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# THE ROMANIANS
# IN THE ANONYMOUS
# *GESTA HUNGARORUM*

*Truth and fiction*

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ALEXANDRU MADGEARU

# The Romanians in the Anonymous *Gesta Hungarorum*

## Truth and fiction

*Translated from the Romanian by the author*

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# Introduction

Romanian historiography needs a new approach to the first period of the Romanian-Hungarian relations, and, generally speaking, to the so intricate problem of the Romanian continuity in Transylvania, an approach based on a real critical spirit, open-minded, free from biased and preconceived ideas. Several historians from the older generations have written remarkable works that clarified various aspects of this chapter of the Romanian Middle Ages. Two examples are enough to illustrate this: Dimitre Onciul and Gheorghe I. Brătianu. Unlike them, now we can use many archaeological discoveries that help us know more and more about Transylvania in the early Middle Ages. This new kind of evidence is not the single reason for the new approach which we propose in this book. The progress of the research should go further on the way traced by these historians, but without the exaggerations and the mistakes made by some authors who believed that patriotism means to write about history without a critical eye and without taking seriously into account the conclusions expressed by the opposite side. We do not intend to write here a "demythification" of the national history, which is nevertheless necessary, if it is made in its turn without the exaggerations that can be observed in connection to early medieval Transylvania in an already famous book that has tried to deconstruct the Romanian historical mythology.[1] Our purpose is to provide a more accurate and convincing interpretation of the first historical records about Romanians in Transylvania, based on the most recent available data and on a comparative view.

In one of his latest studies, medievalist Radu Popa deplored the exaggerations encountered in various works dedicated to the genesis of the first Romanian polities in Transylvania, Crişana, and Banat.[2] Even if some of his opinions might be too exaggerated in the opposite direction, it is obvious that present day Romanian historiography may and must investigate with more attention and with more criticism the written and archaeological sources that concern the 9th–11th centuries. One step was already taken with the book of Ioan-Aurel Pop, which, unlike some productions of the 1980s, is an example of a well-balanced and well founded approach.[3] Being a synthesis dedicated to an extensive period, his work did not discuss many details that are still required to better understand the first period of the Romanian-Hungarian relations.

One of these topics is the credibility that can or cannot be given to the most disputed historical source on the Transylvanian early Middle Ages: the work written by a notary from the time of one of the Hungarian kings, Bela. His *Gesta Hungarorum* (hereafter cited as GH) roused a long debate that lasted for over two centuries. Because this work recorded the existence of the Romanians in Transylvania before the arrival of the Hungarian warriors, the historians who did not and still do not agree with the continuous presence of the Romanians in Transylvania tried to deny the credibility of this source, or at least of the chapters about the Romanians. This is one of the few cases when a problem of source criticism was transformed in a debate with political consequences, where both parties (Romanian and Hungarian) put the same passion in stressing their arguments.[4]

Many Hungarian studies about the work of the Anonymous Notary denote a high scientific level, but sometimes it seems they were written with a clear purpose: to prove a foregone conclusion, namely that Romanians did not live in Transylvania before Hungarians. Denying the credibility of GH is commonplace in the propaganda carried out by professional and amateur Hungarian historians.[5] They might not be aware that this disapproval excludes from the Hungarian heritage a valuable work of which 18th and 19th centuries Hungarian scholars were proud (and they were certainly right to think so). In their turn, the Romanian historians invoked GH in order to prove the presence of the Romanians in Transylvania

before the Hungarian conquest, but, surprisingly, they produced few studies focused on the credibility of this source, which in most cases is not questioned, but postulated as a definitive and obvious truth. Historical science cannot operate with such generalized judgments. A historical source is by definition subject to criticism. GH should be studied according to the usual internal and external source criticism methods. The total rejection and the absence of any criticism are both erroneous.

The data about the Transylvanian Romanians ruled by Gelou[6] must be discussed together with those on the so-called *Blachii* from Pannonia, because the Anonymous Notary wrote a unitary work, from which the short part about Transylvania cannot be detached. A real understanding of this text requires its study as a whole work and as a medieval source, with all that it is implied by its nature. We are emphasizing this because in most cases the Romanian historians did not study the passages about Romanians in the context of the full source. Therefore, our interpretation will discuss (sometimes in considerable detail) the general credibility of the source, the chronology of the events recorded in GH, and their historical and archaeological background.

It happened that GH was published shortly before the birth of 18th century Transylvanian Romanian historiography. Gheorghe Şincai[7] and Petru Maior[8] are the first Romanian authors who knew, translated and interpreted the source, at the level of their contemporary historical science. The Romantic historians (Mihail Kogălniceanu,[9] Alexandru Papiu-Ilarian[10]) did not enrich the discussions about this source, but the publication in 1871 of Robert Roesler's famous book that denied the Romanian continuity was an incentive for the investigation of the source that was supposed to provide proofs for the theory of continuity. Alexandru D. Xenopol used the fragments about the Romanians from GH in his critical study about Roesler's work and in his monumental *History of Romanians*.[11] In 1899 the first complete Romanian translation of GH was published, with a large bibliography on the source.[12]

The most important progress made during the period of critical historiography was achieved by Dimitre Onciul, who, in several works, examined with great care the passages that concern the Romanians.[13] His disciple Vasile Pârvan dedicated to this problem

an outstanding study, unfortunately published very late, in 1977, and for a second time in 1990.[14] Xenopol, Onciul and Pârvan supported the trustworthiness of GH. More skeptical, Ioan Bogdan claimed that "we will never know if the dukes recorded by the Anonymous Notary really existed."[15] Nicolae Iorga also denied the credibility of the paragraphs about Romanians.[16]

An important moment in the evolution of these investigations was represented by the new full translation of GH, made by Gheorghe Popa-Lisseanu and published in 1934 as the first volume in the series *Izvoarele Istoriei Românilor* (Sources of Romanian History). The translation was accompanied by an introduction, by footnotes and by the Latin original. Interwar historians enriched with some innovative ideas the studies of the previous generation. In two of his works, Gheorghe I. Brătianu[17] analyzed the chronology and the significance of GH as a source that recorded historical traditions. He emphasized the value that such traditions can have for the historical research, if they are carefully examined and compared with other sources. Another significant contribution was brought by linguist Nicolae Drăganu, who gathered all the place-names and person names from the Hungarian medieval kingdom that could be put in relation with the Romanians. Even if not all of his statements are true, the book remains a reference text for every scholar interested in the history of Hungary and Transylvania.[18] For our subject, it is important because it analyzes the place-names recorded in GH. In the same years was published the Ph.D. dissertation of Aurel Decei,[19] which includes many comments on the early medieval sources that concern the area inhabited by Romanians.

After World War II, the development of Migrations Period and medieval archaeology opened new directions in research. In the territory where, according to the Anonymous Notary, Gelou ruled, were excavated or briefly researched the fortifications of Dăbâca, Cluj-Mănăştur, Moigrad, Ortelec, Şirioara. The results were compared with the written sources, including GH. The residence of Gelou was located by some scholars at Dăbâca,[20] while others supposed that it was at Cluj-Mănăştur,[21] or in the center of medieval Cluj.[22] Based on archaeological investigations, Kurt Horedt established the stages of the Hungarian conquest of Transylvania.[23] Mihai Blăjan, Radu R. Heitel, Petru Iambor, Ştefan Matei, Ştefan Pascu, Zeno-Karl Pinter,

Mircea Rusu published several works concerning Transylvania in the 9th–11th centuries (see the bibliography). Worthy of special attention are the studies of Stelian Brezeanu, Virgil Ciocîltan, Ioan-Aurel Pop and Victor Spinei, who brought outstanding contributions to the interpretation of GH as a source for the Romanian history. Recently, several young archaeologists like Dan Crişan Băcueţ, Călin Cosma, Aurel Dragotă, Nicolae Marcel Simina, Ioan Stanciu, and Ioan Marian Ţiplic continued with interesting results the investigation of the 9th–11th centuries cemeteries and settlements previously found in Transylvania and Crişana. Their works contribute to a better understanding of the archaeological background of our topic. A recent study by Florin Curta questions the still unresolved problems of the Transylvanian history and archaeology in the 10th century, showing the limits of the existing interpretations, including the data from GH.[24]

We consider that a monograph on the fragments about Romanians from GH is now possible and necessary. This means examining the reliability of the source and comparing the information recorded by the Anonymous Notary with other written sources and with the archaeological evidence. As noticed Radu R. Heitel, who was one of the best connoisseurs of the early medieval Transylvanian history and archaeology, "now, the discussion on the Chronicle of the Anonymous Notary can be made from new viewpoints, and a new interpretation based on archaeological evidence is required by a particular reason: beyond some anachronisms, mistakes or gaps in the information provided by the Anonymous Notary, the archaeological research has generally confirmed the data contained in the source."[25]

This is just what we propose in this book, but not only. Our approach will continue and develop that kind of source criticism illustrated before by the works of Onciul, Pârvan and Brătianu. Our conclusions are in contradiction in some points with the commonplaces and exaggerations of the, let's say, neoromantic historiography of the last decades of the communist regime, which invented a historical past suitable for the nationalist ideology.

The first edition of this book was published with the title *Românii în opera Notarului Anonim* (The Romanians in the work of the Anonymous Notary), as the 27th volume in the series "Bibliotheca Rerum

Transsilvaniae" (Cluj-Napoca: Fundația Culturală Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2001). The present English translation contains many corrections and additions. A Fulbright research grant at Ohio State University (2002–2003) gave me the opportunity to enrich the documentation with studies not available in the Romanian libraries, and equally useful was the visit at the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies in Washington, D.C. Other publications where provided by Florin Curta, Anton Cușa, Sergiu Iosipescu, Victor Spinei, Ioan Stanciu, Paul Stephenson, and Ioan Marian Țiplic. I am grateful to Stelian Brezeanu, Virgil Ciocîltan, Călin Cosma, Florin Curta, Petre Diaconu, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Victor Spinei, and Ioan Stanciu, who suggested some ideas or corrections. The reviews to the first edition published by Ioan Marian Țiplic (ATS, 1, 2002, 215–219) and Tudor Sălăgean (TR, 11, 2002, 2, 148–151) helped me to refine or reconsider some controversial ideas.

# Part I
## The source

# CHAPTER 1
# Who was the Anonymous Notary?

Since 1746, when the GH was published, historians expressed various points of view about it, ranging from full reliability to a vehement denial of its historical value. The work includes some data about the Romanians, not found in other products of the Hungarian medieval historiography, which were thus spared a similar questioning (*Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense*, *Chronicon Dubnicense*, *Chronicon Posoniense*, *Chronicon Budense*). In fact, GH is different not only in content, but also in form, because it is a *gesta*, not a chronicle: an epic writing intended to confer legitimacy to the noblemen descended from the seven chieftains who conquered the land.[1] (The work of Simon of Keza belongs to the same category of *gestae*.)

GH was transmitted, but not entirely, by way of a single manuscript copied around the middle of the 13th century, first published in 1746 by Mátyás Bél in the collection *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum* edited by Johann Georg Schwandtner. Before the first edition, the work was mentioned in a catalogue of the Imperial Library of Vienna (1652) and in two books edited in 1666 and 1692. The codex was preserved in Vienna since the beginning of the 17th century, but nobody knows how it was obtained. The manuscript was offered in 1932 to the National Hungarian Library, where it is registered as *Cod. Lat. Medii Aevi 403*.[2]

The author of GH is known only as *P. dictus magister*. It is possible that his name was written on the front page, but this one was not preserved. He stated that he was a notary (chancellor) of the deceased King Bela (*ac quondam bone memorie gloriosissimi Bele regis Hungarie notarius*).[3] Now it is absolutely sure that the text was based on a

rowing from *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*. The assumption that the name *Blaci* is an anachronism[22] is a logical mistake, a circular argumentation: the anachronism is postulated as a proof for the date posterior to Bela III, and subsequently that date becomes a premise for the anachronistical character of the observations concerning the *Blaci*! Our opinion is that the existence of the name *Blaci* cannot be used as an argument for the dating of the work.

Another argument for the date around 1200 was drawn from the prologue. The author said he had studied together with the friend to whom the work is dedicated, and that they very much liked a popular writing of that time, the *Trojan History* ascribed to Dares Phrygius. Many researchers have supposed that they were students in Paris.[23] The studies in Paris were an argument for a later date of GH, because they could have taken place only after the middle of the 12th century. In fact, there is nothing in the source that can show where and when the two friends studied together. It is possible that they were colleagues somewhere in Italy.[24] As for the *Trojan History*, this writing had already enjoyed a long popularity in the medieval Latin world; its mention is by no way a chronological indication.

I. Kapitánffy remarked that the Anonymous Notary knew some Greek words, because his master Bela III had close Byzantine relations.[25] However, knowledge of the Greek language was a must for a chancellor at the middle of the 12th century, when Hungary was involved in several wars with the Byzantine Empire. This means that this knowledge does not necessary indicate a date after Bela III.

The single solid argument for a date around 1200 remains the use of the name *Ecilburgu* for Buda, but even this does not exclude an earlier date. The date around 1200–1210 is admitted by several works of medieval Hungarian history and also in the most recent edition of the source.[26]

The supporters of the date after Bela III made several suppositions for the identification of the author: Petrus—*prepositus* of the Buda Abbey around 1200,[27] Petrus—*prepositus* of Esztergom recorded between 1198 and 1218,[28] Paulus—notary to King Bela III, later promoted as bishop of Transylvania (in office in 1181),[29] Petrus—chancellor between 1202 and 1205, and Bishop of Győr between 1205 and 1217.[30]

If the Anonymous Notary was Paulus, the Bishop of Transylvania, we would expect to find a lot more details about Transylvania. However, he wrote only about the north-western part of this land, involved in the war against Gelou. Alba-Iulia, the residence of the bishop, is not mentioned in GH, as well as southern and eastern Transylvania. This seems to exclude Bishop Paulus of Transylvania from the list of possible authors. For Petrus, the prepositus of Esztergom, J. Horváth has remarked that the ideology of his work reflects circumstances from the first part of the reign of Andrew II (1205–1235), being written before 1217.[31] If this were true, then GH was written when Hungary was allied with Bulgaria (during the reign of Boril, 1207–1218). Since the work presents the Bulgarians as enemies of the Hungarians, we think that this interpretation is not plausible. The same is true for the other Petrus, bishop of Győr. On the other hand, there are great textual differences between GH and the account written by this Petrus, the prepositus of Esztergom (for instance, he used the form *Transsilvania*, not *Ultrasilvana*).[32]

The last point of view about the period when GH was drawn up took into consideration the late 13th century, after Bela IV (1235–1270). Nicolae Iorga was a supporter of this opinion,[33] as well as some older historians who based their arguments on the references to the Cumans.[34] It was afterwards proven that these "Cumans" were not the people of the 12th–13th centuries, but another Türkic race, contemporary with the conquering Hungarians (see the next chapter). The city of Morisena (Cenad) is mentioned in GH as still in existence. Because this city was destroyed during the Tartar invasion of 1242, the work cannot be written after this date. The name *Budavar* used in GH was replaced after 1223 by *Ó-Buda*. Finally, GH does not mention *Ungaria Maior*, the region discovered by the monk Julianus in 1231 near the Volga, described in the account of Ricardus (1237). The journey was inspired by the existence of some data about the Asian homeland of the Hungarians, found in a *Gesta Hungarorum*. This work was sometimes identified with GH, but the latter does not include data about the survival of a Hungarian group in the homeland; the source, based on oral traditions, was another *gesta*.[35] The language of GH is another argument against the later date, after Bela IV. It was shown that the archaic features of

the vocabulary and orthography are specific for the 12th century, at least for the beginning of the 13th century.[36]

In contradiction with this viewpoint that excludes the date after Bela IV, János Harmatta supposed that the unclear data about the Asian homeland of the Hungarians were taken by the Anonymous Notary from the report of Ricardus, but he failed to explain why the author of GH did not insert a detailed description of the original homeland, if he indeed knew the relation about *Ungaria Maior*.[37] Another historian, Géza Karsai, made an examination of the erased text of the palimpsest used to write the single manuscript of GH. He concluded that the author was a Dominican friar called Pousa, later bishop in Bosnia, active in Hungary between 1238 and 1270.[38] His point of view was however not shared by other scholars. Recently, a specialist in Hungarian medieval literature argued that the Anonymous Notary wrote the work after the reign of Bela IV, more precisely in 1279. He believed that this year, written in Arabic numerals, is hidden in the adornment of the initial letter P, but his interpretation is not convincing.[39] The identification with Bishop Stephen Vancha (of alleged Romanian origin)[40] is unfounded and cannot be taken into consideration. The bishop was a contemporary of Bela IV, but he died before the king, in 1266 or 1269. We do not understand why this hypothesis was even expressed. Therefore, no theory that places the author in the period following the reign Bela IV could be taken into consideration.

In conclusion, we consider that the present state of the investigation cannot provide a final solution for the identity of the Anonymous Notary. In the first edition of our work we preferred a date around 1150 for the writing of GH, without excluding other possibilities. If we accept the date after Bela II, then the identification with Paulus, bishop of Morisena, would be worthy of consideration. It is nevertheless true that the later dating, after Bela III, is also supported by valid arguments. In this case, the best solution could be the identification proposed by G. Györffy: the *prepositus* from Buda, active around 1200.

# CHAPTER 2
# The credibility of the work of the Anonymous Notary

The work includes a prologue and 57 chapters. We know that it was not entirely preserved, because from the 15th chapter it results that the narrative also concerned the reign of Andrew I (1046–1060), while the existing text ends with the rule of Duke Geza and makes few references to events from the time of Stephen I. The prologue (a letter to a friend), shows the reason why the work was written: the glorification of Hungarian bravery, and hence the legitimization of the rights of the Arpadian dynasty over the Hungarian kingdom. No doubt, **the source is a tendentious and propagandistic work that left aside events not suitable with this exultation over the Hungarian past**. For instance, the Anonymous Notary did not record the victory of the Bulgarians and the Pechenegs over the Hungarians in 895, although this fact explains their migration toward Pannonia and he knew about it from the work of Regino of Prum, one of the literary sources used by the Anonymous Notary (see infra).[1] The same omission can be found at Simon of Keza and in the later chronicles.

The narrative structure of the work is the following:

1. the description of the Hungarian homeland and of the departure to Ruthenia (c. 1–7);
2. the fights with the Ruthenes (c. 8–11);
3. the conquest of Pannonia (the land between the Danube and the Tisza) (c. 12–18);
4. the fights with Menumorout, the duke of Byhor (c. 19–23, 28–29);

5. the conquest of the land ruled by Gelou (Transylvania) (c. 24–27);
6. the fights with Salanus and with the duke of Bulgaria (c. 30, 38–43);
7. the fights with the Bohemians (c. 31–37);
8. the conquest of Pannonia west of the Danube (c. 44, 46–50);
9. the fights with Glad and the South-Danubian campaign (c. 44–45);
10. the second war with Menumorout (c. 50–52);
11. the heirs of Arpad, up to Geza (c. 52–53, 57);
12. the inroads in Germany (c. 53–56).

We notice that some sequences are imbricated, while other are digressions from the main narrative (for instance, the relation about the conquest of the land of Gelou). We can represent the narrative structure in this manner:
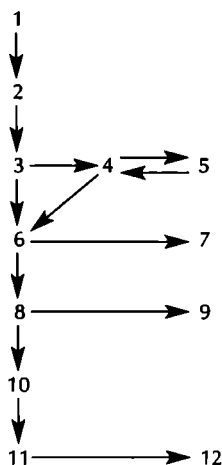


Unlike chronicles, whose narrative structure is linear, this text is quite elaborated. GH is a kind of literary work,[2] but this does not mean that it is also a fiction. Bálint Hóman[3] remarked for the first time that GH belongs to the medieval literary and historiographic species of the *gestae*. He emphasized the importance of this fact for the understanding of the value, but also of the limits of GH as a historical source. The first *gestae* were composed in the 6th centu-

ry by Cassiodorus and Jordanes, and became more frequent in the 9th–12th centuries especially in France and England. They represented a kind of "national" historiography, whose purpose was not to record memorable events, but to legitimize the political realities of their time: rights over a territory, the noble origin of a dynasty or of a people, and so on. Tendentious in their content, the *gestae* always searched for this legitimacy into a remote past (in the Biblical ages or in the Roman era). Thus, their authors were concerned with the origins of peoples, states and noble families. The power of a medieval state was based on its oldness and on the continuity of its institutions. Consequently, the historians invoked models from the past that were able to legitimize their present.[4]

Because few texts were available, the medieval historians used the local and aristocratic traditions and legends in order to reconstruct the past. It is obvious that, in such circumstances, the credibility of the *gestae* is low, and not necessarily because their authors were wrong, but because the oral tradition itself distorts the historical reality. The oral traditions do no reflect the past in a true manner. The events are confused, the chronology is changed or reversed, and individuals borrow deeds and features from similar personages. This transfiguration of the historical content occurs after five or six generations, when the common memory begins to fade, leaving only some surviving items that usually consist of place or people names, out of their real context. These items become in their turn elements of imaginary accounts or, in other cases, they are moved to different periods. The oral tradition does not respect the real chronology. The historical memories are always updated according to the realities of the present. The oral testimonies recorded by the *gestae* have however a special feature, because they were created in the aristocratic environment, where knowledge of the genealogy was essential for the legitimacy of the rank and of the estates.[5] The transmission of the genealogies also meant that some related historical events were too preserved by the oral memory. This does not mean that the *gestae* were not affected by the antichronological character of their sources. As any oral source, they are involuntarily "projecting in the past the conditions of their present."[6]

The work of the Anonymous Notary belongs to a series of 12th–13th century writings that used oral traditions and *chansons de geste* in order to reconstruct the national past. For instance, French chronicler

Sigebert de Gembloux (early 12$^{th}$ century) took his information from *Chanson de Roland*. The use of such oral sources should not be considered a proof of superficiality or of ignorance. On the contrary, it seems that these medieval historians were aware of the real value of these data.[7] As to the critical spirit, it can be considered that the Anonymous Notary surpassed other authors of similar *gestae*. In the 42$^{nd}$ chapter, he confesses that he refused to write down the popular historical traditions preserved by the peasants (*fabulis rusticorum*)—considered erroneous—, and the heroic songs interpreted by minstrels (*ioculatores*), and that the truth can be established from the writings and from the interpretation of actual historical events (*de certa scripturarum explanatione et aperta hystoriarum interpretatione rerum veritatem nobiliter percipiat*).[8]

A common feature of the Hungarian medieval historical writings was the large proportion of what László Veszprémy calls "prehistoric" facts (from the period before the foundation of the Christian state). In the Anonymous GH, the "prehistory" means all the story, while at Simon of Keza the percentage is 42.6 (still high). Even in the *Chronicon Pictum*, the "prehistory" occupies 21.4% of the text. As L. Veszprémy remarked, this means that in the Hungarian *gestae* and chronicles the "prehistory" represents a projection of the present into the past.[9]

B. Hóman has shown that the prototype of the *Gesta* composed by the Anonymous Notary was another *Gesta Ungarorum*, written towards the end of the 11$^{th}$ century, now lost. The primary *Gesta* used oral information, most probably only of aristocratic origin.[10] According to Hóman, the anachronisms from the work of the Anonymous Notary came from the prototype and from its sources, because the author "s'est bien gardé de reporter consciemment dans une époque antérieure des personnages et des évenements d'une époque postérieure."[11] Yet, the same B. Hóman[12] believed that, exceptionally, the Anonymous Notary made a confusion when he mentioned the Romanians in the North-Danubian area, during the period of the Hungarian conquest; only in this case he transferred to the 9$^{th}$–10$^{th}$ centuries some facts from the 12$^{th}$ century. It is very curious how the credibility of the source is recognized for all other instances, but rejected for the fragments about Romanians. If we admit this, it remains to be seen what reason the Anonymous Notary had to

invent the presence of the Romanians in Transylvania before the Hungarians. B. Hóman avoided any explanation for this presumable distortion.

A British historian who dedicated many pages to the study of the Hungarian medieval sources wrote that "every device of Magyar scholarship has been employed to discredit Anonymous' veracity at this point [the relation about Gelou], and some ingenious critics have even suggested that the whole episode is a late interpolation by a different hand. This suggestion is quite untenable, for no literary forger of the Middle Ages could so have imitated Anonymous' peculiar style and phraseology as to produce a piece of writing so thoroughly as these chapters. It is true that they are an interpolation—a separate story introduced into the general narrative—but an interpolation by Anonymous himself."[13] It is nevertheless true that the work was unconsciously influenced by the contemporary background, familiar to the author, but only to a limited extent. The same C. A. Macartney remarked that "far from its being Anonymous' habit to transfer back to the Conquest the conditions of his day, it is very rare for him to do so."[14]

The minor anachronisms concern the wrong use of expressions typical for the Western feudalism applied to facts from the Byzantine Commonwealth (*auxilium et consilium*, for the relations between Kean and the emperor of Constantinople).[15] Another anachronism is the reference to the *balistae*, used by the Hungarian warriors at the siege of a fortress from the duchy of Menumorout.[16] These war engines were not known by Hungarians in the $10^{th}$ century. Such anachronisms and confusions do not alter the value of the content. The real problem is whether some individuals or events recorded by GH were invented by the author or by his sources.

There are indeed a lot of major anachronisms and confusions, and some of them are very serious. The Anonymous Notary sometimes moved later events (also occurred in the $10^{th}$ century) to the time of Duke Arpad. **Almost all the memorable events were concentrated around the founding hero of Hungary**. Nothing surprising here, because the Anonymous Notary wrote the story of a conquest, not a chronicle of the Hungarian kings. The heirs of Arpad until Stephen I were only briefly recorded, with the obvious purpose of emphasizing that the main hero of the work is Arpad. All the con-

quests and victories won by the Hungarian warriors were ascribed to Arpad, even when they happened after 907, when he died.[17] A suggesting example is given by the relation of the battle of Lechfeld (955). The author minimized the defeat, but this is not the only mistake. From our point of view, what matters is the date of the battle, placed by the Anonymous Notary "in the fifth year of the reign of Emperor Conrad" (c. 55).[18] Conrad reigned between 911 and 919. The battle was moved four decades back. The same mistake can be encountered in other chronicles.[19]

One more example. In c. 45 is described the raid of chieftains Zuard and Cadusa, who took the city of Braničevo, advanced along the Morava valley, and finally conquered Bulgaria and Macedonia; about Zuard it is said that "he married in this country and his people that today are named Sobamogera remained in Greece after the death of Zuard" (*Et Zuardu in eadem terra duxit sibi uxorem, et populus ille, qui nunc dicitur Sobamogera, mortuo duce Zuard in Grecia remansit...*).[20] The whole account is exaggerated (the Hungarians did not conquer Bulgaria and Macedonia), but it is based on real facts, occurred in a different period than the reign of Arpad. The Byzantine sources recorded a dangerous Hungarian inroad in the Byzantine Empire, in 934. A consequence was the settlement of a group of *Tourkoi* (Hungarians) in the area of the Vardar River. Nikolaos Oikonomides has demonstrated that the relation preserved in GH concerns these events and that the Vardariot "Turks" are the Hungarians settled in Greece.[21] The content of the relation is confirmed, but the chronology is different.[22]

There are also some chronological discrepancies between different fragments from GH. In c. 50, which speaks about the second campaign against Menumorout, the author said that Zulta (Zoltan), the heir of Arpad, was born in the same year. However, just after the end of the war (c. 51), Zulta married the daughter of Menumorout, shortly before 907, when—according to the Anonymous Notary—Arpad died (c. 53). The sequence of the events is impossible. Either Zulta was born much earlier, or the war took place later. Such confusions resulted from the oral transmission of the events occurred in a remote past, but this does not prove that the author inserted in the narrative events from his own time.

György Györffy[23] developed a very coherent demonstration, whose single flaw is given by a false certainty: that Romanians did not

live in Transylvania in the 9th–10th centuries. The Hungarian scholar considered that the presence of the Romanians in GH shows that the Anonymous Notary created a fictitious history by transplantating contemporary facts in the time of Arpad. He discovered the proof of this in the relation of the conflict with Duke Glad, who was helped by "the Cumans, the Bulgarians and the Blachs" (c. 44), claiming that this reflects the alliance of the three peoples established in his time, under Emperor John I Asen of Bulgaria (1197–1207),[24] and that the presence of the Romanians in his work can be explained by their political role in the new Bulgarian state, the enemy of Hungary. In the same way he explained the use of a form of Byzantine origin for the name of the Romanians. On the other hand, Györffy considered that the Anonymous Notary gave the names of the imaginary individuals (Glad, Salanus, Menumorout, Gelou) by derivation from place-names found in those territories.[25]

The insertion of facts contemporary with the Bulgarian-Romanian state ruled by the Asen dynasty will be discussed below. For the time being, we can observe that, even if all persons and events were be imaginary, the conclusion that Romanians did not live in Transylvania is erroneous, because their presence is confirmed by other evidence. **The problem of the existence of the Romanians in Transylvania in the period described by GH does not depend on the internal criticism of this source.**

The works of G. Györffy were among the most radical as concerns the rejection of the trustworthiness of GH, especially when the information was somewhat related to the problem of the Romanian continuity in Transylvania. This harsh criticism was based on the presumption that the absence of the events and individuals recorded in GH in any other source means in fact that the Anonymous Notary invented them. "This view, if accepted, would turn into fiction any medieval (as well as ancient) narrative source which provides hitherto unknown information. The logic behind rejecting first-hand information contained in narrative sources leads to the absurdity that no *Gesta*, chronicles, *vitae* can be analyzed and used unless they are based on an earlier written source."[26]

Very significant for the credibility of the source is the reference to the Bulgarian domination in the lower Tisza basin. Describing in the 11th chapter the region seized by the warriors of Arpad, the Anonymous Notary affirmed that *terram vero, que iacet inter Thisciam*

*et Danubium, preoccupavisset sibi Keanus magnus dux Bulgariae, avus Salanus ducis, usque ad confinium Ruthenorum et Polonorum, et fecisset ibi habitare Sclavos et Bulgaros* ("The land between the Tisza and the Danube had been taken over by the great Kean, duke of Bulgaria, the grandfather of the leader Salanus, as far as the confines of the Ruthenes and the Poles, and there Kean made a home for Slavs and Bulgars").[27]

According to several researchers, the name *Kean* is the same with the title of *khan* (*qan*) born by the Bulgarian rulers, or replaces the real name of Krum (813–814).[28] The relation of the Anonymous Notary is of course confused, because it places Kean shortly after the death of Attila. This contraction of the period between Attila and the arrival of the Hungarians is a common feature of all 12th–14th century Hungarian sources, especially manifest with Simon of Keza. Another explanation was provided by Imre Boba, who supposed that GH recalled here another leader called Attila, who ruled over a fragment of the Avarian confederation after the Frankish aggression.[29] Whatever the truth, it is certain that the Anonymous Notary knew something about a Bulgarian domination in the basin of the Tisza River. Salanus continued to keep strong ties with Bulgaria (in c. 41 it is said that he was related to the "duke of the Bulgarians").

The Bulgarian domination over the lower Tisza basin was real. Some historians dated its beginning to 804, when they supposed that the Bulgarian qan Krum (813–814) moved his armies against the eastern and southern parts of Avaria.[30] Another opinion emphasizes that no contemporary source supports this idea, and that the Avars recorded as fighters in the Bulgarian army in 811 where allies and not subjects. According to this viewpoint, the extension of the Bulgarian domination in the territory between the Tisza and the Danube (previously a no man's land) was achieved by the Bulgarian qan Omurtag (814–831) in 827.[31] The offensive western policy of Omurtag (who launched a campaign up to Sirmium in 827[32]), the troubles attested in the Timok area between 818 and 824[33] and the reestablishment of the Bulgarian-Frankish boundary on the Tisza after 832[34] show that Bulgaria moved its western frontier on the lower Tisza. The space between the Tisza and the Danube remained neutral, but it was conquered by Moravia in 882.[35] The territory between the Tisza and the Danube taken by Omurtag is the same with that

ascribed by the Anonymous Notary to Kean, the ancestor of Salanus. It is nevertheless true that this region was under Bulgarian domination only for a short time, but it is possible that the decline of the Moravian state after 892 allowed its recovery exactly before the Hungarian inroads.

What the Anonymous Notary knew was a vague remembrance of the Bulgarian presence in the Tisza valley, which is only in part in agreement with the historical reality.[36] This example shows how history was distorted in GH, but in a way that allowed the survival of some real elements, inserted in a different chronological framework. In another interpretation, the Salanus episode reflects the memory of Svatopluk, the ruler of Moravia. His conflict with the Hungarians was in this case the same with the war recorded in 892 by the Frankish sources.[37]

The great Hungarian Byzantinist Gyula Moravcsik agreed that the data about Kean and Salanus are trustworthy, being transmitted by oral traditions.[38] Both names *Kean* and *Salanus* could have been invented (but not necessary by the Anonymous Notary). It seems that the name *Salanus* indicates the control exerted by Bulgaria over the salt trade on the Mureş River, or the place-name *Slankamen* (*Zalánkemény*) located at the mouth of the Tisza.[39] Several Bulgarian and Slovak historians accepted the existence of Salanus, considering him a "Bulgarian governor."[40]

The Anonymous Notary stated that Salanus was helped by "the emperor of the Greeks" and by "the duke of the Bulgarians." This information could be confirmed by a source less quoted in the discussions around GH. Liudprand of Cremona (one of the outstanding 10th century chroniclers) affirmed, without giving a precise year, that Hungarians *Bulgarorum gentem atque Grecorum tributariam fecerant.*[41] From Liudprand, the information was taken by other chroniclers from the 11th–13th centuries, who dated it in 906–907 (we do not know why). For instance, Sigebert de Gembloux wrote that: a. 906—*Ungari victos Grecos sub tributo redigunt*; a. 907—*Ungari Bulgares victos tributarios sibi faciunt.*[42]

A conflict between Hungarians and Bulgaria, with the assistance of the Byzantine Empire on the side of Symeon, was indeed possible between 904 and 913.[43] Four wars took place between Bulgaria and Byzantium before 904. In the war of 893–896, Emperor

Leon VI (886–912) was helped by the Hungarians, but they were defeated by the Bulgarians.[44] The Bulgarian-Byzantine conflict was resumed in 913. Some historians considered that the Bulgarians were allied with the Hungarians in 917, when they won a great victory against the Byzantines at Acheloo,[45] but the interpretation of the sources (the Arabian chronicles of Al-Masoudi and Ibn-al-Ahtir) was disputed (they concern most probably the Hungarian and Pecheneg attacks from 934).[46]

A clue can be offered by the way in which Leon VI spoke about Hungarians in his *Taktika*, written between 904 and 912: the Hungarians are presented as virtual enemies of the Empire.[47] Another piece of evidence is a recently published lead seal, once preserved in the National Hungarian Museum but now lost (only a drawing has been preserved). It was discovered in 1897 at Dunaszekcső, Baranya County (on the Danube, near Mohács), during the excavations in the Roman camp of Lugio. The seal dated to the 10th century belonged to a certain *Leon, basilikos protospatharios kai genikòs logothétes*.[48] He was a high Byzantine dignitary (from the class of eunuchs) charged with the rule of one of the financial departments of the state. His presence in the barbarian world, in the area controlled by the Hungarians, can be explained by the sending of a message to the commander of an Byzantine expeditionary corps involved in a conflict there. Future researches might establish with more accuracy the time when this Leon was in office.[49]

It can be concluded that the pieces of information about Salanus from GH are sufficiently credible. The anachronisms concern only minor details like the title of "duke of Bulgaria," which obviously recalls the title of the ruler of the Byzantine theme of Bulgaria; his residence at Belgrade also reflects the 12th century situation.[50]

We shall presently move on to our main point of interest. The data about the so-called *Blaci* (*Blachi*, *Blasi*) are among the most disputed in the whole work of the Anonymous Notary. They are inserted in three places: in c. 9 (in account of the conquest of Pannonia), in c. 24–27 (in the story about Duke Gelou of Transylvania), and in c. 44 (where these *Blaci* were mentioned in the army of Duke Glad of the Banat, and not as inhabitants of the region).

The researchers have usually identified the *Blaci* with the Romanians. Other historians (D. Pais, G. Bodor, L. Rásonyi) recogni-

zed the credibility of the information given by GH, but they considered that the name *Blac* has no relation with the Romanians. According to them, *Blaci* were in fact a Türkic population (*Bulaq*) from Bashkiria, which came here together with the Protobulgarians in the 7th century.[51] Apart from some linguistic conjectures, they were not able to give any clear proof for this amazing theory. The theory was rejected by Victor Spinei and Virgil Ciocîltan, who showed that the name *Blaci* was certainly given to Romanians in other sources and that it was used in the Latin texts before the word *Olachus*, which evolved from the Hungarian form *Oláh*. Until the middle of the 13th century, only the forms *Blacus* and *Blachus* were used in documents. Later, they were preserved only in the Transylvanian Saxon dialect (*Bloch*).[52] Another Hungarian variant, *Olasz*, was borrowed from the Serbo-Croat *Vlasi*.[53] Despite this, the recent study of a young Romanian orientalist claims that the names *Blac* and *Vlach* are not the same, the first one being of Türkic origin, and that the interpretation advanced by Rásonyi is correct.[54]

In his turn, E. Darkó[55] accepted the credibility of GH, including the relation of the conflict between Tuhutum and Gelou, but supposed that the word *Blaci* had no ethnic meaning. For him, *Blaci* were a social category, "nomadic shepherds," the word being borrowed from Byzantium. He also considered that the population ruled by Gelou was composed only by Slavs. In fact, the text (which will be discussed in part III of our work) speaks about two peoples, *Blasi* and *Sclavi*, not about a people and a group of shepherds.

The last theory that accepted the existence of the *Blaci* in Transylvania during the Hungarian conquest, but not of the Romanians, was expressed by Imre Boba.[56] He is right when he shows that the name *Vlach* mentioned in *Vita S. Methodii* c. 5 concerns the population of Italy (one of the areas from where missionaries departed for Moravia), but he is not right when he extends the same meaning to the *Blaci* recorded in GH. He argued that the words *Sclavi Bulgarii et Blachii* from c. 9 must be translated "Bulgarian and Blachian Slavs," because the comma between the words *Sclavi* and *Bulgarii* was added by the editors. In his view, the Blachian Slavs were a Romance population from *Welschland* (Italy) arrived in Pannonia after the fall of the Avarian qanate. Indeed, *Sclavi Bulgarii* are the Slavs that came to Pannonia from Bulgaria (see chapter II. 3.), but there is no

proof for the second identification. As we will demonstrate in the next chapter, *Blachii* were the same with the so-called *pastores Romanorum*. Therefore, I. Boba contributed to a better understanding of a controversial fragment from GH, but not all of his ideas can be accepted.

Leaving aside these odd theories about the significance of the name *Blaci*, we notice that their authors acknowledged the entire information reported by the Anonymous Notary. They discard in this way the global rejection of the credibility of GH and even the opinion that *Blaci* are an anachronism, an opinion shared by historians like L. Tamás, G. Györffy, Z. I. Tóth, G. Kristó.

Because parts II and III of our work are dedicated to the data preserved in chapters 9 and 24–27, for the time being we will discuss only the mention of the *Blaci* from c. 44. This chapter includes the description of the attack against Glad. Other data about Glad were recorded in c. 11 (in the alleged speech of the duke of Galicia): *terram vero, que est a fluvio Morus usque ad castrum Vrscia preoccupavisset quidam dux nomine Glad de Bundyn castro egressus adiutorio Cumanorum, ex cuius progeni Ohtum fuit natus* ("the land from the Mureş River to the fort of Urscia was occupied by a certain duke called Glad who emerged from the city of Vidin with the help of the Cumans, from whom Ochtum [Achtum] was born").[57]

The Banat was conquered by Bulgaria in 824, thus becoming a border territory. When the power of this state declined after the death of Tzar Symeon in 927, Glad, the ruler of this region, found an opportunity to become independent.[58] The relation about Glad from c. 44 is the first part of a longer story about the exploits of captains Zuard, Cadusa, and Boyta, who, after the victory over Glad, departed for "Greece." This story is in its turn **a digression from the main narrative**, interrupted in the first half of c. 44 (the arrival of Arpad in the Csepel Island) and resumed in c. 46, after the end of the relation about the campaign of the three captains. For the Anonymous Notary, this campaign was of secondary importance, since the title of the chapter does not reflect it (it is called *De insula Danubii*). This attack was the first directed south, after dozens of westward raids. The change was the result of the defeat suffered on March 15th, 933, at Riade or Merseburg (Thuringia). The victory of the German King Henry of Saxony compelled the Hungarian warriors to find

other regions for booty. The campaign of 934 is considered a direct result of this event.[59] The Hungarian inroad in the Byzantine Empire is confirmed by Byzantine sources.[60] Therefore, the attack against Glad could be dated only in 934.[61] Mircea Rusu and Liviu Mărghitan dated it in 927, because they believed that the Byzantine chronicler Kedrenos recorded a Hungarian inroad in Byzantium for this year.[62] In fact, Theodor Daphnophates and Skylitzes (taken up by Kedrenos) only said that Hungarians and other barbarians had planned to attack Bulgaria after the death of Tzar Symeon, but the invasion was not achieved.[63]

Chapter 44 tells how Arpad and his captains *mitterent exercitum contra Glad ducem, qui dominium habebat a fluuio Morus usque ad castrum Horom*. We read about the advance of the Hungarian horsemen through western Banat, up to the Timiş River, where a battle with Glad took place. Glad is dubbed *dux illius patrie*; he had *magno exercitu equitum et peditum* and he was helped by *Cumanorum et Bulgarorum atque Blacorum*. After the victory, the Hungarians continued the offensive *versus fines Bulgarorum*, while Glad took refuge in the fortress of *Keuee* [Kuvin], where he was besieged by chieftains Zuard, Cadusa, and Boyta. Glad accepted to surrender the fortress. The Hungarian warriors also conquered another fort, Ursoua. From that point, Zuard and Cadusa crossed the Danube, taking Borons [Braničevo].[64]

The credibility of this story was rejected on the basis of the presumable transplant of facts from the author's period, namely, that the alliance between Bulgarians, Cumans and Vlachs reflected some Byzantine information about the state of the Asenids, or some data received from the relations about the Third Crusade of 1189.[65] The argument is given by the form *Blaci*, of Byzantine origin (Βλάχοι), but this does not necessary mean the use of some Byzantine sources in GH. The knowledge about Romanians was received in the Latin West from Byzantium. Consequently, the Latin Western sources are using names like *Blaci, Blachi, and Blacki*.[66] GH belongs to these texts, without being based directly on Byzantine sources. The word appears in the work of the Anonymous Notary in the forms: *Blachii* (c. 9), *Blacus* (c. 24), *Blasii* (c. 25), and (*ducem*) *Blacorum* (c. 26 and 44). In the most ancient Hungarian documents that concern the Vlachs from Transylvania (1222–1224), the Romanians were called

*Blaci* (and there is no doubt that this name was applied to the Romanians).[67] The forms *Blaci, Blachi* are also attested in documents speaking about the Romanians from Croatia (even until the 14th century).[68] This shows that, using the name *Blaci* and not *Olachi*, the Anonymous Notary followed the fashion of his time. In Transylvania and Hungary, the name *Olachi*, of popular origin and more adapted to the Hungarian language, replaced the older one only after the middle of the 13th century.[69] As a consequence, the use of the name *Blaci/Blachi* as taken from the Byzantines does not necessary prove a transfer in the 9th–10th centuries of some Byzantine written information about the 12th century South-Danubian Vlachs, because the word was still used in the official documents when GH was written.

In GH, c. 44, the *Blaci* are not necessarily inhabitants of Banat; the wording suggests that they were only allies of Glad. The fragment does not include a description of the ethnic composition of the land and we do not know whence they came, from the north or from the south, or if they were natives of Banat. The Cumans are not necessarily an anachronism, because it was demonstrated that this name could represent another Türkic people, the Kavars who accompanied the Hungarians in their migration from Levedia,[70] or the Pechenegs.[71] It is nevertheless true that the land of Glad was peopled by Romanians, since there is no reason to deny the continuity of the Daco-Romanian population in Banat. Glad could be either Romanian, or Bulgarian. The city of Vidin was located within the Timok region, which was also inhabited by Romanians in the Middle Ages.[72]

The alliance between Bulgarians and "Greeks" (the Byzantine Empire) was considered an anachronism, because it could have reflected the situation between 1018 and 1185, when Bulgaria belonged to the Byzantine Empire. In fact, since the attack against Glad took place in 934, the alliance is not surprising, because Bulgaria had indeed friendly relations with the Byzantine Empire in that period. At the same time, it is likely that the Anonymous Notary had in mind the 12th century commander of the Byzantine theme of Bulgaria, called *dux*, when he wrote about the *dux Bulgariae*.[73]

Another reason put forward for the rejection of the narrative about Glad is the presumable similarity with that about Achtum, his successor who was at war with King Stephen I for the control of the salt trade on the Mureş valley.[74] According to *Legenda Major Sancti Gerardi*,[75] this prince was baptized *secundum ritum Graecorum in*

*civitate Budin* (Vidin). Two points of view were expressed on the date of the war: 1003–1004 or 1028/1034. Many researchers[76] support the later chronology because this agrees with the information that Achtum was allied with the "Greeks." As a consequence, they consider that the war was possible only during the decline of the Byzantine power, after 1025. But was Achtum indeed allied with the Byzantine Empire? What reasons would the Byzantines have to support an enemy of their ally Stephen, an ally who fought in 1002 against Bulgaria together with Basil II? The virtual enemies of the Byzantine Empire at the Danube after 1018 were the Pechenegs, not the Hungarians. In 1027, a Pecheneg invasion reached not only the Byzantine territories in front of the Banat and Oltenia, but also Hungary.[77] On the other hand, the Pechenegs were the traditional enemies of the Hungarians. We consider that the Byzantine Empire had no interest in supporting an enemy of Hungary, in the period after 1025. The same alliance is unlikely for 1002, when Stephen I helped Basil II at Vidin. No war existed between Hungary and the Byzantine Empire in 1002–1038 (the maximum interval when the conflict with Achtum could be dated). We suppose instead that Achtum was an ally of the Bulgarian Tzar Samuel, before 1002.[78] Other historians[79] indeed claimed that the "Greek" monks from the monastery built by Achtum at Morisena (Cenad) were in fact Bulgarians, whose name was replaced because the former Bulgarian state was a Byzantine territory when the text was written (the end of the 11th century). The name "Greeks" was in this case a generic designation for the Eastern monks.[80] It follows that the date of the war between Achtum and Stephen I should be placed in 1002, when Basil II attacked Vidin.

Under these circumstances, the credibility of the story about Glad depends on the existence of other sources that can confirm the existence of this person. They exist. The name of *Glad* was preserved in several place-names:

1. *Galad*, a monastery attested since 1333 (in the Serbian Banat, near Kikinda and the place called *Pusta-Galad*);
2. *Kladova*, village east of Kuvin, recorded in an Ottoman document from 1579;
3. *Glades̆*, village north of Vršac, recorded in an Ottoman document from 1579;

4. *Glādeš*, village, near Agadić, recorded in an Ottoman document from 1579;
5. *Glādska* (later, *Galaczka*), creek near Arać;
6. *Valea Gladu*, near Vărădia de Mureş;
7. *Galadua* (later Cladova, commune of Păuliş, Arad County), attested with this name since 1308; a 10th–11th century fortress was researched there;
8. *Cladova* (commune of Bethausen, Timiş County, north of Lugoj), attested since 1453;
9. *Kladovo*, on the Serbian bank of the Danube, vis-à-vis of Turnu-Severin;
10. *Schela Cladovei*, Mehedinţi County.[81]

Place-names like *Cladova* or *Kladovo* are known only in the area that can be associated with the rule of Glad. In the donation deed for the St. Theodore monastery from Verria (issued by Pope Honorius III in 1216) we find an estate that was once received from Clad and Manuel (*a quondam Clado et Manuele monasterio vestro collatis*). The similarity with the name of Glad was already observed,[82] but it is difficult to say if it was the same person; the place (Toxun), located somewhere on the Danube, cannot be identified. G. Györffy supposed that Clad was Count *Keled* (*Cledinus*), recorded by Kinnamos (Κελαδής).[83]

The place-names concentrated in the area where Glad ruled show that this person was real. How much of the story inserted in GH is true, that is still a problem. Another conundrum is the area whence the *Blaci* came to help Glad (perhaps from Transylvania). We are however certain that his conflict with the Hungarians took place in 934.

A piece of information from GH supported by archaeological investigations concerns the Khazars (*Cozar*) recorded in the region controlled by Menumorout (c. 11). One could believe that the Anonymous Notary introduced them in his story because some Khazars lived in his time in the Bihor County, or Crişana. They are attested by the place-name *Kozar*, near Carei, recorded in documents since 1335 (no longer in existence).[84] A kind of pottery originated in the Saltovo-Majack culture was found in several 9th century settlements from Hajdú-Bihar and Békés counties.[85] The relations with

the Saltovo-Majack culture can be seen as archaeological evidence of the settlement of the Khazars or Kavars in this area, because only they can be the makers of this pottery. Unlike the Hungarians, they were a sedentary population and produced pottery. It was supposed that the Kavars settled there in 894.[86] A new examination of the archaeological evidence made by Mechthild Schulze-Dörrlamm[87] has shown that these finds ascribed to the Khazars (Kavars) can be dated between 862/881 and 895. According to this theory, a group of warriors akin with those later ruled by Arpad arrived in the middle Danubian basin in 862. They are the so-called *Ungari* recorded in the last third of the 9th century, before 896, in some Western annals. In Levedia, the Hungarians were drawn into an alliance with Byzantium by the diplomatic mission of Saints Cyril and Methodius, sent there to convert the Khazars. As invaders of the Frankish middle Danubian possessions, they acted in cooperation with Svatopluk, the ruler of Moravia.[88] In 881, another invasion was mounted by the same people, together with the Kavars. Arrived in the Tisza basin, the Kavars settled in the area ascribed by GH to Menumorout. G. Györffy and G. Kristó consider that they are the "Kozars" mentioned in GH, and that they arrived there in 892 or 894.[89] Recent investigations of the early Hungarian cemeteries from the upper Tisza basin confirm the establishment of the Kavars after 881 in this area close to Crişana.[90] This way, another information recorded by the Anonymous Notary is proved to be true.[91]

Another reason why G. Györffy had considered anachronistic the work of the Anonymous Notary (especially the part about Gelou) is the name given to the Pechenegs: *Picenati* (in c. 25). The usual name for them in the 12th–13th centuries was *Bisseni* (present in another fragment from GH). Nicolae Iorga[92] was wrong when he maintained that the form *Picenati* is confirmed by a document from 1353 (*Pichenatos*), because that source is a later forgery.[93] Indeed, the name *Picenati* was not commonly used for the Pechenegs in Latin writings. G. Györffy was right to conclude that the Anonymous Notary took this word from one of the sources he used for the composition of GH. Following an idea expressed by Z. I. Tóth, he identified this source with a relation about the First Crusade, which mentions these *Pincenates* or *Piccinaci* as invaders of the Byzantine Empire.[94] There is still another possibility, not taken into consideration by G. Györffy.

One of the most important sources of GH was the Chronicle of Regino of Prum, written around 908. This text was used by many authors of chronicles and annals from the 10th–13th centuries. The work of Regino tells how the Hungarians were expelled from Scythia by the Pechenegs, called *Pecinaci*. This form of the name is of Slavic origin.[95] Therefore, the word *Pecinaci* does not prove that the Anonymous Notary used a source that concerned events from the end of the 11th century.

In another chapter (57), the Anonymous Notary said that some "Ismaelitians" (Muslims) came to Hungary from *terra Bular* (the Volga Bulgaria) during the reign of Taksony (956–971).[96] The arrival of a population from that region is confirmed by the discovery of a kind of clay cauldrons with interior vertical ears, with analogies only in the Volga Bulgaria.[97]

After this survey of the discussions occasioned by GH, we can conclude that the Anonymous Notary reflected with relative fidelity the ethnic and political situation of Pannonia in the age of the Hungarian conquest. He gathered his data from oral and written sources. As a former royal chancellor, he had access to extensive information. The only important error of transmission concerns the far too vague references to the Moravian domination (limited to an eponymous character named Morout). A leading Hungarian medievalist, Péter Váczy, remarked that the Anonymous Notary took from the tradition "only those parts he considered compatible with historical reality. But while most of the chroniclers had come by their erudition at school, our Anonymous exploited his office in the chancellery to acquire information from foreigners visiting the royal court and from the local traditions of those clans with a rich past. On the whole, the view he had obtained in this fashion of the political condition of the Danubian and Tisza region prior to the Conquest is surprisingly accurate."[98] Despite this general opinion, he also stated that the information about Gelou is "pure invention," because the Bulgarian domination in Transylvania ruled out the existence of another *dominus* (Gelou), presented in GH as independent. In fact, P. Váczy ignored the other possibility, that the northern part of Transylvania was not conquered by Bulgaria—as we will see in chapter III. 3. 6. Another Hungarian scholar, László Makkai, used the same GH to argue that northern Transylvania was not under

Bulgarian domination, while maintaining that Gelou was an invented person, created on the basis of the genealogical legends of the Transylvanian noblemen.[99]

It is nevertheless true that the Anonymous Notary disregarded many facts and persons from the end of the 9th century and from the beginning of the 10th century, all related to the Hungarian conquest of Pannonia and of the neighboring lands. For instance, he ignored Svatopluk, the ruler of Moravia (who was instead known to Simon of Keza), and the German King Arnulf of Carinthia. The western sources that mention the Hungarian incursion in Moravia and Pannonia presented with many details the fights of Svatopluk with the Hungarians in the last decades of the 9th century. One of these sources is the Chronicle of Regino, used by the Anonymous Notary, who had thus the possibility to include this person in his narrative. Yet, he deliberately excluded the Moravians from his history. Their place as masters of Pannonia was taken by the Romans, because a victory over the Romans was much more glorious than one over Moravians.[100] In the next chapter we will see who these Romans actually were.

For the history of Moravia, GH gives other details not present in the work of Simon of Keza, but which stirred a long debate. In c. 35–37 he presented the conquest of the fortress of Nitra, commanded by Duke Zubur, appointed there by a Bohemian ruler. The Hungarians killed Zubur on a mountain that for this reason received his name (like the place where Gelou died).[101] It has been claimed that Zubur was invented by the Anonymous Notary, whose source of inspiration was the name of that mountain, called after a monastery (*zobor*). At the same time, the existence of a principality based at Nitra, dominated by Bohemia, was denied.[102] This critical view on the story about Zubur and Nitra was challenged by I. Boba, who pointed out that the name *Zubur* is attested as *Sbor*, *Zbor* in Bohemian 11th and 12th century sources; that the name of the mountain can be derived from the name of this ruler; and that the Bohemian lord was in fact Liutpold of Carinthia, the margrave of Bavaria.[103]

Generally speaking, the work of the Anonymous Notary recorded credible data mixed with confusions, mistakes and anachronisms. The content should be researched with great care in order to identify what is real or trustworthy. C. A. Macartney remarked that
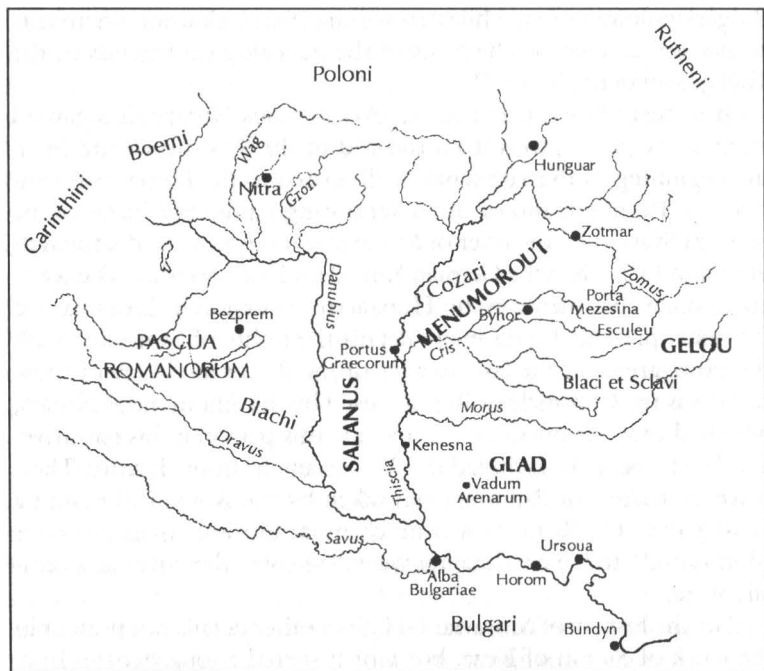
*Map 1.* The regions described in GH

the manner of writing and the treatment of sources in GH requires a very critical approach. If this is done, the Anonymous Notary could provide "much valuable information, so long as we are very careful (as few have been) to use him in the right way—never taking literally what he says, but dissecting and analysing him, undoing his work, putting back the pieces which he has moved into their original places; looking, in a word, not to what he says, but to what made him say it."[104]

The most appropriate approach is that followed by Dennis Deletant, who tried to examine without preconceived opinions the data about Romanians included in GH: "...we cannot judge him as an impeccable source, as do some historians who, through an excess of zeal, draw inferences from his work which are without foundation."[105] The rest of this work will discuss the reliability of the data

about the Romanians. The data in question cannot be taken for granted, without criticism, especially because the single monograph dedicated exclusively to this problem remains that written no less than a century ago by Vasile Pârvan.

# PART II
## THE PANNONIAN "BLACHII"

# CHAPTER 1
# The analysis of the text

The description of Pannonia given by the Ruthenian dukes to the Hungarians who were invited to go there (c. 9) recalls that: ... *quam terram habitarent Sclavi Bulgarii et Blachii ac pastores Romanorum. Quia post mortem Athile regis terram Pannonie Romani dicebant pascua esse eo, quod greges eorum in terra Pannonie pascebantur, et iure terra Pannonie pascua Romanorum esse dicebatur, nam et modo Romani pascuntur de bonis Hungariae* ("[They said] that this land was inhabited by *Sclavi Bulgarii* and *Blachii ac pastores Romanorum.* After the death of King Attila, the Romans called Pannonia their grazeland, and they were right to call Pannonia the meadow of the Romans, since even now the Romans pasture on the Hungarian estates").[1] We did not translate the ethnic names because they require special comments.

As we have already seen in the previous chapter, the expression *Sclavi Bulgarii* should be understood as a reference to a single people, Slavs of Bulgarian origin. This interpretation was put forward by Imre Boba, who was not aware that the same point of view was expressed long ago by Elemér Moór, Nicolae Drăganu, and Ernst Gamillscheg. Because there is no comma between the words *Sclavii* and *Bulgarii*, the expression means indeed "Bulgarian Slavs." The fragment speaks thus about two ethnic entities: *Sclavi Bulgarii* and *Blachii ac pastores Romanorum.*[2]

The author returns to the tradition about the pre-Hungarian population of Pannonia in c. 11, which tells how *preocupassent Romani principes terram Pannonie usque ad Danubium, ubi collocavissent pastores suos* ("the Roman princes occupied Pannonia as far as the Danube, where they settled their shepherds"), after the death of Attila.[3] This

is the territory west of the Danube (the text continues with a description of the region between the Danube and the Tisza, and of the area east of the Tisza).

The translation of the words *Blachii ac pastores Romanorum* was discussed by many researchers. Usually, *ac* means "and." Therefore, it was argued that *Blachii* were another people than the "shepherds of the Romans."[4] Other historians have shown however that *ac* can be sometimes translated as "or," "that is." Based on the text of Simon of Keza and on the significance of the fragment from GH, they translated the expression as "Blachii, the shepherds of the Romans."[5]

The fragment from c. 9 has a counterpart in *Gesta Hunnorum et Hungarorum* written by Simon of Keza. This work was the abstract of another *Gesta*, composed by the same author between 1282 and 1285 (now lost), which was in its turn based on the primary *Gesta* written at the end of the 11th century, a source also used by the Anonymous Notary.[6] After the description of the victory of Attila over Macrinus (the Lombard that was the master of "Pannonia, Pamphylia, Phrygia, Macedonia and Dalmatia," by "the grace of the Romans"),[7] Simon of Keza continues: *Pannoniae, Panfilie, Macedonie, Dalmacie et Frigie civitates, que crebris spoliis et obsidionibus per Hunos erant fatigate, natali solo derelicto in Apuliam per mare Adriaticum de Ethelo licentia impetrata, transierunt, Blackis, qui ipsorum fuere pastores et coloni, remanentibus sponte in Pannonia* ("The cities of Pannonia, Pamphilia, Macedonia, Dalmatia and Phrygia had been weakened by frequent pillage and siege by the Huns, [and the inhabitants], leaving their native land, after obtaining permission from Attila, passed into Apulia by the Adriatic Sea. The Vlachs, who were their shepherds and colonists, chose to remain in Pannonia").[8]

On the other hand, speaking about the fate of the Huns after the death of Attila, he wrote that after the battle of Nedao, "Pannonia" remained ten years without a king, and peopled only by foreigners: *Postquam autem filii Ethele in prelio Crumhelt cum gente Scitica fere quasi deperissent, Pannonia exstitit X annis sine rege, Sclavis tantummodo, Grecis, Teutonicis, Messianis et Ulahis advenis remanentibus in eadem, qui vivente Ethele populari servicio sibi serviebant* ("Attila's sons and almost all the Scythian people perished in the battle of Crumhelt. After that, Pannonia remained for ten years without any king, and only the foreigners, who served Attila as slaves, i.e. the

Slavs, Greeks, Teutons, Messiani and Vlachs, remained there"). At their second arrival in Pannonia, in the age of Arpad, the Hungarians *Pannonie populis, qui superius sunt notati, inceperunt dominari.*[9]

From Simon of Keza's *Gesta*, these facts were passed on to the later chronicles, with a similar content.[10] The word *Blacki* was replaced with *Vlachi* or *Olachi*—the new forms used after the 14th century.[11] A major difference is the placement of these *Vlachi* just after the death of Attila, who was considered the first founder of Hungary. **The fragments from the *Gesta* written by Simon of Keza and from the 14th century chronicles clarify the meaning of *ac* from GH, c. 9, which should be translated as "or."**

Simon of Keza believed that the arrival of the Hungarians in Pannonia was in fact a return, a restoration of Hunnish domination. For him, Hungarian history began with Attila. In his ideology (and of the following Hungarian chroniclers), the Hungarian kings were legitimized by the alleged descent from Attila, who defeated the Romans. The idea that Hungarians descended from Huns comes from Western writings, not from an internal tradition. Attila became thus the founding hero of Hungarians, while his reign was regarded as the first Hungarian conquest of Pannonia. This Hunnish tradition appeared around 1220 in the so-called Hungarian-Polish chronicle.[12] In such a confused vision of the past, the peoples enumerated by Simon of Keza were not the population of Pannonia in the age of Attila. They were the inhabitants of this region throughout history. Of course, this was a fabricated history, but from the source we can infer that **Simon of Keza was convinced that *Blackii* were among the ancient inhabitants of the country.**

Simon of Keza mentioned the *Blacki* once more, in another context. The Szeklers, after they took part in the Hungarian conquest of Pannonia, "received a part of it, not in the Pannonian plain, but in the borderland mountains, together with the Blacki" (*non tamen in plano Pannonie, sed cum Blackis in montibus confinii sortem habuerunt*).[13] In this fragment, the *Blackii* can be identified only with the Romanians. **Therefore, at least for the work of Simon of Keza, there is no doubt about the identity between *Blacki* and Romanians.**

Simon of Keza (or more probably the author of the primary *Gesta*) combined two kinds of data. He knew from existing writings that Pannonia had been a Roman province and that the Huns had expelled the Romans; on the other hand, he also knew of the Romanians. He

probably observed that the Romanians were speaking a language similar to Latin. Other authors from the same period also remarked the Roman origin of the Romanians (Ioannes Kinnamos stated that the Vlachs were Roman colonists brought from Italy).[14]

The author of the primary *Gesta*, the source of inspiration for both the Anonymous Notary and Simon of Keza, supposed that the *Blacki* of his time had something to do with the ancient Romans. But he could not call "Romans" these *Blacki*, because in the medieval sources the ethnic name *Romani* was used only for the inhabitants of Rome. On the other hand, the *Blackii*, a humble pastoral population, could not bear the glorious name of the former masters of the world. They could be only some "shepherds of the Romans," left in Pannonia after the retreat of the true Romans, who had gone back to Italy.[15]

In this way, the text of Simon of Keza, more clear in this respect,[16] can help us understand the fragments from GH. From GH c. 9 and 11 results that the Anonymous Notary believed that the warriors led by Arpad found two peoples in Pannonia: Slavs (of Bulgarian origin) and Blachs, also called "shepherds of the Romans." Unlike Simon of Keza, the Anonymous Notary believed that the "shepherds of the Romans" were brought in Pannonia by some "Roman princes," who conquered the country after the breakdown of Attila's empire. This new Roman conquest was neglected by Simon of Keza, because he supported the idea of the Hunnish-Hungarian continuity; for this reason he could not admit to a new Roman occupation of Pannonia. All the other data about *Blachi* recorded by the Anonymous Notary correspond with those of Simon of Keza: the *Blachi* were a part of the existing Pannonian population when the Hungarians conquered this land.

There is an obvious difference between the Anonymous Notary and the authors of the later chronicles, who compressed the past. In the work of Simon of Keza, *Ulahi* are placed together with the "Slavs, Greeks, Teutons, Messiani (Bulgarians)," in the age of Attila. On the contrary, the Anonymous Notary made a clear distinction between the age of Attila and that of Arpad, when he spoke about *Blachi*. In his work, *Blachii* are the contemporaries of Arpad.

Some researchers claimed that *Blachii* were a western Romance population, closer to Raeto-Romans, Dalmatians, or Italians, than

to the Romans.[17] However, the expression *Blachii ac pastores Romanorum* could not concern a western Romance branch, like the Raeto-Romans, because it reflected the pastoral character of the Romanians (as it was perceived by the foreign sources), and because it rendered the double meaning of the Hungarian word *oláh* ("Romanian" and "shepherd"). This double meaning was not applied to the western Romance populations.[18] In the age of the Anonymous Notary, the only Latin speaking population in Hungary were the Romanians. The *Blachii* from GH, c. 9 are the Romanians, and the data about them cannot be considered anachronistic. On the contrary, the fragments from Simon of Keza and from the later chronicles that move the *Blachi* to the age of Attila are in contradiction with the real chronology.

GH includes some references to a people called *Romani*, existing during the Hungarian conquest:

- in c. 9: . . . *post mortem Athile regis terram Pannonie Romani dicebant pascua esse eo, quod greges eorum in terra Pannonie pascebantur, et iure terra Pannonie pascua Romanorum esse dicebatur, nam et modo Romani pascuntur de bonis Hungarie*;
- in c. 46, after Arpad crossed the Danube, *omnes Romani per terram Pannoniae habitantes vitam fuga servaverunt*;
- in c. 48, captains Usubu and Eusee besieged the fortress of Bezprem, defended by *Romanos milites*. They conquered it, killing many Romans. The survivors took refuge in the German Empire (*Reliqui vero Romanorum videntes audaciam Hungarorum, dimisso castro Bezprem, fuga lapsi sunt et pro remedio vite in terram Theotonicorum properaverunt*);
- in c. 51: *Romanos fugatos esse de Pannonia*.[19]

These *Romani* cannot be the Romanians—as some researchers supposed [20]—because the Romanians are called only *Blachi* or *Blaci* in GH, and because they were recorded in the Hungarian sources only with names derived from *Blachus/Vlachus*. It was demonstrated that those *Romani* who "pastured on the Hungarian estates" (c. 9) were a special kind of "shepherds," the Roman priests, famous for their greed. It is a joke, occasioned by the homonymy between the "Roman priests" and the "Romans" from the age of Attila.[21] The

word *bonis* (wealth) does not concern the meadows pastured by the Romanian shepherds, but the church properties.

Several ethnic identifications were proposed for those *Romani* mentioned in chapters 46, 48, and 51. According to one point of view, they were the Romance population from Noricum and Raetia (Austria, Slovenia, Bavaria and eastern Switzerland). They were recorded in the early medieval Latin sources with the name *Romani* (their language is called *romanica lingua*); many place-names still preserve the words *walah* and *walahisk*.[22] It was supposed that the Anonymous Notary knew about them and that he believed they had been expelled by Hungarians from Pannonia. A proof would be the assertion from c. 48, that *Romani* from Veszprém took refuge in the land of the Teutons.[23] The fortress of Bezprem (Veszprém) was also mentioned by Simon of Keza, but only as the residence of the Slavic Prince Morot, the (imaginary) father of Zuataplug.[24] No Roman fortress existed at Veszprém, but relics of a 9th century *rotonda* were discovered there.[25]

A similar hypothesis claims that *Romani* were the last remnants of the autochthonous Romance population, which kept the ethnic name *Romani* until it was assimilated by the Slavs, Hungarians and Germans.[26] The same name *Romanoi* was applied by Constantine Porphyrogenitus to the Romance people from the Dalmatian cities, in the 10th century.[27] It is possible that the Pannonian Romance inhabitants were also called *Romani* until the 9th or the 10th century, but contemporary sources said nothing about this. The survival of the Pannonian Romance population until the 10th century will be discussed in the next chapter.

Our opinion is based on the fact that the *Romani* were not mentioned in the enumeration of the peoples from Pannonia inserted in c. 9. According to the Anonymous Notary, these peoples were the Bulgarian Slavs and the *Blachi*, or the "shepherds of the Romans." *Romani* were not the same with *Blachi*. They are recorded only in relation with the conquest of Pannonia west of the Danube, and especially with Veszprém. They are the enemies of Arpad, mentioned— we must emphasize this—as warriors and masters of Pannonia. Therefore, we agree[28] that these *Romani* represent the Roman-German Empire. **The image of these medieval "Romans" was mixed with that of the ancient Romans from the age of Attila,** who—as the legend says—returned to Pannonia after the death of the Hunnish

king together with their shepherds, the *Blachi*. Driving away these "Romans" was a feat worthy of Arpad—the heir of Attila—and consequently the topic was inserted in the narrative.[29] The secondary level of this propagandistic story concerned the anti-imperial and anti-German feelings of his contemporaries.[30] Therefore, the so-called **Romani from GH are the ancient Romans, who were anachronically moved to the age of Arpad.**[31]

Some data from the Old Russian Chronicle erroneously ascribed to a monk called Nestor (completed in 1113 and based on a prototype from the mid–11th century) were often called upon to support the trustworthiness of the relations about *Blachi* from the Hungarian *gestae*.[32] We will reproduce the English translation made by two outstanding American Slavicists, but for some instances we will also refer to the Romanian translation of Gh. Popa-Lisseanu, made after French and German translations.

1. The first fragment enumerates the peoples descended from Japheth; among them: the English, the Spaniards, the *Italians, the Romans, the Germans, the French, the Venetians, the Genoese, and so on.*"[33] Gh. Popa-Lisseanu gave the following version: "... the English, the Galicians, the Volohi, the Romani; the Germans, the Carolingi, the Venetians, the French and other peoples."[34] The original Russian names are: *"Angliane, Galiciane, Volokhove, Rimljane, Niemtsi, Korliazi, Veneditsii, Friankove."* Some remarks are required. *Galiciane* are not the French, but the people from Spanish Galicia, while *Friankove* are the Genoese. The name used for the French is *Korliazi* (derived from "Carolingian"). *Rimljane* are not the Romans in the general sense, but the inhabitants of the city of Rome, inserted in the enumeration together with the Venetians and the Genoese.[35] Just above, the chronicler had said that the Varangians were living near the Baltic Sea, "as far as the land of the English and *Volokhi*." Here, *Volokhi* can be the French or the Welsh, but we know that the French are named *Korliazii*. Therefore, the *Volokhi* from the first fragment are the Welsh.

2. "The Slavic race is derived from the line of Japheth, since they are the Noricians, who are identical with the Slavs. Over a long period the Slavs settled beside the Danube, where the Hungarian and Bulgar lands now lie. From among these Slavs,

parties scattered throughout the country . . . For when the *Vlakhs* attacked the Danubian Slavs, settled among them, and did them violence, the latter came and made their homes by the Vistula, and were then called Lyakhs."[36]

3. "Now while the Slavs dwelt along the Danube, as we have said, there came from among the Scythians, that is, from the Khazars, a people called Bulgars, who settled on the Danube and oppressed the Slavs. Afterward came the White Ugrians who inherited the Slavic country [after they expelled the *Volokhi*, who previously occupied the Slavic country].[37] These Ugrians appeared under the Emperor Heraclius..."[38]

4. "Year 6396–6406 (= 888–898). The Magyars passed by Kiev over the hill now called Hungarian, and on arriving at the Dnieper, they pitched camp. They were nomads like the Polovcians. Coming out of the east, they struggled across the great mountains, and began to fight against the neighboring *Vlakhs* and Slavs. For the Slavs had settled them first, but the Vlakhs had seized the territory of the Slavs. The Magyars subsequently expelled the Vlakhs, took their land, and settled among the Slavs, whom they reduced to submission. From that time this territory was called Hungarian. The Magyars made war upon the Greeks, and seized the Thracians and Macedonian territory as far as Salonike. They also attacked the Moravians and the Czechs."[39]

These fragments were thoroughly commented by Mathias Gyóni, who concluded that they have no significance for the history of Romanians, because *Volokhi* were the Franks who conquered Pannonia at the end of the 8th century.[40] His most valuable contribution is perhaps the demonstration that the chronicle took the data from a Slavonic text written in Moravia in the 9th–10th century.[41] The study of the Hungarian scholar displays remarkable critical spirit, but used in a selective manner. It is surprising that M. Gyóni had no doubt about the credibility of the legend transmitted by the Moravian source afterwards resumed by the Russian chronicle. He gave credit even to the chronological relationships between the events mentioned in the legend, although it is known that the oral tradition mixes up the historical periods, being in a way anti-chronological.[42] He was absolutely sure that the attack of the *Volokhi* occurred between 679/680

(the Bulgarian invasion) and 896 (the arrival of Hungarians in Pannonia).[43] But how can one be so sure, if other elements of the legend are unbelievable, like the location of the Slavic homeland in Pannonia? As it was already observed, this legend contains the first form of the Panslavism that circulated the theory of the Danubian origin of the Slavs.[44]

This legend, like any historical tradition, is based on some real elements. It is not possible to use it in order to argue the Slavic presence in Dacia during the Roman period, as tried by several historians, who identified the *Volokhi* with the Romans, and who considered real the events and the chronological relationships between them.[45] We cannot be sure about the date of the "attack" of the *Volokhi* and not even about its existence. Only if the legend were truthful could we accept the identification with the Franks who defeated the Pannonian Slavs and who were in their turn expelled by the Hungarians. Yet, we cannot give such credibility to the legend. Any Romance population (and even the Welsh, as in the first fragment) can be designated by the word *Volokhi* in the Old Russian language.[46] The purpose of the legend was to explain why the Slavs had spread from their alleged Pannonian homeland. The so-called Volokhian attack was a good explanation, and this is why it was invented. The single certain fact is that **the Moravian author of the prototype believed that the *Volokhi* had inhabited Pannonia before the Hungarians**. Who they were, this is another question, which seems to be not yet clarified. They could be the Franks, as M. Gyóni considers, but they could have been invented by the Moravian author, whose intention was to show that the Slavs lived in Pannonia before these *Volokhi*.

Created in Moravia during the $10^{th}$–$11^{th}$ centuries, the legend was based on the same traditions used by the Hungarian chronicles. They have some common elements that cannot be explained otherwise (the Old Russian chronicle was unknown to the Hungarian authors).[47] The story of the conquest of Pannonia by *Volokhi* is similar to that of the "Roman princes" who settled their shepherds in Pannonia after the death of Attila (GH, c. 11). In both cases, *Romani/Volokhi* are seen as usurpers of those who considered themselves the true masters of Pannonia (the Moravian Slavs and the Huns, that is, the Hungarians). The tendentious character of the legend is obvious and at the same time typical for this kind of writings. It could be sup-

posed that the information about the banishment of the *Volokhi* from Pannonia was received in GH from the Moravian legend, because this writing stated that the *Romani* were driven away by Hungarians from Pannonia. In another variant of the tradition, preserved by Simon of Keza, the Hungarians did not expel the conquered peoples who had lived in Pannonia since Attila.[48]

In fact, there are two distinct traditions:

1. The *Romani* (*Volokhi*) conquered Pannonia, being its masters until the arrival of the Hungarians, who chased them away (Old Russian Chronicle, GH);
2. The *Blachi*, or the "shepherds of the Romans," inhabited Pannonia since the period of Attila, without having a military role; they remained peacefully there after the Hungarian conquest; they had a passive role, being mentioned only in the enumeration of the peoples conquered by the Hungarians (GH, Simon of Keza, and the later Hungarian chronicles).

We see that GH includes both traditions, but in a distinct way, because it distinguishes between *Blachi* and *Romani*. The *Volokhi* from the Moravian legend preserved in the Old Russian chronicle are the same with the *Romani* from GH (c. 46, 48, 51), and not with the *Blachii*. The Old Russian chronicle confirms thus the tradition about the *Romani* as masters of Pannonia, and not the tradition about the *Blachi*.

The tradition about *Blachi* would not have appeared had the Romanians been recently arrived in Hungary at the time when the prototype of the *Gesta* was written (the end of the 11th century). Because we do not know a single reason why anyone would have invented it, it can be concluded that this tradition recorded the belief that Romanians had lived in Pannonia before the Hungarian conquest. This does not mean that the data from GH or the Old Russian chronicle should be taken ad litteram, as Ştefan Pascu did. He claimed that the Romanians came to northern Pannonia from central Pannonia or from northern Transylvania after the 6th century Slavic migrations.[49] We consider that the single certain fact is that the Hungarian chroniclers believed that the Romanians were the most ancient people in Pannonia.

This idea was repeated in a work inspired by the Hungarian chronicles, *Descriptio Europae Orientalis*, written in 1308 for Charles of

Valois (pretender to the title of Emperor of Constantinople), and for King Charles Robert of Anjou. It was demonstrated that the author, long unknown, was Andreas Hungarus, archbishop of Antivari in Albania between 1307 and 1308, formerly a Hungarian priest.[50] The author used one of the versions of *Gesta Hungarorum*. He was quite familiar with Hungary and Albania,[51] but he had a confused image of other Balkan regions. He knew that Bulgaria was a neighbor of Ruthenia (Galicia) and that tigers and unicorns could be found there(!)[52] For this reason, we must regard with circumspection his data about the Balkan Vlachs: *Notandum [est hic] quod inter Machedoniam, Achayam et Thesalonicam est quidam populus valde magnus et spaciosus qui vocantur Blazi [Blasi* in other manuscripts], *qui et olim fuerunt Romanorum pastores, ac in Ungaria ubi erant pascua Romanorum propter nimiam terre viriditatem et fertilitatem olim morabantur. Sed tandem ab Ungaris inde expulsi, ad partes illae fugierunt*. ("It should be noted that between Macedonia, Achaia and Thessaloníki there is a certain people much numerous and widespread, called Blazi, who were once the shepherds of the Romans and who formerly settled in Hungary, where the pastures of the Romans were, on account of the exceeding lushness and fertility of the land. But they were eventually driven out of the area and fled to these parts.")[53]

Further, in the chapter about Hungary, the author said: *Panoni autem, qui inhabitabant tunc Panoniam, omnes erant pastores romanorum, et habebant super se decem reges potentes in tota Messia et Panonia, deficiente autem imperio Romanorum egressi sunt Ungari de Sycia provincia et regno magno, quod est ultra Meotidas paludes et pugnaverunt in campo magno, quod est inter Sicambriam et Albam Regalem cum X regibus dictis et optinuerunt eos et in signum victorie perpetuum erexerunt ibi lapidem marmoreum permaximum ubi est scripta prefata victoria, quiad huc perseverat usque in hodiernum diem*. ("But the Pannonians, who were then the inhabitants of Pannonia, were all the shepherds of the Romans and they had over them ten powerful kings in the entire Messia and Pannonia. When the Roman Empire declined, the Hungarians came from the province of Sycia [Scythia] and from the great kingdom which is beyond the Maeotis marshes, and they fought in the large field that is between Sicambria and Alba Regalis with the above-named ten kings and they defeated them. As a symbol of the victory they erected here for all eternity a huge marble stone on which is inscribed that victory, which exists until this day.")[54]

The story of the fight between Hungarians and the Pannonian kings is not mentioned by other sources. Its origin can be traced to a confusion made by Andreas Hungarus, who read in the *Gesta* of Simon of Keza (or in another *gesta*) about the battle of Attila against Aetius, who was helped by "ten kings from the West."[55] This battle won by Attila was mistaken for the one fought against Macrinus, at Sicambria; Simon of Keza said that after the battle of Sicambria a stone statue was erected at Keweháza, and Attila was elected king of the Huns, exactly like in the work of the French monk.[56]

Andreas Hungarus is not entirely reliable, because he distorted some data taken from Hungarian sources. However, his work has some importance, since it establishes the identity between the Balkan Vlachs and the *Blachii* from Pannonia, about whom he found out from GH. It could be supposed that he knew something about the Aromanians (Balkan Vlachs), but not directly, and that he noticed the likeness between both ethnic names (*Vlachi* and *Blachi*). The form *Blazi* (*Blasi*) used by him could also be encountered in GH, c. 25, in relation with the people from Transylvania.[57] The name *Blasii/Blazii* has a West Slavic phonetic form, which shows that both authors received some information from the Slavs who still existed in Hungary.[58] These Slavs should have a word for the Romanian shepherds who wandered through Hungary and Moravia. Only these Romanians were known in Hungary, the homeland of the Anonymous Notary, who had them in mind when he wrote about Gelou. The form *Blasii* which belongs to the vernacular language was an exception in GH, a text that usually recorded the Latin forms (*Blaci* and *Blachi*, in this case).

Some researchers[59] accepted the trustworthiness of the data recorded in *Descriptio Europae Orientalis* about the homeland of the Balkan Vlachs, especially because it seemed that a Byzantine source confirmed it. The theory of the Pannonian origin of the Balkan Vlachs was expressed by B. P. Hasdeu,[60] based on a fragment from Kekaumenos (the writing of the French monk had not yet been discovered). In his *Strategikon* (written between 1075 and 1078), Kekaumenos, dealing with the origin of the Thessalian Vlachs, wrote that "they once lived near the Danube and the Saos, the river now called Sava, where the Serbians lived more recently, in well-defended remote areas."[61] Hasdeu's interpretation was based on the premise that the Byzantine author was not too precise, or that he had in mind

only southern Pannonia. The supposition that the Pannonian Vlachs were driven away by Hungarians is quite appealing, but the source criticism invalidates it, it was proven that Kekaumenos took his data from Cassius Dio. He identified the Vlachs with the Dacians, ignoring that Dacia was not the same with the south-Danubian Dacia created by Aurelianus, better known by the Byzantines.[62] Therefore, the fragment from Kekaumenos does not prove the migration of the Balkan Vlachs from north to south or their Pannonian origin. The Pannonian origin of the Balkan Vlachs was invented by Andreas Hungarus, who found thus the way to link the data about *Blachii* from GH with that about the Balkan Vlachs.

This confusion is not surprising. Even one of the most learned Byzantine writers, Ioannes Zonaras, equated the Pannonians with the Paeons, in his *Lexicon*: "Paeoni, Latin or Thracian people. Some call them Macedonians, while others believe they are the present Pannonians. The Pannonians are Bulgarians."[63] In fact, these *Paeoni* were the Aromanians (Vlachs). As pointed out by Stelian Brezeanu, the Byzantine authors (like the Hungarian ones) established a relationship between the Romance people from the Balkans and the ancient Romanized populations (Bessi, Dacians, or Pannonians).[64] The mistaken identification Pannonians = Bulgarians is not singular in the Byzantine sources.[65] Zonaras made an association between the so-called Pannoni and the Aromanians from Macedonia, on the basis of the similarity *Pannoni–Paeoni* (Παίονες). Here, *Paeoni* are not the Pannonians, as S. Brezeanu believed, but the ancient *Paeoni*, who lived exactly in the same places where the Vlachs dwelled in the time of Zonaras, that is, in Macedonia. Zonaras invented another archaic name for the Vlachs. A confusion like *Paeoni = Pannoni = Vlachs* could have been the source of inspiration for Andreas Hungarus.

**In conclusion, the Slavic and Hungarian historical traditions (the latter expressed by the *Gestae* written by the Anonymous Notary and Simon of Keza) certified the presence of the Romanians in Pannonia, before the Hungarian conquest**. The *Blachii* from GH are located west of the Danube. In the following chapters we will examine if this tradition could be supported by historical, archaeological, and linguistic evidence.

## CHAPTER 2
# The Roman and Romance population in Pannonia in the 5th–10th centuries

Roman Pannonia did not cover the whole territory of present-day Hungary. The Romanized area only included the lands west of the Danube (*Transdanubia* or *Dunántúl*).[1] The Romans usually took into account the great natural boundaries. Later, the Franks followed the same policy after the defeat of the Avars, preserving the Danube as the frontier of the march. The space between the Danube and the western *limes* of Dacia remained outside the Roman Empire, but it was kept under remote observation. The Romanization did not occur in this buffer area, because the environment was not suitable for the Roman farms and cities. The *puszta* was instead a preferred location for the nomadic shepherds who crossed the Carpathians and who—*nota bene!*—moved in the area west of the Danube only after a certain time.[2] There was no territorial contiguity between Pannonia and Dacia. The river Tisza, with its many meanders and swamps (not drained until the 18th century), made very difficult the contacts between the provinces. Only two roads connected them:

1. from Aquincum (Budapest), through the area of present-day Szolnok and Carei, to Porolissum (the Meseş Gates);
2. from Florentia (Dunaszekcső) on the Danube to Partiscum (Szeged), and next to Dacia, on the Mureş valley.[3]

The circulation on these roads was one of the long-term processes that shaped the historical evolution of this space; the same roads were used in the Middle Ages, for commercial and military purposes. A Romanian geographer considered the Tisza an "ethnic barrier."[4] Even

if the crossing was possible in a few points, the Tisza was an ethnic, economic and cultural boundary. Like the Western Carpathians, this river divides the so-called "Carpathian Basin," which is not a unitary space. If Transylvania was always oriented towards the south and the east, Roman Pannonia was linked with the north-western part of the Balkan Peninsula and with the Higher Danube provinces (Noricum and Raetia).

The so-called "Oriental *Romania*" (the large area between the Adriatic and the Black Sea) was not unitary, because its parts were divided by a region not Romanized (the Hungarian *puszta*) and by another one where the Romanization was poor (the highlands of the eastern Dalmatia, between the rivers Vrbas and Drina). A Romanian scholar, Alexandru Philippide,[5] emphasized the role of these geographic and cultural circumstances in the emergence of not one, but two Romance languages (Romanian and Dalmatian) within Oriental *Romania*, whose divergent evolution was enhanced in 395 by the dividing line between the Roman Empires established precisely in the less Romanized central region.

Pannonia had an intermediate and ambiguous position in Oriental *Romania*. The four provinces created by the reform of Diocletianus at the end of the $3^{rd}$ century (Pannonia Prima, Pannonia Secunda, Savia, and Valeria) were later included in the Western Roman Empire, namely in the Pannonian diocese (together with Dalmatia and Noricum). However, Pannonia Secunda (the territory between the Sava, the Drava, and the Danube) had closer relations with Moesia Prima, a province from the eastern part of the empire. The capital city of Pannonia Secunda, Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica), was located on the bank of Sava, at the edge of Moesia Prima, being oriented toward the eastern provinces, through the important road Sirmium–Singidunum–Naissus–Serdica–Constantinople. In 424–425, the city of Sirmium and the provinces Pannonia Secunda and Valeria were transferred to the Eastern Roman Empire. This south-eastern part of the Pannonian territory was for a long time under the Early Byzantine influence, despite the barbarian occupations, and the city of Sirmium remained inside the borders of the empire until 582, with some interruptions. Moreover, during his western offensive, Justinian extended in 535 the jurisdiction of the Justiniana Prima archbishopric over this *pars secundae Pannoniae*, a region around the small city of Bassianae (Donji Petrovci), settled by a group of allied barbarians, the Heruli.[6]

The area between the Sava, the Drava, and the Danube was a kind of extension of Moesia Prima. The rest of the Pannonian territory (especially Pannonia Prima) had closer relations with Noricum and Dalmatia.

On the basis of such geographical reasons and not only, it was supposed that the vernacular Latin spoken in Pannonia was an intermediate form between that from which Raeto-Roman evolved, and those from which Dalmatian and Romanian evolved.[7] The most urbanized and Romanized area was located in Pannonia Prima and Savia, near Noricum and the highly urbanized western Dalmatia. The Roman Pannonian population survived especially there, in the western Transdanubia, near the Balaton Lake. The difference between western Pannonia and the area close to the empire became greater and greater when the barbarians began to settle between these regions.

Like for other Romance peoples, the ethnogenesis of the Romanians was achieved in the 8th–9th centuries.[8] The area where this process took place was established according to the size of the Romanized territory. Constantin Jireček, the first scholar who tried to delineate this area with the help of the Latin inscriptions, included Moesia Prima and south-eastern Pannonia (i.e. Pannonia Secunda) in the ethnogenetic area of the Romanians.[9] His conclusions were confirmed and developed by Alexandru Philippide, for whom the South-Danubian part of the ethnogenetic area meant Dobrudja, Bulgaria between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains, Kosovo, Serbia east of the Drina, and "the Austrian province of Syrmien."[10] The latter is in fact Pannonia Secunda between the Sava and the Danube, the territory stretching from the Sava–Drina confluence to the Sava–Danube confluence. Recent researches confirm that the Drina valley was the borderline between the genesis areas of the Dalmatian and Romanian languages.[11] In his theory, Al. Philippide also took into account the boundary between the northern Thracians and Illyrians, which was later redefined by I. I. Russu.[12] More circumspect, Emil Petrovici considered that the western border of the ethnogenetic area was the Morava valley,[13] but it was demonstrated that his arguments are not conclusive enough.[14]

The position of south-eastern Pannonia between the Sava and the Danube as a prolongation of Moesia Prima justifies its inclusion in the Romanian ethnogenetic area. Both provinces shared a common fate in the centuries when the new Romance people evolved. It

was the territory around the city of Sirmium, the region known as Srem. The preservation of the name of the town can be explained by the survival of the native Romanized population, which later transmitted it to the Slavs and to the Hungarians.[15] The region near Sirmium was a marginal one in the ancient Roman Pannonia and after the end of the 4th century it was separated from Transdanubia by a zone settled by barbarians. Thus, the surviving Romans from Transdanubia were isolated from the main body of Oriental *Romania*, where the Romanians emerged. The divergent evolution of western Pannonia means that this region could not be included in the area where the ethnogenesis of the Romanians took place. **Only the Romance population settled south of the Drava and east of the Drina can be considered Romanian**, because it was "in territorial continuity with the Daco-Romanian group," as Aurel Decei said.[16] The presence of the Romanians outside their ethnogenetic area during the Middle Ages was the result of further migrations, which lasted several centuries.

Taking into account these preliminary remarks, we will examine now the circumstances of the evolution of the Pannonian Roman population after the third quarter of the 4th century. The large rural estates continued to exist in the 4th century and even developed amid the ruralization of the Late Roman society. During the reign of Valentinianus I (364–375) some restoration work was done in some camps on the *limes*; new forts were built at Tokod and Pilismarót. The strengthening of the frontier was necessary, because the danger of the barbarian inroads was increasing. In 374, Pannonia was attacked by Quadae and Sarmatians (defeated the following year by Valentinianus I). In some open cities located on interior strategic roads perimeter walls were built in the same period of Valentinianus I, or even under Constantine the Great (307–337): Keszthely-Fenékpuszta = *Valcum*, Heténypuszta = *Iovia*, Ságvár = *Tricciana*, Kisárpás = *Mursella*, Környe. They had a partially urban character and served as refuge places for the rural population, and as economic centers.[17]

This partial stability ended with the great victory of the Visigoths against the Roman army at Adrianople (378). In the aftermath, many barbarian waves invaded various regions of the Balkans. In 379, a coalition of Goths, Alans and Huns, led by Alatheus and Saphrac, entered Pannonia after a victory against the new emperor Gratianus (367–383), at Castra Martis, in Moesia Prima. Gratianus was forced

to close in 380 a peace treaty with Alatheus and Saphrac, who received some territories (in the southern Pannonia Secunda and Savia). In the first years, these *foederati* ravaged Mursa and Sopianae; other Germanic invasions occurred in 395 and 401. In 402, the Visigoths led by Alaric settled in Savia; another chieftain, Athaulf, occupied a part of Pannonia Prima in 405. Both groups departed for Italy in 408, like another Ostrogothic tribe led by Radagaisus, which entered northern Pannonia in 405. In this troubled period the emigration from the Pannonian cities to Dalmatia and Italy began.[18]

During the second decade of the 5th century, the Hunnish power center moved from the Lower Danube to the area between the Danube and the Tisza. The Huns occupied in the following years the Pannonian provinces, but as *foederati*, like the coalition of Alatheus and Saphrac. The alliance closed in 433 between Theodosius II and qan Rua meant in fact the abandonment of Pannonia Secunda and Savia (transferred in 424–425 to the Eastern Roman Empire). Sirmium was occupied in 441, during the Hunnish offensive toward the Lower Danube. The town became a refuge place for the population of the neighboring area.[19]

Even if, theoretically, the Pannonian provinces continued to be a part of the empire, they were in fact under Hunnish occupation. In this way, the Roman domination disappeared north of the Sava River.[20] After the end of the Hunnish coalition occurred after the battle of Nedao (454), the Pannonian provinces remained under barbarian control, namely under the domination of three Ostrogothic groups, led by Valamer, Theodemer, and Vidimer, *foederati* of the empire (they closed a treaty with Emperor Marcianus, in 456). These new masters of Pannonia withdrew in 472, but their place was taken by the Gepids, who settled the Sirmium region. The Gepids were later defeated by the Ostrogothic Italian kingdom in 504, and Pannonia Secunda (including Sirmium) entered under Ostrogothic domination. In the next years, the Ostrogoths were at war with the Byzantine Empire. In 510, Emperor Anastasius was forced to give to Theodoric the city of Sirmium and most of Pannonia Secunda; only the south-eastern corner of Pannonia with the small town of Bassianae continued to be kept by the Byzantines, with the help of the Heruli.[21]

After the death of Theodoric (526), the Lombards occupied western Pannonia (in 527), and the Gepids conquered again Sirmium, in 536 (in the previous year the town had been liberated for a

short time by the Byzantine army). For three decades, the former Pannonian provinces remained under Germanic domination, until the victory of the Avars and the Lombards over the Gepids, in 567. In the aftermath of this victory, the Avars began a series of wars that had as the final result the collapse of the Danubian *limes*. The city of Sirmium, recovered by the Byzantine Empire in 567, was lost again in 582, together with the last relics of the Roman administration in Pannonia.[22]

One could believe that all these invasions destroyed or expelled the entire Roman population of Pannonia. As it was remarked, "at times historians and archaeologists are too ready to believe in the destructions of barbarians and to deny the possibility of a stubborn persistence of 'native' settlement."[23] Such a catastrophic vision is not suitable, because life returned to normal conditions after the invasions. The nomad masters needed sedentary subjects who could supply them with food. If the sedentary population was small, it was supplemented with prisoners.

In the former Pannonian provinces, the Roman population survived better in the presence of elements left from the superior civilization of the Roman world. The preservation of these remnants of civilization was favored by the necessary symbiosis between the barbarian masters and the subjects who practiced agriculture and various crafts. Walter Pohl called these Roman people from Noricum, Pannonia and Dacia a *Grundbevölkerung*, without whom the barbarian warlords could not live.[24]

The mere preservation of some elements of material culture was not in itself a condition for the resistance of those Romans, who become fewer and fewer in Pannonia. As well as in other areas of the Oriental *Romania*, Catholic (Orthodox) Christianity gave cohesion and identity to these communities that faced the barbarians who were either heathens (the Huns, the Avars, the Slavs), or heretics (the Germanic tribes). **The assimilation of the population of Roman origin became possible only when many newcomers shared the same religion, in direct proportion with the demographic situation.** This happened in the 9th century, as a consequence of the western missions in Pannonia and then of the Christianization of the Pannonian Slavs by St. Methodius. On the other hand, the Church was involved in their survival by its social work. Starting with the 4th century, the bishops and the clergy assisted the poor with supplies.

In the Pannonian cities, the proximity of the grain depots to the churches may suggest that the Church took the place of the official administration in the distribution of food.[25]

The survival of the Roman population in Pannonia during the barbarian invasions is now proved by archaeological researches. This continuity consisted of:

1. the survival of the ancient open or fortified settlements;
2. the cultural continuity (preservation of language, customs, techniques and other elements of the Roman civilization).

From the chronological point of view, survival becomes a problem after the first decade of the 5th century, when the first emigrations of the natives in Dalmatia and Italy are attested. Archaeological investigations have shown continuous habitation in ruralized forms in the cities and in the camps that were turned into civilian settlements after the withdrawal of the military. Like in other provinces, ruralization began at the end of the 3rd century, when town dwellers moved in the clusters of rural settlements that appeared around the cities.[26] Among the features of the transformation of the way of life we can mention: the burials between the ruins, the end of the coin circulation, the transformation of the public buildings into groups of private houses.[27] Even in a large town like Sirmium 6th century huts were found inside a church.[28]

Ruralization was accompanied by a breakdown of the structures of the Roman state. The imperial power became a fiction after 380; however, some frontier camps continued to be garrisoned by *foederati*, until the second or third decade of the 5th century.[29] In other cases, the camps destroyed during the reign of Valentinianus I or in the following years became shelters for civilians. At Tokod (in the north-east of Valeria), the refugees made some buildings with rudimentary walls without foundation, that did not follow the regular plan of the camp; this last phase is dated in the 5th century.[30]

The best shelters were the fortified cities from the better defended area of western Transdanubia (Pannonia Prima and Savia). Among them, the fortress of Keszthely-Fenékpuszta (Valcum), located in the south-western corner of Balaton Lake, is the most important. Its survival was due to its topographical position, surrounded with swamps on three parts. The access to this peninsula was blocked by an

earthen wall, whose date of construction is not certain.[31] The fortress was placed at a crossroads; one of the roads was the shortest toward Italy; in these circumstances, the population was able to keep some contacts with Dalmatia and Italy.[32]

With a surface of 377 × 358 m, a perimeter wall 2.6 m thick and 44 towers, the fortress of Keszthely-Fenékpuszta kept some urban features, among which a large stone basilica, indicating the continuity of the Christian faith. Basilica no. 2 from Fenékpuszta (dimensions: 17 × 27 m) lies beneath a civilian building erected at the same time with the perimeter wall, in the 370s, or even towards the middle of the 4th century. The first phase of the church was dated by the author of the excavations at the end of the 4th century, but recent interpretations moved its beginning at the middle of the 6th century. Two more apses were added around 600. The church was destroyed during the war between the Avars and the Kutrigurs in 631–632.[33] A 6th century cemetery was discovered inside the fortress, near this basilica. The rich inventory of the graves shows they belonged to the elite (the common people continued to use the cemetery outside the walls). The funeral rite and some objects indicate the presence of the Roman population (besides Ostrogoths, Lombards and Franks) within this ruling group. This population was equipped with weapons (spearheads, arrowheads, stone balls for the catapults).[34] After a peaceful cohabitation with the Avars, the inhabitants of Fenékpuszta were expelled from the fortress in 631–632. The Avars did not settle inside; they occupied some places in the surrounding region (their cemeteries were found at Dobogó, Alsopáhok, Diás etc).[35]

The continuous habitation in the old Roman towns is also proved at Sopianae (Pécs), the former capital of the Valeria province. In the first two decades of the 5th century (or, according to some, at the beginning of the 6th century) the so-called *cella septichora* chapel was built in the area of the Christian cemetery that continued to be used until the 9th century.[36] The medieval name of the town, *Quinque Ecclesiae*, comes from the ancient name *Ad quinque (sanctorum) ecclesiae*, which seems to refer not to buildings, but to different Christian communities.[37] An interesting case is Savaria (Szombathely), which preserved its name unchanged until the Middle Ages, and where researchers demonstrated the continuous use of a canal built in the Roman period[38]—a fact that proves the survival of a kind of local

power. At Scarabantia (Sopron), the settlement's continuity is indirectly proven by the existence of a bishop, Vigilius from Scarabantia, who took part in a council in 572–579.[39] Basilica no. 2 from Lauriacum (Lorch, in eastern Austria), built towards the middle of the 5th century, remained in use in the 6th–7th centuries.[40]

The continuity of the Roman habitation in the former Pannonian towns was specific for places far from the *limes*, namely west of the Savaria–Valcum–Sopianae line. In that area there are many Roman finds, but no Lombard relics.[41] A different situation is that of the frontier camps, which were in many cases occupied by barbarians. For instance, the Lombards settled the former amphitheater of Aquincum, whose gates were walled up in the 4th century, becoming thus a small fortress.[42] However, this does not mean the disappearance of the Romans on the *limes*, because they are attested in the civilian settlements established after the withdrawal of the army in the former camps of Tokod,[43] Intercisa (Dunaújváros), Castra Constantia (Szentendre),[44] and others. Even a basilica was built at Aquincum at the beginning of the 5th century.[45]

The Roman origin of the inhabitants of these settlements is indicated by the funeral rite, by some specific objects, by the preservation of techniques of Roman origin, therefore by what we can call cultural continuity. Some of these objects were already mentioned for Fenékpuszta. We can add from the same place a very important discovery, which proves that the inhabitants continued to speak Latin in the 6th century. A gold hairpin of local manufacture found in the 6th century cemetery bears the inscription BONOSA.[46] Alongside many minor objects with Christian character, other finds from the 5th–7th centuries testify to the existence of religious buildings: fragments of sculptures, altarpieces, chandeliers (at Gorsium-Tác, Savaria, Intercisa, Felsődörgicse, Brigetio).[47]

The Keszthely culture dated in the 6th–8th centuries is a cluster of sites defined by disc-shaped brooches, earrings with basket pendants, stylus-shaped hairpins, and bracelets ended with snake heads.[48] Long ago, András Alföldi observed that these objects prove the continuity of the Roman workshops in the Keszthely area and that these workshops produced objects for the Avars.[49] These objects of Roman origin have analogies in the whole area of the Early Byzantine civilization, but in Pannonia they are local products, made in the workshops located near the Balaton Lake and near Sopianae (Pécs). Most

of them are concentrated in these two distinct areas. The Keszthely culture can be ascribed to a mixture of Roman natives and prisoners taken by the Avars from the Byzantine Empire, who lived under the Avarian domination.[50] The Pannonian workshops kept relations with the production centers from Italy, Dalmatia, and even Constantinople. The trade and the circulation of craftsmen were not hindered by the Avarian domination. On the contrary, the inroads in the Byzantine Empire enhanced the Byzantine influence in Pannonia, because some of the prisoners taken from the empire were craftsmen who continued to work for their new masters.[51] Very significant are the finds from the Cserkút and Romonya I cemeteries, located near Pécs. They prove the presence here of the Roman population relocated from Sopianae to the surrounding areas in the 7th century, alongside the Slavs and the Avars.[52]

The use of objects specific to the Keszthely culture is not in itself proof of Roman ethnicity. The real proof is given by the existence of the workshops where these objects were made, because the techniques were Roman. Some of these objects were produced according to the Avarian fashion by the local craftsmen who inherited their technique. Their products displayed a synthesis between the Byzantine and barbarian styles, illustrated for instance by several types of belt buckles like "Pécs," "Boly-Želovce," "Nagyharsány" and "Pápa,"[53] created in the Pannonian workshops after Byzantine models, or by a large number of belt decorations.[54] A type of pendant found in the 9th–10th centuries cemetery of Fenékpuszta inherits the 6th–7th centuries discus-shaped brooches (this suggests the survival of the local workshops until the 9th century[55]). This cemetery belonged to a group of soldiers in Frankish service, of Slavic, Avarian and maybe Romance origin.[56]

The continuity of habitation in the ancient Roman settlements and the continuity of the Roman civilization explain the preservation of some ancient place-names until the Middle Ages or even up to the present. They were transmitted by the Romance population to the Slavs and to the Hungarians. The following river names were preserved: *Danubius (Duna)*, *Arrabo (Raba)*, *Mursella (Marcal)*, *Salla (Zala)*, *Mura (Mur)*, *Dravus (Drava)*, *Savus (Sava)*, *Colapis (Kulpa)*. Among the place-names: *Siscia (Sisak)*, *Poetovio (Ptuj)*, *Savaria (Sabaria)*, *Vindobona (Vienna)*, *Carnuntum* (mentioned with this form in the 8th century). The name *Sirmium* was inherited by the region
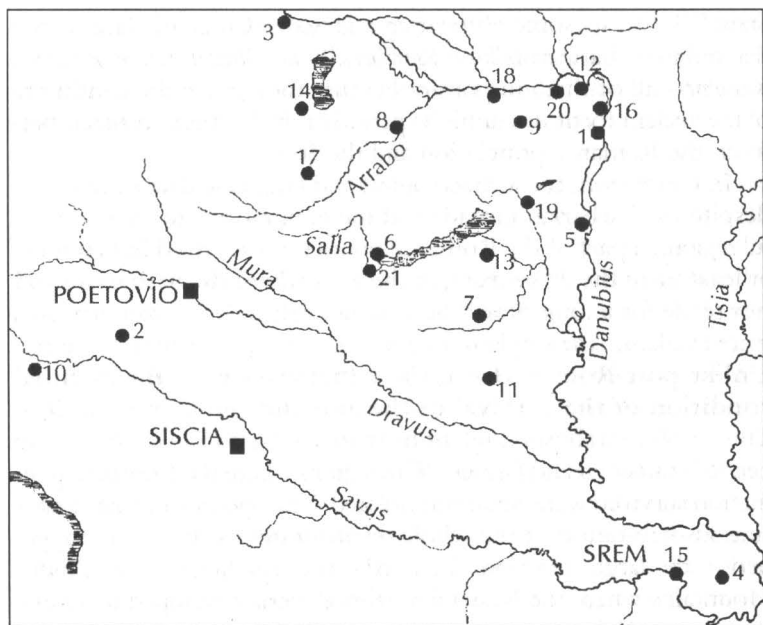
*Map 2.* Pannonia in the 5th–10th centuries.
Archaeological finds and inherited place and river names

LEGEND

1 = Budapest (Aquincum)
2 = Celje (Celeia)
3 = Deutsche Altenburg (Carnuntum)
4 = Donji Petrovci (Bassianae)
5 = Dunaújváros (Intercisa)
6 = Fenékpuszta (Valcum)
7 = Heténypuszta (Iovia)
8 = Kisárpás (Mursella)
9 = Környe
10 = Ljubljana (Emona)

11 = Pécs (Sopianae)
12 = Pilismarót
13 = Ságvár (Tricciana)
14 = Sopron (Scarabantia)
15 = Sremska Mitrovica (Sirmium)
16 = Szentendre (Castra Constantia)
17 = Szombathely (Savaria)
18 = Szőny (Brigetio)
19 = Tác (Gorsium)
20 = Tokod
21 = Zalavár (Mosaburg)

*Srem*.[57] There are some Hungarian and Serbo-Croatian place-names derived from Latin *castellum*: *Keszthely*, *Kostel*, *Koztel*, *Kostol*, *Kesztölc*, *Kostolac*—all of them important because they prove the continuity of the ancient fortresses until the period of the linguistic contacts between the Romance population and the Slavs.[58]

In conclusion, the archaeological and linguistic data shows that, despite the barbarian inroads and the emigrations to more peaceful regions, **a part of the Romance population survived in Pannonia at least until the 7th century, in the area where the barbarians did not settle for a long time.**[59] Because no highlands and wooden areas were available, the single refuge places were the existing fortresses. **Unlike post-Roman Dacia, these fortresses were the essential condition of the survival of the autochthonous population.** The natives established relations with the barbarian masters who needed craftsmen and farmers. The regions where the Romance population survived were small and isolated. The open spaces made continuous habitation of the whole territory impossible, as it happened in the large area from the northern Carpathians to the Pindus Mountains where the Romanian ethnogenesis developed in several kernel areas.[60]

Few as they were, the Romans from Pannonia had a great advantage: the preservation of the fortresses. After the disappearance of the state authorities, leadership of the local communities was assumed by the priests. The Church remained the single institution able to support the survival and the cohesion of the autonomous Roman communities that perpetuated the ancient Roman *civitas*. These communities called by Nicolae Iorga "popular *Romaniae*"[61] were fortresses like Fenékpuszta, where the ruralization did not entirely destroy the old type of civilization. In this respect, Pannonia represents an intermediate case between Dalmatia or Noricum, and Dacia. In post-Roman Dacia, ruralization was complete, and the idea of "popular *Romaniae*" could be applied only to the groups of village communities, organized around river valleys.[62]

The superior church organization, which was a factor of cohesion for the Romans, survived in Pannonia until the end of the 6th century. The last known Pannonian bishops are Patricius of Emona (Ljubljana)—in 580–590, Videnius of Siscia and Vigilius of Scarabantia—in 579–580, and John of Celeia—in 599.[63] The fall of

Sirmium in 582 also meant the end of the superior church organization in Pannonia Secunda. The same happened in Noricum at the end of the 6ᵗʰ century. This involution made necessary a new Christianization of this territory after the Frankish conquest.[64]

The Christian objects dated in the 8ᵗʰ century found in Pannonia are fewer than those from the previous centuries, but they still prove the existence of Christian communities in the last period of the Avarian domination.[65]

In his work published in 1808, Romanian historian Gheorghe Şincai[66] wrote that a certain Ursus, bishop of the church of the "Avaritians" participated in the 7ᵗʰ Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 787. His source was a reference work for that age, written by Michel Le Quien,[67] where the name ’Αβαριτιανῶν was interpreted as a wrong transcription of the name *Abrittus* (a town in Moesia Inferior). The same identification was shared by other historians.[68] According to another opinion, Ursus was the bishop of the Christians from the land of the Avars.[69] The documents of the council feature the forms ’Αβαριτιανῶν and Ἱβαριτιανῶν, which, in the Latin translation, were transcribed as *Avaritianensium*, *Hibaritensium* and *Baritianorum*.[70] However, Byzantinist Jean Darrouzès[71] remarked that Ursus was mentioned between the bishops of *"Salontiniané"* and *"Apsartianoi."* These names can be easily identified with *Salona* and *Apsara* (today, Ozor Island). This means that the name ’Αβαριτιανῶν represents the *Arba* (*Rab*) Island, located on the Dalmatian shore, and that the old idea that Ursus was a bishop from Avaria should be rejected.[72]

Evidence of this Pannonian Christianity is provided by the council (*conventus episcoporum ad ripam Danubii*) organized in the encampment set somewhere on the banks of the Danube, in order to decide on the conversion of the conquered people, following the victory of Pippin (son of Charlemagne) against the Avars in 796. During the debates between Bishop Arn of Salzburg and Patriarch Paulinus of Aquileia, the latter said that baptism could be given only after a serious preparation of the catechumens, made by competent priests. In this circumstance they mentioned the existence among the people of Pannonia of some Christians who were baptized by *clerici illiterati*, priests who ignored the right baptism ritual.[73] This information was interpreted as evidence of the existence of some Christian communities deprived of well-instructed priests. They were identi-

fied with the population of Roman origin from Transdanubia, who kept the Christian faith, but not also the superior church organization, after the disappearance of the bishoprics.[74]

In fact, the expressions *clerici illiterati* and *sacerdotes idiotae* were applied to priests who knew only the vernacular languages and not Church Latin; such cases are attested in France and England.[75] We should remember that this council took place during the Carolingian Renaissance, when knowledge of correct Latin "stood for an entire view of a world restored to order," this Latin being the vehicle of the right faith.[76] The council of 796 expressed in fact the religious side of the Frankish conquest of Avaria.

The priests mentioned in the debates of the council spoke only the Romance language that evolved in isolation in Pannonia. They were not subordinated to a superior hierarchy. Christianity was tolerated by the Avars, but the Church as a well-organized institution did not resist. As well as the North-Danubian Romanians, this Romance population was forgotten by Rome and Constantinople. The Christians encountered in Pannonia by the Frankish missionaries were the descendants of the people who created the Keszthely culture, and who remained under Avarian domination as distinct communities.[77]

Because these Pannonian Christians had no superior church organization, we cannot share the opinion that *Vita S. Methodii* (written at the end of the 10th century) recorded some Romanian missionaries (from Pannonia?) who operated in Moravia in the first half of the 9th century. The text said that several missionaries came *"iz Vlach, Grk i iz Nemci."* Some researchers believed that the *"Vlach"* were the Romanians,[78] but it was demonstrated that the right translation is "from Italians, Greeks and Germans."[79] A missionary action implies the existence of a hierarchy and of some political interests, both not present in the case of the Pannonian Romance population. On the contrary, Pannonia was a space where the missionary activity was notable, after the Frankish conquest.[80]

Two saints born in Pannonia in the 9th century, Adrianus and Monanus, were active in Scotland between 870 and 874.[81] According to a *Breviarium* written in Aberdeen in 1509, whose content was reproduced in *Acta Sanctorum*, St. Adrianus came from *partibus Hungariae, regionis provinciae Pannoniae*; he was born in a royal family [?] (*hic sanctus vir regia stirpe genitus*). St. Monanus was too *Pannonia pro-*

*vincia regionis Hungariae genitus.* Arrived in Scotland in unknown circumstances, one of them (Adrianus) became archbishop of St. Andrews, and the other one archdeacon. Both were killed by the heathens in the May Island.[82] Their age is not specified, but it can be inferred that St. Adrianus was a quite old man and that he was born around the beginning of the 9th century. Jean Carnaudet expressed doubts in his commentary about their Pannonian origin, supporting the idea of the Scottish or Irish origin.[83] The source is indeed doubtful, because it is late and singular. Hagiographic texts have many mistakes and exaggerations. However, the information about the origin of the saints was not liable to bias, because it had no symbolic or propagandistic meaning. In fact, their distant origin was the very unusual thing that ensured the oral preservation of the information, in the sermons. The Pannonian origin of saints Adrianus and Monanus remains disputable, as well as their Romance ethnicity. We can add that the popular name of St. Monanus—*Minain* or *Minnam*[84]—could be derived from the name *Mina*, common only in Byzantine Christianity. The worship of St. Menas (Minas) is attested in Pannonia by the flask with his representation dated between 560 and 610, found at Savaria (Szombathely), brought from Aquileia.[85] Such objects were frequent in the Byzantine civilization area, but·very rare in the West. The Pannonian origin of three monks from the Disentis monastery (southern Germany), all of them called *Pannonius* (in a document from 810)[86] is uncertain. Their names could be explained by a presumable mission in Pannonia.

A major change occurred in the 9th century, when Christianity began to spread among the Pannonian Slavs. Their rulers were baptized and began to build churches (for instance, Pribina, at Zalavár). In these circumstances, the 9th century Christian relics are no longer evidence for the existence of the Romance population in Pannonia. On the other hand, the Christianization of the Slavs made possible the assimilation by intermarriages of the Christian Romance population by the Slavs, who were much more numerous. The Slavs arrived in Pannonia in the 6th century, especially after the Avarian conquest (567), increasing the manpower of the Avarian confederacy.[87]

The Romance population was not recorded in the most important source about 9th century Pannonia, *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* (written in 870–871). This work that speaks about the Christian missions in the territory conquered from the Avars

includes instead two fragments on the ancient Romans, expelled by the Huns from Pannonia. They mention the Roman rule in Pannonia and the fact that the Roman ruins were still visible in the 9th century. The text continues by telling how this territory was conquered by the Goths and Gepids. The source makes a confusion between the real Huns and the Avars, but also with the coalition ruled by Alatheus and Saphrac, because it is stated that the Huns conquered Pannonia in 377 and that they were defeated by Charlemagne. About these Huns the author said they *expulerunt Romanos et Gothos atque Gepidos. De Gepidos autem quidem adhuc ibi resident* ("… they expelled the Romans, the Goths and the Gepids, but some of the Gepids continue to live here even today"). In the period when the text was written, the "Huns" (Avars) and the Slavs continued to live in Pannonia.[88]

The data about the ancient times brought by this text are nebulous, but not also those about the 9th century, which are credible enough. The Pannonian Romance population was ignored even by the 9th and 10th century Frankish and German annals that recorded data about Pannonia. These sources do not speak about *Romani* or *Pannoni* (the name that we expect to be used for the inhabitants, by analogy with *Galli, Rhaeti, Itali* etc.). The *Pannoni* were mentioned only in a work that presented events from the 6th century, *Historia Langobardorum*, written by Paulus Diaconus in the 9th century: when the Lombards departed for Italy in 568, other populations emigrated together with them: *Gepidos, Vulgares, Sarmatas, Pannonios, Suavos, Noricos* (II. 26). These *Pannoni* were identified with the Romance population.[89]

Except for a brief reference in *Annales Fuldenses* a. 884, the single 9th–10th century text that remembers the term *Pannoni* for the contemporary period is the Chronicle of Regino (finished in 908), one of the most important sources for the first Hungarian inroads in Europe. In the paragraph about the year 889, the *puszta* between the Danube and the Tisza is called *Pannoniorum et Avarum solitudines*.[90] We cannot be sure that by *Pannoni* Regino meant a certain ethnicity. The term was purely geographic. The significance "natives of Pannonia" is encountered only in the medieval Hungarian chronicles and in a work inspired by these (*Descriptio Europae Orientalis*), but this meaning evolved in the later historical tradition, in the same way as the tradition of the Hunnish origin of the Hungarians.

Therefore, the sources produced during the Frankish domination did not record *Romani* or *Pannoni* among the inhabitants of Pannonia. On the contrary, the Slavs were often mentioned, because they succeeded to acquire their own political organization starting with the first two decades of the 9th century. In 819, Croatian prince Liudevit of Sisak who controlled southern Pannonia between the Drava and the Sava rebelled against the Frankish Empire. In eastern Pannonia, four Slavic princes are mentioned in the first third of the 9th century as Frankish vassals. Later, in 838–840, the Moravian prince Pribina received an estate at Zalavár (Mosaburg), near the fortress of Fenékpuszta. His son Kocel was baptized by St. Methodius in 867.[91] Pannonia remained a Frankish possession until the Moravian conquest of 883–884, but the Slavs were still a military and political factor that could not be ignored by the contemporary sources. Unlike them, the Romance population was too insignificant and this explains the silence of the same sources (a situation similar to that of the North-Danubian Romanians, who were deprived of any superior form of political and religious organization).

Several researchers accepted the idea of a Roman survival at Fenékpuszta and in other places from Pannonia until the 9th–10th centuries, and, quite surprisingly, among them there are some who deny the credibility of GH, like E. Moór, L. Tamás, J. Deér.[92] It is obvious that the large number of the Slavs led to the assimilation of the Romance population. The latter transmitted some elements of civilization, becoming a part of the Hungarian substratum, like the Slavs and the Germanics. The assimilation was the destiny of several groups of population from Oriental *Romania*. A good example is provided by a large part of the descendants of the Moesian Romans, Slavized after the establishment of Bulgaria, when they did not escape to remote areas.

One could ask if the Hungarian aggression and settlement in western Pannonia led or not to the migration of the native Slavic and Romance population. The alleged migration of the Pannonian Romance population to the Balkans was already discussed in the previous chapter (the "tradition" recorded by Kekaumenos and by Andreas Hungarus is not real). We do not have any reasons to exaggerate the consequences of the Hungarian invasion. The 9th century cemetery from Fenékpuszta continued to be used in the 10th century, while the fortified settlement of Zalavár–Mosaburg (the residence of the

Slavic princes) was inhabited until the 11th century. The archaeologists observed that the Hungarians did not settle near Zalavár in the first years after the conquest, and that no interruption occurred in the life of that community.[93] Generally speaking, the catastrophic image of the invaders that destroyed everything is an obsolete idea derived from historical mythology and from the propaganda based upon stereotypes and not upon historical realities. **In fact, the gradual disappearance of the Roman civilization in Pannonia was not caused by the violence of the invasions. It was the result of the sedentarization and of the conversion to Christianity of the Slavs and then of the Hungarians, with whom the native population gradually merged in the centuries that followed.[94]**

French medievalist Lucien Musset wrote that "la survie d'une série d'obscurs îlots 'valaques' (Βλάχοι, *Walchen*) dans tout l'avant-pays danubien, de la Souabe à la Transylvanie, doit être considérée comme un tout. Les plus occidentaux furent finalement germanisés, ceux du centre submergés par l'invasion magyare. Seuls se maintinrent ceux de l'Est et du Sud. La vraie énigme ne serait pas tout leur survie que l'extraordinaire fortune démographique des îlots de Transylvanie, alors que ceux des Balkans n'ont guère fait que dépérir lentement."[95] The fate of the Romance communities was decided by the demographic factor, namely by the large number of Slavs or Germans settled among them, who managed to assimilate the natives in many regions fallen under the barbarian domination.

We can conclude that a small part of the Romance population survived in a few places in Pannonia, west of the Danube, until the Hungarian conquest, when its last members were assimilated. This population was not Romanian. It was only a lost branch of the eastern Romance family.[96] This means that **the medieval Hungarian chroniclers (the Anonymous Notary, Simon of Keza and the authors of the later chronicles) were right when they recorded a Romance population at the time of the Hungarian conquest.**

# CHAPTER 3
# The Romanians in Pannonia

The Romance communities that survived in Pannonia until the early Middle Ages were descended from a lost branch of the eastern Roman world, a different population than the Romanians. The Romanian area of ethnogenesis only included south-eastern Pannonia (the region of Srem). Historical linguistics shows that the south-western limit of this area was the Drina valley. The presence of the Romanians in northern Pannonia should be explained by later migrations.

The existence of Romanians in medieval Hungary was admitted even by some of the historians who denied the Daco-Romanian continuity north of the Danube (they claimed that the Romanians came there after the 15th century).[1] For the late Middle Ages, the documents are beyond any doubt. There is a great amount of testimonies, significant especially for the northern counties of medieval Hungary, today part of Slovakia. Some of these documents specified that the Romanians had been living here for a long time. For instance, a privilege given by King Matthias Corvinus in 1474 to the "Walachs" from the Árva County (in Slovakia) shows that they had a military organization under the rulership of the "voivodes", and that they had some rights and exemptions "since ancient times" (*ab antiquo*). If in 1474 these Romanians were living in Slovakia since "ancient times," it can be supposed that they had arrived there at least two centuries before. A village mentioned in the document had been previously recorded in 1323 under the name *Valaská Dubova*.[2]

This work deals only with the migration of Romanians in *Transdanubia*, one of the regions where the medieval Hungarian chronicles recorded the *Blachi* among the peoples conquered by the Hungarians. The Romanians who migrated to the northern Tisza basin,

in Slovakia and Moravia, are not relevant for our chosen topic. The available data is provided by the place and people names with Romanian features attested in Hungarian medieval documents, first used by Ovid Densusianu,[3] and extensively researched by Nicolae Drăganu. It has been pointed out that many of the interpretations put forward by Drăganu are not plausible, because some names were certainly of other origin than the Romanian one.[4] Sometimes, N. Drăganu made confusions. For instance, the village *Katun* (1210) was not located in Zala County, near Balaton, but near Skopje (Drăganu misread the index of a collection of documents).[5] István Kniezsa wrote a very critical study about Drăganu's book, trying to demonstrate that no Romanians had lived in Hungary before the 15th century. It is curious that one of the few Romanian place-names admitted by Kniezsa was mentioned in the above mentioned document of 1474: the village called *Knyesy* (*Knyasza*), Árva County.[6] The name is important for the social and military Romanian organization. If the Romanians from this village were recently arrived, in the 15th century, as Kniezsa wished to convince his readers, how can we explain the statement from the same document, that they *habuissent ab antiquo libertates*?

Kniezsa's study makes other debatable claims. Although his purpose was to criticize all the material gathered by N. Drăganu, he left aside some place and person names presented by the Romanian linguist. An interesting case is a man, *Bereve, de genere Negul* (year 1247), from Baranya County, near Pécs.[7] I. Kniezsa did not find any etymology for the name *Bereve* (which recalls an old Romanian name, *Berivoi*), and consequently he ignored it, as well as the village *Chobanka* (attested in 1267 near Buda), which is obviously derived from Rom. *cioban*.[8] Finally, another name omitted by Kniezsa could illustrate the existence of some Romanian noblemen in Slovakia: *Laurentius Butura*, a former castellan of Lewa, in the Bars-Tekov County (year 1480).[9] *Butură* is a Romanian word of Dacian origin which means "tree stump."[10]

We can see that the minute study drawn up by I. Kniezsa is not perfect. This does not mean that many of his objections are not legitimate. Only some of the names discussed by N. Drăganu were indeed of Romanian origin. To be sure, we will take into account only the names recorded in the 11th–13th centuries, because the recent ones

could have belonged to the Romanians arrived in Hungary and Slovakia after the 13th century.

The first category is represented by the names of Latin origin. They are recorded in texts that mentioned the rest of place-names in the vernacular language (Hungarian or Slavic); therefore, Kniezsa was not right when he claimed that they were translations in the official Latin of some Hungarian names.[11] For instance, in the foundation deed of St. Adrian's church from Zalavár (1019), they mentioned the donation of the small lake *Alba (Alba piscina, cum 50 piscatoribus, in villa Pogrod)*, located in the environs.[12] In the deed issued in 1055 for the Tihany Abbey (also near Balaton), it is written that *est in eodem lacu [Bolotin] locus qui vocatur Petra* (the same as in the 1211 document).[13] Other names in the document were written down in the spoken language, in Hungarian: *Huluoodi, Hagymas* etc. Such Latin place-names from the area of the Balaton Lake could be inherited from the Romance Pannonian population, as well as the name of the Zala River. The same can be said about people names like *Porc*, a cook in the Pannonhalma Abbey (1235–1270).[14]

Other names are Latin words that can be ascribed only to a Romanian-speaking population. A village called *Boul* (recorded in 1367) was located in the Baranya County (in 1235, the name is *Bool*).[15] It recalls the Romanian word *bou* (ox). A place from the Hagymas village, Valkó County (on the bank of Drava), was called in 1272 *Terra Samaria*. Later documents give the form *Zenthmaria*, which can suggest that the older name can be understood as *Sancta Maria*. The phonetics is not Slavic or Hungarian, but old Romanian: see *Sâmedru < Sfântul Dumitru* (Saint Demetrius).[16]

Some place-names can be linked with Romanian words of Dacian origin. Among them, very important are the names composed with *-mal*, because they reflect the borrowing of Rom. *mal* ("high place") in the Hungarian language: *Zevlevmal* (year 1219), *Beseneumal* (year 1229), *Kerekmal* (year 1249) and many others, in later documents. The meaning of "mount, promontory" is excellently illustrated by the explanatory translation from a document dated 1409: *Ad quendam montem magnum Nagmal*. (Hung. *nagy* = "great.")[17] The Romanian word *baci* ("head shepherd") is the origin of many place-names spread all over Hungary since the 13th century.[18] The Romanian origin[19] of the place-names *Kopach* (in Baranya, 1264, and Vas, 1323)

is doubtful, because the link with Rom. *copac* ("tree") is not certain (it can be derived from Slavic *kopać*, "pits").[20]

*Villa Vlach* (Valkó County, 1275) and *Aqua Valachycza* (in 1292) were both located between the Drava and the Sava, west of Srem.[21] Not far from there a village called *Radulfalva* mentioned late in 1406 is interesting because the ending *-ul* can be Romanian, although the name Radu itself is Slavic.[22] Much more important is the name of a forest, *silva Murul*, from Zala County (recorded very early, in 1024). The ending *-ul*, frequent in the medieval Balkan Romanian place-names, tells us that the name was created by Romanians; a village named *Murul* existed in the region of Zarand in 1292.[23]

Another interesting name is *fluvius Zec*, attested in 1157 in the Vas County, near Szombathely (a creek later called Székpatak). N. Drăganu considered that its name reflected the Romanian word *sec* ("dry").[24] We suppose that it is the same with the river recorded in a Frankish document from 860 with the name *sicca Sabaria*.[25] This confirms the significance of the name and the fact that *Zec* was a name of Romanian origin.

The cases presented in these pages are showing that **some place and person names recorded since the 11th century in Pannonia, west of the Danube, were of Romanian origin.**

Romanians lived in Pannonia during the Middle Ages, and had been doing so at least since the 10th century. Their expansion outside the ethnogenetic area was not a conversion to nomadism. Pastoralism was a major reason for the spreading of the Romanians over a large area, but this only sometimes meant nomadism. The absence of a feudal state organization during the Migrations Period in this part of Europe made possible the free circulation of shepherds, but also of peasants, over large areas. Because agricultural techniques were rudimentary, the fields were abandoned after a short time, as people moved to other places with virgin soils.

Transylvania was a kernel of expansion toward Hungary, Slovakia and Moravia.[26] Another region involved in this expansion was the territory between the Timok and the Morava rivers, which belonged to the south-western part of the ethnogenesis area, together with Srem. This region, located close to the territory where the Romanian place-names are attested, had in ancient times strong relations with Pannonia north of the Drava River. Nicolae Drăganu[27] and Silviu Dragomir[28] took in consideration this direction of migration, argu-

ing that the penetration of Romanians in Pannonia was part of the wider process of expansion towards the west and the north-west of the Balkan Romanians. The Romanian groups that migrated from present-day Serbia to the west in the Middle Ages are known in the literature as Western Romanians. Numerous until the 17th–18th century, they were gradually Slavized; the last remnant are the Romanians from Istria. The expansion toward the west and north-west of the Balkan Peninsula began in the 10th–11th centuries, when the Romanians are attested on the Dalmatian coast, in the Istria Peninsula and even in north-eastern Italy.[29]

The Romanian migrations were also caused by the Bulgarian aggression in the Timok-Morava area in 818, when a part of the population took refuge in Frankish Pannonia (they were called *Timociani* in the Frankish sources).[30] The region of Srem and the eastern part of the area between the Sava and the Drava were occupied by Bulgaria, in 827–828. After the peace made in 832 with the Franks, Bulgaria continued to control Srem.[31]

The regions of Timok-Morava and Srem belonged to the Romanian ethnogenesis area. For this reason it can be supposed that some of the refugees were Romanians. I. Bóna maintained that these refugees were only of Slavic origin,[32] but nothing rules out the presence of Romanians among them.

In conclusion, **we consider that the Romanian penetration in Pannonia could be dated to the 9th century**. The Pannonian Romance population and the Romanians were absorbed in the Hungarian people emerged from the confederation of Türkic and Finno-Ugric tribes that conquered Pannonia at the end of the 9th century. This kind of assimilation took place in several regions of eastern *Romania*, where the Romanians were Slavized, and assimilated into what would become the Bulgarian and Serbian peoples. In Pannonia, the process was virtually the same.

This means that **the data recorded in GH about the presence of the Romanians in Pannonia in the period of the Hungarian conquest is reliable**.

The tradition transmitted by the Anonymous Notary and Simon of Keza can be summarized as follows: after the breakdown of the empire ruled by Attila, Pannonia remained inhabited by *Blachii*, the shepherds of the Romans, until the arrival of the Hungarians. The tradition says nothing about their fate after the Hungarian conquest.

We must emphasize that the tradition does not prove the descent of the Romanians settled in Pannonia from the old Romanized population of this former Roman province. The tradition was invented by the medieval writers, who needed an explanation for the existence and origin of the Romanian shepherds in Hungary. As indicated by a Romanian historian, the fact that the *Blachi* had decided to remain in Pannonia after the Hungarian conquest was seen by Simon of Keza as a way to legitimize the Arpadian domination over the Romanian population.[33] In his mind, the Romanians were subjects of the Crown because they had bowed to Attila in the past, Attila being for the same author the source of legitimacy for the Hungarian kings. Even so, the tradition has remarkable historical significance, because, had the Romanians been newcomers in Pannonia, such a tradition would have been preposterous for the readers of that time.

**The *Blachi* of the Anonymous Notary and of Simon of Keza are not the Pannonian Romance population that survived among the ruins of the former towns, because they would not have been described as "shepherds of the Romans."** This expression reflected the way of life of the Romanians with whom the Hungarians came into contact in Pannonia. Shepherding was the main occupation of the medieval Romanians. Thus, the notions of "Vlach" and "shepherd" became almost synonymous. This stereotypical image of the Vlachs as shepherds assures us that those *Blachi ac pastores Romanorum* could only have been the Romanians.[34] It is interesting to observe that even in the 16th century, German author Hans Dernschwam believed that the Transylvanian Romanians descended from the "shepherds and brigands of the Romans."[35]

**The tradition preserved by the Hungarian *Gestae* made a confusion between the Romanians and the Pannonian Roman population from the Hunnish period, no longer in existence when these texts were composed. The Romanians were anachronically transferred to the age of Attila, because their existence during the reign of Arpad was remembered.**[36] Except for these confusions, the tradition written down by the Anonymous Notary, by Simon of Keza, and by other chroniclers reflects a real fact: the existence of a Romanian population in Pannonia in the early Middle Ages. One of the controversial pieces of information transmitted by GH is truthful.

# PART III
# THE TRANSYLVANIAN "BLACI"

# The credibility of the relation about the conquest of Transylvania

Most of the work of the Anonymous Notary was dedicated to the clashes that led to the conquest of regions that composed the future Hungarian kingdom. The account concerning the conquest of the land ruled by Gelou is a digression inserted in the larger narrative dedicated to the conflict with Menumorout (interrupted in c. 23 and resumed in c. 28). This means that the story about Gelou, discussed in the third part of our book, occupies a secondary position in the work.

After the conquest of the fortress of Satmar, captain Tuhutum remained for a while at the Meseş Gates in order to consolidate his gains (c. 23). The story continues with the exploits of Tuhutum, presented in chapters 24–27:[1]

## XXIV. De Terra Ultrasilvana

*Et dum ibi diutius morarentur, tunc Tuhutum pater Horca, sicut erat vir astutus, dum cepisset audire de incolis bonitatem terre Ultrasilvane, ubi Gelou quidam Blacus dominium tenebat, cepit ad hoc hanelare, quod, si posse esset, per gratiam ducis Arpad domini sui terram Ultrasilvanam sibi et suis posteris acquireret. Quod et sic factum fuit postea, nam terram Ultrasilvanam posteritas Tuhutum usque ad tempus sancti regis Stephani habuerunt, et diucius habuissent, si minor Gyla cum duobus filiis suis Bivia et Bucna Christiani esse voluissent et semper contrarie sancto regi non fecissent, ut in sequentibus dicetur.*

("And while they tarried there a little longer, Tuhutum, the father of Horca, being an astute man, on hearing from the inhabitants of the richness of the land beyond the forests, where Gelou, a certain Blac held sway, began to aspire to it. Had it been possible,

he would have acquired the land beyond the forests for himself and his descendants through the grace of the lord Arpad, his master. And this in fact transpired later. For the descendants of Tuhutum occupied the land beyond the forests until the time of King Stephen the Saint and would have ruled it longer, if Gyla the Younger and his two sons Bivia and Bucna had been willing to accept Christianity, and had not always acted against to the holy king, as will be mentioned in what follows.")[2]

## XXV. De prudentia Tuhuti

*Predictus vero Tuhutum vir prudentissimus, misit quendam virum astutum patrem Opaforcos Ogmand, ut furtive ambulans previderet sibi qualitatem et fertilitatem terre Ultrasilvane, et quales essent habitatores eius. Quod si posse esset bellum cum eis committerret, nam volebat Tuhutum per se nomen sibi et terram aquirere. Ut dicunt nostri ioculatores: omnes loca sibi aquirebant, et nomen bonum accipiebant. Quid plura? Dum pater Ogmand speculator Tuhutum, per circuitum more vulpino bonitatem et fertilitatem terre et habitatores eius inspexisset, quantum humanus visus valet, ultra, quam dici potest, dilexit et celerrimo cursu ad dominum suum reversus est. Qui cum venisset, domino suo de bonitate illius terre multa dixit: Quod terra illa irrigaretur optimis fluviis, quorum nomina et utilitates seriatim dixito et quod in arenis eorum aurum colligerent, et aurum terre illius optimum esset, et ut ibi foderetur sal et salgenia, et habitatores terre illius viliores homines essent tocius mundi, quia essent Blasii et Sclavi, quia alia arma non haberent, nisi arcum et sagittae, et dux eorum Gelou minus esset tenax et non haberet circa se bonos milites ut auderent stare contra audatiam Hungarorum, quia a Cumanis et Picenatis multas iniurias paterentur.*

("And the above mentioned Tuhutum, a very prudent man, sent an astute man, a certain Ogmand, father of Opaforcos, to go in secret to see the quality and fertility of the land beyond the forests, how are its inhabitants and if it would be possible to make war against them, because Tuhutum wanted to achieve for him name and land. As said our minstrels: all of them gained land and a good name. What else? When father Ogmand, the spy of Tuhutum, wandering like a fox, saw, so much that a man can observe, the richness and the fertility of the land, he enjoyed so much

and he returned soon to his master. After he arrived, he told many things about the richness of that land: that the soil is irrigated by the best rivers, whose names and utility the specified one after another, that from their sand gold is extracted, that from that land salt and salted materials are obtained, and that the inhabitants of that country are the most humble men in the world, because they are Blasii and Sclavi, who do not have other weapons except bows and arrows, and that their Duke Gelou is weak and he does not have good soldiers with him, and that he would not dare to challenge the braveness of the Hungarians, because he had many troubles with the Cumans and Pechenegs.")

## XXVI. Quomodo contra Gelu itum est

*Tunc Tuhutum audita bonitate terre illius, misit legatos suos ad ducem Arpad, ut sibi licentiam daret ultra siluas eundi contra Gelou ducem pugnare. Dux vero Arpad inito consilio, voluntatem Tuhutum laudavit et ei licentiam ultra silvas eundi contra Gelou pugnare concessit. Hoc dum Tuhutum audivisset a legato, preparavit se cum suis militibus, et dimissis ibi sociis suis egressus est ultra silvas versus orientem contra Gelou ducem Blacorum. Gelou vero dux ultrasilvanus audiens adventum eius, congregavit exercitum suum et cepit velocissimo cursu equitare obviam ei, ut eum per portas Mezesinas prohiberet: Sed Tuhutum uno die silvam pertransiens ad fluvium Almas pervenit. Tunc uterque exercitus ad invicem pervenerunt, medio fluvio interiacente. Dux vero Gelou volebat, quod ibi eos prohiberet qum sagittariis suis.*
("Then, Tuhutum, finding about the richness of this land, sent envoys to Duke Arpad, to ask permission to go beyond the forests to fight against Gelou. Duke Arpad, after a debate, praised Tuhutum's proposal, giving permission to go beyond the forests to fight against Gelou. Hearing this from the messenger, Tuhutum prepared himself and his soldiers and, after he left his companions[3] there, he went beyond the forests toward the east against Gelou, the duke of the Blaci. Gelou, the dux of Ultrasylvania, hearing about his arrival, gathered his army, riding fast toward him stop him at the Meseş Gates. But Tuhutum, crossing the forest in a single day, arrived at the Almas River. Then both armies arrived face to face, with only the river between them. Duke Gelou wanted to block them there, with his archers.")

## XXVII. De morte Gelu

*Mane autem facto, Tuhutum ante auroram divisit exercitum suum*
*in duas partes, et partem alteram misit parum superius, ut transito*
*fluvio, militibus Gelou nescientibus pugnam ingrederentur. Quod sic*
*factum est. Et quia levem habuerunt transitum, utraque acies pari-*
*ter ad pugnam pervenerunt; et pugnatum est inter eos acriter, sed victi*
*sunt milites ducis Gelou et ex eis multi interfecti, plures vero capti.*
*Cum Gelou dux eorum hoc vidisset, tunc pro defensione vite cum pau-*
*cis fugam cepit. Qui cum fugeret properans ad castrum suum iuxta*
*fluvium Zomus positum, milites Tuhutum audaci cursu persequentes*
*ducem Geloum iuxta fluvium Copus interfecerunt. Tunc habitatores*
*terre videntes mortem domini sui, sua propria voluntate dextram dantes*
*dominum sibi elegerunt Tuhutum, patrem Horca, et in loco illo qui*
*dicitur Esculeu, fidem cum iuramento firmaverunt; et a die illo locus*
*ille nuncupatus est Esculeu eo, quod ibi iuraverunt. Tuhutum vero a*
*die illo terram illam obtinuit pacifice et feliciter, sed posteritas eius usque*
*ad tempora sancti regis Stephani obtinuit. Tuhutum vero genuit Horca,*
*Horca genuit Geulam et Zubor, Geula genuit duas filias, quarum una*
*vocabatur Caroldu et altera Saroltu, et Sarolt fuit mater sancti re-*
*gis Stephani. Zumbor vero genuit minorem Geulam, patrem Bue et*
*Bucne, tempore cuius sanctus rex Stephanus subiugavit sibi terram*
*Ultrasilvanam, et ipsum Geluam vinctum in Hungariam duxit, et*
*per omnes dies vite sue carceratum tenuit eo, quod in fide esset vanus*
*et noluit esse Christianus, et multa contraria faciebat sancto regi*
*Stephano, quamvis fuisset ex cognatione matris sue.*

("In the morning, before sunrise, Tuhutum divided his army in
two parts, and the second one was sent upstream to cross the river,
in order to start the battle without giving prior warning to the
soldiers of Gelou. And so it happened. Because the crossing
was easy, both units arrived joined battle at the same time. And
they fought bitterly, but the soldiers of Duke Gelou were defea-
ted, many of them killed and many more captured. When Duke
Gelou saw this, he ran away with a few of his men in order to
save his life. As he made haste for his fortress, located near the
Zomus River, the soldiers of Tuhutum, following him quickly,
killed Gelou near the Copus River. Then, the inhabitants of
that country, seeing the death of their master, submitted willingly
and elected Tuhutum father of Horca as their lord, and in the
place called Esculeu they swore allegiance to him; from that

day the place bears the name Esculeu, because it was there that they swore. And Tuhutum, from that day, ruled in peace and happiness over the country, and his heirs held it until the time of King Stephen the Saint. And Tuhutum was the father of Horca, and Horca was the father of Geula and Zubor. Geula had two daughters, one of them called Caroldu and another Saroltu.[4] Sarolt was the mother of King Stephen the Saint. And Zumbor was the father of Geula the Younger, the father of Bue and Bucne, in whose time King Stephen the Saint occupied the Ultrasylvanian land. Geula was deported to Hungary and kept in prison for all his life, because he was heathen and unwilling to receive baptism and because he acted against King Stephen the Saint, although he was his kinsman on his mother's side.")

The account of the Anonymous Notary about the Hungarian conquest of Transylvania has only a common element with the other version, the one found in the *Gesta* of Simon of Keza and in the later chronicles: the fact that the conquest had two stages, the last one being the victory of King Stephen I over Duke Geula or Gyula. In these later sources, the enemy of the king was the heir of another Geula/Jula/Gyula, the third captain of Arpad.[5]

The later chronicles did not indicate how Geula had entered Transylvania when he conquered this land, but they designated Alba-Iulia as the residence occupied by this chieftain. GH shows instead the route followed by the conquerors: via the Meseş Gates. In c. 26, the Anonymous Notary tells how Tuhutum, leaving the Meseş Gates, crossed the forest (from the Meseş Mountains) and reached the Almaş River, where the army of Gelou awaited. Further, in c. 27, it is shown how Gelou was forced to retreat toward his residence, a stronghold located on the Someş (*Zomus*) bank. Somewhere near the Căpuş (*Copus*) River, Gelou was captured and killed. After this, his men swore allegiance to Tuhutum in the place called Esculeu. This place could be identified with one of the villages known as Aşchileul Mare or Aşchileul Mic[6] from Cluj County, located on the Borşa valley, between the Almaş and the Căpuş rivers. It was supposed that the name *Esculeu* derives from a Türkic word *ičkü* ("to drink"), because the ritual oath implied the drinking of the mixed blood of the participants.[7] Between the villages known as Aşchileu there is a hillock called Dâmbul Rotund (Round Hillock), where, according to a

tradition recorded in 1840 by L. Kővary, the oath was taken. Excavations were done there in 1943, but nothing was found, except for a thin layer of coal.[8] We do not know if this tradition has some truth behind it or not.

The campaign led by Tuhutum was fought in a well defined region, between the Meseș Gates and the Căpuș River, a tributary of the Someșul Mic. From the relation it can be inferred that Gelou was moving towards Cluj. Most of the place-names recorded in GH are of Hungarian origin (*Mezes, Almas, Copus, Esculeu*). Only *Someș* is a Romanian name of Dacian origin. This is not surprising, because at the time the source was written, the óffical Hungarian names had already replaced the old Romanian ones.[9]

The occupation of Transylvania (more precisely, of the region around Sălaj and Cluj) was presented in GH as the result of a war. On the contrary, the later chronicles stated that Duke Geula (Gyla, Jula, Gyula), one of Arpad's captains, discovered during a hunt the fortress that received his name.[10] **This a mythical pattern, with many analogies in the Eurasian cultures.** The source of inspiration was most probably the legend of Hunor and Magor, the founding heroes of the Hungarians, recorded by Simon of Keza.[11]

The later chronicles preserved another tradition about the arrival of the Hungarians in Transylvania before the conquest of Pannonia: *Exinde montes descenderunt per tres menses et deveniunt in confinium regni Hungarie, scilicet in Erdelw invitis gentibus memoratis. Ibique terreis castris septem preparatis pro uxoribus et rebus suis conservandis aliquamdiu permanserunt. Quapropter Teutonici partem illam ab illo die Simburg, id est septem castra vocaverunt . . . Almus in patria Erdelw occisus est, non enim potuit in Pannoniam introire. In Erdelw igitur quieverunt et pecora sua recreaverunt.* ("After that, they descended the mountains in three months, reaching the boundaries of the Hungarian land, that is, in Erdelw, without the approval of the above mentioned peoples. There they prepared seven earthen fortresses for their wives and for the preservation of their goods, remaining there for some time. Therefore, from that day onward, the Teutons called that region Simburg, that is 'seven fortresses' . . . Almus was killed in Erdelw land, so he could not reach Pannonia. Remaining in Erdelw to rest, they restored their livestock...")[12]

This legend was created by the distortion of a tradition written down in the *Gesta* of Simon of Keza, which tells that Almus gave the

power to Arpad after the conquest of the Hung fortress, located in the region called *Erdő* ("forest"); its name and the name *Erdeuelu* (Transylvania) were mixed up. Moreover, Simon of Keza further said that the Hungarians founded seven fortresses near Hung: ... *et deinde in fluvio Hung vocato, ubi castrum fundavere resederunt. A quo, quidam fluvio Hungari a gentibus occidentis sunt vocati. Cumque et alia sex castra post hunc fundassent aliquamdiu in illis partibus permansere* (and next they settled near the Hung River, where they established a fortress. After this river, they were called Hungarians by the westerners.[13] Because other six fortresses were made after that, they remained for a while in that region).[14]

The 14th century chroniclers made a confusion between these seven (one plus six) fortresses and *Septem Castra* or *Siebenbürgen*—another name for Transylvania, in use in their period. The alleged initial penetration in Transylvania is a legend born from a confusion, without any foundation in the historical tradition recorded by the earliest Hungarian sources.[15]

A story about the Hungarian conquest preserved in the work of the 16th century historian Aventinus (Johannes Turmair) *Annales Boiorum* tells that the warriors led by Arpad occupied Dacia (i.e. Transylvania) in 893.[16] Although this author used lost sources, we cannot place much trust in his assertions. The legend of the primary penetration in Transylvania has no archaeological support. Yet, some historians accepted it.[17] The route followed by the Hungarians from Atelkuz to Pannonia as it was described by GH, namely, passing by Kiev,[18] is confirmed by the Russian sources, not available to the Anonymous Notary, and accepted by historians.[19]

Therefore, while GH presented the conquest of Transylvania in a realistic manner, the later chronicles included this event in a mythical narrative, or even invented a new legend, although these texts do not have, generally speaking, a legendary character. This means that their authors did not use the data available to the Anonymous Notary, except that about the victory of Stephen I over Duke Geula. They provided only a vague explanation (but plausible for the readers) for the way in which Transylvania had been conquered. GH differs as concerns the name of the conqueror: Tuhutum, instead of Jula (Gyula). The list of the six captains (seven including Arpad) is entirely different with the Anonymous Notary: Eleud, Cundu, Ound, Tosu, Huba, Tuhutum. (In Simon of Keza, the six captains are: Zobol, Jula,

Urs, Cund, Lel, Verbulchu.)[20] Moreover, GH enumerates the heirs of Tuhutum, up to the one who was defeated by Stephen I. There are, obviously, many details ignored by the other sources. Are they invented or real?

One could claim that the Anonymous Notary invented all or some of the events and persons from c. 24–27. In this case, the forgery would have had a specific purpose, related to the propagandistic agenda of the work. For Transylvania, this purpose was only to demonstrate the legitimacy of the Arpadian dominion over this principality, which was a distinct country from the Hungarian kingdom. The Hungarian domination over Pannonia was justified by the idea that Arpad was considered the inheritor of Attila, who was the true master of that land. But this kind of argument was not valid for Transylvania.[21] So, the Anonymous Notary proposed another reason for the sovereignty of the Hungarian kings over Transylvania. In c. 24, he stated very clear that Tuhutum had received Transylvania *per gratiam ducis Arpad domini sui*.

According to the Anonymous Notary, **Arpad gave to Tuhutum the right to conquer and rule Transylvania**, but one of the heirs of Tuhutum, Geula, betrayed Stephen I, who was the inheritor of Arpad. In these circumstances, the felon lost his rights over Transylvania. This is why Stephen I moved against him. If Pannonia was ruled by Stephen I because it was a legacy from Attila inherited by Arpad, possession of Transylvania was claimed by the Hungarian crown because Geula had not been faithful. The forgery could concern exactly this delegation of *dominium* to Tuhutum, because this would be **the single validation of the presumable rights of Stephen I over Transylvania**.

On the other hand, **the same *dominium* over Transylvania was recognized to Gelou, who appears to be an independent ruler**.[22] This right (*dominium*) passed on to Tuhutum, by the free will of Gelou's subjects.[23] *Dominium* is a term specific for Western feudalism, expressing the vassalage relationship, which shows that the Anonymous Notary recognized this title to Gelou in relation with his people. There is no evidence that Gelou himself was entitled *dominus*, although nothing could exclude this (the Latin word *dominus* was inherited in Romanian as *domn*, as a title for the rulers of the medieval states).

Chapters 24–27 speak about the conflict between Tuhutum and Gelou and are **a digression from the main narrative**.[24] The main topic of GH is the description of the conquest of the Hungarian kingdom, but Transylvania was a distinct territory. Even the Anonymous Notary said very clearly in c. 22 and 23 that the border of the Hungarian kingdom was at the Meseş Gates. This means that the conquest of Transylvania was outside the scope of the work. It was still presented, because it was necessary to justify the dependence of Transylvania from the Hungarian Crown. C. A. Macartney considered that the interpolation was due to the recourse to another source (a genealogical tradition of the Gyula family).[25]

We consider that the legitimacy of the Hungarian domination over Transylvania was based upon three reasons:

1. The free acceptance of Tuhutum as *dominus*.[26] Interestingly enough this fact has no equivalent in the other conquered territories presented in GH. This exception highlights the particular position of Transylvania in relation with Hungary, as it was perceived by the Anonymous Notary.
2. Arpad's heirs' right of sovereignty over the territory assigned to Tuhutum.
3. The infringement of the oath of fealty by Geula the Younger, which cost him his rights over Transylvania.

Thus structured, the propagandistic discourse was probably convincing enough for the contemporaries of the Anonymous Notary, even if it was based on some false statements. But such forgeries must be plausible, built on real facts, known and accepted by the readers. As it was remarked, "Anonymous could not have falsified history because he could not have deceived his educated readers who knew much of the oral tradition as the 'simple people,' and were familiar with the dynastic history of the Arpad family."[27] Even C. A. Macartney, usually skeptical about the credibility of GH, accepted that "it is certainly more likely that the original Gyula tradition included Gelou and the Vlachs, as early as the 11th century," although he also considers that the details and the words *Blasii*, *Cumani* and *Picenati* might have been borrowed from a relation of the fourth Crusade.[28]

The Anonymous Notary had no reason to invent the presence of the Romanians or the existence of their ruler, because these facts did not have a propagandistic significance.[29] The ancientness of the Romanians in Transylvania was not denied in that period, because the legitimacy of the Hungarian dominion was given by the victory itself, not by the right of the "first come," as in modern times. No medieval chronicler rejected the autochthony of the Romanians in Transylvania, although their attitude toward this people was often scornful.[30]

The relation from c. 27 is in contradiction with the information from two other chapters. C. 27 indicates that Tuhutum had two sons, Geula and Zumbor. Geula had two daughters, Caroldu and Saroltu, the second being the mother of the future King Stephen I. The son of Zumbor was Geula Minor, who was defeated by Stephen I, at the beginning of the $11^{th}$ century.[31] Instead, in c. 6 and 20 we find another genealogy for the heirs of Tuhutum: "Tuhutum, father of Horca, grandfather of Geula and Zumbor, from whom descends the Moglout family."[32] So, there are two distinct genealogies:

I (c. 6, 20)

TUHUTUM

HORCA

GEULA     ZUMBOR

MOGLOUT

II (c. 27)

X

GEULA     ZUMBOR

CAROLDU   SAROLTU    GEULA

STEPHEN
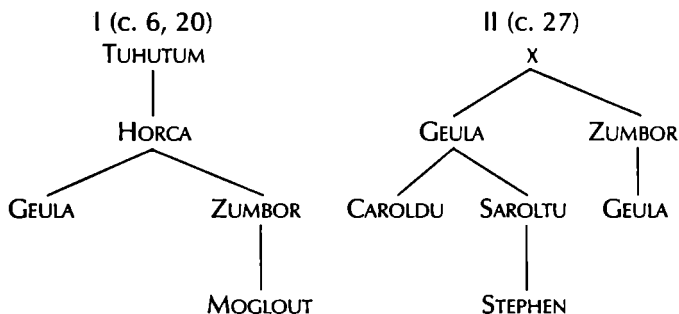
The second genealogy is confirmed by the place-names *Tétény* (Tuhutum), *Horca, Maglod*, both from the Pest County, located on the estates of the Gyulazombor family. They indicate the area controlled by Tuhutum and Horca. There are no such place-names in Transylvania.[33] **If Tuhutum and Horca were indeed the conquerors of north-western Transylvania, then some place-names recalling their names would have survived in that region,** just like the place-names derived from the names of Geula, Zumbor, or Gelou.[34]

Extremely important is that two of the four place-names *Zombor* from Transylvania are in the area of the Someşul Mic River, exactly where the territory mastered by Gelou is located: *Zâmbor*, on the Almaş valley (right where the battle took place!), attested since 1332 as *Zumbur*, *Sombor*, and *Jimbor*, near Gherla (attested since 1320, as *Sumbur*, *Zumbur*, *Sombor*).[35] In the same area, on the Borşa valley (near the Dăbâca fortress), lies the village of *Giula*, attested since 1307 as *Gyula*.[36] We also notice that *Aşchileu* (*Esculeu*) is located between Giula and Zâmbor. This concentration of place-names cannot be a coincidence. Victor Spinei noticed the absence of place-names related to Tuhutum and Horca and contended that the tribe of Tuhutum did not establish its pasturage area along the Transylvanian rivers, and that this fact happened only by the middle of the 10th century.[37] If we accept the credibility of the story about Tuhutum, then we should also admit the settlement of this chieftain in northwestern Transylvania, where he became ruler by the free consent of the natives. The actual explanation is probably different. **Most likely, the place-names remembering Tuhutum and Horca do not exist because these chieftains did not control this region. On the contrary, the place-names Zombor and Gyula prove the presence of those persons from the second generation.**

We consider that all started from a mistake made by the Anonymous Notary. He mistook Geula (the nephew of Tuhutum and the brother of Zombor, from whom the Moglout family descended) for another Geula. Thus, he ascribed the conquest of the land of Gelou to the family of Tuhutum, although this one had nothing to do with Transylvania.[38] From the other Geula descended the mother of King Stephen I. The chronicles said that Geula, the uncle of Stephen I, was the heir of another Jula/Geula/Gyula, third among Arpad's captains.[39] Therefore, we contend that the descent from Tuhutum of that Geula who was defeated by Stephen I is not true, and that the country of Gelou was conquered by another Hungarian chieftain. Our conclusion agrees with that expressed by C. A. Macartney, who demonstrated that the Anonymous Notary ascribed to Tuhutum all the exploits of Gyula, because he transferred all the events to the age of Arpad.[40]

The conclusion is that **the real conqueror of Transylvania was Jula/Gyula, the hero mentioned in the later chronicles** (the father
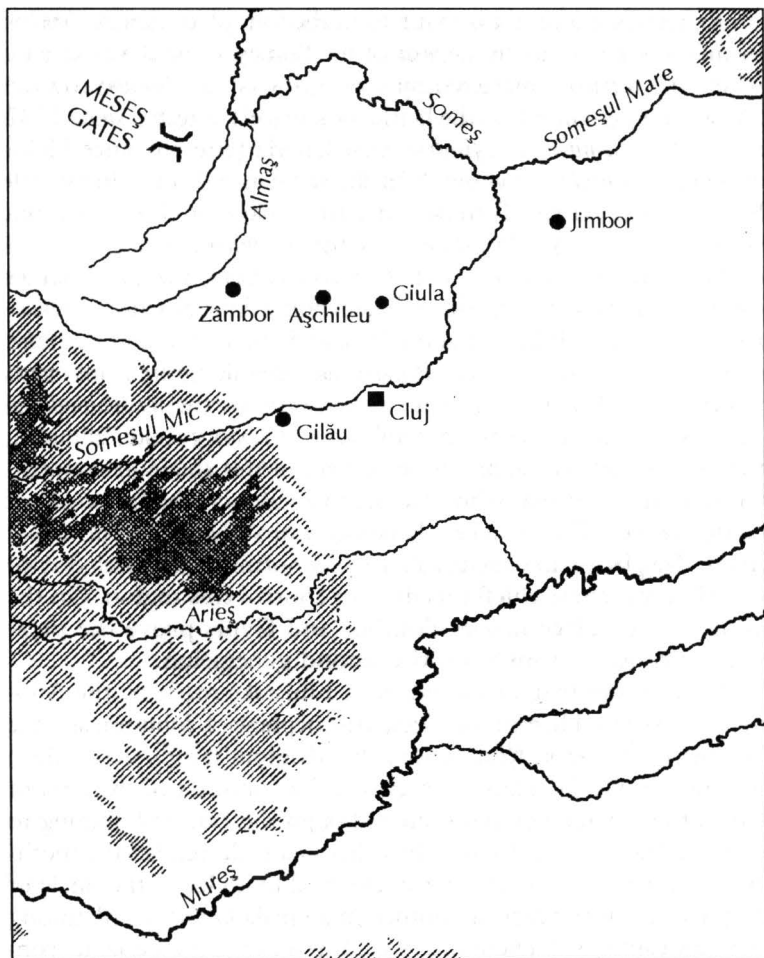
*Map 3.* The place-names Aşchileu, Gilău, Giula, Jimbor, Zâmbor

of Sarolta and the grandfather of Stephen I). László Makkai reached a similar conclusion, namely, that Transylvania was conquered by that leader who was the father of Sarolta and who bore the title of *gylas*. He identified him with one of the Hungarian chieftains recorded by Liudprand in 921, Bugat (Bogát). Accurate or not, this interpretation means that Makkai believed that the first Hungarian penetration in Transylvania should be dated in 921–927.[41]

The name *Jula* recalled the title of *gylas*, a high dignity with the Türkic peoples.[42] The Anonymous Notary could not ascribe the conquest of Transylvania to so great a leader (*gylas* was second only to the supreme Hungarian chief, *kende*), because such a ruler did not need the approval of Arpad for his action. This approval was absolutely necessary in GH, because only in this way the rights of Arpad's successors over Transylvania were justified. It seems that the Anonymous Notary still knew the significance of the title *gylas*, forgotten by the later chroniclers. Therefore, he ascribed the conquest to a less important chieftain, Tuhutum, who was a contemporary of Arpad.[43] This means that we cannot be sure that the oath of the subjected population toward the conqueror was real. It can be an invention made in order to justify the rights of the Gyla "dynasty."

Therefore, the real conqueror was a chieftain holding the title of *gylas*, who was not one of Arpad's captains. It is not sure whether Gyula was his real name or not. Many historians identified him with that Gylas who was baptized at Constantinople in 953 and who brought Bishop Hierotheos to his lands.[44] We cannot endorse this interpretation, which places this ruler in Transylvania. A Christian mission implied a significant Byzantine cultural and economic penetration (the source[45] specified that Gylas received great payments), which should be reflected in the archaeological evidence (gold coins and other treasures). There are no such finds in Transylvania that can be put in relation with the mission of Hierotheos. On the contrary, there is a significant concentration of gold coins issued by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (who baptized Gylas) in the area around the Mureş–Tisza confluence. Most of them are dated between 948 and 959. In the same area many 10th century Byzantine pectoral crosses were also found at Algyó, Arad-Feldioara, Békéscsaba, Gyula, Makó, Mindszent, Nagylak, Szeged, Szentes-Nagytöke, Szentes-Szentilona, and Szentes-Szentlászló.[46]

It is possible that Gylas had his residence in the place of the present day town of Gyula (Giula, in Romanian), in the Békés County. In the neighborhood, at Fövenyes, a church dated in the 11th century, maybe in the 10th century was discovered. Other churches that could be linked with the mission of Hierotheos are those from Morisena (Cenad) and Kis-Zombor, but their construction towards the middle of the 10th century is not yet certain. The round chapel from Alba-Iulia does not prove the location of Gylas, because it could also be dated in the second half of the 9th century. In fact, the territory mastered by that Gylas who was baptized in 953 included northwestern Banat, the Arad plain and the present Hungarian counties of Csongrád and Békés.[47]

Therefore, the Gylas christened in 953 could not be the same with the *gylas* who ruled Transylvania and who was the father of Sarolta. If Sarolta was a Christian, this does not necessary mean that she was baptized by Hierotheos, since Transylvania was already peopled by Christians. This Jula/Gyula/Geula from Transylvania and his heirs remained unknown to Constantine Porphyrogenitus and they were not recorded in other sources than the Hungarian ones. It is very important that the so well-informed work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus does not mention anything about Transylvania. This means that nothing really important was there at the middle of the 10th century.

A peculiar viewpoint was expressed by I. Bóna and K. Mesterházy, who ascribed the round chapel of Alba-Iulia to another Gyula, moved in Transylvania after 971, the moment when the restoration of the Byzantine administration on the Lower Danube stimulated the religious contacts.[48] This idea is also difficult to support, because no Byzantine gold coins testifying to such relations were ever found in Transylvania.

We can conclude that:

1. The Jula from the work of Simon of Keza (called Gyula in the later chronicles), who was defeated by Stephen I, was the heir of another Jula (Gyula), who conquered Alba-Iulia sometime in the 10th century; he was also the uncle of Stephen I;
2. The conqueror was another person than the ruler baptized in Constantinople;

3. Being the father of Sarolta, the conqueror was not a contemporary of Arpad;

4. The Anonymous Notary made a confusion between Geula, son of Horca, and the real conqueror of Transylvania; because it was not suitable to ascribe the conquest to a ruler who was a *gylas*, he introduced Tuhutum in the narrative built up on the basis of some oral sources.

In conclusion, the traditions recorded by the Anonymous Notary and Simon of Keza are in agreement, since both claimed that Transylvania was conquered by a ruler bearing the title of *gylas*. The date of this event remains to be established.

Even if they accepted the general credibility of GH and the presence of the Romanians in Transylvania before the Hungarian inroads, some historians expressed doubts as to the existence of Gelou, the events described in the chapters 24–27, and their chronology. In 1885, Dimitre Onciul considered that the name of Gelou was invented and, on the other hand, that the conquest of his duchy during the reign of Arpad was unlikely.[49] Yet, in further works, he accepted the existence of Gelou.[50] Aurel Decei was also skeptical as concerns the name of Gelou, but he considered the person and the events to be real.[51]

Against the authenticity of the name *Gelou* and, as a consequence, against the existence of this character, it was said that the name was invented by the Anonymous Notary who was inspired by the place-name *Gilău*. This supposition, expressed by J. Melich,[52] was endorsed even by some historians who supported the Romanian continuity in Transylvania, like Nicolae Drăganu[53] and Aurel Decei,[54] but with the remark that the person really existed, although his name was invented.

The relationship between *Gelou* and *Gilău* is obvious and it was remarked by most researchers. Only the derivation is disputed: from the place-name to the person name, or vice versa? A. Decei was right to say that name *Gelou* was common with the Romanians. This name entered the Romanian onomasticon very late, under the influence of a poem by George Coşbuc. This is why researchers tried to explain the name as a derivation from *Gilău*. About the latter, V. Bogrea explained its origin as coming from the Rom. *Dealu*, also pronounced

*Gialu*; some old maps (not specified by Bogrea) recorded the forms *Dealu Mare* and *Gealu Mare*. *Gilău*, a more recent form, was in his opinion taken again by the Romanians from the Hungarian language.[55] In his turn, N. Drăganu made reference to a Slavic prototype *D'elou*, *D'ilou* ("hill"), the root of Rom. *Gilău*.[56] These hypotheses look credible at a first glance, but if we study the ancient records of the place-name, we notice that the forms *Gyalov*, *Dyalow*, *Gyalu*, *Gyalu Mare* are late, appearing after 1334. The most ancient are: *Golou* (1246), *Gylo* (1282), *Galou* (1294), and *Gyolo* (1298).[57] This means that the first forms were closer to the person name Gelou, and that the place-name changed by assimilation with the word *deal* ("hill"), leading *Gyalov*, *Gyalu*, *Gyalu Mare*.

The Latin and Gepidic etymologies proposed long ago for the name *Gelou* are excluded.[58] J. Melich and G. Györffy found another explanation for the name *Gelou*. They derived the place-name *Gilău* from a Türkic person name, *Jolig*.[59] In another study, G. Györffy noted that a similar name, *Jelech* (the second son of Arpad) was inherited by the place-names *Jeleu* and *Jelec* from Slovakia (attested since 1156 and 1211).[60] The same phonetic evolution explains the appearance of two similar place-names, *Golou* ( = *Gilău*) and *Jeleu*. D. Pais, who, unlike them, accepted that the name of *Gelou* was inherited by the place-name *Gilău*, proposed a similar etymology, from the Türkic word *jalug* ("to shine," "to burn"),[61] while L. Rásonyi took into consideration the Türkic person name *Yolug* ("sacrifice"), as the root for the name *Gelou*. Rásonyi accepted the credibility of the entire story about Gelou, but, as we have seen in chapter I. 2., he tried to demonstrate that *Blaci* were a Türkic population.[62] Another hypothesis derived the name *Gelou* directly from *gylas* (the dignity),[63] following the idea that the Anonymous Notary invented the name *Gelou* because he knew that Transylvania was controlled by Gyula (Geula) during Stephen I. J. Melich and C. A. Macartney denied this supposition, because phonetic rules cannot sustain it.[64] From *gylas* comes instead the name *Giulea*, belonging to a Romanian noble family from Maramureş.[65]

The Türkic origin of a Romanian name is not unusual for that period, since many names of Romanian noblemen recorded in 14th century sources are of Cuman or Tartar origin. On the other hand, the survival of the name of a ruler as a place-name was the rule in the case of the Hungarian chieftains.[66] This was demonstrated in a remark-

able way by G. Györffy, but it is strange that he made an exception when he studied the name *Gilău*, for which he supposed without any proof that the derivation had taken place conversely.[67]

The explanation for the Türkic origin of the name of a Romanian ruler is not that provided by L. Rásonyi, who did not agree that *Blaci* were Romanians. After 881, a Türkic population arrived in the region west of the territory mastered by Gelou: the Kavars. They are the Cumans with whom Gelou was at war.[68] A borrowing from them is not unlikely. Even if the name of Gelou was Türkic, his ethnic origin was Romanian, according to GH. Despite this evidence, G. Györffy supposed in one of his last writings that Gelou was a Hungarian or Kavar chieftain.[69] The same historian, in other works, claimed that Gelou was not a real person. We can see that the pre-conceived idea that Romanians could not be present in Transylvania before the Hungarian conquest led to contradictions in the opinions expressed by one of the supporters of this biased view.

Another theory on the origin of the name *Gelou* was recently put forward by Stelian Brezeanu. Based on the Dacian origin of the river names *Jiu*, *Gilort*, and *Gilpil* (Crişul Negru, at Jordanes), he supposed that *Gelou* comes from the same root *gel-*, whose meaning was "unrestrained," "powerful." The name has an analogy in medieval Serbia: a document from 1220 recorded a Romanian called *Gela*.[70]

Whatever the truth, it is certain that the place-name *Gilău* came from the person name. The place-name preserves the memory of Gelou, who probably died there (on the valley of the Căpuş River, as it is mentioned in GH). We think that we can be sure about the authenticity of the name *Gelou*, borne by the ruler of the Romanians and Slavs from the Someş basin. Because the *Blaci* were Romanians, it could be supposed that the name of their *dominus* was recorded in the Romanian form. Virgil Ciocîltan considers that this form was *Gelău*, because in other cases, *ă* was transcribed as *o* in the sources (for instance, *Copus* for *Căpuş*).[71] We agree with this viewpoint. **The authenticity of the data recorded by the Anonymous Notary is confirmed by the place-name *Gilău*.**

The historians who denied the reliability of GH used in their argumentation the absence of any information about this Gelou in other sources. There is, however, a less known source that makes a short and indirect reference to Gelou. It was published in 1894, but it was not remarked by the researchers who studied GH. The document

was mentioned only in the monograph of Ștefan Pascu, but in another context, in relation with the description of the fortifications of Alba-Iulia,[72] and, more recently, in a valuable work of Ioan-Aurel Pop about the Romanian medieval nationhood. The document is a letter of humanist Anton Verancsics (1504–1573), *prepositus* of Alba-Iulia, addressed in 1540 to a certain Petrus More.[73] It is possible (but not certain) that the Romanian addressee was a member of the noble family More of Hațeg, which acquired high lay and ecclesiastic dignities in Hungary, in the 15th–16th centuries. One of these Romanians, Filip More, was bishop of Pécs (he died in the battle of Mohács, in 1526).[74] About Petru More we know he was the master of an estate near Vințul de Jos, Alba County, in 1552.[75]

We do not know what Petru More had written to Verancsics. Anyway, Verancsics rebuked the Romanian nobleman. He did not agree with a statement of Petru More, that: *Quod si Gelam Albae proponis, toto caelo ac terra erras. Hinc enim episcopatus cognomen, hinc titulus est. Hic episcopi sedes, hic jus ecclesiasticum, hic authoritas geritur cumque semper praesulem suum Transylvani agnoscunt, vocant, venerantur, quem Alba tenet.* ("I swear by the sky and the earth that you are wrong if you put [the city] of Gelu above Alba [-Iulia]. Because the name and the rank of the bishopric come from here; here is the see of the bishop, here is the seat of the ecclesiastical court, here is the authority, and the Transylvanians always recognize, call and respect as their bishop the man who stays at Alba [-Iulia]" (translated after the Romanian translation of I.-A. Pop).

According to Ioan-Aurel Pop, the fortress of Gelou could be identified with Gilău, by then a possession of the Bishop of Transylvania. It seems that Petru More had proposed this castle as a new residence of the bishop. Verancsics opposed the idea of moving the bishopric to a city considered to have been built by a Romanian, Gelou. This piece of information is very interesting for the knowledge of the ideas of the first Romanian intellectuals from medieval Transylvania, bringing at the same time an unexpected confirmation of the tradition preserved in GH.[76]

It is not true that the name recorded by Verancsics concerned Gyula (Geula), because, as it was shown, the place-names derived from *Gyula-* are not attested in the Latin documents with the form *Gel-*.[77] There is a small chance that Petru More knew the writing of the Anonymous Notary, since this work was mentioned in some

books before the first edition (see chapter I. 1.), but it is likewise possible that he had a different source, written or oral. Anyway, even without this confirmation provided by the letter of Verancsics, we can conclude that the name *Gelou* was not invented on the basis of a place-name. On the contrary, *Gilău* remembers the Romanian duke killed in that place, on the Căpuş valley.

It is usually accepted that the events narrated in GH, c. 24–27 occurred in the first years of the 10th century, more precisely before 907, when it is considered that Arpad died. Some Hungarian historians dated the conquest of the entire Transylvania even earlier, in 892–896.[78] If we take the source *tale-quale*, then there would be no doubt in this respect, since GH tells that the action happened during the life of Arpad. But, if we examine the source with more care, we notice that all events are ascribed to that period, being focused around the Hungarian founding hero, sometimes by mistake (see chapter I. 2.). Therefore, we cannot trust the chronological framework resulted from GH.[79]

On the other hand, because it was based on oral sources transmitted by the noblemen and on some elder *gestae* which used such traditions, GH was inevitably biased because of the anti-chronological character of this kind of source. As we have mentioned in chapter I. 2., the time of the collective oral memory distorts the real chronology and moves events from different moments around featured persons, like Arpad in this case.[80] It becomes obvious that **we cannot be sure that the fights against Menumorout, Glad and Gelou took indeed place during the reign of Arpad, that is, in the first decade of the 10th century**. In the next chapter we will see that the first Hungarian archaeological remains found in Transylvania could be dated up to the middle of the 10th century.

The Hungarians left the so-called *Atelkuz* (the region between Dnieper or the Bug and the Danube), occupied by them in 889,[81] because they were defeated in the war with Bulgaria and the Pechenegs. They settled in the puszta between the Danube and the Tisza, in 896. Bulgaria was repeatedly attacked by Hungarians (in 934, 943, 948, 955, 959), and so was the Byzantine Empire, its ally during the reign of Tzar Peter (927–969). The first recorded Hungarian inroad against Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire took place in April 934. Until then, the Hungarian warriors had been much more interested in plundering the Central and Western European towns. The annual raids

that reached even France and southern Italy did not face serious resistance from the Western knights, not accustomed with the Hungarian fighting manner. Only after the defeat of Riade (933) did the Hungarians change the direction of their attacks towards the south-east and east. In these circumstances, **it seems more likely that the offensive against Transylvania occurred only after 927, and more precisely, after 934.**[82]

Vasile Pârvan—the author of one of the most comprehensive studies about the Romanians mentioned in GH—reached the same conclusion, namely, that the penetration of the Hungarians in Transylvania could not have happened happen before the death of Tzar Symeon.[83] Following an idea suggested by his mentor Dimitre Onciul,[84] he dated this event during the time of Duke Zoltan (c. 907–c. 945), the son of Arpad. The later chronicles[85] recorded that Transylvania was also named *Erdeeli Zoltan*, the "Ardeal of Zoltan," but they explained this name in a wrong manner, claiming that King Stephen I gave this land to his forefather Zoltan (deceased long before!). The statement of G. Györffy, that Stephen I replaced Gyula as voievode of Transylvania with one of his relatives, Zoltan,[86] is not founded, because this person is not attested. Based on the dating to the time of Zoltan, Pârvan considered that the real conqueror of north-western Transylvania (up to the Mureş) was Horca, not Tuhutum. We can retain the important idea that **the analysis of the events denies the tradition that Tuhutum was the chieftain who defeated Gelou.** Nor was Horca the real conqueror, since his name was not preserved by the place-names in the area said to be occupied by him. If we suppose that the Hungarian penetration in Transylvania occurred only after 927, then the absence of place-names related to Tuhutum and Horca is easy to explain, because they refer to individuals from a previous period.

Moving in the age of Arpad the conquest of "Terra Ultrasilvana," the Anonymous Notary ascribed this exploit to Tuhutum, who was more suitable for this imaginary chronology. The reason for choosing Tuhutum was **the confusion made between Geula, the heir of Tuhutum, and the other Geula, the real conqueror of Transylvania, recorded by the other chronicles.**

In conclusion, we contend that the events described in GH, c. 24–27 should be dated in the 930s, not at the beginning of the 10th century, as historians usually believe. The campaign against Gelou

was only a part of a general Hungarian offensive east of the Tisza, caused by the changes in the power balance on the Lower Danube and by the first defeat suffered by them in the west. It should be noted that the Avars entered Transylvania with a significant delay after the conquest of the region between the Danube and the Tisza (after 630, maybe even later).[87] They were not initially interested in the salt mines, because in the first decades they had enough resources provided by the booty from the Byzantine cities. When these raids ceased and many prisoners escaped (after 626), their way of life required a larger exploitation of the salt resources for cattle breeding.[88] The same evolution seems to be true for the Hungarians after the end of the invasions in the west. Arrived in Transylvania, they occupied the same places like the Avars, near the salt mines in the middle basin of the Mureş River (see the next chapter).

László Makkai expressed a similar conclusion. He supposed that the Hungarians conquered in a first stage the territory dominated by Bulgaria in southern Transylvania, around 921 and 927, in order to extend their control over the salt traffic on the Mureş valley.[89] In one of his latest studies, Gyula Kristó accepted that the Hungarian group that conquered Transylvania settled there only after the middle of the 10th century, as it happened in other wooded regions, like northern Transdanubia.[90] This new theory on the Hungarian conquest takes into consideration the fact that sedentarization was not possible as long as the inroads were so frequent and successful. The first moment when the pace of these invasions slowed down was 933. The immediate consequence was the change of direction toward a region whose environment was proper for a sedentary way of life, not for nomadism: Transylvania.

Generally speaking, the account from chapters 24–27 could be considered a reliable one. The name of the leader of the Romanians from the Someşul Mic region is undoubtedly real. However, the Anonymous Notary made some mistakes, among which the most important was the name of the Hungarian conqueror of northern Transylvania. The existence of the *Blaci* (the Romanians) at the moment of the Hungarian aggression could not be denied. **The Anonymous Notary had no interest to invent the presence of the Romanians in Transylvania in the 10th century, because if Romanians had indeed arrived there in the 12th century, his readers would not have believed this assertion.**

# CHAPTER 2
# The archaeological evidence of the first Hungarian penetration in Transylvania

One of the topics of the narrative from GH, c. 24–27 is the penetration of the Hungarian warriors in Transylvania during the 10th century, before the conquest accomplished by King Stephen I at the beginning of the 11th century.

The way or the ways of penetration, the territories taken under control, and the chronology of the events could be established with some probability with the help of archaeology, which means in fact the interpretation of two processes: the end of the cultural group represented by the Blandiana A and Alba-Iulia II cemeteries,[1] and the appearance of the first Hungarian graves and artifacts. For the time being, we will not discuss the chronology of the fortified settlements (see the following chapter).

The research of the Hungarian remains from the first period after the conquest of Pannonia has developed considerably in the last decades. One of the achievements was the periodization of the Hungarian graves, on the basis of their inventory, through a distinction between the Old Hungarian and the Bjelo Brdo type cemeteries. The Bjelo Brdo cultural group was divided into two stages. The first one could be dated between 960/970 and the middle of the 11th century. The main specific artifacts are: the lock-rings with an S-shaped end, the torque bracelets, the half-moon pendants, the grape-like earrings, and the pottery decorated with alveolae made with the fingernail. This culture was polyethnic (Hungarians, Slavs, Germanic and Pannonian Romance population remnants).[2]

The first Hungarian penetration in Transylvania is attested by a group of finds that belong to the Old Hungarian type of cemeteries,

defined by artifacts brought from the Eurasian steppe. Mechthild Schulze-Dörrlamm[3] classified and established the chronology of the Old Hungarian funeral finds from Central Europe, defining three ethnocultural groups involved in the emergence of the Hungarian confederation:

- A: artifacts specific for the steppe horsemen (Khazars, Pechenegs, Bulgarians);
- B: artifacts originated in the area between the Kama and the middle Volga, ascribed to the Ougrians;
- C: artifacts brought from the area between the Volga and the Dnieper, ascribed to the Kavars arrived in 881 in the Tisza basin.

These Old Hungarian objects from Central Europe are dated roughly between 862 and 930/940. (The first inroad of the warriors called *Ungari* is recorded in 862.) The first phase (*I a*) of the Old Hungarian relics from Central Europe preceded the arrival of the tribes led by Arpad. The phase *I b* is dated between 896 and the fourth decade of the 10th century. The single discovery from Romania dated by M. Schulze-Dörrlamm in phase *I a* is grave no. 5 from Biharea. Phase II was a transition period toward the Bjelo Brdo I cultural group, developed in the last third of the 10th century.

In the following pages we will examine the Old Hungarian finds from Transylvania, dated before the penetration of the Bjelo Brdo culture. Such discoveries also exist in Crişana and Banat (the most important being Biharea, Şiclău, Arad-Ceala).

The most important Old Hungarian Transylvanian cemetery is that from Cluj-Napoca. Eleven inhumation graves oriented W–E were found in 1911 and 1941–1942 on Zápolya (today, Gen. Traian Moşoiu) street. Seven graves belonged to men and four to women. Their inventory is typical for the Old Hungarian graves: four sabres with oblique handles, a lyre-shaped buckle, fragments of bows and romboidal arrowheads, stirrups plated with silver or with gilded copper, gilded silver grapelike earrings.[4] Another Old Hungarian cemetery discovered in 1985–1986 in the same city, in the Gheorgheni quarter, is still unpublished, but it is known to include 26 graves (men, women and children), with pieces of Asian origin.[5] A leaf-shaped bronze belt accessory of Old Hungarian origin, dated at

the middle of the 10th century, was found in another place of the city, at Mănăştur.[6]

Twelve graves of men and women from an Old Hungarian cemetery were found between 1895 and 1912 at Gâmbaş. Their inventory presents analogies with those from Cluj, except for the horses and the harness pieces specific to the oldest graves. This means that the cemetery is a bit later, but still from the Old Hungarian period (from grave no. 1 comes a sabre similar with those from Cluj).[7] Another group of Old Hungarian graves, dated in the transition period to the Bjelo Brdo culture, was unearthed at Lopadea Nouă (Alba County). The use of this cemetery began in the second half of the 10th century and continued until the 11th century.[8]

In the cemetery of Blandiana A (see chapter III. 3. 6.), dated in the second half of the 9th century and at the beginning of the 10th century, archaeologists found an inhumation grave oriented W–E that displayed unusual features. The inventory included the complete skeleton of a horse, another horse skull, ox and sheep bones, three lyre-shaped buckles, a Roman gem, a bone object adorned with an elephant, a small silver tube, and the harness (two stirrups, the bit, fragments from the iron pieces of the saddle). The inventory is not specific for a warrior. The objects with magic and symbolic character suggest that the buried person was a shaman. Since the dating in the first half of the 10th century is certain, the presence of this grave could be linked with the first Hungarian penetration in Transylvania. The shaman was perhaps a Kavar, because the graves with complete horses are not specific for Hungarians.[9]

Eleven Old Hungarian graves (eight men, three women) were discovered at Alba-Iulia, within the area of cemetery no. II of the local population, but they have not yet been published. Some data (provided by Horia Ciugudean) was published in the posthumous study of Radu R. Heitel: graves with an inventory typical for the 10th century Hungarians (cordiform belt accessories, romboidal arrowheads, bow pieces, stirrups, and bits). Because no sabres were found, the date can be placed after the middle of the 10th century.[10] Another Old Hungarian grave was identified within the 9th–10th centuries settlement from Alba-Iulia, destroyed precisely by the Hungarian attack. One of the dwellings (H. 10) was penetrated by the pit of an inhumation grave whose ravaged inventory contained the fragment of

horse skull and a cordiform bronze harness accessory ornated with a stylized palmette. This piece is typical for the Old Hungarian graves from the first half of the 10th century.[11]

From Benic (Alba County) comes a bronze bracelet decorated with animal heads, specific for the inventory of the Old Hungarian graves. This artifact indicates the existence of a 10th century ceme-tery still used in the 11th century, as indicated by the lock-rings found in the same place.[12] There is no clear data about the two graves from Dârjiu (Harghita County),[13] ascribed to the 10th century Hungarians; it is not certain that they belong to the old phase, from the second third of the 10th century.

It can be observed that almost all of the Old Hungarian relics were found near the salt mines from the middle Mureş basin and from the Someşul Mic basin: Sic, Turda, Cojocna, Ocna Dejului (all of them in Cluj County), Uioara–Ocna-Mureş and Ocnişoara (Alba County), and Ocna Sibiului (Sibiu County).

This is not a coincidence. Salt was vital for the Hungarians, as for any cattle-breeders. We should remember that the spy told Tuhutum about the rich salt mines of the land ruled by Gelou, one of the inter-esting things for the conquerors. The geographic location of the first Hungarian sites in Transylvania reflects the reason of the conquest (or one of the reasons): control over the salt mines area from west-ern Transylvania. The same location shows that Hungarians came from the north-west, that is by the Meseş Gates, or through the Crişul Repede and Căpuş corridors.[14] The finds from Alba-Iulia and Blandi-ana could be explained by a penetration from the same direction of the conquerors that first entered the area of Cluj. Therefore, it is not sure that a second penetration route did really exist, as supposed by some researchers, who took into consideration the Mureş valley.[15]

From the relation of Simon of Keza we found that Jula had estab-lished his residence at Alba-Iulia, but the route he followed toward this point is not specified. Since the archaeological evidence suggests that the Hungarian warriors came from north, it could be sup-posed that the same group advanced south from Cluj. In these cir-cumstances the settlement from Alba-Iulia was conquered,[16] and became the new residence of the Hungarian chieftain, because of its strategic location. It should be emphasized that **the Anonymous Notary did not say that Tuhutum occupied the fortress of Gelou**
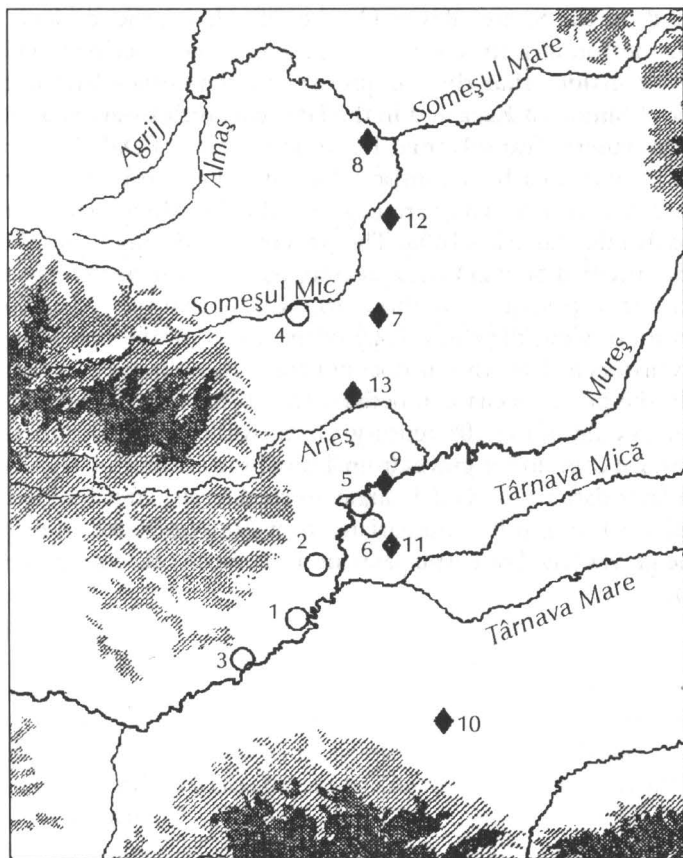
*Map 4.* Old Hungarian cemeteries and graves
in Transylvania

LEGEND

O = Hungarian graves
♦ = Salt mines

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 = Alba-Iulia | 6 = Lopadea Nouă |
| 2 = Benic | 7 = Cojocna |
| 3 = Blandiana | 8 = Ocna Dejului |
| 4 = Cluj-Napoca | 9 = Ocna-Mureş |
| 5 = Gâmbaş | 10 = Ocna Sibiului |
| | 11 = Ocnişoara |
| | 12 = Sic |
| | 13 = Turda |

**located on the Someş River**. On the other hand, the residence of Geula the Younger, the enemy of Stephen I, is not specified in GH.

**We consider that the conqueror of Alba-Iulia—Jula in the work of Simon of Keza and in the later chronicles—arrived there from northern Transylvania.** The concentration of Old Hungarian finds around Alba-Iulia confirms the data provided by these literary sources, namely that the residence of the first Hungarian ruler of Transylvania was Alba-Iulia. The penetration through the Meseş Gates, specified only in GH, is also supported by archaeology, since the oldest discoveries were those from Cluj. From the archaeological point of view, the chronology of the arrival of the first Hungarian warriors in Transylvania does not contradict our opinion expressed in the previous chapter, because the objects could be dated up to the middle of the 10th century. On the other hand, the absence of Arabian coins in the graves from Transylvania is another argument for a later date of the Old Hungarian cemeteries, after 930, when the pieces brought by Hungarians from Atelkuz ceased to be put in the graves (the last participants in the conquest died around that year).[17]

# The duchy
# from the Someşul Mic basin.
# The fortresses. The population

In the duchy from the Someşul Mic basin we usually include the fortresses of: Dăbâca, Cluj-Mănăştur (both in Cluj County), Moigrad, Ortelec (Sălaj County), Şirioara (Bistriţa-Năsăud County). Sometimes others are also included here, such as Moreşti (Mureş County), Moldoveneşti (Cluj County), Cuzdrioara (Cluj County), Chinari (Mureş County), Dedrad (Mureş County).[1] No data is in fact available about the latter two. The fortress of Moldoveneşti (near Turda) is certainly later, from the 11th century.[2] That from Moreşti was not in use during the 9th–10th centuries and it is anyway too far from the area studied in this work.[3] Other fortresses were identified in the Someşul Mic basin, at Someşul Rece (near Gilău), Ugruţiu (Dragu commune, Sălaj County), Gheorgheni (south of Cluj-Napoca). The popular tradition ascribed them to Gelou, but all of them are Iron Age fortifications.[4]

## 1. Dăbâca

The idea that the fortress from Dăbâca was the residence of Gelou is now common. Expressed first with some caution by the authors of the excavations done in the 1960s,[5] this view became later a certainty for almost all historians, accepted in school textbooks. Located 10 km west of the Someşul Mic River, in the Lonea valley, the Dăbâca hillfort matches only partially the description from GH, c. 27 (*iuxta fluvium Zomus positum*). Ştefan Pascu and Mircea Rusu ascribed

this fortress to Gelou on the basis of the proposed chronology, made according to the stratigraphy and to the interpretation of the finds.

The fortress had four building stages. It was used until the 15th century. Interesting for the present study are only stages I and II. Their chronology was disputed by those researchers[6] who do not share the historical interpretation proposed by Şt. Pascu and M. Rusu. Only the end of the second stage is certainly related with the Pecheneg invasion of 1068.[7] In the second stage, the Dăbâca fortress was the seat of the county with the same name.[8]

We can trust the stratigraphic description and the relative chronology established by the authors of the excavations for the building phases,[9] but the absolute chronology and the historical interpretations put forward by Şt. Pascu and M. Rusu require a thorough discussion.

**The first stage** was a fortress composed of three precincts (I, III, and IV), set along the triangular platform called *Cetate* ("fortress") by the inhabitants. The enclosures were made of earthen walls 5–10 m thick. Walls I and III sported a palisade, and were separated from the ditches by berms. Precinct no. IV (the largest) had no palisade and no berm. A watch way paved with wood was identified behind wall no. I. Precinct no. I was restored at a certain point, but not because of prior damage. The earthen wall was made taller, the watch way was restored with stone slabs, the ditch was enlarged, and the berm was eliminated. These changes represent **the second phase of the first stage**. Researchers remarked the likeness between wall no. I (in the second phase) and wall no. IV. Therefore, they considered that the building of precinct no. IV took place at the same time with the restoration of precinct no. I. In this case, phase 2 would represent a considerable extension of the fortress area. Another possible interpretation is that precinct no. IV was made in the same time with no. I and no. III, as the outer limit of a space used for dwelling.[10]

Stage I ended with the burning of the entire fortress. The habitation was for some time interrupted, as shown by the black humus level without archaeological remains set over the earth that slided from the wall in the ditch of precinct no. I. The fortress was restored after some time, in a different technique. In stage II, wall no. I was replaced with a "complex palisade" with transversal beams set between the walls. Precinct no. II was built in the same manner. Stage II also ended with a general fire.[11]

The objects found in the dwellings identified on the plateau are less useful for the chronology of the first stage of the fortress, since we cannot be sure they were contemporary with the fortification. The excavation report specified that most of the dwellings are concentrated in the space between precincts no. III and IV.[12] But, as we have already seen, it is possible that precinct no. IV was built in phase 2, which would mean that the dwellings were not contemporary with phase 1. They could be either older than the fortification (remains of a not fortified settlement), either contemporary with phase 2. The existence of an undefended settlement before the fortress was taken into consideration.[13]

Under these circumstances, the most certain chronological indication is provided by the objects found just under the burned level that appeared after the destruction of the palisades. On the watch way of phase 2 from precinct I several fireplaces were discovered, covered with burned soil collapsed inside after the burning of the palisade. The fireplaces are contemporary with the end of phase 2. In these fireplaces archaeologists found potsherds, some fragments of forks and pails,[14] and four bell-shaped pendants made of gilded silver with filigree. The investigators proposed a date in the 9th century for these pendants,[15] but this is impossible, because such pieces were found only in sites dated between the last third of the 10th century and the first half of the 11th century (for instance, at Preslav—in Bulgaria, at Drassburg—in eastern Austria, at Maszewice—in Poland).[16] Therefore, these pendants show that the first stage lasted until a moment that could be placed between the last third of the 10th century and the first half of the 11th century. By no means can we accept the opinion expressed by Şt. Pascu and M. Rusu, that the first stage ended at the beginning of the 10th century.[17] On the contrary, Petru Iambor supported the existence of precinct no. I (in the second phase of the stage I) during the 10th century, but without giving a more precise date.[18]

On the other hand, stage II is defined by some artifacts specific to the first and second thirds of the 11th century. On the circulation level of the palisade from precinct no. II (built in stage II) a coin was found, issued by the Hungarian King Peter I (1038–1041, 1044–1046).[19] A half-moon shaped bronze pendant was discovered in a hut located just near precinct no. II,[20] dated by the excavators, according with the analogies from Bjelo Brdo I sites, "in

the second half of the 10th century, perhaps even at the beginning of the 11th century."[21] They specified that the pendant appeared in the superior part of the filling soil of the hut, at meter 120.5 of section no. I, at the depth of 1.84 m. The data concord with the profile of the section, published in better conditions in a further study, in 1971.[22] The pendant was indeed found in the filling soil of the hut, but this was in fact a levelled stratum that starts under precinct no. II (this results from the published profile). Therefore, this stratum does not start "right from the palisade," as claimed by the investigating archaeologists. He was superposed by the palisade; this means that the hut was filled and levelled when precinct no. II was erected. In conclusion, the pendant is older than precinct no. II, and this precinct was built during or even after the period when the half-moon shaped pendant was used. In the same Bjelo Brdo I period is dated the necklace and the bracelet found under the burned soil collapsed from wall no. I, after the destruction.[23]

Because the end of stage I could be placed between the last third of the 10th century and the first third of the 11th century, and because, on the other hand, stage II is defined by objects dated during the first and second thirds of the 11th century, it can be concluded that the destruction that ended the first stage occurred around the beginning of the 11th century. This means that **the historical event that could be associated with this archaeological evidence is the attack of King Stephen I against the Transylvanian duke, happened in 1002 or 1003**. After a while (a decade, maybe two), the fortress was restored.

The destruction of stage I had no relation with the conflict in which Gelou was involved. No earlier destruction was observed. This fact does not rule out a dating of stage I during the time of Gelou, because the fortress could have remained untouched, since, according to GH, the men of Gelou surrendered to the Hungarians after his death.

The contemporaneity of stage I with the period of Gelou is not excluded, and we can even suppose that phase 2 represented a building moment dated after the conflict related in GH. The contemporaneity would be certain only if artifacts dated strictly before the first third of the 10th century were to be found there. But such objects are missing, or, if they exist, they are not published. The spurs said to be

dated in the 9[24] century could also be dated in the 10[25] century, while the hilt of a X-Petersen sword is an artifact from the 10[26] century and the beginning of the 11[26] century. According to the excavation report, these objects appeared in the settlement from precinct no. IV, namely in its upper level, defined by ground dwellings with wooden walls propped on stone slabs.[27] The settlement placed between precincts no. III and IV is dated in the phase 2 of the first stage, but it is possible that some dwellings were made before the first precincts, when the settlement was not fortified. Therefore, the spurs and the sword hilt come most probable from dwellings dated at the end of the 10th century. Moreover, in the earliest level of the Dăbâca settlement fragments of grooved rim pottery were discovered, a type brought by the Kavars from the Volga–Don region, spread by them in north-eastern Hungary and eastern Slovakia, in 10[28] century sites. This kind of pottery was also used by Hungarians in the first half of the 10[29] century. Its presence at Dăbâca in the first phase of the fortified settlement reflects thus the Hungarian or Kavar penetration, being at the same time a good chronological indicator. Other types of pottery from Dăbâca have no such precise chronology.[30]

It is nevertheless true that the plateau of the fortress had been inhabited since the 8th century. A cremation cemetery of the Mediaş type (8th–9th centuries) was found in the area enclosed by precinct no. 4. An Avarian bronze belt accessory, dated in the 8th century was discovered within this cemetery.[31] However, these finds do not prove the existence of a fortified settlement in that period.

Therefore, the existence of the Dăbâca fortress since the 9th century is not yet proven by the archaeological evidence, but it is still possible, since some excavations results were not published. On the other hand, if the events related by GH occurred, most probably, in the 930s, a date during the time of Gelou remains possible. Taking into account that stage I had two phases and that the settlement from phase 2 had two or three levels, it could be supposed that stage I lasted for about a century, which means that its beginning could be placed before the Hungarian conquest. However, there are no certain archaeological arguments for this idea. Adrian Andrei Rusu highlighted the problems involved by the chronology of the Dăbâca fortress, which became the apple of discord between the Romanian and Hungarian archaeologists. Because there are no ob-

jects with a precise chronology, "each historian from both conflicting sides (Romanians and Hungarians) could claim the convenient period for the 'patriotic' chronology of the fortresses."[32] On the other hand, "it remains unclear whether or not [the earliest phase] also coincided with the first fortification of this site."[33]

Even if it was contemporary with Gelou, the fortress from Dăbâca cannot be identified with the residence mentioned in GH. From the relation of the conflict (c. 26–27) it results that Gelou, after being defeated somewhere on the Almaş valley, went back to his fort located on the Someş River. Since he was killed near the Căpuş River, most probably at Gilău, it can be inferred that the target of his retreat was Cluj, not Dăbâca. Had he wanted to go to Dăbâca, he would have chosen another way, a shorter one, over the hills between Almaş and Dăbâca.

The origin and the chronology of the Dăbâca fortress could be somewhat clarified on the basis of the etymology of its name. The place-name *Dăbâca* comes from the Slavic *dluboku*, *dluboka* ("blind alley," hollow place"). It was remarked that this fits well with the look of the place, and the nearby village is called *Fundătura*, which means "blind alley."[34] Another village *Dobâca* (*Doboka* in the medieval documents), from Hunedoara County,[35] is located in a mountain area, on the narrow valley of the Cerna River, in a position that also matches the meaning of the Slavic word. Consequently, we consider unlikely the idea expressed by G. Györffy, who thought that the fortress inherited the name of the Hungarian chieftain Dobuka, recorded in GH, c. 11 (he was the father of Sunad/Chanad, the commander who betrayed and defeated Achtum).[36] Because Sunad was entitled "nephew of the king," it was supposed that Dobuka was the son of Caroldu, the aunt of Stephen I.[37] This is indeed possible. G. Györffy considered that Stephen I had appointed Dobuka as steward of this fortress, while G. Kristó claimed that Dobuka commanded Stephen's army in the war against Geula, and that the king gave him as a reward the region organized as the Doboka County.[38] These assertions had no support in documents. The name of the county was derived from the name of the fortress, an important center called *urbs* in 11th–13th century sources.

G. Györffy argued that the place-name *Dăbâca* cannot be derived from the Slavic *dluboka*, because this word evolved in Romanian as *Glâmboca*. It was however demonstrated[39] that this phonetic evolu-

tion took place only in the southern area of the Romanian language, influenced by the Bulgarian Slavs. For this reason, there are similar names in Transylvania that display the same preservation of the nasal-ization feature. Besides *Dăbâca* from Cluj County (the fortress) and *Dobâca* from Hunedoara County, we also have *Doboka* (disap-peared village near Căpruţa, Bârzava commune, Arad County, attest-ed since 1471)[40] and *Doboca*, near Bacău, in central Moldavia.[41] The latter is very important because it is located outside Transylvania. Therefore, *Dăbâca* could be derived from the western Slavic word *Duboka*, and that the character Dobuka received his name after the fortress that came under his command.

The fact that the Dăbâca fortress bears a Slavic name is very impor-tant. If it had been built by Hungarians, its name would have also been Hungarian, like *Şirioara* and *Cuzdrioara*. Besides, we know that a place called *Ţiligrad* (which means "complete fortress") exists 1.6 km away from the fortress.[42] Dăbâca belongs to the group of early medieval Transylvanian fortifications with Slavic, pre-Hungarian names: *Bălgrad* (Alba-Iulia), *Ţiligrad* (Blandiana), *Moigrad*. Since none of these names has any meaning in Romanian, it results that **they were created when the Slavs were not yet assimilated.**

The building of the Dăbâca fortress during the 9th century is not yet demonstrated, but remains possible.[43] Even if this fortified settlement actually existed before the Hungarian attack, **the iden-tification with the residence located on the Someş is contradicted by its location, too far from the warzone described in GH.**

## 2. Cluj-Mănăştur

Another fortress considered to have been in use during the duchy of Gelou is that of Cluj-Mănăştur, located on a promontory on the right side of the Someşul Mic River. The shape is oval (220 × 98 m). The researches started in 1970 established four fortification phas-es. (The last two are not important for this study, since they are dated after the Pecheneg invasion of 1068.) In the first phase they built an earthen wall 4.75 m thick and 2 m tall, made of successive stra-ta of sandy soil, rubble and black trampled soil. The sides of the wall were covered with longitudinal beams, propped with pillars. In phase II, the wall was raised with more than 1.30 m, without being

destroyed. A palisade was added on the top of the wall. Phase II ended in a fire, most probably caused by the Pecheneg attack of 1068.[44]

A settlement identified inside the fortress was superposed by a cemetery from the $11^{th}$–$12^{th}$ centuries, contemporary with the third phase of the fortress. This means that the settlement existed before the destruction of phase II. The end can be placed around 1068, because three Hungarian coins issued in 1063–1074 by King Solomon were discovered in a burned dwelling,[45] but the beginning of the settlement is not so easy to establish.

The settlement was composed only of huts. The larger dwellings with a rich inventory from Dăbâca are missing here. The inventory consists almost exclusively of potsherds. It is obvious that, in the first two phases, this site was only a refuge fortress. (In phase III, the fortification defended the Benedictine monastery founded at the end of the $11^{th}$ century). As a matter of fact, the settlement was larger than the precinct, as suggested by the discovery of some $9^{th}$–$11^{th}$ centuries remains outside the wall and on a neighboring hill.[46]

The pottery indicates that the settlement could be dated in the $9^{th}$ century, but with the observation that no pieces dated only in the $9^{th}$ century were found; therefore, it is much more probable that the settlement began in the $10^{th}$ century, as indicated by the grooved rim pottery discovered in the most ancient level (in Transylvania, this type could not be dated before the beginning of the $10^{th}$ century).[47]

The single metal artifact with a precise dating is the upper half of a leaf-shaped bronze belt accessory. Unfortunately, the piece was found in the earth that filled a later pit, not in a close context.[48] The accessory was unearthed in a sector used as a cemetery, and it is known that such pieces were usually found in graves. For this reason it is possible that the accessory belonged to a destroyed grave, namely to an Old Hungarian grave, because this kind of object is dated only in the first third or the first half of the $10^{th}$ century.[49]

Because the earth used to build the wall of the first phase does not contain $9^{th}$–$10^{th}$ centuries pottery,[50] it could be argued that this wall was erected just when the habitation began, or shortly afterwards.

The evolution of the fortress was thus the following:

- phase I: defended settlement;

- phase II: defended settlement;
- phase III: monastery within the fortification and cemetery.

Phase I is defined by an archaeological level 10–15 cm thick, which contains 9th–10th centuries handmade and fast wheel made pottery specific for this period. The next level (phase II) includes 11th century pottery (clay cauldrons and pots adorned with incisions made with a small wheel).[51] The most ancient medieval level was set directly on the Roman level, without intermediary remains. This means that the field was leveled and the Roman debris was cleaned, with the exception of some foundations.[52] The absolute chronology could be established with certainty only for phase III and partially for phase II (only the end of phase II is certain: 1068). Since no pottery decorated with the small wheel was found in phase I, it results that this phase could be dated in the 10th century.[53] The excavators proposed a broad chronology for phase II, during the 10th and 11th centuries,[54] or that the phases I and II are dated between the 9th century and the second half of the 11th century.[55] The leaf-shaped belt accessory could belong to a grave contemporary with phase I, because it is dated in the first half of the 10th century. However, we cannot be sure of that, since it is a stray find.

The only destruction suffered by the Cluj-Mănăștur fortress during its two first phases was that of 1068. This corresponds with the destruction of stage II from Dăbâca, which was contemporary with phase II from Cluj-Mănăștur. In both sites, the levels are defined by pottery decorated with the small wheel and by clay cauldrons. The destruction of stage I from Dăbâca has no analogy at Cluj-Mănăștur. On the other hand, the pottery from Cluj-Mănăștur, phase I, is similar with that discovered at Dăbâca, stage I (pots worked on the fast wheel, decorated with waved lines, and handmade pots). **Phase no. I from Cluj-Mănăștur seems to be dated in the same time as stage I from Dăbâca, in the 10th century, maybe also in the 9th century.[56]**

In this light, it could be inferred that **phase II from Cluj-Mănăștur was posterior to the second Hungarian penetration of 1002–1003.** It has to be emphasized that this event did not affect the refuge fortress from Cluj-Mănăștur. If around 1000 Dăbâca was the residence of a ruler, Cluj-Mănăștur was only a refuge fortress used by the people from the surrounding region.

# 3. Şirioara

Another fortress was discovered at Şirioara (Bistriţa-Năsăud County), on a terrace placed between two small rivers. In medieval documents, *Şirioara* is called *Sarwar.*[57] This Hungarian name means "white fortress." Quite possibly the name is the translation of the Slavic/Romanian name *Bălgrad*. The trapezoidal hillfort is $55 \times 45 \times 82 \times 80$ m in size. Like at Dăbâca, a ditch 3 m deep and 25–30 m wide separates the fortress from the rest of the hill. Because the other sides are steep enough, the walls were built only on the western and northern sides.[58] The excavations started in 1963 revealed that the refuge fortress had three building phases. In the first phase, the earth wall was made in the same technique as at Dăbâca, namely by superposing several levels of trampled yellow clay. The sides of the wall were covered with transversal and longitudinal beams. Behind the wall was a watch way paved with stones. Phase I ended with a fire. Like at Dăbâca, the restoration (phase II) was made after a certain time (there is a deposit 5–10 cm thick on the watch way).[59] A palisade similar with that from Dăbâca, stage II, and a new watch way were built in phase II (which also burned down). After the destruction of phase II, the burned soil from the palisade remained untouched over the watch way. The pottery found on the watch way becomes thus a chronological indication for phase II. These sherds are typical for the 11th century.[60]

Based on the analogies with Dăbâca, archaeologists (Mircea Rusu and Ştefan Dănilă) considered that phase II from Şirioara ended in 1068, when a great Pecheneg invasion is recorded. A major battle took place at Chiraleş, 2 km away from this fortress.[61] Even if we agree with this interpretation, we cannot support their second point of view, which says that the first phase could be dated, boadly, in the 9th and 10th centuries. There are no objects that could indicate the beginning of the fortress in the 9th century. Most probably, the chronology is the same as at Dăbâca and Cluj-Mănăştur. The destruction of phase I could be linked with the second Hungarian conquest (1002), but its beginning remains unknown.

The fortress from Cuzdrioara (Cluj County), located a few kilometers away from Şirioara, is considered to be dated in the 9th–11th centuries, but the data about it is not enough to allow for a con-

clusion. Kurt Horedt supposed that it was built in the 11ᵗʰ century.[62] The Hungarian name of the village, *Kozárvár* (mentioned since 1205 as *Kozar*)[63] means "the fortress of the Khazars." Few data were published about another possible 10ᵗʰ or 11ᵗʰ century fortress with a palisade from Viile Tecii (Bistriţa-Năsăud County), in the vicinity of Şirioara.[64]

## 4. Moigrad, Ortelec, Şimleul Silvaniei, Zalnoc

Another fortress was discovered in 1968 at Moigrad (Sălaj County), on the hill called Cămin (elev. 350 m), on the Pomăt valley.[65] (Although located in the Jac commune, it is known in the bibliography as "the Moigrad fortress"). The fortress with a triangular shape (like Dăbâca) had an earthen wall with a palisade on the western side and in the north-western corner, and a palisade without a ditch on the southern side. The maximum dimensions of the enclosed area are 240 m and 270 m. The western wall, 4 m thick, had a 2.5 m berm and a ditch 4 m wide and 2 m deep. Its core was strengthened with beams. The southern palisade was built in the same technique used at Dăbâca in stage II (at precinct no. I and II). Both palisades burned down (like at Dăbâca, stage II).

Mircea Rusu considered that the building technique and the few ceramic remains indicate that "this fortress was in use in the 9ᵗʰ–11ᵗʰ centuries," like Dăbâca and Şirioara. However, a new examination of the pottery gives a more precise date for the beginning of the fortress, in the 10ᵗʰ century, or even at the beginning of the 11ᵗʰ century.[66] This means that the Moigrad fortress was erected at the same time with Dăbâca, stage II, after the war of Stephen I against Geula (1002–1003). In this case, its end was caused by the Pechenegs in 1068, about whom we know that they destroyed the fortifications (*indagines*) from the Meseş Gates. It is possible that another fortification existed in the same place before the second Hungarian conquest, because the Slavic name *Moigrad*[67] suggests the existence of a fortress built by Slavs or by Romanians and Slavs. N. Drăganu supposed that the name derived from the Slavic words *moj* ("mine") and *grad* ("fortress"), but he also thought that *Moj-* could be the abbreviation of a person name like *Mojmir* or *Mojslav*.[68] Mojmir

was the name of two Moravian rulers (830–846 and 894–906). The precise place in Moigrad were four 8th and 9th century earrings with star-shaped pendants were discovered is not known.[69] It is also possible that the word *grad* referred to the ruins of the nearby Roman city of Porolissum.

The existence of a fortress near the Meseş Gates in the period when Gelou ruled is out of the question. This also results from the relation of the war between Tuhutum and Gelou, which does not mention such a fortification. On the contrary, the account suggests that the area was already conquered by the Hungarians, and that **it belonged to the duchy from Crişana, whose natural border was at the Meseş Gates.**

GH, c. 22 tells how the Hungarian warriors fortified the Meseş Gates before the attack against Gelou: "... Zobolsu, Thosu and Tuhutum, consulting together, decided that the border of the kingdom of Duke Arpad should be set at the Meseş Gate. Then, the inhabitants of the country [*incolae terre*], at their command, built stone gates [*portas lapideas edificaverunt*] and made a large wooden enclosure [*clausuram magnam de arboribus*] at the boundary of the kingdom."[70] These events took place somewhere near Zalău, but not only in Zalău, because in the previous fragment it is said that: "...Tuhutum and his son Horca, leaving Ziloc [*de Ziloc egressi sunt*], came in the region of Meseş [*in partes Mezesinas*], at Zobolsu and Thosu." The place Zalău is attested in medieval documents since 1220 as *Ziloc* or *Zylach*.[71]

Adrian A. Rusu supposed that the fragment presented above concerned the restoration of some Roman fortifications[72]—something common in the Middle Ages. (At Alba-Iulia, for instance, the perimeter wall of the Roman camp was reused.) In the most narrow place of the Meseş Gates, in the point known as "La Strâmturi," at Ortelec (a village now included in the town of Zalău) researchers identified a Roman *burgus* with an area of 50 × 65 m; an earthen wall 250–300 m long was built from its western corner, in order to defend the passage. There are also other small fortresses in the area of the Meseş Gates, but this one is located at the westernmost point of the defensive complex established around Porolissum.[73] Important discoveries made in 1994 show how the Romans controlled the access through the pass: by a stone wall approx. 4.5 km long, defend-

ed with several towers. The wall had a gate allowing access to the province, which was afterwards blocked.[74] Future researches will establish if these Roman fortifications were used or not in the early Middle Ages.

In the same former village of Ortelec, in the point "Cetate" located 1.5–2 km west of "La Strâmturi," archeologists excavated an early medieval oval fortress with an earthen wall (170 × 80 m). This fortress was placed right on the way that controlled the access toward Transylvania.[75] The recent researches made by Călin Cosma established that the fortress had a double palisade sometime damaged by fire. After the destruction, the palisade was built again, after a short time. After a second burning, the area of the hillfort was used as a cemetery, dated after the second half of the 11th century. The erection of the fortress can be placed around the middle of the 10th century.[76] The fortresses from Ortelec and Moigrad operated together, at the eastern exit of the Meseş Gates. Ortelec is the same with *Ziloc* from GH, c. 22, burned during the Pecheneg invasion of 1068.[77]

Recently, two more early medieval fortresses were identified at Şimleul Silvaniei (Sălaj County), in the points known as "Cetate" and "Observator." The first one was superposed by a 13th century castle, which destroyed most of the previous evidence. However, the pottery indicates human occupation since the second half of the 10th century. In the second site, the discoveries suggest too the existence of a fortification with palisade from the 10th–11th centuries.[78] This pair of fortifications was located west of the Meseş Gates, symmetrically with Moigrad and Ortelec.

The fortress from Zalnoc (Sălaj County) belonged perhaps to the same fortification system. Located at the western exit of the Meseş Gates, it could be identified with Solnoc, the seat of a county. Its shape presents analogies with Dăbâca. No excavations have been conducted so far.[79]

This group of fortresses (Moigrad, Ortelec, Şimleul Silvaniei, perhaps Zalnoc) was placed at the eastern edge of the territory ascribed to Menumorout, and we can suppose that they belonged to this polity, whose center was the fortress of Bihor (Biharea).[80] From the typological and chronological points of view, they are similar with Dăbâca and Cluj-Mănăştur, but they were not included in the same duchy. The Meseş Gates were a natural frontier between Crişana and the

"land beyond the forests." The fortification of the access point was required by the salt traffic. The document from 1067 that attested for the first time Sălacea (*Zoloch*) as a transit point calls this road *magna via*.[81] Sălacea, like Zalnoc (Solnoc) and Zalău, was located on one of the roads that linked the Transylvanian salt mines with Central Europe, a route that followed the Roman road between Porolissum (Moigrad) in Dacia and Aquincum (Budapest) in Pannonia. The Roman roads often remained in use in the Middle Ages. The place-names *Sălacea* (recorded since 1067 as *Zoloch*) and *Solnoc* are derived from the Slavic *sol* = "salt," just like the Hungarian *só*.[82] A royal store-house and a customs point were located at Sălacea in the Middle Ages.[83]

The salt traffic explains the presence in this area of a type of artifacts that testify to commercial relations with a remote area. In the inhumation cemetery unearthed south of Zalău, quite close to the Moigrad fortress, they found, among other pieces, a half-moon shaped earring typical for the Köttlach culture, present in Croatia, Slovenia and Austria in the 9th–10th centuries. On the basis of this object, the small cemetery was dated in the 10th century, perhaps in the last part of the 9th century.[84] The Köttlach earrings are very rare in Transylvania, Crişana and Banat (Deta, Timiş County,[85] Sălacea, Bihor County),[86] and almost absent in Hungary (the single piece was found at Tápé, near Szeged, on the salt road along the Mureş River).[87] The earring from Sălacea comes from a cemetery dated at the end of the 9th century, consisting of 12 inhumation graves, namely, from the double grave no. 4. The anthropological study of the skeletons indicated that the dead people from this grave were western Slavs— a fact that agrees with the origin of the earring.[88] No archaeological research is available for the skeletons from Zalău. The presence of these foreigners and the penetration of objects specific to the Köttlach culture can be explained by the position of both cemeteries on a much circulated salt road.[89]

In conclusion, the fortification system around the Meseş Gates was built in the 10th century, but by the duchy centered at Biharea, in order to defend the salt road that linked the Transylvanian salt mines area with Pannonia.

The following table presents the chronology of the fortresses that could be contemporary with the events described in GH:

| Periodization | Dăbâca | Cluj-Mănăştur | Şirioara | Moigrad | Ortelec | Şimleul Silvaniei |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9th c. – first half of the 10th c. | Stage I, phase 1 (?) | Phase I (?) | Phase I (?) | No | No | No |
| Second half of the 10th c. (Bjelo Brdo I) | Stage I, phase 2 | Phase I | Phase I | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| 1002–1068 (Bjelo Brdo II) | Stage II | Phase II | Phase II | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| 1068–12th c. (Bjelo Brdo II) | Stage III | Phase III (monastery) | Phase III | No | No | ? |

The building of the fortifications in this northern part of Transylvania was considered the result of Moravian influence.[90] The fortresses of Dăbâca, Ortelec and Şirioara display indeed similarities with the *Burgwall*-type Moravian fortresses, but there is no clear evidence for their building before the downfall of Svatopluk's state (907). Such analogies do not necessarily mean a Moravian presence, since similar contemporary fortresses are known in areas certainly not dominated by Moravia (for instance, in Bukovina).

The Moravian state expanded quite late in the areas close to Transylvania, namely in 881 or 882, when its King Svatopluk defeated Bulgaria. The result was the expansion of Svatopluk's realm in the region between the Danube and the Tisza.[91] It was supposed that Moravia also acquired "the left-bank along the Middle-Tisza territory including the salt route on the lower Maros River," an area called "unbaptized Moravia" by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, whose position is defined by the rivers mentioned in *De Administrando Imperio*, chapter 40.[92] This would mean that the western Banat and Crişana were included in Moravia, but we cannot be sure about that. No artifacts testifying a Moravian influence were found until now in these regions, although many 9th century settlements and funeral sites were researched. The single fact that can suggest the extension of Moravia in Crişana is the name of ruler Menumorout.

Even if it is not yet proven that the fortresses from Dăbâca, Cluj-Mănăştur and Şirioara were erected in the 9th century,[93] it is still possible that this fact happened before the first penetration of the

Hungarians in Transylvania, if this event occurred in the 930s. In this case, maybe the first phase of stage I from Dăbâca represented the level that existed before the Hungarian attack against Gelou, and the fortress was completed (phase 2) after the establishment of the rulership of a Hungarian chieftain over the hillfort. This second phase did not follow after a destruction. Another conclusion is that the residence of Gelou cannot be identified with Dăbâca because its location does not match the description from GH, while the fortress from Cluj-Mănăştur was only a place of refuge. In this case, where could this residence have been located?

## 5. Castrum Clus

From GH it results that Gelou retreated toward a fortress located on the banks of the Someş River. He was heading towards Cluj (GH tells he was killed near the Căpuş River, most likely at Gilău—the place that inherits his name). This means that the *castrum* of Gelou should be searched somewhere around Cluj, not at Dăbâca, a fortress which is not located on the Someş. The discovery of the fortress from Cluj-Mănăştur made some researchers argue that this was the residence of Gelou (or one of them).[94] As we have seen, the fortress from Cluj-Mănăştur could be dated in the time of Gelou, in the first half of the 10th century. The problem is that this site was only a refuge place that cannot be considered the residence of a ruler.

The medieval documents recorded since 1173 a fortress called *castrum Clus*.[95] This is the future city of Cluj, but the precise location is disputed. Some identified it with the fortress from Cluj-Mănăştur,[96] but this is not possible, because *castrum Clus* was mentioned at the same time with the Benedictine monastery existing there.[97] It is more likely that the fort was located in the valley, in the narrow place between the hills on both sides of the Someşul Mic.[98] The name *Clus* speaks exactly about this closure of a way. Several medieval place-names are derived from *clusa* (or *clausura*), which means "fortification or gate that closes an access route."[99] However, the etymology Lat. *clusa* > Rom. *Cluj*, Hung. *Kolozs* was denied by N. Drăganu, who proposed as a root the Slavic person name *Klus* (diminutive of *Nicolaus*).[100] Whatever the etymology, it is certain that the Romanian

name *Cluj* transmitted an ancient name, not borrowed from Hungarian (otherwise, it would have been *Coloşoara*).[101]

A new hypothesis was expressed by Virgil Ciocîltan. Taking into account the existence of a Muslim population in Hungary and Transylvania in the 11th–13th centuries (Chalisi or Busurmani), he connected the name *Colos, Clus* with the Arabian word *khalis* ("illustrious," "bright"), borrowed by the Hungarians.[102] However, this supposition is not able to explain the existence of many medieval geographical names derived from Lat. *clus* that are obviously related with narrow and defended places, in Hungary and elsewhere.

Architect Paul Niedermaier[103] studied the topographic evolution of medieval Cluj, reaching the conclusion that the so-called "ancient town" (*Óvár*) from the area of the present day Museum of History is the same with *castrum Clus*. Its enclosure, partially identified, reused the walls of the Roman camp that existed here before the establishment of the *municipium* of Napoca, in the north-western corner of the Roman city perimeter.[104] Kurt Horedt[105] agreed and developed this idea, supposing that the residence of Gelou was in the area of the former Roman city of Napoca. In the following subchapter we will see that another Roman city, Apulum, became in the same 10th century the center of another polity.

Supporting evidence for the location of the residence of Gelou at Cluj could be provided by the Old Hungarian graves, contemporary with the events described in GH. They belonged to the warriors who conquered Cluj. The fact that this cemetery was found at Cluj, and not at Dăbâca, suggests that Cluj was the center of the duchy.

Finally, the location of this residence in the valley and not on the hill could be explained by its function: the defence and the control of the salt road that crossed the narrow place between the hills. Only in the valley was this control possible, which meant in fact taking customs taxes for the salt. This was the source and the reason of the power of the duchy ruled by Gelou, which included the salt mines from Ocna Dejului, Sic, Cojocna, and Turda. The establishment of a polity in northern Transylvania reflected the control over the salt road. On this road, Cluj was a strategic point.

In conclusion, we sustain the idea advanced by Kurt Horedt, that the residence of Gelou was at Cluj-Napoca. Unfortunately, the excavations (hindered by the present buildings) did not provide until

now useful evidence for this. For this reason, Petru Iambor expressed serious doubts about the supposition advanced by Kurt Horedt.[106]

# 6. The duchy

The duchy ruled by Gelou was located in the basin of the Someşul Mic River. Its exact surface cannot be established, but it was not very large. Most probably, it included the present Cluj County and some parts of the neighboring counties Sălaj, Bistriţa-Năsăud, and Mureş. The fortress from Şirioara was perhaps on the north-eastern limit of the duchy, if it really belonged to it. The borders of the duchy are defined by the place-names coming from the linear fortifications made of wood, earth and stone called *indagines*, inherited and developed by the Hungarians after the conquest. Access through these lines was possible via defended gates, called *kapu* (*Vaskapu*, *Copus*) in Hungarian, or, in Romanian *porţi* (transcribed *Porcz* in the Hungarian documents).[107] The power of the duke was exerted not only over the people, but also over the salt mines from Turda, Ocna Dejului, Cojocna, and Sic. The salt was transported by road to Pannonia, along the Someş valley and through the Meseş Gates. No residence and no church that could be ascribed to this duchy were yet found. The fortified settlement from Dăbâca was initially a refuge place that acquired the status of a residence only in the second stage.

According to GH, the duchy was peopled by Romanians and Slavs. This assertion was not repeated for the polities from Banat and Crişana. The Anonymous Notary did so because he was aware that only this duchy was ruled by a Romanian. Radu Popa remarked that only for Gelou "we find in this source a reason for the discussion about the existence of a Romanian polity around 900."[108]

Which were the circumstances that made possible the emergence of this duchy? The victories of the Frankish armies over the Avars in the late 8th century opened a new era in the history of Central Europe. The qaganate was divided between the Frankish Empire and Bulgaria; new Slavic peoples and polities came into being in the peripheral regions free from Avarian control (Moravia, Croatia, and Serbia). The history of the Middle Danubian basin in the 9th cen-

tury will be the history of the shifting power balance between the Frankish Empire, Bulgaria, and Moravia (a new state born on one of the former fringes of the Avarian qaganate).

The subjection of the local sedentary population of Slavic and Romance origin by the Avarian masters meant the payment of a tribute, but not only. There are some indications that a local military force appeared in 8th century Transylvania within the Avarian qaganate. The cooperation of Slavic chieftains with the Avars is attested elsewhere (especially in Slovakia). In Transylvania, two spurs dated in the 8th century (found at Şura Mică and Medişoru Mare)[109] could testify to the existence of a military force that was not of Avarian origin (the Avars did not use spurs), but still under Avarian control. Both sites are located near salt mines (Ocna Sibiului and Praid). The end of the Avarian domination brought freedom to these small local chieftains, but for a short time, because southern Transylvania entered under another domination, the Bulgarian one.

The same Bulgarian domination was extended in the lower Tisza basin and in Banat, after the end of the Avarian qanate (see chapter I. 2.). Downstream on the Danube, Bulgaria occupied another region. The precise date when an area from Wallachia came under the Bulgarian domination is not known, but it certainly happened before 813, when Krum deported there thousands of prisoners taken from Adrianople and Macedonia. The Byzantine sources recorded that they were settled in the so-called "Bulgaria beyond the Danube."[110] The location of this territory caused many discussions that cannot be detailed here. The right solution was given by the archaeological evidence: 9th century artifacts of Byzantine urban origin (clay water pipes, bricks, and a kind of pottery specific for the Byzantine towns) were found especially in several points west and north-west of Olteniţa, but also in other places from Wallachia. They can be ascribed only to these Byzantine people moved north of the Danube, on the road to the salt mines of the present day Prahova and Buzău Counties. Similar objects were found in some places near the mouth of Siret River, the final destination of other salt roads. The brick fortress of Slon (Prahova County) was built for Bulgaria by these Byzantines resettled beyond the Danube. The fortress was located in the Prahova salt area to defend the Tabla Buţii pass (an important gateway to Transylvania).[111] The North-Danubian territories from

Wallachia and southern Moldavia were conquered for the salt resources (vital for any medieval society), but also for strategic reasons (defence against the Khazars, and later against the Hungarians and the Byzantine outpost installed at the Danube's mouths). The Byzantine sources show that this North-Danubian region was ruled by its own commanders, but their control was not very strong. The prisoners escaped quite easily in 838, because the Bulgarian forces were weak.[112]

This westward expansion implies that Transylvania was also at the core of the Bulgarian interests at least since the reign of Omurtag. Bulgaria had the same reason as the Avars to master this territory: the salt (and perhaps gold) resources. An extension of the Bulgarian control over Transylvania, a land so rich in salt, was the natural continuation of this expansionist policy. If Bulgaria mastered the Tisza–Mureş confluence, it can be supposed that the Mureş valley was a way of penetration toward Transylvania.

The main argument for a Bulgarian domination in Transylvania is given by an event occasioned by the Frankish-Moravian wars. In 892, Emperor Arnulf asked the Bulgarian Tzar Vladimir to stop the salt export to Moravia. This was a condition of the new alliance treaty.[113] To be effective, this embargo required the existence of total Bulgarian control over the salt resources in the areas close to Moravia, otherwise the German demand would have been meaningless. Of course, the salt was transported from Transylvania, which suggests that this region was controlled by Bulgaria. Some historians thought that Bulgaria was able to set this embargo only because it exerted control over the mouth of the Tisza, or over its middle valley.[114] This opinion ignores the fact that even in this case the Moravians could have received salt, by the road that reached Slovakia along the Someş valley and via Szolnok. We consider that only a Bulgarian domination over the Transylvanian salt mines could explain the clause included in the treaty of 892.[115]

The Bulgarian domination over the salt mines area is illustrated by archaeological facts. The fine gray polished pottery discovered in some 9th century sites concentrated around Alba-Iulia (Alba-Iulia,[116] Blandiana,[117] Câlnic,[118] Sânbenedic,[119] Sebeş)[120] indicates the existence of a cultural enclave (this pottery is not specific for the rest of the Transylvanian cemeteries and settlements, but is common

in the Lower Danubian area, where it is known as the Dridu B type). A similar pottery was also found in the south-eastern corner of Transylvania, at Poian and Cernat, but in small quantities.[121]

The "runic" inscriptions made on some stones at Ditrău (Harghita County) are not necessarily of Bulgarian origin,[122] since they could have been made by the Szeklers, who possibly inherited perhaps the Türkic runic script,[123] and who were also influenced by the signs used by Romanians on tallies. Simon of Keza noted that the Szeklers had learned their writing from the Romanians (*Blacki*).[124] In fact, it is possible that the Hungarian chronicler had in mind not a real writing, but a tally script used by the shepherds. A Romanian ethnographer found significant analogies between the Szekler inscriptions and the signs used by the shepherds on their tallies.[125] Similar signs were also found on rocks from other places, including northern Moldavia, which suggests they were not necessarily Bulgarian.[126]

In the Transylvanian sites presented above researchers also found amphoroidal jugs, specific for the Dridu culture, but not for the Saltovo-Majack culture, which is also defined by the same gray pottery. This means that the settlements from Transylvania belonged to the Dridu culture. Several archaeologists have emphasized that the presence of the fine gray polished pottery and especially of the amphoroidal jugs into an isolated area in Transylvania testifies to the penetration of the Dridu culture in that area.[127]

Contrary to a quite common idea, the Dridu culture was not spread all over Romania, because the B type pottery was not found in Moldavia or in most parts of Transylvania. Only the existence of this type defines this culture, because the A type (with carved decorations) is a local form of the *Donau-Typus* pottery.[128] The Dridu culture was specific for the Lower Danubian area. Its sources were Roman, Slavic and Protobulgarian, but the result was a poliethnic culture, under the influence of the Byzantine civilization. The Dridu culture was not Romanian or Bulgarian. It was the archaeological expression of a certain level of civilization and economic life, spread in the area where the products of the pottery workshops located in the lower Danubian area could penetrate. This is the reason why this pottery was not found south of the Balkan Mountains (where the Byzantine influence was much stronger and the economy was better developed). We consider that the penetration of the pottery

produced in the Lower Danubian area into a well-defined area around Alba-Iulia (and to a lesser extent in south-eastern Transylvania) could demonstrate close contacts with Bulgaria. Both areas belong to the regions with a high density of salt mines.

Two cemeteries found at Ciumbrud and Orăştie are very significant for the problem of the Lower Danubian influences in this central part of Transylvania. The cemetery from Ciumbrud consists of 32 W–E oriented graves, set in rows. The inventory included earrings, pendants, beads, knives, but not pottery or weapons.[129] The argument for the Moravian origin of the people buried at Ciumbrud was the similarity between some earrings found in the graves and a kind of earrings said to be specific for the Moravian sites. Based on this archaeological evidence, many researchers inferred that the Ciumbrud cemetery belonged to a Moravian colony settled here for the salt traffic or to a group of refugees, expelled from Moravia because of their faith or as a consequence of the Hungarian inroads.[130]

When the Ciumbrud cemetery was published, the knowledge about the Moravian earrings was not well developed. The Nitra type (which is indeed a close analogy for the Ciumbrud pieces) had not yet been defined by B. Chropovský (in 1962). More recent studies have shown that the so-called Nitra type earrings were indeed produced in the area around Nitra, but their models were borrowed from northern Serbia. They are different from the usual adornments found in northern Moravia and Slovakia and, as supposed by Tatiana Štefanovičová, they could indicate an immigration of a southern Slavic group in the Nitra area, sometime in the second half of the 9th century, after the troubles occasioned by the expansion of Moravia under Svatopluk.[131] The analogies between the Nitra earrings and several pieces found in northern Serbia (Vinča, Kurvingrad, Prahovo) were also remarked long ago, and explained as the result of the cultural unity shaped by the Great Moravian state.[132] Other earrings of the Nitra type were found in cemeteries from Wallachia (Obârşia Nouă, Sultana), Moldavia (Arsura, Răducăneni), and Bulgaria (Trojan, Galice).[133] This shows that the earrings discovered at Ciumbrud are not necessary Moravian imports. They belong to a cultural area that included Bulgaria and Greater Moravia, two areas influenced by the same Byzantine civilization. For this reason some researchers con-

sider that the cemetery of Ciumbrud is Bulgarian, not Moravian, and that the earrings testify to a Bulgarian influence.[134] The anthropological analysis indicated that most of the skeletons were of Mediteranoid type,[135] which fits better with a Lower Danubian origin.

A similar cemetery was found at Orăştie–Dealul Pemilor, point X8. Ten inhumation graves with a W–E orientation were found in the excavations done in 1991–1994. The bones were so badly preserved that an anthropological analysis was not possible. Only the inventory can suggest the gender and the age of some skeletons. Seven graves have an inventory, consisting of bronze lock-rings (*Kopfschmuckringe*), glass beads, silver earrings, lead and bronze pendants, bronze necklaces, and an iron knife.[136] The chronology and the typology of the lock-rings show that the cemetery was used in the 9th century, by a population that had relations with the area of the Köttlach culture, i.e. with the West Slavic environment. The inventory presents many similarities with that of the Ciumbrud cemetery, and for this reason the excavators called their discovery a "necropolis of the Ciumbrud type." The most interesting pieces are five silver earrings, found together in grave number 7 (the richest in the cemetery). They have hammered crescent pendants with small ovoid subpendants. This type of earrings is in the Byzantine fashion (evolved from the earrings with a star-shaped pendant), but it was found in many sites in the area of Moravia. Similar earrings are also known at Ciumbrud, but also at Sultana. As well as those from Orăştie, they were hammered and not cast, like the crescent-shaped earrings typical for the Köttlach culture.[137]

Such crescent-type earrings were also found in the cemetery Alba-Iulia II,[138] a site defined by a significant presence of the fine gray polished pottery and by a large amount of graves with Christian features. These earrings were associated with the pottery of Lower Danubian fashion, not present in Moravia or Slovakia. The Dridu B pottery coexisted with crescent-type earrings in the 9th century cemetery Alba-Iulia II. In the same cultural group we can include the cemetery of Ghirbom–Gruiul Măciuliilor, dated in the 9th century on the basis of the gold earrings that can be included in the Nitra type.[139]

Another artifact specific for the Lower Danubian area but also for Moravia is the lead interlaced circular pendant. These pendants

were found at Ciumbrud and Orăştie.[140] Another one comes from Berghin (near the cemetery of Ghirbom–Gruiul Măciuliilor). This kind of pendants was used between the 9th and the 11th century, mostly in north-eastern Bulgaria. The new piece from Berghin seems to be later than those from Ciumbrud and Orăştie, because its ornamentation indicates a relationship with the pieces dated in the last decades of the 10th century and in the 11th century.[141] Even so, the pendant from Berghin suggests that the contacts between the area around Alba-Iulia and the Lower Danubian region continued after the restoration of the Byzantine administration.

The earrings and pendants found around Alba-Iulia indicate the inclusion of this area into a space of cultural exchanges that encompassed the Lower Danubian region and Moravia. The circulation of these prestige goods in all these areas was a consequence of the trade that linked them, namely, the salt trade. The above-mentioned salt embargo affected a significant amount of this trade and, therefore, an outcome that meant exchange of other goods.

The sites that provided artifacts with Bulgarian analogies can be ascribed to a population originated from Bulgaria or with strong relations with this kingdom.[142] However, it is highly probable that Bulgaria exerted its domination with the help of the local population paying tribute, Romanian and Slavic. This indirect control seems to be a general feature for all the North-Danubian regions dominated by Bulgaria. It involved the delegation of the power to subjected or allied populations settled in the peripheral areas. Some researchers consider that the North-Danubian territories were ruled by a kind of governors that enjoyed a certain autonomy (for instance, Glad).[143] The same could be true for Transylvania.

The pair of 9th century Frankish spurs from Tărtăria (Alba County) were not necessary brought from Moravia;[144] they belong to a group of pieces arrived in Transylvania from the eastern Frankish possessions, just like the Köttlach type earrings from Sălacea and Zalău.[145] The same grave discovered at Tărtăria included weapons of Frankish origin: a sword, a spearhead and a javelin head.[146] The grave was located a few kilometers from the settlement of Blandiana. Other 9th century spurs were found in the settlement from Iernut (Mureş County), together with horse gear and weapons and, very significantly, with pottery made on the fast wheel.[147] It must be said that Iernut is not too far from another salt area (the mines of Praid and

Ocland). This association between salt mines and spurs is significant for the relation between salt trade and warfare.[148] We have already seen that a local military elite appeared in Transylvania during the Avarian domination. These sedentary warriors introduced the use of spurs. After the Bulgarian expansion, they turned to the new masters, preserving their position and military skills. The Frankish spurs were imported in this area as a consequence of the good Frankish-Bulgarian relations. The grave from Tărtăria can be ascribed to one of those warriors who defended the salt road on the Mureș valley. It seems that a control point was established between Blandiana and Tărtăria.[149]

The center of the Bulgarian Transylvanian enclave was the former Roman city of Apulum (Alba-Iulia), where two cemeteries with graves dated in the 9th and 10th centuries (Alba-Iulia II and Iuliu Hossu Street[150]), and a settlement from the same period were researched. Around this center are concentrated other cemeteries with graves that respected the Christian rite (Blandiana A, Ciumbrud, Orăștie, Sebeș), which represent another group than the Mediaș type of cemeteries, defined by the prevalence of cremation.[151] **These cemeteries can be seen as a distinct cultural group, called by us Alba-Iulia–Ciumbrud**. Unlike K. Horedt and R. R. Heitel, we consider that the cemetery from Ciumbrud can be included in the same group with Alba-Iulia II and Blandiana A, although it has no pottery.

The survival of the Roman fortress wall at Apulum was the reason why this place became the center of the polity. The street network of the Roman city was also preserved[152] in the settlement dated between the second half of the 9th century and the first decades of the 10th century, located inside the former camp and which yielded a large amount of Dridu B type pottery. Its cemetery (Alba-Iulia II) includes many graves with Christian features. The most interesting discovery from Alba-Iulia is the round chapel or baptisterium (*rotonda*), identified underneath the 12th century church during excavations made by Radu R. Heitel. This monument shows the existence of a power center, whatever the ethnic origin of its ruler.[153] It was ascribed first to the Byzantine mission carried out in 948 by Bishop Hierotheos, but we have shown that the area where he preached was located elsewhere, which means that the monument from Alba-Iulia could have had another origin. Taking into account the

Frankish model of this kind of chapel and the archaeological context,[154] the building of the monument could also be placed in the 9th century, during the Bulgarian domination.

The old Romanian name of Alba-Iulia was *Bălgrad*. It was supposed that this name of Slavic origin was given because the ancient ruins made of white stone still existed in the Early Middle Ages.[155] Of course, this can be true, but we know that other such Roman ruins were still visible (for instance, at Sarmizegetusa) and they were not called in the same way. Nobody thought until now that a relation can be established between this name and the other Belgrade, the former Singidunum. Belgrade was in the 9th century a Bulgarian border town. If we admit that the Transylvanian Bălgrad also belonged to Bulgaria, then we can suppose that this pair of names is not a coincidence. The color white can refer to the position of the cities, because for the Türkic populations, the West was symbolized by this color.[156] The Bulgarians continued to preserve Türkic traditions and institutions even after their Christianization. Our opinion is that both fortresses received their name because they were placed in the western corners of the Bulgarian state.

The Transylvanian Bălgrad was the residence of the ruler who exerted power on behalf of Bulgaria. It is possible that this power center emerged just after the breakdown of the Avarian qaganate, as a polity organized by the local Romanian and Slavic population, subjected by Bulgaria after some time, most probably in the 830s.[157]

The Mureş River was the northern limit of the territory dominated by Bulgaria in Transylvania.[158] The most advanced point was perhaps Ocna-Mureş, the salt mine located near the Ciumbrud cemetery. There is a significant concentration of Old Bulgarian place-names in the area between Mureş and the Southern Carpathians.[159] A small creek called Preslav on the territory of Ohaba village[160] is located just a few kilometers east of the cemeteries of Berghin and Ghirbom. This unusual place-name that recalls the name of the Bulgarian capital was therefore preserved in the area that yielded artifacts with close Bulgarian analogies. The cemetery and the settlement from Blandiana are located in a place called *Ţeligrad* or *Ţiligrad*, whose name comes from the Old Slavic word *celi* "whole." The same place-name is attested in two other cases in Transylvania, near the medieval fortress of Cetatea de Baltă and at Dăbâca.[161] We do not know why the inhabitants gave this name to the hill of Blandiana, since no fortress exists there.
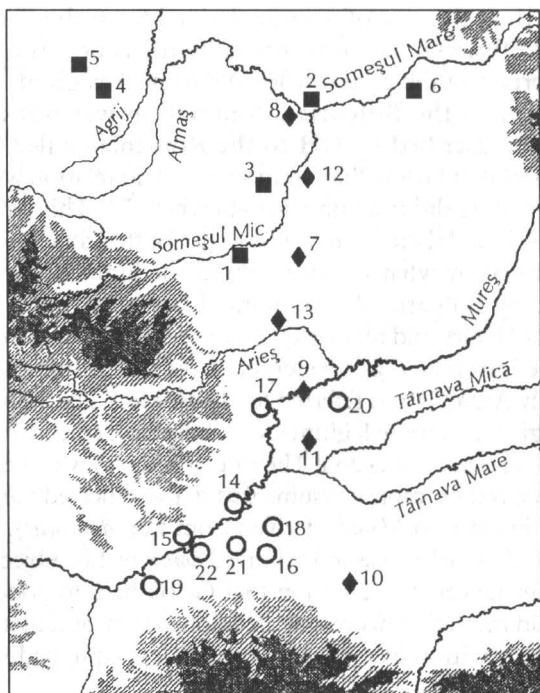
*Map 5.* The fortresses from north-western Transylvania
and the Alba-Iulia–Ciumbrud group

■ = Fortresses
O = Cemeteries and settlements
   of the Alba-Iulia–Ciumbrud
   group
♦ = Salt mines

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 = Cluj-Mănăştur | 10 = Ocna Dejului |
| 2 = Cuzdrioara | 11 = Ocna-Mureş |
| 3 = Dăbâca | 12 = Ocna Sibiului |
| 4 = Moigrad | 13 = Ocnişoara |
| 5 = Ortelec | 14 = Sic |
| 6 = Şirioara | 15 = Turda |
| 7 = Şimleul Silvaniei | 16 = Alba-Iulia |
| 8 = Viile Tecii | 17 = Blandiana |
| 9 = Cojocna | 18 = Câlnic |
| | 19 = Ciumbrud |
| | 20 = Ghirbom–Gruiul Măciuliilor |
| | 21 = Orăştie |
| | 22 = Sânbenedic |
| | 23 = Sebeş |
| | 24 = Tărtăria |

However, the existence of a name derived from the Slavic word that means "fortress" suggests that the settlement was considered quite important in the period when the name was given.

It results that **the Bulgarian domination was not extended to the region ascribed by GH to the Romanian ruler Gelou**. It was remarked that Gelou "has no master and no relation with somebody else, and he did not come for elsewhere."[162] This results from GH, c. 24–27, and there is no reason to doubt this conclusion, which is corroborated by what we know about the limits of the territory dominated by Bulgaria. As we pointed out in chapter III. 1, the Anonymous Notary said that Gelou was a *dominus* (*dominium tenebat*). This can be interpreted as sovereignty over the people and the territory. (Only Arpad is also referred to as *dominus*.) The author of GH wished to give thus some legitimacy to Tuhutum, considered by him the rightful successor of Gelou. The title of *dominus* was used for sovereign rulers, but we cannot assume that it also reflected the medieval Romanian institution (*domn*, derived from Lat. *dominus*), although it is possible that Gelou was indeed called *domn* by his subjects. Under these circumstances, the assertion that Gelou had no good fighters (c. 25) could mean that his vassals abandoned him, and that the army remained only with the common peasants, less equipped with weapons.[163]

The analysis of the data recorded by GH in comparison with other sources and with the archaeological finds allowed us to prove that a Romanian and Slavic polity emerged in the region of the Someşul Mic valley, around Cluj, sometimes in the 9th century. Its birth and development were made possible by the salt traffic. This free territory was perhaps inhabited by what Alfred the Great called "Dacians," in his geographical description written in 890: "east of the country of Carinthia, beyond the wilderness [*westenne*,[164]] is Bulgaria, and east of it is Greece; and east of Moravia is the Vistula country, and east of it are the Dacians, who were formerly Goths."[165] Of course, this population was not the same with the ancient Dacian one. The name was geographic, and it was given by the author according to its source, Orosius. The existence of a distinct "Dacian" polity results from the explanation provided by Alfred: "the Dacians, who were formerly Goths."[166] For the early medieval authors, such ethnic labels reflect the rule over a territory and not the population itself. If the

Goths were the masters in the time of Orosius, things changed in the age of Alfred. The new masters are called with the old name of the province.

The Anonymous Notary stated that the population of the duchy ruled by Gelou consisted of Romanians and Slavs. There is no reason to doubt this. A discussion about the presence of the Romanians in north-western Transylvania before the first Hungarian conquest requires the examination of the toponymy of the Someşul Mic basin and of the neighboring areas.

The Daco-Romanian continuity cannot be proved—as many still believe—by archaeological finds without the support of other kinds of arguments. Contemporary archaeological theories emphasize that any attempt to distinguish ethnic features in artifacts should consider that the association between an object and an ethnic label is in most cases uncertain or even impossible.[167] For Transylvania,[168] the debate on the ethnic labels of the archaeological material concerns especially the pottery dated between the 7th and the 10th century. In fact, we already saw that what the Romanian archaeologists are calling "the Dridu A type of pottery" is a local variant of the ceramics made on the slow wheel, spread all over Central and Eastern Europe since the 8th century (the *Donau-Typus*), which continues late Roman types. In no way can this pottery be associated with a single ethnic group.[169] In Transylvania, just like in other regions of present-day Romania, it can be ascribed to any sedentary population, but not to a particular group (Slavs or Romanians).

Small objects of Byzantine origin, like earrings or buckles, are spread over the same large area and are not useful for ethnic identification, unless they were brought here from elsewhere, by Avars or Hungarians. The Christian objects can indicate the presence of the Romanized population, but they disappear in Transylvania after the 7th century. Only two Christian objects were found in 10th century Transylvania: a pectoral cross from Dăbâca, a Byzantine import, whose date is not sure (it can be from the 11th century), and another bronze cross discovered in cemetery no. II from Alba-Iulia, dated in the 10th century.[170] More suitable for ethnic identifications are the cemeteries, but even in this case the situation is delicate. The preponderance of cremation graves and the small percentage of graves with a Christian orientation among those of inhumation do not fit

with the idea of a predominance of the Romance population in Transylvania. Most cemeteries belong to the Mediaş group, a local variant of the funeral discoveries spread over large areas in Slavic Central Europe,[171] and there is no clear evidence for the existence of a non-Slavic population on the basis of the funeral rite or of the inventory of these graves from Transylvania.

It is very difficult, if not impossible, for archaeology to distinguish between ethnic groups, if several peoples with similar civilization features inhabited the same territory. The presence of the Romanians in Transylvania should be investigated by other means. For instance, the association in the same area of archaeological artifacts with telling features specific to that area, but absent in the rest of the region where the Romanian ethnogenesis is supposed to have taken place, can be significant for ethnic identification. The Roman technique of the fast wheel pottery, unknown to the Slavs who used the *Donau-Typus*, was preserved in Transylvania, Banat and Crişana (and occasionally in Oltenia and Wallachia) in 8th–9th century settlements. The recent researches of Ioan Stanciu seem to prove that this kind of pottery was made by the local population of Roman origin.[172] Long before him, Maria Comşa had observed that the continuity of the Romance population explains the preservation of this superior ceramics.[173] The territory of the duchy ruled by Gelou is included in the region where this pottery was used in the 8th–9th centuries. One of the sites with such ceramics is Dăbâca.[174] Other settlements from the same area with significant amounts of pottery made on the fast wheel are: Ocniţa (Bistriţa-Năsăud County),[175] Popeni-Cuceu (Sălaj County),[176] and Suceag (west of Cluj-Napoca). In the latter, the pottery was associated with a star-shaped silver earring dated in the 7th or 8th century.[177] Finally, a settlement dated in the 8th–9th centuries from the area of the former Roman camp of Potaissa (Turda) provided other such sherds.[178]

In the same area where this pottery was preserved are attested words of Latin origin like: *ai < alium* ("garlic"), *arină < arena* ("sand"), *pedestru < pedester* ("poor"), *june < iuvenis* ("young"), *păcurar < pecorarius* ("shepherd"), *nea < nivis* ("snow"), which are not used in other regions of Romania. They are concentrated on the territory of the former Roman Dacia, and this can reflect its continuous habitation. Such a coincidence can enforce the opinion that

the pottery made on the fast wheel belonged to the Romance/Romanian population.

All north-Danubian subdialects of the Daco-Romanian language originated in Transylvania, from where the speakers spread centrifugally. Based on this evidence, several scholars located an ethnogenesis kernel around the Western Carpathians, in Transylvania.[179] This conclusion is very important for our study, because it emphasizes the role of the area around the Western Carpathians in the survival of Romanism in Transylvania. The Anonymous Notary's account about the Transylvanian Romanians concerns roughly the same area. Most of the river names of Dacian or Latin origin inherited without a Slavic intermediate form are located in the west of Transylvania, Crişana and Banat: *Criş, Timiş, Bârzava, Ampoi, Gălpâia* (a village that recalls the rivername *Gilpil*, Crişul Negru), and perhaps *Mureş, Someş* and *Olt*.

Within the area involved in GH, c. 24–27, the name *Someş* is ancient, recorded in the Roman period as a place-name, *Samum* (perhaps Căşei, Cluj County). Some researchers thought that the form preserved in Romanian displays Slavic features,[180] while others considered that the derivation was made directly from Dacian, because the ending -ş of the ancient river names from Transylvania and Wallachia could not be explained by the Old Slavic language.[181] *Criş* also has an ancient name, recorded by Jordanes (*Grisia*), and then by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (Κρίσος).[182] A village near Zalău, *Gălpâia*, bears a name similar to *Gilpil*, a river name attested by Jordanes, near *Marisia* and *Grisia* (Mureş and Crişul Repede or Crişul Negru). In medieval documents, the name of the village is recorded in forms closer to the ancient one: *Galpuna* or *Gelponya*.[183] *Mureş* is also attested by Jordanes and the Anonymous Geographer from Ravenna (8th century) as *Marisia*, a form that evolved into *Moriş* (rendered by Constantine Porphyrogenitus as Μορήσης).[184] The form *Moriş* was the old Romanian one, reflected in the name *Morisena*, the residence of Achtum (Cenad). In the Western Carpathians, the river *Ampoi* (also attested in the 13th–14th centuries as *Ampei*) is also of ancient origin, *Ampelum*.[185]

There are also several place-names of undeniable Dacian or Latin origin in western Transylvania, not recorded in ancient sources (*Abrud, Albac, Ibru, Paring, Cindrel*). The most ancient place-names were

preserved especially in the highlands. They outline a region bordered by the Western Carpathians, the Banat Mountains, Retezat, Făgăraş, Maramureş, Năsăud.[186] On the other hand, in the Western Carpathians, Haţeg, Poiana Ruscă, Sebeş, Cibin, Făgăraş, Rodna, Căliman, and Ţara Loviştei researchers identified ancient terraces for the cultivation of wheat, which prove that the highlands were used for agriculture by people settled in the same mountain areas.[187] Indeed, several archaeological finds come to confirm habitation in the highlands, in the Western Carpathians, during the period discussed in this book. A kind of pottery of Roman origin and different from the common ceramics also used by the Slavs (black and rough), dated in the 8th and 9th centuries, was found in the caves of Călăţea (Aştileu commune, Bihor County, on the Crişul Repede valley) and Sura de Mijloc (Crăciuneşti, Băiţa commune, Hunedoara County).[188] A fortification placed on a promontory of the Părcaşul Peak (elev. 1,094 m) was identified in the Gilău Mountains, in the Someşul Cald basin (Lăpuşteşti village). The promontory was strengthened with two defence ditches cut in the stone (4 m deep and 9 and 11 m wide). The excavations brought to light potherds from the 8th–9th centuries, similar with that found in the caves.[189] We do not know when this fort was built, but it certain that it was used before the emergence of the duchy from the Someşul Mic basin.

These facts are showing that discussing about continuity means to compare different kinds of evidence, from archaeology to linguistics and historical geography. The other problem is the need to change our view about continuity. There is no continuity without discontinuity.[190] We agree with the theory expressed by linguist Alexandru Niculescu, about the so-called "mobile continuity": a *Romania antiqua*, where the Romanized people survived, and whence Romanians spread in the Slavized areas. *Romania antiqua* was composed of several islands, the most important located in central and western Transylvania.[191] This innovative outlook is more convincing than the usual statements about the Romanian continuity north of the Danube. Even so, we can conclude that the existence of the Romanian population in the duchy described in GH, c. 24–27 can be considered real.

If north-western Transylvania was controlled by a polity developed by the Romanian and Slavic inhabitants, the region south of

the Mureș entered under the domination of Bulgaria. The end of this Bulgarian domination was placed by some historians in the very moment of the Hungarian migration to Pannonia,[192] but this is impossible, since we saw that Alba-Iulia was conquered by Hungarians only after the 930s.[193] If the Bulgarian territories from Wallachia survived most probably until 971, those from Banat and Transylvania were lost as a consequence of the Hungarian inroads started in 934. There is no evidence for the existence of local rulers subordinated to Bulgaria after Glad.[194] Both regions changed allegiance from south to west. It is true that the Bulgarians were still presented as the eastern neighbors of the Hungarians across the Danube in a passage from *De Administrando Imperio*, c. 40, written around 950, but the date of the source used by Constantine Porphyrogenitus is not certain. For instance, it can be placed in 927, when a monk named Gabriel visited the Hungarians,[195] and when Bulgaria indeed stretched east of the Danube, in Banat and Transylvania.

The recent idea expressed by a young Bulgarian scholar from the USA that the Hungarian chief established at Bălgrad accepted the Bulgarian sovereignty lacks supporting evidence.[196] He tried to extend as much as possible in space and time the Bulgarian domination north of the Danube, sometimes with valid arguments, but sometimes with exaggerations.[197] More plausible seems to be the opinion of F. Makk, who supposed that the local Bulgarian ruler from Bălgrad remained in power under Hungarian control (he located at Alba-Iulia the residence of Kean, the duke from the period of Stephen I, allied with Gyula).[198] A similar idea was put forward by G. Kristó: Kean was a ruler of Bulgarian origin from southern Transylvania, who became independent and who was subjected by Stephen I in 1003; on his territory the Alba County was organized.[199]

Anyhow, even if this Kean was indeed a duke somewhere in Transylvania,[200] this does not mean that his territory was still under the domination of Bulgaria. The campaign against Kean took place after the victory over Gyula. A more precise date is given by a 16th century Turkish chronicle based on older Hungarian sources: in the third year after the coronation of Stephen I, that is in 1003 or 1004. In this source, the ruler Kan is called "king of the Bulgarian province."[201]

The Hungarian conquest of the territory previously mastered by Bulgaria led to the penetration of the Bjelo Brdo culture in this

area. The most important evidence comes, not surprisingly, from Alba-Iulia, where this culture is represented by the cemeteries Alba-Iulia III and Iuliu Hossu Street, located on the sites of previous necropolises.[202] Other cemeteries dated in the same period were found at Blandiana (B),[203] Orăştie–Dealul Pemilor point X2,[204] and Deva.[205] They belonged to the people subjected to the Hungarian rulers settled at Alba-Iulia, before the conquest of King Stephen I, and continued to be used after this event.

# Conclusion

One of the fiercest adversaries of the theory of the Romanian continuity in Transylvania, Lajos Tamás, wrote in 1936: "Grace à une sorte de complicité tacite personne en Roumaine n'a encore songé de soumettre la chronique de l'Anonyme à un examen raisonné et critique, leur attitude adopté à cet égard continue d'étre entachée des mêmes erreurs initiales qui, pour des raisons étrangéres à la science, en sont venues à se cristalliser en dogmes censés irréfutables."[1]

Lajos Tamás was wrong, because some thorough studies·had already been published before 1936, by Dimitre Onciul and Nicolae Iorga. The latter, although a supporter of the theory of the Romanian continuity in Transylvania, shared a very critical attitude toward GH, dismissing the data about Gelou and the other characters mentioned only in this source. Published in French in 1921, his study was ignored by Tamás. On the other hand, Lajos Tamás was right because the information about Romanians from GH was often seen as a kind of dogma by Romanian historians. Some books, especially written in the 1970–1980s, used it without any critical enquiry (for instance, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, by Ştefan Pascu, 1971, or the first volume of *Istoria militară a poporului român*, 1984). Today, this type of approach must disappear. The source should be carefully examined in order to distinguish what is real and what is forgery or distortion. This was the purpose of our book.

What are the conclusions? The analysis of several fragments of GH has demonstrated that this work is generally credible, even if it ignores important events and characters and even if it makes some chronological mistakes. The reliable data is confirmed by the

archaeological evidence or by comparison with other written sources. One such element concerns the presence of Romanians in Pannonia in the age of the Hungarian conquest. But the most important conclusion is that the account about the conquest of the "land beyond the forests" from c. 24–27 combines data taken from oral traditions with invented facts. The inventions were introduced in order to legitimize the rights of the Hungarian kings over Transylvania (the conqueror and the oath taken by the local inhabitants). However, Gelou was a real person and his name could be considered authentic. The real form of the name was *Gelău* or *Gilău*.

The conquest of north-western Transylvania by a Hungarian chieftain during the 10th century is confirmed by archaeology. The discovery in Cluj of a group of Old Hungarian graves of men, women and children shows that the conquerors first settled in this place. From Cluj, they advanced south, occupying the polity previously subjected to Bulgaria, centered at Alba-Iulia. Although Cluj is not mentioned in GH, the relation suggests that the events took place in the vicinity of this city. In the same area we still find place-names that recall the names of the Hungarian chiefs Gyula and Zombor, and the place-name Gilău that recalls Gelou. The data from the c. 24–27 is generally confirmed by the archaeological researches. The residence of Gelou is not specified in GH, but the discoveries from Cluj could provide a clue for its location, in the ruins of the former Roman town of Napoca (*castrum Clus*). It cannot be a mere coincidence, as István Bóna believed.[2]

Our viewpoint on the chronology of the first Hungarian conquest of Transylvania differs from the usual one, but it is not new. It was first presented by Vasile Pârvan. We consider that the events occurred in the 930s. If our hypothesis is correct, then the fortresses from Dăbâca, Cluj-Mănăştur and Şirioara could be dated during the period of Gelou. On the other hand, not a single one of them could be certainly dated to the 9th century. The only certain fact is that the Romanians and the Slavs from the region of Cluj managed to develop a polity sometimes around 900, taking under their control the neighboring salt mines and the road toward the Meseş Gates.

# Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AAnt | *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest. |
| AArch | *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest. |
| AECO | *Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis*, Budapest. |
| AIIA–Cluj | *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi Arheologie*, Cluj-Napoca. |
| AMed | *Arheologia Medievală*, Reşiţa and Brăila. |
| AMN | *Acta Musei Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca. |
| AMP | *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, Zalău. |
| AO | *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest. |
| AR | *Alba Regia*, Székesfehérvár. |
| Arozh | *Archeologické Rozhledy*, Prague. |
| ARP | A. Lengyel and G. T. B. Radan, eds., *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, Budapest–Lexington, 1980. |
| ATS | *Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis*, Sibiu. |
| *Awarenforschungen* | *Awarenforschungen* (Archaeologia Austriaca. Studien zur Archäologie der Awaren, 4), 2 vols., Wien, 1992. |
| *Baiern* | W. Katzinger and G. Marckhgott, eds., *Baiern, Ungarn und Slawen im Donauraum* (Forschungen zur Geschichte der Städte und Märkte Österreichs, 4), Linz, 1991. |
| BB | *Byzantinobulgarica*, Sofia. |
| *Byzance et ses voisins* | *Acta Universitatis de Attila József Nominatae. Opuscula Byzantina*, 9 (*Byzance et ses voisins. Mélanges à la mémoire de Gyula Moravcsik à l'occasion du centième anniversaire de sa naissance*), Szeged, 1994. |

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| ByzSl | *Byzantinoslavica*, Prague. |
| *Central Europe* | *Central Europe in 8th–10th Centuries. International Scientific Conference, Bratislava October 2–4, 1995*, Bratislava, 1997. |
| *Cronica 1994* | Comisia Naţională de Arheologie. *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice. Campania 1994* (A XXIX-a Sesiune Naţională de Rapoarte Arheologice, Cluj-Napoca, 1995). |
| *Cronica 1996* | Comisia Naţională de Arheologie. *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice. Campania 1996* (A XXXI-a Sesiune Naţională de Rapoarte Arheologice, Bucureşti, 1997). |
| *Cronica 1999* | Comisia Naţională de Arheologie. *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România. Campania 1999* (A XXXIV-a Sesiune Naţională de Rapoarte Arheologice, Deva, 2000). |
| *Cronica 2001* | Comisia Naţională de Arheologie. *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice. Campania 2001* (A XXXVI-a Sesiune Naţională de Rapoarte Arheologice, Buziaş, 2002). |
| *Cronica 2002* | Comisia Naţională de Arheologie. *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România. Campania 2002* (A XXXVII-a Sesiune Naţională de Rapoarte Arheologice, Sfântu Gheorghe, 2003). |
| *Cronica 2003* | Comisia Naţională de Arheologie. *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România. Campania 2003* (A XXXVIII-a Sesiune Naţională de Rapoarte Arheologice, Cluj-Napoca, 2004). |
| *Cyrillo-Methodiana* | M. Hellmann and R. Olesch, eds., *Cyrillo-Methodiana. Zur Frühgeschichte des Christentums bei den Slawen, 863–1963* (Slawistische Forschungen, 6), Köln–Graz, 1964. |
| DAW | *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften*, Wien: <br> – vol. 145 (1980): H. Wolfram and F. Daim, eds., *Die Völker an der mittleren und unteren Donau im fünften und sechsten Jh.* <br> – vols. 179–180 (1985): H. Friesinger and F. Daim, eds., *Die Bayern und ihre Nachbarn (I–II)*. <br> – vol. 287 (2000): W. Pohl and H. Reimitz, eds., *Grenze und Differenz im frühen Mittelalter.* |
| DR | *Dacoromania*, Cluj. |
| EB | *Études Balkaniques*, Sofia. |
| EBP | *Études byzantines et post-byzantines*, Bucureşti, Iaşi. |
| EN | *Ephemeris Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca. |

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|---|---|
| ESY | *Eurasian Studies Yearbook. International Journal of Northern Eurasia*, Bloomington. |
| *Ethnische* | D. Bialeková and J. Zábojnik, eds., *Ethnische und kulturelle Verhältnisse an der mittleren Donau vom 6. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert*, Bratislava, 1996. |
| *Europe's Centre* | A. Wieczorek and H.-M. Hinz, eds., *Europe's Centre around AD 1000: Contributions to History, Art and Archaeology*, Stuttgart, 2000. |
| FA | *Folia Archaeologica*, Budapest. |
| *Forschungen über Siebenbürgen* | K. Benda, ed., *Forschungen über Siebenbürgen und seine Nachbarn. Festschrift für Attila T. Szabó und Zsigmond Jakó*, 2 vols., München, 1987. |
| *Frontiers* | W. Pohl, I. Wood, and H. Reimitz, eds., *The Transformation of Frontiers from Late Antiquity to the Carolingians*, Leiden, Boston, 2001. |
| GHA | W. Menghin, ed., *Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren. Schätze der Völkerwanderungszeit. Katalog*, Nürnberg, 1987. |
| *Les Hongrois et l'Europe* | S. Cernus and K. Korompay, eds., *Les Hongrois et l'Europe: conquête et intégration*. Colloque, juin 1997, organisé par l'Université de Szeged, JATE; Paris III-Sorbonne nouvelle, CIEH; l'Institut hongrois de Paris, Paris, 1999. |
| *Hungaro-Bulgarica* | *Hungaro-Bulgarica, V. Szegedi Bolgarisztika*, Szeged, 1994. |
| IIR | Gh. Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele Istoriei Românilor*, Bucureşti: |
| | vol. 1: *Faptele ungurilor, de secretarul anonim al regelui Bela*, 1934. |
| | vol. 2: *Descrierea Europei Orientale, de Geograful Anonim*, 1934. |
| | vol. 4: *Cronica ungurilor, de Simon de Keza*, 1935. |
| | vol. 7: *Cronica lui Nestor*, 1935. |
| | vol. 11: *Cronica pictată de la Viena*, 1937. |
| JPME | *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve*, Pécs. |
| KVSL | *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Braşov. |
| MAI | *Mitteilungen des archäologischen Instituts der ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (since 1986, *Antaeus. Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*), Budapest. |

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|---|---|
| MN | *Muzeul Național*, București. |
| *Les questions* | *Les questions fondamentales du peuplement du Bassin des Carpathes du VIIIe au Xe siècle* (Mitteilungen des Archaeologisches Instituts der Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Beiheft 1), Budapest, 1972. |
| RA | *Revista Arhivelor*, București. |
| REH | *Revue des Études Hongroises*, Paris. |
| *Relations* | M. Constantinescu, Șt. Pascu, and P. Diaconu, eds., *Relations between the Autochthonous Population and the Migratory Populations on the Territory of Romania*, București, 1975. |
| *Rep. Cluj* | I. H. Crișan, M. Bărbulescu, E. Chirilă, V. Vasiliev, and I. Winkler, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Cluj*, Cluj, 1992. |
| RESEE | *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, București. |
| RI | *Revista istorică*, București. |
| RRH | *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, București. |
| *Russian Chronicle* | *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. and eds. S. Hazzard Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, Cambridge (Mass.), 1973. |
| SCIV(A) | *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie)*, București. |
| *Settimane* | *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto. |
| SHS | *Studia Historica Slovaca*, Bratislava. |
| SlArch | *Slovenská Archeológia*, Bratislava. |
| SOF | *Südost-Forschungen*, München. |
| SRH | E. Szentpétery, ed., *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, 2 vols., Budapest, 1937–1938. |
| TR | *Transylvanian Review*, Cluj-Napoca. |
| UAJ | *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher. Internationale Zeitschrift für Nord-Eurasien*, Wiesbaden. |
| UJ | *Ungarn-Jahrbuch. Zeitschrift für die Kunde Ungarns und verwandte Gebiete*, München. |
| UJb | *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, Berlin–Leipzig. |
| *Die Völker* | B. Hänsel, ed., *Die Völker Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jh.*, München, 1987. |
| ZSL | *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Wien. |

# Notes

## Introduction

1. Lucian Boia, *Istorie și mit în conștiința românească*, București, 1997 (English translation: *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness*, Budapest, 2001). A response was published by Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Istoria, adevărul și miturile (note de lectură)*, București, 2002.
2. Popa 1991, 154–188. A German abridged version: R. Popa, "Die Geschichte Rumäniens um das Jahr 1000. Bemerkungen und Berichtigungen," ZSL, 15, 1992, 1, 11–30.
3. Pop 1996.
4. A similar case is the debate occasioned by the so-called "Chronicle of Monemvasia," a short text written around 900 that recorded the settlement of the Slavs in the Peloponnese. It was used by modern historians to confirm or deny the role played by the Slavs in the medieval Greek ethnogenesis and the Greek continuity from Antiquity to the Middle Ages.
5. See the remarks on the political impact over historiography in Brezeanu 1991, 14–81; idem, *La continuité daco-romaine. Science et politique*, Bucarest, 1984.
6. We are using this form because it is the most frequent in the source (10 of 13 instances), and because—as we shall prove—it is accurate from a linguistic point of view. The name *Gelu* entered in the Romanian onomastics from the poem "Moartea lui Gelu" (The Death of Gelu), first published by George Coșbuc in 1898 in the journal *Literatura și arta română*.
7. Gh. Șincai, *Hronica Românilor*, in *Opere*, 1, ed. F. Fugariu, București, 1967, 263–266.
8. Petru Maior, *Istoria pentru începutul românilor în Dacia*, 1, ed. F. Fugariu, București, 1970, 156–190.

9. M. Kogălniceanu, *Histoire de la Valachie, de la Moldavie et des Valaques transdanubiens* (1837), in *Opere*, 1, ed. A. Oţetea, Bucureşti, 1946, 84–85.

10. A. Papiu-Ilarianu, *Istoria Romaniloru din Dacia Superiore*, 1, Wien, 1852, 8–12.

11. A. D. Xenopol, *Teoria lui Roesler. Studii asupra stăruinţei românilor în Dacia Traiană*, Iaşi, 1884, 96–106; idem, *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiană*, 1, Bucureşti, 1985, 359–376.

12. *Chronicon Anonymi Belae Regis Notarii. Gesta Hungarorum (Cronica Notarului Anonim al regelui Bela "Faptele Ungurilor")*, translated from Latin by Mihail Beşan, Sibiu, 1899.

13. Onciul 1968, 1: 144–145, 176–192, 463–469.

14. Pârvan 1990, 23–64.

15. I. Bogdan, "Originea voievodatului la români" (1902), in *Scrieri alese*, ed. G. Mihăilă, Bucureşti, 1968, 166.

16. Iorga 1921, 205–214; Iorga 1989, 32; Iorga 1993, 34–37.

17. Brătianu 1972, 105–112; Brătianu 1980, 187–225.

18. Drăganu 1933.

19. Decei 1978, 15–117.

20. Pascu, Rusu, and others 1968, 161, 180.

21. Rusu M. 1975, 204.

22. Horedt 1986, 132–133.

23. Horedt 1958b, 109–131.

24. Curta 2001, 141–165.

25. Heitel 1983, 93–94.

# Part I

## Chapter 1

1. Hóman 1925, 125–164; Brătianu 1980, 193–195; Mályusz 1969, 53; Brezeanu 1991, 297–305; Brezeanu 1996, 16–17.

2. E. Jakubovich, in SRH, 1: 16; Silagi, Veszprémy 1991, 1, 3.

3. It is possible that the words *bene memorie* were inserted by the copist who transcribed the single available manuscript (Szovák 1991, 16). In this case, the work itself could be dated during the reign of that king called Bela.

4. Györffy 1972, 211.

5. Onciul 1968, 1: 176–184, 466–469.

6. E. Jakubovich, in SRH, 1: 22–25.

7. Eckhardt 1925, 295–297.

8. Brătianu 1980, 212–213; Brătianu 1972, 106–112.
9. Brezeanu 1996, 18.
10. SRH, 1: 81 = Silagi, Veszprémy 1991, 92/93 (c. 38) = IIR, 1: 52, 104.
11. Brătianu 1972, 110–111; Brătianu 1980, 212–213. The same interpretation at Kapitánffy 1994, 75 (who otherwise shares a later date, around 1200).
12. For these campaigns, Moravcsik 1970, 78, 81; P. Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier: A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204*, Cambridge, 2000, 206–209, 233–237.
13. Brezeanu 1996, 37, footnote 16.
14. E. Jakubovich, in SRH, 1: 25.
15. Juhász 1929, 208–214.
16. L. Szilágyi, in SRH, 2: 631–634; Macartney 1953, 62–63; Horváth 1970, 371–412; Horváth 1971, 347–382; Györffy 1972, 211–226; Moravcsik 1969, 168; Deér 1971, 35–39; Szovák 1991, 2; Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 2; Kapitánffy 1994, 76; Veszprémy 2000, 577. The older historians are enumerated by Györffy 1972, 211.
17. Macartney 1940, 148–149; Macartney 1953, 82–83; Deér 1971, 53–56.
18. Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 169, endnote 232.
19. SRH, 1: 35, 96, 99, 101 = Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 32/33, 110/111, 114/115, 116/117 = IIR, 1: 25, 60, 62, 63, 73, 113, 115, 116.
20. B. Hóman, "Geschichtliches im Nibelungenlied," UJb, 3, 1923, 3, 200; F. P. Magoun Jr., "Geographical and Ethnic Names in the *Nibelungenlied*," *Medieval Studies. Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies* (Toronto), 7, 1945, 96–97; Deér 1971, 34–37; Boba 1990, 60–63; Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 140–141, footnote 27; Kristó 1996, 80–81.
21. Kristó 1996, 80.
22. Györffy 1972, 220–221.
23. Hóman 1925, 158; Eckhardt 1925, 296; Sólyom 1966, 85, 92–94; Deér 1971, 45; Györffy 1972, 216; Veszprémy 2000, 577.
24. Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 136, endnote 6.
25. Kapitánffy 1994, 76.
26. Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 1–2; Kristó 1996, 71; Z. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century* (East European Monographs, 439), Boulder, 1996, 3–5, 305; P. Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*, London, New York, 2001, 11.
27. Györffy 1972, 226.
28. L. Szilágyi, in SRH, 2: 631–634; Horváth 1971, 349.

29. G. Sebestyén, *Ki volt Anonymus?*, Budapest, 1898 (apud Drăganu 1933, 10); Horváth 1971, 347–348; Rusu M. 1982, 360; Szovák 1991, 9–16.

30. Sólyom 1966, 84–94; Horváth 1971, 349, 373–375.

31. Horváth 1971, 350–371.

32. Szovák 1991, 4, footnote 19.

33. Iorga 1993, 34–35.

34. Quoted by Györffy 1972, 213–214.

35. Macartney 1953, 44, 62, 87; Györffy 1972, 214.

36. Györffy 1972, 212–213.

37. J. Harmatta, "Érudition, tradition orale et réalité géographique (Le récit sur l'exode des Hongrois chez Anonyme)," AAnt, 27, 1979, 1–3, 291–303.

38. Géza Karsai, "Az Anonymus kódex első levele," *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 84, 1968, 42–51 (apud L. Demény, "O contribuţie valoroasă cu privire la identificarea lui Anonymus," RA, 12, 1969, 1, 316–317 and Marsina 1984, 35, footnote 20).

39. O. Süpek, "L'oeuvre et la personne de l'Anonymus hongrois," *Études finno-ougriennes*, 22, 1989–1990, 191–214.

40. H. Stanca, "O nouă ipoteză istorică: Cronicarul Anonymus… un român?" *Noi, Tracii* (Milano), 4, 1978, 48, 1–6.

## Chapter 2

1. G. Kristó, "La conquête hongroise (réalité et tradition)", in *Les Hongrois et l'Europe*, 147.

2. Macartney 1953, 59 observed that "his manner is much rather that of a romantic novelist than a historian." Similar remarks at Marsina 1984, 43.

3. Hóman 1925, 125–164.

4. Guenée 1980, 346–348; Veszprémy 1999, 262–263.

5. The reference work for the oral tradition is Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*, London, 1965. For the anti-chronological character of the oral traditions, see A. van Gennep, *La formation des légendes*, Paris, 1917, 161–162, 166–169; M. Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return, or Cosmos and History*, Princeton, 1965, especially 37–44; A. Fochi, *Estetica oralităţii*, Bucureşti, 1980, 11–76; idem, *Cîntecul epic tradiţional al românilor*, Bucureşti, 1985, 14–15.

6. Hóman 1925, 134.

7. Guenée 1980, 67, 83–84; N. Kersken, "The Origins of National Historiography in the High Middle Ages: Widukind of Corvey, Gallus

Anonymus, Cosmas of Prague, *Gesta Hungarorum*," in *Europe's Centre*, 572–575.

8. SRH, 1: 34 = Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 30/31 = IIR, 1: 24. This scepticism toward the legends was remarked by Hóman 1925, 159–160; Macartney 1953, 64; Mályusz 1969, 68; Guenée 1980, 67. See also Brezeanu 1996, 36, footnote 9. The relation from c. 42 (about a Hungarian inroad that reached the Golden Gate at Constantinople in 934) is considered true by Fasoli 1945, 161; Moravcsik 1970, 60; Oikonomides 1973, 1.

9. Veszprémy 1999, 260–268 (especially 260–261).

10. Hóman 1925, 141–144; Brătianu 1980, 193–195; Mályusz 1969, 69–70; Györffy 1972, 217; Brezeanu 1996, 17–18.

11. Hóman 1925, 162.

12. Ibidem, 160.

13. Macartney 1953, 75.

14. Macartney 1940, 210.

15. Brezeanu 1996, 37, footnote 16 (GH, c. 12).

16. SRH, 1: 104 = Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 118/119 = IIR, 1: 64, 118 (c. 51).

17. Macartney 1940, 211; Macartney 1953, 66; Panaitescu 1969, 230; Mladjov 1998, 109, 118.

18. SRH, 1: 109 = Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 124/125 = IIR, 1: 121.

19. SRH, 1: 307 (*Chr. Hung. comp. saec. XIV*); 2: 64–65 (*Chr. Monacense*), 142 (*Chr. Henrici de Mügeln*); IIR, 11: 143–144.

20. SRH, 1: 92–93 = Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 108/109 = IIR, 1: 59, 112.

21. Oikonomides 1973, 1–8.

22. Runciman 1969, 104–105; Moravcsik 1970, 59–60.

23. Györffy 1965, 27–53.

24. According to G. Györffy, GH was written at the beginning of the 13th century.

25. The fictitious character of all these person names was also supported by Marsina 1984, 47; Makkai 1987, 35–36.

26. Boba 1989, 450–451.

27. SRH, 1: 48 = Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 52 = IIR, 1: 34, 83. English translation after Deletant 1991, 343.

28. Onciul 1968, 1: 187, 583; Iorga 1921, 209; Decei 1978, 66–67; Moravcsik 1969, 169; Spinei 1990, 132; Boba 1990, 47–48; Kristó 1994, 11; Székely 1994, 57; Spinei 2003, 59.

29. Boba 1990, 37–43, 63–73.

30. Sós 1973, 12; Beševliev 1981, 235–236; Pohl 1988, 322; Mladjov 1998, 96.

31. Horedt 1958a, 126; Brezeanu 1984, 123; Fodor 1984a, 47; Schwarcz 2000, 100–101; Szalontai 2000, 265.

32. Bulin 1968, 168–170; Sós 1973, 12–13, 18–19; Beševliev 1981, 284–286; Pohl 1988, 327; Bálint 1991, 100; Schwarcz 2000, 102–104.

33. The so-called *Timociani* took refuge in the Frankish Pannonia because their land was occupied by Bulgaria. See *Annales Regni Francorum*, a. 818 (*Fontes ad Historiam Regni Francorum Aevi Karolini illustrandam*, ed. R. Rau, Berlin, 1960, 1: 116); Bulin 1968, 173; Decei 1978, 51; Pohl 1988, 327.

34. Beševliev 1981, 286; Schwarcz 2000, 103–104.

35. Hóman 1940, 1: 89; Bulin 1968, 168–170; Sós 1973, 12–13, 18; Makkai 1987, 36; Havlík 1989, 16; Bóna 1990, 103; Bálint 1991, 100. Szalontai 2000, 268-274 has demonstrated that no archaeological data can support the Bulgarian domination in the region between the Danube and the Tisza.

36. Mladjov 1998, 105 claims that the anachronisms from GH "diminished, rather than exaggerated the Bulgarian presence north of the Danube."

37. Kristó 1996, 177–178.

38. Moravcsik 1969, 167–174. The same opinion was shared by Székely 1994, 56–57.

39. Iorga 1921, 209; Brătianu 1972, 111; Brătianu 1980, 213; Székely 1994, 57. Another hypothesis links the name *Salan* with the Turkic word *Čalan* ("proud"): D. Pais, in SRH, 1: 48, footnote 8; Györffy 1965, 39.

40. D. Angelov, *Die Entstehung des bulgarischen Volkes*, Berlin, 1980, 106; Beševliev 1981, 354; Dimitrov 1986, 69; Havlík 1991, 112; Mladjov 1998, 124.

41. Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, II. 7, in Gombos 1938, 2: 1470. To our knowledge, the source was quoted only by Dimitrov 1986, 72, Györffy 1985, 262 (who put it in relation with the inroad of 934), and Mladjov 1998, 123.

42. Sigebertus, *Chronographia* (written in 1100–1105), in Gombos 1938, 3: 2126. See also Albericus, *Chronicon*, ibidem, 1: 24; Helinandus, *Chronicon*, ibidem, 2: 1127. The fragment from Helinandus was considered reliable by Székely 1994, 56, who otherwise ignores the original source (Liudprand).

43. Moravcsik 1969, 173–174; Dimitrov 1986, 71–75. A different date for the Hungarian attack against Salanus was proposed by Havlík 1991, 112 (in 862, when took place the first inroad in Central Europe), but we do not have reasons to move back this event, in a period when Bulgaria was not allied with Byzantium.

44. For the chronology of the Byzantine-Bulgarian wars between 893 and 904, see I. Božilov, "À propos des rapports bulgaro-byzantins sous le tzar Symeon (893–912)," BB, 6, 1980, 73–81.

45. C. A. Macartney, "The Attack on 'Valandar'," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 8, 1930, 159–170; I. Božilov, "L'inscription du Jupan Dimitre de l'an 943 (théories et faits)", *Études Historiques*, Sofia, 6, 1973, 14; Dimitrov 1986, 75–76; Makk 1990, 12; Mladjov 1998, 120; Makk 1999, 12.

46. The date of 934 was sustained by J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge. Ethnologische und historisch-topographische Studien zur Geschichte des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts (ca. 840–940)*, Leipzig, 1903, 61–74; P. Diaconu, *Les Petchénègues au Bas-Danube*, București, 1970, 18–19; Spinei 1985, 61; Bogyay 1988, 34; Róna-Tas 1999, 291; Spinei 2003, 76.

47. Dimitrov 1986, 72–73.

48. C. G. Chotzakoglou, "Byzantinische Bleisiegel aus Ungarn," in N. Oikonomides, ed., *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, 6, Washington, DC, 1999, 63, no. 4.

49. A Leon, *patrikios kai genikòs logothétes* is known by another seal, dated in the 8th century (G. Zacos and A. Veglery, *Byzantine Leas Seals*, Basel, 1972, I/2, no. 2129).

50. See the previous chapter, endnote 10.

51. G. Bodor, "Egy krónikás adat helyes értelmezese", *Magyar Nyelv*, 72, 1926, 268–271 (apud Rásonyi 1979, 129); D. Pais, in SRH, 1: 66, footnote 4; Rásonyi 1979, 129–151. The theory was also accepted by Tamás 1936, 108; Illyés 1988, 29–30.

52. Spinei 1985, 56–57; Ciocîltan 1996, 4.

53. Györffy 1972, 221; Sulyok 1994, 95.

54. Burtea 2004, 77.

55. E. Darkó, "Die Landnahme der Ungarn und Siebenbürgen," in *Die siebenbürgische Frage. Studien aus der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart Siebenbürgens*, Budapest, 1940, 20–23.

56. Boba 1990, 45–46; Boba 1995, 95–102.

57. SRH, 1: 49–50 = Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 52/53 = IIR, 1: 34, 83.

58. Madgearu 1998, 192–199.

59. Fasoli 1945, 157–161. See also Hóman 1940, 124; Bogyay 1988, 34; Spinei 2003, 75–77.

60. Oikonomides 1973, 1–8.

61. Glück 1980, 94–95. See also Pop 1996, 124–125.

62. Rusu M. 1975, 205–206; Rusu M. 1982, 364; Mărghitan 1985, 198. Bakó 1975, 241–242 preferred the date before 924, but his arguments

are not convincing. Spinei 2003, 64 claims that the date should be placed in the first years of the 10th century, because the source says that the inroad was initiated by Arpad; the transposition of events from other times in the age of Arpad makes futile this argument.

63. Ioannes Scylitzae, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn, Berolini, 1973, 222; Theophanes Continuatus, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn, 1838, 412. See also I. Dujčev, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, 3, Roma, 1971, 201. For the context of the events, see Runciman 1969, 95–97; Moravcsik 1970, 53–55.

64. SRH, 1: 89–91 = Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 102–107 = IIR, 1: 57–58, 110–111.

65. Tamás 1936, 252; Macartney 1940, 148, 154; Györffy 1965, 45–46; Györffy 1972, 215; Deér 1971, 53–56; Deletant 1991, 337, 345; Kristó 2003, 33. We notice that Iorga 1921, 208 affirmed the same fact.

66. Brezeanu 1996, 29–31; Spinei 1990, 122–123.

67. L. Galdi, "Le nom des Roumains dans les chartes latines de Hongrie," in *Documenta historiam Valachorum in Hungaria illustrantia . . .* , Budapest, 1943, XLII, XLIV.

68. Dragomir 1959, 26, 41–42, 132, 137.

69. I. Moga, "I Romeni di Transilvania nel Medioevo," *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen*, 19, 1942, 1, 281; Ciocîltan 1996, 4.

70. Macartney 1953, 69, 73; Horváth 1970, 377; Györffy 1972, 214; Göckenjan 1972, 37; Mesterházy 1978, 322; Spinei 1985, 55; Ciocîltan 1996, 11; Spinei 2003, 51.

71. Bakó 1975, 245–248; Spinei 1990, 127; Pop 1996, 126; Spinei 2003, 63.

72. Pop 1996, 127.

73. Brătianu 1980, 212; Brătianu 1972, 110–111.

74. Macartney 1940, 116, 154; Macartney 1953, 71; Curta 2001, 144–145.

75. SRH, 2: 480–560.

76. Macartney 1938, 456–507; Bálint 1991, 116–117; Makk 1990, 15; Kristó 1993, 71; Pop 1996, 137; Makk 1999, 41; Kristó 1999, 22.

77. *Chronicon Henrici de Mugeln*, c. 3 (SRH, 2: 109–111); Pascu 1971, 84; Spinei 1985, 68; Spinei 2003, 131.

78. See a detailed discussion in A. Madgearu, "The Church Organization at the Lower Danube, between 971 and 1020," EBP, 4, Iași, 2001, 78–80.

79. Onciul 1968, 1: 584–585; G. Fehér, *Bulgarisch-ungarische Beziehungen in dem V.–XI. Jahrhunderten*, Budapest, 1921, 152–155; Hóman 1940, 168–169; Györffy 1964, 149; P. Váczy, "Some Questions of Early Hungarian History and Material Culture," *Antaeus*, 19–20, 1990–1991,

306–307. I argued for the first time this viewpoint in A. Madgearu, "Contribuţii privind datarea conflictului dintre ducele bănăţean Ahtum şi regele Ştefan I al Ungariei," *Banatica*, 12, 1993, 2, 5–12.

80. Marsina 1995, 49–50 has demonstrated that the 'Methodianists' mentioned in *Legenda Major Sancti Gerardi* still acting in Banat after the establishment of the Latin diocese were Bulgarian monks.

81. K. Juhász, *Die Stifte der Tschanader Diozese im Mittelalter*, Münster, 1927, 165–172; Drăganu 1933, 227; D. Pais, in SRH, 1: 49, footnote 7; Suciu 1967, 1: 157; Györffy 1975, 126–127, 151 (fig. 17); Glück 1980, 85; Rusu M. 1975, 243; T. Halasi-Kun, "The Realm of Glad/Gilad, Precursor of Ajtony, According to Some Ottoman Data," in *Turkic-Bulgarian-Hungarian Relations (VI$^{th}$–XI$^{th}$ Centuries)* (Studia Turco-Hungarica, 5), Budapest, 1981, 113–116.

82. P. Iambor, "Contribuţii documentare privind unele aşezări româneşti din vestul ţării la începutul feudalismului," AMN, 17, 1980, 165.

83. Ioannes Kinnamos, *Chronique*, trans. J. Rosenblum, Paris, 1972, 22 (I. 4); G. Györffy, "Das Guterverzeichnis des griechischen Klosters zu Szávaszentdemeter (Sremska Mitrovica) aus dem 12. Jh.," *Studia Slavica*, 5, 1959, 1–2, 9–74.

84. Suciu 1967, 2: 355.

85. K. Mesterházy, "Die ethnischen Probleme des Gebietes östlich der Theiß im 9 Jh.," in *Rapports du IIIe Congrès International d'Archéologie Slave*, Bratislava, 1979, 1: 539–541; Szöke 1988, 199–201. The most important settlement was recently published: H. Hajnalka, *Die frühmittelalterliche Siedlung von Örménykút 54*, 1 (Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, 14), Budapest, 2004, but without comments on the origin of this type of pottery.

86. Györffy 1985, 237–238.

87. Schulze-Dörrlamm 1988, 444; eadem, "Bemerkungen zum Beginn der ungarischen Landnahme," in *Ethnische*, 364.

88. Havlík 1991, 108; Kristó 1996, 150; S. Nikolov, "The Magyar Connection or Constantine and Methodius in the Steppes," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 21, 1997, 79–92; Spinei 2003, 50.

89. Györffy 1985, 237–238; Kristó 1996, 179. The identification with the Kavars is also accepted by Göckenjan 1972, 39; Spinei 2003, 50–51, 61.

90. K. Mesterházy, "Die Landnahme der Ungarn aus archäologischer Sicht," in M. Müller-Wille and R. Schneider, eds., *Ausgewählte Probleme europäischer Landnahmen des Früh- und Hochmittelalters*, 2 (Vorträge und Forschungen, 41), Sigmaringen, 1994, 50–57.

91. I. Boba, "Commentationes ad Anonymi Belae Regis *Gesta Hungarorum*," in *Varia Eurasiatica. Festschrift für Professor András Róna-Tas*, Sze-

ged, 1991, 19–20 supposed that *Cozar* were a Slavic group moved from northern Croatia, but their existence is doubtful.

92. Iorga 1993, 24, footnote 17.

93. *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, ser. C (Transylvania), 10, Bucureşti, 1977, 394.

94. Györffy 1965, 46. See also Macartney 1940, 212; Deletant 1991, 345. The same opinion was shared by Iorga 1921, 213, who denied the credibility of the work of the Anonymous Notary. The anachronism was also accepted by Pârvan 1990, 50.

95. Regino, *Chronica*, a. 889 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, 1, Hannoverae, 1826, 600). For the importance of this chronicle, see H. Göckenjan, "Die Landnahme der Ungarn aus der Sicht der zeitgenössigen ostfränkisch-deutschen Quellen," UAJ, Neue Folge, 13, 1994, 9–13.

96. SRH, 1: 114–115 = Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 130–131 = IIR, 1: 70, 123–124. For the event, see E. A. Khalikova, "Composant ethnique commun dans les populations de Bulgarie de la Volga et de la Hongrie du X$^e$ siècle," in *Les questions*, 190; Mesterházy 1972, 195–206; Le Calloc'h 2002, 15. Berend 2001, 65 denied the reliability of this information.

97. I. Fodor, "Archaeological Traces of the Volga Bulgars in Hungary of the Arpad Period," AO, 33, 1979, 3, 315–325 (who emphasized that the event was recorded by the Anonymous Notary). The analogy proposed by Fodor was accepted by M. Takács, *Die arpadenzeitlichen Tonkessel in Karpatenbecken*, Budapest, 1986, 135.

98. Váczy 1990–1991, 253.

99. Makkai 1987, 36–37, 45.

100. N. Pétrin, "Caranthani Marahenses: Philological Notes on the Early History of the Hungarians and the Slavs," ESY, 70, 1998, 39–48.

101. SRH, 1: 77–79 = Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 88/89–90/91 = IIR, 1: 50–52, 102–104.

102. Györffy 1965, 47; Ratkoš 1968, 198; Marsina 1984, 48; Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 165, footnote 208; J. Steinhübel, "Nitraer Fürstentum und der Untergang Großmährens," in *Central Europe*, 204–205. Instead, Macartney 1940, 206-207 agreed that the story could have something real in it.

103. Boba 1988, 13–17. The idea was accepted by Ch. R. Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians and Magyars: The Struggle for the Middle Danube 788–907*, Philadelphia, 1995, 256–257.

104. Macartney 1953, 37.

105. Deletant 1991, 347.

# Part II

## Chapter 1

1. SRH, 1: 45–46 = Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 48/49 = IIR, 1: 32, 81.
2. E. Moór, "Ungarische Flußnamen," UJb, 6, 1926, 4, 436; Drăganu 1933, 15; Gamillscheg 1943, 270.
3. SRH, 1: 48 = Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 52/53 = IIR, 1: 34, 83.
4. Macartney 1940, 160; Györffy 1965, 31; Deletant 1991, 341; Sulyok 1994, 104; Boba 1995, 98–99; Kristó 2003, 33; Burtea 2004, 78, footnote 55.
5. Schünemann 1926, 454; Gherghel 1926, 387; Drăganu 1933, 15–16; D. Pais, in SRH, 1: 45–46, footnote 7; Decei 1978, 82, footnote 2; Brătianu 1980, 200; Armbruster 1993, 38–40; Brezeanu 1996, 27; Pop 1996, 84–87; Pillon 2002, 113.
6. Hóman 1925, 141.
7. For the genesis of this Macrinus, see Macartney 1940, 192; Györffy 1965, 35.
8. SRH, 1: 157 = IIR, 4: 32, 80. English translation after Deletant 1991, 340.
9. SRH, 1: 162–163 = IIR, 4: 37, 85.
10. SRH, 1: 269, 281= IIR, 11: 12, 17, 126, 131, *Chr. Budense, Chr. Pictum Vindobonense, Chr. Dubnicense*; SRH, 2: 25, 30, *Chr. Posoniense*; SRH, 2: 126, *Chr. Henrici de Mügeln*.
11. See the previous chapter, endnotes 52–53.
12. Macartney 1953, 95–105; Kristó 1996, 71–72, 78–81; Veszprémy 1999, 261, 266; Róna-Tas 1999, 424; Berend 2001, 204–206.
13. SRH, 1: 162–163 = IIR, 4: 37, 84. The translation follows the Romanian translation of I. I. Russu, *Românii şi secuii*, Bucureşti, 1990, 45, 46, footnote 4—who has demostrated that *sortem habuerunt* means "received a part," not "had the same fate." The fragment was also inserted in the 14th century chronicles: SRH, 1: 279 = IIR, 11: 16, 130.
14. Armbruster 1993, 31.
15. Brezeanu 1991, 295, 310; Brezeanu 2002, 72–73.
16. Ş. Papacostea, *Between the Crusade and the Mongol Empire: The Romanians in the 13th Century*, Cluj-Napoca, 1998, 300.
17. Moór 1929, 65–66; Tamás 1936, 250–251.
18. Pârvan 1990, 41; Brezeanu 1996, 27; Ciocîltan 1996, 5.
19. SRH, 1: 45–46, 94, 97–98, 103 = Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 48/49, 108/109, 112/113, 116/117 = IIR, 1: 32, 59, 61, 63.
20. Gherghel 1926, 388–389; Drăganu 1933, 16, 22–23; Decei 1978, 82, footnote 4.

21. Schünemann 1926, 455–457; Brătianu 1980, 200–201; Brezeanu 1991, 290–291; Brezeanu 1996, 22; Pop 1996, 85.

22. J. Jung, *Römer und Romanen in den Donauländern. Historisch-ethnographische Studien*, Innsbruck, 1887, 257–314; H. Wolfram, "Ethnogenesen im frühmittelalterlichen Donau- und Ostalpenraum (6. bis 10. Jh.)," in H. Beumann and W. Schröder, eds., *Frühmittelalterliche Ethnogenese im Alpenraum*, Sigmaringen, 1985, 115–116, 138–145.

23. Schünemann 1926, 455; Moór 1929, 65, 250–251; Kniezsa 1936, 215–217; Gamillscheg 1943, 272–276. Hóman 1940, 86 thought they were shepherds arrived from northern Italy.

24. SRH, 1: 163 = IIR, 4: 86.

25. Sós 1973, 149–151; Heitel 1983, 109.

26. A. Pleidell, *A Magyar várostörténet első fejezete*, Budapest, 1934, 79 (apud Tamás 1936, 250); Lozovan 1969, 240; Decei 1978, 82; Sós 1973, 82.

27. *De Administrando Imperio*, 29.

28. The idea was sustained by D. Pais, in SRH, 1: 98, footnote 1; Györffy 1965, 36–37, 50; Boba 1990, 46–48; Deletant 1991, 343; Boba 1995, 99; Eggers 2000–2001, 12; Burtea 2004, 78, footnote 55.

29. Macartney 1940, 156.

30. Brezeanu 1991, 302–303; Brezeanu 1996, 21.

31. Brezeanu 1991, 290; Brezeanu 1996, 22, 28.

32. Onciul 1968, 1: 228; 2: 153; Decei 1978, 75–80; Panaitescu 1969, 128–129; Spinei 1990, 128–129; Pop 1996, 83–84; Spinei 2003, 60. D. Dvoichenko-Markov, "The Russian Primary Chronicle and the Vlachs of the Eastern Europe," *Byzantion*, 49, 1979, 175–187 is a mere compilation of the previous discussions.

33. *Russian Chronicle,* 52.

34. IIR, 7: 33. The same interpretation at Gyóni 1949, 64.

35. See the explanations of J. N. Ščapov, N. V. Sinicyna, "La Rome antique et médiévale dans les textes russes du XIe au XVIe s. Étude sur le sens des mots russes 'Rim', 'Rimskij' et 'Rimljanin'," in *La nozione di "Romano" tra cittadinanza e universalità* (ser. "Da Roma alla Terza Roma. Studi," 2), Napoli, 1984, 487.

36. *Russian Chronicle*, 52–53 = IIR, 7: 34.

37. The fragment between right brackets which appears only in some manuscripts was omitted in the American translation. See Gyóni 1949, 74, 80; Decei 1978, 76–77, footnote 4.

38. *Russian Chronicle*, 55 = IIR, 7: 38.

39. *Russian Chronicle*, 62 = IIR, 7: 46.

40. Gyóni 1949, 82–92 (who quotes other supporters of this theory). This viewpoint was also shared by Györffy 1965, 49; G. Kristó, "Konstantinos Porphyrogenitos über die Landnahme der Ungarn," in G. Prinzing and M. Salamon, eds., *Byzanz und Ostmitteleuropa 950–1453. Bei-*

*träge zu einer Table-Ronde des XIX International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Copenhagen 1996* (Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik, 3), Wiesbaden, 1999, 20; Boba 1995, 99; Eggers 2000–2001, 9; Kristó 2003, 32.

41. Gyóni 1949, 73–77.
42. See chapter I. 2. endnote 5.
43. Gyóni 1949, 81.
44. Decei 1978, 75, footnote 1.
45. L. Niederle, *Manuel de l'antiquité slave*, 1, Paris, 1923, 55–56; *Russian Chronicle*, 235, footnote 29. See also Gyóni 1949, 68 (where he mentioned the supporters of this interpretation).
46. Gyóni 1949, 70.
47. Györffy 1965, 33; Spinei 1990, 129 (with previous bibliography).
48. SRH, 1: 163 = IIR, 4: 37, 85.
49. Pascu 1971, 50.
50. Sulyok 1994, 98.
51. The source was edited by O. Górka, *Anonymi descriptio Europae orientalis. Imperium Constantinopolitanum, Albania, Serbia, Bulgaria, Ruthenia, Ungaria, Polonia, Bohemia. Anno MCCCVIII exarata*, Cracoviae, 1916. See also Tamás 1936, 253–254; G. Popa-Lisseanu, in IIR, 2: 5–12; Macartney 1940, 110; Brătianu 1980, 201.
52. IIR, 2: 27, 53.
53. IIR, 2: 17, 42. English translation after Deletant 1991, 340.
54. IIR, 2: 29, 55–56.
55. SRH, 1: 153–154 = IIR, 4: 78.
56. SRH, 1: 149–150 = IIR, 4: 74–75. Without any reason, Sulyok 1994, 105 supposes that those ten kings represent the number 'ten' that exists in the name 'Onogur.'
57. SRH, 1: 66 = Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 76/77 = IIR, 1: 44, 95.
58. Drăganu 1933, 17–18; Brezeanu 1996, 30. The West Slavic origin of the form was also sustained by Macartney 1940, 212.
59. Gh. Popa-Lisseanu, in IIR, 2: 8–9; Drăganu 1933, 22; Decei 1978, 81; Gh. Brătianu, *O enigmă și un miracol istoric, poporul român*, București, 1988, 81, 103; Armbruster 1993, 41–42; Brezeanu 1991, 259; Pop 1996, 87–88; Pillon 2002, 113–115.
60. B. P. Hasdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae*, 3, București, 1976, 24–25.
61. G. G. Litavrin, *Sovety i Rasskazy Kekaumena. Sochinenie Vizantijskogo polkovodtsa XI veka*, Moscow, 1972, 268.
62. N. Djuvara, "Sur un passage controversé de Kekaumenos," RRH, 30, 1991, 1–2, 23–66 (with previous bibliography).
63. Ioannes Zonaras, *Lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis . . .* , ed. J. A. H. Tittmann, 2, Leipzig, 1808, 1495.

64. S. Brezeanu, "*Mésiens* chez Nicétas Choniate. Terminologie archaïsante et réalité ethnique médiévale," EBP, 2, Bucarest, 1991, 109–110.

65. See Moravcsik 1958, 244, at which it can be added a fragment from the "Geography" of Nikephor Blemmydes (C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, Paris, 1861, 2: 460).

# Chapter 2

1. Sometimes, in the medieval sources, *Pannonia* includes the area between the Danube and the Tisza, which remained outside the Roman province.

2. The Huns settled between the Danube and the Tisza in the second decade of the 5th century, but they occupied the Roman territory west of the Danube in 433 (Barkóczi 1980, 119). For the delayed penetration of the Avars west of the Danube: Salamon and Sós 1980, 406; Tóth 1987, 254. The Hungarians in the same way acted (Sós 1973, 64–65, 175–177).

3. Mócsy 1974, 100–101. See also Mehedinţi 1940, 36.

4. L. Someşan, *Câmpia Tisei ca barieră etnică*, Bucureşti, 1943.

5. Philippide 1923, 508–517.

6. Stein 1949, 305, 309; Mirković 1977, 41–43, 47–51; I. Popović, "Notes topographiques sur la région limitrophe entre la Pannonie Seconde et la Mésie Première," in P. Petrović, ed., *Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube* (Cahiers des Portes de Fer, Monographies 2), Belgrade, 1996, 140–141.

7. H. Mihăescu, *La romanité dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe*, Bucureşti, 1993, 153. See also C. Tagliavini, *Le origini delle lingue neolatine*, 6th ed., Bologna, 1972, 188–189; Rosetti 1986, 81.

8. Ivănescu 1980, 177–180; Rosetti 1986, 322; M. Sala and Gh. Mihăilă, "Cristalizarea limbii române," in Academia Română. *Istoria românilor*, 3, *Genezele româneşti*, Bucureşti, 2001, 109–121.

9. Jireček 1901, 1: 20.

10. Philippide 1923, 854.

11. H. Mihăescu, *La langue latine dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe*, Bucarest-Paris, 1978, 50. See also E. Condurachi and Gh. Ştefan, "La romanité orientale," in *Nouvelles Études d'Histoire*, 4, Bucarest, 1970, 17; Ivănescu 1980, 71; Rosetti 1986, 200.

12. I. I. Russu, "Graniţa etnică intre traci şi illiri," *Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice* (Cluj-Sibiu), 4, 1941–1943, 73–147.

13. Petrovici 1970, 59–60. See also Panaitescu 1969, 116–117; V. Arvinte, "Limita de vest a teritoriului romanizat de la baza limbii române," *Anuar de lingvistică şi istorie literară* (Iaşi), 20, 1969, 5–17.

14. Ivǎnescu 1980, 70–71.

15. Mócsy 1974, 354.

16. Decei 1978, 82, footnote 4.

17. Sági 1970, 150; Mócsy 1974, 291–312; Barkóczi and Salamon 1984, 168–169; Christie 1996, 75–77, 79–80.

18. Várady 1969, 33–277; Mócsy 1974, 340–348; Barkóczi 1980, 116–119; Fülep 1984, 280–284; Müller 2000, 245.

19. Mócsy 1974, 350; Mirković 1977, 47; J. W. Eadie, "City and Countryside in Late Roman Pannonia: the Regio Sirmiensis," in R. L. Hohlfelder, ed., *City, Town and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Era* (East European Monographs, 120), New York, 1982, 25–42; Bóna 1987, 117–118.

20. Várady 1969, 278–324; Mócsy 1974, 349–350; Barkóczi 1980, 119–120; Salamon and Sós 1980, 397–398.

21. Stein 1949, 55, 145, 156; Várady 1969, 325–367; Šašel 1979, 131–134; Pohl 1980, 288–294; Salamon and Sós 1980, 402–403; Bóna 1987, 122.

22. Stein 1949, 309, 528; Mirković 1977, 51–52, 56–58; Šašel 1979, 137; Salamon and Sós 1980, 404–405; Pohl 1988, 58–76.

23. Christie 1996, 93.

24. Pohl 1980, 282; Pohl 1992, 20–22.

25. Christie 1996, 80.

26. Fülep 1984, 275.

27. Alföldi 1924, 1: 6–20; Mócsy 1974, 343; K. Póczy, "Pannonian Cities," in ARP, 246, 250; Fülep 1984, 280–283; Christie 1996, 80–81; Zsidi 1997–1998, 588; Müller 2000, 244.

28. V. Popović, "Desintegration und Ruralisation der Stadt im Ost-Illyricum vom 5. bis 7. Jh. n. Chr.," in D. Papenfuss and V. M. Stracka, eds., *Palast und Hütte. Beiträge zur Bauen und Wohnen im Altertum*, Mainz, 1982, 552.

29. E. B. Vágó and I. Bóna, *Die Gräberfelder von Intercisa. I. Das spätrömische Südostfriedhof*, Budapest, 1976, 208–209; M. Grünewald, "Zum spätrömischen Fundstoff im Legionslager Carnuntum," DAW, 145, 1980, 31; Barkóczi and Salamon 1984, 184; Christie 1996, 78.

30. A. Mócsy, ed., *Die spätrömische Festung und das das Gräberfeld von Tokod*, Budapest, 1981, 43–44. The same situation was observed at Carnuntum (rudimentary walls from the first half of the 5th century; the former camp turned to a refuge place used until the 9th–10th centuries: M. Kandler, "Archäologische Beobachtungen zur Bau geschichte des Legionslager Carnuntum am Ausgang der Antike," DAW, 145, 1980, 87).

31. Alföldi 1926, 2: 31; Tóth 1987, 256.

32. Sági 1970, 148.
33. Sági 1961, 397–459; Sági 1970, 194–195; Sós 1973, 142–143; Müller 1987, 270–273; Tóth 1987, 258–261; Müller 1996, 127–132; Müller 2000, 248; F. Curta, "Limes and Cross: the Religious Dimension of the Sixth-Century Danube Frontier of the Early Byzantine Empire," *Starinar*, NS, 51, 2001 (2002), 57–58; Gáspár 2002, 53–57.
34. Sági 1961, 415–429; Barkóczi 1968, 275–311; Sági 1970, 147–196; Barkóczi and Salamon 1971, 150–152; Sós 1973, 142–143; Tóth 1987, 256; Müller 1987, 270–272.
35. Sági 1970, 160, 193–194; Müller 1987, 272; Pohl 1988, 269; Müller 1996, 132–133.
36. Fülep 1984, 285–300; Gáspár 2002, 76–91.
37. Sós 1973, 149; Gáspár 2002, 91.
38. Tóth 1976, 89–118.
39. E. Tóth, "Vigilius episcopus Scaravaciensis," AArch, 26, 1974, 3–4, 269–275; Müller 2000, 246.
40. L. Eckart, "Die Kontinuität in der Lorcher Kirchenbauten mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kirche des 5. Jhs.," DAW, 145, 1980, 25.
41. Bóna 1968, 611; Pohl 1988, 91; Müller 2000, 245–246.
42. G. Székely, "Roman Heritage and Medieval Development in Hungarian Urban Life," AAnt, 21, 1973, 339.
43. Barkóczi and Salamon 1984, 161–162.
44. Bóna 1968, 606.
45. Tóth 1980, 98; Thomas 1987, 285.
46. Barkóczi 1968, 293. The name *Bonosa* indicates that the woman believed in the Bonosiac heresy, spread in the Danubian area in the 5th–6th centuries. For this heresy and for this type of hairpins, see M. Mirković, "Episcopus Aquensis and Bonosiacorum scelus," in D. Srejović, ed., *The Age of Tetrarchs*, Belgrade, 1995, 207–216; N. Zugravu, *Geneza creștinismului popular al românilor*, București, 1997, 424, 442.
47. E. Tóth, "An Early Byzantine Stone Sculpture from Felsődörgicse," FA, 25, 1974, 161–177; Thomas 1975–1976, 116–117; Tóth 1980, 98–99; Thomas 1987, 290–294; Vida 1998, 530–532.
48. I. Kovrig, "Remarks on the Question of the Keszthely Culture," *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, 85, 1958, 1, 66–74. The discoidal brooches (*Scheibenfibeln*) were Christian objects brought by pilgrims. See Thomas 1987, 293 and Kádár 1995, 886–887.
49. Alföldi 1926, 2: 40–56.
50. A. Kiss, "Die Stelllung der Keszthely-Kultur in der Frage der römischen Kontinuität Pannoniens," JPME, 1967 (1968), 49–59; Fülep 1984, 289–290; Müller 1992, 251–307; R. Müller, "Über die Herkunft

und das Ethnikum der Keszthely-Kultur," in *Ethnische*, 75–82; Müller 2000, 246–249.

51. V. Turčan, "Burials of Goldsmiths of the 6th–7th Centuries A.D. in the Carpathian Basin," ARozh, 36, 1984, 5, 489; Pohl 1988, 192–194; Pohl 1992, 20–21; A. Avenarius, "Struktur und Organisation der Steppenvölker," in *Popoli delle Steppe: Unni, Avari, Ungari (Settimane*, 35, 1987), Spoleto, 1988, 1: 138–139; Pillon 2002, 126–128.

52. A. Kiss, *Avar Cemeteries in County Baranya*, Budapest, 1977, 22–23, 120–121, 155. See also the remarks of V. Bierbrauer, in his review in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 73, 1980, 1, 106.

53. U. Ibler, "Pannonische Gürtelschnallen des späten 6. und 7. Jhs.," *Arheološki Vestnik*, 43, 1992, 135–148; V. Varsik, "Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen im mittleren und unteren Donauraum im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert," SlArch, 40, 1992, 1, 85–89; A. Madgearu, "Despre cataramele de tip 'Pápa' şi unele probleme ale secolului al VII-lea," SCIVA, 44, 1993, 2, 172–177; Madgearu 1997, 44, 63, 118, 151, 154, 155.

54. F. Daim, "Byzantine Belts and Avar Birds. Diplomacy, Trade, and Cultural Transfer in the Eighth Century," in *Frontiers*, 143–188.

55. Sós 1961, 295–296, 304; Sós 1973, 138–139.

56. Sós 1961, 247–305; Sós 1973, 143; Müller 1996, 135–136.

57. Kiss 1966, 100; Mócsy 1974, 354; Tóth 1977, 113.

58. D. Pais, "Survivances slavo-hongroises du *castellum* romain," *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 4, 1954, 3–4, 269–283; Sós 1973, 149.

59. Tóth 1977, 112.

60. Panaitescu 1969, 120–121; Lozovan 1969, 223; Madgearu 1997, 131–137, 196–197.

61. The basic work remains N. Iorga, "La 'Romania' danubienne et les barbares au VIᵉ siècle," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 3, 1924, 1, 33–50. See also idem, *Études byzantines*, 1, Bucarest, 1939, 205–221.

62. Similar forms of organization were described in several isolated European regions. See P. Stahl, "'Pays' et communautés de vallée. Exemples roumains et européennes," RESEE, 37, 1998, 3–4, 151–172.

63. J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'Empire Romain*, Paris, 1918, 139–140; H. Berg, "Bischöfe und Bischöfssitze im Ostalpen- und Donauraum vom 4. bis zum 8. Jh.," DAW, 179, 1985, 85–88.

64. Kahl 1980, 79.

65. Vida 1998, 534–536.

66. Gh. Şincai, *Hronica Románilor*, in *Opere*, 1, ed. F. Fugariu, Bucureşti, 1967, 226.

67. M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus* . . . , 1, Parisiis, 1740, col. 1222.

68. For instance, V. Pârvan, "Contribuţii epigrafice la istoria creştinismului daco-roman" (1911), in idem, *Studii de istoria culturii antice*, ed. N. Zugravu, Bucureşti, 1992, 197.

69. Among them: D. Stănescu, *Originea creştinismului la români*, Bucureşti, 1891, 42, 55–56; M. Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, 1, Bucureşti, 1980, 181–182; Rusu M. 1984, 184.

70. I. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* . . . , Venetiae, 1770 (reprinted at Paris, 1902), vol. 13, col. 141–142, 367–368, 387–388, 732.

71. J. Darrouzès, "Listes épiscopales du Concile de Nicée (787)," *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 33, 1975, 24–25.

72. The conclusions of J. Darrouzès were shared by E. Popescu, "Die kirchliche Organisation Südosteuropas am Ende des 8. Jhs.," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum*, 20, 1988, 345–353 (= idem, *Christianitas daco-romana. Florilegium studiorum*, Bucureşti, 1994, 401).

73. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 13, col. 925; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Concilia, II, Concilia Aevi Karolini*, 1: 176. For the significance of the concilium, see H. Reimitz, "Conversion and Control: The Establishment of Liturgical Frontiers in Carolingian Pannonia," in *Frontiers*, 199–203.

74. Kiss 1966, 112; Tóth 1977, 111; Fülep 1984, 293; Tóth 1987, 263–264; Thomas 1987, 294; Pohl 1988, 204–205; Müller 2000, 249.

75. H. Gründmann, "Litteratus-illiteratus: Der Wandel einer Bildungsnorm vom Altertum zum Mittelalter," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 40, 1958, 1, 4–6.

76. P. Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200–1000*, Oxford, 2003, 449.

77. R. Müller, "Die Keszthely-Kultur," in F. Daim, ed., *Reitervölker aus dem Osten: Hunnen + Awaren. Begleitbuch und Katalog. Burgenländische Landesausstellung 1996*, Eisenstadt, 1996, 266.

78. J. Macurek, "La mission byzantine en Moravie au cours des années 863–865 et la portée de son héritage dans l'histoire de nos pays et de l'Europe," in *Magna Moravia. Commentationes ad memoriam missionis byzantinae ante XI saecula in Moraviam adventus editae*, Prague, 1965, 22; Rusu M. 1973, 200; Rusu M. 1984, 194; Pop 1996, 46.

79. Gyóni 1949, 70; F. Zagiba, "Die Missionierung der Slaven aus 'Welschland' (Patriarchat Aquileja) im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert," in *Cyrillo-Methodiana*, 274; H. Löwe, "Cyrill und Methodius zwischen Byzanz und Rom," in *Gli Slavi occidentali e meridionali nell'alto medioevo (Settimane*, 30/2, 1982), Spoleto, 1983, 652; Boba 1995, 96.

80. I. Bóna, "*Cundpald fecit* (Der Kelch von Petőháza und die Anfänge der bairisch-fränkischen Awarenmission in Pannonien)," AArch, 18, 1966, 279–325; Bóna 1985, 149–151; Kahl 1980, 33–81; Salamon and Sós 1980, 418–419.

81. The source was noticed by Gombos 1938, 3: 2555, 2297 (taken up without other comments by Tóth 1977, 112, footnote 35).

82. *Acta Sanctorum, Martii,* 1, Paris–Rome, 1865, 87–89 (Monanus, at March, 1$^{st}$) and 324–326 (Adrianus, at March, 4$^{th}$).

83. Ibidem, 87. See also Hector Boethius, *Historia Scotorum,* in Gombos 1938, 2: 1126.

84. J. P. Migne, *Dictionnaire hagiographique,* 2 (*Encyclopédie Théologique,* 41), Paris, 1850, col. 507.

85. Thomas 1975–1976, 116; Kádár 1995, 886; Gáspár 2002, 123.

86. A. Kollautz, *Denkmäler byzantinischen Christentums aus der Awarenzeit der Donau länder,* Amsterdam, 1970, 38.

87. K. Godlowski, "Das Aufhören der germanischen Kulturen an der mittleren Donau und das Problem des Vordringes der Slawen," DAW, 145, 1980, 225–232; P. Barford, *The Early Slavs: Culture and Society in Early Medieval Eastern Europe,* Ithaca, 2001, 56–58.

88. *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum,* c. 6, in *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici,* 3, Brno, 1969, 302–303. See also 298 (c. 3): *Huni Romanos et Gothos atque Gepidos de inferiori Pannonia expulerunt.*

89. Bóna 1968, 607.

90. Regino, *Chronica,* a. 889 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores,* 1, Hannoverae, 1826, 600).

91. Bulin 1968, 152–164, 175–194; Sós 1973, passim; Salamon and Sós 1980, 416–418. For Mosapurc see also B. M. Szöke, "The Carolingian Civitas Mosapurc (Zalavár)," in *Europe's Centre,* 140–142.

92. Moór 1929, 250; Tamás 1936, 250; J. Deér, "Karl der Grosse und der Untergang der Awarenreiches," in H. Beumann, ed., *Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben,* 1, Düsseldorf, 1965 (idem, *Byzanz und das abendländische Herrschertum. Ausgewählte Aufsätze,* ed. P. Classen (Vorträge und Forschungen, 21), Sigmaringen, 1977), 349.

93. Sós 1973, 184–185.

94. See also Pillon 2002, 131.

95. L. Musset, *Les invasions, le second assaut contre l'Europe chrétienne (VII$^e$-XI$^e$ siècles),* Paris, 1965, 194–195.

96. Tóth 1980, 94; W. Dahmen, "La romanité pannonienne," in *Actes du XVIIIe Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes* (Trier, 1986), 1, Tübingen, 1992, 113.

## Chapter 3

1. Kniezsa 1936.
2. Drăganu 1933, 214–215.
3. O. Densusianu, *Histoire de la langue roumaine. I. Les origines* (1901), in idem, *Opere*, 2, Bucureşti, 1975, 298–299, 363.
4. See, for instance, M. Friedwagner, "Über die Sprache und Heimat der Rumänen in ihrer Frühzeit," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 54, 1934, 700, 705–706; G. Reichenkron, "Das Ostromanische," in *Völker und Kulturen Südosteuropas. Kultur historische Beiträge*, München, 1959, 170; Rosetti 1986, 386. Other objections were expressed by Gamillscheg 1943, 272–276, who emphasized that some of the place-names are Latin, but related to western *Romania* (created by immigrants from Austria).
5. Kniezsa 1936, 72.
6. Ibidem, 75.
7. Drăganu 1933, 92, footnote 3.
8. Ibidem, 123, footnote 2.
9. Ibidem, 179.
10. Russu 1981, 281.
11. Kniezsa 1936, 182.
12. Drăganu 1933, 148.
13. Ibidem, 44.
14. Ibidem, 57.
15. Ibidem, 88.
16. Ibidem, 100.
17. Ibidem, 111–128. For the Dacian origin of Rom. *mal*, see Russu 1981, 343–344.
18. Russu 1981, 253–254. For the town and the county called Bács, see also the objections of Kniezsa 1936, 13–14.
19. Drăganu 1933, 76–89; Russu 1981, 294–295 (for the Dacian origin).
20. Kniezsa 1936, 77–78.
21. Drăganu 1933, 100, 105.
22. Ibidem, 99.
23. Ibidem, 150, 162–164, 309.
24. Ibidem, 138.
25. Tóth 1976, 110.
26. Mehedinţi 1940, 34. For the expansion of the Transylvanian shepherds in several regions, see Şt. Meteş, *Emignări româneşti din Transilvania în secolele XIII–XX*, Bucureşti, 1977.
27. N. Drăganu, "Ancienneté et expansion des Roumains d'après la toponymie, l'onomastique et la langue," *Balcania*, 6, 1943, 426–428.
28. Dragomir 1959, 171–172.

29. Jireček 1901; S. Puşcariu, *Studii istro române*, 2, Bucureşti, 1926, 3–13, 342–366; D. Găzdaru, "Romeni Occidentali stanziati in Italia nel medioevo," *Cultura neolatina* (Modena), 6–7, 1946–1947, 141–163; Dragomir 1959, 157–158; Panaitescu 1969, 224–227.

30. *Annales Regni Francorum*, a. 818 (*Fontes ad Historiam Regni Francorum Aevi Karolini illustrandam*, Berlin, 1960, 1: 116; see also 118).

31. V. Gjuzelev, "Bulgarisch-Fränkische Beziehungen in der ersten Hälfte des IX. Jhs.," BB, 2, 1966, 25–34; Bulin 1968, 169–170; Sós 1973, 18; Salamon and Sós 1980, 416.

32. Bóna 1985, 159.

33. Brezeanu 1991, 307; Brezeanu 1996, 33–34.

34. Armbruster 1993, 42; Brezeanu 1996, 30–31; Ciocîltan 1996, 5. Pillon 2002, 123–124 supposed that a part of the Pannonian Romance population turned to pastoralism.

35. Armbruster 1993, 105, footnote 78.

36. See also Spinei 1990, 123; Spinei 2003, 60.

# Part III

## Chapter 1

1. SRH, 1: 44–46, 65–69 = Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 74–78 = IIR, 1: 94–97.

2. English translation after Deletant 1991, 342.

3. Thosu and Zobolsu, who remained at the Meseş Gates.

4. The names of the princesses are of Türkic origin. They mean "The black (*kara*) and the white (*šary*) ermine (*aldy*)." See D. Pais, SRH, 1: 69, footnote 3; Le Calloc'h 2002, 28.

5. Simon of Keza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, SRH, 1: 166, 172; *Chr. Hung. comp. saec. XIV*, SRH, 1: 290–291; *Chr. Posoniense*, SRH, 2: 33; *Chr. Monacense*, SRH, 2: 62; *Chr. Henrici de Mügeln*, SRH, 2: 132.

6. Attested in documents as *Eskeleu*, *Eskuleu*, since 1331 (Suciu 1967, 1: 47).

7. D. Pais, in SRH, 1: 68, footnote 1; Rásonyi 1979, 141.

8. Ferenczi 1973, 548; Horedt 1986, 104.

9. Decei 1978, 85.

10. According to *Chr. Pictum Vind.*, *Chr. Budense*, *Chr. Dubnicense*, and *Chr. Monacense*, Geula *civitatem magnam in Erdelw in venatione sua invenerat, que iam pridem a Romanis constructa fuerat* (SRH, 1: 290–291; 2: 62). Only *Chr. Posoniense* (SRH, 2: 33) and *Chr. Henrici de Mügeln* (SRH, 2: 132) specified the name of the fortress, *Alba*, or *Weyssenpurg* (that is Alba-Iulia). With Simon of Keza (SRH, 1: 166) the hunt is

not present, which shows that this myth was introduced later, in the 14th century.

11. Brătianu 1980, 129–131 has remarked the relationship between the story of Geula and this type of legends. For the myth, see M. Eliade, *De Zalmoxis à Genghis-Khan*, Paris, 1980, 131–161; O. Buhociu, *Folclorul de iarnă, z;orile și poezia păstorească*, Bucureşti, 1979, 171–172; V. Spinei, *Moldova în secolele XI–XIV*, Bucureşti, 1982, 299–300.

12. *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, in SRH, 1: 286 (c. 26), 287 (c. 28) = IIR, 11: 133, 134.

13. The etymology is fanciful. The ethnic name comes from *Onoguri*. See H. Grégoire, "Le nom et l'origine des Hongrois," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 91, 1937, 3, 630–642; Kristó 1996, 59–65; Róna-Tas 1999, 282–287; Spinei 2003, 14.

14. SRH, 1: 165 = IIR, 4: 86.

15. A detailed discussion in A. Madgearu, "A Legend from the *Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense* about the Coming of the Hungarians in Transylvania," in *Proceedings of the International Historical Conference "900 Years from Saint Ladislas Death,"* Oradea, 1996, 63–65. The same idea at Macartney 1940, 39–41; Spinei 1990, 121. Kristó 2003, 44–45 agrees too that "it is evidently erroneous to state that Hungarian conquerors built seven castles in Transylvania on the basis of which the Germans called Transylvania Simburg (Siebenbürgen), that is Seven Castles. The Hungarian conquerors did not build castles at all."

16. Bóna 1990, 115; Kristó 1996, 175–176.

17. See, for instance, Györffy 1985, 239–240, 244; Bóna 1990, 114–115; Kristó 1996, 191; Kristó 2003, 46–51.

18. SRH, 1: 42–47 (c. 8–10) = Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 44–50 = IIR, 1: 78–82.

19. Spinei 1985, 53; Spinei 1990, 120, 128–129. For the Hungarians at Kiev, see S. Franklin and J. Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus: 750–1200*, London, New York, 1996, 96–97 (who claim that Hungarians camped there for a while).

20. Györffy 1985, 245 considered more credible the list provided by the Anonymous Notary.

21. Brezeanu 1991, 304; Brezeanu 1996, 31; Mladjov 1998, 109; Brezeanu 2002, 72–73, 171–174.

22. Decei 1978, 67, 84.

23. Brezeanu 1991, 304.

24. Macartney 1940, 210–213; Györffy 1965, 44; Deletant 1991, 344–345; Szovák 1991, 15.

25. Macartney 1940, 210–213; Macartney 1953, 75–76. See also Curta 2001, 145.

26. See also Brezeanu 1991, 304.

27. Boba 1989, 457.
28. Macartney 1940, 211–213. See also Macartney 1953, 76: "But even if the Gelou episode is not in the original Gyula legend, it is unlikely to be very much later." He had in mind the genealogical tradition of the family from which Stephen I descended.
29. Pârvan 1990, 47.
30. For the evolution of the Hungarian attitude toward the Romanian autochthony, see Brezeanu 1991, 17–37; Dogaru 1993.
31. SRH, 1: 65, 69 = IIR, 1: 94, 96.
32. SRH, 1: 41, 61 = IIR, 1: 29, 41, 77, 91.
33. Györffy 1965, 46, footnote 67; Györffy 1975, 120–121, 149 (fig. 15); Makkai 1987, 38; Spinei 2003, 66.
34. Györffy 1975, 122.
35. See Suciu 1967, 1: 317; 2: 279.
36. Suciu 1967, 1: 263.
37. Spinei 1990, 142.
38. Kristó 2003, 61 has interpreted the genealogies in the same way.
39. See endnote 5.
40. Macartney 1940, 210–211; Macartney 1953, 75.
41. Makkai 1987, 40–44.
42. Moravcsik 1958, 115; Kristó 1996, 171; Róna-Tas 1999, 150, 343, 347.
43. Györffy 1975, 96, 120, 121 supposed without any reason that Tuhutum became *gylas* after the death of Arpad.
44. The location of the baptized Gyula in Transylvania was proposed by: Onciul 1968, 1: 189, 463, 583; 2: 344; Rusu M. 1982, 372; Heitel 1983, 102; Boba 1987, 31; Makk 1990, 13–15; Kristó 1993, 51; Heitel 1994–1995, 417, 427; Marsina 1995, 44; Pop 1996, 152–153; Olteanu 1997, 299; Sághy 1997, 56; G. Petrov, "Consideraţii asupra unor biserici medievale cu plan central din Transilvania," AMN, 33, 1996 (1997), 2: 38–39; Makk 1999, 13; Kristó 1999, 18; Le Calloc'h 2002, 17, 27.
45. Ioannes Scylitzae, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn, Berolini, 1973, 239.
46. Z. Lovag, "Bronzene Pektoralkreuze aus der Arpadenzeit," AArch, 32, 1980, 1–4, 366; Bálint 1991, 206–207, 210, 239, 241, 255, 257, 262; K. Horničkova, "The Byzantine Reliquary Pectoral Crosses in Central Europe," ByzSl, 60, 1999, 1, 232, 234, 236, 237, 245 (at 225–226 she shows that the present counties of Békés and Csongrád were "the gate through which Eastern Christianity found its way to Hungary").
47. I developed the demonstration in A. Madgearu, "Misiunea episcopului Hierotheos. Contribuţii la istoria Transilvaniei şi Ungariei în secolul al X-lea," RI, 5, 1994, 1–2, 147–154. The location of the territory Christianized by Hierotheos in the middle Tisza basin or in Banat

was also enclosed by Hóman 1940, 147–248, Moravcsik 1970, 55–56, 108; L. Kovács, "Byzantinische Münzen im Ungarn des 10. Jahrhunderts," AArch, 35, 1983, 1–2, 148; Horedt 1986, 105 (as a supposition); Bálint 1991, 120; Bóna 1990, 121–122; Mesterházy 1994, 120; Velter 2002, 72, 74–78, 80–81; Kristó 2003, 64–65. Curta 2001, 146 and Spinei 2003, 79 presented both viewpoints, without deciding for one of them.

48. Bóna 1990, 122; Mesterházy 1994, 120. Bálint 1991, 121 and Kristó 2003, 66 supposed too that the tribe of Gylas moved from the Tisza valley to Transylvania by the mid 10th century.

49. Onciul 1968, 1: 189.

50. Ibidem, 1: 463; 2: 342.

51. Decei 1978, 85.

52. Melich 1928, 72–76.

53. Drăganu 1933, 427.

54. Decei 1978, 85.

55. V. Bogrea, "Câteva considerații asupra toponimiei românești," DR, 1, 1920–1921, 219, 556.

56. Drăganu 1933, 427.

57. Suciu 1967, 1: 261.

58. See the references at Onciul 1968, 1: 189, footnote 79; Melich 1928, 68; Drăganu 1933, 427; Decei 1978, 85, footnote 4.

59. Melich 1928, 78; Györffy 1965, 44.

60. Györffy 1975, 58, 100.

61. D. Pais, in SRH, 1: 67, footnote 4.

62. Rásonyi 1979, 140–141.

63. Onciul 1968, 1: 189; Pârvan 1990, 47; Iorga 1921, 213; Györffy 1965, 44; Györffy 1975, 122.

64. Melich 1928, 71; Macartney 1940, 209–210.

65. R. Popa, "Considerații istorice pe marginea toponimiei vechi maramureșene," *Revista de istorie*, 30, 1977, 8, 1460–1461; Ciocîltan 1996, 10–11; Spinei 2003, 33.

66. See also Brătianu 1980, 210; Spinei 1990, 128. It should be observed that Boba 1987, 17–18 (and Boba 1988, 15–25, Boba 1995, 100) has accepted that the names of Gelou and of the other individuals recorded in GH are true and that the place-names derived from them.

67. In the same way, Makkai 1987, 35.

68. See chapter I. 2., endnote 69.

69. G. Györffy, in *Magyarország története*, I/1, Budapest, 1984, 628 (apud Boba 1989, 457).

70. S. Brezeanu, "Jiu–Gelou. Istorie și lingvistică," in *Timpul istoriei, I. Memorie și patrimoniu. In honorem emeritae Ligiae Bârzu*, Universitatea

Bucureşti, 1997, 241–242; S. Brezeanu and Gh. Zbuchea, eds., *Românii de la sud de Dunăre. Documente*, Bucureşti, 1997, 121.

71. Ciocîltan 1996, 11.

72. Şt. Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, 2, Cluj-Napoca, 1979, 257.

73. Hurmuzachi-Densuşianu, *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor*, II/4, 1894, 218–219 (doc. CXXIV). Iorga 1989, 125–126 remembers him, but under the wrong name of Paul More, observing that Verancsics knew his Romanian origin.

74. About the More family, see I. Drăgan, "Diplomatul şi umanistul de origine română Filip More de Ciula (1470?–1526)," *Apulum*, 21, 1983, 183–190; I.-A. Pop, "Mărturii documentare privind nobilimea din Haţeg în conflictul dintre Ioan Zapolya şi Ferdinand de Habsburg," AIIA–Cluj, 26, 1983–1984, 336–337.

75. *Călători străini despre ţările române*, 2, Bucureşti, 1970, 35.

76. I.-A. Pop, *Naţiunea română medievală. Solidarităţi etnice româneşti în secolele XIII–XVI*, Bucureşti, 1998, 124–126.

77. Melich 1928, 71.

78. Hóman 1940, 102–103; Rásonyi 1979, 140; Fodor 1984b, 97; Györffy 1985, 239–240, 244; Bóna 1990, 114–115; Kristó 1996, 176–177.

79. Spinei 2003, 63–64 continues to claim that the attack against Gelou took place soon after 900.

80. See chapter I. 2., endnote 5 (especially the work of Mircea Eliade).

81. For the migration to Atelkuz and its location, see P. Váczy, "Etelköz—die frühere Heimat der Ungarn," MAI, 14, 1985, 169–175; I. Božilov, H. Dimitrov, "About the Historical Geography of the Northern Black Sea Coast," *Bulgarian Historical Review*, 13, 1985, 4, 57– 68; Kristó 1996, 154–157; C. Zuckerman, "Les Hongrois au pays de Lebedia: Une nouvelle puissance aux confins de Byzance et de la Khazarie ca. 836–889," in K. Tsiknakis, ed., *Byzantium at War (9$^{th}$–12$^{th}$ c.)*, Athens, 1997, 61–66; Spinei 2003, 43–44, 50–52.

82. Dimitrov 1986, 62–64 quotes the opinion of some Bulgarian historians (P. Nikov, P. Mutafčiev, S. Lišev), who considered that the attacks over the North-Danubian territories under Bulgarian domination were possible only during the reign of Tzar Peter (927–969).

83. Pârvan 1990, 56–58.

84. Onciul 1968, 1: 464, 583; 2: 342.

85. SRH, 1: 148 (*Chr. Hung. comp. saec. XIV*) = IIR, 11: 148; SRH, 2: 36 (*Chr. Posoniense*), 149 (*Chr. Henrici de Mügeln*). Simon of Keza did not knew this topic.

86. Györffy 1975, 111; Györffy 1994, 100. See also Rusu M. 1982, 375 and Kristó 2003, 71.

87. Horedt 1986, 67–69.

88. Pohl 1992, 17–21 for the Avarian "Raubstaat," supplied with merchandise and luxury items taken from the Byzantine Empire and through the work of prisoners.
89. Makkai 1987, 43–44.
90. Kristó 1999, 17–18.

## Chapter 2

1. Heitel 1983, 113. For this cultural group from the middle Mureş basin, called by us "Alba-Iulia–Ciumbrud," see chapter III. 3. 6.
2. For this culture, see especially Giesler 1981, 3–167. Some interesting remarks at Heitel 1986, 245–246; Heitel 1994–1995, 428–439.
3. Schulze-Dörrlamm 1988, 373–478.
4. Horedt 1958a, 141–142; Horedt 1986, 82, 141; Kiss 1985, 246, 268; Heitel 1994–1995, 413–415.
5. *Rep. Cluj*, 137. See also Bóna 1990, 131–135; Heitel 1994–1995, 415.
6. Iambor and Matei 1979, 601, pl. VI/ 6; Horedt 1986, 132.
7. Horedt 1958a, 139–140; Horedt 1986, 84, 140; Kiss 1985, 246; Heitel 1994–1995, 423–424; Moga and Ciugudean 1995, 101.
8. Horedt 1986, 84, 87; Heitel 1994–1995, 424; Moga and Ciugudean 1995, 118.
9. Anghel and Ciugudean 1987, 179, 187, 193–194; Heitel 1994–1995, 407, 411–412.
10. Heitel 1994–1995, 412–413; Ciugudean 1996, 10–11.
11. R. R. Heitel, "Principalele rezultate ale cercetărilor arheologice din zona sud-vestică a cetăţii Alba Iulia (1968-1977)" (1), SCIVA, 36, 1985, 3, 225; Heitel 1986, 240–241, fig. 4/4; Heitel 1994–1995, 407.
12. Horedt 1958a, 138; Kiss 1985, 257, no. 79; Moga and Ciugudean 1995, 53.
13. Heitel 1994–1995, 413.
14. The same conclusion was expressed by Kristó 2003, 60–61, based on the predominance of Hungarian place-names in the northern part of Transylvania.
15. Makkai 1946, 38; R. Popa, *La începuturile evului mediu românesc. Ţara Haţegului*, Bucureşti, 1988, 52; Horedt 1986, 84, 105; Heitel 1994–1995, 417.
16. See chapter III. 3. 6.
17. Velter 2002, 129–131.

## Chapter 3

1. Pascu 1971, 46; Rusu M. 1973, 200; Rusu M. 1978, 166; Heitel 1983, 95; Rusu M. 1984, 188; Olteanu 1997, 35, 272.
2. Horedt 1958a, 143–144; *Rep. Cluj*, 282–283.
3. Heitel 1983, 95 doubted that this one was included in the duchy of Gelou.
4. Ferenczi 1972, 391–392 (no. 5); Ferenczi 1973, 546 (no. 29), 548–549 (no. 41); *Rep. Cluj*, 208, 306, 364.
5. Pascu, Rusu, and others 1968, 180.
6. I. Bóna, in Györffy 1975, 122–125; Horedt 1986, 126–127, 131; Popa 1991, 168, footnote 51.
7. Pascu, Rusu, and others 1968, 164, 181.
8. Ţiplic 2004, 204.
9. Horedt 1986, 126 was of the same opinion.
10. Curta 2001, 149; Ţiplic 2004, 201.
11. Description of building elements after Pascu, Rusu, and others 1968, 158–163.
12. Pascu, Rusu, and others 1968, 168.
13. Matei and Iambor 1980, 511.
14. Pascu, Rusu, and others 1968, 158; Iambor 1984, 200.
15. Pascu, Rusu, and others 1968, 159, fig. 3/1–4; 175–177.
16. See I. Bóna, in Györffy 1975, 123–125.
17. Pascu, Rusu, and others 1968, 159, 161; Pascu 1971, 46.
18. Iambor 1984, 201.
19. Pascu, Rusu, and others 1968, 163.
20. Ibidem, 163, fig. 4/4.
21. Şt. Pascu, M. Rusu, and others, "Cercetările arheologice de la Dăbîca," in *Sesiunea de comunicări a muzeelor de istorie* (1964), 2, Bucureşti, 1970, 64.
22. Pascu 1971, 96–97.
23. Pascu, Rusu, and others 1968, 162. For the chronology, see Giesler 1981, 120–124, Taf. 2/7.
24. Pascu, Rusu, and others 1968, 177–178, figs. 4/6, 9, 5/4, 5.
25. For the chronology of the spurs with long thorn (like that from fig. 5/5), see B. Kavánová, *Slovanské ostruhy na území Československa* (*Studie archeologického ústavu československe Akademie ved v Brno*, 4, 3), Brno, 1976, 102 (Taf. XVI–XX).
26. For the chronology of the X-Petersen swords, see K. Bakay, "Archäologische Studien zur Frage der ungarischen Staatsgrundung. Angaben zur Organisierung des Fürstlichen Heeres," AArch, 19, 1967, 168; Kiss 1985, 336–337.

27. Pascu, Rusu, and others 1968, 169, 171, 178.
28. Iambor 1985–1986, 589–598.
29. M. Takács, "Die Lebensweise der Ungarn im 10. Jahrhundert im Spiegel der verschiedenen Quellengattungen," in P. Urbanczyk, ed., *The Neighbours of Poland in the 10th Century*, Warsaw, 2000, 168.
30. Popa 1991, 169.
31. Horedt 1986, 61.
32. Rusu A. 1998, 10.
33. Curta 2001, 151.
34. Pascu, Rusu, and others 1968, 153; Rusu M. 1978, 163. For the Slavic etymology see also Iordan 1963, 105–106.
35. Recorded since 1462, with the name *Doboka* (Suciu 1967, 1: 203).
36. Györffy 1975, 112. See also Illyés 1988, 189–190.
37. D. Pais, in SRH, 1: 50, footnote 3; Rusu M. 1982, 373.
38. G. Kristó, "Die Entstehung der Komitatsorganisation unter Stephan dem Heiligen," in *Études historiques hongroises 1990*, 1, Budapest, 1990, 16; Kristó 1993, 70; Kristó 2003, 69.
39. Petrovici 1970, 198.
40. Suciu 1967, 2: 317.
41. Iordan 1963, 106.
42. For the etymology, see Frățilă 1987, 112–113.
43. Curta 2001, 148, 151 agrees that some materials from Dăbâca can be dated since the 9th century, and that this does not certify the fortified character of the first phase of the settlement. Țiplic 2004, 201–202 accepted too the chronology proposed by me in the first edition of this book.
44. Iambor and Matei 1975, 291–297; *Rep. Cluj*, 119–120.
45. Iambor and Matei 1979, 600; Iambor, Matei, and Halasu 1981, 134.
46. Iambor and Matei 1975, 295; *Rep. Cluj*, 120.
47. Iambor and Matei 1979, 600; Iambor 1985–1986, 590, 592.
48. Iambor and Matei 1979, 601, pl. VI/6.
49. For analogies, see Bálint 1991, 137, pl. XLV (especially no. 10).
50. Iambor and Matei 1975, 295–296.
51. Ibidem, 295, 297; Iambor and Matei 1979, 600; Iambor and Matei 1983, 131–133; Iambor, Matei, and Halasu 1981, 129–134.
52. *Rep. Cluj*, 120.
53. Țiplic 2004, 206 agrees this interpretation.
54. Iambor and Matei 1975, 297.
55. Iambor and Matei 1979, 608.
56. The same conclusion is shared by Țiplic 2004, 202–203.
57. First record in 1250; see Suciu 1967, 2: 174.
58. Rusu and Dănilă 1972, 47.
59. Ibidem, 48–50.

60. Ibidem, 50–53.

61. Ibidem, 57–58. For the Pecheneg attack and the battle of Chiraleş, see Göckenjan 1972, 97; Makk 1999, 63; Spinei 2003, 130–131.

62. Horedt 1986, 126.

63. Suciu 1967, 1: 186. For the etymology, see Iordan 1963, 270; Göckenjan 1972, 41; Iambor 1994, 20.

64. G. Rădulescu, "Viile Tecii," in *Cronica 1994*, 99, no. 146, and *Cronica 1996*, 77, no. 134.

65. Rusu M. 1974, 265–269. See also Matei 1979, 479–480 (who takes up his data). It is strange that Horedt 1986 did not mention this fortress.

66. Cosma 2002, 201. Rusu A. 1978, 94 accepted the existence of the fortress in the 8th–9th centuries.

67. The name appeared in documents since 1423 (*Maygrad*), but for a "Romanian village" (*villa Olachalis*), not for the fortress. See Suciu 1967, 1: 405.

68. Drăganu 1933, 419, footnote 2. See also P. Olteanu, "Numiri slave în Transilvania de nord," *Limbă şi literatură*, 3, 1957, 209, and Ivănescu 1980, 272, for the West-Slavic character of the form *Moigrad*. On the contrary, I. Pătruţ, *Onomastică românească*, Bucureşti, 1980, 130 contended that Moigrad is the northernmost place-name of Bulgarian origin in Transylvania.

69. Matei 1979, 479; Cosma 2002, 78–79, 202.

70. SRH, 1: 64 = Silagi and Veszprémy 1991, 72/73 = IIR, 1: 43, 93.

71. Suciu 1967, 2: 268.

72. Rusu A. 1978, 94.

73. N. Gudea, "Porolissum. Un complex arheologic daco-roman la marginea de nord a Imperiului Roman," *AMP*, 13, 1989, 102–103.

74. Al. V. Matei, "Moigrad-Porolissum," in *Cronica 1994*, 55–56.

75. Matei 1979, 482; Iambor 1983, 512; Iambor 1994, 14.

76. C. Cosma, "Zalău," in *Cronica 1999*, 114, no. 155; C. Cosma and A. Rustoiu, "Zalău, jud. Sălaj. Punct Ortelec-Cetate," in *Cronica 2001*, 339–342, no. 245; Cosma 2002, 48, 52, 210–212.

77. Identification proposed by Iambor 1994, 14, but rejected by Cosma 2002, 51.

78. Cosma 2002, 49, 232–233; H. Pop and others, "Şimleul Silvaniei, jud. Sălaj," in *Cronica 2003*, 334–336.

79. Matei and Iambor 1980, 509; Iambor 1994, 20; Cosma 2002, 51, 241.

80. For the excavations made at Biharea, see M. Rusu, "Contribuţii arheologice la istoricul cetăţii Biharea," AIIA–Cluj, 3, 1960, 7–25; S. Dumitraşcu, *Biharea, I. Săpăturile arheologice din anii 1973–1980*, Oradea, 1994; Cosma 2002, 50–51, 168–169.

81. Iambor 1982, 81.

82. Drăganu 1933, 445. *Zalău* comes from a person name (ibidem, 420, footnote 1). For this group of place-names, see also Iordan 1963, 126.

83. Göckenjan 1972, 60; Iambor 1982, 81; C. Măluțan, "Drumurile sării în nord-vestul Transilvaniei medievale," AMP, 8, 1984, 252.

84. C. Cosma, "Morminte din secolele IX–X p. Ch. descoperite la Zalău (jud. Sălaj)," EN, 4, 1994, 323–329; Cosma 2002, 89–92, 134, 240–241.

85. Mărghitan 1985, 40–42; Bálint 1991, 208, 218, Taf. LIII/ b. 16.

86. See endnote 88.

87. Bálint 1991, 192, 235, 258, Taf. LXI/ b. 7, 8.

88. N. Chidioșan, "O necropolă din feudalismul timpuriu descoperită la Sălacea," SCIV, 20, 1969, 4, 611–615; D. Nicolăescu-Plopșor and W. Wolski, *Elemente de demografie și ritual funerar la populațiile vechi din România*, București, 1975, 151–162; Cosma 2002, 89–92, 134, 222–223.

89. Madgearu 1994, 159–160.

90. Heitel 1983, 95; Heitel 1994–1995, 416, footnote 85.

91. Ratkoš 1988, 145–147; Havlík 1989, 16; Havlík 1991, 112.

92. Ratkoš 1988, 147, 149. See also Dostál 1965, 370; Ratkoš 1968, 195–198; Havlík 1989, 18; L. Havlík, *"He megale Morabia* and *he chora Morabia,"* ByzSl, 54, 1993, 1, 78.

93. Cosma 2002, 52-53, footnote 222 concluded that there are no certain proofs for the beginning of these fortresses in the 9th century and (54) that it is possible that they were built by the Hungarians or for the Hungarians.

94. Rusu M. 1971, 197; Rusu M. 1975, 204; Iambor and Matei 1975, 296; Pop 1996, 146.

95. Drăganu 1933, 437; Suciu 1967, 1: 158.

96. Rusu M. 1971, 197, footnote 2; Pascu 1974, 59; Iambor and Matei 1975, 300.

97. Horedt 1986, 132.

98. Ibidem. R. Schuller, "Um den Ursprung Klausenburgs," KVSL, 50, 1927, 3, 36–39 proposed the location of *Castrum Clus* at Cojocna (Hung. *Kolozs*), but no medieval fortress is known there.

99. Horedt 1986, 132. For the medieval place-names *Clus, Clusa*, see K. Taganyi, "Alte Grenzschutz-Vorrichtungen und Grenz-Ödland, gyepü und gyepüelve," UJb, 1, 1921, 2, 105–121; G. Dept, "Le mot Clusas dans les diplômes carolingiens," in *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Henri Pirenne*, 1, Bruxelles, 1926, 89–98; Göckenjan 1972, 10–11; *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert*, II/ 5, Berlin, 1973, col. 733; Pascu 1974, 68–69; K. Bakay, "Hungary," in T. Reuter, ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History, III, c. 900–c. 1024*, Cambridge, 1999, 540; Brezeanu 2002, 278.

100. Drăganu 1933, 439–441.
101. Ivănescu 1980, 432. The strange idea that the presumed Roman name *Claudiopolis* (given to Napoca in honor of Claudius II Gothicus) was inherited in the Middle Ages (S. Paliga, "Toponimul Cluj," *Academica*, 2, 1992, 5, 8, 27) is impossible. The medieval name *Claudiopolis* is in fact the Latinization of the German *Klausenburg*, which in its turn was derived from *Clus*.
102. Paper presented at the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History, Bucharest, 26th March 2002. For the Chalisi and Busurmani in Hungary, see Göckenjan 1972, 48–59; Mesterházy 1972, 195–200; Berend 2001, 64–68.
103. P. Niedermaier, "Geneza centrului istoric clujean în lumina planimetriei sale," AMN, 16, 1979, 206. See also I. Bogdan-Cătăniciu, "Despre apariția orașelor și statutul acestora în Dacia Romană," EN, 3, 1993, 209.
104. See also *Rep. Cluj*, 130.
105. Horedt 1986, 132–133.
106. Iambor 1994, 18.
107. G. Popa-Lisseanu, "Apărarea țării prin prisăci," *Buletinul Muzeului Militar Național*, 1, 1937, 2, 24–25; Horedt 1958b, 110, 115; Göckenjan 1972, 10–11; Berend 2001, 24–28; I. M. Țiplic, "Über Verteidigungslinien nach Art der Verhaue in Siebenbürgen (9.–13. Jahrhundert)," ZSL, 24, 2001, 2, 174, 179; Brezeanu 2002, 276–278.
108. Popa 1991, 165.
109. Madgearu 1994, 155–157; Madgearu 2001, 276.
110. Panaitescu 1950, 226–227; Brezeanu 1984, 121–122; Teodor 1987, 2–3.
111. Teodor 1987, 9–12; M. Comșa, "Drumuri comerciale între Carpați și Dunăre în sec. IX–X," MN, 7, 1983, 101–107; eadem, "Un drum care lega ținutul Vrancei de Dunăre și existența unui cnezat pe valea Putnei în secolele IX–X," *Vrancea. Studii și comunicări*, 5–7, 1987, 39–44; O. Damian, "Considérations sur la citadelle en brique de Slon-Prahova," *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica*, 9, 2003, 485–487.
112. Beševliev 1981, 354; Brezeanu 1984, 128–129; Mladjov 1998, 87–90.
113. *Annales Fuldenses*, a. 892 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, I, 408).
114. Bănescu 1947, 47–48; idem, "Les frontières de l'ancien État bulgare," in *Mémorial Louis Petit. Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines*, Bucarest, 1948, 11–13; Decei 1978, 54; Teodor 1987, 7.
115. Panaitescu 1950, 229–230 and Kristó 2003, 36 stressed this. See also Pinter 1998, 150–151: control over the salt mines area made possible the Bulgarian "embargo" against Moravia.

116. Heitel 1983, 103–107; Heitel 1994–1995, 407–408; Moga and Ciugudean 1995, 37, 43; Ciugudean 1996, 4–8.

117. Horedt 1958a, 112–118; I. A. Aldea and H. Ciugudean, "Noi descoperiri feudal-timpurii la Blandiana (jud. Alba)," *Apulum*, 19, 1981, 145–149; Horedt 1986, 72–78; Anghel and Ciugudean 1987, 179–196; Heitel 1994–1995, 407; Moga and Ciugudean 1995, 60.

118. Heitel 1983, 104; Heitel 1994–1995, 415; Moga and Ciugudean 1995, 80–81.

119. Bóna 1990, 104; Moga and Ciugudean 1995, 173.

120. Moga and Ciugudean 1995, 167; Simina 2002, 47–50.

121. Z. Székely, "L'aspect de la culture matérielle des VIIIᵉ–Xᵉ siècles dans le Sud-Est de la Transylvanie," in *Les questions*, 127–128; Fodor 1984a, 50; Heitel 1994–1995, 415.

122. G. Bakó, "Încă o mărturie cu privire la dominaţia primului stat bulgar la nord de Dunăre," SCIV, 13, 1962, 2, 461–463.

123. G. Ferenczi, "Contribuţii la problema descifrării unor cuvinte scrise cu caractere runice maghiare şi consideraţii asupra originii scrisului runic maghiar," AMN, 26–30, 1989–1993 (1994), I/1, 161–167; Róna-Tas 1999, 437–444.

124. SRH, 1: 162–163 = IIR, 4: 37, 84.

125. P. N. Panaitescu, *Răbojul. Studiu de istorie economică şi socială la români*, Bucureşti, 1946.

126. D. Gh. Teodor, "Inscripţiile rupestre de la Cotârgaşi-Suceava," in *Închinare lui Petre Ş. Năsturel la 80 de ani*, eds. I. Cândea, P. Cernovodeanu, and Gh. Lazăr, Brăila, 2003, 789–798.

127. Rusu M. 1973, 198; Heitel 1983, 103–104; Fodor 1984a, 49; Diaconu 1985, 110; Horedt 1986, 75–76; Simina 2002, 52.

128. Diaconu 1985, 108–110.

129. Dankanits and Ferenczi 1959, 605–610.

130. Ibidem, 610–611; Comşa 1960, 419; Dostál 1965, 404; Rusu M. 1973, 200; Heitel 1983, 106, 113; Horedt 1986, 78, 80; Madgearu 1994, 158–159; Heitel 1994–1995, 408; Pinter and Boroffka 1999, 328; Simina 2002, 52; Cosma 2002, 90.

131. T. Štefanovičová, "Schmuck des Nitraer Typs und seine Beziehungen zu Südosteuropa im 9. Jahrhundert," *A Wosinsky Mór Múzeum Évkönyve*, Szekszárd, 15, 1990, 215–219.

132. M. Ćorović-Ljubinković, "Der Zusammenhang des Schmuckes des Nitra-Gebietes und Nordserbiens im IX. Jahrhundert," SlArch, 18, 1970, 1, 113–115; D. Janković, "Peki podatzi o izradi predmeta od obojenich metala na Kljuću Dunava u iX–XI veku (Some information on the production of non-ferrous metals in the region of Kljuć in the Danube valley from 9ᵗʰ to 11ᵗʰ C.)," *Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja, Arkheologija*, Beograd, 11/1, 1983, 103, T. II/5.

133. Dostál 1965, 405; V. Grigorov, "Obeštite v starobălgarskata kultura na sever ot Dunav (Les boucles d'oreilles dans la culture protobulgaire au nord du Danube)," *Arkheologija* (Sofia), 40, 1999, 3–4, 24–36 (a tipology of the earrings), especially 34 for the earrings as evidence of the Bulgarian domination in southern Transylvania).

134. Fodor 1984a, 49–50; Bóna 1990, 104; Mesterházy 1994, 118.

135. I. G. Russu and others, "Cimitirul de la Ciumbrud (sec. X)," *Articole și lucrări științifice*, Cluj, 1959, 3–16.

136. Pinter and Boroffka 1999, 313–327; Luca and Pinter 2001, 98–114.

137. Pinter and Boroffka 1999, 325; Luca and Pinter 2001, 107.

138. Anghel and Ciugudean 1987, 195; Heitel 1994–1995, 408; Ciugudean 1996, 8.

139. I. A. Aldea, E. Stoicovici, and M. Blăjan, "Cercetări arheologice în cimitirul prefeudal de la Ghirbom (comuna Berghin, jud. Alba)," *Apulum*, 18, 1980, 154, 173; E. Stoicovici and M. Blăjan, "Objets de parure en metal précieux découverts à Ghirbom (dép. de Alba)," AMP, 14–15, 1990–1991, 237–247; Moga and Ciugudean 1995, 100. The real chronology was established by Heitel 1995, 410 and Gh. Anghel, "Necropola birituală prefeudală de la Ghirbom (Gruiul Fierului)," *Apulum*, 34, 1997, 270.

140. Dankanits and Ferenczi 1959, 608, fig. 3/8; Pinter and Boroffka 1999, 321, Abb. 7/7.

141. S. Nemeti, "Un pandantiv bizantin de la Berghin, jud. Alba," EN, 12, 2004, with previous bibliography. A tipological study on these pieces was prepared by Stela Dončeva, "The Lead Medallions—Amulets or Elements of Decoration (About Some New Finds from Bulgaria)," in *Prinos lui Petre Diaconu la 80 de ani*, eds. Ionel Cândea, Valeriu Sârbu, and Marian Neagu, Brăila, 2004, 375–403.

142. Horedt 1954, 496; Comșa 1960, 397, 411–412; Fodor 1984a, 49–50; Horedt 1986, 75–76, 94; Anghel and Ciugudean 1987, 195; Bóna 1990, 103–105.

143. R. Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria: A Comparative Study across the Early Medieval Frontier*, London, 1975, 87; P. Koledarov, "Administrative Structure and Frontier Setup of the First Bulgarian Tsardom," EB, 14, 1978, 3, 135, 137; Beševliev 1981, 354; Dimitrov 1986, 69; Mladjov 1998, 85: "this control was often very nominal and in many cases delegated to allied but internally autonomous non-Bulgarian ethno-political units."

144. As has considered Horedt 1986, 80, 103, 185.

145. The Köttlach earrings are not Moravian objects, as considers I. M. Țiplic in his review of the first edition of this book (ATS, 1, 2002, 217–218). The Köttlach culture was spread in Austria, Slovenia and Croatia, during the Frankish domination; the specific objects found

in cemeteries from Crişana and Transylvania testify relations with the Frankish possessions, not with Moravia.

146. N. M. Simina, "Descoperiri aparţinând feudalismului timpuriu la Tărtăria (jud. Alba)," *Buletinul cercurilor ştiinţifice studenţeşti. Arheologie-istorie*, Alba-Iulia, 2, 1996, 155; Pinter 1998, 145–153.

147. Stanciu 2000, 137, 155, pl. IX/4–7.

148. Madgearu 2001, 279; Simina 2002, 53.

149. Pinter 1999, 106.

150. For the latter, see M. Drâmbărean and others, "O nouă necropolă medieval-timpurie descoperită la Alba Iulia," *Apulum*, 35, 1998, 187–205; A. Dragotă and S. Brânda, "Alba Iulia. Punct: Necropola medievală," in *Cronica 1999*, 10–11, no. 7; A. Dragotă and A. Niţoi, "Alba Iulia, jud. Alba (Apulum). Punct: str. Iuliu Hossu (fostă Brânduşei)," in *Cronica 2001*, 34–35, no. 11.

151. The concentration around Alba-Iulia was remarked as a significant fact by Fodor 1984a, 51–52; Horedt 1986, 75; Simina 2002, 54.

152. R. Ciobanu and G. Rustoiu, "Alba Iulia, jud. Alba [Apulum]. Punct oraşul roman Apulum II," in *Cronica 2002*, 30–32, no. 8.

153. Anghel 1987, 21 argued that Alba-Iulia was the center of a Romanian principality.

154. For the finds from Alba-Iulia, see endnotes 116 and 150, and R. R. Heitel, "Contribuţii la problema genezei raporturilor feudale în lumina cercetărilor arheologice de la Alba Iulia," MN, 2, 343–351; A. A. Rusu, "Cetatea Alba Iulia în secolele XI–XV. Cercetări vechi şi noi," EN, 4, 1994, 331–335, 339–340.

155. Anghel 1987, 21.

156. O. Pritsak, "Orientierung und Farbsymbolik," *Saeculum*, 5, 1954, 377 (= idem, *Studies in Medieval Eurasian History*, Variorum, London, 1981, 1).

157. Horedt 1954, 491–492, 504.

158. The same opinion at Makkai 1987, 36, 44–45; Kristó 2003, 35–36.

159. E. Petrovici, "Daco-slava," DR, 10, 1943, 2, 269; Fodor 1984a, 50; Frăţilă 1987, 113.

160. Frăţilă 1987, 113.

161. Ibidem.

162. Decei 1978, 84; see also Brătianu 1972, 108.

163. Pinter 1999, 163.

164. This word concerns the buffer space between the Danube and the Tisza (*Avarorum et Pannoniorum solitudines*). See N. Pétrin, "Philological Notes for the Early History of the Hungarians and the Slavs," ESY, 72, 2000, 37–38.

165. R. Ekblom, "Alfred the Great as Geographer," *Studia Neophilologica. A Journal of Germanic and Romanic Philology*, Uppsala, 14, 1941–1942,

117. Alfred meant that Greece lies south-east of Carinthia, and Dacia south-east of Moravia (ibidem, 122, 142).

166. Ratkoš 1968, 196 argued that "das Gebiet am oberlauf der Theiß bildete eine nicht näher bekannte, aber etwa unabhängige provinz—Dazien."

167. See W. Pohl, "Conceptions of Ethnicity in Early Medieval Studies," in K. L. Little and B. H. Rosenwein, eds., *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings*, Oxford, 1998, 15–23; idem, "Telling the Difference: Signs of Ethnic Identity," in W. Pohl and H. Reimitz, eds., *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800* (Transformation of the Roman World, 2), Leiden, 1998, 17–69.

168. The following remarks sum up our paper "Continuitatea romanică în Transilvania," *Tribuna* (Cluj-Napoca), new series, 1, 2002, 2, 12–15.

169. Z. Hilczerowna, "Le problème de la civilisation de Dridu (Remarques polémiques)," *Slavia Antiqua*, 17, 1970, 161–170.

170. N. Gudea and C. Cosma, "Crucea-relicvar descoperită la Dăbâca. Considerații privind tipologia și cronologia crucilor-relicvar bizantine din bronz, cu figuri în relief, descoperite pe teritoriul României," EN, 8, 1998, 273–303; M. Blăjan, "Alba Iulia, jud. Alba (Apulum). Punct: Izvorul împăratului," in *Cronica 2001*, 33, no. 10.

171. Horedt 1986, 60–66; H. Zoll-Adamikova, "Die Verwendbarkeit der Grabfunde aus dem 6.–10. Jh. für die Aussonderung der Stammesgruppen bei den Westslawen," in *Rapports du IIIe Congrès International d'Archéologie Slave*, Bratislava, 1979, 1, 941–952.

172. Stanciu 2000, 127–191; idem, "Descoperiri medievale timpurii din județele Satu Mare și Maramureș. Date noi, observații și opinii referitoare la ceramica medievală timpurie din nord-vestul României," *Marmația*, 7, 2003, 1, 264–266.

173. M. Comșa, "Sur l'origine et l'évolution de la civilisation de la population romane, et ensuite protoroumaine, aux VIe-Xe siècle sur le territoire de la Roumanie," *Dacia*, N.S., 12, 1968, 368–370.

174. Stanciu 2000, 154.

175. Ibidem, 157.

176. Ibidem, 158.

177. C. Opreanu and S. Cociș, "Suceag," in *Cronica 1994*, 84, no. 123.

178. M. Bărbulescu, *Potaissa. Studiu monografic*, Turda, 1994, 182–183.

179. Mehedinți 1940, 25–31; E. Petrovici, "Transilvania, vatră lingvistică a românismului nord-dunărean," *Transilvania*, 72, 1941, 2, 102–106; E. Gamillscheg, *Über die Herkunft der Rumänen*, Berlin, 1940; S. Pușcariu, *Limba română, I. Privire generală*, București, 1976, 346–350; G. Reichenkron, "Die Entstehung des Rumänentums nach den neuesten Forschungen," SOF, 22, 1963, 75–77.

180. Drăganu 1933, 474–475.

181. Frățilă 1987, 167–168.
182. I. I. Russu, "Nume de râuri din vestul Daciei," *Cercetări de lingvistică*, 2, 1957, 262–263.
183. C. Cihodaru, "Vechi toponime din Transilvania—reflexe ale continuității populației băștinașe românești în regiunile nord-dunărene," *Analele Științifice ale Universității Iași*, ser. III a, istorie, 34, 1988, 41–42.
184. Drăganu 1933, 496–497.
185. Ibidem, 489–494.
186. Ibidem, 242–250, 313–319, 485–494; I. Conea, L. Badea, and D. Oancea, "Toponymie ancienne, témoignant de la continuité dacoroumaine dans les Carpathes Méridionales de l'ouest de l'Olt," in *VII° Congresso internazionale di scienze onomastiche*, Firenze–Pisa, 1961, 327–362; D. Slușanschi, "Tisa-Timiș-Prahova," in *Studia indoeuropea ad Dacoromanos pertinentia*, 1, *Studii de tracologie*, București, 1976, 151–165; G. Giuglea, *Cuvinte românești și romanice. Studii de istoria limbii, etimologie, toponimie*, București, 1983, 308–317, 328–332; Frățilă 1987, 118–123; V. Frățilă, "Toponimie și continuitate în Transilvania de centru și de sud," *Ziridava*, 21, 1998, 139–146.
187. G. Morariu, "Permanențe etnografice în structura ocupației agricole la români" (1), *Anuarul Institutului de cercetări etnologice și dialectologice*, ser. A, 1, 1979, 28; M. Botzan and M. Albotă, "Considérations historiques et techniques concernant les anciennes agro-terrasses d'altitude des Carpates," *Bulletin de l'Académie agricole et forestière*, 9, 1980, 141–149.
188. S. Dumitrașcu, "Note privind descoperirile arheologice din Munții Apuseni," *Crisia*, 10, 1980, 47–48. See also idem, "Ceramica românească descoperită în Crișana," *Crisia*, 8, 1978, 51–111.
189. I. Ferenczi, I. Ferenczi jr., and I. Ferenczi sen., "Așezarea întărită feudal-timpurie de la Lăpuștești (com. Râșca, jud. Cluj)," AMN, 31, 1994, I, 305–320.
190. A detailed discussion in Madgearu 1997.
191. A. Niculescu, "Le daco-roumain—Romania antiqua, Romania nova et la continuité mobile. Une synthèse," in *Actes du XVIIIe Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes (Trier, 1986)*, 1, Tübingen, 1992, 86–104; idem, *Individualitatea limbii române între limbile romanice, III. Noi contribuții*, Cluj, 1999, 41–71, 102–114.
192. Kristó 1996, 176–180 and Róna-Tas 1999, 334–335 argued that this occupation preceded the conquest of Pannonia.
193. See also Fodor 1984a, 52; Heitel 1994–1995, 407–408; Ciugudean 1996, 8–11; Simina 2002, 55–56.

194. Except for the period of the short revival of the Bulgarian state under Samuel, when Duke Achtum was his vassal. See Madgearu 1998, 205–207.
195. Havlík 1991, 110–111.
196. Mladjov 1998, 124.
197. Ibidem, 106, footnote 137 ignores that the document from 1231 that remembered a *terra Bulgarorum* in southern Transylvania is a 19th century forgery (Bănescu 1947, 49–50).
198. Makk 1994, 29; Makk 1999, 35–36; see also Rusu M. 1984, 188–189. Kean was located in south-western Transylvania, but not at Alba-Iulia, by Horedt 1954, 505–506.
199. Kristó 1993, 70, 74; Kristó 1994, 11–18; Kristó 2003, 72–74. The same at M. Font, "Hongrois et Slaves à l'époque Arpadienne," in *Les Hongrois et l'Europe*, 192.
200. Other historians identified him with Samuel (Hóman 1940, 168; Györffy 1964, 150–151; Decei 1978, 68), while Pascu 1971, 68 and E. Glück, "Cu privire la istoricul părţilor arădene în epoca ducatului lui Ahtum," in *Studii privind istoria Aradului*, Bucureşti, 1980, 104 located Kean in northern Serbia.
201. G. Hazai, "Notes sur le Tarih-i Ungurus de Terdžüman Mahmud," AO, 13, 1961, 1–2, 76.
202. Heitel 1983, 113; Heitel 1986, 240–245; Heitel 1994–1995, 417–419, 427; Moga and Ciugudean 1995, 43; Ciugudean 1996, 8–11; A. Dragotă and others, "Archaeological Researches in Alba Iulia— 'Spitalul Veterinar' and 'Canton CFR' (1961–1962)," in D. Marcu Istrate, A. Istrate, and C. Gaiu, ed., *In memoriam Radu Popa. Temeiuri ale civilizaţiei româneşti în context european*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, 207–216. For the second cemetery, see endnote 150.
203. Horedt 1986, 76–78; Moga and Ciugudean 1995, 62.
204. Luca and Pinter 2001, 115–132; Z. K. Pinter, I. M. Ţiplic, and M. Căstăian, "Orăştie, jud. Hunedoara," in *Cronica 2001*, 223–224, no. 157; I. M. Ţiplic, Z. K. Pinter, and M. Căstăian, "Orăştie, jud. Hunedoara. Punct Dealul Pemilor–X2," in *Cronica 2002*, 221–222, no. 135, and in *Cronica 2003*, 224–225, no. 135.
205. Rusu M. 1975, 210, footnote 57; Horedt 1986, 84, fig. 39; Kiss 1985, 268, 291; Heitel 1994–1995, 429–430; Pinter 1999, 118–123.

# Conclusion

1. Tamás 1936, 243.
2. Bóna 1990, 135.

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# Index

*Numbers in italics refer to illustrations.*

## SOURCES

Alexandru Madgearu

The anonymous *Gesta Hungarorum* is in general a credible work,
even if it ignores important events and characters, and even if it makes some
chronological errors. The reliable data are confirmed by archaeological evidence
or by comparison with other written sources. One of these data concerns
the presence of the Romanians in Pannonia in the age of the Hungarian conquest.
But the most important conclusion is that the relation about the conquest of the
Transylvania combines data taken from oral traditions with invented facts.
The inventions were introduced in order to legitimize the rights of the Hungarian
kings over Transylvania. However, Gelou was a real person and his name could be
considered authentic. The real form of the name was *Gelău* or *Gilău*. The conquest
of north-western Transylvania by a Hungarian chieftain during the 10th century
is confirmed by archaeology. Our viewpoint on the chronology of the first
Hungarian conquest of Transylvania differs from the usual one, but it is not new.
It was first proposed by Vasile Pârvan. We consider that the events in question
occured sometime in the 930s. The Romanians and the Slavs from the region
of Cluj succeeded to develop a polity sometimes around 900, taking under their
control the neighboring salt mines and the road toward the Meseş Gates.

**Front cover:**
**Facsimile of Chapter 24 from *Gesta Hungarorum***
**relating the conquest of Transylvania.**

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