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RUMANIAN ACADEMY

RUMANIAN STUDIES

IV

DOBROGEA



BUCHAREST

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GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS OF DOBROGEA

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Dobrogea and Transylvania are the most clearly individualised regions of Rumania. But, while the latter is a basin, surrounded by summits having an altitude of 1800 to 2500 metres, the former is a sort of plateau, lying from 50 to 500 metres above sea-level and bordered on all sides by depressions. *To the west and north* lie the marshes and the delta of the Danube, varying in width from 10 to 45 kilometres, with an altitude above sea-level nowhere exceeding 15 metres, and with 60 to 87% of their surface covered with swamps and water. *To the east* is the depression of the Black Sea, facing which, from Cape Midia south, Dobrogea ends in steep cliffs, more than 200 metres high in the neighbourhood of Balcic. *To the south*, a deep and fairly wide depression, drained by the Lom (a tributary of the Danube) and the Provadia (a small stream flowing in the opposite direction, into the Black Sea), separates the Dobrogean plateau from the pre-Balkan plateau proper (see Fig. 1).

The territory thus marked off forms the south-eastern extension of Rumania; but the region lying just above the Lom-Provadia depression, that is, the highest part of the anticlinal vault whose axis extends from Rusciuc to Varna, belongs to Bulgaria, so that the boundary between the two countries does not correspond with the natural limits of Dobrogea. However, since this southern depression is comparable in importance neither with the Black Sea nor with

the Danube marshes and delta, Dobrogea can also be considered as a prolongation of the Balkan peninsula stretching far to the north. This is the source of the idea that our

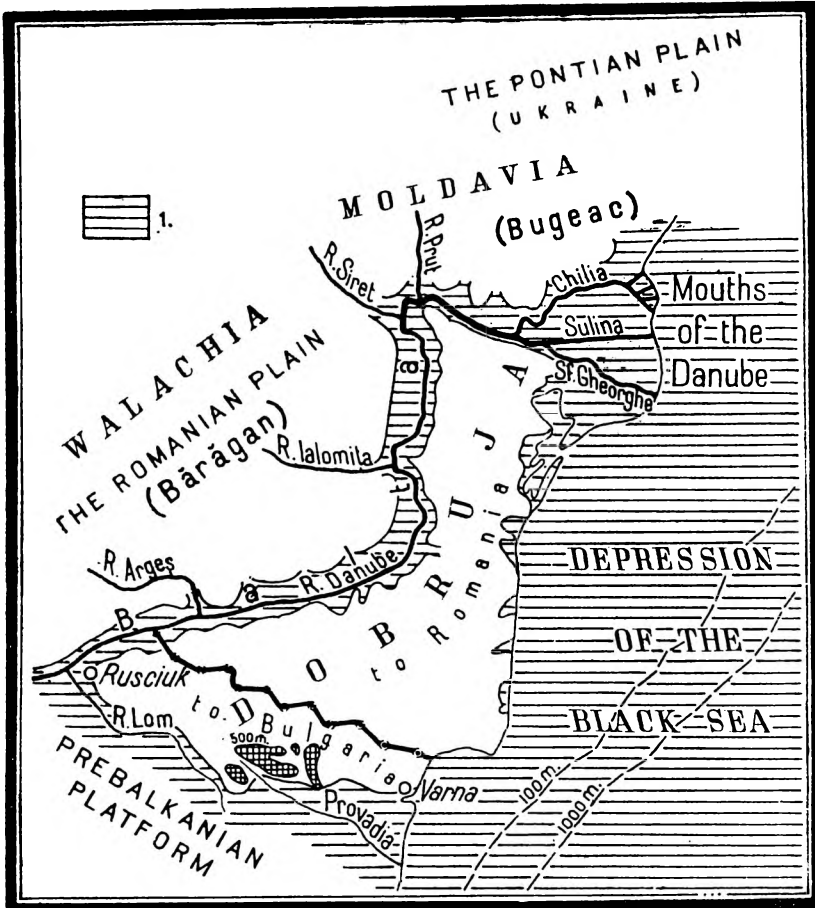


Fig. 1. — Dobrogea is a natural region surrounded by depressions.

1. The depressions surrounding Dobrogea.

province lying between the great river and the Black Sea is a Balkan region. (Yet if the Danube had cut its channel through the depression followed to-day by the Lom and the Provadia, thus reaching the sea to the south of Varna,

the view just mentioned would never have occurred to anyone and our maritime province would be regarded as a Carpathic region; so true is it that the presence of a great river is associated in our minds with the idea of a boundary).

In reality, Dobrogea is neither exclusively Balkan nor exclusively Carpathian. Geologically it is both Carpathian and Balkan; and by its geographical position, it is at once a terminal zone of Rumania and a zone of passage between continental Europe and southern Europe.

In fact, it is these very features that give the province between the Danube and the Black Sea its distinctive character — the interpenetration of influences from the Carpathians, the Mediterranean, and the Pontic plain. And the influences in question are not only political, intellectual, or economic; they include the whole range of geographical influences, from relief to the movement of populations, ideas, and goods. We shall try to prove this in the following pages.

I. DOBROGEA AS A MEETING-POINT OF GEOGRAPHICAL INFLUENCES

1. *Geological structure and relief.* The component parts of Dobrogea are: a very young plain, still in process of being formed (*Danube marshes and delta*); a fragment of the Hercynian mountains and therefore older than the Carpathians (the *Tulcea Highlands*, also known as the *Dobrogea Mountains*); and a plateau made up of calcareous strata, unconformable relatively to the mountain zone to the north (*Dobrogean plateau*) (See Fig. 2).

a) *The marsh and the delta* are formed by the alluvia of the river, deposited either in the form of sand banks (*grinduri*) on both shores of the abandoned meanders of the Danube or of the streams which carry off the water of the ponds; or in the form of islands which, in the course of time, coalesce with the shore. The materials used for this gradual filling process are almost entirely of Carpa-

thian origin. When the great river reaches the seashore (between *Jibrieni* and *Morughiol*), there is added to these alluvia — which to-day form islands and sand-bars — the

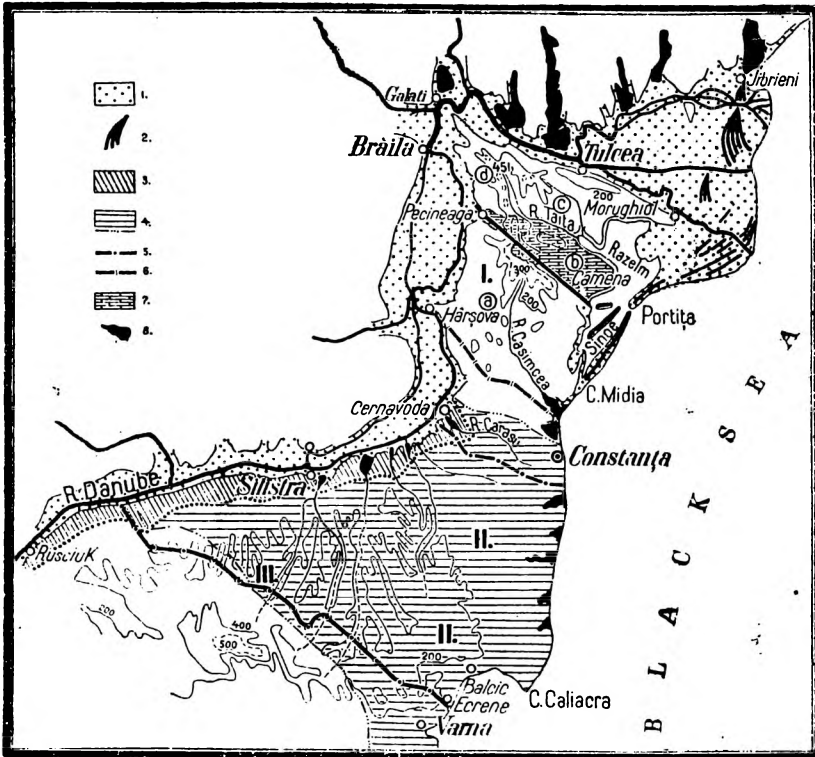


Fig. 2.—Dobrogea is a geological and morphological zone of meetings.

1. Alluvia. — 2. Coastal sand-banks. — 3. Pliocene deposits on the right bank of the Danube. — 4. Northern and southern limits of the Sarmatic resting upon the Cretaceous. Beyond the southern limit, toward the Balkans only the Cretaceous appears at the surface. — 5. Southern limit of the Jurassic deposits. — 6. Southern limit of the green schists. — 7. Cretaceous gulf of the Tulcea Highland. — 8. Maritime or fluvial « limans », a, Plateau of *Casimcea*; b, plateau of *Babadag*; c, plateau of *Taița*; d, the *Pricopan*. — I. The Tulcea Highland. — II. Dobrogea proper. — III. Deliorman.

material which the waves eat away from the coast and which is swept southward by the shore current. The eastern part of the Delta is thus the joint work of the river and the sea, the river being obliged to bend southward in the

direction imposed by the prevailing wind (the Crivăți), which determines the marine current and drives along the mingled river and maritime alluvia. With this material, and with this aid, due to the régime of the winds of continental Europe, the Danube has built up the great systems of sand-banks, running approximately north and south, of *Jibrieni*, *Letea*, and *Caraorman*. Farther south, escaping from the influence of the river current, the Carpathian alluvia — increasingly mingled with material carried down from the sea shore or made up of fragments of shells — have covered the rocky peninsula which juts out from the Tulcea Range, and have advanced eastward, paralleling the original shoreline with a series of sand-bars, between which are marshes and lagoons. The most impressive achievement of the shore current is the construction of the long sand-bar which separates from the Black Sea the lagoons of *Razelm*, *Sinoe*, *Golovița*, and *Smeica*.

The farther south we go, the smaller the quantity of Danube alluvia contained in the built-up portion of the shore. South of Cape *Midia* — from which point the plateau comes right down again to the sea — the proportion of material of Danubian origin, carried down by the shore current, is probably quite negligible; the sand-bars which have closed the entrances of the ramified creeks, transforming them into lagoons (*Taschaul*, *Siut-Ghiol*, *Tekirghiol*, *Mangalia*, etc.) are thus exclusively the work of the sea.

The sand-banks running north and south along the shore, of the Danube Delta, and those formed farther south parallel with the coast, are the first signs of the influence of continental Europe on the region of Dobrogea. It must be pointed out, however, that the strength of this influence diminishes from north to south, not so much because of any weakening in the shore current as because of the increasing distance from the mouths of the Danube, which supply the greater part of the alluvial building material.

As we have seen above, the relation is really, therefore, a relation of joint action; but the more important

share in this action is that of the Danube and, therefore, of the Carpathians. Thus it is no exaggeration to regard the marshes, the Delta, and the systems of sand-banks, marshes, and lagoons lying along the coast as far south as Cape Midia, as territories of Carpathian origin.

b) The *Tulcea Highland* reaches an altitude of 451 metres at Mt. *Țuțuiat*, and the greater part of its surface lies above 200 metres. It is easy to trace its limits on the west, the north and the east, because, on these three sides, it rises abruptly above the alluvial zone; but to the south, it is joined without a break to the Dobrogean plateau. This junction is so smooth that certain geographers limit the mountain zone to that part of the old Hercynian formation which is situated north of a fault, clearly marked from the geological standpoint, but completely levelled in the course of the ages, during which the region has several times been transformed by erosion into a peneplain. This fault, known as the *Peceneaga-Camena* fault, separates two zones of the same mountain chain, which is known to have extended, before the Carpathians were formed, from Dobrogea to the Sudetes and to Lisa-Gora.

According to the Rumanian geologist *I. Atanasiu*, this Hercynian chain was made up of three zones: an inner (southern) crystalline zone, which is preserved in the crystalline formations of the Carpathians; a middle zone composed of green schists, represented in the eastern Carpathians by conglomerates containing green elements; and an outer (northern) zone, more complex, composed of palaeozoic rocks mingled with granite, porphyry, amphibolite, etc. Of these three zones, only the last two are preserved in the Tulcea Highland, the palaeozoic zone north of the *Peceneaga-Camena* line, and the zone of the green schists south of that line (see Fig. 2).

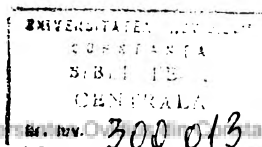
The inner or southern zone was submerged and covered by Jurassic formations, similar to those which border the margin of the crystalline in the southern Carpathians and, here and there, even the inner face of the eastern Carpathians. As the Jurassic disappears south of the valley

of Carassu, and no longer exists in the eastern Balkans, it follows that we can consider this cover — resting unconformably on green schists, and probably lying on a crystalline base — as a Carpathian feature of the region. Thus, geologically, the southern limit of Hercynian Dobrogea, which reveals Carpathian affinities, should be extended at least to the axis of the valley of Carassu.

c) *South of Carassu.* To the south of this valley, the situation changes. In reality, in the Cretaceous period, the sea, when it invaded the south, covered Dobrogea; but, with the exception of the region lying north of the Pece-neaga-Camena line — where the Cretaceous sea left large deposits in a great longitudinal depression — the zone of the green schists was covered only with a thin deposit which has been almost entirely removed by erosion. Farther south, the Cretaceous lies unconformably above the Jurassic; but it is only beyond the valley of Carassu that it attains considerable thickness, forming the base of the whole pre-Balkan Dobrogean plateau. Only south of the Rumanian-Bulgarian boundary does it appear alone at the surface; but, from this point on, it constitutes the essential rock of the eastern Balkans. Thus the characteristic mark of the pre-Balkan plateau is the predominance and then the exclusive presence of Cretaceous formations at the surface; but this feature appears clearly only to the south of the valley of Carassu.

Thus the geologist G. Murgoci was right when he long since designated this valley as the axis of contact of two systems — the Balkan system and the Hercynian system.

This observation, however, requires a corrective on one point. The Balkan system in Dobrogea, sloping towards the Black Sea basin, is covered, in the larger part of its extent, by a more recent formation (Sarmatic limestone), which tapers towards the south and terminates in the region of Varna, where it penetrates somewhat farther into the interior, thanks to the Provadia depression. The Sarmatic sea extended far to the north and east; and this implies



that our region was then connected with the continental parts of Europe, not with the south.

Furthermore, after the Sarmatic, and even before — as is shown by the presence of the Eocene in the valley of Cusgun — the Danubian side of the Dobrogean plateau was covered by the water of the Tertiary seas which remained in the depression of the Rumanian plain, until the end of the Levantine. This is proved by the Pliocene deposits on the right bank of the river, south of the valley of Carassu. The Cretaceous plateau which is characteristic of the pre-Balkan platform is, therefore, far from being as exclusively Cretaceous north of the Rusciuc-Varna line as it appears to be south of that line (see fig. 2).

We hope the reader will pardon this long geological disquisition. It is intended to prove the antiquity and the persistence of the relations between the Carpathian region, the continental region, and the Balkan lands, i. e., to reveal the fact that Dobrogea is a region where the different systems meet.

The *configuration of the land* proves the same point; but the boundaries are not the same.

The zone of the green schists, the oldest and the least disturbed, has been so long and so completely eroded that it has to-day the appearance of a perfect plateau; so that if, here and there, in the relatively narrow valleys which cut into it, the sharply-folded strata of the base were not visible, it might be supposed that this erosion platform was identical with the plateau to the south. Here the only remarkable features of the relief are the valleys, which, in the region of the Jurassic limestone, are like canyons (e. g., the valley of Casimcea).

To the north of this region lies what the geologists have named the "Dobrogean Horst", because it is bounded by the fault lines of Peceneaga—Camena and Galați—Tulcea. This area has a somewhat more varied surface because of the diversity of the rocks of which it is composed. It is true that the dominant form is the erosion plateau; but, in the Cretaceous zone (*plateau of Babadag*), the dissyme-

trical valleys have fairly well marked bluffs. In the eastern part of the palaeozoic zone (*plateau of Telița*), the valleys are wide, and their walls plunge rapidly beneath the products of decomposition which have rolled down the slope; while, on the bare crests, the pointed peaks, such as the Conți, reveal the presence of the most resistant rocks (for example, quartzite). Finally, in the northwest (where *Mount Pricopan* contains the highest summit), the proximity of the Danube and the heterogeneous character of the rocks have created mountains with a jagged profile, which, when seen from the Brăila marsh, recalls the Făgăraș chain or the Parâng.

Considered as a whole, the Tulcea Highland is composed of a succession of erosion platforms (peneplains); but it presents contrasts of relief which are sometimes interesting, and aspects which, by the quantity of decomposed materials covering the foot of the heights and the slopes of the valleys, recall the countries on the threshold of deserts, as Professor *Emmanuel de Martonne* has remarked. This feature gives the region a special character which distinguishes it from the Carpathians and the Balkans, but assimilates it to the mountains bordering the great Pontic steppe (such as the *Jiala* of Crimea).

c) *Dobrogea proper*. We have seen that the southern edge of the Tulcea Highland descends gently towards the south, so that the Highland is gradually transformed into a tableland. The downward slope continues until it reaches the axis of the valley of Carassu, where we find the lowest altitudes (about 50 metres near the sea, 120 metres in the centre, and less than 100 metres in the neighbourhood of the Danube, while the valley floors vary between 10 and 45 metres). Beyond that line, the ground begins to rise towards the south-south-west.

The centre of Dobrogea is, therefore, the least elevated region; it is, in fact, a depression.

It is partly because of this fact that the most extensive level areas have been preserved between the narrow valleys which descend towards the sea (Tekirghiol, Mangalia,

Batova), or towards the Danube (Carassu, Urluia, etc.). To the traveller coming from Bucharest and crossing the Danube at Cernavodă, these plateaux between the valleys recall, by their extent and their uniformity, the Bărăgan on the left bank of the river. The population itself has observed this resemblance, but it has been more impressed by the absence of forests than by the uniformity of the relief. In reality, for the peasant of this region, only this part of the territory lying between the Danube and the sea is Dobrogea, or the Bărăgan, i. e., the Dobrogean steppe.

d) *Deliorman*. The transition from Dobrogea proper to the third region, called *Deliorman*, is equally gradual. The latter too is a plateau, the altitude of which varies from 200 to 500 metres. It was cut up by the vigorous erosion of the quaternary era. In this process of transformation, the tributaries of the Danube naturally played the most active part. The original plateau was transformed into a series of almost parallel and relatively narrow ridges, separated by narrow valleys — almost canyons — opening towards the river and sometimes ending in lagoons. All the valleys of the pre-Balkan plateau have this character; but nowhere are they so close together as here. For this reason we must consider as a distinctive feature of the relief of *Deliorman* the existence of bands of plateau orientated towards the northwest in conformity with the slope of the strata, and recalling — at least as concerns dimensions and mode of association — the inter-fluvial areas of the platform of Oltenia and of that of southern Moldavia.

The relief thus permits us to divide Dobrogea into three regions: 1. *The Tulcea Highland*, of Hercynian origin, reduced by repeated erosion to the state of a peneplain. 2. *Dobrogea proper*, which, being the lowest part, has best preserved its splateau character; connected with continental Europe by its Sarmatic covering, it recalls the Bărăgan by the extent of its tabular surfaces and the pre-Balkan platform by its Cretaceous base. 3. *Deliorman alone* has, to a more accentuated degree, the characteristics of the pre-Balkan region; yet it is distinguished from that region by

the more advanced degree of fragmentation of its relief. These three regions are joined together by boundaries which are so blurred as to make it difficult if not impossible to separate them.

The climate and, especially, the vegetation accentuate the features characteristic of these three regions, and at the same time blur the transitions between them, which increases the difficulties of a precise local delimitation. Thus, in combination with other factors, they force upon us the conviction that we are dealing with a single though complex geographical unit — Dobrogea.

2. *Climate.* The specialists class Dobrogea among the regions having an extreme continental climate, and consider it, from this point of view, as a prolongation of the Pontic plain. It might be expected that the Black Sea would have an important influence on the climate. In reality, that influence consists only in an attenuation of the temperature, both in summer (a mean temperature in July of less than 22 C. north of Constanța) and in winter (less than 1° on the same stretch of shore, as compared with -3° near the Danube). The nearness of the Black sea has no effect upon the low temperatures caused by the Crivăți (north and north-east wind) nor upon the frequent and severe droughts, especially in Dobrogea proper and in the Delta (mean annual precipitation of 333 mm.). The continental influence, then, is, generally speaking, decisive. But certain local differentiations may be observed. Leaving out of account the Delta, which has little rain, but is capable of resisting drought because of the humidity of the soil, we note that the north and the south receive more abundant rainfall (more than 450 mm., in some cases more than 500 mm., annually) and are generally — especially Deliorman — warmer (10°, 5° to 11°C. mean annual temperature) and more cloudy. Thus the centre of Dobrogea alone remains under the dominant influence of the continental climate, like the nearby Bărăgan to the west (less than 450 mm. or even less than 350 mm. annual rainfall). If we make a more detailed examination, we find further local differences:

a) In the Tulcea Highland the western façade, which is higher and faces the Carpathians, is moister than the eastern façade, which is lower, has a harsher climate, and suffers from drought.

b) In the south, the rainfall increases as we climb towards the summits of Deliorman and diminishes near the sea,

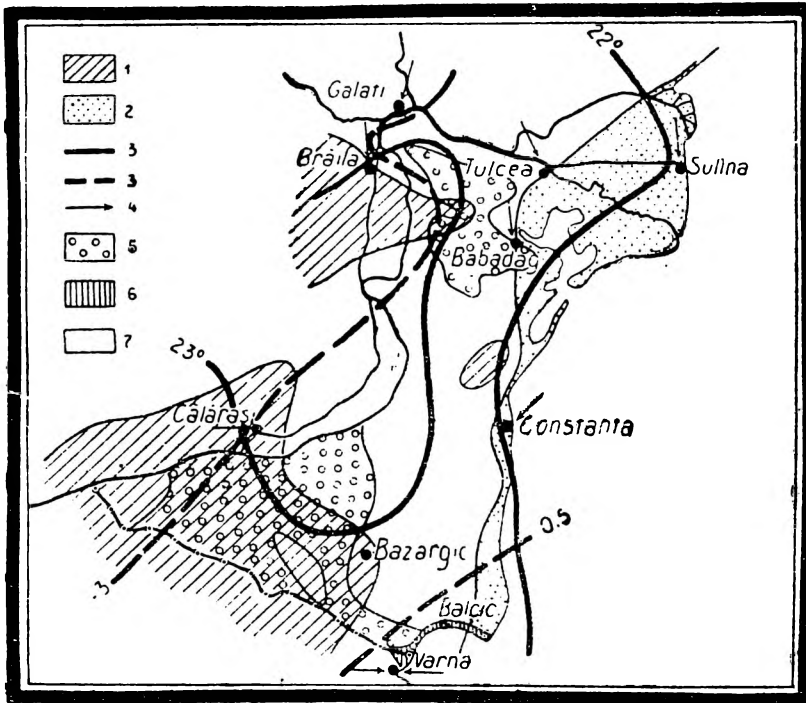


Fig. 3. — Climate and vegetation.

1. More than 500 mm. annual precipitation. — 2. Less than 400 mm. — 3. Isotherms of the hottest and of the coldest month. — 4. Direction of the prevailing wind. — 5. Forests. — 6. Mediterranean vegetation of the Silver Coast. — 7. Steppe.

where the contrasts of temperature are less marked (26° C. near the Danube; 22° near the sea-shore).

c) The part of the coast running east and west between Caliacra and Ecrene (the *Silver Coast*), being protected from the Crivăți, the winter temperature does not drop below 0°C., so that this whole region enjoys a climate somewhat

like that of the eastern Mediterranean. Indeed, Deliorman itself is influenced by the sea; the shorter winters, relatively milder (especially in the southeast) and the "black wind" which dries up the crops, are signs of this climatic influence. The free exposure of the region towards the northeast and east makes the effect of the southern climate in the valleys all the more remarkable, but annuls it almost completely in winter, especially on the plateau (see Fig. 3).

To sum up, the low-lying and nearly level portions (the Delta and Dobrogea proper) are completely under the influence of the continental régime of the Ukrainian type; while the sheltered areas (the deeper valleys, and the high shore of the Silver Coast) and the heights, which act as a wind-break against the action of the east and north winds, allow the geographical position to exert its influence. Tulcea recalls, in a certain measure, the Carpathians (moister than the rest of Dobrogea), and Deliorman is affected by the proximity of the Mediterranean (warmer).

Thus Dobrogea, even with regard to climate, is divided into three regions. But, depending on the year, the season, and (to a less extent) on the place, sometimes one influence prevails, and sometimes the other. Looking at the country as a whole, the climatic elements are so mingled that it would be a mistake to speak of even approximate limits between the zones where the different influences prevail. The indication of such limits on the map should be regarded as merely a conventional means of orientation.

The Silver Coast, being clearly marked off by nature, and sheltered from the Crivăți, is the one exception to this statement.

3. *The vegetation* shows the influence of the climate. It makes it more difficult than ever to class Dobrogea in a clearly defined phyto-geographical province, at least until we have a botanical analysis of this province like that which Professor Traian Săvulescu has given us for Bessarabia ¹⁾.

¹⁾ *Die Vegetation von Bessarabien*, Bukarest, 1927.

At present, since we have only lists of plants (very copious, it is true), and syntheses based on these lists, a statistical estimate of the prevailing flora seems to us impossible. This fact explains why certain botanists (the majority in fact), basing their opinion chiefly on the dominant characteristics of the climate, consider Dobrogea as the most southern part of the Pontic or Ukrainian province. It is difficult to determine the precise rôle which the Dobrogean steppe has played in constituting the flora of the Bărăgan, just as it is difficult to determine to what extent the Ponto-Caspian steppe vegetation of Dobrogea has come directly or indirectly from the Ukraine. But the fact that the majority of the species which are characteristic of the Dobrogean steppe occur also on the left bank of the Danube, becoming less common towards the west, shows the close connection between the flora of these two regions, nearer to one another than Dobrogea is to the Ukrainian plain. Thus the barrier constituted by the Black Sea and the Delta, and the nearness of the Bugeac and the Bărăgan, might be taken as indicating that the colonisation of Dobrogea by species typical of the Pontic plain took place by way of the Bugeac and the Bărăgan — routes leading from the continental steppe.

Dobrogea is known to have been dry land — except for the shores of the Danube south of Carassu — since the end of the Sarmatic period.

At that time, the Bărăgan, the Bugeac, and the Ukrainian plain were still covered by the sea, so that, throughout the Pliocene, our region was connected only with the Balkan peninsula. Dobrogea at that period must therefore be thought of as a part of the southern floral province, but having a somewhat modified vegetation because of its geographical position. It is impossible that, since then, it should have preserved no traces of this past. In reality, the botanists have proved the existence in Dobrogea of native plants (*Moerinigia Grisebachii*, *Moeringia Yankae*, *Campanula Romanica*, etc.) and of certain other plants which are relics of the Pliocene (in the mountain region of the north).

Nowhere is the proportion of plants of Mediterranean origin greater than here, both in the wooded regions and in the steppe proper. Finally, it goes without saying that this bastion, hemmed in between the Danube and the sea and advancing to the southern edge of the Pontic plain, is responsible for the presence of plants of Mediterranean origin in the Bugeac and the Bărăgan. On the basis of these unquestionable facts, then, we could link this region to the southern province quite as well as to the Pontic. As we have seen, it would be premature to choose between these two solutions. What is certain is that we may continue to characterise this region as a zone of mingled vegetation, with Carpathic elements predominant in the north, continental elements in the centre, and Mediterranean elements in Deliorman and along the southern shore.

The Tulcea Highland, once completely wooded, still has great forests, in which (on the heights) oaks predominate (*Quercus sessiliflora* and *Quercus pedunculata*, which have a particularly marked Carpathian affinity; at the foot of the hills are found *Quercus conferta*, *Quercus cerris*, and *Quercus pubescens*, which are species better adapted to the climate of transition towards the steppe). The presence of the beech (*Fagus sylvatica*?) and the amazing extent of the forests of lime-trees (211 square kilometres of lime-trees to 247 square kilometres of oak) are further proofs of the kinship of these forests with those of Central Europe. On the other hand, the walnut and the wild lilac, the yellow acacia (*Colatea arborescens*), the fig, the *Prunus Mahaleb*, certain species of ash, the *Paliurus aculeatus*, etc., show a real and important intrusion of Mediterranean vegetation into the domain of the Central European flora. If we recall the Ponto-Caspian plants which are frequent in the clearings of these forests, we can affirm that the forests of the Tulcea Highland bear the mark of an association of three provinces, in which, however, the prevailing features are Carpathic.

In Deliorman, the oak forest has a different aspect. In the deep valleys, carved out between the plateaux, grow

complex geographical factors, the unity of Dobrogea, produced by the interpenetration of these three regions, becomes an inevitable conclusion, just because the possibility of a delimitation, even approximate, disappears.

5. *Population.* Let us take, for example, the population, past and present. It has been proved that, at the height of the Ottoman power, the right bank of the Danube, from Turtucaia to the Delta — in the region of the great lakes, as well as in a large part of the Tulcea Highland — was inhabited by Rumanians, i. e., by a Carpathian and Danubian population. But the steppe and Deliorman (hardly colonised completely until the 17th century) were occupied by the villages and the tents of the Tatars and the Turks, soldiers and shepherds, among whom, though we cannot say at exactly what period, Transylvanian shepherds passed with their flocks of sheep, reaching the “winterless valley” of Batova, in the region of Balcic. Along the coasts there have always been Greeks, later joined by Armenians. Thus we find a mixture of Carpathic peoples (Rumanians of Wallachia, Transylvania, and Moldavia) with other continental peoples (Tatars) and southern peoples (Greeks, Armenians, Turks), each displaying certain predilections, but each penetrating the domain occupied by the others as active elements exploiting particular regions.

The absence of Russians and the small number of Bulgarians in Dobrogea until the beginning of the 19th century are due solely to historical circumstances (isolation of the Christian population of Russia and of the Balkans by the constantly moving mass of the Asiatic nomads, organised domination of the Turks, etc.). The proof is that, immediately after the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the extermination of the Tatars of the Ukrainian steppe, the Bulgars began to move in from the Balkan side and the Russians towards the Bugeac and the Danube mouths (Lipovans). These currents of immigration, in both directions, are concomitant with an intensification of the movement of the Rumanians downward from the mountain and forest regions of Transylvania and Moldavia. Thus the population

movements — often hampered by the active presence of the nomads of the Pontic steppe and of the Balkans — return to their normal routes of expansion and lay claim to the frontier zone, Dobrogea.

What has happened since the opening of the 19th century, and is still happening, is merely a recurrence of a regular anthropo-geographical phenomenon.

In Greco-Roman antiquity, for example, this phenomenon occurred several times, and developed according to the same rules. Several centuries before the Christian era, Dobrogea was under the domination of Carpathian natives — the Dacians. But these people suffered an invasion from the north — the invasion of the Scythians not only in Dobrogea, but in the Danube plain, which has more than once shared the fortunes of the region situated between the river and the sea. The Greeks, who had their cities and their trading posts along the coasts, called Dobrogea *Scythia Minor*; but the inscriptions prove the existence, in the Greek cities, of Dacian and Thracian shepherds and peasants (for the details, see *Getica* by V. Pârvan). Later the Roman conquest and colonisation made possible a new advance of Mediterranean elements towards the Danube mouths, while garrisons were placed along the river and fortifications built to fight against the Dacians of the Carpathians (who were later subdued) and against the barbarians who constituted a constant menace on the other side of the Danube.

Thus the function of Dobrogea as a pivot between the continental plain and the Balkans becomes evident each time the peoples of these three regions simultaneously approach the mouths of the Danube and the shores of the sea to the south of the delta. It is a fundamental, essential function, which only ignorance or bad faith can deny.

Thus it is clearly established that Dobrogea is a geographical cross-roads, i. e., a zone in which the central European region (through the Rumanian Carpathians), the continental region, and the Balkan region meet. Its kinship with the Carpathians is clearest in the north (Tulcea), with

the continent in the centre (Dobrogea proper), and with the Balkans in the south (Deliorman).

But the influences emanating from these three regions are so mingled that the limits of the three zones of Dobrogea have a chiefly conventional significance. It follows that this peninsula, situated between the Danube and the sea, is a geographical unit — a rather complex unit, but a unit which cannot be broken up without injury to the whole.

II. THE GEO-POLITICAL FUNCTION OF DOBROGEA

This leads to a geopolitical conclusion (which the past has already frequently demonstrated): if the destiny of Dobrogea is to be easily accomplished, the whole province must belong to a single State. It has belonged as a whole to the Carpathic peoples when they were able to reach the sea; it has belonged as a whole to the Rumanians, to the Turks; thus whatever continental power possesses it must possess it as a whole if it is to be really useful to that power.

This is the plain truth, set down without prejudice to the logical conclusion to which we shall devote the closing pages of this article.

Now that we have seen what Dobrogea is, it is time to ask what is its mission.

The rôle of Dobrogea may be twofold, arising out of its twofold function: its function as a necessary annex to the Carpathian countries, and its function as a road between the Pontic steppe and the Balkans. But as this road can easily be threatened from the direction of the Carpathians, it must be protected against this threat, and is therefore inevitably transformed into a bastion against the free expansion of the Carpathian peoples ¹⁾.

¹⁾ "He who is master of Dobrogea is thereby master of all economic life in the region of the lower Danube. Thus he exerts a powerful pressure on the political life developed in the shelter of the Carpathians" (C. Brătescu, *Pământul Dobrogei* (The Land of Dobrogea), p. 6, *Analele Dobrogei*, IX, 1).

In reality, history shows that, without exception, domination, or even a mere threat of domination, by the peoples of the continental steppe or of the Mediterranean, has meant a reaction or a submission of the natives of the nearby mountains.

Thus if, from the geographical standpoint, these two functions harmonise to produce the unitary complex called Dobrogea, from the political standpoint they are mutually exclusive. That is to say, Russian or Balkan possession of our maritime region is not possible without the subjugation of the political and economic organisation of the Carpathians; while Carpathian rule on the shores of the sea is not compatible with the free passage of the Russians or the Bulgarians through Dobrogea. Thus the presence, at the mouths of the Danube, of a Rumanian State conscious of its destiny closes to Russia the land route towards the Balkans, just as it closes the land route — which historically has no real significance — from the Balkans towards the Pontic plain.

Which of these dominations is — I will not say the more just, for in political matters justification is too closely linked to force — but the more natural?

There is only one answer, and we give it without heistation: it is Carpathian sovereignty.

1. For Rumania, Dobrogea is a necessary complement of the Carpathian region. This function is proved by the roads, the migration currents, and the flow of goods, which, starting from the Carpathians, reach the shores of the sea.

a) *Natural routes.* As has already been shown by Professor S. Mehedinți¹⁾, these communications follow the directions marked out by the three natural routes (see Fig. 4).

One route, marked by the group of valleys in the centre of the Rumanian plain (the Argeș and its tributaries), is clearly characterised by the oak forests of Vlasia which used to form a bridge joining together the populous Carpathian regions and the Danubian woodland.

¹⁾ In "Dacia pontică și Dacia carpatică" (Pontic Dacia and Carpathian Dacia), *Bul. S. R. R. de Geografie*, XLVII.

Beyond the Danube, still keeping to the shade of the forests (Deliorman), the route continues to the sea in the region of Balcic. Vlasia and Deliorman, placed between two steppe regions (the Burnas and the Bărăgan) thus formed the forest route between the Carpathians and the sea.

The second route is the steppe route by way of the valley of Ialomița, which is a sort of oasis in the Bărăgan.

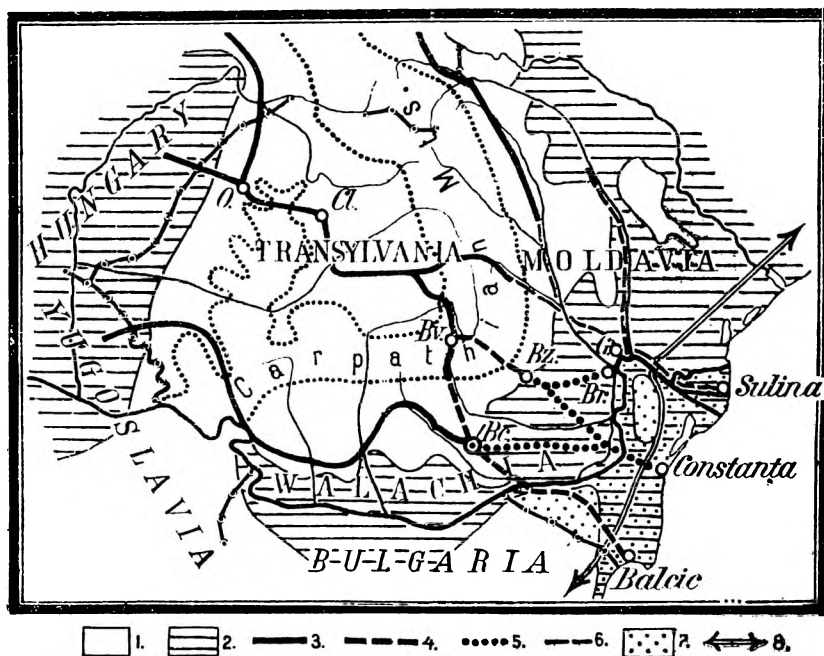


Fig. 4. — Routes descending from the Carpathians toward Dobrogea.

1. Forest zone. — 2. Steppe zone. — 3. Great international routes. — 4. Forest routes. — 5. Steppe routes. — 6. Routes of Moldavia. — 7. Dobrogea. — 8. Route of invasion (from the Balkans toward the north, and from the north towards the Balkans).

It leads to the junction of the arms of the Danube (opposite Hârșova); and, on the other side of the river, it traverses the Dobrogean steppe, reaching the sea in the region of Constanța.

The third route is marked by two other broad and well-watered valleys: that of the Siret, which links together

the eastern Carpathians, and that of the Prut, whose lower course descends from the forests of Moldavia. The Tulcea Highland and the Delta mark the point of arrival of these northern routes.

To the three above-mentioned directions must be added another, that of the Danubian periphery. The Marsh and the river were the fourth route for the expansion of the Rumanian people towards the sea. (Before the settlement of the Lipovans in the Delta, the only river fishermen were the Rumanians of Turtucaia).

b) *The seasonal routes of the shepherds* follow these natural pathways between the mountains and the sea. In reality, the paths by which the sheep descended from the mountain spread out to cross the Bărăgan; but they came together again at the confluence of the Ialomița — where was formerly held a celebrated wool fair — separating once more in the Dobrogean steppe. Other paths, coming from Oltenia and the Argeș, followed the valley of the Danube, and, by way of Deliorman, reached the sea in the region of the Silver Coast, their goal being the valley of Batova, which the Transylvanian shepherds called the “winterless valley”. Finally, another group of paths reached Dobrogea and the Delta, coming from the eastern Carpathians and northern Moldavia.

c) *The modern routes* too have utilised the directions indicated by nature. The railways and roads from the interior of the forest zone reach the confluence of the Argeș, and thence, by way of Turtucaia, Silistra, and Bazargic, follow an almost straight line towards the coast at Balcic.

The steppe route is to-day a broad network of railways and roads some of them converging at Brăila (where the cereals of the Bărăgan are loaded aboard ships), and the others at Fetești, where they cross the Ialomița marshes by the Carol I Bridge and, following the valley of Carassu, reach their terminus at Constanța, a port built at great expense by the Rumanians before the war. Finally, the routes of Moldavia follow, by land and water, the valleys of the eastern Carpathians, from northern Moldavia, and

converge at Galați, whence the Danube forms their continuation to the sea.

d) *Trade routes.* The organisation of the network of communications from the Carpathians to the lower Danube and the sea is due to the economic development of the Carpathian countries in the course of the last century; to-day, modern Rumania needs additional routes and the consolidation of those which already exist. Long before the World War, the timber of the Carpathians was brought down by raft or by rail to Galați, where the boats of the Levant called for it. Cereals were concentrated at Galați (the port of Moldavia), Brăila (the port of the Bărăgan), and Constanța (winter port, equipped with modern silos).

Oil likewise followed the steppe route to Constanța, either by pipe-lines or in tanks. All this traffic has to-day increased in volume, both in the direction of the sea and in the opposite direction (for the raw materials needed by the factories of Transylvania). In the years immediately following the peace, a plan was worked out and put into execution for the construction of a shorter route, connecting Transylvania with Fetești by the valley of Buzău, avoiding Bucharest, which is located of the main line from central Europe to the sea by way of Transylvania. Since the political reorganisation of our continent, new motives for relations between the Carpathian regions and Dobrogea have been added to those already mentioned, in particular the interests of Germany and Poland, industrial countries, for which the shortest route towards the Black Sea is also the valley of the Siret and the steppe.

In order seriously to attract the goods traffic of our northern neighbours, it is necessary to create new routes through the Carpathians, to double-track the line of the Siret, to increase the capacity of the lines of the Bărăgan, to deepen and complete the port of Constanța, to improve the maritime section of the Danube — in a word, to complete the engineering programme necessary to enable Dobrogea to fulfil its function as the economic complement of the Carpathians.

e) *The most recent population movements from the Carpathians towards the sea have likewise followed naturally from the possession of the shore.*

They had begun long since, with the migrations of Transylvanian shepherds, who settled in large numbers with their flocks on the cheap lands of Dobrogea. These movements were followed by the colonisation of Moldavian, Wallachian, and Macedonian peasants (the latter much later), so that, in a few decades, the part of Dobrogea belonging to Rumania was completely settled by Rumanians.

The Mohammedan population, which was not prolific, receded, without any injury to its rights: its day was past. If the Carpathic expansion halted at the edge of Deliorman, it is because the political boundary was drawn artificially in 1878, right across an old Turkish colonial territory. Under the protection of their adjacent mother country, the Bulgarians, in search of arable land, were thus able, after 1878, to dislodge the Mohammedans from this southern border of Dobrogea.

Would the present development of Rumania be imaginable with Dobrogea entirely Bulgarian and the mouths of the Danube under Russian rule — that is to say, with the seaboard terminus of the three routes from the Carpathians blocked? Common sense and good faith dictate a negative answer.

2. Dobrogea is a passage between the Pontic steppe and the Balkans. Between Russia and the Balkan peninsula, the shepherd peoples have followed the steppe route across the Bărăgan or Dobrogea. This has been the case from the Scythians to the Tatars and the Russians. The vast continental State of eastern Europe has tried, every time it was in a position to do so, to secure the Danube mouths, for two reasons: 1) to secure a route towards the south, towards the open sea; 2) to control, at their eastern extremity, the communications with central Europe by the great river. For our eastern neighbour, the sea route along the coast is of little interest, first because the shore offers few harbour facilities for large modern ships, but especially

because the shore would inevitably fall into the hands of the master of the Dobrogean peninsula.

To the south, on the contrary, we note a predilection for the sea route, because the object pursued by certain southern peoples was different.

The ancient Greeks, and later the Genoese and the Venetians, made use of the Dobrogean shore — which was well adapted for the boats of the time — to draw off the products of the nearby marshes, steppes, and mountains (cereals, cattle, fish, honey, wax). Thus commercial exploitation, even when it came from the east, made full use of all the communications with the hinterland, and thus utilised the permanent rôle of Dobrogea as the complement of the Carpathians. It is only military aims, having as their objective the security of the Balkan-Pontic route, that cancel these communications as dangerous and at the same time neglect the sea route. It was military aims which led the Romans to occupy this region, as a means of attacking the Dacian stronghold of the Carpathians opposite Dobrogea. Whoever is master of the region situated between the Danube and the sea is likewise master of the nearby mountains. The same phenomenon was repeated as a logical consequence of the presence of the Ottoman State in this province.

The Turks, being a predatory and a continental people, destroyed the commercial organisation of the littoral; by military colonisation, they transformed Dobrogea into a bastion (pashalik) destined to defend the routes of the lower Danube. The consequence was that the Carpathian lands entered upon a phase of decadence, from which they were able to escape only when the river and the Black Sea were freed from Ottoman rule (1829).

CONCLUSIONS

Dobrogea is, with reference to the great geographical regions to the north and south, a route of invasion and a fortress for the protection of that route; that is to say,

it performs a temporary and intermittent function, in the service of imperialistic aims, whose results are to shut off nearby Carpathian regions from access to the sea, and, implicitly, to reduce them to subjection, first economically and then politically. Who would have the hardihood to affirm that this function — though it is certainly a reality — is an ineluctable reality in a time when nations are developing normally? What honest man can refuse to understand that, on the contrary, our maritime province is, for the Balkan peoples or for Russia, an absolutely outlying territory, serving only for additional racial or political expansion (for Russia can export its products through its ports on the north coast of the Black Sea, and Bulgaria through the ports of its eastern shore, from Varna south)?

Our southern neighbours alone might one day invoke “room hunger”; but only in case it could be proved that our road to the sea does not need a protective space inhabited by people of the same nationality as those who must possess that road and, if need be, defend it.

For Rumania, Dobrogea is an ineluctable necessity, a functional complement to the Carpathians, the terminus of a natural route by which both the products of the country and the surplus population destined to ensure the control of this route go down to the sea.

This is the significance and the justification of Rumanian rule in Dobrogea. It is exactly in the interest of this possession, which can be effective only if perfectly consolidated, that we cannot forget that the other function — as a route of invasion — is a reality which constitutes a permanent danger.

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2. *Clima Dobrogei* (The Climate of Dobrogea).
3. *Fitogeografia și solurile Dobrogei* (Phyto-geography and Soils of Dobrogea).
4. *Populația Dobrogei* (The Population of Dobrogea).

For southern Dobrogea, see also: *Analele Dobrogei*, XIX, Vol. I and II, 1938.



Photo. by Tr. Săvulescu

The sea-coast just north of the Chilia channel (Jebrieni).

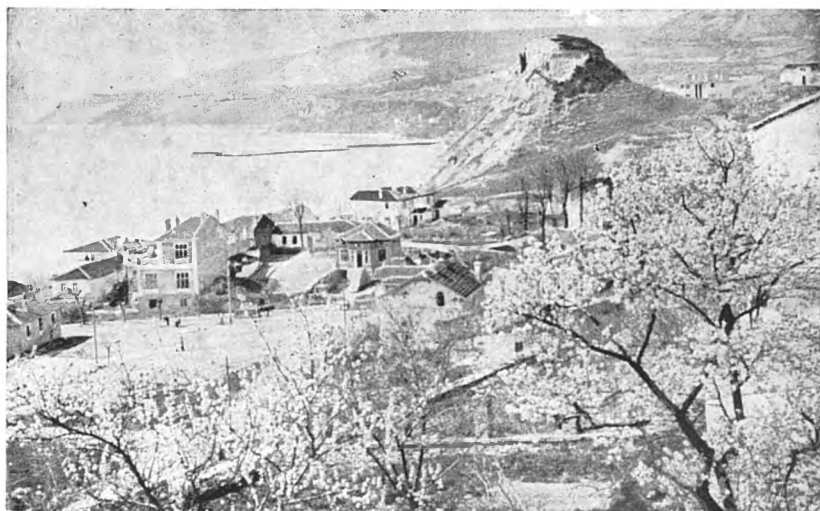


Photo. by Krepler

The Black Sea coast at Balcic. Almond blossom.



Photo. by Manolescu

The Danube at Turtucaia.



Photo. by V. Mihăilescu

Typical valley of the Delioiman (Plateau of southern Dobrogea). A deep valley with precipitous sides, carved out of the limestone, and waterless. Vegetation with Mediterranean features.

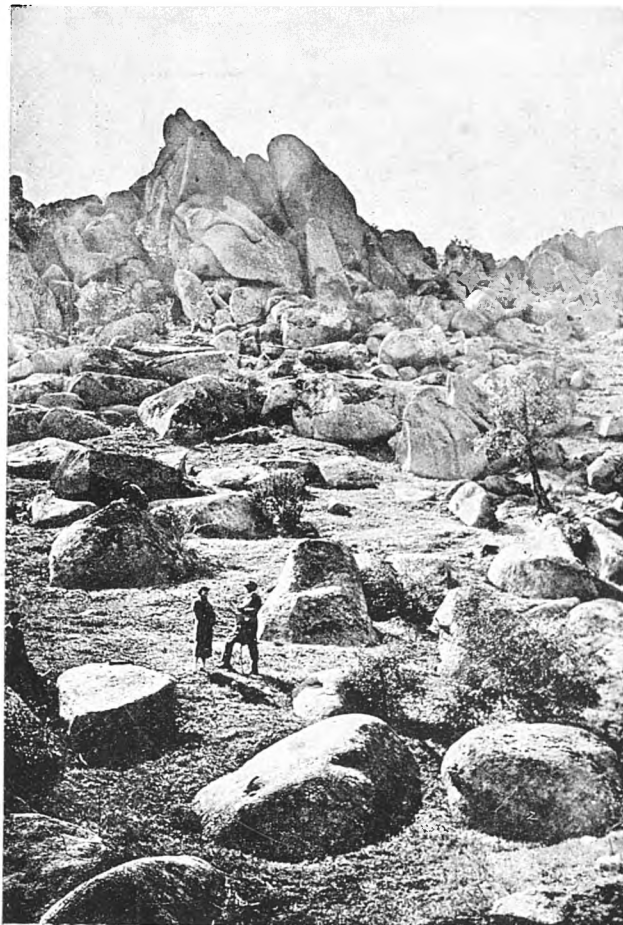


Photo. by I. Conea

View of the Pricopanul (mountains in northern Dobrogea):
disintegration caused by the climate.

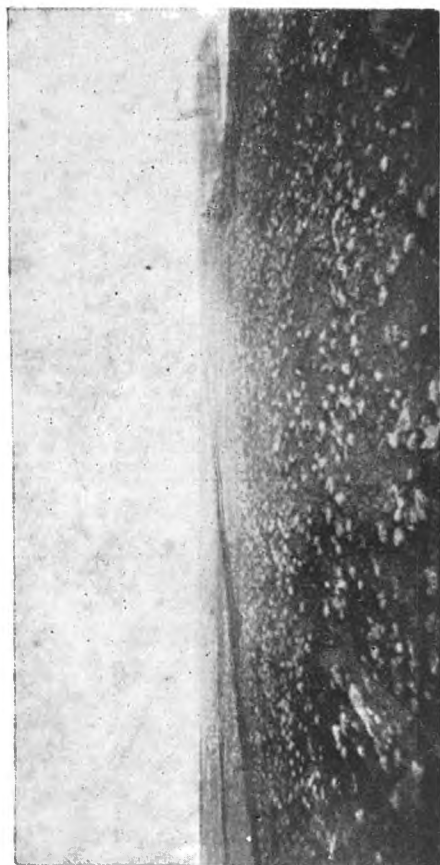



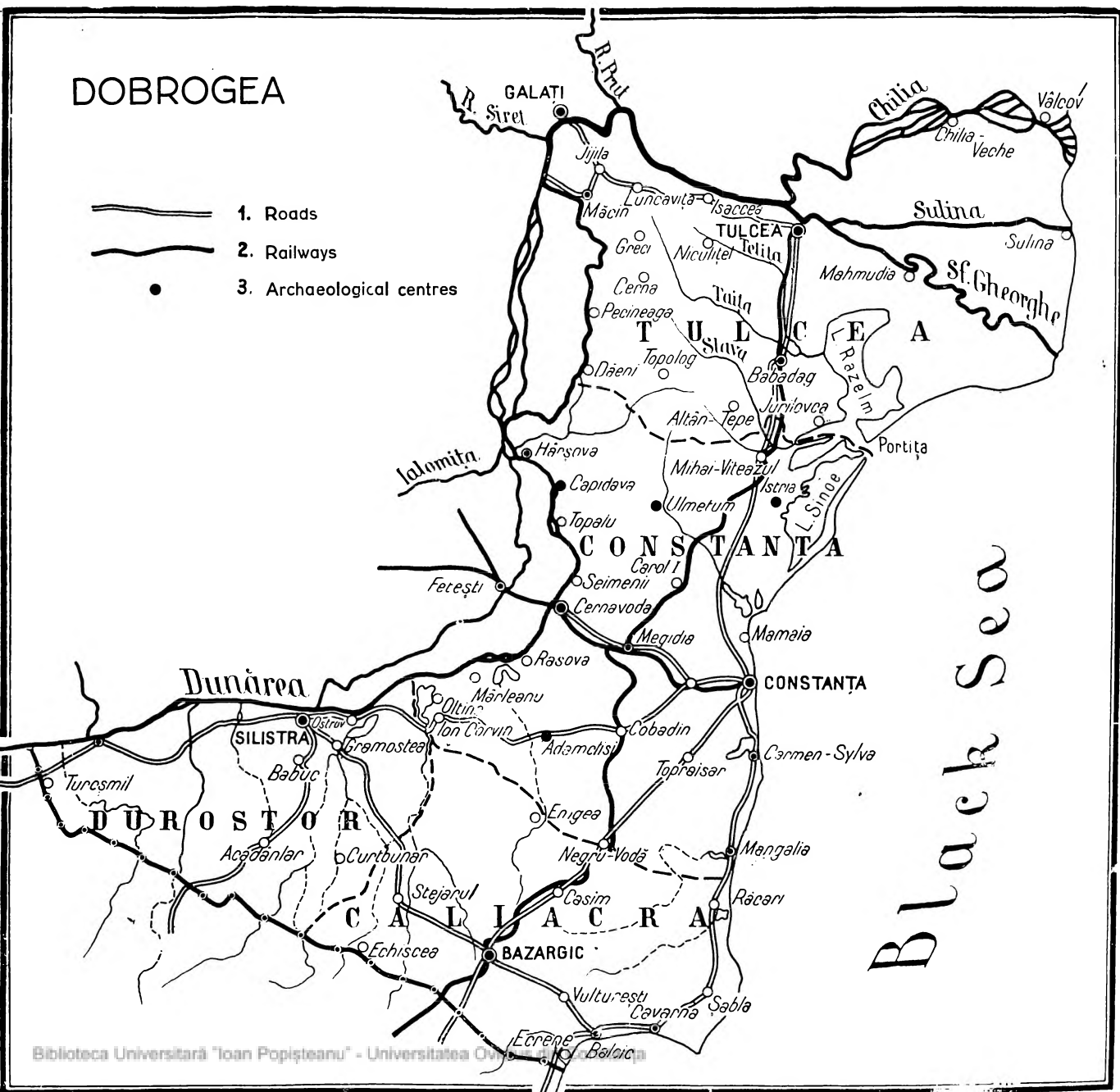


Photo. by G. Valsan
Limestone plateau of Caliacra, in south-eastern Dobrogea.

6

DOBROGEA

-  1. Roads
-  2. Railways
-  3. Archaeological centres



THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF DOBROGEA

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I. INTRODUCTION

The most outstanding consequences of the stormy history of Dobrogea are, on the one hand, the numerous ethnic enclaves among its main population and, on the other hand, a great wealth of archaeological remains representing the various civilisations of the past and, in particular, those of antiquity. Owing to the palpable and incontrovertible evidence which these vestiges afford in confirming, completing or replacing written records which are, in general, laconic, sporadic and fragmentary, they form a most valuable basis for the history of Scythia Minor.

Archaeological research in Dobrogea is comparatively recent. It was restricted during the Ottoman domination to the French excavations at *Troesmis* and to those of the Russian in the Isle of Serpents (*Leuce*). There can hardly be any question, therefore, of any intensive work until after the union of Dobrogea to Rumania in 1878. Rumanian archaeological work on the right bank of the Danube is dominated by two outstanding figures: *Grigorie Tocilescu* and *Vasile Pârvan*. Both were professors of Ancient History in the University of Bucarest and directors of the National Museum of Antiquities, Tocilescu from 1881 to 1909 and Pârvan from 1910 to 1927.

Gr. Tocilescu carried out the first systematic research throughout the whole of Dobrogea; he discovered a large

number of inscriptions; he established the identity of many localities; he studied the fortifications known as the « ramparts of Trajan » between Cernavoda and Constantza; he assiduously excavated the cities of *Axiopolis* (Hinogu, near Cernavoda) and *Tropaeum Trajani* (Adamclissi); and, in particular, he explored Trajan's celebrated triumphal monument in the vicinity of the place last mentioned.

Side by side with Gr. Tocilescu's painstaking work in Dobrogea, mention must also be made of the research — mainly in the field of numismatics — carried out by M. Soutzo and continued by C. Moisil, as well as of the investigations by C. Schuchhardt, of Berlin, in the Trajan walls ». Finally, of particular interest are the studies of Mgr. R. Netzhammer on the Christian antiquities of Scythia Minor. After the death of Gr. Tocilescu, the excavation of the city of *Tropaeum* was continued by G. Murnu.

V. Pârvan, one of the great figures of Rumanian culture, is the founder of the present Rumanian school of archaeology. Dobrogea occupies an essential place in the wealth of Pârvan's work, both because of his profound and decisive studies on the Greco-Roman antiquities of the province and because of his masterly excavations of *Ulmetum* and *Histria*. After his death, Pârvan's meticulous and fruitful explorations at Histria were continued by his disciple, Professor S. Lambrino. Other former students of V. Pârvan, like G. G. Mateescu (d. 1929), Paul Nicorescu and Gr. Florescu, have carried out excavations at *Abrittus* (Abtat), *Ibida* (Slava Rusă), *Argamum* (Doljman), *Tropaeum Trajani*, *Capidava*, Cernavoda, etc.

Among V. Pârvan's collaborators, the following have devoted much of their work to Dobrogea: D. M. Teodorescu, who excavated, *inter alia*, the Byzantine city of Chiosè-Aidin (*Questris?*), Th. Sauciuc-Săveanu, who has been exploring for many years the ruins of the Greek town of *Callatis* (Mangalia), and I. Andrieşescu, to whom are due the first prehistoric investigations on the soil of Dobrogea. The explorations of Oreste Tafrali (d. 1937) at *Callatis* and in the neighbourhood must likewise be mentioned.

Both because of its extent and persistence and because of the richness of its achievements, archaeological work occupies a proud position in the Rumanian endeavour to develop its maritime province on the right bank of the Danube. Nevertheless, this work, although vast and intense, is still far from having exhausted the rich store of antiquities in Dobrogea. Limited as it is to the splendour of Greco-Roman remains, it has as yet barely touched upon the prehistoric period and it has left wholly aside the mediaeval Byzantine, the Genoese and the Mahommedan remains which still await the time when they will be withdrawn from oblivion. The future still has important surprises in store in the field of archaeological research.

The results of the work of archaeological investigation which have been summarily recalled here have been published in reports and studies which constitute a rich bibliography. But the greater part of this work is of limited scope. There are few general works dealing with the whole extent of Dobrogea and with longer periods of time. On the other hand, such syntheses could not have been attempted before studies of detail had been made in sufficient number.

Thus, *Grigorie Tocilescu*, who worked in virgin soil on the right bank of the Danube, could not deal with wider subjects than those which are represented by his fine monograph on the Adamclissi monument (*Das Monument von Adamklissi: Tropaeum Traiani*) or by his various archaeological and epigraphic reports and studies, some of which are assembled in the volumes *Fouilles et recherches archéologiques en Roumanie* and *Monumentele epigrafice și sculpturale ale Museului Național de Antichități din București* (The epigraphical monuments and the sculptures of the National Museum of Antiquities at Bucharest).

Among the first scientific endeavours to establish a general conspectus of the problems of ancient Dobrogea, account must be taken of the introductory chapters describing the coins of this province which are comprised in the two volumes by *B. Pick* and *K. Regling* on *Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien*, published in 1893 and

1910. They deal in particular, however, with the Pontic cities. Another attempt is the book by J. Weiss, entitled *Die Dobrudscha im Altertum* (Sarajevo 1911), which is based on erudite information completed by observations made by the author on the occasion of a thorough journey throughout Dobrogea. But this work also, being geographical in character, is of limited scope. Also restricted in subject are the works of Mgr. R. Netzhammer on ancient Christian Dobrogea, the most detailed and thoroughly documented one being *Die christlichen Altertümer der Dobrudscha*, which appeared in 1918. Similarly restricted in interest to Christianity is the article *Dobrogea* by Ch. Auner in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* by Dom Cabrol.

The notion of a true synthesis of the classical period of Scythia Minor has not been insisted upon except by Vasile Pârvan. An historian *par excellence*, he sought in excavation a means of conjuring up completely the life of antiquity.

Under the title of *Inceputurile vietii romane la gurile Dunării* (The beginnings of Roman life at the mouths of the Danube), he had already written a part of the synthesis upon which he meditated in the case of Dobrogea. This book is a powerful reconstruction of Roman life in Scythia Minor in the first two centuries of the Roman empire. As for the Greek cities of the seacoast, Pârvan did not have the leisure to write, by way of a synthesis, more than his short but illuminating paper on *La pénétration hellénique et hellénistique dans la vallée du Danube*. Nor was the pre-Roman period of the province, from the Cimero-Scythian invasions down to Augustus and Trajan, neglected; it is dealt with by this industrious scholar in *Getica*, a series of magnificent chapters of proto-history concerning the whole of Dacia. The main conclusions of this voluminous work were published by Pârvan in a series of papers issued in English: *Dacia: An Outline of the Early Civilizations of the Carpatho-Danubian Countries* (Cambridge 1928). These important contributions were to have been followed by a number of syntheses designed to end with the epoch of

the invasions. Unhappily, the premature death of the author in 1927, while still under forty-five, brought to an abrupt end a great project, the justification for which lay in the abundance and great value of earlier work.

It can never be sufficiently regretted that a complete synthesis of the history of Dobrogea has not been written by this eminent historian and thinker. No one had displayed so much patience and wisdom in piercing the secrets of the distant past of this province. It is, however, a consolation that, through his partial studies, which are as varied as they are fundamental, the way should have been considerably cleared for those who may take up his task.

The present contribution represents a compendium to the work *Histoire ancienne de la Dobroudja* which the writer has recently published in French in the volume *La Dobroudja* of the Rumanian Academy (*Connaissance de la terre et de la pensée roumaines*, vol. IV), Bucarest 1938. In this attempt at a synthesis, he sought to reconstitute the chain of events in Trans-Danubian Rumania during the period of antiquity, emphasising the permanent features which characterise the destiny of this small land situated at a great anthropo-geographical crossroads. Keeping to this aim and to this plan, his purpose is to give in the following study a more concentrated account, referring to the French text the specialised reader who desires a wider and more detailed documentation.

II. PREHISTORY

Prehistorical archaeological research was begun in Dobrogea at a relatively late date. Up to the present, its results have been too meagre to provide any adequate conclusions.

It appears that this region was inhabited even in the lower palaeolithic era; this, at least, is what may be believed from a hand-axe of the classic *Mousterian* type found a few years ago at *Cape Midia* on the seacoast near Constantza. With regard to the *Aurignacian* — that first division of the

higher palaeolithic, as is generally attested by numerous vestiges both in Rumania and in the other countries of south-eastern Europe — mention may be made of the discoveries in a cave at *Topalu*, by the Danube, consisting of flint and bone tools found together with characteristic fossils of *elephas spelaeus*, *equus caballus fossilis*, *cervus megaceros*, *bos priscus*, etc.

The *neolithic* age in its more recent phase (*chalcolithic*) is represented in Dobrogea as abundantly as in the other provinces of Rumania; but, of the numerous settlements of that period which have been located between the Danube and the Sea, only those of *Cernavoda* and *Atmageaua-Tătărească*, in the county of Durostor, have hitherto been the object of systematic excavation.

At Cernavoda, where excavations have been made by C. Schuchhardt, in 1917, and I. Nestor, in 1936, a stratum of rich civilisation has been found. It contains beautiful pottery ornamented with graphite streaks or pictures in a remarkably vivacious spiral style. This settlement belongs to the Balkano-Danubian chalcolithic civilisation called *Gumelnița A*, which extends from the north of Wallachia to the Balkans.

At Atmageaua-Tătărească, where excavations have been made by Vl. Dumitrescu and D. Popescu, the same civilisation has been found. Moreover, at the bottom of the stratum are the remains of an older phase characterised by pottery adorned with excisions filled with a white substance and conceived in a geometric style. This civilisation, called *Boian A*, characterises the neolithic of a great part of Rumania and northern Bulgaria.

The identity to be noted between the civilisations of the neolithic and chalcolithic settlements of Dobrogea and those of Wallachia is so complete as to lead inevitably to the conclusion that the same people existed on both banks of the lower Danube. It is, however, an anonymous population, for we are still far from being able to make use, for such a distant past, of the retrospective echo of the earliest historical sources which reveal ethnic names. The most that

we can admit is that we are in the presence of pre-Indo-Europeans, assuming, in that case, that the first expansion of the Indo-Europeans took place in the course of the second millenium B. C. and that it caused the sudden disappearance of the chalcolithic civilisations from Rumania and the neighbouring countries as well as their replacement by the new and more sober forms of the Bronze Age. The fact is that many of these new forms endured here even in the Iron Age, when they seem to belong to a population whose Indo-European character is well defined in historical records; this was the case with the Thracian people.

On the *Bronze Age* in Dobrogea there has been even less research than on the neolithic and chalcolithic. Nowhere has there been an excavation of a settlement of that period which could furnish adequate material for a comparison with neighbouring countries. Even from isolated discoveries, such as those at *Hamangia* and *Medgidia*, it is hardly possible to deduce any affinities with the pre-history of Transylvania and Wallachia, on the one hand, and of southern Russia, on the other.

Barrows — those ancient and, to a large extent, pre-classical funereal monuments — are to be found in Dobrogea in such impressive numbers as to form an integral part of the landscape of the province and, in particular, of the steppe regions. They date from very different periods, being attributable only in part to the indigenous population. Many of them are the work of intruding elements which came from north of the Danube. Thus, a barrow near Constantza, which was excavated in 1917, contains chalcolithic skeletons painted in red ochre, just as in Russia.

Many barrows date from the historical period, having been built as graves both by the Greeks and the Romans. Near *Histria* and near *Callatis* one may see whole cemeteries composed of hundreds of these earthen monuments. A particularly remarkable barrow, dating from the *Iron Age*, has been discovered at *Hagighiol* (county of Tulcea) by I. Andrieşescu: it is the rich tomb of a Scythian chieftain, containing gold and silver objects, vases, arms, ornaments,

some of them of Greek manufacture from the fifth and fourth centuries B. C., others of Scythian art abundantly decorated with characteristic figures and designs.

With the exception of these discoveries, still for the most part unpublished, the Iron civilisation in Dobrogea has not yet been studied. Interest in the Iron Age has hitherto been confined exclusively to the Greek cities on the seacoast, whose brilliant history undoubtedly deserves the first attention. It is to be hoped, however, that we shall no longer neglect those more humble but, from the historical point of view, no less useful remains of the modest life led by the contemporary inhabitants in the interior of the province.

III. GETAE AND SCYTHIANS: SCYTHIA MINOR

Situated in the vast sphere of expansion of the *Thracians*, who constituted « the greatest nation after the Indians », as Herodotus says (V, 3), it is natural that Dobrogea should have been inhabited from the remotest times by a population forming part of that Indo-European race. But out of the Thracians there grew two branches characterised by differences of religion, customs and, undoubtedly, by peculiarities of language: these branches were, on the one hand, the *Southern* or *Balkanic Thracians* inhabiting the south of the Danube up to the Aegean Sea and to Asia Minor, and, on the other hand, the *Northern Thracians* or *Carpatho-Danubians* — preferably known as the *Getae* by the Greeks and later as the *Dacians* by the Romans — whose area of distribution extended westwards up to Bohemia and northwards up to the Vistula. It is to be noted that Dobrogea clearly belonged only to the Northern branch of the Thracians, together with Dacia on the left bank of the Danube and in the Carpathians. This fact is clear from the earliest historical records. Herodotus, from whom we have the oldest direct knowledge of the state of affairs in the countries of eastern Europe, says, in connection with the

famous expedition by Darius against the Scythians of 512 B. C., that the Great King, before reaching *Istrus* (the Danube) by the way leading from Thrace to Scythia along the coast of the Black Sea, had to fight with the *Getae*, « the bravest and the most righteous of the Thracians » (IV, 93), who put up a stubborn resistance. It was only after he had succeeded in defeating them, thanks to superior forces, that, with the help of a vassal Greek fleet, the Persian army could make its way towards the mouths of the river, near which it was passing, in the Scythian countries.

The Getic character of Dobrogea is likewise attested in subsequent periods up to the Roman epoch. The *Crobyzi*, who are mentioned in all the records as being established on the Silver Coast, are *Getae*. A portion of this people, the *Terizii*, inhabiting the region around Cape Caliacra (*Tirizis*), are mentioned by Suidas in connection with their worship of *Zalmoxis*, which was an essentially Getic characteristic. Thucydides (II, 96) clearly states that the *Getae* inhabit the region to the north of *Haemus* (Balkans) towards the Danube and the sea. Ovid, an involuntary guest in Dobrogea, mentions them frequently in his elegies. An important indication confirming the Getic character of this province is derived from place-names: many localities in Dobrogea and in eastern Moesia, such as *Sucidava*, *Sacidava*, *Capidava*, *Scaidava*, *Buteridava*, *Zisnudava*, *Muridava*, carry the suffix *dava*, which is a Getic characteristic signifying a « settlement », a « city ». This term is wholly foreign to the southern Thracians who, for the same meaning, employ the term *para*. The Getic character of ancient Dobrogea is all the more evident because, to the south of the Danube, the *Getae* extended more to the west of that province, the *Moesians* and the *Triballi* being their own kinsmen and belonging, like them, to the branch of northern Thracians.

If Dobrogea may be defined, because of its Getic population, as a prolongation of the Carpatho-Danubian unity, its history, on the other hand, has been disturbed from the remotest times by decisive events from without that unity. The oldest troubles of this kind which are mentioned by the

ancient writers were caused by the successive invasions of the *Cimmerians* and *Scythians*. A little after the year 1000 B. C. the migratory movements of the latter people from Central Asia provoked a violent displacement of the Cimmerians, who, having been driven out of their steppe lands situated between Kuban and the Dniester, fled towards the west and towards the south into Thracian regions. The terror of their depredations spread as far as the centres of civilisation of hither Asia. After them appeared the Scythians, whose invasions, being more prolonged and more frequent, likewise gave rise to considerable disturbances, especially in the regions inhabited by northern Thracians. Though they did not succeed in dislodging them from their place or in modifying much their ethnic structure, yet the Scythian enclaves settled in Dacia ultimately Thracianised them, as was the case with the *Agathyrsi* of the Carpathians—Scythians who, in the time of Herodotus (Vth century B. C.), had a Thracian language and Thracian customs. These ephemeral Scythian intrusions have left no traces except in place-names and possibly in certain Iranian characteristics which distinguish the Thracians of the north from those of the Balkans. When Thucydides enumerates (II, 96) the Thracian peoples south of the Danube, he sharply separates the Getae, especially because of their resemblance with the Scythians as much in their methods of fighting as in their other customs. It is possible that originally the denominations *Getae* and *Dacians* belonged to Scythian tribes which had invaded Dacia and become denationalised.

The invasions of the Cimmerians and of the Scythians undoubtedly reached Dobrogea too, this being the most natural route of invasion towards the south. But in this respect no details have been recorded. Herodotus is aware only of the Getae in this province. For him the country of the Scythians began on the other side of the mouths of the Danube. It was only after crossing the river towards the north that Darius considered himself in the country of his principal enemies.

The expedition of the Great King was a failure. Compelled to abandon the war and to retire south of the Danube owing to shortages and to the discouragements brought about by the insidious and dilatory tactics of the nomads, Darius hurriedly returned to Asia. Yet, if he did not succeed in obtaining domination over the Scythians, this vast enterprise nevertheless had one important result: Dobrogea became, together with Thrace, a territory tributary to Darius, the frontiers of the immense Asiatic empire becoming fixed, in this region, at the mouths of the Danube. This did not last long. After the success of Athens in the Aegean, the Persian forces were no longer able to remain in Europe.

This was a situation from which the Thracians of the Balkans took advantage. In those times they constituted an independent state under the Odrysian dynasty of *Teres*. Under King *Sitalces* (c. 431—424 B. C.), this state attained the apogee of its power, dominating the Getic populations in the north of the Haemus and fixing its frontier at the Danube. In this strategic delimitation, the Odrysians were following the example of the Persians.

The *Odrysian* kingdom lasted until 341 B. C., when it was conquered by *Philip II* of Macedonia. It is difficult to admit that until that date Dobrogea remained tranquil. The Scythian pressure on the Danube, which had been foreshadowed even at the time of *Sitalces* (Herodotus, IV, 78—80), must have increased, taking the form of large-scale invasions. The Scythian grave at Hagighiol, mentioned above, dating from the fifth to the fourth centuries B. C., as well as the analogous discoveries of Moesia and Thrace (Bedniakovo, Panaghiurishte, Radiuvene, Brezovo), constitute, from this point of view, a significant indication. In all probability, the resounding invasion of Dobrogea by *Ateas*, the king of the Scythians of Borysthenes, in 339 B. C., was not the first of the kind.

Taking advantage of the moment of disturbance caused by the disappearance of the Odrysian power from the Danube, when *Philip II*, caught in the whirlpool of Greek affairs, was unable as yet to make his authority effective

in the regions to the north of the Balkans, Ateas decided to cross into Dobrogea in front of his whole people in order to seek better and safer lands. He met with the resistance, however, of a *rex Istrianorum*, whom the records mention only under that name, but who cannot have been another than an energetic chieftain of the Getae from the neighbourhood of the Greek city of *Histria*. The « King of the Istrians » died unexpectedly, perhaps even while fighting with the Scythians. The fact is that this power invaded Dobrogea and threatened Thrace. Upon hearing this news, Philip, although engaged in the siege of Byzantium, left everything and hastened towards the north. In the battle which followed, possibly near *Histria*, Ateas, an old man of 90 years of age, fell valiantly in the struggle and his army was crushed. This was one of the greatest defeats suffered by the Scythians in their history. The conquerors themselves met with a setback on their return journey. Attacked by surprise by the Triballi, and in a battle in which Philip himself was wounded, they had to leave behind them the whole of the immense booty which they had taken from the Scythians — nearly 20.000 women and children in addition to all the flocks — and they only just managed to escape without more serious loss.

The groups of Scythians, mingled with Getae, who, as from the third century B. C., appear in Dobrogea, in the steppe region near the coast, to the south of Tomis and, in particular, towards Cape Caliacra, must be attributed to certain happier invasions than that of Ateas of the same period. Their southern boundary was at the river *Zyras*, to-day the *Batova* or the *Valea-fără-Iarnă* (Winterless Valley), between *Dionysopolis* (Balcic) and *Odessus* (Varna), just at the present-day Rumano-Bulgarian frontier and where the geographical limit between the Dobrogean steppe and the pre-Balkan woodlands begins. These Scythians, who were no longer leading a nomad life but, like the Getae, were now engaged in agriculture — Plinius (*Nat. hist.*, IV, 44) called them the *Scythae Aroteres* —, have left us numerous specimens of their own bronze coins minted by Greek craftsmen

after the model of the coins of Tomis, Callatis and Dionysopolis and bearing the Scythian effigies and names of many local chieftains such as *Tanusa*, *Canites*, *Charaspes*, *Acrosas* and *Sarias*. When calling these Scythians to mind, consideration must also be given to a few toponymic vestiges, such as *Zaldapa*, the name of an ancient locality in the neighbourhood of present-day Bazargic, or like *Asanpaeus* and *Calabaeus*, the names of streams in the vicinity of Histria.

As to the name *Scythia Minor* which was applied to Dobrogea in ancient times, as is recorded even in the time of Augustus (Strabo, 311), but which became more frequent in the later periods of the Roman empire, it undoubtedly has its origin in those Scythian settlements along the seacoast. Its extension to the whole province, and especially its persistence and frequent recurrence until very late periods, can be explained only by the physical character of the country, which is wholly different from the other regions on the right bank of the Danube and much more like the Dacian Bărăgan or the Scythian steppe to the north of the Black Sea. There can be no question in this terminology of a true ethnic sense denoting a predomination of the Scythian element as compared with the Getic.

IV. THE GREEKS: PONTUS SINISTER

Another name given to ancient Dobrogea and which suited it much better was that of « Left Pontus » (Τὰ ἀριστερὰ τοῦ Πόντου, *Pontus Sinister*, *Pontus Laevus*). This name, given at first to the whole eastern coast of the Black Sea, from the Bosphorus up to the mouths of the Danube, was afterwards more and more restricted to the north Balkan portion of that coast. But, because of its purely maritime meaning, the expression was used in particular by the Greeks and, unlike *Scythia Minor*, did not come to be extended also to the interior of Dobrogea.

The seacoast hinterland of this province constituted a world apart. It did not in fact belong to its inhabitants, who

were men from the mountains or from the steppe, whom the mysterious immensity of the Black Sea, without islands, without hope of a landcoast on the horizon, had nothing to attract. In order that this sea might play its civilising role, it had to be discovered by the *Greeks*, who were accustomed to navigation by their hospitable Aegean archipelago. On the other hand, even for them the Black Sea was not at first very easy to conquer. The legend of the *Argonauts* represents a proof of the powerful impression which the great storms and the hard climate made on the first Greek navigators venturing out of the Bosphorus. The Scythians and, perhaps, the Getae, called this sea the *Akhšaēna*, «dark», that is, just as it is called to-day: *Black Sea*. The Greeks found the sad meaning of this name most suitable and adopted it, translating it — Euripides uses the expression Πόντος μέλας (*Iphig. Tauris*, 107) — and, in particular, assimilating the original form of the barbarian name with the Greek term ἄξεινος, «inhospitable». But, little by little, having acquired experience of this sea and succeeded in overcoming its difficulties, and appreciating more and more the advantages presented by the immense riches of its coasts, they found this epithet exaggerated and replaced it with εὔξεινος, «hospitable». And thus *Pontus Euxinus* remained the most characteristic name of that sea throughout antiquity. It was only in the Middle Ages that the very ancient name of *Black Sea* reverted into use.

The question whether the Greeks had forerunners in the exploration of the Euxine by another navigating people is still in discussion. According to some indications, it appears that the coasts of this sea were not wholly unknown either to the pre-Hellenic Aegeans or to the Phoenicians. On the other hand, the locality *Carum Portus* (Καρῶν λιμὴν), on the coast of southern Dobrogea, at Cape Şabla, proves by its name that the Greek settlement there was at first a stopping-place of the Carians, who had their own thalassocracy in the Aegean during the eighth century B. C., that is contemporary with the beginnings of the colonial expansion of the Greeks.

Archaeological confirmations of these indications are lacking. In the excavations made up to the present in the ruins of the Greek Pontic cities, there has not been discovered a single object of southern origin earlier than the seventh century B. C.

In that century were founded some of the enduring Greek colonies of the Black Sea. Among them, the first to be mentioned in Dobrogea is *Istrus*, or *Istria* (*Histria*), situated south of the mouths of the river *Istrus* (Danube), from which it derives its name. There, on a small rocky island, in the middle of a gulf of the sea which has become to-day the Sinoe lagoon, the Milesians, towards 650 B. C., laid the foundations of a town destined to attain great prosperity. The trade in freshwater fish from the Danube Delta was for *Histria* a great source of wealth. Moreover, by the higher reaches of the river it had an intense traffic with the Getic populations in raw materials — cereals, hides, wool, honey, resins, metals — which they gave in exchange for wines, olive oil and Greek industrial manufactures.

The same products, and cereals in particular, also formed the essential basis of commerce for other Greek cities in Dobrogea. South of *Histria* stood *Tomis*, or *Tomis*, near the present-day Constantza; then *Callatis*, at Mangalia; *Bizone*, on the site of the port of Cavarna of to-day; also, at Balcic, *Cruni*, later named *Dionysopolis*. The important town of *Odessus*, on the site of present-day Varna, stood outside the limits of Dobrogea. Between these places there were numerous smaller stopping-places which are mentioned in the records: *Stratonis* (possibly *Stratonis turris*) at Cape Tuzla; then *Parthenopolis*, *Aphrodisias*, *Eumenia*, *Heraclaea*, between *Tomis* and Cape Caliacra but not yet more precisely identified; and, finally, *Carum Portus*, mentioned above and situated at Cape Şabla, where the remains of Attic vases and an inscription of the fifth century B. C. have been found.

To the various Greek settlements of the coast must be added the Isle of Serpents — *Leuce* («White»), or *Achilleis* —, a rock situated 44 kilometres from the mouths of the

Danube, the only island in the whole of the Black Sea, a halting-place for the Milesian mariners who set up there, from ancient times, a sanctuary in honour of *Achilles Pontarches*, the divinity protecting the Pontic trade.

The oldest Greek cities in Dobrogea were Milesian colonies. This is the case, in the first place, with *Histria* and with *Tomis*. The city of *Cruni-Dionysopolis* was created by Greek colonists of diverse origins, among whom the Milesians predominated. As for *Bizone*, it would appear from its Thracian name that it was a Crobyzian citadel ceded by the local inhabitants to colonists from Doric Mesambria; with the accretion of other Greeks, of Ionic origin, its Doric character was wiped out in the course of time. The only certain and constantly Doric city in the whole of Dobrogea was *Callatis*, the daughter-city of *Heraclea Pontica* on the Asiatic coast of the Black Sea and itself a colony of Megara.

The Greek cities of Dobrogea and of the whole Euxine represent the vanguard of the Greek world in its expansion northwards. Their history, although influenced by the events of the barbarian neighbouring lands, is first of all a reflection of occurrences in the southern Aegean.

These cities were born of the intense activity of Miletus, who chose the moment when the Cimmerico-Scythian invasions came to an end and who, by establishing commercial relations with the Scythian political formations in the north of the Black Sea and with the Getic ones of Dobrogea which had emerged from the new equilibrium of the barbarian world, established for the first time a vast maritime hegemony in the Black Sea. The collaboration of the Greeks with the Scythians and with the Getae was active and prolonged. The commercial supremacy of Miletus lasted for more than a century. This was long enough to consolidate his Pontic creations which, even after the fall of the metropolis into the hands of the Persians, did not cease to flourish.

Even from the sixth century B. C., at the time of Pisistrates, the influence of Athens began to make itself felt in the Euxine. Athens was ready to assume the supremacy

which the Milesians were losing. Attic pottery with black designs is quite frequent on the coast of Dobrogea. This influence became decisive after the victory of the Athenians over the Persians and after the establishment of the Athenian thalassocracy in the Aegean. The splendid development of Attic civilisation in the fifth and fourth centuries B. C., had the widest echo in the Greek cities of Dobrogea, where there appeared in those times sumptuous marble buildings, sculptural works of art, and an abundance of pottery represented in the first place by the Attic vases with red designs and by the terra-cotta objects of Tanagra and of Myrina.

It was in those times too that Histria minted for the first time its own coins: silver pieces marked with the city emblem — a vulture holding a delphin in its talons — or with the strange effigy of two human heads facing in opposite directions, probably representing the meeting of the Danube waters with the Sea. Prior to that, the only coins of Dobrogea which are known are a few golden staters from Cyzicus and an Olbian *aes grave* from the sixth century B. C., found at Salsovia, in the Delta.

The relations between the Greek cities of the Pontus Sinister and the neighbouring populations of barbarians remained excellent. Thus, towards the end of the sixth century B. C., *Ariapeithes*, king of the Scythians of Borysthenes, married a Histrian, whose son, *Scyles*, subsequently mounted the throne. Envied, however, by his consanguineous brother, *Octamasades*, he was killed. The Histrians sought to maintain even closer relations with the Getae in their vicinity who, through Greek influence, must have become a kind of *Μιξέλληνες*. It is with good reason that one has sought to detect a similar Hellenised Getic population in those *Istrians* who resisted the invasions of *Ateas* of 399 B. C.

That invasion compelled Philip II to concern himself earlier than he would have wished with Danubian frontier problems which faced his State as they had faced the Persians and the Odrysians. Urgently recalled, however, by the events of the Greek world, he did not have the leisure

to stay longer in the north of the Balkans. Yet the losses suffered at the hands of the Triballi only made the acuity of the Danubian problems more keenly felt.

Interest in these problems had to be taken up again by Alexander the Great from the first year of his reign. Vanquishing the Triballi in 335 B. C., he consolidated his rule in the Balkans. But the problems of the northern frontiers remained untouched. The key to their solution depended upon the *Getae* on the left bank of the Danube, who surprised Alexander by their imposing intervention in favour of the Triballi. The young king was not at a juncture when he could risk a serious war with that numerous and powerfully organised people. He was content, therefore, with the simple demonstration of crossing the Danube one night and of setting fire to a citadel evacuated by the *Getae*.

But, while Alexander was occupied in the depths of Asia with the epic of his glorious exploits, his general, *Zopyrion*, who had been left as governor of Thrace, lightly undertook, in 326 B. C., with 30.000 men, an expedition north of the mouths of the Danube for the purpose of imposing Macedonian supremacy at one blow both over the Scythians and *Getae* and over the Greek cities in the north of the Black Sea. Suffering a setback near Olbia and threatened by the Scythians of Borysthenes, he had to retreat. Prevented from crossing the Danube into Dobrogea by a rapid rise of the waters, he was unexpectedly attacked by the *Getae* and fell in the battle with the whole of his army.

After the death of Alexander, the attempt to establish Macedonian domination over the Danube was again made with systematic perseverance by *Lysimachus*, the governor, and the afterwards the king, of Thrace. The efforts of the valourous Diadoch were at first attracted to Dobrogea, where, in 313 B. C., on the initiative of the city of *Callatis*, there was formed against him a great coalition comprising the Greek cities of the Pontus Sinister, the *Getae* from the left bank of the Danube, the Balkan Thracians in revolt and the Scythians from the north of the Black Sea. *Lysimachus*, concentrating his forces in Dobrogea and placing his treasure in the

shelter of the fortress of Cape Caliacra (*Tirizis*), succeeded by swift actions in defeating one by one each element of the coalition, wholly isolating Callatis, which had to endure a long and hard siege. The city of Callatis, which, in the fourth century B. C., had attained very great prosperity, resisted for many years, probably with the help on the sea of the fleet of Antigonus, Lysimachus's rival. But, weakened and on the brink of capitulation, towards 308 B. C., it had to expatriate one thousand citizens who, being received by King Eumelus in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, established there the town of *Psoa*. The fall of Callatis followed soon afterwards.

By 302 B. C., Lysimachus was in complete control of the Pontus Sinister. All that there remained for him to do was the organisation of the Danube frontier, fortifying a few important strategic points such as *Axiopolis* (Cernavoda-Hinogu), which was at first called *Heraclea*. But, by this action, the Macedonian king penetrated into the possessions on the right bank of the Danube of *Dromichaetes*, the Getic king of Wallachia, who reacted. Two great attempts by Lysimachus to obtain a decisive victory against the Getic chieftain, in the Bărăgan, ended disastrously. In one of them, the Getae took prisoner *Agathocles*, the son of the Greek monarch. In the second, in the year 295 B. C., Lysimachus himself was taken with his whole army. *Dromichaetes* did not release him until after the conclusion of a peace favourable to the Getae.

Lysimachus's activity in Scythia Minor represents the first great effort of a southern power to ensure for itself complete control over this province. Although this design could not be realised, yet the spread of Greek civilisation in Dobrogea and in the neighbouring countries, considerably fostered by the trade of the Pontic cities, largely benefited from this political and military activity. Elements of southern civilisation from the Greek period and, in the first place, Macedonian coins of Philip, Alexander and Lysimachus, are very common in the archaeological discoveries of the region of the lower Danube.

After the death of Lysimachus (281 B. C.), his possessions, including Dobrogea, passed into the hands of *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, the king of Macedonia. But it was for a short time, because in 280 B. C. the invasion of the Celts upset the whole equilibrium established by the Macedonians in the Balkan Peninsula. When calm had returned, a Celtic State had appeared in Thrace, with its capital at *Tylis* (possibly present-day Tulovo, in the valley of the Hebrus). It is not known whether this State extended up to the mouths of the Danube. The Celtic names of the Dobrogean strongholds of *Noviodunum* (Isacceia) and *Arrubium* (Măcin) may be explained as well by Celtic elements come from the north in connexion with the *Galatians* mentioned in the inscriptions from Olbia.

The invasion of the Celts does not appear to have led to any disturbance in the life of the cities of the Pontus Sinister. In the course of the third century B. C., their prosperity continued, as is demonstrated by the wealth of Greek archaeological remains from the first half of that century as well as by the refortification of Callatis. The inscriptions show that, in the third century B. C., that city had extensive relations with Olbia, Apollonia, Chersonesus, Mytilene, Odessus, Histria, Corinthus, Euboea, etc. It was a time when lived *Demetrius of Callatis*, one of the most celebrated geographers of antiquity.

In 260 B. C. Callatis once more found itself at the head of a coalition, this time against Byzantium which, undoubtedly taking advantage of the conditions created in the south by the Celtic invasions, sought to realise for himself a Pontic hegemony. The conflict resulted in an alliance with the city of *Tomis*, a very old Milesian foundation which, until then, had played only a modest role, strangled by the prosperity of Histria and Callatis. Byzantium probably wanted to make of it a *point d'appui* for its authority in the Pontus Sinister. Callatis and Histria, their hegemony being threatened, made an alliance with the intention of dividing the territory of *Tomis*, the town itself reverting to Callatis. But the naval forces of these two Dobrogean cities were

crushed by the Byzantines. This was the last display of strength by Callatis, which, after this failure, never again rose to its earlier importance (Memnon, in *FHG*, III, p. 537, 21). Histria, which probably risked less in that affair, preserved its power, even taking an active part in the events of the years which followed. As for Byzantium, it could not draw enduring advantages from its victory, whereas that victory was decisive for *Tomis*, which, emerging from the unfavourable situation in which it lingered, entered into an era of prosperity that did not cease to grow in the succeeding centuries.

V. GETIC SUPREMACY

The Celtic kingdom of Tylis disappeared by the end of the third century B. C., following upon a revolt of the Thracians. This change led to disturbances in the Balkans which extended to Dobrogea. An important inscription dating from about 200 B. C., found a few years ago at *Histria* by Mr. S. Lambrino, shows how that city, as well as the other Greek cities of the Pontus Sinister, was at that time the object of continuous attacks on the part of an important band of Thracians under the leadership of a chief called *Zoltes*. At one time he succeeded in conquering and plundering *Bizone*. *Histria* only escaped because of the repeated efforts of one of her rich citizens, *Agathocles*, who, sometimes by the payment of important sums, at others by the timely organisation of measures of effective defence, caused the attackers to withdraw. In the last analysis, no solution to the crisis could be found except by recourse to the effective protection of a powerful Getic king up the Danube called *Remaxus*.

This circumstance shows the great authority which the Getic State of Dacia had attained after Dromichaetes, following upon the disturbances provoked by the Celtic invasions. Dobrogea became in the natural order of events a possession of the Getae. The Greek cities could not have

found better supporters. The intervention of Remaxus put off for another two centuries the re-establishment of the Balkan Thracians on the Danube.

The Getic expansion towards the east was itself soon threatened by another danger, from the north. This was the appearance of the *Bastarnae*, a people of Germanic origin who, coming down from the north of the Carpathians, reached the mouths of the Danube. Towards the year 200 B. C., after Remaxus, the *Bastarnae* defeated the Getae on the left bank of the Danube. Through the revenge which they took under the energetic leadership of King *Oroles*, an equilibrium was reached which was reciprocally respected by the two forces. But the connexion of the Getae with Dobrogea was not less disturbed.

The second century was dominated in that land by the incursions of the *Bastarnae*, who gave the Greek cities the panic of continuous insecurity. Moreover, the ravages of the pirates by sea were a serious blow to trading activities. Nevertheless, notwithstanding all the risks, they put forth an heroic effort to continue this activity. The inscription of the banker *Bicon*, of Callatis, who is praised because, against the prevailing custom, he lent money at small rates of interest and because he restituted to a certain *thiasos* the money deposited, although he had lost it in grave circumstances, represents a characteristic document of that period (*Sylloge*³, 1108). The silver coins of the Pontic cities became rare, being replaced by bronze pieces minted in large quantities. In the face of the barbarian attacks, the cities joined efforts and gave each other reciprocal help. It was perhaps at that time that was born that *Pentapolis*, a community of towns from the Pontus Sinister, which was known in the Roman epoch.

In that century there occurred an event of capital importance which was to have decisive consequences for Dobrogea as well as for all the Danubian countries: this was the establishment of the *Romans* in Macedonia in 146 B. C. Once the masters of the former kingdom of Philip and Alexander, the Romans themselves were also to raise the

problem of a northern frontier at the Danube. But, in order to fix it on the line of that river, long and painful efforts would be needed. For centuries the opposition of the Getae was to be a constant obstacle. As the unchallenged masters of the left bank of the Danube, the Getae were to support on the right bank every attack by the Bastarnae, the Thracians or the Illyro-Scordiscans against Roman Macedonia.

The empire of *Mithridates Eupator*, which was formed around the Euxine about 100 B. C., was likewise to benefit as an anti-Roman force from the co-operation of the Getae, especially as, in the west, the influence of the Pontic king was to be reduced to a protectorate over the Greek cities without any territorial claims in the interior of Dobrogea. A witness to this suzerainty of Mithridates in the Pontus Sinister is constituted by the coins from Histria, Tomis, Callatis, bearing his effigy.

The situation of the Romans in Macedonia as well as in the East became critical. There could be no solution other than through energetic and large-scale action. And thus, at the time when L. Lucullus undertook his brilliant expedition from Asia Minor against the Pontic monarch, his brother, M. *Lucullus Varro* began an offensive towards the mouths of the Danube. After crushing the Thracians of the Balkans and of Moesia and repelling the Getic forces which had come to their aid, the Roman general, in 72 — 71 B. C., conquered the Greek cities of the Pontus Sinister — among them *Odessus*, *Dionysopolis*, *Bizone*, *Callatis*, *Tomis* and *Histria* — and compelled them to enter into the Roman alliance. This first contact of Dobrogea with the Romans is attested by a precious document of the first century B. C., found at Callatis and constituting precisely the treaty of submission of that city (*poplus Callatinus*) under the form of an alliance with Rome (*poplus Romanus*). At about the same time, Mithridates fell under the decisive blows of Pompey, who likewise succeeded in radically clearing the Euxine, as well as the whole Mediterranean, from the plague of pirates.

The Roman authority appeared to be solidly installed at the mouths of the Danube. But a revolt of the Greek

cities of the Pontus Sinister, exasperated by the abuses of C. *Antonius Hybrida*, the pro-consul of Macedonia, gave occasion to the Getae to intervene in Dobrogea. C. *Antonius* at once endeavoured to forestall the danger which thus threatened. But the encounter which he had in 61 B. C. near Histria with a coalition of Getae, Greeks and Bastarnae, ended in the crushing of the Roman forces and with his own death in battle. All the work of M. Lucullus fell to the ground. The Romans had to leave all their conquests in the north of the Balkans and on the coast of the Black Sea.

The Getae, the principal authors of that victory, drew an immense profit. Just at that moment there rose to their leadership *Burebista*, who, re-establishing the moral discipline of the people, constituted an imposing military force with which he succeeded in forming a formidable Danubian empire, from Bohemia to the Crimea and from Poland to beyond the Balkans. The whole of Dobrogea entered into this Getic empire. *Burebista* was master of every Greek town from Olbia up to Apollonia. This result, which meant the transformation of the Getic protection into an effective sovereignty, was not received by the Greeks without resistance. Various inscriptions from about 50 B. C. found at Olbia, Histria, Tomis, Mesambria, prove that the domination of the Pontic cities was achieved by fighting.

Only Dionysopolis had another attitude. From a decree given in honour of Acornion (*Sylloge*³, 762), it may be seen that that city, which suffered much on the occasion of the expedition of C. Antonius of 62—61 B. C., had with the Getae constant relations of friendship. Acornion, a leading citizen of Dionysopolis, is praised for his missions to *Burebista*, as well as for the confidence which he obtained on the part of the Getic sovereign, who used him to conclude an alliance with Pompey on the occasion of the civil war against Caesar.

That war was a good opportunity for *Burebista* to contribute to the weakening of the Roman forces. But before his promised aid could become effective, the conflict was decided

at Pharsalus in favour of Caesar. Just as the victor was preparing to crush the Getic power, he was assassinated (44 B. C.). Shortly afterwards, the great Getic king met with the same fate.

His empire fell to pieces. Wallachia and the former possessions of Dromichaetes reverted to *Dicomes*. The greater part of Dobrogea was divided up under the authority of many local independent chieftains of Getic origin. The Greek cities themselves found liberty again.

In a new civil war between Marc-Antony and Octavian, *Dicomes*, faithful to the policy of Burebista, took the part of the one who represented the interests of the Orient. But it was also from that date that the fight was decided before the Getic intervention made itself felt. *Dicomes* was content to dominate the populations of Moesia and the Triballi. At the same time there took place a great migration of Bastarnae throughout Dobrogea, threatening Thrace and Macedonia.

Octavian, become after Actium, like *Augustus*, the sole master of the destinies of Rome, decided to end definitely the disturbances of the Danube. At his order, *M. Licinius Crassus*, the governor of Macedonia, undertook in 29 B. C. an expedition at the mouths of the Danube. The Bastarnae were defeated in southern Dobrogea at the river *Cerdus* (or perhaps *Cerbus*, somewhere near Callatis). Their king, *Deldon*, fell killed by the hand of the Roman general himself. Some of the fugitives, shut up in a strong fortress, were captured with the help of *Roles*, a Getic king from the region of Durostorum. He became *amicus et socius populi Romani*.

In the following year, *Crassus*, provoked by a new incursion of the Bastarnae and called to help by *Roles*, who had been attacked by *Dapyx*, a Getic chieftain from the centre of Dobrogea, returned to the Danube. The Bastarnae, again beaten, concluded peace. *Dapyx*, likewise defeated, heroically committed suicide.

Being determined to obtain a complete result, the general also attacked *Zyraxes*, the Getic king in the north of

the province, although the later had not been guilty of any provocative action. Besieged in the fortress of *Genucla*, on the bank of the Danube, he succeeded at last in taking refuge to the north of the river. The conquest of that citadel, in which were kept the trophies taken by the Getae from the troops of C. Antonius who had been slaughtered in 61 B. C., meant at the same time that that disaster was avenged and that Roman authority at the mouths of the Danube was re-established. The political supremacy of the Getae over Dobrogea was over.

On July 4 in the year 27 B. C., Crassus received at Rome the reward for his victory, triumphing *ex Thraecia et Geteis* (CIL, I, p. 180).

This event marked a definite turning-point in the history of Scythia Minor. Augustus fixed in principle the limit of his empire at the Danube. The Greek cities having now come with goodwill under Roman protection, their autonomy was respected. It was probably to Roles that the administration and custody of the territories in the interior, conquered by Crassus, were entrusted. Both the latter's vassal kingdom and the Greek cities formed part of the sphere of authority of the governor of Macedonia.

If that authority at first declined to manifest itself through permanent garrisons, it was because Dobrogea, standing in the midst of a barbarian world in full effervescence, was too far removed from the bases of the Roman force. The country was to endure another century of insecurity, subjected at any moment either to the incursions from the other side of the Danube on the part of the Getae, who were not resigned to a surrender of the right bank of the river, or to the violent invasions of the *Sarmatians*, who had taken in southern Russia the place of the Scythians of former times. The Romans vigorously reacted. There was a rout of the Sarmatians in Thrace as early as in 16 B. C. Shortly after this, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, Augustus' envoy, repelled a Getic invasion and forced the Sarmatians to recognise the authority of Rome on the Danube. Another

general, *Aelius Catus*, entered Wallachia at the beginning of our era and radically crushed the local Getic forces. Thus was suppressed the ancient and glorious State of Dromi-chaetes and Dicomēs.

This success was of decisive importance in the establishment of the Romans on the Danube. In about the year 6 A. D., there was created the province of *Moesia*, bounded in the east by the river *Asamus* (Osem). The Getic territories situated farther eastwards, including Dobrogea, and known under the collective name of *Ripa Thraciae*, were annexed to the Odrysian kingdom of Thrace, which the Romans re-established as a dependent State. The Greek cities, under the direct protection of the Romans, did not depend from this State. As for Roles, it is probable that his descendants were no longer able to keep the confidence of Rome.

Not even these changes, however, brought much tranquility to Dobrogea. After the decline of the *Getae* of Wallachia, those of Moldavia and of Transylvania remained very strong and no less enterprising, and they continued to make incursions over the other side of the Danube. This was the period during which *Ovid* spent his nine years of exile (9—17 A. D.) in that land. In the testimony afforded by his elegies on *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto*, which were written at Tomis, there is a dominating impression of the insecurity in which both the Greek cities and the population in the interior had to live. The *Getae* were the most characteristic element of that population. The poet mentions incidentally the *Scythians* along the coast, the *Coralli* — perhaps Geto-Celts or Geto-Sarmatians — and the *Bessi*. The last were Thracians from the Balkans, probably deported into Dobrogea after Crassus' victory of 29—28 B. C.

Apart from the endemic incursions of the hordes of predatory Barbarians, who maintained the population in a state of panic and who prevented the tilling of the soil, several attacks by strong forces occurred. Thus *Aegyssus* and *Troesmis*, strong cities fortified by the Odrysians on the bank

of the Danube, were successively conquered by the Getae in two principal waves of invasion — the first in the year 12 A. D., and the second in the year 15 A. D. After severe and bloody fighting, Aegyssus was delivered, by a Roman legion under the command of the legate *Vitellius* and by numerous Thracian troops led by King *Rhoemetalces* himself. Troesmis was re-conquered through the prompt intervention of *L. Pomponius Flaccus*, the governor of Moesia.

Pomponius Flaccus's intervention had an enduring effect on the peace of the province. Thanks to the recently established Roman fleet on the Danube, the defense of the river had become more effective, while a new command — *praefectus orae maritimae* or *praefectus laevi Ponti*, subordinated to the governor of Moesia — was instituted for the superintendence and defense of the Greek cities.

When, after the death of *Rhoemetalces* in 12 A. D., the Odrysian kingdom fell to pieces, Dobrogea, together with all the Thracian regions situated in the vicinity of the Greek cities, came into the portion of *Cotys*, a cultured sovereign who had been praised by Ovid for the his poetic talent (*Ex Ponto*, II, 9, 47 *sqq.*). His links with the Greek towns of the Pontus Sinister were of the closest. An inscription from *Callatis* shows that he was honoured with the city's highest office, that of βασιλεύς. After his assassination in 19 A. D. by his uncle and rival *Rhascuporis*, he was succeeded on the throne by his sons who, being under age, were placed under the guardianship of a Roman governor. The autonomy of the Odrysian kingdom thus became even more fictitious. In 46 A. D., the emperor *Claudius* definitely abolished it. The territories in the south of the Balkans became the province of *Thracia*. Those which composed the so-called *Ripa Thraciae*, together with Dobrogea, were incorporated in the province of *Moesia*, which thus extended as far as the Sea and the mouths of the Danube. *Scythia Minor* came under the direct administration of Rome, Roman garrisons being permanently established there.

VI. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE ROMAN DOMINATION

In the course of the first century of our era, these garrisons were composed of auxiliary troops only. No legion had yet reached beyond the valley of Oescus. Roman authority moved forward cautiously. Open at any moment to surprise from the other side of the Carpathians, Dobrogea had to be treated as an outpost rather than as a post of resistance.

Nevertheless, thanks to the measures taken under Augustus and Tiberius, quiet and prosperity began to take root at the mouths of the Danube. The governors of Moesia closely attended to the organisation of Scythia Minor, striving to harmonise the interests of Roman order with local needs. An important epigraphic document from Histria supplies valuable information on this activity on the part of Roman officials at the mouths of the Danube in the first century A. D. It tells of a boundary settlement (ὄροθεσία) of October 25th in the year 100 A. D., whereby M. *Labe-rius Maximus*, the governor of Lower Moesia under Trajan, definitely fixed the territory of the city of Histria, officially confirming certain customs privileges connected with the ancient rights of the Histrians to fish in the *Peuce* (St. George) arm of the Danube and to exploit the resinous pines which grew in those days in the Delta of the Danube. As precedents in support of that decision, the inscription quotes amply from a series of letters by previous governors between the years 43 and 54 A. D. whereby this right of the city is recognised. The earliest letter, written by the legate *Flavius Sabinus*, the brother of the future emperor Vespasian, shows that, already in the years 43—44 A. D., when Scythia Minor still formed part of the vassal Odry-sian State, the Roman authorities were minutely concerned both with the Danube customs up to the Sea and with the Greek cities of the Pontus Sinister, towards which they adopted an attitude full of benevolence. This attitude was manifested in expressive terms in the missives of all the

other governors. These were, in the order shown by the inscription, *Aemilianus*, *Pomponius Pius*, *Plautius Aelianus* and *Tullius Geminus*. It transpires from the same document that the most notable town of Dobrogea at that time was *Tomis*.

Among the governors quoted in this collection of letters from Histria, and well known also from other documents, is *Plautius Aelianus*, an enterprising general who, through a bold expedition made to the north of the Danube and to the Black Sea towards 52—53 A. D., imposed the prestige of the Roman forces on the populations of Getae, Bastarnae and Sarmatians in those regions, thus «strengthening and broadening the peace of the province», as his epitaph at Tivoli has it (CIL XIV 3608).

On the left bank of the Danube, Dobrogea was now protected by a long zone of safety composed of the Wal-lachian plain and of the regions of southern Moldavia and Bessarabia, which had been pacified and placed under the authority of the governor of Moesia. At the same time, in the year 57 A. D., the Greek city of *Tyras* (Cetatea Albă), on the lagoon of the Dniester, came under Roman domination.

The order which had thus been brought about by *Aelianus* was disturbed in the winter of the year 67—68 A. D., when the Roxolan Sarmatians succeeded in forcing the passage of the Danube and in massacring two Roman cohorts. Encouraged by this success, and taking advantage of the civil war which was going on in the Roman Empire following upon the death of Nero, they returned the following winter in large numbers amounting to 9,000 horsemen clad in cataphractae. The governor of Moesia, *M. Aponius Saturninus*, surprised them in the north of Dobrogea in a critical situation: they had scattered in search of booty on a day of surface frost which reduced to nought the dreaded efficacy of their cavalry of *cataphractarii*. The disaster of the Barbarians was complete. *Aponius* received at Rome triumphal honours.

But, in the winter of the year 69—70 A. D., there came on the scene the *Dacians* — the name under which the

contemporary sources, particularly the Roman, designate the Getae. They attacked the auxiliary camps on the Danube. The new governor of Moesia, *Fonteius Agrippa*, appearing at the head of a considerable force, compelled them, however, to withdraw beyond the Danube. This easy success was fatal to the Roman governor; for, taking no measures of precaution, he soon found himself faced with a lightning invasion of Sarmatians who, in agreement with the Dacians, attacked Dobrogea. Agrippa fell in battle, while a large part of his legions was cut to pieces. *Rubrius Gallus*, sent to replace the fallen governor, was only just able, after a difficult struggle, to repel the invaders and to restore order in the province.

After this, important military measures were taken. The number of legions placed at the disposal of the governor of Moesia was quadrupled. Although none of them was yet installed in Dobrogea, nevertheless this land received a larger number of auxiliary troops, while the Danube fleet (*classis Flavia Moesica*) was reorganised and placed on a durable basis.

It was not long before the peace thus achieved led to prosperity in Scythia Minor. As a result of the incorporation of that country into the provincial system, it was rapidly populated with Roman elements. Veterans of the local troops, won over to Romanisation after a lifetime of military service, remained with their families on the spot in most cases, applying themselves to work on the land, like that *Romaesta Rescenti (filius) Spiurus*, a Bessian by origin, *eques* in *ala Gallorum et Thraecum Antiana*, whose diploma of release, carrying the date 54 A. D. (the second oldest of those known up to the present in the whole empire) was found at Atmageaua Tătărească, in the county of Durostor. One instance, also of the first century A. D., but referring to a now perfectly Romanised element, is that of *T. Flavius Castus*, a veteran of the *ala (prima) Pannoniorum*, who had been decorated by the emperor Vespasian for bravery and who established himself, after his release from service, on the territory of the city of Tomis, where his funereal epitaph was found.

Even more numerous, however, were the civilian colonists who, coming from the Romanised provinces of the Empire, settled in that land, being attracted thereto by the fertility of its soil. These heroic pioneers, some of whom paid with their lives and with the loss of their hard-earned property, their boldness in settling prematurely in a country exposed to the barbarian attacks, must have been very numerous.

For the Roman life of the province, this unofficial colonisation produced remarkably swift results. At the time of Ovid, the Latin language was unknown in Scythia Minor. Within less than a century, Laberius Maximus's horothesis, already mentioned, indicates, among the names of streamlets marking the limits of the territory of Histria, two which are pure Latin: *Picusculus* and *Turgiculus*, both current toponymic terms which bear witness to a numerous Roman rural population.

As for the Greek cities of the Pontus Sinister, they readily adapted themselves to Roman domination, which ensured for them, both on dry land and on the water, the peace which was necessary to their prosperity. They even preserved their traditional autonomy, with their own officials, councils and assemblies (*βουλή και δῆμος*), their Greek language, their religious creeds, their right to the free exploitation of the wealth of their territories, and even the right to mint their own coins. Favoured by the Roman order, Greek trade with the neighbouring Getic lands made further progress.

VII. THE WARS OF DECEBALUS

The consolidation of Roman domination in Dobrogea, on the one hand, and in Pannonia, on the other, closed in, like a pair of powerful pincers, upon the unvanquished nation of Dacians in the Carpathians. A large-scale and decisive Roman action against them was now imminent. But, at the supreme moment, these very ancient Getae drew from their

traditional ethnic discipline an extraordinary vitality, in the reduction of which the Roman Empire spent twenty years of enormous effort and ran the gravest risks. In 80 A. D., grouping themselves about *Decebalus*, a king gifted with exceptional military and political talents, the Dacians organised a powerful army and brought into a coalition with them the barbarian neighbouring nations, at the head of which were the Roxolan Sarmatians. The war was opened with a Dacian invasion in Moesia. The troops of the province were crushed. The governor, *Oppius Sabinus*, himself fell in battle.

Alarmed by this event, the emperor Domitian, hastily assembled considerable forces and made for the Danube himself. On that occasion, he effected an important reform by dividing Moesia into two provinces separated by the river Ciabrus (86 A. D.). The new province of *Moesia Inferior* also comprised Dobrogea, together with the whole of *Ripa Thraciae*. The governors of these two Moesiae each had two legions at their disposal. Those of Lower Moesia were garrisoned at Oescus and at Novae. Farther eastwards, the preservation of peace on the frontiers also remained in the charge of the auxiliary troops.

Domitian however, limited his personal action to this reorganisation. He left the conduct of the war to his general *Cornelius Fuscus*, the praefectus praetorio who, crossing the Danube in an imprudent way, was massacred by the Dacians together with the whole of his army. A partial victory gained by *Tettius Julianus* in western Dacia could not avenge this disaster, but could only serve Domitian as an occasion for the conclusion of peace. In exchange for a formal submission, Decebalus imposed upon the Roman empire the grant of substantial annual subsidies of money, military instructors, and craftsmen for the fortifications. The Danube provinces enjoyed tranquillity for some 12 years. For Rome, however, the compromise was too humiliating to be borne longer. In the spring of 101 A. D., the emperor *Trajan*, a soldier worthy of a foe like Decebalus, re-opened hostilities. Yet, after two years of very heavy fighting, in

which both belligerents used up their forces to the point of exhaustion, Trajan found himself obliged to grant his enemy a peace which, although severe, could not be a permanent solution. A second war began two years afterwards, ending with the crushing of the last Dacian resistance and with the transformation of Dacia into Roman province (106 A. D.). The heroic manner in which Decebalus and the Dacian nobles made away with themselves set the seal the termination of the glorious history of the Carpatho-Danubian Thracians.

Decebalus's wars were waged over wide areas which comprised all the lands of Geto-Dacian population. Dobrogea was destined to play an important rôle, especially in the struggles undertaken against Trajan. In the winter of 101–102 A. D., while the emperor, with the bulk of his troops, was engaged in western Dacia, the province of Lower Moesia was the theatre of a dangerous Geto-Sarmatian diversion planned by Decebalus.

The event is mentioned by various ancient writers, such as Aurelius Victor, Ammianus Marcellinus, Jordanes, Casiodorus, Hieronymus. It can be clearly recognised on the Trajan Column. Thus the bas-reliefs of that monument show, at the end of the campaign of 101 A. D., bands of Dacians crossing the Danube and besieging a Roman camp defended only by auxiliary troops. At the same time, the Roxolans' cavalry of *cataphractarii* lays waste the adjoining regions. Trajan, arriving with the fleet on the Danube, disembarks and at the head of the cavalry and legions, makes rapidly for the enemy. The first encounter is with the Sarmatian cavalry, which is put to flight. Then follows an attack against the Dacians, who, taken by surprise in their encampment, where they had assembled their booty, put up a desperate resistance. They are, however, beaten. The bas-reliefs of the Column show, soon afterwards, another Dacian attack, this time with strong forces and extreme violence. Decebalus, successfully drawing the emperor away from his bases of operations into a region like Dobrogea, which he controls from the strategic point

of view, seeks to develop his plan. The Dacian forces cross the river and take the Roman army by surprise. The battle is one of the fiercest on the Column. On the Roman side, all arms take part; the legions, the auxiliary cohorts, the cavalry, the engines of warfare. Finally, the Dacians are vanquished. Leaving the battle-field littered with dead, they withdraw towards the mountains. This was a stirring phase in the war against Decebalus. The Roman emperor, saved from a trying situation, rewards his soldiers with praise and gifts. The campaign of Lower Moesia is ended. The ingenious Dacian king had failed to deal his great blow.

Neither in the rest of the war of the year 102 A. D., nor in the second war of 105—106 A. D., does Scythia Minor again appear to have been the object of an attack. The Dacian forces, detained in the Carpathians and more restricted, could no longer withstand operations of extensive proportions. The Roxolan Sarmatians, who had been valuable allies for diversions in Dobrogea, made act of submission to Trajan. Their envoys, like those of the Bastarnae, are seen on the Column going to meet Trajan by the new bridge at Drobeta.

In Lower Moesia there are two localities which, by their names, recall the victorious campaign at the beginning of 102 A. D. The one is *Nicopolis ad Istrum*, to-day Stari Nikiup, at the northern foot of the Balkans. This city was certainly founded by Trajan in token of his victory, according to the affirmations of Ammianus Marcellinus and Jordanes. The other is *Tropaeum Trajani*, at Adamclissi, in Dobrogea. It is at Nicopolis that the first phase of Trajan's action of 102 A. D. must have been decided: the one in which, after the repulse of the Sarmatians, the Roman advance troops took the Dacians by surprise in their stronghold. As for the second phase, which was characterised by the ferocious and decisive battle in which all the troops of Trajan took part, it cannot be situated anywhere except at *Tropaeum Trajani*. This conclusion is forced upon us both by the triumphal name of that locality and by the commemorative

monuments the remains of which are still to be seen to-day on a neighbouring plateau.

Except for a barrow with a basis of circular masonry and which seems to be nothing more than the grave of a barbarian chieftain of a late epoch, perhaps the fifth century A. D., these monuments are two in number. The one is composed of a large quadrangular altar, of which nothing has been found except the foundation and the pieces of a large inscription containing a list of Roman soldiers fallen in a battle which took place on the spot: [*in honorem et] memoriam fortis[simorum virorum qui pugnantes] pro rep(ublica) morte occubu[erunt bello Dacico]*. According to the form of the letters, the document is certainly of Trajan's epoch. The soldiers mentioned thereon belong to every kind of troops: pretorian cohorts, legions, *alae* of cavalry, auxiliary cohorts. This denotes an important army under the command of the emperor himself. The battle in question was exceedingly fierce: the total number of dead inscribed on the alter may be estimated at 3800.

The other monument, far more renowned and much more imposing, is the colossal trophy which has given its name to the neighbouring town and the massive concrete core of which, preserved down to our own days to a considerable height, dominates from afar the Dobrogean steppe. The excavations which have been made around it, and which are the painstaking work of Gr. Tocilescu, have revealed numerous pieces of the worked stone facing of this edifice. Among these pieces, which are kept to-day at the Military Museum of Bucharest, there are about 75 sculptures (23 crenels and 49 metopes) representing barbarians in captivity or episodes in the struggles of the Romans with the barbarians, numerous triglyphs and cornices ornamented with vegetable decorations, and pieces of the enormous trophy which, sculptured in the form of the trunk of a tree covered with arms, rose at the summit of the construction. There have likewise been discovered fragments of the commemorative inscriptions of the monument, constituting a dedication from the emperor Trajan: *Ma[rti] Ultori,*

Im[p(erator)] [Caes]ar Divi Nerva[e f(ilius)] N[e]rva [Tra]ianus [Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) Dac]i[c]us, p[ont- (ifex)] ma[x(imus), trib(unicia) potes]t(ate) XIII, [imp(era- tor) IV, co(n)s(ul)] V, p(ater) p(atriciae), [. . .]itu, [. . .]u, [. . .]e [. . . .]. The inscription, according to the cipher of the *tribunicia potestas*, is of the year 109 A. D. and can only be commemorative of a victory obtained at that place against the Dacians.

In spite of that precise document, the date of the monument ad Adamclissi continues to be the object of controversy, on account of the sculptured figures, the decadent art of which does not concord with the flowering epoch of Trajan. There is no need to dwell upon the defective opinions conceived and factitiously defended by A. Furtwängler, who, attributing to the Bastarnae the frequent Germanic figures on those sculptures, attributes the monument to the period of Augustus and connects it with the victory of Crassus, in Dobrogea, of the year 29—28 B. C. But serious attention must be given to the observations of C. Cichorius, who, dating the sculptures in the fourth century A. D., concludes that the Monument, which was certainly built by Trajan for the purpose of immortalising the victory of 102 A. D., was enlarged at the instance of Licinius and Constantine the Great in the period during which the nearby city of Tropaeum was also rebuilt, as has been conclusively proved both on epigraphic and on archaeological grounds. Somewhat similar considerations have been expressed in recent times, with new proofs and upon new bases, by the Italian archaeologist S. Ferri and by the Rumanian historian N. Iorga. The fact that fragments of the Trajan inscription of the Monument have been found among the ruins of the city, both in the past and, more recently, through the excavations of P. Nicorescu, has done nothing but strengthen that thesis.

But, whatever the result of the discussion will be, there remain incontrovertible facts which prove that, originally at least, the Trophy belonged to Trajan. It is certain that this emperor won victories on the right of the Danube. The vast

work of organisation and of construction, in Dobrogea and in the whole Balkan Peninsula, is linked with his name. The great inscription of the Monument certainly dates from him. The nearby citadel, certainly founded by Trajan, bears his name and that of the Trophy. A military diploma, found at Tropaeum and dating at the latest from the year 114 A. D., proves that that town existed at the time of Trajan and that it was peopled by his veterans. The largest altar by the Trophy, erected in memory of the soldiers fallen in battle, cannot be later than the Trajan epoch. A simulacrum of the Trophy is reproduced on the coins of Tomis dedicated to that emperor.

The Monument at Adamclissi is, in itself, a memorial to a local victory. But it does not symbolise anything less than a decisive turning-point in the history of Scythia Minor and of the whole present-day territory of Rumania. It has been rightly considered as a birth certificate of the Rumanian people, the heir of the Carpatho-Danubian Roman world risen on the antique ruins of the Geto-Dacian nation.

Through the conquest of Dacia by the Romans there was again brought about that unity of human life which is represented by the basin of the lower Danube and to which Dobrogea naturally belongs. Accepting, at the same time as Dacia, the most authentic Roman civilisation, the province was to know the most active and brightest period of its history.

VIII. DOBROGEA UNDER THE PAX ROMANA

THE POLICY OF TRAJAN AT THE MOUTHS OF THE DANUBE

Scythia Minor never enjoyed such complete tranquillity as under Trajan and his successors until about the end of the second century. Peace was now a happy reality. The vast regions of the north of the Black Sea were in the charge of vassal kings of Rome. The Pontus Euxinus had become a Roman lake by the entry of all the coastal populations

under the authority and protection of the empire. The Getic populations of Wallachia and of southern Moldavia, now completely pacified, depended on the will of the Romans. These lands, although not organised into provinces, constituted direct annexes of Lower Moesia. Throughout their length and breadth, Roman life continually circulated — troops, messengers, merchants, etc. — and linked up the new province of Dacia with the mouths of the Danube.

All these splendid results were guaranteed by a solid administrative and military organisation of the provinces of the Lower Danube. Dacia was massively populated with colonists brought *ex toto orbe Romano* (Eutropius, VIII, 6) and was endowed with numerous towns and garrisons. In the Balkan Peninsula, Thrace was endowed with towns and with numerous roads. In Eastern Moesia there came into being new urban centres such as *Nicopolis ad Istrum* and *Tropaeum Trajani*, mentioned above, and such as *Marcianopolis* (Devnia, not far from Varna).

MILITARY ORGANISATION

Dobrogea benefited in a large measure from this work of construction and organisation. Its advance position on the Danubian *limes* being more dangerous, it was awarded two of the three legions which Trajan established for the whole of Lower Moesia. Their garrisons were established at the two great elbows of the Danube, both of much strategic significance. Thus the *Legio XI Claudia* was established at *Durostorum*, while the *Legio V Macedonia* was stationed at *Troesmis*. The third legion, the *I Italica*, was garrisoned at *Novae* (Șiștov). All three legions had *vexillationes* sent to different points in the interior of Dobrogea, as well as in the zone of cover on the left bank of the Danube.

Between the garrisons of the legions there was also an even greater number of encampments of auxiliary troops. Trajan arranged that those modest cantonments of *alae* and *cohortes* and some of mixed detachments, the *vexilla-*

tiones, should be transformed into permanent fortifications with solid walls. Information concerning the auxiliary bodies of Scythia Minor is limited up to the present to a few inscriptions and brick dies discovered fortuitously or through superficial excavations. We are acquainted in this way with the *ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum* of Carsium, the *cohorts I Thracum Syriaca* at Transmarisca, the *cohors I Germanorum* at Capidava and the *ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum* at Arrubium; likewise, the *cohors II Flavia Brittonum equitata* at Durostorum and the *ala I Pannoniorum* at Troesmis, both of which preceded there the establishment of the *Legiones XI Claudia* and *V Macedonica* and subsequently moved elsewhere.

The Danubian fleet, *classis Flavia Moesica*, ensured the link between the encampments on the river and supported them when necessary. Two permanent stations of that fleet in Scythia Minor during the early period of the empire are known up to the present: the more important one at *Noviodunum*, with a radius of action up to *Histria*, and the other at Bărboși.

ROADS

The military organisation of Dobrogea was completed by a network of roads which, already begin at the time of the Flavians, if not earlier, was much developed under Trajan and under his successors. The basis of the network was formed by three imperial highways, *viae*, which traversed the country lengthways up to the mouths of the Danube.

One of them passed along the bank of the river, uniting all the garrisons on the *limes*, from *Novae* and even farther, through *Transmarisca* (Turtucaia), *Candidiana* (Cadichioi), *Tegulicium* (Vetrina), *Durostorum* (Silistra), *Sucidava* (Satul Nou?), *Altinum* (Oltina), *Axiopolis* (Hinogu-Cernavoda), *Capidava* (Calachioi-Capidava), *Cius* (Hisarlık-Sarai), *Beroe* (Valea Hogii), *Troesmis* (Iglița), *Arrubium* (Măcin), *Dinogetia* (Bisericuța), *Noviodunum* (Isaccea), *Aegyssus* (Tulcea),

Salsovia (Mahmudia), up to the town and lake of *Halmyris* or *Salmorus* (Razelm), where it continued as the Pontus Sinister highway.

This highway passed through all the Greek localities: *Histria*, *Tomis*, *Stratonis (turris?)*, *Callatis*, *Tirizis*, *Bizone*, *Dionysopolis*, *Odessus*, continuing thence, towards the Balkans, through *Mesambria* and *Apollonia*, up to *Byzantium*. The third imperial highway started from *Marcianopolis* and, traversing Dobrogea through its centre, went via *Abrittus* (Abtat), *Civitas Ausdecensium* (Cetatea-Asarlâk), *Tropaeum Trajani* (Adamclissi), *Mircea Vodă (Tres Protomae?)*, *Ulmetum* (Pantelimonul-de-Sus), *Ibida* (Slava Rusă); thence it spread out in three branches reaching the *limes* at *Troesmis*, *Noviodunum* and *Aegyssus*.

These three longitudinal highways were broken up by numerous local roads, *semitae*, which connected the Pontic towns with the cities on the Danube. From the *limes* started roads which, on the other side of the Danube, passed through Wallachia and southern Moldavia in order to make the connection with Dacia. Roman establishments on the left bank of the Danube, representing bridge heads for these external roads, have been identified at *Dichiseni* (near Călărași), at *Gura Ialomiței*, opposite *Carsium*; at *Bărboși*, opposite *Dinogetia*; at *Cartal*, opposite *Noviodunum*; and in the Delta, opposite *Prislava*.

THE REIGNS OF HADRIAN AND ANTONINUS

The first epigraphic document known up to the present concerning the roads of Dobrogea is a milestone from *Abrittus*, dating from the year 118 A. D. and probably erected on the occasion of *Hadrian's* first inspection in Dobrogea (CIL III 14464). In that year he came to the mouths of the Danube for the purpose of taking the measures called for by the contingency of an attack on the part of the *Roxolans*, whose king, *Rasparaganus*, was bestirring himself, seeking an increase of his subsidies. Notwithstanding his well-known attitude of defense, contrasting with

the policy of expansion of his predecessor, Hadrian proceeded against the barbarian vassal with energy. In Dobrogea he resolved to continue and to consolidate the work of Trajan. He concerned himself steadfastly with the training and discipline of the troops. On the occasion of one of his inspections there, he honoured the flourishing civilian centre in the environs of the legionary encampment at *Durostorum*, awarding it the right to bear the imperial name — *canabae Aeliae* — exactly like a town of municipal character.

The prosperity of Dobrogea attained its apogee under the good *Antoninus Pius* (138—161 A. D.), whose reign represents the happiest period in the whole history of the ancient world. Under that emperor, special attention was given to the territories of the Pontus Sinister. The coast of Thrace was endowed with fortifications, while, in the Greek cities of Dobrogea, various city works were made. The milestones likewise show that in that period the coastal highway, as well as that of the Danube *limes*, were consolidated.

The anxiety of the emperor Antoninus to make of Dobrogea a powerful fortress had the happiest consequences for the development of civilisation in that country. Once peace was ensured, the Roman life which had been given birth at the mouths of the Danube before the time of Trajan, developed with a very rapid rhythm. Under Antoninus Pius, Dobrogea was a Roman land *par excellence*: the vestiges of the Latin civilisation of that period are to be found at every footstep and in the most isolated corners. The most numerous inscriptions bearing witness to Roman rural life at the mouths of the Danube date from the reign of that emperor.

POPULATION

The population of Scythia Minor appeared to have sprung from the soil. The development of the garrisons through the despatch of two legions and through the multiplication of auxiliary units, the reorganisation of the roads

services, the customs police, at once brought about an immense influx of men belonging to the Roman State who were obliged to live in Scythia Minor. At the end of their missions, in the twilight of their lives, most of them remained on the spot with their families, in most cases as agriculturists. *Veterani* are to be met with everywhere, forming prosperous villages and towns, side by side with colonists of diverse origins, among whom they always had an honourable place. But this does not mean that the Roman life of Scythia Minor was in its essence determined by the military element. Still more of them were descendents of civilian colonists sojourning here already in the first century A. D. and to whom there were added others who came after Trajan.

To the extent to which the epigraphic documents enable us to note the place of origin of the Romans of Scythia Minor, we may conclude that most of them had their origins in the West. There were Italians come from *Planina* (Picenum), *Faventia*, *Aquileia*; Moesians from *Ratiaria* and *Oescus*, Noricians, Pannonians, Lusitanians. The auxiliary troops garrisoned on the Dobrogian Danube were composed almost wholly of men from the western provinces: Moesians, Pannonians, Iberians, Gauls, Germans, Brittons. Units of eastern origins were exceedingly rare. It becomes clear that the whole spirit of the Latin civilisation of Scythia Minor emanates from Italy and from the Danubian provinces.

Nor are Orientals infrequently mentioned on the inscriptions. But they are restricted almost entirely to the Greek cities of the Pontus Sinister, and their occupations were mostly commercial. In many cases even these provincials from the Orient of Greek culture exhibit rather pronounced Roman characteristics. In certain instances they are nothing but pure Romans come from some colony of Asia Minor, as, for example, at Histria a certain *Lucius Pompeius Valens natus Fabia Anquira* (i. e. Ancyra: CIL III 12489).

Numerous colonists who had arrived in Dobrogea after the consolidation of the Roman peace found here, as a numerous and characteristic autochthonous population. Getae

who had submitted in the years 29—28 B. C., within this environment there were enclaves of Balkan Thracians, *Bessi*, *Lai* and *Ausdecenses*, who had been forcibly colonised in Dobrogea in the time of Augustus. The inscriptions mention them, during the good centuries of the empire, living as ploughmen the forms of an authentic Roman life in the same villages with veterans and with other Roman citizens (*veterani et cives Romani et Bessi consistentes vico . . .*). The *Bessi* were settled in two places: in southern Dobrogea, near Durostorum; and, in the centre of the province, in the region of Ulmetum-Histria. The *Lai* appear only on the sea-coast between Histria and Tomis. As for the *Ausdecenses*, they formed an autonomous community — *civitas Ausdecensium* — between Tropaeum and Abrittus, where the village of Cetatea (Asarlík) is situated to-day.

As for the *Scythians*, their existence in Dobrogea is not attested in any of the numerous inscriptions dating from Roman times. They had been completely assimilated to the local *Getae* perhaps even before the Roman domination. The region between Tomis and Dionysopolis, in which the sources show them to have been in former times, seems, indeed, to be characterised under the Romans by a toponymic abundance of Thracian rural names. That they should have disappeared so completely and rapidly proves that, in the country which was still called *Scythia Minor*, their number can never have been very great.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

Thanks to Vasile Pârvan's brilliant studies based upon numerous inscriptions, we are able to understand well enough the organisation of Roman Dobrogea as well as various aspects of rural life in those days.

The smallest administrative unit of the province was the village: the *vicus* or the *pagus*. The *vicus* was a compact settlement displaying some urban features and thoroughly organised, while the *pagus* was a purely rural division of

dwelling scattered over a wide area. Little is known about the organisation of the *pagi* in Dobrogea: we have only derivative names like *paganus*, or allusions to some isolated country house (*villa*) or to some estate (*praedium*), which are elements entering into the composition of that rural organisation.

The *vici*, which were quasi-urban settlements with a developed social and cultural life, are on the other hand, very frequently mentioned in the inscriptions. There were, for example, a *vicus Ulmetum* (Pantelimonul-de-Sus), which was a major settlement at an important crossroads; a *vicus Ultinsium*, nearby; a *vicus Amlaidina*, at Urluchioi; the *vicus Turris Muca*[. . .], at Anadolchioi, on the outskirts of Tomis; *vicus Celeris*, at Vadu (Caraharman); *vicus Verobrittiani*, at Hisarlic (Sarai), near Cius; *vicus Nov[us]*, at Babadag; *vicus Petra*, at Camena; *vicus Asbolodina* and *vicus Sardes*, near Callatis; *vicus Parsal*[. . .], *vicus Quin-tionis* and *vicus Secundini* — all three somewhere near Histria; *vicus Scenopesis*, near Capidava; *vicus Buteridavensis*, somewhere between Noviodunum and Histria. And there are numerous *vici* the names of which have been preserved only in very mutilated forms, as well as frequent remains of Roman rural settlements, still anonymous, which are encountered at every footstep in Dobrogea.

The *vici* and *pagi* formed a *territorium*. In the Pontus Sinister these territories depended from the Greek cities and were nothing other than their ancient rural domains. Thus the territory of Histria was marked out in the time of Trajan by Laberius Maximus's boundary settlement on the very basis of the ancient rights of the city over its extra-mural patrimony. A similar situation was endorsed in the boundary settlement of Callatis preserved in a fragment dating from the second century (CIL III 14214, 33). In these Greek *territoria* or *regiones*, the administration was in the charge of the respective cities under the authority of the governor of Lower Moesia. Roman rural colonisation, however, developed as freely in those territories as in any other part of the province.

In the interior of Dobrogea, the *territorium* constituted a kind of autonomous association of *vici* and *pagi*. It was administered by an *ordo curialium*, the members of which were elected by the component villages. At the head of the *territorium* there was a *quinquennalis*.

A third kind of *territorium* was the one which belonged to a *civitas* having a special ethnic character, as was the case with the territory of the *Ausdecenses*, to the south of Tropaeum. As in the case of the Greek cities, the Romans allowed this enclave an autonomous internal administration, with a rural area exactly marked out and having at its head an *actor civitatis* of local origin but appointed by the governor of the province.

The territorial divisions of Roman Dobrogea are not all known, but the inscriptions enable us to trace the existence of quite a number of them: I. *Territorium Histriae*, from the Peuce (St. George) arm of the Delta, on the other side of Lake Halmyris, up to the river *Calabaeus* (Casimcea); II. *Territorium Tomitanorum*, with its centre at Tomis; III. *Territorium Callatidis*; IV. *Territorium Dionysopolitanorum*, probably comprising also Bizone and extending up to the south of the river Zyras (Valea-fără-Iarnă or Batova), whence it extended up to the limits of the province of Thrace; V. *Territorium Odessitanorum*. In the interior of Scythia Minor, the following have been traced; VI. *Territorium Ausdecensium*, mentioned above; VII. *Territorium Capidavense*, comprising *Capidava* and *Ulmetum*; VIII. *Territorium Troesmensium*, or *Territorium Legionis V Macedonicae*; IX. *Territorium Noviodunense*; X. *Territorium* or *Dominium civitatis Argamensium*, in the vicinity of the city of Argamum. An XIth *territorium*, the name of which is not known, existed on the left of the Danube, between the Siret and the Prut, in the vicinity of the important bridgehead at Bărboși (near Galatz).

Some of the urban centres founded under the Roman domination in Dobrogea attained a high degree of development. Thus the *canabae* of the legions garrisoned at *Durostorum* and *Troesmis* were raised to the rank of *muni-*

cipia under Marcus Aurelius. Under Septimius Severus, at the latest, this title was granted to the city of *Tropaeum Trajani*. None of the towns of Scythia Minor had the rank of *colonia*.

THE PONTIC CITIES

For the towns of the Pontus Sinister, the first centuries of the Roman domination were a golden age. Their prosperity was at its apogee.

The *Pentapolis* confederation, which played a religious and cultural rôle, is mentioned in the Roman epoch in numerous inscriptions. Between Antoninus Pius and Caracalla it became perhaps through the temporary adhesion of Apollonia, an *Hexapolis*, only to remain afterwards once more a group of five towns. The confederation was administered by a *Pontarches*, elected for a limited period from among the leading priests (*ἀρχιερεῖς*) of the component cities. In the inscriptions we find Pontarchs coming from *Tomis*, from *Histria*, from *Callatis*, and from *Odessus*. Whatever his origin may have been, the Pontarch resided at *Tomis*. He was, of course, subordinate to the governor of Lower Moesia. From the religious point of view, however, he was independent of the *sacerdos provinciae*, whose residence was at *Troesmis*.

The towns of the Pontus Sinister preserved until the end of the third century the right to mint their own coins — a right of which they fully availed themselves. We know the names of the series issued by *Tomis*, *Histria*, *Callatis*, *Dionysopolis*, *Odessus*, and *Marcianopolis*, with the effigy of the emperor.

The economic prosperity of the Greek cities was followed, in the Roman epoch, by a great expansion of economic life in the Pontus Sinister as well as in all the regions of the Lower Danube. There are numerous inscriptions from Dobrogea which mention merchants.

Much of the transport of goods was effected by land, advantage being taken of the Roman military roads; just

as often, however, they were carried on the Danube and on the Sea.

The finances of the empire greatly benefited from the flourishing commercial activity of Scythia Minor, especially through the leased administration of the Danubian customs — *publicum portorii Illyrici et Ripae Thraciae* — which were already established in those parts before the time of Claudius. At every important point on the *limes* and on the sea-coast there was a customs post represented by a *vilicus* and large numbers of officials, both slaves and freedmen. The inscriptions tell us, up to the present, of such posts in Dobrogea at *Tomis*, at *Durostorum* and at *Capidava*.

The most brilliant witness to the prosperity of Dobrogea under the Romans is afforded by the vestiges of the monuments. In the first centuries of the Empire, the Greek cities built largely and luxuriously. Edifices of all kinds, in marble and enriched with beautiful columns, abound everywhere. Imposing and solid buildings are to be noted also in the interior of Scythia Minor and sometimes even in the rural districts.

The common building material, whether for temples, dwellings, theatres, sepulchres, etc., or for city walls, bridges, roads and aqueducts, was limestone, which is plentifully found in Dobrogea. Thus it has been found that the stonework used in the construction of the triumphal Monument at Adamclissi was obtained from the quarries at Deleni (Enigea). Vast Roman quarries of soft limestone have recently been discovered near Axiopolis (Cernavoda). They had been abruptly abandoned in the course of their working on the occasion of some barbarian invasion. In the localities in the north of the country, local eruptive stone was used: for example, green porphyry at Histria. Marble was imported from Greece by sea. Its very widespread use in all the towns and even in rural settlements indicates that transport was easy and that the price was suitable.

In the Pontic towns intellectual life reached the same level as in the Greco-Roman world of the South.

Education was highly developed. At Tomis there has been discovered a sarcophagus with the bones of a child beside which are his school articles. The wretched appearance of the sarcophagus indicates that this was the child of a poor family. How developed, therefore, must education have been among well-to-do families! A knowledge of writing was likewise very general in Scythia Minor, as is proved by the very great number of inscriptions from the second and third centuries which are scattered everywhere. In the relatively modest Roman centre at *Transmarisca* (Turtucaia), there has been discovered a Latin funereal inscription in verse displaying an obvious Ovidian influence.

THE ARTS

Works of art, both sculptural and architectural, are too numerous to be counted. Equally numerous are the products of the lesser arts such as pottery, among them, in particular, vases in *terra sigillata*, some authentic Aretin vases, statuettes and architectural decorations in terracotta, and, afterwards, such as bronze figures, jewelry in precious metals, metal toilet and table articles. Some of these small objects were undoubtedly imported, but they must be largely attributed also to local workshops and especially to the Pontic cities.

In the varied archaeological material on the ancient arts of Scythia Minor, it is sculpture which is the most richly represented. This material has been studied, however, only incidentally, as, for example, in the works of synthesis by V. Pârvan and S. Ferri. In general, it is observed that Dobrogea is the place where the provincial art of the Danubian countries, although of Italic origin yet also somewhat reminiscent of the western Celtic spirit, encounters the Greco-Oriental influence exercised through the intermediary of the Pontic towns. These towns were the depositories of a distinguished tradition of the plastic arts of which some idea may be formed thanks to the sculptures discovered, for example, at Histria and at Callatis. It was quite natural

that this tradition should still have been alive in the Roman epoch and that its influence should have been felt in the craft of the provincial sculptors of Lower Moesia and even farther towards the West as far as in Dacia and in Pannonia.

Nevertheless, this artistic expansion towards the West was somewhat formal, a consequence of the Greek commercial activity. The Greek themes are, moreover, everywhere treated in the Roman provincial spirit which is in evidence even in the Pontic cities — a realistic tendency, rigid methods of presentation, gross styles, and rustic clumsiness. The portraits show this spiritual antithesis in the most significant way: while they are remarkably realistic when they are the work of Romans, they still preserve an air of charming idealism when they are the products of Greek workshops in the Pontus Sinister.

The banquet is the most prominent theme treated by the sculptors of Scythia Minor, who had to execute orders of a funereal character. The Thracian Horseman is likewise frequently represented — a local deity worshipped both by the Geto-Thracians and by the Greco-Romans settled in the provinces on the right bank of the Danube.

The most precious treasury of Roman provincial sculpture in Dobrogea is constituted by the bas-reliefs of the Monument at Adamclissi. In carrying out these sculptures, the artists found themselves faced with new problems which they could not solve by recourse to simple copies of the models in their repertory or of the recent creations of the southern centres. If the awkwardness of execution in the scenes represented on the metopes and crenels indicates that the artists were unable to overcome these difficulties, yet their ability in reproducing portraits and ethnic types, and even in expressing the action of the most dramatic scenes of warfare, proves that they had a profound sense of realities. Meticulous studies indicate more and more clearly that these sculptures do not belong to the first construction of the Monument under Trajan, but that they were added later, in the fourth century. It is sufficient, in this connection, to mention that all the figures reprodu-

ced on these bas-reliefs represent more or less faithfully the pupil of the eye in sculpture — a technical detail which was exceedingly rare before the third century but quite common under the Late Empire. The Adamclissi sculptures are not due to the dilettantism of some amateur artists among Trajan's legionaries; they are, on the contrary, the work of competent craftsmen of a later epoch when even the official art of Italy or of Byzantium had fallen to the level of the provincial folk art of the second and third centuries.

RELIGION

The official Roman gods, *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* and *Juno Regina*, were honoured everywhere. The agricultural colonists, whether Roman or Thracian, honoured the ancient rural divinities of Italy and, first among them, *Silvanus*, who does not appear here as a forest god but with the agrestic character of *Silvanus Sator*, « the sower ».

Diana and *Liber Pater*, also of Italic origin, were worshipped in Dobrogea also for their rustic character. Likewise of rustic essence were *Priapus*, *Ceres* and *Epona*. The Romans of the encampments and *canabae* worshipped in particular *Hercules*. The following Roman divinities also appear on the inscriptions of Scythia Minor: *Minerva*, *Apollo*, *Mars Conservator*, *Mars Ultor* (on the Adamclissi Trophy), *Neptunus Augustus*, *Fortuna Redux*, *Numen et Majestas Augusti*, *Genius loci* (at Tomis), *Genius vici* (in the *vicus Verobrittiani*), *Honos*, *Triviae*, and *Quadriviae*.

From the most ancient times, the Greek cities of the Pontus Sinister had their tutelary divinities: *Apollon*, in the Milesian cities, *Heracles* at Callatis and *Dionysus* at Dionysopolis, besides many others as ancient together with others added in the Roman epoch. The figures of the following divinities are shown on the coins minted in those cities: *Zeus*, « The Great God », *Hera*, *Athena*, *Apollon*, *Artemis*, *Ares*, *Poseidon*, *Nemesis*, *Demeter*, *Dionysus*, *Heracles*, *Asclepius*, *Hygeia*, *Tyche*, *Nike*, the *Dioscuri*, *Concord*,

Abundance, Ἡρακλῆς κτίστης (Callatis), Καλλάτις πόλις Histria deified (the river Istrus with the wall crown), *Tomus* (the hero κτίστης at Tomis), *Cybele*, *Sarapis*, etc. Most of these divinities are honoured both in inscriptions and in the products of the plastic art. In addition, the monuments also reveal a *Poseidon Heliconius*, a *Jupiter Olbiopolitanus*, and an *Apollon Agyieus*. A priest from Tomis serving the trinity *Pluton*, *Demeter* and *Core* appears in an inscription from *Credința* (Sofular). The same divinities appear in a Latin inscription from *Durostorum*: *Plutoni Sancto et Domn(a)e Preserpin(a)e*. Votive tablets representing *Hecate* have been found at *Constantza*. The *Dioscuri* were much respected in the Greek cities, where they were confused with the *Cabiri*, Samothracian gods, divinities of the sunlight, protectors of the seafarers. *Cybele*, the « Great Goddess », the « Mother of the Gods », was also worshipped here in close conjunction with the *Dioscuri-Cabiri*.

Towards the close of the second century, and especially in the third century, *Scythia Minor* also underwent the great offensive of the eastern mystic cults. Some of the corresponding divinities, such as *Isis* and *Sarapis*, did not penetrate towards the interior beyond the limits of the Pontic towns. On the other hand, worship of *Mithras* spread throughout the interior of *Dobrogea*. The Syrian worship of *Jupiter Dolichenus* likewise appears towards the *Danube*.

An important interpenetration of religious creeds took place in *Dobrogea* between the Greeks and Romans, on the one hand, and the *Geto-Thracians*, on the other. Adopting the forms of Greek civilisation, and, afterwards, those of the Roman, the *Thracians* assimilated their own divinities to the gods of the *Greco-Roman Pantheon*. But the reverse phenomenon also occurred. Thus, the most widespread divinity in the *Thracian world* on the right bank of the *Danube*, the *Riding Hero* or the *Thracian Horseman*, was adopted, both by the Greeks of the *Pontus Sinister* and by the Roman colonists of the *Thracian provinces*, under the name of *Hero*, *Hero Domnus*, *Hero Invictus*, *Hero Domesticus*, etc. and under the form of a funereal god identified with heroic

death. Although less so than in Balkan Thrace, the bas-reliefs representing that god as a hunting rider are very frequent in Dobrogea.

The Riding hero, under the very ancient local form of a henotheist god analogous to, or identical with, the Getic *Zalmoxis*, appears under divers epithets in the Thracian lands. On an altar from Durostorum, it bears the name of *Hero Suregetes idemque Praehibens*. Another name of this supreme Thraco-Getic divinity is *Derzo*; it is represented on two rings found near Tomis.

The worship of the dead held an important place in the religious concepts of these ancients. Monuments of a funereal character constitute the major part of the archaeological and epigraphic material of Dobrogea. A desire to ensure for themselves a worthy burial was at the basis of nearly all the religious or professional associations which were as frequent in Scythia Minor as they were ubiquitous in antiquity.

Remembrance of the dead was a part of all the feasts dedicated to the divinities, but especially of the *Rosalia*, an Italic feast *par excellence*, a feast of the ploughmen, the day of the roses and of spring, the most important in the agricultural cycle of the year.

ROMANISM AND HELLENISM

An examination of the sources relating to the arts and religions of Scythia Minor establishes that the three elements encountered there — the Geto-Thracian, the Roman, and the Greek — did not remain in isolation, but, notwithstanding their differences of origin and mentality, fused into a single whole of which the predominant and active element was the Roman.

Confronted with the impetuous progress of Roman culture, the Greeks stood on the cultural defensive. The fact is that, while the forms of Roman provincial life had penetrated into the very heart of the Greek cities, not to mention also the rural territories of the deeply Romanised

towns, the Greeks had only a weak influence in the interior of Scythia Minor. If one maps out the Greek inscriptions between the Pontus Euxinus and the Danube, one notes that the places where they have been found, other than the Greek cities, may be situated on two strips of country corresponding, in the south, with the roads which link up Tomis and Callatis to Abrittus, Tropaeum and Durostorum, and, in the centre, with the roads which lead from Tomis and Histria to Carsium. And even along these roads Greek inscriptions appear quite infrequently among the mass of Roman records. These observations do not prove the isolation of the Greeks; but they indicate that once they left the maritime zone, they had to adapt themselves to Roman life.

IX. DOBROGEA UNDER MARCUS AURELIUS AND THE SEVERI

When Marcus Aurelius became emperor, Scythia Minor was a profoundly Roman and prosperous country. But it was not in the natural order of things that such a threshold of invasion should remain undisturbed for long. Already under the domination of Marcus Aurelius, Dobrogea was to experience again the devastations of the Barbarians which she had quasi forgotten.

The great crisis provoked by the Marcomannic assaults on the upper Danube having urgently required the arrival of troops from everywhere, Scythia Minor remained very weakly defended. Of this situation advantage was taken by the *Costoboci*, a people of Dacian origin in the Moldavian Carpathians who, in the year 170 A. D., fell upon Dobrogea and the neighbouring provinces, carrying their ravages as far as into Greece. The towns were able to resist against this aggression, but the flourishing rural settlements had to suffer very severely. An inscription from Tropaeum which mentions a local Dacian on the way to becoming a Roman who was killed by the invaders (*Daizus Comozoi interfectus a Castabocis*: CIL III 14214, 12), dates from this period.

Marcus Aurelius's victories in Pannonia restored tranquillity to the mouths of the Danube. The devastated villages and villas were rebuilt. Numerous inscriptions bear witness to the flourishing conditions which returned to rural life in Dobrogea after the year 172 A. D. The garrisons in that country were, however, somewhat weakened, the *V Macedonica* legion being transferred to *Potaissa* (Turda) in Dacia. There remained here only the *XI Claudia* legion at *Durostorum* and various auxiliary corps on the Danube. The towns of *Troesmis* and *Durostorum* were raised to the rank of *municipia*. The Pontic cities acquired new ramparts in order that they might be able to face with even greater success further eventual barbarian surprises. There are stone records of similar new fortifications at *Callatis* and at *Tomis*. Adjustments of boundary settlements were made there where recent Costobocian disturbances had facilitated incursions, as is shown by an inscription which re-drew the boundary between the *Ausdecenses* and the neighbouring Dacians (CIL III 14437, 2).

The peace re-established by Marcus Aurelius was maintained in Dobrogea also under his successors. The emperor *Septimius Severus*, in particular, gave special attention to the province of Lower Moesia, the troops of which had helped to place him on the throne. He even carried out an inspection in the provinces of the Lower Danube in the year 200 A. D. His legatus in Lower Moesia, *C. Ovinus Tertullus*, is mentioned in numerous inscriptions from Dobrogea which testify to a vast work of upkeep of the roads. It is likewise to this able governor that are due the settlement of the boundaries between the lands of the *vicani Buteridavenses* and the *villa Bessi Ampudi*, in northern Dobrogea (CIL III 14447; V. Pârvan, *Histria*, IV, p. 634), as well as a series of legal decisions concerning the Roman citizens who had been taken prisoner by the Barbarians and had returned to their fatherland through Scythia Minor. It was probably under *Septimius Severus* that the town of *Tropaeum* became a *municipium*.

Caracalla, the son and successor of Septimius Severus, was, notwithstanding his cruelty, a good soldier and administrator. The troops served him with devotion. In Dobrogea, the *ala I Dardanorum* is designated under his cognomen, *Antoniniana* (BCMI, VIII, pp. 41—42). This country, which was inhabited by many Romanised *peregrini*, was to reap much advantage from the provisions of the *Antoninian constitution* whereby the quality of Roman citizenship was extended. It is this that explains the large number of *Aurelii* whose names appear on the local inscriptions and which denote in large measure the inhabitants made citizens under the emperor Caracalla and who are designated with his *nomen gentile*.

Thanks to the prompt and effective intervention of Caracalla, Dobrogea was saved in 214 A. D. from the threat of an invasion by the *Carpians*, Dacians from the Moldavian Carpathians belonging to the same branch as the *Costoboci*. It is undoubtedly to this event that reference is made in the inscription of a *primipilaris* from Oescus who fought against the *Carpians* (*adversus hostes Carpos et res prospere et valide gestas*) and who was honoured for that action by many cities of Scythia Minor and from the neighbouring regions, such as *Tomis*, *Dionysopolis*, *Marcianopolis*, *Tyras*, *Oescus* (CIL III 14416). Thanks to Caracalla's work, quiet was preserved at the mouths of the Danube under his successors as well.

X. DOBROGEA UNDER MILITARY ANARCHY

The intensified repetition of barbarian attacks on many frontiers at once and the tendency of each province on the *limes* to secure for their its own defence the efforts and the resources of the whole empire — these were the essential causes of the *military anarchy* which began with the assassination of Severus Alexander and which characterised much of the third century. In that period Dobrogea, which was the most dangerous avenue of invasion, had to suffer severe and decisive blows.

Even *Maximinus Thrax*, the first soldier to have been proclaimed emperor without the approbation of the Roman Senate, had to face at the mouths of the Danube attacks by the *Carprians* and the *Goths*, the latter being Germans who had recently arrived from the Baltic. The Barbarians were repulsed. The assassination of the brave Maximinus in 238 A. D. gave the Carpians and the Goths the occasion to force again the passage of the Danube and to lay waste Dobrogea with furious violence. The invasion is mentioned in an inscription from Durostorum in the year 238 A. D. itself; a citizen of that town expresses his gratitude to the gods for his salvation from Barbarian slavery: *receptus ex captivitate Barbarorum, Pio et Proclo consulibus* (CIL III 12455). The Barbarians withdrew only after the Romans had succeeded in inflaming resentment against them. A few years later the Carpians, making an incursion into Dobrogea and Thrace by themselves, were routed under the emperor *Gordian III*.

Philip the Arab, Gordian's successor, already had to intervene in the Danube at the beginning of his reign in order to parry a Carpo-Gothic invasion. The Barbarians were routed to the north of the river and compelled to accept Roman suzerainty without subsidies (246—247 A. D.). But everything was endangered by a revolt of the troops in Lower Moesia in 248 A. D. This was an excellent occasion for the Goths, together with other Germanic peoples and strengthened by a contingent of Carpians, to cross the river and to lay waste everything on their way, conquering and destroying the Greek and Roman cities. *Marcianopolis*, the fortifications of which had recently been increased, was among the few battle-places which successfully resisted against this barbarian avalanche.

In order to restore order, *Decius*, a senator and a general of great valour and a former governor of that province, was sent to Lower Moesia. He succeeded in routing and putting to flight the invaders and in reorganising the devastated provinces. His troops, however, proclaimed him emperor against his will and compelled him to march against

Philip, who was killed in the battle of Verona in 249 A. D. Having hardly reached Rome, where he was recognised by the Senate, Decius had to return hastily to the Danube, where the Goths had come again in enormous masses under the leadership of *Kniva* and had besieged *Trebonianus Gallus*, the governor of the province, at *Novae*, devastating at the same time the rest of the province. Decius intervened and defeated the Goths at *Nicopolis ad Istrum* and cut off their possibilities of retreat northwards. *Kniva* himself, undismayed by this situation, crossed the Balkans towards the south, laying waste the province of Thrace. The treason of *Priscus*, the Roman governor of Macedonia, helped him even to obtain a revenge against the advance guards of Decius. Afterwards, laden with booty, the Goths made for the Danube, seeking to force the Roman lines. Another treason, this time on the part of *Trebonianus Gallus*, facilitated the way for them. Decius, left with very small forces at hand, was unable to destroy more than a part of them on the way out from the Balkans and at the price of the death of his son, *Herennius*, who fell fighting. In a second battle, at *Forum Sempronii*, near *Abrittus*, in Dobrogea, the courageous emperor himself, surrounded all at once by a mass of Barbarians, met with an heroic death (251 A. D.). He was the first Roman emperor to have fallen on the field of battle.

Trebonianus Gallus was the one who profited from this sad circumstance. The troops, ignoring his felonious act against Decius, proclaimed him emperor. Now, if *Trebonianus's* understanding with *Kniva* remained unknown to his contemporaries, it has become clear to history from the humiliating peace which he concluded and from which the Goths were able to retreat quietly with all their abundant booty and to take across the Danube all their Roman captives, many of whom belonged to the most illustrious families of Moesia and of Thrace. Moreover, the empire bound itself to pay them substantial annual subsidies.

The provinces through which the Barbarians passed, and Scythia Minor in particular, had become vast camps of

ruins. Few towns were able, like Tomis, to keep themselves intact. It was then that Histria suffered the serious destruction of which Capitolinus speaks (SHA, XXI, 16, 3) and which has been confirmed by archaeological discovery. Nothing still remained standing of the splendid buildings of yore. Most of the localities in Dobrogea were in the same situation. Wretchedness abruptly became sovereign everywhere. The issue of autonomous coinage ceased: the last series of Histria, Dionysopolis and Odessus date from Gordian; those of Tomis and Callatis from Philip the Arab. Even simple inscriptions became very rare. The Roman civilisation of Dobrogea had received a terrible blow from which it was never to recover completely.

After the death of Decius, the crisis in which the empire was floundering reached its worst heights. Invasions became endemic. Scythia Minor again took up the unhappy rôle of a *via gentium*. The pestilence raged with fury. The anarchy of the troops menaced the unity of the Roman world.

Even under Trebonianus Gallus, in despite of his humiliating capitulations, the Goths, in association with the Carpians, again invaded the provinces. Those who had crossed through Dobrogea were defeated by *Aemilianus*, the governor of Lower Moesia, who was afterwards proclaimed emperor by the army.

In the divison of functions which occurred between the emperor *Valerian* and his son *Gallienus* in 253 A. D., Dobrogea entered, together with the Western Empire, into the latter's domain. He sought to restore the Roman peace on the Danubian *limes*. Roads were repaired. The Pontic cities which had been devastated by the preceding invasions were rebuilt according to the plans of the architects *Cleodamus* and *Athenaeus* of Byzantium. Histria was rebuilt with material drawn from the ruins of her beautiful former monuments.

In the very course of these constructive efforts, however, a Gothic fleet of 500 vessels, coming from southern Russia, made its appearance at the mouths of the Danube, advanced

southwards along the coast, and unsuccessfully endeavoured to lay siege to the new walls of the cities of the Pontus Sinister. The barbarian ships were finally scattered and destroyed through the intervention of the Roman Pontic fleet. Another mass of Goths, which had penetrated into Dobrogea by land, was surrounded in the Balkans. Having been hastily recalled to other parts, Gallienus had to grant the Barbarians the possibility of withdrawing to the other side of the Danube with little enough damage.

At the beginning of the reign of the emperor *Claudius II*, the Barbarians returned to Dobrogea and to the Balkans in overwhelming numbers. It was no longer a question of an incursion, but of a gigantic migration. Numerous Germanic peoples — Goths, Heruli, Bastarnae, Gepids, etc. — met together at the mouth of the Dniester and, forming a mass of 320.000 warriors, in addition to women, children and slaves with all their possessions, set out for the south, partly by land and partly by sea, with 2.000 vessels propelled by the coastal current. On the way, they tried in vain to conquer *Tomis* and *Marcianopolis*. They probably met with no more success before the other Pontic cities. The Barbarians were finally massacred in the battle of *Naissus* (Nish) through the bravery of *Claudius*, who has remained inscribed in history with the well-merited surname of *Gothicus*. This was the first great defeat of the Germans in the East, while for the Romans it was a success such as they had not had for a long while.

The plague which, in the time of *Claudius*, had been spreading unceasingly, soon overtook *Claudius* as well (270 A. D.). His successor was *Aurelian*, to whom the Roman empire owes the renewal of its unity and the first decisive reactions against the military anarchy. In recent successes against the Goths, he had had, as a general, a leader's rôle. As emperor, he had occasion to repel another invasion by the these Barbarians. Following them to the north of the Danube, he killed 5.000 of them including their king *Canabaudes* (271 A. D.). The Carpians, who invaded Dobrogea

in the following year, were crushed between Carsium and Sucidava, while the prisoners were colonised on the spot as ploughmen. A *vicus Carporum*, which is mentioned in the fourth century near Carsium, as well as an inscription from Durostorum (CIL III 12456), record that fine victory. Under this emperor, Scythia Minor began to renew itself steadily after the terrible trials through which it had passed. The inscriptions show the restoration of Roman life at Durostorum, Tropaeum and Callatis. Security returned. The frontiers, organised once more, nonplussed the Barbarian surprises. The general situation, however, called for heavy sacrifices.

The need to strengthen the Danubian *limes* led to the abandonment of Dacia, that flourishing nest of Roman life of yore. Aurelian had decided to withdraw the legions, the authorities and the urban population from that province. Only the mass of the rural population remained on the spot, resigned to put up with the domination of the Barbarians. In the history of Dobrogea this event signified a decisive turning-point. The natural link of that country with the Carpatho-Danubian unity, which had facilitated the great blossoming of the century of Antoninus, was interrupted for many centuries. Scythia Minor would count no more except as a road of invasions for the Barbarians of the steppes and as a bastion of defense for the troops of the empire.

The successors of Aurelian, *Tacitus* and *Probus*, also had to fight against the Germanic Barbarians in the provinces of the East. *Probus*, in order to increase the population of Lower Moesia, which had been decimated by invasions and epidemics, colonised 100.000 Bastarnae there. Desiring to do the same thing with other barbarian peoples, such as the *Gepids*, the *Greuthungi*, the *Vandals*, who were less accustomed to the Roman civilised life, they rebelled and began to pillage the Roman domains, especially in Dobrogea, and this called forth an expedition against them by the emperor. Some of them were definitely subdued, others fled to the other side of the Danube.

XI. THE PROVINCE OF SCYTHIA FROM DIOCLETIAN TO THEODOSIUS

DIOCLETIAN AND GALERIUS

The proclamation of *Diocletian* as emperor in 284 A. D. marked the end of the military anarchy. The history of the empire and of Dobrogea entered into a new phase. His daring and, at the same time, well conceived reforms created a new order.

Through the administrative reform of Diocletian, Dobrogea was detached from Lower Moesia, becoming a separate province under the name of *Scythia*. The limit of the separation was fixed by a line which, starting out from the river *Zyras*, at Ecrenè, headed northwards, reaching the Danube between the lakes of Oltina and Mârleanu, and incorporating in the new province the towns of *Dionysopolis*, *Zaldapa* and *Tropaeum*. The towns of *Odessus*, *Marcianopolis*, *Abrittus* and *Durostorum* remained in the neighbouring province, now reduced and named *Moesia Secunda*. Both by the elevation of *Scythia Minor* to the rank of a province and by the geographic character of its frontier, especially towards the Sea, recognition was given to this country's natural independence in the Balkan regions. The residence of the province of *Scythia* was fixed at *Tomis*. As for the old *Pentapolis*, it was suppressed. The autonomy of the towns, without going so far as the grant of the right to mint its own coinage as in the past, was respected. At *Tomis* there has been discovered a IVth century inscription making mention of the *ordines Scythici*, that is, of the autonomous councils of the towns of Dobrogea (CIL III 768; Dessau, ILS, 7186).

Together with the provinces of *Thrace*, *Moesia Secunda*, *Haemimontus*, *Europa*, *Rhodope*, *Scythia Minor* formed part of the *diocesis Thraciae*. In the Diocletian's tetrarchy, this great administrative and unilateral unit entered into the Eastern part and, therefore, like all the Danubian dioceses, in the portion entrusted to the Caesar *Galerius*. Diocletian and his collaborator undertook decisive military action in

the regions of the Lower Danube. An energetic expedition by Galerius to the north of the river resulted in the extermination of the power organised by the Carpians, who were largely transplanted to different provinces of the empire. A similar fate befell the Bastarnae. The Goths were defeated and compelled to recognise the imperial supremacy. It is probable that Dobrogea played in this event the rôle of a main base for the Roman offensive. The Danubian *limes* was completed with new fortifications, as is proved by the inaugural inscriptions of the cities of *Durostorum* and *Transmarisca* (*An. inst. st. cl.*, II, pp. 210 *sqq.*; CIL III 6151, Suppl. p. 1349). At *Durostorum* there has also been found the epitaph, dated 297 A. D., of a veteran rewarded with *scutum*, *spatam*, *pugellares argento tectas*, for bravery probably displayed in one of the victories of Galerius in the north of the Danube (CIL III 14433).

Thanks to the constructive work of Diocletian, of Galerius and of his successors, Dobrogea once more found a prosperous peace. The inscriptions corresponding with that period are very rare. The higher level of the people's culture in the earlier epochs was never to be reached again either there or in the rest of the empire.

The great persecution which Diocletian, with the illusory object of restoring the moral bases of the old Roman State, launched against *Christianity* produced many martyrs also in the provinces of the Danube. On that occasion there appears the first information on the Christian religion in Dobrogea, although, at any rate in the Pontic cities, the word of the Gospels must have penetrated much earlier.

Many martyrs put to death during the time of this emperor are recorded at *Tomis*, *Halmyris*, *Durostorum*, *Axiopolis* and *Noviodunum*. The most celebrated among them is *Saint Dasius*, whose name denotes origins in the Illyrian provinces. Being a soldier at *Durostorum* in the year 303 A. D., and having refused to take part in the Saturnalia, he was tried and beheaded. His sarcophagus, with a fourth century inscription, was discovered in 1908 in the cathedral of Ancona,

where it had been brought from Durostorum in a later epoch, either the sixth century, or the period of Genoese commercial activity on the Danube in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

LICINIUS AND CONSTANTINE

In the year 313 A. D., after various civil wars which followed the retirement of Diocletian, *Constantine the Great* became emperor in the West and issued his celebrated edict of Milan whereby freedom of Christian worship was recognised. *Licinius* ruled over the East and over the diocese of Thrace, including the province of Scythia.

In order to complete the system of fortifications connected with the Danubian *limes*, *Licinius*, in agreement with *Constantine* and probably even with his help, rebuilt from the ground the citadel of *Tropaeum Trajani*, which, having lost its pristine prosperity following upon its destruction in the third century, was now in a wretched condition.

The building of that citadel was a significant event. Its ramparts are among the most solid and carefully worked in Dobrogea. It was not merely a question of strengthening an important road-head but of re-establishing a locality which, by its origin and name, recalled to the barbarian world the prestige of the Roman forces. This is what makes the view highly probable that the work of restoration of that late period was not limited to the walls of the town of *Tropaeum*, but was extended also to the triumphal monument of *Trajan* in the vicinity which had been ruined in the course of the invasions of the third century (*vide supra*, p. 71).

Licinius, although he had signed the edict of Milan out of regard for his colleague, was personally very closely tied to the pagan traditions. This attitude of his is attested by an important inscription from Dobrogea found in the encampment of *Salsovia* and containing the emperor's

dispositions for the adoration of *Sol Invictus* (V. Pârvan, *Salsovia*, pp. 27 *sqq.*). These measures represented a pagan restoration in the face of the overwhelming offensive of Christianity. Since, contrary to the principle of the unity of imperial sovereignty, the name of Constantine is not mentioned on the inscription, the measures constituted undoubtedly also a hostile action against him.

We are now close, therefore, to the year A. D. 324, when there began the decisive conflict between these two emperors, ending with the defeat of Licinius and with the proclamation of Constantine as sole sovereign of the empire. That civil war is mentioned in an inscription from *Ulmetum*, which refers to a *biarcus*, probably from that region, named *Valerius Victorinus* (V. Pârvan, *Ulmetum*, II, 2, pp. 386 *sqq.*). This soldier served in the guard of Licinius (*in sacro palatio*) and fell in the battle of Chalcedonia-Chrysopolis (*qui in proelio Romanorum Calcedonia contra avversarios decessit*). The stone was laid as a cenotaph by his widow, *Matrona*, who calls him *compar*, that is, *maritus*, according to the provincial tongue of that epoch.

Constantine's victory was at the same time a decisive success for Christianity. The Church triumphant was organised under the protection of the emperor himself. At the first oecumenic council of *Nicaea* (A. D. 325), the bishop of Tomis also took part.

The removal of the imperial capital to *Constantinopolis*, in 330 A. D., on the site of the ancient Byzantium, was another momentous event of that period. The centre of gravity of the Roman world shifted into spiritual environment of Greek tradition. The foundation of Constantinople was to have important consequences for Dobrogea as well. Belonging to the same diocese as the new capital and being placed in its Pontic hinterland at an important point of the mouths of the Danube, the province of Scythia was to have with the heart of the empire much closer and much more direct links than it had had in the past. From now onwards, Greek influences were to develop here actively and unceasingly through trade and through the church.

LIMES SCYTHICUS

As an immediate consequence of the fact that the capital of the empire had been brought nearer to Dobrogea, fuller attention was given to the defense of that province. The military organisation of Scythia Minor in the fourth century is fairly well known thanks to the information of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, of which the part relating to the East depicts, in general outline, the situation shortly after the reign of Constantine. There were, in the province of Scythia, frontier troops (*milites limitanei*) which, after the organisation instituted by Diocletian, were differentiated from the *milites comitatenses* or the *milites palatini* which were stationed in the interior of the empire as a general reserve force.

Three categories of troops of *milites limitanei*, in the following hierarchical order, are mentioned here under the command of the Duke of Scythia: 1. cavalry units (*cunei equitum*); 2. *milites auxiliares*; and 3. the *I Jovia* and *II Herculia* legions, which had been established in Dobrogea already at the time of Diocletian. This arrangement corresponds with a complete reversal in the values of the armies on the frontier. The auxiliary troops, often composed of Barbarians, are more important than the legions; the latter, which are attached more and more to their garrisons and to their territories, are transformed into stable organisations of armed ploughmen who are obliged to act as covering troops on the *limes*. As much among the auxiliaries as in the legions, there were naval units which constituted the Danubian fleet of the province. Thus, at *Flaviana* (Rasova?), there were *milites nauclarii*, while, at *Plateypegiae*, somewhere in front of the Delta, there was stationed the main fleet, composed of *cohortes musculorum Scythicorum*, detached from the two legions and placed under the command of a *praefectus ripae*. The navigational skill of the Germanic Barbarians, which was often demonstrated in the course of the third century through their incursions on the Black Sea, explains the establishment of the main fleet of the province

at the mouths of the Danube as well as the important number of fortifications from the fourth to the sixth centuries which are to be noted in *Extrema Scythiae*, that is, in the peninsula of north-eastern Dobrogea which is comprised between the Delta and Lake Halmyris (Razelm).

The two legions of the province divided the *limes* between them in accordance with the two fronts which are presented by the Danube in Dobrogea. The northern front, on the Bessarabian side, was watched by the *Legio I Jovia* its principal headquarters being at *Noviodunum*. Attached to the command of the legion there was also there a *praefectus ripae* commanding half a legion (five cohorts) forming a *pedatura superior*. There was likewise garrisoned at *Noviodunum*, after Constantine II, an auxiliary unit of *milites primi Constantiani*. The other half of the legion, forming a *pedatura inferior*, had its command at *Aegyssus*, an old fortification at the point of ramification of the Delta. There was also there a cavalry unit, the *cuneus equitum armigerorum*. There were also other troops on the front of the *I Jovia* legion: the *milites Scythici* at *Dinogetia* (Bisericuța); the *cuneus equitum Arcadum* at *Talamonium* (perhaps Prislava); the *milites quinti Constantiani* at *Salsovia* (Mahmudia); the *milites primi Gratianenses* at *Gratiana* (towards the end of the fourth century).

The western front, on the other side of the Wallachian Bărăgan, constituted the sector of the *Legio II Herculia*, having its command at *Troesmis* (Iglița), an old legionary encampment of the second century, where there was also a *praefectus ripae* with the five cohorts of the *pedatura inferior*, as well as a unit of *milites secundi Constantiani*. The headquarters of the *pedatura superior* of the legion was established at *Axiopolis*. A troop of *milites superventores* was also stationed there. On the front of the *II Herculia* legion, the following troops were on guard: at *Arrubium* (Măcin), a *cuneus equitum catafractariorum*; at *Beroë* and at *Cius*, one *cuneus equitum stablesianorum* each; at *Carsium*, the *milites Scythici*; at *Capidava*, a *cuneus equitum Solensium*; at *Sacidava* (Seimeni or Topalu), a *cuneus equitum scutario-*

rum. The priority of the cavalry in the distribution of troops on the *II Herculia* legion's sector is to be noted. Of the seven *cunei equitum* mentioned in the *Notitia dignitatum* for Dobrogea, only two were on the northern front, the other five being stationed here. There was a need for far more cavalry in this region facing the Bărăgan, where Barbarian surprise attacks could be made easily and across many fords.

In the part of Dobrogea left to the province of Moesia Secunda, the *limes* was guarded by the old *Legio XI Claudia*, the supreme command of which, together with the *praefectus pedaturae superioris*, resided at *Durostorum*, where there was also a unit of *milites quarti Constantiani*. The command of the *pedatura inferior* was at *Transmarisca* (Turtucaia), in the encampment of which the *milites Novenses* were also quartered. Other troops in that region were stationed at the following places: a *cuneus equitum stablesianorum* at *Sucidava* (perhaps Satu-Nou); the *milites nauclarii Altinenses* at *Altinum* (probably Oltina), a station of the auxiliary fleet; the *milites Cimbriani* at *Cimbrianae* (unidentified); the *milites Moesiaci* at *Tegulicium* (Vetrina); and the *milites primi Moesiaci* at *Candidiana* (Cadichioi). For the whole of this sector there was only a single cavalry unit; on the other hand, the other six *cunei equitum* of the province of Moesia Secunda were distributed farther up on the front of the *Legio I Italica*, between *Sexanta Prista* (Rusčuk) and *Novae* (Šištov). This fact shows that the most dangerous ford for the invasions, in that part of the Danube, was on the other side of the present frontier of Dobrogea to the west of the mouth of the Argeș.

Nearly all these citadels were built or reconstructed between the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine. The latter enlarged the encampment of *Transmarisca*, which had been founded under Diocletian and Galerius, and founded a bridge-head in front, near the mouth of the Argeș, at *Constantiniana Dafne*. Constantine's campaign of A. D. 332, which ended with a resounding victory against the Goths of Dacia and with the return of that province under Roman protection, opened in the Bărăgan. The emperor himself had

his headquarters at *Marcianopolis*, which had become the principal strategic centre of the diocese of Thrace. His army crossed the Danube between *Durostorum* and *Transmarisca*.

The *Notitia dignitatum* gives us, in regard to the province of Scythia, only the situation of the troops on the *limes*. But it transpires from the inscriptions that there were military units also, both in the interior of the province and on the sea-coast. Thus, near *Babadag*, in the centre of a region in which the fortress of *Ibida* rose, there have been found fragments of a large fourth century inscription giving a list of soldiers who may have been detached from the *comitatenses* troops and allotted to the defense of this region (CIL III 14214, 24; P. Nicorescu, in *Ac. Rom., m. s. ist., s. III*, vol. XIX, pp. 211 *sqq.*). There can be distinguished among them elements forming part of the corps of *castriciani* and of *equites*, some of them raised to various ranks such as *circitor*, *exarchus*, and *bisexarchus*. The sources provide many names, most of them Roman. A few Syrian names, however, are also shown. There is likewise a Dacian name — *Dicebalus*, perhaps belonging to one of the Carpians colonised in the province at the end of the third century under Aurelian and under Diocletian. With regard to a *circitor de vixillatione (sic) XII[1?] catafractariorum quae est Trimammio*, also of the IVth century, whose funereal slab was found at *Histria* (V. Pârvan, *Histria*, IV, pp. 695 *sqq.*), he may have formed part of a detachment of *comitatensis* cavalry entrusted with the defense of one of the encampments in the neighbourhood of that Pontic town.

CONSTANTIUS AND JULIAN

Many of the conditions described for Dobrogea in the *Notitia dignitatum* are due to the work of military organisation of the emperor *Constantius II*, son and successor of Constantine the Great. This is shown, in the first place, by the four units of *milites Constantiani* of *Durostorum*, *Troesmis*, *Noviodunum* and *Salsovia*. Furthermore, in the masonry of the fourth century walls of the citadel of *Capidava*,

there has been found a coin of Constantius. The locality of *Constantiana*, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Tomis, and the name of which, under the form of *Constanța*, is preserved to-day for the site of that Pontic town, must also be a testimony to his reign. In the ruins of the stronghold of Carcaliu, a promontory advancing into the marshes of the Danube, between Troesmis and Arrubium, there has been found an inscription dating from A. D. 337—340; this proves that that citadel was built under the reign of Constantius' sons as a sentinel against the bands of Goths who used to cross the river there by surprise.

Under the succeeding emperor, *Julian the Apostate*, a romantic restoration of official paganism was attempted. The persecution which resulted therefrom made a martyr in Dobrogea too, in the person of *Saint Aemilianus*, who was executed in A. D. 362 at Durostorum.

VALENS

The rule of Christianity was restored under *Jovian*. His successor, *Valentinian*, divided the imperial authority with his brother *Valens*, to whom befell sovereignty over the East, including Dobrogea. Valens had to wage important wars in the Lower Danube against the Goths, who, under the pressure of the *Huns*, from Central Asia, sought to move into the provinces of the empire. He endeavoured to anticipate the barbarian menace by an offensive war to the north of the Danube. Establishing his headquarters at *Marcianopolis*, he crossed the river in A. D. 367 on a bridge of boats at *Transmarisca* and *Dafne*. The Goths retreated towards the Carpathians (*montes Serrorum*) and ravaged the country in front of the Roman troops, so that the expedition had no decisive result. In the following year, the projected offensive was taken up again at *Carsium*, before the village named *vicus Carporum* (*vide supra*, p. 95). Owing, however, to the waters of the Danube, which were extraordinarily swollen all the time, Valens lost a whole summer without being able to find a suitable moment to cross into

Wallachia. It was not until the spring of A. D. 369 that the imperial army, again changing its objective, was able to cross the river into Bessarabia at *Noviodunum* and to attack the Goths in the environs of the Dniester. The barbarian king, *Atharichus*, sued for peace and accepted the severe conditions imposed by the Roman emperor.

On the occasion of this long war, Valens had been able to built various fortifications in Dobrogea. Thus, at *Cius* (Sarai-Hisarlık), there has been discovered an inscription which denotes the remaking of that citadel in the year A. D. 369 after the submission of *Atharichus* (CIL III 7494). It was also then that there must have been founded or remade the encampment of *Gratiana*, near the Delta, the name of which recalls the emperor *Gratianus*, Valens's nephew and colleague in the West. The same conclusion is suggested by the name *Valentiniana*, which appears in the sixth century in the coastal fortifications in the region between *Histria* and *Callatis*. It is not possible to accept lightly, however, any of the modern hypotheses according to which Valens was the author of some of the ramparts between *Tomis* and *Axiopolis* or according to which he caused to be constructed the Trajan Trophy of *Adamclissi*.

Valens, like *Constantius*, was a fervent upholder of Arianism. The sources mention his conflict with *Bretanion*, the Orthodox bishop of *Tomis*, who had to abandon the cathedral church of the city and cede it to the Arians.

A very critical phase opened in the East of the Roman empire in A. D. 375. Attacked and routed by the Huns in southern Russia, the Goths sought asylum in the empire. In the absence of Valens, who was then occupied in the East, the local governors, *Lupicinus* and *Maximus*, received them on condition that they should be colonised as ploughmen in the neighbourhood of the Danube. But the lack of loyalty on the part of these two Roman generals towards the Gothic princes resulted in a powerful insurrection of

the Barbarians, who defeated the local Roman troops at Marcianopolis. The rural districts of Dobrogea, together with all the provinces south of the Danube, were laid waste with frightful thoroughness.

Valens hastened to intervene. His army, led by *Profuturus* and by *Trajanus* and strengthened with a western force sent by Gratianus under the command of *Richomerus*, pushed the Barbarians into northern Dobrogea. There, a great and bloody battle occurred near the locality of *Salices* by Lake Razelm (A. D. 377). The Goths, as well as the Romans, displayed savage courage, but the struggle remained undecided. At nightfall, both sides had kept the positions and battle formations which they had taken up in the course of the day. The losses were enormous on both sides. The Romans, worn out and decimated, withdrew in the course of the night towards Marcianopolis. The Goths, no less exhausted and bewildered as well, remained on the spot for seven days until they were able to make sure that the Roman retreat was real and that the success which had eluded their arms had been facilitated by the excessive prudence of their adversaries. Dobrogea once again fell a prey to looting. Other Barbarians came from the north of the Danube to thicken their ranks and to spread misery in the province.

In A. D. 378, another battle, this time a decisive one, took place at *Adrianoŭle*. The Romans suffered a terrible disaster. Many generals fell heroically. Valens himself met with a tragic death, burnt alive in a cottage in which he had withdrawn to nurse his wounds.

THEODOSIUS

The situation was desparate. It was only after the passage of much time and by dint of great effort that *Theodosius*, named emperor in the East in the place of Valens, succeeded in re-establishing Roman authority, forming a new army and concluding an arrangement with the Goths accor-

ding to which they were received in the Danubian provinces, not as subject colonists, but as allies (*foederati*). This was, in fact, a cession of imperial territory to the domination of an autonomous foreign element in exchange for a recognition of imperial sovereignty and the obligation to defend the frontier against other Barbarians.

The province of Scythia had entered into a sad chapter of her Roman history. The population of the interior had to lead, under the domination of the Barbarians, a humble life among the ruins of their old settlements in the country. The Barbarians often disturbed even the Pontic cities, the only centres of the province which, thanks to their free contacts with the sea, still depended directly from the emperor. Thus the Goths of the Delta would devastate the town of *Halmyris*, while the bands of *foederati* near *Tomis* would come into conflict with *Gerontius*, the commander of that city, who would react by attacking and destroying them. The emperor Theodosius himself, in order not to upset the rest of the Goths, had to punish the Tomitan general for his energetic enterprise.

It is from that period — A. D. 383–392 — that the last milestone found in Dobrogea dates; it indicates a repair of roads near *Abrittus* under the common reigns of the emperors *Valentinian II*, *Theodosius* and *Arcadius* (CIL III 14464). Another inscription — a Greek one — mentioning the emperors *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, was found at *Dişpudac*, between *Odessus* and *Dionysopolis* (AEM, X, p. 182).

The death of Theodosius, who had succeeded in re-establishing relative calm, was followed by a new fury of invasion. The Huns renewed their irresistible assaults towards the West, subjecting *Dacia* and *Pannonia* and provoking a general influx of Germanic peoples into the Roman provinces. The empire, divided between *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, was heading for disintegration, and its partition was to become an accomplished fact in the course of the fifth century.

XII. THE PROVINCE OF SCYTHIA UNDER THE BARBARIANS

THE INVASIONS OF THE HUNS

The empire of the Huns, which had been established with lightning rapidity from the Caspian up to the Baltic and along the Black Sea and the Danube, was a great danger for the Roman world. A few decades of their overwhelming proximity could be easily borne, thanks to a tribute paid to the Barbarian king. When the formidable Turanian forces, however, came into the hands of *Attila*, « the scourge of God » (A. D. 434—453), the Roman empire had to endure great humiliations.

Dobrogea had to suffer much following upon that event, inasmuch as, after the departure of the Visigoth *foederati* to Italy (A. D. 408), their defence was greatly weakened. In that period, the imperial troops made an expedition to the mouths of the Danube, laying siege to *Noviodunum*, where *Valips*, a Barbarian chieftain, probably a Hun, had shut himself up. Subsequently, every effort on the part of the emperor *Theodosius II* to restore Roman authority in the Lower Danube proved of no avail. Peace was concluded in the year A. D. 449. The Romans had, *inter alia*, to cede to *Attila* several bridge-heads, in the provinces on the right bank of the Danube. Thus, as the sources indicate, the citadel of *Carsium* was handed over to the Huns. The Barbarian king ensured for himself absolute domination over Dobrogea north of the Tomis-Axiopolis line and was able at any time to put pressure to bear upon the Roman forces.

Attila was at the height of his power ; but not for long. The energetic attitude adopted by the emperor *Marcianus* (A. D. 450—457) imposed upon the Barbarians respect of the Byzantine half of the empire and obliged them to direct their devastating fury towards the West, where they were finally defeated at *Campi Catalaunici* (A. D. 451). The victor was *Aëtius*, a Roman general native of *Durostorum*.

The death of *Attila*, in A. D. 453, brought dislocation to his immense empire. The Germanic peoples in revolt

crushed the Turanian forces; this produced a new upheaval in the region of the Danube. Led by *Candacus*, the peoples freed from the Huns, such as the *Sciri*, *Sadagari* and *Alani*, crossed into Dobrogea, where they established themselves as *foederati* of the Roman empire. Some of the conquered Huns, under the leadership of *Hernacus*, Attila's son, did likewise, establishing themselves in *Extrema Scythiae* that is, in the north-eastern corner of the province. The Gepids founded in Dacia an important State which, for about a century, maintained good relations with Constantinople. The *Ostrogoths* were received in Moesia as *foederati* and were entrusted between the years A. D. 471—488 with the defence of the province of Scythia.

THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SCYTHIA IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

Sozomenus speaks of Scythia Minor in the fifth century as of a still flourishing province with many « towns, villages and fortresses » and of the metropolis of Tomis as of a « great and prosperous town ». This reference does not apply, of course, to the interior of the province which, under the domination of the Barbarian *foederati* and under the continuous threat of invasions from without, could not develop. In the case, however, of the Pontic towns, which prospered under the protection of their solid ramparts and in their continuous maritime contact with the empire, the praises of the ecclesiastical historian do not seem exaggerated. If, therefore, we confine ourselves to the church domain which interested Sozomenus, the situation of the Pontic centres must have been really flourishing.

Thanks partly to political and economic connections, but above all owing to the proselytising activity of the official Church which, in the course of the fifth century, made enormous progress, the higher civilisation of the empire exercised uninterruptedly a considerable influence over the barbarian world, whether the *foederati* of the provinces or the ephemeral States north of the Danube.

The province of Scythia had at that time a single bishopric: that of *Tomis*. In the part of Dobrogea belonging to Moesia Secunda there were the bishoprics of *Durostorum* and *Abrittus*. The list of bishops of Tomis, such as it has been reconstructed up to the present, is as follows: *Evangelicus*, under Diocletian; *Philus*, under Licinius and Constantine; *Bretanion*, under Valens; *Gerontius*, who took part in the Synod of Constantinople in A. D. 381; *Theotimus*, towards A. D. 400, who is celebrated by his efforts to convert the Huns and by his friendship with St. John Chrysostom; *Timothy*, who took part in the Council of Ephesus in A. D. 431; *Johannes*, before A. D. 448; *Alexander*, who took part in the Council of Chalcedonia in A. D. 451; *Theotimus II*, who, in a letter addressed to the emperor Leo (A. D. 457—474), declared himself in agreement with the conclusions of the Chalcedonic Council; *Paternus*, who took part in the Synod of Constantinople in A. D. 520; and, lastly, *Valentinian*, who is known for his correspondence with Pope Vigilius in A. D. 550. At Durostorum, apart from the Arian bishop *Auxentius*, towards A. D. 380, we know of an Orthodox bishop *Jacobus*, who took part as an opponent in the Council of Ephesus in A. D. 431; of *Monophilus*, who, in A. D. 458, signed the letter of the Moesian bishops to the emperor Leo; and of *Dulcissimus*, who is buried at Odessus, where his tombstone has been found with an inscription dating from c. A. D. 600. At Abrittus, only the bishop *Marcianus* is known; he took part in the Council of Ephesus in A. D. 431 and is a signatory of the letter of A. D. 458 from the Moesian bishops to the emperor Leo.

It transpires from this list of bishops, most of whom are prior to the year A. D. 500, that the ecclesiastical organisation of Dobrogea took an active part in the great dogmatic struggle which then stirred the Christian church. At the same time, these organisations fought without respite against paganism both in the interior of the province and in the Barbarian world on the other side of the Danube.

Apart from some Germanic *foederati* who were Arians, the inhabitants of Dobrogea remained Orthodox and the church of Scythia Minor preserved that dogma throughout its history. It is this that explains why the Arian bishop *Eunomius*, of Cyzicus, was exiled by Theodosius I in that very religious environment, to Halmyris.

ANASTASIUS AND VITALIAN

After the departure of the Ostrogoths, with *Theodoricus*, to Italy (A. D. 488), the province of Scythia had remained again with a weak defence. It was then that the *Slavs*, of Indo-European origin, made their appearance for the first time on the soil of that country. The emperor *Anastasius* (A. D. 491—518), a wise and far-seeing organiser, took steps to re-establish order. He re-organised the troops of the province and caused works of fortification to be constructed. We have a witness to that restoring activity at *Histria*. The Roman soldiers repaired the walls of the citadel with bricks, which have been discovered in our day, bearing a stamp with the name of Anastasius. It is very probable that the stone rampart — the most recent of the three which exist between Constantza and Cernavoda — dates from the same period (*vide infra*, p. 124).

Under this emperor, Dobrogea was the scene of an event which endangered the throne of Constantinople itself. This was the revolt of *Vitalian*, a federated general, the commander of the troops of Scythia, who was born at Zaldapa, in the south of the province. He was the Romanised son of a Gothic *comes*. His residence was at *Acres castellum*, at Cape Caliacra, formerly *Tirixis*. Unsatisfied, on the one hand, with the measures of economy taken by Anastasius to the detriment of the troops, and vexed, on the other hand, by the protection which the emperor granted to the sect of Monophysites, Vitalian, who was Orthodox like quasi all the Christians of Dobrogea, rebelled. The emperor despatched against him *Hypatius*, the general of the Thracian diocese, but the latter was beaten, taken captive

and brought in chains to Caliacra (A. D. 513), whence he was liberated only in exchange for a large sum. Vitalian, at the head of a powerful army of 50.000 men, then marched to Constantinople, the uneasy inhabitants of which were ready to open their doors to him. Anastasius parried this danger only by promising to give way in the religious question.

Vitalian returned to Dobrogea. On the way, he took by surprise the imperial garrisons of Odessus under the command of *Cyrrillus*, whom he put to death. As the emperor did not hasten to break with the Monophysites, Vitalian re-appeared before the capital in the following year with an even larger army. The emperor again induced him to withdraw, loading him with gifts and honours and, *inter alia*, investing him with the dignity of chief of the troops of the diocese of Thrace.

Nevertheless, the continual postponement of the religious question caused Vitalian to attack Constantinople again, this time with the help of a fleet by the sea. But the fleet having been beaten and set on fire, the rebel general had to give up the attack by land and to return to Caliacra. Until the death of Anastasius, however, the revolt could not be quelled. Vitalian remained powerful thanks to his Pontic encampments and to the numerous and excellent troops which he had at this disposal.

It was only under the emperor *Justinus* (A. D. 518—527) that this dangerous general could be put aside. Attracted to Constantinople, raised to the rank of supreme commander of the palace militia, and afterwards named consul, he was subsequently assassinated in circumstances which have remained mysterious (A. D. 520).

XIII. JUSTINIAN: THE LAST EFFORTS OF IMPERIAL ROMANISM IN DOBROGEA

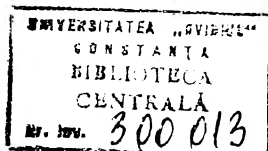
MILITARY ORGANISATION

The real author of this solution of the Vitalian question had been *Justinian*, Justinus's nephew and a man of outstanding accomplishment. Associated with the conduct

of the State, and afterwards designated as the successor to the throne, Justinian was, during the reign of Justinus, already the principal factor in the revival of the empire. The pressure exerted at the mouths of the Danube by the Slavs, Bulgarians and Huns and manifested by incursions in the south of the river made this effort urgently necessary. At the beginning of Justinian's reign, the Huns from the north of the Black Sea, who were remnants of Attila's former empire, were cruelly defeated in Thrace. A Slav invasion was likewise repulsed in Illyricum. The Roman troops again settled in the citadels on the Danube and even took up the offensive again, as in the time of Constantine the Great, on the left bank of the river, where they occupied many bridge-heads. In the vicinity of Dobrogea, similar points of vantage were re-established at *Dafne*, in front of Transmarisca, and perhaps at Bărboși, in front of Dinogetia, and at the mouth of the Ialomița, in front of Carsium.

The work of military re-organisation begun by Anastasius was taken up again, but on a grandiose scale. The provinces were no longer left in the hands of the *foederati* but were entrusted to imperial troops. Under the command of Roman generals, they were recruited in part among the Barbarians, who were enlisted individually and instructed according to Roman methods, and in part among the inhabitants of the empire. The cavalry, which had the last word in all the battles of the preceding centuries, were given a very important function in the new organisation. Troops of *milites limitanei*, composed of soldier-ploughmen, were re-established on the frontiers. Although the quality of Justinian's army does not bear comparison with that of the troops organised by Diocletian and his successors because of their large number of Barbarian elements, yet it displays a clear superiority over the conditions of the fifth century.

The old fortifications, which had been abandoned in ruins or completely destroyed in the course of the invasions, were repaired and wholly reconstructed. Procopius, the historian of the period, in his work on buildings



(Περὶ τῶν κτισμάτων) has handed down to us the names of the citadels rebuilt or constructed under Justinian.

In this list of citadels, Dobrogea is mentioned with more than 50. Some of them bear names known from earlier centuries: *Candidiana*, *Durostorum*, *Sucidava*, *Altina*, *Axiopolis*, *Carsium*, *Troesmis*, *Noviodunum*, *Aegyssus*, *Gratiana*, *Halmyris*, *Argamum*, *Tomis* and *Constantiana*, *Callatis*, *Odessus*, *Marcianopolis*, *Palmatis*, *Abrittus*, and *Ulmetum*. Others, more numerous, now appear for the first time and their identification can be established only very vaguely. For example: *Zisnudava*, *Gemellomuntes*, *A Silva*, *Fossatum*, *Salutpyrgus*, *Altenum*, *Questris*, *Adina*, *Tilicium*, *Rubusta*, *Diniscarta*, *Monte Regine*, *Becis*, *Maurovalle*, all in the south of Dobrogea, in Moesia Secunda; then *Grapsos*, *Nono*, *Residina*, settled, it would appear, in the north of the province of Scythia, on the Danube; *Bassidina* and *Beledina* on the coast, near *Callatis*. Then come: *Copustrus*, *Virgiaso*, *Tillito*, *Ancyriana*, *Muridava*, *Itzes*, *Castellonovo*, *Padisara*, *Bismafa*, *Valentiniana*, *Zaldapa*, in south-eastern Dobrogea; *Preides*, *Paulimandra*, *Tzasclis*, *Pulchra Theodora*, *Creas*, *Catassu*, *Nisconis*, *Nova Justiniana*, *Presidio* and *Ergamia*, strung out along the Pontic coast from the Delta to the Silver Coast. In many of the names of these localities there is preserved a popular pronunciation — a valuable index to the degree of evolution of Danubian Latin speech in that epoch. Among the names handed down by Procopius there are also many elements of ancient Getic and Thracian origin which are unknown from other sources.

There are lacking from the list of Procopius several older localities such as *Tropaeum*, *Capidava*, *Cius*, *Salsovia* and *Histria*. It must be supposed that some of them had been repaired already in the time of Anastasius, as is known to have been the case with *Histria*.

Justinian built a series of important citadels on the line of the old imperial road. Procopius (IV, 7) specially cites them. Thus he speaks first of all of the citadel of *Sanctus Cyrillus*, and then of *Ulmetum*, of *Ibida*, of *Aegyssus* and of *Halmyris*. All these fortifications were situated at strategic

points of the first importance on crossroads or at important fords on the Danube. They were built by the troops of Justinian following upon an expedition in the course of which the Slavs established in the region of Ulmetum were subdued. The citadels of *Questris*, *Palmatis*, *Adina* and *Tilicium* were founded for the supervision of other Slavs who had settled in the environs of Durostorum. It would seem that, in the same period there was also an enclave of Slavs in the neighbourhood of *Noviodunum*, a citadel which was likewise restored under Justinian.

On the occasion of excavations made in Dobrogea, frequent discoveries have been made of ramparts built in the time of Justinian, as is the case at *Ulmetum*, *Troesmis*, *Argamum*, *Tomis*, *Abrittus*, *Chiosè-Aidin* (*Questris?*), *Axiopolis*. In the walls of a turret at *Ulmetum* there has been found a Christian inscription showing that a corresponding portion of the fortification was constructed by soldiers from the corps of *milites lanciarum juniores* (V. Pârvan, *Ulmetum*, II, 2, p. 379 *sqq.*), undoubtedly forming part of the army of Justinian which restored order in that part of Scythia Minor.

A similar record of the Roman military world appears in a sixth century inscription from *Tomis*, which is full of popular Romanic peculiarities: *in huc tumultum est positus Terentius filius Gaione, annor(um) viginti cinque, militans inter sagittar(io)s iuniores* (D. Teodorescu, *Mon. ined. Tomi*, p. 39. *sq.*). The father, *Gaion*, was, according to his name, a Goth. The troop of *sagittarii juniores* here, and the troop of *lanciarum juniores* of *Ulmetum*, constituted a detachment, sent to Dobrogea, of the army of *comitatenses* from the interior of the empire. A certain *Atala*, the son of *Tzeiuc*, probably a Hun, according to the Turanian aspect of the name, belonged to the same troop of archers (V. Pârvan, *Contrib. epigr. creşt.*, p. 63). Another name of a Turanian mercenary, *Bagatur*, the son of *Bagainos*, is encountered in a sixth century inscription from Cape Şabla (AEM, XVII, p. 208, no. 98).

The sense of security which returned as a result of Justinian's intensive work of military organisation was sufficiently strong for signs of prosperity to appear soon afterwards in the life of the inhabitants of the Danube.

THE CHURCH

Under the reign of the pious emperor Justinian, the church of Scythia Minor made further progress. New eparchies were founded, that of Tomis preserving the primacy. An old list — De Boor's *Notitia episcopatum* — indicates for Dobrogea, beside Tomis, 14 more other bishoprics, among which those of *Axiopolis*, *Capidava*, *Salsovia*, *Halmyris*, *Tropaeum*, *Zaldapa*, *Dionysopolis*, *Callatis*, *Histria*, *Constantiana*, to which must be added a few curious names: *Bipainon*, *Cupron*, *Nicomedeon* and *Deson* — possibly manuscript corruptions of *Ibida*, *Carsium*, *Noviodunum* and *Aegysus*. In southern Dobrogea, belonging to Moesia Secunda, mention is made in the same document, apart from *Abrittus* and from *Durostorum*, of a bishopric at *Transmarisca* and perhaps of another at *Sucidava* (Σεκεδέπων). The reality of these eparchies is much discussed. According to most modern investigators, this was nothing but an administrative list, like that of Hierocles, wrongly transcribed in a bishopric notice. According to a more recent opinion of V. Pârvan (*Vescovato*, pp. 133 *sqq.*), the eparchies of De Boor's *Notitia* may have existed in fact but without connections with the official church, having been founded in the course of the fifth century in the territories occupied by *foederati* and only later recognised by the central authority.

However this may be, it is probable that some of the towns mentioned in De Boor's *Notitia* were accorded, under Justinian, the rank of bishoprics. *Tropaeum* must have been among these; it is archaeologically shown to have been one of the most important Christian centres of the province of Scythia. No less than five basilicas have been discovered there up to the present, four of which — of a remarkable construction — in the interior of the citadel. According to

the importance of their sixth century ecclesiastical edifices, the towns of *Callatis* and *Dionysopolis* must likewise be enumerated as ecclesiastical centres of the first order. Remains of Christian basilicas have also been discovered in the excavations of *Tomis*, *Histria*, *Troesmis*, *Ulmetum*, *Ibida*, *Argamum*, *Axiopolis*, *Abrittus*, *Chiosè-Aidin*, *Ecrenè*, *Caralez* (a column probably coming from *Zaldapa*), *Bizone*, *Talamonium* (Prislava). At *Tomis* many churches are mentioned by various authors and in inscriptions.

THE ROMAN CHARACTER OF THE PROVINCE

The Christian epigraphic records from *Tomis* are quite numerous. Some thirty are known, all of them from the fifth and sixth centuries. Most of them are written in Greek, but Latin texts are not lacking either. This fact is due less to the official prestige of the Latin language, which had received so much support down to Justinian and under his sixth century successors, than to the influence of the common environment of the province, which was essentially Roman. Christian inscriptions of that period have also been found, though in smaller numbers, at *Callatis*, *Histria*, *Argamum*, *Bizone*, *Tropaeum*, *Axiopolis*, *Ulmetum*. From *Bizone* (Cavarna) we possess a Latin stone inscription from a church devoted to Saints Cosma and Damian: † *De donis D(e)i et S(an)c(t)i Cosma(e) et Dami(ani) construi iussit Stefanus diak(onus)* (E. Kalinka, *Ant. Denkm.*, col. 196, no. 233). From *Tropaeum* there is a remarkable tombstone carrying a sixth-century bi-lingual inscription devoted to the Cross: † *Σταυρός θανάτου και ἀναστάσεως: crux mortis et resurrectionis* (CIL III 14214, 18). Although the official ecclesiastical language of the province of Scythia was Greek, the bi-lingual character of this record proves that use must have been made of Latin wherever the majority of the population could not understand the language of predilection of the Tomitan clergy.

Justinian's efforts to make Latin the preponderant language, which had been lamentably defeated in the rest of

the Eastern half of the empire, met in Scythia Minor with no other obstacle than the church of Tomis. When, however, that influence was powerfully supported by connections with the clergy of Constantinople and of the whole of the East, the profound Roman character of the population of the rest of the province could not derive from official support any new vigour which might have provided it with a stimulus to higher development as in the time of the old empire. This Roman character, having become too rustic, was doomed to stagnation.

INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC LIFE

In general, moreover, the level of intellectual life of that epoch could no longer tend to a revival of the brilliant past. The epoch of Justinian undoubtedly represents a blossoming period in the civilisation of Scythia Minor, but this expansion could be admired only in comparison with the barbarianism which had predominated in the preceding century and not with the brilliancy of the period of the Antonines, for example.

The organisation of the Christian church undoubtedly stimulated a recrudescence of the taste for the written word. It is this that explains the frequency of inscriptions in the sixth century in comparison with those of the fourth and fifth centuries. The language of those documents betrays, however, degeneration, whether in Greek or in Latin, and whether official or private. They are very valuable for the study of the transformations of the classic languages into vulgar tongues, but they represent none the less a symptom of the inferiority of the level of culture and are the presage of the end of an age.

Nor is similar evidence lacking on the artistic plane. The revival of civilised life in Dobrogea in the sixth century was manifested much more by the artificial efforts of the empire than by spontaneous circumstances. It was unable to bring about any improvement in the material conditions of the greater part of the inhabitants of the province, nor to revive

their taste for the fine arts. The revival could stimulate only the arts linked to the building work of the church, the army and the administration. Private artistic needs became very restricted; little else than miserable little houses were built, with rough stone walls and without cement, such as those which are encountered at every footstep on the surface of the ruins of Ulmetum and Histria. Nor could most of the inhabitants of Scythia Minor permit themselves, in the other aspects of the lives, greater concern for beauty and comfort than that which they could satisfy by buying the cheap products of fairs, such as clay lamps, bronze fibulae, glass vessels, small mirrors with marginal lead decorations, etc. The aesthetic element in these utilitarian objects was trifling.

On the other hand, architecture being, supported by the State and by the Church, attained a remarkable development in Dobrogea in the sixth century. The technique of military buildings is impressively represented in the numerous citadels built by Justinian; while ecclesiastical architecture, deeply influenced by Constantinople and by the East, was extremely flourishing. The latter was manifested in important constructions such as the edifice at the north-eastern corner of the citadel of Callatis (perhaps the episcopal residence) or the sumptuous basilica of Tropaeum, which was worthy of a more tranquil country than this troubled corner of the empire at the mouths of the Danube.

In those times the church was, moreover, the real pillar of the arts. Whether for the decoration of houses of prayer or for the embellishment of ritualistic objects, artists of different specialities were called upon to contribute their skill and their technique, which were still impregnated with the tradition of classical times. Thus we have, in the late Roman epoch, beautiful examples of bronze sculpture, such as a lamp with a Byzantine cross from Luciu (near the mouth of the Ialomița), in front of Carsium, or a candelabrum in the form of a fish from the Istrati-Capșa collection, found in Dobrogea. It is possible that such objects were

imported, but it is just as natural that workshops of the lesser arts should have flourished near the important bishopric of Tomis for the requirements of the services. This latter view may be confirmed by a silver salver from the treasury found at Pereščepinskaia (Pultava) in Ukraina. This is a large shallow patera carrying the Christian monogram and a floral and animal ornament in the style of the fifth and sixth centuries, as well as an inscription: † *Ex antiquis renovatum est per Paternum reverentis(simum) Epis(copum) nostrum' amen.* The reference is to *Paternus*, the notable Tomitan bishop of the beginning of the sixth century. On the obverse of the salver is the seal of the emperor Anastasius. In the treasury of Pereščepinskaia, which appears to have been of Avar origin from the sixth and seventh centuries, there are also numerous valuable vases made in the same style and which probably emanate from the Avar depredations made in Dobrogea.

In Dobrogea the representation of the human figure in sculpture had fallen in the sixth century to the most barbarian level. On the other hand, the carving skill of the craftsmen was displayed in the production of architectural ornamentation, especially in respect of the capitals which, by the richness of their acanthus foliage framing the cross, represent an adaptation of the traditions of the Corinthian style to Christian architecture. Examples of Christian capitals of remarkable richness can be cited at Troesmis, Callatis, Tomis, Ecrenè, Prislava, and Poturi (emanating from *Ibida*).

Fresco painting must have been likewise used at that time in Scythia Minor on a very extensive scale, but, because of its fragility, only a few fragmentary indications have been discovered up to the present, the most important of which are the mural decorations of a Christian crypt at Tomis. In the science of draughtsmanship, the painters drew inspiration from the classical traditions, freshened by a summary study of pagan bas-reliefs from the good centuries of the empire. This, at least, is the view which is suggested by a marble slab found in the Christian edifice of Callatis and on which are drawn in ink various

ancient sketches: a horseman in the attitude of the Thracian Hero, an angel in the form of a Thanatos, a caryatid, diverse floral elements, etc.

THE END OF JUSTINIAN'S REIGN

The safe and flourishing conditions which were achieved in Dobrogea at the cost of immense effort could not last long. Adverse circumstances were too strong. The empire had no money left, the troops were insufficient to occupy all the fortifications which had been built with so much effort. Even under this emperor, the Slavs, the Bulgars, the Avars and the Huns once again began to exert pressure on the Danube.

Dobrogea was placed by nature on their route. In A. D. 534, in the course of an invasion, the Slavs and Bulgars beat the Roman troops and killed *Chilbudus*, the commander of the army of the diocese of Thrace. The Hun invasions took place in the years A. D. 538, 540, 546, 558 and 567. The *Slavs*, and their kinsmen, the *Antes*, made further irruptions in A. D. 551 and 552. In A. D. 562, Justinian even found himself obliged to negotiate with the Avars in respect of Dobrogea, in which these Turanians wanted to settle. The danger was avoided only by the emperor's promise to facilitate their establishment in Pannonia.

Justinian died in A. D. 565. Two years later, the fate of the Gepid kingdom of Dacia was decided in a battle in Pannonia and a new Asiatic empire was founded north of the Danube. The *Avars* subdued all the Germanic peoples, the Slavs, the Huns and the Bulgars from the Dnieper to the Baltic. The province of Scythia was living its last years.

XIV. THE «TRAJAN WALLS» BETWEEN THE DANUBE AND THE SEA

Among the most important obstacles which were destined to stop the inrush of Barbarians, the first place belongs to the barrage of ramparts and strongholds which connected

the Danube with the Sea through the narrowest part of Dobrogea, between Axiopolis and Tomis. The vestiges of these fortifications are still visible at the present day.

There are altogether three ramparts in this system of defensive works :

1. The *stone rampart* — the only one which can be followed uninterruptedly from the Danube to the Sea. It has a total length of 59 kms. and is, in fact, a long wall. At the Danube it is connected with the citadel of Axiopolis (Hinogu), while at the Sea it ends one kilometre to the south of Tomis (Constantza). It runs northwards, this direction being the dominant one for a great distance. At intervals the line is strengthened with a square or irregularly shaped *castellum* also made of stone walls. There are altogether 24 such forts. The one opposite the station of Mircea-Vodă, and which is the most important one in aspect and size, is, in fact, an older Roman establishment, probably that of *Tres Protomae*, which was situated at an important road junction.

2. The *great earthen rampart*, of imposing aspect, is the shortest — 54 kilometres. If, however, account is taken of the gap of 13 kms. to the west of Medgidia, its real length is only 41 kms. Its Danubian extremity is at Cetatea Pătulului, near Cochirleni, not far from Axiopolis. It runs also northwards. Not less than 51 *castella* have been found along this rampart; they are built of earth only, in a regular four-sided shape. In size, 29 of them are large, while 28 are quite small.

3. The *small earthen rampart* is simpler and more primitive. It runs in general from four to seven kilometres more to the south than the other two lines. It is the most meandering and the longest of them all — 61 kms. Opposite Medgidia it shows a gap of about 4 kms. For a distance of 4 kms. the extremity running towards the Danube coincides with the larger rampart, the latter having been built exactly on top of it. Its Pontic extremity is on the northern margin of the city of Tomis. The direction of this line of defence is southerly, the view towards the north

being interrupted by the higher levels of the ground. There are no subsidiary works on this line.

These fortifications are popularly known as «Trajan's walls». Foreign travellers in past centuries also attributed them to that emperor. In the 17th century, the geographer J.-Chr. Wagner, of Augsburg, held that their authors were the *Byzantine emperors*. The first useful accounts of these ancient works are those of the Prussian officers H. von Moltke and Baron von Vincke. A complete and scientific investigation was not made, however, until 1855, when a French engineer, Jules Michel, considered them as a system and attributed them to Justinian (*Les Travaux de défense des Romains dans la Dobroudcha*, Paris 1862). In the same period, C. Allard connected them with the name of *Trajanus*, Valens's general. This view was rejected by the Rumanian archaeologist M. Soutzo, who placed the ramparts in the epoch of Theodosius I.

Much more thorough investigations into the ramparts of Dobrogea have been made by Gr. Tocilescu, assisted by the engineer P. Polonic, and by C. Schuchhardt. The report by the last-mentioned, published in 1918 at Berlin (*Die sogenannten Trajanswälle in der Dobrudscha*), is the fullest work which has been written up to the present on these ancient fortifications. These two archaeologists have established that the ramparts, having been built at different periods and for different purposes, do not constitute a single system. The smaller earthen rampart is the oldest construction, and is attributable to the Getae or to some other pre-Roman people. The next one, in the chronological order, is the larger earthen rampart, built, according to Schuchhardt and Cichorius, by Domitian, or, according to Gr. Tocilescu, by the emperor Trajan, or, again, according to E. Kornemann, by Hadrian. Finally, there is the stone rampart — the most recent one — which is attributed by Tocilescu to Constantine the Great, while, according to Schuchhardt, it was built at the end of the fourth century. V. Pârvan and N. Iorga place it in the epoch of Valens.

The relative chronology of these ramparts remains as it was established by Shuchhardt and Tocilescu. On the absolute chronology, however, the discussion is still open. The written sources do not throw any light on the subject, none of them containing any precise reference to these fortifications. As for the archaeological indications, the excavations which have been made are wholly insufficient; little more can be quoted than a few sections excavated by C. Schuchhardt and Th. Sauciuc-Săveanu in the two Roman ramparts, in the neighbourhood of Constantza. As a result, however, of clandestine explorations made by the neighbouring rural population in the foundations of the stone rampart, it has been possible to obtain valuable data for fixing the date. Among the remains of ancient monuments at Tomis which served in antiquity as simple building material for the construction of that rampart on the Constantza-Hasancea portion, some have been discovered which bear the seal of a later period. To be mentioned, in particular, is a richly decorated marble capital and a pier decorated with a Byzantine cross from the fifth to sixth centuries, both of them discovered accidentally in 1935 (Museum of Constantza, specimens nos. 197—198). They clearly prove that the stone rampart was constructed in the sixth century. Pottery with incised wave-like decorations in the ramparts, found in the *castella* of that rampart, implies the same date. Thus Jules Michel saw rightly, in general, when he spoke of the epoch of Justinian. So did J.-Chr. Wagner who — in 1684! — limited his hypothesis to «the Byzantine emperors».

Yet it is not probable that Justinian himself should have caused this rampart to be erected. Procopius would not have forgotten to speak of it in his report. It is much more natural to attribute this important work to *Anastasius*, who, after the terrible events of the fifth century, was the first to undertake the restoration of the imperial domination in the province of Scythia. For this emperor's work of military construction is marked by works of precisely this kind, such as the celebrated wall which bars the Constantinople zone between the Black Sea and Propontida for a length of

78 kms. The Constantinople wall was completed in A. D. 512; the same date must be accepted, at the latest, for the fortifications of Dobrogea, since it was in the following year that there began the conflict with Vitalian, which deprived Anastasius of all possibility of contact with Scythia Minor.

As for the dating of the earthen ramparts, even archaeological indications are totally lacking. Nothing remains to be taken into account except historical arguments. Among these, we must reject from the outset those which carry the date of *the great earthen rampart* back to Domitian, Trajan or Hadrian. At the time of these emperors, nobody could think of shortening the line of the Danubian *limes*, abandoning northern Dobrogea just where an extremely flourishing Roman life was developing. For similar reasons, there can be no question either of the emperors of the fourth century. It is much more natural to think of the unfortunate period between the first two Theodosii at the beginning of the fifth century, when the empire was making desperate efforts to maintain itself on the Danube against the Huns, who, as is known with certainty, effectively annexed the southern half of the province of Scythia. The gap of 13 kms. in the line of this rampart, to the west of Medgidia, must be explained by the fact that the building, begun at the two ends, had to be abandoned prematurely under the pressure of events which precipitated themselves and which caused the Roman authorities to give up, for about a century, any direct authority in Dobrogea. It is likewise by the vicissitudes of that sad period that may be explained perhaps the question of the two types of stronghold built along the great earthen rampart. According to C. Shuchhardt's observations, these two kinds of fortress relate to two different periods. The large strongholds were built at the same time as the rampart. Their occupation requiring, however, too great a wastage of troops, they were abandoned and, in their place, recourse was had to a few tiny forts, hardly 25 metres by 50 metres, which were posts of observation rather than centres of resistance. But these also were very soon evacuated. The fact is that in neither of these two kinds of encampment

on the earthen rampart have any traces of prolonged occupation or of fighting been discovered. The imperial troops, summoned elsewhere, had to cede the position to the Germanic *foederati*, who no longer used the Roman rampart.

The *small earthen rampart*, manifestly of pre-Roman and Barbarian origin, could not easily be connected with the Getae or with the prehistoric peoples. Its chronological proximity to the great earthen rampart is much more plausible. Attributing it, for example, to the Goths at the beginning of their settlements in Dobrogea, towards the end of the fourth century, or to the Huns, at the beginning of the fifth century, it is slightly earlier than the great Roman earthen rampart. Like the latter, it exhibits a gap in the middle. The explanation cannot be other than the following: begun at both ends at once, the building of the Barbarian fortification was abandoned before completion under the pressure of a Roman reaction.

The Roman ramparts between Axiopolis and Tomis were put together upon well conceived principles and might have represented efficient obstacles if they had been defended by sufficient troops. But, at the end of the sixth century, as in the fifth century, a great dearth of military forces was felt throughout the empire. The rampart thus became a simple line of observation and, at best, of weak cover.

XV. THE COLLAPSE OF ANCIENT CIVILISATION IN DOBROGEA

While the Roman forces were weakening so seriously, the Barbarian pressure grew menacingly. The *Slav* populations, which had been hardly known two centuries earlier, were now all over the Danube. The pressure of the Avars had as its effect their massive immigration in the provinces of the empire. The Barbarian movement which was to provoke the fall of Roman domination in Scythia Minor had begun. In A. D. 587 the province was completely devastated by the *Avars* — a disaster from which it never recovered.

Marcianopolis, *Durostorum*, *Tropaeum* and *Zaldapa* — cities of the first importance — were conquered and annihilated.

The emperor *Maurice* (A. D. 582—602) was at that time taken up with the war against the Persians. A few troops from Thrace, under the general command of *Commentiolus*, displayed admirable energy. The Avars even suffered important defeats at *Zaldapa* and at *Tomis*. In the end, however, the Roman reaction was overcome.

Maurice hastened to leave the East. Under the command of *Priscus*, the imperial army succeeded in repelling the Barbarians and in bringing the war back to the Danube. *Durostorum* was restored and became the headquarters of the Roman troops. In A. D. 593, *Priscus* crossed the river there and carried out an offensive against the Slavs of the *Bărăgan* which was very successful. In the years which followed, however, the Avars again upset the equilibrium which had been established. A great mass of Slavs invaded the empire, while Avars laid siege to *Tomis*. The Slavs, however, were repulsed and the metropolis of *Scythia Minor* was relieved (A. D. 599). The peace concluded in A. D. 600 with the Avars was broken by *Priscus*, who opened in *Pannonia* an offensive which must have met with brilliant success. He was, however, replaced in the command, while the troops revolted, proclaiming the centurion *Phocas* emperor (A. D. 602).

This event, which was no more serious in itself than so many military pronunciamientos which had shaken the empire in the past, was nevertheless a fatal blow. The brave *Maurice* was killed. All was ended on the Danube. The Slavs were to see the gates of the empire opened widely before them. The whole Balkan peninsula was flooded by their countless tribes who established themselves in the Roman provinces never to leave them again.

Scythia Minor was still to count, formally for a long time in the official registers of *Byzantium*. In reality, however, it was already lost from the time of the great Avar devastation of A. D. 587. The coins of *Maurice* are the last to be found in the ancient ruins of the province. Wherever

excavations have been made in Dobrogea, traces are to be found of violent ravages at the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh. The resistance of the local population and of the imperial garrisons was tenacious up to the last moment.

If the towns devastated by the Avars could not be re-made, the fault lay with the Slavs who, immediately after the withdrawal of the Turanians, settled on the still smoking ruins as masters. The Roman population, lacking the assistance of a friendly force, could not return to their homes. Some of the inhabitants of the destroyed towns were able to take refuge in the southern provinces of the empire. It is at that time that the bishop *Dulcissimus* of Durostorum may have taken refuge at Odessus, where his epitaph has been found. But larger numbers must have been Romans from the right bank of the Danube who, as captives of the Slavs or the Avars, were taken north of the river, especially in Dacia, where they helped to strengthen the old Latin ethnic element who had fallen under the Barbarian yoke at the time of Aurelian. The inhabitants of Scythia Minor who remained on the spot, bent under the military superiority of the Slavs, no longer counted as an element of urban and civilised life. Isolated records which speak of Latin bishops at Abrittus and Tropaeum in the eighth century are more than doubtful. In both localities the vestiges of human life end at the close of the sixth century.

Nor could the towns of the Pontus Sinister survive this catastrophe. Continuously assaulted by the Barbarians, and weakly supported from the sea on account of the general decadence of the Byzantine world, they also were ravaged and abandoned towards the year A. D. 600.

The only higher civilisation which Dobrogea has known throughout its history down to the period of modern prosperity collapsed completely. The Slavs had an irreducible rural mentality. They nowhere felt the need to reconstruct the ruined walls. The very names of the old localities were not preserved except in a few places where they were modified by the speech of the newcomers, as is the case with

Drâstor (Durostorum), *Hârşova* (Carsium), *Oltina* (Altinum). The name of the village of *Petra* was translated into Slav as *Camena* and transmitted as such down to the present day. The name of the Danubian channel *Băroi*, in the neighbourhood of *Beroë*, perpetuates the memory of that city. Certain Slav toponymic elements of Dobrogea, which have nothing to do with the present Bulgarian and Russian minority or with the sounds of Slavs origin in Rumanian place-names, may be traced back to these ancient Slavs established in Scythia Minor and who have disappeared to-day; this may be the case with *Prislava*, *Cernavoda*, *Vâlcov*, *Dunavăţ*, *Igliţa*, *Blasova*.

When the emperor Heraclius resigned himself, under the force of circumstances, to the withdrawal of troops from Dobrogea, the empire still nourished the hope of a reversal on the Danube. The garrison of *Odessus* was still maintained. Other troops could be established again at *Durostorum*. But the illusion was shattered when, after the Slav invasion, the *Bulgars* came in the middle of the seventh century and established themselves as masters in Moesia. A Turanian people, they had earlier been subjected by the Avars. The Byzantine army and fleet sought strenuously but in vain, under *Constantine IV Pogonatus*, to oppose them on the Danube. The Bulgars had destroyed *Odessus*, while they made *Durostorum* a city of their own. The newcomers created a State in the Balkans which, through the adoption of Christianity and the influences of Byzantine civilisation, achieved a stable form.

The ancient history of Dobrogea had come to an end.

XVI. EPILOGUE

SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE MORE RECENT HISTORY OF DOBROGEA

The history of Dobrogea in the course of the three centuries of the first Bulgar empire is unknown. Under the terror of the first Bulgar invasions, which were of the

ultimate violence and cruelty, a great part of the local Slav and Greco-Roman population left the province. The ancient Scythia Minor became almost a desert. The contemporary chronicles no longer mention it. Even the records of archaeology are no more encouraging. In the list of the numerous series of coins which have circulated in Dobrogea, the gap corresponding with the seventh to the tenth centuries is significant. Nor is any other trace of the first Bulgar empire to be found north of Durostorum. It is possible that the circumvallation at Nicolîţel, in the old *territorium* of Noviodunum, corresponds with a first encampment of the Bulgars on their first arrival, but it may just as well be attributed to the Huns or to the Avars, for example.

The Bulgars were few in number. They exercised indirectly their authority over the subjected peoples from a centre of limited extent at *Aboba-Plisca*, near Shumla, at first, and afterwards at *Preslav* more to the west. They did not establish themselves in the old province of Scythia. They did not use that field of ruins except as a thoroughfare.

The gap of these three centuries does not represent a transition in the history of Dobrogea, but a veritable chasm between the epoch of antiquity and modern times. It was also the period of the most decisive transformations of Eastern Europe, when the nations of to-day were born. The empire of the tsars of Preslav was the medium in which was formed the nation of Balkan Slavs, who borrowed from their completely Slavicised masters the Turanian name of *Bulgars*. In the course of the ninth and tenth centuries, other Eurasians — the *Hungarians* — appeared on the banks of the Danube and, after it had seemed for a moment that they would settle in Dobrogea, they sought a more enduring lot in Pannonia, their present-day fatherland. The *Russian* nation was born in the regions of greater Scythia, occupied by northern Slavs. The *Turkish* peoples made their way westwards from the distant steppes of Central Asia. Finally, the modern *Greek* nation, having as its cradle the whole Byzantine empire, on the one hand, and the Romanic nations in the former provinces of Latin civilisation, on the other

hand, sprang forth as the heirs of antiquity. Among the latter, the *Rumanian people* definitely took sape in the course of the three centuries through the evolution of the Roman world of *Dacia* and of the neighbouring provinces of the Danube.

In the struggle between the expansionist tendencies of the new nations, Dobrogea was ready to assume the predestined role of a cross-roads on the great thoroughfares.

The least resounding, but the most tenacious, expansion of that time was that of the *Rumanians* towards the south and the east. In the tenth century, the name of *Vlakh*, given by the Slavs and all the peoples of barbarian origin both to the Rumanians and to other Romanised nations, is common enough on the right bank of the Danube to be encountered in the Byzantine chronicles, even in connection with very distant southern regions such as Macedonia and Greece.

The revival of Byzantine energy at the end of the tenth century was to be a decisive blow to the Preslav empire. An invasion of Russians under Sviatoslav was the occasion for this great Greek success. In agreement with the emperor *Nicephorus Phocas*, a Russian army landed on the southern coast of Dobrogea and conquered the whole of Bulgaria (A. D. 967). But, as Sviatoslav was of a mind to remain master of the subjected countries, he came into conflict with Byzantium. The successor of *Nicephorus*, *Johannes Tzimisces*, defeated the Northern prince and compelled him to confine himself to *Durostorum*. A Byzantine fleet patrolling the Danube completed the investment. After a heroic resistance, the Russians capitulated (A. D. 972). *Tzimisces*, covered with a glory which the Roman purple had not known for a long time, suppressed every trace of Bulgarian sovereignty and re-established the boundary of the Constantinopolitan empire at the Danube. An attempted Bulgar restoration under the Tsar *Samuel* was ferociously repressed by *Basil II, the Bulgarocton* (A. D. 1014).

Dobrogea became once more an imperial possession. Together with the old *Moesia Secunda*, it formed the duchy «of the Danube»: *Paristrion*, or *Paradunavon*, having its

residence at Durostorum. A few fortresses were built at the mouth of the river and on the shores of the Sea, for example in the Bisericuța island near Cape Dolojman and at Cape Caliacra. New localities which were landing-places for ships appeared on the coast. Commercial relations made some progress: Byzantine coins of that period are very widely distributed in Dobrogea.

The Byzantine domination was maintained on the Danube for two centuries. Nevertheless, no development of civilisation comparable with that of antiquity took place in Dobrogea in that period. The circumstances were unfavourable. The return of the Byzantine garrisons on the Danube coincided with the extension of the Turkish people of *Petchenegs* on the left bank of the river. Fighting between these two powers was frequent and serious. Many of the newcomers were received in the interior of Dobrogea as vassals of the emperor.

Anna Comnena mentions for that time a few « Scythian » principalities on the right bank of the Danube, governed by chieftains named *Tatous*, *Sesthlavus* and *Satzas*, whose nationality is very questionable. They may have been small autonomous formations created by the *Petchenegs* in Dobrogea. On the other hand, the name *Sesthlav* or *Seslav*, of manifest Slav origin, may also have characterised Rumanians in that period. It is certain that, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Rumanians are much more usually mentioned in connection with the Lower Danube.

Ultimately the *Petchenegs* were annihilated by their brothers, the *Cumans*, who took their place on the Danube in A. D. 1057. On the other hand, the Byzantines were driven away from the Danube in A. D. 1186 after an insurrection of the Vlachs *Peter* and *Asan*, from the region of *Tirnova*. These Vlachs founded an empire which, under *Joannitius* (A. D. 1197—1207) and *John Asan II* (A. D. 1218—1241), shone with resplendence. This proves the considerable ethnic and political importance which the Rumanian element had attained on the right bank of the Danube. Nevertheless, through its aristocratic and military structure,

mainly Bulgarian in character, the new empire represented in fact a revival of the one which *Basil II, the Bulgarocton*, had destroyed. It ended by becoming entirely Bulgarian.

The relations of Dobrogea with the Asanids are as obscure as those with the first Bulgarian empire. It is very possible that, at that time, the Cumans also had claims on the areas to the north of Durostorum. More probably, the Rumanian, Petcheneg and Slav population of that province had been organised under autonomous princes — vassals either of the Cumans or of the Bulgars. The fact is that, apart from Silistra, the coins of the Asanids are very rare in Dobrogea. Contemporary Byzantine coins, on the other hand, are very frequent.

The famous invasion of the *Tatars*, in A. D. 1241, utilised, as was but natural, the passage southwards offered by Dobrogea. The province became a Tatar possession. The Asanid State itself had to resign it self to the recognition of the supremacy of the Mongol Khan. That was the situation noted by William of Rubruck in A. D. 1254. According to the evidence of this Franciscan monk, the domination of the Tatars extended westwards and southwards up to the Danube and even to the other side of the river towards Constantinople, while «Asan's Wallachia» (*Blakia que est terra Assani*), as well as western Bulgaria, paid them tribute. Eastern Bulgaria, and Dobrogea even more, thus constituted, even then, an eminently Rumanian country.

In A. D. 1261, the Byzantines, under *Michael Palaeologus*, succeeded in throwing off the domination on the whole western coast of the Black Sea as far as the mouths of the Danube. Under that emperor there was founded at *Vicina*, in Dobrogea, near the Delta, a metropolitan depending directly from the patriarchate of Constantinople.

Almost at the same time, the Rumanians, partly freed from the foreign yoke, succeeded in giving a political form to the ethnic expansion towards the Black Sea which they had manifested for centuries. In the east of ancient Dacia two important principalities were created: *Muntenia* (Wallachia), or *Țara Românească* («the Rumanian country»),

towards A. D. 1300, and *Moldova* (Moldavia), in A. D. 1359.

An extension of these principalities towards the mouths of the Danube and towards the Sea became a geographical inevitability. Commercial relations in that part of Europe assumed a great development thanks to the activity of the *Genoese* and *Venetian* navigators. On the coast of Dobrogea, and even in the interior, on the Danube, numerous Genoese ports of call were founded.

In the middle of the fourteenth century, Dobrogea constituted an autonomous province placed under the authority of the Byzantine empire. A local prince, *Balica*, with his residence at Cavarna, is mentioned in A. D. 1346 as a dependent of the Byzantines. Taking part in the internal wars of the Greek empire, he despatched one of his generals, *Dobrotich*, to support the empress Ann of Savoy, against John Cantacuzenus. Thanks to his valour, Dobrotich made a brilliant career in the imperial court. He received, in the capacity of despot of the empire, sovereignty over the western coast of the Black Sea, from Mesambria up to the mouths of the Danube, including Balica's principality. The ancient Scythia Minor owes to him its present name of *Dobrogea*. The nationality of this prince, like that of Balica, is the subject of inconclusive discussions. There are arguments in favour of their Rumanian origin. Some scholars claim that they were Bulgarians. Many consider that Balica was a Turk — either a Petcheneg or a *Gagauze* (i. e. one of the Seldjucids colonised on the Silver Coast under Michael Palaeologus). The fact is that both princes, who were connected solely with Byzantium, were completely independent of the Bulgarian tsars.

The expansion of the principality of Wallachia up to the mouths of the Danube began under *Basarab* himself, the founder. Under his reign and the reigns of his successors, the ports of *Brăila* and *Chilia* became Wallachian possessions, as well as the steppes between the Prut and the Nistru, since then called *Basarabia* (Bessarabia). The new prince entered into close relations with Byzantium, which authori-

sed the transfer of the Dobrogian metropolitan from *Vicina* to *Curtea-de-Argeş*. This metropolitan, having become Rumanian and been transferred in turn to Târgovişte and to Bucharest, is at the origin of the autocephalous patriarchate of present-day Rumania.

In the time of *Mircea*, the territory of the principality of Wallachia was enriched with the possession of the city of *Drâstor* (Durostorum) and of the whole of Dobrogea up to the Sea. The son of Dobrotich, *Ivanco*, ceded that province in A. D. 1387 together with the title of Byzantine *despot*. *Mircea* exercised effective authority over the right bank of the Danube: his coins are frequently found in Dobrogea.

The triumphant march of the *Ottoman Turks* in the Balkan peninsula broke that Rumanian continuity to the Sea. In A. D. 1416, *Mahomet I* succeeded in establishing the absolute domination of the Turks on the whole right bank of the Danube. The Rumanian provinces on the left bank of the river, deprived of their sources of prosperity, became tributary to their powerful neighbours.

These four hundred and fifty years during which Dobrogea was under the domination of the Sultans may be considered as an immense gap in the civilisation of that province. Active economic life in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at the mouths of the Danube was interrupted. The establishment of Tatar populations in the centre of the province and the colonisation of Anatolian and Arabian Turkish elements in the wooded regions in the environs of *Silistra* (Dristra, Drâstor, Durostorum) and in the boroughs could not but give an ethnic basis, as it were, to the spiritual inertia of the régime.

The Christian population, which fled in large numbers from the province, especially after the disaster of the Hungaro-Polish crusade to *Varna* (A. D. 1444), did not completely abandon Dobrogea. The Greeks and *Gagauzes* remained in some of the localities on the coast. The Russians (*Lipovans*) of the Delta and those of the county of Tulcea — members of religious sects — came at a recent date as fu-

gitives from the persecutions of Russia. The Bulgarians and the Germans were colonised in Dobrogea only in the course of the nineteenth century. The Rumanians, on the other hand, have always maintained themselves in the Dobrogean regions by the Danube. The testimony of travellers mentions them in the period of Turkish domination as the most numerous and most characteristic element of the Christian population of Dobrogea.

When, in the nineteenth century, the decadence of the Ottoman empire became more pronounced and the regions of the Danube were delivered from the yoke of the Sultans, everything that happened was nothing other than a restoration. The thread of history was taken up again from where it had been broken five centuries earlier. The peace of Adrianople (1829), re-establishing freedom of international trade on the Black Sea and on the Danube, immediately brought back to the principalities their fourteenth century economic prosperity. Likewise, the war of the Russian and Rumanian allies against the Turks in 1877—1878 severed the chains of the Balkan peoples. *Rumania*, whose army, under the command of the brave prince *Carol I*, decided the victory, conquered its complete independence and rose to the rank of a kingdom. The Treaty of Berlin (1878) assigned to it Dobrogea and the Delta of the Danube, its natural outlets to the Sea and to the world. In other words, the Turks did nothing but restitute these regions to those from whom they taken them away. Through the play of diplomatic intrigue, Rumania could obtain then only a mutilated Dobrogea with an absurd frontier from which there was lacking Silistra, the Silver Coast and every military defence against the south. The wrong had to be repaired in 1913 through the annexation of the counties of Durostor and Caliacra.

Ancient Scythia Minor returned, as in the time of Trajan, in its entirety and in the most favourable conditions, to the bosom of the Carpatho-Danubian unit. As in those times, there was thereby opened a period of rapid and brilliant development.

The remarkable modern progress which has transformed the wildernesses of Dobrogea into a civilised country are due solely to the creative impulse of the Rumanian State and nation which form to-day the majority element in the population of the province. This is not an artificial work imposed by force, but the result of a natural phenomenon of ethnic vitality left in free development. The war of 1916—1918 proved this: laid waste by the enemy and almost completely abandoned, Dobrogea found itself after those two dramatic years in the same state as in the unhappiest epochs of its checkered history. Yet to-day, after only twenty years of peace, it has recovered full prosperity — the happy daughter of a fatherland which, notwithstanding the bitterest vicissitudes, waited for seventeen centuries the hour of the realisation of its unity within its predestined boundaries.

GENERAL REMARKS

Dobrogea constitutes an important articulation for four great geographical compartments. To the west there is Danubian Europe with the whole of Dacia. To the north opens the immensity of the Eurasiatic continent. To the east, through the Black Sea, and to the south, through the Balkans, Dobrogea comes into contact with the combined influences of the East and the South. Far from representing an element of separation between these opposite worlds, it is, on the contrary, the place where their specific tendencies come together.

Hence our province is, in its historical evolution as much as in its physical aspects, a land of variation and contrast. There are few countries in Europe which have seen so much humanity belonging to the most diverse races, nationalities, religions, mentalities and civilisations. The history of this province is a long succession of abrupt changes in which primitiveness and civilisation, desolation and prosperity, decadence and progress alternate in an unexpected

rhythm without transition as one or the other of the external influences succeeds in imposing itself.

Yet nothing would be farther from the truth than to attribute to this instability the value of a definition or to believe that this is a peculiar country, a no man's land destined to receive all the blows of fate, without having any organic and permanent connections with any of the geographical units which surround it. The historical evolution of Dobrogea does not permit such a conclusion.

It must be observed that this little country does not play the same role for each one of the great geographic regions which have been mentioned. The tendencies which Dobrogea receives from its four sides correspond with completely different necessities and objects. Scythia Minor is an important junction between two great currents of human life. On the one hand, it is the single and compulsory longitudinal road along which the Eurasiatic impulses are held up by the reactions of the southern empires. On the other hand, there is the transverse current which links Dacia to the Pontus Sinister (S. Mehedinți, *An. Dobr.*, I, p. 193 sqq.).

The longitudinal artery makes Scythia Minor a theatre of war, the consequences of which, always of the widest echo, are of special interest to universal history. Arriving in the proximity of the Carpathians and the Euxine, the Eurasiatic peoples which stray across the unimpeded immensity between the Altai and the Baltic regions are drawn towards the south. Hunger, the need for stability, or the spirit of adventure pure and simple, end by leading them to make their way towards the southern and eastern countries where they expect a softer climate, the prospect of an easier life and, in particular, the mirage of wealth accumulated by a world of an old civilisation. But, between the eastern bend of the Carpathians and the mouths of the Danube, there is only one way of effective passage towards the south. This is Dobrogea, where the important obstacle of the Danube can be crossed in a single stride, by surprise, far from the southern or Carpathian centres which might prom-

ptly react. The whole history of Scythia Minor, from the Cimmerians, the Scythians, the Bastarnae, and the Sarmatians to the Goths, the Huns, the Avars, the Bulgars, the Petchenegs, the Cumans and the Tatars and to the Slavs, is a continuous witness of the importance of this province as a route of Eurasiatic invasions.

These Northern impulses were bound to provoke the reaction of the southern peoples. Since these were sedentary, organised societies attached to their lands and possessing an advanced civilisation, their reaction could not be limited indefinitely to a simple resistance without any ulterior object. As soon as a political formation succeeded for the first time in gathering together a multitude of small organisations of tribes or towns of the Balkan Peninsula, the Aegean regions or Asia Minor, in order to constitute a single and powerful force, the problem of security against the Northern invasions was to become a principal and constant preoccupation.

The Persian empire, synthetizing the whole world of hither Asia, was the first southern State which sought to solve this problem. Darius did so with a courage and with a loftiness of conception which did him honour. If, however, he did not succeed, it was because the radical solution which he sought was in fact unattainable. The causes of the invasions were lost in the depths of a vast and unknown world where no human will could reach them. The Great King had to be satisfied with the outline of a frontier on the Danube, the wide and deep waters of which gave the impression of a precise and effective barrier. In reality, it was a sufficiently precarious line of defence which it has always been possible to force. Its extremely weak point was the great bend which the Danube makes towards the north, marking the quadrilateral contour of Dobrogea and which puts the southern strategist in a serious dilemma: he must either concern himself with the maintenance of that province at any price, up to the Delta, thus exposing himself to the Carpatho-Danubian reaction which enjoys in that part an incontestable superiority, or he must give up

the continuous line of the river, seeking to shorten it through artificial obstacles. The so-called « Trajan walls » built by the Romans between Tomis and Axiopolis prove that the latter alternative has not been neglected, notwithstanding the risks and expenditure of energy which it involves.

The domination of the Persians in Scythia Minor did not last long. But their effort remains, after two millenia, as an example and a tradition. The Thracians and the Macedonians were to seek to consolidate a frontier on the Danube. Only the Romans succeeded in reaching a solution, but at the price of considerable and uninterrupted efforts against the Barbarian attacks which, nevertheless, were ultimately to overwhelm the southern forces and definitely to break the Danubian dam. The successors of the Romans, the Bulgars, were to have their eyes permanently set towards the south. For three centuries they were to represent nothing by a Eurasiatic horde established on the great routes of a southern empire (J. Ancel, *Géopolitique*, Paris 1936, p. 37). The Danube was to recover the importance of a frontier only through Byzantium which, after the tenth century, was to be always present on that river either directly, through military expansion, or under the form of religious influence and of political suzerainty. The Turks also, continuing the Byzantine political arrangements, were to stop their lightning conquests at the Danube. But the notion of a frontier at the mouths of this river was itself to lose meaning when the Russian empire gave the Eurasiatic world a sedentary and tranquil civilisation and when the Carpatho-Danubian unity, represented by the Rumanian people, could again open a way out to the Sea. The southern claims on Dobrogea and the mouths of the Danube which were still sometimes to be manifested are nothing but anachronistic reminiscences of imperialist traditions which nothing still justifies to-day. The North-South route is solidly barricaded.

The transverse current, which is the second anthropogeographical element of the Dobrogian cross-roads, corresponds with the direction of pacific relations through which harmonious collaboration between seafarers and Dacia is

effected. Through its transverse routes Dobrogea constitutes a prolongation of the Carpatho-Danubian unity towards the Euxine. This geographical unity, coinciding in ancient times with Dacia and comprised to-day within the frontiers of Rumania, is formed, at the centre, of a crown of mountains which closes the plateau of Transylvania and, on the circumference, by the meadow-lands of the Tissa, Wallachia and the plateau of Moldavia up to the Nistru (Dniester); it is watered throughout its extent by the immense system of the left basin of the Lower Danube. Numerous and important tributaries of this river from Wallachia and Moldavia are all so many routes which converge towards Dobrogea.

In this maritime province the shepherds of the Carpathians seek for their flocks the rich pastures of the steppes and a moderate winter climate, while the Wallachian and Moldavian ploughmen find a black soil as fertile as that on the left bank of the Danube. Finally, both shepherds and ploughmen find on the roads of Scythia Minor traders from the sea who have come to offer the products of a refined industry and the elements of an urban civilisation in exchange for cereals and raw materials of all kinds. The Easterners and Mediterraneans, who sojourn on the western coast of the Euxine and establish places of call, ports and powerful cities, are drawn in the first place by the wealth of the Carpatho-Danubian world. Neither the brilliant activity of Histria, Tomis, Callatis, Dionysopolis or Odessus in antiquity, nor the creation of a Byzantine structure on the coast of Dobrogea and on the banks of the Lower Danube in the eleventh century, nor again the commercial movement of the Genoese and Venetians in the same regions in the succeeding centuries, could be explained exclusively by the little local territory strangled between the river and the coast. Similarly, after the peace of Adrianople, the attention given by the great European Powers to the mouths of the Danube and the coast of Dobrogea did not derive particularly from the immediate local resources but from the vast fields of cereals of the Rumanian principalities on the left bank of the river.

The current of human life between Dacia and the Euxine across Dobrogea is a natural, simple and silent phenomenon. The events which relate to it rarely surpass a local importance and always in an indirect way. The security of these links between the two banks of the Lower Danube is an essential condition of peace and prosperity as much for Dacia as for Dobrogea. The inhabitants of the Carpatho-Danubian unity cannot give up that Pontic province except by resigning themselves to decadence and slavery. As soon as they will obtain the smallest liberty of movement they will resume as quickly as possible an expansion towards the mouths of the Danube and the Sea. Hence the population of Scythia Minor, although always very mixed, has always, been, since the most ancient times, dominated by elements from the left bank of the Danube.

The warlike of the transverse current of Dobrogea is not in the natural order of things: it is nothing but a consequence of events, violent *par excellence*, which occur on the longitudinal thoroughfare. Threatened in their links with the Sea, the Carpatho-Danubians are obliged to react. The northern invasions, ephemeral in their nature, more rarely determine that reaction. But the imperialist tendencies of the South, tending to transform the line of the Danube into a permanent and impassable frontier, present a mortal danger for trans-Danubian relations. The Persians, the Thracians, the Macedonians and the Romans must all carry on a continuous struggle, sometimes on an immense scale, with the Getae in order to maintain themselves on the Danube. And the Romans, in the last analysis, do not attain their object except by a virtual extermination of the Geto-Dacian nation.

By conquering Dacia, they merely appropriate to themselves the interests of the Carpatho-Danubian unity and achieve on their own account the connection between the two banks of the Danube. Hence Scythia Minor after Trajan enjoys the most magnificent development in its history: while its fall into decadence again coincides with the abandonment of Dacia and with the re-transformation of the

Danube into a rigorous frontier. This decadence grows irremediably until the Barbarians are able to break definitely the barrier of Roman defence. The saddest epoch of Dobrogea is the wilderness of the centuries after A. D. 600 when, abandoned by the forces of the southern empire, it does not secure the help of the Roman population of the Carpathians, itself obliged to linger under successive Barbarian dominations. When that population resumes its expansion towards the East, Scythia Minor knows a new throb of life which, however, is to be prematurely ended by the arrival of the Turks on the line of the Danube.

The nineteenth century brought a great revolution of nationalities. The imperialist formations which despised natural ethnic frontiers have disappeared. « Geography has taken its revenge on history ». Nowhere can this expression used by J. Ancel (*Peuples et nations des Balkans*, Paris 1930, p. 1) find a more apt application than in Dobrogea, the rapid development of which before our eyes flows from the simple circumstance that, after the withdrawal of Ottoman domination from the Danube, this province was integrated with the vigorous organism of the Carpatho-Danubian unity.

For the Eurasiatic peoples, Scythia Minor represents a thoroughfare; for seafarers, a goods wharf; for the Southerners and Orientals, the illusion of a frontier. Only for the Carpatho-Danubians does it signify more: an essential complement of their organically unified fatherland. That is what is shown by three millenia of the history of this province, which only a superficial consideration could define as a country belonging to all and to none. Nature has been generous also with this corner of land situated at a crossroads of opposite tendencies. In compensation for its dangerous position, it has created for it a faithful support and a guarantee of prosperity in its close connection with the great unity of Dacia.

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I. INTRODUCTION (pp. 35–39)

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VI. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE ROMAN DOMINATION (pp. 63–66)

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VIII. DOBROGEA UNDER THE PAX ROMANA (pp. 72–88)

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THE REIGNS OF HADRIAN AND ANTONINUS (pp. 75—76)

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THE ARTS (pp. 83—85)

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- Ac. Rom., m. s. șt., ser. III. *Idem, memoriile secțiunii științifice.*
- A E M *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn, Vienna.*
- An. Ac. Rom., m. s. ist., ser. II. *Analele Academiei Române, memoriile secțiunii istorice, series II, Bucharest (till 1916).*
- An. Dobr. *Analele Dobrogei, Constantza (till 1924) and Cernăuți.*
- An. inst. st. cl. *Anuarul Institutului de studii clasice din Cluj (Universitatea « Regele Ferdinand I »).*
- Arch. Anz. *Archäologischer Anzeiger, cf. Jahrbuch.*
- B C M I *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, Bucharest.*
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- I G R R Cf. Cagnat.
- Iorga, Hist. des Roum. N. Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains et de la romanité orientale*, 4 vol., Bucharest 1937.
- Istros *Istros : Revue roumaine d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne*, Bucharest.

- Jahrbuch* *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, Berlin (with an Arch. Anz.).
- Jahreshefte* *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, Vienna.
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- Rev. ist. rom. *Revista istorică română*, Bucharest.
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- Sylloge³ Cf. Dittenberger.
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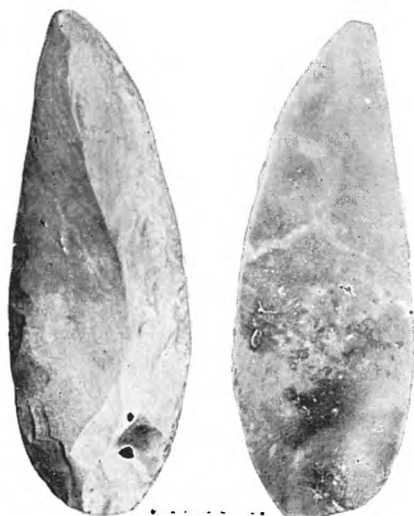


Fig. 1. — Flint implement in the Mousterian style found at Cape Midia, near Constantza. Size: 7/15ths.



Fig. 2. — Cernavoda. Chalcolithic tomb, with a crouching skeleton.

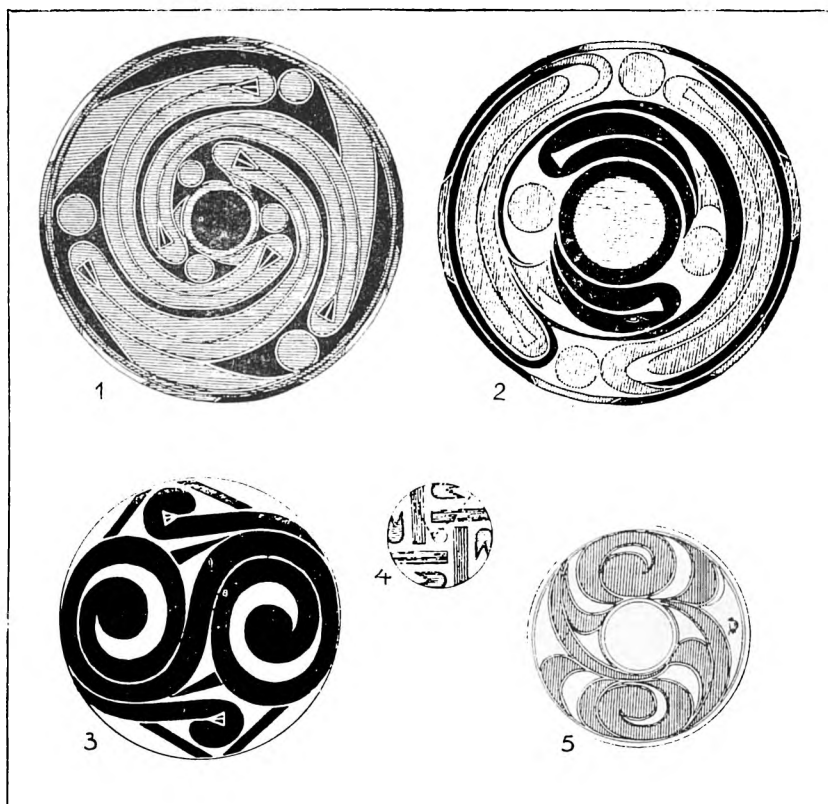


Fig. 3. — Painted chalcolithic pottery from Cernavoda belonging to the Gumelnița style. Colours: white and red (black in the design); the shaded parts, represent spaces filled with streaks. After *Praehist. Zeitschr.*, XX (1929), p. 208, fig. 3.

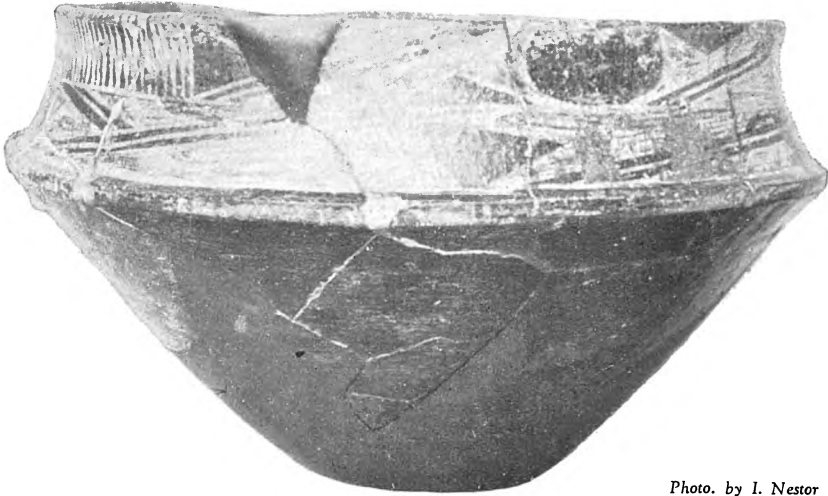


Photo. by I. Nestor

Fig. 4. — Cernavoda. Chalcolithic terra cotta bowl decorated with ornamentations painted in graphite. Size: 1/5th.

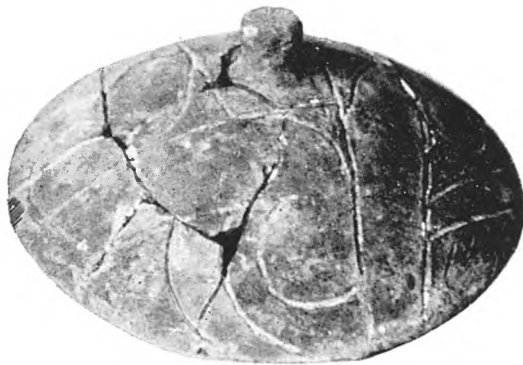


Photo. by I. Nestor

Fig. 5. — Cernavoda. Chalcolithic terra cotta lid decorated with incised spiral bands.



Photo. by I. Nestor

Fig. 6. — Cernavoda. Chalcolithic terra cotta vases. Size: 1/6th.

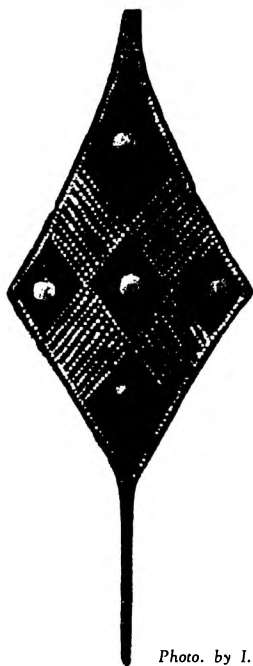


Photo. by I. Nestor

Fig. 7. — Medgidia. Bronze pin head with *repoussé* ornaments. Bronze Age. Size: 3/5ths.



Photo. belonging to Prof. I. Andrieșescu

Fig. 8. — Hagighiol. « Scythian » silver vase from the fifth to fourth centuries B. C. National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest.

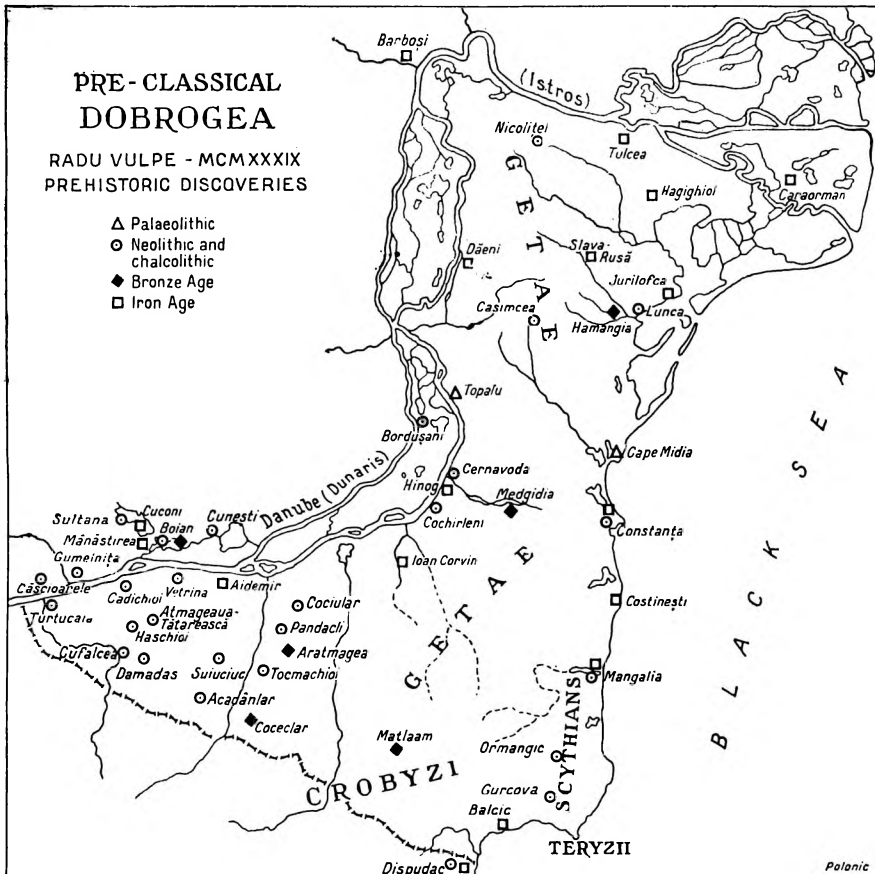


Fig. 9.



Photo. by
Gr. Avakian

Fig. 10.—*Histria*. Oenochoe in the « Fikellura » style, from the seventh century B. C. National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest.

Fig. 11. — *Histria*. Terra cotta figure of the sixth century B. C., of Rhodo-Ionian origin, representing the « Goddess with the dove » (Aphrodite, or, more exactly, Hera Limenia; cf. Marcelle Lambrino, in *Dacia*, III—IV, p. 372).



Photo. by Gr. Avakian

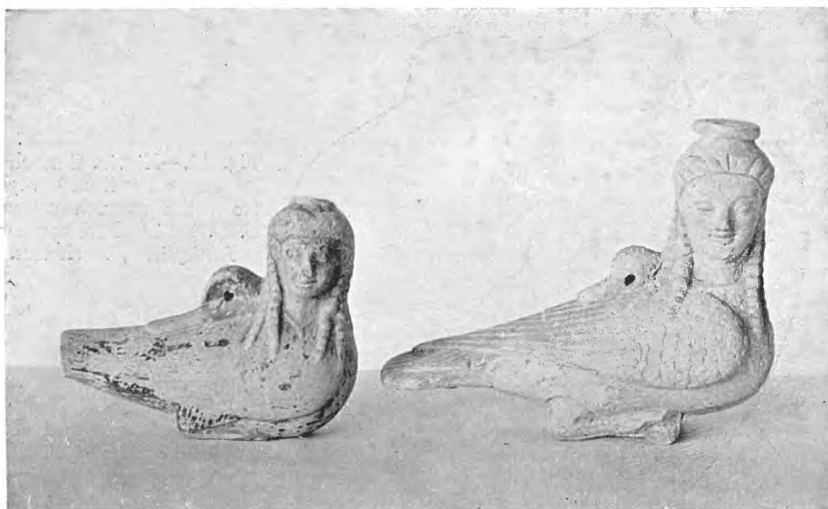


Photo. by Gr. Avakian

Fig. 12. — *Histria*. Small terra cotta vessels from the sixth century B. C. shaped in the form of mermaids. Rhodo-Ionian origin. National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest.



Fig. 13. — *Histria*: The main city gate, seen from within. The walls date from the third century A. D. (Cf. S. Lambrino, *Cetatea Histria*, p. 11).

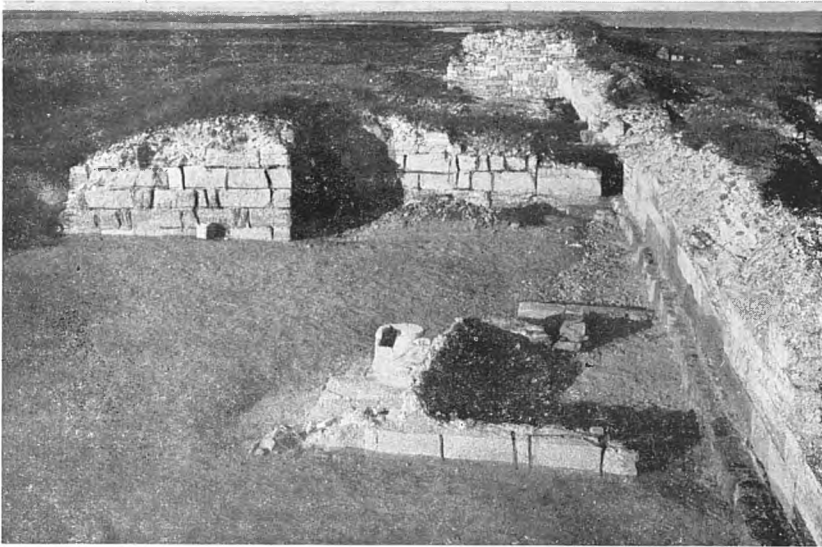


Fig. 14. — *Histria* : A view of the city walls (cf. S. Lambrino, *Cetatea Histria*, p. 10).



Photo. belonging to Prof. S. Lambrino

Fig. 15. — *Histria* : Ruins of the palaestra.



Fig. 16. — *Histria* : Head of Helios from a colossal marble statue. Third century B. C. Rhodian art. Disappeared during the Great War (V. Pârvan, *Inceputurile*, p. 187).



Fig. 17. — *Histria* : Marble bas-relief showing Victories on chariots. Fourth century B. C. Greek art (cf. S. Lambrino, *Cetea Histria*, p. 7).

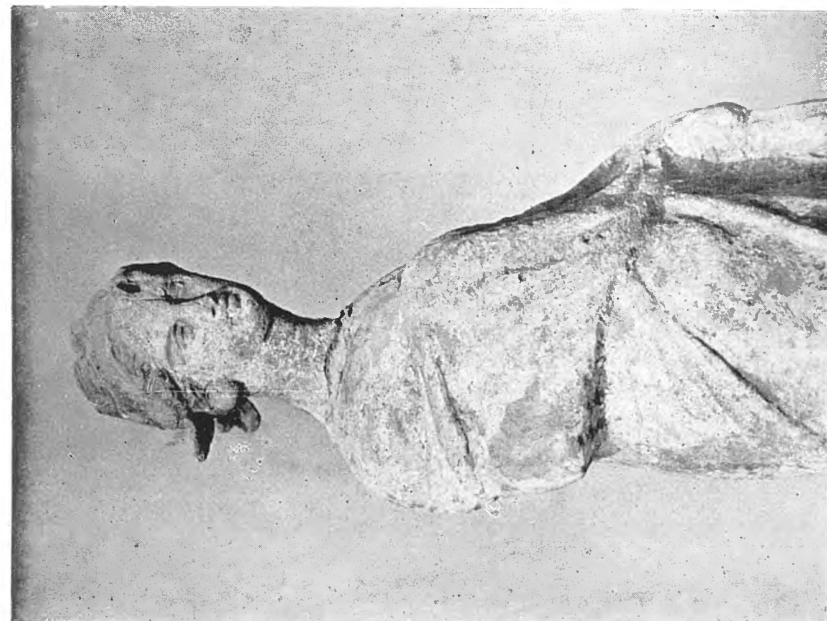


Fig. 18.

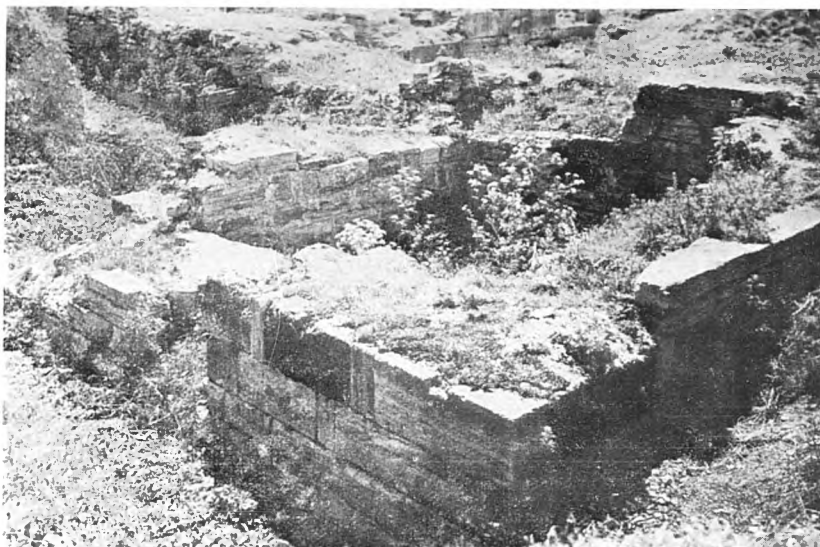
Callatis: Greek polychrome terra cotta figures from the fourth century B. C. National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest. Size: 2/5ths. (Cf. *Dacia*, V-VI, pp. 329 sqq.).



Photo. Tefft

Fig. 19.

Callatis: Greek polychrome terra cotta figures from the fourth century B. C. National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest. Size: 2/5ths. (Cf. *Dacia*, V-VI, pp. 329 sqq.).



Photopress

Fig. 20. — *Callatis*: One of the wall turrets on the N.-W. side of the city.



Fig. 21. — Cape Ciragman, in the port of Cavarna: Acropolis of the ancient city of *Bizone*.

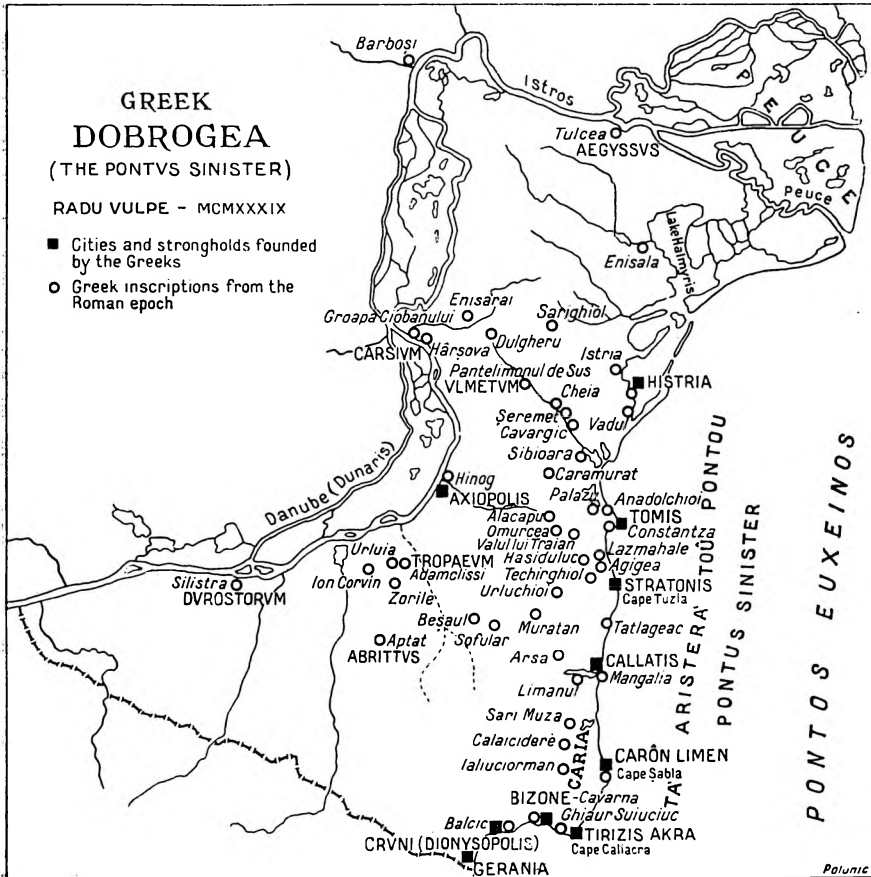


Fig. 22.



Photopress

Fig. 23. — Outer side of a bronze military diploma delivered in A. D. 54, under the emperor Claudius, to the Bessian veteran *Romaesta Rescenti f. Spiurus*, former *eques* in the *ala Gallorum et Thraecum Antiana*. Found at *Atmageaua-Tătărească*, near *Durostorum* (cf. S. Lambrino, in *Rev. de philol.*, V (1931), pp. 251 sqq.).



Fig. 24. — Trajan Column at Rome. Scenes of combat against the Dacians and Sarmatians in Lower Moesia at the beginning of A. D. 102.

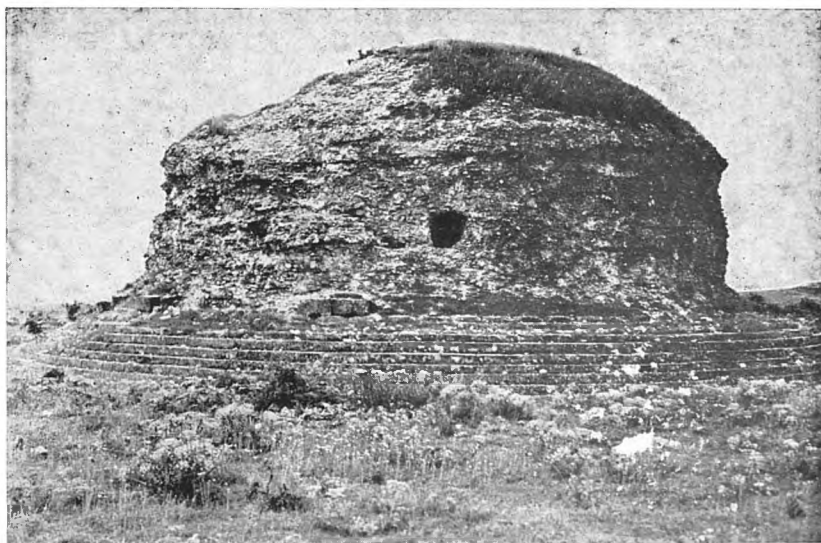


Fig. 25. — *Tropaeum Trajani*: Ruin of the Triumphal Monument of Adamclissi.

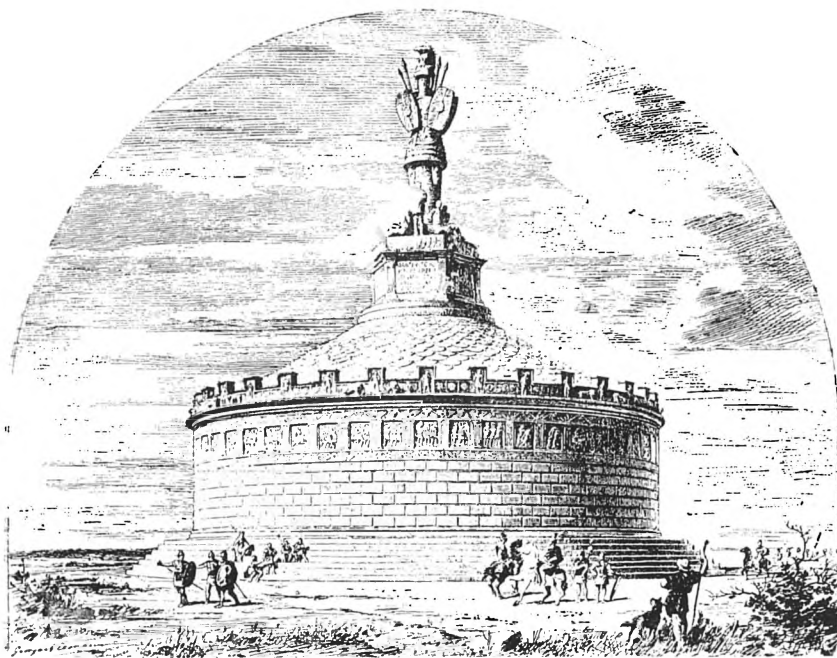


Fig. 26. — A reconstruction of the Triumphal Monument at Adamclissi by G. Niemann. (After Gr. Tocilescu, *Das Monument*, pl. I).

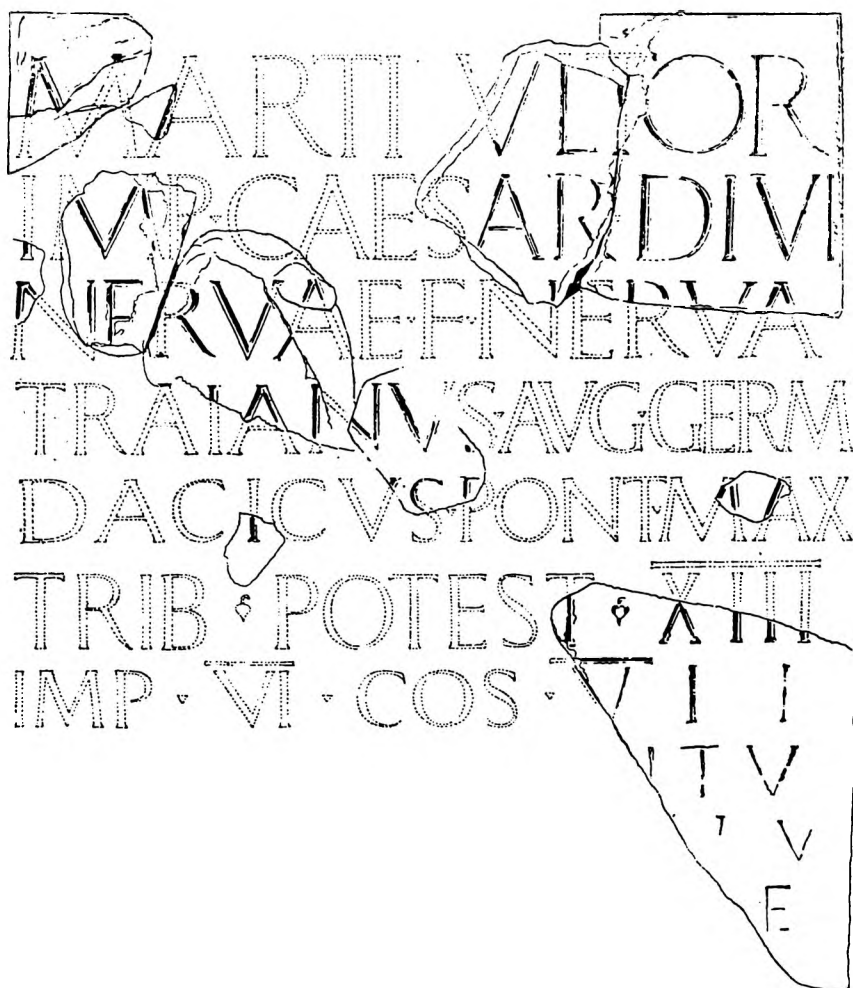
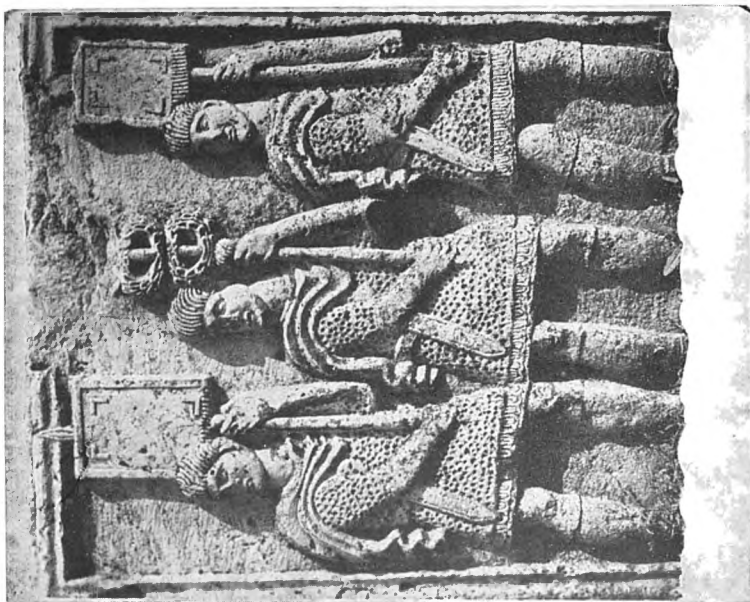


Fig. 27. — *Tropaeum Trajani*: Reconstruction of a dedication by the emperor Trajan to *Mars Ultor* on the triumphal Monument at Adamclissi (after Gr. Tocilescu, *Das Monument*, p. 124). The fragments are in the National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest. Size: 1/25th.



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Fig. 29. — Metope showing Roman ensign bearers.



Fig. 28. — Metope showing a Roman horseman.
From the Adamclissi Triumphal Monument, National Military Museum, Bucharest.

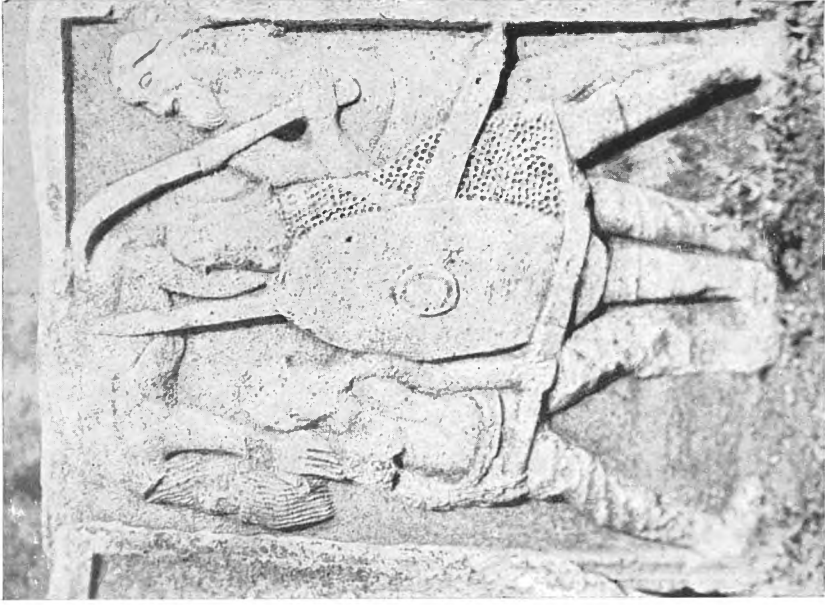


Fig. 31. — Combat between Romans and Germanic Barbarians.
National Military Museum, Bucharest.



Fig. 30. — Metope representing a combat between a Roman soldier and two Germanic Barbarians.
From the Adamclissi Triumphal Monument.

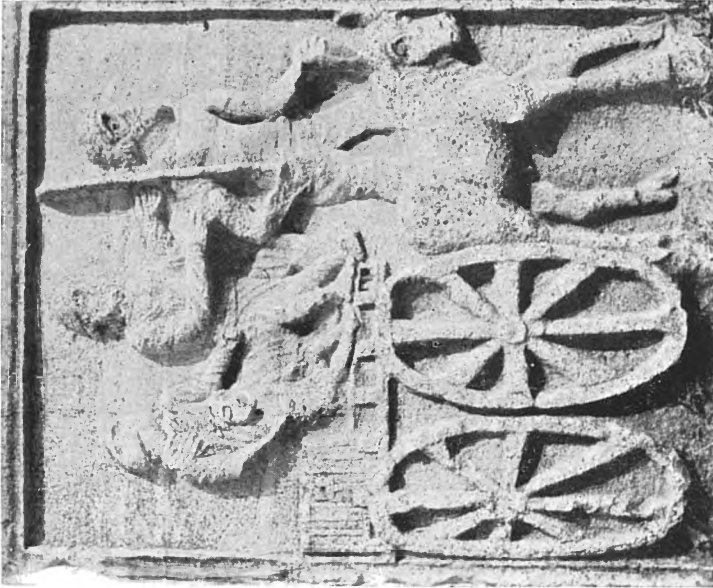


Fig. 33. — Metope showing a refugee Barbarian family of Germanic type.
National Military Museum, Bucharest.



Fig. 32. — Metope showing two Dacian captives pushed forward by a Roman soldier.
From the Adamclissi Triumphal Monument.

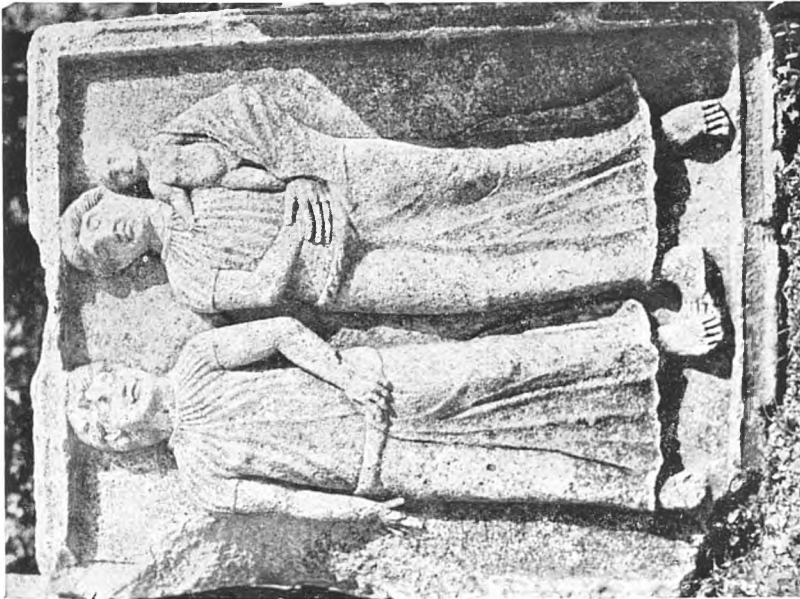


Fig. 34. — Metope showing two Dacian women with a child.

From the Adamclissi Triumphal Monument.

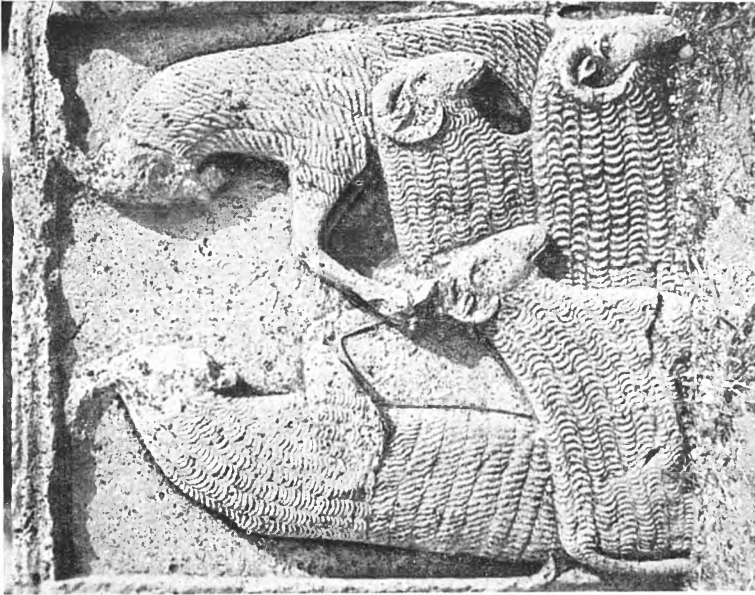


Fig. 35. — Metope showing a flock abandoned by the Barbarians.

National Military Museum, Bucharest.



Photopress

Fig. 40. — Triumphal Monument at Adamclissi. Fragment of a frieze with honeysuckle ornaments and spiral lines in the shape of ropes. Size: about 1/16th. National Military Museum, Bucharest.



Fig. 41. — *Capidava*: The walls seen from the N.-E.



Fig. 42. — *Capidava* : View of the great rectangular turret to the N.-E. of the stronghold; the Danube is seen in the background.

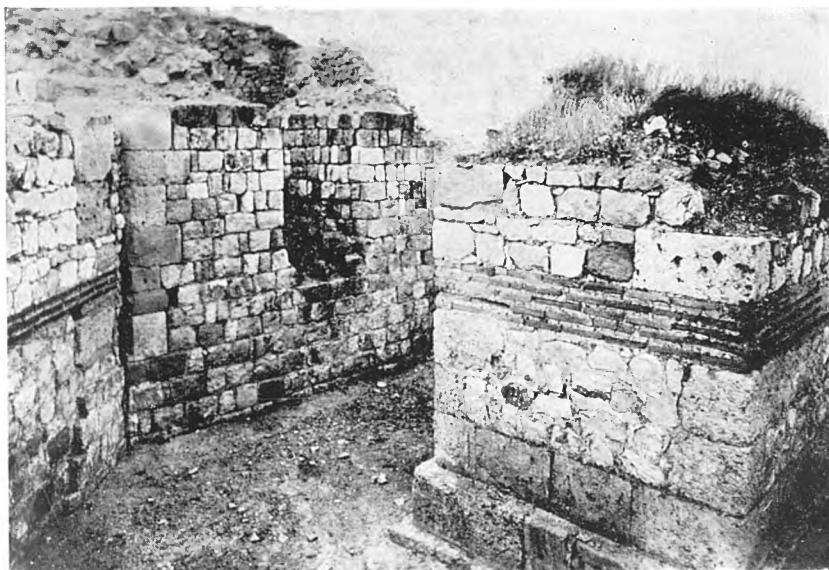


Fig. 43. — *Capidava* : Interior of the turret in the northern angle of the stronghold; fourth century A. D.

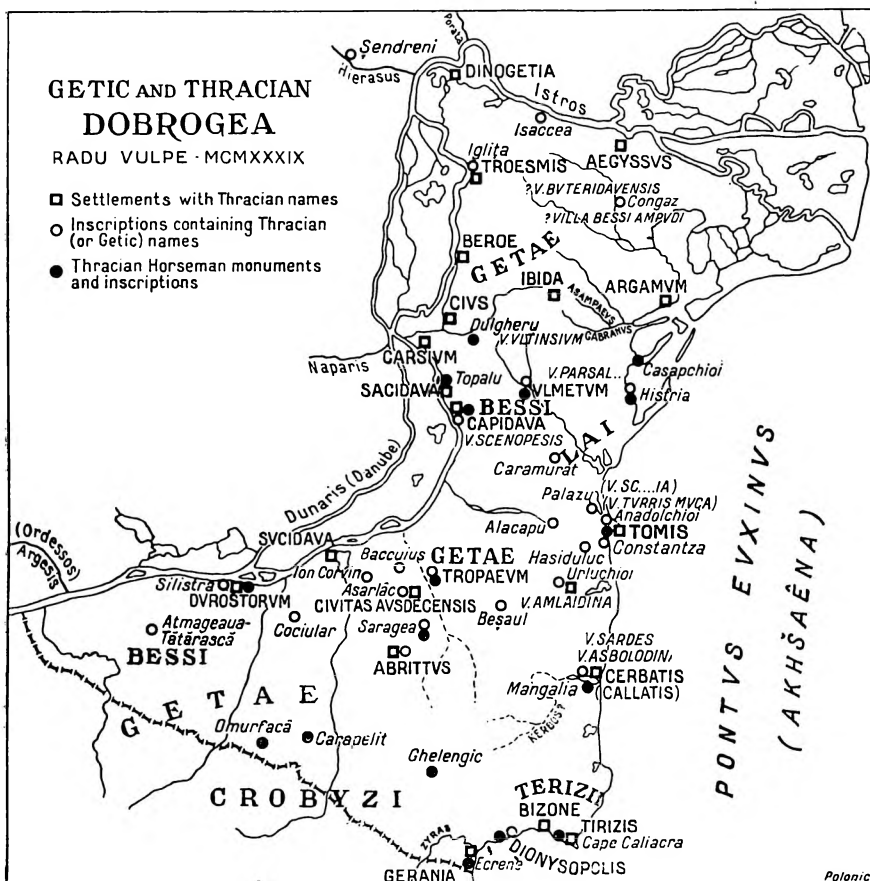


Fig. 44.



Photo. by Gr. Avakian

Fig. 45. — Roman mask in bronze from *Carsium*.
National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest.
Size: about 1/3rd.



Photo. belonging to Prof. Gr. Florescu

Fig. 46. — Roman quarries at Cernavoda: blocks of stone cut but not yet detached from the rock.

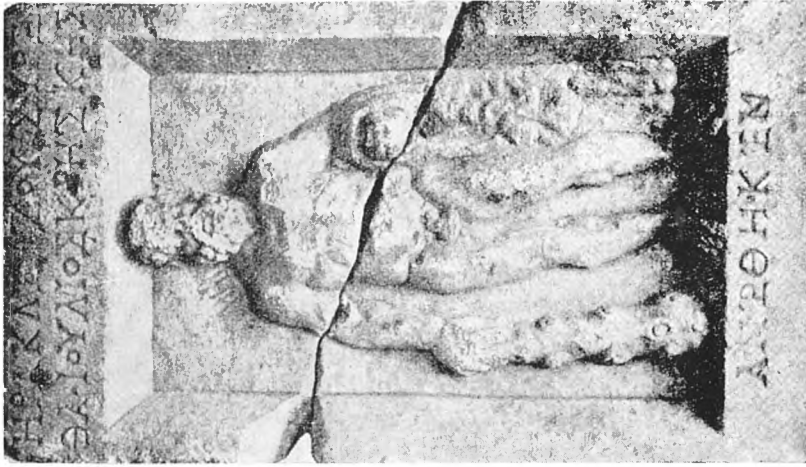


Fig. 48. — Dionysopolis : Votive tablet dedicated to *Heracles Ziszyreithes*. Roman epoch. Balçic Museum.



Photo. belonging to Prof. Gr. Florescu
Fig. 47. — Roman quarries of Cernavoda : Rustic icon of *Hercules Saxanus* carved on the face of the rock. Size: 1/8th.



Fig. 49. — *Tomis*: Marble statue of a local citizen, from the third century A. D. Nat. Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest.



Photopress

Fig. 50. — Marble statue of a woman. Imperial Roman epoch., National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest.



Fig. 51. *Tomis*. Idealised marble portrait of a woman. A remarkable work from the Roman epoch. National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest. (After V. Pârvan, in *Archacol. Anzeig.*, 1914, col. 439).



Fig. 52. *Durostorum*; Marble funeral bas-relief showing an heroic figure of the deceased, National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest.

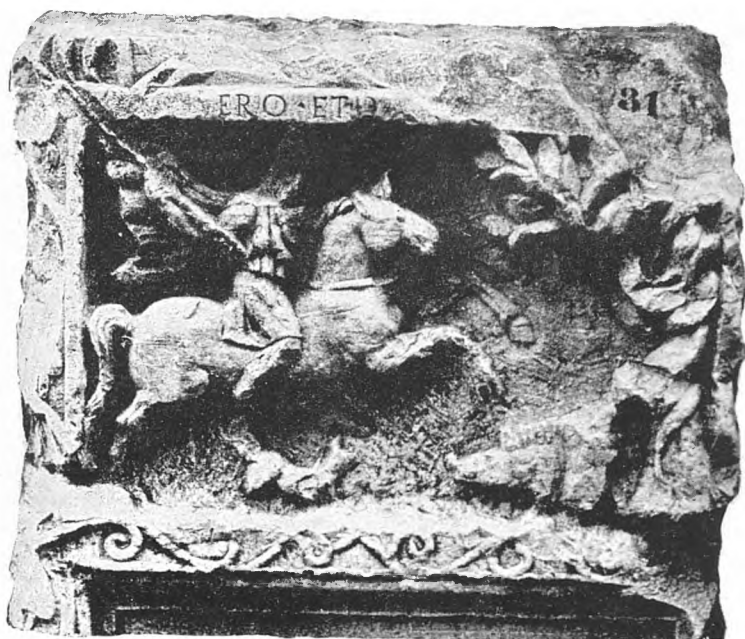


Fig. 53. — *Tomis*: Upper half of a limestone slab showing the Thracian Horseman: *Ero et D[omnus]*. The lower half (not shown in the photograph) contains the inscription of a collegium of Romanised Eastern worshippers of Cybele, led by a *mater Romanorum*. National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest.



Photopress

Fig. 54. — *Tomis* : Marble funeral bas-relief from the Roman epoch showing a woman playing with her little dog. National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest.



Fig. 55. — *Histria* : Marble frieze from the Roman epoch decorated with masks, cupids and garlands.



Fig. 56. — *Histria* : Inner side of the marble foot of a seat. Roman epoch. Disappeared during the Great War. (After V. Pârvan, *Inceputurile*, p. 114).



Fig. 57. — *Tomis* : Marble bas-relief of the Thracian Herseman and Cybele. Canarache Collection, Bucharest.

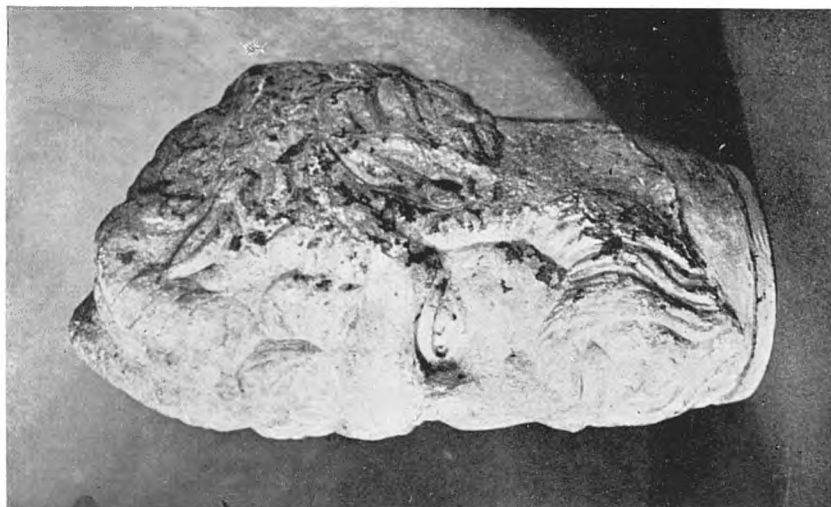


Photo. by Gr. Avakian
Fig. 59. — *Callatis*: Marble head of Pan from the Roman period. National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest.



Photo. by Gr. Avakian
Fig. 58. — *Tomis*: Marble torso of Diana (Roman epoch). National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest.

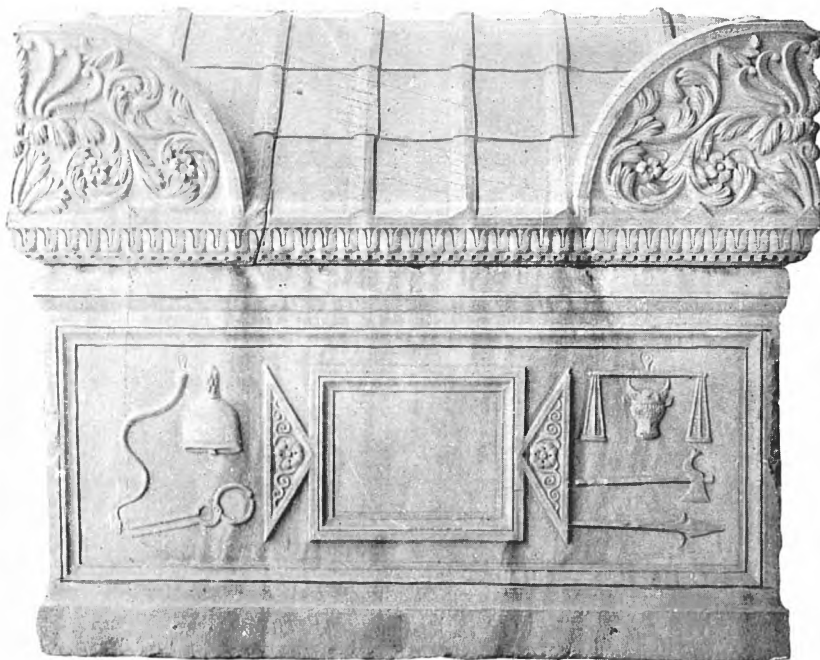


Photo. by Gr. Avakian

Fig. 60. — Mithras' icon from Acbunar, in the neighbourhood of Troesmis. National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest.



Fig. 61. — *Histria*: Sculpture from the Imperial Roman epoch representing a funereal banquet.



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Fig. 62. — Tomis : The great marble sarcophagus with symbols, dating from the second century. Regional Museum, Constantza. Size: 1/27th.



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Fig. 63. — Tomis : Frontal of the lid of a Roman sarcophagus, decorated with a Medusa head. National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest.



Fig. 64. — *Tropaeum Trajani*: Limestone monolithic trophy from the time of Constantine and Licinius, found at the eastern gate of the city with the inscription shown in Fig. 65. Size: 1/26th. National Military Museum, Bucharest.



Fig. 65. — *Tropaeum Trajani*: Inscription testifying to the rebuilding of the city under the emperors Constantine and Licinius. National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest.



Fig. 66. — *Tropaeum Trajani* : Ruins of the western gate.

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Fig. 67. — *Tropaeum Trajani* : The Barbarian barrow near Trajan's triumphal monument.

Photo. S. Ferri

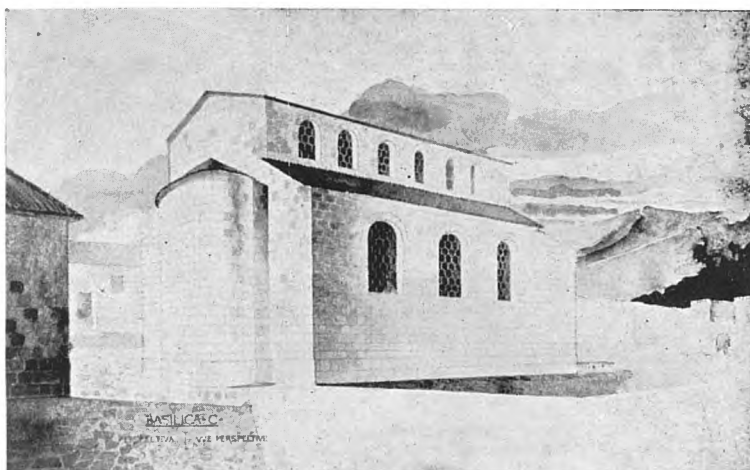


Fig. 68. — *Tropaeum Trajani*: Reconstruction by Sp. Cegăneanu of the basilica cistern. Archives of the Historical Monuments Commission, Bucharest.

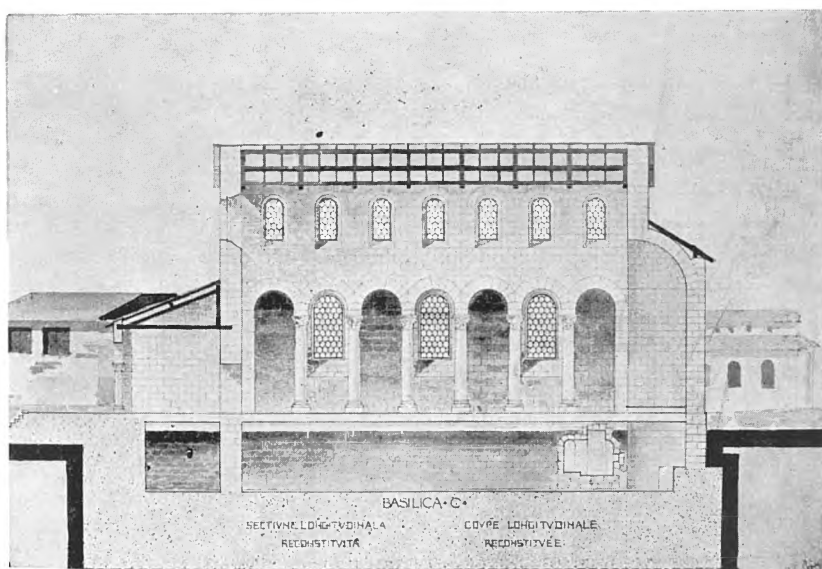
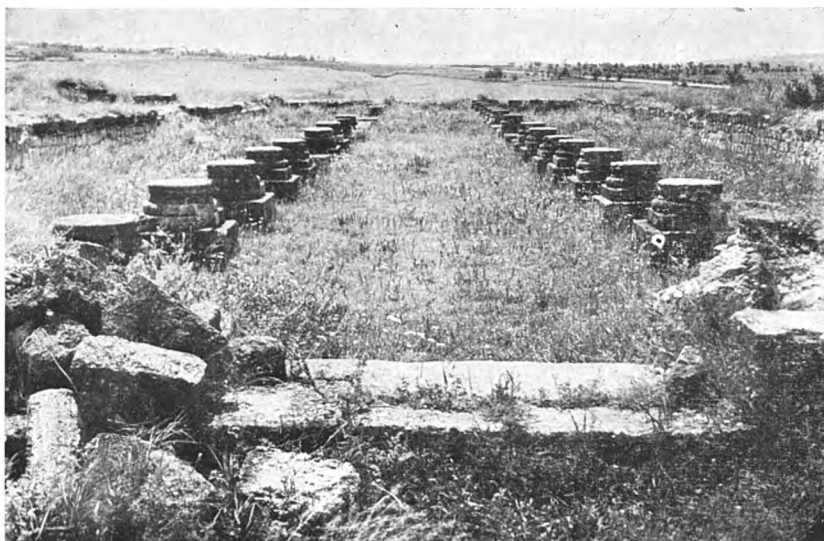


Fig. 69. — *Tropaeum Trajani*: Reconstruction by Sp. Cegăneanu of the basilica cistern. Archives of the Historical Monuments Commission, Bucharest.



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Fig. 70. — *Tropaeum Trajani*: Ruins of the *basilica forensis*.



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Fig. 71. — *Tropaeum Trajani*: Sixth century Christian inscription found in the neighbourhood of Adamclissi and containing, in Greek and in Latin, the phrase: *crux mortis et resurrectionis*.



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Fig. 72. — *Callatis*: Ruins of an important sixth century Christian edifice in the north-eastern corner of the ancient city.



Fig. 73. — *Callatis*: Fragment of a marble slab showing designs in ink, discovered in the great Christian edifice to the north-east of the city. (After O. Tafrali, *Arta și Arheologia*, I (1927), p. 54).



Fig. 74. — Tomis: Marble capital from a sixth century Christian basilica (cf. Th. Sauciuc-Săveanu, in *An. Dobr.*, XVI, p. 166). Regional Museum, Constantza.



Fig. 75. — Tomis: Capital from a sixth century building.



Fig. 76. — Tomis: Fifth- or sixth-century Christian funereal stele bearing the name of the young woman *Torpilla*. National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest.



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Fig. 77. — Tomis: Sixth century Christian tombstone erected by a certain *Marcellus*. National Museum of Antiquities, Bucharest.



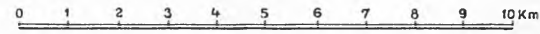
Fig. 79. — Byzantine fortress at Cape Caliacra.



Fig. 80. — Ruins of the mediaeval fortress of Enisala, near Babadag.

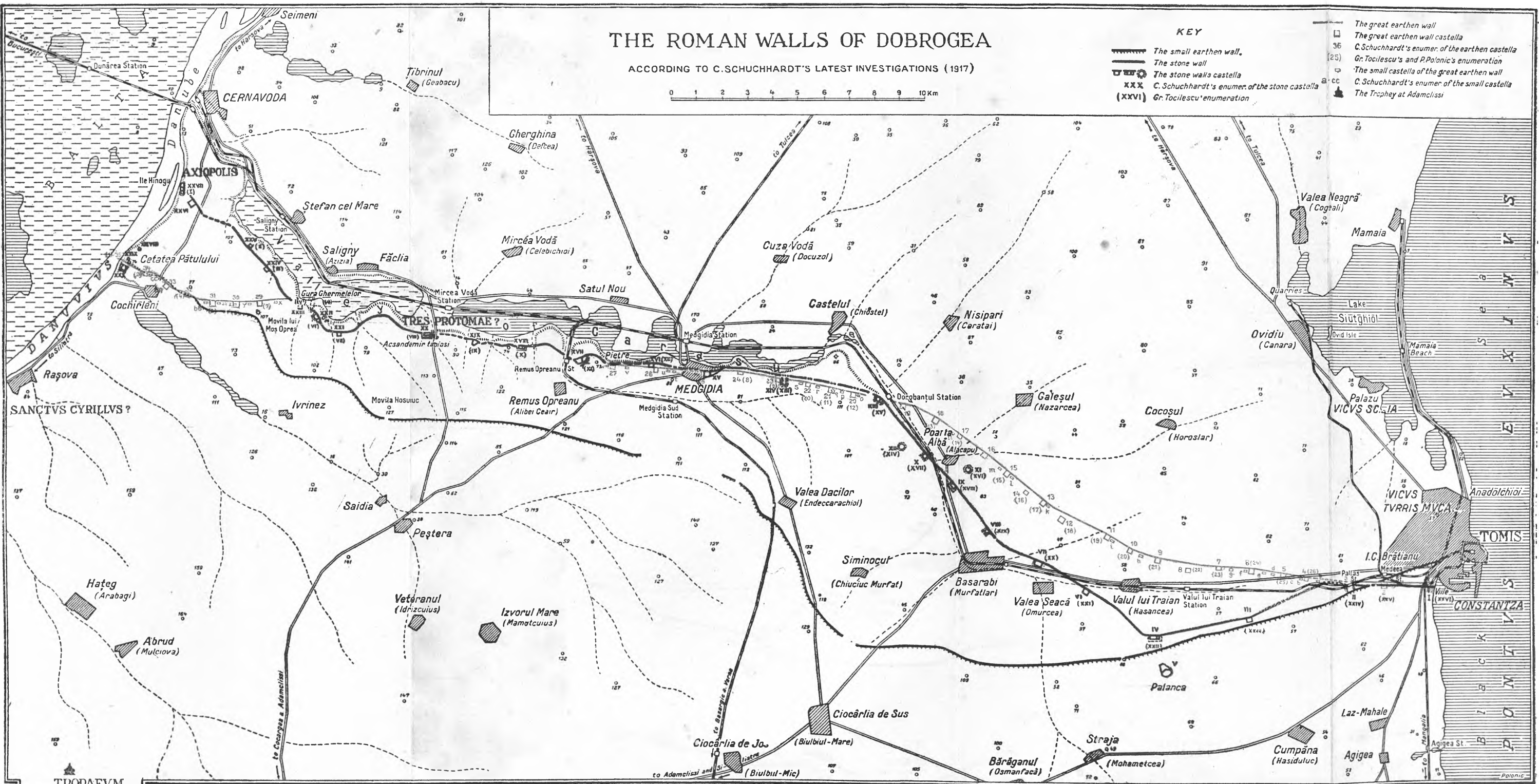
THE ROMAN WALLS OF DOBROGEA

ACCORDING TO C. SCHUCHHARDT'S LATEST INVESTIGATIONS (1917)



KEY

- The small earthen wall.
- The stone wall.
- The stone walls castella.
- The small castella of the great earthen wall.
- C. Schuchhardt's enumer. of the stone castella.
- Gr. Tocilescu's enumeration.
- The great earthen wall.
- The great earthen wall castella.
- C. Schuchhardt's enumer. of the earthen castella.
- Gr. Tocilescu's and P. Polonic's enumeration.
- The small castella of the great earthen wall.
- C. Schuchhardt's enumer. of the small castella.
- The Trophy at Adamclissi.

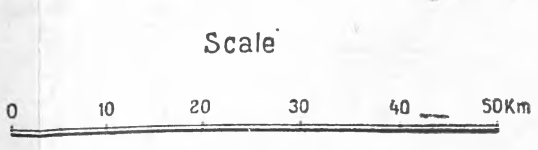


DOBROGEA

IN THE ROMAN EPOCH
ACCORDING TO THE V. PÂRVAN'S
MAP OF MCMXI BROUGHT UP TO
DATE BY RADU VVLPE

KEY

- ANCIENT CITIES AND STRONGHOLDS
- ROMAN ROADS
- ⊔ MILES TONES
- *Modern localities in which vestiges of the Roman epoch have been discovered*
- - - - BOVNDARIES OF THE TERRITORIA
- +—+—+ STONE WALL
- +—+—+ GREAT EARTHEN WALL
- SMALL EARTHEN WALL
- +—+—+ BOVNDARY OF THE PROVINCE OF SCYTHIA
- I TERRITORIUM HISTRIAE
- II TERRITORIUM TOMORVM
- III TERRITORIUM CALLATIDIS
- IV TERRITORIUM DIONYSOPOLIS
- V TERRITORIUM ODESSITANORVM
- VI TERRITORIUM AVSDECENSIVM
- VII TERRITORIUM CAPIDAVENSE
- VIII TERRITORIUM TROESMENSE
- IX TERRITORIUM NOVIODVNENSE
- X TERRITORIUM ARGAMENSIVM
- XI TERRITORIUM of the Barboși encampment



THE POPULATION OF DOBROGEA

by Dr. SABIN MANUILA
Director of the Central Institute of Statistics
Corresponding Member of the Rumanian Academy

INTRODUCTION

From an historical point of view, the province of Dobrogea comprises two distinct regions: Old Dobrogea, composed of the counties of Constanța and of Tulcea, and New Dobrogea, or the « Quadrilateral », composed of the counties of Caliacra and of Durostor. At the time of the general Census of December 29, 1930, Old Dobrogea and New Dobrogea numbered 437,131 and 378,344 inhabitants respectively. In 1910 the population of Old Dobrogea represented 55.6% of the population of the whole province, and that of the Quadrilateral 44.4%. By 1930 these figures had been substantially modified in favour of the Quadrilateral, which comprised 46.4% of the population of the whole province as against 53.6% in Old Dobrogea (378,344 inhabitants in the Quadrilateral as against 437,131 in Old Dobrogea).

In 1930, the population of Dobrogea represented 4.52% of the population of Rumania. It comprised 4 of the 71 counties in the country, with an area of 23,262 square kilometers having a density of 35.1 inhabitants par square kilometre.

FIGURE 1 – DENSITY OF POPULATION OF RUMANIA AND DOBROGEA IN 1930 *)



The numbers of inhabitants in the different counties in 1910, 1912 and 1930 are as follows:

TABLE 2 – POPULATION OF DOBROGEA BY COUNTIES AND BY ENVIRONMENT IN 1910, 1912 AND 1930

Population	Dobrogea	Caliacra	Constanța	Durostor	Tulcea
1	2	3	4	5	6
Total in 1910 and 1912	662,000	¹⁾ 116,705	²⁾ 198,404	¹⁾ 177,106	²⁾ 169,785
Rural	512,981	88,905	148,025	150,802	125,249
Urban	149,019	27,800	50,379	26,304	44,536
Total in 1930	815,475	166,911	253,093	211,433	184,038
Rural	618,997	125,323	171,462	179,806	142,406
Urban	196,478	41,588	81,631	31,627	41,632
Percentage increase of total population	23.2	43.0	27.6	19.4	8.4
Percentage of rural population in 1910 and 1912	77.5	76.2	74.6	85.1	73.8
and in 1930	75.9	75.1	67.7	85.0	77.4

*) Estimated population on July 1, 1939: Rumania, 19,933,802 inhabitants; Dobrogea, 929,803 inhabitants.

¹⁾ 1910 census; ²⁾ 1912 census.

During the period between the two censuses, the population of Dobrogea grew considerably (23.2%), rising from 662,000 inhabitants to 815,475. The most important increase of population occurred in the county of Caliacra (43.0%) and the least important in the county of Tulcea (8.4%). The differences are due to artificial changes in the population of these counties and not to natural increase.

The urban population is increasing, especially in the county of Constanța.

TABLE 3 – POPULATION OF THE TOWNS IN DOBROGEA

Towns	Inhabitants in 1930	Inhabitants in 1912 and 1910 *)	Percentage increase
1	2	3	4
Grand total	196,478	149,019	+ 31.8
County of Caliacra . . .	41,588	- 27,800	+ 49.6
Balcic	6,396	6,571	- 2.7
Bazargic	30,106	17,102	+ 76.0
Cavarna	5,086	4,127	+ 23.2
County of Constanța . .	81,631	50,379	+ 62.0
Carmen Sylva	872	¹⁾ 218	+ 300.0
Cerna-Voda	6,744	5,743	+ 17.4
Constanța	59,164	31,576	+ 87.4
Hârșova	3,665	3,990	- 8.2
Mangalia	2,764	1,929	+ 43.3
Medgidia	6,466	6,252	+ 3.4
Techirghiol	1,956	²⁾ 671	+ 191.5
County of Durostor . .	31,627	26,304	+ 20.2
Ostrov	3,113	³⁾ 3,965	- 21.5
Silistra	17,339	11,646	+ 48.9
Turtucaia	11,175	10,693	+ 4.5
County of Tulcea	41,632	44,536	- 6.2
Babadag	4,626	4,686	- 1.3
Isaccea	4,576	4,655	- 1.7
Măcin	5,628	⁴⁾ 5,286	+ 6.5
Sulina	6,399	7,347	- 12.9
Tulcea	20,403	22,562	- 9.6

*) Not including data on 1912 urban districts, subsequently transformed into rural districts; ¹⁾ Rural district in 1912; ²⁾ Rural district in 1912; ³⁾ In 1910, the town was comprised in the county of Constanța; ⁴⁾ Rural district in 1912.

The population of the province is very largely rural in character (75.9% in 1930). The urban population increases but

slowly (from 22.5% in 1910 and 1912 to 24.1% in 1930). The highest proportion of rural population is to be found in the county of Durostor (85,0%), where, moreover, it is approximately equal to that of 1912, when it stood at 85.1%.

There are 196,478 inhabitants in the 18 towns of the province (see table 3).

7.3% of the population of Dobrogea is concentrated in the large towns (over 50,000 inhabitants), and 7% in towns of less than 10,000 inhabitants. The smaller centres thus constitute the typical environment of the inhabitants of Dobrogea — a fact which is equally true in the case of the villages.

FIGURE 4 — PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES IN DOBROGEA ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF INHABITANTS IN 1930



There are not more than two villages of more than 4,000 inhabitants in the whole of Dobrogea. Thus the type of large village which occurs in the other provinces is not to be found here. The smaller the villages and the more the inhabitants are massed together in them, the greater is the number of human settlements. There are 509 villages of less than 500 souls, representing 33.5% of the whole population of Dobrogea, that is, approximately one third.

The following table shows the distribution of the population of Dobrogea by localities:

TABLE 5 — CLASSIFICATION OF LOCALITIES ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF INHABITANTS IN 1930

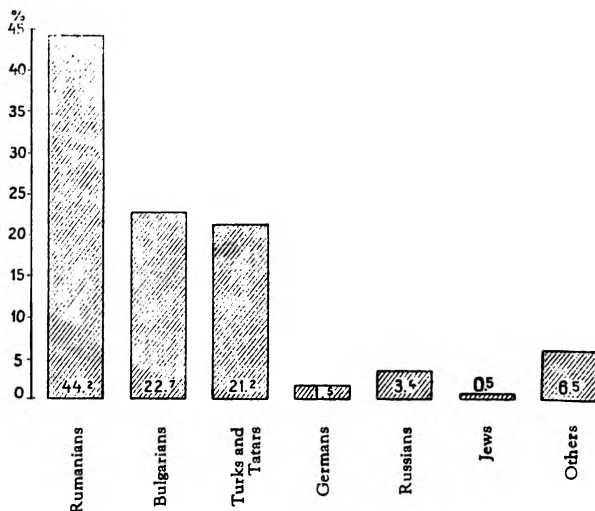
Classes of locality	Number of localities	Total population	
		Absolute figures	Percentages
1	2	3	4
Grand total	742	815,475	100.0
All towns	18	196,478	24.1
Towns of 50,001 to 100,000 inhabitants	1	59,164	7.3
Towns of 30,001 to 50,000 inhabitants	1	30,106	3.7
Towns of 10,001 to 30,000 inhabitants	3	48,917	6.0
Towns of 5,001 to 10,000 inhabitants	6	36,719	4.4
Towns of less than 5,000 inhabitants	7	21,572	2.6
All villages	724	618,997	75.9
Villages of 4,001 to 5,000 inhabitants	2	8,168	1.0
Villages of 3,001 to 4,000 inhabitants	6	21,840	2.7
Villages of 2,001 to 3,000 inhabitants	34	82,159	10.1
Villages of 1,001 to 2,000 inhabitants	173	234,117	28.7
Villages of less than 1,000 inhabitants	509	272,713	33.5

THE POPULATION OF DOBROGEA BY NATIVITY

Of the 815,475 inhabitants of Dobrogea, 360,572, or 44.2%, are Rumanians; the balance is composed of the minorities. The ratio of Rumanians to the total population is of 66.2% in the county of Constanța and 62.6% in the county of Tulcea. The Rumanians are less numerous in the counties of New Dobrogea, namely 22.6% in the county of Caliacra and 19.0% in the county of Durostor. (The latter figures are drawn from the census of December 29, 1930 and do not take into account the subsequent changes in population following upon the Turkish emigration and the establishment of settlements on the boundary between 1931 and 1937). The Rumanians thus constitute an absolute majority in Old Dobrogea and a relative majority in the whole of Dobrogea.

In order of size, the Bulgarians, with a ratio of 22.7%, come after the Rumanians. In no county of Dobrogea are the Bulgarians in an absolute majority, but they are in a relative majority in the county of Calicara. The total number of Bulgarians is 185,279.

FIGURE 6 – PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF DOBROGEA ACCORDING TO THE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE INHABITANTS IN 1930



A third element constituting an important fraction of the population is the Turkish, the number of Turks being 150,773, or 18.5% of the population of the province. Like Bulgarians, the Turks are in a relative majority in one county only, namely Durostos. The number of Turks is constantly diminishing owing to their massive emigration to Anatolia.

The population of Dobrogea also comprises 22,092 Tatars (2.7%) and 27,426 Russians. The remainder of the population is composed of various small groups and dispersed individuals belonging to other nationalities, namely Germans, Greeks, Armenians, Gypsies, Jews, etc.

In the villages, the ratio of nationalities changes in favour of Bulgarians and of Turks and Tatars. On the other hand, the number of Rumanians is higher in towns, where they are in an absolute majority of 52.4%. The Bulgarians constitute 13.7% out of the town population, and the Turks 13.4%, while 3.6% of the urban population is Greek.

Of the less numerous ethnic groups, mention may be made of the following:

	Total	Villages	Towns
Jews	3,795	218	3,577
Serbians	962	413	549
Greeks	9,023	1,877	7,146
Gipsies	11,446	7,291	4,155
Armenians	5,370	561	4,809
Lipovans	13,450	12,000	1,450
Găgăuți	7,126	5,377	1,749
Albanians	589	62	527

The most numerous of these groups are the Lipovans and the Gypsies.

Taking into account the condition observed in the rest of the country, it may be supposed that the number of Gypsies is greater than that recorded in the census. The Gypsies rarely admit their Gypsy origin and prefer to declare that they belong to the Turkish, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Russian, Hungarian and other nationalities. It must also be borne in mind that ethnic origin is determined by the free declaration of the inhabitant and that there are no supplementary checks as there are in the case of the Jews, who belong, almost exclusively, to the Jewish faith. The Gypsies belong to a variety of religions; they may be of Orthodox creed just as frequently as they may be Mahomedans.

TABLE 7 – TOTAL POPULATION OF DOBROGEA BY COUNTIES ACCORDING TO ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE INHABITANTS IN 1930

Ethnic origin	Province of Dobrogea	County of Caliacra	County of Constanța	County of Durostor	County of Tulcea
1	2	3	4	5	6

Absolute figures

Total	815,475	166,911	253,093	211,433	184,038
Rumanians	360,572	37,640	167,568	40,088	115,276
Bulgarians	185,279	70,797	22,560	72,412	19,510
Turks	150,773	38,430	17,114	90,595	4,634
Tatars	22,092	4,461	15,174	2,085	372
Germans	12,581	500	9,605	58	2,418
Greeks	9,023	1,027	4,616	253	3,127
Russians	27,426	1,000	3,832	216	22,378
Others and undeclared . .	47,729	13,056	12,624	5,726	16,323

Table 7 — continued

Ethnic origin	Province of Dobrogea	County of Caliacra	County of Constanta	County of Durostor	County of Tulcea
1	2	3	4	5	6
Percentages					
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rumanians	44.2	22.6	66.2	19.0	62.6
Bulgarians	22.7	42.4	8.9	34.2	10.6
Turks	18.5	23.0	6.8	42.8	2.5
Tatars	2.7	2.7	6.0	1.0	0.2
Germans	1.5	0.3	3.8	*	1.3
Greeks	1.1	0.6	1.8	0.1	1.7
Russians	3.4	0.6	1.5	0.1	12.2
Others and undeclared . .	5.9	7.8	5.0	2.7	8.9

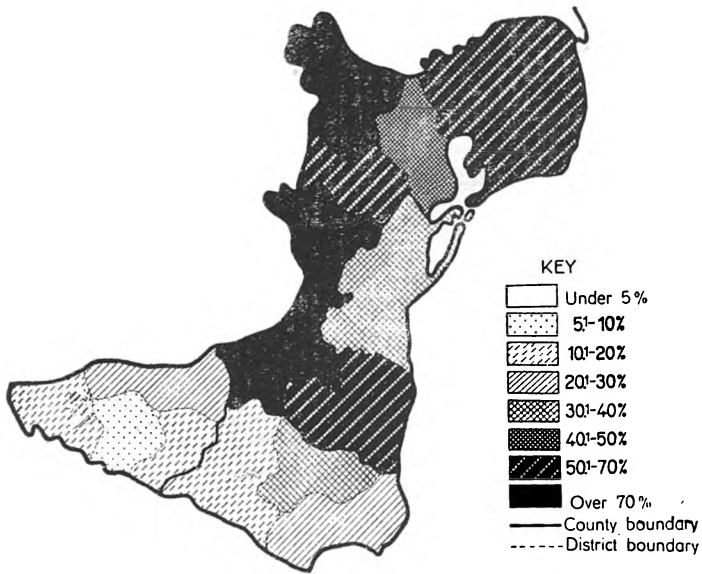
*) Under 0.1%.

TABLE 8 — POPULATION OF INDIVIDUAL CITIES OF DOBROGEA BY COUNTIES ACCORDING TO ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE INHABITANTS

Counties and Towns	Total	Rumanians	Bulgarians	Turks	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6
Province of Dobrogea . .	196,478	103,031	26,894	26,354	40,199
County of Caliacra . . .	41,588	6,389	16,533	10,031	8,635
Balcic	6,396	1,019	2,244	1,924	1,209
Bazargic	30,106	4,708	12,309	7,783	5,306
Cavarna	5,086	662	1,980	324	2,120
County of Constanța . .	81,631	56,065	1,601	5,983	17,982
Carmen Sylva	872	632	48	12	180
Cernavoda	6,744	5,325	46	587	786
Constanța	59,164	40,661	1,176	3,384	13,943
Hârșova	3,665	2,894	8	605	158
Mangalia	2,764	1,261	245	577	681
Medgidia	6,466	4,231	51	606	1,578
Teichirghiol	1,956	1,061	27	212	656
County of Durostor . . .	31,627	13,648	7,391	8,055	2,533
Ostrov	3,113	2,983	49	46	35
Silistra	17,339	3,794	5,984	5,418	2,143
Turtucaia	11,175	6,871	1,358	2,591	355
County of Tulcea	41,632	26,929	1,369	2,285	11,049
Babadag	4,626	3,632	324	294	376
Isaccea	4,576	3,497	32	344	703
Măcin	5,628	4,680	31	659	258
Sulina	6,399	3,018	30	189	3,162
Tulcea	20,403	12,102	952	799	6,550

The relative number of Greeks, Jews and Armenians is strikingly small. It was generally believed that they were much more numerous. This illusory notion is to be attributed to the circumstance that these three peoples are settled mainly in towns and are engaged in trade. This is the most conspicuous occupation, for, by definition, commerce means movement and distribution. Now the Jews, the Greeks and the Armenians are to be found where there is movement and exchange. Wherever one may go in the provinces, one is certain to meet, not the rural inhabitants, however numerous they may be, but that part of the population which moves about and engages in trading.

FIGURE 9 — PERCENTAGES OF RUMANIAN INHABITANTS OF DOBROGEA BY DISTRICTS IN 1930 .



The distribution of the urban population of Dobrogea by nationalities according to the size of towns may now be analysed. It has already been stated that Rumanians constitute 52.4% of the urban population of the province, the minority nationalities representing 47.6% of that popu-

FIGURE 10 – PERCENTAGES OF BULGARIAN INHABITANTS OF DOBROGEA BY DISTRICTS IN 1930

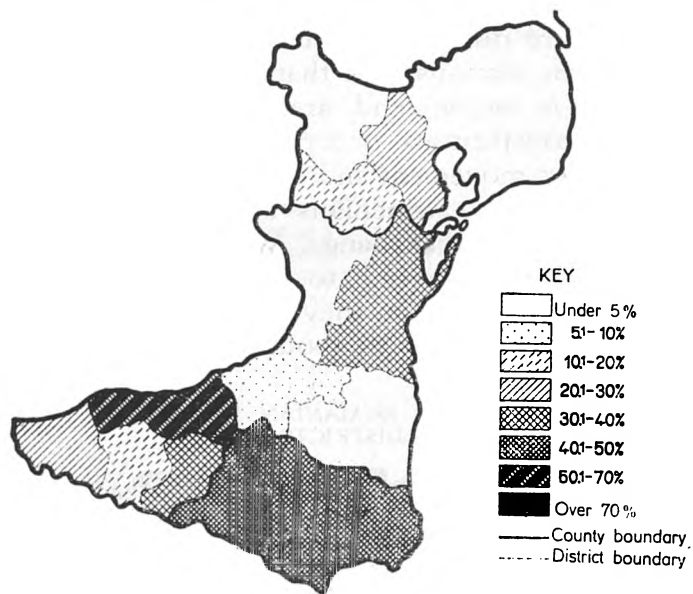
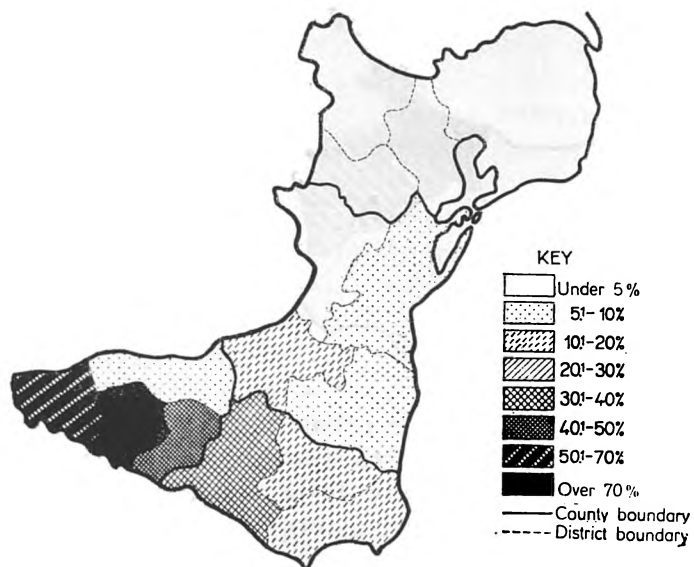


FIGURE 11 – PERCENTAGES OF TURKISH INHABITANTS OF DOBROGEA BY DISTRICTS IN 1930



lation. Excluding Constanța, which is, as it were, a capital of Dobrogea, the number of Rumanians is in inverse proportion to the size of the towns. In the case of Bulgarians and Turks, it is the contrary which is true; they are more numerous in the larger than in the smaller towns. It is sufficient to cite two extreme instances: in localities having a population varying between 30,001 and 50,000, Rumanians represent 15.6% of the population and Bulgarians 40.9%, while, in towns of less than 5,000 inhabitants, Rumanians constitute 74.0% and Bulgarians only 3.4% of the population.

MOTHER TONGUE

This chapter shows the percentage distribution of the population of Dobrogea according to spoken languages at the time of the 1930 census. It will be observed at once that the province is inhabited by a population of different languages. Rumanian is the mother tongue of the major group of inhabitants (45.3%). In towns it is the predominant and native tongue; this fact is worthy of note inasmuch as it is peculiar to Dobrogea. In Rumania as a whole, the percentage of the population whose native tongue is Rumanian is higher in villages (75.7%) than it is in towns (62.2%), whereas in Dobrogea the population whose mother tongue is Rumanian represents 42.2% of the inhabitants of rural areas as against 55.0% of the inhabitants of urban areas — a circumstance which explains the rapid assimilation of those whose native tongue is not Rumanian in the urban centres of this province.

Next to Rumanian there are two other languages in use in Dobrogea: Bulgarian (22.5%) and the Turco-Tatar language (22.4%). These two languages are spoken to much the same extent in the towns and in the villages. Their distribution is determined by purely geographical causes. Bulgarian is spoken, in particular, in the county of Caliacra and Turkish in the county of Durostor.

TABLE 12 — PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF DOBROGEA BY MOTHER TONGUE OF THE INHABITANTS IN 1930

Mother-tongue	Rumania			Dobrogea		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
All languages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rumanian	73.0	62.2	75.7	45.3	55.0	42.2
Hungarian	8.6	12.9	7.5	0.3	0.9	*
German	4.2	5.8	3.8	1.5	1.2	1.6
Russian	2.5	4.0	2.1	5.0	4.1	5.3
Ruthenian, Ukrainian	3.6	1.5	4.1	*	*	*
Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian	0.3	0.2	0.3	*	0.2	*
Bulgarian	2.0	1.2	2.2	22.5	13.5	25.4
Czek, Slovakian	0.2	0.1	0.3	*	*	*
Polish	0.2	0.5	0.1	*	*	*
Jiddish	2.9	8.5	1.4	0.2	0.8	*
Greek	0.1	0.5	*	0.9	3.1	0.3
Albanian	*	*	*	*	0.2	*
Armenian	*	0.3	*	0.6	2.3	*
Turkish and Tatar	1.6	1.2	1.7	22.4	16.5	24.3
Romany (Gipsy)	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.7	1.3	0.5
Other languages	0.1	0.4	*	0.3	0.6	0.2
Undeclared	*	0.1	*	*	*	*

*) Te under 0.1%.

As to the other languages, the relatively high percentages of the population with Russian (5.0%) and German (1.5%) as their native tongues are to be noted. The other languages are spoken by groups representing each less than 1.0% of the population.

KNOWLEDGE OF THE RUMANIAN LANGUAGE

It has been stated that the minority peoples in Dobrogea represent 55.8% of the total population. They comprise, in particular, inhabitants recently incorporated in the province with the annexation of the Quadrilateral. This also explains the circumstance that the population in the counties of Caliacra and Durostor, recently annexed to Rumania, is largely ignorant of the Rumanian tongue.

TABLE 13 — DISTRIBUTION OF THE 'MINORITY' INHABITANTS OF DOBROGEA HAVING MOTHER TONGUES OTHER THAN RUMANIAN ACCORDING TO THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF RUMANIAN IN 1930

Class	Sex	Dobrogea		County			
		Absolute figures	%	Calia-cra	Constanța	Durostor	Tulcea
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Able to speak Rumanian . . .	Total	211,267	47.4	57,660	54,018	50,892	48,697
	Male	126,203	56.3	35,444	31,518	32,776	26,465
	Fem.	85,064	38.3	22,216	22,500	18,116	22,232
Unable to speak Rumanian	Total	233,105	52.2	71,005	26,253	118,305	17,542
	Male	97,101	43.3	28,979	9,983	51,697	6,442
	Fem.	136,004	61.3	42,026	16,270	66,608	11,100
Undeclared	Total	1,706	0.7	138	1,072	475	21
	Male	820	0.4	77	504	226	13
	Fem.	886	0.4	61	568	249	8

Of the 454,903 inhabitants of Dobrogea who are not of Rumanian origin, 211,267 have a knowledge of Rumanian. Those who do not know the language number 233,105; this figure comprises, of course, persons of all ages. The value of these data will be greater when they can be compared with those of the next census returns.

RELIGION

From the point of view, the population of Dobrogea is not as heterogenous as of religion it appears to be at first sight. A high proportion, namely, 72.3%, of the total population is of Orthodox faith. The Mahomedan religion is represented by 22.1% of the inhabitants. These two forms of worship thus account for 94.4% of the total population of the province, the remainder, namely, 5.6%, belonging to other religions.

Among the latter, mention may be made of the Lipovan sect, whose members represent 2.2% of the whole population. No other religion or sect reaches 1.0% of the population, a fact which contributes to the substantially homogenous religious character of Dobrogea.

FIGURE 14 – PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF DOBROGEA ACCORDING TO THE RELIGION OF THE INHABITANTS IN 1930

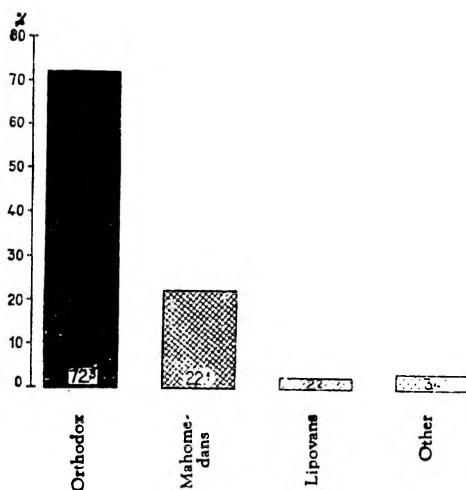


TABLE 15 – PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF RUMANIA AND OF DOBROGEA BY ENVIRONMENT ACCORDING TO THE RELIGION OF THE INHABITANTS IN 1930

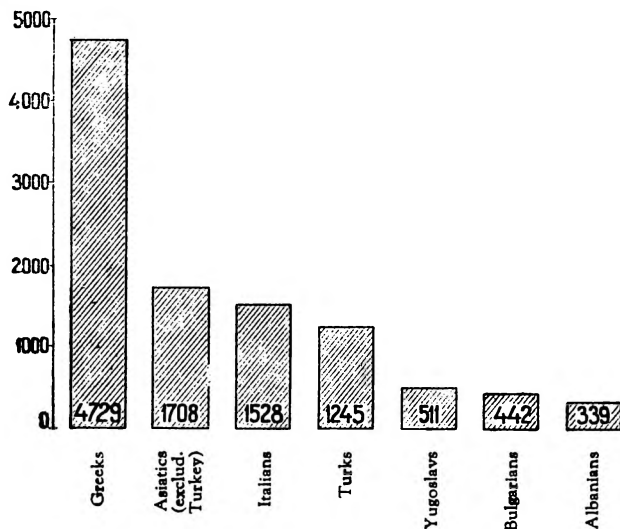
Religion	Rumania			Dobrogea		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Greek-Orthodox	72.6	60.9	75.6	72.3	75.2	71.3
Greek-Catholic	7.9	4.6	8.7	0.1	0.4	*
Roman-Catholic	6.8	10.3	5.9	0.9	1.6	0.7
Reformed (Calvinist)	3.9	4.9	3.7	0.1	0.4	*
Evangelical (Lutheran)	2.2	2.6	2.1	0.9	0.8	1.0
Unitarian	0.4	0.3	0.4	*	*	*
Armeno-Gregorian	*	0.3	*	0.5	2.0	*
Armeno-Catholic	*	*	*	*	*	*
Lipovan	0.3	0.3	0.3	2.2	0.2	2.8
Adventist	*	*	*	*	0.1	*
Baptist	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.2	*	0.2
Mosaic	4.2	14.2	1.6	0.5	1.9	*
Mahomedan	1.0	1.0	1.0	22.1	17.0	23.8
Other religions and sects	*	*	*	*	*	*
No religion; free thinkers	*	*	*	*	*	*
Undeclared	*	0.1	*	*	0.1	*

*) Under 0.1%

FOREIGNERS

There are 12,074 persons of foreign citizenship in Dobrogea. Of these, 991 only are in the counties of the Quadrilateral. The greatest number of them inhabit the county of Constanța.

FIGURE 16 — FOREIGN POPULATION OF DOBROGEA IN 1930



The majority of foreigners are Greeks; then follow the citizens of Asiatic countries (with Armenians as the most numerous group); Italians and Turks come next in order of numerical importance, the former in the county of Tulcea and the latter in the county of Constanța.

It may be concluded from these figures that the afflux of foreigners into Dobrogea is coming from the countries of the South-East and East. The number of immigrants from the West is negligible.

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION

The following table shows the distribution of the population in 15 important age-groups. A comparison is made in each case between Dobrogea and Rumania as a whole.

TABLE 17 — AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION IN 1930

Age-group and sex	Rumania		Dobrogea		Counties			
	Absolute figures	%	Absolute figures	%	Calia-cra	Constanța	Durostor	Tulcea
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Both sexes . . .	18,057,028	100.0	815,475	100.0	166,911	253,093	211,433	184,038
Males	8,886,833	49.2	414,657	50.8	84,926	131,688	106,256	91,787
Females	9,170,195	50.8	400,818	49.2	81,985	121,405	105,177	92,251
0—4 years	2,604,855	14.4	132,724	16.3	25,692	41,072	34,144	31,816
5—9 years	2,166,300	12.0	103,772	12.7	21,195	31,286	27,594	23,697
10—14 years	1,420,332	7.9	66,343	8.1	15,133	18,981	17,074	15,155
15—19 years	2,103,039	11.6	101,976	12.5	21,254	30,791	26,813	23,118
20—24 years	1,645,562	9.1	78,582	9.6	15,447	27,909	18,347	16,879
25—29 years	1,579,187	8.7	71,066	8.7	14,348	23,127	17,587	16,004
30—34 years	1,092,302	6.0	43,245	5.3	8,991	14,455	10,951	8,848
35—39 years	1,180,628	6.5	49,654	6.1	10,435	15,678	13,051	10,490
40—44 years	905,807	5.0	35,211	4.3	7,025	11,507	8,817	7,862
45—49 years	919,352	5.1	37,859	4.6	7,855	11,284	10,135	8,585
50—54 years	583,240	3.2	20,150	2.5	4,113	6,349	5,319	4,369
55—59 years	582,435	3.2	24,658	3.0	5,027	6,541	7,294	5,796
60—64 years	417,327	2.3	16,370	2.0	3,591	4,353	5,118	3,308
65—69 years	377,523	2.1	15,276	1.9	3,297	3,854	4,747	3,378
70 years and over	391,608	2.2	14,814	1.8	2,995	4,213	3,853	3,753
Undeclared . . .	87,531	0.5	3,775	0.5	513	1,693	589	980

The conclusion which results clearly from a comparison of the figures is that Dobrogea has a larger number of young persons than the rest of the country and fewer adults and old people than the whole of Rumania.

Up to the age of 25, the percentage for each group is higher in Dobrogea than in the remainder of the country. Between the ages of 25 and 29, the percentage is the same in both cases; while, above the age of 29, the percentage for Rumania is, without exception and for every group, higher than for Dobrogea. Of the total population of Dobrogea, 59.2% consists of persons of less than 25 years of age, while, for Rumania as a whole, the proportion is smaller, namely 55.1%. The proportion of the population of more than 30 years of age is 31.5% in Dobrogea, whereas in the country as a whole it reaches 35.6%. This difference in the composition of the population partly explains the high incidence of demographic phenomena in Dobrogea.

This does not explain, however, the higher birth-rate in Dobrogea, the statistical data showing that early marriages are less frequent here than in the remainder of the country; persons of between 20 and 30 years of age are no more numerous in Dobrogea than in the remainder of the country; as for persons between 30 years of age and the maximum age of reproduction, they are less numerous here than in other provinces.

TABLE 18 — AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION IN 1930

County	Age-group					
	0—6 years	7—12 years	13—19 years	20—64 years	65 years and over	Age not declared
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Male						
Dobrogea	90,376	48,307	65,092	193,063	15,763	2,056
Total Urban	16,167	9,746	15,116	57,595	3,502	837
Total Rural	74,209	38,561	49,976	135,468	12,261	1,219
County of Caliacra . .	17,583	10,480	13,920	39,280	3,345	318
County of Constanța . .	27,836	13,990	20,011	64,650	4,270	931
County of Durostor . .	23,499	13,033	16,679	48,371	4,356	318
County of Tulcea . . .	21,458	10,804	14,482	40,762	3,792	489
Female						
Dobrogea	88,040	45,634	67,366	183,732	14,327	1,719
Total Urban	15,735	9,647	15,358	48,668	3,512	595
Total Rural	72,305	35,987	52,008	135,064	10,815	1,124
County of Caliacra . .	17,232	9,820	14,239	37,552	2,947	195
County Constanța . . .	27,242	13,435	19,616	56,553	3,797	762
County of Durostor . .	22,584	12,094	17,736	48,248	4,244	271
County of Tulcea . . .	20,982	10,285	15,775	41,379	3,339	491

Table 20 shows the distribution of population by sex. Males are more numerous than females in Dobrogea (414,657 and 400,818 inhabitants, respectively).

By contrast, in Rumania as a whole there are fewer males than females, the ratios being 49.2% and 50.8%, respectively. Considered by counties, it may be noted that

FIGURE 19 — PERCENTAGE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF RUMANIA AND OF DOBROGEA IN 1930

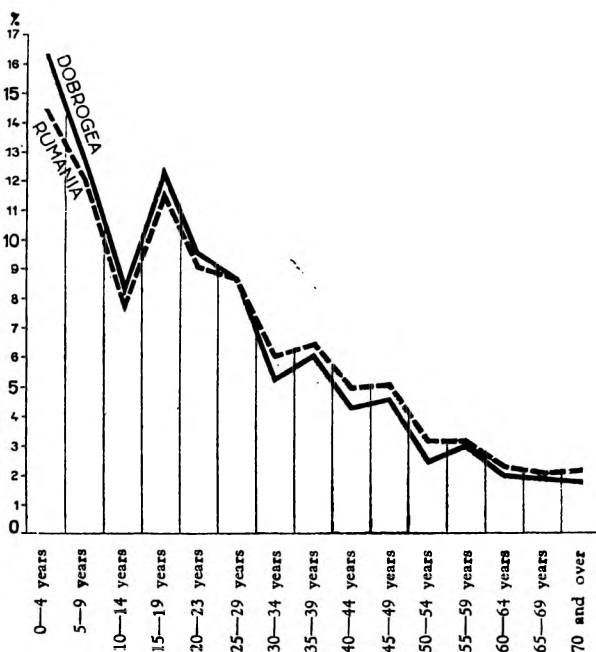


TABLE 20 — SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF DOBROGEA IN 1930

County, Town and District	Population census returns in:		Sex (1930)	
	1910 and 1912	1930	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5
Prov. of Dobrogea	658,187	815,475	414,657	400,818
Total Urban	147,650	196,478	102,963	93,515
Total Rural	510,537	618,997	311,694	307,303
County of Caliacra	*) 16,702	166,911	84,926	81,985
County of Constanța	**) 198,098	253,093	131,688	121,405
County of Durostor	*) 176,794	211,433	106,256	105,177
County of Tulcea	**) 166,593	184,038	91,787	92,251

*) 1910 census. **) 1912 census

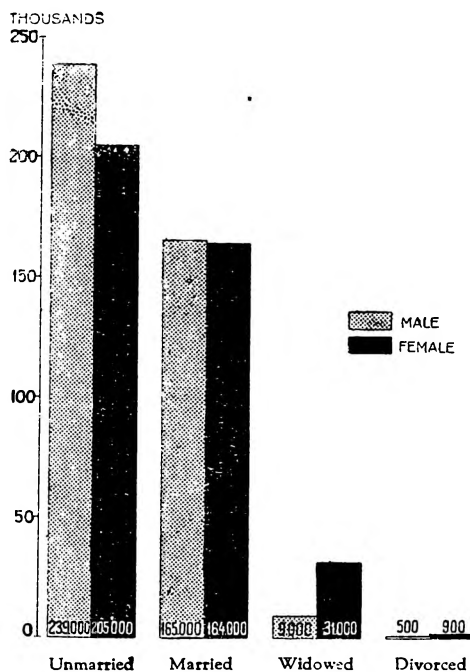
the population of Caliacra, Durostor and Tulcea is almost evenly divided between males and females; in the county of Constanța males are more numerous than females.

Table 18 shows the sex-ratio of the population by age-groups. For all age-groups except the 13—19 group, the number of males is greater than the number of females. The disproportion is particularly great in the case of adults; this is probably a consequence of immigratory movements into this province.

MARITAL CONDITION AND SEX

Celibacy is more frequent among men (including minors) than among women. Widows, on the other hand, are more numerous than widowers.

FIGURE 21 — MARITAL CONDITIONS OF THE INHABITANTS OF DOBROGEA IN 1930



These differences are much more considerable in towns than they are in villages, where the patriarchal type of family system has survived.

TABLE 22 — MARITAL CONDITION AND SEX OF THE INHABITANTS OF DOBROGEA

County	Marital condition				
	Unmar-ried	Married	Widowed	Divor-ced	Undeclared
1	2	3	4	5	6
Male					
Dobrogea	239,265	165,434	8,961	532	465
Total Urban	60,565	39,962	1,926	265	245
Total Rural	178,700	125,472	7,035	267	220
County of Caliacra	49,525	33,474	1,752	72	103
County of Constanța	78,832	49,515	2,859	273	209
County of Durostor	56,223	47,409	2,459	96	69
County of Tulcea	54,685	35,036	1,891	91	84
Female					
Dobrogea	204,634	163,645	31,210	899	430
Total Urban	44,468	38,275	10,030	518	224
Total Rural	160,166	125,370	21,180	381	206
County of Caliacra	42,627	33,009	6,155	113	81
County of Constanța	62,445	47,938	10,358	477	187
County of Durostor	49,597	47,671	7,662	146	101
County of Tulcea	49,965	35,027	7,035	163	61

TABLE 23 — HOUSEHOLDS, PHYSICAL DISABILITIES, AND FLOATING POPULATION IN 1930

Households, physical disability, floating population	Dobrogea			County			
	Total	Urban	Rural	Cali-acra	Constanța	Durostor	Tulcea
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Household units							
Households proper . . .	174,117	44,271	129,846	34,300	53,377	47,931	38,509
Collective establishments ¹⁾	672	333	339	129	327	125	91
Physical disabilities (both sexes)							
Blind	516	115	401	98	160	132	126
Deaf and dumb	589	90	499	114	170	149	156
Cripples	416	95	321	76	111	112	117
Persons having a temporary home	10,369	3,836	6,533	1,761	4,601	2,243	1,764
Males	7,007	2,348	4,659	1,104	3,028	1,638	1,237
Females	3,362	1,488	1,874	657	1,573	605	527
Rumanians	10,207	3,707	6,500	1,745	4,500	2,230	1,732
Foreigners	162	129	33	16	101	13	32

¹⁾ Including: barracks, asylums, boarding schools, convents, settlements, prisons, etc.

HOUSEHOLDS, PHYSICAL DISABILITIES, AND FLOATING POPULATION

The census returns indicate under the heading of households the *de facto* social units in which a family lives together (including domestic servants and all other persons living under the same roof but who are not related to the family). On the other hand, members of a family who are usually absent from the household (husbands, parents or children who have emigrated) are not included under this heading. At the time of the census there were in Dobrogea 174,117 households proper and 672 collective establishments (monasteries, boarding schools, hospitals, prisons, barracks, etc.)

In the total household population were found 1,521 persons suffering from a physical disability, namely, 516 blind persons, 589 deaf and dumb persons, 416 cripples.

The floating population amounted to 10,369 inhabitants, of whom 10,207 were Rumanian and 162 foreigners. The returns are shown in detail in table 27.

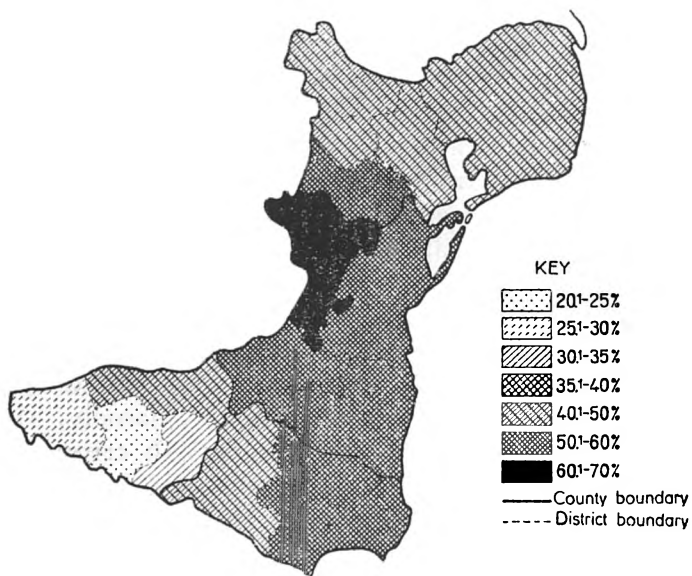
EDUCATION

52.9% of the population of over seven years of age to whom statistics on education in Dobrogea relate are able to read and write. The percentage of inhabitants who have had an elementary education is smaller in this province than in the country as a whole, where it averages 57.1%. According to sex, 65.1% of the males have had an elementary education as against 40.3% of the females. For Rumania as a whole, the percentages are 69.2% and 45.5%, respectively.

In Dobrogea, 68.5% of the urban population is literate as compared with 77.4% of the urban population of Rumania; in the villages, the percentages are 47.5% and 51.5%, respectively.

In general, education has spread considerably during past twenty years. In 1930, 52.9% of the inhabitants of Dobrogea possessed a knowledge of the three R's, as compared with 37.9% in 1910 — an increase of 15.0%. If the

FIGURE 24 — PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE LITERATE POPULATION OF DOBROGEA BY DISTRICTS IN 1930



progress of education continues at the same rate, in thirty years' time the number of illiterate persons will be negligible.

The following table indicates the educational condition in different counties:

TABLE 25 — PERCENTAGES OF LITERACY AMONG THE INHABITANTS OF DOBROGEA OVER 7 YEARS OF AGE IN 1910 AND IN 1930

Counties	1930 census			1910 and 1912 censuses ¹⁾ (both sexes)	Difference
	Total	Men	Women		
1	2	3	4	5	6
RUMANIA	57.1	60.2	45.5	39.3	17.8
Dobrogea	52.9	65.1	40.3	37.9	15.0
County of Caliacra .	54.2	65.9	42.0	} 27.9	17.6
County of Durostor	38.5	51.5	25.4		
County of Constanța	63.2	74.0	51.2		
County of Tulcea . .	54.3	67.3	41.5		
				45.7	8.6

¹⁾ In the counties of Constanța and Tulcea the census was held in 1912

It has been concluded from the above table that, every ten years, the percentage increase is 8.9 for the whole of Rumania and 7.5 for Dobrogea. The most notable progress has been achieved in the county of Constanța (10.2%) and the smallest in the county of Tulcea (4.8%). In the counties of the Quadrilateral, the number of illiterate persons has diminished in 10 years by 2.8%.

Compared with the other provinces of Rumania, education has, in recent times, been more widespread in Dobrogea than in Oltenia and in Bessarabia, as the following table indicates :

TABLE 26 – PERCENTAGE OF LITERACY AMONG THE INHABITANTS OF THE PROVINCES OF RUMANIA OVER 7 YEARS OF AGE IN 1930

Provinces	%
1	2
Banat	72.0
Transylvania	68.3
Bukovina	65.7
Crișana-Maramureș	61.5
Wallachia (Muntenia)	57.6
Moldavia	57.0
DOBROGEA	52.9
Oltenia	49.6
Bessarabia	38.2

The following table shows the percentage of the male and female, urban and rural, population of Dobrogea able to read and write :

TABLE 27 – PERCENTAGE OF LITERACY AMONG THE INHABITANTS OF RUMANIA AND OF DOBROGEA BY ENVIRONMENT AND BY SEX IN 1930

Environment and sex	Rumania %	Dobrogea %
1	2	3
Total (rural and urban)	57.0	52.9
Men	69.2	65.1
Women	45.5	40.3
Rural environment	51.5	47.5
Men	64.9	60.7
Women	38.7	34.1
Urban environment	77.4	68.5
Men	84.5	77.2
Women	70.3	58.9

An analysis of the various standards of education reached by the inhabitants of Dobrogea provides the following figures :

TABLE 28 — STANDARD OF EDUCATION OF THE POPULATION BY SEX AND BY ENVIRONMENT IN 1930

Standard of education	Sex	Towns		Villages	
		Rumania	Dobrogea	Rumania	Dobrogea
1	2	3	4	5	6
Self-educated	Total	2.3	1.4	1.2	4.0
	Men.	2.1	1.4	1.3	1.0
	Women	2.5	1.5	1.1	0.9
Primary education	Total	66.3	73.3	93.0	94.1
	Men.	65.7	72.9	92.5	93.4
	Women	66.7	73.8	93.8	95.2
Secondary education	Total	19.5	17.4	4.0	3.8
	Men.	17.3	16.2	4.0	4.3
	Women	22.2	19.3	4.1	3.1
Technical education	Total	7.5	5.4	1.4	1.0
	Men.	8.4	6.3	1.7	1.1
	Women	6.5	4.1	0.9	0.7
University education	Total	2.9	1.6	0.3	0.1
	Men.	4.0	1.9	0.5	0.2
	Women	1.7	1.1	0.1	*
Other advanced education	Total	1.5	0.9	*	*
	Men.	2.4	1.4	*	*
	Women	0.4	0.2	*	*

*) Under 0.1%

The above table reveals the very small number of persons of higher education both in the villages and in the towns of Dobrogea; the figure is considerably below the average for the whole country.

The standard of education may be gauged more accurately from the following table, which gives figures relating to the various main occupational groups :

TABLE 29 – PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY STANDARD OF EDUCATION AND BY OCCUPATION IN 1930 ¹⁾

Standard of education	Agriculture		Industry		Trade and transport		Other occupation	
	Rumania	Dobrogea	Rumania	Dobrogea	Rumania	Dobrogea	Rumania	Dobrogea
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Illiteracy	50.0	51.8	21.4	29.4	15.9	24.1	24.6	35.2
Self-educated	0.5	0.4	1.4	1.0	2.4	0.9	1.7	0.9
Primary education	47.5	45.8	63.0	59.3	57.5	56.8	43.5	42.9
Secondary education	1.1	1.4	8.3	7.6	15.8	12.8	18.0	13.3
Technical education	0.4	0.3	3.8	2.1	6.3	4.1	5.9	4.2
University education	*	*	0.3	0.2	1.0	0.5	3.9	1.7
Other advanced education	*	*	0.4	0.1	0.7	0.4	1.5	0.8
Undeclared	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.8	1.0

¹⁾ For Rumania the data are provisional *) Under 0.1%

The difference between the condition in Rumania and that in Dobrogea is widest in the trade and transport group.

Finally, the following table gives comparative figures of illiteracy in the villages and in the towns according to age:

TABLE 30 – PERCENTAGE INCIDENCE OF ILLITERACY BY SEX AND BY AGE-GROUP IN 1930

Age-group, sex	Urban environment		Rural environment		
	Rumania	Dobrogea	Rumania	Dobrogea	
1	2	3	4	5	
<i>Both sexes</i>					
7–12 years		12.8	21.7	30.5	32.7
13–19 years		14.0	22.7	37.5	43.5
20–64 years		24.6	33.4	53.9	58.4
65 years and over		51.7	68.4	77.2	87.3
<i>Male</i>					
7–12 years		11.1	20.5	25.2	27.8
13–19 years		9.0	17.4	25.2	33.9
20–64 years		16.3	22.8	37.4	41.0
65 years and over		41.1	53.5	69.9	78.9
<i>Female</i>					
7–12 years		14.6	22.8	36.0	37.9
13–19 years		18.8	27.9	49.0	52.8
20–64 years		32.9	45.9	69.2	75.9
65 years and over		60.4	83.4	85.0	96.9

Education is of recent introduction in Dobrogea: 87.3% of the inhabitants (96.9% of the women) over 65 years of age are illiterate, the number of illiterates being greatest in the villages.

OCCUPATIONS

Of the 815,475 inhabitants of Dobrogea, 450,395 are actively engaged in an occupation. The percentage of working population is 55.2 (58.2% in the villages and 46.0% in the towns); in the whole of Rumania, the percentage is 58.4, the difference being due to the high proportion of children and old persons.

TABLE 31 – TOTAL POPULATION AND WORKING POPULATION OF RUMANIA AND OF DOBROGEA IN 1930

Population	Rumania	Dobrogea
1	2	3
<i>Total population</i>		
Urban and rural	18,057,028	815,475
Urban	3,651,039	196,478
Rural	14,405,989	618,997
<i>Working population (absolute figures)</i>		
Urban and rural	*) 10,542,900	450,395
Urban	1,823,900	90,295
Rural	8,719,000	360,100
<i>Working population (percentages)</i>		
Urban and rural	*) 58.4	55.2
Urban	50.0	46.0
Rural	60.5	58.2

*) Provisional returns

The salient feature of the distribution of working population in the principal occupational groups is that the majority of the population is engaged on the land. Agriculture accounts for 350,869, or 77.9%, of the 450,395 occupied inhabitants of Dobrogea. 24,641, or 5.5%, of the working population are occupied in industry; 2.8% in commerce and finance; 2.3% in transport; and 5.8%, or

TABLE 32 — WORKING POPULATION OF RUMANIA AND OF DOBROGEA BY OCCUPATION AND BY SEX IN 1930

Occupational group	Rumania ¹⁾			Dobrogea		
	Total	Male	Fem.	Total	Male	Fem.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Absolute figures

Total	²⁾ 10,542.9	²⁾ 5,745.9	²⁾ 4,797.0	450,395	262,802	187,593
Agriculture	8,244.5	4,063.6	4,180.9	350,869	181,530	169,339
Industry and mining	759.1	617.9	141.2	24,641	21,237	3,404
Trade and banking	337.4	226.0	111.4	12,576	10,111	2,465
Transport	179.2	161.5	17.7	10,410	9,924	486
Public services	485.0	386.0	99.0	26,072	22,923	3,149
Public health, sport, entertainment	105.4	63.6	41.8	4,903	3,438	1,465
Other	432.3	227.3	205.0	20,924	13,639	7,285

Percentage by occupational group

Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture	78.2	70.7	87.1	77.9	69.1	90.3
Industry and mining	7.2	10.8	2.9	5.5	8.1	1.8
Trade and banking	3.2	3.9	2.3	2.8	3.8	1.3
Transport	1.7	2.8	0.4	2.3	3.8	0.2
Public services	4.6	6.7	2.1	5.8	8.7	1.7
Public health, sport, entertainment	1.0	1.1	0.9	1.1	1.3	0.8
Other	4.1	4.0	4.3	4.6	5.2	3.9

Percentage by sex

Total	100.0	54.5	45.5	100.0	58.3	41.7
Agriculture	100.0	49.3	50.7	100.0	51.7	48.3
Industry and mining	100.0	81.4	18.6	100.0	86.2	13.8
Trade and banking	100.0	67.2	33.0	100.0	80.4	19.6
Transport	100.0	90.1	9.9	100.0	95.3	4.7
Public services	100.0	79.6	20.4	100.0	87.9	12.1
Public health, sport, entertainment	100.0	60.3	39.7	100.0	70.1	29.9
Other	100.0	52.6	47.4	100.0	65.2	34.8

¹⁾ Provisional returns ²⁾ In thousands

TABLE 33 — OCCUPATIONAL CONDITION OF THE POPULATION OF DOBROGEA BY OCCUPATION AND BY ENVIRONMENT IN 1930

Occupational group, environment	Working population											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
		Grand total	Total working population	Property owners, fund- holders, pen- sioners	Employers	Liberal pro- fessions	Employees	Apprentices	Others	Dependents	Domestic Servants	Unoccupied population
All occupations		815,475	450,395	6,769	141,383	648	42,343	4,083	43,594	203,905	7,670	365,080
Rural		618,997	360,100	2,113	121,745	164	18,028	1,259	20,603	193,791	2,397	258,897
Urban		196,478	90,295	4,656	19,638	484	24,315	2,824	22,991	10,114	5,273	106,183
1. Agriculture		588,017	350,869	384	121,346	1	8,573	20	17,359	202,009	1,177	237,148
Rural		553,518	331,308	251	113,946	—	7,214	2	16,472	192,515	908	222,210
Urban		34,499	19,561	133	7,400	1	1,359	18	887	9,494	269	14,938
2. Mining		2,955	1,051	—	38	—	802	15	174	1	21	1,904
Rural		2,169	753	—	10	—	627	8	97	—	11	1,416
Urban		786	298	—	28	—	175	7	77	1	10	488
3. Metallurgy		14,090	5,306	—	2,661	—	1,692	654	75	123	101	8,784
Rural		7,161	2,610	—	1,623	—	566	287	3	101	30	4,551
Urban		6,929	2,696	—	1,038	—	1,126	367	72	22	71	4,233
4. Timber		7,936	3,311	—	1,728	—	933	343	151	132	24	4,625
Rural		3,724	1,613	—	1,063	—	290	122	4	126	8	2,111
Urban		4,212	1,698	—	665	—	643	221	147	6	16	2,514
5. Building		6,412	2,253	—	850	10	1,148	88	101	9	47	4,159
Rural		1,399	475	—	256	—	190	10	12	5	2	924
Urban		5,013	1,778	—	594	10	958	78	89	4	45	3,235

7. <i>Textils and clothing</i>	16,624	8,472	—	4,236	1	2,611	1,477	27	26	94	8,152
Rural	5,748	3,344	—	2,048	1	714	542	3	10	26	2,404
Urban	10,876	5,128	—	2,188	—	1,897	935	24	16	68	5,748
8. <i>Foodstuffs, Tobacco</i>	8,988	3,417	—	1,282	—	1,457	137	115	89	337	5,571
Rural	2,434	970	—	379	—	370	32	29	51	109	1,464
Urban	6,554	2,447	—	903	—	1,087	105	86	38	228	4,107
8. <i>Chemicals, paper, Printing</i>	1,144	528	—	135	—	266	66	26	7	28	616
Rural	166	70	—	35	—	20	5	4	2	4	96
Urban	978	458	—	100	—	246	61	22	5	24	520
9. <i>Other industries</i>	572	303	—	22	—	137	104	28	—	12	269
Rural	115	68	—	1	—	33	32	1	—	1	47
Urban	457	235	—	21	—	104	72	27	—	11	222
10. <i>Banking, middlemen</i>	2,261	981	—	85	—	665	11	6	1	213	1,280
Rural	311	127	—	2	—	116	2	—	—	7	184
Urban	1,950	854	—	83	—	549	9	6	1	206	1,096
11. <i>Trade</i>	28,598	11,595	—	6,083	—	1,920	666	132	1,371	1,423	17,003
Rural	7,231	3,262	—	1,728	—	249	129	11	912	233	3,969
Urban	21,367	8,333	—	4,355	—	1,671	537	121	459	1,190	13,034
12. <i>Transport</i>	29,892	10,410	—	1,614	—	5,691	152	2,409	36	508	19,482
Rural	3,512	1,116	—	165	—	762	16	128	9	36	2,396
Urban	26,380	9,294	—	1,449	—	4,929	136	2,281	27	472	17,086
13. <i>Public Services</i>	45,186	26,072	—	—	—	14,062	83	9,852	—	1,803	19,114
Rural	15,182	7,484	—	—	—	6,408	4	573	—	480	7,698
Urban	30,004	18,588	—	—	—	7,654	79	9,279	—	1,323	11,416
14. <i>Miscellaneous</i>	58,258	23,572	6,385	1,302	364	1,823	199	11,633	100	1,766	34,686
Rural	15,029	6,331	1,862	489	144	369	49	2,830	59	529	8,698
Urban	43,229	17,241	4,523	813	220	1,454	150	8,803	41	1,237	25,988
15. <i>Undeclared</i>	4,542	2,255	—	1	—	563	68	1,506	1	116	2,287
Rural	1,298	569	—	—	—	100	19	436	1	13	729
Urban	3,244	1,686	—	1	—	463	49	1,070	—	103	1,558

26,072 inhabitants, in public services. In the agricultural group the number of women is approximately equal to the number of men; this is to be explained by the circumstance that the land in Dobrogea is worked by family units. The proportion of women working in agriculture is, however, smaller in Dobrogea than in the country as a whole.

<u>Population actively engaged in agriculture</u>	<u>Rumania</u>	<u>Dobrogea</u>
Men	49.2	51.5
Women	50.8	48.5

The difference between male and female employment is much more appreciable in industry and trade. In the whole of Rumania, 84.8% of the persons engaged in industrial work are men and 15.2% are women. In Dobrogea the percentages are 86.2% and 13.8%, respectively.

The proportion of women engaged in industry is much smaller in Dobrogea than in the remainder of the country. The same is true for trade, in which the ratio of feminine employment is much smaller than in the remainder of the country. This is due to the manner of life of the inhabitants of this province, where, in most cases, a patriarchal type of family life has survived. This, in turn, explains the decreasing number of unmarried couples, the small ratio of illegitimate births, and a birth-rate which is higher here than in Rumania as a whole.

Table 33 shows the occupational condition of the inhabitants of Dobrogea according to occupational groups and to environmental conditions.

The figures indicating the distribution of the population by occupations represent only a small part of the data collected by the Central Institute of Statistics. The publication of all the information and, in particular, of the individual returns on occupational condition would be a task of considerable size. The following tables, therefore, provide only brief information on distribution by age and by sex, as well as on the standard of education of the population in the various occupations.

TABLE 34 — TOTAL POPULATION OF DOBROGEA BY OCCUPATION, AGE-GROUP AND SEX IN 1930

Occupational group	Total		0 to 12 years		13 to 20 years		21 to 40 years		41 to 64 years		65 years and over		Age not declared		
	Both sexes	Male	Fem.	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Grand total.	815,475	414,657	400,818	138,683	133,674	71,888	72,776	120,029	114,075	66,238	64,247	15,763	14,327	2,056	1,719
Agriculture	588,017	293,338	294,679	107,242	102,768	51,570	54,378	74,360	79,422	47,060	47,053	12,136	10,071	970	987
Mining	2,955	1,614	1,341	516	498	289	184	494	453	268	163	44	41	3	2
Metallurgy	14,090	8,037	6,053	2,534	2,315	1,802	854	2,214	1,884	1,237	805	200	175	50	20
Timber	7,936	4,594	3,342	1,300	1,209	1,206	517	1,289	1,004	639	495	145	112	15	5
Building	6,412	3,368	3,044	976	1,055	502	432	1,088	1,024	675	460	116	62	11	11
Textiles, clothing	16,624	8,515	8,109	2,168	2,025	2,603	2,204	2,591	2,551	949	1,030	162	268	42	31
Foodstuffs. Tobacco	8,988	4,901	4,087	1,427	1,291	805	649	1,559	1,406	938	586	155	143	17	12
Chemicals, paper. Printing.	1,144	638	506	147	131	172	113	212	172	86	76	17	14	4	—
Other industries	572	349	223	69	59	124	54	98	77	50	27	4	3	4	3
Banking, middlemen	2,261	1,098	1,163	249	270	165	245	431	430	221	171	26	43	6	4
Trade	28,598	14,739	13,859	4,085	3,993	2,643	2,403	3,962	4,507	3,438	2,350	500	523	111	83
Transport	29,892	15,753	14,139	4,822	4,924	2,056	1,995	5,743	5,093	2,750	1,705	283	337	99	85
Public services	45,186	28,926	16,260	4,775	4,816	2,146	2,706	18,597	6,118	2,717	2,058	339	432	352	130
Miscellaneous	58,258	26,116	32,142	7,898	7,795	5,250	5,685	6,304	9,350	4,885	7,025	1,592	2,062	187	225
Undeclared	4,542	2,671	1,871	475	525	555	357	1,087	584	325	243	44	41	185	121

TABLE 35 — STANDARD OF EDUCATION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF DOBROGEA BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP IN 1930

Occupational groups	Standard of education												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	Grand total	Working	Unoccupied	Children under the school age	Illiterate	Self-taught	Primary	Secondary	Technical	University	Other advanced education	Undeclared	
Grand Total	815,475	450,395	365,080	178,782	290,204	3,721	300,790	28,128	8,185	2,052	1,141	2,472	
Agriculture	588,017	350,869	237,148	139,430	232,195	1,971	205,523	6,059	1,307	192	130	1,210	
Mining	2,955	1,051	1,904	735	1,012	16	1,101	55	28	5	1	2	
Metallurgy	14,090	5,306	8,784	3,271	3,977	136	5,825	590	247	9	11	24	
Timber	7,936	3,311	4,625	1,723	2,302	34	3,394	316	149	4	3	11	
Building	6,412	2,253	4,159	1,271	1,401	46	3,126	406	116	10	19	17	
Textiles and clothing	16,624	8,472	8,152	2,588	2,838	131	9,450	1,310	248	18	5	36	
Foodstuffs, tobacco	8,988	3,417	5,571	1,626	2,126	84	4,209	730	153	21	9	30	
Chemicals, paper, printing	1,144	528	616	169	156	10	593	149	43	5	8	11	
Other industries	572	303	269	73	91	11	309	53	25	3	4	3	
Banking, middlemen	2,261	981	1,280	308	227	17	784	533	310	35	44	3	
Trade	28,598	11,595	17,003	4,537	4,439	265	14,055	4,118	877	158	56	93	
Transport	29,892	10,410	19,482	6,406	7,260	144	13,261	1,685	869	64	108	95	
Public services	45,186	26,072	19,114	6,071	6,617	438	19,559	7,821	2,622	1,101	603	354	
Miscellaneous	58,258	23,572	34,686	9,939	24,349	367	18,068	3,765	1,017	401	122	230	
Undeclared	4,542	2,255	2,287	635	1,214	51	1,533	538	174	26	18	353	

The following diagram illustrates the ratio of Rumanians to non-Rumanians in the various occupations:

FIGURE 36 — PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RUMANIANS AND NON-RUMANIANS BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP IN 1930

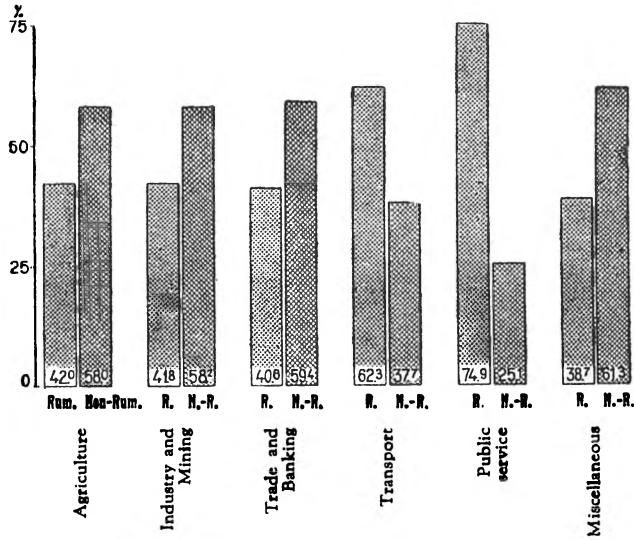


Table 37 provides data on occupations according to nativity.

There is a high ratio of Rumanians, Germans, Russians and Bulgarians engaged on the land (agriculture, animal husbandry, fish-culture, forestry, etc.).

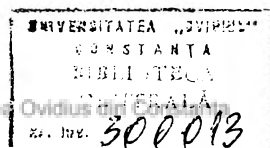


TABLE 37 — DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF DOBROGEA BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, BY ETHNIC GROUPS AND BY ENVIRONMENT IN 1930

Occupational group and environment	Ethnic groups													
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	Grand total	Rumanians	Hungarians	Germans	Russians	Bulgarians	Jews	Serbs	Ruthenians	Greeks	Various small ethnic groups	Others	Undeclared	
All occupations	815,475	360,572	2,194	12,581	27,426	185,279	3,795	962	96	9,023	197,801	15,480	266	
Rural	618,997	257,541	284	10,102	20,338	158,385	218	413	44	1,877	156,580	13,127	88	
Urban	196,478	103,031	1,910	2,479	7,088	26,894	3,577	549	52	7,146	41,221	2,553	178	
1. Agriculture	588,017	246,678	130	8,974	19,906	153,519	74	349	37	1,602	146,672	10,029	47	
Rural	553,518	226,437	93	8,383	17,867	147,419	32	326	32	1,395	142,191	9,313	30	
Urban	34,499	20,241	37	591	2,039	6,100	42	23	5	207	4,481	716	17	
2. Mining	2,955	1,669	23	56	219	65	—	30	1	38	239	615	—	
Rural	2,169	1,261	10	35	99	35	—	24	1	3	151	550	—	
Urban	786	408	13	21	120	30	—	6	—	35	88	65	—	
3. Metallurgy	14,090	5,299	50	443	183	2,759	238	22	4	290	4,687	115	—	
Rural	7,161	2,297	7	292	99	1,693	8	2	3	52	2,663	45	—	
Urban	6,929	3,002	43	151	84	1,066	230	20	1	238	2,024	70	—	
4. Timber	7,936	3,640	36	250	416	1,470	31	14	—	108	1,814	149	8	
Rural	3,724	1,758	3	193	196	682	—	4	—	24	782	82	—	
Urban	4,212	1,882	33	57	220	788	31	10	—	84	1,032	67	8	
5. Building	6,412	2,880	133	200	223	1,522	45	34	—	270	884	221	—	
Rural	1,399	383	4	58	50	530	1	4	—	45	312	12	—	
Urban	5,013	2,497	129	142	173	992	44	30	—	225	572	209	—	

6. Textiles and clothing	16,624	7,034	50	206	375	5,018	271	14	5	444	3,081	125	1
Rural	5,748	2,647	3	137	157	2,112	14	5	—	53	547	73	—
Urban	10,876	4,387	47	69	218	2,906	257	9	5	391	2,534	52	1
7. Foodstuffs, tobacco	8,988	3,176	110	350	345	1,785	65	121	2	679	2,294	60	1
Rural	2,434	924	27	209	117	578	6	22	1	46	469	34	1
Urban	6,554	2,252	83	141	228	1,207	59	99	1	633	1,825	26	—
8. Chemicals, paper, Printing	1,144	551	7	41	29	237	29	2	—	56	180	12	—
Rural	166	54	—	16	—	53	1	—	—	1	40	1	—
Urban	978	497	7	25	29	184	28	2	—	55	140	11	—
10. Other industries	572	312	9	21	39	42	14	—	—	33	82	20	—
Rural	115	46	—	9	7	16	—	—	—	4	27	6	—
Urban	457	266	9	12	32	26	14	—	—	29	55	14	—
10. Banking, middlemen	2,261	1,302	9	22	35	363	223	2	—	144	130	31	—
Rural	311	233	—	5	—	57	4	—	—	5	1	6	—
Urban	1,950	1,069	9	17	35	306	219	2	—	139	129	25	—
11. Trade	28,598	11,241	67	263	658	5,875	1,533	79	8	2,298	6,206	360	10
Rural	7,231	3,437	5	98	248	1,741	87	4	6	164	1,227	213	1
Urban	21,367	7,804	62	165	410	4,134	1,446	75	2	2,134	4,979	147	9
12. Transport	29,892	18,612	246	388	1,266	1,452	225	179	4	1,141	6,069	302	8
Rural	3,512	2,340	12	65	114	363	5	7	—	14	508	84	—
Urban	26,380	16,272	234	323	1,152	1,089	220	172	4	1,127	5,561	218	8
13. Public services	45,186	33,846	1,151	500	983	3,026	497	34	22	298	4,408	380	41
Rural	15,182	11,019	119	177	308	1,095	37	6	1	10	2,216	193	1
Urban	30,004	22,827	1,032	323	675	1,931	460	28	21	288	2,192	187	40
14. Miscellaneous	58,258	22,355	157	806	2,590	7,562	421	70	13	1,418	19,845	2,987	34
Rural	15,029	4,113	1	397	1,026	1,853	23	4	—	60	5,077	2,469	6
Urban	43,229	18,242	156	409	1,564	5,709	398	66	13	1,358	14,768	518	28
15. Undeclared	4,542	1,977	16	61	159	584	129	12	—	204	1,210	74	116
Rural	1,298	592	—	28	50	158	—	5	—	1	369	46	49
Urban	3,244	1,385	16	33	109	426	129	7	—	203	841	28	67

The Hungarians are occupied in public services and, to a small extent, in industry. As for Jews and Greeks, they are engaged most frequently in trade, in certain industrial undertakings and in the so-called liberal professions. It is not possible to determine the exact distribution of the Turkish population, which is often dispersed among other nationalities appearing in groups in various parts of the country.

It may be generally assumed, however, that an appreciable proportion of the figures shown under the heading «other nationalities» is attributable to the Turkish population, the majority of which is engaged in agriculture.

COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSEHOLDS

A few data on the family structure of the population of Dobrogea may throw some light on the demographic and social conditions of that province.

The structure of the family units including the 815,475 inhabitants of Dobrogea is as follows:

TABLE 38 — THE POPULATION OF DOBROGEA ACCORDING TO THE COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSEHOLDS IN 1930

Position in household	Number of inhabitants	
	Absolute figures	Percentage
1	2	3
Total	815,475	100.0
Heads of households	174,117	21.4
Other members of families	608,760	74.7
Domestic servants	10,320	1.3
Tenants, lodgers	2,849	0.3
Apprentices and hired workers	1,725	0.2
Others and undeclared	1,226	0.1
Members of collective establishments	16,478	2.0

From the social point of view, the county of Constanța has rapidly developed; hence the high figures shown in the table given below.

In the other counties, the mass of the population consists of heads of households and members of their families.

TABLE 39 — COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN DOBROGEA BY SEX AND BY COUNTY IN 1930

Position in household	Sex	Dobrogea		County			
		Absolute figures	%	Caliacra	Constanța	Durostor	Tulcea
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Total inhabitants . . .	Total	815,475	100.0	166,911	253,093	211,433	184,038
	Male	414,657	50.8	84,926	131,688	106,256	91,787
	Fem.	400,818	49.2	81,985	121,405	105,177	92,251
Heads of family . . .	Total	174,117	21.4	34,300	53,377	47,931	38,509
	Male	155,798	19.1	30,933	47,190	44,259	33,416
	Fem.	18,319	2.2	3,367	6,187	3,672	5,093
Other members of family	Total	608,760	74.7	127,581	180,925	159,713	140,541
	Male	232,670	28.5	49,697	69,172	58,846	54,955
	Fem.	376,090	46.1	77,884	111,753	100,867	85,586
Domestic servants . . .	Total	10,320	1.3	2,002	5,377	1,094	1,847
	Male	6,066	0.7	1,455	3,054	663	894
	Fem.	4,254	0.5	547	2,323	431	953
Lodgers	Total	2,849	0.3	285	1,823	408	333
	Male	1,985	0.2	204	1,298	265	218
	Fem.	864	0.1	81	525	143	115
Hired workers, apprentices	Total	1,725	0.2	85	1,135	113	392
	Male	1,588	0.2	78	1,078	108	324
	Fem.	137	*	7	57	5	68
Others	Total	1,191	0.1	89	795	139	168
	Male	871	0.1	44	600	110	117
	Fem.	320	*	45	195	29	51
Persons living in collective institutions . . .	Total	16,478	2.0	2,565	9,640	2,030	2,243
	Male	15,660	1.9	2,512	9,284	2,002	1,862
	Fem.	818	0.1	53	356	28	381
Position in household not stated	Total	35	*	4	21	5	5
	Male	19	*	3	12	3	1
	Fem.	16	*	1	9	2	4

*) Under 0.1%

In the counties of Constanța and Tulcea, a relatively high number of heads of households are women. In all the counties of the province, the most numerous group of households consists of families of four persons. Larger households are, however, also very numerous.

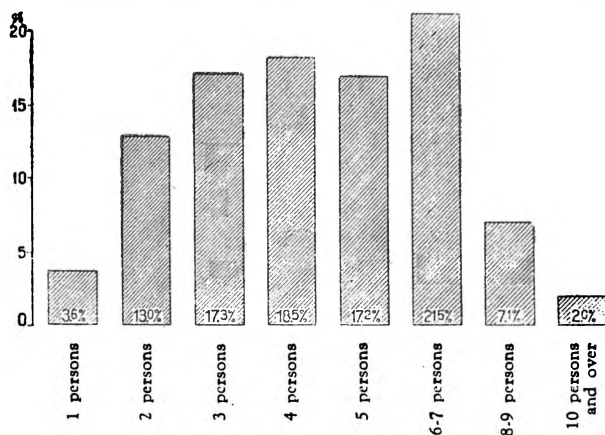
TABLE 40 — DISTRIBUTION OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD BY SEX AND COUNTY ACCORDING TO SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD IN 1930

Households of:	Sex of heads of households	Dobrogea		County			
		Absolute figures	%	Caliacra	Constanța	Durostor	Tulcea
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Total of households	Total	174,117	100.0	34,300	53,377	47,931	38,509
	Male	155,798	89.5	30,933	47,190	44,259	33,416
	Fem.	18,319	10.5	3,367	6,187	3,672	5,093
1 person	Total	6,209	3.6	1,086	2,264	1,375	1,484
	Male	3,250	1.9	734	1,192	688	636
	Fem.	2,959	1.7	352	1,072	687	848
2 persons	Total	22,580	13.0	3,523	7,379	7,032	4,646
	Male	18,643	10.7	2,887	6,096	6,059	3,601
	Fem.	3,937	2.3	636	1,283	973	1,045
3 persons	Total	30,061	17.3	5,485	9,441	8,882	6,253
	Male	26,186	15.0	4,777	8,165	8,051	5,193
	Fem.	3,875	2.2	708	1,276	831	1,060
4 persons	Total	32,183	18.5	6,372	9,359	9,631	6,821
	Male	29,082	16.7	5,706	8,372	9,088	5,916
	Fem.	3,101	1.8	666	987	543	905
5 persons	Total	29,926	17.2	6,286	8,512	8,789	6,339
	Male	27,828	16.0	5,831	7,793	8,483	5,721
	Fem.	2,098	1.2	455	719	306	618
6 persons	Total	22,805	13.1	4,882	6,649	6,022	5,252
	Male	21,602	12.4	4,619	6,228	5,837	4,918
	Fem.	1,203	0.7	263	421	185	334
7 persons	Total	14,582	8.4	3,154	4,557	3,353	3,518
	Male	13,987	8.0	3,001	4,334	3,279	3,373
	Fem.	595	0.3	153	223	74	145
8 persons	Total	8,202	4.7	1,784	2,699	1,545	2,174
	Male	7,893	4.5	1,714	2,585	1,505	2,089
	Fem.	309	0.2	70	114	40	85
9 persons	Total	4,108	2.4	901	1,355	711	1,141
	Male	3,975	2.3	866	1,300	694	1,115
	Fem.	133	*	35	55	17	26
10—15 persons	Total	3,433	2.0	821	1,153	584	875
	Male	3,329	1.9	792	1,117	570	850
	Fem.	104	*	29	36	14	25
16 persons and above	Total	28	*	6	9	7	6
	Male	23	*	6	8	5	4
	Fem.	5	*	—	1	2	2

*) Under 0.9%

Of the 174,117 households returned in the census: 28 consist of more than 16 members; 3,433 of between 10 and 15 members; 4,108 of 9 members; 8,202 of 8 members; 29,926 of 5 members; and 32,183 of 4 members. These last figures correspond approximately with the average for the whole country.

FIGURE 41 — PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN DOBROGEA BY SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD IN 1930



For more than two-thirds of the households, the number of members is higher than the average for the whole country. This shows that, from the biological point of view, the family is a flourishing institution in Dobrogea, as is shown also by the longevity of the inhabitants and the high birth-rate.

BIRTHPLACE

The birthplace of the inhabitants is a problem of particular importance in Dobrogea. The demographic structure of the province is not yet settled. The density of population being not very high, it is certain that the infiltration of a new population is taking place and that this process will have an influence on the final character of the province. Scarcely 532,149 of the 815,475 inhabitants returned in the census of Dobrogea were born in the localities where they

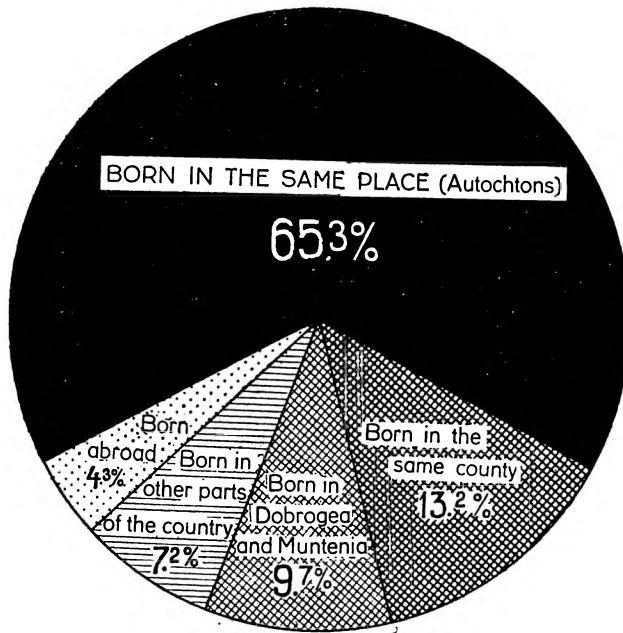
TABLE 42 — DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF DOBROGEA BY COUNTY ACCORDING TO THE BIRTH-PLACE OF THE INHABITANTS IN 1930

Place of birth	Sex	Dobrogea		County			
		Absolute figures	%	Caliactra	Constanța	Durostor	Tulcea
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Total number of inhabitants	Total	815,475	100.0	166,911	253,093	211,433	184,038
	Male	414,657	50.8	84,926	131,688	106,256	91,787
	Fem.	400,818	49.2	81,985	121,405	105,177	92,251
Place of census return (autochthonous population)	Total	532,149	65.3	98,358	132,018	157,153	144,620
	Male	274,683	33.7	50,765	68,540	81,959	73,419
	Fem.	257,466	31.6	47,593	63,478	75,194	71,201
Villages of same county	Total	98,187	12.0	20,844	33,236	24,957	19,150
	Male	39,555	4.8	8,577	14,364	8,995	7,619
	Fem.	58,632	7.2	12,267	18,872	15,962	11,531
Towns of same county	Total	9,617	1.2	2,336	2,914	1,574	2,793
	Male	4,257	0.5	1,007	1,381	645	1,224
	Fem.	5,360	0.7	1,329	1,533	929	1,569
Oltenia	Total	21,295	2.6	8,600	9,382	2,799	514
	Male	12,076	1.5	4,537	5,673	1,534	332
	Fem.	9,219	1.1	4,063	3,709	1,265	182
Wallachia and Dobrogea	Total	79,420	9.7	20,574	43,220	10,150	5,476
	Male	42,505	5.2	11,179	23,141	5,302	2,883
	Fem.	36,915	4.5	9,395	20,079	4,848	2,593
Moldavia	Total	11,638	1.4	841	5,655	669	4,473
	Male	6,372	0.8	511	3,143	411	2,307
	Fem.	5,266	0.6	330	2,512	258	2,166
Bessarabia	Total	12,022	1.5	1,544	6,905	335	3,238
	Male	6,952	0.9	913	4,158	227	1,654
	Fem.	5,070	0.6	631	2,747	108	1,584
Bukovina	Total	715	*	41	501	63	110
	Male	371	*	23	247	42	59
	Fem.	344	*	18	254	21	51
Transylvania, Banat and Crișana-Maramureș	Total	13,006	1.6	1,102	9,794	681	1,429
	Male	7,623	0.9	717	5,580	471	855
	Fem.	5,383	0.7	385	4,214	210	574
Abroad (neighbouring countries or closely related countries)	Total	29,667	3.6	11,780	5,164	11,338	1,385
	Male	15,677	1.9	6,144	2,933	5,778	822
	Fem.	13,990	1.7	5,636	2,231	5,560	563
Abroad (other countries)	Total	5,269	0.7	583	3,001	1,391	294
	Male	2,954	0.4	327	1,710	722	195
	Fem.	2,315	0.3	256	1,291	669	99
Undeclared	Total	2,490	0.3	308	1,303	323	556
	Male	1,632	0.2	226	818	170	418
	Fem.	858	0.1	82	485	153	138

*) Under 0.1%

were registered. This indicates the presence of 283,326 persons born outside. Among the latter, 107,804 persons were born in another locality but in the same county, 79,420 were born in other counties of Dobrogea and Muntenia, 21,295 were born in Oltenia, 11,638 in Moldavia, 12,022 in Bessarabia, 715 in Bukovina and 13,006 in Transylvania.

FIGURE 43 — PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF DOBROGEA BY BIRTH-PLACE OF THE INHABITANTS IN 1930



34,936 inhabitants were born abroad and 2,490 did not return their birthplace. The majority of the persons born abroad inhabit the counties of Caliacra and Durostor. Their considerable number is due to the fact that it includes persons born in the adjoining counties which belonged to Bulgaria before the annexation of the Quadrilateral.

The number also includes the Macedonian settlers, whose immigration into Dobrogea started before 1930. The county in Dobrogea where the population has the best distribution is Tulcea: more than 78% of its population is

native-born. By contrast, Constanța is the county the population of which is most unstable and most recently settled, the ratio of native-born inhabitants being barely 52%.

BUILDINGS AND DWELLINGS

A census of buildings was taken at the same time as the population census. Owing to insufficiency of counting machines and of staff, the working out of the statistical material collected has not yet been completed. In order to obtain some information on the buildings and dwellings of the country, a preliminary investigation has been made and has provided data relating to a few counties in various parts of the country.

One of these counties happens to be Constanța. Date of construction and number of buildings are not appreciably different here from those in the other counties. The tables given below comprise only data relating to the villages of the county of Constanța.

An aggregate of 33,669 buildings and houses and of 252 huts has been returned. Among the former, 647 are public property (belonging to the State, to the county or district authorities, or to public institutions) and 33,022 are private property.

The dates at which these buildings were constructed vary as follows:

TABLE 44 — DATE OF CONSTRUCTION AND NUMBER OF BUILDINGS AND DWELLINGS IN THE VILLAGES OF THE COUNTY OF CONSTANȚA IN 1930

Date of construction	Number of buildings	Number of apartments
1	2	3
Total	35,934	37,581
Before 1900	5,583	6,029
1900—1913	11,286	11,986
1914—1918	1,805	1,894
1919—1922	4,026	4,174
1923—1930	12,467	12,637
Not specified	767	861

Most of these buildings were constructed during the 14 years which preceded the outbreak of the war and during the period which followed its end. The post-war period, in particular, has been marked by a feverish activity in building. One half of the buildings in Constanța are new and were constructed after the war.

It may be concluded from an inspection of the data given below that most of the houses in the county of Constanța are self-contained households sheltering a single family.

The data given in the following table provide information on the kind of building:

TABLE 45 — COTTAGE BUILDING AND ROOFING MATERIALS IN THE VILLAGES OF THE COUNTY OF CONSTANȚA IN 1930

Building material used	Total	Roofing			
		Sheet iron, Tiles, Slate	Shingle Board	Straw	Unspe- cified
1	2	3	4	5	6
Total	35,934	24,398	230	11,285	21
Brick, concrete, stone	8,127	7,006	34	1,085	2
Pisé, props, wood	19,887	13,764	137	5,969	17
Loam, wicker and clay, huts	7,893	3,621	59	4,213	—
Unspecified	27	7	—	18	2

Most of the houses are built in pisé or in timber props. As for the roof, it is most frequently a strongly-made construction of tiles or sheet iron. One third of the houses are still roofed with thatch and reeds.

As for the materials used, local preferences are to be observed: thus the houses built of brick, concrete and stone predominate in the district of Mangalia; those of pisé and timber, in the districts of Ovid and Trajan; and those of loam, wicker and clay as well as hut-dwellings in the Danube district.

Of the 35,934 houses, 61 have two stories and only 5 have three stories. The others have ground-floors only.

Of the houses in the county of Constanța, 28,856 are single dwellings; 2,966 comprise two dwellings; 317 comprise three dwellings; 37 comprise four dwellings; and 28 comprise from five to ten dwellings. There are also buildings comprising more than ten dwellings.

There are 1,463 uninhabited buildings (churches, buildings in construction and unoccupied houses).

The houses in the county of Constanța being peasant abodes, 28,210 of them, or 78.5%, have outbuildings, etc. The following table indicates the number and character of these premises:

Barns	17,349
Garages	76
Sheds	6,115
Garrets	8,658
Other store-rooms	1,380
Cellars	1,303
Huts	420
Other outhouses	5,272
Total	40,573

545 inhabitants have been returned as inhabitants of the above-mentioned premises. 30,791 inhabitants are their own landlords, 3,498 are tenants and 924 are lodged without payment by reason of the nature of their occupations.

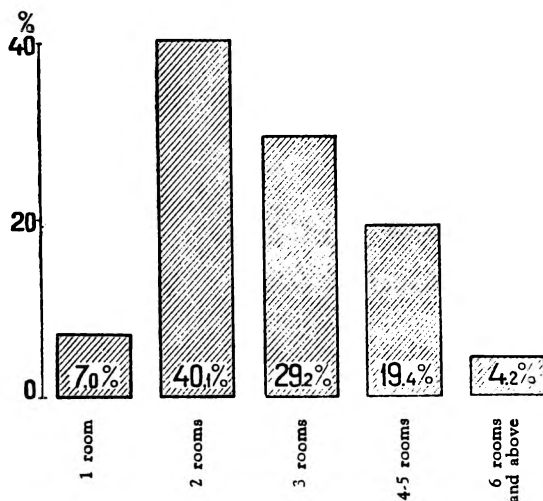
More than 4,000 buildings are used as workshops, shops and offices, and 446 as workshops and living quarters.

In 34,889 dwellings wells provide for sanitation and water-supply. 253 dwellings have water-pipes. On the other hand, in the case of 2,417 dwellings water must be fetched from the river. (In 22 cases the method of water-supply is not specified). Water is laid on in only 11 dwellings. There are only 7 water-closets throughout the rural county; 6,798 latrines are used by several households each; 2,906 dwellings have none.

The rural areas of the county have a total of 188 baths; 10 dwellings have electric lighting, three have gas lighting and all others employ oil-lamps. Another important aspect of the living accommodation problem is the degree

to which inhabited surface is peopled, overcrowding being one of the essential causes of unhealthy dwellings.

FIGURE 46 — PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DWELLINGS IN THE COUNTY OF CONSTANȚA BY NUMBER OF ROOMS IN 1930



This question is illustrated in the following table, in which the dwellings are classified into five groups according to the number of rooms:

TABLE 47 — DISTRIBUTION OF DWELLINGS IN THE COUNTY OF CONSTANȚA BY NUMBER OF ROOMS IN 1930

Type of dwelling	Number of dwellings	%
1	2	3
Total	35,246	100.0
One-room dwelling	2,484	7.0
Two-room dwelling	14,138	40.1
Three-room dwelling	10,296	29.2
Four- to five-room dwelling	6,850	19.4
Six-room (and above)	1,478	4.2

The most frequent type of dwelling comprises 2 or 3 rooms, while 7.0% of the houses consist of one room

only. As for the number of inhabitants per room, 320 rooms are occupied by only one person, 600 by 2 persons, 1,242 by 3—5 persons, 319 by 6—10 persons, and 3 by more than 10 persons. Thus the number of persons housed in precarious conditions is considerable.

The distribution by number of inhabitants in two-room houses reveals that 467 persons occupy a whole house each; 1,841 dwellings are inhabited by 2 persons; 7,828 by 3—5 persons, 3,941 by 6—10 persons, and, finally, 61 by more than 10 persons.

Of the three-room houses, 179 are inhabited by a single person each, 853 by 2 persons, 5,173 by 3—5 persons, 3,978 by 6—10 persons, and 113 by more than 10 persons.

Of the houses comprising 4—5 rooms each, 81 are inhabited by 1 person each, 426 by 2 persons, 2,894 by 3—5 persons, 3,308 by 6—10 persons and 141 by more than 10 persons.

Lastly, of the buildings comprising more than 5 rooms, 20 are inhabited by a single person each, 66 by 2 persons, 516 by 3—5 persons, 769 by 6—10 persons, and 107 by more than 10 persons.

These are the essential data relating to the problem of buildings and dwellings in the county of Constanța. It is clear that these facts do not relate to Dobrogea as a whole and that they refer exclusively to the problem of dwellings in a rural environment; they may be regarded, however, as typical for the villages of Dobrogea.

At the time of the general census, use was made of the simplest method of collecting a minimum of statistical data which were wholly lacking. The reasons for this simplification were the lack of available funds, on the one hand, and, on the other, the attitude of the inhabitants, who neglected making the necessary census returns. At the next population census detailed information will have to be collected in order to enable more exact conclusions to be drawn about the problem of dwellings, a problem which constitutes one of the main factors of public health.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMERCIAL UNDERTAKINGS

To complete the information on population, tables are given below which relate to the whole of Dobrogea and which concern industrial and commercial undertakings. In Tables 48 and 49 these undertakings are classified according to the number of employees and to type in respect of rural and urban environments separately as well as of the two environments combined.

TABLE 48 — DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL UNDERTAKINGS IN DOBROGEA BY NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES IN 1930

Group	Number of undertakings	Number of employees
1	2	3
Grand total	12,602	31,860
Undertakings employings 1 person *)	5,543	5,543
Undertakings employing 2— 5 persons	6,416	16,747
Undertakings employing 6— 20 persons	578	4,709
Undertakings employing 21— 50 persons	44	1,302
Undertakings employing 51—100 persons	9	607
Undertakings employing 101—200 persons	8	1,294
Undertakings employing 201—500 persons	3	1,070
Undertakings employing more than 500 persons	1	588
Total urban	6,537	20,692
Total rural	6,065	11,168

The total number of commercial and industrial undertakings in Dobrogea is 12,062, using 31,860 employees and workers.

The distribution of employees is as follows:

*) The principal himself.

TABLE 49 — DISTRIBUTION OF THE UNDERTAKINGS IN DOBROGEA BY NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES IN 1930

Type of undertaking	Total number of undertakings	Undertakings employing							
		1 pers. *)	2-5 pers.	6-20 pers.	21-50 pers.	51—100 pers.	101-200 pers.	201-300 pers.	500 pers. and above
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Total	12,602	5,543	6,416	578	44	9	8	3	1
A) <i>Industry</i>	5,638	2,391	2,880	318	32	7	7	2	1
Mining	34	5	9	9	7	2	1	1	—
Metallurgy	1,378	677	650	44	3	1	1	1	1
Timber	639	309	305	24	1	—	—	—	—
Building	110	37	52	13	6	2	—	—	—
Textiles	207	98	91	16	2	—	—	—	—
Manufacturing and clothing . .	1,771	654	1,025	89	1	1	1	—	—
Foodstuffs	1,363	580	672	98	8	1	4	—	—
Paper	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Printing	66	13	38	12	3	—	—	—	—
Chemicals	44	11	28	5	—	—	—	—	—
Electricity, gas, water	12	1	2	8	1	—	—	—	—
Other	14	6	8	—	—	—	—	—	—
B) <i>Trade</i>	6,323	3,002	3,124	188	8	—	1	—	—
Foodstuffs	2,780	1,426	1,302	50	2	—	—	—	—
Hotels, restaurants, inns, cafés	2,342	1,150	1,123	67	2	—	—	—	—
Clothing	539	175	339	24	1	—	—	—	—
Building materials, furniture .	269	98	154	14	2	—	1	—	—
Machinery, equipment, instru- ments	150	44	91	15	—	—	—	—	—
Chemical products and drugs .	59	18	38	3	—	—	—	—	—
Unfinished agricultural and animal products, fairs and hawking	116	61	44	10	1	—	—	—	—
Other	68	30	33	5	—	—	—	—	—
C) <i>Finance</i>	206	26	123	54	1	1	—	1	—
Banks, cooperatives, insurance	145	13	88	43	1	—	—	—	—
Auxiliary trading undertakings	61	13	35	11	—	1	—	1	—
D) <i>Miscellaneous and unspeci- fied</i>	435	124	289	18	3	1	—	—	—
Hygiene and public health . .	362	101	249	12	—	—	—	—	—
Education, fine arts, sport, en- tertainment, etc.	56	11	35	6	3	1	—	—	—
Non-stated	17	12	5	—	—	—	—	—	—

*) The principal himself

In most cases the undertakings are of a uniform type, employing a single person or at most from 2 to 5 employees. In the whole of Dobrogea there is only one large-scale undertaking employing 588 persons (metallurgical industry).

TABLE 50 — DISTRIBUTION OF THE EMPLOYEES OF INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL UNDERTAKINGS OF DOBROGEA BY CATEGORIES OF EMPLOYMENT AND BY NATIVITY IN 1930

Kind of employment	Grand total	Rumanians		Foreigners	
		Men	Women	Men	Women
1	2	3	4	5	6
Total	31,860	26,860	3,615	1,255	130
Employers ¹⁾	15,218	12,886	1,630	655	47
Executive	2,190	1,771	240	167	12
Skilled workers	3,627	3,185	228	163	51
Apprentices, probationers	5,562	4,961	459	133	9
Unskilled workers and labourers	5,263	4,057	1,058	137	11

Tables 50 and 51 show the distribution of the personnel by type of undertaking and employees and by citizenship.

¹⁾ Including small employers, principals, and craftsmen working on own account.

TABLE 51 — DISTRIBUTION OF CATEGORIES OF EMPLOYMENT
IN DOBROGEA BY CLASS OF INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL
UNDERTAKINGS IN 1930

Type of undertaking	Employers ¹⁾		Exec. and commerc.		Skilled workers		Appren- tices		Unskilled labourers	
	Rumanians	Foreigners	Rumanians	Foreigners	Rumanians	Foreigners	Rumanians	Foreigners	Rumanians	Foreigners
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Total	14,516	702	2,011	179	3,413	214	5,420	142	5,115	148
A) Industry	6,086	243	306	28	2,696	172	3,666	102	3,332	70
Mining	45	3	21	1	345	36	71	12	417	12
Metallurgy	1,487	23	55	2	868	17	946	27	462	2
Timber	667	7	9	2	125	2	461	7	65	1
Building	126	6	7	—	38	1	34	—	371	2
Textiles	224	12	9	2	53	47	108	1	91	2
Manufacturing and clothing	1,826	61	28	4	567	15	1,653	48	267	4
Foodstuffs	1,550	125	132	17	584	51	269	6	1,515	45
Paper	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Printing	75	3	14	—	78	1	92	1	37	—
Chemicals	55	—	6	—	11	—	18	—	53	—
Electricity, gas, water . .	15	3	25	—	20	2	8	—	50	2
Other industries	16	—	—	—	7	—	6	—	4	—
B) Trade	7,685	406	1,185	109	463	26	1,342	31	1,235	67
Foodstuffs	3,471	175	336	38	79	7	399	13	332	36
Hotels, restaurants, inns, cafés	2,862	91	216	10	222	8	553	8	517	20
Clothing	612	65	232	26	49	—	217	7	62	2
Building materials, furniture	306	30	145	5	76	11	43	2	250	6
Machinery, equipment, instruments	169	11	107	7	20	—	79	—	17	2
Chemical products and drugs	68	1	31	1	9	—	26	—	18	—
Unfinished agricultural and animal products; fairs, hawking	117	20	81	19	7	—	7	1	34	—
Other trades	80	13	37	3	1	—	18	—	5	1
C) Finance	304	26	456	40	69	5	54	1	453	11
Banks, cooperatives, insurance	214	9	383	34	7	—	24	1	85	2
Auxiliary trading undertakings	90	17	73	6	62	5	30	—	368	9
D) Miscellaneous and unspecified	441	27	64	2	185	11	358	8	95	—
Hygiene and public health .	356	25	13	1	163	11	256	7	40	—
Education, fine arts, sport, entertainments, etc.	70	—	51	—	22	—	101	1	52	—
Non-stated	15	2	—	1	—	—	1	—	3	—

¹⁾ Including small employers, principals, and craftsmen working on own account

These data provide important information, but no comments will be presented here since the problems which they raise are foreign to the present study.

As to the form of ownership of the undertakings, the position is as follows:

TABLE 52 — DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL UNDERTAKINGS IN DOBROGEA BY FORM OF OWNERSHIP IN 1930

Form of ownership of undertakings	Number of undertakings
1	2
Total	12,602
Individual ownership	11,639
Partnerships	184
Limited liability companies	150
Cooperative societies	77
Public corporations	24
Other and non-stated	528

With regard to mechanical power, this is used by only 383 undertakings out of a total of 12,602.

TABLE 53 — UNDERTAKINGS IN DOBROGEA USING MECHANICAL POWER IN 1930

Types of undertaking	Total number of undertakings with and without mechanical power	Number of undertakings using mechanical power				H. P.
		Total	1-5 H. P.	6-50 H. P.	50 H. P. and over	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Total	12,602	383	65	223	95	17,710
Mining	34	19	1	13	5	1,103
Metallurgy	1,378	29	10	14	5	1,030
Timber	639	12	1	9	2	519
Building	110	4	—	3	1	156
Textiles	207	35	15	20	—	327
Manufacturing and clothing	1,771	8	3	4	1	325
Foodstuffs	1,363	236	28	136	72	11,054
Paper	—	—	—	—	—	—
Printing	66	2	1	1	—	15
Chemicals	44	21	5	16	—	259
Electricity, gas, water	12	9	—	2	7	2,203
Other	14	—	—	—	—	—
Trade, banking, miscellaneous	6,964	8	1	5	2	719

TABLE 51 — DISTRIBUTION OF CATEGORIES OF EMPLOYMENT
IN DOBROGEA BY CLASS OF INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL
UNDERTAKINGS IN 1930

Type of undertaking	Employers ¹⁾		Exec. and commerc.		Skilled workers		Appren- tices		Unskilled labourers	
	Rumanians	Foreigners	Rumanians	Foreigners	Rumanians	Foreigners	Rumanians	Foreigners	Rumanians	Foreigners
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Total	14,516	702	2,011	179	3,413	214	5,420	142	5,115	148
A) Industry	6,086	243	306	28	2,696	172	3,666	102	3,332	70
Mining	45	3	21	1	345	36	71	12	417	12
Metallurgy	1,487	23	55	2	868	17	946	27	462	2
Timber	667	7	9	2	125	2	461	7	65	1
Building	126	6	7	—	38	1	34	—	371	2
Textiles	224	12	9	2	53	47	108	1	91	2
Manufacturing and clothing	1,826	61	28	4	567	15	1,653	48	267	4
Foodstuffs	1,550	125	132	17	584	51	269	6	1,515	45
Paper	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Printing	75	3	14	—	78	1	92	1	37	—
Chemicals	55	—	6	—	11	—	18	—	53	—
Electricity, gas, water . . .	15	3	25	—	20	2	8	—	50	2
Other industries	16	—	—	—	7	—	6	—	4	—
B) Trade	7,685	406	1,185	109	463	26	1,342	31	1,235	67
Foodstuffs	3,471	175	336	38	79	7	399	13	332	36
Hotels, restaurants, inns, cafés	2,862	91	216	10	222	8	553	8	517	20
Clothing	612	65	232	26	49	—	217	7	62	2
Building materials, furniture	306	30	145	5	76	11	43	2	250	6
Machinery, equipment, instruments	169	11	107	7	20	—	79	—	17	2
Chemical products and drugs	68	1	31	1	9	—	26	—	18	—
Unfinished agricultural and animal products; fairs, hawking	117	20	81	19	7	—	7	1	34	—
Other trades	80	13	37	3	1	—	18	—	5	1
C) Finance	304	26	456	40	69	5	54	1	453	11
Banks, cooperatives, insurance	214	9	383	34	7	—	24	1	85	2
Auxiliary trading undertakings	90	17	73	6	62	5	30	—	368	9
D) Miscellaneous and unspecified	441	27	64	2	185	11	358	8	95	—
Hygiene and public health	356	25	13	1	163	11	256	7	40	—
Education, fine arts, sport, entertainments, etc.	70	—	51	—	22	—	101	1	52	—
Non-stated	15	2	—	1	—	—	1	—	3	—

¹⁾ Including small employers, principals, and craftsmen working on own account

These data provide important information, but no comments will be presented here since the problems which they raise are foreign to the present study.

As to the form of ownership of the undertakings, the position is as follows:

TABLE 52 — DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL UNDERTAKINGS IN DOBROGEA BY FORM OF OWNERSHIP IN 1930

Form of ownership of undertakings	Number of undertakings
1	2
Total	12,602
Individual ownership	11,639
Partnerships	184
Limited liability companies	150
Cooperative societies	77
Public corporations	24
Other and non-stated	528

With regard to mechanical power, this is used by only 383 undertakings out of a total of 12,602.

TABLE 53 — UNDERTAKINGS IN DOBROGEA USING MECHANICAL POWER IN 1930

Types of undertaking	Total number of undertakings with and without mechanical power	Number of undertakings using mechanical power				H. P.
		Total	1-5 H. P.	6-50 H. P.	50 H. P. and over	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Total	12,602	383	65	223	95	17,710
Mining	34	19	1	13	5	1,103
Metallurgy	1,378	29	10	14	5	1,030
Timber	639	12	1	9	2	519
Building	110	4	—	3	1	156
Textiles	207	35	15	20	—	327
Manufacturing and clothing	1,771	8	3	4	1	325
Foodstuffs	1,363	236	28	136	72	11,054
Paper	—	—	—	—	—	—
Printing	66	2	1	1	—	15
Chemicals	44	21	5	16	—	259
Electricity, gas, water	12	9	—	2	7	2,203
Other	14	—	—	—	—	—
Trade, banking, miscellaneous	6,964	8	1	5	2	719

The following table indicates the distribution of mechanical power installed in the undertakings according to the categories of machinery employed:

TABLE 54 — MOTIVE POWER OF UNDERTAKINGS IN DOBROGEA IN 1930

Types of engine	H. P.	Percentage
1	2	3
Total	17,710	100.0
Steam engines	2,607	14.7
Internal combustion engines	12,339	69.7
Hydraulic machines	43	0.2
Electric motors	1,971	11.2
Miscellaneous and unspecified	750	4.2

With regard to the date of establishment of the undertakings, 2,110 were set up before the war, while 9,271 have been established since 1919. This ratio is characteristic of the whole economic situation in Dobrogea.

TABLE 55 — DISTRIBUTION OF FORMS OF OWNERSHIP AND DATES OF ESTABLISHMENT OF INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL UNDERTAKINGS IN DOBROGEA BY CLASS AND TYPE OF UNDERTAKING IN 1930

Class and type of undertaking	Total undertakings	Form of ownership			Date of establishment			
		Individual	Other forms	Branches	Before 1914	1914—1918	1919—1930	Non-stated
					6	7	8	9
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
All undertakings	12,602	11,639	963	22	2,110	479	9,271	742
I. Mining and quarrying	34	18	16	5	16	—	16	2
Iron and manganese	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—
Gold, silver, copper	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—
Marble, freestone, etc.	13	4	9	5	6	—	5	2
Limestone, cement, plaster, etc.	5	3	2	—	2	—	3	—
Springs and mineral waters	14	11	3	—	8	—	6	—
II. Metallurgy	1,378	1,314	64	—	257	55	974	92
Ironmongery works	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—
Turner's shops and galvanoplastic workshops	10	9	1	—	1	1	8	—
Metallic packing factories	2	—	2	—	1	—	1	—
Mechanical constructions and metal boilers factories	3	2	1	—	1	—	2	—

Table 55 — contd.

Class and type of undertaking	Total undertakings	Form of ownership		Branches	Date of establishment			
		Individual	Other forms		Before 1914	1914—1918	1919—1930	Non-stated
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Agricultural machinery factories	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—
Locomotive works	2	—	2	—	2	—	—	—
Arsenals and naval foundries	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
Electrical machinery, equipment and tools factories	5	4	1	—	—	—	4	1
Scientific instruments workshops	43	42	1	—	8	1	34	—
Locksmiths and grinders	21	21	—	—	2	—	19	—
Repairing workshops	62	59	3	—	5	3	51	3
Tinsmiths and ironsmiths	125	121	4	—	14	6	99	6
Blacksmith's workshops	1,099	1,053	46	—	222	44	751	82
Other undertakings	3	2	1	—	—	—	3	—
III. Timber	639	624	15	—	79	24	486	50
Forestries	3	3	—	—	—	—	3	—
Sawmills	2	1	1	—	—	—	1	1
Mechanical sawmills	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
Building timber sawmills and workshops	67	67	—	—	8	—	49	10
Joiners	9	9	—	—	—	1	8	—
Wood turners	372	361	11	—	39	15	291	27
Wood decorators	4	4	—	—	2	—	2	—
Coachbuilders, wheelwrights, barge-builders	172	170	2	—	29	8	124	11
Woodwork (peasant domestic industry)	5	5	—	—	1	—	3	1
Painters and varnishers (furniture, vehicles, boats, etc.)	3	2	1	—	—	—	3	—
Other undertakings	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
IV. Building	110	97	13	—	25	4	73	8
Building undertakings	18	17	1	—	6	—	8	4
Water, gas and electricity equipment undertakings	10	8	2	—	—	1	9	—
Lime, cement and gypsum factories	7	6	1	—	4	—	3	—
Brick- and tile-kilns	70	63	7	—	14	3	49	4
Potteries and earthenware-manufactories (tiles)	5	3	2	—	1	—	4	—
V. Textiles	207	193	14	—	29	4	162	12
Carding and spinning workshops	105	96	9	—	22	3	74	6
Woolen cloth and knittingware factories	58	55	3	—	5	1	48	4
Knitting workshops	21	21	—	—	1	—	20	—
Weaving works and spinning-mills	20	18	2	—	1	—	17	2
Cotton and silk industries	3	3	—	—	—	—	3	—

Table 55 — contd.

Class and type of undertaking	Total undertakings	Form of ownership		Branches	Date of establishment			
		Individual	Other forms		Before 1914	1914—1918	1919—1930	Non-stated
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
VI. Clothing and tailoring . . .	1,771	1,700	71	—	231	58	1,377	105
Clothes factories; hat-makers . . .	643	616	27	—	83	15	504	41
Underwear and embroideries workshops . . .	6	5	1	—	—	—	6	—
Upholstery, lace-making and metal trimmings . . .	12	11	1	—	2	—	10	—
Dyers and chemical cleaners . . .	27	23	4	—	7	1	18	1
Tanneries and leather-dyers . . .	31	28	3	—	12	—	19	—
Furriers . . .	166	160	6	—	32	9	114	11
Shoe-making industries . . .	690	668	22	—	77	26	547	40
Leather articles manufacturers . . .	188	183	5	—	18	7	152	11
Brush-makers; cane-bottomers and sieve-makers . . .	4	3	1	—	—	—	3	1
Buttons, combs, etc. manufacturers . . .	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—
Other undertakings . . .	3	3	—	—	—	—	3	—
VII. Foodstuffs . . .	1,363	1,246	117	—	342	80	866	75
Flour-mills . . .	504	443	61	—	206	35	240	23
Bakers and pastry-cooks . . .	277	264	13	—	52	19	185	21
Peeling and sorting of cereals . . .	5	1	4	—	1	—	4	—
Distillers, champagning, vinegar-factories . . .	166	161	5	—	34	9	109	14
Breweries . . .	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—
Confectionery . . .	99	94	5	—	9	5	82	3
Preparation of chicory, coffee-roasting . . .	17	15	2	—	2	1	13	1
Milk and milk by-products . . .	5	4	1	—	2	—	3	—
Butchering trade . . .	206	198	8	—	18	10	168	10
Slaughter-houses, pork-butcher, etc. . .	14	13	1	—	2	—	12	—
Mineral waters, artificial ice, etc. . .	61	52	9	—	13	1	45	2
Tobacco manufacturers . . .	5	—	5	—	2	—	3	—
Other undertakings . . .	3	1	2	—	—	—	2	1
VIII. Printing . . .	66	60	6	—	12	4	47	3
Typography, lithography, zincography . . .	25	22	3	—	5	3	17	—
Photography and films . . .	31	30	1	—	4	1	23	3
House-painters, sign-painters . . .	9	7	2	—	2	—	7	—
Modellers . . .	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	—
IX. Chemical industries . . .	44	34	10	—	2	—	40	2
Analytical and industrial chemists . . .	4	2	2	—	—	—	2	—
Soap and candles . . .	7	5	2	—	—	—	7	—

Tab. 55 — contd.

Class and type of undertaking	Total undertakings	Form of ownership		Branches	Date of establishment			
		Individual	Other forms		Before 1914	1914—1918	1919—1930	Non-stated
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Vegetable oils, varnishes	26	22	4	—	—	—	24	2
Acids, industrial salts, gas	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—
Vulcanisers	6	5	1	—	—	—	6	—
<i>X. Electricity, gas and hydraulic works</i>	12	2	10	—	4	1	7	—
Electricity works	6	1	5	—	2	—	4	—
Hydraulic works	6	1	5	—	2	1	3	—
<i>XI. Other industries</i>	14	14	—	—	—	—	7	7
Other undertakings	14	14	—	—	—	—	7	7
<i>XII. Foodstuffs trade</i>	2,780	2,645	135	—	401	106	2,120	153
Wholesale grocers	1,408	1,342	66	—	185	47	1,107	69
Retail grocers	386	375	11	—	77	20	256	33
Bread, flour, salt, etc.	76	71	5	—	9	1	61	5
Fish, poultry, eggs	83	73	10	—	9	5	63	6
Milk and milk products	44	40	4	—	7	3	34	—
Fruit, vegetables, flowers	148	146	2	—	9	5	129	5
Confectionery, sweets, etc.	61	58	3	—	14	1	45	1
Tobacco, newspapers	115	112	3	—	12	6	92	5
Grocers and mercers (mixed)	457	426	31	—	79	18	331	29
Other foodstuffs undertakings	2	2	—	—	—	—	2	—
<i>XIII. Hotels, restaurants, inns, cafés</i>	2,342	2,238	104	—	373	75	1,741	153
Restaurants, licensed shops, cafés	2,277	2,183	94	—	360	74	1,698	145
Hotels, inns, boarding-houses	65	55	10	—	13	1	43	8
<i>XIV. Tailors and clothiers</i>	539	479	60	—	90	22	418	9
Articles of clothing	25	24	1	—	6	1	16	2
Shoe and leather goods shops	70	62	8	—	9	1	59	1
Tailoring, underwear, haberdashery	421	371	50	—	70	18	327	6
Furs and skins	17	16	1	—	3	2	12	—
Saddlers	6	6	—	—	2	—	4	—
<i>XV. Building materials and furniture</i>	269	202	67	3	34	6	217	12
Wood and fuel	124	97	27	—	11	2	107	4
Petrol and by-products	69	43	26	3	6	2	57	4
Building materials	25	20	5	—	7	1	15	2
Stoves, glassware, mirror-trade, Plaster of Paris	9	9	—	—	—	1	8	—
Furniture, household articles, glassware	42	33	9	—	10	—	30	2

Tab. 55 — contd.

Class and type of undertaking	Total undertakings	Form of ownership		Branches	Date of establishment			
		Individual	Other forms		Before 1914	1914—1918	1918—1930	Non-stated
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
XVI. Metal machinery, equipment, instruments and articles	150	113	37	—	34	3	108	5
Ironware and other metalware	68	60	8	—	18	2	46	2
Machinery and agricultural machinery	14	9	5	—	3	—	10	1
Motorcars and accessories	10	5	5	—	—	—	10	—
Bicycles, sewing-machines, firearms	25	10	15	—	6	—	18	1
Scientific instruments.	10	7	3	—	2	—	7	1
Jewelry, clocks and watches, antiques	23	22	1	—	5	1	17	—
XVII. Chemical and pharmaceutical products	59	54	5	—	24	—	33	2
Drugs, pharmaceutical products, toilet preparations	50	47	3	—	19	—	29	2
Chemical products, soaps, candles	9	7	2	—	5	—	4	—
XVIII. Unfinished agricultural and animal products	116	92	24	2	12	6	86	12
Unfinished animal products	6	4	2	—	1	—	5	—
Cereals	77	59	18	2	7	4	59	7
Fodder, seeds, plants, etc.	16	15	1	—	2	1	12	1
Fairs and markets	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
Hawking	16	13	3	—	2	1	9	4
XIX. Other commercial undertakings	68	58	10	—	17	5	44	2
Book trade, stationery, musical scores and instruments	40	33	7	—	10	4	24	2
Other undertakings	28	25	3	—	7	1	20	—
XX. Banking, cooperatives, insurance	145	19	126	10	51	8	78	8
Bankers, brokers	138	18	120	9	51	7	74	6
Insurance companies	7	1	6	1	—	1	4	2
XXI. Auxiliary commercial undertakings	61	39	22	2	13	1	42	5
Commercial agents, commission agents, import and export brokers	55	33	22	2	13	1	36	5
Typing and translation bureaux, etc.	6	6	—	—	—	—	6	—
XXII. Hygiene and public health	362	348	14	—	57	15	276	14
Hospitals, nursing-homes, laboratories, radiology, dentistry	9	4	5	—	2	1	5	1

Tab. 55 — end.

Categories and types of undertaking	Total undertakings	Forms of ownership			Dates of establishment			
		Individual	Other forms	Branches	Before 1914	1914—1918	1919—1930	Undeclared
					6	7	8	9
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Undertakers	2	—	2	—	—	—	2	—
Public baths	4	4	—	—	2	1	1	—
Hairdressers and beauty specialists	347	340	7	—	53	13	268	13
XXIII. Education, fine arts, sport .	56	35	21	—	5	2	46	3
Boarding schools, educational and artistic institutions, professional associations	10	2	8	—	3	1	6	—
Sport associations, dancing, music	6	—	6	—	—	—	4	2
Entertainments and sport	20	16	4	—	1	—	19	—
Notaries, detectives, enquiry agents	20	17	3	—	1	1	17	1
XXIV. Other undertakings	17	15	2	—	2	—	7	8
Other unspecified undertakings	17	15	2	—	2	—	7	8

The following two tables give data relating to transport undertakings.

The figures shown in Table 56 indicate the nativity of transport workers.

TABLE 56 — DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT IN TRANSPORT UNDERTAKINGS BY NATIVITY OF EMPLOYEES IN 1930

Class of employment	Total	Rumanians	Foreigners
1	2	3	4
Total	2,852	2,756	96
Executives *)	318	282	36
Clerks	1,131	1,095	36
Skilled workers	332	323	9
Apprentices	145	137	8
Unskilled workers and labourers	926	919	7

Table 57 classifies transport undertakings according to form of ownership, the date of establishment and the type of transport.

*) Including small employers, principals, and craftsmen working on own account

TABLE 57 — DISTRIBUTION OF TRANSPORT UNDERTAKINGS BY FORM OF OWNERSHIP, BY DATE OF ESTABLISHMENT AND BY TYPE OF UNDERTAKING IN 1930

Type of undertaking	Total
1	2
Total undertakings	283
<i>Form of ownership</i>	
Individual ownership	190
Partnerships	6
Limited liability companies	15
Public corporations	51
Others and undeclared	21
<i>Date of establishment</i>	
Before 1914	70
1914—1918.	1
1919—1930.	139
Non-stated	73
<i>Class of undertaking</i>	
Railroads	—
Motorcars	71
Electric tramcars	—
Carts, trucks, lorries	89
Water transport	22
Petrol pipelines	—
Post, telegraph, telephone, broadcasting	47
Travel agencies, carriers, customs	53
Warehouses	—
Other	1

It is not possible to include in this study a detailed discussion of the problem of industrial and commercial undertakings; the question has been presented in outline only and for the sole purpose of emphasizing certain factors relating to the manner of life of the population of Dobrogea, a manner of life which is substantially influenced by the distribution of population in various branches of activity.

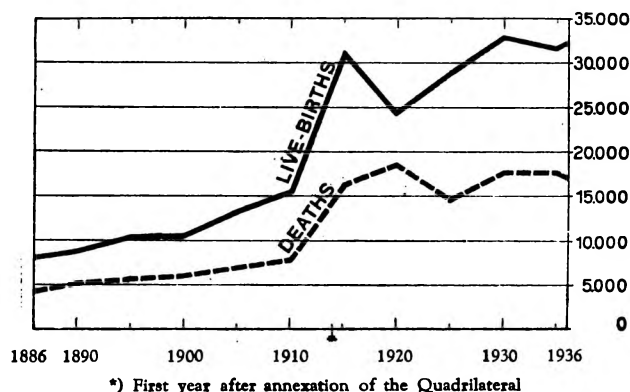
VITAL STATISTICS

The oldest data available concerning the movement of population in Dobrogea go back to 1886, when the number of births was 8,097, the number of deaths

4,453 and the number of marriages 1,049. These figures relate to that part of the territory which forms to-day the counties of Constanța and Tulcea. In 1936 there were 32,656 births, 17,304 deaths and 7,469 marriages. These figures comprise data relating to all counties of Dobrogea, including those of Durostor and Caliacra.

The number of births and deaths during the period 1886—1936 is shown in the following diagram :

FIGURE 58 — NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS AND OF DEATHS IN DOBROGEA IN 1886—1936



It may be asserted that Dobrogea is the Rumanian province in which the most favourable demographic conditions prevail. As a consequence of these conditions, the natural increase of the population is considerable, due to a high birth-rate.

The greatest advance in this field took place in the period of 20 years which preceded the war, i. e. between 1896 and 1913, the salient feature of this period being the considerable increase in the number of births as is clearly shown in the following figures relating to these two extreme years :

TABLE 59 — BIRTHS, DEATHS AND NATURAL INCREASE OF THE POPULATION IN DOBROGEA IN 1896 AND 1913

Demographic phenomena	1896	1913
1	2	3
Births	10,757	18,558
Deaths	7,802	10,529
Natural increase	2,955	8,029

When these figures are related to the estimated population in these two years, it is found that the birthrate in 1886 was of approximately 40 per thousand and that it reached 50.0⁰/₀₀ in 1913.

After the annexation of the counties of Caliacra and Durostor, the situation was completely changed. It is illustrated in the following figures :

TABLE 60 — BIRTHS, DEATHS AND NATURAL INCREASE OF THE POPULATION IN DOBROGEA IN 1915 AND 1936

Demographic phenomena	1915	1936
1	2	3
Births	31,326	32,656
Deaths	16,460	17,304
Natural increase	14,866	15,352

Unlike the other provinces, the favourable position of Dobrogea from the demographic point of view was maintained after the war. To-day the natural increase of the population is still satisfactory.

Data relating to the period 1886—1937 are given in Table 61.

The conclusion which results from an inspection of these data is that, from the demographic point of view, the population of Dobrogea does not follow the general trend of the movement in the rest of the civilised world where, in the second half of the last century, there occurred an important decrease in the number of births and, consequently, in the natural increase of the population. The

*) See the table in the Annex, page 96.

birth-rate in Dobrogea after the war finds itself at the same level as 50 years earlier.

This phenomenon is to be explained by the social, cultural and economic structure of the region. The province is fertile and the population sparse. Urbanisation is in its infancy; the main city, Constanța, alone has a population of more than 50,000 inhabitants. The other towns have conserved a patriarchal character; most of them have even a rural character. An uninformed traveller may pass through some towns of Dobrogea without realising that he is in an urban district. It is obvious that in such circumstances the inhabitants live as in the country and are not subject to the rules of city life. It must also be observed that industry has not yet reached this province; hence, in Dobrogea, the notion of a town is often purely administrative; hence also, neither the life in the streets, nor the social structure, nor again the large number of inhabitants can give to these localities the urban character capable of having an influence on the demographic development of this province.

For these reasons the population of Dobrogea presents demographic features which are completely different from those observed abroad or even in other provinces of Rumania.

It may even be foreseen that, in a few years time, the population will show a definite trend to increase. Moreover the tendency to population increase through external or internal immigration will be continued, notwithstanding the fact that certain events of a special character should have hindered this general tendency for a few years¹). It would be a mistake to believe that the growing of population in Dobrogea is due to the settlement activity of the State.

Dobrogea still offers large possibilities to agricultural, industrial and commercial development; for a long time to come it will continue to attract migration from the other provinces of the country. This explains why its

¹) See the table in the Annex, page 96.

TABLE 61 — VITAL STATISTICS FOR DOBROGEA IN THE YEARS 1886 — 1937

Year	Whole country					Rural				Urban						
	Live births	Deaths	Natural increase	Marriages	Live births	Deaths	Natural increase	Marriages	Live births	Deaths	Natural increase	Marriages	Live births	Deaths	Natural increase	Marriages
1886	8,097	4,453	3,644	1,049	6,244	3,173	3,071	777	1,853	1,280	573	272				
1887	8,551	4,310	4,241	1,243	6,617	3,034	3,583	961	1,934	1,276	658	282				
1888	8,799	4,807	3,992	1,028	6,826	3,429	3,397	769	1,973	1,378	595	259				
1889	9,171	5,006	4,165	1,299	7,069	3,456	3,613	977	2,102	1,550	552	322				
1890	9,008	5,341	3,667	1,233	6,886	3,629	3,257	896	2,122	1,712	410	337				
1891	10,004	6,216	3,788	1,579	7,731	4,348	3,383	1,193	2,273	1,868	405	386				
1892	9,478	7,227	2,251	1,202	7,214	5,289	1,925	899	2,264	1,938	326	303				
1893	10,131	6,525	3,606	1,284	7,761	4,420	3,341	950	2,370	2,105	265	334				
1894	10,403	6,169	4,234	1,643	8,065	4,514	3,551	1,247	2,338	1,655	683	396				
1895	10,683	5,961	4,722	1,253	8,230	4,349	3,881	933	2,453	1,612	841	320				
1896	10,757	7,802	2,955	1,702	8,359	5,806	2,553	1,250	2,398	1,996	402	452				
1897	12,115	6,681	5,434	1,685	9,404	4,790	4,614	1,237	2,711	1,891	820	448				
1898	11,753	7,542	4,211	1,811	9,143	5,544	3,599	1,357	2,610	1,998	612	454				
1899	13,059	7,716	5,343	1,437	10,269	5,658	4,611	1,066	2,790	2,058	732	371				
1900	10,730	6,161	4,569	1,362	8,378	4,476	3,902	1,069	2,352	1,685	667	293				
1901	12,293	6,716	5,577	1,918	9,913	4,901	5,012	1,491	2,380	1,815	565	427				
1902	13,725	8,982	4,743	2,655	11,008	6,794	4,214	2,115	2,717	2,188	529	540				
1903	13,979	6,933	7,046	2,486	11,268	5,293	5,975	1,900	2,711	1,640	1,071	586				
1904	14,941	6,811	8,130	2,459	12,103	5,170	6,933	1,910	2,838	1,641	1,197	549				
1905	13,450	7,244	6,206	2,098	10,722	5,354	5,368	1,682	2,728	1,890	838	416				
1906	15,174	7,465	7,709	3,072	12,290	5,751	6,539	2,282	2,884	1,714	1,170	790				
1907	15,987	9,395	6,592	3,428	12,995	7,108	5,887	2,607	2,992	2,287	705	821				
1908	16,249	10,089	6,160	2,796	13,096	7,881	5,215	2,015	3,153	2,208	945	781				
1909	16,067	9,258	6,809	2,631	12,995	7,134	5,861	1,923	3,072	2,124	948	708				
1910	15,692	8,103	7,589	2,755	12,718	6,191	6,527	2,088	2,974	1,912	1,062	667				

1911	16,773	9,137	7,636	3,845	13,662	6,985	6,677	3,035	3,111	2,152	959	810
1912	18,685	8,814	9,871	3,363	15,368	6,748	8,620	2,557	3,317	2,066	1,251	806
1913	18,558	10,529	8,029	3,202	15,247	8,126	7,121	2,432	3,311	2,403	908	770
1914 *	31,649											
1915 *	31,326	16,460	14,866	5,068								
1916 *												
1917 *												
1918 *												
1919	21,117	19,629	1,488	4,631	17,671	15,265	2,406	3,199	3,446	4,364	918	1,432
1920	24,792	18,876	5,916	7,891	20,642	14,960	5,682	6,042	4,150	3,916	234	1,849
1921	28,527	14,506	14,021	6,923	23,767	11,497	12,270	5,204	4,760	3,009	1,751	1,719
1922	27,176	16,315	10,861	6,775	22,420	12,745	9,675	5,198	4,756	3,570	1,186	1,577
1923	31,157	15,207	15,950	7,393	25,852	11,730	14,122	5,750	5,305	3,477	1,828	1,643
1924	31,721	17,046	14,675	5,955	26,315	13,567	12,748	4,538	5,406	3,479	1,977	1,417
1925	29,190	14,978	14,212	5,984	24,193	11,732	12,461	4,651	4,997	3,246	1,751	1,333
1926	32,112	16,902	15,210	7,138	26,702	13,155	13,547	5,565	5,410	3,747	1,663	1,573
1927	30,960	18,337	12,623	7,325	25,446	14,582	10,864	5,619	5,514	3,755	1,759	1,706
1928	31,428	16,278	15,150	6,967	25,932	12,537	13,395	5,355	5,496	3,741	1,755	1,612
1929	32,377	18,052	14,325	7,532	26,947	14,184	12,763	5,956	5,430	3,868	1,562	1,576
1930	33,148	17,836	15,312	7,246	27,498	14,160	13,338	5,740	5,650	3,676	1,974	1,506
1931	30,465	20,513	9,952	7,636	25,198	16,316	8,882	6,086	5,267	4,197	1,070	1,550
1932	36,626	19,539	17,087	8,321	31,107	15,530	15,577	6,773	5,519	4,009	1,510	1,548
1933	35,082	17,449	17,633	7,722	29,590	13,922	15,668	6,167	5,492	3,527	1,965	1,555
1934 ¹⁾	35,367	20,502	14,865	8,116	29,734	16,313	13,421	6,334	5,633	4,189	1,444	1,782
1935 ¹⁾	31,905	17,946	13,959	7,212	26,465	13,935	12,530	5,407	5,440	4,011	1,429	1,805
1936 ¹⁾	32,656	17,304	15,352	7,469	27,148	13,412	13,736	5,525	5,508	3,892	1,616	1,944
1937 ¹⁾	30,426	17,995	12,431	7,468	25,079	13,878	11,201	5,495	5,347	4,117	1,230	1,973

*) Data lacking ¹⁾ Provisional data

population is increasing more rapidly than that of any other Rumanian province.

It may be said in conclusion, therefore, that, both because of the growing birth-rate and of immigration, the number of inhabitants of Dobrogea will increase rapidly during the coming few decades.

GENERAL MOVEMENT OF POPULATION

If one examines the figures relating to the past (Table 62) one will observe an unquestionable vigour of the population of Dobrogea and in particular of the villages. Since it is not possible to calculate the birth-rate per thousand inhabitants owing to the lack of data for the years earlier than the 1912 census in the case of the counties of Tulcea and Constanța, and the 1910 census in the case of the counties

TABLE 62 — VITAL STATISTICS FOR DOBROGEA IN THE PERIOD 1886—1935 AND IN 1936

Period	Annual average			
	Live births	Deaths	Natural increase	Marriages
1	2	3	4	5
Whole province				
1886 — 1895	9,432	5,600	3,832	1,281
1896 — 1905	12,681	7,259	5,422	1,962
1906 — 1915 ¹⁾	16,648	9,099	7,549	3,111
1916 — 1925 ²⁾	27,669	16,651	11,018	6,507
1926 — 1935	32,947	18,335	14,612	7,521
1936	32,656	17,304	15,352	7,469
Rural				
1886 — 1895	7,264	3,963	3,301	960
1896 — 1905	10,057	5,379	4,678	1,508
1906 — 1915 ¹⁾	13,546	6,991	6,555	2,342
1916 — 1925 ²⁾	22,980	13,071	9,909	4,940
1926 — 1935	27,462	14,463	12,999	5,900
1936	27,148	13,412	13,736	5,525
Urban				
1886 — 1895	2,168	1,637	531	321
1896 — 1905	2,624	1,880	744	454
1906 — 1915 ¹⁾	3,102	2,108	994	769
1916 — 1925 ²⁾	4,689	3,580	1,109	1,567
1926 — 1935	5,485	3,872	1,613	1,621
1936	5,508	3,892	1,616	1,944

¹⁾ 8 years' average

²⁾ 7 years' average

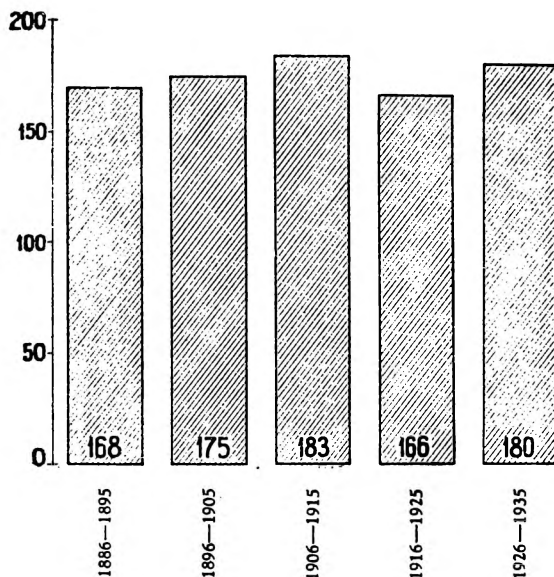
of Caliacra and Durostor, a calculation must be made of the *vital index*, which clearly reveals the increase in the vigour of the population from the biological point of view.

Years	Vital index		
	Total	Rural	Urban
1886 — 1895	168	183	132
1896 — 1905	175	187	140
1906 — 1915 ¹⁾	183	194	147
1916 — 1925 ²⁾	166	176	131
1926 — 1935	180	190	142
1936	189	202	142

¹⁾ Average for 8 years ²⁾ Average for 7 years

This index, which has been calculated by establishing the ratio between the births and the deaths, stood at 168 during the period 1886—1895; it rose to 189 in 1936 (the index of demographic equilibrium being 100) and in rural environments it exceeded 200 in the same year.

FIGURE 63 — VITAL INDEX FOR DOBROGEA FROM 1886 TO 1935



The prosperity of Dobrogea from the biological point of view is thus manifest. The urban population itself has a vital index of 142 with a firm tendency to rise. This situation might certainly be envied by most countries in Europe.

TABLE 64 — VITAL STATISTICS FOR DOBROGEA IN 1900, 1912 AND 1919—1930

Years	Whole country				Rural				Urban			
	Live births	Deaths	Natural increase	Marriages	Live births	Deaths	Natural increase	Marriages	Live births	Deaths	Natural increase	Marriages
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1900	40.1	23.0	17.1	10.2	42.3	22.6	19.7	10.8	33.8	24.2	9.6	8.4
1912	49.1	23.2	25.9	17.7	54.5	23.9	30.6	18.1	33.8	21.0	12.8	16.4
1919	31.6	29.3	2.3	13.8	36.0	31.1	4.9	13.0	19.3	24.4	5.1	16.0
1920	37.0	28.1	8.9	23.5	41.9	30.4	11.5	24.5	23.3	22.0	1.3	20.8
1921	42.2	21.4	20.8	20.5	47.7	23.1	24.6	20.9	26.7	16.9	9.8	19.3
1922	39.3	23.6	15.7	19.6	43.9	25.0	18.9	20.4	26.4	19.8	6.6	17.5
1923	44.4	21.7	22.7	21.1	49.7	22.5	27.2	22.1	29.3	19.2	10.1	18.1
1924	44.2	23.8	20.4	16.6	49.2	25.4	23.8	17.0	29.5	19.0	10.5	15.5
1925	39.9	20.5	19.4	16.3	44.2	21.4	22.8	17.0	27.0	17.5	9.5	14.4
1926	43.0	22.6	20.4	19.1	47.7	23.5	24.2	19.9	29.0	20.1	8.9	16.8
1927	40.7	24.1	16.6	19.2	44.4	25.4	19.0	19.6	29.3	19.9	9.4	18.1
1928	40.6	21.0	19.6	18.0	44.4	21.5	22.9	18.3	28.9	19.7	9.2	17.0
1929	41.0	22.9	18.1	19.1	45.1	23.7	21.4	19.9	28.3	20.2	8.1	16.4
1930	41.2	22.2	19.0	18.0	45.1	23.2	21.9	18.8	29.2	19.0	10.2	15.6

In order to follow more closely the movement of population in Dobrogea, details are given in Table 64 on the figures concerning the post-war years compared with figures for the years 1900 and 1912.

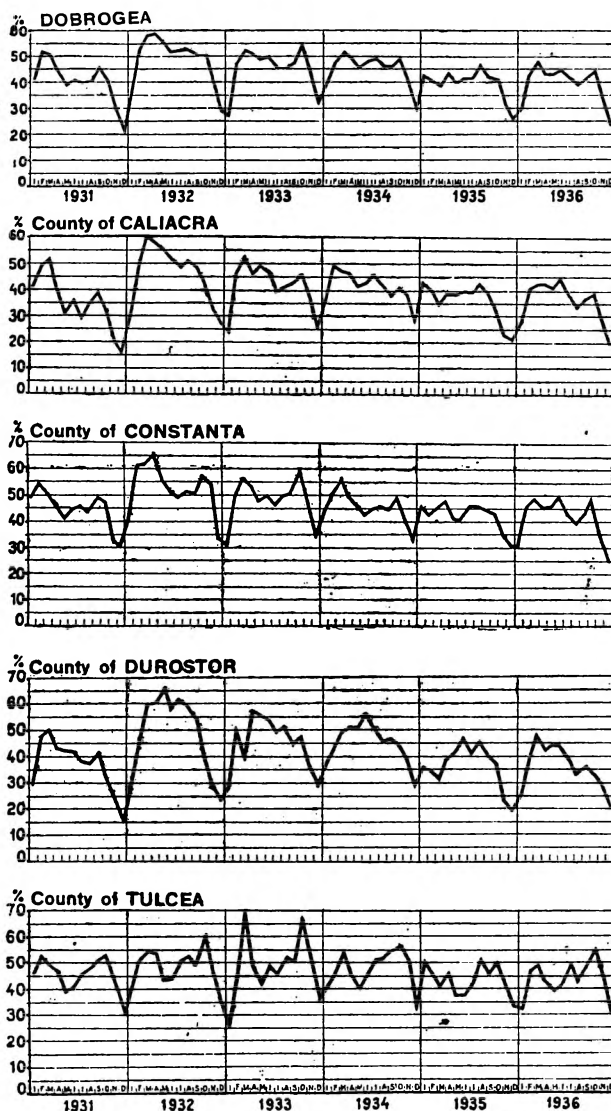
For the post-war period, the averages for 5-year periods are given, thus enabling a general judgement about demographic movement in the province to be obtained.

TABLE 65 — VITAL STATISTICS FOR DOBROGEA IN PERIODS
1921—1925, 1926—1930, AND 1931—1935

Demographic phenomena	Absolute figures			Ratio per 1,000 inhabitants		
	Yearly average for periods:					
	1921-25	1926-30	1931-35	1921-1925	1926-1930	1931-1935
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Whole province</i>						
Estimated population on July 1 . . .	703,697	775,035	847,110			
Live births	29,554	32,005	33,889	42.0	41.3	40.0
Deaths	15,610	17,481	19,189	22.2	22.6	22.7
Natural increase	13,944	14,524	14,700	19.8	18.7	17.3
Marriages	6,606	7,242	7,801	18.8	18.7	18.4
<i>Rural districts</i>						
Estimated population on July 1 . . .	522,193	584,917	650,100			
Live births	24,509	26,505	28,419	46.9	45.3	43.7
Deaths	12,254	13,724	15,203	23.5	23.4	24.3
Natural increase	12,255	12,781	13,216	23.4	21.8	20.3
Marriages	5,068	5,647	6,153	19.4	19.3	18.9
<i>Urban districts</i>						
Estimated population on July 1 . . .	181,504	190,118	197,010			
Live births	5,045	5,500	5,470	27.8	28.9	27.8
Deaths	3,356	3,757	3,986	18.5	19.8	20.2
Natural increase	1,689	1,743	1,484	9.3	9.1	7.6
Marriages	1,538	1,595	1,648	16.9	16.8	16.7

The *birth-rate* in Dobrogea immediately after the war was of about 41.0 per thousand. In 1900 it had been 40.1 per thousand and in 1910 49.1 per thousand. The

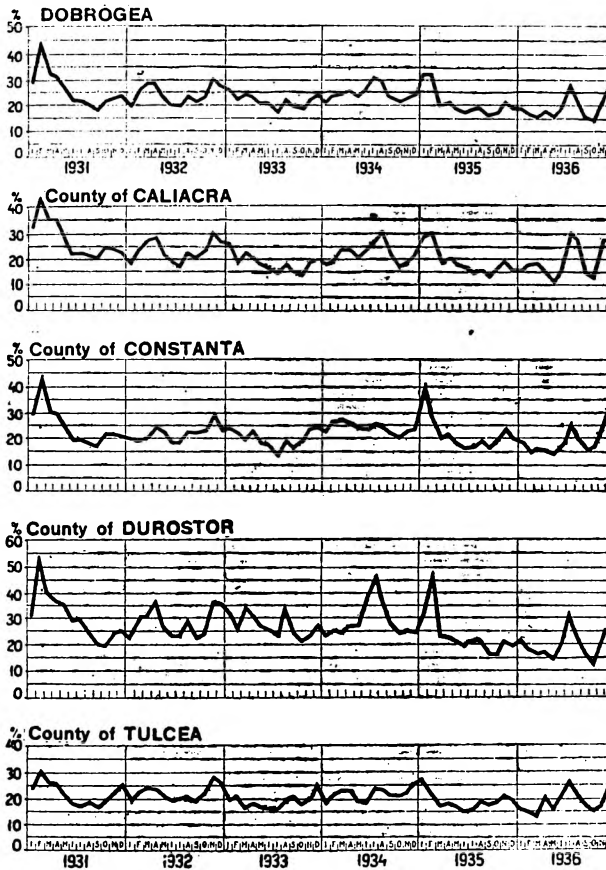
FIGURE 66 — MONTHLY BIRTH-RATES PER 1,000 INHABITANTS IN VILLAGES OF DOBROGEA IN YEARS 1931—1936



fall after the war is due largely to the towns, where the birth-rate is nevertheless fairly high (30 per thousand).

The *death-rate* presents a slight decreasing trend especially in the towns. Its recrudescence in 1919 and 1920 is mainly caused by deaths presumed to have occurred in war-time and which were recorded during the years immediately following the peace.

FIGURE 67 — MONTHLY DEATH-RATES PER 1,000 INHABITANTS IN THE VILLAGES OF DOBROGEA IN THE YEARS 1931—1936

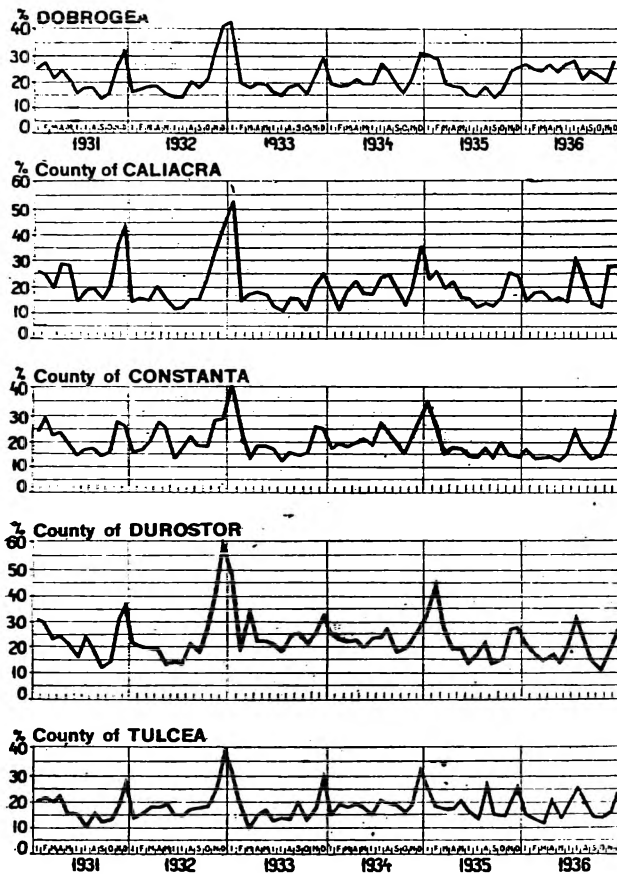


The *natural increase* of the population is very high and is tending to rise. The highest natural increase is found in Dobrogea, which, from this point of view, surpasses not

only all the other Rumanian provinces, but all countries in Europe (not including Russia, for which statistical data are not available).

Infant mortality reaches a rate of about 20.0 per 100 new-born infants. This ratio is undoubtedly very high. When compared, however, with the high number of births in the province as well as with the high birth-rate in the country as a whole, and if it is noticed that it

FIGURE 68 — INFANT DEATH-RATES PER 100 LIVE BIRTHS IN THE VILLAGES OF DOBROGEA IN THE YEARS 1931—1936



does not affect the natural increase, which, as has been shown, exceeds that of the rest of the civilised world, it must be considered at least that infantile mortality here does not result in a continuous diminution of the population which is so painfully felt in other provinces and, especially, in the Banat.

From an examination of the table below it can be stated that the *birth-rate* tends to fluctuate in the counties of the Quadrilateral, whereas in old Dobrogea it seems to remain unchanged. The same observation applies to the *death-rate*, although it notice should be taken of the very high number of deaths in the county of Durostor. It is in the county of Tulcea that the *natural increase* is the highest. It oscillates in the counties of Caliacra and of Durostor, where the figures of deaths and of births are unstable.

The number of *stillbirths* is too high in comparison with the number of live births. It represents a rate of about 2.0% of the births and shows a slight rising trend.

Marriages are numerous, their ratio being settled at about 18.0 persons married per 1,000 inhabitants. This explains the continuity of a high birth-rate and the small number of illegitimate births. A surprising feature of marriages in Dobrogea is that they do not unite very young persons as is the case in the provinces of the West and they are not broken as easily as in those provinces.

Moreover, the ratio of *divorces* is very small (2.0%, on the average). In the villages they are extremely rare. This shows that in Dobrogea the institution of marriage rests on a very solid basis.

Following are the data in detail for counties and for towns for the period 1930—1935:

TABLE 69 — VITAL STATISTICS FOR DOBROGEA IN THE YEARS
1930—1937: ABSOLUTE FIGURES

Counties and towns	Estimated population on July 1, 1937	Live births	Deaths	Natural increase	Marriages	Divorces	Stillbirths	Deaths under one year
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

A) Total for 1930—1937 period

a) counties (urban and rural)

Total	906,588	265,675	149,084	116,591	61,116	2,549	5,148	53,210
Caliacra	183,293	50,182	29,820	20,362	11,618	329	897	10,105
Constanța	281,583	82,659	43,310	39,349	19,231	1,071	1,789	16,107
Durostor	230,309	66,438	43,842	22,596	15,394	527	1,319	14,675
Tulcea	211,403	66,396	32,112	34,284	14,873	622	1,143	12,323

b) towns

Total	203,139	43,856	31,618	12,238	13,680	1,228	1,877	8,478
Babadag	5,018	1,330	822	508	369	35	86	224
Balcic	6,521	1,287	989	298	364	7	40	293
Bazargic	30,742	6,769	5,699	1,070	1,476	136	259	1,577
Carmen Sylva	834	171	212	41	72	4	6	32
Cavarna	5,466	1,272	886	386	372	9	44	221
Cernavoda	6,836	1,288	811	477	391	33	47	228
Constanța	60,728	11,532	8,340	3,192	4,838	544	603	2,160
Eforia *)	113	33	17	16	10	—	2	4
Hârșova	3,852	882	595	287	240	13	34	180
Isaccea	5,135	1,575	873	702	336	25	26	273
Măcin	6,076	1,776	988	788	468	18	53	298
Mangalia	2,989	815	569	246	186	10	37	187
Medgidia	6,190	1,644	1,111	533	432	44	87	292
Ostrov	3,378	890	591	299	277	9	25	153
Siliștra	17,828	3,578	3,120	458	1,138	119	203	743
Sulina	6,351	1,236	707	529	415	32	42	152
Techirghiol	2,125	632	338	294	125	11	16	119
Tulcea	21,090	4,271	3,108	1,163	1,386	143	163	822
Turtucaia	11,867	2,875	1,842	1,033	785	36	104	520

B) Annual average (urban and rural)

Total	906,588	33,209	18,635	14,574	7,639	319	644	6,651
Caliacra	183,293	6,273	3,728	2,545	1,452	41	112	1,263
Constanța	281,583	10,332	5,413	4,919	2,404	134	224	2,014
Durostor	230,309	8,305	5,480	2,825	1,924	66	165	1,834
Tulcea	211,403	8,299	4,014	4,285	1,859	78	143	1,540

*) For years 1935—1937 only

TABLE 70 — VITAL STATISTICS FOR DOBROGEA IN THE YEARS 1930—1937: RATES

Counties and towns	Rates per 1,000 inhabitants				Rates per 100		
	Live-births	Deaths	Natural increase	Persons marrying	Marriages	Live-births	
					Divorces	Stillbirths	Deaths under 1 year
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

a) Counties (urban and rural)

Total	38.8	21.8	17.0	17.9	4.2	1.9	20.0
Caliacra	36.0	21.4	14.6	16.7	2.8	1.8	20.1
Constanța	39.1	20.5	18.6	18.2	5.6	2.2	19.5
Durosttor	37.7	24.9	12.8	17.5	3.4	2.0	22.1
Tulcea	42.3	20.4	21.9	18.9	4.2	1.7	18.6

b) Towns

Total	27.7	20.0	7.7	17.3	9.0	4.3	19.3
Babadag	34.8	21.5	13.3	19.3	9.5	6.5	16.8
Balcic	25.1	19.3	5.8	14.2	1.9	3.1	22.8
Bazargic	27.9	23.5	4.4	12.2	9.2	3.8	23.3
Carmen-Sylva	24.9	30.9	- 6.0	21.0	5.6	3.5	18.7
Cavarna	29.4	20.5	8.9	17.2	2.4	3.5	17.4
Cernavoda	24.2	15.2	9.0	14.7	8.4	3.6	17.7
Constanța	24.3	17.6	6.7	20.4	11.2	5.2	18.7
Eforia *)	103.8	53.5	50.3	62.9	—	6.1	12.1
Hârșova	29.7	20.0	9.7	16.1	5.4	3.9	20.4
Isaccea	40.7	22.6	18.1	17.4	7.4	1.7	17.3
Măcin	38.6	21.5	17.1	20.4	3.8	3.0	16.8
Mangalia	35.3	24.6	10.7	16.1	5.4	4.5	22.9
Medgidia	34.4	23.3	11.1	18.1	9.2	5.3	17.8
Ostrov	34.2	22.7	11.5	21.3	3.2	2.8	17.2
Silistra	25.4	22.2	3.2	16.2	10.5	5.7	20.8
Sulina	25.1	14.4	10.7	16.9	7.7	3.4	12.3
Techirghiol	39.3	21.0	18.3	15.5	8.8	2.5	18.8
Tulcea	25.9	18.9	7.0	16.8	11.1	3.8	19.2
Turtucaia	31.5	20.2	11.3	17.2	4.6	3.6	18.1

*) For years 1935—1937 only

VITAL STATISTICS ACCORDING TO NATIVITY

Since 1933 the Central Institute of Statistics has added into vital statistics blanks a question relating to nativity. The answers obtained are purely subjective, the registrars

being obliged to rely upon the declarations of the inhabitants since there is no objective criterion for determining the ethnic group to which an inhabitant belongs and since the matter has not been made the subject of any legal definition.

Tables 71 and 72 present the demographic data relating to nativity for the last three years (1934—1936).

TABLE 71 — NATIVITY OF LIVE BIRTHS IN DOBROGEA
IN THE YEARS 1934—1936

Ethnic group	Total 1934-36		Year		
	Absolute figures	%	1934 ¹⁾	1935 ¹⁾	1936 ¹⁾
1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Whole province</i>					
Total	99,928	100.0	35,367	31,905	32,656
Rumanians	49,236	49.3	16,643	15,835	16,758
Bulgarians	20,514	20.5	7,085	6,599	6,830
Turks, Tatars, Găgăuți	20,978	21.0	8,597	6,522	5,859
Russians	5,873	5.9	1,852	1,890	2,131
Germans	1,690	1.7	572	540	578
Other	1,637	1.6	618	519	500
<i>Rural</i>					
Total	83,347	100.0	29,734	26,465	27,148
Rumanians	40,178	48.2	13,706	12,849	13,623
Bulgarians	18,522	22.2	6,423	5,937	6,162
Turks, Tatars, Găgăuți	17,505	21.0	7,286	5,385	4,834
Russians	5,016	6.0	1,584	1,605	1,827
Germans	1,467	1.8	485	484	498
Other	659	0.8	250	205	204
<i>Urban</i>					
Total	16,581	100.0	5,633	5,440	5,508
Rumanians	9,058	54.6	2,937	2,986	3,135
Bulgarians	1,992	12.0	662	662	668
Turks, Tatars, Găgăuți	3,473	21.0	1,311	1,137	1,025
Russians	857	5.2	268	285	304
Germans	223	1.3	87	56	80
Other	978	5.9	368	314	296

¹⁾ Provisional data

TABLE 72 — DEATHS BY NATIVITY IN DOBROGEA IN 1934—1936

Ethnic group	Total 1934-1936		Year		
	Absolute figures	%	1934 ¹⁾	1935 ¹⁾	1936 ¹⁾
1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Whole province</i>					
Total	55,752	100.0	20,502	17,946	17,304
Rumanians	23,931	42.9	8,377	7,786	7,768
Bulgarians	12,060	21.6	4,491	3,748	3,821
Turks, Tatars, Găgăuți	14,329	25.7	5,738	4,689	3,902
Russians	3,041	5.5	1,025	927	1,089
Germans	751	1.9	270	226	255
Others	1,640	2.9	601	570	469
<i>Rural</i>					
Total	43,660	100.0	16,313	13,935	13,412
Romanians	17,941	41.1	6,355	5,806	7,780
Bulgarians	10,475	24.0	3,960	3,218	3,297
Turks, Tatars, Găgăuți	11,547	26.4	4,695	3,754	3,098
Russians	2,520	5.8	861	763	896
Germans	604	1.4	220	180	204
Others	573	1.3	222	214	137
<i>Urban</i>					
Total	12,092	100.0	4,189	4,011	3,892
Rumanians	5,990	49.6	2,022	1,980	1,988
Bulgarians	1,585	13.1	531	530	524
Turks, Tatars, Găgăuți	2,782	23.0	1,043	935	804
Russians	521	4.3	164	164	193
Germans	147	1.2	50	46	51
Others	1,067	8.8	379	356	332

They also include a table for the *vital index* of the various groups. It is, generally, very high in Dobrogea, especially among the Germans (who, however, are very few) and the Rumanians, who are in a majority throughout the province.

¹⁾ Provisional data

TABLE 73 — VITAL INDEX FOR THE POPULATION OF DOBROGEA
ACCORDING TO NATIVITY IN THE YEARS 1934—1936

Ethnic group	Year		
	1934 1) ¹⁾	1935 1) ¹⁾	1936 1) ¹⁾
1	2	3	4
<i>Rural and urban</i>			
Total	173	178	189
Rumanians	199	203	216
Bulgarians	158	176	179
Turks, Tatars, Găgăuți	150	139	150
Russians	181	204	196
Germans	212	239	227
Other	103	91	107
<i>Rural</i>			
Total	182	190	202
Rumanians	216	221	235
Bulgarians	162	184	187
Turks, Tatars, Găgăuți	155	143	156
Russians	184	210	204
Germans	220	269	244
Other	113	96	149
<i>Urban</i>			
Total	134	136	142
Rumanians	145	151	158
Bulgarians	125	125	127
Turks, Tatars, Găgăuți	126	122	127
Russians	163	174	158
Germans	174	122	157
Other	97	88	89

The following table gives in annual averages for each ethnic group the trend of the demographic phenomena in Dobrogea.

1) Provisional data

TABLE 74 — THE TREND OF DEMOGRAPHIC PHENOMENA IN DOBROGEA ACCORDING TO NATIVITY

Ethnic group	Percentage of population in 1930	Percentage of births from 1934 to 1936	Percentage of deaths from 1934 to 1936
1	2	3	4
Rumanians	44.2	49.3	42.9
Bulgarians	22.7	20.5	21.6
Turks, Tatars, Găgăuți	22.1	21.0	25.7
Germans	1.5	1.7	1.3
Russians	3.4	5.9	5.5
Other	7.0	1.6	2.9

When it is borne in mind that the question relating to ethnic origin has been put up a few years only, a slight variation of the figures given above may be allowed; it is due to the fact that the newly-conducted enquiries on the subject have not yet been carried out according to uniform rules.

From the practical point of view, however, the above figures are revealing; they show a growing trend for the Rumanian element and, consequently, a disadvantage for the « minorities » especially for the Turko-Tatar element and the small groups appearing under the heading of « Other » who in most cases register their nativity as Rumanian.

VITAL STATISTICS ACCORDING TO RELIGION

The following table shows, in averages of 5-year periods, the distribution of *live births* between 1886 and 1934. To be noted first of all, concerning the religions, is the difference between the percentage of births before and after the annexation of the Quadrilateral. After the annexation, the percentage of Mahomedans rises considerably, i. e. from 10.3% during the period 1909 — 1913 to 25.6% during 1919 — 1923.

TABLE 75 — DISTRIBUTION OF LIVE BIRTHS IN DOBROGEA ACCORDING TO RELIGIONS DURING THE PERIOD 1866—1934

Period	Total	Orthodox	Catholics	Lutherans	Armeno-Gregorians	Lipovans	Mahomedans	Mosaics	Other and non-stated
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Annual average									
1886—1890	8,723	6,687	118	180	32	146	1,395	165	—
Percentage.	100.0	76.7	1.4	2.1	0.4	1.7	16.0	1.9	—
Rural	6,726	5,242	78	161	5	133	1,093	14	—
Urban	1,997	1,445	40	19	27	13	302	151	—
1893—1897	10,824	8,159	251	326	57	370	1,454	186	21
Percentage.	100.0	75.4	2.3	3.0	0.5	3.4	13.4	1.7	0.2
Rural	8,364	6,448	186	303	14	342	1,047	20	4
Urban	2,460	1,711	65	23	43	28	407	166	17
1898—1902	12,311	9,298	262	303	63	618	1,592	163	12
Percentage.	100.0	75.5	2.1	2.5	0.5	5.0	12.9	1.3	0.1
Rural	9,741	7,483	202	268	12	551	1,208	14	3
Urban	2,570	1,815	60	35	51	67	384	149	9
1909—1913	17,154	13,828	243	238	77	903	1,762	103	—
Percentage.	100.0	80.6	1.4	1.4	0.4	5.3	10.3	0.6	—
Rural	13,997	11,382	198	221	16	759	1,415	6	—
Urban	3,157	2,446	45	17	61	144	347	97	—
1919—1923	26,555	18,490	213	258	94	621	6,802	66	11
Percentage.	100.0	69.6	0.8	1.0	0.4	2.3	25.6	0.2	0.0
Rural	22,071	15,446	175	244	6	511	5,676	4	9
Urban	4,484	3,044	38	14	88	110	1,126	62	2
1924—1928	31,081	21,570	289	338	133	706	7,945	65	35
Percentage.	100.0	69.4	0.9	1.1	0.4	2.3	25.6	0.2	0.1
Rural	25,717	17,891	232	308	9	580	6,664	2	31
Urban	5,364	3,679	57	30	124	126	1,281	63	4
1930—1934	34,154	24,575	270	369	*)	442	8,273	42	**) 183
Percentage.	100.0	72.0	0.8	1.1	*)	1.3	24.2	0.1	**) 0.5
Rural	28,642	20,789	207	333	*)	347	6,899	3	**) 64
Urban	5,512	3,786	63	36	*)	95	1,374	39	**) 119

In the same period the percentage of persons of the Orthodox faith falls from 80.6% to 69.6%, that of the Lipovans from 5.3% to 2.3%, and that of the Jews from 0.6% to 0.2%. The increase trend for persons of the Orthodox faith is, however, constant and logical. They

*) Included in column 10.

**) Including column 6.

constitute the main element and that which gives to the province its predominant characteristic (8,728 in 1886—1890, 13,828 in 1909—1913, 24,575 in 1930—1934).

The figures relating to the *Lipovans* should be emphasised. Before the war their percentage constantly increased (1.7%, 3.4%, 5.0%, 5.3%) but considerably diminished immediately afterwards. In the three 5-year periods following the war the percentages were 2.3%, 2.3% and 1.3%.

Another curious feature is the diminution of the number of live births among persons of *Mosaic faith*. Since the period 1886—1890, the percentage diminished constantly before the war (1.9%—1.7%—1.3%—0.6%). An appreciable diminution took place after the annexation of the Quadrilateral, where there are practically no inhabitants of the Jewish religion (0.2%—0.2%—0.1% in the period 1930—1934).

In all probability there is not merely a decrease in the birth-rate of the Jewish population, but also a continuous decrease in the number of Jews, probably due to their migration towards the other provinces of Rumania.

The table given below shows year by year the number of *births* in the groups belonging to the various religions.

TABLE 76 — DISTRIBUTION OF LIVE BIRTHS IN DOBROGEA ACCORDING TO RELIGION IN THE YEARS 1866—1934

Year	Total	Orthodox	Catholics	Lutherans	Armeno- Gregorians	Lipovans	Mahomedans	Mosaics	Other and non-stated
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1886	8,097	6,163	103	182	29	165	1,295	160	—
1887	8,551	6,541	96	173	26	190	1,358	167	—
1888	8,799	6,803	104	152	29	129	1,424	158	—
1889	9,171	7,044	140	194	34	180	1,408	171	—
1890	9,008	6,827	143	199	41	137	1,490	171	—
1891	10,004	7,382	212	*)	*)	*)	*)	225	*) 2,185
1892	9,478	7,095	234	*)	*)	*)	*)	182	**) 1,967
1893	10,131	7,471	245	339	42	206	1,629	181	18
1894	10,403	7,984	219	328	53	255	1,359	185	20
1895	10,683	8,056	250	314	48	402	1,395	180	38

*) Included in column 10

**) Including column 6

Tab. 76 — contd.

Year	Total	Orthodox	Catholics	Lutherans	Armeno- Gregorians	Lipovans	Mahomedans	Mosaics	Other and non-stated
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1896	10,757	8,088	262	305	71	465	1,357	186	23
1897	12,115	9,192	279	347	50	523	1,522	199	3
1898	11,753	8,806	294	304	69	501	1,569	197	13
1899	13,059	9,713	304	332	74	609	1,840	174	13
1900	10,730	8,100	227	290	53	556	1,366	136	2
1901	12,293	9,466	246	295	57	634	1,424	155	16
1902	13,725	10,405	241	295	63	792	1,762	151	16
1903	13,979	10,695	258	292	77	789	1,695	150	23
1904	14,941	11,608	262	281	62	837	1,751	137	3
1905	13,450	10,331	233	267	72	804	1,617	123	3
1906	15,174	12,074	247	244	75	782	1,625	125	2
1907	15,987	12,695	240	245	73	871	1,741	119	3
1908	16,249	12,873	267	250	89	916	1,715	139	—
1909	16,067	12,816	234	242	73	934	1,654	113	1
1910	5,692	12,642	248	227	87	765	1,630	91	2
1911	16,773	13,540	227	234	70	889	1,707	106	—
1912	18,685	15,077	249	262	66	1,001	1,925	105	—
1913	18,558	15,066	253	229	90	926	1,895	98	1
1914—1918: Data lacking									
1919	21,117	16,124	155	210	43	612	3,907	62	4
1920	24,792	16,720	173	198	60	601	6,973	56	11
1921	28,527	19,222	245	294	80	719	7,885	73	9
1922	27,176	19,130	225	239	120	523	6,865	62	12
1923	31,157	21,257	265	348	165	649	8,378	76	19
1924	31,721	21,904	299	331	156	625	8,325	60	21
1925	29,190	19,868	267	328	142	673	7,829	59	24
1926	32,112	22,231	333	358	129	739	8,209	77	36
1927	30,960	21,759	276	347	121	746	7,600	74	37
1928	31,428	22,087	273	328	116	745	7,765	58	56
1929: Data lacking									
1930	33,148	23,813	253	345	*)	539	8,013	46	**) 139
1931	30,465	22,396	256	495	*)	171	6,946	38	**) 163
1932	36,626	26,156	249	343	*)	588	9,112	38	**) 140
1933	35,082	24,927	292	338	*)	453	8,727	43	**) 302
1934	35,444	25,580	296	323	*)	460	8,573	44	**) 168

*) Included in column 10

**) Including column 6

With regard to *deaths*, Table 77 provides data similar to those given in Table 75. It is among persons of the

Jewish faith that the difference between the number of deaths and the number of births is most appreciable, the percentage of the latter being lower than that of the former since 1919. This shows that the Jews are passing through a phase

TABLE 77 — DISTRIBUTION OF DEATHS IN DOBROGEA ACCORDING TO RELIGIONS IN THE PERIOD 1866—1934

Period	Total	Ortodox	Catholics	Lutherans	Armeno-Gregorians	Lipovans	Mahomedans	Mosaics	Other and non-stated
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Annual averages									
1886—1890	4,782	3,469	61	71	34	94	983	65	5
Percentage	100.0	72.5	1.3	1.5	0.7	2.0	20.6	1.4	0.1
Rural	3,344	2,501	31	55	3	86	654	11	1
Urban	1,438	968	30	16	31	8	329	54	2
1893—1897	6,627	4,792	139	150	53	235	1,152	86	20
Percentage	100.0	72.3	2.1	2.3	0.8	3.5	17.4	1.3	0.3
Rural	4,775	3,594	79	127	5	206	754	5	5
Urban	1,852	1,198	60	23	48	29	398	81	15
1898—1902	7,423	5,312	146	133	58	361	1,318	75	20
Percentage	100.0	71.6	2.0	1.8	0.8	4.9	17.8	1.0	0.3
Rural	5,475	4,021	92	111	9	304	927	5	6
Urban	1,948	1,291	54	22	49	57	391	70	14
1909—1913	9,168	6,950	130	112	52	510	1,352	51	11
Percentage	100.0	75.8	1.4	1.2	0.6	5.6	14.7	0.6	0.1
Rural	7,037	5,412	89	90	8	416	1,015	2	5
Urban	2,131	1,538	41	22	44	94	337	49	6
1919—1923	16,909	10,998	131	122	73	406	5,107	49	23
Percentage	100.0	65.0	0.8	0.7	0.4	2.4	30.2	0.3	0.1
Rural	13,242	8,684	85	107	6	321	4,025	4	10
Urban	3,667	2,314	46	15	67	85	1,082	45	13
1924—1928	16,706	10,986	146	164	90	390	4,856	46	28
Percentage	100.0	65.8	0.9	1.0	0.5	2.3	29.1	0.3	0.2
Rural	13,114	8,644	93	143	5	323	3,886	2	18
Urban	3,592	2,342	53	21	85	67	970	44	10
1930—1934	19,180	12,690	125	145	*)	281	5,703	45	**) 191
Percentage	100.0	66.2	0.7	0.8	*)	1.5	29.7	0.2	**) 1.0
Rural	15,260	10,093	80	118	*)	225	4,645	3	**) 96
Urban	3,920	2,597	45	27	*)	56	1,058	42	**) 95

*) Included in column 10
 **) Including column 6

of biological stagnation which, little by little, will culminate in their disappearance from this province unless their number should be restored through new immigration.

The following table shows year by year the number of *deaths* in the groups belonging to different religions.

TABLE 78 — DISTRIBUTION OF DEATHS IN DOBROGEA ACCORDING TO RELIGIONS IN THE YEARS 1866—1934

Year	Total	Orthodox	Catholics	Lutherans	Armeno- Gregorians	Lipovans	Mahomedans	Mosaics	Other and non-stated
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1886	4,453	3,186	46	71	38	187	873	42	10
1887	4,310	3,052	56	57	27	46	1,024	43	5
1888	4,807	3,502	45	57	27	87	1,019	70	—
1889	5,006	3,725	77	72	30	88	901	107	6
1890	5,341	3,883	81	94	47	62	1,098	66	10
1891	6,216	4,467	127	*)	*)	*)	*)	84	**) 1,538
1892	7,227	5,224	147	*)	*)	*)	*)	93	**) 1,763
1893	6,525	4,417	139	193	73	204	1,377	91	31
1894	6,169	4,511	124	129	34	155	1,124	71	21
1895	5,961	4,371	138	121	49	247	956	60	19
1896	7,802	5,704	152	174	50	315	1,269	117	21
1897	6,681	4,959	146	131	55	254	1,037	89	10
1898	7,542	5,474	180	152	64	309	1,265	70	28
1899	7,716	5,344	154	163	62	283	1,604	88	18
1900	6,161	4,453	104	98	54	282	1,090	65	15
1901	6,716	4,820	142	107	56	355	1,149	67	20
1902	8,982	6,467	140	148	63	577	1,483	86	18
1903	6,933	5,071	115	121	46	341	1,164	56	19
1904	6,811	4,944	111	121	59	397	1,109	58	12
1905	7,244	5,229	106	103	65	402	1,265	57	17
1906	7,465	5,421	115	135	61	397	1,254	59	23
1907	9,395	6,840	137	126	60	533	1,635	47	17
1908	10,089	7,404	133	126	62	732	1,563	55	14
1909	9,258	7,108	165	111	42	454	1,315	52	11
1910	8,103	6,045	115	116	53	464	1,246	44	20
1911	9,137	7,010	103	108	50	516	1,305	41	4
1912	8,814	6,591	119	106	67	457	1,413	46	15
1913	10,529	7,996	148	120	48	659	1,478	72	8

1914—1918: Data lacking

*) Included in column 10

**) Including column 6

Table 78 — contd.

Year	Total	Orthodox	Catholics	Lutherans	Armeno-Gregorians	Lipovans	Mahomedans	Mosaics	Others and non-stated
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1919	19,629	12,442	122	110	63	551	6,261	58	22
1920	18,876	12,314	139	131	63	446	5,713	48	22
1921	14,506	9,518	113	99	64	320	4,329	42	21
1922	16,315	10,550	131	139	65	394	4,967	49	20
1923	15,207	10,166	142	133	111	319	4,265	45	26
1924	17,046	10,994	145	171	100	363	5,197	46	30
1925	14,978	9,792	136	149	93	437	4,319	36	16
1926	16,902	11,328	138	173	90	388	4,715	45	25
1927	18,337	11,937	148	187	82	345	5,555	50	33
1928	16,278	10,881	165	142	88	417	4,494	55	36
1929: Data lacking									
1930	17,836	11,657	104	146	*)	327	5,430	40	**) 132
1931	20,513	13,284	126	159	*)	172	6,314	44	**) 414
1932	19,539	13,046	121	160	*)	334	5,684	43	**) 151
1933	17,449	11,467	114	102	*)	284	5,312	43	**) 127
1934	20,561	13,996	161	155	*)	284	5,777	54	**) 134

*) Included in column 10

**) Including column 6

To complete this analysis of vital statistical data concerning religions, details may be given on the *vital index* for each phenomenon in 5-year periods. This index reveals the biological value and the trend of natural development of the population in each group of religion.

It is obvious that the vital index calculated for the parts of population belonging to these different religions is of no special significance in so far as the race is concerned; moreover, it is not known to what extent these figures are of any importance from the religious point of view. What is certain is that there are in Dobrogea quite different groups of religions: Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant, Lipovan, Mahomedan and Mosaic. Not only do these groups imply differences of rite, but they also represent wholly distinct social classes which undoubtedly exercise great influence on demographic phenomena.

There are, moreover, certain coincidences between religions and the various ethnic groups: thus the Orthodox group includes the population of Rumanian, Bulgarian and Greek nationality; the German population is Catholic or Protestant; the Armenian religion is represented by the Armenians; the Mahomedan religion by the Turks and Tatars, and the Mosaic religion by the Jews. It is possible, therefore, to deduce with some certitude from the data relating to the religion the vitality of different ethnic groups from the point of view of the race. Recourse must be had to such indirect deductions owing to the fact that until the 1930 census statistical services did not record the inhabitants according to ethnic origin but according to religion, notwithstanding the fact that the problem existed formerly and concerned authorities as well as public opinion.

Since 1930 statistical data relating to the different ethnic groups have been collected; after the general census of 1940 it will be possible, furthermore, to obtain knowledge of the trend of each one of them.

We are fortunate, however, in possessing statistical information which has been used in preparing the table reproduced in table 79, from which certain direct and indirect conclusions may be drawn with regard to the trend of ethnic evolution of the population. From an examination of these data it will appear clearly that the Catholic and Protestant groups have the highest vital index in Dobrogea. Yet these latter groups are very small in number (1.5%), so that the very high vital index does not inform us finally on the ethnic structure of the province.

An essential fact is the appreciable increase in the number of persons of Orthodox faith in comparison with Mahomedans, whose diminution is due to the biological factor.

The inhabitants of Orthodox faith (Rumanians and Bulgarians) have a very high vital index which remains constantly at about 200. Catholics and Protestants (Germans of Dobrogea) occupy a privileged position among other

TABLE 79 — VITAL INDEX FOR DOBROGEA ACCORDING TO RELIGIONS IN THE 5-YEAR PERIODS FROM 1866 TO 1934

Years	Environment	Total	Orthodox	Catholics	Lutherans	Armeno-Gregorians	Lipovans	Mahomedans	Mosaics	Other and non-stated
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Annual averages

1886—1890 .	Total	182	193	193	254	94	155	142	254	—
	Rural	201	210	252	293	167	155	167	127	—
	Urban	139	149	133	119	87	163	92	280	—
1893—1897 .	Total	163	170	181	217	108	157	126	216	105
	Rural	175	179	235	239	280	166	139	400	80
	Urban	133	143	108	100	90	97	102	205	113
1898—1902 .	Total	166	175	179	228	109	171	121	217	60
	Rural	178	186	220	241	133	181	130	280	50
	Urban	132	141	111	159	104	118	98	213	64
1909—1913 .	Total	187	199	187	213	148	177	130	202	—
	Rural	199	210	222	246	200	182	139	300	—
	Urban	148	159	110	77	139	153	103	198	—
1919—1923 .	Total	157	168	163	211	129	153	133	135	48
	Rural	167	178	206	228	100	159	141	100	90
	Urban	122	132	83	93	131	129	104	138	15
1924—1928 .	Total	186	196	198	206	148	181	164	141	125
	Rural	196	207	249	215	180	180	171	100	172
	Urban	149	157	108	143	146	188	132	143	40
1930—1934 .	Total	178	194	216	254	*)	157	145	93	**) 96
	Rural	188	206	259	282	*)	154	149	100	**) 67
	Urban	141	146	140	133	*)	170	130	93	**) 125

*) Included in column 10

**) Including column 6

groups. It should be emphasized that the German population in Dobrogea is the most vigorous in Rumania, having a vital index exceeding 250.

The position of the Mahomedans and of the Lipovans remains unchanged. There is a rapid diminution of vitality in the Jewish population, whose index during the last few years has fallen even below the level of 100. Since the

period 1886—1890, during which the figure of maximum prosperity of 254 was recorded, the vital index of Jews fell successively to 216, 217, 202, 135, 141 and 93.

Data relating to *marriages* are presented in Tables 61, 62, 64, 65, 69 and 70. They show that the rate of marriages is in general very high, from which it may be concluded that the institution of marriage in Dobrogea rests on a very solid foundation. A peculiar feature of the province from this point of view is the frequency of marriages in the towns. It is certain, however, that their percentage is higher in the villages than in the towns. The discrepancies between the various figures are, however, smaller than in other provinces.

There can likewise be noted a fairly visible concomitancy between the marriages and the birth-rate.

Table 80 provides data for a comparison of the average number of marriages according to religion celebrated from 1886 to 1890 and from 1930 to 1933. For the first of these periods only the 2 counties of old Dobrogea (Constanța and Tulcea) have been taken into account, whereas for the second the figures relate to present-day Dobrogea.

TABLE 80—DISTRIBUTION OF MARRYING PERSONS IN DOBROGEA ACCORDING TO RELIGION IN ANNUAL AVERAGES FOR THE PERIODS 1886—1890 AND 1930—1933

Period and Environment	Total	Orthodox	Catholics	Lutherans	Armeno-Gregorians	Lipovans	Mahomedans	Mosaics	Others and non-stated
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>Annual average 1886-90</i>									
Whole province	2,341	2,044	37	48	18	10	145	39	—
Percentage	100.0	87.3	1.6	2.1	0.8	0.4	6.2	1.7	—
Rural	1,753	1,576	24	43	2	10	92	6	—
Urban	588	468	13	5	16	—	53	33	—
<i>Annual average</i>									
Whole province	15,463	12,171	155	159	*)	184	2,573	60	**) 161
Percentage	100.0	78.7	1.0	1.0	*)	1.2	16.6	0.4	**) 1.0
Rural	12,384	9,722	94	135	*)	139	2,230	4	**) 60
Urban	3,079	2,449	61	24	*)	45	343	56	**) 101

*) Included in column 10

**) Including column 6

During the first period, 87.3% of the marriages were celebrated according to the Orthodox rite, the percentage of Mahomedan marriages being 6.2%.

From 1930 to 1933, the percentage of Orthodox marriages fell to 78.7% and that of Mahomedan marriages rose to 16.6%.

This is to be explained by the modification which occurred in the ethnic structure of Dobrogea following upon the annexation of the counties of Durostor and Caliacra, and which manifested itself in an increase of the Mahomedan population. This also explains the diminution of the number of Jewish marriages; it is known that there was practically no Jewish population in the counties annexed after the Balkan war.

The table given below shows year by year the number of *marrying persons* belonging to different religions.

TABLE 81 — DISTRIBUTION OF MARRYING PERSONS IN DOBROGEA ACCORDING TO RELIGION IN THE YEARS 1886—1890, 1909, 1910 AND 1930—1933

Year	Total	Orthodox	Catholics	Lutherans	Armeno- Gregorians	Lipovans	Mahomedans	Mosaics	Other and non-stated
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1886	2,098	1,801	32	38	16	8	171	32	—
1887	2,486	2,152	24	55	25	14	174	42	—
1888	2,056	1,796	29	53	14	14	114	36	—
1889	2,598	2,301	39	50	8	10	150	40	—
1890	2,466	2,170	60	46	26	2	118	44	—
1909	5,262	4,553	119	91	23	180	234	62	—
1910	5,510	4,836	125	85	*)	*)	232	38	**) 194
1930	14,492	11,505	168	149	*)	215	2,255	62	**) 138
1931	15,272	11,963	126	174	*)	83	2,597	58	**) 271
1932	16,642	12,893	149	141	*)	205	3,084	61	**) 109
1933	15,444	12,324	178	171	*)	233	2,353	61	**) 124

*) Included in column 10

**) Including column 6

Table 82 shows that the number of *mixed marriages* is very small in Dobrogea. They are contracted only between persons of the Orthodox faith, by Catholics and by Protestants.

For several years there has been no case of mixed marriage among the Armenians, the Lipovans, the Jews and the Mahomedans. This denotes the spirit of strict religious isolation among the ethnic groups of Dobrogea, an isolation which has no influence on the biological vigour of the population.

TABLE 82 - COMBINED MARRIAGES IN DOBROGEA IN ANNUAL AVERAGES FOR THE YEARS 1893-1894 AND 1896-1897

Husband's religion	All religions	Wife's religion							
		Orthodox	Catholic	Lutheran	Armeno-Gregorian	Lipovan	Mosaic	Mahomedan	Other
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>Total</i>	1,568	1,347	25	53	8	8	24	102	1
Orthodox	1,352	1,343	6	3	—	—	—	—	—
Catholic	23	3	19	1	—	—	—	—	—
Lutheran	50	1	—	49	—	—	—	—	—
Armeno-Gregorian	8	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	—
Lipovan	8	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—
Mosaic	24	—	—	—	—	—	24	—	—
Mahomedan	102	—	—	—	—	—	—	102	—
Other	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
<i>Rural</i>	1,167	1,076	17	50	1	8	2	13	—
Orthodox	1,078	1,075	1	2	—	—	—	—	—
Catholic	18	1	16	1	—	—	—	—	—
Lutheran	47	—	—	47	—	—	—	—	—
Armeno-Gregorian	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Lipovan	8	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—
Mosaic	2	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
Mahomedan	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	—
Other	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Urban</i>	401	271	8	3	7	—	22	89	1
Orthodox	274	268	5	1	—	—	—	—	—
Catholic	5	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lutheran	3	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
Armeno-Gregorian	7	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	—
Lipovan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mosaic	22	—	—	—	—	—	22	—	—
Mahomedan	89	—	—	—	—	—	—	89	—
Other	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

Table 83 shows that *divorces* are frequent among the Mahomedans and the Jews. Among persons of the Orthodox faith divorces are more frequent in the towns. In general, indeed, the ratio of divorces is higher in urban centres than in villages.

TABLE 83 — DISTRIBUTION OF DIVORCED PERSONS IN DOBROGEA ACCORDING TO RELIGION IN ANNUAL AVERAGES FOR THE PERIOD 1930—1933

Environment	Total	Orthodox	Catholics	Lutherans	Armeno-Gregorian	Lipovans	Mahomedans	Mosaics	Other and non-stated	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Whole province	581	432	7	3	*)	3	120	10	**)	6
Percentage	100.0	74.4	1.2	0.5	*)	0.5	20.7	1.7	**)	1.0
Rural	300	210	1	1	*)	2	82	1	**)	1
Urban	281	222	6	2	*)	1	36	9	**)	5

From data given in this chapter it appears clearly that the population of Dobrogea is of a biologically progressive type and of a socially stationary type. This is proved, on the one hand, by the considerable number of births and deaths and, on the other hand, by the high rates of marriages and the small rates of divorces.

It is to be expected that Dobrogea will still remain for a long time to come the province having the most active movement of population in Rumania.

*) Included in column 10

***) Including column 6

ANNEX. CHANGES IN THE POPULATION OF DOBROGEA SINCE
BY NATIVITY

Ethnic groups	Dobrogea			Caliacra		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Total</i>						
Arrivals	76,452	66,817	9,635	15,186	12,765	2,421
Departures	49,406	34,633	14,773	16,939	11,145	5,793
Surplus	- 27,046	- 32,184	+ 5,138	+ 1,753	- 1,620	+ 3,374
<i>Rumanians</i>						
Arrivals	12,452	9,092	3,360	1,754	1,011	743
Departures	29,471	22,920	6,551	8,619	6,835	1,784
Surplus	+ 17,019	+ 13,828	+ 3,191	+ 6,865	+ 5,824	+ 1,041
<i>Macedonian Rumanians</i>						
Arrivals	419	344	75	228	154	74
Departures	6,808	6,392	416	3,794	3,455	339
Surplus	+ 6,389	+ 6,048	+ 341	+ 3,566	+ 3,301	+ 265
<i>Germans</i>						
Arrivals	809	691	118	35	12	23
Departures	1,230	1,009	121	82	61	21
Surplus	+ 421	+ 318	+ 103	+ 47	+ 49	- 2
<i>Hungarians</i>						
Arrivals	132	33	99	28	7	21
Departures	203	62	141	23	4	19
Surplus	+ 71	+ 29	+ 42	- 5	- 3	- 2
<i>Bulgarians</i>						
Arrivals	5,997	4,942	1,055	2,988	2,445	543
Departures	6,551	1,756	4,795	3,342	476	2,866
Surplus	+ 554	- 3,186	+ 3,740	+ 354	- 1,969	+ 2,323
<i>Russians</i>						
Arrivals	964	591	373	101	51	50
Departures	1,668	1,011	657	128	72	56
Surplus	+ 704	+ 420	+ 284	+ 27	+ 21	+ 6
<i>Ruthenians, Ukrainians</i>						
Arrivals	18	8	10	—	—	—
Departures	10	1	9	—	—	—
Surplus	- 8	- 7	- 1	—	—	—
<i>Lipovans</i>						
Arrivals	131	47	84	—	—	—
Departures	101	59	42	16	16	—
Surplus	- 30	+ 12	- 42	+ 16	+ 16	—

1) The table gives total provisional data concerning the grand total of persons not relate exclusively, therefore, to emigration and immigration.

THE TIME OF 1930 CENSUS TO MID-1938 BY COUNTIES AND OF THE INHABITANTS¹⁾

Constanța			Durostor			Tulcea		
Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
14,994	12,996	1,998	37,117	34,466	2,651	9,155	6,590	2,565
10,627	7,261	3,366	14,865	11,857	3,008	6,975	4,370	2,605
- 4,367	- 5,735	+ 1,368	- 22,252	- 22,609	+ 357	- 2,180	- 2,220	+ 40
5,088	4,074	1,014	1,144	727	417	4,466	3,280	1,186
7,276	4,785	2,491	8,788	8,061	727	4,788	3,239	1,549
+ 2,188	+ 711	+ 1,477	+ 7,644	+ 7,334	+ 310	+ 322	- 41	+ 363
1	1	—	190	189	1	—	—	—
8	6	2	3,006	2,931	75	—	—	—
+ 7	+ 5	+ 2	+ 2,816	+ 2,742	+ 74	—	—	—
513	453	60	—	—	—	261	226	35
971	832	139	7	—	7	170	116	54
+ 458	+ 379	+ 79	+ 7	—	+ 7	- 91	- 100	+ 19
52	14	38	2	—	2	50	12	38
127	30	97	19	13	6	34	15	19
+ 75	+ 16	+ 59	+ 17	+ 13	+ 4	- 16	+ 3	- 19
471	440	31	1,974	1,787	187	564	270	294
729	544	185	2,140	546	1,594	340	190	150
+ 258	+ 104	+ 154	+ 166	- 1,241	+ 1,407	- 224	- 80	- 144
83	47	36	3	2	1	777	491	286
554	383	171	10	7	3	976	549	427
+ 471	+ 336	+ 135	+ 7	+ 5	+ 2	+ 199	+ 58	+ 141
4	—	4	—	—	—	14	8	6
8	1	7	—	—	—	2	—	2
+ 4	+ 1	+ 3	—	—	—	- 12	- 8	- 4
10	10	—	—	—	—	121	37	84
18	18	—	15	—	15	52	25	27
+ 8	+ 8	—	+ 15	—	+ 15	- 69	- 12	- 57

arriving and departing both within Dobrogea and to and from outside; they do

Ethnic group	Dobrogea			Caliacra		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Greeks</i>						
Arrivals	235	51	184	69	—	69
Departures	255	110	145	58	18	40
Surplus	+ 20	- 59	- 39	- 11	+ 18	- 29
<i>Jews</i>						
Arrivals	370	100	270	84	7	77
Departures	319	82	237	37	1	36
Surplus	- 51	- 18	- 33	- 47	- 6	- 41
<i>Turks</i>						
Arrivals	48,146	44,712	3,434	8,587	8,211	376
Departures	1,841	633	1,208	507	94	413
Surplus	- 46,305	- 44,079	- 2,226	- 8,080	- 8,117	+ 37
<i>Tatars</i>						
Arrivals	5,766	5,595	171	876	705	171
Departures	212	181	31	44	13	31
Surplus	- 5,554	- 5,414	- 140	- 832	- 692	- 140
<i>Găgăuți</i>						
Arrivals	267	192	75	225	150	75
Departures	233	119	114	167	53	114
Surplus	- 34	- 73	+ 39	- 58	- 97	+ 39
<i>Other</i>						
Arrivals	746	419	- 327	211	12	199
Departures	452	296	156	72	47	25
Surplus	- 294	- 123	171	- 139	- 35	- 174
<i>Non-stated</i>						
Arrivals	—	—	—	—	—	—
Departures	52	2	50	50	—	50
Surplus	- 52	+ 2	+ 50	- 50	—	+ 50

continued

Constanța			Durostor			Tulcea		
Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
42	22	20	5	—	5	119	29	90
70	40	30	1	—	1	126	52	74
+ 28	+ 18	+ 10	- 4	—	- 4	+ 7	+ 23	- 16
78	52	26	7	—	7	201	41	160
70	46	24	32	—	32	180	35	145
- 8	- 6	- 2	+ 25	—	+ 25	- 21	- 6	- 15
3,825	3,082	743	33,593	31,579	2,014	2,141	1,840	301
426	240	186	748	254	494	160	45	115
- 3,399	- 2,842	- 557	- 32,845	- 31,325	- 1,520	- 1,981	- 1,795	- 186
4,706	4,706	—	150	150	—	34	34	—
162	162	—	—	—	—	6	6	—
- 4,544	- 4,544	—	- 150	- 150	—	- 28	- 28	—
41	41	—	—	—	—	1	1	—
56	56	—	1	1	—	9	9	—
+ 15	+ 15	—	+ 1	+ 1	—	+ 8	+ 8	—
80	54	26	49	32	17	406	321	85
152	118	34	98	44	54	130	87	43
+ 72	+ 64	+ 8	+ 49	+ 12	+ 37	- 276	- 234	- 42
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	+ 2	+ 2	—

RUMANIAN CULTURE IN DOBROGEA

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I. RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION

The progress of historical and linguistic studies on the origin and development of the Rumanian people has made it possible to identify beyond question, as the starting point in the formation of that people, the river which the ancients called Ister. The river served far more as a means of communication than as a line of demarcation between the regions situated on its right and left banks. These regions are the cradle of the Rumanian race.

«We need only state what can be called today the consensus of competent philologists. That the centre of the old Rumanian people once lay in the Danube region and in fact south of the river is in general no longer doubted by linguists. In this connection, the Danube is not regarded as a northern boundary, but rather as a means of communication, so that the left bank also has its part in the development. Thus has arisen the conception of the Latin Danube area as the original home of this people »¹⁾.

¹⁾ Mattias Friedwagner, *Über die Sprache und Heimat der Rumänen*, in «Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie», vol. LIV (1934), p. 713. With regard to *Oriental Rumania*, Professor N. Iorga writes: «It occupies a very extensive territory on the shores of the Adriatic Sea and in the adjacent islands; in the whole mountainous region of the interior, peopled in particular by Rumanian Vlachs and by half-Latinised Albanians; and in the western parts of modern Serbia, where, beyond the Danube and its western tributaries, it makes connections with the thoroughly Latinised districts of Pannonia, Vindelicia, and Noricum. Trajan's Dacia as a whole belonged to it, and new streams of colonisation made their way from its centre towards the steppe. But even this does not give an adequate idea of its extent.

We know today that, from the most remote periods of human life, the forests on the banks of rivers and the plateaux along the water courses were particularly populous, for life there was much easier than in the mountains, because of the greater abundance of the means of existence; hence « the superiority, in this phase of the growth of population, of the wooded prairies and the plains over the mountains, and the role which was to be played in consequence, at the dawn of history by the immense « Balta » of western and northern Dobrogea »¹⁾.

On the region between the Carpathians and the Black Sea — the setting in which the Rumanian people became conscious of itself and in which it developed — communications have always been possible by three different routes: by *the forest route* from the basin of the Argeş, through the woods of Vlăsie, and thence through those of Deliorman, so that Dacia ended only at the shore of the Black Sea; by *the steppe*, which led insensibly from the « monotonous grass-covered plain » of the Bărăgan to the central part of Dobrogea, where the lack of water and of verdure presented the same appearance of naked desolation, ending likewise on the shore of the Black Sea; and by *the wooded banks of the Siret*, by which it was possible to pass

The Greek territory in the Balkans was not as extensive as would appear from the inscriptions in what was the fashionable literary language. What is now Dobrogea belonged to « Romania »; and as the Greeks, aside from their influence in Illyrian Macedonia, possessed only the shore of the Black Sea (long since peopled by Ionian and Dorian colonies), it must be concluded that the inland valleys of the peninsula, occupied first of all by large numbers of the Thracians and Illyrians, were subjected to Latin influence before being finally included in this eastern Romania » (N. Iorga, *History of the Rumanians*, Bucharest, 1936, vol. I, Part. I, p. 14).

Cf. V. Pârvan in *Dacia*, II, p. 240: « The Danube Valley with its broad fertile plains — Pannonia, Dacia, and the two Moesias — constituted an indivisible whole from every point of view: economic (agricultural peasants resisting all invasions and preserving, wherever they were, the Roman spirit of great immediate productive activity); linguistic (the same dialect, spoken throughout the territory, because the roads there were numberless and easy and the Danube itself was the central artery of this whole system); intellectual (the same Roman civilisation, everywhere grafted on the same original stock of Celtic civilisation, from Bavaria to Dobrogea and Bessarabia); ethnographic (there is, in reality, but one nation, the Daco-Getae, at the basis of all oriental Romanism, from Moravia and Pannonia to the Dnieper and the Balkans ».

¹⁾ S. Mehedinți, *Euxine Dacia and Carpathian Dacia*, in « Dobrogea: Fifty years of Rumanian Rule (1878—1928) », Bucharest, 1928, pp. 193—194.

from the chain of the Carpathians, through the groves of willows which flanked this river, to the wooded region of northern Dobrogea, ending, near the sea, on the shores of Lake Razim.

This country, which constitutes a geographical unit, was filled, from the most remote times, by a population which was also unified racially, occupying the west shore of the Black Sea and the whole Carpatho-Balkan region, from the mountains to the sea. This population resisted all attempts at conquest, for throughout this whole territory it felt at home. Near the sea lived the Getae of Darius, and, in the western parts, the Getae of Trajan — the Dacians of Decebalus.

« In geographical, demographical, and anthropo-geographical terms, this means that our ancestors, as early as the 6th century B. C., were so numerous, and had established themselves so firmly in the plain and in the inaccessible Carpathians, that they dominated all the Carpathic and peri-Carpathic regions as far as the Dniester and the sea. Hence they felt that they had a right to defend themselves. For them, Darius and the Scythians represented an element heterogeneous to their country and their interests. Masters — as shepherds, ploughmen, farmers, vine-growers, and miners — of all the region about the Carpathians and of the plains watered by the Danube, the sacred river which guided them to the sea, the Geto-Dacians had admitted the Greeks on the border of the country, at least as merchants; but the hinterland had remained in the hands of the native population. The master of the house must naturally be master also of the door — that is to say, of maritime Dacia. This explains the resistance offered to the foreigners, from Darius to Philip, Alexander, and Lysimachus, who had tried to gain control of this shore. However, the possession of this eastern frontier region did not, at that period, have the aspect of a colonising movement from the mountain to the sea, but of a simple implantation — in other words, of an immediate agglomeration of the native element, which was growing more and more numerous, denser,

and more civilised »¹⁾). This being the case — if, in this great geographical unit, we find a great racial mass thousands of years old leading its flocks, in time of drought, to the green pastures on the shores of the river — why should we not admit that the great characteristic seasonal migrations of the Middle Ages, which spread the Rumanian people over so vast a territory between the Balkans, the Adriatic, and the northern Carpathians, likewise incited them to enter these regions with their mild climate, where the grass is green in winter, whose clement sea and whose winds quickly melt the snow — regions how often celebrated in their songs by all sorts of migratory peoples?

The invasions of other peoples did not frighten them, because « being natives of this region of the lower course of the Danube, into which — long before the historic period — the surplus population of the east and north flowed at regular intervals, they had always been prepared for such invasions »²⁾).

Dobrogea, being simply a prolongation of Carpathic Dacia, was to be the defender of that region throughout the course of ancient history. « But to talk of Scythian Dacia and to trace on the map the prolongation of that country as far as the Carpathians, is quite as illogical and as contrary to the facts of history as to invent a Hellenic Dacia on the basis of the presence of Greek settlements on the shores of the Black Sea, or to speak of Bastarnic, Gothic, Hun, Bulgarian, or Tatar Dacia. It is true that the elongated peninsular form of the region between the Danube and the sea, as well as its situation between the great steppe of eastern Europe and the Mediterranean countries, have forced upon it from time to time the role of a passage-way — for example, on the occasion of the expedition of Darius, son of Hystaspes »³⁾).

This peculiar form and situation have facilitated, since the earliest times, the penetration of racial elements coming

¹⁾ S. Mehedinți, *loc. cit.*, pp. 196—197.

²⁾ Pușcariu, in *Dacoromania*, VIII (1934—1935), p. 281.

³⁾ S. Mehedinți, *loc. cit.*, p. 199.

from the Mediterranean countries by way of the Black Sea; they left their traces in the Greek colonies and cities, such as *Tomis* (Constanța), *Istria*, *Kallatis* (Mangalia), *Dionysopolis* (Balcic), *Bisone* (Cavarna), *Halmyris*, *Aegysus* (Tulcea), *Axiopolis* (Cernavoda), and *Durostorum* (Silistra). When these traces had forever disappeared, the sea witnessed new migrations which recalled those of old, but under Byzantine rule; then this whole past vanished, giving place to the active and intelligent Venetians, then to the Genoese, and later, in modern times, to the Armenians, who likewise came by the same sea route ¹⁾.

In the era of the great migrations, at the end of the Roman Empire, when a flood of peoples of every race burst forth from the infinite Scythian plains, our eastern provinces, as well as Dobrogea, served as a sort of bridge for the passage of these nomads.

A study of the map of the Gothic invasions, published as an appendix to the work of Patsch mentioned below, enables us to realise the fate which befell Dobrogea, southern Bessarabia and Moldavia and the whole Vallachian plain. All these regions were alike flooded by the Gothic hordes ²⁾.

The route between the Ponto-Caspian steppe on the north and the plateaux of the south was to serve as a channel for these folk-movements, and to become at last a cause of rivalry between Russia and the Turkish Empire.

These migrations largely disrupted the peaceful, safe, and prosperous life which Roman rule had established, developed, and ensured. Under Roman rule, « Dobrogea was dotted with cities; Wallachia and Moldavia possessed numerous Dacian villages in which Roman organisation reigned » ³⁾.

¹⁾ N. Iorga, *The Three Dobrogeas that I found*, in the « Annals of Dobrogea », III (1922), pp. 25—29; C. Brătescu, *Dobrogea*, Bucharest, 1928, p. 108.

²⁾ Carl Patsch, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Südosteuropa*, III: « Die Völkerbewegung an der unteren Donau in der Zeit von Diokletian bis Heraklius », 1928. Vienna and Leipzig.

³⁾ V. Pârvan, *The beginnings of Rumanian life at the mouths of the Danube*, Bucharest, 1923, pp. 222—223. Cf. Al. P. Arbore, *Ethnographical features of Dobrogea in antiquity according to the works of V. Pârvan*, in « Dobrogea : fifty years of Rumanian Rule », Bucharest, 1928, pp. 177—190.

All these migrations — even, to a less degree, that of the Slavs — had only a passing influence; nothing of them remains, not even of that of the Bulgars, to which certain Bulgarian scholars have sought to give a character of continuity, in support of certain political claims.

Turkish rule, alone, was firmly established here and throughout the Balkan peninsula, especially in the eastern part; and its effect was to destroy and obscure the culture and organisation built up during the preceding centuries.

By this same route between the steppes of the north and the plateaux of the south passed, at later periods, expeditionary armies of all sorts; and by it flowed the mighty streams of fleeing populations which contributed to the most sudden racial modifications that the history of this province has ever known. « If it had not been for these routes, Dobrogea would have remained, from antiquity down to our day, the apanage of the race and culture of the natives of the Danube valley and of the Carpathians, influenced at most, on the sea-coast, by the Hellenic culture introduced by sea »¹⁾.

Along the rivers of Dacia, and along the Danube, there took place a powerful and constant expansion of our people, drawn from its Carpathian retreat towards the blue waters of the sea. This population swarmed on both banks of the Danube like bees about their hive, showing on different occasions more or less timidity or boldness in their political constructions. « Meanwhile, the empty spaces caused in Dobrogea by the great invasions and by epidemics were quickly filled by the overflow of people from the Carpathians and the Danube. Thus it was in antiquity, and the same phenomena recur in our own day before our very eyes. As the waters flow down towards the Danube and the sea, so men followed the same route in the days when the means of communication followed chiefly these flowing waters. Later, the inhabitants of the Carpathians descended towards the sea-coast by the Argeş, the Ialomiţa

¹⁾ C. Brătescu, *loc. cit.*, p. 113.

the Călmățui, the Buzău, the Siret, and the Prut — into this province which, were it not for the high plateau which it forms, and were it not for the bend which it compels the Danube to make, would have become a meeting point for all these rivers »¹⁾).

All along the Danube, across the Ponto-Carpathic steppes to the north, and on the plateaux to the south, as well as along the rivers of Dacia, was thus formed an agglomeration of peoples of an extraordinary variety, which has given to Dobrogea a very strange character — « a veritable anthropological microcosm, the human complexity, at once European and Asiatic, of the Balkan Peninsula »²⁾).

Nowhere else is so interesting and so varied a mass of material for the anthropologist and the ethnographer to be found. In a relatively very limited territory, they here have available for research a mass of data on the various aspects of the life of different peoples as well as on the ways in which they have affected one another racially in this territory.

« Dobrogea is an extraordinary mosaic of races. The Turks and the Tatars rub elbows with the Rumanians and the Bulgarians; and all these races are grouped in villages, each of them racially compact. A meeting point between hither Asia and eastern Europe, Dobrogea has been for some a temporary stopping-place, for others a refuge. The former found here the broad valley of the Danube, which gives access, on its left bank, to the lowlands of eastern Wallachia; and their desires found an opportunity for realisation. The other sort, having crossed the river or landed from the sea, halted in this peninsula which saved them from death, and remained there. Lazi, Kurds, Armenians, Tcherkesses, Tatars, German and Russian colonists, Rumanians from Transylvania or from the Kingdom, Bulgars, Serbs, Turks, Albanians, nomad Gypsies, and many others — those who gradually disappeared, like the Arabs, the

¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

²⁾ Eugene Pittard, *Les Peuples des Balkans*, Geneva and Paris, 1920, p. 11.

Tcherkesses, and the Negroes, and those who have prospered, keeping their habits, their costumes, and their language — all these constitute the Eurasian microcosm, the magnificent laboratory of comparative ethnology, in which I carried on my anthropological work for five years of steady research »¹⁾).

* * *

The fate of the Rumanian people during the Middle Ages is a problem which still remains obscure for all the Rumanian provinces, and especially as regards the maintenance of Rumanian life in Dobrogea during those centuries of terrible devastation and disaster. The fact that the old Greek cities of Dobrogea still survived in the 12th century proves, however, the existence in the hinterland of a rural population providing those cities with food, and without which their maintenance would have been impossible. This rural population cannot have been of Slavonic origin, for the Empire built fortresses for defence against the Slavs, and the armies of the Emperor Maurice pursued them in the plains, the marshes, and the immense forests of the Wallachian district beyond the Danube. If Dobrogea had been a desert, the administration would have colonised it with settlers brought from elsewhere, as was done in the neighbourhood of Philippopolis, where Armenians from Asia were settled, or in the depopulated regions of Anatolia, which were colonised with Slavs and Vlachs. It is equally possible to admit the continuous presence of a Rumanian population, which would explain the fact that the old place names have partly survived in Dobrogea: *Drăstor* (Durostorum), *Oltina* (Altina), *Băroiu* (Beroe), *Peceneaga*, *Isaccea* (Sacea), *Bădila* (perhaps derived from Pudilos?).

The fact that a village of Dobrogea, referred to in a Roman inscription as *Petra* or *Petrae*, later takes the name of *Camena*, the Slavonic equivalent of the word *Piatra*, taken from the language of the native population and

¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

indeed still employed today, proves the possible stability of a Roman element in a place where the Slavs (i. e., the *Petrenses*) arrived at a relatively late date ¹⁾.

It appears to be due to the stability of the Greek element, which was able, by way of the Black Sea, to replace its losses, that certain names of the ancient period or of the Middle Ages have survived: *Ecrene*, *Cavarna*, *Caliacra*, *Constanța*, and *Sulina* (10th century), *Chilia*, perhaps *Cataloi* and *Ca istra* (a brook near the village of Greci ²⁾).

We have seen no argument strong enough to convince us that we must give up the idea previously expressed that the Rumanian shepherds, for whom the seasonal migration between the sea and the mountain is an indispensable condition of existence and of welfare, must have followed without interruption, since the remotest times, the routes which link the Carpathians with the Black Sea; and this must have led to a growth in the Rumanian population of these regions. To this element must be added the river fishermen of the mountain region, for whom the marshes and especially the mouths of the Danube must have held out marvellous opportunities of exploitation and of gain, especially after the Greeks, who had formerly fished these waters, had gradually withdrawn to the cities of the sea-coast, where they continued their former occupations.

« Thus in the villages which continued the ancient *vici*, in the temporary homes of the mountain shepherds, in the huts of the coast fishermen, there was likewise a population which can only have been Rumanian, in the new racial aspect which it had now assumed in the course of its development » ³⁾.

The Bulgars, having another type of life, and attracted by the bait of great conquests, by the pomp, the wealth, and the brilliancy of Byzantium, merely passed through

¹⁾ T. Sauciuc, *A Latin inscription and other ancient objects and information on the Roman village of Petra, today Camena, in the County of Tulcea, in the "Annals of Dobrogea", XV (1934), pp. 105–107. See S. Pușcariu, in Dacoromania, VIII, p. 347.*

²⁾ C. Brătescu, *loc. cit.*, p. 117.

³⁾ N. Iorga, *Droits nationaux et politiques des Roumains dans la Dobroudja*, Iassy, 1917, pp. 14–15.

this province, without leaving any trace to indicate a more durable domination. The importance attached by Bulgarian historians to certain fortified entrenchments at Niculitel — of problematic origin — as the basis for the proof of a longer occupation of the region, and their wilful ignorance or silence concerning the hundreds of Latin inscriptions and concerning the camp-sites from the period of Romanisation which appear in Dobrogea at every step, merely reveal a method which is not only peculiar but harmful to research and to the discovery of the truth.

The population of the region of Dobrogea seems — after the appearance of the Cumans and of the Petchenegs on the Danube — to have been rather mixed, according to the statement of the Byzantine chronicler M. Attaliates, who writes as follows: « For there were on the banks of this river many large cities, whose inhabitants speak many different languages, and which had a large army. The Scythians, chiefly from the other side of the river, are introducing into these cities their own way of life »¹⁾. About the same period, Anna Comnena, between 1086 and 1091, mentions certain political organisations in Silistria under the orders of chiefs called *Tatu*, which refused to obey Byzantium, and which had as neighbours, in the district between them and the sea, in the neighbourhood of Vicina, other Voivodes called *Chalis*, *Sestlav*, and *Satzas*, who are regarded by Professors Iorga and Bănescu as the initiators of the formation of the Rumanian State²⁾.

In any case, it may be assumed that Byzantine rule, which is clearly proved to have lasted two hundred years in Dobrogea, favoured the organisation, in the second half of the 11th century, of « those small political units, under

¹⁾ G. Vâlsan, *The Lower Danube in the life of the Rumanian people*, in « *Graul Românesc* » (The Rumanian Language), year I, 1927, pp. 206—207.

²⁾ N. Iorga, *The first step in the formation of the Rumanian State*, in the « *Historical Review* », V (1919), pp. 103—113; N. Bănescu, *Paristrion, a Byzantine frontier duchy*, in the « *Annals of Dobrogea* », II (1921), pp. 313—317; *The oldest references to the Rumanians of the lower Danube*, in the « *Yearbook of National History* », Cluj, 1921—1922; *The earliest Byzantine references to the Rumanians*, in « *Byz. neugr. Jahrbuch* », III, 1932; *Political changes in the Balkans*, in the « *Bulletin of the Historical Section of the Rumanian Academy* », 1923.

the orders of native chiefs, which Anna Comnena mentions at Silistra, Vicina, and elsewhere ». Certain Bulgarian historians have denied, for tendencious reasons, the Rumanian character of Dobrogea at this period; and yet this underlying Romanism, «has been observed on the occasion of the struggles with the Avars, early in the 7th century, when Dobrogea was strong enough to stand fast alone against the barbarians, in its besieged cities ». Again, in the 11th century, we hear once more of the « many large cities » on the right bank of the Danube, inhabited, according to Attalates, by a mixture of semi-barbarous races, speaking a great diversity of languages, and maintaining constant relations with the people of the left bank.

Anna Comnena, in an account of her father's expedition against the Cumans, likewise mentions the « Vlachs » who led the barbarians from the other side of the Danube to Goloe in the Balkans. Finally, in the second half of the 12th century, the presence of this population is again attested by a reference to « that great mass of Vlachs » whom General Vatatzes had recruited « from the regions situated near the Black Sea », for the war between the Emperor Manuel and the Hungarians. At the same period, in the southern part of what is now Bessarabia, the Vlachs once more appear, on the occasion of the flight to the Russians of Andronicus Comnenus, the cousin of Manuel. Thus it is not surprising to find them in these small Danubian political organisations » ¹⁾.

¹⁾ N. Bănescu, *Byzantine Dobrogea. The Duchy of Paristrion*, in « Dobrogea », p. 302. The institution and the memory of the Voivodes were preserved in Dobrogea in the form of terms which remained in use long after they had ceased to correspond with historical reality. G. Vălsan, in the study cited above, seeks to demonstrate this fact by recalling certain names, such as *Miltzes*, « the eldest son of Mesembria and Anchialos », a voivode; the Vlach *Pudilos* (*Budila*; cf. the village of *Budila* in the County of *Trei-Scaune*) in 1096; a *Chrysos* « Vlach by origin » (N. Iorga makes this *Hârso*, whence perhaps *Hârşova*); and a certain *Balica* and his brother *Dobrotici* in the 14th century (these two names also occur elsewhere among the Vlachs of the Balkan peninsula; cf. Al. P. Arbore, *An Attempt to reconstruct the history of the Rumanians in Dobrogea*, in the « Annals of Dobrogea », III, 1922, p. 14, note 38); and *Ivanco*, son of *Dobrotici*. There is a reference in the *Palatine of Kulm* in 1677 to boyars in Dobrogea: « There are 150 boyars here whom they call *Timari* . . . ; they constantly make raids some miles away to capture booty and slaves » (N. Iorga, *Documents and fragments*, I. p. 94). In the village of *Daiakio* (*Dăeni*),

In view of the very special importance which the Danube has always had for the exchange of goods and for the intensification of the activity of this region, thanks to the ships which went up and down the river with their cargoes, establishing relations between the various peoples, it is impossible not to assume that, in the mixture of races mentioned by Attaliates and including « Scythians », come long since from the *other side of the river* « without abandoning their Scythian way of living », there were also Rumanians. This assumption is strengthened by the statements of Pachymeres in the « De Andronico seniore », Book I, chapter 37, where we read that « the Vlachs who live in large numbers around Constantinople, as far as the city of Byzia and even farther, have the same customs and the same origin as the Scythians of the Danube ». It is certain that, under the name of Scythians, the Byzantines here refer to the Rumanians of Dacia.

A minute and accurate research into the history of *Vicina* in Dobrogea leads to an interesting ethnographical conclusion: « Dobrogea, which is still today an astonishing mosaic of different nationalities, preserved this cosmopolitan character throughout the Middle Ages. Greek officials and merchants, Russian and Petcheneg adventurers, and Vlach peasants, must have met daily in the narrow and primitive alleys of Distra or *Vicina*. Other elements were added later. It is very difficult to affirm the existence of any one nationality to the exclusion of all others »¹.

The reference by the chronicler Kinnamus in 1164 to Vlachs, « former colonists from the Italies », who, « coming from the Black Sea, where no one had ever attacked them », invaded Hungary, and to their hostility against Isaac Angelos because of the thefts he had committed at the home of

Boscovici met in 1762 a certain Ali-Aga Voivode. The memory of some of these boyars has passed into the folk poetry, which mentions « the Lord Constantine, boyar of Măcin », in connection with the description of the wars between the Latins, the Franks, and the Turks in the 14th and 15th centuries. G. Vălsan, in « The Rumanian Language », I, (1927), p. 207.

¹) G. I. Brătianu, *Researches concerning Vicina and Cetatea-Albă*, Bucharest, 1935, p. 26.

Anchialos, the chief of these « barbarians who occupy the whole extent of Mount Haemus, and who formerly called themselves Mysi, but are at present called Vlachs », and the information given by Ansbertus, William of Rubruquis, and S. Pachymeres, assembled and commented on in the study of Professor Brătescu on « The population of Dobrogea », show that, in the Middle Ages (11th, 12th, and 13th centuries), from Constantinople to the mouths of the Danube, a fairly wide zone near the Black Sea was inhabited by a large Vlach population ¹⁾.

« From these facts we draw two important conclusions: when, first, in the 12th century, we find so many Rumanians on the sea-coast and, at the same time, spread out and politically organised north of the Danube, over an area racially identical with that of today, and when, secondly, we see the mouths of the Danube and Dobrogea practically surrounded by regions which were undoubtedly Rumanian, in whole or in part, can it be supposed that, in the 11th century, these Rumanians did not exist in the midst of the peoples assembled in the frequented, rich, and attractive zone of the mouths of the Danube? It is true that only documentary evidence gives certainty. But we have here a mass of probabilities, which, in the absence of documentation, have approximately the force of certainty » ²⁾.

Among these peoples of Dobrogea settled certain remnants of the Cumans after 1241, when the hurricane of the Tatar invasions dispersed them; and it is here that they adopted Christianity under the influence of the By-

¹⁾ C. Brătescu, *loc. cit.*, p. 125.

²⁾ G. Vălsan, in *Graul Românesc* (The Rumanian Language), I (1927), pp. 209–210. Cf. N. Bănescu, *Ein ethnographisches Problem am Unterlauf der Donau aus dem XI. Jahrhundert*, in « Byzantion », VI (1931), p. 302; G. Brătianu, *Researches concerning Vicina and Cetatea-Alba*, p. 26, n. 2: « For the presence of the Vlachs in the 11th century on the route from the Baltic to the Black Sea, we may recall the runic inscription of the stone of Sjonhem, which mentions the murder of Rodfos by the *blakumen*, no doubt during the voyage of that Varangian from Sweden to Constantinople ». See A. Bugge, *Die nordeuropäischen Verkehrswege im frühen Mittelalter . . .*, in « Vierteljahresschrift für Soz. und Wirtschaftsgeschichte », IV (1906), p. 249.

zantine Church. This is the origin of the Găgăuți of to-day. The peculiarities of their physical appearance may be due to their mingling with remnants of other peoples¹⁾. Professor N. Iorga believes that by origin they are Greeks who came under the influence of the Turkish language after the extensive colonisation of eastern Bulgaria by the Turks²⁾.

The rule of Mircea over Dobrogea must have led to a great expansion of the Rumanians beyond the Danube; but we are unable to obtain any accurate information on this subject.

When the Turks had extended their rule, in 1416 and 1417, as far as the mouths of the Danube, and had built fortifications at Isaccea and Ieni-Sale, they undertook an intensive colonisation of the region, which certainly led to a change in the composition of the population of Dobrogea. The Rumanians, crowded into narrow quarters, were obliged to withdraw to the banks of the Danube and to the marshlands, where, through their relations with the opposite shore, they could obtain reinforcements, and, in case of need, find temporary refuge.

About 1444, a great change took place in the racial complexion of Dobrogea. It became a desert — *desertum* — in which, indeed, after the disastrous battle of Varna, with the exception of the Vlachs, no one knew what direction to follow and each one took the route indicated by his fear or by chance. Those who fled without Rumanian guides had no definite plan. The Rumanians, on the contrary, took their bearings, in the daytime by the sun, and at night by the stars; and in spite of the detours which they were obliged to make, they all succeeded in reaching

¹⁾ C. Jireček, *Einige Bemerkungen über die Überreste der Petchenegen und Kumanen*, in the «*Sitzungsberichte der R. b. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*», 1889 (Prague, 1890), pp. 1—30, and C. Jireček, *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien* (1891), pp. 142—146. The Găgăuți live in new Dobrogea in the county of Caliacra at Balcic, Cavarna, Ghiaur-Suiuciuc, Tașchioi, Ialăciorman, Iuzugubenlic, Iazâgilar, Șabla, Caiabeichioi, Caralar, Hamzalar, and Caracurt. They used to live also at Ecrene, Gheciler, Alaclisei, Caramanli, etc. They are to be found also in the county of Tulcea at Pașa Câșla (denationalised), Caramanchioi, Agighiol, Ghiol-Bunar, Beidaud, Eschibaba, Alibeichioi, etc.

²⁾ «*Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'Europe sud-orientale*», 1915, p. 242.

the Danube. But those who had not secured Rumanian guides soon found themselves in Turkish territory, where the Turks treated them as Christians; or else they lost their way and perished, either of hunger or of cold.

An interesting point is that the fugitives also passed the Danube on the boats of the Vlachs, an unquestionable proof of the presence of Rumanian fishermen living along this river ¹⁾).

We might add in confirmation of our thesis the following passage from the Nuremburg Chronicle, the *Registrum mundi* of Antonius Coberger, written in 1493, and containing a geographical and historical description of Wallachia: *Vlachi et insules Histri accolunt. Inter quos Peuceem insulam apud veteres fama notavi. Et in Thracia quos sedes habent.* This proves that the Rumanians inhabited the islands of the Danube and in particular of the Delta, or the regions adjoining Lake Razim, since the name Peuce applies only to these regions ²⁾).

Immediately after the extension of Turkish power over the Balkan Peninsula, the role of Dobrogea, as a point of observation and as a place for the concentration of troops to be sent north and west of the river, became more and more evident and more and more marked. A band of Turkomans had been settled in 1263 in the vicinity of Babadag, and garrisons had been permanently established in a few particularly important cities such as Ieni-Sale and Isaccea. Later, a scheme for colonising the province with Turks was inaugurated on a large scale, simultaneously with the spread of that race throughout the whole of Thrace and of eastern Bulgaria, where they were brought from Lydia between 1362 and 1389 into the region of Philippopolis and Stara-Zagora, and then, under Bajazet I (1389—1402), into the region of Stara-Planina and Adrianople. At the time of this colonisation, a large part of the Turkish popu-

¹⁾ Dlugosz, Liber XII, col. 809 and 810. Cromer, p. 327. Apud C. Brătescu, loc. cit., p. 128.

²⁾ G. Vălsan, *The Rumanians inhabited the Danube Delta in the 15th century* in « Graiul Românesc » (The Rumanian language), I (1927).

lation, composed of Asiatic peasants or of shepherds (*iuruk*) from Anatolia, whose numbers were swollen by many Christians who had gone over, willingly or by force, to Mahomedanism, led a nomad life. Thus it was very easy for them to follow the armies of occupation, which lived on the industry of the conquered population; consequently, many of the Christians emigrated at the coming of the new colonists, or else had to undergo a veritable denationalisation, lost as they were in this torrent of invaders¹⁾.

Recent research on the Turkish language as spoken in north-eastern Bulgaria, Deliorman, and Dobrogea, has proved that the peculiarities of the Turkish dialects of this region are found neither in Anatolia nor in Rumelia, except the dialects of Bulgaria and of the regions lying north of the Danube. The dialect of the Găgăuți likewise differs more largely from the other Osmano-Turkish dialects than from that of the Turks of Deliorman. These dialects form a Danubian Turkish group which shows traces of a northern influence, indicating the existence of relations between these dialects and the Turkish languages spoken north of the Black Sea. Thus far it has been impossible to determine accurately the chronology of these relations.

« It is impossible, in the present state of science, to formulate a definite opinion regarding the origin of the Turks of Deliorman and of the Găgăuți solely on the basis of the language. If, however, we bring together the conclusions based on the linguistic facts and the historical and ethnological data, it is possible to frame hypotheses which have a considerable degree of probability. The peculiar character

¹⁾ G. Hertzberg, *Die Ethnographie der Balkan-Halbinsel im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, in « Petermann's Mitteilungen », 1878, volume 24, pp. 133—134. A. Ischirkoff, *Die Bevölkerung in Bulgarien und ihre Siedlungsverhältnisse*, in « Petermann's Mitteilungen », 1911; N. Staneff, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Part II, Leipzig, 1917, pp. 4—5; C. Jireček, *Ethnographische Veränderungen in Bulgarien seit der Errichtung des Fürstenthums*, in « Österreichisch-Ungarische Revue », 1890—1891, Vienna, pp. 175—176; C. Jireček, in « Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen », X (1886), p. 130; C. Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, p. 140; M. Drinov, *Istoricesko osveatlanie . . .*, in « Periodicesko Spisanie », VIII (1884); Engel, *Geschichte der Bulgaren in Mösien*, p. 470; N. Iorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, I, pp. 207, 259, 260, 460; Lj. Miletici, *Das Ostbulgarische* (Schriften der Balkancommission), Vienna, 1903, col. 12.

of Danubian Turkish does not permit us to consider this population simply as composed of Turkish colonists from Asia Minor after the occupation of the Balkan peninsula by the Osmanlis. This hypothesis would be unacceptable as regards the Găgăuți because of their religion, while it would not be tenable for the Turks of Deliorman because of the linguistic relationship which connects them with the Găgăuți. Under these circumstances, we are obliged to regard the Găgăuți and also the Turks of Deliorman as made up of three superimposed strata. The oldest is composed of the fragments of a northern Turkish tribe, the second of a large southern group going back to a period before the arrival of the Osmanlis, while the third stratum is constituted by Turkish colonists and various elements assimilated to the Turks in the Osmanli period. It is the second stratum which, having mingled with the first, gave to the language of the whole group its southern character.

« The view that the Găgăuți and the Turks of Deliorman are northern peoples whose language changed its character only after the beginning of the Osmanli occupation is not very tenable; for, in that case, the northern elements which have survived in their language should be much more numerous and more distinct than they are in reality.

« The Christianity of the Găgăuți must no doubt be attributed to the oldest stratum, of trans-Danubian origin, while the Mahommedanism of the Turks of Deliorman comes from the second and third strata, which were of southern origin »¹⁾).

When the Turco-Tatar populations had been firmly established, the place-names were completely modified, taking on, especially in the centre and in the part of the province near the sea, a definitely Turanian character; and the names of places had different meanings. Thus, of 3776 place-names which it was possible to identify, after the annexation of

¹⁾ Tadeusz Kowalski, *The Turks and the Turkish language of north-eastern Bulgaria*. Cracow, 1933, pp. 26—27. Cf. St. Romansky, *Ethnographic map of the new Rumanian Dobrogea*, Sofia, 1915, pp. 17—20.

Dobrogea in 1878, 2333, or 61.89⁰/₀, were Turkish, and only 1260, or 34⁰/₀, Rumanian ¹).

In the 16th century, the Tatars also settled in this region, and are henceforth mentioned in the documents under the name of *Tartari Dobriczen* and *Tartari Dobriczenses*.

The racial complexion in the regions of intensive colonisation, with a Turko-Tatar population, as well as the constant fluctuations in the size of this population, are revealed to us in all the sources from the 15th to the 19th centuries, which have already been referred to in previous works ²).

With regard, in particular, to southern Dobrogea, that is, the two counties of Caliacra and Durostor, research carried out at the locality of Kanitz and described in the work entitled *Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan* (historisch-geographisch-ethnographische Reisestudien aus der Jahren 1860—1879), zweite Ausflage, Leipzig, 1882, III, p. 240 ff., establishes that the whole of this region of Deliorman and Tozlukului was compactly inhabited by Mahommedans — « vorwiegend moslimischen Landschaft Tozluuk ». The whole region between Silistra, Turtucaia, Razgrad, the mouth of the Lomul and Şaitandzik was Turkish, and the author did not find here a single Bulgarian village, which proves its compact Mahomedan character. « Weit und breit auf dem grossen Gebiete bis Tutrakan und Silistria gab es nämlich, wie meine ethnographische Karte en detail zeigt, kein bulgarisches Dorf » (*ibid.*, III, 334—335) ³).

¹) C. Brătescu, *Contributions to the Question of Dobrogea*, in « Rumanian Dobrogea », 1919, p. 87. Cf. N. Iorga, *Droits nationaux et politiques des Roumains dans la Dobroudja*, p. 53: « Thus it must necessarily be admitted that, in addition to the zone of the fortresses, the Turks made a passage for their armies through the midst of the province, and that they settled soldiers of their own nationality there as guards, pushing the Rumanians back towards the Danube, beyond which were located the great mass of their nation ».

²) Al. P. Arbore, *Information on the settlement of the Turks and Tatars in Dobrogea*, in the « Archives of Dobrogea », vol. II (1919), pp. 213—260; *Ethnographic information and population movements in southern Bessarabia and in Dobrogea in the 18th and 19th centuries*, in the « Annals of Dobrogea », X (1929), pp. 1—105; *Further ethnographic, historical, and statistical information regarding Dobrogea and the parts of Bessarabia near the Danube*, in the « Annals of Dobrogea », XI (1930), pp. 65—94.

³) Cf. Al. P. Arbore, *Characterul etnografic al Dobrogei sudice* (din epoca turcească până la 1913), in « Analele Dobrogei », 1938, XIX, vol. II, pp. 102—104.

In connection with this Mahommedan population, it is to be noted that the Turkish folk literature of these regions, and especially of the Găgăuți, whose texts have been collected and annotated by Moskov, includes a large number of stories which carry us towards the Crimea and beyond towards the Orient, while the action of other stories takes place in the Ukraine, Poland, and even as far away as the countries of western Europe. This fact calls for a more thorough study of this Turkish folklore before a conclusive explanation can be given ¹⁾).

* * *

When the sea-borne commerce of the Genoese and the Venetians, in the Byzantine Empire, had ceased to be important, a new trade, that of the Ragusans, developed actively by land, extending right across the Balkan peninsula, even to the lower Danube. As early as 1365, they maintained friendly relations with the Sultan, and obtained from him various privileges, including the right to live in his cities and to practise their religion there. This situation aroused the envy of some of the Orthodox, who went over to Roman Catholicism and thus obtained the same privileges granted to the Ragusans.

In 1581, there were Ragusan merchants in Silistria, but, according to the statements of the Bishop of Nicopolis, to whom they were subject in religious matters, they were settled, in 1640 and in 1662, in *Babe*, *Balba* (these two names both refer to Babadag), *Silistra*, *Chilia*, *Varna*. In some of these cities, they were buyers of ox-hides. The information furnished by Evliia Celebi, in the middle of the 17th century, regarding Babadag, where «the majority of the shops are Latin, and where cloth, bows, and arrows are sold», refers to the Ragusans. settled in this region and to be met with also at *Chilia* (where they numbered 30 souls in five houses), *Isaccea*, *Tulcea*, and *Bazargic*, where they dwelt «*considerabili numero*».

¹⁾ T. Kowalski, *loc. cit.*, p. 9 and n. 1.

The memory of the Ragusans has likewise survived in the folk poetry of Dobrogea, for they are probably the « Latins » who are mentioned in the folk songs of the region¹).

* * *

In this period of upheaval and of racial transformation, there seems no longer to be any mention of a Christian and, in particular, Rumanian element, at least judging by the evidence now available.

Many years passed before a period of appeasement began, with the establishment of an « understanding » to facilitate life in common, relations between the different sections of the population, and the practice of religious beliefs; and during this interval, Dobrogea was considered by the Rumanian princes as a territory lying outside their sphere of interest. Into it, however, they sometimes made raids, plundering and massacring, as though it had been a « Turkish land », following in this the example of the Dnieper Cossacks, who invaded it for the same purpose.

The consequence of this state of affairs was that the Turks not only strengthened their fortresses, but also increased the Turko-Tatar element in Dobrogea, as is indicated by the creation of the village of *Seimeni*, on the shore of the Danube, by the Sultan Murad IV the Conqueror, who was displeased by the ambition and the turbulence of the Jannissaries and the Spahis, the old defenders of the Empire.

In the long run, these disorders were stilled, and more accurate information on the state of Dobrogea began to pass the Danube. Conditions there, as in other parts of the Turkish Empire, seem not to have been too bad, since the spahis confined themselves to exacting the tithe. Now began once more, by the same routes and by the same means which had been in use for a thousand years, a movement of our people toward Dobrogea, where, as cattle-

¹) Al. P. Arbore, *Ethno-Historical Observations on Dobrogea in the historic period: The Ragusans*, in the « Annals of Dobrogea », III (1922), pp. 36–47.

raisers, they were attracted by the hope of gain and by the advantages presented by the meadows on the edges of the marshes and by the mildness of the maritime climate.

The frequent raids of the Dobrogean Tatars into Wallachia and Moldavia brought into Dobrogea a considerable number of slaves for work in the fields and for other labours which provided these robber hordes with their livelihood.

The peasants in the Principalities were reduced to serfdom, after the political collapse of the latter; and the exactions and taxes, which forced these people to sell their ancestral lands, made it seem preferable to them to migrate into Turkish territory, where they paid only the tithe, rather than to remain in their old homes, where they were forced to pay taxes and dues both to the noble and to the State. Indeed, their resentment against the regime in their former country was so bitter that they would have nothing more to do with those who came from the Rumanian side of the river. When Bolintineanu was captured in 1848 and taken to the right bank of the Danube, he was received with insults by the Rumanians, for they regarded him as one of the oppressor nobles ¹⁾ Thus Dobrogea, and the whole right bank of the Danube, began to receive refugees and slaves ²⁾. And the latter displayed the same aversion for the Rumanian boyars as did the peasants mentioned by Bolintineanu. This is the only plausible explanation of the fact that Radu Şerban, in the war which he waged in Dobrogea against the Turks, fought also against the Rumanians of the region, who lived in the village of *Daiani* (now Dăienii) to the number of several thousands, They had fled from Moldavia and Wallachia to escape their persecutors and the tyranny of their former lords ³⁾.

¹⁾ G. Vâlsan, *The Rumanians of Bulgaria and Serbia*, in « Rumania and the Balkan peoples », Bucharest, p. 15.

²⁾ N. Iorga, *Historical observations on the agricultural life of the Rumanians*, Bucharest, 1908, pp. 40, 77.

³⁾ N. Iorga, *Studies and Documents*, VI, pp. XXIX and 316: « . . . non essendo altri habitatori sup ripa del Danubio, solo che il villaggio che si chiama Daiani, che si po aqualiare a una bona città dove si sono raccolte molte miglaia di Valachi, con le loro famiglie, fugendo la tiranide delli principi passati di Moldavia et Valachia ».

The proximity of the frontiers attracted still others, whose motives for migrating to Dobrogea we cannot guess. Some of them even adopted Turkish ways, as happened in the case of an apprentice of a certain Stanislav, who went to Hârşova and refused to return¹⁾.

In 1612, Thomas Alberti characterises the village of « Straggia » (Straja?) in Dobrogea as « villa grandissima, abitata la più parte de Valachi »²⁾. The Turks, apparently, after the conquest of the Christian regions, likewise brought in Vlachs as colonists. On this subject, we have the statement of Cantemir, quoted by Haşdeu, that the Turks, « after the conquest of Bulgaria had made them masters of the territory of Dobrogea, brought in Serb and Vlach peasants, to whom they readily granted the most attractive conditions »³⁾.

This custom of settling colonies of Christian peasants on Turkish lands set apart for charitable uses (*vacufuri*) is found likewise in Bulgaria. We possess on this point written evidence dating from the 16th and 17th centuries⁴⁾.

* * *

The foregoing evidence reveals not only the existence of a Rumanian population in Dobrogea, but also its importance. The Princess Elina, wife of Matei Basarab, records that, along the Danube, from Silistra to Pascha Abaza, « there was no one who could understand this Hungarian, but our language was known, as was that of the Turks »⁵⁾. In some cases, this Rumanian element advanced as far as the sea, for early in the 18th century, between 1711 and

¹⁾ Ion Bogdan, *Documents concerning the relations of Wallachia with Braşov and Hungary in the 15th and 16th centuries*, Bucharest, 1905, p. 303.

²⁾ « Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'Europe sud-orientale », II (Nos. 10–12), p. 235.

³⁾ B. P. Haşdeu, *Critical history of the Rumanians*, Chapter 36. The Rumanian colonies of Dobrogea as described in the work of D. Cantemir, « *Kniga sistema ili sostoianie muhamedanskia religii* », Petersburg, 1722, in-folio, p. 241.

⁴⁾ C. Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, p. 48.

⁵⁾ N. Iorga, *Two Lectures*: 1) *The Rumanians on the right bank of the Danube*; 2) *Work or pleasure?* « Cuvântul » Library, No. 6, Vălenii de Munte, 1927, p. 9, n. 2.

1725, a map indicates a place called *Porktztia* (i.e., Portița), as a passage between « the fourth arm of the Danube, the Dunavăț, and the sea ».

Rumanian fishermen must have reached this place long before, since this place name was so universally recognised as to win a place on the map ¹⁾.

In 1659, in the report of Stanislav, Catholic bishop of Nicopolis, we read that the Vlach inhabitants of the city of Babadag, side by side with the Bulgarians and Greeks, numbering about 200 houses and 200 souls, have a church and are visited from time to time by the Archbishop of Durostor. Mangalia was inhabited at the beginning of the 18th century « by Greeks (i. e., Orthodox Christians), the majority of them Moldavians and Bulgarians ». The Rumanians must have been very numerous, for La Mottraye, the traveller who gives us this information, speaking of Tomi, says that the Turks call it Pangala, but the Moldavians Tomisvoara ²⁾.

This name seems to indicate the presence of shepherds from Transylvania, for only they could have added the Hungarian word *varos*, meaning *city*, to the local name; the Moldavians (Rumanians) of La Mottraye, must have borrowed the term from them.

Boscovici, about 1761—1762, met a family of Vlachs living at *Iegnibazar*, who had come from the other side of the Danube to escape the payment of feudal dues. The same traveller, in the northern part of Dobrogea, near *Ienikioi*, comes upon a place, the name of which is not given, whose inhabitants spoke the Vlach language, described as « composed of several idioms, but chiefly Italian and Latin » ³⁾.

The 18th-century maps show many villages with Rumanian names, such as *Dojan*, *Schirigul* (Siriul), *Tikilesty*, *Ĝinderesty* (Ghizdărești), *Skrofenj*, *Ĝasinesty* (Hăsănești), *Stra-*

¹⁾ G. Valsan, *The Rumanians on the Black Sea*, in « The Rumanian Language », I (1927), pp. 63—64

²⁾ *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. XVIII, p. 264. La Mottraye, *Voyage en Europe, Asie, Afrique*, The Hague, 1727, vol. II, pp. 207—209.

³⁾ I. B. P. Boscovici, *Voyage from Constantinople to Poland*, p. 167, Cf. G. Valsan, *The Bulgarians of Boscovitch*, in the « Annals of Dobrogea », III (1922), pp. 319—324.

ja, *Harpiczy* ¹⁾). The study of these maps shows the importance of the Rumanian element in the Danube Delta, all along the right bank of the river to the sea. Beginning with the bank of the Danube, we might list the following names of Rumanian places: Turtucaia, Drâstor, Strachina, Roșești, Bărteni, Peceneaga, Rachel, Ciocănești (south of Silistria), Satu-Nou, Parcheș, Somova, Iglița, Dăeni, Ghizdărești, Hășănești (at Topal), Stelniceni, Turcoaia, Mănăstirea (Niculițel). We may add the names of the water-courses along the Danube — Pisica, Ciulineț, etc. — as well as in the Brăila marshes. The most important and the most characteristic of these names are in the Delta and on the sea-coast: Roșul, Roșuleț, Puiul, Puiuleț, Portița, Bisericuța, Chilia-Veche, Merheiul, Răducul, Dunărea Rusca, Dunărea Veche, Satul Lipovenesc, Letea, Lacul Lunga, Tatar, Geosanca Mică, Brațul Mare, Brațul Mic, Țigan, Cășla Balaban, Sulineț, Matița, Lișițele, Pardina, Tatarul Mare, Sulimanca, Ivănești, Veneticul (Venețianul, — this last name embodying the Rumanians' recollection of the Venetians when the latter were masters, in the 14th century, of Chilia-Veche), Cebilia (Cilibia?), Brecul, Oarba, Carapul (Crapul?), Gârla Mare, Dunavățul, Răscruci, Rusul, etc.

Similarly, the use of the name «Laculi Ovidii» or «Lagoul Ovidoului» in a series of references extending from the early 18th century to a much later period, proves the existence of a well-defined Rumanian terminology with regard to the «Lacul lui Ovidiu» (now Siut-Ghiolul — the fresh-water lake, a rarity in Dobrogea), towards which, in all ages, the Rumanian shepherds, fishermen, and peasants have turned their steps, as they came down to the sea by the familiar routes. In 1769, we likewise find Rumanian names of villages near the sea: *Cârpiți*, *Ivășteni*, in the *Valea Carasu*, 10 to 15 km. from Constanța ²⁾).

These place-names, heard spoken by the Rumanians themselves, and taken down by the men who drew these

¹⁾ G. Vâlsan, *The Bulgarians of Boscovici*, p. 321.

²⁾ G. Vâlsan, «*Lacul Ovidiu*» and the Rumanians on the Black Sea, in «*Graiul Românesc*» (The Rumanian Language), II (1928), pp. 115–118.

various maps, prove clearly that «the Rumanians form the most numerous part of the population, throughout the course of the lower Danube, on both banks, to the sea».

One of the political titles of Mircea the Elder and of the other reigning princes of the «Rumanian Land» (Wallachia) in the 14th and 15th centuries — «Sovereign of both banks of the Danube as far as the Great Sea» — became at the end of the 18th century a racial reality — a point which should not be forgotten whenever doubts are cast upon our right to the southern bank of the Danube ¹).

As to the antiquity of these place names, in addition to the old Rumanian names no longer in use today — such as Vederöasa, Pârjoaia, Gurgoaia, Ciupitoaia, and Bâroiul — and the form *Pecineaga*, the name *Turcoaia*, which designates a village inhabited by Rumanians and situated on the bank of the Danube in the county of Tulcea, suffices to prove beyond dispute that the presence of Rumanians in Dobrogea dates very far back, since this name, like the others mentioned above, takes the old suffix *oaie*, *oaia*, later replaced very largely by *oaiaca*. An identical form is still employed in the county of the Olt ²). Old Slavonic or Rumanian names with the Slavonic endings *ina* (Oltina, Crapina, Babina) and *ova* (Resova, Blasova, Lozova, Gorgova, Cranova) are still preserved in Dobrogea along the bank of the Danube, and in other parts of Rumania.

The above statement leads inevitably to the following conclusion: at the end of the 18th century, the whole right bank of the Danube, from Silistria nearly to the mouth, was inhabited by a Rumanian population.

The wars between the Turks and the Russians, in the second half of the 18th century and the early 19th, fought

¹) G. Vâlsan, *Rumania in the Danube Delta at the end of the 18th century* in «Essays in Honour of I. Bianu», Bucharest, 1927, p. 328; G. Vâlsan, *The Rumanians in Dobrogea* (study based on a map of about 1769—1774), in the «Annals of Dobrogea», 1920, I, pp. 532—540. Cf. C. Brătescu, *Dobrogea*, pp. 135—136, especially the notes on maps; Al. P. Arbore, *An attempt to reconstruct the history of the Rumanians in Dobrogea*, in the «Annals of Dobrogea», III (1922), pp. 260—261 and notes.

²) O. Densușianu, *Traces of the older forms of the language in Rumanian place-names*, in the «Yearbook of the Seminar in the Rumanian Language», Bucharest, 1894, p. 4.

in part in the territory of Dobrogea, transformed this region into a desert; and the consequences, as may be imagined, were disastrous for the Rumanians. A large Russian map, drawn in the early 19th century for use in military operations, shows the situation in Dobrogea in detail, village by village, indicating the density of the population, which amounted to less than 40,000, giving the region the appearance of a desert¹⁾. A Turkish officer gives a description of it which is undoubtedly accurate: « However, this procedure too was not without drawbacks, for the country to be crossed, Dobrogea, was a mere desert, such as is found nowhere in Europe, the population being very sparse, about 5 to the square kilometre »²⁾.

A Russian priest and monk, *Parthenios*, in the first half of the 19th century, weary of his journey through this country, gives us a more detailed description of the left

1) Al. P. Arbore, *On the ethnography of Dobrogea: the population of Dobrogea according to a Russian map*, in the « Annals of Dobrogea », IV (1923), pp. 329–334.

2) « A critical account of the passages of the Danube during the Russo-Turkish wars since 1828, and of the operations which followed each of them », by a Turkish general officer, Constantinople, 1896, p. 13.

Cf. F. Ritter, *Briefe und Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei aus den Jahren 1835 bis 1839*, Berlin, 1841, p. 162: « This whole land, having an area of about 200 (German) square miles, though it lies between the sea and a navigable stream, is the most dreary waste imaginable, and I do not believe it has 20,000 inhabitants. As far as the eye can see, there is nowhere a tree or bush. The steep hills are covered with tall grass burnt yellow by the sun, and rippling like waves in the wind; and you can ride for hours on end through this monotonous desert before you discover a miserable hamlet, without trees or gardens, in some waterless valley. This life-giving element seems to sink into the hollow ground, for in the valleys not even the dry bed of a brook is to be seen; the water is drawn from deep wells by means of long sweeps ».

The population, says the same author, is composed of a mosaic of Tatars, Vlachs, Moldavians, Bulgarians, and small remnants of Turks (p. 163). Hârşova was composed of 30 houses.

Moltke, *Campagnes des Russes dans la Turquie d'Europe en 1828 et 1829* (Paris, 1854), p. 36, says: « It is a veritable desert which one is astonished to find in the heart of Europe. Including the population of the towns, there are hardly more than 300 inhabitants per (German) square mile ». Among the towns, Măcin had from 1,000 to 1,500 inhabitants (p. 75), Hârşova 4,000 (p. 76), but Constanţa had only 40 houses occupied, though formerly it had counted 200 souls (p. 79).

C. Allard, *La Bulgarie orientale*, p. 163: « The abandonment of these fertile lands which we have visited is explained as follows: Since the invasion of 1829, a large part of eastern Bulgaria, especially the plateau region, has been almost deserted. A fairly large number of Christian and Mahomedan families had since that date returned to Dobrogea, when in 1854 the last Russian invasion, and after it, the Bashi-Bazuks, laid waste the country again ».

bank of the Danube and of its inhabitants, a large majority of whom are Rumanians. On his way to Galați, Parthenios saw at Măcin the Rumanian church. It was situated outside the city, isolated as if in a desert, poor and dilapidated. « It rises outside the town like a barn, made of planks daubed with mud, roofed with tiles, one leaf of the door open, without cross or bells . . . ». The traveller was told that a Christian who had wished to roof the church had been hanged, and the church at Babadag had been burned because the bishop was Greek and « does not meddle with our affairs nor come to our defence ». The Christian peasants referred to « are called Rumanians, wear the Bulgarian costume ¹⁾, and speak Vlach ». The traveller having asked what roads led to the holy mountain, the peasants replied that, of the two routes that led thither, the first passed through the mountains and the Turkish villages, « but the second follows the Danube upstream as far as Rusciuck, which is inhabited by our people — *Rumanians*, but from Rusciuck, the route lies through Bulgaria, where your language is spoken until you reach the Holy Mountain ». This monk saw in these places only three churches, so poor that he finds no words to describe them; « there are no painted icons inside, but only paper ones; and there is no such thing as an iconostasis ». There are one or two priests in each village.

To his questions as to the cause of this sad state of affairs, he received this reply: « Since ancient times, our country has been a frontier land, and in the past ten or twelve years many battles have been fought here. We have hardly time to recover, to breed cattle, and to cultivate our gardens, when war breaks out anew. Then all who can flee to Wallachia, but those whom the Turks capture they carry off with them into their own country. They devour our flocks, burn our houses, and lay waste our gardens. When the war is ended, those of us who are still alive return to our homes, build cabins on the ruins, and set to work again. Now how long do you suppose it will be before we can get back on

¹⁾ In fact, this costume is imitated from the Turkish costume.

our feet again? Still other misfortunes befall us. After each war the pest begins to rage, and strikes us down as the sickle lays low the harvest; then we abandon all, we flee where we can, hiding ourselves in the mountains and the forests for fear of one another, brother afraid of brother. By this sore trial God still tries us often. Besides, the Turks in this region are very wicked and barbarous; they constantly oppress us and ruin us; they burn our churches; if they find money on one of us, they steal it; they break our icons; and there is none to whom we can complain . . . »¹⁾.

Certain geographical and climatic conditions, a special flora, exuberant as spring, which is identical, in its dominant features, with that of the Sarmatic and steppe regions, and in addition a great variety of plants — more than 150 species — which relate the region to the Mediterranean, have made Dobrogea a wonderful district for pasturage.

For this reason, besides the native Rumanian peasants, also known as *Dicieni*, and besides the Rumanians engaged in fishing in the Danube, throughout the Delta, and along the sea-coast, the Mocani, shepherds from Transylvania, came down in large numbers towards the regions which are Mediterranean in character, like the valleys of Mangalia and Carasu and the other deep valleys, running east-west or west-east and protected from the north wind. The most famous region among these « winterless valleys » is the Silver Coast. Towards these valleys and sheltered spots, which had always been known to our shepherds, this great pastoral movement was to become particularly intense after the lords of Transylvania took serious measures against the shepherds of that region, to preserve the lands of the Saxons or to fight against the damage done by the flocks and against the destructive fires kindled where they passed. We have demonstrated elsewhere in detail the conditions which determined this overflow of the shepherds into Dobrogea,

¹⁾ *Travels of the Russian monk Parthenios through Moldavia in the first half of the 19th century* (translated from Russian into Rumanian by the Archimandrite Visarion Puiu). Vălenii-de-Munte, 1910, pp. 39, 40, 42.

with incontrovertible proofs of the magnitude of Rumanian expansion by this route ¹⁾).

The rhythm of this seasonal migration toward Dobrogea, with all its complexity, is very well adapted to the pastoral life of our fellow-countrymen in this region between the Carpathians and the Black Sea. After a slack period in the second half of the 18th century, when the « Marginian » peasants of the southern part of Transylvania lost 13 of the 25 mountain pasture regions « which they held from their ancestors », that life was more intensified at the beginning of the 19th century, again covering with flocks of sheep the Wallachian countryside, the Danube marshes, and the « Turkish Country », to use the suggestive expression of the old Transylvanian shepherds ²⁾). Now the Rumanians, chiefly from the villages of Transylvania — Săcele, Seliște, Tilișca, Galeș, Rășinari, Poiana, Rod, Jina, etc. — and from the Old Kingdom, began to spread through Dobrogea. Later they began to settle there permanently, turning from the pastoral life to the cultivation of the soil. Marrying the daughters of the Diciens peasants or of the Cojani from the Wallachian plain, they founded a new generation, active, alert, and hardy, which, in a very short time, built new villages on the site of the old ones which had been destroyed, and solidly occupied the regions of Hârșova, Megidia, and Constanța, as well as other parts of Dobrogea. Probably long before the treaty of peace of

¹⁾ Al. P. Arbore, *An attempt to reconstruct the history of the Rumanians in Dobrogea*, in the « Annals of Dobrogea », III (1922).

²⁾ Ion Dragomir, *On the history of the shepherds of the region of Săliște and the adjoining villages*, in the « Proceedings of the Geographical Institute of the University of Cluj », vol. II (1924—1925), pp. 195—257.

Cf. Ion Georgescu, *Fifteen years of seasonal migration in the Rumanian lands (1782—1797)*, in the « Annals of Dobrogea » V and VI (1924—1925), p. 30—48.

Cf. Ștefan Mețeș, *The shepherds of Transylvania in the Rumanian principalities*, in « The Sower » of Arad, 1925, pp. 146—158.

Andrew Veress, *The life of the Transylvanian shepherds in Moldavia and Wallachia (to 1821)*, in the « Annals of the Rumanian Academy », 1927, p. 77: « This emigration also was prohibited by the Government of Transylvania, but, in spite of everything, according to the testimony of the Austrian Vice-Consul of Galați, from the beginning of 1818, the Transylvanians moved more than 100,000 sheep and 1,500 horses, divided into 60 flocks, across the Danube by Brăila and Hârșova, settling, after a needed rest, in the townships of Babadağ, Ederles, Constanța, and Hârșova ».

Passarovitz (1718), the passage to Dobrogea for winter grazing took place at Giurgiu, Rusciuc, Oltenița, Călărași, Hârșova, and Brăila-Măcin. The flocks of sheep then dispersed in various directions, some towards Tulcea, others towards Constanța or Mangalia; but the majority took the road to Deliorman, towards «Pazargic» (Bazargic), Valea Batovei, Balcic, Șumen (Șumla), or even Varna, which they reached towards Christmas. They passed by certain places, such as Turtucaia and Popina, which were almost purely Rumanian; and some among them settled in the villages which they encountered as they advanced. The tradition among the shepherds of Ardeal (Transylvania) who used to go to Dobrogea, and are now old men in the villages, shows that, near Bazargic, they stopped in the nearest villages, at Ghelengic, Cobașacal, Izibei, Hoșcadan (Hoscadam), Bașbunar, Suiugiuc, Ceacârcea, etc.: others continued their route to the east and north-east as far as Ianalâc (Hanlâc), «the village with Opreanu's wood» (Toicuisu) — where a certain Opreanu flayed the sheep, Gurdumanu (Curdoman), «the village without water» (Cuiuchioi), «the village with the hedges» (Caslibechioi), «the village of Ghibuleț (Car-Omer) — where a certain Ghibu flayed the sheep, «the village with the straw» (Gerzalar) — where the ewes were given straw, Ciair-Carman «Varzarile» (Caralia and Durbalia), Ciamurlia near Varzarii, etc. Still others continued their route towards the sea by Susuchioi, «the village of the popes» (Ciairlighiol) — there was a Christian priest here — «the three united villages» (Duvaniuvasâ), Tokceilar, «Te-kia» (Teke), Ecrene, with only two or three houses, and Balcic «where they went to get salt and maize flour»¹⁾.

Those who entered Dobrogea, in the region of Tulcea pushed on into the Delta, into the marshes between the Saint George arm of the Danube and Lake Razim, towards Căciatina, Ivancea, etc., and reached the hillsides of Crasnicol, near the sea, and renowned for its verdure and for the shelter it provides for the sheep in winter.

¹⁾ N. Dragomir, *loc. cit.*, p. 239.

This migration of the shepherds of Transylvania towards Dobrogea took place on so large a scale that it was felt necessary to open, in addition to the Consulate at Galați, Austrian Vice-Consulates at Hârșova and Rusciuc, i. e., at the two most frequented fords of the Danube ¹⁾: the «ford of the ewes» near the mouth of the Ialomița, and the «ford of the horses» near Călărași. This fact shows how important were these two passages. At Hârșova, there was even an «Intendance of the Mocani». A large part of these Mocani never returned to Transylvania, but settled in Dobrogea, as is witnessed by the petition of a «Turkish mayor» of Constanța, Hagi-Mamed, asking that «all the Mocani established in Turkey, or those who cannot prove that they return each year to their own country, be obliged to pay the taxes called *beilic* and *ciubuc-parasse*». In 1845, their number was quite large in Dobrogea, and by a fortunate chance we know the name of each flock-owner, his age, his place of birth, his status as an Austrian subject, the Turkish district in which he was sojourning, the composition of his flock, and whether he paid the tax; thus we can define quite accurately the part played in the life of the Rumanian people by this group living in Dobrogea.

There were, then, 145 of these Mocani, owners of sheep, from the regions of Sibiu, Brașov, Mercurea, Cohalm, Alba-Iulia, Orăștie, Sebeș, Trei-Scaune, Hunedoara, Mediaș, and Brețcu. They possessed 65,200 sheep, 2,353 horses, and 283 head of other stock; and they were scattered through the districts of Isaccea, Tulcea, Măcin, Babadag, Hârșova, Constanța, Mangalia, Silistra, Balcic, Bazargic, and Varna ²⁾.

The next reference to Rumanians in Dobrogea is some years later, in 1849. This time they are called Moldavians, and are found mingled with other nationalities. There can be no doubt that there were Transylvanian shepherds among these representatives of our people. At this time, the pre-

¹⁾ I. Georgescu, *On Rumanian history in Dobrogea*, in the «Annals of Dobrogea», XIII-XIV (1932-1933), pp. 38-52.

²⁾ G. Vâlsan, *The Mocani in Dobrogea in 1845*, in «The Rumanian Language» (1928), pp. 41-46.

sence of Rumanians is mentioned: in the district of Tulcea where they share with the Turks the villages of Cășla, Parcheș, Prislav, Frecăței, Cataloi, Calica, Hagi-Ghiol, Sabangia; in the district of Isaccea, the villages of Rachel, Luncavița, Meidanchioi; in the district of Măcin, the villages of Jijila, Pisica, Turcoaia, Cincilar (Cinele?), Pecineaga, Ak-Punar, Greci; in the district of Babadag, the villages of Ortachioi, Teche, Camena, Ienisala (with 20 Moldavian households), Zebil (with 5 Moldavian households), Siriteni (25), Satu-Nou (15), Camber (25), Casapchioi (15), Periclia; in the district of Constanța, there were Moldavians at Seimeni (20 households), Cochirleni (20), Boazchioi (10), Ienichioi (20), Rașova (40); in the district of Hârșova, at Ostrov (30 households), Dăeni (40), Groapa Ciobanului (30), Topalu (60), Seimeni (20); in the district of Silistra, there were 30 households at Beilic and 25 at Paraschioi ¹⁾. The people referred to in these statistics as Moldavians were Rumanians who had come from Bessarabia to Dobrogea, where they are still known today, in almost all the villages of northern Dobrogea, by the name of their native province, of which the old people still have a very vivid recollection ²⁾.

The constant arrival on the Rumanian left bank of Transylvanian shepherds amply explains (together with what has been stated above) the constant presence, at Silistra and Turtucaia and in the surrounding villages, of a large Rumanian population, with a church and an excellent organisation from the very beginning. One proof that this population between Silistra and Rusciuc is really Rumanian is that about 1850, « at *Popina* and *Aidemir*, Rumanian was spoken, and the priests celebrated the religious offices in that language »; and even the inhabitants of the village of Kalipetrovo were still influenced by Rumanian books and spoke our language ³⁾.

¹⁾ P. P. Panaitescu, *Some statistics on Dobrogea in 1849*, in « *Graul Românesc* (The Rumanian Language), II (1928), p. 82—86.

²⁾ Al. P. Arbore, *Conversations with the peasants of Dobrogea*, in the « *Annals of Dobrogea* », IV (1923), pp. 324—328.

³⁾ V. Papacostea, *Denationalised Rumanians between Rusciuc and Silistra*, in « *Graul Românesc* », III (1928), pp. 1—5.

The consequences of the peace of Adrianople (1829), which regulated the conditions of the exploitation of the land and the colonisation of the Circassians in Dobrogea, helped to cause the decline of sheep-raising and the return of some of the shepherds to their native province, while the rest settled in Dobrogea.

About 1850, there were still a good many nomad shepherds in Dobrogea as a whole and in the districts of Silistra and Varna in particular; and, in 1867, they were still pasturing large numbers of sheep on the plateaux to the north of Allah-Bair and beyond Turcoaia¹). Gradually, a large part of these « Ungureni » shepherds settled in the villages side by side with the « Cojani », agricultural peasants from the departments of Ialomița, Buzău, Brăila, R.-Sărat, etc.; first along the Danube, then at Măcin and as far as Medgidia and Cerna-Vodă, side by side with the old Rumanian colonies of the right bank of the Danube; then along the Cernavoda-Constanța railway, in the midst of other peoples, about as far as the old Bulgarian boundary; and, finally, in the neighbourhood of Mangalia, where they occupy the most fertile part of Dobrogea, and where some of them are owners of estates of several thousand hectares. In the period of Turkish rule, these Rumanians were the most numerous element after the Turks, and lived, according to the statements of Ionescu of Brad in his « Agricultural journey in the plain of Dobrogea », in compact and isolated groups in the villages of Rașova, Cochirleni, Cuciuc-Seimeni, Buiuc-Seimeni, Topalo, Varoș, Groapa-Ciobanului, Gârliciu, Dăeni, Ostrov, Jenisale, Visterul (Visternea?) — the names of which come from Rumanians from Bessarabia (cf. Visterniceni) — Cinele, Picineaga, Turcoaia, Bedje, Zebil, Sabangia, Sarighiol, Agighiol, Nalbant, Meidanchioi, Niculițel, Somova, Parkeș, Pisica, Luncavița, Văcăreni, Garvăn, Jijila. In other villages, they were mingled with other racial groups. According to the same valuable source, 65 villages which « no longer existed » — hav-

¹) K. P. Peters, *Grundlinien zur Geographie und Geologie der Dobroutscha*, p. 52.

ing been destroyed and abandoned as a result of the wars which had been fought in the region—had names which were clearly Rumanian: Crucea, Fântâna Nedelii, Margina, Rosești, Satu-Nou, Topologul, Stâncile, Zăvalu, Hăsănești, Tortoman, Straja, Cerdacu, Peștera. There were no less than 71 villages, with a large Rumanian population, on the bank of the Danube. « From the sea to the Danube and along its bank as far as Silistra, there were 3656 families, composed of 4603 men, 4728 women, 6789 boys, 8637 girls, 1800 young men, 1744 young women; and their possessions, in livestock, beehives and oil, had an estimated value of 15,410,500 Lei ». This population, the author adds, comes from Bessarabia, Moldavia (especially as regards the villages of northern Dobrogea), Bukovina, the Banat, and especially Wallachia. In comfortable circumstances, they paid less taxes than their neighbours in Wallachia, and were not obliged to pay the *beilic* until the harvest was gathered. Intellectually progressive, they were eager for education, and the author « found in certain villages schoolmasters whom they supported at their own expense. One village did not rest until it had secured from Wallachia a poor schoolmaster, whom the Rumanians keep among them better than if he had been in Abraham's bosom ». An important fact is that the author was able to converse with the Turks and Tatars — a proof that Rumanian was the common language of the province; and this is confirmed by Lejean in the following passage: « It is only as a result of frequent commercial or other relations that the Turks of the north-east (of the Balkan peninsula) speak Bulgar, those of the south-east Greek, and those of Dobrogea Rumanian » ¹⁾.

In church, even where there are Bulgarians, the priests insist on reading the prayers in Rumanian; the hymns are sung in the Greek church in that same language; and at school, « the master, who is Bulgarian, teaches the children in Rumanian, which they all understand ». The Rumanians

¹⁾ Lejean, *Ethnographie de la Turquie d'Europe*, 1861, p. 35.

possess two monasteries: that of *Amcearca* and that of *Cocoș*, which have a revenue of about 7,000 Lei per annum, which represents property worth more than 100,000 Lei. The Rumanians are more than half as numerous as the Turks. While all the other nationalities together total no more than 15,000 families, the Rumanian and Turkish families together greatly exceed 15,000 ».

Ionescu of Brad visited 388 villages in the *cazalele* (districts) of Tulcea, Saccea, Măcin, Hârșova, and Baba in the Sandjak of Tulcea, and in the *cazalele* of Chiustenge, Mangalia, Balcic, and Bazargic in the Sandjak of Silistra. In all these villages he found 15,764 families, divided as follows according to nationality: 4800 Turkish, 3656 Rumanian, 2225 Tatar, 2214 Bulgarian, 1092 Cossack, 747 Lipovan, 300 Greek, 212 Gypsy, 145 Arab, 126 Armenian, 119 Jewish, and 59 German. In old Dobrogea (Tulcea and Constanța), there were 3656 Rumanian families, 2268 Turkish, 2225 Tatar, 1194 Bulgarian, 1092 Cossack, 747 Lipovan, 250 Greek, 172 Gypsy, 119 Jewish, 76 Armenian, and 59 German — which proves that no Rumanians, Cossacks, Lipovans, Jews, and Germans lived in the region of Balcic and Bazargic of the Sandjak of Silistra ¹⁾).

The numbers and importance of the Rumanian element are confirmed by later evidence. In 1859, according to the register of alms, preserved in the church of Azaclău-Tulcea, there were a good many Rumanians distributed between the banks of the Danube and the interior of Dobrogea ²⁾). Lejean, in 1861, gives the figure of 33,000 Rumanians for Dobrogea as a whole, whereas the Bulgarian population « is only a small minority » ³⁾).

In the northern part of Dobrogea, Peters, about 1865, gives Lejean's figure of 33,000 Rumanians, while Viscovich says they number 120,000, as against 25,000 Bulgarians.

¹⁾ Ionescu, *The Rumanians of Dobrogea*, in « Literary Rumania », No. 2, January 8, 1855.

²⁾ N. Iorga, *The three Dobrogeas that I found*, in the « Annals of Dobrogea », III, p. 32.

³⁾ Lejean, *loc. cit.*, p. 19.

According to Baron d'Hogguer, there were, in 1879, 24,167 Rumanians (30.3%), 21,916 Bulgarians (27.6%), out of a total population of 79,357. The statistics of Bieloserkovic, Governor of Dobrogea during the Russian occupation, show 5542 Rumanian families for the districts of Tulcea, Măcin, Hârşova, Babadag, Kiustengea, Midgidia, and Sulina, which, with Mangalia, Cernavoda, and other places not included in these statistics, form the Sandjak of Tulcea.

According to these statistics, there were in the town of Tulcea 417 families, in the district of Tulcea 1522 families, in the district of Măcin 1399 families, in the district of Babadag 424, and at Sulina 211 ¹⁾. Below are data in regard to the Rumanians contained in the reports of a census taken between 1870 and 1874 in the region around Silistra ²⁾:

Places	Families	Men	Women	Young men	Young women	Boys	Girls	Old men	Old women	Total
Silistra (1870)	249	201	178	95	44	152	131	8	28	837
Oltina (1873)	170	167	157	40	34	185	169	13	14	779
Câşla (1873)	29	28	27	6	8	29	25	2	2	127
Beilic (1873)	127	125	124	31	36	41	80	11	11	459
Ostrov (1874)	294	263	281	119	93	270	268	14	23	1,330
Buceag (1874)	53	53	54	21	23	46	29	4	—	230
Total	922	837	820	352	238	723	702	52	78	3,762

Thus we see that there were many Rumanians in Dobrogea before the union of that province with the mother country in 1878. The reason is that, from the earliest times, the whole right bank of the Danube, in Dobrogea, had been under the indirect influence of our people. This remained true even after the creation of the *raia* of Brăila in Wallachia, on the left bank of the river, which, in the 18th century, included more than half of the present County of Brăila. That step created an open passage to Do-

¹⁾ Luca Ionescu, *Report on the district of Tulcea for 1904*, pp. 26—29.

²⁾ I. N. Roman, *Pages of Rumanian History and Culture in Dobrogea before 1877*, in the «Annals of Dobrogea», pp. 387—392.

brogea for the Rumanians, including vagabonds and fugitive criminals, who took refuge in the Turkish *raia* and found there not only shelter, but work among the Turks; later, these were followed by discontented people from the Principalities, and especially by those who came looking for pasture for their flocks and remained.

The place names show the large and growing number of Rumanians, who were, in fact, outnumbered only by the Mahommedans. On the 738 maps with which we are acquainted, we find 3776 place names—367 names of villages, and 3,409 names of valleys, hills, lakes, marshes, ruins, quarries, crosses, isolated wells, etc. 2338, or 61.89% of these names are of Turkish or Tatar origin, 1260, or 33.34%, Rumanian, 145, or 3.48%, Russian (chiefly in the Delta), 28, or 0.71%, Bulgarian, and 6, or 0.22%, of divers origins ¹).

After the establishment of the Rumanian administration in Dobrogea in 1878, the Mahommedan population, which emigrated in large numbers, was replaced by Rumanian colonists from beyond the Danube. These newcomers were added to the old Rumanian stock, composed, first, of the old Diciens, long established in Dobrogea, and secondly of fugitive peasants, *Cojani*, and *Mocani*, whom the Rumanian State found settled in the region. Soon afterwards, by the promulgation of the law of 1882, all the non-landowning inhabitants, without distinction of nationality, were given the opportunity to acquire land. Profiting by the opportunity, our *Mocani* sold their flocks and began to purchase land, wherever occasion offered; and, having got possession of a good part of the soil of Dobrogea, they engaged in agriculture on a large scale.

The importance of this Transylvanian element for the growth of the Rumanian population of Dobrogea has been very great.

A study of the files of the two commissions set up in 1909 to investigate and grant political rights to inhabitants of this region who had not enjoyed them up to that time

¹) C. Brătescu, in « Rumanian Dobrogea », Bucharest, 1919, p. 87.

reveals that 4,032 applications were received from Rumanians from Transylvania — 1,091 for the County of Tulcea, and 2,941 for the County of Constanța. Careful research has shown that the emigrants from the region of the Olt and from Făgăraș settled by choice in the district of Tulcea, chiefly in the villages of Făgărașul-Nou, Topolog, and Urumbei. At Casimcea, there are especially Mocani or Barsanians from the regions of Brașov and of Trei-Scaune, and also Marginians and Țuțuians from the region of Brașov. Transylvanians are found also at Chilia-Veche, Mahmudia, Ciamurlia-de-Jos, and Ciamurlia-de-Sus; and we are sure that their traces are also to be found at Sarinasuf, Dunavățul-de-Sus, Dunavățul-de-Jos, Cârjelari, Cerna, and other places.

The statistical conclusions drawn from the petitions presented in the County of Tulcea are as follows: 332 or 30.5% are from Rumanians from the region of the Olt or of Făgăraș, 313 or 28.7% from Mocani, 112 or 10.3% from Țuțuians or Rumanians from near Sibiu, and 334 or 30.5% from Rumanians from other parts of Transylvania or of the Banat.

There were Transylvanians in 80 of the 99 communes of the County of Constanța¹⁾. In addition to those in the city of *Constanța*, there were Transylvanians at *Canara* and in the village of *Palazul-Mare*, *Cara-Murat* (128 families), *Hasi-duluc*, *Osman-facâ*, *Sibioara* (Cicrâcci), *Techirghiol*, *Musurat*, *Tuzla*, *Carmen-Sylva*, *Valul lui Traian* (Hasancea), *Omurcea*; in the district of *Cernavodă*, with a very dense population in the centre, at *Cochirleni*, *Rașova*, *Seimeni*, *Tortoman* (and in the village of *Defercea*), *Țepeș-Vodă* (*Chior-Cișmea*), *Siliștea* (formerly *Taşpunar*). In the district of *Cogelac*, they are found at *Casapchioi*, *Istria* (*Caranasuf*), *Pantelimonul-de-Jos*, *Runcu* (*Terzichioi*), *Potur*, *Săcele* (*Pelitlia*), *Vadul* (*Cara-Harman*), *Toxof*.

A large colony of Transylvanians was found in the district of *Medgidia*. They were very numerous in the

¹⁾ The names in italics indicate the towns where the Transylvanian element is strongly represented.

little city of Medgidia itself, as well as at *Alacap*, *Biul-biul* (80 families), *Carol I*, *Chiostel*, *Cobadin*, *Enge-Mahale*, *Izvorul-Mare* (Mamut-Cuius) (121 families), *Murfatlar*, *Osmancea*, *Agemler*, and *Peștera*.

In the district of *Mangalia*, they were found in the city of that name, and also at *Cara-Omer*, *Comana* (*Mustafaci*) and in the villages belonging to them: *Azaplar* and *Carachioi*, *General Scărișoreanu* (*Enghezu*), *Ghelengic*, *Haidarchioi*, *Giuenlia* (*Chirnogi*), *Sarighiol*, and *Tatlageac*.

In the district of *Hârșova*, in the little city of that name itself were 88 families; others are to be found at *Cartal*, *Ciobanu*, *Gălbiori* (*Saragea*), *Băltăgești*, *Gârliciu*, *Ghizdărești*, *Muslubei*, *Șiriu* (117 families), *Sarai*, *Satischioi* and *Toplau*.

In the district of *Traian*, there were Transylvanians at *Cuzgun* (78 families), *Adam-Clissi*, *Urluia*, *Aliman*, and in the village of *Vlahii*, at *Beilic*, *Caranlâc*, *Dobromir*, *Enigea* (234 families), *Enișenlia* (95 families), *Ghiuvegea*, and *Tudor-Vlădimirescu* (*Regep-Cuius*).

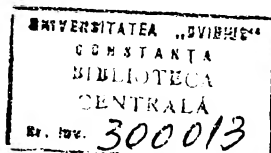
In the district of *Plasa-Nouă*, there were Transylvanians at *Bairamedede*, *Cavaclar*, *Caxil-Murat*, *Chioseler*, *Docuzaci*, *Dumbrăveni* (*Hairanchioi*), *Negrești* (*Carabacâ*).

Transylvanians were to be found in 1909 also at *Ostrov*, *Almalău*, *Bugeac*, *Esechioi*, *Garvan*, *Canlia*, and *Lipnița*—places now in the County of *Durostor*, but then belonging to the County of *Constanța*. The *Mocani* proper, i. e., the *Seceleni* and their neighbours, are Transylvanians¹⁾.

The *Mocan*, the shepherd of the Carpathians, may well be considered as the founder of the Rumanian race in these regions, thanks to his work of colonisation, accomplished slowly, in difficult times, and in large part under foreign rule.

« Through the centuries, the « *Mocan* », peaceable traveller through the land, with the stars of the firmament for guides, his stick for a weapon, his old sheepskin on

¹⁾ I. Georgescu, *The Rumanians of Transylvania in Dobrogea*, in the « *Annals of Dobrogea* », X (1929), pp. 163—177 and in *Transylvania, Banat, Crișana and Maramureș*, Bucharest, 1929, vol. I, pp. 613—622.



his back for a buckler and a shelter, and his flock of sheep for an army, has conquered not only the plains in the midst of the peasants of the Carpathian lands, but the whole steppe zone of the Black Sea coast.

« He has traced new routes through the grassy empire, discovered fords, dug wells, pastured his sheep on neglected and abandoned lands, whose value he was shrewd enough to realise; he founded villages, and his vigorous posterity colonised a bit of country, far better and more durably than any official enterprise could have done. Back in the troubled times, dimly foreshadowing Rumanian national aspirations, though he did not know the history of the past, the shepherd traced the frontiers of that State in which his nation was to attain its ideal in the full development of its forces. By his wanderings, renewed year by year, he prepared and consolidated, even in the places most remote from Rumanian influence, the national unity, and proved that neither the Carpathians nor the Danube are obstacles to racial unity, and that the Rumanian people, as it rises, can develop harmoniously only with the most extensive possible frontage on the sea. By settling long since near the waters of the Black Sea, by baptising with distinctively Rumanian names the maritime villages and landmarks, he recalled our history to life, and restored to us our rights to many countries the possession of which had been disputed by neighbours who had arrived too late »¹⁾).

A good colonising element came from the plains of Wallachia — hardy men, accustomed to the life of the flat country. Settled at Cara-Omer, Ghiuvenlia, Enisenlia, Adam-clissi, along the southern boundary of the County of Constanța, they constituted a force and a bulwark for our cause. With less success, we tried to settle the veterans of the war of 1877 here as colonists; but, poor, aged, and weary, they were unable to overcome the difficulties of life in Dobrogea. A few courageous prefects, such as Ion Nenițescu and Luca Ionescu, undertook to colonise the Delta with Ruma-

¹⁾ G. Vălsan, *The Mocani in Dobrogea in 1845*, in « *Graiu Românesc* », II (1928), p. 41.

nians; and even today, it would be possible to set up colonies there composed of Rumanians from the river regions, and skilled in fishing.

In 1880, there were 275 new landowners, with 11,588 hectares; in 1905, they numbered 80,273, with a total of 654,127 hectares; and these figures are steadily growing, 1,695 new families having been sent into the County of Constanța, chiefly from the provinces of Muntenia (Wallachia), in smaller numbers from Moldavia and Transylvania, in addition to the 44 villages of colonists now being established.

Between 1878 and 1913 — i. e., in 34 years of Rumanian rule — the racial composition of the region has radically changed by reason of the large number of Rumanians who have come in, some of them brought in as colonists by the administration, others settlers on their own initiative. The density of the population, formerly little more than 5 or 6 to the square kilometre, had risen by 1913 to about 25 per square kilometre; and the Rumanians formed 56.8% of the population, while the Turks and Tatars now constitute only 10.9%, as is shown by the accompanying statistical table ¹).

After 1923, the colonisation of Dobrogea was resumed with the aid of the demobilised soldiers, in the near neighbourhood of the villages; and by 1928, 13 military colonies had been set up in the Counties of Caliacra, Ceairlighiol, Meși-Mahale, Iasracilar, Stâncea, Idiriscuius, Vulturești, Rasovicieni, Duranlar, Giaferli-Iuciorman, Aiorman, Caraiaschiori, Crișan, and Teche, composed of 391 families who have built 140 new houses.

An organisation was set up to distribute land to the newcomers (Casă a Improrietăririi) and to carry through this work. This is all the more urgent because, since 1919, recent political events have forced a large part of the Rumanians of Macedonia to leave the regions where they had lived for centuries. Most of them have come to Rumania, where Dobrogea, once more Rumanian territory, has been thrown

¹) I. N. Roman, in the « Annals of Dobrogea », III (1922), p. 460.

Nationality	County of Constanța			County of Tulcea			Old Dobrogea (northern)			%
	Urb.	Rur.	Total	Urb.	Rur.	Total	Urb.	Rur.	Total	
Rumanians	30,929	98,157	129,086	19,171	68,168	87,339	50,100	166,325	216,425	56.8
Bulgarians	1,738	22,639	24,377	5,854	20,918	26,772	7,592	43,557	51,149	13.4
Russians	279	2,070	2,349	10,550	22,960	35,510	10,829	25,030	35,859	9.4
Tatars	2,050	18,159	20,209	221	920	1,141	2,271	19,079	21,350	5.6
Turks	4,900	10,033	14,933	2,648	2,511	5,159	7,548	12,544	20,092	5.5
Greeks	4,136	1,095	5,231	4,393	375	4,768	8,529	1,470	9,999	2.6
Germans	465	5,115	5,580	333	1,784	2,117	798	6,899	8,767	2.0
Jews	1,531	71	1,602	2,752	219	2,971	4,283	290	4,573	1.2
Gypsies	206	630	836	500	1,927	2,427	706	2,557	3,263	0.9
Armenians	1,886	538	2,421	673	97	770	2,559	635	3,194	0.8
Italians	456	138	594	127	1,207	1,334	583	1,345	1,928	0.5
Austrians	236	19	255	345	570	915	581	589	1,770	0.3
Hungarians	588	227	815	116	54	170	704	281	985	0.3
Găgăuți	—	54	54	6	886	892	6	940	946	0.3
Albanians	299	153	452	79	34	113	378	187	565	0.1
Serbs	87	126	213	94	44	138	181	170	351	0.1
Poles	58	55	113	38	13	51	96	68	164	0.1
Other nationalities	205	38	243	216	50	266	421	88	509	0.1
Unknown	79	126	205	5	1	6	84	127	211	0.1
Total	50,128	159,443	209,571	48,121	122,738	170,859	98,249	282,181	380,430	100

open to them for colonisation. Thus, in the County of Caliacra, nearly 3,000 families have settled. In the County of Durostor, they have founded villages, named after the places from which they have come: Fraşari, Gramostea, Livezi. They have bought at Tatar-Atmagea 105 houses which the Turks had abandoned; they have built new ones at Cocina, at Iali-Ceatalgea, at Gramostea. The village of Uzungiorman was purchased in its entirety from the Turks who were leaving it. Thus the Rumanians of Macedonia have found shelter in about 36 villages, where they have also received into their midst Rumanian colonists from beyond the Danube.

The Rumanian folklore of Dobrogea, apart from many elements which are common to the folklore of all our provinces, contains, among other things, reminiscences of the frequent relations which we have maintained with Black Sea coast regions and the lands beyond the Danube:

« Let the Turks yield the fords to him
And the Franks the ships ».

The Franks are the Italians, merchants of Venice and of Genoa, who fought with the Turks for the mastery of the sea.

Other ballads mention the daughter of a wealthy « Latin », Sava; a « city in Dobrogea »; « rich Latins » or « pagan Latins », who must be the Ragusans who travelled through Dobrogea in the 16th and 17th centuries; the « boyars of Dobrogea », who are contrasted with the « Turkish notables of Constanţa », the « delicate Serbs of Tulcea », the « Turks of Baba (Babadag) », the « lieutenants of the Grand Vizir, who break their journeys on the sea coast », the thieves of Brăila, the shepherds, the « saëges » (officials whose business it was to purchase sheep), the « people of Rumanian origin of Chilia », and « Prince Constantine, boyar of Măcin », who reminds us of the old lords of the castles in the 11th century. Some of these ballads of Dobrogea mention Moldavian, Muntenian, and Oltenian soldiers, who come down to the sea to ask « Prince Vasile » for his son Nistor, whom

they wish to make their prince. Still others refer to the sea coast: we find in certain religious songs the expression « the white monasteries built of stones from the sea »; and also, very frequently, « the spirit of the sea ». We frequently find descriptions of fishing for the « hostile fish » which spoils the flowers planted in a corner of the garden of fair Helen. Is the ballad of « Iancu-Vodă », Iancu Sibianu or Iencea Sibiencea, the history of the fate which befell that personage at the battle of Varna in 1444, or does it preserve the memory of the old man Ivanco?

The subject of many of these songs is the wars against the Haiduks, against the rapacious janissaries, against the grasping pashas who exacted taxes of all sorts; or again, the ravishing of women, and all the misfortunes of the lives of the fisherman, the shepherds, and the warriors who cross the sea and the Danube.

Mention is made, too, of the tax collected by the agents of the « bey ». The ballad « Tudor the Dobrogean » shows us the situation of this man, forced to sell his mills (the windmills of Dobrogea are well known), his sheep, his lands, and even his wife, who, according to an old Turkish custom, may be sold too. Certain boyars are invited to embrace the religion of the Turks, but they manage to deceive the Sultan, to « Rumanise the Emperor » himself, by placing sows — taboo to Islam — in the bag which had contained the price of their conversion ¹⁾).

A number of Christmas hymns, sung by the Dobrogean fishermen, express certain beliefs of their ancestors, according to which a spirit issues from the waters of the sea or of the Danube in the form of a fish or of some other animal unknown to man. It is called *iudă*, and is very dangerous for the fishermen; it seeks to devour the golden apples which grow at the bottom of the sea; but a warrior arrives, who shoots arrows to save the apples.

References to « the fragrant cypresses », « delicious grapes », « oranges » — none of which are found in Dobrogea —

¹⁾ Cf. N. Iorga, *Droits nationaux et politiques*, pp. 73—74.

seem to recall another milieu and the advance of the Vlachs of the Black Sea still farther to the south ¹). We find nothing of the sort, in connection with Dobrogea, in the Bulgarian ballads and folk songs of this province.

Even Rumanian music differs in Dobrogea, as between the songs of the Cojani and those of the Mocani.

The former use a slower, more varied melody, «with substitutions of related harmonies, the characteristic feature of which is that the second is lengthened and shows Persian-Arabic influence»; while among the Mocani, the same melody, «with a musical dialect of Bihor at the base», has «a syncopated rhythm, with prolonged holds on the second note of the syncopation, with more distinct intervals, which are contrapuntal or «architectonic-pentatonic» ²).

The dances of the Dobrogeans also show well-defined characteristics: the round dance «cadâneasca» (with contortions of the abdomen such as are peculiar to the Turkish dances), the «dobrogea» and the «geamparale» (a dance performed in the street on the wedding day by the women who carry in their hands the dowry of the bride).

* * *

The above exposition shows how little information, dating from the Middle Ages or from the 17th and 18th centuries, we possess regarding the Bulgarians; and the study of place names reveals very few Slavonic names from the period of the old Slavonic influence. These names do not come from the Bulgarian population, which is an entirely new element in this province ³).

¹) T. Burada, *A journey in Dobrogea*, Iassy, 1880; I. Georgescu, *The Black Sea in our folk poetry*, in the «Annals of Dobrogea», XI (1930), pp. 21–30.

²) Emile Riegler-Dinu, *The musical folklore of old Dobrogea*, in «Dobrogea» (1878–1928), pp. 787–793.

³) Al. P. Arbore, *Bulgarian Colonies*, in the «Archives of Dobrogea», I (1916), pp. 17–60 and especially p. 19, note 2.

Cf. N. Iorga, *Droits nationaux et politiques*, p. 53: «As for the Bulgarians, nothing in the sources nothing in the logic of history, nothing even in the place names — which ought, in the contrary case, to show such endings as *antzi, entzi, itza, atz*, — except Oblucița (Oblutschitza) near Isaccea, with which it has merged — indicates their presence».

It has not yet been demonstrated what part of the Black Sea region is referred to in the treaty made in 1387 between Ivanko, master of a part of the Black Sea, and the Genoese, in which it is stated that the population of these regions is composed of « Graeci, Bulgari et vel alii »¹⁾).

Philip Stanislavici, in 1659, mentions, in addition to 1,700 Turks, 400 houses of « Bulgarorum, Graecorum, Valachorum schismaticorum ». Again, Paul of Aleppo mentions at Iglitsa a « little town of Bulgarian Christians », and at Matchine, « 420 households » of « Bulgarian Christians ». The Palatine of Kulm in 1677 mentions at Isaccea Greeks, Armenians, « Bulgarians », Jews, and Turks; he further states that the whole of the interior of Dobrogea is occupied by Mahommedans.

La Mottraye, in 1714, speaks of the locality of Kallatis as inhabited by a large population, « Greek » in religion, but « in majority Moldavian or Bulgarian » in nationality. Between 1761 and 1762, Boscovitch, a Ragusan, informs us that, in the villages of *Baltagichioi* (now Băltăgeștii) and *Taş-Burun* (a village which has since ceased to exist), the Christian Bulgarians live by themselves at the edge of the village²⁾.

The greatest mass-movements of population, which have had a marked importance both for Dobrogea and for the plain of Muntenia and southern Dobrogea began in the second half of the 18th century, continuing to the end of the century and into the first half the 19th, when the mountain regions of the Balkans and of Rhodope poured their surplus population into the plains of the Danube and of Thrace. In addition, the bitter struggles between the Russians and the Turks stirred up in these regions a state of mind which was expressed, on the Russian side, by the attempt to expel the Tatars from the region beyond the Black Sea and to drive them either far away into the Kuban and the Caspian region, or into the Turkish Empire. On the other side, it led the Turks to start a persecution of the Bulgarians,

¹⁾ *Notices et extraits des MSS. de la bibliothèque du Roi*, XI, pp. 65—71.

²⁾ See, however, the doubts expressed with regard to these Bulgarians by G. Vălsan. *The Bulgarians of Boscovich*, in the « *Annals of Dobrogea* », III (1922), pp. 319—324.

especially those of the eastern districts, for their lack of loyalty to their masters during the Russo-Turkish wars. It was then that the Russians began to settle in the old Moldavian territory peoples of all sorts, for example, Germans, Cossacks, and Lipovans; and it occurred to them that they could also offer shelter here to the Bulgarians from the eastern Balkans, who had fled because they were suspected of disloyalty by the Turks.

« The only apparent advantages which we could obtain from such an expedition would be to destroy all the villages between the Balkans and the Danube and to carry off their inhabitants into Moldavia ». This passage sufficiently demonstrates the intentions of the Russians. On the other hand, a report dated September 27, 1810, notes that « the most substantial advantage that Russia has thus far obtained from the present war is to have sent the inhabitants of Dobrogea and Bulgaria to settle in Bessarabia and even in the Government of Odessa »¹⁾.

The first emigration took place between 1725 and 1754, when some 620 families migrated to the region of Herson²⁾. About 4000 people followed between 1769 and 1791; and about 12,000 between 1801 and 1802, so that, by 1812, there were some 20,000 Bulgarians on the Bugeac. From that time on, the exodus of this population towards the regions north of the Danube and the Black Sea, stimulated and controlled by the Russians, continued in ever larger groups, whose numbers cannot be determined³⁾.

¹⁾ *Hurmuzachi*, III, Suppl. I, No. LI, p. 371; *Hurmuzachi*, XVI, pp. 876, 861, 871, 878, 883; and III, Suppl. I, p. 176.

²⁾ Lj. Miletić, *Staroto bǎlgarsko naselenie, vǎ severoiztočina Bulgaria*, Sofia, 1902, p. 14. Lj. Miletić, *Das Ostbulgarische* (Schriften der Balkan-commission, Linguistische Abteilung), Vienna, 1903; H. S. Derjavine, *Bolgarskija kolonii vǎ Rossii* (Tavriceskaja, Hersonskaia i Bessaravskaia gubernii), in the « Review of the Bulgarian Academy », vol. XXIX, Sofia, 1914, p. 30.

³⁾ Al. P. Arbore, *Bulgarian colonies in Dobrogea*, in the « Archives of Dobrogea », 1910, pp. 26–29; Al. P. Arbore, *Ethnographical data and population movements in southern Bessarabia and Dobrogea in the 18th and 19th centuries, with special reference to the Bulgarian colonies in these regions*, in the « Annals of Dobrogea », X (1929), pp. 9 ff.; Al. P. Arbore, *New ethnographical, historical and statistical data on Dobrogea and the parts of Bessarabia near the Danube*, in the « Annals of Dobrogea », XI (1930), pp. 71–75.

After the wars of 1828—1829, Dobrogea was a devastated area, with a population reduced to 40,000. « Das Land hat fürchterlich gelitten; gewiss ein Drittel der Häuser stand leer (The country suffered terribly; a good third of the houses stood empty) »¹⁾. In the face of this situation, the Bulgarians who were fleeing from Bulgaria towards Russia, as well as those who were returning to Bulgaria from Russia, where they had been unable to adapt themselves to the life of the steppe, and to Russian military service and administrative methods, began to settle in compact masses in the villages of Dobrogea and even in the houses abandoned by the Turks and Tatars. One proof of this statement is the fact that the villages of *Ciamurli*, *Karamkeui* (*Caramanchioi*), *Potur*, *Beidaud*, *Storija Casmedja*, *Novaja Casmedja*, *Karanasub*, today almost entirely inhabited by Bulgarians, were empty in 1828, as is shown by a large Russian map of the time.

We can say with certainty that the same thing happened in the case of other villages in the neighbourhood of those mentioned above. In the interval between 1828 and 1856, the largest colonies were organised in Dobrogea, chiefly in the region of Lake Razim, which closely resembles, with its hillsides and forests, the regions of eastern Bulgaria, from which these people came.

A statistical table of 1849 shows Bulgarians in a single village of the region of Tulcea — at *Agi-Ghiol*, with 7 Bulgarian households. In the region of *Babadag*, there were 45 Bulgarian households at *Beidaut*, 30 at *Ciamurlia*, 20 at *Hamamdgia*, 35 at *Caramanchioi*, 10 at *Periclia*. In the region of *Constanța*, 5 at *Anadolochioi*, 10 at *Satichioi*; in the region of *Hârșova* and *Mangalia*, not a single household; while there were not more than 50 near *Silistria*, 30 at *Buceac*, and 40 at *Aidemir*²⁾. The whole Bulgarian population of Dobrogea at this period was no more than this. The larger

¹⁾ E. Ritter, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei aus den Jahren 1835 bis 1839*, Berlin, 1841, p. 159.

²⁾ P. P. Panaitescu, *A statistical table concerning Dobrogea in 1849*, in « *Graiu Românesc* », II (1928), pp. 84—86.

part of the population which had migrated from the eastern Balkans to Bessarabia and southern Russia came from the regions of Şumen, Provadi, and Razgrad, lying in the eastern Balkans, and from Sliven, Jambol, and Adrianople in Thrace; these regions were abandoned by half their inhabitants. This explains why the Bulgarians who settled in Dobrogea, whether on their way towards Russia, or on their return from it, were likewise natives of the above mentioned regions. In particular, there is not a single village in the whole of the old Rumanian Dobrogea, where it is possible to find traces of the old Bulgarian element. This is the conclusion that arises from the studies and researches of the most famous Bulgarian and foreign scholars who have examined this question.

The racial map of Ionescu of Brad shows in detail all the villages inhabited by Bulgarians, whether alone or mingled with other racial groups; but the author points out the recent date of their arrival in the following lines: «The Bulgarians have come into Dobrogea in the past twenty years, abandoning unproductive lands for the more fertile ones which they have found in this country. The Bulgarian families are almost as numerous as the Tatar ones »¹⁾.

Many of these Bulgarian fugitives died in the course of these migrations, either from sickness or from all the war-time privations they suffered on these distant journeys²⁾.

The marvellous conditions that Dobrogea offers for stock-raising likewise attracted Bulgarian shepherds from Cotel, and from the adjoining villages of Gradeţi, Jeravna, Medven, etc. — who are thought by some authors to have

¹⁾ I. Ionescu, *Agricultural excursion in the plain of Dobrogea, with an ethnographical and topographical map*, Constantinople (Press of the Constantinople Journal), 1850, p. 82.

²⁾ A. H. Layard, *The State of Turkey and of its Dependencies*, Speech in the House of Commons, London, 1863, pp. 83—84, cited in C. Brătescu, *Dobrogea*, p. 145, n. 7: «Not long since, 11,000 Bulgarians were induced by Russian agents to leave their native country and settle in Russia. But they were received so inhospitably, they endured so many privations and hardships, that 4,000 of them died, and the others seized the first favourable opportunity to return to Bulgaria. The Turks received them kindly ».

been Bulgarised Vlachs¹⁾, who had previously emigrated with their flocks to the plateaux of Thrace. They were not numerous, but they pastured their flocks as far north as northern Dobrogea; indeed, their winter enclosures in the regions of Babadag, Hârşova, and Silistra lasted from 1812 until the Crimean War (1855), when Dobrogea had the appearance of an immense desert²⁾.

In the districts of Dobrici and Balcic, sheepfolds were likewise more numerous than in the old Rumanian Dobrogea. Here only 10% of the villages were without winter enclosures organised by the men of Cotel. After 1877, when Dobrogea was annexed to Rumania, and the boundary was traced in the region of Deliorman, most of these shepherds took up permanent residence in Dobrogea.

In 1850, the Bulgarian colonists numbered 2,214 families, divided as follows: at Tulcea, 200 families; at Isaccea and Hârşova, none; at Măcin, 92; at Babadag, 871; at Constanţa, 26; at Mangalia, 5; at Balcic, 842; at Bazargic, 538. We give below an ethnographical table of Dobrogea at this date, taken from the work of I. Ionescu of Brad, already cited, in which the number of Bulgarians is compared with that of other nationalities.

Lejean, after stating that the common language in Dobrogea is Rumanian, expresses the opinion that the Bulga-

¹⁾ C. Jireček, *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien*, p. 124, following the Bulgarian writers Rakowski and Slajvejkov: «Nachkommen angesiedelter Wlachischer Wanderhirten seien (Said to be descendants of nomad Vlach shepherds who had settled here)».

²⁾ I. Ev. Gheşov, *Obcaritu otu Kotlensko i jitvaritu otu Tarnovsko*, in the «Periodical Review», XXXII-XXXIII (1890), pp. 310-326; 311-312.

Lj. Miletić does not attach much importance to this nomad shepherd element, as far as concerns Dobrogea, where, in his opinion, they did not settle permanently; he believes that they returned on several occasions to the places from which they set out. «It is certain that the inhabitants of Cotel wandered through Dobrogea in great numbers as shepherds in the time of the Turks; one witness has told me that among the emigrants there were likewise a large part of the inhabitants of Cotel. It is said, however, that these facts are not to be taken into consideration with regard to the shepherds of Cotel, who — and this fact has been confirmed — after living in this region, without marrying, returned, in most cases, to Cotel». L. Miletić, *Staroto maselenie*, p. 168.

«Hence the people of Cotel betook themselves only temporarily, in quest of profit, to these regions towards the sea and in the north eastern part of Bulgaria; and only the men went, while the women remained at Cotel, whither the men returned». *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

rians are « a small minority ». Peters gives the number of Bulgarians in the whole province in 1865—1867 as 25,000. In 1861, emigration to southern Russia was still going on ¹⁾. On the formation of the new Bulgarian State, many of these emigrants returned to their native land.

Even in 1895, A. Işirkov, in his studies on the Bulgarians of Dobrogea, came to the following conclusion: « It would be a great error to believe, as we often do, that there are more than 50,000 Bulgarians in Dobrogea » ²⁾.

The foregoing exposition shows clearly that the presence in Dobrogea of the Bulgarian element is of recent date. There is no important trace of an old Bulgarian population, except for two villages on the Danube in the region of Silistra and Turtucaia, where this old element was able to survive because of the possibility of seeking refuge, in case of danger, in the Rumanian villages beyond the Danube, whence they returned to their own homes once the danger was passed.

The following are the villages between Silistra and Turtucaia in which this old Bulgarian population is represented, though it is much reduced, and many Bulgarian colonists have since settled in the midst of it: Popina, Vetren, Srebârna, Aïdemir, Kalipetrovo, Malka Kainardja, Garvan, Hodja Keui, Kadikeui, Spantehov, Sarsânlar, Staro-Selo (Star-Smil), Belitz, Denisler, and probably also Sianovo.

The people of these villages are called *Grebentsi* (because of a peculiarity in their costume) or *Eliitsi*, which means dwellers in the plain along the Danube, from the Turkish word *eli* (plain). They differ from the newcomers both by their language, which is similar to the dialect of the old population of the region of Şumla and Razgrad, and by their costume and other racial peculiarities, such as customs, religious rites, etc. ³⁾.

¹⁾ *Briefe über bulgarische Zustände*, in the Viennese newspaper «Wanderer», 1864, No. 61.

²⁾ A. Işirkov, *Rumunska Dobroza*, in the «Bulgarian Review», V, p. 80.

³⁾ St. Romansky, *Ethnographical map of modern Rumanian Dobrogea*, p. 10.

		Numbers of families by nationalities											Total		
Counties	Villages	Places	Turkish	Tatar	Rumanian	Bulgarian	Lipovan	Cossack	Greek	Egyptian	Arab	German	Armenian	Jewish	
Siliștra	9	Tulcea	105	—	1,290	200	250	787	200	20	—	50	30	30	2,962
	11	Isaccea	183	—	363	—	—	163	29	23	—	—	3	20	786
	18	Măcin	501	15	591	92	93	25	20	23	—	1	3	—	1,364
	33	Hârșova	165	688	496	—	—	—	—	6	—	8	—	—	1,404
	71	Babadag	557	1,075	674	871	40	117	1	100	—	—	40	69	3,928
Varna	37	Chiuștenge	352	442	242	26	364	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,068
	36	Mangalia	405	5	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	415
	84	Balcic	620	—	—	482	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	1,104
	89	Bazargic	1,912	—	—	538	—	—	50	40	143	—	50	—	2,733
	388		4,800	2,225	3,656	2,214	747	1,092	300	212	145	59	126	119	15,764

We find evidence that this old Bulgarian population of the above-mentioned villages must have had to take refuge at some period in another region to escape Turkish rule in the fact that it still preserves the custom known as the «buenet» — sword dances — on the feast of St. Lazarus, a custom still observed also in the region of Preslav under the name of «bocanețul» on the feast of that saint, when the fast of abstention from cheese is broken ¹⁾.

All the rest of the Bulgarian population, both in old and in new Dobrogea, comes from different regions in Bulgaria; the living remembrance of their old homes which these people have preserved suffices to prove this fact. Various groups call themselves «Trakiiti», «Odrinți», «Gla-vanți», or «Zagorți», according to the regions where they originated; others call themselves «Balcangi» — a certain number of these are found in old Dobrogea.

Before the annexation of the two southern counties, Caliacra and Durostor, in 1913, the statistics of the Rumanian State indicated, for old Dobrogea, a population of 380,830 (209,571 in the county of Constanța and 170,859 in that of Tulcea); of these, 51,149 were Bulgarians and 216,425 Rumanians. The latter constituted 56.8% of the population, the former, 13.4%.

In the new Dobrogea — the «quadrilateral» — the Turks were predominant about 1880—1881; but they were forced to emigrate after the Russo-Turkish wars and the Russian occupation. The earliest Bulgarian statistics record about 482,349 Mahommedans, and those of 1905, about 500,000. In 1911, there were 488,458 Turks, while the total number of Turks, Tatars, and Turlacs was 603,867 ²⁾. Basing his statements on the data given by M. Sarafov in the «Periodicesko Spisanie», V, 1—18 and VIII, Miletici comes to the following conclusion:

«These facts show that the Turkish population, in spite of the mass emigration during the Russo-Turkish war and the

¹⁾ Lj. Miletici, *Staroto bulgarsko naselenie vâ severoiztocina Bâlgaria*, pp. 158—161.

²⁾ A. Ischirkov, *Die Bevölkerung Bulgariens*, in «Petermann's Mitteilungen», Sept., 1911.

Russian occupation of the country, still accounted for 85.7% of the total in the county of Osmanpazar, while the Bulgarians were only 12.5%. In the county of Haskjoj (province of Silistra), the Turks were 83.9% of the total, the Bulgarians 8.6%. For the county of Bazaurt, the figures were: Turks, 75.2%, Bulgarians, only 14%; for the county of Sumen, Turks, 69.5%, Bulgarians, only 24.3%; for the county of Eski-Dzumaja, Turks, 73%, Bulgarians 23.1%; for Balbunar, Turks 78%, Bulgarians 17.8% »¹⁾).

The statements of Romanski on this point do not entirely agree with those of Miletici and are less favourable to the Turks, whom the latter Bulgarian scholar represents as so numerous. Romanski gives the proportions of Bulgarians by district, according to the same statistics, as follows: Silistra 55.8%, Balcic 50.2%, Dobrici 31.1%, Turtucaia 23.4%, Bazaurt 14%, Haschioi 8.6%. From 1878 to 1913, there was an active Bulgarian colonisation of this region, encouraged and supported by the new Bulgarian government, at the expense of the Turks, who emigrated to escape the persecutions of which they were the victims²⁾).

Thus, in the period before these great ethnographical changes, even Deliorman had only a very small Bulgarian population, living in a few villages of Grebenți and Sicovți in the neighbourhood of Silistra, mentioned above.

The graphic representation of the statistics of St. Romanski, on the map appended to the work, entitled « Ethnographical map of the new Rumanian Dobrogea », shows the following figures for the two districts of Caliacra and Durostor: Bulgarians 134,331, Turks 106,830, Gypsies 12,192, Tatars 11,584, Rumanians 6,359, Găgăuți 4,912, Armenians 1,783, various nationalities 4,100. Taking the census figures for 1928, the total population of 338,897 for the counties of Caliacra and Durostor includes 133,077 Bulgarians, of whom 19,356 belong to the urban population and 113,751

¹⁾ Lj. Miletici, *Das Ostbulgarische*, col. II.

²⁾ St. Romanski, *Ethnographic map of the new Rumanian Dobrogea*, p. 7: « The increase in the number of Bulgarians during the past thirty years is chiefly due to the fact that Bulgarians from other parts of Bulgaria came in steadily to replace the Turks who emigrated ».

to the rural, making 39% of the total population of these two districts ¹⁾. The following statistical table, based on the census of July, 1928, gives us the racial distribution for Dobrogea as a whole:

Nationalities	Tulcea County	Constanța County	Durostor County	Caliacra County	Dobrogea	%
Rumanians . . .	93,338	167,219	24,361	25,622	310,540	41.07
Bulgarians . . .	28,361	22,630	72,720	60,357	184,068	24.34
Turks, Tatars . . .	5,785	28,074	88,088	49,351	171,298	22.66
Russians . . .	34,812	3,055	916	854	39,637	5.24
Germans . . .	2,428	8,275	16	373	11,092	1.47
Greeks . . .	2,263	6,996	—	1,636	10,895	1.44
Jews . . .	1,776	2,110	348	599	4,833	0.64
Others ²⁾ . . .	1,791	8,237	2,172	11,484	23,684	3.14
Total . . .	170,554	246,596	188,621	150,276	756,047	100

The proportions of the different nationalities by districts are as follows:

Districts	Rumanians	Bulgarians	Turco-Tatars	Russians	Others
Tulcea	54.72	16.63	3.38	20.41	4.86
Constanța	67.81	9.19	11.39	1.24	10.37
Durostor	12.92	38.55	46.70	0.48	1.45
Caliacra	17.05	40.16	32.84	0.57	9.38
Dobrogea	41.07	24.34	22.66	5.24	6.69

«We observe that the Rumanians constitute the absolute majority in the two northern districts, Tulcea and Constanța. The Turks form the largest single element, though not an absolute majority, in the county of Durostor, while the Bulgarians form the largest single element, though not an absolute majority, in the Caliacra steppe, which they colonised between 1878 and 1913 ».

¹⁾ C. Brătescu, *Dobrogea*, pp. 148—149.

²⁾ This heading includes: 6,738 Găgăuți, 5,664 Armenians, 1,993 Italians, 1,135 Hungarians, 1,075 Albanians, 1,045 Yugoslavs, 187 Poles, 177 Austrians, 128 Czechoslovaks, 110 French, 25 Belgians, and 5,425 others, among whom are included the Gypsies.

When we have traced the development of Bulgarian colonisation in Dobrogea in the light of all the available historical, cartographical and statistical data, we come to the unquestionable conclusion that it does not go back more than 120 years, and that this population « in its great majority came directly from the Balkans and from Thrace, or represents the remnants of a population which migrated to Wallachia and Russia from the Balkans and Thrace and later settled here; while a smaller proportion came from Smula and Provadia ». The linguistic researches of Professor Lj. Miletici likewise established the recent date of Bulgarian settlement in this province: « Thus between the valley of Provadia, the present railway and the Black Sea, from the village of Imrihor to the Danube on the north, we shall not be able to find a single place where the regional Bulgarian population is of long standing ». And, a little farther on: « To believe that in Dobrogea, apart from the cities, there is an old Bulgarian population would be to deceive ourselves »¹⁾.

« My purpose would not be attained, if I did not mention here the Bulgarians of Dobrogea, who, since the last Russo-Turkish war, form an integral part of the population of Bulgarian Dobrogea. We have mentioned above that in Rumanian Dobrogea the Bulgarian population is composed of an element which settled there only recently during the

¹⁾ Lj. Miletici, *Staroto naselenie . . .*, pp. 19, 20, 168: « Da si mislima, ce vā Dobrudja, kato izklioci mā gradovetca, ima i starovreamsko bulgarsko naselenie, bi bilo goleama samoizmama ».

Lj. Miletici, *Das Ostbulgarische*, col. 19: « It is, however, a fact, that, apart from these Gāgāuṭi, and with the further exception of the few Greek colonies, all the remaining Christian population in the counties of Varna, Balcik, Dobrič, and in large part in Novi-Pazar, Provadija, Kurtbunar, and Silistra, as well as Dobrogea as a whole, is the result of recent colonisation; that is to say, it has not resided here more than 100 years or, in exceptional cases, 150. — The newly colonised area referred to can be more accurately defined by taking as boundaries: on the south, the valley of Provadija, from the sea to the city of Provadija; on the west a vertical line from the Danube to the city of Provadija; and on the north and east the Danube and the Black Sea. West of the above-mentioned vertical line, especially north of the railway between Provadija and Razgrad, as far as the Danube, we find a few exceptions, which I shall enumerate below, but these are exclusively new Bulgarian settlements — in so far as such settlements are to be found at all beside the compact Turkish groups of the Deliorman ».

“ period from the end of the last century to the recent Russo-Turkish war.

« In their origin, these colonies seem to be very closely related to the places from which issued the Bulgarian colonies of Silistra and Varna. These people settled here, and then after a few years, after the Treaty of Andrianople, moved into Dobrogea. The most frequented road to Russia — that on which the most populous centres were located — passed through Dobrogea. This explains the fact that the Bulgarian population of the district of Silistra has the same origin as the Bulgarian population of Dobrogea. The largest part of these emigrants comes from Şumla and Provadia, from the eastern Balkans (between Cotel and Guliţa), and, in Thrace, from the districts of Sliven, Iambol, Cavacli, and Andrinople . . .

« By their aptitude for colonisation, the people of the villages near Aitos and the villagers of the plain of Coparan, Oraman, Glavan (Cavacli), and, in general, of the district of Andrianople and particularly of the neighbourhood of Cârclise (Lozengrad) remind one of the Erchenians and the Gulicemians. The emigrants from the village of Sârte, known at Silistra as « Sicovţi », a great number of whom still live in Rumanian Dobrogea and in Bessarabia, constitute an energetic and vigorous colonising element in northern Bulgaria »¹⁾.

All of the Bulgarian folklore which has thus far been collected and studied abounds in proof that the presence of the Bulgarians in Dobrogea is of recent date and that it is impossible to find any trace of a sojourn in this territory at an earlier date. For example, let us look at the facts revealed by Mr. Arnaudov's study of the folklore of northern Dobrogea, made in 1916—1917, during the world war, and published in the Review of the Bulgarian Academy, Vol. XXXV (1923).

In this study, the author tries in general to show both the character of the poems and the origin of the people from whom he collected them.

¹⁾ Lj. Miletić, *Staroto naselenie . . .*, pp. 167—168.

Taken as a whole, these folk poems of northern Dobrogea are clearly very close in origin to those previously collected in north-western Bulgaria and in western Thrace.

The collections of Hristu Nedelcov, N. Boncev, A. Iliev, I. Nicolov, G. Eaicov, A. Vărbanschi, and M. Arnaudov, which contain texts from Târnova, Şumla, Razgrad, Silistra, Iambol-Odrin and Bessarabia, show on comparison very numerous variants and subjects of the same nature as those of northern Dobrogea:

« It is very interesting to note that many subjects have been preserved only in Dobrogea which elsewhere were long ago totally forgotten and which have been preserved here solely by oral transmission », says the author ¹⁾.

Mr. Arnaudov considered it necessary to collect this folk literature in northern Dobrogea — where it is preserved by the population which came to this region in the 18th and 19th centuries — because these productions contain many reminiscences of the history and social life of the Bulgarian people which are not found in the poetry of the present population of eastern Bulgaria.

He did this on the advice of the critic D. Matov, who was interested in the folk literature not only from the aesthetic standpoint, but also from the point of view of philosophy, folklore, and history, and who encouraged all men of culture to collect texts of all sorts, with their variants, because these texts are the sole evidence which we possess of the life of the Bulgarian people in the past.

The author collected these productions from the following villages: Cerna, Başchiori, Nalbant, Frecăţei, Cataloi, Hagilar, Camber, Congaz, Agighiol, Beştepe, Sarighiolul din Vale, Sarighiolul din Deal, Ienichioi, Caramanchioi, Paşa-Câşla, Canlâ-Bugeac, Ceamurlia de Jos, Caugagi, Hamangia, Potur, Beidaut, Ciamurlia de Sus, Inan-Cişme, Sariurt, Casapchiori, Canlia, Lipniţa Chiudjic, Almalău. Many

¹⁾ *Sbornic za narodni umotvorenia i narodopisa*. (Kniga XXXV, Seaverana Dobrudja (Etnografski navliodenia i narodni peasni) of M. Arnaudov, Sofia, 1923, p. 7. Cf. C. Brătescu, *Folklor bulgăresc dobrogean*, in « Arhiva Dobrogii », 1919, vol. II, pp. 77–81.

of these poems refer to Vrața (No. 172, p. 168), Țarigrad (No. 180, p. 175), Siulum (No. 191, p. 183), and Iambol (No. 208, p. 195). Some of them are songs of the haiduks of the region of Sofia (No. 220, p. 205; No. 221, p. 207; No. 222, p. 208); others, of the pashalik of Odrin (No. 230, p. 220) or of the region of Varna (No. 232, p. 222).

In the folklore that the Rumanians have gathered among the Bulgarians of the village of Caranasuf (County of Constanța), there is even mention of « Ileana the White, of Târnova », of the « young George at the hospital of Șumla », of « his mother, who had passed by the vineyards of Șumla », of his death in a combat « with the Turks, near the great city of Adrianople »¹⁾. There is no reminiscence, not the slightest echo, to show any connection whatever between this Bulgarian population and the soil of Dobrogea.

The customs of the Bulgarian immigrants in Dobrogea are the same as those which still subsist in the regions from whence they came.

« For the ethnographer, it is an interesting task to study these variations. And this task, in the present case, is particularly important because many of the peculiar customs of old eastern Bulgaria, which are dying out there, are preserved here (in Dobrogea) with the jealous care which is characteristic of emigrants who have left their homeland in a body »²⁾.

* * *

Among the highly varied racial elements in Dobrogea, the Slavonic race is further represented by the Lipovans and other Russians, who are concentrated in the region of the mouths of the Danube, the great lakes, and — in very limited numbers, except in the cities — in a few wooded districts of the County of Tulcea or on the shore of the Danube. The Russians of the last-mentioned regions are Ukrainians, Little Russians, or Hahols, while the Lipovans

¹⁾ « Annals of Dobrogea », I (1920), pp. 149—153.

²⁾ M. Arnaudov, *The folklore of Dobrogea*, in « Dobrogea », Sofia, 1918, pp. 200—201.

are Great Russians or Muscovites, from various parts of central Russia.

As regards the length of their residence here, they cannot be considered as remnants of the first Slavonic immigrations into the Balkan peninsula; they are colonists who have taken refuge in the Danube Delta and other parts of Dobrogea in fairly recent times, not earlier than the 18th century.

The « Starobriatzi » (Starovietzi) or Rascolnitchi Lipovans are a part of the sect of « Nekrasovtzi », who fled from Russia with their leader Ignat Nekrassa after the failure of the revolt of Boulavin of the Don (1707—1708). After living for some time in the region of Kuban, under the authority of the Khan of Crimea, they later entered Turkish territory and took up their abode in Dobrogea, in the region of the Danube Delta. In the course of time, the rest of the Nekrasovtzi joined their fellow-believers, and their colonies were later increased by the arrival of still other Starobriatzi. They found shelter here, and were treated with tolerance, in contrast with the persecutions which they had endured in Russia because they wished to restore to the old books of the church their canonical character. These persecutions were begun under the Patriarch Nikon, whom the Starobriatzi refused to recognise. Such is the origin of this religious sect, which later found refuge in these regions.

These people seem to have concealed themselves permanently in the marshes and reed-beds of the Danube shores and those of the great lakes, to escape persecution. Here they live a secluded life, maintaining all their religious prejudices, and, even in our day, refractory to the laws and organisation of the Rumanian State. They avoid mingling with the local population, and preserve their language and their costume. They practise agriculture, vine-growing, and especially fishing; and they are likewise good bee-keepers.

The Turks, in the past, several times made use of their services in their wars with the Russians.

The Little Russians or Ukrainians or Hahols settled here after the suppression of the camps of the Zaporogs in the Dnieper Delta, with the authorisation of the Turkish government, which afterwards employed them in its wars with the Russians. According to reports dated 1848 and 1849 and sent from Tulcea, we know that the Cossacks who are the ancestors of the Russians of Dobrogea were distributed at that time in 20 villages about the town of Tulcea, in 5 villages about Isaccea, in 11 villages about Măcin, in 21 villages about Babadag, in 8 villages about Constanța, in 6 villages about Hârșova, in 2 villages about Mangalia, and in 10 villages about Silistra ¹⁾. On their arrival in Dobrogea, where they intended to take possession of the mouths of the Danube, the Zaporog Cossacks had to fight the Lipovans, who finally abandoned the region of the Delta — and in particular the chief centre, Dunavetz — but who could not be driven from the villages of Sarichioi and Jurilofca, which they bravely defended. It was this conflict which forced the Lipovans, expelled from the region of Beștepe, to move on toward Babadag, where they settled in the valley of the river Slava and on the western shore of Lake Razim, which had small attraction for the Zaporogs.

The Zaporog Cossacks settled, with their organisation known as *Setch*, at Dunavets, where some of them still live. The name of the fortress of Carabair preserves the memory of their past.

These Russians also practise fishing and agriculture. Those of the wooded regions of Amcearca, Taița, and Te-lița are good bee-keepers; while those of the towns are distinguished for their skill in building boats.

The Lipovans are divided, from the religious view-point, into *popovtzi*, *bezpopovtzi*, *molocans* and *castratzes*.

The *popovtzi* have priests ordained by the Russian church, which they regard as heretical, but which they tacitly recognise as having the right to confer the priestly office.

¹⁾ P. P. Panaitescu, in « Graiul Românesc », II (1928), pp. 82—86.

The *bezpopovtzi* recognise neither the clergy nor the seven sacraments of the Orthodox church, with the exception of baptism, which can be administered by laymen, without distinction of sex. They do not believe in religious marriage, and follow a celibate life, but without excluding the presence of women in the places where they live.

The *molocans* are a branch of the *bezpopovtzi*, whose name comes from the fact that they use milk during Lent. They have no other religious book than the Bible, and do not believe in the external forms of the sacraments. They do not believe in the saints, have no icons, religious services, crosses, genuflexions, nor even special church buildings. They drink no alcohol, tea being their only beverage; consequently, they are rich and active.

The *castratze*s or *scoptze*s call one another « white doves », i. e., innocents. They have ceased all contact with the Orthodox church.

What distinguishes the villages of the Lipovans from those of the other Russians and of the other races who live side by side in Dobrogea, and gives them a special character, is the perfect regularity of the streets and the impressive order observed in the construction of their dwellings ¹⁾.

The Lipovans live at Periprava, C. A. Rosetti, Chilia-Veche, Sulina, Cara-Orman, and Principele Carol, in the Danube Delta; and in the district of Tulcea, at Mahmudia, Sarichioi, Jurilofca, Slava-Rusească, Slava-Cerchezească, Carcaliu, Ghizdărești, and Tatarîța.

There are other Russians in most of the villages throughout the Delta in which there are Lipovans, and also at Tulcea, Mahmudia, Murighiol, Dunaveții-de-Sus, Dunaveții-de-Jos, Pârlita, Telița, Isaccea, Poșta, Geaferca, Țiganca, Bachpunar; and in smaller numbers, at Frecăței, Parkeche, Cataloi, Ciucurova, Canlă-Bugeac. The *scoptze*s live at Ți-

¹⁾ Al. P. Arbore, *The Lipovan and Russian colonies*, in the « Archives of Dobrogea », Vol. III (1920); Al. P. Arbore, *Transdanubian Sicia as depicted by Th. Condratovici*, in the « Annals of Dobrogea », XVI (1935), pp. 33–73. Cf. Melchisedec, *Lipovanism*, Bucarest, 1871.

ganca, and at Cetățuia, near Lungavița, where they are engaged in agriculture.

* * *

Setting out in search of opportunity and a better situation, and attracted especially by the desire to acquire as much land as possible, the Germans began to settle in Dobrogea in 1841, first at Măcin, then in the village of Acpunar. They came from Berezin, Leipzig, and other colonies in the Warsaw district.

The Russian law of the time of Catherine II with regard to colonisation set up certain restrictions: the land of the colonists could not be sold, nor mortgaged, nor divided; legally, it was inherited by the youngest son; but if, on the death of the colonist, there remained only the widow and a daughter, the land became the property of the first man who entered the family by marriage. In consequence of these restrictions, these active peasants, who were eager to become rich, soon realised that their means of livelihood were being reduced. In addition bad crops during several successive years, the stagnation of commerce and industry, the epidemics of 1835 and 1836, and the plague of 1837, led to an emigration of German colonists from Russia to Dobrogea, on three separate occasions.

In the first period of emigration, down to the Crimean War, they settled at Acpunar, and at Dechelia near Hârșova; thence they spread northward to *Cataloi*, then to *Câșla*, to *Tulcea*, in 1843 to *Malcoci* (to the number of 20 to 25 German families from 10 Catholic villages of the Government of Cherson), and in 1848 to *Atmagea*.

When the Crimean War was declared, the German colonists of southern Russia were greatly alarmed. Some of them left Bessarabia for Dobrogea, while others left Dobrogea for Bessarabia. The two German colonies of *Cataloi* and *Ciurcurova* date from this time.

The second period of German immigration into Dobrogea was from 1873 to 1883. In 1871, the committee which

had been created to support the German colonies in the Governments of Cherson, Ecaterinoslav, Tauris and Bessarabia was dissolved, and its powers were transferred to the Russian authorities, who began in 1773 to recruit soldiers among the German colonists.

This led to a second exodus, during which some emigrants settled at once in Dobrogea, while others, after wandering through Muntenia (Wallachia) and Moldavia, finally chose as their new home the central and southern part of Dobrogea, that miraculously fertile region of the steppe, where the Bulgarians likewise settled, the only condition being the payment to the government of one-tenth of the proceeds of their crop. It was at this time that were founded the villages of *Cogelac*, made up of Swabians, natives of Germany, Poland, Prussia, and Mecklenburg; *Tariverde*, whose people, originally from Württemberg, came from the German colonies of southern Bessarabia; *Facria*, composed of emigrants from the Bessarabian colony of Paris; *Caramurat*, founded by emigrants from Crasna in Bessarabia and from the village of Caraibil in northern Dobrogea, to which place they too had come from Bessarabia; *Colilia*, a Catholic colony, whose first settlers came from Cherson, and were later joined by people from Malcoci and Caraibil, in the County of Tulcea; *Anadolchioi*, settled by a few Protestant families from Atmagea and Ciucurova; *Cogealia*, peopled by German colonies from the Government of Cherson and by immigrants from Northern Dobrogea.

The third movement, in 1890—1891, was due to measures taken by the Russian Government in 1890, forbidding foreigners to purchase land and property, and, if they already possessed land, to cultivate it themselves. At the same time, the use of the Russian language was made compulsory in all the schools of the Empire, and foreigners were forbidden to build churches.

At this time, colonists came from northern Russia, and settled at *Cobadin*, at *Sarighiol* (13 km. to the west of Mangalia); later on, colonists from the Caucasus came to the same village. Further scattered German groups settled, later

mingling with other colonists, at *Mangalia*, *Caracicula Osmancea*, *Osman-facă*, and *Viile noi* in the County of Constanța ¹).

A study of the German folk songs of Cogeaia, Facria, and Mangeapunar indicates, in view of their subjects (men, places, circumstances) and their language, that all these immigrants came from southern Germany, namely from the Palatinate, where 22 of these songs are found; from Hesse (18); from Swabia (14); and from Alsatia (6). « Of these 22 songs, not more than six are sung in the provinces of northern Germany. Thus the researches of the linguists and folklorists confirm the results of historical research. The Catholic colonists of Dobrogea are originally from the Pfalz, and, more precisely, from the neighbourhood of Heidelberg, i. e., from Baden and the Rhenish Palatinate » ²).

From the religious standpoint, the majority of these Germans are Evangelical Lutherans, under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council of the Church at Berlin. At present their affairs are administered by the Evangelical Lutheran Dean of Sibiu. The German colonies of the Catholic faith were subject, under the Turkish régime, to the Bishop of Nicopolis; but, since 1883, they are connected to the Catholic Archbishopric of Bucharest.

* * *

The Circassians. Natives of Kuban and the Caucasus, the Circassians emigrated after the wars against the Russians in 1864 and settled in Dobrogea. In 1865, they were already reported in this province, and even today the old men still remember them for their courage in war and for their acts of brigandage. They used to live at Slava-Cerchezească, Armutlia ³), Ortachioi, Canlâ-Bugeac, Camber, Isaccea,

¹) Al. P. Arbore, *The German colonies of Bessarabia and Dobrogea — a few details*, in the « Annals of Dobrogea », II (1921), pp. 471—483. Paul Traeger, *Die Deutschen in der Dobroudtscha*, Stuttgart, 1922; I. Georgescu, *The German colonies of Dobrogea*, in the « Annals of Dobrogea », VII (1926), pp. 17—38.

²) I. Georgescu, in the « Annals of Dobrogea », VII (1926), p. 54.

³) B. Cotov, *The Circassians*, in the « Annals of Dobrogea », II (1921), pp. 394—416.

Accadăn, Baschioi, Atmagea, etc. All that remains of them is the name of the village of Slava-Cerchezească (Circassian Glory); for, after the war of 1877, they left Dobrogea, never to return.

The Greeks. The Greeks, in addition to the cities and the ports, where they are engaged in business, used to inhabit a village mentioned by Ionescu of Brad: «The Greeks live in the cities; we have found only one Greek village, of 29 families, who, after living on the other side of the Danube, in Bessarabia, came and settled in Dobrogea ¹⁾).

They are remembered in this village, where, according to Lejean and Peters, they numbered 30 families. They were good pilots. Viscovitch estimates the number of Greeks at Tulcea as 1,500, which Peters considers an under-statement. There were another 500 at Sulina, 800 at Constanța, about fifty at Măcin and Babadag; in the country districts, there were about 1.000 of them, including those at *Alibechioi*. All together, there were about 4.000 Greeks in Dobrogea.

Light is thrown on the part they played in Dobrogea with regard to the Turks by a report written at Tulcea in 1848: «To these Russian, Polish, and Moldavian groups, whose devotion to Turkey is above suspicion, must be contrasted the Greeks living in the cities of Dobrogea. These and their priests are all, with a few exceptions, in the exclusive service of Russia. In spite of this, however, those of Tulcea in particular are growing rich at the expense of Turkey (against which they conspire); they are laying waste, practically without payment, the finest forests of the State, for the construction of merchant ships, which is a considerable industry here. To allow them this privilege is to warm the viper in one's own bosom, only to be dangerously bitten by it later. Their hostility had already taken on a character which disturbed the authorities. Thanks to the wise measures taken by Raif-Effendi, who placed a garrison in the city, the peace is no longer disturbed with such impunity » ²⁾.

¹⁾ I. Ionescu, *Agricultural journey . . .*, p. 82.

²⁾ «Graiul Românesc», II, (1928), p. 83.

In Dobrogea, there were formerly Arabs also, in the village of *Dokousagatsch*, for example, in the neighbourhood of Bazargic: « It is composed of Arabs from Syria, brought here, some years ago, by a pasha who had noticed the agricultural skill of that people; the settlement consists of five villages, one of which, *Arab-Keui*, was in ruins in 1854. The others appear to have prospered ».

We find them mentioned likewise by Papadopoulos and Ubcini ¹⁾.

II. RUMANIAN CULTURE IN DOBROGEA

Incorporated again in the Carpatho-Danubian natural unity of which it forms an organic part, as the whole of its historical development shows, Dobrogea has displayed, since 1877—1878, under Rumanian rule, a remarkable development in all directions which can be compared only with that of the Roman period.

The overflow of the surplus of peasantry, shepherds and agriculturists from the Carpathian region and from the Wallachian settlements into Dobrogea has been the most categorical affirmation of the only direction whence could come the whole if its power of life and sustenance.

« For the Eurasiatic peoples, Scythia Minor represents a thoroughfare, for the men of the sea a wharf, for the Southerners and Orientals the illusion of a frontier. It is only for the Carpatho-Danubians that it means more: an essential complement of their organically unified fatherland. This is made clear by the three thousand years of the province's history; only a superficial judgment could claim that the country belongs to all and to none. Nature too has been generous with this corner of the world, situated at the crossroads of opposing influences. In compensation for its perilous situation, nature has provided it with a faithful

¹⁾ Al. P. Arbore, *Some facts with respect to the Tcherkesses, the Greeks, and the Arabs in Dobrogea*, in the « *Annals of Dobrogea* », III (1922), pp. 504—507.

support and a guarantee of prosperity in its close relations with the great unit of Dacia »¹⁾).

Standing for order, the Rumanians, in their activities and in their attitude towards the Turks, who had long been masters of this province, never took part in any movement of disorder. They were consequently never oppressed by the Ottoman government, which allowed them every liberty — freedom to speak their own language, to practise their own religion, to wear their own costume, and to observe all the customs of their ancestors. In the churches and in the places of prayer, religious services were held in the Rumanian language, and the Rumanians were allowed to bring in books and schoolmasters from beyond the Danube or from Transylvania.

The Church. An old Christian land, which had been wet with the blood of the martyrs and of those who died for their faith, Dobrogea early received the interested attention of the Rumanians of the Principalities with regard to the organisation and defence of the Church of Christ.

The presence of the Rumanians in Dobrogea in the past is attested not only by the specific facts which we have sought to determine and set forth in the preceding pages. The cultural work which we have done there dates from an even earlier period.

Thus, books in the Bulgarian language appeared here only about 1860, and books in Russian about 1830; before that time, only Rumanian books were in use — a proof of the important part played in former days by our priests, our schoolmasters, the protectors of our churches, and the peasants who spoke our language.

The Rumanian church of Dobrogea, after the suppression of the bishopric of Brăila-Proilan, to which it had belonged until then, passed under the direction of the Metropolitan Church of Silistra.

As early as 1672, we can find traces of the intervention of our princes in the religious affairs of this region. Grigore

¹⁾ R. Vulpe, in « La Dobroudja », Bucharest, 1938, pp. 415—416.

Ghica built a church at Silistra at that date. This is mentioned by Alexander Ypsilanti, Prince of Wallachia, in a charter of March 21, 1777, by which he offered to the churches of Babadag and Boazchioi (Cernavodă) — both in the bishopric of Durostor — 25 thalers each, payable on the day of St. George and St. Dimitri, «to buy incense, oil, and tapers». Alexander Moruzi in 1793 and Ioan George in 1814 likewise showed generosity towards the Rumanian churches of Dobrogea.

The Rumanian villages have always had priests who used books in the Rumanian language for the religious offices.

The Rumanian people of Dobrogea formed themselves into communities to administer the property of the churches and to procure the necessary means for their construction and maintenance; in this they were supported by the shepherds of Transylvania. The church of Babadag was built in 1828 and restored in 1856 by the Rumanians. The monk-priest Visarion, a native of Transylvania, built in 1843 the monastery of Cocoș, which was later restored by another Transylvanian, Nicolae Hagi Ghiță, a native of Poiana Sibiului near Selichte, and transferred to it all the wealth which he had acquired, amounting to 15,000 ducats, 500 sheep, and 15 horses, as is stated in an inscription dated 1852. This fact proves that the church was functioning and was organised in the region of Silistra. The Rumanian community of the place appointed a priest to inspect «and make observations to the priests on the accomplishment of their duties to the church and with regard to the faithful.»

The people of Măcin — Mocani from the Ardeal, — Cojani from Brăila, and Dobrogeans — purchased in 1830 a book of the offices of the lives of the Saints for the church of their village, which still preserves a book of hymns for Lent dating from 1731. The prayerbook in Slavonic which the church of this town also possesses is of more recent origin, having been donated by the Bulgarians from the colonies founded in Bessarabia after 1812, who,

to avoid Russian military service, settled at Măcin and in the nearby village of Cerna. There is an icon with a Rumanian inscription in Latin characters, dated 1870, placed in the porch of the Church of the Holy Apostles ¹⁾).

Sometimes the shepherds brought with them primers to teach the children to read in the schools connected with the churches, which were often directed by the cantors, far less frequently by the priests ²⁾).

Religious books were also introduced from Rumania, as is indicated by certain facts which they contain. For example, the book of sermons of 1801, in the monastery of Cocoș, contains notes on events which took place at Iassy about 1848 ³⁾. Among the books of the church of Sarinasuf, in the County of Tulcea, we have found a prayer-book, printed at Buzău în 1742, a book of the Apostles, printed at Iassy in 1856, together with Bulgarian books, including a Gospel of 1858, and a Lenten hymn book dated 1872; this last, therefore, is of more recent origin. Sometimes also, church books were brought in for sale by the Transylvanian shepherds.

In the village of Popina — a Bulgarian village on the Danube, in the County of Durostor — there was a Psalter, published at Sibiu in 1848, with an inscription indicating that it had been purchased at Bucharest « under the arcades of Zarafilor Street »; a book of benedictions, published at Bucharest in 1850 by the printer Anton Pann; a prayer-book from the Bucharest press, dated 1794, and a book of hours from Brașov, where it had been published about 1835.

The icon-makers too came from beyond the Danube, and worked even in the Bulgarian villages, as is proved by the inscriptions — all in the Rumanian language — of the church of this same village of Popina, where the artisan

¹⁾ N. Iorga, *From Brăila to Măcin over the frozen Danube*, in « Floarea Darurilor », 1907, p. 378; N. Iorga, *Studies and Documents*, XV, pp. 53–55.

²⁾ D. Nițescu, *Dobrogea on the eve of the re-annexation*, in « Dunărea de Jos », I (No. 12), p. 13.

³⁾ N. Banescu, *Some notes on an old book*, in « Ramuri », VII (1912), No. 4, February 15.

Costache Nicolae ¹⁾ worked on an iconostasis from 1859 to 1860.

At Turtucaia, the school and the church were founded in 1774, when the schoolmaster Rusu Saru (died in 1830) was ordained priest of the Rumanian community of the place. The schoolmaster Mihail was ordained priest in 1870; and we could give a long list of Rumanian priests and schoolmasters who spent their energies in spreading culture in these regions, and especially in the city of Turtucaia, where the Rumanians were always in the majority ²⁾).

At first, housed in insignificant wooden or stucco buildings, the Rumanian church in the Dobrogean villages led a humble existence, over-shadowed by the large and sumptuous mosques. But later, the efforts of the priests and of the faithful embellished Dobrogea with some of the most impressive works of Christian art, bearing witness to the vitality of our people.

Of the few buildings erected in early times, only those have been preserved which were located in the forests, at Niculițel, for example, or in the plains of the Danube, where the Rumanian population was most dense. The numerous Christians of Rumanian origin in northern Dobrogea helped to develop religious life in such centres as Tulcea, Măcin, Isaccea, and Babadag, renowned for the antiquity of their schools and churches. Here, under the friendly eye of the Turks, Nifon Bălășescu taught. This man, a political refugee from Transylvania in 1848, formerly a monk at Căldărușani, but at his death a schoolmaster at Măcin, was the founder of a new school — for there were older ones, held in certain villages by aged priests from Bessarabia and Moldavia. In 1862, work was begun on a new St. Nicholas Church, on the site of the old wooden one which had been built in 1830—1831, with the help of people from the Rumanian villages of Beștepte and Prislava. These people had been obliged to leave the region between the St. George branch of the Danube and Lake Razim, which was trans-

¹⁾ Ap. D. Culea, *Dobrogea*, Bucarest, 1928, p. 120.

²⁾ V. Papacostea, in « *Graul Românesc* », II.

formed into a desert when the new boundary was drawn between Russia and Turkey in 1830 ¹⁾.

Nifon Bălăşescu, with the people of Tulcea and the Mocani, organised a Rumanian community, which founded a school side by side with those established by the Greeks and the Bulgarians. At the head of this community was placed a Mocan, Manea Ciuglea, who devoted a large part of his fortune to the support of the Rumanian church of Tulcea.

The building and maintenance of the churches was carried on in a spirit of organisation and of sacrifice, being accomplished not merely by the generosity of a few wealthy sheep-owners, such as the benefactors of Cocoş or the people of the towns, but also by Rumanian villagers who, out of their small means, contributed to this work of piety.

These people went about the country asking alms, in order to collect the sums necessary to build churches. One of them was Apostol Teodorescu, born probably in Dobrogea, to whom is due the building of the church of Alibechioiu, as we learn from a manuscript found in the church of Azaclău in 1912 and studied by N. Iorga. The gatherer of «alms» visited the villages of northern Dobrogea. «The mere fact that they contributed to the building of a church proves either that the peasants, shepherds and fishermen belonged to the nation, or that they lived in a group which was Rumanian in majority, and whose aspirations they found it desirable to share».

Funds were collected in the following villages: Alibechioiul, Cinili, Babadag, Satu-Mare, Meduncu or Medenchiu (Meidanchioi), Ortachioiu, Balabancea, Cerna, Nalbantu, Văcăreni, Gherbănu (Garvan), Greci, Taiţa, Jijila, the city of Tulcea, Zăbălu, Zafirna, Ienisala, Nicolîţelu, Măcin, Călugăra, Apcadun, Turcoaia.

The contributors, with the exception of a few Bulgarians and Russians, were all Rumanian, which confirms

¹⁾ Al. P. Arbore, *Cotul Bugeacului*, in the «Annals of Dobrogea», II (1921), pp. 352–353; Brutus Cotov, *Biserica Sf. Neculai din Tulcea*, in the «Annals of Dobrogea», VII (1926), p. 8.

the fact that the above-mentioned villages were inhabited by Rumanians ¹⁾).

In 1878, when Dobrogea was reunited with Rumania, the following districts possessed churches and priests: Constanța, 2 churches and 2 priests; Medgidia, 7 churches and 7 priests; Silistra-Nouă, 10 churches and 9 priests; Hârșova, 7 churches and 11 priests; Mangalia, 2 churches and 1 priest; Tulcea, 28 churches and 40 priests; Măcin, 18 churches and 27 priests; Babadag, 27 churches and 33 priests; Sulina, 8 churches and 11 priests. The totals are: 117 churches, 151 priests, 4 deacons, and 117 cantors.

Placed, after 1878, under the administrative and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the diocese of the lower Danube — the see of Galați — this Rumanian church of Dobrogea was no longer troubled by the rivalry between the partisans of the Bulgarian Exarch and the Greek Patriarch, which had been so harmful to the unity of the Rumanians of this region.

A report addressed in 1879 to the Bishop of the lower Danube states that the priests of the district do not even possess the diploma certifying that they have completed their studies in the seminary, «with the exception of two Bulgarian priests; and the latter refuse to recognise the Rumanian ecclesiastical authorities. A few priests have studied one, two, or three years in a seminary in Rumania, and have then come to Dobrogea, where they have been ordained. These men are somewhat better, but the rest are unworthy of their mission, for they are ignorant even of the liturgy; indeed, many are not even able to read correctly.

«Their material situation is equally bad: they receive no salary, and do not have any land to cultivate. Each member gives to the priest a bushel of wheat and one of maize or barley, and a bushel of wheat or of barley to the cantor; and to this is added the insignificant revenues of the church ».

¹⁾ N. Iorga, *Cele trei Dobrogi pe care le-am găsit* (The three Dobrogeas I found), in the «Annals of Dobrogea», III (1922), pp. 29–33.

There were also in the County of Tulcea three monasteries, one of nuns and two of monks. « One of the three, called Cocoşul, is composed entirely of Rumanian monks, including as many as 70 novices. The other two are Russian Orthodox: one of women, numbering about 70, with a large wooden church and a chapel; the other a monastery for men, with a chapel, and with nearly 25 novices. These two Russian monasteries are known as the *Cilic monasteries* ».

« There is also in the County a Lipovan monastery, called Slava, with some 70 monks. These are divided into two groups, some being called ascetics or hermits, while the others live as a community. In this monastery resides their Archbishop, Irinarh-Slavschi, who performs the two-fold office of superior of the community and bishop of all the Lipovans in Dobrogea ».

The organisation of the church soon enabled it to erect in Dobrogea some very fine religious buildings, especially during the bishopric of Partenios who, after repairing and improving the old buildings, caused 58 new churches to be built in the County of Tulcea and 40 in that of Constanţa.

Under the law of 1894 on the secular clergy and the seminaries, measures were taken to organise as many parishes as possible with at least 80 Christian families; at the same time, steps were taken to ordain as priests seminary students who had completed only four years' work; but this was solely for the religious needs of Dobrogea « with no right to transfer to a parish on the left bank of the Danube ».

By this same law, the Orthodox clergy and their helpers were granted salaries paid by the Government, and subsidies were also given to the principal mosques of Tulcea, Constanţa, Babadag, Măcin, Medgidia, Hârşova, Isaccea, and Mangalia.

As a result of sustained and generous activity for the purpose of improving the moral and intellectual situation of the Dobrogean clergy and of the Church, the two Counties of Tulcea and Constanţa, in 1906, under the

bishopric of Pimen, had 158 churches built, 17 chapels and 30 churches building, and 155 priests.

When two more counties were added to Dobrogea in 1913, the office of coadjutor to the bishop of the Lower Danube was created at Constanța; and in 1923 this was transformed into the bishopric of Tomis, with residence at Constanța, having spiritual and administrative authority over the churches of the counties of Constanța, Ialomița, Durostor and Caliacra.

In consequence of the dearth of clergy in the new Dobrogea, especially after the departure of the Bulgarian priests in 1913, a bill was drafted providing for the possibility of ordaining to the priesthood for service in the churches of this region: *a)* those who, having studied for four years in the seminary, were not yet ordained under the law of 1893, and also those who, when the present law was promulgated, were serving as priests in a church; *b)* those who, having gone through the Normal School, have the necessary aptitudes and who have passed a training period of at least six months under the direction of the bishop.

Thus all the parishes of Dobrogea were finally provided with Rumanian priests, the Bulgarian clergy constituting only a very small minority.

In 1928, in the province as a whole, there were 321 single parishes and 36 groups composed of 180 parishes, with 498 cantors, for a population of 85,755 Orthodox families composed of 365,623 persons.

Dobrogea has, in addition, a certain number of monasteries: Cocoș, Cilic, and the small isolated monasteries of Saona (Saunul), Taița, Hamcearca, and Tichilești. The Archimandrite Visarion and his disciples Gherontie and Isaia built the old church of the monastery of Cocoș. Later, Hagi Nicolae Poenaru entered this monastery and caused to be built there at his own expense a new church, much larger and more spacious. In 1854, the construction of a splendid belfry was begun; it was completed much later. The monastery of Cilic was founded in 1841 by Atanasie

Lisavenco, a Lipovan. At first it was mixed — a monastery for both men and women — «which is one of the characteristics of these monasteries of the Lipovans of the sect of the Bezpopovtiz or priestless Lipovans »¹⁾. In 1928 it contained 120 monks. The little monastery of Saona (Saulul) in the County of Tulcea was created in 1881 by monks who settled here after having lived at Cilic de Jos. It had ten monks.

The other small monasteries of Taița, Hamcearca, and Tichilești are today merely village churches.

For the Orthodox cult, in addition to the Rumanian churches spoken of above, there are still in Dobrogea a certain number of churches of the Orthodox rite belonging to foreign communities: Greek churches at Tulcea, Sulina, Constanța, Mangalia, Balcic, and Bazargic; Bulgarian churches at Tulcea and Constanța; and two Russian churches in the city of Tulcea²⁾.

* * *

Education. Long before Rumania extended its political rule across the Danube, the Rumanians of Dobrogea had felt the need to organise schools, as they had organised the church. This organisation, carried out by a people who were under no compulsion to do it, is a further proof of the strength and vigour of the Rumanian element in this province, which we have already demonstrated from another standpoint in the first part of the present study, on the racial composition of Dobrogea.

The following statement by Ionescu of Brad will suffice to show the intense desire of the Rumanians for education between 1850 and 1855. «The Rumanians everywhere need schoolmasters to educate their children. In some villages, I even found teachers whom the villagers

¹⁾ Gh. Nedioglu, *The monastery of Cilic*, in the «Annals of Dobrogea», IX (1928), vol. II, pp. 60—66.

²⁾ G. Ilioniu, *Religious bodies in Dobrogea*, in «Dobrogea: 50 years of Rumanian rule», Bucharest, 1928, pp. 585—639.

supported at their own expense. One village was not satisfied until it had brought over a schoolmaster from Wallachia; this man is better kept in the midst of the Rumanians than he would be in Abraham's bosom »).

The keen interest which the Rumanians began to show in education is probably also to be explained by the influence exerted in this connection by the shepherds from Transylvania, where education was highly regarded and where the church was very active in founding, maintaining, and developing schools.

Before 1877, three centres were especially interested in spreading, through the schools, the influence of Rumanian culture — Turtucaia, Silistra, and Tulcea.

I have already mentioned the Transylvanian missionary Nifon Bălăşescu, who came to Tulcea and northern Dobrogea. Through his intervention, Melchisedec, Bishop of Ismail, sent schoolmasters into this region after 1860. But there was already, during the period of Turkish rule, a school directed by C. Andrian at Tulcea — where Maria Gheorghiu had also been principal of a girls' school before 1877. There was a school in 1860 at Pisica, and another at Câşla, where the teaching was done by a monk. At Zebil, the children were taught their ABC's and a little arithmetic, and were also taught to read the book of hours and the Psalter, and to sing hymns. Even the Bulgarians sent their children to study under the master, Agachi (1860 to 1869), who was succeeded by Ştefan Constantinescu until 1875, and then by the monk Serafim until 1878. The Daënes had a school from 1866 on, and the Turks in 1870 engaged the schoolmaster Nicolas Mierlan. The village of Greci, inhabited by Mocani, already had in 1812 a schoolmaster named Ion Moroianu, and in 1861, Dumitru Urzescu of Brăila. At Cerna, the inhabitants still remember the schoolmasters Petre Popa, Drăgan Nicolae, Iftimie Valcu, and Vasile Popescu. In the Counties of Constanţa and of Durostor, a master named Baci, from

¹⁾ Ionescu, in « România literară », Iassy, 1855, No. 2.

Transylvania, taught reading, hymns, and a little arithmetic. He was succeeded by Popa Anciu, who was likewise a Transylvanian, and by two Dobrogeans, Gheorghe and Elefterie.

At Cochirleni the schoolmaster Ion Mitu taught, and at Cernavoda there was a school with a six-year course. At Raşova, the Rumanian school began to function about 1858, with the priest Dimitrie Chirescu as teacher from 1858 to 1872, when he was replaced by Nicolae Barban (1872—1880).

Nowhere in the vicinity are the schools as old as in the village of Topalu. Between 1840 and 1843, the first schoolmaster was the monk Popa Anton, replaced by Popa Dima, and then by Dascălul Arsenie. At Urluia, long before 1877, the schoolmaster was paid by peasants from Transylvania.

The Rumanian schools of Silistra have a long history, but we have little information about them before 1847. At that time, Petre Mihail, whom the people of the town called « Master Petrică », a native Dobrogean, was appointed to the school, to teach the children to read Rumanian. On his death, his daughter Despina took charge from 1859 to 1861. Her brother Costache — known, according to the usage of the Rumanians at that period, not as Petrică but as Petrescu — succeeded her; he was a man of unusual culture for the period, who could read Latin, French, Greek, and Turkish, and who was familiar with painting, architecture, dress-design, and other arts.

For the purpose of supporting the schools, a Council of Administration was formed in 1865, which was later to conceive the idea of stimulating, throughout Dobrogea, a great movement of intellectual propaganda, and which laid in 1869 the foundations of the « Society for Rumanian culture and language ».

The religious community also was organised under the leadership of Costache Petrescu. The Society for the Development of Rumanian Culture and Language proposed among other things « to help the Rumanian community

and the Council of Administration of the schools of the region, in their activity and in their mission », « to protect the urban and rural schools of all Dobrogea, to try to found a girls' school in the city of Silistra . . . , to work hard for the purpose of multiplying schools and improving them . . . , and to help, in this region and throughout Dobrogea, young Rumanian pupils without means ».

This organisation made it possible to publish in 1874, at Rusciuc, a Turko-Rumanian Primer by Const. Petrescu, « teacher in the Rumanian school of Silistra ». Forty-one pupils, including seven girls, attended that school in 1869—1870. Two of them were Bulgarians, 1 Greek, 1 German, 1 Armenian, and 36 Rumanians; 35 were from Silistra, 2 from Vaidemir, 1 from Ostrov, 1 from Cocargea, 1 from Călărași, and 1 from Transylvania.

In 1870—1871, there were 80 pupils, boys and girls, of whom 63 were Rumanians, the rest foreigners. 65 were from Silistra, 6 from Oltina, 3 from Vaidemir, 2 from Ostrov, 2 from Cranova, 1 from Bugeac, 1 from Satu-Nou, 1 from Galați.

« As regards the occupations of the parents, only 3 in 1869 and 9 in 1870—1871 were farmers. The rest were priests, schoolmasters, merchants and artisans (publicans, grocers, drapers, bakers, shoemakers, tailors, furriers, smiths, dyers, wheelwrights, chandlers, haberdashers, masons, carter, cheese-makers, etc.) . . . from the city ».

These schools received subsidies from beyond the Danube. The National Press of Bucharest sent 100 copies of the various books which it published. Călărași and Giurgiu gave financial help. The books received gratis were distributed in the same way. The following passage is from a letter written by the Governing board of the Rumanian community of Silistra, dated December 2, 1869, and addressed to the Ministry at Bucharest: « In accordance with your order, I have distributed gratis the school books for which we received requests from Hârșova, Ostrovu, Bugeacu, Parachioiu, Satu-Nou, Oltina, Beilicu, Aliman, etc., in this County. We have thus been able to get the poor

Rumanians to abandon the habit into which they had fallen, of learning only the Cyrillic alphabet. We have likewise been able to induce the Rumanian peasants to open a school and to support a teacher for their children ».

Between 1879 and 1882, the Rumanian school ceased to function, because after 1882 the Bulgarian government appointed a Bulgarian teacher, who remained in charge until 1885, when the school was closed because of the lack of means of support.

With the support of the Rumanian school of Silistra, that of the Rumanian village of Vaidemir (today Aidemir) expanded. It had been founded in 1860 by the priest Tudorica the younger, who continued the work of many Rumanian teachers. It was closed when the Bulgarian government was set up.

In 1868, there was a Rumanian school at Alimanu. In 1864, a school was opened at Oltina, with Tudor Stănescu and Cercel Hagi Neagu, pupils of Costache Petrescu of Silistra, as teachers.

The earliest traces of Rumanian cultural influence on the right bank of the Danube go back to 1774, when the first of a series of priests and schoolmasters began to teach at Turtucaia. These men, who have followed one another down to the present time are as follows: Rusu Saru (1774), Mitroi (1775) and Gheorghe (1740—1802), both from Olteni; Pahomie Ștefan, who is believed to have taught until 1821; Gavrilă Brănescu (1850—1856) of Câmpina; Petre Florea (1856—1860), Ștefan Niculae (1860—1864), Gheorghe Zărnă (1864—1868), who seems, from his name, to have been a Transylvanian. It was he who taught his pupils to read and write the Latin characters. Then come Niculae Lăcătuș (1868—1870), Ion Crețulescu (1871—1872), Vasile I. Bărănescu (1872—1874), Petre Bozianu (1874—1875), Dumitru D. Popescu (1875—1883), Ana Petrescu, mistress in a girls' school (1880—1882), Leon Barițiu of Sibiu (1883—1884), and George Ionescu (1884—1928).

The foregoing statements show that the activity of these schools in Dobrogea — at the cost of many sacrifices —

did much to create and to foster national consciousness, an unquestionable proof of the role and importance of the Rumanians in these regions under Turkish rule.

After 1878—1879, the organisation of the Rumanian schools was due to young people chiefly from Moldavia and Bessarabia, who came to the following villages: Beștepe, Câșla, Niculițel, Casapchioi (Constanța), Somova, Jijila, Oltina (Constanța), Enghezul-Mare (Constanța), Dobromir (Constanța), Coșlugea, Topraisar, Topal, Osman-facâ, Seimenii-Mici, Seimenii-Mari, Bugeac, Constanța.

In 1889, Dobrogea possessed about 126 schools in the villages and cities, namely: in the county of Tulcea, 10 urban and 57 rural schools; in the County of Constanța, 10 urban and 49 rural schools. In the villages on the banks of the Danube, and in the oldest villages with a Rumanian population, in the centre of Dobrogea, the schools were prosperous. The Bulgarian, Găgăuți and German villages also had schools. Where the population was composed of Turks and Tatars, at Caraomer, Enghez, Gheringic, Osman-facâ, etc., education was brought to a standstill because of various difficulties, and the teachers were transferred to other villages. After 1889, a whole new generation of teachers who had been trained in the Normal schools and seminaries appeared. The school inspector Ion Bănescu directed primary education very competently in Dobrogea until 1890, when two offices were created, one for each of the two Counties.

The prosperity of the peasants of Dobrogea, and the activity of certain teachers, made it possible to construct in a very short time, in certain villages, the finest primary schools of the region. People's banks, religious choirs, courses for adults, lectures, theatrical performances and school festivals were also organised, which gradually produced a new spirit.

In 1928, in the four counties of Dobrogea, there were 70 urban schools with 261 teachers; 589 rural schools with 1459 teachers — 1,028 of whom had permanent appointments — and 61 auxiliaries; 125 sections for minority nationalities in certain primary schools; 247 kindergarten clas-

ses, with as many teachers — 77 of whom had permanent certificates — and 183 auxiliaries; 1,404 buildings, of which 910 were State property, and 494 rented, while 97 more were being built; 272 continuation courses, 64 workshops, 395 schools for adults, 116 cultural circles, 63 propaganda circles, and 115 libraries.

Among the secondary schools founded at Tulcea by foreigners, mention must be made of the two college classes opened by Professor Isvolsky in 1859, which later became the Bulgarian *gymnasium* (small college) of that city, with, for a very short time, a corresponding course at Babadag. Following the example of this Bulgarian school, the Greeks Morosinis and Hristidis in 1886 organised a school, which soon closed. The Rumanian professor Gheorghe Caragea was director of the school of the Catholic community, and Teodor Ivanovici Flocken; a native of Russia, of the Protestant school.

The Pasha Ismail Bey, Governor of the Sandjak of Tulcea, tried in 1868 to found a college «with the tribute levied on the inhabitants of the district and the financial aid of the Cossacks recently established in the region». The school never opened, though the quarters now occupied by the municipal government of Tulcea were set aside for it.

On November 14, 1883, the opening of the first class of a *gymnasium* (scientific section) at Tulcea was approved, at the instance of a number of prominent people. But this school soon closed its doors, because of financial difficulties. In September, 1890, two classes of this *gymnasium* were once more opened, under the direction of Axente Frunza, who later became professor of the «C. Negruzzi» boarding school at Iassy, and was especially famous for his translations of Russian literary works. In 1897, on the arrival of I. Nenițescu as prefect of the County of Tulcea, this *gymnasium* was transformed into a college, and a secondary school for girls was established in the same city.

Today, secondary education in Dobrogea is fairly well developed, including:

Colleges for boys and girls at Tulcea, Constanța, Bazargic, Silistra; *gymnasia* for boys and girls at Turtucaia, and mixed *gymnasia* at Balcic, Cavarna, Adamclisi, Medgidia, Hârșova, and Sulina.

A normal school at Constanța.

A seminary at Medgidia for the training of Mahommedan *imams*.

Private (Bulgarian) colleges and *gymnasia* for boys and girls at Silistra and Bazargic, and mixed *gymnasia* at Balcic and Cavarna.

Vocational schools for girls at Constanța, Bazargic, Silistra, Balcic, Tulcea; and a vocational section in connection with the girls' secondary school at Turtucaia.

Comercial schools: two at Constanța, one each at Bazargic and Silistra.

Industrial schools at Constanța, Tulcea, Bazargic, Babadag.

Elementary agricultural schools at Hamangia (Tulcea), Murfatlar (Constanța) and Bazargic.

Constanța and Bazargic have also schools of apprenticeship, with a boarding department for the apprentices.

Schools of accounting at Constanța and Ostrov.

A naval school for naval officers, and another for the lower ratings (port captains, etc.)¹⁾

Many outstanding figures in all fields of activity have graduated from these schools and have done their part in strengthening the ties which have long existed between Dobrogea and Rumania, and in encouraging the creative activity of the Rumanians in the whole region, whose union with the mother country has fulfilled the aspirations of our people for free access to the sea.

It was in one of these schools that the poet Panait Cerna grew up and was educated. Though he was born of Bulgarian parents (his father's name was Stanciof) in the village of

¹⁾ For complete information on schools, see V. Helgiu, *The primary school in Dobrogea during the forty years 1879—1919*, in the «Annals of Dobrogea», I (1920), pp. 231—263; I. Georgescu, *Education in Dobrogea*, in «Dobrogea» (1878—1929), pp. 641—697; Ap. D. Culea, *Dobrogea*, Bucharest, 1928, pp. 89—156.

disturb public order or to foster here or elsewhere agitation against us »¹).

* * *

Publications. The Rumanians were interested in Dobrogea long before the Revolution of 1848; and among the questions and aspirations of the Rumanian revolutionaries of that time, as revealed by their correspondence, this province occupied an important place. Bălcescu wanted to settle here as a colonist, because « over there a vast and rich field is open to us, where we can sow much seed which will provide us with an abundant harvest. We must devote special attention to it ». A small book which was destined to stress and stimulate this interest still further was that of Ionescu of Brad, *Agricultural excursion in the plain of Dobrogea*, which gives all that could be asked in the way of information about this province, and which was written by a man whose facts were gathered on the spot, and whose views and suggestions bear witness to the superiority of his economic ideas.

Rumanian rule at first stirred up a temporary animation in the press, at least in the official papers and those which contained official news, such as, in the Principalities, the « *Curierul românesc* » of Eliade and the « *Albina românească* » of Asachi. In this milieu, without much cohesion, suspicious and undecided, public opinion, however, could not yet be said to exist, and journalism was hardly possible. In 1879 the publication was begun at Tulcea of « *Steaua Dobrogei* », a four page weekly paper of local interest.

This press limited its interests to passionate polemics « about facts and men of no importance ». One very important question was beginning, however, to interest the editors of these newspapers — the question of the Rumanians of Macedonia, with regard to whom the Statutes of the Society of Macedo-Rumanian Culture were published in 1879. « These were merely signs, which, though they were far from

¹) Luca Ionescu, *The County of Tulcea* (report), Bucharest, 1904, p. 362.

suggesting all the work that has since been accomplished, were nevertheless prophetic ».

Beginning in 1880, the weekly « Farul Constanței » was published at Constanța — the official newspaper of the county. From the beginning, it published articles on the necessity of creating a county museum and of erecting in the city a monument commemorating the establishment of Rumanian rule.

Dobrogean papers appear and disappear with the fluctuations of public interest, and all of them have been of a limited character, local or official. « There was a vigorous campaign during the years of waiting or of struggle to obtain political rights, about 1911 ». The one paper which, since 1904, has displayed an activity which has never weakened, and which has remained faithful to Dobrogean interests, is the « Dobrogea Nouă ». The obtaining of political rights naturally produced a desire to secure power in the government, and to satisfy this desire the press has played a strange part, creating an atmosphere of discord, slander, sterile controversy, hardly favourable to the progress of real culture. It has even made use, on many occasions, of foreigners, who have profited by the opportunity afforded to push to the front by their very boldness, knowing that they would always find behind them support capable of securing oblivion for the past.

The press, especially the local and regional press, has not very clearly understood its mission in the accomplishment of real cultural work, and has not done its part in developing a sentiment of solidarity and national pride; this is true, indeed, not only with regard to Dobrogea, but also for the other provinces of the Old Kingdom. The praiseworthy initiative of Mr. C. Moisil, which began in 1916 with the review « Arhiva Dobrogei », and has continued from 1920 to the present in the « Analele Dobrogei » under the supervision of Mr. C. Brătescu, has been too little understood and supported. This statement applies not only to the younger generation, educated in the Rumanian schools and living in the atmosphere of the region, but, unfortunately,

more and more absorbed by the ambition to succeed and the thirst for wealth; but also, with rare and praiseworthy exceptions, to our whole administration. The latter has failed in its duty by not taking measures to have this publication appear regularly in an attractive form, as a scientific review with summaries in French and German. A review of this sort would be of use both to the Rumanian public and to all those people living in Constanța who form connecting links between East and West. Such a learned and informative publication is necessary and will win the approval of the people from the various countries of Europe who have come to Dobrogea, attracted by the beauties of the Black Sea coast. Instead of creating a society of « Friends of Dobrogea » to admire this province from a distance and to visit it on pleasure trips during the vacation season, it would be preferable for all these friends to concentrate their efforts on the support of a serious review which would give literary expression to Dobrogea, which is so rare a treasure in these eastern countries. Side by side with the regional review mentioned above, the review « Ovidiu » of Constanța, published from 1898 to 1907; « Colnicul Hora » of Tulcea (1906—1907), a literary and scientific review, the property of the Dobrogean students, « in which the writer Tafrali made his debut »; and « Dunărea » of Silistra, under the direction of Mr. P. Papahagi, bear witness to real literary aspirations.

Under the impulse of all sorts of aspirations and passions, our national energy manifested itself between 1870 and 1928 by the publication of some 174 periodicals, which appeared for longer or shorter periods ¹⁾.

The minority groups also had their publications in 1928. The Bulgarians had five: « Kurier », « Posta », « Pole », « Svoboda », and « The Defender of the Bulgarian Minority » of Silistra. The Turks had one paper — « Tuna »; etc.

It is worthy of emphasis that this province has been a source of inspiration for modern Rumanian literature; and,

¹⁾ G. Greavu-Dunăre, *Bibliografia Dobrogei, 425 av. Hr. — 1929 ap. Hr.*, in the « Annals of the Rumanian Academy », Bucharest, 1928, pp. 127—144.

through that literature, Dobrogea lives more intensely in our minds and hearts.

The poignant sadness of the Dobrogean landscape with its infinite and monotonous plains and bush, with the watery expanses of the Delta, with its isolated arid hills, relics of the mountains, some of which were the oldest in Europe, worn down by the tooth of time, with its desert plateau, covered, in early spring, by a rich vegetation, rapidly dried up by the torrid heat of the steppe, and above which, in time of drought, swirl huge clouds of dust, but where the dawn here and there discovers a village timidly hiding in some retired valley — all this countryside of sadness and suffering seems to seek, in this infinite expanse, a final haven in silence and death. This is the impression which M. Sadoveanu has conveyed with sensitive artistry in « Priveliști dobrogene » (Dobrogean scenes).

Those bearded men, the Lipovans, with their souls wasted by the ferment of religious passions; the old Rumanian colony of Niculițel; the narrative of the shepherd Tomegea, « Povestea baciului Tomegea »; the shadows of the past, « Umbre ale trecutului » — all these things are seen as though through a lens, transformed and enlarged with a power of suggestion which is unsurpassed.

Ion Adam, in « Constanța pitorească », has shown us the charm of the city and of the surrounding country, in which are mingled greatness and decadence, sadness and good will, hope and doubt. In « Scene din viața dobrogeană » (Scenes of Dobrogean life), O. Tafrali sets down recollections of his own life; and in the tale « Cum a căpătat Sarichioiul vie » (How Sarichioi got its vine), Victor Crășescu shows us the fortuitous origin of the marvellous vineyards of the famous Lipovan village of Razim.

The melancholy tales of N. Dunăreanu, formerly professor in the college of Tulcea, introduce us to the « tormented » world of the workmen and fishermen of the Danube ports, as well as to that of the Lipovans, shaken by violent passions. The name of Jean Bart is connected with literature by the picture which he has given us of these

Danubian scenes in *Schițe marine* (Marine sketches), *In deltă* (In the Delta), *Pe drumuri de apă* (On the Highways of the sea), and of the equivocal milieux of Sulina, in his novel *Europolis*.

N. Iorga, I. Simionescu, Al. Vlahuța, I. Petrovici, G. Vâlsan, G. Galaction, Em. Bucuța, Al. Cazaban, Al. Lascarov-Moldoveanu, D. Zamfirescu (*Pe marea Neagră*, On the Black Sea), O. Carp, D. Anghel, I. Minulescu, M. Codreanu, C. Moldoveanu, G. Topârceanu, I. Pillat, V. Voiculescu, Adrian Maniu, Valerian, Perpessicius, Ion Marin Sadoveanu, provide abundant proof, by their writings on Dobrogea, as well as by their sketches, stories, portraits, and poems, not to mention scientific studies of great value, published in the « Annals of Dobrogea », of the ever keener interest felt by writers in this province.

The « I. N. Roman » Literary Prize is given for the best literary work having as its subject the population or a scene of Dobrogea. We must mention, too, the great activity displayed in the scientific field proper, and especially in that of archaeology, with which are connected the names of the Rumanian scholars Tocilescu, Pârvan, Murnu, Andrieșescu, Radu Vulpe, S. Lambrino, Marcelle Lambrino, Paul Nicorescu, Sauciuc-Săveanu and Tafrali; and in that of history, with the names of Hașdeu, Onciul, Iorga, G. Brătianu, Lițica, Moșil, Brătescu, Vâlsan.

Geology has made enormous progress, as concerns Dobrogea, through the researches of Mrazec, I. Simionescu, G. Macovei, Murgoci, Cantuniari, Cădere, Pascu, Rotmann, Brătescu, etc., and through the studies on the Danube Delta and the region of the great lakes, which have been published by Antipa, Borcea, Zotta, Brătescu, etc.

The following books present a general view of Dobrogea: Danescu (Gr. G.), *La Dobroudja*, Bucarest, 1903.

Ionescu Dobrogeanu, *Dobrogea în pragul veacului al XX* (Dobrogea on the threshold of the 20th century), Bucharest, 1904.

Popa Liseanu, *Cetăți și orașe greco-romane în noul teritoriu al Dobrogei*, Bucharest, 1914.

N. Iorga, *Droits nationaux et politiques des Roumains dans la Dobroudja* (in French). Considérations historiques, Iassy, 1917.

O. Tafrali, *La Roumanie transdanubienne : La Dobroudja*. Paris, 1918.

Rumanian Dobrogea, Studies and Documents, Bucharest, 1918.

N. P. Comnene, *La Dobrogea* (Dobroudja), Payot, Paris, 1918.

V. Pârvan, *Inceputurile vieții romane la gurile Dunării*, Bucharest, 1923.

Dobrogea (1878—1928) : Fifty years of Rumanian life, Bucharest, 1928.

Dobrogea, Bucarest, 1928 (Publication of the I. C. Brătianu Cultural Foundation).

Ap. D. Culea, *Dobrogea*, Bucharest, 1928 (published by the Cultural Foundation « Casa Școalelor »).

R. Seișanu, *Dobrogea*, Bucharest, 1928.

I. Simionescu, *O țară de basm : Dobrogea* (A fabulous land).

The Rumanian Academy has published a very useful work of S. Greavu-Dunăre: *Bibliografia Dobrogei* (425 B. C. to 1928 A. D.).

La Dobroudja, Bucarest, 1938, in « Colecțiunea Academiei române » (Connaissance de la terre et de la pensée roumaines, IV).

Cadrilaterul (1913—1938), 2 vol. of the review « Analele Dobrogei » (Cernăuți, 1938), XIX; volume I, comprising geographical and physical research in the province; vol. II, being an historical and ethnographic study of the two southern counties of Caliacra and Durostor.

The painters too have outdone themselves to reproduce on canvas Dobrogean nature, men, and landscapes. Tarasov, Sârbu, Eugène Voinescu, Madame Cutzescu-Storck, Teodorescu-Sion, Steriade, Marius Bunescu and a long list of other painters have sought subjects for their brushes in the varied natural scenes of this country. At Balcic, a school of marine painting has been founded, rendered illustrious by our greatest painters and by a new generation of artists.

A point where races from the four points of the compass have met, Dobrogea has changed, in the course of the centuries, in racial composition and in physical features. Like the Black Sea shore-line, which has been considerably modified by the alluvia deposited by the Danube at its mouth to form the Delta and to create the great sounds which have become in our day the Razim lagoon, this region has been completely transformed by the alluvia of men of our race who have settled on that same river flowing down from the west, and have contributed to that modification like the river alluvia themselves.

Among the many racial elements brought hither by historical upheavals, the Tatars have remained indifferent and refractory to the influence of the sea, and have continued to live in their own way — their desert life — as though the sea did not exist. Our ancestors alone, having reached the shore of the river long ago, having crossed it, and having paused, as though to gather strength and courage, went forth confident and sure to the conquest — ethnographically speaking — of the whole province, as tillers of the soil, shepherds, fishermen, colonists, civil servants, etc. The fact that, in the course of time, the Rumanians settled especially on the shores of the Danube gives the impression that they consciously aimed at the conquest of the whole territory of Dobrogea.

The characteristic features of the Danube region tempted and attracted the population of the Carpathians. Between the Bărăgan and Dobrogea — both of them steppe regions — only the Danube valley, from Silistra-Călărași to the sea, with its woods, its marshes, its pastures, presents verdant landscapes promising an easy and prosperous life, while the adjoining regions are devastated by the summer droughts. During the severe winters which prevail in the Bărăgan and the Dobrogean steppe, this region of the Balta is once more a sure refuge, favourable to activity ¹⁾.

¹⁾ Cf. V. Morfei, *Balta Ialomiței*, in the « Annals of Dobrogea », V-VI (1924—1925), pp. 59—86.

Drawn by this region, the Rumanian shepherds thronged into Dobrogea, supplanting the nomad Tatars by their own different type of nomad life, full of energy and activity. In the midst of their struggles they carried with them the essential features of a sedentary life, so that the expression « Das wandernde Siebenbürgen » (Migratory Transylvania) ¹⁾ is fully justified; for it is the « devout Mocani » who transformed this whole region, which Turkish rule had left in the state described by the following lines: « When I travelled in the interior of Dobrogea and especially in the district of Kustendsche, I was saddened to see the calamities and devastation caused by the last war: cities destroyed, villages completely wiped out — so completely, indeed, that one hardly recognised that the site had been occupied by men, for only the stones of the graveyards were there to prove to the traveller that human habitations once existed nearby. Most of the inhabitants are reduced to extreme misery, lacking everything, even their daily food » ²⁾.

Mingled with the natives and with the Cojani, the Mocani gave birth to a vigorous, hardy, industrious and enterprising population, whose soul is reflected in our day both in the material and in the intellectual activities of this province.

While the Rumanians of the left bank of the Danube had, by their labour and their spirit, regenerated this region which they had inherited from their Dacian and Roman ancestors, the conquest of Dobrogea, long before 1877, is the national achievement of the Transylvanian Rumanians, the Mocani. They affirmed by their conquest their right, not as rulers, but as founders, who linked the destiny of their people to this new land by other works than the building of their houses. Thus, « all that Christianity stands for (in this province) as an historical form comes from the Rumanians, and very often from the Mocani; it is not due

¹⁾ I. Hintz (Kronstadt, 1876).

²⁾ N. Iorga, *Droits nationaux et politiques*, pp. 89—90.

to the extension of Greek influence, since, from the beginning of the Christian era, it is the Latin language of the Rumanians which prevails in the region ».

In this amalgam of elements which have come, in the course of the ages, from all countries, from the most varied civilisations, some of them thousands of years old, and which have overlapped, mingled, destroyed one another, been transformed, while preserving down to the present some of their peculiarities, our race has prevailed, marking with its own spirit all the cultural works which have been elaborated and achieved in our day ¹⁾.

No argument can be more convincing than the following words, as a demonstration of the importance of Dobrogea in the past and its necessity for the development of our people at present:

« Far more numerous to-day, the Rumanians are to a large extent native, as has been demonstrated by these pages, as well as by the uninterrupted traditions of the past. If that past has included invasions by other peoples, it has never shaken the stubborn persistence which is one of the distinctive characteristics of our race. Whoever has ruled here, has done so merely as a continuation of the Empire, which created the Rumanian race. The Genoese, masters of Kilia and of the mouths of the Danube, came here as auxiliaries and clients of the Paleologues; and their successor was a Rumanian prince to whom Byzantium handed over possession of the coast with the title of despot. He abandoned it to the Turks; but five hundred years later, his successor took it back from those same Turks. This, in brief, is the history of this province: a Roman territory of the Empire, from the political standpoint; ethnographically, a Danubian territory within the radius of Rumanian expansion » ²⁾.

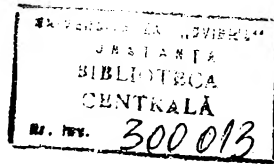
« In the historical past, the conquest of Dobrogea was thought of as follows: the seacoast to the Greeks, the

¹⁾ Cf. Al. P. Arbore, *Characteristic features of the life of the people in Dobrogea*, in the Proceedings of the Cluj Geographical Institute, vol. IV (1931).

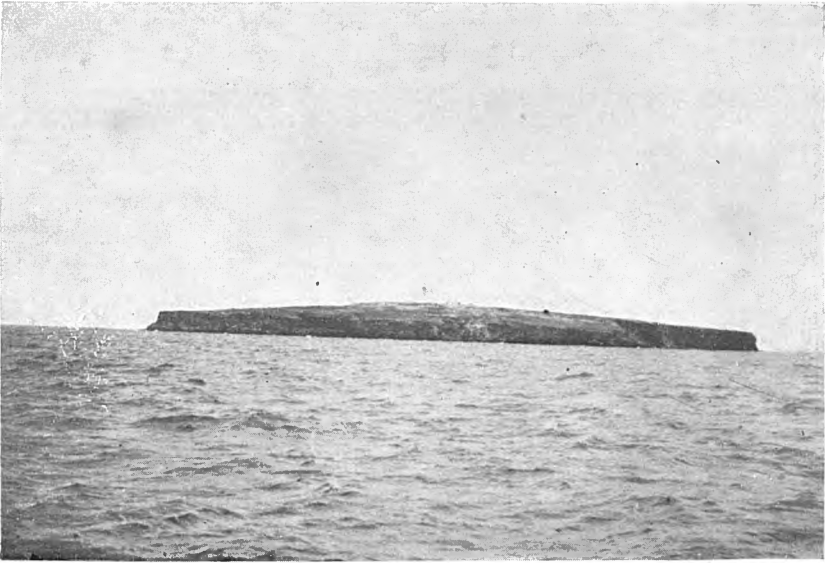
²⁾ N. Iorga, *Droits nationaux et politiques des Roumains dans la Dobroudja*, pp. 88–89.

Danube shores to the Rumanians, the interior free for the passage of Turkish troops — a false conception which had been transformed into reality by unexpected events. A more attentive study of circumstances shows that the conception is false. Rumania abstained from laying claim to this territory; but the Rumanian people, the Mocani, the Cojani, driven by historical necessity, made good their rights »¹).

For « we cannot live, we cannot breathe freely, we cannot keep in touch with the outside world without the sea ».



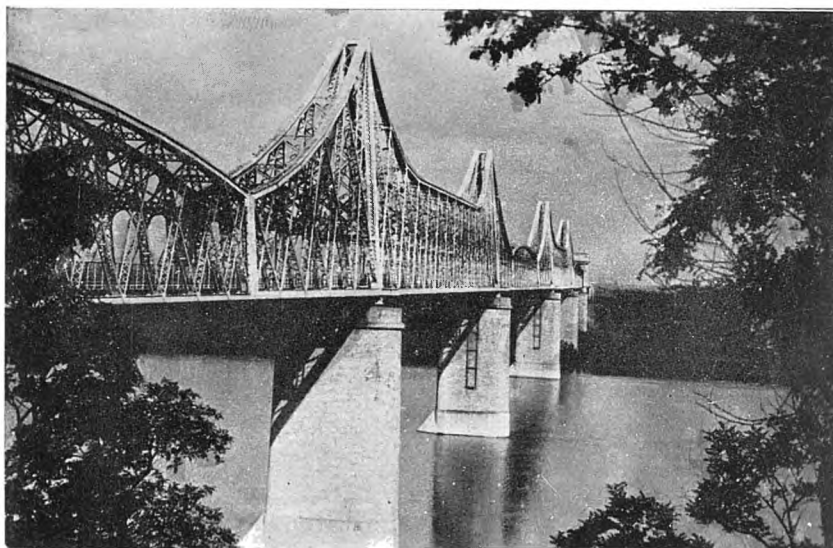
¹) N. Iorga, *The Rumanians and the Bulgarians in Dobrogea*, in « Dobrogea » (1878—1928), *Fifty Years of Rumanian Rule*, p. 259.



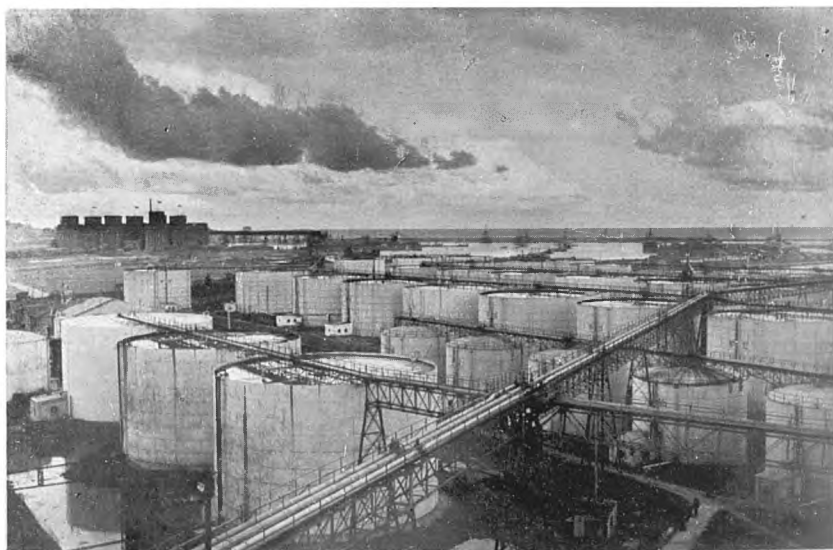
The Isle of Serpents



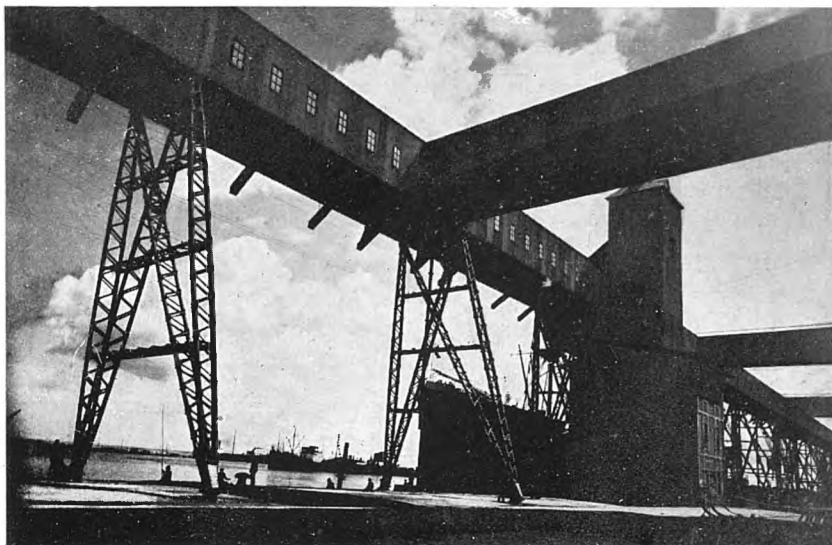
Danube fishermen



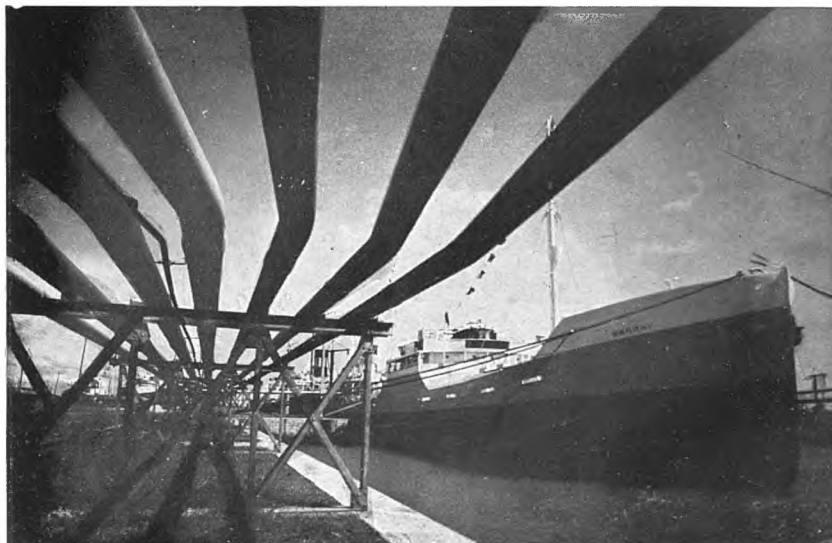
The bridge at Cernavoda on the Danube



The port of Constanța



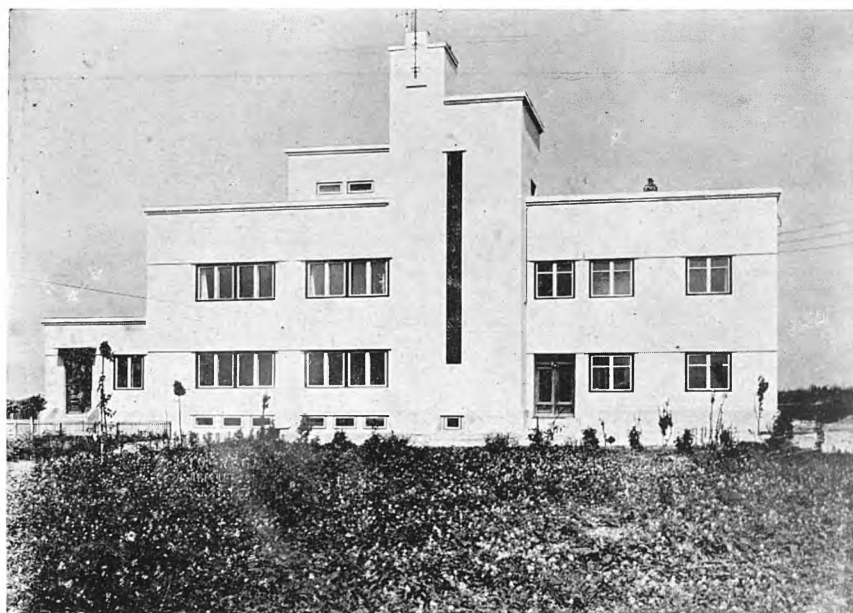
Constanța: the grain harbour



Constanța: oil pipes



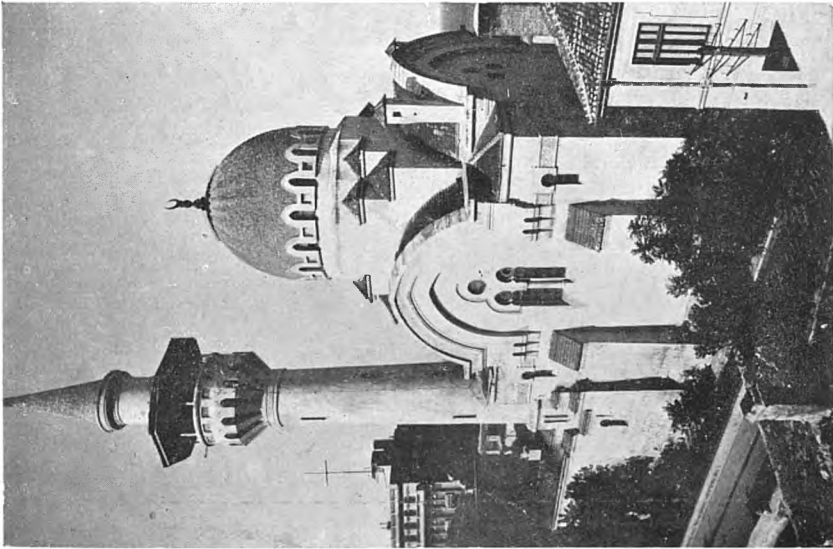
Constanța: the Casino and the statue of Carmen Sylva



Mamaia: the Hydro-Biological Institute



Nightfall in the Delta



Constanța : Carol I Mosque



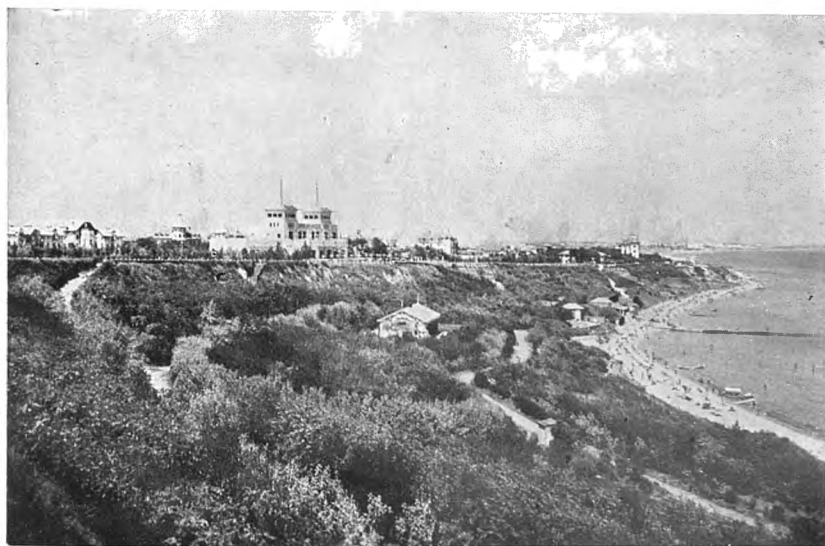
Mamaia (near Constanța): the bathing beach



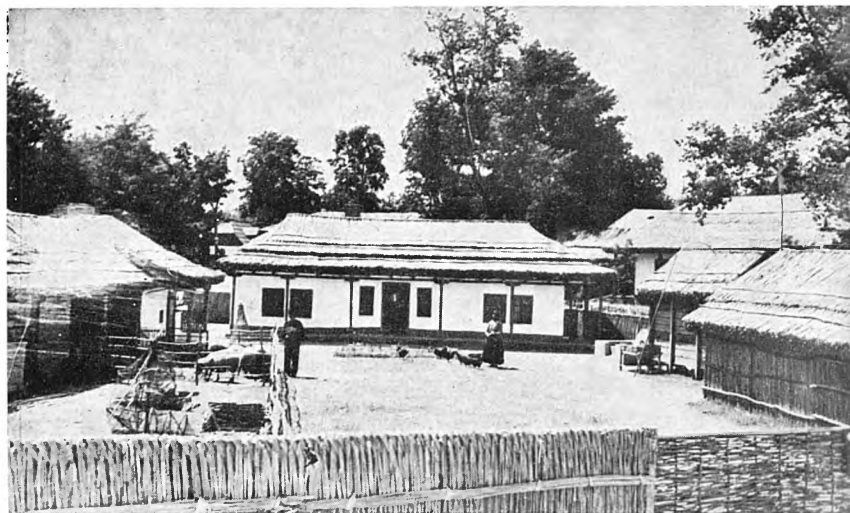
Eforie: a Black Sea resort



Eforie (near Constanța)



Carmen Sylva (near Constanța)



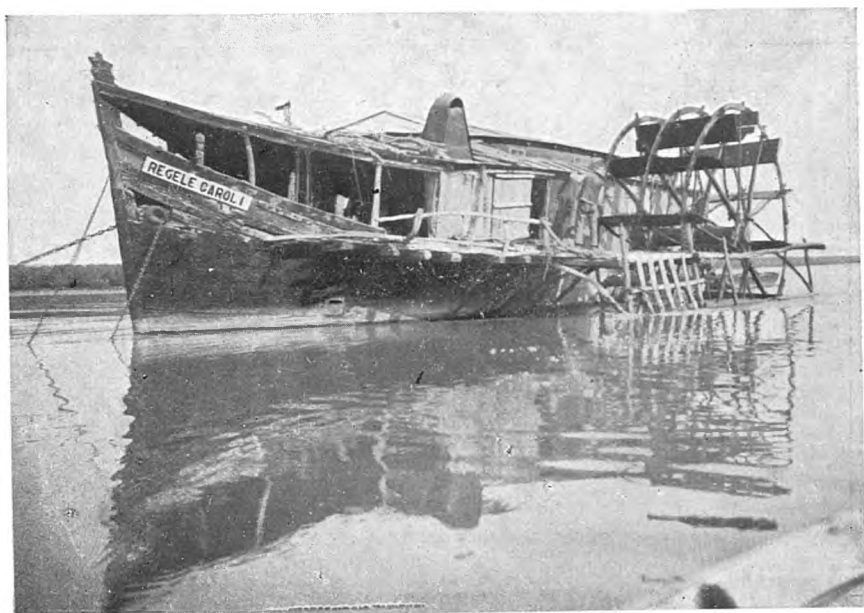
Bucharest Village Museum : a house from Pecineaga (County of Tulcea)



Fishermen at Turtucaia



Turtucaia



A water-mill on the Danube



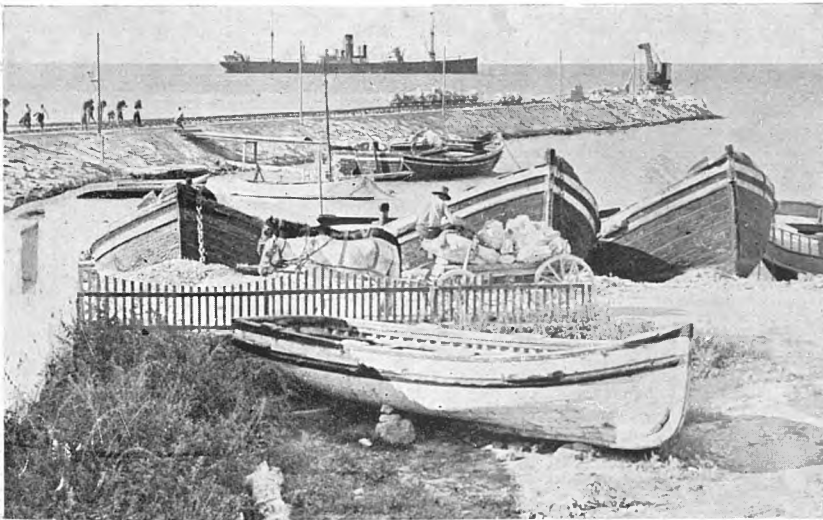
Cusuiul-din-Vale (County of Durostor): a village in New Dobrogea



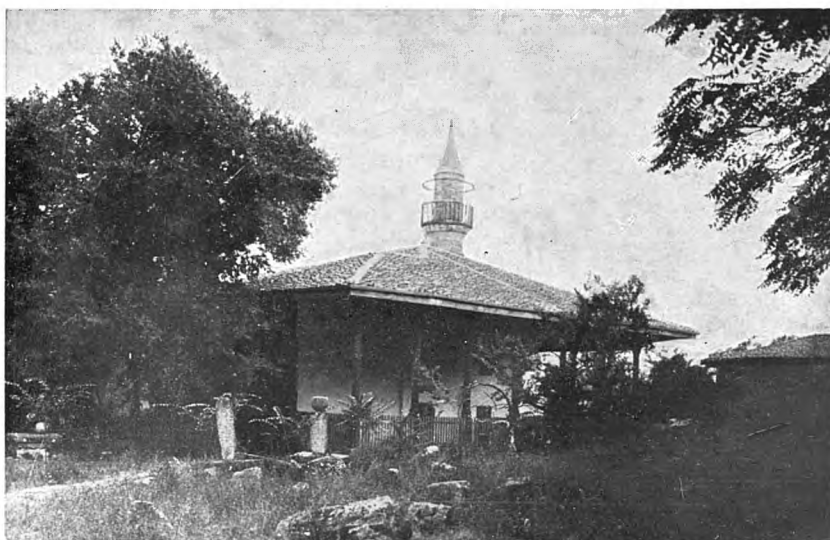
In New Dobrogea



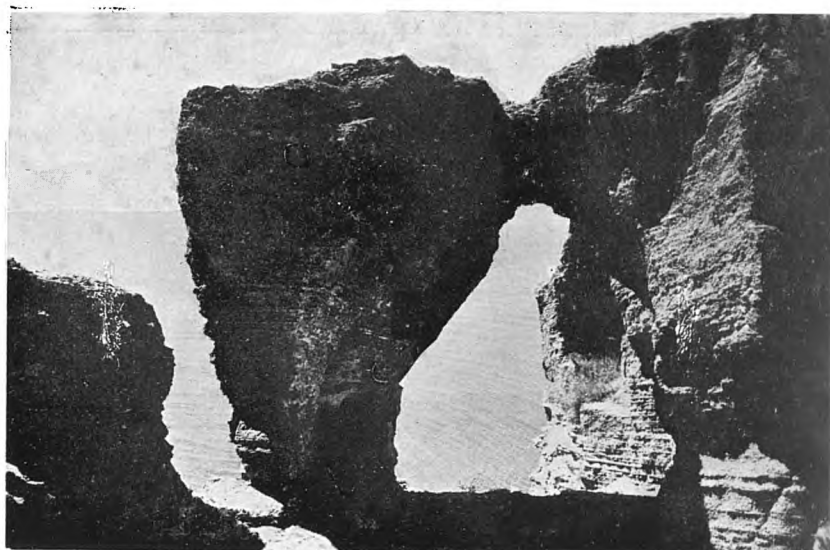
An old house at Balcic



The new port at Balcic



Turkish vestiges at Mangalia



Cape Caliacra



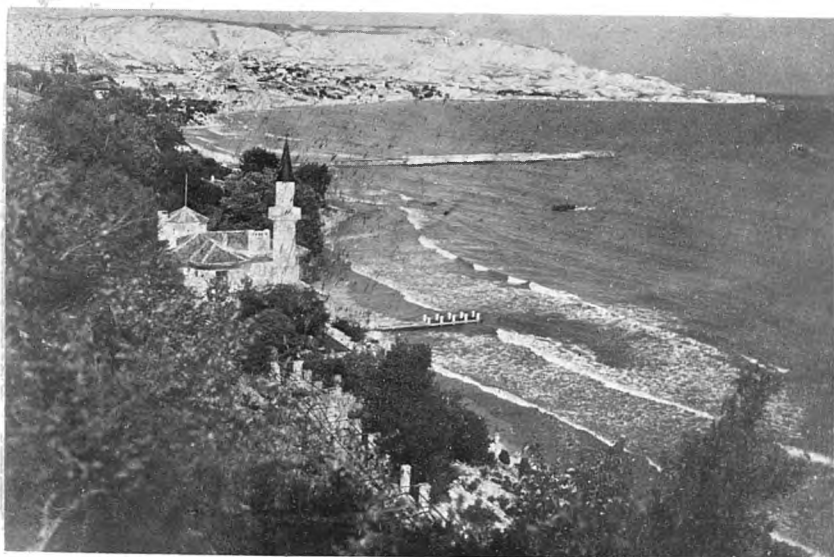
A fishing port



Fishermen



Regina Maria: a village near Balcic



Balcic: the Silver Coast and the Royal Villa



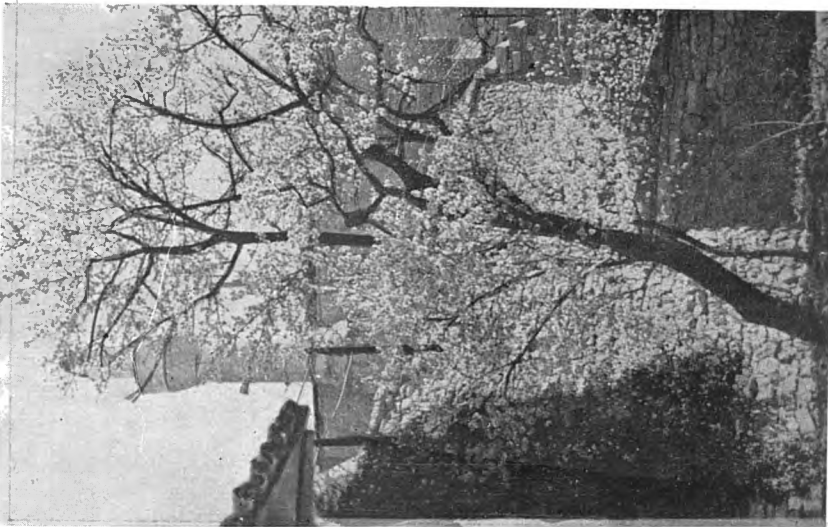
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