People, Practices and Identities
in East-Central Europe
during the Early Modern Period

Contents

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Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai

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People, Practices and Identities in East-Central Europe during the Early Modern Period

Articles

Book Reviews

Mapping early modern centres and peripheries: 'Marginality' in an east-central European context

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Abstract: This article takes a case-study from the early modern Habsburg Monarchy to explore the scope and validity of centre-periphery models in historical research, and in particular to investigate how 'marginality' is historically produced and reflected in primary sources from the period. It is argued that the series of unsuccessful campaigns for the creation of an independent Hungarian province of the Society of Jesus are instructive in this respect as they document the growth of Hungarian patriotism and national sentiment in the second half of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The movement and its underlying national agenda caused concern at the Habsburg government in Vienna and the Society's Generals in Rome, and met with uniform opposition from these centres. Hungarian patriotism is shown to have been the ideological expression of a sense of growing discontent and estrangement between the Hungarian and Croatian Jesuits on the one side, and the Germans and, as the sources put it, 'Slavic-speaking' Jesuits on the other. The divisive issues were partly of a political nature, arising from Leopold I's repressive Hungarian policy which posed a dilemma to loyal native Hungarian Jesuits after c.1670. However, beyond their immediate political context, these tensions revealed a more significant flaw in the provincial structure of the Society and its operation at different levels of the hierarchy. The outcome was systematic discrimination against native Hungarians and Croatians. This caused a profound rift among the different ethnic and national groups of the Society in Austria and Hungary which undermined the smooth operation of the chain of command from the centre in Rome. The case of early modern Hungary thus can be seen as illustrative of the divisive legacy of the Counter-Reformation and its contribution to the process of polarisation and disintegration that eventually led to the falling apart of the modern Habsburg Monarchy.

Rezumat: Trasând centre şi periferii în perioada modernă timpurie: "Marginalitate" în contextul Europei Central-Răsăritene. Prin acest studiu de caz, din Monarhia Habsburgică în perioada modernă timpurie, articolul îşi propune să investigheze scopul şi validitatea modelului centru-periferie în cercetarea istorică. În mod particular, analiza de faţă investighează modul în care "marginalitatea" este creată şi reflectată la nivelul surselor primare. Seria

campaniilor succesive de creare a unei provincii independente ungare a Ordinului Iezuit, deşi lipsită de succes, este extrem de relevantă din perspectiva scopului acestui studiu, deoarece înţelegerea eşecului permite detectarea creşterii sentimentului naţional şi a patriotismului maghiar în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea şi la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea. Mişcarea şi evidenta sa agendă naţională au creat îngrijorare atât în ambianţa Curţii de la Viena, cât şi la Roma, printre Generalii Ordinului, îngrijorare tradusă într-o opoziţie comună a celor două centre. Patriotismul maghiar este considerat a fi expresia ideologică a unui sentiment crescând de neîncredere şi tensiune între iezuiţii maghiari şi croaţi, pe de o parte, şi cei germani şi "vorbitori de slavă", după cum îi numesc sursele, pe de altă parte. Divergenţele apărute erau, în parte, de natură politică, fiind generate de politica autoritară a lui Leopold I faţă de Ungaria, care a creat nelinişte în rândul iezuiţilor maghiari după anul 1670. Pe lângă contextul politic imediat, tensiunile dezvăluie existenţa unor vicii structurale în funcţionarea Ordinului, atât la nivel provincial, cât şi la nivelul diferitelor eşaloane ierarhice. Ceea ce a rezultat a fost o discriminare sistematică a iezuiţilor maghiari si croaţi, atitudine care a condus la apariţia a numeroase fisuri între diferitele grupuri etnice şi naţionale ale Ordinului din Austria şi Ungaria, subminând în cele din urmă controlul funcţionării Ordinului, exercitat de la centru, din Roma. Astfel, exemplul Ungariei în perioada modernă timpurie este unul ilustrativ pentru moştenirea generatoare de tensiuni a Contrareformei şi pentru contribuţia acesteia la procesele de polarizare şi dezintegrare care vor conduce în cele din urmă la destrămarea Monarhiei Habsburgice

Cuvinte cheie: marginalite, centre, periferii, proto-naţionalism, etnie, Ungaria, Croaţia, Slovenia, Ordinul Iezuit, misiune, Contrareformă

The notion of centres and peripheries has become a powerful if frequently challenged shorthand for denoting often complex relations involving a controlling, extracting or attracting centre, and some form of dependency and inequality on the part of the periphery. Conceived initially as a spatial concept in geography and the sciences, and imported subsequently as an analytical tool into sociology, the concept has received a mixed reception from historians, ranging from essentially metaphorical use to sophisticated attempts to apply it to phenomena in social and cultural history. Among economic historians, the model of centres and peripheries continues to enjoy wide currency, in spite of being challenged by the new school of post-colonial historiography[1].

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[1] For its adoption into sociological theory see for example Edward Shils, *Center and periphery: essays in macrosociology*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975). Patrick L. Baker, *Centring the periphery: Chaos, order and the ethnohistory of Dominica*, (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1994), attempts an interdisciplinary

For the historian of Central Europe, discussing centres and peripheries remains a thorny issue, much complicated by the political legacies of its nations' and ethnicities' interwoven past[2]. Its application to the early

approach that draws on centre-periphery concepts from environmental system theory and geography for explaining social order and social change in Dominica 'before the cataclysmic sixteenth-century social changes that peripheralized so much of the world.', *Ibid.*, 16. For more conventional recent usage in economic history see, for example, Philip Cottrell et al. (eds.), *Centres and peripheries in banking: the historical development of financial markets*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), and Maria Christina Chatziioannou, Gelina Harlaftis (eds.), *From the Levant to the City of London: Mercantile credit in Greek international commercial networks of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). The significance of supposed peripheries as a formative influence on metropolitan cultural identities is demonstrated in: Daniel Carey, Lynn Festa (eds.), *The postcolonial Enlightenment: Eighteenth-century colonialism and postcolonial theory*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), see especially 22-33 and the literature cited on 21, n. 50.

In the introduction to his study *The European Renaissance. Centres and Peripheries*, Peter Burke draws attention to some important limitations of the concept of centre and periphery, including its potentially distorting effect if applied to cultural phenomena, and the resulting need to 'tell the story from multiple points of view' and indeed different points in time to take into account the transient nature of centres. These observations are pertinent to the subject of his book, but raise questions about the author's use of these terms, notably the centrality of Italy throught the period under consideration, which is based primarily on its art-historical pre-eminence, see Peter Burke, *The European Renaissance. Centres and Peripheries*, (Oxford and Malden, Massachussetts: Blackwell, 1998), 12-13. More recently, Richard Butterwick et al (eds.), *Peripheries of the Enlightenment*, (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2008), 1, are cautiously supportive of the idea of 'epicentres' of the Enlightenment whilst highlighting the significance of local networks and putting the idea of peripheries and marginality to the test through a series of case studies; see for example the chapter by Simon Burrows, "Grub Street revolutionaries: marginal writers at the Enlightenment's periphery?", in Butterwick et al., *Peripheries of the Enlightenment*, 145-161, which convincingly argues that 'Grub Street helped to shape the progress of the French Revolution' as 'previously peripheral rhetorical styles, images and fears supplied by London's Grub Street became embedded at the heart of the revolutionary script.' *ibid.*, 161. The critical response from historians of science is mentioned in the introduction to Fiona Clarke's illuminating investigation into the applicability of Shil's theory of central value and belief systems and their system-stabilising capacities to the Mexican Enlightenment, see Ead., "The *Gazeta de Literatura de México* and the edge of reason", in: Butterwick et al, *Peripheries of the Enlightenment*, 251-264.

[2] For a recent attempt to assess modern East-Central European history using this concept see the collection of essays by Ion Stanciu, Sliviu Miloiu, Iulian Oncescu (eds.), *Europe as viewed from the margins: An east-central European perspective from World*

modern world raises further questions about conceptual validity, given the plurality of mental maps in and beyond Europe in this period. The definition of margins and marginality obviously requires comparison as well as a common points of reference. Inevitably, marginality lies either in the eye of the beholder, or is the result of agreement and convention. In the context of modern historical research, applications of the concept usually involve an element of both[3].

This paper aims to assess the meaning and historical significance of marginality in an east central European context by investigating the case of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Hungary and its ambivalent place on the mental map of the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits have been selected as they were a globally operating venture that was coordinated from its General's base in Rome, seat of the papacy and centre of the Catholic Church[4]. This paper will seek to demonstrate that the Society's fate in early modern Hungary illustrates the ambivalence of the Jesuits' attempt to reconcile the demands of the centre and periphery, resulting in frequent conflicts of spiritual and political considerations. Situated on the frontiers of Christianity, the kingdom of Hungary was for the larger part of the century by no means perceived as central to the concerns of Western Christianity. The Estates of the Holy Roman Empire, for example were slow to mobilise or pay for Hungary's defence, in spite of acknowledging its strategic

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War I to the Cold War, (Târgovişte: Rumania, Grigore Stanciu Study Centre for the History of International Relations at Valahia University Târgovişte, 2007).

[3] See for example the use of the concept to explain notable variations in the perception of, and responses to witchcraft between and within different regions of Europe, in Bengt Ankarloo, Gustav Hennigsen (eds.), *Early modern European witchcraft. Centres and peripheries*, (Oxford: Clarendon 1991). Part III, 219-422 takes its inspiration from Fernand Braudel's description of the Mediterranean world, its geography, societies, and economies, in complementary dichotomic terms to achieve a holistic approach. Applied to the phenomenon of witchcraft in Northern and Eastern Europe, the editors' argue this meant 'Social and geographical distance made the élite more antagonistic to cultural deviation, which previously might have been frowned upon but generally tolerated at home.' *Op.cit.*, Introduction, 8. Obviously, contemporary views of the 'centrality' or 'marginality' of, for example, Gdansk, the Valtelline, or Ancient Babylon, would have varied greatly amongst a merchant, Spanish official, or English Fifth Monarchy Man, though one assumes a certain level of convergence of opinion on the issue of the moral significance of Babylon.

[4] The global nature of the Society's organisation and activities is discussed in detail by Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); see in particular the author's conclusions regarding the centrality of the non-European missions to 'salvific Catholicism', *ibid.*, 245-257.

importance. They were slower yet to contribute to Hungary's liberation from Ottoman occupation, to which two-thirds of the lands of St Stephan's crown remained subject between c. 1570 and 1687. By contrast, the Estates of this most rebellious of all provinces in the Austrian Habsburg Monarchy were imbued with a sense of their sacred nation's historical mission, and they stubbornly and violently rejected the marginal and subservient status to which the Habsburgs tried to reduce them. Attempts to bypass the Hungarian Estates on important political decisions, or impose absolutist rule sparked a string of rebellions and conspiracies in the seventeenth century[5]. If none of these rebellions resulted in the permanent loss of Hungary, with possible knock-on effects on Bohemia and Austria, it was purely because the Austrian Habsburgs on the whole lacked the intransigence of their Spanish relatives[6].

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[5] See László Makkai, "The Crown and the diets of Hungary and Transylvania in the sixteenth century", in Robert Evans, T.V. Thomas (eds.), *Crown, Church and Estates*, (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 1991), 80-91, as well as the chapter by Sergej Vilfan, "Crown, Estates and the financing of defence in Inner Austria, 1500-1630", in Evans, Thomas, *Op.cit.*, 70-79. For the early period see Géza Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the sixteenth century*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 89-118 on military defence, and 209-233 for the Bocskai uprising and the divisions it revealed among the Hungarian nobility regarding loyalty to the dynasty. For the seventeenth-century uprisings and relations with the Habsburgs and Viennese government see R.J.W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550-1700*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), 235-274. The issue of military defence in the early seventeenth-century is covered as the prehistory to Austria's later quest for great power status in the magisterial study by Michael Hochedlinger, *Austria's wars of emergence: War, state and society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1683-1787*, (London, 2003).

[6] It was fortunate for the Monarchy that Leopold I's immediate successors did not follow his example. His intransigence in the matter of an autonomous Hungarian Jesuit province is discussed in this paper. Evans, *Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 259, n. 57, cites some revealing evidence of Leopold I's deep-seated antipathy towards the Hungarian nation and nobility, in spite of his displays of clemency towards repentant conspirators, see *ibid.*, 263. It has been noted that the first plans for the *Einrichtungswerk* of 1703 showed utter disregard for existing constitutional structures of the realm, inviting comparison with the fateful onslaughts on Hungarian liberties in the late seventeenth century, see R.J.W. Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 3-14, especially comments on pp. 5 and 11. For the backlash to the conspiracy of 1670/71 see also Márta Fata, *Ungarn, das Reich der Stephanskrone, im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung*, (Münster: Aschendorff, 2000), chapter VIII, 269-283. The documents relating to the centralizing *Einrichtungswerk* are now available in a critical edition by János Kalmár and János Varga (eds.), *Einrichtungswerk des Königreichs Hungarn (1688-1690)*, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2010).

The remainder of this article will focus on the fate of the Jesuits' Hungarian mission in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It will be argued that, far from being an isolated venture, this mission formed part of the Catholic Church's global efforts to recover lost ground in Europe whilst pushing the frontiers of the faith to the ends of the earth so as to win the inter-confessional contest for the souls of indigenous peoples.

As it was, the Jesuits were eminently suited to playing this part:

In the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the Society epitomized the universal claims of the Church militant by its supranational organization, its insistence on strict obedience to the higher levels of the hierarchy, and its principle of rotation of offices and personnel among the Jesuit colleges and provinces. However, the very success of the Society in terms of its geographical and numerical expansion undermined the foundations of its universal mission in the seventeenth century: to succeed in their various tasks, the Jesuits had to win the hearts and minds of the Catholic princes and the elites who as patrons and pupils became the most important transmitters of the Society's religious and educational message. The more successfully the Jesuits entrenched themselves at local and national level, the more difficult it became to avoid involvement in the worldly affairs and conflicts of their patrons. Conversely, failure to succeed among the elites and population of Protestantized territories increased the Jesuits' dependence on the support of their Catholic patrons, most notably the Habsburgs. The case of the Jesuit mission in the Austro-Hungarian province illustrates this dilemma. While the missionaries in the provinces were grappling with the problem of limited resources, the Society's headquarters became concerned with the centrifugal forces of nascent national sentiment and ethnic conflict amongst their own ranks.

As will be shown, the Austrian province came close to breaking up as a result of these tensions. The background to these tensions was the long-standing political conflict between the patriotic Hungarian and Croatian nobility and the royal governments of Ferdinand III and Leopold I. Contrary to the wishes of the mostly Bohemian hawks in Vienna, the Hungarians fought off attempts to subject the nobility to the humiliating treatment that had been meted out to the rebellious Bohemians in the seventeenth century[7]. The archival evidence from the Generals' correspondence reveals that national sentiment was on the rise even among the Jesuits, very much contrary to their founder's spirit and regulations, and all the surviving evidence suggests that the case of Hungary reflected a wider trend towards proto-national 'patriotism' in the European provinces

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[7] For the relevant quotations see Hochedlinger, *Austria's wars of emergence*, 8.

of the Society. In due course, this became a serious strain on relations between the Society's centre and provincial representatives.

As will be shown in the following, the campaign for the reorganisation of the Austro-Hungarian Jesuit province with the aim of creating a separate and independent entity for the native Hungarians was very much the result of these pressures, and had strong ethnic and national overtones. The controversies that surrounded this initiative revealed a deep-seated mutual distrust between the Hungarian and Croatian Jesuits on the one side, and the German and Slovene members of the province on the other. The divisive issues were partly of a political nature and resulted from Leopold I's Hungarian Counter-Reformation policy, in which the Jesuits played a conspicuous part, but which potentially posed a dilemma to native Hungarian Jesuits. Secondly, it was argued at the time that the institutional structure of the Austrian province disadvantaged native Hungarians and Croatians with regard to their academic training and prospects of promotion to the higher ranks of the Society's hierarchy. This issue was to cause a deep rift among the Austrian and Hungarian Jesuits in the seventeenth century and overshadowed relations between the Hungarians and the provincials and Generals of the Society until 1773.

The proposal for a separation of the Hungarian part from the Austrian province was made for the first time at the Provincial Congregation in 1649, and the matter continued to be urged by the Hungarian Jesuits in the early 1650s. However, the General of the Society, P. Goswin Nickel, endorsed the position of the Austrian provincial Zacharias Trinckellius, erstwhile Rector of the College in Graz, that a separation was undesirable and indeed not viable in view of the small number of Hungarian clergy and houses[8]. The Austrian provincial's memorandum on the general state of the Austrian province was primarily concerned with the state of the most important Jesuit institutions in the region, located in Graz, and suggests that he opposed the move for separation to prevent a financial drain on their resources[9]. Until the college and university of Nágyszombat (Trnava, Tyrnau) took charge of the lands across the Leitha, the burden of raising priests and missionary clergy for Hungary and Transylvania rested entirely with the Styrian colleges and the university in Graz. Further support came from the foundation of a college in Zagreb by the recently re-converted Styrian family of Thanhausen, who were to found a further

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[8] Bernhard Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, vol. III, (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder), 185.

[9] Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (in the following cited as ARSI), Austria, Epistolae (1601—1660), ff. 293-296.

college in Fiume for the Illyrian mission[10]. The Austrian provincial was responsive to the Hungarians' plea for support and suggested opening a noviciate in adjoining Inner Austria, at the Styrian college in Leoben, to increase the supply of priests for Hungary. He remained, however, bitterly opposed to the idea of a separate and independent Hungarian province. Nothing daunted, the belligerent Hungarian Patres put this issue again on the agenda at the Provincial Congregation in 1655, and tried to strengthen their case by arguing that a separation of the lands of royal Hungary from the Austrian province was strongly urged by the Hungarian magnates and clergy and was perceived as a matter of national interest. Avoiding the political issue, the Austrian critics expressed doubts about the viability of the Hungarian colleges if deprived of Austrian support and proposed dividing the existing province into an Austrian-Hungarian and an Austrian-Illyrian branch. The implication would have been a continuing Austrian presence in both provinces[11].

These setbacks did not discourage the proponents of Hungarian independence: the demand for a division of the province was thus back on the agenda at the next Provincial Congregation in Vienna in 1658. This time the Hungarian Jesuits supported their plea with a lengthy list of complaints which focused on the neglect of the Hungarian mission and the lack of support from the Austrian provincial. With regard to the government of the province, it was criticized in particular that the Hungarian Patres were not consulted on matters of faith and discipline. The appointment of a separate Provincial or Vice Provincial was hence vigorously urged as the obvious remedy[12].

Much to the disappointment of the Hungarians, the General's answer remained evasive in failing to engage with their complaints and specifically with their charges of discrimination. Instead, he repeatedly postponed the

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[10] For Leoben s. ARSI, Austria, Epistolae (1601—1660), p. 294. The Styrian link is discussed by Johann Andritsch, "Die Grazer Jesuitenuniversität und der Beginn der katholischen Restauration im Karpatenraum", in Johann Andritsch, Othmar Pickl et al. (eds.), *800 Jahre Steiermark und Österreich, 1192—1992*, (Graz: Historische Landeskommission für Steiermark, 1992), 247—294, and Johann Andritsch, *Studenten und Lehrer aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen an der Universität Graz (1586—1782)*, (Graz: Forschungen zur geschichtlichen Landeskunde der Steiermark 22, 1965). The documents and correspondences relating to the Thanhausen donation for the colleges in Zagreb and Fiume can be found in the Diocesan Archive Graz—Seckau, Jesuiten (9), XIX—c—38, "Familie Thanhausen betreffend (2)".

[11] ARSI, Austria, Epistolae 22 (1661—1766), ff. 211—227: "De forma dividendae Provinciae Austriae"

[12] Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, III, 185—186.

decision, as it turned out indefinitely, while at the same time expressing his disapproval of the idea of a separation on grounds of principle. Steadfast opposition to a division along national or ethnic lines effectively remained the Generals' response for the rest of the seventeenth century[13]. The most tangible reasons for this were political considerations, i.e. the Society's concern for the wishes of Emperor Leopold I, who abhorred the idea of an autonomous Hungarian province while otherwise continuing his predecessors' policy of aligning political and ecclesiastical boundaries in the politically stable Habsburg heartlands. In 1679, for example, he supported the creation of the province of Tyrol-Salzburg for the Augustinian order in 1679[14].

Throughout his reign Leopold remained opposed to the idea of a Hungarian province because he feared it would back the Hungarian nobility's struggle for political autonomy[15]. The Hungarian uprisings in the last three decades of the seventeenth century in fact posed a grave dilemma for the native Hungarian Jesuits: on the one hand, they took a conspicuous part in Leopold's repressive Counter-Reformation policy: For example, in 1687, General Count Antonio Carafa headed the tribunal that punished the second Thököly uprising, resulting in twenty-four executions.

As part of this they produced religious propaganda that extolled its achievements and attempted to rationalize the violence involved to make it acceptable to Hungarian Catholics[16]. The Society even paid a blood toll for their involvement, as the first Hungarian Vice Provincial Baron László Sennyey pointed out in 1698 with reference to the assaults on Jesuit houses

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[13] For a detailed account see László Lukács, A független Magyar jezsuita rendtartomány kérdése és az osztrák abszolutizmus: 1649-1773, Szeged, József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1989. The English abstract has been consulted as well as a selection of Latin documents as cited below. The documents in Lukác's book are with few exceptions complementary to the sources from the Generals' Archive cited in this article, so they can usefully be read in conjunction.

[14] The creation of the province of Tyrol-Salzburg came about at the request of archbishop Max Gandolf von Khuenburg and Emperor Leopold I, s. Johannes Gavigan O.S.A., *The Austro—Hungarian province of the Augustinian Friars, 1646-1820,* (Rome: Analecta Augustiniana, 1975), 16, n. 72.

[15] Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, III, 186—187.

[16] For Jesuit propaganda relating to the religious persecutions in Hungary s. Maria Goloubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I in Image, Spectacle and Text*, (Mainz: Philip Zabern, 2000), 155-163. The Jesuits' involvement in the Counter-Reformation campaigns are described by Franz von Krones, "Zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens in Ungarn, 1645—71", *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 79 (1892): 280—354 and Franz von Krones, "Zur Geschichte Ungarns (1671—83) mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Thätigkeit und die Geschichte des Jesuitenordens", *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 80(1893): 353—455.

in the 1680s, and the eviction and murder of Jesuits by the rebels[17]. On the other hand, there was unmistakable evidence of patriotic sentiment among the Society's Hungarian recruits. This became more articulate over the last two decades of the century as frustration mounted over the exclusion of native Hungarians from the higher ranks of the provincial hierarchy. An anonymous Hungarian memorandum that was sent to the General in 1700 highlighted the inequities of the Austrian provincials' policy of recruitment which placed native Hungarians at a disadvantage. As a result, there were a large proportion of Germans and Slovenes among the province's clergy who had no knowledge of the Hungarian language. The memorandum argued that the Hungarian nobility took exception to this, and that this policy had considerably diminished the Society's prestige with its Hungarian patrons. The catalogue of novices was cited as evidence of the provincials' preference for recruiting Germans and Slovenes. If Hungarians and Croats were accepted into the Society they were employed as teachers in the lower classes for years on end, thus making no progress in their studies. By contrast, the Germans and Slovenes were reluctant to learn Hungarian and take on teaching and missionary chores. They hence completed their courses faster and stood a much better chance of being promoted to the higher ranks of the Society. The concluding statement of the memorandum gives an instructive glimpse of the complexities of national and ethnic tensions at the time in making the further claim that the Slovene Jesuits from Carniola were deliberately dilatory in learning the Croatian language because they detested the country it originated from[18].

Far from reflecting a paranoid state of mind, the Hungarians' suspicion that discrimination was intentional rather than accidental were all too well-founded, as a closer look at some contemporary memoranda from German and Austrian members of the Society reveals: In 1678, a secret consultation of eight leading members of the Austrian province took place, among them the provincials, P. Nicolaus Avancini and P. Michael Sicuten, and the rector of the college and university in Graz, which played an

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[17] Sennyey's letter of 29 April 1698 to General Gonzalez is transcribed in Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, III, 187. For baron Sennyey, who held a doctorate in philosophy and theology, produced at least three books, one on the "true idea of nobility", and was chancellor of Graz and Nágyszombat/Trnava, see the biographical information in Richard Peinlich, *Geschichte des Gymnasiums in Graz*, I, (Graz: Verlag des k.k. Gymnasiums, 1869), 77 and the relevant entries in the lists of authors, professors and other office holders on 81—104.

[18] These grievances are related in a memorandum that was probably written by Sennyey for the General in 1700, ARSI, Austria, Epistolae 22 (1661—1766), f. 288. The memorandum urges the creation of a fully autonomous province.

important part in the Hungarian-Transylvanian mission[19]. Their memorandum on the Hungarians' proposal for a separate province made a forceful case against this idea, taking its stand not only on the Emperor's known hostility to the project, but also maintaining that native Hungarians were innately unfit to be admitted to the government of the Society and its houses. This claim is supported by an unsympathetic account of the Hungarian national character, which, so the argument, made Hungarians stick together in a way that one could only marvel at, and they were 'more national than other peoples'. They hence always strove for autonomy and hatched plots against the Habsburgs[20]. The authors go on to cite past and recent examples as evidence of the rebellious spirit of the Hungarian nation, whose aristocracy reportedly maintained in private that it was not for the Society to rule them, but for the nobility to rule the Society. Given the constant threat of rebellion, the Austrian Patres' presence served an indispensable political service: it was imperative for the Emperor to have reliable German informants in the towns and fortified places who would faithfully report on the state of affairs[21]. The fact that these statements apparently were not picked up on by the General is instructive of the way in which the headquarter's attitude towards political involvement had changed since Acquaviva's instructions for the German provincial in the early seventeenth century. It is likewise notable, but only at first sight paradoxical that relations between the German and Hungarian members of the Austrian province deteriorated further as the Catholic reconquest made progress: In his memorandum of 1695, the Austrian provincial P. Franciscus Voglmayr, who was a native Austrian, rejected the proposal for an independent Hungarian province in strong terms that are outspoken on the issue of national antipathy: The Hungarians are yet again described as a 'very nationally minded people' who harboured sinister feelings towards the Germans, whom they scattered over the various Hungarian houses so that they could treat them despotically and tyrannically. Apart from their hostile disposition towards Germans, they were also unfit for governing themselves as they were inexperienced in the economic and financial side of running their colleges, hence wherever they were allowed to run houses they became

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[19] The memorandum for the General that was drafted on the basis of their deliberations is reprinted in Lukács, *A független magyar jezsuita*, 62—64. It seems likely that it strengthened the General's determination to prohibit the creation of a separate Hungarian province.

[20] "Primum, quia hungarorum genius est sibi invicem mirum quantum adhaerere, et plus quam alia gens nationales esse; exteros nihili pendere, contra austriacos reges semper querelas miscere, in eosque (quos saepe contumaciae imputare dicunt) rerum sinistrarum eventus devolvere, sicut in familiaribus eorum congessibus persaepe audire est." Lukács, *A független magyar jezsuita*, 63

[21] Lukács, *A független magyar jezsuita*, 63.

impoverished and neglected: 'Ubi opus est industria, non quaeras in Ungaria, conformiter ad genium nationis.' Given the General's concern for the moral and spiritual integrity of the Society, Voglmayr's most powerful blow against the Hungarians' ambitions was delivered under the guise of pastoral care: he thus insinuated that the Jesuits of an independent province were likely to degenerate in their standards of honesty and moral and decorous conduct. Experience taught that the raw and uncouth Hungarian novices needed to be exposed to the civilising influence of their German peers. For that reason previous Generals like John Paul Oliva (1664-1681), Charles de Noyelle (1682-1686), and others had recommended sending German students to Trnava (Nágyszombat), and Hungarians to Vienna. Voglmayr's self-congratulatory account of German achievements included a swipe against allegedly mediocre Hungarian professors who were no match for those who had benefited from studying at German institutions[22].

This was a forceful and vitriolic rebuttal indeed, and its reverberations were still palpable in a memorandum of 1698 by the Hungarian Vice Provincial László Sennyey (1631-1702). Sennyey obviously felt it was important to support his renewed appeal to the General for the creation of a Hungarian province with a strenuous denial of suspicions that the native Hungarians would relinquish their loyalty to the Habsburgs and join the Hungarian opposition's cause[23]. Sennyey's plea failed to persuade General Gonzales, who hinted that it would be years before a full separation could be contemplated. At the same time he reassured Leopold I that the separation plan would not be decided without prior consultation with him[24], which was tantamount to declaring it stillborn.

Antagonizing the Emperor to please the obstreperous Hungarians was obviously not a thought any of the Jesuit Generals would entertain, but their opposition also reflected spiritual concerns for the integrity of the Society and its global mission. The Generals' missives to the Provincials bear testimony to their concern at the stirrings of separatism and nationalism among members of various European provinces. At the beginning of the Austrian-Hungarian controversy in 1658, General Goswin Nickel thus expressed his concern at reports that national sentiment was getting stronger by the day among members of the province ("Spiritus nationalis dicitur magis in dies invalescere."). On the one hand, the Hungarians complained about the small number of natives who held prestigious offices, on the other there were Jesuits who publicly declared that Hungarians should not be admitted at all

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[22] Voglmayr's memorandum of 1695 for General Thyrsus Gonzalez is reprinted in Lukács, *A független magyar jezsuita*, 69-73, at 70—72.

[23] Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, III, 187.

[24] Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, III, 187—188.

to governing positions in the Society. The General ordered the Austrian Provincial to end these quarrels, and to make sure to eradicate the national spirit entirely ("spiritum nationalem penitus eliminet.")[25].

While the political and confessional circumstances of Hungary made it a special case, national sentiment and its destructive potential had been attacked vigorously by General Nickel in his lengthy second missive in 1656 as an issue that affected the Society globally and needed to be addressed at all levels. In a fervent appeal to all members of the Society he condemns the "pernicious national and provincial spirit" that was spreading among the Jesuits and was threatening to undermine its spiritual purpose. He warned that the Society would become ungovernable if members were appointed not on the basis of merit and aptitude, but for their national and social backgrounds[26].

In opposing the growth of national sentiment the Society the General was arguably fighting a battle of retreat as the Hungarians' demand for national alignment of provincial boundaries was not an isolated instance. A similar request was submitted in 1651 for the separation of Poland and Lithuania from the German *Assistenz*. Its proponents argued that national pluralism was making the vast and ethnically varied *Assistenz* ungovernable. From about the mid-seventeenth century there is evidence from the Jesuits' annual reports and the Generals' provincial correspondence to illustrate that national or ethnic antipathies which in some cases had been simmering for a long time were now more likely to flare up and result in demands for a realignment of provincial boundaries in line with national sensitivities[27].

In conclusion, the specific case of the early modern mission of the Society of Jesus in Hungary and its evidence for the existence of early

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[25] ARSI, Austria 7 (1656—1663), General's letters of 6 April 1658 and 25 Mai 1658 to P. Johann Bertholdi, ff. 101—103 and 109—110.

[26] "De Nationali, Provincialique pernicioso Spiritu in Societate vitando", second letter by General Goswin Nickel, 16 November 1656, *Epistolae Praepositorum Generalium*, ff. 699—729.

[27] Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, III, 188. In 1665 the magistrate and Italian Jesuits of Trient pressed for the removal of the German Patres of the College to make it entirely Italian, and there was evidence of mutual and public national antipathy, Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, III, 162. In 1702, General Gonzalez ordered the public punishment of a Scottish Jesuit in Graz for breaching the Society's regulations "ex spiritus nationalis fervore", ARSI, Austria, 10 (1695—1705), f. 600. The late seventeenth—century school dramas mentioned in the Litterae Annuae from Dillingen at Eichstätt in Germany document the popularity of patriotic, 'national' themes such as the debilitating cultural impact of Italian and French fashions and mores. Examples are quoted by Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, III, 495—496.

national sentiment that affected centre-periphery relations suggests a much longer than hitherto assumed period of gestation for the modern national and ethnic conflicts and movements that were to beset and undo the modern Habsburg Monarchy. Religion became a divisive factor that underpinned emerging national identities and emphasised their distinctiveness. The early modern Counter-Reformation could thus be seen as a contributing factor to the long-term process by which the political map of modern East Central Europe was substantially reconfigured, resulting in historically significant regions and their urban centres being relegated to the margins of power in modern Europe.

An Already Forgotten Institution – The History of the Holy Spirit / Szentlélek Almshouse of Cluj-Napoca (Clausenburg/ Kolozsvár) in the Early Modern Period

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Abstract: This study seeks to provide a brief historical outline of a long forgotten institution, namely one of the almshouses in Cluj, dedicated to the Holy Spirit when it was founded. It carried out its activity during a period when the Transylvanian principality was governed by the municipal authority. Under the regulations in force, the town community, represented by a council comprising one hundred members, elected the master warden who was entrusted with the management of this establishment. Based on documentary sources, we can very identify, with great accuracy, the material endowment and management of this almshouse, the people who were appointed as managers of this institution, and the care provided to the people in need, based on data referring to the shelter, food and clothing that were offered to them.

Keywords: Early modern Cluj, almshouse, master warden, municipal government, the poor

Rezumat: O instituţie de mult uitată – Istoria aşezământului ospitalier "Sfântul Spirit" din Cluj-Napoca (Clausenburg/Kolozsvár) în epoca modernă timpurie. Studiul de faţă încearcă să prezinte succint istoria unei instituţii de mult uitate, unul dintre aşezămintele ospitaliere din Cluj, care la fondare a fost consacrat Sfântului Spirit. El şi-a desfăşurat activitatea în perioada Principatului Transilvania, sub autoritatea orăşenească. Comunitatea urbană, reprezentată prin Consiliul celor o sută, alegea, pe baza regulamen-telor aflate în vigoare, magistrul însărcinat să conducă instituţia. Pe baza surselor documentare se poate contura foarte bine baza materială şi modul de gospodărire a acesteia, se pot identifica persoanele care au condus aşeză-mântul, creionîndu-se totodată sistemul de îngijire a oamenilor nevoiaşi, prin date despre adăpostul, alimentaşţia şi îmbrăcămintea oferite lor.

Cuvinte cheie: Clujul premodern, aşezământ ospitalier, magistru ospitalier, guvernare orăşenească, săraci

Due to the fact that the sources referring to the principality of Transylvania tend to be scattered across archives, that they have not been processed so far or may be lacking altogether, it happens quite rarely for more or less continuous archival sources to be readily available as in the case of the institution under examination in this study, which may enable us to

reconstruct its history over a period of several decades. We are lucky because the sources referring to the early modern age in Cluj-Napoca/Clausenburg/ Kolozsvár provide researchers with a special opportunity: there exist archival reports, minutes, letters, or letters of privilege which allow one to write the history of several contemporary institutions. This study presents one of the institutions whose history can be written based on these sources. The description of the functioning of the Holy Spirit Almshouse is interesting, necessary and useful also because this type of institution is no longer in existence today and has disappeared completely.

The almshouses of the early modern age can be considered to have been social institutions engaged in caring for the needy.[1] Historical research in Transylvania has neglected and nearly forgotten almshouses for a long time. However, lately there has been an increasing amount of studies and data processing regarding this issue. This paper also belongs to this category.

The aim of this study is to draw as realistic as possible a picture of the everyday activity in a secular almshouse subordinated to the local administration, by searching and processing available data on the subject. This research intends to ascertain the role this institution played in town and the attitude the town authorities, the churches and the citizens adopted towards this institution. Given the particularly adverse circumstances the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse experienced, many people have wondered whether it functioned for long enough a period. In what follows, data regarding the existence and functioning of this twice-forgotten social institution will be analysed.

As far as the establishment of the first almshouses is concerned, the sources attest the fact that until the end of the Arpadian dynasty, the only almshouse in Transylvania and, in fact, in the entire Hungarian Kingdom was that from Sibiu/Hermannstadt/Nagyszeben. Later almshouses became more frequent, being founded mainly in towns and fairs. By the end of this period, the number of the almshouses in Hungary had multiplied. According to our present data, there were 118 almshouses in 87 towns in Hungary during the late Middle Ages.[2] In Transylvania, the first

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[1] The sources use the term "poor", but the reference here is rather to people who had no money; the term needy refers to individuals who had no possibility to care about themselves in any sense of the word: financially, socially and medically.

[2] Judit Majorossy—Katalin Szende: *Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary*. In: Europäsches Spitalwesen Institutionelle Fürsorge im Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit / Hospitals and Institutional Care in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Hrgs. Martin Scheutz, Andrea Sommerlechner, Herwig Weigl, Alfred Stefan Weiß, (Oldenbourg, 2008), 409-455. Judit Majorossy- Katalin Szende: „Sources for the Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary", in *Quellen zur europäischen*

almshouses appeared in the Middle Ages, as we have seen earlier. 32 almshouses functioned in 22 Transylvanian towns in the late Middle Ages, but the data available about them are scarce.[3]

A general overview of the religious, social and charity life of the Hungarian towns in the Middle Ages has been drawn by Marie Madeleine de Cervins.[4] She presents a very accurate picture of the close connection between the activity of the almshouses and the church during the Middle Ages, when cure and care for the needy were simply unimaginable outside the church. This was true even if by the end of the Middle Ages the laity had accepted an increasing share in this line of work and, in parallel, the institutions had gone through a secularization process, which led to the local administrations taking over their management.

In Hungarian historiography, as a result of the research conducted on the care provided to the needy and the poor in the Middle Ages, several comprehensive works have been written (as I have mentioned earlier), but these have charted only the activity of the almshouses and charities from the Middle Ages, no extensive works on the almshouses of the early modern age having been produced. Present-day knowledge on medieval and early modern almshouses has been synthesised only recently,[5] and this study intends to outline the trends of the research that is yet to be done. While working on this project, I became more and more enthusiastic about the possibilities and future results this subject potentially may yield. As a result, the monograph of the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse in Cluj-Napoca/Clausenburg/ Kolozsvár during the period of the principality[6] has been completed: it has

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Spitalgeschichte in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit/ Sources for the History of Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, Hrgs. Martin Scheutz, Andrea Sommerlechner, Herwig Weigl, Alfred Stefan Weiß, (Oldenbourg: Böhlau, 2010), 637-683.

[3] Idem, p. 451.

[4] Marie Madeleine De Cervins Marie: *Az egyház a késő középkori magyar városokban*, (Budapest: Szent Lélek társulat, 2003), 46-55. Eadem, "A szegények és betegek gondozása a középkor végi magyar városokban" in *Korall*, (2003): 11–12, 47–75.

[5] Judit Majorossy—Katalin Szende, "Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary", in *Europäsches Spitalwesen Institutionelle Fürsorge im Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit / Hospitals and Institutional Care in Medieval and Early Modern Europe.* Hrgs. Martin Scheutz, Andrea Sommerlechner, Herwig Weigl, Alfred Stefan Weiß, (Oldenbourg, 2008), 409-455. Majorossy Judit, Szende Katalin, "Sources for the Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary", in *Quellen zur europäischen Spitalgeschichte in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit/ Sources for the History of Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Europe.* Hrgs. Martin Scheutz, Andrea Sommerlechner, Herwig Weigl, Alfred Stefan Weiß, (Oldenbourg: Böhlau, 2010), 637-683.

[6] Enikő Rüsz-Fogarasi, *Egy elfeledett intézmény. A kolozsvári Szentlélek-ispotály kora újkori története*, (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2012), 6.

proved a difficult enough task, for such enterprises are very rare. There are few examples of monographs about almshouses; for instance, there is a monograph dealing with the history of the almshouse in Sibiu/Hermannstadt/Nagyszeben, but it emphasizes the archaeological excavations and deals only partially with the rather rich archival sources.[7] Another monograph that may be taken as an example is the history of the Reformed almshouse of Debrecen, but it describes only the organization of the institution functioning under the supervision of the Reformed Church; by contrast, the almshouses in Cluj-Napoca/Clausenburg/Kolozsvár were supervised by the local administration.[8] Very recently one of my students had made a very good presentation of the Marosvásárhely almshouse: this institute was closer to the Debrecen hospitals because here the role played by the Reformed Church seems to have been very intense.[9] In this paper I intend to present a short summary of the monograph about the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse of Cluj-Napoca/Clausenburg/Kolozsvár mentioned above.

In the everyday life of Cluj-Napoca/Clausenburg/Kolozsvár care for the needy and the sick was a natural part of the town's life, just like in the case of other towns. This was especially true in the early modern age, when this town grew into one of the busiest Transylvanian settlements, with the most dynamic growth, where the flourishing economic and spiritual life offered a solid basis for the transformation of the town's image.[10] Due to its constructions, manifold crafts, printing press, schools and churches, it became the true capital of Transylvania. The Hungarian and Saxon citizens of Cluj-Napoca/Clausenburg/Kolozsvár in the 16th and 17th centuries managed the town by observing the principle of parity.[11] Cluj-Napoca/

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[7] Petre Beşliu Munteanu, *Spitalul medieval din Sibiu/ The Medieval Hospital in Sibiu*, (Sibiu: Ed. Honterus, 2008); Julia Derzsi, "Organizarea acţiunilor caritabile din Sibiu în deceniile de după Reformă/ The Organization of Charity Works in Sibiu after the Reformation", in *Historia Urbana*, XVIII (2010): 63-77.

[8] Gábor Herpay, *A debreceni református ispotály története/ The History of the Reformed Hospital in Debrecen 1529-1929*, (Debrecen: Városi Nyomda, 1929).

[9] Róbert Árpád Berekméri, "A marosvásárhelyi ispotály az Erdélyi Fejedelemség korában/ The History of Tg Mures Almshouse in Tg. Mures at the Time of the Principality", in *Marosvásárhely történetéből/ The History of Tg. Mures*, 3, (Tg. Mureş: Ed. Mentor, 2013), 9-40.

[10] András Kovács, "Kolozsvár városképe a XVI-XVII. században / The Image of Cluj în XVI and XVII century", in *Kolozsvár 1000 éve. A thousand Year of Cluj*, ed. Tibor Kálmán Dáné, Ákos Egyed, Gábor Sipos, Rudolf Wolf, Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület-Erdélyi Magyar Közművelődés Egyesület, (Cluj-Napoca, 2001).

[11] András Kiss, "Kolozsvár város önkormányzati fejlődése az 1458-as unióig és kiteljesedése az 1568-as királyi ítélettel", in *Más források, más értelmezések/ Other Sources, Other interpretations*, (Tg. Mures: Mentor, 2003), 160-172.

Clausenburg/ Kolozsvár was an important centre of the Transylvanian Reformation, where, according to Luther's teachings, the Helvetian Calvinistic denomination was accepted, even though its citizens did not stop at that: Unitarian principles denying the Holy Trinity prevailed in the end.[12] Thus, prior to the rule of the Rákóczis, the town was governed by the Hungarian and Saxon Unitarians. In the second half of the 17th century, at the request of the prince, the formerly mentioned municipal authorities were joined by the Reformed (Sacramentarians) until the moment the town lost its status of a free royal town.[13]

Municipalisation of the care for the poor began in the 15th century and was further consolidated by the secularization that followed the Reformation.[14] This meant that finding solutions for social problems was no longer in the hands of the churches. The Catholic Church was deprived of its great estates and the newly established churches had few resources for carrying out such projects.

Historians researching the past of Cluj-Napoca/Clausenburg/ Kolozsvár have considered for a long time that the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse functioned for a short time and with many interruptions. In the introduction to the published sources entitled *Kolozsvári emlékírók [Memoir Writers of Cluj-Napoca/ Clausenburg/ Kolozsvár]*, József Bálint Pataki does not even mention the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse, talking only about the Saint Elisabeth/Szent Erzsébet Almshouse.[15] Certainly, the Holy Spirit/ Szentlélek Almshouse had a shorter existence than the Saint Elisabeth/Szent Erzsébet Almshouse, which has been serving the poor continuously from the 14th until the 20th century and beyond.

The Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse is also called by the sources the *lower* or the *other* almshouse.[16] Comparing the two institutions, the

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[12] Edit Szegedi, "Un oraş unitarian în perioada principilor calvini", in *Oraşe şi orăşeni/ Városok és városlakók*, ed. Ionut Costea, Carmen Florea, Judit Pál Judit, Enikő Rüsz-Fogarasi, (Cluj-Napoca/ Kolozsvár: Editura Argonaut, 2006), 431-437.

[13] Edit Szegedi, "Politica religioasă a principilor reformaţi", in *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai. Seria Historia*, 53, 1-2(2008): 76-99; Eadem, "Reformáció Kolozsváron", *Keresztény Magvető*, 1(2007): 39-52.

[14] Enikő Rüsz-Fogarasi, "Asistenţa socială şi oraşele în Transilvnia epocii principatului/Social assistance and the Towns in Transilvania during the Principality", in *Historia Urbana*, XVIII (2010): 5-15.

[15] *Kolozsvári emlékírók*. The introductory study and the chronological review are the work of József Bálint, while the sources have been selected and adnotated by József Pataki, (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1990).

[16] Enikő Rüsz-Fogarasi, *Egy elfeledett intézmény. A kolozsvári Szentlélek-ispotály kora újkori története*, (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2012), 6; Elek Benkő, *Kolozsvár magyar*

general view is that the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse was far less important and large than the Saint Elisabeth/Szent Erzsébet Almshouse, a view supported also by the quantity of archival sources referring to them. It is also known that in the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse there had always been fewer almspeople than in the bigger Saint Elisabeth/Szent Erzsébet Almshouse.

The history of the Holy Spirit Almshouse began with its Middle Age precedents, and now its situation in the early modern age will be described: in this section, the - in their vast majority - unpublished sources relating to this almshouse are presented.[17]

Based on the sources, we can analyse the economic situation of the almshouse, then the activity of the master warden is presented, against the background of the history of the town and Transylvania during that period. The next step in our analysis will describe the possibilities and limitations of the care provided by the almshouse. The importance of this study resides in the fact that it has processed the archival sources referring to the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse.

In this study I intended to draw a picture of the history of the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse when it was administered by the laity, after the Reformation, and to take this institution out of the obscurity of anonymity. Available data make it possible to present the economic background of this urban institution; at times, when the sources are richer and offer sufficient information, they allow us to take a glimpse at the everyday life of the almspeople.

Thus, knowledge about the secular period of the Holy Spirit/ Szentlélek Almshouse, which lasted for over a century, could be of real help for historians researching the social history of the town in the early modern age and it could offer valuable data for those interested in the history of economic and charitable institutions.

An opportunity to identify the medieval precedents of the Holy Spirit/ Szentlélek Almshouse presented itself to me; the history of the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse in the early modern age has been based on these precedents. I considered it important to present the source types which I have used in the present study and helped me ascertain the assets of the almshouse; the incomes of the institution have been found and a balance sheet showing the life of the institution has been drawn up. It needs to be

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külvárosa a középkorban. A Kolozsvárba olvadt Szentpéter falus emlékei, ETF248, (Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Erdélyi Múzeum, 2004), 49-51.

   [17] The first mention from 1430 let see Pál Lukcsics, "15. századi pápák oklevelei/ The 15 centuries papal documents", in *Olaszországi Magyar Oklevéltár/ Hungarian Documentar form Italy*, I, (Bp., 1931), 2-57.

mentioned that besides the general account books of the town, the account book of the almshouse, the minutes of the resolutions of the town council, the inventories, the wills and various letters have provided the research with valuable data. Of all these sources, I have so far been able to use a printed version of the account books of the almshouse for the years 1601-1650.[18]

The Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse possessed movables and real estates, arable fields, vines, meadows, gardens and bakeries, all of these producing an income for it,[19] if they were tended to. The almshouse did not rely exclusively on revenues obtained through hard work, but also on the donations that it received from the citizens of the town, on subsidies from the local administration and on money coming from the princely salt donations, in support of the institution.

The assets of the almshouse were managed by the almshouse itself, since this was the place where the needy were taken care of and where the administration was conducted.[20] According to the existing archival sources, it appears that the almshouse consisted of a building with several – probably 3 – little rooms, in a house covered with shingle. An inventory from 1601 lets us know what the furniture of the almshouse was. [21] It was a house with little furniture, i.e. two tables, a cupboard, 16 beds and the textiles and kitchen utensils needed for such a household. The house had the outbuildings necessary for household keeping, i.e. a barn and a cellar, and there were apple and plum trees in the yard. The available data from the end of the 16th century demonstrate that the almshouse also had a grange, but there is no account of the works that were done there. The inventory of 1601 also mentions a considerable stock of domestic animals.[22]

Bakeries were a considerable value for this institution, since they made it easier to feed the almspeople; in good years, the almshouse also made an extra profit from them. The Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse had two steadily running bakeries, one in the Old Town and the other on Király

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[18] *The account books of the Holy Spirit/ Szentlélek almshouse in the period 1601-1650*, texts transcribed by Tünde Márton, Ágnes Mihály, edited by Ágnes Flóra, (Bp., 2006).

[19] Ágnes Mihály, "Bunurile, gospodăria şi administrarea aşezămintelor ospitaliere din Cluj(secolul al XVII/lea)/The Goods, the Management and the Aministration of the Almshouses of Cluj (the 17th century)", in *Historia Urbana*, XVIII (2010): 141-148.

[20] Arhivele Naţionale, Direcţia Judeţeană Cluj (ANDJC), Primăria Oraşului Cluj, Socoteli aşezăminte (*Account books*), 1595/XIII, Account books, 123, 92, 95, 59, 190, 32, 62, 125, 151, 173, 231, 243, 249, 262, 264, 266, 267, 268.

[21] The Saint Michael Plebanial Arhives, the Saint Elisabeth Hospital Arhives, *Inventarium Saint Spiritus Hospitals*, A/ 41 (*Inventarium*).

[22] 12 cattle, seven three-year-old bullocks, 10 calves born last year, 10 pigs, 20 poultry, 1601 Inventarium.

Street. The bakery from Király Street was functioning very well when they exchanged it, in 1631, with another bakery on Közép Street.[23]

The Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse had several vineyards[24], arable lands[25] and meadows on the outskirts of the town. The warden of the almshouse employed qualified persons, such as vinedressers and day-labourers to tend to these, while the arable lands were made profitable by leasing them. The income was rarely greater than the expenses incurred, expressed in labour and money.

The income produced by the assets of the almshouse was not sufficient to keep the establishment running. It needed other sources of income in order to be sustainable. And perhaps one of the most important and also the most secure incomes of the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse came from the salt provided by the princes of Transylvania.[26] Data regarding this income can be found in the account books from as early as 1596, but constant yearly profits from the salt were documented only after 1614, when Gábor Bethlen confirmed the donation letter of his predecessor. The one thousand salt stones a year provided security for the almshouse, since it could be sold whenever money was needed and a solid profit could be made from it, since this amounted to more than one third of the total income of the almshouse, reaching even half of its total income sometimes.

The town took seriously the role it had assumed in social care; therefore, the town council decided that the town should made donations from two types of its revenues to the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse. The town community reached the decision that the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse should have 25 forints from the quarta and 36 forints from the proceeds managed by the parish clerks.[27] In spite of this resolution, the account books reveal to us that these sums were paid quite inconsistently. In fact, they were paid only when the almshouse had financial difficulties; at other times, these sums were not paid for years.

Besides all these, the almshouse had another source of income, namely the assets and sums of money left to the almshouse by will and testament.[28] The donations could vary from insignificant objects to

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[23] *Inventarium*

[24] Ágnes Mihály, "Date privind cultivarea vişei de vie şi vânzarea vinului în Cluj în prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea", in *A doua sensiune ştiinţifică anuală a şcolii doctorale. Istorie. Civilizaţie. Cultură*, (Cluj-Napoca: Accent, 2006); *Account books*, 265, 258.

[25] *Account books*, 265, 35-36, 40.

[26] ANDJC, Primăria Oraşului Cluj, Socoteli (*General Account books*), 48/XXXI.

[27] Rüsz-Fogarasi, 2012, 27-30.

[28] *Ibid.*, 39-45.

vineyards or important sums of money. Still, this source of income was incidental and it could not be counted on.

In the first decades of the 17th century, the Holy Spirit Szentlélek Almshouse had a well-established economic background, but later, from around 1637 on, its balance sheet was constantly negative and it could cover its expenses from its own income only for short periods of time.[29] Then came the tragic events of the 1660s, which resulted in this almshouse being merged with the Saint Elisabeth/Szent Erzsébet Almshouse.

The almshouse was managed by the master warden, whose job description can be inferred by analysing the management of the over thirty-eight masters of the almshouse. In the period under study, the wardens of the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse managed the assets and the income of the institution, providing shelter, food and minimal clothing to the almspeople. Most of the master wardens took their responsibilities very seriously and accepted to manage the institution for years on end; after serving well in this position, others were (also) given other tasks by the town council.[30] Most of the wardens were dedicated to fulfilling their duties, but there were, in exceptional cases, masters of the almshouse who shunned such hard work and left the institution unattended.[31] The amount of data on the almshouse increased starting from the 1570s. In fact, this increase coincided with the rising number of documents in the town archives. At first, only the names of the masters of the almshouse were known, but later more and more pieces of information appeared. We have the name of all the master wardens of the almshouse between 1573 and 1578; then, after a short period when there was a lack of data, the information recommenced uninterrupted between 1584 and 1588. In 1590 there appeared the first report. Continuous data from various sources are available for the period between 1594 and 1638. Then, again, there came a few years with no documents, but from 1641 to 1688 the warden of the almshouse and the almshouse itself were documented thoroughly. The aim of my analysis was to gather as much information as possible on the master wardens of the almshouse, because I hoped that in this manner, light could be shed on the life of several citizens in town.

Studying the management practices adopted by the master wardens of the almshouse, I attempted to find their place in the civil life of the town by identifying the names of their families in the period before and after they

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[29] *Ibid.*, 45-49.

[30] *Ibid.*, 50-54.

[31] Records of the Town Council, 22 December 1662, Case of Martin Prázsmár, p. 67 (Reel 146).

filled this position.[32] As a result, there are about a dozen of masters of the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse whose life synopsis could be written down. These are some of them who are worth mentioning: Gergely Fodor,[33] Máthé Kőműves,[34] András Hermann,[35] György Lakatos,[36] István Csiszár,[37] Mihály Szíjgyártó,[38] János Dési Ötvös,[39] Stephan Lutsch,[40] András Lakatos,[41] Ferenc Csanády[42] and Máté Maurer Kádár.[43]The masters of the almshouse did not stop doing their jobs as craftsmen, but tended to their duties as wardens of the almshouse in parallel. While filling an office, the citizens of the town were exempt from taxes and were favoured when the town council established the tenants of the shops around Saint Michael's Church. The first half of the 17th century was the period when the almshouse functioned well: there was a significant growth for several years on end, but, like any period of boom, this was followed by a period of relapse. Nevertheless, the evolution of the institution during this period can be qualified as having had ups and downs. And if the activity of the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse fluctuated to such an extent during prosperous times, it is easy to imagine what happened when the town went through a period of crisis.

The management of the almshouses (Holy Spirit/Szentlélek and Saint Elisabeth/Szent Erzsébet) suffered too in periods when the town declined.[44] When Cluj lost its position as free royal town, a period of decline also started for the almshouses. The town council spent all its attention and energy on defending the town privileges and less and less time tending to the institutions of the town. After a short while, the two almshouses in town were merged. It is interesting to notice that neither of the wardens managing the two almshouses was dismissed; still, their jobs were not

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[32] Rüsz-Fogarasi, 2012, 104-105.

[33] *Account books*, 41-108, 225-228; Rüsz-Fogarasi, 2012, 70-73.

[34] *Account books*, 232-237, 240, 244, Rüsz-Fogarasi, 2012, 75-77.

[35] *Account books*, 108-128, 237-244; Rüsz-Fogarasi, 2012, 77-80.

[36] *Account books*, 244-248; Rüsz-Fogarasi, 2012, 80-81.

[37] *Account books*, 128-139, 249-252; Rüsz-Fogarasi, 2012, 82-84.

[38] *Account books*, 139-162, 253-257; Rüsz-Fogarasi, 2012, 84-88.

[39] *Account books*, 259-262; Rüsz-Fogarasi, 2012, 88-91.

[40] *Account books*, 263-266; Rüsz-Fogarasi, 2012, 91-93.

[41] *Account books*, 173-185, 262-271; Rüsz-Fogarasi, 2012, 94-98.

[42] *Account books*, 266-268, 207-210; Rüsz-Fogarasi, 2012, 99-100.

[43] *Account books*, 195-207, 210-221, 269-272; Rüsz-Fogarasi, 2012, 100-104.

[44] Ágnes Mihály, "Anul 1660 în istoria Clujului reflectat în memorialistică şi în oglinda documentelor", in *Anuarul Şcoala Doctorale. Istorie. Civilizaţie. Cultura*, III, ed. Toader Nicoară, (Cluj-Napoca, 2007), 83-93.

described for either almshouse and they followed a logic that has not yet been identified. The real estates of the two almshouses slowly decayed also due to the fact that soldiers lived in them; in addition, at the end of that century the assets of the Holy Spirit/ Szentlélek Almshouse were merged with those of the Saint Elisabeth/Szent Erzsébet Almshouse. The merged almshouses were unable to ever retrieve their position again, and the result of the merger was finally consolidated at the beginning of the 18th century. Nevertheless, only one almshouse was allowed to function instead of two.

In and around the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse, house servants were employed for longer periods of time only occasionally. Craftsmen and servants were hired for the jobs most frequently needed in the maintenance of the institution (blacksmith, hedger, poiser, baker, chimney builder, vinedresser), while plough land was leased.[45]

There is every indication that only almspeople lived in the almshouse, while the master warden had his own home. Whether a person was allowed or not to move into the almshouse was decided by the town council or a judge. The institution provided care not only to its residents, but also to other persons, regularly giving them wine, bread or a weekly allowance. On extraordinary occasions, the almshouse organized shelter for the homeless in wintertime.[46]

The primary task of the almshouse was caring for and feeding the needy, but the institution also spent money on feeding the craftsmen and supervisors it employed. The differentiated catering offers an interesting image as regards the catering levels practised in the almshouse; compared to other sources referring to the town, one can arrive at an interesting picture of the eating habits and food consumption levels of the period.[47] An analysis of the catering offered by the almshouse reveals that the daily food provided to the residents was at the lowest level and that special meals were offered only during the holidays. The servants and craftsmen working in the institution were catered for at a higher level, while the food offered to the master warden of the almshouse was above the level catered to the craftsmen. The highest level of catering was that provided to the master warden during the holidays and when the supervisors came for a visit.

Compared to the close relationship between almshouses and the Church in the Middle Ages, after the Reformation there was a complete lack of information on the newly formed churches having paid employees for

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[45] Rüsz-Fogarasi, 2012, 119-124.
[46] *Ibid*., 2012, 53-54.
[47] *Ibid*., 132-144.

the spiritual counselling of almshouse residents. Reformed and Unitarian almshouse pastors appeared only at the end of the 17th century.[48]

As a result of the research I have conducted, I have managed to draw a clear picture of an early modern age institution managed by the local administration of this town. This is an institution that has been forgotten by public opinion. There are several groups of sources that have assisted me in researching the history of the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse. Still, however clearly I may have attempted to elucidate this matter, the thorough analysis of the information contained in the archives leaves more questions than we can answer. Despite this, I think we can still consider ourselves lucky, because it is rare for so many data – even partial ones – regarding the life of an institution to have been preserved. Naturally, the picture drawn of the institution presented here has been outlined in accordance with the available sources. These sources are mainly archive documents, published, in their vast majority, by our group, which has researched the sources on almshouses; the remaining documents are yet to be published.

Since an important part of the sources comprises reports, I consider that this history of the institution deals mainly with the management of the almshouse and that, sadly, it fails to give a complete overview on the everyday life of the residents. When I started this research on the history of this almshouse, I was hoping to find, sooner or later, data on the manner in which the residents were attended to. Unfortunately, I have not found any data on this in the sources.

It was surprising to me that although serious efforts have been made to maintain this institution, at times there were only 2 to 10 residents taken care of.[49] The building of the almshouse must have been small, preventing the management from accepting more residents. Knowing the conditions in the Saint Elisabeth/Szent Erzsébet Almshouse, where 8 to 35 residents were housed, the question arises whether in the entire town of Cluj-Napoca/ Clausenburg/ Kolozsvár there were only 10 to 45 needy persons or this is just the number of residents available to us.

The master wardens of the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse in the early modern age managed, in fact, the assets that had already been acquired. The maintenance and operation of the assets of the almshouse

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[48] *Account books,* 1691, 36/IX., National Archives, Cluj, Cluj Townhall Fund.

[49] Tünde Mária Márton, "A kolozsvári ispotálylakók a 17. század első felében/ The Almshouses Imates in Cluj in first part of the 17th century", in *Árpád-házi Szent Erzsébet. Magyar-német kultúrkapcsolatok Kelet-Közép-Európában/Saint Elisabeth*, ed. Csilla Gábor, Tamás Knecht, Gabriella- Nóra Tar, (Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Verbum, 2009), 214-226.

required a lot of energy and money. I believe that the extent of the care for the assets of the almshouse surpassed that of the care for the residents (at least this is what the sources suggest). According to the bookkeeping records of the almshouse, the bakeries and vineyards needed constant care. The bread coming from the baking fee ensured the basic needs of the almshouse, offering the institution the security of having the daily bread provided for. The fact that in most of the years the amount of this fee greatly surpassed the needs of the residents and the employees helped the institution function despite all difficulties. Still, the wine obtained from the vineyards could not become constant and reliable revenue.

A novelty of the period was the subsidy from the secular authorities. The town council decided to support the almshouse from the collected quarta and from the revenue managed by the parish clerks.[50] It is true however that the subsidy was not given to the almshouse every year. The master of the almshouse was appointed by the town to manage the assets of the institution. The supervisors called him to account mainly in this respect. There was no remonstrance either from the supervisors or from other people appointed by the town or even the town council towards any of the masters for not attending to the residents: their observations referred almost exclusively to the management of the finances of the institution. In difficult times, it was the town that gave orders or support to the master of the almshouse when needed. For example, orders could be given to the master warden to rent a house so that needy people could have a shelter in wintertime and subsidies in money or crops could be offered for catering. The master wardens of the Holy Spirit/ Szentlélek Almshouse were honourable citizens of the town, nearly all of them being members of the one-hundred-people council of the town. Although most of them had other official duties as well, there was no master of the almshouse who was elected mayor of the town.

Most of the residents of the almshouse were taken in as a result of the decision of the council or of a judge.[51] Notes on the reasons why a person could become a resident are scarce. The almspeople were provided with accommodation in the buildings of the almshouse. At the beginning of the early modern age, they were also given hot meals, while later they were simply given bread.[52] The masters of the almshouse had the clothes and footwear of the residents mended or completed with the items donated to the almshouse by the town citizens and rarely did they buy some new

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[50] Rüsz-Fogarasi, 2012, 27-29.
[51] *Account books*, 178.
[52] Rüsz-Fogarasi, 2012, 139-143.

garments and shoes.[53] There are no notes in the reports on the healthcare or spiritual counselling provided to the residents. These may have been services for which the master warden of the almshouse was not responsible.

After secularization, the church lost its financial support; therefore, social and healthcare institutions were left without finances or their financial support was insignificant. As a consequence, the princes supported this institution by salt donations.[54] However, it is true that these letters of donation needed to be renewed frequently for their beneficiaries to be able to enforce them. Besides this, they could benefit from these salt donations only after many interventions and after presents were offered to the authorities as incentives.

Encouraged by the fact that despite the scarcity of the sources, I have been able to trace back the history of the Holy Spirit/Szentlélek Almshouse, I consider it very important that a history of the Szent Erzsébet/Saint Elisabeth Almshouse of Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár/Clausenburg should be written too. That would be a far greater undertaking, requiring far more energy, since this latter almshouse has many sources and its history continues beyond the early modern age, up until very close to our day. Sources regarding this latter almshouse contain reports to a lesser degree, so there is hope that we can find out more about the everyday life of the residents as well.

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[53] *Ibid.*, 125-131
[54] *Ibid.*, 27.

Andreas Gunesch: *Fides Saxonum in Transylvania* (1697). Eine historische Apologie aus der Anfangsperiode der Habsburgerherrschaft in Siebenbürgen

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Abstract: Andreas Gunesch: Fides Saxonum in Transylvania (1697). A Historical Apology from the Beginning of the Habsburg Rule in Transylvania. In his work, Andreas Gunesch Transylvanian Saxon Lutheran Reverend shows the loyalty of his people to the Transylvanian Ruler in power by historical examples. The study not only presents the work and its author; it also seeks the possible motives for its writing by throwing light on the Transylvanian Saxon politics during the years of 1690s, the inner relations of Sibiu, and finally the diplomatic and military situation of 1697.

Keywords: Transylvanian Saxon Historiography, Early Modern Transylvania, Great Turkish War, Hermannstadt, Isak Zabanius

Rezumat: *Fides Saxonum in Transylvania* **(1697). O apologie istorică de la începutul stăpânirii habsburgice în Transilvania.** În lucrarea *Fides Saxonum in Transylvania* (1697), pastorul sas Andreas Gunesch demonstrează loialitatea poporului său faţă de cei care conduceau Transilvania, recurgând la exemple din istorie. Studiul de faţă prezintă nu doar acea operă şi pe autorul ei. El caută şi să surpindă posibilele motivaţii ale lucrarii, punând accent pe politica saşilor în anii 1690, pe raporturile interne din Sibiu şi, nu în cele din urmă, pe situaţia militară şi diplomatică din anul 1697.

Cuvinte cheie: Istoriografia saşilor din Transilvania, Transilvania premodernă, Marele Război cu Otomanii, Sibiu, Isak Zabanius

Die wandelbaren siebenbürgischen Verhältnisse der 1690er Jahre werden in mehreren historisch-politischen Werken widerspiegelt. Ein in Vergessenheit geratenes Stück von ihnen ist diejenige besonders spannende Hanschrift von Andreas Gunesch, in der die Treue der Siebenbürger Sachsen zum jeweiligen Herrscher dargelegt wird, wobei Vergangenheit und Gegenwart in eine Parallele gestellt wird. „Fides Saxonum in Transylvania"[1] ist

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[1] Hier bedanke ich mich beim Herrn Thomas Şindilariu, Archivarius des Honterusarchivs in Kronstadt, der mich auf dieses Werk aufmerksam gemacht hat: FIDES SAXONUM in Transilvania das ist: der Sachsen in Siebenbürgen TREY und BESTÄNdigkeit, auß historischem Grund von den zwey nechst verfloßenen Seculis

einerseits ein historisches Werk, denn es behandelt punktuell ausgewählte Ereignisse der siebenbürgischen Geschichte, basierend auf den früher erschienenen Werken der ungarischen und siebenbürgischen Historiographie, wie auch auf primären Quellen. Andererseits ist es jedoch auch ein politisches Werk, das durch eine historische Argumentation das politische Interesse einer der drei siebenbürgischen ständischen Nationen, nämlich der Sächsischen, bedienen will. So knüpft es an die siebenbürgische Geschichte der letzten Jahrzehnte des 17. Jahrhunderts an.

Doch was verbirgt sich hinter einem im 17. Jahrhundert entstandenen Werk, das hauptsächlich Ereignisse des 16. Jahrhunderts erzählt, das von seinem Autor Traktat genannt wird, und das zugleich auch Elemente der Apologie beinhaltet? Was mag der Zusammenhang zwischen den historischen Ereignissen der 1690er Jahre und besonders von 1697 und der Entstehung des Werks gewesen sein? In erster Linie wird versucht, diese Frage zu beantworten, wobei auch wichtige Ansätze zur Auswertung der Handschrift, etwa die Vorstellung ihres Autors, die Zielsetzung seines Werks und die Bekanntmachung dessen Inhalts nicht außer acht gelassen werden. Zum Schluss versuchen wir, die Beweggründe der Entstehung des Werks zu ermitteln, wobei wir auch nach dem möglichen Auftraggeber suchen.[2]

1. Der Hintergrund der Entstehung der „Fides Saxonum"

1.1. Die Lage der Siebenbürger Sachsen unter den wechselnden Machtverhältnissen der 1690er Jahre
Der Große Türkenkrieg (1683-1699) rief auch in der siebenbürgischen Geschichte entscheidende Veränderungen hervor.[3] Die mit einer

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hervorgestellet durch einen der Historien Liebhabern (qui erat Vir Clarissimus atque Doctissimus Dominus ANDRIAS Gunesch Ecclesiae Kelneckiensis Pastor vigilantissimus), im Jahr 1697. Direcția Judeţeană Sibiu a Arhivelor Naţionale (fortan: DJAN Sibiu), Colecţia de documente de la Muzeul Brukenthal (fortan: Col. Bruk.), EE 1-4. Nr. 48. (In der Studie berufe ich mich – mit Ausnahme von einer kurzen Vorstellung der inzwischen gefundenen Handschriften – durchgehends auf diese Handschrift. Fortan: *Fides Saxonum*). Ich bedanke mich ferner bei Ágnes R. Várkonyi, Zsuzsanna J. Újváry und István H. Németh für ihre kritische Bemerkungen, die der Entstehung der Studie beitrugen. Die Forschung der in der Studie benutzten Wiener Quellen ermöglichte mir das Ernst-Mach-Stipendium der Aktion Österreich-Ungarn; meine Forschung in Herrmannstadt wurde durch das zwischenstaatliche Stipendium der Ungarischen Stipendienkomitee unterstützt.

[2] Dieser Aufsatz ist eine verkürzte und an manchen Stellen modifizierte Version folgender Studie: Szirtes Zsófia, „Andreas Gunesch: Fides Saxonum in Transylvania (1697). Történeti apológia az erdélyi Habsburg-uralom kezdetéből", *Levéltári Közlemények*, Jg. 82. Nr. 2. (2011): 78–123.

[3] Zum Überblick der Verhältnisse der 1690er Jahre Vgl. Rolf Kutschera, *Landtag*

vorläufigen Besatzung beginnende Machtübernahme der Habsburger, verwandelte sich allmählich in eine dauernde Herrschaft. Siebenbürgen mit seiner wichtigen strategischen Bedeutung wurde durch verschiedene Verträge, schließlich durch das Diploma Leopoldinum (1691), Bestandteil der Herrschaft des Kaisers und ungarischen Königs (1657–1705) Leopold I. Obwohl das Diplom die siebenbürgischen Gesetze und Privilegien bestätigte und eine freie Religionsausübung gewährleistete, enthielt es bestimmte Punkte, die für die Siebenbürger Sachsen als ungünstig gelten mussten. Die Ergänzung des Artikels 3 sagte aus, dass bei Fällen von Uneinigkeit zwischen Sachsen und Katholiken mit den anderen Ständen bzw. Konfessionen, die Entscheidung über ihre Beschwerden dem Hofe übertragen wird. Außerdem dehnte der Kaiser im 8. Artikel des Diploms sein Mitspracherecht bei der Ernennung der höchsten Landeswürdenträger auch auf die Bestallung der gewählten Königsrichter, Richter und Bürgermeister in den Städten und Märkten aus.[4]

Die Einstellung der evangelischen sächsischen Bevölkerung zur Herrschaft des deutschen, aber katholischen Hauses Habsburg war ambivalent und lässt bis heute viele Fragen offen.[5] Tatsächlich rief die Erscheinung der kaiserlichen Besatzung in mehreren sächsischen Städten anfängliche Proteste hervor: Bistritz verriegelte 1687 ihre Tore vor den Soldaten; ihr Zug nach Kronstadt verursachte 1688 einen Aufstand.[6] Die Habsburgerpolitik der 1690er Jahre erzeugte zahlreiche Spannungen, was diejenigen Äußerungen erklärt, die nicht zu dem allgemein verbreiteten Bild über die Treue der Sachsen zum Haus Habsburg passen.

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und Gubernium in Siebenbürgen 1688–1869, (Köln,Wien: Böhlau, 1985); Konrad Gündisch, *Siebenbürgen und die Siebenbürger Sachsen.* Unter Mitarbeit von Mathias Beer, (München: Langen Müller, 1998), 104–114.; R. Várkonyi Ágnes, „Az önálló fejedelemség utolsó évtizedei (1660–1711)" (Die letzten Jahrzehnte des autonomen Fürstentums), in *Erdély története* (Die Geschichte Siebenbürgens), Hg.v. Köpeczi Béla. Bd. II. 1606–1830. Hg. v. Makkai László – Szász Zoltán, 784–971. (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1986); Trócsányi Zsolt: *Habsburg-politika és Habsburg-kormányzat Erdélyben 1690–1740* (Habsburgpolitik und Habsburgverwaltung in Siebenbürgen 1690–1740), (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1988), 196–204.

[4] Kutschera, *Landtag,* 10–11.; Paul W. Roth, „Das Diploma Leopoldinum. Vorgeschichte, Bestimmungen", in *Siebenbürgen in der Habsburgermonarchie.* Hg. v. Zsolt K. Lengyel – Ulrich A. Wien, 1–11., (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 1999, 6–7; Trócsányi, *Habsburg-politika,* 205.

[5] Zum Problemkreis vgl. z. B. Harald Heppner, „Habsburg und die Siebenbürger Sachsen (1688–1867). Zum Thema *politische Kultur*", in *Siebenbürgen in der Habsburgermonarchie,* 47–59.

[6] Gündisch, *Siebenbürgen,* 109–110.

Vor dem Frieden von Karlowitz (1699) war die siebenbürgische Habsburgerherrschaft noch wankelmütig und bis zum Ende des Türkenkriegs wusste man nicht, wieviel man von dem Provinz würde behalten dürfen. So wechselten einander in dieser Periode zwei gegenläufige Tendenzen der kaiserlichen Herrschaft in Siebenbürgen ab: während die eine auf die Integration des Landes ins Habsburgerreich zielte, betrachtete die andere das Land als vorläufiges Machtgebiet, das es für die Versorgung und Finanzierung des Heeres auszunutzen galt.[7] Die der Bevölkerung auferlegte erhebliche Steuerlast betraf am stärksten die Siebenbürger Sachsen, die zu Beginn der habsburgischen Herrschaft für fast 60 Prozent der Abgaben des Fürstentums aufkommen mussten. Die Folgen waren: Abwanderungen auf adeligen Grundbesitz, sowie eine enorme Verschuldung, die im Jahre 1711, einschließlich der Zinsen, zusammen über 1,5 Millionen ungarische Forint betrug.[8]

Zu den zentralistischen Bestrebungen der neuen Macht am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts und den enormen Steuerlasten trugen neben den in den sächsischen Städten stationierenden kaiserlichen Soldaten, auch die konfessionellen Unterschiede bei, so dass ein Anstieg sozialer Spannungen spürbar wurde. Anhand dieser ist es nicht überraschend, dass die Machtübernahme Imre Thökölys[9] in Siebenbürgen im Jahre 1690 von mehreren sächsischen Städten (Kronstadt, Schäßburg, Mühlbach, Reps) begrüßt wurde.[10] Wie es später zu sehen wird, war die Beschuldigung der

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[7] Trócsányi, *Habsburg-politika*, 212.

[8] Trócsányi, *Habsburg-politika*, 357.; Gündisch, *Siebenbürgen*, 112.

[9] Imre Graf Thököly (1657–1705) stammte aus einer evangelischen hochadeligen Familie aus Oberungarn, als Staatsmann orientierte er sich an die Osmanen. Ab 1680 Oberbefehlshaber der antihabsburgischen Aufständischen, der sogenannten „Landflüchtigen" oder „Kuruzzen", später Fürst von Oberungarn (1682–1685) und Fürst von Siebenbürgen (1690). Ab 1701 bis zu seinem Tod lebte er in Nikomedien (Izmit).

[10] Vgl. Maja Philippi, „Der Bürgeraufstand von Kronstadt 1688. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts", in *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen.* Hg. v. Paul Philippi, 225–333., (Köln, Wien: Böhlau, 1984), 328–330.; Johann Duldner, „Zur Geschichte des Überganges Siebenbürgens unter die Herrschaft des Hauses Habsburg. (Die Jahre 1687–1691)", *Archiv des Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, Neue Folge,* 30. (1901), 240–241.; *Des Grafen Tököli Einfall in Burzenland, dessen Schlacht bey Tohán, und Zernest, und Abmarsch aus Siebenbürgen. Anno 1690 den 13 August, bis 1691 den 13 May*, in *Deutsche Fundgruben der Geschichte Siebenbürgens.* Hg. v. G. Joseph Kemény. Bd. I–II. 238–279. (Klausenburg: Tilsch, 1839–1840) (fortan: DFGS), Bd. II., 250.

Sachsen wegen Verbindung mit den Osmanen und mit Thököly eine grundsätzliche Veranlassung für den Autor der „Fides Saxonum". Das Entstehungsjahr des Werks führt aber zur Annahme, dass es auch mit den Kriegsereignissen des Sommers 1697 in einem engen Zusammenhang steht. Diese Vermutung lässt sich aufgrund mehrerer Faktoren und neu aufgefundener Quellen bestärken.

1.2. Hermannstadt und die Kriegsereignisse im Jahre 1697.

Im Sommer 1697 vollzog sich eine rasche Veränderung der diplomatischen und militärischen Verhältnisse Europas. Seit dem Tod des Habsburg-Sympathisanten Johann Sobieski, König von Polen (1674–1696) im Juni 1696 wurde die Bestellung des polnischen Throns eine der zentralen Fragen der europäischen Politik. Der Wahlkampf unter den neun Kandidaten beschränkte sich bald auf das Rivalisieren zwischen den Kandidaten von Frankreich und der Habsburgermonarchie. Das Ergebnis der Wahl konnte die weiteren Abläufe des Kriegs gegen die Osmanen maßgeblich beeinflussen. Ein vorläufiger Erfolg der französischen Diplomatie zeigte sich in der Wahl des aus dem Haus Bourbon stammenden Prinzen François Louis Conti, des französischen Kandidaten, gegen Jakub Sobieski, den Sohn des polnischen Königs, im Juni 1697.[11]

Parallel mit den polnischen Wahlkämpfen fanden seit Mai 1697 Friedensverhandlungen in Ryswick statt, die den Abschluss des seit 9 Jahren andauernden Krieges zwischen Frankreich und der Koalition von Habsburg, England und Holland erzielten. Um die Friedensverhandlungen erfolgreich – d.h. mit der Übernahme Strassburgs – zu schließen, wollte König Ludwig XIV. (1643–1715) das Haus Habsburg durch die Gefahr eines drohenden Angriffs von hinten unter Druck setzen. Zu diesem Zweck bewog er Sultan Mustafa II. (1695–1703) zu einem neuerlichen Feldzug gegen Ungarn, und der Sultan brach hierauf mit seinem Heer am 17. Juni aus Adrianopel in Richtung Belgrad auf. Infolge des Anmarsches des 100 000 Mann starken türkischen Heers zog die kaiserliche Heeresführung den größten Teil ihrer Kräfte nach Süden und ließ nur die Besatzung der wichtigeren Festungen in Nordwestungarn hinter sich. Die französische

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[11] Gebei Sándor, „II. Ágost lengyel király és a magyar ügy, 1701–1703" (Der polnische König August II. und die ungarische Angelegenheit zwischen 1701–1703), *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, 116. Jg. 3–4. Nr. (2003): 776–802.; Benczédi László, *A hegyaljai kuruc felkelés 1697-ben* (Der Kuruzzenaufstand in der Gegend von Hegyalja im Jahr 1697), (Budapest: Művelt Nép, 1953); Vgl. Markus Milewski, *Die polnische Königswahl von 1697,* (Wien: Studien-Verlag, 2008), 22–27; 79.

Politik verbindete die Wahl des Prinzen Conti mit dem Angriff der Hohen Pforte sowie mit der Absicht der Unterstützung von Imre Thököly. Im Übrigen stimmte die französische Politik mit den Plänen des in türkischem Exil lebenden Imre Thököly überein, der seit 1691 den Ausbruch eines neuen antihabsburgischen Aufstands in Oberungarn anstrebte, dessen Ziel die Restauration eines nationalen Königtums gewesen wäre, das zwangsläufig unter türkischem Schutz stehen müsste. König Ludwig XIV. versprach Thököly eine bedeutende militärische Unterstützung aus Polen, falls der Prinz de Conti zum König gewählt wird.[12]

Inzwischen trat am 30. Juni 1697, bei Ausbruch eines Aufstands in Sárospatak, eine seit mehreren Jahren in den nordöstlichen Komitaten Ungarns angelaufene Untergrundbewegung in Erscheinung. Ferenc Tokaji, der Vorsteher des gegen die Habsburgerherrschaft und deren Vertreter gerichteten Aufstands in der Gegend von Hegyalja war ehemaliger Thököly-Soldat. Venezianische Botschaftsberichte beleuchten, dass über die militärischen Erfolge der Aufständischen, die Einnahme der Burgen von Sárospatak und Tokaj, sowie die Wahl de Contis zum König, die Hohe Pforte und dadurch Imre Thököly gleich informiert wurde, so dass sich die Aufständischen seitens des Grafen militärische Hilfe versprachen.[13]

Einige Tage später kam es am Wiener Hof zu einer günstigen Wendung: Ende Juni wurde überraschenderweise gegen den Prinzen de Conti der durch die Habsburger unterstützte Friedrich August I. (August der Starke, König von Polen 1697–1706, 1710–1733) zum polnischen König gewählt. Der sächsische Kurfürst trat für sein neues Amt von seiner Position des Oberbefehlshabers der kaiserlichen Mächte zurück, so dass der besonders begabte Eugen von Savoyen[14] für das strategische Amt als sein Nachfolger bestimmt wurde. In der ersten Julihälfte begann die kaiserliche Heeresführung mit der Niederschlagung des Aufstands. Die Aufständischen rechneten jedoch vergeblich mit Thökölys Hilfe, da dieser erst allzu spät von dem Aufstand benachrichtigt worden war, sich über keine selbständigee Streitmacht verfügte und so auf die Hohe Pforte hingewiesen war. Das türksiche Heer machte sich erst am 17. Juli auf den Weg von Sofia nach Belgrad.[15]

Im Sommer 1697 wurde die Stimmung auch in Siebenbürgen immer mehr aufgeheizt; ähnliche Bewegungen verbreiteten sich auch auf

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[12] Benczédi, A hegyjai kuruc felkelés, 17–19, 44–46.

[13] Benczédi, A hegyaljai kuruc felkelés, 38, 53.

[14] Eugène-François de Savoie-Carignano.

[15] Benczédi, A hegyaljai kuruc felkelés, 69–70, 86–87.; Milewski, *Die polnische Königswahl,* 149.

dem Fogarascher Land und auf dem Szeklerland.[16] Das siebenbürgische Gubernium ermahnte die Munizipalbehörden in seiner am 20. Juli in Thorenburg ausgegebenen Zirkularverordnung zur Behutsamkeit, damit die im Nachbarland abgespielten Ereignisse in Siebenbürgen sich nicht wiederholen können. In dem beigelegten Patent befahl es weitere Vorsichtsmaßnahmen: neben dem Verbot der Korrespondenz mit den Nachbarländern sollten alle sich an den Leopold I. abgelegten Treueid halten und den Vorgesetzten alle Nachrichten und Briefe bezüglich des Feinds anmelden.[17] Ähnlicherweise mahnte Rabutin de Bussy, kommandierender General der kaiserlichen Armee in Siebenbürgen, die siebenbürgischen Poststationen wegen der laufenden Ereignisse des in Ungarn noch andauernden Aufstands zur Vorsicht und forderte sie auf, ihn über die kommenden Ereignisse und die eingehenden Briefe ohne den geringesten Aufschub informiert zu halten.[18] Denn es war seine Aufgabe, das Mieresch-Tal zu sichern und abzuriegeln und damit einer Hilfeaktion für die Aufständischen in Oberungarn seitens Imre Thököly oder Mustafa II. vom Süden her entgegenzuwirken.[19]

Die Ereignisse des Sommers 1697 scheinen auch in Hermannstadt, dem Hauptsitz des kaiserlichen Heers, auf die Gemüter eingewirkt zu haben.[20] Die Zunahme der Spannung zwischen der kaiserlichen Besatzung und den Stadtbewohnern kommt beispielsweise in einer Szene zum Ausdruck, die im Abschlussteil der „Continuatio Historiae Betlenianae"[21]

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[16] *II. Rákóczi Ferenc erdélyi hadserege.* Hg. v. Magyari András, (Bucureşti: Kriterion, Cluj: Polis, 1994), 30.

[17] Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (Ungarisches Nationalarchiv, Budapest; fortan: MNL OL), Archiv des Gubernium Transylvanicum, Gubernium Transylvanicum in Politicis, Libri conceptuum regii Hungarici et Latini (F 43), Bd. I. p. 883–886.

[18] Rabutin, Ordre an alle Siebenbürgische Posti. 25. Juli 1697, Déva. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv (fortan: ÖStA KA), Alte Feldakten, 1697 Türkenkrieg VIII– X. Kt. 207. 1697–8–30d.

[19] Benczédi, *A hegyaljai kuruc felkelés*, 72.

[20] Die zwischen dem Bürgertum und dem Militär sich verschärfenden Konflikte zeigen sich schon in einer Beschwerdeschrift des Magistrats aus 1696. Neben den verschiedenen Exzessen der Garnison bei der Weidebenützung oder der Fischerei fand die Stadt die ungerechte Verhaftung und Misshandlung unschuldiger Bürger besonders beschwerlich. Der Magistrat gedenkte z. B. an einen Fall, wobei ein Soldat wegen Streitigkeit beim Fleischkaufen einen Mezger mit seinem Bajonett verletzte, der dann mit seinem ihn verteidigenden Gefährten verhaftet wurde. Gravamen des Hermannstädter Magistrats gegen die Garnison, 31. Juli 1696., Hermannstadt. DJAN Sibiu, Colecţia de documente medievale (fortan: Col. med.) U VI. Nr. 2000.

[21] Andreas Gunesch, *Continuatio Historiae Betlenianae ab anno 1663–1699. additis quibusdam, partim ex scriptis aliorum, partim propria experientia notis Johannis Ziegler,*

beschrieben wird. Nach dem Bericht über den Hergang des Aufstands in der Gegend von Hegyalja[22] ist über eine Szene auf dem Markt zu lesen:

Mense Augusto Cibinii parum abfuit, quin, ob aliquot verba sinistre intellecta, rex ad lanienam perveniret. Mulier militis, ut et civis cujusdam conjux voluerunt cepas ab una eademque muliere vendente emere, et quidem militis mulier voluit omnes, conjux autem civis partem habere. Dixit illa: Ich kaufe auf eine Woche. Reposuit haec: Was wisset ihr, ob ihr eine Woche lebet? Ex quibus verbis Germani cives rebellionis cujusdam arguere voluerunt. Factus est ob hoc magnus tumultus inter praesidiarios, vesperas Siculicas ab innocentibus et meticulosis Saxonibus sibi imaginantes.[23]

Obwohl die Worte der Hermannstädter Frau als eine Widerspiegelung der für Siebenbürgen im 17. Jahrhundert typischen apokalyptischen Sichtweise gedeutet werden können[24], ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, dass der Chronist auf die in der Stadt vorherrschende „antideutsche" Stimmung anzuspielen gedachte.[25] Die Unruhe der Hermannstädter Besatzung weist

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Pastoris Neovillensis, In *Chronicon Fuchsio-Lupino-Oltardinum sive annales hungarici et transsilvanici* (fortan: CFLO), Ed. Josephus Trausch. Pars II., 135–287., (Coronae: Gött, 1848) – Wie es Edit Szegedi festgestellt hat, geht es hier um ein kollektives Werk und ist deshalb nicht klar, von wem die Erzählung des Jahres 1697 stammt. Nach einer Handschrift der „Continuatio" scheint Gunesch die Fortsetzung des Werks von Bethlen nur bis 1689 geschrieben zu haben: Joh. Bethlen Historia rerum Transs. ex Impresso descripta 1664, quam vero ab anno 1663, usque ad 1689, continuavit in Mspto. Andr. Gunesch. *Schriftsteller-Lexikon der Siebenbürger Deutschen,* Hg. v. Joseph Trausch – Friedrich Schuller – Hermann A. Hienz. Unveränderter Nachdruck der Ausgaben 1868, 1870, 1871, 1902. Mit einer Einführung herausgegeben und fortgeführt von Hermann A. Hienz. Bd. I–IV. (Köln, Wien: Böhlau, 1983), 44–45.; Vgl. Szegedi Edit, *Geschichtsbewusstsein und Gruppenidentität. Die Historiographie der Siebenbürger Sachsen zwischen Barock und Aufklärung*, (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2002), 228.

[22] CFLO, Bd. II., 269–270.

[23] „Im Monat August kam es beinahe dazu, dass der König aufgrund einiger missverstandenen Worte eine Metzelei veranlasste. Die Frau eines Soldaten, als sie in gleicher Zeit mit einer Bürgerfrau von derselben Frau Zwiebel kaufen wollte, hatte vor, alles aufzukaufen, während die Bürgerfrau nur einen Teil davon kaufen wollte. Jene [d.h. die Soldatenfrau] sagte: *Ich kaufe auf eine Woche*. Die andere entgegnete: *Was wisset ihr, ob ihr eine Woche lebet?* Wegen dieser Worte wollten die Deutschen die Bürger wegen Verrates anklagen. Es hat sich ereignet, weil es in der Besatzung große Unruhe herrschte und am Abend die Szekler mit den harmlosen und schüchternen Sachsen verwechselt wurden." (Hervorhebungen von mir, Zs. Sz.) CFLO, Bd. II., 270.

[24] Vgl. Edit Szegedi über die zitierte Stelle: Szegedi, *Geschichtsbewusstsein*, 233.

[25] Diese Vermutung bekräftigt ein ähnlicher Fall im 16. Jahrhundert in Kaschau, in dem die gesellschaftliche Spannung zwischen den Bürger- und Soldatenfrauen

allerdings darauf hin, dass man die Worte der Bürgerfrau als eine Androhung interpretierte und gegen die Sachsen negativ eingestellt war. Wie ist das zu erklären?

Es ist bekannt, dass die Aufständischen mit der Hohen Pforte und dem exilierten Thököly in Austausch standen. Ein türkischer Brief des Großwesirs Elmas Mustafa an die siebenbürgischen Stände beweist sogar, dass auch Siebenbürgen in den türkischen Plänen eine Rolle spielte. Der Großwesir informierte die Vertreter der drei ständischen Nationen Siebenbürgens über den Aufstand, der auch die Unterstützung des Sultans erhalten hatte, forderte sie zum Anschluss auf und fügte hinzu, dass die Hohe Pforte den Einzug von tatarischen und anderen osmanischen Heeren in Siebenbürgen anstrebt.[26] Obwohl der türkische Brief „an die vornehmen, bekannten Personen der Sächsischen, Szeklerischen und Magyarischen Nation des Siebenbürgischen Vilajets, sowie an die Offiziere der Städte und Dörfer" nicht exakt datiert ist (1697/98)[27], handelt es sich hier wohl um dasselbe Patent (oder um eine Variante von ihm), der Anfang August 1697 auch Hermannstadt erreichte.

Am 8. August wurde nämlich der an der türkischen Grenze stationierende Rabutin von dem Hermannstädter Königsrichter Valentin Franck von Franckenstein und dem Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Johannes Zabanius von dem Eingang eines verdächtigen Briefs benachrichtigt, der durch einen wallachischen Boten[28] an den Königsrichter angehändigt

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gleicherweise beim Einkauf auf dem Markt zum Vorschein kam. H. Németh István, „Kassai polgárok és katonák a 16. században. (A hadsereg beköltözésével járó társadalmi és közigazgatási jelenségek a felső-magyarországi városok életében a Mohácsot követő évtizedek során)" (Kaschauer Bürger und Soldaten im 16. Jahrhundert /Die bezüglich der Einzug des Heers auftauchende gesellschaftliche und Verwaltungserscheinungen im Leben der oberungarischen Städte in den Jahrzehnten nach Mohács/), *Levéltári Közlemények,* 68. Nr. 1–2. (1997): 180–181.

[26] Seres István, „A hegyaljai felkelők kapcsolata a török Portával" (Die Beziehungen der Aufständischen von Hegyalja mit der Hohen Pforte), in *Hegyaljai felkelés 1697. Tanulmányok a felkelés 300. évfordulójára.* (Der Aufstand in der Gegend von Hegyalja im Jahr 1697. Studien zum 300jährigen Jubiläum des Aufstands) Hg. v. Tamás Edit, 213–223, (Sárospatak: Rákóczi Múzeum, 2000), 214–215.

[27] Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Handschriftensammlung (Budapest), Ms 4834/5, Materialiensammlung von Mór Dercsényi zur Thököly-Ära aus verschiedenen Archiven, 1673–1701. Brief Nr. 56. Übersetzt von Gyula Káldy-Nagy. Der originelle Brief herausgegeben in: Ahmet Refik, *Türk Hizmetinde Kiral Tököli Imre,* (Istanbul, 1932) Zitiert bei Seres, *Hegyajlai felkelők,* 214. Fußn. 4.

[28] „ein gemeiner Wallach von Kinen namens Obrisan de la Szklala". Der Hermannstädter Königsrichter und Bürgermeister an Rabutin, 8. August 1697., Hermannstadt. Kontemporäre Kopie. ÖStA KA, Alte Feldakten, 1697 Türkenkrieg

worden ist. Franck habe den Brief als verdächtig angesehen und ihn deshalb nicht geöffnet, sondern am darauffolgenden Morgen dem Bürgermeister und dem Kommandanten Caetano darüber Meldung erstattet. Nach dessen Rat habe Franck den Umschlag geöffnet, in dem er „einen auf Türkhische arth gestalten, und in einen Seidenen Säkhl verpakhten briefe gefundten".[29] Ohne den Brief aufzubrechen und über dessen Inhalt Bescheid zu wissen, habe er ihn an Rabutin weitergeleitet. Da der Brief sehr wichtig zu sein schien, hätten sie nicht einmal das Gubernium über dessen Eingang informiert. Damit diese Heimlichkeit der sächsischen Führung von dem Gubernium nicht vorgeworfen wird, hätten sie angegeben, der Brief sei dem Kommandanten Caetano[30] ausgehändigt worden und von diesem selbst unverzüglich an Rabutin weitergeschickt worden. Die Verfasser des Berichts nahmen an, es seien mehrere ähnliche Briefe im Land eingetroffen. Zum Brief wurde auch das Verhörprotokoll des Boten angeschlossen, nach dem der Brief über einen Griechen bei dem „Kinener Szkilar, oder Mauthner" namens Many eintraf. Dieser habe den Wallachen beauftragt, den Brief dem Hermannstädter Königsrichter auszuhändigen und sogleich die Antwort dem bei der Maut wartenden Griechen zu holen.[31]

In seinem zwei Tage später aus dem Lager bei Dobra geschriebenen Antwortbrief berichtete Rabutin über den Inhalt des verdächtigen Briefs nicht, jedoch erwähnte er, dass neben dem lateinischen auch türkische und ungarische Briefe beigefügt gewesen seien. Er bat, ihn sofort zu benachrichtigen, sofern in Zukunft ähnliche Briefe eingehen würden. Nebenbei verordnete er die Reparatur der Schanzen und Basteien in Hermannstadt, bei der nach den Anweisungen vom Kommandanten Caetano vorzugehen sei. So würden sie nicht nur dem Kaiser dienen, sondern auch zur Sicherheit ihrer Stadt beitragen.[32]

Die Situation Rabutins wurde diese Tage durch die Anordnung der kaiserlichen Heeresführung weiter erschwert, nach der er an der

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VIII–X. Kt. 207. 1697–8–30e. – Kinen lag in der Walachey an dem Alt, nicht weit vom Rothenturm-Pass. Vgl. G. M. Visconti, *Mappa della, Transiluania* […], 1699, (Budapest: Cartographia, 1999)

[29] Der Hermannstädter Königsrichter und Bürgermeister an Rabutin, 8. August 1697., Hermannstadt. Ebenda.

[30] Cajetano de Aragona, erstellter Oberstleutnant des Lapaczek-Regiments. DJAN Sibiu, Col. med. U VI. Nr. 2000.

[31] Brief des Hermannstädter Königsrichters und Bürgermeisters an Rabutin, 8. August 1697, Hermannstadt. Ebenda; ÖStA KA Hofkriegsrat, Prot. Exp. 1697. August–Dezember (Bd. 400.) fol. 539r.

[32] Rabutins Brief an den Hermannstädter Königsrichter und Bürgermeister, 10. August 1697, Feldlager bei Dobra (Kontemporäre Kopie). ÖStA KA AFA 1697 Türkenkrieg VIII–X. Kt. 207. 1697–8–30f.

Vorbereitung des Feldzugs gegen die Türken teilnehmen sollte. Schon am
12. Juni bat Eugen von Savoyen ihn um Auskunft über die siebenbürgischen
Verhältnisse und hatte vor, ein siebenbürgisches Kavallerieregiment an das
Haupteer anzuschließen, was Rabutin für unmöglich angesehen hatte. Am
10. August wurde Rabutin vom Wiener Hofkriegsrat angewiesen, dem Befehl
Eugen von Savoyens zu befolgen und sich mit seinem siebenbürgischen
Korps dem kaiserlichen Haupteer an der Donau anzuschließen.[33] Rabutin
zog schließlich am 20. August mit seinem aus sieben Cavallierregimentern
bestehenden Heer aus Siebenbürgen in Richtung Arad aus, um an dem
neueren Feldzug gegen die Osmanen teilzunehmen. Vor seinem Auszug
sorgte er dafür, dass im Fall eines feindlichen Angriffs der siebenbürgische
Adel und die Landsbevölkerung aufgeboten würden. Als Zentrum der
Abwehr wurde von der Heeresführung Hermannstadt bestimmt. Rabutin
befürchtete nicht nur einen äußeren Angriff, sondern auch, dass sein Auszug
unmittelbar einen Aufstand im Land hervorrufen wird. Deshalb befahl er
seinem Stellvertreter Graf Leiningen, ihn im Fall des Ausbruchs eines
Aufstands unverzüglich davon in Kenntnis zu setzen.[34]

Aus dem Inhalt des in Hermannstadt eingegangenen Briefes wissen
wir, dass die Angst Rabutins vor einem äußeren Angriff und inneren
Aufstand nicht ohne Grund war. Dazu tragen diejenigen Episoden bei, die
sich zwischen ihm, der Hermannstädter Stadtführung und dem
Stadtpfarrer Isak Zabanius (1632–1707) im August 1697 abspielten. Der
Konflikt des habsburgtreuen Königsrichters Valentin Franck von
Franckenstein und des Bürgermeisters Johannes Zabanius (später Johannes
Sachs von Harteneck) mit dessen Vater, dem Stadtpfarrer Isak Zabanius
war hauptsächlich auf seine strikten Reden zurückzuführen, die nicht frei
von politischen Andeutungen waren. Nach der Erzählung des Verfassers
der „Continuatio Historiae Betlenianae" habe der Pfarrer in seinem Predigt
dem Königsrichter die Unterstützung der Jesuiten vorgeworfen. In einer
früheren Rede reflektierte er über die Bekehrung des sächsischen Kurfürsten
zum Katholizismus. Außerdem vertrat er auch gegenüber der kaiserlichen
Besatzung eine polemische Haltung.[35] Wegen seines Benehmens machte
ihm Rabutin ernste Vorhaltungen:

Evocatur his quoque diebus die 16. Augusti M. Isaacus Zabanius,
Pastor Cibiniensis, ex improviso a Generali Rabutinio litteris, ut, rupta omni
mora ad ipsum in castris, in partibus inferioribus collocatis, compareat,

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[33] Moriz Edler von Angeli (Bearb.), *Feldzüge gegen die Türken 1697–1698 und der Karlowitzer Friede.* (Wien, 1876), 71–72.

[34] Angeli, *Feldzüge,* 107–108.

[35] CFLO, Bd. II., 270–271.

quod etiam fecit, illuc proficiscens cum Generali Leiningen. [...] In castra cum pervenisset, Excellentissimus Dominus Generalis ipsum honeste excepit, laute tractavit, et suo carpento per omnia regimina ad lustrandum singula, circumduci jussit. Tandem tertia die, cum abitum parare vellet, ipsi quaedam objecit. Primo de tractatu Pharo, quem Electori Saxoniae, nuper ad castra Pontificiorum deflexo, et ob id Rex Polonorum facto, dedicaverat, quod Rex ille aegre tulerit, ex Transsilvania illum admoneri etc. Pervenit tandem ad negotium Fautorum Cibiniensium, quare cum illis non quietius et pacatius vivat, quare in concionibus illos tangat? et quae non alia? Ibi animadvertit, institutum hoc Frankii et filii esse.[36]

Eine Woche nach dieser Episode schrieb Rabutin an Isak Zabanius einen Mahnungsbrief aus Lippa, in dem er den Pfarrer an ein vertrauliches Gespräch erinnert, das er mit ihm einige Tage früher im Lager bei Dobra führte.[37] Rabutin erwartet dabei von Zabanius Moderation, und zwar nicht

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[36] CFLO, Bd. II., 270–271. „So wurde in diesen Tagen, am 16. August plötzlich auch der Hermannstädter Pfarrer Isak Zabanius wegen eines Briefes durch General Rabutin herbeigerufen, auf das er ohne jeden Verzug bei ihm selbst im unteren Schloss erscheinen möge. Dies tat er auch so, indem er mit General Leiningen dorthin aufbrach. [...] Als er in der Burg ankam, empfing ihn der General achtungsvoll, behandelte ihn gut und gab den Befehl, ihm auf seinem eigenen Wagen im Kreis herumzuführen, durch alle Regimenter hindurch, um jedes einzeln zu mustern. Schließlich am dritten Tag, als dieser im Begriff war, die Abreise vorzubereiten, warf jener ihm folgendes vor. Zuerst wurde die Rede über den Leuchtturm erwähnt, den er dem sächsischen Kurfürsten gewidmet hat, der jüngst in die Partei der Päpstlichen übergetreten ist und so auch die polnische Krone erwarb, was der König mit Gereiztheit angenommen hat, [dass] er aus Siebenbürgen darauf aufmerksam gemacht wurde usw. Schließlich kam er zur Sache der Hermannstädter Besatzung, warum er mit diesen nicht in Frieden und Ruhe lebt, warum er sich diese in seinen Predigten über den Mund zerreißt? und warum er nicht von anderen Themen handelt? Er machte ihn darauf aufmerksam, dass dieses die Aufgabe des Herrn Franck und seines Sohnes [Johannes Zabanius] sei." – Unter der „Rede über den Leuchtturm" ist seine 1697 in Dresden erschienene Rede zu verstehen, die er dem sächsischen Kurfürsten Friedrich August I. (1694–1733) widmete. Um die Voraussetzungen zum Erwerb der polnischen Krone zu erfüllen, übertrat der Kurfürst zum Katholizismus. Vgl. Pharus refulgens, quae fluctuanti fidelis animas navigio, in procelloso variorum Schismatum Oceano, securam ad optatum coeli portum, viam ostendit, luce verbi divini, opera & studio M. Isaaci Zabanii [...] 1697. Dresdae. RMK III. 584.; *Schriftsteller-Lexikon*, Bd. III., 529.; Szirtes, *Gunesch,* 87.

[37] Jean Louis Rabutin de Bussy an Isak Zabanius, 23. August 1697. Feldlager bei Lippa (Kontemporäre Kopie).
DJAN Sibiu, Col. med. U VI. Nr. 2075. Der Brief stimmt mit der durch den Chronisten von „Continuatio Historiae Betlenianae" beschriebenen Episode am 16. August überein, und macht wahrscheinlich, dass die Szene sich in Dobra abspielte.

nur in seinen Predigten, sondern auch in allen Angelegenheiten. Er ermahnt ihn, die Befugnis des Magistrats zu respektieren und sich in dessen Angelegenheiten nicht einzumischen. Der Magistrat ist nicht verpflichtet, Zabanius über alles zu informieren, auch wenn dessen Sohn der Bürgermeister ist.[38] Rabutin fordert den Pfarrer auf, seine neulich in Dobra geschriebene Anordnung nicht zu missbrauchen[39], die Information nicht zu verbreiten, sondern in Geheim zu halten. Die Treue des Königsrichters und des Bürgermeisters sei schon mehrmals erprobt, und sie wurde auch durch die Auszeichnung des Kaisers anerkannt. Auch die Verdienste von Pfarrer Zabanius vermehren sich immer mehr, deshalb rät der General ihm Moderation und Bescheidenheit, wodurch die Union nicht zerteilt, sondern befestigt wird. Er macht darauf aufmerksam, dass sein Benehmen im Kaiserhof missfällig angesehen werden kann.

Die Befürchtung Rabutins war nicht ohne Grund. Der Sohn des Pfarrers, der Hermannstädter Bürgermeister Johannes Zabanius korrespondierte nämlich diese Zeit mit den Kaiserlichen Generalen in Siebenbürgen, von denen er die aktuellsten Informationen über die von den Osmanen geplanten Feldzügen und deren Ausgang informiert wurde.[40]

Anhand von der Chronik und dem Brief Rabutins an Isak Zabanius können wir annehmen, dass seine Person im Sommer 1697 von Rabutin und der Hermannstädter Führung als gefährlich beurteilt wurde. Zabanius, der nach seinen Studien in Wittenberg seit 1661 Konrektor der Preschauer Schule war und dort am neugegründeten lutherischen Kollegium seit 1667 Theologie und Philosophie unterrichtete, verlor seine Stelle 1670 im Zuge der gegenreformatorischen Maßnahmen. 1673 musste er als Lehrer des abgeschafften lutherischen Kollegiums Ungarn verlassen. Nachdem er sich zunächst zur Flucht nach Danzig entschied, siedelte sich Zabanius

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[38] „Einen gutten wohl mainent, und vatterlichen Rath dero Herrn Sohn zugeben, approbire selbsten gestalten aber disser zugleich Burgermaister und von mäniglich darvor zu respectiren ist, so erfordert das Politicum hierauf nothwändig zu reflectiren und ein gebührente Distinction, de loco, tempore und persona zumachen […].“ *Ebenda.*

[39] Er dachte wohl an seinen am 10. August, an den Hermannstädter Königsrichter und Bürgermeister geschriebenen Brief; siehe oben.

[40] General Georg Wilhelm Löffelholz schrieb an Johannes Zabanius beispielsweise am Ende August aus Kronstadt, wobei er über die neuesten osmanischen Operationen berichtete. Graf Georg Wilhelm Löffelholz an Johannes Zabanius, 23. August 1697. Kronstadt. DJAN Sibiu, Col. med. U VI. Nr. 2076. Vgl. noch: Karl Ludwig Acton an Johannes Zabanius, 8. September 1697. Feldlager bei Peterwardein. Ebenda, Nr. 2078.; Jean Louis Rabutin de Bussy an Johannes Zabanius, 8. September 1697, Feldlager bei Peterwardein und 12. September 1697, Zenta. Ebenda, Nr. 2079.

1676 in Siebenbürgen an. Noch desselben Jahres wurde er Lehrer, 1681 Rektor der Hermannstädter Schule. Später diente er ab 1687 als Pfarrer in Urwegen (Szászorbó/Gârbova) im Unterwald, ab 1691 in Mühlbach. Schließlich wurde er 1692 Stadtpfarrer von Hermannstadt.[41] Isak Zabanius schenkte vermutlich den Ereignissen des mit Thököly sympathisierenden Aufstands in der Gegend von Hegyalja Beachtung. Er wird Thököly persönlich gekannt haben, da dieser zwischen 1668 und 1670 die Preschauer Schule besuchte.[42]

Über die Tätigkeit des Isak Zabanius im Jahre 1697 sind darüber hinaus leider keine weiteren Quellen zugänglich, jedoch ist es aufgrund seines Lebenslaufs keineswegs ausgeschlossen, dass er mit den Aufständischen in Beziehung stand. Die protestantischen Prediger Oberungarns erfüllten nämlich während des Aufstands in der Gegend von Hegyalja wichtige Vermittlungsfunktion zwischen den emigrierten Kuruzzen auf türkischem Gebiet und den heimischen Funktionären.[43] Die Beziehung zwischen Thököly und den siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Geistlichen untermauern seine Briefe an den Superintendenten Lucas Hermann und an Johann Zabanius im Juni 1699, in denen er um die Sendung eines Predigers mit ungarischen Sprachkentnissen bittet.[44]

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[41] *Schriststeller-Lexikon*, Bd. III., 523–525; Makkai László, „Művelődés a 17. században" (Bildung im 17. Jahrhundert), in *Magyarország története 1526–1686.* Hg. v. Pach Zsigmond Pál. I. Bd. Hg. v. R. Várkonyi Ágnes, (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1985), 1503.; Friedrich Teutsch, „Geschichte des ev. Gymnasiums A. B. in Hermannstadt", *Archiv des Vereines für siebenbürgische Landeskunde. Neue Folge*, 17. (1882), 67–69.

[42] Angyal Dávid, *Késmárki Thököly Imre 1657–1705,* Bd. I., (Budapest: Méhner, 1888), 28–31. – Obwohl der in der 8. Klasse wirkende Zabanius den jungen Imre Thököly nicht unterrichtet haben kann, werden der berühmte gelehrte Dozent des Preschauer Kollegiums und der Sohn von Stephan Thököly, eines seiner größten Förderer sicherlich voneinander gewusst haben. Vgl. Hörk József, *Az eperjesi ev. ker. collegium története* (Die Geschichte des evangelischen Kollegiums in Preschau), 2. Heft, (Kassa: Bernovits, 1896–1897), 42.

[43] Seres István, „Protestáns prédikátorok és a Thököly-emigráció", *Credo. Evangélikus Műhely*, 11. Nr. 3–4. (2005): 228–251.

[44] Imre Thököly an den sächsischen Superintendenten, [3. Juni] 1699. Briefbuch von Imre Thököly aus dem Jahr 1699, Bd. 2. MNL OL, Archive der Freiheitskämpfe von Thököly und Rákóczi, Archiv des Freiheitskampfes von Fürsten Imre Thököly, Akten von Imre Thököly (G 2) II. 5. fol. 8r; Imre Thököly an Zabanius, 3. Juni 1699., Konstantinopel. Ebenda, fol. 8v. Hiermit bedanke ich mich bei István Seres, dass er mich auf die hier zitierten Quellen aufmerksam gemacht und sie zu meiner Verfügung gestellt hat. Die Vorbereitung einer Ausgabe der zitierten Thököly-Handschrift ist im Gang.

Siebenbürgen spielte im Sommer 1697 eine wichtige Rolle in den türkischen Plänen. Ein Teil der türkischen Heeresführung, wie auch Thököly selbst, plädierte für einen Einmarsch in Siebenbürgen, wodurch der Weg nach Oberungarn geöffnet werden könnte und die Ernennung Thökölys zum „König" ermöglicht würde. Der andere Teil des Kriegsrats befürwortete dagegen einen Angriff gegen Pétervárad. Nach der Eroberung von Titel entschieden die Osmanen sich schließlich für den Feldzug nach Siebenbürgen und machten sich auf den Weg, um an der Mieresch ins Land einzufallen. Der Sieg des von Eugen von Savoyen geführten kaiserlichen Heers am 11. September bei Zenta hat aber die Durchführung ihrer Pläne verhindert.[45]

Unter diesen ereignisvollen, von politischen Spannungen beladenen Umständen entstand die „Fides Saxonum". Vor der Vorstellung des Werks soll zunächst die Tätigkeit seines Autors bekannt gemacht werden.

2. Der Autor und die Handschriften

Der Autor der „Fides Saxonum" gehörte zur Gruppe der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Pfarrer, die sich, nach ihrer akademischen Peregrination auf deutschen Universitäten, bei Rückkehr in ihre Heimat neben der Seelsorgertätigkeit der Erforschung der siebenbürgischen Geschichte widmeten. Andreas Gunesch, Stadtpfarrer zu Mühlbach und Dechant des Unterwälder Kapitels, ist 1648 in Hermannstadt geboren, wo sein Vater Mitglied der Hundertmannschaft war. Nach dem Besuch des Hermannstädter Gymnasiums erfolgte seine Immatrikulation an der Universität zu Wittenberg im Jahre 1670, von wo er 1674 zurückkehrte. Er diente als Pfarrer seit 1680 zuerst in Petersdorf (Petreşti/Péterfalva), dann von 1685 in Kelling (Cîlnic/ Kelnek) im Mühlbacher Stuhl, später wurde er 1702 Mühlbacher Stadtpfarrer. Er verstarb im Dezember 1703.[46]

Von seinen 15 Werken[47] ist nur eine zweiteilige Schrift gedruckt, nämlich seine Ergänzung und Fortsetzung der siebenbürgischen Geschichte von Johannes Bethlen, die zusammen mit den Ergänzungen des Großschenker Pfarrers Johannes Ziegler bis 1699 im „Chronicon Fuchsio-Lupino-Oltardinum"[48] herausgegeben wurde. Auf die Chroniken von Simon Massa, Marcus Fuchs, Christian Lupinus und Johannes Oltard im

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[45] Varga J. János, *A fogyó félhold árnyékában. A török kiűzése Magyarországról* (Im Schatten des abnehmenden Halbmonds. Die Austreibung der Türken aus Ungarn), (Budapest: Gondolat, 1986), 251–252.

[46] *Schriftsteller-Lexikon*, Bd. II., 41–42.

[47] Vgl. *Schriftsteller-Lexikon*, Bd. II., 42–45.

[48] CFLO, Bd. II.

ersten Band folgen die mit Guneschs Namen bezeichneten zwei Werke über die siebenbürgische Geschichte zwischen 1630–1663, bzw. 1663–1699 im zweiten Band.[49] Gunesch setzte nicht nur Johann Bethlens Werk fort, sondern auch die Annalen David Hermanns und den „Siebenbürgischen Würgengel" von Matthias Miles. Aufgrund dieses Engagements zählt er zu dem Kreis jener Geschichtsschreiber aus dem 17. Jahrhundert, die ein Verständnis für die historische Kontinuität aufbringen konnten.[50]

Seine Werke sind zum Teil theologischen und kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts, der größere Teil besteht aber aus historischen Werken, die hauptsächlich anhand von Werken solch berühmter Autoren wie Hieronymus Ortelius, János Nadányi, Miklós Istvánffy und Antonio Bonfini verfasst wurden. Gunesch befasste sich u.a. mit der Geschichte Siebenbürgens im 17. Jahrhundert, mit dem Fall Ungarns und mit dem Ursprung der Siebenbürger Sachsen. Es sind sogar zwei lokalhistorische Werke von ihm erhalten, die sogenannte „Kleinwinzige Medwischer Chronik" und die „Annales Sabesienses" (Mühlbacher Annalen).

Sein Werk „Fides Saxonum" war trotz seiner nur handschriftlich überlieferten Form weder unter den Zeitgenossen, noch im Kreis siebenbürgisch-sächsischer Gelehrten des 18. Jahrhunderts unbekannt. Martin Schmeizel (1679–1747) wusste von der Handschrift, und Johann Seivert (1735–1785) schrieb sogar eine kurze Zusammenfassung der Vorrede.[51] Die neuere Fachliteratur zur siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Geschichtsschreibung behandelt ihn vor allem als einen der verschiedenen Autoren des „Chronicon Fuchsio-Lupino-Oltardinums" bzw. als den Fortsetzer des „Siebenbürgischen Würgengels", jedoch ohne auf die anderen Werke, wie bspw. die „Fides Saxonum", einzugehen.[52]

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[49] Supplementa Andreae Gunesch, Pastoris Sabaesiensis, ad Cancellarii Johannis Betlenii Historiam Transsilvaniae ab anno 1630–1663. quatuor libris congestam. atque tam anno 1663 quam anno 1664. sine commemoratione loci typis editam, In CFLO, Bd. II., 1–135.; Gunesch, *Continuatio*. Zu den Werken Vgl. Szegedi, *Geschichtsbewusstsein*, 226–231.

[50] Adolf Armbruster, „Die Rumänen in der siebenbürgischen Chronistik des 17. Jahrhunderts". In Ders., *Auf den Spuren der eigenen Identität. Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur Rumäniens, 192–208,* (Bukarest: Enciclopedica, 1991), 197–198.

[51] *Schriftsteller-Lexikon*, Bd. II., 42.

[52] Vgl. z. B. Szekfű Gyula, „Az erdélyi szász történetírás" (Die siebenbürgisch-sächsische Geschichtsschreibung), *Magyarságtudomány*, 2. Nr. 2. (1943), 192, 332; Szegedi, *Geschichtsbewusstsein,* 226–232. Emma Bartoniek erwähnt Gunesch nur in Beziehung zum Werk „Virtus Coronata" von Thomas Bordan anhand von József Kemény. Bartoniek Emma, *Fejezetek a XVI–XVII. századi magyarországi történetírás történetéből.* (Kapitel aus der Geschichte der Geschichtsschreibung in Ungarn im XVI–XVII. Jahrhundert), (Budapest, 1975), 178.

Der größte Teil der bis zur Zeit entdeckten neun Handschriften ist in den Archiven von Hermannstadt und Kronstadt zu finden.[53] In der Brukenthal-Sammlung in Hermannstadt wurden mehrere Exemplare gefunden, die vom Interesse der Hermannstädter Beamtenschicht zeugen.[54] **(s. Anlage 1. und 2.)** Die „Fides Saxonum" kommt in mehreren Sammelbänden aus dem 18. Jahrhundert zusammen mit dem Werk „Expeditio Schirmeriana"[55] und der „Kleinwinzigen Medwischer Chronik" zusammen vor.[56] **(s. Anlage 3.)** Außer den in der Brukenthal- und der Trausch-Sammlung aufbewahrten weiteren Handschriftenexemplaren ist auch in der Handschriftensammlung der Széchényi Nationalbibliothek ein Exemplar zu finden.[57]

3. Zielsetzung des Werks

Das 1697 verfasste „Fides Saxonum in Transylvania" ist grundsätzlich ein historisches Werk, das hauptsächlich Ereignisse des 16. Jahrhunderts (1526–1606) behandelt. Es enthält jedoch auch solche Aktualisierungen und Andeutungen, die sich auf die politischen Verhältnisse um die Siebenbürger Sachsen am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts beziehen.

Das Werk ist dem Sachsencomes und dem Hermannstädter Königsrichter Valentin Franck von Franckenstein (1643–1697) gewidmet, das durch mehrere Argumente begründet wird. Erstens betont Gunesch die ernsthafte Arbeit, die Franckenstein als Haupt der Sächsischen Nation trotz seiner Krankheit „zu erhaltung und beschirmung des gantzen Leibes anwendet". So fühlt er sich verpflichtet, „als ein geringes glied" der Nation „auch etwaß zu dero lieb, ruhm und ehrn" zu schreiben.[58] Wegen seiner Vermittlerrolle zwischen der Sächsischen Nation und dem Haus Habsburg hebt er seine Person besonders vor:

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[53] Mehr über die Handschriften s. Szirtes, *Gunesch*, 91–94.

[54] DJAN Sibiu, Col. Bruk. A 1–5. Nr. 57. fol. 3–40.; B 1–9. Nr. 72. fol. 31–69.

[55] EXPEDITIO SCHIRMERIANA Das ist: Kurtze Beschreibung, aus was Ursachen Herr Antonius Schirmerus Im Jahr 1602. von Einem Ehrsamen Wohl Weisen Raht, in der Königlichen Herrmanstadt nacher Szathmár, und von dar nacher Prag in Böhmen, zu Ihro Römisch Kayserlichen Mayestät Rudolpho II. seye außgesendet worden. Einfältig entworffen von ANDREA GUNESCH damahligen Pfarrer zu Kelnek als Einen Historien Liebhabern. Im Jahr 1699. Mense Martio. Ebenda, fol. 54–76.

[56] DJAN Sibiu, Col. Bruk. I 1–5. Nr. 12.; DJAN Sibiu, Col. Bruk. EE 1–4. Nr. 48.; Archiv der Honterusgemeinde (Kronstadt, fortan: AHG) IV F 1 Tq 121/I.

[57] DJAN SIBIU, Col. Bruk. A 1–5. Nr. 92.; H 1–5. Nr. 24.; AHG IV F 1 Tf 17/II.; Handschriftensammlung der Széchényi Nationalbibliothek (Budapest), Quart. Germ. 157.

[58] *Fides Saxonum*, 221.

Andertens, sind Eure Edle, Nahmhafte, Fürsichtige Wohl Weisheit noch allein übrig von der Biga, Detur fidelissimis, welchen der favor Caesareus, als den treuesten, zu erst übersendet worden; Wem kan ich denn billiger der Sachsen treü und auffrichtigkeit widmen! Haben nun Ihro K. K. Maj. auß ihrem schaff daß Gold nicht gespahret, so ein wehrtes Haupt damit zu bekräntzen. Wer will mirs denn wehren, auß meinem geringen penu historico etwaß herfür zu bringen, daß mir von Gott vorgesätzte Haupt damit, wiewohl nach meinem geringen Vermögen, zu beehren, es gilt doch allhier: Quod decuit Reges, cur mihi turpe putem.[59]

Tatsächlich war Valentin Franck einer der bedeutendsten siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Politiker am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts. Als Königsrichter von Hermannstadt und Sachsengraf (seit 1684), später fürstlicher Geheimrat (seit 1685), wurde er 1688 Mitglied der Gesandtschaft des Fürsten Michael I. Apafi (1661–1690), die zum kaiserlichen Oberbefehlshaber Caraffa nach Hermannstadt geschickt wurde, um über das Verhältnis Siebenbürgens zum Haus Habsburg zu verhandeln. Unter seiner Amtszeit setzte sich die Nationsuniversität erfolgreich in den Verhandlungen zur Wahrung der Privilegien, der Glaubensfreiheit, des Eigenlandrechts von 1583 und der freien Richterwahl der Sachsen ein. Nach dem Tod Michael I. Apafis (1690) wurde er Mitglied des Guberniums. Später bestätigte Kaiser Leopold I. ihn im Amt des Sachsengrafen, verlieh ihm den Adelstitel und die Goldene Gnadenkette.[60]

Die zitierten Zeile von Gunesch widerspiegeln die große Bedeutung, die die Zeitgenossen der Auszeichnung mit der Goldenen Gnadenkette zuschrieben. Durch das Wort 'Biga'[61] und die Inschrift 'Detur fidelissimis'[62] verweist Gunesch auf den Gedichtband „Rosetum Franckianum" (1692, Wien)[63], der zu Ehren des in demselben Jahr mit dem Adelstitel 'von Franckenstein' benannten Hermannstädter Königsrichter erschien und ihm gewidmete deutsche und lateinische Gelegenheits-gedichte enthält.[64] **(s. Anlage 4.)** Mit der Erwähnung der 'Biga' bezieht sich

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[59] *Fides Saxonum*, 221–222. – „Was Königen wohl anstand, warum sollte ich es als unziemlich ansehen?". Ovid, *Die Liebeselegien*. Lateinisch und Deutsch v. Friedrich Walter Lenz, (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1965), 2. Buch, 8. Elegie, 86–87.

[60] Szegedi, *Geschichtsbewusstsein*, 361–362; Gündisch, *Siebenbürgen,* 111–112.; R. Várkonyi, *Az önálló fejedelemség utolsó évtizedei*, 876.

[61] lat. bigae, -arum, n.: Zweispänner

[62] „Den Treuesten zu schenken"

[63]   *Rosetum Franckianum* (...), Viennae, 1692. RMK III. 3725/1.

[64] Egon Hajek, *Die Hecatombe Sententiarum Ovidianarum des Valentin Franck von Franckenstein*, (Hermannstadt-Sibiu: Verlag des Südosteuropäischen Forschungsinstituts, 1923), 24.

Gunesch auf einen Text aus dem Band, nämlich auf das Gedicht des Jesuiten Lucas Kolich mit dem Titel „Donativum", das den beiden wichtigsten Würdenträgern Hermannstadts, dem Königsrichter Valentin Franck von Franckenstein und dem Bürgermeister Christian Reichert (1684–1695) gewidmet ist, anlässlich ihrer Ehrung mit der Gnadenkette durch Kaiser Leopold I.[65] **(s. Anlage 5.)** Gunesch spielt auf den Tod Reicherts an, wenn er schreibt, dass von den Fahrgästen der im Gedicht vorkommenden 'Biga' nur noch Franck geblieben ist.

In seiner Widmung bezieht sich Gunesch auch auf das Privatleben, sowie auf die wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit Francks. Er drückt dem zum zweiten Mal verwitweten Sachsencomes sein Mitgefühl aus und erinnert ihn daran, dass ihm von dessen jüngst verstorbener Frau[66] zwei Bücher vermacht wurden, die er nun um sein eigenes Werk ergänzen möchte: „Endlich so sehe ich in meiner Studier Stuben, zwey kleine büchlein, so ich von dero liebreichen hand überlieffert, besitze. Ich dencke, meine schuldigkeit erfordere es, etwaß zu ersetzen."[67] Wir nehmen an, dass es hier wohl um zwei Werke geht, die Gunesch auch bei der Verfassung der „Fides Saxonum" verwendet hat. Neben dem Hauptwerk von Franck, dem „Breviculus originum", dessen Wirkung auf Gunesch unbestritten ist, kommt ferner der „Virtus Coronata" von Thomas Bordan in Frage.[68]

Das berühmte Werk des Sachsengrafen Franckenstein mit dem Titel „Breviculus originum Nationum et praecipue saxonicae in Transilvania"/ „Kurtz-gefaster Bericht von der Einwohner sonderlich aber der Sächsischen Nation in Siebenbürgen Ursprung" ist gerade ein Jahr zuvor, 1696, sowohl auf Latein, als auch in deutscher Übersetzung in Hermannstadt erschienen. Es ist kein Zufall, dass sich Gunesch am Ende seines Werks auf das „Breviculus" bezieht, das einen Meilenstein in der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Geschichtsschreibung darstellte. Franck gelang es nämlich, mit einem Rückgriff auf Originalquellen, die lange umstrittene Frage nach der Herkunft der Siebenbürger Sachsen zu klären, wodurch er einen Paradigmenwechsel in der Behandlung dieses Problems erreichte.[69]

Dass sein Werk nicht frei von politischen Zwecken war, zeigt sein Kommentar zur Eingliederung Siebenbürgens in das Habsburgerreich, wo

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[65] *Rosetum Franckianum*, XXXIII., 51–56.

[66] Seine erste Frau, Margaretha Klokner heiratete er 1668, sie starb 1692. Seine zweite Frau, Anna Maria Rosenauer, verwitwete Wayda, heiratete er 1693. *Schriftsteller-Lexikon*, Bd. I., 340.

[67] *Fides Saxonum*, 223.

[68] Vgl. Fußn. 82.

[69] Szegedi, *Geschichtsbewusstsein*, 362, 365.

die Habsburger als „langgewünschte und natürliche Herren" dargestellt werden, welche die Sachsen vom türkischen Joch erlösten.[70]

Das Interesse für historische Quellen, eine auch bei den Siebenbürger Sachsen erkennbare Tendenz der Geschichtsschreibung des 17. Jahrunderts,[71] drückt sich auch im Schaffen von Gunesch aus. Zu seinem Werk „Fides Saxonum" benutzte er Originalquellen, und noch im selben Jahr stellte er eine Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des Brooser Kapitels mit dem Titel „Antiquitatis Capituli Saxopolitani" zusammen.[72]

Dass die „Fides Saxonum" nicht nur ein historisches Werk ist, sondern wie Francks „Breviculus" auch politische Ziele in sich trägt, stellt sich schon aus der Vorrede heraus. Nach Gunesch sei die siebenbürgische Habsburgerherrschaft „aus Gottes Ordnung" geschehen. Dass die vorläufige militärische Herrschaft der Habsburger sich inzwischen in dauerhafte Herrschaft umgewandelt hat, stellt er als ein natürliches Phänomen dar und gibt dafür Beispiele wie das Phänomen der Machtausdehnung bei Alexander des Großen oder bei Attila: „denn wenn ein Potentat Ihm vorgenohmen, sein Reich zu erweitern, und eine tüchtige Armee auff den beinen hat, auch alle praeparatoria zum Kriege fertig hat, läst er sich nicht viell mahnen [...]."[73]

Francks „Breviculus" erfüllte eine doppelte, informative und apologetische Funktion.[74] Diese doppelte Funktion verfolgt auch die „Fides Saxonum". Gunesch selbst nennt sein Werk ein „Tractätlein", und tatsächlich kann es als historischer Traktat betrachtet werden. Er strebt an, die schon im Titel erwähnte Aussage über die Beständigkeit und Treue der Sachsen zum Herrscher zu erläutern, was er durch historische Werke und Originalquellen zu verwirklichen versucht. Das Vorwort hat allerdings einen apologetischen Charakter und obwohl dies nur für einen geringen Teil des Werks zutrifft, scheint es jedoch der für uns wichtigste Teil zu sein, zumal da sich daraus der politische Hintergrund der Entstehung des Werks erahnen lässt.

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[70] Szegedi, *Geschichtsbewusstsein*, 369.

[71] Vgl. Armbruster, *Chronistik*, 196.; Vogel Sándor, „Georg Kraus és művei" (Georg Kraus und seine Werke), in Georg Kraus, *Erdélyi krónika 1608–1665 (Siebenbürgische Chronik 1608–1665,*. Vogel Sándor fordításában, bevezetésével és jegyzeteivel, (Budapest, Ómagyar Baráti Társaság: 1994), 56.

[72] Antiquitatis Capituli Saxopolitani, sive brevis Commemoratio Actorum Capitularium, Pastorum Szászváros, hinc inde ex Litteris transmissionalibus, relatoriis, aliisque ultro citroque missis epistolis, comparata, ac in ordinem redacta [...] 1697. *Schriftsteller-Lexikon*, Bd. II., 43.

[73] *Fides Saxonum*, 225–226.

[74] Vgl. Szegedi, *Geschichtsbewusstsein*, 362–363.

Gunesch stellt hier die aktuelle Lage der Sachsen dar: Seit dem letzten Machtwechsel sind die Siebenbürger Sachsen in eine schwere Situation geraten, da sie von zwei Seiten angegriffen werden. Die Ungarn werfen ihnen vor, sie hätten die Deutschen ins Land gerufen, die kaiserlichen Soldaten verdächtigen sie, als wären sie Rebellen, die mit den Türken und Thököly paktieren.[75]

Die von Gunesch zitierten, von den Soldaten auf die Sachsen angewendeten Spottnamen wie „Rebellen" und „Speck-Türcken" scheinen damals immer mehr verbreitet zu sein. Im Jahr 1696 warf der Hermannstädter Magistrat der Garnison in einer Beschwerdeschrift u.a. vor, dass sie die Stadtbewohner durch „allerhand Schmäh und Schelt Worte als Spek Türken Rebellen" verspotten.[76] Nicht viel später verbot Rabutin in einem Patentbrief im ganzen Land, dass das Militär die Bevölkerung Verräter nennt oder ihr Spottnamen ähnlichen Inhalts gibt.[77] In Herrmannstadt tauchten aber in einigen Jahren die zitierten Ausdrücke wieder auf: 1700 fand das Bürgertum wieder für beschwerlich, dass es von der Besatzung als „Rebellen, Speck Türcken, Peltz Tartaren" beschimpft wird. Ein ehrlicher Mensch würde sich eher ermorden lassen, als solche Verleumdungen ertragen.[78]

Der Autor fasst diese Situation in einem ziemlich rohen Bild zusammen: Die Sachsen seien wie jene, die auf dem Mittelstock wohnen und von oben mit Brunzwasser begossen, und von unten mit Rauch gequält werden. Um sich gegen beidseitige Angriffe zur Wehr zu setzen unternimmt der Autor zur Verfassung eines historischen Traktats:

Damit aber ein jeder, Er sey ein heymisch oder außländisch, sehen möge, daß die Edle Sachsen, keine wetterhahnen seyn, die da sich nach dem wind kehren, oder Paurische Vollachen, die ihre bund-schuhe alle Tage umb wechseln, sondern rechte auffrichtige Patrioten undt liebe Getreuen,

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[75] „Im gegentheyl von den Käyserlichen Soldaten, absonderlich von den Gemeinen (die da den rerum statum nicht allerdings recht verstehen) wenns nicht recht in einem oder andern Feldzug nach Wunsch abgelauffen, sich ungescheüt verleuten laßen: dise Sachsen sind Rebellen, Speck-Türcken, haben den Türcken geruffen, verlangen den Tökelyi etc." *Fides Saxonum*, 224–225.

[76] Gravamen der Hermannstädter Magistrats gegen die Garnison, 31. Juli 1696, Hermannstadt. Ebenda.

[77] Patent von Rabutin, 16. August 1696, Torda. DJAN Sibiu, Col. med. U VI. Nr. 2005.

[78] „Rebellen Speck Türcken, Peltz Tartaren […], wird als ein specielles gravamen, welches bey denen laesis überaus übles geblüth macht, und große Schlägereyen und inconvenienzien Anlaß giebet sintemahlen ein ehrlicher bidermann lieber sich tödten als so beschimpfen läßet […]." Gravamen des Hermannstädter Magistrats und Bürgertums, 2. Juni 1700. DJAN Sibiu, Col. med. U VI. Nr. 2316.

die da an Ihrer Obrigkeit die Ihnen von Gott vorgesetzt, fest undt beständig verbleiben, undt sich durch keinen Sturmwind der gefährligkeit abwendig machen laßen, hab ich etwas auß historischem Grundt auff setzen wollen.[79]

Er verfasst sein Werk, um die Treue und Beständigkeit der Siebenbürger Sachsen zu den jeweiligen Herrschern Siebenbürgens mit historischen Beispielen zu zeigen. Dass er in erster Linie ihre Treue zum Haus Habsburg untermauern möchte, deutet er schon dadurch an, dass er sein Werk der emblematischen Figur des Valentin Franck widmet.

4. Argumentation mit historischen Beispielen

Gunesch möchte die Treue der Siebenbürger Sachsen zu den jeweiligen Herrschern unter Beweis stellen, weshalb er Beispiele über die Treue zu den Habsburgern, so wie auch zu den siebenbürgischen Fürsten aufführt. Die von ihm ausgewählten Ereignisse stammen vor allem aus dem 16. Jahrhundert, fangen bei der Schlacht bei Mohács an und dauern bis zum Bocskai-Aufstand. Es wird von ihm vorausgeschickt, dass er seine These nicht durch mittelalterliche Beispiele, durch Zitate von Bonfini oder aus dem Andreanum bestätigen will und auch nicht zu solchen Epitheta greifen möchte wie Lucas Kochlich in seinem Gedicht „Donativum"[80], sondern vielmehr nachweisen möchte, dass auch in der Zeit ihrer Großväter redliche Sachsen lebten.[81] Der größere Teil des Werks knüpft an die Kriegsjahre an, in denen das Haus Habsburg versucht hat, seine Macht auf Siebenbürgen zu entdehnen. Zu mehr als drei Vierteln beschäftigt sich das Werk mit dem Langen Türkenkrieg (1593–1606) und im Zentrum steht vor allem Hermannstadt und die Vertretung der Sächsischen Nation, es werden aber auch andere sächsische Städte erwähnt. Obwohl das Werk nicht in Kapitel gegliedert wird, können wir angesichts seiner Ausführlichkeit zwei strukturelle Hauptteile unterscheiden: Zuerst werden mehrere Beispiele aus der Periode zwischen 1526–1575 anhand der hierzu vorhandenen historiographischen Literatur der Zeit aufgezählt. Darauf folgt ein viel

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[79] *Fides Saxonum*, 226.

[80] Die von Lucas Kolich zitierten Zeilen [hervorgehoben]: „Dic, quod in Augustum facinus... grande patravit/ *Saxoniae gens innocua*; ut Capita, et Coryphaei/ Jure mererentur vinciri, et ferre catenas?/ *Germanam tenuere fidem*, nec plura require." – „Sag, was für eine große Sünde hat *die unschuldige sächsische Nation* gegen den Kaiser begangen, dass ihre Führer rechtmäßig gefesselt werden und Eisen tragen? (...) Sie haben sich *an den deutschen Glauben gehalten* und wollten nichts mehr." *Rosetum Franckianum*, XXXII.

[81] *Fides Saxonum*, 228–231.

ausführlicher dargestellter Teil über den Langen Türkenkrieg, der zum Teil auf unedierte Quellen gestützt ist. [82]

Seine erste Station ist der Kampf um Siebenbürgen zwischen Ferdinand I. (1526–1564) und Johann Szapolyai (1526–1540) zwischen 1526 und 1536, wobei die Belagerung der sächsischen Städte, besonders von Kronstadt und Hermannstadt, durch die Szapolyai-Partei im Zentrum steht. An mehreren Stellen weist er auf Treue und Beständigkeit der Sachsen hin: Bei der doppelten Königswahl hielten sie sich ans Gesetz, da sie dem 1463 zwischen König Matthias I. und Kaiser Friedrich III. entstandenen Vertrag Folge leisteten. Ihre Sympathie zu Ferdinand erklärt er u.a. mit der deutschen Blutsverwandtschaft. An ihrer Treue zum Habsburger Herrscher hielten sie trotz vieler Leiden fest: Hermannstadt hat sich sieben Jahre lang der Belagerung István Báthorys entgegengesetzt. Ihre Huldigung erfolgte nur wegen mangelnder militärischer Unterstützung durch das Haus Habsburg, nachdem sie Ferdinand um eine Entlastung vom Treueid baten.[83]

Der nächste Teil handelt von der Zeit der kurzen Machtübernahme des Hauses Habsburg in Siebenbürgen in den 50er Jahren des 16. Jahrhunderts (1551–1556). Hier findet die Anwesenheit der kaiserlichen Soldaten Castaldos in Siebenbürgen von 1551 bis 1553 Erwähnung. Er versucht Castaldo zu verteidigen und argumentiert dabei gegen den Kronstädter Chronisten Marcus Fuchs, indem er dessen Behauptung, nach der die Einquartierungskosten der Soldaten von Castaldo der siebenbürgischen Bevölkerung nie ersetzt gewesen wären, bezweifelt.[84]

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[82] Gunesch benutzt einerseits die populärsten gedruckten historischen Werke der Zeit wie die „Historia" (1622) von Miklós Istvánffy, den „Ortelius redivivus" (1665) und den 1670 erschienenen „Siebenbürgischen Würgengel" des Matthias Miles. Er bezieht sich außerdem auf die Hermannstädter Chronisten Johannes Oltard und Christian Lupinus, bzw. auf den Chronstädter Marcus Fuchs. Im größten Umfang zitiert er das Werk „Virtus Coronata" von Thomas Bordan, in dem die Botschaft des Hermannstädter Bürgers Antonius Schirmer an Giorgio Basta und Kaiser Rudolf beschrieben wird (1601–1602). Auf die Bearbeitung von Archivalien der Stadt Hermannstadt weist die ausführliche Beschreibung der Kämpfe um Hermannstadt zwischen August 1601 und Januar 1602 hin, die Gunesch anhand von der Briefwechsel der Stadt mit István Csáki, Zsigmond Báthory, Giorgio Basta und den Türken sehr ausführlich erläutert. Einige Dokumente werden vollständig oder teilweise wörtlich zitiert, wie das Manifest von Basta an die Stadt Hermannstadt am 17. August 1601 oder der Briefwechsel von Zsigmond Báthory mit der Stadt. Vgl. noch: Szirtes, *Gunesch*, 32–34.

[83] *Fides Saxonum*, 231–241.

[84] „Daß ist aber lächerlig, waß Herr Marcus Fuchsius in seinen Annalen hier von registrieret, nemblich: Johannes Babtista Castaldo ziehet mit seinen unter gehenden Kriegs Volck wieder in Teutschland, nach dem sie mit der armen Bauren, und

Tatsächlich stieß die Herrschaft des Kaisers in den sächsischen Städten auf offene Tore und aus der kurzen Regierungszeit Ferdinands ergaben sich für diese viele Vorteile. Nachdem aber das Heer Gianbattista Castaldos in Siebenbürgen eingetroffen war, forderte der Hermannstädter Rat den Abzug der Truppen, zumal da die Versorgung und die Undiszipliniertheit der Soldateska zu einer großen Last für die Sachsen wurde. Die Ausschreitungen der kaiserlichen Soldaten wurden auch von Castaldo anerkannt, und König Ferdinand I. bat den Hermannstädter Rat, auf ihn Rücksicht zu nehmen und die einquartierten Soldaten noch einige Wochen in der Stadt zu dulden. Wegen Geldmangels versuchte Castaldo den ausgebliebenen Sold seiner Soldaten aus einem von den sächsischen Städten stammenden Kredit zu bezahlen.[85] Durch die Hervorrufung des Konflikts um die Versorgung des Heers scheint Gunesch auf die Probleme seiner eigenen Zeit zu deuten.

Nach der Beschreibung des Auszugs der Söldnerheere Castaldos liefert der Autor einen Hinweis auf die 1556 zu Ferdinand I. entsandte Gesandtschaft, deren Ziel es war, wegen der drohenden türkischen Gefahr um eine Entlastung vom Treueid zu bitten und die Rückberufung von János Zsigmond genehmigen zu lassen.[86] Außer der Erwähnung der

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wirths-Leüt unkosten gelebt, in gantz Siebenbürgen, und sie vor diese große unkosten nicht sonderliches verrichtet hatten, und ob schon König Ferdinandus versprochen zu bezahlen, so ist doch nichts darauf erfolget, es hat aber ein jeder wihrt von seinen einquartierten Soldaten eine Hand schrifft und obligation künfftiger bezahlung bekommen, als mann sol sie außlösen ad Graecas Calendas [am Nimmerleinstag]." *Fides Saxonum*, 242.

[85] Georg Daniel Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk.* Bd. I. *Von den ältesten Zeiten bis 1699.* Unveränderter Nachdruck der Ausgabe Hermannstadt 1907, (Köln, Wien: Böhlau, 1984), 273–275.; Barta Gábor, „Az Erdélyi Fejedelemség első korszaka (1526–1606)" (Die erste Periode des Siebenbürgischen Fürstentums), iIn *Erdély története.* (Die Geschichte Siebenbürgens) Hg. v. Köpeczi Béla. Bd. I. *A kezdetektől 1606-ig.* (Von den Anfängen bis 1606) Hg. v. Makkai László – Mócsy András, 409–541, (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1986), 434–435.; Walter Daugsch, „Die Nationsuniversität der Siebenbürger Sachsen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert", in *Gruppenautonomie in Siebenbürgen. 500 Jahre siebenbürgisch-sächsische Nationsuniversität.* Hg. v. Wolfgang Kessler, 179–215, (Köln, Wien: Böhlau, 1990), 205.

[86] Der Sprecher der am 9. Februar 1556 zu Ferdinand geschickten Botschaft war der Hermannstädter Notar Thomas Bomel. Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, 277. – In der Wirklichkeit baten die Stände König Ferdinand schon an dem im Dezember 1555 in Neumarkt am Mieresch gehaltenen Landtag schriftlich, dass er ihren Treueid auflöst, wenn er keine geeignete Hilfe gegen die osmanischen Truppen geben kann. Die Teilnehmer des darauf folgenden, in Thorenburg

siebenbürgischen Gesandtschaft hält Gunesch für wichtig, die Chronik des Matthias Miles durch das Werk von Miklós Istvánffy zu ergänzen, anhand dessen er darauf aufmerksam macht, dass Ferdinand selbst auf seine siebenbürgische Herrschaft verzichtet hat.[87] Diejenigen nämlich, die es nicht wissen, könnten den Sachsen „einen flecken der untreü anhangen", denn sie könnten anhand der Erzählung von Miles denken, dass die Sachsen ihren Nutzen wichtiger hielten als ihre Ehre.[88]

Der nächste Punkt ist der Angriff des Gáspár Bekes gegen den Fürsten István Báthory (1571–1586), auf den der Autor – durch die Berufung an Matthias Miles und Marcus Fuchs – nur in einem Satz hinweist.[89] Miles beschreibt in seiner Chronik, wie Báthory die türkische Hilfe gegen Gáspár Bekes annahm und macht darauf aufmerksam, dass die sächsischen Städten – im Gegenteil zum ungarischen Adel und den Szeklern, die ihren gewählten Fürsten verließen – zu ihm treu blieben, u.a. weil „so schon längst villmahl gekostet hatten wie herb die Suppe gekocht sey wenn sie sich von Türcken abzwackten".[90] Hier liegt zum ersten Mal im Werk die Treue der Sachsen zum ungarischen Fürsten Stephan Báthory und nicht zum Haus Habsburg vor. Es ist aber bemerkenwert, dass es bei Gunesch nur versteckt, durch einen kurzen Hinweis vorkommt.

Die nächsten Beispiele bezieht Gunesch bereits aus den Jahren des Langen Türkenkriegs. Hier wird die Rolle der Sachsen bei der Rückberufung des Fürsten Zsigmond Báthory (1594) unterstrichen, jedoch ohne eine nähere Beschreibung der Umstände.[91] Gunesch beruft sich auf

gehaltenen Landtags (hauptsächlich Szekler und Ungarn) riefen doch Isabella und János Zsigmond zurück. Barta, *Az Erdélyi Fejedelemség első korszaka*, 435–436.

[87] Ferdinand I. verzichtete am 14. Juni 1556 auf den siebenbürgischen Thron für János Zsigmond. Vgl. Barta, *Az Erdélyi Fejedelemség első korszaka*, 436.

[88] *Fides Saxonum*, 242–243.

[89] *Fides Saxonum*, 243–244. Der siebenbürgische Thronprätendent Gáspár Bekes genoss die Unterstützung des ungarischen Königs Maximilian I. (1564–1576). Bekes floh 1573 nach Wien, wo er eine siebenbürgische Partei gründete. König Maximilian, der ihn zur Erwerbung des polnischen Throns brauchte, regte ihn 1575 zu einem Feldzug nach Siebenbürgen; doch die Schlacht bei Paulsdorf (Sânpaul/Kerelőszentpál) gewann Fürst Stephan Báthory. Horn Ildikó, *Hit és hatalom. Az erdélyi unitárius nemesség 16. századi története,* (Budapest: Balassi, 2009), 183–191.

[90] Mathias Miles, *Siebenbürgischer Würg-Engel.* Unveränderter Nachdruck der Ausgabe Hermannstadt 1670. Mit einer Einführung von Adolf Armbruster, (Köln, Wien: Böhlau, 1984), 139.

[91] Aufgrund der Umständen verunsichert flüchtete sich der seit 1588 auf dem Fürstenstuhl sitzende Báthory nach Kővár, während die siebenbürgischen Stände planten, seinen Cousin, Boldizsár Báthory zum Fürsten zu wählen. Die Anhänger Zsigmond Báthorys aber, insbesondere sein Onkel István Bocskai, setzten seine

Johann Oltard und lenkt die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Rolle des Hermannstädter Königsrichters Albert Huet, der sich dagegen wehrte, den Treueid zu Zsigmond Báthory zu brechen und Boldizsár Báthory zum Fürsten zu wählen. Bei der Rückberufung Zsigmond Báthorys spielte Huet eine wichtige Rolle. Die Treue der Sachsen zu Zsigmond Báthory belegt Gunesch wiederum anhand der Darstellung bei Istvánffy.[92] Er lässt unerwähnt, dass dabei die Hauptinitiative bei Stefan Bocskai lag.[93] Übrigens in Übereinstimmung mit dem Ausgang seines Werks, wo er sich von Bocskai distanziert, um dadurch die Treue der Sachsen zu Habsburg hervorzuheben.

Der längste Teil bezieht sich auf den Auftritt von Michael dem Tapferen, István Csáki, Mózes Székely und István Bocskai und registriert die Ereignisse vor allem aus einer Hermannstädter Perspektive: „Am allermeisten aber hat die güldene trey und beständigkeit der Edlen Sachsen seine probe gehalten, in der Vayvodischen Tyranney, Csakischer Versuchen, und der Botschkaischer unruehe".[94] Gunesch gibt die Mängel an gedruckten Quellen als Ursache für die ausführliche Darstellung dieser Periode an.[95]

Sowohl das 1595 in Prag entstandene Bündnis zwischen Siebenbürgen und Habsburg, als auch die zweite und dritte Absage des Fürsten Zsigmond Báthory (1597, 1599) und die kurze Herrschaft von András Báthory (1599) bleiben unerwähnt, und Gunesch geht über zur Regierungszeit Michael des Tapferen.[96]

Gunesch geht gleich über zum letzten Monat der Herrschaft Michaels, im September 1600, als die Landstände versuchten, ihn aus Siebenbürgen zu vertreiben. Obwohl er Michaels Herrschaft ebenso als

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Rückberufung durch und sorgten sogar für militärische Hilfe, um ihn zurück an die Macht führen zu können. Sinkovics István, „A tizenöt éves háború. Erdély sorsfordulatai" (Der Lange Türkenkrieg. Peripetien Siebenbürgens), in *Magyarország története 1526–1686,* 663.

[92] *Fides Saxonum*, 244–246; *Istvánffy Miklós magyarok dolgairól írt históriája. Tállyai Pál XVII. századi fordításában,* Hg. v. Benits Péter, Bd. I/1., (Budapest: Balassi, 2001), 191. (fortan: *Istvánffy*)

[93] Vgl. Barta, *Az Erdélyi Fejedelemség első korszaka,* 28.

[94] *Fides Saxonum*, 246.

[95] *Fides Saxonum*, 246.

[96] Woiwode der Walachei von 1593 bis 1600; Herr über die Moldau von Mai 1600 bis September 1600. Zwischen November 1599 und September 1600 herrschte er als königlicher Statthalter in Siebenbürgen. Vgl. Barta, *Az Erdélyi Fejedelemség első korszaka*, 526–529.; Meinolf Arens, *Habsburg und Siebenbürgen 1600–1605. Gewaltsame Eingliederungsversuche eines ostmitteleuropäischen Fürstentums in einen frühabsolutistischen Reichsverband,* (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2001), 42–47.

Tyranney deutet (wobei wohl auch das von Markus Fuchs gezeichnete düstere Bild auf ihn wirkte[97]), betont er, die Hermannstädter hätten an der Widerstandsbewegung gegen ihn nicht teilgenommen. Erst nachdem der Stadtpfarrer Christian Lupinus es erlaubte, erkühnten sie sich, den Treueid ihm gegenüber zu brechen. Nach der Begründung von Lupinus sei Michael kein Fürst, sondern ein Tyrann, kein Statthalter, sondern Mameluck und Verleugner des Christentums, der Siebenbürgen ins Verderben führte. In seiner Argumentation bedeutet diese Akt auch die Bestätigung des dem König Rudolf I. abgelegten Teueids.[98] Da Michael schon bald von Giorgio Basta, dem kaiserlichen Generalfeldobristen von Oberungarn, bei Miriszló (Mirislău) besiegt[99] und vertrieben wurde, so dass die Herrschaft des Königs und Kaisers Rudolf in Siebenbürgen wiederhergestellt wurde,[100] gilt der von Gunesch erwähnte Eidbruch in der „Fides Saxonum" als berechtigt anzusehen. Es untermauert auch der von Gunesch zitierte Brief Kaiser Rudolfs II. an den Hermannstädter Rat (1. Oktober 1600), „in welchen der Keyser der Sachsischer Nation dancket, das sie ihre Treü erwiesen in außjagung des Vayvodens, oder Tyrrannens, bittet auch ferner, das sie treü und beständig bleiben mogten, Sie Ihre Keyserliche Mayestät wolten daran seyn, das sie sein Patrocinium erfahren mögten".[101]

Bei der Darstellung der Jahre 1601–1602 steht der Kampf um Hermannstadt im Mittelpunkt. Ausführlich wird in der „Fides Saxonum" deutlich, wie sich das Hermannstädter Bürgertum die Treue zu Kaiser Rudolf, im Spannungsfeld von Zsigmond Báthory, István Csáki (1570–1605) und den Türken, gehalten hat.[102] Bei dieser ausführlichen Darstellung ist das Konzept von Gunesch am klarsten zu erkennen: Er nimmt diejenigen Episoden, anhand derer er die Beständigkeit und Treue Hermannstadts gegen all diejenigen Thronbewerber veranschaulichen kann, welche die seit 1600 von General Basta zugesicherte siebenbürgische Herrschaft des Kaisers brechen wollten. Hier sieht man am besten, dass in der „Fides Saxonum in Transylvania" der eigentliche Schwerpunkt *in der Treue der Stadt Hermannstadt* zum Haus Habsburg liegt.

Zsigmond Báthory, der sich seit seinem Exil 1599 in Polen von der prohabsburgischen Seite auf die militant antihabsburgische geschlagen hatte und nun von der turkophilen Partei abhängig wurde, verwandelt sich

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[97] Bartoniek, *Fejezetek,* 173.

[98] *Fides Saxonum*, 246–249.

[99] 18. September 1600.

[100] Arens, *Habsburg und Siebenbürgen*, 46.

[101] *Fides Saxonum*, 251.

[102] *Fides Saxonum*, 251–301.

auch bei Gunesch in einen Gegner. Er betont, dass auf dem Klausenburger Landtag im Februar 1601 die Sachsen nur zwangsweise der Rückberufung Báthorys zugestimmt hatten und dafür strikte Bedingungen formulierten. Dass Báthory in seiner vierten Regierungszeit auch die Unterstützung der sächsischen Nationsuniversität genießen konnte wird ausgeklammert; dafür hebt Gunesch den Sturz Báthorys bei Großlau (Guruslău/Goroszló) im August 1601 hervor.[103]

Mit dem zitierten Manifest des Generals Basta an die Hermannstädter am 17. August 1601[104] wird eine ausführliche, chronikartige Darstellung der Ereignisse um Hermannstadt zwischen August 1601 und Januar 1602 eröffnet. Innerhalb der „Fides Saxonum" wird die Treue der Hermannstädter zum Erzhaus an dieser Stelle am deutlichsten illustriert.[105] Gunesch betont die strikten Voraussetzungen, die der Hermannstädter Rat bezüglich der Huldigung für den Kaiser formulierte: General Basta soll die Räuber und Brandstifter aus den sächsischen Städten entfernen, ihre Privilegien dürfen nicht verletzt werden, ihre Städte sollen von der kaiserlichen Besatzung frei sein und die Sachsen sollen vor den Einfällen der Türken geschützt werden.[106] Gunesch wiederholt hier die schon erwähnten Voraussetzungen für die Zurückrufung von Zsigmond Báthory – in erster Linie der Schutz der Privilegien der drei Nationen –, vielleicht nicht ohne Rücksicht auf seine eigene Lebenszeit.

Auch die in der Erzählung aufgezeichnete unterschiedliche Stellungnahme von Hermannstadt und Kronstadt im siebenbürgischen Bürgerkrieg weist gewisse Ähnlichkeiten mit der Ära auf, die Gunesch selbst erlebt hat. Während Hermannstadt sowohl von Zsigmond Báthory und István Csáki, als auch von dem Türken durch Briefe bedroht wird, gewährt Kronstadt dem Fürsten mehrmals Unterkunft. In der Versammlung der Sächsischen Nationsuniversität im November wahrte Kronstadt seine Treue

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[103] *Fides Saxonum*, 251–254.; Arens, *Habsburg und Siebenbürgen*, 58–60.

[104] Vgl. *Basta György hadvezér levelezése és iratai (1597–1607)* (Briefwechsel und Akten des Feldherrn Georg Basta), Hg. v. Veress Endre, I. Bd. 1597–1602, (Budapest, Akadémia, 1909), Nr. 769.

[105] Die Stadt und der Stuhl Hermannstadt waren für Basta, der sich im Herbst und Winter 1601/1602 über ein beschränktes Heer verfügte, tatsächlich eine wichtige Basis. Der General versuchte die Bürger mit vielen Versprechungen, doch mit wenig praktischer Unterstützung, zum Ausharren gegen Báthory und seine Anhänger zu bewegen. Andererseits rechnete die Hermannstädter Politik seit der Schlacht bei Goroszló bis August 1605 mit einer letztendlichen Sieg des Hauses Habsburg. Arens, *Habsburg und Siebenbürgen*, 69, 132–133.

[106] *Fides Saxonum*, 259–260; Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, 348–349, 351–352.

zu Zsigmond Báthory und wollte mit der Versammlung nicht verhandeln, solange sie von den 'Deutschen' abhängig waren.[107]

Nach Erwähnung der auch sächsische Städte betreffenden wichtigsten Kriegsereignisse im Herbst/Winter 1601 (fehlgeschlagene Belagerung von Klausenburg, Einnahme von Medwisch und Schäßburg durch Zsigmonds Truppen) kommt Gunesch zur erfolglosen Belagerung der Stadt Hermannstadt durch István Csáki von November 1601 bis Januar 1602.[108] Er konzentriert sich dabei auf den heldenhaften Widerstand der sächsischen Hauptstadt, ohne über die von Bastas Heer im Land verursachte brutale Zerstörung zu berichten, was wohl zu seinem Konzept nicht passte.[109]

Die „Fides Saxonum" bietet auch einen Einblick in den Briefwechsel zwischen Zsigmond Báthory und der Stadt Hermannstadt im Winter 1601/1602. Es ist wohl kein Zufall, dass sogar zwei Briefe aus dieser Periode zitiert werden; sie zeigen nämlich eine inhaltliche Übereinstimmung mit der Gegenwart des Autors. In seinem Brief vom 28. Dezember 1601 wirft Zsigmond Báthory den Hermannstädtern ihre Untreue vor und verübelt ihnen, dass ihm von den Sachsen keine finanzielle Unterstützung zugekommen sei:

> die Herrmanstäder seyn weder kalt noch warm, mit dem mund bekenneten sie zwar, daß sie ihren natürlichen Fürsten liebten, aber mit dem hertzen haßeten sie ihn, [...] die Herrmanstäder [seien] Fucos oder hummeln, die zwar kein honig einführen, aber deßen mit Lust genißen. [...] Ihr bekennet selber der Feünd sey außgezogen. Und doch liebt Ihr Ihn abwesend mehr als gegenwärtig. Ihr seyd dem Knecht gleich welchem ein Talent gegeben war, daß er dadurch mehr gewinnen solte, aber er begrub es in die Erde, daß Ers zu seiner Zeit wieder geben könte. Also begrabt Ihr auch Ihr anvertrautes Talent in die Erde daß es keinen Nutzen schaffe, Ihr versagt mir den nervum belli geld, Stück, Pulwer, die Trabanten und Proviandt, da Ihr doch fertig und bereit seydt den Feünden des Vatter landes zu geben waß sie verlangen. Derowegen könt Ihr der Straff nicht entgehen. [...][110]

In ihrem Antwortbrief verteidigen sich die Hermannstädter gegen die Anklage der Verräterei, erinnern Zsigmond Báthory an ihre Treue und Beständigkeit in der Geschichte und begründen ihre Abwendung von ihm

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[107] *Fides Saxonum*, 260–267. Zsigmond, der Ende August 1601 aus der Moldau mit einem Heer aus Polen, Kosaken, Moldauer und Ungarn durch die Szeklerstühle ins Burzenland zog, wurde Anfang September von der Stadt Kronstadt erneut anerkannt und profitierte tatsächlich bis zum Ende seiner Regierungszeit (Juni 1602) von ihrer maßgeblichen Unterstützung. Arens, *Habsburg und Siebenbürgen*, 79, 86.

[108] *Fides Saxonum*, 269–294.

[109] Vgl. Arens, *Habsburg und Siebenbürgen*, 70, 86.

[110] *Fides Saxonum*, 295–296.

mit dessen Abdankung vom Thron und ihrem mehrmaligen Treueid an König Rudolf I. Gegen die Anklage über einen Mangel in ihrer finanziellen Opferbereitschaft verteidigen sie sich entschlossen durch verschiedene Metapher:

> Eure Durchlaucht vergleichen uns den Hummelln welche zu keinem Werck nutzig seyen, sondern nur das von den arbeitsahmen beinen [Bienen] gesahmlete süße hohnig verzehren. Wir sagen das wiederspill, die Sachsische Nation seyn fleißige beinen gewesen, welche alle stöcke mit süßem hönig angefüllet hatten, aber Michael Vayda hat den Honigseim außgeschuttet, das wenig übergeblieben, demselben seyn andere beinen nachgefolget, welche das honig mit den beinen stocken weg genohmen, also dass die Sachsen in das außerste Armuth gerathen, Welches niemanden mehr zu zuschreiben, als denen die uns verlaßen, und dem raub außgelegt hatten.[111]

Desweiteren vergleichen sich die Sachsen mit der äsopischen Henne, „welche täglich ihrem Herren ein güldenes ey legte, mit diesem ey sind die gitzigen Soldaten nicht vergnugt gewesen, habe die hänne zugleich mit dem ey auffgefreßen, mußen nun beydes entpehren."[112]

Am Ende ihres Antwortbriefs betonen die Sachsen ihre Ausgeliefertheit und Schutzlosigkeit: „Wir wollen dem anhangen, der uns von eußerlichen feinden beschutzen wird."[113]

Die nächste Station der historischen Beispiele ist der Auftritt von Mózes Székely (1602–1603). Gunesch informiert über die Situation auf dem Königsboden während der Feldzüge von Székely und richtet die Aufmerksamkeit erneut auf die Treue der Hermannstädter. Dabei korrigiert er die falsche Behauptung von Miklós Istvánffy, der auch Hermannstadt zu den Székely huldigenden Städten gezählt hatte.[114]

Abschließend wird kurz der Bocskai-Aufstand (1604–1606) thematisiert. Gunesch geht weder auf die Kriegsereignisse, noch auf die Situation der sächsischen Städte ein und geht über die Tatsache hinweg, dass letztendlich auch die Sachsen Bocskai huldigten und den Treueid ablegten (4. Juli 1605), um ihre Privilegien behalten zu können.[115] Ins

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[111] *Fides Saxonum*, 299–300.

[112] *Fides Saxonum*, 299–300.

[113] *Fides Saxonum*, 301.

[114] *Fides Saxonum*, 302–307.; *Istvánffy,* 407. – Tatsächlich konnte der neue Fürst nur das Gebiet um Hermannstadt nicht gewinnen oder bezwingen, wobei die Stadtführung unter Albert Huet und Lukas Ennyeter eine wichtige Rolle spielte. Arens, *Habsburg und Siebenbürgen,* 170.

[115] Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, Bd. I., 363–369.; Daugsch, *Nationsuniversität,* 205.

Konzept Guneschs hätte eine ausführliche Darstellung der Machtergreifung Bocskais, der im Auge der Habsburger als Rebell galt und mit dem Türken in Kontakt getreten war, nicht gepasst. Stattdessen lenkt er die Aufmerksamkeit auf Hermannstadt und betont er, dass sie nicht an den Kriegsereignissen teilnahm. Er zählt mehrere Beweise für die Treue der Stadt: Die kaiserlichen Kommissären Paul Krauseneck, Karl Im Hoff und Georg Hoffman fanden hier ihren Zufluchtsort, Kaiser Rudolf verlieh der Stadt das Recht zur Münzprägung und ließ 1604 mittels einer Bastei ein Stadttor befestigen.[116]

Den Leitfaden für die historische Argumentation Guneschs bildet die abermalige Erwähnung des an den Herrschern geleisteten Treueids. Durch die Erklärung der jeweiligen Umstände versucht er zu begründen, dass die Siebenbürger Sachsen sich immer an den Treueid gehalten haben, und er gibt rechtliche Erklärung für diejenigen Fälle, in denen die Sachsen den Treueid gebrochen zu haben scheinen. Solche speziellen Fälle sind: die Bitte bei König Ferdinand I. um Entlastung vom Treueid; Entlastung vom Treueid zu Michael durch den Pfarrer Christian Lupinus; der gezwungene Eid zu Zsigmond Báthory („geswungen Eyd ist Gott leyd").[117] Außer dieser Spezialfällen wird sich immer wieder auf den an den Kaiser geleisteten Treueid bezogen, der im Lauf der häufigen Machtwechsel während des Langen Türkenkriegs den (Hermannstädter) Sachsen den Weg zeigte. Mit der besonderen Betonung des Eids scheint Gunesch nicht nur die Treue der Sachsen untermauern zu wollen. Sie kann auch als eine verhüllte Mahnung an die gegenwärtige Herrschaft gedeutet werden, ihre Pflichten einzuhalten.[118]

Ein anderes Thema, das in der Apologie von Gunesch mehrmals vorkommt, ist die deutsche Blutsverwandtschaft. Bei der Erwähnung Ferdinands I. hebt Gunesch die Blutsverwandtschaft zwischen dem Habsburger Herrscher und den Siebenbürger Sachsen als einen positiven Faktor hervor, wobei gerade der gemeinsamen Muttersprache eine wichtige Rolle zukommt: „derowegen, war das ihnen eine angenehme botschafft, daß sie nun mehro einen Teutschen und von ihrem gblüt entsproßenen König und landes Vater haben solten, mit welchem Sie in ihrer mutter Sprach reden könten."[119] In seiner Schlussbemerkung greift er auf Franks „Breviculus" zurück, wobei die Treue zum deutschen Kaiser ebenso mit dem gemeinsamen *teutschen Blut* begründet wird:

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[116] *Fides Saxonum*, 307–308.

[117] *Fides Saxonum*, 241., 248–249, 253.

[118] Vgl. Szirtes, *Gunesch*, 30.

[119] *Fides Saxonum*, 234.

Waß itziger zustanden anbelanget, meine ich nicht, daß mann sehr achtung gebe, auff eines oder des andern groben Paures oder ubel trackierten Burgers unbedachtsame Wort, sondern binn versichert, daß die alte Sachsische treu undt auffrichtigkeit bey uns noch nicht gestorben sey. Ja ich will beständig hoffen, daß daßelbe was der Edle H. Frank von Frankenstein in seinem kurtz gefasten bericht, von unserer so offt belobter Sachschischer Nation schreibet, daß sie sich zu dem reinen teutschen blutt und der wahren redlichen treu der teutschen gehalten und bekennet, welche Treu sie auch zu aller Zeit, Gott und dem Keyser treulich zu halten angelobet.[120]

Das frühe Auftreten eines bürgerlichen 'Nationalbewusstseins' bei den Siebenbürger Sachsen hatte sich zuvor bereits 1526, als diese sich für das Haus Habsburg eingesetzt hatten, gezeigt. Die Betonung des Deutschtums der Siebenbürger Sachsen wurde auch seitens des Erzhauses betont, zum Beispiel in einem Brief Kaiser Rudolfs II. an die Siebenbürger Sachsen am 4. November 1600[121], oder bei der Erteilung der Gnadenkette für Johannes Zabanius am Wiener Hof im Juni 1693.[122] In der Zeit von Franck und Gunesch erhielt die Betonung des deutschen Bluts eine besondere Funktion. Aus einem Einblick in den offiziellen Briefwechsel der Siebenbürger Sachsen mit dem Kaiserlichen Hof in dieser Zeit lässt sich ersehen, dass das „teutsche Blut" und der Kaiser als „natürlicher Herr" der Sachsen um 1700 sogar zu einer rhetorischen Formel geworden sind, mit der die wirtschaftlich und politisch immer mehr unterdrückten Sachsen ihre Beschwerden einführten, um die Gunst des Hofs zu erwerben.[123]

5. Die möglichen Beweggründe der Entstehung des Werks

In Kenntnis der oben erläuterten Faktoren scheint die These, nach der die Apologie von Andreas Gunesch in einem Zusammenhang mit den Ereignissen im Sommer 1697 zu sehen ist, nicht unbegründet zu sein. Dabei sind als Hintergründe zur Entstehung des Werks mehrere Faktoren zu berücksichtigen.

Ein möglicher Beweggrund, der Argwohn und Misstrauen der kaiserlichen Soldaten gegenüber den sächsischen Einwohnern, wird auch

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[120] *Fides Saxonum*, 310–311.

[121] Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, Bd. I.. 346–347.

[122] Bei der Übergreifung der Gnadenkette übermittelt Cardinal Kollonich die Worte des Kaisers: „Ihr lieben Leute, weil ihr Deutschen seyd, so zeigt auch, dass ihr Deutsche Redlichkeit, und Standhaftigkeit liebet, und bleibet auch ferner Eurem Kayser, und Könige treu." Johannes Zabanius: *Referat, was bey meiner M. Johannis Zabanii Expedition merkwürdiges passiert, und vorgegangen*. 1692–1693. DFGS, Bd. I., 382.

[123] Mehr darüber: Szirtes, *Gunesch*, 31–32. Vgl. Trócsányi, *Habsburg-politika*, 68.

vom Autor in der Vorrede erwähnt. Durch die Mobilisierung und Kriegsvorbereitungen und besonders die Nachricht über den Aufstand in Ungarn konnte im Sommer 1697 die schon vorhandene Spannung zwischen den Soldaten und den Einwohnern noch mehr ansteigen. In der sächsischen Hauptstadt, die als Hauptsitzort des kaiserlichen Militärs in Siebenbürgen diente, war das wohl erheblicher zu spüren. Die Tatsache, dass die Sächsische Nation einige Jahre vorher noch zu Thököly übertrat, konnte bei den militärischen Verhältnissen des Jahres 1697 das Misstrauen gegen sie verstärken. Der Lapsus des Autors am Ende des Werks deutet darauf hin, dass er an den aus Käsmark stammenden Thököly gedacht haben muss, als er am Ende seines Werks – als Ergebnis einer in seiner Zeit nicht überraschenden Ideenverknüpfung – István Bocskai mit „*H. Bothskai de Käßmarck*" bezeichnet hat.[124]

Die Beteuerung der immerwährenden Treue der Siebenbürger, besonders aber der Hermannstädter Sachsen – und dabei die Verteidigung gegen „eines oder des andern groben Paures oder ubel tracktierten Burgers unbedachtsame Wort" – war auch für die politische Führung Hermannstadts von Bedeutung. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass das Werk im Auftrag von Valentin Franck von Franckenstein oder von dem Bürgermeister Johannes Zabanius verfasst wurde. Dass der verdächtige Brief dem Königsrichter ausgehändigt wurde, musste ihn verdächtig stimmen. Obwohl sie ihn an Rabutin weiterschickten, wurden sie über dessen Inhalt nicht informiert.[125] Rabutin rühmte zwar in seinem Antwortbrief die erprobte Treue Francks und von Zabanius, die von ihm befohlenen Vorbereitungen und die Anordnungen an seinen Stellvertreter waren aber ein Zeugnis für sein Misstrauen. In seinem Brief an General Leiningen am 21. August mahnte er diesen zur Behutsamkeit, nicht nur

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[124] *Fides Saxonum*, 309. – Darüber, dass zwischen Imre Thököly und István Bocskai die Zeitgenossen eine Parallele zogen, zeugt auch ein lateinisches Konzept aus dem Jahr 1696. Vgl. *Tervezet Erdély közjogi berendezkedéséről 1696-ból.* Hg. v. Kiss Farkas Gábor u. Nagy Levente, *Lymbus* (2009): 92.

[125] Dass der Brief wahrscheinlich osmanische und von Thököly ausgestellte Patente enthielt, untermauern die Präzedenzen aus den Jahren 1693 und 1696. Um einen osmanischen Angriff gegen Siebenbürgen zu vorbereiten, versah nämlich Imre Thököly im Sommer 1693 seine zum osmanischen Großvesir gehende siebenbürgische Botschaft mit Patenten, die zum Aufstand riefen. Angyal, *Késmárki Thököly Imre,* 245. – In einem Patent im August 1696 ermahnte das siebenbürgische Gubernium die Bevölkerung zur Treue zum Kaiser und machte darauf aufmerksam, dass – ausgehend von den Erfahrungen der vorigen Jahre – auch jetzt zu erwarten ist, dass Thököly sie durch Patente an seine Seite zu stellen versuchen wird. Patent des Guberniums, 16. August 1696, Thorenburg. DJAN Sibiu Col. med. U VI. Nr. 2005.

wegen des äußeren, sondern auch des inneren Feindes. Er riet Leiningen, alles verdächtig zu betrachten, seinen Verdacht aber auf keinen Fall zu zeigen, sondern das Vertrauen zu ihnen (den inneren Feinden) zu signalisieren und ihre Treue zu beteuern und zu preisen.[126] Er selbst tat so in seinen Briefen sowohl an die Hermannstädter Stadtführung (10. August), als auch an Isak Zabanius (23. August), wobei er die Verdienste des Hermannstädter Pfarrers zum Ausdruck brachte.[127] Am 24. August informierte er bereits den Hofkriegsrat, dass das von der Hermannstädter Stadtführung weitergesandte Patent seitdem auch in einer Kopie durch den Gubernialrat István Naláczy weitergeschickt wurde[128], woraus die Kenntnis des siebenbürgischen Guberniums über den Angriffsversuch hervorgeht.

Der dritte Beweggrund, der sich schon im Vorwort der „Fides Saxonum" zum Ausdruck kommt, ist die fehlende politische Einheit innerhalb der Sächsischen Nation in dieser Übergangsperiode, als die augenblicklichen Machtverhältnisse bei weitem nicht dauerhaft zu sein scheinen. Wie Gunesch schreibt, ist er sich darüber im klaren, dass innerhalb der Sächsischen Nation auch andere politische Stellungnahmen existieren, ohne dass deshalb ein Verdacht gegen die ganze Nation berechtigt wäre. Diese Unterschiede sind auf die jeweilige militärische Lage zurückzuführen: „daß aber bißweilen ein Orth, Stadt oder Marck, von der feunde menge über mannet, sich neigen, und dem feindt mit unterthänigkeit entgegen gehen muß, ist nicht der gantzen Nation zu zuschreiben".[129] Der Autor, der von Hermannstädter Interessen geleitet ist, bezieht sich wohl auf die Stadt Kronstadt. Im Werk sind zwischen den Zeilen mehrere Andeutungen auf die Untreue Kronstadts herauszulesen, wobei im Kontrast hierzu parallel auf die Treue und Beständigkeit Hermannstadts aufmerksam gemacht wird. Bereits in „*Continuatio Historiae Betlenianae*" äußerte sich Gunesch abfällig über den Kronstädter Aufstand des Jahres 1688.[130] Seine Hermannstadt wohl gesonnene Haltung wurde wahrscheinlich durch Guneschs Zueignung des Werkes an den Hermannstädter Königsrichter noch verstärkt. Wenn Franck der Auftraggeber war, kann die „Fides Saxonum" als eine Art Appell zur

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[126] Rabutins Ordre an Herrn Generalwachtmeister Grafen Leiningen, 21. August 1697, Feldlager bei Kápolnás. ÖStA KA AFA 1697 Türkenkrieg VIII–X. Kt. 207. 1697–8–30a.

[127] Vgl. Jean Louis Rabutin de Bussy an Isak Zabanius, 23. August 1697, Feldlager bei Lippa (Kontemporäre Kopie). Ebenda.

[128] Rabutins Brief an den Hofkriegsrat, 24. August 1697, Feldlager bei Lippa. ÖStA KA AFA 1697 Türkenkrieg VIII–X. Kt. 207. 1697–8–30.

[129] *Fides Saxonum*, 227.

[130] Mehr darüber: Szirtes, *Gunesch*, 113–114.

politischen Einheit, und als Aufruf zum Zusammenschluss der sächsischen Städte verstanden werden, in einer Periode, in der es gut vorzustellen ist, dass sich die unweit der türkischen Grenze gelegene Kronstadt zu einer Beteiligung bewegen lässt.

Das Werk lässt sich auch als eine Ansprache an die Hermannstädter Stadtbewohner auffassen, da es unter diesen wohl einige gab, die nach den langjährigen militärischen Besatzungen die Nachrichten über die Aufstandsbewegung in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen und die eindrucksvollen Predigten von Isak Zabanius positiv aufnahmen. In diesem Fall ist die „Fides Saxonum" ein politisches Programm, das denjenigen Weg dokumentiert, der von der Hermannstädter Führung als der gangbarste erachtet wurde.

Die Interpretation der „Fides Saxonum" wird dadurch erschwert, dass über ihre Entstehungszeit nicht mehr in Erfahrung gebracht werden kann, als dass das Werk wahrscheinlich noch vor dem Tod des Sachsengrafen Valentin Franck von Franckenstein am 27. September 1697[131] abgeschlossen wurde. Wenn es noch vor der Schlacht bei Zenta entstand, als sich die Machtverhältnisse in Siebenbürgen noch nicht eindeutig abzeichneten, ist es noch verständlicher, warum das Werk die Treue der Sachsen zu den *jeweiligen siebenbürgischen Herrschern* darstellt und mittels der historischen Beispiele nicht nur Habsburger Herrscher hervorhebt. Folgen wir für den Zeitraum der Niederschrift der Annahme, dass sie zwischen dem Sieg bei Zenta und dem Tod des Sachsengrafen (11–27. September 1697) beendet wurde, so gilt es noch weitere Faktoren zu berücksichtigen.

Nach der Schlacht bei Zenta im September 1697 und der Unterdrückung der Aufständischen beabsichtigte die kaiserliche Politik die Stabilisierung der Verhältnisse in Siebenbürgen.[132] Gerade in dieser Zeit musste die Sächsische Nation ohne jede politische Vertretung auskommen. Nach dem Tod Franckensteins wurde der Hermannstädter Provinzial-bürgermeister Johann Zabanius zum Sachsengrafen gewählt, seine Wahl rief aber eine mehrere Jahre andauernde politische Streit mit dem Gubernium hervor, was auch seine Bestätigung vom Hof verzögerte.[133]

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[131] *Schriftsteller-Lexikon*, Bd. I., 340.

[132] *Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek*. (Siebenbürgische Landtagsschriften), Hg. v. Szilágyi Sándor, Bd. XXI. (1692–1699), (Budapest: Akadémia, 1898), 50.

[133] Johann Zabanius Sachs von Harteneck wurde am 12. Oktober 1697 zum Königsrichter und Sachsencomes gewählt, von Kaiser Leopold I. am 5. September 1699. auf ein Jahr, am 3. August 1701 auf Lebenszeit in seinem Amt bestätigt. Er wurde am 5. Dezember 1703 enthauptet. Kutschera, *Landtag*, 44. – Zur Geschichte

Unter diesen Umständen kann die „Fides Saxonum" auch als ein Mittel der jeweiligen sächsischen politischen Führung verstanden werden, damit sie durch die aufgebrachten historischen Argumente besser zur Geltung kommt und die Interessen der von ihr vertretenen Gruppe unterstützen kann. Seine Bestebung ist realistisch, da sein Vorbild Valentin Franck der historischen Argumentation auch große Bedeutung schenkte. Auch Gunesch (oder mindestens sein Auftraggeber) scheint an der Bedeutung derartiger historischer Argumente zu glauben, die jedenfalls dazu geeignet waren, das Selbstbewusstsein seiner eigenen ständischen Nation zu stärken, die sich im Spannungsfeld der Angriffe aus zwei verschiedenen Richtungen befand.

Allein das Vorhandensein der „Fides Saxonum" macht unter diesen Voraussetzungen deutlich, dass sich die Siebenbürger Sachsen, oder zumindest ihre Vertreter, in den unsicheren politischen Verhältnissen der 1690er Jahre nicht in Sicherheit fühlten. Auch das Werk von Andreas Gunesch – wie auch die Werke seiner Zeitgenossen – ist von der Veränderung und der Unsicherheit durchgedrungen, die für diese Übergangsperiode bezeichnend waren. Das Werk gibt neue Beiträge sowohl zur barocken Geschichtsschreibung der Siebenbürger Sachsen, als auch zur siebenbürgischen Geschichte der 1690er Jahre.

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seiner Wahl zum Hermannstädter Königsrichter: Szirtes Zsófia, „'Ipsum populi eligant, qui melius videbitur expedire.' Szász János szebeni királybíró választásának várospolitikai kérdései", *URBS Magyar Várostörténeti Évkönyv* VII. (2012)

Anlagen:

1. Andreas Gunesch: Fides Saxonum in Transylvania (1697). Titelblatt mit dem Possessorvermerk von Paul Schirmer. DJAN Sibiu, Col. Bruk., A 1–5. Nr. 57.

2. Andreas Gunesch: Fides Saxonum in Transylvania (1697). DJAN Sibiu, Col. Bruk., A 1–5. Nr. 57., fol. 6r.

3. Andreas Gunesch: Fides Saxonum in Transylvania (1697). Titelblatt. DJAN Sibiu, Col. Bruk. EE 1–4. Nr. 48.

4. Porträt von Valentin Franck von Franckenstein. Rosetum Franckianum, Viennae, 1692. Széchényi Nationalbibliothek (Budapest), Sammlung der Alten Drucke, RMK III. 3725/1.

5. Illustration zum Gedicht „Donativum" von Lucas Kolich. Rosetum Franckianum, Viennae, 1692. Széchényi Nationalbibliothek (Budapest), Sammlung der Alten Drucke, RMK III. 3725/1.

1. Andreas Gunesch: Fides Saxonum in Transylvania (1697). Titelblatt mit dem Possessorvermerk von Paul Schirmer. DJAN Sibiu, Col. Bruk., A 1–5. Nr. 57

2. Andreas Gunesch: Fides Saxonum in Transylvania (1697). DJAN Sibiu, Col. Bruk., A 1–5. Nr. 57., fol. 6r .

3. Andreas Gunesch: Fides Saxonum in Transylvania (1697). Titelblatt.
DJAN Sibiu, Col. Bruk. EE 1–4. Nr. 48

Spectabilis ac Generosus Dominus Valentinus Franck, olim Illustr: ac Celsiss: Domini Domini Michaelis Apafi, quondam Regni Transsylvaniae Principis nunc Illustr. Consilij Status itidem Transsylvanici Consiliarius Intimus, Saxonica Nationis Comes confirmatus, ac Civitatis Cibiniensis Iudex Regius, natus A: 1643. Die 20. Oct: factus Iudex Reg: et Saxonum Comes A: 1686. Die 14. Febr: ipso Festo Valentini, Consiliarius Intimus A: 1687. Die 11. Mart.

4. Porträt von Valentin Franck von Franckenstein. Rosetum Franckianum, Viennae, 1692. Széchényi Nationalbibliothek (Budapest), Sammlung der Alten Drucke, RMK III. 3725/1.

5. Illustration zum Gedicht „Donativum" von Lucas Kolich. Rosetum
Franckianum, Viennae, 1692. Széchényi Nationalbibliothek (Budapest),
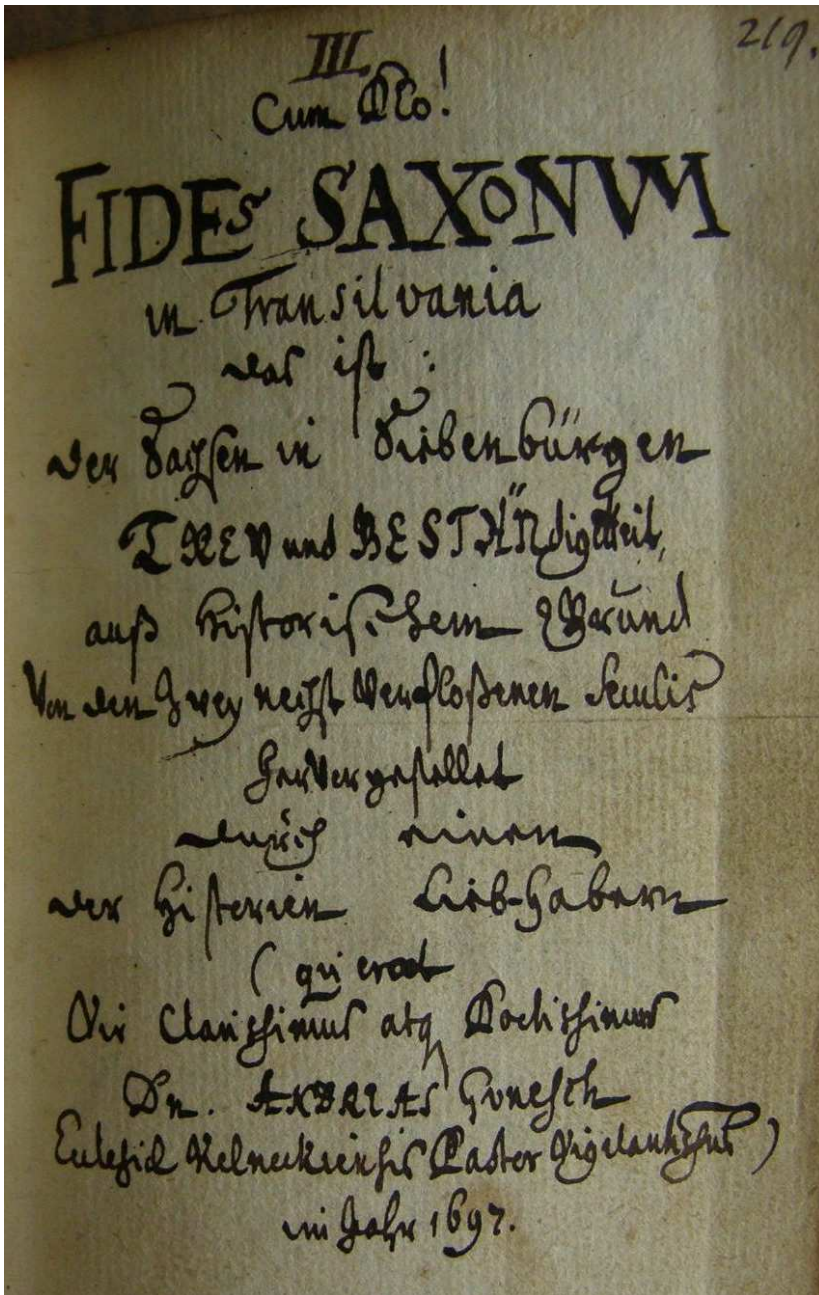Sammlung der Alten Drucke, RMK III. 3725/1.

"Absolutism without Counter-Reformation"? The Catholicization of Public Town Offices in Bistriţa in the Eighteenth Century

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Abstract: Outgoing from the Oxford historian Robert J. W. Evans' thesis, Transylvania, "Absolutism without Counter-Reformation", this study discusses the catholicization politics of Vienna in a small Saxon town of Transylvania, Bistriţa [Bistritz, Beszterce] during the eighteenth century. The model of description is the office as *instrumentum regni*, i.e. a vehicle of political and confessional control. The main assumption of the author is that the Habsburgs indeed succeeded to dismantle the old order, by first initiating a legislation that favored Catholics in obtaining high offices in the local town council and secondly implementing this legislation, by means of manifold interventions into the "free election" process. Such an approach enables us to seize how the modern "state" took over "control" on the local political affairs. Moreover, it shows that by means of catholicization, new elite was promoted, a Catholic group whose ascension was in no connection with the old patrician oligarchy of the town.

Keywords: Eighteenth Century, Habsburgs, Transylvanian Saxons, Urbane Elites, Counter-Reformation, Absolutism

Rezumat: "Absolutism fără Contrareformă"? Catolicizarea funcţiilor publice în Bistriţa în secolul al XVIII-lea. Pornind de la teza istoricului Robert J. W. Evans - Transilvania, un "absolutism fără Contrareformă" –, acest studiu abordează politica de catolicizare întreprinsă de Viena într-un mic oraş săsesc din Transilvania, Bistriţa, în secolul al XVIII-lea. Este avută în vederea funcţia ca *instrumentum regni* sau, cu alte cuvinte, postul ca mijloc de control politic şi confesional. Principala teză a autorului e aceea că habsburgii au reuşit într-adevăr să "distrugă" vechea ordine, mai întâi prin promovarea unei legislaţii menite să îi favorizeze pe catolici, iar mai apoi prin implementarea ei. Punerea acesteia în practică s-a realizat prin numeroase intervenţii în procesul de alegere "liberă" a judecătorilor şi consilierilor orăşăneşti. O atare abordare permite observarea modului în care "statul" modern a reuşit să preia controlul asupra afacerilor politice locale. Astfel, putem constata cum catolicizarea a dat naştere unei noi elite orăşeneşti, a cărei ascensiune nu era legată de vechea oligarhie a patriciatului bistriţean, ci, din contră, de interesele habsburgilor.

Cuvinte cheie: Secolul XVIII, habsburgi, Transilvania, saşi transilvăneni, elite urbane, Contrareformă, Absolutism

The town council resolution regarding the election of judges and certain administrative issues in Bistriţa (1697) demanded that the town judge be freely elected by the *Hundertmannschaft* [Centumvirii] which would not be constrained to elect a particular member of the town council, but instead have in view the entire council. The elected judge had to be "the most capable person" who would best promote the public affairs, *res public[a]*.[1] An unsigned letter to the town council of Bistriţa (1736), probably written by a clergyman, provides guidelines on how the oath should take place and what type of persons should be eligible for the town council: "… The Holy Spirit says through the Table to Moses: Exodus 18: You shall elect judges, people who are capable of speaking, who love virtue and goodness, have fear of God, are truthful and not avaricious…" Further, the author added "… for this reason, you shall not be influenced either by presents, favors or gifts…".[2] These requirements contrasted with the prevailing reality within the seventeenth-century Saxon society. Similarly to the other Saxon towns in Transylvania, in Bistriţa the office of town judge and that of councilor [Senator/Ratsherr] to some extent became the "asset" of a group of Patrician families.[3] They were recruited almost exclusively from the ranks of the towns' upper class[4] that held these positions for several generations.[5] By the

[1] Arhivele Naţionale, Direcţia Judeţeană Cluj, Primăria Oraşului Bistriţa, Seria II a, (further quoted ANDJC), Fascicola 461, F.1.

[2] In the formula juramenti, the newly elected clerks had to swear on the Holy Trinity that they would follow the words of God, protect and increase the wealth of the Church: ANDJC, Fasc. 461., F. 40 r, 41, 44.

[3] I employ "Patriziat" as understood by R.A. Rotz, "families who monopolized political office and possessed great fortunes over generations, marrying only within their group": Konrad G. Gündisch, *Das Patriziat siebenbürgischer Städte im Mittelalter*, (Köln,Weimar,Wien: Böhlau, 1993): 23, footnote 32. The "cloth order" of Bistriţa defines "Patriciis" almost in the same manner, as those people whose grandfathers and fathers played the greatest role in "res public[a]" (1707): ANDJC, Fasc. 65, F. 1. Patricians belonged to the first class, i.e. the town's upper class (1750): ANDJC, Fasc. 65, F. 30.

[4] Gustav Gündisch, Aus *Geschichte und Kultur der Siebenbürger Sachsen: ausgewählte Aufsätze und Berichte*, (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 1998): 238. In Bistriţa, we note that from the sixteenth until the eighteenth century, the office of superior town judge was held by approximately fifteen families. The most prominent among them were the Budak, Frank, Arendt, Sadler, and Wallendorfer families.

[5] Georg Soterius, a contemporary preacher in Sibiu, correctly describes a common feature of the Saxon society: „Früher dauerte ein solches Ehrenamt ein Jahr, und es waren nicht zu ein und derselben Zeit Vater (114) und Sohn oder zwei nahe Verwandte zugelassen, damit das Gemeinwesen [Respublica] nicht unter den Interessen von Parteien leide und Privatinteressen unterliege. Heutzutage ist der für dauernd Senator, der einmal für geeignet gehalten worden ist, selbst wenn er nichts

beginning of the eighteenth century, recruitment was conducted only from among these office holder families [albeit there was a social entanglement through marriage alliances][6] Meanwhile, the Saxon elite underwent a process of gradual transformation. The prospect of a career in the Transylvanian Chancellery or *Gubernium* became attractive, many Saxon patricians were granted a noble title by the Habsburgs[7] and according to the Hungarian historian Gyula Szekfű[8], they started to "bureaucratize." However, unlike in many towns of the German Empire,[9] the "alliance" of these "servants" with the Court [in as far as existed] did not put an end to their striving to safeguard local urban autonomy. As the Cluj historian Edit Szegedi remarks, contemporaries did not perceive the integration into the Habsburg Monarchy without concerns for their autonomous and religious status,[10] as centralizing tendencies[11] and confessional intolerance was a

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beigetragen hat, was eines Senators oder eines Konsuls würdig gewesen wäre. Ihre Auswahl liegt in den Händen der Oberbeamten, je nachdem wie Verwandschaft, Schmeichelei, Schenkungen, wenn nicht gar Sacher, Empfehlung gesellschaftlicer Verkehr und Überzeugung oft auch solcher Menschen ...": Georg Soterius, *Cibinium. Eine Beschreibung Hermannstadts vom Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts*, (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2006), 211.

[6] For instance, the list of the town council members in 1704, which contains many family names that we may also find decades later: Town Judge: Johannes Klein, Secondary Judges: Simon Rodelt and Mattias Werner. Town councilors: Andreas Neubaur, Johannes Arelt, Daniel Heintzelius, Georgius Schonaur, Laurentius Biro, Georgius Teuchert, Andreas Bierner, Samuel Bedeus, Michael Croner, Martinus Rodelt, and Georgius Todt, Michael Conrad (Notary): ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 9.

[7] This was a common trait in the Saxon society, including the capital Sibiu. Nevertheless, similarly to Sibiu, these titles had no relevance on the Saxon territory, as these people continued to be named by their burgher names and did not enjoy noble privileges: Harald Roth, *Hermannstadt Kleine Geschichte einer Stadt in Siebenbürgen*, (Köln Weimar Wien: Böhlau), 130. The Schankenbank von Kladain, Klein von Straußenburg, Seiverth von Rosenberg, Reschner von Reschenbach, Conrad von Heydendorf (later transferred to Mediaş) and Bedeus von Scharberg families were among the most prominent in Bistriţa in the eighteenth century. For certain data on these families, see Otto Dahinten, "Die Wappen geadelter Bistritzer Geschlechter und das Bistritzer Stadtwappen," in *Siebenbürgische Familienforschung*, year 5, no. 1 (1988): 4-32.

[8] Gyula Szekfű, *État et nation*, (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1944), 268, 269.

[9] Ann Katherine Isaacs and Maarten Prak, "Les villes, la bourgeoisie et l'État," *Les élites au pouvoir et la construction de l'État en Europe*, Wolfgang Reinhard ed., (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996), 318.

[10] Edit Szegedi, *Geschichtsbewußstein und Gruppenidentität. Die Historiographie der Siebenbürger Sachsen zwischen Barock und Aufklärung*, (Köln, Wimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2002), 198, 199.

common feature of Habsburg confessional politics.[12] These fears were later confirmed, as Habsburg confessional politics also aimed at enforcing Catholicism into town councils, thus intending to disrupt the old political order and Lutheran patrician oligarchy.

This study discusses the catholicization strategy of the town council of Bistriţa during the first century of Habsburg reign in Transylvania.[13] Traditionally, most Transylvanian historians and theologians regarded the catholicization policies of public town offices as part of the Counter-Reformation, a conversion[14] and social mobility vehicle for the "weakest" and "incapable" subjects of the Saxon society.[15] The Viennese policy was

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[11] Concerning the debates on Absolutism in the Habsburg Monarchy see the book edited by Thomas Winkelbauer and Petr Mat'a, *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1620 bis 1740: Leistungen und Grenzen des Absolutismusparadigmas*, (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006). See also the book by Joachim Bahlcke, *Landesherrschaft, Territorien und Staat in der Frühen Neuzeit*, (München, Oldenbourg, 2012), 108-111.

[12] For a general presentation of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation in the Habsburg lands, see Robert J. W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550-1700. An interpretation*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

[13] I prefer to use catholicization strategy instead of Counter-Reformation or confessionalization due to the specific case of Transylvania, where the use of Counter-Reformation in its classical meaning, as "restoration of the Catholic Church", i.e. the consequences of the Habsburg politics would be quite problematic. By strategy I intend the *modus operandi* of the Habsburg Counter-Reformation: see Jörg Deventer, *Gegenreformation in Schlesien. Die habsburgische Rekatholizisierungspolitik in Glogau und Schweidniz 1526-1707*, (Köln,Weimar,Wien: Böhlau, 2003), 9. Neither the term confessionalization cannot be employed in this specific case, as a „transformation" as defined by Heinz Schilling or Wolfgang Reinhardt cannot be assessed into our specific case. Concerning the use of this term for the Habsburg Monarchy, see Jörg Deventer, „Confesionalization. A useful theoretical concept for the study of religion, politics and society in Early Modern East-Central Europe?", in *European Review of History,* 11 (2004): 403-425, and Rudolf Gräf, „Gegenreformation oder katholische Konfessionalisierung – Epoche(n)begriff oder Fundamentalprozess der Frühen Neuzeit?", in *Staatsmacht und Seelenheil. Gegenreformation und Geheimprotestantismus in der Habsburgermonarchie*, eds Rudolf Leeb, Susanne Claudine Pils, Thomas Winkelbauer, (Wien,München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2007):13-27.

[14] Concerning Saxon conversion to Catholicism see my study, Sever Cristian Oancea, "Catholic Seduction or Habsburg Clientele? Confessional change in the Eighteenth-Century Transylvanian Saxon society", in *Colloquia. Journal of Central European History*, Vol. XV (2008): 1-30.

[15] A general view at Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen 1700-1917*, Band II, (Hermannstadt: V. Krafft Verlag, 1922), 1-70. For Braşov see Georg Michael Gottlieb von Hermann, Georg Michael Gottlieb von Hermann, *Das Alte und Neue Kronstadt*, Vol. I, (Hermannstadt, In Commission bei Franz Michaelis, 1883, Erster Band [Vol. I]), 170-187, 354-400. For Bistriţa see

mostly associated with conversion for opportunist reasons,[16] and generally perceived as a failure. Thus, in her book dealing with the Josephine Reforms in Transylvania, Angelika Schaser considers that the Viennese policies failed at lower levels.[17] Indeed, in towns such as Mediaş or Sighişoara the Viennese policies failed, but the archival sources reveal that in larger towns such as Bistriţa the situation was different. Thus, I argue that by means of manifold pro-Catholic decrees and interferences into the "free election" process, the Habsburgs succeeded in gradually dismantling the old order and obtaining certain "control" over the local affairs. This was carried out through the confirmation, *proportio geometrica*, and *alternation* decrees, which I will discuss on the second part of my article.

  As compared to the role of the nobility in the process of "Absolutism", "confessionalization", "Counter-Reformation" in the Habsburg lands,[18] the role of the urban elites and herewith the catholicization process on the local town councils has been less researched.[19] However, the scholars

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Gottfried Poschner, „Gegenreformatorische Bestrebungen in Bistritz im 18. Jahrhundert", in *Programm des evangelischen Gymnasiums zu Bistritz in Siebenbürgen*, (1883/1884): 1-45. See also Georg Adolf Schuller, *Samuel von Brukenthal*, Vol I, (München: Verlag R. Oldenbourg, 1967), 49-51.

[16] The perception existed ever since the eighteenth century, as for instance at Johann Seiverth, a Lutheran pastor and historian: "…die Zierde dieses Fürsthentums, bekennt sich zum unveränderten Augburgischen Confesion, und wenn es einige nicht mehr thun, so sind es Convertiten, die Furcht der Straße, Hunger oder Ehrgeitz bekehrt haben": Joh. Strevey [Johann Seiverth], *Die Rolle eines Abentheuers Bogislaus Ignatius von Makovsky in Siebenbürgen 1747 Ein Beytrag zur Kirchengeschichte*, in manuscript at the Library of the Romanian Academy in Cluj, Fond Joseph Kemeny, mss A 24, 106.

[17] Angelika Schaser, *Reformele iosefine în Transilvania şi urmările lor în viaţa socială*, (Sibiu: Editura Hora, 2000), 43.

[18] See for instance with plenty of literature Thomas Winkelbauer, *Fürst und Fürstendiener. Gundaker von Liechtenstein, ein österreichischer Aristokrat des konfeesionellen Zeitalter*, (Wien,München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1999); Petr Maťa, *Svět české aristokracie (1500-1700)*, (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2004) or more general in the book edited by Roland G. Asch, *Der europäische Adel im Ancien Régime*, ed. Roland G. Asch, (Köln,Wien, 2001).

[19] As compared to the role of the nobility in the Early Modern Era, the catholicization of town councils/ local governments was less researched in the East-Central European and Hungarian Historiography. A major contribution in this regard are the articles, of István H. Német, where the author reassesses the transformations by the end of the seventeenth century in several Hungarian towns, such as Sopron or Kosice, with a major point on elections and "state" recatholicization policies: István H. Német, "Venerable senators or municipal bureaucrats? The beginnings of the Transformation of the estate of Burghers at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth century," in *Hungarian Historical Review* 1, no

of the Habsburg lands have pointed out that the Crown promoted the catholicization of public offices because it could be a disciplining issue,[20] as the conversion of elites was supposed to serve as an example to the other subjects, in order to convert to Catholicism.[21] Besides, it was displayed that catholicization politics meant control over the confessional composition of town councils, who controlled the financial issues.[22] Considering these findings, the control exercised by the Viennese Court over the elections for upper positions (town judge, vilicus/Hann, i. e. administrator, and pro-judex) and councilors of Bistrița is the focal point of my case study. The model of description is the office as *instrumentum regni*, [23] a "tool" of the Central Power and Catholic clergy. Such an approach enables us to seize how the Habsburgs "instrumented" Catholicism in order to control the election process[24] and vice-versa, how the office represented an instrument of the catholicization politics from the part of the Catholic occupation and clergy. Such a description model will reveal not only the political and

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1-2 (2012): 49-78, Idem, "Pre-Modern State Urban Policy at a Turning Point in the Kingdom of Hungary: The Elections to the Town Council", in *Urban Elections and Decision Making in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*, eds., Rudolf Schlögl, (Cambridge, 2009), 276-299, Idem, "Európska doktrína alebo uhorská špecialita? Zásahy štátu a rekatolizácia miest v Uhorsku v priebehu 17. Storočia", *Historický časopis,* 57,4, (2009): 641-658.

[20] For istance see the case of Bohemia at Josef Hrdlicka, „Die (Re-)Katholisierung lokaler Amtsträger in Böhmen: Konfession oder Disziplin?", in *Staatsmacht und Seelenheil, Gegenreformation und Geheimprotestantismus in der Habsburgermonarchie*, eds. Rudolf Leeb, Susanne Claudine Pils and Thomas Winkelbauer, (Wien, München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2007), 357-366.

[21] Thomas Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht. Länder und Untertanen des Hauses Habsburg im konfessionellen Zeitalter*, Teil 2, (Wien: Ueberreuter, 2003), 248.

[22] István H. Németh, *Op. cit.*, 56.

[23] The project of the Catholic Bishop Anton Bajtay addresses the office as an „instrument" of the Catholic Church, intended to bring about conversion to Catholicism: „Gott wendet ohne Zweifel oft zeitliche Mitteln an, um die Menschen, welche irr gehen, auf den wahren und sichern Weg der Seligkeit zu führen... Es ist ohne Zweifel, daß die Aemter, voraus hier Landes, unter solche Mitteln als die vornehmsten Werkzeuge zu rechnen sind... Die Aemter aber würden ihnen nicht nur Schutz und Ehre, sondern auch eine hinlängliche Hülf verschaffen, um sich und die Ihrigen der Dürftigkeit zu entreißen. Folgsam dieses Mittel wäre für die katholische Religion ungemein heilsam und ersprießlich.": G[eorg] D[aniel] Teutsch, „Actenmäßige Beiträge zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens im 18. Jahrhundert", 1. Gutachten des römisch-katholischen Bischofs in Siebenbürgen, Freiherr Joseph Bajtay, wie die katholische Religion hier in größere Aufnahme zu bringen sei", in *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 11 (1873-1874): 470.

[24] See above footnote 19.

confessional transformations or "modernization",[25] but also the social mobility function of the Viennese strategy: the catholicization policy led to the emergence of a new burgher "elite"[26] whose rise was less due to its connection to the old Lutheran patrician "oligarchy," but rather to the interests of the Habsburgs. Thus, we will be able to assess for our specific case, that similarly to the other Habsburg Lands, the Crown succeeded to control the confessional composition of the town council. But unlike in the towns of Bohemia or Hungary this represented a "negotiated" settlement, which did not catholicize entirely the local town council [it was not a target]; it only imposed from above a "trustworthy" Habsburg clientele in a Lutheran milieu.[27] This confirms that the age of Maria Theresa cannot be totally separated from traditional Habsburg confessional politics.[28] The Court promoted Catholicism and the Catholic clergy together with the military authorities played an important role in the implementation process of the Viennese policies.[29]

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[25] "Modernization" intended here in the context of "society transformation". Its applicability on the social historical analysis at Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte, Band 1, Vom Feudalismus des Alten Reiches bis zur defensiven Modernisierung der Reformära 1700-1815*, (München: Beck, 1987), 21-25. See its theoretical aspects and periodization at Lothar Gall, *Von der ständischen zur bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*, (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1993), 51-54.

[26] Due to the specific case in Bistriţa, this Catholic group is not to be confounded with the "Modern" bureaucrats or in connection to the professionalization theory, as intended in the Western European literature: see Bernd Wunder, *Geschichte der Bürokratie in Deutschland*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1986). Here I refer to elite as *officeholders*, and the office as a "source of income" and "social position" or prestige: D. Gerhard, "Amtsträger zwischen Krongewalt und Ständen – ein Europäisches Problem", in *Alteuropa und die modern Gesellschaft*, eds. Historisches Seminar der Univrsität Hamburg, (Göttingen, 1963), 233.

[27] Conversion for opportunist reasons must not be assessed to all cases in the Saxon society, as the presence of Catholic missionaries, contact to Vienna or marriage could a play a central role in the new Habsburg context: Sever Cristian Oancea, *Op. cit.*

[28] Grete W. Klingenstein, "Modes of Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Eighteenth-Century Habsburg Politics", in *Austrian History Yearbook*, Vol. 23 (1993): 1-16, here 1.

[29] The German historian Joachim Bahlcke considers that the activity of Joseph Anton Bajtay was anachronic in the epoch, when the Court used other tools, "weg von der konfessionellen Polarisierung und hin zum Religionsfrieden": Joachim Bahlcke, "Status catholicus und Kirchenpolitik in Siebbenbürgen. Entwicklungsphasen des römisch-katholischen Klerus zwischen Reformation und Josephinismus", in *Siebenbürgen in der Habsburgermonarchie. Vom Leopoldinum bis zum Ausgleich*, eds. Zsolt K. Lengyel and Ulrich A. Wien, (Köln,Weimar,Wien: Böhlau, 1999), 175. This

From the Medieval order to the "Modern" society

The *free royal town* [*Die freie und königliche Stadt*] of Bistriţa was a small Saxon town in North-Eastern Transylvania. It was established by "German" colonists during the thirteenth century, and after the fall of Rodna in 1241, Bistriţa became the most important town in the region. Bistriţa was gradually granted the privileges enjoyed by the Saxons living in the *Fundus Regii* [ROU Pământul Crăiesc, GER Königsboden, HUN Királyföld]. This was a territory with special privileges granted only to the "German" colonists and theoretically maintained until the nineteenth century.[30] Bistriţa received the *Libertas Cibiensis* during the fourteenth century including the right to "freely elect their judges",[31] and it became a part of the *Universitas Saxorum* by the end of the fifteenth century, when King Mathias Corvin unified the four Old Saxon provinces.[32] During the Middle Ages, the town had a prosperous commercial life, wealthy Patrician families as well as numerous craftsmen and artisans. This social profile survived until in the sixteenth century.[33] Thus, with a few exceptions, citizens could be only "Germans," who fully enjoyed the right of "soil and ground" [Grund und Boden]. According to the sixteenth-century Saxon municipal constitutions, *ius indigenii* could be granted only to free Germans [freien Teutschen].[34]

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view requires some comments: in confessional specific matters, such as the conversion to Catholicism, the Court or at least Maria Theresa and the Catholic clergy used the same methods: they both targeted the conversion of the elite (for example Samuel von Brukenthal or Georg Jeremia Haner), and the office represented for both of them a confessional instrument, as we have seen in the project of Bajtay or in the decrees issued by Maria Theresa.

[30] The basis of these privileges was the "Golden letter" issued by King Andreas II of Hungary in 1224. Among them was the political unity of the territory between Orăştie and Baraolt, the free election of judges and priests, and the direct judicial subordination to the king. See Ernst Wagner, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, (Thaur bei Innsbrück: Wort und Wert Verlag), 8, 9.

[31] In 1366, King Ludwig of Hungary granted Bistriţa the right to freely elect its judges and "jurors". Moreover, it was stipulated the town that would enjoy the same rights and freedoms as the colonists in Sibiu. See the text in Ernst Wagner, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen 1191-1975*, Vol. I, 2nd edition, (Köln, Wien: Böhlau, 1981), 53.

[32] Konrad Gündisch, "Zur Entstehung der sächsischen Nationsuniversität," in *Gruppenautonomie in Siebenbürgen. 500 Jahre siebenbürgisch-sächsische Nationsuniversität*, eds. Wolfgang Kessler, (Köln Wien, 1990), 63-92.

[33] For a detailed study on Patricians in the town of Bistriţa during the Middle Ages, see Konrad G. Gündisch, "Patriciatul orăşănesc al Bistriţei până la începutul secolului al XVI-lea," in *File de istorie*, Vol IV (1976): 147-181.

[34] Georg Ed. Müller, *Stühle und Distrikte als Unterteilungen der siebenbürgisch-deutschen Nationsuniversität*, (Hermannstadt: Krafft und Drotleff, 1941), 102.

The Bistriţa colonists had been Catholic until the Reformation (1544), when the Saxon University decided to "renew" the Church. The Reformation was adopted no sooner than 1544, and it featured the same principal characteristics as in the other Saxon localities in Transylvania: annulment of celibacy, expulsion of Catholic monks, secularization, adoption of the *Kirchenordnung*, and later the break with the Catholic Bishop of Alba.[35] Nonetheless, as Edit Szegedi clearly points it out, the formation of the Lutheran identity was a phenomenon that would last until the mid-seventeenth century.[36] The relationship between the town council and the Church had been shaped as early as the fifteenth century, when the town council was granted the *Patronatsrecht* over the Church i.e. *jus candidandi* (nomination of priests), administration, supervision and, to some extent, disciplinary competences.[37]

The political, economic and administrative power belonged to the town judge and town council [*Magistat*]. The town superior judge [*Oberrichter*] was the highest authority in Bistriţa; he was elected for a two-year term from the ranks of town Senators and was handsomely paid.[38] Other important positions in the local town administration were the one of pro-judge and starting with the eighteenth century, the "Hann" or villicus[39]. The town had two councils, the interior one, *Magistrat*, made up of councilors [Ratsherren, Senatores] [40] elected during the session of the exterior council, known as *Centumviri* or *Hundertmannschaft*. Beginning with

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[35] For the Reformation movement in Bistriţa, see Heinrich Wittstock, *Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte des Nösnergaues*, (Wien: Gerold, 1958). For an overview of the Reformation in Transylvania, see also István Keul, *Early Modern Communities in East-Central Europe*, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), 47-116.

[36] Edit Szegedi, "Confesionalizarea", in *Istoria Transilvaniei*, Vol II, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Thomas Nägler and András Magyari eds., (Cluj-Napoca, 2005), 249-262.

[37] Friedrich Hoffstädter, "Das Ende des Bistritzer Patronatsrecht," *Beitrage zur Geschichte der ev. Kirche A.B. in Siebenbürgen*, edt. Friedrich Teutsch, (Hermannstadt, 1922), 111.

[38] In 1775, the salary of Judge Johann Friedrich Klein von Straussenburg amounted to 800 Rhein Fl, that of the Villicum Andreas Teuchert to 300, and that of Orator Johann Pfingst to 120: ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 911.

[39] This office was introduced in the eighteenth century. The judge had to propose among the senators candidates, but the election belonged to the community: ANDJC, Fasc. 406, F. 42, v.

[40] The Saxon municipal statutes (1583) stipulated that clerks had to be "nützliche Personen geruffen und erwehlet warden, welche auch nach verlauffenem Jahr von ihres Ampts Verwaltung einem Ehrsamen Rath redliche Rechnung thun mögen": Friedrich Schuller von Libloy, *Merkwürdige Municipal-Constitutionen der Siebenbürger szekler und Sachsen*, (Hermannstadt, 1862), 62.

the Middle Ages, the election was held every year. The office was held for a year, but according to Heinrich Wittstock, each year it was renewed for a quarter to a third of its members.[41] In order to hold a town office, one had to be a landlord [Besitzer] in the town. Councilors received a salary (1544, 100 fl.) and had other privileges such as tax exemption on their houses. In the sixteenth century, councilors were required to pay taxes on their houses but in the eighteenth century, they were no longer tax payers.[42] However, later in the eighteenth century, the Viennese Court annulled the tax exemption.[43]

Bistriţa during the eighteenth century

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Bistriţa was a decaying town due to the general economic transformations that had occurred in the seventeenth century, the *Curuţ* attacks and not at last, Austrian military occupation.[44] In 1691, Leopold I of Austria issued a diploma in which the Viennese archduke guaranteed the Transylvanian estates the recognition of their old political and religious privileges.[45] Thus, theoretically, Transylvania became an official exception in the Monarchy, where Hungarian Protestants went through one of the most traumatic experience during those years due to their religious allegiance.[46] However, eighteenth century Habsburg

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[41] Georg Ed. Müller, *Op. cit.*, 61.

[42] *Ibidem*, 65.

[43] *Ibidem*.

[44] In 1750, Bistriţa had 809 tax payers. Among them 302 were burghers who owned a house, 62 widows, 102 burghers with no privately-owned house, and 72 widows with no privately-owned house: Al. Matei, "Populaţia oraşului Bistriţa între anii 1750-1775," in *File de istorie* (1974): 242. See also Pompei Boca, "Structura etnică, socială şi economică a populaţiei din Districtul Bistriţei la mijlocul secolului XVIII," in *File de istorie* (1974): 197-207.

[45] *Diploma Leopoldinum* was issued in 1691 by Leopold I of Austria. It acted as the "Constituition" of the Principality of Transylvania until the nineteenth century. The first two paragraphs confirmed the old privileges and freedoms of the three recognized Estates [Noble/Magyars, Saxons and Szeklers] and four accepted religions [Catholicism, Calvinism, Lutheranism and Unitarianism]. The Romanians did not belong to the Transylvanian Estates, and their religion, Orthodoxy, was only "tolerated." For an annotated text of the *Leopoldinum* and the later political evolution, see Rolf Kutschera, *Landtag und Gubernium in Siebenbürgen 1688-1869*, (Köln, Wien: Böhlau, 1988).

[46] See the study of Zoltán Csepregi, "Das königliche Ungarn im Jahrhundert vor der Toleranz (1681-1781)", in *Geheimprotestantismus und evangelische Kirchen in der Habsburgermonarchie und im Erzstift Salzburg (17./18. Jahrhundert)*, Rudolf Leeb and Martin Scheutz eds., (Wien: Dietmar Weikl., 2009), 299-329. For Upper Hungary see

confessional politics oscillated between a radical stance towards Protestants[47], and "tolerance" dictated by pragmatism under the influence of "Enlightenment Absolutism"[48].

The Transylvanian Saxons represented a "target" of the Catholic Church until late in the eighteenth century; however, their conversion to Catholicism was far from being the same as in the other Habsburg lands, as General Caraffa recommended their protection[49]. Nevertheless, the Saxon-Lutheran composition underwent a gradual change in the new Habsburg context, a phenomenon that actually affected the most important Saxon towns in Transylvania. Similarly to Sibiu and Braşov, apart from Austrian soldiers, other Catholic Germans settled in Bistriţa. Moreover, for the first time after the Reformation, the Catholic clergy reentered the town,[50] later contributing greatly to the redefinition of the town's religious landscape:

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also Eva Kowalska, *Evanjelické a.v. spoločenstvo v 18. storočí. Hlavné problémy jeho vývoja a fungovania v spoločnosti*, (Bratislava: Veda, 2001), 11-39.

[47] See the book edited by Rudolf Leeb, *Op. cit.*

[48] Franz Szabo, *Kaunitz and enlightened Absolutism 1753-1780*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 229-247.

[49] In the report of General Caraffa it was recomended that the Lutheran Saxons be protected, as they represent „Robur Transsylvaniae": „...die evangelische Religion der Sachsen in Siebenbürgen auf keine Weise zu berühren, ja sogar auch den geringsten Schein zu vermeiden, weniger daß man selbige aufechten, oder darin etwas mutieren wolle, zu argwöhnen Anlaß und Ursach geben könnte. Denn in diesem Stück ist das Volk, besonderes der Sachsen, in welchher Robur Transsilvaniae ganz allein besteht, so eifrig, daß sie um Ihre Religion zu vindicieren, Alles auf die Spitze setzten: anbei auch so argwöhnlich und durch das, was in diesem Passu ihren Nachbarn Ungarn geschehen, und noch geschiehet, ao abgefreckt von Ihro Majestät, daß sie keiner Verführung, die man auch mit Tausend Eiden bekräftiget, glauben, sondern jeden Schritt, den sie vermuthen, daß er dem Religionswesen zu nahe traten möchte, vor versdächtig halten und sich darüber allarmieren thun. Gleich wie nun ein so beständiges Mißtrauern diese Liebe, so ein Unterthan gegen seinen Herrn tragen soll, keine Wurzel fassen läßt: also ist solchen Dissidenz und Suspition durch ein Verhalten, welches die Siebenbürger überhaupt, daß sie in der Religion keine Gewalt und im Gewissen keinen Zwang zu befürchten haben zu versichern, zu tilgen. Und dieß um so viel mehr, als die Religion überhaupt, sonderlich aber...": Andreas Gräser, „Caraffas Projekt: wie Siebenbürgen unter k.k. österreichischer Devotion zu erhalten – an Kaiser Leopold vom Jahre 1690", in *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* (1853): 170.

[50] The first known Catholic clergyman was the Jesuit Rudolph Bzenszky, who arrived in the town together with the Austrian soldiers in 1688. For certain details about him, see Vasile Rus, "Observationes de Ecclesia Transylvana (Studiu introductiv şi text reconstituit)", in *StudiaUBB. Seria Historica*, (1999): 59-70

The Piarist order was established in Bistriţa in 1717[51], three years later Catholics were "given" a Church[52] and in 1729 they founded a school.[53] Moreover, the Orthodox Romanians "unified" with the Church of Rome by the end of the seventeenth century, and starting with the second half of the eighteenth century, they had constantly demanded a church or place of worship in the town, which was granted only later (1786)[54]. Their action was supported by the Habsburg authorities. However, since a Church implied "ownership", it was also perceived as a threat to the old Saxon privileges that excluded Romanians from the burgher rights on the Saxon territory.

External transformations were coupled with internal ones as well, as the Saxon society underwent a gradual change. The Piarists intended their presence there as a Catholic mission for Lutheran Saxons and other Hungarian Protestants in North Eastern Transylvania.[55] In this new context and as a result of pro-Catholic legislation,[56] certain Saxons converted to Catholicism. Therefore, for the first time since the Reformation, "Transylvanian Saxon" was no longer an equivalent of "Lutheran". A new Saxon religious group was born.[57] The lists of Saxon converts in Bistriţa reveal that members

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[51] „...ex Respectu des Landesfürster Röml: Catholischer Religion die aldso ogenanter Dominikaner Kirch samst Kloster dergestalt freywillig abgetretten, dass eine geistlichen orden darinns zu fundiren undt instaliren: welche sie auch gantz gern dulden wollen: freygestellet worden, gleich wie dieses aber zu keiner anderer consequent, alß zu ihren aigenen Nutzen und die Jugend zu instruieren und das Exercitium Romana Catholica Religionis zu ... angesehen": ANDJC, Fasc. 114, F. 72.

[52] The document is also published in "Urkunden über die Abtretung von Kirchen in Bistritz, Hermannstadt, Mediasch und Schäßburg für den römischkatholischen Gottesdienst," in *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, I(1853): 238-269.

[53] For an institutional description, see Biró Vencel, *A kegyesrend Besztercén, Medgyesen és a kolozsvári főiskola bölcsészeti karán*, (Kolozsvár: Bonaventura, 1948). Concerning students, I know only about the list with Romanian students, published by Virgil Şotropa, "Românii la gimnaziul romano-latin din Bistriţa 1729-1779", in *Transilvania*, 32, 1(1901): 3-17.

[54] For a very short description, see the interwar Romanian historian Virgil Şotropa, „Lupta românilor bistriţeni pentru biserică", in *Arhiva Someşană*, III (1925): 31-37.

[55] In a letter to the congregation (1746) the Piarists reported 63 Protestant conversions to Catholicism: Ferenc Galla (István Fazekas ed.), *Ferences Misszionáriusok Magyarországon: A Királyságban és Erdélyben a 17-18. Században*, (Budapest, Rome, 2005), 285.

[56] Here I refer not only to the decrees concerning the local town council, but also to the apostasy and feast norms, which were meant to protect and spread Catholicism among Lutheran Saxons.

[57] The Piarist list of Saxons who converted to Catholicism reveals only small numbers. Thus, according to the list kept in the Roman Catholic Church archives in Gherla, there were six Saxon women who converted to Catholicism as early as 1718.

of the upper class only rarely converted to Catholicism, most of the converts coming from the ranks of the middle class. Some of these converted Saxons succeeded in advancing socially and becoming part of the local town "elite", mainly due to their allegiance to the Catholic Church.

The office as *instrumentum regni*. Dismantling the old political order

Theoretically the *Leopoldinum* recognized the old order, the "free election" of the judges and old customs regarding the election of the town councilors. Nevertheless, Vienna's "controlling" tendencies became obvious from the very beginning, given that a novelty was introduced in the electoral procedure: the newly elected local judges and similar office holders had to be confirmed by the Court.[58] Moreover, the point five of the *Leopoldinum* conferred the Court, the right to award the "Indigenat" to foreign people, and herewith it was given the possibility to appoint trustworthy persons into the administration.[59]

Eight years later, Leopold I issued a patent stipulating that half of the members of town councils had to be Catholics: "…aequali numero catholici admitantur…"[60]. In 1702 the town council of Bistriţa had already been admonished for disobeying the high ordinances and urged to implement the

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During the later period, Piarists did not achieve anymore substantial results among the Saxon burghers. Thus, in 1750, there were only two Saxons who converted to Catholicism and in 1768 only a Saxon family. Concerning the social origin of the converted burghers, apart from certain widows and poor Saxons, we note in the list a pastor (Klein, 1752) and even the former town judge Seiverth de Rosenberg (1752). The manifold apostasy decrees in the epoch reveal that certain conversions were "superficial", although the *Fundus Pauperorum* was meant to secure stability in this sense. Nevertheless, in many cases the converts were coming from the neighboring Hungarian counties since they were Calvinists and Unitarians. Beside these Hungarians, I noted that many converted Lutherans were soldiers from the other provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy.

[58] "... Concerning the Königsrichter, judges and similar offices in towns, they shall be elected freely as before; nevertheless, they should be confirmed by the Court…": Ernst Wagner, *Op. cit.*, 168.

[59] Harald Roth, „Das Diploma Leopoldinum Vorgeschichte, Bestimmungen", in *Siebenbürgen in der Habsburgermonarchie. Vom Leopoldinum bis zum Ausgleich*, eds. Zsolt K. Lengyel and Ulrich A. Wien, (Köln,Weimar,Wien: Böhlau, 1999), 7.

[60] "…ut in civitatibus et oppidis tam ad senatoria munera, quam ad majorum officiorum civicorum adminisrationem, sicut etiam in tribubus aequali numero catholici admitantur": Gottfried Poschner, "Gegenreformatorische Bestrebungen in Bistritz im 18. Jahrhundert", in *Programm des evangelischen Gymnasiums zu Bistritz in Siebenbürgen*, (1883/1884), p. 8, ANDJC, Fasc. 114, F. 5.

Viennese norms.[61] The instability that reigned until the Peace of Sătmar (1711) impeded the "state" to enforce its politics, as during the Curuț attacks the Habsburgs did not exercise any control over the towns' internal affairs. Nevertheless, these two requirements, the confirmation and appointment of Catholics into the local town council represented an important instrument of the catholicization strategy, by means of them succeeded to dismantle the local political order and to some extent Lutheran hegemony.

The consolidation of the Habsburg power in Hungary and Transylvania after 1711 enabled the reinforcement of Catholicism[62]. The strong catholicization campaign, reinforced in Hungary[63] during the fourth decade, extended to a certain degree to Transylvania as well.[64] Thus, the 1732 imperial decree demanded that Catholic subjects be accepted to public offices the same as those of other religions and be "accommodated" according to their proportion.[65] This decree was issued in a context of tensions between the Court and Saxons, when the Viennese authorities eventually had to confirm the newly elected Saxon bailiff of Sibiu (1731), the Lutheran Simon Baußner (1733), after many negotiations and debates on the election procedure.[66] Similar infringements from the part of the Habsburgs

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[61] Gottfried Poschner, *Op. cit.*, 8.

[62] The Catholic episcopate in Alba was reestablished, and many Catholic orders settled to Transylvania: see Zsolt Trócsanyi, „Az ellenreformáció Erdélyben 1711-től a felvilágosult abzolutismus kezdeteiig", in *Történelmi Szemle,* 22(1979): 219-226.

[63] I refer to the *Carolina Resolutio* (1731). Concerning public offices, Protestants had to vow on the immaculate Holy Mary, which in fact meant their theoretical exclusion from any public office: Zoltán Csepregi, *Op. cit.*, 310.

[64] For instance the disciplinary decrees: the apostasy decree of 1725 and the decree concerning the obligation to observe the Catholic feasts (1732).

[65] On 4 March 1732 the Gubernium sent the imperial decree which stipulated, „die katholischen Insassen nach der Proportion ihrer Anzahl ad officia Publica zu accomodieren": Georg Michael Gottlieb von Hermann, op. cit., p. 155, ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 33.

[66] The Court's first attempt to impose a Catholic subject to the highest Saxon office in Transylvania, that of Saxon bailiff, failed. In 1730, the Court Counselor Simon Baußner was elected to the office of Saxon Bailiff by the Sibiu community with 63 votes, but under various pretexts, he was confirmed in office by the Court only three years later. Among the pretexts invoked by the Viennese Court was that the community had no right to elect the bailiff as this was the competency of the Saxon University, no permission was asked from the Court, and the incompatibility between the offices of Saxon bailiff and Guberium councilor. In response to these arguments, the Community invoked the old privileges and after years of "negotiations", Vienna eventually confirmed Simon Baußner in office: Friedrich Teutsch [Georg Daniel Teutsch], *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächische Volk*, II, (Hermannstadt: Krafft, 1907), 75.

failed in Braşov as well,[67] and General Commander Wallis's endeavor to appoint a Catholic in Bistriţa (1732) or threat to invalidate any election of a non-Catholic (1734) did not have any effect.[68] The implementation of the Viennese norms failed during the reign of Charles VI. Among the deficiencies that may have played a part in this failure was the absence of a strong Catholic "party", given that the Piarists' initial mission was rather successful among women and a segment of soldiers. This may be confirmed by the fact that in 1736 commander Ritz mentioned he did not know any Catholic burgher and, as a result, did not want to push any "bad" subject.[69]

It was only during Maria Theresa's long reign Catholicism could make some progress in the context of an increasing "state" control and by means of manifold disciplinary orders. The success might be in straight connection with the fact that the Habsburgs succeeded to secure the "Pragmatic Sanction", as Harald Roth remarks, but this might also be directly connected to the activity of Catholic missionaries who managed to convert some Saxons to Catholicism. Moreover, the Catholic missionaries started to play an important political role, as they interfered very often in the process of local elections. Besides, as shown above, the military commanders interfered as well in the election procedure, and against the Leopoldine diplom. The "confirmation" right started to represent a real instrument of the Court in imposing the "desiderated" subject, in most of the cases being a confessional matter.[70] Thus, the highest office in the Transylvanian Saxon University, the Saxon bailiff of Sibiu, was eventually acquired by the Catholics. In 1742, the converted Saxon Stefan Waldhütter von Adlerhausen succeeded in being appointed to this position with Vienna's support and against the community's will.[71] A similar trend can be noticed in Braşov as well.[72]

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[67] As the office of Chair Judge became vacant in 1728, the Commander recommended the converted Johann Drauth for this position. In spite of this, the community elected a Lutheran. In 1731 the Commander again pressured the community to elect a Catholic, and eventually Johann Drauth became Stadthahn (responsible with police affairs): Georg Michael Gottlieb von Hermann, *Op. cit.*, 177.

[68] Gottfried Poschner, *Op. cit.*, 9, Otto Dahinten, *Geschichte der Stadt Bistritz in Siebenbürgen*, ed. Paul Philippi, (Köln,Wien: Böhlau, 1988), 101.

[69] Otto Dahinten, *Op. cit.*, footnote 67.

[70] Harald Roth refers to three emblematic examples, when the Court refused to give confirmation: 1742, 1744 and eventually, 1762: Harald Roth, *Op. cit.*, footnote 57, and 6, footnote 7.

[71] During the 1742 elections in Sibiu, the community elected the Lutheran Czekelius to the office of Saxon bailiff, but the Court did not confirm his election and eventually nominated the converted Stefan Waldhütter von Adlerhausen despite

The first modest advancements can be traced in Bistrița during this decade, when we witness a stronger pressure against the town council. In 1744 the tresaurary Thorozkay recommended the town council to accept Franz Wenzel Lustig "among the burghers".[73] At the 1747 elections, in referring to the requirement of having Catholic members in their communities, Count Haller recommended the Bistrița town council to consider Catholics as well and moreover, in the places where their number is as the one of the other religions, Catholics must be accepted on the local council.[74] The town judge received a similar demand, namely that one of the two Catholics, Martin Pfingstgräf or Wenzel Lustig, be elected [zu Consolieren].[75] As a consequence of these interventions, the converted Martin Dinges[76] was elected to the town council with 29 votes,[77] but he asked for an "annulment".[78] In a letter to the town council, the commander refers to protests from the part of the community[79], a fact that may prove that the Lutheran town elites tried to resist the catholicization strategy. But in the same year (1747) Martin Pfingstgräf was elected senator, soon after his conversion. [80]

More than fifty years after the 1699 decree, the implementation of the Leopoldine *puncta* was still a Habsburg desideratum. On the one hand, it represented a reason for the Habsburgs' discontent, as the complaints of

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many protests relying on the old Saxon privileges: ANDJC, Fasc. 384. He became the first Catholic Saxon bailiff after the Reformation.

[72] For details, see Georg Michael Gottlieb von Hermann, *Op. cit.*

[73] Wenzel Lustig was officier and afterwards Kammerprovisor in Blaj. He bought a house in Bistrita: Otto Dahinten, 103.

[74] In his letter to the Bistrița town council, Count Haller demanded that Catholics be specially considered, "specialis reflexio in puncto accomodationis". Further, he referred to the mandatory confirmation from the Court: ANDJC, POB II a, Fasc. 461, F. 81.

[75] When the councilor Bartholomaeus Helzeldorffer died: Gottfried Poschner, p. 9 and ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 78.

[76] Martin Dinges came as phisician together with his brother to Bistrita. Through marriage they succeeded to be accepted into the community: Otto Dahinten, 105.

[77] Martin Dinges competed with the Lutherans Georg Gunesch and J. Fr. Klein von Straußenburg: ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 85.

[78] Gottfried Poschner, p. 9, and ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 85, r-v. Otto Dahinten mentions another name, Sigismund Konrad Dinges, *Op. cit.*, 102.

[79] Otto Dahinten, *Op. cit.*, 102.

[80] Martin Pfingstgräf converted to Catholicism on 3 June 1747. He was a shoemaker, Vizehauptmann (1732-33), marktrichter 1738-42, 1747-1752 town councilor in Bistrița: Otto Dahinten, 102.

the Viennese Court and Transylvanian *Gubernium* clearly reveal it.[81] On the other hand, Viennese policies provoked resistance from the part of Lutheran urban elites, as some councilors complained against the infringements of the Court (1750).[82] Indeed, Maria Theresa's 1751 response to the Saxons' complaints against the infringement on the right of free elections confirmed their fears: Vienna introduced the "alternation" principle for the highest offices, i.e. Catholics and Protestants should alternate in the most important offices in towns, i.e. a Lutheran/Catholic judge/pro-Judge and vice-versa every two year.[83] This "novelty" secured the Catholics the "election" into key leading positions of the local level.

As a result of the Viennese interventions, starting with the sixth decade we can observe a slow accommodation on the part of the local Lutheran elite who "ceased" ground in favor of Catholics. Thus, in 1752 the Catholics Martin Dinges, Conrad Dinges[84] and Martin Pfingstgraef were among town senators.[85]

The catholicization process was a "negotiated" settlement. Unlike in the previous decades, during the Kaunitz Era the Court succeeded in implementing part of its religious "package" by means of manifold interventions that involved all political and church actors. A relevant example in this sense would be the vacancy following the death of the Lutheran Senator Samuel Schuller in 1753. During the council session, the Piarist superior interfered and demanded that a Catholic subject should be elected to the position.[86] The election was eventually postponed also because the Catholic councilors interfered and demanded that no Lutheran should run until parity was attained between the two denominations. The commander also protested and presented the situation to the Gubernium specifying that the two Catholics Andreas Teuchert and Samuel Engessner

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[81] For instance, in 1750 Maria Theresa expressed her discontent at the discrimination of Catholics during the elections, therefore demanding stronger measures in the future. In the same year, the town council received an admonishment with regard to the mandatory confirmation from the Court, as stipulated in *Leopoldinum*, while the Gubernial counselor Braun pointed to several instructions from the years 1747 and 1749: Gottfried Poschner, *Op. cit.*, footnote 68, ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 121, f-v.

[82] In 1750, the Saxon deputies Rosenfeld, Klockner and Sachsenfels expressed their religious concerns about the confirmation issue in a letter to the town judge Tekel: Gotfried Poschner, *Op. cit.*, 10.

[83] *Ibidem*, 10.

[84] Conrad Dinges converted to Catholicism in 1747.

[85] Gottfried Poschner, *Op. cit.*, footnote 62.

[86] ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 209.

(Kuerschner) were not suitable.[87] The Comes Waldhutter (Catholic) recommended a Catholic for this position; furthermore, Governor Haller and Commander Wallis argued they should elect as many Catholics as it was required to reach parity with Protestants.[88] Instead of the two Catholics, Jakob Fröhlich was elected councilor against the wish of the Catholic father and senators.[89]

The Catholic father was successful when he demanded the annulment of the elections for town judge (1753). On this occasion, the Lutheran Georg Tekelt was elected town judge and the Catholic Martin Pfingstgräff pro-judge, but the Catholic father contested the election by referring to the 1751 alternation decree. As a result, the Catholic Stefan Seiverth von Rosenberg was eventually elected town judge a few months later. That alternation became the norm can be also certified eleven years later, when the Viennese Court confirmed the Catholic Sigismund Conrad Dinges as town judge, the Lutheran Georg Decani as villicus and the Catholic Georg Engessner as orator.[90]

The Lutheran elite indeed opposed Viennese policies, for it was reluctant to accept Catholics in the town council, as it happened with the case of Andreas Teuchert, or as we will see when Seeberg recommended a Catholic orator in 1764.[91] In 1753, when Samuel Schuller died, the "freshly" converted Andreas Teuchert pretended to be admitted into the local town council. As a consequence of his demand, Otto Dahinten refers to the protest of the entire community. Due to this, Andreas Teucher was elected only three years later after his conversion to Catholicism.[92] When Samuel Keller died, the Piarist superior reminded the community about the recent imperial decrees,[93] which triggered protests from the local town judge in a letter to the

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[87] Otto Dahinten, *Op. cit.,* 103.

[88] *Ibidem.*

[89] *Ibidem.*

[90] Gottfried Poschner, 17.

[91] *Ibidem*, 14. During the 1753 elections, both Lutheran and Catholic parties protested to the local Commander against the election of Fröhlich: ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 295, 296.

[92] Otto Dahinten, *Op. cit.,* 102, 103.

[93] The decree of 21 August 1764 stipulated: "…ut stations Catholicorum subjiectis Catholicis suppleantur, et restituto stabilito numero acatholicorum quoque vocaturae stations tamdiu per catholicos occupentur, quoad secundum ordinations eorum numerous in magistrate aequaretur". Furthermore, the decree of 10th July specified, "…ut perceptores regii, qui actu magistratibus exessent, illico in magistratum cooptarentur: Gottfried Poschner, *Op. cit.*, 14.

Gubernium.[94] Consequently, in 1765 they sent from Sibiu the imperial decree (1764) reiterating the obligation that the number of Catholics should be equal to non-Catholics in the town councils. Moreover, they specified that, in case of vacancies, Catholics should be promoted until their number will be equal to that of Lutherans and if necessary, *supranumerari* senators should be accepted.[95] In a letter Hadik sent to the town council, he demanded that the position of senator Samuel Keller be offered to a Catholic.[96] Moreover, the 1758 elections were annulled when the Lutheran Johann Friedrich Klein von Straußenburg was elected town judge, the Lutheran Jakob Schankenbach orator, and the Catholic August Strecker villicus.[97] The Court noted that alternation in public offices was not observed and therefore demanded repeat elections.[98] Concerning the 1761 elections, the majority of votes for the position of town judge went to the Lutheran Johann Friedrich Klein von Straußenburg, meanwhile the Catholic August Strecker receiving most of the votes for the vilicatus position.[99]

A similar scenario occurred with the promotion of the converted Johann Frank .[100] In 1763, the Lutheran councilor Georg Decani died and barely two days later Johann Frank, who was related to the Dinges family (married to the Catholic Marie Susanna Dinges, daughter of the senator Martin Dinges), converted to Catholicism. During the session of the town council, the Piarist Dinges (uncle of Susanna Dinges) interfered and

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[94] In a letter to the Gubernium, the town judge of Bistrița complained about the protest of the Piarist father when Senator Samuel Keller passed away: ANDJC, F. 549, f-r.

[95] ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 557, F. 559, F. 560.

[96] ANDJC, F. 557.

[97] Gottfried Poschner, 16. The number of votes in ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 468. However, we find August Strecker on a list mentioned as town notary in 1758 and as senator only in 1760.

[98] ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 455, 458.

[99] ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 478, f-r.

[100] Johann Frank was a converted (1763) Saxon from Bistrița. On the list of members of the community (1758) he was mentioned as part-time town clerk and merchant: ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 429. According to a note, he converted to Catholicism two days after the death of the Lutheran Senator Georg Decani: ANDJC, Fasc.461, F. 496. After conversion he succeeded to be promoted on the office of villicus and later town judge. According to his contemporary, Michael Conrad von Heydendorff, he left behind 30.000 Rh. Florins. His conversion to Catholicism was ironically depicted by his contemporary Michael Conrad von Heydendorff: "…geben Sie mir Brot, sonst werde ich katholisch, retten Sie meine Seele!": "Michael Conrad von Heidendorf. Eine Selbstbiographie;" ed. Rudolf Theil in *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, XIV, II. Heft (1878): 230.

demanded that Catholics must be elected until their number was equal to that of Lutherans (*proportio geometrica*).[101] On this occasion, Catholics complained that they are accepted with difficulties on the most important positions, and besides this, there were only two Catholics on the town council and that foreign Lutherans were promoted instead of local Catholics. Under these circumstances Maria Theresa and the Gubernium ordered that Johann Frank should be elected on the next occasion.[102] The Catholics' demands triggered the protest of the Lutheran councilors, who displayed that also non local Catholics have been accepted as well.[103] Besides they explained how easily Catholics promoted only due to their confession,[104] although in many cases they were not really "suitable" for their offices or Lutherans were disadvantaged. Thus, they provide the biography of several councilors: Samuel Engessner[105], Andreas Teuchert[106], Daniel Dinges, Johannes Pfingstgräff[107], Andreas Consales (German shoemaker)[108]. Considering the "quality" of some Catholics, the Lutheran councilors demanded that Georg Tekelt be promoted, as he is more capable than Johann Frank.[109] However,

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[101] Otto Dahinten, 105, ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 496.

[102] Otto Dahinten, 105, ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 502, 504.

[103] Thus, they gave the example of Augustus Strecker, a Catholic from Erfurt, who established in Bistriţa and was promoted pro-notary, notary and afterwards councilor (senator): ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 518.

[104] A similar scenario may be noticed in Silezia as well. For instance, the Lutheran preacher Johann Subcius settled down in Glogau after his conversion to Catholicism in 1625 and two years later he became town councilor: Jörg Deventer, *Op. cit.*, 230.

[105] For instance Samuel Engessner: "Samuel Engessner enim, Pellio Catholicus factus, Quartiriorum hactenus Magister, simul ac Decimator, Anno vero proxime evoluto 762. Oratoris officium, posthabitis multis concivibus Evangelicis, et meritis, et Senio, et quod primum fuisset Eriendum, capacitate cum multum in Superantibus non sine acerba contristaone eorum, sola Religione Catholica opitulante, nactus est: ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 518.

[106] Concerning Andreas Teuchert, he is described as converted to the Catholic Church, because the Piarist father promised him the promotion on the local town council, and he was accepted in the *Hundertmannshaft*, beyond his merits and capacities: "ultra omnia sua merita et capacitates intrinsecas tam convenienter consolatus est..": *Ibidem.*

[107] Johannes Pfingstgräff was a shoemaker, who promoted in the position of Commissarii Confrontatoris, but he proved to be unable for this, and switched to military: *Ibidem.*

[108] Andreas Consales was accepted in the Hundertmannschaft only because he was Catholic: *Ibidem.*

[109] "… in persona vice notarii Georgii Tekelt suffectum esse, qui, si non aetate, meritis tamen et capacitate Johannem frank longe plurimumque superat. Fecimus

when the Senator Strecker died, Frank was elected and confirmed (1763). Later Johann Frank was elected villicus, the Lutheran Klein town judge and the Lutheran Schankenbank orator.[110] Later Johann Frank succeeded to be appointed in the position of town judge (1777-1779)[111].

The list of town council members for the year 1767 reveals the following results: Bistrița had a Catholic town judge (Conrad Sigmund Dinges), a Lutheran pro-judge (Johann Friedrich Klein von Straußenburg), and nine senators, two of them being *supernumerarii*. Out of all nine senators, four were Catholics[112]. Three years later the town had a Lutheran judge, a Catholic pro-judge, and out of nine senators, three were Catholics.[113] These numbers reveal that the religious *paritas* in accordance with the Leopoldine patent (1699) was not yet fully implemented. Thus, during the eighth decade, Vienna was still complaining that in Saxon localities Catholics did not reach the necessary number. Moreover, in 1775 Governor Samuel Brukenthal sent the Imperial Court's recommendation that more Catholics should be accepted, in accordance with the previous decrees. However, lack of Catholic subjects represented a problem noticed by Vienna as well.[114]

But paradoxically, only during the last six years of Maria Theresa's reign did Vienna succeed in its endeavor. While the alternation in offices was a relative reality since the sixth decade, *proportio geometrica* represented a constant "problem", as we have already noted. Thus, during the 1766 elections, while the Catholic Conrad Dinges received most votes for the office of town judge, the office of villicatus was given to the Lutheran Samuel Teckelt. Later, in 1770, we have in Bistrița a Lutheran town judge

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igitur et hoc, non tam assecuratione Excellmi quondam Gralis Comendantis Comitis a Wallis nomine Regio Magratui per Litteras factae nixi, in quibus exstat> Quosi Subjecto Catholicus Religioni addict, qualitas pro munere Senatoris necessaria deesset, tunc eidem solam Religionem Suffragari non posse…": ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 519, f-v.

[110] ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 527.

[111] Otto Dahinten, *Ahnen-Tafeln Bistritzer Familien*, Band 1.,(Bistritz: Verlag u. Druck Carl Csallner, 1937), 46, ANDJC, Fasc.374, F. 45.

[112] ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 642.

[113] ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 701.

[114]"… quod in pluribus inc Nationis Saxonicae locis in restaurandis officijs Individuorum Catholicorum ideo ratio haberi nequeat, quod idonea ejusdem Religionis Subjecta publicis de essent visum est altefatae Eidem vigore Benigni sui sub 17a Mens Marty a.c. exarati Decreti Aulici clementer jubere, ut ad ductum et pscriptur anteriorum altissimarum ordinationum in gremium Comunitatum Saxonicarum plura Catholica Subjecta habeantur…": ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 916.

and a Catholic pro-judge,[115] meanwhile in 1776 a Catholic town judge, and a Lutheran pro-judge. Concerning *proportio geometrica*, sources reveal that it was only later implemented in Bistriţa, since the number of Catholic town councilors became equal to that of Lutheran ones only in late 1776,[116] a political reality that can be confirmed for 1778,[117] but not in 1781.[118] The implementation of the Viennese policies was the result of lasting negotiations, as it happened in 1776. Thus, at the 1776 elections, Maria Theresa[119] and the Piarist Superior Felix Lengyel[120] reminded the town council that *proportio geomtrica* should be implemented, while the Catholic "party" asked for support at the Transylvanian Gubernium regarding the vacancy of the deceased senator Gunesch. They requested the promotion of Johannes Heiser and Georg Reiner as *supranumerarus*. [121] Maria Theresa filed a similar request in the case of the Schankenback vacancy, when the empress recommended the election of a Catholic until *proportio geometrica* was reached.[122]

One year later after the decree of Tolerance we may find in a list with the councilors of Bistriţa also the "second generation" of Catholic senators, as for instance Michael Hennrich[123] and Daniel Dinges. They both knew vernacular, German, Latin, Hungarian and Wallachian (Romanian), similarly to the Lutherans Georg Theophil Teckelt, P. C. Klein von Straußenburg, Johann von Schankenback or Daniel Cziegler[124]. This suggests that the Catholic "party" succeeded to create its own "oligarchy" as they "inherited" the office of councilors from the parents. Families such

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[115] J. Fr. Klein von Straussenburg (Lutheran) was elected town judge, while the Catholic Conrad Dinges became pro-judex. Out of nine senators, three were Catholics. Concerning the other officeholders, only two were Catholics, the judge secretary and a "*commissarius stationalis*". See the complete list at Gottfried Poschner, *Op. cit.*, 19.

[116] In October 1776, Bistriţa had a Lutheran *Judex Primarius*, eight Senators, and among them, four were Catholics. The Orator was Catholic, and the *notarius* was Lutheran: ANDJC, F. 949.

[117] ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 961.

[118] The list of 1781 reveal that the town judge was Catholic, the two pro-judges were Lutheran, and out of nine senators, four were Catholic: ANDJC, Fasc. 374, F. 45.

[119] ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 931.

[120] ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 934.

[121] ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 936.

[122] ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 938.

[123] Michael Henrich was the son of the Catholic Senator Daniel Henrich, a leathermaker from Bistriţa. Michael Henrich was senator for eighteen years: Otto Dahinten, 68, footnote 99.

[124] ANDJC, Fasc. 461, F. 1032.

as Frank[125], Dinges or Hennrich were among the new "patricians" of the town, who succeeded to ascend due to the Viennese catholicization strategy. However, the situation did not differ from the seventeenth century: oligarchy and family connections prevailed in the election process. At the same time, their linguistic abilities may suggest that unlike the previous generations of Catholic office holders, they might have been more "suitable" in terms of "competences".

Final considerations

When addressing the issue of the limits of confessionalization in East Central Europe, the Oxford historian Robert J. W. Evans depicts Transylvania as "Absolutism without Counter-Reformation." Indeed, if we consider only the Saxon case, a Counter-Reformation in the classical sense is out of the question given that a reestablishment of the Catholic Church never took place. On the other hand, control over the territory was not "absolute", as the catholicization of public offices was implemented only late and in places such as Mediaş never achieved. For instance, in 1773, the total number of Catholic clerks in the Saxon chairs and districts was 93, in contrast with the 707 non-Catholics. Lack of suitable Catholic subjects for these offices was a common pretext invoked in the epoch, as the mayor of Sibiu, Honammon, explained when Emperor Joseph II visited Transylvania in 1773[126] or as Counselor Auersberg mentioned in his report on the Catholics' complaints.[127] Nonetheless, similarly to the previous centuries, nepotism represented another cause, as most senators had tight connections to the others.[128] This prevailed among Catholics as well.

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[125] Johann Frank was the son of Samuel Frank, a member of the Hundertmannshaft. After his conversion he holded town offices, as we have seen. His son was the councilor Johann Franz who married a Catholic woman from Gyergyo: Otto Dahinten, *Op. cit.*[2], 46, footnote 99.

[126] On the occasion of Joseph II's visit to Transylvania, the mayor of Sibiu referred in his questionnaire to the difficulty in finding well instructed Catholics as compared to Lutherans who have good schools and attend foreign universities. Moreover, in his report, Count Bethlen spoke about an increasing number of Catholics in the Saxon towns, but blamed the Jesuits for their poor education: Ileana Bolzac, Teodor Pavel, *Călătoria Împăratului Josif al II-lea în Transilvania la 1773*, Vol. I, 2nd edition, (Cluj-Napoca/Klausenburg: Academia Română, 2007), 454, 464.

[127] Following Catholics' complaints regarding public offices in the Saxon districts and chairs, Count Auersperg referred to the most invoked pretexts concerning the exclusion of Catholics from public town offices: *Ibidem*, II, 301, 302.

[128] Mentioned, for instance, in the report of General Hadik, published by D. G. A. Schuller, *Ein Aktenmäßiger Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Siebenbürgen*

However, the context of the eighteenth century must not be left out. Old religious practices cohabited with tolerance and pragmatism in the Habsburg Monarchy. Thus, Samuel Brukenthal became the first non-Catholic Governor of Transylvania. Nevertheless, this political evolution cohabited with traditional religious policies, as Vienna and the Catholic clergy promoted norms of *proportio geometrica* until the late 1780s. This was also the case of Bistrița. Complaints, protests and interferences from Vienna, the General Commander and the Catholic clergy were common occurrence in the epoch. However, a *paritas* between Lutherans and Catholics was achieved only during the last decade of the Maria Theresa's reign or, in other words, after almost ninety years of Habsburg rule in Transylvania. Gradually, Vienna succeeded in dismantling the old privileged order of the town and imposing its religious policies at the administrative level. This brought about a social transformation, as new members of the community, who did not belong to the *patriciis* families or the old Lutheran oligarchy, were promoted and supported by Vienna and the Catholic clergy. Only rarely can we note that a Lutheran member of the town council converted to Catholicism. Vienna did not succeed in achieving mass conversions to Catholicism, but managed to dismantle the old political traditions by promoting a clientele tied to the interests of the Court.

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im 18. Jahrhundert, (Hermannstadt: Honterus Buchdrückerei und Verlagsanstalt der evang. Landeskirche A.B. in Rumänien, 1931), 25.

Confessional Coexistence and Conflict in Eighteenth-Century Transylvania. Case Study: The Movement Led by the Monk Sofronie in Dăbâca County

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Abstract: Confessional Coexistence and Conflict in Eighteenth-Century Transylvania. Case Study: The Movement Led by the Monk Sofronie in Dăbâca County. In this study, I propose a re-assessment of the confessional conflict between the Uniates and the non-Uniates during the movement led by the monk Sofronie from Cioara, by focusing on a case study – Dăbâca County – from the vantage point of confessional identity. I shall examine the strategy of the movement, the forms that the coexistence and the conflict between the parishioners and the priests took, the involvement of local power and influence holders in the formation of the confessional groups from the parishes, as well as the impact of the Uniate and non-Uniate propaganda discourses on defining the priests' and the parishioners' identity. I have wondered whether a bishop's ordination and the recognition of his jurisdiction are trademarks of identity, why the priests and their parishioners considered themselves Uniate or non-Uniate, at one point or another in time, and what were the reasons for which there emerged a rift between the priests and the parishioners.

Keywords: Uniate church, confessional conflict, confessional identity, confessional coexistence, parish milieu

Rezumat: Coexistenţă şi conflict confesional în Transilvania secolului al XVIII-lea. Studiu de caz: mişcarea lui Sofronie în comitatul Dăbâca. Mi-am propus în studiul de faţă o reevaluare a conflictului confesional dintre uniţi şi neuniţi din timpul mişcării călugărului Sofronie din Cioara, pe un studiu de caz, comitatul Dăbâca, din perspectiva identităţii confesionale. Am urmărit strategia de desfăşurare a mişcării, formele convieţuirii şi conflictului între enoriaşi şi preoţi, implicarea factorilor de putere şi de influenţă locali în constituirea grupurilor confesionale din parohii, impactul discursurilor propagandei unite şi neunite asupra definirii identitare a preoţilor şi enoriaşilor. M-am întrebat dacă hirotonirea şi recunoaşterea jurisdicţiei unui episcop sunt mărci identitare; de ce preoţii şi enoriaşii s-au considerat la un moment dat uniţi sau neuniţi; care au fost motivele pentru care s-a produs ruptura dintre preoţi şi enoriaşi.

Cuvinte-cheie: Biserica unită, conflict confesional, identitate confesională, coexistenţă confesională, mediu parohial

Without representing a new theme in Romanian historiography, the relations between the Uniates and the non-Uniates (the Orthodox) in eighteenth-century Transylvania have often been examined with partisan or self-victimizing biases. Referring to the rapports between the Uniates and the Orthodox, historians have emphasized the denominational conflict, presenting either the Orthodox or the Uniates as victims of the others, as applicable. Studies have been written about the struggle for the "religious liberation" of the Orthodox from the yoke of Catholicism imposed by the Viennese court[1] or about the Uniates as targets of Serbian Orthodox propaganda.[2] What I propose is a re-assessment of the confessional tensions and conflicts from the perspective of confessional identity and the experience of confessional diversity in everyday life.[3]The denominational identity of the Uniate Church in the eighteenth century has been a widely exploited theme in historiography over the past decade[4], but these approaches have generally considered only the elite perspective, attempting to reconstitute the identitarian construct developed by the leaders of the Uniate Church. What is important, however, is to discern whether and how this discourse permeated the parishes, how it was perceived and understood by the local clergy and the believers, how the parish-priests and the parishioners defined themselves in denominational terms.

Such an approach that considers confessional relations at the level of parishes is hampered by the scarcity of sources. Those that are available to us concern a time of conflict, namely, the movement headed by the Orthodox monk Sofronie from Cioara between 1759 and 1761. Although numerical rather than narrative, the results of the inquiries and statistics conducted then by the secular officials and the Uniate archpriests reveal the rapports between the Uniates and the non-Uniates, the forms the confessional conflict took and what coexistence meant in a time of crisis. I base my considerations in this presentation on a case-study: the Sofronian movement in the parishes of Dăbâca County. The fact that this county was

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[1] Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirei religioase a românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII*, vol. I-II (Sibiu, 1920-1930).

[2] Augustin Bunea, *Episcopii Petru Paul Aaron și Dionisie Novacovici sau istoria românilor transilvăneni de la 1751 până la 1764* (Blaj, 1902).

[3] For religious plurality/diversity, see Andreas Höfele, Enno Ruge (eds.), *Representing Religious Pluralization in Early Modern Europe* (Münster, 2007); G. Scott Dixon, Dagmar Freist, Mark Greengrass (eds.), *Living with Religious Diversity in Early Modern Europe* (Ashgate, 2009).

[4] Greta-Monica Miron, Historical Discourses. The Uniate Church from 18th Century Transylvania in Historical, Writings after 1989, *Brukenthalia. Romanian Cultural History Review. Supplement of Brukenthal. Acta Musei*, 2(2012): 213-225.

situated in the north-eastern part of the diocese, at its very edges, bordering Moldova, on one side, which was an Orthodox space par excellence, is, I believe, relevant for the movement's spread rate and intensity in the diocese. What I am interested, in this presentation, is to observe the forms of conflict and cooperation between the priests and the parishioners and their significance in terms of identity construction.

The movement of the years 1759-1761 came as a continuation of the confessional unrest triggered by the monk Visarion Sarai in 1744. The denominational tensions continued, especially in the areas of southern Transylvania, so in order to put an end to them, Empress Maria Theresa issued a decree of tolerance on 13 July 1759.[5] Designed to reduce the tensions and curb the expansion of Orthodoxy, the message the empress conveyed to the parishes of the principality was that of calmness and the construction of peaceful confessional boundaries between the Uniates and the non-Uniates. The purpose of the decree was to strengthen the Union by preventing its abandonment and annihilating the Orthodox propagators, who were to be arrested. The signal transmitted to the parishes was to accept the non-Uniates (who were conceded the free exercise of religion and a bishop) and to support and protect the Uniates. The decree, however, failed to achieve its purpose: it actually fostered the grassroots actions of institutionalizing Orthodoxy, initiated by the local Orthodox leaders in the parishes. Thus, far from establishing the peace desired by the Viennese court, tensions escalated. Interpreting the decree to their advantage, as a sign of anti-Union actions, the proponents of Orthodoxy started to attract new believers and priests. Faced with the wave of defections from the Union, often accompanied by violence, the Uniate Bishop P. P. Aaron remained baffled. It appeared that all his previous efforts to neutralize the "schismatic" neighbors and especially the "Rascians" from Karlowitz had been thwarted by the Tolerance Decree. This was the feeling with which on 8 September 1759, he wrote to the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith. He showed that among other provisions issued by the Viennese Court, which had been salutary for maintaining the holy faith, there was also "*un termino di toleranza per gli Schismatici,*" who exulted now for having obtained the free exercise "*of their sect,*" which they had not had thus far, took churches from the Uniates by force, drove priests out of their homes, committed other evils and persecutions, and, what was worse, they wanted to remove themselves from this episcopate, "*on which, so far, they have always been dependent.*"[6] The danger

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[5] See the decree text in Bunea, *Episcopii…*, 162-164.

[6] Archivio della Congregazione di Propaganda Fide (A.C.P.F.), *Greci di Croazia, Dalmazia, Schiavonia, Transilvania e Ungheria*, vol. 2, f. 560v.

the bishop sensed was real. By the end of 1760, the anti-Union movement had engulfed the entire diocese, including Dăbâca County, where the summer and autumn of 1760 represented the peak moment of defections from the Union.

The conciliatory messages of calm and tranquility sent by the Viennese court[7] and, at its signal, by the Gubernium, which ordered the release of the "schismatic" priests from prison on 9 April 1760, on condition that they signed a promise they would no longer disturb the Union and the "public peace,"[8] had no effect. Consequently, the political power holders decided to take stronger measures: by the order of 7 July 1760, the Gubernium demanded that those who rebelled against the Union should be caught and handed over to the nearest military garrison.[9] The earliest defection in the county recorded in the documents was that of the villagers from Pâglişa, on 24 July 1760. It may have occurred under the influence of the meetings held around that day in the neighboring Cluj County, at Frata (17 July) and Sânpetru de Câmpie (20 July) by Fr. Ioan from Sadu.[10] The fact is that from the summer until the end of 1760, most parishes in the upper half of the county left the Union and major defections also occurred in the lower half.

The establishment of denominational boundaries between the Uniates and Non-Uniates within the communities was marked by tensions and violence. The Uniate priests were chased away from churches, parish houses and benefices, sometimes in the dead of winter. The villagers from Mureşenii de Câmpie (the protopresbyterate of Cheţiu), who had left the Union on 16 October 1760, chased the priest out of the church and handed his keys to the village magistrate.[11] Fr. Vasilie from Puini was thrown out of the parish house, banned from using and entering the church, whose keys were taken by the sacristan Dumitru on Christmas Day 1760, with the assent of the whole village.[12] The non-Uniates then organized themselves in

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[7] Through the proclamation of 21 March1760, Empress Maria Theresa announced, once again, her willigness to concede full tolerance to those who would meet the requirements of the Tolerance Decree from13 July 1759. The proclamation was addressed to the villagers from the counties most affected then by the anti-Union movement: Alba, Făgăraş, and Hunedoara, from the seats of Sibiu, Nochrich, Miercurea, Sebeş and Orăştie, Bunea, *Episcopii…*, 174.

[8] *Ibidem*, 177- 178.

[9] *Ibidem*, 183.

[10] For their impact on the parishes in Cluj County, see Miron, *Biserica Greco-catolică din comitatul Cluj* (Cluj-Napoca, 2007): 75-76.

[11] Magyar Országos Leveltár (M.O.L.), *F. 71. Commissio Aulica*, reel 30385, 150.

[12] „...*est inhibitus praenominatus parochus domo quidem parochiali publicata Sa[cra]tis[si]mae Ma[ies]t[a]tis Clem[en]tis[si]ma Commissione, praenominatum parochum omnibus cum suis habitis bonis in plateam eiecerunt solemniter protestationem agentem; ne contra Inc[lytae] commissionis mandata reddiderit malum exemplum, saltem iam*

influential groups within the communities, led by the village magistrates and the church auxiliaries. They became holders of the church keys taken over from the Uniate priests, who were forbidden to attend the places of worship and whose control over the church space was no longer recognized. The lay authority, represented by the magistrates, created thus a leverage of power in the spiritual space of the villages too.

The defections were largely the result of the actions for institutionalizing Orthodoxy coordinated by Sofronie, who never came to the area himself. The main role in the anti-Union actions undertaken in the county was played by his agents in the territory, the local leaders he instituted and acknowledged. The dissemination of "Sofronian" letters (on behalf of the movement leader) and the organization of synods meant to secure the loyalty to those converted to the non-Union represented the main means of action undertaken by the movement's propagators. They came from the local clergy, the former Uniate priests who had chosen to switch to Orthodoxy. Thus, the coordinator of the movement in Dăbâca County was the "apostate" George from Recea-Cristur, ordained as a priest by Nichifor, the Metropolitan of Iaşi, in September 1740.[13] Having been consecrated by an Orthodox bishop, he activated as a Uniate priest, so in 1755 he signed the statistical evaluation of the Uniate priests together with the archpriest of Miluani.[14] His association with the statistical evaluation suggests that he was one of the archpriest's close collaborators, a priest with authority among the others. The documents do not reveal what led him to become one of the most ardent advocates of Orthodoxy. The Metropolitan of Karlowitz recognized him as vice-archdeacon and sent non-Uniate priests to him, who placed themselves under his jurisdiction, so that he would install them in parishes. Moreover, George oversaw and authorized the written discourse prevalent in the area, as evidenced by the fact that the "Sofronian" letters which circulated in the summer of 1761 in the counties of Cluj and Dăbâca had his seal.[15] He was also active in the parish in 1767, as a simple

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imposterum ad vigorem potentialium cuiusquidem protestatio nihil suffragans, e domo damnose ad plateam est eiectus anno, die supranotato.", Ibidem, 151.

[13] Ioan Beju, Keith Hitchins, Documente privitoare la trecutul Bisericii ortodoxe române din Transilvania după 1761, *Biserica ortodoxă română în secolul XVIII* (Sibiu, Urbana, 1991): 31.

[14] M.O.L., *F71. Commissio Aulica,* reel 30382, 83- 88.

[15] "*Caeterum has currentales ab impostoribus illis famosis grammaticis Koratson eiusdemque socio Daniel conscriptas esse asserunt, qui eorumdem caracterem noscunt, qui etiamnum in comitatibus Kolos et Doboka gyrovagando suas imposturas exercere perhibentur; sigillum vero asserunt esse illius apostatae Georgii ex Recze Kerestur...,*" the letter addressed by Bishop P. P. Aaron from Blaj to General Buccow on 23 August 1761, Academy Library Cluj-Napoca Branch (B.A.F.C.N.), *Ms. lat. no. 279,* f. 27v.

non-Uniate priest, however; his activity from the years of the Sofronian movement would have cost him an archbishop's position.[16]

Besides George, there were other former Uniate priests who became effective agents of Orthodoxy in the territory. Included among them were Grigorie from Fundătura, Dumitru from Luna de Jos, Toader from Tiocu de Jos and Costan, twice apostate, *bis apostata*, from Răscruci. In September 1761, this is how the Catholic *plebanus* from Cluj, Francisc Baló, characterized their actions: once Uniate, he wrote, they became "schismatics," seduced the plebs, boasted that they had been appointed archpriests, influenced the simple and naive plebs at will and secretly sent counterfeit letters.[17] As such, he demanded that they should be prosecuted with seriousness and severity. Why should they have left the Union? If we are to believe the Catholic *plebanus*, they were motivated by ambitions to rise in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Other information about them does not help too much in formulating an answer. I know that in 1755 Costan, who had been consecrated by the Uniate Bishop Meletie Kovacs in Oradea (in about 1752),[18] was among the supernumerary parish priests. He may not have overcome the supernumerary condition and thus left the Union in an effort to become an active priest. Such an explanation does not apply to his companion, Toader from Tiocu de Jos, who was an active priest and had a parish in 1755. The expert instigators spread rumors incriminating the Union and leaving behind baffled or outraged villagers, who were ready to rebel against the Uniate priests. Through their action, Orthodoxy gained ground and the confessional structure of the county changed.

In the first half of 1762, 20 entirely Uniate parishes had remained throughout the county, according to the final conscription signed by General Buccow.[19] Only three of them had been constantly Uniate during the Sofronian movement. Evincing a serious weakening of the Union, the statistics invite interrogations about the rural atmosphere in those years. How did the Uniates and the non-Uniates live alongside each other? What

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[16] Beju, Hitchins, *Documente…* , 31-32.

[17] M.O.L., *F71. Commissio Aulica*, reel 30380, p. 882. About one month later, on 24 October, from Cluj, the Catholic *plebanus* notified the Commanding General of Transylvania again about the activity of the two runaway apostate priests from Luna de Jos and Fundătura who were now declaring themselves archpriests, turning the people away from the Union and snatching the churches from the Greek Catholics, to which end they spread counterfeitletters around, *Ibidem*, 886.

[18] In the census of 1763 it was mentioned that it had been consecrated 11 years earlier, Beju, Hitchins, *Documente…* , 31.

[19] These were the parishes: Viţa, Tăuşeni, Coasta, Luna de Jos, Tiocu de Sus, Pruneni, Bonţ, Hăşdate, Budacu de Sus, Ardan, Oşorhel, Sâmboieni, Cutca, Ruştior, Sărata, Simioneşti, Măgurele, Domneşti, Neţeni şi Herina.

were the solutions for living together? How stable were the denominational boundaries that were created within the communities, between the parishioners and between the parishioners and the priests? How were the relations between the landowners, whether Catholic or Protestant, and their subjects, Uniate and non-Uniate, formed?

The documents reveal diverse situations. We come across clear delineations between the priests who chose to remain Uniate and their parishioners who left the Union. At Ragla, for example, the rift between the Uniate priest and his parishioners who converted to Orthodoxy was final, given that the priest was banished from the village in the spring of 1761. The villagers became accustomed to new situation in patrimonial (they divided the parish hay field among themselves and occupied the rectory) and spiritual terms (that year they took Easter communion from a nearby Orthodox priest). In the absence of a priest, the church was sealed in the summer by the county officials, who were present again in the village in December 1761, most likely in order to persuade the villagers to return to the Union; the latter, however, declared that they would rather accept a non-Uniate than a Uniate priest if they were allowed.[20]

The Aulic Commission intended to strengthen the priests' authority in the communities, encouraged and protected the Uniate priests in the summer of 1761, returning the churches and parish lands to their use. Although most of them repossessed the sacred space, they failed to attract the parishioners to their side. The refusal to attend services officiated by Uniate priests was, moreover, one of the most common and obvious signals that the non-Uniate believers disavowed their former spiritual shepherds. The parishioners refused to enter the church (as it happened in Chendrea, for example) or found alternative solutions. The non-Uniate villagers from Bălan went for spiritual services to the nearby monastery, where the monks Macaria and Solovestru officiated, which is why the two Uniate priests in the village remained without a believer.[21] Similarly, the priests from Treznea, father and son, who had persevered in the Union, were abandoned

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[20] "*Hi omnes et singuli ad Pascha in Unione perseverarunt, verum tunc Pascha a Schismatico popa ex pago Rus desumpti sunt, et ab ipso tempore ecclesias non frequentant, adeoque, si ipsis licebit, popam schismaticum libentius acceptaturos quam unitum*"; the investigation conducted by the county's Comes Supreme Teleki Pál and the assessor juror Fogarasi István on 14 December 1761, M.O.L., *F71. Commissio Aulica*, reel 30385, 31.

[21] "*Inhabitatores huius quoque possessionis resilierunt a Unione in exordio ab hac turbulentiae templumque in monasterio in teritorio eiusdem possessionis existente frequentarunt cum calugeris Makaria et Solovestru non unitis,*" *Ibidem*, 68.

at the very onset of the troubles by the parishioners who brought a non-Uniate priest into the village.[22]

The parishioners' disavowal of their priests did not occur without tensions and violence. On 20 January 1761, the priest from Sieu-Măgheruş was chased away "with much insult and profanity" from the parish house, whose walls the villagers tore down. Fearing the wrath of the villagers, some priests acted cautiously, refusing, for example, to take the church keys offered to them by the lay officials.[23] In the case of Fr. Crăciun from Jimbor, prudence went hand in hand with audacity. Abandoned by the parishioners in February 1761, he did not yield, did not give up his office and his church and continued to celebrate there. He did it with the church locked, however, for fear of the villagers, which was justified because on an April evening, while serving Vespers, two of them, armed with an axe and clubs, urged him to leave the place of worship if he did not want to cause havoc.[24] In their view, then, the Uniate priest was to blame because he had "occupied" the church, and it all depended on him, on his obedience, whether the conflict would escalate or be settled.

Confessing themselves as Uniate, the priests often became singular figures in the communities that had chosen to join the Orthodox Church. Their option for the Union placed them, denominationally, outside the communities they had sometimes pastored for decades. For instance, Fr. Lup fromTioltiur, who had activated in the parish for more than 25 years, since the time of bishop Inochentie Micu (being mentioned in the conscription of 1733) was not followed by his parishioners. His stability and longevity in the parish gave him no greater authority in the eyes of most believers. Why did these priests remain Uniate? The documents show that in those years, only perseverance in the Union was recognized as a sign of fidelity to the Viennese court and its representative in Transylvania, General Buccow. Speaking about the persistence in the Union of the priest and parishioners from Budacu de Sus, the archpriest stated that they were eager

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[22] "*Reliqui autem inhabitatores et incolae huius possessionis ab origine turbulentiae ab Unione resilierunt seque nonunitos declararint...,*" *Ibidem*, 67.

[23] The county officials had noted about the priests from Agrij and Treznea: "*sunt quidem popae uniti, sed nec claves, nec templa voluerunt ob metum incolarum acceptare, adeoque ibi etiam claves accepimus et templa obsigilavimus,*" *Ibidem*, 13-14.

[24] "*...die 18 Aprilis, dum parochus vesperas celebraret, providi Muntyan Mihaj et Geczi securi et fustibus adiverunt templum afforis (quia templum erat clausum) dicentes, ut statim exeat ex templo parochus, ne causet miserias,*" *Ibidem*, p. 618. The church had been taken over by the non-Uniates according to the same statistic of the archpriest from15 February 1761. It seems though that the priest did have access to the church; he had probably kept the key (or one of the keys).

to respect the imperial will.[25] The documents do not reveal what the priests' personal reasons and beliefs were.

Still, the boundaries between the parishioners who had left the Union and the Uniate priests were often permeable, even though the former repeatedly declared themselves Non-Uniate before the secular or ecclesiastical authorities. In many parishes, the non-Uniate laymen turned to Uniate priests for baptisms, funerals, house blessings, introducing women who had just given birth into church or prayers.[26] Thus, the channels of communication, especially where Uniate priests had no competitors in the village, were not totally blocked and remained open. The priests were faced with the fact that the villagers influenced and joined one another by mimicry. Some of the few remaining Uniates in the villages or those who hesitated, for fear of being marginalized, rejected or criticized by the majority, gave in and crossed over to the side of the many. This is what happened at Aşchileul Mare, where in late August 1761, the county's envoys found only seven Uniate laymen besides whom, they learned, six women had allegedly confessed themselves to be Uniate but feared the reaction of the other inhabitants; in fact, the local parish priests declared that they had administered the sacraments to others too, that the other villagers had also gone to church before it was sealed, but now refused to do so.[27]

More complicated were the situations from the parishes where both Uniate and Non-Uniate priests activated, competing among themselves for congregants, churches and the dominant position in the village. In Galaţii Bistriţei, for example, two denominational groups were formed around the two priests, one of whom was Uniate and the other a former Uniate who had converted to Orthodoxy, and they took turns in exerting control over the church. Fr. Alexandru chose to leave the Union on 24 March 1761, and two days later, at Sofronie's order, the document says, he occupied the church

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[25] "*Licet tamen neoprotopopa erectus a Sofronio commissione, eo cum poena 500 florenorum contradicebat sacerdotem unitum a templo non fungere, sed attamen modo fungit unacum auditoribus unitis qui sunt parati sequi mandata Sacratissimae et Apostolicae Maiestatis et Excellentiae generalis*," *Ibidem*, 690.

[26] Such cases, in which the parishioners turned to Uniate priests to celebrate various services, were recorded in the parishes Enciu, Fântânele, Sărata, Buza, Chintelnic, and Aşchileul Mare.

[27] "*…praeter hos adhuc in circa sex mulieres, quae propter metum pagensium se non audent, declarare unitas esse, sed parochus loci asseruit his et aliis sacramenta administrasse et ecclesiam frequentasse, reliquivero incolae ante obsigilationem templum frequentarunt, sed ab illo tempore cum moderno unito parocho frequentare nolunt*," M.O.L., *F71. Commissio Aulica*, reel 30385, 71.

together with the villagers who, in turn, had defected from the Union.[28] The other priest in the village, Mihăilă, remained a Uniate in the spring of 1761, together with 12 families, among whom there were the descendants of those who had built the church, and that year he re-entered into the possession of the place of worship. He was disgruntled, though, because, as he complained, the "schismatic" Fr. Alexandru encouraged his "sectarians" to toll the bells, to force the door of the church and, at funerals, proffered a series of delations about the Uniates.[29] Thus, the other Uniate/non-Uniate priest in the village was a constant threat. But not always. When the Uniate and the non-Uniate priests were part of the same family, as father and son, as was the case in Gârbou, where the son, Fr.Matei remained a Uniate but his father had committed apostasy along with his parishioners, things were simpler. Discord does not seem to have set in the family, for the two lived in the rectory and used the churchland together.[30]Such a solution may have had practical reasons, like reassuring the parishioners and keeping the parish land in the family. It was not a small thing in a time of violence, which generated caution and fear among parishioners and priests alike.

The time of tensions alternated with moments of calm and compromise, such as the celebration of Easter. In 1761 the political power invested Easter with the significance of mutual acceptance. The Commanding General of Transylvania, Adolf Buccow, convened a meeting of the Uniate and the non-Uniate representatives from each parish, to be held in Sibiu on Easter Sunday, in which they discussed ways of mitigating the tensions.[31] Even though the signal from the political leadership of the Principality was not heeded by the non-Uniates,[32] still, in certain situations,

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[28] "*Parocho modo fungente popa Alexandru, qui etiam adusque praescriptum diem 24 Martii fuit unitus, tunc profectus est in pagum campestrem Berkenyes et ibi factus est non unitus et ab illo non unito Novus Archidiaconus popa Mihaila instructus, frequentatur templum ibidem ab scysmaticis,*" the statistical evaluation of the priest from Copru, on 23 May 1761, *Ibidem*, 175.

[29] "*Demum ecclesia seu templum est quidem sub administratione antelati popa Mihaila, unitorum parochi, verum schismaticus Popa Alexandru indecenter per suos sectatores campanam pulsari, ianuam infringi, occasione suorum sepulturarum quoque inconvenientes delationes et verba per se, ac suos sectatores peragit, ac peragi inititur, qui adhuc dum in parochia iam semel unitis resoluta se suosque manutenet,*" the inquiry of 9 January 1762 conducted by the assessor jurors Petki Emeric and Nagy Alexandru, *Ibidem*, 44-45.

[30] *Ibidem*, 69.

[31] Bunea, *Episcopii…*, 207, 210- 211.

[32] Although in the circular convening the General Assembly of Sibiu Buccow cautioned that the non-Uniates should avoid "*all the people's assemblies by all means possible,*" he was not heeded. On the contrary, a mere few days before the assembly of Sibiu, on 22 April, the coordinator of the anti-Union movement in the area, Fr.

a circumstantial collaboration was reached with the Uniates. Given the importance of this holiday for the faithful, the Uniate priests who were eager to be part of it found various ways of drawing near to the parishioners. Their attitude nonetheless betrayed their insecurity, their fragile situation in the community. The priest from Fântânele, for example, chose to deceive the non-Uniate villagers, telling them that he was also non-Uniate, so that during the days of Easter he could administer them the sacraments, while after Easter publicly stating that he was truly Uniate: "*ast post festum Paschae statim publica declaravit se esse verum unitum...*"[33] Moreover, the Uniate priests from Chintelnic accepted the position of "delegates" of a non-Uniate priest, according to the testimony of the parishioners, who showed that a certain "schismatic" priest, Dănilă, had been in Cojocna around the time of the holiday and mandated the local priests to celebrate Easter service and give them communion, in keeping with the Greek rite.[34] Otherwise, the parishioners declared, they would not have accepted the holy service from the Uniate priest. The Uniate priest from Săcălaia collaborated with the "schismatic" priest in Hăşdate, in the sense of administering to the parishioners the host consecrated by the non-Uniate priest. The compromise between the priest and his former parishioners was short lived because after Easter the parishioners no longer went to church where the Uniate priest officiated.[35] The example shows, however, that the relationships between the Uniate and the non-Uniate priests were not only antagonistic but also, at least temporarily, collaborative. A short compromise during the holidays took place at Tioltiur, where at Easter more than half of the village went to church where the Uniate priest officiated; after Easter, though, they chose to go to a nearby village, where a non-Uniate priest ministered, who was famous for his anti-Union actions - a "coryphaeus" in the terms of the time.[36]

        The examples referring the feast of Easter and the repeated statistical evaluations conducted in the villages in the summer and autumn of 1761 and at the beginning of 1762 show that, in general, the confessional boundaries

George from Recea Cristur, had held a rally at Sântejude to attract new priests on his side and secure the loyalty of the non-Uniates. The local coordinator of the anti-Union movement had therefore set the tone for disobedience.

[33] 16 February 1762, M.O.L., *F. 71. Commissio Aulica*, reel 30385, 56.

[34] "*Praescripti incolae ipsam dant rationem, quod Pascha sumpserint: popa quidam schismaticus, nomine popa Danyila circa dies Paschatis fuerit in Kolos et ille dederit facultatem popis huius loci, ut Pascha ritu Graeco dictis incolis subministrarent ceremoniamque celebrarent, alias ab unitis popis illud sacrum non acceptassent,*" *Ibidem*, 30.

[35] "*...tempore Paschatis hostiam popa Hesdatiensis popa non unitus consecravit seu benedixit pascha et hic popa unitus Popa Danila distribuit ipsis, incolae deinde in festo Paschatis non frequentarunt ecclesiam cum unito popa Popa Danila...,*" *Ibidem*, 39.

[36] *Ibidem*, 67.

established between the Uniates and the non-Uniates in the communities were fragile. Indecisiveness was the attitude that often marked relations within the communities, causing frequent slides and conversions from one denomination to the other, on the part of both the priests and the parishioners. The cross-overs were also determined by the firm intervention of the civil authorities, which, in collaboration with the Uniate bishop, kept under surveillance and remanded in custody some of the priests who had defected. Their return to the Union after a period of detention or after pressure from the officials was not genuine: the promises they had made under pressure were quickly forgotten, as attested, for example, by the fact that they refused to be recorded in the statistical evaluations administered by the Uniate archpriests. In their turn, the parishioners had a duplicitous attitude. Those in Tihău submitted their confession before the non-Uniate tax conscriptors in July 1761 and only speciously did they profess to be Uniate.[37] They had probably been intimidated/ persuaded by the conscriptors or wanted to please the authorities and tell them what they wanted to hear.

Why did this massive rupture occur between the Uniate priests and their parishioners, what were the reasons underlying it? The distancing of the parishioners from their priests has been explained by Professor Keith Hitchins in terms of the relation between tradition and modernity, as a reaction of the laity to the priests' actions towards imposing conformity with the entrenched doctrine and, therefore, towards ousting folklore and superstition. These priests, the most educated, had therefore become undesirable in the eyes of the faithful, who considered that the priests had to be the guardians and defenders of tradition. The violence that had swept the villages starting with Visarion Sarai's movement was thus, according to the American historian, a "*spontaneous act of self-defense*."[38] Indeed, bishop P. P. Aaron, who had to face the Sofronian movement, engaged the Uniate Church on the path towards Tridentine reformism, adopting an exacting stance on the appointment of priests (he demanded them to undertake "education and examination"), on their and the parishioners'conduct (he ruled firmly against the remarriage of priests, he sought to prohibit divorce). The Uniate bishop wished to turn the priests into agents of reform in the parishes, who would contribute to educating and disciplining the believers. This was a process in its infancy in those years, hampered by the late opening of the diocesan seminary (only in 1761, in the midst of the conflict therefore) and by the higher proportions of ordinations outside the diocese

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[37] "*Inhabitatores quoque huius possessionis a tempore turbulentiae ingressus resilierunt ab Unione vel modo profitentur se unitos esse,*" *Ibidem*, 69.

[38] Keith Hitchins, *Conştiinţă naţională şi acţiune politică la românii din Transilvania. 1700-1868* (Cluj-Napoca, 1987): 55.

(which often did not involve an examination of the candidates).[39] The figure of the priest who stood out in the community through his education and behavior was therefore still rarely encountered in the parishes of the diocese. The actions of those years, the fact that the parishioners sometimes behaved without respect and consideration towards their (ex)priests can also be explained, I believe, from the perspective of the professionalization of the clergy,[40] a process still in its infancy in the middle of the eighteenth century in the Uniate Diocese of Făgăraş. Since the parish priests lived, like their parishioners, off the land, they were responsible for the maintenance of their families; as there was no difference between their lifestyle and that of the villagers they shepherded and they really depended on the latter's support (in labor and food), the parishioners will have considered that the priests were not irreplaceable, that they would easily find other priests, according to their will and pleasure.

Aside from the parishioners and the priests, some of the main local power holders - the landowners - played an important role in managing the confessional conflict: depending on their sympathy/antipathy for the village priests, they were involved in the confessional disputes.[41] Their interventions revealed the existence of more or less conjectural solidarity in the villages between the Roman Catholics and the Uniates, and between the Protestants and the non-Uniates. One of the chief supporters of the Union was the Comes Supreme of Dăbâca County, Count Teleki Pál. Obviously, the support he granted the Uniates pertained to his duties as a comes, the representative of lay power in the territory. He fulfilled his duties with determination, as a member of several investigation committees, going to the parishes to feel the pulse of the Union and intervening with the Aulic Partition Commission for maintaining some churches in the Uniate patrimony. In fact, the possessors' interventions for maintaining churches and parish lands in the Uniate patrimony was one of the most common ways of influencing the confessional situation in the parishes. It was also adopted by an influential family in the area, of Romanian origin, the Maxai

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[39] Greta-Monica Miron, Biserica greco-catolică în anii reformismului, *În spiritul Europei moderne* (Cluj-Napoca, 2009): 77-130.

[40] For professionalization, see Wietse de Boer "Professionalization and Clerical Identity: Notes on the Early Modem Catholic Priest," in Wim Janse, Barbara Pitkin (eds.) *The Formation of Clerical and Confessional Identities in Early Modern Europe* (Brill, 2005): 369-378; Frans Ciappara, "Trent and the Clergy in Late Eighteenth-Century Malta"*, Church History*, 78:1 (March 2009): 1-25; Marc Forster, *Catholic Germany from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2007): 123-124.

[41] See also Ovidiu Ghitta, *Naşterea unei biserici. Biserica greco-catolică din Sătmar în primul ei secol de existenţă (1667-1761)* (Cluj-Napoca, 2001): 309-312.

family, to which David Mariaffi of Maxa had belonged: he was a layman who had switched to Roman Catholicism, with functions in the Principality administration (an assessor juror of Dăbâca County, a Gubernium secretary, the prefect of Cluj) and with an important role in the Uniate Church during the first half of the century as the secretary of Bishop Pataki and protector of the Union.[42] The family had land in Recea-Cristur, the parish of the coordinator of the anti-Union movement in the area. And yet, Mihai Maxai, a Catholic, and his son-in-law, Ioan Raţ, a Greek Catholic, had retained, for a time, the church, which, moreover, they had always frequented together with their family, uninterruptedly.[43] If they hoped that by the example they set they would re-attract the villagers to the Union, they failed to do so. Only two families were Uniate in 1762, theirs probably; therefore, the church was attributed to the non-Uniate majority. Another part of the family, Catholic, represented by the supreme magistrate Gabriel Maxai, lived in Giula. As the magistrate himself investigated the confessional situation in the village, together with Györffi Jószef, the notary of Dăbâca County, he insisted on specifying that since the numerous Catholics owners in the village (among whom they were also included: „*ubi nos ipsimet quoque habitarunt*") lacked a chapel and the church land and the parish unincorporated area had been granted from their own, they strongly opposed their being ceded to the non-Uniates.[44] Even here, however, they were not successful as regards the possession of the church, which was attributed to the non-Uniate majority.[45] Count Bethlen Miklos also attempted to support the Union in patrimonial terms: being interested in the number of Uniate churches on the territory of his estates in the county, he demanded, in the autumn of 1761, that a report should be compiled in this regard.[46] Even more than that, during those years

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[42] Tóth Zoltán, *Primul secol al naţionalismului românesc ardelean. 1697-1792* (Bucureşti, 2001): 179-180; Bunea, *Episcopii…*, 343.

[43] "*Templum est in possessione unitorum dominorum, Michaelis Maxsai, qua catholici, et Johannis Racz generi sui qua Greci Ritus uniti, quia cum sua familia semper et continuo frequentant ecclesiam cum unito popa...*," M.O.L., *F. 71. Commissio Aulica*, reel 30385, 69. The situation was recorded on 28 January 1762. They had begun using it sometime after 2 September 1761, at which time, according to county officials' report, it was sealed.

[44] "*...sed nos catholici possessores numerosi et sacello carentes, cum fundus parochialis unacum fundo templi et apertinenciis externis ex nostris ratis porcionibus excissus sit, nullatenus concedere non unitis possumus, imo protestamus et contradicimus....*," *Ibidem*, 73; the inquiry of 28 January 1762. According to the archpriest of Jucu, the grounds of the Giula parish had belonged to the Greek Catholics until 22 April 1761.

[45] Virgil Ciobanu, Statistica românilor ardeleni din anii 1760-1762, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Naţională*, III (1924-1925): 645.

[46] At his request, a report was drawn up, dated 9 October 1761, about all the churches in the Greek Catholics' possession on his estates. More precisely, at that

the count "watched" that the priests and the villagers in his estate of Cristur-Şieu would persevere in the Union and stay away from the "schism".[47] His care had a partial effect among the parishioners, most of them remaining non-Uniate (in August 1761, there were 20 Uniate living beside 65 non-Uniate families).[48] The possessors provided encouragement to the Uniate priests in Stoiana and Corneşti, who could still administer the holy sacraments thanks to the landowners Ugrai and Countess Apor,[49] the priests from Bonţida being supported, in their turn, by the village owners.[50]

Even though the owners' support was often not successful except among the priests (and few of the faithful), this partial success was also significant since maintaining a Uniate priest in the village was an important starting point for a potential re-attraction of believers in the future. This Catholic solidarity did not escape unnoticed at the time: the Reformed minister Petre Bod, for example, a contemporary of the events, noted that the Roman-Catholic landowners had attempted to draw the laity to the Union either by threatening or luring them with promises.[51] Petre Bod's opinions show that the non-Uniates also had supporters or enthusiasts. One of them was the Reformed noble Rettegi György, with estates in Dăbâca County, who deplored the attitude - mocking, as he considered - adopted by the county officials towards the apostate priests from Recea-Cristur and Luna de Jos[52] and did not hesitate to express his satisfaction that the Union, which he deemed to be dangerous for the Hungarians, was coming to pieces.[53]

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time the following churches belonged to the Uniates: on the Domneşti estate, in the villages Domneşti and Măgurele, on the Cristur estate, in the villages Cristur-Şieu, Feleac and Caila, and on the Almaş estate, in the villages Sânmihaiu Almaşului and Chechiş, M.O.L., *F. 71. Commissio Aulica*, reel 30380, 899- 900.

[47] "*Popa Kifor auditoresque eius ex speciali vigilia Ill[ustrissi]mi D[omin]o C[omiti] Nikolai de Bethlen a schismatis macula intacti perseverarunt,*" the conscription of the Uniate priest of 28 May 1761, *Ibidem*, reel 30385, 111.

[48] *Ibidem*, 19-20 (the fiscal conscription of 3 August 1761).

[49] For Stoiana, the archpriest noted: "*Popa Urs reperitur Sacram Unionem profitens cum auditoribus suis omnibus et ex gratia et patrocinio Ill[ustrissi]mi D[omini] N. Ugrai, permansit administratione sacrorum*" and for Corneşti: "*popa Iuon cum omnibus suis auditoribus reperitur Sacram Unionem profitentes administratione sacrarum ex gratia et patrocinio Ill[ustrissi]mae D[ominae] Comitissae Apporianae permansit,*" *Ibidem*, reel 30380, 673.

[50] *Ibidem*, 675.

[51] Bod Peter, "Brevis Valachorum Transylvaniam incolentium historia", Ana Dumitran, Gúdor Botond and Nicolae Dănilă (eds.), *Relaţii interconfesionale româno-maghiare în Transilvania* (Alba-Iulia, 2000): 435- 436.

[52] Sipos Gábor, "Opinia publică reformată despre Bisericile româneşti din Transilvania", *Anales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica*, 11/II (2007): 196-197.

[53] Bunea, *Episcopii…*, 201.

If some landowners limited themselves to suggestions, opinions, and the encouragement of the non-Uniates, others acted firmly. Relevant for the involvement of the decision-making laity in the competition for priests, parishioners and churches from the Romanian parishes is the film of events from Lacu parish. On 19 April 1761, the villagers here, who had decided to leave the Union, chased away the Uniate priests from the rectories and prohibited them from using the stables they had built on parish land.[54] Less than one month later, on 15 May 1761, the villagers summoned the Uniate priest George to a house in the village, where he was surrounded by an "unruly" mob of armed men, bound and taken to the court ("curia") of Baroness Wesselényis, where he was detained for two weeks; then he was taken to her fortress ("castellum"), thrown in the dungeon and beaten with rods for nine weeks. He was only released after many interventions and "harsh" orders from the Gubernium. The other Uniate priest from the village, Fr.Manailă, would also have been caught by the village jurors if he had not thought of fleeing into the woods and hiding in the bushes.[55] Despite this violence, encouraged and fuelled by the owner of the village, the events of that summer and autumn led towards a possible reconciliation between the non-Uniate villagers and the Uniate priests in the village. Anyway, they had not been abandoned by all the parishioners. According to the conscriptions from the summer of 1761, on 5 July 17 families in the village had confessed to be Uniate, in August three families and on 3 November 1761,12 heads of families had declared themselves Uniate (57 people). According to the parish priest George, the other villagers had all publicly said that they were waiting to see to which side the church would be assigned and that they would persevere in that direction.[56] The fierceness of the non-Uniate villagers towards the Uniate priest seems to have subsided. Perhaps this is the situation that the Comes Supreme of the County, Count Teleki Pál, had in mind when a few months later, on 9 April

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[54] M.O.L., *F71. Commissio Aulica*, reel 30380, 617.

[55] "*...quorum quidem sacerdotum, P. Georgie postquam anno 1761 die 15. mensis Maii fraudulenter a domo habitationis suae ad aliam vocatus fuisset, ibique tumultuaria armatorum multitudine circumventus, vinctus et primum in curiam potentiariae Baronisae deductus, ibi per duas hebdomadas detentus, inde in castellum eiusdem potentiariae rursus deductus, ibi in carceres detrusus, et carceris squalore novem hebdomadas dirissime vergatus, ac post plures Ex[celsi] R[egii] Gubernii Commissiones, et severissima mandata difficulter solutus, ac liberatus fuisset; alter vero P. Manaila per iuratos possessionis eiusdem pariter intercipiebatur, nisi fuga sibi consulens celeriori, se in sylvas, et dumeta recepisset.,*" B.A.F.C.N., *Ms. Lat. 280*, f. 186v.

[56] "*Caeterum hoc etiam certum est, quod pagenses reliqui solummodo rei exitum avide praestolantur videre in quam nempe partem cedet ecclesia, in eamdem se quoque cessuros: ita omnes publice et communiter dicunt*," M.O.L., *F71. Commissio Aulica*, reel 30385, 11.

1762, he demanded that the allocation of the church in Lacu to the non-Uniates should be canceled, arguing that the non-Uniates there could have reoriented towards the church in Buza.[57] His proposal, however, was not accepted. Under the resolution of 26 April, the Aulic Commission decided to grant the church to the non-Uniate majority.[58] The number of the non-Uniates also represented the majority in the coming years, so they remained in possession of the church.[59] Fr. George continued to shepherd the few Uniate families and, together with Fr. Mănăilă, they sued Baroness Wesselenyi out of the desire to receive justice. They did not prevail, even though they had a devoted lawyer who represented them, according to the Uniate bishop, with a zeal towards the problems of the Uniate clergy rarely seen in other lawyers. The case was delayed for years on end, and in the meantime the Baroness died.[60]

The atmosphere in the villages during those years was therefore mixed, unstable, switching from violence to mutual acceptance, to peace and coexistence. Rural life had a fast pace; the monotony of community life was dispelled by the emissaries and followers of Sofronie, who travelled across the county parishes, scattered letters written on behalf of the monk, calling the non-Uniates to meetings and summoning them to statistical evaluations conducted by the tax authorities, the archpriests and the county officials. The written or spoken exhortations to leave the Union were mixed with impulses to maintain it, and the priests and the villagers were forced to choose, to express their standpoint on the denomination they wanted. The choice was not always easy or made with determination. Most of the villagers hesitated, had doubts, switched from the Union to the non-Union and back; what counted in the transient options were their attachment to the village priest, their compliance with the landowner, the pressure exerted by the confessional majority in the parish, the position of the village leaders, of the village magistrates who sometimes proved to be more effective opinion

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[57] *Ibidem*, 340.

[58] *Ibidem*, 344. Moreover, in the list of the church partition, there was a mistake in the entry for the Lacu parish, which appeared with two churches. In reality, there was only one. The commission corrected this mistake and awarded the church, as we have seen, to the non-Uniates, who amounted to 34 families, twice as many as the Greek-Catholics (17), Ciobanu, *Statistica…*, 646.

[59] According to the statistical evaluation of 1767, there were only seven Uniate families in the village (37 sould) next to the 18 non-Uniate families. Therefore, the total number of families had decreased in the village, Daniel Dumitran, Ana Dumitran, Florean-Adrian Laslo (eds.), *Biserica românească din Transilvania în izvoarele statistice ale anului 1767* (Alba Iulia, 2009): 134-135.

[60] B.A.F.C.N., *Ms. Lat. 280*, f. 186v.

leaders than the Uniate priests. Even some of the priests were undecided, being somewhat overwhelmed by the events. Seeing their parishes crossed by priests who had come from elsewhere and were inciting the parishioners to recuse them, the Uniate priests were terrified by the villagers' rage and did not have the strength or courage to reply. Pressed by the communities on the one hand, and by the Uniate archpriests on the other, some left the Union and then returned to it. The "confusion" created seized both the priests and the laymen. Thus, an atmosphere had been created in the villages in which words and their utterance were decisive for influencing the parishioners and the priests in their determination to opt for one or the other denomination. Words played an important role in shaping the identity of confessional groups.

Through discourse, they persuaded the lay officials sent to the villages to question the believers about their confessional option, the anti-Union movement leaders and, obviously, the Uniate ecclesiastical elite. Their speeches were built on antithetic terms: the Uniates and the Orthodox defined themselves by blaming the others. From the imperial documents, the identitarian literature developed by the Uniate ecclesiastical elite the fifth decade and the polemical literature produced by the non-Uniates, the terms of identity definition passed into the parishes. An essential term was "schismatic," used with pejorative overtones by personalities of the Catholic Church, which, starting from the seventeenth century, challenged the Orthodox to reply.[61] It was also used in the correspondence between the representatives of the Roman Curia and the Uniate Church hierarchy and in the imperial rescripts of the 1740s-50s. It was also found in the identitarian constructions of Uniate authors, who wanted to show that the non-Uniates were no longer the holders of the true faith.[62] The Uniate ecclesiastical elite spread it in the parishes in antithesis to the term Uniate. "Schismatics" were the outcast, the accursed, and the anathemized, those who denied the doctrine of Christ, who associated themselves with the devils, which were also "schismatics." By contrast, the Union was associated with the Holy Trinity and paradise. Uniate propaganda sought to demonstrate that those who were doctrinally, institutionally and legally positioned outside the Church were the "schismatics" and not the Uniate.[63] In this type of discourse, the Union had a positive connotation, being related to the Trinity and paradise, while the schism was

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[61] Violeta Barbu, *Purgatoriul misionarilor. Contrareforma în Ţările Rpmâne în secolul al XVII-lea* (Bucureşti, 2008): 45.

[62] Ciprian Ghişa, *Biserica greco-catolică din Transilvania (1700-1850). Elaborarea discursului identitar* (Cluj-Napoca, 2006): 95-96.

[63] The letter Grigorie Maior sent from Cluj to Count Károlyi on 8 June 1761, apud Susana Andea, Avram Andea, *Transilvania. Ierarhi şi monahi* (Cluj-Napoca, 2008): 130-133.

negatively connoted, being associated with the devil and hell. In line with the episcopal discourse of those years, which showed that the non-Uniates were the ones who had "widened the rift," the Uniate priests referred to their counterparts who had converted to the non-Union as "sectarians." The language used in the imperial and Gubernium documents was also a source of inspiration for the Uniate priests and archpriests. Referring to the leaders and the advocates of Orthodoxy as instigators and agitators of the villages, "*incitatores ac turbatores pagi*", terms with a legal connotation, given that the disturbance of the public peace was punishable by law, they suggested that the Orthodox activists should be held accountable before the law.[64]

In the case of the non-Uniates too, the invectives used in elaborated, written discourse passed into the villagers' vernacular. The accusations leveled against the Uniates, who were dubbed "heretics" and villains, in the sense of wretched, in the polemical text "Questions and Answers for the Third Law" also circulated in the parishes.[65] The believers who had left the Union labeled the Uniate priests heretics and scoundrels, but also excommunicated, "Arians" or "idols" who poisoned them with the holy host.[66] They were therefore outside the laws of the church and beside the true faith: they were not the ones who consecrated but the ones who defiled. In this line of thought, steps were taken to purify the space where the Uniate priests had officiated: the villagers in Lacu, for example, destroyed the roof of the church altar and threw the holy host, the antimins and the ecclesiastical vestments used by the Uniate priest out of the place of worship.[67] The discourse each party resorted to contained the same accusations, which, in essence, revolved around the idea that the other was outside the true faith.

The language and the actions of the Uniates and non-Uniates in Transylvania were not surprising, since they fell into a pattern that was specific of confessional opponents from various spaces, who considered the faith of the opposing group to be corrupt and the sacraments administered by

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[64] The term "imposters", "disturbers of the public peace," in reference to the non-Uniates appeared, for instance, in the Theresan rescript of 18 May 1745, Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirei…*, I, Anexe, 46.

[65] The text was designed as a dialogue between the Uniate archpriest of Făgăraş, Vasile Barani, and the (non-Uniate) priest Vasile, the future hegumen of the monastery Sâmbăta de Sus. The Uniates were called "stragglers," "gullibles," while those who proffered false hoods and "barfed gossip" were "ravaging wolves," "rioters and ravishers of Christ's coat," Ghişa, *Biserica greco-catolică…*, 255- 257.

[66] Miron, *Biserica greco-catolică…*, 130.

[67] "*Eodem die tectum altaris destruxerunt et Sacram Communionem cum antimissio et caeteris vestimentis ex templo eiecerunt...,*" M.O.L.., *F71 Commissio Aulica*, reel 30385, 617.

their priests as not valid.[68] The Uniates and the non-Uniates from the Ukrainian space reacted quasi-identically towards each other, for example. The Orthodox regarded the Uniate beliefs as a deviation from the pure faith of the Ruthenian people, while the Uniates called the Orthodox "schismatics" who had destroyed the unity of the Christian faith. Entering in possession of the churches, both sides removed the symbols of sanctity from the altar, the antimins and the ciborium in which the holy host was kept.[69]

What remains to be seen is how the priests and the parishioners were designated and how they defined themselves during these tense years. The priests first. The indecision of the Uniate priests, their hesitations, their vacillations between the Union and Orthodoxy were also reflected in the terminology of those years, in their definition/self-definition. Challenged by the investigators to define themselves, some priests were not interested in the precision or accuracy of identity terms. At some point in 1760, the priest from Iclod, for instance, declared himself before the investigators as "*indiferens, nec unitus, nec schismaticus*".[70] This answer betrays, I believe, a cautious attitude: still puzzled by the events that were underway, he was waiting to see what their future course would be. Undecided, prudent or just confused, in July he was non-Uniate, together with the entire village, while in August he was Uniate, together with several noble families.[71] From then on, he remained steadfast on the side of the Union, regaining many of the believers, and furthermore, his son, who followed him in the parish, chose to be a Uniate priest.[72]

The Uniate priests whose allegiance to the Union was steadfast - few, indeed –were designated by their archpriests through expressions such as: "*constanter in Sacra Unione ad hodiernum diem*", "*constanter in Sacra Unione permanent*", "*non recessit a Sacra Unione*", "*constanter perseverat in professione Sacrosanctae Unionis*". In June 1761, the archpriest of Cheţiu, for example, characterized thus 13 priests in his protopresbyterate, the most affected in the county by the Orthodox movement, highlighting therefore their constancy in the Union. These expressions were equivalent, to a point, with the syntagm "truly Uniate."

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[68] Keith Luria, *Sacred Boundaries. Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early Modern France* (Washington, 2005): XV.

[69] Barbara Skinner, *The Western Front of the Eastern Church: Uniate and Orthodox Conflict in Eighteenth-Century Poland, Ukraine, Belarus and Russia* (Illinois, 2009): 123-124; it refers to the years 1766-1768, quite close to the period of the anti-Union movement in Transylvania.

[70] M.O.L., *F 71. CommissioAulica*, reel 30385, 1-2.

[71] *Ibidem*, 117.

[72] A.N.D.J.A., *Fond Mitropolia unită Blaj*, no. 81/1775- 1779, f. 172v.

The phrase "truly Uniate" was not new with reference to priests. It had also been in circulation during the first half of the century, when it was invested with various overtones by the Protestants, Catholics, or non-Uniates, who often used it for accusatory, critical or polemic purposes, to show the Uniates what they lacked. Depending on the circumstance and the purpose for which it was used, it emphasized some aspects of the "truly Uniate". Amid the conflict between the Gubernium representatives and Bishop Inochentie Micu concerning the rights of the Uniate clergy, the former considered in March 1735 that the truly Uniate priests should use the Filioque as the Uniates did elsewhere, even if the Council of Florence had not compelled those of the Greek rite to introduce that word in the text, but only to believe that the Holy Spirit also proceeded from the Son.[73] For political reasons, out of the desire to neutralize the inconvenient Uniate bishop, the Gubernium officials pushed the envelope in defining the "truly Uniate" along the integrative line of the Council of Trent. The idea that the introduction of the Filioque in the Nicene Creed was defining for a genuine Uniate was shared by the Jesuits in the Principality, as attested by the fact that the Filioque was introduced in the Nicene Creed in the Primer published under their patronage in Cluj in 1744.[74] In 1736, the representatives of the Catholic Status (?)[75] defined the "truly Uniate" priest from the perspective of the Catholic Reform: he had to be an example of moral and social conduct and a teacher of the parishioners, not to frequent the taverns, not to get drunk, not to speak foul words to the believers and to teach them the Lord's Prayer. Opinions on the profile of the "truly Uniate" also came from their main competitors, the non-Uniates. According to them, the truly Uniate should give up some of their customs, specifically fasting: "*when you are truly united with the Westerners, you should not keep the four fasts of the year and*

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[73] Zenovie Pâclişanu, Istoria Bisericii Române Unite, *Perspective*, no. 65-68 (1994-1995): 248, 251.

[74] After the opening of the printing press at the episcopal residence in Blaj, in none of the texts printed there was the Filioque inserted in the Nicene Creed, a token of the attachment manifested by the Greek-Catholic ecclesiastical elite to the Florentine concept of the Union. Moreover, this was a sign of compliance with the papal recommendation from the *Allatae Sunt* encyclical, from 26 July 1755, allowing there citation of the Nicene Creed without the Filioque, if the Greek-Catholic Orientals accepted the idea that this admixture was legitimate and if this admixture blocked the path to the Union. At the Congress of Vienna in 1773, the Uniate bishop Grigorie Maior confirmed that in his diocese the Nicene Creed had not been recited with the Filioque, only the Athanasian one, and felt that its introduction should beslow, gradual, so as not to stir suspicions, Ghişa, *Biserica greco-catolică…*, 169-173.

[75] No one knows for sure to whom the text belonged. It is assumed that it belonged to the Catholic status, Pâclişanu, *Istoria bisericii…*, 266- 267.

on Wednesdays and Fridays, but to fast on Saturdays, like the Jews..."[76]
Exaggerating, they insisted thus on the most sensitive issue for the believers,
which could drive them away from the Union: changing their customs.

What was, however, the "truly Uniate" like from the vantage point
of the Uniates themselves during the years of the confessional conflict?
According to the Uniate clergy, of the Uniate archpriests, in particular, the
"truly Uniate" priest was loyal to the Uniate Church, even if his loyalty was
not permanent. As such, the term was comprehensive, reflecting the
complicated situation in those years in which most Uniate priests in the
county defected, at least for a while, from the Union. One example relevant
in this sense was that of Fr. Ursuli from Fântânele. The archpriest wrote
about him that he had apostatized because of the pressure exerted by the
parishioners ("*ad sinistrae plebis informationes, factus est nonunitus*"), but after
a few months, he returned "whole heartedly" to the Union ("*cordicitus
reversus est*"). In February the following year, 1762, the priest stated before
the county's envoys that he had never relinquished the Union but had
merely told the parishioners that he was non-Uniate so that he could
administer the sacraments to them at Easter, while after Easter he publicly
stated that he was truly Uniate. Consequently, the parishioners no longer
went to church: "*ast post festum Paschae statim publicae declaravit se esse verum
unitum, deinde post festum Pascha nullus unus illorum ecclesiam frequentavit.*"[77]
The example of this priest was not unique: other Uniate priests acted
identically, succumbing at one point to the pressure of the parishioners or
dissimulating their denominational identity, confessing that they were non-
Uniate before the parishioners and Uniate before the Uniate archpriest or
the lay officials. If afterwards, despite having briefly strayed off the path,
which was understandable in that time of tensions, the priests returned
"whole heartedly" to the Union, like the priest from Lacu did, according to
the archpriest, they could be credited as "truly Uniate."

Beyond these defining phrases, what remain to be ascertained are
the identity marks of the Uniate priests. Because of what did they consider
themselves Uniate? The story of the two priests in Pâglişa is relevant in this
regard. One of them was Ioan Popa, *Graeci Ritus uniti Plebani,* aged 36,
married, arrested in Beiuş by a district notary because he did not have a
letter of free passage.[78] From the interrogation that took place in Oradea on
7 September 1761, we find that he was consecrated as deacon on 30 July
1759, in the midst of confessional tumult, on the feast of St. Peter, and as a
priest at Blaj, in 1760, on the feast of the Nativity, by bishop Petru Pavel

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[76] Ghişa, *Biserica greco-catolică…*, 256.

[77] M.O.L., *F. 71 Commissio Aulica*, reel 30385, 56.

[78] M.O.L., *B2. Iratok*, reel 34164, no. 657/1761.

Aaron, but had not made a profession of faith, because, as he confessed, he had not thought of either the Union or the non-Union.[79] Guided, according to his testimony, by a "*vagabond monk wandering through the Principality of Transylvania*" (that is, by Sofronie), he went together with two parish priests to the Orthodox Bishop of Arad, Sinesie, who advised them to go farther, to Karlowitz, convincing them that they would otherwise stand no chance of remaining in their parishes and being accepted by the parishioners; on hearing that he not sworn the Union oath, the Metropolitan of Karlowitz verbally instructed him that he should approach the Non-Uniate vice-archdeacon of Recea-Cristur and be installed in the parish by the latter.[80] Caught and imprisoned for having illegally crossed the border, after his release he returned to the Union. The story of the other priest in the village, Onisie, was quasi identical. He was also consecrated in Blaj, caught while crossing the border on his way to Karlowitz, and imprisoned. Detention made him reconsider his position and return to the Union: "*There, being [in prison, my note] it came to my mind that I didn't do well breaking from the Arch-hierarch who had ordained me as priest and, even more so, from the Holy Union. I therefore turned again like the prodigal son to repentance and fulfilled the canon given to me by their highest Holinesses, and he received me His Holi[ness] the departed Arch-hierarch, strengthening me again with another duty...*"[81] He remained Uniate throughout the following decade, when, remembering the episode of apostasy, he showed that by this he had complied with the will of the villagers: "*From the time the country was troubled and the people being disquieted by the Uniate priests, they urged me to be their priest...*"[82] The pressure exerted by the villagers and the persuasion of the Orthodox movement leaders were therefore decisive in the apostasy of these two priests who had not had a parish by that time and took advantage of the parishioners' defection to celebrate service for them. After the prison experience, they returned to the Union. What does their story tell us? First, that the ordination did not have identitarian meanings: consecrated in Blaj by the Uniate Bishop, they did not hesitate to place themselves under obedience to the Orthodox hierarch from Karlowitz shortly afterwards. The statement of Fr. Ion that he had not thought of the Union or the non-Union when he went to be ordained in Blaj shows that some candidates for the priesthood

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[79] "*…siquidem adhuc nulla mentis fuisset Unionis vel non Unionis,*" *Ibidem*.

[80] The priest consistently denied that he had obtained the blessing of the Metropolitan of Karlowitz or that he had received letters from the latter proposing his appointment in the parish.

[81] A.N.D.J.A., *Fond Mitropolia unită Blaj*, no. 81/1775-1779, f. 71v.

[82] *Ibidem*

did not have identitarian issues; they simply wanted to become priests, in a short time and with minimum costs, if possible. Having the possibility to choose where they would be ordained as priests, they exploited it according to their interests. Despite the repeated imperial restrictions and the punitive measures taken against those consecrated outside the diocese, the phenomenon was widespread in the first half of the century.

The situation in the parishes of Dăbâca County, captured in the general statistic of 1767,[83] shows that more than half of the active priests had been consecrated outside the diocese (69 of 120 registered priests). The Orthodox space of choice was Moldova, due to its proximity, which made the journey less expensive than the one to the Episcopal see in Blaj. The efforts of the Uniate bishops and the Viennese Court to stop this practice in the first half of the century was only partially successful,[84] but the Uniate bishops managed to secure the loyalty of some of the priests ordained outside the diocese, giving them their blessing. The phenomenon of ordinations outside the diocese was not specific to the Transylvanian Uniates. The same thing happened in the Ukrainian space during the same period. Studying the relations between the Uniates and the Orthodox in Dnepr Ukraine during the eighteenth century, Sophia Senyk has found that neither ordination, nor the formal recognition of a bishop's jurisdiction represented criteria for establishing confessional identity. Some of those who considered themselves Uniate or, at least, did not have any reservations in celebrating as Uniates had addressed themselves to Orthodox bishops - like the Metropolitan of Iaşi, for instance, or the Bishop of Huşi - in order to become consecrated, since they were closer than the Uniate bishop.[85] The situation of the afore mentioned 13 priests who had persevered in the Union reinforces this observation. I know data referring to

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[83] Daniel Dumitran, Ana Dumitran, Florea Adrian Laslo (eds.), *Biserica românească din Transilvania în izvoarele statistice ale anului 1767* (Alba Iulia, 2009): 148- 153, 164- 167, 198- 199.

[84] For the situation of the ordinations in the Diocese of Făgăraş in the eighteenth century, see Miron, *"...scoale-te, du-te, propovedueşte..."Biserica greco-catolică din Transilvania. Cler şi enoriaşi (1697- 1782)* (Cluj-Napoca, 2004):182- 210; Eadem, "Drumul spre hirotonire şi sinuozităţile sale: două exemple de la mijlocul secolului al XVIII-lea" , *Coordonatele preoţiei greco-catolice. Istorie şi actualitate* (Blaj, 2002): 159- 168 ; Eadem, "Strategii de întărire a unirii în dieceza de Făgăraş în secolul al XVIII-lea. Problema hirotonirilor în afara diecezei," in Ioan Chindriş, Ciprian Ghişa (eds.), *240 de ani de la moartea marelui arhiereu şi luptător naţional Ioan Inochentie Micu-Klein 1768- 2008* (Oradea, 2009): 403- 409.

[85] Sophia Senyk, "Religious Conflict in Dnepr Ukraine in the 18th Century", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 1 (2007): 10- 16.

seven of them. Only one was ordained in the diocese (by Bishop Inochentie
Micu Klein), while the other six - outside it: two by the Uniate Bishop of
Oradea, Meletie Kovacs, three in Moldova and one in Maramureş by the
Orthodox Bishop Dosoftei. This example illustrates the possible situations
which were so varied: their consecration by Uniate bishops in the diocese
and outside it, and their consecration by Orthodox bishops, which could
have made them more vulnerable to the Orthodox propaganda but which,
in the above cases, did not affect the confessional option of the priests in
question. The Orthodox propaganda circulated in those years the idea that
ordination was not invested with identitarian value. The monk Sofronie and
his associates wanted thus to encourage the priests consecrated in Blaj to
recognize the jurisdiction of Orthodox hierarchs. For example, in the letter
of recommendation the Metropolitan of Karlowitz gave Onisie from Pâglişa,
the idea that was induced was that the priestly vow did not entail a
commitment to the Union: "*Notum facimus, quibus competit Sanctitatibus
Vestris propter hunc presbiterum nomine Onisie ex Co[mi]t[a]tu Doboka, ex
Piklise, quem praeteritis annis ordinavit in diaconum Episcopus Balasfalvensis et
praeter iuramentum praesbiteratus aliud pro Unione non suscepit...*"[86] The
distinction was intended to appease the conscience of the person concerned,
to encourage him to join the Orthodox Church. What kind of oath did the
priests swear?

The priests submitted, ever since the beginnings of the Union (at the
synods of June and November 1701)[87] a profession of faith in the Tridentine
form, according to the commitment made by Bishop Atanasie Anghel in
Vienna on 7 April 1701.[88]Submitting the Catholic profession of faith became
established as a practice in the first half of the century, as the Gubernium

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[86] The recommendation was signed by "*Praesbiter Sophronius Ieromonachus et
Praesbiter Georgius ex Abrud Bánya iuratus Synodi Non Unitae ex Tran[sylva]nia*" and
dated 12 January 1761, M.O.L., *B2. Iratok*, reel 34164, no. 657/1761.

[87] Nicolaus Nilles, *Symbolae ad illustrandam Historiam Ecclesiae Orientalis in Terris
Coronae S. Stephani*, I, (Oeniponte, 1885): 325- 326.

[88] The bishop made such a commitment in the first point of the reversal he signed
in Vienna on 7 April 1701. He undertook that after his return to Alba Iulia, he would
demand all the clergy, priests and archpriests, those who had reached the major
orders to make the profession of faith in the Tridentine form before him ("*iuxta
formam a Sancta matre Romana Ecclesia in Concilio tridentino praescriptam*"), Nilles,
Symbolae…, I, 282. By uttering this *Confessio fidei tridentinae*, published by Pope Pius
IV in 1564, the priests acknowledged that the Catholic Church was the mother and
teacher of all churches, promised and swore obedience to the pope, recognized as
Bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter, Prince of Apostles and Vicar of Christ,
Ghişa, *Biserica greco-catolică…*, 119.

officials themselves remarked in 1735; they, however, doubted the sincerity with which it was uttered by the Uniate priests.[89] They also showed that not all the priests had made such a confession, which Bishop Inochentie Micu acknowledged when he pledged before the Diet of February 1738 that, in exchange for having his demands for improving the situation of the Uniate clergy met, he would demand each Uniate priest to make a profession of faith at his appointment to the parish.[90] The "profession" had therefore become a custom in the Uniate Church, as Bishop Atanasie Rednic showed. In the circular he addressed to the clergy on 3 May 1765, he stated that "*according to custom*," all "*those who are ordained priests from us shall sign the points of the H. Union with the promise of obedience.*"[91] The future priests submitted a written profession expressing their faith in the four Florentine points and declared themselves submissive and obedient to the serving Uniate Bishop of Făgăraş and to those who would follow him; they undertook to respect this "confession" until death ("*and I still confess that I understand this confession and covenant and the same duty in its entirety until death...*") and to do so that even those whom they shepherded, who were in their care would observe, learn and teach it.[92] It was a simple text, which the priests could understand, built around two issues: the recognition of the four Florentine points and loyalty to the Uniate bishop. In this formula, then, the oath for the presbyterate was identical to that for the Union. The formula was close to the confession made by the apostate priests who had returned during those troubled years, 1760-1761.[93] Their obedience to the Uniate bishop and their acceptance of the Florentine points of the Union were the defining elements of the Uniate priests. The dissemination by the Orthodox movement leaders of the idea that the vow of priesthood was not

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[89] Pâclişanu, *Istoria bisericii…*, 249. The Commission established by order of the emperor in March 1735 to study the demands of Bishop Inochentie Micu, chaired by Governor Ioan Haller, examined the catechism and confession of faith made by those who had converted to the Union and found them in order, *Ibidem*, 254.

[90] *Ibidem*, 277.

[91] Apud Zenovie Pâclişanu, Istoria Bisericii Române Unite, *Perspective*, 53-56 (1991-1993): 102.

[92] The text of the confession in *Ibidem*.

[93] Those who returned to the Union asked the bishop to receive them again, like a loving parent, among the Uniate priests, confessed "voluntarily" that they would be "faithful" and "good Uniates" ("*...et ab hinc in posterum tamquam fideles et bene unitos nos habeas omnes*") and accepted all the four points of the Union ("*...qui sponte nostra transmisimus etiam nomina nostra subscripta punctis S[acrae] Unionis...*"). Such a confession was submitted by the priests from Hunedoara when they were visited by the episcopal vicar in 1761, Miron, "*…scoale-te, du-te, propovedueşte…*, 263, note 390.

necessarily identical with assuming the Union indicates, I believe, once again, the lack of identitarian significance associated with ordination.

What did the faithful believe? How did they define themselves when they were challenged by the investigating authorities during those conflicting years? I have only the testimonies of non-Uniates who defined themselves by what they did not consider themselves to be. The investigators challenged the faithful to call themselves Uniates or non-Uniates. For example, the county officials asked the villagers Budacu de Jos, who were under oath, if they declared themselves Uniate or non-Uniate.[94] 102 people confessed that they wished to remain in the non-Uniate religion, that they had never confessed themselves to be Uniate ("*in eaquae non unita religione perseveraturos velle, neque enim dixerunt se nunquam Religionem Unitam pro sua revelaturos fuisse*"). Four family heads said they had been forced to resort to the two Uniate priests for funerals but that they nonetheless avowed themselves as pertaining to the non-Uniate religion, of the Greek rite, and that they had never stated they were Uniate.[95] Two others, Chirilă and Ilie Lucesc, stated, in their turn, their commitment to the "*Graeci Ritus non unita religione*", even though they had also attended church service officiated by Uniate priests. They therefore referred to themselves as non-Uniates of the Greek rite; in their opinion, they had never been Uniate and the fact that they had occasionally turned to the Uniate priest did not mean they were Uniate.

A similar investigation was conducted in Chintelnic on 3 April 1762. In order not to influence each other, the villagers were interrogated one by one, separately, in an attempt to see whether they were Uniate or non-Uniate, and whether they had ever or at any time declared themselves Uniate. The answers were identical to those in Budacu de Jos. The 109 heads of households interrogated said they were non-Uniate, openly confessed that they would remain in the Greek religion now and in the future, that they had never declared themselves Uniate and that there was no Uniate in

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[94] The inquiry conducted on 22 March 1762 aimed to clarify the situation in the village, as it had been recorded in the statistical evaluations with very big differences. In May 1761, the archpriest had recorded only seven Uniate families, while the collectors had found the village entirely Uniate. Convened under the penalty of 12 florins, the villagers were asked whether: "*Quam ex duabus unita videlicet et non unita Religionibus agnoscis tuam de praesenti esse religionem? Unitam quippe vel non unitam? Si non unitam, semel aut alias ab hinc retro professus esne, cui nam se fieri unitum?,*" M.O.L., *F71. Commissio Aulica*, reel 30385, 337.

[95] The four declared: "*se quidem necessitate duobus unitum huiatem popam a sepeliendum mortuum suum adhibuisse, nihilominus tamen Graeci Ritus non unitam religionem agnoscere suam, neque enim se religionem unitam pro sua dixisse,*" Ibidem.

the village aside from the two priests.[96] The conscriptors distinguished between two types of families: 1. "*familiae templo aliquando frequentantes*" (six in number) and 2. "*familiae templum rarius frequentantes*" (82). Most villagers had not entered the church since Easter, some had no longer attended service since the feast of Ascension or the months of August, September and November; in the meantime, however, some had had their children baptized or buried in the Uniate Church and, also, their nursing wives had taken unction from the Uniate priests.[97] Given the accuracy with which each contact between the faithful and the Uniate priest was recorded, the intentions were, I believe, to induce the idea that resorting to the services of the Uniate priest was a mark of the believer's confessional identity. However, the parishioners were of a different opinion. Their statements during those years were meant to show that they had never considered themselves Uniate. For example, the residents of 23 parishes in the upper half of the county had declared before the tax conscriptors that they were neither Uniate, nor "schismatics" but simply of the Greek religion, that they were not Uniate, although they had depended on the Uniate bishops in ecclesiastical and matrimonial matters.[98] They opted for a name that would distinguish them from the Uniates and would not place them among the "schismatics" the latter slandered, and, with hindsight, to show that they had probably never been Uniate, since they considered that even their jurisdictional dependency on the Uniate bishop had not been, in their view, a mark of identity.

However, the challenge to define themselves in identitarian terms was not easy for the parishioners, especially since, from a legal perspective, only the Uniate Church had existed in the first half of the century. Up to that point, that had not been exposed in their everyday mundane and religious life to changes of religious practice or belief. Both the Uniates and the non-Uniates had kept the same holidays, had revered the same saints, and the church service or the liturgy was identical. The pope was not mentioned in

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[96] The inquiry was carried out by Petre Ianosi, assessor of the seat of justice and Nicolae Fejervari, noblevice-magistrate, *Ibidem*, p. 26. On 28 May 1761, the archpriest wrote that there was no Uniate layman in the village and that only Fr. Vasilie had declared himself Uniate - "*solus in Unione constans*", *Ibidem*, 107.

[97] *Ibidem*, 27-30.

[98] "*Cum nec unitos, nec schismaticos, sed simpliciter Graecae religionis se esse declarant... Nullum templum penes unitos existit, quia nullius pagi singuli incolae se unitos declararunt, licet hucusque ab unitis Episcopis habuerint dependentiam in causis ecclesiasticis et matrimonialibus.*", *Ibidem*, 4.

any of the worship books printed in Blaj between 1750 and 1850.[99] The Filioque, as we have seen, was not introduced in the works printed in Blaj in the eighteenth century. The unleavened bread, treated as specifically Latin in the texts of doctrinal clarification published in those years was recognized as valid, but it was not considered that it should be adopted by the Uniates.[100] The liturgical books printed in Blaj were identical to those from Wallachia in the late seventeenth-century editions; there were only changes that gradually occurred in language, as Slavonic terms were replaced by Latin ones. Holidays, too, remained unchanged.[101] Therefore, it was difficult to differentiate oneself from the other. Differentiation was often made only on jurisdictional grounds, as noted decades later by the Uniate historian Petru Maior: "*it's just that some are called Uniate and the others Non-Uniate, according to the kind of arch-hierarch they are subjected to.*"[102] This meant that the toing and froing of the priests and parishioners continued in the following decades, choosing one denomination or the other being often made for pragmatic reasons: the possession of the church, the desire to hold a richer parish, the presence of a charismatic bishop in the villages, who offered a sense of protection to the priests and parishioners. However, beginning with the years of the Sofronian movement, with the appointment of an Orthodox bishop, the Uniate and non-Uniate priests and parishioners had to try to learn to live together and to establish their own marks of identity.

Translated into English by Carmen-Veronica Borbely

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[99] This was in accordance with the Council of Florence which had not demanded that the Easterners should enforce the four points but merely recognize them, and with the Oriental rite in which the priest was obliged to mention only his immediate superior, Ghişa, *Biserica greco-catolică…*, 161.

[100] *Ibidem*, 199.

[101] However, the introduction of the Festival of St. Peter in Chains (16 January) as a secondary feast in the *Irmologion* of 1762 and as a commandment feast in the *Orrologion* of 1766 may be a sign of the subtly expressed desire, through the specific mentioning of St. Peter (alone, not next to St. Paul), to promote the papal primacy, Ghişa, *Biserica greco-catolică*, 213- 214, 232.

[102] Petru Maior, *Istoria Bisericii Românilor* (Bucureşti, 1995): 134.

Piety, Nobility, Confessional Identity. The Last Church Founded by Grigore Maior, the Greek-Catholic Bishop of Făgăraş

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Abstract: This article aims to decipher the motives and the meanings of the foundational act undertaken by Grigore Maior, the Greek-Catholic Bishop of Făgăraş, in the second half of the eighteenth century. The bishop's decision and efforts to raise a stone church in the village where he was born, over the remains of his ancestors, are examined first in light of their religious and social context. The second part of the 1770s witnessed an extensive missionary action, through which the Transylvanian Greek-Catholic bishops aimed to recuperate the territories where the Orthodox Church had consolidated its position through the anti-Union actions of the monk Sofronie from Cioara. The bishop's decision to raise a place of worship in Sărăuad should be seen as the sign of his desire to celebrate his co-villagers' return to the Union with the Roman Church, to whom he offered a more durable and spacious church. The last church founded by Grigore Maior appears to be the symbol of the re-found communion in faith between the people of Sărăuad and the bishop, whose roots lay among them. In that foundational act, stimulated by the example offered by his former local protector, Comes Antal Károlyi, one can also distinguish the noble mentality of the Romanian Greek-Catholic hierarch, whose concerns included genealogy, the destiny of his ancestors' dead bodies, his family roots. He built a necropolis church, as a typical expression of the privilege claimed by this noble founder and, implicitly, his intention to distinguish himself socially. Last but not least, Grigore Maior, the religious man, also built this place of worship with the fate of his own soul in mind. His will is clear in this respect, his generous legacy in gold coins forcing the priests who were to serve in that church to commemorate him perpetually in their liturgies, as its founder.

Keywords: Grigore Maior, Transylvania, Greek-Catholic Church, testament donation, nobility, confessional identity

Rezumat: Pietate, nobilitate, identitate confesională. Ultima ctitorie a lui Grigore Maior, episcop greco-catolic de Făgăraş. Acest articol îşi propune să descifreze motivaţiile şi semnificaţiile unui act fundaţional întreprins de un episcop greco-catolic de Făgăraş din a doua jumătate a secolului XVIII: Grigore Maior. Decizia şi demersurile episcopului de a ridica o biserică de zid în satul în care se născuse, deasupra osemintelor înaintaşilor săi, sint raportate mai întîi la elementele de context confesional şi social. A doua parte a deceniului 8 al veacului respectiv a fost perioada

unei ample acţiuni misionare, recuperatorii a episcopatului greco-catolic din Transilvania în teritoriile unde Biserica ortodoxă îşi consolidase poziţiile prin acţiunea călugărului Sofronie din Cioara. Hotărîrea episcopului de a ridica un locaş de cult la Sărăuad trebuie văzută ca semnul dorinţei sale de a celebra revenirea la unirea cu Biserica romană a consătenilor lui, cărora le oferea o biserică mai trainică şi mai spaţioasă. Ultima ctitorie a lui Grigore Maior pare a fi simbolul regăsitei comuniuni în credinţă între cei din Sărăuad şi episcopul ridicat dintre ei. În acel act fundaţional, stimulat de exemplul oferit în domeniu de fostul său protector local, comitele Antal Karolyi, se poate distinge însă şi mentalitatea nobiliară a ierarhului greco-catolic român, preocupat de genealogie, de destinul trupurilor strămoşilor defuncţi, de rădăcinile familiei lui. El a edificat o biserică necropolă, expresie tipică a privilegiului reclamat de ctitorul-nobil şi, implicit, a intenţiei sale de a se distinge social. Nu în ultimul rînd, construind locaşul de cult, omul religios Grigore Maior a avut în vedere şi soarta propriului suflet. Testamentul său e fără echivoc în acest sens, generosul lăsămînt în monede de aur obligîndu-i pe preoţii care aveau să se succeadă acolo să-l amintească perpetuu în liturghiile lor, în calitate de fondator.

Cuvinte cheie: Grigore Maior, Transilvania, Biserica greco-catolică, donaţie testamentară, nobilitate, identitate confesională

On 29 December 1784, a few weeks before he passed away, Bishop Grigore Maior dictated the contents of his will to the Greek-Catholic Archpriest of Alba Iulia, Tiron Dragoşi.[1] Consumed by illness, he requested that his decisions regarding the fate of the material goods he had acquired should be committed to paper: these he bequeathed, after his death, not only to his family and loved ones, but also to some terrestrial intercessors with the Almighty, more precisely the priests who were to pray for the repose of his soul and the places of worship where, through the liturgical service, his name was to be consigned to memory eternal. The vast nuncupative document[2] is a precious revelator of mentality. It contributes to better outlining Grigore Maior's profile as a cleric and believer who was concerned, at that time, with pious gestures and rituals associated with the Great Passage, all designed to pave his way to redemption. The testament pages, however, also reveal Maior as a "man of the world," with his circle of beloved and faithful ones, with his networks of sociability, and with his options for cultural and social positioning.

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[1] T. Cipariu, *Acte si fragmente latine romanesci pentru istori'a beserecei romane mai alesu unite*, Blasiu, 1860, pp. 39-55.

[2] On the categories of testaments in that period, see M. Vovelle, *Piété baroque et déchristianisation en Provence au XVIIIe siècle*, (Paris: Édition du Seuil, 1978), 47.

After establishing "perpetual foundations" for the cathedral in Blaj (Balázsfalva, Blasendorf) and the former episcopal churches in Făgăraş (Fogaras, Fogarasch) and Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Karslburg) - which were, of course, regarded as laden with utmost holiness because of the bishops who had been serving in them, but also as major symbolic landmarks of the Transylvanian Greek Catholics' history and religious identity - the bishop poured his bounty on the church he had founded in Sărăuad (Tasnád-Szarvad). In the list of places of worship that were to benefit from the amounts he left, the church in his native village came immediately after the cathedrals. The passage devoted to it will retain our attention in what follows, in our attempt to grasp the motivation and meaning of the founding act and the donation that accompanied it. What also deserves clarification is the moment when the building in question was raised, in light of new information uncovered in the archives.[3]

Focusing at first on the second aspect, we shall start from a certainty: when the will was drafted, the construction was not yet fully completed, as the bishop would have liked. That was due - we find in the text - to the many difficulties he had faced.[4] Since not many details are provided about the nature of those problems, there is room for the hypothesis that Maior had been the victim of the embezzlement committed by a villager entrusted with managing the money, an idea upheld by a local tradition recorded by Ioan Ardeleanu Senior in the first part of the twentieth century.[5] What the bishop insisted on mentioning was that the church was not adorned (decorated) at all, especially inside.[6] The entire work was to be completed with the legacy of 120 ducats ("aureos") of "Cremnitz"; regarding these, the careful testator suggested that the part remaining after the completion of the investment should be loaned and that the interest gained thereby should be placed at the disposal of the church.[7]

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[3] For the more recent vacillations on this theme, see Imola Kiss, Daniela Bălu, *Casa Domnului, Casa Omului. Valori patrimoniale multiculturale (catalogul arhitecturii religioase dun judeţul Satu Mare)*, (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Satu Mare, 2000), 122 ("...raised in 1773"); *Arhitectura ecleziastică din Satu Mare*, coordonator Szőcs Péter Levente, (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2007), 136 ("...built in the year 1777"); V. Câmpean, *Grigore Maior. Portretul unui intelectual român din secolul XVIII*, (Satu Mare: Informaţia Zilei, 2010), 28: "...was built in 1773 on Bishop Maior's expense (reference is also made to 1777 as the construction year)".

[4] "...sed per adversas mihi nimium difficultates nondum id plene uti intendebam perfecerim": T. Cipariu, *Acte si fragmente*, 45.

[5] I. Ardeleanu Senior, *Oameni din Sălaj. Momente din luptele naţionale ale românilor sălăjeni*, (Zalău: Tipografia "Luceafărul, 1938), 22.

[6] "...praecipue ab intus nihildum ornaverim": T. Cipariu, *Acte si fragmente*, 45.

[7] "...idcirco eum in finem relinquo ipsi templo aureos Cremnitz centum viginti i. e.

What is also certain is that in the summer of 1776, when Bishop Grigore Maior undertook a long and systematic canonical visitation in the area,[8] work on his foundation in Sărăuad had already started. The information appears in the extensive protocol drawn on that occasion: "His Excellency began building a new church of stone."[9] However, the Romanian bishop's native village was not without a place of worship at that time. From the same document, we find that at the time an official visit was made in the parish (6 July 1776), there existed a new, "rather good" wooden church. [10] Since both constructions appeared mentioned as "new", it is not very clear which one the notation relates to: "there are two bells in the tower of the new church."[11] It seems more logical, though, that the reference was to the wooden church, since it was the only functional church then.

The bishop's foundation had not really had time to rise very high. Work on the site had begun only a brief while before. Seven months earlier, on 10 December 1775, Grigore Maior wrote to Comes (Count) Antal Károlyi praising his generous financial involvement in the new Roman Catholic church from Carei (Nagykároly, Grosskarol),[12] as well as asking for help to carry out his own project. This appears to have been the first news about the bishop's intention to build a place of worship in Sărăuad. Equally, this is the first information about what he actually undertook in this sense. More specifically, Maior asked his old protector and supporter from the head of Sătmar (Szatmár) County[13] to let the villagers gather the wood for carving

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120, ut exinde omne quod hactenus imperfectum visum perficiatur, et siquid adhuc de hac massa superesset elocetur, et interusurium sit ecclesiae in conservationem": *Ibidem*.

[8] Z. Pâclişanu, *Istoria Bisericii Române Unite*, (Baia Mare: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2006), 473-474; Greta-Monica Miron, *"...porunceşte, scoale-te, du-te, propoveduieşte..." Biserica greco-catolică din Transilvania. Cler şi enoriaşi (1697-1782)*, (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2004), 71, 98, 357-358, 360-364.

[9] "…novam lapideam incepit aedificare Sua Excell(en)tia": National Archives, Alba County Branch (hereinafter ANDJA), *Fond Mitropolia unită Blaj*, no. 12/1765/1772, 133. I would like to thank my colleague Greta-Monica Miron once again for the kindness with which she made available to me the copy of the passage in the protocol that contains data referring to the parish of Sărăuad.

[10] "Ecclesia aedificata est nova lignea satis bona...": *Ibidem*.

[11] "Campanulae duae in tur(r)i novae Ecclesiae": *Ibidem*, 133

[12] "Non ad nostra sinodo sed ad universorum longe gentium pervenit aures quam illustre quamque magnificum summa Excellentiae Vestra Munificentia in suo ibi haereditario Karoly Templum seu Basilica erigatur…": Magyar Országos Levéltár (hereinafter M.O.L.), *P 398*, 45773, f. 13 r.

[13] On their close rapports, attested by the correspondence between them, see Susana Andea, A. Andea, *Transilvania. Ierarhi şi monahi* (the study "Din corespondenţa lui Grigore Maior cu Anton Károlyi"), (Cluj-Napoca, 2008), 108-112; O. Ghitta, "O

the beams and burning the bricks in the forest from Chegea - the property of the comes.[14] They were thus in the stage of procuring the building materials. In order for work on the new construction to start indeed, the bishop contacted the architect Stremfidel from Carei, with whom he was just about to make an agreement.[15] If the project was to be brought to an end, Maior assured the comes, also attempting to stir his interest, then "the name of the great Anton will remain worthy of remembrance in that place and will be glorified forever."[16] It seems that the magnate from Carei fulfilled this request for support because on 22 August 1776, when the Bishop of Blaj sent him a new letter, he was full of gratitude and referred to him as a patron and memorable benefactor of the construction that was built in Sărăuad. A man by the name of Gabriel Buda - whom Maior strove to bring back into Károlyi's favors - was also praised then for his generosity as the donor, on his own initiative ("sponte"), of a 130-pound bell for that church.[17] The appeal to acquaintances, to the goodwill and help of those in his close personal circle, from the highest protectors to devoted people, apparently represented an important strategy when such an undertaking was made. The construction of a place of worship was based not only on the money invested by the founder, but also on the smaller or larger favors and

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relatare a lui Grigore Maior către comitele Antal Károlyi: întâlnirea cu Iosif al II-lea," in *Călător prin istorie Omagiu profesorului Liviu Maior la împlinirea vârstei de 70 de ani*, edited by Ioan Aurel Pop, Ioan Bolovan, (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2010), 53-59.

[14] "...ut ex illis sylvis fiat eis facultas ligna pro trabibus dolandis lateribusque exurendis...": M.O.L., *P 398*, 45773, f. 13r. This information, which reveals the constructor's intention to use brick for building the church should not vex us if it is placed in relation to what the protocol of the canonical visitation of 1776 says: the building of a place of worship out of stone had started. According to the report drafted that year by the architect Niels Auner - obtained through the kindness of Mr. Gheorghe Toduț, from the Department for Culture of Satu Mare County - "the actual body of the church is erected on a portant structure of mixed masonry (stone exterior and brick interior, with an average thickness of the walls of 94-100 ml), having a continuous rough stone foundation (whose foundation depth is between 1.00 - 1.50m from the outside quota of the terrain) made of the same stone masonry as that of the floor level."

[15] "...cum architectum etiam Stremfidel, ipsum nempe Karolyinensem ad id opus jam fere conduxerimus...": *Ibidem*, f. 13r.

[16] "…ut ibi quoque loci Magnum Antonii nomen aeternum celebretur ac memorabile maneat": *Ibidem*.

[17] "…sponte oferrat unam campanam 130 librarum ad Ecclesiam novam T. Szarvadiensem": *Ibidem*, 45774, f. 15r.

donations made in the name of friendship or of duty, or with the thought of ensuring the redemption of one's own soul through pious acts.

Returning to the letter of 10 December 1775, written to the General Comes of Sătmar County, let us note that it helps us capture more than the early phase of the construction site. Grigore Maior's text also reveals why he was involved in the project. In outlining his justification, he relied on an obviously flattering reason for the magnate, which should not, however, be considered a simple rhetorical trick: he was inspired, above all, by the "piety and zeal" with which Antal Károlyi had engaged in building the church from Carei. He wanted, in other words, to follow his example, to imitate his gesture as a spiritual patron, achieving, in turn, something similar for his home community, albeit at a smaller scale. He was also impelled to do so by his own villagers, as Maior says. Touching a sensible chord, they had apparently suggested to him that he should do in his "homeland" - i.e. his native land - what they had heard was being done elsewhere.[18] And in order for the individuality of the petitioners to be clearer, the bishop provides a weighty detail within the economy of the entire justificatory passage. The pathetic request, which could not be turned down, had been addressed to him by "all those recently returned" (converts) from Sărăuad.[19] The specification contains, in fact, the key to the demonstration, the essence of the message sent to the comes from Carei. It reveals the great stakes of the project that Károlyi was invited to support. Prompt and magnanimous action was required for the benefit of that group recently "returned" to the bishop's faith, who, implicitly, were under his ecclesiastical protection now. Beyond the volutes of his explanation and interested plea, it is obvious here that the bishop placed his decision to erect a place of worship in Sărăuad in direct relation to the success of his action for integrating all the Romanians in North-Western Transylvania in the diocese he pastored, giving us thus an important element of context.

Over the first seven decades of the eighteenth century, the Greek-Catholic Church had recorded successive ebbs and flows in those regions. It had received the hardest blow during the anti-Union movement led by the monk Sofronie (1759-1761), when Santău (Tasnádszántó) and Cig (Csőg) were among the major bases of the action for the revival of Orthodoxy.[20]

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[18] "Domine fac etiam in Patria tua quae te alibi facere audimus...": *Ibidem*, 45773, f. 13r.

[19] "…eis neo-conversis universis": *Ibidem*. In translating the Latin word "conversus," we opted for the version offered by Grigore Maior in his dictionary: "returned" (G. Maior, *Institutiones Linguae Valachicae. Lexicon Compendiarium Latino-Valachicum*, edited by Alin-Mihai Gherman, vol. I, (Alba Iulia, 2001), 162.

[20] S. Dragomir, *Istoria dezrobirii religioase a românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII*, vol. II, (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 2002), 192-203; O. Ghitta, *Naşterea unei biserici.*

Maior himself had then been summoned by Comes Károlyi to calm the spirits in the area.[21] Still, the anti-Union wave proved to be very strong. At Sărăuad, for instance, the great denominational conscription completed in 1762 shows that the state of affairs was clearly favorable to the Orthodox.[22] The village church and 115 families figured in their account. What they did not have, however, was a priest. Both priests had declared themselves Greek Catholic, a mere three families remaining by their side. Five years later, as shown by the census requested by Atanasie Rednic, the Bishop of Blaj, the positions of the Greek Catholics had become stronger, a sign that the situation was actually fluid, changeable. Even though they now had only one spiritual shepherd, Fr. Ion, ordained by Inochentie Micu, their number had risen to 53 "souls."[23] The document does not mention "non-Uniate" believers in Sărăuad, which seems difficult to believe, considering how many had been recorded previously.

The balance shifted to the advantage of the sovereign pontiff's subjects during the time of Grigore Maior's episcopate. Once installed at the head of the diocese, he made the missionary expansion of the Union with the Roman Church one of his priorities. He remained in the memory of a contemporary of his, Petru Maior, given the relentlessness with which he pursued the achievement of the great objective he had assumed: "returning to Transylvania as a bishop, after a seven-year expulsion, he deliberately began his work to make all the Romanians in Transylvania united and he had great gain in his spirit."[24] "I never hesitated," the bishop confessed, "to come out at the sight of your passion, to receive your pleas and listen to your complaints, on the lanes, on the hills, in the valleys, in the cold and in the heat."[25] The favorite method used to ascertain what the situation was in the territory and communicate with the faithful was the canonical visitation,[26] an

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Biserica greco-catolică din Sătmar în primul ei secol de existență (1667-1761), (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2001), 302-338.

[21] Susana Andea, A. Andea, *Transilvania. Ierarhi și monahi*, 108-112.

[22] V. Ciobanu, "Statistica românilor ardeleni din anii 1760-1762," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională*, III (1926): 662.

[23] D. Dumitran, Ana Dumitran, F.A. Laslo, *Biserica românească din Transilvania în izvoarele statistice ale anului 1767*, (Alba Iulia: Editura Altip, 2009), 182-183.

[24] P. Maior, *Istoria Bisericii românilor*, edited and introductory study by Ioan Chindriș, (Bucharest: Editura Viitorul Românesc, 1995), 132.

[25] Z. Pâclișanu, *Istoria Bisericii Române Unite*, 508.

[26] On this activity of Grigore Maior, in *Ibidem*, 466-475; Greta-Monica Miron, "O vizitație canonică în comitatul Clujului sub episcopul Grigorie Maior," in *Studii istorice. Omagiu Profesorului Camil Mureșanu*, edited by Nicolae Edroiu, (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1998), 183-197; D. Dumitran, "O vizitație canonică a episcopului Grigore Maior din 1774," in *Apulum,* XXXVII/2 (2000): 37-45.

eloquent proof that he acted like a bishop inspired by the program and strategies of the Catholic Reformation.[27] He had, in fact, the grace necessary for engaging in a dialogue with the people and captivating them, "being prepared to draw them all, like a magnet that pulls iron to itself."[28]

He decisively contributed to the consolidation of the Greek-Catholic community in his native village in 1776, on the occasion of the said visitation. He stayed then even more time there, leaving and returning on several occasions, and even organizing a major synod on 31 July.[29] It is quite possible that he stopped there in the summer of 1773, on his way back home, as a newly ordained bishop. We know that he reached Şimleu (Szilágysomlyó), from where, on 10 June, he sent a letter to Antal Károlyi.[30] On 24 November 1773, perhaps as a result of what he had ascertained first hand, he wrote again to his benefactor from Carei. He addressed him the request to materially support the monastery from Santău, which he considered "the wall and buttress of the Holy Union" in those parts inhabited by "the heterodox and the schismatics."[31] It was also then that the bishop informed him that he had already managed to "bring more than a hundred villages back to the unity of the Catholic faith."[32] He imparted to Károlyi the news of the successes he had registered during the canonical visitation undertaken in 1776 in the border area between Transylvania and Hungary. On 9 July, for example, the bishop let Károlyi know, full of satisfaction and optimism, that he had turned "the possessions Tăşnad, Blaja, Silvaş, Săuca, Chisău and Paţăluşa entirely to the bosom of the sweet Church."[33] Sărăuad, where he had been three days earlier, was not listed among them. Success had not been fully accomplished there yet. According to the protocol of the visitation, 318 local inhabitants had been "returned" to the Union that year.[34] The document does not state how many had

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[27] P. Taddäus Lang, "La riforma in trasformazione. I questionari delle visite pastorali cattoliche in Germania nel XVI e XVII secolo," in *Le visite pastorali. Analisi di una fonte*, a cura di Umberto Mazzone e Angelo Turchini, (Brescia: Il Mulino, 1985), 57-60.

[28] P. Maior, *Istoria Bisericii românilor*, 132.

[29] Z. Pâclişanu, *Istoria Bisericii Române Unite*, 473-474; Greta-Monica Miron, *Biserica greco-catolică din Transilvania*, 71.

[30] M.O.L., *P 398*, 45769, f. 5r.

[31] *Ibidem*, 45771, f. 9r.

[32] *Ibidem*; Z. Pâclişanu, *Istoria Bisericii Române Unite*, 466.

[33] "…reduxit ad suavem Ecclesiae sinum sequentes possessiones integras utpote Tasnád, Balásháza, Szilvás, Szőrdemeter, Kesző, Kispaczal…": M.O.L., *P 398*, 45775, f. 17r.

[34] "Hic Pagus anno abhinc 318 ad S. Unionem conversi sunt": ANDJA, *Fond Mitropolia unită Blaj*, no. 12/1765/1772, 133.

remained "non-Uniate." What we may infer is that there were such Christians, since the local balance does not denote a landslide triumph of Greek Catholicism.

However, if the estimate of "about 800 souls"[35] refers to the Greek Catholics - as the text suggests, because it makes this reference right after mentioning the parish priest (Ioan Pop Kökényesdi, the Greek-Catholic archpriest of Santău),[36] the cantor (Andrei Săcară), the bell ringer (Teodor Maior) and the curators (Gavril Săcară, Gavril Doboș and Nicolae Șanța),[37] - it means that they had come to represent an overwhelming majority in Sărăuad. The unequivocal denominational option of the officiating priest tells us that the wooden church was in their hands. Another piece of evidence is the source of the chalice and two of the three sets of priestly vestments (one had been purchased by the church).[38] The vestments in question had been obtained as a gift from the bishop and, respectively, out of "the royal generosity" ("ex munificentia Regia", just like the chalice), a clear sign of high support for a community regarded Catholic through her faith; they nevertheless also attest the fact that Grigore Maior had antecedents as a benefactor of his home parish, either as a direct donor or as an intermediary.

Therefore, the "recently returned" from Sărăuad were not without a place of worship, as one might have inferred from the letter the bishop addressed to Antal Károlyi in December 1775. The new church was thus not meant to fill a void. It should be seen as the expression of the bishop's desire to offer that parish a more durable and spacious edifice, celebrating thereby the victory of the Union: the Union with the Roman Church. The church founded by Maior seems to be the symbol of the refound communion in faith between the people of Sărăuad and their co-villager, who had become a bishop.

Turning now to the testament from which we started, let us notice that Maior did not explicitly refer in it to the relation between the construction of the church and his success as a promoter of the Union. The focus is on something else, on a personal motivation. What he insisted on highlighting in this last text was that in "Silvania," in his native village of

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[35] "….animae 800 cir(citer)": *Ibidem*, 134.

[36] Greta-Monica Miron, *Biserica greco-catolică din Transilvania*, 486; D. Dumitran, *Un timp al reformelor. Biserica Greco-Catolică din Transilvania sub conducerea episcopului Ioan Bob (1782-1830)*, (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2007), 327.

[37] ANDJA, *Fond Mitropolia unită Blaj*, no. 12/1765/1772, 134.

[38] In the patrimony of the church, there were four other books of worship (the Strastnic, the Apostolos, the Triodion, the Pentecostarion): Greta-Monica Miron, *Biserica greco-catolică din Transilvania*, 356, 362.

Sărăuad, he had built a church over the bodies of his ancestors who had fallen asleep in the Lord.[39] He had raised the construction on the site of a cemetery, framing the graves of his family's members. They played a founding role as the cornerstone of the building, but also benefited from inclusion within the protective perimeter of a sacred settlement, where the liturgical service was regularly celebrated and the sacraments were administered.

The bishop-founder's interesting option may reveal, on the one hand, a clue as to his noble mentality. We know he came from a family with a nobiliary social and legal status. Interviewed on the occasion of the "canonical process" that preceded the ordination and appointment of Grigore Maior as bishop, Silvestru Caliani and Samuil Micu pointed out the nobility of his parents.[40] We know that he liked to cultivate relationships within the order's networks of solidarity, including with the members situated on its upper rungs. His close and lasting relation with Antal Károlyi is a good proof that he moved outside the circles of the Romanian petty nobility, a society which included his only sister, Domnica, the mother of Ladislau Vitéz de Cig, his favorite nephew.[41] As shown by his will, he wanted those in his family to go beyond merely preserving their social condition. He left money for them to attend school, to progress culturally and thus to increase their chances of a career, to receive recognition at the highest level. He had the ambition, pride, and generosity specific to that social category, these traits giving rise to acts of donation and foundation. These feats represented not only a barometer of his personal success, but also a sign of his concern for what would come next, for the afterlife. In this regard, the example that he followed was that of the highly active nobleman

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[39] "Cum ego in Silvania solo quippe natali meo nominanter Tusnad-Szarvad templum satis commodum super corpora majorum meorum inibi requiescentium Deo juvante posuerim totum e solido...": T. Cipariu, *Acte si fragmente*, 45.

[40] Archivio Segreto Vaticano (hereinafter A.S.V.), *Archivio della Nunziatura Apostolica in Vienna. Processi canonici dei Vescovati*, 1773, Fogarasiensis Gregorius Major. A photocopy of the document has been placed at my disposal by Father-Professor Cristian Barta, whom I should like to thank once again. On Maior's nobility, see also R. Cîmpeanu, *Elitele româneşti din Transilvania veacului al XVIII-lea*, (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000), 143-148.

[41] T. Cipariu, *Acte şi fragmente*, 48-51; Greta-Monica Miron, "Confesiune şi nobilitate în Transilvania secolului al XVIII-lea. Nobilii uniţi," in *Biserică, societate, identitate. In honorem Nicolae Bocşan*, (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2007), 374; Idem, "Un episod din viaţa lui Grigorie Maior – penitenţa la Muncaci," in *Identităţi confesionale în Europa Central-Orientală (secolele XVII-XIX)*, edited by Nicolae Bocşan, Ana Victoria Sima, Ion Cârja, (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2009), 150-156.

Demeter Rácz - his chat partner during the years of reclusion at Mukacheve (Munkács, Muncaci)[42] - at whose expense the church of Černeča Hora Monastery and those from Carei (the Ruthenian parish) and Vezendiu (Vezend) were erected.[43] In those years, Antal Károlyi also served, as mentioned before, as an example of direct involvement in building churches. In addition, the strong family from Carei offered, through the Franciscan convent crypt from Căpleni (Kaplony, Kappelan), a model for the cultivation of the predecessors' memory in the area, representative for the nobility's Baroque sensibility. Such an interest may also be detected, in fact, in Grigore Maior's initiative. He did not simply seek to raise a church. He was also concerned with his genealogy, with the destiny of the remains of his ancestors, with his family roots. His career success was supposed to reflect beneficially on them too. The nobleman-bishop wanted equally to protect and to extol his predecessors, thus demonstrating attachment to tradition and diligence in cultivating it.[44] The result was a necropolis church, a typical expression of the privilege assumed by its nobleman-founder and, hence, of his intention to achieve social distinction.[45]

On the other hand, particularly since this came from a high church official, the plan to place the building on such a foundation should be deciphered also as regards its strictly religious significance. The eschatological stakes of the decision were in fact suggested by the previous comment. The remains of the departed relatives were included in the protective area of the church in order to increase their chances of redemption. The care surrounding these ancestors - manifested against the stormy confessional background of that time, with tensions between factions that adamantly disputed the quality of true preservers of the "ancient law" - can also suggest another interpretive trail. After all, by treating his forerunners thus,

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[42] See, in this sense, the statement of Demeter Rácz about the "canonic process" of Grigore Maior: A. S. V. *Processi canonici (Gregorius Major)*, f. 27.

[43] *Arhitectura ecleziastică din Satu Mare*, 44-45, 157; V. Ciubotă, "Demetriu Raţ, nobil din Vezendiu – un binefăcător al bisericilor şi mănăstirilor din episcopia Munkacevo," in *Relaţii româno-ucrainene. Istorie şi contemporaneitate*, edited by V. Ciubotă, T. Nicoară, M. Vegheş, L. Horvat, (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană & Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2007), 145-154.

[44] For the significance of the concern for burial within a church, see Maria Crăciun, "*Apud Ecclesia:* Înmormântarea în biserică în Moldova secolelor XV-XVI," in *Confesiune şi cultură în Evul Mediu. In honorem Ion Toderaşcu*, edited by Bogdan-Petru Maleon and Alexandru-Florin Platon, (Iaşi: Editura Universităţii "Alexandru Ioan Cuza", 2004), 29-70.

[45] Ph. Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort 1. Le temps des gisants*, (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1985), 53-57.

the Greek Catholic Bishop of Blaj conveyed the message that his relationship with the past was not antagonistic. He assumed it entirely and brought homage to it. He was not the advocate of an iconoclastic direction, that promoted innovation, rupture or a breach with tradition, which, according to the followers of the monk Sofronie, were the aims of the Greek Catholics. When he attended the synod held in Sărăuad on 31 July 1776, he straightforwardly stated that the Union with the Roman Church meant, essentially, continuity and that it entailed remaining within the fundamental coordinates of Eastern Christianity: "let us stay in the faith and the true orthodox law of the Eastern Church, which we took from the Holy Fathers and the H(oly) Sobors, nor should you depart any further from your ancient Romanian Metropolitan See of Făgăraş to which all your parents, ancestors and our entire Romanian nation of the Greek Rite were subjected, throughout the Land of Transylvania."[46] The church from Sărăuad seems to have been built as an illustration of this message with an obvious ideological and identitarian value. By building it, Grigore Maior, the tireless and passionate promoter of the Union, exceeded the declarative sphere of programmatic statements, and resorted to an applied demonstration. In relation to the departed in his family, the bishop was the living expression of genuine reverence to the past. Moreover, he was the guarantee that the Church he led had roots that ran deep, and, therefore, it had legitimacy.

In building the place of worship, Grigore Maior had in mind not only the villagers who had "returned" to the Union and the remains of his ancestors. He also reflected on the fate of his own soul. His will is unambiguous in this regard. The generous legacy in gold coins compelled the priests who were to succeed in Sărăuad to perpetually mention him as the founder of the church in their liturgies. He also demanded that a memorial service for his soul should be officiated every year, on the feast of Archangels Michael and Gabriel, the patron saints of that church.[47] As was customary in such circumstances, the testator's indications were very precise. The service for which the donation had been made was not to be forgotten.[48] The Greek-Catholic parishioners of Sărăuad were thus among the terrestrial intercessors urged to pave the bishop's way to redemption through their prayers. For the same purpose, the village priest, Demetriu, the archpriest of Santău, was left 6 "aureos" for two sarandari.[49]

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[46] Greta-Monica Miron, *Biserica greco-catolică din Transilvania*, 71.

[47] "...cujus ministri etiam perpetuo obligabuntur mei ceu fundatoris in sacrificiis memores esse, et speciatim in festo SS. AA. pro mea anima quotannis votiva facere...": T. Cipariu, *Acte si fragmente*, 45.

[48] M. Vovelle, *Piété baroque*, 113.

[49] T. Cipariu, *Acte si fragmente*, 47.

The church that was started in 1776 probably became functional even before the problem of the lack of interior ornaments - as mentioned in the bishop's will - was resolved. We do not know exactly when it first opened its gates and housed a religious ceremony. After this church came into use, the wooden one was dismantled and the material could either have been reused or sold to another village, as the custom was back then. At the beginning of the next century, only a Reformed church was still mentioned next to the one founded by the Greek-Catholic bishop.[50]

The passage of time leaves strange traces in the memory of communities. The local traditions about Grigore Maior recorded by Ioan Ardeleanu Senior in the book *Oameni din Sălaj* (*The People of Sălaj*) obviously contain a recurring theme, a stereotype. Having become entrenched in popular memory as the "prisoner from Muncaci," as the victim of a long line of injustices, the bishop also appears unhappy in the stories of his experiences from his native village. In his childhood, he lost the animals he had been shepherding in the field and was forced to run away from home; he lost, through someone else's embezzlement, a significant amount of the money he had left for building the church; and finally, he lost, also through theft, two of the four horses harnessed to the carriage in which he had come to visit Sărăuad for the last time.[51] No mention, at this level, about Maior's efforts to reconcile his village torn by religious upheavals, about Maior as the generous benefactor, about the bishop who took care of his defunct ancestors and about his myriad relatives, acquaintances and co-villagers who were then looking for a better place under the sun. In the collective imagination, Maior the perpetual loser, who was always miserable, seems to have surpassed Maior the generous man, who was so full of life and projects. The image that he wanted to leave about himself in Sărăuad endures only in the old documents of the time, being occasionally stirred back to life thanks to the curiosity of historians.

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[50] *Consignatio statistico topographica singulorum in Magno Principatu Transylvaniae*, edited by Bogdan Crăciun and Ioan Bolovan, (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003), 93.

[51] I. Ardeleanu Senior, *Oameni din Sălaj*, 13-25.

Reconciling Marie-Antoinette's Identities: the Austrian Queen of France and her futile quest for acceptance

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Abstract: An exceptional woman, Marie-Antoinette also embodied eighteenth-century beliefs about conventional female roles. What were the duties of Marie-Antoinette as the daughter of Empress Maria Theresa, sister of Emperor Joseph II and Emperor Leopold II, wife of King Louis XVI, and mother of the heirs of France? The "real" Marie-Antoinette cannot be recaptured, but an analysis of the many letters she exchanged with her mother (Maria Theresa) and brother (Joseph II) can offer insight into the multiple identities of Marie-Antoinette, and the construct of proper female roles in the late eighteenth century. This paper explores regulatory norms of behavior laid out by Maria Theresa and Joseph II for Marie-Antoinette – the woman, in letters exchanged between 1773 and 1790. Her Habsburg relatives warned Marie-Antoinette about what they perceived as dangerous gender transgressions: the inability to produce an heir, the courtesan-like behavior, and the preference for spending time in a private environment. However, while reminding their daughter and sister to respect the conventions of the French Court, the Habsburg rulers also tried to manipulate Marie-Antoinette to consolidate the interests of Vienna. The queen's Austrian heritage and her gender transgressions contributed to the harsh judgment of the French public opinion and her execution.

Keywords: Marie-Antoinette, Habsburg Monarchy, France, gender history, diplomacy

Rezumat: Reconcilierea identităţilor Mariei Antoinette: Regina austriacă a Franţei şi efortul ei zadarnic de a fi acceptată. O femeie excepţională, Maria Antoinette a întruchipat convingeri ale secolului al XVIII-lea referitoare la rolul convenţional al femeilor. Care erau datoriile Mariei Antoinette ca fiică a împărătesei Maria Tereza, ca soră a împăraţilor Iosif al II-lea şi Leopold al II-lea, ca soţie a regelui Ludovic al XIV-lea şi ca mamă a moştenitorilor tronului Franţei? „Adevărata" Maria Antoinette nu poate fi recreată. Însă o analiză a corespondenţei sale cu mama şi fratele ei (Maria Tereza şi Iosif al II-lea) poate oferi o explicaţie a multiplelor identităţi ale Mariei Antoinette şi a modului în care rolul femeilor era înţeles la sfârşitul secolului al XVIII-lea. Această lucrare analizează norme de comportament elaborate de Maria Tereza şi Iosif al II-lea pentru femeia Maria Antoinette, prin intermediul corespondenţei din perioada 1773-1790. Rudele au avertizat-o pe Maria Antoinette în legătură cu trăsăturile ei care puteau fi interpretate drept încălcări ale regulilor genului său: incapacitatea de a produce un moştenitor, comportamentul asemănător cu al curtezanelor

și preferința de a-și petrece timpul într-un mediu privat. Însă, în timp ce îi reaminteau fiicei și surorii lor să respecte convențiile Curții franceze, împărații habsburgi au încercat să o manipuleze pe Maria Antoinette pentru a consolida interesele Vienei. Originea austriacă a reginei împreună cu încălcarea regulilor genului său au contribuit la sfârșitul ei tragic.

Cuvine cheie: Maria Antoinette, Monarhia Habsburgică, Franța, studii de gen, diplomație

An exceptional woman, Marie-Antoinette also embodied eighteenth-century beliefs about conventional female roles. Throughout her life, the queen of France played the part of daughter, sister, wife, and mother. What were the duties of Marie-Antoinette as the daughter of Empress Maria Theresa, sister of Emperor Joseph II and Emperor Leopold II, wife of King Louis XVI, and mother of the future heir of France? The "real" Marie-Antoinette cannot be recaptured, but an analysis of the many letters she exchanged with her mother (Maria Theresa) and brother (Joseph II) can offer some insight into the multiple identities of Marie-Antoinette, and the construction of proper female roles in the late eighteenth century.

This paper will explore regulatory norms of behavior laid out by Maria Theresa and Joseph II for Marie-Antoinette – the woman, in the letters the Queen of France exchanged with her mother and brother between 1773 and 1790. Her Habsburg relatives warned Marie-Antoinette about what they perceived as dangerous gender transgressions: the inability to produce an heir, the courtesan-like behavior expressed through involvement in political intrigues and extravagant expenditures, and the preference for spending time in a private environment with inappropriate friends instead of respecting the Court's ceremonial. However, while reminding their daughter and sister to respect the conventions of the French Court and fulfill the part of the ideal mother and wife, the Habsburg rulers also tried to manipulate Marie-Antoinette to promote and consolidate the interests of Vienna. Trying to transform the queen of France into an Austrian pawn backfired. I argue that Marie-Antoinette needed to respect the gender conventions of eighteenth-century France even more than other women if she were to gain acceptance in French society, because she was not French. The queen's Austrian heritage contributed to the harsh judgment of the French Court and French public opinion. These critical judgments expressed in numerous pamphlets, finally led to Marie-Antoinette's execution.

Austrophobia **and Marie-Antoinette**

Starting with the reign of Louis XIV the monarchy contributed to the development of a French national community, through the creation of institutions such as a national press. David Bell shows that concomitantly to the creation of a national awareness, the Bourbon rulers removed

themselves from their subjects and surrounded themselves with an intricate ceremonial at the Versailles Court.[1] The monarch claimed to symbolize the nation as God's vice-regent on earth, but the eighteenth century witnessed the emergence of other more active groups claiming to represent the nation: parliaments and the Republic of the Letters.[2] After breaking away from the conviction that the king of France and his wife were uncontested rulers, the French cultural and political elites started doubting the loyalty of foreign-born, such as Marie-Antoinette. As the eighteenth-century dynastic politics grew more and more suspicious, it became harder to convince public opinion that loyalty to the family could be replaced by loyalty to the state. Throughout her reign as the queen of France, Marie-Antoinette never completely dissociated herself from her identity as the daughter of the Austrian Empress and the sister of the Holy Roman Emperor.

The losses suffered during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) increased anti-Austrian feelings in France. The 1756 Franco-Austrian treaty preceding the war stopped representing a brilliant diplomatic coup after the French armies suffered humiliating defeats at the hands of Prussian and English troops.[3] The foreign minister, Choiseul, together with the Austrian minister, tried to consolidate the alliance through the marriage of the heir of France, Louis-Auguste, to the daughter of Maria Theresa, Marie-Antoinette. Unlike earlier queens of France, Marie-Antoinette kept in touch with her Habsburg family on a regular basis. Therefore, she never managed to dissociate herself in the eyes of public opinion from her foreign background.[4] As a 1774 pamphlet stated: "remember that she is Austrian, and so is ambitious. Remember of what mother she is born -- and . . . [who] will be her able confederate in such schemes."[5] Indeed, Habsburg foreign policy in the 1770s and 1780s, leading to the first partition of Poland (1772), the annexation of Bukovina (1775), and the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778-1789) consolidated the image of an expansionist, ambitious Austrian Monarchy. During her trial, Marie-Antoinette had to answer whether at the time of her wedding she had conceived of a plan to reunite Lorraine, her

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[1] David Bell, "The "Public Sphere," the State, and the World of Law in Eighteenth-Century France," *French Historical Studies* 17, no. 4 (1992): 917.

[2] Dena Goodman, *The republic of letters: a cultural history of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 34.

[3] Thomas Kaiser, "Who's Afraid of Marie-Antoinette? Diplomacy, Austrophobia and the Queen," *French History* 14 (2000): 245.

[4] Thomas Kaiser, "From the Austrian Committee to the Foreign Plot: Marie-Antoinette, Austrophobia, and the Terror," *French Historical Studies* 26, no. 4 (October 2, 2003): 586.

[5] Nancy Barker, "`Let them eat cake': The mythical Marie Antoinette and the French Revolution," *The Historian* 55, no. 4 (Summer, 1993): 719.

father's place of origin, with Austria.[6] Clearly, public opinion perceived her as a promoter and key figure in the Habsburg Monarchy's expansion.

Marie-Antoinette's secret correspondence with her mother and brother had dangerous implications for the allegiance of the queen of France. A century earlier, a large political scandal erupted when a couple of letters sent by Anne of Austria to her brother, Philip IV of Spain, were intercepted in 1637 by Cardinal Richelieu's men.[7] Clearly, the queens of France needed to sever all political links with their native countries. However, the correspondence between the wife of Louis XVI and the Habsburg rulers continued uninterrupted for twenty years. On the fifteenth of each month, a courier left the Court of Versailles with Marie-Antoinette's letter to her mother, and later to her brother. However, the queen's letters were not the only documents dispatched from Versailles. Maria Theresa also received secret reports from the Austrian ambassador at the French Court, the Count Mercy-Argenteau. This Austrian representative closely supervised and reported the behavior of Marie-Antoinette to the Habsburg empress. It is noteworthy that Mercy-Argenteau referred to Marie-Antoinette in the earlier letters both as the *dauphine*, her newly acquired French title, and the *archduchess*, her Austrian title.[8] Maria Theresa shared only some of Mercy-Argenteau's reports with her son, Joseph, and her close advisor, prince Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz.[9] The information the empress had about her daughter came from Mercy-Argenteau's dispatches. However, Maria Theresa misinformed Marie-Antoinette that her main sources were various Austrian visitors at Versailles or general gossip going around Europe. For the last ten years of her life, the Austrian empress strived to consolidate the position of her daughter as the queen of France, by giving her continuous advice. On the one hand, Maria Theresa correctly anticipated and tried to correct the gender transgressions of Marie-Antoinette which led in the end to her death. On the other hand, the empress failed to understand that her daughter's biggest fault remained the Austrian connection, interpreted as the source of all the queen's misdemeanors.

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[6] Kaiser, "Who's Afraid of Marie-Antoinette?," 258, n. 90.

[7] Évelyne Lever, *Correspondance de Marie-Antoinette : (1770-1793)* (Paris: Tallandier, 2005), 9.

[8] *Ibid.*, 53.

[9] Chantal Thomas, *The wicked queen: the origins of the myth of Marie-Antoinette* (New York: Zone Books, 1999), 52.

The Quest for Motherhood

Salic Law prohibited women from inheriting the French throne and the term "queen" had no meaning except in relation to "king."[10] Therefore, any queen not of French origin remained a foreigner, although her children became the children of France. However, even if just as the "carrier" of the future heir of the French throne, the body of the Queen had to adhere to an aesthetic ideal.[11] Maria Theresa understood the rules of the game and made important investments in the teeth, hair and clothes of her daughter. The empress's efforts to transform an Austrian princess into a French *dauphine* paid off when Louis XV finally agreed to the marriage between his elder grandson and Maria Theresa's youngest daughter.[12] Nonetheless, this was just the first victory in a long series of efforts to ensure Marie-Antoinette's position as the queen of France.

The wife of the heir to the throne or the wife of the king could easily be rejected if she was unable to perpetuate the dynasty. Maria Theresa understood that until the consummation of the Habsburg-Bourbon marriage her daughter could be sent back to Austria if the king of France decided to give up on the alliance. Therefore the empress devoted many letters to Marie-Antoinette on the topic of achieving sexual union. Moreover, the young woman had to send detailed reports about her menstruation to corroborate the information about the state of her marriage.[13] Fulfilling an aesthetic French ideal proved essential for the *dauphine*, especially in the absence of an heir.

Maria Theresa's November 1770 letter addressed the deterioration of her daughter's physical appearance. Marie-Antoinette had stopped wearing the *grand corps*, the whale-boned bodice, one of the marks of supreme distinction for women at the French Court. As a result of this transgression, the *dauphine*'s waist looked larger and rumors about the imperfections of her body spread around Europe.[14] Therefore, Maria Theresa reminded her daughter about the danger of having the waist of a woman without yet being one. This was a clear allusion to Marie-Antoinette's

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[10] Mary Sheriff, "The Portrait of the Queen," in *Marie-Antoinette: writings on the body of a queen*, ed. Dena Goodman (New York: Routledge, 2003), 47.

[11] Desmond Hosford, "The Queen's Hair: Marie-Antoinette, Politics, and DNA," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (2004): 184.

[12] Caroline Weber, *Queen of fashion: what Marie Antoinette wore to the Revolution* (New York: H. Holt, 2006), 16-17.

[13] Larry Wolff, "Hapsburg Letters: the Disciplinary Dynamics of Epistolary Narrative in the Correspondence of Maria Theresa and Marie-Antoinette," in *Marie-Antoinette: writings on the body of a queen*, ed. Dena Goodman (New York: Routledge, 2003), 31.

[14] Weber, *Queen of fashion*, 67.

not yet consummated marriage. Furthermore, Maria Theresa referred to the testimony of princess Windisch-Grätz, who had recently met Marie-Antoinette, and supposedly informed her mother that the queen took "poor care of [herself], even when it comes to cleaning [her] teeth" and controlling the size of her waist. Therefore, the empress warned Marie-Antoinette: "you are now at the time of life when you are developing your shape; it is the most critical" to wear the corset.[15]

Wearing an inappropriate outfit represented just one of the ways the queen's physical aspect could be damaged. After her debut in October 1770 during the royal hunt at Fontainebleau, Marie-Antoinette started riding almost every day and her choice of costume distanced her from the conventional attire of French queens. Marie-Antoinette's riding clothes were similar to male breeches, and did not include petticoats or skirts.[16] Weber argues that Marie-Antoinette's interest in riding allowed the *dauphine* to defend her place at the French Court despite her inability to produce an heir. Equestrian outings allowed the young woman to spend more time with her husband and Louis XV, in a society in which access to the king conferred a higher standing at the Court.[17]

However, Maria Theresa looked with a worried eye at her daughter's latest pastime and sent her a harsh letter in December 1770:

> Riding spoils the complexion, and your figure after a while will be affected by it and even more noticeably so. If you ride like a man, which I do not doubt, it is dangerous to carry a pregnancy, which is your duty and will define your happiness.[18]

To answer her mother's rebuke of horseback riding, Marie-Antoinette framed her participation in hunting activities as a duty towards the happiness of her husband. "It is my duty to make him happy, my duty and my glory if I can help to maintain the union of these two Houses."[19]

After the young couple finally attempted to seriously consummate their marriage in July 1773, Maria Theresa resumed her crusade against

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[15] Olivier Bernier, *Secrets of Marie Antoinette : a collection of letters* (New York: Fromm International, 1986), 49-50.

[16] Weber, *Queen of fashion*, 75-82.

[17] *Ibid.*, 90.

[18] Original: "Le monter à cheval gâte le teint, et votre taille, à la longue, s'en ressentira et paraîtra encore plus. J'avoue, si vous montez en homme, dont je ne doute, je trouve même dangereux et mauvais pour porter les enfants, et c'est pour cela que vous êtes appelée: c'est par là que votre bonheur sera constaté," Lever, *Correspondance de Marie-Antoinette*, 65.

[19] Original: "C'est mon devoir de le contenter, mon devoir et ma glorie si je puis contribuer à conserver l'union des deux maisons," in *Ibid.*, 122.

horseback riding. She informed her daughter that the inability of the queen of Portugal to give birth was linked to that queen's love for riding.[20] Therefore, Marie-Antoinette should stop indulging in her favorite pastime and remember her maternal responsibilities, especially since women could never be positive of their pregnancy until some weeks later.[21] Marie-Antoinette finally made a concession and reported to her mother that she "took the decision not to ride for eight days before her period."[22] Later on Maria Theresa realized that the advantages of her daughter riding far outweighed the potential risks. Therefore, she agreed with Marie-Antoinette and even reminded her not to abandon horseback riding, as "this always brings you closer to the king, who only has riding as an amusement."[23] For the duration of this seven-year long discussion, Maria Theresa never considered her daughter's desires. The empress's recommendations against horseback riding and then in its favor had as the main objective consolidating the position of her daughter at Versailles. None of the queen's acts were trivial; all aspects of her life carried strong political implications.

The sex life of Marie-Antoinette constituted no exception, and her brother, Joseph II, helped solve this Bourbon-Habsburg diplomatic impasse. Joseph's journey to France in 1777 had clear objectives: to help Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette consummate their union, while also enforcing Maria Theresa's warnings to her daughter regarding her irresponsible behavior.[24] The empress wrote to the queen of France before her brother's arrival and encouraged her to "speak to your brother about your marriage with complete sincerity. I can answer for his discretion and for the fact that he is well able to give you good advice."[25]

Joseph II did not only discuss with Louis XVI the king's bedroom problems, but also shared detailed information about Marie-Antoinette's marriage with their younger brother, the future emperor Leopold II.[26] Clearly, the sex life of the queen of France deeply interested the Habsburg

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[20] *Ibid.*, 153.

[21] Original: "Une femme mariée ne peut jamais répondre de ne pas être grosse, et pas savoir si on l'est ou non. Je m'étends sur ce point non pas pour vous effrayer, mais pour vous réveiller à penser sérieusement que cet exercice, si vous continuez à vivre ensemble comme mari et femme, ne convient nullement," in *Ibid.*, 156.

[22] *Ibid.*, 196.

[23] Original: "cela vous approche toujours du roi, qui a ce seul amusement," in Ibid., 302.

[24] Weber, *Queen of fashion*, 140-141.

[25] Bernier, *Secrets of Marie Antoinette*, 207.

[26] Lever, *Correspondance de Marie-Antoinette*, 285, n. 1.

family, because of the political ramifications the birth of the heir to the throne of France would have for the future of the dynasty.

Maria Theresa was right in estimating the precarious position her daughter had at the French Court. The members of the Court who promoted anti-Austrian interests financed and produced the first pamphlets against Marie-Antoinette with the clear aim of eliminating her from France; they accused the queen of being unable to provide a Bourbon heir.[27] Mercy's letters confirmed the empress's apprehension, as the Austrian ambassador stated that the French refused to recognize the authority of a princess who does not have "the quality of a mother."[28] After Marie-Antoinette became a mother, in 1778, the pamphlets became even more aggressive. The younger brother of Louis XVI, the count of Provence, initiated a disparaging campaign against the royal couple and personally composed satirical songs that sounded like Christmas carols.[29] Maria Theresa's forewarning that "all eyes will be fixed" on her daughter proved visionary. Once the pamphlets began attacking her, there was no going back. Marie-Antoinette had become the symbol of the corrupt French Monarchy.

The Quest for Respectability

Marie-Antoinette was the first queen of France who broke with the tradition of modesty enforced by earlier queens, such as Marie Leckzinska and Marie Theresa. The queens of France usually led quiet lives, dedicated to childbearing and prayer, while the royal favorite spent the king's money. Historically, female power was divided between the wife of the French king and the royal courtesan.[30] Because Louis XVI had no mistresses, Marie-Antoinette successfully combined both the role of wife and courtesan. "As sovereign, she was above the law. As favorite, she ruled over the king and subjugated the Court to her pleasure."[31] Therefore, in the eyes of the masses, the wife of Louis XVI was the most influential woman in France. Both Marie-Antoinette and Mme. Pompadour, Louis XV's mistress, enjoyed opera and took active part in court theatricals, received generous gifts and favors from the king, were barren for a long time, and exclusively controlled the sovereign's affections.[32] In addition to all these similarities, the queen's

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[27] Thomas, *The wicked queen*, 63.

[28] Lever, *Correspondance de Marie-Antoinette*, 236.

[29] Thomas, *The wicked queen*, 64.

[30] Sheriff, "The Portrait of the Queen," 52.

[31] Thomas, *The wicked queen*, 98.

[32] Kathryn Norberg, "Incorporating Women Gender into French History Courses, 1429-1789: Did Women of the Old Regime Have a Political History?," *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 2 (March 11, 2004): 263.

association with political intrigues and extravagant purchases illustrate
Marie-Antoinette's inclusion in the royal courtesans' pantheon.

Pamphlets criticizing Louis XV's political actions often focused on
the negative role of his courtesan, Du Barry. On December 24, 1770, the king
dismissed his Foreign Minister, the duke de Choiseul, an old opponent of
Du Barry. Therefore, the public considered Choiseul's removal from office
as a reflection of Du Barry's great influence at the Court. The countess's
move to sumptuous new quarters close to the King's apartments, right after
her victory over Choiseul, seemed to confirm the pamphleteers' theory.
Public opinion held du Barry's nefarious influence responsible for Louis
XVI's political faux pas.[33]

Maria Theresa understood the danger of getting mixed up in political
intrigues and the implications it carried for her daughter's reputation. In
1775, after Marie-Antoinette's involvement in the demise of the duke of
Aiguillon, the Habsburg empress wrote to her daughter:

> All I see is intrigue, low hatred, a persecuting spirit, and cheap wit –
> intrigue of a sort that a Pompadour or a Barry would have indulged in
> so as to play a great role, something which is utterly unfitting for a
> Queen, a great Princess of the House of Lorraine and Austria, who
> should be full of kindness and decency.[34]

Clearly, Maria Theresa feared the direct association public opinion would
have made between the queen Marie-Antoinette and the famous courtesans
du Barry and Pompadour. Indeed, one of the most popular pamphlets of
the late 1780s, *Historical Essays Concerning the Life of Marie-Antoinette*, directly
compared du Barry and Marie-Antoinette because of their supposedly
shared taste for power.[35]

Joseph II also planned to send a harsh letter to his sister. Although
the emperor's letter was never delivered, due to Maria Theresa's opposition,
the missive survived in the archives. While Maria Theresa tried to avoid
alienating her daughter through too harsh of a message, Joseph II addressed
his sister condescendingly and clearly considered her inept to take part in
the political decisional process. The emperor rhetorically asked:

> Dear sister, why are you getting involved in removing ministers …
> [and] talking about political affairs? Have you ever asked yourself with
> what right you were getting involved in the French monarchy's and

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[33] Weber, *Queen of fashion*, 77-78.

[34] Bernier, *Secrets of Marie Antoinette*, 171.

[35] Sarah Maza, "The Diamond Necklace Affair Revisited (1785-1786): The Case of
the Missing Queen," in *Marie-Antoinette: writings on the body of a queen*, ed. Dena
Goodman (New York: Routledge, 2003), 79.

government's affairs? What studies have you done? What knowledge have you accumulated to imagine that your advice or opinion might be good for something, especially when it comes to affairs requiring deep understanding?[36]

Undoubtedly Joseph II did not value his sister's intellectual abilities. Also, the emperor dreaded the influence French courtiers might have on his sister. Marie-Antoinette was supposed to promote the interests of the Austrian Court as directed by her mother and brother.

You [are a] pleasant young person, who thinks all day only about frivolities and amusements; who does not read, nor listen to sensible discussions for a quarter of an hour per month; who, I am sure, never reflects, nor meditates, and does not think of the consequences of your actions and words. You act solely based on the whim of the moment and use the same words and arguments which the people whom you trust and rely upon communicate to you.[37]

For the Habsburg emperor his younger sister's function at the French Court was clear. She had to cultivate the friendship and the confidence of the king, as this was her "state duty and the only interest [she] was allowed to have." Joseph II concluded by writing that the duty "every woman had within her marriage" was to express only her husband's opinions.[38]

The 1777 visit to Versailles allowed the emperor to articulate again his views on marriage and the role of the wife. He criticized Marie-Antoinette's behavior towards her husband; Joseph accused the queen of using disrespectful language towards her husband, and at showing no real

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[36] Original: "De quoi vous mêlez-vous, ma chère soeur, de déplacer des ministres, d'en faire envoyer un autre sur ses terres, de faire donner tel département à celui-ci ou à celui-là, de faire gagner un procès á l'un … enfin de parler d'affaires…? Vous êtes-vous demandé une fois par quell droit vous vous mêlez des affaires du gouvernement et de la monarchie française? Quelles études avez-vous faites? Quelles connaissances avez-vous acquises pour oser imaginer que votre avis ou opinion doit être bonne à quelque chose, sourtout dans des affaires qui exigent des connaissances aussi étendues?," in Lever, *Correspondance de Marie-Antoinette*, 222.

[37] Original: "Vous, aimable jeune personne qui ne pensez qu'à la frivolité, qu'à vos amusements toute la journée; qui ne lisez ni n'entendez parler raison un quart d'heure par mois; qui ne réfléchissez ni ne méditez, j'en suis sûr, jamais, ni ne combinez les conséquences des choses que vous faites ou que vous dites? L'impression du moment seule vous fait agir, et les paroles mêmes et arguments que des gens que vous protégez vous communiquent et auxquels vous croyez sont vos seuls guides," in *Ibid*.

[38] *Ibid*., 223.

respect for Louis XVI's opinion.[39] Furthermore, the emperor stated that if Marie-Antoinette had been his wife, he would know how to control her.[40] The views of Joseph II regarding the subordinate role of a wife with respect to the king matched Maria Theresa's advice to her daughter. The empress frequently reminded Marie-Antoinette that "the wife must be completely submissive to her husband and must have no business other than to please him and obey him."[41]

The fears of Maria Theresa and Joseph II materialized when the duke of Aiguillon, whom Marie-Antoinette helped eliminate from the Court, initiated and provided important funding for a defamation campaign against the queen. The Austrian connection emerged as one of the central themes of this offensive literature. The pamphlets argued that Louis XVI's sexual incapacity cast suspicion upon any future pregnancy of the queen. Moreover, the pamphlets insisted that Marie-Antoinette aimed to transform French foreign policy into an instrument of her mother's interests.[42]

The underground press also decried the impact Marie-Antoinette's clique had on state decisions. One pamphlet from 1781 stated that the Queen "works with Bertin, her dressmaker, in the same way that her august spouse works with his ministers of state."[43] In 1787, during the turmoil of the financial crisis, Marie-Antoinette nominated Etienne Charles de Loménie de Brienne as French finance minister. After this candidate obtained the position, crowds on the street cried "It is the Queen who governs!" deploring the influence Marie-Antoinette had on political decisions.[44] Whether Marie-Antoinette had any real impact on French politics is less important than the public's perception that she did. While the "real" Marie-Antoinette cannot be recaptured, the "imagined" queen illustrates the gendered discourse of pre-revolutionary and revolutionary France.

Marie-Antoinette knew about the defamatory pamphlets and she mentioned their existence to her mother as early as 1775.

> We are in the middle of a satirical song epidemic. They have made some up about everyone at Court, men and women alike; French license has even extended to the king. I myself have not been spared. Although this country is fond enough of malice, the songs are so flat

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[39] *Ibid.*, 284.

[40] *Ibid.*, 285-286.

[41] Bernier, *Secrets of Marie Antoinette*, 35.

[42] Kaiser, "Who's Afraid of Marie-Antoinette?," 257-258.

[43] Weber, *Queen of fashion*, 123.

[44] *Ibid.*, 180.

and in such bad taste that they are successful neither with the public nor high society."[45]

Chantal Thomas argues that Marie-Antoinette failed to acknowledge the power of the pamphlets to influence public opinion because she saw herself as the queen of a ceremonial world marked by endless repetitions. "Marie-Antoinette's insouciance toward such publications was linked to her disdainful ignorance of the vague, faceless world spilling over the fences of the three or four castles in which she lived."[46] On the other hand, Maria Theresa had experienced political turmoil since her coming to the throne in 1740 and was also conscious of the fragility of the French-Austrian alliance.[47]

On August 30, 1777, Maria Theresa addressed her daughter's passion for gambling. The empress warned Marie-Antoinette that on top of losing important amounts of money she was destroying her reputation at Court.[48] In the October 1777 letter, Maria Theresa also stressed that playing cards late into the night kept Marie-Antoinette away from her husband. The queen should adapt her schedule to the king's hours in order to increase the amount of time spent together and the chances of conceiving an heir.[49] Marie-Antoinette's refusal to listen to her mother's directions triggered a new wave of critical letters. Maria Theresa persisted in her rebuttal against cards games and threatened to contact the king directly about this issue.[50]

In 1776 Marie-Antoinette purchased tremendous amounts of jewelry, and had to ask for the king's financial support to settle her debts. Maria Theresa foresaw the danger of irresponsible purchases and asked Mercy to temper her wasteful behavior.[51] Moreover the empress wrote to her daughter that all of Europe knew about her expensive jewelry, which damaged her reputation even more.[52] Scandalous purchases further eroded the queen's reputation at a time of financial difficulties for the French people. In 1784 the king bought in Marie-Antoinette's name a new royal residence at Saint-Cloud.[53] Personal purchases were not the only ways in which Marie-Antoinette wasted French money.

Like Louis XV's courtesans, Marie-Antoinette used her influence at Court to create titles and distribute generous pensions to her friends. In a

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[45] Thomas, *The wicked queen*, 51.

[46] *Ibid*., 53.

[47] *Ibid*., 51.

[48] Lever, *Correspondance de Marie-Antoinette*, 292-293.

[49] *Ibid*., 298.

[50] *Ibid*., 305.

[51] *Ibid*., 253.

[52] *Ibid*., 255.

[53] Kaiser, "Who's Afraid of Marie-Antoinette?," 261.

letter to the count Rosenberg, the queen of France blatantly admitted her plans to make Mme de Lamballe her *surintendante* while keeping this a secret from the empress.[54] However, count Rosenberg forwarded the letter to Maria Theresa, who unsuccessfully rebuked her daughter. Mercy offered full details about Lamballe's appointment in his September 1776 letter to Maria Theresa. The Austrian ambassador commented extensively on the great amount of money wasted on Lamballe, who was no asset to the Versailles Court for anyone except the queen.[55]

Maria Theresa's October 1, 1776 letter to Marie-Antoinette proved prophetic. The empress warned her daughter not to "lose due to frivolity the favor accumulated since [her] arrival. As it is well known that the king is a moderate man, the blame would fall on [his wife]."[56] Public opinion blamed Marie-Antoinette not only for spending the money of France to add expensive clothes and jewelry to her collection, but also because of the negative example she offered to all French women. Adages from the reign of Marie-Antoinette mentioned that ladies' moral values deteriorated in direct proportion to their finances, and the whims of expensive fashion became more important than finding a good husband.[57] Marie-Antoinette's clothing expenditures accounted for a very small part of the overall budget of France, and therefore the queen's purchases were not the main cause of France's financial disaster.[58] However, the public's perception remained constant: the *Austrian* ruined the chances of financial redemption for the French state.

The settlement of the Scheldt Controversy in 1785, which required France to pay 4.5 million florins to the Habsburg Monarchy, seemed to confirm the rumor that Marie-Antoinette was working in tandem with her brother, Emperor Joseph II.[59] The treaty of Westphalia (1648) had conferred to the Dutch the right to close the mouth of the river Scheldt in order to prevent Habsburg domination of the Rhine. In 1784 Joseph tried to force the re-opening of the Scheldt, against the French interests in the area. Louis XVI and his ministers decided to support the Dutch, despite the strain this pronouncement would put on the Franco-Austrian alliance. Finally, Joseph II

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[54] Lever, *Correspondance de Marie-Antoinette*, 218.

[55] *Ibid.*, 258-259.

[56] Original: "Ne perdez pas par des frivolities le credit que vous vous êtes acquis au commencement. On sait le roi très modéré, ainsi la faute resterait seule sur vous," in *Ibid.*, 252.

[57] Weber, *Queen of fashion*, 124-125.

[58] *Ibid.*, 175-176.

[59] Kaiser, "Who's Afraid of Marie-Antoinette?," 264.

agreed to a compromise: the Dutch would preserve their rights to control the Scheldt if they agreed to pay ten million florins (half of which France paid).[60]

The letters Marie-Antoinette and Joseph II exchanged during the years 1784 and 1785 prove that the queen of France pushed for her brother's interests at Versailles. On November 19, 1784, the emperor reminded his sister that his projects regarding the Scheldt would bring real advantages to the Habsburgs, while preserving the alliance between Austria and France. Joseph II urged Marie-Antoinette to influence her husband in the Habsburg Monarchy's favor, and the queen of France promptly ensured her brother of direct support.[61] Marie-Antoinette's behavior during the Scheldt Crisis confirmed the French political elite's fears that the Habsburg tactics of using their female relatives as political agents by marrying them with their allies was more than a fantasy.[62]

The Quest for a Private Life

Jacques Revel contends that starting with Louis XV and continuing with the reign of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette French royalty underwent a process of desacralization. Both the earlier king Louis XV and Marie-Antoinette voluntarily tried to escape life at the Court and pursue a private existence.[63] However, as La Bruyère remarked during the reign of Louis XIV, Bourbon princes had the right to everything except "the pleasures of a private life."[64] Chantal Thomas, Jacques Revel, and Lynn Hunt discuss the use of pornography in anti-Marie-Antoinette pamphlets, and show how this literature created a credible representation of the queen's wickedness, which made her trial and execution inevitable.[65] The queen's desire to spend time with her own entourage in a private, isolated place worsened her reputation, because it made the pornographic scenarios her detractors

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[60] Munro Price, "The Dutch affair and the fall of the ancien regime, 1784-1787," *The Historical journal.* 38, no. 4 (1995): 877-879.

[61] Lever, *Correspondance de Marie-Antoinette*, 415, 418.

[62] Munro Price, "The court nobility and the origins of the French Revolution, in *Cultures of power in Europe during the long eighteenth century*, ed. Hamish Scott (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 277.

[63] Jacques Revel, "Marie-Antoinette in Her Fictions," in *Fictions of the French Revolution*, ed. Bernadette Fort (Evanston Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1991), 113.

[64] Weber, *Queen of fashion*, 138.

[65] Thomas, *The wicked queen*; Revel, "Marie-Antoinette in Her Fictions;" Chantal Thomas, "The Heroine of the Crime: Marie-Antoinette in Pamphlets," in *Marie-Antoinette: writings on the body of a queen*; Lynn Hunt, "The Many Bodies of Marie-Antoinette: Political Pornography and the Problem of the Feminine in the French Revolution," in *Marie-Antoinette: writings on the body of a queen*.

depicted more plausible. While Marie-Antoinette strove futilely for her right to choose her own friends and lead a private existence, her mother and brother repeatedly warned her about the risks associated with exiting the public realm.

The queen of France tried to replace the Court's hierarchy and etiquette with her own circle of freely-elected friends, such as the countess of Polignac. Therefore, on September 18, 1775, Mercy briefed Maria Theresa about the character of the countess of Polignac. The Austrian ambassador disliked the countess and considered her unworthy of the company of the queen.[66] As soon as Mercy found out about Polignac's liaison with the count of Vaudreuil, he informed the empress: "this young woman flaunts her lover" in public.[67] The association of the queen with the immoral countess prompted Marie-Antoinette's confessor, the *abbé* of Vermond, to exclaim: "how indulgent the queen has become with respect to the morals and the reputation of her friends!"[68] On November 15, 1776, Mercy complained to Maria Theresa that her daughter blatantly ignored persons of high status at the Court, in favor of her friends.[69] As the queen of France, Marie-Antoinette had no right to choose her companions, but had to respect the strict Court hierarchy.

On April 1, 1780, Maria Theresa used the information transmitted by Mercy to reprimand her daughter's generous monetary donations to the countess of Polignac and the countess's lover, the count of Vaudreuil. The empress warned Marie-Antoinette about the negative impact of such impulsive actions and reminded her about the potential insincerity of her friends.[70] The queen of France denied these accusations and refused to take any credit for the generous donations. Instead, Marie-Antoinette claimed that Louis XVI had simply recognized and rewarded the qualities of Polignac and Vaudreuil.[71] The queen knew that hiding behind her husband would confer legitimacy to the honors conferred upon Polignac and Vaudreuil, as the queen had no autonomous power at the Court; it all depended on the king.

Leaving the Versailles Court for a private residence represented another means for Marie-Antoinette to express her autonomy.   In   June

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[66] Lever, *Correspondance de Marie-Antoinette*, 228.

[67] *Ibid.*, 257.

[68] Original: "Qu'elle était devenue fort indulgente sur les moeurs et la reputation des ses amis et amies!," Lever, *Correspondance de Marie-Antoinette*, 257, n. 5.

[69] *Ibid.*, 266.

[70] *Ibid.*, 380.

[71] *Ibid.*, 381.

1774, Louis XVI offered his wife a small castle, located close to Versailles: the Petit Trianon. This location, outside the realm of the Versailles Court, gave Marie-Antoinette the opportunity to experiment with the joys of a private life, and exchange the part of the public consort for the one of just another private subject.[72] While anyone could visit the Versailles grounds during the day, visitors could reach the Petit Trianon only after receiving a special invitation from the queen. Many members of the aristocratic class lost free access to the queen of France, and for the elect few, who spent time in Marie-Antoinette's small entourage, all etiquette rules were suspended.[73] The time the queen spent at Trianon led to the neglect of her public duties and signaled the emergence of a hidden, suspicious realm.[74] Indeed, the nicknaming of the Trianon as "little Schönbrunn" symbolized in the eyes of the French public the queen's desire to avoid being French, and to corrupt the French court.[75] Marie-Antoinette's enemies also launched the rumor that the queen planned to leave this castle to Joseph II "as a Habsburg outpost right in Versailles's backyard."[76]

In April 1779, Marie-Antoinette wrote to her mother about her self-imposed quarantine during a bout of measles: "I am moving to Trianon today to have a change of air until the end of my three weeks, at which time I will be able to see the King again. I stopped him from closing himself with me; he has never had measles."[77] Mercy informed Maria Theresa about the large scandal that would surely result from the queen's separation from the king, especially because the brother of the king visited her alone, before she returned to Versailles.[78] The empress realized the dangers of Marie-Antoinette's removal from Versailles. Repeatedly, she urged her daughter to resume her proper place at the Court. Less than a month before her death, on November 3, 1780, Maria Theresa wrote to her daughter:

> I am very glad that you intend to resume a full Court life at Versailles; I know how dull and empty it is, but believe me, without it the drawbacks are far more important than the little inconveniences of public ceremonies.[79]

Unfortunately, the empress's wish was not fulfilled, and Trianon remained the queen's favorite retreat. The measles-incident started the rumor that

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[72] Weber, *Queen of fashion*, 131-132.

[73] *Ibid.*, 134-136.

[74] *Ibid.*, 142.

[75] Sheriff, "The Portrait of the Queen," 61.

[76] Weber, *Queen of fashion*, 140.

[77] Bernier, *Secrets of Marie Antoinette*, 272.

[78] Lever, *Correspondance de Marie-Antoinette*, 355.

[79] Bernier, *Secrets of Marie Antoinette*, 306.

Marie-Antoinette spent time without the king at Trianon, in order to enjoy her lovers.[80]

The queen's desire to enjoy her life in a private environment strengthened the desire of public opinion to drag her back in front of their eyes. Years before her public execution in 1793, the pamphlets elaborated on a hypothetical elimination of the queen preceded by a public confession: "I beg my husband and the nation to grant me pardon for all my sins, which I have already partly revealed in a confession made public, printed, and distributed at the beginning of each month."[81] Instead of reducing the quantity of material pamphleteers used as a source, the queen's retreat from the public realm incited the fabrication of more elaborate fantasies.

In 1783, Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun painted the queen in a loose-fitting simple gown of muslin. The painting proved very controversial once publicly exhibited, because it represented Marie-Antoinette as an individual woman and not as the queen of France, breaking with all the rules of royal representation. A public portrait of the queen should have consolidated the image of her husband. Moreover, there was another dangerous undertone to the image: the queen wore an English type gown made out of an imported fabric. This attire consolidated the identity of the Queen as a foreigner, and prompted a contemporary observer to state "France, in the guise of Austria, reduced to covering herself with straw."[82] However, there is at least one alternative reading of this painting. All her life, Marie-Antoinette tried to escape the critical gaze of her mother and brother, the reproaches of the French Court, and the critical voice of French public opinion. This painting offered the queen of France the only way to escape her constraining environment and show herself as she wanted to be perceived.

Conclusion

French and Austrian eighteenth-century aristocrats shared a similar understanding of the role of a queen. Both Maria Theresa and Louis XV expected Marie-Antoinette to provide an heir for the throne of France, and to contribute to the consolidation of the Franco-Austrian alliance. Maria Theresa's and Joseph II's advice to their daughter and sister proved prophetic on more than one occasion. The Habsburg emperors understood the importance of the maternal function of the queen, the need for Marie Antoinette to dissociate herself from the courtesan-like image and to participate actively in the rituals of Versailles's Court. However, at the end

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[80] *Ibid*., 270.
[81] Thomas, *The wicked queen*, 69.
[82] Hosford, "The Queen's Hair," 192.

of the eighteenth century, the strict observance of all the above regulations was no longer enough. The political rivalry between the French and the Austrian state added one more obstacle in the way of Marie-Antoinette's assimilation as the uncontested Queen of France. While at the Court Marie-Antoinette was primarily perceived as transgressing her gender's boundaries, the larger French public opinion explained the queen's misbehaviors as a direct result of her dubious loyalties.

From Local Custom to Written Law. Agrarian Regulations and State Making in Wallachia 1740-1800

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Abstract: The regulation of agrarian relations was treated in Romanian historiography mainly as a chapter of economic history, the impact of these regulatory practices upon the growth of the state's infrastructure and power in 18th century Wallachia receiving no attention. The central argument of my article is that by subjecting the relations between landlords and tenants to a written legal text, the state extended its administrative reach and constituted its apparent neutrality in relation to various social groups. Empirically, my article relies on documents which illustrate the employment of agrarian regulations enacted after 1740 in adjudicating litigations between landlords and tenants. Theoretically, it draws on culturalist revisions of state theory, showing that the state is not merely an institutional assemblage but also a set of practices which produce and reproduce its illusory coherence and naturalize its power.

Keywords: agrarian regulation, state formation, law, infrastructural power, symbolic power.

Rezumat: De la cutumă la legea scrisă. Reglementările agrare şi construcția statului în Ţara Românească, 1740 – 1800 Reglementarea relaţiilor agrare a fost tratată în istoriografia română mai ales ca un capitol de istorie economică, impactul acestei reglementări asupra dezvoltarii infrastructurale a statului fiind ignorat. Studiu de faţă o consideră drept o manifestare a dezvoltării statului, deschizând astfel drumul pentru reconsiderarea statului şi a puterii statale în Ţara Românesca a secolului al XVIII-lea. Articolul argumentează că, prin reglementarea relaţiilor dintre stăpânii de moşii şi clăcaşi printr-un text legal scris, statul îşi extinde capacitatea administrativă şi îşi constituie aparenta neutralitate în raport cu diferitele grupuri din societate. Empiric, articolul se bazează pe documente care ilustrează folosirea reglementărilor agrare de după 1740 în rezolvarea litigiilor dintre stăpâni şi clăcaşi. Teoretic, articolul se inspiră din revizuirea culturalistă a teoriilor despre stat şi afirmă că statul nu este doar un asamblaj instituţional, ci şi un set de practici prin care puterea sa este naturalizată.

Cuvinte cheie: reglementare agrară, formarea statului, lege, putere infrastructurală, putere simbolică.

In spite of its despicable reputation, the Phanariot period[1] is also known in

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[1] The Phanariot period/regime/century are the labels used to designate the history

the Romanian historiography as a period of reforms. By reforms historians refer to a set of measures – fiscal, agrarian, administrative and judicial – adopted in 1740s and between 1775 and 1780 and meant to make fiscal extraction sustainable, without undermining the taxable basis. The regulation of agrarian relations, the subject of this paper, was part of this reformatory impulse and corresponded by and large with the agrarian reform.[2]

The agrarian regulations enacted by the Phanariot prince Constantin Mavrocordat in 1740s made the object of valuable contributions in the Romanian historiography, but the historians' interest fell mostly on

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of Wallachia from 1716 to 1821 (1711-1821 in the neighboring Principality of Moldavia with a similar status). The Phanariots were a Christian elite based in the quarter of Phanar (hence their name) which grew in the interstices of the Ottoman governance from the last decades of the 17th century and acceded to the dignities of prince in Wallachia and Moldavia. Informal in the last decades of the 17th century, the appointment of Ottoman Christians to the princedom of the two principalities becomes regular in the 18th century – whence the name of Phanariot age; for the ascendancy of the Phanariots see: Ion Ionaşcu, "Le degree de l'influence des grecs des principautés roumaines dans la vie politique de ces pays" in *Symposium*, 217-228; Andrei Pippidi, "Phanar, Phanariotes, Phanariotisme" in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, XIII/2 (1975): 231-239; Christine Philliou "Communities on the Verge: Unraveling the Phanariot Ascendancy in Ottoman Governance" in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51/1 (2009), 151-81 and Christine Philliou, *Biography of an Empire. Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution* (Berkely, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2011), ch. 1, Constantin Şerban, "Les preliminaries de l'époque phanariote" in *Symposium. L'Époque phanariote, 21-25 Octobre 1970. A la mémoire de Cléobule Tsourkas* (Thessaloinki: Institute of Balkan Studies, 1974), 29-39 and M. Stănescu, "Préphanariotes et Phanariotes dans la vision de la societé roumaine des XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles" in *Symposium. L'Époque phanariote, 21-25 Octobre 1970. A la mémoire de Cléobule Tsourkas* (Thessaloinki: Institute of Balkan Studies, 1974), 347-358.

[2] The literature on the Phanariot reforms is quite bulky, see selectively Şerban Papacostea, "Contribuţie la problema relaţiilor agrare în Ţara Românească în prima jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea", in *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie*, 3 (1959): 233-319; Florin Constantiniu, *Relaţiile agrare din Ţara Românească în secolul al XVIII-lea* (Bucureşti: Ed. Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1972); Florin Constantiniu et Şerban Papacostea, "Le réformes des premiers phanariotes en Moldavie et en Valachie: essai d'interpréation" in *Balkan Studies*, 13/1 (1972): 99-114; Florin Constantiniu, "Constantin Mavrocordato et l'abolition du servage en Valachia et Moldavia", in *Symposium. L'Époque phanariote* (Thessaloinki: Institute of Balkan Studies, 1974), 377-84; Papacostea, "La grande charte de Constantin Mavrocordato (1741)" in *Symposium. L'Époque phanariote* (Thessaloniki: Institute of Balkan Studies, 1974), 365-76; Constantiniu, *Constantin Mavrocordat* (Bucureşti: Ed. Militară, 1985); see also Ilie Minea, "'Reforma' lui Constantin Vodă Mavrocordat" in *Cercetări istorice* II-III (Iaşi: Viaţa Românească, 1927).

the first part of the locution (agrarian). At the beginning of the 20th century they focused on the agrarian history in order to illuminate contemporary problems, especially the peasants' question which burst in a massive and violent uprising in 1907. Hence, the emphasis was on how the measures adopted in the 18th century contributed to the gradual worsening of the peasants' situation.[3]

During the communist period, the transformations from the 18th century have been studied in the paradigm of transition from a premodern social and economic system (some historians called it feudalism but other rejected it) to capitalism. The transition entailed the transformation of a primitive, itinerant agriculture in which the main part was occupied by the cattle breeding to cash crops; the progressive limitation of the peasants' right to the land, pastures and forests and the gradual emergence of bourgeois notions of land ownership; the aggravation – earlier in Moldavia than in Wallachia – of the peasants' obligations towards the landlords.[4]

In this study I emphasize the second term of the locution (regulations)[5] and I turn my attention to how they altered the exercise of

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[3] A. V. Gîdei, *Contribuțiuni pentru istoria socială a țărănimii noastre și pentru istoria raporturilor economice dintre țărani și proprietari pînă la 1864* [Contributions to the Social History of Our Peasantry and to the History of the Ecnomic Relations between the Peasants and the Landowners until 1864] (Bucharest: Lito-Tipografia L. Motzatzeanu, 1904), 4, 32-34; Gheorghe Panu, *Cercetări asupra stărei țăranilor în veacurile trecute* [Research on the Situation of the Peasants during the Past Centuries], vol. 1 (Bucharest: Institutul de arte grafice "Eminescu," 1910), 292-312.

[4] H.H. Stahl, *Contribuții la studiul satelor devălmașe Românești* [Contributions to the Study of the Communal Romanian Villages], vol. 3, 1st edition 1965 (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 1998), following Iorga rejected the idea that the medieval and premodern Wallachia society was feudal in the West European sense. Similar views are exposed by Daniel Chirot, *Social Change in a Peripheral Society. The Creation of a Balkan Colony* (New York: Academic Press, 1976). The authors from the communist period adhered to the Romanian feudalism thesis: Sergiu Columbeanu, *Grandes exploitations domaniales en Valachie au XVIIIe siècle* (Bucarest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1974), Ioana Constantinescu, *Arendășia în agricultura Țării Românești și a Moldovei pînă la Regulamentul Organic* [The Lease-holding in the Agriculture of Wallachia and Moldavia until the Organic Regulations] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei R.S.R., 1985). This interpretation lingered in the post-communist period, IR (2002), 159.

[5] One would expect the Romanian legal histories to treat this aspect but it is not the case. Some of the most important works in the field, both before and after the Second World War are completely oblivious of the agrarian regulations: S.G. Longinescu, *Istoria dreptului românesc* [The History of the Romanian Law] (Bucharest: Socec, 1908); Şt. Gr. Berechet, *Schiță de istorie a legilor românești, 1632-1868* [A Brief History of the

state power. I claim that the regulation of tenants-landlords relations was a logistic technique whereby the state extended its reach, breaking the "screen" of seigniorial authority. By the agrarian regulations, the state becomes the third party arbitrating between landlords and tenants and it acquires the character of a necessary and "real" entity. The stabilized message of the regulations conveyed – by repeated invocation and reference in the judicial decisions – the image of an objective entity, beyond and above sectional interests. In other words, such administrative and judicial routines pave the way for the modern state idea. My argument builds on the insightful remarks of two historians who reflected on the problem of the agrarian regulations.

Şerban Papacostea, investigating the regulation of the agrarian relations in Oltenia by the Habsburgs in the third decade of the 18th century was the first to notice their impact on the nature of the state. They reveal a state which intervened in the relationships between the two fundamental classes of the old regime to secure its fiscal interests.[6] Florin Constantiniu, though interested in the transformations in the mode of production, scatters incidental but brilliant remarks on the effects of agrarian regulations on the state. With the interference of the state, the relationships between landlords and the inhabitants of his/her estate ceased to be the result of the landlord's will (in case of serfs) or of a private contract (in case of landless tenants) and became a problem of the state. Therefore, the peasants' refusal to carry out their obligations was not anymore only infringement towards the landlord, but a crime against the "law". In these cases, the princely agents intervened not as auxiliaries of the landlords to constrain the peasants to fulfill their obligations – as before 1740, but as state agents who had to punish the infringement of the "law".[7]

Constantiniu goes as far as to say that "the abolition of serfdom had removed any obstacle from the way of effective and direct exercise of the princely authority". In the struggle between the princedom and the boyars, the former has won. By the suppression of personal serfdom and hence of seigniorial authority, the prince found himself in a position to appear "in

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Romanian Laws, 1623-1868] (Chişinău: "Cartea Românească," 1928); Dionisie Ionescu, Gh. Ţuţui, Gh. Matei, *Dezvoltarea constituţională a statului roman* [The Constitutional Development of the Romanian State] (Bucharest: Editura Ştiinţifică, 1957); Georgescu and Sachelarie, *Judecata domnească*, I/2, 26-35; *Istoria dreptului românesc* [The History of the Romanian Law], vol. II/part I, eds. D. Firoiu, L.P. Marcu, (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1984). (hereafter, IDR (1984)).

   [6] Şerban Papacostea, *Oltenia sub stăpânirea austriacă(1718-1739)* [Oltenia under Austrian Rule (1718-1739)] (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1998), 201-202.

   [7] Constantiniu, *Relaţiile agare*, 96-97.

principle, as an equidistant sovereign in relation to other classes and social categories".[8] Due to his focus on economic matters, Constantiniu fails to follow through his own insights into the changing nature of rulership – the idea of an equidistant sovereign based on law. He clearly exaggerates the power of the state, as the direct rule at village level is just making its first steps by measures like agrarian regulations. The idea of princely victory over landlords should also be qualified: there were frictions between the two parties, but the latter saw its domination over peasants consecrated by law, while conceding the coercive power to the state.[9] In the following pages I will develop the insights of Papacostea and Constantiniu and provide more empirical support.

My argument takes up Michael Mann's concept of "infrastructural power" as power of the state to put into effect its designs and policies through its own infrastructure[10]; by this notion I describe the capacity of the Wallachian state to intervene in and alter the relations between landlords and peasants. But the infrastructural growth of the state represented not only a logistic feat but also a cultural one. Following Mara Loveman, I claim that it takes a historical struggle for the state to accumulate symbolic capital that is, to widen the domain of social life in which its presence, power and rights go without saying.[11] My approach is also tributary to the work of Philip Corrigan and Derek Sayer who showed how "states … *state*" that is, they define authoritatively the appropriate forms of social life through administrative routines; in the process they shape subjectivities in order to accommodate the categories necessary for the functioning of the state.[12] Finally, I argue that these routines and the infrastructural growth they

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[8] Constantiniu, *Relațiile agare*, 124. The interpretation of the reforms as the penetration of the "mur épais entre le prince et le serfs" is exposed by both authors in a jointly authored study, Constantiniu and Papacostea, "Le réformes des premiers phanariotes". Again, the abolition of serfdom is seen as a tactical move by the princedom which consolidated his power at the expense of the boyars in Constantiniu, "Constantin Mavrocordato et l'abolition du servage".

[9] I take this argument from Perry Anderson, *Lineages*, 24-28 who claims that the Western nobility had to surrender its political power to the absolute state which in turn secured its domination over peasants; the normative expression of this arrangement was the revived Roman law with its concepts of absolute private property and sovereign (absolute) power of the state.

[10] Michael Mann, "The Autonomous Power of the State: its Origins, Mechanisms and Results" in Idem, *States, War and Capitalism* (Oxford UK & Cambridge USA: Blackwell, 1988[1992]): 1-31.

[11] Mara Loveman, "The Modern State and the Primitive Accumulation of Symbolic Power", *American Journal of Sociology*, 110/6 (May 2005): 1651-1683.

[12] Philip Corrigan and Derek Sayer, *The Great Arch. English State Formation as Cultural Revolution* (Oxford UK & Cambridge USA: Blackwell, 1991 [1985]).

impel, open up a space in which the "idea of the state" in Philip Abrams's terms, can be communicated and imposed; the internalized "idea of the state" makes the palpable institutional nexus called state to appear a necessary and natural presence in social life.[13]

The implications of my approach are twofold. On the one hand it offers a corrective to the (mostly) Romanian literature on the Phanariots which sees the period of the "Greek" rulers as – at best - a period of crisis marked by well-intended but ultimately failed reforms[14] and at worst the source of Romania's belated and incomplete modernization[15]. It is true that from the late 19th century the negative image of the Phanariot period underwent a sustained critique and the modernizing tendencies of the Phanariot rule was highlighted; but in the first case the deconstruction targeted the inconsistencies of the anti-Phanariot stereotypes while in the second the insights were never studied systematically.[16] Such accounts

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[13] Philip Abrams, "Notes on the Difficulty of Studying the State (1977)" in *Journal of Historical Sociology* I/1 (March 1988): 58-89.

[14] A.D. Xenopol, *Istoria Românilor din Dacia Traiană*, (Iaşi: Ed. Librăriei Şcoalelor Fraţii Şaraga, 1896), vol. XI and the literature on the Phanariot reforms (see footnote 1).

[15] Among the best known negative verdicts on the Phanariots are Mihail Kogălniceanu, "Histoire de la Valachie, de la Moldavie et des Valaques Transdanubiens" in Mihail Kogălniceanu, *Opere* Tome I, critical edition by Andrei Oţetea, (Bucureşti: Ed. Fundaţiilor Regale, 1946), 429. Nicolae Bălcescu *Românii supt Mihai-Voevod Viteazul*, (Bucureşti: Ed. Albatros), 15, 18 and 'Românii şi Fanarioţii' in *Magazin Istorik pentru Dacia*, I (1845), 115-121. A recent severe judgment of the Phanariots at Damian Hurezeanu, 'Regimul fanariot. O poartă spre modernizarea Ţărilor Române?' in Violeta Barbu ed., *Historia manet. Volum omagial Demény Lajos*, Bucureşti (Cluj: Kriterion, 2001), 399-412

[16] V.A. Urechia, *Istoria Româniloru [The History of Romanians]*, tomes I-XIII (Bucureşti: 1891-1901), N. Iorga, "Cultura română subt fanarioţi" in *Două conferinţe* (Bucureşti: 1898), 53-108; Iorga, "Le despotisme éclairé dans les pays roumaines au XVIIIe siècle" in *Bulletin of the Internationl Committee of Historical Sciences* IX (1939), 101-115; 'Au fost Moldova si Ţara Românească provincii supuse fanarioţilor?' in *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secţiunii* Istorice, (1937); N. Iorga, *Istoria Românilor*, (Bucureşti: 1938) 5-10. More recent deconstructions of the negative image of the Phanariots at Traian Ionescu-Nişcov, "L'Époque Phanariote dans L'Historiographie Roumaine et Étrangère" in *Symposium. L'Époque phanariote* (Thessaloniki, Institute of Balkan Studies, 1974), 145-157; Ştefan Lemny, 'La critique du régime Phanariote: clichés mentaux et perspectives historiographiques' in Al. Zub ed. *Culture and Society. Structures, Interferences, Analogies in the Modern Romanian History* (Ed. Academiei R.S.R.: Iaşi, 1985), 17-30, Bogdan Murgescu, *Istorie Românească-Istoria Universală [Romanian History-World History]* (Bucureşti: Universitas, 1999), 185-186. Similar views at Idem, '"Fanarioţi" şi "pământeni". Religie şi etnicitate în definirea identităţilor în Ţările Române şi în Imperiul Otoman' in Bogdan Murgescu, *Ţările Române între Imperiul ottoman şi Europa creştină* (Iaşi: Polirom, 2012), 57-59.

usually looked at the administrative (under)achievements of the Phanariot state, namely to its impact upon the living conditions of the population. The almost general picture was that of a corrupt and abusive administration which plundered the subject population, debilitating its productive capacities. As I show in this paper, by shifting the perspective and looking at how the state regulated the agrarian relations, it is possible to observe crucial processes whereby the modern state, both as "state-system" and as "state-idea" comes into being.

The second body of literature with which I argue, is the sociology on the early modern state formation. The works in this strand give pride of place to the intertwined mechanisms of military mobilization and fiscal extraction. The state, which is an assemblage of central institutions – administration, treasuries, justice courts – grow as part of the preparation for war.[17] But as Mara Loveman has pointed out, in peripheral states "the historical roles of coercion and capital as stimuli to bureaucratic development are ambiguous, leaving a much greater explanatory void".[18] Thus, the administrative extension is a privileged locus for observing the process whereby social power becomes state.

The article is divided in four sections. In the first I sketch the agrarian relations in the first four decades of the 18th century and the context and factors which triggered the enactment of regulations. The second and the third offer a narrative of the agrarian regulations prior to and after 1774 focusing on the progressive and irreversible imposition of a unique agrarian regime by princely written regulations. In the concluding section I discuss the regulations from the point of view of the general concern of my chapter, state making.

The Agrarian Relations before 1740

The obligations of the peasants living on the estates of Wallachian boyars and monasteries varied significantly from one estate to another. The variety derived from the juridical status of the peasants, divided in two main

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[17] Probably the most important works pertaining to this strand are Charles Tilly ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD 990-1992* (Blackwell: Cambridge MA & Oxford UK, 1992), Brian M. Downing, *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) and Thomas Ertman, *Birth of Leviathan. Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[18] Loveman, "The Modern State and the Primitive Accumulation of Symbolic Power", 1652.

categories. One was constituted of serfs (*rumâni*); as subjects of the landlords, outside the purview of the state, their obligations were theoretically unlimited – although in practice the landlords had to limit their pretentions. The intervention of the state in this situation meant only to the confirmation of the status of serfs, but not to their obligations which depended on the demand of the landlord.[19] For instance on April 19, 1700 the prince of Wallachia Constantin Brâncoveanu reiterates the right of the abbot of Găiseni monastery to master the serfs from the village Floreşti with the specification "and they [the serfs] have to work what the monastery needs, as the serfs of other monasteries work".[20]

The peasants of the second category were designated in documents as "inhabitants" (*lăcuitori*) - of estates; they were landless but free from juridical point of view. In exchange for the plot of land given by a landlord, they owed tithes and various amounts of labor rent. These obligations were also established by an agreement between the peasants and the landlord on whose estate they made their living. The variety of labor obligations due by the *lăcuitori* – ranging from 2 to 9 days per year – was due to such private (and often oral) agreements which, naturally, differed from one place to another. The state intervention in this case took the form of endorsements of private agreements or orders to conclude them.[21]

This situation changed radically after 1740. The labor obligations were progressively standardized on all estates and the serfdom was abolished, the serfs becoming - from juridical point of view - free landless peasants. The cause of this evolution lies in the fiscal interests of the

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[19] Florin Constantiniu, *Relațiile agrare*, 61-71; Florin Constantiniu, "Constantin Mavrocordato et l'abolition du servage en Valachia et Moldavia," 378-79. Constantiniu, *Relațiile agare* shows that the murder of a serf was considered a simple material damage, incurring no penalties on the landlord, except the payment of compensation, p. 63. In a chronicle written by a great boyar towards the end of the 18th century, the serfs were actually called slaves; the chronicler claimed that the boyars exerted absolute right over their serfs, could sell them with or without land and separate children from parents, Mihail Cantacuzino, *Istoria politică şi geografică a Ţării Româneşti de la cea mai veche a sa întemeiere până la anul 1774* [The Political and Geographical History of Wallachia from Its Foundation to the Year 1774], transl. George Sion (Bucharest: Typografia Națională alui Stephan Rassidescu, 1863), 65.

[20] *Documente privind relațiile agrare în veacul al XVIII-lea,* [Documents Regarding the Agrarian Relations during the 18th Century] vol. I, Ţara Românească [Wallachia] eds. V. Mihordea, Ş. Papacostea, Fl. Constantiniu (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Românâ, 1961), 4 (hereafter *DRA*).

[21] Constantiniu, *Relațiile agrare*, 83-88. For several such agreements endorsed by the princedom see *DRA*, 11, 15, 23, 78, 141, 173, 174, 199.

princedom which were frustrated by the instability of the peasant mass that is, of the majority of taxpayers. In this sense, the Wallachian princedom was just responding to the increasing fiscal pressure from the dominant power, the Ottoman Porte, which in the 18th century (until 1768) increased its fiscal pressure to a historical record.[22] Two factors contributed to the peasants' instability. One was the above mentioned variability of agrarian regimes. The peasants were looking to move on estates with lighter conditions which the landlords were quick to offer in order to increase the number of their agricultural laborers. The second and even more critical factor was the growing and unevenly distributed fiscal burden. The peasants reacted to it by flight, outside the country or on estates where the landlords – especially the office-holders – could "hide" them from the tax agents.[23]

As the fiscal and seigniorial pressure increased, the population tended to flee creating a vicious circle in which the scarcity of population determined harsher exploitation and the latter causing more desertion[24]. In case of war with its cortege of plunder, enslavement (by the Tatar troops especially) and forced contributions, the flight took mass proportions endangering the entire system of production and taxation.[25] Such a moment

[22] The Ottoman fiscal pressure took several forms: payment of the yearly tribute, periodic confirmations of the prince on the throne, purchase of the throne which presupposed important amounts of gifts and bribes to the Ottoman dignitaries, provisions for the Ottoman military and for the market of Istanbul. For the latest attempt to qunnatify the quantum of this pressure and its evolution in time see Bogdan Murgescu, *România şi Europa. Acumularea decalajelor economice (1500-2010)* [Romania and Europe. The Accumulation of Economic Discrepancies (1500-2010)], (Iaşi: Polirom, 2010), 27-56; the book synthesizes several studies dedicated to the problem and published in Idem, *Tările Române între Imperiul ottoman şi Europa creştinină* [The Romanian Principalities between the Ottoman Empire and Christian Europe] (Iaşi: Polirom, 2012). Particularly, Murgescu convincingly argues that the fiscal burden on the Wallachian tax-payers declined after 1768 dues to the limitations of nominal sums due to the Russian intervention, the debasement of Ottoman currency and demographic growth in Wallachia.

[23] Şerban Papacostea, "Contribuţie la problema relaţiilor agrare în Ţara Românească" argued that the seigniorial demand of labor force was caused by a certain growth in the grain exports. Though provoking, his argument is not compelling because a few mentions of export of grains do not testify for the existence of such a constant export; Constantiniu et Papacostea, "Le réformes des premiers phanariotes en Moldavie et en Valachie".

[24] G. Iscru, "Fuga, forma principal de luptă împotriva exploatării în veacul al XVIII-lea în Ţara Românească" [The Flight, the Main Form of Struggle against Exploitation during the Eighteenth Century in Wallachia], *Studii* XVIII/1 (1965): 125-146.

[25] Papacostea, "Contribuţie la problema relaţiilor agrare în Ţara Românească," 247-

of deep demographic crisis occurred in 1739, at the end of the Habsburg-Ottoman war (1735-1739).[26] This is the context in which Constantin Mavrocordat set out to reconstruct and repopulate the country. The central problem he confronted was the peasants' mobility caused by the harsh and unpredictable fiscal exaction and the varying conditions on estates. Hence, Constantin Mavrocordat sought to regularize the extraction of taxes and to level up the tenants' obligations. If the former measure was a repetition of previous fiscal policies[27], the second was an innovation.

The Regulation of Agrarian Relations, 1740-1774

The regulation of agrarian relations after 1740 is characterized by the progressive establishment of a single agrarian regime. By "agrarian regime", I understand the set of obligations and rights mutually assumed by the landlords and the dependant peasants residing on their estates. Its best indicator is the quantity of labor rent due by the latter. By double agrarian regime I designate the situation in which peasants on some estates due 6 days of labor rent while peasants on other estates 12, all other obligations being more or less similar. Therefore, in discussing the evolution of the agrarian regime I will focus on the variation of the labor rent due by dependant peasants.

Four main phases can be distinguished in the subjection of the agrarian regulations to a written normative text. The first three bore the

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255. V. Mihordea, "La crise du régime fiscal des principautés roumaines au XVIIIe siècle," *Nouvelles Études d'Histoire* 3 (1970), 121-155.

[26] This military event also contributed to the enactment of regulations. Oltenia (Western part of Wallachia) was reattached to Wallachia after two decades of Habsburg rule. The Habsburgs have experimented various policies, among them the regulation of the labor obligations of the tenants, for fiscal reasons. The principle was adopted by Constantin Mavrocrodat – though not the quantity of labor, 1 day of labor rent per year, see Papacostea, *Oltenia sub stăpânirea austriacă*, 201-210.

[27] Constantiniu et Papacostea, "Le réformes des premiers phanariotes," 99-111. Constantin Mavrocordat is not the first who tried to substitute the multiplicity of repartition taxes with a single and fixed tax, collected at regular intervals in predictable amounts. The reform actually generalized the fiscal regime of colonized villages or villages with a privileged situation whereby the peasants had to pay a fixed amount of money and to transport it to the treasury (*rupta*). The measure was adopted – in similar conditions – by Constantin Brâncoveanu (1701) and Nicolae Mavrocordat (1723); Constantin Mavrocordat also had the example of the fiscal reform introduced in Oltenia by the Habsburg administration, Papacostea, "Constribuție la problema relațiilor agrare în Țara Românească," 255-266; Constantiniu, *Relațiile agare*, 98-101.

mark of the first major Phanariot reformer, Constantin Mavrocordat; the fourth phase occurred during the reign of the second main reformer, Alexandru Ipsilanti. In the first phase, the obligations of the tenants were regulated by the imposition of a double agrarian regime in 1740, i.e. either 6 or 12 days per year of labor rent. In 1746, the next step was the abolition of the serfdom and the assimilation of the former serfs with the tenants. By this reform, the greatest part of the peasants was transformed into a homogenous class of landless peasants who were juridically free. The same double agrarian regime was applied to all peasants living on landlords' estates. In 1756, a single agrarian regime was generalized throughout the country. Finally, in 1780, the agrarian regulations were included in the first legal code enacted in Wallachia, the Legal Register (*Pravilniceasca condică*) and became a law, under one title and divided in numbered paragraphs.

In 1741, Constantin Mavrocordat issued a large charter of reorganization in several domains (fiscal, judicial-administrative, social). The charter contains a small paragraph on the agrarian relations – which reveals the preoccupation of the prince with the instability of the peasants due to the competition between landlords - but gives no details and invokes the "custom" as normative basis of their organization.[28] The reason for this surprising absence might be the fact that a regulation already existed. Princely letters of authorization and resolutions of litigations between tenants and landlords suggest that since 1740 onwards, a settlement established the labor obligations of the tenants (but not of the serfs whose obligations still hinged on the whims of the landlords) to 6 days per year on some estates and 12 on others.[29] This double agrarian is amply documented until 1756; the only modification occurred in 1746 when – with the abolition of serfdom and of the theoretically unlimited obligations tied to it – all dependant peasants were subject to it. What is the explanation of this discrimination between estates?

One interpretation holds that the regulation from 1740 discriminates between the estates of important boyars on one hand and those of the lesser boyars and monasteries on the other. Some evidence seems to support this

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[28] I used the version transcribed by Daniel Barbu ed., *O arheologie constituţională românească. Studii şi documente* [An Archeology of the Romanian Constitutionalism. Studies and Documents], (Bucharest: Editura Universităţii Bucharest, 2000), 107-115; the paragraph XI, referring to the agrarian relations, in *DRA*, 215. For propagandistic reasons, this charter, was published in 1742 in *Mercure de France* under the name of "Constitution," Anne-Marie Cassoly, "Autour de l'insertion dans le *Mercure de France* de la 'Constitution' de Constantin Mavrocordato," *RESEE* 4/19 (1981), 751-762.

[29] I take this inference from Constantiniu, *Relaţiile agrare*, 108.

view. On July 18, 1740, the Metropolitanate and other ecclesiastic lords are entitled – by princely decisions to oblige the peasants to 6-day labor rent.[30] Apostol, a lesser former court official – *pârcălab de curte* - is authorized to also exact only 6-day labor rent from his three estates: Poenari, Văleni and Tărăceni.[31] Yet a great boyar like the former grand master of the tents (*biv vel şătrar*) Tanasie will benefit from a labor rent of 12 days per year fulfilled by the peasants from his estate Dărăşti.[32] Similarly, on May 6, 1746, the court fodder master (*vel clucer*) Constantin Brâncoveanu petitions that the inhabitants of one of his estates refuse to fulfill their obligations claiming that they are princely ministers (*slojitori*); in the resolution, the prince Constantin Mavrocordat orders the *ispravnic* "to force them to work the 12 days that were decided [through the settlement]".[33]

    The contemporary documents advance a different explanation of the 6 versus 12 yearly days labor-rent. Due to severe depopulation, Constantin Mavrocordat was forced to alter his settlement – stipulating 12 days labor rent - and offer a 6-day labor rent to lure fugitive peasants.[34] So, the lesser amount of labor was due by the colonist-peasants or the returnees and was the result of negotiation between the peasants on the one hand and the landlords and central power on the other. Still, a third explanation is provided on April 24, 1754: Constantin Racoviţă decides that the peasants living on the estates of Tismana monastery are obliged to fulfill 12 month of labor rent, although on other monastic estates the peasants fulfill only 6-day labor rent; the peasants of Tismana monastery have to carry out a 12-day labor rent, like those living on the boyar estates, because the monastery is situated in mountainous area with scarce resources.[35] Apparently, the discrimination is between secular (12 days) and ecclesiastical estates (6 day), though in this case an exception was made due to unfavorable climatic conditions on Tismana's lands. But the same favorable conditions were given to the Metropolitanate on the Fotoaia estate and this time without any justification.[36]

    Thus, none of the advanced explanation is consistently supported

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[30] *DRA*, for the Metropolitanate doc. 205; for other monasteries and hermitages 206, 209, 210, 211, 212, 221, 223, 224.

[31] *DRA*, 214.

[32] *DRA*, 207.

[33] *DRA*, 295 and other examples: 277, 278, 279, 280, 282, 283, 285, 298.

[34] *DRA*, 288 and Constantiniu, *Relaţiile agrare*, 121-122.

[35] *DRA*, 369: *să aibă a clăcui fieştecarele om cite 12 zile pe an, măcar că la alte mănăstiri le clăcuiesc numai cîte 6 zile într-un an, dar fiindcă această mănăstire iaste în loc de munte şi cu anevoie de hrană, i-am făcut domnia mea să-i clăcuiască ca şi boierilor satele lor, cite 12 zile.*

[36] *DRA*, 371.

by evidence. The discrimination in favor of the great boyars is contradicted by a case from 1755: a great boyar – the Cup-bearer (*paharnic*) Chiriţă Doicescu - was empowered to exact only 6 days of labor[37]. This document also contradicts the discrimination between secular and ecclesiastical estates. Besides, the idea that the ecclesiastical landlords are entitled to only 6 days of labor-rent is refuted by the two exceptions presented above with regard to the Tismana monastery and the metropolitanate. A third explanation remains: the 6 days are for the colonized peasants, a means to lure them to settle on estates. Yet no document mentioning this version of the labor rent specifies the origin of the peasants on various estates. Hence, the most probable explanation is that, in the context of labor shortage and competition for labor power, the agrarian regime could be altered by the ability of landlords to attract the favors of the prince or of the important court officials.

The discrimination between estates with regard to the amount of labor rent disappeared with the fifth reign of Constantin Mavrocordat (1756-1758) who revived or established for the first time[38] the unique agrarian regime. The evidence until 1774 shows that the obligations of the tenants were updated to 12 days of labor per year on all estates. In distinction to the settlement from 1744/1745, this one ruled that the labor obligations were to be carried out in three seasons (spring, summer and autumn) not in four. For example, the resolution of the prince to a judicial report on the litigation between the abbot of Arnota and the villagers from Dobriceni states:

> According to the settlement that was made in the previous years and was confirmed recently by my Princedom in the Divan, all villagers which live in the villages on the estates of the monastery have to carry out the 12-day labor rent per year, but only the married ones not the unmarried. And the labor rent has to be carried out in slot from the beginning of the spring to the end of the autumn, in 9 months, and not all at once.[39]

So the resolution simply reiterates the agrarian settlement confirmed and amended by Constantin Mavrocordat. At that time the peasants were already aware that their obligations were a matter of state regulation, not of the landlords' arbitrary demand. In 1746, the peasants from Hurez, led by the priest and the headman, claimed that they were requested by the abbot

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[37] *DRA*, 376.

[38] As I showed above, it might be that he tried to introduce such a regime in 1744 or 1745, but he had to make concessions to the returnee peasants, among them a 6-day labor rent.

[39] *DRA*, 378.

of Hurez monastery "to do more labor than stipulated by the order of your Highness". It is an important case which shows that already in 1746 the peasants were aware that their obligations had been fixed by a princely act and that they were not subject anymore to the whims of the landlords, but to the "law".[40] Adjudications based on the written settlement and adopting a quasi-standard format are amply documented in the subsequent years.[41] They testify that the principle of a unique agrarian regime has triumphed. Or, to be more precise, the principle of an upper limit of the labor rent, because lower amounts persisted due to the local conditions on estates.

The sense of the change is well illustrated by a litigation from 1757 between Hurez monastery and the tenants from Baia de Fier. Initially, the tenants had claimed their free status and the right to the land of the estate.[42] The cause was adjudicated by the princely council in favor of the monastery: the peasants received a letter of adjudication which granted them liberation from serfdom but denied them any right to the land of the estate, so they had to carry out their lawful duties. Normally, the monastery should have received another letter stipulating its right to the land and to the afferent tithes and corvée. Yet interestingly enough, the superior was informed that he had not received from the prince a charter to specify his seigniorial rights, because "his Highness now has the habit of not making charters"[43]. The prince who refused to issue a charter for specifying some private rights was Constantin Mavrocordat, now in his fifth Wallachian reign (1756-1758). What could be the explanation of this refusal to issue a charter specifying the rights of a lord, as was the custom?

I have showed in the previous section that Constantin Mavrocordat put the most energy in fixing an upper limit for the tenants' obligations by a written settlement valid throughout the country – which he managed at the time of the adjudication. Accordingly, charters of authorization or possession with a private character, establishing a relationship between the prince and the beneficiary, became superfluous. Their issuing was contradictory to the sense of change indicated by regulations for they produced heterogeneity, localism and personalization of power instead of homogeneity, territorialization and objectification of power. Why to issue a charter, if the ownership of the land and the entitlement to rents was stipulated in the settlement? I infer that the refusal of the prince to make special charters for landlords – as in the case of Hurez – springs from his desire to assert the

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[40] *DRA*, 296.

[41] *DRA*, 380, 382, 383, 385, 388, 390, 391, 392, 402.

[42] The document is quoted by Constantiniu, *Relațiile agrare*, 131.

[43] *DRA*, 385: *iar carte măriia sa vodă n-au făcut mănăstirii de judecată după cum are măriia sa acum obiceiu dă nu face cărți.*

validity of his agrarian regulation. Instead of the multitude of private charters establishing vertical relations between princes and subjects, the "law" establishes a unique horizontal relationship between the latter and the state. The document is an exception for subsequent princes continued to issue charters. But I surmise that it indicates the transition to a political space characterized by the equalizing effects of the "law".

Although social actors were aware and most often acknowledged the agrarian regulations, these were not referred to in the texts consistently. The judicial decisions or petitions could refer precisely to the document regulating the agrarian relations, but also inexplicitly as princely authoritative decision. Yet in spite of this terminological incoherence, the authority of the regulations is well set even among the lower categories. A case from July 1, 1768 illustrates this with clarity. The Metropolitan – as president of a judicial instance - presented to the prince his report regarding the investigation of the conflict between the peasants from Jiblea and the abbot of Cozia monastery. When it came to the labor obligations of the peasants, the metropolitan stated:

> As for the labor rent that they do to the monastery and for the tithe that it takes from their sowings, the representative [of the village] answered that before the war it was not decided how much labor rent the villagers were obliged to do, but they worked how much the monastery and the boyars needed and tithe was not taken from their crops; yet from the war on, since prince Constantin Mavrocordat has adopted a decision regarding how much each inhabitant of monastic and boyar estates had to work and has lessened the labor days, since then on, because they carry out the labor rent, the tithe from their crops is also taken, being the monastery's estate.[44]

The paragraph confirms the scenario of the agrarian reform: undefined and unlimited labor obligations[45] were replaced after the Austrian-Ottoman (1739) by fixed obligations consisting in 12 days of labor rent and the rest of seigniorial rights. Moreover, the peasants were aware that their situation depended not on the arbitrary demands of the landlords, but on the state regulation. When they asked a discount of their obligations, they had in mind this country wide regulation. Significantly, the metropolitan refused and recommended the application of the settlement ("custom"[46]) which

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[44] *DRA*, 421.

[45] This is no surprise since they were serfs, as a document from 1715 attests *DRA*, 85.

[46] As I will show bellow, documents still use "custom" even when they refer to a written settlement. The meaning is not that of long-standing practice, but of an established rule. As the former had for a long time the value of normative principle,

stipulated 12-day labor rent. The only compromise he suggested was to reduce the number of the peasants obliged to do the labor rent to 2 thirds of the total, the other third functioning as helpmates. Hence, although the real labor obligations of the tenants were reduced, the state accepted this compromise for the sake of the principle of standard labor rent.[47]

The Regulation of Agrarian Relations, 1775-1800

The standardization of the labor rent received an even stronger impulse after the peace of Kücük-Kaynarca (1774) which put an end to the Ottoman-Russian war (1768-1774)[48] when the regulation of agrarian relations became part of a larger effort at reconstruction under the leadership of Prince Alexandru Ipsilanti (1775-1782)[49]. The situation resembled very much that which triggered the reorganizations of Constantin Mavrocordat in the 1740s: a country devastated by war and deserted by its inhabitants. In this situation, of severe labor shortage, Prince Alexandru Ipsilanti was presented by the boyars with a memorandum demanding to increase the labor rent from 12 to 24 days per year – which they claimed to be an old custom[50]. To accept the demand would have meant to undermine the efforts of reconstruction and of repopulating the country, a mission entrusted to Ipsilanti by the sultan. Instead, he issued one or more settlements for the regulation of the relations between tenants and landlords, reproducing to a large extent the stipulations of Constantin Mavrocordat's settlement. Sure evidence of such a settlement dates from 1775.[51]

In distinction to the period prior to 1774, there is an unmistakable tendency to bind the administration of Wallachia to a normative text; this peaks in 1780 when Alexandru Ipsilanti promulgates the "Legal Register" (*Pravilniceasca condică*), the most important legal text of the 18th century

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the conflation with the second is not surprising.

[47] *DRA*, 422.

[48] The treaty consecrated a shift in power relationships in south-eastern Europe in favor of Russia and at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. For a discussion of the treaty see Roderic H. Davidson, "Russian Skill and Turkish Imbecility": The Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji Reconsidered," *Slavic Review* 35/3 (1976): 463-683.

[49] He was the second great reformer Phanariot, after Constantin Mavrocordat. For a discussion of his reforms see Const. C. Giurescu, "Un remarquable prince phanariote: Alexandre Ypsilanti, voévode de Valachie et de Moldavie" in *Symposium*, 61-69.

[50] Some historians believed that this pretention referred to the first agrarian settlement of Constantin Mavrocordat from 1740. Actually there is no other source to confirm this claim which was obviously very interested.

[51] *DF*, 194.

regulating civil, criminal and agrarian matters.[52] To Chesarie, the bishop of Râmnic, the event amounted to nothing less than the beginning of a new historical époque in the history of Wallachia:

> Without any hesitation I can designate the fourth époque, that is, significant age, as being the present age of Wallachia, which the reign of our most enlightened prince Alexandru Ypsilantu Voevod has made significant and famous for the future times; for only in his Highness's days has the country been so fortunate to obtain from the mighty empire written codes for its government. Which [codes] his Highness has strived to apply and his wisdom has taken care to be attended for the general utility.[53]

The bishop's observation is correct in the realm of agrarian relation too. The title 17 of the Legal Register, entitled "The Rights of the Landlords over the Tenants" (*Cele drepte ale stăpînilor moşiilor ce au asupra lăcuitorilor*), lays down the seigniorial obligations of the peasants to their lords, secular or ecclesiastic. I translated the title of the section quite approximately, a literal one being "the just entitlements of the landlords over tenants". The title itself is indicative of the attempt to veil in the language of justice an asymmetric relationship based on exploitation.

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[52] This tendency was manifest before 1774. Two projects were drafted by a Greek jurist – Mihail Fotino – in the service of the Phanariot princes in 1765 and 1766 but failed due to political instability. In 1777, when he was president of the newly created Department of Eight, he conceived another and more extended project of legal code in 7 books, corresponding to various branches of law (constitutional and administrative, fiscal, agrarian, customary and Byzantine civil law, urban, criminal and military). Although it was not sanctioned by the prince Alexandru Ipsilanti – for unknown reasons – large parts of it are to be found in the Legal Register from 1780. For this preliminary see the technical discussion at A technical discussion of these projects and their modern editions Val. Al. Georgescu and Emanuela Popescu, *Legislația agrară a Țării Românești (1775-1782)* [The Agrarian Legislation of Wallachia (1775-1782)] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei R.S.R., 1970), Val. Al. Georgescu and Emanuela Popescu, *Legislația urbană a Țării Românești (1765-1782)* [The Urban Legislation of Wallachia (1765-1782)] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei R.S.R., 1975), Val. Al. Georgescu and Emanuela Popescu, *Organizarea de stat a Țării Românești (1765-1782)* [The State Organization of Wallachia (1765-1782)] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei R.S.R., 1989).

[53] Chesarie of Rîmnic, "Mineiul pentru Noiembrie" [The Litrugy Book on November] in *Bibliografia românească veche* [The Old Romanian Bibliography] vol. 2, eds. I. Bianu, N. Hodoş & D. Simonescu, (Bucharest: Stabilimentul Grafic I.V. Socecu, 1910) 227-228. The "mighty empire" is the Ottoman Empire and the obtaining of written codes from it refers to the permission to enact them, not to a normative transfer.

The first paragraph of the title 17 states:

The tenant has to carry out the labor rent due to the landlord 12 days in a year; but if the landlord would make an agreement with them for fewer days, and this [agreement] can be proved, he cannot force them to do 12-day labor rent, because not only that he himself settled with them, but also it is evident that this [agreement] is a fraud done for his interest.[54]

The rest of the paragraphs list the other just entitlements of the landlord: he has the right to convert the labor rent in cash, 1 *zlot* per year; the fulfillment of the labor rent could not be demanded on an estate farther than three hours[55] from the houses of the tenants; the peasants are obliged to render the tithes from their crops, fees for animals they raise and the beehives they keep, to respects the monopolies (tavern, mill, grocery shop). Cultivating land without the permission of the landlord attracted the confiscation of the harvest in the benefit of the landlord; this stipulation assured that the landlord could always choose the best piece of land for himself. Besides, the settlement reasserted the peasants' right of use of the lands cleared by them and limits their right to the forest.[56]

The code marked an important step in the transition to a commercialized agriculture which presupposed the limitation of the peasants' rights to the land they occupied in favor of the landlords or lease-holders;[57] the transformation was facilitated by the peace of Kücük-Kaynarca (1774) which, together with subsequent Ottoman acts, limited the obligations toward the Porte and offered a modest stimulus to increasing production on the estate.[58] An even greater stimulus for the increase of the agricultural production was the lease-holding, which expanded in this period. The lease-holders administered more rigorously the estate they farmed to increase the margin of their profit and hence were naturally interested to obtain more labor from the peasants. Although the private agreements within the limits of

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[54] *Prav. cond.*, 80-86. The title was also published in *DRA*, 521.

[55] There was no indication on how the hour was measured.

[56] *Ibidem*.

[57] The list of these limitations at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th at Stahl, *Contribuții la studiul satelor devălmașe*, vol. 3, 333-354.

[58] Oțetea, "Considerații asupra trecerii de la feudalism la capitalism". Maria-Matilda Alexandrescu Dersca-Bulgaru, "Rolul hatișerifurilor de privilegii în limitarea obligațiilor către Poartă" [The Role of the Charters of Privileges in the Limitation of the Obligations towards the Porte], *Studii* 11/6 (1958), 101-121; Alexandru Vianu, "Aplicarea tratatului de la Küciük-Kainargi cu privire la Moldova și Țara Românească (1775-1783)" [The Application of the Kücük-Kaynarca Treaty with regard to Moldavia and Wallachia], *Studii,* 13/5 (1960): 71-103.

the law do not disappear, there is a tendency to impose on peasants all the legal obligations and sometimes to surpass them. The Legal Register offers the legal ground for demanding more labor from peasants.[59]

The title 17 of the Legal Register is the only preserved text specifying the dues of the tenants and represented a clear advance of the state infrastructural power – even more than the previous agrarian regulations. A vast share of the social reality and of the material production was regulated by the state through a normative text that was not anymore tied to the person of the prince who imposed it. It was considered valid and employed by the subsequent princes, adding to the institutionalization of rule in Wallachia.[60] All adjudications made by the prince, divan or local officials, as well as investigations, were based on the stipulations of this document and referred to it explicitly or inexplicitly. If they did not refer clearly to "The Legal Register", they still invoked a written text – most often as the text transcribed in the register of the divan (*condica*) - and much less frequently the custom, by which actually the same text is designated.

Let's take an example from the year subsequent to the publication of the Legal Register. In June 1781 the prince ordered the *ispravnici* of Mehedinți county to oblige the tenants from Iablanița to fulfill their obligations toward the Former Grand Stewart (*biv vel clucer*)[61] Iordache Păianu if the latter was the true landlord of the estate, as he claimed in his petition:

> We order you to investigate first of all if it is his lawful estate; if he owns it lawfully, you have to subdue those tenants and against their will, according to the Legal Register, [you have to make them] fulfill all those [dues] to which they are obliged, namely: the tenant has to carry out the labor rent of the landlords 12 days in one year, in slots, but only those who are married and apt of work, while the unmarried shall not be disturbed [with such a request].[62]

The remaining of the princely order lists the other legal obligations of the peasants in conformity with the Legal Register. From now on all orders

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[59] Constantinescu, *Arendăşia în agricultura Ţării Româneşti şi a Moldovei*, 177-178, 185-188.

[60] Normally, the Legal Register would have been valid only during the tenure of the prince who enacted it, Alexandru Ipsilanti. But after his successor, Nicolae Caragea, confirmed it in 1782, the code was sanctioned tacitly by the subsequent princes by frequent employment and became the written law of the country, Georgescu and Popescu, *Organizarea de stat a Ţării Româneşti*, 22.

[61] The Stewart is an approximate translation of *clucer*, an official entrusted with provisioning of the princely court with food and fodder.

[62] *DRA*, 525.

related to or adjudications of similar cases have this standard format for they are based in the clear provisions of the legal text; differences appeared only when local agreements derogated explicitly from the legal text.

The *Pravilniceasca condică* was not just a piece of legal text for the use of the central administration; it was disseminated in the country so that it can be used by territorial officials. For instance, in August 1 1798, a central judicial instance – *judecatorii departamentului* – adjudicated the litigation between the tenants of Strǎoşti and the *clucereasa*[63] Ruxandra Catargi; as the former refused to carry out the labor rent, the judges decided that "justice obliges them to work 12 days per year, as the Legal Register establishes". Yet the decision of the central judges was based on the reports of the county *ispravnici* on this litigation: the latter refer to the Legal Register as "the register of the divan" (*condica divanului*) or simply "the register" (*condica*).[64] On November 12 1785, the *ispravnici* of Argeş investigate and give a solution to the litigation between the villagers of Costeşti and the Argeş monastery based on the Legal Register (*dupe prǎviliceasca condicǎ*) – in fact they just reiterate the provisions of the settlement. The *Caimacam*[65] of Craiova orders in March 26, 1786 the *ispravnici* of Gorj county to judge the litigation between the tenants Baia de Fier and Hurez monastery "according to the Legal Register".[66]

The agrarian regulations which preceded it and the Legal Register did not eliminate private, local (and most often oral) agreements between a particular lord and the inhabitants of his/her[67] estates, but subordinated them. If such an agreement could not be reached, the agrarian regulations would apply automatically, as a backup norm. For instance, on February 12, 1747, the great boyars judge the litigations between the villagers of Stroeşti and the Bistriţa monastery. By a private written agreement (*zapis*), the peasants obliged themselves to redeem the tithe and labor rent by paying 75 tallers. However, they did not recognize the agreement and demand a discount, claiming that previously they had paid only 20 tallers. But since they had no written proof of the previous agreements the boyars who judged the case decided that they had to respect the written agreement they

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[63] *Clucereasa* is the feminine form of the word *clucer* which designated a central official responsible with the provisioning of the princely court and stable. By the feminine form of the office-name the wives or widows of the officials were designated.

[64] *DRA*, 700 annex II.

[65] Official residing in Craiova and exerting jurisdiction over the five counties of Western Wallachia, known as Oltenia (Vâlcea, Romanaţi, Gorj, Dolj and Mehedinţi).

[66] *DRA*, 578; similar cases at 575 and 594.

[67] Albeit rarely, documents mention women as landlords, apparently only when they are widows.

have with the abbot or to fulfill the 12 days, to pay the tithe and other dues and to respect the monopolies of the monastery that is, the settlement.[68]

The documents after 1775 reveal a large number of private agreements which derogated from the settlement of Alexandru Ipsilanti. Notably, all these private agreements established lesser labor obligation or replaced them with a fee of 1 zlot per year.[69] Sometimes, the obligations of the peasants to the landlord were customized with explicit reference to the settlement (and custom). On October 30, 1779 Alexandru Ipsilanti ordered the great boyars to reduce the obligations of the peasants from Ciocăneşti, estate of Cotmeana monastery, because the estate was small and insufficient to cover its necessities. This was done in spite of "the old custom of the land which [was] empowered both by other princes and by princely charter"[70]. On June 4, 1793, the peasants from Gărceni, Dolj county, agreed to fulfill 5-day labor rent, to pay a fee for the wine they sold in the village tavern, and to use wood from the forest only for their own needs, not for trade. The other obligations were to be fulfilled "according to the paragraphs of the Legal Register" (*după ponturile pravilniceştii condici*); had they contravened the agreement, they would be obliged to the 12-day labor rent, "according to the custom of the estates and to the register of the Divan".[71] In short, the private and local agreements were allowed to exist within the limits of the law and as derogations from it.

As before 1775, the documents referred somewhat inconsistently to the normative ground of the adjudications they contain. Yet, the majority of acts already referred to the written text of the regulations as repository of the legal order. More than the references to the entire text of the law, the precise citation of paragraphs and titles from the legal texts conveyed the image of an objective, impersonal power. The three cases I present bellow suggest that Wallachian judges start to conceive the legal texts as sources of authority. Although at an early stage, the process whereby the state comes to be recognized as an objective and neutral entity is visible in these parsimonious quotations.

On July 14, 1786, the divan of Craiova ruled that the peasants of Bârzeşti who abusively mowed the grass from an orchard belonging to the Bistriţa monastery abusively could lay no claims to the hay since they did not have the permission of the abbot. The boyars not only referred explicitly

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[68] *DRA*, 305.

[69] *DRA*, 482, 480 - annex I, 486, 489, 511, 512.

[70] *DRA*, 510; see also 518.

[71] Urechia, IR, 351; a similar agreement is signed between the peasants from Baia de Fier with the monastery Hurez in March, 1794, Urechia, IR, VI, 355-56; similarly, *DRA*, 594, 595.

to the *Pravilniceasca condică* but even specified the title and the paragraph (*list 19, pont 20*): the landlord was not entitled to expel tenants from the land they cleared; so, since the peasants mowed without permission, the abbot was entitled to ask redeeming of the damage. In my opinion, the invoked legal paragraph does not cover the case properly. Paragraph 3, forbidding the tenants to cultivate without permission, seems more suitable to support the decision. But, besides reflecting the limitation of the Legal Register and the clumsy use of the law, it shows that judges already looked for justification of their decision in the written regulation in effect.[72]

In 1785, Mihail Suțu received complaints from Transylvanian shepherds with regard to the fees paid to accommodate their herds on Wallachian estates in the spring time. On March 27, he reminded to the *ispravnic*i the shepherds' obligations, "for each herd 1 taller and one lamb" and cited –this time correctly - the title (*list*) 19 and the paragraph (*cap*) 21 of the Legal Register which regulated this matter.[73] In the litigation concerning some vineyards between the Târgoviște metropolitanate and the peasants from Aninoasa, the divan argued in its *anafora*, that according to the custom, if cultivators deserted a plot for more than 3 years, the landlord would be entitled to assert its ownership and invite other cultivators to work the land. Yet, the divan strengthened its argumentation by showing that identical provisions appeared in the Legal Register, and quoted section (P) and paragraphs (5 and 6). The *anafora* was endorsed by the prince with positive resolution.[74]

However, the Legal Register had its limitations because it did not cover all the possible situations. On June 18, 1786, one of the *ispravnici* of Dâmbovița reported the results of the investigation in a litigation involving the grazing of cattle of Vîlcu, *lefegiu spătăresc* (salaried soldier in the suborder of the *vel spătar*[75]) on the estate of Constantin Nenciulescu. The case is exceptional because Vîlcu was not a tenant living on the estate of Nenciulescu. Hence, the prince ordered the *ispravnic* to investigate what the

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[72] *DRA*, 586. The reader can easily notice that according to the Wallachian judges the title of the Legal Register regulating the agrarian relations is 19 not 17 as I showed above. As the document I discuss below shows the same "error", it is reasonable to accept that in the edition they used the orders of the titles was slightly different from the order in the modern published edition which I consulted.

[73] Urechia, IR, I, 530.

[74] Urechia, IR, V, 17-18. The number P is obviously a mistake of transcription or editing as it is closer to the numeral 100, whereas the agrarian regulation occupied the chapter 19 (ФЇ in Cyrillic alphabet) of the Legal Register (according to the edition used in those years by the Wallachian judges, as I showed above).

[75] The *Vel Spătar* was the name given to the Grand Sword-bearer.

local custom in such a situation was (*obiceiul pământului care se urmează la partea locului*). After laborious research, the reports showed that the custom was as follows: he, who grazed his cattle on somebody else's land, was due 2 or 3 days of labor rent. The custom was not "established in a single way on all estates".[76] The document is a clear proof of the limits of standardization imposed by the *Pravilniceasca Condică* and of the persistence of particularisms; yet it is also an instance of how the state produced knowledge, through "research", for complementing and enforcing the law. The collecting of local knowledge is used by the state to impose "continuous rule", even over the exceptions.

Nevertheless, one conclusion ensues with certainty from all these examples: the principle of a unique agrarian regime, introduced by Constantin Mavrocordat in the 1740s as a means to put an end to the displacement of the peasant mass, imposed itself to the next princes. The principle was inscribed in several agrarian settlements issued after that year, but most notably it was fixed by the most important normative text made in the 18th century Wallachia, the Legal Register enacted in 1780. But what is the significance of this fact? Let us turn to this important issue.

Agrarian Regulations and State Power

The role of law was also discussed by the students of the early modern state formation. They have remarked that by the enactment of "uniform, territory-wide regulations", there is a momentous transformation in the notion of law: from a conservatory approach which regards the law as a given, a custom which has only to be preserved, to the notion of law which can be produced in order to serve as an instrument of rule. By legal texts Gianfranco Poggi believes that the ruler "addressed himself ever more clearly and compellingly to the whole population of the territory".[77] The enactment of agrarian regulations in Wallachia after 1740 testifies to such a change. By them, the princes altered not only the obligations of the peasants to the landlords, but also the social structure, merging the peasants living on landlords' estates into a single category of tenants (*clăcaşi*) subject to a single set of obligations. In the course, the nature of the state was profoundly transformed.

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[76] *DRA*, 582.

[77] Gianfranco Poggi, *The Development of the Modern State. A sociological Introduction* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978), 72-73. A similar observation made by Corrigan and Sayer, *The Great Arch*, 53. The agrarian settlements are not the only regulations introduced by the Phanariot rulers at different times during the 18th century. There is a large array of regulations enacted during their rule and regarding: taxation, prices, civil constructions, fire prevention, measures against plague, schooling, public health and pollution, circulation of carts, beggary etc.

First of all, the state capacity to order local social realities was greatly enhanced by the implementation of the regulations. Never before 1740, had the state claimed the right to define the obligations of the peasants living on landlords' estates and the rights of the landlords to the land. The regulations were the concretization of literacy as "logistical technique", "enabling stabilized messages to be transmitted through state's territories" and "legal responsibilities to the codified and stored".[78] Moreover, by engulfing a larger domain of social life and regulating it by law, the state power changes not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively.

The routine adjudication of agrarian litigations by state officials and courts on the basis of written settlements territorialized social relations and subjectivities that is, rendered them more amenable to state rule. Michael Mann perceptively noted that the routine regulation of society's disputes through state institutions "tends to focus the relations and the struggles of civil society on to the territorial plane of the state, consolidating social interaction over that terrain, creating territorialized mechanisms for repressing or compromising the struggle, and breaking smaller local and also wider transnational social relationships".[79] Of course that peasants and landlords alike solved their litigations in the last instance through state institutions before 1740, but usually these had only to decide if the peasant was serf or free or if the boyar was the true lord of the peasants in cause. But, by the enactment of agrarian regulations a new and larger domain of social life was subject to the state and hence the interaction with the state institutions intensified. Both landlord and tenant were – ideally – subject to the same written law.

In addition, the nature of the state changed in a different – though – related sense. The regulation of agrarian relations not only extended infrastructurally the reach of the state, but also enlarged the terrain where its power went without saying by accumulating symbolic power.[80] By the routine adjudication of disputes between landlords and tenants, by its capacity to state – that is, to prescribe - the legitimate social forms, the state is reified, is lent reality and "thingness", as the illusory embodiment of the common interest. As Martha Lampland argued in a study of the agrarian regulations in Hungary "a crucial aspect of affirming state authority is by underscoring its fixed, necessary presence in local affairs.[81] The effect of law

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[78] Mann, "The Autonomous Power of the State," 9.

[79] *Ibidem*, 26.

[80] Loveman, "The Modern State."

[81] Martha Lampland, "Corvée, Maps and Contracts: Agricultural Policy and the Rise of the Modern State in Hungary During the Nineteenth Century" in *Irish Journal of Anthropology* 3/1998, 11.

as depersonalized and neutral power was noticed with acuity by one of the first investigators of the Romanian agrarian history, the conservative historian Gheorghe Panu:

> Besides the violence of the landlords, there was also the legal violence, so to speak. The boyars as landowning class had two means to increase the quantity of labor rent: either forcing the peasants from their estates or obtaining from the Princes the consent to increase, by settlements, that number of days [of labor rent]. The first procedure was more facile but could provoke protests [of the peasants]. The second, adopting a legal form, the increase in the quantity of labor rent could be asked in the name of the law and executed *manu military*.[82]

And he continued:

> The settlements from the 18th century in Moldavia feel the weight of this legal violence. In 1749 the peasants know that they have to carry out 12 days of labor rent. In 1766, they are obliged to 18 days and in 1777 to 27 days. The violence in the form of law is evident. Nobody asked them, nobody consulted them [the peasants].[83]

The latter reference was to the Moldavian case where the agrarian relations evolved at a faster pace. There, the boyars were more interested in the exploitation of their estates than the landlords from Wallachia who preferred the incomes derived from state office.[84] But the conclusion of Gheorghe Panu is equally valid for Wallachia which would follow the same course after 1800. Moreover, the Legal Register functioned as a back-up norm on the basis of which the landlords could ask more labor in case the tenants infringed existing agreements. The role of the law therefore was to supplant the local violence of the landlords with the central and legitimate violence of the state. The former was less efficient for it was likely to stir peasants' resistance. The latter in return was more efficient for it was based on a neutral text – the law - and carried out by an agency presented as neutral - the state.

Hence, by putting an upper limit to the tenants' obligations, the agrarian settlements and then the Legal Register subjected the agrarian relations to a written text. This functioned as normative ground of both adjudications of litigations and of separate agreements conceived as derogations from it. By the enactment, invocation, citation of the agrarian regulations or of the Legal Register after 1780, the state not only expands its administrative reach but is represented as a just actor and as an objective entity. The relationships between tenants and landlords and between both

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[82] Panu, *Contribuțiuni asupra stărei țăranilor*, xl.

[83] *Ibidem*.

[84] Constantiniu, *Relațiile agrare*, 202.

categories and the state are not anymore a private matter (contract between the inhabitants of an estate, privileges or particular charters issued by the prince) but a matter of country wide valid regulation, of law. In distinction to the traditional chronology, the modernization of the Wallachian state started not after 1821, with the national revival, but during the reigns of the infamous Phanariots. Moreover, it should be clear by now that this article presents a process of modern state formation, not an end product; the dynamic on which I cast light, the regulation and the incremental assertion of state power continued in the following century.

A Saint for Everyone: the Clerical Promotion of Saints' Cults in the Late Middle Ages[1]

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Abstract: This essay wishes to explore the modalities through which the cult of St. Anne, a traditional saint of the liturgical calendar, was revived in the late Middle Ages. In order to attain this goal, the initiatives undertaken at episcopal level by the bishops of Oradea and Transylvania with the purpose of propagating the cult of Mary's Mother through church patronage will be discussed in conjunction with the ideological motivations underlying them. Furthermore, clerical agency and the contribution of the Order of Friars Minor to the promotion of Anne's cult in the Kingdom of Hungary will be compared with similar developments taking place across Europe. Such an attempt would have the merit of highlighting, on the one hand, the local contexts that stimulated the development of this cult and, on the other, of contributing to a better understanding of the nature of late medieval sainthood.

Keywords*: revival, late medieval sainthood, episcopal agency, Franciscan Order, church patronage

Rezumat: Un sfânt pentru fiecare: Promovarea de către clerici a cultului sfinților în Evul Mediu târziu. Studiul de față își propune să investigheze modalitățile în care cultul unui sfânt tradițional, mai precis cel al Sf. Ana, a fost reînnoit în evul mediu târziu. Inițiativele aparținând episcopilor de Oradea și de Alba-Iulia, inițiative menite a contribui la răspândirea cultului Sf. Ana prin intermediul patronajului ecleziastic vor fi analizate din perspectiva motivațiilor ideologice care au marcat asumarea acestor inițiative. Promovarea ecleziastică, inclusiv cea asumată de către Ordinul Franciscan din perspectiva difuzării cultului Sf. Ana, va fi comparată cu demersuri similare întâlnite în restul Creștinătății Latine. O asemenea abordare se poate dovedi utilă în reliefarea importanței contextului local care a stimulat dezvoltarea acestui cult, iar pe de altă parte poate constitui un mijloc eficient de înțelegere nuanțată a sanctității în evul mediu târziu.

Cuvinte cheie: reînnoire, sanctitatea în evul mediu târziu, propagare episcopală, Ordinul Franciscan, patronajul ecleziastic

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A charter issued by the Cathedral Chapter of Oradea (Nagyvárad, Grosswardein) in the year 1348, on the octave of the feast of the Apostles Philip and James, informs us about the devotional world of a certain Ladislas, *sacerdos prebendarius* and priest of the Chapel of St. Andrew. Inspired by his veneration of Anne, Mother of the one who gave birth to the Redeemer, the clergyman decided to endow the convent of the sisters of Poor Clares from Oradea who, through their incessant praying, detached themselves from the worldly way of life, aspiring thus to receive God's grace.[2] Whilst this sort of donation was typical for the late medieval search for salvation that involved the appeal to an increasing number of saints who could provide help in the afterlife,[3] there is another interesting aspect that could retain our attention. Ladislas served in the Chapel of St. Andrew that had been founded by Bishop Andrew Báthori (1328-1345) and considered to be placed in the Episcopal Palace from Oradea.[4] However, he seemed to be equally interested in the cult of St. Anne, which could be explained by the fact that Bishop Báthori, with whom Ladislas may have had a close relationship, had founded a church dedicated to St. Anne in 1338.

Thus, in the analysis that follows, I would like to investigate the relationship between the cult of the saints and the ecclesiastical institutions that framed its development, as such an enquiry could shed light on the way devotion for saints was articulated in the late Middle Ages. The above-mentioned example reveals the role the clergy played in promoting saint's cults and, equally important, the fascinating process of renewing the cult of a traditional saint, Anne. I intend, therefore, to explore in detail the religious initiatives taken at episcopal level in order to propagate the cult of St. Anne at a time when the cult had grown impressively in Latin Christendom. In order to attain this goal, I will predominantly focus my analysis on the church patronage the Bishops of Oradea and those from Alba-Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Weissenburg) conceived with the purpose of propagating the cult of the Virgin's Mother.

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[2] *Documente privind istoria României*, *Veacul XIV, C. Transilvania*, IV, (Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1954), 427-8, doc. no. 616, (hereinafter *Documente*).

[3] The relationship between saints and their role in the late medieval economy of salvation has closely been scrutinized in works such as those of Jacques Chiffoleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà. Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avigon à la fin du Moyen Age (vers1320-vers1480),* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1981); Jacques Le Goff, *Naşterea Purgatoriului*, vol. I-II, (Bucureşti: Editura Meridiane, 1995) and Robert N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215-c. 1515*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[4] Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Cetatea Oradea. Monografie arheologică, vol. I Zona palatului episcopal*, (Oradea, Editura Muzeul Ţării Crişurilor, 2002), 47-8.

Such an enquiry is justified, on the one hand, by the important role bishops played in orchestrating the cult of the saints and, on the other, by the fact that in the last centuries of the Middle Ages the cult of St. Anne was transformed from a devotional figure worshipped locally to one that was universally revered.[5] A close scrutiny of the support that was provided to the Virgin's Mother at episcopal level, both in Oradea and Alba-Iulia, would complement the existing knowledge on this cult in Latin Christendom and, at the same time, it would better highlight the universal novelty of the cult of St. Anne.

As research dealing with devotion to Mary's Mother has emphasized, Anne surpassed the anonymous status of a traditional saint, being increasingly popularized as Mother of the Virgin and Grandmother of Jesus and the Apostles, these qualities transforming her, by the late Middle Ages, into one of the most venerated saints in Latin Christendom.[6] Undoubtedly, the emphasis laid on the maternal genealogy of Christ - well reflected in theological discourse, polemics, sermons and works of art - transformed Anne into a saint whose intercession was worth searching for: Anne became a "polysemic symbol" that appealed to women, town-dwelling families, members of confraternities and the clergy.[7] It is precisely this universal

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[5] The episcopal contribution to the emergence and diffusion of saints' cults has been discussed at length by Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Late Antiquity*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981). An important overview of the development of the cult of St. Anne in the late Middle Ages is to be found in the Introduction to the volume of essays edited by Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, (Athens Ga. and London: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 1-69.

[6] See Ashley, "Image and Ideology: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Drama and Narrative" in *Interpreting...*, 111-30; Ton Brandenbarg, "Saint Anne. A Holy Grandmother and Her Children" in Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker ed., *Sanctity and Motherhood. Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages*, (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), 31-65 and, more recently, Virginia Nixon, *Mary's Mother. Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe*, (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004).

[7] It has been considered that devotion to Anne was first spread in Eastern Christendom thanks to the *Protoevangelium of James*, an apocryphal gospel compiled in Greek sometimes in mid-second century. Its translation into Latin in the sixth century as the *Pseudo-Gospel of Matthew* and other works that originated from this writing, such as *De Nativitate Sanctae Mariae*, marked the beginning of this cult also in the Latin Christendom. The controversies surrounding the Immaculate Conception and the legend about Anne's three marriages have been intensely debated issues from the twelfth century onwards. With the inclusion of the legend of Anne's *trinubium* in the Golden Legend of Jacobus of Voragine, the cult became both highly popular and popularized in the West, see Sherry L. Reames, "Legends of St. Anne,

excitement surrounding the cult of St. Anne that will be examined in the following pages by paying particular attention to the promoters of this cult in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary at the end of the Middle Ages.

It is generally held that devotion to St. Anne emerged in the kingdom in the aftermath of the crusades, thanks to the strong support the Franciscans provided to her cult.[8] Further nuances to this view have been brought by art historical research that convincingly argued that the visual representations of St. Anne, in both panel and mural paintings, accurately reflected the latest developments in the theology of the Incarnation, primarily prompted by polemics about the doctrine of Immaculate Conception.[9] The results of this line of research are of high importance as they indicate the simultaneous growth of Anne's cult and its universal renewal throughout Latin Christendom. This simultaneity will be further explored in order to get a deeper understanding of the agents disseminating this cult, the ideological motivations of Anne's devotees and, surely, last but not least, the features the cult itself acquired as a result of this promotion.

The donation I briefly discussed at the beginning of this analysis forms an integral part of the growing popularity the house of the Second Order Franciscan enjoyed in Oradea in the first half of the fourteenth century. St. Anne's convent was founded at the initiative of Andrew Báthori, Bishop of Oradea between 1329 and 1345.[10] In 1338, the bishop purchased several lots *in vico Venetiis* with the purpose of building a stone church in honour of St. Anne. The building project seems to have been well

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Mother of the Virgin Mary: Introduction", in *Middle English Legends of Women Saints*, edited by Sherry L. Reames, (Kalamazoo MI, Medieval Institute Publications, 2003) (online version available at: d.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/text/reames-middle-english-legends-of-women-saints-introduction).

[8] Sándor Bálint, *Ünnepi kalendárium. A Mária-ünnepek és jelesebb napok hazai és Közép-Európai hagyományvilágából*, II, (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1977), 115-21.

[9] For the reflection of Franciscan devotional ideals related to the Marian cult and to that of St. Anne, see the studies of Maria Crăciun, "Iconoclasm and Theology in Reformation Transylvania: The Iconography of the Polyptich of the Church at Biertan", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 95 (2004): 61-97 and "Mendicant Piety and the Saxon Community of Transylvania, c. 1450-c.1550" in Maria Crăciun and Elaine Fulton eds., *Communities of Devotion. Religious Orders and Society in East Central Europe, 1450-1800*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 29-69. For the mural paintings representing St. Anne with the Virgin Mary from Sic, Anna *Selbdritt* from Tileagd, the Holy Kinship from Iermata, Sântana de Mureş and Mălâncrav, see Vasile Drăguţ, "Iconografia picturilor murale gotice din Transilvania. Consideraţii generale şi repertoriu de teme", *Pagini de veche artă românească*, II, (Bucureşti, 1972), 62.

[10] Vince Bunyitay, *A váradi püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig*, I, (Nagyvárad, 1883), 172-8.

under way a year later, as indicated by the testament issued by Elizabeth, the wife of a certain Count Blasius, who donated half of a vineyard to the church of St. Anne.[11] Let me insist a little on this endowment, which occurred very soon after the bishop started his building project.

Several motivations can be identified on Elizabeth's part. She was a noblewoman that had close contacts with both the Episcopal See and the Franciscans in Oradea, given that several canons of the Oradea chapter and the guardian of the Franciscan convent witnessed the signing of her testament. Elizabeth's penchant for the Friars Minor and the religious ideals they upheld is further illustrated by her decision to be buried in the Franciscan convent and by the charitable deeds she specified in her last will. Thus, the noblewoman endowed the altar of St. Elizabeth, her personal saint, who had distinguished herself as a great advocate of the ideal of poverty and charity.[12] The example of the Arpadian saint might have inspired our testator as well, since the testamentary clauses also speak about the donations she made not only to the poor, but also to an orphan girl, Margaret, who was living with the pious women whose house was located in front of the Franciscan convent.[13] It is most likely that the devotional community mentioned by Elizabeth in her testament was that of the Beguines, who had been attested in Oradea since 1318 and whose way of life appeared to have been favoured by the female population of the town.[14]

Therefore, when Bishop Báthori decided to build a church in honour of St. Anne and to establish a monastic community there, the Franciscans were already an important presence in the episcopal town. In fact, this can

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[11] *Documente*, III, 490-1, doc. no. 417.

[12] St. Elizabeth's engagement in charity is reflected not only by the care she personally provided to the sick and poor, but also by her initiative of founding a hospital in Marburg that was dedicated to St. Francis, see Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, translated by Eva Pálmai, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 243-83. The relationship between the Elizabethan model of saintliness and the institutionalization of charity is well reflected in the Kingdom of Hungary by the dedication of the majority of the hospitals to the Arpadian saint. For St. Elizabeth's hospitals, see András Kubinyi, "Orvoslás, gyógyszerészek, fürdök és ispotályok a későközépkori Magyarországon", in idem, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon*, (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1999), 263-6.

[13] *Documente*, III, 490-1, doc. no. 417.

[14] According to János Karácsonyi, *Szt. Ferenc rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig*, (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1923-1924), 472, it was in that year that several Beguines requested support from the Cathedral Chapter of Oradea in order to find a house where they could live a life of penitence.

be explained by the early foundation of their convent, surely attested in 1298 and, significantly enough, dedicated to St. Francis.[15] The friars' apostolate, oriented towards the urban population, and the religious ideal embodied by the founder of their order offer additional justifications for the promptness with which the Franciscans became popular in Oradea. To this local context, one should also add the personal biography of Andrew Báthori. Before becoming Bishop of Oradea, he had served as canon of the cathedral chapter, filled the office of provost of Buda and been close to the royal court. It would be no exaggeration to see in this closeness a supplementary motivation for the foundation he made.

The bishop's initiative came shortly after Queen Elizabeth Piast had embarked on a similar enterprise, founding, in 1334, a monastery of Poor Clares in Óbuda, a foundation which was part and parcel of the assiduous support the Angevins of Hungary provided to the Franciscans.[16] Furthermore, this was well reflected in the domain of saints' cults through King Charles Robert's dedication of one of the altars in the Oradea cathedral to the recently canonized Franciscan saint, Louis of Toulouse.[17] As a matter of fact, it would be worth mentioning that the episcopal milieu of Oradea proved to be an important environment for the emergence of the devotions the Franciscans promoted; for example, during the episcopate of John (Iwanka) (1318-1329), it was not only St. Louis who was honoured with an altar, but also St. Elizabeth and St. Anne, to whom the bishop himself dedicated altars, providing for their maintenance.[18] Thus, the church patronage Bishop Báthori was involved in starting with the fourth decade of the fourteenth century continued similar initiatives undertaken by the royal house and the episcopal milieu in Oradea.

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[15] Adrian Andrei Rusu, Nicolae Sabău, Ileana Burnichioiu, Ioan Vasile Leb, Mária Makó Lupescu, *Dicționarul mănăstirilor din Transilvania, Banat, Crişana şi Maramureş*, (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară, 2000), 189-90.

[16] The foundation and support Queen Elizabeth provided to several churches and convents, the most numerous of which belonged to the Friars Minor, is discussed by Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as a Patron of Architecture", *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 20 (1972): 13-36 and Brian McEntee, "The Burial Site Selection of a Hungarian Queen: Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary (1320-1380), and the Óbuda Clares' Church", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, 12 (2006): 69-82. Tibor Klaniczay, *Hagyományok ébresztése*, (Budapest: Szépirodalmi könyvkiadó, 1976), 116-121 has shown the importance of the Franciscans at the royal court during the reign of Charles Robert and Louis I.

[17] Bunyitay, *A váradi...*, I, 169.

[18] *Ibid.*, 167.

A charter dated December 1340 reveals that Anne's church, whose construction was supported by Andrew Báthori, was finished indeed at that time, but a house of wood had also been built for pious women; the latter would have to serve the Mother of the Glorious Virgin and were obliged to receive a widow or a young girl from Andrew Báthori's family among them.[19] In the following year, the bishop further displayed his concern for the recently founded female religious community by buying another land lot, where a bath to be used by the residents of St. Anne's convent was built. Finally, in 1342 Bishop Andrew decided, while raising a parish church, that the place would better suit as a *locus* of prayer and contemplation. Therefore, the high ecclesiastical official mediated that several sisters of Poor Clares from the convent of Pozsonyi (Bratislava), who had distinguished themselves through the devout life they ardently pursued, should be brought to Oradea to reside in the house of St. Anne. The charter which discloses the bishop's agenda also bears evidence to the careful, attentive way in which Andrew Báthori regulated the functioning of both the church and the convent of Poor Clares. Details are given as regards the responsibilities the parish priest would have to assume, the spiritual guidance the Friars Minor from Oradea would have to provide to the Poor Clares, as well as the administration of the goods that the church and the convent of St. Anne received by means of donations and testaments.[20]

It is worth mentioning at this point that the bishop's foundation was intimately connected with the pastoral duties those filling this office were to assume; at the same time, it is also highly relevant for the history of the relationship between the Mendicant Orders and the parish clergy. As frequently mentioned in the research devoted to this topic in Western Europe and in studies on the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, the friars and the secular clergy competed, particularly in towns, in matters concerning the administration of sacraments, burials and attendance of the Sunday Mass.[21] Whilst Bishop Andrew Báthori tried to avoid the emergence of such conflicts by thoroughly detailing, in the charter issued in 1342, the way *cura animarum* would be provided to the Poor Clares from St. Anne's, it would be only with

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[19] *Documente*, III, 550-2, doc. no. 504.

[20] *Documente*, IV, 74-7, doc. no. 75.

[21] The ecclesiological ideas connected with the conflicts between the Mendicants and the parish are discussed by Charles Hugh Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, (New York: Longman Inc., 1984), 261-4. For the specificity of such conflicts in Hungary, see the study of Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, "A plébániai papság és a kolduló-rendi barátok kapcsolatai a magyar városokoban a késő-középkorban: Sopron példája", *Soproni Szemle*, 3 (1998): 196-208.

the help of King Louis the Great that the guardian of the Franciscan convent from Oradea managed to obtain an assurance from Demeter Futaki (1345-1372), who succeeded Andrew Báthori as Bishop of Oradea, that the religious life of the house of the Second Order would be entirely overseen by the friars, without any interference from the parochial clergy.[22]

The foundation of Bishop Báthori outlined above allows for highlighting several noteworthy features. On the one hand, it discloses the Bishop's preference for the Franciscan Order, a preference which not only emulated the royal support of the friars in the kingdom at that time, but was also rooted in the religious life of the episcopal town of Oradea. Moreover, one can learn from the surviving charters issued between 1338 and 1342 that the bishop endeavoured to create a devotional milieu within which the cult of St. Anne could develop. Although the initial foundation was a parish church, the mentioning, from 1338 on, of women associated with the Third Order Franciscan who would reside near this church and, most importantly, the decision made in 1342 that the sisters of Poor Clares should be accommodated there and placed under the sole guidance of the friars might indicate a strong connection, in the eyes of our bishop, between the Franciscans and the cult of St. Anne.

Evidence about such a connection is also to be found in a neighbouring diocese, that of Transylvania. According to the tithe registers compiled in the first decades of the fourteenth century, in as early as 1332 there was a parish church dedicated to St. Anne in Sântana de Mureş (Marosszentanna), in the Archdeanery of Tileagd.[23] The church dedication and its reflection in the place name are proof of an early development of Anne's cult in Transylvania and I would like to demonstrate, in what follows, that the Franciscans played an important role in the choice of this *patrocinium*.

The friars were very active in South-Eastern Transylvania at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, managing to establish themselves in Tg. Mureş (Marosvásárhely), where their convent was founded in 1316.[24] As we have seen above, only several years later, the church of St. Anne was mentioned in a village located a few kilometres north of Tg. Mureş. Several factors may explain both the dedication of this church and the place name, Sântana de Mureş (Marosszentanna), which accurately reflects the church *patrocinium*. It seems that the missionary activity undertaken by the

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[22] Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc...*, II, 450.

[23] Antal Beke, "Erdélyi egyházmegye képe a XIV. század elején", *Magyar Sion*, 52 (1894): 924.

[24] Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc…*, I, 203-5.

Franciscan friars in the region, the support they provided to the dissemination of Anne's cult in Hungary, as well as the recent colonization of this area by the Szeklers, which had in fact prompted the presence of the friars - all these factors could be held accountable for the dedication of the local church to St. Anne and the subsequent reflection of this in the place name.[25]

Based on these examples, it can be argued that the Franciscan support for the cult of the Virgin's Mother was indeed efficacious in both dioceses, those of Oradea and Transylvania; in addition to this, given the responsibilities of the bishops, the propagation of this cult was most likely supported by them too. At the same time, it would be equally important to go a step further with the enquiry in order to identify the ideological motivations of the propagators of Anne's cult. Thus, it would be particularly interesting to analyse the relationship between the cult of Mary's Mother and the female religious associated with the Franciscan Order. The convent of Poor Clares in Oradea was the fourth such religious community that had been founded in the kingdom, its establishment in 1338 matching, as mentioned before, a similar initiative made by Queen Elizabeth in 1334.[26] Worth remembering at this point are also the regulations according to which a house of the Poor Clares could be established. The strict observance of cloistered life and the ideal of poverty governed the functioning of these female monastic communities, their organization being made possible only after adequate material endowment had been provided.[27] This requirement was accurately met by Bishop Báthori, who carefully enumerated the properties which were given to the Poor Clares from Oradea, enabling thus their subsistence.[28] That the bishop was well aware of the way the Second Order of the Friars Minor functioned could also be taken into account, justifying the clergyman's understanding of the religious ideals promoted by the friars.

This can also be inferred from the analysis of the saints that were chosen as patrons of the Poor Clares in the kingdom, an analysis that could bring interesting results to the fore. The first two female houses founded in Hungary were dedicated to St. Elizabeth and, respectively, St. Mary

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[25] Zoltán Soós, "The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely) and the Franciscan Presence in Medieval Transylvania", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, 9 (2003): 249-53 and for the Franciscan propagation of the cult of St. Anne, see Bálint, *Ünnepi…*, II, 115.

[26] Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc...*, II, 450-6.

[27] John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from the Origins to the Year 1517*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 206-10.

[28] *Documente*, IV, 74-7, doc. no. 75.

Magdalene. The former dedication has been connected with the establishment of the Poor Clares in Nagyszombat in 1239, a few years after the canonization of the Arpadian saint in 1235; this establishment benefited from the involvement of the royal house.[29] If Elizabeth's cult was flourishing at that time, a process in which the Franciscan Order became actively involved from the thirteenth century onwards, of equal significance was devotion to Mary Magdalene. She was chosen as protectress of the Poor Clares from Pozsonyi (Bratislava) at the time her cult was adopted by the Mendicant Orders, for whom the penitential model she embodied became very important in their active ministry.[30]

Therefore, it can be observed that the apostolic mission, the ideal of voluntary poverty and the penitential way of life the friars pursued found expression in the protectresses of the female communities associated to their Order. Similar explanations can be put forward in relation to the Virgin Mary and St. Anne, who patronized the houses of the Poor Clares founded in the fourth decade of the fourteenth century. Whilst the cult of the Virgin became tremendously popular in the late Middle Ages, particularly as a result of Mendicant propaganda, it is acknowledged that her Mother's cult also developed in the aftermath.[31]

This general view would need, however, further nuances. Much emphasis has been placed by current research on Anne's embodiment of family values and exemplary religious conduct among the townspeople.[32] Moreover, the debates surrounding the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception also brought her up in the theological controversies that divided the Dominicans and the Franciscans over the maternal ancestry of Jesus.[33] Anne's choice by Bishop Andrew Báthori can thus be connected with the increasing importance attached to the Virgin's Mother in the religious world of the fourteenth century. Furthermore, her association with the Franciscans in the bishop's deeds confirms the support the Friars Minor gave to the development of this cult. The Poor Clares could become the perfect devotees of Anne for several other reasons too. The family type organization that monastic communities represented allowed the sisters of the Franciscan

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[29] Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc...*, II, 460.

[30] See Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen. Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages*, (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), particularly Part I, *The Mendicant Magdalen*, 44-227.

[31] Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: the Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*, (New York: First Vintage Book Edition, 1983), 307-314.

[32] Sheingorn, "Appropriating the Holy Kinship. Gender and Family History", in *Interpreting...*, 169-99.

[33] Ashley, Sheingorn, "Introduction", in *Interpreting...*, 17-25.

Order to pursue a life of solitude and quiet devotion inspired by Anne's saintly affiliation with Jesus and the apostles.[34] While their enclosure might have represented, in the eyes of the townspeople, a departure from the active way of life and religiosity Anne stood for, it prompted in fact a daily recreation of the saint's obedience to God's plans and her resilience in order to fulfil His wishes.[35]

If Anne's cult was useful, as suggested, in processes of ideological formation,[36] then the charters issued by Bishop Andrew Báthori, detailing the foundation of a convent of Poor Clares to the purpose of honouring St. Anne in one of the peripheries of Latin Christendom, surely indicate such a process. The way of life the sisters followed allowed for their identification with Anne's saintliness, a possibility for which our bishop chose a suitable symbol. That indeed this might have been the case is evidenced by the requirements that the young girls and the widows related to the bishop's family had to meet in order to be allowed to become members of the Poor Clares from Oradea. Interestingly enough, this possibility was also envisaged by the bishop's brothers when they lavishly endowed St. Anne's convent in 1342.[37]

The fact that Anne's way of life was connected to the one the Poor Clares had to adopt and that the bishop's female relatives could enrol in the convent of Oradea is relevant in other respects as well. It has been suggested that the cult of St. Anne reverberated among the nobility because of the

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[34] David Herlihy, "The Family and Religious Ideologies in Medieval Europe", *Journal of Family History*, 12 (1987): 3-17 and Brandenbarg, "Saint Anne", in *Sanctity...*, 39.

[35] Lawrence, *Medieval...*, 251-2 has drawn attention to the paradox that marked the foundation and the functioning of the female religious associated with the Dominicans and Franciscans, who lived according to the rules of strict enclosure, something that was in strong opposition with the active ministry the friars pursued. The architectural design of female monasteries provides evidence for the efforts made in order to preserve the nuns' enclosure, the so-called *Sprechfenster* was a grilled-window through which limited verbal and non-verbal communication with the outside world could take place and its existence was attested in several Dominican nunneries from Germany, Heike Huffmann, "Inside and Outside the Convent Walls. The Norm and Practice of Enclosure in Reformed Nunneries of Late Medieval Germany", *The Medieval History Journal*, 4 (2001): 83-108. Similar architectural elements seems to have been encountered in the case of the houses of the Franciscan female religious from Hungary, because at the beginning of the sixteenth century the provincial chapter endorsed communication only through a grilled-window, see Ferenc Kollányi, "Magyar ferencrendiek a XVI. század első felében", *Századok*, 32 (1898): 919.

[36] Ashley, "Image and Ideology" in *Interpreting…*, 125.

[37] *Documente*, IV, 111-2, doc. no. 123.

saintly matrilineal lineage it epitomized.[38] Such echoes are to be found, as described above, in the choices that female members of the noble family Báthori could make, a preference which is also sustained by the example of a noble girl who decided to devoutly serve Christ in the house of St. Anne from Oradea.[39]

At the same time, one may be prompted to include in this discussion another interesting aspect. Devotion to Anne grew spectacularly in the urban milieu, where bourgeois family values were considered to be entrenched in this model of sainthood.[40] As the Mendicant Orders were considered urban religious orders *par excellence*, their ministry being largely oriented towards townspeople, the selection of St. Anne by Bishop Andrew Báthori receives thus additional explanation. After all, his foundation was made in a town at a time when the Franciscan apostolate intensified and the cult of St. Anne could be used as an incentive for those embarking on the imitation of an exemplary way of Christian life.

If we are to return again to Transylvania, we may find out that the potential of Anne's saintliness was indeed used in the world of female religious. This is nicely illustrated by the case of the community of tertiaries from Tg. Mureş. As we have seen at the beginning of this discussion, in this town there was a strong centre of the Franciscans, under whose supervision the house of the Third Order was placed.[41] The friars from Tg. Mureş distinguished themselves not only by the missionary activity they undertook in South-Eastern Transylvania, as the church of Sântana de Mureş demonstrates, but also by the spiritual guidance they provided to the women associated with their order. Previous research has demonstrated that an important literary workshop functioned within the Franciscan convent of Tg. Mureş. Among the codices produced there was the so-called Teleki Codex (1525-1531), which was meant to serve the religious needs of the tertiaries. The inclusion of an extant version of the legend of St. Anne produced within the Franciscan milieu illustrates that the cult was adapted to the specific membership of this community with the purpose of strengthening their pious conduct.[42]

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[38] Brabdenberg, "Saint Anne" in *Sanctity*..., 31-65.

[39] As it can be found out from the donation made in 1344 by her father, the nobleman *magister Bekan*, *Documente*, IV, 167-8, doc. no. 202.

[40] Ahley and Sheingorn, "Introduction" in *Interpreting*..., 51.

[41] Karácsonyi, *Szent-Ferenc*..., II, 438-9.

[42] János Horváth, *A magyar irodalmi műveltség kezdetei Szent Istvántól Mohácsig*, (Budapest: Magyar Szemle Társaság, 1931), for a discussion of the insertion of the Franciscan *Legenda sanctissimae matronae Annae* in the Teleki Codex, see especially 214-5.

Detailed enquiry into the legend of St. Anne comprised in the Teleki Codex has brought to light the fact that the miraculous power of the saint was employed in order to demonstrate the effectiveness of the intercessorial abilities of the Virgin's Mother. Thus, the most numerous *miraculées* belonged to the ecclesiastical milieu and, as demonstrated by the examples of doubting nuns, as well as of a bishop who questioned the effectiveness of the mediation Anne could provide, the cult was turned to educational purposes.[43] The suspicious attitude of these individuals towards the saint reveals the tension that existed between the tardiness with which her cult had been officially approved by the papacy, on the one hand, and the growing popularity it enjoyed throughout the entire Latin Christendom on the other.[44]

Anne's legend from the Teleki Codex and the miracle stories it contains could be considered not only to reveal this sort of tension, but also to ease the appropriation of the cult of the Mary's Mother by the female religious. The community of devout women living under the supervision of the Friars Minor in Tg. Mureş was that of the tertiaries. It has been noted that these communities enjoyed particular success in the towns from the Kingdom of Hungary, the great number of such communities well surpassing that of the Poor Clares' nunneries.[45] Furthermore, by the late Middle Ages, the Third Order had undergone a process of monasticization: the initially open communities of Beguines and tertiaries, who engaged in pious and charitable activities, whilst also pursuing their family life and professions in towns, had, in fact, ceased to exist. Several papal bulls issued over the course of the fifteenth century sanctioned their transformation into closed groups that lived separated from the outside world, wore a specific habit and had to take a vow at the moment of enrolment.[46]

It is this complex history of the tertiaries and the changes in their institutional organization that could justify the inclusion of several miracle-stories in the legend of St. Anne from the Teleki Codex, which were meant

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[43] Emőke Nagy, *The Human Trinity and Christ's Human Genealogy in Late Medieval Hungary. St. Anne's Iconography and its Textual Sources*, MA Thesis, (Medieval Studies Department, Central European University, 2007), 55-67.

[44] Ashley and Sheingorn, "Introduction" in *Interpreting*..., 48, suggest that the timeframe between 1350 and 1550 marked the flowering of St. Anne's cult, the decades between 1450 and 1550 decisively contributing to this growth.

[45] de Cevins, *L'Église dans les villes hongroises aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Thèse pour le Nouveau Doctorat), (Paris-Sorbonne, 1995), 304-7.

[46] Edith Pásztor, "Per la storia dell'esperienza penitenziale francescana in Ungheria nel medioevo", in Mariana D'Alatri ed., *Il movimento francescano della penitenza nella società medievale: atti dell 3o convegno di studi francescani, Padova 25-26-27 settembre 1979,* (Roma: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 1980), 117-23.

to educate these pious women. Existing research has already observed that the female communities associated with the Franciscan Order served not only as places of devotion, but also as places for the education of women.[47] As such, Anne, a saint valued because she had taught faith to the Virgin Mary, continued to play the role of an educator for female religious. This role is further demonstrated if one takes into account the membership of the communities of tertiaries. Available sources inform us that such communities were primarily comprised of women in the state of widowhood.[48] To them too, Anne was able to provide the education of faith, particularly because she represented the way family values allowed the accomplishment of God's desires, not only in the world, but also when departing from it.[49]

Another component part of the potential of Anne's cult that deserves to be dealt with in some detail is its development in the aftermath of Marian devotion. Frequently mentioned throughout this discussion, the connection between these two cults was most obvious in the initiatives undertaken at episcopal level in Transylvania. Similarly to the discussed case of Oradea, the Bishops of Alba-Iulia also supported the Virgin's Mother cult and the remaining part of this analysis will try to shed some more light on the ideological motivations that animated them. Again, the episcopal agency considered church patronage as a highly suitable strategy for the propagation of the cult of St. Anne, in a fashion that recalls the one devised by the Bishop of Oradea, Andrew Báthori.

Bishop Demeter, head of the Transylvanian episcopate between 1368 and 1376, was a fervent supporter of the cult of St. Paul the Hermit

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[47] For example, in 1358, in the Poor Clares convent from Óbuda, there were around one hundred residents, some of them living there as female religious, while others with the purpose of being educated, Karácsonyi, *Szent-Ferenc…*, II, 452.

[48] Given the scarcity of our sources, not much is known about the women who lived as tertiaries or Poor Clares in late medieval Transylvania. Still, a document issued in 1503 refers to a widow Dorothy from the house of the tertiary in Tg. Mureş, while the testament issued in 1520 by another Dorothy, the widow of Martin Cruez from Braşov, informs us that because of her widowhood she could not join the Second Order of the Friars Preachers, but only the Third Order of the Friars Minor, see Zsigmond Jakó, *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei*, (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1990), 225-6, doc. no. 3273, and Karl Fabritius, "Zwei Funde in der ehemaligen Dominikanerkirche zu Schässburg", *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 5,1 (1861): 16-7, doc. no. XX.

[49] Brandenbarg, "Saint Anne" in *Sanctity...*, 56, argues that Anne was not only a protector of marriage and family, but also of widows who often had to consider, despite of their own wishes, re-marrying.

and, as such, he decided to restore the deserted Franciscan convent from Alba Iulia for the benefit of the Order of St. Paul the Hermit.[50] Even more important for the purpose of our discussion is that to the existing patron saint, Elizabeth, Bishop Demeter added a second patron, Anne.[51] If Andrew, Bishop of Oradea, chose to display veneration for St. Anne by devoting the Franciscan nunnery he founded to her, the Transylvanian Bishop chose, for the same purpose, the institutional framework provided by one of the very popular religious orders in the kingdom.[52] Therefore, it was through church patronage, connected with perhaps the most successful religious orders in the kingdom at that time, that the bishops disseminated the emergent cult of St. Anne in their dioceses.

But what else could have prompted Bishop Demeter to choose Anne as a saintly protector of the Hermits of St. Paul? The development of the cult of St. Anne in the aftermath of the wide success enjoyed by the Marian cult seems to have become one of the specific features of the manner in which the Transylvanian monasteries pertaining to the Order of St. Paul the Hermit functioned. Diligent promoters of the cult of the Virgin Mary, the monks also became propagators of devotion to the Immaculate Conception, as proved by the writings of John Pozsonyi, a member of the monastery from Tăuți.[53] This example additionally illustrates the strong propagation of the Marian cult by the Order of St. Paul the Hermit, whose members included in their liturgical practices the observance of Saturday as the feast day associated with the Immaculate Conception and disseminated further the cult of the Virgin by means of the writings produced in their monasteries.[54]

One must also draw attention to the involvement of the Transylvanian bishops in the foundations of the houses associated with the Order of St. Paul the Hermit, as the case of Alba-Iulia, but also that from Tăuți, founded by another Transylvanian bishop, Goblinus (1376-1386), accurately demonstrates. As such, it can be argued that within the episcopal

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[50] Devotion to St. Paul the Hermit was further displayed by Demeter when, as Archbishop of Esztergom, he orchestrated the transfer of the saint's relics from Budaszentlőrincz to the monastery, see Máté Urbán, "Pálos zarándokhelyek a késő középkori Magyarországon", *Vallástudományi Szemle*, 1 (2009): 71-2.

[51] Beatrix Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon*, (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000), 29.

[52] The official confirmation of the Order was given by Pope John XXII, at the request of King Charles Robert, in 1328; the Order had 900 members in 1327, whereas in the sixteenth century their number peaked to 3,000, De Cevins, *L'Église...*, 48 and 577.

[53] János Temesváry, *Erdély középkori püspökei*, (Cluj-Koloszvár: Minerva, 1922), 208-9.

[54] Horváth, *A magyar irodalmi...*, 166.

milieu from Alba-Iulia and the network of monasteries belonging to the Order of St. Paul the Hermit, the recent developments associated with the cult of the Virgin Mary decisively marked religious life.

Such developments concern, first and foremost, the Immaculate Conception: as mentioned above, this was not only intensely debated in the late Middle Ages, but also contributed to the spread of the cult of St. Anne. Surviving visual representations from late medieval Transylvania eloquently speak in favour of this idea. Nuanced research devoted to the impact of Franciscan devotional ideas concerning the Virgin has convincingly argued that they helped promote the cult of her Mother as well. Highly illustrative in this regard is the altarpiece of the parish church of Biertan (Birthälm, Berethalom), where devotion to Mary is complemented by that to Anne, who is represented in several panels; among these, the one depicting her holding the Virgin bears strong connection to the Immaculate Conception.[55] As such, it can be argued that Bishop Demeter's dedication of the monastery of St. Paul the Hermit to St. Anne and, in fact, the worship of the Virgin's Mother by the monks who ardently propagated the belief in the Immaculate Conception were phenomena confirming similar developments encountered in other religious environments, as well as in other regions of the Latin Christendom.[56]

This detailed discussion, placed at the crossroads between the support provided to the cult of St. Anne by religious institutions that became popular over the course of the fourteenth century in the Kingdom of Hungary and the model of saintliness that could instil a particular religious conduct is, moreover, important insofar as it may reveal how the cult of traditional saints was renewed in the late Middle Ages. Devotion to Anne became rapidly popular in the Latin Christendom and the church patronage devised by the Bishops of Oradea and Alba-Iulia can well be integrated into this trend. In fact, these initiatives occurred at a time when the cult of St. Anne had taken firm roots in other regions of Western Europe.

Highly illustrative in this regard is England, where devotion to Anne was prompted by the liturgical practices that commemorated her in relation with the Marian feast days. Thus, by the tenth century, Joachim and

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[55] For a detailed discussion of this work of art, both from the point of view of the dating of its execution and the importance of the way Mary and Anne were represented within late medieval devotional art, see Crăciun, *Iconoclasm...*, particularly 69-73 and footnotes 17-9.

[56] The Transylvanian examples of the Hermits of St. Paul as loyal supporters of Anne's cult represent an interesting complement to the already discussed promotion of the cult of the Virgin's Mother by the Carmelites, who were also strong propagators of the belief in the Immaculate Conception, see Reames, *Legends...*

Anne were mentioned when the Nativity of the Virgin was celebrated, on 8 September; in addition to this, by the twelfth century, in the churches of Winchester, Exeter and Canterbury, Anne had become an even more prominent figure due to the commemoration of the Virgin's Conception on 8 December.[57] England may also provide an example of the early introduction of St. Anne's feast day, on 26 July; starting in 1328, this feast was initially compulsory in the province of Canterbury, while from 1382 on, it was mandatory to celebrate it throughout England, thanks to the decision made by Pope Urban VI.[58]

It has been observed that in another corner of Latin Christendom, the Kingdom of Hungary, sermons produced as early as the twelfth century did consider devotion to St. Anne, whereas her liturgical cult is evidenced by writings preserved from the beginning of the fourteenth century.[59] As discussed above, the Franciscan support provided to the cult of St. Anne, materialized in the foundation made by Bishop Andrew Báthori in 1338 and the development of St. Anne's cult in the aftermath of that of the Virgin, was reflected in the Transylvanian bishop's establishment of a monastery belonging to the Order of St. Paul the Hermit in 1376. Therefore, these foundations nicely complement the chronology of the emergence of the cult for Mary's Mother in the kingdom, at a time when the cult had started to enjoy increasing popularity in other parts of Christendom as well.

This chronology has also the merit of revealing the impulses that led to the revival of the cult of St. Anne, on the one hand, and on the other, of highlighting the instrumental role played by the highest local ecclesiastical authorities in this renewal. In fact, it is extremely interesting to observe that there was a mixture of local and universal policy, which contributed to the growth of Anne's cult in the kingdom. The local ecclesiastical initiatives aimed at propagating the cult of the Virgin's Mother were complemented by those made by the papal authority. This is illustrated by the indulgence Pope Gregory XI granted to the monastery of St. Anne from Oradea in 1373.[60] Such an endorsement of the celebration of Anne is also detectable in the episcopal regulations issued for the parish church of St. Michael from

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[57] See Ashley and Sheingorn, "Introduction" in *Interpreting*..., 17-48 and Reames, *Legends*...

[58] Ashley and Sheingorn, "Introduction" in *Interpreting*..., 48.

[59] Bálint, *Ünnepi*…, II, 116.

[60] Árpád Bossányi, *Regesta Supplicationum. A pápai kérvénykönyvek magyar vonatkozású okmányai. Avignon korszak*, (Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda R.T., 1916), 139-40, doc. no. CCLXXV. The feast day of St. Anne was also mentioned among other feast days in an indulgence granted to the Poor Clares from Óbuda in 1350; see 780-1, doc. nr. MCLXXXVII.

Cluj in 1414 and, then, in 1422, stipulating that a Mass dedicated to St. Anne would be celebrated at the altar of All Saints.[61] The inclusion of the Virgin's Mother in the liturgical round of the parish churches is additionally demonstrated by the case of another Transylvanian church, that from Sibiu, where the agreement between the city council and the parish curia referred to the divine service performed in honour of St. Anne on a regular basis, this agreement from 1432 being also sanctioned by the ecclesiastical authority.[62]

Interestingly enough, 26 July, the feast of St. Anne, was made compulsory in the kingdom only in 1493 through the decision taken at the Synod of Esztergom. Soon afterwards, in 1494 and 1515, the Synods of Nyitra and Veszprém reached similar decisions.[63] This inclusion in the liturgical calendars of several ecclesiastical provinces in Hungary attests the official approval of St. Anne's cult in the kingdom. The local endorsement of the cult of the Virgin's Mother occurred, thus, with some tardiness, after several instances of the cult's existence had been registered throughout Hungary, but significantly enough after the year 1476, when the Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV endorsed the official celebration of Anne in the Western Church.[64]

That this could have meant an additional incentive to the flourishing of devotion to Anne is illustrated by another Transylvanian example. Unlike the cathedral church of Oradea, where an altar dedicated to St. Anne was founded in the first decade of the fourteenth century, a foundation which was most likely the result of the contacts the Bishops of Oradea had both with the royal court and the Franciscans, the surviving sources mention that an altar of St. Anne existed in St. Michael's Cathedral from Alba-Iulia only from the beginning of the sixteenth century on.[65] This

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[61] Elek Jakab, *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története első kötetéhez*, (Buda: Nyomtatott a Magy. Kir. Egyetemi Könyvyomdában, 1870),153, doc. no. LXXXIX.

[62] Franz Zimmermann, Gustav Gündisch eds., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, IV, (Hermannstadt, 1937),461-2, doc. no. 2147.

[63] Carolus Péterffy, *Sacra Concilia Ecclesiae Romano-Catholicae in regno Hungariae celebrata*, I, (Viennae, Austriae: Typis Kaliwodianis, Anno MDCCXLII), 219 and 243.

[64] It was in 1476 that Sixtus IV re-enforced the decision taken at the Council of Basel that imposed the celebration of the feast of the Conception of the Virgin Mary on 8 December throughout the Latin Christendom, see Reames, *Legends*…, and Gabriella Zarri, " L'età rinascimentale", in *Storia della santità nel cristianesimo occidentale*, edited by Anna Benvenuti, Sofia Boesch Gajano, Simon Ditchfield, Roberto Rusconi, Francesco Scorza Barcellona, Gabriella Zarri, (Roma: Viella, 2005), 241-3.

[65] Those serving at the altar of St. Anne have been identified by Géza Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958), 205: *1505, 1506, 1508*

tardiness could be explained, on the one hand, by the late fifteenth-century official approval of Anne's celebration, whilst on the other, it should be noticed that it matches perfectly the timeframe considered to mark the apogee of this cult, namely the decades between 1450 and 1550.[66]

At the same time, there could be other explanations for the delay between the foundations of altars dedicated to the Virgin's Mother in the cathedrals of Oradea and Alba-Iulia. The cathedral in Oradea was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, devotion to the patron saint most likely contributing to the emergence of Anne's cult. Furthermore, as we have seen thus far, both the bishops and the canons became supporters of devotion to Mary's Mother under the influence of the Franciscans, who were highly influential with the royal house of the Angevins. Whilst such an impact is not detectable in the case of the Episcopal See from Alba-Iulia, it is worth remembering that the Transylvanian bishops chose a different path to propagate Anne's cult, more precisely that represented by the network of the religious houses associated to the Order of St. Paul the Hermit. It is most likely that the official approval of the cult of St. Anne, both by papal and synodal decisions taken in the kingdom, decisively contributed to the emergence of this cult in the cathedral of Alba-Iulia as well.

Significantly enough, amongst the most important propagators of this cult there was another Transylvanian bishop, Francis Várdai (1514-1525). In his last will, drafted in 1524, the Bishop lavishly endowed the altar of St. Anne, decided to build a chapel in order to honour the Virgin's Mother and selected it as his burial place.[67] A thorough reading of this testament reveals that like other believers of the late Middle Ages, Francis Várdai revered Anne particularly as Mother of the Virgin. It is precisely this quality which transformed Anne into a valuable intercessor and decisively contributed to the propagation of her cult, as revealed by the foundation the bishop made and the hope for salvation he placed in the religious framework patronized by Mary's Mother.[68]

It is with the help of this last example that the circle of the present enquiry can be closed and several noteworthy research results can be highlighted. Based on the analysis developed thus far, it can be argued that the image of late medieval sainthood was characterized, first and foremost,

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Magister Ambrosius Altaris Beate Anne Matris Marie in eadem ecclesia nostra Albensi fundate Rector; 1512 Domus altaris sancte Anne…; 1518 Thomas sancte Anne.

[66] Ashley and Sheingorn, "Introduction" in *Intepreting...*, 48.

[67] Bunyitay, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház később részei és egy magyar humanista emlékezete,* (Budapest: Magy. Tud. Akadémia, 1893), 27-32.

[68] *Ibidem*, Francis Várdai requested that commemorative prayers should be performed for the salvation of his soul each Tuesday in the chapel of St. Anne.

by a greater employment of saints to various ends. Anne is an excellent illustration of this tendency, as she was revered by pregnant women, families in towns, monastic communities and the clergy. Thanks to the episcopal agency detectable in the course of the fourteenth century, in the Episcopal Sees of both Oradea and Alba-Iulia, it can be claimed that the local manifestations of Anne's cult became an integral part of the enormous popularity of devotion to Mary's Mother across Europe. The church patronage devised by the highest local ecclesiastics, reflected in the dedication of the Poor Clares from Oradea and the monastery of St. Paul the Hermit from Alba-Iulia to Anne, are proof for such integration.

Even more importantly, however, is that the institutional channels used by the bishops in order to propagate Anne's cult were represented by those religious orders that enjoyed great success in the kingdom in the late Middle Ages. The Friars Minor and the Hermits of St. Paul had numerous houses in this region, and their impact in religious life is evidenced by testaments, donations, literary writings and works of art. But this ingenious strategy of disseminating an emerging cult with the help of popular monastic communities, such as the Poor Clares' nunneries, the houses of tertiaries and the monastery of St. Paul, is also relevant from another point of view.

Existing research on St. Anne has shown that the growing popularity of her cult in the timeframe between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries was due to its potential to contribute to ideological formation. When the issue is looked at from this perspective, Anne - as Mary's Mother and Grandmother of Jesus and the Apostles - was an exemplary figure, likely to inspire the conduct of female religious. Furthermore, her key role in the late medieval theology of the Incarnation became, particularly for the Virgin's devotees, as the example of the Hermits of St. Paul reveals, a strong justification for adopting and promoting Anne's cult.

Various influences and ideas about monastic communities as families, the intercessorial abilities of the saints who were in the proximity of Jesus and Mary, as well as the ecclesiastical control of sainthood were interwoven in and made a strong impact on the development of St. Anne's cult. She was everybody's saint in as much as the late medieval economy of salvation required an increasing number of specialized holy helpers. The cult for the Mother of Mary and the Grandmother of Jesus and the Apostles was adapted, through clerical promotion, to the needs of particular religious communities. This process was not only simultaneous with similar ones in other regions of Latin Christendom, but also decisively contributed to the renewal of the cult devoted to a traditional figure of the liturgical calendar.

Saint Corona – the First Patron Saint of Medieval Braşov?

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Abstract: This study wishes to discuss the existence of a cult associated with Saint Corona, an early Christian martyr, in 13th-century Braşov. Preceding the elements of expression characteristic of Marian intercession in the 14th century, the emergence of Coronian devotion in Braşov is suggested by a series of factors related to the first written mention of the town in 1235 – the existence of a monastery belonging to the Premonstratensian Order and the Saxon colonisation of Ţara Bârsei. However, the Mongol invasion from 1241 produced a deep *caesura* in the history of Braşov, marking the dissolution of Saint Corona's cult and the complete disappearance of the devotion in the 14th century, due to the need of the urban community for divine mediation that would better correspond to the challenges of the time. The former presence of Saint Corona in Braşov would, however, be indirectly preserved through at least three different elements – while the German name of Braşov, *Kronstadt*, was clearly derived from its Latin form, *Corona*, and the attribute of this martyr was inserted in the oldest heraldic symbols of the town, the most obvious and interesting evidence nonetheless resided in the orientation of the parish church. Braşov's parish church – whose erection started in 1383-1385 on the site of an earlier church, which had probably belonged to that Premonstratensian monastery and from which the west-east alignment had been preserved – integrated, in its orientation, not the celebration of a feast associated with the Virgin Mary, but the one dedicated to Saint Corona, reserved, in the liturgical calendar, for 14 May.

Keywords: Saxon colonisation, the Premonstratensian Order, relics, parish church, urban development, church orientation

Rezumat: Sfânta Corona – un Prim Sfânt Patron al Braşovului Medieval?
Studiul de faţă îşi propune să discute existenţa unui cult asociat Sfintei Corona, o martiră din perioada creştinismului timpuriu, în Braşovul secolului al XIII-lea. Depăşind elementele de manifestare ale intercesiunii mariane specifice din secolul al XIV-lea, emergenţa unei devoţiuni coroniene la Braşov este sugerată de o serie de factori legaţi de prima atestare documentară a oraşului din 1235 – existenţa unei mănăstiri a Ordinului Premonstratens şi colonizarea săsească a Ţării Bârsei. Cu toate acestea, invazia mongolă din 1241 a produs o cezură profundă în istoria Braşovului, marcând disoluţia cultului Sfintei Corona, pentru ca în secolul XIV-lea acesta să dispară total din cauza aspiraţiilor comunităţii urbane la o intercesiune divină ce ar corespunde mai bine provocărilor vremii. Fosta prezenţa a Sfintei Corona la Braşov se va păstra totuşi indirect prin cel puţin trei elemente diferite: dacă denumirea germană a

oraşului, *Kronstadt*, este derivată în mod evident din cea latină, *Corona*, iar atributul acestei martire s-a păstrat în cele mai vechi însemne heraldice ale oraşului, poate cea mai evidentă şi interesantă mărturie se regăseşte în orientarea bisericii parohiale. Construită începând cu 1383-1385 pe amplasamentul unei mai vechi biserici, aparţinând probabil mănăstirii Premonstratense şi preluând aliniamentul vest-est al acesteia, biserica parohială din Braşov integrează în orientarea sa nu celebrarea vreunei sărbători asociate Fecioarei Maria, ci pe cea a Sfintei Corona, prezentă în calendarul liturgic în data de 14 mai.

Cuvinte cheie: colonizare săsească, Ordinul Premonstratens, relicve, biserică parohială, dezvoltare urbană, orientarea bisericii

Traditionally, divine patronage over the medieval town of Braşov was warranted by the intercession of the Virgin Mary, the protectress of the parish church since as early as 1377. With a unique iconographic representation in entire Transylvania, Marian mediation in favour of both the parish church and the urban community was synthesized through one of the exterior statues that decorate the choir of the Black Church. The statue, dating back to 1430-1440, represents the "Virgin and Child"; at her feet, carved on the base, there is a heraldic shield with a trilobed crown (Fig. 1)[1]. In fact, this representation is nothing else but the heraldic symbol of Braşov – an isolated and open crown with three fleurons shaped like lilies – used in the town seal before 1378 (Fig. 2) and having the following text: *S(igillum) CIVIVM DE CORONA CIVI(tate)*[2].

By placing the heraldic shield at the base of this statue, the urban community established a direct relationship that would ensure its protection and intercession with the divinity. In other words, the town is symbolically placed at the feet of the Virgin Mary. Furthermore, the location of the statue on a buttress facing the town square and the town hall – the heart of urban medieval life – was not made by chance but had the role of reinforcing Marian intercession for the entire town.

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[1] Virgil Vătăşianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Ţările Române. Vol. I. Arta în perioada de dezvoltare a feudalismului*, (Bucureşti, Editura Academiei RPR, 1959), 322.

[2] Harald Roth, *Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen: eine kleine Stadtgeschichte*, (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2010), 55.

Even though all these testimonies seem to clarify the divine protection of medieval Braşov, they were specific only to the 14th century and beyond: in fact, the origins of the town are related to the first half of the 13th century, to 1235, more precisely, when it was first mentioned in documents under the Latin name of *Corona*. Still, the historiography has been much more interested in analysing the Slavic influences on the German denomination of Braşov, *Kronstadt*[3], and less in studying the conspicuous connection between *Corona* and *Kronstadt* and, of course, the origins of this first toponym. One of the most interesting theories, albeit superficially debated by historical studies, suggests that the Latin name of Braşov was connected to the name of an early Christian martyr – Saint Corona.[4] Therefore, this study wishes to discuss the possibility of a direct relation between these two nominal entities, which seem to indicate the existence of a probable Coronian cult in medieval Braşov. Transferred into the official name of the town, thus becoming a hagio-toponym, Saint Corona fulfilled the role of a spiritual protector for Braşov's pre-urban community. The purpose of our study is to explore if and how its occurrence can be argued, as well as the existence and the manifestations of a cult dedicated to Saint Corona in 13th-century Braşov.

Who is Saint Corona?

Few things are known about this martyr and various scientific studies retain the fact that no official hagiography has been identified. The most significant information refers to the common celebration of Saint Corona and Saint Victor, due to their simultaneous martyrdom, somewhere in Egypt (Fig. 3).[5]

Despite the fact that no official hagiographical text is known of, there are though a few scarce details about her life and martyrdom. Saint Corona was the sixteen-year old spouse of a soldier, the brother-in-arms of Victor, who was living in Egypt during the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD). While Victor was suffering from his tortures, Corona comforted and encouraged him, which entailed her being arrested and sentenced to death. Saint Corona's martyrdom involved her being bound to the top of two palm trees that had been previously bent to the ground. Her death occurred when the palm trees were released and returned to their natural position,

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[3] Thomas Nägler, "Transilvania între 900 şi 1300", in Ioan-Aurel Pop, Thomas Nägler (edit.) *Istoria Transilvaniei. Vol. I (până la 1542)*, (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2003), 215-216.

[4] Roth, 15.

[5] Joseph Marie Sauget , "Vittore", in Filippo Caraffa, Giuseppe Morelli (edit.), *Bibliotheca Sanctorum. Vol. XII*, (Roma, 1969), 1279.

Corona's body being torn apart. Saint Victor was subsequently beheaded.[6] Worth mentioning is the attribute of this saint – the crown – sometimes along with representations of those two palm trees, as depictions of martyrdom instruments (Fig. 4). Though she was originally from the Christian East, Saint Corona and Saint Victor are celebrated together in the western liturgical calendar, on 14 May, because a part of her relics were brought to Italy, facilitating thus a continental dissemination of the Coronian cult.[7]

Evidence of the Coronian Cult in the German World and its Migration to Ţara Bârsei

On 27 October 997, Emperor Otto III announced his intention of erecting a Benedictine abbey on the Lousberg, a hill near Aachen, which would be dedicated to "Jesus, Saviour of the World, and Saint Corona". In order to do this, the emperor acquired some of Corona's relics from Otricoli and deposed them into a lead reliquary (Fig. 5) at the Aachen Cathedral until the completion of the monastery and the consecration of a Coronian chapel. However, Otto III died in 1002 and the Coronian co-patronage over the monastery was not carried out in the end. Nevertheless, the relics of Saint Corona remained in the Aachen Cathedral, where, immediately after the death of the emperor, an altar was dedicated to her. In 1691 the episcopal chapter decided to remove her altar and to relocate the relics in the cathedral crypt.[8]

Also in the German world, relics of Saint Corona were attested at Magdeburg for the first half of the 12th century.[9] In 1126 Norbert of Xanten, founder of the Premonstratensian Order, was appointed Archbishop of Magdeburg. While in office, he built here the "Monastery of Our Lady" (in German, "Kloster Unsere Lieben Frauen"), which became a second centre of the order, after Prémontré, with a huge impact on the founding of monasteries and the spreading of Christianity in Central and Eastern Europe.

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[6] Wolfgang Huschner, "Transalpine Kommunikation im Mittelalter. Diplomatische, kulturelle und politische Wechselwirkungen zwischen Italien und dem nordalpinen Reich (9.-11. Jahrhunder)", in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 52 (II), (Hannover: Hansche Buchhandlung, 2003), 691.

[7] Herman Grotefend, *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, 3rd Edition, (Hannover: Hansche Buchandlung, 1991), 106.

[8] Arnold Huttmann, Alfred Prox, "Corona – Zur Entstehungsgeschichte von Kronstadt", in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 9 (I), (Köln, Wien, 1986): 6.

[9] Huschner, 692.

Therefore, it is possible that the Premonstratensians may have contributed to the dissemination of Saint Corona's cult in this part of Europe.[10]

At Bremen, the presence of Saint Corona's relics was attested earlier than in Aachen. In 965, Archbishop Adaldag and Otto I travelled to Italy, whence they brought a large number of relics, including some of Saint Corona's; still, a Coronian chapel in the Bremen Cathedral was confirmed only in 1379. It is assumed that the relics of Saint Corona had been kept together with those of other saints until around 1353, when they were exposed for devotional purposes. Only towards the end of the 14th century did a Coronian devotion develop at Bremen, Saint Corona being depicted in four different representations (Figs. 6-9).[11]

Therefore, we can assert that Saint Corona benefited from a cult that may not have been very prominent but was sufficiently present in some of the most important German ecclesiastical centres from the beginning of the second millennium. From here, it is possible that this cult was disseminated to Central and Eastern Europe, including Transylvania during the Saxon colonisation initiated by the medieval Kingdom of Hungary between the 12th and the 14th centuries. In the interwar period, Richard Huß argued, in an extensive study, in favour of the possibility that the German settlers from Transylvania had brought with them cults of different saints from their homelands, who would become the patrons of their new parish churches.[12] However, Huß did not make any reference to Saint Corona being included among the dedications of the Saxon parish churches from Transylvania.

On the other hand, the German settlement in Transylvania has created, in time, its own historiography, with various points of view, theories and controversies. The process of Saxon emigration to Transylvania was a complex phenomenon and was caused by various motivating factors. Important to us are only the details referring to the geographical origins of the settlers but, due to the lack of written sources, these can be only partly identified. Thus, for a more truthful point of view, the few historical recordings regarding the origins and places of settlement must be

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[10] I would like to thank Professor Dr. Hedwig Röckelein (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen) for the discussion upon the missionary activity of the Premonstratensian Order in Central and Eastern Europe and for some materials used as references in this study.

[11] Alfred Löhr, "Die Heilige Corona und ihre mittelalterlichen Darstellungen in Bremen", in *Bremisches Jahrbuch*, 66 (1988): 48.

[12] Richard Huß, "Die kirchenheiligen in Siebenbürgen, ein aus der Urheimat mitgebrachtes kultureigentum", in *Siebenbürger Sachsen: Landschafts und Kulturbilder*, (Wien: Deutsches Vaterland, 1922), 35-95.

corroborated with elements of material culture and with the results of dialectological research.[13]

The first colonists came to Transylvania from the western regions of the Rhine and settled in the Sibiu area in the second half of the 12th century. In Transylvania, along with the Germans, there also arrived Flemish people, Franconians and Wallons. Together, they created the legal, social and economic bases that were subsequently developed by the next waves of settlers.[14] Up until 1200, the homelands of the Transylvanian Saxons included the entire Archdiocese of Cologne, of which the Diocese of Liège was a part and which penetrated into the Flemish territories and the Westerwald region, going up to Westphalia and the Diocese of Trier (Figs. 10 and 11).[15]

Interesting for our study is one of the few known example of settlers – Hezelo of Mekstein, near Aachen. In 1148 the records of Rode Monastery mentioned that Hezelo had sold his fortune to Klosterrath Abbey in order to move with his family to Hungary. Therefore, we can assert that the news about the possibility of emigration to Hungary was known in the Aachen territory in the mid-12th century. Unfortunately, this example cannot indicate a certain phenomenon of migration to Transylvania, but only to areas in the Kingdom of Hungary.[16]

In the 13th century, the homelands of the Transylvanian Saxons were Saxony, Swabia and Bavaria, the Upper Danube and the Middle Elbe, as the process of emigration from the western parts had not ceased. Starting with the 14th century, Bohemia and Austria became the main reservoir of Transylvanian colonists, but they did not create any new settlements.[17]

Among the territories of the Cologne Archdiocese that represented the main territories of origin of the Transylvanian Saxons, Aachen, which belonged to the Liège dioceses, was probably the most important centre of Saint Corona's cult in the region. Therefore, we cannot exclude the possibility that the Coronian cult might have migrated to Transylvania under the direct influence of those German settlers, but unfortunately there is no written information to sustain this theory.

Nevertheless, a medieval religious transfer form Rhineland to Transylvania was recorded. Thomas Nägler drew attention to Karl Reinerth's studies about two liturgical books from Sibiu and Cisnădie. The

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[13] Thomas Nägler, *Aşezarea saşilor în Transilvania, (*Bucureşti: Editura Kriterion, 1992), 95.

[14] *Ibidem*, 100-101.

[15] Ernst Wagner, *Istoria saşilor ardeleni,* (Bucureşti: Editura Meronia, 2000), 25.

[16] Nägler, *Aşezarea saşilor...*, 76-77.

[17] *Ibidem*, 101-102.

latter demonstrated that these missals had been written after two earlier versions, which were probably brought here by the priests who accompanied the German settlers. The ritual of the Sibiu missal, Reinerth showed, came from west of the Rhine, a territory spreading from Münster and Cologne up to Flanders, while the one from Cisnădie also contained the names of several Bohemian saints. Karl Reinerth believed that these missals indicated the existence of two distinctive groups of settlers. The first one, bigger than the second one, arrived in the Sibiu area during the reign of King Géza II, while the latter group crossed Saxony and Bohemia and eventually settled at Cisnădie.[18] This example shows us that the Transylvanian Saxons brought, indeed, significant religious elements from their homelands. Furthermore, the ritual of these liturgical books originating in Western Rhineland, an area where the cult of Saint Corona could have spread from Aachen, might indicate a way in which Coronian devotion migrated to Transylvania.

Despite all these favourable circumstances for the migration of Saint Corona's cult to Transylvania, Braşov is the only place where we can find significant traces of it. At Braşov, Coronian devotion could arrive only after 1211, when King Andrew II donated Ţara Bârsei to the Teutonic Knights. With extensive royal privileges, the Teutonic Knights had their personal colonisation strategy in this area, but they would only own it until 1225.

In May 1222, Andrew II issued a reconfirmation document for the Teutonic Knights regarding the previous donation. Referring to the inhabitants of Ţara Bârsei, the document stipulated that they were subjected to the knights and, moreover, that in the future, any new resettlement of Ţara Bârsei by royal subjects and "guests" (*hospites*) would be prohibited. The document also mentioned that the guides who would still bring settlers should be handed over to the king and that the colonists should be expelled.[19] On 12 January 1223, Pope Honorius III issued a document in which he mentioned the existence of large numbers of Catholic clergy in Ţara Bârsei and requested that Thomas, Bishop of Eger, should appoint a dean or an archdean there.[20] These two documents are important because they specify that before 1222 the colonists from Ţara Bârsei probably derived from the German population that had previously settled in the Sibiu area and were assisted by a large number of clerics.

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[18] See Karl Reinerth, "Das Heltauer Missale", in *Siebenbürgisches Archiv*, 3 (1963) and idem, "Missale Cibiniense" in *Siebenbürgisches Archiv*, 9 (1972); Nägler, *Aşezarea saşilor*..., 98-99.

[19] *Documente privind Istoria României*, Seria C, Transilvania (forwards *DIR.C*), veacul XI, XII şi XIII, vol. I (1075-1250), (Bucureşti: Editura Academiei RPR, 1951), 184, doc. 130.

[20] *Ibidem*, 195-196, doc. 140.

Therefore, if we accept the possible transfer of Saint Corona's devotion to the Sibiu area, in a similar manner to the two missals, her cult might have migrated to Ţara Bârsei sometime between 1211-1222, probably under the direct influence of the clergy mentioned in January 1223. Nevertheless, in the absence of certain written information, all these aspects must be seen as a series of promising hypotheses that allow us to surmise the ideal trajectory Coronian devotion followed until it reached Ţara Bârsei.

The beginnings of medieval Braşov and proofs regarding the existence of Saint Corona's cult

Braşov's first written mention dates back to 1235, when it appeared under the Latin name *Corona*. However, habitation in this settlement was probably related to the presence of the Teutonic Knights in Ţara Bârsei. A detailed research on the local chronicles from the 16th to the 18th century, in which the recorded foundation year is 1203, set forth the theory that the establishment of Braşov was closer to 1212-1213.[21]

Medieval Braşov developed from several distinctive settlements – *Şcheii Braşovului*, *Blumăna*, *Braşovul Vechi* and the kernel of the upcoming fortified town.[22] Therefore, the first written mention from 1235 referred exclusively to this pre-urban core with the name *Corona*, from which the medieval town would assume its German denomination, *Kronstadt*.

Corona, as a first settlement, was situated in a natural landscape that provided security from three directions, but it was far away from any important road. Until the mid-13th century, the settlement developed gradually and could accommodate 20 to 30 families.[23] The location benefitted from a minimal fortification system, with a stockade that appears to have enclosed a perimeter in which there were probably several buildings, a church, a cemetery and a watchtower.[24]

Regarding the first written mention of Braşov, the name *Corona* appeared in a list of the Premonstratensian monasteries visited by the abbot Friedrich of Hamborn in 1235; this list also contained monastic communities

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[21] Gernot Nussbächer, "Când a fost întemeiată Corona?", in idem, *Din cronici şi hrisoave. Contribuţii la istoria Transilvaniei*, (Bucureşti: Editura Kriterion, 1987), 25-26.

[22] Paul Niedermaier, *Siebenbürgische Stadte: Forschungen zur stadtebaulichen und architektonischen Entwicklung von Handwerksorten zwischen dem 12. und 16. Jahrhundert*, (Bucureşti: Editura Kriterion, 1979), 123.

[23] Niedermaier, *Siebenbürgische Stadte...*, 124-125 and idem, *Der mittelalterliche Städtebau in Siebenbürgen, im Banat und im Kreischgebiet. Vol. I*, (Heidelberg: Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 1996), 229

[24] *Ibidem*, 230.

from medieval Hungary. The original list did not survive; however, a copy was made by Marcus Annaert in 1498, at Ninove Monastery in Flanders, which is why it became known as *Catalogus Ninivensis*. Following the enumeration of the female monasteries from the German Dioceses of Kärnten, Würzburg, Mainz and Münster, the text continued with: *In hungaria assignata est paternitas dyocesis cumaniae Corona dyocesis ultra silvane Villa hermanni.*[25] Therefore, female Premonstratensian monasteries existed in Sibiu and in *Corona*.

Few things are known about the female monastic community from Braşov, its mention in *Catalogus Ninivensis* representing the only written source in this regard. Karl Reinerth believed that the foundation of this monastery was related to the dissolution of the double monasteries in Saxony and Friesland in around 1200. Reinerth considered the possibility that some of the nuns might have been expelled into the areas of Saxon migration, which could explain the emergence of such female monastic communities in Sibiu and Braşov.[26] This observation is important for our study because it links the Saxon colonisation with the existence of these two monasteries. Furthermore, due to the fact that many settlers of Ţara Bârsei originated in the Sibiu area, we can assume the existence of a possible lineage between the monastery from Sibiu and the one from *Corona*. However there is no written source about such a connection, nor is there one suggesting a link with the Premonstratensian centres from Magdeburg, where there existed a cult dedicated to Saint Corona, and Prémontré.

It is certain, though, that the monastery from Braşov did not survive for long, being destroyed by the Mongol invasion in 1241; it did not experience a subsequent revival. In 1270 the General Chapter of the Premonstratensian Order prohibited the future acceptance of nuns amongst its ranks and gave those who were already in the monasteries the choice between the gradual extinction of their communities or entry in other religious establishments.[27] In a list of the Premonstratensian abbeys from Hungary, compiled in 1294 and used at the meeting of the General Chapter from 1320, there were no references regarding the monasteries from Sibiu and

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[25] Huttmann, Prox, 2.

[26] See Karl Reinerth, "Ein bishner unbeachtet gebliebenes Verzeichnis der Klöster des Prämonstratenserordens in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen in der Zeit vor dem Mongolenstrum", in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 77 (1966); Huttmann, Prox, 5.

[27] André Vauchez, "The religious Orders", in David Abulafia (edit.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Vol. V (1198-1300)*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 229.

Braşov.[28] Even so, as Franz von Killyen suggests, the nuns who lived here might have escaped the Mongol invasion and retreated at Ivanič, in Croatia. In 1126, there existed a Benedictine nunnery in Ivanič, but the nuns were banished and replaced by Premonstratensians at the express request of King Béla IV of Hungary. After 1288, the monastic community of Ivanič got smaller and smaller, as per the decision of the General Chapter from 1270, to the extent that by the second half of the 15th century it had become abandoned.[29]

Some interesting information regarding the site of the Premonstratensian monastery from *Corona* was brought by Pavel Binder. He believed that the Cistercian Beguines from Braşov (situated next to the parish church, called "Saint Catherine's court" and mentioned for the first time in 1388) were in fact the successors of the earlier monastic community. Binder started from the assumption that the Premonstratensian establishment from Braşov was in fact a Beguine site patronized by Saint Catherine and contended that after the decline of the Premonstratensians, the supervision of that Beguine court was taken over by the Cistercians from Cârţa, a quite common practice in Europe. Furthermore, Binder believed, in those cases in which Saint Catherine was the patron saint of the Beguines' churches, their founders must have been Premonstratenisans because all the Cistercian monasteries were dedicated to the Virgin Mary.[30]

However, we should make a few remarks on the information brought forth by Pavel Binder. The speculation regarding the existence, in 1235, of a Premonstratensian Beguine court at Braşov would support their immigrant character, probably related to the Saxon migration to Ţara Bârsei, because these lay forms of female association, involving especially widows and unmarried women, appeared in settlements already consolidated as urban centres,[31] whereas *Corona* was, at most, 20 years old at that time. However, Binder started, we believe, from a wrong assumption concerning the patron of this Beguine church because all written sources mentioned the chapel (*capella*) of Saint Catherine and not of a church (*ecclesia*) dedicated to her.[32]

[28] Ioanne Le Paige, *Bibliotheca Praemonstratensis Ordinis, (*Paris, 1633), 341-342; http://books.google.ro/books?id=veridXEVOhQC&printsec=frontcover&hl=de&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=true (15.05.2013).

[29] See Franz von Killyen, "Die Anfänge der Stadtwerdung Kronstadts", in *Siebenbürgisches Archiv*, 17 (1984); Huttmann, Prox, 8-9.

[30] Pavel Binder, "Unele probleme referitoare la prima menţiune documentară a Braşovului", in *Cumidava*, 3(1969): 127-129.

[31] André Vauchez, "Between Virginity and Spiritual Espousals: Models of Feminine Sainthood in the Christian West", in *The Medieval History Journal*, II(1999): 352.

[32] Mária Makó Lupescu, Ileana Burnichioiu, "Mănăstirea călugăriţelor cisterciene din Braşov" in Adrian Andrei Rusu (edit.) *Dicţionarul mănăstirilor din Transilvania, Banat, Crişana şi Maramureş*, (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000), 80.

Furthermore, the traditional patron of the Premonstratensian Order was the Virgin Mary. Therefore, the European practice of the Premonstratensian Beguine courts being taken over by the Cistercians does not have a strong relevance in this case. In addition, the suggestion, proposed by Binder, whereby the Premonstratensian monastery was a preliminary stage of the Cistercian Beguine court appears to be quite uncertain.

On the other hand, Pavel Binder was unaware of some archaeological details pertaining to this location. The most recent archaeological excavations of Saint Catherine's chapel have revealed some important ruins on its eastern side. The chapel had a rectangular plan, a pentagonal apse and stone buttresses on the exterior - the sign of a rib-vault ceiling. The construction, with thick ground foundations of 1,30-1,40 m, an internal width of 7,50 m and an external one of almost 10 m, seemed to resemble the shape of the Cistercian choir from Cârţa (under construction between 1270-1272) and betrayed a Cistercian influence from Braşovul Vechi (the end of the 13th century). These two can be considered useful analogies for dating the chapel.[33] Thus, the building of Saint Catherine's chapel started in second half of the 13th century, after the abandonment of the Premonstratensian monastery and the destructions caused by the Mongol invasions in 1241.

Therefore, the Premonstratensian monastery had already been abandoned and destroyed by the time when the erection of Saint Catherine's chapel started, proving the existence of a caesura between these two religious establishments. Furthermore, the list from *Catalogus Ninivensis* showed a clear enumeration of female monasteries. Comprising Beguines or nuns, the monastic community from *Corona* might have been already established, we believe, when they came here and probably participated in its foundation.

Regarding the dedication of the Premonstratensian monastery, things can at most be presumed due to the lack of written sources. As we said earlier, the patron saint of the Premonstratensian Order was the Virgin Mary but it was a common practice for these monasteries to have a second dedication[34] and, in fact, all monastic orders had a special devotion to the Marian cult.[35] This second patron originated, in most cases, from a cult that may have emerged around some relics preserved in the monastic patrimony.

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[33] Dana Jenei, "Construcţii succesive pe locul Liceului Johannes Honterus din Braşov. Capela Sfintei Ecaterina", in Daniel Nazare (edit.), *In honorem Gernot Nussbächer*, (Braşov: Editura Foton, 2004), 404.

[34] Huttmann, Prox, 5.

[35] Francis Martin Geudens, "Premonstratensian Canons", in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 12, (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911); http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12387b.htm (15.05.2013).

At the meetings of the General Chapter, a genuine exchange market for relics developed among the abbots, so monasteries came in the possession of relics belonging to different saints, even the most distant and little known. This process stimulated the birth of new devotions and their possible transformation into a second dedication of various abbeys.[36]

Maybe the most important aspects regarding the presence of the Coronian cult at Braşov were related to the parish church, today known as the Black Church. The erection of Braşov's parish church began in the Gothic style in second half of the 14th century, probably between 1383 and 1385. However, the church had known an earlier phase, as demonstrated by occasional excavations for installing the heating system in 1937 (Fig. 12). The archaeological excavations revealed two plain tuff walls on a river stone base, attached on the interior to the northern and southern parts of the current foundation of the choir and having the length of two bays. The western extremity of these two walls turned on the interior in a 90º angle and continued towards the west, exceeding the bema. The choir revealed a small limestone wall with a slightly curved line, parallel with the present-day wall of the choir, yet structurally independent from it. The collaterals of the nave showed fragments of foundations, also parallel with the existing walls. These were the general archaeological results from 1937, but the practice of burials inside the church had probably destroyed the old foundations. Therefore, the end of the 14th century witnessed a major reconstruction of the church rather than the erection of an original edifice. The most interesting assumptions regarding these discoveries (actually, not that many) fit the theory that the earlier church had belonged to the Premonstratensian monastery and became a parish church later.[37]

Even if these archaeological evidences were not enough for identifying the ground plan, the elevation, the style or the size of the previous church, it was demonstrated that the Black Church had maintained the orientation of the longitudinal axis of the original building. Furthermore, studies have revealed that the Saxon churches from Ţara Bârsei are the best examples for examining the connection between their west-east alignment and their patron saints because these churches were built in a clear period of time and under well-known architectural influences. It has been noted that the medieval Saxon churches from Ţara Bârsei did not have a perfect eastern orientation and were designed with a precise deviation that would integrate the solar incidence from the feast day of their

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[36] Huttmann, Prox, 5.

[37] Ágnes Bálint, "Biserica Neagră din Braşov – noi propuneri privind cronologia şi contextul construcţiei", in *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 19 (2009): 6-8.

patron saints. In other words, on that specific day, due to the particular orientation of the church, the sun light would fall directly on the choir. However, the orientation theory should not be seen as perfect because of the limitations to which the builders were prone to – their mathematical and astronomical knowledge or the accuracy of the instruments they used for determining the cardinal points.[38]

The erection of the earlier church from Braşov is considered to have been simultaneous with the ones from Prejmer, Hărman, Feldioara and Braşovul Vechi, probably dating back to the first half of the 13th century. The medieval church from Prejmer, which was dedicated to "The Exaltation of the Holy Cross" (14 September) and whose building was connected to the presence of the Teutonic Knights, had a 2º deviation from the alignment that would integrate the solar incidence from its patron's feast day. Still, its orientation was made according to the autumn equinox, due to the proximity of this date in the calendar, rendering this as the most precise west-east alignment from Ţara Bârsei. The church from Hărman was dedicated to Saint Nicholas but the alignment here was made with a small error, due to the transportation of his relics to the feast in Bari (9 May). The church from Feldioara, serving as the headquarters of the Teutonic Knights during their stay in Ţara Bârsei, was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and its axis orientation was made without any mistake, in accordance with the Marian feast of 15 August. The church from Braşovul Vechi had a 1º deviation (which would indicate 27 August) from the alignment that would correspond to the feast of Saint Bartholomew, the patron of the church, on 24 August.[39] Therefore, a 1º deviation would be the equivalent of at least three days.

In the case of the Black Church, which had kept the orientation of the previous edifice, there is an 18º northward deviation and the calculations have shown that this alignment cannot be related with any Marian feast. On the other hand, this orientation matches, with a maximal error of 2º degrees (of six days at most, therefore), the feast day of Saint Corona from 14 May. The error might be due to the distance of the astronomical events of equinox and solstice, which could be taken as reference points for the axis calibration.[40]

Therefore, the most obvious proof for the existence of the Coronian devotion from Braşov lies in the orientation of the 13th-century church, a church that was contemporary with the written source that suggested the

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[38] Alfred Prox, "Die Ostung der Burzenländer mittelalterlichen Kirchen", in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 8 (I)(1985): 27-29.

[39] *Ibidem*, 30-33.

[40] *Ibidem*, 31-32.

presence of this cult. If we accept the theory regarding the presence of the patron's feast day in the church orientation, as was the case of most churches from Ţara Bârsei, then we can assert that Saint Corona was the patron of the church from that homonymous pre-urban core.

However, divine patronage over the parish church from Braşov was assured by the Virgin Mary because the first written document regarding its dedication was dated 5 August 1377. This document was, in fact, a letter of confirmation from Pope Gregory XI for Thomas, the son of the deceased Mathew Szes of Braşov, as the priest of the parish church from Braşov dedicated to the Virgin Mary.[41] As a result, the Marian dedication predated by several years the erection of a new parish church. On the other hand, the changing of a saintly patron might indicate the shifting of tutelage over a church.[42] Thus, in this case, the changing of the dedication might have occurred in the context of a modification regarding the temporal patronage over the church from *Corona*, perhaps without the original building being completed, due to the numerous Mongol invasions until the mid-14th century.[43] As a result, if we accept the possibility that the earlier church belonged to the Premonstratensian monastery, then the changing of the dedication was the natural reaction of the community that took over the abandoned and perhaps extensively damaged church.

Even so, it is difficult to establish when this transformation took place. We can only assert the fact that the church taken over by the community predated the first mentioning of its dedication. Supporting this idea, some written sources confirm the existence of a parish church at Braşov long before 1377. On 30 November 1336, Chanadin, Archbishop of Esztergom, issued a document in which he mentioned Michael, Dean of Braşov (as a reference to the leadership of the Chapter of Ţara Bârsei) and parish priest of Braşov.[44] A document issued at Braşov on 25 April 1342, which referred to a testamentary donation in favour of the local Dominican convent of Saints Peter and Paul, was signed by Michael, the parish priest of Braşov and Dean of Ţara Bârsei, John and Jacob, Comites of Ţara Bârsei and Bistriţa, and four townsmen – Jacob, Herbord, Nicholas son of Thebard and

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[41] *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, Seria C, Transilvania (forwards *DRH.C*), vol. XV, (Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Române, 2006), 294-296, doc. 190.

[42] Helmut Flachenecker, "Reserching <<Patrocinia>> in German-speaking Lands", in Graham Jones (edit.), *Saints of Europe. Studies Twords A Survey of Cults and Culture*, (Doninghton: Shaun Tyas, 2003), 82-83.

[43] Bálint, 6.

[44] *DIR.C*, Veacul XIV, vol. III, 399-401, doc. 309.

Conrad of Ghimbav.[45] A document issued by Stephan, Voyevode of Transylvania, on 18 October 1351 mentioned Nicholas, Dean of Ţara Bârsei and parish priest of Braşov,[46] being present in different documents prior to 1377. Therefore, the existence of a parish church in Braşov may be documentarily traced back to as early as 1336, the church having had at least three different parish priests over the course of 41 years.

Still, the changing of a dedication may be determined not only by the tutelage over a church, but by other factors as well, such as the reconstruction of a ruined church or the preference for a more "famous" patron saint.[47] If the first scenario cannot be applied in this case, the reconstruction succeeding the first written mention about the patron of the church, the preference for the Marian intercession may be closely related with the urban development of Braşov, especially after the mid-14th century. The document from 25 April 1342 used a terminology that was specific to the urban administration system, the four townsmen being regarded as members of an incipient town council. On 28 March 1353, King Louis I of Hungary confirmed the old privileges for the citizens of Braşov,[48] and on 23 June 1358, a document stated that the leadership of the town was ensured by a *magister civium* and several senators, without their name and number being specified.[49] The increasing commercial importance of Braşov led to its growing administrative role in Ţara Bârsei, which is why on 19 November 1377, the king reconfirmed the subordination of thirteen Saxon villages from Ţara Bârsei to Braşov (Ghimbav, Cristian, Râşnov, Vulcan, Codlea, Feldioara, Măieruş, Rotbav, Hălchiu, Hărman, Sânpetru, Bod and Prejmer), in which the urban magistrate had full authority.[50]

An important event that marked the religious life of medieval Braşov was the disagreement between the Chapter of Ţara Bârsei and its dean Nicholas, the parish priest from Feldioara, who held the meetings of the chapter in his parish church and not in the one from Braşov, as the tradition required. In order to solve the conflict, Demetrius, Archbishop of Esztergom, cardinal and legate of the Apostolic See in Hungary, intervened and ordered Nicholas on 1 September 1377 to stop these abuses.[51] The disagreement appears to have been settled quickly because on 20 October 1380, the Chapter

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[45] *DIR.C*, Veacul XIV, vol. IV, 73, doc. 74.

[46] *DRH.C*, vol. X, 66-67, doc. 69.

[47] Huttmann, Prox, 11.

[48] *DRH.C*, vol. X, 192-196, doc. 181.

[49] *DRH.C*, vol. XI, 297, doc. 287.

[50] *DRH.C*, vol. XV, 343-346, doc. 214.

[51] *Ibidem*, 614-617, doc. 405.

of Ţara Bârsei pledged before the urban magistrate that it would safeguard spiritual peace in Ţara Bârsei and convene the chapter meetings in Braşov. On the other hand, the magistrate of Braşov promised that it would obey the Chapter in all ecclesiastical matters and pay the tithes.[52]

Therefore, we can observe a gradual development of Braşov which led not only to the establishment of a typical medieval town, but also to the development of a vibrant community that lived in it and constantly transformed it. Based on the information we have at this point, we believe that the preference for the Marian intercession might have been the conscious choice of a dynamic urban community that lived in 14th-century Braşov.

Despite the fact she had been an early Christian martyr, Saint Corona remained an almost unknown figure in the history of Christianity, except for a few rather scattered devotional cults. However, we believe it is plausible that her cult emerged at Braşov, under the direct influence of the Saxon colonisation, especially because of the connections we have identified between Saint Corona and the homelands of the Transylvanian Saxons, on the one hand, and the Premonstratensian centre from Magdeburg, on the other hand. Due to its low reputation and the Mongol invasion of 1241, which destroyed the Premonstratensian monastery from Braşov, the Coronian devotion faded during this century, in the absence of a factor that would have sustained it. The "coup de grace" of Saint Corona's cult in Braşov occurred when the previous church, which had probably belonged to the Premonstratensian monastery, was overtaken by the urban community in two subsequent stages. Firstly, there was a changing of the church's dedication, suggested by the west-east alignment of the Black Church. Secondly, the overtaking was also marked by a grand reconstruction of the parish church so that the new structure would be worthy of its patron – the Virgin Mary – and correspond to the new social and political challenges of 14th-century Braşov.

During the 13th and 14th centuries, the local community of Braşov designed a complex mechanism for the assignment of a patron saint, which was set in motion by two factors – the ecclesiastical phylum of the local church and the urban development of *Corona*. In other words, we may distinguish two essential phases in the early evolution of Braşov through the church dedications that might have succeeded here. Saint Corona, to whom the monastic church of the Premonstratensians was probably dedicated, was the patron of that pre-urban settlement; hence, the hagio-toponymical value of its denomination. On the other hand, the Virgin Mary became the patron saint of a parish church that belonged to a rising urban community.

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[52] *Ibidem*, 784-788, doc. 504 and doc. 505.

We believe that the transition between these two stages might be indicated by the changing of the ecclesial dedication and the transformation of the previous church into a parish one.

As a result, the Coronian devotion is bound to have disappeared during the 14th century. Even so, the memory of this martyr survived indirectly in at least two different forms. Firstly, the iconographical attribute of Saint Corona – the crown – is maintained in the heraldic symbols of Braşov, the oldest surviving urban seal dating back to around 1378. Secondly, the German denomination of Braşov, *Kronstadt*, is obviously derived from the Latin name of that pre-urban core, *Corona*, even though its initial sense and origin were forgotten and the name was resignified as "city of the crown".[53]

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Fig. 6. Saint Victor and Saint Corona, pew sculpture from Bremen Cathedral (before 1366);

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[53] Gernot Nussbächer, "Începuturile oraşului Braşov", in idem, *Caietele Corona. Contribuţii la istoria oraşului Braşov. Vol. V*, (Braşov: Editura Aldus, 2006), 16.

(source: Alfred Löhr, „Die Heilige Corona und ihre mittelalterlichen Darstellungen in Bremen" în *Bremisches Jahrbuch*, 66, Bremen, 1988, p. 49)

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(source: Ágnes Bálint, „Biserica Neagră din Braşov – noi propuneri privind cronologia şi contextul construcţiei" in *Ars Transsilvaniae*, XIX, Cluj-Napoca, 2009, annex II).
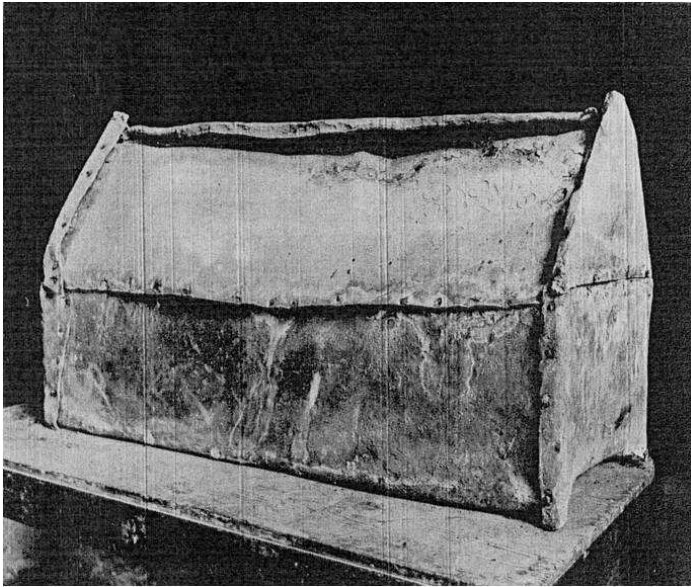
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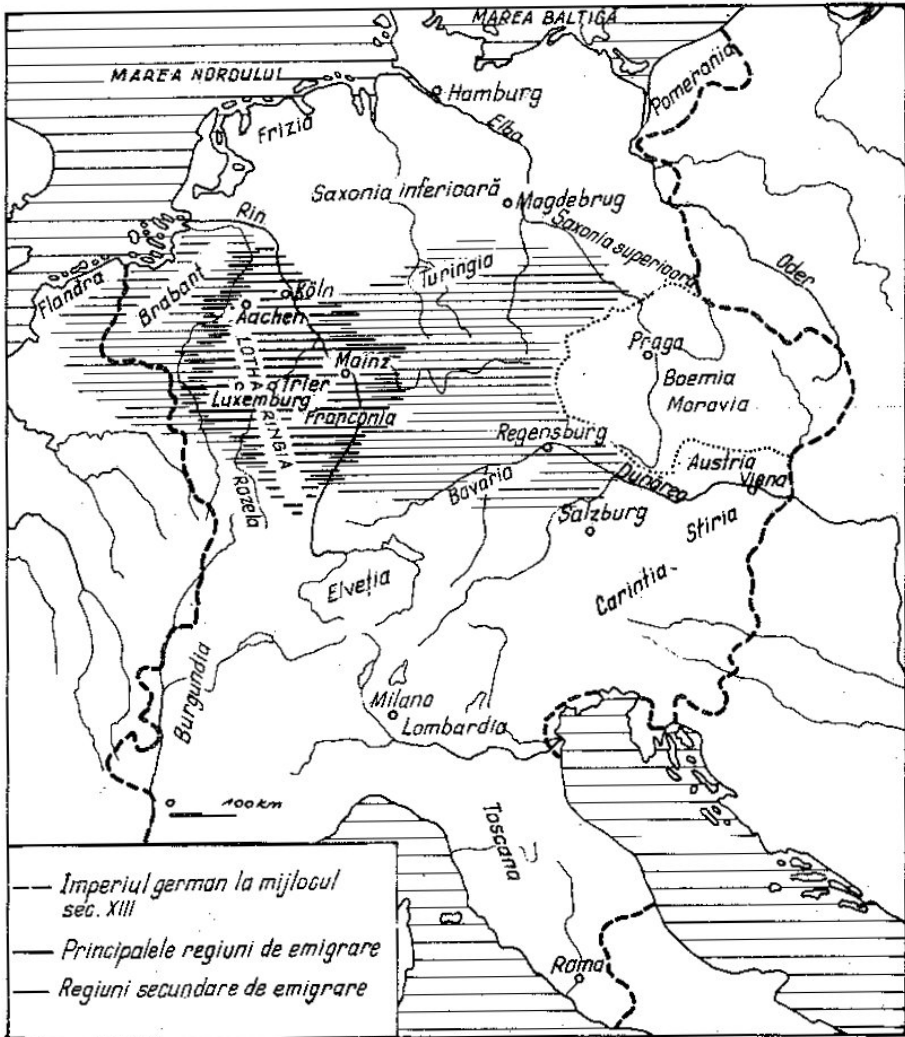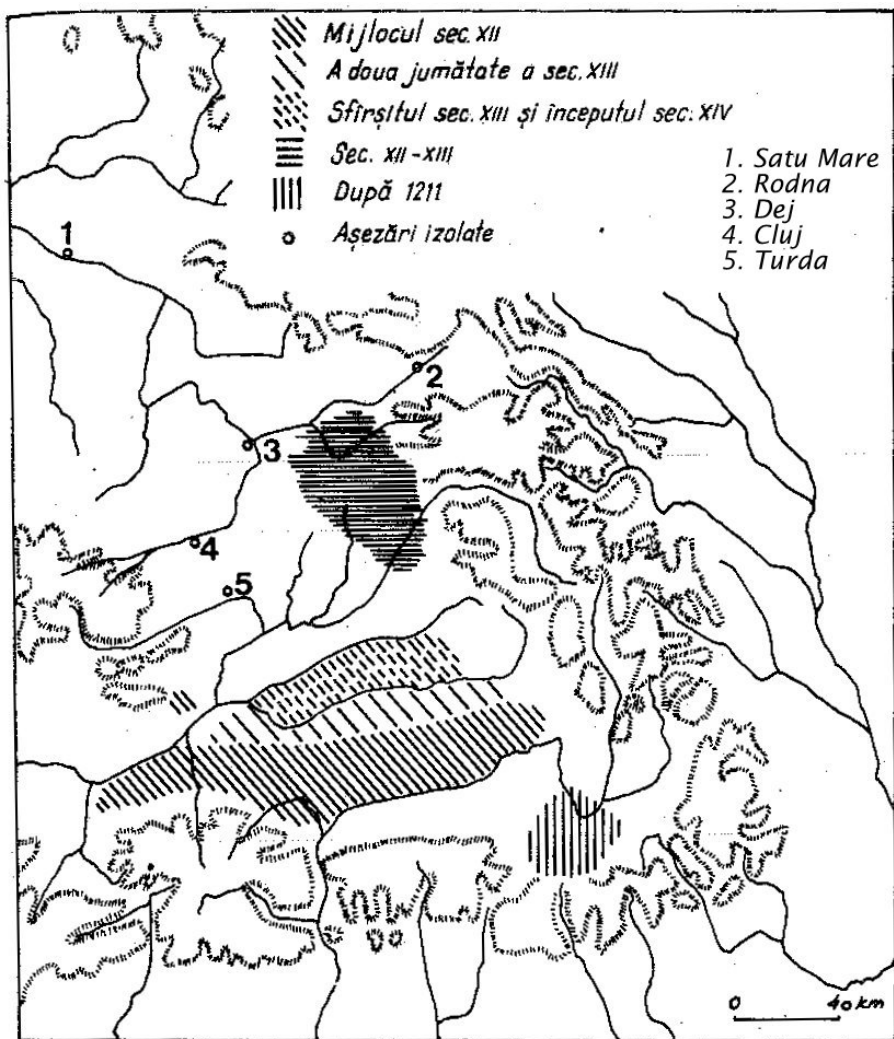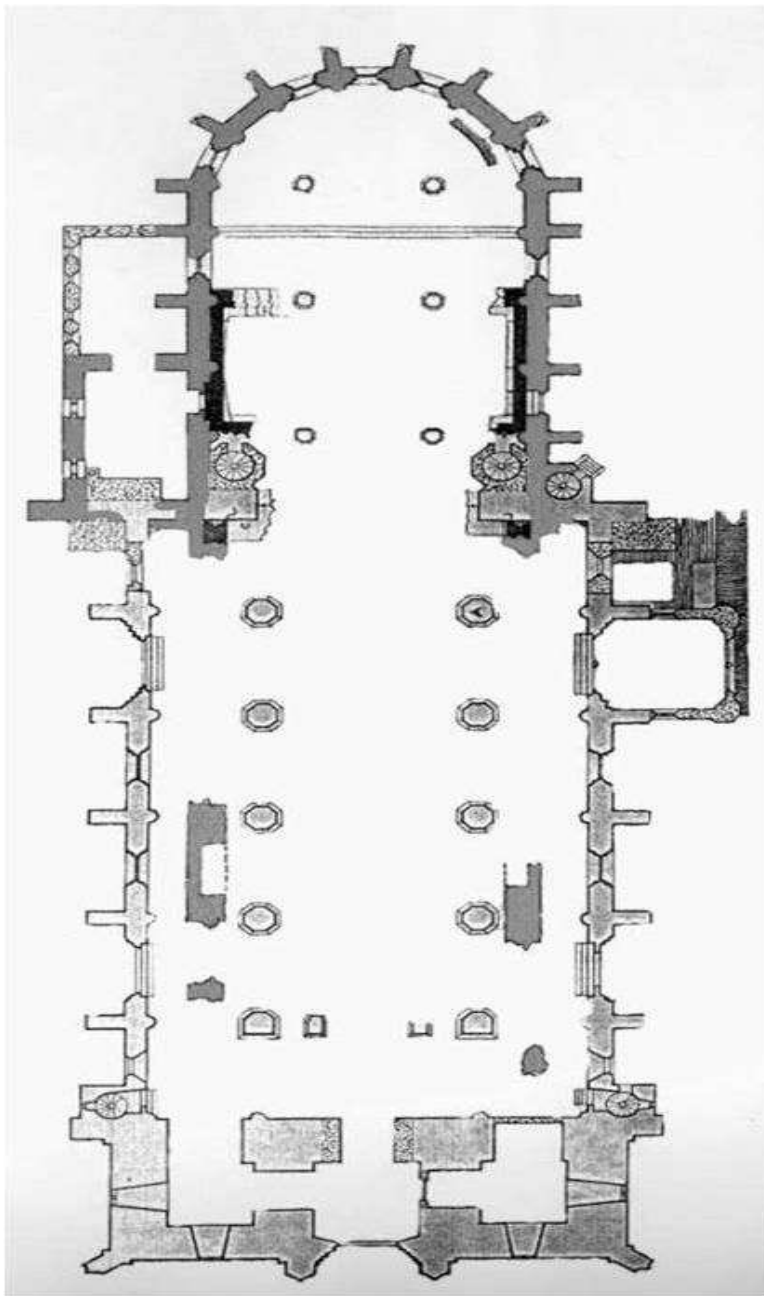
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Book Reviews

Marian Coman, *Putere şi teritoriu. Ţara Românească medievală (secolele XIV-XVI)***, Polirom, Iaşi, 2013, 357 pp.**

The author of this book sets out to demonstrate that medieval Wallachia, far from being a well integrated and territorial state, was a form of rulership characterized by personal ties between the rulers and various social groups. At first sight, this is a commonplace: it is known that premodern polities were characterized by loose territoriality and personal relationships between rulers and (some of the) ruled. Yet, most of Romanian historians, although acknowledging in principle the premodern character of medieval Wallachia, treated it in their writings as a modern, territorially articulated from of power. Hence, the principal merit of Marian Coman is that he exposed and cogently contested the assumption of a territorial, quasi-modern Wallachian state in the middle ages.

The book is organized in two parts, each of them containing four chapters. The first part is entitled "The Geography of Power" and discusses how the Wallachian princedom understood the land over which it ruled. Each of the four chapters refutes – from a different angle – the idea of territorial power in favor of a "power defined socially". Marian Coman's demonstration combines diplomatic analysis, interpretation of the content of the documents and the rough estimation of the frequency of a certain types of documents over a certain time span. The first chapter shows that the princes held no territorial conception of their power. The references to "country" or the claim of rule over "the entire country" in the princely titles had no juridical sense, being rhetorical formulas determined by the presumed audience of the charters; besides, "country" (ţara), from the titles of the Wallachian princes, refers to a political community, not to a territory (1.1, 1.2.); the horse-tax (*darea calului* or *calul*) was an inheritance tax paid by the princely ministers and reflects no princely *dominium eminens* over the entire land of the country, as it was often interpreted (1.3.); finally, the basis of the medieval fiscal system was not the land but the community. Chapter 2 is about the relationship between laic and ecclesiastical geography. It argues – in a similar fashion with the first two sections of the chapter one – that the title "prince of the entire Ungrovlahia" has no territorial connotations but it was borrowed from the title of the metropolitan and was meant to underline the belonging to the Byzantine commonwealth. Chapter 3 deals with the problem of the internal administrative divisions of medieval Wallachia, the counties, and is the most interesting. Rejecting the long held belief of a neat continuity between the pre-state regions and the counties – that is, the existence of the counties from the very beginning of the Wallachian state – Marian Coman argues that the counties emerged late (16th century), as fiscal instruments and mainly as a result

to the increased fiscal pressure of the Ottoman Empire. The last chapter of the first part (chapter 4) discusses the relationship between the princedom and the boyars from the margins of Wallachia and shows that the princedom was more present in the western part and almost absent from the eastern margin until the 16th century; in other words, the territorial construction of Wallachia, was geographically differentiated, far from the image of less even and systematic extension.

The second part of the book, similarly divided in four chapters, concentrates on the problem of frontiers. The theoretical premise of this part is that the pre-modern perception of the space was discontinuous and that the traditional geography was interested more in centers than in frontiers; the latter were not sharp dividing lines but regions where the control of the states was weak and identities blurred (chapter5). The following three chapters Marian Coman demonstrates this premise in the Wallachian case, by careful analyses of the frontier with Moldavia (chapter 6), the Carpathian frontier with Transylvania (chapter 7) and the Danube frontier with the Ottoman Empire (chapter 8). If the princedom had little interest in defining and controlling a fixed frontier line, it focused its energies on the trade routes at the passes of the Carpathians and the fords of the Danube. Hence, the border consisted less in a line than in a series of points where the custom officials were cashing the tolls. All in all, a certain solidification of the frontier lines is detectable only after 1600, first in the zone of the Carpathian Mountains.

By this multifaceted critique, Marian Coman not only convincingly rejects the image of a territorial medieval Wallachian state but also overturns another thesis dear to the Romanian historians: an initially strong Wallachian state whose power was eroded by the Ottoman pressure and the internal strife among boyar factions. Instead, Marian Coman posits the initial existence of a political construction defined in social terms – as rule over communities – and not in territorial terms. The power of the princes was weak and covered the Wallachian soil unevenly. This socio-political construction gave way in the 16th century to a territorial-political construction in which the princes' power over people and land was much consolidated – although their power vis-à-vis the Ottoman Porte was much diminished.

Marian Coman's book certifies author's vast knowledge of his field and it gives the impression of exhaustive documentation. The author marshals an enormous amount of primary and secondary sources to make his point. Although his focus is on Wallachia between 1300 and 1600, he frequently discusses documents, legal texts, chronicles and modern scholarship that exceed the geographical and chronological limits of his study. Additionally, he is acquainted with the up-to-date literature on state formation and territoriality. When it comes to the literature on Wallachia, he reviews not only the works of the greatest historians, but also the more obscure contributions. At times, the book reads like samples from a text-book of historical methods; every problem

is introduced by a summary of the state of the art; every position expressed in the literature is scrutinized with a critical eye and every argument is assessed in terms of consistency; every critique that the author makes is supported by a list of objections; every problem is looked at from different angles and every point is meticulously documented and usually backed by a list of arguments; finally, the author intelligently avoids the supra-interpretation of scarce data and the chain of hypotheses in which one undemonstrated hypothesis becomes the basis of a statement.

Its incontestable merits aside the book exhibits some punctual weaknesses. First and foremost, the author consciously gave up the occasion to delineate his concepts of territory, territorialization and territorial state at the beginning of the book. Besides the oddity of this choice – oddity because of the theoretical awareness of the author - this lack of clarity will resurface in the book and subvert a part of his argument. For instance in the subchapter 1.3 Marian Coman demonstrates that the thesis of *dominium eminens* held by Wallachian princes is false and hence the idea of a territorially articulated power of the Wallachian princes is untenable; to demonstrate this he analyzes the so-called horse-tax (*dare calului*) and shows that far from indicating the lordship of the prince over the entire land of the country (i.e. *dominium eminens*), it was a tax on inheritance which cemented the patronage links between prince and princely ministers. So, he concludes that "the princely power was grounded not in the lordship over land, but in the personal ties between the princedom and certain social groups". Yet he fails to show how *dominium eminens* is related to the idea of territorial state. Surprisingly, Marian Coman commits the same error which he so poignantly criticizes throughout his book: he confuses land with territory. As he makes clear in the introduction, land becomes territory only when "a man or a community cuts out a certain piece of land, giving it a certain meaning" (p. 11)? But the claim of a superior right to the land – as the notion of *dominium eminens* presupposes – has nothing to do with clear definition and routine control specific to the territorial states. Should we understand that the medieval monarchies of the Western Europe were territorialized just because the monarch enjoyed *dominium eminens*? Do they exclude the type of personal-ties state posited by Marian Coman? The answer is obviously negative. So, even if Wallachian rulers would have possessed the eminent lordship over other lordships, it would still have been impossible to say that their political construction was territorial.

Secondly, the author fails to address an important question regarding the emergence of the counties. Marian Coman adheres to a constructivist theory of a territory: he argues that the counties did not exist from the very beginning of Wallachia, as continuations of the regions and entities which preceded the establishment of the principality, but were constituted by administrative practices. More precisely, the counties were formed by the fiscal operations of the state apparatus. The arguments which he brings forth are compelling: the

counties appear very late in the documents and then, only in a fiscal context; the local officials are never mentioned with county jurisdiction until the later part of the 16th century; some regions mentioned in the documents have never become counties, while some counties have disappeared; moreover, some older local designations reappeared in the 18th century as subdivisions of the – by now – well established counties. In short, there was a gradual suppression of the traditional geography by the administrative, state-imposed one. Yet there is a problem with this – otherwise convincing - line of argumentation. If the counties were "ad-hoc fiscal circumscriptions", if their primary function was fiscal, why were they designated with a judicial term (*județ*) instead of a fiscal one? Wouldn't be natural for an administrative tool arisen in a fiscal context to be designated by a word derived from that context? Besides, if the counties were initially ad-hoc jurisdictions, that means that their boundaries were highly unstable and conflicts of jurisdiction had to be frequent. Yet the documents – as far as Marian Coman shows – do not indicate such conflicts. These two observations do not invalidate the argument of the author with regard to the making of the Wallachian counties, but represent two anomalies which his explanatory scheme leaves out.

Thirdly, the author seems to exaggerate somehow the modernity of the Wallachian state at the end of the 16th century. When discussing the problem of the administration of the customs (pp. 224-225), the author shows that in the 16th century the documents cease to mention tax-farmers and refer almost exclusively to princely officials entrusted with the cashing of the afferent incomes. So, he concludes that these documents "suggest a direct princely administration, through princely officials of the custom points" situated at the mountain passes. Yet the farming out of the customs did not disappear; at most it could have been temporarily overtaken by the princedom, as in the case of other revenues. But the customs were farmed out even in the 19th century.

These critical remarks and reserves are punctual and they do not diminish the originality and the importance of Marian Coman's work. In a richly documented and rigorously argued book he has revisited a topic investigated by some of the most important Romanian historians. As it is, the book constitutes a new reference work for those studying the organization and exercise of power in medieval Wallachia. For this the author deserves our thanks.

<div align="right">MIHAI OLARU</div>

***Diversity and Dissent. Negotiating Religious Difference in Central Europe, 1500–1800,* eds. Howard Louthan, Gary B. Cohen, Franz A. J. Szabo, New York, Berghahn Books, 2011, ISBN 978-0-85745-108-8, 240 p.**

The book edited by Howard Louthan, Gary Cohen and Franz Szabo is the result of two conferences held in Minnesota and Edmonton. It focuses on the Early Modern Era (1500-1800) and represents an "updated" approach as confessionalization, religious identity, diversity, and tolerance are among the most researched topics in the last few decades. It is an American/European approach whose target is to go beyond the national limits of historiography. The area is defined in the title as "Central Europe", but regions such as Eastern Poland (Brest) and, to some extent, certain parts of the Habsburg Monarchy would be rather in East-Central Europe [Ostmitteleuropa]. Thus, "peripheral" regions such as Transylvania will not find their place into this book.

Thematically, we may observe a variety of approaches, from a general view on Early Modern religious diversity with comments and a concise analysis of the essays in the introduction (Howard Louthan) and general approaches on [in]tolerance and reconciliation (Paul W. Knoll, David M. Luebcke, Thomas A. Brady), to more detailed case-studies such as the Catholics and Orthodox in Brest or Jews and confessionalization in Strasbourg.

Petr Mata, an expert in Early Modern Bohemian nobility, addresses the role of the high nobility and Reformation in Bohemia, with special focus on "confessional borders". Thus, Mata indicates the different stages of conversions, such as the Hussite wars, the "weak" Jagellonian reign, the conversion to Protestantism and the subsequent catholicization after the famous White Mount battle. Very interesting is the "confessional awareness" and confessional borders, which in the beginning were not defined since "crossing confessional divides" was common among the Bohemian nobility. Nevertheless, in the future, it is worth extending this topic not only to Bohemia, but also to Transylvania (Cluj/Kolozsvár would be an emblematic example). Paul W. Knoll shows that Polish tolerance was rather grounded on the political and social reality, although certain advocates of religious tolerance did exist; meanwhile David Luebke provides the model of Westfallian confessional coexistence. Robert von Friedenburg examines the meaning of *cuius region, eius religio* in Protestant Germany, and Thomas Brady refers to "convivencias" in the case of the Holy Roman Empire. Mikhail V. Dmitriev's article refers to the Union of Brest, a "cultural misunderstanding" created by an outside actor, which "destroyed" the existing rapports between Catholics and Orthodox. Alexander Schunka speaks of the circumstances of the reconciliation in the eighteenth century by providing some notable examples. Regina Pörtner considers the thesis of confesionalization by focusing on the crypto-protestants and their books.

An important contribution in this book is the essay by the well-known Austrian scholar Ernst Wangermann, who shows that the Edict of Tolerance

was rather for Lutherans, Calvinits and Orthodox, but not other denominations. The book edited by Howard Louthan, Gary B Cohen, Franz A. J. Szabo certainly fills a gap in the European and American historiography. Nonetheless, a study on the Hungarian and Transylvanian diversity will be welcome in the future in order to explain that the "Eastern Switzerland" was much more complex than the theoretical tolerance enacted through the famous Diets of Turda/Torda.

SEVER CRISTIAN OANCEA

Thomas Willard Robisheaux, *L'ultima strega*, **Milano-Torino: Bruno Mondatori, 2013. 345 p.**

Thomas Willard Robisheaux, a name that is little known in the Romanian milieus, is a Professor at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina, as well as Acting Chair of the Department of History from the same institution. His areas of interest and expertise exceed, however, the boundaries of the United States, Professor Robisheaux being an authority on early modern European history, with a focus on the Central European space and on aspects of social and cultural history, touching on topics such as: religion and society in the age of the Reformation, magic, religion and science during the Renaissance, the rural society in early modern Germany, etc.

The work under review here - *L'ultima strega*, whose most recent edition was published in March 2013, translated into Italian by Pierluigi Micalizzi from the original that came out under the title *The Last Witch of Langenburg. Murder in a German Village* in 2009 - aims to reconstitute the destiny of the last witch from the German region of Hohenlohe, with all the implications and impact that her trial created. Retracing the narrative thread of the stories surrounding Anna Elisabeth Schmieg's case of 1672, which are still in circulation, the author raises a series of questions: Who was Anna Schmieg? What was the course of her life? Why did she come to be suspected of witchcraft? What materials were examined by the experts in her case? Or why were the names of important personalities from that time mentioned in the case of a witch from Hürden? What made them get involved? The answers shed light on a murder story, the story of a family, of a community and an era.

The book is divided into eighteen chapters, which seem to be the pieces of a case, as the chapters retrace, step by step, the legal action that was triggered by the suspicious death of a woman, Anna Fessler, and the life of the one who had allegedly committed what was eventually proved to have been a murder. The structure, however, is not linear, for besides presenting the events, with some retrospective examinations, the author stops, here and there, to explore, for instance, the biographies of the actors in the story, or to provide additional

explanations and historically analyse the data. All these genuine offshoots of the demonstration converge towards the same goal: recreating a world and making it understandable to the public, as the author himself states in the preface.

In a nutshell, the story begins with the events of 20 February 1672, the day of Shrove Tuesday, when Eva Kustner, the daughter of the miller from Hürden and of Anna Schmieg, presented their neighbours with some cakes: some reacted with reservations, but Anna Fessler, a young mother, enjoyed the gift which, in just a few hours, brought about her death. The autopsy led to the idea that the woman had been poisoned. This sudden, unexpected death created suspicions, and the idea of witchcraft was soon advanced as a possibility, even though von Gülchen, who was in charge of the trial, did not venture to make such assumptions from the very start and avoided approaching the case as a heinous crime. Concluded in November 1672, the trial encountered constant difficulties and twists, moments of maximum tension that disturbed the already precarious balance of the miller's family, ultimately leading him to ruin and reactivating collective fears. It is useless to insist in any further detail on the content of these chapters and building an argumentative framework would be far-fetched, given that the book itself does not comply with the typical stages of a demonstration. It is worth noting, however, a few conclusions. The entire contents of the book outline an image of the German rural world at the end of the seventeenth century, a world caught between, on the one hand, the mechanisms of modernity, set into motion by the authorities and, on the other hand, sensitivities and beliefs that were still reminiscent of the medieval period. This was a world undergoing transformation, in which witchcraft was able to produce anxiety and social disorders, which condemned witchcraft, not from the standpoint of a rationality that delegitimized the power of such practices, but from a religious perspective, which was perhaps just as fraught with superstitions. Yet there were scientific tools available in this world, which had kept improving and were concerned with changing the legal and political paradigms. The triumph of modernity, if we were to use a cliché that has not yet completely been voided of meaning, is visible in the events that followed the trial, in the involvement of the authorities in the restoration of order, which are described in the last part of the book.

While the story and the case under study here are notable innovative contributions, it all does not stop here. On a conceptual level, the work covers several interesting issues, by reconsidering the meanings of various terms as they were configured in the sources of the time and by observing the evolution and history of different concepts. An interesting case is that of the term "witchcraft," sometimes related to magic, Satanism or superstition, at other times with obscenity or blasphemy, understood in completely different keys by the secular authorities, the church representatives, the legal establishment and the person accused of practising it. To these were added concepts pertaining to the field of law, an example being the word "case."

Methodologically, the work is situated in the field of microhistory: Professor Robisheaux's interest, in this respect, is evinced by his theorisation attempts, which he has presented in a series of conferences held over the past few years and which are the subject of an ongoing project, *The Craft of Microhistory*, a survey of practices that have turned microhistory into an innovative and popular historical method. As shown above, *L'ultima strega* reconstructs, step by step, the trial of Anna Schmieg and her life and family narrative, presenting details whenever the sources allow it. It is a process in which the evidence always is or appears to be inconclusive or insufficient, which entails the need for more solid foundations, translated into the quest for new evidence and testimonies, as well as for surprising documentary sources available to the historian. But the author's effort to acquire information exceeds the generosity of the sources that make up the file itself. Thus, the author has also consulted church archives, parish registers, civil registers, sermons, legal documents relating to previous cases of witchcraft or other crimes that the protagonists of this story were charged with, and administrative documents or acts related to economic matters. To these must be added a long list of period writings, works printed in the 16th and 17th centuries, covering diverse fields that range from medicine to law, religion or politics, fostering an awareness of the intellectual and cultural climate of the time, a way of understanding certain concepts and relating to various issues. What is highlighted thus is the multi- and interdisciplinary nature of this book. Because the reported and analysed cases require it or compelled by his own rigorousness, Thomas Robisheaux explores aspects pertaining to the history of medicine (how an autopsy was performed, the functioning of medical devices, the state of knowledge in anatomy, medical debates, etc.), family history (the relationship between parents and children, the role of women in the family and the household, marriage, inheritance and property management, the attitude to premarital relations), religion (the stance adopted by Lutheranism on various sins, the church's mechanisms of intervention in society, doctrinal issues), the history of the book (the writings available to the clergy, the contents of various collections and libraries, like the one of the court of Langenburg, the dissemination of writings relating to witchcraft, etc.), economic history (rural economy, property, occupations, etc.).

It is worth noting that the American historian's book is only the end product of an extensive project he has systematically conducted for more than ten years. Specifically, besides identifying and accessing sources in archives (Hohenlohe-Zentralarchiv, Stadtsarchiv Hall- Schwäbisch Hall, Evangelisches Landeskirchliches Archiv – Stuttgart) and libraries (Langenburg Hof-Prädikatur Bibliothek, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen, Bodleian Library, Lilly Library, etc.), this has meant analysing and interpreting them, finding a suitable way of presenting the material, as well as delivering seminars on the story of Anna Schmieg to the students from Duke University. The historian's workshop,

however, remains deliberately hidden to the public eye, on account of the method he has used and his willingness to facilitate the access of a wide audience to his book; thus, the specialised explanations and remarks are confined exclusively to the endnotes. The writing is, at least apparently, detached, betraying, to a certain extent, the refusal to be constrained by scientific rigidity, which does not, however, mean a relinquishment of the work's scientific character. The discourse is remarkably fluid and the flow of the narrative and the reconstruction, which also entails the flux of reading, is marked by gradations, rhythm breaks, dense passages, alternations between descriptive sequences and dynamic accounts, all creating a well-balanced and carefully-drafted narrative. Without, however, being a simple narrative or detective work, as the author himself is aware, this formula is capable of answering the needs and interests of a wide variety of readers.

In conclusion, the work of the historian Thomas Robisheaux provides an experience of knowledge, coupled with an experience of reading, as it offers a model of laying out scientific data in a way that makes them accessible and attractive to a wide audience. Starting from a situation of lived life, the author recreates a story and an era, rendering the phenomenon of witchcraft and the early modern German world comprehensible. It is, all in all, a provocative reading experience, a dense reconstruction that is full of dramatism, a challenge to the reader's critical spirit, as well as a way of writing generous history.

PAULA COTOI

The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718, **ed. Charles Ingrao, Nikola Samardžić, and Jovan Pešalj. Central European Studies. West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2011**

Research on the history of the Habsburg Monarchy starts as a linguistic challenge due to the territorial composition of this European empire. The situation has been complicated during the past century, as the emergence of multiple nation-states within what used to be Habsburg borders led to the development of rich historiographical traditions in languages such as French, Hungarian, German, Italian, Polish, Romanian, Serbian, Ukrainian, and so on. Specialists attempting to write encompassing histories of the Habsburg lands have to rely on secondary sources such as this collection of studies.

The anniversary of 290 years since the signing of the Habsburg-Ottoman Passarowitz peace treaty (1718) was the perfect opportunity to convene an international conference in the town of Požarevac (Passarowitz). This event was organized at the initiative of a group of professors and PhD

students from the University of Belgrade, the director of the National Museum of Požarevac, Milorad Djordjevic and renowned Habsburg specialist, Charles Ingrao. The studies published in the collection *The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718* were presented at this 2008 event.

The first section of this book, "General Outlook," opens with Ingrao's plea to reevaluate the age of empires in southeastern Europe as including long periods of "peaceful and mutually beneficial coexistence" (3). After Passarowitz, the demographic composition of the new Habsburg-Ottoman borderlands transformed as a result of both extensive migration and deliberate imperial colonizing projects. Moreover, Vienna extended its Military Border and increased the authority of the Aulic War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*) and Aulic Treasury (*Hofkammer*) in these newly conquered eastern lands. Ingrao considers the Habsburg refusal to further infringe in the Ottoman territories as partially responsible for the rise of nation-states, such as Serbia and Romania. In his words, "by bringing together most if not all of the Serbs and Romanians under a single enlarged empire, Vienna would have preempted the formation of the magnet states centered in Belgrade and Bucharest that would ultimately undermine the monarchy's territorial integrity" (7). He considers the Passarowitz peace treaty a missed opportunity. Nikola Samardžić presents a detailed chronology of the Habsburg-Ottoman confrontations from the end of the seventeenth century to the 1739 Treaty of Belgrade. This synthesis of political developments offers readers a general framework for the other studies included in the volume. Martin Peters promises an analysis of how German scholars presented the Peace of Passarowitz between 1718 and 1829, in an attempt to reconstruct these intellectuals' "mental maps" (39). However, this study offers too brief glimpses of possible directions of interpretation. Peter oscillates between analyzing the impact of Passarowitz on the field of European Peace Studies, discussing various translations and interpretations of the treaty's text, and examining the Western European geographical understanding of south-eastern Europe. His conclusion that "Enlightenment historians did not succeed in thinking of Serbia as an independent nation as a state, or as an autonomous order" (46) projects into the past the contemporary geography of the area.

The second section of the volume, "International Relations, Diplomacy, and Warfare" starts with a study by Harald Heppner and Daniela Schanes, who reevaluate Passarowitz as a turning point in the development of the "Eastern Question." These Austrian scholars do a close reading of the treaty's articles and connect them to later developments within the Viennese rulers' lands. For example, they consider article 13 responsible for the revival of trade between the Balkans and Habsburg territories (56). Egidio Ivetic challenges the interpretation of 1718 as the beginning of the end for the Republic of Venice. He argues that 1718 was a turning point for this Adriatic power as it gained new territories in the Balkans and promoted a policy of neutrality with respect to the Habsburg-Ottoman confrontations in the area. Rhoads Murphey analyzes in detail the

negotiations paving the way for the Passarowitz Peace and divides these preliminary discussions in four groups: debates about the composition of the delegations, delaying tactics, real and threatened military action, and discussions about accommodation for the conference delegates. Murphey concludes that "the determining factor in the success of the Passarowitz peace process is to be found not so much in results, outcomes, and specific content of the treaty itself as in the discovery of the possibilities that dialogue afforded both sides" (89). Gábor Ágoston offers a detailed analysis of the two belligerents' military strength and the evolution of the Ottoman army from the seventeenth to the early eighteenth century. Through a careful quantification illustrated by tables and graphs, Ágoston reveals the Ottoman inability to adjust "their military personnel and tactics to the changed nature of warfare" (105). This development explains the Habsburg victories leading to the Peace of Passarowitz.

The third part of this book, "Society, Economy and Trade," begins with a study devoted to the eyalet of Bosnia between 1699 and 1718. Enes Pelidija discusses how the strategic position of Bosnia on the Habsburg-Ottoman border influenced its political fate. He argues that the Habsburg unsuccessful siege of Zvornik in the fall of 1717 was a direct result of the transformations to the defensive structures of Bosnia prior to the war. The high value Bosnia had for the Ottoman rulers did not spare the empire its partial loss after Passarowitz, which then lead to a series of demographic changes in the region. Dan D. Y. Shapira examines a key participant to the Habsburg-Ottoman confrontations in eastern and central Europe: the Crimean Tatars. As the Muscovite danger increased in the area of the Crimean Peninsula, the Tatars could no longer contribute to the Ottoman armies as much as they used to during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Therefore, the Ottoman incapacity to employ large Crimean Tatar armies in the Balkans contributed to the Habsburg victories leading to Passarowitz. Jovan Pešalj devotes one of the best studies in this volume to the impact of cameralism in shifting the attention of Habsburg decision makers towards the profitable trade with the Ottoman lands. The career and economic ideas of Baron Michael von Talman and Franz Anselm von Fleischmann, the two people partially responsible for the Trade and Navigation Treaty signed at Passarowitz (July 27, 1718), help Pešalj demonstrate the Habsburgs' new commitment to commercial exchanges with Constantinople. Numan Elibol and Abdullah Mesud Küçükkalay examine the revitalized Habsburg-Ottoman trade from the perspective of Ottoman archives. These Turkish historians reveal a significant increase after 1718 in the number of Habsburg merchants travelling to the Ottoman lands. Interestingly their thorough analysis demonstrates that numerous merchants were originally from Transylvania or used this province as an important node for their trade routes. Elibol and Küçükkalay consider that "the recovery of trade in late 1740s was almost entirely due to the increasing traffic of Transylvanian merchants in the

Ottoman Empire" (164). Hrvoje Petrić shows that the Orthodox merchants residing in the Ottoman lands benefitted from the 1718 Commercial Treaty even more than their Habsburg counterparts. The case study of the town of Koprivnica, close to the Drava River, demonstrates a significant increase in the number of merchants relocating to this area after Passarowitz, as a result of the treaty's articles. Vojin S. Dabić investigates the population and land surveys launched by the Viennese rulers shortly after they took over the Banat of Temesvár and Kingdom of Serbia. The Habsburg engineers' maps of populated and deserted settlements helped the Aulic Treasury officials plan the colonization of this area and introduce a new taxation system. Katarina Mitrović authors the only study of this volume devoted to the religious transformation of the newly conquered Habsburg lands and traces the slow restoration of the Catholic diocese of Belgrade and Smederevo.

In the last section, "Ideas, Arts, and Culture," the editors of this volume gathered a sort of miscellaneous, but still valuable, group of studies. Jelena Mrgić shows the importance of the cartographic material prepared by Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli before and after the Karlowitz Treaty (1699), in influencing the negotiations at Passarowitz. The efforts of Marisgli and Johann Christoph Müller to demarcate the Habsburg-Ottoman border after Karlowitz, together with the border demarcations post-Passarowitz, "moved beyond the premodern concept of a 'transitory zone' between border fortresses" and created "clearly visible state boundaries" (223). Ana Milošević analyzes in detail the Album of Conrad Weiss, a festival book created to legitimize and bring to the public eye the official exchange of the Habsburg and Ottoman deputations at Passarowitz. Although a result of an old Renaissance tradition of capturing festive ceremonies in special artistic creations, the Weiss album eliminated all mythological and allegorical elements, and brought to the forefront contemporary understandings of "accurate" representations of an event (249). Samardžić's second essay in this volume tries to identify Baroque elements in the architecture of the fortification and town of Belgrade. From Vauban-type fortifications to Roman Catholic churches, the term Baroque as used in this study is constructed as relying solely on a Habsburg legacy. The reader remains unconvinced by the end of this chapter how the Baroque style emerged "as a symbol of nation-state consolidation" (261) while also being "an expression of colonialism itself" (262). Vladimir Simić concludes the volume with an in-depth image analysis of commemorative medals and coins produced to celebrate the Peace of Passarowitz. This scholar also offers an interesting interpretation of "patriotism" in an eighteenth century context, arguing that medals and coins offered a perfect medium for expressing the Habsburg rulers' "patriotic commitments" (285).

As any conference proceedings volume, this collection's studies are of uneven quality. However, they all contribute in bringing to the attention of the Anglo-American scholarship new aspects regarding the history of the Habsburg Monarchy. These studies are the result of research by scholars from Austria,

Croatia, Germany, Israel, Italy, Serbia, Turkey, United Kingdom and the United States of America. Together, they deepen our understanding of the Peace of Passarowitz as a trans-imperial document with implications not only for the fate of the Habsburg and Ottoman states, but for all of southeastern Europe and eastern Mediterranean.

MĂDĂLINA-VALERIA VEREŞ

Thomas Şindilariu, Freimauer in Siebenbürgen 1749-1790. Die Loge „St. Andreas zu den drei Seeblätter" in Hermannstadt (1767-1790) Ihre Rolle in Gesellschaft, Kultur und Politik Siebenbürgens, Aldus Verlag, Kronstadt, 2011, ISBN 978-973-7822-60-4, pp. 230

Thomas Şindilariu addresses a less researched and quite often neglected topic in the Transylvanian historiography: freemasonry during the eighteenth century[1]. Apparently, the title would suggest that the author deals with a case study, local history, or a certain episode of the Transylvanian Saxon culture. But its content reveals a different model of analysis: an epoch and local contextualization, as Şindilariu briefly introduces the reader into the eighteenth century. Thus, in the beginning, he explains what the major changes in the Habsburg Monarchy were, i.e. the reforms during the Enlightenment, the integration of the Principality into the monarchy, and certainly the profile of Masonry lodges in Vienna and Hungary. Additionally, this introduction would help the reader to better understand the role of Masonry in the eighteenth century, when for instance Maria Theresa outlawed it, or Emperor Leopold II adopted a quite "strict" supervision of it.

The author does not abandon the classic book structure, i.e. contextual introduction, foundation/evolution and consequences. After the aforementioned contextual introduction, Şindilariu describes how the St. Andreas Lodge was created in Sibiu, who its supporters were, and what organization model they adopted. Thus, we find out that there were several Masonic lodges in Sibiu. St. Andreas was founded in 1767, not in connection with Vienna, but by prominent patricians of the Saxon society, who studied at German Protestant Universities. The second lodge was *Zum geheiligter Eifer*. Besides these lodges, the author describes the creation of several other lodges: Braşov [actually the first lodge, 1749], Csikszereda, Cluj and Bukovina, which would represent an impulse for further research in this field. Şindilariu further describes the activity of St Andreas, the introduction of a botanical chamber, the collection of natural produces or the reading chamber. It further describes the

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[1] For the later period see Attila Varga, Elite masonice maghiare. Loja „Unio" din Cluj (1886-1926), Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Argonaut, 2010.

connection between St. Andreas and the birth of „Siebenbürger Quartalschrift"
and *Gesellschaft zur Wahrung der ungarischen Sprache* or the failure of Papiu
Ilarian's project.

The author reassesses the implication of Joseph II in the development of
Masonry. Concerning the members, the author corrects traditional
historiographical approaches. From a denominational perspective, we note that
Catholics were over-represented, a reality that the author explains through the
religious policy of the empress the great number of Austrian soldiers. (p. 160,
161), a thesis that I find the most realistic: although tolerance gained ground in
the eighteenth century, the appointment of Catholics remained a priority of the
Court until 1781. Most members were Transylvanians, but we can find a high
percentage of foreigners as well. The author argues that there were not many
Romanians among them, thus correcting the Communist historiography which
allotted a far greater role to them. As for the profession of members, Şindilariu
shows that teachers, clergymen and doctors played an important role in the
lodge. However, the majority was made out of clerks [Ger Beamten] and
military officers. (p. 166).

The author shows us that the social role of the lodge was important,
after acceptance into the lodge many foreigners being granted the burgher right.
Politically, the most important event is the Diet of 1790/91 with the opposition
of the Cluj „hunting society" *Diana*. In this society, the author found a few
members of the Sibiu Masonic lodge. The cultural importance of Masonry in
Sibiu is proven by the typography of Hochmeister and the involvement into the
theatre together with another member of the lodge, Seipp.

A final question is whether or not the author meets the requirements of
the title? Indeed, Şindilariu indicated that masonry played an important role in
the eighteenth century. He proved that its involvement in Transylvanian
politics, society and culture was of high importance as well. Besides, the
author's arguments are built on many archival sources, which make the
approach original and the information „fresh" for most readers. Thus, it
represents a model of research; the arguments have to be built on primary
sources in order to provide the reader with an original approach. Moreover, at
the end, Şindilariu provides a table with all members of the Sibiu lodge: name,
title, place of origin, career, year of acceptance into the lodge and degree. This
information is particularly important not only for the specialists in the subject of
masonry or cultural historians, but also for social historians and sociologists.
Undoubtedly, such a model of approach enables the author to correct and
analyse certain aspects of Transylvanian masonry more contextually. This book
fills a gap into our eighteenth-century historiography and certainly represents
an impulse for further or more detailed research of „Enlightenment" and
masonry in Transylvania.

SEVER CRISTIAN OANCEA