

THE DACO – ROMAN LEGEND
Christian Cultic Places in Transylvania

ÁRPÁD KOSZTIN

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I. The Foundation of Christianity.

Cultic Places

Christianity as a world-religion was founded by Jesus Christ. Due to the tireless work of the Apostles, it spread rapidly. It came into being in Palestine during the first half of the first century.

The early, oldest Christian congregations made contact with the Jews living in Diaspora beyond the borders of Palestine during and after the years of the Jewish wars (66-70 A.D.). After the unsuccessful Jewish uprising and the devastation of Palestine in 70 A.D., the Jewish-Christian religious communities suffered great losses and diminished in numbers.

The dispersed people were looking for and took refuge in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. At this time, numerous Jews lived outside of Palestine, mainly in the commercial centres, like Damascus, Antioch, Athens, Corinth, in the larger towns of the coastal district of Asia Minor as well as in Rome.

By crossing the borders of Palestine, Christianity had to break with the Judaic roots in order to avoid becoming a small Jewish sect. At the same time, pagans joined them in growing numbers. The first stage of Christianity, i.e. the Early Christianity lasted from the founding of the first Christian congregations until the emergence of Paulinism.

Paulinism made a radical change in the lives of the first Christians. It also determined their further destiny. The bases of the united Christian Church came into being.

It was almost impossible to build Christian cultic places during the times of persecution of Christians, at the time of early Christianity. Their religious ceremonies were performed in their underground cemeteries and catacombs, which also served as their hiding-places. While avoiding the dangers of threatening conflicts, they lived by their spiritual values by withdrawing into themselves and helping each other. By locking themselves into their family homes and avoiding showy formalities, they celebrated the mystery; they were one in prayer and in Mass or Communion, as it was assigned by Christ¹.

The believers of the new faith, which spread in the world of the Jewish Diaspora, got together in the home of a wealthy co-religionist, usually on the upper floors. It happened sometimes that the whole building served the community. The best examples of the early Christian places were found under the cathedral of *San Giovanni e Paolo* in Rome, or in Dura-Europos, in Syria, where a dwelling house-church (*domus ecclesiae*) was found under the ruins of a city devastated by the Partuses in 265².

Constantine the Great, the Greco-Roman Emperor (247-337 AD.), recognizing the power and opportunity in the foundation of Christianity, reached an arrangement with the Christian Church in 313 A.D. He officially recognized, and guaranteed the freedom of the Christian Church. In his famous Milanese Ordinance (*rescriptum*), the Emperor ordered that all the places where Christians used to gather, and all the goods belonging juridically to the folds (*ecclesiae*) were to be handed back to the Christian communities without any payment or compensation.

A huge amount of money was put at the bishops' disposal for the purpose of church building. According to

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the new law, the former pagan temples and estates of the holy places were given to the Christian Church. The edictum (ordinance issued by the emperor) started the building of Christian churches on the whole territory of the Roman Empire.

Christian temples were built everywhere. Constantine built the first Christian cathedral in Rome. This building was later named *San Giovanni Cathedral*. The construction of the *Saint Peter Basilica* started in 325 over the tomb of Peter the Apostle. The sacred place remained the centre of Christianity until the times of Pope Julius II. (1503-1513). By the end of the third century, the number of congregations has increased considerably.

At the beginning of the fourth century half of the population was Christian in Asia Minor, Armenia and Cyprus. A significant number of Christians lived in Syria (Antiochia), Egypt (Alexandria and Thebes), Rome, South and Central Italy, Africa, on the Iberian peninsula, on the northern part of Italy, in Gaul and in the provinces along the Danube river.

Theodosius (346-395), Holy Roman Emperor from 381 A.D., made Christianity the official state religion and started to suppress the pagans. Christianity left its catacomb life once and for all in the fifth century A.D. The church building of Constantine continued. The cathedral was the main form of churches built.

With the death of Theodosius in 395, the Holy Roman Empire was finally divided into two parts, the Western and the Eastern Empires. After that year, the Eastern-Roman Empire (Byzantium) lasted for more than one thousand years as an independent historical formation.

The Western-Roman Empire came to an end during the years of the Great Migrations due to the endless attacks of barbarians. The Empire was devastated by the Huns in the fifth century, and the southward movements of the Slays immediately begun from the territories of present day Poland. They managed to reach the Elbe River in the west, the Danube in the southwest. During the sixth century they got into Pannonia, Thrace and Macedonia.

The Western-Roman Empire was gradually replaced by the newly founded Christian feudal states. As the consequences of the division of the Roman Empire, the Greek-Catholic (Orthodox) Church took shape in the east, and was strongly intertwined with the state. At the same time, the Papal supreme power was developed in the Western Church.

Christianity, as we have seen, used to be a persecuted religion. The northern banks of the Danube River known by the name Dacia Traiana (part of later Transylvania, and Oltenia) were the only exceptions to the persecutions after 271 A.D., when Aurelianus withdrew his legions and colonuses (settlers) from those territories. The exception lasted for a couple of decades, until the first flocks of migrating people, the Goths, appeared.

If there had been a Romanized population on these territories, the houses of congregations (*domus ecclesiae*) or cathedrals of theirs would have been built. However, there are no buildings or even traces of these to be found. Neither do we have any documents or other data proving their existence, even though - it is needless to say - after the withdrawal of the Roman legions in 271, until the appearance of the first barbarian people, the Goths, Christianity could spread free of pressure of any kind and persecution by the Roman administration in Dacia Traiana.

When discussing the theory of Daco-Roman continuity, it is necessary to investigate the situation also south of the lower Danube, in the Balkan Peninsula. Let us give a broad outline of the Byzantine Church Architecture and the

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architecture affected by the Byzantine style in the 4th- 12th centuries in addition to works of art and other paintings parallel to the spread of Christianity.

We have already referred to the first Christian Churches built by Constantine and Theodosius. The Byzantine art's most outstanding architectural work, the monumental *Hagia Sophia* (532-537), was built in Constantinople during the reign of Justinianus, Eastern-Roman Emperor (482-565). The construction of the *San Vitale Cathedral* in Ravenna, financed by a rich Syrian banker, Julianus Argentarius, started before 532 and ended in 547.

The Bulgarians adopted Christianity in 865. According to a Greek source from the 11th century, their reigning Prince Boris I. (852-889) ordered the building of seven churches already in the same year, i.e. in 865. The era's biggest church, the *Great Basilica* is the most important art work of the Bulgarian architecture from the 9th-10th centuries. The *John the Baptist Church* in Nesebar, on the shore of the Black Sea, was built in the tenth century. The most monumental and most imposing relic of the Bulgarian architecture, the monastery of Rila was built between 927 and 942 in a small basin on the southern slope of the Maljovica. The second oldest monastery built in 1070, can be found in the environs of Tirnovo.

At the beginning of the 10th century there were no other states in the area, which would have been able to compete with the strength and power of the Bulgarian state. The state's main goal was the full conquest of Byzantium. However, after the death of Tsar Simeon and the long military campaigns, the country's economical and military power became so weak that the State's internal order could not be restored. The Bulgarian State totally collapsed in 1018. The once great Bulgarian Empire became one of Byzantium's provinces. A considerable part of the monasteries were destroyed — especially in the surroundings of Pliska and Preslav, by the endless attacks of the raiding barbarian tribes from the North.

The *Saint Demeter Church* was built in Tirnovo, the capital, in 1186. After the foundation of the second Bulgarian Empire (1185), the tradition has it that the *Saint Peter and Paul Monastery* was also built during the second Bulgarian Empire on the Arbanas Mountain. According to the legend the Saint Elias monastery of in Plakovo was also built during the second Bulgarian State. In Skripu near Athens, in Greece, another monastery, originated from 873-874, can be found.

According to an early Russian chronicle, Vladimir, great reigning Prince of Kiev (980), entrusted ten scientists to travel around other people's territories and survey the great religions such as the Muslim, Christian and Greek- Catholic. The scientists gave accounts to the Prince of the monumental Hagia Sophia's fascinating beauty in Constantinople³. According to a chronicle, the great reigning prince converted — on the scientists' recommendation — to Greek-Catholicism with his people. The Russians had already known Christianity, since the *Saint Nicholas Cathedral* in Kiev has been mentioned since 882.

Vladimir ordered all his subjects to embrace Christianity in 988-989. Under the reign of his son, Jaroslav the Wise, 1019-1054, the *Hagia Sophia Cathedral* was erected in Kiev. The Saint George Cathedral was built between 1119 and 1130, while the construction of the *Saint Demeter Church* in Vladimir-Suzdal lasted from 1194 to 1197. Building of additional churches was prevented by the Tartar conquests.

After the Byzantine style church architecture, let us examine the Byzantine art, which exerted a considerable

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influence on remote territories of the earth.

Byzantine masters made the mosaics of the *Hagia Sophia Church* in Kiev between 1037 and 1061. The frescos in Vladimir were painted around 1195. The Norman kings of Sicily built their churches with Byzantine masters between 1143 and 1200. The *San Marco Cathedral* was patterned after the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Its earliest mosaics from the 11th century are also Byzantine masters' work. The gold and enamel Pala d'Oro of the high altar is also an art work from Constantinople. Fresco painting at the end of the 12th century met very high standards in Cyprus under the Byzantine governors' reign⁴.

We have to go deeply into the question of the Byzantine church architecture and works of art, because their trend setting spread to the Balkan Peninsula. We will have to look for Vlach (Rumanian) church constructions. We have to look for the Vlach Orthodox chapels and churches of the 7th-12th centuries along the southern and northern banks of the Danube River. If we accept some Rumanian statements, the Rumanian cultic places shall also be found in Transylvania. We have to look for these cultic places especially from the first half of the 9th century.

Prince Krum, Bulgarian ruler, captured some bishops, priests and Christians sometime around 812. He forcibly relocated them to the left bank of the Danube, where they converted a lot of Bulgarians to orthodox Christianity. Around 870, Dacia Traiana and a part of Transylvania also were placed under the authority of Boris who ruled Bulgaria. If Daco-Romans (Rumanians) had lived there, they would have had to yield to the brutal Bulgarian force used against them and convert to Orthodox Christianity. However, we cannot find any contemporary traces of Vlach church architecture, neither on the Balkans nor in Transylvania. The historical sources do not mention the "Romanized Dacians" or the Rumanians in Dacia until the 12th century, although numerous sources talk about the Vlach people on the Balkan Peninsula since the 10th century (976).

Considering the monumental paintings of the Byzantine Empire in the "successor" states, such as Serbia, Bulgaria and Trapezunt, it can be said that there is no mention of the artistic impact of those paintings on the territories north of the Danube. This would not have been imaginable, if the Rumanians, as native people, had lived in Dacia Traiana and the other areas in question during the 11th- 12th centuries. As the influence of Byzantine art had reached Hungary, for example Szekszárd, it undoubtedly should have reached Dacia Traiana also.

The state founding Magyars had some contacts with the Christians before they settled in the Carpathian Basin. The fact, that they did not devastate the cultic places can be explained by their good relationship with the Christians. If the Magyar conquerors had found such Daco-Roman cultic places in Transylvania, those cultic places with their Christian followers would have survived the original invasion of the Magyars as they did in Hungary. These circumstances indicate the Balkan link to the orthodox clerical organizations of the Rumanians; the Bulgarian-Slav liturgical language and the language of the Royal Chancellery; and several features of the early Rumanian culture referring to the close Bulgarian-Slav relationship⁵.

The first Rumanian state organizations were founded several hundred years later than those of the surrounding peoples: Wallachia in the second half of the 13th century, and at the beginning of the 14th century; Moldavia at the beginning and the middle of the 14th century.

The Hungarian conquerors took possession of a territory having considerable artistic tradition⁶. The ruins of

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the Roman province and the art of the Slavs living within the boundaries of the Hungarian State increased the artistic culture of the Hungarians. The same can hardly be said about the Vlachs. The oldest Rumanian Orthodox church was built in the 13th century, it can be found in Demsus. According to Károly Kós "...it is a primitive Rumanian art-work of Byzantine style"⁷. László Kövály said: "It is probably a crypt raised over an early Christian church, the Longinus' ruins.. .Considering its size it is very small even for a Vlach church"⁸. It is one of the most marvelous and oldest buildings in our country [historical Hungary]. Its steeple originated from the 10th century. Some of our historians think that it is a Roman church, while others believe it is of Gothic origin."

The church, as we have mentioned, was built in the 13th century. This in accordance with the fact that a Hungarian document,, which mentions a Rumanian population in Southern Transylvania for the first time, originated from 1210⁹. The late date of the building of the first Vlach church indicates that there were no Vlach inhabitants in Transylvania in the period of the Hungarian settlement, and that the first Vlachs could not have appeared in the area before the 12th century.

Neither the Roman society and its institutions, nor the settlements' continuity can undoubtedly be determined. In the one-time Roman cities, where traces of German and Avar settlements can be found, cemeteries and different buildings are providing proof that people used up parts of the ruined cities as building material for their houses¹⁰.

Mircea Pácurariu, professor of the Theological University in Nagyszeben (Sibiu)¹¹, states, "In Doboka (Dábica), near Kolozsvár, some Christian churches that originated from the 10th- 11th centuries, were newly discovered." He did not state, what kind of churches are in question. Since he considers that these churches were built in the 10th- 11th centuries, they must in all likelihood have been Hungarian churches. Pácurariu would probably talk about the churches in greater details, if he could consider them of Rumanian origin.

The Vlach churches between the 14th and 17th centuries, following that of Demsus, were built by the Moldavian and Wallachian voivodes, vassals of Hungary, on the estates in fee granted to them by the Hungarian kings and the Hungarian voivodes in Transylvania. (We will talk about them later in chapter VII.)

Nicolae Stoicescu writes¹² that Christian cemeteries, originating from the time before the Árpád's conquest of Hungary, were found in Dacia, in a part of present day Transylvania. Such tombs might have been found, but this does not necessarily mean that they belonged to Rumanians, since there were Christians among the peoples of the Great Migration, and they were buried as Christians. Objects, indicating their Christian belief, were placed with their bodies.

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II. Dacia.

Daco-Roman Continuity

Hungarian historians, like Benedek Jancsó, who dedicated his life to the intensive study of the theory of Daco-Roman continuity, consider that the territories of Dacia included Krassó-Szörény, Hunyad, Alsófehér and Kolozs Counties, the southern part of Szolnok-Doboka County, Torda-Aranyos and Nagyküküllő Counties, — thus, the southwestern and central part of Transylvania. (Its influence and impact could be felt also in neighbouring areas.) According to Jancsó, it never included the Székely territories east of the Hargita Mountains and north of the Feketetügy (Râul Negru) River. Moldavia, Bukovina, Máramaros, and Szatmár, Bihar, Zaránd counties never belonged to Dacia. North and East of the above mentioned territory there were mainly uninhabited lands, not or only loosely connected to the Dacian state¹³.

Dacia was attacked by the Romans for the first time in 101 A.D. Traian, crossing the Danube through the Vaskapu (the Iron Gate) of Hunyad County, marched and attacked the Dacian capital, Sarmizegetusa, with his legions. The contemporary centre of King Decebal was found near Várhely, a small village in Hunyad County. One of the Roman leaders, Lusius, crossed the Danube at Orsova and invaded Sarmizegetusa through the Volcano Pass. Decebal asked for peace.

Under the terms and conditions of the peace treaty, Decebal became vassal of the Roman emperor. Traian left a Roman garrison in Sarmizegetusa and returned to Rome with honor and glory. The leader of the garrison was Longinus, who was mentioned by us while discussing the Roman Orthodox Temple of Demus.

Decebal, however, did not intend to honor the peace treaty. He used the time of peace to rebuild the devastated fortresses and fortifications. He also attacked the Jazygians who were allied with Traian. Decebal also welcomed to Dacia Roman deserters (there were Christians among them) and sent some of them to Rome with the commission to kill Traian. He arrested and held in captivity Longinus, Traian's personal representative. He sent his emissaries to Rome with the message that he will not let Longinus free, unless he gets back the occupied territories plus reimbursements for his military expenses. Longinus poisoned himself in captivity, and the Roman Senate declared Decebal an enemy.

Traian personally lead his legions against Decebal in 105 A.D. Sarmizegetusa was taken and occupied by the Romans. Decebal was captured while trying to escape. (According to the legends, he tried

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to escape to the north, and fell upon his sword at Kolozsvár.) Traian finished the full conquest of Dacia in 106 A.D. and returned to Rome.

Dacia was made a Roman province; it was named *Dacia Traiana* after its conqueror. According to Roman historians like Dio Cassus and Eutropius, Traian killed off the whole male population in Dacia. He replaced them with new settlers of all nationalities from the whole Roman Empire. The Roman inscriptions in Transylvania, that originated in later centuries, suggest that in addition to the new dwellers, Dacia had Dacians as well as other nationalities living in its territories.

Historical sources tell us that Dacians, living outside the province, raided several times the flourishing new provinces. Between 180 and 190 A.D. Governor Sabinianus made twelve thousand free Dacians settle down with the aim of pacifying them. These Dacians got back to their Fatherland after one hundred years of exile. This was the first time they had contact with the Roman administration, therefore the Romanization could not have taken place before this time, if ever.

The Roman armed forces stationed in Dacia were multinational¹⁴. Only the commanders and civil servants were from Italy. The newly settled people were not purely native Latin speakers¹⁵. [Compare the situation in India. After a long period of British rule, only the upper and middle classes learned the English language. The vast majority of the inhabitants of the Indian Subcontinent, or any other colony for that matter, never really mastered it (translator's note)]. Writings, inscriptions, archaeological findings prove that they were urban, miner and merchant people, from Syria to Gaul, who could not speak Latin or spoke it badly¹⁶; on the inscriptions which were not made by the Roman authorities, names of Oriental Gods abound¹⁷. These people should have been Romanized before they, intermarrying with the native population, could have been the ancestors of a Neo-Latin people, (the Rumanians). Thus, there were not many native Latin speakers among the settlers. (The number of native Latin speakers radically dropped in Italy too. Therefore, Traian had to issue an order, to stop the dangerous outflow of settlers from Italy.)

Believers of the Continuity Theory are frequently referring to the Latinizing impact of the Roman legions and merchants stationed in Dacia. Participating in the Latinization of Dacia, members of the legions should have been natives from Italy. The legionaries were Roman citizens, but they were recruited from the western and other primarily multinational, non-Latin provinces.

Only two Roman legions were stationed in Dacia, approximately twelve thousand people. Compared to the alleged large population in the territory, they would not have been successful in the Latinization, even if they had been native Latins from Italy and had no other duties to perform. Only the officers were from Rome in the auxiliary troops; approximately 500-1000 people, who did not live in cities. Since they were stationed along the borders in fortified camps, which were mainly uninhabited areas, they

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did not have anybody to Latinize. There were only a few Romans among the merchants, therefore they could not have taken part in the Latinization.

The Roman legions had to give up Dacia in 271 A.D. due to the relentless attacks of barbarians. It was robbed and plundered by the Goths, the Sarmatians and other people allied with each other. Emperor Aurelian¹ "...Being convinced that the province with its diminished population could not be kept under control, gave it up and withdrew his troops under organized circumstances. In 271 the army's still remaining units were withdrawn and the population was transferred into Moesia"¹⁸.

From our point of view, it is important to know that along with the withdrawal in 271, historiography commemorates two Dacias, Dacia Traiana and Dacia Aureliana. The first included part of present day Transylvania and Oltenia. The second was situated south of the Danube, bounded by the Skopje-Sofia-Nis triangle. We have to emphasize this, because Rumanian historians, according to their own interest, usually keep silent about Dacia Aureliana.

The giving up and evacuation of Dacia, as well as the transfer of the people was fairly well organized. Naturally, the action did not happen overnight. A significant part of the civil population had already left the province. It is possible that the evacuation was not complete, although there are no reliable data to support this assumption. The number of those who did not leave was most probably insignificant¹⁹.

The Roman reign in Dacia lasted only about 170 years. Later, Dacia became booty of the barbarian peoples. Six hundred dark years followed in this era. It is certain, however, that Transylvania was subject to the rule of the Goths until the beginning of the 5th century. As we can see, Aurelian let them conquer Dacia in 271. Their empire, where Christianity also spread, was destroyed by the attacks of the Huns. Even the Goths became divided into two parts: Western and Eastern Goths. The Huns conquered Transylvania with their devastating attacks, but after the collapse of their empire the area became the property of the Gepids, later the Longobards.

In the second half of the 6th century Dacia was conquered by the Avars. Their empire existed until the end of the 8th century A.D. Charlemagne, outstanding member of the Carolingian dynasty, defeated them in several battles in the year of 791 and conquered their territory to the Tisza River. The invading Hungarians found a considerable number of Avars, who remained there after the collapse of their empire; they intermarried with the Hungarians. The Avars have left a large number of tombs in which rich material relics were found.

¹ Aurelian, Lucius Domitius (212-275), holy roman Emperor from 270; He withdrew his legions from Dacia, and placed them south of the Danube, in Moesia (creating two new Dacias: *Dacia Ripensis* and *Dacia Mediterranea*).

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In the 6th century A.D. a new people, different from the other nationalities, started to emerge in greater and greater numbers from the north and the north-east from the Sarmata lowlands to the middle, eastern and southern part of Europe. They were the Slays. They were peaceful settlers, who earned their living from a primitive form of agriculture. People of the Great Migration would rather have treated them with consideration than harm them. They were considered servants, and their only task was to provide plenty agricultural produce for the country. Their number increased considerably, and they encroached on even larger and larger territories. In the 5th and 6th centuries, they were present not just in the Balkan Peninsula but in Central and Eastern Europe also. To Transylvania, the Slays started to move probably during the Avar rule in the 6th century. They have absorbed those small ethnic groups who remained there after the devastations of the Great Migration. We have sources about every single ethnic group who lived in Transylvania after the Roman withdrawal in 271. We do not know, however, what happened to the Dacians and the Celts. Accordingly, the remaining fragments of the Dacians could have blended into the people following each other during the years, the same way as the Eastern Celts vanished without a trace.

In the 9th century, only Slavic people lived in small numbers in Transylvania. The conquering Hungarians could have found only Slays in the area. This Slavic population lived without any organized state, under the leadership of the head of the clan; gathered around earthworks which served for some sort of defense. The origin of these earthworks can hardly be viewed as Dacian. Especially those, which were dug up recently by the Rumanian historians in that part of Székely land which did not even belong to the territories of Dacia. It is probable that Southern Transylvania and several parts of the Great Plain were subject to Bulgarian rule when the Hungarians arrived. Considering the reports of the Hungarian chronicles concerning the beginning of the 11th century, it is possible that the Bulgarian reign survived until the first decade of the new millennium. It seems that the Hungarians did not have to share the political power, making an allowance for the small Bulgarian territory, with any other people. At the beginning of the 10th century only the Hungarians had political organizations in the Carpatian Basin although this organization was based on the confederation of tribes²⁰.

We have to stress the fact that there already were some Christians among the Roman conquerors of Dacia, as well as the settlers they transferred here. Christianity was spreading rapidly. In the middle of the 2nd century A.D., even the farthest provinces of the Roman Empire had Christian congregations²¹. Christians must have appeared in Dacia. They did not only care for their religion, but they carried on some missionary activities for the sake of spreading Christianity. There could have been some Christians among them who had been converted to Christianity directly by the apostles and became Latin Christians.

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Around the 3rd century, there were several one-time Roman soldiers among the Christian martyrs²². This was also professed by Tertulianus Quintus Septimus Florens (152-222 A.D.), a North African Christian Church leader. According to him, Christianity penetrated into the territory along the left bank of the Danube before the Roman legions' withdrawal. This is also believed by D. Pippidi, Rumanian historian (and on the basis of his opinions by several other Romanian historians)²³.

Nicolae Stoicescu, the Rumanian historian mentioned above, stated²⁴, that the religious freedom of the Christians was not acknowledged at the time of the Roman withdrawal from Dacia Traiana (it was refused recognition until 313 A.D.). Thus, the withdrawal of the Roman administration made the spread of Christianity easier in the former province. This may be correct; however, the following circumstances should be considered:

- If spreading in Dacia, Christianity could not have many followers at the very beginning;
- presumably, the Dacians were not Christians. The new religion could hardly, only as an underground movement, spread before 271 due to the pursuit of the contemporary pagan Roman administration;
- the conversion and exercise of Christianity must have been considered secondary in a situation of endless attacks of the free Dacians;
- after the withdrawal of Dacia Traiana's population to the territories south of the Danube in 271, there had been so few Christians left, that they could not have remained a considerable factor in the survival and propagation of Christianity. (The Christians, considering themselves really Romanized, must have been among those who were most willing to leave the province when the Roman administration left it;)
- after the withdrawal of the legions and the population, Aurelian left Dacia to the Goths. We have very little data about their reign regarding whether Christian religion could have existed in Dacia Traiana;
- the "late Roman" culture does not have any authentic marks in Transylvania referring to an isolated, local population from the era of tetrarchy.² Traces of the people living here for an uncertain time can only be found in Baráthely, on the southern banks of the river Nagy-Küküllő. Therefore, there was not anyone the new religion could have spread among.

² Form of government in the Asian states of ancient times; such states lived under the rule of four reigning princes.

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If Christianity had still existed in Dacia, what kind of cultic places would have borne witness to it? As we have already mentioned, we do not know much about the history of Transylvania for six hundred years, until the Magyar conquest of Hungary. It is probable that during the Peoples' Migration, the population living in Transylvania after the Roman withdrawal was decimated and those who survived were assimilated to other peoples.

This is proven by the destiny of the contemporary Dacian capital, Sarmizegetusa (Grádiste, Hungarian: Várhely). The city where the palace of the Augustanians, the forum, several baths, a temple, sanctuaries, public and private buildings were located, totally perished. In 279 A.D. it was entirely uninhabited. Its stones were carried away for building of houses and the nearby castle. Such a collapse could have happened on the whole territory of Dacia.

What is the significance of the fact that writers of the Clergy, who mentioned so much data about a Christian religious life in the territories south of the Danube, did not write anything about such things in the regions north of the river? Rumanian historians assume that people lived more undisturbed in the mountains, but how did they do it without priests, bishops and clerical organizations?

As shown above, no remains of Christian Churches or Christian cultic places were found in Dacia Traiana from the time of the Roman occupation. During the 2nd and 3rd Centuries the majority of the Dacian population — people in the villages — were still pagan.

If Christians lived in former Dacia Traiana, they could have performed the conversions of the yet non-Christian Daco-Romans and barbarians who settled there. In the early Christian communities every member could preach and the member in question could be his or her own "doctor"²⁵. It may be asked: why was it then necessary to send missionaries to this territory?

Stoicescu (1980, p. 149) assumes that the withdrawal of the Roman administration in 271 made the spread of Christianity more easy — there was no one who persecuted the believers of the new faith and the cult of the Roman emperor disappeared. Cultic places could have been built freely —however, there are no material remains to show that this would have been the case.

Stoicescu refers to Auxentius Durostrenis, (p. 150): "the bishop named Ulfila³ was preaching in the Gothic and the Latin languages". Stoicescu then quotes Moga (*Transylvania*, 74,3, 1943, p. 15) who asked: "To whom could this bishop preach in the Latin language if not to the Romanized and Christianized Dacians?"²⁶

³ Ulfila (Ulfilas, Wulfila, 311-383), bishop of the Goths, Founder of the Gothic writing. He translated the bible into Gothic.

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The answer to this question is as follows: **Ulfila preached in the Latin language in the Roman Empire, south of the lower Danube.** The quotation from the text written by Auxentius Durostorensis is incomplete and therefore misleading. Reading the entire text, it appears that Ulfila preached for the Goths north of the Danube for seven years; then a persecution of Christians started and the bishop was forced, with part of his congregation, to flee to the Roman Empire — there, he preached for thirty-three years, of course, in Latin, the language of the liturgy among the Roman population (see also Du Nay & Du Nay, 1997, p. 35). Stoicescu assumes (p. 149) that the Christianization of the Daco-Romans who remained north of the Danube was partly achieved by missionaries coming from the south. He mentions, however, the opinion of P.P. Panaitescu, who believed that their aim were the conversion of barbarians, not that of the already Christian Daco-Romans. Panaitescu also asserted that their Christianity was a natural consequence of the continuity of the Empire in the 4th-6th Centuries north of the Danube²⁷. Let us take some points into consideration:

- During the time of the Roman administration, between 106 and 271 A.D. — as we have already mentioned — there were only a few Christians in Dacia Traiana. Their religion could hardly spread. If Christianity did expand it was only moderately successful.

- When the Romans evacuated Dacia Traiana, the first to leave the province must have been the Christian believers among the settlers. The spread of Christianity slowed down, was forced back or even stopped.

If the Daco-Romans, living north of the Danube were converted to Christianity by the Romans then they would live there as devoted Christians. Why didn't their own preachers convert the barbarians to Christianity? Again; who converted the Rumanians to Christianity in Dacia Traiana ? This question is not new. It was discussed by Petru Maior⁴ who believed that Christianity had been brought by the colonuses, and, consequently, there was no need of missionaries, apostles etc. That is why the exact date of conversion is unclear; it is not linked to anybody's name²⁸.

This is contradicted by the fact that the official religion in Dacia Traiana was the worship of the emperor, besides the cult of Jupiter and Mars, and already in the mid-second century, the Mithras-cult became widespread⁵, which was an alien, non-Roman cult. One may add, that the territory between the

⁴ Maior, Petru (1760 or 1761-1821), monk, teacher, later Greek-Catholic Rumanian clergyman in Szászrégen. He was named censor of the Royal Press at Buda in 1808. Convinced propagator of the continuity theory.

⁵ Cult of the Sun diety.

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Adria and the Black Sea, and the Balkan territory south of the Danube was intensively Romanized, much more than Dacia Traiana. By the 5th century Illiricum⁶ and Moesia were the most advanced provinces as regards the organization of the Christian Church.

The fundamental notions of the Christian faith in the Rumanian language are of Latin origin: *biserica* < latin *basilica*, *Dumnezeu* > *Domine Deus*, *înger* > *angelus*, etc. Stoicescu asserts (150) that this proves that the DacoRomans were Christianized in the period “in which the Rumanian people was formed”. However, these words are not specific to Dacia Traiana but were also used by the Christians living south of the Danube.

Stoicescu (150) mentions that Dobruja remained for a longer time under Roman rule and was thus exposed to an earlier and more intense Christianization as compared to the other Rumanian provinces. He mentions that a bishopric existed in Tomis⁷ (today's Constanta) in the 4th - 6th centuries. This was by A. Ghimpu-Bolsacov called “the first metropolitan seat [*mitropolie*]⁸ of our country”²⁹.

Stoicescu mentions several discoveries of contemporary basilicas, inscriptions of a Christian character, tombs and crypts in this area. However, Dobruja is located south of the Danube — the point is that such remains of a Christian religious life were not found in Dacia Traiana.

Stoicescu also mentions a number of archaeological discoveries of an ancient Christian character also from the territory of former Dacia Traiana, which would prove the presence of the Christian religion there already in the 4th century. These are, for example, a gem found in Torda (Turda), an ex-voto bearing the monogram of Christ and the inscription “*Ego Zenovius votum posui*”, found at the village Biertan (see below), — both in Transylvania ; as well as Christian cemeteries of the Ciumbrud-Blandiana B type from the 9th-10th centuries, also in Transylvania.

⁶ Illiricum (Illyria), Balkan area along the Adriatic sea. In 168 A.D. Roman province, 1809-1813 French territory, from 1815 it belonged to Austria, from 1919 Yugoslavian province.

⁷ Today's Constanta, Ovidus (43 B.C. - 17 A.D.), Roman poet was exiled there.

⁸ *Metropolit* is the second highest clerical dignity of the Greek-Catholic Church, following the dignity of patriarch. Originally, name of the roman-Catholic bishops (or exarchs, patriarchs, primates, archbishops) residing in the capitals of the Roman provinces (*metropolis*). *Metropolie* is the corresponding administrative unit of the Orthodox Church, under the patriarchate but above the bishopric.

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We do not dispute the results of archaeological research, as we do not dispute the existence of the discovered Christian tombs. We cannot accept, however, the theories put forward by Stoicescu (and others), that the Romanian people were converted to Christianity on the territory north of the Danube, including Dacia Traiana. The difference in this respect between Dobruja and the territories north of the lower Danube is striking: **in Dobruja**, there are remains of several Christian churches, crypts built on tombs of Christian martyrs from the 3rd century, more than 200 inscriptions of a Christian character, many of them on sarcophagi from the 4th-7th centuries, etc. All these provide material proof for the statement that in Dobruja, intensive religious, Christian life —clerical organizations, monasteries and episcopacies — must have existed beginning with the 4th century.

If the ancestors of the Rumanians, who adopted Christianity already in the 3rd - 4th centuries, had lived in that period in the territory of Dacia Traiana, there should be similar material remains also there. Christian people of this time could not live, not even temporarily, without buildings and places, such as chapels, meeting-houses, temples etc., serving their worship.

However, nothing of this kind exists north of the lower Danube, as shown also by M. Pácurariu, the above-mentioned professor of theology. He listed six relics in his reference book³⁰ but was unable to find any cultic place or any other trace of early Christian organizations in Transylvania.

The above mentioned striking difference between the territories north, respectively south of the lower Danube regarding early Christian churches etc. have been discussed by Rumanian historians. The fact that in the south, — in Dobruja and in Moesia — there were churches and episcopacies in an early period caused several historians to assume that such buildings must have existed also among the Daco-Romans living in the North. This is, however, a dangerous reasoning, writes Auner Carol, historian of the Church. This is because it can be asked: how it is possible that parallel to the strong documentation about the existence of the churches in the neighborhood territories, intensive investigations, going on for decades, could not find similar constructions in the territories north of the lower Danube?

It is well known that emperor Justinian raised the Episcopacy of his birthplace, Tauresium, to the archbishopric rank with the name *Prima Justiniana*. In his second documentary he listed all the episcopacies posted under this archbishopric. In this document, one castle and two fortresses located on the northern shore of the lower Danube are described, but no episcopacy, nor any cultic place, or other religious organization is mentioned north of the river. This completes the picture given by the archeological finds mentioned above.

A few remarks about the *ex voto*, with the inscription “*Ego Zenovius votum posui*” (I, Zenovius made this donation) considered by Stoicescu as one of the most significant proofs of the existence of a Daco-

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Roman Christian community in Southern Transylvania in the 4th century: It was found in the vicinity of Berethalom (Biertan). On the basis of the letters used and the initials, style scientists determined that it originated from the 4th century. Stoicescu³¹:

“The fact, that the inscription is in the Latin language proves that its owner was a Daco-Roman, who talked to his contemporary companions in a language which they understood. At the same time, it is an undeniable proof of the Daco-Roman Continuity Theory, as well as a conclusive proof of the ancient age of Daco-Roman Christianity”³².

As shown above, finds of such objects, in the absence of cult places etc., are not sufficient to prove the existence of Christians and even less that of a Latin-speaking population in the area in question.

The Rumanian language is of Latin origin and the religious terms show that the ancestors of the Rumanians were Christianized in an environment where Latin was the language of liturgy. This must have occurred at an early age, before the Slavic contact.

The Latin form of Christianity was first introduced by the archbishopric of Prima Justiniana, which exercised decisive influence on the life of the Latin-speaking population of the Balkans in the 5th century. However, the scattered, therefore hardly organizable population could not resist the Slav conquests in the 6th-7th centuries. The native people assimilated into the Slavonic culture, and even the shepherd people of the mountains could not keep themselves from the Slavic influence.

This was the Ancient Rumanian or Common Rumanian population. This people, who originally spoke a uniform language (*romana comuna*, started to migrate in different directions after about 1000 A.D. Some of them migrated to the west, and settled down on the territory of Istria, surrounding the Monte Maggiore. They are the Istro-Rumanians. Others went to the South. Their descendants, the today's Arumanians, or Cincars, live mainly in Macedonia, while the Megleno-Rumanians settled down in Thessaloniki and its surrounding areas³³.

Another branch of this Ancient Rumanian population moved to the North. They crossed the Balkan Mountains and settled down in the woodlands of the Danube and its northern tributaries, such as the Arges, the Ialomitza and the Dâmbovitza. These territories were very suitable for shepherd life. Consequences of the migrations are that we cannot find any Roman cultic places neither on the Istrian Peninsula nor in Macedonia or the surrounding territories of Thessaloniki.

We have to agree with Ferenc Levárdy, who wrote the following (about the Carpathian basin)³⁴: “The devastations of the migrating peoples, following one after another, wiped out almost every mark of Roman life. Only ruins demonstrate the one-time flourishing Christian life. Due to serious ordeals of the

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war events, we can hardly talk about any continuity of life. According to the short stories of Saint Jerome,⁹ the Carpathian Basin was far and wide blackmailed, robbed, devastated by Goths, Sarmatians, Kvads, Alans, Huns, Vandals, Markomanns. Temples were ruined and the martyrs' bodies were thrown out; the whole Roman world was crumbling! Most of the time the ones who just recently arrived likely camped among the hewn stone ruins (ruin continuity).”

Naturally, there are some exceptions. During the times of Constantine the Great, an early Christian basilica was raised in Pannonia at Fenékpuszta. It even survived the times when the old Germanic peoples escaping the Huns evacuated Pannonia. The other example is the Transylvanian early Christian temple from the 4th century at Demsus, if it had been a temple at all.

Returning to the question of the migrations of the Rumanians, we can state that they brought their religion with them from the Balkans. An old Rumanian anonymous chronicle³⁵ tells us that the first conquest of the Vlachs happened in the 7th century from the southern part of the Danube through Oltenia under the reign of the Basarab Dynasty. (We note that the founder of this dynasty, Basarab, was born at the end of the 13th century.) The impact of the Roman Rite Archbishopric, the Prima Justiniana was completely swept away, without a mark, by the Slav invasion. The archbishopric's role was overtaken by an orthodox metropolitan, subaltern of the Patriarch, who was residing in Ohrida. Therefore, when they migrated and settled down in Hungary, more specifically in Transylvania, which then was an organic part of the country, the Rumanians had been wholehearted believers of the Eastern Church for centuries.

⁹ Father of the Church (342-419), patron saint of writers and scientists.

III. Árpád's Conquest of Hungary

Conversion to Christianity

Around 830 A.D, a large group of Hungarians appeared in the territories next to the Black Sea between the Don and the Dnester, in Levedia. They lived there until 889 A.D. The Hungarians giving way to the pressure coming from the East, moved to Etelköz, which would be located in today's Moldavia and Bessarabia (the Republic of Moldavia).

The Hungarians get in close contact with Byzantium already in Etelköz (Atelkuzu). They were allied forces during the Bulgarian-Byzantinian Wars, in 894. The Byzantines got to know the Hungarians better, and they managed to receive more detailed information about them. Hungarian links strengthened with the Byzantines. The Byzantine world exerted a significant cultural influence upon the Hungarians. This is proved by the fact that in the contemporary tombs, also Byzantine impact can be found among Sassanid, Arab, Norman and other influences. In the tombs from the 10th century we can often observe objects of Byzantine origin or showing Byzantine characteristics. The findings are often accompanied by money of the Byzantine Emperors. Several objects with Greek inscriptions were found in the tombs. The best example is the silver-button of Piliny³⁶

During the two decades after the Hungarians settled down, Hungarians remained faithful to the Byzantine Empire. They also knew that one of the main conditions of the new state's maintenance was Byzantine goodwill and recognition. This point of view was also reasonable, because they sought Byzantine aid to neutralize the German influence. The new Hungarian land belonged to the Byzantine range of influence, even though earlier it had been an organic part of the Holy Roman Empire. That is to say, the knowledge of Roman unity was still alive in Byzantium. The West-Roman Empire's territories occupied by the barbarians were always considered by the emperor's court as belonging to the Byzantine Empire. The lands of Hungary, even after the Hungarians settled down there, were viewed as belonging to the Byzantine zone of interest. The Hungarians also faced these facts. They did not oppose Greek-Catholicism (the Eastern Orthodox Church) neither during the years of settling down nor later.

On the territories of their new homeland, Hungarians found only one people in considerable number, the Slavs. They are not to be mistaken with the Slovaks. In the first half of the 10th century, the Carpathian Basin was not inhabited by the Slovaks but by the Slavs, who lived everywhere on the boundaries between the plains and mountains.

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The Hungarian - Slav contact did not take place in the interior of the country. The two peoples met on the confines of the mountainous district, such as the south-western part of Transdanubia; the slopes of the Mecsek, Mátra and Bükk Mountains; the territories along the Tisza and Szamos, the Kraszna Valley and in Transylvania in the area of Gyulafehévár. The lands lying between this area and the natural boundaries were considered of little value from the Hungarian economical point of view, and served defensive purposes because they were largely uninhabited³⁷.

The conquering Hungarians settled most densely in Transdanubia. Large parts of the area east of the Tisza river and Transylvania remained uninhabited for a while, since people were afraid of the attacks of their eastern neighbours³⁸. Transylvanian findings of the contemporary equestrian tombs prove that “...Central Transylvania: the middle and lower reaches of the Szamos and Maros; and the lower reaches of the two Küküllös were occupied by the Hungarians. No other contemporary equestrian tombs were found outside of this region, which fact is serious enough to presume that no other territories were occupied at that time”³⁹

The subjugated Slays — as was the case also with the Slays of the Elba-Odera territories, who were assimilated to the surrounding German population, — were after two or three centuries totally assimilated into the Hungarians. Many Slavic words became part of the Hungarian language by this time; words used in state and church organization, trades, and more advanced agricultural methods

Only the Avars, who are mentioned by the sources before Arpád's conquest of Hungary, left significant marks on the area, along with the Slays. Charlemagne (724-814) ordered their transfer, by their own request to the area between Szombathely and Deutsch-Altenburg (Carnuntum) in 804. The sources still mention them in the decades before the arrival of the Hungarians.

The Hungarians' ancestors were pagans. Christianity was introduced to them by Byzantine missionaries before their state founding⁴⁰. They found direct contact with Christianity in their new homeland by the way of the conquered Slays and the captives taken during the frequent military campaigns in the West. According to Gyula Pauler, “... the pastors of the conquered managed to find the easiest way to the ears of the conquerors. The memento of these apostles was not kept by historiography but by the language. Words pertaining to the Christian religion, such as *Christian, pagan, baptism, confirmation, bishop, priest, monk, saint, angel*, and *altar*, were borrowed from the language of the Slays (the Slovans). None of them is of German origin⁴¹. According to Ferenc Levárdy, the Hungarians found some ruins of the old Roman buildings at the time of their conquest of Hungary. They even found temples and priests in Pannonia and in the Szerémség⁴². Archaeological material left by the Hungarians show some Christian influence. The Christian cross appears on a few objects. Almost one dozen tombs, mainly

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children's burial places were found, with engraved bronze and silver crosses and necklaces. It is a fact that several Hungarian aristocrats, acting from political consideration, converted to Christianity already in the 10th century. According to Ioannes Skylitzes, Byzantine historian "Bulcsú ostensibly was baptized into the Christian religion, Constantinus became his godfather, and he was honored by Patrician rank and a lot of money before returning to his homeland. In 952 Gyula, another reigning Prince of the Hungarians, went to the emperor's city, received baptism, and enjoyed the same distinctions. He returned with a pious monk, named Hierotheos, who was by Theofylaktos ordained bishop of Turkia (Hungary). He drove many people out of the barbarian straying to Christianity." Consequently the first Transylvanian bishop started his work in the 10th century and used Greek-Christian rites⁴³.

The Magyars took the Greek-Christian religion and used its rites. By the time of the Hungarian defeat at Augsburg (Lech Field) in 955, a Greek-Christian bishop was functioning in Hungary. The leaders, commanders and part of the nation were formally baptized.

The alliance between Constantine Porphyrogenithos (903-959) and the Hungarians was made stronger by annual taxes and "gifts" paid by the emperor. The emperor however got so much hostile and disdainful information about the Hungarians — the news of the sorrowful defeat of Bulcsú's army — that he ended the paying of such "gift-taxes". Instead, Olga, the Russian Great reigning Princess put in a claim for the "gift-taxes", after her baptism. Constantine thus managed to acquire Russia for the Greek-Christian Church. Hungary, however, turned from it. Byzantium lost its military alliance against Bulgaria, as well as the influence of the Greek-Christian Church in Hungary.

The Byzantine-Hungarian relationship became so hostile, that Taksony (son of Zoltán, Hungarian leader; 947-972) asked for a bishop from Rome to continue the spread of Christianity. Liuprand, Secretary of the Holy Roman Emperor, Otto I., said: "The Pope ordained a bishop for Hungary in the winter of 961-962." A Hungarian envoy of Bulgarian origin, by the name of Salk, was sent to Rome. The Pope sent Zacheus with a bulla to Hungary to be bishop there. The delegation, however, was captured in Capua by the followers of Otto. This action was supposed to accomplish the conversion of the Hungarians into the Christian organization by Otto's own bishop. The Hungarian great reigning princes were ready to build up the Christian Church's organization in the 950's and 960's. It was no fault of theirs that the attempt turned out to be unsuccessful⁴⁴.

The trend towards Christianity also meant political change. It was expressed by the mission, consisting of twelve Hungarian representatives, who in 973 A.D. were sent to emperor Otto, in Quedlingburg. The Emperor was there accepting the salutations of small populations who belonged to the German Empire's range of interest. By this way, the hostilities between the Hungarians and the German

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royal court ended. Bruno, the missionary bishop baptized Géza and his son Vajk, who received the name Stephen after the first martyr and patron saint of the church of Passau. However, the new religion did not take root in Géza. According to a later born legend, he considered himself rich enough to serve two gods at the same time.

Until the glory of the battles lasted, the Hungarians did not care much about the conquered territories. It is well known, that a part of the Hungarian army was badly defeated at Augsburg (Bavaria) in 955. Undoubtedly, that great misfortune forced those tribes of the nation, who led their raids on the West during the earlier decades, as well as in 955, to discontinue the attacks. For those who regularly raided the South, the defeat at Augsburg did not bring change. Only the severe defeat at Arcadiupolis in 970-971, ended the marauding on the South.

The intelligent and experienced voivod Gyula, who married Sarolta, Géza's daughter, was Géza's good advisor. With his great influence on the reigning prince, he succeeded in convincing him that there were two tasks to be solved involving the nations' future destiny: Peace must be ensured between Hungary and Germany, and a way must be found for Christianity to capture the soul of the nation.

The first converter's name was Wolfgang. He was followed by Pilgrim, who sent a letter to Pope Benedict VII. around 974, in which he informed the Pope that the priests and monks had already converted five thousand Hungarians to Christianity. There was peace between pagans and Christians. Almost the whole nation was willing to embrace the Holy Faith⁴⁵.

Géza often had to resort to force to ensure the spread of Christianity. The consequence was discontent and open revolt in some parts of the country. He tried to compromise, and appeased the diehards by also offering sacrifices to the traditional gods. After the marriage of his son, he died with the knowledge that in addition to the homeland, he acquired for his nation strong ties to Europe by the adoption of Christianity.

The work of conversion was led by Archbishop Astrik.¹⁰ There is only one source about the conversion and the organization of the new Church: the biography of Szent Gellért (Saint Gerardus). This source mentions that the first converters were Benedictine monks.

The first truly Christian King, *Szent István* (Stephen I, 997- 1038), wanted to tie Hungary to the Roman-Catholic Church along with the Western Roman-German cultural community, even though he had the opportunity to choose between the Roman and the Byzantine Churches. He helped to secure the

¹⁰ The first archbishop of Kalocsa. Benedictine monk. He came to Hungary as convertor friar during the time of Géza's reign. He led Saint Stephen's mission to ask Pope Sylvester II for a crown.

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Western type Roman-Catholic Christianity for his nation, but he did not make it unique. The former Bishop Gellért of Marosvár (today Csanád, Rum. Cenad) could admit Greek-Christian communities to his diocese. The king made possible the exercise of Greek rites and ceremonies in the Greek language. He provided rich donations to the Greek convents (basilicas) in the Veszprém Valley. Consequently, the Greek-Christian Church continued to live in Hungary undisturbed also after the millennium. It is also an important fact, that king Stephen, being an ally of the Byzantine Emperor while occupying Ohrida, did not bother to take expensive presents for him. Instead he took the relics of the martyr Saint George, much revered by the adherents of the Greek Christian Faith.

King Stephen, following in his father's footsteps. "...who tyrannized over his own people, but was merciful and generous to the foreigners, especially the Christians", took the view that, "The guests and newcomers are yielding such a large profit, that they deservedly can stand on the sixth place on the honour roll of the king, since the unilingual country with one custom is weak and fallible." As a consequence, he ordered his son, Imre, to benevolently support and cherish the newcomers, "therefore they preferred to stay at his court, rather than living somewhere else"⁴⁶.

King Stephen "Often consoled the serfs of the temples, the monks, and priests with alms and donations. All of his available income was spent on pilgrims, widows and orphans. He often made donations through his envoys to the monasteries of provinces abroad"⁴⁷.

At the beginning of the 11th century, the Byzantine Emperor, Basilios II. attacked and subdued the Bulgarian kingdom. King Stephen forged an alliance with him for reasons pertaining to both internal and foreign affairs. His troops - as we know from the information of *Fundatio Sancti Albani Namucensis* - were fighting alongside the Byzantine troops, in the battles against the Bulgarians in 1004. After the conquest of Bulgaria in 1018, the borders of the Byzantine Empire reached the lines of the Danube and the Sava rivers and coincided with the southern borders of Hungary. This direct vicinity required that the good relationship between the two countries should not deteriorate with discrimination against the Eastern Christian Church. The Byzantine influence had to be counted in the state affairs also. It is enough to mention that the double cross of the Hungarian coat of arms is of Byzantine origin.

In the light of these historical facts, Stoicescu's theory about the adaptation of the Slavonic language by the Church of the Rumanians living in Transylvania before the Hungarians settled there, cannot be accepted. Stoicescu argues that "this important religious reform could not have been accomplished under the sceptre of Saint Stephen's Apostlic Crown."

The period is the 10th and 11th centuries, when the Slavic liturgy spread, penetrating also into Russia⁴⁸. As we have shown above, King Stephen and his predecessors did not just tolerate, but

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farsightedly supported the newcomers, thus also the representatives of the Greek-Christian Church and their cultic places. King Stephen was occupied with the conversion of the pagan Hungarians, and had no reasons to persecute his already Christian subjects.

There are also Rumanian authors who contradict Stoicescu in this matter. Petru Maior was of the opinion that Stephen the Saint did not fight or hinder the Rumanians' religion in Transylvania — on the contrary, they even had some privileges given by the first king of the Hungarians. In a footnote to Maior's text, Manole Neagoe remarks: "The two Churches were separated in 1059, it is therefore logical that the Rumanians were not oppressed due to their religious belief by Stephen I."⁴⁹

Stoicescu asserts, referring to P.P. Panaitescu, that Stephen the Saint wanted to spread Christianity because of national interests. This theory could not have been appropriate, even though he would have been reigning during the time when the civil nation's ideas occurred along with feudal and national motives. Saint Stephen's wisdom is a historical fact. He could have been wise; he could not, however, have gone ahead of his time.

Might Stoicescu not have known that there was no antagonism between different nations, nor intolerance of people because of their language at that time? After the Hungarians entered the Carpathian Basin, its ethnic picture changed: "The ethnic picture of the Carpathian basin became extraordinarily colorful, where the Finno-Ugric, Turk, Iranian, and Slavic peoples were living next to each other, on varying levels of the historical evolution"⁵⁰.

According to the law of Stephen the Saint, groups of ten villages were obliged to build a temple. If the conquering Hungarians had found temples or churches, King Stephen would not have been forced to order the "ten villages - one temple" law. The issuing of such order proves beyond all question that in Transylvania, even the pagan cultic places could have survived only in small numbers. If they had survived, Stephen would have made them — if only temporarily — Christian temples.

Moreover, if Stephen had been such a king as Stoicescu says, referring to P. P. Panaitescu, he would have used "Rumanian temples" by force for his recently converted people. However, there are no legends nor chronicles about such actions. We do not have any data either that the Hungarian state or clerical leadership, accepting the Western Church's liturgy, forced it on another, non-Hungarian people, for example on the Rumanians. In this case the resistance would have reached such a high level that it would not have passed unnoticed, without a trace in history.

The Hungarian relationship with Byzantium did not slacken until the end of the 11th century, when the Serb principality and Bulgaria, again independent, got wedged in between Hungary and

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Byzantium. On the other hand, Byzantium declined after the reign of the Komnenoses,¹¹ and in 1204, it fell to the Western conquerors. In 1261, the Palaiologoses¹² restored the Greek Empire, but it could only be a shade of the Byzantine Empire. Regarding the friendly relations between Hungary and Byzantium up to the end of the 11th century, the Hungarians had a political interest in supporting the Transylvanian Greek-Catholic (Orthodox) Rumanians — or in any case, not oppressing them — if they had existed there. We do not have any data or references about this question, nor about such a population.

It is a very important historical fact that the Greek and Latin Churches were not divided until 1054. That is why we have stated above that the orthodox religion in Hungary was not exposed to persecution neither by the state politics nor by another Church. There was nothing to prevent the allegedly “native” Transylvanian Rumanians from building their own cultic places or having their own clerical organizations.

King Stephen got his crown from Sylvester II. (999-1003). As an independent, ordained Hungarian king, he rightly founded episcopacies, abbacies and the archbishopric of Esztergom. Unfortunately, the contemporary church documents did not survive. It can only be suspected, that the first Hungarian archbishopric's deed of foundation was dated in Ravenna in 1001. According to György Gyórfy “The foundation-stone of the Hungarian Church organization was laid in April of 1001”⁵¹. From our point of view the foundation of the bishopric of Gyulafehérvár is particularly important. As György Gyórfy says, it was founded in 1009. The Transylvanian Bishop got hold of the territories of Kraszna and Szatmár counties, in addition to the “Seven castles, namely Siebenbürgen” counties: Hunyad, Fehér, Küküllő, Torda, Kolozs, Doboka, and Dés. There is no mention, however, of any existing Greek-Christian Rumanian Church, episcopacy or bishop.

It is not by the chance that we left the discussion of Anonymus' *Gesta Hungarorum* to the end of this chapter. The *Gesta* talks about the people found by the Hungarians in Transylvania by the time of their settling down: they were, among others, Blacks and the “shepherds of the Romans”. Historiography identified the Blacks as the ancestors of the Rumanians, and came to the conclusion that making the Rumanians appear on stage in Transylvania during Arpád's conquest of Hungary is a serious anachronism. The Rumanians did not settle in Hungary before the 13th century, thus the good monk, Anonymus retro-projected the ethnic situation of his own era to the times of the Arpáds.

¹¹ Dynasty of emperors in Byzantium until 1158 A.D.

¹² The last dynasty of emperors in Byzantium (1259-1453).

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According to the notes of Roger (Rogerius) Bacon (1214-1294), "...the Blacks came from 'old Byzantium', which was located next to old Hungary and Bulgaria (i.e., Hungary and Bulgaria along the Volga). They live between Constantinople, Bulgaria and 'new Hungary'". Hungarian historians showed that the Black people had lived close to the Hungarians' Baskirian Fatherland before they got into Central and Southern Europe. While they attached themselves to the Bulgarians, they still used their own name in the 13th century. It may therefore be that Anonymus did not commit an anachronism. He probably did not talk about Rumanians, but about a people of Turk or Bulgarian origin, in ancient contact with the Hungarians; most probably on the basis of the ancient *Gesta* ⁵².

According to Köpeczi,¹³ Anonymus got acquainted with the Blacks through Nestor's *Russian Chronicle* from the 12th century. As Nestor says; "The conquering Hungarians found Volohs (Volohe) and Slays in the Carpathian Basin. They expelled the Volohs and subjugated the Slays," .. "and from that time on, the land was called Hungarian (*magyar; ugorzska*)". Nestor meant French by the Volohs, in reality the Trans-Danubian Franks, in a wider sense every people speaking a Romance language, or those who belonged to the Holy Roman Empire.

The French crusaders met the Rumanians in the Balkans and pronounced their Greek and Slavic name as Black, even though it was spelled *Blach* and pronounced *Viach* by the native people. The French form was used by the Hungarian chancellery, and declined as Latin words (*blacus, blacci, blacorum*). In the Hungarian documents written up to 1247, the French form: *blak* appears. The Hungarian colloquial form: *oláh*, came into use after that year. It probably derived from the Greek and Slavic form "*vlach*", through an intermediate "*volach*".

Anonymus placed the Rumanians in Transylvania on the basis of Nestor. His work proves therefore that in his era Rumanians did not live in northern Transylvania.

Anonymus' work does not give any data to find out what kind of people the Hungarians could have found in Transylvania. Modern archeology proves the presence of Slays. Rumanian material remains from the 10th century, distinctly separable from that of the Slays, were not found⁵³.

¹³ Fertile lowland and mountainous district located along the Olt and Barca rivers, surrounded by the Transylvanian Carpathians.

IV. Transylvania from the Árpád's Conquest of Hungary until the Mongol Invasion of the Country

The Church played a very important role in the life of Transylvania before the devastation of the Mongol invasion in 1241-42. We already mentioned that Saint Stephen founded an episcopacy in Gyulafehérvár. It is a very important circumstance, that there were some congregations on the Transylvanian Diocese's Territory, which did not belong to the Bishop's clerical sphere of influence and authority. These congregations belonged to the abbacy of Kolozsmonostor, the abbacy of Kerc, founded by King Béla III. (1172 -1196) and to the provostship of Szeben. For a certain period the churches of Barcaság belonged to the Moldavian Catholic bishopric, located in the city of Milcov. These were not Greek-Catholic churches.

Maria Holban deals in detail with the argument⁵⁴, which took shape between the Transylvanian Bishop and the Provost of Szeben, who was supposed to fulfill the provostship's position, which recently had become unoccupied. At this time, the Teutonic Knights migrated to South Transylvania and occupied the territories of Barcaság in Brassó County under the leadership of Salza Herman.

The Transylvanian Bishop considered the provostship's foundation in Szeben as a transgression against his sphere of authority. His power would have been further damaged by the wish of the King, who was willing to make the provostship of Szeben an episcopacy and subordinate it to the authority of Kalocsa's Archbishopric. The provostship of Szeben would have gotten hold of all the Saxon dwellers, including those who had belonged to the Transylvanian episcopacy before.

The Transylvanian Bishop immediately sent an envoy to the Pope to protest against the plan. Finally, the Pope refused the foundation of the new episcopacy. The Transylvanian Bishop's sphere of authority was in every way exposed to danger by the immigration of the knights. At this time such an argument with the Rumanians did not take place. Also this fact suggests — among other things — that Vlachs did not live at that time in Transylvania.

Before discussing the question of the settlement of Vlachs in Transylvania, we have to mention briefly the reports about this population in the Balkans. There, written sources record Vlachs (the ancestors of present day Rumanians) since 976 A.D. They are described as nomad or transhumant shepherds, and as conscripted soldiers in the Byzantine Army. They were the ones who led the Cumanians, breaking into Byzantine territories through the passes of the Balkan Mountains in 1094.

At the end of the 12th century, several Serb documents (deeds of gift) mention the shepherd Rumanians, who lived in the mountainous district between the Drina and Morava rivers (see, for example, Du Nay, 1996, pp. 26-39).

It is not possible to state the exact period of time when the first Vlachs shepherds came to Transylvania. Small numbers might have come in the 11th century, but the first document which mentions this people there refers to 1208. The absence of cultic places, as well as the testimony of the geographical names and the place-names indicates that before the end of the 13th century, Transylvania had no significant Rumanian population.

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According to a document dated 1223, the land of the Rumanians living along the Olt was donated to the Abbacy of Kerc in 1208 by Andrew II. In the donated territories, there are no Rumanian geographical or place-names, and besides *Olt* and *Kere* (of unknown origin), three names appear in the document: Egerpatak, Nagybükk and Arpás (*pa/us Eguerpatak, fagus Noge bik, rivulus Arpas*) — all Hungarian, which were later borrowed by the Rumanians. Thus, this area was not “owned by the Vlachs from ancient times”, but was originally inhabited by Hungarians.

A contemporary document named *Andreanum* (1224), which determined the privileges of the Saxons, gave them the right to use the forests of the Rumanians and Petchenegs. Here the king has taken the Rumanian and Petcheneg ownership into consideration.

In 1231 Salza Hermann, who had been just ousted from Barcaság, stayed in Rome, where he mentioned that Rumanians had their own land, as well as the Székelys, and their own customs authorities, which were independent from that of the Barcaság.

In his writings about his victory over the Hungarian King, Czech King Ottokar II. mentioned the Hungarian King’s “inhuman men”: Hungarians, Cumanians, Slays, Székelys, Vlachs (Rumanians), and Petchenegs.

On the basis of contemporary and later documents, we can presume the existence of a “Blakland”, located in the highlands behind present day Fogaras and Szászváros. This Rumanian-defended frontier region was organized into an administrative unit presumably around 1200.

The protection of the Southern Border Region was devolved primarily on the fortress of Hátszeg and its district. We are informed about the area’s Rumanian population since the so called “frieze lands” were given to a noble by King Stephen the Minor in 1263. The donation did not include the lands of the *kenéz-es* Drágan and Kretoch.¹⁴ The king thus recognized the possessory rights of the presumably Rumanian *kenéz-es* over some of the territories in question.

The tradition of building temples and monasteries practiced by kings and aristocrats was learned by the clans forming smaller branches and families in the 11th - 12th centuries⁵⁵. In Transylvania, the Kácsics clan built the monastery of Harina after the Mongol devastation of Hungary, in the middle of the 13th century. The monastery with three aisles and two steeples is related to the family temples of the Transdanubian area (twin-windowed towers).

The building of sacred places for the clans begun. These cloisters and churches gave shelter to monks swarming out of the larger monasteries. At the beginning, the number of monks could have been around twelve, later it was reduced to three or four. We have no information about such temples or monasteries of Rumanian clans in Transylvania.

In the 12th and 13th centuries, the permanent private property was born in the wake of the noble clans forging ahead. It developed the particular type of family or clan owned churches that represented their strength. There is no report about such a church built by a Rumanian landowner.

¹⁴ Kenéz meant head of a clan; originally the Kenéz-s were colonizing contractors, who received uninhabited lands from the Hungarian king to colonize and populate it. He and his descendants could settle judicial affairs of smaller significance.

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In the first decades of the 13th century, right before the Mongol invasion, Transylvania was well developed politically, socially, and clerically. Rumanians, however, were not present in this development since we do not have any relics or data referring to their church organizations or congregations.

In the year 1087, the pagan Cumanian people settled down in Wallachia, south of Transylvania. The new neighbors broke into Hungary, two times through the Eastern, and once through the Southern Carpathians. They were defeated and driven out of Hungary on every occasion by *Szent László* (King Saint Ladislav, 1077-1095). He met the Cumanians at Kerlés (Cserhalom) in 1071, at Bökény (Szabolcs county) in 1081 and in Pogányró on the riverbanks of the Temes in 1091. After a century of peace, the Cumanians attacked the country again. They ravaged, robbed, and burned the Barcaság.

The Pope, as well as all other Popes, had the important task of converting the pagan people, like the Cumanians, to Christianity. Members of the first Dominican Cumanian Mission were killed by the Cumanians. The second mission, however, proved to be successful. They convinced Bors Membrok, leader of the Cumanians to adopt the Christian religion. Membrok sent his own son to Esztergom with the Dominicans. He asked the Hungarian Primate to come to Cumania and convert the population to Christianity. He also asked for a consecrated Bishop for his people. The Hungarian Primate reported the Cumanian request to the Pope and asked for permission to carry it out. The Pope named the Primate to his legate and invested him with full power to complete the necessary tasks. The Primate, accompanied by the Bishops of Veszprém, Pécs, and Transylvania as well as Prince Béla with a small group of people, departed to the lands of the Cumanians. He baptized the Cumanian people in the city of Milkov, between Wallachia and Moldavia. He consecrated Teodorik as the first Bishop of the Cumanians, and the Bishop of Milkov in 1227. We have three documents to prove this in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. The first letter went to the leader of the Hungarian Dominicans, the second document to the Primate of Esztergom, the third to Prince Béla, son of Andrew II., who was later crowned Béla IV. (1235-1270)⁵⁶.

Official documents prove also that the Cumanian Bishop became a member of the Hungarian Episcopal staff and that he attended several episcopal assemblies. (Finally the episcopacy of Milkov was annexed nominally to the diocese of Esztergom by Tamás Bakócz [1442-1521], Archbishop of Esztergom.) If an Orthodox Rumanian episcopacy had been functioning in Transylvania, the contemporary documents would have mentioned it, even though the Rumanian Bishop would not have been a member of the episcopal staff. But if such documentary did not commemorate it, the crown office should have mentioned Rumanian episcopacies or other smaller clerical organizations. If they had existed, the Hungarian kings would have tried *them* to convert to Catholicism and would have turned their attention to Wallachia, Moldavia, and the Balkans, only after they had succeeded in Hungary.

Forty thousand Cumanian families asked for and received permission to immigrate to Hungary in 1238. They settled down between the Danube and the Tisza. They and the people of the Teutonic Knights who remained there survived the devastations caused by the Mongols in 1241. Their religious life was, however, endangered by the quickly spreading of the Beguile heterodoxy.¹⁵ As a countermeasure, the Pope fulfilled the Hungarian King's wish and founded the second Catholic episcopacy at Szörénytornya in 1246. The life of the episcopacy can be traced until 1416. Some of their bishops are known by name. When a new episcopacy was founded, groups of Hungarians settled down on the

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territories of former Cumania. The territories left empty after those forty thousand resettled Cumanians were colonized by the Megleno- and Arumanians, coming from the Balkans. A small number of them reached Transylvania⁵⁷. They, however, did not live in the territory of Cumania with the Cumanians because we do not have any traces of their clerical organizations.

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V. Transylvania during the Mongol Invasion

According to János Túróczi,¹⁵ in 1241 the Tatars (Tartars or Mongols) of Genghis Khan marched into Hungary with four armies, 500,000 armed men⁵⁸. The main body of their army marched through the Verecke Pass to the Tisza Valley. The other three armies attacked from Transylvania.

While the Tatars retreated from the Great Plain and the Maros Valley, they devastated Transylvania to a very large degree. They destroyed everything that had got in their way. The Partium and Transylvania suffered the biggest losses and most casualties.

In his memorandum, *Carmen Miserabile* (Miserable Song) Rogerius, of Italian origin, the Dean of Várad, wrote that when he had escaped from Tatar captivity, and had been travelling through Transylvania, he was hardly able to find a man there; he did not see anything but “heaps of ruins” in Nagyenyed, Torda and Gyulafehérvár. “On the Eve of the Tatar invasion the Hungarian armies were fighting on the Balkans serving the interest of the Hungarian aristocracy and the Papacy. The Papacy, however, did not recruit Western forces against the Tatars in 1240-1242... The struggle against the Mongols was strongly hindered, since the German feudal nobles, serving their own interests in Northern and Eastern Europe, in agreement with the Papal State, led their troops against the divided Russians”⁵⁹

Without any allies and also separated from each other, Hungary and Poland were attacked by the Mongols, who, after breaking the Russian resistance, turned with full force against the two countries.

King Béla IV. (1235-1270) tried to organize the defense of the country, but failed. The King's desperate efforts were seen with malicious joy by the nobles who felt offended due to the strengthening of the King's power. They put their soldiers at the king's disposal with considerable delay and reluctance. The murder of Kötöny, Cumanian leader, turned the Cumans away from Béla IV, even though the responsibility did not rest with the King. The King could not mobilize an army of satisfactory numbers, until the very last moment, when the Mongols had already broken into the country, and the danger had become overwhelming.

The army of King Béla IV could not resist the Mongols, whose horsemen swarmed all over the Tisza area. The Tatars and the Hungarian cavalry fought on the battlefield of Muhi, near the Sajó stream

¹⁵ John Túróczi (1435-1490), Hungarian chronicle writer. Prothonotary (a professional judge of the federal Court of Appeal) in king Mathias' court. His work is the *Chronica Hungarica*.

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in April 11th, 1241. The battle ended with the total destruction of the Hungarian Army. The King escaped with extreme difficulties. His death would have meant the final destruction of Hungary.

After the battle of Muhi the country was in complete ruins. The number of slaughtered people could be counted in tens of thousands. Most of those who survived were hiding in the deep forests and marshes and were waiting for the day of salvation.

Fortunately, the Mongol Chief Khan, Ogotaj died unexpectedly. Since Batu Khan, the Commander in Chief of the Mongol army, now in Hungary, wanted to be present and take part in the power struggle, following the death of the chief khan, hastily withdrew from the country and returned to Mongolia.

At the end of May 1242, there were no Mongols left in Hungary. The work of reconstruction could start.

King Béla's first task was the reorganization of the country's defenses. He realized that the Mongols had not been able to capture the Hungarian fortresses. He organized a castle system on the border zone, and urged his nobles to build more fortified castles. He founded a new capital at Buda with a splendid royal palace and churches on the Castle Hill (part of modern Budapest).

After the Mongol withdrawal, King Béla immediately started to re-build the country, building new fortified castles of stone also (in Transylvania: Des, Kolozsvár).

The King sent Vajda (Voivod) Lőrinc to Transylvania . . .to gather his people, and arrange everything, by using his authority, that he finds useful to his country". Lőrinc tried his very best to fulfill his duty. He transferred ploughmen and soldiers to the depopulated areas from the territories that suffered less. He also encouraged people from abroad to settle in the devastated territory.

In his letter to the King, the Transylvanian Bishop Gallus, wrote that in the year of 1246 it was hard to find people in Gyulafehérvár and the city's surrounding areas. He asked the King to take the people, who lived or were willing to live on the episcopal properties out of the authority of the voivodes and county sheriffs. He, the Bishop of Transylvania, would have been in this case their only master. The King fulfilled his wish.

The Mongol invasion decimated the population, therefore foreigners had to be hired to do the reconstruction. What kind of nationality did they have? Where did they come from? The new dwellers, who were brought to the episcopal and unoccupied royal properties, migrated with their flocks from the Balkans. They were Vlachs, ancestors of today's Rumanians⁶⁰. Most of them ran away from the political discords and battles going on in the Balkan Peninsula. They were led by Bulgarian and Serb *kenez-es*.

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During the times of Charles the Anjou (Charles I.) (1307-1342), especially in 1335, they were also invited to Transylvania. In 1370 some of their nobles moved, because of political unrest, from Bulgaria, as well as from the western areas of Wallachia, to Transylvania⁶¹.

The Szamos and Maros valleys were Transylvania's main military routes during the Mongol invasions. These valleys were inhabited by Hungarians. Every enemy, marching through the area, ravaged mainly this people. The Saxons found shelter in their forts and fortified towns, while many Székelys were hiding in the forests. The farming people of the undefended villages always became easy prey of the enemy. That is why they could not and did not grow sufficiently in number. That is why they later were forced to welcome foreign settlers.

King Béla, “the second state founder” settled the Johannite (Maltese) Order of Knights between the Lower Danube and the Olt, which territory also had been devastated by the Mongols. Their presence, from the year 1247, meant defense for the territory.

The Christian churches, devastated earlier by pagan insurgents, were replaced by new ones. Saint Stephen's orders were reissued by Saint Ladislas I. He ordered that the burned out or devastated churches had to be rebuilt by the congregations. “The churches which were ruined because of their old age must be reconstructed by the bishop.” These churches were rebuilt by the time of the Mongol attack (1241). It was hard to find a village without a temple. The churches, however, were mostly robbed, burned and destroyed by the Tatars. The cathedrals of Gyulafehérvár and Nagyvárad had to be rebuilt. The village churches also had to be rebuilt from their ruins. Again, we have no information about the reconstruction of any Greek-Catholic (Orthodox) church in this period in Transylvania. There weren't any.

After the Mongol attacks fortified stone and brick churches were built that could have been used for defensive purposes. Their construction was regulated — under the king's inspiration — by the proprietary relations. “Every proprietary recognized the mental and material advantages of the patronage's right.” The number of parishes in the 13th century exceeded that of the 11th century. We do not know about Rumanian parishes and church building proprietaries. Thus, in the Hungary of the 13th and 14th centuries, particularly in Transylvania, Hungarian churches made earlier of wood and mud were reconstructed because they were completely destroyed by the Tatars. The reason was not that assumed by Radu Popa, Rumanian historian [60]. The brick and stone churches mentioned by him are newer. They are churches rebuilt after the Tatar devastations. If there were some Rumanian churches made out of bricks or stones after the Tatar attack in Transylvania, it would mean that they were built in that period, — they could not have been built before the Tatar invasion.

VI. Transylvania between the Mongol Invasion and the Beginning of the Turkish Menace

Transylvania recovered substantially during the two decades following the Mongol invasion. Its internal order was peaceful. Its situation changed after 1260, when Béla IV. gave it to his son, István. Transylvania suffered on account of the almost endless discord between father and son. Béla IV. died in 1270, and his son ascended the throne as Stephen V.

Stephen ruled only two years, 1270 - 1272. In spite of his short ruling period, he did not forget about Transylvania. He rewarded the Székelys of Kézsd for their bravery against the Tatars. They were settled on a depopulated area of Torda County, the surroundings of Torockó.

After his death, he was succeeded to the throne by his son, who was called *László* (Ladislas IV, “the Cumanian”; 1272-1290). Under his reigning period, life in Transylvania was characterized by disorder and anarchy. The royal rule and laws were replaced by the law of the club and despotism.

The cathedral of Gyulafehérvár was attacked and burned down by the Saxons in February 21, 1277. Kun László beat the invading Cumanians at Hódmezővásárhely in 1282. The defeated Cumanians fled to the Nogaj Tatars. While beating a hasty retreat, they devastated Transylvania.

They returned in 1285. The Cumanians got as far as Pest. They were beaten by the Royal Army again. As a repeat performance, escaping from the king’s troops they withdrew with large booty across Transylvania. On their way out they found time to destroy Beszterce and Kolozsvár. At the fortress of Torockó they were caught and badly beaten by the Székelys. The Székelys also destroyed another group, before they could have left Transylvania.

The Cumanian raids did not end despite their defeat by the Székelys. The Pope proclaimed a Crusade against the Cumanians. The decisive battles of the war between the Crusaders and the Cumanians were fought in Transylvania. The anarchy and chaos did not end until the death of Ladislas IV in 1290.

Ladislas IV’s successor, Andrew III. (1290-1301) travelled across Transylvania in 1291. He convoked the Parliament along with the Transylvanian estates at Gyulafehérvár. In a document he reinforced the nobles, the clergy, and the Saxons in their rights.

Andrew published another notable document, in which he mentions the Vlachs along with the nobles, Székelys and Saxons. Several Rumanian historians came to the false conclusion that the Vlachs possessed equal rights with the Hungarians, Székelys and Saxons and were considered an emancipated nation during the House of Árpád’s reign, and they participated in the political and constitutional life of Transylvania as well.

The historical facts, however, show that the participating Rumanians in the assemblies were witnesses rather than legislators. They were supposed to testify to whether it was the truth or not, that the properties of Fogaras and Szombathely really belonged to master Ugrin. The assembly in question was not legislative but judicial. In the next year

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Vlachs were not invited to the Parliament where Transylvanian nobles, Székelys, Saxons, and indeed the Cumanians participated.

The document of Andrew III. dated 1293, casts light upon why the Rumanians were not invited to the Hungarian nor to the Transylvanian Parliaments. “Being forced by the regime’s interest, with the agreement of the magnates, we order that all the Vlachs. residing on anybody’s property, should be driven back to our royal property named Székes. Exempted are those sixty households, who were authorized to settle down by Ladislas IV, in Fülesd and Enöd, on the properties of the chapter of Gyulafehérvár.”

This document shows — without the slightest doubt — that only the king and persons authorized by the king could give the immigrating Rumanians permission to settle down. At this time only the churches and bishops were allowed to colonize. The landowners did not have the right to harbor Rumanian immigrants yet⁶².

On the basis of the above mentioned documents, it may be stated that the Rumanians were very small in number under the House of Árpád’s reign. Also because of this fact, they could not be equal to the other three nations of Transylvania, the Hungarians, the Székelys and the Saxons. As we have already mentioned in Chapter 4., Megleno-Rumanians and Arumanians came from the Balkans and occupied the area from which those 40,000 Cumanian families were settled in Hungary; they then spread over the entire Cumania.

The recently settled people were Greek Catholic (Orthodox) with Slavonic liturgy. King Charles Robert founded the voivodship of Ungro-Vlachia in 1324, based on the Cumanians, Germans and resettled Hungarians in addition to the immigrated Vlachs. The name of Ungro-Vlachia changed later to Muntenia, in Hungarian: Havaselve (Havasalföld). The first voivod of the voivodship was Basarab, who was already in 1324 “Wallachia’s only great voivod and ruler”.

Louis the Great (1342-1382) organized the feudal voivodship by the name of Kara Bogdania, the later Moldavia. It was located on the northern territories of Cumania, between the eastern slopes of the Carpathian mountains and the right bank of the Prut River. By the request of Louis the Great, the Pope founded the third Catholic episcopacy at Curtea de Arges in Wallachia, in 1382.

According to the order of January 29, 1322 by King Charles Robert, the abbacy of Kerc¹⁶ was placed under the protection of the king due to the “attacks of the evil”.

Maria Holban dealt in detail with the argument, which had taken shape between the Transylvanian Bishop and the provost of Szeben. The provost was supposed to fill the provostship’s recently vacated position. On pages 262 - 263, Holban explained in detail that the abbacy of Kerc had not been endangered by the peasants nor by the actions of the Rumanian Greek-Catholics. The Transylvanian Archbishop sent an encyclical letter on November 14, 1343, in which he encouraged the people to hand back the abbacy’s stolen properties and other goods, and advised them not to interfere in this abbacy’s affairs (situated on the farthest border of the Hungarian kingdom). Not even from this letter one may•

¹⁶ An heretical religious movement, started in the 10th century in Bulgaria. After the 15th century their followers converted to Islam.

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conclude that the Rumanians rioted against the abbacy.

Maria Holban also demonstrated that the abbacy of Kolozsmonostor had been attacked by Rumanian and Hungarian peasants from the neighboring estate, not by those who had been living on the abbacy's property. Why were only the Hungarian Catholic abbacies the targets of riots and peasant revolts? Why were only the abbacies of Kerc and Kolozsmonostor attacked? Why didn't the peasants turn against Rumanian churches, monasteries or abbacies?

Another very important question can be asked. Why did Maria Holban write about the Rumanian-Hungarian, Transylvanian-Rumanian-Hungarian connections of the 13th-14th centuries? Why did she not write about connections, for example, in the 10th- 11th or the 11th-12th centuries? This would be more relevant in the efforts to prove the Dacian-Roman Continuity Theory.

On the basis of the 1332 and 1337 Papal Tithe Collector's list, in his work mentioned above, Péter Pál Domokos (p.60) showed the religious composition of the people living in Transylvania on the territory of the Transylvanian Bishopric. By that time, the reign of the Árpád's had just ended with the rise of the Anjou rule. According to these data, 310,000 Hungarian Székelys, 21,000 Saxons and 18,000 Rumanians lived in Transylvania⁶³. The low number of Vlachs suggests that they could not have been present among the conquered or surrendered people in the time of Árpád's conquest of Hungary, and could scarcely have any cultic places or church organizations. Even if they had been present, their number would have been insignificant. With the knowledge of these data we have to dispute the statement of the Rumanian historian Radu Popa. He said that during the 11th and 12th centuries "...headquarters, fortified courts, chapels and small monasteries, serving as spiritual centres⁶⁴ had been built by Roman *Kenez* families" in Máramaros, Fogaras, Bihar, Bánság and Hátszeg (Hunyad county). The statement's indefensibility was also felt by the author, who added: "...these .wooden buildings were rebuilt as stone and brick buildings during the 13th- 14th centuries⁶⁵.

As regards Máramaros, any such building is excluded by the fact that the Rumanians did not immigrate there until the last quarter of the 13th century. The old Russian chronicles tell us that Ladislas IV. the "Cumanian", being afraid of another Mongol invasion, asked for help from Rome and Constantinople in 1284-85. After evaluating his request, a large army was sent to him by Constantinople from the Ibar region, (in present day Serbia). These Vlachs, fighting together with the Hungarians, defeated the Mongols in the upper Tisza valley. Since they did not want to return to their homeland, the king settled them in Máramaros.

We know from a document dated 1335, that Mikola's son, voivod Bogdan settled with his Rumanians in Máramaros as frontier guards against the Mongols. They emigrated from here to Moldavia in 1348; moving slowly towards the south, they met the Rumanians living in Wallachia.

Beginning with the early 15th century, they occupied the territories, which later (after 1859) were called Rumania (the United Principalities) and became a politically distinct nation. That is the reason why the Rumanian cultic places appeared 2-3 centuries later than the Hungarians'. Radu Popa's statements would probably be true, if he had referred to the Ibar Region in Serbia. It may be enough to refer to Romulus Dianu's work, in which he said that the monastery in Peri (Körtvélyes) had been built in 1391, at the end of the 14th century, and was a donation of voivod Dragos⁶⁶.

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In the same writing of Romulus Dianu, the author mentions that the Transylvanian Greek-Catholics (Orthodox) were considered schismatics — heretics — by the “Papal Princes

“The Bishops of Buda forbade the Rumanians the building of churches in the towns. This sentence of 1279 had a binding force of law until 1848”⁶⁷. It is our duty to stop here, and enlighten Dianu’s superficial reasoning and baseless assertions.

It can be determined that Buda did not have any bishops, not even one. Philip of Fermont, Papal legate convoked a council in the Castle of Buda in September, 1279. Dianu might have been referring to this event. The council’s primary goal was the correction of the life and morals of the Polish-Hungarian churchmen and laymen, “...in order to “Bishop of Buda” The council’s verdict “...dealt mainly with the third estate, its tasks and the observance of the church services.” Paragraph No. 126. deals really with the schismatical priests and the authorization of the houses of prayer and chapel buildings they wanted to erect, but not in the form as presented by Dianu. He wrote that “the Bishop of Buda had forbidden the Rumanians to build churches in the cities.” Such a resolution was not passed by the council. The resolution did not say a word about the Rumanians. It simply ordered that a schismatical priest should not be allowed to “deliver divine service” in the Catholic Church, and that the schismatics could only build their temples with the authorization of the diocesan bishop. There is no word of Rumanians, cities or prohibition of church buildings. The resolution disposed of the building of houses of prayer and of chapels, not churches. According to Dianu, the resolution had binding force of law until 1848. If this had been true, “schismatical” Rumanian churches could not have been built for example in Kolozsvár in 1797, in Marosvásárhely in 1811-1814, etc.

VII. Transylvania During the Times of the Turkish Expansion

During the reign of *Nagy Lajos* (Louis the Great, 1342-1382), a menacing power appeared on the Balkans, the Ottoman Turks. Turks endangered Hungary as well as the whole Central Europe. Realizing the danger, the king paid special attention to Transylvania. He stayed there from April to August 1366. He strengthened the Charters of the seven Saxon Seats. He visited every important place in the Székely territory.

Under the reign of Louis the Great, the number of Vlachs increased considerably. He permitted the Vlachs to settle not only on the royal, episcopal and prebendal properties, and ruled that also the cities and the landowners should have the right to settle down immigrating Vlachs.

In July of 1366, the Parliament gathered in Torda.¹⁷ According to the royal document, which summarized the orders of the Parliament, the public security was in constant jeopardy. The public law and order were extraordinarily bothered by the Vlachs, living in chaotic circumstances. He allowed free hands to kill off the “evil-doers”.

The king visited Transylvania in 1377 for the last time. He convinced the Saxons in Brassó to reconstruct Töröcsvár,¹⁸ and to always take care of the fort’s defenses. In return, he transferred the authority over the villages of the Barcaság from the Székely sheriff to Brassó. He donated Erdőfelek (Feleacu) with its Vlach dwellers to the city of Kolozsvár. He took all these actions knowing that Transylvania was the south-eastern stronghold of the Hungarian Empire, the supporting pillar of the Hungarian power politics towards the Balkans. After the death of Louis the Great, his oldest daughter, the eleven-year-old Maria inherited the Hungarian throne, but the king’s widow, Elizabeth ruled. She was killed by some aristocrats, who were dissatisfied with her rule.

Maria, fiancée of the Prince of Luxembourg, was imprisoned. Zsigmond led his armies to free his fiancée. In 1387, he was crowned the Hungarian king by the nobles, faithful to Maria (1387-1437).

These events prompted the Wallachian voivod Mircea and the Moldavian voivod Peter to break away from the Hungarian kingdom and surrender to the Polish king (1380). One of Zsigmond’s tasks was to get the voivodes back in line. Mircea surrendered on his own, while Stefan, who followed Peter as the Moldavian voivod, was forced back.

The period of Zsigmond’s reign was critical in the history of Transylvania. During the first decade of his reign, the Turks conquered the Balkans. A little later, the Turks started to threaten, and then annexed the Vlach voivodhsips.

¹⁷ City in Torda-Aranyos county. The oldest city in Transylvania.

¹⁸ Village in Fogaras county (Rum. Bran). Pass between Transylvania and Wallachia. The stone castle was built in 1377 with the authorization of Louis the Great.

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After the Battle of Rigómezö (Kosovo), (1389) the Bulgarian, Serb and Bosnian rulers, still cooperating with the Hungarians, had to realize that their power and country could be saved only if they maintained good relations with the Turks. The neighboring Rumanian voivodships also had to engage in the way of equilibrium politics. The Turks first annexed Wallachia, and somewhat later Moldavia. This circumstance led to further deterioration in the relation between the Rumanian voivodships and Hungary.

In 1396, in the battle of Nikápoly, Zsigmond's army of 90.000 men was defeated by Sultan Bajazid's army. After this battle, the Rumanian voivodes showed more willingness to maintain better relations with the Turks than the Hungarian king — because of religious reasons. The Turks required only political submission, taxes, loot and in case of war, troops to support. They did not attack the religion of the voivodship's people. They did not want to convert them to Mohammedanism. The proviso of the Hungarian king's assistance and aid was all the time the conversion to the Roman-Catholic Church. The Hungarian Anjou kings' diplomacy always sharply opposed the Greek Orthodox religion. Louis the Great's every effort tended towards the conversion of the Greek-Orthodox Vlachs, in a peaceful way if possible, to recognize the Papal authority and unite them with the Roman-Catholic Church.

The Hungarian kings committed themselves to the spread of Roman Catholicism so deeply, that Catholicism was considered a "Hungarian religion" by the people of Eastern-Europe and the Balkans, at least after King Imre's reign (1196-1204)⁶⁸.

In order to gain their goodwill, the Vlach voivodes turned the Turks' attention to Transylvania. The first Turkish army broke into Transylvania in 1420, under Dan, Wallachian voivod's inspiration. The Székelys and the Saxons resisted, but were defeated by the Turk's numerical superiority. The Turks destroyed Brassó and ravaged the Barcaság and Háromszék. (The Barcaság was inhabited by Saxons, Háromszék by Székelys.)

The Hungarians started to take precautions against the Turks in the period that came after the Battle of Nikápoly. They have fortified the southern borders. At the news of the Turkish approach the forts' significance, primarily the ones capable of harboring large groups of people, grew among the defending Székelys and Saxons. Where there were few forts, a whole range of Székely and Saxon church fortresses formed a defense line⁶⁹. There are no reports about Vlach churches having been included among these.

The fortified castles and churches saved the material possessions of the village people in addition to the protection of their lives. Within the walls, the defending families had their own chambers where they could put their valuable goods and food in a safe place.

Although the presence of Vlachs was a fact at the beginning of the 13th century in the Southern-Carpathian area, there are no data regarding fortification of Vlach churches or castles. It all points to the fact that the small number of Vlachs, who had just recently become farm hands, were used only as soldiers for defending the castles of the landowners.

The appearance of the Turkish Army on the southern borders of Hungary brought about different kinds of fortresses (royal, noble, and peasant). The fortified churches and castles played an important role in the country's defense. Thick, high, stone walls, bastions and towers were built around the churches, turning them into real fortresses. The building of Transylvanian forts, and the fortification of the stone churches meant defense for the Vlach voivodes,

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too. They were given a chance to increase their strength. Among the owners of castles in Transylvania, we can also find several Wallachian and Moldavian voivodes. As vassals of the Hungarian kings and the Transylvanian voivodes, several of them were given castles in Transylvania, as will be shown in the next chapter.

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VIII Transylvanian Fiefs of Vlach (Rumanian) Voivods.

Rumanian Cultic Places

In the 13th-16th centuries, the voivods of neighboring Wallachia (Havaselve) and Moldavia were vassals of the Hungarian king, sometimes also of the Transylvanian *valda*, with shorter or longer interruptions. (Transylvania, before it developed into a Principality, was governed by Hungarian royal clerks, *vajda-s* [voivods]). In the Feudal System the lord gave an estate to his vassal who enjoyed the benefits of it as long as he fulfilled the obligations of the relationship. The feudal lord was counting on the vassal's services in peace, as well as in wartime. The vassal was obliged to give military service in addition to the mandatory hospitality and taxes, paid mainly in agricultural products and animals.

We have to survey the contemporary history of Wallachia and Moldavia to get more information about the allegiance between the Vlach voivods and the Hungarian kings.

The Mongol invasion in 1241 basically changed the political conditions in south eastern Europe. The Tatars entrenched themselves in the western and north-western coastal districts of the Black Sea, in the former principality of Kiev, in Moldavia, and in the eastern territories of the second Bulgarian Empire. They swept away the Cumanians, and destroyed most of Hungary. After they settled down in the territories mentioned, they kept raiding their neighbors, Hungarians and Vlachs alike⁷⁰.

Bela IV. tried to keep the Mongols far from the borders of Hungary. In Transylvania, he reorganized the Székely borderguard units. He built strong fortresses, and made efforts to strengthen the southern borders. In Szörény, the power of the *bdn* (warden of the southern approaches of Hungary) proved to be weak in keeping the Tatars away. That is why the king donated the Banate of Szdrény, with its neighboring territories, to the Johannite Order of Knights, and considered the whole of Wallachia to be his fief. The papacy agreed with the Hungarian king's southern expansion. With the Hungarian expansion, the Pope cherished the hope of further Roman-Catholic gains.

The Turk menace, however, approached. The Turks secured a firm foothold on the Balkan Peninsula, and also endangered the security of Wallachia. The voivods of Wallachia built up family ties and friendly relationships with the Bulgarian and Serb rulers. The Turk expansion could have been stopped only by the South Eastern European people's collaboration. The Papacy and the Hungarian foreign policy — influenced by religious considerations — supporting it, were obstacles of such unity.

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Louis the Great's Romanizing foreign policy on the Balkans, with the unquestionable intention towards the political influence behind it, brought only sham results. With his campaigns he only weakened the people of the Balkans and made it easier for the Turks to expand towards the yet free Balkan states, as well as towards Hungary

Greek-Orthodoxism successfully resisted the Hungarian Romanization. In 1359 the first Greek-Orthodox archbishopry was founded in Wallachia. The Greek Kritopulos Hiakintos was named the head of this, and he called himself the archbishop of Ungro-Vlachia, i.e. of Wallachia. The foundation of the first Wallachian archbishopric was soon followed by the establishment of the Greek-Orthodox episcopacy of Szdrény. Orthodox monastery buildings were constructed. Abbat Nicodim, who immigrated from Serbia to Wallachia, founded the monastery of Vodita and later the famous monastery of Tismana.

In the 13th century, the northern part of the other Vlach province, Moldavia developed as part of the principality of Kiev. Later it belonged to the sphere of the principality of Galicia. The Mongols subjugated most of the Russians. Moldavia was also under Mongol dominance, from where the Tatars often broke into and robbed throughout the Transylvanian cities.

In 1345, Louis the Great, whose reign made possible the country's military strengthening, cleaned Moldavia of the Mongols. When the Tatars were ousted, the King organized a military border zone for the defense of Transylvania. The center of the new frontier zone was Baia. Dragos the voivod of Máramaros, who participated in the fighting, was placed at the head of it. He was the first voivod of Moldavia under the federal authority of the Hungarian King. Moldavia lived under such authority until 1359, when voivod Bogdan came into power. Bogdan ousted voivod Balk, vassal of the Hungarian King and founded the first independent Vlach principality.

The territory of Moldavia became in this period well defined. The international trade played a very important role in its strengthening. The Hungarian King as well as the Polish King was interested in the security of such trade. The tax income and material interest, related to such commerce, made understandable the ambitions of the Hungarian and Polish kings toward the feudal reign of Moldavia.

Since Poland could enforce its influence because of its geographical location, those in power in Moldavia soon recognized the suzerainty rights of the Polish king. The rulers of Moldavia protected themselves with the well tested methods of Wallachia against the Romanizing ambitions of the Polish kings. They, like the Wallachian rulers, organized the Greek-Orthodox Church. The first monastery was built with the financial assistance of the ruler Peter Musat (1375-1391) in Nean⁴. The construction was carried out by the monks of the Serbian Archbishop, Nicodim, who had already established the basis of the cloistered life in Wallachia⁷¹

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In both voivodships, the Vlach leadership helped with the organization of the Greek-Orthodox Church against the spread of Catholicism, and the political influence of the Hungarian and Polish kings, for the defense of their country's independence. They spared neither their monetary nor political assistance. In exchange and recognition, the Church rendered strong assistance against the discordant feudal aspirations and popular movements.

The kenezships and voivodships were united by Basarab, who was already in 1324 "the only voivod and ruler of all Wallachia". He also occupied the Banate of Szörény. He came into conflict with King Robert Charles, who had been the suzerain of his and had supported his wars against the Mongols. The king started a military campaign against Basarab, but was badly beaten in 1330, near the village of Posada. Even though the castle of Szörény remained in Hungarian hands, Basarab's victory ensured the Wallachian independence.

A couple of years later, Basarab could not do anything but join the Hungarian king again, due to the looming Mongol danger. After the death of King Robert Charles, the feudal relationship was restored with the kings' successor, Louis the Great.

During the times of Basarab's grandson, Vladislav, the Hungarian-Wallachian relationship further improved. The king gave the castle of Szörény to Vladislav and donated the estates of Transylvanian Fogaras and Omlás. Vladislav recognized the Hungarian king as his suzerain. At the cost of feudal relationship, the Wallachian reigning prince, even as vassal of the king, gained a foothold into the Eastern part of Hungarian Transylvania with his household; nobles, serfs and slaves.

The development of both principalities was markedly hindered by the Turk advancement and conquests. Almost immediately after the establishment of the states, the fight against the Turk conquests begun.

After their victorious battle of Rigómezö (Kosovo-polje) in 1389, the Turks meant the most immediate danger to Wallachia, whose voivod was Mircea cel Bătrân (Old Mircea). In 1394, a large Turkish army begun to conquer Wallachia under the leadership of Sultan Bajazid. Mircea could not defeat the Turks, but repulsed them in the famous battle of Rovine. Mircea withdrew and escaped to Transylvania, where he formed an alliance with Zsigmond of Luxembourg (1368-1437), Hungarian king from 1387) in Brassó to push back the Turks. Under the terms of the treaty, Mircea recognized Zsigmond and the Hungarian kings in general, as his suzerain.

In the meantime, the Turks annexed Wallachia and enthroned a pro-Turk voivod. Zsigmond, fulfilling the conditions of the treaty, hastened to the help of Mircea. They together defeated the pro-Turk voivod in 1395. Mircea regained his throne.

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King Zsigmond gathered an army of crusaders in 1396. He tried to oust the Turks from the Balkan Peninsula, but was badly defeated at Nikápoly. Mircea pulled back his troops north of the Danube and prepared himself to fend off the Turk attack. He was successful. He defeated the Turks two times, in 1397 and 1400.

The Turks occupied two fortresses of Mircea, the fortress of Turnu Magurele and Giurgiu along the Danube in 1416. In spite of the new Turkish pressure, due to other pressing problems, King Zsigmond neglected his previous alliance. He used all his forces to carry out his Western plans. Mircea made a pledge to pay yearly taxes to the Turks — the independence of Wallachia ended. Turkish raids occurred more frequently along the Hungarian borders. The Turks put their hands on Fort Galambóc in 1428, and Fort Szendrő in 1439.

The Turks now menaced also the other Vlach voivodship, Moldavia. Alexandru cel Bun (Alexander the Good, 1400-1432), and Petru Aron (1451-1457) voivods were fighting the Turks with alternating luck. Finally, voivod Aron declared Moldavia a country under the authority of the Turks. Moldavia too became the feudal principality of the Turks.

Voivod Stefan cel Mare (Stephen the Great, 1457-1505) did not resign himself to the situation. In one and a half decade, he made Moldavia one of the most important states of southeastern Europe. In his foreign policy, he aimed to ensure Hungarian and Polish help against the Turks⁷². He defeated the Turkish army with Hungarian and Polish assistance in 1475 at Vaslul, but was defeated in 1476 near Razboieni. After his loss he marched to the north behind the line of strong Moldavian castles. Facing the united Rumanian-Hungarian army, the Sultan retreated. He even had to give up Wallachia.

Eight years later a war broke out between the Hungarian king, Mathias (1458 - 1490) and the German emperor. Mathias was forced to conclude a peace treaty with the Turks, who profiting from the occasion, immediately annexed the two big trade centers of Moldavia, the cities of Chilia and Cetatea Alba.

Voivod Stephen was still able to destroy two Turkish armies in 1485 and 1486, but he could not achieve more significant results. The forces of Moldavia were not enough to resist the military might of the strengthened Turkish Empire. The ruling prince made efforts to establish an anti-Turk coalition. He started negotiations with king Mathias. Mathias gave him two Transylvanian forts, Csicsó and Küküllövár, flee to in case he was defeated in a battle. Thus another Rumanian ruler, with all his household, nobles, serfs and slaves, won a foothold in the eastern part of Transylvania.

King Mathias died in 1490. The country was in decay. In spite of the Hungarian help, voivod Stephen recognized the Polish king as his feudal lord.

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During the times of Stephen's descendants the Turkish pressure increased. There were twenty-six transfers of sovereignty in the principality during a hundred-year period. There were only two extraordinary persons among the rulers. Petru Rares (1527-1538), ally of János Szapolyai and Joan Voda cel Viteaz (voivod John the Gallant), who ruled between 1572 and 1574. John liberated Braila in Wallachia. The Sultan, being afraid of an uprising of the Christians living south of the Danube against the Turkish rule, sent 100000 armed men to Moldavia. After courageous fights, Voivod John was forced to capitulate. Despite the treaty, the Turks massacred the prisoners of war and killed the reigning prince.

We have already have pointed out that Louis the Great donated the properties of Fogaras and Omlás to Vladislav, Wallachian Voivod. Fogaras and Sebesvár were owned by Mircea cel Batrân. On the basis of the treaty with king Mathias, the owner of Csicsóvár and Küküllövár was Stephen the Great. Later, his successor, Petru Rares, inherited his possessions.

The Hungarian king János I. (1526-1540) donated the entire Beszterce area with the Radna Valley to Petru Rares, in addition to the forts of Csicsóvár and Küküllövár. The voivod founded an Orthodox Episcopacy on his fief at Rév. The Bishops came from Moldavia, and governed this Church between 1523 and 1561. — The Rumanian Orthodox Church of Barcarozsnyó (Rum. Râsnov) was built with the help of the Wallachian ruler in the 14th century. Mihai Viteazul (Michael the Gallant, 1593-1601) restored it.

The construction of a stone church began in Brassó in 1495, with the help of Vlad Calugarul, Wallachian Voivod. This church was between 1519 and 1521 enlarged with the assistance of Neagoe Basarab. Aron Voda, Moldavian ruler, decorated its walls with frescos in 1594. The building, erected in the courtyard of the church, included the old Rumanian School. The school building replaced an older wooden structure, and was built in 1597 with the monetary help of Aron Voda. The teaching was in Slavonic (the language of the Romanian Orthodox Church) before 1559, then it was changed to Rumanian. The building of Rumanian churches and monasteries continued in Transylvania with the help and financial assistance of the voivodes of the two Rumanian lands.

Finally, we have to remember that István Báthory (1533—1586), Transylvanian ruler, founded the Orthodox Episcopacy of Gyulafehérvár. According to a decree of the Parliament, the bishop was elected by the Rumanian priests and approved by the ruler. The bishop asked — after having received the approval of the voivod — the Wallachian Orthodox bishop of Târgoviste¹⁹ to consecrate him. The Rumanian Orthodox Bishop of Gyulafehérvár named himself, after 1577, the Archbishop of Transylvania. Every Rumanian Orthodox priest in Transylvania was placed under his authority.

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In the light of these historical facts, it may be stated that the Carpathians did not make out an obstacle between the Rumanians living in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania. The present day community of Rumanian historians tries to forge an argument for the theory of Vlach continuity in Transylvania from the fact that Rumanian voivods, who were in a difficult situation because of the Tatar and later the Turkish attacks, were helped by the Hungarian kings. This help included most of the time granting of temporary possession of land, in exchange for their services to the Hungarian Kingdom, and safe haven in times of defeats and temporary setbacks. Rumanian historiography does not shrink back to degrade the two Rumanian states' voivods' well documented vassal relationship with the Transylvanian *vajdas* and the Hungarian kings, to the level of "political orientation" and "wider trade relationships".

It would be enough to mention only one example to refute this concept. Voivod Mircea cel Batrân stayed in the Transylvanian city of Brassó as a refugee on March 7, 1395. He wanted to make an arrangement with his superior, the Hungarian King, Zsigmond of Luxembourg, against the Turks. He had a place to which to flee, because the Wallachian voivods have had access to the fiefs of Fogaras and Omlás for more than hundred years. In return of the use of the estates, the voivods, as vassals, had to fulfil several services to their masters. There is no other way to understand this relationship. It is possible that in retrospect, and by using today's standards, these centuries of Hungarian-Vlach relationship made out a painful period in the history of the Rumanian people, but it cannot constitute the basis or cause for deliberate falsification of history.

Radu Popa refers to excavations in Transylvania carried out in 1964-65 (p. 7.). He states that — although the written sources do not mention Rumanian semi-autonomous *kenezships* and *voivodships* until the 13th, and especially the 14th centuries — in Máramaros, Fogaras, Bihar, Bánság and Hátszeg, a feudal Rumanian society had existed. According to Mr. Popa, the objects, discovered in the excavations gave evidence of Rumanian court chapels, and small monasteries from the 11th and 12th Centuries. The construction was supported by the Rumanian *kenez* families' money. In the 13th- 14th centuries they were reconstructed by stone and brick like everywhere else in Europe.

Popa, however, did not give any evidence of the existence of these church centres in the 11th-12th centuries. He could not prove that such buildings had been financed by the Rumanian *kenez* families. He did not have any data about the names of the leaders of the church centres. He was unable to name a single place where these supposedly chapel or monastery ruins could have been found, even though he was referring to official documents. If person- and place names did not occur in those official documents — then what would they contain?

¹⁹ Capital of Wallachia in the 14th-16th centuries, seat of the voivod.

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Popa's assumptions serve only one goal: to slip the origin of the cultic places built in Transylvania during the 13th and 14th centuries to the 11th-12th centuries, from which period there are no relics of Rumanian origin. He passes over the fiefs and the senior-vassal relationship between the Hungarian kings, Transylvanian *vajda-s* (later princes), and the Wallachian and Moldavian voivods. However, these well documented historical facts — not the alleged Dacian-Rumanian Continuity — have contributed to the ease with which the Wallachian, Moldavian and Transylvanian Rumanians were able to pass the Carpathian Mountains⁷³.

The comparison of construction dates of the Hungarian and Rumanian cultic places presents important evidence against the Theory of Continuity.

Let us review the construction dates of the cultic places (churches) in the Transylvanian cities:
(Rumanian place-names in brackets.)

Place:	Hungarian:	Rumanian:
Arad(Arad)	1139	1865
Beszterce (Bistrita)	1288	19th century
Bethien (Beclean)	15th century	19th century
Bonchida (Bontida)	13th century	18th century
Brassó (Brasov)*	1223	1495
Fogaras (Fagaras)	16th century	17th century
Fugyivásárhely (Osorheiu)	13th century	18th century
Gyulafehérvár (Alba-Iulia)	11th century	1600-1601
Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca)	12th century	1796-1797
Lugos (Lugoj)	15th century	1759
Marosvásárhely (Targu-Mures)	14th century	1750
Nagyenyed (Aiud)	14th century	20th century
Nagyszeben (Sibiu)	14th century	17th century
NagyvArad (Oradea)	1093	1784
Piskolt (Piscolt)	14th century	1869
Temesvár (Timisoara)	1323	1936
Tóvis (Teius)	13th century	17th century
vizakna (Ocna Sibiului)*	13th century	16th century

Note: the churches marked with * were built by Moldavian or Wallachian voivodes on their feudal lands in Transylvania.

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Several Other Hungarian Church Constructions:

Place:	Built in:
Alvinc (Vintu de Jos)	13th century
Aranyosgerend (Luncani)	1290
Arapatak (Araci)	14th century
Boroskrakkó (Cricău)	13th century
Bögöz (Mugeni)	13th century
Csíkménáság (Armaseni)	13th century
Érmihályfalva (Valea lui Mihai)	1284
Gelence (Ghelinta)	1245
Gemyeszeg (Gornesti)	13th century
Kerc (Cărta)	1202
Kisdisznód (Cisnădoara)	12th century
Kistorony (Tumisor)	13th century
Kolozsmonostor (Mánástur)	1059-1063
Magyarvista (Vistea)	13th century
Marosnagyfalak (Noslac)	1298
Nagycsűr (Sura Mare)	13th century
Nagydisznód (Cisnădie)	13th century
Réty (Reci)	11th century
Székelyszáldobos (Doboseni)	13th century
Torda (Turda)	12th century
Vadász (Vánátori)	13th century

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Other Rumanian Church Constructions in Transylvania:

Place Name	Built in:
Alsolugas (Lugasu de Jos)	18th century
Bánlaka (Banlaca)	1700
Demsus (Densus)	13th century
Füzesmikola (Nicula)	1700
Kristyor (Cristior)	1404
Lesznek (Lesnic)	14th century
Lippa (Lipova)	14th century
Nagylupsa (Lupsa)	1421
Oravicabánya (Oravita)	1872
Pártos (Partos)	14th century
Ribica (Ribita)	1417
Szelistye (Saliste)	18th century
Sztrigyszentgyörgy Streisânghergiu)	1313
Zeykfalva (Streiu)	13th century

It cannot be uninteresting when the Rumanian churches of Wallachia and Moldavia were built.

WALLACHIA

Place Name	Cultic Place	Built in
Buzáu	episcopal church	1500
Cáciulata	Cozia-monastery	1388
Cámpulung Muscel monastery	Negru Voda	14th century
Curtea de Arges	ruler's church	14th century
Horezu	Varatec monastery	17th century
Pitesti	ruler's church	17th century
Rámnicul Sárát	monastery-church	1691
Snagov	Snagov monastery	14th century
Tismana	monastery	14th century
Targoviste	ruler's church	15th century

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MOLDAVIA

Place Name	Cultic Place	Built in
Arbore	church	16th century
Bacău	church	15th century
Cotnari	church (ruins)	15th century
Dolhestii Mari	church	1450
Galati	fortified church	15th century
Putna	monastery	1466-1470
Radauti (Bukovina)	church	14th century
Siret	church	1384
Sucevita	church	1584
Vaslui	church	1490
Vânator Neamt	monastery	1375
Voronet	monastery-church	1488

On the basis of these data, it can be concluded that the Hungarian Christian churches (monasteries, abbasies) appeared at the beginning of the 11th century in Transylvania. The first church of the Rumanian population — the one in Demsus — was built towards the end of the 13th century, almost three hundred years after the first Hungarian churches.

The oldest Wallachian and Moldavian Christian churches (monasteries) were built in the second half of the 14th century. Numerous structures, however, did not follow the first church buildings until the second half of the 15th, and later centuries. This leads to the conclusion that the Vlachs, infiltrating Transylvania at the end of the 12th century and at the beginning of the 13th century, lived under better, more advanced conditions than those of their brothers living on the northern shore of the Danube. This is also in accordance with the fact that the Vlachs founded their states several centuries later than the neighboring peoples.

Referring the history of the Transylvanian Christian cultic places, we have only pointed out the circumstances that are enough to prove the untenability of the Theory of Continuity. We do not desire to praise nor to disparage anyone or anything. We only want to state and prove that those, who consider

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Hungarians to be late newcomers, have proclaimed war upon the historical facts. Our work proves that the Hungarians made Transylvania theirs on their own. They fused the people they found there with themselves. We bear out that Saint Stephen was an outstanding ruler. According to the opinion of his times, as well as judged by present day standards, he was a European authority and an apostle of Christianity, which has been embodying progressive conceptions. He was the first European ruler canonized by the Roman-Catholic Church.

The Theory of Dacian-Roman Continuity is untenable and baseless, among other things, because it ignores the basic and decisive question of Christian cultic places in the 10th- 12th centuries.

Using the construction dates of the Christian cultic places, the existence, or the lack of them, we wanted to prove the falsehood of such doctrines. These doctrines, born of political considerations, show a totally misconceived idea of the ethnic picture of the Carpathian Basin in the first half of the 10th century. "...they revise the Carpathian basin's political and ethnical relationships in the 10th century by false data and basic errors." The romantic legend of the Dacian-Roman-Rumanian Continuity serves only political purposes without any scientifically acceptable proof.

Churches of the Árpáadian Age in East-Hungary

Assembled by János Gyurkó

The following documentation was written independently from Árpád Kosztin's work; it nevertheless supports his statements.

The following Appendix contains the list of the Hungarian Medieval (10th- 13th Century) Churches located in the territories annexed by Rumania in 1920. We do not know any early Christian (Roman or Germanic) cultic places from the era before the Árpád's conquest of Hungary, because these places vanished without leaving a trace behind, in the storms of the Great Migrations.

The conversion of Hungarians to Christianity started right in Transylvania in the 10th Century. The first bishop of Hungary, Hierotheos — who had been brought to Transylvania from Constantinople by Gyula, — was working there. The Greek-Orthodox Catholicism did not take root in Hungary. The Orthodox Church lost most of its Hungarian followers by the end of the 13th Century.

Géza, the ruling prince, called Western missionaries to the country in 972. The conversion work widened under the rule of his son, Saint Stephen. The first Hungarian king ordered "...every ten village to build a church..." (*decem ville ecclesiam edificent*)

Most of the churches, being built after the enactment of the law, were made out of wood or other not durable material, and long since disappeared. This explains the low number of the relics from the 10th-11th centuries. Not only the village churches of lesser importance, but also several well-known, important buildings were made of perishable materials. The Benedictine Abbacy of Szentjobb (Sániob), where Saint Stephen's right hand was protected from 1083 until the 15th Century, was still a wood building in the 11th century.

At the end of the Árpáadian Age in Hungary, excluding Croatia and Slavonia, there were 10,000 - 11, 000 villages. Two thirds of them had a church. It is the peculiarity of the era in question, that sculpture and painting did not yet exist independently from architecture. That is why the whole spatial art can be discovered by studying the historic sacred buildings. The border areas of Hungary are very important in the history of art. Under the Turkish rule, the relics of the medieval culture almost totally vanished in Central Hungary, but the remnants of historical centres can still be found in upper Northern Hungary (presently in Slovakia), Transylvania, and in the western border zone where the scale of devastation was much smaller. The territories detached from Hungary happen to be the richest in ancient buildings, ruins and relics. Since the loss of the territories in the Trianon Peace Treaty in 1920, Hungarian medieval research has been struggling with outrageous artificial obstacles Hungarian historians are often

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forced to discover the truth behind the unscientific phantasmagorias of the neighboring countries' historians, since they usually do not have the opportunity of local excavations. The best example was the Jesus Chapel at Székelyudvarhely. M. Beldie, Rumanian historian, found a coin of Ferdinand I beside a basement wall. On the basis of this find, she stated in a paper that the building originated from the 16th Century. The chapel was a small temple in Gyárosfalva, a village that no longer exists. In the 16th Century this settlement was already in its declining period, and the tax list of 1567 found only two(!) households capable of paying tax. It is unimaginable that such a weak, disintegrating community would have undertaken temple building. Moreover, such quatrefoil plan chapels are known from the 12th-13th centuries, — that in Székelyudvarhely would be the only one from the 16th century.

In the following list only those relics are listed, from which there is some kind of positive material (we can call it physical), architectural data. Churches mentioned only in documents or contemporary written sources, are left out of the catalogue, because they would have enlarged the size of the book without providing significant data for the history of architecture. Like any other collection, this cannot be complete and perfect either. Since a large part of the subject matter was attained from the literature, it should be augmented with local research.

The examination of the village churches often brings surprising results. The fact that a building that originated from the 19th century contains Medieval parts comes to light only at the time when the covering plaster is removed. This is probably true also in the case of those Transylvanian churches, which are considered to have been built in modern times. Systematical protection of monuments and historical architectural excavations have not existed in Rumania since 1977. New findings and observations, being discovered during renovation of local churches, do not get published in the technical journals. The number of discovered or identified Medieval Transylvanian churches would significantly grow if systematic research could be carried out.

Papal tithe collectors rambled all over Hungary between 1332 and 1337. They collected taxes to provide enough money to restart the Crusades to the Holy Land. From their surviving accounts, it can be concluded that they found approximately 1,000 parishes in Eastern Hungary. This high number indicates that the Eastern part of the country was rebuilt during the couple of decades following the Tatar attacks. Rumanian historiography has misinterpreted also these data. In his work titled *Ce este Transilvania?* (*What is Transylvania?*) — in the Hungarian translation *Mit jelent Erdély?* (1984), Stefan Pascu, academician, wrote on the basis of the Papal tithe collector's list, that in the 13th century two thirds of Eastern-Hungary's population had already been Rumanian.

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The author accepted that the places, listed by the tithe collectors with Roman-Catholic parishes, had been populated mainly by Hungarians and Germans. He assumed, however, that only Rumanian Orthodox population lived in every other village. The basis of this distortion was that Pascu did not pay attention to the out-parishes, being on the lowest level of the Church organization, which did not have a priest. The organization on the lowest level of the Church was the same as today. Thus, almost every parish had one or two out-parishes belonging to it, where, in many cases, also a church existed. At the end of the Árpáadian Age (1301), approximately 2,000 churches existed on the territories in question.

Since the devastations caused by the Turks in central Hungary were much more severe than those in Transylvania, the ratio of the surviving and known relics should be higher in Transylvania than in other parts of the country — so far it is, however, even lower.

Witnesses of the Hungarian history in Transylvania remain silent. A lot of them can be silenced forever. Academician Pascu's primitive confabulation can be disproved by simple counting the listed relics in the Appendix.

70% of the early churches in the observed territories are Hungarian, while 28% German and 2% are Rumanian artworks. Several relics of the Hungarian population survived from the conversion period (for example Csanád.) The German immigration started in the middle of the 12th century, while Rumanians did not immigrate to Transylvania until the beginning of the 13th century, as proven also by our documentation. No Orthodox Rumanian Church built before the 13th century exists — and never existed — on the territory of today's Rumania.

Daco-Roman-Rumanian Continuity, the “two-thousand-year-old dream” vanishes in the daylight of undeniable facts.

CHURCHES OF FORMER EASTERN HUNGARY

Hungarian name	Rumanian name	Built in
Abafája	Apalina	13 th century
Abrudbánya	Abrud	13 th century
Akos	Acas	13 th century
Albis	Albis	13 th century
Alcina	Altina	12 th century
Algyógy	Geoagiu de Jos	13 th century
Almakerék	Malicrav	13 th century

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Alvinc	Vintu de Jos	13 th century
Aranyosgerend	Luncani	13 th century
Aranyospolyán	Poiana	13 th -15 th century
Árkos*	Arcus	13 th century
Hungarian name	Rumanian name	Built in
Baca*	Bata	12 th -13 th century
Bádok	Badesti	13 th century
Bálványosváralja	Unguras	13 th century
Bályok	Balc	13 th century
Bánffyhuntyad	Huedin	13 th century
Bányabükk	Valcele	13 th century
Barcarozsnyó-Vár	Râsnov	12 th century
Barcaszentpéter*	Simpetru	13 th century
Belényesszentmiklós	Sannicolau	13 th century
Beszterce	Bistrita	13 th century
Bibarcfalva	Biborteni	13 th century
Bihar	Biharia	13 th century
Bihardiószeg	Diosig	12 th century
Bodonkút	Vechea	12 th century
Bögöz	Mugeni	13 th -14 th century
Bokajalfalu	Bácainti	13 th century
Bonchida	Bontida	13 th -18 th century
Borbánd	Barabant	13 th century
Borosjenő	Ineu	12 th century
Boroskrakkó	Cricáu	13 th century
Botháza	Boteni	13 th century
Brassó-Cenk	Brasov-Tâmpa	12 th century
Brassó-Szt Bertalan	Brasov	13 th century
Brulya	Bruiu	13 th century
Cege	Taga	13 th century
Csernáton-Szentkert	Cernat	12 th -13 th century

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Csicsókeresztúr	Cristestii	13 th -15 th century
Csikdelne	Delnita	13 th -15 th century
Csikrákos	Racu	13 th century
Csikszentdomokos	Sândommic	13 th century
Csikszentkirály	Sâncrâinei	13 th century
Hungarian name	Rumanian name	Built in
Csomaköz	Ciumesti	13 th century
Dálnok	Dalnic	13 th -16 th century
Dés-Óvár	Dej	13 th century
Déva*	Deva	13 th century
Doborka	Dobârca	13 th century
Dolmány	Daia	13 th century
Domokos	Dâmâcuseni	13 th century
Egeres	Aghiresu	13 th century
Egres	Igris	12 th century
Egrestő	Agristeu	13 th century
Érábrány	Abram	13 th century
Erdőfüle-Dobópuszta	Filia	13 th century
Erked	Archita	13 th -14 th century
Feketehalom	Codlea	13 th -16 th century
Felek	Avrig	13 th century
Felmér	Felmer	13 th century
Felsőboldogfalva	Felicensi	13 th century
Felsőtök	Tiocul de Sus	13 th century
Firtosváralja-Vár	Firtosu	13 th century
Földvár	Feldioara	13 th -14 th century
Fugyivásárhely	Osorhei	13 th century
Garat	Dacia	13 th century
Gelence	Ghelinta	13 th -15 th century
Gidófalva	Ghidfalâu	14 th century
Gogánváralja	Goganvarolea	13 th -15 th century

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Guraszáda	Gurasada	13 th century
Hungarian name	Rumanian name	Built in
Gyergyószentmiklós	Gheorgheni	13 th century
Gyergyóalfalu	Joseni	13 th -18 th century
Gyulafehérvár	Alba Julia	11 th century
Gyulafehérvár	Alba Julia	11 th -13 th century
Hungarian name	Rumanian name	Built in
Harcó	Hartau	13 th century
Harina	Herina	13 th century
Hegyközszentimre	Sántimreu	12 th century
Hegyköz(ij)lak	Uileacu de Munte	13 th -18 th century
Holcmány	Hosman	13 th -18 th century
Höltövény	Halchiu	13 th -19 th century
Homoród	Homorod	11 th -18 th century
Homorodalmás	Meresti	13 th century
Homoróddaróc	Drauseni	13 th century
Homoródjánosfalva	Ionesti	13 th -14 th century
Homoródszentmárton*	Martinis	13 th century
Ikafalva	Icafalau	13 th century
Jára-Alsójára	Jara	13 th century
Kaca	Cata	13 th -15 th century
Kajántó	Chinteni	13 th century
Kakasfalva	Hamba	13 th -16 th century
Kalotadámos	Domosu	13-14 th century
Kaplony	Capleni	12-19 th century
Káposztásszentmiklós	Nicolesti	13 th century
KarEacsonyfalva	Craciunel	13 th century
Kecsed	Alunis	13 th -15 th century
Kerc	Carta	13 th century
Keresztényfalva	Cristian	13 th -15 th century
Kereszténysziget	Cristian	13 th century

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Ketesd	Tetisu	13 th -15 th century
Kézdiszentlélek-Perkö	Sánzieni	13 th century
Kide	Chidea	13 th century
Kiscsür	Sura Mica	13 th -15 th century
Kisdisznód	Cisnadioara	13 th century
Kisenyed	Sangatin	13 th century
Kiskászon	Casinu Mic	13 th century
Hungarian name	Rumanian name	Built in
Kisprázsmár	Toarcla	13 th century
Kistorony	Turnisor	13 th century
Kökös	Chichis	13 th -16 th century
Kolozs*	Cojocna	13 th century
Kolozspata	Pata	13 th century
Kolozsvár-Centrum	Cluj-Napoca	11 th -13 th century
Kolozsvár-Monostor	Cluj -Napoca	11 th -13 th century
Kolozsvár-Óvár	Cluj -Napoca	13 th -15 th century
Komlód	Comlod	13 th century
Köröskisjenő	Ineu	13 th century
Köröstárkány	Tarcaia	13 th century
Kozárvár	Cuzdrioara	13 th century
Krasznacégény	Teghea	13 th century
Hungarian name	Rumanian name	Built in
Krasznarecse	Recea	13 th -15 th century
Kiiküllövár	Cetatea de Balta	12 th -13 th century
Kürpöd	Chirpar	13 th century
Leses	Dealu Frumos	13 th century
Magyarborzás	Bozies	13 th -15 th century
Magyarderzse	Dárja	13 th century
Magyarfenes	Vlaha	13 th century
Magyargyerömonostor	Manastireni	13 th century
Magyarkapus	Capusu Mare	13 th century

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Magyarkiskapus	Capusu Mic	13 th -16 th century
Magyarlapád	Lopadea Noua	13 th -15 th century
Magyarpéterfalva	Petrisat	13 th century
Magyarrégen	Reghin-Sat	13 th century
Magyarsárd	Sardu	13 th century
Magyarszentpál	Sânpaul	13 th century
Magyarvalkó	Valeni	13 th -17 th century
Magyarvista	Vistea	13 th century
Hungarian name	Rumanian name	Built in
Malomfalva	Moresti	12 th century
Malomvíz-Kolcvár	Râu de Mori	13 th century
Maroscsapó	Cipau	13 th century
Marosfelfalu	Suseni	13 th century
Maroskoppánd	Copand	13 th century
Marosnagy lak	Noslac	13 th century
Marossárpatak	Glodeni	13 th century
Marosszentanna	Santana de Mures	13 th century
Marosszentgyörgy	Sângeorgiu de Mures	13 th -18 th century
Marosszentimre	Sântimbru	13 th -15 th century
Marosszentkirály	Sâncraiu de Mures	13 th century
Marosujvár	Ocna Mures	13 th century
Márpod	Marpod	13 th -15 th century
Mártonhegy	Somartin	13 th -16 th century
Méra	Mera	13 th century
Mézőkö	Cheia	13 th century
Mezőkeszű	Chesau	13 th century
Mezőkölpény	Culpiu	13 th -15 th century
Mezőtelegd	Tileagd	13 th -16 th century
Micske	Misca	13 th century
Miklósvár*	Miclosoara	12 th -13 th century
Morgonda	Merghindeal	13 th -15 th century

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Nádpatak	Rodbav	12 th -13 th century
Nagyapold	Apoldu de Sus	13 th century
Nagybáród	Borod	13 th century
Nagybaromlak	Valea Viilor	13 th -15 th century
Nagycsür	Sura Mare	13 th century
Nagydisznód	Cisnadie	12 th -16 th century
Nagygalambfalva	Porumbenii Mari	13 th -15 th century
Nagykakucs	Cacuciu Nou	13 th century
Nagypetri	Petrindu	13 th -16 th century
Hungarian name	Rumanian name	Built in
Nagysink	Cincu	13 th -15 th century
Nagyszeben	Sibiu	12 th century
Nagyszeben-Ispotály	Sibiu	13 th century
Nagyvárad-Vár	Oradea	11 th century
Néma	Nima	13 th century
Nyárádszentanna	Santana Nirajului	13 th -14 th century
Nyárádszentimre	Eremieni	13 th -17 th century
Nyárádszentlászló	Sánvasii	13 th -14 th century
Nyárádszentmárton	Mitresti	13 th century
Nyomát	Maiad	12 th -13 th century
Oklánd	Ocland	13 th -16 th century
Oltszakadát	Sacadate	13 th century
Óraljaboldogfalva	Santamaria Orlea	13 th -14 th century
Ördöngösfüzes	Fizesu Gherlii	13 th century
Oroszfája	Orosfaia	12 th -13 th century
Öcsanád	Cenad	10 th century
Öcsanád*	Cenad	13 th century
Óthalom	Vladimirescu	12 th century
Ottomány	Otomani	13 th -14 th century
Páncélcseh	Panticeu	13 th century
Pankota	Pancota	12 th century

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Páva	Pava	13 th century
Pelbárthida	Parhida	12 th -14 th century
Pele	Becheni	13 th -19 th century
Péterfalva	Petresti	13 th century
Petres	Petris	13 th century
Pókakeresztur	Pacureni	13 th -14 th century
Prázsmár	Prejmer	13 th century
Pusztaszentmárton	Martinesti	13 th century
Radna-Óradna	Rodna	13 th century
Réty	Reci	11 th -13 th century
Hungarian name	Rumanian name	Built in
Roszcsub	Rusciori	13 th century
Sajószentandrás	Sieu-Sfântu	12 th -13 th century
Sajóudvarhely	Sieu-Odorhei	13 th century
Sálya	Soala	12 th century
Sárvár	Saula	13 th century
Segesvár-Kolostor	Sighisoara	13 th -15 th century
Segesvár-Várhegy	Sighisoara	13 th -15 th century
Sellenberg	Selimbar	13 th century
Sepsikilyén	Chilieni	13 th -18 th century
Sepsiköröspatak	Valea Crisului	13 th -17 th century
Sepsibesenyo	Besineu (Padureni)	13 th -16 th century
Siter	Sistirea	12 th -13 th century
Somlyóujlak	Uileace Simleului	13 th century
Sövényfalva	Cornesti	13 th -15 th century
Szamoscikó	Ticau	13 th century
Szamosfalva	Someseni	13 th -15 th century
Szamosujvárnémeti	Mintiu Gherlei	13 th -14 th century
Szarvaskend	Cornesti	13 th century
Szászfehéregyháza	Viscri	12 th -13 th century
Szászhermány	Harman	13 th -14 th century

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Szászkeresztúr*	Crit	13 th Century
Szászkézd	Saschiz	13 th -15 th Century
Szásznyires	Nires	13 th Century
Szászorbó	Gârbova	13 th Century
Szászpián	Pianu de Jos	13 th -17 th Century
Szászsáros	Saros pe Târnavă	12 th Century
Szászsebes	Sebes	12 th -15 th Century
Szászszentlászló	Laslea	13 th Century
Szásztujfalu	Nou	13 th Century
Szászveresmart	Rotbav	13 th Century
Szászvolkány	Vulcan	13 th -19 th Century
Hungarian name	Rumanian name	Built in
Százhalom	Movile	13 th -16 th Century
Szebenrécse	Reciu	13 th Century
Székelyderzs	Dârjiu	13 th -16 th Century
Székelykeresztúr	Cristuru Secuiesc	13 th -15 th Century
Székelyszáldobos	Doboseni	13 th Century
Székelyszentmiklós	Nicoleni	13 th -15 th Century
Székelyudvarhely	Odorheiu Secuiesc	13 th Century
Székelyudvarhely-Vár	Odorheiu Secuiesc	13 th Century
Székelyvaja	Valenii	13 th -17 th Century
Szentágota	Agnita	13 th -15 th Century
Szentbenedek	Manastirea	12 th Century
Szenterzsébet	Gusterita	12 th -13 th Century
Szentjób	Sâniob	11 th -15 th Century
Szentlélek	Bisericani	13 th -15 th Century
Szerdahely	Miercurea Sibiului	13 th -15 th Century
Szilágyborzás	Bozies	13 th -18 th Century
Szind	Sandulesti	13 th Century
Sztrigyszentgyörgy	Streisângeorgiu	13 th Century
Tamáshida	Tamasda	13 th Century

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Tompaháza	Radesti	13 th Century
Torda-Ótorda	Turda	13 th -15 th Century
Tóti	Tauteu	13 th -17 th Century
Tövis	Teius	13 th Century
Türe	Turea	13 th -17 th Century
Ugra	Ungra	13 th Century
Ujváros	Noistat	13 th -19 th Century
Váralmás	Almasu	12 th Century
Várfalva	Moldovenesti	13 th -17 th Century
Várhegy	Chinari	13 th Century
Vérd	Vard	13 th -14 th Century
Veresmart	Rosia	13 th Century
Hungarian name	Rumanian name	Built in
Vesszöd	Veseud	13 th Century
Vidombák	Ghimbav	13 th Century
Vízakna	Ocna Sibiului	13 th -15 th Century
Zabola	Zabala	13 th -15 th Century
Zalán	Zalan	13 th -14 th Century
Zeikfalva	Strei	13 th Century
Zsuk-Alsósuk	Jucu de Jos	13 th Century

* demolished

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³ Szentkirályi Zoltán: op. cit. P. 52.

⁴ Faludy Anikó: *Bizánc festészete és mozaikművészete*. (The History of Byzantine Painting and Mosaic). Ed. Corvina, Budapest, 1982, p. 4.

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