

# Frontiers and Identities

Cities in Regions and Nations



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Contemporary

# Frontiers and Identities



## Cities in Regions and Nations

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# Ethnic and Professional Frontiers in Transylvanian Cities from the 16th to the 18th Centuries

FLORIN PINTESCU

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*“Stadtluft macht frei”<sup>1</sup>*

## ABSTRACT

This study attempts to demonstrate the influence of the dynamic sense of the ‘frontier’ phenomenon on the history of Romanians living in Transylvania between 1500 and 1800. It will be argued, drawing on primary source material, that Romanians in Transylvanian cities were socially and professionally discriminated against. Due to this, Romanians could not officially settle in Transylvanian cities (except in the suburbs of some cities or small boroughs) until the 18th century. Also, they could not officially establish Romanian professional guilds until the 17th century. It will be argued here that this demonstrates that ethnic and professional ‘frontiers’ operated in Transylvanian cities in this period, which were favorable to the Hungarians, Saxons and Szeklers, but unfavorable to the Romanians.

*Studiul intenționează să demonstreze că istoria românilor din orașele Transilvaniei secolelor XVI-XVIII a fost negativ influențată de acțiunea a două tipuri de “frontieră”: frontiera etnică și cea profesională.*

*Analiza teoretică a acestui articol pleacă de la înțelesul dinamic al noțiunii de “frontieră”, lansată în câmpul sociologiei de către Frederick Jackson Turner (1893), cu aplicații ulterioare largi în istorie, geopolitică și geostrategie. Înțelesul dinamic al fenomenului de frontieră cuantifică fenomenul expansiunii unei națiuni, civilizații, religii, ideologii sau imperiu.*

*În introducere, articolul analizează importanța fenomenului de frontieră în istoria medievală a Europei, punând totodată în evidență condițiile istorice speciale care au influențat evoluția Transilvaniei medievale. Ulterior este descrisă succint situația religioasă și politică a românilor din Transilvania, care explică statusul lor social-urban și profesional precar.*

*Partea cea mai consistentă a articolului conține o serie de informații despre evoluția orașelor transilvănene din secolele XVI-XVIII, cu referire specială la situația socială și profesională a românilor ardeleni din suburbiile (“mäierști”) unor orașe și din târgurile acestui stat.*

*Articolul subliniază, pe baza unor izvoare și mărturii de epocă, că românii nu s-au putut stabili în mod oficial în orașele transilvănene (nu le-a fost permis accesul) – cu excepția notabilă a unor suburbii și a unor mici târguri, până în secolul XVIII. De asemenea, ei nu și-au putut constitui bresle profesionale până în secolul XVII.*

*Concluzia finală a articolului este că orașele transilvănene din secolele XVI-XVIII au îndepărtat rolul unor frontiere etnice și profesionale, care au fost favorabile maghiarilor, sașilor și secuilor, însă au fost nefavorabile românilor.*

Having complex sociological and geopolitical connotations, the word “frontier”, as a collective experience, represents “a true anthropologic, spiritual, ethnologic and even religious laboratory”<sup>2</sup>. This study seeks to demonstrate that the history of Romanians<sup>3</sup> in Transylvanian cities, between the 16th and 18th centuries, was negatively influenced by the effects of two types of ‘frontiers’: ethnic and professional.

This chapter will be presented in three parts. The various meanings of the concept of “frontier” and its historical significance for the history of Europe will be discussed. This analysis will emphasize the peculiar historical conditions which influenced the evolution of mediaeval Transylvania. Secondly, the chapter will analyze the political and religious situation of the Romanians in Transylvania and how this explains their special social and professional status in the urban context. Finally, the evolution of Transylvanian cities between the 16th and 18th centuries will be explored and the status of Romanians in these cities will be assessed.

The term “frontier” arose in the field of sociology after the printing of Frederick Jackson Turner’s 1893 essay, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*. The concept has acquired a double meaning, simultaneously static and dynamic. If we concern ourselves with the static meaning, “the frontier evokes the point where the territorial competence [of a state] ends”<sup>4</sup>. If we refer to the dynamic sense, “the phenomenon of the frontier expresses all processes by which historical expansion, either of a nation, civilization, religion, ideology or empire manifests itself”<sup>5</sup>.

Historically speaking, the dynamic meaning of “frontier” is very important for understanding European civilization’s expansion, due to the creation of the so-called European world economy<sup>6</sup> around the turn of the 16th century. This process was accompanied by the expansion of the ‘frontier’ of Western civilization in such a manner that, during the following four centuries, “intercivilizational relations consisted in subordinating other societies to Western civilization”<sup>7</sup>.

Among the elements that favoured the “dramatic development” of Western civilization, an important role was played by the emergence of cities<sup>8</sup>. These entities contributed to the rise of the bourgeoisie, the enrichment of culture in the Middle Ages and the use of vernacular languages in the administration. Also, cities promoted the secularization of medieval society<sup>9</sup>.

Between the 16th and 18th centuries, due to the historical circumstances outlined below, Transylvanian cities were only able to carry out part of the role assumed in the same period by cities in Central and Western Europe.

The reasons for this have been outlined by I. Wallerstein as part of his core-periphery theory. Wallerstein argues that the foundation of the “European world system” helped to divide the world into “central states”, “semi-peripheral zones” and “peripheral zones”. This global division led to the shift of the commercial centre of Europe from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean. Also, it determined the impoverishment of the states of Eastern Europe (including Transylvania). Therefore, these states were, for centuries, reduced to the role of an agrarian area exploited by Western European states<sup>10</sup>. Also, in 1541, Transylvania was subdued by an economically regressive Great Power, the Ottoman Empire<sup>11</sup>. All these factors prevented Transylvanian cities from developing in a West-European fashion.

Today, Transylvania is a large geographical unit (approximately 102,000 km<sup>2</sup>), which includes 42.2% of the area and 33.8% of the population of Romania<sup>12</sup>. This term is also applied to the provinces of Banat, Crişana and Maramureş, which were, at times during the Middle Ages, under the control of different states. Thus, using the generic term Transylvania for all these provinces could be considered to be inaccurate. However, in this study, the term Transylvania is extended to include the above mentioned provinces for two reasons. Firstly, to simplify the text and, secondly, because the data used for analysis is drawn from all four provinces.

Transylvania was a part of the Kingdom of Hungary until early in the 16th century. During the period of Hungarian rule Romanians in Transylvania were politically, religiously and judicially discriminated against<sup>13</sup>. In 1366, King Ludovic I (Lajos) of Hungary (1342-1382) proclaimed several anti-Romanian measures by royal decree. The new laws stipulated that no person could be considered a noble if they did not have a royal diploma, which rewarded them with this title. This decision automatically excluded the majority of Romanian nobles from the ranks of the nobility because they possessed their lands by virtue of an unwritten ancestral law (i.e. *jus valachicum*, *jus keneziale*). It was also stipulated that no person in Transylvania, including Romanian nobles (Lat. *Kenezi*), could possess estates, if he was not of the Catholic religion<sup>14</sup>. This royal decision represented a great danger for the interests of the majority of the Romanian nobles, who were Orthodox Christians. Therefore, these measures encouraged

“the exclusion of the Romanian elite as an entity from among the social orders [i.e. in the mediaeval meaning] and outlawing of their orthodox confession”<sup>15</sup>.

Later, after 1437<sup>16</sup>, Romanians were denied the status of a political ‘nation’ (*natio* in mediaeval Latin) in the Diets or Assemblies of Estates (i.e. *congregationes, universitates*) of Transylvania. It is important to note that, after 1437, those Assemblies were made up only of Nobles (whose ethnic descent did not matter), Saxons and Szeklers (*Nobiles, Saxones et Siculi*).

After 1437, the notion of *nobiles* gradually attained a stronger ethnic connotation. Nobles of non-Hungarian descent converted, in different periods, to Catholicism and Calvinism. Over time, these nobles began to Magyarize themselves. Therefore, the ethnic evolution of the nation was encouraged by the overwhelming Magyar character of the nobility, by their preponderance in the political life of the Principality and by the influence of the Reformation, which supported the mother-tongue in the Church and culture. As the nation progressed towards modernity, the expression *natio nobilium* or *nemes nemzet* became unsuitable, being replaced by general terms such as nobles or nobility, counties (Rom. *comitate*) or noble counties (Rom. *nobile comitate*) and finally by the Magyar nation (*natio hungarica, magyar natio, magyar nemzet*)<sup>17</sup>.

After the triumph of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Transylvania, the Orthodox religion of the Romanians was not accepted as a formal religion in the country, unlike Catholicism, Calvinism, Lutheranism and Unitarianism. Orthodox Christianity was referred to as “tolerated” in Transylvanian judicial texts<sup>18</sup>.

Generally, at the end of the 16th century, neither their countrymen (i.e. Magyars, Saxons and Szeklers) nor foreign observers considered Transylvanian Romanians to be strongly discriminated against. They considered Romanians to be rude, uncivilized, without an elite, rustic and backward. They characterized them as paupers, vigilantes, thieves and bandits<sup>19</sup>. Naturally, this mind set did not stimulate cooperation between Romanians and the other Transylvanian peoples (i.e. Hungarians, Saxons and Szeklers).

Due to the factors mentioned above, between the 16th and 18th centuries Romanians from Transylvania had “a peripheral status in relation to the urban life, which was almost inaccessible to them”<sup>20</sup>.

During the period of Transylvanian ‘Voivodship’ (between the 12th century and 1541), the cities in the country were partially influenced by western culture and civilization. The administration of the cities was divided between their representatives and the representatives of the voivod (prince) or bishop (when the city was a bishop’s residence)<sup>21</sup>. All the same, in the Transylvanian cities Assemblies of Estates functioned in a similar manner to those in Western Europe. Thus, from the 13th century, the Transylvanian cities sent their representatives to the General Assembly (*congregatio generalis*) of the Voivodship<sup>22</sup>.

Between 1300 and 1600, the most important Transylvanian cities were given the status of “royal free cities” (i.e. *civitas libera ac regia*)<sup>23</sup>. In mediaeval documents, the leaders of these cities were called *providi viri, circumspecti et prudentes*<sup>24</sup>, *probo set notabiles viros, sapientiores et intellectiores*<sup>25</sup> etc.

From the 16th century until the end of the 18th, Transylvanian cities were divided, depending on their importance, into three categories: “royal free cities” (i.e., *civitas libera ac regia*), “noble cities” or “noble boroughs” (i.e., *civitas, oppidum nobilium*) and ‘boroughs’ (i.e., *oppidum*). The main ‘royal free cities’ were Cluj (until 1660, when it became a ‘noble’ city), Târgu Mureş (from 1616), Sibiu, Braşov, Sighişoara, Mediaş, Bistriţa and Sebeş. The main “noble” cities or boroughs were Dej (1668), Turda Nouă (1619) and Turda Veche (1668). The most important Transylvanian boroughs were Alba Iulia, Ocna Sibiului, Târgu Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe, Hunedoara, Ilieni, Breţcu, Abrud, Haţeg, Zalău, Sic, and Cojocna<sup>26</sup>.

Cities in mediaeval Transylvania imposed judicial measures in order to hinder outsiders from staying for long periods or settling inside of the cities’ walls (i.e. *intra muros*). For example, nobles were forbidden from settling in the royal free cities of Cluj in 1537 and Braşov in 1544<sup>27</sup>. Even the king of the country had a limited right to stay in Sibiu: he could only remain for three days accompanied by a small escort<sup>28</sup>. In a section on Sibiu in his 1564 description of Transylvania, the Italian Giovan Andrea Gromo (1518 - after 1567) wrote: “and neither can the other nations get work in these Saxon cities or have the right to live here except for a very skilled or necessary person. Not even the king can stay here for more than three days or enter the city unless with an escort which is so small that it cannot raise any fear”<sup>29</sup>.

Speaking about Braşov, the same author emphasized that “the leading functions of the cities belong to the learned people, wise and old people most of whom can speak several languages. *They will not permit others than their citizens to get work there or anybody who is not a Saxon to work in the city*” (our italics)<sup>30</sup>.

Naturally, the Romanians insisted, both during the Principality and afterwards, on their right to live in the cities. But the authorities only “allowed them in as long as they were shepherds, because the Hungarians would not accept this trade”<sup>31</sup>. The council of the city of Turda even decided, though later, between 1711-1712:

We are learning that the Walachians are breeding among us and against us at a high rate. The beautiful old villages and towns inhabited before by Hungarians and Saxons are so deserted because of the Walachians’ breeding that we cannot even hear about them. For this reason we decide that every man or widow in the town has the duty to chase away, within eight days, all the Walachians from their houses and lands or be fined with three florins<sup>32</sup>.

Due to these restrictive measures, during the 16th century, Romanians only managed to settle in some of the smaller Transylvanian boroughs or in the suburbs (in Romanian: *maieri, măierişti*)<sup>33</sup> of some larger cities. Around 1572 Romanians were living

in the borough of Caransebeş and were represented in the local Senate<sup>34</sup>, and in the borough Zlatna, where they worked in the mines near the city<sup>35</sup>. Between 1452 and 1536, the representatives of the Olahus family, natives of Walachia, established, with interruptions, a veritable dynasty of administrative rulers (in Romanian *juzi scăunali*) in the borough Orăştie, a citadel of Transylvanian Germanism<sup>36</sup>.

During the 16th century, a series of scholars, both military men and clergymen wrote accounts of Romanian residents in the suburbs of some Transylvanian cities and several boroughs. The Saxon scholar Georg Reicherstorffer (c.1500 - c.1550) depicts Romanians living in the suburbs of Braşov (Şcheii Braşovului), Zlatna, Hatzeg and Baia de Criş<sup>37</sup>. The Italian officer Giovan Andrea Gromo also states that Romanians lived in a “suburb” of Cluj (Cluj-Mănăştur)<sup>38</sup>. The same soldier notes that Romanians “provide the cities with cheese, milk and fruits daily”<sup>39</sup>. Similarly, on 24 July 1586, the clergyman Valentin Ladó wrote in a letter to the priest Campani that at Caransebeş there was a numerous Romanian population, to which he “often” preached the Catholic liturgy<sup>40</sup>. The Venetian Giorgio Tomasi (? – c. 1621), Prince Sigismund Báthory’s secretary, writes that the suburbs of the city of Alba Iulia were “mainly inhabited by the Greeks and Romanians”<sup>41</sup>. Finally, the mathematician, geographer and traveler David Frölich (1595-1648) visited Transylvania in 1630 and recorded his impressions of his travels in a famous work, printed in 1639 (*Medulla Geographiae practicae, Peregrinantium imprimis usui deinde Historiarum et rerum hoc tempore belicossissimo gestarum gerendarumque cognitioni accomodata...*). In his book Frölich states that the Romanians lived in the boroughs of Abrud, Baia de Criş, Zlatna Mare, Zlatna Mică and Haţeg<sup>42</sup>. The names of the regions or places mentioned in these documents can be found on many of the maps printed in the 16th century<sup>43</sup>.

The following table contains the places (boroughs) in Transylvania that were inhabited by Romanians, as they appear on a map of Hungary drawn in 1528 by ‘Lazarus Secretarius’ and Georg Tannstetter (1482-1535), a map of Transylvania created by J. Honterus and a map of Hungary, drawn by Wolfgang Lazius<sup>44</sup>.

| PLACE NAME<br>(in Romanian) | LAZARUS/<br>TANNSTETTER | HONTERUS  | LAZIUS     |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Abrud                       | Abrotania               | Schlotten | Abrukbanya |
| Baia de Criş                | Keresbama               | Altemburg | Kerezbanya |
| Caransebeş                  | Karansebes              | -         | -          |
| Grădişte                    | -                       | -         | Varhel     |
| Orăştie                     | Zazuaros                | Bros      | Zazuara(s) |
| Zlatna                      | -                       | -         | Zaladna    |

The next section of this chapter will analyze the fascinating example of the struggle by the Romanians in the suburbs of Șcheii Brașovului to be accepted as full citizens by the Brașov authorities. This example illustrates the effect of a ‘frontier’ of the locative urban type on the social, economic and cultural development of Romanians in Transylvania. Although the presence of Romanians in the suburb of Șcheii Brașovului has been documented since the end of the 14th century<sup>45</sup>, the Romanians did not officially have the right to live in Brașov. Throughout the 18th century, the Romanians in this suburb tried to create a city administration of their own, independent of Brașov Saxon government. They won an indirect victory when, on 4 July 1781, the emperor Joseph II permitted the “recognized nations” (i.e. *Nobiles, Saxones et Siculi*) from Transylvania to obtain citizen rights and estates in the territory of the ‘Saxon University’ an organization of Saxons in Medieval Transylvania<sup>46</sup>. This decision allowed Romanians to obtain citizen rights and buy houses in the city of Brașov. The first to do so were the trader Ioan Boghici, who bought a house in 1781, and the butcher Dumitru Orghidan<sup>47</sup>.

In 1790, however, Joseph II’s reform was revoked and the authorities of Brașov refused to give Romanians the rights to which it had entitled them. It was not until the first decades of the 19th century that the Romanians of Șcheii Brașovului began seriously to campaign for the acknowledgment of their rights. Their movement consisted mostly of petitions addressed to the central authorities of Transylvania, as well as to the Aulic Committee for reorganizing Royal Land (*Fundus Regium*, the land held by the Saxons in Medieval Transylvania). In these petitions, the Romanians from Șcheii Brașovului mainly requested the elimination of restrictions on their economic activities, their acceptance to the guilds, the unbiased assignment of public tasks and a role in the government of the city of Brașov<sup>48</sup>.

The Transylvanian guilds date back to the 14th century<sup>49</sup> and continued to be active until the 19th century. The first statutes of these organizations date back to the year 1376 and originally established nineteen guilds in Sibiu, Sighișoara, Sebeș and Orăștie. In Transylvanian documents from the 14th and 15th centuries the guilds are referred to as brotherhoods (*fraternitates*), societies (*societates*), associations (*confederationes*), communities (*communitates*) and guilds (*cehae, Zünfte*)<sup>50</sup>.

As a historical curiosity, the official decree of abolishment of the Transylvanian guilds was passed in 1872<sup>51</sup>. In Western Europe, the golden age of these professional organizations had come to an end in the 15th century. As has been emphasized by Fernand Braudel, by this time western cities already had forms of market economy<sup>52</sup>.

Transylvanian handicrafts had also failed to rise to the qualitative and quantitative standards of those practiced in Central or Western Europe. The Transylvanian guilds kept the mediaeval system, a system which drastically limited the possibility of any interference from external institutions. The transition to Western manufacturing standards was also excessively drawn out.

Although Romanians were partially successful in gaining the right to settle in the cities, they were not able, in the 15th and 16th centuries, to overcome the restrictions against them being received into the Saxonian, Hungarian or Szeklerian guilds. For example, the 1484 statute of the furrier guilds in Bistrița and Sighișoara threatened that any Romanian or other foreigner transporting merchandise would be punished with a fine equal to the value of the goods<sup>53</sup>. The statutes of 1586 issued by the leather dressers guild of Orăștie explicitly stated that its members were not allowed to sell products to Romanians or any other foreigners<sup>54</sup>. The statutes of 1589 for the same guild explicitly stated that Romanians were not to be accepted into the guild<sup>55</sup>.

All the guild statutes of Baia Mare and Cluj declared that no one but he who is “born of honest marriage”, not a serf, and is of Hungarian or German nationality can be accepted as an apprentice<sup>56</sup>. Article IV of the Statute of 1652 issued by the butchers’ guild in Baia Mare explicitly stated that the apprentice must present, when entering the guild, along with his apprenticeship document, a letter regarding his nationality and proof that he is a freeman<sup>57</sup>.

Transylvanian Romanians did not manage to establish their own guilds in the 16th century, and were not granted access to the Hungarian, Saxonian or Szeklerian guilds. Due to this, Romanians established their own guilds in villages<sup>58</sup>. There were, nevertheless, some Romanians who managed to break the guild monopoly. The first was Philippus Pictor (i.e. Philip the Moldavian)<sup>59</sup>, who wrote a Slavonic gospel at Sibiu in 1546. In 1552-3, the same man wrote a bilingual Slavonic-Romanian gospel, which is considered to be the oldest surviving writing in Romanian<sup>60</sup>.

The first Romanian guild, or at least a guild that contained Romanians, appeared at the end of the 16th century. This was the guild of the shoemakers in Făgăraș (a borough largely populated by Romanians), which had been given a privilege in 1598 by Princess Maria Christina. The same guild was also given a privilege in 1622 by Prince Gabriel Bethlen<sup>61</sup>.

On 15 July 1635, Gh. I Rakoczi approved the statutes of the guilds of shoemakers and leather dressers in Hunedoara. These guilds incorporated Hungarian and Romanian craftsmen. According to the statutes, the Romanians Teodor Vlad and Nicolae Cizmășia represented the shoemakers’ guild, requesting the approval of the statute from the Transylvanian prince. The Romanian Mihail Oprea performed the same role in the leather dressers’ guild<sup>62</sup>.

The guild of the Romanian tanners in Făgăraș was established in 1643, and by 1672 the guild of Romanian shoemakers and “solemakers” (makers of boot soles) had already been established in Hațeg<sup>63</sup>. It is also worth mentioning that the Romanian potters’ guild of Hațeg obtained a privilege in 1708<sup>64</sup>.

The Romanians who settled in the suburbs of Șcheii Brașovului (Brașov) and earned a living through handicrafts and commerce had a remarkable impact on Transylvania

between the 14th and 18th centuries. The Saxon chronicles offer us interesting information about the Romanians who lived in the vicinity of the cities of Sibiu and Braşov. The Romanians in those regions are thought to have possessed a large number of animals, while the ones in Şcheii Braşovului were described as rich and involved in various economic activities. Some escorted young Saxon students from Braşov and Sibiu to German universities, especially to that of Leipzig, and also lent them money and brought back letters to their parents<sup>65</sup>.

The involvement of Romanians living in the regions surrounding Sibiu and Şcheii Braşovului in Transylvanian commerce is well documented from as early as the 16th century. In 1503, sixty Romanian traders from Şcheii Braşovului participated in trade with Walachia<sup>66</sup>. Of the traders operating between Braşov and Walachia and Moldavia in 1530, the Romanians made up 46.12%, the Saxons 13.99%, the Hungarians 8.77% and the Greeks 5.56%, while the rest were Armenians and other ethnicities<sup>67</sup>.

During the 17th and 18th centuries a significant number of Romanians from Transylvania were involved in the commercial activities of the so-called 'Greek' companies in Sibiu (founded in 1636) and Braşov (founded in 1678)<sup>68</sup>.

Saxon chroniclers describe the Romanians around Sibiu and Braşov as shepherds, servants, chefs, fishermen, fish salesmen or carters<sup>69</sup>. In addition, especially in the 18th century, Romanians from Şcheii Braşovului were furriers, dressmakers, carpenters, blacksmiths, silversmiths, barbers, shoemakers etc., and intended to open a string factory in 1773. Despite all this, most of their income came from commercial activities and transportation<sup>70</sup>.

Romanian butchers from Şcheii Braşovului, mentioned in a document of 1634, fought an interesting judicial battle for about two centuries, to gain acknowledgement of their professional rights from the authorities of Braşov<sup>71</sup>. In 1791 the Association of Romanian butchers was established in Brasov (*Compagnia Laniorum Vallachorum Bolgarsze-giensium*), although this did not have all the elements of a guild (functional status, right to monopoly, measures of protection against external competition, management organisms, the professional hierarchic steps, regular member subscription, its own treasury, etc.)<sup>72</sup>. The Romanian butchers in Şcheii Braşovului were only successful in 1872, when they managed to establish *The Industrial Society of Romanian Butchers in Braşov*<sup>73</sup>.

At the end of this study, some conclusions must be drawn. The history of Transylvanian Romanians between the 16th and 18th centuries was negatively influenced by the effects of two types of "frontiers": the ethnic and the professional. Due to this, their social, economic and cultural development was hindered, especially when it is compared to that of the Hungarians, Saxons and Szeklers in Transylvania. Romanians could not officially settle in the Transylvanian cities (except in some cities' suburbs or small boroughs) until the 18th century. Also, they could not officially build their Romanian professional guilds until the 17th century. In this context, it can be seen that Transylvanian

cities, between the 16th and 18th centuries, acted as ethnic and professional frontiers, which were favorable to the Hungarians, Saxons and Szeklers, but unfavorable to the Romanians.

All the same, especially because of their ethnic and religious conservativeness, the Romanians in Transylvania had, until the 20th century, a fundamental role in the process of consolidating the Transylvanian rural 'frontier' against the expansion of the urban 'frontier'.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> "The city air makes you free" – German mediaeval saying.
- <sup>2</sup> I. Bădescu, D. Dungaci, *Sociologia și geopolitica frontierei* [The Sociology and Geopolitics of the Frontier], vol. 1, Bucharest 1995, p. 31.
- <sup>3</sup> In Transylvanian mediaeval documents Romanians were designated by the ethnonyms *Olachi*, *Olaci*, *Valachi* (See, for instance, Ș. Pascu, Ș. Ștefănescu et al. (eds.), *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, series C, *Transilvania (1366-1370)*, vol. 13, Bucharest 1994, p. 915 – Index. According to the opinions of different experts, these ethnonyms originated from *Volcae*, the name given by C.I. Caesar and Titus Livy to a population from Gaul (A. Armbruster, *La romanité des roumains. Histoire d'une idée*, Bucharest 1979, *passim*).
- <sup>4</sup> J. Soppelsa, M. Battesti, J.-Ch. Romer, *Lexique de géopolitique*, Paris 1988, p. 124.
- <sup>5</sup> Bădescu, Dungaci, *Sociologia* cit., p. 1.
- <sup>6</sup> I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, New York 1974, *passim*.
- <sup>7</sup> S. P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, London 1998, p. 51.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>9</sup> H. Pirenne, *Medieval cities. Their origins and the revival of trade*, Princeton 1946, pp. 222, 224, 231-232, 233.
- <sup>10</sup> D. Prodan, *Iobăgia în Transilvania în sec. XVI* [Serfdom in Transylvania in the 16th Century], vol. 1, Bucharest 1967, p. 577.
- <sup>11</sup> See the arguments concerning the affiliation of Transylvania to a marginal zone of the European economy in F. Pintescu, *România din Transilvania la sfârșitul secolului XVI și începutul secolului XVII* [Romanians from Transylvania at the end of the 16th Century and the Beginning of the 17th Century], Suceava 2004, pp. 63-66.
- <sup>12</sup> G. Pop, *Introducere* [Introduction], in A. Drăgoescu (ed.), *Istoria României. Transilvania* [History of Romania. Transylvania], vol. I, Cluj-Napoca 1997, p. 14.
- <sup>13</sup> F. Pintescu, *România* cit., pp. 86-90.
- <sup>14</sup> "ut in tota provincia (i.e. Transylvania, our note) seu toto districtu de Sebes nullus alter nisi vere catholicus et fidem quam Romana tenet et profitetur ecclesia fideliter colens, possessiones aliquas sub titulo nobilitatis aut sub titulo keneziali tenere posset et conservare" – *Documenta* cit., p. 2.
- <sup>15</sup> I. Aurel Pop, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei și părțile vestice în sec. XII-1541* [The Voivodship of Transylvania and the Western Parts in the 12th Century - 1541], in A. Drăgoescu, *Istoria* cit., pp. 478-479.

- <sup>16</sup> I. Aurel Pop, *Instituții medievale românești. Adunările cneziale și nobiliare (boierești) în secolele XIV-XVI* [Romanian Medieval Institutions. The Assemblies of “Cnezi” and Nobles (boyars) from the 14th to the 16th Century], Cluj Napoca 1991, p. 18.
- <sup>17</sup> A. Andea, S. Andea, *Principatul Transilvaniei sub suzeranitate otomană (1541-1691)* [The Principality of Transylvania under Ottoman Rule (1541-1691)], in A. Drăgoescu, *Istoria* cit., p. 556.
- <sup>18</sup> In *Approbatæ Constitutiones Transilvaniae* (1653), a synthesis of the resolutions of the Transylvania General Assembly (i.e. *Dieta*) between 1540-1653, is mentioned: “Because the religion of the Walachian nation is not included among those four recognized (i.e. legal, our note) religions, the guild whose members were called ‘călugări’ (i.e. Walachian [Romanian] monks, our note), was not accepted, in fact, it was forbidden. Therefore, even now it is up to the country and princes whether or not to completely eliminate it according to their best judgement”. This text is taken from L. Marcu (ed.), *Constituțiile Aprobate ale Transilvaniei (1653)* [The Sanctioned Constitutions of Transylvania (1653)], Cluj-Napoca 1997, p. 155.
- <sup>19</sup> I. Aurel Pop, *Națiunea românească medievală* [The Mediaeval Romanian Nation], Bucharest 1998, p. 119.
- <sup>20</sup> Aurel Pop, *Voievodatul* cit., p. 496.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 494.
- <sup>22</sup> G. Bichicean, *Contextul european și reprezentarea orașelor în congregațiile generale din Transilvania voievodală – secolele XIII-XVI* [The European Context and the Cities’ Representations in the General “Congregations” from the Transylvanian Voivodship], in “Historia Urbana”, tom IV, 1996, nr. 1-2, pp. 30-36, *passim*, with the bibliography of this problem.
- <sup>23</sup> Aurel Pop, *Voievodatul* cit., pp. 494-495.
- <sup>24</sup> Ș. Ștefănescu, *Economie și societate* [Economy and Society], in Ș. Ștefănescu, C. Mureșanu (eds.), *Istoria Românilor* [The History of Romanians], vol. IV, Bucharest 2001, p. 81.
- <sup>25</sup> G. Bichicean, *Contextul* cit., p. 35.
- <sup>26</sup> S. Andea, *Instituțiile centrale și locale în Transilvania* [The Central and Local Institutions in Transylvania], in V. Câdea (ed.), *Istoria românilor* [The History of Romanians], vol. V, Bucharest 2003 pp. 738-739.
- <sup>27</sup> Ștefănescu, *Economie* cit., p. 79.
- <sup>28</sup> I. Lupaș, *Sibiul ca centru al vieții românești din Ardeal* [Sibiu as the Center of the Romanian Life in Transylvania], in “Anuarul Institutului de istorie națională din Cluj” [The Yearbook of the Institute of National History in Cluj], nr. 4-5, 1926-1927, p. 41.
- <sup>29</sup> M. Holban (ed.), *Călători străini despre țările române* [Foreign Travelers about the Romanian Countries], vol. II, Bucharest 1970, p. 352.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 357.
- <sup>31</sup> K. Viski, *Volksleben im Siebenbürgen*, in *Siebenbürgen*, Budapest 1940, p. 133.
- <sup>32</sup> V. Jinga, *Probleme fundamentale ale Transilvaniei* [Transylvania’s Fundamental Problems], 2nd edition, Brașov 1995, p. 263.
- <sup>33</sup> O. Sachelarie, N. Stoicescu (eds.), *Instituții feudale din Țările Române. Dicționar* [Feudal Institutions in the Romanian Countries. Dictionary], Bucharest 1988, p. 281.
- <sup>34</sup> S. Goldenberg, *Caransebeșul în comerțul sud-est european din secolul al XVI-lea* [Caransebeș in South-Eastern European Trade in the 16th Century], in “Banatica”, nr. 1, 1971, pp. 166-167.
- <sup>35</sup> Holban, *Călători* cit., pp. 345 and 351.

- <sup>36</sup> A. E. Dörner, *Elita administrativă a scaunului Orăștie în veacurile XIV-XV* [The Administrative Elite of the 'scaun' of Orăștie in the 14th and 15th Century], in "Yearbook of the Institute of History in Cluj", 32, 1993, pp. 23-27.
- <sup>37</sup> Holban, *Călători* cit., vol. I, Bucharest 1968, pp. 217, 223, 224.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 345, 346, 357.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 337. Also see L. Vasile, *Achiziții de produse agricole și meșteșugărești ale municipalității clujene de la țărani români. Secolul al XVI-lea* [Cluj Municipalities' Acquisitions of Agricultural Products and of Handicrafts from Romanian Peasants. The 16th Century], in "Acta Musei Porolissensis", (AMP), XVIII, 1994, pp. 271-320.
- <sup>40</sup> Holban, *Călători* cit., vol. III, Bucharest 1971, pp. 120-121.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 671.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. V, Bucharest 1973, p. 53.
- <sup>43</sup> For a general presentation of maps from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which depict the Romanian countries (including Transylvania), see M. Popescu-Spineni, *Românii în izvoare geografice și cartografice. Din antichitate pînă în pragul veacului nostru* [Romanians in Geographic and Cartographic Sources. From Antiquity to the Beginning of Our Century], Bucharest 1978, pp. 114-152.
- <sup>44</sup> H. Meschendörfer, O. Mittelstrass (eds.), *Siebenbürgen auf Alten Karten. Lazarus/Tannstetter 1528, Johannes Honterus 1532, Wolfgang Lazius 1552/1556*, Heidelberg 1996, pp. 110-133 and maps from the end of the book.
- <sup>45</sup> A. Răduțiu, L. Gyémant, *Autonomie și integrare. Șcheii Brașovului între suburbii și oraș* [Autonomy and Integration. Șcheii Brașovului between Suburb and City], in "Historia Urbana", tome I, 1993, no. 2, p. 196.
- <sup>46</sup> Gernot Nussbächer, *Contribuții la istoria administrației orașului Brașov în perioada medievală (secolele XVII-XVIII)* [Contributions to the History of the City of Brașov's Administration in Medieval Times (17th / 18th centuries)], 2nd part, in "Historia Urbana", tom IV, 1996, nr. 1-2, p. 60.
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>48</sup> Răduțiu, Gyémant, *Autonomie* cit., p. 201.
- <sup>49</sup> Ș. Pascu, *Meșteșugurile din Transilvania până în secolul al XVI-lea* [Handicrafts from Transylvania up until the 16th Century], Bucharest 1954, p. 82.
- <sup>50</sup> Ștefănescu, *Economie* cit., p. 86.
- <sup>51</sup> D. Năgler, *Breasla blănarilor din Sibiu în cursul secolelor XIV-XVIII* [The Furriers' Guild of Sibiu from the 14th to the 18th Century], in "Studii și comunicări. Muzeul Brukenthal Sibiu. Arheologie Istorie", [Studies and Communications. The Brukenthal Museum Sibiu. Archaeology History] 14, 1969, p. 250.
- <sup>52</sup> "... à ce moment-là (15th century, our note), le rôle moteur est celui des boutiques d'artisans ou, mieux encore, des marchés urbains. Ce sont ces marchés qui dictent leur loi", F. Braudel, *La dynamique du capitalisme*, Paris 1989, pp. 28-29.
- <sup>53</sup> Pascu, *Meșteșugurile* cit., pp. 316-317.
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 316.
- <sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 283.
- <sup>56</sup> E. Anton, *Organizarea breslelor din Baia Mare și Cluj în secolul al XVII-lea* [The Organization of the Guilds in Baia Mare and Cluj in the 17th Century], in "Hrisovul, Bulletin of the Faculty of Archivistics" (Bucharest), new series, tom III, Bucharest 1998, p. 56.

- <sup>57</sup> E. Anton, *Statutul breslei măcelarilor din Baia Mare (1652)* [The Statute of the Butchers' Guild in Baia Mare], in "Hrisovul", new series, tom VI-VII, 2001, p. 198.
- <sup>58</sup> D. Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*, Bucharest 1984, p. 102.
- <sup>59</sup> Moldavia is today a province located in the north-eastern part of Romania.
- <sup>60</sup> F. Pap, *Contribuții noi cu privire la biografia primului tipograf român* [New Contributions to the Biography of the First Romanian Printing Worker], in "Acta Musei Napocensis", 22-23, 1985-1986, p. 599.
- <sup>61</sup> N. Edroiu, *Populație și economie în Transilvania* [Population and Economy in Transylvania], in Cândea, *Istoria cit.*, p. 507.
- <sup>62</sup> C. Feneșan, I. Lazăr, *Trei statute de breaslă de la Hunedoara din prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea* [Three Guild Statutes in Hunedoara in the First Half of the 17th Century], in "Sargetia", 14, 1979, p. 244.
- <sup>63</sup> Jinga, *Probleme cit.*, p. 180.
- <sup>64</sup> Edroiu, *Populație cit.*, p. 507.
- <sup>65</sup> A. Armbruster, *The Portrayal of the Transylvanian Romanian in Saxon Historical Writings between the Fifteenth and the Eighteenth Centuries*, in L. Péter (Ed.), *Historians and the History of Transylvania*, New York 1992, p. 106.
- <sup>66</sup> Răduțiu, Gyémant, *Autonomie cit.*, p. 198.
- <sup>67</sup> Jinga, *Probleme cit.*, p. 176.
- <sup>68</sup> O. Cicanci, *Structura etnică a companiilor comerciale din Transilvania* [The Ethnical Structure of Commercial Companies in Transylvania], in "Academia Română. Memoriile Secției de Științe Istorice" [The Romanian Academy. Memoirs of the Section of Historical Sciences], tome IV, 1979, p. 40.
- <sup>69</sup> Armbruster, *The Portrayal cit.*, p. 106.
- <sup>70</sup> Răduțiu, Gyémant, *Autonomie cit.*, p. 198.
- <sup>71</sup> I-G. Andron, *Măcelarii români din Șcheii Brașovului în secolul al XVIII-lea* [Romanian Butchers in Șcheii Brașovului in the 18th Century], in D. Nazare et al. (eds.), *In honorem Gernot Nussbächer*, Brașov 2004, pp. 299-308, *passim*.
- <sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 299.
- <sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 308.

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