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TRANSYLVANIA AND ITS RELATIONS TO ANCIENT DACIA AND MODERN RUMANIA

James Berry

Read at the Meeting of the Society, 13 January 1919.

IN the last three and twenty years I have had the good fortune on several occasions to visit various parts both of Transylvania and of the countries which immediately surround it. Although my visits have been mainly connected with matters of archæological or historical interest rather than with pure geography, I have ventured to accept the kind invitation of your Council to address you to-night, hoping that what I shall say may be deemed to come within the limits of geographical science. The photographs with which this lecture is illustrated have nearly all been taken by my wife, Mrs. Dickinson Berry, M.D., who has accompanied me on all my journeys in Transylvania and Rumania. The maps with few exceptions have been drawn and coloured for me by my friend Lieutenant Count di Borelli, of the Serbian Army. I am indebted also to the officials of the Society for much kind help.

Physical Features of Transylvania and the Surrounding Country.

The district with which I have to deal is that comprised within the rivers Theiss, Dniester and Danube. This area forms roughly a spherical triangle. In the centre of this is another much smaller spherical triangle of mountains, forming the most easterly portion of the Carpathians. This smaller triangle is Transylvania. The area between the two triangles of rivers and mountains respectively forms a zone of relatively low-lying country, nearly flat, or with a gentle slope outwards towards the rivers. This outer zone of lower elevation is broken, however, in two places. The principal interruption is on the north where the main range of the Carpathians is prolonged from the Transylvanian Mountains in a north-westerly direction, at first dipping gradually downwards, and then rising again somewhat rapidly to join the highest peaks of the Carpathians (the Tatra Mountains), in the north of Hungary. Also, from the south-west corner of Transylvania, a short and much broken range of hills extends in a southerly direction to join the mountains of North-East Serbia. It is here that the Danube, for a distance of some 80 miles, between Bazias and

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the Iron Gate below Orsova, has cut a magnificent gorge through the mountains on its way from the plains of Hungary to those of Rumania and Bulgaria.*

A journey by steamer through this gorge, or better still by the excellent Szechenyi road (Fig. 8) which skirts the north bank as far as Orsova, affords a good opportunity of observing the complicated folded structure of the Carpathians (Fig. 3). From Orsova the traveller who is interested in ancient trade routes will do well to follow the road which leads thence northwards in the Banat of Temesvar by the old Roman town of Mehadia to Karansebes, crossing the low pass of the Porta Orientalis, the gateway to the East. After the destruction of Trajan's second-century road along the southern (or Serbian) shore of the Danubian gorge, the latter became impassable for traffic either by land or water until, in the nineteenth century, navigation became possible by the blowing up of the obstructing rocks of the channel, and land traffic was restored by the construction of the Szechenyi road. During the whole of the intervening period, the route by the Porta Orientalis was the main avenue of communication between the plains of Hungary and those of Rumania and Northern Bulgaria. This route, now fallen into comparative disuse, led up the Temes valley to the pass and then descended to the Danube at Orsova and so into Rumania. From Karansebes the student of history who desires to follow in the footsteps of Trajan will do well to ascend the pretty valley of the Bistritza by a tolerable road to the so-called Iron Gate at its head (not to be confused with the Iron Gate of the Danube). Here the emperor in his first Dacian war received a check at the hands of the barbarians, and after the storming of the pass he advanced to the capture of the Dacian capital Sarmizegethusa, the modern village of Varhély (Rumanian Gradistea), on the Transylvanian side of the boundary between this country and the Banat of Temesvar. This route by way of the Danube gorge, the Porta Orientalis, and the valley of the Bistritza affords one of the most picturesque and interesting approaches to Transylvania, and, from personal knowledge we can strongly recommend it to the bicyclist or pedestrian. A slight *détour* of a few miles from Orsova will take him to the delightful health resort of Herculesbad, in the romantic valley of the Cserna. Here he may bathe in the hot water which attracted the Romans in olden times, and will see in one of the public baths a statuette of Hercules carved in the living rock by these ancient inhabitants of the place. Or he may wander up the pretty valley to the boundary of Rumania marked by a line of cairns. A stiff climb through the woods will take him to the summit of Domogled, at an altitude of 3000 feet, whence a glorious view extends over a large part of Little Wallachia.

The general configuration of Transylvania may be compared to that of

* An excellent geological map of this gorge on a scale of 1 : 115,000 has been published by Dr. Franz Schafarzik in *Földtani Közlemény*, vol. 33 (Budapest, 1903), with descriptive paper (in German).

a shallow and somewhat triangular basin, raised on a low pedestal and slightly tilted up on the eastern side. In the north-west a gap in the rim of the basin gives exit to the Szamos River, while at the south-west corner a similar gap allows the passage of the Maros. A deep crack in the middle of the southern lip of our basin gives exit to the River Olt, through the Red Tower pass. These three rivers and their tributaries are responsible for the drainage of almost the whole of Transylvania.

On the extreme north, the boundary of Transylvania follows accurately the watershed between the headwaters of the Szamos and of the Theiss (in the Hungarian county of Maramaros). On the east, owing to the fact that the boundary does not follow the watershed of the main Carpathian range, but lies in most places considerably to the east of it, numerous streams, rising in Transylvania, pass in a general south-easterly direction to the Rumanian river Sereth. On the west, in a similar manner, the Transylvanian boundary cuts off in two places some of the headwaters of the Körös, a direct tributary of the Theiss. On the south the boundary follows almost exactly the watershed of the South Carpathians or Transylvanian Alps, but is cut across, as already mentioned, near its centre by the great river Olt. In the extreme south-west corner the boundary again leaves the main watershed and passes to the south, so as to include the upper part of the otherwise Rumanian river Jiul. Further south-west the boundary between Rumania and the Banat is still more irregular, following no natural physical line. The boundary, here marked by a line of cairns, as already mentioned, descends obliquely from the Domogled Mountain in Rumania, crosses the Cserna River and then ascends obliquely on the opposite side of the valley.

The central portion of Transylvania forms thus an elevated tableland, or rather a shallow elevated basin, surrounded on all sides by mountains rising to heights of from 2000 to over 8000 feet.* The slopes of the mountains are for the most part clothed with forests, in which oak, elm, beech and ash, and, higher up, coniferous trees predominate. It is from

* The heights (in metres) of the various mountains forming the ring round Transylvania are as follows: Starting in the north-west at the Szamos River—North: Lapos Mountains, Cibiles 1842; Rodna Mountains, Kuhhorn 2263. East: Györgyö Mountains, Kelemenhavas 2013, Pietrosz 2083; Csik Mountains, Nagy Hagymas 1794, Tarhavas 1662; Hargitta Mountains, 1798; Barotta Mountains, Kükkühegy 1560; Haromszeker Mountains, Büdös 1110; Bereczker Mountains, Nagy Sandor 1640, Lakocz 1778, Csiljanos 1605. South: Bodza Mountains, Csukas 1958; Burzenland Mountains, Bucsecs 2508, Königstein (Királyho) 2241; Fogaras Mountains, Nego 2544 (and neighbouring peaks Vunetara alui Butjan 2510, Vistamare 2520, Verfu Urli 2479, Szuru 2288; Sibin Mountains, Frumoasze (Csindrel) 2248; Sebesell Mountains, Surian 2061, Verfului Petru 2133; Paring Mountains, Verfu Mundri 2520, Karsia 2047, Paring (peak) 2075; Vulcan Mountains, Strazsa 1870; Hatszeg Mountains, Retjezat 2477, Verfu Pelaga 2506. West: Cserna Mountains, Ruszka 1500; Verfu Petri 2180, Transylvanian Erzgebirge, Detunata 1114; Bihar Mountains, Bihar 1842, Vlegyasza 1844; Krasna or Meszes Mountains, Ejszakhegy 712 metres (from Biely-Sigerus, 'Siebenbürgen: ' Hermannstadt, 1903).

these dense forests that the country derives its name of Transylvania ("beyond the woods"). The Hungarian and Rumanian names Erdély and Ardealu also both mean wooded country. The German name Siebenbürgen, on the other hand, has nothing to do with wood (nor with seven towns), but is perhaps connected with the ancient Wallach name of town and river Sibin (Hungarian Nagy Szeben). The Maros River and its tributaries show a general tendency to run in a south-westerly direction, converging towards the south-western corner of the country, where the land sinks as low as 600 feet. The average elevation of the rest of the central plateau is from 1000 to 1600 feet, contrasting markedly with the lowlands of Central Hungary and of Wallachia, Moldavia and Bessarabia.

Geological Features.

The scenery of a country is so intimately connected with its geology that it will help us to understand the present physical configuration and structure of Transylvania if we glance for a moment at the geological history of the land. In early Tertiary (Eocene) times most of our area lay beneath the waters of the great sea which at that time covered south-eastern Europe. Parts of the Carpathians and other lands, including much of the mountainous ring that now surrounds Transylvania, stood up as islands in that sea. The great but slow upheaval of mid-Tertiary times which was chiefly responsible for the raising of the Alps, contributed also to the further elevation of the Carpathians, as a great folded chain of mountains. The gradual uprise of the sea-floor during later Tertiary times and the isolation of detached areas of sea "caused the south-east of Europe to present some resemblance to the great Aralo-Caspian depression of the present time" (A. Geikie, 'Textbook of Geology,' 2nd edit., p. 882). In Pliocene times we have in the Vienna basin the features of "an isolated gulf gradually freshening like the modern Caspian, by the inpouring of rivers; but on both sides of the Carpathian range there were bays nearly cut off from the main body of water exposed to so copious an evaporation without counterbalancing inflow that this salt was deposited over the bottom." The depression of Central Transylvania was one of these bays. These great deposits of salt, of which Bielz mentions no less than thirty-seven in Transylvania alone, constitute one of the principal sources of mineral wealth in the country* (Bielz-Sigerus, 'Siebenbürgen,' 3rd edit., p. 102; Hermannstadt, 1903). As the land continued to rise, the great Transylvanian bay became a dry land basin, the last remnant of Tertiary sea in this region being at the lowest or south-west corner of the area.

* Geikie describes the remarkable deposit at Parajd, in the valley of the little Kokel River, east of Maros Vasarhely, "where a mass of rock salt has been accumulated having a maximum of 7550 feet in length, 5570 feet in breadth and 590 feet in depth, and estimated to contain upwards of 10,595 millions of cubic feet of rock salt" (*op. cit.*, p. 882).

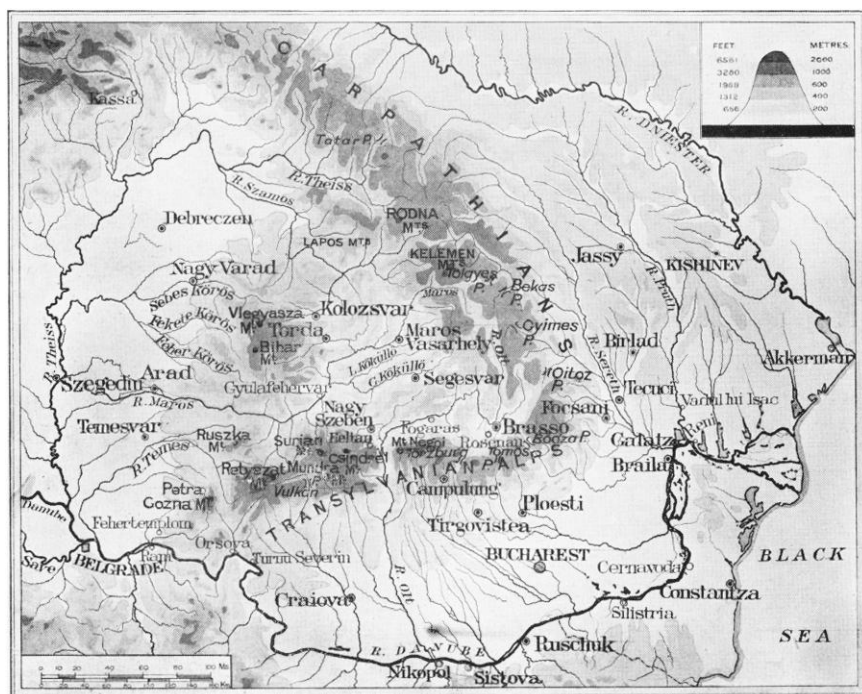


Fig. 1.—Orographical Sketch-map of Transylvania

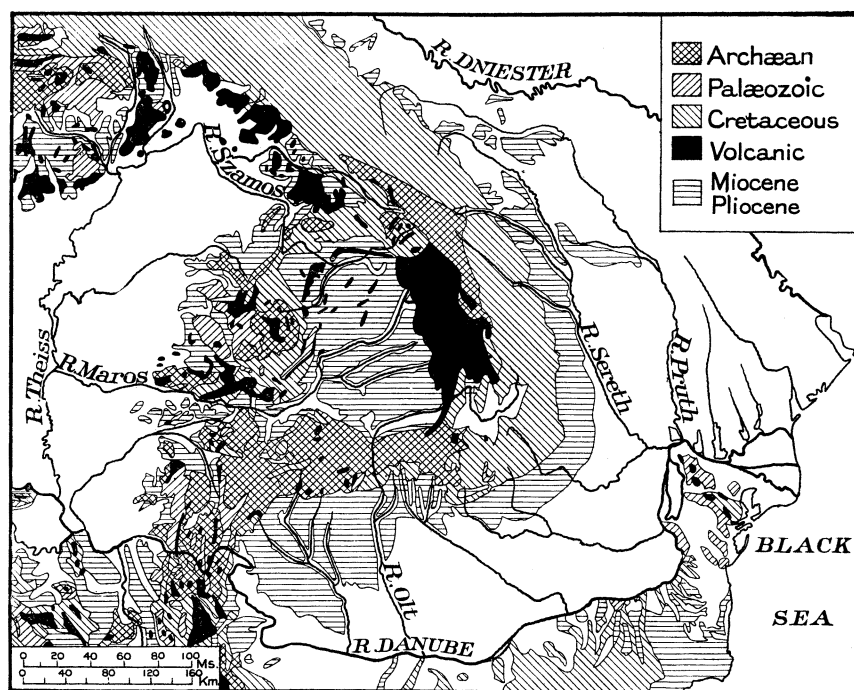


Fig. 2.—Geological Sketch-map of Transylvania

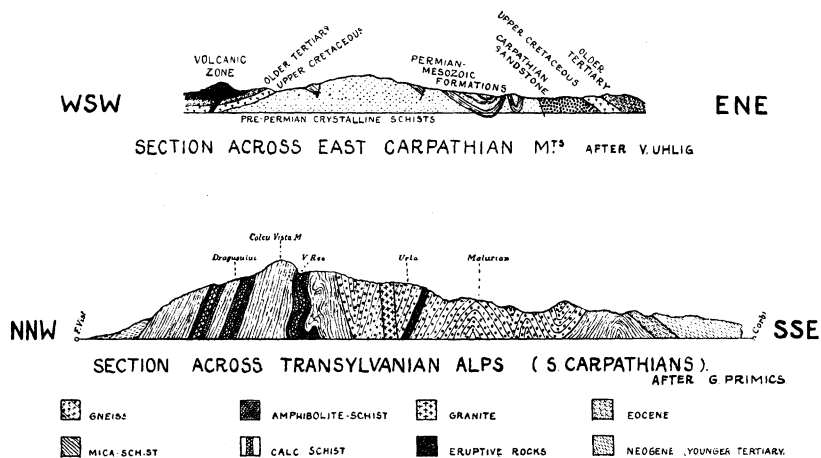


FIG. 3

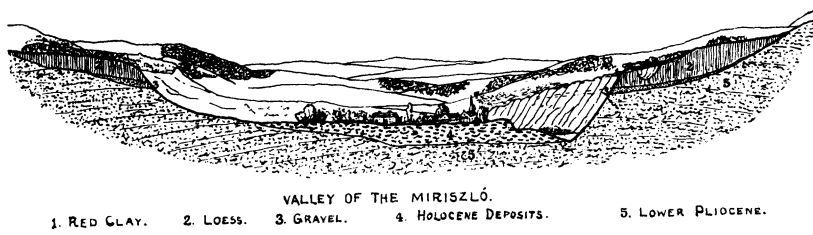


FIG. 4

AFTER PAVAL-VAJNA

where the Maros River now leaves the country. The higher ground surrounding the central area of Transylvania on all sides is composed of older crystalline and early sedimentary rocks and forms the edges of the Transylvanian basin (Figs. 1 and 2).

The subterranean movements east of the Alps culminated in the great Tertiary volcanic outbursts of East and West Transylvania, as elsewhere on the flanks of the Carpathian range. It is these great deposits of lavas and tuffs which have formed the range of hills (Kelemen Hegyseg, Görgeny, Hargitta, etc.) which extends along eastern Transylvania in a direction parallel to, but more or less separated from, the main Carpathian range (see Figs. 1 and 2). Similar volcanic rocks exist in the west, where they help to form the mountain ranges of the Bihar, Gyalu, and other mountains which lie to the south-west of Kolozsvár, between the central depression of Transylvania and the great plain of Hungary. It is in these western mountains that we find the rich deposits of ore which have caused the Transylvanian gold-mines to be the most valuable in Europe. Here also is one of the few places in which that rare metal tellurium is found. The hot springs of Transylvania are intimately connected with these old extinct volcanoes.

All the central part of Transylvania is occupied by the deposits of Miocene and Pliocene times, more or less disturbed by subsequent earth-movements. In these deposits the modern rivers have cut deep valley grooves, causing the floor of the Transylvanian basin to present an alternation of ridges and furrows with but few intervening plains, a condition of things widely different from that of the great flat monotonous plain of Central Hungary. The scenery of central Transylvania may be described as comparatively tame. The accompanying semi-diagrammatic section across the Miriszló valley in the west central region (Fig. 4) gives a good general idea of this scenery. It is towards the periphery of the land among the broken and wooded ranges of mountains that we find the picturesque scenery of the country. Amid the worn-down remains of the great crystalline axis, in the deep gorges cut by rivers through Carpathian sandstone or Jurassic limestone, or among the dissected remnants of the great lava-flows do we look, and not in vain, for the singular natural beauty of the land.

Boundary-dykes.

In the earlier centuries of our era, and even before this, it was the custom among many nations and tribes to mark the limits of their land by huge boundary-dykes consisting of a great wall of earth with a ditch on the outer side. Thus, Tacitus relates that in the first century A.D. the Angrivarii were engaged in putting up a boundary-dyke against their neighbours the Cherusci, tribes situated to the east of the lower Rhine. Several of the boundary-dykes in the Balkans have been attributed to the Bulgarians of a later date (see J. B. Bury, 'Eastern Empire,' 1912, p. 338,

for an account of these). There are many similar boundary-dykes in our own country ; of these the best known are Offa's, separating Anglo-Saxon Mercia from Celtic Wales, and Wansdyke, which excavation has shown to be of Roman or post-Roman date. Within 40 miles of London are two such dykes (the Buckinghamshire and Middlesex Grim's dykes), the age of which has never yet been seriously investigated, as they could be, and ought to be, by scientific excavation.

The land surrounding Transylvania abounds in similar dykes, marking doubtless the territorial limits of various nations. The great earth wall (Fig. 6) which runs across the Dobrogea from Axiopolis (near Csernavoda) to Constantza (the ancient Tomis, where Ovid spent several years in exile) has its fosse to the north, and, with its chain of camps, was apparently Roman. This, and the accompanying stone wall of later date and undoubtedly Roman construction, may be compared with the earth and stone walls of Roman times which run from Newcastle to Carlisle in our own country. But whereas our own Roman wall stands in many places still several feet in height, its Dobrogean contemporary, situated in a land where stone is scarce, has long been destroyed. Nothing now remains above ground save loose fragments of stone which form a conspicuous white streak, by which its course may easily be traced. The photograph in Fig. 9, taken from the ruins of Roman Axiopolis, shows well the steppe-like nature of the Dobrogea, and in the distance near the horizon the white line of the Roman wall is just visible. Roman perhaps are the two dykes that run east and west through Wallachia, the fosse being to the north of the vallum. Others, such as the "little" earth wall in the Dobrogea and that which runs through Tecuci in Moldavia, both of which I have had the opportunity of examining, were clearly erected by some more northern nations, since the fosse lies to the south. The dyke at Tecuci is known locally as Trajan's wall ; but the name of Trajan is erroneously attached to antiquities in Rumania as freely as that of Cæsar is to those of our own country. Not only is the fosse to the south, but the irregularity of its line suggests barbarian work rather than Roman work of a good period. The breadth of the fosse in this part of its course (about 40 feet) is similar to that of the Buckinghamshire Grim's dyke.

It is but little I can tell you of these dykes on Tocilescu's map or of the people who erected them. But I have thought it well to draw attention to them in the hope that some of my audience may be able to tell us more about them. It is possible, too, that some future geographer may find them useful as a guide when tracing the boundaries of some of the early tribes who inhabited the regions which they delimit.

The Inhabitants of Transylvania—Rumanians, Hungarians, Saxons.

Having attempted to describe the physical and geological aspects of the land, I turn now to the inhabitants of Transylvania. A glance at an

ethnographical map, or an examination of official Hungarian population statistics, brings out at once the dominant fact that Transylvania, although a part of Hungary, is inhabited mainly by Rumanians and not by Hungarians. Of the two and a half millions of inhabitants, not less than five-ninths, that is more than half, speak Rumanian, while only three-ninths are Hungarian, the remaining ninth being Germans, generally known as Saxons.

On the first occasion on which my wife and I visited Transylvania, in 1896, the prominence of the Rumanian population was brought home to us in a striking manner. We had taken a long walk across the lower slopes of the Gyalu Mountains to the south-west of Kolozsvár, in the north-west of the country, far from the Rumanian frontier. We arrived about mid-day, hot, tired and hungry, at a village. No inn was to be found, so we began to ask, in our best Hungarian, where we could get something to eat and drink. But to our surprise we found that nobody could speak or understand Hungarian. Every one spoke Rumanian, a language of which we at that time unfortunately knew nothing. At last a small child was produced who at school had learnt some Hungarian. She knew, I think, about as much as we did ourselves, which was not very much. However, she could understand us, and, acting as interpreter, took us to the house of some friendly peasants, from whom we soon obtained a good meal of bread and milk. We were rather surprised at seeing in the place of honour on the wall a portrait of a king, not the King of Hungary, but King Charles of Rumania, and one of the first questions our hosts asked us was, had we been to Bucharest? It was evident that the interest and allegiance of these people living far off in Transylvania was centred, not in Hungary, but in distant Rumania.

I propose now to trace very briefly the historical development of these three nations of Transylvania—Rumanians, Saxons, Hungarians—and to show how large a part the geographical structure of the country has played in the development of its history.

Rumanians.

Passing over the earliest inhabitants of the land, of whom very little is known, we will begin with the Dacians, who before the time of Christ occupied not only what we call Transylvania, but also much of the surrounding country lying between the three rivers Dniester, Danube, and Theiss. Towards the end of the first century A.D. the Roman Emperor Domitian waged an inglorious war with the Dacians, who, among other exploits, completely annihilated one of his armies. Trajan, however, in his two Dacian wars, carried on in the early years of the second century, thoroughly defeated them and converted Dacia into a Roman province. A Roman province it remained for nearly a hundred and seventy years. The story of Trajan's campaigns is well known, and is well illustrated by the famous column in Rome, the sculptured reliefs on which tell us

so many details of the war. Less known, however, is the Trajan monument, or rather group of monuments, in the Dobrogea, which we visited in 1910. These deal not only with Trajan's but also with Domitian's wars. The archæological investigation of these monuments has at last thrown light* on a hitherto unsolved problem, namely, why did Trajan raise a noble monument so far away as the Dobrogea, and what became of Domitian's army which, with its general Cornelius Fuscus, marched against the Dacians and was never heard of again? Far away in this dreary land, not many miles from the Black Sea, stand the remains of a huge trophy from which have been recovered many sculptured slabs illustrating Trajan's campaigns. By its side are the remains of a funeral monument erected to the memory of some 4000 of Domitian's soldiers and their general Fuscus. It is now clear that the Dacians drove the Romans far to the east, and that it was in the Dobrogea and not in Dacia proper that Domitian's general perished. It was on the spot where he was defeated that Trajan, after his victorious wars, erected his trophy dedicated to Mars the Avenger, to show the barbarians that although they might by chance defeat a Roman army they could not do so with impunity, but that retribution would surely follow. The sculptures, now at the University of Bucharest,† show Trajan himself on horseback, the Roman legionaries and auxiliary troops, fights with Dacians, a Dacian waggon fortress, captives tied to trees, Dacian women and children, and many other incidents of the campaign. The portraits of these ancient Dacian women (Fig. 11), sculptured in the second century, probably locally by Trajan's soldiers who were well acquainted with them, show a remarkable facial resemblance to many of the women of modern Transylvania, as shown in Fig. 12 and in several others of my photographs. Near the monument is the modern village of Adam Clissi, where the Rumanian Government has been excavating the ruins of a Roman town (*Tropœa Traiana*) founded by Trajan and restored by Constantine. Both town and monuments were destroyed, probably by the Goths in the third century and later.

After Trajan's wars Dacia became a flourishing Roman province. To repopulate the devastated country Trajan is reported to have introduced 240,000 colonists "from all parts of the Empire" with the exception of Central Italy. As in contemporary Britain, the Romans made roads, built towns, erected temples, baths and other buildings, and developed the salt and gold mines. It is interesting to note that Dacia was the last province to be added to the Roman Empire, and the first to be separated from it. Acquired in 107 A.D., nearly three-quarters of

* We are indebted chiefly to the labours of the Rumanian archæologist Tocilescu ('*Fouilles et recherches archéologiques en Roumanie, Bucarest, 1900*') and the German historian Cichorius ('*Die römischen Denkmäler in der Dobrudscha*, Weidmann': Berlin, 1904) for the elucidation of these problems.

† At least they were there when I last saw them, before the present war.



Fig. 5.—The gorge of the Danube below Moldava, entrance of second defile



Fig. 6.—The great Earth Wall : Ancient boundary dyke at Cochirleni near Csernavoda in the Dobrogea, looking east

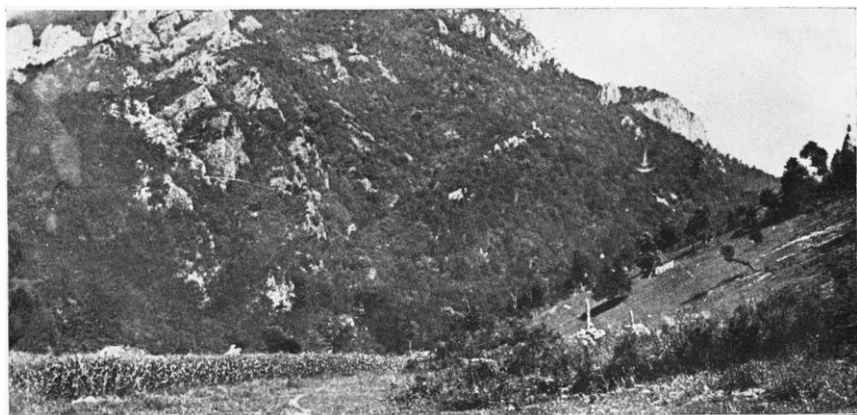


Fig. 7.—Boundary pillars in the Cserna Valley, near Herculesbad. Rumania to right, Banat of Temesvar to left



Fig. 8.—The Szechenyi Road, left bank. Gorge of the Danube near Bazias, Banat of Temesvar



Fig. 9.—In the Dobrogea, looking east from the ruins of Axiopolis, near Csernavoda. The white streak, slanting up to the horizon in centre is the remains of the stone wall, once the northern boundary of the Roman Empire

a century after Britain (43 A.D.), Dacia was relinquished by Aurelian (270 A.D.) owing to pressure from the Goths, nearly a hundred and fifty years before Honorius gave up the more northern province.

Barbarian Invasions.

For several hundred years after the withdrawal of the Roman officials, the lowlands north of the Danube, and to some extent south as well, were occupied by a succession of more or less barbarous peoples, Goths, Gepids, Huns, Avars, Slavs, and Bulgars, most of whom, all in fact except the last two, came and went without leaving behind them any marked or durable impress of their stay. These barbarian invasions affected chiefly the more accessible and more fertile lowlands. Some invaders, such as the Avars and Huns, appear to have swept round by the north, as did the Hungarians at a later date. But the main path of invasion into the Danube area was then, as it has been ever since, by way of the narrow passage between the Carpathian Mountains and the Black Sea, where Moldavia joins Wallachia and the Dobrogea. Here the steppe lands of South Russia are continuous with the similar country which lies on either side of the lower Danube, and the path of the invader is barred by no great physical obstacle. Transylvania in these times lay like a wooded and rocky island in the midst of a stormy sea of barbarism, the waves of which swirled round it, but only now and then broke over it. Gepids, Huns and Avars invaded what is now Central Hungary; Goths, Slavs and Bulgars preferred the lowlands of what is now Rumania. To what extent the barbarians crossed the wooded mountains and penetrated into Transylvania itself it is difficult to say. There can be no doubt however that the remote mountain valleys of the Carpathians afforded a secure retreat to many inhabitants of the plains who fled before the invaders.

Twice has it occurred to me in the last four years (once in Serbia and once in Rumania) to witness the flight of a civilian population before an invading army. Again and again in the course of mediæval Balkan history does one read how, as the enemy swept through the land, burning and killing as they went, the civilian population fled to the mountains. It is easy therefore to understand what happened to the inhabitants of the plains of the lower Danube as the hordes of invading Slavs and Bulgars pressed forwards. Some fled south to Macedonia, where the Macedo-Rumanians still exist; some fled northwards to the Carpathians. The great Slav invasions of the sixth and seventh centuries drove a permanent wedge between the Romanized inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula and those of what had been Roman Dacia, and that Slav wedge has to this day never been withdrawn, although it has undergone some slight modification by fusion with the later Bulgar invaders. The modern Bulgarian, however, is mainly Slav by descent and speaks an almost purely Slav language differing but little from Serbian.

How far the Rumanians are direct descendants of the Daco-Roman inhabitants of Transylvania is an interesting and highly controversial question into which it is useless to enter here at any length. The broad fact remains that we have in the Rumanians of Transylvania a people speaking a language closely akin to Latin and quite different from the Slav, German, and Hungarian languages by which they are surrounded.

What became of the Roman colonists after the withdrawal of the Roman legions in 270 is uncertain. That some of them retired with the Roman officials to Moesia there is no doubt. That anything like the majority of them did so, is in the highest degree improbable. Nor is it in the least likely that the original Dacians were wholly exterminated by the Romans, as some authorities maintain. When a conquering army or nation enters a country which consists partly of mountains and partly of lowlands, what usually happens is that the invaders settle in the more fertile lowlands while the original inhabitants take to the hills. This is what happened in our own country when the invading Anglo-Saxons drove the original Celtic inhabitants to the mountainous regions of Wales, Cumbria and Scotland. If we look at an ethnographical map we see that the Rumanians occupy, not only the whole of the mountainous ring of outer Transylvania, but extend in all directions around it. This is not the situation in which we should expect to find their settlements had this people spread upwards from the south at a later period, as some authors have sought to maintain. But it is just the situation in which we should expect to find them if they were the descendants of the original inhabitants driven from the centre towards the surrounding hills by subsequent invaders who took possession of the more fertile centre of the country. Nor does the evidence of place-names wholly fail to show the continued existence of a Rumanian-speaking people in Transylvania. It is true that a very large number of village names are Slav rather than Rumanian and owe their existence to later invaders, yet there are others that betray a Rumanian origin. Far away to the north, beyond the borders of modern Transylvania, on the banks of Szamos, near the point where that river forsakes the hills and enters the great Hungarian plain, lies a town bearing the Rumanian name of Satu mare or Great village. This name appears on most maps disguised under its equivalent Hungarian spelling of Szatmar. The town is an ancient one, since a document of 1230* states that Queen Gisela of Hungary (wife of St. Stephen, 997-1038) brought Bavarian colonists to Zathmar Nemety (or Zathmar "of the Germans"). It is interesting to notice that eight centuries ago the words for "great" and "village" had already assumed practically the same forms that they now have in modern Rumanian. Now the Rumanians speak a Latin language, a language which although containing elements

* Fejer, 'Codex diplomaticus,' III. 2, p. 24, quoted by Xenopol, 'Hist. d. roumains,' p. 149 (Leroux, Paris).

of Slav and other tongues, yet is more closely allied to Latin than to any other of its derivatives except Italian itself.

The close affinity of Rumanian to Latin and modern Italian is well illustrated by the following table of common words, which might easily be greatly extended :

<i>English.</i>	<i>Modern Italian.</i>	<i>Latin.</i>	<i>Rumanian.</i>	<i>Slav (Serb).</i>	<i>German.</i>	<i>Hungarian.</i>
Water	Acqua	Aqua	Apa	Voda	Wasser	Viz
Eight	Otto	Octo	Opt	Osam	Acht	Nyolcz
Night	Notte	Nocte(m)	Nopte	Notj	Nacht	Éj
Milk	Latte	Lacte(m)	Lapte	Mleko	Milch	Tej
Bread	Pane	Pane(m)	Pane *	Hleb	Brod	Kenyer

A remarkable feature of Rumanian is the use of the consonant *p* where in Latin we should find a *q* or *c* (*k*), and especially when *c* occurs before *t*. In this respect Rumanian bears the same relation to Latin that Gaelic (Scotch and Irish—*q*-Celtic) does to Cymric (Welsh and Breton—*p*-Celtic), and that Roman Latin does to some of the ancient provincial Italian languages, *e.g.* Oscan (*cf.* Roman Quintus = Prov. Ital. Pontius, as in *Pontius* Pilate).

Does this use of *p* in modern Rumanian indicate that the Daco-Roman colonists came from the extra-Roman provinces of Italy, or does it point to some very different connection with extra-Italian races?

There is no evidence to show that any considerable immigration of a Latin-speaking race ever took place into Transylvania after the period of the Roman conquest of Dacia. There can be no doubt that the inhabitants of Transylvania have spoken a Latin dialect ever since Roman times. The only alternative to the supposition that Rumanian is derived from the Daco-Roman colonists is that the language descends from that of some still earlier inhabitants of Dacia—some primitive people speaking a language akin to, but not actually derived from, Latin. But this question is mainly a philological one which is difficult to answer without more knowledge of the Dacian language than we at present possess. The main point which can hardly be disputed is that the present Rumanian-speaking people of Transylvania are the survivors of the earliest inhabitants of which we have any definite historical record, and that they have been settled in the country from the earliest times until the present day. There is documentary evidence that large numbers of them, in order to retain wealth and privileges, gradually underwent a process of Magyarization and became fused with their Magyar conquerors. A similar process took place in Bosnia after the Turkish conquest, many Bosnians adopting the Mohammedan religion and becoming known as "Turks," the name by which these Slavs are still known in Bosnia at the present day. There is this difference, however, that whereas those of the Daco-Romans who became Magyarized adopted the language of their conquerors, the

* Pronounced nearly as "pweeny."

Bosnians adopted the religion only, in most cases retaining their native language. The Bosnian "Turk" of the present day usually speaks Slav.

Saxons.

The history of the Germans or Saxons in Transylvania is comparatively simple. We all know the picturesque legend of the Pied Piper of Hamelin, which tells us that the children enticed away by the piper reappeared in distant Transylvania. The historical kernel of truth in this legend is the fact that in the twelfth century the King of Hungary invited numerous colonists from western Germany to settle in the country, granting them land and special privileges in order that they might defend the border against the savage Kumans, who at that time occupied what is now Rumania. A little later another Hungarian king invited the Teutonic knights to settle in the Burzenland, the fertile plain in the extreme south-eastern corner of the country. This king Andrew, like his contemporary, our own king John, had his troubles with the turbulent nobles. The latter complained that the king favoured the foreigners. They succeeded in wresting from him the Golden Bull of privileges (1222), only seven years later than the date of our own Magna Carta. Soon afterwards the Teutonic knights left the country and migrated to Prussia, where they laid the foundations of that state whose arrogance and ambition have been the principal cause of the present war.* But the other Germans remained, occupying chiefly the southern portions of the country, where they founded, or refounded, the towns of Sibiu (Hermannstadt) and Brasso (Kronstadt). The favour shown to them by successive kings caused them, as in other countries, notably France and England, to be supporters of the royal power against the unruly and turbulent nobility. Whereas the Roman colonists had settled chiefly in the valleys and on low eminences, the Germans placed their fortified settlements on the tops of high hills, especially among the foothills and on the slopes of the mountains towards Wallachia and Moldavia. Traces of some three hundred of these fortified German settlements are said to be still in existence.

Thus arose the well-known "Bauernbürgen" or citizen fortresses, which differed from most of the fortresses of Western Europe in that they were in the possession of the citizens, and not, as for instance in the Rhine valley, of the nobles. As a typical example of a Transylvanian citizen fortress let us take that of Rosnyo (Rosenau), not far from Brasso and on the way to the Törzburg Pass. Here on the top of a high limestone hill

* In the cathedral at Königsberg, some fifty years ago, was discovered, under a coat of whitewash, an interesting early fourteenth-century fresco depicting the Teutonic knights in the dress of the period, about a hundred years after they had quitted Transylvania. A coloured reproduction of this fresco has been published by Wilhelm Bergmann in his 'Reste Deutscher Ordensburgen in Siebenbürgen,' publ. W. Krommer, Freudenthal, Austrian Silesia, 1909.



Fig. 10.—The Fortified Church at Keresztenysziget (Grossau), South Transylvania



Fig. 11.—Dacians from the Adam Clissi Monument, Dobrogea



Fig. 12.—Peasant Woman of South Transylvania



Fig. 13.—Historical Sketch-map of Transylvania

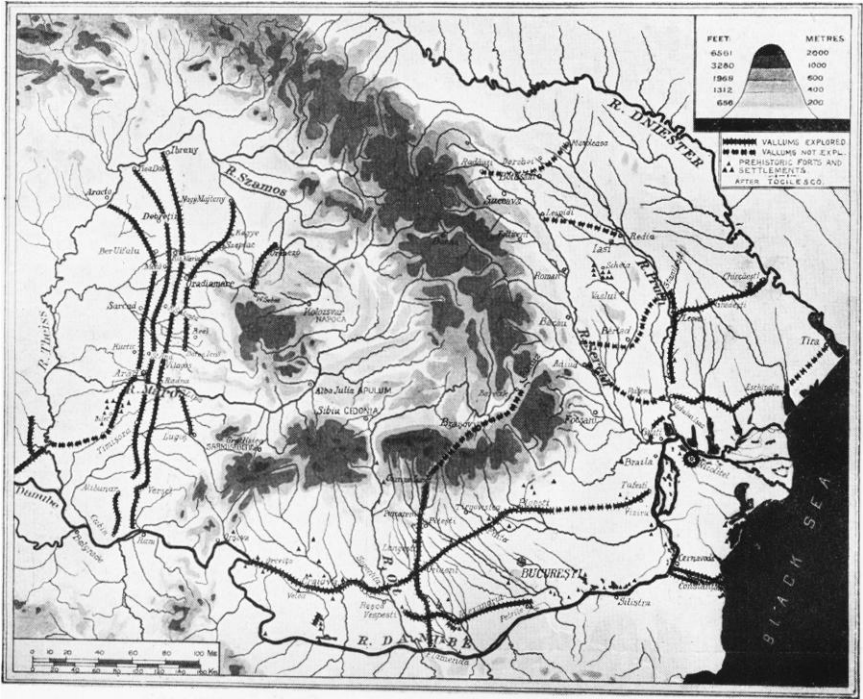


Fig. 14.—Boundary Dykes in Transylvania

are the ruins of the old town, surrounded by crumbling walls, while some 500 feet below, in the plain, is the modern town of the same name. In times of danger, which were frequent enough in the neighbourhood of the Törzburg Pass, the whole population could take shelter behind the fortified walls of the hilltop.

The Fortified Churches of South Transylvania.

An interesting and remarkable feature of South Transylvania is the wonderful series of fortified churches, to which I now turn. Not only were towns and villages fortified, but in many cases the churches themselves. Massive walls 25-30 feet in height, with lofty towers and frowning bastions surrounded the ample churchyards. Within the walls capacious storehouses were kept well filled with weapons, ammunition, and provisions. The churches themselves, with small windows, few entrances and often double roofs, had external galleries, embrasures, loopholes and other arrangements for defence. Sometimes (as at Heltau, near Hermannstadt) a double or triple line of wall surrounds the churchyard, and even at the present day the churchgoer obtains access only by passing through a complicated series of zigzag entrances and passages, commanded by the loopholes of the defenders. Of those that we have personally visited, Nagy Ajto has high enclosure walls with large angle bastions; Keresztenysziget (Grossau) (Fig. 10) preserves its high wall, provided with fortified entrance and towers at intervals, as also does Kerestenyfalva (Neustadt); BIRTHELM has more than one enclosure wall with entrance passages between them; Heltau had three walls (of which one has now been destroyed), and a complicated zigzag entrance passage; Apold and Kis Kapus have fortified steeples with external galleries, from which the defenders could shoot. One of the finest is that of Baromlaka (Burmloch), with two massive steeples provided with protected external galleries for marksmen, while the north entrance to the church still retains *in situ* its heavy wooden portcullis. Some of these churches have double roofs, the intervening space being capable of containing a large body of defenders.

For seven and a half centuries the industrious and sturdy Saxon population of Transylvania has lived its life in this remote corner of the empire, always jealous of its privileges and ready to fight for them. Most of the industries of the country is in their hands. They have but little love for their proud and somewhat overbearing neighbours the Magyars, but combine with them in despising and oppressing politically the less fortunate Rumanian peasantry. For centuries, and until quite recent times, all political power was in the hands of the three "privileged nations." But these three were the Saxons, Magyars, and the Szeklers, and did not include the Rumanians, although these actually formed the majority of the inhabitants. Various attempts have been made by the Rumanians of Transylvania and of the neighbouring Rumanian countries

of Hungary proper to obtain full political recognition, but hitherto without avail.*

Szeklers and Hungarians.

The Szeklers are a Magyar-speaking people who occupy, in a fairly compact mass, the three counties of Csik, Háromszek and Udvarhely, in the south-east part of Transylvania. Their origin is uncertain. According to legend they are Huns who fled hither in the fifth century during the civil war that followed upon the death of Attila. Another and better view is that they are a branch of the Magyars who entered the country before the main body of invaders, crossing the mountains directly from the plains of Moldavia, perhaps through the Oituz Pass. At present this people is mixed both with later Magyar immigrants and with Wallachs who have become Magyarized, that is who have adopted the Magyar language, although still calling themselves Olah, *i.e.* Wallach.

All over Transylvania are found village place-names containing the prefix *Olah*, meaning Wallach or Rumanian. Thus Olah Ujfalu (in the county of Fogaras) in the valley of the Olt; Olah Dalva, Olah Szilvas and Olah Peterlaka (Co. Also-Feher), Olah Kocsard and Olah Salyi (Co. Kis Küküllő), Olah Bretttye (Co. Hunyad), Olah Nadas (Co. Maros Torda), Kapolnas Olahfalu and Szentegyhazas Olahfalu (both in the Szekler county of Udvarhely), and another Olah Ujfalu (Co. Kolozs), all in the basin of the Maros; Olah Lapos (Co. Szolnok Doboka), Olah Gyeres (Co. Kolozs), Olah Szent Györgyi (Co. Bistritz Naszod), all in the basin of the Szamos.

Sometimes we find pairs of villages of the same name but with different prefixes, as Olah Lapos and Magyar Lapos, Olah Bretttye and Magyar Bretttye, and so on.

It is worthy of note too that the modern Hungarian words for "Italian" and "Italy" are "Olasz" and "Olaszország."

The Magyars themselves came from what is now known as South Russia, and crossing the Carpathians in the ninth century by one of the northern passes, probably the Vereczke, between Stry and Munkacs, quickly overran the great plain of Hungary. But it was apparently not until a century or two later that the Magyars penetrated into Transylvania itself.

The political condition of the latter country in the ninth century is shown by the accompanying map (Fig. 1). East of the river Theiss we hear of three duchies, ruled by Dukes Menumorut, Glad and Gelu, of Vlach-Bulgarian origin. Of Menumorut it is recorded that when summoned by the Magyars to give up his duchy he bluntly refused. But eventually his only daughter married a Magyar noble and the duchy

* Those who desire further information on this most interesting subject are recommended to study Dr. Seton-Watson's monograph, 'Rumania and the Great War' (Constable, 1915). It contains also full details of Hungarian official population statistics and an excellent ethnographical map.

passed into Magyar hands. A century later we hear of a fourth duchy, that of Kean, a shadowy duke who appears to have ruled in South Transylvania. In the eleventh century appears Duke Gyula of Transylvania, of whom much more is known. He appears to have been at first almost independent, but after his rebellion the country passed more definitely into the hands of the Magyar invaders. It still retained its ancient laws and privileges and was ruled by "voivodes," or dukes, of its own.

The map shows us also the routes pursued by the Tatars in their great invasion of 1240-1241 under Batu Khan. A description of this invasion by a Persian chronicler, Fazel-Ullah-Raschid, of the fourteenth century, based upon original Mongol documents, together with accounts given by early Hungarian and Byzantine chroniclers, gives us glimpses of the geographical position of the Rumanians or Wallachs, as they were then called, in the thirteenth century. Various little communities of these people were existing on the outer, that is eastern and southern, slopes of the Carpathians. Particularly worthy of notice is the territory of Bassaram Bam, as the Persian chronicler calls him, who is doubtless no other than the "Ban" or "Ruler" Bassarab, of the well-known Wallachian family which in later times gave so many princes to that country.

Rise of Wallachia and Moldavia.

Towards the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, these little communities were increased by immigrants from Transylvania, both north and south. These, under historical leaders, crossed the Carpathians from Fogaras and Maramaros respectively, and founded the states of Wallachia and Moldavia.

The gradual development and territorial extension of these two principalities is shown by the gradual shifting of the capitals in succession from Cimpulung to Curtea d'Argès, Tirgovishteia and Bucharest, in the case of Wallachia; from Suceava (now in the Bukovina) to Jassy, in the case of Moldavia. In each case the position of the capital shifts from north to south. Both these principalities, at first independent, soon fell more or less under the power of the Ottoman Turks,* although still retaining their native princes and a large measure of independence.

Transylvania's Period of Independence.

Early in the sixteenth century,† after the conquest of Hungary by the Turks, Transylvania became free from Hungarian overlordship, and, although occasionally paying tribute to the Turks, was practically independent, and so it remained for more than 150 years.

It was during this time that Transylvania's territorial expansion was

* Wallachia first paid tribute to the Turks in 1391, Moldavia in 1456.

† After the great battle of Mohacs (1526).

at its maximum, embracing not only what is now Transylvania, but also a large tract of country drained by the upper Theiss as far as Kassa. At this time Transylvania rose to the rank of an important European power, making an alliance with Sweden and attacking Poland. It was during this period, however, that for a brief space (about a year) Transylvania was overrun and conquered by the Wallachian Prince Michael the Brave, who succeeded in uniting temporarily the three countries Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania (1599-1600).

Austrian Dominion.

Later still, at the end of the seventeenth century, after the defeat of the Turks by Austria and the evacuation by them of all Hungarian territory except the Banat of Temesvar, Transylvania fell under the dominion of Austria. Her native rulers nevertheless remained for a time, and she continued to retain a large amount of autonomy. In the meantime Wallachia and Moldavia had fallen more and more under the heel of the Turk. The condition of both countries in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when they were ruled by Greek governors appointed by the Porte, was one of great degradation and misery.

From the time of the Greek war of independence (1821), both Wallachia and Moldavia began to recover their liberty, until finally in 1859 both principalities were united under one ruler, in spite of the opposition of the Great Powers, including Great Britain. A few years later all vestiges of Turkish sovereignty were shaken off, Rumania proclaiming her independence in 1877 and becoming a kingdom in 1881. The territorial changes which have occurred in the two principalities since their first foundation have affected Moldavia more than Wallachia. In the seventeenth century for a space of about twenty years (1718-1739) Little Wallachia (that is, Wallachia between the river Olt and the Banat of Temesvar) was lost to Austria but subsequently restored. The Bukovina was taken from Moldavia by Austria in 1777. Bessarabia was taken from Moldavia by Russia in 1812; the southern part only was returned to Moldavia in 1856, as the result of the Crimean war, but lost again in 1878 after the Russo-Turkish war. It is probable that the recent Great War will result in great alterations in the map of Rumania, but this is a political question upon which it is not right that I should enter here. As a purely geographical matter, however, I may point out that the "rectification" of the Hungarian-Rumanian boundary imposed by the Central Powers upon Rumania after the temporary defeat of the latter would have placed practically the whole of both slopes of the Carpathians in the hands of Hungary. As it is the boundary lies in many places, as I have shown already, on the Rumanian side of the divide. The suggested alteration would place the whole mountain range in Hungarian hands.

I have already spoken of the mixture of races and of languages in

Transylvania. An ordinary ethnographic map scarcely suffices to bring out sufficiently the intermingling which exists. Nor must it be forgotten that density of population must be taken into consideration when studying an ethnographical map, or wrong conclusions may easily be drawn. Most of the mountainous area of Transylvania, inhabited almost entirely by Rumanians, is naturally less thickly populated than many of the valleys of the centre, in the towns of which Magyars and Germans are prone to congregate.

But if races and languages are mixed in Transylvania, very much more so are they in the Banat of Temesvar, where Rumanians, Hungarians, Serbs, and Germans jostle one another in almost inextricable confusion. In general terms it may be said that the eastern or mountainous half is mainly Rumanian, the western half is mainly Serb in the south, and the Magyar in the north-west, with many considerable areas of Germans. An illustration of the mixture is well afforded by an incident which occurred to us in 1910, as we were riding through a village in the south-eastern part of the Banat, that is the part that on an ordinary ethnographic map would be marked as purely Rumanian.

As we entered the village a man spoke to us in Rumanian. When we asked the next man in Rumanian where the inn was, we got no answer until the question was repeated in Hungarian, when he answered promptly enough, "Over the hill on the left." On reaching the spot indicated, a man at the door of the inn spoke to me in Hungarian. Entering the inn and asking two men there in Hungarian for the landlord, we got no reply until the question was repeated in Serb, for they knew no Hungarian. The landlord when he appeared spoke to me in German. All this within twenty minutes!

We afterwards had a long conversation with the two Serbs, and learnt that the village was considered to be a Serb village, although lying in an otherwise Rumanian district. The men who spoke Hungarian were probably officials.

If the linguistic boundary of the Rumanian-speaking people is difficult to define, it is otherwise with the physical western boundary of Transylvania. Here a great range of mountains, but poorly marked in many of our atlases,* extends due north from Deva on the Maros to the headwaters of the Swift (Sebes) Körös river. The line of mountains then passes in a north-easterly direction (by the Meszes and Lapos Mountains), crossing the Szamos where it makes its remarkably acute bend, to reach the main Carpathian range at the Rodna Mountains.

From this line the land slopes rapidly down to the west, the 200-metres (656 feet) contour line passing approximately from Ram on the Danube nearly due north by Temesvar and Arad to Nagy Varad (Gross-

* See an interesting correspondence on the question of the western boundary of Transylvania by Colonel Rosetti and the President in the November number of the *Geographical Journal*.

wardein). If the orographical map be compared with the geological, it will be seen that this line marks both the limits of the Pliocene sea of ancient times and those of the modern Central plain (Alföld) of Hungary, its dried-up basin. Linguistically the Rumanians occupy the rising land that once overlooked the Pliocene sea, the Magyars, Serbs, and Germans of the Banat occupy mainly the bed of that sea.

Let me conclude with the hope that the Peace Conference, which begins to-day, will find a satisfactory solution to the various difficult problems—racial, geographical, and political—which it will be called upon to consider when dealing with the future of Transylvania and its relation to Rumania, and with the remains of what was once Austria-Hungary.

Before the paper the PRESIDENT said: It is not often that we find any one well acquainted with a district in Europe which is so comparatively out of reach as Transylvania, and it is indeed seldom that we can find any one who has made a study of a remote country like that for a number of years, and is so well able to give us an account not only of the people but the country itself and its geographical disposition, as is Mr. James Berry. For many years he has travelled in that country, and he has much to tell us which is not only interesting but which will be exceedingly instructive at this particular crisis of European history. I will, therefore, at once ask Mr. Berry to commence his lecture.

(Mr. James Berry then read the paper printed above, and a discussion followed.)

LORD BRYCE: It is with great diffidence that I respond to the call of the President, because I feel how infinitely less I know about Transylvania than Mr. Berry, who has delivered to us this extremely interesting lecture. My knowledge of the country is also of rather ancient date. As some of you will remember, early in 1866 there was a great war between Prussia and Austria. Fired with a desire to see something of military operations, I proposed to my dear friend, Mr. Leslie Stephen, whose name is remembered by all Alpine climbers and by all lovers of literature, that we should go out to the scene of operations to see something of the fighting. We fortified ourselves with letters to leading persons on both sides, a somewhat dangerous proceeding. However, we were not arrested, and reached Vienna, but unfortunately just too late. The Prussian army was moving forward to the Danube and the preliminaries of peace had been concluded, so that there was no fighting to be seen. We fell in with an interesting Englishman who wrote a book about Transylvania, which probably Mr. Berry has read, in which he gave an excellent account of Transylvania as it was about 1850. Mr. Boner advised us to go to Transylvania. In those days there was no railway. One could travel by tram only as far as Arad, where we spent a most tedious day, in the middle of the vast Hungarian plain, dusty, and monotonous. The following day we had to proceed in a very small cooped-up little vehicle which they call a *Stellwagen* in which there was only room for four people, but in which we passed two days and two nights. We reached at last the little Saxon town of Hermannstadt and began wandering about Transylvania. Although there are a great many picturesque and interesting places among the Transylvanian mountains, particularly on the east and south, the scenery is not to be compared in grandeur to that of the Tatra in North-West Hungary whose mountains are granitic,