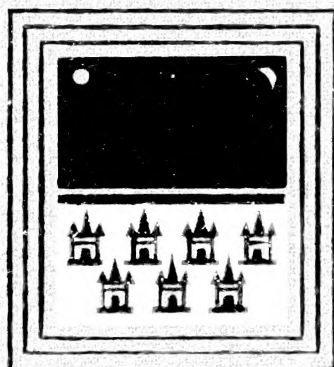


KÁROLY KÓS TRANSYLVANIA



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KÁROLY KÓS

SZÉPIRODALMI KÖNYVKIADÓ, 1989. BUDAPEST
HUNGARY

KÁROLY KÓS

AN OUTLINE OF ITS CULTURAL HISTORY

SZÉPIRODALMI KÖNYVKIADÓ, 1989. BUDAPEST
HUNGARY

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In its period of rapid development at the beginning of this century Budapest showed an unprecedented degree of support for the architectural trend referred to in German as the Jugendstil influence, and in English as a variant of Pre-Raphaelite architecture. The influence particularly of John Ruskin was strongly felt in architectural circles, as is shown by, for example, the study by Aladár Kőrösfői Kriesch, published in Budapest in 1904 and entitled *On Ruskin and the English Pre-Raphaelites*. Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture* had an important influence on the leading Hungarian architects of the second half of the 19th century, who by combining Ruskin's teachings with Jugendstil ideas tried to create an individual Hungarian style. They discovered the architectural traditions and style of the Hungarian village and of the noblemen's manor houses built in the Middle Ages and later – these had up till then been ignored or treated with disdain by Hungary's architects. About 1905 a new architect joined their ranks – young Károly Kós (1883–1977) from Temesvár, then in his twenties, who despite his youth won large commissions, such as the designing of a considerable part of the Zoological Park in Budapest. He made the acquaintance of Finnish architecture, which was then gaining a worldwide reputation, and formed a lasting friendship with Gottlieb Eliel Saarinen, who worked in the USA from 1922 onwards.

Both the Pre-Raphaelites and the followers of the Jugendstil (also called the "liberty style" by the Americans) treated and experienced all art as an organic unity, and were therefore active as writers, poets, painters and designers of textiles or furniture. Károly Kós also wrote literary works, often illustrating them himself. (*Song about King Attila*, 1909.)

The area in which Kós was born, the Temes Banat, had been an important frontier region since medieval times – Temesvár was the seat of the Magyar kings for several decades in the Middle Ages – neighbouring the mountainous part of Hungary known as Transylvania (Erdély). Although Temesvár was one of the most highly developed

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towns in the country at the beginning of the 20th century – it was one of the first towns in Europe to install electric lighting, and its theatrical and literary life rivalled that of Budapest – as a result of the wars with the Turks it had very few architectural monuments left; its medieval buildings had disappeared. For this reason Károly Kós, who was interested in the traditions of Hungarian folk architecture, did not turn his attention to the modern, low-lying Temes Banat – where from as early as the end of the 18th century even the smallest villages had been planned by engineers, with ruler-straight streets and boundaries drawn with compasses, like those typical of small towns in America – but turned instead to neighbouring Transylvania, in the mountains of which countless old architectural monuments still remained intact. Thus he moved to Kolozsvár and lived there from the 1920s until his death.

After the First World War, Transylvania (and with it, the town of Temesvár in the Temes Banat) became part of Rumania under the terms of the treaty signed in the Trianon Palace (Versailles) near Paris on June 4th, 1920. At that time the Rumanian army had already been occupying Transylvania for two years, since the autumn of 1918 when, without any declaration of war, it had attacked Hungary. (The earlier state of war declared in 1916 had been ended by the Peace of Bucharest in the spring of 1918, in which Rumania had renounced any claims to Transylvania.)

This situation in which a region that had been Hungarian for 1025 years came under the jurisdiction of another state increased Károly Kós's eagerness to discover and catalogue the architectural monuments of Transylvania and preserve them for posterity by artistic means at least. Thus, while continuing his work as a writer and indeed taking part in the organizing of Transylvania's Hungarian literary activities, in the 1920s he travelled around the villages and towns of Transylvania and recorded in the form of linocuts the monuments he regarded as the most characteristic. Károly Kós did not explore all the area that had been annexed to Rumania, only Transylvania itself. So his collection did not include his native region, the flat Temes Banat with its many rivers – where, as we have said, there were no old architectural monuments in any case – or the border area adjoining Transylvania which was customarily referred to from the 16th century onwards as the Partium, and which is commonly called Transylvania today because it is now under Rumanian rule (Nagyvárad, Arad, Máramarossziget). Of the Partium only one house in Szilágy county is represented in Kós's collection – and it is there merely as a tribute to the great Hungarian poet Endre Ady, because it is the house in which he was born.

Transylvania, which from medieval times was a separate, unified Hungarian administrative area [and bigger than the whole of present day Hungary!] consisted of 15 counties; Károly Kós left out only two of these, Beszterce-Naszód and Csík, the former probably because he did not find any interesting architectural monuments in the alpine villages inhabited by Rumanian shepherds, the latter because the characteristic types of houses of the Sekler county lying among the peaks of the high mountains (the Carpathians) were also to be found with exactly similar features in three other counties.

Kós paid close attention to each stratum of Transylvania's population; he showed Rumanian churches and dwelling-houses as well as German buildings and Sekler settlements. The overall picture conveyed by Kós's sixty illustrations is therefore complete and objective. Three major peoples or nations inhabit Transylvania: the Hungarians, who constitute the overwhelming majority and among whom the people of the four Sekler counties (Marostorda, Udvarhely, Csík and Háromszék) form a distinct group, having been free soldiers guarding the frontier since the time of the Conquest; and the Germans and Rumanians. The Germans (or Saxons) were settled in Transylvania, which was then an uninhabited forest region, by the Hungarian King Géza II about the year 1140; they preserved their privileged status until 1918. The Rumanians filtered in from the low-lying area between the Danube and the Carpathians and worked as shepherds and woodcutters. The first books in the Rumanian language were bibles and religious meditations – Transylvania's Hungarian princes had them printed at their own expense from the 16th century onwards.

The reader can learn about all these things from Károly Kós's study, which serves as an introduction and accompaniment to his linocuts.

Now, a few remarks about the circumstances of its publication.

In the autumn of 1929 *Transylvania* (An outline of its cultural history) was published in Kolozsvár by the Transylvanian Artists' Guild (Erdélyi Szépművés Céh) publishing house. This venture was launched in 1924 by six Transylvanian Hungarian writers and newspaper editors, including Károly Kós; up till 1944 it published several volumes a year of the best Transylvanian Hungarian literature, and these were available on subscription and also in the bookshops. The chairman of the firm was Count Miklós Bánffy, foreign minister of the Hungarian monarchy in 1921, who owned land in Transylvania and thanks to his good connections at the Rumanian royal court succeeded in persuading the Rumanian government not to obstruct the publishing of books in the Hungarian language. A warm friendship with Rumanian writers also

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developed. Károly Kós, Miklós Bánffy and the third member of the triumvirate, Pittsburgh-born Baron Zsigmond Kemény, a scion of an old aristocratic Transylvanian family, organized a meeting of writers every year in the Kemény castle in Marosvécs, gathering together the Hungarian writers active in Transylvania and in Rumania as a whole, and there they decided upon the Transylvanian Artists' Guild's publishing programme. They succeeded in publishing the greater part of the most important Hungarian literature in Kolozsvár at the Transylvanian Artists' Guild press. The Guild's books were distributed in Hungary by the Révai publishing house. This firm also published and distributed Hungarian translations of works written in German by writers from Rumania and Transylvania.

Leafing through this volume, the reader both as reader and as art-lover will find much to admire in it, while the architectural history expert will become convinced of how original and different from other European styles yet essentially European in their originality these architectural monuments are. As early as 1909 – 20 years before the publication of this book – Károly Kós himself was making use of the lessons learned in compiling this collection; proof of this is still visible today in the church in Zebegény, the school in Városmajor utca in Budapest (1912) and the Sekler Museum in Sepsiszentgyörgy (1911).

Apart from writing novels, Károly Kós produced other works on architecture, which we mention here for the reader who may be interested: *The art of the dwelling-house*, 1930; *The architecture of the Sekler people*, 1944; *Village architecture*, 1945; *The Stones of Transylvania*, published in 1923, is also available in German. *Stambul* (Istanbul) introduces the Turkish port (1918). The works listed here have had a powerful influence on Hungarian architects up to the present day.

István Nemeskürty

Before World War I and the fall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy it did not perhaps occur to anyone to think about the issue that has been so frequently discussed since then: whether there is a distinctive Transylvanian soul, different from every other way of thinking and view of the world, an individual temperament and mentality that clearly and naturally set apart from all others the achievements of the Transylvanian spirit and mind, and at the same time determine the qualities these achievements have in common. Is there, can there be, a spiritual force in this enclosed Transylvanian land capable of harmonizing into a consonant melody the different and even contradictory voices of the various peoples who have wandered here? Is there, can there in fact be a distinct Transylvanian culture and if so, what caused it to come into being?

These questions have been posed by destiny; the right answers may foretell the life and future of peoples and cultures. In the past ten years many, perhaps too many people have tried to answer these vitally important questions, with the most contradictory results.

I shall not even try to provide answers.

But I shall recall Transylvania's past, the only conclusive proof in this important debate.

I shall recall it as best I can, and I make no secret of the fact that I am not a specialist in history. I shall not quote one new piece of data, nor shall I make a single new statement, but I shall select from the available data what I consider most essential. I have endeavoured to give a brief sketch and to be clear, logical and objective.

And although it is a quarter of a century since I first began collecting and selecting material for my modest structure, I have never dreamed of creating anything like a perfect work, but what I have done, I did with love.

And should the critics honour me with their attention, I have nothing whatsoever to fear: what I have done I did for myself and for those who consider Transylvania their only home.

I could not lie to myself – to my people –, nor could I cheat or flatter. It would not have been worth while, not for the sake of anyone or anything. It would only do harm to myself – to us.

Sztána, in the month of November, 1929.

Károly Kós

INTRODUCTION

From a geographical point of view Transylvania is a unit because it is a plateau sharply separated from the neighbouring regions by mountain chains. It is surrounded on the west by the Great Hungarian Plain, on the north by the Bukovinian basin, which drops down to the Dniester valley, on the north-east and east by the Moldavian plains and on the south-east and south by the alpine plains of Wallachia (the deep plains surrounding the Lower Danube) – deep and extensive plains all around. The inner part of the Transylvanian basin, which apart from the Mezőség region includes only the lower valleys of the rivers Maros, Szamos and Küküllő, lies at an average height of 3–400 metres above sea level, while the remainder of the arable land lies – on average – at about 500 metres. The Great Hungarian Plain and the alpine plains, however, are only 100 metres above sea level, while the river valleys of Moldavia Bukovina are no higher than 200 metres.

The high and enclosed situation of Transylvania have predestined the land for *individuality, in its economic life* as well as in other respects.

History has shown that Transylvania is a threshold between the eastern and western parts of Europe, on which waves of civilizations – on the move either from west to east or vice versa – could not help stumbling and dropping bits of their culture. From time immemorial this land has been a melting-pot of peoples and beliefs, races and civilizations, a land where bleeding, frightened people, defeated in deadly warfare as

they advanced across Europe's ever-bloodthirsty soil, were certain to seek refuge between the Királyhágó and the Eastern Carpathians, in this wonderful fastness of rich forests and hidden valleys. And if good fortune or bad luck later caused any of them to leave this land, traces of them were always left behind.

This unique natural endowment has determined, even in defiance of human will, the cultural unity of the peoples of Transylvania and made their cultures different from those of their neighbours.

UP TO THE MAGYAR CONQUEST

All we know about the period before the 5th century BC is that the valleys of the rivers Maros and Szamos and especially the basin of the river Olt had been inhabited by Man since the earliest times. The stone implements and weapons of late Stone Age cave-dwellers are proof of this. The population of this period lived in village-like settlements, and on the sites of their mud huts large numbers of terracotta pots and household items have been found during excavations, which have so far been extremely sporadic. From the form and decoration of these objects found in the earth we can conclude that the Stone Age population was linked to distant civilizations by strong cultural ties or had to maintain regular economic and cultural links with far-off regions. According to one hypothesis, in the period before 2000 BC *Indo-Germanic* tribes migrating from the north to the south may have lived here temporarily before moving on towards the Balkans and the Italian peninsula.

After the migration of the ancestors of the ancient Greeks and Romans from this river valley region, *Thracians* may have lived here in the transitional period between the Stone Age and the Bronze Age. This transition was greatly facilitated by Transylvania's gold and copper mines. Europe learned the use of metals from Asia and the predecessors of some of the characteristic forms of metal implements used in Transylvania originated from Asia Minor.

Soon, however, bronze appeared alongside copper, bringing a great change in human civilization. The use of bronze in

Transylvania began relatively late, in the middle of the second millenium BC, but owing to the abundance of copper its use lasted for several centuries. The population of Transylvania remained unchanged during the Bronze Age: this is proved by the similar characteristics of the many bronze implements excavated.

It was probably in the 12th century BC that the population of Transylvania became acquainted with iron via its south-western neighbours; but it was several hundred years before iron completely superseded the use of bronze here, where bronze-casting was a highly-developed craft.

The ancient Bronze Age civilization came to an end only at the beginning of recorded history, when the migrating *Celts* invaded the basin of the Danube and gave their more advanced culture to Transylvania, where it became mingled with and superimposed on that of the Thracians. With the Celtic people the seeds of Latin culture took root in Transylvanian soil, and Greek as well as Roman historians writing in this period already mention towns located in Transylvania and rivers such as the Marisia (Maros), Tibiscus (Temes), Samus (Szamos) and Aluta (Olt).

Apart from the artefacts excavated, we have reliable historical data on Transylvania only from the time when the land came within the sphere of interest of the Roman Empire.

In the 5th century BC, Transylvania was also reached by the first waves of the east-to-west migration of Asiatic peoples, which went on for a millenium and a half. The *Jüzsics* (whom our historians have labelled as *Getas*) were expelled from Eastern Asia for the same reason the Great Wall of China was built and the *Dacians* had to flee from the region of the Aral Sea: these two peoples occupied the land of Transylvania and lived here peacefully until the Roman conquest. Under this pressure, the Celts withdrew further west.

All we know about the six hundred years of Dacian-Geta rule is that during this time many ethnic groups of differing

racial and geographical origins and with them, as many or even more cultural influences enriched the soil of Transylvania. The mysterious ancient culture of Central Asia mingled here with Hellenic classicism from Persia and Asia Minor. Cultural goods like craftwork, luxury items, clothing and weapons found their way to Transylvania from Cyprus, Rhodes and other parts of the Mediterranean in exchange for gold dust, salt and wood. At the same time the mighty Celtic culture, still coming in waves from the north-west, mixed with the ancient Greco-Roman culture advancing from the south.

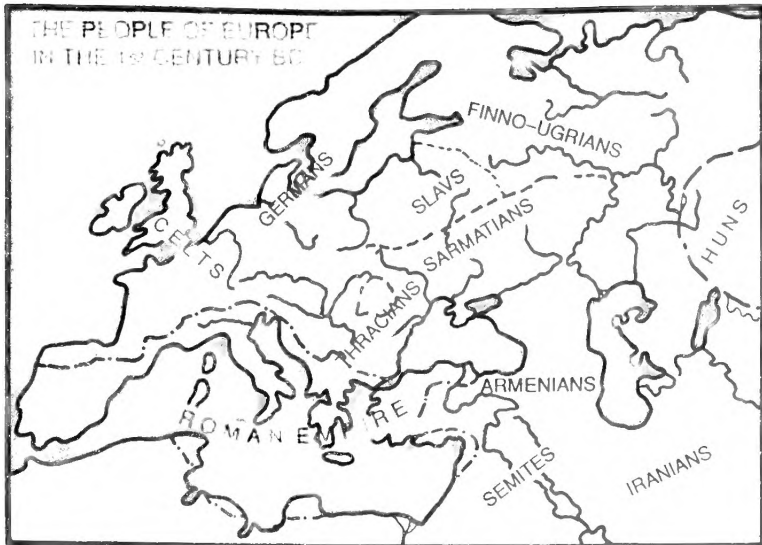
Both the Getas and the Dacians were Aryans and gradually from their coexistence a state by the name of Dacia came into being. The inhabitants were familiar with agriculture, and some of them settled down and lived in villages and towns. The centre of their empire was Transylvania, but they continued to spread east and west to such an extent that by the time of Julius Caesar they had become neighbours to the Roman Empire, separated from it by the Danube to the south and by the Alps to the west. The tragic fate of the Barbarian peoples became theirs also: they overstepped the southern border and thus sowed the seeds of a Roman invasion which slowly but surely, in a series of variously successful military campaigns, pruned back the frontiers of Dacia, until all that remained was its ancient stronghold, Transylvania and its fortified capital (Sarmizegethuza, later called Várhely). Finally in 105 in a two-year campaign the Emperor Trajan not only occupied this fortress but in bloody battles almost completely wiped out the Dacian population, although they defended themselves desperately.

With the Roman occupation the culture of Transylvania changed radically. Only memories of the Dacian-Geta rule remained, as a result of the Romans' efforts. Undoubtedly the most talented colonizing power in the ancient world during the half-century of their rule, they created a flourishing, civilized country out of the ruined, prostrate, depopulated

land of Transylvania, which Rome bound tightly into its world-wide economic and cultural network. Wonderful stone roads built by the Roman legions ran from Sarmizegethuza to the west and to the south right down to the Danube, to the north beside the river Maros to Vécs, along the river Szamos to Kolozsvár, and through Kalotaszeg by the river Almás as far as Tihó. Gyulafehérvár, Torda, Enyed, Kolozsvár and Szilágysomlyó were the successors of Dacian-Roman towns. The gold of Verespatak and Abrudhánya and the salt of Torda and Marosújvár were first mined professionally and commercially by the Romans. The roads were guarded by military camps and watchtowers; temples, baths, theatres and mansions were constructed in the towns. Agriculture, the crafts and trade flourished; middle-class citizens appeared; good administration and justice made life and property secure, improvements in transport and travel opened up new possibilities, and at the same time the economic development of the region led to demands for the things that contribute to civilized living. The Syrian and East European legions stationed in Transylvania brought the harbingers of a new faith already spreading in Asia Minor and not only a whole series of mystical, yearning, arcane sects but also Christianity itself.

In 274 AD, after a hundred and fifty years of constructive work in Transylvania, the Roman legions withdrew peacefully from the region. Declining Rome felt that its power was no longer sufficient to defend the outlying regions of the Empire against the Barbarians, who were attacking the Empire in ever greater numbers and with increasing violence; it therefore withdrew its defensive forces to the other side of the Danube. The Emperor Trajan's beautiful Danube bridge at Vaskapu was dismantled by the legions.

Now it became clear that although it had begun so well, the civilization constructed by the Romans, despite its grandeur, was a superficial thing, no more than an external



veneer, for they failed to lay a solid foundation in the souls of the people. The waves of invasion from Eastern Asia forced nomadic peoples on horseback further westwards, threw them on top of each other and pushed them one after another across the great Russian plain to Europe, again inundating Transylvania, wiped out even the memory of Roman civilization and replaced it with a new view of life and artistic outlook, that of the Altun Mountains, China, and Persia.

Colourful cultures continued to mingle in the mountains of Transylvania for about six hundred years; gradually that of the Ural-Altaiic peoples became the most dominant. More and more Turanian blood became mixed with that of the hitherto

mainly Indo-Germanic ethnic groups that had found their way here in the course of time.

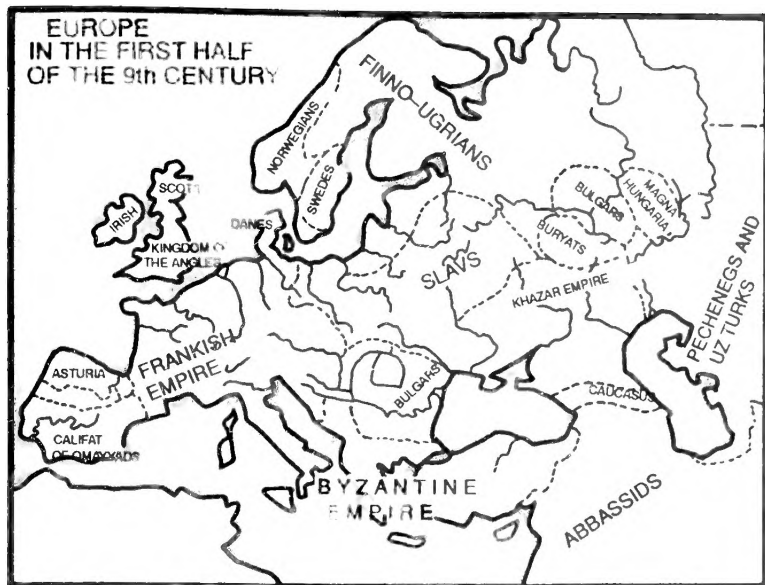
After the *Roxolans*, Hermanarich's Ostrogoths occupied Transylvania (340 AD).

The *Ostrogoths* were driven out by the *Black Huns* led by Balambér (375 AD).

After the death of Attila the Hun (453 AD) Transylvania became part of the new empire of the *Gepids*.

In the 7th century AD in the basin of the rivers Danube and Tisza the Avar-Khans founded an empire at the centre of Attila the Hun's that was to last for two centuries, but it went into a steady decline after the reign of the great Bayan Khan, owing to constant pressure from the Franks. Apart from this pressure from the west, towards the end of the 8th century pressure from the south by the Bulgar-Slavs, who had settled in Moesia and Thrace, contributed to the fall of the Avar empire in 800 AD. to attacks by *Charlemagne*, the Romano-Frankish Emperor, and *Krum Khan*, leader of the Bulgar Slavs. The result was not simply the destruction of the empire but the total annihilation of its people, the Avars. Some of them, together with the Gepids, became assimilated with the Slavs, and some fleeing tribes found refuge in Transylvania. Most probably the ancient tradition that the Magyars on arriving in Transylvania found the Seklers already here is based on the fact that a remnant of the Avar people, or some other Turanian people originally under Avar rule, found shelter here after the fall of their empire.

As early as the time of the Avars increasing numbers of Slavs were filtering into the region between the rivers Danube and Tisza and into Transylvania and lived here in widely scattered settlements. The Avar lords welcomed the servile Slavs, who worked in their households. After the fall of the Avar Empire the region east of the Danube was occupied by Bulgar-Slavs and from the beginning of the 9th century Transylvania's population was enriched with Bulga-



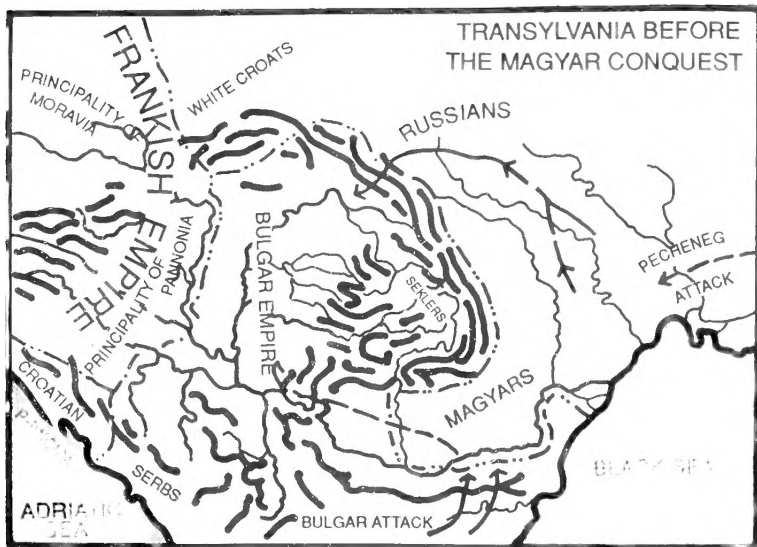
rians, who very rapidly became assimilated with the Slavs towards the end of the 9th century – so much so that by this time the Bulgarian Czars had adopted Slavic rite Christianity and constrained their people to adopt it too.

*

In the course of the great Asian migration it so happened that around the middle of the ninth century, at the time of the fall of the great Central Asian Uigur Empire, the Pechenegs, a branch of the Oghuz Turks set off from their home by the Aral Sea, crossed the river Jajk and settled down to the north of the Black Sea, the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea on the eastern edge of the Khazar empire in the area between the lower reaches of the Don and Volga rivers. The Khazar Khan urged the Uz Turks, the eastern neigh-

bours of the Pechenegs, to attack the Pechenegs who, fleeing from the attack, crossed the river Volga around 890 and invaded the Khazar empire. Separated from their cousins to the north-east, and now living in the Khazar empire, the seven Magyar tribes came under Pecheneg attack in the Kuban-Don-Dnieper region (Lebedia), which they had made their home. To avoid certain destruction, the seven Magyar tribes left the region and, together with three Kabar tribes, settled in the plains between the Dnieper and the Lower Danube (Etelköz), which for centuries had been the last stopping-place for the Asiatic peoples from the east on their way to the Roman provinces. None of these peoples stayed long in Etelköz, merely using this indefensible territory as a resting-place for a few years. The Magyars too were only waiting for an opportunity to leave for a home at a safer distance from their three most dangerous neighbours, the Pechenegs to the east, the Russian Slavs, already organized by the Normans, to the north and the Christian Bulgar Czars to the south, now in their first period of expansion. As a preparation for further migration and a means of organizing immediate defence, by common consent the seven Magyar and the three Khabar tribes chose Árpád as their leader for life. Árpád immediately began to look for western allies for his people.

In 982 he formed an alliance with the king of the Eastern Frankish empire, Arnulf, against Szvatopluk, the prince of Moravia, and in the same year, as well as two years later, he fought in the region of the Danube. On the latter occasion Árpád got to know the territory of the former Avar empire, reconnoitred it and found it suitable for permanent settlement. At that time the western part of this region was in the hands of Arnulf, King of the Franks, as a loyal Moravian principality, while most of the eastern part was under the Bulgars. Árpád was correct, however, in his assessment of the balance of power. The Eastern Frankish empire, after the division into three parts of the united Frankish (French,



Italian and German) empire of Charlemagne, was just coming into being and Arnulf had to concentrate all his efforts to combat the centrifugal ambitions of the provinces; so in the face of a serious invasion he was simply forced to give up the peripheral region of Moravia, north of the Danube. Árpád hoped to make it impossible for the Bulgars to defend their territory east of the Danube by tying down the Czar's forces in another part of Bulgaria at the time of his invasion. The offer of alliance from Byzantium to Árpád against Simeon, Czar of Bulgaria, could not have come at a better time. Under the leadership of Árpád's son, Levente, the Magyars invaded Bulgaria, occupying the capital. Meanwhile, however, the Emperor of Byzantium made peace with the Bulgarian Czar and withdrew his troops and his troop-carrying ships. The Czar was able to turn his full forces against

the Magyars and won a victory. To make matters worse, the Pechenegs invaded Etelköz and Árpád had no choice but to flee with all his remaining people to the northwest. Retracing Árpád's earlier route through the Verecke pass, they descended on the plains of the Upper Tisza, conquering the Bulgar-Slav territories here without meeting any resistance. Apparently, although Czar Simeon had sufficient power to defeat a force of Magyars invading Bulgaria, he himself had sustained such severe losses in the campaign that he was unable to rescue the periphery of his empire along the Tisza and the Danube.

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The Magyar conquest began in 895, centred mainly on the west bank of the Danube. This is where the *Megyer* tribe settled, along with the tribes of *Huba* and *Lehel*, the *Bulcsú* tribe, and the *Botond* tribes. The tribe of *Ond* settled by the river Tisza while the three *Khabar* tribes settled between the Tisza and the southern slopes of the Carpathians. The tribe of *Kende* settled on the upper reaches of the Tisza and by the river Szamos. Finally the tribe of the *Gyulas* occupied the region along the lower Maros as well as the regions between the upper reaches of the Maros, Aranyos and Szamos rivers in Transylvania.

In accordance with ancient Magyar tradition, only the interior of the occupied territory was settled and wide expanses of land, some protected by natural obstacles, were left uninhabited between the inner areas and the neighbouring countries. These protective strips were called *gyepű*, and they included the Meszes mountains in the east and the Érc range, running from north to south. Beyond this protective barrier, Transylvania served merely as a frontier defence zone, or *gyepűelve* (Erdőelve). Thus the settlements of the Kende and Gyula tribes in inner Transylvania by the rivers

Szamos and Maros, and the Seklers by the Maros, Olt and Küküllő rivers, acted as frontier guards beyond the gyeprü against a possible Pecheneg attack from the east.



With the Magyar conquest the history of Transylvania and its people was to become bound up *politically* for a thousand years with the history of the Magyar nation, but was not always identical with the political history of Hungary, and even less so with its cultural history.



At the time of the Magyar conquest Transylvania was a sparsely populated peripheral province of Czar Simeon of Bulgaria ruled in his name by a kind of voivode, the governor Gyalu – a name of pure Turkish origin. Actual Bulgarian rule was probably confined to the area between the rivers Maros and Aranyos and perhaps the left bank of the Szamos, the area of the salt and gold mines, from which ore and salt could be transported via the ancient but still passable Roman roads and the river Maros to the Danube. However, Bulgarian rule was not widespread or was only nominal in the eastern regions where the Hun–Avar clans known as the *Seklers* had settled.

The population between the land of the Seklers and the Királyhágó and Meszes mountains was very mixed but with the disintegration of the Avar empire and the beginning of Bulgar–Slav rule (early in the 9th century) and especially after the adoption of Greek Orthodox Christianity as the official religion by the Bulgarian empire, the population rapidly became assimilated with the Slavs. This population was not homogeneous from a linguistic point of view either, because apart from Bulgarian–Turkish, which was still semi-official, and the various Southern Slav languages, the forerunner of modern Rumanian began to develop, spreading northwards

from Transylvania's southern borders, and within Transylvania and the territories to the east and south it soon absorbed and unified the languages of the various tribes and fragments of tribes of differing geographical and racial origin.

In Transylvania this primitive society led a primitive life. The only important, more thoroughly organized and supervised national activity was the mining of salt and ore. Agriculture was rudimentary, and animal husbandry was limited to the simple herding of sheep and goats. The roots of civilization in the higher sense, social activity or cultural knowledge were scarcely to be found here. Anything that might have formed the basis of an independent national life, political knowledge or a common will for an important common cause was still in its infancy. But the core of a potentially unified national culture was already present, in the Byzantine legacy of Orthodox Christianity and the nascent unified Rumanian language.

By comparison, the Magyar conquerors represented a decidedly superior culture and civilization. Although they did not bring finished cultural objects with them in their saddlebags and covered wagons, they did bring from the former Khazar empire their memories, skills and wide knowledge of the world. The southern neighbour of the Khazar empire was the young, rising, cultured and conquering Islamic Arab empire (some of the Khazars were also Moslems). The Khazar empire had long had close commercial ties with the Greeks of Asia Minor and with Byzantium. It had large towns, flourishing trade and industry and not only intensive traditional livestock-rearing but also well-developed agriculture. Mining and smelting were the ancient profession of all the Turanian people from the Altun Mountains, and like the Huns, the Avars, the Tartars and the Turks, the Magyars too were masters of warfare and skilful rulers.

So the Magyars did not bring finished cultural achievements to their new homeland, but they did bring knowledge and skills that enabled them to establish a new culture, way of life and system of government appropriate, in the given circumstances, to the conquered land and its people.

THE ÁRPÁDS

The hundred years after the Magyar conquest is a period we know virtually nothing about. According to the chronicler *Anonymus*, *Erdőelve* was occupied by Tuhutum, the chieftain of the seventh Magyar tribe. He governed the land as a prince under the rule of Árpád and was succeeded by his sons and grandsons until the age of King Stephen. "Horka was the son of Tuhutum; Gyula and Zsombor the sons of Horka. Gyula's daughter, Sarolta, was the mother of King Stephen. Zsombor's son, the younger Gyula, was the father of Bua and Bukna, and it was in his time that Stephen *conquered* the land beyond the forests..."

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According to an illustrated chronicle, the *Képes Krónika*, "After Stephen had won the crown he waged a famous and successful war against his aged uncle, Gyula, who at that time governed the whole of Transylvania. In 1002 AD Stephen took Gyula prisoner, together with his wife and two sons. He did this because Gyula refused to become converted to Christianity or to stop harassing the Magyars. The whole extensive, rich territory of Transylvania was annexed to the Magyar monarchy. *This country was called Erdőelő* ('the land before the forests')..."

In this connection, according to a 12th century interpolation in the chronicle by the French historian *Ademar*, "Stephen attacked *the land of the Black Magyars* and conquered it with fear and love..."

So, comparing the various traditions, the reality seems to be that Transylvania (Erdőelve), the land beyond the frontier zone, was a separate province, like a separate country, governed by the ancestors of Gyula's clan fairly independently from Árpád and especially his less capable successors. Their people were also called "Black Magyars", which may be derived from the Turkic tribal name "*Kara*" (black). When Prince Géza, recognizing the danger of further military adventures in Europe, sensibly decided to seek security for his people in a peaceful western alliance, the chieftain Gyula looked east: he and his daughter Sarolt were baptized by Greek-Orthodox priests in Constantinople, and Gyula himself formed a friendly alliance with the neighbouring Bulgarian Czar (oral tradition called him King *Kean*), who was a subject of Byzantium; Gyula had Greek-Orthodox priests brought to Transylvania to convert his people. When Stephen succeeded Géza after his death, he forced western Christianity on his people at sword-point but the powerful Gyula did not recognize him as his overlord: he openly defied him and declared the total independence of Transylvania, trusting in his Bulgarian-Byzantine alliance.

Stephen, the first ruler of Hungary, land of the Magyars who was a Christian in the Frankish sense of the word and had by this time become the crowned king of the land, put an end to the political and cultural defection of Transylvania: in a bloody campaign "he occupied Transylvania and annexed it to the land of the Magyars" with the help of Teutonic knights in armour, loyal tribes, and the army of the Khabar clan. He captured Gyula (who may have been either his grandfather or his brother-in-law) with his wife and children and held them captive. He also forced the people of Transylvania to adopt western Christianity.

Stephen thus postponed the planned total independence of Transylvania for a long time but, according to the generally reliable evidence of oral tradition, he was unable to suppress

the distinctive individuality and mentality, the different aims and aspirations that had always characterized Transylvania, as is proved by the fact that throughout the Middle Ages Transylvania was a perennial source of support and unflinching reinforcement for aspiring revolutionaries, would-be usurpers and petty kings against the central royal power.

And although Stephen was successful in forcing western Christianity and with it, Latin-German culture on *all Hungary's* peoples, in Transylvania he was able to force only the Magyars and Seklers to accept Latin Christianity, for they were more or less indifferent to religion and by nature incapable of religious fanaticism; on the other hand, the Bulgarians, Macedonians and Slavs (long Greek-Orthodox) refused to desert the Eastern Church and remained the western frontier of Byzantine culture.

Thus the land of Transylvania became a natural battleground of the struggle between Eastern and Western cultures that began in this period. This was the land where Rome and Byzantium clashed most violently, where Italian and especially South-German culture met and battled with that of Kiev and Constantinople. But this was also the land where the two cultures mingled most thoroughly and became a solid basis for the possibility of a characteristically Transylvanian civilization.

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The conquering Magyars retained their tribal and clan organization in their new homeland. In the interior of their new country the individual tribes occupied land that was sufficiently extensive and suited to their type of agriculture. Within these areas, the clans had their own enclosed settlements. The settlements of the different clans were separated from each other by land probably inhabited by peoples who had settled there before the Magyar conquest. From the point of view of the Magyars these lands were considered

vacant and therefore used by the nomadic tribes as grazing grounds for cattle. All the clan settlements and properties, which were mainly in the interior of the country, were surrounded by defensive barriers (natural or artificial *gyepű*) and beyond these to the border of the country lay wide expanses of unoccupied land, mainly forest. In accordance with ancient Magyar custom relating to the distribution of property, the clan's settlement with all it contained (including its people) was the indivisible, inalienable communal property of the whole clan. If the population of the clan increased, new land could be acquired from the areas between the settlements, or from the as yet unoccupied, ownerless territories beyond the *gyepű*. But *in general*, apart from the territories actually occupied by the clans, all areas as far as the border of the country were considered the property of the king as a royal prerogative. It was his exclusive right to do whatever he liked with this huge amount of land and the people living on it: he received the revenue from it, and he had the power to make grants of land.

Prince Géza realized the potential of this system and was the first to make use of it to increase the strength and independence of the monarchy at the expense of the already weakened association of clans, thus ensuring the durability of the conquest. In order to build a completely trustworthy army dependent solely on him, following foreign precedents he introduced the concept of *land grants*. He lured knights from abroad to the country and in exchange for land from unoccupied, therefore royal territory or that of his own tribe he obliged them to grant him troops. Géza also increased his troops by taking care of the Magyars, who under his predecessors were merely marauders or still, in the interior of the country, living a nomadic life as wandering herdsmen, grazing cattle. He granted the Magyars royal territories from beyond the *gyepű* and in exchange demanded military service; some of them he kept by him as mercenaries, but he

gave them land and slaves as well in the interior of the country in the royal territories between the clan lands.

As a result of these measures modelled on the practice of western monarchies, Géza undermined the ancient clan system – a *self-contained community* system which in the new circumstances no longer fulfilled its old function among the Magyars, now that they were wedged between fully or nearly consolidated nations and obliged to renounce their wandering ways; it had to adapt or disappear altogether.

King Stephen, the brother-in-law of the Bavarian king, was a chieftain brought up as a Christian whose political model was the Frankish kingdom, and he continued his father Géza's instinctive, haphazard policies much more consciously and decisively, completing and codifying the system established by Géza. The tribal system no longer functioned, but he killed the still existing clan system also by means of a law declaring all land, of whatever origin, to be *private property*. He organized the royal army by establishing royal estates with castles built on royal lands serving as the administrative centres of these estates. From these the king's steward, the bailiff, was able to administer the henceforth royal, inalienable, *private land* belonging to the castle, as well as the royal servants who lived there, cultivating the land and tending the animals; however, from the income derived from the castle estate the soldiers serving in the castle were maintained: troops like these made up the bulk of the royal army. These royal castles served as administrative centres for the later counties, while the soldiers were the forebears of the lesser county nobility. From this time onward, the chiefs of the clans were the sole proprietors of the once common land, while those owning land granted by the throne (mainly foreigners) were the ancestors of the later aristocracy; the craftsmen living in and around the castles were the forerunners of the town-dwelling middle class. And finally the predominantly Slav people already in the region

at the time of the conquest, together with the slaves captured in earlier warfare or bought at various times and later freed, were the forebears of the serfs.

Apart from the reorganization of land ownership and the army, there was another important factor in the transformation of Hungarian society as a whole: Christianity was made the official religion, *the Catholic church became established* and a new and powerful order was introduced into Hungarian society: the clergy. The population living in the country at the time of the conquest was already predominantly Christian and the conversion of the Magyars began at the time of the chieftains and made notable progress under Géza. But Stephen considered it his primary duty as ruler to convert his people to Christianity and to fully organize the Catholic Church. Using persuasion, good example and military force he achieved his aim. The victory over the pagan chief Koppány and the occupation of Transylvania, where the population was predominantly Greek-Orthodox, ensured the survival of the Roman Catholic church. Stephen reinforced the power of the church and ensured its development by means of church laws and abundant grants of land.

Only a relatively small part of Transylvania was affected by these new developments and transformations. It did not belong to the Magyar kingdom but was regarded as territory *beyond the gyepű*, which was flanked by only the eastern edge of the properties settled at the time of the conquest by the Kende tribe on the upper Tisza and the Gyula tribe by the lower Maros. In the area east of the river Szamos and the middle reaches of the Maros, a few clans of these two tribes had occupied only the parts that had rich soil or good grazing land in the valleys, and the salt mines and perhaps the gold mines beside the Maros. The names *Gyulaférvár, Torda* and in Kolozs county *Ajton* and *Zsombor* are clear proofs of Magyar occupation in these areas at the time of the conquest or at most in the period of the chieftains. Here, too, the popu-

lation was sparse, but probably the whole of south-eastern and northern Transylvania was wasteland, forest and marsh. Later these areas were the sites of Saxon settlements. The eastern part of Transylvania was occupied and fairly densely inhabited by the Seklers. The political and social transformation undertaken by Géza and especially Stephen therefore affected only the parts of western Transylvania that were Magyar-occupied or belonged to the king. In the Transylvanian seat of the Gyula clan, *Fehérvár*, Stephen established an episcopal see and built a church and a royal castle (in Fehér county). In addition he set up a feudal administration on the estates of *Doboka*, *Kolozs*, *Torda*, and perhaps *Küküllő*. However, he did not force his new system of administration on the Seklers, nor did he touch their ancient military, social and economic order – a patrimonial, community-oriented clan system. *Székelyföld* (the land of the Seklers), because its people were not settled frontier guards, was not royal property, and the Seklers themselves were not members of the royal troops or the troops attached to the royal castles. It is impossible to classify the Seklers in any of the social categories that were formed in the time of King Stephen or came into being later as a result of the king's laws and decrees. Transylvania was far from the centre of the kingdom. Foreign nobles who were willing to serve the Hungarian king in return for good lands were not eager to settle in this sparsely-populated border region, especially as it was always prone to attacks from the Pechenegs, and perhaps the king, too, preferred to have the new land-owning class, whose duty it was to defend his kingdom, closer to his residence within the actual territory of the country. We do not know of any instances in the time of Stephen and his immediate successors when western knights were given substantial grants of land in Transylvania.

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During the reign of the Árpád kings yet another entirely new ethnic group, *Germanic people from the Rhine, called Saxons* in Transylvania, became mingled with the Seklers, the Magyar Turanians, and the Macedo-Bulgar-Slav people who later became the Rumanians; the Saxons introduced their *developed German "bourgeois" civilization and urban culture* among a population still only partially settled, and living in rather primitive societies.

A constant problem for the Árpáds was how to increase the population of the country. The income of the kingdom was derived from the working people, especially those who cultivated the land. The problem was particularly acute in the early, patrimonial time when the king maintained his kingdom as an institution and its most important defence, the standing army, on the income from his private properties. The bailiffs and indeed the early counts palatine were mainly the administrators of the royal estates, and secondarily soldiers and eventually officers of justice. The only way to increase the king's income was to increase the population of the royal estates. Part of this population formed the bulk of the army (castle garrisons and royal servants). Another part – craftsmen, traders and free peasants – paid taxes. The third part, consisting of tenants and landless serfs, cultivated the king's private land and paid tithes out of their harvest.

In the middle of the 12th century owing to the great flood of the North Sea much of the population of Holland was forced to leave; at the same time the overcrowded people by the Rhine, to escape from the tyranny of their overlords, voluntarily set off with their families in search of a new home. Géza II seized the opportunity and settled a group of these homeless Franks from the Rhineland in Transylvania at the intersection of the river Olt and the Cibin spring, where they founded the town of Szeben and the surrounding villages. Similar groups of Franks from the Rhineland were later settled

by Géza and his successors, particularly Béla III, on uninhabited and therefore *royal lands*. But many more came crowding into the royal counties as well on the heels of the earlier settlers, and these encouraged further swarms. Soon after their arrival, Transylvania's first towns in the West European sense of the word sprang up: according to the records, the towns of Szeben, Kolozsvár, Enyed, Torda, Medgyes, Segesvár, Braşov, Szászsebes, Szászváros and Dés were all built between 1146 and 1300: in fact, all the important towns of Transylvania, with the exception of those in Székelyföld and, in the royal counties, Gyulafehérvár.

The Saxons settled in Transylvania as free peasants and the kings guaranteed them the continued use of their own legal system and respect for their social order. In Királyfold – the area from the river Maros to the land of the Seklers, bordered by Fogaras to the south and by the castle estate of Küküllő to the north – the Saxons were granted territorial autonomy under the governorship of the Saxon bailiff of Szeben. For this the Saxons paid taxes to the king as well as performing military service, but collectively, as a nation, not on an individual basis. Apart from that of the Saxon peasantry, two other settlements of Germanic peoples took place in Transylvania, one of which almost had tragic consequences. King Andrew II granted the Barcaság region as a fief to the order of Teutonic knights who had been driven out of the Holy Land. In return for this the knights were required to defend the south-eastern entrance to Transylvania from the neighbouring pagan Kuns and convert them to Christianity. The Teutonic knights, together with the peasants and craftsmen settled alongside them, achieved magnificent cultural results within a short time in the Barcaság, a land of marshes and forests. Braşov and four citadels surrounding it were built, and the land was populated with villages, but a few years later the king expelled these

people by force from the country because of their efforts to gain independence. The other, final German settlement in Transylvania took place during the reign of King Andrew III, who settled iron-miners from Eisenwürtzen (Austria) in Toroczkó and its neighbourhood.

The settling of the Saxons in Transylvania was not the direct reason, but certainly one of the reasons why Transylvania ceased to be a *frontier region beyond the gyepű*, and became equal with the regions in the interior of the country because of its equally developed economy and culture. However Transylvania did not become the same as these but retained the character of a province and was governed by the voivode in the name of the king.

The Mongol invasion devastated Transylvania too but was less catastrophic than in Hungary because the Transylvanians had often been attacked in the previous centuries by their Turkish–Mongol neighbours, the Pechenegs and the Kuns, so an attack by Eastern people on horses was something for which they were prepared and organized. After the Mongol invasion, however, the whole of the country and especially Transylvania began to prosper. The ruined and depopulated region of Aranyos was given to the Seklers, who had considerably increased in number by this time, and they occupied it as a Sekler municipality. In all probability *Kalotaszeg* was settled, even before the Mongol invasion, by small groups of Pechenegs, who retreated to this area and were granted land by its earlier lords, successors of the Gyula clan, or at the latest, it was settled after the Mongol invasion by Kuns or at any rate some kind of Turkish–Mongol people. The situation of the Saxons did not change, but there was a substantial increase in the Rumanian element of the population in the devastated areas, owing to constant infiltration from the south. The Rumanian element in Transylvania was also strengthened by the fact

that after the Mongol invasion and the brief rule of the Mongols, Rumanian states were founded in Wallachia (Havasföld) and Moldavia in the territories from which the Kuns had been driven out: for the time being these states were vassals of the Hungarian kingdom.

By the reign of the last Árpád king the ethnographic map of Transylvania had become fully formed, and the centuries have left it virtually unchanged to this day. The differing political and social systems characteristic of each race among the different peoples living here also became fully developed and were only eliminated by the events of 1848 and 1868, with the enactment of laws that recognized the complete equality of individuals. The counties became fully developed, and in them monarchical Hungary's social stratification was now complete, with the urban middle class playing a significant role alongside the aristocracy and the clergy. The settlement of the Saxons and the establishment of their ethnic and territorial autonomy was completed by the addition of the Barcaság and Beszterce areas to the Saxon bailiff's estate in Szeben. The separate national constitution of the Seklers and their relations with the other ethnic communities in Transylvania as well as with the king now took their final shape. The Rumanians were now becoming an influential factor in Fogaras and Hunyad, the areas neighbouring the alpine plains of Wallachia, where the leaders of their settlements there acquired certain aristocratic rights.

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Transylvania, totally independent in the time of the tribal chiefs, was militarily forced by Stephen, the first king of Hungary, to give up its sovereign aspirations; he humiliated Transylvania's lords, the powerful Gyulas, stripped them of their property and absorbed Transylvania into Hungary.

Three hundred years later, in 1291, the last Árpád king, Andrew III, held *Transylvania's first separate legislative*

parliament in Gyulafehérvár, the Gyulas' former administrative centre, where the Magyars, the Seklers, the Saxons and the Rumanians were represented as nations.

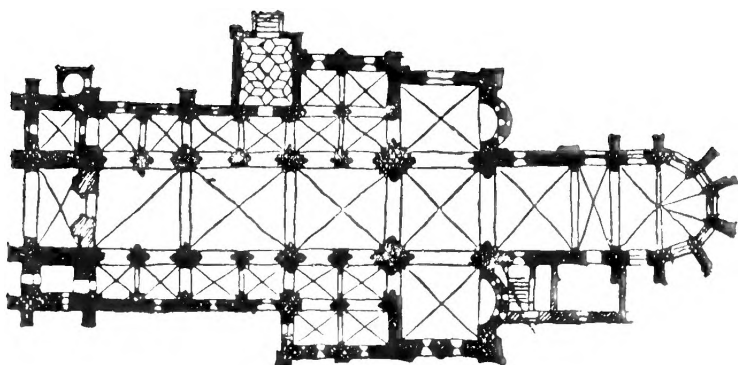


In the time of the Árpád kings the fate of our culture lay in the hands of the clergy. The official language was Latin, the language of the Church. Latin was also the language of literature. At the time when the gigantic national epic of the Germanic people, the *Nibelungenlied*, was compiled in Austria, we had only one cohesive literary monument in Hungarian, and it was just a translation from Latin prompted by necessity, a funeral oration for priests of foreign origin who did not know Hungarian or were just learning it. The Church strictly prohibited ancient Hungarian mythology, folk tales, historical ballads and love songs, considering these pagan and anti-Catholic relics, and it systematically exterminated singers, storytellers and poets, persecuting and punishing the minstrels and bards. This prohibition is in fact one of the proofs that we did have a national literary culture brought from our old home in Asia, the eternal birthplace of human cultures, and further refined here. Fragmentary, twisted remnants of it, distorted by pedantic clerics, can be found in the chronicles compiled – in Latin, of course – during the time of the Árpád kings. In fact, we do not have a single Transylvanian chronicle writer.

Our schools were Church schools, and the language of instruction was Latin.

We had no higher education at this time. In the 13th century, many of our clergy attended the already famous foreign universities like Bologna, Padua and Paris. We know of only one layman who attended a university abroad: in 1271 a young man by the name of Bethlen was recorded among the undergraduates at the university of Paris.

The fine arts also began to become established at this



PLAN OF THE ROMANISTIC CATHEDRAL IN GYULAFEHÉRVÁR

time, but they had little to do with the nation as yet. Architecture was limited to building work carried out by the Church, but the majority of the parish churches ordered by the king were never completed, and those that were built can only have been primitive wooden churches. The most impressive and monumental surviving architectural relic of the period, a building of real artistic merit, is *the cathedral of Gyulafehérvár*. The antecedents of the present building are an interesting story, typical of the times. In 1277 the bishop of Fehérvár had a quarrel with the judge of Vízakna, János Alárdi. To end the quarrel once and for all he had the judge killed. In response, Alárdi's son János attacked Fehérvár one fine Sunday with his armed forces from Vízakna and set the town on fire, including the episcopal buildings and the old stone church dating back to the time of King Stephen. The episcopal archives and library were also reduced to ashes. Ten years later the construction of a new church on the site of the old one was begun by the son of Tyno, János, a master stonemason. The construction of the basilica with its three

naves and transept took ten years. Its style leads us to believe that the builders were French or had studied in France. We know that King Béla I founded the abbey of Kolozsmonostor, and probably under the last Árpád kings the Gerófi family founded the monastery in Valkó and the nunnery of Gyerómonostor, but of these only the tower of the latter remains standing today. Only the ruins of the abbey church of Kercz still survive.

The Magyars were not a town-building people. The first real towns of Transylvania were constructed by the Germanic settlers and populated by their craftsmen and traders. For a long time the agricultural, animal-rearing people living in the royal counties did not even build permanent villages. Strict royal decrees repeatedly instructed the population to build permanent villages with permanent houses, but when these eventually appeared, it was in consequence of a more sophisticated way of life and economic necessity, affecting noblemen and peasants alike, rather than the royal decrees. These "permanent" villages, however, consisted of timber-framed houses that could be dismantled at any time. The nobles liked to roam about, travelling around their lands, and their manor houses were very primitive, like their way of life. Only after the Mongol invasion did these descendants of mounted nomads begin to construct more comfortable stone and timber dwellings in walled, defensible compounds. Especially on the eastern frontier, the Sekler villages now tried on their own account to make themselves safe against possible attack. Each village was surrounded by a *gyepű*, a defensive barrier, with only one or two entrances, which could be closed, on opposite sides. But the most interesting solution to the problem of self-defence can be seen among the Saxon people in Barcarozsnyó, at the entrance to south-east Transylvania. In a ruined fortress left by the Teutonic knights they constructed a miniature version of their village,

so that in case of emergency every family would have its own place of refuge.

We did not have *secular architecture* in the Western sense nor have any other fine art relics of the period been found. Probably they did not yet exist.

UP TO MOHÁCS

By the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th, as a result of three centuries of hard and often bloody work, Hungary stood fully formed on the border between East and West, ready to fulfil her destined role in the development of human civilization. A political constitution and a social order unlike that of any other state had been founded, because only thus, with an individually tailored system suited to their geographical situation, could the Hungarians – evolved from a people cast out of Asia into foreign lands and mingled with a myriad of others – survive in what was and still is, perhaps, the most problematical part of Europe, the buffer zone between East and West. Hungary's political and social structure, however, was different on each side of the Királyhágó mountain pass. Beyond the Királyhágó the whole of Hungary was organized into identical counties with a similar social stratification in each. The higher orders of the clergy and the already established aristocratic oligarchy did not fall within these classes. The power struggle between this oligarchy and the crown was to dominate Hungarian history in the 14th and 15th centuries.

In contrast to Hungary's aristocratic system of administration based on counties, outwith and against which the oligarchy established its own absolute power, Transylvania was organized into three different societies within the territory of three autonomous nations, differing in their legal systems and in reality as well. In the counties those Magyars who were counted among the nobility (serfs didn't count) struc-

tured their society in exactly the same way as it was organized in Hungary, beyond the Királyhágó. The Seklers had their own system in Székelyföld, as did the Saxons in Királyföld ("the land of the monarchs"), to which Beszterce was later annexed. What was, in fact, the fourth nation of Transylvania – the Rumanians – began to create their own separate system of government in the regions of Fogaras and Hunyad and also in the area lying to the north of Hunyad. However, the reaction against premature democratic movements at the end of the 14th century, which were partly fuelled by Hussitism (the Kápolna agreement) hindered this natural process.

Transylvania's society was organized into classes only in the counties, while in the regions inhabited by the Seklers and Saxons society was entirely homogeneous. In their territory the Seklers were all equal, as noblemen and soldiers. The Saxons were equal as members of the middle class. These societies handled their domestic affairs independently from each other, on the basis of their separate legal systems, ancient social institutions and customs. What bound them together was their acknowledged interdependence and the crown, which in Transylvania was represented by the voivode. This special structure prevented the possible formation of an oligarchy, which kindles smouldering class warfare, hinders healthy development and continually endangers the existence of the state, as it did in Hungary. Oligarchies could only have developed in the counties and at the expense of the lesser nobility, as in Hungary, but against all such attempts the democracies of the other two national territories could (and did) provide immediate support for the lesser Hungarian nobility and the crown.

History, however, proves that when the class victory of the oligarchic aristocracy in Hungary led to the tragedy of Mohács, it was the Transylvanian national democracies that preserved the defeated Magyar spirit and kept it alive in the

principality of the three nationalities of Transylvania until – their task completed – they gave that spirit back, intact and indeed further refined, to Hungary.



The period following the death of the last Árpád king began with a rebellion. The voivode of Transylvania, László, proclaimed the independence of Transylvania from Hungary and when Otto, King of Bavaria came to Transylvania in 1307, László took him prisoner and held him captive for a year. He did not, however, return the Hungarian crown. King Charles I of Hungary (Charles Robert) had him and Transylvania excommunicated, but the Transylvanian clergy did not even make the verdict public. The king was eventually obliged to make peace with the voivode.

This attempt to break away seemed almost an echo of Gyula's rebellion some three hundred years earlier. It also showed the route predestined for Transylvania whether she wanted to follow it or not. In the two hundred years to come Transylvania, at first unnoticed, but rapidly towards the end built the foundations on which she was able to become, smoothly and naturally, an independent state.

The 14th century was the age of Transylvania's independent material and spiritual development under the rule of the Angevin monarchs and later under King Sigismund (Zsigmond) and the Hunyadis. Even Charles Robert did his best to counterbalance the power of the oligarchy by strengthening the other social classes. The easiest group to strengthen was the town-dwelling middle class, so he granted privileges to the towns, which promoted their development. His first, important, code of laws also concerned the towns, which he divided into two categories: *royal towns*, those not under the jurisdiction of the county authorities but directly under the authority of the king, and *smaller towns*, those which had more limited autonomy and came under the

jurisdiction of the county. Charles Robert also introduced the system of guilds.

The autonomy of towns made it possible in due course for them to accumulate wealth, and this had already happened by the time of King Louis (Lajos) the Great, when as a result of lengthy sea battles with Venice the transportation of goods by sea became unreliable, and therefore East-West transit trade took place on land, through Transylvania, and the towns took full advantage of this. In the royal and the Saxon towns elevated houses appeared everywhere with their huge roof overhanging the streets, forming a canopy under which goods could be displayed. Kolozsvár was granted the privilege of not having to pay duty in Hungary. Braşov concluded a commercial agreement with Wallachia, and Szeben received the exclusive right to store goods on their way to the straits of Verestorony.

The two Rumanian voivodeships that neighboured Transylvania to the east took their final form and became vassals of the Hungarian monarchy. These two countries, open to Western civilization, became excellent trading areas for Transylvania's merchants and craftsmen.

Under the rule of King Sigismund this process developed further. For instance, in 1395 Braşov acquired the privilege of transporting its goods duty free as far as Vienna, but foreign traders could only transport goods to Wallachia if they set up a warehouse in Braşov: otherwise, they had to sell the goods in Braşov. Crude wax could not be transported through Braşov but had to be melted in the town.

The development of the towns was crowned by Sigismund's law giving royal towns the right to delegate members of parliament. The middle classes were thus admitted, not individually but collectively, to the legislative bodies of the country and in 1402 the delegates of towns appeared, for the first time in history, in parliament. The first Sekler town was mentioned in 1427: Kézdivásárhely was granted

privileges similar to those of the Saxon towns. In 1420 Alvincz and Borberek also acquired similar legal rights.

Naturally as the towns increased their wealth, the other parts of society also grew richer. This increase in material welfare was also accompanied by cultural development and so the new, democratic ideas flowing into Eastern Europe from the West towards the end of the 14th century found fertile soil in the minds of Transylvania's people.

The aristocracy was at this time just becoming established in Transylvania. Here, too, it did what it could to amass private wealth and power at the expense of the other social classes. This proved easier in the area of the counties, but similar attempts were made among the Seklers, where the bigger landowners (the primors) began to organize themselves to the detriment of the poorer Seklers. The equilibrium of Transylvania, based on a balance between the different nationalities and their social structures, began to tilt; internal tensions threatened it with collapse.

The equilibrium was saved by the spiritual revolution which, through the teachings of the Hussites, planted the ideals of freedom of belief and the equality of all men in the now receptive minds of the masses who had no rights or saw their rights threatened.

The inner demoralization of the clergy or rather the Catholic hierarchy and its excessive striving after worldly power and wealth, in direct opposition to Christ's teaching, caused a reaction in Western Europe in the 14th century, a growing desire and will to restore the Church to its original simplicity and to encourage not material but spiritual enrichment and the cherishing of spiritual freedom. When neither Church convocations nor the Papal court reacted to this more and more urgent and widespread demand from the people and roundly rejected the very idea of a transformation for this purpose in the structure of the Catholic Church, action from the other side was inevitable, and led a century and a

half later to the great schism in the Church. And although Rome with the support of secular powers succeeded in suppressing the uprisings prompted by John Wycliffe, the spiritual revolution did not die but only lay dormant, waiting for the right moment to set inflammable souls on fire. The earliest opportunity came in Bohemia, in better circumstances, when the Protestant teachings of John Hus and his followers were accepted by almost all Bohemian society. The old method was tried once again: the Council of Constance gathered under the auspices of King Sigismund and summoned John Hus, who presented himself before them. Every available method was used to persuade John Hus to retract his teachings. Finally, what proved to be the worst possible method was used: the reformer was sentenced to death and burned. In response, the nobility and people of Bohemia announced their secession from the Roman Catholic Church. And when the Pope called on the Princes to destroy the heresy in Bohemia, the Hussites actually took up arms and defeated the army that Sigismund, the king of Hungary and Bohemia, sent against them, declared Sigismund dethroned, and set up a governing council to rule Bohemia. For decades they resisted attempts to defeat them, and finally in 1436 the Pope allowed the Hussites to receive the sacrament under both forms and to freely elect the archbishop and two bishops of Prague. This was the first Protestant victory against the Pope and the secular power of the Emperor and also the first decisive victory of a national democracy against an oligarchy.

The Hussite movement in favour of spiritual freedom did not remain isolated in Bohemia, but soon found its way into certain parts of Hungary (Upper Northern Hungary and the Szerémség) and particularly into Transylvania. Traders here, especially Saxons, who frequently travelled to Bohemia were the main disseminators of the ideas of John Hus, together with Hungarian intellectuals returning from the much-fre-

quented university of Prague. The teachings of Hussitism spread rapidly, especially among the Hungarian peasantry, the Saxon middle class, and the lesser Hungarian and Sekler nobility, because Hussitism taught human equality and the illegality of privilege. Many of the lower clergy, too, immediately embraced the new faith. King Sigismund, who could only secure the Bohemian crown by recognizing Hussitism, ordered the strictest persecution of the Hungarian Hussites. With the king's consent and the aid of his soldiers Jacob Marchia, a Franciscan monk, set up an inquisition and had the Szerémség area combed by troops led by some of his henchmen; priests and intellectuals spreading the new teachings were rounded up, together with the more distinguished citizens who had become converted. Marchia ruthlessly condemned to the stake those who admitted to having been converted and who refused to recant; what is more, he had dead Hussites exhumed from their graves and burned to ashes. He succeeded in eliminating Hussitism in Upper Northern Hungary and the Szerémség, but the leaders of the movement, two university-educated priests (Bálint Újlaky and Tamás Pécsy) eluded capture: they had fled to Moldavia. There they made the first translation of the Bible into Hungarian and their agents put it into the hands of the Transylvanian people.

Father Marchia, with part of his job well done, was preparing to continue his work in Moldavia but at the request of Bishop Lépes went to Transylvania, where the victory of Protestantism was almost complete in the people's souls. The inquisition set up its torture chambers here as well, and the number of victims sent to the stake steadily grew. But the fires of execution kindled rather than extinguished the embers of hatred that had been smouldering in the soul of the people against the clerical and secular oligarchy, and in 1437 the serfs throughout Transylvania, as if at a prearranged signal, openly demanded full recognition

and observance of their legal right to freedom of movement and their right to draw up a will. The serfs also claimed the right to pay their tithes not in money, as the bishop illegally demanded, but in kind, which the law allowed. The rebellion broke out at the same time in Kalotaszeg, Szilágy and the Nyírség. The leaders of the rebellion were Antal Budai Nagy and Pál Vajdaházi Nagy, both noblemen from Kolozs county, Jakab Kardos, a Rumanian, and Márton, a Hungarian serf. They armed themselves with amazing speed and set up a camp near Dés. The voivode attacked them with the whole of his Transylvanian army but the peasants were victorious and concluded an agreement. They would pay the tithes to the clergy in cash; the landowners' tax of the ninth was abolished, and the peasants' right of free movement and right to make a will were recognized. From now on the rebellious populace also had the right to assemble in council once a year.

With this, the conflict between the nobility and the people might have been settled, but the nobility had no intention of honouring the agreement. In the autumn of the very same year in Kápolna the Hungarian county nobility, the Saxons and the Seklers formed what was both a defensive and an offensive alliance against the peasantry in order to protect their legal and illegal privileges. The following year the three allies' joint army attacked the peasants, who had assembled again; after bloody and variously successful battles, in the course of which the rebels occupied Kolozsvár, they finally succeeded, with Hungary's help, in defeating the starving peasants near Kolozsmonostor. The national assembly in Torda sentenced nine of the rebels to be impaled.

Apart from the fact that this was the first serious popular rebellion in Transylvania, fighting not only for class interests but also for spiritual freedom, and proved difficult to suppress, the triple alliance at Kápolna was a turning-point in the history of Transylvania and its peoples. The alliance,

although formed to meet the needs of the moment, did not break up even after the rebellion was crushed, but in the course of time, as circumstances demanded, it not only became more tightly woven but expanded in scope and became the basis for the constitution of an independent Transylvania a hundred years later. The reason why, after the death of King Louis in the battle of Mohács and the partition of his realm Transylvania without any great difficulty, almost naturally dared to undertake and succeeded in the preservation of the Hungarian national spirit by keeping her independence, first for the national monarchy, later for the principality of Transylvania, was the fact that its three autonomous nations, by forming their alliance a hundred years earlier, had established an independent structure in accordance with their own ideas and developed it fully within a century.

From a present-day point of view there are perhaps two faults to be found in the Kápolna alliance. One is that the alliance seems undemocratic today, as it combined the Hungarian and Sekler landowning nobility and the Saxon middle class against the proletariat consisting of the serfs and the lesser nobility. However, this seemingly undemocratic alliance was for its time a radically democratic venture. We must not forget that in Hungary not even the struggle between the landowning middle class and the oligarchy in the name of and under the flag of democracy, which went on at the beginning of the 16th century, had yet begun at the time when Transylvania's whole society, without class differences and in complete harmony, was already uniting in defence of order and security against a fourth class, the proletariat, hitherto commonly regarded as outwith society, and only granted recognition by the French Revolution some 250 years later.

...Transylvania was *then* ahead of its time...

The other fault in the alliance that we can perhaps see

today was *not* a mistake on the part of the Kápolna allies: they did not include as a fourth member the Rumanian people, who at that time, according to Hungarian historians, on the basis of contemporary and objective data were more or less equal in number to all the other nationalities. From the legal point of view of the allies this was not a mistake, as it was impossible to include as the fourth member a nationality that had no legally recognized national organization or even any national consciousness, not to mention the fact that the Rumanians were members of the Greek-Orthodox church, which was tolerated but not recognized. However, this was a mistake (a natural one, not deliberate) in that they never, either then or in the course of the later development of the alliance, relaxed their vigilance and left a loophole through which, at an appropriate time, the Rumanians could have taken their natural place as the fourth nation of Transylvania and contributed their natural strength to the work of shaping the country.

In the circumstances, and in the light of the thinking of their time, the Kápolna allies could not have acted more cleverly, democratically, or indeed radically than they did.



After the death of King Sigismund the demoralization process in Hungary was not halted but only temporarily suspended by the glorious, comet-like but essentially brief rule of the Hunyadis. It is Transylvania's proud memory to have given these rulers to the country and with them the last light which illuminated the Hungarian horizon like a setting sun for a few more decades, emphasizing the depth of the darkness that followed.

His grandfather was a Rumanian *kenéz* (a leader of a settlement) in Hunyad county. His father, Voik, was a warrior at the court of King Sigismund, and in 1409 received from the king the castle of Hunyad and its domain, and thus member-

ship of the Hungarian nobility. Voik's sons, whom the documents call János Hunyadi Oláh and Juván Hunyadi Oláh, were appointed by the king in 1439 to defend the Bánság (estate) of Szörény, and thus elevated to the aristocracy. From this point the career of the family was meteoric. In 1440, when the oligarchs on the side of László V and the lesser nobility on the side of Ulászló clashed, János Hunyadi took the part of the latter: Ulászló was victorious and János was appointed voivode of Transylvania. In this capacity he won battle after battle against the Turkish forces that were now continually attacking Transylvania. In 1446, at the time of the interregnum, János Hunyadi became the national commander-in-chief, and later Governor of Hungary. In 1456 he won his last great battle against the Turks at Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade) and died. Nine years later the lesser nobility proclaimed his son king of Hungary.

The career of father and son was wonderful and romantic. It was wonderful because it did not really fit into the thousand-year-long history of the Hungarian people. Their career was not just another shade in the possible and existing spectrum but a new colour altogether – a colour that appeared briefly then vanished for ever, leaving the old spectrum unchanged. János Hunyadi managed to fit in with the general harmony; he became attuned, to a certain extent, to the Hungarian melody, but Matthias (Mátyás) was different, a stranger. Had he come at another time, earlier, or later... but in his time and in Hungary he could only be an anachronism. And this is precisely why he was unlike Napoleon Bonaparte, although their careers and destinies had many features in common.

He was of humble origin and was not even a member of the nation; his father had come from a distant, almost foreign land and had a swift and surprising career. Although he was hardly ever at home because he was fighting the Turks, he still had enough time to increase his wealth and

popularity. The inner strife in Hungary nearly turned into civil war and the side János Hunyadi joined as a leader won. His prestige and wealth grew rapidly. He was the greatest oligarch of the nation but still managed to be the ideal for the lesser nobility. He was detested by the ancient aristocracy, feared by the king, adored by his soldiers. He was a dictator, beside whom the king was a pale shadow; he was the symbol of victory, security and will-power, the ideal of the declining knighthood in the West and East, and he was more respected by the Turkish Sultan than the Hungarian king. But he never for a moment forgot that his grandfather had been a Rumanian commoner without rights or a noble name, and that he was a Transylvanian. His younger son, Matthias, was born in Kolozsvár in 1443. In 1446, with the help of Italians from Florence, he had a smeltery and mint set up in Kolozsvár, where all the silver and gold from Transylvania's mines had henceforth to be converted. In 1448 he granted nobility en masse to the Rumanian families in Hunyad county and especially the Hátszeg region. He granted the town-dwellers of Transylvania the right to fortify their towns against the frequent attacks of the Turks, and helped them to do so.

While János Hunyadi lived and acted at least partly in accordance with the Hungarian spirit, the way of thinking of the Hungarian nobility, his son Matthias made a complete break with it and his indisputable genius as a ruler, his revolutionary personality, his ambitious plans and his contribution to culture were not understood or accepted by his nation. Whereas his father, throughout his life, had the support of the masses, lesser noblemen and townsmen alike, Matthias was always alone; those whom he elevated to positions close to him did not understand him either, and respected rather than loved him. Matthias was an Italian Renaissance tyrant – in Hungary, the model state in Eastern Europe in terms of constitutional law. He was a genius, a highly cultured archi-

tect, so to speak, but he neither knew nor examined the ground he was building upon. He looked towards the West and failed to see the East. He almost always achieved the goals he set himself, but his successes were not achievements.

However, and this was the truest success and great merit of the Hunyadis, under their rule the country felt secure, daily life was undisturbed and constructive work could and did go on within the country.

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After the death of Matthias Hungary's life resumed where it had left off at the beginning of the Hunyadi era some fifty years before. All the forces that had been suppressed by the iron fist of the Hunyadis, all those who when they tried to rise had been ruthlessly crushed, were now liberated and with almost hysterical frenzy hurled the country towards its destiny.

In Transylvania, with the victory of the triple alliance in 1438 and the nine peasant leaders impaled neither the problem of the Hussite spiritual rebellion nor that of the revolution of the proletariat was solved; they were only suppressed for a time. In the next hundred years no fewer than seven revolutions shook Transylvania. Of these, two broke out for total independence from Hungary, two were struggles by the peasants for the easing of their burdens; on two occasions the Sekler lesser nobility took up arms against the Sekler aristocracy, who did not respect their rights and sought to become more powerful at their expense. The last in the series was the rebellion by György Dózsa's crusaders.

These revolutions and the almost constant spiritual turmoil caused by them were the consequences of a continuous weakening of the central royal government, the disintegration and obsolescence of the old system, the indiscipline and demoralization of the administrative organs, and the effects of the freer atmosphere created by the new spiritual currents ever more powerfully inundating the minds of the peoples of

Transylvania. It may have been these effects or perhaps a conscious realization of the gravity of the approaching times that prompted the three nations of Transylvania in 1505 to announce, at the national assembly convened in Torda, that Transylvania was no longer governed properly by the king and his appointed governor, the voivode. The assembly appointed a national committee, instructing it to assemble in Segesvár at the beginning of the following year, 1506, and organize the governing of Transylvania, abandoned by the king and the voivode. To put an end to the confusion, the committee did in fact set up a governing council to which the Fehérvár chapter delegated one member, the counties 14, and the seven Sekler districts and those of the Saxons 14 each. The governing council organized the government and set up courts of justice. The task of the government and the courts of justice was in general to ensure the security of property and individuals, to settle legal disputes among the three nations and to defend the freedom and security of Transylvania, *on the basis of the union of the three nations*.

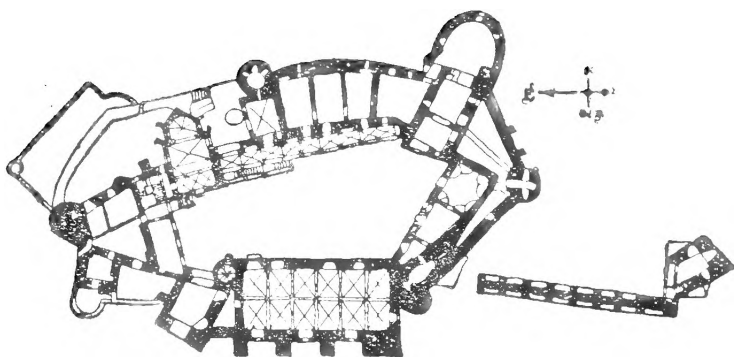
So at a time when Hungary was continuing to career blindly downhill; when Verböczi could do nothing for years except make innumerable speeches and enact new laws to turn the rights of the lesser nobility into power against the aristocracy; when legal wrangles, paper victories and defeats were entertaining and agitating the Hungarians beyond the Királyhágó; when the young, well-organized cultured Osman-Turkish empire of *Suleiman-el-Kanun*, which had grown into a world power, was only waiting for the moment when the country that offered the only direct route to the west would fall into its lap like a ripe fruit – during this time Transylvania's three nations were looking both west and east and were not simply arguing, making speeches and enacting laws but taking action: they were organizing themselves for the future.



The two hundred years after the death of the last Árpád king was a time of economic and cultural enrichment for Transylvania, which now fully occupied the land within its borders. There was no longer any ownerless land, or uninhabited waste land; instead there were towns, and the peasantry lived in permanent villages; on the roads there were merchants transporting goods to foreign lands and bringing foreign goods into Transylvania. The work of the peasants and the townspeople, and the wealth of the middle class and the nobility were protected by Law and Order: it was possible and worth while to accumulate wealth, and to enjoy that wealth... The continually strengthening political and economic ties between Transylvania and the countries and peoples of Western Europe resulted in cultural ties as well; science and the arts, and the higher spiritual needs of human life found natural outlets in Transylvania. The Church still dominated the cultural sphere, but the arts and literature no longer served the needs of the Church alone.

The Hungarians began to settle in the towns as craftsmen and traders, and in many of the towns established in the counties outwith the royal domains the population became predominantly Hungarian rather than German. In 1458 Mihály Szilágyi, the voivode of Transylvania, issued a document to the town of Kolozsvár declaring that henceforth the town should alternately have a Hungarian and a Saxon judge and that the town council should consist of equal numbers of Hungarian and Saxon councillors; the income of the town should be shared equally between the Hungarians and the Saxons. Torda, Enyed and Dés also became Hungarianized.

As a result of the peasant revolt associated with Jakab Kardos, the nobility began to build castles and fortresses, and this process was only accelerated by Turkish attacks. In 1452 János Hunyadi began the construction of Hunyad Castle, which was completed by his widow, Erzsébet Szilágyi.



PLAN OF THE GROUND FLOOR
OF THE BARONIAL CASTLE OF VAJDAHUNYAD

This building, wonderful even by Western standards, created a natural fashion and all over Transylvania castles with taste and grace appeared (Keresd, Vécs). But the buildings erected by the townspeople and the lesser nobility, and their finer furnishings, were still greatly inferior to those of the Church in number, size and artistic value. The only exception was Hunyad Castle, which remains unique and unrivalled in Hungary beyond the Királyhágó for both the grandeur of its proportions and its artistic design, and can justly be compared with the more artistic examples among the French and German baronial castles of that period. The culture of the Church, and especially its architecture, was then at its zenith in Transylvania, and constructing monuments more impressive for their number than for their artistic expression. But most of our village churches were also built at this time, although many of them underwent alteration in later ages.

The town parish churches (Kolozsvár, Braşov, Szeben, Dés, Torda, Medgyes, etc.), the Saxon churches within the castles

and most of the wall-encircled stone churches in Hungarian villages were built in the reigns of King Sigismund and especially King Matthias. This flowering of the late Gothic style in Transylvania spread eastwards across the border into Moldavia.

It was only natural that in Transylvania, at the eastern periphery of Western civilization, the Gothic style could not be the same as it was in its place of origin. Our Gothic churches do not come close to the French Gothic cathedrals in size, monumentality or purity of style. Indeed, in dimensions and artistic value not one of them even comes close to the Romanesque cathedral in Gyulafehérvár, constructed in the time of the Árpáds. This is even more true of our village churches of the time. The reasons for this are that on the one hand the people who had the churches built came from social classes that did not have much wealth at their disposal, and on the other hand the master builders were mostly modestly-paid artisans with not too clear notions of style, and many of them were probably local masons who had seen nothing of the world. But for the very same reason, even among our buildings which are less pure in style we come across very interesting, arbitrary arrangements, unusual features of design and construction, and surprising proportions, which can only be explained as the expression of the "genius loci"

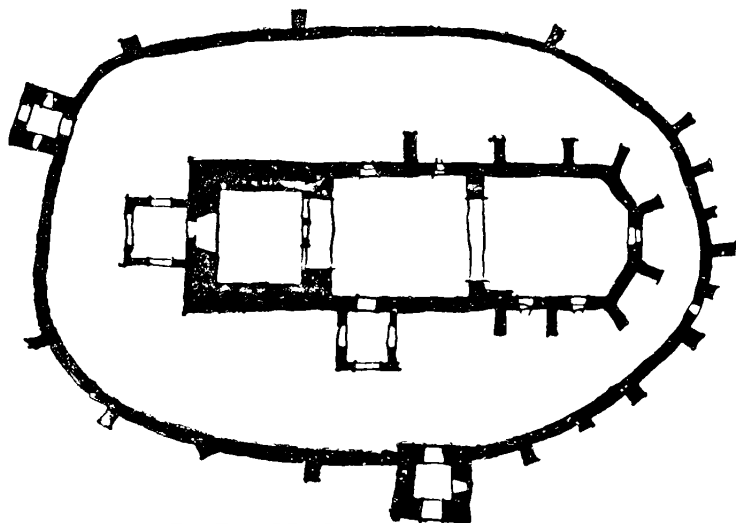
In the 15th century the Renaissance style was introduced to Transylvania but it was unable to prevail over Gothic, which by this time had become general here. The disturbances in later centuries, the deterioration of the country's political and economic situation and diminished security for people and property were to hinder for a long time the evolution of a new artistic style, for which prosperity, security, order and peace were needed.

Transylvania was at the zenith of its social and economic growth when the late Gothic style was flourishing, so it was in this style that its buildings took shape. Our first gener-

ation of builders and architects were brought up on its structural methods and stylistic language, and the general public became accustomed to these forms and proportions. So when in later times for Transylvania the direct routes to the West were closed, when artistic trends from Europe found their way only indirectly and with difficulty into Transylvania, when protecting and conserving what existed was a difficult enough task for the Transylvanians, conservation, cautious extension work and further development could only be carried out in the already well mastered and assimilated, familiar Gothic style. Certain external features of Renaissance architecture were adopted: lines, a window-sill or two, door and window forms, a few ornaments, but the spirit and proportions of architecture remained those of the Gothic of the late Middle Ages.

The age of the Hunyadis was the age of the Renaissance and the Reformation. Old authorities and institutions began to crumble, and a new element in society, the middle class, began their emancipation; the lesser nobility widened their horizons but the great masses of peasants, who had no rights, were awakening and the still ill-prepared, half instinctive, immature stirrings of the proletariat cast their shadow over the future.

In Italy the Renaissance gave rise not only to a national literature but also to humanism, refreshing the declining culture of the Middle Ages with the spirit of the Greek and Roman classics. This new cultural movement soon reached Hungary, but it brought only the worship and slavish imitation of Greco-Roman literature, and denied even the possibility of developing Hungarian literature, which was national in its language and spirit but still undeveloped, stammering, unable to stand on its own feet. A pseudo-classical education and the Latin language became fashionable at the royal and episcopal courts in the reign of Matthias and his immediate successors. This fashion, however, produced some quite out-



PLAN OF THE WALL-ENCIRCLED REFORMED CHURCH
IN VALKÓ (KOLOZS COUNTY)

standing geniuses in Hungary, and also true and eager patrons of art, art-lovers and collectors. King Matthias set a good example and the higher clergy loyally followed suit. They established a number of splendid libraries. They gathered around them famous Italian miniaturists and illuminators, writers and copyists, scholars and scoundrels, kept them supplied with work and financed them (they were all foreigners, of course) to satisfy their vanity, to keep abreast of world fashion and to amuse themselves.

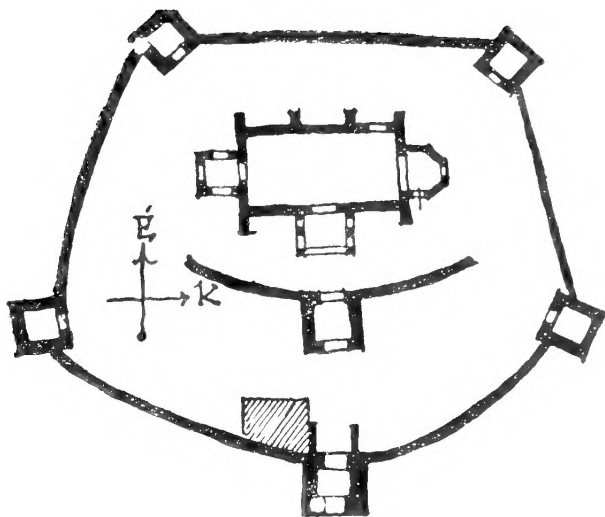
All this, however, was not culture, only an imitation of it, fake gold, glitter without warmth, and had no effect outside the closed circle of the royal and episcopal courts: it did not even reach the secular nobility, let alone the masses. They had no interest in scholarly literature. We know of not a single secular individual who commissioned books, and only one

secular humanist writer, the chronicler János Túróczy. But we do know that the Chief Justice István Báthory and the barons László Guthy Ország and László Rozgonyi could not even write their own names.

Transylvania was not touched by this humanistic-classical veneer; instead, general education grew more widespread, embracing ever-larger sections of the population. This was the result particularly of the spiritual movement of Hussite Protestantism. By this time it was not only the monasteries that were responsible for maintaining schools: towards the end of the 15th century, town schools set up and maintained by the citizens provided basic education, and the initial language of education was the mother tongue. Parish schools in villages also increased in number and literacy became a more and more powerful weapon in the struggle for ideals of freedom. The lower clergy everywhere now came from the common people, and translated most of the sermons they prepared from Latin into Hungarian and German. Numerous copies of certain parts of the Hungarian Hussite Bible (1439) reached Transylvania and the Transylvanian bishop was obliged to have official Hungarian translations made of the baptismal and other church services for the Hungarian priests preaching in Hungarian.

And the first buds of national literature appeared...

At the beginning of the 16th century the seeds of Martin Luther's Protestant teachings were sown and began to grow in the now well-prepared soil of Transylvania, and were almost immediately and unanimously adopted by the Saxon nation, as well as by the county towns that had originally been inhabited by Saxons but were by this time becoming Hungarianized. From the towns these teachings spread to the villages, bringing to the common people Christian hope of spiritual freedom and equality among men and by removing Transylvania's people from the domination of the international Roman Catholic Church, allowed broad and deep foun-



PLAN OF THE SEKLER FORTRESS CHURCH
IN ILYEFALVA (HÁROMSZÉK COUNTY)

dations for the national cultures, reaching out to every section of society, to be established in the growing Protestant Church.

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After the times of the Árpád kings, history makes almost no mention of the cultural and economic life of the fourth nation of Transylvania, the Rumanians. But we can deduce positive facts from negative ones. We know that their numbers grew considerably and that they formed almost the entire population in the southern and northern border counties. There the nobility too came from their ranks, but most of them became assimilated with the Hungarians. They had no towns, so a town-dwelling citizenry did not develop among them. They were just a huge mass of serfs, only slightly

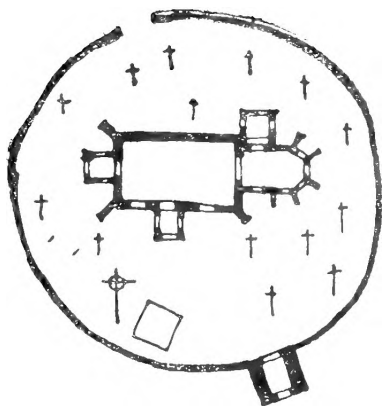
surpassed in culture by the few semi-noble leaders of *kenéz* rank and a very scantily educated clergy abandoned on the western periphery of the declining Eastern Orthodox Church.

This was the age when voivodeships were established in Wallachia and Moldavia on the border with Transylvania, after the Turanian peoples had withdrawn from there. Culturally, however, they could not provide an example for the Transylvanian Rumanians to follow. And before they had done more than begin to organize their state they had become a peripheral province of the Turkish empire, their land a constantly exploited, devastated thoroughfare for the westward-thrusting Turkish armies, a sort of region *beyond the gyepű*.

Only Moldavia, which was a more recent creation, enjoyed a relatively short period of cultural progress under Hungarian rule at the time of King Matthias, when Stephen was its voivode.

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If it is true – and it is – that art and especially architecture expresses most authentically the level of culture of the people in a particular historical period, then with regard to the culture of Transylvania in the 14th and 15th centuries, we can say that with tremendous vigour the people raised the structure of their culture, not simply on old foundations but laying down new, deeper and wider foundations for the future. And we can say that three ethnic groups and three cultures lived side by side within the enclosed area of Transylvania, and not only side by side but intermingled, yet still independent of each other. *The church at Demsus* was a primitive Byzantine style Rumanian church built from Roman ruins on the foundation of what was perhaps an ancient Roman building; *the Saxon church at Szeben* was pure German Gothic, and *Vajdahunyad Castle* an unrivalled



PLAN OF THE HUNGARIAN GREEK-ORTHODOX CHURCH
IN GELECE (HÁROMSZÉK COUNTY)

flower of the aristocratic French Gothic style from the Loire valley replanted in Transylvania. The three buildings were constructed at about the same time and not far from each other but still have nothing in common. Not the least evidence of any influence of Transylvania's three peoples on each other can be seen in them.

Finally it must be mentioned that of the three, only the Saxon culture can be called a *national culture*. Their artists were already Transylvanian Saxons who had become assimilated with the Hungarians. The larger churches and the larger castles and fortresses of the nobility were built by foreigners, French and later mainly Austrian-German builders, but those who built the town-dwellers' houses were of local Saxon origin. The simpler village churches, the manor-houses of the lesser nobility and the simpler buildings of Székelyföld could not, of course, have been constructed by expensive foreign craftsmen or exclusively by Saxons. Among the many buildings that have remained there are some with forms and proportions that lead us to believe that the architects and builders were Hungarian.

PRINCIPATUS TRANSSEYLVANAE

Mohács does not only mean that single stifling hot August day when, as our historians have endlessly repeated, the flower of the Hungarian nation was cut down and the country consequently fell. It represents the only glorious, honourable day snatched from nearly half a century of decay, which could still give some comfort and hope in the limitless desolation. The Hungarians of the period after Mohács had to find and pick up this small gold nugget from the sea of mud; they had to clean, polish and burnish this modest little remnant of the hidden, squandered, wonderful Hungarian fortune so as to have something to start a new life with, if the chance of a fresh start ever came along. This day was the one remaining plank of the wreck of the proud Hungarian galleon which the drowning Hungarian mind could hold on to in the endless ocean of despair.

This and nothing else is the importance of Mohács.

Mohács was the sin of the Hungarian aristocracy, which can never be absolved. But all their wickedness had to be and was forgiven by the Hungarians for the sake of a single act: those who had led a shameful life died in a noble, magnificent manner.

This *glorious death* gave the day of Mohács its moral value and its great importance to Hungary.

After its victory the Sultan's army ruthlessly pillaged and devastated the country as far as Buda and then, without occupying it, withdrew carrying off captives and treasures. In the same year a Diet was convened in Székesfehérvár and

on November 10 the *barons, the lesser nobility and the towns* unanimously elected the voivode of Transylvania, John Zápolyai, King of Hungary.

There were only four Hungarian nobles who could not accept this choice: the palatine, the chancellor, the treasurer, and the governor (the Bán) of Croatia. They alone took no part in the election and coronation in Székesfehérvár but instead fled from Mohács directly to Vienna to King Louis' brother-in-law, Ferdinand, who had a legitimate claim to the throne. Although they controlled no part of the country except the towns of Pozsony and Sopron, in Pozsony, in the presence only of a few trusted followers, without the participation of any of the counties they annulled the unanimous election and on December 16 elected Ferdinand of Austria King of Hungary.

It would not have been difficult to ridicule this farcical election but the lame Bathory knew pious King John and especially his fellow Hungarians well. Two years later, in January 1528, King John, having no army and no country, fled to Poland and his envoy in Istanbul *asked for and received the support of the Turkish Sultan* against Ferdinand.

But if the lame Báthory knew his fellow-countrymen well, so did the Turks. And although they helped King John, as the king of Hungary, to reconquer the country with the exception of the westernmost counties, they acknowledged Ferdinand as King of Hungary in 1533. So the Sultan did not bring about but accepted and approved the partition of Hungary. In the peace treaty of Várad in 1538, Ferdinand and John for their part also confirmed this partition.

Only 15 years later, in 1541, did the Sultan consider the time ripe for picking the fruits of Mohács comfortably and without making any sacrifices. His troops occupied the Danube-Tisza region and Buda Castle without meeting any resistance, thus splitting the country into three parts. The nominal king of Hungary, John Sigismund, who was still a

minor, was given Transylvania as far as the Tisza, and the Banat (Bánság).

The fight went on between the two Hungarian territories with varying fortunes, but the two Hungarian empires were confined by the Turks to ever-shrinking domains. And in this danse macabre of blind hatred and drunken carousal, in which dishonesty was institutionalized and treachery became a legitimate way of earning a living, when no one could or would see, or think, look ahead or lay the foundations of the future, one man, Martinuzzi, the only man in these barbaric times who had a heart, brains, and culture, used his intellect, saw the whole situation clearly and struggled in vain against it, earning only hatred and suspicion in return. In 1552, he was murdered by Ferdinand's foreign mercenaries.

Friar George Martinuzzi died because he tried to stand in the way of destiny. But his life's work laid the basis for the future course of Transylvania, in his belief the only possible haven for Hungarian thought, which now lay prostrate in the mud. After his death Transylvania ceased to vacillate between Turkish and Austrian, Eastern and Western, Protestant and Catholic orientations. It no longer attempted the impossible, but accepted its fate: the Diet of Kolozsvár in 1655 decreed its separation from Hungary and the secularisation of church properties for the treasury of Transylvania.

Transylvania thus justified the orientation which was forced upon King John three years after Mohács, when as the crowned king of Hungary he sought and received Turkish help to defend his crown. This step alienated many of his friends and shook the faith of many of his followers, because although the Pope himself had formed an alliance more than once with the Turks, it was of course considered an unforgivable sin on the part of King John. But time and events later vindicated this hesitant, or rather desperate, step and forced Transylvania, after 43 years of bloody struggle, to choose

independence with a more liberal Moslem Turkish protectorate instead of the rule of the alien, absolutist, bigoted Catholic Hapsburgs.

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While in foreign policy Transylvania vacillated and meandered for a long time in search of its own way, trying continually and stubbornly to turn back to its old course, *its internal reorganization was carried out quickly and without any vacillation*. In the 16th century throughout Europe the main domestic task was to solve the great problem of religious reform. Transylvania began trying to solve this problem by peaceful means during the time of the Catholic regent Isabella, when Cardinal Martinuzzi ruled the country: the Diet of 1548 promulgated and proclaimed *tolerance* towards Protestantism. The first Diet after the death of Friar George in 1552 went further: it prohibited Catholics and Protestants from harassing one another. Five years later the Diet of Torda announced the right of every individual to practise any faith he chose, or according to a contemporary interpretation, anyone could choose between Catholicism and Lutheranism. In 1564 Reformed Presbyterianism was recognized alongside the two accepted religions and finally in 1571 at the last Diet of John Sigismund the aristocratic Orders accepted Unitarianism as well.

The noble Orders of Transylvania, by their wise and liberal enactment of laws allowing freedom of belief in advance of most other countries in Europe, eliminated here, more or less permanently, the devastating wars of religion that went on for almost a century longer in Central Europe.

Living in peace with the Turks, and maintaining a secret, far from sincere, constantly suspicious friendship with the Hapsburgs, Transylvania devoted nearly 50 years of internal and external peace to rebuilding its inner structure, devastated in the civil wars, and its ruined economy.

At the end of the 15th century about five million people lived on the integral national territory of Hungary. This number was reduced by at least 25 per cent by the middle of the 16th century, especially in the southern and central parts of the country, as a result of the peasant revolt, internal wars following Mohács, and the havoc caused by the Turks. The population of Transylvania in the narrow sense at the time of the death of King Matthias may have been around 600,000 and although their number did not decrease, it did not grow either. When the exact borders of Transylvania were established during the reign of John Sigismund, the "Partium" (the counties of Máramaros, Bihar, Középszolnok and Kraszna, together with Szatmár and the land on this side of Erdőd) may have had about 800,000 inhabitants. Their number reached a million or thereabouts by the end of the century, whereas the population of the territories under Turkish occupation decreased considerably and that of the Hungarian royal territories remained stagnant, at best.

George Szerémi, King John's court chaplain, said about the Hungarian nobles of the second quarter of this century: "They have three characteristic foibles: blasphemy, envy, and murder." It was thanks to these nobles that the distribution of land became so disproportionate in Hungary that in the 37 western and central counties 45 per cent of all the land was in the hands of 16 families, and only the remaining 55% was shared among thousands of lesser nobles. There were counties wholly owned by a single family. Apart from these barons, and lesser nobles with only a few serfs, the vast majority of Hungarian society consisted of "single-plot" (or so-called "one-house-plot") nobles. They served as soldiers in the civil wars, as knights of the border fortresses, and swelled the growing ranks of vagrant soldiers, the "hajdús".

The economic crisis that resulted from the disproportionate distribution of land was exacerbated by the devaluation of coined money all over Europe caused by the immense

amount of gold and silver pouring in from America. Again, the lawless situation during the civil war was exploited by the aristocracy, who more or less openly coined counterfeit money, reducing the value of the already devalued currency practically to zero. On top of all this, civil war and Turkish pillage left hundreds of thousands of poor people homeless.

The result of all this was an enormous increase in food prices and a steep decline in wages – a grave economic crisis.

The crisis was general throughout the former territory of Hungary, but its extent differed from region to region. It weakened the strength of the Hungarian element in the royal territories, reducing its flexibility and resistance so much that it threw the Hungarians on the mercy of the Hapsburgs and handed over the military defence of the country entirely to the Austrians. Transylvania was relatively fortunate: in the county areas the distribution of land did not become too disproportionate; in Székelyföld even the weaker attempts of the primors, the Sekler aristocracy, to increase their power brought about a fierce reaction from the Sekler commoners which came to a head at the end of the century and forced the tilting Sekler balance back into equilibrium; not even the possibility of such an imbalance was present in the case of the Saxons.

In this period, apart from the higher aristocracy, who were able to take unscrupulous advantage of the chaos, only the townspeople of the western border territories, Northern Hungary and Transylvania grew in numbers, wealth and autonomous institutions: the system of defence of the towns evolved within the framework and jurisdiction of the guilds.

Of the two Hungarian territories the eastern one, Transylvania, rapidly became the stronger, both numerically and economically.

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After Mohács the teachings of Lutheran Protestantism (their way prepared by Hussitism) irresistibly conquered Transylvania. As early as 1526 Szeben became a Lutheran city and drove out the still pertinacious Catholic priests. King John was a good Catholic, but when the Pope excommunicated him for his friendship with the Turks, he became more tolerant towards Protestants and though he defended the Catholic Church, he did not use force to prevent the spread of the Reformation.

The new faith won the largest number of converts among the lower clergy, who simply refashioned the religious services as they saw fit, in accordance with Protestant teachings; the Hussite tradition made this process much easier. By 1542 John Honterus had completely organized the Saxon national church, with the superintendent at its head. It was possibly because of this national, i. e. German-language organization confined to the Saxon national territories, or maybe because of the fact that the Lutheran church developed in its homeland under the protection of the rulers and the aristocracy and thus retained or introduced aristocratic features, that when Calvinist Protestantism, which had had its flowering in the democratic air of Switzerland, arrived in Transylvania around 1550, the lesser Hungarian nobility went over to it from Lutheranism in great numbers, and as early as 1553 one of their towns, Kolozsvár, had become Calvinist. Ten years later Ferenc David started preaching the even more radical Unitarian religion, which won over the Hungarians in Kolozsvár, Torda, Aranyos and Udvarhelyszék. Finally, in Szentertzsébet in the late 80s András Eösi preached the Jewish-like Sabbatarian religion, which spread among the Hungarians in the region of the Küküllő rivers.

By the middle of the 16th century the Reformation had completed its spiritual conquest: apart from a few aristocratic families and a small part of Székelyföld, the whole of

Transylvania was Protestant. And though after the death of the Unitarian John Sigismund the Catholic Báthory family was to sit on the throne of the principality, the Catholic counter-reformation already stirring in Hungary made a few weak attempts but was never able to achieve any success in Transylvania. *The laws of the country had to be respected, even by the Prince.*

Thus the series of social and economic upheavals caused by the civil war, the Turkish occupation and the religious reform movements had subsided by the middle of the century in Transylvania, and the second half of the century was a period of social and economic consolidation and almost year-by-year development.

The peaceful development of Transylvania, when in these new circumstances it had achieved a well-balanced position as an independent state and found its purpose, was plunged into a grave catastrophe at the end of the century by the fierce power hunger of its ailing Prince, Sigismund Báthory. Fate had forced Turkish orientation and independence on Transylvania: without profound changes in the determining causes and forces, or their complete regrouping, the political orientation of the country could not be altered, because of the risks this would have involved.

But this was exactly what Sigismund Báthory did, and the only excuse for him is that he was a sick man. Disregarding or rather misjudging the internal and external balance of power, he not only shook off the light Turkish yoke but also, as a new ally of the Hapsburgs, rashly attacked the Ottoman Empire – and won. This victory became the cause of his own and Transylvania's downfall. His pro-Hapsburg attitude shocked those looking ahead to the future, the campaign itself was too heavy a burden on the country and the victory was naturally followed by defeat. The irresponsibility of the Prince increased, and after he had resigned and handed his country over to the Hapsburgs, the Sekler nobles took advan-

tage of the ensuing internal confusion to force the rest of the Seklers into permanent serfdom. The despair of this mass of soldiers, illegally deprived of their ancient freedom, was not taken into account during the rapid succession of events by the returning Prince Sigismund, who came to reoccupy his throne, or by the Hapsburg and Transylvanian nobles. Thus when the voivode of Moldavia, Mihaly, invaded the country on behalf of the Emperor Rudolf to expel Sigismund and force Transylvania into obedience, it was these Sekler soldiers who provided the military strength that made him master of all Transylvania after just one victorious battle. Most of his leaders and a third of his troops, the elite, were Seklers and the suppressed and exploited people greeted him as a liberator and accepted and supported his rule until his downfall.

For five years after Mihály's invasion Transylvania was devastated by its bloodiest and most desperate civil war, brought about by the same causes as Mohács in Hungary but made worse by a mad monarch, who was not drowned in the Osele brook.

In 1604 the country lay crushed, plundered, humiliated and disgraced under the heel of General Basta. And if the thoughtless insatiability of a mad Emperor had not coveted the fortune of István Bocskai, an aristocrat loyal to the Emperor (although a Protestant), then the fate of Transylvania might have been sealed for ever. The Transylvanian Bocskai could watch impassively as his country was ruined, but he declared rebellion against the Emperor when his own estate was attacked. The quick success of this rebellion was due to the organization of the despairing, homeless Hungarian "hajdús", and the fact that it served the cause of Hungarian national and religious freedom. It was an amazing stroke of fate that Transylvania, ruined and destroyed by one social revolution, should be saved from complete annihilation by another social revol-

ution and be rebuilt even stronger than before. For Bocskai, elected Prince of Transylvania in 1604, rebuilt and indeed strengthened the foundations of external and internal development sketched out in the time of John Sigismund and István Bathory, by working out a precise democratic political programme. And to safeguard the results of his victory, he solved the Sekler social problem (one of the causes of the civil war in Transylvania) by guaranteeing in law the ancient rights of freedom of the Sekler people; at the same time he gave land for settlement to the destitute hajdús who had helped him to victory in his rebellion, and conferred nobility on ten thousand of them.



István Bocskai left to his successor a country that had grown both in size and in prestige. But the last Báthory, Gábor, seemed to have inherited the defects of Sigismund. It was Gábor Bethlen, entering Transylvania at the head of Turkish troops, who prevented him from plunging the country into catastrophe with his thoughtless and careless way of governing. Gábor Báthory resigned and was killed by his own hajdús, and in 1613 Gábor Bethlen was elected prince.

From his predecessor he took over a country in a difficult situation, once more thrown out of order into chaos. And during his decade and a half of rule Transylvania grew into a rich, cultured country with increased prestige abroad and a wellproportioned class structure which enabled it to remain independent for more than two generations longer, in spite of less talented and even extremely weak successors and a shift in the external balance of power, and so go on fulfilling until the last moment, for as long as was necessary, its most important task, that of consciously safeguarding the ideal of Hungarian unity and preserving the hope of its reconstruction on the entire former Hungarian territory.

A typically Protestant Prince of Transylvania, Gabor

Bethlen, born into the lesser nobility, was the first to show a consciousness of Hungarian unity: he was quite sure about his own and his country's tasks, his own and his country's capabilities, and he used both to the full in the interest of this unity. His economic aims were the following: to produce more and more, sell it at a profit, and immediately invest in new production the money pouring in in exchange for products. He organized this production in such a way that at times the privileges of certain classes of producers were disregarded for the common good. Thus he maximized prices, but to break the Saxons' monopoly of industry he settled Anabaptist Moravian artisans in the neighbourhood of Alvincz, and allowed them to sell their goods at a price higher than the official maximum, arguing that they were of higher quality. Likewise, in order to break the Saxons' dominance of trade, he gave permission to Jewish merchants to settle. The principle of his monetary policy was to allow more and more of the population to earn as much as possible, to enable them to pay the taxes which he continually increased. And indeed the income of the treasury doubled during his reign. Although he conducted three major foreign campaigns he did not burden the people of Transylvania with extra war taxes, nor did he demand special military duties. Still he was the first to maintain a regular West-European style mercenary army, employing mainly German landsknecht infantry and Sekler and Hungarian light cavalry. The expenses of this army were paid partly from the increased taxes, partly from the income of his own private business ventures, and partly from the revenues of rebuilt and intensively worked mines and the lands controlled by the treasury.

He was a good and convinced Protestant. But he was not bigoted and adhered strictly to the law about the free practice of the recognized religions, which was a thing unheard of in Europe at that time. What is more, he tolerated the Sabbatarians, and the Jews and Anabaptists were able to

practise their faiths undisturbed. He gave back six or seven churches to the Catholics, permitted them to introduce the office of vicar general, and although the Jesuits were by law prohibited from entering the country, he nevertheless let a few in. His lack of prejudice is shown by the fact that he had a Catholic and even a Sabbatarian as his chancellor. He did not suppress the adherents of other faiths but supported his own religion with all his strength. He learned from his greatest opponent, Peter Pázmány, that he should use education and culture rather than force to lay a solid foundation for Hungarian Protestantism. One of his laws strictly forbade landlords to prevent young serfs from continuing their education and conferred patents of nobility on all Protestant ministers and their sons and daughters in perpetuity.

He established Transylvania's first criminal code in 1619.

But for Transylvanian culture his most important innovations were those concerning education, the effect of which was reflected in the democratization of general education, and can be seen to the present day.

The most brilliant of all his activities was his diplomacy, unsurpassed by either his predecessors or his successors. Only Martinuzzi came near to him in originality and in his characteristically Transylvanian cast of mind. The diplomatic activity of both was incomprehensible, apparently illogical, to their contemporaries, but surprisingly successful. He handled the Turks so well that although he paid them hardly any tax still it was he who directed the Turks' policies towards the West rather than the Turks his. Enjoying the complete trust of the Turkish Sultan, he was more or less in command, so to speak, of the Pashas of Hungary and he made thorough and successful use of this power.

His successors were very far behind him in talent, knowledge and resourcefulness. But they capably managed the authority he had gained for them until the campaign of George Rákóczy II for the Polish throne – a deceptive dream

– ruined nearly all that Bethlen had built. In the civil wars that followed this campaign, Transylvania, territorially dismembered and in economic and moral decline, lived the pseudo-life of a cripple until after the recapture of Buda Castle and the expulsion of the Turks from Hungary. Then, with the weakening of the power of the Turks and the growth of that of the Hapsburgs, Transylvania was forced to change its hitherto necessary foreign policy orientation and with its acceptance of the Diploma of Leopold became a Grand Duchy of Austria.

It had no other choice. And Hungary, having regained its territories occupied for 160 years by the Turks, had no further need of Transylvania. It could now reassume its guardianship of the Hungarian national ideal...

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At the time of the battle of Mohács there were a great many well-educated people in Hungary and education spread even faster and went deeper under the influence of Protestantism. And the more popular it became among the common people, the more rapidly it shed its old Latin garments in favour of national ones. The state still clung to Latin as the official language, but the language of secular life and of literature became Hungarian exclusively.

Towards the middle of the century the unity of the country, split into three, was replaced by the unity of the national language. In the national kingdom of the eastern territories and later in Transylvania, Hungarian soon became the official language of the state. The spread of Hungarian was so natural even the voivode Mihály considered it self-evident that Hungarian should be the language of the principality's reports, assemblies and correspondence.

The elementary schools and the printing of books proved to be the two most powerful weapons of the Reformation. Together, moreover, they meant the dissemination of culture

in the national language, and this resulted in the democratization of culture.

We know of only two printed documents from Hess's printing press, set up in Buda during the time of King Matthias (the so-called *Buda Chronicle* appeared in 1473). The printing press went bankrupt and for over half a century no new one appeared in Hungary. After the country was split John Honterus founded a college, a printing press and a paper mill in Braşov in 1535 in connection with the organization of the Saxon Lutheran Church and in 1550 Gáspár Heltai set up a printing press in Kolozsvár.

These printing workshops, which principally served the new religion, produced not only catechisms, Bible extracts and other religious publications but secular work as well. For instance, in 1555 Tinódi's *Krónika* (Chronicle), written in verse and with musical notation, was printed in Gáspár Heltai's workshop. In 1567 another printing press was set up in Gyulafehérvár, and in 1569 in Abrudbánya one of the most typical Hungarian books of the time, the play entitled *A Comedy about the Treachery of Menyhárt Balassi*, was printed, probably by an itinerant workshop.

The culture of the second half of the 16th century was characterized by the true, deep-rooted religious feeling of the now completely Protestant Hungarians and Saxons. Most of their literary products were therefore naturally religious in content. But in addition to prose and verse on religious subjects, scientific and purely secular literature began to blossom. The few Sekler ballads that have survived to this day prove how deeply the national literary culture was rooted at that time in the lives of the common people: it is clear from their subjects that these poems must have originated in the 16th century.

The literature of the 17th century represents a continuation and a deepening, rather than a broadening, of that of the previous century. This is the time of Gabor Bethlen's

great and unrivalled cultural work, which was characterized by his foundation of schools. After a long interval, in the second half of the century we hear of the Rumanian people who, having missed the Reformation, started to lay the foundations of their national Orthodox religious culture at this time. In 1667 Prince Apaffy set up a school and a printing house in the Greek Orthodox monastery in Fehérvár for the Rumanians. We know of Rumanian religious publications which were printed in 1683 in Szászsebes. But we do not hear of any *national* literature among the Rumanians in the period of the Principality.



Protestantism and the democratic nature of the Principality did not favour the development of the arts in the traditional sense of the word. The puritanism of the Church, its lack of secular power, wealth and artistic tradition, as well as the simplicity, or rather shabbiness of the Princes' court and the absence of a court aristocracy and court life in the Western sense were factors that did not contribute to the development of art or the formation of style, and neither produced nor encouraged patrons and supporters of the arts. But the democratization of education, the improvement in the general prosperity of the people, the increasing wealth of the town-dwelling middle classes, the widening of their intellectual horizons just at this time, and finally the flowering and rapid spread of a national literature resulted in the democratization of the arts. In the enclosed Saxon regions of Királyföld, the production and consumption of art objects was a natural, collective duty and necessity for the townspeople, which ensured the well-balanced development of Saxon art within the framework of their middle-class life. As a result of the Hungarianization of the open county towns, Hungarian art blossomed amazingly in them, precisely because they were more open than the Saxon towns, and

because of their larger population and their higher level of development just at this time. In the villages the education policy of Protestantism deepened and widened the general human and national basis of popular culture and at the same time the democratic nature of the new faith blurred and demolished the sharp boundaries between classes in the provincial population, and this by increasing the prosperity of the villages also raised their level of culture. The Hungarian citizens of the county towns and the towns in Székelyföld, recruited from the ranks of those who cultivated the land, that is, the peasantry and the lesser nobility, brought the village closer to the town and made the link between them more permanent. As a result of the convergence and interaction of these factors, in the counties *there was a flowering of folk art* under the influence of the towns and the landowning aristocracy. The basis of this folk art could only have been the medieval style, modified by the Transylvanian Saxons of the late 15th and early 16th centuries, which in the hands of the three nations gave rise to their *ethnic folk art*. The different national characteristics of their folk art were emphasized not only by ethnic but by religious differences: the Hungarians were mainly Calvinists, the Saxons exclusively Lutherans, and the Rumanians Greek-Orthodox. On the other hand, their unity of style was strengthened by the fact that the three ethnic groups lived in one state, within *the same* economic area, with a *common* destiny and in a situation of *interdependence*; a further important factor was that each nation's folk art was subjected to the constant fertilizing effect of the oriental, Asian influences, techniques, lines, colours and also ideas of the era of the Turkish protectorate.

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So Transylvania's development in the field of culture was entirely unique and independent and totally different from the path the kingdom of Hungary followed after the political partition of the country. The two Hungarian states became further and further separated, physically as well as mentally, as the area occupied by the Turks widened and lengthened. Its Turkish orientation forced Transylvania to be politically and economically independent, accommodating flexibly to the neighbouring regions and to the openness of the East, whereas the kingdom of Hungary not only politically but economically and culturally became more and more a dependency of Austria, attached to it by ever stronger and more numerous ties.

The intellectual current of Protestantism affected the two regions in different ways. Transdanubia and the north-western parts of Hungary near the Austrian border did not completely accept the Reformation under the influence of the Catholic monarch and the nearness of Catholic Vienna, and by the end of the 16th century the counter-reformation encouraged by the Hapsburgs and in full spate in the 17th century had largely recatholicized this region of Hungary. In the meantime, Transylvania and the areas of Hungary belonging to its political sphere, in the north-east and by the River Tisza, as well as the Hungarian population of the Turkish-occupied territories (with the exception of very small areas), were all Protestant by the middle of the 16th century. Henceforward Protestant Transylvania naturally turned to sources other than Catholic Hungary to fulfil its higher spiritual needs. In the early 16th century the universities of *Vienna* and *Prague* were still the fashionable ones attended by Transylvanian students apart from *Padua* and *Bologna*. However after the middle of the century the Lutheran University of *Wittenberg*, and among the Hungarians, but not the Saxons, the Calvinist universities in *Holland* and even in *England*, also became popular. The national education system

was, of course, Protestant in spirit but developed in the 17th century into a distinct Transylvanian type modelled on the Protestant school systems of the West.



The three autonomous political nations of Transylvania and the not political but ethnic Rumanian nation lived their own lives, building their own social and cultural institutions side by side, not mingling with each other, but not really bothering each other; rarely crossing each other's path, yet in touch with each other, learning from each other, influencing each other.

During this time the Saxon towns and larger villages, with increased material prosperity, came to be as we know them today, retaining their medieval spirit. The majority of the town houses that still survive were built in the 17th century; the public buildings, fortresses and wall-encircled village churches were then given their present form, built upon existing medieval remains, which were sometimes extended, sometimes thoroughly restored. And in most cases this is the form they have survived in to this day, German in style and concept.

The county towns became Hungarian towns during this period and the Sekler towns also developed the appearance of proper towns. In Gyulafehérvár every Prince had work done and buildings erected, but it was Gábor Bethlen who made the fortress town into a splendid residence for the Prince – by Transylvanian standards, of course – on the basis of his new town planning concept. He even had a water supply system constructed.

The Princes and the aristocrats in the 16th century still had their castles and tombs built in the Italian Renaissance style, and imitated Italian models in the interior decoration of their homes and the cultural aspects of their lives. To carry out their artistic commissions they employed Italian

artists and craftsmen. But most of the buildings, furniture and art objects produced in the second half of the century show that the Renaissance forms were not the work of Italian craftsmen but were probably made at least partly by Transylvanian craftsmen. In the early 17th century Gábor Bethlen employed foreign, Italian craftsmen to build his Gyulafehérvár residence but his successor, practical old György Rákóczi, had the residence rebuilt in "domestic style", because the Italian structures could not stand up to the harsh Transylvanian climate. There was hardly any other royal or aristocratic construction work that we can call extensive in the Western sense. In the first half of the 16th century we hear of building work carried out by Cardinal Martinuzzi in Alvincz, Borberek and Szamosújvár, and at the end of the century by Sigismund Báthory in Torda; in the 17th century Gábor Bethlen was the only person to order building work and commission art objects on a significant scale. The building activity of the aristocrats and Princes was limited to repairs and extensions to the fortifications of their fortresses. Once again the exception was Gábor Bethlen, who not only reconstructed but greatly extended Vajdahunyad Castle. And from the accurate contemporary inventory of this baronial castle we learn just how simply, even poorly, Gábor Bethlen, the most Transylvanian of all our Princes, who knew best of all how to live like a lord, lived in this vast building: only two of its innumerable chambers were used by the Prince and his family as living and sleeping quarters. The provincial manors of the aristocracy were fortress-like, defensible, uncomfortable, rather bleak buildings, without any luxury or Western pomp. We can tell from the stone manor houses of the well-to-do landowning Sekler and Hungarian nobility which have remained intact to this day that they were very modest buildings, compact in design, simple in the extreme, with narrow windows and doors, medieval in concept and structure, and decorated only with the slightest touches remi-

niscent of the Renaissance. However, most of the manor houses of the less wealthy minor nobility were built of wood, like those of the serfs. And while the Western style was reflected more or less intact in the residences of the Prince and the high aristocracy and their interior furnishings, in the rural buildings erected by the lesser nobility these foreign elements became wholly domesticated. Naturally, these rural manor houses were built and furnished by Transylvanian craftsmen; their structure is medieval; certain forms are reminiscent of the early Renaissance, but the layout of their ground plan and their structural proportions differ in a characteristic, individual way from the buildings and interior furnishings used for similar purposes by the different peoples in all the neighbouring countries.

In the case of our ecclesiastical buildings we can draw similar but even more obvious conclusions than in the case of secular architecture. The era of the Reformation in Transylvania did not see the building of one major church. The newly Protestant population simply took over the Catholic churches, removed the paintings and statues, and whitewashed the frescoes. Any church maintenance, extension or reconstruction work that was needed in the course of time they had done by master craftsmen from the towns of Transylvania, or even by rural workmen, as they saw fit. It was during the century and a half of the Principality that most of our Hungarian and Sekler village churches acquired their present form, with the construction of extensions, new additions, towers, roofs, protective encircling walls, bastion-like entrances, churchyard porches, belfries and interior organ lofts, cathedrals and crowning structures, all built in accordance with Transylvanian taste, knowledge, and ways of thinking. These transformed and renewed churches are interesting, typical creations in the simplified Transylvanian Gothic style blended with the folk taste of our people, and developed in the 17th century throughout the Hungarian

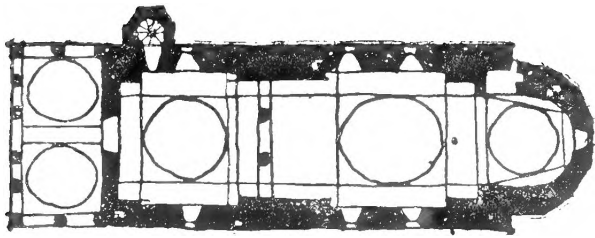
area of Transylvania to become a type, a standard, almost a style, the structural forms, proportions and peculiarly Transylvanian medieval appearance of which were also adopted by the Greek-Orthodox Rumanians of Transylvania, especially in the regions jointly occupied by Hungarians and Rumanians if the churches were built by the people themselves or by a Hungarian landlord.

The church architecture and church art of the Transylvanian Rumanians flourished during this period. Particularly the voivodes of Wallachia and some of the boyars were relatively generous patrons towards our Rumanian people, and several handsome stone churches bear witness to this. For example, in the 16th century the voivode Basarab built the church of Saint Michael in Braşov. At the end of the 17th century C. Brancoveanu built the churches of Fogaras and Felsőszombatfalva. Transylvanian Rumanian nobles built several churches in Hunyad county in the 17th century and Rumanian merchants built the church at Vajdahunyad early in the same century.

The voivodes of Wallachia had the Transylvanian churches built by Greek architects and craftsmen, naturally in the Byzantine style. However, churches built by local craftsmen were a compromise between the Byzantine and the Western (Gothic) style. As for the wooden village churches built by the people, they took even greater liberties, incorporating the church layout prescribed by the Orthodox Church in their pure Gothic plans and structures.

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Protestantism did not favour development in other spheres of fine art either. As far as sculpture is concerned, the truly artistic Renaissance tomb of Zsigmond János in Gyulafehérvár has come down to us. This is the work of an Italian. The Saxon churches have preserved some quite artistic tombs and reliefs by native Saxon masters. Except for a few rather



PLAN OF THE RUMANIAN CHURCH IN FOGARAS

primitive portraits, painting was practically non-existent. The decorative and applied arts flourished, however, and here we begin to come across the names of more and more Transylvanian artists. First of all came the working of precious metals, relief modelling with bubble motifs, then hammered and embossed Renaissance tableware, chiefly drinking goblets, decorated with fine reliefs depicting plants and figures and revealing very great talent and skill; these, together with inset and cloisonné enamelled jewellery were the products of the now very fashionable guild of goldsmiths and silversmiths. The main cause of the rise of silver-smithery and the goldsmiths' craft was the uncertainty of the times, together with the prevailing general opinion that gold, silver and jewellery were the safest forms of wealth, because they could most easily be transported and hidden away.

Graphic art developed together with printing. János Honterus, founder of the first Transylvanian printing press, was himself an engraver. In the 16th century Hungarian and Saxon graphic artists and illustrators were already decorating books. Even by European standards, the unknown artist from Kolozsvár who designed the frontispieces and decorations of the books produced by the Heltai printing press was of considerable talent. Bocskai, the world-famous, highly

original letter designer and illustrator who lived and worked in Vienna, was also of Transylvanian origin.

The outstanding printer of the 17th century was Miklós Tótfalusy Kis, whose printed graphic work rivalled that of the best Dutch printers; his letter moulds and book decorations were even exported abroad. The Transylvanian Rumanians also had printing presses in the 17th century and one of the religious books from the press at Szászsebes is decorated with fine woodcuts.

Fresco and decorative painting was, of course, entirely excluded from the Protestant churches, together with sculpture. In the mid-17th century, however, Rumanian religious art began to flourish in the form of wall-painting and icon-painting. The church at Vajdahunyad was painted in 1654 by Konstantin, Caian, and Stan (this last is a Transylvanian name). The paintings in the church at Prislop are of an even earlier date. In 1681 in *Nagyiklód* (Szolnokdoboka country) *Father Lukács* painted the famous *miracle-working picture of Our Lady of Nikula*, and one of the finest examples of Rumanian icon-painting is the commemorative portrait of *Bishop Anastasius* done in Vád (Fogaras county) in 1531, painted on wood and decorated with gilding, wrought silver-work and cloisonné enamel. These decorative paintings and graphics were done strictly in the Byzantine style, some of the artists still being from Moldavia and Wallachia but as early as the 17th century the domestic Transylvanian Rumanian-Byzantine school of religious painting appeared, which was to reach its zenith in the 18th century.

By this time the three ethnic communities of Transylvania (Sekler-Hungarian, Saxon and Rumanian) had living, individual cultures, totally distinct from one another. The Saxons had a very old, highly developed German-Saxon national culture. And that of the Hungarians and Seklers under the influence of Protestantism and the national institution of the Principality was just forming into a national culture dif-

ferent for many reasons from that of the Hungarian monarchy (especially in the fine arts). The national culture of the Rumanian people was now beginning to develop with the help of the neighbouring voivodes and also thanks to the support of Transylvania's Rumanian nobility, the rising Rumanian merchant class and the ordinary Rumanian people, who began to prosper both materially and spiritually under the liberal rule of the Principality.

But these cultures of diverse origin, planted in the souls of a variety of peoples and differing sharply from one another in many respects, were all consolidated and given a common stamp by centuries of living side by side, of contact, of sharing a common fate, common joys, common troubles and common spiritual experiences, and these common traits were most noticeable in the age of the Principality, an age which saw a particularly noticeable democratic broadening of intellectual life and a deepening of it among the common people. This internal consolidation process was further strengthened at this time by a uniform trend affecting all three Transylvanian cultures equally: from the neighbouring Turkish Empire it spread the Asian lifestyle, way of thinking, world view, philosophy and art to Transylvania, thus enriching the strengthening unity of the special Transylvanian characteristics shared by the three nations and three cultures living here.

THE GUBERNIUM

By way of introduction we must note a few dates.

In 1683, the Turkish army was defeated near Vienna and after the failure of this last great effort the rapid contraction of the declining Turkish Empire was inevitable.

In 1685 the all-powerful and far-seeing minister of Transylvania turned not towards the East but to the West, and on the basis of a secret agreement with the Emperor Leopold prepared for Transylvania's secession from the Turkish Empire.

In 1686 Charles of Lorraine recaptured Buda Castle from the Turks; at the same time formal talks went on between Transylvania and Vienna about the proposal that Transylvania should keep its autonomy in exchange for accepting Hapsburg rule.

In 1687 Janos Sarosi paid Transylvania's last taxes to the Turks in the camp at Zimony. In the same year the Austrian troops of Charles of Lorraine occupied Transylvania.

In 1689 Prince Mihály Apafi died.

In 1691 the Orders of Transylvania, accepting the final text of the Patent of Leopold, took their oath of allegiance to the Emperor Leopold. György Bánffy became the country's first governor.

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According to the Patent of Leopold Transylvania, though under the rule of the Emperor, retained its entire internal administration intact and under the terms of its constitution

dating back to the time of the Principality its government remained totally independent from Austria.

But in practice this Patent of Leopold remained merely a paper constitution, and within a short time the whole structure, mentality and life of Transylvania underwent rapid and fundamental change. The tendencies towards change already established under Prince Apafi immediately took effect: the greater landowning nobility turned into an Austrian type of aristocracy, whose ambition was to be recognized as equal in rank with the aristocracy of the court in Vienna and to acquire the outward appurtenances of this rank by amassing wealth.

Mihály Teleky was the first to be honoured by the Emperor with the title of Count, as a reward for the powerful minister's successful diplomatic activities. In 1696 the Catholic Mihály Mikes, treasurer István Apor, and Mihály Száva received the title of Baron. Chancellor Miklós Bethlen obtained for himself the title of Count together with property, and also arranged for four other Bethlens as well as Mihály Mikes and Governor György Banffy to receive the title of Count. So our aristocracy soon came into being and this aristocracy did all it could to accumulate wealth to match its titles. With the transition from small, poor Transylvania to vast, glittering Vienna, needs suddenly increased and had to be satisfied, whatever the cost.

This cost was none other than the reduction of the level of autonomy granted in the Patent of Leopold in favour of the centralized government of the Austrian Empire. The new aristocrats' consuming interest in polishing their noble coats of arms and rapidly accumulating wealth appropriate to their status as counts and barons dictated the new attitude of society's leading class – a political, social, economic, and cultural attitude diametrically opposed to its former one, insensitive to the collective spirit of Transylvania and wholly repudiating the democracy of the period of the Principality.

The result of this passivity or even destructiveness from the point of view of the community was a reduction in the power and prestige of the constitutional legislative body of Transylvania, its parliament based on the representation of the three nations, and the incorporation of Transylvania, from the point of view of military and financial administration, under the absolute authority of the Transylvanian governorship based in Vienna, the imperial finance ministry and the imperial military council. The shadow government of the Transylvanian Gubernium (the Governor-General's council) degenerated into an executive organ of the Vienna governorship, and the collectivity of Transylvania based on the union of the three nations was reduced more and more to trivial activity confined within the boundaries of the three autonomous national territories.

The Magyars and the Seklers were weary from the struggles of the past two hundred years which they had undertaken in order to keep alive the Hungarian national spirit, which had succumbed in Hungary. And now that Hungary was free of the Turks it was once again an integral whole; the liberated, unpopulated, in fact largely ownerless, virgin lands offered glorious possibilities of production to the Hungarians beyond the Királyhágó. Transylvania no longer had to protect its own poor life with arms, cunning, money and wisdom, with nerves taut and mind ever alert, caught between two opposing powers always ready to jump at each other's throats. Transylvania no longer had problems of survival, so it could hang up its physical and mental weapons, rest – and vegetate.

And so the Magyars and Seklers rested and vegetated, at most expressing their discontent by grumbling, complaining and swearing within the confines of their counties and administrative districts.

The Saxons came under German rule. And although this gave them great satisfaction, it soon gave them cause to com-

plain, which they had no legal right to do. So they did not complain.

While the aristocracy grew richer individually, at the end of the 17th century the country as a whole became poorer and poorer. The town-dwellers, the lesser nobility and the serfs were all poor. The towns fell into debt. The government of the individual nations and the morals of society deteriorated. The Saxons were no exception and the Schuller-Harteneck scandal was only one typical example of this demoralization.

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As a result of internal weakness and the effect of external destructive forces, the forces that had held together and built Transylvania irresistibly slackened and ebbed away.

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One of the first cultural measures of the Hapsburg government was the restoration of Catholicism and the organization of the counter-reformation. Naturally, this was not carried out in the spirit that prevailed during or before the Thirty Years' War, but in a much gentler way. The Catholic bishopric of Gyulafehérvár was reestablished and the Jesuits, who had been expelled, returned with ceremony to the town of Kolozsvár. But Vienna probably intended to strengthen and increase the counter-reformation's weapons when it persuaded some of the Greek-Orthodox clergy who were willing to do so to announce that the Greek-Orthodox Church was submitting itself to Rome, and this was followed by the organization of the Greek-Catholic Church, the foundation of the episcopacy and its endowment with property. Naturally, the property of the Transylvanian Principality's treasury thus served as a basis for the wealth of both the Roman Catholic and the Greek-Catholic episcopacies.

This developing new order was temporarily disturbed by

the incursion into Transylvania of the Kuruts army of Ferenc Rákóczi, which was immediately joined by the common Rumanian and Hungarian people and the lesser nobility; the majority of the Saxons and the higher Hungarian aristocracy, however, took refuge from the invasion in the fortresses of Szeben and Braşov. The 1704 Diet in Gyulafehérvár made Ferenc Rákóczi Prince of Transylvania, but he had only nominal power. No strength remained, no force of will, only memories. And exhaustion, the apathy of despair. In 1708, the Kuruts era also came to an end in Transylvania. It went out like the flame of a burnt-out candle. It is worth noting that the last of his captains to remain loyal to Ferenc Rákóczi were the Rumanian Balika and Gligor Pintye.

After this short interlude the process of recatholicization begun in the reign of the Emperor Charles III resumed and in spite of its basic errors brought enlightenment, progress and the rebirth of European spirituality. Peace was total and nothing disturbed it; there was order in Transylvania, the precise Austrian administration operating like clock-work. The neglected mines were working again, bringing in revenue; the postal service was regular, and salt was a state monopoly.

The administration saw to it that the existing situation was given legal status: it disarmed the Transylvanian population, who had always borne arms. The fortresses had to be pulled down or converted into unfortified castles. The fortified towns were turned into open towns.

Transylvania disarmed without protest or resistance, even willingly; there was no longer any need to defend property individually, and as for revolution, no one wanted to hear of it any more. If anyone had wanted it, he could not have done anything, because the Hapsburgs had no natural opponents in Transylvania. Security of life and property and the oiled machinery of administration soon made their impact felt: the people of Transylvania once again enjoyed economic stability.

Prosperity grew in all the social classes and soon made the new generation forget the old days. Material well-being and peace and the example set by the aristocracy encouraged the desire for a new luxury, the acquisition of patents of nobility. This was quite a cheap luxury, because in Transylvania such patents cost no more than 50 forints. And this fee was required only from Hungarians, Greeks and Armenians because almost all the Greek-Catholic clergy had been raised to the nobility by the royal court and many Saxons had received patents of nobility free of charge.

As the ancient spirit of self-government virtually died out in the three historical nations, as the national sense of identity weakened and the shared Transylvanian consciousness was lost, a new cultural and political force appeared in Transylvania with the emergence of the national identity of the Rumanian people – a mighty force which soon became a decisive factor in Transylvania's destiny precisely because in its time no one wanted to or could properly assess the real potential of this force.

The indirect, underlying cause of the awakening of the national identity of the Rumanian people was the split in the Church, which had taken place for an entirely different reason and in which those in power supported the Rumanian-Unitarian and not the Greek-Orthodox church. Naturally this brought about a reaction from the latter, combining with the social unrest among the Rumanian serfs from the alpine estates owned by the treasury in the Érchegység (the Ore Mountains) who were protesting against the steadily increasing burdens illegally imposed on them by the treasury. Always the most revolutionary element among the Rumanians of Transylvania, the "Móts" people began to agitate as early as 1721. In 1727 in Abrudbánya the people of the alpine region staged an armed uprising and this uprising was still going on in 1730: now the aim of the revolt, apart from the solution of social problems, was the recognition of

human and religious rights. When two years later the Unitarian Church was given an episcopacy and a bishop, the demands of the Greek-Orthodox people increased: they too claimed the right to have their bishop recognized. The Greek-Catholic Church, with the support of Vienna, began an aggressive campaign of conversion, occupying churches and expelling priests; this produced a Greek-Orthodox counter-reaction which was supported with arms so successfully by the people of the alpine region that the new Unitarian Church began to lose its churches and followers. In response, the administration recognized the Greek-Orthodox bishop and the Greek-Orthodox Church was acknowledged in 1763, although not granted equal rights.

These social and religious movements were accompanied by the military organization of the frontier areas of Transylvania, which affected the Seklers and the Rumanians of Naszód and the Fogaras-Szeben region. The organization of the Sekler frontier areas in Csík-Gyergyó and Háromszék was only achieved after the harsh and bloody suppression of the Seklers. The Rumanians of Naszód accepted this military organization only after their resistance had been crushed with armed force. But when they did, the Rumanian population along the frontiers gained equal rights with the Sekler frontier population. *This was the first breach of the national and territorial privileges of the three historical nations of Transylvania.*

The national consciousness of the Transylvanian Rumanians and their national aspirations (to be recognized as equal to the other three nations) were strengthened by the Emperor Joseph's democratic decree – unfortunately, premature and illegal in Transylvania and in fact throughout Europe – in which he abolished the Saxons' exclusive privilege to acquire property in Királyföld and declared that on Saxon soil the Saxon and Rumanian people had equal rights.

Three years later military recruitment was ordered in

Transylvania. When this was unsuccessful, failing to muster the military contingent required of Transylvania, the military council decided to organize the Móts population of the *Érchegység* militarily on the pattern of the Sekler and Rumanian frontier guards. The county landowning nobility vehemently protested against the implementation of this decree, because the military organization of the Móts people deprived them of the most vital component of their wealth, their unpaid labour force. So when the Móts people signed up en masse for the army in Gyulafehérvár in spite of the protests of their landlords, the Gubernium, which up till then had shown itself relatively indifferent to all infringements of constitutional rights, declared the recruitment of the Móts people illegal and ordered the serfs back to their landlords. The people did not obey this order, but the counties of the nobility used armed force to drive the peasants back to their serf labour.

...Everything happened exactly as it had some 20 years earlier when Archbishop Bakács recruited Crusaders...

The disillusioned people of the alpine region found a leader in *Urs Nicolae* (popularly know as *Hóra*), who had even gone twice to Vienna to try to resolve his people's financial disputes with the treasury and had brought back from the Emperor – promises. This time *Hóra* did not go to Vienna but organized an armed revolt and announced its precise aim, which was none other than the natural, eternal demand of the enslaved common man to be acknowledged as equal, but also proof of the now awakened national identity of the Rumanians of Transylvania. Their demands were as follows:

- 1 Hunyad county should be the territory of the Rumanian nation.
- 2 The nobility should be abolished.
- 3 Everyone should pay taxes.
- 4 The property of the nobility should be divided amongst the people.

(It must be borne in mind that this all happened before the outbreak of the French Revolution and the precise formulation of its aims.)

Hóra's revolutionaries destroyed and burned the properties of the nobles, and pursued and killed them from Csucs to Déva and from Arad to Enyed. But when the people tried to occupy Déva, they were defeated and retreated into the alpine region. Then – and only then – did the Emperor's army make a serious attempt to extinguish the rebellion. A price was put on the heads of the leaders of the revolt by the army commanders, and Hóra was betrayed by kinsmen from his own village of *Albák*. He and another leader, Kloska, were broken on the wheel in the castle of Gyulafehérvár; in addition to the advertised reward, the traitors were granted membership of the Hungarian nobility.

Thus ended the Móts people's revolt. But from their bloody and cruel struggle the Rumanian national identity was born and the Rumanians' ethnic and national aspirations were formed.



The last decade of the 18th century was the age of the French Revolution, the age of an awakening to human consciousness in the souls of all the peoples of Europe, the age when struggles for civil freedom and equality blossomed.

In Transylvania, however, this decade was the age of the natural reaction following Hóra's peasant revolt, the retreat of the aristocracy behind the privileges of their class, and their recovery of their strength. The idea of union with Hungary first came up at the Diet of 1791 as a new ideal, but the proposal declared union acceptable only on condition that Transylvania retained its full autonomy if it united with Hungary from under Vienna's control. While the privileged nations and the royal towns were cautiously conservative, the two Rumanian churches made peace with each other on a

national basis. Their two bishops made the following proposal to the Diet in Kolozsvár:

- 1 The Rumanians should be given civil rights equal to those of the other three nations of Transylvania.
- 2 The two Rumanian religions should have equal rights with the four recognized religions.
- 3 Rumanians should share public office in proportion to their number.

...The response of the Orders to the Rumanian bishops' proposal was evasive...

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In the 19th century the independent political life of Transylvania was moribund. The only problem that concerned the Diet was whether or not to unite with Hungary, and if so, in what form. But this question of union was only an echo of the much more serious demand for union at the Hungarian Diet in Pozsony (Bratislava). At the Transylvanian Diet a liberal opposition was formed, headed by Wesselényi, against the conservatives who supported the Gubernium and as happened in the Hungarian Diets, the liberal opposition slowly but steadily gained ground.

The 1842 Diet in Kolozsvár made the following proposal to the government:

- 1 The Greek-Orthodox faith should become a recognized religion.
- 2 Non-nobles should be recognized as competent to hold public office.
- 3 Not only serfs but landowners also should take a share in communal work.
- 4 Upper limits should be set for villein socage.
- 5 Villeins' smaller debts should be redeemed.

The government did not permit any discussion of this proposal.

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The struggle for civil rights and human equality went on only within the Diet of the Orders of the three recognized nations and there too the rather moderate liberal nobility fought against the officially rigid and conservative government and its supporters without any tangible results. In the world outside, these principles, it seemed, were represented radically and with increasing force only by the Rumanians, who had no privileges at all.

The Rumanian national leadership with its headquarters in *Balázsfalva* organized the Rumanians for the struggle for national equality with perseverance, consistency and nationalistic fanaticism, for which Professor *Barnuțiu* was removed from office by the Gubernium. *Katalin Varga* – a mysterious figure even today – agitated among the Móts people for the abolition of serfdom: for doing so the county authorities had her arrested and imprisoned. When in 1847 *András Saguna* became the Rumanian Greek-Orthodox bishop, the Rumanians found their true spiritual leader just at the right time.

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The 150-year period of the Gubernium in Transylvania was characterized by the direct influx from Austria of Viennese baroque in all its aspects, in place of Oriental influences that had failed to materialize. This period has usually been called by our historians an era of political, economic and cultural stagnation, but this is not the whole truth. This was a great period of transition and transformation for Transylvania, without romantic external effects, but a time of radical social, economic and spiritual reconstruction. This century and a half saw the process whereby this diminutive country – always conducting wars and diplomatic negotiations, always restless, constantly forced by necessity to change its standpoint and its colours, forever ready to defend its existence in the most varied ways – gradually became bourgeois; it was the period when all its peoples and social

classes settled down to lasting, secure peace, a comfortable untroubled, unthinking existence, tranquil acquisition work and rest.

Naturally all those cultural forces which had been alive in the spirits of the Transylvanians during the Principality did not all die out at once, but continued to function. They partly weakened, however, and partly changed. With the end of the country's independence, the individual national communities no longer felt so keenly the need for interdependence, and thus the strongest pillar of social and cultural consolidation weakened still further. Parallel with the weakening of this convergent force, however, the development of the national consciousness into a mass feeling strengthened the divergent efforts in all three nations, ripened these into a conscious will, and awakened and indeed inflamed chauvinistic jealousy among the nations.

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Towards the middle of the 18th century Transylvania had recovered from the devastating economic crisis and destruction it had suffered in the last, declining years of the Principality and the Kuruts period. Although it was subject to Austria's far from unselfish colonial economic policy (which meant that Transylvania could not independently turn any economic upswing to its advantage), nevertheless without trouble or risk it was able to benefit from secure mediocrity and calm stability. Its industry and commerce could not grow to maturity, could not pioneer new paths, could not properly develop. It was able to make its agriculture only slightly more intensive.

Transylvania had only a brief opportunity for larger-scale and more rapid economic development when, at the beginning of the 19th century, owing to a continental blockade by Napoleon goods from Asia were able to reach the West only via the Black Sea or Transylvania. But the devaluation of

1811 and the fall of Napoleon not only put an end to this boom but at the same time totally destroyed the economy, which had been stagnating anyway. Yet at the dawn of the 19th century the towns in Transylvania, the centres of civilized life and culture, made considerable progress and the citizenry took over their administration from the aristocracy and the nobles. Roads began to be paved in our towns, and pavements were constructed, and in the 1830s street lighting began to be installed. In Kolozsvár Transylvania's first promenade (the Népkert, or public park), the first bookshop and the first inn, in the modern sense, opened.

In 1790 in Szeben, at that time the venue of the Diets, the first political paper, the *Transylvanian Hungarian Courier* (Erdélyi Magyar Hírvivő) was launched and together with the Diet moved a year later to Kolozsvár, where at the same time the *Society of Transylvanian Scholars* was founded. In 1794 the Orders submitted a draft bill proposing the establishment of a national theatre and as a result in 1821 the permanent *National Theatre* opened in Kolozsvár.

The Saxons were not far behind in developing their culture. In 1817 the *Bruckenthal museum and library* opened in Szeben, thanks to the generosity of Baron Samuel Bruckenthal.

At the end of the 18th century, proper technically good roads began to be constructed in Transylvania, together with wayside inns for travellers: the whole rural population became permanently incorporated in the communal activities of urban civilization and cultural life. But the loosening of the bonds of serfdom also contributed to this partnership in life and work, as did the fading away and crumbling of sharp distinctions between social classes among the peasants, the lower middle class and the lesser nobility, together with better administration and jurisdiction.

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The beginning of the 18th century was an echo of the 17th as far as literature was concerned. The writers Mihály Cserei and Péter Apor did not represent and describe their own age but the bygone age of the Principality.

The activity of both Cserei and Apor, and later Péter Bod as well, consisted of collecting, summarizing and organizing rather than actual creative work. The poetry of the age, the Kuruts poetry, was not Transylvanian. But the last great gift and precious legacy of Transylvania to the Hungarian community was the Hungarian prose of Kelemen Mikes, the founder of modern Hungarian fiction. The literature of the 19th century in the Hungarian language entirely lost its special Transylvanian significance within the totality of Hungarian literature and became simple provincial literature. Our only great poets were the people, whose beautiful ballads were a product of this century.

But if in the field of literature the era of the Gubernium, in contrast to the previous century, could not really be called constructive, it is all the more necessary to acknowledge that it produced more valuable work in the fine arts. Much of present-day Transylvania's architecture took shape in this period. 18th century Transylvania still lives on today in its architectural concepts and not as a museum piece or a cultural curiosity, but a reality. At this time Szeben was regulated and given its present-day appearance by Governor Bruckenthal; the market and the surrounding areas in Braşov today, with the exception of a few distorted pieces of architecture labelled as modern, reflect the Braşov of the 18th century. Kolozsvár, and the larger private houses of Marosvásárhely, as well as its mansions and town houses, represent the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th; the majority of the rustic-style castles of the nobility were built or rebuilt in the simplified aristocratic Viennese baroque style of the age of Maria Theresa. In connection with the Catholic restoration Church architecture flourished

again, building chiefly baroque churches everywhere; the better and more monumental Greek-Catholic churches of that time were all built in the so-called Jesuit style. In certain provinces the lesser nobility also adopted this style, and especially in the frontier regions the rural Sekler and Rumanian population naturally learned the language of baroque forms following the model of the treasury buildings built there, and adapted it to their own taste, not in structure or basic plan but in certain external features, with an originality of imagination bordering on eccentricity. But while the rural population adopted baroque only to a limited extent and merely as a decorative element, the majority of the Hungarian and Saxon people, followed by the Rumanians, were extensively influenced in their decorative art by baroque forms, and mingling and transforming them with Turkish-Turanian, Oriental, early Gothic and even earlier Hungarian and Saxon forms and colours, they still use them to this day; the Rumanians also incorporate Russian and Balkan-Byzantine decorative elements. This is the age which gave us our most beautiful and noble Hungarian Protestant church ceilings, organ lofts, painted pews, folk-style religious stone carvings and Saxon and Hungarian ceramics made of very fine materials and stylishly decorated. Certain forms of our so-called peasant furniture, while retaining their original Gothic structure, developed baroque characteristics and were given their rich, painted late baroque and Zopf-style ornamentation, still used by our people to this day. Special mention must be made of the Rumanian people's separate religious art, which developed in this period and created an interestingly individual version of the Greek-Orthodox churches, a typically Transylvanian, very beautiful style of wooden church, in which the folk Gothic of the structure was almost perfectly blended aesthetically with the important, prescribed internal layout required by the Eastern churches and their Byzantine-style decorative

painting. But the Rumanians of Transylvania proved prolific not only in church architecture but in the typical form of their religious painting. A special school of religious painting was founded in *Nikula*, in Szolnokdoboka county, where through the use of mass production, so to speak, it was possible to satisfy all the needs of the Rumanian people of Transylvania as regards religious paintings and graphics. Simple, uneducated people became wonderfully skilful in turning out large numbers of artistic and stylish but cheap painted icons, murals on religious subjects, coloured woodcuts and tinted graphics painted on glass. The *Nikula* school of painting and religious art workshop survived for about a century and was killed only by the development of mass-production machinery in the second half of the 19th century.

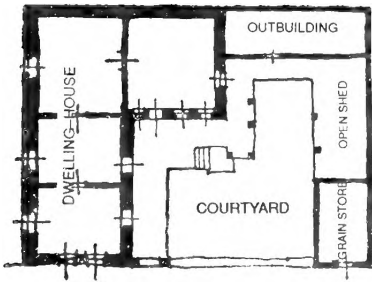


So, while the age of the Gubernium meant on the one hand a weakening of the sense of community among the peoples of Transylvania and the beginning of a conscious national separation of the different peoples from one another, on the other hand the development of the fine arts reached the stage of forming folk art, which is still alive and influential to this day, and which though retaining common Transylvanian features also preserved and developed each people's separate national character.

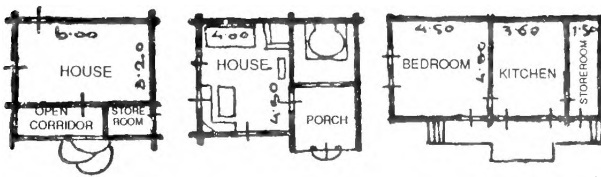


The balance of power among the national communities in Transylvanian society changed considerably during this period, and in a way that was decisive for the future. The Saxons retained their position; their conservatism, their cautious foresight, the ancient institutions of their unified society and their economic strength combined with their numerical weakness ensured their permanence, but limited their possibilities of advancement. The creativity of the Hungarians

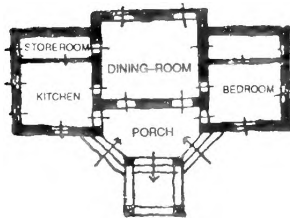
and Seklers flagged, their community spirit deteriorated and their political vision weakened. Although the Rumanians had been more numerous than the other two nations, up to this time they had had no political, social, or economic influence owing to their lack of a collective consciousness, but now their national consciousness and will awakened and transformed the passive Rumanian masses into a powerfully active force.



RUMANIAN GOLD-MINE
OWNER'S HOUSE IN VERESPATAK



SKETCH OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TYPICAL VILLAGE DWELLING-HOUSE



PLAN OF A TYPICAL
NOBLEMAN'S MANOR HOUSE.
CSIBA-MAROS.

In May 1848 the last Gubernium Diet in Kolozsvár declared the *unconditional* union of Transylvania with Hungary. Historians have claimed that this significant resolution was adopted unanimously by the Diet, but in the interest of truth we feel it necessary to make the following observations:

1 The Saxon representatives attending the Diet voted for union under the pressure of intimidation, which was used in order to achieve unanimity, but after the Diet neither they nor their people accepted it.

2 The Rumanian bishop voted in favour of the resolution only on his own behalf and on his own personal responsibility, and despite this vote the Rumanian people never accepted the union either beforehand or afterwards, but in fact openly rejected it.

3 The Hungarians and Seklers in Transylvania were not all in favour of the union either, particularly since it meant unconditional unification with Hungary.

After the defeat of the 1848 revolution in Hungary, Transylvania was once again governed directly from Vienna for a time. But in 1868, after the compromise between Hungary and Austria, the 1848 act of union became valid once again.

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Thus Transylvania as a political concept ceased to exist. And the administration in Hungary in the fifty years

between 1868 and 1918 took care to erase from the Hungarian consciousness not just the old political concept but even the name of Transylvania. It disappeared from school textbooks and the official name of the land was changed in geographical contexts to "*the South-Eastern Plateau*", while politically it was referred to as "*the region beyond the Királyhágó*".

For the union the period between 1868 and 1918 was a time of rapid shifts in the balance of power between the nations: while the Hungarians quickly weakened, the strength of the Rumanians continually increased. The dangerous disequilibrium due to this displacement of power was hastened by the arresting of the old, natural, convergent processes of cultural life, faced with the increasingly powerful upsurge of a deliberately divergent process.

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At the beginning of December 1918 the Gyulafehérvár Diet of Transylvanian Rumanians, at which the Saxons were also represented, declared Transylvania's union with Rumania – *unconditionally*. Once again, in the interest of historical veracity we must note in connection with this important resolution:

1 The Hungarians of Transylvania did not take part, and in fact could not honourably have taken part in this Diet, which passed a resolution that decisively determined the fate of all the peoples of Transylvania, and consequently they did not vote for this union.

2 The Saxons voted for the union only after long hesitation, repeated persuasion on the part of the Rumanian leaders and promises that were at least moderately reassuring.

3 Even the Rumanians were not unanimously in favour of *unconditional* union.

...History repeated itself: the 1918 Diet in Gyulafehérvár was strikingly similar to the 1848 Kolozsvár Diet, except that the roles were reversed...

SUMMARY

A thousand years is a great span of time, even in the lives of peoples and cultures. In Transylvania these thousand years witnessed the magnificent miracle of three peoples and three cultures living side by side and intermingled, yet being allowed to retain their separate individuality and at the same time acquiring a common character different from those of all the neighbouring peoples, whether related to them or foreign. This was how there came to be a church in Kalotaszeg modelled on the Byzantine-style Greek-Orthodox type of church, which has as its closest relatives the Hungarian Calvinist churches built in the Kalotaszeg Gothic style. The wall-encircled roadside manor house of the "Móts" nobleman in Vidra is more closely related to the Barcsay family's castle at Kisbarcsa with its stone walls and its courtyard with bastions than to the fortified keeps (*"kula"*) of Wallachia. Only the trained eye can detect the details and characteristic features of the houses in the Sekler villages of the Erdővidék that differentiate them from the Saxon houses in the valley of the river Olt or in the Barcaság.

The cathedrals of Gyulafehérvár and Kolozsvár, Vajdahunyad Castle and the Martinuzzi palace at Alvincz are simply products of the medieval Romanesque, Gothic and Italian Renaissance styles. They are only Transylvanian inasmuch as they were built there – they could equally well be anywhere else in the world. But the attractive baroque manors of Háromszék and along the river Maros, built or rebuilt in the 17th and 18th centuries, the Rumanian gold

mine owner's manor house in Verespatak, most of the Hungarian and Rumanian village churches in Kalotaszeg, the Bethlen castle in Rákos, the Katalin bastion in Braşov and the bell-tower in Segesvár are all products of the special, unmistakable Transylvanian psyche.

If we look now at Transylvania's artistic monuments side by side and compare them, we cannot help being surprised and genuinely impressed by the steadily and consistently increasing similarity between the cultural products of peoples so different in their ethnic and geographical origin and their culture.

...A thousand years is a great span of time even in the lives of peoples and cultures, but in those thousand years not one of the peoples or cultures of Transylvania was able to or sought to transform the others into its own image. External forces sometimes tried to do so, at a high cost and with small and certainly not final success. On the contrary, the three coexisting cultures unconsciously made constant, unceasing efforts to create a community in which they could retain their racial characteristics but, despite these, take on a common Transylvanian identity. The Transylvanian Hungarian was different from the Hungarians of Hungary, the Saxons of Királyföld did not resemble the Germans in Germany and the Transylvanian Rumanians were not like those living in the old kingdom of Rumania; they were all different physically, and even more so in mentality. And even if the Rumanians remained Rumanian, the Saxons German, and the Hungarians and Seklers Hungarian, despite their differences from each other they and all the manifestations of their culture were characterized by a common feature determined not only by their unalterable, eternal natural endowments, but by their shared destiny and common struggle with life. This marked common feature is the unique Transylvanian psyche, which never has been nor could have been understood by any

of the Transylvanian peoples' kindred nations beyond the frontiers of Transylvania.

What path Transylvania's peoples and culture will take in the future depends mainly on those peoples themselves. History shows that Transylvania has always belonged to those who have identified themselves with its fate and psyche, and will belong to those who identify with it in the future. The life of Transylvania was happiest, its culture was in its richest and fullest flower, when its people united in shouldering Transylvania's unique destiny and shaping it with their unique Transylvanian mind.

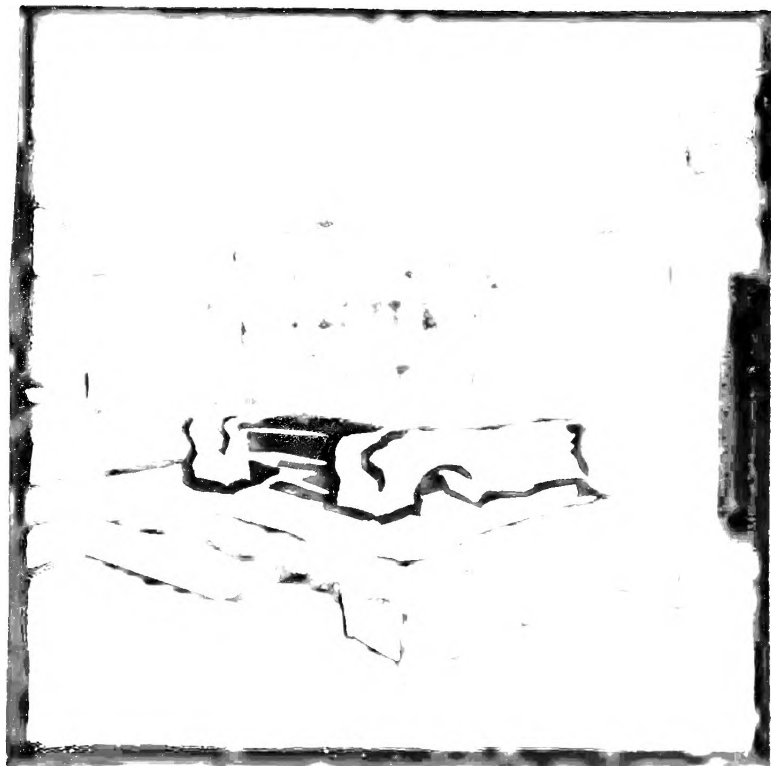
...But whenever a people has turned its back on Transylvania, that people and its culture has fallen here in the past, and will fall in the future – irretrievably...



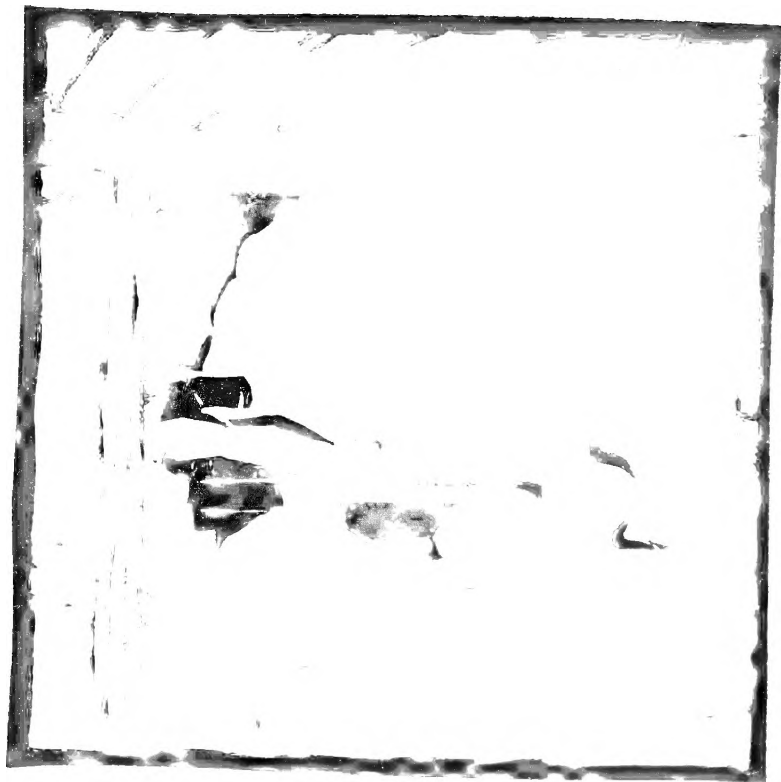
**1. HOUSE OF A LESSER NOBLEMAN
ON THE BORDER OF TRANSYLVANIA**

ÉRDMINDSZENT, SZILÁGY COUNTY. BIRTHPLACE OF THE POET
ENDRE ADY (MID-19TH CENTURY. ADOBE BRICK BUILDING
WITH THATCHED ROOF)

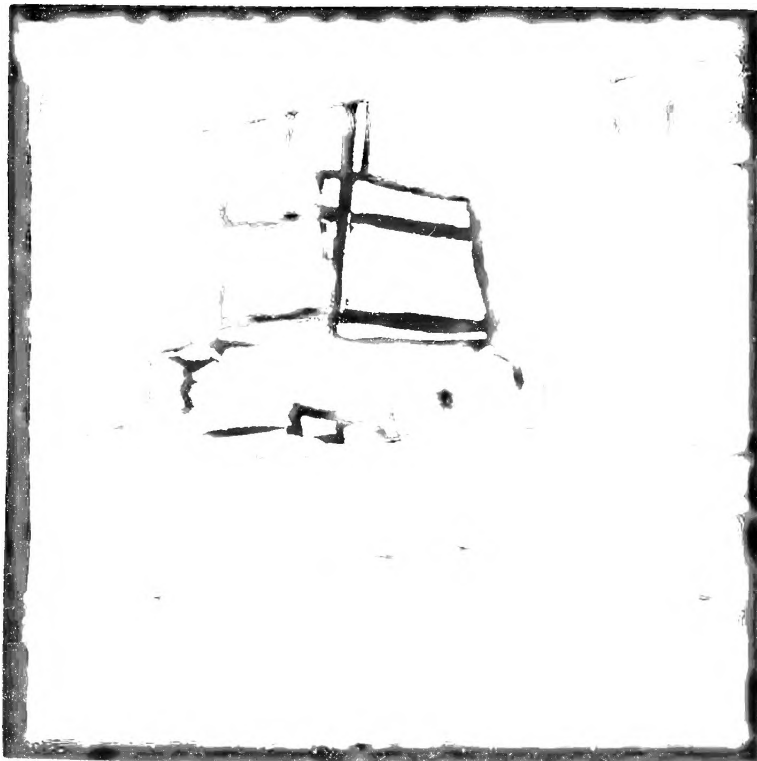
**2. THE PORCH OF AN EARLY SERF'S HOUSE IN KALOTASZEG
WITH BAKING OVEN
(TÚRE, KOLOZS COUNTY)**



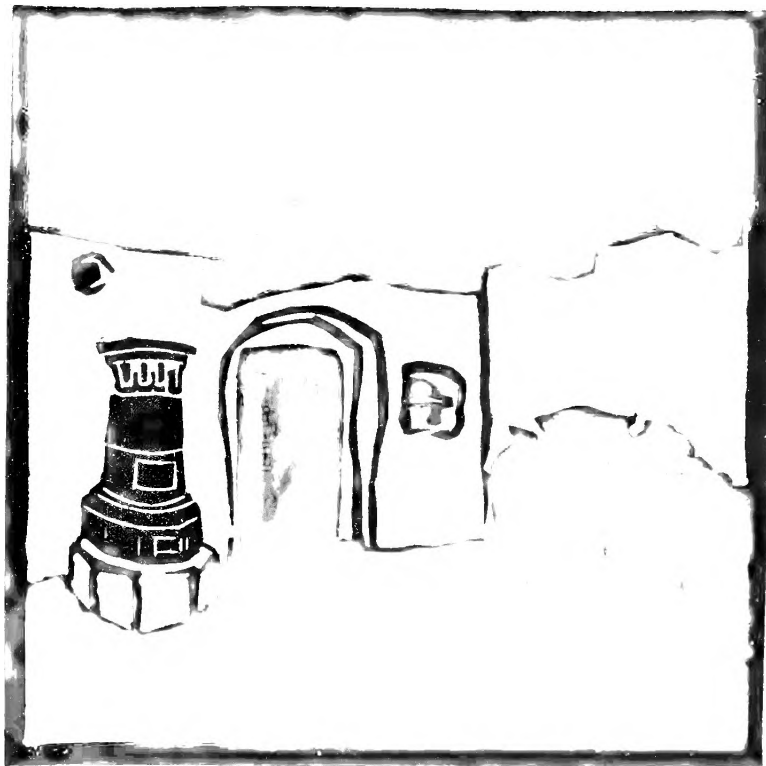
**3. ROOM IN AN EARLY SERF'S HOUSE IN KALOTASZEG
WITH EARTHENWARE OVEN
(TÚRE, KOLOZS COUNTY)**



4. EARTHENWARE OVEN IN KALOTASZEG
(KÖRÖSFŐ, KOLOZS COUNTY)



**5. OLD STOVE IN A RUMANIAN MÓTS 'S HOUSE
IN THE ALPINE REGION**
(THE BIRTHPLACE OF ÁVRÁM JANCU. EARLY 19TH CENTURY.
VIDRA, TORDA-ARANYOS COUNTY.)



**6. ROOM IN THE HOUSE OF A LESSER NOBLEMAN
ON THE BORDER OF TRANSYLVANIA**

(ÉRDMINDSZENT, SZILÁGY COUNTY. BIRTHPLACE OF THE POET
ENDRE ADY.)

**7. HUNGARIAN FOLK COSTUME FROM KALOTASZEG
(KOLOZS COUNTY.)**



8. HUNGARIAN FOLK COSTUME FROM TOROCKÓ
(TORDA-ARANYOS COUNTY.)



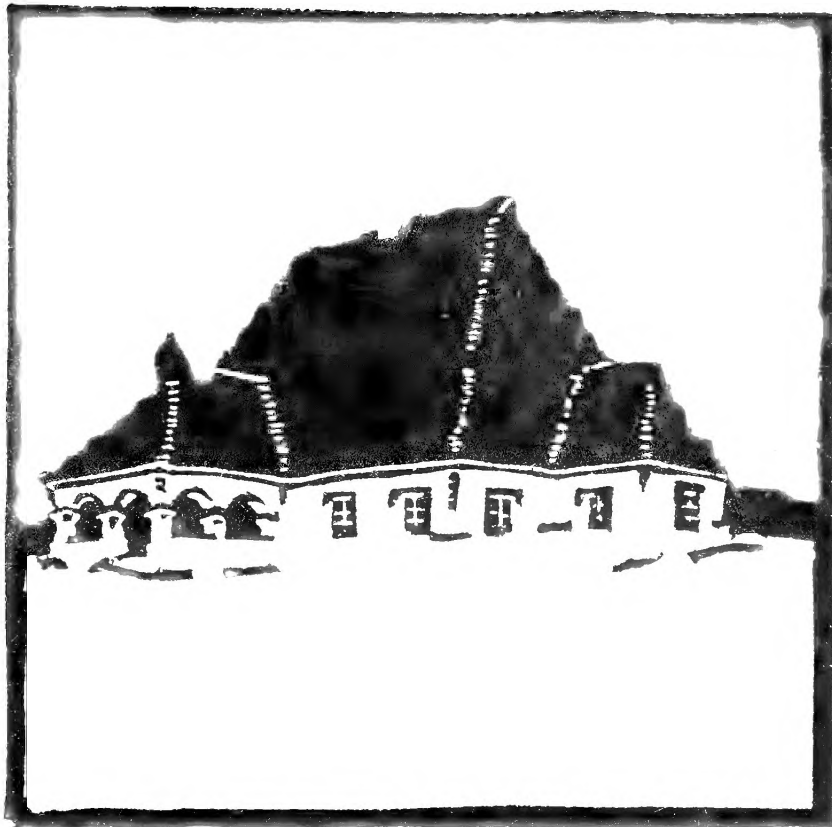
9. SEKLER FOLK COSTUME
(UDVARHELY COUNTY.)



**10. SAXON FOLK COSTUME
(NAGYKÜKÜLLŐ COUNTY.)**

II. RUMANIAN FOLK COSTUME
(ROGOZSEL, KOLOZS COUNTY.)

12. RUMANIAN FOLK COSTUME
(ROGOZSEL, KOLOZS COUNTY.)



13. MANOR OF A SEKLER NOBLEMAN
IMECSFALVA, HÁROMSZÉK COUNTY. 18TH CENTURY.
(STONE BUILDING.)



**14. MANOR OF A HUNGARIAN NOBLEMAN IN KALOTASZEG
(M.-GYERŐ-MONOSTOR, KOLOZS COUNTY. 18TH CENTURY.
WOODEN BUILDING ON A STONE BASE.**



**15. A TYPICAL HUNGARIAN SERF'S HOUSE IN KALOTASZEG
TÛRE, KOLOZS COUNTY. EARLY 19TH CENTURY.
(WOODEN BUILDING.)**



**16. MÓTS HOUSE IN THE ALPINE REGION
ALBAK-MATIŞEŞT, TORDA-ARANYOS COUNTY.
EARLY 19TH CENTURY. (WOODEN BUILDING.)**



17. TOWN NOBLEMAN AND NOBLEWOMAN
(17TH CENTURY. KOLOZSVÁR.)



18. SEKLER NOBLEMAN. 17TH CENTURY
(MAROS-VÁSÁRHELY)



19. SAXON PRIEST. 16TH CENTURY
(SZE BEN TOWN HALL.)



20. FIELD LIEUTENANT. 17TH CENTURY
(FOGARAS CASTLE.)



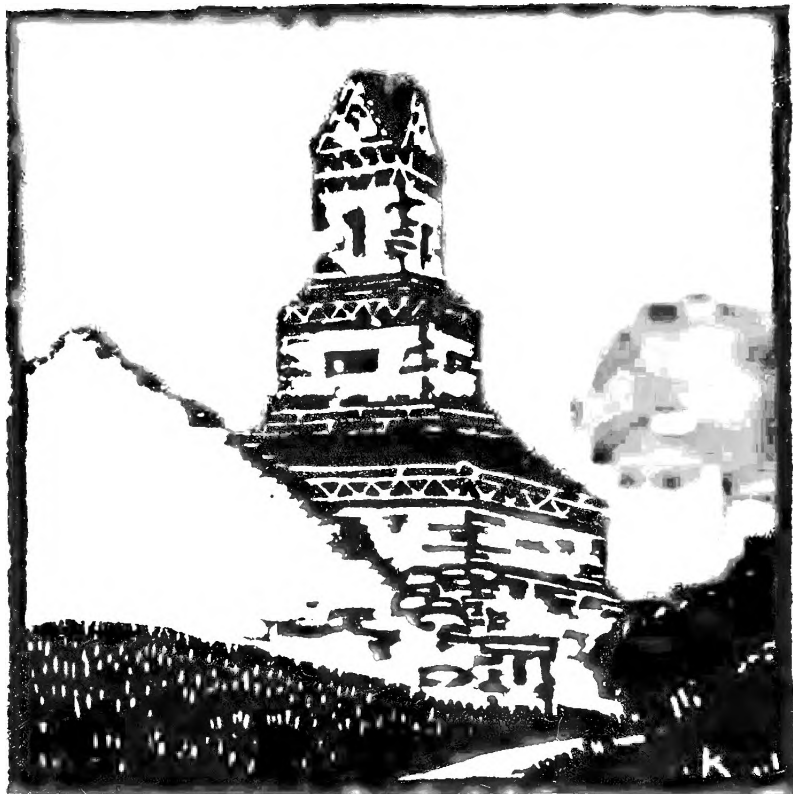
21. CASTLE GUARD. 17TH CENTURY
(SEBES CASTLE.)



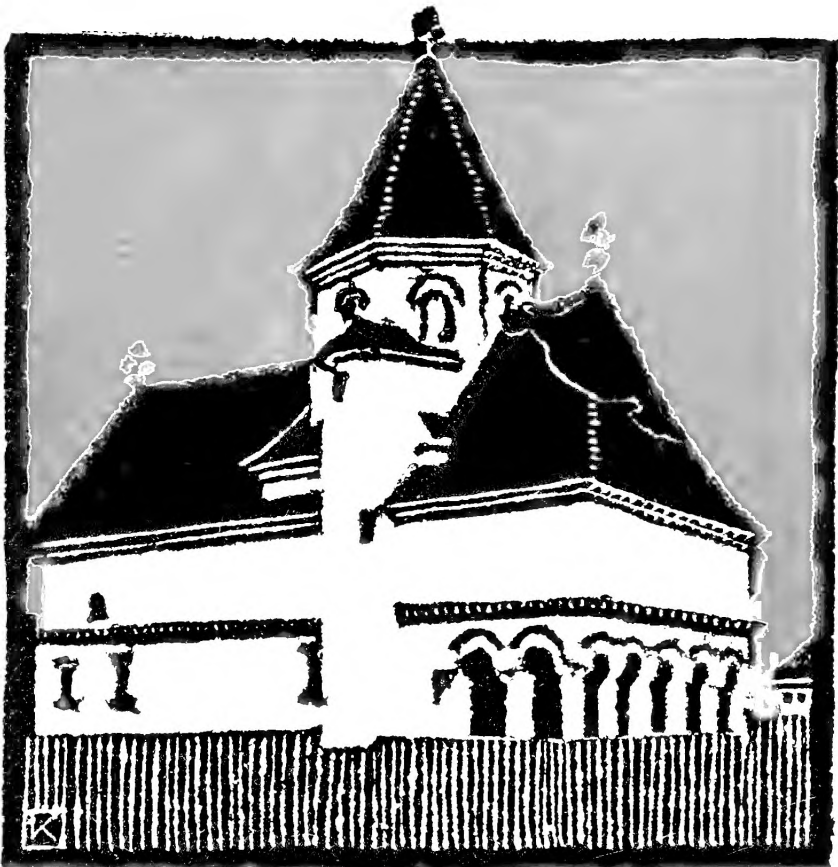
22. SERF. 17TH CENTURY
(KÜKÜLLŐ CASTLE.)



23. CATHEDRAL OF GYULAFEHÉRVÁR
(BUILT IN THE 13TH CENTURY. ROMAN CATHOLIC.)



24. DEMSUS. HUNYAD COUNTY
(BUILT IN THE 13TH AND 14TH CENTURIES FROM ROMAN
BUILDING MATERIALS. BYZANTINE STYLE GREEK-ORTHODOX
RUMANIAN CHURCH.)



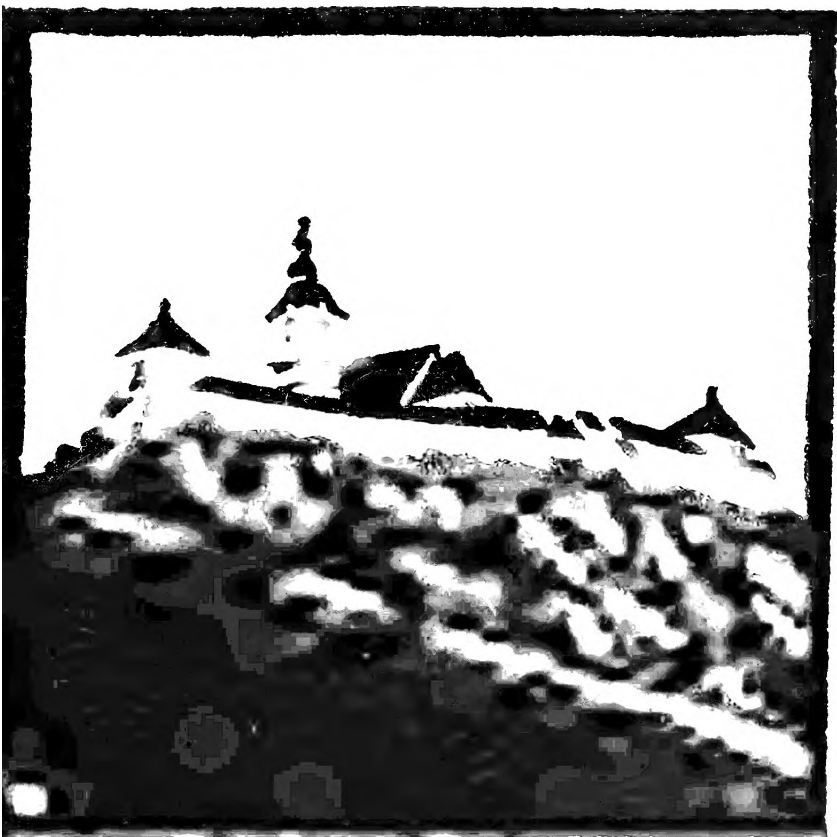
25. FOGARAS

(BUILT IN 1697. GREEK-CATHOLIC RUMANIAN CHURCH
IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN VERSION OF THE BYZANTINE STYLE.)



26. EIBISCHDORF (EBESFALVA)
(KISKÜKÜLLŐ COUNTY.)

**GOTHIC STYLE WALL-ENCIRCLED LUTHERAN SAXON CHURCH
FROM THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES.**



27. ILYEFALVA
(HÁROMSZÉK COUNTY.) 15TH CENTURY GOTHIC FORTRESS
CHURCH WITH BAROQUE ADDITIONS.
TODAY A SEKLER-HUNGARIAN REFORMED CHURCH.



28. MAGYARVALKÓ

(KOLOZS COUNTY, KALOTASZEG.) GOTHIC MONASTERY CHURCH
PROBABLY BUILT AT THE END OF THE 15TH CENTURY
ON THE SITE OF A CHURCH DATING FROM THE TIME
OF THE ÁRPÁDS. ITS STEEPLE AND PROTECTING WALL
BUILT IN THE 17TH CENTURY.
TODAY A HUNGARIAN REFORMED CHURCH.



29. MAGYAR-GYERŐ-MONOSTOR

(KOLOZS COUNTY, KALOTASZEG.) A MONASTERY CHURCH BUILT DURING THE TIME OF THE ÁRPÁDS. THE CHURCH AS IT IS TODAY IS A LATE 15TH CENTURY GOTHIC CONSTRUCTION. THE SURROUNDING WALL DATES FROM THE 18TH CENTURY. TODAY A HUNGARIAN REFORMED CHURCH.)

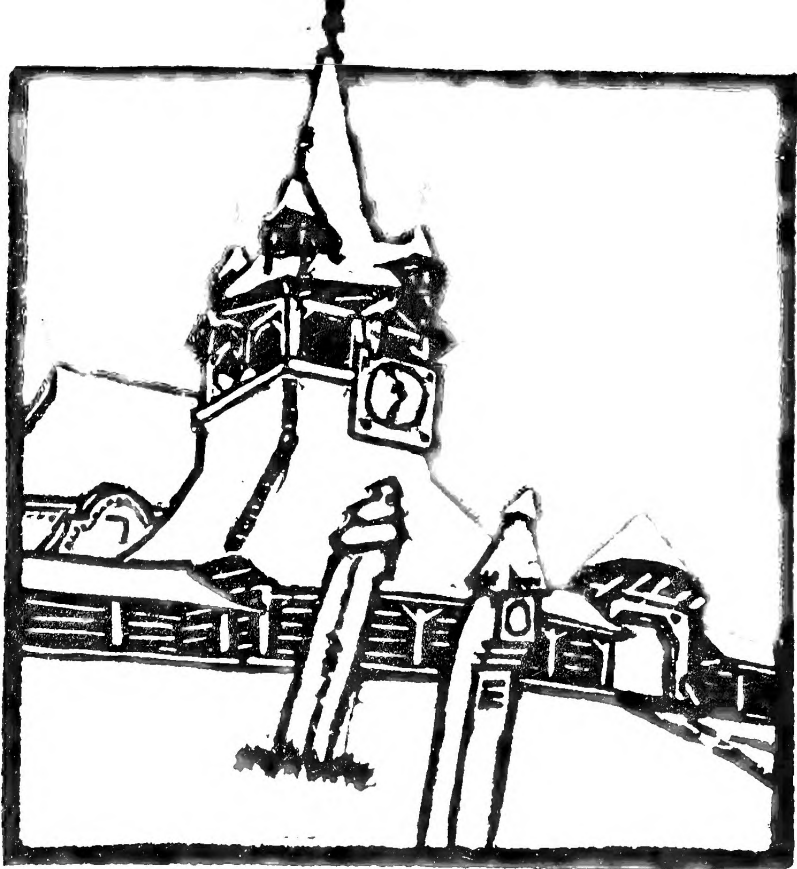


30. GELENCE-HÁROMSZÉK

PROBABLY BUILT IN THE 15TH CENTURY BUT GIVEN A BAROQUE FACADE IN THE 18TH CENTURY. TODAY A SEKLER HUNGARIAN GREEK-CATHOLIC CHURCH.)



31. MAROS-SZENTIMRE
(LOWER FEHÉR COUNTY.) BUILT BY JÁNOS HUNYADI
IN THE MID-15TH CENTURY. GOTHIC STYLE.
TODAY A REFORMED CHURCH.)

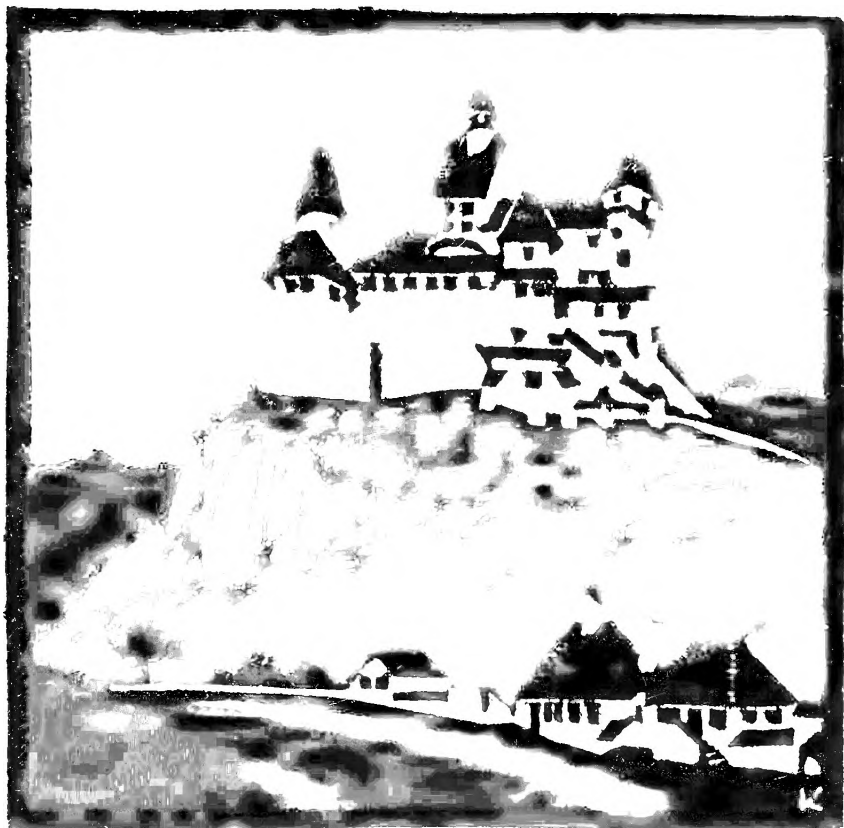


32. BELFRY AND CEMETERY ENTRANCE
(MEZŐCSÁVÁS; MEZŐSÉG; 18TH CENTURY.)



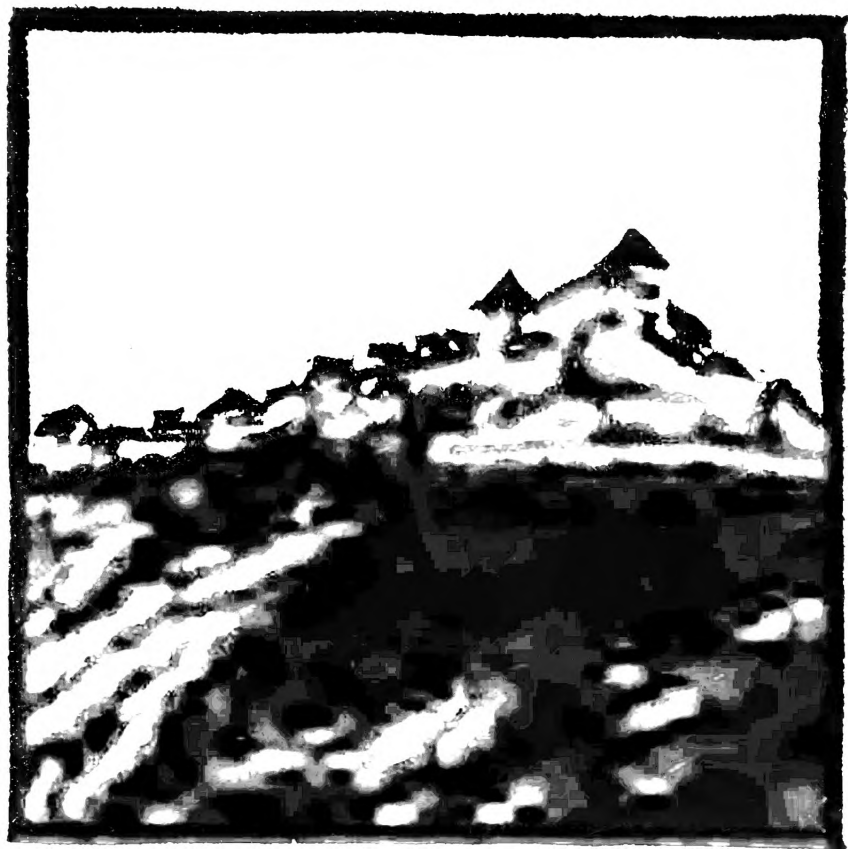
33. VAJDAHUNYAD CASTLE

(BUILT FOR JÁNOS HUNYADI, VOIVODE OF TRANSYLVANIA,
IN 1452. EXTENDED BY PRINCE GÁBOR BETHLEN IN 1618)



34. TÖRCSVÁRA (TÖRCS CASTLE)

(BRAŞOV COUNTY. THE TEUTONIC ORDER OF KNIGHTS HAD IT BUILT ABOUT 1225. TOTALLY RECONSTRUCTED IN 1337.)



35. PEASANT FORTRESS IN BARCAROZSNYÓ
(BRAȘOV COUNTY. THE TEUTONIC ORDER OF KNIGHTS
FOUNDED IT ABOUT 1222. GIVEN ITS PRESENT FORM
IN THE 16TH CENTURY.)



36. MEDGYES. THE TOWN'S DEFENSIVE BASTION
(16TH CENTURY.)



37. BRAŞOV. KATALIN BASTION
(16TH CENTURY.)



38. BRAŞOV. TOWN HALL
(RECONSTRUCTED IN THE 18TH CENTURY.)



39. CLOCK TOWER IN SEGESVÁR
(16TH CENTURY.)



40. BELL-TOWER IN SZE BEN
(15TH CENTURY. PRESENT CUPOLA 18TH CENTURY.)



41. MEDIEVAL MIDDLE-CLASS TOWN HOUSE, KOLOZSVÁR
(BIRTHPLACE OF KING MATTHIAS. MID-15TH CENTURY.)



42. THE MARTINUZZI PALACE, SZAMOSÚJVÁR
(SECOND QUARTER OF THE 16TH CENTURY.)



43. THE PRINCE'S RESIDENCE IN TORDA
(BUILT FOR ZSIGMOND BÁTHORI;
LAST QUARTER OF THE 16TH CENTURY.)



44. ROW OF HOUSES IN SEGESVÁR
(SAXON MIDDLE-CLASS HOUSES, 17TH CENTURY.)



45. MANOR HOUSE OF A SEKLER KNIGHT OR "LÓFŐSZÉKELY"
RÉTY, HÁROMSZÉK COUNTY. 18TH CENTURY. (STONE BUILDING.)



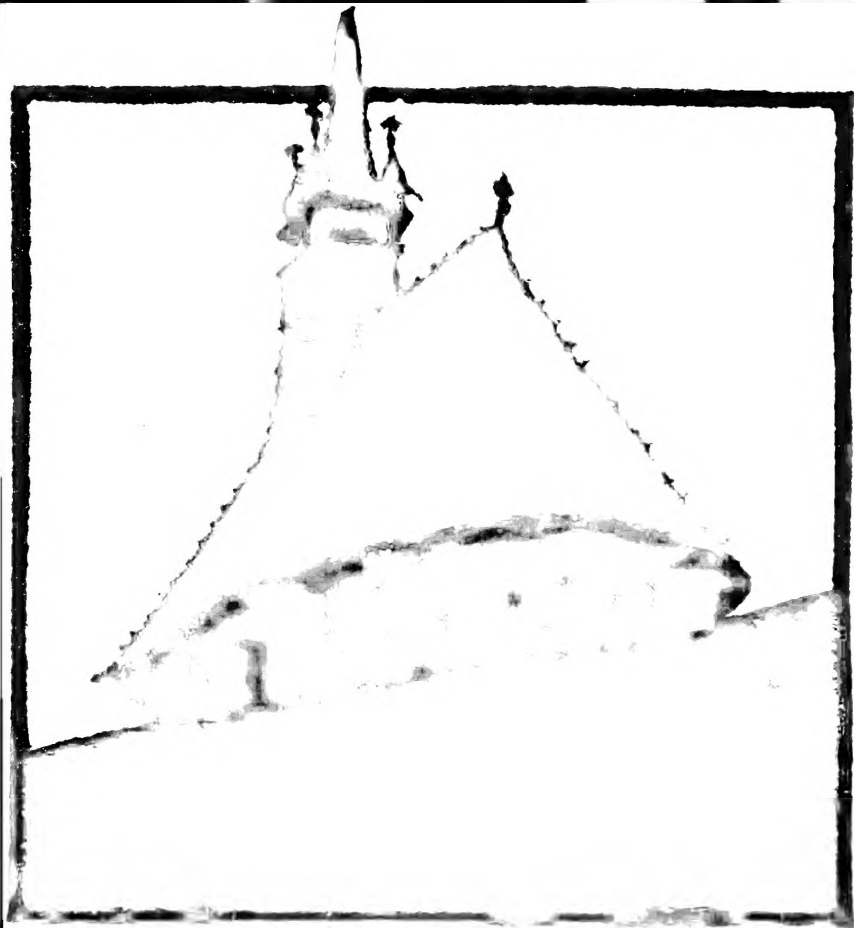
46. WAYSIDE INN
BUN, NAGYKÜKÜLLŐ COUNTY. EARLY 19TH CENTURY.
(WOODEN BUILDING ON A STONE BASE.)



**47. THE HOUSE OF A RUMANIAN GOLD-MINE OWNER
BUCSUM, TORDA-ARANYOS COUNTY. MID-19TH CENTURY.
(WOODEN BUILDING.)**



48. SAXON PEASANT HOUSES
BARCASÁG, BRAȘOV COUNTY. 18TH CENTURY.
(STONE BUILDINGS.)

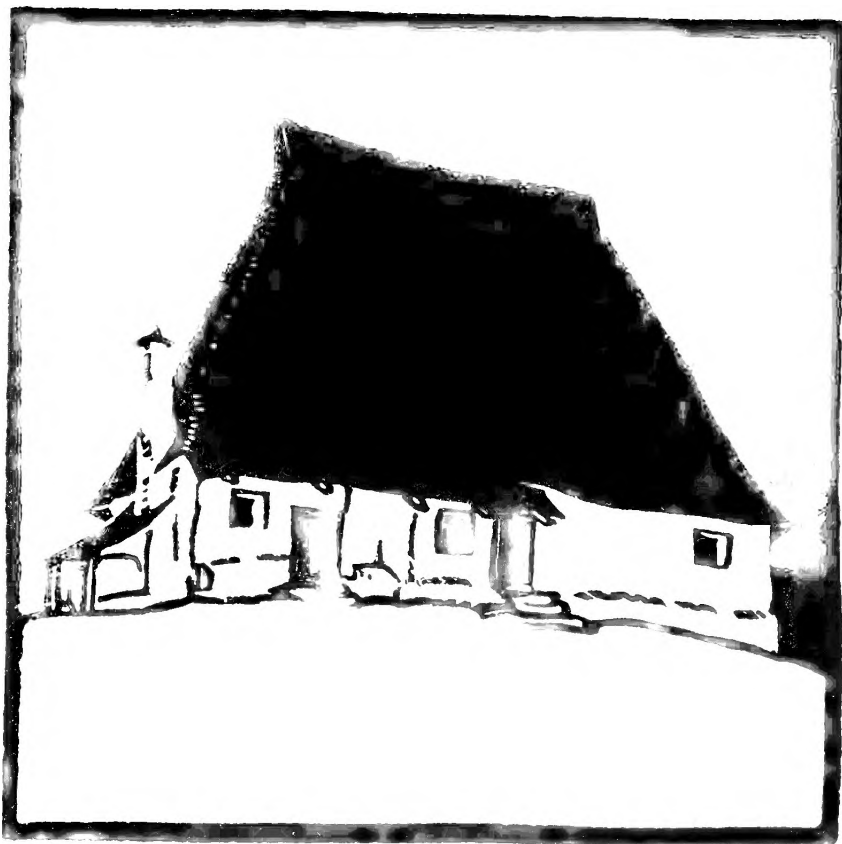


49. TURE-KOLOZS COUNTY

CHURCH BUILT OF OAK AT THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY.
ONE OF THE EARLIEST EXAMPLES OF A TRANSYLVANIAN-
RUMANIAN WOODEN CHURCH IN THE BLEND OF BYZANTINE
AND GOTHIC STYLES EVOLVED BY THE RUMANIAN PEOPLE.



50. HUNGARIAN MIDDLE-CLASS TOWN HOUSE IN TORDA
(SECOND HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY.)



51. MANOR HOUSE OF A SEKLER KNIGHT ("LÓFŐSZÉKELY")
DÁLNOK, HÁROMSZÉK COUNTY. 17TH CENTURY.
(WOODEN BUILDING)



52. SAXON PEASANT HOUSES

BRAȘOV COUNTY. EARLY 19TH CENTURY. (STONE BUILDINGS.)



53. SAXON HOUSE IN SEGESVÁR
(16TH-17TH CENTURIES.)



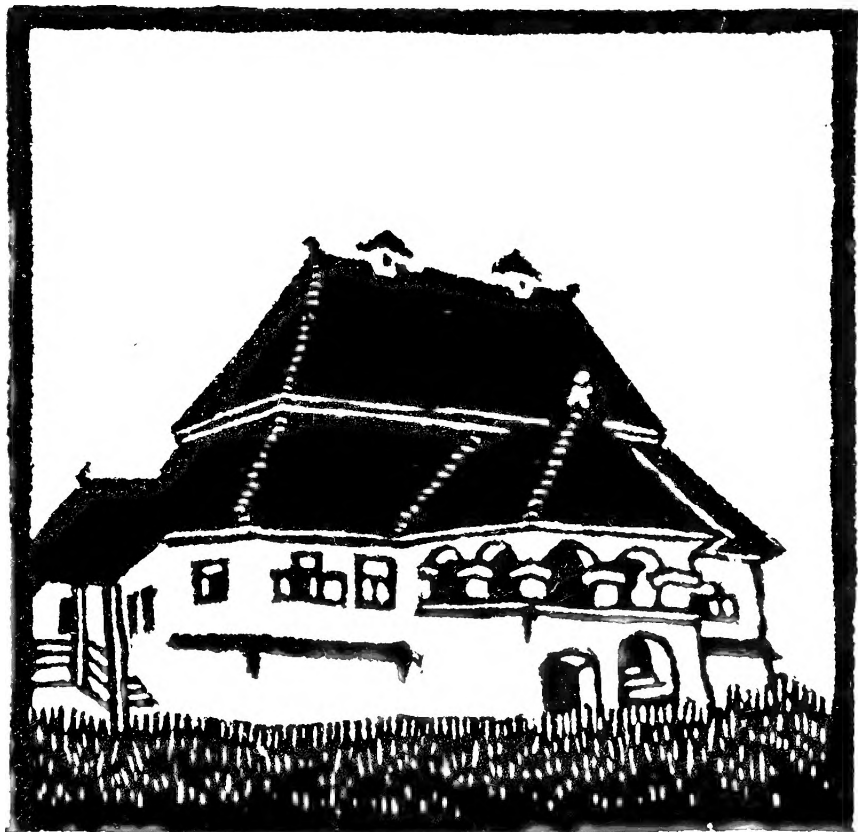
54 HOUSE OF A RUMANIAN GOLD-MINE OWNER
IN VERESPATAK
(LATE 18TH CENTURY)



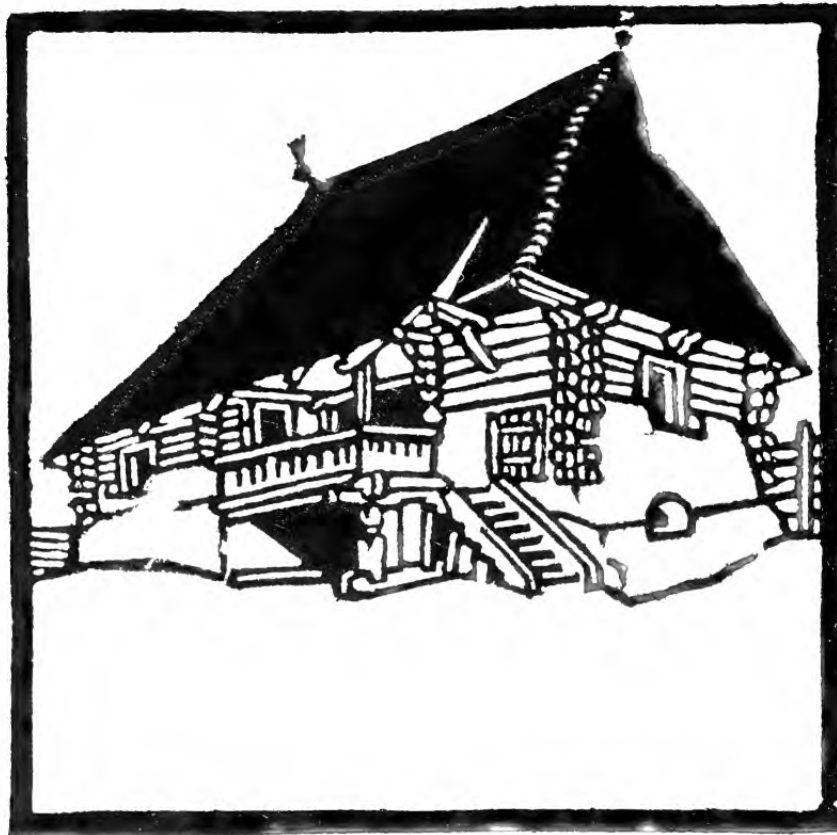
55. MANOR HOUSE OF A RUMANIAN NOBLEMAN
VERESPATAK. EARLY 19TH CENTURY.
(BUILT OF STONE AND WOOD.)



56. MANOR HOUSE OF A SEKLER NOBLEMAN
CSIBA, MAROS-TORDA COUNTY. 18TH CENTURY.
(STONE BUILDING.)



**57. MANOR HOUSE OF A SEKLER NOBLEMAN
KIS-BOROSNYÓ, HÁROMSZÉK COUNTY. 18TH CENTURY.
(STONE BUILDING.)**



58. A HUNGARIAN-TYPE HOUSE IN TOROCKÓ
TORDA-ARANYOS COUNTY. EARLY 19TH CENTURY.
(STONE BASE; WALLS WITH PINE CLADDING; LOWER PART
PLASTERED, UPPER PART UNPLASTERED.)



**59. HUNGARIAN SERF'S HOUSE IN KALOTASZEG
KÖRÖSFŐ, KOLOZS COUNTY. LATE 18TH CENTURY.
(WOODEN BUILDING.)**



60. SEKLER COMMONER'S HOUSE
KIBÉD, UDVARHELY COUNTY. MID-19TH CENTURY.
(WOODEN BUILDING ON A STONE BASE.)



SOVIET

SZATMARNÉMETI

Szatmár

Erdöd

BÜKY

Szilá

Szilágszörny

Zilah

Szilágyság

MOSZ

Királyhágó

Csucsá

Kalotaszék

Bánffyújfaló

Gyalói

Abr

Tisza

HUNGARY

Érmellek

Rez-Mt.

Bihar

NAGYVÁRAD

Nagyszalonta

Arad

ARAD

Mura

Temes

Tisza

YUGOSLAVIA

Danube

Krassó-Hont

Hont

Vajdaságbányászati

Szörény

