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# ONCE AGAIN ON THE TOPIC OF METAL DETECTING ASSOCIATED WITH ARCHAEOLOGICAL AREAS IN ROMANIA. A PHENOMENON UNDER THE SIGN OF SISYPHUS...

Marius-Mihai Ciută\*

**Abstract:** In this study, the author revisits a subject that has sparked intense discussions among Romanian archaeologists: the metal detecting phenomenon. Ten years after initial interventions, the article introduces up-to-date information about the phenomenon's particularities. It presents numerical and statistical data on metal detectorists in Romania, highlights weaknesses in the legal norms governing metal detecting, and identifies the actors involved, as well as vulnerabilities to cultural heritage. The study also outlines significant changes in the profile of Romanian metal detectorists over the last decade (a positive premise in the perspective of future possible contacts/collaborations.), identifies examples of good practices in the field, pinpoints major dysfunctions' causes, and ultimately proposes solutions to ensure metal detecting is no longer viewed with reservations or hostility by the archaeological community.

**Keywords:** metal detecting, changed profile, legislation, archaeological heritage, collaboration.

The phenomenon of metal detecting within the territory of Romania, approximately 30 years since its inception, has developed into an entity of remarkable complexity, characterized by dimensions and aspects unforeseen previously. This phenomenon involves a wide range of actors, including institutional, legal, both public and private entities, as well as individuals, each with distinct characteristics. The approaches and solutions adopted in this context are often marked by improvisation, reflecting an acute need for more coherent and well-defined strategies<sup>1</sup>. Initially perceived as a mere *hobby*<sup>2</sup> by a majority of its practitioners<sup>3</sup>, this

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<sup>1</sup> The updated data of this study are based on the direct experiences of the author, over a period of 17 years and 3 months, specifically from January 2006 to May 2023. During this time, as a specialist officer in the protection of national cultural heritage within the Romanian Police, the author managed the issues generated by this phenomenon in Alba County. Additionally, the author was a member of the team that handled the criminal cases commonly known as "The Dacian Gold."

<sup>2</sup> <https://dexonline.ro/definitie/hobby>: A pleasant activity, outside of professional concerns, practiced in one's free time.

pursuit has, however, elicited profound passions, definitive stances, associative interests, aspirations for prestige, pseudo-professional vocations, and controversies that have, not seldom, exceeded the boundaries of courteous discourse. Furthermore, it has challenged the formulations of specific legislative texts, questioned the scientific probity and/or ethical comportment of individuals within a venerable profession, and even sparked rigorous debates over the semantics of terms such as: "prior", "incidental discovery", "archaeological site", "protected archaeological area", "amateur archaeologist" etc.

Almost 10 years ago, I published an initial study in which, based on the available national data, I proposed a draft profile of the metal detector user<sup>4</sup>. One of the conclusions of the study was that, while there had been no notable changes in the purposes and modes of operation of metal detector users in the period 1993-2014 - their objective being exclusively to obtain financial profits from the sale of goods found as a result of illegal activities, in most cases - starting from 2014, there were certain elements that could be presented as the beginning of a changes in this profile. The span of the last 10 years has fully confirmed the belief that the phenomenon of metal detecting associated with archaeological sites has undergone remarkable dynamism, experiencing major changes in all its defining aspects. Therefore, we consider it imperative to update and reconsider the analysis performed on this phenomenon, which proves to be, we reiterate, far more complex and with much deeper implications than initially believed, especially since it consistently involves a very important, yet predominantly silent component that of the archaeological cultural heritage, which is usually omitted from discussions.

**Brief History.** Metal detecting in Romania has a history of at most 30 years<sup>5</sup>. The first post-revolutionary metal detectorists in Romania were self-taught individuals from Hunedoara County, specifically locals from the area of the Dacian fortresses in Valea Grădiștei, near Orăștie, or from the locality of Sarmizegetusa in Țara Hațegului (Hunedoara County).

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<sup>3</sup> Over 98% of the applications for metal detector permits specified 'hobby' as the intended use of the device. Only 2% cited other purposes for acquiring the detector, such as finding lost personal items, searching for meteorites, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Ciută 2016, 99–108; Ciută 2016a, 135-149. The data from that study were obtained from operational situations revealed by the investigation of several criminal cases. These cases aimed to uncover the truth in files concerning the theft and trafficking of archaeological artifacts belonging to the national cultural heritage (Lazăr, Condruz 2007, 27-36.

<sup>5</sup> Bunoiu 2016, 149-156; Teodor 2014, 43–59; Ciută 2016, 99–108; Ciută 2016a, 135-149; Ciută 2016b; Lazăr, Condruz 2007, 25-36, 49-68; Lazăr 2008, 143-212; Lazăr 2009, 48-70; Lazăr 2013, 48-70; Ciută, Purece 2018, 25-36; Ciută 2019; Găzdac, Ciută 2021, 34-46; Ciută, Totoianu 2023, &&

These areas, where there were indications of "treasures" buried in the ground from ancient times, drew the interest of these early enthusiasts. In the villages of Valea Grădiștei, legends and stories about these treasures and how they manifested on the surface persisted, some of them still quite vivid in the memory of older locals. Encouraged by the first successes (1993<sup>6</sup>, 1996<sup>7</sup>, 1998<sup>8</sup>, 2000<sup>9</sup>, etc.), when notable hoards were located with the help of metal detectors, more and more villagers acquired such devices. Thus, owning a metal detector practically became a "must-have" in Valea Grădiștei.

Their example was quickly followed by others living near heavily publicized archaeological sites, such as those in Dobrogea, Oltenia, or the Danube Gorge area. Referring to the period 1993-2000, in the case of those practicing detections in areas with known archaeological heritage (identified, researched, and even published), we are exclusively talking about poachers of archaeological sites. Even though the legislation at the time was secondary and inconclusive, there were provisions in the regulatory acts that prohibited this practice<sup>10</sup>.

The year 2000 marked an important moment in the evolution of the phenomenon, in which, at least formally and legally, the "rules of the game" changed with the introduction of normative acts (Government Ordinance (OG) 43/2000 about archaeology and Law 182/2000 about movable cultural goods). These acts clearly specified the contravention or criminal acts associated with the possession and use of metal detectors in protected archaeological areas, as well as the sanctioning regime regarding these prospecting devices<sup>11</sup>. Starting from 2003-2004, the structures for

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<sup>6</sup> The presumed discovery of a treasure composed of gold Kosons, which appeared in public auctions after the year 2003. Ciută 2016, 99-108; Ciută 2016a, 135-149.

<sup>7</sup> The discovery of the treasure of about 4,000 gold Kosons at the site known as "Fagii lui Bodea" within the Fețele Albe-"La Arsuri" sector, a hoard that entered the specialist literature under the name "The Târsa Treasure". Ciută, Condruz 2013, 171-192.

<sup>8</sup> The discovery of a mixed treasure consisting of coins (staters) of the Pseudo-Lysimach, Pharnakes (as Archon), and Asander types, comprising 3,600 coins, at the site known as Șesu Căprăreței-"La Zăcătoare", an anthropogenic terrace located approximately 500 meters east of the "Sacred Area" of the site at Grădiștea Muncelului. Ciută, Condruz, 2013, 171-192.

<sup>9</sup> Ciută, Rustoiu 2007, 99-112; Ciută, Rustoiu, 2008, 176-202.

<sup>10</sup> Lazăr, Condruz 2007, 10-36; Lazăr 2009, 391-475; Condruz 2009, 361-371.

<sup>11</sup> *Order No. 251/409/2275/M 115 of May 31, 2004, for the approval of Technical Norms regarding the possession and commercialization of metal detectors*, proved to have a series of deficiencies, one of the most evident being the lack of a definition for the concept of a "metal detector"! This omission remained regrettable, allowing for malicious and pseudo-scientific interpretations, especially from those who view this activity from the perspective of potential criminals. The *Order* retained the term from GO 43/2000, regarding the order in which authorization is carried out, using the formulation "in advance" in relation to obtaining the authorization, relative to the acquisition of the

protecting the National Cultural Heritage within the Romanian Police finally began to operate, and in 2004, the normative act that regulated the acquisition of these devices finally appeared. From then on, any citizen who was 18 years old, submitted an application, a criminal record, a pro-forma invoice, a fee of 10 lei (2 Euro!) and a copy of their identity card, could legally purchase a metal detector, based on the *Ownership Authorization* issued by the police unit with territorial competence over the applicant's domicile area<sup>12</sup>.

Through the normative acts issued, the structures designed, and the imposed sanctioning regime, the legislator believed that the phenomenon of metal detecting could be managed and monitored<sup>13</sup>, and would probably even decline, so that it would no longer reach the criminal levels of the previous period. The increasing number of criminal cases registered regarding the protection regime of archaeological sites (2005-2014), along with the intense media coverage of the judicial bodies' results, inevitably led to a decrease in the intensity of the metal detecting phenomenon, equating metal detectorists with poachers. As a result, a long period (2005-2014) was recorded in which the number of people interested in purchasing such devices was relatively low, given the implications of the risks assumed by the applicants.

Through the issued normative acts, the designed structures, and the imposed sanctioning regime, the legislator considered that the phenomenon of metal detecting could be managed and even monitored, and would likely even see a decline, so that it would not reach the criminal levels of the previous period. The increasing number of criminal cases registered regarding the protection regime of archaeological sites (2005-2014), along with the intense media coverage of the judicial bodies' results, inevitably led to a decrease in the intensity of the metal detecting phenomenon, equating metal detectorists with poachers. As a result, a long

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device (Ciută 2016a, 144-146). Regrettably, although this subject was even the object of a decision by the Constitutional Court of Romania (Ciută 2021, 87-122), in some counties, the National Cultural Heritage (PCN) police officers, for reasons that are difficult to explain, preferred to accept the idea of acquiring the devices before obtaining the *Authorization*.

<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, following the simplification of bureaucratic procedures, obtaining the authorization has become easier. Since 2016, the criminal record and the copy of the identity document are no longer required.

<sup>13</sup> The decision to have the cultural heritage police units issue these authorizations was likely based on the expectation that this would help manage and control the phenomenon. By involving law enforcement agencies specialized in cultural heritage, the aim was to ensure a more effective regulation and oversight of metal detecting activities, thereby reducing illegal practices and protecting archaeological sites. This approach was probably intended to combine legal enforcement with an increased awareness of the importance of preserving cultural heritage.

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This is why the fact that none of the normative acts mentioned above detail how a metal detector holder should behave in situations where they discover goods belonging to the National Cultural Heritage outside of protected archaeological areas has not been amended by anyone. This is probably because things seemed to be moving towards the extinction of this phenomenon, or at least a decrease in its intensity.

**Evolutions.** After 2014, something begins to change regarding this issue. The number of those interested in purchasing metal detectors starts to increase, gradually at first within reasonable limits, but with the 2020 pandemic, this number tends to "spiral out of control," a point which will be elaborated on further below. Paradoxically (?), concurrently, the number of specialist officers (from external sources) in the National Cultural Heritage (PCN) police structures, who issue metal detector ownership authorizations and are in charge of managing the related issues, begins to decrease significantly, quite drastically (from 55 officers in 2009 to ... 7 officers in 2023!).

Meanwhile, more and more situations arise where the professional body of archaeologists has pointed out a number of dysfunctions in the text of the normative acts regarding the protection regime of archaeological sites, especially regarding the interpretation of the phrase "accidental discovery," which, according to OG 43/2000, is also assimilated to discoveries made with the help of metal detectors. The only major attempt of the National Commission of Archaeology to correct the deficiencies of OG 43/2000 (the draft law Plx. 81/2018) failed, demonstrating a strong inertia against any change to the status quo in the current legislation! As I have pointed out on other occasions<sup>14</sup>, this situation is as embarrassing as it is conducive to situations that could prove disastrous for the National Cultural Heritage.

The increasing number of authorized metal detector owners is accompanied by a radical change in their profile, as we are practically dealing with all socio-professional categories. Current data show that in the last 10 years, the professional spectrum tends to become complete: magistrates (judges and/or prosecutors), lawyers, politicians, police officers, doctors (medicines), engineers, researchers, sociologists, IT specialists, teachers, students, public servants, priests, gendarmes, nurses, journalists, hairstylists, electricians, traders, truck drivers, NGO administrators, business managers, unemployed individuals, retirees,

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<sup>14</sup> Ciută 2022, 147-181.

recidivists, etc., including people with substantial elements of criminal records<sup>15</sup>...

It's noteworthy that there is a clear increase in the number of individuals with higher education, those with established or developing careers, who by their training and social profile are capable of understanding the implications of using metal detectors. This understanding extends to the implications of discovering archaeological artifacts, their heritage significance, and the contexts they contain. Undoubtedly, in the last five years, the number of detector owners willing to request data and information about the specifics of areas with archaeological heritage, and even to become self-taught in the field of archaeology, has increased.

In addition to these individuals, a significant number of commercial companies or institutions (legal entities) that possess such devices (authorized) have emerged, due to the specific nature of their activities (companies managing water networks, gas or electricity companies that need specialized devices for detecting underground pipes and valves).

The age spectrum of metal detector owners is also extremely varied, with owners of all ages, the average in Romania being between 35 and 40 years old. Although the normative acts stipulate that the holder of the authorization must be 18 years old, there have been numerous cases where parents have requested it on behalf of their minor children, justifying this action as a necessity to "get them away from computers," which is one of the most credible arguments I have encountered in my entire activity!

In terms of gender, the percentage ratio is 95% men and 5% women, which was expected for an activity that requires more effort and involves venturing into wilder areas with potential dangers.

It is noteworthy that in the last 3-5 years, the majority of those who have legally acquired detectors (about 60%), are Romanian citizens who have worked or are working in various European countries (both EU and non-EU), and who have experienced metal detecting in those countries (systematically in some cases!) and are familiar with the legislative realities in the European community space<sup>16</sup>!

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<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, the only legal basis that can be invoked for rejecting a request for obtaining a metal detector ownership *Authorization*, as provided by OG 43/2000 and the 2004 Order, is that of previous investigation or conviction for the act specified in Article 26 of OG 43/2000. There was a case in Alba County when a citizen, who had two pages of criminal record (over 17 criminal acts punished by imprisonment), requested and received this authorization...

<sup>16</sup> Vlase 2016, p. 111-134.

Since 2012<sup>17</sup>, it has become increasingly clear that there is a category of metal detectorists willing to communicate and associate more effectively, including through social media groups on Facebook. This is due to the aforementioned aspects: the socio-professional profile and the history of practicing metal detecting in other EU states, where association is quite common. On Facebook, there are several public groups for Romanian metal detectorists. Merely observing these platforms suffices to understand the extent and characteristics of this activity. The way posts are made, how discoveries are illustrated, the efforts for identifying and classifying artifacts (which are relatively rare), and the comments on these posts, all demonstrate that this is a dynamic, increasingly responsible community. It is a community that embraces transparency in communication, asks questions, accepts suggestions and advice, proposes solutions to technical problems related to detector performance, researches the location of protected areas to avoid them, and most importantly, is concerned with not violating the legal provisions associated with metal detecting.

Remaining in the realm of quantitative aspects, we must acknowledge from the outset that, at the national level, there is no strict record of the number of metal detector owners, just as there is no strict record of the metal detector ownership authorizations<sup>18</sup>. Based on data obtained directly by consulting those who issue the authorizations at the national level, it is estimated that currently, in Romania - on May 1, 2023 - there are over 26,000 metal detector owners, of which approximately 17,000 are authorized<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> Since September 2012, when the first official, open group of metal detectorists appeared: "DetectieMetal. Comunitatea Arheologilor Amatori din România" [Metal Detection. The Community of Amateur Archaeologists in Romania] (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/detectiemetal>), which is also the largest, counting, as of December 10, 2023: 25,582 members (!). From the group's description, it is clear that "it was created especially for those passionate about history and metal detection in Romania and beyond. This group: *”aims to be the place where issues related to metal detection, legislation, discoveries by colleagues from all historical periods, and news strictly regarding metal detection and history are discussed”*."

<sup>18</sup> Although there is a database at the level of the Romanian Police, it has relatively limited utility, as it is not properly updated for various reasons, so the official number of those who have legally purchased such devices is not known.

<sup>19</sup> The data presented in this study are obtained from an official response of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MAI) addressed to Senator Cristian Ghica (MAI address no. 10136 from 12.04.2023), made available to the National Commission of Archaeology, convened at the National Session of Archaeological Reports (Târgoviște, May 2023). These data are corroborated and corrected (!) by directly contacting a large part of the workers on the National Cultural Heritage (PCN) line of the County Police Inspectorates nationally (where this approach was possible!). The address specifies that "*statistical data regarding metal detectors have been collected at the central level since 91.01.2022*" (!?). It should

Regarding the number of people who possess a metal detector along with the corresponding legal authorization, the calculations will be detailed below. However, the natural question arises about the number of those who own such devices without authorization. Statistically, based on the number of contravention sanctions applied nationally in the last 19 years, and corroborated with situations resulting from various operational analyses from different segments of public order and intelligence structures, it is estimated that their number could be about half of those who are authorized. Typically, these are individuals who purchase detectors from countries in the European Union where their acquisition is not subject to special legal conditions, and upon returning to Romania, for various reasons, do not complete the necessary steps for authorization.

According to data from the Ministry of Internal Affairs' cited address, as of April 1, 2023, there were 12,581<sup>20</sup> metal detector ownership authorizations registered (11,887 for individuals, 694 for legal entities). Naturally, the leaders were Bucharest (1662 authorizations), Vâlcea (659), Cluj (502 in the table, but actually 615!), Hunedoara (505, in reality 608!), Constanța (471, in reality 595!), Iași (424, in reality 510!), Caraș-Severin (515, unverified), Mureș (500), Sibiu (490), Prahova (487), Brașov (476), Bihor (430), Gorj (450), Timiș (414), Argeș (445), Bacău (402). On the opposite end, the lowest numbers were in Satu Mare (15!), Harghita (25), Călărași (47), Olt (61), Ilfov (66), Giurgiu (81); Mureș (81).

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be specified from the outset that the data in the table of the annex to the mentioned address do not correspond to the clarifications in the address itself. For example, at the level of Police Inspectorate of Alba County, as of 31.03.2023, the number of 213 authorizations represented the total number of authorizations issued (in the interval 2004-2023!), not "*the number of authorizations issued between 01.01.2022 – 31.03.2023*". The situation is similar at all the county police inspectorates where verifications were made, as revealed after contacting the workers affiliated with the PCN line for clarifications. Similarly, the figure of 1660 authorizations issued in Bucharest in one year and three months (!) would have been an extremely exaggerated total. From the data obtained "informally," the number from the figure corresponds to the total number of authorizations issued between 2004-2023!!

<sup>20</sup> It is interesting to note that in October 2023, the Service for the Protection of National Cultural Heritage within the General Inspectorate of the Romanian Police reported a total of 15,989 authorizations for metal detectors issued nationally (Neculae 2023), a figure closer to what we estimated for May 1, 2023. A simple comparison highlights that there is a difference of 3,408 between the figure in March (12,581) and that in October, a number difficult to accept as corresponding to a six-month period (an average of 568 per month, or about 13 per day!). It is evident that the figure provided by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in March was much below the real number. The explanation might come from the very high possibility that some counties (e.g., Satu Mare, Ilfov, Mureș, etc.) indeed reported, as the address text says, the number of authorizations issued in the interval 01.01.2022- 31.03.2023!

It is appropriate to make a remark at this specific point: it is hard to believe that in counties reporting such small numbers, like Satu Mare, Harghita, Olt, Giurgiu, etc. - some of which are on the border, or have ethnic minorities known for their strong predilection for metal detecting – the reality is accurately reflected by these numerical values. An explanation for the anomaly that emerges is explained above (see note 19), but it might also stem from a more pragmatic reality: these counties never had dedicated National Cultural Heritage (PCN) specialist officers. Therefore, in the roles pertaining to this field, during the period 2004-2023, there were frequent changes of "career police officers", who probably did not maintain a strict and continuous record of the number of authorizations issued.

It's important to note that the above figures refer to authorized individuals and not the detectors they own! There are cases of persons owning 2, 3, or even more metal detectors. It is evident that if we consider the number of detectors owned, their numerical value could potentially double! This suggests that the actual scope of metal detecting activity, when accounting for the multiple devices owned by individuals, may be significantly greater than initially indicated by the number of authorized users.

If the total number of metal detector owners is surprising, more concerning for understanding the state of metal detecting in Romania is the growth rate of those who have applied for authorizations in the last 2-3 years, a rate that follows the "snowball model"<sup>21</sup>. In some counties, for the mentioned interval, there is a tripling of the number of issued authorizations, representing an astonishing upward growth rate in arithmetic progression. It is more than evident that we are facing a phenomenon in full arithmetic development, which has the appearance of a numerical boom.

What are the factors behind this astonishing growth? There are several: intense media coverage of extraordinary discoveries of cultural goods<sup>22</sup>, social media groups<sup>23</sup>, attachment to history and national values<sup>24</sup>,

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<sup>21</sup> To illustrate this point, let's consider the example of Alba County, where between 2005 - 2010, 7 authorizations were issued (an average of 1.4 per year). Between 2011 -2017, the average was 4 per year. However, the numbers started to increase significantly afterward: 13 in 2018, 17 in 2019, 22 in 2020, 31 in 2021, 32 in 2022, and 47 in the first 7 months of 2023" Particularly noteworthy is the case of Mureş County, which reported issuing over 80 authorizations in 2022 alone. This data highlights the rapid growth in the number of metal detector authorizations in recent years.

<sup>22</sup> The print and online media are one of the factors that significantly contribute to this phenomenon. There is hardly a week without reports of discoveries of monetary hoards or deposits of objects with various uses and historical significance. This extensive media

curiosity, the spirit of adventure, the pursuit of fame and/or prestige, and more prosaic reasons, such as poverty combined with the hope of quick enrichment with minimal effort.

Regardless of the reasons behind the acquisition and use of a metal detector, we must acknowledge that the profile of the current detectorist is radically different from that of the detectorist 10-15 years ago. It is indisputable that not all detectorists are poachers, nor do they all wish to violate the law. On the contrary, there are community members who care a lot about this aspect or are very interested in self-education in this field.

Let's return to some statistical landmarks. Approximately 95% of metal detector owners do not have specialized studies (in history or archaeology) and, as such, do not know how to effectively react upon discovering contexts/artifacts belonging to the National Cultural Heritage (PCN). Regrettably, in the absence of specific clarifications in the normative acts, metal detector owners are not given even the most basic training either when receiving the Authorization<sup>25</sup> or when purchasing the detector. Thus, we are dealing with an *army* of detectorists (in the most elementary sense of the term) who are not required to have a minimum of training in the field of archaeology. Practically, they are left to their own devices regarding self-education or acquiring minimal skills in dealing with archaeological contexts/artifacts<sup>26</sup>.

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coverage often highlights the allure and potential rewards of metal detecting, inadvertently fuelling public interest and participation in the activity.

<sup>23</sup> As mentioned earlier, nationally, there are dozens of social media groups for metal detector owners, each with a significant number of members, often in the tens of thousands!

<sup>24</sup> We observe a certain inclination among members of social media groups towards major themes of nationalist propaganda, with emphases on topics such as Dacomania, protochronism, continuity, etc. These themes often resonate with individuals interested in history and archaeology, potentially influencing their perspective and activities related to metal detecting etc.

<sup>25</sup> There are exceptions: at the Alba County Police Inspectorate, at least until April 24, 2003, when picking up the metal detector ownership authorization, all applicants received a brief specialized training included in a document called "Good Practices." This document contained four distinct chapters: legislative landmarks, sources for documentation regarding protected archaeological areas, prohibited acts and sanctions under the regime of National Cultural Heritage (PCN) goods, and general modes of behaviour upon discovering goods that might belong to the PCN. At the end of the presentation, a printed copy of the training material was provided to the owner.

<sup>26</sup> The subject of the need for education in this field is increasingly invoked, including by responsible detectorists. Yes, metal detecting can be viewed as a civic right, a freedom to express curiosity or relaxation. However, just as driving a vehicle is such a right and requires a license, obtaining a metal detector ownership authorization should be contingent on completing a preparatory course. At the end of this course, the applicant should be able to identify items that may belong to the National Cultural Heritage (PCN)

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that over 90% of the posts about goods discovered with metal detectors have attached to the photograph of the item in question questions like: "*Can I have an ID, please?*"; "*Does anyone know what this is?*"; "*Do I need to hand it over?*" This reflects a lack of knowledge and understanding among many detectorists about the nature of their finds and the legal and ethical obligations related to archaeological discoveries.

Continuing this line of reasoning, the disproportion between the total number of metal detector users (approximately 27,000 as of December 10, 2023) and the fewer than 1,000 professional archaeologists<sup>27</sup>, as well as the 7 National Cultural Heritage (PCN) specialist police officers with studies in the field, becomes equally evident. This discrepancy extends to the numerical ratio of metal detectorists compared to archaeologists within the County Directorates for Culture. Without dwelling too much on this aspect, it should be noted that there are county directorates without any specialist (archaeologist) in their structure, and others that have only one archaeologist, usually burdened with multiple other duties and responsibilities. There are also cases where specialist positions (architecture, archaeology) have been outsourced, a situation that is not compatible with the exercise of public authority prerogatives<sup>28</sup>.

Given these conditions, it's not surprising that in some cases, in some counties, the County Directorates for Culture (DJC) fail to accomplish their minimal obligations of information, reception of discovered artifacts, field or specialized bibliography checks, or initiating procedures for classifying archaeological sites. The lack of resources and specialized personnel in these institutions can lead to inadequate handling of archaeological findings and insufficient protection of cultural heritage.

The most common question asked by those who obtain the Authorization for metal detecting is: "*How do I know where the archaeological sites are?*" Over 95% of them want to know about the sources they can consult to avoid accidentally entering protected areas.

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or know the set of measures to apply when facing a discovery that requires the assistance of certified specialists.

<sup>27</sup> The Registry of Archaeologists in Romania, as of December 10, 2023, lists 1,029 archaeologists (including beginners, specialists, and experts). However, less than 800 of them are active in the field (!), as many listed in this database are retired, pensioners, or deceased. This indicates a smaller active professional community than the total number might suggest.

<sup>28</sup> "*The National Strategy for the Protection of Historical Monuments 2022-2032. Historical Monuments – Strategic Planning and Optimized Public Policies*" SIPOCA 389/SMIS 115895, <http://www.cultura.ro/sites/default/files/in-line-files/Strategia%20nationala%20privind%20proteja%20monumentelor%20istorice.pdf>, 39-40

This is a tricky issue that has been discussed in a relatively recent study. The lack of easily accessible and comprehensive information about the locations of archaeological sites poses a significant challenge for responsible metal detectorists who wish to comply with the law and protect cultural heritage<sup>29</sup>.

One of the sources indicated is the List of Historical Monuments (Lista Monumentelor Istorice - LMI), which, in its latest update (from 2015), according to data provided by the National Heritage Institute, records 9,646 archaeological sites and monuments<sup>30</sup>. Undoubtedly, this number is far from the actual reality, as evidenced by the National Archaeological Repertory (Repertoriul Arheologic Național - RAN), which, as of December 10, 2023, lists 25,178 archaeological sites. Although RAN is more comprehensive, it still does not reflect the real number, with statistical estimates for the density of archaeological sites across the national territory hovering around 100,000 sites<sup>31</sup>. This discrepancy highlights the challenge for metal detectorists in accessing accurate and comprehensive information about protected archaeological areas.

Although Romania ratified the European Convention for the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage of Valletta (Malta) in 1997, and the Article 2 of the Convention specifies the obligation of each state to "keep a record of its archaeological heritage and classify certain monuments or protected areas", however, at present, we are far from having a complete and easily accessible archaeological repertory<sup>32</sup>. This commitment underscores the importance of maintaining accurate and comprehensive databases of archaeological sites, which is essential not only for protecting heritage but also for informing the public, including metal detectorists, about areas that are off-limits for exploration. This gap poses challenges for effectively safeguarding archaeological heritage and for the public, including metal detectorists, who need this information to avoid inadvertently exploring and potentially damaging protected sites.

**Conclusions.** As a well-known archaeologist insightfully stated: "*Metal detecting represents a great capital of enthusiasm, knowledge, and*

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<sup>29</sup> Ciută 2019; Ciută 2021, 87-122.

<sup>30</sup> *Strategia națională privind protejarea monumentelor istorice 2022-2032.*

<http://www.cultura.ro/sites/default/files/in-line->

[files/Strategia%20nationala%20privind%20protejarea%20monumentelor%20istorice.pdf](http://www.cultura.ro/sites/default/files/in-line-files/Strategia%20nationala%20privind%20protejarea%20monumentelor%20istorice.pdf), p. 19.

<sup>31</sup> Oberländer-Târnoveanu 2014, 27. Teodor 2014, 43-59; Ciută 2021, 99-100.

<sup>32</sup> La art. 7 se precizează și obligația părților (i) să realizeze și să actualizeze anchetele, inventarele și cartografia siturilor arheologice din spațiile supuse jurisdicției sale. Despre modul în care Statul Român nu a pus în aplicare prevederile Convenției de la Valletta, deși a ratificat-o prin Legea nr. 150 din 24 iulie 1997, publicată în M.O. nr. 175 din 29 iulie 1997, vezi Borș 2016, 24.

*resources, of which too little is archaeologically exploited*"<sup>33</sup>. This highlights the potential of harnessing the interest and efforts of metal detector enthusiasts for the benefit of archaeology and cultural heritage, provided it is guided and managed appropriately<sup>34</sup>.

The realities revealed in recent years lead to a general notion of a striking change in the profile of metal detectorists in Romania. Several circumstances unequivocally support this observation. Undoubtedly, this does not mean that we are talking about a community fully adapted and aligned with legal or ethical provisions. There are still plenty of examples of individuals who do not accept the direction in which the majority is heading. There are enough examples to confirm, if necessary, the old adage that "every forest has its dead wood"<sup>35</sup> indicating that in any group, there are always those who do not conform to the general trend or standards<sup>36</sup>.

The data presented in the previous pages lead to the conclusion that we have a "army" of metal detectorists, there is a clear void in regulating their activity, we have an incomplete and at times dysfunctional National Archaeological Repertory (RAN), and we have institutions of the Ministry of Culture that have been caught unprepared by this phenomenon. Moreover, for various reasons, certain animosities and antipathies have developed between the large mass of metal detectorists in Romania and the increasingly fewer specialists in archaeology, creating the perception of an irreparable incompatibility and a communication impasse. We fully agree with the opinion of our colleague Cătălin Pavel: *"by definition, archaeologists represent the guild in this equation, which has a tradition and thus should have a vision. The institutional organization and the academic habit of debate also oblige the guild to be the one to take the initiative to meet the metal detectorists, the amateurs interested in antiquity. And this needs to happen erring more on the side of excessive collegiality than arrogance. This is because from the lack of cooperation (alternative lesson: enmity) between archaeologists and metal detectorists, the one who loses is the heritage. (...) It is not the archaeologists who should fight the abuses of the metal detectorists, but the law"*<sup>37</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> Pavel 2017.

<sup>34</sup> Ciută, Matei-Popescu, 2022,98-102.; Ciută, Matei-Popescu 2023, 312-325; Ciută, Totoianu 2020, 64-73.

<sup>35</sup> Purice, Ciută 2022, 37-50; Ciută, Borangic 2018, 31-46; Plantos, Ciută 2015, 251-264; Plantos, Ciută 2016, 165-177; Ciută, Ciută 2015, 59-72.

<sup>36</sup> " *Many archaeologists fear that the profile of the Romanian metal detectorist does not often align with the more responsible end of the spectrum*" - Pavel 2017.

<sup>37</sup> *Returning to the topic, I fear that the archaeologists' guild is not more united, publicly visible, or numerous than the metal detectorist community. Because of this, there's sometimes an impression that archaeology is like an old, cumbersome ship being*

The necessary solutions for the metal detecting phenomenon to no longer pose risks to the national cultural heritage are relatively easy to identify:

1. Establishing firm regulations regarding the ownership and use of metal detectors.
2. Rethinking the methodology for obtaining metal detector ownership authorizations.
3. Updating repositories, urban planning schemes, and optimizing sources of documentation for locating protected archaeological areas.
4. Making public authorities (both central and local) accountable for managing this issue.
5. Opening communication channels between archaeologists and detectorists willing to contribute to the protection of the National Cultural Heritage (PCN)<sup>38</sup>.
6. Establishing a clearer and stricter legal regime for abuses against the PCN.

These measures would help to ensure that metal detecting is conducted responsibly and in a manner that contributes to, rather than detracts from, the preservation and understanding of cultural heritage.

Although for over 15 years, the specialist literature has discussed the problem of the lack of any control by the Ministry of Culture (MC) regarding the use of metal detectors by non-specialists – a phenomenon manifesting latently as a time-delayed explosive – efforts to regulate at least the public access to documentation sources (due to their lack of updates) have not been expedited or completed<sup>39</sup>. As a result, archaeological poaching (even in its very rare form of negligence) has reached extremely high levels. Furthermore, museums in Romania must

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*harassed by a kind of space pirates, the metal detectorists; but the archaeologists are not to blame for the cumbersome legislation - Pavel 2017.*

<sup>38</sup> In this context, it's worth mentioning the activity of a metal detectorists', "Dacia Crisisus Association", from Oradea, which over the last five years has proven to be an excellent partner not only for the archaeologists at the Tării Crișurilor Museum (Oradea) but also for those in Zalău, Cluj-Napoca, Alba Iulia, Blaj, etc. They have understood the importance of communicating with archaeologists, accepting their advice, and more importantly, supporting the scientific endeavours of these specialists in documenting the contexts discovered by them. This collaboration is a positive example of how metal detectorists and archaeologists can work together for the benefit of heritage preservation. The pieces discovered by the "Dacia Crisisus Association" members and documented by museum specialists, classified as "Treasure," have been featured in exhibitions. Notably, a *sica*-type dagger discovered by them was exhibited in the Romanian Ministry of Culture's exhibition in Rome. This demonstrates the significant contribution that collaborative efforts between metal detectorists and archaeologists can make to cultural heritage, bringing important historical artifacts to public attention and appreciation.

<sup>39</sup> Borș 2014.

avoid adopting uninformed and even illegal practices<sup>40</sup> and should adopt procedures aligned with international normative acts to adequately respond to this phenomenon, which is, in any case, in full progression. This concern highlights the need for better education, regulation, and collaboration between the metal detecting community and professional archaeologists to ensure that the enthusiasm for metal detecting contributes positively to the field of archaeology and cultural heritage preservation.

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<sup>40</sup> Ganciu 2018, 1, 437–452.

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## **THE FUNERAL INVENTORY IN A CHRISTIAN CONTEXT: BETWEEN CUSTOM AND REGULATED RITUAL**

Ingrid Petcu Levei\*

The main factor in choosing the funeral rite and ritual is religion. The role of Christianity is to treat the souls of the departed for a better life in the afterlife. The Christianization of the population in the territory of Dobrogea was a long and rather difficult process. Of course, with the adoption of the new religion, funeral behavior experienced a significant change, coordinated by symbolism and the teachings offered by the Holy Scriptures. The way Christianity interacted with burial customs is quite pragmatic, with many of the traditions being adapted in another forms. There were obvious political interests in Christianization. The political influence on the social environment being an important factor in the decisions of the populations against the adopted beliefs<sup>1</sup>. In essence, funerals were seen as the most conservative cultural traditions that connect people from different historical periods. This is a concept that underlies human evolution<sup>2</sup>.

Christianity is a space-conscious religion, and the church use various strategies of exclusion and inclusion. They range from the access to churches and monasteries, to the membership in the ecclesiastical communities. The organization of cemeteries was done according to rank and social status, but also according to the way in which the deceased was buried. It is known that the peripheral space of the necropolis was intended for deviants<sup>3</sup>.

Although the massive Christianization of the 9th century is one of the major transformations of medieval history, there are still mysteries about funerary archaeology. Christian funerary practices are analyzed on the basis of excavations undertaken in the necropolises and on the basis of the material that emerges from the funerary context. Probably, Christian canons are equated with archaeological reality and funeral rites are considered static phenomena. However, proposing a universal Christian burial practice, limits the expectations of ethnic differentiation. In Christian customs, several normative aspects can be

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<sup>1</sup> Parvanov 2016, p. 89-91.

<sup>2</sup> Parvanov 2016, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Parvanov 2016, p. 91.

found, such as the location, the disappearance of cremations from necropolises, the orientation of the deceased with their head to the west, in a supine position, with their hand on the body, chest or basin, and above all, the disappearance of the rich inventory from the graves<sup>4</sup>.

Archaeological analysis of how Christianity came to dominate the central European area, reveals itself as a requirement in understanding how local communities evolved and adapted to the mixture of populations of different origins. The study of necropolises gives us a wide exposure on funeral practices, the cultural origin of the deceased, and the data of the cultural area of which he was part, but also information about the whole community. It is known that the cemetery is permanent and maintains a close connection between the settlement and its ancestors<sup>5</sup>.

Archaeological research during the 1960s and 1980s struggled to reveal information about the ethnic identity of the people who made or used it. The ethnic character of the archaeological object was debated in the Anglo-Saxon, German, French historiographic framework, making its appearance within the Romanian one only after the 1990s<sup>6</sup>.

The diversity of the ethnic groups that are part of Central and South-Eastern Europe led to the interpretation of the burial inventory as part of the general characteristic in the identification of certain cultural/ethnic categories, which conduct to their identification through the prism of the discoveries. These elements are indicators of social status rather than ethnic representation. It is well known that ethnically diverse groups have taken on different cultural characteristics, practically adopting material habits<sup>7</sup>.

Interesting is the relationship between these populations and their inability that draw boundaries between them<sup>8</sup>. The analyzes made by Walter Pohl regarding the 7th century AD, show that in the east the dominant populations were the Avars, the Bulgarians, the Slavs and the Byzantines. Moreover, these peoples can also be called the dominants of the period, but none of these groups can be called "populations" in the true sense of the word, due to the fact that the term "ethnicity" had a different meaning then, compared to the term we interpret today. They were all bound together by a pattern of interdependence that shaped their ethnic existence. Their world was created starting from antiquity<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> Parvanov 2016, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Williams, Sayer 2009, p. 2-4.

<sup>6</sup> Curta 2009, p. 293-319.

<sup>7</sup> Petcu-Levei 2021, p. 250.

<sup>8</sup> Pohl 1998, p. 24.

<sup>9</sup> Pohl 1998, p. 18.

Patrick Geary says that "The Germanic world was perhaps the greatest and most enduring creation of Roman political and military genius"<sup>10</sup>.

A large number of barbarians lived in the Empire and automatically adapted by converting to Christianity in order to become high Roman officials, one example being Theodoric the Ostrogoth who grew up as a prisoner in Constantinople and went on to a career as *magister militum*, consul and patrician. Therefore, we are dealing with a classic example of "Romanization", but in other aspects he remained barbaric. On the other hand, even outside the Empire, the Romano-Christian tradition was exhibited in a variety of forms and proved to be an important factor of ethnic aggregation. The most striking example, of course, are the Romanians; centuries after the fall of the Balkan provinces, a Latin-Roman pastoral tradition served as the starting point for a Wallachian-Roman ethnogenesis. This kind of virtuality - ethnicity, as a hidden potential that comes to the fore in certain historical circumstances - is an indication of the understanding of ethnic processes<sup>11</sup>. Following the research on the subject we can draw the following conclusions:

1. Ethnicity is not an objective phenomenon<sup>12</sup>, archaeological objects and data allow only simple assumptions about the way of use<sup>13</sup>.

2. Most of the objects that have been discovered by archaeologists could be direct or indirect expressions of ethnic identity, especially if they are discovered in ceremonial contexts (for example: inside tombs). But there are no objects that present an indisputable ethnic indicator<sup>14</sup>.

3. Archaeological cultures and ethnic groups often coincide, but we should not assume complete identification with each other. Political boundaries, ethnic territories, linguistic groups and the area of material cultural influence may not have the same extent<sup>15</sup>.

Drawing a parallel with our days, the modern picture of ethnic processes is quite complex and contradictory. This is proven by trends generated by globalization and multiculturalism. On the one hand, in the course of interethnic cooperation, the process of unification is actualized, manifested by the erasure of ethnic differences and ethnic uniqueness of separate ethnocultural groups in favor of the dominant culture. On the other hand, along with the trend of development of unification processes, we can observe the growth of national consciousness that manifests itself by appealing to the past, history and

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<sup>10</sup> Geary 1988, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Pohl 1998, p. 21.

<sup>12</sup> Geary 1983, p. 18; POHL 1998, p. 21.

<sup>13</sup> Țiplic 2021.

<sup>14</sup> Țiplic 2021.

<sup>15</sup> Pohl 1991, p. 47; Pohl 1998, p. 22; Țiplic 2021.

the absolute desire to save what connects members of ethnic groups through their native national culture<sup>16</sup>. It should be noted that, on the one hand, isolated cultural forms of an ethnic identity are considered as an abnormal ethnic interaction, on the other hand, each type of ethnic identity can receive the status of a unique norm. If a person has taken some form of ethnic identity, it means that he is comfortable and in some individual sense, a positive decision for this choice. Another problem is, that this "norm" is rather temporary, supplementary in nature, depending on the external conditions of human social life, while a positive ethnic identity, as the initial norm of interethnic interactions, is based on the ancestral traditional values of an ethnocultural group<sup>17</sup>. Therefore, it is important that man naturally seeks to maintain positive ethnic identity precisely as an opportunity to "touch" their true ethnic culture<sup>18</sup>.

Today, scientists note the need to maintain a positive ethnic identity among representatives of ethnocultural groups in order to prevent the actualization of xenophobia<sup>19</sup>. Ethnic worldview is "one of the fundamental bases of any culture", a "non-specific defense mechanism"<sup>20</sup>.

The most difficult problem are the discoveries from the late Roman or Byzantine period. It is almost impossible to prove that the person wearing or using the objects really were or felt themselves to be Romans. Byzantine culture and its various barbarized provincial derivatives permeated all early medieval cultures; barbarian leaders especially used all kinds of Byzantine objects as symbols of prestige and luxury goods. But again, archeology and literary history both reflect the fundamental conditions of early medieval ethnicity: genres could only be defined against the overwhelming reality of a polyethnic state and civilization. The degree of reliance or rejection of Roman models shaped early medieval Europe; it laid the basis for the success or failure of a large number of ethnogenesis. Not any ethnic quality (strength, number, talent) decided their fate; but the ability to adapt to an environment undergoing rapid change and which could give this adaptation a credible meaning rooted in tradition and ritual. The Slavs or Bulgarians succeeded, because their form of organization proved as stable and flexible as was necessary. The Avars eventually failed because their model could not respond to the new conditions. Medieval

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<sup>16</sup> Sereckina 2016, p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> Sereckina 2016, p. 15-16.

<sup>18</sup> Sereckina 2016, p. 16.

<sup>19</sup> Sereckina 2016, p. 16, Petcu-Levei 2021, p. 252.

<sup>20</sup> Sereckina 2016, p. 21, Petcu-Levei 2021, p. 252.

peoples and their cultural characteristics were the result, not the condition, of the complex historical process<sup>21</sup>.

Guy Halsall has shown that it is difficult to link the existence or lack of burial inventory to the presence or absence of Christian burial rituals. He went on to state that the disappearance of graves with rich inventories from the western European area of the 7th century coincides with the chronological generalization of Christianity, but no cause and effect has been identified<sup>22</sup>. The idea of such a causality is strongly deepened in the Anglo-Saxon area, where the lack of funerary inventory is attributed to an affiliation with the Christian environment<sup>23</sup>.

An important aspect, in our opinion, related to the imposition of Christianity is the way in which the burial ritual was "Christianized" starting from the 8th century in Central and South-Eastern Europe. Funerary archeology provides numerous data through which this process can be analyzed and especially established since it was imposed by achieving a "religious-cultural" uniformity among the communities in this part of the continent. We cannot talk about an institutionalized Christian funeral ritual before the "church" existed, and this is closely related to political and administrative power structures. Christianity (re)became the only religion in central and South-Eastern Europe after the 8th century, in the context of the expansion of the Eastern borders of the Carolingian empire to the middle course of the Danube and the Byzantine revival in the Lower and Middle Danube after the Christianization of the Bulgarians. From now on, we can talk about power structures in the region that built the infrastructure specific to the state, and these are Great Moravia and the Bulgarian Land. Both entered the sphere of religious interest of the Byzantine Empire and both were Christianized during the 8th-9th centuries through a process that took place from top to bottom (from the ruling elites to the mass of the population). At the macro level this process can be traced and proven, problems arise when we try to analyze the penetration of elements of Christian ritual among communities and their imposition at the expense of those of "pagan" origin. The funerary ritual is most visible through the frequent discoveries of necropolises with the related funerary inventory, given that for the Central European territories we have not known Christian places of worship (churches) until the 9th century, unlike the regions of the Lower Danube or from the northern Balkan area, where such constructions appear since the 5th-6th centuries. In the Western Christian world of the 5th-8th centuries the funeral ritual is well illustrated especially by the political and religious elites who

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<sup>21</sup> Pohl 1998, p. 23.

<sup>22</sup> Halsall 2010, p. 264.

<sup>23</sup> Lucy, Raynolds 2002, p. 144-155.

produced funerary monuments or Christian-style funerary practices to preserve their social status<sup>24</sup>.

Research on the history of death, developed considerably especially in France under the influence of the last wave of analysts represented by Philippe Aries and Georges Duby. For the period of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, numerous researches have been collected both in terms of written and archaeological sources. We have an impressive number of published necropolises and cemeteries that provide a diversity of materials connected to funerary practices (funeral inventory, sarcophagi, stone and brick cists, funerary inscriptions, mosaics and weapons), that illustrate a process of gradual and radical transformation of the European world since the 4th century. From now on we are witnessing the disappearance of funerary furniture (funeral monuments, sarcophagi, mausoleums) and the growth of the role of the funerary inventory, as well as the appearance of Christian funerary practices illustrated by catacombs and the generalization of the inhumation rite. This process ends in the Western European and Eastern Mediterranean space in the 8th century when once again funeral practices undergo profound transformations: the funeral inventory and cemeteries "in rows" disappear, and graves are grouped around churches, cemeteries becoming part of the urban landscape. Another major change are given by the imposition of new liturgical forms of commemoration of the dead<sup>25</sup>.

According to Arnold van Gennep, the funeral ritual has three identifiable components in most human communities regardless of the period or stage of social and economic development: the separation ritual, the transition ritual and the "revival/reincarnation" ritual<sup>26</sup>. Paxton appreciates that the most important from the perspective of the community, difficult to reconstruct by archaeological means - we say, is the third component that refers to the set of practices, ceremonies that take place after the burial. Commemoration practices are common today in Christian religious services or not, and they are primarily addressed to the memory of the deceased, less directed to the interred remains. Clearly identifying the material traces that could illustrate the three stages of the funeral ceremony is not impossible for the first two, because we have numerous examples of funerary objects that can allow a reconstruction of the preparation of the deceased (separation) to be deposited in the grave (transition), but it is quite difficult to illustrate with archaeological means the third stage (resurrection/reincarnation). We do not know much about the religious ceremonies, we do not know if in the first centuries of Christianity, the burial was accompanied by

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<sup>24</sup> Fevrier 1983, p. 22-46; Țiplic 2023, p. 27.

<sup>25</sup> Țiplic, Crîngaci Țiplic, 2015, 264-278; Țiplic 2022, p. 83-103.

<sup>26</sup> Gennep 1960, p. 10-14; Țiplic 2023, p. 27-28.

certain ceremonies. Analyzing what we know through old Jewish and Christian texts, it can be said that there is a belief in the separation of the soul from the body after the 3rd day after death, a belief also taken over in Christianity, but in the form of a stage of transition from the physical world to the "eternal". The oldest Christian text regarding the existence of a ceremonial strictly related to this moment of transition from the material to the spiritual world, dates from the middle of the 4th century and belongs to Bishop Serapion of Thmuis<sup>27</sup>, and expresses the hope for a life after death and a resurrection. However, we only have a clear codification of the Christian burial ceremony from the 11th century<sup>28</sup>.

Many times when archeology cannot detect a general characteristic on the symbolism of burials, it is considered to be part of the rite. After Christianization, many of the objects deposited in tombs were interpreted as pagan, codified relics<sup>29</sup>. There are a number of nuanced views in necropolis research in England, which argue that the return of Christianity in the 7th century did not lead to a rapid abandonment of inventory burials<sup>30</sup>.

The researchers' attention is still focused on the aspects regarding the specific Christian funeral rites and rituals, namely the way in which the transition from incineration to burial was made, the way in which a series of pagan funeral practices were taken over, the stages of the process of replacing the ancient rituals with those of the new religions<sup>31</sup>. We must accept the idea that we will not always find in Christian sources a doctrinal support for identifying on the ground the specific rite and ritual elements of Christianity. Many practices not being formulated, others being applied differently from one area to another, it is natural that their archaeological evidence is minimal<sup>32</sup>.

It is difficult to support the belonging of those cremated to the Christian community, although a certain tolerance towards a population not subject to any centralized secular and ecclesiastical control is not excluded from the church. Through the presence of pagan allogenes, the maintenance of cremation as a funerary practice for a longer period, simultaneously with the spread of the new religion, is demonstrated both by archaeological discoveries and by elements of an ethnographic nature, but also by information written in the medieval era<sup>33</sup>.

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<sup>27</sup> *Sacramentum Serapionis*, XXX, in: *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, ed. Franz X. Funk, Paderborn, 1905, vol. 2, p. 193-194 apud F. S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, p. 22-23.

<sup>28</sup> Sicard 1988, p. 2-33; *ȚIPLIC* 2023, p. 27-28.

<sup>29</sup> Parvanov 2016, p. 17.

<sup>30</sup> Hills 2003, p. 97-98.

<sup>31</sup> *Zugravu* 1994, p. 162.

<sup>32</sup> *Zugravu* 1994, p. 163-164.

<sup>33</sup> *Zugravu* 1994, p. 169.

In one of the graves in Preslav, Bulgaria, a skull was discovered deposited together with a pectoral cross, placed on top of a pagan cremation urn. The cross, the quintessential Christian symbol, is likely to have been deposited as a precious object previously, not having been placed in the clay vessel, which contains traces of cremation and animal bones. It is not clear if the skull belongs to the same cremated individual, or if the grave was reused. However, the deliberate removal of the skull in direct relation to the urn is safe and creates a physical and symbolic connection. The pectoral cross may have been included as a purifying object of the pagan grave, thus emphasizing the Christian identity of the decapitated person<sup>34</sup>.

An interesting situation is presented in the necropolis of Castelu, where among the 181 cremation graves, a skull was found deposited in a box of stone slabs<sup>35</sup>, placed in a vertical position, resting on the lower jaw<sup>36</sup>. The authors claim that it would be a ritual burial that is part of the cult of the skull<sup>37</sup>, which is very unlikely. There are a multitude of explanations for this phenomenon at the Castlu, the most plausible reason being the desire to protect the deceased who suffered a brutal death, the necropolis being a good "shelter" from the point of view of sacredness, regardless of ethnicity.

The funerary practices of some social groups must also be taken into account, such as the anti-materialistic dualistic sect of the Bogomils<sup>38</sup>, which is attested in the center of Dobrogea at Murfatlar<sup>39</sup>, and which most likely also makes its presence in Dumbrăveni, Suha Reka, etc.

The custom of burying around churches is the same everywhere. The idea comes in the catacombs of Rome, where people wanted to be buried *ad sanctos*<sup>40</sup>. Then, the deposition of "holy bishops" inside the basilicas began, so people wanted to be buried *ad sanctos*, so around the church<sup>41</sup>.

"The entry of the dead into the city" is often an expression used to define the change in attitude towards death and the birth of the Christian cemetery, either to qualify as exceptional the discoveries of a few burials inside the cities in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Or

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<sup>34</sup> Parvanov 2016, p. 91.

<sup>35</sup> Rădulescu, Harțuche 1967, p. 56-57/M 110.

<sup>36</sup> Comșa, Rădulescu, Harțuche 1962, p. 651.

<sup>37</sup> Comșa, Rădulescu, Harțuche 1962, p. 651.

<sup>38</sup> Parvanov 2016, p. 16.

<sup>39</sup> Theodorescu 1976, p. 126-127. (Some researchers are still reserved for this subposition).

<sup>40</sup> Rămureanu, Șesan, Bodogae 1987, vol. 1, p. 233.

<sup>41</sup> Rămureanu, Șesan, Bodogae 1987, vol. 1, p. 168.

to characterize the new and the frequent cemeteries in the urban areas of the Middle Ages<sup>42</sup>.

The identifications tend to show that until at least the 7th century, burials within cities are reserved for people privileged by their position, which implies a certain sanctity, or by their social status. The characters buried in cemeteries *intra muros* or inserted in the urban space were people with a privileged connection with the cathedral or church near which they are buried. They were most likely clerics, benefactors or lay protectors<sup>43</sup>. Bishops are considered holy persons and are privileged when it comes to burial within the church. Due to the Christian habit of venerating the saints, the graves tend to get closer and closer to the sanctified ones, in order to benefit from the "guarantee" for an afterlife and a "blessing" *post mortem*. The distance between the living and the dead is blurring because the church is the community of the living and the dead; thus, the obstacles related to permanent cohabitation are gradually lifted, especially since these basilicas are served by communities of clerics, then by monks, who must pray for both the living and the dead<sup>44</sup>.

Archaeological research undertaken both at the beginning of the 20th century and later, led to the discovery of several tombs around the cistern basilica at Adamclisi. These tombs are supposed to belong to a community of monks who continued to live in the city after it was abandoned in the second half of the 6th century, after the Avar invasion of 586<sup>45</sup>. This is probably the earliest evidence on the territory of Dobrogea of a small necropolis around an *intra muros* basilica.

It should be specified that there is a gradual inclusion of the dead in the habitats of the living<sup>46</sup>. The parallel development of the cult of saints, pilgrimages and burials *ad sanctos*, make funerary spaces attractive to the living, remove the anthropological obstacle to the cohabitation of the dead and the living, and allow the development of cemeteries around all churches, including inside settlements when the place allows it. The researches of the basilicas and the necropolises around them should be closely linked, as they have common symbolic elements. The role that the church plays in the life of the individual is very important. Research on the first liturgical documents shows us that they were the products of specific historical contexts, in which the church assumes responsibility between the living and the dead, through ritual<sup>47</sup>. At the same time, the writings mention that the deceased was

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<sup>42</sup> Geillard 2020, p. 373.

<sup>43</sup> Geillard 2020, p. 375.

<sup>44</sup> Geillard 2020, p. 376-379

<sup>45</sup> Cătănicu 1995-1996, p. 214.

<sup>46</sup> Geillard 2020, p. 380.

<sup>47</sup> Rebillard 2009, p. 123-124.

led by his "brothers" in a funeral procession, but do not mention anything about the burial ritual. Important to note is that there is a great involvement of Christians when another Christian dies, their main concern being the salvation of the soul of the deceased. Besides this fact the difference between Christians and pagans is shown<sup>48</sup>.

Éric Rebillard presents the analysis of an ancient text from the 3rd century AD, that refers to *Manicius Felix*, who is of the Christian religion and who reports the attack of the pagan *Caecilius* on the burial ritual of Christians: "you do not wear a garland of flowers on your head, you do not honor your body with perfumes; you reserve the ointments for funerals; but even your graves deny garlands of flowers; anemic, neurotic creatures, you deserve the mercy of our gods. The result is, you crazy fools, that you don't enjoy life while you wait for the new life you will never have." According to Rebillard, this text, beyond literary artifices, clearly shows the funeral customs specific to Christians and their abstinence from certain practices. Obviously, the answer of the good Christian *Manicius Felix* highlights the piety of the Christian faith: "...for our funerals the image is the same, the calmness we show in our lives, we do not tie ourselves with garlands of flowers that wither, but from God we expect a garland of flowers that bloom forever. Quiet, moderate, confident in the generosity of our God, we enliven the hopes of happiness in the future by our faith in the majesty which He manifests in the present. And so blessed is the state in which we rise again, blessed is the state in which we live now, meditating on that future."<sup>49</sup>.

Early medieval burial practices were complex and had regional characteristics. They underwent changes caused by the completion of a set of rules after the 10th century. This set of rules became the standard for Christian burials. The existence of cremation or burial in the form of tumuli has been interpreted as revealing a number of indicators, which reveal some non-Christian practices. An argument in this sense was linked to the decree of Charlemagne (published in 782), which forbade all pagan cremations and burials in the form of tumulus within Christian communities, as it was considered to be the way of the pagans (as an example we have the tumulus necropolis of in Histria<sup>50</sup>, but also a few graves located at the base of mounds in the peripheral area of the city of Constanța, the Boreal-Kaufland area<sup>51</sup>). In the same decree, he ordered the obligatory burial of the deceased in the cemeteries around the

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<sup>48</sup> Rebillard 2009, p. 125.

<sup>49</sup> Rebillard 2009, p. 125-126.

<sup>50</sup> Alexandrescu 1966, p. 223-235; Papasima, Chera 1999, p. 292 and footnote 16; damian 2015, p. 107

<sup>51</sup> New information to be published from the site's personal notebook.

churches<sup>52</sup>. We can observe this manifestation in quite a few studied necropolises: Durankulak<sup>53</sup>, Skala<sup>54</sup>, Kavarna<sup>55</sup>, Dinogetea<sup>56</sup>, etc.

Following these data and correlating them with the information related to the necropolises around the cult edifices, we ask ourselves the following questions:

- what information about the ritual can we obtain from the correlation of the data regarding the location of the necropolises around the churches?
- does the location of the deceased within the cult edifices depend on his/her religion/belief?
- is the funeral inventory a religious symbolic feature with a significant role in the ritual?

These questions provide some pertinent answers for the funeral ritual in a Christian context. The studied necropolises show us that most of them were located near places of worship, with tombs even inside them<sup>57</sup>. With certainty, both the deceased's religion and his involvement in the church were closely related. The ritual was organized by the family or relatives who collaborated together with the representative of the church in order to assure the deceased through the performed ritual, the passage to the other world as a guarantee of the immortality of the soul. Human remains and their archaeological contexts provide essential information about the lives of people in the past, those who buried them, and the society from which they came. This approach aims to provide a comprehensive insight into medieval attitudes to the body and death and the implications for cultures and beliefs in an area in a landscape of political and religious change. Placing the deceased near the church gives them the first step towards entering the sacred space of eternal life, alongside the saints<sup>58</sup>.

The body grounds the physical reality of human existence, projecting around it a meaningful space, through which it gives meaning to the world in relation to itself. While the body seems immediate and real to us, we experience and understand bodies already through a lens colored by cultural presuppositions: since the 17th century, the Cartesian dualistic view of body and mind has influenced the development of modern science and shaped the ways in which nature and society have been understood<sup>59</sup>.

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<sup>52</sup> Terrin 2007, p. 155. Țiplic 2021.

<sup>53</sup> Koloianov 1993, p. 281-287.

<sup>54</sup> Iotov, Atanasov 1998, p. 21-35, Damian 2015, p. 132 and footnote 512.

<sup>55</sup> Mircev, Tonceva, Dimitrov 1962, p. 62-63. Damian 2015, p. 135.

<sup>56</sup> Ștefan *et al.* 1967, p. 367.

<sup>57</sup> See the tombs in the cave settlements of Murfatlar, Dumbrăveni, Suha Reka Valley, Kanaghiol Valley.

<sup>58</sup> Geillard 2020, p. 376-379.

<sup>59</sup> Mui 2018, p. 38.

The funeral inventory is closely related to the deceased and the ritual performed before burial. Placement of goods in the grave is done in relation to the deceased. Other funerary features complement each other to form a picture, which the mourners have constructed and experienced. In a social world comprising embodied persons and material things, objects can become extensions of the body, blurring the boundaries between people and things<sup>60</sup>.

The human is born naked, but he is everywhere in clothes (or their symbolic equivalents). We do not propose to analyze how it got here, the reasons being purely practical, but we can say something about why it should be so and what it means. Decorating, covering, uncovering or otherwise modifying the human form in accordance with social notions of everyday property or sacred dress, beauty or solemnity, status or changes in status, the occasion for the violation and reversal of such notions, appears to have been a concern of every human society of which we have knowledge. This objective universal fact is associated with another of a more subjective nature - that the surface of the body seems to be everywhere treated, not only as the boundary of the individual as a biological and psychological entity, but also as the boundary of the social self. Because these two entities are quite different, and because cultures differ widely in how they define both, the relationship between them is highly problematic. However, the issues involved are ones that all societies have to deal with in one way or another. The solution depends on the society in which an individual lives and the mode of inter-human "socialization". To integrate them into the societies they belong to, not only when they are children but also throughout their lives. The surface of the body, as the common boundary of society, the social self, and the psycho-biological individual, becomes a symbolic stage adopted by the drama of socialization, and bodily adornment (in all its multiple cultural forms, from body painting to clothing and from dresses to cosmetics) becomes the language through which the individual expresses himself, influenced by the cultural environment in which he lives<sup>61</sup>.

In conclusion, the funeral inventory has a major importance both from a symbolic, religious and social point of view. These characteristics being in most cases related to each other. The ritual began to be regulated with the adoption of the deceased in the space next to the church walls, considering it a sacred place for the chosen and humble, who had a "clean" life, but also for the pagans who repented and switched sides the right, this being generalized in the 9th century. The creation of the Christian cemetery appears due to the prohibition of mixing pagan and Christian graves. Obviously, with the solid

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<sup>60</sup> Mui 2018, p. 209.

<sup>61</sup> Turner 2012, p. 486-487.

implementation of Christianity, the inventory drops considerably, often being closely related to pagan manifestations. Christianity implemented the idea that deeds are important, not material possessions. Looking at the whole, it is possible to make a man renounce his own beliefs in order to be integrated into the society and the sacred space, but you cannot make him forget the ethnic origin and the customs carried by generations, some pagan customs have been metamorphosed into rituals christian<sup>62</sup>.

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<sup>62</sup> PETCU-LEVEI 2021, p. 262.

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## **HISTORY**



## **Adaptive Medieval Memory: King Louis I of Anjou's Charter for Special Royal Notary Stephen Óri (21 January 1345)**

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**Abstract:** Louis I *the Great* of Anjou, king of Hungary, first granted the Boconád estate in Heves County to the special royal notary Stephen Óri on 10 July 1343, a year after the death of Louis' father, Charles-Robert (16 July 1342), whose faithful servant Óri had been. Within less than two years, Louis re-granted Boconád to the notary (21 January 1345), making extensive references to in particular Óri's merits during Charles Robert's campaign in Wallachia (1330), as well as during Louis' own Serbian combats (1342/1343-1344), all in order to justify the monarch's decision to entrust Boconád to the special royal notary.

Altogether, Louis I of Anjou's charter for Stephen Óri deliberately omitted in the 1880s by the editors of *Anjoukori okmánytár* can be viewed as a gateway into the reigns of both Louis and his father, Charles-Robert. The charter is equally a reminder that critical analysis of both medieval information and modern historiography is vital for scientific scholarship. Two examples might be useful in this framework.

Together with the royal deed for Stephen Lackfi, the voivode of Transylvania (30 June 1347), the charter for Stephen Óri (21 January 1345), represents the only document issued by Louis that detailed the events of autumn 1330 without repeating the text of a charter issued by his father, Charles-Robert. Both documents, for Óri and Lackfi, were extended confirmations of deeds issued by Louis (on 13 January and 10 June 1343) soon after his ascension to the throne, in which however no mention had been made of the combats of 1330. The said documents from January 1345 and June 1347, in particular the former, were written against the background of extreme tensions between Hungary and Wallachia. In 1345, as revealed by the letter sent by Pope Clement VI to Louis in October (nine months after the king's charter for Óri), the Papacy seemed to favour the Wallachians led by Alexander Basarab. In 1347, as indicated by the approval granted in March by the same pope for the reestablishment of the Bishopric of Milkovia, at Wallachia's north-eastern border, Avignon endorsed the Angevine monarch from Buda.

A distinction made in the monarch's charter for Óri is also worth closer inspection. The special royal notary had distinguished himself first against the infidel Basarab and his Wallachians and later in the [...] *regnum Rasscie per scismaticos occupatum* [...]. Alike in later charters, Louis did not deem Basarab "of 1330" or his Wallachians (or Alexander Basarab, officially Basarab's son and heir) as Schismatics (in the deed for Lackfi, the king only alluded that Basarab was supported by Schismatics too). In early 1345, this stood in sharp contrast with the Schismatics (i.e. Serbians) against whom Louis and Óri had fought. In relation to the (few) known events of 1345, the safest explanation for the distinction made by Louis between infidels (Basarab and his

Wallachians in this case) and schismatics (the invaders of Rascia in this case) resides in the talks between the Papacy and the Olachi Romani, led by Alexander Basarab, and apparently supported by Louis' mother, Elisabeth Piats. King Louis was much opposed to such direct connections between Avignon and the Wallachians, which led to Pope Clement VI's protests in October that same year 1345.

**Keywords:** Angevine Hungary, Avignon Papacy, Wallachia, Serbia. Charles-Robert of Anjou, Louis I the Great of Anjou, Basarab, Alexander Basarab, Church Union, confession, crusading, memory.

Louis I *the Great* of Anjou, king of Hungary, first granted the Boconád estate in Heves County to the special royal notary Stephen Óri on 10 July 1343,<sup>103</sup> a year after the death of Louis' father, Charles-Robert (16 July 1342), whose faithful servant Óri had been.<sup>104</sup> Within less than two years, Louis re-granted Boconád to the notary (21 January 1345),<sup>105</sup> making extensive references to in particular Óri's merits during Charles Robert's campaign in Wallachia (1330),<sup>106</sup> as well as during Louis' own Serbian

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<sup>103</sup> Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár (MNL, OL), Budapest, Diplomatikai Levéltár (DL), [no.] 3604. Edited in *Anjoukori okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis, IV. 1340-1346*, ed. Imre Nagy (Budapest, 1884) (AOKm), no. 216, p. 356. Calendared in *Anjou-kori oklevéltár. Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia 1301-1387*, ed. Gyula Kristó, XXVII. 1343, ed. Ferenc Piti (Budapest – Szeged, 2007) (AOKl), no. 475, pp. 300-301.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. already Albert Grün, “I. Károly király gyűrűpecsétje” (II), *Turul*, 20, no. 2 (1902): 112-120, at 119-120; György Bónis, *A Jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon* (Budapest, 1971), 37-38. Óri, a native from Szatmár (Sătmar) County, was a constant presence in the central Angevine administration between 1327/1328 and 1349, under both Charles-Robert and Louis I. His service is comparable only to that of the much better known judge of the royal court, Paul Nagymartoni/Mertendorfer/Forchtenstein (1328-1349), (e.g. *Thomas Katth*, “Paul von Forchtenstein iudex curiae. Jurist, Staatsmann und Diplomat in Ungarn zur Zeit der Anjou. Von Visegrád über Regensburg nach Avignon und Neapel: ein ungarisches Leben am europäischen Schauplatz der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts,” in *Quellen, Nachbarschaft, Gemeinschaft. Auf dem Weg zu einer gemeinsamen Kulturgeschichte Zentraleuropas*, ed. Adelheid Krahn (Vienna – Cologne, 2019), 161-208).

<sup>105</sup> MNL, OL, DL 3604. Calendared in AOKl, XXIX. 1345, ed. F. Piti (Budapest – Szeged, 2013), no. 61, p. 77 (cf. Adrian Ioniță, Beatrice Kelemen, Al. Simon, AL WA: *prințul negru al Vlahiei și vremurile sale (=Minerva*, III, 14), (Cluj-Napoca, 2017), 324, note 382).

<sup>106</sup> See also a “lesser known” document in István Balogh, “A Báthori család négy oklevele,” *Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Levéltári Évkönyv*, 13 (1999): 107-132, at no. 2, p. 118.

combats (1342/1343-1344),<sup>107</sup> all in order to justify the monarch's decision to entrust Boconád to the special royal notary.<sup>108</sup>

[...] *Consideratisque fidelitatibus et seruiis meritoriis ac multa laudedignis/ eiusdem magistri Stephani ubi in terra Transalpina Bozorab ipsius domini regis patris nostri karissimi et noster ac regni nostri notorius infidelis sub fecte pacis astucia in exitu eiusdem domini regis patris nostri de terra predicta in quodam loco nemoroso in dagicum/ densitate firmato eundem dominum regem patrem nostrum karissimum et eius gentem nequiconse et fraudalenter uiolato iuramento quo se ipsi domino suo naturali ligarat cum copiosa multitudine Olachorum et aliarum gentium inuasit ibi idem magister/ Stephanus sequens tunc uestigia ipsius domini regis patris nostri karissimi pie memorie cum suprema diligentia et feruenti fidelitate pro augmento honoris eiusdem domini regis patris inter ceteros regni fideles ex quibus nonnulli in ibi extiterunt per homines ipsius Bozorab/ miserabiliter interempti mortaliter extitit cruentatus eoque per trinarum Olachalium sagittarum ictus mortisas [!] wlnera super se recipiens mortis supplicium iux euasit et consequenter idem magister Stephanus preter decessum dicti domini regis patris nostri karissimi pie memorie nostre adherens/ maiestati cum regnum Rasscie per scismaticos occupatum cum ualido exercitu nostro intrassemus non precens rebus nec persona ibi grata et accepta seruitia cum suprema diligentia nobis curauit exhibere predictam possessionem nostram Bachanad uocatam in comitatu de/ Heuesuywar existentem ex certa sciencia nostre collacioni pertinentem cum omnibus utilitatibus suis et pertinenciis vniuersis sicut per prescriptas litteras nostras patentes prius dedimus sic et nunc noue nostre donacionis titulo cum foro et aliis omnibus utilitatibus suis/ et pertinenciis vniuersis eidem magistro Stephano notario nostro speciali et fideli ac per eum suis heredibus heredumque suorum successoribus et posteritatibus uigore presentium priuilegium litterarum nostrarum dedimus, donauimus et contulimus iure perpetuo et irreuocabiliter possidendam,/ tenendam pariter et habendam [...]*<sup>109</sup>.

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<sup>107</sup> Gy. Kristó, *Az Anjou-korháború* (Budapest, 1988), 89-91. A new study of the topic is much needed.

<sup>108</sup> The importance of the deed was already noticed by Bernát Lajos Kumorovitz, "Osztályok, címerek, rangok és hatáskörök a lakulása I. Lajos király kancelláriájában," in *Eszmetörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorból* (= *Memoria Saeculorum Hungariae*, 4), ed. György Székely (Budapest, 1984), 293-330, at 298, and by László Veszprémy, Greta Somogy, "Károly Róbert magyar király 1330. évi havasalföldi hadjárata és az ún. posadai csata historiógráfiaja," *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, 127, no. 1 (2014): 23-40, at 31-32 (and note 39).

<sup>109</sup> We cite only the relevant passages from the document (MNL-OL, DL 3604). For the full text and its analysis: S. Simon, Al. Simon, "On the Adversaries and Supporters of Young Louis I of Anjou at the Beginning of 1345," in *Mirjana famosa*, eds. Ivan

The estate was located in the northern vicinity of the “Cuman reservation” of the Holy Crown of Hungary.<sup>110</sup> The Cumans had been an important part in Charles’ host in 1330.<sup>111</sup> Óri’s main neighbour was the former voivode of Transylvania, Thomas Szécsényi,<sup>112</sup> who possessed Besenyőtelek (i.e. the settlement of the Petchenegs).<sup>113</sup> A fierce dispute regarding the boundaries of Besenyőtelek and Boconád irrupted between Szécsényi and Óri within the year.<sup>114</sup> According to the *Illuminated Chronicle*,<sup>115</sup> authored under Louis’s supervision the latest around 1358,<sup>116</sup> Szécsényi had been, alongside Denis Szécsi, the ban of Severin,<sup>117</sup> the main responsible for Charles’ ill-fated decision to attack Basarab of Wallachia in

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Botica, Tomislav Galović, Damir Karbić, S. Simon, Filip Šimetin Šegvić, Nikulina Šimetin Šegvić, Marko Trogrlić (Split, 2023), 219-230.

<sup>110</sup> For instance Nóra Berend, “Cuman Integration in Hungary,” in *Nomads in The Sedentary World*, eds. Anatoly M. Khazanow, André Wink (Richmond VA, 2001): 103-127.

<sup>111</sup> E.g. *Chronicon pictum Vindobonense* (= *Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanorum*, XI), ed. Gheorghe Popa-Lisseanu (Bucharest, 1937), 110-111; [Heinrich von Mügelin, *Ungarnchronik*] *Chronicon Henrici de Mügelin germanice conscriptum*, ed. Eugen Travnik, in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, II (Budapest, 1938), 87-223, at 220-222; Andrei Pippidi, “La originile Țării Românești,” *Revista Istorică*, NS, 19, nos. 1-2 (2008): 5-20, at 16-19.

<sup>112</sup> In relation to the sources cited below, see also Csaba Farkás, “Egy udvari katonabáró I. Károly szolgálatában

Lackfi István és a Anjouk Magyarorszá,” in *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok, X*, eds. Brigitta Szanka, Zoltán Szolnoki, Zsolt Dezső Nagy (Szeged, 2018), 13-33, at 17, 24.

<sup>113</sup> Most recently: Erwin Gáll, *A hatalom forrása és a magyar honfoglalás: hódítás és integráció. A korai magyar történelem egy régész szemszögéből* (Budapest, 2019), 87-88.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Mór Wertner, “Szécsényi Tamás erdélyi vajda (1299-1354),” *Erdélyi Múzeum*, 10 (1893): 119-134, at 131-132; Maria Holban, “Deposedări și judecăți în Banat pe vremea Angevinilor și ilustrarea lor prin procesul Voya (1361-1378),” *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, 5 (1962): 57-131, at 63. The dispute ended “in a draw”.

<sup>115</sup> *Chronicon pictum Vindobonense*, ed. Popa-Lisseanu, 110-111/ ed. Sándor Domanovszky in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, I, 293-505, at 496-497 ([...] *Ipse uero per Zeurim in mense Septembri transtulit se in terram Bazarad Woyuode Vlachorum, ad induccionem Thome Woyuode transilvani, et Dyonisii, filii Nicolai filii Jancha/ Ioanka, que terra est inhabitabilis genti ignote* [...]). As Charles’ defeated proved it, the Wallachians were accustomed to their land, contrary to the claims of Szécsényi and Szécsi. Louis’ stand on the events is thus worth a closer inspection.

<sup>116</sup> In this context, see also György Rácz, “The Heraldry of Angevin-age Hungary and its Reflections in the Illuminated Chronicle”, in *Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle*, eds. János M. Bak, L. Veszprémy (Budapest – New York, 2018), 111-125, esp. u 116-117, 120.

<sup>117</sup> Cs. Farkas, “Család és politika az Anjou-korban: Lackfiak és Szécsiek (1308-1359),” *Belvedere Meridionale*, 34, no. 4 (2022): 18-45, esp 23 (note 21), 26 (note 54), 28 (note 74), 35 (note 148).

autumn 1330.<sup>118</sup> Soon after his ascension to the throne, young Louis had removed Szécsényi from his Transylvanian office.<sup>119</sup> Additionally, Stephen, the son of Denis,<sup>120</sup> was not mentioned as ban of Severin in the extensive list of witnesses of the charter issued for Óri in early 1345.<sup>121</sup> Szécsényi, at that time count of Caraş and Cuvin,<sup>122</sup> was also not among the witnesses.

*The Defeat(s) of Old in Royal Charters. Together with the royal deed for Stephen Lackfi,<sup>123</sup> the voivode of Transylvania (30 June 1347),<sup>124</sup> the charter*

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<sup>118</sup> L. Veszprémy, “A «posada» csata. Károly Róbert 1330-as havasalföldi hadjárata,” in *Elfeledett háborúk. Középkori csaták és várostromok (6-16. század)*, eds. László Pósn, L. Veszprémy (Budapest, 2016), 232-246.

<sup>119</sup> The former voivode managed however to retain most of his structure of power (András W. Kovács, “Szécsényi Tamás erdélyi vajda familiárisairól,” *Erdélyi Múzeum*, 57, nos. 3-4 (2005): 78-85).

<sup>120</sup> Under Louis I, Stephen had succeeded his father as ban of Severin (Szöreny) (e.g. AOKI, XXVI. 1342, ed. F. Piti (Budapest – Szeged, 2007), no. 657, p. 435; XXVII. 1343, ed. F. Piti (Budapest – Szeged, 2007), no. 664, p. 400).

<sup>121</sup> In return, Stephen’s first degree paternal cousin, Nicholas, son of Peter, was mentioned as cupbearer and as count of Zips (Szepes), Šariš (Sáros) și Nógrád. We therefore recall here the list of witnesses: [...] *venerabilibus in Christo patribus Chanadino archyepiscopo ecclesie Strigoniensi eiusdem comite perpetuo Colocensi sede uacante/Ladizlao Quinqueecclesiensis, Nicolao Agriensis, Andrea Varadiensis, Petro Sirimiensis, Colomano Iauriensis, Laurencio Boznensis, fratre Vito Nitriensis, Andrea Transsiluano, Iacob Zagrabiensis, Stephano Wesprimiensis, Michaelae Waciensis, sede ecclesie Albensis de Nandur/ uacante episcopis ecclesias Dei feliciter gubernantibus, magnificis viris Nicolao palatino et iudice comanorum, Stephano woyuda Transsiluano et comite de Zonuk, Laurencio magistro thawarnicorum nostrorum, comite Paulo iudice curie nostre, Nicolao bano/ tocius Sclauonie, Dominico bano de Machou, comite Sirimiensis de Walkou et de Barania, Paulo magistro tawarnicorum domine regine genitricis nostre karissime, magistro Oliuero iudice curie eiusdem domine regine genitricis nostre comite de Zolio, magistro/ Nicolao de Sceech magistro dapiferorum nostrorum comite Scepsyensis de Sarus et Neugradiensis, Dionisio magistro agasonum nostrorum, Nicolao pincenarum nostrorum, magistro Cykou castellano de Kareszegh et de Feyrkw, magistro Nicolao comite/ Posoniensis et magistro Stephano comite Castriferrei et Suproniensis aliisque quampluribus regni nostri comitatus tenentibus et honore [...]* (MNL, OL, DL 3604).

<sup>122</sup> Tibor Varga, “Adatok Szécsényi Tamás vajdai széken kívüli igazságszolgáltató tevékenységéhez,” in *Tanulmányok a középkorról, II*, eds. Boglárka Weisz, László Balogh, József Szarka (Szeged, 2001), 139-149, esp. 149, note 31.

<sup>123</sup> A.W. Kovács, “Voievozii Transilvaniei în perioada 1344-1359,” in *Itinerarii istoriografice. Studii în onoarea istoricului Costin Feneşan*, eds. Rudolf Gräf, Dumitru Țeicu, Adrian Magina (Cluj-Napoca, 2011), 37-65, at 47-48.

<sup>124</sup> MNL, OL, DL 3553. Edited in Imre Nagy, *Sopron vármegye története. Oklevéltár, I. 1156-1411* (Sopron, 1889), no. 155, pp. 198-199 (we cite the relevant lines: [...] *porro cum idem genitor noster contra scismaticos versus Raciám [!] validum habuisset exercitum et suos barones in Waradino Petri relinquens, ipsum Stephanum nunc voivodam tunc magistrum agasonum suorum, cum servientibus suis in ipsam terram Raciensem destinasset, idem Stephanus voivoda fortune casibus se apponendo, ipsam terram Raciensem usque caputfluvii Obonapenitus destruendo spoliavit; sane cum prelibatus*

for Stephen Őri, special royal notary (21 January 1345), represents the only document issued by King Louis I that detailed the events of autumn 1330 without repeating the text of a charter issued by his father, Charles-Robert.<sup>125</sup> Both documents, for Őri and Lackfi, were extended confirmations of deeds issued by Louis I (on 13 January<sup>126</sup> and 10 June 1343<sup>127</sup>) soon after his ascension to the throne, in which however no mention had been made of the combats of 1330. The said documents from January 1345 and June 1347, in particular the former, were written against the background of extreme tensions between Hungary and Wallachia.<sup>128</sup> In 1345, as revealed by the letter sent by Pope Clement VI to Louis in October (nine months after the king's charter for Őri),<sup>129</sup> the Papacy seemed to favour the Wallachians led

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*genitor noster ad recuperandas regni sui partes Transalpinas cum valido suo exercitu accedendo, ante castrum Argyascastra metatus fuisset, idem Stephanus nunc voivoda tunc magister agasonum et maior exercitus patris nostri existens, consvete fidelitatis fervore semper lateri eiusdem patris nostri adherens sex ex infidelibus scismaticis fideles homines patris nostri infestantibus, captivando adduxit patri nostro, quamplures interficiendo ex eisdem; posthec dum idem pater noster de ipsis partibus Transalpis [!] rediret, eundem per dei clemenciam idem Stephanus nunc voivoda, ab insidiis ipsorum infidelium precavendo, ubique liberatum reduxit sanum et incolumem, absque lesione aliquali, et ibi sub ipso Stephano voivoda valde bonus equus extitit interfectus [...]).* Calendared in AOKl, XXXI, 1347, ed. Ferenc Sebök (Budapest–Szeged, 2007), no. 611, pp. 323-324. Some passages were republished in György Györffy, “Adaatok a románok XIII. századi történetéhez és a román állam kezdeteihez” (II), *Történelmi Szemle*, 7, nos. 3-4 (1964): 537-568, in the Appendix, no. 30, p. 561; *Documenta Romaniae Historica* (DRH), D. *Relațiile între Țările Române, I. 1222-1456*, eds. Ștefan Pascu, Constantin Cihodaru, Konrad Gündisch, Damaschin Mioc, Viorica Pervain (Bucharest, 1977), no. 35, pp. 65-66.

<sup>125</sup> Veszprémy-Somogy, “Az ún. posadai csata historiográfiája,” 32, 36-38; Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Din mâinile valahilor schismatici... România și puterea în Regatul Ungariei medievale (secolele XIII-XIV)* (Cluj-Napoca, 2017<sup>2</sup>), 344-356.

<sup>126</sup> AOKl, XXVII, no. 20, pp. 55-56.

<sup>127</sup> AOKm, IV, no. 216, p. 356. In both cases, the original deeds from 1343 have not survived and only known through their extended and extensive confirmations from 1345 and, respectively, 1347.

<sup>128</sup> See also Emil Lăzărescu, “Despre relațiile lui Nicolae Alexandru Voievod cu ungarii,” *Revista Istorică*, 32, nos. 11-12 (1946): 115-139 (as well as the critique of Zenovie Păclișanu in *Revista Istorică Română*, 17, nos. 1-2 (1947): 197-198). In Serbian comparison: Sima Ćirković, “O jednoj srpsko-ugarskoj alijansi,” *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, 44, no. 2 (2007): 411-421, at 413-416.

<sup>129</sup> One of the numerous editions of the Papal letter sent on 17 October 1345: *Acta Clementis PP. VI (1342-1352)* (=Fontes, III, 9), editor Aloisie L. Tăutu, Roma, 1960, no. 60, p. 100 (AOKl., XXIX. 1345, ed. F. Piti (Budapest–Szeged, 2013), no. 731, pp. 403-404). Less than a month earlier (26 September), Stephen Szécsi had reappeared as ban of Severin in the royal charters (*Oklevéltár a Tomaj nemzetségbeli losonczy Bánffy család történetéhez, I. 1214-1457*, ed. Elemér Varjú (Budapest, 1908), no. 111, pp. 126-131; AOKl., XXIX, no. 607, pp. 352-353).

by Alexander Basarab.<sup>130</sup> In 1347, as indicated by the approval granted in March by the same pope for the reestablishment of the Bishopric of Milkovia, at Wallachia's north-eastern border,<sup>131</sup> Avignon endorsed the Angevine monarch from Buda.<sup>132</sup>

The context in which the abovementioned deeds were issued raises the question of the authenticity of the information on events that occurred many years before the documents that recorded them were written.<sup>133</sup> Similar questions apply to charters issued later by Sigismund of Luxemburg<sup>134</sup> or earlier, and over only a couple of years, by Charles-Robert.<sup>135</sup> In effect, caution could be advised also in relation to information transcribed from one (now lost) charter to another (preserved). Documents that lack “foundations”, such as the cited charters of Louis I for Stephen Lackfi, Szécsényi's successor as voivode of Transylvania, and Stephen Óri, the neighbour of Szécsényi (the favourite of Dowager Queen Elisabeth Piast),<sup>136</sup> are to be viewed with rather considerable prudence when it comes to the events “of old” that they narrated. In return, the same documents have to be viewed as highly indicative of the real interests of the monarch who issued the charters in questions, namely Louis I in this case.

**Past, Present and Future *Infidels* and *Schismatics*.** Two lines in Louis' documents for special royal notary Stephen Óri (*January 1345*) and the voivode of Transylvania Stephen Lackfi (*June 1347*) consequently draw our attention. In the charter for Óri, Basarab of Wallachia, the nemesis and victor of Charles-Robert, was named [...] *ipsius domini regis patris nostri*

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<sup>130</sup> Most recently, on the context(s) of 1345 (and 1347): Șerban Papacostea, *Istorie și geopolitică. Geneza statului în trecutul românesc* (Bucharest, 2016), 21-25, 44-49; Ioniță-Kelemen-Simon, *AL WA*, 140-143, 541-543.

<sup>131</sup> Last edited in DRH, D, I, no. 34, pp. 63-65. In that context (February to July), the royal references to the Wallachian events of 1330 also “spiked” (AOKl, XXXI, no. 73, p. 65; no. 313, p. 181; no. 324, p. 185; no. 403, pp. 226; nos. 649-651, pp. 340-341; no. 661, pp. 347-348; no. 679, p. 356; no. 738, p. 386; no. 1182, p. 594).

<sup>132</sup> Ș. Papacostea, “Moldova: desăvârșirea unui stat, Țara de Sus și Țara de Jos,” *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, 29 (2011): 9-25; Al. Simon, “Principele Dominic, secuii și Țara de Jos a Moldovei,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A.D. Xenopol*, 51, suppl. (2014): 59-76, at 70-74.

<sup>133</sup> In comparison, see the “memoirs” and the deeds of Matthias Corvinus from 1489 in Gyula Nagy, “Lázói János czimere,” *Turul*, 8, no. 4 (1890): 208-210; Antonín Kalous, *The Legation of Angelo Pegchinoli at the Court of the King of Hungary (1488-1490)* (= *Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae*, II, 8) (Budapest–Rome, 2021), Anexă, no. 34, p. 152.

<sup>134</sup> E.g. Gianina-Diana Legăr, “Petru Perényi, *primum inter ceteros nostros regnicolas*. Un baron în timpul lui Sigismund de Luxemburg,” *Satu Mare*, 31, no. 2 (2015): 11-35, at 17-18.

<sup>135</sup> E.g. Pop, *Din mâinile valahilor schismatici*, 347-348 (and in particular note 769).

<sup>136</sup> Pál Engel, “Die Monarchie der Anjoukönige in Ungarn,” in *Die Blüte der Staaten des östlichen Europa im 14. Jahrhundert*, ed. Marc Löwener (Wiesbaden, 2004), 169-182, at 175; László Szende, *Piast Erzsébet és udvara (1320-1380)* [PhD thesis (*Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem*)] (Budapest, 2008), 133-137.

*karissimi et noster ac regni nostri notorius infidelis* [...]. In the charter for Lackfi, two years later, Basarab was deemed [...] *tunc regni et sacre corone infidelem* [...].<sup>137</sup> Basarab had probably passed away around 1337-1338.<sup>138</sup> Alexander Basarab (Basarab's son, according to early modern tradition)<sup>139</sup> was the only one recorded by Louis and his entourage as the king's personal Wallachian adversary.<sup>140</sup> Still the cited charters of 1345 and 1347 presented Basarab as (1) the personal unfaithful enemy of Louis and then (2) as having returned (at some point) under the authority of the Holy Crown of Hungary (this was certainly true in the case of Alexander Basarab, the husband of *Clara de Ungaria, wayuodissa Wlachie*,<sup>141</sup> whose eldest daughter, Elisabeth,<sup>142</sup> married in the early 1350s Władysław II of Opole, the favourite nephew, on his mother's side, of Louis<sup>143</sup>). Most likely, Louis mixed "paternal facts" with personal desires and experiences (e.g. in addition to the above-sketched events and decisions, (1) Basarab (temporarily) re-acknowledged Charles<sup>144</sup> as his *lord* at some point after 1335; (2) Louis was

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<sup>137</sup> MNL, OL, DL 3553. See Györffy, "Adatok" (II), Appendix, no. 31, pp. 561-562

<sup>138</sup> The dating, first suggested by Dimitrie Onciul (in *Originele Principatelor Române* (Bucharest, 1899), 178, 180-182, notes 83 and 88) and then by Constantin Kogălniceanu (in *Tabloul genealogic și cronologic al Basarabilor, domni ai Țării Românești. 1310-1659* (Bucharest, 1912), plate I), still seems the most acceptable at present.

<sup>139</sup> Still, the rivals Alexandru Dimitrie Xenopol (*Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiană, II. Istoria medie. 1. De la întemeierea țărilor române până la moartea lui Petru Rareș*, (Bucharest, 1889<sup>1</sup>), 77-78) and Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu (*Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae. Dicționarul limbei istorice și poporane a românilor*, [Introduction to] IV. *Negru Vodă. Un secol și jumătate din începuturile Statului Țerei Românești (1230-1380)* (Bucharest, 1893), CLXXXII) thought that Basarab, Charles-Robert's victor of 1330, and Alexander Basarab (recorded only between 1345 and 1359 in Louis' charters), were one and the same historical figure. The view was contradicted by the discovery of a "typed graffito" in the Princely Church in Curtea de Argeș (1920) that recorded – on two separate lines (the year being placed above the text) – the death of the grand-voivode Basarab in Câmpulung in the year 6860 (1351-1352). The graffito was however most likely a modern forgery (see also Ioan Albu, *Memoria epigrafică în Europa Centrală și de Sud-Est (Evul Mediu și Epoca Premodernă)* (Sibiu, 2014), 244).

<sup>140</sup> In this respect: Al. Simon, "Campaniile dalmate și italiene ale nobililor de Recaș: implicațiile unui document regal din august 1359," *Banatica*, 32, no. 2 (2022): 11-21.

<sup>141</sup> According to Innocent VI in 1360 (Șt. Pascu, "Contribuțiuni documentare la istoria românilor în secolele XIII-XIV," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională*, 10 (1945): 149-220, at 177; Ioniță-Kelemen-Simon, AL WA, p. 159).

<sup>142</sup> Most recently: Jerzy Sperka, "Few Remarks on Relations between Władisław of Opole and Moldova and Wallachia", *Tyragetia*, NS, 13, no. 2 (2019): 53-59, at 54.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. already Nicolae Iorga, "Românii în câteva izvoare apusene," *Revista Istorică*, 6, nos. 10-12 (1920), 10-12: 193-201, at 200, note 1.

<sup>144</sup> According to Louis' confirmation, Charles stated in 1335 that Basarab had risen against him together with his sons (MNL, OL, DL 58535; 19 May 1335 and 21 October 1354; see in particular Györffy, "Adatok" (II), Appendix, no. 25, p. 559). The statement was subsequent to the recovery of (Serbian) Golubac and (Wallachian) Severin, whose ban was again Denis Szécsi (see P. Engel, *Regatul Sfântului Ștefan. O istorie a Ungariei*

entitled to view Basarab as his adversary because Charles had made his eldest living son duke of Transylvania prior to 1338-1339<sup>145</sup>).

*Last but not least, Louis I of Anjou's choice of words highlights a distinction made in the monarch's charter for Stephen Óri. The special royal notary had distinguished himself first against the infidel Basarab and his Wallachians<sup>146</sup> and later in the [...] regnum Rasscie per scismaticos occupatum [...].<sup>147</sup> Alike in later charters, Louis did not deem Basarab "of 1330" or his Wallachians (or Alexander Basarab) as *Schismatics* (in the deed for Lackfi, the king only alluded that Basarab was supported by *Schismatics* too).<sup>148</sup> In early 1345, this stood in sharp contrast with the *Schismatics* (i.e. Serbians) against whom Louis and Óri had fought. In relation to the (few) known events of 1345, the safest explanation for the distinction made by Louis between infidels (Basarab and his Wallachians in this case) and schismatics (the invaders of Rascia in this case) resides in the talks between the Papacy and the Olachi Romani, led by Alexander Basarab, and apparently supported by Louis' mother, Elisabeth Piats.<sup>149</sup> King Louis was*

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*medievale, 895-1526*, eds. Adrian Andrei Rusu, Ioan Drăgan (Cluj-Napoca, 2006), 162-163, 192-193). Basarab was certainly in a difficult position.

<sup>145</sup> Charles-Robert had returned to the (abandoned) Arpadian custom of appointing the next-in-line of succession as duke of Transylvania. After Louis became king, the title passed to his younger brother, Stephen, previously duke of Slavonia (Éva B. Halász, "Anjou István hercegsége (1332-1354)," *Fons*, 12, no. 1 (2005): 29-69).

<sup>146</sup> For contemporary uses of the term, e.g. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae ac Slavoniae*, X. 1332-1342, ed. Tadija Smičiklas (Zagreb, 1912), no. 22, p. 25; no. 27, p. 34 (1332), no. 190, p. 257; (1336); no. 361, p. 512 (1339); no. 380, p. 536 (1340), and in particular XIII. 1360-1366 (Zagreb, 1915), no. 247, p. 332 (Louis' words from 27 January 1364: [...] *Veneti, nostri infideles et notorii rebelles* [...]); Enikő Csukovits, "Zvijajuci sa had a Satanov zbrojnoš. Obraz nepriateľa v naráčích stredovekých uhorských kráľovských donácií," in *Miles semper honestus. Zborník štúdií vydaný pri príležitosti životného jubilea Vojtecha Dangla*, eds. Vladimír Segeš, Božena Šeďová (Bratislava, 2007), 27-36, esp. 30-31 (notes 23 și 27), 32-33 (notes 37-39).

<sup>147</sup> MNL, OL, DL 3604 (in the Appendix).

<sup>148</sup> MNL, OL, DL 3553, in Györffy, "Adatok" (II), Appendix, no. 31, p. 561. The only unquestionable deed issued by Charles-Robert in which he explicitly labelled Basarab as schismatic dates from 1332 (Györffy, "Adatok" (II), Appendix, no. 15, pp. 555-556; DRH, D, I, no. 25, pp. 49-52). For Pope John XXII, five years earlier, Basarab had been a defender of the Catholic faith and one of the princes under Charles-Robert's authority (*Acta Ioannis PP. XXII (1317-1334)* (= *Fontes*, III, 7-2), ed. A.L. Tăutu (Rome, 1962), no. 92-a, pp. 182-184).

<sup>149</sup> *Acta Clementis PP. VI*, no. 60, p. 100. Additionally, she had recently returned from Italy and Avignon, where she had attempted to secure to the royal crown of Naples for Louis' younger brother, Andrew (Dragoș Gh. Năstăsoiu, "Patterns of Devotion and Traces of Art: The Diplomatic Journey of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Italy in 1343-1344," *Convivium*, 2 (2015): 98-111). Another supporter of the Wallachians was – following Clement VI's words – the recently appointed bishop of Oradea, Demetrius Futaki, who had also just returned from the Italian Peninsula (János Karácsonyi, "Két váradi püspök vezetéke," *Turul*, 21, no. 3 (1903): 106-110).

*much opposed to such direct connections between Avignon and the Wallachians, which led to Pope Clement VI's protests in October that same year 1345.*<sup>150</sup>

***Angevine and Basarab Competitors for Papal Goodwill? Altogether, Louis I of Anjou's charter for Stephen Őri deliberately omitted in the 1880s by the editors of Anjoukori okmánytár***<sup>151</sup> can be viewed as a gateway into the reigns of both Louis and his father, Charles-Robert.<sup>152</sup> The charter is equally a reminder that critical analysis of both medieval information and modern historiography is vital for scientific scholarship.<sup>153</sup>

In this respect, we mention an otherwise rather known Transylvanian aspect that comes to attention by contextualizing the discussed charter. In addition to the Christian identity of the Wallachians and of their anti-Angevine leadership, Louis had another problem in early 1345: those that supported the Wallachians against his father in 1330.<sup>154</sup> They were not named in the charter for Stephen Őri. Charles-Robert had – simply – fought against [...] *a great number of Wallachians and other people* [...]<sup>155</sup>. Both father (but only before *Posada*, not afterwards) and son (both prior and after

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According to Louis (1355), Futaki then mediated the peace between the king and Alexander Basarab (DRH, D, I, no. 38, pp. 70-71)

<sup>150</sup> The protests are to be viewed also in the context of the assassination of Andrew (18 September 1345) that did not displease the pope. He deliberately avoided giving news on the murder to the Hungarian envoys (Emile G. Léonard, "Lettres écrites par Élisabeth et Louis de Hongrie au pape Clément VI après l'assassinat du roi de Sicile André," in *Studi di storia napoletana in onore di Michelangelo Schipa*, [ed. Nino Cortese], (Naples, 1926), 201-219).

<sup>151</sup> Only the transcribed, and very concise, deed from June 1343 was extracted from Louis' charter from January 1345 and published in AOkm, IV, no. 216, p. 356. The latter charter would have been the normal editorial choice.

<sup>152</sup> In regard to the "various unknowns" of 1330, we mention that, in spring that year, for the Venetian Marino Sanudo Torsello, the "leading expert" on crusading, *Dacia*, Hungary's neighbour, was one of the lands controlled by the *Germans* (Al. Simon, "*Dacia at Posada*: Marino Sanudo Torsello's Letter to Cardinal Bertrand du Pouget (April 10, 1330)," *Revista Arhivelor*, 96, nos. 1-4 (2019) [2023]: 30-72). This naturally contradicts traditional views.

<sup>153</sup> For the Wallachian aspects in the discussed royal charter, see Al. Simon, "Regatul Ungariei și Țara Românească la începutul anului 1345: despre un document de la regele Ludovic I de Anjou," *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 38 (2023), in press.

<sup>154</sup> An otherwise highly sensitive aspect in Romanian historiography, at least, most recently brought to light by the "Cuman debate" (see in particular the polemic writings of Matei Cazacu, Dan <Ioan> Mureșan, Cazacu, *Ioan Basarab, un domn român la începuturile Țării Românești* (Kishinev, 2013); Neagu Djuvara, Thocomerius – Negru Vodă. *Un voivod de origine cumană la începuturile Țării Românești. Răspuns criticilor mei și neprietenilor lui Negru Vodă* (Bucharest, 2015<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>155</sup> The original read: [...] *copiosa multitudine Olachorum et aliarum gentium* [...] (MNL-OL, DL 3604).

winter 1344-1345)<sup>156</sup> had fought against Tartars and *Pagans*. They could great pride in the battles.<sup>157</sup> This was not the case in the royal charter issued on 21 January 1345, though, at that time, according to the Franciscans loyal to Louis, his subjects crossed the Eastern Carpathians against the Tartars precisely around 2 February 1345<sup>158</sup>.

According to traditional views, based chiefly on John of Tárnave, the chronicler of Louis I,<sup>159</sup> after reaching a compromise around 1343-1344. Louis I and the most powerful prince or baron, Alexander, who acknowledged the king of Hungary as his suzerain, fought together against the Tartars,<sup>160</sup> before they splitting because of Alexander's monarchic ambitions that led to "separate talks" with the Papacy.<sup>161</sup> This interpretation

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<sup>156</sup> See also Márta Font, "«Halics» a Magyarországi Anjouk politikájában", *Hungaro-Ruthenica*, 6 (2002): 65-76, at 68-69. We recall that in June-July 1344, Louis was in Transylvania (Kovács, "Voievozii Transilvaniei," 47-48).

<sup>157</sup> M. Wertner, "Nagy Lajos király hadjáratai (1342-1382)" (I), *Hadtörténeti Közlemények*, 19, no. 1 (1918): 59-97, at 66; István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tartars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185-1365* (Cambridge, 2005), 112, 150-152; Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, 97-98.

<sup>158</sup> [...] *Item anno domini millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo quinto, post coronacionem regis Lodouici tercio, circa festum Purificationis beate virginis Marie, Siculi cum paucis Hungaris, qui tunc in medio eorum existebant, contra Tartaros procedentes deo auxiliante, innumerabilem multitudinem Tartarorum in terra ipsorum in ore gladij percusserunt [...]* (from the synthesis of the campaigns of Louis I up to 1355, inserted by the Anonymous Franciscan in John of Tárnave's *Vita Ludovici* and published in *Historiae Hungariae Fontes Domestici*, III, ed. M[átyás] Florián (Pécs, 1884), 143-167, at 151). According to István Vásáry ("Nagy Lajos tatár hadjáratai," *Studia Caroliensia*, 5, nos. 3-4 (2006): 17-30, at 19-20), Louis had not fought previously against the Tartars. At any rate, John of Tárnave also dated *ad annum 1345* the expedition led by Andrew Lackfi against the Tartars (*Historiae Hungariae Fontes Domestici*, III, 167; Al. Uzelac, "Atlamš – kumanski car iz Srpske Aleksandride," in *Spomenica dr Tibora Živkovića*, ed. Srđan Rudić (Belgrade, 2016), 221-228, at 226).

<sup>159</sup> [...] [The chapter: *De obedientia Alexandri Voyvode Transalpinii*] *Cum autem esset in partibus memoratis, quidam Princeps seu baro potentissimus Alexander Vayuoda Transalpinus dicioni eiusdem subiectus, qui tempore predicti Karoli Regis patris sui a via fidelitatis divertendo rebellaverat, et per multa tempora in rebellione permanserat, audita pietatis ac eciam potestatis eiusdem Regis Lodovici fama, ad ipsum sponte personaliter veniens circa confinia ipsarum partium [of Transylvania] ad pedes Regie Maiestatis humo tenus est prostratus et ad obedientiam et fidelitatem debitam reductus et integratus, solemnia munera, xenia et clenodia presentando, et suum dominium sub Sacra Corona recognoscendo, cum gaudio et leticia ad propria remeavit, et ab illo tempore fidelitatem conservavit. [...]* ([John of Tárnave (Kükülö), *Vita Ludovici*, in] John Thuróczy, *Chronica Hungarorum*, I. *Textus*, eds. Erzsébet Galántai, Gy. Kristó (Budapest, 1985) 162).

<sup>160</sup> On the crusader context: Michael Carr, "Humbert of Viennois and the Crusade of Smyrna: A Reconsideration," *Crusades*, 13, no. 1 (2014): 237-251.

<sup>161</sup> For an overview: Ș. Papacostea, "Istorie și geopolitică: geneza statului în trecutul românesc" (I-II), *Revista Istorică*, NS, 25, nos. 3-4 and 5-6 (2014: 213-229 and 421-435, at 218-221, 223-225, 424).

has to be nuanced, if not largely revised, due to the contents of the discussed royal charter. By January 1345, any collaboration that might have existed between King Louis and Alexander was – again – out of the question. Considering, in addition to Louis' deed of January 1345 for Óri, the talks between the Papacy and Alexander that caused the king's anger prior to the Papal message sent from Avignon to Buda in October that same year 1345, two possibilities emerge. 1. The Hungarian troops (from Transylvania and more precisely from the Szeklerland)<sup>162</sup> and the Wallachian host (and their "auxiliaries", potentially also from Transylvania)<sup>163</sup> competed – in 1345 – for Papal goodwill and separately attacked the Tartars. 2. Only Alexander Basarab's Wallachians attacked the Tartars and their deeds were ascribed by Louis' entourage to the loyal followers of the Angevine monarch.<sup>164</sup> Neither possibility can be ruled out,<sup>165</sup> which is in fact more than telling of the numerous lacunas (and preconceptions) that shape our knowledge of those years.

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<sup>162</sup> Vásáry, "Nagy Lajos tatár hadjáratai," 19-21.

<sup>163</sup> See in this respect already Balázs Orbán, *A Székelyföld leírása*, <II.> *Csikszék* (Pest, 1868), 87.

<sup>164</sup> The older studies of Emil Lăzărescu and Maria Holban are worth special analysis under these circumstances.

<sup>165</sup> In this context, we recall: (1) the controversy surrounding the father of Elisabeth, the wife of Wladislaw II of Opole, Alexander Basarab or Andrew Lackfi, Stephen's brother and count of the Szeklers (Dieter Veldtrup, *Frauen um Herzog Ladislaus (†1401): Oppelner Herzoginnen in der dynastischen Politik zwischen Ungarn Polen und dem Reich* (Warendorf, 1999), 53-60, 80-86; Sperka, "Few Remarks," 54); (2) the Wallachian (early modern) tradition according to which Alexander (not Andrew Lackfi) fought *Atlam*, the Tartar sultan, in 1347 however (Alexandru Lapedatu, "Cum s-a alcătuit tradiția națională despre originile Țării Românești," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională*, 2 (1923): 289-312, at 290, note 4; cf. also Papacostea, "Istorie și geopolitică" (I), 221, note 28).

## Two Kings and the “Ruthenian-Wallachian” Border of Transylvania

Ioan-Aurel Pop\*  
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**Abstract:** An anonymous chronicle was compiled for Matthias Corvinus’ long-awaited royal Hungarian coronation with the Holy Crown (29 March 1464). The chronicle was then copied twenty-two years later, when Matthias issued his famous *Decretum maius* (25 January 1486). After twelve years, the chronicle was transcribed (in the version that survived until today). That year (1498), Matthias’ unwanted successor, Wladislaw II Jagiello, issued his so-called *Decretum minus* (2 June 1498). These legal royal Hungarian circumstances increase the value of an entry in the chronicle. Contrary to all other Hungarian medieval traditions, this chronicle “of Matthias”, claimed that Álmos, the father of Árpád, was killed not *in the Erdély fatherland*, but *at Erdély’s border*. Contrary again to the other Hungarian medieval traditions, the anonymous chronicle even mentioned Álmos’ killers: Ruthenians, *bracci* (designation used chiefly in the 1200s and 1300s for Wallachians/ Vlachs) and Wallachians. This variant of Álmos’ “story” draws attention to a “tale” from Maramureş (first recorded in 1796). According to it, Álmos’, *the duke of the Scythians* was slain by the *duke of the Wallachians* (unnamed) and buried in Cuhea, the residence of the future (re) founder of Moldavia, Bogdan I, the forefather of Stephen III, the “problematic ally” of late Matthias.

The present paper attempts to further contextualize the 1498 copy of the anonymous chronicle. Located amidst rather few sources (and yet relevant in spite of their numbers), the year 1498 resembles a watershed in the history of the late medieval of Hungary. From an eastern perspective, it was the year after the Moldavian campaign of John Albert, king of Poland (1497), foiled by the *conspiracy* of Maximilian I of Habsburg, king of the Romans, and Stephen III the Great, voivode of Moldavia, directed against John Albert and his brother, Wladislaw II Jagiello, king of Hungary and Bohemia. The latter had to pacify his subjects, including feuding *Greek rite* priors and prelates, namely Hilarius, the prior of – Wallachian – Peri (part of Maramureş), and his neighbour, John, the bishop of – Ruthenian – Mukachevo (Munkács), both deemed *professors of the Greek faith* by the ruler on the throne in Buda.

**Keywords:** Álmos, Árpád, Matthias Corvinus, Wladislaw II Jagiello, Stephen III of Moldavia, medieval Hungarian chronicles, Cuhea, Transylvania (Erdély), Maramureş, Peri, Mukachevo.

Located amidst rather few sources (and yet relevant in spite of their numbers), the year 1498 resembles a watershed in the history of the late

medieval of Hungary.<sup>166</sup> From an eastern perspective, it was the year after the Moldavian campaign of John Albert, king of Poland (1497), foiled by the *conspiracy* of Maximilian I of Habsburg, king of the Romans, and Stephen III the Great, voivode of Moldavia, directed against John Albert and his brother, Wladislaw II Jagiello, king of Hungary and Bohemia.<sup>167</sup> The latter had to pacify his subjects, including feuding *Greek* rite priors and prelates, namely Hilarius,<sup>168</sup> the prior of – Wallachian – Peri (part of Maramureş), and his neighbour, John, the bishop of – Ruthenian – Mukachevo (Munkács), both deemed *professors of the Greek faith* by the ruler on the throne in Buda.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> With focus on the “Oriental affairs” of Wladislaw II Jagiello: Al. Simon, “*Valahii și Dieta de la Rákos* (1505). Considerații asupra sfârșitului epocii huniade,” *Apulum*, 43 (2006): 99-121. To this we add that the the most recent analysis of the Jagiellonian Diets of Hungary stopped in 1496 (Tibor Neumann, “*Királyi hatalom és országgyűlés a Jagelló-kor elején*,” in *Rendiség és parlamentarizmus Magyarországon. A kezdetektől 1918-ig*, eds. Tamás Dobszay, András Forgó, Iván Bertényi ifj, Géza Pálffy, György Rácz, István M. Szijártó, (Budapest, 2013), 46-54).

<sup>167</sup> I.-A. Pop, Al. Simon, “*Moldova și celălalt Imperiu: Preliminariile și consecințele conspirației lui Maximilian I de Habsburg și Ștefan cel Mare (1497)*,” in *Vocația istoriei. Prinos profesorului Șerban Papacostea*, eds. Ovidiu Cristea, Gheorghe Lazăr (Brăila, 2008), 331-406.

<sup>168</sup> His name was rendered under various forms in historiography. *Hilarion* would be the most common one. Additionally, the prior was referred to – certainly by Antal Hodinka – also as *Gelasius* (*Munkácsi gör. szert. püspökség okmánytára, I. 1458-1715* (Ungvár [Uzhhorod], 1911), no. 7, p. 9; in the summary of the royal document from 27 November 1498). The latter may have indeed been Hilarion’s successor (cf. Ana Dumitran, “*The Chronology of the Murals in the Râmeț Monastic Church (Alba County, Romania) Based on a Reevaluation of the Dating of the Narthex Inscription*,” *Museikon*, 4 (2020): 109-162, at 149).

<sup>169</sup> See Hodinka, *Okmánytára*, I, no. 7, p. 10 ([...] *tamen venerabilis frater Iohannes, episcopus de Monkach, Grece fidei professor* [...]). The royal “academic” designation has to be emphasized. Bishop John was not – explicitly – named either *schismatic* or *uniate* in that tense context. Hilarius was granted the same “title” in the same document before John’s name first came up ([...] *in persona religiosi fratri Hylarii Grece fidei professoris* [...]). We must add that Peri Monastery had been among the first *Greek* rite centres in the Kingdom of Hungary to accept the Union of Florence (most recently: I.-A. Pop, „*Le conseguenze dell’unione religiosa di Firenze nella contea di Maramureş (nella parte orientale del Regno d’Ungheria), rispecchiate in alcuni documenti del 1442*,” in *Tradizioni e istituzioni religiose nello spazio culturale italo-romeno tra Medioevo e prima età moderna (=Nuovi Studi Storici, 124)*, eds. Alvise Andreose, Massimo Miglio, I. Damian, Antonella Dejure, Christian Grasso (Rome, 2022), 89-106).

**Wallachian Peri and Ruthenian Mukachevo in Jagiellonian Hungary in the 1490s.** Peri had originally been a *stavropighia* of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople<sup>170</sup> and the foundation of the Dragoş family.<sup>171</sup> Her heir, Barthomew Drágffy, had until recently been voivode of Transylvania (1493-1498).<sup>172</sup> Mukachevo should have been a stronghold for John, the illegitimate son and desired heir of Matthias Corvinus. Granted by the late king to his son,<sup>173</sup> Mukachevo had abandoned John in favour of Wladislaw II in 1490.<sup>174</sup> In return, the new king embraced the *Greek* rite territorial claims of Mukachevo that included the lands of Peri (1491).<sup>175</sup>

However, following also John Corvinus' intervention in its favour (February 1493),<sup>176</sup> Peri's rights were restored by Wladislaw II. He placed the northern centre under the authority of the *archbishop in Transylvania*,

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<sup>170</sup> Radu Popa, *Țara Maramureşului în veacul al XIV-lea*, ed. Adrian Ioniță (Bucharest, 1997<sup>2</sup> [1971]), 236; Şerban Papacostea, "Byzance et la création de la Métropole de Moldavie," *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines*, 2 (1991): 133-150, at 136-141.

<sup>171</sup> Richárd Horváth, "A bélteki Drágfiak és a királyi udvar kapcsolata a Hunyadiak korában," in *A Szilágyság és a Wesselényi család*, 167-212, at 183-186, 205-210

<sup>172</sup> Wladislaw's cited charter for Peri and Mukachevo was issued on 29 November 1498, in Buda. Drágffy was last recorded as voivode on 5 September. His successor, Peter of Pezinok (Bazin, Bösing) and Svätý Jur (Szentgörgy, Sankt-Georg), was first listed as voivode on 1 October (*Magyarország világi archontológiája. 1458-1526*, Norbert C. Tóth, Richárd Horváth, T. Neumann, Tamás Pálosfálvi, I. *Főpapok és bárók* (Budapest, 2016), 87-88).

<sup>173</sup> Hodinka, *Okmánytára*, I, no. 6, pp. 7-9 (unfortunately, since the before World War I, little attention was paid in Romanian historiography to this aspect).

<sup>174</sup> During the wars for the throne of Hungary, Mukachevo, granted by Matthias to John in view of his (failed) succession (András Kubinyi, "Két sorsdöntő esztendő. 1490-1491," *Történelmi Szemle*, 33, nos. 1-2 (1991): 1-54, at 10; T. Neumann, "Békekötés Pozsonyban-országgyűlés Budán. A Jagelló-Habsburg kapcsolatok egy fejezete (1490-1492)," (I-II) *Századok*, 144, no. 3 (2010): 335-372; 145, no. 3 (2011): 293-347, at 340) sided with Wladislaw II Jagiello against both his rivals, his brother, John Albert in particular, and Maximilian I of Habsburg, after John's acknowledged defeat and, for the time being, accepted Wladislaw as his suzerain (T. Neumann, "Az avaros idők Szabolcs, Szatmár és Bereg megyékben (1490-1492)," in *Az ecsedi Báthoriak a XV-XVII. században*, eds. Sarolta Szabó, Norbert C. Tóth (Nyírbátor, 2012), 93-104, at 98-99, 103; in the turmoil caused, chiefly in the territories of modern Slovakia and Ukraine, by John Albert's campaign, Drágffy too, officially loyal to Wladislaw II, had plundered his way to success in Bereg County, in the immediate vicinity of Maramureş).

<sup>175</sup> Hodinka, *Okmánytára*, I, no. 4, p. 5. The deed issued by Wladislaw II in Szekésfehérvár, on 31 July 1491, after the truce concluded between him and John Albert, provides the first known royal acknowledgement of a bishop of Mukachevo (i.e. John).

<sup>176</sup> Vasile Rus, "Giovanni Corvino di Hunyad ed il monastero di Peri," in *Matthias Corvinus und seine Zeit: Europa am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit zwischen Wien und Konstantinopel* (=Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 410), eds. Christian Gastgeber, Ekaterini Mitsiou, I.-A. Pop, Mihailo St. Popović, Johannes Preiser Kapeller, Al. Simon (Vienna, 2011), 63-70.

that is of the metropolite (Daniel?) in Feleac,<sup>177</sup> near Cluj, Matthias' city of birth (May 1494).<sup>178</sup> This royal decision, inspired by future cardinal Thomas Bakócz,<sup>179</sup> was taken immediately after the family congress in Levoča (Leutschau, Lőcse). There, the Jagiellonian brothers had decided to dethrone Stephen III of Moldavia,<sup>180</sup> the Greek rite protector of Feleac,<sup>181</sup> and to replace him with Sigismund, the youngest of late King Casimir IV's living lay sons.<sup>182</sup> Both the bishopric of Mukachevo<sup>183</sup> and the archbishopric in Feleac<sup>184</sup> (the new – expanded – seat in fact of the old Metropolitanate of Severin at the Wallachian and Ottoman borders of Hungary)<sup>185</sup> had

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<sup>177</sup> I.-A. Pop, Al. Simon, “*Possessio regie maiestatis Felek vocata: orașul „de țară” al românilor și iobagilor din Regatul Ungariei,*” in *Povestiri despre Cluj*, ed. Tudor Sălăgean, V (Cluj-Napoca, 2019), 11-28

<sup>178</sup> E.g. Ioan Mihály de Apsa, *Diplome maramureșene din secolele XIV și XV* (Sighet, 1900), no. 348, pp. 600-601. See Marius Diaconescu, “Editarea diplomelor maramureșene – realizări și perspective,” *Revista de Arhivistică*, 3 (1997): 25-30, at 28-29.

<sup>179</sup> Vilmos Fraknói, *Erdödi Bakócz Tamás élete* (Budapest, 1888), 6. We add that the relation between Feleac and Mukachevo was left unclear in May 1494 by Władysław II, and – potentially foremost – by the bishop of Eger, Thomas Bakócz from Drágffy Ardu. As a prelate, he had jurisdiction over Latin rite Maramureș and, as acknowledged in the charter, had inspired the royal document. “Besides”, the report on the conspiracy of Maximilian I and Stephen III was preserved in the archive of the Slovakian branch of the Erdödi Bakócz family

<sup>180</sup> Katarzyna Niemczyk, “Moldau in polnischen und ungarischen Politik. Das Treffen in Levoca 1494,” *Codrii Cosminului*, 21, no. 1 (2015): 101-114, here at 104-106. At that time, John Corvinus was in open conflict with both the palatine Stephen Szapolyai and Stephen III of Moldavia, deemed *the count of Transylvania*.

<sup>181</sup> On Feleac, Matthias Corvinus and Stephen III, see most recently Daniela Marcu Istrate, *Church Archaeology in Transylvania (ca. 950 to ca. 1450) (=East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450, 84)* (Leiden – Boston, 2022), 404-405; Alice Isabella Sullivan, *The Eclectic Visual Culture of Medieval Moldavia (=Visualising the Middle Ages, 15)* (Leiden – Boston, 2023), 73-75, 220.

<sup>182</sup> E.g. Natalia Nowakowska, *Church, State and Dynasty in Renaissance Poland: the Career of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon (1468-1503)* (Aldershot, 2007), 46, 66.

<sup>183</sup> On this highly controversial matter, see for instance Alexander Baran, *Metropolia Kioviensis et Eparchia Mukačoviensis (=Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni, II, 1, 10)*, Rome, 1960<sup>2</sup>, 24-25, 32-34; Ihor Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism in the Kyivan Church: The Theology of Ecumenism applied to the Individual Church of Kyiv (=Opera Graeco-Catholicae Academiae Theologicae, 63-64)* (Rome, 1987), 206-210.

<sup>184</sup> I.-A. Pop, “Tradiția istorică a Arhiepiscopiei Vadului, Feleacului și Clujului,” in *Eparhia Vadului, Feleacului și Clujului la 90 de ani (1921-2011)*, eds. Ștefan Iloaie, Bogdan Ivanov (Cluj-Napoca, 2012), 35-51, at 38-39.

<sup>185</sup> See already Ioan Bogdan, *Documente și regeste privitoare la relațiile Țării Rumânești cu Brașovul și Ungaria în secolul XV și XVI* (Bucharest, 1902), no. 27, p. 308; Silviu Dragomir, “Notițe istorice,” *Revista Teologică*, 5, nos. 14-19 (1911): 503-504.

apparently been established by Matthias at the end of his reign, when they were seemingly first recorded in the year 1488 (certainly Feleac at least).<sup>186</sup>

In November 1498, Wladislaw had to readdress the Mukachevo-Peri dispute. He settled it in Peri's favour (protected by John Corvinus as well, the duke of Croatia and, since 1496, the associate of Maximilian and Stephen).<sup>187</sup> Wladislaw did so without reprimanding Bishop John for his recent conduct (spring-autumn 1497)<sup>188</sup>, as well as without mentioning either the pope in Rome (Alexander VI, who had not approved John Albert's "Moldavian crusade" of 1497)<sup>189</sup> or the patriarch in Constantinople (Joachim I)<sup>190</sup> "Meanwhile" (September-October), the king managed to remove Drágffy from his office of voivode of Transylvania.<sup>191</sup> Drágffy (who

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<sup>186</sup> Dating both "Hunyadi foundations" (Feleac and Mukachevo) to the same year, 1488, is tempting because of Matthias' deed for the Saint Nicholas Monastery in Mukachevo (Hodinka, *Okmánytára*, I, no. 3, p. 4), and because of the first mention – half a year later – of archbishop Daniel and the Saint Paraskeva (cathedral) church in Feleac on 25 October 1488 (Victor Popa, "Considerațiuni critice cu privire la Mitropolia Transilvaniei în secolul al XV-lea și al XVI-lea și a raporturilor ei cu Moldova," *Mitropolia Banatului*, 8, nos. 7-9 (1958): 387-436, at 408). However, King Matthias' document from 1 May 1488 did not mention a bishop or a bishopric in Mukachevo. We must stress out that, though the document from 1 May 1488 appears authentic (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Budapest, *Diplomatikai Diplomataikai Fényképgyűjtemény*, [no.] 226518), its place of issue, Győr, does not coincide with the Hunyadi monarch's known itinerary (R. Horváth, *Itineraria regis Matthiae Corvini et reginae Beatricis de Aragonia (1458-1476-1490)* (Budapest, 2011), 128; Matthias spent the entire year in Vienna and its vicinity).

<sup>187</sup> Recently: Suzana Miljan, Al. Simon, "Jedna isprava iz mletačkog arhiva ili kako je Ivaniš Korvin postao plemićem Venecije," *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, 38 (2020) [2022]: 263-267.

<sup>188</sup> *Diplome maramureșene*, no. 352, p. 600. John's actions against Peri in 1497 coincided with the attacks on the Transylvanian estates of Stephen III *A Tomaj Nemzetségbeli Losonczy Bánffy család története. Oklevéltár*, II. 1458-1526, ed. Béla Iványi (Budapest, 1928), no. 244, pp. 348-349; Zsigmond Jakó, *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei, II. 1485-1556* (Budapest, 1990), no. 3010, p. 153) and John Albert's Moldavian campaign.

<sup>189</sup> Liviu Pilat, O. Cristea, *The Ottoman Threat and Crusading on the Eastern Border of Christendom during the 15<sup>th</sup> Century (=East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450, 48)* (Leiden – Boston, 2018), 275.

<sup>190</sup> In fall 1498, Joachim I replaced Nephon II as patriarch and embarked on a grand journey that returned Georgia (inclined towards Rome) under the authority of the Great Church and confirmed her authority over Mount Athos (L. Pilat, "Vizita patriarhului de Constantinopol Ioachim I în Moldova," in *Contribuții privitoare la istoria relațiilor dintre Țările Române și Bisericile răsăritene în secolele XIV-XIX*, ed. Petronel Zahariuc (Iași, 2009), 75-80).

<sup>191</sup> Tibor Neumann, "Drágfi Bertalan politikai szerepe II. Ulászló király idején," in *A Szilágyság és a Wesselényi család (14-17. század)*, eds. Géza Hegyi, András W. Kovács (Kolozsvár, 2012), 213-236, at 230-234.

recovered his powers within less than two years)<sup>192</sup> was the main Transylvanian supporter of Stephen III, whose recently deceased son, Alexander († 1496) had married Bartholomew's daughter (Mary?) in 1489.<sup>193</sup> "Meanwhile", still in 1498, the John Tăutu<sup>194</sup> and Isaac,<sup>195</sup> the chancellor and the treasurer of Stephen III, made generous donations in Peri<sup>196</sup> and Feleac (December 1498),<sup>197</sup> though – at least apparently – Moldavian boyars were forbidden to make pious gestures outside of Moldavia.<sup>198</sup> In 1498 however, according to Maximilian I (in February, not towards end of the year), Stephen III controlled half of Hungary<sup>199</sup> and Tăutu and Isaac were recently released prisoners of war (they had been arrested by John Albert the previous year).<sup>200</sup>

**Matthias Corvinus' "Version of the Árpáadian Past" in the Days of Wladislaw II Jagiello.** The events of 1498 highlight a passage in an anonymous chronicle<sup>201</sup> allegedly commissioned by Matthias Corvinus for

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<sup>192</sup> Al. Simon, "Regional and Hungarian Designs at the End of Bartholomew Drágffy's Political Career," *Banatica*, 24 (2014): 263-288

<sup>193</sup> M. Diaconescu, "Peșitorii nepoatei lui Ștefan cel Mare în 1517. Despre căsătoria lui Alexandru cu fiica lui Bartolomeu Drágfi," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A.D. Xenopol*, 49 (2012): 55-70.

<sup>194</sup> See esp. Ștefan S. Gorovei, "Contribuții la genealogia familiilor Tăutu și Callimachi," *Analele Științifice ale Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza. Istorie*, NS, 59 (2013): 99-120, at 100-101.

<sup>195</sup> Maria-Magdalena Székely, "Isac, vistiernicul lui Ștefan cel Mare", in *Vocația istoriei*, 567-604, at 571-577. If John Tăutu was the descendent of a Slav/ Slavic speaking family (not necessarily from modern-day Slovakia) that had first lived/ first settled in the Kingdom of Hungary, Isaac may have come from the Crimean Peninsula.

<sup>196</sup> Carmen Ghica, "Vel Logofătul Ioan Tăutu. Cea mai veche minatură a unui dregător," *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei*, 15, no. 1 (1968): 114-117.

<sup>197</sup> Last published in Nicolae Iorga, *Les arts mineurs en Roumanie*, I (Bucharest, 1934), fig. 27.

<sup>198</sup> Maria Crăciun, "Semnificațiile ctitoririi în Moldova. O istorie socială a religiei," in *Național și universal în istoria românilor. Istoria românilor. Studii oferite profesorului Șerban Papacostea cu ocazia împlinirii a 70 de ani*, eds. O. Cristea, Gh. Lazăr (Bucharest, 1997), 137-174, at 160.

<sup>199</sup> *Correspondencia de Gutierre Gomez de Fuensalida, embajador en Alemania, Flandes é Inglaterra (1496-1509)*, ed. Jacob Fitz-James Stuart Berwick-Alba (Madrid, 1907), 21.

<sup>200</sup> Șt.S. Gorovei, M.-M. Székely, *Princeps omni laude maior. O istorie a lui Ștefan cel Mare* (Putna, 2005), 324.

<sup>201</sup> Gábor Mikó, "Élt-e valaha Szent István fia, Ottó herceg? Egy ismeretlen 15. századi krónika tanúskodása," *Történelmi Szemle*, 56, no. 1 (2013): 1-22, at 17-22 (the edited text). The chronicle was discovered in the Eszterházy family archive, an archive that has since then provided other valuable insights into the Middle Ages (e.g. Vlad III of Wallachia's/ *Dracula*'s first Hunyadi wife identified by Levente Nagy and Emőke Rita Szilágyi, "De la Corbii de Piatră la Strigoniu (Esztergom). Câteva date noi despre genealogia familiei lui Ioan de Hunedoara, Nicolaus Olahus și Vlad Tepeș," *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, 40 (2022): 125-164).

his coronation with the Holy Crown (1464),<sup>202</sup> and later as some sort of appendix to his *Decretum maius* (1486).<sup>203</sup> The chronicle was (re)copied in 1498, when Wladislaw II attempted to bring order to his other realm (the Hungarian one), hence his – so-called – *Decretum minus*.<sup>204</sup> From our eastern perspective, the decree, issued at the end of the very long Diet of Hungary of 1498 (24 April-2 June), predates by a few months the dismissal of Drágffy (September), Wladislaw II's charter for Peri (November) and Isaac's donation for Feleac (December).<sup>205</sup> Still, the Diet of 1498, that was yet to prove its valour for the subsequent reign of Wladislaw, witnessed above-all the rise of John Corvinus as major political figure.<sup>206</sup>

According to the text of the chronicle and contrary to all known Hungarian medieval (written) traditions,<sup>207</sup> Álmos, the father of the founder of the – afterwards – Christianized medieval Hungarian (Magyar) power, namely Árpád,<sup>208</sup> had fallen in – just – combat at the border of Transylvania,

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<sup>202</sup> Still most relevant on the issue: Karl Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus, Kaiser Friedrich III. und das Reich. Zum Hunyadisch-Habsburgischen Gegensatz im Donauraum* (Munich, 1989<sup>2</sup>), 21-32. At that time (March 1464), both Radu III of Wallachia and Stephen III of Moldavia seemed loyal to Matthias, while Vlad III (i.e. *Dracula*) enjoyed the protection of his Hunyadi wife. More important than these “eastern features” was the fact that Matthias had just lost his lawful wife, Catherine Podiebrad, and temporarily the chance for a vital legitimate heir (Al. Simon, *In the World of Vlad: The Lives and Times of a Warlord (=Forum: Rumänien, 43)* (Berlin, 2021), 118-120, 210-211)

<sup>203</sup> János M. Bak, “Tradition and Renewal in the *Decretum Maius* of King Matthias,” in *Matthias Rex (1458-1490). Hungary at the Dawn of the Renaissance*, eds. István Draskóczy, Gábor Farkas, Iván Horváth, Ernő Marosi, Vimos Voigt (Budapest, 2013) [1-8, chiefly at 4-6]. In relation to our topic, we note that at the time (January 1486) Matthias had no allies among the Wallachian rulers, following his failure to aid Stephen III against Bayezid II in 1484. By then it had become evident that Matthias' wife Beatrice of Aragon was barren and that the king will attempt to impose his illegitimate son, John (born in 1473), as his successor (I.-A. Pop, Al. Simon, “Transilvania de la Dunăre: scrisorile de la Modena ale reginei Beatrice de Aragon din vara anului 1480,” *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 36 (2021): 77-92).

<sup>204</sup> *Decreta regni mediaevalis Hungariae, IV. 1490-1526*, eds. Ferenc Döry, Péter Banyó, Martyn Rady, J.M. Bak (Budapest – Idyllwild, CA, 2012), 84-137.

<sup>205</sup> We recall (1) that Tăutu's donation for Peri (that ended up in Mukachevo) had no known date and (2) that, like Isaac's donation for Feleac, it went lost at some point in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>206</sup> M. Rady, “Jagiello Hungary,” in *Decreta regni mediaevalis Hungariae, IV, XI-XLVII*, at XIII.

<sup>207</sup> Cf. already Mikó, “Élt-e valaha Szent István fia, Ottó herceg?,” 14. For earlier views on Álmos and his death: Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526* (London, 2001), 10; Victor Spinei, *The Romanians and the Turkic People North of the Danube Delta from the Tenth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century (=East-Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450, 6)* (Leiden – Boston, 2009, 72).

<sup>208</sup> For instance: Gyula Kristó, *Hungarian History in the Ninth Century* (Szeged, 1996), 78-79.

and not within Transylvania.<sup>209</sup> At the border of Transylvania (*Erdély* in Hungarian, *Erdelew* in Latinized Hungarian),<sup>210</sup> conquering Álmos was slain by [...] *Rutheni, Bracci et Valachi* [...], that is by the Ruthenians<sup>211</sup>, by the *Bracci*<sup>212</sup> and by the Wallachians.<sup>213</sup>

A legend was recorded in Maramureş in 1796.<sup>214</sup> It was the height of the conflict – arbitrated by the administration of the House of Habsburg – between

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<sup>209</sup> According to “Matthias Corvinus’ anonymous chronicle” [...] *Almus pater ipsius Arpad in metis Erdel per ruthenos, et braccos et valachos in prelio est occisus, non enim potuit Panoniam introire* [...] (Mikó, “Élt-e valaha Szent István fia, Ottó herceg?,” 18). The famous text of the *Illuminated Chronicle* (of Louis I of Anjou), read: [...] *Huius autem pater* [i.e. Arpád’s] *Almus in patria Erdelw occisus est, non enim potuit in Pannoniam introire* [...] (*Chronicon pictum Vindobonense*, ed. Sándor Domanovszky, in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, I, ed. Imre Szentétery (Budapest, 1937), 293-505, at 287). The shift in emphasis was most evident.

<sup>210</sup> On the different names of Transylvania (increasingly important after the mid 1450s): Pál Binder, “A *Siebenbürgen* fogalom jelentésváltozatai: a *comitatus Cibiniensis*-től Erdély német nevéig,” *Századok*, 126, nos. 3-4 (1992): 355-381. The author was also familiar with the Cuhea tradition presented below (“Contribuții la studiul dezvoltării feudaleismului în Maramureş și în nordul Transilvaniei,” *Studii și Articole de Istorie*, 10 (1967): 27-61, at 42).

<sup>211</sup> On the “Hungarian-Ruthenian” past, see most recently Márta Font, Gábor Bárabás, *Coloman, King of Galicia and Duke of Slavonia (1208-1241): Medieval Central Europe and Hungarian Power* (=Beyond Medieval Europe, 8) (Leeds – Amsterdam, 2019), 11-20, 127-132.

<sup>212</sup> See also Șerban Marin, “I valacchi nella cronachistica veneziana: tra realtà e finzione,” in *Dall’Adriatico al Mar Nero: veneziani e romeni, tracciati di storie comuni*, ed. Grigore Arbore Popescu (Rome, 2003), 112-127; Florin Curta, “Constantinople and the Echo Chamber: The Vlachs in the French Crusade Chronicles,” *Medieval Encounters*, 22, no. 4 (2016): 427-462.

<sup>213</sup> “Otherwise”, early 13<sup>th</sup> century migrants, according to Hungarian modern consensus that was built chiefly since the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, that is prior to the first record on the “Cuhea burial” of Álmos (see below).

<sup>214</sup> Most recently: Alexandru Madgearu, *Expansiunea maghiară în Transilvania* (Târgoviște, 2019), 65-66. The story can be found in the correspondence between the local Habsburg authorities of Maramureş, published in note 5 that was added by Mihályi to the deed issued in 1471 by the Leles/ Lelesz chapter (on the boundaries of the Cuhea estate) and edited in his *Diplome maramureşene*, no. 293, p. 507. We quote Mihályi edition of the letter sent by Peter (Péter not Petru) Joody (a Hungarian/Magyar in fact), the prosecutor of the Maramureş County, to John (Ioan) Olsavszky (a Ruthenian/ Ukrainian, whose roots were in the vicinity of Levoča), court agent in Vienna. [...] *Nunc adest tempus, quo et amicitiam magis corroborare, et oppressae nostrae genti succurrere per hocque inextinctum erga nos affectum contestari dignetur; en hicce patenter accludo Domino Méhesy alioquin Valachorum summo patrono Literam, ex qua semet admodum Reverenda dominatio vestra uberius informari poterit, quamnam in arduis circumstantiis simus in hac terra Maramorosiensis, ab omnibus inimicis semper sustenata, et quia Scythae occiso per duces Valachorum in Konyha Almo duce Schytarum ad hanc terram nullatenus admissifuisent* [...]. The main source was the well-educated and influential councilor of the Aulic Chancery in Vienna, Joseph (Iosif) Méhesy/ Meheşi (a Wallachian/Romanian). The story largely recalls the tales of the Hungarian heirs of Vlad III the Impaler/ *Dracula*, discussed by Nagy and

the Magyar (Hungarian) noble lords and the Romanian (Wallachian) “newcomers”/ “oldest inhabitants” of Eastern Hungary.<sup>215</sup> The legend (“the story”) claimed that Álmos, *the duke of the Scythians*, was killed by *the duke of the Wallachians* (unnamed however) and buried in Cuhea, the – future – residence of the anti-Angevine rebel and (re) founder of Moldavia, Bogdan I, Stephen III’s ancestor.<sup>216</sup> The story, preserved by the various nobles (that claimed to be the heirs of the old medieval Wallachian voivodes), must be reviewed due also to the use of the term *Bracci* in “Matthias’ chronicle”.

The *Bracci/ Brachi* derived from *blachi*,<sup>217</sup> was another medieval designation (chiefly in the 13<sup>th</sup> century) for the Vlachs/ the Wallachians.<sup>218</sup> In case the anonymous author of chronicle “of King Matthias Corvinus” did not understand what *Bracci* used to stand for and added the Wallachians to the *bracci* and the Ruthenians, a question arises: did Peri stand for the *Bracci* and Feleac for the *Valachi* (or the other way around)? The issue is legitimate for in the early 1300s, in Italy, distinction was made between the *Rumeni* and the *Valacchi*, the two *great branches* of the same people.<sup>219</sup> This is however not the only challenge posed by the chronicle.

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Szilágyi in their cited study (for more on the figures involved in this late 18<sup>th</sup> century story: Augustin Bunea, *Din istoria românilor. Episcopul Ioan Inocențiu Klein (1728-1751)* (Blaș [Blaj], 1903), 193-194; Zenovei Pâclișanu, *Luptele politice ale românilor ardeleni din anii 1790-1792* (offprint *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, I) (Bucharest, 1923), no. 38, p. 108; David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*, ed. Mihai Alin Gherman (Bucharest, 1998<sup>4</sup> [1948]), 45-46; I.-A. Pop, Ioan Lumperdean, “*Considerații istorice asupra Supplexului de la 1798*,” *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 21 (1984): 239-249).

<sup>215</sup> In addition to the Romanian literature, cited in the previous footnote, see Áron Kovács, “Continuity and Discontinuity in Transylvanian Romanian Thought: An Analysis of Four Bishopric Pleas from the Period between 1791 and 1842,” *Hungarian Historical Review*, 5, no. 1 (2016): 46-72.

<sup>216</sup> R. Popa, “Biserica de piatră din Cuhea și unele probleme privind istoria Maramureșului în secolul al XIV-lea,” *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche*, 17, no. 3 (1966): 511-528. Bogdan’s church in Cuhea was dedicated to Saint Stephen. Unlike his court, the church was not burnt by the supporters of Louis I of Anjou, Bogdan’s foe. In Mihályi’s days, the latest (*Diplome maramureșene*, 507, note 5), it was rumoured that Álmos himself was buried in that church/ underneath that church. No such burial was identified during the archaeological excavations in the 1960s. In fact, no evidence was found to suggest that any grave predated the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>217</sup> [Magister P/ Anonymous,] *Gesta Hungarorum*, eds. Emil Jakubovich, Dezső Pais, in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, I (Budapest, 1937), 13-118, at 45.

<sup>218</sup> E.g. Domenico Maria Manni, *Cronichette antiche di varj scrittori del buon secolo della lingua toscana* (Florence, 1734), 7; Pane Ogerio, *Annales Ianuenses*, ed. Georg Pertz, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, 18 (Hannover, 1863), 115-142, at 123

<sup>219</sup> Șerban Turcuș “Prima mărturie străină despre etnonimul român (1314),” *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 1, nos. 7-9 (2000): 1-14. We quote: [...] *In quella medesima provincia [i.e. Vngaria] sono i Rumeni e i Valacchi, e quali sono due grandi gienerazioni e anno reame e sono paghani.* [...].

In relation to both Álmos and Cuhea, we must emphasize a well-known fact: Bartholomew Drágffy and Stephen III were the descendants of the two rival Houses (families), of Dragoș, respectively of Bogdan, that had fought over (Angevine) Moldavia in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>220</sup> The marriage in the summer of 1489 between Drágffy's daughter and Stephen's son, Alexander, was a "healing of memories", presided over by Matthias.<sup>221</sup> The reconciliation was, since the early 1470s, a central part of Stephen III's desired "centralized" legacy.<sup>222</sup> Stephen's design apparently functioned. In 1547,<sup>223</sup> the dignitaries of the House of Habsburg (that had finally won parts of Hungary after the Ottoman victories of Mohács and Buda)<sup>224</sup> were afraid that Maramureș might renounce their authority and unite with neighbouring Moldavia.<sup>225</sup>

**Árpádians, Hunyadis, Jagiellonians and Transylvania.** Possibly a fantasy, yet an elaborate one, the union of Álmos' opponents recalls the rivalling – Greek rite – parties of the 1490s that the Pole Wladislaw II had to handle: Peri, Mukachevo and Feleac. Viewed from this "Álmos' perspective", King Maximilian I and voivode Stephen III and their Hungarian(ized)<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> Radu Cârциumaru, *Apariția statului medieval Moldova. Concepții și retrospectivitate istorice* (Bucharest, 2016), 187.

<sup>221</sup> *Acta et epistolae relationum Transylvaniae Hungariaeque cum Moldavia et Valachia (=Fontes Rerum Transylvanicarum, 4, 6)*, ed. Endre Veress, I. 1468-1540 (Budapest, 1914), no. 37, p. 37.

<sup>222</sup> Șt.S. Gorovei, "Biserica de la Volovăț și mormântul lui Dragoș vodă," *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei*, 47, nos. 5-6 (1971): 374-383.

<sup>223</sup> That is after the death of Peter IV Rareș (1546), Stephen III's last (?) – illegitimate – son (see in this context also I.-A. Pop, Al. Simon, "O mărturie din secolul al XVI-lea despre latinitatea și unitatea românilor," in *Studia interdisciplinaria. In memoriam magistri Barbu Ștefănescu*, eds. Gabriel Moisa, Florina Ciure, Sorin Șipoș, Ioan Goman (Oradea – Cluj-Napoca, 2023), 239-252.

<sup>224</sup> M. Rady, *The Habsburgs: To Rule the World* (New York, 2022), 75-83.

<sup>225</sup> I.-A. Pop, "Maramureșul... intrând pe furie la moldoveni: reflecții pe marginea unei idei de unire românească din secolul al XVI-lea," in Id., *Transilvania. Starea noastră de veghe* (Cluj-Napoca, 2016), 97-116, at 97-98.

<sup>226</sup> In these matters: A. Kubinyi, "Az 1505-ös rákosi országgyűlés és a szittya ideológia," *Századok*, 140, no. 2 (2006): 361-374; I.-A. Pop, Al. Simon, "Partes Transylvane intrabunt et te de tota terra tua disperdent: Maximilian I de Habsburg către Ștefan cel Mare după Codrii Cosminului," (I-II) *Transilvania*, NS, 5, nos. 1 and 2 (2021): 21-42, 60-78; Julia Burkhardt, "Argumentative Uses of *Otherness* and *Foreignness* in Pre-Modern Political Debates in Central Europe," *Historical Studies on Central Europe*, 2, no. 2 (2022): 22-42, here at 31-32. None of the main "co-conspirators" (John Corvinus, Bartholomew Drágffy, Sigismund Ernest/ Ernuszt or Lawrence Iločki/ Újlaki) were "old Magyars" (Hungarians) nor did they join the rising "Scythian party", that is the "Hungarian nationalists" of palatine Stephen Szapolyai (also an important participant in the conspiracy of 1497-1498 and also not of "pure-blood"). Normally, such talk is deemed inappropriate for the late Middle Ages. The ethnic hostilities that were revealed foremost following the death of Matthias (1490) and that fueled the Diet of Rákos (1505) compel us to – at least – "factor-in" this very sensitive (political) issue. In addition to the information in the already cited works,

companions were but a bonus for a king that in the end ruled for 26 years in Buda, where he was frequently deemed a “foreign body”, but however a “lesser evil”.<sup>227</sup>

Be it as it may have been, the bonus was a “legitimate offspring” of the more than three decades long Hungarian reign of Matthias Corvinus.<sup>228</sup> Near his (protracted) end, Matthias willingly contemplated dividing his lands (Hungary included) with the House of Habsburg (1488-1490),<sup>229</sup> so that his only son – illegitimate (it has to be emphasized) – John Corvinus, the lord of Mukachevo amongst other places, could be a monarch at least (that is: king of Bosnia and, if possible, of Croatia).<sup>230</sup> The Ruthenian and Wallachian failure of legendary Álmos, at the border of Transylvania (a story that predated the 1480s), was obviously a statement.

Unsurprisingly, after the successive deaths of Stephen III (July 1504) and John Corvinus (October 1504) and the extinction of the male line of the Hunyadis (March 1505),<sup>231</sup> Krakow’s “Eastern experts”, the Latin rite prelates, Lukas Watzenrode and Jan Łaski, feared that King Maximilian could win the support

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we recall that, in 1490, Blaise (Balázs) Ráskai and Jacob Székely were listed among the core-supporters of John Corvinus, as Wallachians educated since their youth by the late King Matthias (I.-A. Pop, Al. Simon, *Re de Dacia: un proiect de la sfârșitul Evului Mediu* (Cluj-Napoca, 2018), 98-99), even though Ráskai and Székely were “anything but” Wallachians (e.g. Ioan Drăgan, “More: un apelativ românesc în mediul nobiliar medieval din transilvania și Ungaria,” *Arhiva Genealogică*, NS, 5, nos. 1-2 (1998): 51-63, at 61; Bence Péterfi, “Aus Siebenbürgen in die Steiermark. Der Lebenslauf von Jakob Székely († 1504),” in *Andreas Baumkircher und das ausgehende Mittelalter*, eds. Rudolf Kropf, Gert Polster (Eisenstadt, 2015), 273-296, at 274-276; yet, according to Szekler traditions, Jacob Székely’s mother would have been John Hunyadi’s sister).

<sup>227</sup> I.-A. Pop, Al. Simon, “Un rege de război sau un rege de pace pentru țară? «Descrierea» venețiană a Ungariei de la mijlocul anilor 1490,” *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 38 (2023), in press.

<sup>228</sup> The attention paid, by John Thuróczy in his *Chronicle* (printed in 1488 under the royal auspices of Matthias Corvinus) and by Antonio Bonfini in his *Decades* (submitted to Wladislaw II Jagiello in 1492), to most expedient royal coronation of Mary, late Louis I of Anjou’s child (1382), seems relevant in this context (cf. Benedek M. Varga “Making Maria Theresia ‘King’ of Hungary,” *The Historical Journal*, 64, no. 2 (2021): 233-254, at 237-238).

<sup>229</sup> A. Kubinyi, *Matthias Rex* (Budapest, 2008), 148-149.

<sup>230</sup> J[oseph]. <von> Zahn, “Über ein Admonter Formelbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts,” *Beiträge zur Kunde Steiermärkischer Geschichtsquellen*, 17 (1880): 33-80, at no. 6, pp. 73-74 (republished and redated to October 1489 by Ferdo Šišić, “Rukovet spomenika o hercegu Ivanišu Korvinu i o borbama Hrvata s Turcima (1473-1496)” (I), *Starine*, 37 (1934): 189-344, at no. 43, pp. 271-272).

<sup>231</sup> See also T. Neumann, “Mátyás herceg (Szerényi adalék a Hunyadi családfához),” *Turul*, 88 (2015): 72-73, as well as *Id.*, “Two Palatines and a Voivode, or the Szapolyai Family’s Journey to the Royal Throne,” in *A Forgotten Hungarian Royal Dynasty: The Szapolyais*, eds. Pál Fodor, Szabolcs Varga (Budapest, 2020), 21-56, at 30-31, 42-49.

of the Wallachians (November 1505).<sup>232</sup> They were despised by the “Hungarian nationalists” who had just forced Wladislaw II to take refuge in Prague.<sup>233</sup> Yet Wladislaw survived once more, Maximilian again hesitated to intervene in Hungary, and in March 1506 the long-awaited male heir of the Jagiellonian ruler of Hungary and Bohemia, the future Louis II, was born.<sup>234</sup> The Hunyadis and their “tales” belonged – at long last – to the past. One could even state that this outcome was foreseeable ever since in autumn 1492, late Matthias’ chronicler, Antonio Bonfini presented his *Decades* to Wladislaw,<sup>235</sup> who liked them that much that he ennobled not only Bonfini and his son, Francesco, but also the copist of the manuscript.<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> *Acta Alexandri Regis Poloniae, magni ducis Lithuaniae (1501-1506)* (= *Monumenta Medii aevi res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, 19), ed. Fryderik Papée (Krakow, 1927), no. 305, p. 515.

<sup>233</sup> The “Hungarian nationalists” (the Scythians) took however great care in professing their loyalty towards the cornered King Wladislaw (Kubinyi, “Az 1505-ös rákosi országgyűlés,” 369).

<sup>234</sup> In relation to these events, see also Al. Simon, “*Alumnul Ioan Filipeș și principii săi: despre cariera unui episcop al Oradiei din vremea regilor Matia Corvin și Vladislav al II-lea Jagiello,*” in *150 de ani de muzeografie orădeană. 1872-2022*, eds. F. Ciure, G. Moisa (Oradea, 2023): 149-159, at 155-157.

<sup>235</sup> Péter Kulcsár, “I manoscritti di Antonio Bonfini,” *Camoenae Hungaricae*, 1 (2004): 71-92, at 73, 79.

<sup>236</sup> E.g. *Analecta Scepusii sacri et profani*, ed. Carol Wagner, II (Vienna, 1774), 113-114; László Tóth, “*Analecta Bonfiniana,*” *Corvina*, 9, no. 1 (1929): 182-204, at 183.

## **An Ecclesiastical Crossroad in Transylvanian Feleac? Bishop Makarios of Halych, Archbishop Daniel and Isaac the Treasurer**

Alexandru **Simon\***

**Abstract.** The medieval history of the village of Feleac is the byproduct of several “selected” charters and a succession of Hungarian and Romanian desires. The medieval ecclesiastical history of the Wallachians in Transylvania is the “bastard offspring” of interconfessional disputes and of archival losses. The Reformations “cleared” minds and “reshaped” ethnicities (1500s-1700s, and later). Few “certainties” have consequently survived, which is particularly true in the case of the Union of Florence (1439) and its spread. The confessional inception of Matthias Corvinus’ reign (1458-1490) laid on the ruins of the clash between the “Catholic zealots” of the Franciscan John Capestran († 1456) and “Orthodox puritans”, symbolized by Serbian despot George Branković († 1457). Eventually, Matthias attempted to establish a unionist *Greek* rite hierarchy in Transylvania and in Maramureș, under the former bishop of Halych, Makarios, housed in Hunedoara (c. 1465-c. 1472). Disliked by *Latins* and *Greeks*, the plan failed bitterly, though the “unionist policy” of Matthias’ father, John Hunyadi, had been quite successful among Wallachians. Matthias temporarily placed the *Greek* rite Christians in his eastern parts under the control of Ioanikos, metropolite of Belgrade (1479).

A more stable *Greek* rite ecclesiastical construction was accomplished only towards the end of the reign of Matthias, in the context of his contested succession. The (new) hierarch, Archbishop Daniel (*of Severin and Transylvania*) resided in Feleac (1488), a royal estate entrusted to the city of Cluj, Matthias’ place of birth. The “*Greek* rite sponsor” of the endeavour was Stephen III of Moldavia, again loyal to King Matthias, who granted sizeable Transylvanian estates to the Wallachian ruler. In *Greek* rite practice and theory, the *Stavropighia* of Peri, placed in northern Maramureș, and the Metropolitanate of Wallachia (*Ungrovlahia*), likewise situated outside of the Voivodate of Transylvania, shared the “custody” of Eastern Christians in Transylvania. This structure of power was the result of the entente between Sigismund of Luxemburg and Manuel II Palaiologos in the 1390s. By 1410, the “second” metropolite of Wallachia, the Metropolitanate of Severin (a Hungarian seat, politically speaking), was granted authority over *Greek* rite Christians in south-eastern in Transylvania, in the “Hunyadi” cradle”.

According to the *Greek Catholic Transylvanian School* (late 1700s to the early 1800s), the Metropolitanate of Severin was the canonical and political foundation of the Metropolitanate of Transylvania, whose seat was that of Severin relocated within the voivodate. The first known archbishop that resided in Feleac, Daniel, did indeed write to the Transylvanian Saxon city of Brașov in his capacity of *metropolite of Severin and Transylvania*. Alike Bishop Makarios of Halych before (certainly in the late 1460s), Daniel had authority over the *Greek* rite Christians in Saxon territories (that – on *Latin*

rite level – were subjected directly to the archbishop of Esztergom and not to the bishop of Transylvania).

Rome long had its own designs for *Greek* rite Christians in the eastern parts of the Apostolic Kingdom of Hungary. Opposed to the Council of Basel as well as to Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg's plans, who, "like" later Matthias, viewed the Church(es) of Hungary as his own royal business, Pope Eugenius IV had placed, in 1436, the *Greek* rite Christians in Transylvania and eastern Hungary under the authority of the metropolite of Moldavia, Gregory. Gregory had accepted Papal authority prior to the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1437-1439). The Papal "press-release" at the end of the council listed the Wallachians (around Moldavia) as Rome's unionist *Greek* rite spearhead in East-Central Europe. There, none of the major kingdoms at Christendom's border (Hungary and Poland) had supported the Florentine council and the subsequent union. This changed only when Wladislaw I/ III Jagiello, king of Poland, was elected as king of Hungary (1440), thus enabling the rise of John Hunyadi, his supporter.

In 1476, under Pope Sixtus IV, Stephen III of Moldavia, Matthias' foe, friend and overall reluctant vassal, became the – *Greek* rite – *athlete* of the Papacy (though the Ottoman Great Church never ceased to consider Moldavia, alike Wallachia, as lands under her ecclesiastical jurisdiction). At the end of the 1480s, Matthias needed Stephen III – again – for John Corvinus' succession. Matthias therefore granted Transylvanian estates to the voivode of Moldavia, making him one of the wealthiest lords in the Kingdom of Hungary. The new Hungarian-Moldavian "revised" entente received Pope Innocent VIII's blessing.

**Keywords:** Hungary, Feleac, Matthias Corvinus, Bishop Makarios of Halych, Archbishop Daniel (in Feleac), Stephen III of Moldavia, Isaac the Treasurer (of Moldavia), Church Union, crusading, confession

The medieval history of the village of Feleac is the byproduct of several "selected" charters and a succession of Hungarian and Romanian desires.<sup>1</sup> The medieval ecclesiastical history of the Wallachians in Transylvania is the "bastard offspring" of interconfessional disputes and of archival losses.<sup>2</sup> The Reformations "cleared" minds and "reshaped"

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<sup>1</sup> Valeria V. Marchiș, *Feleacul: schiță monografică* (Cluj, 1934), 29-30 (still not outdated).

<sup>2</sup> For an overview of sources and historiography, see also Al. Simon, "The Florentine Union and the Late Medieval Habsburgs in Transylvania on the Eve of World War I: On the Institutional and Scholarly Impact of Augustin Bunea," in *Science and Catholicism in the Universities of South-East Europe 1800 to 1920* (= *South-East European History*, 7), eds. Ana Biočić, Iva Mršić Felbar (Vienna – Oxford, 2023), in press.

ethnicities (1500s-1700s, and even later).<sup>3</sup> Few “certainties” have consequently survived, which is particularly true in the case of the Union of Florence (1439) and of its spread.<sup>4</sup>

**Church and Kingship around the Native City of Matthias Corvinus.** The confessional inception of Matthias Corvinus’ reign (1458-1490) laid on the ruins of the clash between the “Catholic zealots” of the Franciscan John Capestran († 1456) and “Orthodox puritans”, symbolized by Serbian despot George Branković († 1457).<sup>5</sup> Eventually, Matthias attempted to establish a unionist *Greek* rite hierarchy in Transylvania and in Maramureș,<sup>6</sup> under the former bishop of Halych, Makarios, housed in Hunedoara (c. 1465-c. 1472).<sup>7</sup> Disliked by *Latins* and *Greeks*, the plan failed bitterly,<sup>8</sup> though the “unionist

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<sup>3</sup> Ioan Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania. 1440-1514* (Bucharest, 2000), 401-403.

<sup>4</sup> From the rather recent Romanian historiography: Marius Diaconescu, “Les implications confessionnelles du Concile de Florence en Hongrie,” *Medievalia Transilvanica*, 1, nos. 1-2 (1997): 29-62; Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedora și românii din vremea sa* (Cluj-Napoca, 1999), 89-106; Iulian Mihael Damian, *Ioan de Capestrano și cruciada târzie* (Cluj-Napoca, 2011), 102-114; Dan Ioan Mureșan, “Bessarion et l’Église de rit byzantin du royaume de Hongrie (1463-1472),” in *Matthias Corvinus und seine Zeit: Europa am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit zwischen Wien und Konstantinopel* (=Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 410), eds. Christian Gastgeber, Ekaterini Mitsiou, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Mihailo St. Popović, Johannes Preiser Kapeller, Al. Simon (Vienna, 2011), 75-92; as well as Vasile Alexandru Barbolovici, *Conciliul de la Ferrara-Florența (1438-1439)* (Cluj-Napoca, 2019), 67.

<sup>5</sup> A balanced stand in this controversy: Stanko Andrić, “Saint John Capistran and Despot George Branković: An Impossible Compromise,” *Byzantinoslavica*, 74 (2016): 202-227.

<sup>6</sup> For some rare new sources: I.-A. Pop, „Le conseguenze dell’unione religiosa di Firenze nella contea di Maramureș (nella parte orientale del Regno d’Ungheria), rispecchiate in alcuni documenti del 1442,” in *Tradizioni e istituzioni religiose nello spazio culturale italo-romeno tra Medioevo e prima età moderna* (=Nuovi Studi Storici, 124), eds. Alvisse Andreose, Massimo Miglio, I. Damian, Antonella Dejure, Christian Grasso (Rome, 2022), 89-106.

<sup>7</sup> Chiefly Menyhert Érdhelyi, “Magyarországgi görög Katholikusok a Mohács vész előtt,” *Katolikus Szemele*, 11 (1897): 28-56 (the documentary basis remains largely the same as in the 1890s); Zeno Karl Pinter, Ioan Marian Țiplic, “Cercetările arheologice la biserica Sf. Nicolae din Hunedoara,” *Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice*, 10, nos. 1-4 (1999): 60-67. One of King Matthias’ first decisions was to allow to the rebuilding of the *Greek* rite *Saint Nicholas* church in Hunedoara (5 July 1458), destroyed by Capestran’s followers (Károly Szabó, “Jelentés a Vayda-hunyadi görög katolikus egyház levéltáráról,” *Századok*, 21, suppl. (1887): 48-50; and Nicolae Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții ardelene și maramureșene* (=Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor, 11-13), I (Bucharest, 1906), no. VII-3, p. 278).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. also Diaconescu, “Les implications,” 49-51. The *Latin* rite bishops of Transylvania, Matthew Łabiszyni (1441-1461) and Nicholas Szapolyai (1462-1468), were not favourably inclined towards union. Their successor (after a four year

policy” of Matthias’ father, John Hunyadi, had been quite successful among Wallachians.<sup>9</sup> Matthias temporarily placed the *Greek* rite Christians in his eastern parts under the control of Ioanikos, metropolite of Belgrade (1479).<sup>10</sup>

Within a decade, in the context of Matthias’ contested succession through his illegitimate son, John,<sup>11</sup> most of these royal eastern lands (with the most notable exception of Maramureş)<sup>12</sup> were united into an archbishopric/into a metropolitanate seated in Feleac (first recorded in October 1488).<sup>13</sup> The first known hierarch was *Archbishop Daniel* (*Daniil*<o?>).<sup>14</sup> The monastic name, defining of Serbians,<sup>15</sup> was beared in the Wallachian milieu only by Daniel the Hermit († c. 1488), Stephen III of Moldavia’s confessor.<sup>16</sup> The newly erected – cathedral – church in Feleac was

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vacancy) was Gabriele Rangoni (1472-1475), Capestran’s disciple (Letizia Pellegrini, Ludovic Viallet, “Between *Christianitas* and Europe: Giovanni of Capestrano as an Historical Issue,” *Franciscan Studies*, 75 (2017): 5-26, esp. 11-13). On the *Greek* side, Makarios had troubles in collecting the taxes owed to him by Wallachian priests (e.g. *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, VI. 1458-1473, eds. Gustav Gündisch, Herta Gündisch, Gernot Nussbächer, Konrad G. Gündisch (Bucharest, 1981), no. 3737, p. 417).

<sup>9</sup> For instance: Al. Simon, “From *Dragula* to *Czypelles*: Wallachia in the Late 1470s,” *Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis*, 20 (2021): 153-168, at 158-159. No ruler of Wallachia or of Moldavia was called a *schismatic* in the Kingdom of Hungary and by its dignitaries after the mid-1400s, even though strong words were often used towards them (and their “treacheries”).

<sup>10</sup> Ioan Mihály de Apşa, *Diplome maramureşene din secolele XIV și XV* (Sighet, 1900), no. 313, p. 536; Ladislav Hadrovics, *Le Peuple Serb et son église sous la domination turque* (Paris, 1947), 47. Archbishop Ioanikos (i.e. Joanikije) II had also been the first patriarch of Peč (1346).

<sup>11</sup> A Roman perspective: Antonín Kalous, *The Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli at the Court of the King of Hungary (1488-1490)* (= *Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae*, II, 8) (Budapest-Rome, 2021).

<sup>12</sup> Most of *Greek* rite Maramureş came under the authority of the Bishopric of Mukachevo/Munkács (Antal Hodinka, *Munkácsi gör. szert. püspökség okmánytára*, I. 1458-1715 (Ungvár [Uzhhorod], 1911), no. 3, p. 4; nos. 5-7, pp. 5-10). The bishopric was quite an “invention”.

<sup>13</sup> The initial seat may have been at the Monastery of Râmeț, in the Alba County (Ștefan Andreescu, “Un ierarh necunoscut: arhiepiscopul Gheorghe,” *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, 83, nos. 7-8 (1966): 839-840). There, an *Archbishop George* was seemingly recorded in 1486.

<sup>14</sup> For a rather balanced approach of the matter, in spite of the context, see Victor Popa, “Considerațiuni critice cu privire la Mitropolia Transilvaniei în secolul al XV-lea și al XVI-lea și a raporturilor ei cu Moldova,” *Mitropolia Banatului*, 8, nos. 7-9 (1958): 387-436.

<sup>15</sup> *L’archevêque Danilo II et son époque*, ed. Ivan Djurić (Belgrade, 1989); Tomislav Jovanović, “Два прениса Даниловог зборника краљева и архиепископа српских пореклом из румунских земаља,” *Исходишта*, 6 (2020): 143-149 (in relation to medieval Moldavia).

<sup>16</sup> Ovidiu Cristea, “Note sur le rapport entre le prince et l’*homme saint* dans les Pays Roumains. La rencontre d’Etienne le Grand avec Daniel l’Ermite,” in *L’empereur hagiographe. Culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine*, eds. Petre

dedicated to Saint Paraskeva (of Epivates).<sup>17</sup> Her relics were kept in Belgrade until its Ottoman conquest in 1521.<sup>18</sup> Several influences seemingly streamed into the unprecedented ecclesiastical territorial web around the royal Hungarian estate of Feleac.<sup>19</sup>

On personal (and) *Latin* rite level, Matthias Corvinus was very proud of his birthplace, the city of Cluj, a fact of life that emphasized, for instance, in 1478, when he recalled the freedoms of Feleac while confirming the liberties of Cluj.<sup>20</sup> Moreover (more importantly in effect), since 1476, unlike in the previous two decades of his reign, he had a *Latin* rite bishop of Transylvania that he could trust,<sup>21</sup> his cousin Ladislas Geréb († 1502).<sup>22</sup>

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Guran, Bernard Flusin (Bucharest, 2001). 177-185. Daniel (*olim* David) the Hermit was buried in the church of the Voroneț Monastery consecrated (14 September 1488), six weeks before the *Saint Paraskeva* church in Feleac was first recorded as recently built, in the time of *Archbishop Daniel* (25 October).

<sup>17</sup> Galia Valtchinova, "Visages nationaux du culte de sainte Pararscève/Petka d'Épivatos: une approche historico-antropologique," *Études Balkaniques*, 36, no. 2 (2000): 96-111. In the Belgrade fortress, the (Bulgarian) relics were housed in the *Ružica* church, attributed to Despot Stephen Lazarević. In the Wallachian environment, except for Feleac, at most three other churches were dedicated to Saint Paraskeva in the 15<sup>th</sup> century: the cathedral church of the Moldavian (Arch-) Bishopric of Roman, also named *Smederevo* (the church's *slava* may be due to its reconstruction under Peter IV Rareș, Helena Branković's husband), the church erected in the Moldavian Doljești by Stephen III's, brother-in-law Șenderea/ *Sándor* († 1481), castellan of Suceava, and perhaps the church in Ampoița (c. 1500), in Alba County (I.-A. Pop, Daniela Marcu Istrate, Tudor Sălăgean, Al. Simon, *De vertice montis: Feleacul, Clujul și Transilvania în Evul Mediu* (= *Minerva*, I, 15) Cluj-Napoca, 2017), 130-131).

<sup>18</sup> Danica Popovic, "Relikvije svete Petke: *gloria Bulgariae – gloria Serviae*," in Eadem, *Pod okriljem svetosti: kult svetih vladara i relikvija u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade, 2006): 271-293.

<sup>19</sup> Chiefly in relation to Serbia: Svetlana Tomin, *Vladika Maxim Branković* (Novi Sad, 2007), 35-42; Liviu Pilat, O. Cristea, "Le moine, la guerre et la paix: un épisode de la rivalité moldo-valaque au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Medieval and Early Modern Studies for Central and Eastern Europe*, 1, nos. 1-4 (2009): 121-140, at 134-135; Aleksandar Krstić, "The Orthodox Church in Northern Serbia during the First Century of Ottoman Rule, 1459-1557," in *Politics and Society in Central and South-East Europe: Life under the Shadow of the Ottoman Empire's Expansion (15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*, ed. Zsuzsanna Kopeczny (Cluj-Napoca, 2021): 21-36, at 23, note 10. Peter IV Rareș's chronicler, Makarios (later bishop of Roman), claimed that Maxim Branković was anointed metropolite of Belgrade in Suceava soon after 1507.

<sup>20</sup> Elek Jakab, *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története első kötetéhez*, I (Buda, 1870I, no. 161, p. 261 (Buda, 27 October 1478). In respect to the other village, Feiurdeni (Fejérd) mentioned in the charter as part of the feudalestate of Cluj Matthias emphasized that [...] *per nostram Maiestatem ob memoriam felicis nativitatibus nostre, in eadem Civitate nostra facta [!] ipsi donata existit [...]*. This had an impact then upon the villagers of Feleac, listed equally as *iobagiones*, though the king recalled their [...] *ab antiquo [...]* rights.

<sup>21</sup> In relation to Rangoni for instance, we draw attention to his famous letter to Pope Sixtus IV (7 March 1476), in which the bishop listed the cruelties of Vlad III *Dracula*,

Geréb focused on the renovation of the episcopal residence in Gilău (Gyalu, Julmarkt), just west of Cluj,<sup>23</sup> fueling the persisting rumour that a return of the episcopal throne in Alba Iulia/ Gyulafehérvár/ Weißenburg (the seat of the Bishopric of Transylvania)<sup>24</sup> to Gilău (allegedly its initial place)<sup>25</sup> was inevitable.<sup>26</sup> At any rate, with Gilău and Feleac, King Matthias Corvinus

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once more Matthias' relative by marriage, yet did not name Vlad, nor his partner, Vuk Branković, *schismatic (Codex diplomaticus Partium Regno Hungariae adnexarum (=Monumenta Hungariae Historica, I, 31, 33, 36, 40), II. Magyarország és Szerbia közti összeköttetések oklevéltára. 1198-1526, eds. Lajos Thallóczy, Antal Áldásy (Budapest, 1907), no. 369, pp. 265-268, at p. 267).*

<sup>22</sup> On the bishop and his family, see S. Andrić, "Srednjovjekovni Šarengrad i njegovi gospodari," *Povijesni prilozi*, 23 (2002): 43-69, at 50-52. Geréb's vicar was Peter from (Transylvanian Saxon) Cristian/ Großau/ Kereszténysziget († 1486), Stephen III's envoy in Rome and Venice, and *Latin* rite bishop of Moldavia (Ștefan S. Gorovei, Maria Magdalena Székely, *Princeps omni laude maior. O istorie a lui Ștefan cel Mare* (Putna, 2005), 143-144).

<sup>23</sup> See chiefly Jolán Balogh *Kolozsvári köfaragó műhelyek. XVI század* (Budapest, 1985), 24-56.

<sup>24</sup> Most recently: Adinel C. Dincă, Mihai Kovács, "Latin Bishoprics in the 'Age of Iron' and the Diocese of Transylvania", in *Christianization in Early Medieval Transylvania: The Oldest Church in Transylvania and Its Interpretation (=East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450, 83)*, eds. D. Marcu Istrate, D.I. Mureșan, Gabriel Rustoiu (Leiden – Boston, 2022), 316-354, at 340-341 (Cluj itself is listed as a potential residence of the said bishop).

<sup>25</sup> E.g. I.-A. Pop, *Națiunea română medievală. Solidarități etnice românești în secolele XIII-XVI*, (Bucharest, 1998), 124. The idea was closely tied to the initial conflicts and compromises between the Hungarian "newcomers" and the Wallachians (T. Sălăgean, *Țara lui Gelou. Contribuții la istoria Transilvaniei de nord în secolele IX-XI* (Cluj-Napoca, 2006), 131-132).

<sup>26</sup> Moreover, as late as March 1540, Antun Vrančić (Antal Verancsics), provost of Buda at that time, was totally opposed ([...] *quod si Gelam Albae proponis, toto caelo ac terra erras [...]*) to the idea of Peter More, the administrator – of Wallachian – descent of the bishopric of Transylvania, who advocated the return of the episcopal throne from Alba Iulia to Gilău (Antal Verancsics, *Összes munkai (=Monumenta Hungariae Historica, II, 2-6, 9-10, 19-20, 25-26, 32)*, ed. László Szalay, VI. *Vegyes levelek. 1538-1549* (Pest, 1860), no. 47, p. 91). Eight years earlier (in 1532), according to another Dalmatian (- Venetian), Ercole Daissoli, John (Ivan) Statileo († 1542), the bishop of Transylvania (who often resided in the Gilău castle) and Vrančić's uncle (and former ward), was the *relative and friend* of Peter IV Rareș ([...] *duca de Moldavia, cognato et amico di questo nostro episcopo transilvano [...]*) [Marino Sanudo II Giovanni, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto (MCCCCXCVI-MDXXXIII) dall'autografo Marciano ital. cl. VII cod. CDXIX-CDLXXVII, LVI. 1 aprile-30 settembre 1532*, eds. Guglielmo Berchet, Nicolo Barozzi, Marco Allegri (Venice, 1901) col. 130). As both Statileo and Vrančić were loyal to John Szapolyai, Hungary's anti-Habsburg king (e.g. Richárd Botlik, "Statileo János diplomáciai küldetése János király (1526-1540) uralkodásának idejéből," *Századok*, 147, no. 4 (2013): 813-854), as well as the adversary of the (Transylvanian) Wallachians in 1505, the information outlined above is worthy of scholarly attention and, given the complexity of the Transylvanian confessional and ecclesiastical landscape(s), must be added to the – Serbian – details, presented earlier in relation to little known history of the Feleac seat.

would have had the *Latin* and *Greek* rite thrones of Transylvania around his native city of Cluj. Although dreams were a quite constant presence in Matthias' troubled final years,<sup>27</sup> other more practical matters took precedence in this case too.

**Mapping Greek Rite Authorities in the Latin Rite Kingdom of Hungary.** In *Greek* rite practice and theory, the *Stavropighia* of Peri, placed in northern Maramureș,<sup>28</sup> and the Metropolitanate of Wallachia (*Ungrovlahia*), likewise situated outside of the Voivodate of Transylvania,<sup>29</sup> shared the “custody” of Eastern Christians in Transylvania.<sup>30</sup> This structure of power was the result of the entente between Sigismund of Luxemburg, king of Hungary, and the Byzantine emperor Manuel II Palaiologos in the 1390s.<sup>31</sup> By 1410, the “second” metopolitanate of Wallachia, the Metropolitanate of Severin<sup>32</sup> (a Hungarian seat, politically speaking), was granted authority over *Greek* rite Christians in south-eastern in Transylvania, in the “Hunyadi’ cradle”.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> On this otherwise highly controversial topic, see in particular László S. Domonkos, “The Medical History of a Medieval Hungarian King: Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490),” in *R. Várkonyi Ágnes Emlékkönyv*, ed. Péter Tusor (Budapest, 1998), 133-147, here at 140-144.

<sup>28</sup> Radu Popa, *Țara Maramureșului în veacul al XIV-lea*, ed. Adrian Ioniță (Bucharest, 1997<sup>2</sup>), 236. Present-day circumstances postpone however indefinitely further researches on Peri.

<sup>29</sup> Still relevant in this matter: Ion I. Nistor, “Legăturile cu Ohrida și Exarhatul Plaiurilor,” *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 27 (1945): 3-31, at 18-20.

<sup>30</sup> This partition was usually ignored by historiographies, the Hungarian one included (in particular: Gyula Morvácsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Amsterdam, 1970), 99, 115-119).

<sup>31</sup> Șerban Papacostea, “Byzance et la création de la Métropole de Moldavie,” *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines*, 2 (1991): 133-150, at 136-141. New studies are nevertheless necessary.

<sup>32</sup> On Severin (Szörény), most recently: Lidia Cotovanu, *Émigrer en terre valaque. Estimation quantitative et qualitative d'une mobilité géographique de longue durée* (Brăila, 2022), 89-102.

<sup>33</sup> Ödön Nemes, “A ribicei templom 1404-ból,” *Hazánk s a Külföld*, 4, no. 4 (1868): 63-64; A.A. Rusu, “Biserica românească de la Ribîța (județul Hunedoara),” *Revista Monumentelor Istorice*, 60, no. 1 (1991): 3-9, at 7. Several (too many in fact) potential dates can be inferred from art history (e.g. Vladimir Agrigoroaiei, “An *Interpretatio Wallahica* of Serbian Cultural Patterns: The Cases of Ribîța, Streisângiorgiu and Crișcior (but also Râmet),” in *Transylvania in the Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries: Aspects of the Formation and Consolidation of Regional Identity* (=Annales Universitatis Apulensis, XVI, 2), ed. Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu (Alba Iulia, 2012), 105-136; Dra goș Gh. Năstăsouiu, Anna Adashinskaya, “New Information on the Dating of the Murals of St. Nicholas Church in Ribîța: A Hypothesis,” *Museikon*, 1 (2017): 25-44; challenged the existence of the mention of the hierarch of Severin in Ribîța).

According to the Greek Catholic *Transylvanian School* (late 1700s to the early 1800s)<sup>34</sup>, the Metropolitanate of Severin (Szörény)<sup>35</sup> was the canonical and political foundation of the Metropolitanate of Transylvania, whose seat was that of Severin relocated within the voivodate.<sup>36</sup> The first known archbishop that resided in Feleac, Daniel,<sup>37</sup> did indeed write to the Transylvanian Saxon city of Braşov (Kronstadt, Brassó) in his capacity of

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<sup>34</sup> David Prodan, *Supplex libellus valachorum* (Bucharest, 1984<sup>2</sup>); Nicolae Bocşan, *Contribuţii la istoria iluminismului românesc* (Timişoara, 1984); Pompiliu Teodor, *Sub semnul Luminilor. Samuil Micu* (Cluj-Napoca, 2000); Laura Stanciu, *Iluminism central european. Şcoala Ardeleană. 1700-1825* (Cluj-Napoca, 2010); *Scoala Ardeleană*, I-IV, ed. Eugen Pavel (Cluj-Napoca, 2018).

<sup>35</sup> See Petru Maior, *Istoria Bisericii Românilor*, ed. Ioan Chindriş, I (Bucharest, 1995 [1813]), 96-97; Samuil Micu, *Istoria românilor*, ed. I. Chindriş, (Bucharest, 1995 [1805]), 110-111.

<sup>36</sup> Ana Dumitran, “

”, *Museikon*, 4 (2020): 109-162, at 126-127 (an attempt also to shift attention towards Râmneţ).

<sup>37</sup> The dedicace of the tetraevangelion commissioned by Daniel (25 October 1488) read in the, at present most, used lecture, and rendering, of the text (see immediately below): *Произволенїемъ вѣща и поспѣшенїемъ с(ы)на и дѣист(е)омъ св(а)таго, съврѣшиис(а) сѣи н(а)ш(е)га архїеи(ис)к(о)па кур данила, въ дѣни вел(и)каго крал(ѣ) матїаша. въ пещи(?) на имѣ фалѣцѣ вълізу мѣста коложвар, идеже и цр(ѣ)ква създа пр(ѣ)н(о)д(о)внѣи м(а)т(е)ри нашеи параскеви. Влѣт(о) зччз м(ѣ)с(а)ца вк(томврїа) кѣ д(ѣ)н(и)* (Victor Popa, “Consideraţiuni critice cu privire la Mitropolia Transilvaniei în secolul al XV-lea şi al XVI-lea şi a raporturilor ei cu Moldova,” *Mitropolia Banatului*, 8, nos. 7-9 (1958): 387-436, at 408-409). A translation (adjusted from Cristian-Nicolae Daniel, *Coping with the Powerful Other: A Comparative Approach to Greek-Slavonic Communities of Rite in Late Medieval Transylvania and the Banat* [PhD thesis (Central European University) (Budapest, 2014), 122], could read: *By the will of the Father and the help of the Son and with the work of the Holy Spirit, this book of the four gospels was made at the request of our most sanctified Archbishop Kyr Daniil in the days of King Matthias. It was written in the name of Feleac, close to the City of Cluj, where a church was erected as well, dedicated to the Most Holy Nother Paraskeva. In the year 6997, in the month of October, on the 25<sup>th</sup> day.* The tetraevangelion, and its silver binding cover donated by Isaac in 1498, went lost within a couple of decades at most after the exhibition of the Transylvanian Roumains in Sibiu, in 1905 (*Analele Asociaţiunii pentru Literatura Română şi Cultura Poporului Român*, 6, nos. 11-12 (1905): 275). Earlier readings of the manuscript inscription contained various “nuances”, such as (1) [...] *most sanctified Archbishop of Severin Kyr Daniil* [...], (2) [...] *in the days of the great King Matthias* [...] (3), after the dating: *Written by the last of the sinners, Lazar* (Silviu Dragomir, “Notiţe istorice,” *Revista Teologică*, 5, nos. 14-19 (1911): 503-504). Additional comments are most strenuous, as, like Victor Popa (in 1958), Emil Turdeanu, who republished the dedicace, did not have access to the original (“Manuscrisse slave din timpul lui Ştefan cel Mare,” *Cercetări Literare*, 5 (1943): 101-240, at 176). In effect, the only Slavonic source regarding the history of the hierarchs in Feleac that can be still checked today (within the limits imposed by various restorations) is the *graffito* from 1516 that mentioned the metropolite III... The *graffito* was – as it now seems – unknown to historians and theologians prior to Popa’s edition in 1958.

*metropolitane of Severin and Transylvania*.<sup>38</sup> Alike Bishop Makarios of Halych before (certainly in the late 1460s), Daniel had authority over the *Greek* rite Christians in Saxon territories (that – on *Latin* rite level – were subjected directly to the archbishop of Esztergom and not to the bishop of Transylvania).<sup>39</sup>

After 1453 and the fall of Byzantium, the Great Church (i.e. the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople) was however – in spite of some ouvertures (including one towards Matthias in 1463-1464)<sup>40</sup> – not a potential partner of *Latin* powers (secular and spiritual),<sup>41</sup> but foremost an obedient instrument of the Ottoman sultans.<sup>42</sup> Though he enjoyed a “special relation” with Bayezid II (chiefly after 1484-1486)<sup>43</sup> and he had even menaced the late Sixtus IV († 1484)<sup>44</sup> with the (Eastern) schism (1480)<sup>45</sup>, Matthias, who felt very

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<sup>38</sup> According to letter, calendared by Ioan Bogdan (in *Documente și regeste privitoare la relațiile Țării Rumânești cu Brașovul și Ungaria în secolul XV și XVI* (Bucharest, 1902), no. 27, p. 308), and later lost (like some other sources). Daniel asked the city council to fine with 3 florins each *Greek* rite Christian, under their secular authority, that leaved *outside the law*. In the absence of the Slavonic original, we can only speculate about what that *law* meant.

<sup>39</sup> Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, XV-1. *Acte și scrisori din arhivele orașelor ardeleni Bistrița, Brașov, Sibiu, 1358-1600*, ed. Nicolae Iorga (Bucharest, 1911) (*Hurmuzaki*), no. 125, p. 71 (1469). The expansion of Makarios’ authority may have been both a result of Matthias’ victory over the Transylvanian rebels of 1467 and part of a *Latin-Greek* compromise, as, since 1468, by royal order, *schismatics* had to pay the tithe if they lived in *terris Christianorum*, that is lands formerly inhabited by *Latin* rite Christians (see *Hurmuzaki*, II-2. *1451-1510*, ed. Nicolae Densusianu (Bucharest, 1891), no. 162, p. 182).

<sup>40</sup> E.g. Ch. Gastgeber, “Ein Bericht zur Eroberung Konstantinopels und Trapezunts. Das Schreiben des Patriarchen Sophronios I. Syropulos von Konstantinopel von August 1464 auf dem Weg nach Buda,” *Transylvanian Review*, 18, suppl. 2 (2009): 319-338, at 330-331.

<sup>41</sup> E.g. (1498) I.-A. Pop, Al. Simon, “Ștefan cel Mare și Cetatea Albă la sfârșitul secolului al XV-lea,” in *Vocație și devotament profesional. Studii în onoarea lui Aurel Chiriac la 70 de ani (=Crisia, 51, suppl. 1)*, eds. Gabriel Moisa, Ioan Goman, Sorin Șipoș (Oradea, 2021), 68-74.

<sup>42</sup> George Dragas, “The Manner of Reception of Roman Catholic Converts into the Orthodox Church with Special Reference to the Decisions of the Synods of 1484 (Constantinople), 1755 (Constantinople) and 1667 (Moscow),” *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 44, nos. 1-4 (1999): 235-271, esp. 239-240.

<sup>43</sup> E.g. Ivan Biliarsky, “Une page des relations magyaro-ottomanes vers la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Turcica*, 32 (2000): 291-305, at 299-301; Davor Salihović, “*In confinibus Turcorum*: The Men of Matthias Corvinus’s Regime in the Late Fifteenth-Century Hungarian-Ottoman Borderlands,” *Povijesni Prilozi*, 41, no. 1 (2022): 107-156.

<sup>44</sup> On their often rather strained relation: Benjamin Weber, “La papauté en Hongrie (1453-1481): engagement financier ou militaire?,” *Transylvanian Review*, 18, no. 3 (2009): 21-31.

<sup>45</sup> See Imre Kelcz, *Epistolae Matthiae Corvini Regis Hungariae ad pontifices, imperatores, reges, principes, aliosque viros illustres* (Kosice, 1743), pars IV, no. 27, pp. 55-56. Cf. already Vilmos Fraknói, *Mathias Corvinus, König von Ungarn 1458-1490* (Freiburg-in-Breisgau, 1892), 284.

strongly about his proud royal right of patronage,<sup>46</sup> could not risk “colluding <– too much –> with the Infidels” as the favour of Pope Innocent VIII was much needed for John Corvinus’ disputed royal succession.<sup>47</sup>

“Additionally”, Rome long had its own designs for *Greek* rite Christians in the eastern parts of the Apostolic Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>48</sup> Opposed to the Council of Basel<sup>49</sup> as well as to Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg’s plans,<sup>50</sup> who, “like” later Matthias, viewed the Church(es) of Hungary as his own royal

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<sup>46</sup> E.g. Gabriel Adriányi, “Die Kirchenpolitik des Matthias Corvinus,” *Ungarn-Jahrbuch*, 10 (1979): 59-69. One could (easily) add also *Greek* rite to King Matthias’ *Latin* rite patronage.

<sup>47</sup> A. Kalous, “The Pope, the King, and the Bishops: Papal Nuncio Angelo Pecchinoli and the Limits of Papal Power in the Late Fifteenth Century,” in *Italia ed Europa centro-orientale tra Medioevo ed Età moderna: Economia, Società, Cultura* (=Online-Schriften des DHI Rom, NS, 7), ed. Andrea Fara (Heidelberg, 2022), 159-178, at 167-168, 175 (in relation to the Church).

<sup>48</sup> Evident, the latest, since the beginning of Louis I of Anjou’s reign in the 1340s (*Acta Clementis PP. VI (1342-1352)* (=Fontes, III, 9), ed. Aloisie Tăutu (Rome, 1960), no. 60, p. 100). It has even been suggested that Makarios initial authority, as bishop of Halych, extended also to the *Greek* rite Christians in eastern Hungary, in Transylvania and Maramureş (Cristian-Nicolae Daniel, *Coping with the Powerful Other: A Comparative Approach to Greek-Slavonic Communities of Rite in Late Medieval Transylvania and the Banat* [PhD thesis (Central European University) (Budapest, 2014), 114-115; Diaconescu, “Les implications”, 48). Because Callixtus III appointed Makarios bishop of Halych on 16 January 1458 (*Documenta Pontificum Romanorum Historiam Ucrainae illustrantia* (=Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni, III, 1-3), ed. Atanasii G. Velyky, I. 1075-1700 (Rome, 1953), nos. 78-79, pp. 138-140), after the death of Ladislav V (*the Posthumous*) of Habsburg, king of Hungary and Bohemia (23 November 1457) and prior to the *in absentia* election of Matthias as king of Hungary (24 January 1458), the hypothesis would be acceptable if the pope thought that Casimir IV Jagiello of Poland, married to Elisabeth, late Ladislav’s sister, was to be elected king of Hungary. At any rate, Casimir then repeatedly claimed that his vassal, Stephen of Moldavia, was to take over (part of) Transylvania, chiefly in 1471 and 1473 (Al. Simon, “Despre speranțele bizantine și transilvane ale Casei de Jagiello: de la începutul anilor 1470 la sfârșitul anilor 1490,” *Studia Universitatis Cibinensis. Historia*, 19 (2020): 105-113).

<sup>49</sup> With reference also to the *Greek* issue: Joachim W. Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire* (=Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 13) (Leiden, 1978), 39-44, 115-121; Michiel Decaluwe, *Successful Defeat: Eugene IV's Struggle with the Council of Basel for Ultimate Authority in the Church, 1431-1449* (=Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique belge de Rome, 59) (Turnhout, 2009), 144-149, 281-283.

<sup>50</sup> E.g. D.I. Mureşan, “Une histoire de trois empereurs. Aspects des relations de Sigismund de Luxembourg avec Manuel II et Jean VIII Paléologue,” in *Emperor Sigismund and the Orthodox World* (=Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 409), eds. E. Mitsiou, M. Popović, J. Preiser-Kapeller, Al. Simon (Vienna, 2010), 41-100, at 70-73, 83-85. Since 1435-1436, Sigismund wanted to hold the council of union in Buda (either in 1437 or in 1438). His death (9 December 1437) put an end to these plans. Even a “preparatory meeting” between him and Emperor John VIII Palaiologos, either in Zadar or in Venice, was thus out of the question (see Gerald Schwedler, *Herrschartreffen des Spätmittelalters. Formen – Rituale – Wirkungen* (=Mittelalter-Forschungen, 21) (Ostfildern 2008), 465-466).

business,<sup>51</sup> Pope Eugenius IV had placed, in 1436, the *Greek* rite Christians in Transylvania and eastern Hungary under the authority of the metropolitane of Moldavia, Gregory.<sup>52</sup> Gregory had accepted Papal authority prior to the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1437-1439).<sup>53</sup> The Papal “press-release” at the end of the council listed the Wallachians (around Moldavia)<sup>54</sup> as Rome’s unionist *Greek* rite spearhead in East-Central Europe.<sup>55</sup> There, none of the major kingdoms at Christendom’s border (Hungary and Poland) had supported the Florentine council and the subsequent union.<sup>56</sup> This changed only when Wladislaw I/ III Jagiello, king of Poland, was elected as king of Hungary (1440), thus enabling the rise of John Hunyadi, his supporter.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Elemér Mályusz, *Das konstanzer Konzil und das königliche Patronatsrecht in Ungarn* (= *Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 18) (Budapest, 1959), 11; Imre Bard, “The Break of 1404 between the Hungarian Church and Rome,” *Ungarn Jahrbuch*, 10 (1979): 59-69.

<sup>52</sup> In relation to Transylvania, see in this neglected issue I.-A. Pop, “Tradiția istorică a Arhiepiscopiei Vadului, Feleacului și Clujului,” in *Eparhia Vadului, Feleacului și Clujului la 90 de ani (1921-2011)*, eds. Ștefan Iloaie, Bogdan Ivanov (Cluj-Napoca, 2012), 35-51, at 38-39.

<sup>53</sup> *Acta Eugenii PP IV (1431-1447)* (= *Fontes*, III, 15), ed. Georgio Fedalto (Rome, 1990), no. 421, pp. 229-230. At that time, the half-brothers Elias I and Stephen II were competing for Moldavia. Gregory was Elias’ man, yet Stephen then proved quite adaptable (see also Al. Simon, “Church, Crusade and Matrimony: The Eastern Limits and Perspectives of John Hunyadi’s Anti-Ottoman Policy,” *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, 123, no. 1 (2010): 112-136).

<sup>54</sup> Only Moldavia joined the council through spiritual and secular representatives (see also Daniel Barbu, “Țara Românească și Conciliul de la Basel,” *Revista Istorică*, 5, nos. 1-2 (1994): 5-15). The (new) metropolitane, Damian, signed the union decree (Emilian Popescu, “Compléments et rectifications à l’histoire de l’église de Moldavie dans la première moitié du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in Idem, *Christianitas Daco-Romana. Florilegium Studiorum* (Bucharest, 1994), pp. 455-477). In 1439, Elias I was the “titular ruler” and Stephen II his “associate”.

<sup>55</sup> *Epistolae pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes* (= *Concilium Florentinum: documenta et scriptores*, A, I-III), II. *Epistolae pontificiae de rebus in Concilio florentino annis 1438-1439 gestis*, ed. Georg Hofmann (Rome, 1944), nos. 178-182, pp. 81-83 (Florence, 7 July 1439).

<sup>56</sup> Perspectives: Ihor Ševčenko, “Intellectual Repercussions of the Council of Florence,” *Church History*, 24, no. 4 (1955): 291-323; Borys Gudziak, “The Union of Florence in the Kievan Metropolitanate: Did It Survive until the Times of the Union of Brest? (Some Reflections on a Recent Argument),” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 17, nos. 1-2 (1993): 138-148; Anna A. Hlavacova, “The Return of the Russian Delegation from the Council of Florence through the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary,” *Slovak Studies*, 5, nos. 1-2 (2019): 79-92.

<sup>57</sup> M. Diaconescu, “On the Isidore’s Encyclical Letter Addressed from Buda on March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1440, to the Romanians, Ruthenians and Serbs in the Kingdom of Hungary,” *Analele Universității București. Istorie*, [55.] no. 2 (2011): 49-63; Tamás Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács: A History of Ottoman-Hungarian Warfare, 1389-1526* (= *The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage*, 63) (Leiden – Boston, 2018), 85-87. These topics require some new evidences.

**The Greek Rite Moldavian Athlete of the Papacy in Transylvania.** In more recent times, in King Matthias' days, in 1476, under Pope Sixtus IV, Stephen III of Moldavia, Matthias' foe, friend and overall reluctant vassal,<sup>58</sup> became the – *Greek rite – athlete* of the Papacy<sup>59</sup> (though the Ottoman Great Church never ceased to consider Moldavia, alike Wallachia, as lands under her ecclesiastical jurisdiction).<sup>60</sup> At the end of the 1480s (as – to a certain extent – already at the beginning of that decade),<sup>61</sup> King Matthias needed Stephen III – again – for John Corvinus' succession.<sup>62</sup> Matthias therefore granted Transylvanian estates to the voivode of Moldavia, making him one of the wealthiest lords in the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>63</sup> The new Hungarian-Moldavian “revised” entente received Pope Innocent VIII's blessing.<sup>64</sup> He was preparing, for 1490, his postponed and never accomplished crusade.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Richárd Horváth, T. Neumann, *Ecsedi Batori Istvan. Egy katonabaro eletpalyaja 1458-1493* (Budapest, 2012), 83, 90; O. Cristea, *Acest domn de la miazănoapte* (Târgoviște, 2018<sup>2</sup>), 210.

<sup>59</sup> E.g. Augustin Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungarica sacram illustrantia, II. Ab Innocentio PP. VI. usque ad Clementem PP. VII. 1352-1526* (Rome, 1859), no. 636, pp. 453-454. For additional information and sources: Al. Simon, “Pellegrini ed atleti del Signore ai confini della cristianità: Skanderbeg, Stefano III di Moldavia e le loro relazioni con Roma e Venezia,” *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome-Moyen Age*, 125, no. 1 (2013): 23-36.

<sup>60</sup> E.g. Georgios Salakides, *Sultansurkunden des Athos-Klosters Vatopedi aus der Zeit Bayezid II. und Selim I. Kritische Edition und wissenschaftlicher Kommentar* (Thessaloniki, 1995), no. 1, pp. 33-38. See also Dimitris G. Apostolopoulos, “La coexistence de deux espaces juridiques dans l'Empire ottoman (XV<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles),” *Études Balkaniques*, 19-20 (2013-2014), 89-100.

<sup>61</sup> See Cristian Luca, Al. Simon, “Documentary Perspectives on Matthias Corvinus and Stephen the Great,” *Transylvanian Review*, 17, no. 3 (2008): 85-113, at 89 (August 1482).

<sup>62</sup> After Matthias' death, Stephen wrote to his (other) lord, Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg, that he, together with his sons, had sworn loyalty to both Matthias and John (Al. Simon, “Domnul Moldovei și regii Ungariei la 1490. Un document de la Ștefan cel Mare,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A.D. Xenopol*, 43-44 (2006-2007): 15-36)

<sup>63</sup> See Johann-Christian von Engel, *Geschichte des Ugrischen Reichs und seiner Nebenländer*, I (Halle, 1797), 149-150, and, in particular, Ignác Acsády, *Régi magyar birtokviszonyok 1494-1598 (=Értekezések a Történelmi Tudományok Köréből*, XVI, 3) (Budapest, 1894), 24, 32, 38.

<sup>64</sup> Ș. Papacostea, “De la Colomeea la Codrii Cosminului (poziția internațională a Moldovei la sfârșitul secolului al XV-lea),” *Romanoslavica*, 17 (1970): 525-554, at 527-532. It should be added that, at first, Stephen may have acted on his own in Rome, using his Venetian connections (Kalous, *Pecchinoli*, Appendix, no. 24, p. 98; 30 January 1489).

<sup>65</sup> See Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and Levant (1204-1571)* (= *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, 114, 127, 161-162), II. *The Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia, PA, 1978), 407-414. Hungary and Moldavia were the crusader gateways into the Ottoman Empire.

In the end, profiting also from King Matthias' untimely death (April 1490),<sup>66</sup> Stephen III of Moldavia, viewed by his Venetian friends as the "lord-protector" of Mount Athos,<sup>67</sup> was the main beneficiary of the archbishopric seated on Matthias' royal estate of Feleac.<sup>68</sup> In 1498, Stephen's "right" and "left hands", chancellor John Tăutu (i.e. *Toth*)<sup>69</sup> and treasurer Isaac<sup>70</sup> made very generous donations to the Metropolitanate in Feleac<sup>71</sup> and the *Stavropighia* Monastery of Peri,<sup>72</sup> under Feleac's authority since 1494<sup>73</sup>. Under Stephen, Moldavian boyars were apparently not allowed to perform pious deeds outside of Moldavia proper (such "foreign" gestures were reserved to the voivode).<sup>74</sup> This is consistent with Maximilian I's statement, made in front of the Spanish ambassador, that Stephen ruled *half* of Hungary (February 1498)<sup>75</sup> and with the

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<sup>66</sup> L. Pilat, "Solia pârcălabului Mușat la Moscova și implicarea Moldovei în lupta pentru coroana Ungariei," in *Clio în oglindiri de sine. Academicianului Alexandru Zub omagiu*, ed. Gheorghe Cliveti (Iași, 2014) 415-422. Muscovy too featured heavily in that context.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. already Ștefan Andreescu, "Ștefan cel Mare, protector al Muntelui Athos," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A.D. Xenopol*, 19 (1982), 653 (report from summer 1502).

<sup>68</sup> On Feleac and Stephen III, see most recently: D. Marcu Istrate, *Church Archaeology in Transylvania (ca. 950 to ca. 1450) (=East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450, 84)* (Leiden – Boston, 2022), 404-405; Alice Isabella Sullivan, *The Eclectic Visual Culture of Medieval Moldavia (=Visualising the Middle Ages, 15)* (Leiden – Boston, 2023), 73-75, 220.

<sup>69</sup> See esp. Șt.S. Gorovei, "Contribuții la genealogia familiilor Tăutu și Callimachi," *Analele Științifice ale Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza. Istorie*, NS, 59 (2013): 99-120, at 100-101.

<sup>70</sup> M.-M. Székely, "Isac, vistiernicul lui Ștefan cel Mare", in *Vocația istoriei. Prinos profesorului Șerban Papacostea*, eds. O. Cristea, Gheorghe Lazăr (Brăila, 2008), 567-604, at 571-577. If chancellor John Tăutu was the descendent of a Slav/ Slavic speaking family (not necessarily from modern-day Slovakia) that had first lived/ first settled in the Kingdom of Hungary, treasurer Isaac may have come from the Crimean Peninsula, where, in 1475, the Ottoman host conquered Genoese Caffa, as well as the Gothic Principality of Theodoro.

<sup>71</sup> Last published in N. Iorga, *Les arts mineurs en Roumanie*, I (Bucharest, 1934), fig. 27.

<sup>72</sup> Carmen Ghica, "Vel Logofătul Ioan Tăutu. Cea mai veche minatură a unui dregător," *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei*, 15, no. 1 (1968): 114-117 (including a miniature of Tăutu).

<sup>73</sup> *Diplome maramureșene*, no. 348, pp. 600-601. See M. Diaconescu, "Editarea diplomelor maramureșene – realizări și perspective," *Revista de Arhivistică*, 3 (1997): 25-30, at 28-29.

<sup>74</sup> Maria Crăciun, "Semnificațiile citoririi în Moldova. O istorie socială a religiei," in *Național și universal în istoria românilor. Istoria românilor. Studii oferite profesorului Șerban Papacostea cu ocazia împlinirii a 70 de ani*, eds. O. Cristea, Gh. Lazăr (Bucharest, 1997), 137-174, at 160. This "princely privilege/ limitation" may have predated Stephen III's rule.

<sup>75</sup> *Correspondencia*, 21. Because one half of Hungary belonged to Stephen (and to the Turk, Bayezid II, Maximilian I's ally as well) and the other half was calling for

warning sent almost simultaneously to Stephen by the same Habsburg that the voivode's, theirs in fact, Jagiellonian enemies will enter the Transylvanian lands of Stephen and ruin his power (March).<sup>76</sup>

At that time, Bartholomew Drágffy, the father of Stephen's daughter-in-law,<sup>77</sup> was voivode of Transylvania, since 1493<sup>78</sup> (Drágffy's forefathers had founded Peri Monastery, protected also by John Corvinus in the 1490s)<sup>79</sup>. In fall 1498 however, about three months before Isaac's December donation or Feleac,<sup>80</sup> Wladislaw II managed to have Drágffy removed from his office of voivode.<sup>81</sup> Still, Drágffy returned as (co-) voivode for some two years before his death in October 1501.<sup>82</sup> In a few months, in April 1502, Stephen's star

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Maximilian, the Habsburg king called for a "reformation" of Europe with support from *los Reyes Católicos*.

<sup>76</sup> Last edited in I.-A. Pop, Al. Simon, "*Partes Transylvane intrabunt et te de tota terra tua disperdent: Maximilian I de Habsburg către Ștefan cel Mare după Codrii Cosminului,*" (I-II) *Transilvania*, NS, 5, nos. 1 and 2 (2021): 21-42, 60-78, in the Appendix, 63-72, here at 66.

<sup>77</sup> M. Diaconescu, "Peștorii nepoatei lui Ștefan cel Mare în 1517. Despre căsătoria lui Alexandru cu fiica lui Bartolomeu Drágfi," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A.D. Xenopol*, 49 (2012): 55-70. In August 1489, Alexander († 1496), Stephen's designated heir, had married the daughter (Mary?) of Bartholomew, Matthias' trusted cupbearer.

<sup>78</sup> T. Neumann, "Drágfi Bertalan politikai szerepe II. Ulászló király idején," in *A Szilágyság és a Wesselényi család (14-17. század)*, eds. Géza Hegyi, A.W. Kovács (Kolozsvár, 2012), 213-236. His ambitions were made eloquently clear by his singular inclusion as one of the heroes of the celebrated anti-Ottoman victory at Câmpul Pâinii (Kenyérmező, Brotfeld), in October 1479, in the famous miscellaneous *Chronicle of Dubnic*, critical in general of King Matthias and of his reign (*Chronicon Dubnicense*, in *Chronicon Dubnicense cum codicibus Sambuci Acephalo et Vaticano, chronicisque Vindobonensi Picto et Budensi accurate collatum (=Historiae Hungaricae Fontes Domesticis III)*, ed. Mátyás Florián (Pécs, 1884), 1-207, at 202).

<sup>79</sup> See Vasile Rus, "Giovanni Corvino di Hunyad ed il monastero di Peri," in *Matthias Corvinus und seine Zeit*, 63-70. The nature of John's involvement should be revisited, given also that his widow, Beatrice Frankopan (Frangepane), was involved in Greek rite church affairs in Hunedoara, on 23 April 1506 (Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, I, no. VII-4, pp. 278-279).

<sup>80</sup> Bartholomew Drágffy was last mentioned as voivode of Transylvania on 5 September 1498. His replacement, Peter of Svätý Jur, was listed for the first time as the voivode of Transylvania on 1 October 1498 (*Magyarország világi archontológiája. 1458-1526*, Norbert C. Tóth, R. Horváth, T. Neumann, T. Pálosfálvi, I. *Főpapok és bárók* (Budapest, 2016), 87-88).

<sup>81</sup> Neumann, "Drágfi Bertalan politikai szerepe," 230-233. He had major problems with the Transylvanian Saxons since 1496, and therefore also allowed Szekler attacks on them.

<sup>82</sup> *Diplome maramureșene din secolele XVI-XVIII, provenite din colecția lui Ioan Mihályi de Apșa*, ed. I.-A. Pop (Bucharest, 2009), no. 345, p. 405 (1500); Al. Simon, "Regional and Hungarian Designs at the End of Bartholomew Drágffy's Political Career," *Banatica*, 24 (2014): 263-288.

started to fade after his nephew, Dmitry, lost the succession to the throne of Muscovy.<sup>83</sup> Stephen barely salvaged his Moldavian succession in 1504.<sup>84</sup>

**A Fading Episcopal Family Affair at the Dawn of the Reformation.** The archbishops' seat on Feleac Hill entered a dormant phase, potentially interrupted by troublesome secular affairs, as indicated in some Polish (1505) and Hungarian documents (1506, 1509).<sup>85</sup> The archbishopric may have then shifted its Wallachian allegiance from Bogdan III of Moldavia (1504-1517), Stephen's heir, to the ambitious Neagoe Basarab of Wallachia (1512-1521).<sup>86</sup> At the end of Wladislaw II's reign (1516), the ecclesiastical authority of Feleac was certainly reasserted under Metropolitan III...<sup>87</sup> The decay was however seemingly unavoidable,<sup>88</sup> as the ecclesiastical seat was occupied by Danciu and Peter, uncle and nephew, natives from Feleac.<sup>89</sup> According to the family

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<sup>83</sup> E.g. J.V.A. Fine, "The Muscovite Dynastic Crisis of 1497-1502", *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 8 (1966): 198-215. The Roman roots of his mother, Helena, Stephen's daughter, seemingly also mattered in Dmitry's fall (Anna Leonidovna Horoshkevich, *Русское государство в системе международных отношений конца XV-начала XVI в.* (Moscow, 1980), 90-91).

<sup>84</sup> Albeit the fact that the transition of power was "smoother" than generally assumed (Cristea, "Apus de Soare," 165-166), we note only that no princely charters were preserved from the last year of Stephen's rule and from the first year of the rule of his heir, Bogdan.

<sup>85</sup> The sources: *Acta Alexandri Regis Poloniae, magni ducis Lithuaniae (1501-1506)* (= *Monumenta Medii aevi res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, 19), ed. Fryderik Papée (Krakow, 1927), no. 305, p. 515; I.-A. Pop, Al. Simon, "Possessio regie maiestatis Felek vocata: orașul „de țară” al românilor și iobagilor din Regatul Ungariei," in *Povestiri despre Cluj*, ed. Tudor Sălăgean, V (Cluj-Napoca, 2019), 11-28, at 24-27.

<sup>86</sup> Al. Simon, "Descrășterea Moldovei sub Bogdan III și ridicarea Țării Românești sub Neagoe Basarab," in *Sfântul voievod Neagoe Basarab: ctitor de biserică și cultură românească*, ed. Nicolae-Cristian Cădă (Bucharest, 2012), 431-460. An earlier dating of the shift is possible.

<sup>87</sup> The inscription authored by *popa* (i.e. arch-priest/ *protopopos*) Filip of Hațeg (Philip from/ of Hațeg), on the exterior of the southern wall of the nave of the cathedral church in Feleac (1516), read: ВЪЗЪД ПИСАЛ МНГОГРАШНИ ПГО(П) Ф(И)ЛИ(П) ГОТ ХАЦАГА ВЪСІСІТГО АСТАЛАСЛЪОУ КРАЛЬ ВЪ ВЪДНИ ПРЪГОСІЦСНИА МИТ(Р)ОПОЛИ К(Р) ІЦ [the preserved graffito ends abruptly] (Popa, "Considerațiuni critice", 410; Daniel, *Coping with the Powerful Other*, 123). A translation would read: *In the year 7024, the sinner priest Filip of Hațeg wrote this. That year King Ladislas (Laslău in the original) <died> in the days of the most holy Metropolitan Kyr III.* King Wladislaw II Jagiello died on 13 March 1516.

<sup>88</sup> The documents cited below (from 1534, 1538, 1550 and 1595) indicate the degradation of the office of hierarch in Feleac. For instance, prior to 1534, bishop Danciu even built himself a house near "his office", the episcopal residence ([...] *una in Felek, quam ipse suus Dancho episcopus pro se aedificari fecit in vicinitatibus domorum episcopalis* [...]). The residence and the cathedral were situated outside of the village (whose priest was Danciu's son).

<sup>89</sup> See also A.A. Rusu, *Ctitori și biserici din Țara Hațegului până la 1700* (Satu-Mare, 1997), 75-76 (a potential confusion/ family relation between Danciu from Feleac and Danciu from Șerel-Rușor in the Land of Hațeg: both were sons of a

traditions in Cluj coeval records,<sup>90</sup> Danciu had been adopted, as son and heir, by a *Greek* hierarch *Mark* that had come to Feleac.

The “episcopal family” of Feleac was hence able to establish matrimonial ties to the wealthy Wallachians near the Transylvanian Saxon city of Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben).<sup>91</sup> Still, both Danciu (prior to 1534), identified also with metropolite *III*... from 1516, or even with a *Varlaam* “from 1527”, and Peter (after 1534 or 1537) failed to maintain a balance between rivalling Hungarian, as well as Wallachian parties,<sup>92</sup> after the death of Louis II at Mohács (1526) and the Ottoman conquest of Buda (1541).<sup>93</sup> With Peter († c. 1550) the line of hierarchs in Feleac came to a rather foreseeable end.<sup>94</sup> The *Greek* rite ecclesiastical throne of Transylvania, a principality under Ottoman suzerainty since 1541,<sup>95</sup> moved southwards,<sup>96</sup> where it remained

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Ladislás, both were fathers of a John and both were deemed *episcopus*, the first in 1534, the latter around 1550).

<sup>90</sup> [Timotei Cipariu, “Documente despre Feleac,”] *Arhivă pentru Filologia și Istoria*, 30 (1869): 777-783 (1538, 1550, 1595); *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești*, ed. Andrei [Endre] Veress, I. *Acte și scrisori (1527-1572)* (Bucharest, 1929), no. 13, pp. 11-12; Pop-Simon-Sălăgean-Marcu, Simon, *De vertice montis*, 84-85. Danciu had a son, John. He became the priest (*plebanus*) of the village of Feleac prior to 26 January 1534, when the judge and the jurors of Cluj “authenticated” him as the legitimate son and heir of the late bishop Danciu ([...] *Ioannem plebanum esse filium et haeredem legitimum quondam Dancho episcopo* [...]). A new bishop (i.e. Peter or another) was however not mentioned. Because of his rapidly solved succession, Danciu had died not long before January 1534.

<sup>91</sup> Ioan Lupaș, “Din relațiile Transilvaniei cu Țara Românească: activitatea cneazului Dumitru din Săliște,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie* (Cluj), 4 (1961): 69-74. The main figure in the family of the Săliștea Sibiului relatives was knez Dumitru, repeatedly used as an envoy to Wallachia by the Saxon authorities of Sibiu (from 1504 to 1509, if not also later), starting in June 1504, on the eve of Stephen III’s – long awaited – death (2 July 1504). The matrimonial union between the Wallachians from Feleac and the ones from Săliștea Sibiului can be interpreted also an indicator of the shifting of the ecclesiastical seat in Felac from Moldavia to Wallachia already in the first decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>92</sup> E.g. T. Cipariu, *Acte și fragmente latine românești pentru istoria beserecei române mai ales unite* (Blaj, 1855), XIV (voivode Peter and archbishop Varlaam from either 7035/ 1526-1527 or 7045/ 1536-1537, *id est* Peter IV Rareș of Moldavia and archbishop Varlaam, *olim* Danciu of Feleac, or former monk Radu – *olim* Peter – Paisie of Wallachia, and the metropolite of Wallachia/ *Ungrovlachia*, Varlaam); Pop-Marcu-Sălăgean, Simon, *De vertice montis*, 85.

<sup>93</sup> Most recently: Pál Fodor, Terez Oborni, “Between Two Great Powers: The Hungarian Kingdom of the Szapolyai Family,” in *A Forgotten Hungarian Royal Dynasty: The Szapolyais*, eds. P. Fodor, Szabolcs Varga (Budapest, 2020), 127-161, esp. 130-134, 144-149, 153-158.

<sup>94</sup> Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, I (Bucharest, 1994<sup>3</sup>), 296-300, 498-500. We must emphasize once more that the documentary basis remains largely unaltered.

<sup>95</sup> For a Transylvanian overview, see T. Obroni, “Le royaume des Szapolyai, du royaume de Hongrie orientale à la principauté de Transylvanie (1541-1571),” *Histoire, Économie et Société Époques Moderne et Contemporaine*, 34, no. 3 (2015):

under the protection of the voivodes of Wallachia, with the approval of the Transylvanian authorities, increasingly engulfed by the Reformation (whose Hungarian beacon in Transylvania became the city of Cluj).<sup>97</sup> The Greek rite *Christians* in the northern parts of Transylvania had reverted to the Bishopric of Vad (Rév/ Révkolosstor), established, in the 1530s, on the Ciceu (Csicsó) estate, by Peter IV Rareș, the illegitimate son of Stephen III.<sup>98</sup> With Moldavia and Wallachia loyal now to both the High Porte and the Great Church,<sup>99</sup> the old north-south *Greek* rite ecclesiastical partition from the days of Sigismund and Manuel II was again operational and was to last.<sup>100</sup>

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65-77, esp. 68-72; Felicia Roșu, *Elective Monarchy in Transylvania and Poland-Lithuania, 1569-1587* (Oxford, 2017), 130-140

<sup>96</sup> N. Iorga, “Ștefan cel Mare, Mihai Viteazul și Mitropolia Ardealului,” *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 27 (1904-1905): 1-35. Little changed after 1905.

<sup>97</sup> Edit Szegedi, “Die Bedeutung des Ungarischen und des Sächsischen im Klausenburg des 16. bis 17. Jahrhunderts,” in *Radikale Reformation. Die Unitarier* (= *Studia Transylvanica*, 44), eds. András F. Balogh, Julia Brandt, Ulrich A. Wien (Cologne – Vienna, 2013): 179-189.

<sup>98</sup> E.g. I.-A. Pop, “Ierarhia bisericească a românilor din ținuturile bistrițene în secolele XIV-XVI,” in *Petru Rareș și bistrițenii*, ed. Mircea Gelu Buta (Cluj-Napoca, 2016), 13-24.

<sup>99</sup> Mihai Maxim, “Les relations des pays roumains avec l’archevêché d’Ohrid à la lumière de documents turcs inédits,” in Idem, *L’Empire Ottoman au nord du Danube et l’autonomie des Principautés Roumaines au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Études et documents* (Istanbul, 1999), 83-108, at 88.

<sup>100</sup> On these often avoided matters, see also Ștefan Pascu, “Un vlădică român necunoscut: Marcu al Vadului (1557),” *Studii Teologice*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 8, nos. 3-4 (1956): 252-254; Florin Dobrei, “Prezențe româno-calvine în spațiul hunedorean în secolele XVI-XVII,” în *Tradiții istorice românești și perspective europene. In honorem Academician Ioan-Aurel Pop*, eds. Sorin Șipoș, Dan Octavian Căpraga, Ion Gumenăi (Oradea – Chișinău, 2015), 188-205.



## Thomas Altemberger: Unraveling the Legacy of a Dominating Figure in Sibiu's History

Silviu Gheorghe Bunea

**Abstract:** The paper discusses the personal history of an emblematic character of Sibiu's history and overall, of Transylvanian history in general. Thomas Altemberger managed to politically dominate the Saxon patriciate during his 20 years of activity, through his position as mayor of Sibiu. Up to this moment, only one article has been produced, in German, regarding exclusively with his life and activity, one of the purposes of this article being to disseminate the account of Altemberger's life and activity, to a wider audience. The article tries to bring into discussion all the aspects that can be linked to Thomas Altemberger, starting with the emblematic building called Altemberger House, and ending with the outline of this figure's personality. Last but not least, the article brings into attention the possibility of the existence, for a very short time, of another mayor of Sibiu, thus explaining the discrepancy between the documents and the colophon in Codex Altemberger, regarding the Altemberger's ascension to the mayor position.

**Keywords:** Thomas Altemberger, Altemberger House, Codex Altemberger, Saxon University, Transylvanian Saxons; urban elite

With the emergence of ideas belonging to the French historiographical current, which became known under the conventional term „L'École des Annales,, historians began to focus upon topics related to the economic life and the way in which human society was organized, thus achieving a slight detachment from the subjects related to the political life and the life of the elites. This movement certainly brought new perspectives in historiography, but generally, the changes that transpired within human society can be best observed through those at society's peak, the major changes in the community tending to appear at its apex, and then propagate towards the base. Moreover, these elites managed, on account of their financial well-being, to leave a legacy comprising of material elements that highlight certain aspects related not only to the societal aspirations in which they lived, but also the way in which this was organized. Furthermore, based on the nature of the work undertaken by those belonging to the privileged class, this has given researchers an ample paper trail consisting of numerous documents and records, which today paint a picture of their concerns and objectives within society. A symbol of this genre of representatives, which perfectly exemplifies the thinking and behaviour of the XVth century Transylvanian saxon upper society, is Thomas Altemberger.

For the local Sibiu (Hermannstadt) populace, the name of this regional icon is associated with the architectural edifice which bears his name. Altemberger House is the most outstanding example of secular medieval gothic architecture in Sibiu, and possibly in the entire

Transylvanian region. The construction has a rich history, which spans over 500 years. Currently, the „Casa Altemberger History Museum,, carries out its activities on the building's premises, priding itself with one of the greatest historical expositions in Romania.

Taking into account the importance of the building, not only in an architectural point of view, but also in an historical standpoint, its construction is testament to Thomas Altemberger's wealth, becoming the subject of multiple specialty articles<sup>101</sup> and monographies<sup>102</sup>. Considering the vast amount of studies done upon the general historical and architectural aspects of the Altemberger House, this article will strictly discuss Altemberger, the Transylvanian saxon societal context he lived in, and how this reflected in the manner the house was erected.

The architectural complex is composed of three main sections: the residential tower, the connecting construct and the main building, all built of brick. The construction of these sections can be attributed to Thomas Altemberger's initiative, with the sole mention that the building did undergo ulterior modifications. Based on current state of research, we can, without a doubt, ascertain that the gothic state of construction materialized between 1475 and 1485, a period when Thomas Altemberger was a esteemed member of the community,<sup>103</sup> and his marriage to his second (or possibly third) wife, Affra of Ocna Sibiului, had taken place. The most evident attestation of the house's construction happening during Altemberger's lifespan are three coat of arms, the first two being of his and his wife's coat of arms, found on a door frame which guides towards the stairs, leading to the residential tower; the third coat of arms is found in the building's loggia, specifically in the area which leads to the so-called „Grădina Martirilor” (the martyrs' gardens). Petre Munteanu Beșliu considers that the third coat of arms that may be used to limit the chronological domain of the structure's construction. The lion, in a pouncing position on Altemberger's coat of arms, holding in one paw a sword, may make reference to the year 1481, when he was first named Royal Judge, a position that allowed him to pass capital punishment.<sup>104</sup> This coat of arms, on the other hand, may simply be interpreted as a fusion between Altemberger's and his wife's coat of arms, the former represented by a lion, and the latter, by a crown and a sword in

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<sup>101</sup>Hermann Fabini, *Turnuri de patricieni în Sibiu la sfârșitul Evului Mediu*, in *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor*, XLIII, 1974, nr. 1, pp. 43-53; Hermann Fabini, *Vechea primărie sibiană*, in *Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice*, VIII, 1997, nr. 1-4. pp. 6-16

<sup>102</sup>Petre Munteanu Beșliu, *Primăria veche din Sibiu/Das Alte Rathaus in Hermannstadt (ediție bilingvă)*, Sibiu, Editura Monumente Istorice, f.a; Petre Munteanu Beșliu, *Primăria Veche din Sibiu, casa, oamenii, muzeul*, Sibiu, Editura Altip, 2006

<sup>103</sup>Petre Munteanu Beșliu, *Primăria Veche din Sibiu, casa, oamenii, muzeul*, Sibiu, Editura Altip, 2006, p. 3

<sup>104</sup>Petre Munteanu Beșliu, *Primăria Veche din Sibiu, casa, oamenii, muzeul*, Sibiu, Editura Altip, 2006, p. 39

hand, all these elements being found on the aforementioned third coat of arms.

Its intimidating nature notwithstanding, which evidently displays the economic blossoming that the city of Sibiu experiences in that period, the structure also discloses certain aspects tied to society itself. Buildings similar to Altemberger House are found throughout Europe; the most similar are found in France, all built in the latter half of the XVth century. The first representative is Jacques Coeur de la Bourges' house; his political path was one akin to Altemberger's, as well as the series of advantageous marriages they both partook in. Albeit all these parallels, Altemberger managed to maintain his political power up to the end of his life, while Jacques Coeur had a rapid downfall. Not accounting for Jacques Coeur's end, the wealth he once had is lavishly displayed in the structure he had custom built. The second example of buildings similar to Altemberger's house is Hotel de Cluny in Paris, built in the last quarter of the XVth century.<sup>105</sup>

These two cases mentioned above present a higher degree of architectural refinement compared with Altemberger House, but despite this eloquence, there remain multiple similarities between the three buildings, found in the positioning of the individual sections that make up the entirety of the structure, and in the architectural details. One such similarity which can be discussed is the manner in which the different component buildings were arranged: the three constructions are asymmetrically placed, built around an inner courtyard, as well as the usage of residential towers. A second likeness is found in the architectural details: the presence of loggias, bay windows, windows with rectangular stone mullions, richly profiled door frames, fleurons, and sculptural decorations with heraldic motifs.<sup>106</sup>

Many of these similarities, such as the asymmetrical arrangement of the buildings around the inner courtyard and the use of residential towers, are inspired by nobiliary castles. Residential towers were a frequently used element in the composition of Saxon patriciate houses from the 15th century. Two structures that have as common element the use of residential towers, and which can be dated with certainty as belonging to the XVth century, are the Haller house (Piata Mare No. 10) and, until 1830, the Lutsch house (Piata Mare No 13).<sup>107</sup>

Taking into account previously discussed facets in regards to wealthy Transylvanian saxons' houses, it can be considered that the house built at Thomas Altemberger's initiative belongs to a grander European movement, made up of a class of successful "entrepreneurs" who wished to replace the nobiliary class, or at the very least, to show that they were equals. With that goal in mind, these "entrepreneurs" ended up designing homes intentionally inspired by the architecture of those they wanted to replace.

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<sup>105</sup>Hermann Fabini, *Sibiul gotic*, București, Editura Tehnică, 1982, p. 165

<sup>106</sup>Hermann Fabini, *Sibiul gotic*, București, Editura Tehnică, 1982, pp. 165-166

<sup>107</sup>Hermann Fabini, *Turnuri de patricieni în Sibiu la sfârșitul Evului Mediu*, in *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor*, XLIII, 1974, nr. 1, pp. 43-53

This idea is further supported by reflecting upon the manner in which Transylvanian Saxon society evolved during the Middle Ages. Felix Sutschek, in his book on Saxon law in the Middle Ages, mentions the fact that the Sibiu Saxon patriciate went through three evolutionary phases: a first phase, the period of the **gerébs patriciate**, which he dates between the time the city was founded and the beginning of the 15th century; a second phase, the period of the **entrepreneurial patriciate** (made up of craftsmen, merchants, mint owners, etc.), which originates to the beginning of the 15th century and ends in the first half of the 16th century; and a final evolutionary phase, named by Sutschek as the period of the **representative patriciate**, which begins from the second half of the 16th century and which lasts, through the so-called Austrian clerk nobility, up until the first half of the 19th century.<sup>108</sup>

Bearing in mind Altemberger's activity, he fits seamlessly into the entrepreneurial patriciate mentioned above, especially when considering the means in which he acquired his wealth. Moreover, due to the fact that he was the pinnacle of wealth in the patriciate of Sibiu at the time, it is fitting that his political activity, as well as his personal life are presented in more detail.

The pursuits and life of Thomas Altemberger have already been well outlined by historians, there being an article dealing exclusively with this subject.<sup>109</sup> This article aside, a significant number of published writings and books have either dealt with particular elements related to his life and work<sup>110</sup>, or have mentioned him in passing<sup>111</sup> - it being near impossible to research Transylvanian Saxon society from this period, without making any reference to Altemberger's presence. An important aspect that must be mentioned is that, aside from researcher Gustav Gündisch's german study, in the Romanian or English language, there is not even until now, an article or book that fully encompasses Thomas Altemberger's life and political activity, one of the primary goals of this paper being to attempt to correct this.

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<sup>108</sup>Felix Sutschek, *Statutele municipale ale sașilor din Transilvania*, Stuttgart, 1997 p. 62

<sup>109</sup>Gustav Gündisch, *Der Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Thomas Altemberger († 1491), Leben und Werk*, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, VI, 1983, nr. 2 pp. 137-155

<sup>110</sup>Oltea Dudău, *Egregius Magister Camerarius Urbis Cibinensis Thomas Altemberger*, in *Buletinul Comisiei Naționale a Monumentelor, Ansamblurilor și Siturilor Istorice*, VIII, 1997, nr. 1-4, pp. 36-37; Radu Constantinescu, *Codicele Altemberger*, București, Editura Meridiane, 1988; Ginel Lazăr, *Codex Altemberger. Primul cod de legi al sașilor din Sibiu*, București, Muzeul Național de Istorie al României (MNIR), 2019

<sup>111</sup>Carmen Florea, *Identitate urbană și patronaj marian în Evul Mediu târziu*, in *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis – Series Historica*, V, 2008, nr. 5 pp. 59-80; Konrad Gündisch, *Educație universitară și ascensiune socială în Transilvania Evului Mediu târziu*, în *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu - Series HISTORICA – Supliment*, LIV, 2015, nr. 54, pp. 199-206;

There is scarcely anything known about the early years of Thomas Altemberger's life, a statement generally true for most notable figures of the time. The name Altemberger indicates a possible origin in the Apuseni Mountains, from the small mining town of Altenberg, today Baia de Criș, in Hunedoara county.<sup>112</sup> He was presumably born around 1431, with the surname Thanhawser, Altemberger initially being an alias which later replaced his real surname. The pseudonym makes its appearance for the first time in 1451, in the register of the University of Vienna, where he is registered and listed as *Thomas Thanhawser alias Altemberger of Cibinio*.<sup>113</sup>

It is a known fact that the Thanhawser family had close ties with the mining towns of the Apuseni Mountains, and Altenberg (Baia de Criș) was also part of the "group of the four mining towns", a mining towns coalition that existed during XV<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>114</sup> In the official records of Sibiu Province from 1467, Altemberger is mentioned with the name *Magister Thomas Thanhauser*.<sup>115</sup> It is possible that the name „Altemberger” began being used in 1470, when he first became mayor, and thus wanted to differentiate himself from other influential patricians who bore the same surname. An example of an influential town magistrate bearing the same last name as his birth surname, Thanhauser, is Peter Thanhauser, who appears in a tax registry from around the 1470s, among the 12 wealthiest men in the city.<sup>116</sup>

Thomas Altemberger had a distinguished education. As previously mentioned, he enrolled at the University of Vienna in 1451, at the Faculty of Liberal Arts.<sup>117</sup> By the year 1456, he had obtained the academic titles of *baccalaureus* and *magister artium liberalium*, and in 1459, obtained a *baccalaureus* in canon (ecclesiastical) law. In 1461 and 1464, he can be found in the capacity of representative (procurator) of all the Hungarian

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<sup>112</sup>Konrad G. Gündisch, *Educație universitară și ascensiune socială în Transilvania Evului Mediu târziu*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu - Series HISTORICA – Supliment*, LIV, 2015, nr. 54 p.6; Gustav Gündisch, *Der Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Thomas Altemberger († 1491), Leben und Werk*, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, VI, 1983, nr. 2 p. 138.

<sup>113</sup>Ginel Lazăr (ed.), *Codex Altemberger. Primul cod de legi al sașilor din Sibiu*, București, Muzeul Național de Istorie al României (MNIR), 2019, p.46

<sup>114</sup>Konrad G. Gündisch, *Educație universitară și ascensiune socială în Transilvania Evului Mediu târziu*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu - Series HISTORICA – Supliment*, LIV, 2015, nr. 54, p.204; Gustav Gündisch, *Der Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Thomas Altemberger († 1491), Leben und Werk*, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, pp. 139-140

<sup>115</sup>Gustav Gündisch, *Der Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Thomas Altemberger († 1491), Leben und Werk*, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, p. 140

<sup>116</sup>Gustav Gündisch, *Der Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Thomas Altemberger († 1491), Leben und Werk*, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, p. 140

<sup>117</sup>Konrad G. Gündisch, *Educație universitară și ascensiune socială în Transilvania Evului Mediu târziu*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu - Series HISTORICA – Supliment*, LIV, 2015, nr. 54, p.205

students from the University of Vienna, this fact leading the presupposition that he taught some time in Vienna.<sup>118</sup>

The exact year of Altemberger's return to Sibiu is undetermined, but his reappearance can be certainly linked to the political events generated by the Saxon revolt of 1467. It is possible that he may have arrived before the stated year, due to the fact that Altemberger had the necessary political capital for him to be one of the Saxons' representatives at the amnesty negotiations with King Matthias Corvinus.<sup>119</sup>

The exact manner in which Altemberger had acquired this political capital is left to speculation. He appears as a member of a clerical fraternity (*Kaland Brotherhood*), together with Ana,<sup>120</sup> his alleged first wife. A number of important individuals with a great extent of political influence and financial power were part of this clerical fraternity in Sibiu. Alongside Altemberger (who holds to this day the longest term of mayor of Sibiu), there was a generous amount of members who had held or will hold this mayoral position in Sibiu: Oswaldus (1454-1458), Jacobus (1459-1462), Georgius Sartor (1497), Nicholas Proll (1498-1499); George Hecht (1491/1495-1496). Moreover, besides all of the aforementioned mayors, some members of the aforestated brotherhood also held the position of royal judge. Worthy of mention here are the royal judges: Johann Lulay, Laurentiu Haan (1488-1506) and Ladislau Kakas (1467; 1469-1480), as well as Nicolae of Ocna Sibiului, who, for a time, held the position of vice-voivode of Transylvania. Considering the people with whom Altemberger associated, it does not come as a surprise that he quickly rose in the political hierarchy, despite his long departure from Sibiu during his viennese studies.<sup>121</sup> His beneficial entourage was not singular in what served Altemberger well in his political career; social ascension through advantageous marriages, being one of the most practiced methods in the Middle Ages, was another tactic employed by Altemberger.

Information in regards to Ana, Altemberger's alleged first wife, is very limited, only her first name being known. As far as the second wife, Praexedis, is concerned, there are more details available, especially regarding her social status and material condition. Praexedis was the daughter of Oswald Wenzel, one of the former mayors of Sibiu, as well as one of the wealthiest individuals in Sibiu for almost a decade. He was not only mayor

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<sup>118</sup>Konrad G. Gündisch, *Educație universitară și ascensiune socială în Transilvania Evului Mediu târziu*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu - Series HISTORICA – Supliment, LIV, 2015, nr. 54*, p.205

<sup>119</sup>Gustav Gündisch, *Der Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Thomas Altemherger († 1491), Leben und Werk*, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, p. 140

<sup>120</sup>Gustav Gündisch, *Der Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Thomas Altemherger († 1491), Leben und Werk*, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, p. 141

<sup>121</sup>Carmen Florea, *Identitate urbană și patronaj marian in Evul Mediu târziu*, in *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis – Series Historica, V, 2008, nr. 5*, p. 67

between 1454-1458,<sup>122</sup> but for a considerable amount of time, he oversaw the Sibiu Monetary and Mining Chamber.<sup>123</sup> He also owned the imposing patrician house in the Great Square of the city of Sibiu, no. 9. which later became, for a time, the headquarters of the Saxon University.<sup>124</sup>

From the marriage with Praexedis resulted three children, Michael, Thomas and Ana. The exact time of this second marriage is not known, but taking into account that the two older boys enrolled at the University of Vienna on April 14, 1485,<sup>125</sup> leads to the assumption that it took place around 1467 or 1468. Regrettably, this marriage does not last, due to Praexedis' untimely death, which prompted Altemberger to remarry.

His last marriage probably took place between the years 1470-1475. The third wife, named Affra of Ocna Sibiului, was the daughter of Nicolae of Ocna Sibiului, a leading Transylvanian figure, previously mentioned, and who unfortunately met his demise due to his participation in the 1467 revolt against Matthias Corvinus. The fact that Nicolae held the position of vice-voivode of Transylvania between 1462-1465 is a testament to the political influence and financial well-being. From the marriage with Affra resulted three children: Nicholas, Oswald and Johannes. This was Affra's second marriage, being the widow of noble Emeric of Bogath, with whom she had two children, Stephan and Katherina.<sup>126</sup>

Thomas Altemberger aimed to provide his sons with a good education. Michael and Thomas were sent in 1485 to the University of Vienna, while Nicolae (Nicholas), together with his half-brother Stephan, enrolled at the University of Vienna in 1489.<sup>127</sup> Among all of Altemberger's sons, Michael is the one who manages to have the most significant political career, reaching the position of mayor of Sibiu between 1511-1512.<sup>128</sup>

Regarding Thomas Altemberger's wealth, it is known to have been particularly impressive. Through his entrepreneurial initiatives, he became

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<sup>122</sup>Emil Sigerius, *Cronica oraşului Sibiu 1100-1929*, (Trad) Beatrice Ungar, Sibiu, Editura Imago, 1997, p. 120

<sup>123</sup>Gustav Gündisch, *Der Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Thomas Altemherger († 1491), Leben und Werk*, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, VI, 1983, nr. 2, pp. 141-142

<sup>124</sup>Gustav Gündisch, *Der Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Thomas Altemherger († 1491), Leben und Werk*, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, VI, 1983, nr. 2, p. 142

<sup>125</sup>Gustav Gündisch, *Der Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Thomas Altemherger († 1491), Leben und Werk*, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, VI, 1983, nr. 2, p. 142.

<sup>126</sup>Gustav Gündisch, *Der Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Thomas Altemherger († 1491), Leben und Werk*, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, VI, 1983, nr. 2, p. 140-143

<sup>127</sup>Konrad G. Gündisch, *Educație universitară și ascensiune socială în Transilvania Evului Mediu târziu*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu - Series HISTORICA – Supliment, LIV, 2015, nr. 54, p.205*

<sup>128</sup>Emil Sigerius, *Cronica oraşului Sibiu 1100-1929*, (Trad) Beatrice Ungar, Sibiu, Editura Imago, 1997, p. 120

one of the wealthiest patricians in Transylvania. No information is known regarding his business conduct, as the preserved documents do not provide such information. However, it is clear that he was part of a wealthy family, otherwise it is improbable that he could have extended his university studies for such a long period of time. His will from 1485 gives a fairly comprehensive picture of his wealth. He had a number of properties in: Sibiu, Baia de Arieș, Aiud, Tâlmăciu, Cristian and Vințu.<sup>129</sup> The domains found in the will are not described in great detail, but they included mines, meadows, fishponds, vineyards and orchards. Moreover, each of Altemberger's children was to receive 1000 florins and a number of jewels. It is estimated that Thomas Altemberger would have had around 9,000 florins at the time the will was written, which was the equivalent to the value of nine stone houses in the main city square. The main pillar of his wealth was certainly the gold mines in Baia de Arieș. From the gold transactions alone, as chamberlain of Sibiu between 1486-1490, he made a profit of approximately 6000 florins.<sup>130</sup>

In addition to the assets acquired through the gold mines and his properties, Thomas Altemberger owes his opulence to his minting activity. One of the most evident written traces of his minting activity comes from the colophon on the last written page of the Altemberger Codex, where the following is stated: *Hoc opus fecit fieri egregius Thomas Altenberger, magister civium et iudex regius, necnon camerarius urbis Cibiniensis anno Domini MCCCCLXXXI-o, dicti sui officii magistri civium anno 9-o* – “This writing was commissioned by magister Toma Altemberger, the mayor of the city, a royal judge and chamberlain of Sibiu, in the year of our Lord 1481, during the ninth year of his mandate as a mayor.”<sup>131</sup> Of course, the monetary activity is not limited to the year 1481. The numismatic catalogs attribute seven gold issues, executed locally, to the patrician Thomas Altemberger. He ran the Sibiu mint, both alone, between the years 1485-1486, as well as in collaboration with other patricians, such as Stephan Pechy and Melchior Aurifaber, between the years 1468-1470 and 1479-1480.<sup>132</sup>

It is clear that, in terms of capital, Thomas Altemberger managed to accumulate an enviable fortune, but what can be said about his political activity? The beginning of his political activity can be linked to the nobles' revolt of 1467 against King Matthias Corvinus. The pretext for this rebellion

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<sup>129</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 7, București, Editura Academiei Române, 1991, doc. 4588

<sup>130</sup>Gustav Gündisch, *Der Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Thomas Altemberger († 1491), Leben und Werk*, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, VI, 1983, nr. 2, p. 144-145

<sup>131</sup>Radu Constantinescu, *Codicele Altenberger*, București, Editura Meridiane, 1988, p. 57; Ginel Lazăr, *Codex Altemberger. Primul cod de legi al sașilor din Sibiu*, București, Muzeul Național de Istorie al României (MNIR), 2019, pp. 16; 83.

<sup>132</sup>Oltea Dudău, *Egregius Magister Camerarius Urbis Cibinensis Thomas Altemberger*, in *Buletinul Comisiei Naționale a Monumentelor, Ansamblurilor și Siturilor Istorice*, VIII, 1997, nr. 1-4, p. 36.

seems to have been generated by some tax reforms. Initially, a single import/export tax called *tricesima* was levied in the Kingdom of Hungary, with a value of 3.3% of the value of the goods. In the XVth century, customs points in the area around Saxon cities were leased from the king by the Saxon patriciate. This soon led to the increase of taxed amounts, from 3.3% to 5%, termed *vigesima*.<sup>133</sup> By the royal decree of March 24, 1467, possibly due to the king wanting to supplement his income, the *tricesima* was replaced in favor of a new tax named *vectigal coronae*.<sup>134</sup> Shortly after this reform, the king introduced another tax, called *tributum fisci regali*, which was to be applied to every household in the kingdom. The reaction of the nobility to these reforms was to rebel, with some Saxon cities also joining the uprising. In the Saxon patriciate's case, the main reason for their participation in the uprising seems to be tied to social motivations, namely the decline of the *gerébs* nobility - desiring even the separation of Transylvania from the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>135</sup> Proof that for the majority of the Saxons these new taxes did not represent a major problem is their very limited participation in the revolt, most of them remaining loyal to the king. Under these conditions, only a series of *gerébs* were punished, through the court established in Sibiu.<sup>136</sup>

The revolt was the starting point for Thomas Altemberger's political career. On November 1, 1467, less than two weeks after the suppression of the revolt, Altemberger was instructed by the City Magistrate to go to Timișoara to ask for the king's amnesty for the people of Sibiu who had participated in the revolt, together with Nikolaus Zieglauer, who had been recently promoted to the position of deputy royal judge.<sup>137</sup> The very fact that Altemberger had been chosen for this diplomatic mission indicates that he kept his distance from the circle of conspirators led by Peter Gräf of Weresmarth (Rosia), the royal judge, and Nicolae of Ocna Sibiului. Altemberger most likely belonged to the moderate faction led by Ladislau Hahn and Nikolaus Aurifaber; the former of the two holding the position of royal judge at the time, and the latter being the administrator of the Monetary

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<sup>133</sup>Mária Pakucs, "Și nici vămile nu mai sunt cum au fost, ci ați mărit și vămile..." *Matia Corvin și reforma sa din 1467*, in *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, XXII, 2004, nr. 22, pp. 217-218

<sup>134</sup>Mária Pakucs, "Și nici vămile nu mai sunt cum au fost, ci ați mărit și vămile..." *Matia Corvin și reforma sa din 1467*, in *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, XXII, 2004, nr. 22, p. 219

<sup>135</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 6, București, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1981, p. XV

<sup>136</sup>Konrad G. Gündisch, *Participarea sașilor la răzvrătirea din anul 1467 a transilvănenilor împotriva lui Matia Corvinul*, in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai*, Series Historia, XVII, 1972, nr. 17, p. 21-30.

<sup>137</sup>Gustav Gündisch, *Der Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Thomas Altemherger († 1491), Leben und Werk*, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, VI, 1983, nr. 2 p. 140

and Mining Chamber of Sibiu<sup>138</sup>, as well as being the mayor of the city of Sibiu until 1470.<sup>139</sup>

The next important step in his political career began with the year 1469, in which Altemberger was already a member of the City Magistrate,<sup>140</sup> and continued with his election as the mayor of Sibiu. There exist two distinct points of view regarding the year of Altemberger's assumption of the mayoral office, both supported by solid documentary evidence, difficult to be disproved. The first opinion is formulated by researcher Gustav Gündisch, who considers that Thomas Altemberger first took office after the elections in December 1470,<sup>141</sup> based on the document issued on December 29, 1470, where Thomas Altemberger is listed as *Thomas Altemberger magister civium*.<sup>142</sup> Another viewpoint, expressed in a relatively recent study,<sup>143</sup> supports Altemberger taking over the position of mayor in 1472. This opinion is based on the colophon at the end of the *Codex Altemberger*, where the year 1481 is mentioned as the ninth year in which Thomas Altemberger is mayor.<sup>144</sup> This colophon is a piece of evidence difficult to be overridden, and it is highly unlikely that the writer of the colophon made a mistake that Altemberger would have been willing to overlook.

Given these facts, how could these two apparently conflicting dates be explained? Both options may actually be correct. There are more documents, other than the one dated December 29, 1470,<sup>145</sup> that identify Altemberger as being mayor in 1471. One such document, dated May 14 1471, discusses the lease of the *vigesima*,<sup>146</sup> where Altemberger is mentioned

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<sup>138</sup>Gustav Gündisch, *Der Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Thomas Altemberger († 1491), Leben und Werk*, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, VI, 1983, nr. 2 p.141

<sup>139</sup>Emil Sigeriu, *Cronica oraşului Sibiu 1100-1929*, (Trad) Beatrice Ungar, Sibiu, Editura Imago, 1997, p. 120

<sup>140</sup>Konrad G. Gündisch, *Educație universitară și ascensiune socială în Transilvania Evului Mediu târziu*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu - Series HISTORICA – Supliment*, LIV, 2015, nr. 54 p. 205

<sup>141</sup>Gustav Gündisch, *Der Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Thomas Altemberger († 1491), Leben und Werk*, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, VI, 1983, nr. 2 p.141

<sup>142</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 6, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1981, doc. 3836

<sup>143</sup>Ginel Lazăr (ed.), *Codex Altemberger. Primul cod de legi al saşilor din Sibiu*, Bucureşti, Muzeul Național de Istorie al României (MNIR), 2019

<sup>144</sup>Ginel Lazăr (ed.), *Codex Altemberger. Primul cod de legi al saşilor din Sibiu*, Bucureşti, Muzeul Național de Istorie al României (MNIR), 2019, p. 13.

<sup>145</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 6, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1981, doc. 3836

<sup>146</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 6, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1981, doc. 3871

as *Magister Thomas Altemberger, burgermaster*. From this, the conclusion that can be drawn is that, after the elections in December 1470, he was indeed mayor during the year of 1471. Furthermore, in the following year, Altemberger is once again mentioned - *Thomas Altemberger magister civium* - in a document dated June 1, 1472.<sup>147</sup> All things considered, it would seem that Altemberger was mayor in both 1471 and 1472.

In regards to the two aforementioned opinions regarding the beginning of Altemberger's first mandate as mayor, a document from 1473<sup>148</sup> may be part of the answer to this dilemma. This document reviews the voivode of Transylvania's investigation, and its results, following an attack that took place a year earlier, on the mayors of Braşov and Sibiu. The very fact that the voivode of Transylvania was personally implicated in this investigation goes to show that the attack must have been a major event. The document continues to mention the compensations the injured parties should receive - amongst them being named the mayor of the Sibiu, *Thomas*. While it is a possibility that the document refers to Thomas Altemberger, it is interesting that in this instance, only the first name is used, unlike how other documents use his full, first and last, name.<sup>149</sup> It may be that the document refers to another person entirely, another mayor of Sibiu, also named Thomas, who could have won the elections in December 1471 against Thomas Altemberger, and had lost his life following the attack of 1472. The document from 1473 is ambiguous and it cannot be deduced with certainty if the mayor of Sibiu was killed, injured or present at all, but if proven correct, and the person named Thomas was killed, it would mean that after the incident, Altemberger temporarily took over the position until the December elections of 1472. Thus, starting with December of 1472, Altemberger would have won all mayoral elections until he neared the end of his life. This supposition would explain the colophon in *Codex Altemberger*, which would account for the consecutive years in which Altemberger was mayor. The elections of 1471 being lost, the count began from the year 1472, and so, in 1481, when the colophon of *Codex Altemberger* had been written, it was Altemberger's ninth consecutive year as mayor. To confirm this theory, a more in-depth study of the documents is necessary, especially of the Transylvanian documents from 1472, in order to be able to affirm with certainty the existence of the attack and its exact date. Regardless of which year we consider that Altemberger became mayor, he still remains the longest-serving mayor to date. Furthermore, another important position that

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<sup>147</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 6, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1981, doc. 3916

<sup>148</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 6, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1981, doc. 3965

<sup>149</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 6, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1981, doc. 3965

Thomas Altemberger managed to hold during his political career was that of royal judge, indeed, for a much shorter period of time, more precisely, during 1481, respectively, 1491.<sup>150</sup>

The documents provide valuable information about his activity as mayor. One of the first initiatives taken by the Sibiu City Magistrate, led by Thomas Altemberger, was to ask all Transylvanian authorities to protect the citizens of Sibiu against harassment and abuse.<sup>151</sup> The document refers particularly to the need to protect travelling merchants or those who lead their activities in foreign cities. It is possible that this document from 1469 was intended to calm spirits, the Sibiu Saxon merchants probably still suffering repercussions from Sibiu's participation in the revolt of 1467 against Matthias Corvinus. Another measure that can also be linked to the economic well-being of the Province of Sibiu was the proposal made by Altemberger and the Magistrate to widen the road leading from Turnu Roșu to Wallachia, thus ensuring a better transport of goods.<sup>152</sup> The long negotiations regarding the construction of a new Dominican monastery inside the city walls were finalized during his mandate, more precisely, in 1474.<sup>153</sup>

Another objective of his political activity was the growth of Saxon community's territory. Altemberger's achieved this through two methods: by reconfirming the previous documents that gave certain land to the Saxons, one worth mentioning is the 1483 reconfirmation<sup>154</sup> of the 1472 document that donates Făgăraș and Amlaș to the Saxons; and by obtaining new lands for the Saxons from the Hungarian king. Some examples in which he fulfilled his latter ambition can be seen from Altemberger's request, recorded in a document dated February 6, 1486<sup>155</sup>, which concerns the transferring of the domains of Petiș and Răvășel under the jurisdiction of the Seven Seats - in that same year, the Seven Seats obtained half of the Racovița domain. It seems that this domain was the subject of a long-lasting litigation, and King Matthias, after some consideration, favored the Seven Seats' case. In order to

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<sup>150</sup>Gustav Gündisch, *Der Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Thomas Altemberger († 1491), Leben und Werk*, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, VI, 1983, nr. 2, p. 140

<sup>151</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen, Vol. 6, București, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1981, doc. 3836*

<sup>152</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen, Vol. 6, București, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1981, doc. 3966*

<sup>153</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen, Vol. 7, București, Editura Academiei Române, 1991, doc. 4022*

<sup>154</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen, Vol. 7, București, Editura Academiei Române, 1991, doc. 4536*

<sup>155</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen, Vol. 7, București, Editura Academiei Române, 1991, doc. 4622*

strengthen this decision, the Chapter of Alba Iulia had to send its representatives as witnesses.<sup>156</sup>

Another part of Thomas Altemberger's activity was to encourage the leasing of Transylvanian customs by the Saxon communities – this pursuit is demonstrated in a document dated December of 1484 in which he addresses a letter to the citizens of Braşov to make haste with the customs leasing, for the voivode of Transylvania wishes to lease the same customs points.<sup>157</sup>

In addition to the information that documents offer related to his activity, they also bring to attention to certain less savory traits of his personality, such as avarice and opportunism. In a document issued by the king on October 25, 1475,<sup>158</sup> Thomas Altemberger is ordered to compensate his fellow citizen of Sibiu, Toma Kadar, from the city's Treasury. It seems that Toma Kadar was to receive a certain amount of gold for each of the 98 oxen the king had taken from him. This first order of the king was not obeyed because, only a month later, it was necessary to issue another document by which the king expresses his deep displeasure and demands of Thomas Altemberger to pay the money to the said Toma Kadar as soon as possible.<sup>159</sup> Another similar situation occurred in 1481, in which a document mentions that the doctor Iacob, working in Sibiu, had not been paid his salary,<sup>160</sup> and the intervention of the voivode of Transylvania was necessary for the situation to be resolved. It also appears that according to his own statement, Altemberger kept for himself part of the city mint revenue while it was still under city management.<sup>161</sup> Another event that darkens Altemberger's personality takes place shortly before his death. Altemberger loses the mayoral elections for the year 1491, against Georg Hecht. It seems that in this situation, Altemberger forced the royal judge Laurentius Haan to resign, so that he could take over the position.<sup>162</sup>

Regardless of these aspects of his personality, it is clear that Thomas Altemberger enjoyed the good will of King Matthias Corvinus. This is evident by the numerous disputes and rulings resolved in favor of him and

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<sup>156</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 7, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Române, 1991, doc. 4680

<sup>157</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 7, doc. 4546; Alexandru Dumbravă, *Sistemul vamal transilvănean*, in *Revista Transilvania*, XI, 2008, Nr. 11, p. 33

<sup>158</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 7, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Române, 1991, doc. 4072

<sup>159</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 7, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Române, 1991, doc. 4079

<sup>160</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 7, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Române, 1991, doc. 4449

<sup>161</sup>Gustav Gündisch, *Der Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Thomas Altemherger († 1491), Leben und Werk*, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, VI, 1983, nr. 2, p. 155

<sup>162</sup>Gustav Gündisch, *Der Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Thomas Altemherger († 1491), Leben und Werk*, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, VI, 1983, nr. 2, p. 155

the Saxon community, sometimes Altemberger even being able to influence decisions already taken by the king. An event that reveals this takes place on November 3, 1488, when Thomas Altemberger intercedes with King Matthias to reopen the arms trade with Moldavia.<sup>163</sup> Most likely, this intervention of Altemberger came at the request of the guildsmen from Sibiu<sup>164</sup> who were aware of the influence that Altemberger had over the king.

Another piece of evidence of King Matthias' appreciation towards Altemberger can be seen through the lens of the latter's greatest political achievement, more precisely, his contribution to the emergence of the Saxon University. The establishment of this institution cannot be attributed as the exclusive merit of a single person, its formation process being a long and arduous one, the first step in this regard being considered the Golden Charter of the Transylvanian Saxons which was offered by Andrew II of Hungary in 1224. The charter saw the formation of the Province of Sibiu which had a series of additional rights compared to the rest of the Transylvanian saxons. After this moment, a gradual process of other Saxon communities acquiring equal rights began; towards the end of the XVth century, all Saxons benefitted from the same rights. Altemberger is the one who directs, in the second half of the XVth century, the last political actions intended to lead to the creation of the Saxon University. This activity was favored by his position as mayor of Sibiu, placing him at the forefront of all the free Saxon cities in Transylvania.<sup>165</sup> Perhaps many of the political actions undertaken by Altemberger, such as encouraging the Saxon community to lease the customs points in Transylvania, or obtaining what today would be called in legal terms a preemptive right, must be seen as having the ultimate goal of leading to the formation of the Saxon University. The right of preemption was obtained around the year of 1481<sup>166</sup> and it applied to all the lands in the vicinity of the territory named *Fundus regius*, that the nobles wished to sell. *Codex Altemberger*, too, can be seen as an attempt by Altemberger to homogenize Saxon law. At first sight, the name of the codex may indicate a major contribution by Altemberger to its completion, but in fact he only contributed by appending the last two pages, which include a biblical crucifixion scene, the oath that each official had to take when ascending to office and the colophon on the last page of the codex, the rest of the codex being most likely made in the second half of the XIVth century.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>163</sup>Ioan Sabău, *Relațiile politice ale Moldovei cu Transilvania în timpul lui Ștefan cel Mare*, in *Studii cu privire la Ștefan cel Mare*, p. 225 apud Ioan Marian Țiplic, *Bresle și arme în Transilvania (secolele XIV-XVI)*, București, Editura Militară, 2009, p. 144

<sup>164</sup>Ioan Marian Țiplic, *Bresle și arme în Transilvania (secolele XIV-XVI)*, București, Editura Militară, 2009, p. 144

<sup>165</sup>Paul Brusankowski, *Pagini din istoria bisericească a Sibiului medieval*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2007, p. 56-57

<sup>166</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 7, București, Editura Academiei Române, 1991, doc. 4431

<sup>167</sup>Ginel Lazăr (ed.), *Codex Altemberger. Primul cod de legi al sașilor din Sibiu*, București, Muzeul Național de Istorie al României (MNIR), 2019, pp. 44-45

Unfortunately, the provisions of the Codex were applied in a very restrained manner and did not have a great doctrinal influence on later Transylvanian laws. Felix Sutschek's explanation for this derives from the fact that Roman law had already spread widely, and customary law could no longer oppose it.<sup>168</sup>

The most evident proof that Altemberger participated in the creation of this institution can be seen from the document issued on February 6, 1486,<sup>169</sup> document that can be considered the founding element of the Saxon University. In the document is written as follows: *fidelis noster egregius Thomas Altemberger, magister civium et camararius noster Cibiniensis maiestatis nostre veniens in conspectum in sua ac universorum Saxonum nostrorum partium regni nostri Transilvanarum personis...supplicatione prefati Thome Altemberger per eum, suo et aliorum quorum supra nominibus et in personis...prescriptas litteras...Sigismundi imperatoris et regis privilegiales...presentibusque litteris nostris similiter privilegialibus...ratificamus, approbamus easque et omnia in eis contenta pro prefatis universis Saxonibus nostris...confirmamus presentis scripti nostri patrocínio mediante. In cuius rei memoriam firmitatemque pepetuum presentes litteras nostras privilegiales...eisdem Saxonibus nostris duximus concedendas* – [Coming before us our faithful Thomas Altemberger, mayor of Sibiu and our chamberlain, in his name and of all our Saxons from the Transylvanian parts of our kingdom... at the request of the said Thomas Altemberger, made by him in his name and those above, we give full acknowledgment to the privileged letter of the emperor and king Sigismund by our present letter, also privileged, which we approve together with all that is written in it for all our mentioned Saxons, and we strengthen it by the protection of our present document].<sup>170</sup> Being the main representative of the Saxon delegation at this historical moment, which in retrospect represents the moment of birth of an institution that existed until the period of Austro-Hungarian dualism, must have been the moment of its maximum political glory.

Thomas Altemberger constituted the soul of the upper urban society he was a part of. The period in which he lived represented the beginning of the transition in Transylvania from a specifically feudal economy to one based on commercial exchanges and the production of goods through the use of guilds. These economic changes come to deeply influence society. In the first phase, changes occurred at the top of urban society. Thus, Altemberger, representing the pinnacle of his class, most clearly highlighted these changes.

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<sup>168</sup>Felix Sutschek, *Statutele municipale ale saşilor din Transilvania*, Stuttgart, 1997 p. 15

<sup>169</sup>Gustav Gündisch (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 7, doc. 4623

<sup>170</sup>Ginel Lazăr (ed.), *Codex Altemberger. Primul cod de legi al saşilor din Sibiu*, Bucureşti, Muzeul Naţional de Istorie al României (MNIR), 2019, p. 47

Both through the way his residence was built, and through the prism of the political events that launched him into his political career, the urban society demonstrated a desire to replace the noble class, which among the Saxons was represented by the *gerébs*. The event that can be considered the catalyst for this transfer of power is the revolt of 1467, following which a series of *gerébs* were executed. After this moment begins a period of consolidation of power for the urban elite, a period that overlaps perfectly with Altemberger's 20 years as mayor. The methods by which Altemberger contributed to this consolidation of power have already been presented, the most emblematic achievement from a political point of view being the creation of the Saxon University.

Having that said, the less positive aspects that his period of activity represented for Sibiu should not be forgotten here. The upper caste of rich patricians, of which Altemberger was a part of, did not represent the will of the entire urban community, not even of the entire community of craftsmen and merchants. Proof of this lies in the formation in 1495 of the *Centumvirate*, an institution whose role was to represent the interests of small merchants and tradesmen. If, in general, in the second half of the XVth century, Sibiu was the city that set the tone regarding the politics of the Saxons in Transylvania, the *Centumvirate* appears relatively late in Sibiu, existing in Cluj since 1458. One of the possible factors behind this may even be the 20-year period in which Altemberger monopolized power, thus slowing down the democratization process of the Saxon society.

### List of documents

#### **Sibiu 1470 December 29 The Magistrate of Sibiu requests all dignitaries in the country to protect the citizens of Sibiu against harassment.**

Universis et singulis praelatis, baronibus, comitibus regiae maiestatis factoribus, castellanis, nobilibus ipsorumque officialibus item civitatibus, oppidis et villis eorumque rectoribus, iudicibus et villicis ceterisque cuiusvis eminentiae et status personis ubivis constitutis Thomas Altenperger magister civium necnon iudices et iurati consules civitatis Cibiniensis maioribus nostris paratam obsequentes benevolentiam ceterisque benevolis nostris amicitiam cum honore. Solent plerumque iam non a multo tempore cives et incolae nostri per nonnullos praeter omnem iuris ordinem indebite et minusiuste arrestationibus ac variis molestiis turbari communi iustitiae atque regalibus privilegiis nostris in derogamen nobisque in damnum et praeiudicium non mediocre. Ita etiam omnino quod multi civium et incolarum nostrorum in iustissimis eorum factis et negotiationibus portas huius civitatis obstantibus tam variis illegitimis impedimentis exeundi horrorem habent et quod iustis eorum causis immo neque ullis regalium literarum fulcimentis frui ac gaudere permittimus. Quare superioribus nostris supplicamus atque maiorem in modum vestras dominationes rogamus nostrosque benivales amicos diligenter hortamur, quatenus communi pace et

futuris mutuae benevolentiae meritis attentis cives et incolas nostros quoscumque praefatae civitatis nostrae ob causas tam immeritas et praeter communem iustitiam iurisque ordinem indebitis huiusmodi prohibitionibus, arrestationibus et impedimentis turbari ac molestari permittere non velitis et dignemini. Quod erga vestras dominationibus et vestrum quempiam loco et tempore auctis semper honoribus et complacentiis magis ac magis mereri studebimus. Si quis enim quidquam actionis aut quaestionis contra nos aut nostrum alterum habere dinoscitur, is causam suam in nostri medio legitime prosequi velit, cui tandem iuris et iustitiae ac debitae satisfactionis complementum exhibere semper parati esse volumus. Praesentibus perlectis exhibentibus restituere rogantes. Datum Cibinii in crastino festi Innocentium, anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo.

Gündisch Gustav (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 6, doc.3836

**Bălcaciu 1471 May 14 Mayor Thomas Altenberger, royal judge Ladislaus Hann and two Magistrate members from Sibiu ask the mayor Jorg Eyben regarding the leasing of the Vigesima**

Unsern früntlichen gruesz zewor. Ersamen vnd weysen lieben herrnn vnd fründt. Als ewch ewr weysheit wyssennlich mag sein, das vnser czeytt des bestannds des zwainczigsten auff den nachsten suntag noch Vrbani ausz wird sein vnd wir vns noch nicht auff das zwkuenfftig jar genzlich gewilligt haben das zw behalden. Darum so pitt wir eüch mit fleysz, das ir durch vnseren willen, dy mwe auf welt nemen vnd do pey welt sein, wenn man dy lad ader pucksen auff wird thun; das ir das gelt vorsigellen welt mit sampt den registern vnd hüllffig welt sein, domit das gelt vnd register auff Engeter jarmarck mit ainem bekandten sicheren man zw vnseren hennden geschickt werd. Vnd welt auch hüllffig sein, domit alle schuld ausgetriben werd, es sey an gelt ader an war, domit wir nicht zw schaden kumen. Das steet vns hinffür vmb ewch vnd ewr yeden in sunderheytt zw werdienen. Geben zw dem Bolkasz feria 3a post Servacii episcopi, anno domini 1471.

Magister Thomas Altenberger, burgermaster,  
Ladislaus Hann kunigsrichter, Barthmes  
Hutter vnd Nicolos Craus geschworene  
purger in der Hermstad, ewr gutte frundt.

Gündisch Gustav (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 6, doc.3871

**Sibiu 1472 June 1 The Magistrate of Sibiu testifies that Paul, the son of Christoforus Italicus, sold his house on the Great Ring in Sibiu to Georg Hecht.**

Nos Thomas Altenberger magister civium, Ladislaus Haan regius, Georgius Sartor sedis iudices, item Bartholomeus Huetter, Bartholomeus Pictor, Johannes Burger, Benedictus Carnifex, Nicolaus Kroner, Johannes Praydem, Cristannus Franczyos, Ludovicus Stromer, Nicolaus Zetsch, Johannes Henrici, Cristannus Lederer et Johannes de Longocampo consules, Stephanus Pictor villicus civitatis Cibiniensis memoriae commendamus tenore praesentium significantes quibus incumbit universis, quod nostrae universitatis venit praesentiam bonae indolis adolescens bene adultus et annos citra decem octo attingens Paulus, filius prudentis viri Cristoferi quondam Italici de Florencia, civis de Riuulodominarum camerarii alias, ibidem recognovit et rationabiliter fatebatur, quomodo publicis eum vergentibus necessitatibus atque pleno desuper habito mandato et irrevocabili voluntate virtuosae dominae Barbarae sororis suae, coniugis videlicet circumspecti Francisci Italici, concivis civitatis Coluswar nobis superinde literas nihilominus iudicis et iuratorum civium praefatae Coluswar praesentans, quandam domum suam materno hereditario iure ad se iuste devolutam in circulo maiori memoratae civitatis nostrae meridianam versus plagam inter domus prudentum virorum Oswaldi alias magistri civium ab inferiori et Martini condam Remszer a superiori partibus sitam et habitam cum universis et singulis metis limitibus accessibus, egressibus et stillicidiis ac fenestralibus ac pertinentiis et iustis utilitatibus suis de iure et antiquitus ad eam domum quomodolibet spectantibus, nulla proprietate seu iure sibi reservato, vendidisset vendendoque assignasset circumspecto viro Georgio Hecht dicto iamdictae civitatis nostrae concivi per eumque suis heredibus et posteritatibus posteritatum et heredum suorum legitimis successoribus iure hereditario pacifice possidendam, tenendam pariter et habendam in usus gratos et sibi beneplacitos limitandam et convertendam pro certa florenorum auri summa prompte solutis et perceptis. Assumendo praetera memoratus Paulus pro se atque nomine et personis omnium et singulorum amicorum, consanguineorum item heredum atque legitimorum successorum suorum ceterorumque linia affinitatis quoquomodo attinentium promisit, praetactum Georgium Hecht necnon heredes suos et successores heredum universos, praesentes et futuros, ratione hereditariae proprietatis eiusdem domus venditae ab omni instantia iuris vel facti relevare et contra quoscumque impeditores illegittimos tueri pariter et defendere propriis suis fatigis et expensis iuris proprietatem eiusdem domus emptori et suis defensurus. Ad cuius rei memoriam roburque perpetuum praesentes sigillo maiori saepetactae civitatis nostrae et autentico appenso obsignari duximus. Datum Cibinii feria secunda proxima post festum beati Urbani papae, anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo secundo.

Gündisch Gustav (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 6, doc.3916

**Dej 1473 August 17 The Transylvanian voivode Blasius Magyar confirms the results of an investigation regarding the attack of 1472 on the mayors of Sibiu and Braşov**

Nos Blasius Magyar vaivoda Transsiluanus ac Sicularum comes memoriae commendamus, quod cum nobis in praesenti conventionem nobilium potiorum harum partium Transsiluanarum regni per nos de literatorio mandato serenissimi principis domini Mathiae dei gratia regis Hungariae, Bohemiae et cetera domini nostri gratiosi nobis superinde iniuncto pro sciscitandis et investigandis predonibus, latronibus et spoliatoribus Rascianorum regalium ac aliorum hominum quorumvis rebus et bonis suis in exitu Keres ac etiam aliarum viarum ab hoc regno versus Hungarum profisci continuari debendarum in praesenti scilicet et in praeterito annis spoliatorum in hoc opido facto et celebrata constitutis et cum eisdem regnicolis ratione praevia tractantibus prudentes et circumspecti viri Jacobus Fohnagh, civis civitatis Brassoviensis, ac Simon, iudex de Rosno, in personis universorum civium et inhabitatorum eiusdem civitatis Brassoviensis ab una, item Benedictus Mesarus dictus iudex civitatis Cibiniensis ac Simon de Zewch hospes eiusdem civitatis similiter in eorum ac aliorum cunctorum civium ipsius civitatis Cibiniensis ab alia, necnon Georgius Feyer inhabitator civitatis Pestiensis a tertia partibus nostram scilicet et regnicolarum praedictorum venientes in praesentiam consona voce significare querulose curarunt in hunc modum: Quod dum ipsi ac Thomas Cibiniensis necnon condam Nicolaus Hozyw Brassoviensis, civitatum praedictarum magistri civium, item venerabilis magister Jacobus plebanus de Naghchwyr una cum aliis quam pluribus hominibus tam de eisdem quam de Segeswar civitatibus existentibus ac familiaribus propriis perfectis eorum legationibus apud regiam maiestatem circa festum ascensionis domini in anno proxime transacto praeteritum ab eadem regia maiestate praesentibus Rascianis de Kewy has partes Transsiluanas per viam Keres pariter ingredi habuissent et ad terram magnifici Nicolai de Belthek videlicet prope possessionem Fekethetho pervenissent, tunc nonnulli predones et spoliatores manibus armatis in ipsos hostiliter irruentes praefatos Nicolaum Hozyw magistrum civium necnon magistrum Jacobum plebanum nece miserabili interemissent, annotatum vero Georgium Feyer acto vulneribus letalibus ceteroquoque ex ipsis quam plures diris verberum et ulnerum plagis affecissent, universis quoque rebus et bonis eorum ut puta equis, vestimentis, tapetis, promptis pecuniis et argenterii generaliter quibusvis aliis protunc erga ipsis habitis et repertis eosdem privassent et spoliassent easdemque et eadem ab ipsis abstulissent ita videlicet, quod in huiusmodi rerum et bonorum ablationibus, exceptis interemtionibus vulnerationibusque hominum cives Cibinienses inclusis rebus dicti condam magistri Jacobi plebani mille et quingentos, cives autem Brassoviensis civitatum praedictarum ducentos, annotatus siquidem Georgius Feyer quingentos, quidem vero Matheus familiaris iamfati Thomae magistri civium decem et septem florenos auri dampna perpassi extitissent. Quibus praemissis per dictos cives ac Georgium Feyer modo praemisso propositionibus factis, idem pecierunt nos ac regnicolas praedictos instanter,

ut ipsos de praedictis predonibus et spoliatoribus de quorum bonis fuere per quos videlicet ipsi praemisso modo haberentur dampnificati [S. 554] et periclitati superinde inquisitione subsecuta certiores redderemus. Cumque nos iuxta regium mandatum omni diligentia adhibita inter cetera super praemissis in eo videlicet de quorum bonis praemissae spoliationes, latrocinia, homicidiaque et vulnerationes tempore in praedicto factae et commisa extitissent diutius inter regnicolas sciscitati et scrutati fuisset ex pluribus evidentibus documentis exinde per regnicolas factis potissime inter alia, quia nonnullae res et bona Rascianorum praedictorum regalium, qui similiter tempore in dicto periclitati extitere in bonis et possessionibus egregii Johannis Kys de Zeredahel ad nostrum scitum repertae et inventae extitissent praemissas spoliationes, latrocinia, homicidia, verberationes dampnaque praemissa praelibatis civibus civitatum praedictarum ac Georgio Feyer de bonis et possessionibus magnificorum Nicolai Dragfy de Beitek, qui ad praesentem conventionem per nos admonitus et evocatus se coram regnicolis expurgaturum venire aut suos homines mittere recusavit. Item domini Johannis Pongaracz de Dengeleg ac praefati Johannis Kys factas commissasque et patratas fuisse et extitisse pariter cum regnicolis in dicta conventionem nobiscum existentibus comperimus manifeste. In cuius evidens testimonium praesentes literas nostras annotatis civibus civitatum praedictarum necnon Georgio Feyer petentibus eisdem duximus concedendas. Datum in dicto opido Dees feria tertia proxima post festum assumptionis beatae Mariae virginis, anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo tertio.

Gündisch Gustav (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 6, doc. 3965

**1473 August 31 King Matthias grants the city of Sibiu and the Saxons of the Seven Chairs the right to extend the road through the Turnu Roşu Pass at their own expense.**

Nos Mathias dei gratia rex Hungariae, Bohemiae et cetera significamus tenore praesentium quibus expedit universis, quod inter cunctas diligentiae et providentiae nostrae sollicitudinis quibus versamur, ut recte in laudem nostri nominis et commodum subditorum hoc a deo nobis commissum imperium gubernetur, haec praecipua animo nostro insidet cura, ut rebus in cunctis publicam utilitatem subditorum nostrorum praeferamus eosque industria regamus, ut et nostra regia providentia apud eos laudem habere mereatur et ipsorum animus ad maiora virtutum opera magis accendatur. Accedentes ilaque nostrae maiestatis in conspectum fideles nostri circumspecti magister Thomas Althemberger, magister civium, et Nicolaus Aurifaber, iuratus civis civitatis nostrae Cibiniensis nobisque in suis ac universorum civium et inhabitatorum eiusdem civitatis nostrae Cibiniensis necnon Saxonum septem sedium Saxonicalium [S. 555] personis exponere curarunt in hunc modum. Quomodo quadam via prope eandem civitatem nostram Cibiniensem penes quoddam castrum Weresthoron existens ad partes Transalpinas tendens, per

quam res mercimoniales ad ipsam civitatem et de ipsa civitate nostra ad alia loca asportari deberent, adeo stricta esset, ut vix unus equus dumtaxat sequi alium posset, saepiusque per inundationes aquarum et nivium in tantum obstrueretur, ut nemo per eandem viam ire neque redire posset, ex cuius viae strictitate incolae eiusdem civitatis nostrae et ipsi Saxones non parvum dampnum sumpserunt. Supplicatum itaque extitit nostrae maiestati per praefatos magistrum civium et Nicolaum iuratum civem ut praemittitur in suis et aliorum universorum et singulorum civium de eadem civitate nostra et ipsorum Saxonum personis, ut ipsis circa praemissa provisionem talem, ut per ipsam viam amplior transitus omnibus per eandem transire vel redire volentibus redderetur, facere diguaremur. Nosque qui ex suscepti nostri regiminis officio ea quae commoda subditorum nostrorum concernere videntur, admittere et ipsorum commoditatibus praeintendere tenemur, supplicationem huiusmodi attendentes fore iustam et consonam rationi, supplicationibus ipsis inclinati, eisdem iudici, iuratis ceterisque civibus et toti communitati dictae civitatis nostrae Cibiniensis nec non universis et singulis septem sedium Saxonicalium Saxonibus id gratiose sed et de plenitudine nostrae regiae potestatis annuendum duximus et concendendum, ut ipsi praescriptam viam in tantum dilatare seu ampliare propriis eorum sumptibus et expensis, ut per eandem universas mercancias eorum ac alias quascumque res sub quocumque genere et specie existentes, pro viciu et amictu eorum necessarias per currus et animalia ipsos currus trahentia ad ipsam civitatem nostram Cibiniensem adducere seu adduci facere et de ipsa civitate nostra ad alia loca, qua maluerint, dimittere seu dimitti facere possint et valeant. Immo annuimus et concedimus ita tamen, ut ipsi cives omnem diligentiam et debitam custodiam adhibeant, ne exinde per ampliacionem huiusmodi viae regnicolis nostris illarum partium per incursus emulorum nostrorum aliqua dampna inferantur. Harum nostrarum, quibus secretum sigillum nostrum est appensum, vigore et testimonio literarum mediante. Datum Budae feria tertia proxima post festum decollationis beati Johannis baptistae, anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo tertio, regnorum nostrorum anno Hungariae et cetera sextodecimo, Bohemiae vero quinto.

Gündisch Gustav (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 6, doc.3966

**Székesfehérvár 1474: The chapter of the Hungarian province of the Dominicans accepts the conditions imposed by the Magistrate of Sibiu for moving the Dominican monastery within the city walls**

Nos fratres Johannes Episcopi sacrae theologiae professor provincialis per regnum Hungariae fratrum ordinis praedicatorum, item Marcus sacrae theologiae lector, prior Albae regalis ac praedicator generalis, Michael de Kechkemeth dictae facultatis profesor, Paulinus eiusdem facultatis lector, prior Quinqueecclesiensis ac praedicator generalis nec non et Augustinus de Zagrabia sacrae theologiae lector, prior Zagradiensis ac praedicator generalis

diffinitores capituli provincialis provinciae Hungariae in Alba regali anno domini M° CCCC° LXXIII° celebrato dicti ordinis praedicatorum providis ac circumspicis viris magistro civium, iudicibus, senioribus iuratisque civibus ac toti communitati civitatis Cibiniensis salutem in domino Jesu cum orationum suffragio devotarum. Quia conventus nostri ordinis ecclesiae sanctae Crucis extra muros civitatis vestrae fundatus esse dinoscitur, qui ob frequentes perfidorum Teucrorum incursus adeo manifestis patet periculis, quod nisi ad praesidia munitionum dictae civitatis intra muros transferatur, fratres in eodem constituti nunquam de sua vita existunt securi, ruinaque et devastatio, nedum ipsi monasterio sed et dictae civitati vestrae ex ipso monasterio vehementer formidatur. Cum itaque iuxta literatorum mandatum serenissimi principis et domini domini. Mathyae regis Hungariae et cetera domini nostri gratiosissimi vestrae circumspicuae providentiae requisitae nostri ordinis in persona fuissent super eo, ut de mandato regio visis praesentibus intra praesidia murorum civitatis vestrae ipsum monasterium transferri deberet, vestre tandem circumspiciones matura deliberatione praehabita sponte consensere, dummodo infrascriptos articulos fratres nostri in ipso monasterio canstruendo pro tempore existentes observare vellent. Quorum primus talis est: Quod iura ab ecclesia Romana instituta et instituenda et apostolica indulta fratres in ipso monasterio transferendo pro tempore constituti teneant et observent. Secundus: Quod antiqua debita civitatis a legantibus pro testamento sine scitu dominorum ipsius civitatis civium non acceptent, et si ex consensu eorum acceptata fuerint et admissa per eosdem cives diiudicentur et extra eorum iudicium non deducantur, sed per eos bono fnei terminentur. Tertius: Quod terra sancti crucis extra muros civitatis cum omnibus aedificiis immobilibus ad manus et arbitrium dominorum consulum resignetur sive destruendo, sive sic dimittendo seu alios ad locum eundem ponendo, ut faciant et ordinent, singula ad placitum eorum. Quartus: Quod fratres in ipso monasterio construendo, qui pro tempore fuerint, vivant iuxta regulam suae professionis et sanctiones sanctorum patrum sui ordinis. Quintus: Quod concurrentibus pluralitatibus fratrum prior seu praelatus et maior pars fratrum sint Theutoni. Post quorum quidem articulorum propositionem et examinationem praevia matura deliberatione in nostro diffinitorio praehabita, dictos articulos acceptavimus, immo tenore praesentium acceptamus, per fratresque nostros omnes et singulos, qui dictum monasterium sicut praefertur transferendo futuris perpetuis temporibus incolaverint, censuimus observandos, mandantes eisdem in virtute spiritus sancti et sanctae obedientiae, quatenus iuxta nostram acceptationem eosdem articulos observare debeant et teneantur. In cuius rei testimonium firmitatemque perpetuam praesentes literas sigillis nostris pendentibus consignavimus in dicto capitulo nostro provinciali celebrato, anno domini M° CCCC° LXXIII° supradicto.

Gündisch Gustav (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 7, doc. 4022

**Seghedin 1475 October 25 Matthias Corvinus asks the mayor of Sibiu, Thomas Altemberger, to compensate Toma Kadar from the city tax for the confiscated oxen**

Mathias dei gratia rex Hungariae, Bohemiae et cetera. Prudens et circumspecte fidelis nobis dilecte. Quia nos fideli nostro circumspecto Thomas Kadar pro illis centum minus duobus bobus, quos ab eodem pro necessitate nostra auferri fecimus, pro singulis eorum de taxa ipsius civitatis nostrae tres florenos auri per te dari deputavimus, quae in toto faciunt ducentos et nonaginta sex florenos auri. Ideo fidelitati tuae mandamus, quatenus receptis praesentibus praefato Thomae Kadar civi illius civitatis nostrae Cibiniensis de dicta taxa praefatos ducentos et nonaginta sex florenos auri nostram regiam ad rationem reddere et restituere debeas. Secus non facturus. Praesentes superinde annullari secreto nostro consignatas pro tua expeditione reserves. Datum Zegedini in profesto beati Demetrii martiri, anno domini et cetera LXX<sup>o</sup> quinto, regnorum nostrorum anno Hungariae et cetera decimo octavo, Bohemiae vero septimo.

Mathias rex manu propria.

*On the back:* Prudenti et circumspecto Thomae Literato, magistro civium civitatis nostrae Cibiniensis, fideli nobis sincere dilecto.

Gündisch Gustav (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 7, doc. 4072

**Petrovaradin 1475 November 28 Matthias Corvinus asks the mayor of Sibiu, Thomas Altemberger, to pay Toma from Sibiu the value of the oxen that he delivererd to the king**

Matthias dei gratia rex Hungariae, Bohemiae et cetera. Prudens et circumspecte fidelis nobis dilecte. Quaecumque causa fuerit, quod huic Thomae de Cibinio pretia bo(v)um suorum ad literas nostras priores, quas cum manuscripto nostro pro te ad te miseramus, non reddideris, scias nobis valde displicuisset. Unde iterato firmissime praecipimus tibi et mandamus et ita omnino volumus aliud habere nolentes, quatenus statim receptis praesentibus praefatum Thomam de pretio bo(v)um suorum qualitercumque poteris contentum reddas iuxta continentias priorum literarum nostrarum. Et eum amplius ad nos non remittas si vis evitari indignationem nostram. Et praesentes unacum prioribus literis nostris pro tua teneas expeditione. Ex Petrovaradini feria tertia proxima post festum beatae Catherinae, anno et cetera LXX<sup>mo</sup> quinto, regnorum nostrorum Hungariae et cetera anno XVIII<sup>o</sup>, Bohemiae vero septimo.

Gündisch Gustav (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 7, doc. 4079

**Sighișoara 1481 November 18 The Transylvanian voivode Stephan Báthori orders the Sibiu mayor Thomas Altemberger to pay the doctor Jakob his salary**

Egregie amice noster dilecte. Referente nobis egregio magistro Iacobo doctore artis et medicinae, qui vobis a certis temporibus in urbe Cibiniensi residens in arte medicinae sua exhibuit servita intelleximus, quomodo sibi de salariis suis quibus sibi usque ad haec tempora obligaremini nulli satisfactio impensa fuisset. Unde quia dignus est mercenarius mercede sua et cum ipse magister Iacobus ad deferendas et exportandas medicinas et res medicinae per eum de Vyenna delatas non mediocres dicit se fecisse expensas, tum igitur ob hoc tum vero ex eo, ut si et dum tempore ingruente ipse doctor aut alter loco sui vestri in medium necessarius fuerit, extunc eos habere [S. 299] valeatis, rogamus vestras dilectiones praesentibus, quatenus de salariis dicti magistri Iacobi doctoris, quibus sibi usque ad haec tempora obligamini, eidem satisfacere et exolvere velitis et debeatis. Nec secus optamus facturi, ut et ceteri audita vestra bona fama ad servitia vestra eo ferventius confluant. Datum in Segeswar die dominico proximo ante festum beatae Elyzabeth viduae, anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo octogesimo primo. Comes Stephanus de Bathor, iudex curiae regiae vaivodaque Transsilvanus et cetera.

Gündisch Gustav (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 7, doc. 4449

**1483 August 25 Matthias Corvinus certifies his document from 1472 (no. 3927) regarding the donation of Făgăraș and Amlaș**

*König Matthias, den prudentes et circumspecti Thomas Altenberger Cibiniensis et Michael Polner de Segeswar civitatum nostrarum magistri civium ... in ipsorum ac cunctorum aliorum civium et hospitem et totius comunitatis earundem civitatum nostrarum nec non universorum Saxonum Septem sedium partium regni nostri Transsilvanarum nominibus confirms his document from 1472 No. »3927* quibus mediantibus nos districtum Fogaras appellatum ac possessionem Omlas vocatam in dictis partibus Transilvanis existentes simul cum aliis villis et possessionibus in eodem districtu habitis et ad ipsam possessionem Omlas pertinentibus ac pariter cum cunctis aliis utilitatibus memoratis iudicibus, civibus et hospitem ac tot communitati dictae civitatis nostrae Cibiniensis ac Saxonibus praedictarum sedium universis... novae nostrae donationis titulo imperpetuum dedisse ac contulisse dinoscimus... Datum per manus reverendissimi in Christo patris domini Petri ecclesiarum Colocensis et Bachiensis canonice unitarum archiepiscopi, aulae nostrae summi et secretarii cancellarii dilecti et fidelis nostri, anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo tertio, octava Calendas septembris, regnorum nostrorum Hungariae et cetera anno vigesimo sexto, Bohemiae vero quintodecimo.

Gündisch Gustav (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 7, doc. 4536

**1483 December 1 The mayor of Sibiu, Thomas Altemberger, writes to the judge and council of Braşov regarding the lease of the Vigesima and the Trigesima**

Salutationem cum honore exhibitionem praemissam. Prudentes ac circumspecti viri domini et amici honorandi. Nolo vestras dominationes latere me bina vice accepisse intimata magnifici ac reverendi domini Urbani et cetera thesaurarii maiestatis regiae medio Johannis Pathoczy et domum proprii familiaris mei michi relata ex parte vigesimae, an pro anno futuro huiusmodi vigesima arrendare vellemus vel non. Nunc iterum propria manu sua scripsit in haec verba. Quid autem in facto tricesimae sive vectigalis in Transsilvania conclusistis, prout per Jankonem vobis intimavimus nobis significare debeatis. Videtur enim michi et aliis quod haec surda aure ac sine responsione fienda pertransire non sit cautum et cetera. Quare vestras dominationes et amicitias sub sincera fiducia hortor, ut considerationes vestras in hoc facto ac voluntatem per nuntios vestros huc mittendos in censu bene informatos michi et aliis civibus significare velitis. Intimavit etiam praedictus dominus thesaurarius, quod dominus noster vaivoda valde instaret apud maiestatem regiam pro dicta tricesima pro se habenda sed ipse apud maiestatem regiam secrete declarasset, quod vestris amicitiiis et nobis magnum gravamen inde evenire posset. Ex alia vero nos timemus, ut ipsi nunc dispendebimus praedictam exactionem velle habere, quod statim ituro petet pecunias. Quo modo ergo haec dirigi debent, optamus ut vota vestra nobis similiter secrete referebatis una cum informatione nuntiorum vestrorum huc mittendorum. Haec propria manu scripsi raptim, ut facta praedicta permaneant secretiora. Datis feria secunda post festum beati Andreae apostoli 1483.

M. Thomas Altemberger magister civium Cibiniensis vester ad vota.

Gündisch Gustav (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 7, doc. 4546

**1485 February 26 Testament of Thomas Altemberger, mayor of Sibiu.**

Ego magister Thomas Altemberger, magister civium et camerarius Cibiniensis cum intra suae mentis archana recogitans mortem unicuique proximam esse octat [ ] nihil certius mori et nihil incertius horam mortis. Idcirco volens ne temporum in processu inter heredes meos legitimos videlicet Michaellem, Annam et Thomam, olim ex coniuge mea charissima felicis recordii Braxedae, filia Oswaldi, procreatos ac nobilem dominam Affram consortem meam modernam et heredes similiter meos ex eadem natos et nascendos praetextu tertialistatis praedictorum primorum heredum meorum ad eosdem spectantis lites et controversiae materiae ac odii differentiae suboriantur praefatos filios et filiam Michaellem, Thomam et Annam ratione genetricis eorundem videlicet Michaelis, Thomae et Annae requisitos habui et feci in praesentia circumspectorum virorum Benedicti Carnificis, Laurentii Sartoris, iuratorum civium, ac Martini Glakengisser

villici civitatis Cibiniensis, necnon Joannis Bachluy et Mihaelis Nicolai loco aliorum amicorum an dispositioni et discussioni meae praetextu praedictae tertialitatis de iure et consuetudine ratione omnium bonorum mobilium et immobilium a deo mihi collatorum ad eosdem heredes meos spectantis stare et confidenter ac irrevocabiliter compromittere vellent, aut si divisioni praedictorum bonorum mobilium et immobilium intromittere intenderent. Qui heredes videlicet Michael, Thomas et Anna de consensu amicorum suorum stipulatis manibus pene confisi de paterno amore compromiserunt et assumpserunt eligentes se de novo dispositioni et discussioni paternali irrevocabiliter velle stare nec ullo unquam tempore dispositionem meam ratione dictae tertialitatis ville impugnare, infringere seu eidem contradicere sed rata et grata omnia promittentes observare. Unde ego propositiones et quae in principio hinc scripta sunt, hanc distinctionem seu dispositionem inter praedictos heredes et coheredes id feci et facio ac iubeo irrevocabiliter observandum: Primo volo et mea paternali favore discerno ante omnia Michaeli, Thomae et Annae praedictis cuilibet insolidum cedere et dandos esse mille florenos auri, item cuilibet deputari et dari debent annuli aurei duo, qui annuli sex ad minus simul computati valere debent florenos 18. Item cuilibet iamdictorum heredum meorum similiter de argenteis aut de melioribus neque infimis sed mediocribus dari debent Budensi marcae decem. Pro parte autem vestimentorum et utensilium meorum praedicti tres heredes pesripere debent omnia vestimenta olim genitricis eorundem seclusis fibulis, quae ad alia argenteria computari debent. In hereditatibus autem omnibus tam hic quam in Offenbanya, Enyed, Tholmach, Insula Christiana et Wynch habitis, videlicet montanis, domibus, piscinis, pratis, vineis, hortis, agris et aliis quibuscumque a me iuste possessis tertialitatem seu tertiam partem integre consequi et percipere debent. Sed hortum<sup>2</sup> maiorem olim domini Oswaldi, qui ad solum ipsum Michaellem conspectat et praeter domum olim Joannis Brigidae similiter ad dictam divisionem concedere non debet, sed ad communem omnium heredum meorum pertinere. Casu autem quo aliquis praedictorum trium heredum ante me vitam suam finiret temporalem aut, quod absit, infamiae seu criminis labem incurreret, propterquam nihil quam merito parte sua privari posset, extunc pecunia nominatim superius expressata videlicet mille florenos simul et decem marcas argenti cum annulis ad me tamquam genitorem devolvi et pertinere debent. Vestimenta vero matris at tertia pars omnium hereditatum superius expressatorum provenire et spectare debent de altero ad alterum heredum vel heredes superstites illorum trium usque ultimum quo decedente sine testamentaria dispositione omnia devolvi debent ad alios heredes meos iuxta communem observantiam iuris. In cuius rei evidentiam et robur praesentes manu mea propria conscriptas signetis praedictorum Martini Glockengiesser, villici, ae Joannis Bachlevy et mea in literis clausis ad cautelam assignari feci. Scriptum sabbato ante Reminiscere, anno domini 1485. Paria literarum manere debent aput amicos utrorumque heredum.

Gündisch Gustav (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 7, doc. 4588

**Buda 1486 February 6 King Matthias places the domains of Petiș and Răvășel, which were donated to the St. Mary's Church of Sibiu by Clara, the widow of Count Peter von Rothberg, under the jurisdiction of the Seven Chairs.**

Commissio propria domini regis.

Nos Mathias dei gratia rex Hungariae, Bohemiae et cetera memoriae commendamus tenore praesentium significantes quibus expedit universis, quod os accepta supplicatione nobilis et circumspecti Thomae Altemperger magistri civium civitatis nostrae Cibiniensis per ipsum maiestati nostrae facta, volentes denique commoditati ecclesiae beatae Mariae virginis in ipsa civitate nostra fundatae consulere et providere, quandam possessionem Petri dictam cum aliquibus sessionibus possessionis Rawas in comitatu Albensi per nobilem dominam Claram relictam condam Petri de Weresmarth de consensu et beneplacita voluntate nostra ipsae ecclesiae beatae Mariae virginis in testamento legatam et commissam consequenterque populos et incolas pro tempore in eisdem commorantes ab omni iudicio, iurisdictione et iudicatu vaivodae vel vicevaivodae Transsilvanensium ac comitum vel vicecomitum praefati comitatus Albensis aliorumque cunctorum iudicum partium illarum regni nostri Transsilvanensium, item ab omni connumeratione atque solutione taxarum collectarum nec non exercitatione, excubiis vigiliisque ac ceteris quibuscumque oneribus quibus hactenus in medium universitatis nobilium illarum partium aut eorundem iobagionum astricti et obligati fuissent, duximus eximendos et libertandos ipsos iudicio et iurisdictioni ac potestati magistri civium Cibiniensis et iudicum septem sedium Saxonicalium instar aliarum villarum ad eandem ecclesiam pertinentium integraliter reservando immo eximimus et libertamus praesentium per vigorem. Quocirca vobis fidelibus nostris vaivodae vel vicevaivodae Transsilvanensi ac comiti vel vicecomiti praefati comitatus Albensis, cunctis etiam aliis iudicibus partium illarum pro tempore constitutis harum serie strictissime mandamus, quatenus a modo imposterum praefatam possessionem [S. 412] Petri consequenterque populos et incolas in, sessionibus ad eandem pertinentibus commorantes ad nullius instantiam iudicare vel astare iudicatu atque ad solutionem praemissarum taxarum collectarum, nec non exercitacionem excubiasque et vigiliis faciendas contra formam praemissae nostrae exemptionis artare et compellere audeatis quoquomodo. Si qui enim aliquid actionis contra ipsos populos aut eorum alterum habere se praetendunt, hi id in praesentia eorundem magistri civium Cibiniensis ac ceterorum iudicum dictarum septem sedium Saxonicalium, quorum scilicet intererit, iuridice prosequantur. Praesentes autem post earum lecturam semper reddi mandamus praesentanti. Datum Budae in festo beatae Dorotheae virginis et martiris, anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo octogesimo sexto, regnorum nostrorum Hungariae et cetera anno vigesimo octavo, Bohemiae vero decimo septimo.

Gündisch Gustav (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 7, doc. 4622

**1486 februarie 6 King Matthias confirms the Golden Charter of the Transylvanian Saxons for all the Saxons of Transylvania**

Mathias dei gratia Hungariae, Bohemiae, Dalmaciae, Croaciae, Ramae, Serviae, Galliciae, Lodomeriae, Comaniae Bulgariaeque rex ac Silesiae et Lucemburgensis dux necnon Lusaciae et Moraviae marchio omnibus Christi fidelibus praesentibus pariter et futuris praesentium notitiam habituris salutem in omnium salvatore. Regiae celsitudini congruit et ad laudem perhennem accedit, ut fideles subditos in hiis libertatum praerogativis qui per eos magnis virtutibus et servitiis ipsis ab antiquo regibus perarte sunt conservet et eorum privilegia ne ea labens temporis aetas vetustate debeat novo privilegiorum patrocinio perpetuo durante roboret et confirmet. Proinde ad universorum notitiam harum serie volumus pervenire, quod fidelis noster egregius Thomas Althemberger, magister civium et camararius noster Cibiniensis maiestatis nostrae veniens in conspectum in sua ac universorum Saxonum nostrorum partium regni nostri Transilvanarum personis exhibuit nobis et praesentavit quasdam literas serenissimi condam domini Sigismundi imperatoris et regis felicitis memoriae ... supplicans maiestati nostrae humiliter, ut praescriptas literas annotati condam domini Sigismundi regis et omnia in eisdem contenta ratas, gratas et accepta habentes praesentibusque literis nostris similiter privilegialibus de verbo ad verbum inscribi facientes pro praefatis universis Saxonibus nostris innovando perpetuo valituras confirmare dignemur. Quarumquidem literarum tenor talis est: ... Nos itaque supplicatione praefati Thomae Althemberger per eum suo et aliorum quorum supra nominibus et in personis maiestati nostrae porrecta regia benignitate exaudita clementer et admissa praescriptas literas annotati condam domini Sigismundi imperatoris et regis privilegiales non abrasas, non cancellatas nec in aliqua sui parte suspectas praesentibusque literis nostris similiter privilegialibus de verbo ad verbum sine diminutione et augmento aliquali insertas quoad omnes earum continentias, clausulas, articulos et puncta eatenus quatenus eadem rite et legitime existunt emanatae viribusque earum veritas suffragatur ratificamus, approbamus easque et omnia in eis contenta pro praefatis universis Saxonibus nostris innovantes perpetuo valituras confirmamus praesentis scripti nostri patrocinio mediante. In cuius rei memoriam firmitatemque perpetuam praesentes literas nostras privilegiales pendentis et autentici dupplicis sigilli nostri munimine roboratas eisdem Saxonibus nostris duximus concedendas. Datum per manus reverendi in Christo patris domini Johannis episcopi Waradiensis, secretarii cancellarii nostri fidelis dilecti, anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo octogesimo sexto, octavo Idus Februarii, regnorum nostrorum anno Hungariae et cetera vigesimo nono, Bohemiae vero decimo septimo.

**Buda 1486 December 4**

*König Matthias beauftragt das Weissenburger Kapitel bei der Einführung der Sieben Stühle in den neuerlichen Besitz der Hälfte von Racovița mitzuwirken, die ihnen von Ladislaus und Tobias, Söhnen des Georg Thabyassy von Hetzeldorf und von den Erben nach Simon Magnus streitig gemacht wird. Dem Auftrag geht eine ausführliche Darlegung des Rechtsstreites voraus. Derzufolge haben die Bürgermeister Thomas Altemberger von Hermannstadt und Michael Polner von Schässburg, die Königsrichter Stephan Kroner von Broos und Peter Krich von Mühlbach, die Ratsgeschworenen Benedikt Carnifex und Lorenz Sartor von Hermannstadt, Stephan Magyary von Mühlbach und Martin von Winz als Vertreter der Sieben Stühle am 3. Juli 1486 in Klausenburg vor den mit richterlichen Vollmachten ausgestatteten königlichen Sonderbeauftragten, den Protonotaren Ladislaus von Doroghaza und Stephan von Hassag gegen die erwähnten Ladislaus, und Tobias Thabyassy wegen des Besitzrechtes auf eine Hälfte von Racovița Klage geführt. Sie heben darin hervor, dass die Thabyassys sich um das Jahr 1467 [S. 469] die in Frage stehende Hälfte von Racovița mit Gewalt angeeignet und sie auch gegenwärtig noch innehaben, obwohl diese Hälfte von Racovița den Sieben Stühlen von König Ladislaus V. im Jahre 1453 als zum Besitztum des Roten Turms gehörig zu Eigen gegeben worden war. Die beklagte Partei erwidert, dass sie mittels königlicher Schenkung in den Besitz des halben Racovița gekommen sei und legt zum Beweis die Urkunden von 1473 Nr 3978, von 1474 Nr. 3983 und von 1387 Nr 1213 vor. Dem halten die Vertreter der Sieben Stühle entgegen, dass diese Hafte der Besetzung Racovița Johann und Michael de Morgonda niemals gehört habe und begründen ihren Besitzanspruch mit den Urkunden von 1453 Nr. 2818 und von 1453 Nr. 2829. Hierauf schalten sich noch ein Georg und Barbara. Gattin des Nikolaus de Buda, als Kinder des verstorbenen Simon Magnus von Nadesch und erheben gleichfalls Anspruch auf die strittige Besitzhälfte, Ihren Rechtsanspruch belegen sie mit den Urkunden von 1443 Nr. 2457, 1455 Nr. 2997 und von 1456 Nr. 3007. Wegen der eigentümlichen Schwierigkeit, hier eine klare Entscheidung zu treffen weisen die beiden Protonotare diesen Rechtsfall an das königliche Gericht, das am 6. Oktober im Beisein des Mühlbacher Königsrichters Peter Krich und des Kronstädter Ratsherrn Peter Beer in ausführlicher auf die Urkunden gestützter rechtlicher Begründung zu Gunsten der Sieben Stühle entscheidet, Dabei werden ausser den bereits erwähnten noch die Urkunden von 1469 Nr. 3748, 1467 Nr. 3549 und 1467 Nr. 3547 herangezogen und auszugsweise mitgeteilt. Als Vertreter des Königs bei der vorzunehmenden Neueinführung der Sieben Stühle in den Wiederbesitz der Hälfte von Racovița werden genannt: Gregorius oder Valentinus de Hozywazo, Nicolaus Sykesd de Therem bzw, Nicolaus iunior de Gerend, Gaspar de Bolya, Petrus de Wezewd oder Jacobus Gereb de Musna.*

Datum Budae sexagesimo die octavarum festi beati Michaelis archangeli praedictarum. anno domini millesimo quadingentesimo octogesimo sexto.

Gündisch Gustav (ed), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Vol. 7, doc. 4680

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## THOUGHTS ON SOME COMMUNIST MONUMENTS FROM TRANSYLVANIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE '80<sup>s</sup>

Andreea Corca\*

**Abstract:** *My research is designed as an incursion in the study of some regional politics of public monumentalizing and it is based on a repertoire made at the beginning of the '80s, adding newspaper sources and secondary bibliography, which helped me to contextualize the analyzed processes. The article consists of statistics, thematic classifications and observations realized on each of the counties from Transylvania, demonstrating that, in the time of the communist regime, the monumentalizing process served to the interests of the regime, converting them into an efficient way of legitimizing the power.*

**Keywords:** *propaganda, statues, busts, public space, monumental art.*

The instrumentalizing of recent past realities was essential for the communist regime to reach the desired legitimation, involving propagandistic efforts to achieve this goal. In this context, my research is designed as an incursion in the study of some regional politics of public monumentalizing and emphasize on the monuments of communist propaganda existing in Transylvania at the beginning of the '80, recorded by Florian Tucă and Mircea Cociu in a volume published in 1983.<sup>1</sup> I have highlighted the actual core of Transylvania, compounded of the counties: Alba, Bistrița-Năsăud, Brașov, Cluj, Covasna, Harghita, Hunedoara, Mureș and Sibiu.

Under the general term of *monument*, I have included all public works that are certainly associated with the communist regime, regardless if it is about monumental assemblages, obelisks, statues, memorial plaques or busts. I have ignored the monuments that were dedicated to events or historical personalities that do not have direct connection with the regime, such as the First World War or the statues of the Romanian voivodes, even though they were erected in the communist period, presenting characteristic features of the realism-socialism or resulting from protochronist ideas. They cannot be totally associated to the communist regime because they were erected in the public space before the establishment of the communist regime, and equally after 1989, resisting regardless the politic ideology as eternal symbols of the nations.

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<sup>1</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983.

In general, the public monuments reflect the values of a nation, being conceived as symbols of power and, equally, of identity.<sup>1</sup> The monuments are clear images of the valorization of the past by political leaders.<sup>2</sup> Like Charles Merewether says: *the way a society thinks about its monuments reflects the way it deals with its own history.*<sup>3</sup> The public space represents an important path of political power affirmation, the monuments standing out as emblems of the public spectacular<sup>4</sup>, reflecting the ideology and the aims of the leading regime and having the power of controlling the collective consciousness of the population in its own benefit.<sup>5</sup>

During the communist period, the monumental art was converted into a tool of legitimizing the power, its symbolism reflecting the falsification of the past in political purpose. The principle is universally available because always the leaders of the modern states have tried to use the past for obtaining political legitimacy.<sup>6</sup> At the level of the official politics of PCR, the purpose of the monuments was to be integrated into the industrial and urban landscape of the country and to contribute to the construction of the *multilateral developed socialist society* as a work of the labor social class, consisting of an important civic pedagogy lesson.<sup>7</sup>

The monuments must have revolutionary meanings, in order to glorify collective heroes. Moreover, the monuments did not only have commemorative purpose.<sup>8</sup> In the new society built by the communist, they had to fulfill a functional purpose representing a principal place of gathering the community.<sup>9</sup>

Even from the beginning of the communist establishment in Romania, the socialist transformation of the cities had as a model of inspiration the Leninist Project of Monumental Propaganda, established in 1918 for Moscow.<sup>10</sup>

It is particularly important to highlight the monumental feature of the public art from Communist Romania, connected to the remodeled public spaces at the end of the Second World War, which had the aim to explain the communist ideology and to suggest the omnipresence of the leading party.<sup>11</sup> The communist officials saw the monuments as connection channels with the people, because they did not care about the educational level of the masses,

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<sup>1</sup> Lowe 2021, p. 16, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Dobre 2016, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> Merewether 1999, p. 184.

<sup>4</sup> Merewether 1999, p. 183.

<sup>5</sup> Light, Young 2017, p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> Bucur 2019, p. 27.

<sup>7</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Stern, Tismăneanu 2023, p. 49.

<sup>9</sup> Stern, Tismăneanu 2023, p. 52.

<sup>10</sup> Ioan 2020, p. 657.

<sup>11</sup> Ioan 2020, p. 659.

which was an important factor for sending propaganda messages through alternative ways, such as the press<sup>12</sup>.

The raising of communist monuments was associated with the remake and remodel of the historical downtowns of the Transylvanian cities.<sup>13</sup> Immediately after the Second World War, there was a priority for repairing the destructed buildings.<sup>14</sup> The process of systematically constructing works of monumental art in the cities started at the beginning of the '50s.<sup>15</sup> Obviously, the monumental politics were coordinated by the state, which was following the method of implementing them until the end of the communist era. In 1956, the communist state issued laws for conducting works of public monumental art, providing considerable funds for sustaining initiatives of rethinking the public space from the large cities of RSR, in this regard, even contests were organized.<sup>16</sup> A decade later, in 1968, the Commission of Monuments and Monumental Art was founded and subordinated to the Council of Culture and Socialist Education. It consisted of architects, artists, art critics and local beneficiaries of the monumentalizing works.<sup>17</sup>

In the whole RSR, I have identified a total of 168 communist monuments registered at the beginning of the '80s. The majority of these monuments were in Muntenia, where I have found 56 monuments (33,3%). This is predictable because most of them were erected in Bucharest. At short distance, it comes Transylvania (25,6%), then Moldova (12,5%) and Maramureș (11,3%). In Transylvania, I have identified 43 monuments of communist propaganda, the majority of them being registered in Cluj County, with 12 monuments (27,9%). At the opposite side is Bistrița-Năsăud, where there is no registered monument. On the second place is Brașov County, with 8 monuments (18,6%), followed by Covasna (16,3%), Hunedoara (14%), Alba (9,3%), Mureș (7%), Harghita (4,7%) and Sibiu (2,3%).

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<sup>12</sup> Stern, Tismăneanu 2023, p. 47.

<sup>13</sup> Grozdea 1974, p. 9.

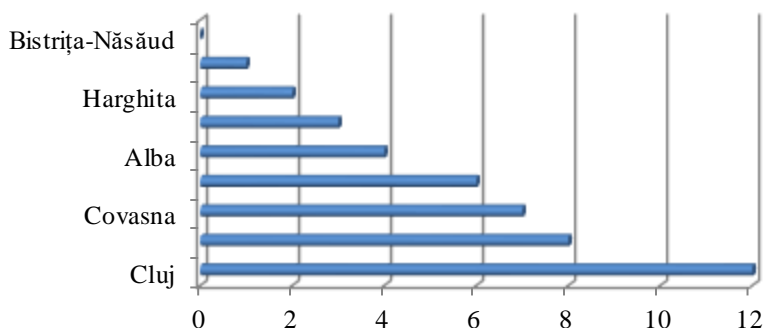
<sup>14</sup> Ionescu 1969, p. 10.

<sup>15</sup> Grozdea 1974, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Grozdea 1974, p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> Grozdea 1974, p. 6.

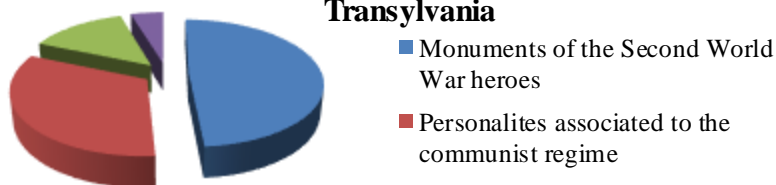
## Statistics of communist monuments from Transylvanian counties



Obviously, these statistics cannot be strictly ideologically interpreted. They do not convince us to conclude the fact that if the majority of monuments is registered in Cluj County, then the biggest number of sympathizers of the regime existed there, or vice-versa, the Bistrița region was predominantly anticommunist. We can regard these results as local particularities, such as the association of some places with important monuments from the Romanian communist mythology, for example Lupeni, the town of the labor revolt from 1929, or Băcia, the birthplace of Petru Groza.

Furthermore, I have classified the communist monuments from Transylvania based on their theme, resulting in four themes of the public monumental art from the beginning of the '80s: the Second World War (48,8%), also called the *Antifascist War* in the communist historiography, the personalities associated to the communist regime (32,6%), the labor strikes (14%) and the revolution of social and national liberation (4,7%), which names the events happened in Romania after 1944.

## Themes of the communist monuments from Transylvania



We observe that most of the monuments have been dedicated to the soldiers who fought in the Second World War, with the mention that the commemorated ones were those who lost their lives after August 1944, on

the western front. From the communist perspective, the soldiers, who fought for the *liberation* of Romania against the fascist armies, are those entitled to receive the gratitude from people.<sup>18</sup> The communist regime tried to use the war realities for political purposes. Thus, the memory of the war was modeled by PCR through controlling all the public manifestations related to the memory of the Second World War.<sup>19</sup> At least for the first two decades after the establishment of the communist regime, commemorating those who lost their lives on the front between 1941 and 1944 was forbidden.<sup>20</sup> In the best case, the victims of the eastern front were seen as being disorientated under the influence of the exploiting classes; In the worst case, the regime perceived as criminals the soldiers who fought in the territory of URSS.<sup>21</sup>

Interesting it is also the case of tens of soviet monuments erected in Romania at the end of the Second World War. The first monument dedicated to the soviet army was unveiled at the end of 1944, in the downtown of Cluj-Napoca, where it stayed until the end of the communist regime, then it was moved in the soviet soldier's cemetery.<sup>22</sup>

A part of the soviet war monuments still stands up, being protected by Law no. 379/2003, regarding the management of graves and the commemorative works. According to the Article 4 of this law, the foreign war graves, situated on the territory of Romania, beneficiate of the same regime as the Romanian war graves. Such monuments in Transylvania exists at Alba Iulia (Soviet War Memorial), Miercurea Ciuc (Monument of Soviet soldiers from the Second World War) and Vlădeni (Cemetery of Soviet heroes from the Second World War).

The second identified thematic, that of personalities associated to the communist regime, is suitable to have a short analysis. In general, this kind depicted international leaders of the communism,onyms who were supporting the PCR ideology, like revolted peasants, the diligent worker, the revolutionary woman, or the antifascist fighter.<sup>23</sup>

According to Claudia Florentina Dobre's ideas, the Romanian communist leaders were almost absent from the public monumentalizing program, excepting the Ilie Pintilie's bust, unveiled in 1955.<sup>24</sup> From the beginning of the '50s, in Transylvania appeared statues of the international leaders, where in Braşov, renamed Stalin, it was unveiled the statue of the leader from Kremlin, in the context of profound Stalinization of the Romanian society.<sup>25</sup> A bit later, monuments of the Romanian communist leaders started to appear, such as the Petru Groza's bust from Orăştie erected

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<sup>18</sup> Grozdea 1974, p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Bucur 2019, p. 158.

<sup>20</sup> Bucur 2019, p. 217.

<sup>21</sup> Bucur 2019, p. 210.

<sup>22</sup> Dobre 2017, p. 393.

<sup>23</sup> Dobre 2016, p. 176.

<sup>24</sup> Dobre 2016, p. 176.

<sup>25</sup> For details, see Pintilescu 2009, p. 49-68.

in 1974. Other Groza's busts existed to Băcia, his birthplace, and Deva. Other personalities associated to the communism that benefited of erected monuments in Transylvania were Alexandru Rusu, Aurel Suciu, Ludovic Czeller, Traian Dirjan, David Păiuș, Lázár Mihály, Salamon Ernő and Filimon Sârbu.

The last two thematics identified are written in the chronology of the major monuments of the Romanian communist mythology. Thus, two monuments from Hunedoara County were dedicated to the strike of 1929 from Lupeni. Another strike of the miners, happened in the same year, was commemorated at Căpeni. In the Brașov County, two monuments dedicated to the revolution of social and national liberation were unveiled in Codlea and Brașov. In Cluj-Napoca, two monuments were dedicated to the strike of the CFR workers from 1933.

The majority of communist propaganda monuments were unveiled in dates with high ideological connotations, such as 23<sup>rd</sup> August, the date of the ceasefire signed between Romania and URSS and the end of the alliance with Nazi Germany, or 9<sup>th</sup> May, the date of the end of the Second World War thorough the victory of the soviets. Some of the sculptors who erected monuments in Transylvania are: Horia Giroșanu, Marius Butunoiu, Márton Iszák Vasile Aciobăniței, Theodor Ionescu, Constantin Baraschi, Ion Irimescu, Constantin Schirliu, Péter Jécya and so on.

**Alba County.** In Alba County were identified four monuments of communist propaganda, two of the soldiers fallen on the front after 1944, in the so-called *Antifascist War*, and other two which commemorated both the World Wars. These were situated in the localities: Gârbova de Jos, Mirăslău, Pianu de Jos, Sălcium de Sus.

In Gârbova de Jos, a monument of the soldiers from the Second World War was inaugurated, on its frontispiece had been inscribed a text in the memory of the heroes of the village, fallen during the battle against fascism.<sup>26</sup> This monument is still standing up until today.

A similar monument was erected at Mirăslău, in 1947, as a sign of homage for the soldiers fallen on the territory of the village in September 1944. It was built of concrete, with white stone plaques, and three marble plaques were fixed on its facade. The monument was 6 m high and flanked by two canons.<sup>27</sup> The antifascist heroes' monument from Mirăslău had the role of a place for commemoration during the communist period, being visited by pupils and tourists.<sup>28</sup> The monument can be found today in the same place continuing to have the same the decorative purpose.

The monument of heroes from the First World War and the *Antifascist War* erected in Pianu de Jos was inaugurated on 23<sup>rd</sup> august 1980, at the initiative of the locals. On its frontispiece were carved several lyrics,

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<sup>26</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 220.

<sup>27</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 270.

<sup>28</sup> *Unirea*, IV, No. 974, 11<sup>th</sup> April 1971, p. 1.

written by Mihai Negulescu, which evoked the sacrifices of the Romanian soldiers from both World Wars.<sup>29</sup> This monument is standing up today.

Also, at Sălciua de Sus was erected a monument which commemorated the heroes from the First World War. The monument from Sălciua de Sus was unveiled on 9<sup>th</sup> May 1946. According to the locals' words, it was built of granite blocks used previously by soldiers and civilians to defend against the nazi army. A message is inscribed on the front, which says *Glorie eternă eroilor noștri (Eternal glory to our heroes)*.<sup>30</sup> The monument from Sălciua de Sus is still present in the public space.

**Brașov County.** In Brașov County were registered registered, at the beginning of the '80s, eight communist monuments existing in Bod, Brașov, Cincu, Codlea, Prejmer, Teliu and Vulcan.

At Bod, in 1959, a monument of the heroes from the *Antifascist War* was erected, at the initiative of AVSAP organization from Bod Sugar Factory, for paying homage to the soldiers from a subunit of the 89<sup>th</sup> Brașov Infantry Regiment, who fought to defend the local radio station from the attacks of the enemy armies, between August 24-28, 1944.<sup>31</sup> The unveiling ceremony of the monument was opened by Guia Iosif, member of the PMR Codlea District Committee; hundreds of workers and technicians of the Bod Sugar Factory, peasants and pioneers took part in it. The monument have been beneficiated of significant consolidation works, although it has the same marble plaque fixed in 1959, which commemorates the soldiers' fight for liberation of the country.

Only one personality claimed by the communist regime was honored in Brașov in the 1980s, namely UTC (Communist Youth Union) member Alexandru Rusu, a former worker at the IAR Brașov factories, who died in March 1945 on the Czechoslovakian front, near Kopanice.<sup>32</sup> A memorial plaque was dedicated to him, located in the bulding of the Tractorul Enterprise.<sup>33</sup>

In Brașov and Codlea there were two tribute plaques, dedicated to the so-called revolution of national and social liberation, which referred to the consequences of breaking Romania's alliance with Germany, at the end of the Second World War. The first of them was placed on the highest peak of Mount Postăvarul , inaugurated on 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1974, at the initiative of a group of UTC members from Brașov.<sup>34</sup> The second commemorative plaque was placed on Măgura Codlei in the same year, also for the purpose of commemorating the day of 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1944.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 298.

<sup>30</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 332.

<sup>31</sup> *Drum Nou*, XVI, No. 4.568, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1959, p. 2.

<sup>32</sup> *Scînteia Tineretului*, XI, Series II, No. 1.961, 19<sup>th</sup> August 1955, p. 2.

<sup>33</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 73.

<sup>34</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 73.

<sup>35</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 152.

Four monuments in Braşov county commemorated the sacrifices of fighters after August 1944. In Cincu, such a monument was erected in the heroes' cemetery, remembering the sacrifice of soldier Sandu Ioan, son of the village, who fell in October 1944 on the front in Hungary.<sup>36</sup> In Prejmer, the monument was erected in front of the cloth factory, being composed of a square plinth, a parallelepiped plinth and a column topped by a five-pointed star.<sup>37</sup> The choice of the Prejmer village to erect another monument of the same type was not accidental, on 26<sup>th</sup> August 1944, on its territory, the mobilized workers of the Tohanul Vechi Factory achieved a victory against the Nazi army.<sup>38</sup> Also, in Teliu, the monument was erected to honor the victory of a group of soldiers from the 10<sup>th</sup> Border Regiment and some civilians, carried out on 27<sup>th</sup> August 1944, when a German column tried to transit the commune in its retreat.<sup>39</sup> The fourth monument, the one from Teliu, was unveiled on 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1959, at the initiative of the AVSAP and UTM organizations. It consisted of a column that ended with a five-pointed star, placed on a pedestal on which there was an inscription composed in memory of the Romanian soldiers who had fought against the fascist armies.<sup>40</sup>

**Cluj County.** Most of the monuments in Cluj County were dedicated to the heroes of the *Antifascist War*. Such public works were conducted in seven localities from Cluj. A monument to the fallen heroes between 1944-1945 was erected in Ciucea village, composed of a plinth with three steps, a pedestal and a pyramidal column.<sup>41</sup> Another similar monument existed in Cluj-Napoca (**Fig. 1**), at the foot of Feleac Hill, represented in the form of a column of stone blocks, 10 m high. A soldier's helmet and a laurel wreath were stylized on the plinth.<sup>42</sup> Also, at Câmpia Turzii, there was a monument to the heroes of the *Antifascist War*, unveiled in 1958; it consisted of an obelisk and a square plinth, on which a white marble plaque was mounted.<sup>43</sup> A fourth war monument was located in Dej, erected in 1981 on Dealul Furcilor and consisting of 49 aluminum columns that suggested the image of a flag.<sup>44</sup> The monument of the heroes of the *Antifascist War* in Huedin was unveiled on 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1958; it consisted of a massive pedestal, on which rested a column 4 m high, marked at the top by a five-pointed star.<sup>45</sup> At Jucul de Jos, another monument was erected in 1960, in the shape

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<sup>36</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 132.

<sup>37</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, pp. 314-315.

<sup>38</sup> Zamfir 1984, p. 14. C. Zamfir, *Impresii și note dintr-o călătorie de documentare pe urmele luptelor din 1944*, in *Viața Românească*, LXXIX, No. 8, 1984.

<sup>39</sup> *Drum Nou*, XXVI, No. 7.663, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1969, p. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 414.

<sup>41</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 133.

<sup>42</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 150.

<sup>43</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 137.

<sup>44</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 175.

<sup>45</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 227.

of a pyramidal stone trunk, and with a marble plaque on which the sacrifices of the Soviet and Romanian soldiers in the fight against fascism were mentioned.<sup>46</sup> Colonel Victor Popescu, former commander of the 82<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment, who had fought on the territory of the village of Jucul de Jos, also participated in the inauguration ceremony of the monument.<sup>47</sup> Last but not least, a monument of this kind also existed in Turda. He was raised in the downtown, in memory of the fallen heroes between September and October 1944; it had the shape of a pyramidal trunk, at the top of which was an eagle with opened wings.<sup>48</sup>

In the city of Cluj-Napoca, three personalities associated with the opposition to fascism were commemorated: Aurel Suciu, Ludovic Czeller and Traian Dîrjan, all the monuments finding their end after 1989.

An obelisk of Sergeant-Major Aurel Suciu was unveiled in 1959, in the premises of the Unirea Enterprise, where he had served as secretary of the UTC before his death.<sup>49</sup> Aurel Suciu, born in the family of a shoemaker worker from Târgu-Mureș, Aurel Suciu voluntarily enlisted in the Tudor Vladimirescu Division and fell on the Czechoslovak front, in the town of Dolne Hamri.<sup>50</sup> The obelisk erected in honor of his memory consisted of a column that had a communist star at the top, and on the facade, a marble plaque reminding of his sacrifice in the anti-Hitler war.<sup>51</sup>

A memorial plaque was dedicated to Ludovic Czeller on an interior wall of the Faculty of Law in Cluj-Napoca, where he was enrolled. During his student period, Czeller had been active in the UTC County Committee, after 23<sup>rd</sup> August, voluntarily enrolling in the Tudor Vladimirescu Division.<sup>52</sup> He fell on the Western Front in early March 1945, killed by shrapnel while attempting to destroy a German Army machine gun.<sup>53</sup> The bilingual memorial plaque eulogizes the heroism of the Utecist Czeller, for the cause of peace and socialism.<sup>54</sup>

A bust of Traian Dîrjan was erected in the premises of the IRIS enterprise, where he had worked before he was killed in air combat as an adjutant aviator of the 9th Fighter Group on 25 February 1945, near the Czechoslovak town of Dubrava.<sup>55</sup> The bust of Traian Dîrjan was placed on a concrete parallelepiped plinth and depicted the former adjutant in aviator uniform.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 246.

<sup>47</sup> *Vatra*, XII, No. 135, 20<sup>th</sup> June 1982, p. 18.

<sup>48</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 395.

<sup>49</sup> *Steaua Roșie*, XXXV, No. 191 (8.191), 12<sup>st</sup> August 1984, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> *Steaua Roșie*, XXXV, No. 191 (8.191), 12<sup>st</sup> August 1984, p. 3.

<sup>51</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 150.

<sup>52</sup> *Făclia*, XXVI, No. 7.301, 29<sup>th</sup> April 1970, p. 1.

<sup>53</sup> *Făclia*, XXVI, No. 7.301, 29<sup>th</sup> April 1970, p. 1.

<sup>54</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 151.

<sup>55</sup> *Făclia*, XXIII, No. 6.832, 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1968, p. 2.

<sup>56</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 151.

Two public forum works in the city of Cluj-Napoca were dedicated to the strike of the CFR workers from February 1933: a monument and a memorial plaque. The first one was located in front of the 16<sup>th</sup> February Mechanical Enterprise, being unveiled in 1953, on the occasion of commemorating the 20th anniversary of the CFR workers' strike.<sup>57</sup> Also in the same year, in front of the dispensary of the Mechanical Enterprise, the memorial plaque was placed, mentioning the common fight of the CFR workers, the workers of Dermata Factory and those of János Herbák Factory.

**Covasna County.** Two personalities claimed by the communists were commemorated in Covasna County, in Arcuș and Sfântu Gheorghe. The first personality was David Păiuș, to whom a monument was dedicated. The monument of Lieutenant David Păiuș from Arcuș was erected at the initiative of the locals on the place where he died and was represented by a small concrete obelisk.<sup>58</sup> David Păiuș, who was at the head of a battalion from the 1<sup>st</sup> Romanian Mountain Division, had fallen on September 7, 1944, in a battle to defend the 620.6 elevation.<sup>59</sup> The communists tried to reclaim Lieutenant Păiuș, on each monument a text was inscribed on marble, which was reminding of his sacrifice in the fight against fascism.

The second honored personality was Lázár Mihály, antifascist fighter assassinated on 8<sup>th</sup> July by Horthy's police. A shoemaker from a poor family, Mihály participated in the Bolshevik revolution and since then remained a staunch follower of communism, throughout the interwar period, his house in Sfântul Gheorghe serving as a conspiratorial meeting place for illegal communists.<sup>60</sup> A monumental bust, the work of the sculptor Péter Jécza, was dedicated to him, which was unveiled in 1974, in front of the General School No. 2 from Simeria district in Sfântu Gheorghe.<sup>61</sup>

Also, in Sfântu Gheorghe, the monument of an anonymous figure of a Romanian soldier was erected. It was unveiled on 18<sup>th</sup> September 1974, on the occasion of the working visit made by Nicolae Ceaușescu. The unveiling was accompanied by a festivity of great proportions, where Nicolae Ceaușescu, Ferdinand Nagy, first secretary of the Covasna County Committee of the PCR, a worker of the Târgu Secuiesc Screw Company, a doctor, an army general, spoke a worker of the Oltul Textile Enterprise and a student.<sup>62</sup> In his speech, the general secretary of the PCR emphasized the importance of the monument as an occasion to remember the moment of the liberation of the city from Horthy's armies, through the battles of Romanian

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<sup>57</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 149.

<sup>58</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, pp. 29-30.

<sup>59</sup> *Cuvîntul Nou*, XVIII, No. 4.107, 11<sup>th</sup> April 1985, p. 2.

<sup>60</sup> *Cuvîntul Nou*, XII, No. 2.320, 6<sup>th</sup> July 1979, p. 3.

<sup>61</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 337.

<sup>62</sup> *Munca*, XXX, No. 8.247, 20<sup>th</sup> September 1974, p. 3.

and Soviet soldiers, in the autumn of 1944.<sup>63</sup> The monument was composed of a statue, raised on a cylindrical pedestal, both 18 m high.<sup>64</sup>

Two monuments of the heroes of the Second World War (1944-1945) found their place in the public landscape of Covasna County: the first in Dobolii de Jos and the second, in Covasna. The monument of the heroes of the *Antifascist War* in Dobolii de Jos was composed of a pedestal in the shape of a pyramid trunk, 3 m high, made of shaped stone blocks, on which a white marble slab was suspended.<sup>65</sup> The monument in the city of Covasna, also known as the Liberator, was the work of the sculptor Theodor Ionescu and was unveiled on 9<sup>th</sup> May 1973. It embodied a soldier with a gun at his foot and a bouquet of oak leaf branches in his left hand, a symbol of peace.<sup>66</sup> In addition to the actual elevation, the monument also required changes in the space around it, which included: realignment of streets, planting of some fir trees, slope of the land and construction of a nearby stone fence.<sup>67</sup> The monument still exists today, a orthodox church being erected in the back.

Apart from these types of monumental works of art, two memorial plaques were recorded in Covasna County, in Căpeni and Comandău. The first memorial plaque was dedicated to the miners' strike of 1929 and was placed on the facade of the Căpeni Mining Enterprise, being unveiled on 8<sup>th</sup> May 1971.<sup>68</sup> The second one was dedicated to the forest workers' strike of 1936 and was placed in 1972 on the frontispiece of the Agricultural Exploitation Sector building in Comandău.<sup>69</sup>

**Harghita County.** In Harghita, two monuments of communist propaganda have been listed: the monument of the Romanian soldier from Miercurea-Ciuc and the monumental bust of the communist Salamon Ernő.

The monument to the Romanian soldier in Miercurea-Ciuc was erected on 19<sup>th</sup> August 1974. It was represented by a bronze statue of a Romanian infantry soldier, holding a flag and a weapon above his head, placed on a concrete pedestal covered with white marble; behind the statue rises a marble obelisk.<sup>70</sup> Interestingly, the monument still exists today, but the final part of the inscription made on the bronze plate mounted on the main facade of its pedestal has been erased. Thus, the initial inscription: Eternal glory to the Romanian soldiers who sacrificed themselves in the battles for the liberation of the homeland from fascist domination, was maintained by deleting the last four words.

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<sup>63</sup> *Cuvîntul Nou*, XVII, No. 3.911, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1984, p. 2.

<sup>64</sup> *Cuvîntul Nou*, XVII, No. 3.911, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1984, p. 2.

<sup>65</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, pp. 179-180.

<sup>66</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 158.

<sup>67</sup> *Cuvîntul Nou*, VI, No. 943, 8<sup>th</sup> May 1973, p. 1.

<sup>68</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 127.

<sup>69</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 152.

<sup>70</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 266.

The bust of Salamon Ernő, illegal communist and poet killed in 1943 by the Horthy's army, was erected in Gheorgheni on 13<sup>rd</sup> February 1968. The bust paid tribute to Ernő's personality, 25 years after the date of his death, being erected in front of the high school in his birthplace town.<sup>71</sup> Ioanichie Olteanu, secretary of the Writers' Union, the poet Sūto Andras, the director of the local high school, local representatives of PCR, students and workers participated in the unveiling ceremony of the statue.<sup>72</sup>

**Hunedoara county.** In order to commemorate the personality of Petru Groza, a statue of him, made by Constantin Baraschi, was erected in 1963 in Deva. The bronze statue depicted Petru Groza in an oratorical position.<sup>73</sup> The idea of erecting a statue of Groza in Deva was adopted since 1958, by a decision of the MAN Presidium.<sup>74</sup>

Ten years later, in Petru Groza's hometown, Băcia, a monumental bust was erected, placed on a stone pedestal. Officials of the county and communal party organizations, members of the Groza family and numerous workers took part in the unveiling celebration, complemented by an artistic program.<sup>75</sup> The unveiling was made by Ioachim Moga, first secretary of the PCR County Committee, after which the pioneers placed bouquets and flowers at the base of the bust.<sup>76</sup>

The monumental bust of Dr. Petru Groza (Fig. 2), the work of sculptor Constantin Schiriliu, was unveiled in 1974 in Orăștie, on the occasion of the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the communist leader's birth. At the same time, the unveiling of the statue took place in the context of celebrating 750 years since the documentary attestation of Orăștia.<sup>77</sup> The bust was cast in bronze, 1.20 m high, and was placed on a 2.4 m high concrete pedestal.<sup>78</sup>

Also other personalities associated with communism, perhaps less known, found their place in the public landscape of Hunedoara County, through monumental works of art. In the communist imaginary, the village of Herepeia was associated with the worker Filimon Sîrbu, on the facade of his memorial house being placed a tribute plaque in 1945, at the initiative of the Plowmen's Front.<sup>79</sup> The figure of Filimon Sîrbu was claimed by the communists as an exponent of the antifascist fighters, as he was killed in the Jilava prison inner yard on 19<sup>th</sup> July 1941, during the Antonescu government and shortly after Romania's entry into the Second World War.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 208.

<sup>72</sup> *Munca*, XXIV, No. 6.311, 27<sup>th</sup> February 1968, p. 5.

<sup>73</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 178.

<sup>74</sup> *Foaia Noastră*, II, No. 3, 1<sup>st</sup> February 1958, p. 2.

<sup>75</sup> *Scînteia*, XLII, No. 9.529, 4<sup>th</sup> June 1973, p. 3.

<sup>76</sup> *Scînteia*, XLII, No. 9.529, 4<sup>th</sup> June 1973, p. 3.

<sup>77</sup> *România Liberă*, XXXII, No. 9.305, 24<sup>th</sup> September 1974, p. 5.

<sup>78</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 288.

<sup>79</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 226.

<sup>80</sup> *Scînteia Tineretului*, XII, Series II, No. 2.701, 15<sup>th</sup> January 1958, p. 3.

The great events from the past of Romanian communism have been commemorated in Hunedoara since the first years of the seizure of power by the Stalinist leaders. In this sense, on August 6, 1949, a memorial plaque was placed in the premises of the Lupeni Mining Enterprise, to commemorate the famous workers' strike of 1929.<sup>81</sup> However, this would not surpass the grandiose *Lupeni '29* monument.

The *Lupeni '29* monument (Fig. 3) was erected in the town with the same name on 16<sup>th</sup> August 1969, on the occasion of the commemoration of 40 years since the miners' strike in Valea Jiului. *Lupeni '29* was the creation of sculptor Ion Irimescu, the winner of a competition initiated precisely for the purpose of erecting the monument. The statuary group, 5.10 m high, was composed of three figures cast in bronze: a miner holding a lamp and a pickaxe, a miner's wife and a miner killed by bullets, they were embodying the unwavering determination to fight, the pain and sacrifice.<sup>82</sup> At the same time, according to the Communist Party, they were evoking the tragedy and heroism of the miners' strike in Valea Jiului.<sup>83</sup> The Hunedoara miners' strike was commemorated as a page of glory in the history of the labor movement.<sup>84</sup> Officials of the PCR, such as Ilie Verdeț, Bujor Almășan and Mihai Gere, representatives of local party bodies, participants and witnesses of the commemorated event, business leaders and pioneers participated in the festivity of unveiling the statue.<sup>85</sup> The festivity was accompanied by a rally in favor of attachment to the party,<sup>86</sup> predictable in the context where the whole demonstration was loaded with propagandistic features.

The monument still exists today, being kept in Valea Jiului as a symbol of mining. Recently a program of remodeling the whole area around the monument has been finalized, implying the remaking of the base, the paving of the proximate area, the replacement of lawn, the designing of an alley, and the introduction of a new lighting system<sup>87</sup>.

**Mureș County.** Three monuments have been identified in the Mureș County that can be classified as propaganda monuments: two were erected in memory of fallen soldiers between 1944-1945, in Luduș and Oarba de Mureș, and a monument to the Romanian soldier in Târgu Mureș.

The first mentioned was erected on May 9, 1960, in memory of the 112 Romanian soldiers killed in September-October of 1944, in the fight with enemy forces for the liberation of Luduș.<sup>88</sup> This was represented by a

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<sup>81</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 253.

<sup>82</sup> *Scînteia Tineretului*, XXV, Series III, No. 6.302, 20<sup>th</sup> August 1969, p. 4.

<sup>83</sup> *Scînteia Tineretului*, XXV, Series III, No. 6.302, 20<sup>th</sup> August 1969, p. 4.

<sup>84</sup> *Viața Nouă*, XXV, No. 7.677, 17<sup>th</sup> August 1969, p. 1.

<sup>85</sup> *România Liberă*, XXVII, No. 7.723, 17<sup>th</sup> August 1969, p. 1.

<sup>86</sup> *România Liberă*, XXVII, No. 7.723, 17<sup>th</sup> August 1969, p. 1.

<sup>87</sup> <http://ziarulexclusiv.ro/2020/07/30/memorialul-lupeni-29-simbol-al-mineritului-din-valea-jiului-pus-in-valoare-de-autoritatile-locale-de-la-lupeni/>, the last entrance: 25<sup>th</sup> October 2023.

<sup>88</sup> *Cuvântul Liber*, XX, No. 212 (4.890), 28<sup>th</sup> October 2008, p. 8.

square pedestal, which supported a massive plinth, surmounted by an obelisk that had a five-pointed star at the end; white marble slabs were mounted on the facades of the plinth, on which was written a text reminding of the struggles for the liberation of the homeland from fascist rule.<sup>89</sup> The monument benefited from rehabilitation works in 2008 and continues to stand until today, with the five-pointed star at its top being replaced by a cross.

The monument to the heroes of the *Antifascist War* at Oarba de Mureș, the place where one of the most important battles of the autumn of 1944 took place, was erected in 1949, as a work of sculptor Hirsay Mozes, on the initiative of the locals.<sup>90</sup> The monument, 10 m high, consisted of a concrete plinth and a granite column on which the RPR coat of arms was placed, replaced in 1994 with a stone cross.<sup>91</sup> A heroes' cemetery was established near the monument, which includes the graves of 192 fallen soldiers in the autumn of 1944.<sup>92</sup> Annually, on 9<sup>th</sup> May, 23<sup>rd</sup> August and 25<sup>th</sup> October, commemorations took place at the monument from Orba de Mureș.

The Romanian soldier monument (Fig. 4) was inaugurated in Trandafirilor Square in the city of Târgu Mureș on 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1964. It was composed of a massive pedestal, surmounted by a parallelepipedal pedestal, plated with travertine, on which stood the statue of a handsome soldier in campaign dress, holding a flag in his right hand.<sup>93</sup> On one side and on the other side of the pedestal were mounted reliefs with scenes from the battles fought by Romanian and Soviet soldiers against the fascist enemies, and on the main facade, written in relief letters, there was a text reminding of the sacrifice of the soldiers for the liberation of the homeland.<sup>94</sup>

**Sibiu County.** The authors of the repertoire published in 1983 identified only one communist propaganda monument in Sibiu County, namely in the village of Fântânele in Săliște commune. The monument to the heroes of the First World War and the *Antifascist War* was unveiled in 1976, at the initiative of Sancieru Stroia and with the support of MAN, the Central Military Museum of the Art Studio of the Army, the Sibiu County Committee of the PCR and the Military Garrison in the city.<sup>95</sup> The main element of the monument was represented by the face cast in bronze of a Romanian soldier, which was accompanied by a meplat illustrating war scenes and bronze plaques with inscriptions commemorating the sacrifices of the 75 heroes of the 2nd Vâlcea Regiment, who fell on Merei hill during the

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<sup>89</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 249.

<sup>90</sup> *Steaua Roșie*, XXXVI, No. 107 (8.417), 8<sup>th</sup> May 1985, p. 3.

<sup>91</sup> *Cuvântul Liber*, XXV, No. 158 (6.112), 14<sup>th</sup> August 2013, p. 5.

<sup>92</sup> *Cuvântul Liber*, XXV, No. 158 (6.112), 14<sup>th</sup> August 2013, p. 5.

<sup>93</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 386.

<sup>94</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 386.

<sup>95</sup> *Flacăra*, XXVII, No. 47 (1.224), 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1978, p. 7.

First World War and 23 other soldiers from the locality, fallen in the two World Wars.<sup>96</sup>

Of course, in Sibiu there were also other commemorative places of communist propaganda, such as the cemetery and the monument of Soviet heroes in the city placed on the Cibin river, both inaugurated in 1946, which exist and can be visited even today. In addition to these, several buildings in the city of Sibiu were associated with the illegal activity of the PCR, such as the Unicum Hall on Tribunei street no. 6 (current headquarter of the Contemporary Art Museum), where in 1922 the Trade Union Unification Congress was organized, or the headquarters of the Unitary Trade Unions, on Turnului street no. 17, the illegal printing press of the party or the house of the antifascist fighter A. Kornhauser, which, although they cannot be classified as monumental socialist works of art, are nevertheless important to mention because they reveal the specific geographic symbolism of the local communist imaginary.<sup>97</sup>

### **Short comparative analysis and changings after 1989.**

Monumental politics can be studied from a comparative perspective, their construction or destruction being influenced by the changing of state authority. The communist monuments took the place, after the Second World War of the relics of the bourgeois-landlord regime, to be torn down after the 1989 Revolution.<sup>98</sup>

Specifically, since during the events of December 1989, the protesting population began to destroy public symbols associated with the communist regime.<sup>99</sup> The communist monuments that survived the Revolution were vandalized, for this reason, ending up being relocated in the peripheries of cities or in Soviet cemeteries. This iconoclastic attitude, visible including in the case of Transylvania, was otherwise common to the entire Eastern European space, being interpreted as a desire to liberate the

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<sup>96</sup> Tucă, Cociu 1983, p. 386, p. 194.

<sup>97</sup> *Monumente din județul Sibiu* 1976.

<sup>98</sup> Similarly, the consideration also finds terms of comparison regarding the transformations that took place in this region after the Great Union, respectively after the Vienna arbitration. In Transylvania, monumental public art appeared in the 19th century. Many of the public symbols associated with the former Austro-Hungarian administration, and in particular, the Hungarian nation, found their end during or immediately after the end of the First World War. A prime example is the statue of Arpad I on Tâmpa, which was dynamited in 1916, during the operations to conquer Brașov by the Romanian army. Probably in order not to share its fate, the statue of Petöfi Sandor in Sighisoara was evacuated in the same year to Budapest. Last but not least, we should mention the case of the Romanian soldier's statue in Târgu Mureș, destroyed in 1940, when northern Transylvania was ceded to Hungary led by Admiral Miklós Horthy (Mărășoiu 2021, p. 30, p. 32, p. 126).

<sup>99</sup> A single exemple, reliable in the case of Bucharest, is the vandalism of Alexandru Moghioroș's statue from Drumul Taberei (Light, Young 2017, p. 66).

population from the burden of the communist past.<sup>100</sup> A concrete case of relocation was that of the statue of Petru Groza from Deva, which in 1992 was relocated in the inner courtyard of the County Prefecture, at the insistence of Mihail Rudeanu, head of the PSDR county organization and founder of the Petru Groza Association, who was continuing to fight for the replacement of the statue in its original place.<sup>101</sup>

The reconfiguration of public space represented a declaration of the new order established after the fall of communism; thus, the monuments can also be studied from the perspective of changes in state power.<sup>102</sup> In parallel with the demolition of monuments associated with the former regime, after 1989, monuments dedicated to anticommunist personalities appeared and monuments of royalty or interwar politicians were rebuilt, in accordance with the image of those previously destroyed by the communists.<sup>103</sup>

After the fall of communism, hundreds of architects, artists, historians and politicians from the former Soviet Bloc countries engaged in debates over the fate of monumental works of art that reminded of the former regime, a fact also noted in Romania. There have been public figures in this country who spoke out against the destruction of communist monuments, such as the architect Constantin Enache, who stated that they should be preserved, because they represent evidence of the historical evolution of Romania.<sup>104</sup> Also, professor Petru Oalalde expressed, through press articles, his opposition to the destruction of communist propaganda monuments. As an argument against the destruction of the statue of Petru Groza in Bucharest, Oalalde invokes its creation by one of the most famous Romanian sculptors of the last half century, namely Romul Ladea.<sup>105</sup>

### **Conclusion.**

From the all of the communist propaganda monuments, the majority of those dedicated to the soldiers of the Second World War has succeeded to survive until today, even though the suffered significant renovation works. Regarding the other monuments, if they would have continued to remain undisturbed from their original places, there would have been a risk that the communist propaganda monuments would exert an oppressive power over the public landscape, to create confusion towards national values and even further attract potential sympathizers of communist ideology.

However, some alternatives could have been adopted after the Revolution of 1989 in order not to physically destroy the communist monuments. I believe that instead of aggression, it would have been preferable to eliminate the symbol of the monuments associated with

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<sup>100</sup> Lowe 2021, p. 38.

<sup>101</sup> *Cotidianul de Transilvania*, XI, No. 2 (2.882), 31<sup>st</sup> January 2001, p. 1.

<sup>102</sup> Light, Young 2017, p. 64.

<sup>103</sup> Dobre 2017, p. 191.

<sup>104</sup> Dobre 2017, p. 188.

<sup>105</sup> *Timpul*, II, Nr. 62 (325), Reșița, 30<sup>th</sup> March 1991, p. 3.

communism. First of all, they could have chosen for their entry into the management of the national museums in Romania. In my opinion, it would have been appropriate to integrate them into temporary or permanent exhibitions, as illustrative pieces of the communist past and preferably, of the propaganda through which the regime hoped to gain its popularity. If they could not be used for exhibition purposes, they could still be studied in museums, by researchers of the communist period. The few photographs of communist monuments that have survived to this day are insufficient for a thorough investigation of socialist propaganda art.

Another alternative could have been represented by the creation of parks of monuments, which would function as museums, given that, due to their size, many monuments would have been difficult to be kept in the warehouses of museums in Romania. A case in this point of view is Grūtas Park in Lithuania, officially opened to the public in 2001, which houses, among other things, a life-size statue of Stalin.<sup>106</sup>

Also, they could have opted for the construction of some counter-monuments in the proximity of those associated with the communist regime. Probably the most accessible example in this regard is offered by People's Salvation Cathedral, of which location, not by chance, was intended to neutralize the visual dominance of the former People's House (currently Palace of Parliament).<sup>107</sup>

Charles Merewether masterfully synthesized the complicated path of the monuments from the last century, in the phrase: *The problem with monumental history is that it confuses the past with the future, while critical history calls upon and judges the past in order to measure the service it renders the present.*<sup>108</sup> It remains a thorny problem that of the suitable alternatives for valorizing the monumental works associated with the communist regime, as multiple difficulties persist regarding the way in which the current generations understand to assume their recent history.

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<sup>106</sup> Vezi: Lowe 2021, pp. 173-179.

<sup>107</sup> Light, Young 2017, p. 76.

<sup>108</sup> Merewether 1999, p. 189.

## ANEXES

<b>ALBA COUNTY</b>
Monument of the heroes from the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Gârbova de Jos)
Monument of the heroes from the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Mirăslău)
Monument of the heroes from the First World War and the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Pianu de Jos)
Monument of the heroes from the First World War and the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Sălciua de Sus)
<b>BRAȘOV COUNTY</b>
Monument of the heroes from the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Bod)
Memorial plaque dedicated to UTC member Alexandru Rusu (Brașov)
Homage plaque dedicated to the revolution of social and national liberation (Brașov)
Monument of the heroes from the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Cincu)
Homage plaque dedicated to the revolution of social and national liberation (Codlea)
Monument of the heroes from the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Prejmer)
Monument of the heroes from the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Telii)
Monument of the heroes from the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Vulcan)
<b>CLUJ COUNTY</b>
Monument of the heroes from the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Ciucea)
Monument of the heroes from the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Câmpia Turzii)
Monument dedicated to the fight of the CFR workers in February 1933 (Cluj-Napoca)
Memorial plaque dedicated to the fight of the CFR workers in February 1933 (Cluj-Napoca)
Monument of the heroes from the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Cluj-Napoca)
The Obelisk dedicated to major-sergeant Aurel Suciuc (Cluj-Napoca)
Memorial plaque dedicated to the UTC member Ludovic Czeller (Cluj-Napoca)
Monumental bust of pilot adjutant Traian Dîrjan (Cluj-Napoca)
Monument of the heroes from the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Dej)
Monument of the heroes from the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Huedin)
Monument of the heroes from the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Jucul de Jos)
Monument of the heroes from the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Turda)
<b>COVASNA COUNTY</b>
Monument dedicated to lieutenant David Păiuș (Arcuș)
Memorial plaque dedicated to the miner's strike of 1929 (Căpeni)
Memorial plaque dedicated to the forestry workers' strike of 1936 (Comandău)
Monument of the heroes from the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Dobolii de Jos)
Romanian soldier's monument (Sfântu Gheorghe)
Monument of the heroes from the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Covasna)

Monumental bust of Lázár Mihály (Sfântu Gheorghe)
<b>HARGHITA COUNTY</b>
Romanian soldier's monument (Miercurea-Ciuc)
Monumental bust of communist Salamon Ernő (Gheorgheni)
<b>HUNEDOARA COUNTY</b>
Monumental bust of Petru Groza (Băcia)
Statue of Petru Groza (Deva)
Memorial plaque dedicated to communist Filimon Sârbu (Herepeia)
<i>Lupeni 29</i> Monument (Lupeni)
Memorial plaque dedicated to the strike of 1929 from Lupeni (Lupeni)
Monumental bust of Petru Groza (Orăștie)
<b>MUREȘ COUNTY</b>
Monument of the heroes from the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Luduș)
Monument of the heroes from the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Oarba de Mureș)
Romanian soldier's monument (Târgu Mureș)
<b>SIBIU COUNTY</b>
Monument of the heroes from the First World War and the <i>Antifascist War</i> (Fântânele)

#### LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

**Fig. 1.** Monument of the heroes from the *Antifascist War* (Cluj-Napoca, Cluj County)

Source: Vasile Cucu, Marian Ștefan, *România. Ghid atlas al monumentelor istorice*, Sport-Turism, Bucharest.

**Fig. 2.** Monumental bust of Petru Groza (Orăștie, Hunedoara County)

Source: Tucă Florian, Cociu Mircea, *Monumente ale anilor de luptă și jertfă*, Editura Miliară, Bucharest, 1983, p. 288.

**Fig. 3.** *Lupeni '29* monument (Lupeni, Hunedoara County)

Source: Grozdea Mircea, *Arta monumentală în România Socialistă*, Meridiane, 1974.

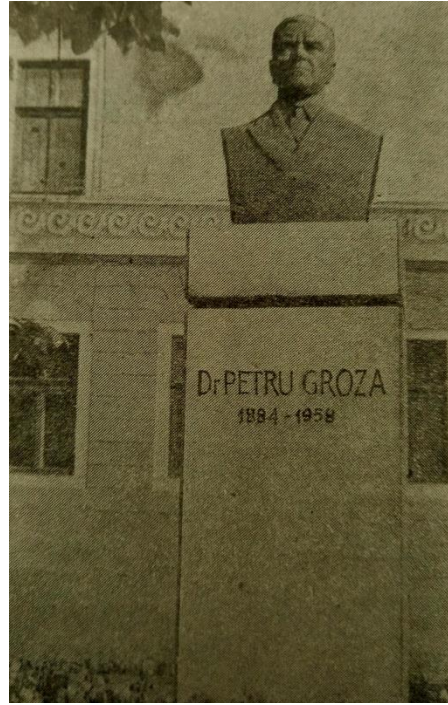
**Fig. 4.** Romanian soldier's monument (Târgu Mureș, Mureș County)

Source: Tucă Florian, Cociu Mircea, *Monumente ale anilor de luptă și jertfă*, Editura Miliară, Bucharest, 1983, p. 385.

## ILLUSTRATIONS



**Fig. 1.**



**Fig. 2.**



**Fig. 3.**



**Fig. 4.**

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## BOOKS, DOCUMENTS, WORDS

John Nandriş<sup>1</sup>

*The World and its Creatures  
Weep and Beseech Us  
Not to die Stupid.*

I offer some reflections on an international meeting which took place in Bucharest during September 2010, under the auspices of the Biblioteca Metropolitană and the University of Bucharest. Its theme was *Cartea - The Book*. The inner life of this theme consists of three inter-related elements : Book, Document, and Word. Books comprise scrolls, codices, folios, volumes; destined to possess a life of their own in codifying and transmitting experience.

Documents in many forms supply the components from which Books are fashioned. They testify in more than words to the outcome of experience.

Marble statues Document the ancient world as fully as papyri. Words like numbers are elemental facts, acts of creation, the essential components of communication.

The Word comes either from God or from Humanity.

In the libraries of Antiquity Books were classified by their initial phrases, their opening Words ; as they still are in the Vatican Library. Immortal Books and Documents have their own opening Words, eg., :

In the beginning was the Word. *John I -1*

*Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος*

In the beginning created God the heavens and the earth *Genesis I - 1*

*Berashith bara Elohim et hashamaim ve'et ha'arets*

*בְּרֵאשִׁית, בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים, אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם, וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ*

*Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν*

In the name of God the most gracious the most merciful Koran

*Bism'illah ir-rahman ir-rahim*

*بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ*

The sound of the Gion Temple bell echoes the impermanence of all things

*Gion shoja no kane no koe, Shogyomujo no hibiki ari*

*祇園精舎の鐘の声諸行無常の響きあり*

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<sup>1</sup> John Nandriş, St Cross College Oxford, UK and DHC LBUS

The tint of the sala flower reveals the truth that the prosperous must decline  
*Sarasoju no hana no iro, jousha hissui no kotowari o arawazu.*  
娑羅双樹の花の色じょう者必衰のこりをあらわす  
Heike monogatari 平家物語  
The Tale of the Heike

*Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita mi ritrovai per una selva oscura / In*  
the midst of our life's journey I found myself in a dark wood  
*Dante, Inferno*

*μηνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος Homer, Iliad*  
Sing, O goddess, the wrath of Achilles

*Однажды играли в карты у конногвардейца Нарумова.*  
One day they were playing cards at the home of the Horse-Guard Narumov  
*Pushkin. Pikovaya Dama*

Very deep is the well of the past ; should we not call it bottomless ...  
*Thomas Mann : Joseph and His Bretheren*

*Pe-un picior de plai, Pe-o gură de rai ...Miorița ; ed. Vasile Alecsandri*

Among all these immortal words, the simple opening line of another small book dwells in the memory. It might have been written for Odysseus :

**“Prin câte poate trece o ființă ominească fără să-și dea siama ?”**  
**How much can a human being endure without realising it ?**  
*Anița Nandriș, 20 de ani în Siberia*

This comes from the Book of Exile, *20 de ani în Siberia*, written in very direct Homeric language by my aunt Anița Nandriș, a Romanian peasant woman “*cu trei clase*”, from Mahala across the Prut from Cernăuți. It was written fluently without deletions, in an ordinary school notebook. It describes straightforwardly the deportation to Siberia by Asiatic (*Soviet Army - e.n.*) invaders, of my father's blameless family of European peasants from northern Bucovina. A barbarous incursion immediately followed the shameful Molotov-Ribbentrop pact which was signed in Moscow between the two indistinguishable psychopathic criminals Stalin and Hitler, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1939. This freed both parties to ravage the civilised countries of Europe without interference, and it Documents the shame of Russia.

602 persons from Cernăuți - Mahala, of whom a third were children under the age of 15, were crammed into cattle trucks, 150 to a wagon, and deported to Siberia north of the Arctic Circle at the mouth of the Ob, near the Gulag of Vorkuta, in which alone more people died than at Auschwitz. This is virtually unknown the west, and certainly not prioritised among other historical enslavements.

Anița, who had her three small children in her care, wrote a letter on a handkerchief with indelible laundry pencil, and threw it out of the cattle wagon in a bottle. She outlined events and begged the finder to ensure the care of her mother Maria, who had been abandoned alone, back in the village. She had been so badly beaten by Russian soldiers with the knout {a multi-stranded whip with knots like walnuts} that she was bed-ridden for the rest of her life, and could not even be deported. The flagellation of Christ by brutal soldiers comes to mind.



In simple terms, the handkerchief becomes a historical Document, with a validity comparable to a mediaeval Chrysobull, or even more true. The Book was the outcome of her experience. The Homeric words were her act of creation.

The Asiatic brutality and coarseness which confronted Anița in Soviet Russia were completely foreign to her European cultural upbringing. Yet she does not rail against her oppressors. She leaves it to God to deal with those who bore false witness against her and sent her to into exile; and gratifyingly enough he seems to do so. They dare not now show their face, although Putin's Russia continues the tradition. For the rest Anitsa deals with inhumanity by setting a good example; by working hard or, as with the quarrels around the fireplace in the camp, by mediation. Her greatest agonies are reserved not for herself, but for her family and other human beings, and her sympathies even go out to the animals.

Had she hated, she would not have survived. Soviet Socialism in Russia was a criminal conspiracy saturated in hatred, and this has not survived; at least not in its original form. The role of injustice is to teach us not to look back; unless we are one of the perpetrators when it becomes a duty.

Another small example may serve to illustrate the independent life of Books. When the Russians invaded Cernauți they sacked the house of my

father Professor Grigore Nandriș at 5, Vasile Voda Lupu [now dignified as 5, Marshal Zhukov], destroying his life's work as an academic, and deporting his family. He survived in Exile which is a long story, fighting for Romania's freedom, not as a Refugee or economic migrant but as the saintly Archimandrite Lev Gillet expressed it, "he was not himself". His piano was thrown on two legs into the garden, and his books along with others into a cinema. Among them was a copy of *Getica* by his eminent academic teacher Vasile Pârvan, presented to Grigore by Pârvan on his death bed in 1927, with a dedication. Many years later this book made its own way to Bucharest, where someone {to whom I am grateful} found it in a second-hand bookshop. He traced my father by the inscribed dedication, so that eventually it found its way back to him in his Exile in Britain. He gave it to me in turn with an amplified inscription, and it is now in my possession.

So the life of a Book is a Document with a life of its own, a testament to experience. Like Anitsa's inscribed handkerchief, these Documents merit preservation in the national archives of Romania.

The Book of my own profession, Archaeology, does not deal with the Word; let alone with events and personalities. Its Documents are the associations of material remains which in their turn document the behaviour of which they are the outcome. When subjected to proper archaeological methodology, they testify to the processes of long-term change in which humanity is implicated. The Ethnoarchaeologist is enabled to amplify this picture by consideration of the beliefs and practices which give rise to the material evidence.

An ethnoarchaeological site may be defined as any site at which the material outcome of behaviour can be studied in course of formation. The Words which make up the narrative are the individual artefacts, and the essential source of the Document is original fieldwork.

Archaeology is essentially destructive, allowing for no repeatable experiments. However, Ethnoarchaeology permits a form of experiment. The interpretations offered by the Ethnoarchaeologist in *Documenting* an abandoned site {for example a *stîna* in the mountains} can be tested against the *Word* of a former occupant. Both may prove equally deluded, but this constitutes an advance in knowledge. As they go to and fro between the past and the present, Archaeology and Comparative Ethnoarchaeology are complementary. From them Sociology and Anthropology have slowly acquired time-depth and learned to study processes of long-term change.

It is remarkable in the last resort how much we may reasonably believe we know about the remote past, just as we can know remarkably little about periods which are documented in writing; or even sometimes about our own lives. Prin câte poate trece o ființă ominească ... ?

Archaeology has the incomparable merit of dealing with incomplete data. Vanishing traditional European societies, the treasures of rural Romania and its forests comprise the Sibylline Book{} of Comparative Ethnoarchaeology, whose volumes are progressively destroyed until we finally come to realize that what remains is of inestimable value.

### List of abbreviations

ActaMP	- <i>Acta Musei Porolissensis</i> , Muzeul Zalău
AB(SN)	- <i>Analele Banatului (srie nouă)</i> , Muzeul Național al Banatului, Timișoara
ActaTS	- <i>Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis</i> , Universitatea „Lucian Blaga”, Sibiu
AICSU	- <i>Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane</i> , Sibiu
Apulum	- <i>Apulum, Acta Musei Apulensis</i> , Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
AVSL	- <i>Archivs des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde</i> , Sibiu.
BB	- <i>Bibliotheca Brukenthal</i> , Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu
BrukAM	- <i>Brukenthal. Acta Musei</i> , Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu
BMA	- <i>Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis</i> , Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
BMN	- <i>Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis</i> , Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
BS	- <i>Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis</i> , Universitatea „Lucian Blaga”, Sibiu.
DocPrae	- <i>Documenta Praehistorica</i> , Ljubljana
CCA	- <i>Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România</i> , București
ForVL	- <i>Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde</i> , Institutul de cercetări Socio-Umane, Academia Română, Sibiu
MCA	- <i>Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice</i> , București
Monografii	- Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
Sargetia	- <i>Sargetia, Acta Musei Devensis</i> , Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva.
Sargetia (SN)	<i>Sargetia, Acta Musei Devensis (serie nouă)</i> , Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva.
StComBruk	- <i>Muzeul Brukenthal. Studii și comunicări (arheologie-istorie)</i> , Muzeul Brukenthal (Muzeul Național Brukenthal), Sibiu
StudPre	- <i>Studii de Preistorie</i> , București
SUC.SH	- <i>Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Series Historica</i> , Universitatea „Lucian Blaga”, Sibiu
TS	- <i>Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabeniensis</i> , Muzeul Sebeș
Ziridava	- <i>Ziridava. Studia Archaeologica</i> , Muzeul Arad