniu	<i>Zur Geschichtsforschung über die Rumänen</i>	1884	R
Xenopol	<i>Une Enigme historique</i>	1885	R
Pál Hunfalvy	<i>Neuere Erscheinungen der rumänische Geschichtsschreibung</i>	1886	M
Dimitrie Onciul	<i>Zur rumänische Streitfrage</i>	1887	R
Traugott Tamm	<i>Über den Ursprung der Rumänen</i>	1891	R
Xenopol	<i>Histoire des roumains de la Dacie trajane</i>	1896	R
Emil Fischer	<i>Die Herkunft der Rumänen</i>	1904	M

Before Pál Hunfalvy endorsed Rösler's arguments in the first years of the Dualist Era, the idea that the ancestors of Romanians had originally lived in Moesia and had only begun to settle in Transylvania and in Hungary in the Middle Ages, thus perhaps subsequent to the pagan Magyars, was not terribly popular in the Magyar elite, in any case certainly not the mainstream view.<sup>157</sup> Until that time, there were also few Magyars among the scholars who publicly formulated some version of this view: from the most prominent ones, Joseph Karl Eder (1761–1810) was a Roman Catholic priest from Kronstadt, of half-Austrian origin, Franz Joseph Sulzer (1727–91) a Badenese immigrant to Transylvania, Johann Christian von Engel (1770–1814) a Zipser from Upper Hungary<sup>158</sup>

<sup>157</sup> Melinda Mitu and Sorin Mitu, *Ungurii despre românii: Nașterea unei imagini etnice* [Hungarians about Romanians: the birth of an ethnic image] (Iași: Polirom, 2014), 58–79.

<sup>158</sup> Franz Sartori, *Historisch-ethnographische Übersicht der wissenschaftlichen Cultur, Geistesthätigkeit und Literatur des österreichischen Kaiserthums nach seinen mannigfaltigen Sprachen und deren Bildungsstufen* (Vienna: Gerold, 1830), 151–5.

and Sava Tököly Popović (1761–1842) a Hungarian Serb.<sup>159</sup> But in fact, the real point of interest for these authors as for their contemporaries was not so much where the ancestors of Romanians had lived, but rather whether they had really been the unmixed offspring of Romans, as Romanian Greek Catholic priests and liberal professionals proclaimed, or whether they had been Latinised Slavs or Thracians. Notably, the many who did not contest the belief that Romanians had arisen from Transylvania, but attributed partly or entirely Slavic or Thracian roots to them provoked the same violent reactions from the early militants of Romanian national ideology as the aforementioned figures, fuelling their urge to make Romanian language sound and look more Latin.

There were two intertwined reasons to Magyars' rather lukewarm reception of theories about Romanians' Balkan origins during the Enlightenment and the Romantic periods. The first of these two reasons was the chronicle (*gesta*) of the Anonymous, first published in 1746 and revered as the earliest narrative source on Hungarian history.<sup>160</sup> It recounted pagan Magyars' conquest of what would become the Kingdom of Hungary through a series of glorious victories over various earlier rulers of local statelets. Pandering to the vanity of the Hungarian nobility, it soon became the authoritative scripture of noble Hungarian pre-nationalism, which would serve as a pre-text for a fully-fledged Magyar/Hungarian nationalism in the nineteenth century. Now the text identifies Gelou, one of the leaders whom pagan Magyars defeated in this chain of stories and whose dominion is placed at the borderlands between Transylvania and Hungary, as the duke (*dux*) of the Vlachs.<sup>161</sup> In that way, it was the very authority of the medieval chronicle that offered the most detailed account of the Magyar conquest that guaranteed to mem-

159 S[ava] T[ököly], *Erweiß, Daß die Walachen nicht römischer Abkunft sind und dies nicht aus ihrer italienisch-slavisches Sprache folgt* (Pesth: Eggenberger, 1827).

160 On the history of research and scholarly debates on the chronicle of the Anonymous, in particular on its dating, see Csaba Csapodi, *Az Anonymus-kérdés története* [History of the Anonymous question] (Budapest: Magvető, 1978) and Gábor Thoroczkay, 'Az Anonymus-kérdés kutatástörténeti áttekintése (1977–1993)' [Overview of the research history of the Anonymous question], *Fons* 1 (1994): 93–149 and 2 (1995): 117–73.

161 Anonymus, *The deeds of the Hungarians*, 62–5.



bers of the literate elite that the ancestors of Romanians, or at least a good part of them, had already lived in the land at the time when the Magyar tribes arrived.<sup>162</sup>

The Hungarian-speaking nobility liked to trace their ancestries back to the *gesta*'s grim 'Scythian' horsemen, and they saw the forefathers of Hungary's non-Hungarian-speaking peoples in the locals defeated by them. The conquest of the hitherto politically fragmented land and its subsequent integration into a viable state, the material of the Anonymus, were taken as the first in a succession of military feats and political achievements from which the nobility drew its legitimacy, although previously not specifically against the non-Magyar populace. Nineteenth-century nationalist discourses transferred the privileges and cultural codes that earlier belonged to the nobility to the larger community of Hungarian-speakers, who were also increasingly identified with the erstwhile conquerors of the country. And while the 'Magyar element' became the symbolic beneficiaries of the right of conquest, the equation made little sense unless the role of the defeated was also fulfilled. This can be seen as the second reason why the idea of Romanians' ethnic continuity inside the Carpathians was not a real stumbling block for Magyar writers, at least until the Romanian Irredenta lent it a new and ominous significance.

The steadfastness of Magyar authors' clinging to the story of the Anonymus about Gelou, duke of the Vlachs, becomes especially tangible when they tried to reconcile it with the information of various ancient historians that the Romans had evacuated Dacia in the second half of the third century, as did Sándor Aranyosrákosi Székely,<sup>163</sup> or more often with their own first-hand or indirect knowledge about Romanian demographic expansion in the immediate or distant past. Looking for the truth in the middle, József Benkő had presented a version of the story that, linguistic arguments aside, could have also

162 On the question of the Anonymus as a chronicler of tenth-century Transylvania, see Dennis Deletant, 'Ethnos and Mythos in the History of Transylvania: the case of the chronicler Anonymus', in *Historians and the History of Transylvania*, ed. László Péter, 67–85 (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 1992).

163 Sándor aranyos-rákosi Székely, *Erdélyország történetei hiteles kútjából* [The histories of Transylvania from authentic sources] (Kolo'svárt: Kir. Lyceum', 1845), 22–3.

satisfied many Magyar historians who stuck to the truth of the Anonymous in the late nineteenth century, but which was conspicuously missing from the Hungarian historiography of the era. Part of Transylvania's Vlachs, Benkő contended, arose from the Roman settlers who did not leave the province at its evacuation. But it would be a mistake to think that all of them were of this stock, he continued, since many Vlachs had come in later times from the former Roman colonies more to the South.<sup>164</sup>

Since the chronicle of the Anonymous was regarded as a chief pillar at once for the thesis of Romance continuity in Transylvania and Eastern Hungary and for the traditional narrative about the early history of Magyars, also including their Hunnic connections, one could hardly challenge its testimony in one question without also putting the other at risk. Therefore it should not be seen as a contradiction that the two men who rephrased the idea of Romanians' medieval immigration from the Balkans and created the vision of Magyar historical priority had a track record of puncturing the cherished myths of educated Magyars. By the time of his first studies on Romanians, Robert Rösler had already disclaimed the authority of the Anonymous as an historical source for the time of the Hungarian conquest in his 1860 study *Zur Kritik älterer ungarischer Geschichte*.<sup>165</sup> Hunfalvy, on his part, had attacked Czuczor and Fogarasi in the 1850s for their embracement of the outdated root theory in the etymological explanations of their dictionary, then still in manuscript and eagerly anticipated by the general public. While laying out his views on early Romanians and on the early history of Transylvania, he also led the less popular 'Ugric' party in the so-called 'Ugro—Turkic War', waged over the genealogy of Hungarian. Indeed, the two subjects appeared side by side in some of his works, and the same

164 Iosepho Benkő, *Transsilvania: Sive Magnus Transsilvaniae Principatus; Olim Dacia Mediterranea Dictus; Orbi Nondum Satis Cognitus* (Vienna: Kurtzbök, 1778), 477.

165 Károly Szabó, 'Béla király névtelen jegyzője és német bírálói' [King Béla's anonymous chronicler and his German critics], *Budapesti Szemle* 11 (1860): 185–7 and József Thúry, 'Krónikáink és a nemzeti hagyomány' [Our chronicles and the national tradition], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 7 (1897): 277.

*Ethnographie von Ungarn* that outraged Romanian nationalists was in his time at least as controversial for his views on Magyar ethnogenesis.<sup>166</sup>

As far as the question of Magyar priority was concerned, however, the Ugric or Turkic heritage of Hungarian bore no importance. The new vision turned on invalidating the role that historical narratives had until then usually assigned to early Romanians (Vlachs) as the descendants of Roman colonists and on removing them from the history of medieval Hungary before the thirteenth century. This operation was based on several bundles of arguments, and the late emergence of Romanian toponyms was but one of these. As opposed to earlier attacks on the thesis of Romance-speaking continuity in the lands of ancient Dacia, the new generation of authors could make use of the results of comparative-historical philology—the description of the Balkan linguistic area (the *Balkan Sprachbund*) by Miklošič/Miklosich, the common ground between the Albanian and the Romanian lexicons and the existence of an early layer of Greek loanwords in Romanian—and they integrated them with historical arguments, like the Roman evacuation of Dacia in the late third century, medieval narrative sources about the once more significant Romance-speaking presence in the Balkans and the infrequent, but continuously increasing references to Vlachs in medieval Hungarian documents, who were also often mentioned as new settlers. (The first occurrence of Vlachs—‘Blacorum’—as dwellers of a region of Hungary, the Land of Fogaras, dates from 1222, but the text gives no further information about the people in question.)

In the prologue to his work, the Anonymous identified himself as ‘notary of the late most glorious Béla, king of Hungary’,<sup>167</sup> and he revealed little more about himself in the following. This much is insufficient even to locate him in time, since on this basis, he could theoretically work as a notary for any of the four Hungarian kings called Béla and

166 Péter Domokos and Attila Paládi-Kovács, *Hunfahvy Pál* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1986).

167 Anonymus, *The deeds of the Hungarians*, 2–3.

could write his chronicle anywhere between 1063, the year when Béla I died, and the late thirteenth century. Internal arguments from the text itself make dating in the eleventh or the late thirteenth century highly problematic, but there were still serious partisans of both views at the time of the Compromise. An early dating was obviously better fitted for an interpretation that accepted his narrative as genuine history based on oral traditions, whereas a revisionist point of view, which saw the man of *belles lettres* in him, who cared more about entertainment than accuracy and who mostly used toponyms as clues for recounting the deeds of the conquering Magyars, could gain coherence by distancing him the furthest in time from his subject matter. Some Magyar defenders of a time-honoured historical vision thus concurred with the Romanian university professor Xenopol in insisting that the chronicler had worked in the eleventh century, whereas Rösler had him writing his gesta after the death of Béla IV in the late thirteenth.<sup>168</sup>

In his *Romänische Studien* from 1871, Rösler used toponymic evidence in several ways to reason against the possibility of Romance-speaking continuity in Transylvania. First, none of the Roman place names in Dacia known from historical sources had survived in folk usage. Second, all contemporary towns bore Hungarian names. And finally, if Saxon colonists would have encountered Latin or Romanian settlement names when they arrived in Transylvania in the thirteenth century, why did not they take over a single one of them? Rösler's answer concurred with the rest of his arguments concluding that Romanian-speakers had been relative newcomers to Transylvania at that point, unlike Slavs, whose toponymic heritage was evident throughout the land and starting with an early period.<sup>169</sup> Rösler introduced an ambiguity into his second point, rather due to his poor geography than as a result of deliberate calculation. As he used the German word *Stadt*, his claim referred to urban centres, none of which had taken its name from Ro-

<sup>168</sup> Csapodi, *passim* and Roesler, *Romänische Studien*, 208–17.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 129–31.

manian. However, he quoted several names of Hungarian origin as counterexamples that in fact designated villages. This ambiguity offered a vulnerable point of attack to his adversaries, and in his *Une Enigme historique*, Xenopol did not fail to cite two dozen village names from Transylvania that he claimed were partly of Romanian, partly of Slavic origin, but in any case Romanian in their forms, and some of them semantically opaque and therefore putatively very old.<sup>170</sup>

In *Romänische Studien*, Rösler also reacted to two Latinist etymologies that had been brought up against him earlier, those of *Sabiiu* and *Mercurea*, the Romanian names of Hermannstadt and Reußmarkt, spelt in the Latinate, ‘etymological’ fashion. Rösler pointed out that the two proposed Latin forms, *Sabinum* and *Mercurium*, lacked documentary support. In the first case, he began by showing that the /a/ spelling of the name was the product of the same etymology that it was meant to bolster; vernacular pronunciation as well as earlier renderings in Cyrillic had [i] in its place. Something that seemed just normal to Rösler, considering that the name likely descended from a Slavic hydronym *Cibin*, which survived in German as the name of the local stream. Hungarian *Szeben*<sup>171</sup> and Turkish *Sebîne* had evolved from the same source, and Serbs even called the princes of Transylvania *sibinski vojvoda*. Regarding *Mercurea* (*Miercurea* in present-day spelling), it had nothing to do with the god Mercury, as an etymology from a Latin *\*Mercurium* wished to suggest, but it was rather a calque of the Hungarian name of the place, *Szerdahely*. Both *szerda* and *miercuri* (definite form: *miercurea*) mean ‘Wednesday’, which could originally refer to the day of the local market. Rösler’s solution for this latter case was purely deductive, in the sense that he did not cite any historical sources.<sup>172</sup>

170 A. D. Xenopol, *Une Enigme historique: Les Roumains au Moyen-Age* (Paris: Leroux, 1885), 150–1.

171 Rösler gives the erroneous form *Szebény*.

172 Rösler, *Romänische Studien*, 131–4. This notwithstanding, the Hungarian form appeared many centuries earlier in the sources than the Romanian one. The Latinist etymology was likely supported by the municipality’s earlier use of the Latin name *Mercurium*. In the nineteenth century, the inscription over the local market hall still read ‘Sig: Officii Sedis Mercuriensis’; Simon Acker, *Reußmarkt – wie es einmal war: Heimatbuch einer siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Gemeinde* (Munich: Siebenbürgisch-Sächsishe Stiftung, 1998), 251. Incidentally, both the German name of the place and the Latinising *Forum Ruthenorum* from 1334 refer to Ruthenian population.

It was demonstrably Rösler's work that gave Pál Hunfalvy the initial kick to turn to Romanian history and to the Romanian language, although in one way or another, he would have probably engaged with the topic anyway in his *Ethnographie von Ungarn* (1876 in the Hungarian original), a book providing a broad look at the ethnic history of Hungary's various peoples.<sup>173</sup> His first work dealing with Romanian ethnogenesis was a review of Rösler's and Miklošič/Miklosich's studies from 1867, and later in the same year, he published two further articles in Rösler's wake.<sup>174</sup> As an adherent of Hungarian's Turkic affiliation would caustically remark, it was only after reading Rösler that Hunfalvy rejected the chronicle of the Anonymous as a trustworthy source, whereas he had still referred to it approvingly in 1864.<sup>175</sup> Thereafter, Hunfalvy would also repeat the Austrian scholar's whole set of arguments in his writings about Romanians, supporting them with his unique Hungarian philological knowledge. He was heart and soul dedicated to comparative-historical methods, and he was also the first scholar with the necessary learning to make full use of them in unravelling the etymology of Hungarian place names.<sup>176</sup> Therefore, his improvement on Rösler's original scaffolding amounted to a lot in the field of toponymy.

In *Ethnographie von Ungarn* and *Die Ungern oder Magyaren* (1881), Hunfalvy examined the toponymy of contemporary Hungary as a whole. He found that the period of migrations represented a gap in continuity that did not spare any Roman settlement name, with the exception of *Segestica/Sisak* and *Sirmium/Srijem (Srem)* in Croatia.<sup>177</sup> The first linguistic group after the collapse of Roman rule who gave place names that were to persist were the Slavs. Conquering Magyars later adopted these Slavic names, but also named new places in Hungarian. Hunfalvy deemed it important to emphasise

173 Pál Hunfalvy, 'A rumun történetirásról' [About Rumanian historiography], *Budapesti Szemle* 43 (1885): 8.

174 Idem, 'A rumun nyelvről és népről' [On the Romanian language and people], *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 6 (1867): 125–48. Cf. idem, 'A "Siebenbürgen" országnévről, s az erdélyi helynevekről' [On the name 'Siebenbürgen' and the toponymy of Transylvania], *ibid.*, 214–220 and 'Az oláh fejedelemség kezdete' [The beginning of the Wallachian Principality], *ibid.*, 221–37.

175 Thúry, 275–6.

176 Szabó T., *A magyar helynévkutatás*, 227.

177 Paul Hunfalvy, *Die Ungern oder Magyaren* (Vienna: Prochaska, 1881), 104.

that the Slavic population was thin both in the plains and in Transylvania at the arrival of Magyars, which he probably thought to substantiate with the later ratios between Hungarian and Slavic toponymic formations.

He found a different situation with regard to hydronyms.<sup>178</sup> Everywhere in the Carpathian Basin, the pre-Roman names of the larger rivers had survived.<sup>179</sup> Early Magyars received these names via the Slavs, as can be shown through a comparison between the different name variants.<sup>180</sup> On the other hand, his familiarity with the methods of German toponymic research allowed Hunfalvy to trace back several semantically opaque hydronyms to archaic Hungarian forms. He explained *Nyárád* and *Homoród* as originating from the words *nyár* ‘poplar’ and *homoró* (standard *homorú*) ‘hollow’, suffixed with a once very productive *-d*. He also reconstructed the extinct morpheme *jó* ‘stream’, present in several Hungarian hydronyms, like *Berettyó* (*berek* ‘grove’ + *jó*) and *Sajó* (*sav* ‘sour’ or ‘salt’ + *jó*).<sup>181</sup> He was on much more tenuous ground, however, when he interpreted *Küküllő* on the same basis, as *\*kükül* ‘sloe’ + *jő*. Although he had convincingly shown on the example of the name *Hejő* that *jő*, the front vowel alternant of the morpheme motivated by Hungarian vowel harmony, had also been productive in Hungarian place naming,<sup>182</sup> nevertheless his solution for *Küküllő* was inadequate on two counts. In claiming that the name contained *kökény* ‘sloe’ as its first element, he was obviously influenced by the etymology of the Romanian name of the river, *Târnava*, derived from a Slavic stem with the somewhat similar meaning ‘thorn’. Yet not only was the hypothetical form *\*kü-*

178 An overview of the major hydronyms of the region from an etymological point of view can be found in Gottfried Schramm, *Eroberer und Eingessene: geographische Lehnennamen als Zeugen der Geschichte Südosteuropas im ersten Jahrtausend n. Chr.* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1981).

179 This concurs with the finding that river names have been the most stable toponyms all over Europe; Svante Strandberg, ‘River Names’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*, ed. Carole Hough (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 106 and Carsten Peust, ‘How Old Are the River Names of Europe?: A Glottochronological Approach’, *Linguistik Online* 70 (2015), no. 1, 185–218.

180 Hunfalvy, *Die Ungern oder Magyaren*, 104 and idem, *Ethnographie von Ungarn*, trans. J. H. Schwicker (Budapest: Franklin-Verein, 1877), 247 and 289.

181 *Ibid.*, 248–9 and Pál Hunfalvy, ‘Földirati és hely-nevek’ [Topographic and place names], *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 6 (1867): 350–8 and 361–5. The Old Hungarian stem form *sav* can be rendered more accurately as *saβ*, with a voiced bilabial fricative. The bilabial fricative later vocalised, resulting in *só* ‘salt’.

182 For a parallel, cf. the harmonic alternation in the suffix *-ság/-ség*, still productive today, which originated in a noun *ság* ~ *szág* ‘mound, hill’.

*kül* improbable in the light of the word's history, but the suggested *-lj-* > *-ll-* fusion could also hardly take place, taking into account that Old Hungarian had a palatal lateral liquid.<sup>183</sup> Both problems are of the sort that could hardly avoid Hunfalvy's attention.

Hunfalvy laid great stress on sprinkling his works specifically dealing with Romanians and the Romanian language with place names from medieval sources to indicate Magyars' historical priority, but strangely enough, he rarely helped his foreign readers by analysing these names to show that they had been actually formed in Hungarian.<sup>184</sup> Ultimately, he also had to accept that Romanian had been spoken in Transylvania by 1222 at the latest, but apart from asserting that Romanians had coalesced into a people in the Balkans and had later migrated northwards, he also made a point of interpreting his data as far as possible along a narrative of continuous Magyar ethnic decline and Romanian expansion throughout Transylvania and Eastern Hungary. He tended to imagine that this process had typically consisted in the assimilation of Hungarian-speakers into a Romanian mass, as shown by the comments he passed on a Lord's Prayer in Hungarian, jotted down by a Romanian priest from Central Transylvania in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century in Cyrillic and published by Haşdeu.<sup>185</sup> To generalise this scenario, he conjectured the early existence of a Hungarian-speaking peasant population over as large an area as possible. He refused to accept the presence of Romanians wherever a place name had been reported in a transparent Hungarian form, even if that was a hapax form contradicted by various other occurrences, and even if the place had no documented Catholic population. His nonchalance regarding the narrower historical-geographical contexts in such cases stood in curious contrast with his usual sense for historical detail.

<sup>183</sup> Hunfalvy, *Die Ungern*, 111. Cf. Schramm, 275.

<sup>184</sup> Hunfalvy, *A rumun nyelv* [The Rumanian language] (Budapest: Franklin-társulat, 1878); idem, *Die Rumänen und ihre Ansprüche* (Vienna: Prochaska, 1883); *Neuere Erscheinungen der rumänischen Geschichtsschreibung* (Vienna: Prochaska, 1886) and idem, *Az oláhok története* [The history of Romanians], 2 vols (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1894).

<sup>185</sup> Idem, *Az aranyos-széki mohácsi nyelvelmékek* [The language records from Măhaci/Mohács in Aranyosszék/Scaunul Arieş] (Budapest: Magyar Tud. Akadémia, 1890).



He perhaps went the furthest in this direction in a passage that was later often echoed by Magyar authors, in which he found the transparent Hungarian written form *Nyakmezew* ('neck field'), designating a field belonging to a village in the Hațeg Basin in a deed of gift from 1493, sufficient proof to regard as a folk etymology the name of the Romanian shepherding community Câmpu lui Neag ('Neag's field', *Neag* being a Romanian male name), on the other side of the Retezat Mountains.<sup>186</sup> Although the upper Jiu Valley, where Câmpu lui Neag is located, was only populated in the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries, and Câmpu lui Neag itself was first mentioned as an inhabited place in 1786, the two names are likely related even if *Nyakmezew* did not refer to the same location, since the settlement nomenclature of the Jiu Valley largely replicated that of the Hațeg Basin.<sup>187</sup> But the documented Romanian population of both the village to which the field belonged in 1493 and of the wider area suggest that it could be rather a Romanian *Câmpu lui Neag* or a related form that the document tried to render by the Hungarian *Nyakmezew*.<sup>188</sup> Faithful to his discipline's preference for documented forms, Hunfalvy attributed a medieval ethnic Hungarian origin to Câmpu lui Neag in the Jiu Valley, and this, together with the apparent lack of a war-inflicted destruction of the community in the intervening centuries, directed well-informed later visitors to look out for fairer complexions and for Hungarian-influenced family names as signs of the residents' Magyar origin.<sup>189</sup>

Several historical studies took up this narrative in the next decades and traced back the assimilation of Magyardom in particular areas throughout history, making heavy use of toponymic evidence.<sup>190</sup> The motive of historical Romanianisation was thereafter fore-

186 Idem, *Neuere Erscheinungen*, 123.

187 Constantin-Andrei Pană, 'Petroșani Depression: A Geographical-Historical and Toponymic study', *Review of Historical Geography and Toponomastics* 4 (2009), nos 7–8, 139–40.

188 Diplomatarium (the collection of medieval deeds at the Hungarian National Archives) no. 30.800, quoted by Géza Entz, *Erdély építészete a 14–16. században* [Transylvanian architecture in the 14–16<sup>th</sup> centuries] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1996), 374.

189 See p. 109.

190 Szabó T., *A magyar helynévkutatás*, 229–31.

grounded in the new Hungarian county and regional monographs, better documented and more systematic than their forerunners, and it also secured its place in the historical imagination of the Magyar elite. In fortunate cases, such arguments could profit from their authors' narrower framework and local knowledge as opposed to Hunfalvy's, but more often did the autonomous logic of their vision overwhelm their inferior critical faculties. They would sometimes even slip out of the bounds of their methods, what is more. Investigating the medieval toponymy of the erstwhile Krassó County, Tihamér Turchányi interpreted the first known name of a settlement located on county estates, *alsu Woyla*, as a clear sign that 'the occupants of this land could only be Magyars'.<sup>191</sup> But the second place name, put down as *Buke*, already baffled him, since he could not present this non-harmonic form as Hungarian. So he suddenly changed tactics and argued that the chancery record was unreliable.

In general, however, Magyar authors did not cast doubt on the accuracy of medieval data. Curiously, on the very same page where he questioned their reliability, Turchányi also asserted that the practice of medieval chancelleries necessarily reflected the vernacular forms, since they kept no registers to keep track of place names. If nothing else, the inconsistencies in these records indeed provide ample proof for this latter claim, at which point it may be objected that the same inconsistencies should also have cautioned Magyar historians against attaching too much importance to isolated forms. Moreover, the linguistic origin of a place name in a record is certainly not indicative of the language of the inhabitants at the given time, a fact of which Magyar scholars were sometimes acutely aware. In a response to his German colleague Heinrich Kiepert, the geographer János Hunfalvy, Pál's brother, emphatically rejected that the use of Hungarian forms in medieval documents had anything to do with national bias on the part of state agents.

<sup>191</sup> Tihamér Turchányi, *Krassó-Szörény megye története az ősidőktől a régi Krassó megye megszűnéséig* [History of Krassó-Szörény County from the prehistoric age to the dissolution of the old Krassó County] (Lugos: the public of Krassó-Szörény County, 1906), 96.

‘Was Sigismund of Luxemburg from the fifteenth century also a Magyar chauvinist’?, he asked rhetorically, pointing out that the Sigismund’s charters called the Saxon-inhabited Keisd and Schäßburg *Szász-Kiszd* and *Segesvár*. Or was his successor, Albert I from the House of Habsburg, who referred to *Mühlbach* as *Szász-Sebes*, a Magyar chauvinist?<sup>192</sup> With all this, however, János Hunfalvy did not try to suggest that these Saxon towns had Magyar inhabitants in the fifteenth century, only that their Hungarian names were old, well-established and had something like an official status around the time.

Not contenting himself with the scientific authority of the earliest written evidence, Pesty also insisted that the overabundance of transparent Hungarian forms in medieval sources could not arise from the Magyarising zeal of royal scribes, if for nothing else, because these were not always ethnically Magyar. Moreover, the boundary perambulations conducted by the personnel of the so-called places of authentication often registered the attendant linguistically Hungarian microtoponymies, too. With one eye already on the prospect of restoring the medieval names, he rhetorically left open the possibility that the inhabitants of the respective places might not have been Magyars, but this would then also imply that Hungarian had enjoyed such unconditional hegemonic status at the time that would place medieval Hungary closer to the ideal of a Hungarian national state than the time of writing in 1878, he concluded.<sup>193</sup>

Although the longevity of river names throughout the Carpathian Basin disproved the belief that a continuous place name necessarily meant continuous settlement by speakers of the same language, the near lack of inherited Latin forms seemed to confirm it with regard to settlement names. Hunfalvy restated Rösler’s argument to the effect that a continuous Romance-speaking population would not have forgotten all the Roman names, and that the fact that Romanians mostly referred to the former Roman sites by

192 János Hunfalvy, ‘Die magyarischen Ortsnamen und Herr Professor Kiepert’, *Ungarische Revue* 3 (1883): 412.

193 Frigyes Pesty, *A helynevek és a történelem* [Place names and history] (Budapest: M. T. Akadémia, 1878), 58–9.

Slavic names was a clear sign that their ancestors had arrived there after the Slavs: ‘Had Rumanians been indigenous to Transylvania, they could not have re-baptised, e.g., Ulpia Traiana to Gredistye.’<sup>194</sup> He rejected the correspondences that Xenopol had proposed between contemporary and documented ancient place names. He pointed either to their phonological impossibility (*Potaissa* > *Pata*, *Zeugma* > *Cigmău*) or to the divergent medieval forms (in the case of *Deva* and *Mehadia*), and he referred to homonymous places in other parts of Hungary (*Pata*).<sup>195</sup> In a tongue-and-cheek remark, he also brought up places with Magyar populations from the Grand Plain and from Western Hungary that, he argued, were just as likely to be the successor of Jordanes’s *Tapæ* as was Xenopol’s nominee, the Banat village *Tapia*: ‘There is in fact a *Tapia* in Krassó County, but there is also a *Tápé* in Csongrád; now which one is the real continuation of the old *Tapæ*?’<sup>196</sup>

Contributions published between Hunfalvy’s death in 1891 and the Great War brought little addition to his set of toponymic arguments for Magyar priority, and new Hungarian etymologies that were advanced in scholarly papers did not place themselves in the context of the debate. Although Emil Fischer’s *Die Herkunft der Rumänen* (1904) prompted the reviewer of *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* to declare the debate closed and the theory of Romance continuity in ancient Dacia proven false, the book in fact only recycled Rösler’s and Hunfalvy’s points.<sup>197</sup> From among the adherents of Magyar priority, only the Kolozsvár professor Grigore Moldovan/Moldován Gergely presented a new argument based on place names. He emphasised that the toponymy of Transylvania was mostly of Hungarian origin in the valleys and in the lowlands, which are more suitable for human settlement, whereas early Vlachs immigrants, who had settled in the mountains as the only place left for them, had named

<sup>194</sup> Hunfalvy, *A rumun nyelv*, 40.

<sup>195</sup> Idem, *A rumun történetirásról*, 340–2. On *Pata*, see the footnote at p. 265.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 341. *Tapia* first appeared in 1761, and its name comes from South-Slavic *tapija* ‘plot, parcel’. Cf. Frigyes Pesty, *Krassó vármegye története* [The history of Krassó County], vol. 2, book 2 (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1883), 237.

<sup>197</sup> Emil Fischer, *Die Herkunft der Rumänen: Eine historisch-linguistisch-ethnographische Studie* (Bamberg: Handels-Druckerei, 1904), esp. 196–8 and *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 27 (1904): 30.

their environment by Romanian names, most of which eventually went back to Slavic. This geographical reasoning was the symmetrical reversal of the Romanian vision, which saw the largely Romanian nomenclature of the mountains precisely as an evidence for Romanian seniority, since it regarded the highlands as a safe haven from the attacks of migrating peoples. Moldovan/Moldován opined that many Slavic place names in Transylvania, especially in the mountains, had been given by Romanians. The parallels that he found between the toponymy to the North and to the South of the Carpathians made him think that after wandering to the North, Romanians had replicated the toponymic patterns and had used the toponymic suffixes they had been accustomed to in their earlier homeland.<sup>198</sup> It is not hard to imagine that Moldovan/Moldován's catalogue of toponymic parallels could have become an argument for early Romanians' North—South migration in the hands of his ideological adversaries.

Hunfalvy ostensibly distanced himself from the logic that sought to base a group's right to political sovereignty on its historical priority. His first book written for an international readership about Romanians, however, already made an explicit political statement, fashioning itself as an antidote to the ignorance and historical myth-making that sustained the Romanian Irredenta.<sup>199</sup> As performative acts, writings about early Vlachs by Hunfalvy and by other Magyars, but also by non-Magyars, inevitably highlighted the political legitimating function of direct or indirect claims on historical priority, even if their authors denied that function. As far as the eastern areas of Hungary were concerned, the frequent retelling of and referring to the long and tardy process of ethnic Romanians' infiltration into Hungary and Transylvania drifted the question of historical priority, the being-there-before-them, into the centre of arguments for Magyar political and cultural supremacy, occupying the place until then reserved for the conquest of the land around

<sup>198</sup> Moldován, *Alsófehér vármegye román népe*, 743–8 and 750–2.

<sup>199</sup> Hunfalvy, *Die Rumänen und ihre Ansprüche*.

900 AD. The occupationist foundation myth of the Magyar historical vision thus came to integrate an autochtonist element, mirroring the slightly earlier and functionally equivalent adoption of Dacians into the timeline of Romanian national history, which had so far taken the conquest of Trajan as its starting point.

From evidence of historical priority, place names also became tokens of ethnic domination when entering the realm of political arguments. In 1899, Moldovan/Moldován left no doubt as to what followed from his aforementioned comparison between the toponymy of the valleys and the mountains: ‘the country belongs to the one who owns the lowlands; the first seizer must be the one whose language the place names of the lowlands have maintained.’<sup>200</sup> Expressing one’s opinion about the linguistic origin of a symbolically important place name was also taken as a patriotic issue. The historian Elek Jakab rebuked the Saxon Johann Wolff in no uncertain terms for his lack of political loyalty, after Wolff had dared to derive the Hungarian name of Transylvania from Celtic via Romanian:

Mr. Wolff finds pleasure in overthrowing the primeval Hungarian name of Transylvania, overthrowing the right of the Hungarian king and the Hungarian crown, by virtue of which *they* [i. e., the Saxons] live in this homeland, have gained land and civic rights here, and from the income of royally-granted domains does Professor Wolff receive his salary and got his treatise published with the goal of weakening Hungarian state rights.<sup>201</sup>

If the culturally dominant position of Hungarian did not imply it already, the historical antecedence of Hungarian place names was also exploited as an argument for their exclusive use in official life. When Heinrich Kiepert resigned from his membership of the Hungarian Geographical Society in protest at what he saw as the Magyarisation of German place names in Hungary, János Hunfalvy, the president of the society, replied

<sup>200</sup> Moldován, *Alsófehér vármegye román népe*, 743.

<sup>201</sup> Elek Jakab, ‘Erdély ország-nevei’ [The names of Transylvania], *Századok* 32 (1888): 66. Emphasis mine.

that the Hungarian names, which Kiepert had decried as newfangled translations, had been invested with power for a good reason, namely for being the original ones. If one had to choose a name for official use, the Hungarian ones looked to him like the logical candidates: ‘The German names Landskron for Talmács, Lauterburg for Lotorvár, roter Turm for Veres torony only arose later, therefore the right of historical priority belongs to the Hungarian names, these are the main names [*Hauptnamen*], whereas the German ones are merely translated, secondary names [*übersetzte Nebennamen*].’<sup>202</sup>

Hunfalvy’s dismissal of the Anonymous at first outraged the staunch supporters of Hungarian’s Turkic origin, who suspected a German plot behind the scenes, but by the turn of the century, his version of Romanian ethnogenesis had found its way into canonical accounts of Hungarian history. The second edition of Mihály Horváth’s ‘History of Hungary’, published in 1871, still espoused a basically Latinist Romanian view of Romance continuity. Not only he took over the stories of the Anonymous about conquering Magyars’ encounters with Vlachs and placed Romanians to eleventh-century Csanád, the episcopal seat of Saint Gerard, but he also believed that Romanians constituted a political estate in medieval Transylvania.<sup>203</sup> An emblematic historian of the next generation, Gyula Pauler already made a clumsy attempt to have his cake and eat it, by claiming that Romanians’ late arrival could be adjusted with the chronicle of the Anonymous:

‘Any Hungarian author who is familiar with our collections of deeds will not have the slightest doubt that we cannot speak about a *sizeable* Romanian population in Hungary before the late thirteenth century. This question is by no means related to the accuracy of the Anonymous.’<sup>204</sup>

202 Hunfalvy, *Die magyarischen Ortsnamen und Herr Professor Kiepert*, 411.

203 Mihály Horváth, *Magyarország történelme* [History of Hungary], 2nd, exp. ed., vol. 1 (Pesten: Heckenast, 1871), 40 and 222 and vol. 2 (*ibid.*, 1871), 122.

204 Gyula Pauler, *A magyar nemzet története az Árpád-házi királyok alatt* [History of the Hungarian nation under the Árpád dynasty], 2nd, rev. ed. (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1899), vol. 1, 376. Emphasis in the original.

To save the latter, he was willing to concede that Romanians had begun to settle in the area of Fogaras in the tenth century, to grow to a large enough (although still not ‘sizeable’!) colony by the late twelfth century, so that the Anonymous, whom Pauler located to that period, could imagine that they had been the remnants of a defeated native population. Alas, rather than affirming it, this argument actually negated the historical accuracy of the Anonymous. Elsewhere, Pauler took a middle course reflecting on the problem: the Anonymous had mixed historical truth and fantasy, and it was the historian’s task to unravel what was true and what was not in his account.<sup>205</sup>

In a representative, multi-volume Hungarian history, published on the one-thousandth anniversary of the Magyar conquest, Henrik Marczali discounted the testimony of the Anonymous in favour of Rösler and Hunfalvy: ‘the Vlach principality of Gelou clearly belongs to the realm of fables’, he wrote. In Hunfalvy’s footsteps, he also furnished his readers with a toponymic disproof of Romance continuity; the Romanian names of the localities that are to be found on the sites of known Roman settlements are of Slavic (*Grădiște, Bălgrad, Turda, Cluj, Moigrad, Zlacna, Severin*) or Hungarian origin (*Uioara, Orhei, Mehadia*), or else, in the case of *Roșia/Verespatak*, the translation of the Hungarian name.<sup>206</sup>

#### **4.1.6. The Vision of Romanian Historical Priority**

This section will examine the toponymic arguments mustered in support of the vision of Romanian historical priority, the antithesis to the one described in the last section. It was the relationship between the two that imposed this order of presentation; a new generation of Romanian authors recast the authoritative story of Romanian priority in a new mould and propped it up with new arguments, first in order to respond to earlier

<sup>205</sup> Csapodi, 53–5.

<sup>206</sup> Róbert Fröhlich, Bálint Kuzsinszky, Géza Nagy and Henrik Marczali, *Magyarország a királyság megalapításáig* [Hungary until the foundation of the kingdom], 2nd ed. (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1895), footnote 653.



challenges and to measure up with stricter standards of plausibility, but later also complementing it with new elements that were meant to account for the Balkan areal features of the language, deployed as an argument for Magyar priority. When an embryonic Romanian intelligentsia first put the idea of Latin—Romanian ethnic continuity in Dacia to political use, they placed at least as much importance on their noble ancestry as on being the first settlers as two claims that should have entitled them to political rights.<sup>207</sup> With the formation of an independent Romania, the concomitant launching of a Romanian Irredenta and the demise of Latinism, the theme of relative longevity compared to both Magyars and Saxons came to the fore and organised the historical vision.<sup>208</sup> Relative longevity was now in itself thought to bestow rights, rather irrespective of the purity of Roman blood in Romanian veins, and these rights included not only political citizenship and right to representation, but the right to sovereignty as well. Conversely, while its relational content took front seat, the new historical vision was also more unabashedly autochtonist with the incorporation of Dacians than its Latinist precursor, which had ultimately arisen as a countermyth to the Hungarian nobility's myth of conquest.

Trajan and Gelou, now accompanied by the Dacian king Decebal, represented the once and future Romania in this historico-political imaginary. Transylvania was not simply part of an imagined true Romania, but it featured as the ancestral homeland from whence the founders of Moldavia and Wallachia had once descended. Even if only a minority believed in its practicability on either side of the border, irredentism functioned as a powerful cultural code and clarion call. And even when Romanian minority nationalists did not play on irredentist aspirations, their deep-seated belief in Romanians' autochthonous status wherever they happened to live in the present formed the basis of their collective self-image. An oft-used allegory recycled a folk adage to build upon the cliché

207 David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum: aus der Geschichte der rumänischen Nationsbildung, 1700–1848* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1982).

208 On the antiquity and continuity of the nation as two basic structural desiderata from Romantic historical narratives among stateless nations, Baár, 65–7.

of Romanian permanence in order to uplift nationalist hearts and to project an unspecified victory into the future: ‘Water flows, the rocks remain’ (*Apa trece, pietrele rămân*). Flowing water was understood to stand for the now-powerful, carpet-bagging Magyar race, a floating element as against the deeply-rooted and enduring Romanians, who shall still exist when Magyars and Hungary are gone.<sup>209</sup> Another opposition, between nomads and sedentaries, pervaded even the subtext of the debate over historical priority. With the Röslerian thesis going mainstream on the Hungarian scene, both Romanian and Magyar nationalist discourse essentialised the other as a mass of primitive, nomadic or semi-nomadic herds, intruders to a land that remained alien to them, and cast the ingroup as peaceful, sedentary and gentle peasants.

Rösler’s attack came at a point when Latinism was still alive and kicking, and in the first response written in defence of Romanian priority, the Innsbruck professor Julius Jung still presented the Romanian versions of place names spelt according to Latinate-etymological standards as the true toponymy of the Bihor/Bihar Mountains, which he then confronted with the way these place names appeared on the maps in the Hungarian spelling, to show that the nationalist pride of Magyars had systematically perverted the toponymic heritage of the peoples under their rule.<sup>210</sup> The thrust of his argument was directed against Rösler’s claim that no major town in Hungary bore names of Romanian origin, but in addition to that, he also insisted that the Romanian names that he listed did not come from Slavic. Incidentally, he drew his list from the geographer Adolf Schmidl’s book, who had still found nothing unusual in the widespread Hungarian spelling of place names, but who had asked the Latinist philologist Alexandru Roman to provide proper Romanian written forms to comply with ‘the principle, established in recent times, that all place names should be written as they are spelt in the locally spoken language’.<sup>211</sup>

209 Ovidiu Bîrlea, *Istoria folcloristicii românești* [The history of Romanian folklore studies] (Bucharest: Editura enciclopedică română, 1974), 182.

210 Jung, 302–7.

211 Adolf Schmidl, *Das Bihar-Gebirge an der Grenze von Ungarn und Siebenbürgen* (Vienna: Förster & Bartelmus, 1863), 405–6.

The first Romanian reactions also came from Latinist quarters. Latinists were moving on familiar ground here, since the apology of their nation's pure Latin ancestry against those who dared to contest it, usually denounced as 'detractors' in the Romanian nationalist parlance, had always been their most cultivated genre.<sup>212</sup> (The view of many such 'detractors', who proposed a partial Dacian or Slavic heritage, would soon become the Romanian orthodoxy of the day.) The Banat-born Vasile Maniu, secretary of the Romanian Academy's historical section and deputy in the Romanian parliament, was a typical late example of Latinist scholarship who vehemently rejected any Slavic connection together with the idea of Romanians' medieval immigration from the South. To defuse the evidential force of the earliest attested Transylvanian place names, he made use of the by now familiar argument that Magyars had already crudely distorted earlier place names in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. Rather than simply accusing early Magyars of acting with a hidden nationalist agenda, however, he sought to fling a grosser insult in their face, and branded them barbarians who could neither master nor reproduce the beauties of Rome and Greece (read: the putative submerged Romanian place names).<sup>213</sup>

If this vision underwent a facelift and, what really mattered, became more presentable to Western scholarly eyes, that was due to a backlash against Latinism among those young Romanian intellectuals who came to age in the 1860s and 1870s. Hașdeu was a transitional figure in this respect, but the young Xenopol and Onciul stood close to the *Junimea* group, whose intellectual leader, Titu Maiorescu, had famously lambasted the Latinist Romanian culture of the 1860s as one pervaded by falsification.<sup>214</sup> Instead of the conditions of contemporary Romania, which they dismissed as a make-believe western scenery without a real content, the *Junimea* promoted slow, organic catching up with

212 Mitu, 16–17, 21–4, 182–3 and 190–1.

213 Maniu, *Studii*, 67–71.

214 In his article 'Against the Contemporary Direction in Romanian Culture', in Ahmet Ersoy, Maciej Górny, Vangelis Kechriotis et al., eds, *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770–1945)*, vol. 3/2, *Modernism: Representations of National Culture*, 87–93 (Budapest: CEU Press, 2010).

Europe, something that was unthinkable without a sense of the nation's true traditions. In their views about the linguistic norm, they discarded the radical purism of Latinists for a judicious, moderately organicist middle ground, and what counts for more in the present context, they acknowledged the strong Slavic influence on the Romanian vocabulary and spoke about it in a relaxed manner.

In an interesting twist, owning up to the Slavic constituent part of the Romanian vocabulary opened up the possibility of incorporating a Slavic ethnic element into the Romanian myth of ethnogenesis, and through this channel, claiming the rich Slavic toponymy of the projected Romanian homeland for Romanian exactly by virtue of its Slavicness. Apart from the use of a scientific language that was more in line with state-of-the-art western scholarship, the flexibility that was able to domesticate and take advantage of the murky Slavic side of Romanian ethnic heritage was another important innovation that the new generation brought to the vision of Romanian priority, in particular Hașdeu, Xenopol and Dimitrie Onciul. Moreover, they also retracted from the earlier position on spatial continuity by expanding on the motif, present in the Romanian tradition and advocated by the Slavists Jernej Kopitar, Pavel Šafárik and Franc Miklošič/Franz von Miklosich, that the Latino-Romanian population of Dacia must have withdrawn to the Carpathians from the successive waves of the Migration Period, from where they later descended to populate the lowlands once again. Hașdeu restricted the continuous settlement area to the highlands of the Banat and Oltenia and to the Hațeg Basin, to which Onciul later added the western Transylvanian mountains. This cautious adjustment was not understood as a surrender of parts of the national territory, but it transferred all intellectual stakes to the toponymy of the mountains and to the rivers, bringing grist to the mill of the Romanian vision in scholarly debates.

Unlike in the late Latinist paradigm, which compelled its adherents to trace back as many Romanian place names as possible to Latin (or, failing that, to Celtic), the younger generation thought that a small number of continuous settlement names were enough to prove continuous settlement. This relieved them of a heavy burden of absurd Latinist etymologies. In this regard, Julius Jung had already curtailed his list of candidates for continuous settlement names to *Abrud* (Lat. *Alburnus major*) and the name of a Roman castrum that he connected with a modern hydronym (*Bersovia* ~ *Berzava*).<sup>215</sup> Crucially, Hașdeu tried to normalise the foreignness of much of the Romanian toponymic corpus. A large part, perhaps the majority of Romanian place names have foreign roots, he asserted, and only three out of the thirty counties of Romania sport meaningful names in Romanian.<sup>216</sup> By implication, his assessment also drastically lowered the bar for Romanian place names within the Carpathians.

Just like in Rösler's and Hunfalvy's books, whose challenge it was meant to parry, toponyms made up only one, although important, constituent part of the new intellectual edifice asserting the historical priority of Romanians. Xenopol devoted one out of nine chapters to toponymy in the fullest exposition of anti-Röslerian arguments, his *Une Enigme historique: Les Roumains au Moyen-Age*.<sup>217</sup> He strategically termed Rösler's story as one about 're-immigration', creating the comic impression that the Austrian scholar had made the selfsame Roman-Romanians shuttle back and forth between Dacia and Moesia. Like all the new historians and philologists, Xenopol assigned a central role to the long-repudiated Dacians. He had them assimilated under Roman rule as the subjugated population of Dacia, to get a Latin-speaking but indigenous group of people whom he could then claim not to have left the province when it was evacuated, but instead to have taken refuge in the mountains. He distanced the Romance dialects spoken

<sup>215</sup> Jung, 240–1. Cf. Schramm, 208–9.

<sup>216</sup> Petriceicu-Hasdeu, *Etymologicum magnum Romaniae*, vol. 1 (Bucharest: Minerva, 1972), 40.

<sup>217</sup> Xenopol, *Une Enigme historique*. In the Romanian original: *Teoria lui Rösler: studii asupra stăruinței Românilor în Dacia Traiană* [Roesler's theory: studies on Romanians' persistence in Dacia Traiana] (Iași: Tipografia Națională, 1884).

in the Balkans from Romanian, arguing that they had evolved as two distinct branches on the basis of Latin. He downplayed the extent of Hungarian linguistic influence on Romanian and inflated linguistic borrowing in the opposite direction. He attributed the Middle Greek loanwords in Romanian to putative Greek-speaking colonists whom the Romans had settled in Dacia, the substantial Slavic layer of the Romanian vocabulary to Slavic-speakers who had allegedly assimilated into the Romanians starting with the sixth century AD, and the lexical overlap between Romanian and Albanian to a common Thracian substrate. A few years later, Hașdeu developed this latter idea into a complete historical stratigraphy of the Balkans in his study *Strat și substrat* ('Layer and Substrate'), whereas Dimitrie Onciul rejected it in favour of a theory of admigration, a defanged version of Rösler's story, in which a northbound migration of Balkan Romance-speakers grafted the linguistic features that had arisen from close contact with Albanian and Greek on the Romanian stock of Dacia.<sup>218</sup> Note that most of these arguments were new and some of them were clearly outrageous from an orthodox Latinist position. But Xenopol adhered to the Latinist narrative when relating the history of Transylvania in the second millenary, for example by interpreting all peasant revolts as Romanian uprisings against Magyar intrusion. He cited the testimony of the Anonymous about the Vlachs of Transylvania and the twelfth-century Russian Nestor's Chronicle about the 'Volohs' whom the conquering Magyars had met.<sup>219</sup>

Xenopol admitted that the lack of continuous toponyms would deal a fatal blow to the idea of Romance continuity in Dacia, he nevertheless also invoked the familiar thesis of a methodical Magyarisation of place names under medieval kings of Hungary to account for their scarcity. The argument with which he supported this idea—that settle-

218 B. P. Hasdeu, 'Strat și substrat: genealogia popórelor balcanice' [Layer and substrate: the genealogy of Balkan peoples], in *Din Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. 21–72 (Bucharest: Graeve, 1894) and Dimitrie Onciul, 'Teoria lui Roesler: Studii asupra stăruinței Românilor în Dacia Traiană, de A. D. Xenopol; Dare de seamă critică' [Rösler's theory: studies on Romanians' persistence in Dacia Traiana, by A. D. Xenopol; a review], in *Scieri istorice* [Historical writings], vol. 1, 131–260 (Bucharest: Editura Științifică, 1968). The latter originally published in 1885.

219 On Nestor's Volohs, cf. Gyula Kristó, 'Romans and Vlachs in the works by Nestor and Anonymus', *A Pécsi Tudományegyetem Középkori és Koraiújkorai Történeti Tanszékének Történeti Közleményei* 1 (2001): 15–48.

ments specified as ‘Vlach’ (*olachalis*) overwhelmingly appear with transparent Hungarian names in medieval Hungarian documents —was of course one that the antithetical, Magyar vision could just as easily use as evidence for Hungarian-speaking populations predating the Romanian settlement. But the facility with which Xenopol interpreted the form *Hegesholmu*<sup>220</sup> from 1197 as a tautological, mixed Hungarian–Romanian compound suggests that his reading of the rest of settlement names as Hungarian was driven rather by the logic of his own argument than by necessities inherent in the linguistic material, for the frequency of the Hungarian thematic vowel *-u*, still marked in medieval records and homonymous with the Romanian postposed article, together with the overlaps between the lexicon of medieval Hungarian and that of modern Romanian, likely gave him ample space to also interpret other Hungarian forms as Romanian. Into the bargain, *Hegesholmu* has a fairly transparent Hungarian etymology, something that the examples categorised by Xenopol as Hungarian, the name *Zalatina* and the antroponymic elements in *Harpotokfalva*, *Kopocsfalva*, *Drzefalva*, *Hernerschaza* and *Sugatugfalva*, clearly lack, at least in the erroneous readings that Xenopol gave of them.<sup>221</sup>

His list of continuous place names originally included ten settlement names from the Kingdom of Hungary: *Tapia*,<sup>222</sup> *Pata*,<sup>223</sup> *Cigmău* (~ *Zeugma*, a Dacian town mentioned by Ptolemy),<sup>224</sup> *Deva* (associated with the Dacian *-dava* endings),<sup>225</sup> *Mehadia*,<sup>226</sup> *Daia* (which reminded him of the Dacians),<sup>227</sup> *Vulcan/Vâlcan*,<sup>228</sup> *Lapiștea* (~ Lat. *lapis*),<sup>229</sup> *Gel-*

220 In fact, Hun. *hegyes* ‘pointed’ + *holm* ‘mound’. *Holm*, which frequently turned up as a generic term in early Hungarian place names in the form *holmu*, is a Slavic loanword in Hungarian, the modern form of which is *halom*. Cf. István Nyirkos, ‘Jövevényszavaink inetimologikus véghangzóirol’ [On the non-etymological thematic vowels in our loanwords], in *Bárczi Géza emlékkönyv* [Festschrift for Géza Bárczi], eds István Szathmári, Erzsébet E. Abaffy and Éva B. Lőrinczy, 129–30 (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1994). The dialectal Romanian *holm*, to which Xenopol appealed, is a borrowing from Hungarian (at least in Transylvania), and perhaps directly from Eastern Slavic (more likely in Moldavia).

221 Xenopol, *Une Enigme historique*, 93. The correct readings of the documented forms are *Hatpatokfalva*, *Karachfalva*, *Dezefalwa*, *Hernichhaza* and *Sugatagfalva*.

222 See p. 310.

223 See p. 265.

224 The toponym first appeared as *Chokmo* in 1444.

225 Cf. Nădejde, *O socoteală cu dl. Onciul*, 314.

226 See the section ‘Focus on Two Names’ in the present chapter.

227 < Slavic \**Dalja* (vъsb) ‘Dal’s folk, Dal’s village’.

228 See p. 266.

229 Lăpuștești, a village located at 1.090 m above sea level and first attested from 1666.

*mar* (~ *Germisara*)<sup>230</sup> and *Tărchiu* (~ *Tarpeia*).<sup>231</sup> (He later reduced their number to five for the sake of the French version.)<sup>232</sup> The etymon that he proposed for the last name, *Tarpeia*, like half of his list, was unattested as an ancient place name from Dacia. The actual *Tarpeia* is a rock on the southern side of the Capitol Hill in Rome, and Xenopol based his confident claim that a homonymous Roman settlement had once existed on the site of what was a Saxon village on the mere assonance of the two names. Accepting the continuous Romance character of the name required an extra leap of faith from his readers, for the odd reason that the Hungarian and German names of the village, also indicated by Xenopol, sounded more similar to *Tarpeia* than the Romanian one in the way he presented it.<sup>233</sup>

Xenopol countered Rösler's statement that no major town in Transylvania bore a name of Romanian origin by enumerating names of villages with transparent meanings in Romanian and others that 'quoique dénués de signification, sont évidemment roumains par leur forme'.<sup>234</sup> For his French readers, these villages were obviously just as unknown and hard to locate on the map as would have been the Romanian names of Transylvanian towns. Let me call attention to Xenopol's two criteria here, which he more commonly used for claiming place names as Romanian. The first of the two is not only commonsensical, but unavoidable as well, although folk etymologies can render its application problematic. The second, however, is ultimately arbitrary, since it gives little, indeed, if the constant working of phonological adaptation is taken into account, hardly any guidance for judgement.

<sup>230</sup> See p. 268.

<sup>231</sup> Xenopol, *Une Enigme historique*, 134–43 and idem, *Istoria romînilor din Dacia Traiana* [The history of Romanians in Dacia Traiana], vol. 1, *Istoria veche: Din vremile cele mai vechi pînă la întemeierea ţărilor romîne* [Ancient history: from the oldest times to the foundation of Romanian states] (Iassi: Goldner, 1888), 292.

<sup>232</sup> A.-D. Xenopol, *Histoire des Roumains de la Dacie Trajane: depuis les origines jusqu'à l'union des principautés en 1859*, vol. 1 (Paris: Leroux, 1896), 107–8.

<sup>233</sup> Hun. *Törpény*, Ger. *Treppen*. For its etymology, cf. *Trpín* (the name of two villages in Slovakia and in Bohemia, with an anthroponymic origin). It is very probable that the form *Tărchiu* reflected dialectal pronunciation of an underlying form *Tărpiu*, which is also the official name today. This, however, would still leave unexplained the unlikely change of the word ending in Xenopol's hypothetical scenario. Cf. Ion Nădejde: what sound changes does Xenopol imagine to have produced Rom. *Tărchiu* from Latin *Tarpeia*? Nădejde, *Istoriea romînilor*, 328.

<sup>234</sup> Xenopol, *Une Enigme historique*, 150–1.



This would be true even if the two criteria had not been applied with a double standard, as they usually were. Lay authors complacently concluded about their own variant of an opaque place name that it sounded perfectly in accordance with their language and therefore it was truly theirs, caring little about how natural the other variants of the same name sounded in the other languages. Even among philologists, inventiveness in attributing meanings in their own language often contrasted with reluctance to accept any etymology in the other tongue that was based on a word not contained in a middle-sized bilingual dictionary or was formed with a synchronically unproductive suffix. To be sure, the author's ignorance in the language often conspired with that of readers to produce such result, like in the case of Iorga, who assured his readers that *Medgyes* did not mean anything in Hungarian (cf. Hun. *meggyes* 'rich in sour cherries').<sup>235</sup> In a travel sketch, Xenopol even subjected to a test of truthfulness the German name of a Transylvanian place: 'The Romanian-Slavic origin becomes clear from the German name of the village, *Rosenau*, which has no natural basis whatsoever, given that we cannot find roses in Rîșnov'.<sup>236</sup> In other words, although *Rosenau* means 'rose meadow', and *Rosenaus* abound wherever German has been spoken, it must be considered folk etymology on the basis of an earlier, unattested Slavic (which is the same thing as saying Romanian) name in the Burzenland/Bârsa/Barcaság, on account of the alleged lack of the genus *Rosa* in the surrounding wildlife in the early twentieth century.

Apart from Hunfalvy's and Nădejde's scathing rebuttals, some of Xenopol's continuous settlement names also ran into criticism from firm adherents of Romanian priority. The most disputed of them was probably *Mehadia*, to which I will return in a separate section. In a lengthy review of Xenopol's book against Rösler, the Bukovinian Dimitrie Onciul debated the connection between *Cigmău* and *Zeugma*, because Ptolemy's

<sup>235</sup> Iorga, *Neamul românesc*, vol. 2, 430.

<sup>236</sup> Xenopol, 'Rîșnovul pe lângă Brașov: satul Rîșnovul' [sic!] [Râșnov/Rosenau/Barcarozsnyó near Brassó/Brașov/Kronstadt: Râșnov village], *Viața Românească* 7 (1912), 195.

town did not dovetail geographically with the modern-day village.<sup>237</sup> Iosif Popovici, then instructor of Romanian at the university of Vienna, contended that *Vulcan*, the name of a mountain pass and a hamlet in the Jiu Valley, whose Latinist derivation from the Roman god of fire Xenopol had accepted, in fact went back to Slavic *vlk* ‘wolf’. He pointed his finger to the vernacular form of the name, which had the central vowel [i] instead of [u], and to the parallelism with the name of the neighbouring Lupeni (Rom. *lup* ‘wolf’).<sup>238</sup>

For Xenopol, however, it was the names of mountains and rivers that provided key evidence about Romanian ethnic priority.<sup>239</sup> Theoretically, he could argue from a strong position regarding mountains, since outside the Szeklerland, the oronymy of the Eastern Carpathians in fact mostly reflected Romanian or Slavic naming. Whenever it did not, Xenopol claimed that German or Hungarian cultural hegemony had discriminated against the use of the true, Romanian names, or had effaced them from written memory. The names of two peaks, *Gotul* and *Gotești*, also gave him the opportunity to counter the argument that the language of the Goths, who had inhabited the former Dacia in the third and fourth centuries, had left no trace in Romanian.<sup>240</sup>

His most detailed argument about hydronymy is to be found in the Romanian original of his *Histoire des Roumains de la Dacie Trajane*. He estimated that whilst half of Romanian oronyms (mountain names) in the Carpathians had originated from Slavic, the proportion of Slavic vs. Romanian hydronyms was two to one.<sup>241</sup> He did not attribute either origin to the names of major streams, which had been attested since the Antiquity. As discussed above, Hunfalvy had argued that in spite of the ethnic discontinuity in the previous two thousand years, the nomenclature of rivers had remained remarkably stable

237 Onciul, *Teoria lui Roesler*, 167–9. Originally published in 1885.

238 Iosif Popovici, ‘Din pragul comunității româno-slave’ [From the threshold of Romanian—Slavic cohabitation], *Transilvania* 33 (1902): 8.

239 Xenopol, *Une Enigme historique*, 152.

240 *Ibid.*, 195. Both of the two names exist, although Lenk’s toponymic dictionary, which Xenopol quotes, only mentions the former; Ignaz Lenk von Treuenfeld, *Siebenbürgens geographisch-, topographisch-, statistisch, hydrographisch- und orographisches Lexikon*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Strauß, 1839), 41.

241 Xenopol, *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiana*, vol. 1, 378–9.

in the entire Kingdom of Hungary (he could have easily made the same claim for the entire Europe),<sup>242</sup> but Xenopol obviously rejected this framing and presented the longevity of Romanian river names as evidence of continuous Romance-speaking settlement.<sup>243</sup> In the case of the Timiș and Ampoi/Ompoly Rivers, he also made an attempt to show via formal analysis that Hungarian had received these names from Romanian. Although Romanian *Timiș* is manifestly more similar to the documented ancient forms *Tibiscus* or *Tibissus* than Hungarian *Temes* (the situation is less straightforward with *Ampoi/Ompoly*),<sup>244</sup> something (maybe his no less manifest rage) prevented Xenopol from setting forth a coherent argument to this effect:

It is to be noted that in Hungarian, where it always comes to the fore,<sup>245</sup> the stress in *Timiș* shifted to the first syllable, *Timeș*, a circumstance that is in itself enough to prove that the Daco-Roman name was transmitted by the Romanian and not by the Magyar people. It is indeed a curious claim that Hungarians took it from the mouth of Daco-Romans and then passed it on to the Romanians if we know that Hungarians only arrive to Dacia in the tenth century, and whoever could preserve this word in the seven centuries from Aurelian's retreat to the coming of the Hungarians, and whoever could transmit it to them if the indigenous population, the immediate descendants of the old Daco-Romans, had retired from the land in 270?<sup>246</sup>

These are the two instances where Xenopol quoted the Hungarian names of major streams of water. Notably, he did not care to mention either Hungarian *Szamos* and *Maros* or German *Alt*, which clearly stand closer to the ancient forms *Samum*, *Marisus* and *Alutus* than the Romanian names *Someș*, *Mureș* and *Olt*, but interpreted the latter as internal formations on the basis of the attested pre-Latin names.

Matters only got worse when he moved beyond the river names inherited from the Antiquity and took an inventory of Romanian hydronymy running to ten pages, to draw the conclusion that one single important watercourse bore a name of Hungarian origin,

<sup>242</sup> See the footnote on p. 305.

<sup>243</sup> Xenopol, *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiana*, vol. 1, 299–305.

<sup>244</sup> Ancient *Ampeium* (Xenopol still quoted the erroneous reading *\*Ampelum*) denoted a settlement by the river. Kniezsa's argument about the second syllable of the Romanian name is also cogent; István Kniezsa, 'Erdély víznevei' [The hydronyms of Transylvania], in *Az Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet évkönyve 1942*, 48–9 (Kolozsvár: Minerva, 1943). Cf. Schramm, 195–6 and 376–9.

<sup>245</sup> In the original, 'ridică în totdeauna accentul mai sus', that is, (Hungarian) always raises the stress to the top.

<sup>246</sup> Xenopol, *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiana*, vol. 1, 300. With regard to *Ampoi/Ompoly*, Xenopol makes an oddly out-of-place reference to Rom. *cimpoi* > Hun. *csimpolya*. *Ibid.*, 302.

*Arieș* (< Hun. *Aranyos*), with the qualification that even that had probably been translated by Hungarian kings from an earlier \**Aurar*. The balance would come from Slavic, Romanian or Dacian.<sup>247</sup> The series of astounding errors and convenient omissions that he rolled out in order to erase Hungarian formations testifies to extraordinary capacity for self-delusion, if not to simple intellectual dishonesty. To begin with, almost half of the names on his list are unidentifiable on modern maps, partly because he used inappropriate sources or made mistakes copying them, but also because they designated insignificant streams of water whose names as were recorded in the nineteenth century have not survived to our days.<sup>248</sup> That a great many of the ones that can be identified refer to small brooks, often secondary or tertiary tributaries of the main rivers, which flow through at best one or two villages, and that they are often quoted under unintentionally distorted names supports both conjectures.<sup>249</sup> At the same time, he left out the names of many longer and more important ones, like *Șieu* (Hun. *Sajó*, Ger. *Schayo*), *Barcău* (Hun. *Berettyó*), *Tur* (Hun. *Túr*), *Ier* (Hun. *Ér*), *Aranca* (Hun. *Aranka*, Serbian *Zlatica*), *Teuz* (Hun. *Tőz*), *Nadăș* (Hun. *Nádas*), *Geoagiu* (Hun. *Gyógy-patak*), *Hârtibaciu* (Hun. *Hortobágy*, Ger. *Harbach*), *Nyikó*, *Călata* (Hun. *Kalota*), *Sălaj* (Hun. *Szilágy*), *Săsar* (Hun. *Zazar*) or *Vaser* (Ger. *Wasser*). Regarding the select company of middle-sized water-courses that he did include, he followed Hunfalvy's example in being reticent about the

247 *Ibid.*, 369–78.

248 *Pârâul Lazarului*, *Mălina/Mălinii* and *Dreptianca* (Olt basin), *Dragoșul Neagra* (?), *Spinul*, *Izvorul Raiului*, *Secătura*, *Pârâul Secului* and *Saiul* (Tisza), *Pârâul Merlului*, *Sorca*, *Valea Balașului*, *Lunca Chezului*, *Negrilescul*, *Gapoul* and *Cosna* (Someș/Szamos), *Grohășel*, *Cic*, *Milcov*, *Bucșavița*, *Cozia* and *Revul* (Körös/Criș), *Tanciul*, *Tirca*, *Valea Șomuțului*, *Corbăul* (Cerbăl?), *Puturoasa*, *Valea Groșilor*, *Secul*, *Valea Șarului*, *Căpușul*, *Sulița*, *Slatina*, *Putna*, *Borsova*, *Racta*, *Târnova*, *Gavralovăți*, *Ovolva* and *Casova* (Mureș/Maros/Mieresch), *Lunca Mare*, *Dumbrava*, *Subseul*, *Bengosul* and *Matia* (Bega), *Secaș*, *Dumbrava*, *Pârâul Rece*, *Buhinul* (Buchinul?), *Bocarul*, *Corgan*, *Micola* and *Rugul* (Timiș), *Bercagul* and *Gusasca* (Caraș), *Cornișul*, *Sordinul*, *Iocdasica* and *Sacristica* (Cerna).

249 Like *Saplonta* (→Tisza), *Slătioara* and *Cisla* (→Iza→Tisza), *Răcățau* (→Someșul Rece→Someșul Mic/Kis-Szamos), *Dragu* (→Almaș/Almás→Someș), *Dobric* (→Ilișua/Ilosva→Someșul Mare/Nagy-Szamos), *Râșca* (→Someșul Cald→Someșul Mic), *Dezna* (→Sebiș/Sebes→Crișul Alb/Fehér-Körös), *Ilva*, *Ratoșnia* and *Cladova* (Mureș), *Lăpușna*, *Isticeu* (‘Istirău’) and *Cașva* (‘Gasva’) (→Gurghiu/Görgény→Mureș), *Strugariu* (Răușor/Malomváz→Râul Mare/Sebesváz→Strei/Sztrigy→Mureș), *Ohaba* (→Strei), *Sărătura* (→Orăștie/Városváz/Brooserbach→Mureș), *Valea Roșie* (→Corbeasca→Mureș), *Șasa* (‘Sasa’) (→Bega Poieni→Bega), *Slatina*, *Bucoșnița* (‘Rucoșnița’) and *Râul Lung* (→Timiș), *Bistra Mărului* and *Marga* (→Bistra→Timiș), *Rușchița* (→Rusca→Bistra→Timiș), *Teregovia* (→Teregoava→Timiș), *Clopodia* (→Moravița→Timiș), *Lupacul* and *Dognecea* (→Caraș), *Craiiova* and *Iauna* (‘Launa’) (→Cerna), *Luncavița* (‘Luncavăț’) and *Verendin* (→Mehadica→Belareca→Cerna).

grounds on which he classified *Borşa*,<sup>250</sup> *Homorod*,<sup>251</sup> *Ieud*,<sup>252</sup> *Mara*, *Miniş*,<sup>253</sup> ‘Niarad’ (recte *Niraj*)<sup>254</sup> ‘Pitsa’ (recte *Peşa*)<sup>255</sup> or *Pogăniş*<sup>256</sup> as Slavic and *Agriş*,<sup>257</sup> *Almaş*,<sup>258</sup> *Bârsa*, *Bega*, ‘Caşăul’ (recte *Cosău*), ‘Căpuşa’ (recte *Capuş*),<sup>259</sup> *Gurghiul*, *Iza*, ‘Lapoş’ (recte *Lăpuş*),<sup>260</sup> *Sebeş*,<sup>261</sup> *Secaş*,<sup>262</sup> ‘Sibiu’ (recte *Cibin*)<sup>263</sup> *Strei* or ‘Terzanul’ (recte *Tărlung*) as Romanian formations. The ones presented as Romanian in particular beg for explanation, since they have no transparent meanings in Romanian and most of them also did not have widespread Latinist etymologies.

As I tried to indicate, Xenopol often used corrupt forms or quoted Hungarian names as proxies for the Romanian ones. He also ‘Romanianised’ one of his names, referring to the Fechetig (< Hun. *Feketeügy*) by the more autochthonous-sounding name *Negru*.<sup>264</sup> Obviously, the fact that a form did not exist did not prevent him from classifying it as of Romanian origin. He misquoted the name of the Caraş River as *Cara*, but nevertheless noted that the latter was ‘probably an autochthonous name’ (in spite of *kara* meaning ‘black’ in Turkish).<sup>265</sup> In one of the few instances in which he gave an explicit etymology, he insisted that the form *Vizău*, the way he quoted the Romanian name of the Vişeu/Wischau/Visó River, did not come from Hungarian *víz* ‘water’, but from *viză*, Romanian for bastard sturgeon.<sup>266</sup> Both etymologies for his fictitious form would present

250 From the Hungarian name, *Borsa*, which on its turn is of anthroponymic origin and refers to the landowning medieval Borsa clan; Kniezsa, 36–7.

251 See p. 305.

252 From Hun. *Jód* < Hun. *jó* ‘watercourse’ + *-d* suffix (1365: *Jood*).

253 From Hun. *Ménes* < Hun. *ménes* ‘rich in stallions’ (1488: poss. *Menes*); Erzsébet Györfi, ‘Régi vízneveink funkcionális szerkezetéről’ [On the functional structure of our old hydronyms], *Magyar Nyelvjárások* 11 (2002): 41–3.

254 See p. 305.

255 From the Hungarian name, *Pece* < Hun. *pecel/pöcel/pöce* ‘gutter’; Magdaléna Kiss, ‘A Körösök magyar és román vízneveinek lexikális-morfológiai elemzése’ [Lexical-morphological analysis of the Hungarian and Romanian hydronyms of the Körös/Criş Basin], *Helnyévtörténeti Tanulmányok* 10 (1994): 75.

256 From Hun. *pogányos* ‘heathen’.

257 From the Hungarian name, *Egregy* < Hun. *éger* ‘alder’ (1440: *Egreh*).

258 From the Hungarian name, *Almás* < Hun. *almás* ‘rich in apples’.

259 From the Hungarian name, *Kapus* < Hun. *kapus* ‘endowed with a gate’.

260 From the Hungarian name, *Lápos* < Hun. *lāpos* ‘swampy’.

261 From Hun. *Sebes* < Hun. *sebes* ‘swift’.

262 From Hun. *Székes* < Hun. *székes* ‘rich in sodium’ (1313: fluv. *Zekes*).

263 H. Tiktin, *Rumänisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. 3 (Bucharest: Staatsdruckerei, 1903), 1421.

264 Xenopol, *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiana*, vol. 1, 373 and Kniezsa, 55. Iorga claimed the Romanian name *Cerna* for the river, with the same intent; Iorga, *Neamul românesc*, vol. 1, 78. Probably under Xenopol’s influence, *Negru* is the official Romanian name of the stream today.

265 Xenopol, *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiana*, vol. 1, 377.

266 *Ibid.*, 375.

serious phonological problems, but the latter would be particularly unlikely given the uncommonness of unsuffixed names of fish serving as names of watercourses in Romanian, but also because the Vişeu is too small a river for bastards sturgeons, even during the spawning season.

For the abridged French edition, Xenopol curtailed his ten-page overview of Romanian hydronymy to just one page. In consequence, his new list became even more arbitrary and the names were chosen with even less regard to the relative size of the rivers. In return, he now gave etymologies for the select few, deriving *Borşa* from the sour East-European soup known as *borshch* and *Peţa* from the Ruthenian word *pitsak* ‘fishing net’. He consistently referred to the Someş River as *Samèche*, approaching the Romanian form of the name to the ancient *Samum*.<sup>267</sup>

Xenopol used the map as his only source for these surveys, and when in one chapter of his *Une Enigme historique*, he tapped into the toponymic records between the Roman Era and his own time, that was mostly to dismiss their relevance for the problem of Romanian continuity. He rather invited his Romanian and, to a lesser extent, his sympathetic foreign readers to participate in a visionary exercise, in which the similarity between the current Romanian and the ancient names of the chief rivers bore witness to two thousand years of Romanian presence on their shores, while the current Romanian names of mountains and smaller rivers had an unmistakable ‘Romanian sounding’, a respectable opacity that suggested a great age and commanded all the more authenticity as they had been passed down by oral tradition, supposedly in the face of foreign distortions and oppression.

With the intensity of the debate calmed down at the turn of the century, toponymic arguments noticeably took a back seat in expositions of Romanian continuity and priority. The Bucharest university professor Ovid Densusăianu, who had still thought to

<sup>267</sup> Xenopol, *Histoire des Roumains de la Dacie Trajane*, vol. 1, 125–6.

identify place names of Romanian origin in the entire Hungarian-speaking realm in an 1898 study written in Romanian, beat a retreat in 1901 in his *Histoire de la langue roumaine*. He dismissed earlier etymologies of settlement and river names advanced as proofs of continuous Romance-speaking presence. The lack of continuous settlement names he explained by the ‘well-known’ political disintegration of early medieval Romanians, who were only integrated into political structures by the Slavs and the Magyars, and therefore should not reasonably be expected to have named villages and towns on their own. In general, he claimed that the toponymic argument against Romance continuity in Dacia should not be taken seriously, as future investigations into the toponymic material might still find the missing evidence.<sup>268</sup>

In this section, I have focussed largely, and one could object exceedingly, on Xenopol’s oeuvre in presenting the new generation’s arguments for Romanian priority taken from the field of place names. My justification for this is multifold. As a whole, Xenopol wrote the most influential apology of Romanian ethnic continuity and priority in Dacia from the post-Latinist generation, and his charting of the toponymy was also the most comprehensive. With his insistence on the sedentary origins of modern Romanians and his willingness to include Dacians and Slavs into their gene pool, he stood in the middle between the Latinist rearguard (Nicolae Densușianu, Vasile Maniu) and those who attempted to strike a compromise between continuity and immigration and expanded Romanian ethnogenesis to both sides of the Danube (Dimitrie Onciul, Ovid Densușianu, Ioan Nădejde, Alexandru Philippide).<sup>269</sup> He was also representative for the younger Romanian generations in concentrating on the hydronymy and the oronymy, in his confidence that the continuity of the main river names provided a major argument for ethnic continuity and in his interpretation of Slavic names as essentially Romanian. He salvaged

268 Ovide Densusianu, *Histoire de la langue roumaine*, vol. 1, *Les Origines* (Paris: Leroux, 1901), 292–3.

269 On twentieth-century Romanian linguists’ walking on a thin line between dogma and linguistic evidence, see Johannes Kramer, ‘Sprachwissenschaft und Politik: Die Theorie der Kontinuität des Rumänischen und der balkanischen Ethno-Nationalismus im 20. Jahrhundert’, *Balkan-Archiv* 24/25 (1999/2000): 128–42.

a hand-picked set of Latinist etymologies, otherwise he mostly turned to the names of peaks and smaller watercourses, directing to Slavic and, to the extent that he made them explicit, to Romanian roots. His etymologies were criticised from various directions.<sup>270</sup> His most gifted Romanian critic, Haşdeu, did not himself undertake a coherent defence of Romanian continuity or priority in Dacia on the basis of place names; in the chapter entitled ‘Nomenclature’ of the Romanian version of his *Histoire critique des roumains*, he dealt with the ethnonyms of Romanians and the names of the lands they inhabited, but only tangentially with those of settlements, mountains and rivers.<sup>271</sup> To his sporadic place-name etymologies I have already referred and will continue to refer. The criticisms that Xenopol received from Latinists do not belong here, and neither do those by Nădejde and Dimitrie Dan, who basically shared Rösler’s and Hunfalvy’s views on the toponymy.

#### **4.1.7. The Transfigurations of Dacians and Slavs**

Dacians and Slavs, together with the presumed toponymic legacies attached to them, underwent complete metamorphoses in consecutive Romanian and Magyar historical constructions. As outlined earlier, these two strands were still intertwined in the late eighteenth century; Benkő had endowed his Dacians with a Slavic language and thus made them responsible for the obviously Slavic cluster of Transylvanian toponymy. This view was shared by the Romanian Ioan Budai-Deleanu in the early nineteenth century, who then conveniently relocated Dacians to Poland to make them the ancestors of Poles. In doing so, he relied on a toponymic argument, the apparent similarity between the *-ava*

270 D. Dan, ‘Din toponimia românească: studiu istorico-linguistic’ [From the field of Romanian toponymy: historico-linguistic study], *Convorbiri literare* 30 (1896), vol. 2, 181–2.

271 B. P. Haşdeu, *Istoria critică a romanilor: pământul ţării-româneşti* [Critical history of the Romanians: the Romanian land], vol. 1, *Intinderea teritorială – Nomenclatura – Acţiunea naturii* [Territorial extent—Names—The agency of nature], 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Bucharest: Thiel & Weiss, 1874), 28–172.



ending of the names of Dacian fortresses and some Polish place names, especially *Warszawa*, but also *Kraków*, *Lwów* etc.<sup>272</sup>

Romanian Latinists repudiated the Slavic elements in the Romanian vocabulary and contended that Dacians had been eradicated by the conquering Romans, leaving Romanians as pure-bred Latin descendants. The idea of intermingling between Romans and Dacians was anathema to the early Latinists, who might even take umbrage at such allusions. Therefore, Magyar authors of the Pre-March Era, who still mostly accepted the continuity between Romans and Romanians on the territory of ancient Dacia, hit Romanian intellectuals at their weakest spot when they regularly brought up their partial Dacian ancestry any time they wished to challenge their glorious self-image.<sup>273</sup> However, for a long time, there was no dispute over one question: that place names given by the Dacians could survive the intervening two thousand years and were still there to be found in altered forms. In Romanian circles, as I will show, the reception and adaptation of western ‘Celtomania’ took place concurrently with the upswing of toponymic speculations and were connected to a reinterpretation of Dacians. Among Magyars, amateur place-name etymologies referring to Dacians still appeared sporadically after the paradigm set out by the Hunfalvys had gained currency. A Hungarian textbook of Transylvanian history for Roman Catholic schools, published in 1868, derived the toponyms *Sármás* and *Sarmaság* (the second one denoting a village mostly inhabited by Magyars) from the name of the Dacian king Sarmis.<sup>274</sup> At the turn of the century, the archaeologist Gábor Téglás claimed that the Auras River mentioned by Herodotus could be identified with the modern-day Caraș/Karasch/Karas. He explained *Auras* as a corrupt rendering of the correct *Arcas*.<sup>275</sup> Even the old idea of Slavic-speaking Dacians resur-

272 Ion Budai-Deleanu, *De originibus populorum Transylvaniae* (Bucharest: Enciclopedică, 1991), vol. 1, 167–9. Incidentally, the Polish Mickiewicz and Lelewel were also endeared to the idea that the Dacians were Slavs; Roesler, *Dacier und Romänen*, 35–6.

273 Mitu and Mitu, 72, 79 and 232.

274 Nep. János Matusik, *Erdély külön történelme: alsóbbrendű iskolák számára* [The separate history of Transylvania: for lower schools], 2nd ed. (Kolosvárt: Stein, 1868), 6.

275 Gábor Téglás, ‘A Karas folyó legrégebbi névváltozatai’ [The oldest name variants of the Caraș/Karasch/Karas River], *Földrajzi Közlemények* 27 (1899): 78–80.

faced in an issue of the local newspaper *Szilágy* from 1900, although with an editorial caveat; a contributor announced with delight that since *zilaj* (the traditional pronunciation of the name spelt *Zilah*) designated ‘belt’ in South Slavic, the homophonic Hungarian name should be considered an inheritance from the Dacians.<sup>276</sup>

So far, the historical presence of the rather enigmatic Dacians had served to explain those elements of the toponymy that either appeared to have Slavic origins or that bore some similarity to the Dacian nomenclature known from historical sources. For Romanian ethnogenetic discourse, Dacians came to light with I. C. Brătianu’s *Studii istorice asupra originilor naționalității noastre* (‘Historical Studies on the Origins of our Nationality’) from 1857, Cezar Bolliac’s poem *Despre daci* (‘On the Dacians’) from 1858 and especially with Hașdeu’s article entitled *Perit-au Dacii?* (‘Did the Dacians die out?’) from 1860. Subsequently, the *Junimea* circle raised them into the Romanian historical pantheon by assigning them a supplementary role in the formation of the Romanian people, thereby incidentally outbidding the Latinist narrative in its claim for autochthony.<sup>277</sup> Around the same time stumbled upon the Dacians some amateur philologists aligned with a network of Celtic enthusiasts, particularly influential in contemporary Vienna, who were contemptuously labelled ‘Celtomaniacs’ by professional comparative-historical linguists.<sup>278</sup> Nineteenth-century philological ‘Celtomaniacs’ were belated successors to those Frenchmen of the Enlightenment who had championed Celts as one of the old, venerable peoples of Europe. Starting from the premise that prehistoric speakers of Celtic languages had left a much stronger and more enduring imprint on European toponymy than it was commonly accepted, they hypothesised underlying, historical Celtic forms behind most contemporary place names.

<sup>276</sup> Sándor Pethő, ‘Néhány szó Zilah nevééről’ [A few words on the name of Zilah], *Szilágy* 15 Apr 1900, p. 1.

<sup>277</sup> Lucian Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness*, trans. James Christian Brown (Budapest: CEU Press, 2001), 90–2.

<sup>278</sup> Egli, 243.

The Dacian language, about which little is known, was now sometimes fantasised as Celtic. The first to do so was the French Simon Pelloutier in his *Histoire des Celtes* from 1771, and it will not come as a surprise that he came to this conclusion on the basis of Dacian place names.<sup>279</sup> Franz Josef Mone advanced the same hypothesis in his 1857 volume *Celtische Forschungen*, also supporting it with place-name etymologies.<sup>280</sup> In a study from 1858, the future Transylvanian Saxon bishop Friedrich Müller embraced this view on archaeological grounds, also suggesting that Romanian might contain Dacian words.<sup>281</sup> Another Transylvanian Saxon, Martin Samuel Möckesch argued in 1867 that Romanian does not qualify as a Romance language, as it has little of the classical Latin vocabulary. From this statement, he arrived to the conclusion that Romanians must be the descendants of Celts who had settled in Transylvania before the Roman conquest.<sup>282</sup> Dacians, however, let alone Romanians, remained peripheral to the interests of German ‘Celtomaniacs’, and these views were not widely shared among them. Indeed, the representative work of this trend, the Viennese Wilhelm Obermüller’s two-volume ‘German—Celtic dictionary’, some sixteen hundred pages of wild-eyed and at the same time tediously mechanical etymologies, took the Hungarian names as its material for place-name etymologies from the entire Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>283</sup>

The etymological games of ‘Celtomaniac’ philologists were criticised heavily and quite deservedly in their time for their complete neglect not only of basic scientific standards and of the valid body of cultural knowledge, but often of common sense as well. Beyond that, at least Obermüller also stretched the very structure of his arguments into a muddled state. Although his apparent claim was that the names given by Celts as the first

279 Tocilescu, 163.

280 Robert Roesler, ‘Dacier und Romänen: Eine geschichtliche Studie’, *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 53 (1866): 32–4.

281 Ibid., 29–31.

282 Martin Samuel Möckesch, *Beweise für die celtische Abstammung der Walachen oder Romänen, besonders derer welche im Grossfürstenthume Siebenbürgen leben* (Hermannstadt: Steinhäufen, 1867).

283 Wilhelm Obermüller, *Deutsch-keltisches, geschichtlich-geographisches Wörterbuch zur Erklärung der Fluss- Berg- Orts- Gau- Völker- und Personen-Namen Europas, West-Asiens und Nord-Afrikas in allgemein wie insbesondere Deutschlands nebst den daraus sich ergebenden Folgerungen für die Urgeschichte der Menschheit*, 2 vols (Berlin: Denicke, 1868–72).

settlers had been taken over by others peoples who succeeded them, in his actual etymologies, Celtic vocabulary rather took the form of a mystical creative force active throughout human history. Obermüller included both place names and personal names in his dictionary, isolated them from their linguistic and historical context and projected combinations of putative ancient Celtic morphemes onto them, chosen to fit some characteristics of the referent that he could discover. In the case of *Balázsfalva*, for instance, he analysed the first element (*Balázs*, the Hungarian form of the Latin ecclesiastical name *Blasius*) as *bil* + *ais* ‘klein-Wasser’, while *falva* (‘village of’) as *bail* + *bi* ‘Ort-klein’. And lo, Blaj/Balázsfalva indeed happened to be a small town at the confluence of the two branches of the Küküllő River, an information that Obermüller could also read from a map.

Reliance on such dubious scholarship clearly could not add prestige to Romanian claims, quite to the contrary. Accordingly, Romanian philologists with an ambition to use the canons of the new philology gave a wide berth to Celtic etymologies. In a surprising turn of events, however, many Latinists and lapsed Latinists reacted enthusiastically to the ideas of the ‘Celtomaniacs’. Moreover, this interest arose quite soon, synchronously with the passion to fabricate place-name etymologies on the basis of Latin. Already in the early 1850s, Ioan Maiorescu (Titu Maiorescu’s father) found that Transylvania was awash with Celtic place names. Among other parallels, he matched *Deva* with *Devonshire* and *Timiș* with the name of the Thames.<sup>284</sup> In 1869, in his defence of Roman—Romanian continuity against Rösler, the Greek Catholic canon Gavril Pop freely mixed eccentric Latin and Celtic etymologies.<sup>285</sup> By 1883, a Magyar student of the Dacians could conclude that ‘Romanian scholars in general ride the hobby horse of Celtic parentage with gusto.’<sup>286</sup>

284 Ludwig Ritter von Heufler, *Österreich und seine Kronländer: Ein geographischer Versuch* (Vienna: Grund, 1854–6), 5/28.

285 Popu.

286 Samu Borovszky, *A dákok: ethnographiai tanulmány* [The Dacians: an ethnographic study] (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1883), 9.

How to solve the contradiction that Latinists, who insisted on the pure Roman bloodline of Romanians and on the extinction of Dacians after Trajan's conquest, took an interest in a theory claiming that the majority of place names in Europe were Celtic? At the limit, it could be argued that there was no contradiction here. After all, the heart of the Romanian story was about continuous Romance-speaking settlement in the land of ancient Dacia, and Celtic place names might only serve as a supplementary device to dismantle transparent Hungarian or Slavic etymologies. Once one was not able to stretch their imagination enough to accept a Latin etymon, a Celtic one could still appear a better option than to accept the Hungarian or Slavic origin of a name. Or even, one could pull out a Celtic etymology from the hat if there was a threat that the Latin one becomes discredited, as did Gavril Pop after Rösler shattered to pieces the cherished Latinist thesis that *Sibiu*, the Romanian name of Hermannstadt, had originated from a Latin *\*Sabinum*.<sup>287</sup> Pop and Rösler certainly did not play by the same rules, but Pop's real addressee was not so much the Austrian scholar (he wrote in Romanian) as his home supporters. Obviously, onomastic 'Celtomania' pursued to its logical conclusion would have proven fateful for Latin etymologies, too, by suggesting that the Latin etymons hypothesised by the Latinists were just recombinations of earlier Celtic place names. In the role of a supporting idea, however, it did not need not be carried to its ultimate consequences. Most importantly, these etymologies were easily reconcilable with Latinists' belief in Romanians' purely Latin ancestry; Dacians could die out altogether while leaving behind an abundant Celtic trail in the toponymy.

The problem with this explanation is that Romanian inventors and peddlers of Celtic etymologies often implied genealogical and cultural links between the modern Romanian inhabitants and the hypothetical Celtic founders of the places under discussion. Ioan Maiorescu already recounted how the similarity between the Romanian peasant costume

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<sup>287</sup> Popu, 289.

of the Hațeg Basin and the Scottish kilt had allegedly left the English traveller John Paget astonished.<sup>288</sup> In a few cases where the authors reflected upon the problem, it turns out that they did not consider Dacians as the original name givers, but the Celtic veterans of the Roman army. Nestor Șimon imagined that the provincial vulgar Latin spoken in Roman Dacia must have incorporated many and presumably still unidentified Celtic elements, similarly to the situation in French: ‘Lots of words that look Slavic, German or Hungarian have Celtic origin; and even if we or the foreigners cannot find them in Latin, it does not follow that they are alien to us.’<sup>289</sup> This idea went back to I. C. Brătianu’s aforementioned article from 1857, who emphasised the high proportion of Celtic soldiers in the Roman garrisons of Dacia, and presented this detail as one more ingredient of the blood kinship between the Romanian and French peoples.<sup>290</sup>

The most devoted Romanian ‘Celtomaniac’ of the end of the century, however, Atanasie Marian Marienescu, explicitly attributed what he saw as a Celtic toponymic heritage to the Dacians. In addition, while the Romanian peasants from the Banat had allegedly preserved cultural forms and memories from the Roman times according to his earlier, orthodox Latinist works, he made the same people carriers of a Celtic linguistic baggage after his volte-face: ‘people in Măidan still understand the meaning of certain Celtic words, and these words are even in everyday use’.<sup>291</sup> By his own account, he converted to the view that the toponymy of Romanian-inhabited lands could only be explained from Celtic in 1882, at the age of fifty-two, and apart from the works of German ‘Celtomaniacs’, it seems that the new generation of Magyar philologists, who were readier to derive place names from Slavic than to accept Romanian presence before the thirteenth century, also played an indirect part in his conversion. Whilst adding Dacians to

288 Heufler, 5/29.

289 Șimon, *Dicționar toponimic*, 215.

290 Boia, 90.

291 Marienescu in Sofronie Liuba and Aurelie Iana, *Topografia satului și hotarului Măidan* [The topography of the village of Măidan and its boundaries] urmata de [followed by] At. M. Marienescu, *Studiu despre celți și numele de localități* [Study on the Celts and locality names] (Caransebeș: Tipografia diecesane, 1895), 192.

Romanians' line of descent lent them unconditional autochthony as opposed to the relative autochthony that the Latinist story could offer, with the help of the thesis that place names ultimately had a common origin throughout Europe, Marienescu was at times also able to defuse the ideological charge of the entire issue of inherited or ancient toponymy.<sup>292</sup>

Marienescu used Wilhelm Obermüller's work both as a source on Celtic vocabulary and as his methodological guideline. This gave him freedom to deploy his creative imagination with even fewer rules than his earlier Latin etymologies had imposed on him. In his system, for example, the ancient Celtic stem *is*, supposedly meaning 'human nature', could have *as*, *es*, *os* and *us* as its variants, while through their common links to Celtic, the Romanian place-name formants *-ești* and *-iște* were put in parallel with all the following: Latin *-estis* (like in *agrestis*), German *Palast* 'palace', Polish *miasto* 'city' and the endings in *Sebaste*, *Segesta*, *Oreste* (the name of an Euboian town), *Boavista* and *Aosta*.<sup>293</sup> In such a way, Celtic place-name etymologies brought Romanian place names into harmony with pan-European patterns, and more completely than Latin-based etymologies.

Just like Pesty forty years earlier, Marienescu thought that even the Romanian microtoponymy had an antiquity going back to a millenary or more. In contrast to Pesty, however, who retreated from publishing the data of his massive survey after these contradicted his expectations, Marienescu's esoteric and sloppy methodology gave him full discretion to do violence to his own data and to interpret the contemporary field names of Măidan, a Romanian village in the Banat, which appeared in the sources as late as in 1690–1700 and which had probably been settled in the second half of the Ottoman period, as Celtic formations.<sup>294</sup> In his explanations for major place names, Marienescu

292 Idem, 'De origine și antichitatea numelor geografice și istorice' [On the origin and antiquity of geographic and historic names], *Familia* 26 (1890): 76–7.

293 Idem, 'Sufixe *esti* și *iste* în numele de localități românești' [The suffixes *-ești* and *-iște* in Romanian settlement names], *Familia* 27 (1891): 234, 246 and 258.

294 Liuba, Iana and Marienescu.

generously suggested multiple etymologies whenever a name had a transparent meaning. In such cases, he explained, folk etymology helped later inhabitants to assimilate the original, Celtic names to their languages. In this manner, the element *tamás/tămaș* in place names made reference to the personal name *Tamás*, but only because that was the way that Magyars had systematically reinterpreted earlier Celtic *taom* ‘forest’ (it is unclear whether we should think that any person named *Tamás* was also involved in the process), similarly to the element *nádas/nadăș*, which Marienescu claimed to go back to Celtic *nad* ‘elevated place’, through Hungarian *nád* ‘reed’.<sup>295</sup>

The philology of ‘Celtomaniacs’ was a typical, modern pseudo-science in the sense that it copied the new comparative-historical linguistics in various aspects, which bestowed an aura of scientificity on its etymologies; they were predicated on appellatives, suffixes were classified together with their variants and the continual working of folk etymology was fully acknowledged. Celtic etymologising among Romanians, however, vanished with the passing of the Latinist generation. In the meantime, it was convincingly shown that most available evidence (including some toponymy) pointed to the Thracian affiliation of Dacians.<sup>296</sup> Although Dacians had by then become solid constituent parts of Romanian history, the Thracian language was a complete *terra incognita*, not to mention that Thracians aroused none of the excitement among Western dilettantes that Celts did. In consequence, if new Dacian enthusiasts wished to prop up their theories with place-name etymologies, they could do little but content themselves with speculations based on the surviving proper names. The Transylvanian exile and former Latinist Nicolae Densușianu’s *Dacia preistorică* (published posthumously in 1913) made the land inhabited by Romanians in modern times the homeland of ancient Pelasgians, claiming it as the cradle of all European civilisation and Romanians as Pelasgians’ direct-line des-

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.* and Maiorescu, *Sufixe este și iste*.

<sup>296</sup> Xenopol, *Istoria romînilor din Dacia Traiana*, vol. 1, 52–4.



cendants, but without following the jigsaw puzzle method of etymologising pursued by the ‘Celtomaniacs’.<sup>297</sup> Neither did his imagined world benefit from comparative-historical linguistics, although it took inspiration from another rapidly developing science, the comparative history of religions.

Densușianu sometimes found that the Romanian language could explain European place names (*Delos* < Rom. *deal* ‘hill’, or rather its ‘Pelasgian’ etymon<sup>298</sup>), but his main interest did not lie in deriving European toponymy from Romanian, be it dressed up as Pelasgian. His toponymic etymologies follow an earlier style of etymologising and are based on the humanist idea that place names tended to commemorate great figures whose names have come down to us and important events connected to them. He constantly drew on place names in order to relocate the pre-Classical Greek world to the girdle of the Carpathians, mainly following two distinct strategies. On the one hand, he presented Romanian toponymy as teeming with reminiscences to ancient gods and heroes: *Căliman* ~ *Cerus manus*, *Babacai* ~ *Gaia*, *Rea* ~ *Rheia*, *Orăștie* (spelt *Orestia*) ~ *Orestes*, *Gogan* and *Gugu* ~ *Gigantes* etc. In one case, it was not even a place name that he claimed to originate in the name of a mythical hero, but the other way around: the nymph Amalthea was said to have taken her name from *Hălmagiu*, the name of a market town in the former Zarand/Zaránd County. On the other hand, Densușianu matched unlocalised or mythical places from the works of Greek and Latin geographers with places from Romania, Transylvania and the Banat, without much regard to where the ancient referents were supposed to lie and whether they were towns, rivers or islands: *Mermessos* ~ *Mărmești*, *Atlas* ~ *Aluta* (the ancient name of the Olt River), *Mecone* ~ *Moeciu*, *Pharanx* ~ *Parâng*, *Byrsan* ~ *Bârsa*, *Aetos* ~ *Oituz*, *Chrysaor* ~ *Rușava*, *Gadira* ~ *Ogradena*, *Tartessos* ~ *Certej*, *Rhodanos* ~ *Rudaria*, *Temesa* ~ *Timiș*, *Sillis* ~ *Jiu* etc. His opinion

<sup>297</sup> Nic. Densușianu, *Dacia preistorică* [Prehistoric Dacia] (Bucharest: Göbl, 1913).

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

that Romanian was not a Romance language did not prevent him from recycling Latinist etymologies (*Țibleș* < *Cybele*, *Hațeg* < *Sarmazege*), and neither did his contention that ‘a Magyar element or Magyar population has never existed in Transylvania, except for the Szeklers’ prevent him from making use of the Hungarian names if these stood closer to his attempted etymons: *Tatrang* < *Tartaros*, *Tárkány* < *Tarraconenses*.<sup>299</sup>

Even though Latinists took an easier stance towards Dacians after 1849, they considered any historical relationship between Romanians and Slavs a taboo, other than the heinous cultural yoke that the latter were said to have exercised. For their eyes, Slavdom was an unjustified stigma that slanderers had put on Romanians and from which these had to be freed by any means. Hence they reacted with peevish rage when non-Romanians hinted at the Slavic origin of any place name in the Romanian-inhabited parts of Transylvania and Hungary.<sup>300</sup> Yet place names rooted in Slavic were too numerous not to catch the eye of external observers, and ultimately Latinists also tried to solve the riddle of their origin in their internal discussions.<sup>301</sup>

As already mentioned, Dacians were identified as the culprits in an early version (present in Budai-Deleanu), whereas Timotei Cipariu put the blame on Slavic-speaking Sarmatians, whose historical presence he deduced from the similarity between their ethnonym and the name of the Dacian capital Sarmizegetusa.<sup>302</sup> Without doubt, the most interesting combination was the one put forward by George Bariț, who identified the Magyars as the givers of Slavic names, in a league with the Bulgarian Empire:

‘In our opinion, the Magyar people is a blend of the Northern-Asian Turcoman race with certain Slavic races, and therefore the material of Hungarian language is also nearly half Slavic. When the Magyars changed, that is Magyarised, the names of our places and people, at the same time they also Slavicised them even more than they had already been Slavicised

299 Nic. Densușianu, *Note critice asupra scrierii d-lui A. D. Xenopol ‘Teoria lui Rösler’* [Critical remarks upon ‘Rösler’s theory’ by A. D. Xenopol] (Bucharest: Göbl, 1885), 44.

300 For example, Gregoriu Silasî, *Apologie: discursiuni filologice și istorice magiare privitoare la Români, invederite și rectificate* [Apology: Hungarian philological and historiographical works concerning Romanians, clarified and amended], vol. 1, *Paulu Hunfalvy despre Cronic’a lui Georg. Gabr. Sincăi* [Pál Hunfalvy on Georg. Gabr. Șincai] (Clusiu: Ed. ‘Amicului Familiei’, 1879), 35.

301 An example for the former is G. vom Rath, *Siebenbürgen: Reisebeobachtungen und Studien* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1880), 72.

302 Timotei Cipariu in *Archivul pentru filologia și istoria* 22 (1869): 428–9.

with the help of the official language under the Bulgaro-Romanian Empire.’<sup>303</sup>

The proposition that Hungarian contained more Slavic borrowings than Romanian, borne out of a resentment typical of the forty-eighter, Latinist generation, nowhere appears in a more extreme version than in this passage. It also unravels the ideological link between linguistic and racial speculations; ‘Slavic blood’ flowed in Magyars’ veins in proportion of the Slavic vocabulary in their language.

Two village secretaries from the Banat traced back the Slavic names of their villages to Ottoman times; one of them to South Slavic-speaking soldiers of the Ottoman army, and the other to the Serb hierarchy of the Orthodox church. The idea that Serb priests systematically renamed their parishes and that Romanian villagers later adopted these new names follows the same logic of ‘cuius regio, eius nomina’ that was also present in the story about the medieval Magyarisation of place names.<sup>304</sup>

It certainly only received the name Barra in the seventeenth century, when the Slavic population, or rather the Serbs, acquired domination over Romanians in our Church and in the entire district, and along with that they also named the localities in their own language, like the Slavic name Barra for example means stream.<sup>305</sup>

Thanks to scholarly interest in the pre-Germanic Slavic place names of Germany, Slavic place name studies got a relatively early start and their results were incorporated into the stock and trade of the discipline. The topic was fashionable, and by the time of the grand debate about Romanian ethnogenesis, there was relatively little disagreement between its participants as to which name should be counted as Slavic. It obviously helped that Franc Miklošič/Franz von Miklosich, professor at Vienna University, had published his three synthetic, authoritative volumes on the topic between 1864 and 1874.<sup>306</sup> Since the patterns of Slavic name formation were described in minute details in an international language of culture, all trained philologists might feel compelled to ac-

303 Bariț, *Despre numele proprie*, 2.

304 Timotei (...) from Cacova, 1864; OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel no. 35.

305 Petru Codreanu from Bara/Barra, 1864; *ibid.* The name is first attested in 1367 as *Bara*.

306 Fr. Pastrnek, *Bibliographische Übersicht über die slavische Philologie, 1876—1891* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), 123–6 and Egli, 180–1.

cept that in the lands inhabited by Romanians (in both the Kingdoms of Hungary and of Romania), place names of Slavic origin made up a greater share of the toponymy than it had been previously thought and that they could not be given by Dacians, Sarmatians, Magyars or Serb Orthodox priests. But even if these facts were more or less agreed upon, they were wrapped up in very different narratives:

1. The recently emerged vision of Magyar historical priority incorporated the motif of Slavic place names from the very outset and claimed that Magyars at the time of their settlement encountered a Slavic toponymy given by Slavs. For the larger part, these Slavs later probably assimilated with the Magyars, but in some zones, especially in the highlands, with the Romanians. A staple argument against Romance continuity was that Romanians had themselves adopted Slavic names for places that had been populated under Roman times: what had been called *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* in Latin became Romanian *Grădiște*, and Latin *Apulum* Romanian *Bălgrad*.<sup>307</sup> As the story was retold in a more ideological tone, Magyar authors symbolically adopted the erstwhile givers of Slavic place names and de-emphasised the foreignness of these names in the Romanian context, especially if it was understood that a medieval Hungarian-speaking population had phonologically adapted them. By the turn of the century, Magyar authors usually looked for a Slavic etymology when a place name could not be explained on the basis of Hungarian.<sup>308</sup>

2. Offering a corrective to this version, Grigore Moldovan/Moldován Gergely argued that in the mountains, where there had been no medieval Magyar population, Slavic place names had been given by Romanian-speaking settlers or transhumants, who had earlier adopted Balkan Slavic patterns of place-name formation and probably also trans-

307 Hunfalvy, *Ethnographie von Ungarns*, 349–50; idem, *A rumun nyelv*, 40 and Lajos Szádeczky, ‘Erdély őslakói: elnöki megnyitó az E. K. E. jan. 25. közgyűlésén’ [The original inhabitants of Transylvania: presidential inaugural speech at the general assembly of the EKE, on the 25th of January], *Erdély* 23 (1914): 2.

308 See the already cited county monograph by Petri and József Kádár, Károly Tagányi, László Réthy and József Pokoly, *Szolnok-Dobokavármegye monographiája* [Monograph of Szolnok-Doboka County], 7 vols (Deésen: Szolnok-Dobokavármegye közönsége, 1901–5).

ferred place names from the Balkans.<sup>309</sup> This explanation could sound plausible because many Slavic place names appeared relatively late in the historical records and then already in the company of apparent Romance-speaking (Vlach) populations.

3. Rösler still disputed with the Latinists, who tried to minimise the Slavic influence on Romanian.<sup>310</sup> The young generation of Romanian philologists, who stepped on the scene in the 1860s, readjusted the old vision of Romanian historical priority to accommodate the great heterogeneity and minimal Latin heritage to be found in Romanian toponymy. In their telling, Slavic place names had been given by Slavs in the second half of the first millenary, who then fused with the autochthonous Romanian population and vanished from the stage of history before the arrival of Magyars. Whilst the inclusion of the Slavic element into canonical Romanian history, which was also meant to explain the Slavic contingent of the core vocabulary, dented the popular historical *topos* of Romanians being victims of endless assimilation by other peoples, this drawback was more than offset by the new possibility to claim Slavic linguistic data automatically as Romanian. The new Romanian discourse went one step further than Magyars in the symbolic appropriation of Slavic place names, effectively calling them ‘Romano-Slavic’ from the moment of their inception. Slavic traces in the toponymy, once the objects of shame and denial, could now even serve to uphold the thesis of continuous Romance settlement. Obviously, as opposed to Latin, much fewer local Romanian intellectuals could afford to dedicate their time to the study of modern Slavic philology. One such exception was the Caransebeş teacher Iosif Bălan, who drew the lesson from Xenopol’s argument and in a book written in 1898, derived most place names of the Banat from Slavic, including those that Magyar scholars attributed to Hungarian on the basis of medieval data.<sup>311</sup>

Beyond these general points, Xenopol also made the special claim, not shared by many

309 Moldován, *Alsófehér vármegye román népe*, 752.

310 Rösler, *Romänische Studien*, 130.

311 Iosif Bălan, *Numiri de localități* [Settlement names] (Caransebeş: ed. ‘Bibl. Noastre’, 1898).

of his Romanian colleagues, that place names of Slavic origin would themselves prove the historical priority of Romanians in Transylvania, since these had been preserved by them and not by the Magyars or the Saxons. The examples he cited, however (*Bălgrad, Ocna, Bran, Jabeșița, Grădiște*), represented just a small minority of Slavic place names in Transylvania that indeed only existed in Romanian and not in Hungarian.<sup>312</sup>

This parallel adjustment of the two competing historical visions to the Slavic ingredient of the place-name cover resulted in a large set of place names that both visions claimed for their own groups without diverging on the technical details of their etymologies. With historically Slavic place names becoming a more or less well-defined group, Romanian nationalists and believers in Magyar historical priority could concur in many etymologies, but they interpreted them in diametrically opposed ways, historical Slavs being considered by both camps as their own allies. It should be noted that besides Slavs, the two rival narratives also mutually appropriated two nomadic groups with smaller and more controversial toponymic imprints. Historical Cumans and Pechenegs figured as kindred peoples of Magyars in the Magyar vision, whereas Romanian authors understood these two ethnonyms simply as codenames for Romanians.<sup>313</sup>

#### **4.1.8. Two Names: *Ardeal* and *Mehadia***

In the new order of things, the Romanian name for Transylvania, *Ardeal*, was set to occupy a central position in the discursive contest for place-name etymologies, as potentially the most sensitive name for the Romanian nationalist side. At the mid-nineteenth century and onwards, it was widely accepted that this form had been borrowed from *Erdély*, the Hungarian name of the province. On the testimony of the same Hungarian medieval chronicles that supported the thesis of Romance continuity, *Erdély* is itself the

312 Xenopol, *Une Enigme historique*, 165. In the Romanian version, he also added names of non-Slavic origin: *Cetatea de Baltă* and *Gherla*; idem, *Teoria lui Rösler*, 213.

313 Mitu, 218 and Maniu, *Zur Geschichtsforschung*, 15–43 and 46–7.

contracted form of archaic *Erdőelve*, ‘beyond the forest’, the source for the erudite Latin *Transsilvania*. Despite the plausible correspondence between *erdeuelu* and *ultra silvas* in the Anonymous, the exact meaning of the second element (*elve*) was only clarified by Hunfalvy, and his explanation was lost on most contemporaries on both sides.<sup>314</sup> Romanian writers who came to terms with the Hungarian origin of the place name tended to see a Hungarian suffix in *-ély*.<sup>315</sup>

Now, without a powerful diversionary story, the circumstance that such a key term had been borrowed from Magyars understandably threatened to become corrosive for at least the strong version of Romanian historical priority, which had Transylvania inhabited through and through by Romanians at the time of the Magyar conquest. The following, bluntly ideological statement by Réthy was hard to fend off precisely because it rested on such widely shared folk linguistic assumptions about the ‘ownership’ of linguistic forms that reached beyond specifically nationalist language ideologies: Romanians ‘*cannot even name (!) Transylvania in their own tongue, but they call it Ard’al*’.<sup>316</sup>

For Nicolae Stoica’s by and large still pre-national mindset, it was possible to see the Hungarian and Romanian names as unrelated: Hungarian *Erdély* would come from Hungarian *erdő* ‘forest’, while Romanian *Ardeal* could be explained, as a popular etymology had it, by Romanian *are deal* ‘has hill’.<sup>317</sup> Latinists broadly managed to manoeuvre the question out of sight by using the Latinate form *Transilvania*, but attempts at deflecting the Hungarian etymology of the vernacular Romanian name were not missing either. In the early decades, Ioan Budai-Deleanu maintained that Magyars had borrowed the name from Romanians, which these on their turn had inherited from the language of Dacians and which bore reference to the Agathyrsi, a people inhabiting the region in still earlier

314 Hunfalvy, *Ethnographie von Ungarn*, 229–30; Heufler, V/27 and Roesler, *Dacier und Rumänen*, 32.

315 E.g., Tiktin, vol. 3, 90.

316 Réthy, 137. Emphasis in the original.

317 Nicolae Stoica de Hațeg, *Scrieri: Cronica Mehădiei și a Băilor Herculanee, Povești moșăști scolarilor rumânești, Varia* [Writings: The Chronicle of Mehădia and of Băile Herculanee/Herkulesbad, Ancestral stories for Romanian students, Varia] (Timișoara: Facla, 1984), 26.

times.<sup>318</sup> Later, inspired by the idea that the Dacians spoke Celtic, three unrelated etymologies connected the name *Ardeal* to the Dacians in a more direct fashion, deriving it from putative Celtic stems.<sup>319</sup>

Along the lines of a then fashionable method, the canon Gavril Pop managed to find a similar-sounding entry word in his Latin dictionary, which he then proposed as the true etymon of the name. In his understanding, *Ardeal* was neither Hungarian nor Celtic/Dacian in origin, but was rooted in *ardelio*, a slangish Hellenism meaning ‘busybody’, present in Martial, but never properly acclimatised in Latin,<sup>320</sup> and the Anonymous and Simon Kézai (that is, two medieval chroniclers) would only distort this genuine Romanian name into Hungarian *Erdevelu/Erdőelve*.<sup>321</sup>

In his *Etymologicum magnum Romaniae*, Haşdeu performed the stunt of admitting the Hungarian origin of *Ardeal* with the one hand and retaining Romanian’s priority over the name with the other. Alas, his version had the minor shortcoming that the ideologically non-committed could hardly go along with it. *Codrul* (‘the forest’) was a non-attested, speculative form, purely the product of Haşdeu’s imagination, which made sense only within the logic of his historical master narrative: ‘The proper Romanian name, before the acceptance of the Hungarian term, seems to have been “Codrul”, which the Magyars settling in Pannonia translated as Erdély, and later the Romanians, forgetting their own original, time-honoured name, contented themselves with borrowing this translation.’<sup>322</sup> The Hungarian origin of the name *Ardeal*, if not also Haşdeu’s speculations about the earlier name of the land, thereafter found acceptance with all the major Romanian philologists of the next generations.<sup>323</sup>

318 Budai-Deleanu, vol. 1, 11–12.

319 Heuflier, V/27–9; Johann Wolff, ‘Zur Deutung geographischer Namen Siebenbürgens’, *Zeitschrift für Schul-Geographie* 4 (1883): 167–8, 213–5 and 260–3 and Şimon, *Dicţionar toponimic*, 209–10. Wolff’s idea was debated by Hunfalvy in Wolff’s own journal, but was plagiarised twenty years later by Iuliu Marţian; Jakab, *Erdély ország-nevei* and Miklós Drăganu, ‘Marţian román nyelvű röpiratai “Erdély” nevének eredetéről’ [Marţian’s pamphlets in Romanian on the name *Erdély*], *Erdélyi Irodalmi Szemle* 2 (1927): 320.

320 Eric Partridge, *The Routledge Dictionary of Historical Slang*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 103.

321 Popu, 290.

322 Petriceicu-Hasdeu, *Etymologicum magnum Romaniae*, vol. 2, 289.

323 Drăganu, *Marţian*, 319.



The etymology of the Romanian place name *Mehadia* (first occurrence in 1614, and hence Ger. *Mehadia* and Hun. *Mehádia*) gave quite a headache to Magyars and Romanians alike. The position of this market town in the former Romanian Banat Border Regiment and right off the Roman baths of Hercules matched the point marked *Admediā* on the Peutinger Map, but between the fourteenth and the seventeenth century, as Frigyes Pesty established, the settlement and its castle had been called *Mihald*, a form rooted in Hungarian (Hun. *Mihály* personal name + *-d* derivational suffix).<sup>324</sup>

In a confusing passage from the 1820s, Nicolae Stoica still saw the legacy of a Slavic invasion from Media or a reflex of the South-Slavic *međa* ‘border’ in the name of the place, his archpriestly seat:

The powerful Moravians, settling on the banks of the Morava, subjected Serbia, Wallachia, the Banat, Pannonia and Transylvania, ruled here for hundreds of years, longer than any other tongue. They baptised villages, towns, fields, places, waters, mountains and valleys in their language, twisting other names. And I think that those coming from the Empire of Media, in Asia, named here Media Pannoniæ [?], the Slavs’ word for border is *media*.<sup>325</sup>

Later, however, what was either a coincidence or a folk etymology inevitably became a bone of contention between Romanian and Magyar philologists. For the former, the supposed Latin etymology of the name *Mehadia* counted for a long time as the single most certain toponymic proof of Romance continuity. From their perspective, the hiatus of a millenary and a half and the consistent written references to the place as *Mihald* for centuries had at best peripheral significance, and were anyway parts of a deceitful ploy in so far as they originated from Magyar hands. In fact, the similarity between the Roman and the Romanian place names tempted even the positivist Magyar historian Henrik Marczali to allow the possibility of a continuous settlement on the site.<sup>326</sup> Most Magyar historians, however, were adamant to understand *Mihald* as an evidence that the settle-

<sup>324</sup> TP 6A4 (Talbert 1732) and Frigyes Pesty, *A Szörényi Bánság és Szörény vármegye története* [The History of the Banate of Severin/Szörény and of Szörény County], vol. 2 (Budapest: M. T. Akadémia, 1878), 325–36.

<sup>325</sup> Stoica de Hăteș, *Cronica Banatului*, 58.

<sup>326</sup> Henrik Marczali, *Magyarország története* [History of Hungary] (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1911), vol. 1, 16.

ment had been founded by Magyars, although this founding must have dated from the very first centuries after the Magyar conquest, since by the time it appeared in the documents, the place was the seat of a Wallachian district within the Kingdom of Hungary. In a looking-glass image of the story about multisecular Magyar perfidy, which was itself not rare in contemporary Hungarian discourse, Orbán Sipos suggested that Romanians were not only trying to convince the world that their *Mehadia* was of Latin origin, but that their ancestors had already wilfully disfigured Hungarian *Miháld* as part of the same well-thought-out plan. Such projections were most often meant to give license to Machiavellianism: the unscrupulousness of their ‘national work’ justifies our side to pay back with the same coin: ‘Let’s follow the example.’<sup>327</sup>

For those conversant with the new science of historical linguistics, it soon became clear that the regular development of Romanian would have produced a form *Miază* out of a Latin name *Media*, like in the words *miazăzi* (< Lat. *mediam diem*) and *miazănoapte* (< Lat. *mediam noctem*). More hard-nosed Romanian scholars would still continue to insist on the Latin genealogy of the name. Xenopol hoped to solve the problem by the supposed (but unlikely) metathesis *Ad Mediam* > *Meaddiam*.<sup>328</sup> Others worked out ingenious workarounds to backtrack from the Latinist position without conceding a Hungarian etymology.<sup>329</sup> Iosif Bălan derived the name from Slavic *meha* ‘fly’. For Bălan,

on the territory under discussion, there are also a certain number of settlement names about which it has been lately argued that they would have Hungarian origin. The superficial similarity between some Hungarian stems and certain Slavic terms, further the confusion of some Slavic suffixes with imaginary Hungarian ones to which they attribute linguistically inadmissible functions; all these have created the said erroneous view, a view gathering ground from one day to the other.<sup>330</sup>

Haşdeu also opined that no phonetic law, analogy or folk etymology was able to produce *Mehadia* from *Ad Mediam*. In return, he abstracted a toponymic suffix *-adia*, with

<sup>327</sup> Sipos, 30.

<sup>328</sup> Xenopol, *Une énigme historique*, 135 and idem, *Teoria lui Rösler*, 177–8. Ioan Nădejde qualified it as a *salto mortale*; Nădejde, *Istoria rominilor*, 328.

<sup>329</sup> See also Weigand’s view on p. 268.

<sup>330</sup> Bălan, 6.

the stress on the antepenultimate vowel, which he identified in the Romanian place names *Apadia*, *Varadia*, *Mânăradia*, *Crevadia* and *Cisnădia*, among others.<sup>331</sup> By claiming the existence of such a suffix that would incorporate (the otherwise thematic) [a] (and by passing over countless other place names ending in *-ia*), he could dispose of the problem of *Mihald* apparently without even deeming it worthy of mention. To the Hermannstadt teacher Miklós Putnoky's rebuttal that the suffix was *-ia*, it was Serbian in origin, and that in most of Haşdeu's examples, it had been added to Hungarian place names with *-d* toponymic suffix,<sup>332</sup> Haşdeu kept on with his special pleading for an *-adia* suffix, emphasising that the stress fell on the first [a] (respectively on [ə]) in these names. It is in fact a puzzling question where the stress actually fell in *Mehadia*, since in any case this was a form maintained by the official realm, the vernacular variant being *Media*, with the stress upon [i]; a circumstance that several contributors to the debate noted, but that none of them managed to fit into their lines of arguments. Haşdeu continued with indulging in pure sophistry:

The *-ădia* suffix is not Slavic in Serbian, as it is not Latin in Romanian. Did the Romanians borrowed it from the Serbs? but then the question remains: where did the Serbs borrowed it from? Did the Serbs borrowed it from the Romanians? this only inverts the question, but does not solve it.<sup>333</sup>

Although he himself attributed a non-Latin origin to his alleged *-adia* suffix, he still listed a series of ancient place names from Italy ending in *-dius* (!) as a parallel in a condescending remark on Putnoky's objection, plainly with no other purpose than to place the disputed names in his own symbolic geographical framework.

In 1896, the prestigious Iaşi-based journal *Convorbiri literare* ran the licentiate thesis of a certain Dimitrie Dan, an Orthodox priest and amateur ethnographer from the Bukovina, on Romanian place names. Dan took issue with Haşdeu's thesis about an

<sup>331</sup> Petriceicu-Hasdeu, *Etymologicum magnum Romaniae*, vol. 1, 248–9.

<sup>332</sup> Miklós Putnoky, *Az 'Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae' és az összehasonlító nyelvészet jelene Romániában* [The 'Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae' and the present state of comparative linguistics in Romania] (Budapest: M. Tud. Akadémia, 1889), 24.

<sup>333</sup> Petriceicu-Hasdeu, *Etymologicum magnum Romaniae*, vol. 1, 248.

-*adia* suffix, he proved him wrong on the ground of Romanian historical phonology, and in the main he accepted Pesty and Putnoky's position. Moreover, although he does not seem to have known Hungarian, he was eager to look for toponymic traces of medieval Hungarian sovereignty even in Oltenia, the part of Wallachia to the West of the Olt River. Turning to the name *Mehadia*, however, he also found fault with the medieval Hungarian chancellery and argued that they consistently misinterpreted the name, since—again for phonological reasons—Romanian *Mehadia* could not develop from Hungarian *Miháld*. The actual spoken form of the name, underlying the flawed representations, must have been \**Méhed*, from Hungarian *méh* 'bee' and carrying the same -*d* suffix. To support his etymology, he presented various testimonies from the distant past that described the area as an Eldorado for bee-keepers and pointed to the neighbouring Mehedinți County of Oltenia, which sported a bee in its coat of arms and whose name he interpreted as being derived from the same Hungarian form, although independently from *Mehadia*.<sup>334</sup>

Members of the Communal Registry Board were probably unaware of Dan's study. On the suggestion of Jenő Szentkláray, they established *Miháldvára* as the new name for the place in the first round of the process of locality name changes. Rather than simply reviving *Miháld*, Szentkláray perhaps caved in to his romantic leanings or was influenced by the Romanian ending when devising this name (*vára* 'castle of'), but *Miháld* was also the name of a village in Western Hungary, and homonymies had to be avoided at all costs. In any event, the locals remained unimpressed by such considerations. In their appeal against the name change, they boiled down Romanian nationalist scholarship to a catchy argument, contending that since the foundation of Roman Media, the name *Mehadia* had been in use for one thousand six hundred years, and the name *Miháld* for just two hundred and fifty. At the end of the day, however, not the clash between these two diametrically opposed historical visions, but pragmatic considerations settled the

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334 Dan, 323–35 and 504–15.

question, tilting the balance in favour of *Mehádia*. The neighbouring Herkulesbad/Her-  
kulesfürdő/Băile Herculane held the stature of contemporary Hungary's highest-class and  
most internationally attended spa resort. Although it had been long known abroad under  
the name *Herkulesbad*, it had also been publicised earlier by the name of the nearest in-  
habited place, Mehadia, and many feared that a change in the latter would jeopardise the  
brand among the spa-going high society. The local government already included this  
concern in their appeal and, what weighed more with the Communal Registry Board,  
Krassó-Szörény County also supported the keeping of the name unchanged, pointing out  
that it was still widely used for the spa.

#### **4.1.9. Conclusions**

Place-name-etymological speculations, intended to shore up national visions of his-  
tory, were quickly set in motion after the civil war of 1848–9 dramatically showed the  
mobilising force of nationalist slogans and the irredeemable gap between the rival na-  
tional agendas with overlapping territorial claims. In addition, and I cannot tell which of  
the two circumstances was more decisive, these were the same years when Vienna rolled  
back the public use of Hungarian and introduced new German place names to be used in  
the administrative sphere. Initially, both Hungarian and Romanian nationalist place-name  
etymologies were purely inward-looking, and they reflected very little of the diachron-  
icity of language, of the historical multilingualism of the space and indeed of history in  
general, except for a remote and half-mythical national golden age. For a generation or  
so, Hungarian etymologies were conceived out of the belief that Hungarian was some-  
how related to the ancient languages of the Near Orient, and they were often also in-  
spired by the idea of synaesthetic, monosyllabic roots, whereas Romanian ones inscribed  
themselves in the time-honoured tradition of humanist etymology (presented here on the

example of József Benkő) and pulled out all the stops to prove the impeccable Latin pedigree of the modern Romanian name variants. In part as a sulky reaction to comparative-historical arguments, more than one Romanian intellectual of the Latinist generation later lapsed into the decidedly modern, if pseudo-scientific, trend of etymological ‘Celtomania’, the quest for underlying Celtic etymons, on the presumption that Dacians, imagined as either sufficiently ‘neutral’ or outright as the ancestors of modern Romanians, had spoken Celtic. Place-name etymologies from this early stage are in general notable for their arbitrariness, which opened the gates for large circles of nationalist vanguards not only to maintain a belief in them, but also to partake in their production.

In the 1870s, a number of developments conspired to rework the ways place-name etymology was pursued and to redefine the place that place names would thereafter occupy in the two nationalised readings of history. First and foremost, scholars in Germany and in other western countries had attached onomastic research to the bandwagon of comparative-historical linguistics and elevated it to the status of a respectable auxiliary discipline. Researchers either traced back the original forms of place names in documents or sometimes reconstructed them relying on knowledge about regular sound changes, they organised them into chronological layers and regional types, sometimes also matching them to specific ethno-regional groups. By the 1870s, such research had made great headway in the domains of Germanic, Romance and Slavic, providing a ready-made recipe for similar classifications of Hungarian and Romanian place names. Historical source collections, compiled out of enthusiasm for the past of the nation, were by that time also there to help order name variants in time sequence. The immediate catalyst for the production of place-name etymologies within the modern, scientific paradigm was the Austrian historian Robert Rösler’s influential theory about the Balkanic origins of Romanians, supported among other things by the lack of continuity between the at-

tested settlement toponymy of ancient Dacia and the current Romanian settlement-name cover, which in its early layers also largely went back to Slavic and Hungarian. In both the Magyar and Romanian national contexts, there emerged a group of young and accomplished, or at least reasonably well-informed comparatists who took up the gauntlet thrown by Rösler and tried to affirm or to refute his theory in general and his arguments based on toponymy in particular. These young men were ready to throw out the unwanted ballast of inherited Romantic rubbish, but they were at the same time also eager to demonstrate their commitment to the nationalist vision of history in the philological battlefield, a commitment called into question exactly because of their critical, irreverent attitudes to received wisdoms. The inherent qualities of the toponymic material and strategic considerations drove both sides to engage with Slavic philology, and unavoidably in a debate about Romanian ethnogenesis, Magyar scholars also had to tackle the question of Romanian place naming at some length. Romanian contributors to the debate, on the other hand, tended to brush aside as irrelevant transparent Hungarian etymologies together with the written historical record, and despite hints to the contrary, they were usually only able to make sense of Hungarian forms vicariously, through lay assistants who knew the language. Tacitly, they interpreted place names of Hungarian origin as results of a large-scale renaming campaign that they imagined to have taken place right after the lands where early Romanians had supposedly lived had been integrated into the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.

There is much to suggest that most participants and observers understood the debate as to be at least partly about certain collective privileges that historical priority in the land was thought to guarantee. Should Romanians' direct-line ancestors be proven to have inhabited the intra-Carpathian space prior to the arrival of Magyars, that would have lent them an uncontested autochthonous status, a firm footing from which to chal-

lenge the constitutional status quo and to demand some form of political autonomy. Conversely, if the place-name cover was originally Hungarian and early Romanians had only adopted it, that was understood as substantiating the doctrine that as an historically immigrant minority group, Romanians must at the very least learn the language of their hosts and preferably also assimilate with them. These inferences were made explicit or were indexed countless times during the period, nevertheless it would be a mistake to exaggerate their role among the legitimising strategies of contemporary Hungarian state nationalist and Romanian minority nationalist discourses. Whilst the former also continually recalled the right of conquest and made frequent references to Magyars' putative state-making genius, both Hungarian and Romanian nationalists often went out of their ways to emphasise their ethnic constituents' inherent cultural superiority over the other. Romanian nationalists would also appeal to the numerical ascendancy of Romanian-speakers, albeit rarely without a historicised framing. It may present interest in this respect that Transylvanian Saxons were in fact able to mount a robust and at times successful minority nationalist movement in the face of Dualist Hungary's homogenising policies without laying a strong claim on their precedence in the land that they inhabited, although, as outlined on the example of Johann Wolff's toponomastic studies, the idea of Saxon historical precedence was by no means absent in their minds. Moreover, the Pan-German propaganda disseminated about and for the use of Hungary's ethnic Germans emphatically did not describe these latter as autochthonous, but rather as sturdy colonists bearing evidence of Germandom's demographic vigour.

Toponyms were invested with great importance in this debate, although perhaps more so on the side of those asserting Magyar priority. These latter put a premium on the medieval written record in their interpretations, which the opposite camp usually snubbed, often suggesting that if the original forms could be reconstructed at all, it had to



be done on the basis of the modern names as they lived on the lips of the Romanian folk. The new scientific framework of the game weaned Romanian philologists away from their earlier Latin sources and made them discover the Slavic roots of a large segment of the Romanian toponymy, which they reinterpreted at one swell swoop as ‘Romano-Slavic’. They also replaced the emphasis from settlement names on the names of rivers and peaks. As the latter appeared less often in the medieval record, they could be conveniently understood as relics of a hoary antiquity, while the resemblance between the ancient and Romanian names of the major rivers was presented as a solid proof of Romance continuity. Magyar philologists denied that these Romanian forms could go back to the documented pre-Latin ones without Slavic and/or Hungarian transmission, and Pál Hunfalvy in particular pointed out that the major hydronyms had usually survived the Migration Period in the entire Carpathian Basin.

There can be no doubt that the threads of discourse on the origins of place names that have been the subject of this chapter informed in no small way the waves of interventions into the toponymy that ensued first under Hungarian and later under Romanian rule. The experts on the Communal Registry Board who assisted the selection of new Hungarian locality names were up-to-date on the toponymic arguments mounted in favour of Magyars’ first occupancy. Further on, I will describe how the quest for the original Hungarian forms kindled the imagination of a nationalist, newspaper-reading public, and the same was, *mutatis mutandis*, also true for Romanian historical memory. But once again, if scholarly debates and especially the one on Romanian ethnogenesis put the origins of place names into public discussion, one should not overestimate the direct influence that they could exert on renaming campaigns. Renaming campaigns redressed felt historical injustices, yes, and at the same time they committed symbolic violence by imposing a dominant vision upon non-dominant groups, but the new nomenclatures

could not be seriously considered as arguments for the truth of one's historical vision, indeed they did very bad service to its credibility. More importantly perhaps, from the parallels presented below, there seems to be a more universal tendency towards toponymic narcissism intrinsic to mobilising state nationalisms, which has strived to see the national space as filled up with names in line with the linguistic self-image or at least free from associations with the languages and cultures of fractious minorities and menacing foreign powers.

#### 4.2. The View from Below

Through the respondent returns to Frigyes Pesty's toponymic survey of 1864, the bulk of which have remained unpublished to this day, one gets a unique insight into a different style of decoding place names, which did not endow them with similar ethno-linguistic significance as did the currents discussed in the last chapter. With his survey, for which he somewhat surprisingly enlisted the assistance of the Habsburg bureaucracy, Pesty's main goal was to collect the whole microtoponymy of contemporary Hungary and Transylvania, which he hoped would yield an abundance of clues on the topography and ethnic relations of the land prior to the Ottoman conquest. In front of the blank sheets reserved for the microtoponymy, he also placed a question inquiring about the possible origin and meaning of the settlement's name.<sup>335</sup> Sporadic references to peasant etymologies buried in a wide range of published material partly confirm, partly complement the testimony of these returns. One should, however, beware not to essentialise the different interpretive horizon that comes to light from these sources as standing for *the* pre-national or pre-modern vernacular lore of place-name origins, if only because etymological guesses of learned provenience constantly filtered into folk knowledge, with historical self-narratives of the gentry inspiring further ones.

335 Árpád Csáki, 'Előszó' [Preface], in *Pesty Frigyes helynévgyűjteménye 1864–1865: Székelyföld*, vol. 1, 7–14.

It would be no less wrong to assume that the village secretaries who drafted the responses to Pesty's questionnaire always transmitted local beliefs when they did not draw on written sources. Although the instructions circulated by county authorities called on them to collect information from the oldest men and from office holders, there probably were village secretaries who felt that they knew better than unlettered peasants and who substituted local traditions with their own, long-held or improvised etymologies. All the more since village secretaries typically attended to the affairs of several, up to a dozen or so villages, and rigorously abiding by this point in the instructions would have also meant making extra rounds of their circles.

How to interpret the fact that in most cases, village secretaries gave no answer to this question or claimed to be unable to find etymologies for the village names? To be sure, they often skipped other questions as well or answered them evasively, out of indifference or prudence, as they were confused about the true purpose of the survey and the kinds of answers expected from them. Supposing then that village secretaries sometimes pooh-poohed existing traditions about settlement names as idle nonsense, should we still take at face value that a great many village communities did not have such traditions?

On the one hand, the fact that village secretaries reported as unintelligible some transparent Romanian place names derived from widely used Romanian appellatives gives grounds to call their punctiliousness into question. On the other hand, explanatory legends were hardly needed in order to keep settlement names alive, unlike in the case of minor place names, which were often yoked to such stories, explaining why they had been given in the first place.<sup>336</sup> Moreover, Ioan Slavici's following words also call attention to the difficulties that peasants faced trying to explain the origins of their place names if these came from languages alien to them:

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<sup>336</sup> Nicholas M. Wolf, *An Irish-Speaking Island: State, Religion, Community, and the Linguistic Landscape in Ireland, 1770–1870* (Madison, Wis.: Wisconsin University Press, 2014), 73.

Neither are the people of Șiria the first settlers, however, nor the wineland people, the lowlanders and the woodlanders, since the village nomenclature is not Romanian at all. Radna, Miniș, Cladova, Ghioroc, Cuvin, Covăsânt, Șiria, Gașa, Mișca, Măderat, Pâncota, Agrij, Arăniag, Silinghia, Dud, Drauș, Cermei, Căcărau, Mocrea do not mean anything in Romanian.<sup>337</sup>

Place names borrowed from other tongues will obviously be more likely devoid of meaning. Nevertheless, it can also be argued that such opacity is exactly what makes for a good name. The very nonsensicality of an opaque name underlines its status as a name, whereas a transparent one inevitably redirects attention to its etymological, ‘frozen’ meaning. At the same time, a meaningless place name was probably also more impervious to neighbours’ ill will and mockery, leaving more room for the locals to negotiate their public face.

Whether they originated among the peasantry or the rural literate caste, the etymologies returned to Pesty show little resemblance to Romantic ones and can be smoothly described as pre-national. They also nicely dovetail with the peasant etymologies that appear as such in early ethnographic works. A common type of this corpus rooted the origin of place names in dialogue situations, usually set at the time of foundation. Such interpretive framing, which gave more latitude for making use of inflected word forms, had been fairly common in earlier scholarship. Samuel Timon, for example, had sought to explain the name *Gyergyó* by envisioning an old woman calling the eventual first settlers of the place with the words *Jer, jó!* ‘come, good!’<sup>338</sup> In reality, of course, place names are hardly ever born out of dialogues, and this strategy also lost credit with nineteenth-century scholars.

Examples for such etymologies include:

Name	Proposed etymology	English meaning	Context attributed to it
<i>Solduba</i> (Rom)	<i>s-aude doba</i>	the drum is calling	early 18 <sup>th</sup> -century wars

<sup>337</sup> Ioan Slavici, ‘Lumea prin care am trecut’ [The world I lived in], in *Opere* [Works], vol. 9, *Memorialistica, Varia*, 182 (Bucharest: Scriitori Români and Minerva, 1978).

<sup>338</sup> Kőllönte, 30–1.

Name	Proposed etymology	English meaning	Context attributed to it between the Habsburgs and Rákóczi <sup>339</sup>
<i>Săcărâmb</i> (Rom)	<i>(haideți) să cărăm</i>	(come on) let's haul <sup>340</sup>	
<i>Eresztevény</i> (Hun)	<i>ereszd a vént!</i>	let the old one(s) go	a Tatar khan to his soldiers, referring to the old and in- valid among captive Christi- ans <sup>341</sup>
<i>Atyha</i> (Hun)	<i>adj, ha (van)!</i>	give, if (you have)	the youngest child to his father at the division of the family estate (set in the 17 <sup>th</sup> century) <sup>342</sup>
<i>Csittfalva</i> (Hun)	<i>csitt!</i>	(here) giddy up!	one of the founders to his headstrong horse <sup>343</sup>

These etymologies were derived from the same language as the names they were meant to explain. But the vernacular mind made no problems about imagining opaque names as compounds of elements from two languages. A case in point is the etymology of Hungarian *Kapnikbánya*, enclosing a code-switching to German at conversational turn-taking, explicable by the German ancestry of a large part of this mining town's population. It is to be interpreted as a self-ironic reference to the tough life of miners and to the depletion of local mines.<sup>344</sup>

<i>Kapnik</i> (Hun)	<i>Kapsz? Nichts!</i>	do you find? (Hun) nothing! (Ger)	one miner to the other <sup>345</sup>
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In this dialogue as in others, the historical space conjured up by peasant etymologies was confined to the boundaries of the village or at best to conflicts with neighbouring villages, unlike in the more long-sighted visions of many an insider etymologist. Village

339 Mayor Costa Andracu, 1864, in Mizser, 97.

340 Ernest Armeanca, *Săcărâmbul: monografia parohiei române unite de acolo* [Săcărâmb/Sekerembe/Nagyág: monograph of the local Romanian Uniate parish] (Lugoj: Tipografia Națională, 1932), 10. From Rom. *scoroambă* 'blackthorn', originally as a lieu-dit.

341 Orbán, *A Székelyföld*, vol. 3 (Pest: Ráth, 1869), 175.

342 Réső Ensel, vol. 1, 29.

343 *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 7.

344 On the ethnic history of Kapnikbánya/Cavnic, see Palmer, ed., 289–90. Its name derived from that of its brook, and that from Slavic *kopalnik* 'dug-out'.

345 Kálmán Persián, 'A Gutin vidékéről: Kapnikbánya' [From the Gutâi/Gutin area: Kapnikbánya], *Erdély* 21 (1912): 36. The district administrator Sándor Smit already reported this etymology to Pesty, incorrectly as *Kapsz-é? Nicht* (the simple negative answer would be *Nein*); Mizser, 126.

people liked to bind their place names to local historical events and legends, thus using them as sites of memory. Typical in this regard is *Surul* (Rom. ‘the grey one’), the name of a peak in the Southern Carpathians, originally likely referring to its colour, but for the twentieth-century Romanian dwellers of Avrig/Freck, already standing for a legendary grey horse that their ancestors had allegedly paid for the mountain to the community of Racovița.<sup>346</sup>

It may appear to contradict what I have just said about the narrow horizons of peasant etymologies, but Pesty’s informants very often derived place names from another language not widely spoken locally. That Magyar village secretaries, district administrators and noblemen asserted the Hungarian origins of village names should come as no surprise, but more than one Romanian rural intellectual also presented Hungarian etymologies for names of Romanian-speaking villages. Obviously, these these did not necessarily mirror the opinions of local peasants. Thus Avram Comșa, the Romanian Orthodox priest of Dobârlău, related the Hungarian name of his village, *Dobolló* to the sound of its brook (Hun. *doboló* ‘drumming’), and the Romanian village secretaries of Copru/Kapor, Crihalma/Királyhalma and Dăișoara/Longodâr argued that these names came from Hungarian, although the third one does not even have a transparent Hungarian etymology.<sup>347</sup>

The response from Ciucea/Csucsă, signed on behalf of the local community, derived the name from Hungarian *csucsok* (dial. *csucsak*) ‘peaks’, while the village secretary of Belotint, in an area where Hungarian-speakers came in very short supply, sceptically quoted the locality name’s alleged connection to the medieval Hungarian king Béla.<sup>348</sup> Some of these ideas may have emerged out of literate local people’s accidental familiarity with old documents or via ethno-linguistic others, as was probably the case with Romanian

<sup>346</sup> Marianne Seidler, *Freck: Orte der Erinnerung; eine Ortsmonographie* (Dössel: Stekovics, 2004), 36.

<sup>347</sup> Pesty Frigyes *helynévgyűjteménye 1864–1865: Székelyföld*, vol. 1, 43; Iacob Silviu from 1864; OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel no. 18; Georgiu Pop Gridanul from 1865; *ibid.*, reel no. 20 and ‘Ioan Bokutia’ from 1865; *ibid.* *Kapor* means ‘dill’ and *királyhalma* ‘king’s mound’.

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid.*, reel 30 and István Nagy from 1863; *ibid.*, reel 61. (‘The *tincz* suffix does not go together well with Hungarian ways of speaking.’)

Giacăș, whose name the locals could not possibly have derived from *Iacobus* had the village not been called *Jacobsdorf* in German.<sup>349</sup> It should also be noted that Pesty himself encouraged etymologies across languages by explicitly inquiring about the origin and meaning of each ethnic name variant separately.

Other cross-linguistic etymologies also occur. The Romanians of Alioș, according to a much later observation by the local monograph, firmly believed that the name of their village commemorated a certain Turkish pasha called Ali.<sup>350</sup> Slavic derivations were rarely advanced, but informants sometimes vaguely indicated various foreign tongues in which their locality names allegedly meant something.<sup>351</sup> Quite predictably, Latin etymologies quoted from as local folk opinions are conspicuous by their absence. Romanian peasants may have tried to explain opaque place names on the basis of Romanian—a couple of etymologies consisting of simple or compound Romanian appellatives or prepositional phrases were reported—but not from Latin.<sup>352</sup> This obviously does not mean that Latinist etymologies would not infiltrate local knowledge in subsequent decades. Although Romanian village people had no Latin, many of these etymologies, which came wrapped up in an historical ideology boosting their self-esteem, could not fail to grasp their imagination by the time that naïve Latinism had become discredited in the high ground of serious scholarship.

The mixture of awe and respect that surrounded the written word in orality-based societies goes a long way toward explaining both respondents' tendency to regard the vari-

349 Morariu village secretary and Savu Nicolae (...) mayor from 1864; *ibid.*, reel 37. The etymology is correct.

350 Ioan Dimitrie Suci, *Comuna Alioș din punct de vedere istoric, biologic și cultural* [Alioș/Aliosch commune from the historical, biological and cultural viewpoints] (Bucharest: Societatea de Maine, 1940), 13.

351 Among those that do not seem to originate from village secretaries, only the mayor Joseph/József Ackerman from Lipova traced back his settlement name (correctly) to the Slavic word for lime tree as one of his alternative explanations; OSZK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel 61.

352 The village secretary Vasile Bran's quaint suggestion for *Bârlești*: *bărr* a shout used for driving sheep + *lese* 'wattle fence' (Mizser, 30), Pál Mattolay's down-to-earth interpretation of *Pișcari* as the plural of a dialectal *pișcar* 'loach' (*ibid.*, 81) and the Greek Catholic parish priest Ioan Bariț's deriving of *Petrid* from *petriș* 'gravel'—Pesty Frigyes *helynévgyűjteménye 1864–1865: Székelyföld*, vol. 4, 126—to which I can add the mayor Daniil Bucur's etymology in his village chronicle from 1919: *Lancrăm < La Crâng* 'near the grove'; Ana Lupu, *File de cronică din Lancrăm* [Files from the chronicle of Lancrăm/Langendorf/Lámkerék] (Alba Iulia: Aeternitas, 2008), 26. *Bârlești* < Rom. *Bârlea* personal name + *-ești*. The earlier Romanian name of Lancrăm used to be *Lacrăng* (hence the family name *Lăcrănjan*), which on its turn is a reflex of a dialectal German *Lânkräck* ('long back').

ants found in the oldest documents around as the ‘true’ names and the numerous etymologies that took the written forms as their starting points, irrespective of their phonetic values; for instance, Rom. *Sasca* < Hun. \**saskő* ‘eagle rock’ or *sáska* ‘locust’.<sup>353</sup> Thirty years later, the local council of Kéc/Cheț took this fixation with writing to a new level when they put forward to the Communal Registry Board what they called the result of their scrupulous investigations, that the name of their village had originated in the way it was written in Hungarian. Namely, the Magyar half of the local population followed the Calvinist faith and wrote the name according to the so-called Protestant spelling as *Kétz*, a form that could with some indulgence be parsed as *két z* ‘two zeds’. As the council members later added, who took at heart the blistering retort they received to their first response, the village was indeed laid out in the shape of two zeds.<sup>354</sup>

Thus Pesty’s survey from 1864, the only, if admittedly faulty, snapshot of contemporary popular etymologies, shows a peasantry that was none too excited about the original meaning of place names, especially not in its Romanian segment. On the whole, it seems that their explanations revolved around those recurring elements that structured the telling of local histories beyond three generations, the period until memories are kept more or less distinct in oral tradition: the founding or the relocation of the village, major convulsions such as Tatar raids (which had lasted until the eighteenth century in the region), occasionally some vague reminiscences of the Ottoman times and the inescapable rivalries with immediate neighbours. Foundational stories encapsulating etymologies of settlement names did not feature the magnificent troops of Árpád or Emperor Trajan; peasants in the 1860s did not yet have their villages founded by either Roman veterans or fearsome, pagan horse-meat eaters, but instead by feudal landlords, shepherds, refugees, occasionally by highwaymen and thieves, and Magyars outside of the Szeklerland often

353 The village secretary József Lakatos from Sasca Montană/Deutsch-Saska/Szászabánya, 1864; OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel 35.

354 András Mező, *Adatok a magyar hivatalos helységnévadáshoz* [Data on official Hungarian locality naming] (Nyíregyháza: Besenyei György Tanárképző Főiskola Magyar Nyelvészeti Tanszéke, 1999), 179.



by Szeklers. It is to be inferred that peasants did not reject etymologies derived from languages that they did not speak. Group knowledge, the body of information that constant reiteration made instantly retrievable for community members, was perfectly open to incorporate single bits from literate sources, but as a whole it was too unwieldy to be quickly geared toward Romantic nationalism, and etymologies conceived in this latter spirit did not yet enjoy wide popularity.

To better appreciate the role that village secretaries could play in transmitting and filtering local public opinion, one has to keep in mind that the years of Pesty's survey saw a higher proportion of Romanians in the body of these officials than any other time during the Dualist period, to the extent that, judging by the names, around half of Romanian villages were administered by Romanians. Many of these and even some of their non-Romanian colleagues drafted their responses in Romanian, following the contemporary Latinate norm. Moreover, at the time of the survey, Magyar and other non-Romanian village secretaries did not usually reject the idea of Romanians' continuous settlement in former Dacia. Indeed, they formed a slight majority among those who asserted the folk's descent from Trajan's conquerors in their responses. These circumstances make it rather remarkable that merely four or five respondents advanced Latinist place-name etymologies.

There is one recurrent ethnocentric element in the discourse of the returns, to some extent triggered by the attention given to ethnically distributed polyonymy in the questionnaire. At least twenty-six respondents insisted that the variants in their own ethnic or preferred languages were the original ones and the others merely 'distorted' or translated forms—at least fourteen out of these argued for Hungarian, eleven for Romanian and one for German variants, with a few of them using this argument more than once. This trend greatly outweighed the opposite one of deriving place names from languages not spoken

locally. With just three exceptions, the populations of these embattled places were overwhelmingly or largely Romanian-speaking; out of the two villages with Hungarian-speaking majorities, the local Calvinist pastor declared Romanian *Hăghig* a simple derivative of Hungarian *Hídvég*,<sup>355</sup> and an anonymous respondent claimed the archival form *Almage* as the Romanian original from which Hungarian *Halmágy* had arisen.<sup>356</sup> Partisans of the Hungarian names usually offered etymologies (seven respondents) or at least hinted at the transparency of the Hungarian or at the opacity of the Romanian forms, but only two respondents who contended for the priority of the Romanian names presented clues about their suggested meanings: Tivadar Esztegár, the village secretary of Élesd/Aleşd, explained the name of Peştiş/Pestes as a derivation from Romanian *peşte* ‘fish’ suffixed with *-iş*,<sup>357</sup> and an anonymous respondent who derived *Chimitelnic* from a spurious Romanian noun *\*cântelnic* ‘song, hero, singer’.<sup>358</sup> While one respondent brandished archival data (the *Almage* already noted above), Elek Bacsilla/Alexe Băcilă disputed away the relevance of a medieval deed of gift that referred to his village under the German name *Burgberg*, and brought up its vast vineyards to support his theory that the Hungarian name, *Borberek*, originated in just what it means: ‘wine grove’.<sup>359</sup> Quite remarkably, trying to dispel any allegation that the Hungarian name *Magyaregregy* was not the original one, the Agrij/Felegregy district administrator resorted to a type of argument barely encountered so far, which would nevertheless seem to have been very often readily available: that the name had homonyms in distant lands where the other tongue was not spoken: ‘proven by the locality of the same name in—if we are not mistaken—the

355 *Hídvég* Hun. ‘end of a bridge’.

356 *Pesty Frigyes helynévgyűjteménye 1864–1865: Székelyföld*, vol. 1, 60 and 154. The Romanian name of this latter village is *Hălmeag*. (Hun. *halom* ‘hillock’ + *-gy*.)

357 *Pesty Frigyes kéziratoss helységnévtárából, 1864: Bihar*, vol. 2, 437. The likely etymon is Hun. *pestes* ‘rich in ovens’.

358 OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel 18. Hun. *Keménytelke* ‘Kemény’s site’, in which *Kemény* was a personal name formed on the basis of the adjective *kemény* ‘hard’.

359 *Pesty Frigyes helynévgyűjteménye 1864–1865: Székelyföld*, vol. 4, 22–3.

Somogy County of Hungary, a county positively without a single Wallachian or Romanian dweller'.<sup>360</sup>

In the rest of cases, respondents simply asserted the priority of one or the other ethnic name variant without citing evidence or pointed out that the sounding of their preferred variant perfectly matched the standards of euphony or the phonotactic arrangements of the respective languages. Accordingly, neither of the following forms is actually meaningful: 'we cannot add anything further than the fact that *Szopor* is a Hungarian word' and 'it is an original Romanian locality—on the village seal it still reads *Érsik*'.<sup>361</sup>

Combining this argument with the widespread bias for written forms, respondents could play out the traditional renditions in the Hungarian spelling against the new Romanian Latinate ones, and thereby to present Romanian names themselves as products of the recent past. 'It has always been called by this name as long as human memory can recall—it was only after the revolution that it got its Romanian name (*Bătia*)', wrote the village secretary Lajos Nagy about Bacea/Bácsfalva, a village in Hunyad County that had been, to all appearances, always inhabited by Romanian-speakers.<sup>362</sup> His colleague Sándor Enyedi from Copand/Koppánd tried to place the problem of Romanian names in a broader context, reasoning that 'the Wallachian nation likes to tack a *-u* after each name, faithful to their grammar assembled from various languages', a method that produced the name 'Kopándu' 'in more recent times'.<sup>363</sup> Conversely, although the Ciparian writing system was barely more than twenty years old by that time, young Romanian village secretaries understood the new written representations that it yielded as the original Latin names, and in that they were faithful to the 'etymological' guiding spirit behind Cipariu's programme, which aimed at restoring the supposed ancient linguistic forms. Here

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*, reel 18.

<sup>361</sup> OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reels 34 and 35. The latter remark was added in an alien hand to the village secretary Bergmann's response.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*, reel 28.

<sup>363</sup> *Pesty Frigyes helynévgyűjteménye 1864–1865: Székelyföld*, vol. 4, 68. Hun. *Koppánd* < *Koppány* personal name + *-d*.

is a typical argument along these lines: ‘the community has been known under the name *Poeana* from the outset, but scribes being uninformed about the real denomination, it is now written as *Pojana*’.<sup>364</sup> Often in such cases, claims that one or the other name was older would remain a hollow point to make without account taken of the fetish of writing, for they were ideally just spelling variants standing for the very same pronounced forms.

Aside from maybe Ezeriș/Ezeres, where József Balajthy quoted as the local opinion that earlier Magyar inhabitants had possessed thousand forints, which had given the village its name (Hun. *ezeres* ‘with a thousand’ or ‘thousand note’),<sup>365</sup> and Boian/Bajom, where local elders apparently encouraged Zsigmond Pethő in his belief that the contemporary Hungarian name dated back to no more than a few decades,<sup>366</sup> such insistence on the part of village secretaries very probably expressed their own rather than local peasants’ views. It is not that similar ethnocentric opinions could not have been elicited from the latter group, but it is unlikely that they held enduring judgements about name variants that they did not use and which in some cases they did not even know about.

It became commonplace among literate Magyars to describe Romanian settlement names as distorted versions of the Hungarian ones, so much so that the respondents from Étfalva sought to bolster the authenticity of their data with the statement that ‘the population is purely Magyar and of Calvinist religion, therefore the names of the locality and its parts have not been mangled’.<sup>367</sup> Several fantastic etymological suggestions presented by Magyars who held clerical jobs in Romanian-speaking villages were born as attempts at reconstructing the lost Hungarian originals on the basis of the existing Romanian names. These were conceived in a typically bourgeois Romantic taste, which by and large ex-

364 The village secretary Barnu and the illiterate mayor Filimon Vasilie from 1864; *ibid.*, reel 20. Rom. *poiană* ‘glade’.

365 *Ibid.*, reel 35. The name bears no connection to Hun. *ezer* ‘thousand’. The medieval forerunner of the village had been called *Hegyeres*. Cf. Engel, 63.

366 *Ibid.*, reel 34. In fact, earlier referred to as *Bajon*.

367 The village secretary József Dálnaki and the mayor János Benkő from 1864; *Pesty Frigyes helynévgyűjteménye 1864–1865: Székelyföld*, vol. 1, 50.

cluded popular origins, most notably *Bájosd* for *Bajesd* (from *bájos* ‘magic’ or ‘graceful’, the latter meaning itself the creation of the Hungarian *Sturm und Drang* and a trademark of Hungarian Romantic poetry) and *Pontleső* ‘spot-gazer’ for *Poklisa*.<sup>368</sup> Similar etymologies had been advanced at the beginning of the century by László Perecsényi Nagy, an office holder of Arad County, including one featuring another much-loved word of Hungarian Romantics, *bérc*: *Bârzava* < *Bérchava* ‘snow of the pinnacle’.<sup>369</sup>

You may remember that Pesty’s survey was partly driven by his hope that the microtoponymy would reveal a wider spread of Hungarian in the distant past. Romanian nationalists also had their own Holy Grail when turning their attention to microtoponymy; they were most eager to demonstrate that Romanian peasantry had preserved remembrances of their imputed Roman past and two thousand years of continuity in the land. This, in turn, leads to the intriguing question of what nineteenth-century intellectuals knew about the peasantry’s actual oral traditions and of the ways they framed peasants’ ways of thinking. Fascinated as they were by peasant culture as the repository of ancient traditions, Romantic nationalists’ probing into folklore material was not only constrained by what they anticipated or wished to find, but they also often had trouble finding what they were looking for, even when the object of their search was out there, but the uneasiness of communicating across socio-cultural lines and the tension between the idealised and the actual peasantry caused unwarranted difficulties. In contexts like the Romanian, where the small socio-cultural elite was even less separated physically from the peasantry than Magyar middling noblemen were, an interesting double mirror game of projections unfolded, and holding an idealised image of the peasantry could paradoxically serve as a token of elite-group membership.

368 János Bálint from Râu Alb/Fehérvíz; OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel 28; Elek Bacsilla/Alexe Băcilă from Vințu de Jos/Alvinc; *ibid.*, reel 20 and anonymous, *ibid.*, reel 28. *Băiești* < Rom. *Bae* personal name + *-ști*; *Târnova* < Slavic *\*trn* ‘thorn’ + *-ova*. *Pâglișa* may have derived from Rom. *pâcliș* ‘gloomy’, but in no way from *Pontleső*.

369 Réső Ensel, vol. 2 (1862), 215. From Sl. *brěza* ‘birch’.

Much ink has been spilled on Romantic mystifications and flat-out forgeries, but a far more common tool of self-styled collectors was simply to take the poetic licence granted by Romantic aesthetics to get inside the role of ‘the collective author’ and intuitively to recreate their collected material according to their ideals of the peasant mind. Along these lines, János Kriza ‘changed the clothes’ of his Szekler folk texts, Vasile Alecsandri rewrote Romanian ones in a patriotic mood and Atanasie M. Marienescu smuggled into his Christmas carols the Roman reminiscences that he saw into them.<sup>370</sup> The peasant community as implied author and the stylistic devices associated with it thus became proxies for typically upper-class messages, not unlike the way shepherds had been put on the Rococo stage.

Of course, there were many folklore enthusiasts who overshot the mark and imputed the most extravagant oral traditions to actual, concrete peasant communities. The anonymous author mentioned by Alecu Russo in 1855 probably took the biscuit by creatively mishearing *Fântâna lui Martin* ‘Martin’s spring’ as *Fântâna Lamartină* and then depicting the Romanian shepherds of the Ceahlău Mountains as devout admirers of the French poet.<sup>371</sup> The bulk of early folklorists, however, were not as naïve as to believe that peasants had consciously nurtured memories of Romanian history in its Latinist version. In full consonance with Romantic theories of their discipline, they rather looked for traces of early history that survived thanks to the conservatism of peasants, even if the latter had long forgotten about the original meanings. When Nicolae Densușianu, in a late gasp of Romantic scholarship, made the contributors to his 1895 survey to interrogate their subjects on an improbably long list of potential minor place names, that was because, in Densușianu’s opinion, these names had preserved petrified memories about the dealings of the people’s ancestors with Dacians (e.g., *Doba*), Jews (*Jidova*), Goths (*Go-*

370 László Kósa, *A magyar néprajz tudománytörténete* [The history of Hungarian ethnographic scholarship], 2nd rev., enl. ed. (Budapest: Osiris, 2001), 67–8 and Bîrlea, 82–100 and 137–49.

371 Alecu Russo, ‘Cugetări’ [Reflections], in *Scrieri* [Writings], 118 (Bucharest: Minerva, 1910).

*deanu*) or about their own bygone lifestyle and system of beliefs.<sup>372</sup> One of his contributors, Nestor Şimon from Năsăud, otherwise a firm Romanian nationalist of the Latinist stripe, strongly advised Densuşianu against believing any rural respondent who would claim that peasants actually told stories about Emperor Trajan or the Romans, although he himself reported on the existence of a *Secătura lui Traian* ‘Trajan’s clearing’ by the village Telciu.<sup>373</sup>

The question has several ramifications, most of them having to do with the presumptive toponymic legacy of Trajan. Contemporaries made the most of ‘roads of Trajan’ as the alleged Romanian names for vestiges of Roman roads and various prehistoric defence systems. The pre-Roman line of ramparts and ditches that used to run through the Hungarian Grand Plain, the construction of which the surrounding Magyars linked to the Devil or to a legendary king named Csörsz, was reportedly called Trajan’s road by the Romanian peasants living along its southern stretch.<sup>374</sup> Since one of the existing historiographical traditions indeed had this fortification line built by the Romans, not only Romanian, but Magyar writers were also quick to reproduce this information, from the village secretary of Beliu/Bél to the historian Sándor Márki, who at one point in his book on Arad County indicated the popular Romanian name as *Traján* and some sixty pages ahead as *Traján útja* ‘Trajan’s road’.<sup>375</sup>

There were also actual roads quoted as being called ‘roads of Trajan’, like the one in the Iron Gates of the Danube, in fact a *tour de force* of Roman engineering and workmanship, and the one along the narrow valley of the Olt River, leading from the Transylvanian border at the Roterturmpass/Pasul Turnu Roşu/Vöröstoronyi-szoros down to the vicinities of Râmnicu Vâlcea in Oltenia. When the German traveller J. G. Kohl

<sup>372</sup> Densuşianu, *Cestionariu*, points 34, 150 and 334.

<sup>373</sup> Şimon, *Dicţionar toponimic*, 185–6 and 235.

<sup>374</sup> Vilmos Balázs, *Az alföldi hosszanti földsáncok* [The longitudinal dykes of the Grand Plain] (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Történeti Múzeum, 1961), 5–14.

<sup>375</sup> *Pesty Frigyes kéziratoss helységnévtárából, 1864: Bihar*, vol. 2, 355 and Sándor Márki, *Aradvármegye és Arad szabad királyi város története* [The history of Arad County and Arad royal free town], vol. 1 (Arad: Monographia-bizottság, 1892), 41 and 98.

descended the Danube around 1840, the former road, carved into the riverside cliffs, was already known as ‘Trojan uht’ in Hungarian, and a Romanian oarsman allegedly also presented it to him as the work of Trajan, an ‘Imperator Romanescu’.<sup>376</sup> The second road was the accomplishment of the Habsburg military during their occupation of Oltenia in the early eighteenth century and was called *Via Carolina* after Holy Emperor Charles VII, but Habsburg officers working on its construction had in fact stumbled upon traces of an earlier, possibly Roman road.<sup>377</sup> The information that local Romanians called it ‘Kalea trajanului’ (‘Trajan’s way’) popped up in 1781 in Sulzer’s *Geschichte des transalpinischen Daciens*, and was in his wake reiterated by Ranke.<sup>378</sup>

In Hungarian sources, the small plain wedged between the Aranyos/Arieş and Mureş/Maros/Mieresch Rivers and the Apuseni Mountains, chiefly indwelt by Magyars (Szeklers), turns up as *Keresztesmező* (‘field with crosses’). It was the great poet of the German Baroque, Martin Opitz, who in 1622 first mentioned a ‘Trajans Wiesen’ in Transylvania—‘*Prat de Trajan*, wie die Wallachen sagen’—although going by his directions, he placed it at some hundred kilometres to the South-west.<sup>379</sup> In 1666, the Transylvanian Saxon Johannes Tröster already attributed the name to the *Keresztesmező* in the form ‘*Prate de la Trajan*’, and the long-lasting authority of his book cemented this as a fact inside the scholarly community.<sup>380</sup>

To these may be added ‘Trajan’s coffin’, the popular name of a hill in the Ampoi Valley according to a travel report from 1866 by Béla Lukács, a reliable witness as he

376 J. G. Kohl, *Reise in Ungarn*, part 1, *Pesth un die mittlere Donau* (Dresden: Arnold, 1842), vol. 1, 560.

377 Neugebaur, 119 and Constantin Jos. Jireček, *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpässe* (Prague: Tempsky, 1877), 159.

378 Franz Joseph Sulzer, *Geschichte des transalpinischen Daciens, das ist der Walachen Moldau und Bessarabiens, in zusammenhänge mit der Geschichte des übrigen Daciens als ein Versuch einer allgemeinen Dacischen Geschichte mit kritischer Freyheit entworfen*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Gräffer, 1781), 215 and Leopold von Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. 3/1, *Das altrömische Kaiserthum* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1883), 272–3.

379 ‘Zlatna, oder Von Ruhe des Gemüthes’, in Martini Opitti, *Opera Geist- und Weltlicher Gedichte: Nebst beygefügeten vielen andern Tractaten so wohl Deutsch als Lateinisch, Mit Fleiß zusammen gebracht, und von vielen Druckfehlern befreyet* (Breslau: Fellgiebel, 1690), 128 and 144.

380 Johanne Tröster, *Das Alt- und Neu-Teutsche Dacia: Das ist: Neue Beschreibung des Landes Siebenbürgen, Darinnen dessen Alter, und jetziger Einwohner, wahres Herkommen, Religion, Sprachen, Schrifften, Kleider, Gesetz und Sitten nach Historischer Warheit von zweytausend Jahren her erörtert: Die berühmteste Städt in Kupfer eigentlich abgebildet: dabey viel Gothische und Römische Antiquitäten und Anmahnungen entdeckt werden* (Nuremberg: Kramer, 1666), 350. Cf. Pál Binder (under the pseudonym Péter Áron), ‘Erdély történelmi tájneveinek adattára és népeinek tájszemlélete’ [A database of historical region names from Transylvania and the regional division of its various peoples’ mental maps], *Magyar Nyelvjárások* 24 (1981): 105.



had grown up in the immediate area. Lukács gave the following explanation for the name: ‘the folk is unwavering in its belief that the world-conquering Trajan rests underneath this colossal mass of rock’.<sup>381</sup> Perhaps because the actual Trajan was known to have died in Cilicia, this name did not catch the eyes of Romanian polemicists.

Xenopol effectively advanced the alleged Romanian names of the *Via Carolina* and the Keresztesmező as they appeared in the literature not only as veritable folk traditions, but in addition as spanning two thousand years, preserving a genuine connection between these places and the person of the Roman emperor and as standing proofs of Romance-speakers’ continuous settlement on the soil of ancient Dacia. His footnotes direct the reader to evidently second-hand sources: to the Roman scholar Julius Jung, the popularising historian Victor Duruy and the dilettante Camille de La Berge, who could ultimately appeal to common knowledge alone:

Let us also mention the name of Trajan’s causeway, which passes through the Little Wallachia to enter Transylvania through the Pass of the Red Tower, and which the Romanian peasant still names today *Calea Traianului*, — as well as the plain named Keresztes by the Hungarians of Transylvania, which is known as *Pratul lui Traian* to the Romanian folk. How could it be assumed that these denominations would have been preserved if the indigenous population had disappeared? For tradition is attached only to objects dear to the people, and it is evident that the road of Trajan, like its plain, must have been wholly indifferent to Slavs or Hungarians.<sup>382</sup>

Turning back to our first ‘Trajan’s road’, it soon became apparent that its actual vernacular form was either simply *Troian* or *Calea troianului*, forms that the starry-eyed souls who actually heard them could easily reinterpret as unconscious memories of Emperor Trajan.<sup>383</sup> They followed a series of respectable writers in doing so; by the time the

381 Béla Lukács, ‘Az Ompoly völgye: Erdélyben’ [The Ampoi Valley: in Transylvania], *Vasárnapi Újság* 13 (1866): 608.

382 ‘Citons encore le nom de la chaussée de Trajan, qui passe par la petite Valachie pour entrer en Transylvanie par le passage de la Tour rouge et que le paysan roumain nomme encore aujourd’hui *Calea Traianului*, — ainsi que la plaine nommée Keresztes par les Hongrois en Transylvanie, qui porte dans la bouche du peuple roumain le nom de *Pratul lui Traian*. Comment pourrait-on admettre que ces dénominations se fussent conservées si la population indigène avait disparu? Car la tradition ne s’attache qu’aux objets chers au peuple, et il est évident que la chaussée de Trajan, comme sa plaine, devaient être tout à fait indifférents à des Slaves ou à des Hongrois.’ Xenopol, *Une Enigme historique*, 143. Cf. Julius Jung, *Die romanischen Landschaften des römischen Reiches: Studien ueber die inneren Entwicklungen der Kaiserzeit* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1881), 379; Victor Duruy, *Histoire des romains depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu’à la fin du règne des Antonins*, vol. 4 (Paris: Hachette, 1874), 256 and C. de la Berge, *Essai sur le règne de Trajan* (Paris: Vieweg, 1877), 49–50.

383 ‘*Calea traianului* instead of *Calea troianului* is a recent, deliberate alteration’, reckoned Alexandru Philippide in *Originea românilor* [The origin of Romanians], vol. 1, *Ce spun izvoarele istorice* [What the historical sources tell] (Iași: Viața Românească, 1925), 726. Cf. Hunfalvy, *Neuere Erscheinungen*, 247.

seventeenth-century Moldavian chronicler Miron Costin linked the similar ditches in Moldavia, also called *Troian*, to the fortification-building activity of Trajan, he could already appeal to the consenting opinions of earlier scholars.<sup>384</sup> Thereafter the savant prince Dimitrie Cantemir lumped together the Moldavian, the Wallachian and the Hungarian lines of ramparts and ditches as parts of the same system, and passed the judgement that all these were ‘fossa Trajani imperatoris’, while Ferdinando Marsigli, an Italian geographer in Habsburg service, referred to the Hungarian ones East of the Tisza River as *Römer-Schantz*.<sup>385</sup>

Now, as it happens, *troian* was a generic geographical term in Romanian, of Slavic origin<sup>386</sup> and designating either an old dyke or a vast meadow.<sup>387</sup> Nowadays the word is mostly used in the meaning ‘snowdrift’, but several places thus called have been found to hide archaeological finds from various eras.<sup>388</sup> Since the fortification line between the Prut and the Danube in particular had failed to turn up any Roman antiquity, however, and moreover because Slavs also called similar structures by the same name in areas where Trajan had never set foot, Iorga himself called into question whether these *troians* could in fact perpetuate the memory of the great emperor.<sup>389</sup> Concerning the line on the Hungarian Grand Plain, it is also questionable how widespread the use of the name actually was. The Romanians of Alioș, who lived close to the ditch, had not heard the word before the young historian Ioan Dimitrie Suciuc interviewed them in the 1930s, and upon

384 Miron Costin, *Letopiștele Țării Moldovii* [The chronicles of the land of Moldavia], vol. 1 (Iași: Foiei Sătești and Institutul Albinei Românești, 1852), 22.

385 Aloysio Ferd. com. Marsili, *Danubius Pannonico-Mysicus: Observationibus geographicis, astronomicis, hydrographicis, historicis, physicis perlustratus* [The Pannonio-Moesian Danube: surveyed from geographical, astronomical, hydrographical, historical and medical aspects], vol. 2, *De antiquitatibus Romanorum ad ripas Danubii* [About Roman antiquities from the banks of the Danube] (The Hague: Gosse, Alberts and de Hondt; Amsterdam: Uytwerf & Changuion, 1726), 7. An overview of the Romanian literature on the Wallachian lines is N. Ploșor, ‘Troianul’, *Arhivele Olteniei* 6 (1927): 68–80. The quotation from Cantemir is on p. 71.

386 Cihac, 423.

387 *Lexicon Valachico-Latino-Hungarico-Germanicum quod a pluribus auctoribus decursu triginta et amplius annorum elaboratum est* [Wallachian—Latin—Hungarian—German dictionary, composed by various authors in the course of thirty and more years] (Buda: Typographiae Regiae Universitatis Hungaricae, 1825), 724 and Philippide, vol. 1, 725–6.

388 Luca, *Descoperiri arheologice din Banatul Românesc*, 141; idem, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Hunedoara* [Archaeological repertory of Hunedoara County] (Alba Iulia: Altip, 2005), 69 and 141; Vasile Moga and Horia Ciugudean, eds, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Alba* [The archaeological repertory of Alba County] (Alba Iulia: Muzeul Național al Unirii, 1995), 122 and 212 and Carol Kacsó, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Maramureș* [Archaeological repertory of Maramureș County] (Baia Mare: Eurotip, 2011), vol. 1, 480 and 514.

389 Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria Românilor* [The History of Romanians], vol. 1/2, *Sigiliul Romei* [The Seal of Rome] (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1988), 130–1.

his insistence to learn about the origins of the *iarc*, as they called it with a word derived from the Serbian, they told him that it had been dug out by the Turks.<sup>390</sup>

The emergence of Trajan's name is the easiest to account for in the case of the Iron Gates, first because of the Roman memorial plaque surviving in an easily accessible spot that extolled him as the builder of the road, and second because of the unbroken chain of maps and reference works that identified the pillars of Trajan's bridge over the Danube, from Sambucus in the sixteenth century through Ortelius, Marsigli and Grisellini, who even displayed the place of Trajan's plaque on his map, down to Lipszky.<sup>391</sup> Which obviously does not detract from the knowledgeability of Kohl's Romanian oarsman.

The rest of cases can be hypothetically also chalked up to the word *troian*, combined with travellers' bookish fascination with the exotic flair of oriental Latinity, which could make them tailor their experiences to fit humanist stereotypes of the patriotic Roman and, by extension, Romanian countryfolk, especially if their informations came from like-minded hosts. For how could the offspring of Roman veterans have possibly turned their backs on the memory of their former benefactor?

This most palpably applies to Martin Opitz. For his *Trajanus Wiesen* in the outskirts of Zlatna, a district that he delightedly described as a perfect little world to itself, he probably drew inspiration from the place called *Troian* just upstream of the town, first displayed on the large-scale military map of the Habsburg Monarchy from the 1760s.<sup>392</sup> Revealingly, the name he indicated, *Prat de Trajan*, is in the kind of bogus Romanian that a humanist like Opitz, who found the language to be closer to Latin than Italian,

390 Suciu, *Comuna Alioș*, 11.

391 Gusztáv Zombory, 'Traján táblája: az aldunai szoroson Ogredina mellett' [Trajan's plaque: in the gorge of the Lower Danube, near Ogradena], *Vasárnapi Újság* 6 (1859), 616; Ioannem Sambucum, *Ungariae loca praecipua recens emendata, atque edita* [The most important places of Hungary, recently revised and edited] (s. l. [Vienna], 1579); Abraham Ortelius, *Theatre, oft Toon-neel des aerdt-bodems* [Theatre or scene of the globe] (s. l. [Antwerpen]: Coppens van Diest, s. a. [1571–84]), fol. 42 in the copy of the National Library of the Netherlands (Map Collection KW 1046 B 17); Marsigli, vol. 2, 17–22 and 25–34; Franciscus Grisellini, *Tabula Bannatus Temesiensis* [Map of the Banat of Temes] (Vienna, 1776) and Ioannes de Lipszky, *Mappa generalis regni Hungariae...* (Pesthini, 1806), on the CD-ROM enclosed to Katalin Plihal, *The Finest Illustrated Maps of Hungary 1528–1895*, trans. Judit Zinner (Budapest: Kossuth, 2009).

392 'Trojaner Wirtshaus' (*Kriegs Charte des Grosz Fürstenthum Siebenbürgen*; Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, B IX 715; sheet 152). Cf. Traian Pătrășcanu, 'Toponimia comunelor Zlatna și Ciugud din Raionul Alba' [The toponymy of Zlatna/Zlatna and Ciugud communes in Alba Raion], *Apulum* 6 (1967): 689 and Moga and Ciugudean, eds, 212.

French or Spanish, could fashion for himself.<sup>393</sup> It is hardly a genitive construction in Romanian, contemporary or modern.<sup>394</sup> In addition, I also share Hunfalvy's scepticism regarding the vernacular use of the word *prat* (< Lat. *pratum*).<sup>395</sup> Although modern dictionaries regularly have it (together with *lintea-pratului*, quoted as regionalism for the plant *Lathyrus pratensis*), it does not appear in the *Lexiconul de la Buda*, the first comprehensive dictionary of the language from 1825 and the foremost one-stop resource on Romanian vocabulary from before the Latinate reform.<sup>396</sup> As much as I can reconstruct, it was first mentioned in the innovative and prescriptivist Romanian material of George Bariț and Gabriel Munteanu's German—Romanian dictionary from 1854.<sup>397</sup>

The structure of *Prate de la Trajan*, quoted by Tröster, at least makes for a more likely place name, again by assuming an hypothetical *Troian*. But Benkő, who was not against deriving place names from the Antiquity, warned his readers that this name, passed down in the erudite tradition, was unknown to the Romanians of the Keresztesmező: 'Historians call the field "Prat de la Trajan", but not its inhabitants'.<sup>398</sup> Failing to react to Benkő's remark, which remained in manuscript, later historians piously corrected Opitz's and Tröster's form, adjusting them to actual spoken Romanian. On balance, then, Lukács's 'Trajan's coffin' remains the most likely candidate for a genuine vernacular place name commemorating Emperor Trajan, as the only one that could not possibly originate out of confusion with a *Troian*.

Nestor Șimon's opinion to the contrary, the figure of Trajan could easily enter the Romanian folklore by that time, through the clergy, through popular readings and school-books. Inherited from humanist knowledge about Romanians, Trajan occupied the cent-

393 Opitti, 130.

394 Al. Rosetti, *Istoria limbii române* [History of the Romanian language], vol. 1, *De la origini până la începutul secolului al XVII-lea* [From the origins to the beginning of the seventeenth century] (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1986), 491.

395 Hunfalvy, *Neuere Erscheinungen*, 247.

396 *Lexicon Valachico-Latino-Hungarico-Germanicum*.

397 Georg Bariț and Gabriel Munteanu, *Deutsch-romänisches Wörterbuch, bearbeitet und in dessen romanischen Theiles mit etlichen Tausend Wörtern bereichert*, vol. 2 (Kronstadt: Römer & Kamner, 1854), 852.

398 Benkő, *Transsilvania specialis*, vol. 1, 298.

ral role in the early nationalist vision of Romanian history, and priests are thought to have been central in promoting this vision, although the great majority of Romanian priests should not be considered nationals in the first half of the nineteenth century, or were at least uninterested in nationalising the peasantry. Roman roads were discovered quite early as sites of memory. On a stagecoach between Kolozsvár and Torda in 1810, a Romanian border guard officer told the young Moise Nicoară, en route to a new life in Bucharest, about the Roman origins of the road, which immediately made Nicoară's heart beat faster, as he later related to Petru Maior, royal censor and the father of Romanian historiography, whose acquaintance he had made earlier that year.<sup>399</sup> The young Romanian intellectual and former cavalry lieutenant from Gyula/Jula took it as a source of pride or moral satisfaction that his ancestors had built a road still crucial for implementing state functions—for the surrounding peasants, forced to execute repairs and maintenance work on the same road without payment, it could just as well mean a curse. Mind you, the area lay at a great distance from both Romanian border guard regiments, and Nicoară's fellow traveller certainly drew his information from learned sources; the existence of a Roman road connecting the ancient forerunners of Kolozsvár and Torda had been known since a Roman milestone was found near Aiton/Ajton in the early eighteenth century.<sup>400</sup>

Popular fiction, something that village people could enjoy once just one of them knew how to read, could also contribute to the folklorisation of historical knowledge, only that Trajan was not subject matter for any sought-after book on this rather limited literary market. Although Ioan Barac's preface to his successful Romanian version of the

399 Cornelia Bodea, *Moise Nicoară (1784–1861) și rolul său în lupta pentru emanciparea național-religioasă a românilor din Banat și Crișana* [Moise Nicoară (1784–1861) and his role in the fight for the national-religious emancipation of Romanians in the Banat and the Criș/Körös/Kreisch Area], vol. 1 (Arad: Diecezană, 1943), 31 and 147 and Florin Fodorean, 'Contribuții la reconstituirea rețelei rutiere din Dacia romană: rolul și importanța toponimiei în cercetarea drumurilor antice' [Contributions to the reconstruction of the road network of Roman Dacia: the role and importance of toponymy in the research of ancient roads], *Revista Bistriței* 17 (2003): 324.

400 Judit Winkler, 'Egy római út feltárása Kolozs megyében' [The excavation of a Roman road in Cluj County], *Korunk* 39 (1980): 301.

story of Árgirus, first published in Hermannstadt in 1801, embraced Benkő's forced humanist interpretation that decoded the story as an allegory of Trajan's conquest of Dacia, this allegorical line remained external to the plot and added nothing to the reader's or the listener's pleasure.<sup>401</sup> Curiously, Trajan's name turns up a mere half a dozen times among the six thousand items of the Romanian Academy's catalogue of Romanian manuscripts, and out of these, only two copies of Barac's poem were written in Transylvania.<sup>402</sup> On the subject of possible literary inspirations at the genesis of place names, however, it is interesting to note that the Alexander Romance, the unrivalled favourite reading of the Romanian folk, in fact produced a toponymic outpouring.<sup>403</sup> On a karstic plateau to the north-west of Torda, for example, a spring was called *Fântâna lui Ducipal* in Romanian, after Bucephalus, the stallion of Alexander the Great, to whom the imagination of local Romanian peasants also linked the formation of the nearby scenic canyon.

As school primers and primary school textbooks slowly made their way to the world of the village during the second half of the nineteenth century, they not only offered new identity components for the youngest generations, but the stories contained in them also entertained unlettered parents and grandparents. Both effects boosted the knowledge of Trajan among Romanian peasants and fostered his acceptance as a secular identity symbol. However, even if one discounts sources that unreflexively parroted a view of peasants as self-conscious nationals, the temporalities of these processes appear unsettlingly complex. Nestor Şimon's judgement from the 1890s that Romanian peasants around Năşăud did not know about Trajan strikes me as particularly disturbing because there he was writing about that border zone where the promotion of the inhabitants' putative Latin heritage had commenced very early, with endorsement from the Habsburg authorities.

401 László Gáldi, 'Árgirus históriája az oláh irodalomban' [The story of Árgirus in the Romanian literature], *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* 63 (1939): 159–61.

402 Gabriel Ştrempel, *Catalogul manuscriselor româneşti* [The catalogue of Romanian manuscripts], 4 vols (Bucharest: Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1978–92).

403 N. Cartoian, *Cărţile populare în literatura românească* [The folk books in Romanian literature], vol. 1, *Epoca influenţei sud-slave* [The era of South-Slavic influence] (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică Română, 1974), 287–8.

How to reconcile Şimon's opinion with the finding of one of my first chapters, that the first name *Traian* enjoyed a modest, but noticeable popularity among peasant families whose sons graduated from high school, as the most chosen national first name in this cluster?<sup>404</sup> The mechanisms at work here were clearly too subtle to be captured by such broad categories as the peasantry at large. In the future, by the targeted trawling of the extant civil case records, historians may unearth clues about the negotiation, appropriation and diversion of such symbols by segments of the peasantry defined locally (e.g., high- and low-prestige villages), by wealth, social status or sociability. Among other ethnic groups, the self-Magyarisation of the peasantry was interwoven with similar factors.

By investigating place names that were quoted as proofs for the presence of certain historical traditions among the Romanian peasantry, I did not mean to suggest that Romanian peasants were unique in becoming the objects of such statements. The place names at issue were special only in that they were also embroiled in the debate, discussed in the last chapter, about the *actual* ethnic past of these peasants. If the existence of similar legends among Magyars, drawing on ethnic prehistory or on the political history of Hungary, leaves less room for doubt, that is partly because the pathways of folklorisation were broader—literacy spread earlier and pseudo-historical accounts could have a wider impact—and partly because there had been a stronger layer of brokers between popular and high cultures who could invent and validate such legends. The Magyar aetiological story about the canyon noted above, retold by countless authors and entering the core of Hungarian historical legendary, attributes its origin to Saint Ladislaus, the eleventh-century Hungarian 'knightly king', instead of Alexander the Great. This legend can be traced back in time until 1670, when the Transylvanian Saxon author of a historical chronicle in German recounted having been shown on the site the formations identified as the hoof prints of Saint Ladislaus's horse, the same formations that later Romanians thought had

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<sup>404</sup> See p. 40.

originated from the horse Bucephalus.<sup>405</sup> Similarly to the case with Trajan's roads, it is entirely possible that the story about Ladislaus's horse cleaving the earth asunder was hatched and sustained by the intelligentsia as an 'invented tradition', to be embraced only much later by the local folk. In the Dualist Era, it was accepted on all sides that peasants in general showed interest in big history and could label their environment after historical figures. The main difference between the positions of what were presented as Magyar and Romanian popular memories lied in the fact that nobody called into question the popular transmittance of Transylvanian Magyar peasant legends, however fabulous or historically inaccurate they were, since the time that they described.

#### 4.3. The Social Variation of Place Names

In this chapter, I will change my close, hermeneutical optics in favour of a panoramic, classificatory one and will adopt the interpretative model that variationist sociolinguistics uses for the study of linguistic variation and change. The distribution of free linguistic variants is, according to this model, controlled by social and situational factors. Such variation is therefore far from being 'free', such variants are not entirely interchangeable, as a strictly formal linguistic analysis would suggest. Place names also display social variation, and a review of this variation in its various dimensions will relativise strong claims made about *the* vernacular names. The conceptual precisions to be given in this chapter will also qualify my own flexible use of terms that is sometimes necessary in the rest of my work.

People pronounced place names in their local accents, and the name of their own village or town made no exception. In written representations, however, place names had been brought into line with standardised phonology since the earliest times, even though

<sup>405</sup> Mathias Miles, *Siebenbürgischer Würg-Engel oder chronicalischer Anh. d. 15 sec. nach Christi Geburth aller theils in Siebenbürgen theils Ungern und sonst Siebenbürgen angränzenden Ländern füngelauffener Geschichten Worausz nicht nur allein d. grewligst bluttige Anschläge, Kriege und Zeittungen d. Ober-Regenten Sachsischer Nation* (Hermanstadt: Fleischer, 1670), 206.



a standard pronunciation did not materialise until very late. In consequence, the written forms of place names, as they are found in most sources and as I reproduce them in this work, are idealised renderings. But this is just the most general level of the high—low scale. Quite often, there were such local variants as well that would be unpredictable on the basis of the given dialect. Moreover, each Transylvanian Saxon village also had a Saxon name alongside its German one, and the difference between the two went beyond dialect phonology. In the following table, the first column shows the names as they circulated in writing and perhaps in the speech of outsiders, whilst the second shows exclusively local forms:

#### 4.4. Divergent local endonyms<sup>406</sup>

in Romanian

<i>Agadici</i>	<i>Ghădișu</i>
<i>Bârza</i>	<i>Bârsa</i>
<i>Berzasca</i>	<i>Bârzasca</i>
<i>Bica Română</i>	<i>Bodica</i>
<i>Biertan</i>	<i>Ghiertan</i>
<i>Birchiș</i>	<i>Pirciș</i>
<i>Cacova</i>	<i>Cacovița</i>
<i>Cărmărzana</i>	<i>Cărmăzana</i>
<i>Corbi</i>	<i>Corgi</i>
<i>Damiș</i>	<i>Dameș</i>
<i>Deta</i>	<i>Ghedu</i>
<i>Jidovin</i>	<i>Jădovin</i>
<i>Lugoj</i>	<i>Logoj</i>
<i>Mehadica</i>	<i>Megica</i>
<i>Moroda</i>	<i>Moruda</i>
<i>Naidaș</i>	<i>Nadăș</i>
<i>Obad</i>	<i>Obăd</i>
<i>Orșova</i>	<i>Râșava</i>

406 OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A; Emil Petrovici, ‘Material onomastic din Atlasul lingvistic român II’ [Onomastic material from the second Romanian language atlas], in *Anuar de lingvistică și istorie literară* 32 (1988–91), vol. A, 163–94; Pătruț, 83; Mezô, *Adatok*, 142–3; Ion Mușlea, ‘Cercetări folklorice în țara Oașului’ [Folklore research in the Oaș/Avas], *Anuarul Arhivei de Folklor* 1 (1932): 122; Alexandru Moisi, *Monografia Clisurei* [Monograph of the Clisura] (Oravița: Librăria Românească, 1938), 276; Domnica Florescu, *Birchiș: schiță monografică* [Birchiș: a monographic sketch] (Arad: Mirador, 2008), 17; Bălan, 84; Brînzeu, 17; Drotloff, 314 and Heinrich Freihoffler, *Kleinschemlak: Das Werden und Vergehen einer donauschäbischen Gemeinde im Südbanater Heckenland* (Deggendorf: self-published, 1972).

<i>Panticeu</i>	<i>Panciteu</i>
<i>Petrilova</i>	<i>Petrila</i>
<i>Petroșani</i>	<i>Petroșeni</i>
<i>Reșița</i>	<i>Recița</i>
<i>Satu Mic</i>	<i>Satu Michii</i>
<i>Târșolț</i>	<i>Trâșolț</i>
<i>Teiuș</i>	<i>Teuș</i>
<i>Zlatna</i>	<i>Zlagna</i>

## in Hungarian

<i>Csikménaság</i>	<i>Menaság</i>
<i>Datk</i>	<i>Dakk</i>
<i>Dellőapáti</i>	<i>Déllőapáti</i>
<i>Magyarókereke</i>	<i>Monyorókereke</i>
<i>Zilah</i>	<i>Zilaj</i>

## in German

<i>Engenthal</i>	<i>Ängenduel</i>
<i>Fogarasch</i>	<i>Fugresch</i>
<i>Kleinschemlak</i>	<i>Schumlich</i>
<i>Marienbourg</i>	<i>Märrembirg</i>
<i>Mediasch</i>	<i>Medwisch</i> (mesolectal)/ <i>Medwesch</i> (basilectal)
<i>Tschippendorf</i>	<i>Tsepan</i>
<i>Wallendorf</i>	<i>Wualdraf</i>

The institution of writing perpetuated the use of conservative forms, making it exceedingly difficult for newer, innovative variants to take over. Hungarian tends to eliminate word-initial consonant clusters, but *Barassó*, apparently the default contemporary name of the town in the speech of surrounding Magyars, did not replace the well-established form *Brassó* in the standard. Neither did *Brașeu* dislodge *Brașov* as the Romanian name of the city, although, if we are to believe Nicolae Densușianu's respondents, Romanians outside of Brassó everywhere called it that way.<sup>407</sup> Similar examples, but with a more restricted use, include Rom. *Bălgărad* instead of *Bălgrad*,<sup>408</sup> Hun. *Veledény* instead

407 Romanian Academy Library, Manuscript Collection, Manuscrise românești 4554, 64f, 77v, 80f, 91f, 434f and 448f.

408 Alexandru Ciura, *Scrieri alese* [Selected writings] (Bucharest: Editura Pentru Literatură, 1966), 63.

of *Vledény*<sup>409</sup> and the elided Hungarian forms *Csőtelke* instead of *Csüdőtelke* and *Tüis* instead of *Tövis*.<sup>410</sup>

In certain cases, educated written usage itself hesitated between two rival forms. Time and again, the debate flared up in the Romanian press as to whether *Beiuș* or *Beunș* was the correct Romanian name of Belényes; both variants were used locally.<sup>411</sup> This disagreement resembles the protracted quarrel over the vowel in the name of the Styrian city of Graz, in which closeness to the Slavic etymon was intended as the criterion.<sup>412</sup> In the 1850s, the variant *Mármaros* was introduced into the administration of Máramaros County as its new Hungarian name, and this elided form must have fallen on fertile ground, since it later sneaked back through the backdoor after *Máramaros* was restored in the 1870s.<sup>413</sup>

Moreover, some locally used names had nothing to do with the more widely known ones:

#### 4.5. Unrelated high and low endonyms<sup>414</sup>

in Romanian

<i>Cușma</i>	<i>Baloșa</i>
<i>Fiscut</i>	<i>Nadeș</i>
<i>Geoagiu de Sus</i>	<i>Sovaș</i>
<i>Mănăstire</i>	<i>Pârneaurea</i>
<i>Moldova Nouă</i>	<i>Boșneag</i>

409 Pál Hunfalvy, 'Kirándulás Erdélybe' [A trip to Transylvania], *Budapesti Szemle*, new series 49 (1887): 359. It is also a cross-linguistic endonym, since the village was purely Romanian-speaking. Hunfalvy heard this form from a Szekler carter, who might use the name often because there were many men from Vlădeni in the same profession; cf. Iacob Zorca, *Monografia comunei Vlădeni* [Monograph of Vlădeni commune] (Sibiu: Tipografia arhidieceșană, 1896).

410 János Ősz, 'Beszélgetések' [Conversations], *Magyar Nyelvőr* 34 (1905): 217–18 and Károly Berde, *Adatok Nagyenyed szellemi néprajzához az 1870–1920-as években* [Materials on the folklore of Nagyenyed between the 1870s and the 1920s] (Marosvásárhely: Mentor, 2005), 85.

411 Petrovici, *Material onomastic din Atlasul lingvistic român*, 165.

412 Egli, 122–3 and 244.

413 Gábor Várady, *Hulló levelek* [Falling leaves], vol. 3 (M.-Sziget: Sicherman, 1895), 213–14.

414 OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A; Simion Retegan, *Satele nășăudene la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea: mărturii documentare* [Villages of the District of Nășăud at the mid-19th century: documentary evidence] (Cluj-Napoca: Accent, 2002); Pamfilu Grapini, *Monografia comunei mari Rodna-nouă, din fostul district al Nășăudului (azi comitatul Bistrița-Nășăud) împreună cu Note istorice despre valea Rodnei* [Monograph of Rodna Nouă large commune from the former District of Nășăud (today, Beszterce-Naszód County), together with Historical notes on the Rodna Valley] (Bistrița: Baci, 1903), 71; Ion Marin Almăjan, ed., *Țara Almăjului: cercetări monografice realizate de echipa Institutului Banat-Crișana în anul 1939* [The Almăj region: monographic research conducted by the team of the Banat-Crișana Institute in 1939] (Timișoara: Mirton, 2003); Antal Kovács, 'Szekeembánya' [Săcămb/Sekerembe], *Nemzeti Társalkodó* 3 (1832): 268; Erwin Acs, *Deutschsanktmichael: Chronik einer deutschen Binnensiedlung im Banat* (Düsseldorf: self-published, 1992); Hübner and Nicolaus Kopf, *Segenthau: Heimatchronik einer deutschen Gemeinde im rumänischen Banat* (Munich: Kulturreferat der Landmannschaft der Banater Schwaben, 1978), 26.

<i>Nepos</i>	<i>Vărarea</i>
<i>Rodna Nouă</i>	<i>Şanţ</i>
<i>Romuli</i>	<i>Strâmba</i>
<i>Sâniosif</i>	<i>Poiana</i>
<i>Şopotu Nou</i>	<i>Buciava</i>
<i>Topolovăţu Mic</i>	<i>Sămăiuda</i>
in Hungarian	
<i>Nagyág</i>	<i>Szekerem(b)</i>
<i>Zimándköz</i>	<i>Bánkút</i>
in German	
<i>Altsanktanna</i>	<i>Komlosch</i>
<i>Deutschsanktmichael</i>	<i>Zillasch</i>
<i>Segenthau</i>	<i>Dreispietz</i>

These examples were still untouched by nationalism, which, as will be shown, later increased this kind of polyonymy. Just like with smaller differences, it also occurred that not the locals, but the dwellers of neighbouring villages used another, unrelated name. In Bihar, Țigănești/Cigányfalva was also known as Iancești/Jankafalva, while in the Banat, the Swabians of Șemlacu Mare/Morava/Großschemlak called the adjacent, German-speaking Kleinschemlak (*Schumlich* in the speech of the locals) *Prnjawa*.<sup>415</sup> In the Pârâng Mountains, the same peak bore the name *Cibanu* for the Romanians living to the North and the name *Huluzu* for those to the South.<sup>416</sup> The same constellation was also present in the Făgăraș Mountains, where different Romanian villages would call the same peaks differently.<sup>417</sup>

In the field of microtoponymy, even the various professional, status, gender groups, family networks and individuals within the same locality could divide up space in their own ways and would use partially different nomenclatures. This dimension was less marked in the area under study, partly because the overwhelming majority of villagers

415 Circle secretary János Májer, Örvénd/Urvind, 1864; *Pesty Frigyes kéziratos helységnevtáraból, 1864: Bihar*, vol. 1, 137 and Freihoffer.

416 Emmanuel de Martonne, 'Sur la toponymie naturelle des régions de haute montagne, en particulier dans les Karpates Méridionales', in *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive* 15 (1900): 88–9.

417 Adalbert Béla Szalay, 'Der Kamm des Fogarascher Gebirges', *Jahrbuch der Siebenbürgische Karpathenverein* 47 (1934): 14–15.

tilled the land and raised animals as their main source of income, and partly because land surveys and place-name collections did away with such diversity by generalising the viewpoint of their informants. Its existence becomes obvious, however, from the contemporary working files of the British Ordnance Survey. In nineteenth-century Ireland, peasant women used to have place names on their own, related to their specific activities, and fishermen used a different set of place names from that of farmers, based on the two groups' distinct criteria of relevance. More importantly, microtoponymy was in a constant state of flux. Not only did field names change often from one generation to the next by remotivation, folk etymology or simply by their referents ceasing being places, but peasants also made abundant use of ad-hoc orienting clues referring to recent events, which data collectors understood as names, but not the people themselves.<sup>418</sup> Thus, contrary to the hopes of Pesty, Marienescu and N. Densușianu, microtoponymy is the fastest-changing domain of place names. Field names could even alternate cyclically, like in the case of shepherds on the slopes of the Negoi, who switched the names of depressions from year to year depending on where they grazed the rams and where the sterile ewes.<sup>419</sup>

Concurrently, there was also a good deal of conservatism to the microtoponymy, as the names of well-individuated geographical features and of places of abiding significance for the community could survive for centuries. The frequent field name *Tó* (Hun. 'pond'), for example, preserved the memory of erstwhile bodies of water—used as fishponds or for retting hemp—long after these had been drained and transformed into ploughlands, and minor toponyms often persisted for centuries after speakers of the language in which they originated had disappeared from the site; there were field names of Hungarian origin in Romanian settlements, like the nomenclatures of Sânmihaiul Deșert

<sup>418</sup> Wolf, 74–81.

<sup>419</sup> Gusztáv Bácskai and Ferenc Wild, *Fogarasi-havasok: hegymászó- és turistakalauz* [Făgăraș Mountains: a guide for mountaineers and tourists] (Budapest: Kornétás, 2012), 43.

or the abandoned village Seliște near Șiria,<sup>420</sup> names of Saxon origin in Hungarian-speaking market towns, like *Bungur* (< Saxon *bungert* ~ Ger. *Baumgarten*) in Dés,<sup>421</sup> *Hellos* (< *Herrenlos*) and *Varcagás* (< *Schwarzgasse*) in Nagyenyed (names borrowed no later than the seventeenth century),<sup>422</sup> as well as in Romanian villages, such as *Brinchini* (< *Brünchen*) in Ludoș,<sup>423</sup> *Roștead* (< *Rodestatt*) in Apoldu Mic<sup>424</sup> and *Hindrigaz* (< *Hintergasse*) in Săsăuș (no Saxon population of consequence had lived in any of these villages since the late seventeenth century)<sup>425</sup> and South Slavic ones (*Rovine*, *Kolo*, *Izkop*) in Banat Swabian Bakowa/Bachóvár/Bacova.<sup>426</sup>

With these last examples, I have moved ahead to the cross-linguistic dimension of variation, commonly captured in terms of place-name borrowing and the exonym—endonym divide. To analyse this dimension in settlement names, the Austrian dialectologist Eberhard Kranzmayer developed a tripartite typology; approaching them from the side of their genesis, he used the term *Übersetzungspaare* for names referring to the same place that are semantically equivalent (e.g., *Abbazia/Opatija/Abtei*), *Entlehnungspaare* for those similar in form (*Trieste/Trst/Triest*), the result of cross-linguistic borrowing, and called *freie Paare* those instances where the different names go back to separate origins and bear no affinity to one another.<sup>427</sup> In the Cisleithanian lands that Kranzmayer studied, this latter type was by far the least frequent among the three, while the proportions

420 *Șematismul venerabilului cler al Archidiecesei metropolitane greco-catolice române de Alba-Iulia și Făgăraș pre anul domnului 1900 de la santa unire 200* [Gazetteer to the venerable clergy of the Romanian Greek Catholic Metropolitan Archdiocese of Alba Iulia and Făgăraș for AD 1900, 200 years since the Holy Union] (Blaș: Seminariului Archidieceșan, s. a.), 287 and Slavici, *Lumea prin care am trecut*, 184.

421 Szabó, *Dés helynevei*, 11.

422 Idem, 'Adatok Nagyenyed XVI—XX. századi helyneveinek ismeretéhez' [Data on the toponymy of Nagyenyed/Aiud/Enyeden from the sixteenth to twentieth centuries], *Erdélyi Múzeum*, new series 38 (1933): 227 and 240.

423 Ioan Stanciu, *Spicuri din trecutul comunei Ludoș (jud. Sibiu)* [Gleanings from the history of Ludoș commune, Sibiu County] (Sibiu: Tipografiei arhidieceșane, 1938), 4.

424 Ioan Beju, 'Monografia comunei Apoldu de Jos' [Monograph of Apoldu de Jos commune], in *Apoldu de Jos: texte monografice* [Apoldu de Jos: monographic texts] by Johann Daniel Henrich, Ioan Beju and Ioan Câmpineanu, 135 (Sibiu: Techno Media, 2007).

425 Mircea Drăgan and Maria Drăgan, *Săsăuș: monografia unui sat românesc* [Săsăuș: monograph of a Romanian village] (Sibiu: Anastasis, 2010), 31.

426 Helmut Wettel, *Der Buziaser Bezirk: Landschaften mit historischen Streiflichtern* (Temesvár: Südungarische Buchdruckerei, 1919), 49.

427 Eberhard Kranzmayer, 'Zur Ortsnamenforschung in Grenzland', *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung* 10 (1934): 11.

between the other two varied widely, with *Entlehnungspaare* being the commonest everywhere:

**Table 4.6. Distribution of the cross-linguistic variation of settlement names by types in four Cisleithanian crownlands<sup>428</sup>**

	Übersetzungspaare	Entlehnungspaare	freie Paare
Bohemia (Czech–German)	11%	58%	6%
Carinthia (Slovenian–German) <sup>429</sup>	41%	58%	1%
Istria (Italian–Slovenian)	11%	80%	6%
South-Tyrol (Romance–German)	30%	50%	10%

To be able to meaningfully compare Kranzmayer's data with mine, it would help to know whether he included names invented in government offices or editorial rooms. I deliberately excluded German names of official origin from my corpus of settlement names, which tended to translate the Romanian or Hungarian endonyms. The results thus obtained are in any event much at variance with Kranzmayer's. The share of *freie Paaren* was similarly low in the area; name pairs without a connection between them or with a connection so obscured as to be unrecognisable amounted to 6.3%, or 229 pairs and six triplets.<sup>430</sup> The curious part is that *Übersetzungspaare* appear even less numerous; my rough count found seventy-five such pairs, signifying just two per cent of all settlements of the area, and a few cases where parallel meanings extended to more than two languages.<sup>431</sup> Taking into account that I examined more than one relation between pairs per settlement, the predominance of *Entlehnungspaare* is sweeping. The big majority of co-referential settlement names in the area stood in close historical relationship with each other.

<sup>428</sup> *Ibid.*, 114, 125, 141 and 143.

<sup>429</sup> According to a different calculation by Alfred Ogris, the corresponding figures were 36% *Übersetzungspaare*, 60% *Entlehnungspaare* and 3% *freie Paare*; Alfred Ogris, 'Zweisprachige Ortsnamen in Kärnten in Geschichte und Gegenwart', *Südost-deutsches Archiv* 28–9 (1985–6): 131.

<sup>430</sup> *Beschened/Kisdengeleg/Cerzi*, *Gusu/Gieshübel/Kisludas*, *Hammersdorf/Guşteriţă/Szenterzsébet*, *Ţapu/Abtsdorf/Csicsóholdvölgy*, *Tăure/Tóhát/Neudorf* and *Zeiden/Codlea/Feketehalom*.

<sup>431</sup> *Satulung/Hosszúfalú/Langendorf*, *Rothberg/Roşia/Veresmart* and *Weißkirchen/Bela Crkva/Biserica Albă/Fehértemplom*.

*Übersetzungspaare* were more widespread in the microtoponymy, especially due to the frequency of some salient physical attribute as the basis of naming, even though, as already mentioned, microtoponymy was on the whole more uncertain than settlement names. With some simplification, the surface of linguistically mixed settlements was covered by as many parallel toponymies as there were languages, normally with a large overlap between them consisting of loans, calques and half-calques.<sup>432</sup> Cadastral maps not only flash-froze a process of change at one time-section, but they also inevitably accorded privilege to one ethnic place-name cover over the other. The Romanian monographer of Schirkanyen/Șercaia/Sárkány grumbled that cadastral surveyors had recorded the German field names in the 1870s, whereas, he claimed, Saxon farmers themselves made more frequent use of the Romanian ones.<sup>433</sup>

Until a decree of the Minister of Justice in 1903, to which I will return, surveyors usually aimed at rendering fields names in their local forms on cadastral maps, transcribing Romanian and Serbian names and alternating between translating generic terms and leaving them in the original.<sup>434</sup> This handling of the microtoponymy of non-dominant languages corresponded to the procedure followed in the Ordnance Surveys of Ireland, Wales and the Scottish Highlands and in the survey of the État Major, the largest-scale contemporary map of France, as regards French Flanders and the inland of Brittany.<sup>435</sup> At one end of the scale, one finds more thoroughgoing interventions into the way microtoponymy was represented in the cases of Alsace-Lorraine and the coastline of Brittany in the État Major survey and on Spanish maps, which transmitted the image of an entirely Castilian-speaking country.<sup>436</sup> In a few contexts, the minor place names of linguistic

432 For an overview of the bilingual microtoponymy of a Saxon–Romanian village, Irmgard and Werner Sedler, eds, *Zied: ein Dorf und seine Geschichte*, vol. 1 (Ludwigsburg: self-published, 2003), 75–87.

433 George Maior, *O pagină din luptele românilor cu sașii pe terenul social, cultural și economic: Șercaia, 1809–1909* [A page from Romanians’ struggles with Saxons in the social, cultural and economic spheres: Schirkanyen/Șercaia/Sárkány, 1809–1909] (Bucharest: Universala, 1910), 12.

434 On the relevant ordinances, see Gábor Mikesy, ‘A korai kataszteri térképezés névanyagát befolyásoló utasítások, rendeletek’ [The orders and decrees influencing the name corpus on early land registry maps], *Helényvtörténeti Tanulmányok* 10 (2014): 110–14.

435 Ormeling, 57–68 and 72–84 and Wolf, 65 and 76–8.

436 Ormeling, 80–1, 89 and 191.



minorities appeared in their standard national spellings: Slovene names on Habsburg military maps between 1870 and 1918, as well French and Italian names, two languages with orthographic traditions difficult to ignore, on large-scale German and Italian maps and on the original sheets of the État Major survey of Corsica. Generic terms were as a rule translated, however.<sup>437</sup>

Since the turn of the millennium, and in particular thanks to the debates of the Working Group on Exonyms inside the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names, the usage of the exonym—endonym dichotomy has taken a radical shift towards a definition that also makes sense in the context of a microhistorical or anthropological analysis.<sup>438</sup> Earlier understandings of this dichotomy valued the sovereignty of nation states over everything else, and basically contrasted official names, interpreted as endonyms, with whatever other names existed in languages of a politically recognised status, in practice the national languages of external nation states. Going by such definitions, *Litzmannstadt* was the endonym of Łódź in 1940, *Oraşul Stalin* the endonym of Braşov/Brassó/Kronstadt in 1951, whereas speakers of non-dominant languages have invariably called their homeplaces by exonyms.<sup>439</sup> Recent definitions, on the contrary, have given prominence to the viewpoint of local communities: ‘a toponym can only truly be an endonym if it is endorsed by popular consent and fits comfortably into the voluntary everyday spoken and written vocabulary of at least one significant section of the locally settled social community’, Paul Woodman specifies.<sup>440</sup> The endonymy—exonymy dichotomy is thus detached from the official or unofficial character of a name. The Hungarian names of Romanian-speaking villages in the Kingdom of Hungary are re-categorised as exonyms, and no matter if they had existed for centuries or were invented after 1898, in

437 *Ibid.*, 89, 101, 130, 171 and 186.

438 Zsombor Bartos-Elekes, ‘The Discussion on Terminology of the Terms Exonym and Endonym’, *Review of Historical Geography and Toponomastics* 3 (2008), nos 5–6, 61.

439 Paul Woodman, ‘The naming process: Societal acceptance and the endonym definition’, in *The Great Toponymic Divide: Reflections on the definition and usage of endonyms and exonyms*, ed. idem, 16 (Warsaw: Head Office of Geodesy and Cartography, 2012).

440 *Ibid.*, 17.

the same manner as the new Romanian names introduced after 1918 for Szekler and other Hungarian-speaking villages. *Ciudanovița* and *Homoródalmás* are endonyms, but *Csudafalva* and *Merești* are not, and have never been.

Certainly, this re-definition raises almost as many problems as it solves. In the first place, it fails to distinguish between exonymy within and across languages (or onomastica), which become truly separate dimensions in the case of discretely different (*Abstand*) languages. Moreover, formulations of this view have so far missed the complexity of the standard—dialect continuum. The geographer Peter Jordan brought an example from my area for an endonym/exonym pair in one language: the endonym *Mieresch*, the (once) usual name of the river for Transylvanian Saxons, vs. the exonym *Marosch*, the name of the same river for Germans more widely, borrowed from modern Hungarian.<sup>441</sup> But *Mieresch* is itself an abstraction to some degree; in addition, on the evidence of Google Books, we rather have to do in this case with two forms competing for a standard status. One hopefully does not wish to confine the category of endonyms to the sometimes mind-bogglingly diverse array of locally pronounced forms, and we can accept *Cherechi* as an endonym instead of the set of [ˈcɛrec], [ˈkɛɾekɨ], [ˈkɛɾekʲ] etc., embracing a measure of standardisation without losing sight of local acceptance as the main criterion.

On the social side, from what size can speakers of a language be said to make up a ‘significant’ section of the local population? This is an especially touchy point given that endonymy has been the target of contrasting political claims. Also, should the variant belonging to a group that does not live permanently in the place but frequents it on a regular basis, say as its weekly marketplace, count as an endonym? Because of all these questions and uncertainties, I would like to pin down the gradual nature of the endonymy—

441 Peter Jordan, ‘Towards a comprehensive view at the endonym/exonym divide’, *ibid.*, 24.

exonymy divide before I adopt it in the sense described above for a brief discussion of cross-linguistic variation.

In localities where more than one language was spoken, the names customary in these languages were equally endonyms. For the sake of convenience, in so far as a linguistic group made up a ‘significant’ section of the population, the name variant used by them is interpreted here as a separate endonym even if it differed little in form. In that way, settlements could possess up to four or five endonyms in various languages, often with several endonymic and perhaps another one or two exonymic variants in the same language. The definition does not exclude that locals use exonyms in certain contexts, which takes on special relevance for the High German names of Transylvanian Saxon villages, to a large extent upheld by the villagers themselves.

How did cross-linguistic exonyms come to be? In the simplest of scenarios, from historical endonyms. This was doubtless the case with the Hungarian and Saxon names of many Romanian-speaking villages, as well as with the Saxon names of a few dozens of villages inhabited by Magyars. For these to remain in use, there was need for a sustained presence of native speakers in the region or at least for a more or less unbroken administrative control, a reason why old Hungarian settlement names survived as exonyms in Transylvania, but not in the Banat, where the Ottoman invasion had interrupted the use of Hungarian for nearly three centuries. Besides, and this was still the more common way, exonyms could also arise through borrowing and phonological adjustment—translation-loans were exceedingly rare, as we have seen—either by residents of the surrounding villages or by the personnel of the seigniorial or county administration. These exonyms later continued on their separate paths and could undergo further modifications, but it is more to the point to note that they often preserved earlier forms of the endonyms, which the local populations no longer used.

It would appear that before increasing social communication and state intervention codified national onomastica, people felt freer to improvise new exonyms instead of attempting at the endonymic forms, in a way that is not done today, except humorously. The seventeenth-century travel writer Márton Szepsi Csombor remembered that during his journey through Poland by foot, they had called the town of Nieszawa *Görgő* with his travel mates, after a similarly onion-producing village in Szepsi Csombor's native Abaúj County, while in his autobiography written before 1730, Ferdinando Marsigli referred to the castle of Görgény/Gurghiu in Transylvania by the Italianised name *Georgino*.<sup>442</sup> Hence also the facility with which learned people had Latinised place names in Latin texts, a practice that incidentally supplied models for Romanian exonyms of Western Hungarian towns (*Agria*→*Agriu*, *Cassovia*→*Cașovia*, *Strigonium*→*Strigoni*, *Vesprimium*→*Vesprim*).<sup>443</sup>

Many of the new exonyms had only a fleeting existence. Frigyes Pesty mentioned *Palensdorf*, a name embraced by Saxons for the village of Kerelőszentpál/Sânpaul in the 1850s, which had not existed earlier and fell into oblivion afterwards.<sup>444</sup> In the early twentieth century, according to the head forester of the Kendeffy estate Gyula Bartos, a group of Magyar herdsmen from around Szeged, indentured in the Retezat Mountains, altered the name of the brook Slăvoi into *Szellevény* for their own use, a meaningless form that they could nevertheless find more homey.<sup>445</sup>

Pesty's respondents were sharply aware of even fine differences between the locally used name variants and the ones under which their villages were supposedly known more widely, as existed between, to quote the respondents' own spellings, Romanian 'Bujor

442 Márton Szepsi Csombor, *Europica varietas* (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1979), 111 and Maria Holban, ed., *Călători străini despre țările române* [Foreign travellers in the Romanian lands], vol. 8 (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1983), 55.

443 All examples from Cornel Diaconovich, ed., *Enciclopedia română* [Romanian encyclopaedia], 3 vols (Sibiu: ASTRA, 1898–1904).

444 Pesty, *A helynevek és a történelem*, 5.

445 Gyula Bartos, *Elhagyott Ádámok: kívül a Paradicsomon; korabeli vázlatok a kárpáti erdőkben dolgozók küzdelmes életéről; naplójegyzetek alapján, 1907–19* [Forsaken Adams: out of Eden; contemporary sketches about the laborious life of people working in the Carpathian forests; based on diary notes, 1907–19] (Budapest: Országos Erdészeti Egyesület Erdészettörténeti Szakosztály, 2000), 124.

(‘Buzsor:’) and Hungarian ‘Bozsúr’, Romanian ‘Iteu’ and Hungarian ‘Iltyó’, Romanian ‘Pestyire’ and Hungarian ‘Pestere’ or Romanian ‘Olt Bogátá’ and Hungarian ‘Olt Bogát’.<sup>446</sup> The voice certainly belongs to the village secretaries here, who, by virtue of their jobs, not only knew the codified toponymy inside out, but also played an essential role in sustaining it, and especially in the Banat, where written transactions in Hungarian could not look back to a long history, they may have even contributed to its codification. In Romanian monolingual areas, the seemingly neat distinction between endonyms and exonyms—as far as the reported forms actually stood for distinct pronunciations—was sometimes quite recent, it often grew out of variation of a different sort and was reinterpreted in the administration to suit the low/local vs. high/national opposition, already at place in other areas and in the case of other places.

As was the preferred option for Romanian personal names as well, educated Magyars virtually always spelt locality names borrowed from Romanian according to Hungarian rules when writing in Hungarian, even the names of villages that lay at a fair distance from Hungarian-speaking areas.<sup>447</sup> The same habit did not apply for German names, and the parallel with personal names continues to hold here. The handful of German locality names in the Banat that lacked Hungarian forms were not transcribed.<sup>448</sup> On the face of it, the new Romanian written forms in the Latin script added to the diversity, but at any rate they helped to convince Pesty’s respondents that two different written forms represented two separate names, even if there was hardly any difference in pronunciation, like in the case of Rom. *Uricu*/Hun. *Urik*.<sup>449</sup> Together with the introduction of new official German names in the 1850s, they also created the expectation that each loc-

446 Sándor Philippovits, OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel no. 35; *ibid.*, reel 2; Sándor Mártonffy, in *Pesty Frigyes kéziratok helységnévtárából, 1864: Bihar*, vol. 2, 433 and village secretary Sándor Hegyi, mayor Ștefan Achim, senior locals Gheorghe Leoca, Cati Onea and Radu Nica, in *Pesty Frigyes helynévgyűjteménye 1864–1865: Székelyföld*, vol. 1, 183.

447 The three exceptions were a village from the Banat estates of the Austrian Railway Company, which habitually appeared as *Padina-Matei* (instead of *Padina-Matej*) until the Communal Registry Board changed its Hungarian name to *Mátévölgye*, *Szuplái* or *Szuplái* (instead of *Szupláj*, later *Ciblesfalva*) in the former 2<sup>nd</sup> Wallachian Border Guard Regiment, where Hungarian administration was introduced in the earnest after 1883, and *Spatta* (instead of *Szpatta*).

448 *Buchberg, Charlottenburg, Ebendorf, Eibenthal, Eisenstein, Frauenwiese, Kohldorf, Liebling, Mariaschnee, Neuhoof, Rebenberg, Schnellersruhe, Schönthal, Steierdorf, Traunau, Weidenthal, Weizenried* and *Wolfsberg*.

449 Albert Kenderesi signatory and the illiterate village committee; OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel no. 28.

ality should have a name in each of the three regional languages of Transylvania, as witnessed by the respondents who noted with touching ingenuity if a place ‘as yet’ lacked a separate German or Romanian name.<sup>450</sup> Conversely, a contrasting trend was also noticeable, whereby respondents understood interrelated Romanian and Hungarian name pairs as one and the same name.<sup>451</sup>

These subtleties notwithstanding, the common sense that assigned written place name variants to the various languages went uncontested at this time, with officials and clerks always trying to adjust their usage of place names to the language in which they wrote. Accordingly, the choice of place names in official texts reflected the fortunes of the corresponding languages; the dominance of German ones gave way to an unprecedented diversity in 1860–1, to be steamrolled by the Hungarian regime after the Compromise on all but the local level and with the exception of the former Saxon Land.

Neither were there hot debates as to what the proper Hungarian or German name of a certain village was, which is not to say that there was no variation in official use. A few gazetteers—directories listing all localities of a land in an alphabetical order and with some basic data—had already existed before 1867 and had been widely used, but these were private ventures lacking state recognition.<sup>452</sup> The first gazetteer covering the Kingdom of Hungary enlarged with Transylvania came out in 1873 at the Budapest statistical service, but in spite of its official nature, it also did not have regulatory authority. Its subsequent editions contained the Romanian and German endonyms alongside the Hungarian names until its 1892 edition.

It was quite common up to the turn of the century for a village to have a different Hungarian version of its name on its seal from the way it figured in the official gazetteer,

450 *Pesty Frigyes helynévgyűjteménye 1864–1865: Székelyföld*, vol. 1, 174 and vol. 2, 37, 105, 167, 228 and 229.

451 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 150; Mizser, 73 and 130; OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel no. 2, at Govosdia and Ménes and *Pesty Frigyes helynévgyűjteménye 1864–1865: Székelyföld*, vol. 1, 59.

452 Lenk von Treuenfeld; Elek Fényes, *Magyarország geographiai szótára* [Geographical dictionary of Hungary], 4 vols (Pesten: Kozma, 1851) and Zsigmond Gámán, *Helység-névtár: a Királyhágón inneni rész (Erdély) minden községének betűrendes névtára* [Alphabetical gazetteer of all communes on this side of the King's Pass] (Kolozsvárt: Demjén, 1861).

and the railway and Magyar churches might use still other versions for good measure.<sup>453</sup> Beyond questions of spelling and disambiguating prefixes, this variation could also extend to more substantial differences. A telling episode occurred in 1887, when the Hermannstadt postal directorate, planning to establish a post office in a Saxon village called *Petres* in Hungarian, a form that leaves little obvious room for variation, inquired at Beszterce-Naszód County about the way this name was used in the county administration, to know how to name their new post office.<sup>454</sup>

When new nationally-minded elites entered a collision course over the symbolic ownership of places by mounting antagonistic claims on their names—usually couched in public statements directed to the ingroup—they built in the first instance on the ethnocentric gut reaction that accepted familiar forms as the true ones and dismissed alien ones as contrived or even ridiculous, reaffirmed by the circular reasoning that a given place name harmoniously fit into the phonological patterns of their language, which was in any case the expected outcome of the routine adjustment process. If they sought to deride exonyms, they often assumed an imaginary local perspective and pointed out how unaware locals were of the existence of these forms.<sup>455</sup> Note that the viability of such inward-looking optics was far from unproblematic on the ground. Not only that peasants did not attribute an ethnic significance to place names, but the majority of Romanian peasants were also frequently reminded that the authoritative names of their villages were different from the ones they used. The Hungarian names could sneak into their daily lives through multiple channels. Vinerea/Felkenyér/Oberbrodsdorf, for instance, a Romanian village surrounded by other Romanian villages, used a capital F, the initial of its Hungarian name, for branding its cattle.<sup>456</sup>

453 For the question of place names at the railways, Bartos-Elekes, *Nyelvhasználat a térképeken*, 56.

454 ANR Bistrița, Fond Prefectura județului Năsăud 79/1887, 155.

455 Not only Romanians made use of this argument. János Hunfalvy, who may not have liked it when applied to Romanian names, nevertheless deployed it against the German names of Torda and Marosvásárhely; Hunfalvy, *Die magyarischen Ortsnamen und Herr Professor Kiepert*, 410.

456 *Abbildung der in den sächsischen Ortschaften bestehenden Viehbrandzeichen nach den einzelnen Stühlen und Districten geordnet* (Hermannstadt: Lithographisches Institut, 1826), unpaginated.

Nationalists supplemented these claims with a further, historical, dimension, fixated on the original form underlying each name. The struggle was waged for the ownership of these forms, and there was considerable pressure on co-nationals to assert the historical primacy of their mother-tongue variants. The names of others became either ‘distortions’ or ‘fabrications’, the products of an adverse past and of unscrupulous enemies. This new way of thinking had already reared its head in the responses to Pesty. Among others, one village secretary suggested that the Swabians of Baumgarten, also known as Neudorf, called their village by these two names only because they did not know its single correct name, the Hungarian *Fakert*.<sup>457</sup>

At least twice at the turn of the century, Independentist MPs tried to whip up moral panic in the Budapest parliament around the fact that Romanians and Saxons used their own place-name variants, which were often derived from the Hungarian names.<sup>458</sup> Characteristically, Károly Eötvös presented the emergence of separate Romanian forms as a recent development.<sup>459</sup> Romanian forms that were basically the Romanian spellings of Hungarian names did not warrant more consideration; quite the contrary. When Nicolae Mazere from Iași published the results of his alternative nationality census for Hungary (which barely differed from the official data in its aggregate figures), he criticised his co-nationals for mindlessly adopting the Hungarian place names, forms disfigured by ‘our very national enemies’, and by his own admission, he spent much effort trying to determine what he thought was the true and only Romanian name of each settlement.<sup>460</sup> His

457 OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel no. 37, Erdőalja; mayor Georgie Sagou and village secretary Sagou from Idicel, 1864; *ibid.*, reel no. 63, Idetspatak; village secretary Nicolae V... and the illiterate mayor Nicolae Popa from Făget, 1864; *ibid.*, reel no. 37, Oláhbükkös and *ibid.*, reel no. 2, Fakert.

458 Speech by MP Ubul Kállay on 30 May 1911; *Képviselőházi napló* 1910, vol. 8, 99 and speech by MP Károly Eötvös on 6 December 1897; *Képviselőházi napló* 1896, vol. 20, 229.

459 ‘*Hátszeg*; Romanians are already beginning to write it—I have seen it in books—as *Hatiek*, and they pronounce it as *Hatszék*’ (*ibid.*). The actual Romanian name of the town is *Hafeg*. The modern Hungarian name, spelt as the compound of *hát* ‘back’ and *szeg* ‘corner’, is a folk etymological formation from the early modern period; earlier documents referred to the town as *Hatzok* or *Hatzak*. Moreover, the town was the seat of one of medieval Hungary’s Romanian districts; Emerico Lukinich and Ladislao Gálai, *Documenta historiam Valachorum in Hungaria illustrantia usque ad annum 1400 p. Christum* [Documents illustrating the history of Wallachians in Hungary until the year 1400 AD] (Budapestini: Sumptibus Instituti Historici Europae Centro-orientalis in Universitate Scientiarum Budapestinensis, 1941), 50–2.

460 Nicolae Mazere, *Supliment la harta etnografica a Transilvaniei* [Supplement to the ethnographic map of Transylvania] (Iași: Goldner, 1909), 3–6. The quotation is from p. 3.



names from the Szeklerland in particular came up against the ridicule of his Hungarian reviewer, who assumed (wrongly) that such Romanian renderings as *Gheorghio-Sîn-Micloș* for *Gyergyószentmiklós* must of necessity be improvised forms and who went on to play the following pathetic pun on Mazere: ‘according to this superb translation, Mr. Mazere’s first name is also Micloș, not Nicolae’.<sup>461</sup> In time, this exclusivist rhetoric became so routinised on all sides that Iorga even deployed it against a Romanian form that he mistook for a Hungarian one.<sup>462</sup> Let’s not forget, however, that Romanian historical mythology also had an alternative story in reserve about the medieval Magyarisation of place names, which allowed Romanian writers to admit that Romanian peasants in the Transylvanian Basin often used adjusted Hungarian forms.<sup>463</sup>

Seen in this light, it is indeed remarkable how little contemporaries cared to conform their personal practices to their beliefs. Until the law on locality names turned clinging to Romanian place names into a token of political resistance, Romanian intellectuals made insouciant use of Hungarian place-name variants and spellings in Romanian writing, both in private and public genres.<sup>464</sup> The place names of the Szeklerland do not relate to this question, since most of them did not have established Romanian variants or at best had them in the church administration, but half of Szeklerland parishes figured under Hungarian names even in the Romanian Greek Catholic Archbishopric’s directory for 1900.<sup>465</sup>

461 Nicolae and Miklós = Nicholas. Sándor Beluleszko, ‘Nicolae Mazere: *Harta etnografică a Transilvaniei*’, *Földrajzi Közlemények* 38 (1910): 141. The form was in use among the Greek Catholic clergy. On a side note, the name had also appeared in Cyrillic transcription in Eduard Albert Bielz, *Handbuch der Landeskunde Siebenbürgens: eine physikalisch-statistisch-topographische Beschreibung dieses Landes* (Hermannstadt: Filtsch, 1857), 439.

462 Iorga, *Neamul românesc*, vol. 2, 578–9.

463 Bariț, *Despre numele proprie*, 2–3 and Ioan Russu Șirianu, *Românii din statul ungar: statistică, etnografie* [Romanians in the Hungarian state: statistics, ethnography] (Bucharest: self-published, 1904), 145–6.

464 Like private letters, e.g., Ștefan Pascu and Iosif Pervain, eds, vol. 2, 173; Keith Hitchins and Liviu Maior, *Corespondența lui Ioan Rațiu cu George Barițiu (1861–1892)* [Ioan Rațiu’s correspondence with George Bariț, 1861–1892] (Cluj: Dacia, 1970), 239 and 242; Teodor Pavel, *Partidul Național Român și acțiunea memorandistă: corespondență politică (1887–1901)* [The Romanian National party and the Memorandist movement: political correspondence, 1887–1901] (Cluj-Napoca: Daco-Press, 1994), 133 and Gelu Neamțu and Viorel Faur, *Iosif Roman (1829–1908), o personalitate bihoreană mai puțin cunoscută* [Iosif Roman (1829–1908), a lesser-known personage from Bihar] (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2004), 49, 59 and 60; minutes of voters’ caucuses, e.g., Popovici et al. eds, *Bihor*, vol. 1, 82 and Vlad Popovici, ed., *Acte și documente privind elita politică românească din Transilvania (1869–1896)* [Records and documents regarding the Romanian political elite of Transylvania, 1869–1896] (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2010), 101 or internal church correspondence, e.g., Retegan, *În umbra clopotnițelor*, 1, 8 and 190–1.

465 *Șematismul veneratului cler al Archidiecesei metropolitane greco-catolice române de Alba-Iulia și Făgăraș pre anul domnului 1900 de la sânta unire 200* [Gazetteer to the venerable clergy of the Romanian Greek Catholic Metropolitan Archdiocese of

Ioan Russu-Şirianu lamented in 1904 that it was sometimes hard to find out the Romanian place names from afar.<sup>466</sup> But places familiar to the writers also routinely turned up under Hungarian names in Romanian texts. ‘I was born in the town of Nagy-Károly’, began his memoirs the Greek Catholic canon Ioan Boroş, only to shift to use the Romanian name of his hometown on the following pages.<sup>467</sup> Even such highly-exposed setting as the political press featured Hungarian forms. As the editor of *Tribuna*, a militantly nationalist paper, Slavici tailored the language of contributions to his linguistic ideal and translated the inserts, he nevertheless left part of the names of stops in Hungarian in the railway timetable.<sup>468</sup> Moreover, the first Romanian encyclopedia, published in Hermannstadt between 1898 and 1904, also displayed a few places located in Romanian-majority areas under their Hungarian names.<sup>469</sup>

Romanian men’s of the pen frequent slipping into the use of Hungarian variants reveals the intensity of the cultural hegemony at work in literate, middle-class and urban milieus. It not only clashed with cherished nationalist ideas about place names, but would have also been unthinkable in the inter-war Romanian media, partly because of a vindictive Romanian state nationalism and partly because the interlude when the public use of Romanian place names fell under restrictions politicised the matter to a great degree. Falling back on Hungarian forms might sometimes carry awareness of a given name’s Hungarian origin. More significantly, the last examples make it clear that such slip-ups were not limited to intimate communicative situations, where it could be attributed to slovenliness, but rather nationalist stances did not yet congeal into a habitus. To be sure, the limits of nationally appropriate behaviour were nowhere clear-cut, and it was negotiable whether singing Hungarian songs in public, dancing Hungarian dances or giv-

Alba Iulia and Făgăraş for AD 1900, 200 years from the Holy Union] (Blaş: Seminariului Archidiececan, s. a.).

466 Russu Şirianu, 146–7.

467 Ioan Boroş, *Memorialistica* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2012), 99.

468 *Fugyi-Vásárhely, Mező-Telegd, Rév, Agostonfalva, Gyorok, Németh-Ságh, Orczifalva, Merczifalva, Kerelő-Sz.-Pál* etc. (*Tribuna* 1884). Cf. Ioan Slavici, ‘*Tribuna*’ şi *tribuniştii* [The Tribuna and the Tribunists] (Orăştie: Minerva, 1896), 43.

469 *Gyarmata, Nagybánya, Nagy-Cserged, Nagy-Ernye, Nagy-Sikárló, Pecsétszeg, Szász-Bonyha, Szék and Székegyhíd*; Diaconovich, ed.

ing a Hungarian speech at a Romanian banquet compromised one's credentials as a Romanian nationalist, but none of these violations of boundary maintenance also went against such elaborate discursive constructs as existed around place names. In the end, the law on locality names did not fail to deepen the Romanian nationalist vanguard's dislike for Hungarian forms.

#### 4.4. Backpackers and Other Godparents

Let's write the streets full / and let's rephrase the map, / let's abandon all restraint / in overdoing excess.  
Tamás Pajor/Neurotic, *Brék* [Break dance]<sup>470</sup>

In the second half of the nineteenth century, more and more affluent townsfolk began to appear walking alpine trails, equipped with knapsacks and alpenstocks, towards lofty mountain tops, narrow gorges, cascading waterfalls or glinting tarns. They had no practical reason to undertake the fatigue of walking; by their own admission, they sought refreshment from the bustle of urban life and were attracted by the beauty of the wilderness.<sup>471</sup> For the apostles of the movement, mountain walking united recreation with sportsmanship and self-education. In addition, tourist writers time and again drew connections between landscape and the nation; the former was extolled for having witnessed the nation's past and for having shaped its character.<sup>472</sup> The claim was also advanced that organised backpackers carried out a national mission; by their lively presence in the mountains, by exploring less accessible sites and by building and maintaining pathways, painting markings, operating mountain huts and publishing guidebooks, they helped people recognise the worth of their natural treasures. These activities gained heightened

470 'Írd tele az utcákat / és fogalmazd át a térképet, / a mérhetetlen túlzásokban / ne tarts semmi mértéket!'

471 On the cultural meanings of nineteenth-century mountaineering, see Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren, *Culture Builders: A Historical Anthropology of Middle-Class Life*, trans. Alan Crozier (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 50–8.

472 Oliver Zimmer, 'In Search of a Natural Identity: Alpine Landscape and the Reconstruction of the Swiss Nation', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40 (1998): 643–6.

significance in borderlands and contested regions, where the same activities were also seen as conquering the space for the national body.<sup>473</sup>

Naming a place equals symbolically appropriating it, and this basic function of naming will occupy a central place in the rest of my work. The activity of Hungarian alpine clubs deserves special interest here not so much on account of their actual onomastic output, which was in itself rather modest, although they would continue and even step up place renaming in the inter-war era. Apart from being the first in Hungary engage in ideologically motivated place renaming in an institutionalised fashion, they created a platform for a relatively wide set of people to participate in such practices, however, and they also acted as an ardent pressure group pushing for state involvement in the Magyarising of place names. Moreover, their creations will reveal other sources of inspiration than national history, which will not appear among Magyarised settlement names.

Saxons were the pioneers of mountaineering in the area.<sup>474</sup> Although they restricted their activity to the mountains close to Saxon urban centres, mostly to the southern chain of the Carpathians ranging along the border from its south-eastern curve to the Retezat in the West, even Magyars taking hikes to these parts usually relied on the Saxon Siebenbürgischer Karpatenverein's infrastructure. On the other hand, Romanian mountain climbers were too few in numbers to organise their own clubs. The first pieces of Romanian mountaineering literature from Transylvania, written by Ioan Turcu, chief clerk of Fogaras County, and Teodor Romul Popescu from Hermannstadt, do not present interest from the perspective of the ideology of place names.<sup>475</sup> With the likely exception of a cave near the Vulcan Pass that Kőváry quoted under the name *Bellona* (a Roman god-

473 Pieter M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), 141–76, esp. 151–2 and R.J.B. Bosworth, 'The *Touring Club Italiano* and the Nationalization of the Italian Bourgeoisie', *European History Quarterly* 27 (1997): 384.

474 Nicolae Baticu and Radu Țițeica, *Pe crestele Carpaților* [On the crests of the Carpathians] (Bucharest: Sport-Turism, 1984), 83–95.

475 Ioan Turcu, *Excursiuni pe munții țerei Bârsei și ai Făgărașului din punctul »la Om« de pe »Guceciu« până dincolo de »Negoiul«* [Excursions in the mountains of the Burzenland and of the Land of Făgăraș, from the Om on the Buceci to beyond the Negoii] (Brașov: s. n., 1896) and Teodor Romul Popescu, 'Excursiuni în Munții Cibinului, Făgărașului și Brașovului' [Excursions in the Cibin, Făgăraș Mountains and the mountains of Brassô], *Luceafărul* 10 (1911): 421–9 and 475–86.

ness of war), I have also found no trace that Romanians renamed natural landmarks to fit their nationalist agenda.<sup>476</sup>

Magyar alpine clubs began to proliferate in the decade flanking the Millennium.<sup>477</sup> Hungary witnessed an associational boom in that period, as the Magyar elite was busy creating a civil society that mainly differed from the Austrian and German models in the paltry role it allotted to gymnastic societies and sharpshooters' associations. Their founding memberships greatly overlapped with those of Magyarising cultural associations; indeed, the busiest of these institutions, the EKE (Erdélyi Kárpát-egyesület, Carpathian Society of Transylvania), was midwived into life by the nationalist EMKE.<sup>478</sup> Before long, however, many of the newly founded alpine clubs fell into inactivity, even in such populous a city as Nagyvárád.<sup>479</sup> The poet Mihály Babits, when appointed to Fogaras as a high-school teacher in 1908, found a place where only Saxons were given to excursions and where joining a Saxon party into the nearby mountains was regarded as slightly eccentric by local Magyars, although a local branch of the EKE had still existed in the 1890s.<sup>480</sup>

On the basis of the magazines that I perused,<sup>481</sup> the success of mountain walking as a hobby proved enduring among the Magyar elites of Kolozsvár, Temesvár and Arad and the summer clientele of high-altitude resorts like Stâna de Vale/Biharfüred, Moneasa/Menyháza, Borszék/Borsec, Anieş/Dombhát or Radnaborberek/Valea Vinului. There was nothing unique in the markedly upper-class and dominantly male composition of Magyar walking parties; the same was also typical for German and Austrian alpine

476 László Kőváry, *Erdély földje ritkaságai* [Curiosities of the land of Transylvania] (Kolozsvár: Tilsch, 1853), 102.

477 Géza Polgárdy, ed., *Magyar Turista Lexikon* [Hungarian Touristic Dictionary] (Budapest: Eggenberger, 1941), 204–13.

478 On contemporary mountaineering in Hungary and its nationalist affinities, Alexander Vari, 'From Friends of Nature to Tourist-Soldiers: Nation Building and Tourism in Hungary, 1873-1914', in *Turizm: The Russian and Eastern European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, eds Anne Gorsuch and Diane Koenker, 64–81 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

479 Robert Nemes, 'Obstacles to Nationalization on the Hungarian-Romanian Language Frontier', *Austrian History Yearbook* 43 (2012): 35.

480 Mihály Babits, *Keresztülkaszul az életemen* [Back and forth in my life] (Budapest: Nyugat, s. a. [1939]), 38.

481 *Erdély* (organ of the EKE), *Turisták Lapja*, *A magyarországi Kárpát-egyesület évkönyve/Jahrbuch des Ungarischen Karpathen-Vereines*, *Természettudományi Füzetek*, *Földrajzi Közlemények*, *Természettudományi Közlöny* and *Földtani Közlöny*.

clubs.<sup>482</sup> The pillars of the movement were geologists, botanists and entomologists, who also wandered around in nature for professional reasons.

While on the whole, this state of affairs meant that Magyar excursionists' destinations of choice typically lay in Romanian-speaking areas, an analysis of their perceptions of vernacular geographical names will differentiate between four contexts. Hungarian vernacular names were unproblematic in the extended Szeklerland. They were also present in some parts of the Apuseni Mountains, where the preference of the military map for the no less vernacular Romanian variants made Magyar friends of nature wary of this map, the only large-resolution one on the market. In the rest of the Apuseni and usually where Hungarian names were not readily available, Magyar visitors may have felt inclined to look for Hungarian 'originals' especially behind opaque Romanian forms. Finally, in some mountain ranges on the state border, like the Făgăraș Mountains or the Retezat, they might in practice accept the Romanian place-name cover as authentic. To the extent that they did so, they potentially imagined these mountains on the model of colonial space.

News of colonial expeditions gave obvious inspiration for the symbolic appropriation of Hungary's mountains. It may seem trivial to note, but my emphasis on naming and renaming can easily conceal the fact that European explorers of uncharted lands adopted the indigenous names in the vast majority of cases, and Magyar tourist writers and geographers proceeded likewise.<sup>483</sup> Commemorative names made up the most common type of wilful interventions to colonial toponymies in the nineteenth century, celebrating royalties, politicians, colonial officials or the explorers and their families.<sup>484</sup> In the press,

482 Dagmar Günther, *Alpine Quergänge: Kulturgeschichte des bürgerlichen Alpinismus (1870–1930)* (Frankfurt: Campus, 1998), 35–46 and Anneliese Gidl, *Alpenverein: Die Städter entdecken die Alpen* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2007), 32–5.

483 Hélène Blais, 'Comment trouver le "meilleur nom géographique"? Les voyageurs français et la question de la dénomination des îles océaniques au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle', *L'Espace géographique* 30 (2001): 350 and 356 and Thomas Stolz and Ingo H. Warnke, 'Aspekte der kolonialen und postkolonialen Toponymie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des deutschen Kolonialismus', in *Sprache und Kolonialismus: Eine interdisziplinäre Einführung zu Sprache und Kommunikation in kolonialen Kontexten*, eds Thomas Stolz, Ingo H. Warnke and Daniel Schmidt-Brücken, 132 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2016).

484 *Ibid.*, 144–6.

the Magyar bourgeoisie could easily encounter some of the many geographical features named to honour Queen Victoria around the globe,<sup>485</sup> and they certainly knew about the Transylvanian aristocrat Sámuel Teleki, who led an expedition to the interior of British East Africa (Kenya) in 1888 and named two lakes there after the Habsburg heir apparent Rudolf and his spouse Stéphanie.<sup>486</sup> Then there were also names meant to ‘document’ the explorer’s own journey, another sort of ‘commemorative name’.<sup>487</sup> Famous earlier examples include many of Captain Cook’s names, like *Cape Tribulation*, which he baptised so because his ship ran on a shoal there.<sup>488</sup> Descriptive names in European languages had grown less popular over time, but countless modern names, from straightforward ones like *Lagos* (Port. ‘lakes’) or *Cameroon* (< Port. *camarões* ‘crayfish’) to metaphoric ones like *Venezuela* (Sp. ‘little Venice’) or *Cape Dromedary*, attested to the former productiveness of this strategy. Also went out of fashion the earlier habit of naming places after the feast or the saint’s day on which they were discovered for the white people.

It is less evident whether Magyar nature lovers also knew about names assigned by their peers in Europe. Willy-nilly, mountain enthusiasts everywhere had to fill the void left by the locals, for whom altitudes above the treeline represented pastures and who had failed to baptise all touristically significant objects, but this intervention need not be obtrusive. They could, for example, adapt existing vernacular names for adjacent features. Lord Conway, a famous turn-of-the-century mountaineer, gave German names to nameless peaks around the Matterhorn in Switzerland following this strategy, which were then accepted by the locals and later found their way onto cartographic surveys.<sup>489</sup> The situ-

485 To quote two examples dating from the period, the Great Victoria Desert in Australia (1875) and the Victoria Peak in then-British Honduras, now Belize (1888); Ernest Giles, *Australia Twice Traversed: The Romance of Exploration* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1889), vol. 2, 202 and C. H. Godden, *Trespassers Forgiven: Memoirs of Imperial Service in an Age of Independence* (London: The Radcliffe Press, 2009), 278.

486 Ludwig von Höhnelt, *Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stefanie: A Narrative of Count Samuel Teleki’s Exploring & Hunting Expedition in Eastern Equatorial Africa in 1887 & 1888*, trans. Nancy Bell (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894), vol. 2, 95 and 187.

487 Keith H. Basso explicitly calls so the similar place names of the Western Apache in *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

488 Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 7–33 and Bronwen Douglas, ‘Naming places: voyagers, toponyms and local presence in the fifth part of the world, 1500–1700’, *Journal of Historical Society* 45 (2014): 9.

489 Woodman, 16.

ation with vernacular nomenclature was similar in the Carpathians. Pioneers availed themselves with the military map, but its markings were often arbitrary and flawed, as mountain climbers soon found out upon hearing the names from their local guides. Moreover, some items that tourists found attractive or deemed to be important orienting points did not have established names. Shepherds had names for valleys, which commanded importance for them, but not necessarily for peaks, which then received names under the era of the Military Frontier by extending the names of valleys.<sup>490</sup> Locals' priority for valleys and slopes also explains the phenomenon noted above that different villages would call the same mountain by different names.<sup>491</sup>

Critically, the Saxon Siebenbürgischer Karpatenverein took a conservative line with regard to naming. They did not rename any natural feature of the surface that already had some detectable name.<sup>492</sup> They only commemorated their members of merit by assigning names to a few less important, nameless prominences, subpeaks and corries.<sup>493</sup> For the rest, especially in the Făgăraș Mountains, where separate German names did not exist, they used the Romanian folk nomenclature in German spelling.

What I wrote earlier about the carefree rendering of binomial personal names in the administration also holds true for the way Romanian minor place names turned up in Hungarian touristic literature; there is no point in looking for consistency here. Two general tendencies are nevertheless clear. First, while settlement names always appeared in Hungarian spellings in Hungarian texts and Romanian spelling variants were only indicated parenthetically, a sizeable minority of such writings contained names of peaks, brooks, cliffs etc. spelt in Romanian, although rarely in a consistent manner. The main

490 Martonne, 86–7; Ion Conea, 'Toponimia' [Toponymy], in *Clopotiva: un sat din Hațeg* [Clopotiva: a village in the Land of Hațeg], ed. idem, vol. 1, 125–32 (Bucharest: Institutul de Științe Sociale al României, 1940); Béla Szalay, 'Hegyeink királya' [The king of our mountains], *Erdély* 16 (1908): 66 and Ilie Fratu, *Poteci și cabane în Munții Făgărașului* [Trails and huts in the Făgăraș Mountains] (Bucharest: Sport-Turism, 1986), quoted in Bácskai and Wild, 42–3.

491 According to Stewart, pre-Columbian American peoples also seldom named mountain peaks; Stewart, 8.

492 Henz Heltmann and Helmut Roth, eds, *Der Siebenbürgische Karpatenverein 1880–1945: Gedenkband* (Thaur bei Innsbruck: Wort und Welt, 1990), 27–8.

493 Bácskai and Wild, 46–7.



reason for this is surely that minor place names lacked the continuous custom of Hungarian written forms existing behind settlement names, even if these basically marked Romanian pronunciations. The second trend that catches the eye is that authors sometimes provided spontaneous translations apparently *qua* Hungarian names. Only the ethno-linguistic make-up of the narrower surroundings and the simultaneous presence of the Romanian originals in the text reveal for the reader that these were extemporised forms that did not reflect anybody's usage. Their inventors may have actually intended to promote some of them, but before drawing conclusions on the politics of representation, it is important to mention that Magyar tourist writers and scientists would similarly translate evocative names abroad—the basalt columns of Ulster once appeared in *Erdély*, the organ of the EKE, as ‘*Óriástöltés* (Giants causeway)’<sup>494</sup>—and to see the reverse of this trend, that they were not shy to translate vernacular Hungarian names of the same category to German. A book that should command particular interest in this respect is the German edition of Vilmos Hankó's balneology guide to Transylvania's spas, published by the EKE. This publication shows a translator or editor who made a point of drawing a fine line of distinction between the ways settlement and minor place names could stand in a German text; while quite absurdly, even Saxon towns and villages are referred to by their Hungarian names, meaningful Hungarian names of mineral springs and caves are translated.<sup>495</sup>

As I have noted, Magyar tourists left most of the existing vernacular names unchanged. They renamed the different categories of natural objects important to them with varying frequency; caves received new, artificial names in most cases, waterfalls and prominent cliffs often, while peaks, lakes and brooks rarely. The naming could happen on the site by hiking parties consisting of alpine club members, if there was someone

494 Figyelő, ‘A Detonáta’ [The Detunata], *Erdély* 17 (1908): 86.

495 Wilhelm Hankó, *Die Bäder und Mineralwässer der Erdélyer (siebenbürgischen) Landestheile Ungarn's* (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Kárpát-egyesület, 1900).

present whom the others could entrust to describe the course of the excursion for print and thereby also to advertise the new name. Such acts of naming became regular features on organised outings, together with picnics and collective singing. Published accounts sometimes also recorded who initiated the names, like an 1890 article about an excursion of the Carpathian Society of Bihar: ‘On the proposition of the junior doctor Géza Schlauch, the company named this beautiful, romantic place *József Szabó Ravine*, after the outstanding geologist.’<sup>496</sup> Solitary excursionists, who typically had scientific goals when describing natural features, would name in the act of writing, but the effect was similar. Others who later revisited the same places could not afford to leave these names unmentioned, even if they did not opt for them.

For things unnamed, the most obvious choice was to borrow a name from a nearby landmark. In this manner, for instance, a group of trekkers adopted the name of Lake Zănoaga to baptise a waterfall below the lake.<sup>497</sup> This method was often used by Saxons and Magyars alike in the Retezat and Făgăraş Mountains in the South, popular destinations on account of their high altitudes and glacial landforms. Caves were at the same time usually designated by the names of Magyar scientists with a predilection for geologists, of landlords and their wives and of the explorers themselves. I counted forty caves that received commemorative names in the era, although fifteen of these were named single-handedly by Gábor Téglás in Hunyad County.<sup>498</sup> It became something of a habit to name a cave at its exploration or first description, perhaps because this was appreciated as a real feat and a form of conquest. Naming a cave was also used for cultivating social relationships. This said, it also needs to be stated that the pre-war years saw a change in taste in the speleological literature towards vernacular names, wherever such names existed.

496 Lajos Sándor Nékám, ‘Biharországból’ [From the Bihar], *Turisták Lapja* 2 (1890): 380.

497 Béla Ruzitska, ‘Vándorlás a Retezáttól Nagyszebenig’ [Wandering from the Retezat to Hermannstadt], *Erdély* 16 (1907): 137.

498 See the journals listed in footnote 481, as well as the journals *Értesítő az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet Orvos-Természettudományi Szakosztályából II. Természettudományi Szak, Matematikai és Természettudományi Közlemények* and *Barlangkutatás/Höhlenforschung*; Gábor Téglás, *Hunyadvármegyei kalauz* [Guide to Hunyad County] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Kárpát-Egyesület, 1902) and Vilmos Mátyás, *Bihar-hegység: turistakalauz* [The Bihar Mountains: a tourist’s guide] (Budapest: Sport, 1988).

Other surface features also received commemorative names, as a rule honouring contemporaries. New names harking back to Hungarian history and prehistory, as was customary in street naming, can be counted on the fingers of two hands: a cliff named after Saint Stephen in the Crăpătura Gorge of the Piatra Craiului/Königstein/Királykő, the *Nádor-szikla* ('Palatine Cliff', Rom. *Pattina*) in the Făgăraş Mountains, the Ménmaróth Pair of Cliffs in Bihar (although strictly speaking, Menumorout was an adversary of the conquering Magyars according to the Anonymous), Attila's Cave in the Bihor Mountains, the Árpád Peak (Rom. *Vârful Peana*) near Kolozsvár, so named by the EKE on the occasion of the Millennium, a valley re-baptised *Petőfi-völgy* (*Fokhagymás-völgy* in the vernacular) off Nagybánya, the Széchenyi Spring in the EKE's Radnaborberek spa, two mountain huts that received the names of Rákóczi and Petőfi, plus a couple of unaccepted proposals and a few names of cave formations.<sup>499</sup> It is easy to see why commemorative names were disfavoured when the goal was to Magyarise the names of salient features if one considers that such a choice could be regarded as tantamount to a failure to find an 'old Hungarian' name.

The interior of caves set free the imagination of early cavers, as if they were indulging in a competition to project more uncommon associations onto concretions. Granted, they could name undisturbed by vernacular names here, although it seems that in some rare cases, like the Scărișoara Ice Cave, locals did have names for underground features.<sup>500</sup> Name givers' sources of inspiration ranged from the orientalist to the patriotic and from the grotesque to the sublime, but with little connection made between adjacent objects, let alone any overarching concept. In the Meziad Cave (and possibly also in the

499 Lajos Szádeczky, 'A Nagy-Királykőn' [On the Piatra Craiului Mare], *Erdély* 6 (1897): 127; György Papp, 'Az erdélyrészi Déli-Kárpátokról' [The Transylvanian Southern Carpathians], *ibid.* 3 (1894): 64; 'A révi új cseppkőbarlangnál' [At the new dripstone cave of Vad/Rév], *ibid.* 13 (1904): 126; Ernő Csiki, 'Adatok Magyarország bogárfaunájához' [Contributions to the beetle fauna of Hungary], *Rovartani Lapok* 21 (1914): 18; 'Az E.K.E. f. évi kirándulásai' [The excursions of the EKE in the current year], *Erdély* 15 (1906): 90; 'Füldőügy' [Spa affairs], *ibid.* 4 (1895): 176; 'Egyesületi élet' [The association's life], *ibid.* 16 (1907): 63 and János Bencsik, '1400 turista a Petőfi tanyán' [1400 tourists in the Petőfi tanya], *Nagybánya és Vidéke* 10 August 1902.

500 Loránd Eötvös, 'A scarisorai jégbarlang' [The Scărișoara Ice Cave], *Vasárnapi Ujság* 16 (1869): 675 and Silvestru Moldovan, *Zarandul și Munții-Apuseni ai Transilvaniei* [Zarand and the Apuseni Mountains] (Sibiu: self-published, 1898), 125.

Zichy Cave), which Magyar activists of tourism developed into a show cave, sights were flanked by inscriptions indicating their names.<sup>501</sup>

The single biggest toponymic accomplishment of the Magyar mountaineering movement in the area, Gyula Czárán's elaborate microtoponymy for the karstic parts of the Bihor Mountains that he himself made accessible by constructing pathways, was conceived in a similar spirit.<sup>502</sup> He clad the landscape along his routes in an intended poetic veil replete with biblical and high cultural references, where the Gate of Babylon for instance stood in striking distance of Moloch's Gorge, the Medusa, the Palace of Balthazar, the Piano Spring, the Sugarloaf, the Split Tower, the Fortuna Grove and the Tower of Semiramis.<sup>503</sup> These artistic names had not much in common, but they vaguely played on the idea of a landscape conceived as artefact, not in the more familiar sense of a cultural landscape, but as a ruined city left behind from an early stage of history. They were interspersed with the not too numerous popular Romanian monikers that Czárán had collected, like *Galbina* or *Aragyásza*, which could be trusted to take on an exotic flair for the wider Hungarian-speaking high society that Czárán enticed to visit his world. Czárán's names shared with the toponymy of cave interiors and with György Papp's fairy-tale mix of name proposals for the Făgăraș Mountains the ambition to present the spectacle of nature through the gaze of the name giver and according to predefined schemes.

The school inspector Orbán Sipos also worked towards establishing a Hungarian place-name cover in the Bihor Mountains, but with different goals and a different strategy. He operated on a larger scale than Czárán, naming in Hungarian only settlements and landmarks that already bore Romanian names, and his ambition was exactly to offer an alternative, Hungarian nomenclature for the tourist. Departing from the Romanian names, he fabricated Hungarian forms through intended translation or semantic

501 Gyula Czárán, *Kalauz biharfüredi kirándulásokra* [Trekking guide in Stâna de Vale] (Belényes: Süßmann, s. a. [1903]), 125–39.

502 On Czárán, see Mátyás. His family name is of Romanian origin, but he was the scion of an ennobled Armenian family.

503 Gyula Czárán, 'A Szamosbázár' [The Someș/Szamos Bazaar], *Turisták Lapja* 16 (1906): 97–120.

remotivation that could be mistaken for vernacular formations; *Ples* became *Kopasz*,<sup>504</sup> *Jád*—*Setét*<sup>505</sup> and *Kristyor*—*Köröstur*.<sup>506</sup> He peddled his creations in his writings, sometimes even unattended by their vernacular equivalents.<sup>507</sup> That they ultimately did not prevail among Magyar tourist writers may have to do with the untimely end of the Carpathian Society of Bihar, of which Sipos was vice-chairman, with Czárán's apparent lack of sympathy for them and perhaps with Sipos's frequent translation blunders.<sup>508</sup>

Magyar mountaineering activists promoted the use of vernacular and historical Hungarian names and would occasionally create new ones on the basis of the Romanian forms, which they may have imagined to be the original ones. On the first score, they salvaged the local name *Keresztény-havas* for the massif that Kőváry had still called *Iskolahegye* in 1853, the translation of the German name, *Schuler*.<sup>509</sup> The pretended reconstruction of unattested 'old' Hungarian forms as a strategy to Magyarise the toponymy of mountains did not gain momentum before the Great War. I found evidence for no more than four cases that can be interpreted along this line, and only one such name became common currency during the period; the limestone escarpments of the Belioara already figured as *Bélavára* in Kőváry's 1853 book, and this Hungarian form remained in use ever thereafter.<sup>510</sup> The name means 'Béla's castle', but a castle had neither existed nor could it have any strategic significance on that spot, and most importantly, the area also had no Hungarian-speakers to speak of who could name it that way. The Țarcu, a mountain close to the border between the Banat and Oltenia, variously appeared as *Czárku*, *Szárku*, *Szárko* or *Szárkó* in the scholarly and touristic literature of the era, and no less authoritative a publication than the atlas of Hungary's counties from 1890 first converted its name into the transparent Hungarian *Szárkő*. This may have been just a typo, but one

504 Rom. *pleș* and Hun. *kopasz* 'bald'.

505 Rom. *iad* 'hell', Hun. *setét* 'dark'.

506 Pseudo-etymology.

507 Orbán Sipos in Márton Hegyesi, ed., *Belényes és vidéke* [Belényes and its environs] (Nagyvárad: Hügel, 1889), 29–63.

508 On Sipos's place-name activism, Nemes, 34–5.

509 Kőváry, *Erdély földje ritkaságai*, 40.

510 *Ibid.*, 123.

with long-term consequences, as inter-war Hungarian geographers gleefully adopted it.<sup>511</sup> The peak and massif called by the name of Romanian origin *Vlegyásza* in modern Hungarian (< Rom. *Vlădeasa* < anthroponym *Vlad* + *-easa*) had still borne the name *Kalotahavas* in the early modern period, but this fell into oblivion. Kőváry already tried to distil a transparent Hungarian name from the existing one, and came up, in all seriousness, with *Balamér-ijásza* ‘Balamér’s archer’, in reference to the legendary Hun prince Balamber or Balamir.<sup>512</sup> This pseudo-etymology proved far too eccentric to take over. More successful was in the long run Czárán, who recast the name in 1901 as *Vigyázó* ‘sentinel’, after he had still written *Vlegyásza* the previous year.<sup>513</sup> Finally, we learn from the entomologist Ernő Csiki that members of the Kolozsvár chapter of the EKE already dubbed the Ordincuş Gorge *Ördögös-völgy* before 1916, a name that would also turn up more often in the inter-war period.<sup>514</sup>

Even though experience soon showed that some of the new names did not last among their intended users and sometimes even their creators reverted to earlier ones, they were all meant for eternity at their inception. One crude method of giving expression to this wish was to write the names on the designated objects.<sup>515</sup> This probably took the form of placing a plaque in most cases, but references to such inscriptions include an instance where the geologist Ferenc Pávai-Vajna’s friend, bored by Pávai’s long absence in the hitherto unexplored internal galleries of a cave, killed time by engraving the words *Pávai-barlang* ‘Pávai Cave’ on the rockface next to the entrance (or this was Pávai’s story to account for the naming of the cave after his own self) and the name *Bucşoiu*

511 Bartos-Elekes, *Nyelvhasználat a térképeken*, 126. *Szár-kő* could be a flawless Hungarian oronym, but the name of the peak is much more likely to have derived as the definite form of Rom. *şarc* ‘corral’. Surprisingly, the form *Szárkő* did not appear in a touristic journal until the Caransebeş high-school teacher and future geographer Ferenc Fodor’s article for *Turisták Lapja* in 1915, but he also reverted to *Szárkő* in the same journal the following year.

512 Kőváry, *Erdély földje ritkaságai*, 89.

513 Gyula Czárán, ‘Úti vázlatok Mőczopotámiából’ [Travel sketches from Moţopotamia], *Erdély* 10 (1901): 92.

514 Ernő Csiki, ‘Kirándulás az Aranyos-völgybe’ [Trekking in the Aranyos Valley], *Rovartani Lapok* 23 (1916): 155.

515 E.g., Mór Pálffy, ‘Képek a gyalui havasokból’ [Images from the Gilăului Mountains], *Erdély* 6 (1897): 61; István Veress, ‘Barlang-felavató beszéd: a ‘Zichy Ödön’ cseppkőbarlang felavatása alkalmából’ [Cave inauguration speech: on the occasion of the inauguration of the Ödön Zichy Dripstone Cave], *Erdély* 14 (1905): 117 and Csiki, *Kirándulás az Aranyos-völgybe*, 151.

painted in red on a cliff, the only such inscription in Romanian mentioned in the sources.<sup>516</sup>

Aside from these literal engravings into the landscape, the practices and renamings discussed so far were aimed for a Hungarian-speaking elite and did not interfere much with the lives of local people. The linguistic character of the place-name cover that Magyar backpackers could expect to encounter depended on the location, but as most of their usual trekking destinations lay in Romanian-majority zones, it would typically feature a few recent Hungarian names for major sights over a backdrop of mostly Romanian vernacular names. Tourists might rejoice at the presence of the former or they might simply take them for granted, while regarding the latter, some came to grips more easily with them, others grumbled and brooded over what their earlier, Hungarian forms could be. Activists for the movement did not acknowledge the fact, but at the end of the day, the pragmatic orienting function of vernacular names set limits to how far they could go in replacing them. When it comes down to numbers, the least often renamed were prominent peaks and brooks, the handiest references when asking for directions. But soon after its founding in 1891, the leadership of the EKE still came out with far more radical demands and heavily lobbied for a wholesale revision of place names on the maps of the military survey.

The relevant sheets of the 1:75.000-scale, so-called Third Military Survey were the most detailed maps available on the region and in general the only map detailed enough for being used by mountain walkers. The survey was carried out and the resulting series of maps was published by the Vienna Institute of Military Geography, and its choice of place names was dictated entirely by the practical necessities of usability at military exercises or in the event of war. Its guidelines stated that it should primarily display the loc-

<sup>516</sup> Ferenc Pávai-Vajna, 'Néhány újabb barlang ismertetése' [Description of a few new caves], *Földtani Közlöny* 41 (1911): 780 and Lajos Méhely, *Brassovármegye turista-kalauza* [A tourist's guide to Brassó County] (Kolozsvár: E. K. E., 1895), 51.

ally known names and in linguistically mixed zones, the names used by the local majority first and the minority names between parentheses and in half-sized letters.<sup>517</sup>

But how were surveyors capable of carrying out these principles amidst a mosaic of Romanian-, Hungarian- and German-speakers? Transylvania was surveyed between 1869 and 1873, already under the Dualism, the publication of the map sheets in their first edition lasted until 1889, and they were made commercially available. I have checked five first-edition sheets, two each from the North and the South-east and one from the West.<sup>518</sup> On these, settlement names figured in the local and the Hungarian versions, the latter usually first, but often in overwhelmingly minority-majority regions, the endonyms were chosen as main forms. Names of landforms were written either in one or the other language; the mountains belonging to the Magyar–Romanian Hétfalu alternately in Romanian and Hungarian, the peaks of the Schulergebirge/Postăvarul/Keresztény-havas in German and Romanian and the lands of Saxon–Romanian localities in the Burzenland in German only. The ethnographer János Jankó, who himself collected the place names of the area, quoted a series of names from sheet 18/XXVIII as unknown for the local people, among them the hybrid form *Vêrfu Rieszeg*—a Hungarian main element coupled with a Romanian generic term—designating a peak on the boundary between Hungarian-speaking Körösfő/Crișeu and Zsobok/Jebucu, whose dwellers called the place *Rieszeg-hegy*, but which the surveyor had probably approached from the direction of Romanian Nadășu/Oláhnádas.<sup>519</sup> While the guidelines made perfect sense and were equitable even, it appears that the agents entrusted with collecting the toponymy relied on few informants, and their selection was based on expediency, with a preference for German-speak-

517 ANR Cluj-Napoca, Fond Societatea Carpatină Ardeleană 126/1898, 142.

518 Zones 15 col. XXXI, Felső-Vissó (1879), 15 col. XXX, Kapnik-bánya (1880), 18 col. XXVI, Bucsa und Rossia (1886), 23 col. XXXIV, Bodzafalu (1880) and 23 col. XXXIII, Kronstadt (1880); OSZK Map Collection ST, 66.

519 Jankó, *Kalotaszeg magyar népe*, 39 and Attila T. Szabó, *Kalotaszeg helynevei* [The place names of Kalotaszeg], vol. 1, *Adatok [Data]* (Kolozsvár: Gróf Teleki Pál Tudományos Intézet, 1942), 66.



ers and perhaps for shepherds, who tended to be Romanians even in Magyar-majority villages.

Activists of the EKE disagreed with both the principles and their implementation. In his outburst about the place names on sheet 18/XXVIII, Jankó denounced the practice of military surveyors as an attempt at ‘Wallachianisation’, but in fact the majority of the Romanian forms that he found fault with came from an area heavily intermixed with Romanian-speaking villages and thus they probably existed among the people, even if they originated in Hungarian words and conflicted with the data that Jankó took from local Magyars.<sup>520</sup> Gyula Merza, the club’s record-keeper, reacted similarly to a *Ciurgo* near the King’s Pass, in an entirely Romanian-speaking area: since *csurgó* ‘spring’ is a Hungarian word, common sense dictated to him that this should be an old Hungarian name, and the reader was only left in doubt whether the residents or the cartographers were more to blame: ‘In the course of mapping, this good old Hungarian name was probably distorted into *Ciurgo* according to Wallachian pronunciation and in Wallachian orthography’.<sup>521</sup> What could be blamed, if anything, was rather *ciurgău*, a very widespread loanword with the same meaning as in Hungarian, which must have served as the basis for the place name.

The order of settlement-name variants in the captions also riled Magyar tourist activists. Consider, for example, Lajos Szádeczky, professor of history at Kolozsvár University and the chairman of the club’s Kolozs County branch:

Above Árpás, Ucsa and Vist, the valleys by the same names are bordered by peaks with the epithet ‘Grand’, on the military map, of course, written in Wallachian: Ucia mare (2431 m), Vistea mare (2520). Although a Wallachian name has some practical justification here, but the same Wallachianisation is also general on the map where we still have the old historical Hungarian names with great careers behind them. Our brave soldiers, e.g., also display Sebesvár, Nagy-Sebes and Kis-Sebes in the Kolozsvár area in Romanian first and in Hungarian only in small letters, between parentheses.<sup>522</sup>

<sup>520</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>521</sup> Gyula Merza, ‘Adalékok Erdély helyneveihez’ [Contributions to the place names of Transylvania], *Erdély* 3 (1894): 246.

<sup>522</sup> Lajos Szádeczky, ‘A fõgarasi havasok májusban’ [The Făgăraş Mountains in May], *Turisták Lapja* 4 (1893): 31.

After the EKE published the map sheets representing Transylvania as an annexe to its first guide in 1891, tourist writers launched a salvo of attacks on the nomenclature employed on them. In the case of the many instructors at Transylvania's new educational institutions who had moved in from other parts of the Kingdom, this reflected their shock over the Romanian ethnic and linguistic majority of the land and the fact that its most romantic parts were short of truly Hungarian names. The first reaction of many, amplified in the superpatriotic echo chamber of the Millennium years, was a call to efface the inconvenient marks from the map. One poignant example of such intransigent reaction came from EKE board member Oktáv Hangay, professor at the Kolozsvár Academy of Commerce and born in Western Hungarian Várpalota:

Why *Valézsínuluj*? In general, why is the Ünökő—Ineu? Why Negoj, why Szurul, why Henyul? Why do our entire Carpathians have Wallachian and Slovak nomenclature? (...) We do have forestry directorates—why do they not officially Magyarise the names of lots, peaks, brooks, land divisions on the territory that they administer? (...) On me, each Wallachian name makes the impression as if it marked a place for a hostile lever to topple our country by its four corners.<sup>523</sup>

Hiking accounts and guides in Hungarian, including the EKE's own Transylvania guide, continued to make outraged, ironic or self-distancing comments on the military map in the next decades.<sup>524</sup> These were sometimes centred on a dichotomy between correctness and falsehood, tacitly implying that a misty, imagined Hungarian place-name cover from the past rather than local usage should be applied as the measure of correctness. Some articles also tried to show that the map did not even register Romanian names the way they were used by the people, rhetorically dissociating Romanian peasants, whom they could treat with some condescending sympathy, from the Viennese cartographers who were seen as exploiting these names in order to undermine Hungarian sov-

<sup>523</sup> Hangay, *Harcz a magyarságért!*, 221–2.

<sup>524</sup> Dezső Radnóti, ed., *Erdélyi kalauz: útmutató Magyarország erdélyi részében* [Transylvania handbook: a guide to the Transylvanian part of Hungary] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Kárpát-Egyesület, 1901).

ereignty.<sup>525</sup> Such criticisms, it seems, did not disappear even with the publication of revised map sheets.

As part of the routine process that required the periodic updating of the survey, the Banat was re-ambulated in 1881–2 and South-eastern Transylvania in 1888–9.<sup>526</sup> In 1891, the EMKE (the Hungarian Cultural Society of Transylvania) petitioned two Hungarian ministries to make sure that the Vienna Institute of Military Geography use the settlement names contained in the gazetteer of Hungary—the latest edition of which still listed non-Hungarian forms more or less regularly—and to appoint perambulating officers who knew Hungarian.<sup>527</sup> A few months later, participants at a meeting of the Hungarian Geographical Society that was originally to settle the spelling of place names abroad brought the non-Hungarian place names of Hungary on the agenda. The member who first raised the question was the geologist Gyula Halaváts, born in Romanian Jena in the Banat, whom colonial place names made think of Romanian spelling: ‘the writing of Wallachian names also requires Hungarian orthography, because Wallachian does not have an established one.’<sup>528</sup> Finally, on the motion of Sándor Márki, later vice-chairman of the EKE’s Kolozs County branch, the society set up a toponymic committee, with the mandate to revise the gazetteer, the military map and the cadastral surveys.<sup>529</sup>

Still in the same year, Elek Nopcsa transmitted the requests of the two Hungarian organisations to the Institute of Military Geography through the delegations, the joint body between the Austrian and the Hungarian parliaments.<sup>530</sup> It soon became clear, however, that the desires of EKE leaders were irreconcilable with the basic principles applied in Viennese military cartography. The former wished to see a map based on historical re-

525 E.g., Lajos Petrik, ‘Kilenc nap a Retezat-hegységben’ [Nine days in the Retezat Mountains], *Turisták Lapja* 8 (1896): 63 and 106 and Oktáv Hangay, ‘A Meleg-Szamos forrásai’ [The springs of the Someşul Cald], *Erdély* 7 (1898): 6.

526 Annamária Jankó, *Magyarország katonai felmérései 1763–1950* [Military surveys of Hungary, 1763–1950] (Budapest: Argumentum, 2007), 91–3.

527 József Sándor, *Az EMKE 1890–91. évi jelentése* [Report of the EMKE on 1890–1] (Kolozsvárt: s. n., s. a. [1891]), XLIV; ‘A magyar térkép megmagyarosítása’ [The Magyarisation of the Hungarian map], *Erdély* 1 (1892): 47–8 and *Erdély* 3 (1894): 99.

528 *Földrajzi Közlemények* 19 (1891): 378.

529 *Ibid.*, 376–9.

530 Sándor Márki, ‘Erdély helynevei’ [The place names of Transylvania], *Erdély* 3 (1894): 217 and ‘Magyarisierung der Ortsnamen in Siebenbürgen’, *Römische Revue* 8 (1892): 59–62.

search, one that would revive the toponymy of boundary perambulations from the medieval and early modern periods. To this end, they invited the Transylvanian counties to collect data and founded their own toponymic committee to coordinate the work. Only Fogaras County declined to assist them in a letter drafted by the above-mentioned Ioan Turcu, but seven counties signalled their readiness to cooperate and appointed special commissions.<sup>531</sup> Udvarhely County even responded to the call by giving its commission the mandate to Magyarise the field names of the few Romanian villages annexed to the county in 1876.<sup>532</sup> The EKE's toponymic committee left little doubt that they would not accept as legitimate any Romanian or German form in which they recognised vestiges of Hungarian words.<sup>533</sup> More than these, they also urged the future writers of the club's anticipated county guides to introduce new place names more easily memorisable for Hungarian-speakers.<sup>534</sup>

In Austria-Hungary, the common army was under the monarch's personal command, and it was emphatically placed above nationalist bickering between the empire's peoples. It was quite out of the question therefore that the military cartographic service would give up on its priorities and surrender to the passéist fantasies of any national group. They consented to indicate the settlement names according to the official gazetteer as long as it included endonymic variants. They also agreed to pay more consideration to Hungarian minor place names in so far as these were in popular usage locally. They could not accept, however, the obsolete forms advocated by the EKE, which had no independent existence outside of archival files and the organisation's plans to galvanise them back to life. János Jankó, who acted as a go-between between the two toponymic committees, tried to illustrate this with the following example:

531 ANR Cluj-Napoca, Fond Societatea Carpatină Ardeleană 126/1898, 35.

532 *Ibid.*, 31.

533 *Erdély* 3 (1894): 95.

534 Márki, *Erdély helynevei*, 220.

In a now purely Wallachian village there is a field which during the Magyar period of the village, in the thirteenth century, used to be called Árpaszer and which is now called Arpasului; you want to use Árpaszer, but this is at odds with the soldiers' 2. point, since the village is purely Wallachian and there is nobody who could show where Árpaszer is, but they can very well show where Arpasului is.

And he concluded, 'I cannot imagine joint action, to such a degree does Magyarisation clash with correction.'<sup>535</sup>

After the Hungarian Geographical Society resigned to the military institute's principles, the EKE gradually had to backtrack from its position. As the northern parts of Transylvania were re-ambulated in 1893–5, the proofs were sent for correction to the Budapest society, and the cartographers followed by doing the rounds of the lands re-ambulated earlier.<sup>536</sup> The resulting changes were numerous enough to warrant the redrawing of the map sheets, but they did not upset the largely Romanian nomenclature of the highlands. The revised sheets, recognisable by the words 'Nachträge' and 'teilweise berichtigt', continued to display the names of landforms in one single version, which was now more often a Hungarian one in mixed areas and Magyar enclaves.<sup>537</sup> *Vêrfu Rieszeg* became simply *Rieszeg*, and several places with disputed names were diplomatically left unmarked. While it was questionable to begin with whether the quest for Hungarian forms in the archives could produce many noteworthy findings concerning the mountains, this revision was a far cry from what the EKE had expected. Only for want of anything better suited for its members did the club continue to give guarded support to the military map. Its action was not without consequences, however. Its lobbying in Vienna ruffled the feathers of Saxon and Romanian politicians and journalists, and the repercussions of its call to the counties morphed directly into the crafting of the law on locality names.<sup>538</sup>

535 János Jankó to the EKE's toponymic committee, on 28 October 1893; ANR Cluj-Napoca, Fond Societatea Carpatină Ardeleană 126/1898, 148–9.

536 Béla Erődi, 'Visszapillantás a Magyar Földrajzi Társaság huszonöt éves életére' [Looking back on twenty-five years of Hungarian Geographical Society], *Földrajzi Közlemények* 24 (1896): 280; ANR Cluj-Napoca, Fond Societatea Carpatină Ardeleană 126/1898, 146 and Jankó, *Magyarország katonai felmérései*, 91–3.

537 *Ibid.*

538 On the connection between the toponymic action of tourists and the law on locality names, János Szulovszky, 'A helynevek politikumához' [On the politics of place names], in *Hungarológia és dimenzionális nyelvészlelet: előadások a V. Nemzetközi Hungarológiai Kongresszuson, Jyväskylä, 2001. augusztus 6–10.* [Hungarology and dimensional approach to language: lectures of the Fifth International Congress of Hungarology, Jyväskylä, 6–10 August 2001], eds István Hoffmann, Dezső Juhász and János Péntek, 118 (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Magyar Nyelvtudományi Tanszék, 2002).

In the wake of this law, the Ministry of Justice ordered in 1903 that ‘fields called in translation, differently by the multilingual population of the commune will be entered into the land registry in the official state language’.<sup>539</sup> Put into plain language, this at once clumsy and arrogant phrasing opened the door to the creative Magyarisation of the microtoponymy, an important follow-up on the 1898 law. None of the fifteen relevant cadastral maps that are accessible to me from the following decade originates from touristic areas, but they make it clear that the decree was not implemented with consistency; five maps from the Banat surveyed up to 1911 and one from Bihar County from 1912 display the original Serbian, Romanian and German names of fields and only some generic terms are translated on them,<sup>540</sup> but on nine maps from the Banat created in the interval 1906–14 (six from Temes and three from Krassó-Szörény Counties), the Serbian, Romanian, German and Czech names appear translated into Hungarian; *Dosu purcarului* became *Kanászvölgy* and *Comoriște—Kincses mező*.<sup>541</sup> If this new course had been carried through, it would have produced such a thoroughly sanitised landscape as twentieth-century states enacted in conjunction with ethnic cleansing or in complete denial of the existence of linguistic minorities.<sup>542</sup> With a more restricted scope, a similar design was put into effect on the 1941 military map of Hungary, already executed by a Hungarian military cartographic service, which shows the hills and mountains in the northern parts regained by Hungary the previous year under fictitious Hungarian names, mostly generated

539 *Igazságügyi Közlöny* 13 (1904): 55.

540 The cadastral maps of Kubin/Kovin/Cuvin (1903), Kruščica (1905), Jasenovó (1906), Weißkirchen (1909), Poieni (1911) and Sohodol (1912); MOL S76 nos 1196/1–52, 567/1–16, 530/1–19 and 363/1–33; *Ruszkató Krassó-Szörény vármegyei kisközség kataszteri térképe* (Budapest: M. kir. állami ny., 1911) and MOL S76 nos 42/1–20.

541 Česká Ves/Ablian (1906), Chevereșu Mare (1906), Dupljaja (1906), Izbiște/Izbischte (1910), Mramorak/Mramorac (1910), Zagajica (1911), Sokolovac (1913), Teregova (1913) and Luncavița (1914); MOL S76 232/1–4, 869/1–26, 1216/1–17, 508/1–51, 473/1–60, 383/1–18, 898/1–23, MOL S78 1913, no. 1–173 and 1914, no. 1–22. On the last two, the Romanian endonyms are displayed between parentheses.

542 Kerem Öktem, ‘The Nation’s Imprint: Demographic Engineering and the Change of Toponyms in Republican Turkey’, *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 7 (2008); available at <http://ejts.revues.org/2243>; Beril Çakır, ‘Crafting Symbolic Geographies in Modern Turkey: Kurdish Assimilation and the Politics of (Re)Naming’, MA thesis, 2013 (Erasmus University, Rotterdam); available at <http://thesis.eur.nl/pub/15395/>; Jun Yoshioka, ‘Imagining Their Lands as Ours: Place Name Changes on Ex-German Territories in Poland after World War II’, in *Regions in Central and Eastern Europe: Past and Present*, eds Tadayuki Hayashi and Hiroshi Fukuda, 273–87 (Sapporo: Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, 2007) and Maoz Azaryahu and Arnon Golan, ‘(Re)naming the landscape: The formation of the Hebrew map of Israel 1949–1960’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 27 (2001): 178–95.

through translation, sometimes by pseudo-etymology (*Cibles*→*Széples*, *Farcău*→*Várkő*) or by adjustment to the Hungarian onomasticon (*Prislop*→*Piriszló*).<sup>543</sup>

To the extent that contemporary reflections on essential Magyar qualities pinpointed a Magyar ‘ethno-scape’, an archetypical landscape representing a collective self-image, it was the *puszta*, the steppe covering much of the Hungarian Grand Plain, rather than the wooded or snow-capped Carpathians.<sup>544</sup> And yet, the local bourgeoisies of Central Hungarian towns did not organise hiking clubs with the aim of roaming the open flat country, just as little as the Romanian elite of Hungary cultivated mountain walking, in spite of the pivotal place of the mountains in Romanian self-narratives. Mountain walking was established after western models by a group of mainly academic intellectuals, it was advertised with similar arguments as in the German lands, mountain landscapes were depicted with the same eye trained on romantic and realist paysages and, as far as one can judge, they stirred similar metaphysical awe and nostalgia in Magyar day trippers as in nature lovers across Europe. The pursuit was imported complete with its frame of reference, its imagology and its points of connection to nationalist imaginaries.

Ironically, when Magyar tourists set off into the mountains, many of them regarded the Romanian place names there with great suspicion, although Hunfalvy and Moldovan/Moldován, the main Hungarian authorities on Romanian ethnic history, singled out the same mountains as early Romanian population zones. But in general, one should not overestimate obsession with the past as a force behind the Magyarising of mountain toponymy; indeed, the majority of creations cannot be interpreted as attempts at restoring old names. The nation was seen as old, but also as rejuvenated in its civilised and civil-

<sup>543</sup> <http://mapire.eu>; Military Survey of Hungary (1941).

<sup>544</sup> Alternatively, one can argue with Levente Szabó T. that the rising popularity of mountain hiking outshone the significance of the *puszta* in national imagery. See Levente T. Szabó, ‘„Erdély népei”: A tér ideológiái és Erdély képei az intézményesült erdélyi turisztikai mozgalomban’ [‘The peoples of Transylvania’: Ideologies of space and images of Transylvania in institutionalised Transylvanian touristic life], in *A tér képei: tér, irodalom, társadalom; Tanulmányok* [Images of space: space, literature, society: studies], 141–59 (Kolozsvár: KOMP-PRESS and Korunk, 2008). On the notion of ethno-scape, Anthony D. Smith, *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism: A cultural approach* (London: Routledge, 2009), 50. On early reflections upon the *puszta* as a national symbol, Réka Albert, ‘La Grande Plaine hongroise, symbole national: Genèse d’un imaginaire XVIIIe–XXe siècle’, in *Villes et campagnes en Hongrie XVIe siècle*, ed. Rose-Marie Lagrave, 11–35 (Budapest: Atelier Franco-Hongrois en Sciences Sociales, 1999).

ising gentlemanly class. Tourists' immediate goal with the new Hungarian names was undoubtedly to place natural sights in a familiar cultural setting, and they appealed with similar frequency to the sovereignty principle, which would require Hungarian place names in Hungary, as to any supposed former name cover. At the end of the day, the toponymic engineering of Magyar alpine clubs remained at a relatively low level before the War. The main reason for that I see in the movement's lack of a mass following and an extensive infrastructure, which largely constrained them to use such names as local people could recognise.

## 4.5. The Grand Toponymic Manoeuvre

### **4.5.1. Its International Context**

Dominant and non-dominant political elites of the nineteenth century began to interpret the place-name cover as representative of a nation's culture and history and sometimes as a mirror of the proper national language variety, functions so far alien to it. In practice, this could translate into correcting the perceived blemishes of the inherited toponymy or, on the peripheries of Europe, even into its massive remodelling according to nationalist preconceptions. Changing people's actual speech habits is a troublesome business. In this realm, change would slowly proceed through those less personal channels of social communication that greatly multiplied their impact in the nineteenth century and where state elites could feel in the saddle thanks to their formal policing powers: the print media, the mail service, written administration, road signs and, in a paradigmatic way, the map, now reproduced in tens of thousands of copies for classroom purposes. In general, expanding schooling and heightened long-distance social communication was making more people more conscious of the geography of their ascribed national space. The fragile and jostling new states and national movements of Eastern Europe at large,



however, did not solely address their own citizenries or kin constituencies with the map toponymies they sponsored, but also the western public opinion and especially the high-powered western diplomat, whose impressions gained from map gazing, it was hoped, would factor into his political sympathies.

In Europe, where the state played the leading role in renaming places, the standards of appropriateness implemented in the process were steeped in upper-class ideas and visions of history—typically golden age myths—and were external to the perception of even well-disposed locals. Names branded ‘foreign’ in high places were not necessarily seen as such by those who used them on a daily basis, what is more, there were even local people habitually reproducing state nationalist thinking and behaviour who still defied the normative use of newly introduced place names. Political and cultural elites applauded new names as the essentially true, authentic ones, eternal in a nebulous, universal sense, and they bracketed the old ones as irrelevant errors of history. Acts of renaming were supposed to render old names impractical and warn dominant ethnic-members off of their foreignness, but the elites failed to see that in so far as national identification gained ground among the masses, that was largely as the extension of local ties, and the old names thus undermined served exactly as local identity symbols. The same also applied to national minorities, with the corollary that place renaming further alienated them from dominant nationalisms.

Like commemorative street naming and modern secular name giving, wholesale toponymic engineering also made its first steps in revolutionary France. In 1792, the Jacobins embarked on expunging Christian and feudal references from place names; even Grenoble was renamed *Grelibre*. In the space of two years, 3200 communes took up new names like *Montagne*, *Union*, *Égalité* or *Marat*, and only their fall from power stopped

the Jacobins from introducing a more comprehensive list of six thousand.<sup>545</sup> Later renaming campaigns also typically took place following revolutions, achievements of independence or major political upheavals. Something that gives credit to Benedict Anderson's theory about the creole origins of nationalism, the first wave driven by nationalist sentiment unleashed in the independent Mexico of the 1820s, where coinages in Nahuatl and names of revolutionary leaders replaced earlier settlement names transferred from continental Spain.<sup>546</sup>

A few national place names committees began activity in the long nineteenth century, notably in Greece, the United States and Denmark; they would become more prevalent after the War.<sup>547</sup> Two such bodies from Greece are reported in the literature. One was brought to life as early as 1843 by King Othon, with the aim of reviving the classical Hellenic toponymy.<sup>548</sup> The second one operated between 1909 and 1912 and established new names for a full 1500 localities, but these were finally not put into practice.<sup>549</sup> The American Board on Geographic Names, set up in 1890, is a prime example that nationwide codification in this matter was not automatically attended by large-scale renaming plans. Its main purpose was at its inception to investigate and settle controversial cases, and it had it as one of its principles that official practice should follow local usage. Only in 1906 was it given the mandate to baptise previously unnamed places. In an unusual manner, it lacked the authority to enforce its decisions upon anyone but government officials; for more than twenty years, Pittsburghers could go about flouting the Board's ruling to remove the *h* from the name of their city.<sup>550</sup>

545 Roger de Figuères, *Les noms révolutionnaires des communes de France: listes par départements et liste générale alphabétique* (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de la Révolution Française, 1901); Milo, 295 and Alain Gascon, "'Chacun devrait porter le nom que l'homme lui aurait donné': la politique des noms en Éthiopie", *L'Espace géographique* 37 (2008): 118.

546 Gene Rhea Tucker, 'Re-Naming Texas: Competing Mexican and Anglo Placenames in Texas, 1821–1836', *Names* 59 (2013): 141–2.

547 On the Danish committee, Ormeling, 146.

548 Eleni Kyramargiou, 'Renaming the Balkan Map: the Change of Toponyms in Greek Macedonia (1909–1928)', in *Balkan Nationalism(s) and the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Dimitris Stamatopoulos, vol. 1, *National Movements and Representations*, 180 (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2015).

549 *Ibid.*, 182 and Antonis Liakos, 'Hellenism and the Making of Modern Greece: Time, Language, Space', in *Hellenisms: Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, ed. Katrina Zacharia, 231–2 (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008).

550 Stewart, 341–54.

There were certain goals and strategies that name givers often pursued in other lands, but were against the grain of the Magyar remakers of Dualist Hungary's toponymy. New names were frequently created overseas from the resources of non-dominant or extinct languages, harnessing autochthonous traditions to give expression to distinctly postcolonial or local identities. Apart from the Mexican place names from Nahuatl mentioned above, artificial Native American or Native American-sounding place names also came into favour among white Americans in the 1840s, while Anglo settlers in California developed a taste for names Spanish or intended as Spanish.<sup>551</sup> Even more significant was the trend to honour respected or powerful people with settlement names, ubiquitous in the world outside Europe and also cropping up in the Romanov Empire and the Balkans, where places were named and renamed after members of the ruling dynasties.<sup>552</sup> In my area of focus, the Hungarian Communal Registry Board only applied this commemorative method as an exception. Apart from seven village names that it prefixed with names of (historic) landowning families—a pattern already present in vernacular place naming—it added the family names of locally born or died luminaries to three.<sup>553</sup> Although its members and village leaderships made a dozen such proposals, the Board renamed one single village after a living person, the Romanian–Saxon Hundorf after the acting subprefect.<sup>554</sup>

The examples cited so far pertain to the domain of codification and they were carried out in the single dimension of official or unofficial state languages. Besides altering

551 *Ibid.*, 276, 302–3, 305–6, 349 and 351.

552 E.g., *Palmerston*→*Darwin*, *Desterro*→*Florianópolis*, *Kumayri*→*Alexandropol*, *Vasa/Vaasa*→*Nikolaistad/Nikolainkaupunki*, *Principele Ferdinand*, *Principele Carol*, *Carmen Sylva* (three newly founded places in the Dobruja), *Golyama Gutlovitsa*→*Ferdinand* in Bulgaria and villages named after Draga Mašin in Serbia; Britannica Online; available at <http://academic.eb.com>; Adrian Room, *Alternate Names of Places: A Worldwide Dictionary* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co., 2009), 80 and 215; Pătrașcu, 165 and 308; Bernard Esmein, 'Société plurielle et guerre des noms', *Signes, Discours et Sociétés* 8 (2012): 5; available at <http://www.revue-signes.info/document.php?id=2625>; and Michael Boro Petrovich, *A History of Modern Serbia 1804–1918*, vol. 2 (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), 481.

553 *Bánffyótfalu* (*Tótfalu*), *Gyerőfalva* (*Pányik*), *Mikószilvás* (*Oláhshilvás*), *Radákszinye* (*Szinye*), *Sándorhomok* (*Homok*), *Vasasszentgyed* (*Szentgyed*) and *Vasasszentgotthárd* (*Szentgotthárd*). The Magyar Körös and Ilosva became *Csomakörös* and *Selymesilosva* after the locally born Orientalist Sándor Körösi Csoma and the poet Péter Ilosvai Selymes, while the Saxon Nagyszöllös became *Keménynagyszöllös* after the prince János Kemény, died there in battle. All data referring to locality-name changes and not otherwise specified are from Mező, *Adatok*.

554 To *Csatófalva*. Earlier, however, Temes County renamed Janova into *Margitfalva* in 1893–4, after the first name of its landowner; Ede Reiszig, 'Temes vármegye községei' [The communes of Temes County], in *Temes vármegye* [Temes County], ed. Samu Borovszky, 105 (Budapest: Országos Monografia Társaság, s. a.).

the corpus of Hungarian settlement names, however, the Hungarian regulation had another side to it, bearing on what macro-sociolinguists call status planning; it ascribed legal status to ethnically distributed place-name variants by relegating the use of all non-Hungarian ones to the private sphere. The two aspects need not and did not always go hand in hand. In Switzerland, a constitutionally multilingual contemporary polity, a 1911 decision of the Federal Council affirmed the principle that communes should be designated in official texts by the variants of the local majorities, a purely status-planning measure without any intervention into the actual name forms.<sup>555</sup>

The lands today belonging to Austria saw no ideologically motivated change of settlement names in the period.<sup>556</sup> In contemporary Europe, the Greek and Prussian projects offer the closest objects of comparison for Hungary's renaming campaign, although both were drawn-out processes. In all three cases, nationalising elites sought to adjust the place-name cover to their visions of a national golden age, and all three made linguistic minorities feel undesirable along the way. But while the Greek endeavour was hardly visible from Hungary, the Prussian *Ostmarken* exerted an obvious influence on the Hungarian process. Moreover, it is safe to assume after contrasting the two timelines of state policies that the influence was mutual.

The remodelling of modern Greek toponymy was propelled by a robust ideology that wanted the Kingdom of Greece as the rebirth of classical Hellas and as far as possible, attempted to conceal the presence of non-Greek speakers on its territory. Immediately after the gain of independence, the monarchy's provinces and administrative communes, fixed in such a way as to match the ancient network of settlements, were invested with the corresponding names taken from ancient sources. Settlement names of non-Greek origin were soon found inconvenient and were labelled 'Barbarian'. Throughout

555 Hans-Peter Müller, *Die schweizerische Sprachenfrage vor 1914: Eine historische Untersuchung über das Verhältnis zwischen Deutsch und Welsch bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977), 54.

556 Helmuth Feigl, 'Änderungen von Siedlungsnamen in Österreich', in *Ortsnamenwechsel: Bamberger Symposium 1. bis 4. oktober 1986*, ed. Rudolf Schützeichel, 189–90 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1986).

the next century, local bosses, amateur historians and government officials worked in coalition towards eradicating such names, as well as those deemed ugly, and creating new ones with a classical veneer in their stead by translation, classicising or simply out of thin air. While this was a piecemeal and decentralised process within the 1832 borders, prefects initiated all-out purifications of the map in the newly annexed lands.<sup>557</sup>

The royal decree of 1909 instituting a Committee for the Study of the Toponyms of Greece put forward ‘foreign elements’ of the Greek place-name cover as a collective stigma tainting the nation’s self-image and the face it turned to the outside world. Such ‘barbaric’ forms stemmed from ‘national disasters and humiliation’, the reader learns, they had a ‘damaging educational impact’ on the population as they tended to shrink and diminish its spirit, whereas in the external observer, they triggered ‘a false suspicion of the ethnic composition of the population of those villages’. Their replacement with what the decree called ‘older Greek names’ was therefore touted as ‘complementary to the liberation and the suppression of any trace of former national mishaps’.<sup>558</sup> The fiction that the new names were in fact the old ones despite the lack of documentary support was common to all nation state-sponsored ‘regimes of spatial inscription’,<sup>559</sup> but the importance attached to this point, the sincerity with which it was claimed and the regard actually paid to historical data varied from case to case. In Greece, at least the ideological investment in the historical dimension was somewhere near the higher end of the scale.

The tinkering with Slavic place names in Western Prussia and Posen also came wrapped in references to medieval German populations, but these had a more modest profile, whilst the theme of the national enemy inhabiting these lands took centre stage, in direct opposition to small and fragile Greece, where the fact that dwellers of many re-

557 Kyramargiou; Liakos; Anne Couderc, ‘Nation et circonscription: construire et nommer le territoire grec, 1832-1837’, in *Nommer et classer dans les Balkans*, eds Gilles de Rapper and Pierre Sintès, 217–35 (Athens: École française d’Athènes, 2008); Mackridge, 21–3 and Robert Shannan Peckham, *National Histories, Natural States: Nationalism and the Politics of Place in Greece* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 35.

558 Quoted in Kyramargiou, 179–81.

559 Rose-Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu, 461.

named villages spoke Slavic, Albanian or Aromanian instead of Greek was rather hushed up in public discourse. From early on, the Germanisation of Polish settlement names was accompanied by an argument that affirmed it as a rightful response to the Polish elite's anti-German rhetoric.

In contrast to Greece, where early initiative came from the new state establishment, the Prussian process got underway as a grassroots movement, and the state latched onto it as a late player. When a German landlord first filed a request in 1836 to get the name of his estate, *Kopitkowo*, changed into *Lichtenthal*, the Prussian Ministry of the Interior duly rejected his plan, and once the current rose into prominence in the 1860s among the ethnic German bourgeoisie of these provinces, several *Landräte* and later the Minister issued warnings to local governments reminding them that the changing of settlement names was dependent on the Ministry's prior approval and that whilst a cosmetic Germanisation of place-name formants (e.g., from *Papowo* to *Pappau*) was still acceptable, a substantially new German name could pass only if they could sustain its historical authenticity with documentary evidence. The Prussian state only warmed up to the idea of massive toponymic Germanisation during the *Kulturkampf* of the 1870s, but then to such an extent that many new proposals concerning Posen already came from state officials, whereas the renaming of German-speaking localities was as a rule initiated by local councillors. Although the Ministry took account of local opinions, only very seldom were Polish residents able to thwart the name change of their homeplace. Hundreds of new German names were introduced in 1878 alone, and by 1912, the majority of the four thousand German place names of Posen were recent creations.<sup>560</sup>

560 Christian Pletzing, 'Die Politisierung der Toponymie: Ortsnamenänderungen in den preußischen Ostprovinzen während des 19. Jahrhunderts', in *Wiedergewonnene Geschichte: zur Aneignung von Vergangenheit in den Zwischenräumen Mitteleuropas*, eds Peter Oliver Loew, Christian Pletzing and Thomas Serrier, 266–75 (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2006); Tims, 139–40 and Mark Tilse, *Transnationalism in the Prussian East: From National Conflict to Synthesis, 1871–1914* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 17.

An 1899 decree by the Prussian minister of the interior suggests the influence of the Hungarian law on locality names from the previous year. It mandated the use of German settlement names in all official documents wherever these existed, reiterated the formula of the Hungarian law that each locality should bear one single name and cited the same rationale, the requirements of efficient transport and communications. And while it made no mention of the second principle of the Hungarian law, that each name had to be borne by one single locality, the Prussian ministry tried to avoid in practice that new names lead to homonymy within Prussia.<sup>561</sup>

Apart from the very early and very different French revolutionary experiment, no other action of place renaming was as methodical, well-coordinated and thoroughgoing in its scope until the First World War as was the Hungarian, and even among similar state-sponsored projects of the twentieth century, only the renaming of Israel, Turkey and of Poland's post-1945 'Recovered Territories' exceeded it in its ambitions.<sup>562</sup> As regards its origins, although it did have its antecedents, it did not grow out of a popular movement on a par with the Prussian one, since its first partisans were mostly state employees (functionaries and teachers) and county officials, befitting the system of *Honoratiorenpolitik* that characterised especially the non-Magyar peripheries of Dualist Hungary. It was occasioned by the concurrence of a despotic premier intent on appeasing an hostile public opinion with sabre-rattling and inexpensive nationalist measures and by the fashionability of the issue in the leaderships of counties and associations in the wake of the EKE's call. The Bánffy government gave a two-sided interpretation of the process, bringing into relief at once the symbolic re-Magyarisation it was expected to perform and the

<sup>561</sup> Pletzing, 272–4.

<sup>562</sup> Azaryahu and Golan, Öktem, Çakır and Yoshioka. See also Ferdinand Mentz, 'Die Ortsnamenverdeutschung in Elsaß-Lothringen', *Zeitschrift des allgemeinen deutschen Sprachvereins* 31 (1916): 40–6; Gascon on Ethiopia; Nathalie Clayer, 'L'albanisation des toponymes dans l'Albanie de l'entre-deux-guerres ou les méandres d'une lente construction étatique', in *Nommer et classer dans les Balkans*, eds Gilles de Rapper and Pierre Sintès, 237–55 (Athens: École française d'Athènes, 2008); Peter G. Lewis, 'The Politics of Iranian Place-Names', *Geographical Review* 72 (1982): 99–102; Arseny Saparov, 'The alteration of place names and construction of national identity in Soviet Armenia', *Cahiers du monde russe* 44 (2003): 179–98 and John Murray, *Politics and Place-Names: Changing Names in the Late Soviet Period* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, Dept. of Russian, 2000).

modernity inherent in rationalising the place-name cover. Both framings addressed the public well-disposed to Hungarian state nationalism in the first place, and the national minorities were mainly present lurking in the subtext as fodder for assimilation or irredeemable enemies, and above all as the agents behind the past distortion of Hungarian place names.

Far from being the privilege of aspiring nation states culturally appropriating their territories, the practice of ideological place renaming was embraced with the same enthusiasm by influential and up-and-coming national movements and irredentas without the means of bringing their new or resurrected names fully into effect. Slovene place names openly flaunting their German origins were replaced by Slavic creations (*Marbrk*→*Maribor*, *Možbrk*→*Blatograd*, *Karenburk*→*Krnski Grad*), early-twentieth-century Basque nationalists dug up and promoted archaic names like *Arrasate* for Mondragón and *Gastez* for Vitoria, the Irredentist activist Ettore Tolomei invented a whole new Italian toponymy and microtoponymy for South Tyrol, the Gaelic League published in two editions the list of the original place names ‘Anglicised’ during the Ordnance Survey, while thanks to the purist leanings behind the *Megali Idea*, the Greeks of Sozopolis on the Bulgarian sea coast discovered that they lived in Apollonia and Greek children from Smyrna and Cappadocia were taught by their teachers to call their playing sites by obscure names dating from the Hellenistic age instead of the Turkish-origin ones that the entire community used.<sup>563</sup>

When it came to the treatment of Romanian place names, Latinists differed sharply from later Romanian generations. As I showed in earlier chapters, Latinists often modi-

<sup>563</sup> Kranzmayer, 106, Mikel Gorrotxategi Nieto, ‘Normativización, oficialización y normalización de la toponimia en Euskal Herria’ [Standardisation, officialisation and normalisation of the place-name cover in the Basque Country], in *Lengua, espacio y sociedad: Investigaciones sobre normalización toponímica en España* [Language, space and society: Investigations on the toponymic standardisation in Spain], eds Gordón Peral and María Dolores, 85–6 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2013); Johannes Kramer, *Italienische Ortsnamen in Südtirol: Geschichte – Sprache – Namenpolitik* (Stuttgart: Ibidem, 2008), 60–4; Catherine Nash, ‘Irish Place Names: Post-colonial Locations’, in *Critical Toponymies: The Contested Politics of Place Naming*, eds Lawrence D. Berg and Jani Vuolteenaho, 140 (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009); Paul Garde, *Le discours balkanique: Des mots et des hommes* (Paris: Fayard, 2004), 250 and Georgelin, 210 and 213.



fied vernacular names to fit the etymologies that they saw into them or whimsically substituted them with ancient Roman names taken from Dacia and Italy. The second edition of Treboniu Laurian's *History of the Romanians* and Spiridon Fetti's map of Transylvania, both from 1862, featured arbitrary Latinisations—*Rupea* (vernacular *Co-halm* < Hun. *Kőhalm* 'cairn' × Lat. *rupes* 'rock') *Sedişióra* (vernacular *Sighișoara* × Lat. *sedes* 'seat'), *Urbea-mare* (*Oradea*), *Carelli* (*Carei*); borrowings from ancient geography—*Sargețiulu* (*Strei*), *Bisterția* (*Bistrița*), *Aufena*<sup>564</sup>/*Aufidena*<sup>565</sup> (*Ofenbaia*); and semantic adaptations from Hungarian and Slavic—*Tîrgulu Mureşului* (*Oşorhei*), *Pretoriulu Secoiloru* (*Odorhei*), *Aurariu* (*Arieş*), *Auraria* (*Zlatna*), alongside a series of ad-hoc creations in the Szeklerland.<sup>566</sup>

Little survived from this trend into the next generation, which espoused a more unrefined taste in language use; *Alba Iulia*, a resurrected medieval Latin form consciously chosen instead of Roman *Apulum*, replaced *Bălgrad* as the Romanian name of Gyulafehérvár in learned writing and speech,<sup>567</sup> the neologisms *superior/superioară* and *inferior/inferioară* sometimes appeared in place names, and a handful of other innovations of lesser importance were also kept, such as the replacement of *luncă*, a word of Slavic origin, with *vale* in the Romanian name of Radnaborberek, *Lunca Vinului*.<sup>568</sup> In addition, Romanian publications continued to make intermittent use of *Rupea*, *Târgu Mureşului*, the pseudo-etymological *Satu Mare* ('big village', instead of *Sătmăr*) and the Latinising *Silvania* (*Sălaj*) and *Marmația* (*Maramureş*), alternating with their vernacular equivalents. Most of these names were elevated to official status after 1918, together with a host of freshly invented names; on the eve of the War, however, this much toponymic self-

<sup>564</sup> Likely the misreading of *Ausena*, the name of a mountain in Gothic Iberia.

<sup>565</sup> The name of a Roman town in Italy.

<sup>566</sup> Treb. Laurian, 5–14 and Spiridon Fetti, *Chart'a Marelui Principatu Transilvania* [Map of the Grand Principality of Transylvania] (Sibiu: Crabs, 1862).

<sup>567</sup> Treb. Laurian, 12 and George Barițiu, *Apulum, Alba-Iulia, Belgrad in Transilvania: studiu* [Alba Iulia in Transylvania: study] (Bucharest: Academiei Române, 1887), 25–6. Peasants from the area, however, continued to use *Bălgrad* only; David Prodan, *Memorii* [Memoirs] (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1993), 144 and Iorga, *Neamul românesc*, vol. 1, 79.

<sup>568</sup> Cristureanu, *Latinismul*, 31.

fashioning can be considered as moderate, especially when compared to the prevalence of place-name Magyarisation as a theme in Romanian intellectual debates and political propaganda.

#### **4.5.2. Renamings until 1898**

What probably amounts to the first place renaming guided by a secular ideology in the territory studied is, appropriately enough, itself veiled in mystification. According to a legend, when the emperor Joseph II visited the recently militarised region of Năsăud, he greeted Romanian border guards with the words ‘Salve, parva nepos Romuli!’<sup>569</sup> Deeply moved by the imperial attention, his hosts renamed four nearby villages after each word of this sentence. The anecdote rightly raises suspicion—one of the villages had already borne the Slavic name *Salva* and, giving His Majesty the benefit of the doubt, you may also credit him with better Latin<sup>570</sup>—it seems nevertheless certain that the renaming was aimed at uplifting the morale of fledgling militiamen, still restive and many of them transferred from other areas, by instilling pride in their Latin heritage.

Still under Joseph II, the Transylvanian calendar for 1787 exhibited German and Latin names for every village of the province, most of them improvised and probably driven by a completist urge.<sup>571</sup> Neither did these German names nor did the ones introduced at the mid-nineteenth century trickle down into everyday use; Saxon authors mostly used the Romanian or Hungarian endonyms wherever vernacular German names did not exist.<sup>572</sup> In 1839, the first, German-language gazetteer of Transylvania again con-

569 Nicolae Drăganu, *Toponimie și istorie* [Toponymy and history] (Cluj: Ardealul, 1928), 88 and Doru Radosav, *Arătarea Împăratului: Intrările imperiale în Transilvania și Banat: (sec. XVII-XIX); discurs și reprezentare* [The Showing of the Emperor: imperial entries in Transylvania and the Banat, 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> c.; discourse and representation] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2002), 134–6.

570 The correct feminine form of *nepos* is *neptis*.

571 Ambrus Miskolczy and Árpád Varga E., *Jozefinizmus Tündérszágban: Erdély történeti demográfijának forrásai a XVIII. század második felében* [Josephinism in Fairyland: demographic sources for the history of Transylvania from the second half of the eighteenth century] (Budapest: Tarsoly, 2013), 115.

572 For contemporary comments on the new German names of the 1860s, Bariț, *Cum se se scria connumele neromanesci; Pesty Fri-gyes helynévgyűjteménye 1864–1865: Székelyföld*, vol. 1, 79; George Gherman, village secretary of Drăguș, OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel no. 22 and village secretary Nicolae V... and mayor Nicolae Popa from Făget; *ibid.*, reel no. 37, at Oláhbükkös.

tained an array of new place-name variants, likely concocted by local contributors, among them ad-hoc Hungarian names translated from Romanian from Zarand County, ninety-five-percent Romanian-speaking by one count.<sup>573</sup> *Fenyőfalva* for *Brad*, *Nyírfalva* for *Mesteacăn*, *Tehénfalva* for *Vaca*, *Rudfalva* for *Ruda* etc.<sup>574</sup> Attesting to the new-fangled character of these forms are the eighteenth-century records of canonical visitations from the area's minuscule Calvinist communities.<sup>575</sup> Had they been applied anywhere, they would have certainly been in the internal record-taking of this culturally Magyar church, and while the texts made ample references to the surrounding villages, they did so invariably under phonologically adapted Romanian names.<sup>576</sup>

Unlike most purpose-made place names, these ones also had an afterlife. Twenty-five years later, three village secretaries from Zarand—Magyars working in a county with Romanian official language at that point in time—presented some of them to Pesty as the Hungarian names of their villages.<sup>577</sup> More significantly, they cropped up at the turn of the century in that representative piece of Hungarian Social Darwinist literature, Pál Balogh's ethnic geography of Hungary, a bulky volume sponsored and disseminated by the Hungarian government and depicting its subject as a land criss-crossed by trenches along which the ethnic masses waged furious demographic warfare against Magyardom.<sup>578</sup> Balogh made creative use of his scanty sources and gave free rein to his historical fantasy. He falsely presented the Hungarian variants from 1839 as the old names, gradually giving way to new Romanian ones. That the editor of the 1839 volume had

573 According to a census from 1846; Pál Kozma, *Zarand-vármegye' földirati, statistikai és történeti leírása* [The geographical, statistical and historical description of Zarand County] (Kolozsvárt: Kir. Főtanoda, 1848), 40.

574 Lenk von Treuenfeld.

575 Dezső Buzogány and Sándor Előd Ösz, *A hunyad-zarandi református egyházközségek történeti katasztere, 1686–1807* [Historical register of Calvinist parishes in the Diocese of Hunyad-Zarand, 1686–1807], 3 vols (Kolozsvár: Kolozsvári Református Teológiai Intézet Egyháztörténeti Tanszéke and Erdélyi Református Gyűjtőlevéltár, 2003–7).

576 Mesteacăn/Mesztákon, for instance, is mentioned at least 25 times, and Vaca/Váka 17 times.

577 János Ung, József Korhány and István Szakáts; OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel no. 74, at Brád, Mesztákon, Miheleny and Zsunk.

578 Upon its publication, the Ministry of the Interior sent complimentary copies to all counties, towns and larger villages; decree no. 3967/1902 of the Minister of the Interior, in *Belügyi Közlöny* 7 (1902): 289.

been German—read: hostile to Magyar interests—he emphasised as a circumstance vouching for their authenticity:

Half a century ago, the old place names were still in circulation. The *Austrian* lieutenant-general Lenk uses them in his *German* work. From thence we copy that what is today called Mihelény and Kurety was then Mihályfalva and Káposztásfalva, the Hungarian name of Kristyor was Körösfalva, that of Czereczel Czerneczfalva; Ribicsora was known under the name Kis-Ribicze, Riskulicza as Kis-Riska, the Magyar wrote Fenyőfalva instead of Brád, Nyirfalva instead of Mesztákon; Tehénfalva and not Vaka; Terfalva and not Lunka, Rudfalva and not Ruda, Barlangfalva and not Pestere were the accepted names. They tripped to Patakfalva instead of Valemare, they fed the horses in Koczafalva instead of Szkroffa, watered in Karácsonfalva instead of Krecsunesd, spent the night in Pecsétszeg instead of Tyulesd<sup>579</sup> and got home via Kis-Bánya instead of Boitza and Kis-Hátszeg instead of Hadzacsel. In this manner got Romanianised—not only under the burden of the centuries that weighed on us, but of our own fault as well—most of Hunyad.<sup>580</sup>

When the administration introduced new German names for non-German settlements in the 1850s and 1860s—usually conspicuous semantic adaptations of the endonyms—these were clearly not intended as the authentic names, and nobody but a few ill-advised German nationalists from Germany, like Heinrich Kiepert, who also championed the cause of establishing ‘original’ German place names in Lorraine, would ever interpret them within a ‘submerged Germandom’ narrative.<sup>581</sup> In use for no more than a couple of years, they nevertheless left a deep mark in the collective memory of the Magyar intelligentsia (as would the artificial Hungarian names in Romanian minds), even if the actual name changes got muddled up with contemporary spoofs aimed at discrediting them, and the most frequently adduced example, *Wüthender Armenier* as the artificial German translation of *Böszörmény*, was actually Mór Jókai’s satirical invention from 1858.<sup>582</sup> They were invoked not just as an excuse for the systematic renaming at the turn of the century, as in Sándor Márki’s programme article from 1894, but Gyula Merza even tried to blur them together with German endonyms when he claimed in 1903 that

579 Here Balogh confuses Chiuiești (Hun. Pecsétszeg) in Solnocul Interior/Belső-Szolnok with Tiulești (Tyiulesd) in Zarand.

580 Pál Balogh, *A népfajok Magyarországon* [The races of people in Hungary] (Budapest: Royal Hungarian Ministry of Worship and Public Instruction, 1902), 771. Emphases in the original. He writes Hunyad instead of Zaránd because the administrative reform of 1876 had annexed the latter to Hunyad County.

581 Hunfalvy, *Die magyarischen Ortsnamen und Herr Professor Kiepert*, 405–6 and Dunlop, 79–80.

582 *Az Űstökös* 3 (1858): 101.

some towns were still making use of such artificial German names.<sup>583</sup> By this, he could only refer to Transylvanian Saxons, which likely strained the belief of even his most Germanophobic Transylvanian readers.

The Hungarian settlement names of the regions where the peasantry did not speak Hungarian were remarkably stable, leaving aside the Banat, a land demilitarised and reintegrated into the Kingdom of Hungary in 1779 and in its southern stripe only in 1873.<sup>584</sup> In the Banat, the hiatus in the administration and the intervening reshuffling of the population created uncertainties as to the proper Hungarian names of the settlements that had come down from the Middle Ages. Local officials or landowners had by the 1860s already launched in a few real or supposed medieval forms, but administrative usage often fluctuated: *Aranyág/Hernyákova*,<sup>585</sup> *Csernegyház* (‘called “Cserencsáz” by the provincials, but for forty-five years, as Csernegyház by the more educated’<sup>586</sup>), *Csákóvár* ‘old castle Csák’ or ‘shako castle’/*Csákova* (the medieval Csák), *Széplak/Mondorlak*, *Örményes/Armenis*.<sup>587</sup> On behalf of the Second Division of the Budapest Academy, the historian Mihály Horváth wrote a proposal in 1872 for the future administrative division of the Banat Military Frontier, and it was his idea to resurrect the medieval name *Szörény* for the former Romanian Regiment, appealing to national interest.<sup>588</sup> It also happened, however, that old names that had still surfaced in writing in the 1860s did not make it into national gazetteers after 1867, like *Csukás* (instead of *Ebendorf*), *Kövesd* (*Gavosdia*) or *Hűhalom* (*Vurpód*).<sup>589</sup>

583 Márki, *Erdély helynevei*, 220 and za-la [Gyula Merza], ‘Földrajzi sovinizmus’ [Geographical chauvinism], *Erdély* 12 (1903): 148.

584 On the Banat under direct Habsburg administration, Sándor Kókai, *A Bánság történeti földrajza (1718-1918): A Bánság helye és szerepe a Kárpát-medence földrajzi munkamegosztásában* [The historical geography of the Banat (1718–1918): the place and role of the Banat in the geographic division of labour in the Carpathian Basin] (Nyíregyháza: Nyíregyházi Főiskola Turizmus és Földrajztudományi Intézete, 2010).

585 Village secretary Károly Láng and the illiterate mayor Mihai Gheorghe from Herneacova; OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel no. 61.

586 Mayor Pera Gyurki from Cerneteaz; *ibid.*

587 Réső Ensel, vol. 1 (1861), 74.

588 MOL K150, batch 152, 21882/1870.

589 Lay, ed., 126; Lajos Schedius and Sámuel Blaschnek, *Vollstaendige General Posten- und Strassen-Karte des Königreichs Ungarn...* (1855-6) [originally 1833-6], on the CD-ROM enclosed to Plihál, and Gámán, *Helység-névtár*.

The founding of new settlements continued throughout the Dualist period in the Banat and elsewhere, although at a lower pace than previously. Settlers were increasingly Magyars, but even when they were Germans, new colonies would be now first baptised in Hungarian. Many of them received commemorative names usually honouring the landlord or the official who orchestrated the settlement, a strategy already popular in the eighteenth century: *Eötvösd*, *Deákbánya*, *Lónyaytelep*, *Bressonfalva*, *Szapáryfalva*, *Újjózseffalva*, *Simonyifalva*, *Szapáryliget*, *Bethlenháza*, *Gézafalva*, *Kendetelep*, *Andrássytelep*, *Eczkentelep*, *Erzsébetemlék*, *Gyulatelep*. Around 1893, however, the Budapest government utilised the foundation of Igazfalva and Nagybodófalva with Magyar settlers on Banat Treasury estates to revive medieval settlement names. Although it was quite clear that the medieval Igazfalva had not lain anywhere near its modern successor, the annalist of the state settlement programme boasted that the name of the village was not a new invention and that Magyars were not newcomers but re-migrants to the land.<sup>590</sup>

Sándor Ujfalvy's idea of calling by the name *Romladék* Săcătura/Szakatura, the place of his countryside residence between 1819 and 1848, can be regarded the first deliberate place renaming in an historical key. This tiny Romanian village with no historical remains and with its name derived from a Romanian appellative meaning 'clearing' offered little reason for being renamed 'ruin' in Hungarian, so one is left to speculate that the choice was inspired by the same Romantic sensibility of the Middle Ages that also made follies mushroom in England. It is noteworthy that while Ujfalvy as the landowner of the village consistently used this place name in his letters and his memoirs, neither the otherwise well-informed county historian József Kádár nor the Communal Registry Board were even aware of its existence at the turn of the century, an ignorance well illus-

<sup>590</sup> Diodor Csernovics, *A délmagyarországi kincstári birtokok és telepes községek múltja és jelene* [Past and present of the Treasury estates and colonist settlements in Southern Hungary] (Arad: Magy. Kir. Államjósáigazgatóság, 1913), 182.

trated by the latter's decision for *Szakadás*, a name of their own making, as the new name for the village.<sup>591</sup>

Other renamings proved more successful and longer lasting, but the lack of regulation meant that the change was sometimes less than straightforward. In the 1850s, the physician of the local spa started calling Monyásza<sup>592</sup> *Menyháza*.<sup>593</sup> Since the Hungarian verb *monyász(ik)* refers to the manual probing of a hen's cloaca in search for eggs to be laid, the name betrays an euphemistic intent, which he nonetheless carried out through a Magyarised form (*Menyháza* 'the daughter-in-law's house' or 'the house of heaven'). The name stuck on the spa resort alone, however, and only the Communal Registry Board would extend it forty years later to the political commune, composed of two further settlement cores. With *Gyulafehérvár*, things were complicated in a different way. The Latin-rite Catholic bishopric seat and garrison town went by two Hungarian names at mid-century; apart from the one dating from the Middle Ages and preserving the memory of one of several chieftains called Gyula, the imperial administration had in the eighteenth century invested it with the name *Károlyfahérvár* after Emperor Charles VI, patron of large-scale fortification works and the associated overhaul of the urban texture.<sup>594</sup> The latter name was used in official life, while the former had taken on a certain archaic flavour. In 1865, a town councillor still made sense of their duality by matching the two names with the two contrasting periods of local history: the latter with the modern town to the East of the ramparts and the former with the western-side urban nucleus of pre-Habsburg times.<sup>595</sup> In this light, the switch of both the municipality and the bishopric to the daily use of *Gyulafehérvár*, taking place between 1868 and 1871, should be

591 Sándor Ujfalvy, *Emlékiratai* [Memoirs] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1941) and Kádár, Tagányi, Réthy and Pokoly, vol. 6 (1904), 274–8.

592 For the sake of simplicity, I depart from my usual way of handling the names of settlements in this chapter and I indicate only their Hungarian names when they are discussed in connection with their change.

593 Mező, *Adatok*, 253.

594 On the medieval name, Loránd Benkő, *Az ómagyar nyelv tanúságtétele: perújítás Dél-Erdély kora Árpád-kori történetéről* [The testimony of Old Hungarian: review of trial on the history of Southern Transylvania in the early Árpadian Age] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2002).

595 Elek Kovács to Pesty; *Pesty Frigyes helynévgyűjteménye 1864–1865: Székelyföld*, vol. 4, 51–4.

interpreted as the upending of the local time map, affirming a continuity with the Hungarian Middle Ages instead of an eighteenth-century Habsburg emperor. The memory of the latter would thereafter survive in the German name *Karlsburg*.

Ludwigsdorf, also known as Cârlibaba or Stănișoara, came into being with German- and Romanian-speakers in a tract of land transferred in 1769 from the Bukovina to the then established 2<sup>nd</sup> Wallachian Border Guard Regiment of Transylvania. Although Pesty's local informants had indicated *Ludwigsdorf* as its 'nationwide known name', the transition to Hungarian administration saw the name *Kirlibaba* written on its seal and road entry signs. This latter name had the shortcoming of failing to distinguish it from the identically named Bukovinian village just across the Bistrița Aurie/Goldene Bistritza River, and one may also suspect a German—Romanian strife behind the political commune's request from 1887 to have this name cancelled from the official sphere. Moreover, the county prefect Dezső Bánffy might also lean on the local leadership to apply for the Hungarian equivalent of the German name, *Lajosfalva*.<sup>596</sup>

Bánffy, whose government would later design and introduce the bill on locality names, already presided over the first wholesale name change in the area as the prefect of Szolnok-Doboka County in 1890, when the county administration Magyarised twenty-seven out of the county's 319 settlement names.<sup>597</sup> Only two of these names restored entirely and another two partly historical forms. Temes County followed the example in 1893–4 and revised the Hungarian names of its settlements, Magyarising twenty-one of them, four into revived archival forms. That at least some of these changes went against the grain of the locals is shown by the fact that in the 1900s, four affected communes re-claimed some version of their pre-1893 names from the Communal Registry Board.<sup>598</sup>

596 MOL K150, batch 1553, 65517/1886 and 37019/1887; ANR Bistrița, Fond Prefectura Județului Năsăud 9/1887, 20–1 and 63 and Retegan, *Satele năsăudene*, 101.

597 It was not a debut in Hungary at large, however, since Zólyom County had already Magyarised more than a hundred of its locality names five years earlier.

598 Temeskirályfalva (Kralovec), Réthely (Rettisora), Margitfalva (Janova) and Fűrjes (Zagajca).



All four requests were rejected, but unlike in the case of Szolnok-Doboka, the Board reconsidered the coinages recently established by the county and replaced six of them with forms deemed more correct or more Hungarian.<sup>599</sup>

A few sporadic Magyarisations came about on local initiative, which probably meant some sort of agreement between Magyar or pro-Magyar factions of the politically active locals and the county organs. In Krassó-Szörény County, the Romanian–German Moravica-Eisenstein had its name (partially) translated to *Vaskő* in 1886 and the Tyrolean Königsgnade to *Királykegye* in 1888, although the latter name had been already quoted by the village secretary in 1864.<sup>600</sup> In 1891, Burjánosoláhbuda in Transylvania was renamed *Bodonkút*, a form rummaged from a 1757 document, and the following year, the councilors of the Calvinist Magyar Rittberg in the Banat voted to apply for an artificial settlement name that reified a typical metaphor of the rising ethno-demographic discourse about Hungary's peripheries: *Végvár* 'border fortress', an outpost of valiant Magyars beleaguered by a sinister mass of national minorities.<sup>601</sup>

#### **4.5.3. The Ideological Case for the Magyarisation of Settlement Names**

The Magyarisation of locality names was driven by the two-pronged ambition that places in Hungary should appear under their Hungarian names in public life and that the Hungarian names should also impress as such. Once proper Hungarian names reigned supreme, it was thought, that would more firmly anchor the respective places within the national space and would 'outwardly signal the belonging of the land to the Hungarian state.'<sup>602</sup>

599 *Janova*→*Margitfalva*→*Temesjenő*, *Lagerdorf*→*Temesstráza*→*Temesőr*, *Neuhof*→*Bogdarigós*→*Rigósfürdő*, *Petrovoszelő*→*Temespéterfalva*→*Temespéteri* (disambiguation), *Stancsova*→*Stancsófalva*→*Sztancsafalva* and *Vukova*→*Temesvukovár*→*Temesfarkasd*, the last one later repealed by the Ministry of the Interior.

600 OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel no. 35.

601 Lajos Szmda and István Nikolényi, *Temes vármegyei Végvár (Rittberg) nagyközség múltja és jelene* [The past and present of Végvár/Rittberg/Tormac large commune in Temes County] (Temesvár: the public of Végvár commune, 1901), 45.

602 Report of the chair of the Communal Registry Board to the Ministry of the Interior on the locality names of Krassó-Szörény County; András Mező, *A magyar hivatalos helységnévadás* [Official Hungarian locality naming] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1982), 143.

The first half of this equation, which gave absolute priority to name variants in the state language, ultimately depended on the state sovereignty principle and incidentally coincided with the not so long ago still prevailing definition of endonymy. Several Magyar authors defended that the state had a vested right to name its territory, implying that this right also overrode the will of locals.<sup>603</sup> It must be noted here that while most European state elites would have willingly granted this right in both its domestic and international aspects as they would have probably also recognised state stewardship over national languages, such a rule regarding the writing of place names across borders evidently did not prevail in the wider region, which probably added to Magyar eagerness to vindicate it. Oktáv Hangay lashed out against school maps in Cisleithania, which represented Hungary with German names in German schools, with Slavic ones in Czech schools and with Romanian ones in Romanian schools of the Bukovina.<sup>604</sup> The Romanian-speaking parts of Hungary were, as a matter of course, shown with Romanian names on school maps in Romania as well. Endre Barabás, the principal of the Déva teachers' college and a frequent writer on contemporary Romania, attacked the neighbours on this score for 'officially instilling false names' in students.<sup>605</sup> What caused diplomatic conflict, however, was when Romanian school maps also studiously toned down state boundaries and presented these lands as parts of a larger Romanian entity.<sup>606</sup>

Some of the vicious language wars of Cisleithania raged over the German versus Italian, Slovenian or Polish versions in which place names appeared on railway station buildings and in timetables, and German nationalists proved especially resourceful in sensitising their public opinion to alleged slights to the German name variants, another

603 Zsigmond Farkasházy, 'Szászok szélmalomharca' [Saxons' windmill fight], *Erdély* 8 (1899): 46; D. Simon Telkes, 'A helynevekről' [On place names], *Földrajzi Közlemények* 26 (1898): 265; János Nyárasdy, 'Nemzetietlenségek' [Breaches of the national spirit], *Népnevelők Lapja* 31 (1896): 229 and Márki, *Erdély helynevei*, 316.

604 Hangay, *Harc a magyarságért!*, 139–40.

605 Endre középajtai Barna [pseudonym of Endre Barabás], *Románia nemzetiségi politikája és az oláhajkú magyar polgárok* [The nationalities policy of Romania and the Hungarian citizens of Romanian tongue] (Kolozsvár: E. M. K. E., 1908), 89.

606 Volkmer, 79–82 and Pavel, *Mișcarea românilor*, vol. 1, 29–31.

terrain where champions of Hungarian names could look for inspiration.<sup>607</sup> Since the Hungarian railway network was mostly state-run and by the turn of the century, it overwhelmingly implemented a Hungarian-only language policy, they picked out the frequent mail addresses in German as their favourite stumbling block, insisting that ‘on Hungarian soil, Kronstadt, Schemnitz, Salzburg, Klausenburg etc n’existe pas’.<sup>608</sup> If places in Hungary were referred to by their German or Romanian names in a third language, that was especially likely to draw acrimonious comments. Dénes Pázmándy called it ‘la manie des grandeurs’ that Magyar and Saxon towns of Transylvania figured under Romanian names in the French text of an irredentist pamphlet, claiming that nobody but the authors themselves ‘understood’ these names in and outside Hungary (a claim that would itself better deserve the same epithet), while Endre Barabás flung mockery at the Romanian names in the captions of the 1906 Bucharest expo’s pavilion representing ‘Romanians beyond the borders’, challenging geographers to find *Avrig*, *Slimnic* and *Beuş* on the map.<sup>609</sup>

Sanguine Magyars fantasised that the law on locality names could squeeze out non-Hungarian endonyms from the speech of Romanians or Saxons, thus simplifying communication.<sup>610</sup> Departing from the fallacious principle that a place should have no more than one single name, it could seem to make some sense that Hungarian names were to create a common ground between the various linguistic groups, since ‘otherwise *Kronstadt* or *Brasovi* [sic!] would alternate as the Saxons or the Wallachs have more children’.<sup>611</sup> Such sophistry took a farcical turn when Hangay enumerated the Romanian names of Western Hungarian and the Slavic names of Transylvanian towns among those allegedly causing problems.<sup>612</sup> But the actual linguistic complexity of the state was great

607 Paul Mechtler, ‘Streiflichter auf das Nationalitätenproblem bei den österreichischen Eisenbahnen’, *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchiv* 15 (1962): 444–7 and Müller, 64–5.

608 Merza, *Földrajzi sovinizmus*, 146.

609 Pázmándy, 37–8 and Barabás, 125.

610 Sándor Romhányi, ‘A földrajzi tulajdonnevek helyes elnevezése’ [The correct forms of geographic names], *Turista Közlöny* 5 (1898): 3 and Károly Eötvös’s speech in the House of Commons on 6 December 1897; *Képviselőházi napló* 1896, vol. 10, 229.

611 Farkasházy, *Százok*, 46.

612 Hangay, *Harcz a magyarságért!*, 139–40.

enough to serve as an alibi for official monolingualism. Lajos Lóczy, the president of the Hungarian Geographical Society, tried to thwart a resolution by the Ninth International Geographic Conference in 1909 that allowed adding an optional additional name to the official one for each place included on the conference's projected international map, by bringing up as examples towns from Hungary with current names in three, rather than just two, languages, and back in Budapest, he told his fellow-scholars that the question should be settled by diplomatic means.<sup>613</sup>

All in keeping with the same sovereignty-based idea of linguistic *Gleichschaltung*, Sándor Romhányi suggested that Magyars should, as a token of reciprocity, apply the locally official names when referring to places abroad: 'Wallachs would certainly feel more amenable to *Kolozsvár* instead of *Clusiu* if they got reassured by the power of law that from now on we are going to call *Bucuresci* what we have so far called *Bukarest*.'<sup>614</sup> Others objected that the same rule should not be applied for Vienna and Breslau, two cities that King Matthias of Hungary had added to his holdings for a brief time in the fifteenth century, since these places had been 'Hungarian' and therefore Magyars should maintain the right to call them in their own way.<sup>615</sup>

History pervaded the quest for 'more Hungarian' Hungarian names; ones with transparent meanings or at any rate fitting the phonology and the patterns of Hungarian endonyms. In Transylvania, there were hundreds of villages with 'good' Hungarian names but without ethnic Magyars—Pesty called them 'gravemarks of the Hungarian nation'<sup>616</sup>—while in the eastern reaches of Hungary proper and in the Banat, the Hungarian forms in use had been very often borrowed from Romanian and sometimes bore early modern Slavic influence as well. Moreover, more radical historical fantasies decided that

613 Lajos Lóczy, 'Elnöki megnyitó' [Presidential keynote speech], *Földrajzi Közlemények* 38 (1910): 149.

614 Romhányi, 5.

615 János Nyárasdy, 'A földrajzi tulajdonnevek helyes elnevezése' [The correct forms of geographical names], *Turista Közlöny* 5 (1898): 120 and Telkes, *A helynevekről*, 265.

616 Pesty, *A helynevek és a történelem*, 57.

*all* place names in Hungary were ultimately rooted in Hungarian, and set out the task of finding the earlier, original forms. This already familiar idea was all the more powerful as it overlapped with the archetypal scheme of national histories about the golden age and the evil Other frustrating efforts to restore the nation to its former fullness. In Hungary, this golden age was sometimes identified with King Matthias's reign in the fifteenth century.

You may recall that several of Pesty's respondents had already speculated about the earlier Hungarian names, and pure guesswork would remain a popular method of establishing them. In the meantime, however, as has also been shown, Hungarian scholarship made great strides in collecting toponymic data preserved in archival records. Synchronously with the law on locality names came off the press the first edition of Manó Kogutowicz's pathbreaking history atlas for high schools, the first truly Hungarian specimen of a genre that looked towards a bright future, and three of the expert historians on the Communal Registry Board contributed to historical maps of Hungary around those years.<sup>617</sup>

In public statements about the turn-of-the-century renaming campaign, Magyars emphasised the recovery of documented historical forms as a goal, and Márki even pledged himself not to touch such names of Slavic, Romanian and German origin as had no known Hungarian antecedents and were 'based upon authentic documents'.<sup>618</sup> That he meant this at least in part as a tactical statement to allay fears and resistance becomes clear from some of his own name suggestions that not only lacked any historical reality whatsoever, but were no more than playful takes on the existing forms.<sup>619</sup> Similarly Jenő

617 Ignác Acsády, Manó Kogutowicz et al., *Történelmi iskolai atlasz* [School history atlas], 3 vols (Budapest: Kogutowicz és Társa Magyar Földrajzi Intézete, s. a.). On the genre, Tomasz Kamusella, 'School History Atlases as Instruments of Nation-State Making and Maintenance: A Remark on the Invisibility of Ideology in Popular Education', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2 (2010): 113–38. Apart from Acsády and Márki, who co-authored the former, Márki also designed maps for *Pallas Nagy Lexikona* and Ortway collaborated with the cartographer László Hrubant on maps showing the ecclesiastical divisions of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.

618 Márki, *Erdély helynevei*, 221.

619 *Alsópihenő* 'lower rest' for Alsópián ('we gain a name that announces its great age'), *Hóföld* 'snow field' for Főfeld ('on the model of *Hóstát* in Kolozsvár'), *Ilona* (female name) for Illenbák, *Ráró* archaic 'saker falcon' for Guraró ('they would soon get used to it'), *Rés* 'chink' for Resinár and *Vászoly* (the old Hungarian form of *Basileios*) for Vaszolya.

Szentkláray, another historian involved in the renaming process, expatiated on the importance of ‘restoring the historical map of Southern Hungary’, nonetheless praised for its Hungarian sounding and historical relevance the name *Bogda-Rigós*, introduced on the insistence of a local landowner, although he himself submitted that ‘it does not correspond to historical truth’.<sup>620</sup>

Especially local actors expected from the changes that they should rap the knuckles of cocky minority nationalist troublemakers, make peasants feel the strength of the Hungarian state and bring it home to them that they lived on Hungarian soil. The connection that the Bozovici/Bosowitsch/Bozovics district administrator implied in 1908 between the recent flaring up of nationality movements and the need to replace the existing settlement names can scarcely be interpreted otherwise.<sup>621</sup> From this standpoint, leaving a place name unchanged was seen as a retreat, whereas a sizeable enough modification conveyed salutary symbolic violence. Along these lines, local councillors from Görgény-üvegcsúr argued against the removal of the prefix from their name with the odd statement that the full name could not be translated word by word into Romanian,<sup>622</sup> while several responses written on behalf of local governments requested new names more distant from the existing ones, based upon the similar argument that the ones proposed by the Board more or less coincided with the Romanian vernacular forms and would not force Romanians to change their pronunciation.<sup>623</sup> The most egregious suggestion of this punitive type was hands down the local circle secretary’s bid to rename Marisel into *Vasvár* in memory of Pál Vasvári, who had led a guerrilla outfit against the locals in 1849 and had been killed by them in an ambush near the village.

620 Jenő Szentkláray, *A társadalom nemzeti feladatai Délmagyarországon* [The national tasks of the society in Southern Hungary] (Temesvár: Temesvár-József- és Erzsébetvárosi Társaskör, 1897), 18 and idem, *A csanád-egyházmegyei plebániák története* [The history of the parishes in the Csanád Diocese], vol. 1 (Temesvár: Csanád-egyházmegyei Nyomda, 1898), 394.

621 ‘In view of the well-known nationalist stirrings, I find it desirable that the currently existing names should undergo change under any circumstances.’ MOL BM K156, 458.

622 It is not clear why they even thought that it can’t be: *Glăjărie Gurghiului*.

623 Gurahon/Gurahonc, Hosdát/Hăşdat and Păiuşeni/Pajsán in Mező, *Adatok* and Sinteá/Szintye in MOL BM K156, box 35, 807. The Bozovici district administrator made the same argument about Bănia/Bánya and Gârbovăt/Gerbovec, the former in MOL BM K156, box 54, 376.

Arranging for different enough names with the intention of making it harder for part of local people to pronounce them seems a perverse idea, but the decision makers anyway did not respond favourably to these suggestions. A more indirect form of hostility towards the locals was, however, encoded in the very idea of reinstating the late medieval place-name cover, if that message was hardly visible to the people affected. For Magyar onlookers, what these pronouncedly Hungarian forms did was exteriorise the already established *topos* that described Saxons as guests and Romanians as interlopers into their own home places. Moreover, they symbolically instituted even tiny circles of Magyar administrators as congenial to the land and as such more legitimate masters over it than the inhabitants.

#### **4.5.4. The Grand Toponymic Manoeuvre**

A few people from the Magyar and pro-Magyar elite engaged in social activism for the real or supposed historical place names, but it was neither particularly efficient without institutional leverage, nor was the circle of names thus promoted too wide; apart from the ones thrown in by the tourist movement, they included a couple of hydronyms (*Béga* or *Böge* instead of *Bega*,<sup>624</sup> *Egregy* instead of *Cserna*<sup>625</sup>) and relatively few settlement names. Advocacy for them typically took the garb of verbal hygiene: ‘do not call it incorrectly *x*, but use the correct name *y*.’ However, the convenience of falling back on the current names that were also accepted in the administrative realm usually trumped such ideological drive.

Orbán Sipos, the bigoted chauvinist school inspector of Bihar County, was alone in churning out new settlement names *en masse*. He popularised them in his writings,

624 Dániel Papp, ‘A Rátótiak’ [The people of Rátót], in *Századvég* [Fin-de-siècle], ed. Anna Szalai, vol. 2, 420 (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1984); Géza Czirbusz, *Magyarország a XX. század elején* [Hungary at the beginning of the twentieth century] (Temesvár: Polatsek, 1902), 274 and Árpád Jancsó, *A Bega, a Bánság elkényeztetett folyója* [The Bega/Begej, the spoiled river of the Banat] (Temesvár: Mirton, 2007), 15.

625 Gábor Téglás, ‘Az ősi magyar helynevek s a magyarság pusztulása Hunyadmegyében’ [The ancestral Hungarian place names and the destruction of Magyardom in Hunyad County], *Földrajzi Közlemények* 16 (1888): 213 and István Gaál, ‘Úti vázlatok Hunyadmegyéből’ [Travel sketches from Hunyad County], in *Hunyadvármegyei almanach 1909* [Hunyad County Almanac], ed. Károly Dénes, 78 (Déva: self-published, 1909).

passing over the accepted names in silence, and as a response from the local council of Borzik reveals, he even foisted them on schools in his jurisdiction.<sup>626</sup> In the domain of minor place names, manorial centres often received the family or first names of their owners, while a few estate managers in the Banat tweaked existing names into more imaginative Hungarian ones.<sup>627</sup> Such grassroots activism on the part of property owners could effectively remake the toponymy of the Finnmark province of contemporary Norway, but it had limited potential influence on the area due to its dominant compact settlement pattern.<sup>628</sup>

Toponymic engineering became a centrally coordinated endeavour with the 1898 law on locality names. The law, eagerly solicited by the political opposition and by nationalist segments of civil society, asserted that the Hungarian locality names of the country needed ‘regulation’—homonymies between locality names were to be eliminated—and declared their use mandatory in official settings. This campaign has become the main subject of a monograph in Hungarian by the onomatologist András Mező, which however concentrates on laying out a formal typology of the new names without paying much attention to their ideological underpinnings.<sup>629</sup> The same author also published a data collection summing up the major facts about each locality-name change.<sup>630</sup> Even though the original archival files are also accessible and I have consulted them with profit, this rare volume has lent invaluable help in drawing up statistics and checking my facts for the present chapter.<sup>631</sup> As the relevant literature in Hungarian and Romanian is scant and tends to perpetuate contemporary partisan readings, it is hardly surprising that reflections in Western languages also show a poor understanding of the process, to the

626 Sipos, especially 19–20 and Mező, *Adatok*, 61.

627 Felix Milleker, *Geschichte der Gemeinde Nagy-Zsám, 1370–1909* (Temesvár: Csendes, 1909), 45 and Wettel, 68.

628 Kaisa Rautio Helander, ‘Toponymic Silence and Sámi Place Names during the Growth of the Norwegian Nation State’, in *Critical Toponymies: The Contested Politics of Place Naming*, eds Lawrence D. Berg and Jani Vuolteenaho, 253–66 (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009).

629 András Mező, *A magyar hivatalos helységnévvadás* [Official Hungarian locality naming] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1982).

630 Idem, *Adatok a magyar hivatalos helységnévvadáshoz* [Data on official Hungarian locality naming] (Nyíregyháza: Bessenyei György Tanárképző Főiskola Magyar Nyelvészeti Tanszéke, 1999).

631 I am grateful to the late Mihály Hajdú for giving me a copy of the book.



extent that a recent study in English, written by a specialist of the era, erroneously suggests that the Hungarian government finally desisted from enforcing the law.<sup>632</sup>

When the same Dezső Bánffy assumed premiership in 1895 who had spearheaded place renaming in Szolnok-Doboka County, the Magyar public opinion, attuned to the idea by the tourist movement and by voices from the broader Magyar civil sphere, took it as a matter of course that he would carry out the same thing on the national level. After his government arranged the most unfair elections of the Dualist Era the following year, place renaming also became a point of honour for him, capable of boosting his tarnished popularity. He engaged the associations supportive of the idea in the drafting of a bill and conducted a preliminary survey inquiring each local government in Hungary about the variants of their name as used in official life and everyday communication and whether they wished to receive a new name.

What first needs to be emphasised about the bill—passed with MP Ágost Pulszky's amendment and promulgated on 15 February 1898 as Act IV of 1898—is again its double scope: it relegated the non-Hungarian settlement names to an inferior position in all public and civil-society documents written in any language *and* it ordered a revision of the Hungarian names. The law itself avoided any direct reference to Magyarisation, and the government tried to frame it primarily as a solution to the chaotic and untenable diversity of name variants and the overlaps between them.<sup>633</sup> To this end, the law specified that each locality must have one single and unique official name, not shared by any other Hungarian locality, and it entrusted the task of establishing these names in their authoritative spellings to a National Communal Registry Board (Országos Községi Törzskönyvbizottság), to be set up under the aegis of the Ministry of the Interior.

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<sup>632</sup> Nemes, 35.

<sup>633</sup> See the Minister of the Interior's exposition of the bill in Kemény, ed., vol. 2, 629–30.

In contrast to the practical reasons emphasised by its makers, the parliamentary debate raged over the Magyarising thrust of the bill.<sup>634</sup> The government found itself between two fires. On the one hand, the opposition attacked them for not coming clean on the intent of Magyarisation. On the other hand, since Bánffy had cracked down on Romanian nationalists, stripping them of their parliamentary representation and banning a demonstration called against the bill by the Hermannstadt daily *Tribuna*, his Transylvanian Saxon allies were alone to defend minority rights in the debate.<sup>635</sup> Saxon pro-government MPs argued that the use of Hungarian names in non-Hungarian documents infringed upon local governments' and churches' free choice of language, a claim that pivoted on whether place names should be seen as integral parts of a language. The city of Hermannstadt submitted its protest to the government and Brassó to the parliament before the bill was put to debate, and an all-female Transylvanian Saxon delegation travelled to Vienna to implore the monarch not to sanction the law.<sup>636</sup> Protest spilled over to the kin states of Hungary's national minorities. Saxony's Minister of the Interior stated that he would not recognise the law as valid for him.<sup>637</sup> From Romania, the Austro-Hungarian ambassador reported that the conflict was giving a new lease of life to the moribund, irredentist Cultural League. King Charles summoned the ambassador to hear his explanation, but as the latter pointed out in a dispatch, he was unable to say anything in support of the law.<sup>638</sup>

The project came home to roost for Bánffy one week after the parliamentary debate, when public outcry and fierce competition from the *völkisch* 'Green Saxons' forced nine of the thirteen Saxon MPs to leave the governing party, where they had been sitting since 1890.<sup>639</sup> This spelt an end to the party's majority in the lower house in strictly domestic

634 *Képviselet-házi napló* 1896, vol. 10, 220–30 and 285–92.

635 Kemény, ed., vol. 2, 240–1 and 243–4.

636 Göllner, ed., 198–205 and *Tribuna* 16/28 November 1897, p. 1018.

637 *Budapesti Hírlap* 9 August 1899.

638 Volkmer, 326–8.

639 Göllner, ed., 203.

issues not affecting Croatia.<sup>640</sup> It appears that the government then judged it wise to mothball the change of names in the eastern counties, so that until the opposition's coming to power in 1906, only the less sensitive names of the Szekler counties were settled from the area, meanwhile the Saxon MPs rejoined the governing party in 1903.<sup>641</sup> The opposition denounced the government for dragging its feet, and the Independentist Miklós Bartha pandered to the prejudices of many by implying that the 'proper Hungarian' names were obvious and available out there and that the process of deciding upon them was all but useless paper shuffling.<sup>642</sup>

In most counties of the area, the new official names were only introduced around 1910, and were therefore in use for no more than eight years. The new names of Hunyad and Fogaras Counties were also established, but the outbreak of the war prevented their implementation. In this manner, the Hungarian law on locality names reached fruition simultaneously with the Croatian one of 1907, copied after it.<sup>643</sup> The Croatian law repaid the Magyar political elite in kind, restricting the public use of Hungarian name variants. This prompted prime minister István Tisza in 1913 to retrospectively condemn the Hungarian law: 'In this respect, they are following our bad example in Croatia', he commented.<sup>644</sup>

The members of the Communal Registry Board were delegated by the Hungarian Historical Society, the National Archives, the statistical service, the prime minister, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Defence. Sitting there were the historical geographer Csánki and the eminent social historian Acsády. As corresponding experts, such already familiar names were consulted as the Kolozsvár university professors and

640 Kemény, ed., vol. 2, 324–5.

641 Isolde Schmidt, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des südostdeutschen Parteiwesens 1848–1914* (Munich: Schick, 1939), 88.

642 *Képviselőházi napló* 1896, vol. 17, 223–4; *Képviselőházi napló* 1901, vol. 17, 200 and vol. 20, 180–1 and Bartha, *Összegyűjtött munkái*, vol. 3, 338, 484 and 544–5.

643 Ivica Mataija, 'Promjene imena naselja na Hrvatskome području u svjetlu administrativnih određenja od 1860. do 1960. godine' [Changes of the settlements' names in the Croatian lands in light of the administrative determinations in the period from 1860 to 1960], *Folia Onomastica Croatica* 20 (2011): 125–6.

644 Gusztáv Gratz, *A dualizmus kora: Magyarország története, 1867–1918* [The Dualist Period: a history of Hungary, 1867–1918] (Budapest: Magyar Szemle Társaság, 1934; reprint, Budapest: Akadémiai, 1992), vol. 2, 278.

tourist activists Márki and Szádeczky, the county historians Kádár and Petri and the Banat scholars Ortvy, Szentkláray and Turchányi. The Board was open to suggestions from the public as well, but only one single lay person from the area sent in name proposals on a larger scale. Although the merchant Umhäuser Károly/Carl Umhäuser's monstrosities, bearing little resemblance to real-life Hungarian settlement names and containing laughable semantic somersaults, did not find acceptance with the Board, his ideas deserve interest for showing how the dominant ethno-historical narrative related to place names could coalesce in the mind of an ordinary assimilated.<sup>645</sup> His method can be summarised as the confronting of the gazetteer with a Hungarian dictionary. 'With a beady eye, I was for the most part able to transform the foreignised ancient names to the old Hungarian originals', he boasted. Only rarely did he need to resort to translation, he continued, and he usually managed to keep the first syllables unchanged.<sup>646</sup>

In establishing the official names, the Board proceeded county by county, adopting the following course. Based upon the proposals of the corresponding experts and the National Archives, they made a first, preliminary decision and notified the commune about it.<sup>647</sup> The local council discussed this and took a non-binding vote. They then sent their approval, critical comments or counter-proposal to the county assembly, which forwarded these back to the Board accompanied with its own opinion. If either the commune or the county disapproved of the proposal, the Board got back to the case, once again consulted the National Archives and sometimes accepted a counter-proposal or created an in-between form, but was not under the obligation to reverse its first decision. Eventually, before the new names of a county were promulgated, affected parties could still appeal to the Ministry of the Interior against a name change. Although Bánffy's minister had

645 E. g., *Cseppkőbánya* 'dripstone mine' (Tuffier), *Délest* 'afternoon' (Delinyest), *Drágamérés* 'expensive measurement' (Dragomirest), *Góbekiráld* 'Szekler Kingston' (Glombukakrajova), *Gólyaköröm* 'stork's nail' (Gruin), *Németéhesfalu* 'German hungry village' (Németgladna), *Ostrom* 'siege' (Osztrov), *Serénynyugvás* 'busy rest' (Schnellersruhe), *Sumák* 'dorky' (Sumica), *Szélcsend* 'doldrums' (Szelcsova), *Turul* the totemic bird of the Árpáds (Turnul), *Végcél* 'final goal' (Marzsina).

646 MOL BM K156, box 66, 3422–3.

647 On behalf of the National Archives, the chief archivists Gyula Pauler and Gyula Nagy made proposals and comments.

pledged in his exposition of the bill to give chief consideration to the wish of the communes, only rarely were such appeals successful, and only urban settlements were exempt from the start.<sup>648</sup>

The majority of county assemblies played along with the Board, committed as they were to symbolic Magyarisation. Indeed, they were the more eager to get their villages renamed and to more distant names. Experts on the Board were in general critical towards the proposals of county assemblies and district administrators, and the stance of Kolozs and Krassó-Szörény Counties, often no less far-fetched than Umhäuser's, seemed radical even to them. The few of these that got past the Board's resistance were among the most erratic and arbitrary name changes.<sup>649</sup>

Quite the opposite was the attitude of the Saxon-majority assembly of Szeben County, which pulled out all the stops to defend the rights of German and Romanian. Far from being a purely symbolic matter, the mandatory use of the Hungarian names lead to an awkward situation in the former Saxon Land, where the written use of locally dominant languages was still widespread in the local and county administration. The council meetings of Schäßburg in Nagy-Küküllő County, for instance, were minuted in German only when the town leadership protested against the measure in 1900.<sup>650</sup> In 1908, the assembly of Szeben County affirmed that they found completely unacceptable such speculative forms as *Mezős* for *Polyán* and archaisms like *Alcsona* for *Alcina*. As the ideal solution, they would have preferred the continued use of German, Romanian and Hungarian name variants in accordance with the linguistic context. Given that one single name was to be declared official, they demanded as the second-best solution that it should be the German or Romanian endonym.<sup>651</sup> The list of requested names drawn up

648 Kemény, ed., vol. 2, 630. The names *Versec*, *Resica*, *Oravica* and *Orsova* were not Magyarised.

649 E. g., *Alsópozsgás* 'lower ruddy-cheeked' (Románpozsezsena), *Borzasfalva* 'umkempt village' (Botyest), *Kőkaró* 'stone picket' (Kakaró), *Kürtös* 'bugler' (Kurtics, the early modern Kurtafejéregyház), *Parázs* 'embers' (Prezest), *Perlő* 'claimant' (Prebul), *Sisak* 'helmet' (Suska).

650 The mayor of Schäßburg on behalf of the town council, on 22 September 1900; MOL BM K156, box 61, 1068–9.

651 There was no village with Magyar majority in Szeben County.

accordingly allows for two conclusions. First, even when Saxons positioned themselves as friends of linguistic justice, they did not renounce being more equal, and they demanded German names for places where Saxons might have still retained the political upper hand, but where they were a demographic minority. Second, the Romanian names as assembled by the archdiocesan attorney Livius Lemenyi made a quaint concession to Hungarian orthography (and probably to Hungarian print shops) by marking [ts] with the Hungarian digraph <cz> rather than with <ť>.

Although not explicit in the law, the intention that Hungarian names become the exclusive ones was nonetheless clear, what is more, it was already enforced, as the Szeben County assembly sadly had to conclude. In the last resort, they eventually resigned to this, too, but as their minimum demand they insisted that the existing Hungarian names should be maintained untouched, at most agreeing to their disambiguation with prefixes.<sup>652</sup> They were quite right in their assessment of the situation; even the usually restrained National Archives felt it necessary to reject the requested ‘foreign’ (German and Romanian) names and spellings as running counter to ‘the principle of strengthening the nation state’.<sup>653</sup> The political leverage of Transylvanian Saxons, however, was too big not to ensure a relatively gentle treatment for their Hungarian place names. Already in the course of the decision-making process, the Board handled the Hungarian names of Szeben County with kid gloves compared to other counties, and the same applied to other Saxon areas, where local councils requested their endonyms to be declared official; altogether, 113 communes made claims to their German and twelve to their Romanian names. In addition, the Minister of the Interior later also intervened on behalf of Szeben County and undid ten out of the Board’s sixteen name Magyarisations there, with the rest

<sup>652</sup> Mező, *A magyar hivatalos helységnévadás*, 141–3.

<sup>653</sup> MOL BM K156, box 37, 1163.

denoting Romanian villages.<sup>654</sup> By setting higher demands, the politically well-placed Saxons thus achieved that at least their Hungarian names did not suffer modifications.

It is crucial for my analysis in the following to differentiate between Magyarisations and name changes of a technical nature. The latter were overwhelmingly disambiguations by the adding, removal or change of name elements other than the name core, typically of qualifying attributes referring to the relative position or size, the county, historical area or district, the watercourse etc. of a given village. I am not going to consider such changes as instances of Magyarisation, chiefly because this was not the Board's intention with them, but rather the creation of a one-to-one relationship between names and settlements. I acknowledge, however, that adding the prefix *Küküllő-* to a name, for instance, made it look more Hungarian and tougher to pronounce on the receiving side. I also do not classify as Magyarisation the simplification of spelling—which induced the Ministry to sanction the already spreading [-ʃ] pronunciation of the name *Dés/Deés*—and the implementation of the Board's ideas about the 'correct' marking of possessive phrases in Hungarian place names (*Nyegrefalu*→*Nyegrefalva*, but *Rózsapataka*→*Rózsapatak*).<sup>655</sup> Interventions into the sounding of core elements were, on the other hand, always motivated by the purpose of Magyarisation, as is also demonstrated by the Board's own explanations.

**Table 4.7. The number of Magyarised locality names and other locality name changes (disambiguations) by counties<sup>656</sup>**

County	Number of localities	Magyarisations	Other changes
Alsó-Fehér	186	22	28
Arad	218	115	20
Beszterce-Naszód	98	5	16

654 *Árokfalva (Vále)*, *Bodapataka (Szibiel)*, *Húhalom (Vurpód)*, *Nagybenefalva (Bendorf)*, *Oltgalambok (Glimboka)*, *Osztorgály (Szturgár)*, *Paplaka (Poplaka)*, *Porcs (Porcsesd)*, *Szád (Cód)* and *Szászövár (Alcina)*.

655 They believed that names with a first element that was historically a personal name should carry possessive marking, whereas those where it was a common noun should not. The problem here is obviously the criteria upon which to decide whether a form went back to a name or to a common noun.

656 Without the changes invalidated by the Ministry of the Interior and without Fogaras and Hunyad Counties. I also did not consider such cases where the registered names had already figured on the communal seals and changes restricted to the spelling, which did not affect the spoken forms.

	450	10.14754/CEU.2017.10	
Bihar	492	123	89
Brassó	24	0	4
Csík	63	0	20
Háromszék	104	3	14
Kis-Küküllő	118	6	18
Kolozs	234	19	54
Krassó-Szörény	363	235	20
Maros-Torda	205	3	36
Nagy-Küküllő	125	1	14
Szatmár	306	9	57
Szeben	88	6	9
Szilágy	241	4	53
Szolnok-Doboka	319	20 (+27) <sup>657</sup>	59
Temes	225	81 (+21)	34
Torda-Aranyos	140	19	19
Udvarhely	135	0	32
Σ	3,684	671 (719)	596

The above table contrasts the 1898 and 1913 editions of the gazetteer and shows how Magyarised settlement names concentrated in the Banat and in the western stripe of the area. The disparity is huge. Krassó-Szörény and Arad Counties were in the same league with Slovak-speaking Upper Hungary as the regions most heavily affected by the process, which saw the majority of their settlement names Magyarised. At the same time, this proportion was below fifteen per cent in all counties of Transylvania, the lowest in the four Szekler and the four Saxon counties. The scarcity of Magyarisations in the latter area did not proceed merely from the relatively continuous history of its Hungarian place names, but, as I have shown, were also the outcome of political considerations.

The law covered hamlets and manorial centres as well, places too small to form their own local governments. It ruled that the more important ones should be given permanent names, and communes were accorded the competence to decide on these, as well as to take record of the smaller ones and to report all these names to the national gazetteer.

<sup>657</sup> In the case of Szolnok-Doboka and Temes Counties, the figures between parentheses refer to villages renamed before 1898.



One would think that this arrangement gave a place for Romanian endonyms spelt in Hungarian, but in reality, Magyar circle secretaries often Magyarised these minor place names off the cuff. To get some notion of how this worked one can consult the first listing of the toponyms of Szolnok-Doboka County under the law, which contrasts the artificial and the original names.<sup>658</sup> Archival files also show, for example, how the intervention of the circle secretary transformed *Kicsora* (*Chiciora*), on the periphery of Păiușeni, into the pseudo-etymological *Kicsurgópuszta*.<sup>659</sup> To further aggravate matters, local officials were regularly out of their depth when it came to transcribing Romanian forms into Hungarian spelling, and their handwriting often confused the secretary of the Board, leading to such corrupt forms in the 1913 gazetteer as *Plaintelep* (< *Plaiu*) and *Purkaretitelep* (< *Purkareti* < *Purcăreți*), two hamlets belonging to Răchita.<sup>660</sup>

#### **4.5.5. Ethnic Positioning: The Politics of Prefixes**

The only subset of qualifying attributes that merit further attention here are the ones denoting ethnicity: *Magyar-*, *Oláh-*, *Szász-*, *Székely-* and *Román-*. Originally, they always owed their existence to the genuine need of differentiating between two or more administrative entities by the same name (e.g., *Magyarfodorháza* designated the Fodorháza with Magyars, while *Oláhfodorháza* the one with Romanians), although these could merge together over time or one of them could disappear, divesting the ethnic attribute of its disambiguating role. More ominously for contemporary observers, the ethnic make-up of a place could also change, bringing about a discrepancy with reality and turning such ethnic attributes into sites of memory. Predictably, they brought grist to the mill of the submerged Magyarandom myth; on the pen of the ministerial councillor György Szathmári, the

658 By translation (*Ágresel*→*Egrespuszta*, *La Frásziny*→*Juhar*, *Vályabogeci*→*Bogátaivölgy*, *Valea Szolonyi*→*Szalonnáivölgy*) and remotivation (*La Bástya*→*Szamosárok*, *Lazsai*→*Szöllőtanya*, *Lunka*→*Erdőalja*, *Pojánaonci*→*Bezdédmező*, *Szalatrúk*→*Pecsét-szegiút*); *Belügyi Közlöny* 15 (1910): 309–21.

659 MOL BM K156, box 35, 560–1.

660 Both MOL BM K156, box 37, 372.

fact that dozens of villages prefixed with *Magyar-* or *Szász-* were Romanian-speaking in the present justified ‘defensive action’ against the deluge of Romanian arrivals.<sup>661</sup> Another Magyar author claimed that the Saxon ancestry of Magyar peasants from Szászfenyes, Szászlóna and Szászfalu was unmistakable to an ethnographer’s eye.<sup>662</sup> The ethnic attribute was often present in the Romanian names as well or was at any event known to the Romanian dwellers, who might feel obliged to work out a story that could explain its genesis. In 1864, the prefix still sustained collective memory about the former Saxon inhabitants and their destruction by the Tatars in Szászernye and Száspéntek, while Pesty’s informant from Szászencs explained the name of his village by its proximity to Saxon settlements.<sup>663</sup>

A few communities hoped to get rid of the dissonant ethnic attribute and thus to adjust their place name to their identity. In 1889 and 1890, the Magyar Oláhfenyes and the Romanian–Magyar Szászkerked requested name change and became *Magyarfenyes* and *Mezőkerked*, respectively. During negotiations with the Communal Registry Board, further three Romanian, one Romanian–Magyar and one Magyar–Romanian villages wished to have the prefix *Szász-* erased from their names,<sup>664</sup> but another seventeen villages without Saxon populations indicated no desire to do so. From among the twenty-one villages with Romanian majorities whose names contained the prefix *Magyar-*, only the council of Magyarbaksa took the opportunity to ask the Board for its removal, by the casting vote of the mayor. Their request probably did not stand a chance, and not only because they could think of no better alternative than *Felső-* ‘upper’, a prefix that would not have contrasted the place name, but also because the Magyar gentry absent at the

661 György Szathmáry, *Nemzeti állam és népoktatás* [National state and primary education] (Budapest: Lampel, 1892), 103–7.

662 Zakariás Vizoly, ‘Adatok Erdély néhány helységnevének magyarázatához’ [Contributions to the origin of a few place names of Transylvania], *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny* 6 (1882): 16.

663 Mayor Ioanne Thodoran and village secretary Ioanne Roman; OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel no. 37; village secretary Károly Keresztesi; *ibid.*, reel no. 30 and village secretary Dimitrie Merkan (?); *ibid.*, reel no. 18.

664 Szászakna, Szászbanyica, Száspéntek, Százkisalmás and Szászlóna. As against the way they figured in the 1892 Hungarian gazetteer; József Jekelfalussy, ed., *A magyar korona országainak helységnévtára* [Gazetteer of the countries of the Hungarian crown] (Budapest: Országos M. Kir. Statisztikai Hivatal, 1892).

meeting later appealed the resolution. At the same time, the leaderships of the purely Romanian Magyarbogáta and of Romanian–Magyar Magyarlégen disapproved—in vain—of the plan to replace the prefix.

When removing an ethnic attribute from a name, the Board liked to point out that ethnic attributes were in general to be avoided, but it does not look like they ever seriously implemented this principle for its own sake. Neither did they follow one consistent course of action when tagging and untagging ethnic attributes, but rather drifted between different strategies of putting their symbolic resources to use. They broadened the range of disambiguations from the locally relevant context to the entire political territory and, as usual, they made short shrift of the disapprovals of communes. Their disregard for local preferences can be illustrated with the fact that the name *Magyarmedvés* was allocated to the commune that appealed against it instead of the one that requested it.<sup>665</sup>

By a narrow margin, the changes were more often than not consistent with the local ethnic majorities, validating a simple representative function for the ethnic attribute. This tendency prevailed in the handling of *Szász-* and, to a lesser degree, of *Magyar-*. Only two out of the seventeen villages that lost *Szász-* from their names and seven out of the nine that received it had Saxon majorities, while ten or eleven out of the fifteen whose names were prefixed with *Magyar-* were largely Hungarian-speaking and five out of the seven that lost this prefix were not.

While the reversion of *-magyaros* (‘rich in Magyars’) to its etymological and less dialectal form *-magyarós* (‘rich in hazelnuts’) slightly diminished apparent references to Magyars, several name changes and explanations testify that the distant ideal of a Hungarian-speaking Hungary easily overrode the criterion of accuracy to the ethnic realities in the doling out of prefixes. Several villages were barred from taking on new ethnic attributes or were deprived of existing ones with the dubious explanation that Magyars also

665 Medves (Temes County) received it, whilst Medvés (Alsó-Fehér County) became *Nagymedvés*.

lived in them, even if the registered native Hungarian contingent numbered no more than thirty-nine out of 353, as in Oláhhidegkút in 1900. On the other hand, the Board saw no problem in allocating the prefix *Magyar-* to villages with Romanian ethnic majorities; ‘with the purpose of documenting the welcome Magyarisation’ (to Szentbenedek) or resurrecting historical forms, as it happened to Nagycserged and Opatica, two villages almost entirely without Magyar residents. On the top of that, the new name of the latter was restored on the basis of a 1337 document that also mentioned *Tothapacha* (‘Slavic Apacha’) alongside *Magyarapacha*.

The Board took an utterly different and more consistent line with *Oláh-*, where it seems that their main objective was to thin out Romanian presence on the map. They removed it from far more, thirty-two names, which amounted to a much higher proportion, almost half of all names that had it, and all but three of these villages were overwhelmingly Romanian-speaking. Kolozs County successfully intervened to have it removed from seven of its locality names. Moreover, several *Magyar-* and *Szász-* standing in opposition with *Oláh-* were erased as a collateral effect of this thinning and the names were jointly given new pairs of qualifying attributes. More significantly, the Board did not add *Oláh-* to any name, despite the National Archives’ and Alajos Kovács’s support for its use. This also ran counter to the earlier practice of the Ministry of the Interior, which had in 1886 refused the request of Oláhszentgyörgy to get the prefix replaced and which had still decided in 1894 that *Oláhtoplica* was a more suitable new name for Toplica than *Maroshévíz*, the county’s candidate.<sup>666</sup>

The elimination of the ethnic attribute *Román-* from all nine place names that had it constitutes a question apart, bearing on the politics of group labels. The Romanian self-ethnonym had always been *rumân*, but Hungarian had practically no synonym for *oláh*

<sup>666</sup> ANR Bistrița, Fond Prefectura județului Năsăud 8/1886, 20 and Károly Czirják, *Taplócától Maroshévizig, avagy Maroshéviz monográfiája* [From ‘Tapolcza’ to ‘Maroshéviz’, or a monograph of Toplița/Maroshéviz] (Maroshéviz: self-published, 2010), 20.

and German for *Wallach/wallachisch* up to 1848, when young Romanian nationalists, relying on broad popular support, made a formal claim to be called by equivalents of the Latinist Romanian *romanu*, in a bid to assert their Latin ancestry and the prestige derived from it. The Magyar elite fell into line for the moment and began to give preference in writing to the new ethnonym *román* over *oláh*, until the latter made a slow comeback after the Compromise, in the measure as Magyars grew more confident of their power. While official documents from the era normally spoke of *román*, all census publications contained *oláh* for both the language and the ethnicity. The two words were used interchangeably, but with a synonym already present, *oláh* lent itself easily to pejoration and even to alternative uses. Most notably, some voices wished to ascribe different meanings to the two words, reserving *román* for citizens of Romania and *oláh* for Romanians in Hungary.

In the Banat and a few other places, the revolutionary fervour of 1848 prompted local clerks to replace the ethnonym in the Hungarian and German place names, transforming, for instance, *Oláh Szent Mihály* into *Román Szent Mihály* and *Oláh Bentsek* into *Román Bentsek*.<sup>667</sup> Some of these changes were undone in the first decades of the Dualism, but the remaining place names with *Román*- were still a thorn in the side of those who balked at the word itself because of its connection with Romania and who found that its use was ‘inadmissible’ in Hungary, like the Lugoj high-school teacher and external advisor for the Board Tihamér Turchányi.<sup>668</sup> Against his reasoning, the leadership of Románbogsán was right to point out that the laws of the country knew only *román* and not *oláh*. In fact, the Board itself used the former more often, which was certainly Sándor Márki’s preferred term. The delegate of the Ministry of Defence even recommended adding it to a name with the aim of disambiguation, what is more.<sup>669</sup> It does not seem that

<sup>667</sup> OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel no. 61, at Románbentsek and Románszentmihály; *ibid.*, reel 35, at Románoravica and Románszászka; *ibid.*, reel 36, at Románkecel and *ibid.*, reel 63, at Romántelek.

<sup>668</sup> Mező, *A magyar hivatalos helységnévtár*, 324.

<sup>669</sup> To Tés.

the Board concurred with Turchányi's verdict; they rather asserted their antiquarian principle when choosing to remove *Román-*. Whatever other uses this relatively recent ethnonym may have had, it had no place in a national toponymy cleansed so as to symbolically reflect a distant past. But then, the Board also communicated Turchányi's peremptory lines with *Románbogsán* and lectured *Románszentmihály* that *oláh* had a more widespread use than *román*. The speciousness of this argumentation becomes crystal clear if I add that in none of these cases were the pre-1848 names complete with *Oláh-* restored, but new forms were introduced in their place.

In general, Romanian local councils would have preferred *Román-* over *Oláh-*; six of them appealed in favour of the former, but none for the latter.<sup>670</sup> At the same time, it is far from certain that their majority harboured any dislike for *Oláh-*. In Sângeorgiu Român in the former 2<sup>nd</sup> Năsăud Wallachian Border Guard Regiment, where a mass rally had demanded the replacement of the old ethnonym in 1848, they certainly did. In the 1880s, as the prefect Dezső Bánffy introduced Hungarian into the written administration of Beszterce-Naszód County across the board, local leaders were painfully reminded that their village bore the Hungarian name *Oláhszentgyörgy* and reacted by requesting the Budapest government to change this to the neutral *Naszódszentgyörgy*.<sup>671</sup> Other areas, where Hungarian names had been in uninterrupted use, might feel otherwise. During the turn-of-the-century 'regulation', just three local councils wanted to see their names being stripped of this ethnic attribute, as opposed to nine that protested against its removal.<sup>672</sup> Instead of rushing into conclusions, however, one should also consider that local govern-

670 Oláhivánfalva, Barakony (Alsóbarakony), Kustély (Mélykastély), Ópécska, Szászpéntek and Újszadova. The argument of Oláhivánfalva reads as follows: 'the word *oláh* is long outdated, the civilised world does not use it'.

671 ANR Bistrița, Fond Prefectura județului Năsăud 8/1886, 20. On the language question in Beszterce-Naszód County under Bánffy, Adrian Onofreiu, 'Contribuții documentare privind istoria comitatului Bistrița-Năsăud: 1876–1899' [Documentary contributions regarding the history of Beszterce-Naszód County, 1876–99], *Arhiva Someșană*, 3rd series, 5 (2006): 289–348.

672 Oláhgyéres, Oláhnyíres and Oláhszilvás (Mikószilvás) vs. Oláhandrásfalva, Oláhhidegkút, Oláhhodos (Béltekhodos), Oláhhorvát, Oláhkakucs, Oláhmeddes, Oláhnádas (Görgénynádas), Oláhnádasd and Oláhújfalú (Szamosújfalú).

ments had various other reasons to keep their Hungarian names unchanged, as described below.<sup>673</sup>

#### **4.5.6. Between Reviving the Past and Adapting to the Twentieth Century**

<sup>673</sup>Regarding János Corbucz, Romanian Gr. Cath. priest of Cseika, since there is no such commune on the territory of my county, I can form no opinion.<sup>674</sup>

While one of the recurrent lines about the process, also harped on at the reading of the bill by its rapporteur, Pál Ruffy, was that it only restored lost historical forms, this strictly happened in a mere 231 out of the 671 cases, or in thirty-five per cent of Magyarisations.<sup>675</sup> I do not include here forms tweaked in order to disambiguate them, misreadings, data taken from forgeries and purely made-up data. Once their task was framed as establishing the historical forms, not only lay board members found speculation as good a method as any to achieve this goal, but expert historians, too, made baseless claims about the original names.

The way the Hungarian press liked to interpret the renamings, that villages got back their old names, was true for an even smaller fraction than this one third. From the factors responsible for the difference, the uncertainties of localising medieval villages were most relevant to the Banat, where the matching of modern and medieval names sometimes rested more on their distant consonance than on topography, and in a few cases it was highly unlikely that the revived name could originally designate the village on which they imposed it, still, the experts hailing from the Banat (Szentkláray, Turchányi, Ortway and Miklós Lendvai) were in unison that the benefits of salvaging an historic name trumped any concern.<sup>676</sup> It is also often subject to debate just how relevant a resurrected form was in historical terms. A well-circumscribed set of linguistically Hungarian

<sup>673</sup> On the consistent removal of ethnic slurs from place names in the United States, see Mark Monmonier, *From Squaw Tit to Whorehouse Meadow: How Maps Name, Claim, and Inflamm* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006).

<sup>674</sup> László Beöthy, the prefect of Bihar County, to the Minister of Worship and Public Instruction on 26 September 1897; Popovici et al., eds, 454. The village in question is Ceica/Magyarcséke in Bihar County.

<sup>675</sup> Kemény, ed., vol. 2, 632.

<sup>676</sup> For the latter type, *Dunaorbágy (Jeselnica)*, *Kengyeltó (Rafnik)*, *Krassócsér (Ceroava)*, *Vizes (Vodnik)*.

late medieval names were clearly exonyms already back then and co-existed with Romanian endonyms.<sup>677</sup> Further, medieval mentions of a place could display great variation, and the Board's preference predictably went to forms featuring vowel harmony and otherwise more in accordance with their linguistic image of Hungarian, at times to the detriment of more frequent ones. Finally, it seems that the non-philologists on the Board were forgetful not only of the historical changes in the way Hungarian was spoken, but also of the changes in the way it was written, which gives an explanation for their verbatim adoption of the medieval spelling *Kisgye* as the new Hungarian name for Kizdia.

As was also the case with the official first-name regime, proponents of the law sought to bolster it with practical arguments. The fact that the same place could be called differently in various domains was also quoted to cause confusions, but the main problem that allegedly warranted intervention was the existence of multiple homonymies and near-homonymies (paronymies).<sup>678</sup> It is often quite impossible to identify a village which goes by two or three names, thus a leader in *Erdély*, and letters get tossed around between similarly named villages.<sup>679</sup> I will on the following pages try to make sense of complete disambiguation between locality names as the professed aim of the process. At the same time, I argue that it clearly could not justify the remaking of the toponymy in the way it happened, but I also acknowledge that law makers and the experts on the Board in general attached genuine expectations to its salutary effects, even if some politicians brandished this argument with dishonesty. Along the way, I will focus on a specific set of names where concerns of disambiguation met with reliance on archival data.

True, a few communes complained before or during the process that they had experienced difficulties with the mail because of their names. The leadership of Romanian Sik-

<sup>677</sup> I have in mind the type cavalierly called 'parallel place naming' in Hungarian scholarship, where Romanian names were derived from Byzantine-Slavic personal names with the suffix *-esti* and their Hungarian counterparts with *-falva*.

<sup>678</sup> László Buday, 'Magyarország községneveinek törzskönyvezése' [The registering of the locality names of Hungary], *Földrajzi Közlemények* 34 (1906): 224–5 and the Ministry of the Interior's explanatory note on the bill, in Kemény, ed., vol. 2, 629–31.

<sup>679</sup> Zsigmond Farkasházy, 'Magyarország község neveinek helyesbítése' [The correction of Hungary's locality names], *Erdély* 5 (1896): 97.



ló already mentioned in 1866 to Pesty that their mail often ended up in the town of Siklós in Western Hungary, but they added that those addressed in Romanian never missed their destination.<sup>680</sup> Mákó was reportedly mistaken for Makó, Entrádám for Amsterdam, and together with Romanian Bajj and Pusztaszentmiklós, Romanian–Magyar Világos, Swabian Hidegkút and Magyar Köszvényesremete and Nagyfalu, they asked the Board for new names or attributes, although the latter two not without a hidden agenda.<sup>681</sup> But far more villages objected to the disambiguation of their names.<sup>682</sup> The leaders of Csicsér (Arad) and Domoszló (Szilágy) rebuffed the allegation that the similarity of names with Csicsér in Ung County and with another Domoszló in Heves caused them any trouble, while the local governments of two Romanian villages in Bihar and Szolnok-Doboka Counties and of a Serbian one in Temes touched upon the crux of the matter when arguing, as the Board member Sándor Márki also did in the case of a Szekler village, that adding the name of the county to the address could effectively prevent misdelivery.<sup>683</sup>

The name of the county and the nearest post office if there was none locally formed part and parcel of a full address. If a lot of mails were returned back due to incomplete address, that could have been remedied more easily by reinforcing this routine—part of the higher elementary curriculum even if most children were taken out of school by the age of ten—rather than by teaching people completely new Hungarian names. Even after 1918, a letter addressed to ‘Bánya’—an ambiguous place name for all its apparent uniqueness—was delivered to its destination in Bănia in the Banat after several zigzags, but not until the sender added ‘Krassó-Szörény County’ to the address.<sup>684</sup> It was not by

680 Assistant village secretary Tudor Surdu, mayor Mihutiu and elders Gyorgye Murgu, Iuon Mandru and Vasile Ventila, 1866; OSzK Manuscript Collection FM1 3814/A, reel no. 2.

681 Mező, *A magyar hivatalos helységnévtáras*, 121. *Köszvényes* means ‘gout-stricken’, and Nagyfalu already had *Szilágy-Nagyfalu* written on its seal.

682 E.g., Fegyvernek (Almásfegyvernek), Felek (Erdőfelek), Fenes (Várasfenes), Kápolna (Csicsókápolna), Kiscserged (Bolgárcserged), Kistótfalu (Felsőtótfalu), Kövesd (Ágotakövesd), Krassó (Szamoskrassó), Nagykapus (Magyarkapus), Ponor (Nagyponor), Solymos (Solymosvár), Szamosújlak (Szilágyújlak), Székás (Krassószékás), Szentersébet (Székelyszenterzsébet), Tótfalu (Kolozstótfalu), Töketeribes (Krasznateribes), Újlak (Temesújlak), Vermes (Krassóvermes), Viszág (Krassóviszák) and Zsadány (Mezőzsadány).

683 On Csicsér, MOL BM K156, box 35, 36. Cf. Karl Schmidt’s speech in the House of Commons on 10 December 1897, in *Képviseleti napló* 1896, vol. 10, 286.

684 László Bányai, *Kitárul a világ: önéletrajzi jegyzetek* [The world unfolds itself: autobiographical notes] (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1978), 104.

accident that the creators of the process did not cite European examples on this point; homonymy between locality names occurred everywhere, and in modern channels of communication, it was normally resolved by specifying the jurisdiction in the address.

The need for disambiguation also did not warrant the process of Magyarisation because the majority of Magyarised names did not disambiguate between homonymous places. I have pointed out, however, that the Board was conscientiously making good on the promise of disambiguation by annexing, removing and substituting name elements. In addition, they used a complementary, hidden strategy as well in the service of the same goal. Given that homonymy had been even more rampant between the historic name variants unearthed from the archives, they got stuck with a surplus of ‘good Hungarian’ forms that could not be implemented without further change.<sup>685</sup> Since they dismissed the corresponding modern, ‘distorted’ names as ‘no-goers’ from the very start, they chose to add these historical forms to the pool of raw material and went on to disambiguate them, too, in relation to one another and to homonymous contemporary places, with methods that went beyond prefixing with qualifying attributes. Thus *Dragomerfalwa*, recorded from 1419, was truncated to its personal name element due to its coinciding with another, larger village by the same modern name, and the resulting form, *Dragomér*, was chosen for the Romanian village Dragomirest. Conversely, the earliest recorded name of Perkoszova in the Banat, *Berkesz* (spelt *Berkez*, 1353), was already ‘taken’, therefore the Board appended the element *-falu* (‘village’) to it. They made so common use of this strategy that with such tweaked forms included, the share of Magyarised names based on archival data rises to almost half of all Magyarisations.

One can easily write off such bricolage as cynical massaging of the historical facts, which casts doubt on Board members’ seriousness about their revered national past, or it

<sup>685</sup> See Valéria Tóth, *Településnevek változástipológiája* [Typology of locality name changes] (Debrecen: Magyar Névarchívum, 2008), 13.

can be argued that they tried to get the most out of the historical record within the limits that the law imposed upon them. When all is said and done, however, it remains to be emphasised that the disambiguation of names had another ideological basis to it beyond a modernising quest for precision. When a settlement name from the area was modified in order to eliminate its homonymy with or to distance it from another settlement name from Western and Upper Hungary, that not only eased the operation of the postal service, but it also underlined the relevance of political Hungary as a home for their inhabitants. Wittingly or not, by implementing the Kingdom of Hungary as their framework for disambiguations (an almost, but not entirely absolute one, for they also disambiguated *Krakkó* in Alsó-Fehér County on account of its coincidence with the Hungarian name of Cracow), the Board planted one more indirect message that reinforced their overall symbolic geographical thrust. For example, adding the prefix *Kis-* ‘little’ to the—untouched or Magyarised—names of their home places related the Romanians of Baja, Bikis, Kalocsa, Magulicsa, Kisszredistye and Glogovéc and the Saxons and Roma of Zsolna to some of their compatriots whom they may not have heard about and with whom they shared no common ties other than their citizenship: the Magyars and Šokci of Baja, the Magyars of Békés, Kalocsa and Maglód, the Slovaks and Magyars of Szered and the Slovaks and Jews of Galgóc and Zsolna (Sered’, Hlohovec and Žilina in today’s Slovakia).

#### **4.5.7. Fabricated Names**

‘Wherever there is an ambitious principle set in motion for name-inventing,  
there it is sure to terminate in something monstrous and fanciful.’  
Thomas De Quincey<sup>686</sup>

In its correspondence with communes, the Board took a confidently narcissistic tone, pontificating about the intrinsic worth of their names from the perspective of an ideal upper-class native Hungarian-speaker and reviling them for being disharmonious (e.g., *Klo-*

686 ‘Educated Women the Depositories of Good Style’, in *Essays on Style, Rhetoric, and Language*, 12 (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1893).

*kotics*, *Kuptoreszekul*, *Oprakercisora*, the suffix *-est*<sup>687</sup>), hard to pronounce (e.g., *Cermura*, *Dsoszán-Gurbest*, *Földra* or *Sztrigy*, the Hungarian name of the Strei River!), foreign-sounding, meaningless (e.g., *Kornicel*, which they understood enough to Magyarise it as *Báródsomos*), too long, monotonous, secondary, distorted or historically unjustified. Claiming to speak in the name of the Hungarian-speaking majority, they denounced endonyms as particularistic, and projected the Hungarian exonyms as the real endonyms, allegedly known to most people. Local Saxon councillors who wished to protect their use of the German names received the boilerplate response that ‘too few people knew’ them, and sometimes that ‘a name used by the minority cannot take the place of the historic name known to everyone’, while villages along the Bega/Begej River were notified that the ‘nationwide known name’ of the river was *Béga*,<sup>688</sup> a fair enough statement compared to the previous ones considering that educated non-locals may have indeed heard about this river, which was hardly the case with an average Transylvanian Saxon village. To spell out the logic latent in such arguments, positing the entire Hungarian citizenry as collective beneficiaries of the outcome allowed an authorised, national body like the Board to ignore the voice of local communities in what affected them in the first place, with the stricture, and here comes into play the collapsible character of the multilingual Hungarian nation as a constitutional fiction, that non-Magyars were not to be reckoned with at all, thanks to the otherwise paper-thin majority held by native or dominant Hungarian-speakers.

A more original device that the Board implemented in its communication with local governments was writing them as if the locality at issue had possessed no name at present and had been just about to receive one, and referring to its current name as the one ‘requested’. Unless the size or prominence of the settlement called for restraint, the

687 MOL BM K156, box 37, 1027.

688 Mező, *Adatok*, 329.

Board paid no regard to continuity or the inconveniences of change and gave no preference to the existing names.

In very general lines, the National Archives tended to refute Board members' gratuitous claims about the original, historic names,<sup>689</sup> but its mandate did not extend to criticise forms suggested simply for being aesthetically pleasing, Hungarian-sounding or even for being easy to pronounce and to recall, and the majority of new names were just such fabrications on the basis of the existing names rather than forms grounded in archival data. They were created by diverse methods, most of them productive in spontaneous naming as well. Contemporaries often applauded the Magyarisation of place names as the creation of meaningful forms in Hungarian, and roughly three quarters of these creative re-namings in fact yielded such forms. The laymen on the Board and lay contributors in general preferred transparent Hungarian names, and they were perhaps baffled to find out that many of the resurrected historic names did not belong to this type.

Most, 127 name changes can be broadly classified as translations and half-translations; semantic adaptations of one or more meaningful elements of the Romanian, Slavic or German originals or renderings of their structural patterns.<sup>690</sup> Some recurrent Romanian elements were translated uniformly; all villages called *Ohába* became *Szabadi* or *Szabadja* in Hungarian, all *Pojána Mező* and all *Lázur Irtás*. As far as Romanian is concerned, the numerous mistakes can be blamed on the lack of either an appropriate dictionary or a specialist on the Board after László Réthy left in an early stage.<sup>691</sup> They

689 In at least two cases however, it also happened that the Board's final decision gave its own concoctions the undeserved epithet 'historic': *Beletháza* (Belotinc) and *Karácscfalva* (Kráncsesd), in Mező, *Adatok*, 46 and 207.

690 *Albák*→*Fehérvölgy* (Rom. *alb* and Hun. *fehér* 'white'), *Cermura*→*Martfalva* (Rom. *farm* and Hun. *mart* 'riverbank'), *Charlottenburg*→*Saroltavár*, *Dulceale*→*Édeslak* (Rom. *dulce* and Hun. *édes* 'sweet'), *Eibenthal*→*Tiszafu*, *Karbunár*→*Biharszenes* (Rom. *cărbunar* and Hun. *szenes* 'coalman'), *Kelecel*→*Kiskalota* (*Călata/Kalota* hydronym), *Kimp*→*Vaskohmező* (Rom. *câmp* and Hun. *mező* 'field'), *Engelsbrunn*→*Angyalkút*, *Kohldorf*→*Szenesfalu*, *Mundra*→*Széptelek* (Rom. *mândră* and Hun. *szép* 'beautiful'), *Nyágra*→*Kisfeketefalu* (Rom. *neagră* and Hun. *fekete* 'black'), *Oresác*→*Homokdiód* (Serbian *orah* and Hun. *dió* 'walnut'), *Osztrov*→*Marosziget* (Rom. *ostrov* and Hun. *sziget* 'isle'), *Padurány*→*Maroserdőd* (Rom. *pădure* and Hun. *erdő* 'forest'), *Perul*→*Bégakörtés* (Rom. *păr* 'pear tree', Hun. *körte* 'pear'), *Plugova*→*Ekés* (Rom. *plug* and Hun. *eke* 'plough'), *Păltineasa*→*Jávornálgy* (Rom. *paltin* and Hun. *jávornál* 'maple'), *Rebenberg*→*Szöllőshegy*, *Remetelunga*→*Hosszúremete* (Rom. *lună* and Hun. *hosszú* 'long'), *Szatumik*→*Lugoskiskalota* (Rom. *satu mic* and Hun. *kis falu* 'little village'), *Szpin*→*Kistővis* (Rom. *spin* and Hun. *tővis* 'thorn'), *Tarkaica*→*Tárkányka* (*Tárkány/Tárcaica* toponym + diminutive suffix), *Tergovest*→*Vásáros* (Rom. *târg* and Hun. *vásár* 'fair'), *Vojvodinc*→*Vajdarak* (Serbian *vojvoda*/Rom. *voievod* and Hun. *vajda* 'voivod'), *Vracsevgáj*→*Várászliget* (Serbian *vrač* 'sorcerer', Hun. *varázs* 'magic'), *Weitzenried*→*Szörénybuzás*, *Wolfsberg*→*Szörényjorda* etc.

691 They used Ion Gheție's bilingual dictionary.

translated, e.g., *Stej* as *Vaskohsziklás* (Hun. *sziklás* ‘endowed with cliffs’, cf. Rom. *stel* ‘pointed cliff’, but this could not be the etymon, rather Rom. *șchei* ‘Slavs’) or *Zgribeșt* as *Krassógombás* (Hun. *gombás* ‘rich in mushrooms’, the original in fact derived from the personal name *Zgrib* or *Zgriba*).<sup>692</sup> The Board had all the right to feel insecure about its translations from Romanian, and when the leadership of Szupláai countered that the second element of their name did not hide the word *ploaie* ‘rain’, but the equivocal *plai*, the Board complied and gave up on translating it.<sup>693</sup>

Another popular method that produced meaningful, if all too often unlikely, Hungarian names was what I earlier called pseudo-etymology, but phono-semantic matching is a more accepted term (seventy-eight cases). It consisted in tweaking the original forms just enough to make some sense in Hungarian; e.g., *Burda*→*Borda* (‘rib’).<sup>694</sup> Similar to this was the change *Acsuca*→*Ácsfalva*, the district administrator’s idea, who made up as a reason that the village was home to many carpenters (Hun. *ács* ‘carpenter’).<sup>695</sup> Had he been right about the fictional carpenters of Aciuța, this would more exactly constitute a case of semantic remotivation, basically the taking of a completely new name from some aspect of reality, like the proximity of the settlement to a geographical object,<sup>696</sup> to an historical monument<sup>697</sup> or from some other local characteristic<sup>698</sup> (twenty-eight cases).

692 Remus Crețan and Vasile Frățilă, *Dicționar geografico-istoric și toponimic al județului Timiș* [Geographical-historical and toponymic dictionary of Timiș County] (Timișoara: Editura Universității de Vest, 2007) and Camillo Reuter, ‘Zgribești (Krassógombás)’, *Magyar Nyelv* 111 (1987): 115–16. Curiously, Jenő Szentkláray also pointed out this etymology to the Board.

693 The two primary meanings of the term are mountain path and the grassland zone of a mountain.

694 *Brezonfalva* (after the chief executive of the Austrian Railway Company George Bresson)→*Bársonyfalva* (‘velvet village’), *Brostyán* (< Rom. *Broșteni* < Rom. *broască* ‘frog’)→*Krassóborostyán* (*borostyán* ‘amber’), *Cseszora* (*Ceișoara*, perhaps < Rom. *teișor* ‘little lime tree’; Lajos Kiss, ‘Helynévmagyarázatok’ [Toponymic etymologies], *Magyar Nyelv* 102 (2006): 498)→*Cseszvára* (‘Csesz’s castle’), *Fonáca* (< Rom. *fânațe* ‘hay fields’)→*Fonófalva* (‘spinning village’), *Gáttája*→*Gátalja* (‘foot of the dam’) *Labasinc*→*Lábas* (‘sauce-pot’), *Nadalbest*→*Nádalmás* (*nád* ‘reed’ + *almás* ‘rich in apples’), *Ópaulis* (medieval Pálulése)→*Ópálos* (‘old Pauline monk’), *Sászavinc* (two settlement units, *šasa* from Rom. *șeasă* ‘plain’ + *Vința*)→*Szászavinc* (szász ‘Saxon’), *Spatta*→*Bégapata* (*pata* ‘hoof’), *Vaszoja*→*Vészalja* (‘the bottom of disaster’) etc.

695 The home industry of the area has been described in detail, and there is no mention of carpenters in Aciuța at the turn of the century; Nicolae Dunăre, ‘Sate din Zărand specializate în meșteșuguri țărănești’ [Villages engaged in home industry in Zărand], *Sargetia* 3 (1956): 117–71 and Gyula Kovács, ‘A háziipar törzskönyve’ [The registry of home industry], in *Magyarország közgazdasági és közművelődési állapota ezredéves fennállásakor és az 1896. évi ezredéves kiállítás eredménye* [The economic and cultural state of Hungary at the thousandth year of its existence and the result of the millennial exposition of 1896], ed. Sándor Matlekovits, vol. 8, *Ipar, Kereskedés, Közlekedés* [Industry, Commerce, Transport], 311–80 (Budapest: Pesti Könyvnyomda, 1898).

696 Between parentheses stand the objects referred to: *Bucsa*→*Királyhágó* (the eponymous mountain pass), *Grappa*→*Haragosalja* (the Haragos Hill), *Luska*→*Szamospart* (the Szamos River), *Magura*→*Szamosfő* (the source of the Szamos River), *Szupláai*→*Ciblesfalva* (the Cibles Hill), *Valeadoszuluj*→*Nagyompoly* (the Ompoly River).

697 *Kelmák*→*Maroseperjes* (the ruins of Eperjes monastery), *Koronini*→*Lászlóvár* (ruins of the eponymous castle).

698 *Szelnice*→*Erdőszállás* (forests, cf. Hun. *erdő* ‘forest’), *Szulya*→*Szigetfalu* (on an isle, cf. Hun. *sziget* ‘isle’), *Szolsica*→*Temeszölös* (viticulture, cf. Hun. *szőlő* ‘grapes’), *Trimpoel*→*Kénésd* (pyrite mine, cf. Hun. *kén* ‘sulfur’).

The group of new names that were neither meaningful nor based on archival data present special interest because of what they reveal about the euphony of Hungarian place names as it existed in the minds of the academic members and advisors who suggested them. Five operations were implemented to the forms felt unduly foreign and lacking a better alternative in the historical record, in order to turn them more ‘Hungarian-sounding’. Two of these were carried out on such names without exception and therefore can be described as rules, while the other three rather as strong tendencies. The ‘foreign sounding’ of the earlier names borrowed from Romanian and Slavic rarely implied a violation of even soft phonological constraints of Hungarian, a small wonder given that they had undergone more or less phonological adaptation. In various ways, each one of these interventions overapplied some phonological trait of the core Hungarian onomasticon, and the curious fact that they were not implemented on settlements with Magyar communities or with an accepted historical significance puts in relief the overdrawn fear of linguistic contamination that was partly responsible for them. In this way, it was sometimes the non-Magyar population of the place rather than the actual form that marked out a name as ‘foreign’, which also made Romanian villages more exposed to change than Magyar ones, even beyond what their names accounted for.

Rule no. 1. Simplification of name-initial consonant clusters.<sup>699</sup> This had historically been a strong tendency in Hungarian, but it had ceased to be active in new loanwords by the turn of the century.<sup>700</sup> If the core of the native onomasticon by and large still abided by it, that was mostly because place names are by their nature more conservative than living language. At least for an educated person, discerning foreignness in an initial consonant cluster was also a question of settings and frame of mind. The one in *Vládháza*, for example, is about as unusual as it can get in Hungarian, nevertheless Hugó Maszák

699 *Bréd*→*Beréd*, *Brestye*→*Berestye*, *Brezest*→*Berzesd*, *Brusztureszk*→*Borosztok*, *Drinova*→*Derenyő*, (*Német*-, *Román*-)*Gladna*→*Galadna*, *Globureu*→*Golbor*, *Greovác*→*Gerőc*, *Grós*→*Halmágygórós*, *Gross*→*Garassa*, *Kráncsesd*→*Karácscfalva*, *Kreszulya*→*Kereszély*, *Kröcsma*→*Korcsóna*, *Priszián*→*Perestyén*, *Szlagna*→*Szalakna*, *Trányis*→*Tarányos*, *Trojás*→*Torjás* etc.

700 Péter Siptár and Miklós Törkenczy, *The Phonology of Hungarian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000; 2007), 99.

referred to the name in 1859 as visibly Hungarian and allegedly revealing the Magyar origins of the place.<sup>701</sup> /br-/ and /kr-/ would strike nobody as foreign in the familiar names *Brassó* and *Krassó*, but Board members became alert to foreign influences when they turned to the names of difficult counties, and they did not spare these word-initial clusters in the names of Romanian or South Slavic villages.<sup>702</sup>

Rule no. 2. Elimination of vowel clusters and glides.<sup>703</sup> Standard Hungarian was supposed to lack glides, and the vowel clusters in *Greovác*, *Szkeus*, and *Trimpoel* could genuinely be felt alien.<sup>704</sup>

Tendency no. 1. Dogmatic enforcement of Hungarian vowel harmony. Hungarian is famous for its agreement of vowels in backness. However, the concept of Hungarian vowel harmony as implemented by the Board in its decisions reflected the contemporary, unqualified description of the phenomenon as more sweeping than is really the case.<sup>705</sup> Namely, the front unrounded vowels {e, é, i, í} in fact behave neutrally in this respect and can mix with the back vowels {a, á, o, ó, u, ú} in the same stem.<sup>706</sup> If a few settlement names (*Börza*, *Kröcsma*, *Mörul*) actually violated Hungarian vowel harmony, the majority that the Board corrected were just forms combining front unrounded and back vowels.<sup>707</sup> Such place names had always been widespread in Hungarian, to such an extent that the first document containing Hungarian toponyms, the foundation charter of the Tihany ('tichon') Abbey from 1055, is already flush with them.<sup>708</sup> The experts on the Board thus had a blind spot not only for the historical data contradicting the theory, but also for

701 *Ibid.*, 98–9 and Hugó Maszák, 'A toroczkoí völgy: Erdélyben' [The Torockó Valley: in Transylvania], *Vasárnapi Újság* 6 (1859): 327. Of course the name is a Hungarian possessive phrase, but the first element is plainly not Hungarian.

702 Other such names that the Board did not think about modifying include *Drág*, *Kraszna*, *Krizba*, *Prázsmár* and *Sztána*.

703 *Gaura*→*Kővágara*, *Gruin*→*Grúny*, *Nyimoed*→*Nyimesd*, *Rieny*→*Rény*, *Valeadény*→*Váldény* etc.

704 Siptár and Törkenczy, 124–5.

705 Zsigmond Simonyi and József Balassa, *Tüzetes magyar nyelvtan történeti alapon* [Comprehensive Hungarian grammar on historical grounds], vol. 1, *Magyar hangtan és alaktan* [Hungarian phonology and morphology], 36–8 (Budapest: M. Tud. Akadémia, 1895).

706 Siptár and Törkenczy, 63.

707 *Bazest*→*Bázosd*, *Belotinc*→*Beletháza*, *Dekányesd*→*Dékányos*, *Dobrest*→*Bihardobrosd*, *Dobrocsina*→*Döböröcsény*, *Dubest*→*Dobosd*, *Dubricsony*→*Doborcsány*, *Gális*→*Szebengálos*, *Gyirok*→*Gyüreg*, *Kakacsény*→*Kakucsány*, *Kalina*→*Galonya*, *Kernyécsa*→*Kernyécse*, *Mercsina*→*Mercsény*, *Radimna*→*Rádonya*, *Siád*→*Sajád*, *Tirnova*→*Tornó*, *Torpest*→*Toposd*, *Vercserova*→*Varcsaró* etc.

708 István Hoffmann, *A Tihanyi alapítólevél mint helynévtörténeti forrás* [The Tihany foundation charter as a source of historical toponymy] (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press, 2010).



the similar contemporary names of many a settlement with Magyar majorities or with sustained Magyar presence.<sup>709</sup>

Tendency no. 2. Raising and lowering of vowels in order to get a pattern of one-height steps from one syllable to the other. Since Hungarian has a three-height vowel system, this means that out of the groups A {i, í, u, ú, ü, ű}; B {é, o, ó, ö, ő} and C {a, á, e}, the sequences AB, BA, BC and CB were favoured in consecutive syllables.<sup>710</sup> Although there indeed exists a preference for narrow vowel-height ranges in Hungarian place names, particularly noticeable in contrast with Romanian ones, examples of two-height steps are also easy to collect from the entire Hungarian-speaking domain. Unlike vowel harmony, the Board followed this ideal in an unreflexive manner, but again leaving unchanged similar forms that they could identify as Hungarian.<sup>711</sup>

Tendency no. 3. Effacing of Slavic and Romanian place-name formants.<sup>712</sup> The Board's decisions show high awareness especially of Slavic place-name formants and of the historical trends of their adaptation to Hungarian, thanks to the expertise of the Slavist János Melich. The Romanian *-ești* and *-eni* had often been spontaneously mutated into the native *-esd* and *-ény*, a development that the Board blithely replicated, but it also disrupted existing *-esd* and *-ény* endings where these violated its overdrawn interpretation of vowel harmony.

At least by design, all new names relied on broad analogies in the native onomasticon and in documented name histories, but sometimes immediate analogies were also

709 *Albis, Batiz, Bernád, Béta, Bibarc(-falva), Bihar, (Magyar-)Bikal, Bikszád, Bitá, Boncida, Cikó, Cséffa, Csernát(-falva), Csiba, (Csik-)Csicsó, Dámos, Déva, Ditró, Esztár, Fugyi, Gilvác, Giród(-tótfa), Girólt, Görgény, Hermány, Ikland, Iklód, Iloba, Ilosva, Inaktelke, Kapnik, Kénos, Léta, Lippa, Majtény, Majtis, Máré(-falva), Margitta, Menaság, Méra, Mikola, Milota, Miriszló, (Vásáros-)Namény, Páké, Panit, Pécska, Piskolt, Rigmány, Szabéd, Visa, Vitka, Zilah, Zsibó* etc.

710 *Binis→Bényes, Bucsum→Bucsony, Gyigyiseny→Gyegyesény, Kavna→Kávna, Kocsuba→(Alsó-, Felső-, Körös-)Kocsoba, Koroj→Bélkaroly, Letka→Létka, Lunka (several)→Lonka, Szeszárma→Szészárma, Szurduk (several)→Szurdok, Turbuca→Turbóca* etc.

711 *Budak, Bűrgezd, Csucsá, Egri, Füle, Gyalu, Gyula, Hunyad, Idecs, (Magyar-)Igen, Illye, Kakucs, Keszi, Keszü, Kide, Micske, (Mező-)Petri, Pürkerec, Sepsí, Sülelmed, (Magyar-)Sülye, Sütmege, Szinye, Szucsák, Türe, Ugra, Uraly, Ülke, Vice* etc.

712 *Barbosza→Barbos, Bogoltin→Bogoltény, Borlova→Borló, Bukosnica→Bokos, Dezesz→Dezesd, Divics→Divécs, Ferendia→Ferenc, Gajtásol→Gajtás, Gerbovec→Gerbóc, Honcisor→Honcér, Honoris→Honoros, Hovrilla→Hávord, Kiszindia→Keszend, Komoristye→Komornok, Koramnik→Koromnok, Kossova→Kossó, Kölnik→Kölnök, Lalasinc→Lalánc, Lapusnik→Bégalaposnok, Lodormán→Lodormány, Mirkovác→Mirkóc, Nermet→Nermed, Panyova→Panyó, Petnik→Petnek, Pirosa→Pirosd, Pocsavalesd→Pócsafalva, Ponorel→Aranyosponor, Rakasdia→Rakasd, Rakitova→Rakitó, Rogozsel→Havasrogoz, Segyest→Szegyesd, Sust→Susd, Szerbest→Szerbesd, Szervestye→Szervesd, Szirbova→Szirbó, Tinkova→Tinkó, Tiszovica→Tiszóca, (Nagy-, Kis-)Topolovec→Topoly, Verendin→Verend* etc.

available. Once the Board Magyarised a settlement name with or without archival basis, they assigned the same new form to its homonyms and disambiguated them with prefixes. More to the point, in a few cases they could build on the parallel of concrete Hungarian place names of Slavic origin<sup>713</sup> or simply recycled existing place names of whatever provenance on the basis of phonetic resemblance.<sup>714</sup>

It is important to point out at last that while the experts on the Board knew full well that a large part of the villages renamed did not have medieval precursors, the activity of the body was on the whole pervaded by the ethos of redressing history. When lay members began to get a handle on Romanian and Slavic suffixes and phonology or looked up words in dictionaries, they thought to be probing the ways these languages garbled Hungarian forms, and they would present their sometimes very frail brainchildren as the likely original names.

#### **4.5.8. The Reaction of Local Governments**

There were two features in the Dualist system of local autonomies that circumscribed popular representation: virilism and the employment terms of village secretaries. Apart from showing what kinds of arguments were able to sway the Board in its decisions, the responses of communal leaderships also give a rare opportunity to assess how far local governments were strapped by these two control mechanisms. A brief description will be in order here to understand the working of the system.

The local franchise itself was rather broad and democratic, since all adult male residents and corporate bodies that paid local taxes had the right to cast a vote, on an equal and direct basis. As a rule of thumb, the local councils of rural settlements had one mem-

713 *Bruznik*→*Borosznok* (cf. Slovak *Bruznik*/Hun. *Borosznok*), *Glogovéc*→*Kisgalgóc* (cf. Slovak *Hlohovec*/Hun. *Galgóc*), (*Maros-, Mikó-*)*Szlatina*→*Szalatna* (cf. Slovak *Veľká Slatina*/Hun. *Nagyszalatna*).

714 *Berindia*→*Borosberend*, *Berzova* (< Sl. *brěza* 'birch tree' + *-ova*)→*Marosborsa*, *Bikis* (the medieval *Bükkös*)→*Kisbékés* (on the analogy of Hun. *Békés*/Rom. *Bichiş*), *Diécs* (< Rom. *dieci*, pl. of *diac* 'student, scribe' < Hun. *diák* idem)→*Décse*, *Oláhgyrbó*→*Oláhgorbó*, *Kisszredistye*→*Kisszere*, *Kopacsel* (< Rom. *copăcel* 'little tree')→*Kiskopács*, *Krokna*→*Koroknya*, *Obersia* (< Rom. *obârşie* 'source')→*Óborsa*, *Szelcsova*→*Szolcsva*.

ber for every hundred voters. Every three years, half of elected members were up for election, each serving a six-year term. Only one half of the council was elected, however, and the other half consisted of the biggest local taxpayers. This anti-democratic institution, called virilism, was openly designed to prioritise the opinions of the rich and educated and, in non-Magyar localities, of Magyars or the pro-Magyar. Landowners or companies could represent themselves in each of the communes where they qualified as virilists, but as has been noted already, some areas lacked a traditional class of big property owners.

Voters also elected mayors and other communal office-holders for three years, with the crucial exception of village secretaries, the sole qualified bureaucrats in village leaderships, who were elected for life, out of three candidates nominated by the district administrator. This latter not only nominated village secretaries, but only he could initiate a disciplinary action to remove them, a provision meant to tie their loyalty to the county administration rather than to the people whose affairs they transacted and who paid for them. Indeed, county leaderships counted on Magyar village secretaries as agents of state nationalism and sometimes as an informant network. Playing into their hands were not simply councillors' ignorance of the law, but especially their unfamiliarity with Hungarian. Contemporary sources also report on numerous incidents of district administrators pressing their protégés into office against the will of locals.<sup>715</sup> To make matters worse, only wealthier communes could manage their own village secretaries—Saxons and Swabians typically did—while poorer ones were organised into circles administered by so-called circle secretaries. Three communes on an average made up one such circle in 1910, an arrangement that placed circle secretaries further aloof from the people.<sup>716</sup>

<sup>715</sup> *Telegrafulu Romanu* 11/23 March 1873, pp. 78–9; *Tribuna Poporului* 28 March/9 April 1898, p. 286; Aurele C. Popovici, *La question roumaine en Transylvanie et en Hongrie* (Lausanne: Payot, 1918), 211–6 [originally 1892] and Nagysolymosi Szabó, 3.

<sup>716</sup> MOL BM K150, 30646/1875, bundle 451 and *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények*, new series, vol. 39 (Budapest: Magyar Kir. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1913), 175.

It becomes obvious from the files that circle secretaries would sometimes misuse their power and would act against the will or even behind the backs of the communes under their charge. This seems to be the logical explanation for five cases where the communes expressed their wish to receive new names in the preliminary stage, which they later rejected. In Székás, Temes County, two aldermen testified that the former circle secretary had requested the new name *Arankafalva* ('Aranka's village') as a compliment to his wife Aranka, in defiance of the council's protest.<sup>717</sup> And whoever may have spoken on behalf of the Romanian-majority Tauc in the following response, obsequiously repeating the disparaging terms of the Board: 'in accordance with the Communal Registry Board's ruling dated 20 March 1907, we have decided that the foreign and disharmonious name of our commune needs change and we are therefore restoring its medieval, harmonious name'?'<sup>718</sup>

But already in the course of the preliminary survey in 1895–6, only a tiny fraction of the responses from local leaderships suggested name changes; either then or later during the process, a mere twenty-nine communes came forward with requests for new Hungarian names. In contrast to these, the majority, roughly sixty-three per cent of the local councils whose names the Board had decided to Magyarise insisted in their responses on keeping the old ones. The data leave some margin for interpretation, because the Board thought the existing names to be the ones in the last gazetteer, while local councils thought they were the ones on their seals, but the same rate would in any case be higher if only Romanian villages were counted. Votes were divided along ethnic lines in the joint village of Kuptoreszékul, where the majority of Romanian council members from Kuptore rejected and the Germans from Székul assented to the clumsy translation *Kemenceszék* as their new name.<sup>719</sup>

<sup>717</sup> Councillors Demeter Morar and Gábor Köhler, in Mező, *Adatok*, 353.

<sup>718</sup> MOL BM K156, box 35, 1474.

<sup>719</sup> *Ibid.*, MOL BM K156, box 65, 2006. Rom. *cuptoare* 'ovens' ~ Hun. *kemence* 'oven', while Rom. *sec* 'dry', the etymon of the second term, sounds the same as Hun. *szék* 'chair'.

Since disapprovals were put down to paper by village secretaries, this snapshot taken during the second half of the term of the ‘national coalition’ government, hardly known for its leniency towards the national minorities, qualifies the image of Romanian local councils as being muzzled by despotic district administrators and village secretaries that emerges in contemporary as well as historiographical readings. They appear instead as independent agents. Sharpening their profile was the dissenting opinion of several village secretaries who were so eager to demonstrate their loyalty to the current agenda of state nationalism that they ostentatiously attached minority reports to the majority opinions of their communes. This precaution took massive proportions in Krassó-Szörény County, with nine circle secretaries adding such provisos, while one of their colleagues from Kolozs County went to such lengths as to call an ‘anti-Magyar act’ (*magyarellenes tett*) locals’ reluctance to have their old name *Budurló* changed to *Bodorló*.<sup>720</sup>

It needs to be emphasised that Romanian communes were not defending their Romanian, but their traditional Hungarian names. This circumstance perhaps goes some way to explaining the surprising scarcity of nationalist rhetoric in the protests, also pointed out by the Board in their report to the Minister on the names of Krassó-Szörény County, in which they concluded that the opposition of communes could rarely be attributed to ‘nationalist agitation’, but it sprang from their conservatism and fear of expenses.<sup>721</sup> Apart from the completely justified aversion to the pointless disturbance brought about by the change of their names, rural councils also held to their old seals, which were usually not that old after all. Although the Board chose not to dispel the Porcsesd local council’s idea that they could escape the related costs by having their name truncated to *Porcs* and carving the ending off their seal, ultimately all local governments, even those with unchanged names, were made to procure new, standardised seals from

<sup>720</sup> *Ibid.*, box 35, 468 and 1041, box 61, 291, 443 and 799 and box 65, 1259, 1277, 1299, 1573, 1610, 1633, 1689, 1699, 1734–5 and 1762 and Mező, *Adatok*, 70.

<sup>721</sup> MOL BM K156, box 66, 3847.

Ignác Felsenfeld's Budapest company.<sup>722</sup> When objections were framed in national terms, that was mostly as vague allegations that the government tried to cause nuisance to the Romanian folk with the name changes or else tried to label them with monikers that were insulting in Hungarian. Those among local councillors who shared this latter fear, however, were apparently not proficient enough in Hungarian to substantiate it.<sup>723</sup>

Only a hundred communes were finally allowed to keep their earlier names (eleven with disambiguating attributes) instead of the Magyarised or archival forms determined by the Board in the first round. Ten out of these had German, six Magyar and the balance Romanian linguistic majorities. In fact, however, the protests of thirty-six communes were first swept aside by the Board, their new names promulgated and the earlier ones subsequently restored on appeal by the Ministry of the Interior. Of course, it was the local government that most often filed the appeal, including the cases of the Lutheran Germans of Liebling in the Banat, who even petitioned the monarch against having their name translated into *Kedvenc*, and of Kornya, where the local leadership had never been consulted about the name change, since the Board had decided on keeping the old one in the first round and only later did the name *Somfa* emerge somewhat mysteriously, as an attempted translation.<sup>724</sup> Far from all appeals to the Ministry were successful, and the Romanians of Kornya had their complaint rejected twice with a second attempt in 1914, in spite of the Board's first decision, the dissenting opinions of the county and the National Archives and the request of Ilie Petraşcu/Petraskó Illés, elevated to nobility in 1902 with the title 'de Kornya'.<sup>725</sup>

722 Mező, *Adatok*, 307 and MOL BM K156, box 37, 1058.

723 Cf. the Ciclova Română/Románcsiklova Orthodox priest Ioan Maran's argument at a local council meeting that *csikló* was a derisive term in Hungarian, which he refused to develop at the village secretary's request; *ibid.*, box 65, 1610.

724 On Liebling, *Tribuna* 15/28 February 1911. *Cornea* does not mean anything in Romanian, although the locally used, vernacular endonym was *Corni*, which can in fact be interpreted as the plural of Romanian *corn* 'cornel', equivalent to Hun. *somfa*. Cf. Stolica de Haţeg, *Cronica Banatului*, 61 and *passim*.

725 MOL BM K156, box 65, 2069, 2490–3, 2509, 2512 and 2560. Cf. the rejected appeals of Tiliska/Tilicske (*ibid.*, box 37, 1204–7), Gális/Szebengálos (*ibid.*, 612, 620 and 1215), Klokotics/Krassócsörgő (*ibid.*, box 65, 2060–1 and 2071), Mehadika/Kismiháld (*ibid.*, 2411 and 2420), Kornyaréva/Somosréve (*ibid.*, 2521 and 2524) and Pervora/Porhó (*ibid.*, box 64, 494–97).

A few disgruntled landlords who wanted to avoid that the places in their titles of nobility be erased from the maps lobbied the Ministry to undo the respective name changes, and with the sole exception of Petraşcu/Petraskó *de Kornya*, this argument carried more weight with the Board than the protest of locals. In fact, the number of those who intervened should not be regarded as high, considering how many noble families from Hunyad County and from the Banat were affected. The barons Wodianer *de Kapriora*, for instance, apparently did not feel concerned about this danger or were unaware of it. The ones who appealed and whom I could identify were Elek Brazovay *de Brázova*, Ádám Buda *de Galacz et Illye*, the former minister of agriculture Béla Tallián (on behalf of his mother-in-law's family, the Athanasziewics *de Valeapáj*) and the spa physician Ákos Litssek *de Macsova* (who made a valid historical point against the name *Macsó*), apart from probably a member of either the Szende, the Fialka or the Sváb families on behalf of *Gavosdia*.<sup>726</sup> By the time the Board discussed Hunyad County, they had themselves paid attention to this aspect, and the name of Branyicska would have remained unchanged with regard to the Jósika family.

Returning to the phase where local councils gave their opinions about the proposed new names, it will be useful to probe which arguments of the responses worked the best and which did not. To be sure, it is not clear just when the reaction of communes had any bearing on the Board's final decisions, and the pool of cases is also rather small, a few general tendencies nevertheless stand out. The locals obviously stood no chance of striking a chord with the Board if they asserted local knowledge claims praising the longevity of their non-Hungarian endonyms, comparing them positively to the Hungarian names as the more authentic, more widespread or even arguing that the inventors of Hungarian exonyms had not heard the genuine names from the local people.<sup>727</sup> The many Saxon and

<sup>726</sup> *Ibid.*, box 66, 3961, 3694–7 and 3980 and Mező, *Adatok*, 65, 120 and 319.

<sup>727</sup> E.g., the responses of Várörja/Vărărea, *ibid.*, box 41, 957 and of Berethalom/Birthälm, Báránykút/Bekokten, Felmér/Felmern, Hétúr/Marienburg, Kaca/Katzendorf, Köhalom/Reps, Mirkvásár/Streitfort, Nagydisznód/Heltau, Nygyekemező/Groß-Probstdorf, Nagyszöllös/Groß-Alisch and Balázsfalva/Blasiu in Mező, *Adatok*.

few Romanian local leaderships who argued along these lines the Board repaid in kind for their ill-placed narcissism, only too happy to document the priority of Hungarian names and to attribute a wide notoriety to them.

It also did not particularly advance the case of locals if they complained that they were unable to pronounce the proposed forms, or as the Gross local council put it, the new name *Marostönköd* would make the simple villager ‘incapable of naming his own village’.<sup>728</sup> The official ideology dictated that citizens should know Hungarian, and the great majority of Romanians who did not were in any case not to be indulged. The Board only made exceptions when it was pointed out that the new forms were liable to be distorted into something indecent in the local tongue.<sup>729</sup>

Communes were better off standing on the ground of Hungarian and defending their names on the terms that the Board dictated. Eight out of the thirteen arguing that these were sufficiently Hungarian-sounding and all three that objected to the negative connotations or inappropriate meanings of the proposed forms in Hungarian could keep their existing names.<sup>730</sup> To sustain their arguments, some of them pointed to the differences between their Romanian and Hungarian names, the Libaton council came up with a rather crude Hungarian etymology (*liba a tón* ‘goose in the lake’), but the most resourceful in accommodating to the ideas guiding the Board was certainly the council of the overwhelmingly Romanian Borzova: how could their name be foreign, they asked rhetorically, since the village had already borne it two or three hundred years earlier, at a time when ‘there lived neither Romanians nor other nationalities in the village, perhaps not even in the entire county, only just pure Magyardom?’. In addition, an even higher number of local councils negotiated out compromises by devising Hungarian forms less dis-

728 See also Bogodinc/Bagotény, Csaba/Bálványoscsaba, Dumbravica/Felsődombró, Glombukrajova/Kiskirálymező, Kisszredistye/Kisszered, Nyágra/Nagyfeketefalu, Prizáka/Gyepü, Rujen/Pokolfalva and Szohodollázur/Aszóirtás.

729 The cases of Lindenfeld (MOL BM K156, box 65, 1081) and Tökés.

730 Aranyospolyán, Borzova, Felsőpodsága, Libaton, Polyán, Prodánfalva, Körpa, Kosna (MOL BM K156, box 41, 682–3), Buttyin, Klic, Ohábamutnik, Kapruca and Tuffier (*ibid.*, box 65, 1933).



tant from their endonyms than the ones offered by the Board, which was after all always content to receive acceptable suggestions from the communes. The councillors of Tomest, for instance, if they could not save their village from being renamed, were at least able to avoid the upheaval of shifting to *Szapód*, by inventing the manageably different and markedly more Hungarian form *Tamásd* in the process. The Board honoured compliance with its guiding principles with concessions.

#### **4.5.9. Domains of Mandatory Use**

Section five of the law mandated the use of the official Hungarian names in public documents of state, county and local agencies, on the seals of communes, on road signs, in school maps and in notarial acts in any language. In school textbooks, corporate registrations and certified private documents, an amendment to the law, originally meant to appease the Saxon MPs, allowed other name variants to be displayed after the official ones, in the form ‘Brassó (Braşov)’ or ‘Brassó (Kronstadt)’. In 1902, when the future of renamings loomed uncertain, the Minister of the Interior ordered the mandatory use of Hungarian settlement names of the counties not yet discussed by the Communal Registry Board in public documents, notarial acts and textbooks.<sup>731</sup> In mapping out some of the enumerated domains in order to put the regulations in context, I will in the following also expand upon earlier, formal and informal policies that affected Romanian and German settlement names.

The great majority of non-Hungarian inscriptions on communal seals had been already replaced with Hungarian ones in the 1870s and 1880s.<sup>732</sup> This was almost invariably the case with Romanian inscriptions, and only as a unique exception did Tiliska in

<sup>731</sup> Decree no. 16.698/1902; *Belügyi Közlöny* 7 (1902): 271–7.

<sup>732</sup> Cf. Maria Vertan, *Sigilii de sate, comune şi târguri din Banatul istoric: secolele XVIII-XIX* [Seals of villages, communes and market towns in the historic Banat: 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries] (Timişoara: Brumar, 2006), 22–3 and 25. On Szolnok-Doboka County’s ban on communal seals with Romanian inscriptions after 1877, Retegan, *Drumul greu al modernizării*, 118.

Szeben County keep the form *Tilisca* on its seal into the 1900s.<sup>733</sup> German names, however, survived on the seals of Saxon towns, to be phased out in consequence of the law.

Village entry signs were standing along highways and sometimes along minor roads. They had long served as convenient vehicles of symbolic messages; not so much by virtue of the names featured on them, however. In the 1860s, the Romanian leaderships of Zarand County and the District of Năsăud painted their village entry signs in Romanian national colours, and as a prefect, Dezső Bánffy later repainted the ones in Szolnok-Doboka and Beszterce-Naszód Counties in the tricolour of the Hungarian flag.<sup>734</sup> Late in 1899, a ministerial decree specified that new signs would be erected as the Communal Registry Board determines the official place names.<sup>735</sup> There is some vague indication, however, that at least some Saxons villages of Nagy-Küküllő County received bilingual signs.<sup>736</sup>

In the 1890s, the sense asserted itself among the Magyar intelligentsia of Kolozsvár that the long-established exonyms *Klausenburg* and *Klausenbourg* conveyed a ‘wilful and malicious tendency of Germanisation’ on letters and parcels.<sup>737</sup> A milder reaction to this new grievance was the EKE’s call to its sister clubs abroad to address their mails to *Kolozsvár*, but it made more noise when Kolozsvár professors rejected inappropriately addressed mails along with brusque comments.<sup>738</sup> Contributing to their sensitivity to place names in addresses was a similarly impatient nationalist discourse in contemporary Germany, which culminated in a 1900 decree prohibiting the delivery of mails not exclusively addressed in German.<sup>739</sup> Adequately, the pan-German *Alldeutsche Blätter* also

733 MOL BM K156, box 37, 645–7.

734 Prefect Ferenc Nopcsa to Chancellor Nádasdy, 12 June 1862; Retegan ed., vol. 5 (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române 2008), 575–6; Hangay, *Harcz a magyarságért!*, 222 and response to Pesty from Bărgău Tiha, signed by the village secretary G. Salvan, the mayor Larion Socină and elders Gabriel Județiu and Tănase Gorea, 1865; Retegan, *Satele năsădene*, 76–7.

735 Decree no. 134.392/99 of the Minister of the Interior; *Belügyi Közlöny* 5 (1900): 40.

736 Richard Waldemar Mildt, *Martinsdorf: Eine siebenbürgisch-sächsische Gemeinde im Wandel der Zeiten* (Munich: Siebenbürgisch-Sächsische Stiftung, 1996), 32.

737 Hangay, *Harcz a magyarságért!*, 147.

738 *Ibid.*, 147–8; Merza, *Földrajzi sovinizmus*, 146 and Kl. Löffler, ‘Klausenburg oder Kolozsvár?’, *Grenzboten* 69 (1910), 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter, 305–6.

739 Glück, 361–5.

gave the harshest response to the action of Magyars, appealing to its readers not to use the Hungarian place names in their personal and business correspondence.<sup>740</sup>

Romanians from Hungary often told the opposite to their visitors from Romania, warning them that their mail would not be delivered unless they wrote the Hungarian place name in the address.<sup>741</sup> This seemingly practical advice was given and understood as a political comment exposing official chauvinism in Hungary and incriminating the Hungarian postal service, something that the German reaction did not imply. Post offices had implemented Hungarian-only stamps since 1867, which may have inspired such fears, but the handling of addresses remained flexible. (See *Annexe* 3–6.) It is hard to assess the exact trends, since private collections have preserved much less evidence from the period before 1896, when illustrated postcards went on the market, but there are no mails returned for inappropriate address in online postcard auctions, concrete stories are hard to come by in the contemporary Romanian press, and indeed the ‘chaos’ reigning in the mail served as the main justification for the law. Things began to change in the 1890s; the Hungarian mail service portentously left out the non-Hungarian place names from its list of telegraph offices submitted to the International Telegraph Union, and when the latter put them back in the next edition of its directory, Hungarians protested and demanded their deletion.<sup>742</sup> Around the same time, the non-Hungarian name variants disappeared from the gazetteer as well, which had so far helped the sorting of such mails that made use of them. Most contemporaries now cautiously put the Hungarian names of settlements in the address, but they often signalled their preference for other name variants and gave the precise directions in Romanian or German, which would have given ample reason for refusing delivery had postal workers acted on ideological ground. The Czech Jan Urban Jarník consistently put ‘președintele Asociațiunii Sibiu, Transilvania,

<sup>740</sup> Hangay, *Harcz a magyarságért!*, 52.

<sup>741</sup> Alexandru Odobescu, ‘Călătoria în Ardeal în 1894: scrisori adresate Doamnei Sacha Odobescu’ [The journey to Transylvania in 1894: letters to Mrs. Sacha Odobescu], *Convorbiri Literare* 67 (1934): 714 and Xenopol, *Rîșnovul pe lângă Brașov*, 195.

<sup>742</sup> *Erdély* 9 (1900): 28.

Nagy-Szeben’ on his letters to Andrei Bârseanu before the War.<sup>743</sup> Nicolae Iorga, who began to court Catinca Bogdan in 1900, regularly sent her letters addressed ‘Braşov (Brassó)’ and always with the Romanian name of her street (*Cacova de Sus*).<sup>744</sup> For other similar addresses, see *Annexe 7–9*.<sup>745</sup>

The law brought an abrupt change to German schoolbooks, but it merely sanctioned an existing policy regarding Romanian ones. Already in 1883, the government banned the Romanian school wall map of the ‘Lands of the Hungarian crown’ and gave directives to Romanian authors for revising their geography manuals.<sup>746</sup> Thereafter, Romanian settlement names must stand between parentheses after the Hungarian ones in the text and must be erased from maps, although the names of mountains and waters could continue to be displayed in Romanian.<sup>747</sup> In 1887, Ioan Dariu from Brassó placed the following covert reference to censorship in the preface to his new geography book for Orthodox primary schools: ‘I have inserted the map of Hungary at the end, also in Hungarian. It could not be executed in Romanian, since it would have cost too much ...., moreover, its names would have differed from the ones on the wall map, which would have raised difficulties.’<sup>748</sup> A Romanian daily denounced the ensuing pedagogical deadlock in the following words: ‘It is more than ridiculous to see how Romanian schools teach for example the geography of Transylvania, with its old Romanian names of settlements, mountains, valleys, rivers and fields, without being allowed to use the proper and natural names of the language.’<sup>749</sup> School inspectors sometimes admonished Romanian schools for making use of Romanian place names in geography classes, as it happened to the Să-

743 Jan Urban Jarník, *Correspondență* [Correspondence] (Bucharest: Minerva, 1980), *passim*.

744 Nicolae Iorga, *Scrisori către Catinca: 1900–1939* [Letters to Catinca, 1900–39] (Bucharest: Minerva, 1991), 23–62.

745 See also Emanoil Munteanu, *Istoria poștală a Sibiului pînă la unire* [A postal history of Hermannstadt before the Unification] (Sibiu: Transilvania, 1980).

746 Decree 1883/40784 of the Ministry of Worship and Public Instruction; *Biserica și Școala* 20 (1896): 155. The map at issue was the second edition of E. Bordeaux, *Mapa ținuturilor țienetorie de corona Ungariei* [Map of the lands belonging to the Hungarian crown] (Clusiu: Coll. Ref., 1871).

747 Nicolau Pop and Nicolau Pilția, *Geografia Ungariei și Elemente din geografia generală pentru școalele populare* [Geography of Hungary and Elements of general geography for primary schools], 7th ed. (Braşov: Zeidner, 1894), preface.

748 Ion Dariu, *Geografia patriei și Elemente din geografia universală pentru școalele populare române* [Geography of the homeland and Elements of universal geography for Romanian primary schools], 3rd ed. (Braşov: Zeidner, 1893), 4. Four dots in the original.

749 ‘Răpire a limbei’ [The rape of language], *Gazeta Transilvaniei* 27 November/9 December 1897.

liște/Großdorf/Szelistye Orthodox school in 1908 and again in 1912.<sup>750</sup> This, however, should be balanced against the fact that the great majority of Romanian children dropped out of school before the fifth grade, when the geography of Hungary was taught in detail.<sup>751</sup>

In contrast, virtually all Transylvanian Saxon children studied the geography of Hungary and of the home county during their school years, and Saxon schools were caught unaware by the law. Until 1902, places inhabited by Saxons and major cities figured under their German names in Saxon textbooks.<sup>752</sup> In that year, the same rules entered in force for them as for the Romanian ones twenty years earlier. Hungarian settlement names would appear in the first place in school atlases and in geography manuals where, set in Roman type, they would stand out from the black-lettered German text.<sup>753</sup> Saxon textbook writers punctiliously observed these rules, save for section headings and the occasional pragmatic strategies to signal their reservations. Fritz Reimesch, for example, a girls' school teacher from Brassó involved in a political trial on charges connected to the law on locality names, successfully applied the 'three is less than two' principle by indicating the Roman or the Saxon name along with the Hungarian and the German.<sup>754</sup>

In general, however, the Romanian elite made broader and more varied use of distancing strategies in relation to the mandatory Hungarian names. The jubilee volume of the ASTRA's Romanian girls' civil school, for example, referred to students' birth places with the words 'today's official name'.<sup>755</sup> And while Iorga sought to convey the

750 Maria Hanzu, *Monografia școlilor din Săliște Sibiu* [Monograph of the schools in Săliște] (Sibiu: Honterus, 2009), 124.

751 Berecz, *Politics of Early Language Teaching*, 108–9 and *Tanterv a nem magyar ajku népiskolák számára: az 1868-iki XXXVIII. és az 1879-iki XVIII. t. czikkeik értelmében* [Curriculum for the primary schools with medium of instruction other than Hungarian: by virtue of Acts XXXVIII of 1868 and XVIII of 1879] (Budapest: s. n., 1879), 23.

752 K. Werner, *Geographie von Österreich-Ungarn: Ein Leitfaden für die höheren Volksschulen, Bürgerschulen und die unteren Klassen der Mittelschulen der ev. Landeskirche A. B. in Siebenbürgen* (Hermannstadt: Kraft, 1888) and Fritz Reimesch, *Heimat- und Vaterlandskunde für die Volks-, Elementar- und Bürgerschulen der evangelischen Landeskirche A. B. der siebenbürgischen Landesteile Ungarns* (Kronstadt: Zeidner, 1897).

753 Bartos-Elekes, *Nyelvhasználat a térképeken*, 133 and Vincenz Brandt, *Heimatkunde für die evangelischen Volksschulen A. B. des Komitates Nagyiküllö* (Brassó (Kronstadt): Zeidner, 1908).

754 Göllner, ed., 204 and Fritz Reimesch, *Vaterlandskunde für die Volks-, Elementar- und Bürgerschulen der evangelischen Landeskirche A. B. der siebenbürgischen Landesteile Ungarns* (Brassó (Kronstadt): Zeidner, 1904), 7 and 9.

755 Vasile Bologa, *Monografia școalei civile de fete cu internat și drept de publicitate a "Asociațiunii pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român" din Sibiu, pe 25 de ani dela înființare* [Monograph of the ASTRA's girls' civil school in Hermannstadt, endowed with a residence hall and with the right to publicity, on the 25th anniversary of its founding] (Sibiu: Tipografia Archidiecezane, 1911), 33.

impression in his Hungarian travelogue that the Hungarian names were imposed by fire and sword even in the speech of the lower classes, the Romanian civil society fairly regularly tested the enforcement of the law by defying its literal, if intrusive, provisions.<sup>756</sup> It was far from obvious, then, that Saxons should toe the line and should so faithfully display the Hungarian names as they did in the last fifteen years of the Dualist regime, not only in municipal life, but often in such German texts and contexts that did not fall under the purview of the law; even though the seemingly most paradoxical example came from a pro-German Catholic priest from the Banat and the author of a local history published in Innsbruck, who levelled vehement censures against the name change of his parish in the text, but cautiously put the new name in the title.<sup>757</sup> I would not normally refer to German sense of duty as a reason here, had it not been a recurrent Saxon argument against the law that it made it impossible for Saxons to remain law-abiding Hungarian citizens. But on the opposite hand, using the Hungarian names in accordance with a distasteful law against which Saxon society had just a few years earlier mounted the biggest wave of protests in a generation can hardly be imagined as an innocent, mechanical act. Exactly because it was felt unnatural and with a vengeance, it probably functioned as a memento of Saxons' political and cultural subjection, and overdoing it should not be read as a sign of automatism and not necessarily as timidity even, but at least in some cases as a backhanded gesture of protest.

The new names were bound to have a hard time striking roots in Romanian or Saxon villages. They had not been yet promulgated when the neighbours already teased the Germans of Lindenfeld (*Hársberek*), the Karaševci of Klokotics (*Krassócsörgő*) and the Romanians of Pervora (*Porhó*) for their new, Magyarised names.<sup>758</sup> Catholic Swabians,

<sup>756</sup> Iorga, *Neamul românesc*, vol. 1, 313–14.

<sup>757</sup> ANR Bistrița, Fond Primăria orașului Bistrița (inv. 619); ANR Brașov, Fond Primăria orașului Brașov, Serviciul Silvic 144/1913; *ibid.*, Fond Breasla cizmarilor din Brașov, bundle 25 and ANR Târgu Mureș, Fond Primăria orașului Reghin (inv. 258) 111/1912, 165f on the municipal practice and Franz Demele, *Temesgyarmat: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Entstehung und Entwicklung dieser Gemeinde und Pfarre* (Innsbruck: self-published, 1913).

<sup>758</sup> MOL BM K156, box 65, 1081 and 2061 and box 66, 490.

whose intelligentsia was largely pro-Magyar and Hungarian-speaking, may have received them with acquiescence; the official Hungarian names, like the enigmatic *Öthalom*, appear in the contemporary German texts of ex voto plaques in the Catholic shrine of Radna.<sup>759</sup> Due to the brevity of their official existence, they could not replace even the existing Hungarian endonyms unless the Magyar dwellers wished to get rid of these, but even this could get thwarted if the old Hungarian names coincided with the Romanian ones.<sup>760</sup>

#### **4.5.10. An Uneasy Legacy**

...taking into account that Magyars are crazy about 'autochthonising' foreign place names...<sup>761</sup>  
Facebook post by the pro-Magyar Romanian online community MaghiaRomania,  
17 March 2017

The law sparked noisier protests from Transylvanian Saxons than from Romanians, leading to another historic low point in their relations with Dualist Hungary after the dismantling of the Saxon autonomy in 1876. The Saxon and Romanian counter-discourses also put different emphases on the subject. Both framed it as an infringement of the linguistic rights contained in the Law of Nationalities of 1868, taking it for granted that place names were a constituent part of the language, and both liked to debunk its pragmatic justifications. Since they could make broader use of their language in official life, Saxons were more sensitive to the status planning aspect of the law, regardless of what particular Hungarian forms it prescribed in German texts. They celebrated place names as the community's bond with its environment, with its forests, waters, hills and towns,

759 Zsuzsánna Péter and Erika Vass, 'Remembering and Remembrance: The Quantitative Analysis of the Votive Picture Gallery in Radna', in *Ethnic Minorities and Power*, eds Pasi Hannonen, Bo Lönnqvist and Gábor Barna, 162 (Helsinki: Fonda, 2001). Enigmatic not only because, for whatever reason, the Board thought that the local council had asked for this name in the preparatory stage and it later insisted against the latter's protest that the five mounds (the meaning of *Öthalom*) had to be commemorated, but also because if they really wished to rename the village after an important monument located on its grounds, the ditches of the first castle of Arad were of greater historic significance than said tumuli, far more than five in number; OSZK BM K156, box 35, 62 and Hans Gehl, *Heimatsbuch der Gemeinde Glogowatz im Arader Komitat* (Abensberg: Heimatortsgemeinschaft Glogowatz, 1988).

760 Thus, Google only gives results for the inflectional forms of *Nyén*, *Pacalusa* and *Peselnék* in historical contexts. *Dragsina*, on the other hand, which the representatives of the local Magyar minority in the 1900s wanted to replace with *Temesfalva*, still appears in the local Hungarian press as the colloquial Hungarian name of the village, probably not unrelated to the fact that it is also called *Dragsina* in Romanian. For the appropriation of an officially allocated prefix, consider the folk song 'Magyarózdí toronyalja', recorded in Magyarózd in 1968; István Pávai, *Magyarózd népzeneje Horváth István gyűjtései tükrében* [The folk music of Magyarózd as reflected in the collections of István Horváth] (Budapest: Hagyományok Háza and MTA BTK Zenetudományi Intézet, 2015), 78.

761 'având în vedere că maghiarii adoră să "autohtonizeze" toponime străine'.

which they argued instilled in new generations the sense of a tradition going back to eight hundred years. With the ancestral place names wiped out, the survival of the language and the community faced peril. These conclusions came wrapped up in the anxiety of decline characteristic of Saxon identity discourses at the time.

Historical references were not missing from the Romanian version either, but it was advanced with more self-confidence and with less concern for legality, it pointed out the ‘vanity’ and ‘comedy’ inherent in the whole enterprise and, first and foremost, it laid the main stress on the Magyarisation of existing names. A. P. Bănuț parodied the artificiality of new names in his humorous sketch, in which the Romanian student Romulus returns for the holidays to his village Secătură, post office Vrăbiești, but he instructs the lady of his heart, a Magyar chambermaid in Brassó, to address her letters in Hungarian to Nap-sugarasszárzafalva, post office Verebketetőpataka, otherwise he does not receive them.<sup>762</sup> One recurrent charge levelled against the Magyarised names was that many of them made as little sense in Hungarian as the former ones. The idea that the renamings were useless if they did not create meaningful forms squared with the expectations of a large segment of local Magyar elites. When Francis Hosszu Longin submitted a draft resolution to the Hunyad County assembly protesting against the law, the former MP Károly Pogány sprang to its defence with the argument that it would bestow a meaningful name on each village. What does *Pâclișa*, for example, mean in Romanian, he asked rhetorically, to which Hosszu retorted in kind whether *Lozsád*, the name of the county’s purest Magyar village, made any sense in Hungarian.<sup>763</sup>

Out of grafting these Romanian perceptions onto the learned myth of the medieval Magyarisation of an earlier Romance place-name cover was born and became popular in Romanian circles the essentialising image of Magyars as inveterate falsifiers of place

<sup>762</sup> Bănuț, 57 és 59.

<sup>763</sup> ‘Lupta Românilor în congregația din Deva’ [The struggle of Romanians in the Déva assembly], *Tribuna* 5/17 December 1897.



names. Obviously, the oblique function of this myth was to imply that by Magyarising place names, Magyars themselves accepted that they were alien to them and were truly ‘ours’, that is, Romanian. In Xenopol’s interpretation, the Hungarian exonym of a place like Râșnov, with few Magyar residents, owed its existence to ‘Magyars’ tendency of Magyarising the entire geographical terminology of the Romanian lands included in their kingdom’.<sup>764</sup> Moreover, due to the relative complexity of the renaming campaign and what they saw as its concomitants, Romanians could also project any of their clichés about the Magyar phenomenon onto it. A 1904 number of *Rěvașul* sought to unmask the Hungarian state as ‘Yiddifying’ on the basis of a few farmsteads named after their Jewish owners that appeared in the latest gazetteer.<sup>765</sup>

As a matter of fact, the Hungarian state could be somewhat plausibly denounced to its enemies as an avid falsifier of place names already before a single new Hungarian name had been invented, simply because, in the measure that Hungarian replaced German in the administration after 1867, Hungarian names also replaced the familiar German ones, even if many of the latter were familiar only from maps and statistics. This perception fuelled János Hunfalvy’s debate with Heinrich Kiepert, who apparently saw a dichotomy between the ‘true’ and ‘old’ German and the ‘false’ and ‘recent’ Hungarian place names. In a like manner, Johann Wolff also described the toponymy of Transylvania and Hungary as an eternal battleground between conflicting ethno-national interests ever since the time of medieval notaries and chroniclers, and accused the Anonymous of doctoring his toponyms.<sup>766</sup>

The law spurred ASTRA to publish the first Romanian place-name dictionary of Hungary, which in its first edition still contained the old Hungarian names.<sup>767</sup> Four sim-

<sup>764</sup> Xenopol, *Rîșnovul pe lingă Brașov*, 195.

<sup>765</sup> *Rěvașul* 30 July 1904. *Kohn-major, Kohn-pushta, Kohner-Tanya, Kohnharaszi-tanya, Löwy tanya, Löwypushta, Deutsch pushta and Schwarcz-pushta*.

<sup>766</sup> Wolff, *Deutsche Ortsnamen in Siebenbürgen* (1879), 7 and idem, *Zur Deutung geographischer Namen Siebenbürgens*, 167 and 214.

<sup>767</sup> Silvestru Moldovan and Nicolau Togan, *Dicționarul numirilor de localități cu populațiune română din Ungaria* [Dictionary of the names of Hungarian settlements with Romanian populations] (Sibiu: Editura ‘Asociațiunii’, 1909).

ilar publications in German saw the light of day, and all four outside of Hungary; first the *Verzeichnis deutscher Ortsnamen in Österreich-Ungarn* in 1905, sponsored by the Viennese Verein zur Erhaltung des Deutschtums in Ungarn, then Leopold Steiner's index in 1908, followed by the second edition of the former in 1912, and finally Viktor Lug's more extensive one in 1917.<sup>768</sup> While these publications ostensibly gave practical advice to people conducting correspondence with Hungary and baffled by the Hungarian place names, they should be rather seen as political statements pointing to the endangerment of German toponymic heritage. In the very same years, two activists published a similar dictionary listing German place names from the French-speaking part of Switzerland, the use of which was allegedly suffering a decline.<sup>769</sup>

Leaping forward in time, the 1913 gazetteer of Hungary, the first and last to contain the new, artificial names, consolidated its status in postsocialist Hungary as the yardstick of Hungarian settlement names in the neighbouring states. In fact, it already established itself to some extent in the Socialist era, at least within the confined circles of antiquarian academics who made such choices in writing. While the problem that the names invented around 1910 seldom turn up in primary sources has called for some work of de- and re-coding and extra footnotes on the part of scholars, reliance upon them has not been purely ideological, since they have the undeniable merit of identifying the denoted places with more precision. All this amounted to little until 1989, when these names suddenly broke free of the bounds of humanist scholarship into a far broader publicity, gracing numerous road and tourist maps, and were accepted as the main variants by the freshly popular genre of place-name dictionaries and by the last two original, paper-based encyclopaedias in Hungarian, both of which devoted a separate entry to each settlement of Hun-

<sup>768</sup> Hermann Kreye, *Verzeichnis deutscher Ortsnamen in Österreich-Ungarn: Für den Gebrauch im Geschichtsleben* (Hanover: Ahlfeld, 1905); Leopold Steiner, *Schematismus ungarischer Ortsnamen mit Bezeichnung ihrer früheren deutschen Benennung* (Vienna: Szelinski, 1908); Verein zur Erhaltung des Deutschtums in Ungarn, ed., *Deutsche Ortsnamen in Ungarn: Unentbehrlicher Behelf für den brieflichen Verkehr mit Ungarn* (Vienna: Holzward and Berger, 1912) and Viktor Lug, *Deutsche Ortsnamen in Ungarn* (Reichenberg: Allgemeiner Deutscher Sprachverein, 1917).

<sup>769</sup> Müller, 27.

gary as of 1910.<sup>770</sup> Owing to the prestige of such sources, the same nomenclature has also gained general acceptance in the online world, including its adoption by the Hungarian Wikipedia and by Google Maps.

The main lobbyists for the 1913 gazetteer were not humanist scholars, but rather cartographers and students of geography from Hungary, who regarded the dissemination of these names as a veritable mission after 1989. This bunch of people have often justified their preference in unabashedly ideological terms, using their declared concern for ethnic Magyars abroad as a cover-up. It seems that most of them have been unaware or have not cared about the historically ungrounded and artificial nature of a large segment of these names.<sup>771</sup> Moreover, cartographers had also typically absorbed an admiration for the re-namings of the 1900s as a great achievement of standardisation. Indeed, the drive of the Communal Registry Board for complete disambiguation has also survived in Hungarian official practice, and as the legal successor to this body, the toponymy committee of the Hungarian government has even tried since 1990 to avoid homonymies in the context of pre-1920 Hungary, clinging (not always successfully) to the authority of the 1913 gazetteer as regards Hungarian place names abroad.<sup>772</sup> At the same time, while the names rooted in the historical fantasies of the 1900s have long fallen out not only of official use, but also of local memory, they now cater to new fantasies in the nostalgic Magyar public about the Magyar character of pre-1920 Hungary.

The most serious challenge to this idyllic self-enjoyment of rump-Hungarian nationalists came from ethnically Magyar communities and their representative bodies in the

770 See Pál Engel, 'Kitalált helységnevek' [Invented settlement names], *História* 18 (1996), no. 7, 31–2.

771 The fullest exposition of this position is the 1996 manifesto of HUNGEO, the World Meeting of Hungarian Geoscience; available at <http://www.fsz.bme.hu/mtsz/mhk/nevtar/hungeo96.htm>. Although less well-informed fans of the 1913 gazetteer like to quote the principle of 'the last official names under Hungarian sovereignty', this document is notable for deviating from this principle with respect to the former Subcarpathian Ruthenia, where Horthy's regime restored the late-nineteenth-century names in 1939, and Croatia, where the 1907 Croatian law on locality names declared the Croatian variants as the sole official names.

772 Gábor Mikesy, 'Helységneveink 1913-as tükörben' [Hungarian settlement names as viewed from a 1913 perspective], *Névtani Értesítő* 35 (2013): 45. Cf. the Committee's following decisions: 78/715 from 13 December 2010, annexe ('Kürtös') and 80/735 from 19 June 2012, annexe ('Temesrékas', 'Temesmóra', 'Maroshévíz', but also 'Resica', *recte* 'Resicabánya' and 'Alsósztamóra', *recte* 'Alsósztamora'); <http://www.kormany.hu/download/d/35/d0000/FNB%202-96%20%20%C3%Bcl%C3%A9sek%20%C3%B6nt%C3%A9sei2016.pdf>.

successor states who acquired some recognition for their Hungarian settlement names and sometimes chose the ‘old’ variants.<sup>773</sup> In Romania, the difference was limited to qualifying attributes and to a few new names, with one exception (*Nagyzerind/Nagyzerénd*) where the community returned to a form abrogated in 1907 on the grounds that it was corrupted. The official list, worked out in 2001 by philologists from Bucharest and amended with suggestions from the Magyar ethnic party, from mayors and from the Budapest toponymy committee, already differed from the 1913 gazetteer on multiple points,<sup>774</sup> and some communes even departed from this list, seemingly off their own bat, to put their pre-1910 names on village entry signs.<sup>775</sup>

In an attempt to do away with this gap, which emerged in most successor states, a research network jointly run by Hungarian linguists in Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine and Austria put it on its agenda to re-codify the Hungarian toponymy of the ‘Carpathian Basin’, although if the last update of the network’s progress report is any guide, which dates from 2008 or 2009, the project soon ran out of steam.<sup>776</sup> Arguably, only in a tiny portion of the places whose Hungarian names were Magyarised in the 1900s does any Hungarian name have legal status today (a twenty-percent local population threshold applies in Romania for minority place names), and the really problematic names belong to relatively minor settlements with no Magyar populations to speak of. The ambition, shared by this project and by most contributors to the debate, that such places need stand-

773 Gizella Szabómihály, ‘A határtalanítás a helynevek területén’ [De-bordering in the field of place names], in *Nyelv, nemzet, identitás: Az [sic!] VI. Nemzetközi Hungarológiai Kongresszus (Debrecen, 2006. augusztus 22–26.) nyelvészeti előadásai* [Language, nation, identity: proceedings of the linguistics section of the 6<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Hungarology, Debrecen, 22–26 August 2006], ed. Sándor Matiscsák, vol. 1, 155–64 (Budapest: Nemzetközi Magyarástudományi Társaság, 2007).

774 Decree 1415/2002, as amendment to the annexe to Act 215/2001. Magdolna Csomortáni, ‘A romániai magyar kisebbségi helységnév a nyelvi tervezés érdeklődési körében’ [Hungarian minority settlement names in Romania in relation to language planning], *Névtani Értesítő* 36 (2014): 86 and Zsombor Bartos-Elekes, ‘Helységnevek a romániai köztudatban: Az endonima és exonima mezsgyéjén’ [Place-names in the Common Knowledge of Hungarians from Romania: On the boundaries of endonyms and exonyms], *Geodézia és Kartográfia* 54 (2002), no. 4, 22–3.

775 Several villages of Harghita County put back the references to their former Szekler districts to their names: *Gyergyóditró* (Di-trău), *Gyergyószárhegy* (Lăzarea), *Gyergyótekerőpatak* (Valea Strâmbă) in accordance with 1415/2002 and *Csikkarcfalva* (Cârța), *Csikozmás* (Cozmeni), *Csikmenaság* (Armășeni), *Csikszépvíz* (Frumoasa) and *Csikvacsárcsi* (Văcărești) in violation of it. In addition, *Kécz* (*Magyarkéc*, Cheț, Bihor County), *Magyarkakucs* (*Nagykakucs*, Cacuciu Nou, *ibid.*), *Mezőkövesd* (*Székelykövesd*, Cuișd, Mureș County) and *Szásznyíres* (*Nyíres*, Nireș, Cluj County) in accordance with 1415/2002 and *Ilosva* (*Selymesilosa*, Ilișua, Sălaj County), *Nagyzerind* (*Nagyzerénd*, Zerind, Arad County) and *Szentbenedek* (*Magyarszentbenedek*, Sânbenedic, Alba County) in breach of it.

776 Csomortáni, 87–90 and [http://ht.nytud.hu/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=30&Itemid=48](http://ht.nytud.hu/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=30&Itemid=48).

ardised Hungarian names approved by an official agency in Hungary would scarcely be defensible at any international forum, and it is in general hard to imagine any meaningful, non-symbolic use of them outside of academic contexts. On the practical side, the names of the 1913 gazetteer have by now become so entrenched in repositories of knowledge that it would be very difficult to dislodge them without a structural change of this domain.

In the course of the twentieth century, while Hungarian settlement names were not only devoid of legal recognition, but sometimes even their public use was under ban, the official Romanian toponymy of the area also underwent massive remodelling.<sup>777</sup> In a first step in 1918–20, hundreds of new Romanian names were created for places in the Szeklerland and in the new border zones that had none, and most of these were not close phonetic adaptations of the Hungarian endonyms, but rather forms that—like many of the Hungarian creations of the 1900s—falsely suggested a long pedigree. The subsequent campaigns that took place in 1924–6, in 1956, in 1964 and in 1968, as well as the sporadic renamings in between, largely spared these Magyar-majority areas, and the majority of the places affected by them were ethnically Romanian. While there are indications that the communities were sometimes consulted in the inter-war period, later renamings were approved over the heads of local people. Without the changes later undone and applying the same criteria as used for the Hungarian renamings, that is discounting technical changes of qualifying attributes and spelling, the number of entirely new Romanian names that were made official is in the region of 730 or 740, which roughly equals the tally of Dualist Hungary.<sup>778</sup> In the same period, four settlements have been renamed in Serbian out of the forty-six annexed from the territory under study to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.<sup>779</sup>

<sup>777</sup> Biró, *The Nationalities Problem in Transylvania*, 450–4.

<sup>778</sup> Regarding the Szeklerland, I also took into consideration the earlier Romanian names used in the two Romanian church administrations, as evidenced by the pre-1918 schematisms.

<sup>779</sup> *Fabijan*→*Češko Selo*, *Karlsdorf*→*Banatski Karlovac*, *Kutric*→*Gudurica* and *Udvarsalaš*→*Dobričevo*.

Certainly, the Romanian renamings had much in common with the earlier Hungarian ones. At least in the inter-war period, they were similarly sold as attempts at returning to the original, lost names, and their distribution was similarly unequal, vaguely as a reverse image of the Hungarian process, concentrating as they did in the Szeklerland and in today's Mureș and Cluj Counties. Their most common methods were also the same, but this does not reveal too much since these methods were at once the most universally available: the appending of a native toponymic suffix (*-ani/-eni*; *-ești*; *-(i)a*; *-el*; *-ița*; *-in*), translation<sup>780</sup> or half-translation<sup>781</sup> of the Hungarian or German name, semantic remotivation,<sup>782</sup> phono-semantic matching<sup>783</sup> and the analogy of the native onomasticon, implemented where no Romanian name was at hand.<sup>784</sup> Translations were peppered with blunders,<sup>785</sup> and Hungarian or German names were occasionally translated even where there were Romanian vernacular names unrelated to them (Ger. *Schöndorf*/Hun. *Szépfa-lu*→*Frumuseni*, cf. vernacular *Seredin*). Ironically, the Romanian authorities also subjected to semantic adaptation *Érszöllős* and *Kézdikővár*, two products of the Hungarian renamings of the 1900s.<sup>786</sup> As a general feature, the incipient Romanian administration of

780 (Pusztá-)Almás→*Merișor*, Csanálos→*Urziceni*, Csikszereda→*Miercurea-Ciuc*, Csúcs→*Vărfurile*, Fakert→*Livada*, Fehéregyháza→*Albești*, (Mező-)Harasztos→*Frunzeni*, (Székely-)Hidas→*Podeni*, Homok→*Nisipeni*, (Kővár-)Hosszúfalva→*Satulung*, Kebele→*Sânișor*, (Ér-)Kenéz→*Voivozi*, Kincses→*Comori*, (Ér-)Kisfalva→*Satu Mic*, Kovácsi→*Făureni*, Körtvélyes→*Perișor*, Langenthal→*Valea Lungă*, Liget→*Dumbrava*, Magyaró→*Aluniș*, Medves→*Urseni*, Melegvölgy→*Valea Caldă*, (Mező-)Ménés→*Herghelia*, (Sajó-)Nagyfalva→*Mărișelu*, Nyíres→*Mesteacăn*, Sárfa-lu→*Noroieni*, Șonfalău→*Cornești*, (Mező-)Szakál→*Bărboși*, (Magyar-)Szilvás→*Pruniș*, (Felsőszász-)Újfalu→*Satu Nou*, (Avas-)Újváros→*Orașul Nou*, Vadász→*Vânători*, Válaszút→*Răscruți*, (Oláh-)Vásárhely→*Târgușor* etc.

781 Asszonyvására→*Târgușor*, Bikalat→*Făgetu Ierii*, (Szamos-)Borhid→*Valea Vinului*, Csicsókeresztúr→*Cristești Ciceului*, Égerhát→*Ariniș*, Fazekasvarsánd→*Olari*, Feketető→*Negreni*, Fűzkút→*Sălcuța*, Kecskéháza→*Căprioara*, Körtkapu→*Poarta*, Körtvélyfája→*Perișor*, Langenfeld→*Câmpia*, Malomszeg→*Valea Morii*, Marossárpatak→*Glodeni*, Mészdorgos→*Varnița*, Pustaszentkirály→*Crătești*, Sepsiszentgyörgy→*Sfântu Gheorghe*, Solyomkő→*Șoimeni*, Szarvaskend→*Cornești*, Százhalom→*Moșile*, Székelyföldvár→*Războieni-Cetate*, Vajdaszentivány→*Voivodeni*, Vaskapu→*Poarta Sălajului*, (Szamos-)Veresmart→*Roșiori*, Virágosberek→*Florești* etc.

782 Ambriciu→*Breaza*, Beșimbac→*Olteț*, Chertiș→*Prunișor*, Chirău→*Băița*, Crișeu→*Izvorul Crișului*, Cucerdea Secuiească→*Lunca Mureșului*, Dica Ungurească→*Cireșoia*, Ferdinand→*Oțelu Roșu*, Giulatelep→*Sălbăgelu Nou*, Holtmezeș→*Pescari*, Inău→*Fundătură*, Jigmondhaz→*Murășel*, Lăpuș→*Arieșeni*, Michaza→*Călugăreni*, Nirașteu→*Ungheni*, Uioara→*Ocna Mureș*, Unguraș→*Românași*, Vaidasig→*Gura Arieșului*, Wiesenheid→*Tisa Nouă* etc.

783 Bardoc→*Brăduț*, Calmand→*Cămin*, Csátószeg→*Cetățuia*, Dumbrău→*Dumbrava*, Folyfalva→*Foi*, Irim→*Irina*, (Székely-)Kál→*Călușeri*, (Homoród-)Keménfalva→*Comănești*, Lázári→*Lazuri*, Lok→*Lunca*, Lőrincfalva→*Leordeni*, Mănăștiur→*Merișor*, Măréfalva→*Satu Mare*, Medesér→*Medișor*, (Kis-)Peleske→*Pelișor*, (Nagy-)Peleske→*Peleş*, Peșteș→*Peștera*, Portelec→*Portița*, Roaua→*Roua*, Szentgerice→*Gălățeni*, Szöröcs→*Surcea*, Szövérd→*Suveica*, Vadad→*Vadu*, (Székely-)Vaja→*Vălenii*.

784 Closer analogies, like (Csik-)Borzsova→*Bărzava*, Csernátón→*Cernat*, (Csik-)Jenőfalva→*Ineu*, Karcfalva→*Cârța*, (Sepsi-)Magyarós→*Măgheruș*, (Kézdi-)Szászfalva→*Săsaș*, (Csik-)Szentimre→*Sântimbru*, (Székely-)Szentkirály→*Săncrai*, (Székely-)Tompa→*Tâmpa*, and partial ones, like (Székely-)Abod→*Abud*, Bencéd→*Bențid* or *Dálnok*→*Dalnic*.

785 (Székely-)Csóka→*Corbești*, Felsőboldog(asszony)falva→*Felicești*, Ménaság→*Armășeni*, Póka→*Păingeni*, Szótelke→*Sărata*, Szotyor→*Coșeni*.

786 Érszöllős or Pătal (the vernacular Romanian name) became *Vișoara* (Hun. *szöllős* and Rom. *vișoară* 'vineyard'), and Kézdikővár *Petriceni* (Hun. *kő* and Rom. *piatră* 'stone'). The earlier Hungarian names, *Nagypacal* (Hun. *pacal* 'tripe') and *Peselnék* ('to piss' plural 3<sup>rd</sup> form), had by the 1900s become the objects of shame for the Magyar inhabitants.

1918–20 often mechanically converted the official Hungarian nomenclature rather than paying heed to the vernacular Romanian names, as is reflected in their choices of qualifying attributes and in the Romanian alternate names in the tables on pp. 379 and 381, where the forms of the left-hand column were made official, which also stand closer to the Hungarian and German variants.

It is sooner the differences that stand out in comparison between the two projects, however, one conducted systematically in the space of a few years and left unfinished and the other spanning seventy years. There was no fumbling through the historical record in the quest for more Romanian names, but name givers relied entirely on their imagination. The idea to revive Roman or Dacian place names may have tempted those in power, but it only materialised in a handful of cases.<sup>787</sup> The uniqueness of names was a matter of very secondary concern, so much so that the name givers often increased existing multiple homonymies by taking no chances and replacing unwanted settlement names with others already frequent in Romanian toponymy.<sup>788</sup> Among the latter, they had a preference for those taken from the sphere of nature, which have as a whole conjured up a bucolic landscape complete with springs (*Fântânele*), flowers (*Florești*), oak groves (*Dumbrava*), orchards (*Livezile*), vineyards (*Vișoara*), brooks (*Vâlcelele*) babbling across meadows (*Lunca*) and so forth, and have thus somewhat approximated Romanian artificial toponymy to the make-believe Turkish map of Kurdistan with its tedious repetition of Green Valleys, Happy Brooks and Pretty Mountains.<sup>789</sup> Also, while the main purpose of the renamings was to erase the linguistic traces of Hungarian and sometimes of German (4%) or South Slavic (1%) from the map—traces that were as a rule imperceptible to monolingual Romanian residents—the share of euphemistic or beautifying

<sup>787</sup> *Cârna*→*Blandiana*, *Cluj*→*Cluj-Napoca*, *Grădiște*→*Sarmizegetusa* and *Jidovin*→*Berzovia*.

<sup>788</sup> George Ioan Lahovari, C. I. Brătianu and Grigore G. Tocilescu, *Marele Dicționar Geografic al României* [Comprehensive geographical dictionary of Romania], vols. 2–5 (Bucharest: Societatea Geografică Română, 1900–2).

<sup>789</sup> Öktem.

changes was, at seven per cent, much higher than in the Hungarian case,<sup>790</sup> as was that of commemorative names (five per cent survived the Communist regime), which, in addition, often had no local connections.<sup>791</sup> Finally, a likeness that encloses difference, both processes were effected by voluntaristic states that arrogated full powers over the names in their territories, rode roughshod over living traditions and the will of locals and imposed such artificial place names on hundreds of communities that these clearly perceived as a punishment. This state of affairs, however, lasted less than a decade in a pre-war and wartime Hungary that on the whole rejected democracy and was turning increasingly authoritarian, plus four more years under autocratic rule during the Second World War in the northern partition of the area, while it has been in place for a century in Romania, almost thirty years of which in a broadly democratic context.

#### 4.6. Conclusions

It has lost most of its practical justification by now, but is still a standard historiographical and editorial practice to tie the choice of settlement names to the principle of state sovereignty and identify places as ‘Bozen (today Bolzano)’ or make statements of the genre ‘in 1920, Kassa changed its name to *Košice*.’ While this certainly raises interesting questions, the way it is most often implemented is plainly wrong. It seems somewhat more appropriate to write ‘Reichenberg, today Liberec’, ‘Smirna, today İzmir’ or ‘Danzig, today Gdańsk’, cases involving ethnic cleansing, especially if a longer *durée* is implied, but one gets the impression as if historians or their editors thought of ethnic cleansing or some unlikely, instant form of assimilation as regular features of all transfers of state sovereignty. Of course, Kassa was already called *Košice* in Slovak in the Dualist

<sup>790</sup> Romanian-speaking areas were carefully purged of names found depreciative, indecent or ‘cacophonous’, but Szeklers were not spared of derogatory artificial names like *Drojdii* (‘dregs’) or *Jigodin* (cf. *jigodie* ‘mutt’). In contrast, only six villages were re-named for such reasons in the 1900s: *Kakad*, *Kispacal*, *Krasznapacalusa*, *Nagypacal*, *Peselnék* and *Szolnokpacalusa*.

<sup>791</sup> *Aciuva*→*Avram Iancu*, *Balintfalău*→*Bolintineni*, *Chemenfoc*→*Avram Iancu*, *Chetfel*→*Gelu*, *Dealul Calului*→*Poiana Horea*, *Glogovăț*→*Vladimirescu*, *Ieciu*→*Brâncovenesti*, *Pănatu Nou*→*Horia*, *Recsenyéd*→*Rareș*, *Sânmihailu de Jos* and *de Sus*→*Mihai Viteazu*, *Urviniș*→*Andrei Șaguna*, *Vacsárcsi*→*Văcărești*, *Zoltan*→*Mihai Viteazu*. For commemorative naming in the 1900s, see footnotes 553 and 554.



Era, and it is still called *Kassa* in Hungarian, while both languages have been continuously spoken in the city in the last centuries. What happened to these names around 1920 should not even be regarded as a name policy measure, but rather as the consequence of the shift in government to the language then known as ‘Czechoslovak’, which also entailed the official use of established Slovak name variants. Short of intrusive name policy measures, the name *Kassa* continued to be used in Hungarian, including the domains that the language preserved in public life.

In the foregoing, I have chosen to treat such village names as those of the former Banat Military Frontier as parts of the Hungarian onomasticon after the area went under Hungarian administration, its names were given minimally Hungarian forms through transcription from German and were popularised in encyclopedic works like Pesty’s on Szörény County.<sup>792</sup> By the same token, I have also treated transcribed and minimally adapted post-1918 names of Szekler villages as parts of the Romanian onomasticon. But my choice was largely a matter of convenience and taste. At any rate, such names belong to the outer periphery of the onomasticon in that there was hardly any native community of practice at the time of annexation (other than the officials dispatched to the area to manage the transition) whose mental map featured these places as solid reference points. This created a different scenario than in the cases of Košice, Bolzano, Liberec, İzmir or Gdańsk, where native forms were readily available. Here, the state first presented these names as Hungarian or Romanian using the instrument of spelling, and only later and slowly were they appropriated by speakers.

But states have other means as well at their disposal to refashion the place-name cover of their territories. The proper field of toponymic codification ranges from softer interventions—the choice between spelling alternates or disambiguation with attributes—to the reinstatement of obscure historic forms and the substitution of existing

<sup>792</sup> Pesty, *A Szörényi Bánság és Szörény vármegye története*.

names with new ones derived from them or created *ex nihilo*; a well-known example of the latter type is Slovak *Bratislava*. In the nationalist version, renaming has aimed at expanding the patterns of the native onomasticon's endonymic core to its peripheral elements and at creating greater semantic transparency. This obviously does not imply that endonyms invariably or even for the most part had transparent meanings or native roots; the majority of Romanian endonyms in my area clearly had neither, and it does not appear that residents of such places thought of their place names as foreign. But the officials and specialists in charge of renaming campaigns put themselves above local perceptions, they validated the principle that place names belonged to the entire nation, embodied in the state, rather than to the surrounding people who actually used them, and they implemented the linguistic doxa of the time rather narrowly. This is why artificial naming has often been puristic, overreaching the mark set by native endonyms.

Where non-dominant ethno-linguistic minorities have not been expelled from their historic lands and entirely new official names have been devised for their settlements, these have functioned prominently as oppressive displays of who has and who does not have legitimate power and the right to define. This is because not only they are unavoidably seen as fake by local people and as designed to discipline them and make their otherness invisible, but sustained contrast with the formerly more prestigious endonyms, which they will always use as long as their language survives, will also keep their awareness of these attributes across generations.

As with street naming, one finds a different approach to indigenous place names on the part of colonial Europeans than to what renaming campaigns effected on the multilingual peripheries of national territories testify towards foreign or foreign-influenced forms. This comparison is less relevant here than it was in the field of street names, since what little renaming of settlements there happened in the colonies went on in an unco-

ordinated way. In a suggesting parallel, however, settler towns, which represented a wholly distinct settlement type in the colonies, very often received commemorative names after administrators, politicians and royalties in both contexts. In the Banat, where this pattern had come down from the time of the eighteenth-century waves of colonisations, such names for new settlements during the Dualist Era arguably contributed to Magyarising the map.<sup>793</sup> After the War, commemorative names became a first choice for the new Romanian colonies in the border zone as well as for the *dobrovoljac* (veteran) settlements in the Vojvodina, created on expropriated and parcelled-out estates and invested with ethno-political significance.<sup>794</sup> The names of new German or Magyar villages in the Banat were often determined in advance by the Treasury estates management, and this may have also been the case in the latter two settings. In one way or another, commemorative names, along with transferred place names, in general seem very common for new places settled according to plans and with people brought in from relatively long distances, who do not know or do not care about the existing local microtoponymy.

<sup>793</sup> A remarkable case is that of *Szendelak*, originally the name of a village settled on the periphery of Romanian Măguri and named after its creator, the landowner Béla Szende. Since the village was too small to sustain its own administration, it was merged with Măguri in 1896 under the name *Szendelak-Magur*. By 1907, the Magyars of Szendelak had mostly dispersed, the Board nevertheless dropped the second part, thus transferring the name *Szendelak* to what had earlier been Magur. Cf. Gusztáv Thirring, 'Vázlatok a Pojána-Ruszka hegységből' [Sketches from the Poiana Ruscă Mountains], in *A magyarországi Kárpátgyűlés évkönyve* 13 (1886): 162; *Belügyi Közlöny* 1 (1896): 31 and Mező, *Adatok*, 356.

<sup>794</sup> I thank Dejan Lukić for the information on *dobrovoljac* villages.

## 5. DUALIST HUNGARY: A GHOST STORY

Between the Compromise of 1867 and the First World War, Hungary exercised most state functions key to carry out independent nation-building policies. The military was the only major instrument of power beyond its control, although a small Honvéd Army did exist. Apart from the lack of patriotic and linguistic training that young enlisted men underwent in other fledgling nation states, this shortcoming also obstructed efforts to present the toponymy of the land—especially its microtoponymy—as unproblematically Hungarian, since the empire’s sole mapping agency was the Viennese military geographical service, subordinated to the common Ministry of Defence.<sup>1</sup> Hungarian governments had full latitude in educational matters, but they dispensed with a comprehensive network of Hungarian schools, while most Romanian and the overwhelming majority of Transylvanian Saxon children attended mother-tongue confessional schools until the end of the era. It led to disarray when the so-called Coalition Government curtailed the autonomy of these latter, and the provision of the new curriculum that minority teachers should acquaint pupils with their Hungarian first names was in particular likely to be met with knee-jerk resistance.

In various consequential settings, choices about names put to test the Romanian peasantry’s national commitments, or rather their interiorisation of the nationalist doxa. They were initially and for a long time demonstrably unresponsive to the tide of Latinate names, although their priests and schoolmasters set an example and tried to popularise them. Remarkably, I found no difference in this regard between Uniates and Orthodox. The responses to Pesty’s survey from the mid-1860s suggest that village elders and leaderships did not relate their place names to Latin origins, and their foundational stories did

<sup>1</sup> Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), 292–302.

not feature Roman veterans. Other sources suggest, however, that in the proximity of remains from Roman times, local memory had by that time adopted the figure of Emperor Trajan, a conjecture that the relatively early popularity of the name *Traian* seems to support. Forty years down the line, while a full two-thirds of Romanian local councils protested against the Magyarisation of their place names, they did not request that their endonyms be made official and they did not operate with historical, nationalist arguments, unlike Transylvanian Saxons. Moreover, they typically also did not mind preserving an old prefix *Magyar-* and they objected to plans to remove the prefix *Oláh-* from the Hungarian names of their villages, which a truly nationalist mindset likely snubbed.

If village mayors and councillors did not and perhaps could not formulate coherent arguments in a recognisably Romanian nationalist language, a Magyar–Hungarian identity certainly had a very limited appeal for the Romanian masses. In accordance with Karády and Kozma’s earlier study, I concluded that the participation of Romanians in the Magyarisation of family names was very small and out of Dualist Hungary’s ethno-national groups, second-last only to Transylvanian Saxons. In addition, half of the people who Magyarised their Romanian family names are confirmed in the sources as public employees, most of whom likely acted under duress. The balance consisted of people living in Hungarian-speaking environments, mainly in the cities and in the Szeklerland, and often belonged to a Magyar confession.

Half of Romanian high-school students steadily took the matura exam in high schools with Hungarian medium of teaching.<sup>2</sup> That attendance of these was not considered a renunciation of solidarity by the Romanian elite of Hungary and that they were not regarded as gateways of Magyarisation is underscored by the curious fact that the

2 *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv 1877* (Budapest: Országos Magyar Kir. Statisztikai Hivatal, 1879), 36–46 and Cornel Sigmirean, *Istoria formării intelectualității românești din Transilvania și Banat în epoca modernă* [The history of Romanian intellectual elite formation in Transylvania and the Banat in the modern era] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000), 188.

prevalence of Latinate names was significantly higher among Romanian students of Magyar high schools than in Romanian institutions, without there being a significant difference between the social make-up of the two groups. As a whole, the popularity of Latinate given names soared to higher rates in the Romanian intelligentsia than that of Hungarian historical and pagan names in the Magyar, with sixty per cent of boys born to families of Romanian priests and teachers being baptised with Latinate names at the turn of the century. Their regional distribution dovetails with what the literature indicates about the relative strength of the Romanian national movement, perhaps with the exception of Hunyad County, where their popularity was surprisingly high. Judging by my limited complementary dataset, upper-class Romanian parents held different attitudes towards girls' and boys' names. There appears a sizeable group in the student body of Romanian female civil schools with first names borrowed from modern Western languages, primarily from German. This class of girls' names had its male counterpart in the baby-naming trends of contemporary Romania, but not among Romanians in Hungary, which may indicate that a national vanguard highly alert to the symbolic value of given names was still more indulgent towards girls than boys. Here one may recall that in a host of settings, it was easier for affluent Romanian girls to find suitable Magyar or German than Romanian marriage partners.

The sustained importance of Hungarian schooling, the increasing ubiquity and knowledge of Hungarian and its cultural hegemony perpetuated such practices in the Romanian elite as the use of Hungarian hypocoristics and recourse to Hungarian place-name variants in writing. These often went unreflected, but less likely by nationalist activists and in public settings. At a deeper level, these conflicted with their beliefs, but apparently stayed within their cultural comfort zone, together with a host of other hybrid or

crossover elements that could seem odious in a radical populist light.<sup>3</sup> Obviously, they also made regular use of countless strategies to highlight their difference from the Magyar society and to police co-nationals. Putting a Romanian name in print in the Hungarian spelling and name order was used as a device to denounce the bearer as a traitor, whilst pointing to the ‘foreign’ family name of a Magyar public figure served them to lay bare the ‘artificial’ nature of Hungarian/Magyar nationalism. The latter was a mutually beloved strategy, and both the Romanian and Magyar sides were incomparably more broad-minded towards alien names of ingroup members. The wave of family-name Romanianisations in the 1850s and 1860s was also prompted less by any stigma specifically attached to contact-influenced names, but rather by the Latinist language ideology of the time. It by and large came to a halt with the Junimist turn and, as I argued, independently from administrative barriers.

Both Romanian and Magyar public writers tried to reinforce national boundaries by conjuring up threats that my analysis revealed were largely fictitious. Romanian authors scapegoated fictional or unnamed family-name Magyarisers and Romanian families who gave their children Hungarian national names. Given the very low incidence of both trends, however, such critical remarks are best understood as the warning of readers against transgressions. Similarly, Magyars would sometimes imagine that the Romanian variants of place names were recent developments fuelled by separatist tendencies, and they also overstated the frequency of Latinate names among Romanian peasants if they wished to get across to their readers the dangers of a successful Romanian identity project.

The consecutive shifts from Cyrillic to Latin scripts and from etymological to phonemic orthographies not only upset and in the short term made uncertain the relationship

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3 For example, Octavian C. Tăslăuanu, ‘Două culturi: cultura domnilor și cultura țăranilor’ [Two cultures: the culture of lords and the culture of peasants], *Luceafărul* 7 (1908): 59–64.

between the pronunciation and spelling of Romanian, but also left a long-lasting mark on many a written Romanian family name. In an era when the majority of the population was still illiterate, the confusion around the spelling of family names was all the bigger. And yet the question was from early on invested with political stakes, since Magyars tended to transcribe Romanian names, a practice that increasingly conveyed a principled dismissal of a Romanian writing system's right for existence in Hungary, although the returns to Pesty's survey showed that the Magyar village secretaries incumbent in 1864–5 had already acquainted themselves with Romanian etymological spelling. First against the widespread official practice of transcription and then against the head-on offensive mounted by the state into this domain, the Romanian nationalist intelligentsia could strengthen their bid for political leadership as experts in matters of spelling. But the expertise thus claimed was altogether based on tenuous grounds. In face-to-face conflicts with persons of authority, defending one's own way of spelling one's name proved a rewarding way to assert cultural and national difference. But when the same intelligentsia strived to make the peasantry conscious about how important it was to 'correctly' spell their family names, it was only with great difficulties that they could present the diacritics of phonemic orthography as 'national marks', and they could not credibly direct peasants to parish registers as the ultimate yardsticks of spelling.

The great social distance separating Transylvanian Saxons from their Romanian and Magyar neighbours is a commonplace of both contemporary and historiographical literature. The normative aspects of this separation and the disciplining mechanisms that reproduced it have also been widely studied. Substantiating this image is the small Hungarian and Romanian influence on Saxon family names, which is remarkable not only in comparison to the occurrence of Hungarian and Romanian forms among Saxon bynames and unofficial surnames, but also to the greater influence of Western Slavic, not to men-



tion the no more than facetious use of Hungarian hypocoristics. Significantly, rates of family-name Magyarisation were close to nil among Saxons, and not only practically all Transylvanian Saxon family-name changers were employed in civil service, but most of them were also based outside of Saxon-inhabited areas. And while none of these results comes as a real surprise, there is one, the very sharp rift between the first-name choices of the Saxon elite and the peasantry, which deserves particular attention.

Thanks to their majority in county assemblies and their solid representation in the parliament, which gave them clout with Budapest governments, Saxons enjoyed more cultural autonomy than other national minorities, and would protest against wrongs that still seemed enviable to Romanians. Between 1883 and 1902, Saxon school books were given preferential treatment over Romanian ones, being allowed to display German place names unaccompanied by their Hungarian equivalents. Saxon town governments could afford eschewing Magyar referents when introducing official street nomenclatures, although they were cautious enough not to overstretch this freedom, they assigned few commemorative names and those from the local scale. For Saxons, the law on locality names and the activity of the Communal Registry Board meant the loss of their German names, a real and serious infringement of their linguistic rights, while the Romanian variants of settlement names had by that time a rather restricted use in the official realm. This is one of the reasons that Saxons mounted noisier protests and Saxon local governments spoke up more assertively against the law and the ensuing process.

The memory and cult of 1848 exercised a pivotal influence on the Magyar elite's political socialisation for several generations. With its mass-scale interethnic violence, 1848 had extra meaning for Magyars of Transylvania, very much alive in local and family memory, but little exploited in official discourse. In addition, even more important was for the Magyar political class of the Eastern lands a very vague, earlier section of

history, defined by the absence or marginal presence of Romanians in it. Since transparent Hungarian settlement names served as its main props for memory, this normative history was sharply projected onto contemporaneous geographical space, it haunted the minds of Magyar officials and intelligentsia on inspections or hiking expeditions, it guided them towards redressing more recent history or simply gave them excuse to badger village folk. Ghosts from this golden age appeared to these people in the guise of peasants with family names deriving at some remove from Hungarian, who were routinely presented in Hungarian texts as Romanianised Magyars, fitting into a discourse about degeneration and rejuvenation. The erstwhile, medieval or early modern residents were imagined as better copies of contemporary Magyar peasants, perhaps clad in flamboyantly embroidered costumes and living in neat and tidy homes flanked by dovecoted, richly carved gates. Their putative descent from this blessed state into wretched, crouching and bigoted Romanians was rhetorically attributed to moral and intellectual backslide or infection and to historical neglect by a Hungarian state. In this way, names, geographical and personal, became constituent elements to one of Dualist Hungary's central historical myth, the vision of a once Hungarian-speaking Hungary, as well as to the more special case for a submerged Magyardom.

These two major nodes of the Dualist Magyar elite's time map, 1848 and the elusive golden age preceding the intrusion of foreign elements, in principle remote, but often collapsed into the recent past, were each connected to an Other that frustrated the nation's fulfilment; Austria ('the Germans') and the national minorities. While Saxons were cast in a double role here, Austria was sometimes also implicated as the originator and sponsor of Hungary's minority national movements, with Viennese military cartographers for instance being charged with conspiring with the forces of chaos for displaying the Romanian vernacular nomenclature on their large-scale maps of Hungary. Austria was

certainly deemed the more worthy enemy, and especially opposition demagoguery to Liberal governments could project it behind all the nation's perceived woes. In the last resort, Independentists could even regard the Magyarisation of settlement names as the replacement of the German and other place names that the Habsburg administration had foisted on Magyars with those that it had cunningly sidelined. On the rhetorical level at least, political actors often re-enacted history and fought their battles in one of these two past worlds, sliding the logic of political action between various frames along the time axis.

My regional comparison of commemorative street naming found the historical memory of autonomous Transylvania smoothly incorporated into the master narrative of Hungarian national history, in particular in its Independentist variant. The core figures of this pantheon appeared almost as often on street plaques in the Grand Plain as in Transylvania. This adds to the conclusion that Transylvanian regionalism was not an alternative, but a complementary, or at best a variety, of Magyar–Hungarian nationalism. With the significant exception of the Szeklerland, town governments on the whole placed fewer Independentist and slightly more dynastic references in the East than in Central Hungary. Although the jubilant spirit of the 1896 celebrations may suggest otherwise, the theme of the Magyar conquest around 900 AD kept a low profile, both in absolute numbers and in comparison with the Grand Plain. In the same period, a separate Romanian pantheon of Transylvanian history, unconnected to the Magyar one, already made its way into the street nomenclatures of Wallachian towns, although it could not yet appear in Transylvania proper.

Symbolic assimilationist measures, like the ones affecting names and naming, did not so much come as clear provisions openly spelt out in laws in Dualist Hungary, but were usually hidden in implementing regulations and ministerial decrees, and often in the

form of more or less oblique references presupposing partisan interpretation from executive officials. Moreover, Budapest governments cautiously worked out pragmatic justifications and usually favoured them when accounting for their interventions into the realm of names. These were supposedly meant to alleviate the burden of officials and to oil the wheels of a bureaucracy encumbered by an impenetrable tangle of variants. Leaving aside the question of their straightforwardness, such arguments actually wielded explanatory power, and on two levels. First, the needs of governmentality everywhere pushed early modern and modern states toward imposing names where they did not exist and freezing them where they were in a flux. This drive stood behind the widespread officialisation of surnames, street names, field names etc., as convenient tools of identification. Second, the Magyar ruling class projected Magyarisation as synonymous with modernisation, and multilingualism in the public sphere as a leftover from the murky, medieval system of privileges. Expectations of modernity were indeed attached to acts of renaming, tangible even in local press reports about the uncoordinated and decentralised renaming of urban spaces, and eliminating minority languages and the related onomastica from official communication surely promised a more efficient state machinery.

Apart from the Romanian and German minority activists who regularly exposed the Magyarising essence behind the pragmatist veneer, the forty-eightist and sixty-sevenist opposition parties also did not play along with the government. Not only did they decode such measures as crumbs thrown to a chauvinist public opinion, they also denounced the government for what they saw as appeasement or slackening commitment, and demanded more drastic steps that would cover up the visible marks of non-Magyar minorities. Magyar politicians and public writers frequently appealed to the showcase principle, which projected the unqualified Hungarian character of (place, family etc.) names as a property seal that would allegedly prevent other nations from laying claim on their refer-

ents, but ‘re-Magyarising’ the ‘de-Magyarised’ also figured as a staple pretext for advocating Magyarisation. A convenient position to argue for such measures while keeping a veil of objectivity was one of confident, thick-skinned narcissism, which made invisible the singularity of one’s viewpoint and which for example allowed Béla Barabás to demand that everyone should spell their name ‘as it is pronounced’, and the Communal Registry Board to disparage settlement names as ‘bad to the ear’ or as ‘meaningless’.

Institutionalised knowledge regimes, especially national historiography and philology, continually supplied raw material for popular historical visions, but expert knowledge also mitigated the effects of symbolic Magyarisation when policies involved a process of standardisation, as it happened to settlement and first names. This becomes especially clear if one compares the decisions made by the bodies entrusted with the standardisation with the suggestions they received from Magyar power-holders in the peripheries. Experts on these committees set bounds to arbitrariness, they introduced criteria of historicity and rejected commemorative naming. No formal standardisation took place in the rest of cases, irrespective of government agency, which was demonstrably present at once in a direct and indirect manner in the Magyarising of family names. What is more, the fact that the spike in cases in 1898 only affected public employees bears out the coercive nature of family-name Magyarisations in that sector. More startlingly, I discovered that while people in the lowest echelons were often defenceless against pressure from above, higher-ranking officials were much freer not to Magyarise their family names.

County officials and village secretaries might not agree with the government on the wisdom and possibility of assimilation, but they would still welcome any measure affecting the national minorities as an opportunity to teach them their place. Some of them wished to have the entire population re-baptised to newly coined Hungarian given names

in order to inflict more harm on them, while others applauded the renaming of settlements as a punitive endeavour. Many of these officials also imposed the changes overzealously on minority institutions, but at the same time, they often adopted them sloppily in their own practice, after all reluctant to upset their habits.

With his well-justified decision to declare some Latinate first names untranslatable to Hungarian and establishing very close Hungarian equivalents for others, the academician György Joannovics inadvertently created a niche where Romanians could maintain their names across languages. This in turn may have bolstered the popularity of Latinate names, clearly against the grain of Hungarian governments. But in a more general manner, simply by not letting linguistic minorities be, aggressive nationalising policies often had the boomerang effect of strengthening anti-state national movements where these were easily available to the people. Of course, this much understudied relationship needs to be approached in interaction with the ways national movements framed and interpreted these government policies. Regarding the subject matter of this work, however, the exact message of minority nationalists, who in general presented the names under threat as eternal and of intrinsic worth to the nation, played a secondary role in mobilising against the Hungarian state. To be sure, no contemporary state power was particularly endeared to the hearts of countryside people. But one that in addition to the usual scourges of taxes, monopolies and conscription, also waged an unrelenting war on some of their basic verbal reference points in the name of an ultimately disingenuous assimilatory project could become heinous without any further assistance, and was certainly less desirable than its culturally more proximate alternatives.

The following factors can be singled out as responsible for the differences in the impact that Dualist Hungary's naming policies had on its various ethno-national minorities.

1. Religious distance to Magyars. Romanians, by virtue of their Byzantine liturgical tra-

ditions, had inherited a corpus of given names that brought more challenge to standardisation in Hungarian than the names of Germans and Slovaks. 2. The strength of their national movements. Relying upon an electorate that was not only the most powerful in proportionate terms, but also cast the most disciplined ethnic vote, Transylvanian Saxon politicians successfully navigated the political waters and were able to win concessions for their ethnic constituency and their counties. In comparison to the Slovak, for instance, the Romanian national movement was well-organised, but was paralysed in its actual clout by the unfavourable rules of the political game and by a synergy of patronage politics and electoral malpractice. The mass support it was able to muster, however, together with a boisterous irredenta in Romania, secured the role of bogeyman for it in Magyar politics, an existential threat for Hungary that, according to many a county official, had to be fought off by intimidation and harsh pre-emptive measures. 3. The appeal of the cultural programme of Magyarisation. With varying intensity, official Hungary encouraged the Magyarisation of family names, but more people with Romanian background did so at their own will than Transylvanian Saxons, far more Slovaks and Catholic Germans than Romanians, more Jews than any other group, and in general more urban people than villagers. 4. The linguistic and power relations of their home regions in the previous centuries, which had defined their settlement toponymy. The settlement names of the Transylvanian counties that underwent the scrutiny of the delegated committee were in general deemed sufficiently Hungarian, but the opposite was the verdict for the nomenclatures of the Banat and Upper Hungary, which then justified their complete transmogrification. 5. The status and prestige of their linguistic standards. Magyars typically used German spelling for German family names, and sometimes wrote geographical names in a Romanian spelling.

The intensity and scope of ideologically motivated renaming in Dualist Hungary

were not without match in contemporary Europe, as attested by case studies on Greece and the German Empire, not to mention here the much lesser known Serbian, Romanian and Bulgarian contexts. Perhaps it is its the methodical approach to renaming on behalf of its institutions that puts Hungary aside from other nationalising states. Without reflecting upon it, such experiments certainly drew upon the onomastic upheaval staged by revolutionary France. After the War, similar policies became the order of the day in all the new and enlarged European states, in the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, later in other Socialist countries, Israel and the former colonies. It is my pleasure if the reader does not regret the time spent with my text and has maybe also found inspiring parallels with other, more familiar settings.



## ANNEXE



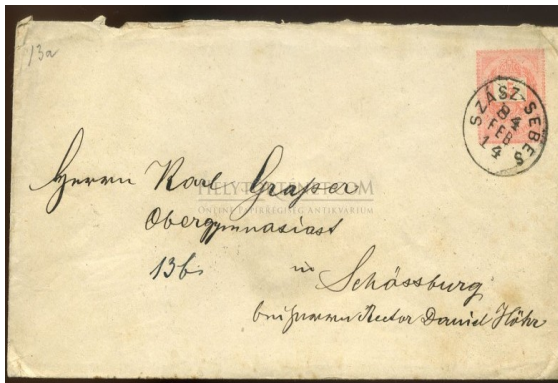
1

the shop-front of the shoemaker Franz Horger/Horger Ferenc in Lugos/Lugoj/Lugosch (detail of a postcard from 1917)

2

the shop-front of Dimitrie Proca's grocery in Satulung/Hosszúfalú (Brassó County), early 20th century





3

envelope of a letter sent from Sebeș/Mühlbach/Szászsebes to Schäßburg/Sighișoara/Segesvár, 1884

(from <http://helytortenet.com>)

4

postcard sent from Kolozsvár/Cluj/Klausenburg to Hermannstadt/Sibiu/Nagyszeben, 1891



5

postcard sent from Pitești, Romania to Brassó/Braşov/Kronstadt, 1900

(from <http://okazii.ro>)



6

postcard sent from Anina to Reschitza/Reșița Montană/Resicabánya, 1901

(from <http://okazii.ro>)



7

postcard sent from Sângeorgiu Ro-  
mân/Oláhszentgyörgy to Susenii Bârgău-  
lui/Felsőborgó, 1899  
(from <http://okazii.ro>)



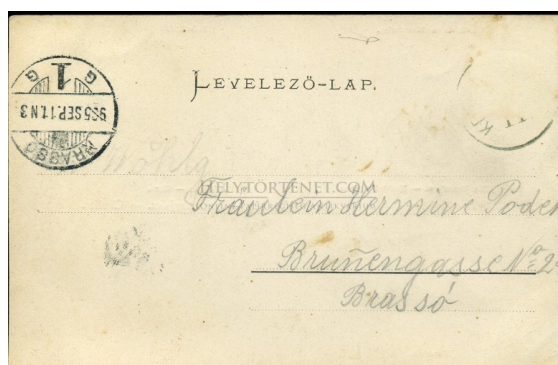
8

postcard sent from Sächsisch-Re-  
gen/Szászrégen/Reghinul Săsesc to  
Bistritz/Bistrița/Beszterce, 1903  
(from <http://okazii.ro>)



9

postcard sent to Brassó, Brunnengasse,  
1905  
(from <http://helytortenet.com>)



## PLACE-NAME INDEX

- Abrud* (Rom), *Abrudbánya* (Hun), *Groß-Schlatten* (Ger) 1,689 R, 1,008 M and 53 G in 1880; 1,697 R, 1,176 M and 34 G in 1910
- Aciuța* (Rom), *Acsuca*, later *Ácsfalva* (Hun) 465 R in 1880
- Agârbiciu* (Rom), *Arbegen* (Ger), *Egerbegy*, later *Szászegerbegy* (Hun) 643 R and 562 G in 1880
- Agnetheln* (Ger), *Agnita* (Rom), *Szentágota* (Hun) 2,216 G, 529 R and 49 M in 1880
- Agrij* (Rom), *Felegregy*, later *Felsőegregy* (Hun) 678 R and 83 M in 1880
- Aiton* (Rom), *Ajton* (Hun) 1,010 R and 513 M in 1880
- Aiud* see *Nagyenyed*
- Alba Iulia* see *Gyulafehérvár*
- Aleșd* see *Élesd*
- Alios* (Rom), *Aliosch* (Ger), *Allios*, later *Temesillésd* (Hun) 1,630 R, 105 G and 39 M in 1880
- Almasch* (Ger), *Almáskamarás* (Hun), *Almaș-Cămăraș* (Rom) 1,219 G, 135 M and 25 R in 1880
- Almásmálom* see *Málom*
- Alsó-Fehér* (Hun), *Alba de Jos* (Rom), *Unterweißenburg* (Ger) (county) 135,439 R, 25,818 M and 6,972 G in 1880; 171,483 R, 39,107 M and 7,269 G in 1910
- Ampoi* (Rom), *Ompoly* (Hun) (river)
- Anieș* (Rom), *Dombhát* (Hun) 297 R, 42 M and 27 G in 1910
- Apoldu Mic*, *Apoldu Românesc* or *Polda Mică*, today *Apoldu de Jos* (Rom), *Kleinpold* (Ger), *Kisapold* (Hun) 1,820 R in 1880
- Apuseni* (*Munții*) (Rom), *Erdélyi-szigethegység* (Hun) (mountain range)
- Arad* (county) 185,241 R, 67,613 M, 30,931 G, 2,938 Slovaks, 2,219 Roma and 1,966 Serbs in 1880; 239,755 R, 124,215 M, 38,695 G, 5,451 Slovaks, 2,615 Roma and 2,138 Serbs in 1910
- Arad* (city) 19,896 M, 6,439 R, 5,448 G and 1,690 Serbs in 1880; 46,085 M, 10,279 R, 4,365 G and 1,816 Serbs in 1910
- Aranyos* (Hun), *Arieș* (Rom) (river)
- Archiud* (Rom), *Szászerked*, later *Mezőerked* (Hun) 645 R and 253 M in 1880
- Árkos* (Hun), *Arcuș* (Rom) 1,460 M and 34 R in 1880
- Avrig* (Rom), *Freck* (Ger), *Felek* (Hun) 2,275 R and 344 G in 1880
- Babșa* (Rom), *Babsa* (Hun), *Babscha* (Ger) 822 R and 11 G in 1880; 914 R, 371 M and 53 G in 1910
- Bacea* (Rom), *Bácsfalva* (Hun) 374 R in 1880
- Bacova* see *Bakowa*
- Bagos*, today *Szilágybagos* (Hun), *Boghiș* (Rom) 849 M and 72 R in 1880
- Baia* (Rom), *Baja*, later *Kisbaja* (Hun) 468 R in 1880
- Baia Mare* see *Nagybánya*
- Baia Sprie* see *Felsőbánya*
- Băiuț* see *Oláhláposbánya*
- Baja* see *Baia*
- Bajj* see *Boiu*
- Bakowa* (Ger), *Bachóvár*, later *Bakóvár* (Hun), *Bacova* (Rom) 1,552 G, 59 M and 22 R in 1880



- Bănia* (Rom), *Bánya* (Hun) 2,308 R in 1880  
*Bârcea Mare* (Rom), *Nagybarcsa* (Hun) 162 R and 18 M in 1880  
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*Békés* see *Bichiș*  
*Bela Crkva* see *Weißkirchen*  
*Belényes* (Hun), *Beiuș* (Rom) 1,310 M and 1,049 R in 1880; 2,134 M and 1,974 R in 1910  
*Beliu* (Rom), *Bél* (Hun) 908 R, 338 M, 51 Slovaks and 41 G in 1880  
*Belotînt* (Rom), *Belotinc*, later *Beletháza* (Rom) 1,096 R in 1880  
*Bencecu de Sus* see *Deutschbentschek*  
*Beszterce-Naszód* (Hun), *Bistrița-Năsăud* (Rom), *Bistritz-Nassod* (Ger) (county) 62,048 R, 23,113 G and 3,540 M in 1880; 87,564 R, 25,609 G and 10,737 M in 1910  
*Bichiș* (Rom), *Békés*, later *Kisbékés* (Hun) 716 R in 1880  
*Bihar* (Hun), *Bihor* (Rom) (county) 233,135 M, 186,264 R, 4,554 Slovaks and 4,305 G in 1880; 365,642 M, 265,098 R, 8,457 Slovaks and 3,599 G in 1910  
*Biharszentjános* see *Szentjános*  
*Bihar* (rom), *Bihar* (Hun) (mountain range)  
*Bistritz* (Ger), *Bistrița* (Rom), *Beszterce* (Hun) 4,954 G, 2,064 R and 561 M in 1880; 5,835 G, 4,470 R and 2,824 M in 1910  
*Bistrița Aurie* (Rom), *Goldene Bistritza* (Ger), *Aranyos-Beszterce* (Hun) (river)  
*Blaj* (Rom), *Balázsfalva* (Hun), *Blasendorf* (Ger) 774 R, 169 M and 90 G in 1880  
*Bocșa Română* (Rom), *Románbogsán*, later *Várboksán* (Hun), *Rumänisch-Bokschan* (Ger), today part of Bocșa 2,132 R, 128 G and 86 Slovaks in 1880  
*Bocșița* (Rom), *Magyarbaksa* (Hun) 245 R and 37 M in 1880  
*Bodo* see *Nagybodófalva*  
*Bodoc* see *Sepsibodok*  
*Bogata Ungurească*, today *Bogata de Sus* (Rom), *Magyarbogáta*, later *Felsőbogáta* (Hun) 315 R in 1880  
*Boghiș* see *Bagos*  
*Boian*, today *Boianu Mare* (Rom), *Bajom* or *Nagybajom*, later *Tasnádbajom* (Hun) 493 R and 42 M in 1880  
*Boiu* (Rom), *Bajj*, later *Mezőbaj* (Hun) 1,044 R and 93 M in 1880  
*Boldur* 872 R, 27 M and 15 G in 1880  
*Bologa* (Rom), *Sebesvár* (Hun) 628 R and 21 M in 1880  
*Boroșineu*, today *Ineu* (Rom), *Borosjenő* (Hun) 2,734 R, 1,414 M and 242 G in 1880  
*Borszék* (Hun), *Borsec* (Rom) 916 M and 96 R in 1880  
*Borza* (Rom), *Borzova*, later *Egrefyborzova* (Hun) 241 R in 1880  
*Borzik* see *Burzuc*  
*Borzova* see *Borza*  
*Bozovici* (Rom), *Bosowitsch* (Ger), *Bozovics* (Hun) 3,220 R, 196 G and 40 M in 1880  
*Brad* (Rom), *Brád* (Hun) 1,984 R, 219 M and 36 G in 1880  
*Brădișoru de Jos* see *Măidan*  
*Brănișca* (Rom), *Branyicska* (Hun) 537 R and 29 M in 1880  
*Brassó* (Hun), *Brașov* (Rom), *Kronstädter* (Ger) (county) 29,250 R, 26,579 G and 23,948 M in 1880; 35,372 M, 35,091 R and 29,542 G in 1910  
*Brassó* (Hun), *Brașov* (Rom), *Kronstadt* (Ger) (city) 9,599 G, 9,508 M and 9,079 R in 1880; 17,831 M, 11,786 R and 10,841 G in 1910

- Buda Veche*, today *Vechea* (Rom), *Bodonkút*, earlier *Burjánosoláhbuda* (Hun) 406 R and 199 M in 1880
- Buduş* (Rom), *Budesdorf* (Ger), *Kisbudak*, later *Alsóbudak* (Hun) 677 R, 74 G and 10 M in 1880
- Burzenland* (Ger), *Bârsa* (Rom), *Barcaság* (Hun) (region)
- Burzuc* (Rom), *Borzik*, later *Borszeg* (Hun) 626 R and 47 M in 1880
- Busiasch* (Ger), *Buziaş* (Rom), *Buziás*, later *Buziásfürdő* (Hun) 984 G, 806 R, 467 M, 59 Slovaks and 30 Serbs in 1880
- Buteni* (Rom), *Buttyin*, later *Körösbökény* (Hun) 2,271 R and 283 M in 1880
- Buziaş* see *Busiasch*
- Călan* see *Pusztakalán*
- Câmpie* or *Câmpia Transilvaniei* (Rom), *Mezőség* (Hun), *Heide* (Ger) (region)
- Câmpu lui Neag* (Rom), *Kimpulunyág* (Hun) 380 R in 1880
- Caransebeş* (Rom), *Karánsebes* (Hun), *Karansebesch* (Ger) 2,538 R, 1,552 G and 302 M in 1880; 3,916 R, 2,419 M and 1,413 G in 1910
- Caraş* (Rom), *Karasz* (Ger), *Krassó* (Hun) (river)
- Caraş* (Rom), *Karasz* (Ger), *Krassó* (Hun) (county before 1880) c. 210,475 R, 31,372 G, 7,021 Karaşevci, 5,958 Slovaks and 3,083 M in 1869
- Carei* see *Nagykároly*
- Cârlibaba Nouă* see *Ludwigsdorf*
- Cavnic* see *Kapnikbánya*
- Ceica* (Rom), *Magyarcséke* (Hun) 454 R, 145 M and 41 Slovaks in 1880
- Cenade* (Rom), *Scholten* (Ger), *Szászcsanád* (Hun) 975 R, 506 G and 41 M in 1880
- Cergău Mare* (Rom), *Nagycserged*, later *Magyarcserged* (Hun) 952 R in 1880
- Cermei* (Rom), *Csermő* (Hun) 1,408 R and 698 M in 1880
- Cheţ* see *Kéc*
- Chidea* see *Kide*
- Chişcădaga* (Rom), *Kecskedága* (Hun) 449 R in 1880
- Chizdia*, today *Coşarii* (Rom), *Kizdija* (Srp), *Kizdia*, later *Kisgye* (Hun) 1,361 R and 62 M in 1880
- Ciacova* see *Tschakowa*
- Cicir* (Rom), *Csicsér*, later *Maroscsicsér* (Hun) 896 R and 17 G in 1880
- Clocotici* see *Klokotič*
- Clopotiva* 1,583 R, 28 M and 15 G in 1880
- Cluj* (town) see *Kolozsvár*
- Copand*, today *Copăceni* (Rom), *Koppánd* (Hun) 378 R and 79 M in 1880
- Copru* (Rom), *Kapor* (Hun) 175 R in 1880
- Corbu* (Rom), *Gyergyóholló* (Hun) 778 R and 319 M in 1880
- Cornea* (Rom), *Kornya*, later *Somfa* (Hun) 1,468 R in 1880
- Coşarii* see *Chizdia*
- Coşbuc* see *Hordou*
- Covasna* see *Kovászna*
- Craidorolţ* see *Királydaróc*
- Crihalma* (Rom), *Királyhalma* (Hun) 869 R and 57 M in 1880
- Crişan* see *Vaca*
- Cristian* see *Großau*
- Cristuru Secuiesc* see *Székelykeresztúr*
- Crizbav* see *Krizba*
- Cuptoare Secu*, (Rom), *Kuptore-Sekul* (Ger), *Kuptoreszékul*, later *Kemenceszék* (Hun) to-day *Cuptoare* and *Secu* 505 R, 313 G, 82 Slovaks and 64 M in 1880

*Csicsér* see *Cicir*

*Csík* (Hun), *Ciuc* (Rom) (county) 92,802 M and 12,836 R in 1880; 125,888 M and 18,032 R in 1910

*Csíkszereda* (Hun), *Ciuc-Sereda*, today *Miercurea Ciuc* (Rom) 1,486 M in 1880; 3,591 M, 45 G and 44 R in 1910

*Cuzdrioara* (Rom), *Kozárvár* (Hun) 929 R and 239 M in 1880

*Dăișoara* (Rom), *Longodár* (Hun), *Langenthal* (Ger) 735 R in 1880

*Dés* (Hun), *Dej* (Rom), *Dezh* (Yid), *Desch* (Ger) 4,217 M, 1,528 R and 211 G in 1880; 7,991 M, 2,911 R and 445 G in 1910

*Detta* (Ger and Hun), *Deta* (Rom) 2,375 G, 203 M and 108 R in 1880

*Deutschbentschek* (Ger), *Bencecu German*, today *Bencecu de Sus* (Rom), *Németbencsek*, later *Felsőbencsek* (Hun) 1,449 G and 49 R in 1880

*Deutschekes* (Ger), *Ticușu Vechi* (Rom), *Szásztyukos* (Hun) 824 G and 251 R in 1880

*Déva* (Hun), *Deva* (Rom), *Diemrich* (Ger) 1,794 R, 1,442 M and 451 G in 1880; 5,827 M, 2,417 R and 276 G in 1910

*Dicsőszentmárton* (Hun), *Diciosânmărtin*, today *Târnăveni* (Rom), *Martinskirch* (Ger) 1,173 M, 505 R and 29 G in 1880

*Dobârlău* (Rom), *Dobolló* (Hun) 992 R and 69 M in 1880

*Domoszló* see *Dumuslău*

*Draas* (Ger), *Draoș*, today *Drăușeni* (Rom), *Daróc*, today *Homoróddaróc* (Hun) 588 G, 391 R and 24 M in 1880

*Dragomirești* (Rom), *Dragomirest*, later *Dragomér* (Hun) 478 R and 25 M in 1880

*Drăguș* (Rom), *Drágus* (Hun) 1,155 R and 31 G in 1880

*Draoș* see *Draas*

*Dumbrava* see *Igazfalva*

*Dumuslău* (Rom), *Domoszló*, later *Szilágydomoszló* (Hun) 223 R in 1880

*Élesd* (Hun), *Aleşd* (Rom) 1,234 M, 62 R and 44 G in 1880

*Enciu* (Rom), *Szászencs* (Hun), *Entsch* (Ger) 399 R in 1880

*Entrádám* (Hun), *Inter Adam* (Yid), *Tradam*, later *Jidovița* (Rom) today part of Nășăud 231 G and 28 M in 1880; 228 M and 56 G in 1910

*Eremitu* see *Köszvényesremete*

*Ernea Săsească*, today *Ernea* (Rom), *Szászernye*, later *Ernye* (Hun), *Ehrgang* (Ger) 565 R and 47 M in 1880

*Erzsébetbánya* see *Oláhláposbánya*

*Étfalva* (Hun), *Etfalău* (Rom) today part of Étfalvazoltán/Zoltan 388 M in 1880

*Ezeriș* (Hun), *Ezeres* (Hun) 1,583 R in 1880

*Făgăraș* (*Munții*) (Rom), *Fogarasi-havasok* (Hun), *Fogarascher Gebirge* (Ger) (mountain range)

*Făgăraș* see *Fogaras*

*Făget* (Rom), *Fatschet* (Ger), *Facset*, later *Facsád* (Hun) 1,164 R, 374 G and 234 M in 1880; 1,467 R, 1,462 M and 376 G in 1910

*Fântânița* see *Köbölkút*

*Felsőbánya* (Hun), *Baia Sprie* (Rom) 3,735 M and 1,641 R in 1880; 4,149 M and 230 R in 1910

*Feneșu Săsesc*, today *Florești* (Rom), *Szászfenes* (Hun) 1,068 R and 770 M in 1880

*Fizeș* (Rom), *Füzes*, later *Krassófüzes* (Hun), *Fizesch* (Ger) 1,464 R, 126 M, 117 Slovaks and 83 G in 1880

*Florești* see *Feneșu Săsesc*

*Fogaras* (Hun), *Făgăraș* (Rom), *Fogarasch* (Ger) (county) 75,050 R, 3,850 G and 2,694 M in 1880; 84,436 R, 6,466 M and 3,236 G in 1910

- Fogaras* (Hun), *Făgăraș* (Rom), *Fogarasch* (Ger) (town) 1,732 R, 1,666 M and 1,559 G in 1880; 3,357 M, 2,174 R and 1,003 G in 1910
- Gârbova de Sus* (Rom), *Felsőorbó* (Hun) 623 R in 1880
- Gaura*, today *Valea Chioarului* (Rom), *Gaura*, later *Kővárgara* (Hun) 611 R and 19 M in 1880
- Gheorgheni* see *Gyergyószentmiklós*
- Ghioroc* see *Gyorok*
- Ghirbom* (Rom), *Birnbaum* (Ger), *Oláhgorbó* (Hun) 1,068 R in 1880
- Giacăș* (Rom), *Jakobsdorf* (Ger), *Gyákos* (Hun) 264 R and 25 G in 1880
- Glăjărie* see *Görgényüvegcsűr*
- Glogoveț* (Rom), *Glogovéc*, later *Kisgalgóc* (Hun) 385 R in 1880
- Görgényszentimre* (Hun), *Gurghiu* (Rom) 861 M and 507 R in 1880
- Görgényüvegcsűr* (Hun), *Glăjărie* (Rom) 683 M and 101 R in 1880
- Groși*, today *Groșeni* (Rom), *Gross*, later *Tönköd* (Hun) 877 R in 1880
- Großau* (Ger), *Cristian* (Rom), *Kereszténysziget* (Hun) 1,646 G and 749 R in 1880
- Gurghiu* see *Görgényszentimre*
- Guttenbrunn* (Ger), *Haidecut* (Rom), *Hidegkút*, later *Temeshidegkút* (Hun), today part of Zăbrani 2,807 G, 198 R and 32 M in 1880
- Gyergyószentmiklós* (Hun), *Giurgeu-Sânmiclăuș*, today *Gheorgheni* (Rom), *Niklasmarkt* (Ger) 5,123 M in 1880; 8,549 M, 155 R and 115 G in 1910
- Gyorok* (Hun), *Ghioroc* (Rom) 565 M, 387 R and 46 G in 1880; 1818 M, 503 R and 63 G in 1910
- Gyula* or *Békésgyula* (Hun), *Jula* (Rom and Ger) 12,103 M, 2,608 R and 2,124 G in 1880
- Gyulafehérvár*, earlier *Károlyfehérvár* (Hun), *Alba Iulia* or *Bălgrad* (Rom), *Karlsburg* (Ger) 3,112 R, 2,520 M and 1,229 G in 1880; 5,226 M, 5,170 R and 792 G in 1910
- Hăghig* see *Hídvég*
- Halmágy* (Hun), *Hálmeag* (Rom), *Halmagen* (Ger) 778 M and 196 R in 1880
- Háromszék* (Hun), *Treiscaune* (Rom) (county) 104,607 M and 15,448 R in 1880; 123,518 M and 22,963 R in 1910
- Hațeg* (Rom), *Hátszeg* (Hun), *Hötzing* (Ger) 1,224 R, 281 M and 198 G in 1880; 1,514 R, 1,438 M and 136 G in 1910
- Hermannstadt* (Ger), *Sibiu* (Rom), *Nagyszeben* (Hun) 14,001 G, 2,746 R and 2,018 M in 1880; 16,832 G, 8,824 M and 7,252 R in 1910
- Hidegkút* see *Guttenbrunn*
- Hídvég* (Hun), *Hăghig* (Rom) 1,018 M and 631 R in 1880
- Hilib* 625 M in 1880
- Hordou*, today *Coșbuc* (Rom), *Hordó* (Hun) 649 R in 1880
- Hundorf*, today *Viișoara* (Rom), *Hohendorf* (Ger), *Hundorf*, later *Csatófalva* (Hun) 465 R and 221 G in 1880
- Hunedoara* (Rom), *Vajdahunyad* (Hun), *Hunnedeng* (Ger) (town) 1,530 R, 469 M and 210 G in 1880; 2,457 M, 1,789 R and 187 G in 1910
- Hunyad* (Hun), *Hunedoara* (Rom) (county) 217,414 R, 12,278 M and 6,968 G in 1880; 271,675 R, 52,720 M and 8,101 G in 1910
- Igazfalva* (Hun), *Dumbrava* (Rom) 1,925 M in 1910
- Ilișua* (Rom), *Alsóilosva* (Hun) 380 R and 187 M in 1880
- Ineu* see *Boroșineu*
- Iosifalău* see *Josefsdorf*
- Izvorul Crișului* see *Körösfő*
- Jaad* (Ger), *Iad*, today *Livezile* (Rom), *Jád* (Hun) 994 G and 264 R in 1880
- Jebucu* see *Zsobok*



*Jeledinți* see *Lozsád*

*Jelna* see *Senndorf*

*Jena* (Rom), *Zséna* (Hun) 437 R, 33 M and 22 G in 1880

*Jibou* see *Zsibó*

*Jiu* (Rom), *Zsil* (Hun), *Schiel* (Ger) (river)

*Josefsdorf* (Ger), *Józseffalva*, later *Újjózseffalva* (Hun), *Iosifalva*, today *Iosifalău* (Rom) 1023 G and 54 M in 1910

*Kalotaszeg* (Hun), *Țara Călatei* (Rom) (region)

*Kapnikbánya* (Hun), *Cavnic* (Rom) 1,331 M and 1,135 R in 1880

*Kéc*, later *Magyarkéc* (Hun), *Cheț* (Rom) 394 M and 384 R in 1880

*Keisd* (Ger), *Saschiz* (Rom), *Szászkézd* (Hun) 1,116 G, 641 R and 63 M in 1880

*Kerelőszentpál* (Hun), *Sânpaul* (Rom) 305 M, c. 282 Roma and 211 R in 1880

*Kézdivásárhely* (Hun), *Chezdi-Oșorhei*, today *Târgu Secuiesc* (Rom) 4,975 M in 1880; 5,970 M in 1910

*Kide* (Hun), *Chidea* (Rom) 513 M and 176 R in 1880

*Királydaróc* (Hun), *Craidorolț* (Rom) 1,302 M and 686 R in 1880

*Kis-Küküllő* (Hun), *Târnava Mică* (Rom), *Klein-Kokler* (Ger) (county) 44,372 R, 21,604 M and 16,976 G in 1880; 55,585 R, 34,902 M and 20,272 G in 1910

*Kissebes* see *Poieni*

*Kisszredistye* see *Srediștea Mică*

*Kizdia* see *Chizdia*

*Kleinbetschkerek* (Ger), *Mali Bečkerek* (Srp), *Becicherecu Mic* (Rom) 2,228 G, 464 Serbs and 399 R in 1880

*Kleinschemlak* (Ger), *Kissemlak*, later *Vársomlyó* (Hun), *Șemlacu Mic* (Rom) 432 G in 1880

*Klokotič* (Srp), *Clocotici* (Rom), *Klokotics*, later *Krassócsörgő* (Hun) 1,052 Karaševci in 1880

*Köbölkút*, today *Mezőköbölktűt* (Hun), *Chibilcut*, today *Fântânița* (Rom) 419 M and 311 R in 1880

*Kolozs* (Hun), *Cojocnei* (Rom), *Klausenburger* (Ger) (county) 112,627 R, 63,005 M and 7,667 G; 161,279 R, 111,439 M and 8,386 G in 1910

*Kolozsvár* (Hun), *Chuj*, today *Chuj-Napoca* (Rom), *Klausenburg* (Ger) 22,761 M, 3,855 R and 1,423 G in 1880; 50,704 M, 7,562 R and 1,676 G in 1910

*Königsgnad* or *Tirol* (Ger), *Tilori* (Srp), *Königsgnade*, later *Királykegye* (Hun), *Tirol* (Rom) 1,035 G, 129 Slovaks and 20 M in 1880

*Kornya* see *Cornea*

*Köröső* (Hun), *Crișeu*, today *Izvorul Crișului* (Rom) 702 M and 11 R in 1880

*Körösszakál* see *Săcal*

*Köszvényesremete*, today *Nyárádremete* (Hun), *Chișiniș-Remetea*, today *Eremitu* (Rom) 1,272 M and 121 R in 1880

*Kovászna* (Hun), *Covasna* (Rom) 2,936 M and 552 R in 1880

*Krassó* see *Caraș*

*Krassó-Szőrény* (Hun), *Caraș-Severin* (Rom), *Karasch-Sewerin* (Ger) (county) 289,849 R, 37,833 G, 12,237 Serbs, 7,201 M, <6,415 Karaševci, c. 6,300 Czechs and 6,247 Slovaks in 1880; 336,082 R, 55,883 G, 33,787 M, 14,674 Serbs, <7,495 Karaševci, 6,950 Czechs, 5,038 Roma, 2,908 Slovaks and 2351 Ruthenians in 1910

*Krizba* (Hun), *Crizbav* (Rom), *Krebsbach* (Ger) 1,094 M, 439 R and 19 G in 1880

*Küküllő* (Hun), *Târnava* (Rom), *Kokel* (Ger) (river)

*Kuptoreszékul* see *Cuptoare Secu*

*Lancrăm* (Rom), *Langendorf* (Ger), *Lámkerék* (Hun) 1,288 R in 1880

- Legii* (Rom), *Magyarlégen*, later *Légen* (Hun) 280 R and 54 M in 1880  
*Libotin* (Rom), *Libaton* (Hun) 976 R in 1880  
*Liebling* 3,148 G in 1880  
*Lindenfeld* (Ger), *Lindenfeld* (Rom) *Lindenfeld*, later *Karánberek* (Hun) today deserted 146 G in 1880  
*Lipova* (Rom), *Lippa* (Hun and Ger) 3,335 R, 2,459 G and 721 M in 1880  
*Liteni* see *Magyarléta*  
*Livezile* see *Jaad*  
*Lozsád* (Hun), *Jeledinți* (Rom) 488 M and 205 R in 1880  
*Ludoș*, *Luduș* or *Ludoșu Mare* (Rom), *Großlogdes* (Ger), *Nagyludas* (Hun) 1,732 R and 18 G in 1880  
*Ludoșul de Mureș*, today *Luduș* (Rom), *Marosludas* (Hun) 1,024 R and 625 M in 1880; 3,116 M and 1,385 R in 1910  
*Ludwigsdorf* (Ger), *Cârlibaba*, *Stănișoara*, today *Cârlibaba Nouă* (Rom), *Lajosfalva*, later *Radnalajosfalva* (Hun) 247 G, 161 R and 13 M in 1880  
*Lugașu de Jos* (Rom), *Alsólugos* (Hun), *Nižný Lugaš* (Sk) 600 R and 55 M in 1880  
*Lugoj* (Rom), *Lugosch* (Ger), *Lugos* (Hun) 4,852 R, 4,533 G and 1355 M in 1880; 6,875 M, 6,227 R and 6,151 G in 1910  
*Luminișu* see *Săcătura*  
*Luna de Sus* see *Szászlóna*  
*Lupeni* (Rom), *Lupény* (Hun) 701 R in 1880; 3,630 M, 2,145 R, 849 Poles, 712 G and 466 Ruthenians in 1910  
*Macău* see *Mákó*  
*Măgulicea* (Rom), *Magulicsa*, later *Kismaglód* (Hun) 523 R in 1880  
*Magyarbaksa* see *Bocșița*  
*Magyarbogáta* see *Bogata Ungurească*  
*Magyarfenes* see *Oláhfenes*  
*Magyarlégen* see *Legii*  
*Magyarléta* (Hun), *Lita Ungurească*, today *Liteni* (Rom) 305 M in 1880  
*Magyarpécska* (Hun), *Pecica Maghiară*, later *Rovine* (Rom) 7,028 M, 95 G and 92 R in 1880  
*Magyarvalkó* (Hun), *Vălcăul Unguresc*, today *Văleni* (Rom) 595 M and 287 R in 1880  
*Măidan*, today *Brădișoru de Jos* (Rom), *Majdán* (Hun) 1,203 R and 18 M in 1880  
*Mákó*, later *Mákófalva* (Hun), *Macău* (Rom) 932 M and 70 R in 1880  
*Málom*, today *Almásmálom* (Hun), *Malin* (Rom) 410 M, 379 R and 24 G in 1880  
*Malo Središte* see *Središte Mică*  
*Máramaros* (Hun), *Maramorosh* (Ukr), *Maramureș* (Rom), *Maramarash* (Yid), *Marmarosch* (Ger) (county) 106,221 Ruthenians, 57,059 R, 31,718 G and 23,819 M in 1880; 159,489 Ruthenians, 84,510 R, 59,552 G and 52,964 M in 1910  
*Máramarossziget* (Hun), *Siget* (Yid), *Sighet*, today *Sighetu Marmăției* (Rom), *Sygit* (Ukr) 6,724 M, 2,087 G, 898 R and 616 Ruthenians in 1880; 17,542 M, 2,001 R, 1,257 G and 532 Ruthenians in 1910  
*Mărișel* (Rom), *Marisel*, later *Havasnagyfalu* (Hun) 1,812 R in 1880  
*Maros-Torda* (Hun), *Mureș-Turda* (Rom) (county) 86,497 M, 53,650 R and 6,274 G in 1880; 134,166 M, 71,909 R and 8,312 G in 1910  
*Marosújvár* (Hun), *Uioara*, today *Ocna Mureș* (Rom) 1,226 R and 1,182 M in 1880; 2,862 M and 1,845 R in 1910  
*Marosvásárhely* (Hun), *Oșorhei*, today *Târgu Mureș* (Rom), *Neumarkt* (Ger) 11,028 M, 657 R and 508 G in 1880; 22,790 M, 1,717 R and 606 G in 1910  
*Marpod* (Ger and Rom), *Márpod* (Hun) 891 G and 233 R in 1880

- Medeš* (Sk), *Medgyesegyháza* (Hun) 2,084 Slovaks, 1,431 M, 63 G and 49 R in 1910  
*Mediasch* (Ger), *Mediaș* (Rom), *Medgyes* (Hun) 3,470 G, 1,909 R and 719 M in 1880; 3,866 G, 2,729 R and 1,715 M in 1910  
*Mehadia* (Rom and Ger), *Mehádia* (Hun) 1,797 R, 209 G and 24 M in 1880  
*Mergeln* (Ger), *Merghindeal* (Rom), *Morgonda* (Hun) 647 G and 476 R in 1880  
*Mezőköbölkkút* see *Köbölkkút*  
*Miercurea Ciuc* see *Csikszereda*  
*Miercurea Sibiului* see *Reußmarkt*  
*Mintia* (Rom), *Marosnémeti* (Hun) 343 R and 25 M in 1880  
*Miriszló* (Hun), *Mirăslău* (Rom) 330 M and 265 R in 1880  
*Moneasa* (Rom), *Monyásza*, later *Menyháza* (Hun) 433 R, 91 M and 28 Slovaks in 1880  
*Mureș* (Rom), *Maros* (Hun), *Mieresch* (Ger) (river)  
*Nadășu* (Rom), *Oláhnádas*, later *Kalotánádas* (Hun) 550 R in 1880  
*Nagybánya* (Hun), *Baia Mare* (Rom) 5,566 M, 2,469 R and 183 G in 1880; 9,992 M, 2,677 R and 175 G in 1910  
*Nagybodófalva* (Hun), *Bodo* (Rom) 1,557 M in 1910  
*Nagycserged* see *Cergău Mare*  
*Nagyenyed* (Hun), *Aiud* (Rom), *Enyeden* (Ger) 3,943 M, 1,058 R and 168 G in 1880; 6,497 M, 1,940 R and 163 G in 1910  
*Nagyfalu*, today *Szilágynagyfalu* (Hun), *Nușfalău* (Rom) 1,505 M and 153 R in 1880  
*Nagykároly* (Hun), *Careii Mari*, today *Carei* (Rom), *Karol* (Ger) 11,585 M, 337 R and 140 G in 1880; 15,772 M, 216 R and 63 G in 1910  
*Nagy-Küküllő* (Hun), *Groß-Kokler* (Ger), *Târnava Mare* (Rom) (county) 57,398 G, 51,632 R and 12,026 M in 1880; 62,224 G, 60,381 R and 18,474 M in 1910  
*Nagysebes* see *Șebișu Mare*  
*Nagyszalonta* (Hun), *Salonta* (Rom) 9,593 M and 257 R in 1880  
*Nagyvárad* (Hun), *Oradea Mare*, today *Oradea* (Rom), *Großwardein* (Ger) 26,675 M, 2,009 R and 1,148 G in 1880; 58,421 M, 3,604 R and 1,416 G in 1910  
*Năsăud* (Rom), *Naszód* (Hun), *Naßendorf* (Ger) 1,828 R, 410 G and 104 M in 1880; 2,504 R, 778 M and 208 G in 1910  
*Năsăud* (Rom), *Naszód* (Hun), *Naßendorf* (Ger) (administrative unit before 1876) c. 52,213 R, 316 M and 142 G in 1880  
*Nepos* or *Vărarea* (Rom), *Neposz* or *Várörja* (Hun) 1,017 R in 1880  
*Neupalota* (Ger), *Palota* (Rom), *Újpalota* (Hun) 363 G, 62 R and 54 M in 1880  
*Nicolinți* (Rom), *Nikolinc*, later *Miklósháza* (Hun) 1,215 R in 1880  
*Nușfalău* see *Nagyfalu*  
*Nyárádremete* see *Köszvényesremete*  
*Oberwischau* (Ger), *Oyber Vischeve* (Yid), *Vișeu de Sus* (Rom), *Felsővisó* (Hun), *Vyshovo Vyzhnye* (Ukr) 2,048 G, 1,854 R, 754 M and 285 Ruthenians in 1880  
*Ocna de Fier* (Rom), *Morawitza-Eisenstein* (Ger), *Moravica-Eisenstein*, later *Vaskő* (Hun) 887 R and 75 G in 1880  
*Ocna Mureș* see *Marosújvár*  
*Odorheiu Secuiesc* see *Székelyudvarhely*  
*Oláhfenes*, today *Magyarfenes* (Hun), *Vlaha* (Rom) 827 M in 1880  
*Oláhhidegkút* see *Vidacutul Român*  
*Oláhláposbánya*, today *Erzsébetbánya* (Hun), *Băiuț* (Rom) 784 M, 530 R, 54 Ruthenians and 31 G in 1880  
*Oláhszentgyörgy* see *Sângeorgiu Român*  
*Ompoly* see *Ampoi*  
*Opațița* (Rom), *Opatica*, later *Magyarapáca* (Hun) 654 R and 84 G

*Oradea* see *Nagyvárad*

*Orăștie* (Rom), *Szászváros* (Hun), *Broos* (Ger) 2,312 R, 1,427 G and 1,227 M in 1880; 3,821 R, 2,145 M and 1,294 G in 1910

*Orawitz* or *Orawitza* (Ger), *Oravița Montană* (Rom), *Oravicabánya* or *Németoravica* (Hun) 2,268 G, 1,513 R and 197 M in 1880

*Orschowa* (Ger), *Orșova* (Rom), *Orsova* (Hun), *Oršava* (Srp) 1,390 G, 974 R, 499 M and 154 Serbs in 1880

*Păiușeni* (Rom), *Pajsán*, later *Pajzs* (Hun) 799 R in 1880

*Palota* see *Neupalota*

*Pâncota* (Rom), *Pankota* (Hun and Ger) 1,551 R, 1,282 M and 1,058 G in 1880

*Paroș* (Rom), *Paros* (Hun) 566 R in 1880

*Pârvova* (Rom), *Pervora*, later *Porhó* (Hun) 943 R in 1880

*Perkessowa* (Ger), *Percosova* (Rom), *Perkoszova*, later *Berkeszfalu* (Hun) 398 G and 372 R in 1880

*Peștiș* (Rom), *Pestiș* (Sk), *Pestes*, later *Sólyomkőpestes* (Hun) 727 R, 554 Slovaks, 24 M and 19 G in 1880

*Petrilova* 902 R in 1880

*Petrozsény* (Hun), *Petroșani* (Rom), *Petroschen* (Ger) 1,240 R, 699 G and 594 M in 1880; 7,748 M, 3,250 R, 831 G, 228 mostly Czechs and Italians, 93 Slovaks and 24 Serbs

*Piatra Craiului* (Rom), *Königstein* (Ger), *Királykő* (Hun) (mountain range)

*Pinticu* (Rom), *Szászpéntek* (Hun), *Pintak* (Ger) 850 R in 1880

*Piskitelep*, later *Piski* (Hun), *Colonia Simeria*, today *Simeria* (Rom), 2,810 M, 133 R and 126 G in 1910

*Poieni* (Rom), *Kissebes* (Hun) 362 R and 33 M in 1880

*Porcești*, today *Turnu Roșu* (Rom), *Porcsesd* (Hun) 1,445 M in 1880

*Postăvarul* see *Schulergebirge*

*Prejmer* see *Tartlau*

*Purcăreți* (Rom), *Sebespurkerec* (Hun) 421 R in 1880

*Pusta-Sânmiclăuș*, today *Sânnicoară* (Rom), *Pusztaszentmiklós*, later *Szamosszentmiklós* (Hun) 223 R and 24 M in 1880

*Pusztakalán* (Hun), *Călan* (Rom), *Kalan* (Ger) 233 G, 184 R and 176 M in 1880; 620 M, 228 R and 159 G in 1910

*Răcăștia* see *Rákosd*

*Răchita* (Rom), *Rekitta* (Hun) 845 R in 1880

*Racovița* (Rom), *Rakowitza* (Ger), *Rákovica* or *Oltrákovica* (Hun) 1,139 R in 1880

*Radna* (*Maria Radna*/*Máriaradna*) 1,222 R, 453 M, 173 G and 107 Serbs in 1880

*Radnaborberek* (Hun), *Valea Vinului* (Rom) 285 M, 80 R and 15 G in 1910

*Rákosd* (Hun), *Răcăștia* (Hun) 804 M and 163 R in 1910

*Ramna*, today *Rănușa* (Rom), *Ravna*, later *Kisróna* (Hun) 422 R in 1880

*Râșnov* (Rom), *Rosenau* (Ger), *Rozsnyó*, later *Barcarozsnyó* (Hun) 2,002 R, 1,780 G and 59 M in 1880

*Reghin* see *Sächsisch Regen*

*Reschitz* or *Reschitza* (Ger), *Reșița Montană* (Rom), *Resica*, later *Resicabánya* (Hun) 4,615 G, 1,122 R, 743 Slovaks and 447 M in 1880

*Reußmarkt* (Ger), *Miercurea*, today *Miercurea Sibiului* (Rom), *Szerdahely* (Hun) 774 G, 733 R and 82 M in 1880

*Rimetea* see *Torockó*

*Rittberg* see *Végyvár*

*Rodna* (Hun), *Radna*, later *Óradna* (Hun) 2,090 R, 618 M and 143 G in 1880

- Románbogsán* see *Bocşa Română*  
*Románszentmihály* see *Sânmihaiu Român*  
*Roşia*, today *Roşia Montană* (Rom), *Verespatak* (Hun) 1,880 R and 1,364 M in 1880  
*Rovine* see *Magyarpécska*  
*Săcal* (Rom), *Szakál*, today *Körösszakál* (Hun) 433 R and 202 M in 1880  
*Săcătura*, today *Luminişu* (Rom), *Szakatura*, later *Szakadás* (Hun) 258 R in 1880  
*Sächsisch-Regen* or *Sächsisch-Reen* (Ger), *Szászrégen* (Hun), *Reghinul Săsesc* (Rom) 2,922 G, 1,718 M and 699 R in 1880; 2,994 G, 2,947 M and 1,311 R in 1910  
*Săcueni* see *Székelyhíd*  
*Sălişte* (Rom), *Großdorf* (Ger), *Szelistye* (Hun) 3,760 R, 78 G and 55 M in 1880  
*Salonta* see *Nagyszalonta*  
*Sânbenedic* (Rom), *Szentbenedek*, later *Magyarszentbenedek* (Hun) 432 R and 236 M in 1880  
*Sângeorgiu Român*, today *Sângeorz-Băi* (Rom), *Rumänisch-Sanktgeorgen* (Ger), *Oláh-szentgyörgy* (Hun) 2,418 R and 50 G in 1880  
*Sanktanna* (Ger), *Újszentanna* (Hun), *Sântana* (Rom) 3,867 G, 948 M and 117 R in 1880  
*Sânleani* see *Szentleányfalva*  
*Sânmihaiul Deşert* or *Pusta-Sânmihai*, today *Sânmihaiul Almaşului* (Rom), *Pusztaszentmihály*, later *Almásszentmihály* (Hun) 912 R, 60 M and 22 G in 1880  
*Sânmihaiu Român* (Rom), *Románszentmihály*, later *Bégászentmihály* (Hun), *Rumänisch-Sanktmichael* (Ger) 1,432 R, 95 M and 60 G in 1880  
*Sânpaul* see *Kerelőszentpál*  
*Sântana* see *Sanktanna*  
*Sântion* see *Szentjános*  
*Sarmaság* (Hun), *Şarmăşag* (Rom) 981 M and 13 R in 1880  
*Săsăuş* (Rom), *Sachsenhausen* (Ger), *Szászahúz*, later *Szászház* (Hun) 884 R in 1880  
*Saschiz* see *Keisd*  
*Satulung* (Rom), *Hosszúfalu* (Hun), *Langendorf* (Ger) 4,067 R, 2,500 M and 95 G in 1880  
*Satu Mare* see *Szatmár*  
*Satu Nou* see *Simonyifalva*  
*Săvârşin* (Rom), *Soborsin* (Hun) 1,089 R, 232 M and 132 G in 1880  
*Schäßburg* (Ger), *Sighişoara* (Rom), *Segesvár* (Hun) 4,963 G, 2,029 R and 1,140 M in 1880; 5,486 G, 3,031 R and 2,687 M in 1910  
*Schirkanyen* (Ger), *Şercaia* (Rom), *Sárkány* (Hun) 778 G, 486 R and 93 M in 1880  
*Schulergebirge* (Ger), *Postăvarul* (Rom), *Keresztény-havas* (Hun) (mountain range)  
*Sebeş* (Rom), *Mühlbach* (Ger), *Sebes* (Hun) (river)  
*Sebeş* (Rom), *Mühlbach* (Ger), *Szászsebes* (Hun) 3,642 R, 2,086 G and 187 M in 1880; 4,980 R, 2,345 G and 875 M in 1910  
*Sebeşel* (Rom), *Sebeshely* (Hun), *Kleinmühlbach* (Ger) 726 R in 1880  
*Sebesvár* see *Bologa*  
*Sebiş* (Rom), *Borossebes* (Hun) 772 R, 581 M, 87 Slovaks and 79 G in 1880  
*Şebişu Mare*, today *Valea Drăganului* (Rom), *Nagysebes* (Hun) 1,151 R and 27 M in 1880  
*Secaş* (Rom), *Székás*, later *Temesszékás* (Hun) 462 R, 30 M and 16 Serbs in 1880  
*Seini* see *Szinyérváralja*  
*Şemlacu Mare* (Rom), *Morava* (Sk), *Großchemlak* (Ger), *Nagysemlak*, later *Mezősomyó* (Hun) 726 R, 106 Slovaks, 54 G and 41 M in 1880  
*Şemlacu Mic* see *Kleinschemlak*  
*Senereuş* see *Zendersch*

- Senndorf* (Ger), *Jelna* (Rom), *Zsolna*, later *Kisszolna* (Hun) 376 G and >91 Roma in 1880
- Sepsibodok* (Hun), *Bodoc* (Rom) 860 M in 1880
- Sepsiszentgyörgy* (Hun), *Sânjiorz*, today *Sfântu-Gheorghe* (Rom), *Skt. Georgen* (Ger) 4,986 M in 1880; 8,361 M, 158 G and 108 R in 1910
- Șercaia* see *Schirkanyen*
- Sfântu-Gheorghe* see *Sepsiszentgyörgy*
- Sibiu* see *Hermannstadt*
- Șiclău* (Rom), *Sikló* (Hun) 2,625 R, 159 M and 22 G in 1880
- Sighetu Marmăției* see *Máramarossziget*
- Sighișoara* see *Schäßburg*
- Simeria* see *Piskitelep*
- Șimleu Silvaniei* see *Szilágysomlyó*
- Simonyifalva* (Hun), *Schimonidorf* (Ger), *Satu Nou* (Rom) 2,276 M and 162 G in 1910
- Șiria* (Rom), *Világos* (Hun), *Hellburg* (Ger) 3,610 R, 991 M and 771 G in 1880
- Șomcuta Mare* (Rom), *Nagysomkút* (Hun) 1,260 R, 458 M and 24 G in 1880; 1,505 M and 1,411 R in 1910
- Srediștea Mică* (Rom), *Malo Središte* (Srp), *Kisszredistye*, later *Kisszered* (Hun) 608 R in 1880
- Strei* (Rom), *Sztrigy* (Hun), *Strell* (Ger) (river)
- Suplai* (Rom), *Szupláí*, later *Ciblesfalva* (Hun) 374 R in 1880
- Szászencs* see *Enciu*
- Szászerked* see *Archiud*
- Szászernye* see *Ernea Săsească*
- Szászfalu*, today *Kézdíszászfalu* (Hun), *Săsăuș* 249 M in 1880
- Szászfenes* see *Feneșu Săsesc*
- Szászlóna*, today *Magyarlóna* (Hun), *Lona Săsească*, today *Luna de Sus* (Rom) 776 M and 421 R in 1880
- Szászpéntek* see *Pinticu*
- Szatmár* (Hun), *Sátmar* (Rom), *Sathmar* (Ger) (county) 167,284 M, 99,093 R and 13,948 G in 1880; 268,385 M, 119,760 R and 6,670 G in 1910
- Szatmár* or *Szatmárnémeti* (Hun), *Sátmar*, today *Satu Mare* (Rom), *Satmar* (Yid), *Sathmar* (Ger) 17,028 M, 955 R and 737 G in 1880; 33,094 M, 986 R and 629 G in 1910
- Szeben* (Hun), *Sibiu* (Rom), *Hermannstädter* (Ger) (county) 90,802 R, 40,723 G and 2,991 M in 1880; 113,672 R, 49,757 G and 10,159 M in 1910
- Székás* see *Secaș*
- Székelyhid* (Hun), *Săcheihid*, today *Săcueni* (Rom) 3,594 M, 79 R and 60 G
- Székelykeresztúr* (Hun), *Cristuru Secuiesc* (Rom), *Ungarisch-Kreutz* (Ger) 2,777 M in 1880
- Székelyudvarhely* (Hun), *Odorheiu Secuiesc* (Rom), *Oderhellen* (Ger) 4,587 M and 154 R in 1880; 9,888 M, 212 R and 115 G in 1910
- Szentbenedek* see *Sânbenedic*
- Szentjános*, today *Biharszentjános* (Hun), *Sântion* (Rom) 1,255 M in 1880
- Szentleányfalva* (Hun), *Seintlein* (Ger), *Sânleani* (Rom) 646 M, 179 G and 29 R in 1880; 769 M, 438 G and 33 R in 1910
- Szilágys* (Hun), *Sălaj* (Rom) (county) 103,307 R, 58,224 M and 2,133 Slovaks in 1880; 136,087 R, 87,312 M and 3,727 Slovaks in 1910
- Szilagybagos* see *Bagos*
- Szilágynagyfalva* see *Nagyfalva*

- Szilágysomlyó* (Hun), *Șimleu Silvaniei* (Rom) 3,372 M and 647 R in 1880; 6,030 M and 759 R in 1910
- Szinérváralja*, today *Szinérváralja* (Hun), *Seini* (Rom), *Warolli* (Ger) 1,889 M and 1,643 R in 1880
- Szolnok-Doboka* (Hun), *Solnoc-Dăbâca* (Rom) (county) 146,135 R, 31,559 M, 4,604 G and 1,757 Armenians in 1880; 189,443 R, 52,181 M and 6,902 G in 1910
- Szuplái* see *Suplai*
- Taga* (Rom), *Cege* (Hun) 436 R and 73 M in 1880
- Țara Călatei* see *Kalotaszeg*
- Târgu Mureș* see *Marosvásárhely*
- Târgu Secuiesc* see *Kézdivásárhely*
- Tárnava* see *Küküllő*
- Tárnáveni* see *Dicsőszentmárton*
- Tártaria* (Rom), *Tartaria*, later *Alsótatárlaka* (Hun) 592 R in 1880
- Tartlau* (Ger), *Prejmer* (Rom), *Prázsmár* (Hun) 1,990 G, 1,002 R and 85 M in 1880
- Tauț* (Rom), *Tauc*, later *Feltót* (Hun) 1,903 R, 43 M and 37 G in 1880
- Telciu* (Rom), *Telcs* (Hun) 2,244 R and 74 G in 1880
- Tilișca* (Rom), *Tilischen* (Ger), *Tiliska*, later *Tilicske* (Rom) 2,794 R in 1880
- Timiș* (Rom), *Temesch* (Ger), *Timiș* (Srp), *Temes* (Hun) (river)
- Temes* (Hun), *Timiș* (Rom), *Temesch* (Ger), *Timiș* (Srp) (county) 148,928 R, 137,239 G, 53,562 Serbs, 25,955 M, <5,466 Bulgarians, 3,328 Slovaks, 1,846 Roma and <1,710 Šokci in 1880; 169,030 R, 165,883 G, 79,960 M, 69,905 Serbs, 4,893 Bulgarians, 3,928 Roma, 3,080 Slovaks, <2,469 Czechs and <1,006 Šokci in 1910
- Temeswar*, *Temeschwar* or *Temeschburg* (Ger), *Temesvár* (Hun), *Timișoara* (Rom), *Temišvar* (Srp) 18,539 G, 7,289 M, 3,279 R and 1,719 Serbs in 1880; 31,644 G, 28,552 M, 7,566 R and 3,482 Serbs in 1910
- Tenke* (Hun), *Tinca* (Rom) 2,261 M and 304 R in 1880
- Ticușu Vechi* see *Deutschtekes*
- Țigănești* (Rom), *Cigányfalva* (Hun) 332 R and 10 M in 1880
- Tilișca* (Rom), *Telischka* (Ger), *Tiliska*, later *Tilicske* (Hun) 2,050 R in 1880
- Timiș* (Rom), *Temesch* (Ger), *Temes* (Hun) (river)
- Timișoara* see *Temeswar*
- Tinca* see *Tenke*
- Tirol* see *Königsgnad*
- Tomești* (Rom), *Tomesd*, later *Tamásd* (Hun) 417 R, 184 G and 33 Slovaks in 1880
- Torda* (Hun), *Turda* (Rom) 6,959 M, 1,794 R and 128 G in 1880; 9,674 M, 3,389 R and 100 G in 1910
- Torda-Aranyos* (Hun), *Turda-Arieș* (Rom) (county) 96,809 R and 30,472 M in 1880; 125,668 R and 44,630 M in 1910
- Tormac* see *Végyvár*
- Torockó* (Hun), *Trăscău*, today *Rimetea* (Rom) 1,320 M and 50 R in 1880
- Tschakowa* (Ger), *Ciacova* (Rom), *Čakovo* (Srp), *Csákova* or *Csákovár*, later *Csák* (Hun) 2,187 G, 860 R, 706 Serbs and 273 M in 1880
- Turnul*, in Hun later *Sebestorony*, today part of *Turnu-Ruieni* 374 R in 1880
- Turnu Roșu* see *Porcești*
- Udvarhely* (Hun), *Odorhei* (Rom) (county) 94,311 M, 3,099 R and 2,322 G in 1880; 118,458 M, 2,840 R and 2,202 G in 1910
- Vaca*, today *Crișan* (Rom), *Váka* (Hun) 601 R in 1880
- Vajdahunyad* see *Hunedoara*
- Valea Chioarului* see *Gaura*

*Valea Drăganului* see *Șebișu Mare*

*Valea Vinului* see *Radnaborberek*

*Văleni* see *Magyarvalkó*

*Văliug* (Rom), *Franzdorf* (Ger), *Ferencfalva* (Hun) 1,060 R, 861 G, 42 Serbs and 22 M in 1880

*Vărarea* see *Nepos*

*Vechea* see *Buda Veche*

*Végvár* (Hun), *Rittberg* (Ger), *Tormac* (Rom) 1,967 M, 23 G and 13 R in 1880

*Veseud* see *Zied*

*Vidacutul Român* (Rom), *Oláhhidegkút*, later *Székelyhidegkút* (Hun) 331 R and 35 M in 1880

*Viișoara* see *Hundorf*

*Világos* see *Şiria*

*Vinerea* (Rom), *Felkenyér* (Hun), *Oberbrodsdorf* (Ger) 1,656 R, 30 M and 10 G in 1880

*Vișeu* (Rom), *Wischau* (Ger), *Visó* (Hun) (river)

*Vișeu de Sus* see *Oberwischau*

*Vlădeasa* (Rom), *Vlegyásza*, later *Vigyázó* (Hun) (mountain range)

*Vlădeni* (Rom), *Vledény* (Hun), *Wladen* (Ger) 1,303 R in 1880

*Vlaha* see *Oláhfenés*

*Vršac* see *Werschetz*

*Weißkirchen* (Ger), *Bela Crkva* (Srp), *Biserica Albă* (Rom), *Fehértemplom* (Hun) 6,644 G, 1,559 Serbs, 674 R and 457 M in 1880; 6,062 G, 1,994 Serbs, 1,806 R and 1,213 M in 1910

*Werschetz* (Ger), *Vršac* (Srp), *Versec* (Hun), *Vârșeț* (Rom) 12,354 G, 7,382 Serbs, 968 M and 253 R in 1880; 13,556 G, 8,602 Serbs, 3,890 M and 879 R in 1910

*Zabola* (Hun), *Zăbala* (Rom) 2,109 M and 199 R in 1880

*Zăgujeni* (Rom), *Zaguzsén* (Hun) 496 R, 22 G and 14 M in 1880

*Zălău* see *Zilah*

*Zarand* (Rom), *Zaránd* (Hun) (county before 1876) c. 61,131 R, 1,165 G and 1,083 M in 1869

*Zendersch* (Ger), *Senereuş* (Rom), *Szénaverős* (Hun) 1,061 G, 41 R and 13 M in 1880

*Zied* (Ger), *Veseud* (Rom), *Vesszód* (Hun) 288 G and 234 R in 1880

*Zilah* (Hun), *Zălău*, today *Zaláu* (Rom) 5,368 M and 347 R in 1880; 7,477 M and 529 R in 1910

*Zlatna* (Rom), *Zalatna* (Hun), *Kleinschlatten* (Ger) 1,768 R, 659 M and 169 G in 1880

*Zsibó* (Hun), *Jibou* (Rom) 1,256 M and 260 R in 1880

*Zsobok* (Hun), *Jebucu* (Rom) 589 M and 14 R in 1880

*Zsolna* see *Senndorf*

I benefited from consulting Ernst Wagner, *Historisch-statistisches Ortsnamenbuch für Siebenbürgen: mit einer Einführung in die historische Statistik des Landes* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1977) and Pál Binder (under the pseudonym Péter Áron), ‘Erdély történelmi tájneveinek adattára és népeinek tájszemlélete’ [A database of historical region names from Transylvania and the regional division of its various peoples’ mental maps], *Magyar Nyelvjárások* 24 (1981): 101–32 regarding the German name variants.



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