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THE ROLE OF ONOMASTICS IN RESEARCHING THE HISTORY OF TRANSYLVANIA DURING THE 12TH AND 13TH CENTURIES. CASE STUDY: ETHNOTOPONYMS

Abstract: Through this study I have managed to analyse a number of place names containing references to the ethnicity of the populations that lived in various settlements across and around Transylvania. The ethnotoponyms under investigation have been extracted from documents issued in the 12th-13th centuries, which take into account the approximate geographical area of Transylvania, Banat, Crişana and Maramureş. Besides toponymic and documentary sources, in my approach I have used data from chronicles, as well as information from archaeological researches. In this article, what can be seen very clearly is the importance of the auxiliary sciences of history – in this case the science of onomastics – for a more profound knowledge of the realities existing in this geographical and cultural area during the Middle Ages.

Keywords: Transylvania, toponymy, ethnicity, medieval archaeology, documents

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Through this study, we intend to bring into discussion *ethnotoponyms*,² which represent a separate category of toponyms encountered in official documents issued during the 12th and the 13th centuries. The geographical space we shall focus on is bounded by the present-day territories of Transylvania, Banat, Crişana and Maramureş, but it also “crosses” the state borders with Hungary and Serbia, in keeping with the extent of the medieval counties. The recorded ethnotoponyms, along with a brief description thereof, are catalogued in the Appendix at the end of this study.

As regards the type of interdisciplinary research we shall approach here, we believe that by corroborating the information provided by the written sources (official documents and chronicles) with the data resulting from archaeological investigations and with onomastics – as an auxiliary science of history – we can outline a clearer picture of the medieval Transylvanian habitat and of the ethnicities that dwelled together in this area.

After a brief and general overview in this article of the ethnotoponyms identified for the 12th and the 13th centuries, the research will continue (in the form

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² In the specialised terminology, ethnotoponyms represent place names that make reference to the ethnic elements of a population, a tribe, a caste or a nation – Patricia de J. Carvalhinhos, “Etnotoponímia comparada e antroponímia: sistemas de nomeação e fundamentos do nome próprio,” in *Círculo Fluminense de Estudos Filológicos e Linguísticos*, Cadernos do CNLF, vol. XII, no. 9, Rio de Janeiro, 2009, pp. 106-117.

of future articles) by analysing particular names of settlements, by ethnic groups, by assessing the opinions expressed in the Romanian, Hungarian and/or German or Slavic historiographies, as appropriate, and by drawing conclusions (whether definitive or not, this remains to be seen) based on both the oldest and the latest investigations on this interesting topic.

The first group of ethnotoponyms are those that foreign guests talked about. Thus, the name of the village *Zaazfenes* in Cluj County (the present-day Florești, Cluj County, Appendix, no. 30) suggests a German presence. That *zaaz* may represent a different spelling of *sas*, meaning Saxon (*szász* in contemporary Hungarian), the name of the settlement meaning *Saxon Fenes*. Another village near Cluj was the one referred to in the documents as *Sassag* (Appendix, no. 22), vanished today. Given that in the area (at Cluj, Turda, Ocna Turda, Dej, Ocna Dej, Sic, Cojocna) there were colonised many Germans, their possible presence in the two settlements neighbouring Cluj was normal.

Moreover, in Bihor and Satu Mare Counties, we encounter ethnotoponyms confirming the presence of Germanic populations: *Sashad* (Appendix, no. 21) and, respectively, *Nempti/Nemythy* (Appendix, no. 14). The existence of Teutons or guests in Bihor County was also confirmed by the cleric Rogerius, who spoke about *Pontem Thome, magnam Theutonicorum uillam super fluvium Crisii positam*,³ that is, a settlement of some German guests, called *Podul lui Toma* (Toma's Bridge), and by Valder's documentary evocation, *hospitem de Bichor*.⁴ In Sătmar County, there were Germanic settlers, among others, at *Megyes* (Medieșul Aurit)⁵ and at *Zothmar* (Satu Mare).⁶

In the case of the documentary references to *Villa Latina* (Appendix, no. 26), *Villa Latinorum Waradiensium* (Appendix, no. 27) or *Olozi* (Appendix, no. 16), one cannot specify exactly what the ethnicity of the inhabitants was. During the 12th century, many Walloons were settled in Hungary and in other parts of Central Europe, especially in the episcopal centres. Besides being called *Latins*, they were also referred to as *olasz*; however, these terms could refer to any population speaking a language of Latin origin.⁷ György Székely considered that the villages called *Latina* or *Olaszi* were inhabited primarily by Walloons, and that only in certain cases were

³ M. Rogerii, "Carmen miserabile," in G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele Istoriei Românilor*, [Hereinafter: "Carmen miserabile"], vol. V, București: Editura Bucovina, 1935, Chap. XXXIV.

⁴ Johannis Karácsonyi, Samuelis Borovszky, *Regestrum Varadinense. Examini ferri candentis*, [Hereinafter: *Regestrum Varadinense*], Budapest, 1903, doc. 388, pp. 306-307; *Documente privind Istoria României*, C. Transilvania, the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries, Vol. I (1075-1250) [Hereinafter: *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*], București: Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1951, doc. 67/388, p. 147; Jakó Zsigmond, *Codex diplomaticus Transsylvaniae/Erdélyi okmánytár*, I, 1023-1300, [Hereinafter: *EO I*], Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997, doc. 182, p. 182 (year 1235).

⁵ *Documente privind Istoria României*, C. Transilvania, the 13th century, Vol. II (1251-1300), [Hereinafter: *DIR.C.II (XIII)*], București: Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1952, doc. 137, pp. 139-140.

⁶ Wenzel Gusztáv, *Árpádokori új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*, IX, 1272-1290, [Hereinafter: *Wenzel IX*], Pest, 1871, doc. 413, pp. 561-562; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 166, p. 158; doc. 508, pp. 463-464.

⁷ Pál Engel, *Regatul Sfântului Ștefan. Istoria Ungariei Medievale 895-1526*, Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2006, p. 87.

the references made to Italians.⁸ By contrast, Nicolae Drăganu believed that the Latins in Oradea were Italians.⁹

The sources attest the presence of foreigners who arrived on the territory of Hungary from areas in which a Romance language was spoken: for example, in Sopron County, King Andrew II bestowed, in 1223, a *place of settlement* upon Comes Symon and his relatives (*locum descensionis in regno nostro sibi et cognatis suis*), who came from Aragon.¹⁰ At an even earlier time, mercenaries from the area of France had fought alongside King Stephen II (1114-1132).¹¹ In *Nestor's Chronicle*, the Latins actually represented the Christians (clerics) affiliated with Rome.¹² However, the clergymen in this area, subordinated to the Roman Pontiff, may also have been Germans, as evidenced by the *Life of St. Gerard*.¹³ One more reason why we should consider that the inhabitants of some of the Latin villages were Germanic is that *Villa Latina* was the property of the Saxon knights Corrad and Daniel, the sons of Johannes Latinus (perhaps the name of the village was derived from Johannes's nickname, or the other way around). Consequently, the villages of the Latins may have been inhabited by Italians, Hispanics, Germans, French or Walloons, and insofar as Transylvania is concerned, we may restrict the circle to Italians, Germanics and Walloons.

The problem is much simpler for the ethnotoponyms *Pad Saxonicam* (Appendix, no. 18) and *Pad Hungaricam* (Appendix, no. 17), from the county of Alba, where the ethnicity of the population is very clear: Germans and, respectively, Hungarians. The presence of guests in Alba County is attested not only by the official documents, the toponymy and the anthroponymy, but also by archaeological research. During the excavations carried out at the *Cathedral II* of Alba Iulia, there were discovered tombs with a cephalic niche. This confirms the presence – temporary or permanent, in relation to the construction of the cathedral – of one or several groups of foreign guests. Their possible arrival from different parts of Europe is indicated by the existence of three variants of burial in tombs with a niche for the head.¹⁴ This type

⁸ György Székely, *A Székesfehérvári latinok és a vallonok a középkori Magyarországon*, în *Székesfehérvár évszázadai*, vol. II, Székesfehérvár, 1967, pp. 45-72.

⁹ Nicolae Drăganu, *România în veacurile IX-XIV pe baza toponimiei și onomastice*, București: Imprimeria Națională, 1933, p. 293.

¹⁰ Georgius Fejér, *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae*, III, 1, Budae, 1829, pp. 393-396; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 148, p. 202.

¹¹ “*Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense*,” in G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele Istoriei Românilor*, [Hereinafter: “*Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense*”], vol. XI, București, 1937, Chap. LXVIII.

¹² “*Cronica lui Nestor*,” in G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele istoriei românilor*, [Hereinafter: *Cronica lui Nestor*], Vol. VII, București, 1935, Chap. XLII.

¹³ The teacher from the school founded by Gerard in Cenad was called Walther, his help was a German man (*Tewtonicus*) brought over from Székesfehérvár, named Heinrich, and some of the monks who had come from various parts of Hungary to the new monastery dedicated to St. George also had Germanic names: Konrad, Albert or Heinrich; in addition, the school led by Walther was attended by German, Czech, Polish, French students. etc., whom Gerard then settled in various parishes across his diocese. – “*Vita Sancti Gerardi. Legenda Maior*,” in I.D. Suciu, *Documente privitoare la istoria Mitropoliei Banatului*, Timișoara: Editura Mitropoliei Banatului, 1980, Chap. 11-12, pp. 47-49.

¹⁴ Daniela Marcu Istrate, Angel Istrate, *Morminte cu nișă cefalică descoperite la Alba Iulia (Sec. XII-XIII). Contribuții privind istoria oaspeților occidentali în Transilvania, în Relații interetnice în*

of burial originated in Western Europe, indicating, for the territories of Central Europe, the movement of some population groups from the west.¹⁵

From Map 3, appended at the end of the study, we can ascertain that the distribution in the territory of ethnotoponyms referring to the Germanics and the Latins, coupled with the documentary references to the guests from the counties of Sătmăr, Cluj, Turda and Alba, confirms Thomas Năgler's opinion concerning one of the trails of colonisation: through the north-west, along the Someş Valley¹⁶ (or, perhaps, along the Crasna Valley), towards Cluj County, then, to Alba and, finally, to Sibiu and Burzenland.

Toponyms such as *Rusan*, *Ruscia*, *Vruz/Vrwz* or *Wrusy* (Appendix, no. 19, 20, 28 and 29) suggest the existence of Slavic inhabitants. In Hungarian, *oros* (Vruz, Vrwz, Wrusy) means *Russian* and *Ruscia* is the name whereby the area of the Russian knezates was designated in the documents.¹⁷ The same term, *Ruscia*, was used by Rogerius in his *Carmen miserabile*, when referring to the aforementioned geographical and political space.¹⁸ Moreover, at an even earlier date, Anonymous used the name *Ruscia* for the space of the Russian knezates.¹⁹ Another geographical name that may have served as a source of the ethnotoponyms *Rusan* and *Ruscia* was *Rasia*, a name given, at that time, to a part of present-day Serbia. In his *Descriptio Europae Orientalis*, the Anonymous Geographer claims that *regnum Rasie*, which neighboured Albania to the south, consisted of two parts: *Rasia* and *Serbia*. The Geographer calls the inhabitants of these territories Ruthenians (*rutheni*).²⁰ As regards the names *Vruz* or *Wrusy*, in his work entitled *Compendium of Chronicles*, the Arab scholar and man of state Rashid Od-Din writes that the Mongols Batu, Kadan, Buri and Böcek set off against the land of *Urus* (i.e. Russia).²¹ Thus, both the forms *Ruscia* or *Rusan* and those of *Vruz*, *Vrwz* or *Wrusy* speak about a population of Slavic origin that resided in the above-mentioned settlements.

Transilvania (secolele VI-XIII), eds. Zeno Karl Pinter, Ioan Marian Țiplic, Maria Emilia Țiplic, Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis XII, București: Editura Economică, 2005, pp. 229-244 (p. 240).

¹⁵ Adrian Ioniță, "Mormintele cu gropi antropomorfe din Transilvania și relația lor cu primul val de colonizare germană," in *Relații interetnice în Transilvania (secolele VI-XIII)*, eds. Zeno Karl Pinter, Ioan Marian Țiplic, Maria Emilia Țiplic, Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis XII, București: Editura Economică, 2005, pp. 217-228 (pp. 219-221).

¹⁶ Thomas Năgler, *Așezarea sașilor în Transilvania*, second ed., București: Editura Kriterion, 1992, pp. 128-129.

¹⁷ Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, Nicolae Densușianu, *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor, 1199-1345*, Volume I, Part 1 [Hereinafter: Hurmuzaki, Densușianu, *Documente* I, 1], București, 1887, doc. CXCIX, pp. 259-262; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 296, pp. 344-347 (year 1250).

¹⁸ "*Carmen miserabile*," Chap. XIV.

¹⁹ Anonymus, "*Gesta Hungarorum*," in G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele Istoriei Românilor*, [Hereinafter: "*Gesta Hungarorum*"], vol. I, București, 1934, Chap. VII.

²⁰ Anonymi Geographi, "*Descriptio Europae Orientalis*," in G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele Istoriei Românilor*, [Hereinafter: "*Descriptio Europae Orientalis*"], Vol. II, București, 1934, Chap. IV and Chap. X-XI.

²¹ Aurel Decei, *Relații româno-orientale. Culegere de studii*, București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1978, p. 194.

The existence of some Slavic communities in the area of Bihor (where there were the villages Vruz/Vrwz and Wrusy) and Cenad Counties (where there was the village Rusan, on the territory of present-day Serbia) is confirmed by Rogerius, who recounts that on their way from Oradea to Arad and Cenad, the Mongols had also taken *Ruthenian* prisoners.²² These Ruthenians were inhabitants of Slavic ethnic extraction, the chroniclers – for example, Anonymous²³ or Simon of Keza²⁴ – also referring to the inhabitants of the Russian knezates as Ruthenians; the same thing was mentioned in the documents of the time, Halych, for instance, being considered a stronghold of the Ruthenians.²⁵ In fact, the proximity of the South Slavs, part of whom were controlled by the Hungarian royalty, had made it possible for groups of Slavic population to arrive in the territories of the medieval counties of Arad and Cenad.

Similarly, the Slavic habitation of the eastern part of Transylvania – where, in all probability, the village of *Ruscia* was located – has been confirmed by the archaeological investigations of the settlements from Bezid (Mureș County, the 7th-8th centuries),²⁶ Filaș (Harghita County; the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries),²⁷ Poian (Covasna County; the 6th/7th-8th/9th centuries)²⁸ or Sălașuri (Mureș County, the 7th-8th centuries).²⁹ Furthermore, in the north-eastern parts of Mureș County, there is a locality called, perhaps not coincidentally, Rușii-Munți (Russian-Mountains). In this context, it should be noted that a document from the year 1319 speaks about, among other things, a village called *Vruzfolu*³⁰ (Satul Rusesc, Russian Village), which the editors of *DIR* identify precisely with the locality Rușii-Munți. Thus, it is possible that the village of Ruscia (Appendix, no. 20) was the same with Vruzfolu, that is, the present-day Rușii-Munți.

Like in the case of the ethnotoponyms *Cechtelek* (Appendix, no. 5), *Cechy* (Cehei, Sălaj County; Appendix, no. 6), *Sczeck* (Sici, Sălaj County; Appendix, no. 24), in Crasna County, or *Chehy* (Cihei, Bihor County; Appendix, no. 7) in Bihor County,

²² “*Carmen miserabile*,” Chap. XXXVII.

²³ “*Gesta Hungarorum*,” Chap. X.

²⁴ Simonis de Keza, “*Chronicon Hungaricum*,” in G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele Istoriei Românilor*, [Hereinafter: “*Chronicon Hungaricum*”], vol. IV, București, 1935, Chap. I.4.

²⁵ Hurmuzaki, Densușianu, *Documente* I, 1, doc. CLXXXIX, pp. 245-247; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 290, pp. 335-337. Later, from the 14th-15th centuries on, the area bounded by Polesia and Volânia to the north, by the Voivodates of Krakow and Sandomierz to the east, by Podolia to the west and by Hungary and, respectively, Moldova to the south, became known as the *Red Ruthenia* – Grzegorz Jawor, *Așezările de drept valah și locuitorii lor din Rutenia Roșie în Evul Mediu târziu*, Iași: Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2012, p. 19.

²⁶ Zoltán Székely, “Așezarea prefeudală de la Bezid (jud. Mureș),” in *Marisia*, 6, 1976, pp. 117-123.

²⁷ For instance, Zoltán Székely, “Așezările din secolele VI-IX e.n. în sud-estul Transilvaniei,” in *Aluta*, 6-7, 1974-1975, pp. 35-56.

²⁸ Zoltán Székely, “Așezări din secolele VI-XI p.Chr. în Bazinul Oltului Superior,” in *SCIVA*, 43/3, 1992, pp. 245-306.

²⁹ Zoltán Székely, “Așezarea prefeudală de la Sălașuri (com. Veșca, jud. Mureș),” in *Marisia*, 5, 1975, pp. 71-80.

³⁰ Varjú Elemér, *Oklevéltár a Tomaj nemzetségbeli Losonczy Bánffy család történetéhez*, Vol. I (1214-1457), [Hereinafter: *Bánffy I*], Budapest, 1908, doc. XLIX, pp. 47-48; *Documente privind Istoria României*, C. Transilvania, the 14th century, Vol. I (1301-1320), București: Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1953, doc. 381, pp. 332-333.

Slavic communities should be taken into consideration. The Hungarian name *cseh* – spelled as *cheh* – was attested in the late 11th century,³¹ which would appear to justify the existence of toponyms in the first half and in the middle of the 13th century.

As for *Chechtelek*, the editors of *Documente privind Istoria României*, vol. II, do not provide a present-day identification of the settlement in the territory. The data offered by the document that refers to this toponym make it clear that the medieval village lay near the Crasna River, somewhere between the localities Nuşfalău, Criştelec, Cehei and Crasna, all of which are mentioned in the act. The possibility that the estate or the little settlement Chechtelek had disappeared in the meantime is very high because no present-day place name is similar to or even reminiscent of the medieval toponym. The area is dotted with medieval vestiges, dating from the period between the 7th/8th and the 13th centuries, and the territory of Nuşfalău commune is particularly rich in discoveries. Besides the well-known tumular necropolis, there are no less than eight points with early medieval materials (the 8th-9th centuries).³² On the territory of the localities that concern us directly, only in Cehei have there been identified traces of medieval habitation (the 8th-9th and the 11th-13th centuries),³³ only the documentary mention remaining for Sici.

As regards *Chroath* (Horoatu Cehului; Appendix, no. 8) and *Huruat/Huruath* (Horoatu Crasnei; Appendix, no. 11), both from the present-day Sălaj County, there have, so far, not been identified any signs of medieval archaeological remains, documentary references representing the benchmark for this historical period. The same situation may also be found in the case of *Croac* village in Sătmar County (Appendix, no. 9).

Interest in the ethnotoponyms Chechtelek, Chechy, Sczeck, Chroath, Croac and Huruat/Huruath is fuelled by the possibility that they may have originated in the presence of a Slavic population (Czechs, Croats) in the area. As we have seen, there are early medieval and medieval archaeological findings in the area bounded by these localities. Moreover, there are remains around the neighbouring or nearby villages and towns. The most important indicators of the presence of some groups of Slavic population are: the cultural horizon represented by the tumular necropolises of the Nuşfalău-Someşeni type, which, after a long-lasting debate, were dated from the end of the 7th until the 9th century,³⁴ and the cemetery of some bearers of the Köttlach

³¹ Ilona K. Fábián, “Néhány népnévi eredetű helynév a Váradi Regestrumban,” in *Az V. Magyar Névtudományi Konferencia előadásai (Miskolc, 1995, augusztus 28-30)*, Szerkesztette B. Gergely Piroska és Hajdú Mihály, Kiadja a Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság és a Miskolci Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Intézete, Budapest-Miskolc, 1997, II, Helynevek, pp. 254-259 (p. 257).

³² Dan Băcuţ-Crişan, *Aşezările din secolele VII-IX de pe cursul superior şi mijlociu al râurilor Barcău şi Crasna*, Bibliotheca Musei Porolissensis IX, Editura Mega/Editura Porolissum, 2007, no. 14, pp. 60-67; Sabin Adrian Luca, Nicolae Gudea, *Arheologie şi istorie (IV). Descoperiri din judeţul Sălaj*, [Hereinafter: *Descoperiri din jud. Sălaj*], Oradea: Editura Primus, 2010, no. 177, pp. 127-131; Sabin Adrian Luca, Nicolae Gudea, *Repertoriul arheologic al judeţului Sălaj*, [Hereinafter: *Rep. arheologic al jud. Sălaj*], Biblioteca Brukenthal XLV, Sibiu, 2010, no. 177, pp. 78-79.

³³ *Descoperiri din jud. Sălaj*, no. 48, pp. 52-53; *Rep. arheologic al jud. Sălaj*, no. 48, p. 38.

³⁴ Ioan Stanciu, *Slavii timpurii în cercetarea arheologică românească*, în *Ephemeris Napocensis*, XI, 2001, pp. 105-143 (p. 124).

culture, investigated in Zalău and dated to the 9th-10th centuries.³⁵ Incidentally, the first Slavs arrived in the north-western parts of Romania in the 6th-7th centuries.³⁶

We must also not lose sight of the statement made by Anonymous Notary concerning the populations encountered in the Land of Ultrasylvania by Ocmand, the spy sent by Tuhutum, namely: *Blasii et Sclau*.³⁷ Then, in the Vienna Illuminated Chronicle, it is recounted that King Stephen I (997-1038) waged war against Kean, *duke of the Bulgarians and the Slavs*, after which he gave the conquered country to Zoltán the elder; as of that moment, that part of Transylvania (*illas partes transiluanas*) was called *Erdeehui Zoltán*.³⁸ The claim made in *Annales Fuldenses* for the year 892, regarding the request addressed to the Bulgarians by the king of the Franks, whereby they were enjoined not to allow the transport of salt to Moravia any longer, suggests the possible presence in Transylvania, besides Bulgarians, of Moravians who were responsible for ensuring the delivery of salt to their country.

Arab sources from the 10th century talk about the existence of Croats somewhere northeast of the Carpathians and in *De ceremoniis*, the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus locates the Croats in the Caucasian Mountains; at some point, they allegedly subjected the Slavic population north of the Carpathian Mountains, then, in around 626, they migrated to Dalmatia, taking over, from the Avars, dominance over the Slavs in the region; however, there are no reliable accounts about the migration of an entire population from north of the Carpathians to the Adriatic Sea.³⁹ Nestor also mentions the *White Croats* among the Slavic populations. G. Popa-Lisseanu supplements the information provided by the chronicler with the notion that the White Croatians lived north of the Carpathian Mountains, on the upper Dniester, and that during the 7th century they migrated to the area in which they live today.⁴⁰ During the Croats' movement to Southern Europe, along an unknown itinerary, perhaps also accompanied by other Slavs, some of them may have arrived in the north-western parts of present-day Romania. However, a migration of the Slavs known as the White Croatians to this area could occur even later. Nestor confirmed their existence north of the Carpathians and, at the end of the 10th century, in 991, Vladimir, Prince of Kiev, launched a military campaign against them.⁴¹ It is possible that the scale of this campaign was not large enough to warrant being captured in chronicles or annals. The third possible scenario is the arrival in these areas of inhabitants from medieval Croatia, a country ruled by the Hungarian

³⁵ Călin Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României în secolele VIII-X d.H.*, Cluj-Napoca: Editura Neremia Napocae, 2002, p. 160.

³⁶ Ioan Stanciu, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

³⁷ "*Gesta Hungarorum*," Chap. XXV.

³⁸ "*Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense*," Chap. XXXVIII.

³⁹ Walter Pohl, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567-822 n.Chr.*, München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1988, p. 262.

⁴⁰ "*Cronica lui Nestor*," Chap. III, respectively, note no. 6, p. 34; see also the map at the end of the volume. For the geographical location of the Croats north of the Carpathians, one can also consult: Victor Spinei, *Marile migrații din estul și sud-estul Europei în secolele IX-XIII*, Institutul European, 1999, p. 110, fig. 22.

⁴¹ "*Cronica lui Nestor*," Chap. XLV.

royalty since the 12th century, following the granting of privileges or the colonisation of populations whose testimony may not have been captured in the written sources or may not have come down to us.⁴²

Although information regarding the ethnotoponyms Chechtelek, Chechy, Sczeck, Chroath and Huruat is not fully revealing, the fact is that they refer to Slavs, specifically to Czechs and Croats, a fact also supported by the presence, in other Central European countries, of very similar toponymic forms, such as: Cechy, Chey and, respectively, Chorvati, Huruathy, Horwahy, Horwath, already encountered in written sources of the 13th century.⁴³

In the meantime, the groups of Slavic population from the west and north-west of present Romania could receive “backup” through the prisoners taken in the numerous armed disputes with the Bohemians, the Moravians and the Poles, but also during internal struggles, when Slavic mercenaries fought alongside the parties involved in such conflicts.⁴⁴ It seems that probably because of demographic and economic reasons, many of those captured were left alive and settled in various parts of Hungary, with obligations, of course.⁴⁵

Therefore, the existence of ethnotoponyms indicating a Slavic presence on the territories of Crasna, Bihor and Solnoc Counties was not something out of the ordinary, regardless of whether they designate a state of fact contemporary with the documents that mention them or are remnants of previous realities, preserved via the local toponymy. Paradoxically, however, the very lack of formal references to Slavic settlers may be evidence that the inhabitants of this origin were more ancient, and by the time of the issuance of the documents from the 13th century, the toponymy of the micro-area had already been fixed,⁴⁶ which might explain why during boundary drawing, names like *Satul Slavilor* or the Slav’s Village did not come up (unlike, for example, *Satul Latinilor* or the Latins’ Village).

The concentration of several ethnotoponyms indicating a Slavic population in the north-west of Transylvania and Crişana (Map 2) contributes to reinforcing the accuracy of the Anonymous Chronicler’s statements regarding the identity of the inhabitants from the Land of Ultrasylvania (Romanians and Slavs) and the fact that

⁴² Pál Engel, *op.cit.*, p. 63.

⁴³ Rudolf Krajčovič, “Sprachwissenschaftliche Probleme des frühen Mittelalters. Die Ethnonymen Sloveni und Moravia im Karpatenbecken im 9.-12. Jh.,” in *Ethnische und kulturelle Verhältnisse an der mittleren Donau vom 6. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert*, Herausgegeben von D. Bialeková, J. Zábajnik, Bratislava: Veda Verlag der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996, pp. 421-427 (p. 442).

⁴⁴ “*Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense*,” Chap. LVIII.

⁴⁵ “*Chronicon Hungaricum*,” Chap. II.1, II.2 and II.3 – Simon of Keza speaks about the conversion of the prisoners into serfs, conditional nobles and foreign *castrenses* (whose role was to serve in the royal castra).

⁴⁶ The Slavs survived in most of the territories where they migrated, even though other populations may have settled there at a later time and despite the fact that they may have been placed under the political domination of a different ethnicity – Walter Pohl, “The Barbarian Successor States,” in W. Pohl, *Eastern Central Europe in the Early Middle Ages. Conflicts, Migrations and Ethnic Processes*, ed. Cristina Spinei and Cătălin Hriban, Bucureşti-Brăila: Editura Academiei Române/Editura Istros, 2008, pp. 143-158 (p. 154).

between Forests of Nyr and the Forests of Meseş the Hungarians had subjected several nations (*plures nationes*),⁴⁷ including, most likely, also Slavs.

Explaining the names of places across Hungary, Réső Ensel Sándor claimed, in the nineteenth century, that the name Besenyő had its origins in the name of the Pecheneg population (in Hungarian *besenyő* and in Latin: Bisseni, Bessi, Besseni or Picenati), which, at one point, was allowed to settle in the Hungarian Kingdom.⁴⁸ Therefore, villages with names like Besseneu, Bessene, Bessenyew, Bissena or Besenyeü Too (Appendix, no. 1, 2, 3 and 4) talk about the presence of the Pechenegs. The same opinion is shared by K. Fábíán Ilona,⁴⁹ a Hungarian researcher who dealt specifically with the toponyms listed in the Register of Oradea (1208-1235).

Ethnotoponyms referring to the Pechenegs are found in the western part of the territory under investigation, more specifically in the counties of Sătmar, Bihor, Arad and Cenad. As evidence of their very early presence in the Banat areas stands the Pecheneg community from Beşenova Veche (Dudeştii Vechi, Timiş County), dated to the 9th-10th centuries, primarily based on the discovery of tumular graves that contained horse remains, investigated in the Bucova area.⁵⁰ The Pechenegs in the aforementioned settlement were attested in a document from 1369, when King Louis I promised to defend their rights, just like his father, Charles Robert had.⁵¹

In fact, in the area of Arad County (?) there also resided a group of population (or several) designated in the documents and chronicles as Ishmaelites – *Ismahelites*, probably originating from the Volga.⁵² In 1223, the Ishmaelites were mentioned because of a lawsuit in which they were involved, against the church and the provost in Arad.⁵³ Rogerius listed them alongside the Hungarians, the Ruthenians and Cumans captured by the Mongols on their way to Arad and Cenad.⁵⁴ At the end of his chronicle, the Anonymous Notary stated that during the time of Duke Taksony (the mid-10th century) there had come to Hungary nobles from Bular Land (Bulgaria on the Volga), bringing a lot of Ishmaelites with them – *multitudine Hismahelitarum*.⁵⁵ There may have also existed Pechenegs (and Khazars, about whom we will talk below) among these newcomers to the east of the territory controlled by Hungarians, since it is known that some of them embraced the Islamic faith.⁵⁶ In Hungary, the

⁴⁷ “*Gesta Hungarorum*,” Chap. XXIII and XXV.

⁴⁸ Ifj. Réső Ensel Sándor, *Helynevek Magyarázója*, Második Füzet, Pest, 1862, pp. 215-225.

⁴⁹ Ilona K. Fábíán, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-256.

⁵⁰ Géza Bakó, “The relations of the principality of the Banat with the Hungarians and the Petchenegs in the tenth century,” in *Relations between the Autochthonous Populations and the Migratory Populations on the Territory of Romania*, eds. Miron Constantinescu and Ştefan Pascu, Bucureşti: Editura Academiei R.S.R., 1975, pp. 241-248.

⁵¹ *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, C. Transilvania, Vol. XIII (1366-1370), Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Române, 1994, doc. 410, pp. 624-625.

⁵² Mircea Rusu, “The autochthonous population and the Hungarians on the territory of Transylvania in the 9th – 11th centuries,” in *Relations...*, pp. 201-217 (p. 213).

⁵³ *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 141, pp. 196-197 and doc. 144, pp. 198-199.

⁵⁴ “*Carmen miserabile*,” Chap. XXXVII.

⁵⁵ “*Gesta Hungarorum*,” Chap. LVII; see also note no. 4, p. 123. Ishmaelites are also mentioned further north, in the district of Nyr (the year 1219) – *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 209, p. 229; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/209, p. 94.

⁵⁶ Victor Spinei, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

Pechenegs lived in the counties of Szabolcs⁵⁷ (neighbouring Sătmar and Bihor) and Pest,⁵⁸ having generally settled in the area of the Danube and the Tisza Rivers,⁵⁹ while in the county of Cenad, Besul (the Pecheneg) Petrus was nominated in a document from 1221.⁶⁰

The toponym *Tatar*⁶¹ (Appendix, no. 25) in Sătmar County brings to mind a population with Asian roots. Given the fact that the village was mentioned in 1215,⁶² prior to the great Mongol invasion (Rogerius referred to them as *Tartars*),⁶³ we may exclude the possibility that the ethnotoponym alludes to them, which opens the prospect that another population group of Eastern extraction resided here.

Thus, we cannot overlook a statement from the Anonymous Chronicler's *Gesta Hungarorum*, whereby after the defeat of the Ruthenians (Russians) and the Cumans (probably the Pechenegs or Khazars/Cabars),⁶⁴ a good part of the latter, along with their families, went to Pannonia alongside the victorious Hungarian Duke Almos. It seems that so did many Russians (Ruthenians), too.⁶⁵ The Anonymous Chronicler's account supports the possibility that a certain number of Cumans (Pechenegs) arrived in the Pannonian area and, as in the case of the Szeklers, they were settled at the edges of the Hungarian dominions, reaching thus the territory of the (future) county of Sătmar. In this case, it is irrelevant whether Anonymous compiled his chronicle in the 11th century or at the end of the next century, for it is possible that in 1215 there still existed here descendants of the Cumans/Pechenegs or that their memory was preserved through the name of the settlement.

Regardless of whether we speak about Cumans or Pechenegs in the case of Tatar village, another factor intervenes and eliminates both populations from the equation: the names under which Cumans were known at the time did not include *Tatars* or *Tartars*,⁶⁶ the situation being similar with the Pechenegs,⁶⁷ even though the latter's presence in the north-western areas of Romania was more plausible, given that they were actually attested in the county of Sătmar, in Crişana and Banat.

⁵⁷ *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 72, pp. 179-180; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/72, p. 59.

⁵⁸ *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 103, pp. 113-114.

⁵⁹ Victor Spinei, *op. cit.*, p. 119 and p. 120, fig. 24 – on the map, a Pecheneg group is placed at the confluence of the Criş Rivers.

⁶⁰ *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 280, p. 258; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/280, p. 114.

⁶¹ Although in the document there appears the Latin spelling *Catar*, the *DIR* editors considered that the correct form of the toponym is Tatar – *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, p. 73, note 2.

⁶² *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 126, p. 198; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/126, p. 73.

⁶³ "*Carmen miserabile*" – the Mongolians are referred to as *Tartars (Tartari)* throughout the narrative. The Mongolians are also called thus in "*Descriptio Europae Orientalis*" (Chap. II) and by Simon of Keza in "*Chronicon Hungaricum*" (*Mongli sive Tartari* – Chap. IV.12). It appears that the Mongols owed their name as *Tatars (Tartari)* to Genghis Khan's victory over their ancestral enemy, the tribe of the Tatars, also a Mongolian-speaking population, whose habitat lay along the river Kerulen. Thus, by the middle of the 13th century, the ethnonyms *Mongol* and *Tatar* had become synonymous – István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185-1365*, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 9. See also: Mustafa Ali Mehmed, *Istoria turcilor*, Bucureşti: Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1976, p. 20.

⁶⁴ Pál Engel, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁶⁵ "*Gesta Hungarorum*," Chap. X.

⁶⁶ Victor Spinei, *op. cit.*, p. 202; István Vásáry, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁶⁷ Victor Spinei, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

Ilona K. Fábián leans towards a scenario whereby the toponym *Tatar* originated in an appellative and not in the name of a population, the “supplier” of the village’s designation having been a certain Tatar, mentioned in 1181.⁶⁸ Another proof that supports such a view is the existence, on the territory of medieval Hungary, of some Cumans bearing Mongolian names or names related to the Mongols. More specifically, these were two men, father and son, *Tatar filio Vgudey*, mentioned in a letter patent from 1333. A phenomenon attested was the use of ethnonyms (usually those of the subjected populations, but possibly also of the conquerors) as personal names, the Cuman anthroponyms of 12th and 13th centuries including examples like Baskord, Imek, Kitan, Urus, Quman, Qun and Tatar,⁶⁹ just like Qipčaq and Tatar were frequent personal names among the Mongols.⁷⁰

On the other hand, in Latin *Tartarus*, *Tartaros*, *Tartar* was used to designate the Inferno or something terrifying, infernal.⁷¹ We also know that in Bihor County (Nyr) there lived Ishmaelites and Pechenegs, the former having probably been Muslims, infidels in a Christian sense, while the latter may have been pagans.⁷² Under such circumstances, it is legitimate to ask: could the village Tatar have had infidel or pagan residents, for which reason it was named thus: Tatar/Tartar/Inferno? Perhaps a more thorough investigation of the problem will bring a satisfactory answer.

Another possible ethnotoponym with reference to a population of Asian origin is *Kazawar* (Appendix, no. 12) from Solnoc County (today Cuzdrioara, Cluj County). We have brought this toponym into discussion because *kaza* could be hinting at the *Khazars*, who are known to have arrived in the Pannonian region together with the Magyar tribes (one such tribe) or the *Kavars*, a name that Hungarians used to designate the populations they used as auxiliaries,⁷³ both in defending the borders and in foreign campaigns. The balance is tilted in favour of the former hypothesis by the Anonymous Notary’s account, which states that the country of Duke Menumorut was inhabited by *Cozari*,⁷⁴ creating the possibility that some of their groups crossed the mountains, settling in Northern Transylvania.

The fortress of Cuzdrioara was considered by Tudor Sălăgean as part of the easternmost line of beehives pertaining to the defensive system organised by the Hungarian royalty, to which the salt mines in the Dej area also belonged, a line along colonisation of various populations were made.⁷⁵ Although the clearest presence belonged to the Germanics – mentioned in documents of the 13th century – we cannot neglect the possibility that one or more of the auxiliary groups were brought into this area, in the interest of defence: Pechenegs, Szeklers, Khazars or their

⁶⁸ Fábián K. Ilona, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

⁶⁹ István Vásáry, *op. cit.*, p. 11, note 35 (*apud* L. Rásonyi, “Kuman özel adları,” in *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, 3-6, 1966-1969, pp. 71-144 – pp. 88, 106, 113 and 136) and notes 37-38.

⁷⁰ István Vásáry, *op. cit.*, p. 11, notes 39 and 40.

⁷¹ G. Guțu, *Dicționar latin-român*, București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1983, p. 1206.

⁷² The Pechenegs’ resistance to Catholic proselytism is well known – Victor Spinei, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁷³ Gyula Kristó, *Ardealul timpuriu (895-1324)*, Szeged, 2004, pp. 204-205.

⁷⁴ “*Gesta Hungarorum*,” Chap. XI.

⁷⁵ Tudor Sălăgean, *Țara lui Gelou. Contribuții la istoria Transilvaniei de Nord în secolele IX-XI*, Cluj-Napoca: Editura Argonaut, 2006, pp. 121-122.

descendants. We know that with the Szeklers, Pecheneg groups were also settled in the south-east of Transylvania. Archaeological discoveries – especially the settlement of Turia, Covasna County (dated to the end of the 12th century – the 13th century) – indicate the end of the 12th century as the time of the Pechenegs' settlement in the area.⁷⁶ Also, the settlement called *Beșeneu* (present-day Viișoara, Bistrița-Năsăud County) – referred to as *Heydendorf* (the Pagans' Village) by the German population – indicates the survival of the Pechenegs until the colonisation of the Germanics.⁷⁷ There is a reference to the Khazars from 1219, when *balta Chazar*,⁷⁸ the Khazar pond (*stagnum Chazar/Csazar*; in Bihor) was mentioned. According to S. Dumitrașcu and I. Crișan, together with the anthroponyms of the Ishmaelites,⁷⁹ this indicates a survival of the Khazars in Crișana. The fact is further reinforced by the discovery of a Star of David pendant in the 12th-13th-century settlement from Cefa – *La Pădure*, the authors of the research believing that the bronze piece belonged either to a Jew (perhaps even to a rabbi) or a Mosaic Khazar.⁸⁰ Still, we must be cautious in this matter, because in a document issued by Andrew II in 1233 there is a clear distinction between the Jews and the Ishmaelites. What is more plausible is the identification of the Muslims with the Ishmaelites, the formula *Iudeos, Sarracenos sive Ismahelitas* appearing several times.⁸¹ In any case, it is known that among the Khazars there were both Muslims and Mosaics,⁸² so Khazars or their descendants could have been referred to through both names: Jews and Ishmaelites. Consequently, it is possible that Pecheneg or Khazar communities (or their descendants) were settled in Kazawar (Cuzdrioara) too, the former being called, generically, *Kavars* and being involved in defending the borders.

The ethnotoponyms *Olahteleky* (Appendix, no. 14) and *Olahteluk* (Appendix, no. 15) include, in their word structure, the term the Romanians were referred to by the Hungarians: *oláh*, which, in fact, was derived from *Vlach* (Vlakhoi, Blachii,

⁷⁶ Zoltán Székely, *Pecenegii în sud-estul Transilvaniei*, în *Aluta. Studii și comunicări*, XVII-XVIII, 1985-1986, Sfântu Gheorghe, 1988, pp. 197-210.

⁷⁷ Th. Nägler, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

⁷⁸ G.D. Teutsch, Fr. Firnhaber, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, I, [Hereinafter: *Teutsch, Firnhaber, I*], Wien, 1857, doc. XV, pp. 13-14; Hurmuzaki, Densușianu, *Documente* I, 1, doc. LI, pp. 69-70; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 113, pp. 170-172.

⁷⁹ The Ishmaelites' anthroponyms in the Nyr area are: Texa (*Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 139, p. 203; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/139, p. 75), Iliaz, Pentek (*Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 209, p. 229; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/209, p. 94), Elias and Peter (*Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 326, p. 276; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/326, p. 126).

⁸⁰ S. Dumitrașcu, I. Crișan, "Un pandantiv cu steaua lui David descoperit la Cefa – La Pădure," in *Crisia*, no. 26-27, 1996/1997, pp. 37-49.

⁸¹ *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 223, pp. 264-270 (see the Latin text on p. 397-403); *EO I*, doc. 168, pp. 176-177.

⁸² Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, *Ein jüdisches Großreich? Religion und Mission im reich der Chasaren* – [https://www.academia.edu/699593/Ein_j%C3%BCdisches_Gro%C3%9Freich_Religion_und_Mission_im_Reich_der_Chassaren_A_Jewish_Empire_Religion_and_Mission_in_the_Empire_of_the_Khazars_Working_Paper_\(11.12.2014\)](https://www.academia.edu/699593/Ein_j%C3%BCdisches_Gro%C3%9Freich_Religion_und_Mission_im_Reich_der_Chassaren_A_Jewish_Empire_Religion_and_Mission_in_the_Empire_of_the_Khazars_Working_Paper_(11.12.2014)). The article will also be published in a specialised journal - for information: Dr. Johannes Preiser-Kapeller (Austrian Academy of Sciences, the Institute for Medieval Studies).

Vlachi).⁸³ The first settlement is in Burzenland (today, probably, Tohanu Vechi, Zărnești, Brașov County), while the other, which has disappeared, was in Bihor County. These are two areas in which even the written sources confirm the presence of the Romanians. In the southern part of Transylvania, the Vlachs were mentioned at an early date: in the letter patent granted to the Teutonic Knights by King Andrew II in 1222 (*terra Blacorum*),⁸⁴ in the privileging document issued in favour of the German guests in 1224, when the forest of the Romanians and the Pechenegs (*silvam Blacorum et Bissenorum*)⁸⁵ was mentioned, and in a document issued in 1223, to attest the donation of the cleric Gocelinus to Cârța Monastery (*terram exemptam de Balaccis*).⁸⁶ Regarding the western area of Romania, we have Simon of Keza's account, which says that after the Hungarian dismounting, the Szeklers did not receive a territory in Pannonia, but were settled near the *Blackis*.⁸⁷ We believe that this space inhabited by the Romanians was situated somewhere in the eastern parts of Hungary and/or in the western area of present-day Romania.

The Szeklers' presence in the Bihor area is confirmed by the toponymy, namely by the names *Zekulhyd* (Appendix, no. 31), the present-day Săcuieni, and *Scekul* (Appendix, no. 23), Sititelec today. The chroniclers referred to them using the forms *Siculi*,⁸⁸ *Zaculi*,⁸⁹ or *Zekuli*,⁹⁰ and in official documents from the 13th century, the variants *Siculi*/*Syculi*/*Siculy*⁹¹ were used, which legitimises the attribution of these ethnotoponyms to the Szeklers.

I left the discussion on the toponym *Germand* (Appendix, no. 10) from Alba County (the present-day Meșcreac, Alba County) to the end because the form in which it appears is special, considering that in the 13th century the ethnonym *Germans* was not used in reference to the Germanic groups settled here, because the customary term was *saxones*. Coriolan Suciu has identified, in addition to the oikonym in question, eight other localities containing the *German* in their names.⁹² Even if in most cases the term *German* appears only in mentions from the 19th century, each of these were located in areas of German colonisation.⁹³

⁸³ Gyula Kristó, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

⁸⁴ Hurmuzaki-Densușianu, I, 1, doc. LIV, pp. 74-76; Franz Zimmermann, Karl Werner, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, I, [Hereinafter: *UB I*], Hermannstadt, 1892, doc. 31, pp. 18-20; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 130, pp. 182-184; doc. 134, pp. 187-188.

⁸⁵ Hurmuzaki, Densușianu, *Documente* I, 1, doc. LXII, pp. 83-85; *UB I*, doc. 43, pp. 32-35; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 157, pp. 208-210.

⁸⁶ Hurmuzaki, Densușianu, *Documente* I, 1, doc. LVII, pp. 79-80; *UB I*, doc. 38, pp. 26-28; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 145, pp. 199-200.

⁸⁷ "*Chronicon Hungaricum*," Book I, Chap. III.6.

⁸⁸ "*Gesta Hungarorum*," for instance, Chap. L.

⁸⁹ "*Chronicon Hungaricum*," Book I, Chap. III.6.

⁹⁰ "*Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense*," Chap. X.

⁹¹ Hurmuzaki-Densușianu, I, 1, doc. CXCIV, p. 254; doc. CCVII, p. 280; doc. CCCXCIII, pp. 488-489 or doc. CCCXCIII, pp. 511-512.

⁹² Coriolan Suciu, *Dicționar istoric al localităților din Transilvania*, Iași: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1967-1968, Vol. I, p. 256.

⁹³ Coriolan Suciu, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87 (Bocșa Vasiovei, Bocșa, Caraș-Severin County), p. 225 (Făget, Timiș County), p. 258 (Gherman, Timiș County), p. 265 (Gladna Montană, Timiș County), p. 365 (Lugoj, Timiș County) and C. Suciu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 17 (Oravița, Caraș-Severin County), p. 77 (Reșița, Caraș-Severin County), pp. 97-98 (Sasca Montană, Caraș-Severin County).

Although this was a village with German guests, the toponym may have originated in the Latin word *germanus*, which meant, among other things, “from the same parents,” “brother,” or, in *germana*, “sister.”⁹⁴ Thus, reference was made to the similar origin of the inhabitants from Germand and of those from other settlements of guests from Alba County.

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From the above lines, we can see that onomastics represents an auxiliary discipline of great importance for history, which may contribute to elucidating some of the numerous issues raised by research conducted on the realities of the Transylvanian Middle Ages. Once all the place names belonging to the linguistic and cultural background of each ethnic group attested in the region have been recorded (and not just those that contain a direct reference to ethnicity, which have been the focus of this study), things will become even clearer and the medieval history of Transylvania and its neighbouring territories (Banat, Crişana, Maramureş) will be enriched with extremely useful information.

Appendix:

Legend: **a.** – The element designated by the ethnotoponym; **b.** – The geographical location in the Middle Ages, oftentimes with approximation; **c.** – The ethnicity (probable, in some cases) to which the ethnotoponym refers; **d.** – Date; **e.** – Bibliography; **f.** – Other comments.

*

1. **Beseneu/Besene/Besenew:** **a.** settlement; **b.** Bihor County (a now-vanished locality near Oradea); **c.** Pechenegs; **d.** 1226, 1273, 1291-1294; **e.** *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 352, p. 288; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/352, p. 134; *UB I*, doc. 169, pp. 122-123; Emil Jakubovich, “A váradi püspökség XIII századi tizedjegyzéke,” in *Magyar Nyelv*, Vol. XXII, no. 5-10, [Hereinafter: *Jakubovich*], Budapest, 1926, pp. 220-223, 298-301, 357-363 (p. 301); *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 161, pp. 153-154; doc. 381, p. 342.

2. **Beseneu/Land of the Bissens:** **a.** estate; **b.** Cenad County (it may have been the village of Bessenew – Beşenova Veche, the present-day Dudeştii Vechi, Timiş County – *DRH.C.XIII*, doc. 410, pp. 624-625); **c.** Pechenegs; **d.** 1230, 1232; **e.** *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 199, pp. 240-241; *Hurmuzaki-Densuşianu*, I, 1, doc. XCVII, pp. 124-126; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 219, pp. 261-263; **f.** the estate belonged to the fortress of Cenad.

3. **Besenyëi Too:** **a.** settlement; **b.** Sătmár County (?); **c.** Pechenegs; **d.** 1169; **e.** Georgius Fejér, *Codex Diplomaticus Hvmgariae Ecclesiasticvs ac Civilis*, Tomvs VII, Volvmen I, Budae, 1831, doc. CXVI, pp. 161-163; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 10, pp. 4-6.

4. **Bessenýew/Bissena:** **a.** settlement and forest; **b.** Arad County; possibly near the locality Agriş; **c.** Pechenegs; **d.** 1202-1203; **e.** *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 41, pp. 23-27 (the Latin text on pp. 363-367); **f.** estate belonging to the church in Arad.

5. **Chechtelek:** **a.** settlement – *telek*; **b.** Crasna County (probably a vanished settlement); **c.** Slavs (?); **d.** 1259; **e.** Ipolyi Arnold, Nagy Imre, Vég hely Dezső, *Hazai okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus patrius*, VI, [Hereinafter: *Codex diplomaticus patrius VI*],

⁹⁴ G. Guţu, *op. cit.*, p. 519.

Budapest, 1876, doc. 58, pp. 89-93; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 25, p. 27-31; *EO I*, doc. 230, pp. 200-203.

6. **Chechy**: **a.** settlement – *villa; terra*; **b.** Crasna County (the present-day Cehei, Sălaj County); **c.** Slavs; **d.** 1259; **e.** *Codex diplomaticus patrius VI*, doc. 58, pp. 89-93; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 25, pp. 27-31; *EO I*, doc. 230, pp. 200-203.

7. **Chehy**: **a.** settlement; **b.** Bihor County (the present-day Cihei, Bihor County); **c.** Slavs; **d.** 1220; **e.** *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 265, p. 252; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/265, p. 110.

8. **Chroath**: **a.** settlement – *villa, terra*; **b.** Middle Solnoc County (the present-day Horoatu Cehului, Sălaj County); **c.** Slavs; **d.** 1220; **e.** *EO I*, doc. 108, p. 152; *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 238, pp. 242-243; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/238, p. 103.

9. **Croac**: **a.** settlement – *terra*; **b.** Sătmar County (probably a vanished settlement); **c.** Slavs; **d.** 1238; **e.** Georgius Fejér, *Codex Diplomaticus Hvyngariae Ecclesiasticvs ac Civilis*, Tomvs IV, Volvmen I, Budae, 1829, pp. 104-111 (p. 108); *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 258, pp. 305-310; **f.** the land was removed from dependency on the fortress Valka, near Satu Mare.

10. **Germand**: **a.** settlement – *terra*; **b.** Alba County (the present-day Meşcreac, Alba County); **c.** Germans; **d.** 1264; **e.** *Hurmuzaki-Densuşianu*, I, 1, doc. CCXXXIV, p. 323; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 48, pp. 54-55; *EO I*, doc. 252, pp. 209-210; doc. 539, pp. 305-307.

11. **Huruat/Huruath**: **a.** settlement – *terra*; **b.** Crasna County (the present-day Horoatul Crasnei, Sălaj County); **c.** Slavs – Croats: in Hungarian, *horváth* means *Croat*; **d.** 1213, 1270; **e.** *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 21, p. 162; Szentpétery Imre, *Regesta Regum Stirpis Arpadianae Critico-Diplomatica/Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke*, Tomus II/II Kötet, 1 Füzet (1255-1272), Budapest, 1943, doc. 1906; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/21, p. 47; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 110, pp. 120-121; *EO I*, doc. 50, p. 137; doc. 283, pp. 221-222.

12. **Kazawar**: **a.** settlement, fortress/embankment (?); **b.** Solnoc County (the present-day Cuzdrioara, Cluj County); **c.** Khazars (?); **d.** 1249; **e.** *Hurmuzaki-Densuşianu*, I, 1, doc. CLXXXIX, pp. 245-247; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)* doc. 290, pp. 335-337; *EO I*, doc. 209, pp. 193-194.

13. **Nempti/Nemythy**: **a.** settlement; **b.** Sătmar County (the present-day Mintiu, a district of the town of Satu Mare); **c.** German guests; **d.** 1273-1290 – 1299; **e.** *Wenzel IX*, doc. 413, pp. 561-562; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 166, p. 158; doc. 508, pp. 463-464; **f.** in Hungarian, *német* means German.

14. **Olahtelek/Tohou**: **a.** settlement – *telek*; **b.** Burzenland (probably the present-day Tohanu Vechi, Zărneşti, Braşov County); **c.** Romanians; **d.** 1294 or 1272-1290; **e.** *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 451, pp. 403-404; *EO I*, doc. 320, pp. 231-232.

15. **Olahteluk**: **a.** settlement – *telek*; **b.** Bihor County (a vanished settlement somewhere between Uileacu de Criş and Cuiuşd, Bihor County); **c.** Romanians; **d.** 1283; **e.** *Hurmuzaki-Densuşianu*, I, 1, doc. CCCLIX, p. 446; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 278, pp. 245-246; *EO I*, doc. 402, p. 261.

16. **Olozi**: **a.** settlement – *villa*; **b.** Bihor County (the present-day Olosig, Bihor County); **c.** guests (?); **d.** 1291-1294; **e.** *Jakubovich*, p. 357, 360; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 381, pp. 335-347.

17. **Pad Hungaricam (Hungarian Pad)**: **a.** land – *terra*; **b.** Alba County (vanished settlement, possibly in the area of the locality Pâclişa, Alba County); **c.** Hungarians; **d.** 1265; **e.** *UB. I*, doc. 110, pp. 95-96; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 68, pp. 73-74; *EO I*, doc. 255, p. 210.

18. **Pad Saxoniam (Saxon Pad)**: **a.** land – *terra*; **b.** Alba County (vanished settlement, possibly in the area of the locality Pâclişa, Alba County); **c.** Germans; **d.** 1265; **e.** *UB. I*, doc. 110, pp. 95-96; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 68, pp. 73-74; *EO I*, doc. 255, p. 210.

19. **Rasan/Rusan**: **a.** settlement; **b.** Cenad County (abandoned settlement in Serbia, near Csoka); **c.** Slavs; **d.** 1256; **e.** Wenzel Gusztáv, *Árpádkori új okmánytár. Codex*

diplomaticus Arpadianus Continuatus, VII, 1235-1260, Pest, 1869, doc. 303, pp. 429-431; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 20, pp. 21-23; *EO I*, doc. 222, pp. 197-199.

20. **Ruscia:** **a.** settlement; **b.** Turda County (?); possibly vanished settlement, somewhere in the area of the Călimani Mountains, or the locality Rușii-Munți, Mureș County; **c.** Slavs; **d.** 1228; **e.** *Bánffy I*, doc. IV, pp. 3-7; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 191, pp. 232-234; *EO I*, doc. 152, pp. 169-170.

21. **Sashad:** **a.** settlement; **b.** Bihor County (?); **c.** Germans; **d.** 1214; **e.** *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 104, p. 191; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/104, p. 68.

22. **Sassag/Sussag:** **a.** settlement; **b.** Cluj County (vanished settlement near the city of Cluj); **c.** Germans; **d.** 1295, 1297; **e.** *UB I*, doc. 269, pp. 198-199; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 464, pp. 414-415; doc. 490, pp. 435-438; *EO I*, doc. 537, pp. 304-305; doc. 562, pp. 317-319.

23. **Scecul:** **a.** settlement – *villa*; **b.** Bihor County (the present-day Sititelec, Bihor County); **c.** Szeklers; **d.** 1213; **e.** *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 26, p. 164; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/26, p. 48.

24. **Sczech:** **a.** settlement – *terra*; **b.** Crasna County (the present-day Sici, județul Sălaj); **c.** Slavs (?); **d.** 1259; **e.** *Codex diplomaticus patrius*, doc. 58, pp. 89-93; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 25, pp. 27-31; *EO I*, doc. 230, pp. 200-203.

25. **Tatar (Catar):** **a.** settlement; **b.** Sătmár County (the present-day Szamostatárfalva, Hungary); **c.** Pechenegs (?); **d.** 1215; **e.** *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 126, p. 198; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/126, p. 73.

26. **Villa Latina:** **a.** settlement – *villa*; **b.** Târnava County (the present-day Văleni, Brașov County); **c.** Latin guests (?); **d.** 1231; **e.** *Hurmuzaki-Densușianu*, I, 1, doc. XCIV, pp. 120-121; *UB I*, doc. 63, pp. 54-55; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 212, pp. 254-255; *EO I*, doc. 163, p. 174; **f.** the village was owned by the Saxon knights (*milites*) Corrad and Daniel, the sons of Johannes Latinus.

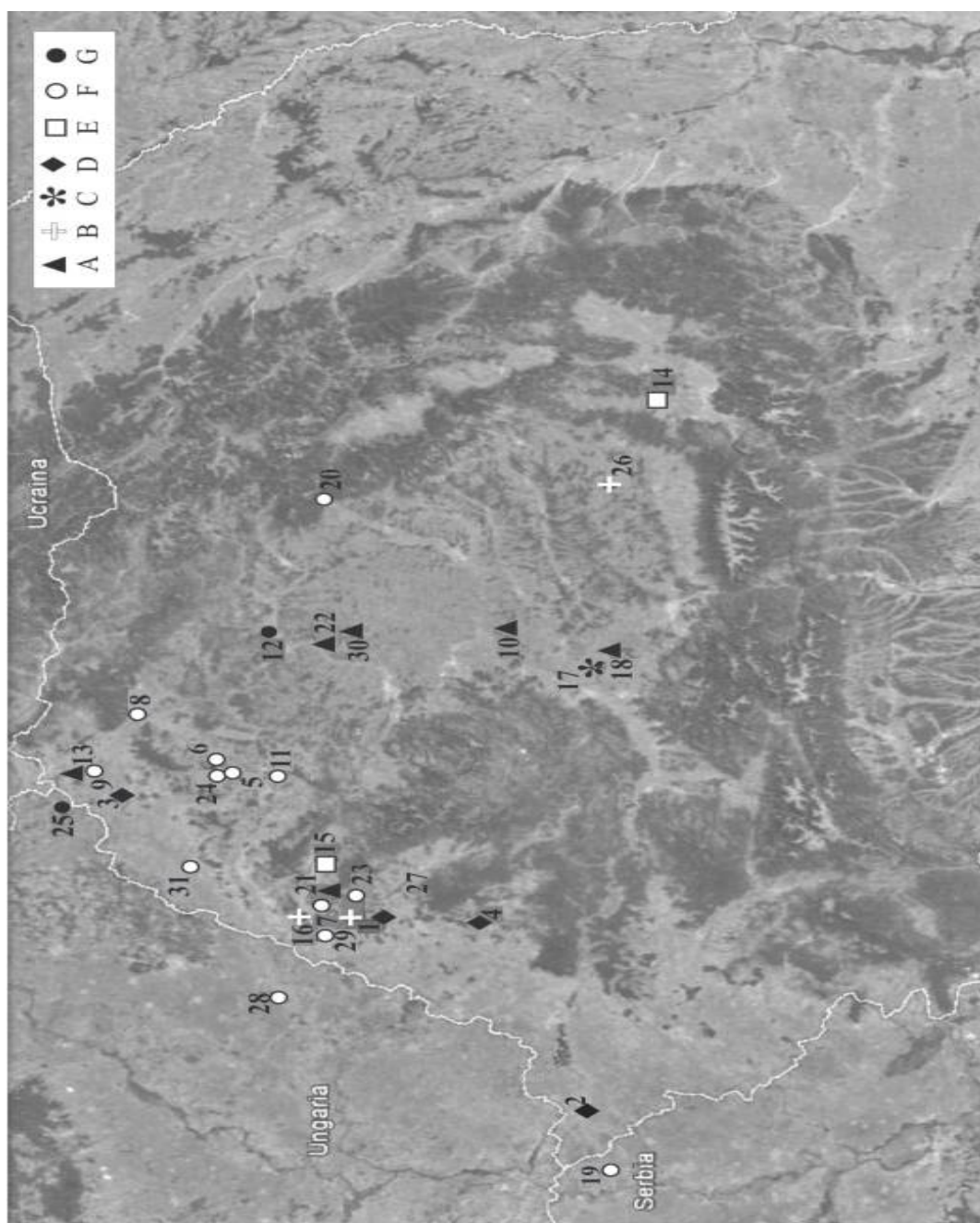
27. **Villa Latinorum Waradiensium/Olazy:** **a.** settlement – *villa*; **b.** Bihor County; **c.** Latins arrived from Italy (?); in Hungarian: *ólasz* = Italian; **d.** 1215, 1273, 1285, 1291-1294; **e.** *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 137, p. 202; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/137, p. 75; *Hurmuzaki-Densușianu*, I, 1, doc. CCCLXVIII, pp. 459-460; *UB I*, doc. 169, pp. 122-123; doc. 209, pp. 148-149; *Jakubovich*, pp. 299, 357, 359-360; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 161, pp. 153-154; doc. 313, pp. 277-278; doc. 381, pp. 343, 347; **f.** this was a village that later became a district of Oradea; other names: *Olaszi*, *Venecys* (Oradea's Venice).

28. **Vruz/Vrws:** **a.** settlement – *villa*; **b.** Bihor County (a vanished settlement, somewhere on the territory of Hungary); **c.** Slavs; **d.** 1220, 1221, 1279; **e.** *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 274, p. 255; doc. 317, pp. 273-274; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/274, p. 112; doc. 67/317, p. 124; Wenzel Gusztáv, *Árpádkori új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*, XII, Pest, 1874, doc. 212, pp. 250-253; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 225, pp. 201-203; *EO I*, doc. 365, p. 249.

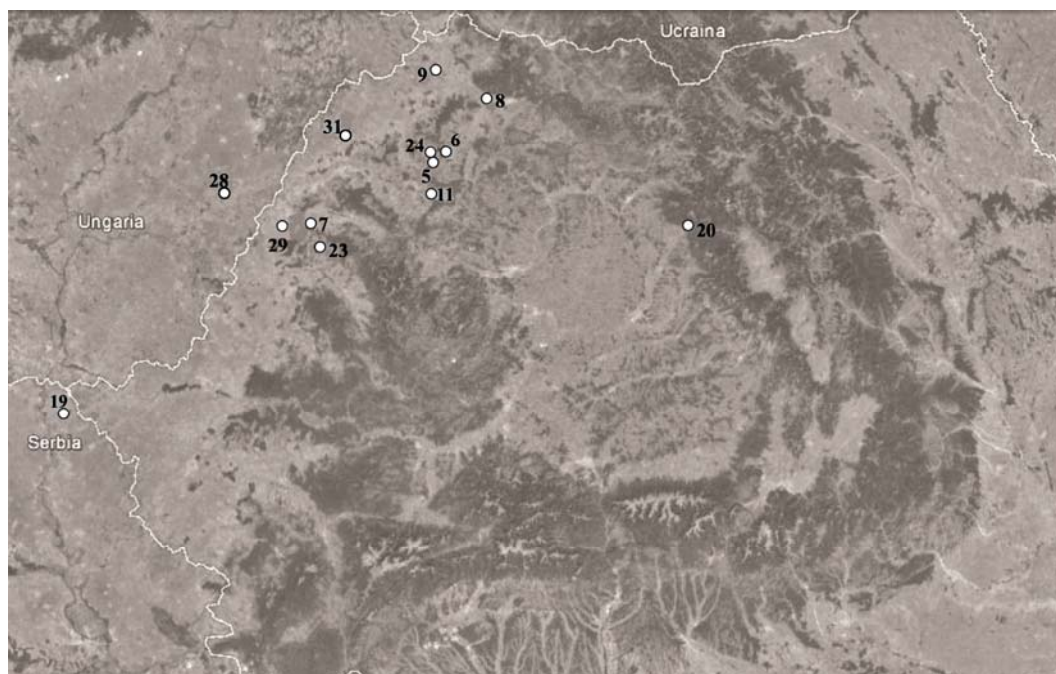
29. **Wrusy:** **a.** settlement; **b.** Bihor County (a vanished settlement near Gepiu, Bihor County); **c.** Slavs; **d.** 1291-1294; **e.** *Jakubovich*, p. 358; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 381, p. 344.

30. **Zaazfenes:** **a.** settlement; **b.** Cluj County (the present-day Florești, Cluj County); **c.** Germans; **d.** 1297; **e.** *UB I*, doc. 278, pp. 205-208; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 490, pp. 435-438; *EO I*, doc. 562, pp. 317-319. **f.** *zaaz* might have been derived from *szás* or from the Latin *saxones*, and *Zaazfenes* was *Saxon Fenes*; in the subsequent documents relating to Florești, the village was called only *Fenes* – for instance, in the years 1298-1299 – *UB I*, doc. 280, pp. 209-210; doc. 283, pp. 211-212; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 493, pp. 439-440; doc. 512, pp. 468-469.

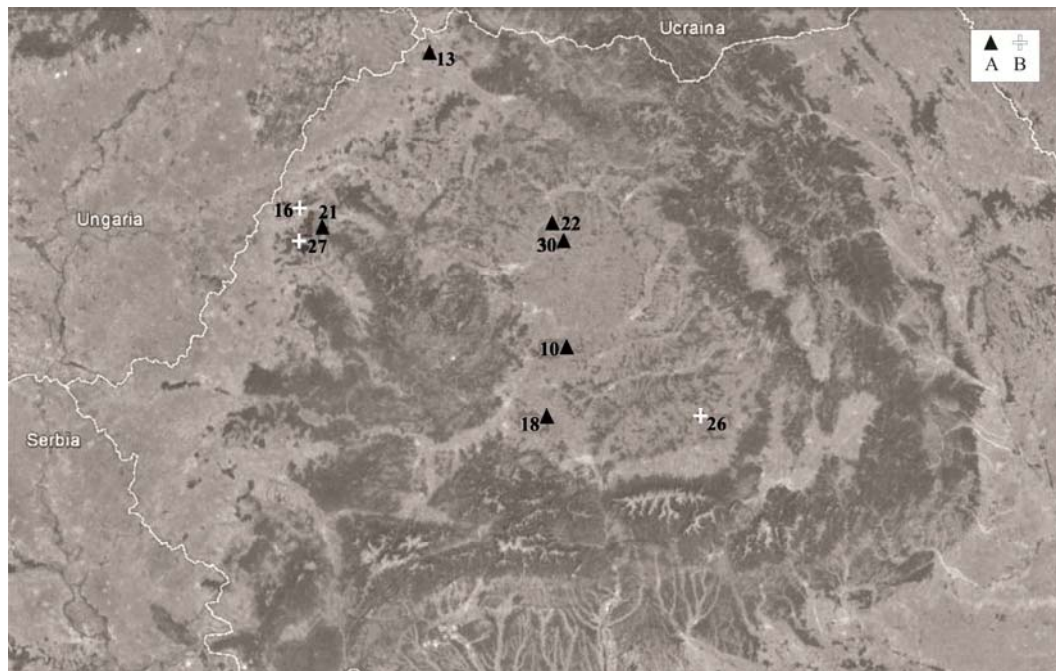
31. **Zekulhyd:** **a.** settlement; **b.** Bihor County (the present-day Săcuieni, Bihor County); **c.** Szeklers; **d.** 1291-1294; **e.** *Jakubovich*, pp. 222, 298; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 381, p. 335.



Map 1: The ethnotoponyms in Transylvania, Banat, Crișana and Maramureș (12th-13th centuries); A-Germans, B-Latins, C-Hungarians, D-Pechenegs, E-Romanians, F-Slavs, G-Kovars (Khazars, Pechenegs?); numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 15, 17, 18, 19, 22 and 29 are placed on the map with approximation, and 3, 9, 20, 21 and 28 with very great approximation (the figures on the map respect the numbering in the Appendix).



Map 2: Ethnotoponyms that make reference to Slavic communities.



Map 3: Ethnotoponyms that indicate the presence of German (A) and Latin guests (B).*